

sous la direction de
Pierre J.L. Arnaud

LE NOM COMPOSÉ
DONNÉES SUR SEIZE LANGUES

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AVANT-PROPOS

La composition nominale est un objet d'étude intéressant au plus haut point les lexicologues, qui examinent les composés en tant qu'unités lexicales, et les spécialistes de morphologie et de syntaxe auxquels ils posent des problèmes théoriques intéressants, notamment à propos des frontières entre ces deux domaines. Le but et les principes de cet ouvrage collectif sont simples : il s'agit de mettre à la disposition des chercheurs et des étudiants des données sur les noms composés de diverses langues en un format compact. La motivation initiale provient de la constatation du fait que se documenter sur les composés peut être une tâche redoutable dès lors que l'on ne dispose pas d'une très riche bibliothèque et que, même dans ce cas, la compilation de données à partir d'ouvrages parfois très différents est souvent une activité frustrante. Peu de ressources comparables existent : un numéro de la *Rivista di Linguistica* (4, 1, 1992) dirigé par Sergio Scalise a rassemblé des articles sur l'allemand, le néerlandais, le hongrois, l'anglais, le latin, l'espagnol, le grec moderne, l'italien, le portugais et le français. Plus récemment, les *Transactions of the Royal Philological Society* (100, 2, 2002) ont consacré un numéro aux composés des langues indo-européennes anciennes.

Le thème du présent volume est le *nom* composé, et non le lexique composé en général, pour deux raisons : d'une part, les unités nominales sont généralement les plus typiques et les plus fréquentes parmi les composés d'une langue et, d'autre part, la prise en compte des autres classes aurait risqué de mener à une prolifération taxinomique préjudiciable à l'unité de l'ouvrage.

Les langues représentées ont été choisies afin de représenter un large éventail typologique et de faire ressortir à la fois la variété et l'unité des phénomènes de composition. Certes, on pourra regretter que telle ou telle langue n'y figure pas, mais l'échantillon idéal par sa couverture typologique et géographique est sans doute plus un vœu pieux qu'un objectif réalisable dans des délais et un format raisonnables. D'emblée, l'anglais, l'allemand et les langues romanes ont été exclus de l'inventaire pour la raison évidente que la documentation sur ces langues est abondante et généralement accessible.

Parmi les langues représentées, certaines sont abondamment décrites de longue date ; d'autres, comme le nêlêmwa, le galô et l'angami, le bininj gunwok, sont en cours de description. Le tok pisin est bien sûr un cas à part en raison de sa nature de langue de contact et de son évolution rapide qui oblige à prendre une perspective dynamique. On se souviendra en lisant ces contributions que l'anglais, la plus intensivement étudiée de toutes les langues modernes, est pourtant loin d'avoir livré tous ses secrets en ce qui concerne la composition. L'ordre de présentation est simplement l'ordre alphabétique des noms des langues, car il n'est pas apparu de raison impérieuse de classer les langues autrement en regard du thème du volume. Quatre contributions ont été laissées en anglais, ceci ne risquant pas de les rendre inaccessibles à des linguistes et évitant une interposition entre la pensée des auteurs et le lecteur (on trouvera le gallois à *Welsh*).

La perspective est préthéorique. Ce terme n'est pas ici affecté d'une connotation négative : il signifie simplement que les données sont présentées de manière à être exploitables dans le cadre de n'importe quelle théorie, sans être enfermées dans un ou des cadres qui risqueraient de se périmer au point d'être difficiles d'accès d'ici vingt ou trente ans. La consultation d'un grand nombre des publications sur les composés anglais ainsi que de certaines descriptions de langues des années 1960 et 70 fait clairement apparaître ce danger. Préthéorique ne veut bien sûr pas dire que les auteurs des contributions ne placent pas leurs recherches dans un cadre théorique, qui est d'ailleurs souvent visible dans leurs textes, mais tous ont fait un effort d'accessibilité qui, je pense, assurera la durabilité de ce travail.

