A SKETCH GRAMMAR OF BILINARA

Honors Thesis by
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ABBREVIATIONS:

A	transitive subject
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ADMON	admonitive
ALL	allative
Adj	adjunct
Adv	adverb
ASSOC	associating
B	brother, brother's
BP	bound pronoun
C	consonant
CAUS	causal
CM	conjugation marker
CONS	consequental
D	daughter, daughter's
DAT	dative
du	dual
DUB	dubitative
E	elder (sibling)
ERG	ergative
exc	exclusive
F	father, father's
FUT	future
H	husband, husband's
HORT	hortative
IMM	immediate
IMP	imperative
inc	inclusive
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
M	mother, mother's
NMZR	nominalizer
NOM	nominal
NP	noun phrase
NUM	numeral
O	(direct) object
Obj	object
pl	plural
Prev	preverb
PRES	present
PROP	proprietive
PST	past
Q	question marker

RDP	reduplication
RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative clause
S	sentence
S	son, son's
S	intransitive subject
sg	singular
Subj	subject
V	verb
V	vowel
VC	verb complex
W	wife, wife's
Y	younger (sibling)
Z	sister, sister's
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

PREFACE

The research for this thesis was conducted at Pidgeon Hole Station, N.T. over a six week period in June-July 1990. Unless otherwise indicated, the source for all the information herein is my field notes made during this time. While I have made every attempt to make this discussion and description as accurate as possible, the small amount of time over which the data were collected, and the small size of the corpus as a result, means that further research may prove some of the discussion to be incorrect. Rather than fill the discussion with numerous tedious qualifications and apologies for the lack of information in certain places, I ask the reader to read it keeping in mind the above context in which it was written.

Almost all of my language teachers are equally as proficient in Gurindji as they are in Bilinara and, consequently, tend to sometimes mix the two. While I tried to include only Bilinara in this discussion, it is possible that some lexical items given as Bilinara may, in fact, be Gurindji.

When glossing Bilinara words which have more than one translation in English, I have typically followed the policy of glossing them according to context. Thus, 'karr-' 'to be, sit', for example, will be glossed as either 'be' or 'sit' depending on its semantic function within the particular context.

I have avoided using footnotes. Rather, anything in the nature of a footnote has been included in the main text in a smaller print.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

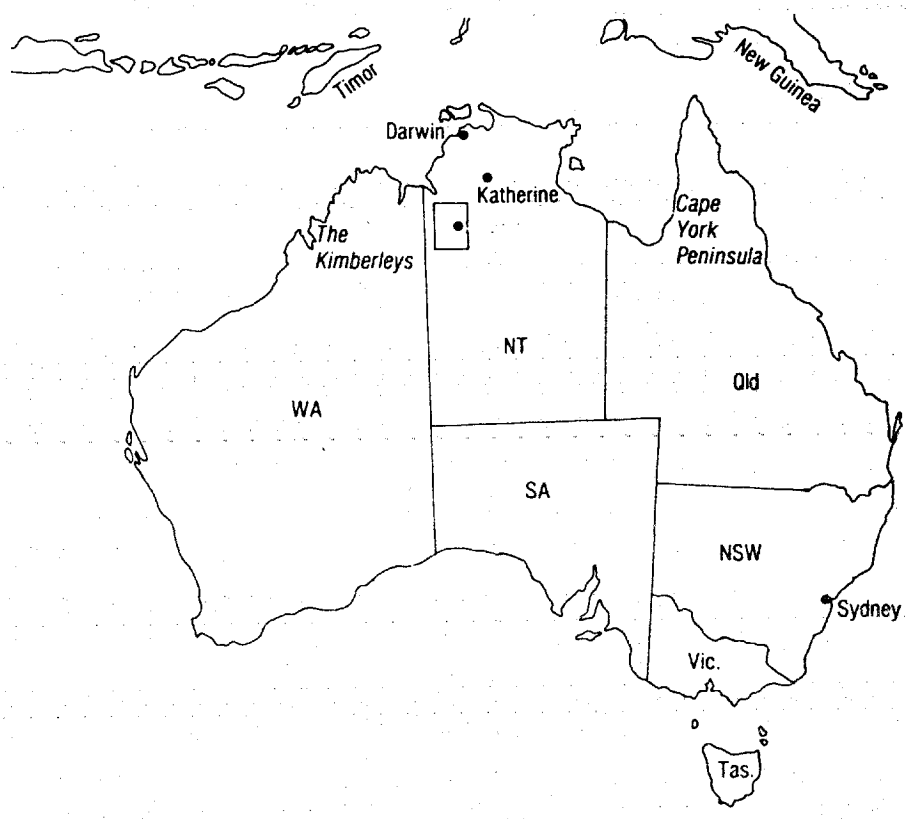
I would like to especially thank the Bilinara community for accepting me so readily and warmly and for their generous and patient help in teaching me their language. I would particularly like to thank my main language teachers: Hector Waitbiari, Anzac Jangari, Ivy Gulngari, Molly Wangwara and Mildred Hector.

I would also like to thank John and Karen Brosnan of Pidgeon Hole Station for their hospitality.

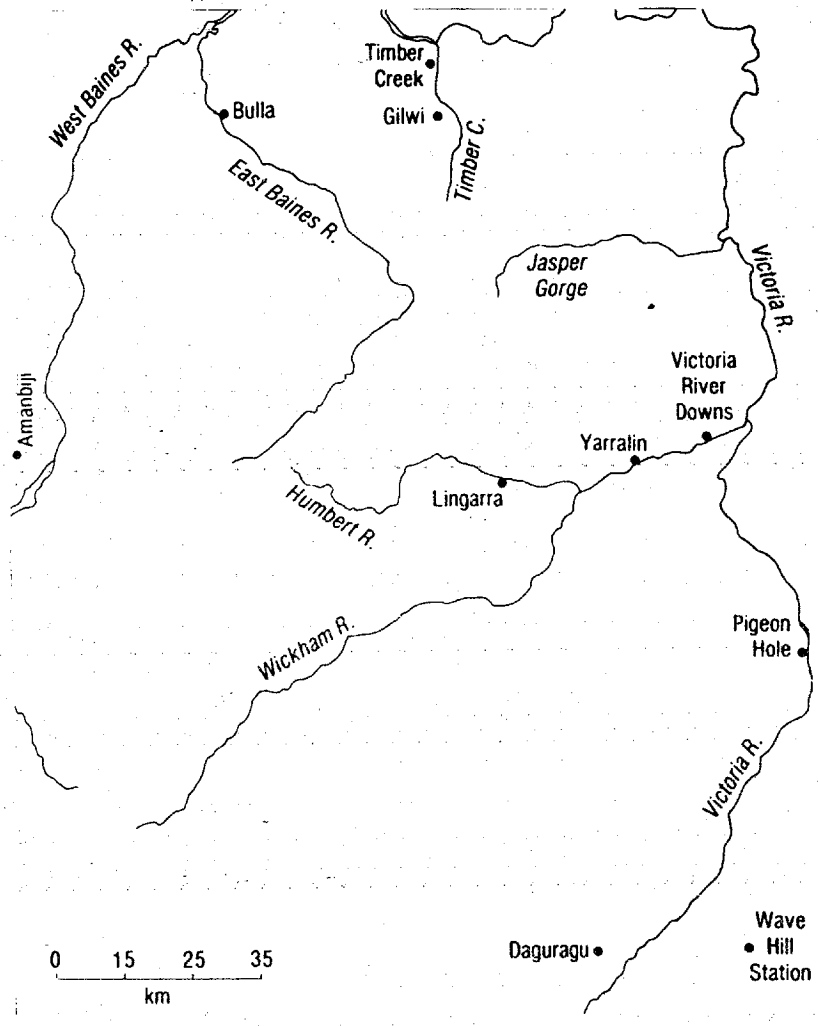
Special thanks go to Nick Evans for his dedicated supervision of the writing of this thesis and for his invaluable advice and encouragement.

This work would not have been possible without the financial support of the North Australia Research Unit and was partially supported by the ARC grant 'Non-Pama-Nyungan Languages of Northern Australia; Descriptive, Grammatical, Comparative and Sociolinguistic Investigations'.

Map 1. Map of Australia
(From Rose 1987:258)



Map 2. Pidgeon Hole and surrounds (insert of Map 1)
(From Rose 1987:259).



1.0 THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 THE LANGUAGE . . .

Bilinara is a Pama-Nyungan language of the north-west of the Northern Territory. It is a member of the Ngumpin subgroup which forms a part of the larger 'Northern Western Desert Type'. Other languages also belonging to the Ngumpin subgroup, to which Bilinara is very similar, are Gurindji, Ngarinman, Malngin, Nyininy, Mudbura, Djaru and Walmatjari.

In many respects, Bilinara is a fairly typical Pama-Nyungan language. The phoneme inventory contains five places of articulation for stops which all have corresponding nasals (bilabial, apico-alveolar, retroflex, palatal and velar); three laterals (apico-alveolar, retroflex and palatal); two rhotics (a trill/flap and a retroflex continuant) and three vowels (/a/, /i/ and /u/). Among the stops, voicing is not phonemically distinctive, neither are features such as stress or pitch. Most words are disyllabic or longer (although there are some monosyllabic preverbs). Words can begin with a consonant or a semi-vowel (there are no words with initial /ly/ or /rr/), and can end with any phoneme except for a semi-vowel. Clusters of two consonants are found medially and, in some preverbs, word-finally. Clusters of more than two consonants (ie. three) are only found across morpheme boundaries.

Morphologically, as is the case with the majority of Australian languages, Bilinara is an agglutinative language, with many grammatical, semantic and discourse roles being indicated by the use of suffixes.

Eight parts of speech are recognized for Bilinara: nominals (including nouns and free pronouns), bound pronouns (cross-referencing clitics which agree with argument NPs in person, number and case), verbs, preverbs, adverbs, clitics, particles and interjections.

Free and bound pronouns distinguish person (1st, 2nd and 3rd), 1st person non-singular also makes an inclusive/exclusive distinction; and three numbers (singular, dual and plural). There is no gender distinction made among 3rd person.

Nouns generally do not distinguish number, instead, this is often indicated by the cross-referencing bound pronoun. If it is desired to explicitly express number in the overt NP, a free form numeral (eg. 'kujarra' 'two) can be used. There is no noun class or classifier

system in Bilinara, nor are there any examples of 'generic-specific' constructions found in some Australian languages. Nouns in Bilinara do not specify definiteness (although sometimes the demonstrative 'nyila' 'that' is used with this purpose) and, consequently, some of the English translations given for Bilinara NPs are fairly arbitrary in this respect.

Bilinara is a 'split-ergative' language: nouns operate according to an ergative-absolutive declension, bound pronouns have a nominative-accusative declension and free pronouns do not distinguish at all between the three core grammatical relations, A, S and O.

Bound pronouns, in Bilinara, are not attached to an auxiliary as they are in the other Ngumpin languages. Rather, there are a number of complex, discourse related rules which determine their position within the sentence. The unmarked situation is to attach bound pronouns to the initial constituent of the clause. Other possibilities include cliticizing the bound pronouns to: (i) the verb phrase; (ii) to the demonstratives 'nyila' and 'nyawa'; (iii) to the interrogative nominal 'nyampa' and (iv) to the particle 'ngaja'. The possible bases for bound pronouns are discussed in 5.2.5.

The class of verbs is very small, probably having a total of somewhere around 30 members. However, this is made up for by the number of (often lexicalized) verbal compounds formed by combining verbs with preverbs. There are five conjugation classes for Bilinara verbs, with only one exception found in the corpus ('karr-' 'to be, sit'). Conjugation class membership is not associated with transitivity.

Preverbs are quite distinct as a word class. Although they are like verbs semantically, denoting actions, events and/or processes, syntactically they can function more like nominals and/or adverbs. Phonologically, they demonstrate some rather exceptional (for Bilinara) phonotactics and word structure.

Like most Australian languages, word order in Bilinara is relatively free. There are no conjunctive particles in Bilinara, so consequently, simple sentences are often just strung together in apposition. There are also a number of possibilities for subordinate clauses, both finite and non-finite.

1.1.1 Previous Works

There has been very little work done on Bilinara. Of that which has

been done, most of it has been by Patrick McConvell through his work on Gurindji. While McConvell has not published any works on Bilinara itself, in his 1988 and 1980 papers he makes considerable reference to it.

Other spellings of the language name which have been used in the literature are Pilinara (Source book for Central Australian languages (1981)), Bi[linara (Tsunoda (1981)) and Bilinara (Tindale 1974). Phonetically, the language name is pronounced [p[linara] (note that, as voicing is not a distinguishing feature of Bilinara phonemes, the initial stop may also, at times, be voiced.)

1.2 . . . ITS SPEAKERS

The Bilinara community live at Pidgeon Hole Station, an outstation of the larger Victoria River Downs Station in the north-west of the Northern Territory. The regular population probably numbers somewhere around 50, of which about half would be below the age of 12. However, as with most Aboriginal communities, at any given time, the number of people present could be anywhere from 10 to 80.

The community 'camp' is adjoining to the white settlement of the station and, consequently, the community has a very close relationship with the station. Many of the Bilinara men are employed, at different times, as stationhands; the community buys all its meat and food from the station store, which is operated for them once a week; and the wife of the station manager is often called upon to help with matters such as social security forms, health problems etc. There is a schoolteacher and a school for the younger children, and a health sister comes out from Victoria River Downs Station once a fortnight.

The community has been living in close proximity to the white settlement for at least as long as Hector Waitbiari (the eldest member of the Bilinara community at about 80 years) can remember. The relationship between the Aboriginal and the white communities, while relatively amiable (at least on appearances), is quite colonial; and the attitude of the white community towards the Bilinara people is often very patronizing.

Of the 20 or so adult members of the Bilinara community, only the older members (who number 5 or 6) are fully fluent in Bilinara. The younger adults, however, have a good working knowledge of the language albeit with some grammatical simplification. The

children all have, at the very least, a good passive knowledge of Bilinara, and many speak a simplified form of it as their first language. All speakers will often use English words to express concepts which are difficult to express in Bilinara, although younger speakers will do this more often than the older members of the community.

All of the speakers understand English, although the adult members of the community speak a Kriol which ranges from very heavy among the older speakers to relatively light among the younger adults. The children who have been to school in Darwin, and also some of the older ones at the Pidgeon Hole school speak a dialect which closely approximates Standard Australian English.

At least all of the older speakers are multilingual in other languages including Gurindji, Ngarinman and (for some of them) Mudbura. The community has a lot of contact with those at Daguragu (Gurindji) and Yarralin (Ngarinman). The relationship is particularly close with the Gurindji community with which there is a lot of inter-marriage and family connections.

Only a small number of the men are employed by the station at any one time. In general, the major source of income for the community is social security. Money is redistributed throughout the community via endless games of cards.

The Bilinara community has been 'Europeanized' to quite a significant extent. While 'bush tucker' is sometimes collected and eaten, there is very little hunting done; the station store being the typical source of all food. While the older members of the community would describe the processes by which boomerangs, spears, woomeras etc. are made, no such artifacts are made by the community and, infact, it was discovered that no-one in the community even had any such artifacts to show me!

Initiation ceremonies are apparently still practised, usually around Christmas time. The women will sometimes get together with women from Daguragu to perform ceremonies. In these ceremonies, however, it is only the Daguragu women who dance, as it seems that the Bilinara women "don't know how". The older members of the Bilinara community, however, join in the singing.

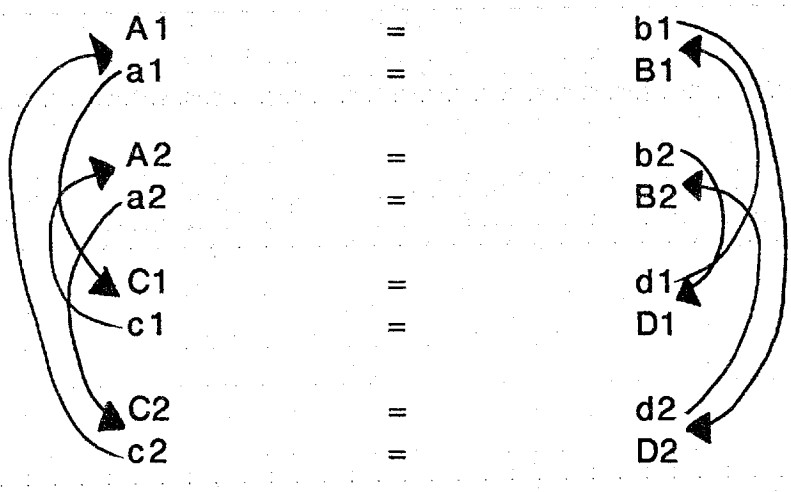
Despite the absence of many of the traditional aspects of Aboriginal life, the kinship system and subsection membership is still intact, adhered to and fully understood by all members of the community (even the youngest children).

The Bilinara community is divided according to an Aranda-type system of eight subsections. Each subsection has different names for its male and female members, which typically differ in the initial consonant (/j/ for male and /n/ for female). People are typically addressed and referred to by their subsection names, rather then personal names. The writer has been assigned to the 'nanaku' subsection. The subsections are as follows:

Male	Female
japanyi (A1)	nyanyi (a1)
jangari (A2)	nangari (a2)
japarra (B1)	nimala (b1)
jampijina (B2)	nampijina (b2)
julama (C1)	nawula (c1)
jangala (C2)	nangala (c2)
janama (D1)	nanaku (d1)
jamija (D2)	namija (d2)

Subsection membership is determined matrilineally and governs marriage possibilities. This system is demonstrated in Diagram 1.1 below. The equal sign indicates prescribed marriage and the arrows represent offspring subsection membership.

Diagram 1.1 Subsections.



Thus, the system is cyclic with each matriline operating on a cycle of four subsections.

The kinship terminology (to the extent that it was elicited and/or determined) is given in Diagram 1.2. The terminology for a female ego, where it differs, is given in Diagram 1.3.

Diagram 1.2 Kinship terminology (male ego)

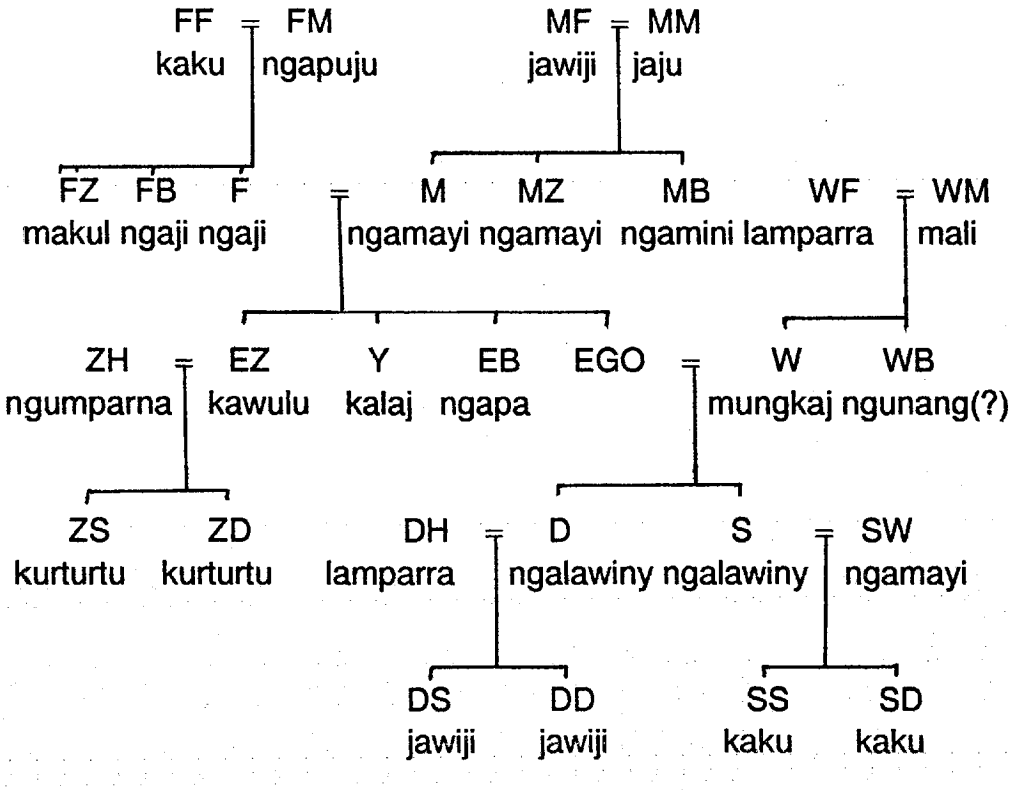
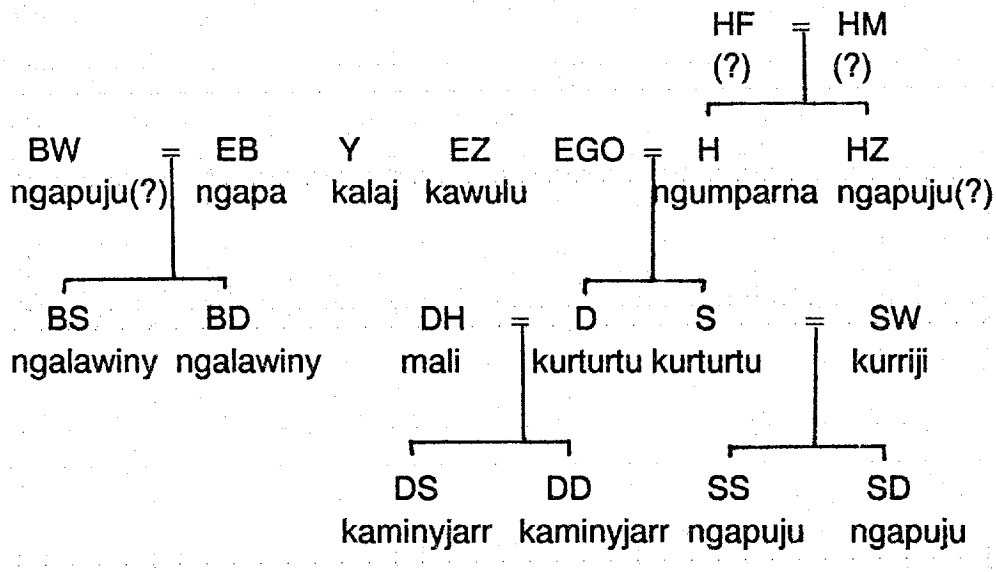


Diagram 1.3 Kinship terminology (female ego, where different from 1.2)



Notes: Y denotes 'younger sibling'. Thus, the term 'kalaj' is used to address and refer to any younger sibling, male or female.

Same sex siblings count as equivalent for the purposes of reckoning kinship. Thus, the terms for ego's brother's wife and children, for example, are the same as those for ego.

As is typical of these systems, the terms for 'grandparent' and 'grandchildren' are self-reciprocal. The one exception is the pair MM-DD/DS ('jaju' - 'kaminyjarr')

2.0 PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES AND THEIR REALIZATIONS.

The phonemes of Bilinara are as in the chart below:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Lamino-Palatal	Velar
Stop	p	t	rt	j	k
Nasal	m	n	rn	ny	ng
Lateral		l	rl	ly	
Rhotic		rr	r		
Semi-vowel	w			y	

Vowels	i(ii)	u(uu)
	a(aa)	

NOTES:

The orthography I use is that used by McConvell for Gurindji (eg. 1988) and is the same as that used for Warlpiri (eg. Swartz 1982).

There is no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants. The voiced allophones are generally found except in syllable-final position, where voiceless allophones appear. The only exception to this is /k/ where the voiceless allophone is usually heard in initial position. Stops are generally unaspirated. /j/, when released, can have a fricative off-glide, often causing it to sound more like an affricate. Stops are usually unreleased word-finally, and are consequently very difficult to detect.

/rr/ is generally a tap but can be realized as a trill, particularly in exaggerated speech.

2.1.1 Phonemic Oppositions

Due to the limited size of my corpus, it was not possible to find minimal pairs to illustrate all of the major phonemic oppositions. Thus for most oppositions near-minimal pairs, or similar environments will have to suffice.

/t, rt/
u_u:
kuturrp 'rattle'
kurtung 'quiet'

/n, rn, ny, ng/
a_#:
kalyjan 'shallow'
makiliwarn 'kangaroo'
jalany 'tongue'
karr(u)wang 'ankle'

/l, rl, ly/
u_a:
kula 'NEG'
kurla 'LOC'
pulyap 'girlfriend'

/r, rr, l, rl/
a_u:
karu 'child'
karru 'be(FUT)'
kalu 'walk'
marluka 'old man'

2.1.2 Alternation Between Phonemes

There are two stop/nasal pairs which alternate word-finally in certain words.

/j/ and /ny/:

warij/wariny 'alone'

In other words ending in either of these phonemes, this alternation does not occur.

kurrirrij (*kurrirriny) 'car'
jalany (*jalaj) 'tongue'.

/t/ and /n/:

ngumpit/ngumpin '(Aboriginal) man, person'

Examples in which this alternation does not occur include:

kaput (*kapun) 'morning'
kalyjan (*kalyjat) 'shallow'

An alternation between these two pairs of phonemes is also found in Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:31).

2.1.3 Vowels

As the language has only three vowel phonemes (long vowels will be discussed below), each vowel can cover a fairly large range of phones. Thus, /a/ ranges in quality from [ɛ] (after /y/) to [ɐ] (after /k/) to [ɑɑ] (after /ny/). /i/ and /u/ may be lowered to [e] and [o] in some contexts (at the end of a word) and /u/ is frequently centralized to [ʉ] following palatals. Generally /u/ does not involve very significant lip-rounding.

I am not sure whether the long vowels have phonemic status. Almost all of the examples in the corpus show the long vowels appearing because of the deletion of semi-vowels in V_{α} /y,w/V_{α} sequences (see below). In other environments, there seems to be considerable variation in the length of short vowels, but as far as can be determined from my data, this variation is not phonemic.

McConvell (1988) states that long vowels have a marginal status as phonemes in the Eastern Ngumbin languages for the reasons given above. However, he states that it may be necessary to recognize /aa/ as a phoneme given that there exists, in Gurindji, triplets such as:

jaj 'to favour, treat especially well'
jawaj 'grass in ruminant's stomach'
jaaj 'to demand gifts from relatives' (1988:137)

I can find no such triplets in my corpus for Bilinara. However, the similarities between the languages are such that if /aa/ is a phoneme in Gurindji, there is likely to be a similar phoneme in Bilinara.

Djaru has a phoneme /aa/ but no phonemes /ii/ or /uu/. (Tsunoda 1981:23)

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

2.2.1 Word Structure

2.2.1.1 Word-Initial Position

A word can begin with any consonant or semi-vowel except for /ly/ or /rr/. Phonologically, a word can not begin with a vowel. Sometimes, initial sequences of the type /wu/ will be heard simply as /u/, with the initial semi-vowel being unrealized. Thus, in rapid (or usual) speech, the word /wukarra/ 'fear' is pronounced [ukarra].

Nevertheless, the word is still analyzed phonemically as beginning with a semi-vowel on the basis of the following arguments:

i). While words such as /wukarra/ are typically pronounced with an initial vowel, in exaggerated or emphatic speech, the semi-vowel is always heard. This would seem to lend some support to the semi-vowel being present at some underlying level.

ii). This phenomenon is only found with the sequence /wu/. Of all the examples in the corpus which begin with the sequence /yi/, the initial semi-vowel is typically realized in all of them. Thus, to allow words in Bilinara to phonologically begin with a vowel would seem to be creating an exception, rather than capturing a generalization about the language's phonotactics.

iii). To posit an analysis whereby words cannot begin, at a phonological level, with a vowel helps to greatly simplify the phonotactics of the language. Thus, it avoids the need for a distinct word-initial syllable structure consisting solely of a vowel.

This analysis is common for many Australian languages (Dixon 1980:127) and is used for other languages related to Bilinara such as Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:32-35) and Walmatjari (Hudson 1978:6).

The contrast between the apical consonants /t, rt/, /n, rn/, and /l, rl/ is neutralized word initially. As the alveolar series is more frequently found in this environment, the symbols for the alveolar series are used in the orthography to represent these neutralized consonants.

timana 'horse'
nalija 'tea'
likarta 'lizard'

NOTE: The bound pronoun forms -rna '1sgSub', -rla '3sgDAT', -rli '1duincSub' etc, are always found after a vowel so that the retroflex nature of their initial consonant is always heard. For this reason, they are written with the corresponding retroflex symbol.

Dixon (1980) decribes this neutralization of the apical contrast in initial position as being fairly common among languages in which both apicals are phonologically contrastive in other environments. In Dixon's sample of twenty-one languages with both apico-alveolar and apico-postalveolar consonants, seventeen of them show the neutralization of the contrast in initial position. (p.167)

It seems likely, however, that the initial apical series is underlyingly retroflex as they have retroflex articulation following a vowel-final word in rapid speech:

(2-1) ngayi-ma-rna ya-nku pinka-kurra kanyjurra tarukap-ku
[kaɲɟura ɖaɻukapku]
1sg-#-1sgSub go-FUT river-ALL down swim-DAT
I'm going down to the river to swim.

2.2.1.2 Word-Final Position

Within my corpus a word can end in any consonant or vowel, except for /ly/. The limited nature of the corpus, however, means that the absence of words ending in /ly/ could simply represent a bias in the data collected, rather than a phonotactic rule of the language. This is suggested by the fact that /ly/ is found syllable-finally in words such as 'kaly.jan' 'shallow' and occurs word-finally in both Djaru and Walmatjari.