Les auteurs n'ont pas été enfermés dans un carcan descriptif, et on verra par exemple que l'extension de leurs notions de la composition nominale peut varier quelque peu. En règle générale, les contributions, après une très brève présentation générale de la langue, donnent des indications sur les classes ouvertes et sur le syntagme nominal, afin de préparer la présentation de la typologie des noms composés et des phénomènes morpho-phonologiques liés à la composition. La dernière contribution est plus générale et échappe à ce canevas ; elle réintroduit l'anglais et le français comme sources de problèmes.

Il me reste à espérer que ce volume remplira son but, et fera avancer la connaissance de ce domaine inépuisable.

P.A.

Mes remerciements vont, bien sûr, tout d'abord aux linguistes qui ont cru à ce projet et ont bien voulu s'y associer, en persévérant et en tenant remarquablement les délais. Philippe Thoiron, directeur du CRTT, m'a soutenu, de la formulation de l'idée à la publication. Sans Dominique Maniez, peu avare de son temps, certains des problèmes liés à l'informatique n'auraient jamais été résolus, et le volume n'aurait pas la même apparence.

Anaïd Donabédian

INALCO, Paris

ARMÉNIEN

famille : indo-européen
groupe : arménien

7 millions de locuteurs natifs environ.

République d'Arménie et ex-URSS, communautés en Iran et en Asie (arménien oriental).

Communautés au Moyen-Orient, en Europe occidentale, États-Unis, Australie (arménien occidental¹).

1. LA LANGUE

1.1. Généralités

L'arménien moderne comprend deux standards, l'arménien oriental et l'arménien occidental. Issues de deux groupes dialectaux, ces variantes ont définitivement supplanté, au XIX^e siècle, l'arménien classique, qui était la langue littéraire depuis le V^e siècle. Elles présentent de fortes divergences phonétiques, et, à un moindre degré, morphologiques et syntaxiques. L'intercompréhension entre ces deux variantes reste cependant possible.

Le processus de littérisation de ces deux variantes parlées est intervenu au XIX^e siècle dans les grands centres culturels des Arméniens, non sans influence des grandes langues de culture des sociétés concernées : le français à Constantinople et dans l'Empire ottoman, le russe à Tiflis et dans le Caucase. Le devenir des deux langues n'a pas démenti ces affinités, qui se sont radicalisées aussi bien du fait de la politique linguistique soviétique que de la situation de bilinguisme généralisé dans la diaspora occidentale après le génocide de 1915.

¹ Concernant les mots composés, les deux variantes diffèrent peu. Notre description s'appuie sur un corpus d'arménien occidental, mais s'applique également, pour l'essentiel, à l'arménien oriental. Nous signalerons au fil de la description quelques divergences.

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BININJ GUN-WOK

family: Australian
group: gunwinyguan

2000 speakers, with approximately 50% native speakers
Western Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, Australia

1. THE LANGUAGE

1.1. Dialects

Bininj Gun-wok is a cover term for a dialect chain with a number of named varieties: Gundjeihmi (Dj), Kunwinjku (W), Kundedjnenghmi (DNj), Kuninjku (I), Kune (in two subdialects, Narayek (E:NR) and Dulerayek (E:DR)) and Manyallaluk Mayali (MM). See Evans (2003) for a fuller discussion of these varieties. Previous literature on this language has used one or another of these dialect-specific terms, or an orthographic variant thereof: *Gunwinggu* (Oates 1964), *Kunwinjku* (Carroll 1975), *Gun-djeihmi* (Evans 1996), *Mayali* (Evans 1995a, 1997a,b), but in the absence of any superordinate term that all speakers find acceptable the term *Bininj Gun-wok* has recently been mooted as an alternative term for this whole complex of varieties, based on *bininj* "Aboriginal person" and *gun-wok* "language". There are only minor differences in compounding behaviour across dialects, all noted as the paper unfolds, and I draw on material from the entire dialect chain.

1.2. Overall typology

Bininj Gun-wok is a highly polysynthetic language with around twelve prefix slots on the verb and two suffix slots. This is shown by the morphological

template in (1); note the following abbreviations: dir = directional ("hither" or "thither"), imm = immediate ("right now/then/[t]here"), misc = miscellaneous (encompassing a wide range of adverbial type prefixes such as "at night", "in the wrong place", "surreptitiously"; some of these precede and some follow the next slot, with some variation among speakers as to their exact placement), ben = benefactive applicative, gin = generic incorporated nominal (see below), bpin = body part incorporated nominal, num = numerospatial prefix (e.g. "many in a bunch"), com = comitative applicative, refl/recip = reflexive/reciprocal, TAM = tense/aspect/mood. For fuller discussion and exemplification see Evans (1995a, 1996, 1997a, 2002, 2003).

- (1) -12 -11/-10 -9 -8 (-7)* -6 -5 -4 -3 -2 →
 TENSE PRONOM dir imm. misc ben. misc gin. bpin. num →
 → -1 0 1 2
 → com ROOT refl/recip TAM/SUF

Sample verbs illustrating some of the morphological possibilities are (2) and (3):

- (2) *Birri-yawoyh-djarrk-mirnde-moname-rr-inj.*¹
 W 3plP-again-together-many-assemble-RR-PP
 "They assembled together as a group."

1 The following abbreviations are used in glosses: 1 = first person (exclusive), 2 = second person, 12 = first person inclusive, 3 = third person; x/y = x subject acting on y object. Note that the number system is organized as singular/dual/plural for objects, but for subjects follows the slightly different system "minimal/unit augmented/augmented", where number is not calculated absolutely but relative to the logical minimum number for the designated person, which in the first inclusive (only) is two rather than one. The arguments for this depend on morpheme form and paradigmatic architecture and need not concern us here.

In glossing pronominal prefixes, I do not notate singular or minimal numbers overtly, and use "H" to mean "higher object" and "L" to mean "lower object". Thus 1/3pl means "first person minimal subject upon third person plural object", and 3/3L means "third person singular subject upon third person singular lower animate object".

I, II, III and IV are noun class markers. Other abbreviations in glosses are a(ugmented), BEN(efactive), CONJ(unction), DEM(onstrative), DUB(itative), FE(minine), GEN(itive), IMM(EDIATE), INSEP(arable), IRR(ealis), IVF = incorporating verb form, LOC(ative), MA(sculine), NEG(ative), NEU(ter), N(on)P(ast), OBL(ique), P(ast), P(ast)I(mperfective), P(ast)P(erfective), PART noun, pl(ural), PRIV(ative), REDUP(lication), RESP(ect), RR (reflexive/reciprocal), ua = unit augmented, VEG(etable). In the orthography, nj = /ɲ/, ng = /ŋ/, m = /m/, rd = /d/, rl = /l/, r = /r/, rr = /r/, and h = /h/.

There is no voicing contrast, and in general voiced symbols are used, except that <k> rather than <g> is used for velar stops, in all positions in some dialects and syllable-finally in others. The long/short contrast for stops is shown by double stop symbols.

- (3) *Aban-yawoih-warrgah-marne-ganj-ginje-ng.*
 Dj 1/3pl-again-wrong-BEN-meat-cook-PP
 "I cooked the wrong meat for them again."

1.3. Noun incorporation

One element contributing to the complexity of BGW verbal morphology is noun incorporation, which is responsible for the presence, within a verbal word, of the nominal root *ganj* "meat" in (3).

A simpler example (4a-b) illustrates both the optionality of the process, and the fact that the incorporated form omits any noun class prefix that may be present in the external form (the prefix *gun-* is a noun-class marker – see below).

- (4a) *Ba-ginje-ng gun-ganj* (4b) *Ba-ganj-ginje-ng*
 Dj 3/3L -cook-PP IV-meat 3/3L -meat-cook-PP
 "(S)he cooked (the) meat." "(S)he cooked (the) meat"

Noun incorporation is optional, in the sense that there always exist unincorporated (and near-synonymous) counterparts in which the nominal appears externally. Only a limited number of nominal roots may incorporate: a fixed set of about forty, mainly generic roots with meanings like "rock", "tree", "grass" etc., plus the open set of all body part nouns (including compound nouns). Table 1 gives the set of incorporable nominal roots.