Phonologically the semi-vowels /y, w/ do not occur word or syllable-finally. The system of phonological analysis is such that semi-vowels are analyzed as being followed by a vowel:

[ŋamaj] < /ngamayi/ 'mother'.

To thus interpret semi-vowels helps to further simplify the phonotactics of the language in two ways: (i) it preserves the generalization that semi-vowels do not occur syllable-finally; (ii) the fact that they also do not occur syllable-finally means that they cannot be the first member in a consonant cluster (see 2.2.2).

This analysis is further justified by the behaviour of certain phonologically-conditioned allomorphs when they follow semi-vowels:

The dative suffix has two allomorphs, [ku] after consonants and [wu] after vowels (see below) and [ŋamaj] takes the dative suffix [wu]: [ŋamaj-wu]. This suggests that the word [ŋamaj] actually ends in a vowel, thereby making the dative form /ngamayi-wu/.

2.2.2 Clusters

2.2.2.1 Intramorpheme

Consonant clusters found within morphemes contain only two members. There are no examples of three-member clusters except when they exist across morpheme boundaries (see 2.2.2.2). The intramorphemic clusters found in the corpus are as follows.

Chart 2.1 Intramorphemic Consonant Clusters.

mp						
np	nm	nt	nj	nk		
			t j			
lp	lm		lj	lk	lng	l w
r t p						
		rnt	rnj	r n k		
					rlng	r l w
jp				j k		
			n y j	nyk		
			l y j			
ngp		ngt		ngk		
rp				r k		
rrp	rrm		rrj	rrk		r r w

It would be foolish to try to make any conclusive generalizations about clusters on the basis of such a small amount of data. However, it is possible to make some tentative observations:
a) there are no double consonants.
b) clusters whose members have the same manner of articulation are uncommon (ie. only nm, rtp, jp and jk are found).
c) a cluster cannot contain more than one liquid (/l, rl, ly, rr, r/).
d) a cluster cannot contain more than one semi-vowel (the corpus gives no examples of 'y' occuring in a cluster); a semi-vowel, when it occurs, has to be the second member of the cluster.
e) there are no examples of either nasal+liquid or nasal+semi-vowel clusters.
f) if a stop occurs as the first member in the cluster, it must be followed by another stop.

It seems that there may be some plausibility on a larger scale to most of these observations. Tsunoda (1981) makes all of these generalizations, except for (e) and (f), when he discusses intramorphemic clusters for Djaru. (p.38-39).

There are no examples found in the corpus of a cluster phonologically occuring word-initially. However, there is one word which is analyzed phonologically as beginning with a CVC sequence, but which phonetically, often deletes the vowel between the two consonants, thus seeming to have an initial cluster:
[purinyjirrirla/purinyjirrirla] > /purinyjirrirla/ 'afternoon, yesterday'.

This is the only example in the corpus which begins with the sequence 'purV', so it is not possible to contrast this situation with other examples.

There are very few examples of words ending with a cluster. Those that do tend to be preverbs and monosyllabic:
purrp 'finish'
warrp 'sit around in a circle'.

2.2.2.2 Intermorpheme

Intermorphemically, the possibilities for consonant clusters are much greater. The two main differences between intramorphemic and intermorphemic consonant clusters are:

a). Intermorphemic clusters can contain double consonants:
ngumpit-tu 'man-ERG' kurrirrij-ja 'car-LOC'

b). Intermorphemic clusters can have three members:
purrp-parni 'everybody'

The intermorphemic clusters found in the corpus are:

Chart 2.2 Intermorphemic Consonant Clusters.

pp		pt	pj	pk	png	
mp				mk		
np		nt	nj	nk	nng	
tp		tt	tj	tk	tng	
lp	lm		lj	lk	lng	
rtp			rtj	rtk	rtng	
rnp		rnt	rnj	rnk		
					rlng	rly
jp			jj	jk	jng	
			nyj	nyk	nyng	
kp			kj	kk	kng	
ngp				ngk	ngng	
rrp	rrm		rrj	rrk	rrng	rrw

Also found are the tri-consonant clusters rrpp, rrpk, rrpng, rrpj, rrkp, rrkk, rrkng and rrkj.

2.2.3 Syllable Structure

The majority of syllables in Bilinara are of the structure:

CV eg. pa- and -ka in pa.ka 'splinter'

CVC eg. jurr-and -kan in jurr.kan 'forearm'
Any consonant is permissable initially in this syllable type,

however semi-vowels cannot occur syllable-finally.

Less common are syllables of the type:
CVCC eg. -turrp in ku.turrp 'rattle'.
Syllables of this structure are usually found in monosyllabic words, or as the final syllable of a disyllabic word. While there do not seem to be any restrictions on the initial consonant in this syllable type, the final cluster always consists of /rr/ + either /p/ or /k/.

Most words in Bilinara are disyllabic. Of the few monosyllabic words, most are preverbs, and have the following syllable structures:
CVC eg. jik 'come out'
CVCC eg. purrp 'finish'
There are no monosyllabic words of CV structure.

The phonetic process by which a sequence V_{α} /y,w/ V_{α} is reduced to a long vowel (VV) (see 2.3.2) produces, on the phonetic level, a monosyllabic word with a final long vowel: 'nyaa' 'this'. This word is heard both as 'nyaa' and as 'nyawa', however, and is analyzed phonemically as /nyawa/, thereby making it irrelevent to the above discussion.

2.2.4 Stress

Primary stress always falls on the first syllable of the word. Words of two and three syllables only have primary stress:

jáng.ka.rni	'big'
kú.li.yan	'cheeky'
wá.rtan	'hand'
ngú.rra	'camp'

If the word is more than three syllables long, primary stress occurs on the first syllable and secondary stress on the penultimate syllable:

já.wul.wà.rra	'snake'
kú.rru.pà.tu	'boomerang'

2.3 MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.3.1 Intervocalic Lenition

/k/ > /w/, /p/ > /w/
This affects the suffixes 'ku/wu' (dative), 'kaji/waji' (NMZR) and

'parla/warla' (FOCUS). Via this morphophonemic process, the initial stop of the suffix is lenited to the semi-vowel /w/ when it follows a vowel:
ngumpin-ku 'man-DAT' BUT karu-wu 'child-DAT'
jarrakap-kaji 'telephone, tape recorder' BUT yarti-waji 'television'
karrap-parla 'look.at-FOCUS' BUT nyampa-warla 'what-FOCUS'.
It seems that after /rr/, the two alternatives are in free variation. Thus, both the following were heard:
jakarr-kaji, jakarr-waji 'blanket'.

A similar alternation exists between /j/ and /y/ with the allative and proprietive suffixes. Thus:
ngayiny-jirri 'my-ALL' BUT murnu-yirri 'camp-ALL'
kurrirrij-jawung 'car-PROP' BUT karnti-yawung 'stick-PROP'
This alternation is also found with the third person plural object bound pronoun 'jina/yina'.

It seems that the distinction between the two proprietive allomorphs is not absolute and that, for certain speakers in certain situations, the two can exist in free variation. Constructions such as 'karu-jawung' 'child-PROP', for example, were heard in slow or exaggerated speech for some speakers.

An epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted after /rr/ and before the proprietive allomorph 'jawung'. This allomorph is then lenited to 'yawung' by virtue of the above morphophonemic process.

'pamarr' 'stone' --> 'pamarr-i-jawung' --> 'pamarr-i-yawung' 'stone-PROP'

2.3.2 Vowel lengthening

In sequences of the type V_{α} /y,w/V_{α} , very often the semi-vowel is deleted resulting in the occurrence of a long vowel. This is most frequently found occuring across morpheme boundaries, but at least two examples of its occurrence within morphemes can be found:
/nyawa/ > [ɲa:] 'this'
/jawartirla/ > [ɟa:ʈi|a] 'tomorrow'
It is interesting that both these examples involve the vowel /a/.

Some examples of this phenomenon occuring across morpheme boundaries are:
/nyampa-warla/ > /nyampa-arla/ > [ɲampa:|a] 'what-FOCUS'
/karu-wu/ > /karu-u/ > [kaɹʉ:] 'child-DAT'
/paya-rni-yi/ > /paya-rni-i/ > [pa͡ljaɳi:] 'bite-PST-1sgObj'

2.3.3 Nasal Cluster Dissimilation Deletion

This rule has the effect of eliminating a nasal+stop cluster where it is preceded by another nasal+stop cluster (this cluster does not need to be homorganic). McConvell (1988) discusses two different types of phonological process in Gurindji which have this effect: one converts the nasal element of the right-hand cluster into the corresponding non-nasal stop; and the other eliminates the nasal element of the right-hand cluster altogether. Only the second type of process is found in my corpus of Bilinara.

There are three suffixes in the corpus which are affected by this phonological process. These are the ergative suffix 'ngku' the locative suffix 'ngka' and the allative suffix 'ngkurra' all of which lose the initial nasal when they are suffixed to a word containing a nasal+stop cluster in the preceding syllable (see also the relevant sections of 4.1 for examples).

Strictly speaking the nasal + stop is not in the preceding syllable, but spans the two preceding syllables. For brevity, however, I use the phrase 'in the preceding syllable'.

Compare the following examples; in (2-2) to (2-4) the suffix occurs in its underlying form as there is no nasal + stop cluster within the word; the suffixes in (2-5) to (2-7) show the results of nasal cluster dissimilation deletion:

(2-2)	murla-ngka here-LOC	(2-5)	pampu-ka didgeridoo-LOC
(2-3)	ngurra-ngkurra camp-ALL	(2-6)	pinka-kurra river-ALL
(2-4)	karu-ngku kid-ERG	(2-7)	karnti-ku stick-ERG

Note: as the distinction between the ergative suffixes 'ngku' and 'rlu' is becoming neutralized (see 4.1.2), it is often 'karnti-rlu' that is heard. If however, 'ngku' is used, it still must undergo the phonological change.

It would seem this avoidance of consecutive nasal+stop clusters is deeply ingrained in the system of the Bilinara language. There are no examples of any words in the corpus which contain more than one nasal+stop cluster.

According to McConvell's article, the rule of "nasal cluster dissimilation deletion" in Gurindji affects a significantly larger part of the grammar of the language than just

these three suffixes. The close similarity between Bilinara and Gurindji suggests that this would also be the case in Bilinara.

2.3.4 Combination of Suffixes

There is one example in the corpus of the combination of suffixes altering the phonetic representation of the suffixes. This example concerns the combination of the ergative suffix 'rlu' and the bound pronoun '-yi' '1sgObj'.
It is unusual for bound pronouns to be suffixed to a word inflected for the ergative case (see 5.2.5), however, there are a couple of examples of this combination in the corpus.

When these two suffixes combine in fast speech, they have the phonetic realization of [-ɭji]:

eg. /ngamayi-rlu-yi/ > [ŋamâiɭji] 'mother-ERG-1sgObj'.
As in the sentence:

(2-8) ngamayi-rlyi-Ø jayi-nya ngayi-ny-ju
mother-ERG1sgObj-3sgSub give-PST 1sg-DAT-ERG
wumarra.
money
My mother gave me (some) money.

There are no other examples of this cluster.

3.0 PARTS OF SPEECH

Eight word classes can be recognized for Bilinara.

1. nominals
    - free pronouns
    - nominals proper
        - demonstratives
        - directional nominals
        - time nominals
2. bound pronouns
3. verbs
4. preverbs
5. adverbs
6. clitics
    - unrestricted clitics
    - restricted clitics
7. particles
8. interjections

3.1 NOMINALS

There are six subclasses of nominals.

The major subclass of nominals is the open class of nouns/adjectives. As with many Australian languages, there is little formal distinction between nouns and adjectives. Both are inflected for case, can function as the head of a noun phrase, as a modifier qualifying the head, and can function as the predicate of a verbless clause. The only difference between nouns and adjectives is semantic: nouns typically refer to entities or objects while adjectives typically denote attributes. The inflectional possibilities for nouns and adjectives are discussed in 4.1 and the derivational and 'adnominal' possibilities in 4.4. Nouns and adjectives functioning as the predicate of a verbless clause are discussed in 7.2.

Free pronouns form a closed class. They are referred to as 'free pronouns' to distinguish them from the bound pronoun clitics. Free pronouns are slighlty different in their declension from nouns/adjectives. While nouns/adjectives operate on an ergative-absolutive system, free pronouns have just one unmarked form for all three grammatical functions: A, S and O. Free pronouns distinguish person (1st (inclusive and exclusive), 2nd and 3rd) and number (singular, dual and plural). While, formally, they are considered to be part of the class of nominals, for the rest of this

paper they will be considered separately from other nominals. Thus, the use of 'nominals' in this grammar is to be considered to exclude free pronouns. Free pronouns are discussed in 5.1.

There are two sets of demonstratives: 'yalu/a', 'murlu/a', and 'nyila', 'nyawa'. The former can function as either deictic or locational demonstratives and inflect for case as do nouns/adjectives. The latter set are only used with the meanings 'that' and 'this' respectively and do not inflect for any of the core cases: ergative, dative, absolutive. As with nouns/adjectives, demonstratives can function alone as the head of a NP, or as a modifier. Demonstratives are discussed in 4.2.

Directional nominals (see 4.1.3), which are inherently locative, include (a) the compass directionals 'kayirra' 'north', 'ku(r)larra' 'south', 'karrawarra' 'east' and 'ka(r)larra' 'west'; (b) general directionals 'kanyjurra' 'down' 'kankala' 'up'; (c) other locationals, eg. 'walyak' 'inside'. These nominals are distinguished from other nominals as they do not take the locative case. Thus, they can stand uninflected in a locative NP.

Time nominals (see 4.1.3) are usually found inflected with the locative case. In many of them, the locative suffix appears to have been 'frozen': 'jawarti-rla', 'purinyjirri-rla' 'yesterday, afternoon'. Time nominals are distinguished from other nominals on a semantic basis as they all refer to a period of time. They also tend to have co-occurence restrictions with the tense of the verb in the clause.

Cross-cutting this division of nominals is the subclass of interrogatives. The interrogatives found in the corpus include 'nyampa' 'what', 'wanyji' 'which', 'ngana' 'who', 'nyatjang' 'how much' and 'nyangurla' 'when'. Thus, 'ngana' is considered an interrogative noun, 'nyangurla' an interrogative time nominal etc. Interrogatives are inflected with case suffixes appropriate to their function within the noun phrase. There is also a general question-forming particle 'wayi' which does not inflect for case. Interrogatives are discussed in 4.3.

3.2 BOUND PRONOUNS

Bound pronouns are distinguished from nominals on the basis that they are clitics, generally attaching to the initial constituent of the clause, whereas nominals are all free forms. Bound pronouns cross-reference the person, number and grammatical relation information of core NP arguments, and of most adjuncts marked with the dative case. Only two NPs are ever cross-referenced at

the one time. As the bound pronoun is generally obligatory, the overt NPs are often deleted, leaving the bound pronoun alone to provide the information of person, number and grammatical role. Bound pronouns, unlike nominals, follow a nominative/accusative declension. There are two sets of bound pronouns, one which cross-references subject (A, S) and one which cross-references object, indirect object and dative adjuncts. They are referred to as 'subject' and 'object' or 'adjunct' (according to context) respectively. The morphological and syntactic rules concerning bound pronouns are quite complex; a full and detailed discussion is given in 5.2. Some of the issues involved are: the order of bound pronouns in a sequence (5.2.2), the combination of plural and dual pronouns (5.2.3), bound pronouns in sentences with more than one oblique argument (5.2.8) and the constituents to which bound pronouns are cliticized (5.2.5).

3.3 VERBS

The class of verbs is very small - probably somewhere around 30-40. Verbs are inflected for tense, aspect and mood. Verbs can also be inflected with a 'subordinating' suffix in subordinate clauses which has the effect of partial nominalization, enabling the verb to then take nominal case and derivational suffixes. Verbs can either occur alone, can combine with preverbs to form lexicalized verbal compounds, or can occur in a verb complex modified with either an adverb or a preverb. Verbs can also be inflected with the suffixes '-rni/rn' 'hither' or '-npa' 'across' which indicate the direction of the movement with respect to a deictic centre (usually the speaker). Verbs are discussed in 6.1, and the structure of the verb complex in 6.3.

3.4 PREVERBS

The class of preverbs is distinct phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. Semantically they are like verbs, primarily denoting actions, processes or events. Syntactically they can combine with verbs to form verbal compounds, modify verbs within the verb complex, or they can function as nominals: with noun-like meanings eg. 'jarrakap' 'talk, speech, meeting' or as predicates of verbless clauses. In subordinate clauses, often only the preverb of a verbal compound occurs without the main verb. Preverbs can also take many of the nominal derivational suffixes. Phonologically, the only monosyllabic words in the corpus are preverbs and preverbs are the only words with final consonant clusters. A full discussion of preverbs is given in 6.2.

3.5 ADVERBS

There are few examples of adverbs in the corpus. Adverbs are only found within the verbal complex modifying the verb or the verbal compound. Adverbs do not take any inflections but may host the expectation modifying clitic '-rni/parni' 'ONLY' (see 7.3.1). Adverbs are discussed in 6.3.

3.6 CLITICS

This class includes a range of clitics which generally have semantic or discourse functions. There are two types of clitic, referred to as restricted and unrestricted respectively. Unrestricted clitics can be attached to any part of speech. '-parla/warla' 'FOCUS' (7.3.4) is an example of an unrestricted clitic. Restricted clitics are more common, and are typically restricted in their use such that they attach only to certain parts of speech. Restricted clitics include the expectation modifiers 'rni/rn' 'ONLY' (7.3.1) and '-rningan' 'AGAIN' (7.3.2) and the 'IMMediate' clitic '-karta' (7.3.5).

3.7 PARTICLES

Particles do not decline at all. There are a number of particles found in the corpus, including: those which mark and identify finite subordinate clauses - 'nyamu', 'jumaji', 'pala', 'ngaja' (see 8.1.1-8.1.4); the negation marker 'kula' (7.4); and the expectation modifier 'jupu' 'JUST' (7.3.3) which has sentence scope (as opposed to the clitic '-rni/parni' which typically has NP scope).

3.8 INTERJECTIONS

The interjections found in the corpus are 'yuwayi' 'yes', 'luwara' 'no, nothing' and 'marntaj' 'alright, well, O.K, etc.'. Interjections are distinguished by the fact that they alone can constitute a complete utterance. 'marntaj' can also function as a particle in complex clauses. This is the only example of multiple word class membership.

4.0 NOMINALS

The structure of the nominal word is:

root + (deriv) + (adnom) + (case) + (nominal clitic)

Where: 'deriv' = derivational suffix (see 4.4.2)
'adnom' = adnominal suffix (see 4.4.1)
'case' = case inflection (see 4.1)
The list of possible nominal clitics includes '-k' 'THEN', '-karta' 'IMM', '-rni' 'ONLY' and '-parla/warla' 'FOCUS'.

4.1 FORM AND FUNCTION OF CASES.

Nominals have seven cases. Except for the absolutive and the ablative, they all show allomorphic alternations. The ablative and the allative each have two alternate forms which are in free variation. All case markers are suffixed to the end of the nominal stem, following any derivational suffixes. The forms of the Bilinara case suffixes are given in Table 4.1. A full and more detailed discussion of the forms and functions of these cases follows.

Note that this discussion concerns nominals only. Pronouns will be discussed in 5.0 below.

Table 4.1 Bilinara Case Suffixes.

CASE	FORMS	ALLOMORPHIC RULES
Absolutive	-Ø	
Ergative	-rlu	occurs with vowel-final stem
	-ngku	occurs with vowel-final stem
	-ku	follows vowel-final syllable containing nasal+stop cluster.
	-kurlu	follows /ng/, /k/, /p/.
	-tu	follows /t/, /n/
	-ju	follows /j/, /ny/
Locative	Exactly as for Ergative but allomorphs end in /a/ rather than /u/.	
Dative	-ku	follows consonant-final stems.
	-wu	follows vowel-final stems

Table 4.1 Bilinara Case Suffixes (cont).

Allative		
Variant 1:	-ngkurra	typically follows vowel-final stem
	-kurra	follows vowel-final syllable containing nasal+stop cluster
Variant 2:	-jirri	all environments (preferred after consonants)
	-yirri	follows vowel-final stems
Ablative	-ngulu	all environments
	-nginyi	all environments

4.1.1 Absolutive

The absolutive case marks the subject of an intransitive sentence, and the object of a transitive sentence. It is always realized as -Ø.

(4-1) karu-Ø ya-na-rni-wula.
kid-ABS go-PRES-hither-3duSub
The two children are coming.

(4-2) pa-rra karu-Ø!
hit-IMP kid-ABS
Hit the child!

(4-3) karrap-pa-rna-Ø nya-nga warlaku-Ø
look.at-#-1sgSub-3sgObj see-PRES dog-ABS
I'm looking at the dog.

The absolutive case marker (-Ø) is not included in the glosses in this paper, unless (as above) it is necessary in order to exemplify a point.

4.1.2 Ergative

The ergative case suffix marks the subject of both a transitive and a semi-transitive sentence. The ergative suffix can also be used to mark the instrumental case.

a) Form.

The ergative case has a number of allomorphs most of which occur in very predictable environments. Two allomorphs '-rlu' and '-ngku' exist in free variation with a vowel-final stem, although there is

some evidence that they originally occured in complementary environments: '-rla' after trisyllabic vowel-final stems and '-ngku' after disyllabic vowel-final stems (with no nasal + plus stop cluster) (see below).

'-rlu'

(4-4) warlaku-rlu paya-rni-yi-Ø
dog - ERG bite-PST -1sgObj-3sgSub
The dog bit me.

'-ngku'

(4-5) jiya-rni pupa-ngku jamana
burn-PST fire-ERG foot
The fire burnt (his) foot.

In Djaru, these two suffixes occur in quite distinct environments:
-lu : after a vowel-final trisyllabic (or longer) stem.
-ngku: after a vowel-final disyllabic stem with no nasal + stop cluster.
(Tsunoda 1981:55).

In Bilinara, this distinction seems to be in the process of being neutralized. As is exemplified in the examples given below, it seems that either suffix can be found in either of the above mentioned environments.

jiya-rni pupa-rlu jamana
burn-PST fire-ERG foot
The fire burnt (his) foot.

wajirriki-ngku-ma-Ø-yina kayi pa-rra puliki
helicopter-ERG-#-3sgSub-3plObj chase hit-PRES cattle
The helicopter is chasing the cattle.

'-ku'

This allomorph occurs when the previous syllable (ie. the final syllable of the stem) contains a nasal+stop cluster.

(4-6) karnti-ku-yi-Ø pa-ni
stick-ERG-1sgObj-3sgSub hit-PST
The stick hit me.

Originally this allomorph was a variation of '-ngku', serving to prevent a sequence of nasal+stop clusters in consecutive syllables. However, since the more recent neutralization of the suffixes '-ngku' and '-rlu', '-ku' is rarely used; '-rlu' being used instead.

(4-7) karnti-rlu-yi-Ø pa-ni
stick-ERG-1sgObj-3sgSub hit-PST
The stick hit me.

'-kurlu'
This allomorph occurs with stems ending in /ng/, /k/ or /p/.

(4-8) nyila-ma-nga ma-nku kurrirrij-jawung-kurlu yartu
that-#-DUB do-FUT car-PROP-ERG white.paint
He might get the white paint with (in) the car.

'-tu'
This allomorph follows the consonants /n/ and /t/.

(4-9) nyila-ma-rna-Ø warlaku-ma pa-ni
that-#-1sgSub-3sgObj dog-# hit-PST
wartan-tu-rni-warla
hand-ERG-ONLY-FOCUS
I hit the dog with my own hand.

(4-10) karrap-pa-ngku-Ø nya-nga ngumpit-tu
look.at-#-2sgObj-3sgSub see-PRES man-ERG
A man is watching you.

'-ju'
This allomorph follows /ny/ and /j/.

(4-11) ngayi-ny-ju ngapa-rlu jamut pa-ni
1sg-DAT-ERG brother-ERG turkey hit-PST
My (older) brother killed a turkey.

These two allomorphs could be collapsed into one: '-Du', where D is a homorganic stop agreeing with the preceding consonant.

b) Function.
The examples given above all show the use of the ergative case to mark the subject of a transitive sentence. The ergative is also used to mark the subject of semi-transitive sentences (ie. sentences with an ergative subject and an indirect object marked with the dative case).

(4-12) liwart-pa-ngku-lu karr-a nyunu-ny kajirri-rlu
wait-#-2sgObj-3plSub be-PRES 2sg-DAT woman-ERG
The women are waiting for you.

The ergative suffix may also be used to mark instrumental case:

(4-12) yalu-rlu-yi-Ø ngumpit-tu pa-ni karnti-rlu
that-ERG-1sgObj-3sgSub man-ERG hit-PST stick-ERG
That man hit me with a stick.

(4-13) nyawa-ma-n-Ø paya-la nyuntu-rlu kangarnta-rlu
this-#-2sgSub-3sgObj bite-PRES 2sg-ERG mouth-ERG
You're biting it with your mouth.

The use of the ergative suffix is not the only possible way to mark an instrument. For a discussion of other ways to indicate the role of instrument, see the discussion of the proprietive suffix in 4.4.1.1.

4.1.3 Locative

The locative case typically indicates 'place'. It is also used, however, in time expressions and to express the means by which some action is performed.

a) Form.

The locative case has the same allomorphic variation as does the ergative case, except that the locative forms end in /a/ rather than in /u/:

'-rla'
(4-14) nyawa-ma-rnalu ya-ni-rni tiyu-ngarna-rla
this-#-1plexclSub go-PST-hither fly-ASSOC-LOC
jangkarni-rla
big-LOC
We came in a big plane.

'-ngka'
(4-15) nyila-ma-lu karr-a yarr(i)ji-ngka
that-#-3plSub be-PRES cards -LOC
They are playing cards.

These two suffixes follow a vowel-final stem where the preceding syllable does not contain a nasal+stop cluster. As with the corresponding ergative suffixes, the distinction between these two allomorphs appears to have been neutralized so that they are now in free variation.

'-ka'
This allomorph is used after vowels when the final syllable of the stem contains a nasal+stop cluster.

(4-16) yuwa-rra janyja-ka!
put-IMP ground-LOC
Put it on the ground!

'-Da'
This symbol refers to the two allomorphs '-ta' and '-ja' which occur with stems ending in the consonants /t/, /n/ and /j/, /ny/ respectively.

(4-17) karr-a-rli wurlngan-ta
sit -PRES-1duincSub sun -LOC
We are sitting in the sun.

(4-18) yala-ngka ya-ni-rni kurrirrij-ja
that-LOC go-PST-hither car -LOC
He came in that car.

'-kurla'
'-kurla' is the allomorph which is used with stems ending with the consonants /k/, /p/ or /ng/.

(4-19) yuwa-rru-rna-yina kartak-kurla
put-FUT-1sgSub-3plObj billy-LOC
I'll put them in the billy.

b) Function.

The usual function of the locative case is to indicate 'place' or 'location', ie. relationships often expressed in English by the use of one of the prepositions 'at, in, on,' etc. The examples given above demonstrate its use in this function. The locative case may also be found in other functions:

i) to express the means by which an action is performed.

(4-20) yala-ngka ya-ni-rni kurrirrij-ja
that-LOC go-PST-hither car -LOC
He came in that car.

ii) with preverbs in reduced subordinate clauses. The function of the locative in this case is to indicate that the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as that of the main clause.

(4-21) nyawa-ma-rnalu karr-a yurrk-kurla
this-#-1plexcSub sit-PRES yarn-LOC
We're sitting (here) chatting.

iii) in time expressions (here the use of the locative case is similar to the use of 'on' in English time expressions such as 'on Saturday').

(4-22) nyawa-ma-rna ya-nku Saturday-rla
this-#-1sgSub go-FUT Saturday-LOC
I will go on Saturday.

In some time words the locative suffix has been frozen:

jawarti-rla: tomorrow
p(u)rinyjirri-rla: afternoon, yesterday.

Certain directionals and location words that are intrinsically locative occur in the locative NP without the locative case inflection:

(4-23) nyila-ma-lu karr-a langkarna-ngka ka(r)larra
that-#-3plSub be-PRES billabong-LOC west
They are west, at the billabong.

(4-24) ka-ngka-rn walyak karu-ma
take-IMP-hither inside kid-#
Bring the kid inside.

There is one example in Text 1 of the locative case combining with a free pronoun. What is interesting about this example is that the locative suffix is not attached directly onto the pronominal root, but rather, the dative suffix occurs between the root and the locative suffix:

Text (1-32) yipu ngantipa-ny-ja-k wa-ngku
rain 1plexc-DAT-LOC-THEN fall-FUT
The rain will fall on us.

4.1.4 Dative

The dative case is used in a variety of functions. It marks indirect object, genitive, beneficiary, purpose and animate location. It is also used in time expressions to indicate anticipated time.

a) Form
The dative case has two allomorphs:

'-ku' following a consonant
'-wu' following a vowel

Examples of these allomorphs will be given in the discussion below.

b) Function.

i) Indirect object.
The dative case is used to mark the indirect object of ditransitive verbs, intransitive verbs and semi-transitive verbs:

(4-25) nyawa-ma-ja-ngku jayi-nga pilinarra jarrakap
this-#-1duexcSub-2sgObj give-PRES Bilinara talk
nyunu-ny
2sg-DAT
(Informant's translation:) "Midupela give you this Bilinara language."