Table 1
 Incorporating "generic" nouns

(m)an-	<i>barrarn</i>	"escarpment"	<i>kun-</i>	<i>kolk</i>	"water, liquid" (E, MM = Dj, W bo-)
<i>kun-</i>	<i>bili</i>	"fire"	<i>kun-</i>	<i>korrk</i>	"material, clothes"
	<i>bo-</i>	"liquid" [incorp. only; nearest external equivalent <i>gukku</i> "water"] (Dj, W)		<i>kuk</i>	"any animate; money"
	<i>bod</i>	"bee"	<i>kun-</i>	<i>kurlah</i>	"hide, pelt"
<i>kun-</i>	<i>boy</i>	"cooking stone"	<i>kun-</i>	<i>kurlk</i>	"dirt"
(m)an-	<i>bolh</i>	"track, kangaroo or buffalo pad"	<i>man-</i>	<i>lod, lod(no)</i>	"loaf" (I, E only)
			<i>kun-</i>	<i>madj</i>	"swag, possessions"
<i>kun-</i>	<i>bolk</i>	"place, ground"	<i>man-</i>	<i>mala</i>	"branch" (I)
<i>kun-</i>	<i>bulé</i>	"ashes, burnt ground"		<i>malayi</i>	"(to)morrow"

<i>an-</i>	<i>bunj</i>	"bamboo clump, bamboo plant" (Dj, Dnj only)	<i>man-</i>	<i>me</i>	"vegetable food" ²
	<i>dabu</i>	"egg"		<i>mile(-no)</i>	"woven material; bedding or cloth" (I, E)
<i>kun-</i>	<i>dalk</i>	"grass"	<i>kun-</i>	<i>moken</i>	"bundle"
	<i>deleng</i>	"contents (of a container)"		<i>mudda</i>	"sun" (MM)
	<i>djalk(no)</i>	"branch" (E only)	<i>kun-</i>	<i>ngale</i>	"axe-handle"
<i>kun-</i>	<i>dolng</i>	"smoke, mist"	<i>(m)an-</i>	<i>ngui</i>	"flower" (Dj, W)
<i>kun-</i>	<i>dule</i>	"song" (I, E)	<i>kun-</i>	<i>red</i>	"camp"
<i>kun-</i>	<i>dulk</i>	"tree; stick"		<i>njilk</i>	"rain, rainwater" (MM)
			<i>kun-</i>	<i>rak</i>	"fire; firewood" (I, E; see also <i>gunak</i> above for Dj syn. of "fire" meaning, and <i>kun-yerrng</i> below for syn. of "firewood" meaning in other dialects)
<i>kun-</i>	<i>dung</i>	"sun"			
<i>kun-</i>	<i>dorrh</i>	"vine"	<i>(m)an-</i>	<i>rud</i>	"road, track"
<i>kun-</i>	<i>djorrh</i>	"body, form" (Dj, I)	<i>kun-</i>	<i>rurk</i>	"shelter, house"
<i>kun-</i>	<i>djurle</i>	"bark shelter, shade" (Dj, W)	<i>kun-</i>	<i>wabban</i>	"axe-handle"
<i>kun-</i>	<i>djurrk</i>	"fast-flowing water"		<i>wadda</i>	"home" (MM)
<i>(m)an-</i>	<i>kabo</i>	"billabong"	<i>kun-</i>	<i>ward(d)e</i>	"rock; (coin) money"
	<i>galh(no)</i>	"tree stump" (MM)			
<i>(m)an-</i>	<i>karre</i>	"custom, manner; (Dj) song"	<i>kun-</i>	<i>wok</i>	"word, language, news"
<i>kun-</i>	<i>kanj</i>	"meat"		<i>yau</i>	"baby, child; child [of woman]"
<i>kun-</i>	<i>keb</i>	"burning wood" (also "nose" when used as body part)	<i>kun-</i>	<i>yerrng</i>	"firewood" (<i>kun-rerrng</i> in E; <i>kun-rak</i> used in I)
	<i>go(no)</i>	"flower" (MM)	<i>(m)an-</i>	<i>yivk</i>	"honey" (used as incorp. form of <i>(m)an-kung</i>) ³
<i>kun-</i>	<i>kod</i>	"paper money" (I)			
<i>(m)an-</i>	<i>kole</i>	"bamboo shaft; spear-shaft"			