(4-26) ma-nyja-rla Nina-wu.
say-IMP-3sgDAT Nina-DAT
Tell Nina!

(4-27) liwart-pa-ngku-lu karr-a nyunu-ny kajirri-rlu
wait-#-2sgObj-3plSub be-PRES 2sg-DAT woman-ERG
The women are waiting for you.

ii) Genitive.
In these examples, the dative has an adnominal function (see 4.4.1).

(4-28) ngayi-ny-ku kawulu-wu kurturtu
1sg-DAT-DAT sister-DAT child
My sister's child.

iii). Beneficiary.

(4-29) ka-ngka-rla Roy-wu
take-IMP-3sgDAT Roy-DAT
Take it for Roy!

iv) (towards an) Animate Location.
The allative case is not found occuring with animate NPs, rather, these NPs are marked with the dative case.

(4-30) ya-nku-rnalu-rla kajirri-wu (ngarina-wu)
go-FUT-1plexcSub-3sgDAT woman-DAT (beef-DAT)
We will go to the woman (for beef).

(4-31) ya-nta-rla ngamayi-wu!
go-IMP-3sgDAT mother-DAT
Go to mother!

v) Purpose
In this function, the dative can occur with nominals and preverbs to mark purpose or intended action. This function differs from the other dative functions discussed above in that it is never cross-referenced with a bound pronoun.

(4-32) ya-na-rna shop-jirri tarnku-wu
go-PRES-1sgSub shop-ALL stores-DAT
I'm going to the shop for/to get stores.

(4-33) nyila-ma ya-ni pinka-kurra tarukap-ku
that-# go-PST river-ALL swim-DAT
He went to the river to swim.

vi) anticipated time.

(4-34) ya-nku-rni-lu kujarra-wu murla-ngkurra
go-FUT-hither-3plSub two-DAT here-ALL
They're coming here for two (nights).

4.1.5 Allative

The allative case is typically used to indicate direction towards an inanimate object or destination. It is also used with preverbs as a type of switch-reference marker in reduced subordinate clauses.

a) Form.

There are two alternative allative suffixes, each of which has two phonologically conditioned allomorphs:

Variant 1	Variant 2
-ngkurra	-jirri
-kurra	-yirri

'-ngkurra/kurra'

'-kurra' is used when the noun stem to which it is suffixed contains a nasal-plus-stop cluster in the previous syllable (this cluster does not have to be homorganic). Thus, it corresponds with the locative '-ka' and the ergative '-ku'.

(4-35) nyawa-ma-rna ya-na pinka-kurra
this-#-1sgSub go-PRES river-ALL
I'm going to the river.

'-ngkurra' may be used in all other environments.

(4-36) nyawa-ma-yi-Ø wani-nya mila-ngkurra
this-#-1sgObj-3sgSub fall-PST eye- ALL
It got in my eye (lit: It fell into my eye).

'-jirri/yirri'.

'-jirri', when it is used, always follows a consonant.

(4-37) ya-nku-rnalu Yarralin-jirri
go-FUT-1plexcSub Yarralin-ALL
We will go to Yarralin.

and '-yirri' always occurs after a vowel.

(4-38) nyila-ma-lu ya-ni Takuraku-yirri
that-#-3plSub go-PST Daguragu - ALL
They went to Daguragu.

The two alternatives seem to exist in free variation, with little or no difference in meaning. Thus, the following sentence was given as an alternative to (4-38):

(4-39) nyila-ma-lu ya-ni Takuraku-ngkurra.
that-#-3plSub go-PST Daguragu - ALL
They went to Daguragu.

'-ngkurra' is most commonly used but '-jirri' seems to be preferred after consonants. '-kurra' is always used when the final syllable of the stem contains a nasal+stop cluster.

The fact that there is no meaning difference between the two alternatives is exemplified by the fact that both can be used within the one noun phrase:

(4-40) nyawa-ma-rna ya-na ngayi-ny-jirri ngurra-ngkurra
this-#-1sgSub go-PRES 1sg-DAT-ALL camp-ALL
I'm going to my camp.

b) Function.

As the above examples demonstrate, the usual function of the allative is to indicate direction towards or destination. However, '-jirri' also functions in reduced subordinate clauses to indicate that the subject of the subordinate clause is co-referential with the object of the main clause. Thus, in this function it contrasts with the use of the locative discussed above.

(4-41) karrap-pa-la-ngu-lu nya-nya kirri-walija
watch-#-1plincSub-#-plSub see-PST women-PLURAL
warrkap-jirri
dance-ALL
We watched the women dancing.

'-ngkurra' was never heard in this function.

4.1.6 Ablative

The ablative case is typically used to mark direction from a place or location. It is also used with both nominals and preverbs to indicate a previous state.

a) Form.
There are two alternative ablative suffixes, '-ngulu' and '-nginyi', which seem to be in free variation.

'-ngulu'

(4-42) ya-nku-rni-wula kujarra kurrirrij Yarralin-ngulu
go-FUT-hither-3duSub two car Yarralin-ABL
Two cars are coming from Yarralin.

'-nginyi'

(4-43) kirri-walija ya-na-rni-lu Takuraku-nginyi
woman-PLURAL go-PRES-hither-3plSub Daguragu-ABL
Nijpurru-ngkurra
Pidgeon Hole-ALL
The women are coming from Daguragu to Pidgeon Hole.

b) Function.

i) As demonstrated in the examples above, the ablative is used to express direction from a place. It can also indicate direction from an object.

(4-44) nyila-ma kup ma-nku wumarra jarrakap-kaji-ngulu
that-# take.out do-FUT money talk-NMZR-ABL
He will take the money from (out of) the phone.

ii) The ablative is also used to indicate a previous state, an event which has already occurred or an event which will have occurred at the time of the main event. In this function it occurs both with nominals and preverbs:

(4-45) nyila karu punyu-k, janga-nginyi
that child good-THEN sick-ABL
That child is better now, (it) was sick.

(4-46) purrp-nginyi jarrakap-nginyi ya-nku-rni-rna lurrpu
finish-ABL talk-ABL go-FUT-hither-1sgSub return
After the meeting's finished I will come back.

(4-47) ngayi-ny-ma karu-ma tarukap-nginyi
1sg-DAT-# child-# shower-ABL
My kid's had a shower.

4.2 DEMONSTRATIVES

There are four demonstratives in Bilinara: 'murla/u' 'this, here'; 'yala/u' 'that, there' and 'nyawa" 'this'; 'nyila' 'that'.

4.2.1 'yala/u' and 'murla/u':

'murla/u' and 'yala/u' have two forms, one ending with /a/ and one with /u/. Which form occurs is determined by whether the referent is a place (murla, yala) or an object/person (murlu, yalu):

(4-48) yala-ngka karr-a partaj-ja
there-LOC sit-IMP chair-LOC
Sit on that chair!

(4-49) nyila-ma-lu ya-na-rni Takuraku-ngulu
that-#-3plSub go-PRES-hither Daguragu-ABL
murla-ngkurra
here-ALL
They are coming here from Daguragu.

(4-50) yalu-rlu-yi-Ø ngumpit-tu pa-ni karnti-rlu
that-ERG-1sgObj-3sgSub man-ERG hit-PST stick-ERG
That man hit me with a stick.

There are no unelicited examples of 'murlu', ie. when the demonstrative is used to refer to an object or a person, meaning 'this'. When such a meaning is needed, it is always 'nyawa' that is used. I know that the form exists, however, because I asked an informant if 'murlu' was a word and I was told that it meant 'this' like 'nyawa'.

'yala/u' and 'murla/u' inflect like nominals, taking the same case as any other nominals in the noun phrase that they modify (see also examples above):

(4-51) ma-nyja-yina-ngu-lu yalu-wu ngumpit-ku
say-IMP-3plObj-#-plSub that-DAT man-DAT
Tell those men!

4.2.2 'nyila' and 'nyawa'

Due to the phonological process by which a sequence /awa/ is often shortened to [aa] (see 2.3.2), 'nyawa' is frequently heard as 'nyaa'. It is always written, however, as 'nyawa'. 'Nyila' and 'nyawa' do not decline for either the ergative or the dative case:

(4-52) nyila warlaku-rlu paya-rni-yi-Ø
that dog-ERG bite-PST-1sgObj-3sgSub
That dog bit me.

(4-53) nyawa-ma karu-wu-ma punyu-k-pa-rna-rla
this-# kid-DAT-# good-THEN-#-1sgSub-3sgDAT
ma-rni
say-PST
I spoke nicely to this kid.

Djaru also has these two demonstratives and they too do not decline. However, Tsunoda states that they are only used to mark intransitive subject and transitive object (1981:62).

In the locative and allative cases, 'nyila' and 'nyawa' decline as normal:

(4-54) karr-a-rnalu nyawa-ngka makurru-rla
sit-PRES-1plexSub this-LOC school-LOC
We are sitting in this school.

(4-55) ya-na-rna nyila-ngkurra
go-PRES-1sgSub that-ALL
I'm going to that one.

There are no examples of either demonstrative in the ablative case.

As the subject and object bound pronoun forms for 3rd person singular (3sg) are phonologically zero, sometimes 'nyila' and 'nyawa' are used to indicate the existence of the 3sg argument:

(4-56) nyila ngarrap
that hot
He's hot.

(4-57) punyu-warla nyawa?
good-FOCUS this
Is he well?

There is one example in the corpus of 'nyawa' being used to mean 'here':

(4-58) ngaliwa-ma karr-u-la murrkun-ma nyawa-ngka-rni
1plinc-# sit-FUT-1plincSub three-# here-LOC-ONLY
We three will sit right here.

McConvell et al, in a paper given at the AALA/ALS conference in Sydney 1990, gave a similar example for Gurindji as being a feature of 'Gurindji Children's Language'. Traditional Gurindji, they claim, would have used 'murla-ngka' instead. Perhaps similar processes are under way in Bilinara.

As well as its usual meaning of 'this', it appears that 'nyawa' also has the discourse function of indicating 'that which has just been mentioned':

(4-59)
A: wanyji-ka-n-Ø pa-ni nyila kirrawa?
which-LOC-2sgSub-3sgObj hit-PST that goanna
Where did you kill that goanna?

B: ku(r)larra, pinka-ka
south river-LOC
South, at the river.
A: wanyji-ka-n-Ø kampa-rni nyawa-ma?
where-LOC-2sgSub-3sgObj cook-PST this-#
Where did you cook it?

'nyawa' in the final line seems to be being used to indicate that the object of the verb 'cook' is co-referential with the topic of the previous discourse; it does not seem to be being used as a demonstrative.

4.3 INTERROGATIVES

There are five major interrogative words found in the corpus: 'wanyji' 'which', 'nyampa' 'what', 'ngana' 'who', 'nyangurla' 'when' and 'nyatjang' 'how much/how many'. Some of these can be suffixed with case inflections to express the notions 'why', 'where', 'whose' etc. There is also a general question marker 'wayi', glossed 'Q.' The use of the 'parla/warla' clitic (7.3.4) is very common with the interrogative words. When the interrogative is inflected with a case suffix, the 'parla/warla' clitic occurs after the case inflection.

McConvell (1980:77) argues that the reason for the frequent occurrence of interrogative words with the 'parla/warla' clitic is that one of the functions of the parla/warla clitic is to mark something which is new in information content (ie. non-topical, focus). As interrogatives are essentially non-topical or non-presupposed by nature, the parla/warla clitic is often affixed to them.

I am not sure how important or obligatory the 'parla/warla' clitic is when found with an interrogative word. For a few examples, I was given two alternatives, with and without the clitic. However, it is possible that there are context specific situations in which the clitic either must or must not be used.

4.3.1 'nyampa' 'what'

'nyampa' declines regularly as for nominals.
absolutive:

(4-60) nyampa-(warla)-yi-n ma-la-rni?
what-(FOCUS)-1sgObj-2sgSub say-PRES-hither
What did you 'singout' to me?

(4-61) nyampa nyila?
what that
What's that?

(4-62) nyampa-warla-ngku-Ø paya-rni warlaku-rlu?
what-FOCUS-2sgObj-3sgSub bite-PST dog - ERG
Where did the dog bit you? (Lit. What of you did the dog bite?).

('nyampa' is found with this meaning of 'where' only with body parts).

dative:
When 'nyampa' is inflected with the dative suffix /wu/ it has the meaning of 'why, with what purpose'.

(4-63) nyampa-wu-n yayip karr-a?
what-DAT-2sgSub laugh be-PRES
Why are you laughing?

(4-64) murla-ngka nyampa-wu-warla-n karr-a?
here-LOC what-DAT-FOCUS-2sgSub sit-PRES
Why are you sitting here?

(4-65) nyampa-wu-warla?
what-DAT-FOCUS
What for?/For what purpose?

ablative:
When 'nyampa' is inflected with the ablative case, its meaning is of 'why, as a result of what'.

(4-66) nyampa-nginyi-warla-n?
what-ABL-FOCUS-2sgSub
What's the matter with you?

(4-67) nyampa-ngulu-n-jina pa-ni?
what-ABL-2sgSub-3plObj hit-PST
Why did you hit them?

Thus, Bilinara (like most Australian languages) has two different ways of expressing the English 'why': 'why, with what purpose' is opposed to 'why, as a result of what'. The former meaning is expressed by affixing 'nyampa' with the dative 'wu', and the latter by suffixing it with one of the ablative suffixes 'ngulu' or 'nginyi'.

4.3.2 'ngana' 'who'

'ngana' also declines regularly, except that it has a stem alternation in the ergative and dative cases.

(4-68) ngana?
who
Who's that?

(4-69) ngana-n kurru nya-nya?
who-2sgSub hear see-PST
Who did you hear?

When 'ngana' combines with the ergative case, its stem changes to 'ngantu':

(4-70) ngantu-rlu-nga pa-ni?
who-ERG-DUB hit-PST
Who hit him?/Maybe someone hit him.
This example also shows the use of 'ngana' with an indefinite meaning: 'someone'.

dative:
'ngana' combines with the dative to mean 'whose'. In this combination, the stem is the same as that for the ergative case: 'ngantu'.

(4-71) nyantu-wu-warla nyila?
who-DAT-FOCUS that
Whose is that?

While 'ngana' usually has animate referents, it can be used with 'nameable' inanimate referents:

(4-72) ngana-warla nyawa murnu?
'who'-FOCUS this country
What is the name of this country? (lit. Who is this country?)

Compare this with:
(4-73) ngantu-wu nyawa murnu?
who-DAT this country
Whose is this country?

4.3.3 'wanyji' - which

'wanyji' is typically found inflected with one of the local cases to express 'where', 'where at' or 'where from'. However, there are some examples of its functioning with its basic meaning 'which'.

(4-74) wanyji-warla nyila?
which-FOCUS that
Which one's that?

locative:

(4-75) wanyji-ka-(warla)-n-Ø pa-ni nyila kirrawa?
which-LOC-FOCUS-2sgSub-3sgObj hit-PST that goanna
Where did you kill that goanna?

(4-76) wanyji-ka-n karr-a?
which-LOC-2sgSub be-PRES
Where are you?

allative:

(4-77) wanyji-kurra ka-ngku?
which-ALL take-FUT
Where is he going to take him?

(4-78) wanyji-kurra-nta ya-na?
which-ALL-2plSub go-PRES
Where are you (pl) going?

ablative:

(4-79) wanyji-ngulu-lu nyila ngumpit?
which-ABL-3plSub that man
Where are those men from?

(4-80) wanyji-nginyi-n?
which-ABL-2sgSub
Where are you from?

It is interesting that often, when 'wanyji' is combined with the verb 'ya-n' 'to go', it is the locative case which is used rather than the allative:

(4-81) wanyji-ka-n ya-nku?
which-LOC-2sgSub go-FUT
Where are you going?

It is also correct to use the allative case here (see (4-78) above), but is not usual. In all other situations, 'ya-n' 'to go' subcategorizes for the allative case (see 4-82).

(4-82) ya-na-rna ngayi-ny-jirri ngurra-ngkurra
go-PRES-1sgSub 1sg-DAT-ALL camp-ALL
I'm going to my camp.

4.3.4 'nyangurla' 'when'

Only one form of this word is present in the corpus, although there are possibly other forms which exist in the language.

(4-83) nyangurla-npula ya-ni-rni?
when-2duSub go-PST-hither
When did you two come?

(4-84) nyangurla(-warla)-n ya-nku lurrpu nyunu-ny-jirri
when-(FOCUS)-2sgSub go-FUT back 2sg-DAT-ALL
murnu-yirri?
country-ALL
When are you going back to your country?

It is possible that the '-rla' in this interrogative word is the same 'frozen' locative form found on the end of most time words such as 'jawartirla' 'tomorrow' and 'p(u)rinyjirrirla' 'afternoon, yesterday'.

4.3.5 'nyatjang' 'how much, how many'

There is only one example of this interrogative in the corpus:

(4-85) nyatjang-ku-p-pa-n karr-u murla-ngka?
how.many-DAT-?-#-2sgSub be-FUT here-LOC
For how many (nights) will you be here?

4.3.6 'wayi' 'Q(uestion)'

'wayi' has a general question-forming function. It is not very common and there are very few examples of it in the corpus:

(4-86) wayi-warla-n karrwa-la jakarr-kaji?
Q-FOCUS-2sgSub have-PRES cover-NMZR
Do you have a blanket?

McConvell also reports this suffix for Gurindji and refers to it as an 'interrogative particle'. (1980:74)

4.4 OTHER NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

4.4.1 Adnominal Suffixes.

Dench and Evans (1988) discuss the notion of 'adnominal' case-marking in Australian languages. The adnominal function of case-marking is defined as relating one NP to another (p.7). The two adnominal case suffixes in Bilinara are the proprietive '-jawung/yawung' (4.4.1.1) and the privative '-mulung' (4.4.1.2). The dative case also has an adnominal function in possessive phrases, both with nominals (see 4.1.4) and free pronouns (see 5.1.1).

Adnominal suffixes, like other case suffixes, must be marked on all members of the NP, in this respect (and others) they are different from derivational suffixes discussed in 4.4.2.

4.4.1.1 '-jawung/yawung'. 'PROPrietive'

The major function of this suffix is to denote the notion of 'having' (of a noun). This meaning is extended to include comitative and instrumental meanings.

a) Form.
The proprietive suffix has two allomorphs:

'-jawung' occurs after consonants (see (4-92)).
'-yawung' occurs after vowels. (see (4-90), (4-91)).

b). Function.

i) attaches to nouns to give the meaning of 'having':

(4-87) marluka pulka-yawung
old.man grey.hair-PROP
The old man has grey hair.

(4-88) kawayi lurrpu nyunu-ny-jawung rarraj-kaji-yawung
come.here back 2sg-DAT-PROP run-NMZR-PROP
Come back here with your car/When you come back, bring your car.

ii) comitative

(4-89) ya-nku-rli tarnku-wu jimarri-yawung
go-FUT-1duincSub stores-DAT friend-PROP
nyunu-ny-jawung
2sg-DAT-PROP
We two go for stores with your friend.

(4-90) Mildred karu-yawung
Mildred kid-PROP
Mildred is with the children.
(Note: a construction 'Mildred has children' would have to include the verb 'karrwa-Ø' 'to have').

iii) Instrument.
There are three different ways in which an instrument can be marked: with the ergative suffix (see 4.1.2 above), with the proprietive suffix alone and with both the ergative and the proprietive suffixes. Of these, instruments marked only with the proprietive suffix are undoubtedly the most common. There does not seem to be any difference in meaning among the three alternatives. Examples of both types involving the proprietive suffix are given below.

'proprietive suffix alone:'

(4-91) ngayi-ma-rna-Ø pa-ni tampang pamarri-yawung
1sg-#-1sgSub-3sgObj hit-PST dead stone-PROP
kirrawa
goanna
I killed the goanna with a stone.

(4-92) ma-nyja-rla jaru-yawung pilinarra-yawung
say-IMP-3sgDAT language-PROP Bilinara-PROP
Speak to her in Bilinara!

'proprietive and ergative suffixes':

(4-93) timana-yawung-kurlu-rna-Ø kayi-kayi pa-rra
horse-PROP-ERG-1sgSub-3sgObj chase-RDP hit-PRES
puliki
cow
I'm chasing the cow on a horse.

McConvell (1980:38) discusses two alternative ways of marking the instrument in Bilinara: with the ergative or with the ergative and proprietive suffixes together. The same two alternatives exist in Gurindji, Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:57-58) and Walmatjari (Hudson 1978:20). In Mudbura, however, an instrument may be marked by either the ergative case or a distinct INSTRUMENTAL case which is cognate with the proprietive suffix in Bilinara and Gurindji (McConvell (1980:38) and personal communication). It seems that Bilinara, fairly recently, has adopted the Mudbura system generalizing the use of the proprietive suffix so that it is used to mark instruments alone.

4.4.1.2 '-mulung' 'WITHOUT'.

'mulung' is typically used to negate the presence of a noun. A NP inflected with this suffix is often found functioning as the predicate of a clause.

(4-94) nyawa-ma-rna walayarra-mulung
this-#-1sgSub tobacco-WITHOUT
I've got no tobacco. (Lit: 'I'm 'tobacco-less')

However, 'mulung' can also be combined with preverbs to indicate that the action has not, does not or should not occur:

(4-95) kuturrp-mulung!
rattle-WITHOUT
Don't rattle it/Stop rattling it!

(4-96) nyila-ma-lu karu-walija taruk-mulung
that-#-3plSub kid- PLURAL shower-WITHOUT
Those kids haven't had a shower.

4.4.2 Derivational Suffixes

All of these suffixes derive a nominal. There are no examples in the corpus of a suffix which derives a verb from a nominal.

4.4.2.1 '-walija' 'PLURAL'.

This suffix is attached to a nominal to mean 'big group of X' or 'all of X'. It is most often used with a definite meaning (ie. 'that' group vs. 'a' group).

(4-97) ngaliwa-ma-la ya-nku kirri-walija kanyjurra
1plinc-#-1plincSub go-FUT woman-PLURAL down
pinka-kurra
river-ALL
We are going, all the women, down to the river.

(4-98) jala-ma-lu ya-ni nanaku-walija wuyurrunkarra
today-#-3plSub go-PST nanaku-PLURAL fishing
Today the 'nanakus (skin name)' have gone fishing.

There does not seem to be a dual suffix, although the free form numeral 'kujarra' 'two' is frequently used in a similar function.

4.4.2.2 '-kari' 'OTHER'

This suffix is affixed to a noun with the meaning of 'another':

(4-99) ya-na-lu-rla karu-walija marru-kari-nginyi
go-PRES-3plSub-3sgDAT kid-PLURAL station-OTHER-ABL
All the kids go to him from other stations.

(4-100)kampa-wu-rna-rla kirri-kari-wu tarnku
cook-FUT-1sgSub-3sgDAT woman-OTHER-DAT tucker
I will cook dinner for another woman.

4.4.2.3 'ngarna' 'ASSOCiating'.

This suffix is used to indicate a particular relationship which a noun has with another noun and/or an activity. It is suffixed to either nouns or preverbs. Some examples are:

with preverbs:
(4-101) wulyuk-ngarna kangirrin
wash-ASSOC day
'washing day'

(4-102) tiyu-ngarna
fly-ASSOC
'aeroplane'

with nouns:
(4-103) wurlngan-ngarna
sun-ASSOC
'wrist watch'

(4-104) jaju-ngarna
MM-ASSOC
'Granny's girl' (said of a little girl who adores her grandmother.)

(4-105) jaru-ngarna kajirri
language-ASSOC woman
'language woman' (title given to the writer).

with place names:
(4-106) Takuraku-ngarna kurrirrij
Daguragu-ASSOC car
'the Daguragu car'

4.4.2.4 '-marraj' 'SAME'

This suffix is usually found with free pronouns but can occur with other nominals as well:

(4-107) ngayi-marraj wukarra karr-a karu
1sg-SAME fear be-PRES kid
Like me, the child's frightened.

(4-108) nyawa-ma-rna pulka-yawung nyuntu-marraj
this-#-1sgSub grey.hair-PROP 2sg-SAME
I've got grey hair, like you.

(4-109) jarrwangurrung-ma-lu kuya-marraj rurl karri-nya
'big group'-#-3plSub thus-SAME sit.down sit-PST
A big group (of people) sat down like this.

4.5 '-MA'.

'-ma' (glossed #), which occurs very frequently, has an important but elusive function in Bilinara discourse. It is (optionally) suffixed to NPs and can either occur only one member of the NP, or on all members. It follows all case and derivational suffixes but precedes the bound pronoun complex. The exact function of '-ma' is very difficult to determine. McConvell (1980) refers to it as a topic marker and, in many cases this does seem to be the case:

(4-110) kula-rna ya-nku yala-ngkurra-ma ngurra-ngkurra-ma
NEG-1sgSub go-FUT that-ALL-# camp-ALL-#
I can't go to that camp.

(4-111) [Qu. How many men are coming?]:
jarrwa-lu ya-na-rni ngumpit-ma
many-3plSub go-PRES-hither man-#
A big group of men are coming.

(4-112) [Qu. Who did you get stores for?]:
ma-ni-rna-rla mangarri-ma ngayi-ny-ku
do-PST-1sgSub-3sgDAT bread-# 1sg-DAT-DAT
ngamayi-wu
mother-DAT
I got stores for my mother.

(4-113) nyila-ma warlaku-rlu kayi pa-rra kurrirrij
that-# dog-ERG chase hit-PRES car
That dog [which we were just discussing] is chasing a car.

However, it is also possible for '-ma' to occur in more than one NP within the one clause, a situation not usually found with topic markers.

(4-114) kula-Ø-ngala jayi-ngku kajirri-rlu-ma
NEG-3sgSub-1plexcObj give-FUT woman-ERG-#
tarnku-ma jawartirla-ma
stores-# tomorrow-#
The woman isn't giving us stores tomorrow.

(4-115) nyawa-ma-rna-nyunu pa-ni ngalaka-rla-ma ngayi-rni
this-#-1sgSub-REFL hit-PST head-LOC-# 1sg-ONLY
wartan-jawung-ma
hand-PROP-#
I hit myself on the head with my own hand.

Free pronouns which occur as the initial constituent of a clause are often suffixed with '-ma' before the bound pronoun complex is attached to them.

(4-116) ngali-ma-rli nunykuwarra
1duinc-#-1duincSub hungry
You and I are hungry.

(4-117) ngayi-ma-rna ya-nku lurrpu
1sg-#-1sgSub go-FUT return
I'm going back.

(4-118) nyarrulu-ma-lu-nga ya-nku-rni
3pl-#-3plSub-DUB go-FUT-hither
They might come.

'-ma' is always suffixed to the demonstratives 'nyila' and 'nyawa' when they function as the base for bound pronouns (see 5.2.5):

(4-119) nyawa-ma-rna-Ø kampa-la jipit mangarri tara-ngka
this-#-1sgSub-3sgObj cook-PRES roast bread coals-LOC
I'm roasting bread in the coals.

(4-120) nyila-ma-yi-wula karrap nya-nga-rni kujarra-rlu
that-#-1sgObj-3duSub look.at see-PRES-hither two-ERG
They two are looking this way at me.

(4-121) nyila-ma-lu-rla yayip karr-a
that-#-3plSub-3sgDAT laugh be-PRES
They are laughing at him.

It seems that the discourse functions which '-ma' serves are varied and complicated. It is not possible to come to any conclusions about the nature of '-ma' based on my corpus, and I therefore leave it as an open question in need of further research.

4.6 NP STRUCTURE

In analyzing the structure of the NP in Bilinara it is necessary, or at least helpful, to analyze two different types of noun phrases. These will be referred to as 'virtual' NPs (a term borrowed from Hale 1983) and 'surface' NPs respectively. Thus, while surface NPs represent the basic NP constituent structure, often a single argument slot of a verb will be filled by a construction consisting of more than one surface NP. It is the virtual'NP, therefore, which is considered to fill the argument slot of the verb. In this grammar I do not confront the issue of whether virtual NPs are syntactic entities at deep structure level (as proposed by Hale (1983)), or are purely semantic entities (basically the referring expressions formed by unifying all the information which fills the argument slot of the verb).

Virtual NPs and their structure will be discussed in detail below. I will begin, however, by discussing the structure and composition of the surface NPs.

A surface noun phrase in Bilinara may consist of any of the following types of constituents:

(a) a head nominal:
It is quite normal for a noun phrase to only have one member:

(4-122) timana-rlu yuka jawartkarra nga-la
horse-ERG grass eat eat-PRES
A horse is eating grass.

(b) a free pronoun.
A personal free pronoun can only occur as the sole constituent of the NP (this is excluding possessive pronouns in genitive phrases - see (h) below).

(4-123) nyila-ma-yi-Ø kampa-la tarnku ngayi-ny
that-#-1sgAdj-3sgSub cook-PRES tucker 1sg-DAT
He's cooking dinner for me.

(4-124) ngali ya-nku-rli yarti-ngkurra
1duincl go-FUT-1duincSub shade-ALL
Let's (you and me) go to the shade.

(c) one or more nominals modifying the head nominal:
These nominals normally correspond in their semantics to what would be called adjectives in English (see 3.1 for a discussion of these elements in Bilinara). They nearly always agree in case marking with the head nominal which they modify (see below for exceptions).