2 Incorporation of this root is attested only in Oates (1964) but is not found in contemporary Bininj Gun-wok.

3 This is an incipient suppletive form. For speakers in some dialects (e.g. Kuninjku) this root specifically designates the fluid part of wild honey when used as a free nominal, but when incorporated means "honey" more generally, a meaning generally expressed (in all dialects) by the free form *(m)an-kung*.

1.4. Noun incorporation and compounding - formal similarities, distinguishing diagnostics

Interestingly, compound nominal formation is limited in exactly the same way as nominal incorporation in terms of the stock of participating morphemes. All nominal elements in compounds must belong either to the set of about forty roots given in Table 1, or be a body-part noun⁴. Further, in the few cases where there is a suppletive relationship between free and bound forms, this is the same for compounds and incorporation constructions. The clearest case is the word for "water", *kukku* in western dialects and *kun-ronj* in eastern dialects, which has the compounding form *bo*-⁵ (western) or *kolh*- (eastern), regardless of whether it is in a compound or an incorporated construction. Cf. the Gun-djeihmi compounds *an-bo-mak* [VEG-liquid-good] "good water" or *gu-bo-burk* [LOC-liquid-body] "in the middle of the water", and the verbs *ga-bo-yo* [3-liquid-lieNP] "there is water", *ga-bo-bebme* [3-liquid-appearNP] "water comes up, appears".

Although on the surface, in given cases, noun incorporation may at first appear indistinguishable from noun-verb compounding, which is also a common process in the language, various tests can be used to distinguish them, most importantly:

- position: incorporated nouns precede the N elements of N+V compounds;
- the existence of agnate constructions for noun incorporation, in which the noun root is external to the verb word, as in (4), whereas in the case of N+V compounds no agnate construction exists;
- grammatical and thematic relations: incorporated nominals are essentially restricted to objects and intransitive subjects, whereas in N+V compounds the N may be in just about any relation to the V;
- availability of incorporated nominals for modification by demonstratives, adjectives, etc. that are external to the verbal word, something that is impossible with the noun root in N+V compounds.

Since this article is about nominal compounds rather than verbal ones we do not pursue this issue here (see Evans 1996, 1997a, 2003), but confine ourselves to giving a few examples of N+V compounds: [[*marri*]_N-[*dowe*]_V]V [hunger-die] "be hungry, starving", [[*girri*]_N-[*bun*]_V]V [ground.oven-hit] "cook (something) in a ground oven (v.t.)", [[*ngui*]_N-[*bun*]_V]V [flower-hit] "break into flower", [[*bo*]_N-[*won*]_V]V [water-give] "throw (poisonous bark or seeds) into water (so as to stun fish)".

4 Note that "body-part" noun is used in a rather broad way here, including (a) parts of plants (b) other types of "representation", including "voice", "name", "shadow", "spirit" etc.

5 In fact, in this case, the bound form has a broader semantic range, including other forms of liquid (e.g. beer) not covered by the free form *kukku*.

As these illustrate – and in marked contrast to the nominal compounding we will discuss below – N+V compounds are highly variable in terms of the semantic relation found between noun and verb. There are also large numbers of words which appear, from their phonological structure and from the recurrence of the final verbal element elsewhere, to have originated as X+V compounds but for which no synchronic identification of the X is possible. For many of these it is likely that the X was originally a noun, now lost from the language, but for others the X is likely to have belonged to other word classes, such as ideophones. As a generic term for all such X elements, including Ns in N+V compounds, that remains non-committal about their basic word class, I use the term *prepound*. The high frequency of preponouns that are cranberry morphs – around 50% – again contrasts markedly with the situation in nominal compounds, where cranberry morphs are extremely rare.