It is also possible for these nominals to function as the head of the NP (the addition of a 'dummy' noun is not necessary as is the case in English ie. 'the black one'). In such contexts, however, the nominal which they modify is usually understood from context:

(4-125) nyila-ma-rna-nyjurra ya-nku-rni jiwirri-wu
that-#-1sgSub-2plAdj go-FUT-hither cooked-DAT
I'll come to you for a cooked one.

Such heads are found in the corpus being modified with constituents such as demonstratives and numerals:

(4-126) nyila-ma-wula kujarra ngumpung
that-#-3duSub two black
There are two black ones.

(4-127) nyila-ma kuliyan ya-na-rni
that-# 'cheeky' go-PRES-hither
That cheeky one is coming.

(d) demonstrative
As with (c), a demonstrative can either modify the nominal head (as a deictic determiner, or as a 'quasi' definite article), or function as the head of the NP itself (in which case it functions as a demonstrative pronoun). In its former function it usually precedes the head nominal and must agree with it in case. An example of a demonstrative functioning as the head of the NP is:

(4-128) nyawa ka-ngka-rla Roy-wu!
this take-IMP-3sgDAT Roy-DAT
Take this one to Roy!

'Dummy' demonstratives are also found functioning as a base for the bound pronoun complex in particular context-specific situations (see 5.2.5). Such uses of these demonstratives are not considered

part of a NP and are, therefore, not included in this discussion.

(e) a numeral.
A numeral may either precede or follow the nominal which it modifies but must agree with it in case. In situations where the referent(s) are clear from context, a numeral may function as the head of the NP:

(4-128) murrkun-pa-yi-lu ma-rni jarrakap
three-#-1sgObj-3plSub say-PST talk
They three talked to me.

In such cases, the numeral may be modified with a demonstrative.

(4-129) ka-nya-yi-wula nyila kujarra-rlu
take-PST-1sgObj-3duSub that two-ERG
Those two took me.

A nominal may also be inflected with the plural suffix '-walija' (see 4.4.2.1). The plural suffix and a free-standing numeral cannot co-occur.

(f) a nominal inflected with the derivational suffix 'ngarna' 'ASSOC'. Complex modifiers of this type typically precede the nominal that they qualify.

(4-130) jaru-ngarna-rlu kajirri-rlu jayi-nya-yi-Ø
language-ASSOC-ERG lady-ERG give-PST-1sgObj-3sgSub
The 'language-lady' gave it to me.

(4-131) nya-ngku-rna-ngku wulyuk-ngarna-rla kangirrin-ta
see-FUT-1sgSub-2sgObj wash-ASSOC-LOC sun-LOC
I'll see you on washing day.

There are two other types of inflected modifiers: those affixed with the adnominal suffixes 'mulung' (privative) 'jawung' (proprietive). Most examples of these modifiers in the corpus involve their functioning as predicates of verbless sentences. However, there is at least one example in which such a modifier seems to be a part of the noun phrase.

(4-132) warra-rna-Ø-lu ka-ngku nyawa ngumpit
care-1Sub-3sgObj-plSub take-FUT this man
timana-yawung
horse-PROP
We have to watch out for the man with the horse.

(g) an interrogative

The only interrogatives found functioning as members of a noun phrase are 'nyampa' 'what', 'ngana' 'who' and 'wanyji' 'which'. In all examples found in the corpus, these occur as the sole member of the noun phrase:

(4-133) nyampa nyawa murnu?
what this country
What's this country?

(4-134) ngantu-rlu pa-ni?
who-ERG hit-PST
Who hit him?

(4-135) wanyji-warla nyila?
which-FOCUS that
Which one's that?

(h) a qualifying possessive noun phrase.

There are two types of possessive noun phrases which are used to qualify nominal heads: a genitive NP, encoding alienable possession, and a NP encoding inalienable possession.

A genitive noun phrase is always marked for case in accordance with the entire NP of which it is a part. This case-marking is extra to that which is necessary in the structure of the genitive NP itself (see 4.7 for a discussion of the structure of possessive noun phrases). The genitive noun phrase can either precede or follow the head noun.

The genitive qualifier itself may be phrasal, consisting for example of a nominal and its qualifier (either a nominal qualifier as in (4-137) or another, embedded genitive phrase as in (4-138)). It thus appears to be an example of NP embedding.
(In the examples given below, the genitive phrase(s) are put in the square brackets [] for purposes of clarity.)

(4-136) warlaku warki [kajirri-wu karrawarla-ngarna-wu]
dog white woman-DAT cooks.house-ASSOC-DAT
ya-na-rni
go-PRES-hither
The white dog belonging to the woman from the cook's house is coming.

(4-137) ka-ngka-rla ngaji-wu [nyunu-ny]-ku
take-IMP-3sgDAT father-DAT 2sg-DAT-DAT
Take it for your father.

(4-138) [[ngayi-ny]-ku ngapa-wu] warlaku
1sg-DAT-DAT brother-DAT dog
My brother's dog.

In constructions of inalienable possession, the two NPs (representing the 'whole' and the 'part') are simply apposed. For consistency of analysis, however, this type of construction will be considered here to be made up of a qualifying possessive phrase modifying the head nominal. Examples of these constructions are rare, but there is at least one in the corpus (again, the possessive phrase in placed in square brackets):

(4-139) nyawa-ma-n-Ø paya-la [nyuntu]-rlu
this-#-2sgSub-3sgObj bite-PRES 2sg-ERG
kangarnta-rlu
mouth-ERG
You're biting it with your mouth.

None of the above constituents is an obligatory member of the NP. According to the NPs found in the corpus, the following phrase structure rules can be posited:

NP --> {Pronoun}
{Interrogative}

NP --> (DEM) (NP_{gen}) (NOM_m) (NOM_m) (NOM_h) (NUM)

Note that, except where mentioned in the discussion above, there are no restrictions on the order of the constituents within the NP.

Where:
DEM = demonstrative
NP_{gen} = qualifying possessive NP
NOM_m = modifying nominal
NOM_h = head nominal
NUM = numeral

Usually every member of the noun phrase is declined, showing agreement in case-marking (providing, of course that they can, c.f the demonstratives 'nyila' and 'nyawa' which never decline). However, there are some examples in the corpus where this is not the case. These examples are unusual and, infact, there are only

three such examples in my whole corpus. In each of these examples, it is the head of the noun phrase which shows the case marking.

(4-140) jangkarni warlaku-rlu paya-rni-yi-Ø
big dog-ERG bite-PST-1sgObj-3sgSub
A big dog bit me.

(4-141) ngaja-Ø-nyjurra paya-wu warlaku-rlu kuliyan
ADMON-3sgSub-2plObj bite-FUT dog-ERG 'cheeky'
karu-walija
kid-PLURAL
The 'cheeky' dog might bite you kids.

(4-142) nyila-ma kuwalampala-ma liwart karr-a jangkarni
that-# tractor-# wait be-PRES big
kurrirrij-ku
car-DAT
That tractor is waiting for a big car (ie. a truck).

Examples of contiguous NPs in which all members are marked include:

(4-143) ngali-nguny-ju ngapa-rlu jamut pa-ni
1duinc-DAT-ERG brother-ERG turkey hit-PST
Our brother killed a turkey.

(4-144) nyawa-ma-rnalu ya-ni-rni tiyu-ngarna-rla
this-#-1plexclSub go-PST-hither fly-ASSOC-LOC
jangkarni-rla
big-LOC
We came in a big plane.

In all of the examples of noun phrases given so far, the constituents have been contiguous, ie. they occur consecutively within the clause. While this is certainly the typical situation in Bilinara, it is not obligatory. Thus, it is possible for members of the same noun phrase to be scattered throughout the clause:

(4-145) ngamayi-rlu-yi-Ø jayi-nya ngayi-ny-ju
mother-ERG-1sgObj-3sgSub give-PST 1sg-DAT-ERG
wumarra
money
My mother gave me some money.

(4-146) jintara-rla-rna-Ø yuwa-rru milimili-rla
another-LOC-1sgSub-3sgObj put-FUT paper-LOC
I will put it in another envelope.

As mentioned above, often the construction which serves as a single argument for the verb consists of information which is not included in the structure of the surface NPs discussed above; or alternatively, it may correspond to two or more surface NPs. For this reason, I propose the existence of virtual NPs which consist of any number of surface NPs and/or the cross-referencing bound pronouns.

As bound pronouns are clitics and can be cliticized to any constituent in the clause, not necessarily within the surface NP, they cannot be considered to be part of the (contiguous) surface NP. However, they are clearly part of the same referring expression. In such situations, a verb is considered to subcategorize for a virtual NP which consists of a bound pronoun and any number of surface NPs which are all part of the same referring expression.

There are other constructions which exist in Bilinara whereby more than one surface NP will be including within the one argument. These constructions include cases of conjoined NPs, apposed NPs and 'inclusive' constructions. That these NPs are all part of the one referring expression is typically indicated by the presence of a bound pronoun which cross-references the combined information of the multiple surface NPs. These constructions can also be accounted for with the virtual NP phrase structure rules given below.

Virtual NP phrase structure rule for core arguments and dative adjuncts:

Virtual NP --> $(NP_i', NP_i'', NP_i''' \ldots NP_j, \ldots)+ BP_{(i, j, \ldots)}$

Where ' . . . ' indicates the fact that, theoretically, the sequence can continue indefinitely and BP = bound pronoun.
The subscripts denote different referring expressions and the primes denote different surface NPs which are all a part of the same referring expression (indicated by the subscripts).
$BP_{(i, j, \ldots)}$ denotes the fact that the bound pronoun cross-references the whole set of referring expressions indicated by the subscripts '$_i$, $_j$' etc.

As this phrase structure rule concerns core arguments and dative adjuncts which are cross-referenced with bound pronouns, the

overtly expressed surface NPs are optional. The phrase structure rule for virtual NPs which are complements (ie. and are not cross-referenced with a bound pronoun) is as follows:

Virtual NP --> NP_i', (NP_i'', NP_i''', . . . NP_j, . . .)

Where at least one overtly expressed surface NP is obligatory.

Examples of virtual NPs, in terms of these above phrase structure rules, are:

Virtual NP (Subj) --> NP_i + $BP_{(i, j)}$

(4-147) ya-nku-rnawula ngayi-ny kawulu
go-FUT-1duexcSub 1sg-DAT sister
We two will go, (me and) my sister.

Virtual NP (Obj) --> NP_i, NP_j + $BP_{(i, j)}$

(4-148) paya-rni-Ø-wiliny ngayi-ny warlaku jiya
bite-PST-3sgSub-3duObj 1sgDAT dog kangaroo
He killed my dog and a kangaroo.

Virtual NP (Obj) --> NP_i, NP_j + $BP_{(i, j, . . .)}$

(4-149) ka-ngku-Ø-yina-nga marluka kajirri
take-FUT-3sgSub-3plObj-DUB old.man old.woman
He will take all of them (including) the old man and woman.

Virtual NP (Subj) --> NP_i', NP_i'' + BP_i

(4-150) tanjarri-rna-Ø ma-ni ngayi, jaju-rlu-rni
bring.up-1sgSub-3sgObj do-PST 1sg MM-ERG-ONLY
Just me, granny, brought her up.

Virtual NP (Subj) --> BP_i

(4-151) ya-na-rna
go-PRES-1sgSub
I'm going.

Virtual NP (Comp) --> NP_i', NP_i''

(4-152) murnu-yirri-ma-n ya-nku nyunu-ny-jirri
country-ALL-#-2sgSub go-FUT 2sg-DAT-ALL
ngurra-ngkurra
camp-ALL
You've got to go back to your country/home.

4.7 POSSESSIVE PHRASES

Bilinara, like most Australian languages, makes a distinction between:
a) alienable possession - including kin
b) inalienable possession/whole-part relationship - body parts.

This distinction is reflected in the syntax by way of case marking and the bound pronoun complex.

4.7.1 Alienable

The dative case of both nouns and pronouns is used to mark alienable possession and/or belonging.

(4-153) paya-rni-Ø-wiliny ngayi-ny warlaku jiya
bite-PST-3sgSub-3duObj 1sg-DAT dog kangaroo
He killed my dog and (a) kangaroo.

(4-154) warlaku warki kajirri-wu
dog white woman-DAT
The woman's white dog.

The dative of pronouns can further decline, agreeing in case with the noun it modifies (see 5.1.1).

(4-155) ngali-nguny-ju ngapa-rlu jamut pa-ni
1duinc-DAT-ERG brother-ERG turkey hit-PST
Our brother killed a turkey.

This allows for constructions of double possession:

(4-156) ngayi-ny-ku kawulu-wu kurturtu
1sg-DAT-DAT sister-DAT child
My sister's child.

4.7.2 Inalienable

The dative case is not used to mark inalienable possession. In most of the examples in my corpus, the whole and part agree in taking the case appropriate to the role of the part. This is usually in the absolutive case:

(4-157) nyawa-ma-rna jamana-ma janga kalu-nginyi
this-#-1sgSub foot-# sore walk-ABL
My foot is sore from walking.

(4-158) warlaku-rlu-yi-Ø paya-rni (ngayi) wartan
dog-ERG-1sgObj-3sgSub bite-PST (1sg) hand
The dog bit my hand.

Although the bound pronoun in (4-158) would be the same whether the possessor were in the absolutive or dative case, the optional free pronoun has to take the dative.

There are some examples in which the whole is in the absolutive case and the part in the locative:

(4-159) nyawa-ma-rna-Ø pa-ni ngayi-ny-ma ngapa-ma
this-#-1sgSub-3sgObj hit-PST 1sg -DAT-# brother-#
ngalaka-rla-ma
head-LOC-#
I hit my brother on the head.

Compare this with:

(4-160) nyawa-ma-rna-Ø pa-ni ngayi-ny-ma ngapa-ma
this-#-1sgSub-3sgObj hit-PST 1sg -DAT-# brother-#
ngalaka-ma
head-#
I hit my brother's head.

One of the major distinctions between alienable and inalienable possession is that the 'whole' is cross-referenced by a bound pronoun appropriate to the role of the 'part' if the possession is inalienable; if the possession is alienable, it is the possessed item which is cross-referenced. Compare:

(4-161) nyila-ngku-Ø kartpi parraj pu-nya
that-2sgObj-3sgSub hair find pierce-PST
"He's found your hair" (said when one of the dogs started chewing on my hair!!).

(4-162) ngayi-ny-ju-Ø-Ø warlaku-rlu purrp nga-rni
1sg-DAT-ERG-3sgSub-3sgObj dog-ERG finish eat-PST
nyunu-ny tarnku
2sg-DAT tucker
My dog ate your dinner!

*ngayi-ny-ju-Ø-ngku warlaku-rlu purrp nga-la
1sg-DAT-ERG-3sgSub-2sgObj dog-ERG finish eat
tarnku.
food

OR:

(4-163) pa-rra-yi kartaj lurtu kartpi!
hit-IMP-1sgObj cut short hair
Cut my hair short!

(4-164) ngayi-ny pa-rra kartaj ngarina
1sg-DAT hit-IMP cut beef
Cut my beef!

While the possessor NP can be, and usually is, omitted from the inalienable construction, it cannot be from the alienable construction.

This situation is probably explained by the different semantic characteristics of the two constructions. In the inalienable/whole-part construction, if an action or state affects the part, then it will also affect the whole. In an alienable construction, however, this is not the case.

eg. The dog bit my hand = the dog bit me (inalienable)
The dog ate my dinner≠ the dog ate me (alienable)

The nature of inalienable possession is generally considered to be such that "one thing is so closely related to another as to be 'inseparable' from it in a particular referent context, in regard to a particular referent event or process" (Chappell and McGregor 1989:5). This state of 'inseparable-ness' creates a relationship whereby what is happening to the referent of one nominal (the 'part') is conceived of as simultaneously happening to the nominal related to it.

This relationship is represented in Bilinara by the fact that the 'whole' is cross-referenced by a bound pronoun, rather than the 'part' and by the fact that typically, the NP referring to the 'whole' is omitted from the sentence, as its referent is generally clear from the context.

4.7.3 Other Ways of Marking Possession.

a) verb 'to have':

The verb 'karrwa-Ø' 'to have' can be used to indicate possession or ownership. The only examples of its use in my corpus are with alienably possessed objects. I am not sure whether it can also be used in inalienable constructions (ie. I've got two hands).

Djaru has a similar verb 'garun-' 'hold, keep, possess, own'. In Djaru this verb can mark both alienable and inalienable constructions. I suspect this is also the case for the Bilinara equivalent. An interesting feature of this verb in Djaru (when used in inalienable constructions) is that it blocks the reflexivization process which usually

occurs in a transitive sentence when the subject and object are co-referential (Tsunoda 1981: 196).

eg. ngaju-ngku nga-rna milwa jambi garun-an
1sg-ERG C-1sgNom eye big keep-PRES
I have big eyes.
(Tsunoda 1981:154)

An example of this verb in an alienable construction is:

(4-165) ngayi-ma karrwa-la-rna tarnku jarrwangurrung
1sg-# have-PRES-1sgSub stores 'big group'
I've got a lot of stores.

b) Proprietive suffix '-jawung/yawung'
In a few cases, the proprietive suffix is used to indicate possession or ownership:

(4-166) marluka pulka-yawung
old.man grey.hair-PROP
The old man has grey hair.

4.7.4 Possession and Verbless Sentences

In a verbless sentence, both the possessor and the possessed are cross-referenced with bound pronouns, even in alienable constructions.

(4-167) kula-yi-Ø ngayi-ny nyila-ma mangarri
NEG-1sgObj-3sgSub 1sg-DAT that-# bread
nyila-ma-Ø-rla yalu-wu jintara-wu
that-#-3sgSub-3sgDAT that-DAT another-DAT
It's not mine, that bread, it belongs to that other person.

(4-168) nyawa-ma-ngku-Ø nyunu-ny warlaku
this-#-2sgObj-3sgSub 2sg-DAT dog
That's your dog.

(4-169) kula-yi-Ø ngayi-ny nyila-ma
NEG-1sgObj-3sgSub 1sg-DAT that-#
That's not mine!

(4-170) nyila-ma-yi-lu ngayi-ny jimarri
that-#-1sgObj-3plSub 1sg-DAT friend
They are my mates.

(4-171) ngali-ma-rli-rla makul
1dulnc-#-1dulncSub-3sgDAT aunt
You and me are aunty for him/we are his aunts.

5.0 PRONOUNS

5.1 FREE PRONOUNS

The structure of the pronominal word is:

root + (adnom) + (adnom) + (case) + ((pro)nominal clitic)

Where 'adnom' = adnominal suffix (proprietive, privative, dative in gentitve function) and 'case' = case inflection.
The possibile clitics include all those for nominals (see 4.0) and the pronominal clitic '-warij' (see 5.1.2.1).
Note that the dative form which attaches directly to the pronominal root is '-ny' (or '-nguny'). If this dative suffix is followed by another dative suffix (ie. if the function of the first dative is adnominal), the form of the second dative suffix is '-ku'.

5.1.1 Form and Function

Free pronouns differ in their case system from both nouns and bound pronouns. While nouns take an ergative-absolutive declension and bound pronouns have a nominative-accusative case system, free pronouns have neither. They do not decline for any case except for the dative. If the pronominal NP is in the locative case, the locative suffix cannot be suffixed to the pronominal root, but must follow the dative (see Text (1-32)). All three grammatical roles; intransitive subject, transitive subject and transitive object, are realized by the same unmarked form of the pronoun.

The forms for the free pronouns are as follows:

Table 5.1 Free Pronouns

	UNMARKED	DATIVE
1sg	ngayi	ngayiny
2sg	nyuntu	nyununy
3sg	nyantu	nyanuny
1duinc	ngali	ngalinguny
1duexc	ngayirra	ngayirrany
2du	nyunpula	nyunpulany

Table 5.1 Free Pronouns (cont).

3du	nyanpula	nyanpulany
1plinc	ngaliwa	ngaliwanguny
1plexcl	ngantipa	ngantipanguny
2pl	nyurrulu	nyurruluny
3pl	nyarrulu	nyarruluny

Thus, the dative suffix is -nguny for 1duinc, 1plinc and 1plexc forms but -ny for all other forms. With 2sg and 3sg it also involves the deletion of the stop in the nasal+stop cluster.

Bilinara makes a three-way distinction of number: singular, dual and plural. Among the first person pronouns, it makes a distinction between inclusive (including the hearer) and exclusive (excluding the hearer). There is no gender distinction made in the third person pronouns.

All three of these characteristics are considered by Dixon to be typical of a majority of Australian languages. Dixon (1980) finds that "almost every Australian language has singular, dual and plural pronouns" (p.275); that "[p]erhaps a little over half the languages of the continent have distinct 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' varieties of the non-singular first pronouns" (p.276); and that "distinct masculine and feminine 'third person pronouns' are unusual in Australia" (p.277).

Some examples of free unmarked pronouns occuring in all grammatical functions are:

Intransitive Subject:

(5-1) ngayi-ma-rna ya-nku laman-jirri kanyjurra tarukap-ku
1sg-#-1sgSub go-FUT river-ALL down swim-DAT
I'm going to go down to the river to swim.

Transitive Subject:

(5-2) nyuntu-ma-yi-n ka-ngku?
2sg-#-1sgObj-2sgSub take-FUT
Will you take me?

Transitive Object:

(5-3) warlaku-rlu paya-rni-Ø-wiliny nyanpula nyila karu kujarra
dog-ERG bite-PST-3sgSub-3duObj 3du that kid two
The dog bit them, those two children.

Free pronouns are always cross-referenced by bound pronouns and thus, any ambiguity that may have arisen due to the lack of core case-marking on free pronouns is avoided, as the grammatical role of the free pronoun is shown by its agreement with the bound pronoun. The only situation in which the bound pronoun doesn't provide more information than the free pronoun it cross-references in when the NP is in the dative case. In this case, the fact that the dative case is overtly marked on the free pronoun helps to disambiguate the grammatical relation information of the bound pronoun which has only one form for both direct object and indirect object. The fact that the bound pronoun typically gives all the information contained in the free pronoun, and more, means that the free pronoun is often omitted, being included only for emphasis. Thus, the sentences given above would usually be heard as:

(5-1') ya-nku-rna laman-jirri kanyjurra tarukap-ku
(5-2') ka-ngku-yi-n?
(5-3') warlaku-rlu paya-rni-Ø-wiliny, nyila karu kujarra
respectively.

The dative form of free pronouns is often found modifying a noun in a genitive phrase (see 4.7.1 for a full discussion of this). In this function, it can further decline, taking the same case-marking as does the noun which it is following.

(5-4) nyawa-ma-rna ya-nku nyanu-ny-jirri ngurra-ngkurra
this-#-1sgSub go-FUT 3sg-DAT-ALL camp-ALL
I'm going to her camp

(5-5) ma-ni-rna-rla mangarri-ma ngayi-ny-ku
do-PST-1sgSub-3sgDAT bread-# 1sg-DAT-DAT
ngamayi-wu
mother-DAT
I got (some) stores for my mother.

(5-6) ngali-nguny-ju ngapa-rlu jamut pa-ni
1duinc-DAT-ERG brother-ERG turkey hit-PST
Our brother killed a turkey.

5.1.2 Other Pronominal Morphology

5.1.2.1 'warij/ny' 'ALONE'

This clitic is used with free pronouns to give the meaning of 'by

one's self':

(5-7) ya-ni-rna ngayi-warij
go-PST-1sgSub 1sg-ALONE
I went by myself.

(5-8) karr-u-nta nyurrulu-warij
be-FUT-2plSub 2pl-ALONE
You will be by yourselves.

'-warij' has an alternative form 'wariny' (see 2.1.2). These two forms seem to be in free variation as there do not appear to be any rules determining which can or cannot occur in any given environment. Thus, '-wariny' could just as easily have been used in either of the above sentences and have been correct. It is possible that there are environments in which one or the other is most likely to occur, but that cannot be determined from my corpus.

When it occurs with the free pronoun 'ngantipa', '-warij' is shortened to '-rij' in fast speech:

(5-9) ngantipa-rij karr-u-rnalu
1plexcl-ALONE be-FUT-1plexcSub
We will be here by ourselves.

5.1.2.1 '-tu' ??

I am unsure as to the function and meaning of this suffix. For all examples of its use, the equivalent sentence without the suffix was accepted and said to mean exactly the same. There are only a very few examples of its occurrence and therefore, more research would be needed to determine its function, which I think is probably a discourse one.

(5-10) nyila-tu ngarrap
that- ? hot
He's hot

(5-11) ngayi-tu makurru-rna
1sg-? cold-1sgSub
I'm cold

(5-12) ngayi-tu-rna ya-na ngurra-ngkurra
1sg-?-1sgSub go-PRES camp-ALL
I'm going to camp.

5.2 BOUND PRONOUNS.

5.2.1 Form and Function.

The bound pronoun system is one of the most fundamental features of Bilinara grammar. It is also one of the most complex. The function of the bound pronoun clitics is to cross-reference the case, person and number of the core grammatical relations of a sentence. The cases which are cross-referenced by the bound pronoun system are absolutive, ergative (but not when it marks instrumental role) and dative (except in its purposive function). At most, two arguments are cross-referenced within one bound pronoun complex. The subject argument is always cross-referenced, and there is a simple rule of animacy which determines which oblique is to be cross-referenced in cases where there is more than one oblique argument (see 5.2.8 below).

Bilinara does not have an auxiliary to which these bound pronouns are typically attached (as do Warlpiri, Gurindji, Djaru etc.). Rather, there are a number of 'clitic attachment' possibilities, the choice of which is governed by many complex and largely discourse-related rules (see 5.2.5 below).

Unlike nouns, which have an ergative-absolutive declension, and pronouns, which have just one form for A, S and O, bound pronouns decline according to a nominative-accusative pattern. Thus, the bound pronoun system interacts with that of nouns and pronouns as in Table 5.2 (with respect to A, S and O.)

Table 5.2 Interaction of case-marking systems.

	NOUNS	PRONOUNS	BOUND PRONOUNS
A	ERGATIVE	Ø	NOMINATIVE
S	ABSOLUTIVE	Ø	NOMINATIVE
O	ABSOLUTIVE	Ø	ACCUSATIVE

While bound pronouns may cross-reference subjects, objects, indirect objects and adjuncts, there are only two sets of bound pronouns. The first of these only ever cross-references the subject argument of the verb and is, therefore, referred to as the subject set. The second set cross-references all other abovementioned grammatical relations: direct object, indirect object and dative adjuncts. This set is given two different glosses depending on the grammatical relation which is being cross-referenced. Thus, when the bound pronoun is being used to cross-reference either a direct

or an indirect object, it will be glossed 'Obj(ect)'. When the grammatical relation being cross-referenced is a dative adjunct, then it will be glossed 'Adj(unct)'. For practical purposes, during the general discussion of bound pronouns (and elsewhere in this paper), where the distinction between the two different functions of this second bound pronoun set is not important, it will be referred to collectively as the 'object' set of bound pronouns.

Table 5.3 Form of Bound Pronouns

	Subject	**Object/Adjunct**
1sg	-rna	-yi
2sg	-n	-ngku
1duinc	-rli	-ngali
1duexcl	-ja (-rnawula)	-ngayirra
2du	-npula	-ngkuwula
3du	-pula/wula	-piliny/wiliny
1plinc	-la	-ngala
1plexc	-rnalu	-ngantipa
2pl	-nta	-nyjurra
3pl	-lu	-jina/yina

Note:
'-rnawula' has also been heard as an alternative subject form for '1duexc'. This provides more motivation for the analyzing of basic 'person' and 'number' morphemes - see below.
'-ngkuwula' is often heard as 'ngkuula', undergoing a phonological process of vowel-lengthening after the deletion of a semi-vowel (see 2.3.2).
At least one speaker dropped the final consonant on the 3du object/adjunct form, pronouncing it 'wili(i)'.

The third person singular forms have not been included in the above table, as they behave rather differently. Infact, 3sg bound pronoun forms behave more like free pronouns. Thus, there is one form (-Ø)

which is used for all three core grammatical relations A, S and O; and a 'dative' form which cross-references all relations marked with the dative case on the NP (this includes indirect objects and adjuncts, but excludes the purposive function which is never cross-referenced). Thus:

Table 5.4 3sg Bound Pronoun Forms.

	Subject	**Object**	**Dative**
3sg	-Ø	-Ø	-rla

'-rla' cross-references all dative NPs, both arguments (ie. indirect object) and adjuncts (beneficiary, animate location, etc.). It may have been more consistent, given the distinction made between 'object' and 'adjunct' for all other non-subject forms above, to have two glosses for this form too: 'I(ndirect) O(bject)' and 'adjunct'. To do this would be to remain in the vein of glossing bound pronouns according to their grammatical function, rather than case. However, it was felt that this division would fail to capture the generalization that '-rla' (i) only cross-references dative NPs and (ii) cross-references all dative NPs (except for those in purposive function). For this reason, the gloss 'DAT' will be used in all contexts.

In situations in which all core arguments are 3sg, the -Ø morphemes will not be included in the glosses given in this grammar. The main reasoning for this is that, given the complexity of the rules governing what constituent functions as the base for the bound pronoun complexes (see 5.2.5), when the only bound pronouns in a sentence are 3sg it is very difficult to determine where in the sentence the -Ø morphemes should be placed. However, their existence is assumed in all sentences lacking overt 1st or 2nd person cross-referencing.