Below, I will use the term *composition* as a superordinate term that includes both compounding and nominal incorporation, in recognition of the many morphological commonalities shared by these two distinct processes.

1.5. [V + V]_v constructions

A further type of composition worth mentioning while we are considering verbs is the conjoining of two verbal roots inside a single word – essentially the incorporation of a gerundivized root, in which the TAM suffix is replaced by a morpheme here glossed IVF for "incorporating verb form". This is rather rare, and its incidence varies significantly across dialects; an example is:

- (5) *Ga-yau[-ganj-ngu-nihmi]-re.*
 Dj 3-child-meat-eat-IVF-goNP
 "The child goes along eating meat."

1.6. Nominal morphology

Nominal morphology is much less exuberant than verbal, and many nouns appear with no inflectional morphology at all. This is quite impossible for verbs, which must minimally inflect for agreement with subject (and object, if relevant) and for Tense/Aspect/Mood, as well as frequently filling many of the other slots given in (1). The small set of case suffixes is used sparingly and optionally, and only marks non-core grammatical roles.

The most salient non-root morphemes in nouns and adjectives, however, are a set of prefixes which mark gender agreement when attached to adjectives and certain other modifiers (demonstratives being the most important), and which are also found on some nominals as intrinsic "noun class prefixes". On animate nouns only about half of roots take noun-class prefixes, whereas the majority of inanimates take them. Table 2 illustrates the

canonical situation, where noun class markers are congruent with the gender prefix on the governed adjective.

Table 2
Typical gender/noun class correlations in three dialects.

	Congruent examples (at least in Kunwinjku)	Examples with <i>o</i> -class nouns with parallel semantics
Masculine Kunwinjku Gun-djeihmi Kune	"good boy" <i>na-rangem na-mak</i> <i>na-rangem na-mak</i> <i>na-rangem na-mak</i>	"good man" <i>bininj na-mak</i> <i>bininj na-mak</i> <i>bininj na-mak</i>
Feminine (W, Dj only) Kunwinjku Gun-djeihmi Kune	"good old.woman" <i>ngal-kohbanj ngal-mak</i> <i>al-gohbanj al-mak</i> <i>ngal-kohbanj na-mak</i>	"good woman" <i>daluk ngal-mak</i> <i>daluk al-mak</i> <i>daluk na-mak</i>
Vegetable (W, Dj only) Kunwinjku Gun-djeihmi Kune	"good food" <i>man-me man-mak</i> <i>an-me an-mak</i> <i>man-me na-mak</i>	"good cheeky yam" <i>kamarn man-mak</i> <i>gamarn an-mak</i> <i>kamarn na-mak</i>
Neuter (W only) Kunwinjku Gun-djeihmi Kune	"good rock" <i>kun-wardde kun-mak</i> <i>gun-wardde an-mak</i> <i>kun-wardde na-mak</i>	"good water" <i>kukku kun-mak</i> <i>gukku an-mak</i> <i>(kun-ronj na-mak)</i>

As shown in Evans (1997b) and Evans, Brown and Corbett (2002), the gender and noun-class prefixes, despite their formal identity, belong to two distinct systems with partially-overlapping semantics. Only in one dialect (Kunwinjku) do all four non-zero prefixes – *na-*, *ngal-*, *man-* and *kun-* – also serve as gender prefixes indicating agreement. In this dialect *na-* marks masculine gender, *ngal-* feminine, *ngan-* "vegetable", and *kun-* neuter. The other dialects have restricted gender agreement to a greater or lesser extent: Gun-djeihmi has jettisoned neuter agreement, extending vegetable agreements to nouns that are neuter in Kunwinjku, and Kune has eliminated gender agreement altogether, generalizing the masculine form of modifiers. There are slight formal differences in these markers across dialects: the feminine is generally *al-* in Dj and MM, and the vegetable is *an-* or *ngan-* in these same dialects. (The first difference, in the feminine, reflects sound changes alone, whereas the second appears to reflect the generalization, in different dialects,

of alternate morphemes that coexisted in an earlier stage of the language. *Kun-* and *gun-* are simply dialect-specific orthographic equivalents: see Footnote 1).