From the forms given above, it is possible to analyze some basic person and number morphemes for the subject forms:

Person:
1excl -rna
2 -n
3 -Ø
Number:
sg -Ø
du -pula/wula
pl -lu

Thus, from these morphemes are formed 'rna-Ø' 1sg; 'rna-lu' 1duexc; 'n-Ø' 2sg; 'n-pula' 2du; 'Ø-Ø' 3sg; 'Ø-wula' 3du; 'Ø-lu' 3pl etc. The existance of these segmentable person and number morphemes causes the irregular 1duexc subject form 'ja' often to be regularized to 'rna-wula'.

The 1st person object clitics display a very strong similarity with the corresponding free pronouns as demonstrated in Table 5.5:

Table 5.5 1st Person Object Clitics and Free Pronouns.

	FREE PRONOUN	**OBJECT BOUND PRONOUN**
1sg	ngayi	-yi
1duinc	ngali	-ngali
1duexc	ngayirra	-ngayirra
1plinc	ngaliwa	-ngala
1plexc	ngantipa	-ngantipa

Only the 2du object form 'ngku-wula' is analyzable in terms of person and number markers, as it clearly consists of 'ngku' 2sgObj plus the dual morpheme 'wula'. In fact, its analyzability causes ambiguity between the 3sgSub-2duObj and 3duSub-2sgObj bound pronoun complexes:

(5-13) Ø-ngkuwula
3sgSub-2duObj

(5-14) ngku-wula
2sgObj-3duSub

The possible bound pronoun complexes are given below:
(Note: reflexive forms are not included in these paradigms. ** indicates that the corresponding form was not found in the corpus).

Table 5.6 Singular subject and singular object/adjunct:

	Object/Adjunct		
	1	2	3
1	—	-rnangku	-rna -rnarla (DAT)
2	-yin	—	-n ** (DAT)
3	-yi	-ngku	-Ø -rla (DAT)

Table 5.7 Singular subject and non-singular object/adjunct:

	Object/Adjunct							
	1duinc	1duexc	2du	3du	1plinc	1plexc	2pl	3pl
1	—	—	rnangkuwula	rnawiliny	—	—	rnanyjurra	rnayina
2	—	nngayirra	—	npiliny	—	nngantipa	—	njina
3	ngali	ngayirra	nguwula	wiliny	ngala	ngantipa	nyjurra	yina

Table 5.8 Non-singular subject and singular object/adjunct:

	Object/Adjunct		
	1	2	3
1duinc	—	—	rli ** (DAT)
1duexc	—	jangku	ja jarla (DAT)
2du	yinpula	—	npula npularla (DAT)
3du	yiwula	nguwula	wula wularla (DAT)
1plinc	—	—	la ** (DAT)
1plexc	—	rnangkulu	rnalu rnalurla (DAT)
2pl	yinta	—	nta ** (DAT)
3pl	yilu	ngkulu	lu lurla (DAT)

Table 5.9 Non-singular subject and non-singular object/adjunct:

	Object/Adjunct			
	1inc	1exc	2	3
1inc	—	—	—	langulu
1exc	—	—	rnanyjurrangulu	rnayinangulu
2	—	nngantipangulu	—	njinangulu
3	ngalangulu	ngantipangulu	nyjurrangulu	yinangulu

5.2.2. Order of Bound Pronouns

As can be seen in the above paradigms, when bound pronouns are combined to form bound pronoun complexes, the form of the complex is not immediately predictable from the base forms of the respective bound pronouns. Infact, there are certain processes which occur in the forming of bound pronoun complexes. One of these processes concerns the order in which the bound pronouns occur in the complex.

The system by which bound pronouns are ordered within the bound

pronoun complex seems to be determined by a combination of person, number and case. The underlying order is one of subject-object. However, there is a hierarchy of persons (and number) that operates to sometimes change this order to object-subject.

Thus, the first person singular bound pronoun must precede any other bound pronoun regardless of its case. Therefore, when the subject is second person and the object first person singular, for example, the surface order of the bound pronouns is object-subject.

(5-15) ka-ngku-yi-n?
take-FUT-1sgObj-2sgSub
Will you take me?

However, if the object is first person non-singular, the order remains subject-object.

(5-16) ka-ngku-n-ngantipa?
take-FUT-2sgSub-1explObj
Will you take us?

Similarly, second person singular must precede a third person pronoun. Thus:

(5-17) ka-ngku-ngku-wula
take-FUT-2sgObj-3duSub
They two will take you.

It is not possible to demonstrate this hierarchy with a singular third person subject as the respective bound pronoun is -Ø, so its order cannot be determined. Where it is included in glossing, however, it is ordered according to this hierarchy.

When a phonologically realized object bound pronoun combines with a segmentable plural subject bound pronoun, the subject person morpheme is placed to the left of the object bound pronoun and the subject number morpheme is placed to the right:

(5-18) karrap-pa-rna-ngku-lu nya-nya
watch-#-1Sub-2sgObj-plSub see-PST
We all watched you.

When the object clitic is non-singular, an element 'ngu' is added between the object clitic and the subject number morpheme:

(5-19) karrap-pa-rna-yina-ngu-lu nya-nya
watch-#-1Sub-3plObj-#-plSub see-PST
We all watched them.

Tsunoda also reports the existance of the element 'ngu' in Djaru (1981:128). However, Tsunoda does not describe its occurrence as being governed by the number of the object bound pronoun. Rather, Tsunoda tries to explain it in terms of phonological aspects, saying that it occurs immediately before /l/. I see no reason why the presence of the phoneme /l/ would in any way prompt the occurrence of this element. If that were the case, one would expect, for example, that the subject bound pronoun for 1plexc would be 'rna-ngu-lu', rather than 'rna-lu' and so on.

There are two subject plural bound pronouns whose basic forms (given in Table 5.3 above) are not readily segmentable into person and number morphemes. The first of these is the second person plural bound pronoun 'nta'. Although in its base form, it can not be analyzed as consisting of separate person and number morphemes, when 'nta' is combined with a non-singular object, it divides into the second person subject morpheme 'n' and the plural subject morpheme 'lu'. This plural subject morpheme is then regularly shifted to the right of the object bound pronoun as described for segmentable forms above.

(5-20) ka-ngku-nta-Ø
take-FUT-2plSub-3sgObj
You(pl) will take him.
BUT
(5-21) ka-ngku-n-jina-ngu-lu
take-FUT-2Sub-3plObj-#-plSub
You(pl) will take them.

The other non-segmentable subject form is 'la' 1plinc. The only phonologically realiized object bound pronoun with which 'la' co-occurs is the 3pl object form 'yina'. In such a combination, the plural subject morpheme '-lu' is included in the complex, and shifted to the right of the object bound pronoun as for all other examples discussed above. The morpheme which fills the 'person morpheme' slot of the complex, however, remains as 'la'. For other reasons, this combination yields an irregular bound pronoun complex and is discussed in 5.2.3 below.

The dative third person singular bound pronoun 'rla' is always the last in the bound pronoun complex.

5.2.3. Dual Neutralization

This refers to the process by which any dual bound pronoun which is combined with any non-singular bound pronoun becomes plural. This

process occurs regardless of the person or case of the dual pronoun or that of the non-singular bound pronoun with which it combines. Thus, the distinction between dual and plural number is neutralized. Effectively, this process means that dual bound pronouns only occur in the language when they are either combined with singular bound pronouns, or (in the case of subjects) where they are the only cross-referenced argument. The bound pronoun complexes produced by the application of this process can be seen in Table 5.9 above.

This process of neutralizing the dual and plural bound pronouns under the plural form is common in Australian languages (Blake 1987:105).

For semantic reasons, 'la', the subject bound pronoun for 1plinc, can only combine with one non-singular object: third person plural. This combination yields an irregular complex. The plural subject morpheme 'lu' is included in the complex and occurs after the object bound pronoun. However, the object bound pronoun is irregularly deleted. Thus, the produced form is

'la-ngu-lu'

rather than the expected

'la-yina-ngu-lu'

(5-22) ngaliwa-ma-la-ngu-lu karrap nya-ngku
1plinc-#-1plincSub-#-plSub watch see-FUT
warrkap-jirri
dance-ALL
We're going to watch them dancing.

The fact that the object bound pronoun 'yina' is present at some underlying level, is evidenced by the fact that the element 'ngu' is present in the surface form. As stated above, 'ngu' is added after a non-singular object bound pronoun, when the subject is also non-singular. McConvell (1980:36) gives the corresponding form in Mudbura as 'rlaangulu'. It is probable that these two forms are related.

For one speaker, at least, this rule of dual neutralization is not obligatory. In a fairly formalized elicitation session, sentences such as the following (in which dual forms co-occur with other non-singular forms) were accepted by him and repeated and elaborated.

(5-23) ka-ngku-rli-yina
take-FUT-1duincSub-3plObj
You and me will take them all.

(5-24) ka-ngku-ngayirra-npula
take-FUT-1duexcObj-2duSub
You two will take us two.

(5-25) ka-ngku-ngantipa-npula
take-FUT-1plexcObj-2duSub
You two will take us all.

In the last two cases the expected form:
(5-26) ka-ngku-n-ngantipa-ngu-lu
take-FUT-2Sub-1plexcObj-#-plSub
You two/all will take us two/all.
was given as an alternative and it was explained by the speaker that 'we say it two ways.' However, while the speaker accepted these forms as being grammatical, he never used them in faster, more natural speech. Rather, he used the forms which had undergone the dual neutralization process.

It is also interesting that these 'deviant' forms do not comply with the ordering principles discussed earlier. These forms seem to be operating on the principle of a person hierarchy rather than one of grammatical relations with the 1st person bound pronouns always occuring before the other bound pronoun regardless of whether it is the subject or the object. It is possible that this is again attributable to an idiosyncratic feature of this speaker's speech as on another occasion he was also heard to say:

(5-27) ka-ngku-ngantipa-n-ngu-lu
take-FUT-1plexcObj-2Sub-#-plSub
You two/all will take us two/all.

However, it may be the case that there is a degree of flexibility with the rules concerning the ordering of bound pronouns as there seems to be with the application of dual neutralization.

5.2.4. Reflexive/Reciprocal Suffix.

The reflexive/reciprocal suffix is 'nyunu/junu' which occurs instead of the object clitic and always at the end of the clitic complex. The variant 'junu' occurs after a consonant.

(5-28) pa-ni-n-junu ngalaka-rla-ma
hit-PST-2sgSub-REFL head-LOC-#
You hit yourself on the head.

(5-29) karu-ngku nyila pa-rra-lu-nyunu
kid-ERG that hit-PRES-3plSub-RECIP
Those kids are fighting (each other).

5.2.5. Types of Base

Unlike others of its surrounding languages, Bilinara does not have an auxilliary to which the bound pronoun complex attaches. Rather, there are a number of different elements to which it can be attached. The question of which base is chosen for the bound pronoun complex in which situation is a very complex one. Furthermore, the data available for this analysis is not sufficient to make any definitive statement, particularly as the choice of base seems to be largely dependent on discourse factors.

There are five major choices found in the corpus for the bound pronoun base:
(a) The initial constituent of the sentence/clause
(b) The verb phrase
(c) An initial demonstrative
(d) 'ngaja'
(e) 'nyampa'

McConvell (1980:69-99) discusses some other possibilities for the attachment of the bound pronoun complex in Bilinara such as the negative marker and complementizers. His discussion of attachment to these constituents concerns cases where they are not the initial constituent of the sentence, otherwise attachment to these constituents is included under (a) above. Examples of this attachment (when the constituent is not the initial word of the sentence) are not found in my corpus.

(a) The initial constituent of the sentence/clause.
The attachment of the bound pronoun complex to the initial constituent of the sentence/clause is the unmarked, or usual, form of attachment in Bilinara:

(5-30) payinta-rnalu karri-nya yarrji-ngka
yesterday-1plexcSub be-PST cards-LOC
Yesterday we played cards.

(5-31) nyampa-ngulu-n-jina-ngu-lu pa-ni?
what-ABL-2Sub-3plObj-#-plSub hit-PST
Why did you (pl) hit them?

When the initial constituent has more than one member, the bound pronouns can either be suffixed to the final word of the constituent (eg. (5-32)), or to the initial word of the constituent (eg. (5-33) and (5-34)). 'Splitting' the initial constituent is most common when the constituent involves a verb and a preverb:

(5-33) yangkarra ya-nku-rna-rla
follow go-FUT-1sgSub-3sgDAT
I'm going to follow him.

BUT:

(5-34) jiwut-pa-yina-wula yuwa-rra
close-#-3plAdj-3duSub put-PRES
They two are closing it for them.

(5-35) liwart-pa-ngku-lu karr-a nyunu-ny kajirri-rlu
wait-#-2sgObj-3plSub be-PRES 2sg-DAT woman-ERG
The women are waiting for you.

However, it is also possible to 'split' other constituents such as NPs:

(5-36) ngayi-ny-ju-yi-Ø ngamayi-rlu jayi-nya
1sg-DAT-ERG-1sgObj-3sgSub mother-ERG give-PST
wumarra
money
My mother gave me (some) money.

Where the word to which the bound pronouns are attached ends with a consonant, the link 'pa' is inserted before the bound pronouns (see also (5-34) and (5-35) above):

(5-37) Yarralin-pa-wula ya-ni
Yarralin-#-3duSub go-PST
They two have gone to Yarralin.

It is possible to suffix '-ma' to the 'base' word, in which case, the bound pronouns follow '-ma':

(5-38) ngamayi-rlu ngaji-rlu-ma-yi-wula-nga ka-ngku
mother-ERG father-ERG-#-1sgObj-3duSub-DUB take-FUT
Mother and father might take me.

The bound pronouns likewise follow '-parla/warla' and/or '-rni/parni' suffixed to initial constituents:

(5-39) nyampa-wu-warla-n-jina-ngu-lu yujuja
what-DAT-FOCUS-2Sub-3plObj-#-plSub 'hunt.up'
pa-rra ngaya?
hit-PRES cat
Why are you (pl) 'hunting up' all of the cats?

(5-40) ngajik-parni-rna ya-nku
long.time-ONLY-1sgSub go-FUT
I'm going for good.

In finite clauses in complex sentences, the relevant bound pronoun complex is attached to the first constituent of the clause to which it refers:

(5-41) ya-ni-rnalu pinka-kurra wiyit-pa-yi-lu
go-PST-1plexcSub river-ALL show-#-1sgObj-3plSub
jayi-nya puwarrij.
give-PST karu.dreaming
We went down to the river (and) they showed me the Karu Dreaming.

This is the case even if the arguments for the second clause are the same as those for the first:

(5-42) ngayi-ma-rna kula ya-nku murla-ngka-rni-rna
1sg-#-1sgSub NEG go-FUT here-LOC-ONLY-1sgSub
karr-u
be-FUT
I'm not going to go, I'm going to stay right here.

According to the data, it is possible to attach the bound pronoun complex to any part of speech that occurs as the initial constituent. This includes the negation marker, interrogatives, temporal expressions etc. (see egs. (5-31), (5-38), (5-62)).

(b) The verb phrase:
There seem to be a number of different principles operating by which a member of the verb phrase (either the main verb or a preverb) can be used as the base for the bound pronoun, even when non-initial. Most of these principles seem to be very complex, and are probably determined by some discourse environment which cannot be identified on the basis of my data. However, it is possible to make some generalizations and thereby account for some of the instances of this attachment in the corpus. Note that bound pronouns are often cliticized to members of the verb phrase when they occur as the initial constituent of the clause (see above). This discussion of 'verb attachment' does not concern these cases, but rather, it concerns situations where the bound pronouns are attached to a part of the verb phrase despite the fact that the verb phrase is NOT the initial constituent of the clause.

(i). The bound pronouns are ALWAYS attached to the verb in

imperative constructions:

(5-43) ngawa ma-nta-ngala-ngu-lu
water do-IMP-1plincAdj-#-plSub
Get us some water (you pl)!

(5-44) nyuntu-ma ya-nta-yina kajajirri-wu
2sg-# go-IMP-3plAdj women-DAT
You, go to the women (you sg)!

This is also the case for 'let's go' types of constructions, formed with the future tense:

(5-45) ngaliwa ya-nku-la-ngu-lu karrap-ku
1plinc go-FUT-1plincSub-#-plSub watch-DAT
Come on, let's go and watch them.

(5-46) yarti-ngkurra ya-nku-rli
shade-ALL go-FUT-1duinclSub
Let's go to the shade.

(ii) There seems to be a general dis-preference for attaching the bound pronouns to a word inflected with the ergative case, leading to attachment to the following verb phrase.

(5-47) warrija-rlu paya-rni-Ø-wiliny warlaku jiya
crccodile-ERG bite-PST-3sgSub-3duObj dog kangaroo
The crocodile killed a dog and a kangaroo.

(5-48) warlaku-rlu paya-rni-yi-Ø
dog-ERG bite-PST-1sgObj-3sgSub
The dog bit me.

(5-49) karu-rlu pa-ni-Ø-wiliny karnti-yawung
kid-ERG hit-PST-3sgSub-3duObj stick-PROP
The kid hit them two with a stick.

(5-50) jarrwa-rlu-ma karrap-pa-yina-ngu-lu nya-nya
many-ERG-# watch-#-3plObj-#-plSub see-PAST
A big group (of people) watched them.

Of the 27 examples in the corpus of an initial ergative NP, in 73% of them the bound pronouns are attached to the verb. Thus, while 'verb attachment' is preferred in this situation, it is not obligatory. The counter examples include:

(5-51) nyila kujarra-rlu-ma-ngku-wula karrap nya-nga
that two-ERG-#-2sgObj-3duSub watch see-PRES
Those two are watching you.

(5-52) yalu-rlu-yi-Ø ngumpit-tu pa-ni karnti-rlu
that-ERG-1sgObj-3sgSub man-ERG hit-PST stick-ERG
That man hit me with a stick.

(iii) There appear to be situations in which a constituent is placed at the beginning of the sentence as it represents either new or emphasized information. There seems to be a preference not to attach the bound pronouns to such constituents:

(5-53) p(u)rinyjirrirla ya-nku-rnalu-rla kajirri-wu
afternoon go-FUT-1plexcSub-3sgDAT woman-DAT
ngarina-wu
beef-DAT
This afternoon we'll go to the woman for beef
(ie. we won't go now).

(5-54) karu-walija-wu ma-la-rna-yina-ngu-lu
kid-PLURAL-DAT speak-PRES-1Sub-3plObj-#-plSub
We tell all the kids (but not necessarily anyone else).

This tendency is most often found when the first constituent is a free pronoun. As free pronouns are usually added only for emphatic purposes (usually the cross-referencing bound pronouns give all the information required), the bound pronouns will not be attached to them:

(5-55) ngali yinpa-wu-rli-nga jawartirla
1duinc sing-FUT-1duincSub-DUB tomorrow
We might sing tomorrow.

(5-56) ngayi-ma jayi-nya-rna-yina wumarra kajajirri-wu
1sg-# give-PST-1sgSub-3plObj money women-DAT
I gave the women (some) money

In 61% of the 31 examples in the corpus with an initial free pronoun, the bound pronouns were attached to the verb. Thus, this is merely a tendency, and it is not difficult to find counter examples in the corpus:

(5-57) ngayirra-ma-rna-yina-ngu-lu karrap nya-nya
1duexc-#-1Sub-3plObj-#-plSub watch see-PST
warrkap-jirri
dance-ALL
We two watched them dancing.

(5-58) ngayi-ma-rna-rla wukarra yalu-wu warlaku-wu
1sg-#-1sgSub-3sgDAT fear that-DAT dog-DAT
kuliyan-ku
'cheeky'-DAT
I'm frightened of that 'cheeky' dog.

(iv) There are a large number of examples which do not seem to fit into any of the above categories. It can only be presumed that the fact that bound pronouns are attached to the verb in these examples is attributable to very complex discourse functions which cannot be determined from my corpus. This is clearly an area which would benefit from further research.

(5-59) jala-ma yarnki-la-ngu-lu pa-rru kajajirri
today-# ask-1plincSub-#-plSub hit-FUT women
We have to ask the women today.

(5-60) jaru-yawung ma-la-rna-yina-ngu-lu
language-PROP say-FUT-1Sub-3plObj-#-plSub
pilinarra-yawung
Bilinara-PROP
We speak to them in Bilinara.

(5-61) nyila-ma karu-ma punyu-k-pa-rna-rla ma-rni
that-# kid-# good-THEN-#-1sgSub-3sgDAT say-PST
I spoke nicely to that kid (at first).

McConvell (1980:92-93) briefly discusses the attachment of bound pronouns to the verb in Bilinara although he states that at the present stage of his investigation, he cannot be sure of the natures of the different discourse environments which govern this attachment. However, he does suggest that one of them might concern "a temporary (usually parenthetical) break in a topic chain in which a new (non-topical) element acquires prominence"(p.92). He also suggests that this attachment might be used in situations of lateral contrast, somewhat similar to those suggested for initial demonstrative attachment (see below). My corpus is not extensive enough in this area to test either of these suggestions.

(c) Initial demonstratives

There is another form of bound pronoun attachment, reasonably common in Bilinara, by which the bound pronouns are attached to an initial demonstrative (either 'nyawa' 'this' or 'nyila' 'that') having the '-ma' suffix. In constructions of this type, the demonstratives

do not have their normal deictic or anaphoric reference.

As with many of the instances of verb attachment, the environments in which this form of bound pronoun attachment occurs are very complex and seem to be discourse related. The discussion here must be regarded as very preliminary as my data is not sufficient to make any definitive statement about the issue.

(i) It seems that one of the functions of this form of attachment is to give a meaning of 'contrast', as proposed by McConvell (1980). This can be used when the subject of each contrasting clause is the same:

(5-62) kula-rna-Ø makiliwarn-ma pa-ni,
NEG-1sgSub-3sgObj kangaroo-# hit-PST
nyawa-ma-rna-Ø kirrawa-rni parraj pu-nya
this-#-1sgSub-3sgObj goanna-ONLY find pierce-PST
jintaku
one
I didn't kill kangaroo, I only found one goanna.

Compare this with a similar type of sentence in which no contrast is being drawn:

(5-63) ya-ni-rna wuyurrunkarra-ma kula-rna-Ø
go-PST-1sgSub fishing-# NEG-1sgSub-3sgObj
ma-ni luwara
do-PST nothing
I went fishing (and) I didn't catch anything.

This mechanism can also be used when the two subjects are different:

(5-64) kamparri nyuntu-ma-n ya-nta nyawa-ma-rna
first 2sg-#-2sgSub go-IMP this-#-1sgSub
ya-nku-rni ngumayila
go-FUT-hither behind
You go first, I'll come behind.

However, there are other examples in which it would seem that a contrast is being drawn but where initial demonstrative attachment is not made (note that initial demosntrative attachment only involves the demonstratives 'nyila' and 'nyawa', thus the attachment of the bound pronoun to 'murla' in the following example is not an example of initial demonstrative attachment):

(5-65) ngayi-ma-rna kula ya-nku murla-ngka-rni-rna karr-u
1sg-#-1sgSub NEG go-FUT here-LOC-ONLY-1sgSub be-FUT
I'm not going to go, I'm going to stay right here.

(ii) While the expression of contrast accounts for quite a large number of the examples of initial demonstrative attachment in the corpus, there are examples where such attachment is made in which it does not seem to be marking contrast. In these examples, it is difficult to determine exactly what function initial demonstrative attachment is performing.

Initial demonstrative attachment is very common in the corpus with elicited sentences, despite the fact that they usually do not encode a meaning of contrast:

(5-66) nyawa-ma-rna-Ø pa-ni ngayi-ny-ma ngapa-ma
this-#-1sgSub-3sgObj hit-PST 1sg-DAT-# brother-#
I hit my brother on the head.

(5-67) nyila-ma-lu ya-na Yarralin-jirri
that-#-3plSub go-PRES Yarralin-ALL
They're going to Yarralin.

(5-68) nyawa-ma-rna ngawa-mulung
this-#-1sgSub water-WITHOUT
I don't have any water.

The following sentence, without initial demonstrative attachment, was given as an alternative to (5-68) above, and said to have the same meaning:

(5-69) ngawa-mulung-pa-rna
water-WITHOUT-#-1sgSub
I don't have any water.

I am not able to determine conclusively whether there is a difference in meaning between the use of 'nyawa' and 'nyila' in the above constructions, although I suspect that such a difference is likely. However, it is possible to make one tentative generalization: that 'nyawa' is most commonly used with first and second person subjects while 'nyila' occurs most commonly with third person subjects. This does not hold for all examples in the corpus, however, it is certainly the case with a majority of them.

McConvell discusses the use of initial demonstrative attachment Bilinara which, he says, is common. However, while it does appear to have a contrastive meaning on some occasions, "On other occasions the distal ['nyila'] appears to indicate simply relevance of S to a temporally distant state of affairs, (past or future), and the proximal

['nyawa'], relevance of S to the present state of affairs (1980:84). It is possible that, with further research, the above examples could be accounted for in terms of this notion.

(d) 'ngaja'

'ngaja' (glossed ADMON) is an admonitive particle which warns of the possibility of S occuring with adverse results (McConvell 1980:74). While 'ngaja' usually occurs at the beginning of the sentence/clause, it seems that the bound pronouns are always attached to it regardless of its position in the sentence:

(5-70) karu kujarra ngaja-Ø-ngkuwula paya-wu
kid two ADMON-3sgSub-2duObj bite-FUT
warlaku-rlu
dog-ERG
You two kids, (watch out) the dog might bite you!

Thus, the attraction of the bound pronouns to 'ngaja' is stronger than that to the verb.

(e) 'nyampa'

'Nyampa' usually occurs at the beginning of the sentence/clause and so the bound pronouns are automatically attached to it. However, as with 'ngaja' it seems that if, for some discourse reason, 'nyampa' occurs other than as the first constituent, the bound pronouns remain attached to it:

(5-71) murla-ngka nyampa-wu-warla-n karr-a?
here-LOC what-DAT-FOCUS-2sgSub sit-PRES
Why are you sitting here?

However, it seems that the principles by which the bound pronouns are attached to the verb are stronger than those which bind the bound pronouns to 'nyampa'. Thus, when the two 'attachment' environments conflict, the bound pronouns are attached to the verb:

(5-72) nyampa-wu-warla pa-ni-n-jina-ngu-lu?
what-DAT-FOCUS hit-PST-2Sub-3plObj-#-plSub
Why did you (pl) hit them?

Thus, the discourse factors which cause the attachment of the bound pronouns to the verb are more powerful than those which attach them to 'nyampa'.

In light of the above discussion, it is possible to draw a tentative hierarchy of 'attraction strength' of the possible bases for bound pronouns. Thus, it is obligatory to attach bound pronouns to 'ngaja'

when it occurs, and to imperative verbs. The attraction strength of these possible bases is, therefore, stronger than that of verbs, which in turn is stronger than the 'attraction strength' of 'nyampa'. The attachment of bound pronouns to the initial constituent, being the unmarked position, has the least 'attraction strength' of all the possibilties. This hierarchy can be represented schematically as follows:

{'ngaja'} > verb (phrase) > 'nyampa' > initial constituent
{imperative verbs}

The attachment of bound pronouns to initial demonstratives has not been included in this hierarchy as its occurence is not dependent on the other constituents present in (or absent from) the clause, as is the case with these other possibilities.

5.2.6 Bound Pronouns and Imperative Constructions

In imperative constructions, the subject bound pronoun is not 2nd person, but is formally identical with a 3rd person form:

(5-73) pa-rra-Ø-wiliny nyila karu kujarra!
hit-IMP-sgSub-3duObj that kid two
Hit those two children (you sg)!

(5-74) kawayi-wula jarrakap-ku
come-duSub talk - DAT
Come over here for a chat (you du)!

(5-75) ngawa ma-nta-ngala-ngu-lu
water do-IMP-1plincAdj-#-plSub
Get us some water (you pl)!

The same is true even if a second-person free pronoun is present:

(5-76) nyuntu-ma ya-nta-Ø-yina kajajirri-wu
2sg-# go-IMP-sgSub-3plAdj women-DAT
You, go to the women!

While, at first glance, it may seem that there is a process of 'person replacement' in imperative constructions by which 2nd person bound pronouns are replaced with corresponding third person pronouns, I do not believe this to be the case. Rather, if one recalls the person and number subject markers discussed earlier, it is possible to explain this phenomenon by arguing that in imperative constructions, the subject PERSON marker is deleted, but the

NUMBER marker remains. The fact that third person forms are formally identical with the subject number markers, at surface level, gives the (incorrect) impression that it is the third person pronoun that is present when it is, infact, the subject number marker. According to this analysis this ambiguity is purely coincidental.

This analysis seems much more plausible than one in which the 2nd person subject pronoun is seen to be replaced by a third person subject pronoun, as it complies with the nearly universal rule of 2nd person subject deletion in imperatives.

An identical process of person deletion/replacement is found in Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:133) and Walmatjari (Hudson 1978:80).

There is one example which suggests that it is possible to express a 'non-abrupt' imperative construction by using the imperative form of the verb, but also including the second person subject marker:

(5-77) kamparri nyuntu-ma-n ya-nta
first 2sg-#-2sgSub go-IMP
You go first!

See 6.1.2.4 for further discussion of this example.

5.2.7 Bound Pronouns and Possessive Constructions

Bound pronouns play a fundamental role in differentiating between alienable and inalienable possession. Thus, when the possessive construction is alienable, it is the case role of the possessed constituent which is cross-referenced by a bound pronoun. However, with an inalienable part/whole construction of possession, it is the whole which is cross-referenced by the bound pronoun (see also 4.7).

Alienable:
(5-78) paya-rni-Ø-wiliny ngayi-ny warlaku jiya
bite-PST-3sgSub-3duObj 1Sg-DAT dog kangaroo
He killed my dog and (my) kangaroo.

Inalienable:
(5-79) warlaku-rlu-yi-Ø paya-rni (ngayi) wartan
dog-ERG-1sgObj-3sgSub bite-PST (1sg) hand
The dog bit my hand.

5.2.8 Sentences with Two Obliques

It is not possible to have more than two bound pronouns in any one complex. Thus, in sentences with more than two arguments, there are certain rules as to which arguments will be cross-referenced. As the subject is ALWAYS cross-referenced, these rules of selection only apply to oblique arguments. In cases where there is competition between an object and an indirect object, it is ALWAYS the indirect object that is cross-referenced.

(5-80) nyila-ma-rna-Ø jayi-nya jakarr-ngarna kujarra
that-#-1sgSub-3sgObj give-PST cover-ASSOC two
I gave him two blankets.

The same applies to dative adjuncts, which outrank the subcategorized object:

(5-81) kampa-wu-rna-rla mangarri
cook-FUT-1sgSub-3sgDAT bread
I will cook (some) bread for him.

(5-82) ka-ngka-rla ngaji-wu nyunu-ny-ku
take-IMP-3sgDAT father-DAT 2sg-DAT-DAT
Take it for your father!

This phenomenon may be due to the fact that in these circumstances, the indirect object and/or dative adjunct is usually animate and the object is usually inanimate (at least, that seems to be the case in my corpus). However, this rule still holds when the object is also animate:

(5-83) kula-Ø-rla jayi-nya jangka nyila
NEG-3sgSub-3sgDAT give-PST woman that
He didn't give him that woman.

There are no examples in my corpus in which there is an inanimate indirect object or dative adjunct and an animate object.

6.0 VERBS AND PREVERBS

In this discussion, there will be a distinction drawn between 'main verbs' (often simply called 'verbs') and 'preverbs'. Basically, main verbs are inflected for tense, while preverbs are not inflected at all (except in subordinate constructions - see 6.2.2). Preverbs generally do not occur in a main clause without a corresponding main verb, whereas main verbs can occur alone in a main clause. Most (main) verbal clauses consist of a main verb and a preverb, of which the preverb carries the main semantic load and the main verb just seems to contribute tense/aspect/mood. Consequently, in non-finite subordinate clauses in which tense, aspect and mood are not specified, preverbs are typically found alone, with the presence of main verbs being fairly unusual.

6.1 VERBS

6.1.1 Conjugation

Bilinara, like all the Ngumbin languages, has a very small number of main verbs. Although I have not determined the exact number for Bilinara, there are seventeen present in my corpus (listed below). It is likely that Bilinara would have a total of 30-40 main verbs as under 30 main verbs are reported for Gurindji (Dixon 1980:411), around 40 for Walmatjari (Dixon 1980:387), 40 odd for Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:76), and around 50 for Warumungu (Nash 1982:167). Warlpiri has a larger class of verbs, numbering around 115 (Nash 1982:168).

There are five conjugation classes in Bilinara, each characterized by a different conjugation marker. Conjugation classes are exhibited in a majority of Pama-Nyungan languages which may have up to seven different classes (Dixon 1980:279). The conjugation classes analyzable for Bilinara are according to the Table 6.1. The conjugation marker for each class is given in brackets in each Class column. The proposed underlying morphemic form for each tense is given in brackets after the tense name.

Table 6.1 Bilinara Conjugation Classes.

	Class 1 (Ø)	**Class 2 (ng)**	**Class 3 (n)**	**Class 4 (l)**	**Class 5 (rr)**
IMP {ka}	-Ø	-ngka	-nta	-nyja	-rra
PAST {ni}	-rni	-nya	-ni	-rni	-ni
FUT {ku}	-wu	-ngku	-nku	-lu	-rru
PRES {la}	-la	-nga	-na	-la	-rra

The verbs found in the corpus, listed according to their conjugation class, are:
Class 1: kampa-Ø 'cook'; yinpa-Ø 'sing'; karrwa-Ø 'have, keep, possess'; paya-Ø 'bite, drink'; jiya-Ø 'burn'.
Class 2: ka-ng 'take'; jayi-ng 'give'; nya-ng 'see'; pu-ng 'pierce'; wa-/wani-ng 'fall'.
Class 3: ya-n 'go'; ma-n 'do, get'.
Class 4: ma-l 'say'; nga-l 'eat'.
Class 5: yuwa-rr 'put'; pa-rr 'hit'.

One verb wa-/wani-ng 'fall' appears to be a member of Class 2 but with an additional root variation:
wa-ng-ku
fall-CM-FUT
wani-nya
fall-PST
On the basis of only two examples, it is not possible to determine which of these is the underlying stem and so both are given in the above list.

I suspect that the longer stem 'wani-ng' is the underlying form, since the stems of the corresponding verbs in Walmatjari and Djaru are 'wanti-Ø' and 'wandi-ny' respectively.

There is one verb which does not seem to fit into any of the above conjugation classes:

karr- 'be, sit'.

IMP	karr-a
PAST	karri-nya
FUT	karr-u
PRES	karr-a

In all forms except the PAST, this verb seems to be a member of Class 5. The conjugation marker 'rr' is not present, but this probably results from simplification of the cluster /rr-rr/ that would otherwise result. If we were to analyze this verb to be a member of Class 5, then it is only the PAST form which is irregular, rather than the whole conjugation. The PAST form takes the Class 2 past tense morpheme, rather than 'ni' which would be the regular Class 5 form.

There is also a change in stem, from 'karr-' to 'karri-. The most likely explanation for this is that the /i/ is an epenthetic vowel added to break up the non-permissable consonant cluster /rr/ + /ny/ which is generated when the past tense morpheme '-nya' is added to the underlying stem 'karr-'. Thus, Ø > i / rr__ny. It is

probably due to the effects of the palatal nasal that the epenthetic vowel which occurs is the high front variety.

Alternatively, the underlying stem could be analyzed as 'karri-'. This is supported by the existance of a cognate verb in Warlpiri 'karri-' 'to stand' (Nash 1982:191). As 'karr-' is probably the most common verb in Bilinara, the reduction from 'karri-rra' 'be-IMP' to 'karr-a' 'be-IMP', and similarly with present and future forms, would not be implausible.

6.1.1.1 Discussion of Morphemes

As shown in the table above, it is possible to analyze underlying morphemes for each of the tenses listed. These underlying forms and the morphophonemic rules by which the other forms can be explained will be discussed below. This analysis is purely synchronic.

Imperative: The underlying imperative form is analyzed as {ka}. The imperative inflections for each class can all be seen to derive from this underlying form, except for one. Thus, in Class 2, {ka} has been preserved following the conjugation marker 'ng' to give the form '-ngka'. The initial consonant of the underlying form /k/ has assimilated to /t/ after the Class 3 conjugation marker /n/, giving the form '-nta', and has been dropped after the liquid /rr/ in Class 5, generating '-rra'. In Class 1, the inflection has been dropped completely. Only the Class 4 form '-nyja', is unexplanable in terms of this underlying form, and must be considered, in this discussion, to be exceptional.

It seems that an underlying imperative morpheme *-ka can be reconstructed at least for proto Pama-Nyungan (Dixon 1980:386).

Past: The underlying form for the past tense morphemes is analyzed as {ni}. It seems that the following morphophonemic processes have occured in the development of the present past tense inflections: in Class 4 the conjugation marker /l/ and the initial nasal of the past tense form have combined to give a retroflex nasal; /l/ + /n/ --> /rn/. In Class 5 the conjugation marker /rr/ has been deleted preceding the nasal (/rr/ + /n/ is an unacceptable consonant cluster in Bilinara - see 2.2.2), thereby simply keeping the underlying form. Similarly, in Class 3 the double consonant cluster /n-n/ produced by the combination of the past tense morpheme and the conjugation marker 'n', has been reduced so that, as with Class 5, the past tense form preserves the underlying form alone. It does not seem possible to explain the forms for Classes 1 and 2, however. As the Class 1 conjugation marker is Ø, there does not seem to be any reason for the

development of the retroflex nasal in the past tense form. Similarly, it is difficult to determine why, in Class 2, the combination of the conjugation marker 'ng' and the underlying past tense form 'ni' would generate the form '-nya'.

Dixon, in giving a brief synchronic discussion of Walmatjari past tense forms analyzes the same underlying form and morphophonemic rules (1980:386).

Future: The underlying future form is analyzed as {ku.} In Classes 2 and 3 this form is preserved after the conjugation markers. In Class 1, the initial stop has lenited to /w/ following a vowel (see 2.3.1 for other examples of this lenition in Bilinara), and in Classes 4 and 5, the /k/ is deleted after the liquids /l/ and /rr/.

The verbal inflection *-ku is found in many [Pama-Nyungan] languages (Dixon 1980:386).

Present: The present tense forms can all be seen to have derived from the underlying form {la} by way of the following morphophonemic rules:
Class 1: Ø + la --> -la
Class 2: -ng + la --> -nga
Class 3: -n + la --> -na
Class 4: -l + la --> -la
Class 5: -rr + la --> -rra
Thus, in Classes 2 and 3 the initial /l/ of the morpheme has been deleted as it occurs after a nasal. In Class 5, it has been deleted after another liquid, and in Class 4 the double consonant cluster /l-l/ has been reduced. Only in Class 1 has the underlying form been preserved.

There is some evidence that this underlying form might originally have had a final nasal /ny/ which has been lost in Bilinara. This is suggested by the following pieces of evidence. Firstly, in Walmatjari there is a 'customary' inflection which has the following allomorphs (Dixon 1980:385):

Class1	Class2	Class3	Class4	Class5
-lany	-ngany	-nany	-lany	-rralany

The underlying form of this is {-lany} (Dixon 1980:386). This morpheme appears to be very closely cognate with the present tense morphemes in Bilinara, except that in Bilinara, the final nasal has been systematically lost.

Secondly, it seems that the dropping of final nasals is very common for Bilinara. McConvell discusses many correspondences between Ngarinman (another language of the Eastern Ngumbin group) and Bilinara, where the Ngarinman form ends in a nasal which has been dropped in Bilinara (McConvell 1980:101):
eg. B jala 'today, now'
Ng jalang 'today, now'
B -nya 'Class 2 PAST tense morpheme'
Ng -nyang 'Class 2 PAST tense morpheme'.

This analysis is further supported by the fact that there are two examples in the corpus (both given by elderly speakers) in which the present tense morpheme has a final 'ny':

ngayi-ma karrwa-**lany**-pa-rna tarnku jarrwangurrung
1sg-# have-PRES-#-1sgSub tucker 'big group'
I've got a lot of stores.

nyila-ma karr-**any** karu-ma makurru-mulung
that-# be-PRES kid-# school-WITHOUT
The kid doesn't have school (ie. he is on holidays).

The process of cluster reduction in the development of the imperative and present tense forms in Class 5 has resulted in the two forms being formally identical. Thus:
IMP: rr + -ka --> -rra
PRES: rr+ -la --> -rra.

For example:

(6-1) pa-rra-yina
hit-IMP-3plObj
Hit them!

(6-2) pa-rra-rna-yina-ngu-lu nyawa kujarra
hit-PRES-1Sub-3plObj-#-plSub this two
We're hitting these two.

This situation does not seem to cause any ambiguity as there are differences between the two constructions in terms of both the behaviour of the bound pronouns (see 5.2.6) and in intonation patterns.

There is one other inflection which I will refer to as SUBordinate (adopting the term used by Dixon for Walmatjari (1980:385)). This form is used in subordinate clauses and allows the inflected verb to take the same case suffixes which can occur on preverbs in subordinate clauses (see 6.2.2.2 and examples (6-3) and (6-4) below). The subordinate forms found in the corpus are given in Table 6.2. ** indicates that the relevent form is not present in the corpus.

Table 6.2 SUBordinate forms.

	Class 1	**Class 2**	**Class 3**	**Class 4**	**Class 5**
SUB	-rnu	* *	-nu	* *	-nu

Thus, it seems that the subordinate form is made up of the same nasal consonant as the past tense morpheme for each class,

followed by the vowel /u/.

Given this pattern, we can probably assume the SUB morpheme for Class 4 to be -rnu. Class 2 is a little less predictable. In Walmatjari, the corresponding morpheme is 'ngu', with the conjugation marker as the initial nasal (rather than the same nasal as the past tense form as is the case in the other classes) (Dixon 1980:385). As the Bilinara verbal inflections correspond almost exactly with those for Walmatjari in all other cases, there is a good chance that the Class 2 subordinate form would correspond also, making it 'ngu' in Bilinara.

Furthermore, these subordinate forms formally correspond with the past tense forms in Warlpiri (Hale 1974), and the past tense form for Class 2 is 'ngu'.

Some examples of the use of the subordinate inflection (see also 8.2):

(6-3) jawartirla ya-nku-rni-lu kajajirri murla-ngkurra
tomorrow go-FUT-hither-3plSub women here-ALL
yinpa-rnu-ku warrkap-ku
sing-SUB-DAT dance-DAT
Tomorrow the women will come for singing and dancing.

The use of the subordinate form is not solely restricted to subordinate clauses (although this is its main function). It can also be used as a nominalizing suffix for verbs to enable them to take nominal suffixes:

(6-4) kamparri-rni-ma paya-rnu-ngarna karri-nya nyila-ma
before-ONLY-# bite-SUB-ASSOC be-PST that-#
warlaku-ma
dog-#
A long time ago, that dog was a 'fighting-dog'
(ie. he used to fight all the time).

6.1.2 Tense, Aspect Mood

6.1.2.1 Past Tense

Past tense refers to a completed action which is seen as having been performed as a unit.

(6-5) yartu-ma-lu-nyunu yuwa-ni
white.paint-#-3plSub-RECIP put-PST
They put white paint on each other.

(6-6) jala-ma-n-Ø kula ka-nya-rni jarrakap-kaji
today-#-2sgSub-3sgObj NEG take-PST-hither talk-NMZR
You didn't bring the tape-recorder today.

(6-7) nyila-ma-rna-yina tawirrjip-parla pa-ni,
that-#-1sgSub-3plObj throw.stones-FOCUS hit-PST
kula-yi-lu kurru nya-nya
NEG-1sgObj-3plSub listen see-PST
I threw stones at them (because) they didn't listen to me.

The same past tense can also be used in contexts which would be expressed by the pluperfect in English, namely where there are two actions, one occuring before the other, but both occuring in the past tense.

(6-8) nyamu-Ø-lu kampa-rni kirrawa-ma
REL-3sgObj-3plSub cook-PST goanna-#
nyila-warla-Ø-lu nga-rni
that-FOCUS-3sgObj-3plSub eat-PST
They ate the goanna which they (had) cooked.

If the FOCUS clitic 'parla/warla' is added to a verb inflected with the past tense it can give the meaning of 'immediate past':

(6-9) ma-rni-warla-rna-ngku!
say-PST-FOCUS-1sgSub-2sgObj
I just told you!

6.1.2.2 Present Tense

Present tense refers to an action begun in the past or present and continuing on into the present or future. The present tense allows various different aspectual meanings. The most frequent use of the present tense is for progressive aspect:

(6-10) nyila-ma karu-rlu-ma ka-nga kalpa
that-# kid-ERG-# take-PRES soft
The kid is taking the mattress.

(6-11) nyila warlaku-rlu kayi pa-rra nyanu-ny kurrirrij
that dog-ERG chase hit-PRES 3sg-DAT car
The dog is chasing his car.

The present tense can also be used with a habitual or customary aspect:

(6-12) langkarna-ngka-lu tapuru karr-a ngajik
billabong-LOC-3plSub pelican be-PRES long.time
There are pelicans at the billabong all the time.

(6-13) paya-la-wula-nyunu yalu-rlu-ma warlaku-rlu-ma
bite-PRES-3duSub-RECIP that-ERG-# dog-ERG-#
Those two dogs (always) fight each other.

6.1.2.3 Future Tense

The future tense refers to an action which has not yet taken place but which the speaker feels will probably happen, or should probably happen. It can be used to refer to either the immediate or distant future. If the speaker feels that there is a chance that the action will not take place, the dubitative aspect suffix must also be used (see 6.1.2.10).

Future tense is most commonly used to express intention (either that of the speaker or of the subject):

(6-14) nyawa-ma-rna-rla nya-ngku walakap
this-#-1sgSub-3sgDAT see-FUT look.around
I will look around for it.

(6-15) ma-lu-yi-Ø
say-FUT-1sgObj-3sgSub
He will tell me.

(6-16) nyawa-ma-rna ya-nku tarnku-wu jawartkarra-wu
this-#-1sgSub go-FUT tucker-DAT eat-DAT
I'm going to go and eat my tucker.

The future tense is also used to express notions such as necessity:

(6-17) purrpparni-parla-yi-lu ngayi kurru nya-ngku
everybody-FOCUS-1sgObj-3plSub 1sg listen see-FUT
jarrakap-jirri
talk-ALL
Everybody has to listen to me talking.

(6-18) wajija ya-nku-rli!
quick go-FUT-1duincSub
Quick, we've got to go!

Subordinate clauses of purpose can also be expressed with the future tense:

(6-19) pirrkap ma-nta jawi pala-rli-Ø kampa-wu
make do-IMP fire CONS-1duincSub-3sgObj cook-FUT
Make a fire so we can cook it.

(6-20) nyawa-ma-rna ya-nku pala-yi-Ø kuwarran-tu
this-#-1sgSub go-FUT CONS-1sgObj-3sgSub doctor-ERG
karrap nya-ngku
look.at see-FUT
I will go so that the doctor can have a look at me.

The future tense can also be used to express desire:

(6-21) ngayi-ma-rna kula ya-nku, murla-ngka-rni-rna karr-u
1sg-#-1sgSub NEG go-FUT here-LOC-ONLY-1sgSub be-FUT
I don't want to go, I want to stay here.

For a discussion of the use of the dative suffix to express desire, see 6.1.2.7.

6.1.2.4 Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is used to express commands, orders or instructions (Lyons 1968:307). Usually the (2nd person) subject is deleted in the imperative mood (see 5.2.6). The imperative mood is indicated by the addition of an imperative suffix to the verb (see Table 6.1 above). Some examples of the imperative mood are:

(6-22) yuwa-rra kartak-kurla
put-IMP billy-LOC
Put it in the billy!

(6-23) karr-a markin
be-IMP sleep
Go to sleep!

However, there is one example of an imperative in which the 2nd person bound pronoun is included. This example is also exceptional in that the bound pronoun is attached to the free pronoun, rather than to the verb which is the usual base for bound pronouns in imperative constructions.

(6-24) kamparri nyuntu-ma-n ya-nta
before 2sg-#-2sgSub go-IMP
You go first!

Negative Imperatives:
There are two ways to negate an imperative construction. The usual way is to simply prepose the construction with the negative particle 'kula':

(6-25) kula wangajirrik ma-nta
NEG mess do-IMP
Don't make a mess !

(6-26) kula ma-nta-lu kijikijik nyila karu
NEG do-IMP-3plSub tickle that kid
Don't tickle that child!

It is also possible to use the adnominal case suffix '-mulung' (see 4.4.1.2), to order the cessation of an action:

(6-27) kuturrp-mulung!
rattle-WITHOUT
Stop rattling it!

6.1.2.5 Hortative Mood

Hortative mood is realized by affixing the imperative + '-rla' to the verb. (this follows the Mudbura pattern, but is seemingly contrary to the situation in Gurindji (McConvell 1980:90)).

The hortative marks hortation or permission, always directed towards the third person:

(6-28) ya-nta-rla-rla nyantu-ny
go-IMP-HORT-3sgDAT 3sg-DAT
Let him go to him!

(6-29) ya-nta-rla-rni-lu murla-ngkurra
go-IMP-HORT-hither-3plSub here-ALL
Let them come here!

6.1.2.6 Past Irrealis

The past irrealis is formed by placing the hortative sequence (IMP + 'rla) on the verb with the dubitative suffix '-nga' affixed to the end of the bound pronoun complex. Past irrealis is used in referring to events which had the potential to occur in the past but which didn't.

(6-30) nyamu-lu-nga ya-nta-rla-rni,
REL-3plSub-DUB go-IMP-IRR-hither
parraj pu-ngka-rla-rna-yina-nga
find pierce-IMP-IRR-1sgSub-3plObj-DUB
If they had come I would have seen them.

(6-31) warlaku-ma-rna-Ø-nga pa-rra-rla
dog-#-1sgSub-3sgObj-DUB hit-IMP-IRR
I should have hit the dog.

6.1.2.7 Special use of Dative Suffix

There are two examples in the corpus in which a preverb occurs with the dative suffix to express desiderative mood. What is particularly interesting about these examples is that there is not a main inflected verb present:

(6-32) nyawa-ma-rna-wiliny jarrakap-ku
this-#-1sgSub-3duObj talk-DAT
I want to talk to them two.

(6-33) kula-rna markin-ku
NEG-1sgSub sleep-DAT
I don't want to sleep.

6.1.2.8 Admonitive Mood

Admonitive mood is expressed by the particle 'ngaja' followed by a verb inflected with the future tense. Whenever 'ngaja' occurs, it must serve as the base for the bound pronoun complex (for further examples see 5.2.5).

(6-34) ya-nta karu ngaja-rna-ngku pa-rru!
go-IMP kid ADMON-1sgSub-2sgObj hit-FUT
Go away kid (or) I'll hit you!

(6-35) ngaja-n wa-ngku
ADMON-2sgSub fall-FUT
You might fall.

(6-36) nyila karu kula ka-ngku pinka-kurra ngaja nyin ya-nku
that kid NEG take-FUT river-ALL ADMON drown go-FUT
He won't take that kid to the river, he might drown.

(6-37) ngaja-Ø-lu karrap nya-ngku ngumpin-tu
ADMON-3sgObj-3plSub look.at see-FUT man-ERG
The men might see it (said of a photo of a women's ceremony).

6.1.2.9 Interrogative Mood

In most of the interrogative sentences in the corpus, the

interrogative mood is signalled by the use of one of the interrogative words: 'nyampa' 'what', 'wanyji' 'which', 'ngana' 'who', 'nyangurla' 'when' and 'nyatjang' 'how many' (see 4.3). For polar interrogatives, the particle 'wayi' is used:

(6-38) wayi-warla-n-Ø karrwa-la jakarr-kaji?
Q-FOCUS-2sgSub-3sgObj have-PRES cover-NMZR
Have you got a blanket?

However, it is also possible to ask a polar question by using a sentence of the same structure as the corresponding indicative sentence, but with a rising intonation:

(6-39) nyuntu-ma-yi-n ka-ngku?
2sg-#-1sgObj-2sgSub take-FUT
Will you take me?

(6-40) karrwa-la-npula-Ø nyunpula-ny nguku?
have-PRES-2duSub-3sgObj 2du-DAT beer
Have you two got your beer?

6.1.2.10 Dubitative Mood

'-nga' marks dubitative mood and is suffixed to the end of the bound pronoun complex. It serves three main functions in the corpus; with the future tense, with past irrealis, and in conditional clauses.

When it occurs with the future tense, it indicates epistemic mood (Crystal 1985:110); the fact that the speaker has only a limited amount of confidence in the truth of their assertion. In this function, it is roughly equivalent to the English modal auxilliaries 'could (be)' or 'might'.

(6-41) jawartirla-Ø-ngala-nga tarnku-ma jayi-ngku
tomorrow-3sgSub-1plincObj-DUB tucker-# give-FUT
She might give us stores tomorrow.

(6-42) nyila-ma-Ø-lu-nga ma-nku yartu
that-#-3sgObj-3plSub-DUB do-FUT white.paint
They could be going to get (some) white paint.

Secondly, the dubitative suffix is used in combination with the hortative verbal inflection to give past irrealis clauses (see also 6.1.2.6 above).

(6-43) warlaku-ma-rna-Ø-nga pa-rra-rla
dog-#-1sgSub-3sgObj-DUB hit-IMP-IRR
I should have hit the dog.

Thirdly, in conditional clauses other than those using the past irrealis (see (6-30)), the dubitative suffix appears in both protasis and apodosis.

(6-44) nyila-ma-rna-Ø-nga warlaku-ma pa-rru kuliyan-ma
that-#-1sgSub-3sgObj-DUB dog-# hit-FUT 'cheeky'-#
nyamu-yi-Ø-nga paya-wu
REL-1sgObj-3sgSub-DUB bite-FUT
If that dog bites me, I'll hit him.

(Note that both verbs must occur in the future tense, unlike in English, where the verb of the subordinate clause occurs in the present tense.)

'nga' is also used even if the 'condition' is not overtly expressed (but is, nevertheless understood):

(6-45) nyawa-ma-rna ya-nku kulanyangka-wu.
this-#-1sgSub go-FUT bush.orange-DAT
Yuwa-rru-rna-yina-nga kartak-kurla
put-FUT-1sgSub-3plObj-DUB billy-LOC
I'm going (to get some) bush oranges. I'll put them in the billy.

The use of the suffix 'nga' in this example seems to refer to the understood condition of 'if I find some'. This same sentence could also be uttered if the speaker was trying to express some doubt as to whether or not she would put the bush oranges in the billy, however, that is not the context in which this example was uttered.

6.1.2.11 Reduplication (RDP)

Preverbs can be reduplicated to give an additional meaning of durative aspect (eg. (6-46) and (6-47)) or of iterative aspect (6-48).

(6-46) timana-yawung-kurlu kayi-kayi pa-rra puliki
horse-PROP-ERG chase-RDP hit-PRES cow
He keeps chasing the cow on a horse.
(ie. he has been for some time).

(6-47) pirrkap-pirrkap ma-na-rna-Ø
make-RDP do-PRES-1sgSub-3sgObj
I'm still making it.

(6-48) parraj-parraj-pa-yi-lu karri-nya bush-ja
find-RDP-#-1sgObj-3plSub be-PST bush-LOC
All of mine were born in the bush.

6.1.3 Other Verbal Morphology

6.1.3.1 'rni/rn' 'hither'

This suffix is attached to verbs and indicates motion towards the speaker. It has two allomorphs, 'rni' and 'rn'. 'rn' occurs in imperative sentences and 'rni' occurs elsewhere.

'rn':
(6-49) turrp pa-rra-rn pulyja-ma!
impact hit-IMP-hither ball-#
Kick the ball this way!

(6-50) ma-nta-rn-Ø-pula!
do-IMP-hither-3sgObj-duSub
You two come here and get it! (Lit. You two get it here!)

'rni':
(6-51) kawulu ya-ni-rni murla-ngkurra karrap-ku
sister go-PST-hither here-ALL look.at-DAT
karu-walija
kid-PLURAL
Sister (the nurse) came here to examine all the kids.

(6-52) ka-ngku-rni-rna-Ø jawartirla
take-FUT-hither-1sgSub-3sgObj tomorrow
I'll bring it tomorrow.

As this suffix is only ever attached to main verbs (at least, according to my corpus), there is no chance of ambiguity with the 'ONLY' suffix 'rni' which is never attached to verbs (see 7.3.1). In my corpus, this suffix is typically found with the verbs 'ya-n' 'to go' and 'ka-ng' 'to take' with the meanings 'to come' and 'to bring' respectively.

Of the other languages surrounding Bilinara, (at least) Ngarinman, Mudbura and Warlpiri have this suffix, but Gurindji doesn't (McConvell 1983:30).

This suffix can also be used even if deictic centre is not the

speaker, but either (i) someone else in the speaker's group (6-53) or (ii) separate from the speaker all together (6-54). This latter use is equivalent to that possible with the English verb 'come', as shown in the translation of (6-54).

(6-53) wayarrip-pa-Ø-rla ma-la-rni nyila
call.out-#-3sgSub-3sgDAT say-PRES-hither that
He's calling out to him. (Lit. He's calling this way for him.)

(6-54) nyila-ma-rna-nyjurra ya-nku-rni jiwirri-wu
that-#-1sgSub-2plAdj go-FUT-hither cooked-DAT
I will come to you for a cooked one.

6.1.3.2 '-npa' 'across'.

There is one example of this suffix, which seems to have the meaning of movement across the speaker's vision.

(6-55) nyuntu-ma ya-ni-npa-n yuku-yawung-jirri
2sg-# go-PST-across-2sgSub grass-PROP-ALL
You went to Mt. Sanford.

The use of the suffix '-npa' here seems to indicate the fact that the road to Mt. Sanford crosses in front of the 'camp'. Thus, when asked to translate this sentence, the speaker indicated that the addressee had travelled across the speaker's vision heading towards Mt. Sanford.

There is a similar suffix in Warlpiri: '-mpa' 'across' (Simpson 1983).

6.2 PREVERBS

Preverbs are a highly distinctive word class and are an areal feature of languages of the North Kimberley and Daly river region (Nash 1982:167). Phonologically many of them show unusual word structure. Semantically, like verbs, they describe an action or a state. However, syntactically, they can function in verbal clauses with verbs, or like nouns, operating independently from verbs. Morphologically, they can take most, if not all, of the case endings available for nominals.

6.2.1 Phonology

There are two ways in which some preverbs are exceptional in their phonology: phonotactics and word structure.