A significant number of noun phrases exhibit mismatches between a noun's prefix and the gender it governs: this may result from a variety of factors, including (a) specific lexical specification of a non-congruent gender by a noun (e.g. *an-djewk* "rain", which governs the masculine, e.g. *an-djewk na-kimuk* "a big/heavy rain"); (b) generalization of the masculine in plural and certain other contexts; (c) use of the biologically-appropriate gender on modifiers of species terms with a conventionalized noun class. See Evans (1997b), Evans et al. (2002) for details.

Two points about these prefixes are relevant to our discussion of compounding. Firstly, as we have seen, prefixes are dropped from morphemes that are incorporated or compounded. We saw this with (4) where *gun-ganj* "meat" drops its class IV prefix *gun-* when incorporated. But it also applies to adjectives when they get compounded: *an-gimuk* [VEG-big], prefixed for vegetable agreement, would be the form of adjective expected when it modifies a word like *gun-dulk* "tree", but the compounded form meaning "big tree" is *an-dulk-gimuk*, with a single prefix for the whole compound; this is determined by properties of the compound as a whole, rather than either single compounding element.

Secondly, as Table 1 shows, only nouns taking Class III or Class IV prefixes, or no noun class prefix at all, participate in compounding: there are no compounding elements that take class I or II prefixes. This eliminates most human, indeed most animate, nouns from participation in nominal compounds⁶.

A final point on noun-class prefixes: on some nouns taking class III or class IV prefixes, these may be replaced by the "locative" prefix *gu-/ku-*⁷ when denoting locations (whether as locative adjuncts, or as independent nouns denoting location): cf *gun-wardda* "[IV]-camp", *gu-wardda* "at the

6 The generic noun *bininj* "person" is a partial exception. It does not normally incorporate, but may do this just with three-place verbs of which it is the direct object (see Evans 1997a), and it also participates (in reduced form) in a small number of frozen compounds, e.g. *na-binj-gobeng* "husband" < *na-bininj-gobeng*. (The element *gobeng* is not attested outside this compound).

7 There is also a rare and non-productive "vegetable locative" form *mi-*, historically the class-III equivalent of *ku-*, but now extremely restricted: cf *man-ngarre* "[III]-jungle", which yields the vegetable locative form *mi-ngarre* "in the jungle" in some dialects only, e.g. Narayek subdialect of Kune, but which in other dialects would be expressed either with the *gu-* locative (Gun-djeihmi *gu-ngarre*), or by combining the locative preposition *kore* with the III-prefixed form, e.g. *kore man-ngarre* (Kunwinjku dialect). Historically, these two forms are relics of an older paradigm combining case and noun class, that has gradually been restricted in BGW by generalizing a single form series, with *ku-* and *mi-* being the last residues of an old locative series in a noun class paradigm organized on the two dimensions of noun class and case role.

camp", *gun-garlang* "[IV]-shoulder", *gu-garlang* "on (someone's) shoulder". Locative prefixes only occur on nouns, never on adjectives.

1.7. The noun phrase

The noun phrase is rather a problematic concept in Bininj Gun-wok. If it is taken as a semantic concept (i.e. a referring expression), it is artificial just to deal with those words which happen to be outside the verbal word, because in many cases the referring expression integrates external material with incorporated nouns, information on verbal prefixes and so forth, as in (6, 7). On the other hand, if it is taken as a grouping of words, then the frequent discontinuous expressions, e.g. (8), present a problem, since the main grounds for grouping them together are semantic. Are we dealing, in such cases, with a single, split NP or two independent apposed expressions that happen to provide information about the same entity? The best evidence that we are in fact dealing with a single NP comes from gender agreement: particularly in cases where gender assignment is arbitrary (this is the case with many bird and reptile names). In (8), for example, "big" is masculine in agreement with "barramundi" (a type of fish), the noun it modifies. Gender agreement by adjectives and demonstratives with their head noun cannot be explained semantically, so we must postulate a dependency relation of modifier on head noun. But since gender selection is also achieved by incorporated nouns – incorporated *√yerrng* "wood" in (6) governs the vegetable gender prefix on the adjectival root *√biya* "different" – arguments for NP integrity apply equally well to the grouping of incorporated nominals and external modifiers. In many Australian languages case agreement can be used as a diagnostic for NP status, but the rarity of overt case morphology in BGW, and the fact that on the rare occasions that it appears it is marked on just one word, renders even this diagnostic inapplicable.