In Bilinara, the 'typical' word is disyllabic and, less typically, trisyllabic or more. However, it is very uncommon for a grammatical word to contain only one syllable (there are plenty of morphemes, however, that are monosyllabic). Of the examples in the corpus of monosyllabic words, ALL are preverbs:

kirrp	'be quiet'
kij	'break'
yirr	'pull'
jik	'come out'
rurl	'sit down'
purrk	'clap'
kup	'take out'
jurrp	'catch'

The other phonological characteristic particular to preverbs is word-final consonant clusters. Again, the only examples in my corpus in which a consonant cluster occurs word-finally are preverbs:

warrp	'sit around in a circle'
yurrk	'have a yarn'
kirrp	'be quiet'
kuturrp	'rattle'
jurrp	'catch'
purrk	'clap'
turrp	'stab'

What is interesting about this group of preverbs is that the consonant cluster in which they end always consists of /rr/ and a stop (either /p/ or /k/).

It is also possible to recognize two other 'subsets' of preverbs: those that end with '-kap' and those that end with '-karra':

'-kap':

jarrakap	'talk'
tarukap	'shower, swim'
warrkap	'dance'
pirrkap	'make'
walakap	'look around'

'-karra':

lungkarra	'cry'
wukarra	'fear'
jawartkarra	'eat'

wuyurrunkarra 'fish, fishing'
tumapkarra 'sewing'

These three patterns in the word structure of some preverbs may suggest the presence of some morphology or morphological process at an earlier stage of the language's development, or borrowing from another language. The third set ('-karra'), at least, suggest that some preverbs may have derived from main verb roots. Thus, 'lungkarra' 'cry' is clearly cognate with the verb roots 'lu-ng' and 'lung' 'to cry' in Walmatjari and Djaru respectively (Nash 1982:203-204).

When a preverb combines with a verb to form a verb phrase (6.2.3), they often constitute a single phonological word. This only occurs if the preverb occurs before the verb (which is its normal position - hence the term 'preverb'). This is the only case in which two separate grammatical words constituting one phonological word.

Given the stress patterns given for Bilinara (2.2.4), one would expect the stress patterns of the verb phrase 'karrap nyanya' to be as follows:

ká.rrap nyá.nya 'looked at'
look.at see(PST)

In actual fact, when this verb phrase occurs in a sentence, the stress pattern is:

(warlaku-rna-yina) ká.rrap nyà.nya '(I) looked at (the dogs)'
(dog-1sgSub-3plObj) look.at see(PST)

Here only the first syllable of the preverb takes primary stress (as opposed to the first syllable of each word, which would be the usual pattern), while the first syllable of the main verb (the penultimate syllable of the conjoined phonological word) takes secondary stress. This is exactly the pattern which occurs in words of more than three syllables.

6.2.2 Syntax

The issues involved when preverbs and main verbs combine into verb phrases will be discussed below. First, however, I will discuss the ways in which preverbs function independently from verbs.

There are two major ways in which a preverb can function

independently of verbs: in subordinate clauses, and as nominals. In some cases, these two functions seem to be very similar, and it becomes difficult to determine which one the preverb is performing. In both of these functions, preverbs can be inflected with the case suffixes available for nominals.

6.2.2.1 Preverbs as nominals

When preverbs function as nominals they can (i) function as the predicate of a verbless sentence (ii) be used with a 'nominal-like' (such that they describe objects etc.) meaning, rather than describing an action or a state, as is their usual meaning.

For example, 'jarrakap' which, in its usual function in a verb phrase, is translated as 'talk', can also be used as a nominal with the meanings 'speech' and 'meeting':

(6-56) nyila-ma karu-ma kula punyu jarrakap
that-# kid-# NEG good speech
That kid doesn't have good speech.
(ie. he isn't good at talking)

(6-57) marluka ya-ni Yarralin-jirri jarrakap-ku
old.man go-PST Yarralin-ALL meeting-DAT
The old man's gone to Yarralin for a meeting.

(6-58) jarrakap-nginyi purrp-nginyi ya-nku-rna-nga lurrpu
meeting-ABL finish-ABL go-FUT-1sgSub-DUB return
I might go back after the meeting's finished.

Preverbs such as 'purrp' 'finish' and 'lungkarra' 'cry' can function as the predicate of verbless sentences (as do nominals). (eg. (6-58) and (6-59)-(6-61)).

(6-59) kirri-walija-ma-lu purrp.
woman-PLURAL-#-3plSub finish.
The women are finished.

(6-60) narnta nyila lungkarra
puppy that cry
That puppy's crying.

(6-61) nyila-ma-yi-Ø yayip ngayi-ny
that-#-1sgObj-3sgSub laugh 1sg-DAT
He's laughing at me.

6.2.2.2 Preverbs in Reduced Subordinate Clauses

As was mentioned above, when preverbs combine with main verbs to form verb phrases, typically the preverb carries all of the semantic load, while the main verb simply contributes the tense/aspect/mood information. In reduced subordinate clauses, therefore, where tense/aspect/mood information is not required, the preverb often occurs on its own. Compare (6-62) in which the preverb 'tarukap' must occur with the main verb (here, 'karrinya') as it is in a main clause, with (6-63) where it occurs alone in a subordinate clause without a main verb.

(6-62) ngayi-ma-rna tarukap karri-nya punyu pinka-ka
1sg-#-1sgSub swim be-PST good river-LOC
I had a good swim at the river.
(Informant's translation: "I bin swimming good one at the river.")

(6-63) nyila-ma karu ka-ngka tarukap-ku!
that-# kid take-IMP swim-PURP
Take that kid swimming!

In reduced subordinate clauses preverbs can be inflected with nominal case suffixes.

(6-64) nyila-ma kajirri-ma ya-ni walyak jarrakap-ku
that-# woman-# go-PST inside talk-DAT
That lady went inside to talk.

The use of these suffixes indicates both relative tense and switch reference and is discussed in full in 8.2.

Preverbs can also be affixed with other suffixes usually found with nominals such as 'mulung' 'without' (see the examples given in 7.4), 'rni' 'ONLY' (see 7.3.1) and 'ngarna' 'ASSOC' (see 4.4.2.3).

6.2.3 Other Preverbal Morphology

There is one derivational suffix which is found only with preverbs.

6.2.3.1 '-kaji/waji' 'Nominalizer (NMZR)'

This suffix is attached to a preverb to form a nominal whose primary function is considered to be that indicated by the preverb. This mechanism seems to be most commonly used to form names for objects brought by Europeans.

There are two allomorphs:
'-kaji' used with a consonant-final stem
'-waji' used with a vowel-final stem

The two allomorphs are in free variation after /rr/.

Some examples of the use of this suffix are:

jarrakap-kaji talk-NMZR	'telephone, tape-recorder'
rarraj-kaji run-NMZR	'vehicle'
jakarr-kaji/waji cover-NMZR	'blanket'
markin-kaji sleep-NMZR	'mattress'
yarti-waji move-NMZR	'television, camera, video-recorder'

There are no examples of this suffix being used with main verbs.

6.2.4 Preverbs Combining with Verbs

The usual function of preverbs is to combine with verbs in verb phrases. Typically a preverb precedes the verb, although it may also follow the verb. When it combines with a verb, the preverb usually carries the main semantic load of the compound, while the main verb just contributes information concerning tense, aspect and mood and is more or less neutralized semantically. (Despite this fact, I have still glossed all main verbs according to their usual meaning.) These preverb-verb compounds are typically very lexicalized. Some examples of verb complexes containing preverb-verb compounds are:

yarnki	pa-rr	'to ask'
ask	hit	

kurru	nya-ng	'to hear, listen to'
listen.to	see	

parraj	pu-ng	'to find'
find	pierce	

kalu	ya-n	'to walk'
walk	go	

pirrkap ma-n 'to make, build'
make do

As can be seen in these examples given above, it is the meaning of the preverb which becomes the meaning of the compound. Some of the main verbs, however, do seem to be more closely related to the meaning of the compound than others. Thus, 'go' and 'do' are more closely related semantically to 'walk' and 'make' than 'pierce' and 'hit' are to 'find' and 'ask' respectively.

While it has been said that the main verbs contribute little semantic information to the verb compound, there are some consistencies and principles which affect which main verb will occur in which compound. For example, compounds whose meanings contain a notion of movement will have 'ya-n' 'to go' as a main verb:

kalu ya-n 'to walk'
rarraj ya-n 'to run'
kalurip ya-n 'to walk around'
lurrpu ya-n 'to go back'
warrij ya-n 'to go away'
yirrpa ya-n 'to move'

The same preverb can be combined with various different main verbs to form verbal compounds (provided that they are semantically compatible). Thus:

turrp pu-ng 'to inject, prick'
impact pierce
turrp ma-n 'to grab'
impact do
turrp pa-rr 'to kick'
impact hit

This can occur irrespective of the transitivity of the verb. Thus, the preverb 'parraj' is found combining with both a transitive and an intransitive verb. In such cases, it is nearly always the main verb which determines the transitivity of the compound:

parraj pu-ng 'to find' (trans)
find pierce (trans)
parraj wani-ng 'to be born' (intrans)
find fall (intrans)

However, there is at least one example in the corpus in which a main verb changes its transitivity when it occurs in a compound. In

this example the transitive verb 'nya-ng' 'to see' yields the semi-transitive compound 'walakap nya-ng' 'look around for DAT'.

(6-65) walayarra-wu walakap-pa-rna-rla nya-nga
tobacco-DAT look.around-#-1sgSub-3sgDAT see-PRES
I'm looking around for tobacco.

In some cases, a preverb can combine with different main verbs, but the compound will still have the same meaning. Thus, both of the compounds below were given in different sentences and translated by the informants as 'was born':

parraj wani-nya 'was born'
find fall-PST

parraj karri-nya 'was born'
find be-PST

Not all of the main verbs present in the corpus are found combining with preverbs in the manner described above. Those that are found in such constructions are:

Transitive: 'pa-rr' 'to hit', 'ma-n' 'to do', 'ka-ng' 'to take', 'nga-l' 'to eat', 'pu-ng' 'to pierce', 'jayi-ng' 'to give', 'nya-ng' 'to see', 'yuwa-rr' 'to put', 'kampa-Ø' 'to cook'.

Intransitive: 'ya-n' 'to go', 'ma-l' 'to say', 'karr-' 'to be, sit', 'wani-ng' 'to fall'.

6.2.4.1 Preverbs as verbal modifiers

There are some instances of preverbs combining with main verbs, which do not seem to be compounds in the same way as those examples discussed above. In these cases, the preverb seems to just modify and/or add an extra dimension of meaning to the verb, rather than controlling the whole meaning of the verbal clause. In such constructions, the inclusion of the preverb in the verb complex is 'extra' to the core meaning being conveyed by the verb phrase, and merely modifies or adds to the action or state being described. Furthermore, the main verbs do not seem to be neutralized semantically in these constructions, as they are in the compounds discussed above.

Thus, compare the following examples and their English translations. In (6-66) and (6-67) the preverb and the verb combine as verbal compounds. In (6-68) and (6-69) the preverbs function

merely as verbal modifiers.

(6-66) nyawa-ma-rna-Ø yarnki pa-rru ngayi-ny-pa-rni
this-#-1sgSub-3sgObj ask hit-FUT 1sg-DAT-#-ONLY
kunyjumarra
boss
I'm going to ask my boss.

(6-67) ngana-n kurru nya-nya?
who-2sgSub listen.to see-PST
Who did you listen to?

(6-68) ya-ni-rni lungkarra
go-PST-hither cry
He came crying.

(6-69) nyila-ma purrp nga-rni nyanu-ny tarnku
that-# finish eat-PST 3sg-DAT tucker
He finished eating his dinner.

In (6-66) and (6-67) the main verb and the preverb have combined to form one unit of meaning, to the extent that the semantics of the respective verbal complexes have nothing to do with 'hitting' or 'seeing'.

However, In (6-68) and (6-69) the preverb and the verb do not seem to have formed a compound with one unit of meaning. Rather, the preverb just seems to be adding to and/or modifying the situation being described by the main verb. In these examples, rather than the semantic value of the main verb being neutralized, the semantic values of the preverb and the main verb have just been conjoined. Thus, the situation in (6-68) involves both 'coming' and 'crying', and that in (6-69) involves both 'finishing' and 'eating'. This distinction can be represented schematically as follows:

verbal compound:
P + V --> P, ≠ V
verbal modification:
P + V --> P & V

Where P and V refer to the semantic values of preverbs and verbs respectively.

Thus, a verbal compound is one in which the verb and the preverb are combined to express only the meaning of the preverb. In verbal modification, the semantics of the preverb and the verb are

conjoined such that each is expressed.

The examples given here represent the two extremes of this spectrum and there are many intermediate cases where it is not clear whether a construction is to be considered a compound or a case of a preverb functioning as a verbal modifier. For example:

(6-70) jarrpip ka-nga kalipa karu-rlu
carry.above.head take-PRES soft kid-ERG
The kid is carrying the mattress above (his) head.

On the one hand, in this construction, one would not want to say that the meaning of the main verb 'ka-nga' 'take-PRES' has been neutralized. To use the test used above, the action described by the verb phrase in this sentence does seem to involve the notion of 'taking', as in order to carry something somewhere, you have to also be taking it somewhere. However, it also does not seem to be the case that the meanings of the verb and the preverb have been conjoined in the same way that they have in (6-68) and (6-69) above.

6.3 STRUCTURE OF THE VERB COMPLEX

There are two types of verb complexes:

(i) involving a main verb as the sole constituent.
While a lot of the verb complexes in Bilinara involve more complex verbal compounds, often the verb complex will consist solely of a main verb:

(6-71) kula-rna ya-nku yala-ngkurra ngurra-ngkurra
NEG-1sgSub go-FUT that-ALL camp-ALL
I'm not going to that camp.

(6-72) nyila-ma-nga ma-nku kurrirrij-jawung-kurlu yartu
that-#-DUB do-FUT car-PROP-ERG white.paint
He might get (some) white paint with the car.

(2) involving a main verb and a preverb:

(6-73) nyawa-ma-rna-Ø kampa-la jipit mangarri
this-#-1sgSub-3sgObj cook-PRES roast bread
tara-ngka
coals-LOC
I'm roasting the bread in the coals.

(6-74) parraj-pa-rna wani-nya murla-ngka-rni
find-#-1sgSub fall-PST here-LOC-ONLY
I was born right here.

In restricted circumstances, preverbs can function alone in a clause, without a main verb. For a full discussion of this, and of verb complexes involving preverbs in general, see 6.2.

Either type of verb complex can be modified with an adverb. Adverbs do not inflect, and can either precede or follow the rest of the verb complex:

(6-75) kula ya-nta jirrimana, yamak ya-nta!
NEG go-IMP fast slow go-IMP
Don't go so fast, go slowly.

(6-76) nyuntu wajija ma-nta tarnku!
2sg quickly do-IMP stores
You hurry up and get your stores!

There is one example in the corpus which suggests that certain nominals, such as 'punyu' 'good', can also function as adverbs:

(6-77) ngayi-ma-rna tarukap karri-nya punyu pinka-ka
1sg-#-1sgSub swim be-PST good river-LOC
Informant's translation: "I bin swimming good one at the river."

The possible verb complexes are accounted for by the following two phrase structure rules.

VC --> (Adv,) V'
V' --> V (,Prev)

Where the commas indicate that the elements may appear in either order.

7.0 SYNTAX OF SIMPLE CLAUSES

Bilinara has two basic clause types (divided according to their predicators): verbal and nominal. A simple sentence consists of a single clause of either type. I will first discuss those with a verbal clause, and then those with a nominal clause.

7.1 VERBAL CLAUSES:

There are four levels of valency which can be established for Bilinara verb complexes (VC). These four types, along with NPs for which they subcategorize, are given in Table 7.1. Note that Table 7.1 concerns the case marking of nominals only; bound pronouns are not discussed here.

Table 7.1 Argument Structure of Verbal Clauses.

intrans(itive)	ABS	(DAT)		VC
trans(itive)	ERG	ABS		VC
semi-trans(itive)	ERG	DAT		VC
ditrans(itive)	ERG	ABS	DAT	VC

Examples of each type include:

intrans:

(7-1) karu-walija-ma-lu ya-na
kid-PLURAL-#-3plSub go-PRES
The kids are going.

trans:

(7-2) ngumpit-tu warlaku pa-ni
man-ERG dog hit-PST
A man hit a dog.

semi-trans:

(7-3) liwart-pa-ngku-lu karr-a kajajirri-rlu nyunu-ny
wait-#-2sgObj-3sgSub be-PRES women-ERG 2sg-DAT
The women are waiting for you.

ditrans:

(7-4) kajirri-rlu jayi-nga-Ø-rla jala-ma tarnku
woman-ERG give-PRES-3sgSub-3sgDAT now-# stores
nyanu-ny
3sg-DAT
The woman is giving stores to him now.

As indicated in the Table 7.1, some intransitive sentences can include an optional (dative) object:

(7-5) nyawa-ma-rna(-rla) wukarra karr-a (warlaku-wu)
this-#-1sgSub(-3sgDAT) fear be-PRES (dog-DAT)
I'm frightened of the dog.

(7-6) nyila-ma(-yi)-Ø ma-la (ngayi-ny)
that-#(-1sgObj)-3sgSub say-PRES (1sg-DAT)
He's talking (to me).

Grammatical relations, in Bilinara, are best described in terms of three different types: arguments, complements and adjuncts. Arguments are subcategorizable functions, or core cases, which are selected by the verb and are necessary "if it is to have a complete sense" (Dixon 1980:294). The meaning of an argument is dependent on the the verb with which it combines (Evans 1985:56). The argument grammatical relations are subject, object and indirect object as shown in Table 7.1 above.

Adjuncts represent the opposite end of the spectrum in that they have constant meanings regardless of the sentence with which they combine. They can appear in any sentence type and with any verb with which they are semantically compatible. The are never subcategorized for by a verb. Adjuncts in Bilinara include locative NPs and many of the functions of the dative such as beneficiary and animate location.

Between adjuncts and arguments are complements. Complements differ from arguments in not being necessary for the verb to have a complete sense. However, they cannot be considered adjuncts either as their occurrence is restricted to only certain verbs; they do not have the syntactic freedom that adjuncts do. Thus, for example, verbs such as 'pa-rr' 'hit' optionally take a complement indicating instrument, while verbs of movement can take complements in the allative or ablative cases indicating the direction of the movement (Evans 1985:57).

Neither case nor possibility of cross-referencing on the bound pronoun complex can be used in defining the above types of grammatical relations. Thus, while a NP in the ergative case will typically be a core argument, it could also be marking a complement indicating instrument.

(7-7) pa-ni-yi-Ø ngumpin-tu karnti-rlu
hit-PST-1sgObj-3sgSub man-ERG stick-ERG
The man hit me with a stick.

Similarly, the dative case is used to mark both indirect object arguments and adjuncts indicating the beneficiary, animate location etc. While the core use of the ergative can be distinguished from the instrumental use by the fact that only the former is cross-referenced on the bound pronoun complex, the same criterion can not be used to distinguish the argument dative from the adjunct dative. Any dative NP (unless it has purposive function) can be cross-referenced with a bound pronoun, regardless of its grammatical status.

dative argument:
(7-8) kajirri-rlu jayi-nga-Ø-rla jala-ma tarnku
woman-ERG give-PRES-3sgSub-3sgDAT now-# stores
nyanu-ny
3sg-DAT
The woman is giving stores to him now.

dative adjunct:
(7-9) nyila-ma-yi-lu kampa-la tarnku ngayi-ny
that-#-1sgAdj-3plSub cook-PRES tucker 1sg-DAT
He's cooking dinner for me.

Finally, while the absolutive case is always used with argument NPs, it is not always cross-referenced with a bound pronoun. If there are two oblique NPs in a sentence, one marked with the dative case and one with the absolutive case, it is the dative NP which will be cross-referenced with a bound pronoun, not the absolutive. This is the case regardless of whether the dative NP is an argument (7-8) or an adjunct (7-9).

It is possible to make some generalizations however. Thus, any NPs marked with either the allative or the ablative case will be complements. Complements will never be cross-referenced. Adjuncts are marked with either the dative or the locative case. The locative adjuncts are never cross-referenced, but the dative adjuncts usually are. If a NP in the ergative case is cross-referenced then it is an argument, if not, then it is a complement in the role of instrument.

Section 7.1.1 gives examples of the simple sentence types given above being expanded with the addition complements and adjuncts.

7.1.1 Expanded Simple Sentences

All of the sentence types given above can be expanded by the addition of complements (allative NPs, ablative NPs, instrumental NPs) and/or adjuncts (locative NPs, adjunct dative NPs) . These NPs can combine with any of the above sentence types, providing that they are semantically appropriate. Some examples are:

Complements:

(7-10) ka-ngku-rna-ngku Yarralin-jirri
take-FUT-1sgSub-2sgObj Yarralin-ALL
I will take you to Yarralin.

(7-11) ya-na-rni-lu Takuraku-ngulu
go-PRES-hither-3plSub Daguragu-ABL
They are coming from Daguragu.

(7-12) nyawa-ma-rna-Ø pa-rru tajkarra martumartu
this-#-1sgSub-3sgObj hit-FUT pound anthill
wumarra-yawung
stone-PROP
I'm going to pound the anthill with a stone.

Adjuncts:

(7-13) nyawa-ma-yi-Ø paya-rni kutpu-ngka
this-#-1sgObj-3sgSub bite-PST calf-LOC
It bit me on the calf.

(7-14) karr-a-rnalu murla-ngka
sit-PRES-1plexcSub here-LOC
We're sitting here.

(7-15) wayi-warla-yi-n ya-nku-rni ngayi-ny?
Q-FOCUS-1sgAdj-2sgSub go-FUT-hither 1sg-DAT
Are you going to come to me?

(7-16) karnti pa-rru-rna-Ø ngarlu-ku
tree hit-FUT-1sgSub-3sgObj bush.honey-DAT
I'll hit (ie. chop) the tree for/to get bush honey.

Note that the dative adjunct is not cross-referenced here as it occurs with a purposive function.

Temporal NPs (which are often inflected with the locative case - see 4.1.3) can also be included in this category.

(7-17) Saturday-rla ya-nku-rni maluka
Saturday-LOC go-FUT-hither old.man
The old man will come on Saturday.

Sentences can include a combination of complements and adjuncts (7-18), more than one complement (7-19), or more than one adjunct (7-20).

(7-18) jala-ma-rna-Ø pa-ni ngalaka-rla wartan-tu
today-#-1sgSub-3sgObj hit-PST head-LOC hand-ERG
Today I hit him on the head with my hand.

(7-19) ya-nku-rni-lu Takuraku-ngulu Nijpurru-ngkurra
go-FUT-hither-3plSub Dakuraku-ABL Pidgeon.Hole-ALL
They will come from Daguragu to Pidgeon Hole.

(7-20) jawartirla-ma-rnalu-rla ya-nku kajirri-wu
tomorrow-#-1plexcSub-3sgDAT go-FUT woman-DAT
ngarina-wu
beef-DAT
Tomorrow we will go to the woman for beef.

Note the dative adjunct which is cross-referenced here is 'kajirri-wu', as the other dative adjunct has a purposive function.

7.2 VERBLESS CLAUSES

Like most Australian languages, clauses in Bilinara can have a nominal predicate. No copula is needed although a 'dummy' copula ('karr-' 'to be, sit') is used in non-present constructions (see 7.2.5). Nominal clauses are used for ascriptive, local, possessive and having/lacking constructions. These clauses are considered to consist of a subject and a nominal predicate. As with other types of sentences, word order is relatively free; the subject and predicate may occur in either order. As well as these clauses, there is another type of verbless clause which contains what will be referred to as nominal predicators. Nominal predicators are similar to verbs in that they may select nominal arguments (other than subject).

7.2.1 Ascriptive Clauses

The predicate of an ascriptive clause describes the subject as having a certain property. It may consist of a 'noun-like' nominal (7-21), a modifying nominal (eg. (7-22) and (7-23)) or a full noun phrase (eg. (7-24) and (7-25)).

(7-21) nyila-karta timana
that-IMM horse
That one there is a horse.

(7-22) nyawa-ma-lu janga, kula-lu punyu
this-#-3plSub sick NEG-3plSub good
They're sick, they're not well.

(7-23) nyila-ma kurrirrij wankaj
that-# car bad
That car is no good (ie. it doesn't work).

(7-24) nyila-ma yapakayi jarrakap-kaji
that-# small talk-NMZR
That's a little taperecorder.

(7-25) jala-ma jarrwa martayi
today-# many cloud
Today is (very) cloudy.

7.2.2 Local Clauses

The only examples of this type of clause have a predicate marked with either the locative or the ablative case.

(7-26) nyawa-ma-rna Katherine Gorge-ja
this-#-1sgSub Katherine Gorge-LOC
I am at Katherine Gorge.

(7-27) nyawa-ma-rna jangkarni-nginyi marru-nginyi
this-#-1sgSub big-ABL place-ABL
I'm from the city (Lit. I'm from a big place).

7.2.3 Possessive Clauses

When a possessive phrase occurs as the predicate of a nominal sentence, both the possessor NP and the possessed NP must be cross-referenced in the bound pronoun complex. This is the case regardless of whether the nature of the possession is alienable or inalienble. This contrasts with the usual case for alienable possession, where only the possessed NP is cross-referenced (see 4.7.1).

(7-28) kula-yi-Ø ngayi-ny nyila-ma mangarri
NEG-1sgObj-3sgSub 1sg-DAT that-# bread
That bread's not mine.

(7-29) nyila-ma-yi-Ø wartan
that-#-1sgObj-3sgSub hand
That's my hand.

7.2.4 Having/Lacking Clauses

These clauses have as their predicate a nominal inflected with one of the adnominal suffixes '-jawung/yawung' 'PROP' or 'mulung 'WITHOUT'. Semantically, these constructions are similar to ascriptive clauses as they serve to assign a property to the subject of the clause (as demonstrated by the literal translations given in brackets).

(7-30) nyawa-ma-rna karnti-yawung
this-#-1sgSub stick-PROP
I have a stick. (lit. 'I am stick-having')

(7-31) jala-ma-rnalu ngarina-mulung
today-#-1excplSub beef-WITHOUT
We don't have any beef today. (lit. 'Today we are beef-lacking').

7.2.5 Use of 'Dummy' Copula

All of the examples of the verbless clauses discussed above are in the present tense. When the tense is non-present a 'dummy' copula, 'karr-' 'to be, sit' is used.

(7-32) nyuntu-ma-n janga karri-nya payinta
2sg-#-2sgSub sick be-PST yesterday
You were sick yesterday.

(7-33) jawartirla-ma ngarrap karr-u
tomorrow-# hot be-FUT
Tomorrow will be hot.

7.2.6 Nominal Predicators

Nominal predictors behave like verbs in that they may subcategorize for an object (in the absolutive case) or an indirect object (in the dative case). They are typically two-place intransitive predicates, with a subject in absolutive case. Nominal predicators often express concepts that are typically associated with the category of stative verbs in other languages (such as English) (Hale 1982:220).

(7-34) karu-ma-Ø-lu pina jaru pilinarra
kid-#-3sgObj-3plSub knowing language Bilinara
The kids know Bilinara/the Bilinara language.

Note that this sentence has an absolutive subject and an absolutive object. It is the only example of such an argument structure in the language.

Preverbs which can function alone, independently of main verbs, often function as nominal predicators in these types of clauses.

(7-35) nyawa-ma-rna-rla wukarra warlaku-wu
this-#-1sgSub-3sgDAT fear dog-DAT
I'm frightened of the dog.

(7-36) narnta nyila lungkarra
puppy that cry
That puppy's crying.

It is interesting that all of the preverbs that can function as predicates of nominal sentences typically combine with the main verb 'karr-' 'to be, sit' (which also functions as the 'dummy' copula) when they occur in verbal clauses.

7.2.7 Small (Nominal) Clauses

These operate in the same way as the non-finite clauses described in 8.2 except that they involve nominals; they contain neither verbs not preverbs:

(7-37) nyawa-ma karu-ma punyu-k janga-nginyi
this-# kid-# good-THEN sick-ABL
This kid is better now, after being sick.

7.3 CLITICS AND PARTICLES

7.3.1 '-rni/parni' 'ONLY'

This clitic has the allomorphs:
'-rni' after a vowel and
'-parni' after a consonant (see 5.2 for further examples of the occurence of this epenthetic 'pa').

'-rni/parni' may be cliticized to nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs and preverbs but NOT to inflected verbs. (It is thus distinct from the verbal suffix '-rni/rn' 'hither'). It follows all case marking, but must precede the FOCUS clitic '-parla/warla' (7.3.4)

and any cliticized bound pronouns.

'-rni/parni' has a number of different senses, often dependent on the category of the word to which it is attached. There are only examples of a few different senses in my corpus, but McConvell (1983:16-22) discusses in detail the different uses of the clitic in Gurindji, a language to which Bilinara is very similar. The senses found in my corpus include 'only'; 'exactly'; 'all the way'; 'still'; 'all the time'.

i). 'only':
The clearest examples of this meaning are with nominals and pronouns:

(7-38) nyawa-ma-rna-Ø warlaku pa-ni
this-#-1sgSub-3sgObj dog hit-PST
wartan-tu-rni-warla
hand-ERG-ONLY-FOCUS
I hit the dog with my hand only.

(7-39) kalyjan-ngka-rni karrwa-Ø
shallow-LOC-ONLY keep-IMP
Keep him in the shallow (water) only!

(7-40) jaju-rlu-rni-rna-Ø tanjarri ma-ni
MM-ERG-ONLY-1sgSub-3sgObj bring.up do-PST
Only Granny, me, brought her up. (ie. her mother didn't).

When attached to pronouns, '-rni' gives the sense of 'own' in English as in 'my own':

(7-41) nyawa-ma-rna-nyunu pa-ni ngalaka-rla-ma ngayi-rni
this#-1sgSub-REFL hit-PST head-LOC-# 1sg-ONLY
wartan-jawung
hand-PROP
I hit myself on the head with my own hand.

(7-42) kampa-Ø nyunu-ny-parni!
cook-IMP 2sg-DAT-ONLY
Cook your own!

Any attempts to elicit constructions with the notion of 'each' resulted in the use of this clitic:

(7-43) kujarra-rni kujarra-rni kujarra-rni-rna-yina
two-ONLY two-ONLY two-ONLY-1sgSub-3plObj
jayi-nya
give-PST
I gave them two each.

When '-rni' is cliticized to adverbs, the interpretation 'only' is possible, but the interpretation 'all the time, all the way' etc. is also present:

(7-44) ya-nta wajija-rni-warla!
go-IMP quickly-ONLY-FOCUS
Go quickly all the way!

ii). 'exactly':
In all the examples of this sense found in the corpus, '-rni' is attached to a nominal in the locative case:

(7-45) ngaliwa-ma karr-u-la murrkun-ma nyawa-ngka-rni
1plinc-# sit-FUT-1plincSub three-# here-LOC-ONLY
We three will sit right here.

(7-46) karr-u-rna-nga yala-ngka-rni rurl
be-FUT-1sgSub-DUB there-LOC-ONLY sit.down
I might sit down right there.

iii). 'all the way':
This sense is found with noun phrases in the allative case:

(7-47) ka-nya-rna-Ø ngayi-ny-jirri-rni
take-PST-1sgSub-3sgObj 1sg-DAT-ALL-ONLY
ngurra-ngkurra
camp-ALL
I took it all the way to my camp.

(7-48) ya-nta kuwarran-jirri-rni
go-IMP doctor-ALL-ONLY
Go straight to the doctor!

This sense is also found with time adverbial expressions:

(7-49) nijingkarla purrip wurlngarn-ku-rni
nighttime wind sun-DAT-ONLY
Last night it was windy right up to daylight.

iv). 'All the time':
Usually this sense is found with preverbs:

(7-50) nyuntu-ma-n janga karri-nya payinta kulkuya-yawung
2sg-#-2sgSub sick be-PST yesterday cold-PROP
markin-parni
sleep-ONLY
Yesterday you were sick with a cold (and) slept all the time.

This meaning is also seen in the pair:
ngajik 'for a long time'
ngajik-parni 'for ever'

v). Idioms:
There are a couple of uses of '-rni' that do not fit into any of the above senses and are possibly idiomatic:

purrp 'finish'
purrp-parni 'everybody'

kaput '(in the) morning'
karput-parni 'early in the morning'

While all of these above senses appear, in English, to be relatively diverse, they can be shown to be related. McConvell (1983) gives a very detailed and comprehensive discussion of the ways in which all of these senses can be related to one another. This discussion will be only very briefly reproduced here.

In short, these senses are alike in that they all serve to modify and/or deny pre-supposed expectations. Thus, the speaker makes an assessment of what he/she thinks the hearer expects to happen or to have happened. The speaker then uses an 'expectation' modifier to highlight deviation from this expectation (McConvell 1983:9). Sense (i) 'only' is the most straight-foreward example of this. '-rni' in this sense is used with the typical pragmatic function of 'only' in many languages, namely to "restrict the scope of an assertation against a presupposition that more would be expected" (Evans (to appear) p.33).

The other three senses can all be seen to also function as 'expectation modifiers'. Thus, sense (ii) 'exactly' (used with the locative case) denies the presupposition that the action or event is to take place, or to be located, in a number of different locations. Sense (iii) 'all the way' denies an expectation that the distance is only "partially realized" in the particular case (McConvell 1983:25);

and sense (iv) 'all the time' implies that something is engaged in a state "to the exclusion of all alternatives" (McConvell 1983:26); therefore it is 'only' in that state during the period involved.

7.3.2 '-rningan' 'AGAIN'

There is one example of this clitic in the corpus:

(7-51) ya-na-lu lurrpu-rningan
go-PRES-3plSub back-AGAIN
They're going back again.

This clitic is also found in Gurindji (McConvell 1983:4-8).

7.3.3 'jupu' 'JUST'

'Jupu' is a sentence adverb in that it modifies expectations about the whole sentence, the verb or the predicate (McConvell 1983:14). It is never used to qualify a noun, the clitic 'rni' 'ONLY' fulfilling this function instead. It can usually be translated 'just' or 'only'. McConvell (1983:14-15) discusses various senses in which 'jupu' can be used, however, there is only one sense found among my data, one which McConvell terms 'for nothing'.

'jupu' is used in this context to deny the possible expectation that the action was performed with some additional motive, or for some specific purpose (McConvell 1983:14).

(7-52) jupu-rna-ngku ya-ni-rni yurrk-ku
JUST-1sgSub-2sgAdj go-PST-hither yarn-DAT
I just came to you to have a yarn.
(ie. I didn't want to talk about anything in particular.)

(7-53) jupu-lu ya-ni-rni ngurra-ngkurra jawartirla-lu
JUST-3plSub go-PST-hither camp-ALL tomorrow-3plSub
lurrpu ya-nku
return go-FUT
They just came up here and they'll go back tomorrow.
(ie. just for a visit, for no special reason.)

This sense is probably most clearly exemplified by the following mini-dialogue:

(7-54) A: ya-nku-rni-yi-n, ya-nku-rli
go-FUT-hither-1sgAdj-2sgSub go-FUT-1duincSub
kalurip
walk.around
You come up to me (and) we'll walk about.
B: wanyji-ka?
which-LOC
Where?
A: jupu-rli ya-nku kalurip
JUST-1duincSub go-FUT walk.around
We'll just walk about.

7.3.4 '-parla/warla' 'FOCUS'

This clitic has two functions: the temporal meaning of 'now, then' and a discourse function in which it marks the focus, or the new information being presented. It can be cliticized to all free-standing parts of speech, occurring after all case and verbal inflections. It must also follow the clitic 'rni' 'ONLY' if it is present, but always occurs before the bound pronoun complex. Its use is very common with interrogative words (see 4.3).

There are two allomorphs:
'-parla' follows a consonant
'-warla' follows a vowel.

Examples of the use of this clitic include:

(7-55) nyila-ma-rna-Ø warlaku-ma pa-ni
that-# - 1sgSub-3sgObj dog - # hit-PST
wartan-tu-rni-warla
hand-ERG-ONLY-FOCUS
I hit the dog with my hand.

(7-56) nyantu jangkarni-warla, ngartu
3sg big-FOCUS pregnant
She's big now, (she's) pregnant

(7-57) ya-nta-warla-rla nyunu-ny-ku kunyjumarra-wu
go-IMP-FOCUS-3sgDAT 2sg-DAT-DAT boss-DAT
Go to your boss now!

(7-58) lurrpu-warla-rna ya-ni-rni, jiya-rni
back-FOCUS-1sgSub go-PST-hither burn-PST
(Then) I came back, perishing.

(7-59) jarrpip-parla ka-nya nyila markin-kaji
carry.above.head-FOCUS take-PST that sleep-NMZR
He carried the mattress above his head.

7.3.5 '-karta' 'IMMediate'

This clitic is typically attached to demonstratives. It is similar in function to the English phrases: 'just there' and 'right here' in phrases such as: 'that one just there' or 'this one right here'. Compare:

(7-60) nyila purrip
that wind
'that wind over there (ie. a willy-willy)'

(7-61) nyila-karta purrip
that- IMM wind
'that wind there now.'

Other examples are:

(7-62) nyila-karta-lu ya-na-rni
that-IMM-3plSub go-PRES-hither
That 'mob' are coming right now. (ie. I can see them)

(7-63) ka-ngka nyawa-karta
take-IMP this-IMM
Take this one here!

This clitic can also be attached to pronouns:

(7-64) nyunpula-karta kawayi-wula jarrakap-ku
2du-IMM come.here-2duSub talk-DAT
"Hey, you two there, come here and chat."

7.3.6 '-k' 'THEN'

The clitic '-k' is affixed to a nominal and refers to the fact that the state referred to by the nominal occured precisely at the time indicated by the verb. It is glossed 'THEN', although, if the time being expressed by the verb is present tense, then it has the meaning of 'now'.

(7-65) paya-rni kungulu-k
bite-PST blood-THEN
He bit him bloody.

(7-66) Takuraku-rla-ja karri-nya jangkarni-k ngayirra-ma
Daguragu-LOC-1duexcSub be-PST big-THEN 1duexc-#
We grew up at Daguragu.

(7-67) nyila-ma karu-ma punyu-k-pa-rna-rla ma-rni
that-# kid-# good-THEN-#-1sgSub-3sgDAT speak-PST
nyantu-ma kuli-warla jayi-nya-yi-Ø
3sg-# 'cheek'-FOCUS give-PST-1sgObj-3sgSub
I talked nicely to that kid (and) he (just) gave me 'cheek'.

A similar clitic '-lku' is found in Warlpiri (Simpson 1983).

7.4 NEGATION

There are two different types of negation in Bilinara, each marked with a different negation marker. 'mulung' is the privative suffix (glossed 'WITHOUT') which negates the presence of a noun and indicates the cessation of a state (for further examples, see 4.4.1.2):

(7-68) tarnku-mulung-pa-ja ya-ni Yarralin-jirri
tucker-WITHOUT-#-1duexcSub go-PST Yarralin-ALL
We had no tucker (so) we went to Yarralin.

(7-69) kirrp karr-a karu, lungkarra-mulung
be.quiet be-PRES kid crying-WITHOUT
The kid is quiet, he has stopped crying.

The general negation marker is the free form 'kula', which is used to mark all other types of negation. In the examples present in the corpus, 'kula' always has scope over either the whole sentence, the predicate or the verb, but not over a NP.

(7-70) kula-rna-wiliny wukarra
NEG-1sgSub-3duObj fear
I'm not frightened of those two.

(7-71) kula ka-nya-rni jala-ma
NEG take-PST-hither today-#
He didn't bring it today.

(7-72) kula ma-nta-Ø-lu kijikijik nyila karu
NEG do-IMP-3sgObj-3plSub tickle that kid
Don't tickle that child!

It is likely that 'kula' can be used to have scope over a NP in constructions such as 'Not

only I went' where the use of 'mulung' would be inappropriate. McConvell gives such an example for Gurindji (1980:75).

The difference between 'kula' and 'mulung' can be seen in the following pair of sentences:

(7-73) nyanu-ny kalaj ngalawin-mulung
3sg-DAT younger.sibling child-WITHOUT
His younger brother doesn't have any children.

(7-74) nyanu-ny kalaj kula jarrwa ngalawin-ma
3sg-DAT younger.sibling NEG many child-#
His younger brother doesn't have a lot of children.

Thus, 'mulung' is used to negate the presence of the noun (here, children) completely, whereas 'kula' is used to negate a proposition (here, that the subject has a lot of children).

8.0 SYNTAX OF COMPLEX CLAUSES

This section will discuss the ways in which Bilinara links simple clauses together into coordinate and subordinate constructions. I will begin by discussing finite subordinate clauses, and will then discuss non-finite subordinate clauses.

8.1 FINITE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

There are four complementizers present in the data which serve to connect two finite clauses and to specify the relationship that exists between them.

8.1.1 'nyamu' Clauses

The complementizer 'nyamu' (glossed 'REL'), occurs at the beginning of relative or conditional subordinate clauses. The subordinate clause in which 'nyamu' occurs can either precede (eg. (8-1) and (8-2)) or follow (eg. (8-3)) the main clause. (8-1) and (8-2) are examples of conditional clauses and (8-3) shows it functioning in a relative clause.

(8-1) nyamu-lu-nga ya-nta-rla-rni,
REL-3plSub-DUB go-IMP-IRR-hither
parraj pu-ngka-rla-rna-yina-nga
find pierce-IMP-IRR-1sgSub-3plObj-DUB
If they had come I would have seen them.

(8-2) nyamu-Ø-lu kampa-rni kirrawa-ma,
REL-3sgObj-3plSub cook-PST goanna-#
nyila-warla-Ø-lu nga-rni
that-FOCUS-3sgObj-3plSub eat-PST
They ate the goanna which they (had) cooked.

(8-3) nyila-ma-rna-Ø-nga warlaku-ma pa-rru kuliyan-ma
that-#-1sgSub-3sgObj-DUB dog-# hit-FUT 'cheeky'-#
nyamu-yi-Ø-nga paya-wu
REL-1sgObj-3sgSub-DUB bite-FUT
If that cheeky dog bites me, I'll hit him.

These two types of 'nyamu' clauses exemplify Hale's claim (1976:79) that many Australian languages have a single formal type, the 'adjoined relative', which can have either a NP-relative or a T-relative (including conditional) interpretation. Thus, (8-2) has a NP-relative interpretation as the subordinate clause is serving to "make more determinate or to supply additional information about an argument in the main clause" (Hale 1976:79). Hale defines a conditional interpretation as being a special kind of T-relative interpretation as "both require an appropriate sequence of

modalities over the main and subordinate clauses" (Hale 1976:80). Thus, in (8-1) and (8-3,) both temporal and conditional interpretations are possible.

8.1.2 'jumaji' Clauses

'jumaji' (glossed CAUS) introduces subordinate clauses which specify the cause or the reason for the action, state or event described by the main clause. The clause introduced by 'jumaji' usually refers to an event which is prior to that of the main clause, or a state which holds up to and during the event described by the main clause. 'jumaji' can typically be translated with the English 'because'.

(8-4) ka-ngku-rni-rna-Ø kankula ngawa jumaji
take-FUT-hither-1sgSub-3sgObj up water CAUS
jiya-la
burn-PRES
I'm going to bring some water up here because (I'm) thirsty.

(8-5) nyila-ma-rna-Ø pa-ni jumaji
that-#-1sgSub-3sgObj hit-PST CAUS
pa-ni-yi-Ø
hit-PST-1sgObj-3sgSub
I hit him because he hit me.

(8-6) kampa-la-lu kilyarra puliki yirrip-parni jumaji
cook-PRES-3plSub brand cattle half-ONLY CAUS
jarrwa nyila puliki
many that cattle
They're only branding half the cattle because they're a big group of cattle.

In some dialects of Kriol 'tumaji' exists meaning 'because' (Hudson 1985:181) suggesting that it may have been borrowed from Kriol into Bilinara.

8.1.3 'pala' Clauses

'pala' (glossed CONS), is used to introduce subordinate clauses which have a relation of result or purpose with the main clause which precedes it (McConvell 1980:85). It usually corresponds with the phrases 'so that' or 'then' in English.

(8-7) pirrkap ma-nta jawi pala-rli-Ø kampa-wu
make do-IMP fire CONS-1duincSub-3sgObj cook-FUT
Make a fire so that we can cook it.

(8-8) nyawa-ma-rna ya-nku pala-yi-Ø kuwarran-tu
this-#-1sgSub go-FUT CONS-1sgObj-3sgSub doctor-ERG
karrap nya-ngku
look.at see-FUT
I will go so that the doctor can have a look at me.

(8-9) nyawa-ma-rna-rla ya-nku pala-ja ya-nku
this-#-1sgSub-3sgDAT go-FUT CONS-1duexcSub go-FUT
kalurip
walk.around
I'll go to him then we two will walk around.

8.1.4 'ngaja' Clauses

'ngaja', which is used to express ADMONitive mood (see 6.1.2.8), can also be used to introduce a subordinate clause with a meaning of 'lest'. In these clauses, the main clause indicates action which is or should be taken to avoid some undesirable event which is described by the subordinate clause introduced by 'ngaja'.

(8-10) jintara-rla yuwa-rru milimili-rla ngaja-lu-Ø
another-LOC put-FUT paper-LOC ADMON-3plSub-3sgObj
karrap nya-ngku ngumpin-tu
look.at see-FUT man-ERG
She'll put it in another envelope lest the men look at it.

8.1.5 Apposed Clauses

Bilinara has no conjunctive particle equivalent to English 'and' or 'but'. Conjoined clauses are often formed by simply apposing the two clauses.

(8-11) kula-rna karrwa-la jarrwa marntaj-karta
NEG-1sgSub have-PRES many allright-IMM
jayi-ngku-rna-ngku jintaku
give-FUT-1sgSub-2sgObj one
I don't have alot (but) I'll give you one.

(8-12) jarrakap-kaji jala-k-pa-ngantipa yuwa-rra
talk-NMZR now-THEN-#-1plexcObj put-IMP
ma-nyja-ngantipa "nyawa-ma-rna Katherine Gorge-ja"
say-IMP-1plexcObj this-#-1sgSub Katherine Gorge-LOC
Ring us then (ie. at that time) (and) tell us "I am at Katherine Gorge".

It may be possible to analyze 'marntaj' in (8-11) as functioning as a conjunction between the two cluases.

8.1.6 Verb Serialization

There is one example of verb serialization in the corpus. This example concerns the idiomatic use of the verb 'jiya-Ø' 'to burn' with the meaning of 'thirsty' or 'perishing'.

(8-13) lurrpu-warla-rna ya-ni-rni jiya-rni
return-FOCUS-1sgSub go-PST-hither burn-PST
(Then) I came back, perishing.

8.2 NON-FINITE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

All of the clauses considered in this section contain either a preverb and/or a verb with subordinate inflection. These clauses are reduced in two ways: they provide no information concerning tense, aspect and mood and they typically involve the deletion of the subordinate subject under co-reference with a main clause NP argument.

Any preverbs or subordinate main verbs present in a subordinate clause are inflected with certain nominal case suffixes. These case suffixes serve two functions: they indicate relative tense (ie. whether the event described by the subordinate clause happened or will happen prior to, concurrently with, or after that described by the main clause), and they indicate grammatical relation (ie. they mark switch-reference; whether or not the deleted subject of the subordinate clause is co-referential with the subject or the object of the main clause). Table 8.1 demonstrates these suffixes and their function.

Table 8.1 Use of Nominal Suffixes in Reduced Subordinate Clauses.

	SS(Sub_m Sub_s)	**DS(Obj_m Sub_s)**
PRIOR	ABL ngulu/nginyi	* *
SIMUL	LOC kurla etc.	ALL jirri/yirri
PURP	DAT ku/wu	* *

(Note that ** indicates that the relevent data are not present in the corpus).

Where 'SS' = same subject
'DS' = different subject
The items in the brackets denote the NPs which are co-referential. Thus, 'Sub_m Sub_s' indicates that the subject of the main clause is co-referential with that of the subordinate clause, and Obj_m Sub_s

indicates that it is the object of the main clause which is co-referential with the subject of the subordinate clause.

Some examples of non-finite subordinate clauses include:

With ablative suffix (to indicate 'same subject', and that the event of the subordinate clause is prior to that of the main clause):

(8-14) nyawa-ma-rna jamana janga kalu-nginyi
this-#-1sgSub foot sick walk-ABL
My foot is sore from walking.

(8-15) tuliny karr-a markin-ngulu, nyila-ma karu-ma
wake be-PRES sleep-ABL that-# kid-#
That kid's awake after sleeping.

With the dative suffix (denoting 'same subject' and the fact that the subordinate clause has a meaning of 'purpose'):

(8-16) jawartirla ya-nku-rni-lu kajajirri murla-ngkurra
tomorrow go-FUT-hither-3plSub women here-ALL
yinpa-rnu-ku warrkap-ku
sing-SUB-DAT dance-DAT
Tomorrow the women will come for singing and dancing.

(8-17) kawulu, nyuntu-ma ya-nta-rla ngamayi-wu
sister 2sg-# go-IMP-3sgDAT mother-DAT
jarrakap-ku jaru-wu
talk-DAT language-DAT
Sister, you have to go to mother to talk language.

With the locative case (indicating 'same subject' and that the events described by each clause occurred, or will occur simultaneously):

(8-18) yakayaka-rna jamana-ma kalu-ngka-ma
hurt-1sgSub foot-# walk-LOC-#
I hurt my foot while walking.

With the allative suffix (denoting 'different subject' and simultaneous occurrence of the two events):

(8-19) ma-nku-rna-yina yartiwaji warrkap-jirri
do-FUT-1sgSub-3plObj photo dance-ALL
I'm going to take a photo of them (when they're) dancing.

The use of the allative and the locative suffixes to mark switch-reference can be seen clearly in the following two examples:

(Sub_m Sub_s):

(8-20) karrap-rna-ngku-lu nya-nya jaru-ngka
watch-1Sub-2sgObj-plSub see-PST language-LOC
jarrakap-kurla
talk-LOC
We saw you (when we were) talking language.

(Obj_m Sub_s):

(8-21) purrpparni-warla-yi-lu ngayi kurru
everybody-FOCUS-1sgObj-3plSub 1sg listen.to
nya-ngku jarrakap-jirri
see-FUT talk-ALL
Everybody will have to listen to me talking.

Austin (1981:331) claims a number of languages of the area such as Warlpiri, Djingili, Warlmanpa and Waramungu use the allative suffix to mark object-control in reduced subordinate clauses.

There is one exception to this system of switch-reference marking:

(8-22) nyawa-ma karu-ma wanyji-rni wangarlap-ta
this-# kid-# leave-PST lie.on.one's.back-LOC
markin-ta
sleep-LOC
She left this kid lying on its back, sleeping.
(ie. she walked away from it)

In this example, the locative case suffix is used on the subordinate clause despite the fact that it is the object of the main clause which is co-referential with the subject of the subordinate clause. Given the system described above we would expect the allative suffix to be used.

This deviation could be attributable to the fact that the example was given by a younger speaker who is probably less than fully fluent (as shown by the irregular use of the locative suffix '-ta' following /p/ - the usual locative form would be '-kurla', ie. 'wangarlap-kurla').

A more interesting possibility is that if the verb 'wanyji-Ø' includes in its semantics an inherent notion of movement, as it does in the above example, then perhaps the use of the locative is acceptable here as there can only be one interpretation of the sentence. As 'She' cannot be walking away from the kid and sleeping at the same time, then the reading in which the object is the pivot is the only one available. Thus, perhaps the allative case is only used when it is necessary for disambiguation.

9.0 TEXT 1 (told by Hector Waitbiari)

1 nyawa-ma-rna karr-a ngayi-ma murla-ngka-rni
this-#-1sgSub be-PRES 1sg-# here-LOC-ONLY
I stay here.

2 ya-na-rnalu [orlataim] nyampata-wu ngarranyana-wu
go-PRES-1plexc ? -DAT dancing.place-DAT
We go (all the time) to the dancing place.

3 ngarranyana-nginyi purrp-nginyi lurrpu-rnalu ya-na-rni
dancing.place-ABL finish-ABL return-1plexc go-PRES-hither
After (activity at) the dancing place is finished we come home.

4 murla-ngana ngumpit karr-a
here-ASSOC man sit-PRES
People from here sit (waiting)

5 [maitbe naja] wayiling [coming up]
boy.to.be.initiated
maybe another initiate will come up.

6 [him comeup] ngurra-ngkurra
camp-ALL
He comes up to camp

7 ka-nga-rnalu-Ø patarti-yirri
take-PRES-1plexc-3sgObj dancing.place-ALL
we take him to the dancing place

8 ngaji-rlu, ngamayi-rlu kaku-rlu nyanu-ny-ju
father-ERG mother-ERG FF-ERG 3sg-DAT-ERG
his father, his mother, his grandfather.

9 purrp-parla karr-a
finish-FOCUS be-PRES
(Then) it's finished

10 marntiwa parntimi[1]
(ceremony) (ceremony)
The 'marntiwa' and 'parntimi' (ceremonies).

11 jangka karu karr-a parntimi-rla-lu, purrp karr-a
woman kid be-PRES (ceremony)-LOC-3plSub, finish be-PRES
The women and children do 'parntimi' dancing, (then) it's finished.

12 jangka-ma-lu parntimi-rla purrp karr-a
woman-#-3plSub (ceremony)-LOC finish be-PRES
The women finish the 'parntimi' dancing.

13 ngumpit-warla karr-a-lu jiwan-jiwan-ta
men-FOCUS sit-PRES-3plSub painting.themselves-LOC
Then the men paint themselves.

14 purrp-nginyi-warla-rnalu lurrpu-lurrpu ya-na-rni
finish-ABL-FOCUS-1plexc return-RDP go-PRES-hither
(When) that's finished we all come back.

15 marntiwa-nginyi-ma parntimi-nginyi-ma
(ceremony)-ABL-# (ceremony)-ABL-#
After the 'marntiwa' and the 'parntimi' dancing

16 nyawa-ma-rnalu lurrpu ya-na-rni
this-#-1plexc return go-PRES-hither
we all come back.

17 ya-na-rni-rnalu ngantipa-ny-jirri-rni murnu-yirri
go-PRES-hither-1plexc 1plexc-DAT-ALL-ONLY country-ALL
We come (back) to our country.

18 kurru-kurru-kari-rnalu karr-a
listen-RDP-other-1plexc sit-PRES
We sit waiting (lit. listening) for someone else.

19 [maitbe] Yarralin-ngulu
Yarralin-ABL
Maybe (he'll be) from Yarralin.

20 [him come up] karu
kid
The kid comes up

21 karnkarn-Ø-ngantipa ma-na-rni murla-ngulu
pick.up-3sgSub-1plexcObj do-PRES-hither here-ABL
(and) he picks us up from here

22 wayiling-kurlu
boy.to.initiate-ERG
the initiate.

23 ya-na-rnalu ngarranyana-wu
go-PRES-1plexc dancing.place-DAT
We go to the dancing place.

24 ngarranyana-yirri-rnalu-Ø ka-nga
dancing.place-ALL-1plexc-3sgObj take-PRES
We take him to the dancing place.

25 ngarranyana-rla-rnalu karr-a
dancing.place-LOC-1plexc sit-PRES
We are all at the dancing place.

26 parntimi-rla-rnalu karr-a
(ceremony)-LOC-1plexc be-PRES
We do the 'parntimi' dancing.

27 purrp-pa-rnalu karr-a
finish-#-1plexc be-PRES
We finish (it).

28 lurrpu-lurrpu-rnalu ya-na-rni murla-ngkurra-rni
return-RDP-1plexc go-PRES-hither here-ALL-ONLY
(Then) we all come back here

29 nijpurru-yirri, ngantipa-ny-jirri murnu-ngkurra
Pidgeon.Hole-ALL, 1plexc-DAT-ALL country-ALL
to Pidgeon Hole, our country.

30 karr-a-rnalu nganti-ngantipa-ny-ja murnu-rla
sit-PRES-1plexc RDP-1plexc-DAT-LOC country-LOC
We all stay in our country (at our place).

31 yipu-ngka ngaja-rnalu ya-nku
rain-LOC ADMON-1plexc go-FUT
We shouldn't go in the wet season (?)

32 yipu ngantipa-ny-ja-k wa-ngku
rain 1plexc-DAT-LOC-THEN fall-FUT
The rain will fall on us (?)

33 kula-rnalu ya-na
NEG-1plexc go-PRES
We can't go (anywhere).

34 murla-ngka-rni-warla-rnalu karr-a
here-LOC-ONLY-FOCUS-1plexc sit-PRES
We stay right here.

35 purrp-parla yipu-ma
finish-FOCUS rain-#
After the rain

36 ya-na-rnalu [karu karnti-ngana] (?)
go-PRES-1plexc [kid tree-ASSOC(?)]
we go . . .(?)

37 ya-na-rnalu
go-PRES-1plexc
we go

38 purrp ma-na karu-ma
finish do-PRES kid-#
finish 'doing' the kid

39 ngarranyana-rla parntimi-rla
dancing.place-LOC (ceremony)-LOC
at the dancing place (we do) 'parntimi' dancing,

40 marntiwa-rla-rnalu karr-a purrp
(ceremony)-LOC-1plexc be-PRES finish
we finish the 'marntiwa' dancing.

41 marntiwa-nginyi-ma-rnalu purrp-nginyi-ma
(ceremony)-ABL-#-1plexc finish-ABL-#
After we've finished the 'marntiwa' dancing

42 ya-na-rni lurrpu-lurrpu
go-PRES-hither return-RDP
(we) come back

43 lurrpu-lurrpu-rnalu ya-na-rni
return-RDP-1plexc go-PRES-hither
we come back

44 ngantipa-ny-jirri-rni
1plexc-DAT-ALL-ONLY
to our place

45 'nijpurru'
'Nijpurru'
'Nijpurru'.

46 ngantipa-ny murnu 'nijpurru' [an] 'panpurri'
1plexc-DAT country 'Nijpurru' 'Panpurri'
Our country is (called) 'Nijpurru' (and) 'Panpurri.

47 nyawa 'nijpurru'
this 'Nijpurru'
This is 'Nijpurru'.

48 'panpurri' nyila karnuk-kurla.
'Panpurri' that other.side.of.the river-LOC
That's 'Panpurri' on the other side of the river.

1. I was informed by the speaker that the 'marntiwa' and 'parntimi' ceremonial dances are performed by men and women respectively.

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