- (6) *An-biya* *garri-yerrng-ma-ng*
 VEG-different 12a-wood-get-NP
 "We'll get some different wood...."
- (7) *Ngakngak* *bogen* *ga-rrabu-gurrme*.
 grey-crowned.babbler two 3-egg-layNP
 "Grey-crowned babblers lay two eggs."
- (8) *Namarn.gorl* *ga-garrme* *na-gimuk*.
 barramundi 3-catchNP MA-big
 "He's catching a big barramundi."

There are, of course, frequent examples of more tidy-looking phrases consisting of contiguous words combined to form a single referring expression: (9) is an example.

- (9) *dabbarrabbolk kun-wok bedberre*
 old.people IV-language their
 "the old people's language"

In terms of functional equivalence, multi-word NPs in French or English will often be translated into BGW using single compound words, as in (10) and (11). This is particularly common when expanding upon a noun root also incorporated into the verb – as with *rrulk*⁸, the root for "tree", in (10), and *bo-*, the root for "liquid" in (11). Often these are "syntactic compounds" – non-lexicalized expressions, using productive morphology such as the prefix *djal-* "just" in (10), which does not normally occur in lexicalized expressions.

- (10) *Na-marrgon an-djal-dulk-gudji ga-rrulk-do-ng.*
 Dj I-lightning VEG-only-tree-one 3-tree-strike-NP
 "Lightning always strikes just that one tree."
 (11) *Na-behrne djabbilarna ga-bo-garrme an-bo-gimuk.*
 Dj MA-that billycan 3-liquid-haveNP VEG-liquid-big
 "That billycan has lots of water."

In most cases it is simple to distinguish single-word compounds from multi-word phrases, since each grammatical word is rationed to a single prefix position at its left edge – for noun class, if a noun, gender, if an adjective, or for pronominal categories, if a verb or a predicate adjective. The compounding of several words can thus usually be identified by the dropping out of all but one of these prefixes. For example, the words *gun-berl* "arm", *gun-gal* "marrow", *gun-murrng* "bone" and *an-yahwurd* "small (vegetable gender)", when compounded together, give the term *gun-berl-gal-murrng-yahwurd* "radius (bone)", with only a single occurrence of the class IV prefix *gun-* at the beginning of the word. The only times this strike cannot be used is in the case of words lacking a prefix.

There are also "phrasal compounds", which result from the fact that not all nominal morphemes can participate in compound formation: in such cases the words follow each other in a fixed order, without any loss of morphological material. Consider *gun-denge-bok* [IV-foot-print/track] "foot-print" and *an-gorle-bard* [III-bamboo-knee] "node of bamboo": these are both permissible compounds, either because their first root is a body-part noun (the first case) or because it belongs to the set of compounding formatives (*an-gorle*, the second case). On the other hand, if one tries to form semantically similar compounds like "kangaroo track" or "pandanus fruit" this is impossible, because the relevant roots (*gunj* "macropod, kangaroo" and *andjimdjim* "*Pandanus aquaticus*, water pandanus") are not permissible com-

⁸ In its normal external form this word is *gun-dulk*; when it is incorporated the class IV prefix *gun-* is dropped, and the initial *d* becomes *rr* after vowel final monosyllabic prefixes.

pounding elements. Instead, one needs to form the phrasal sequences *gunj andjomborl* [macropod track/path] "kangaroo pad/track" and *gun-mim andjimdjim* [IV-eye III-*Pandanus aquaticus*] "water pandanus fruit". For more examples see under "whole part collocations" in 2.3., though since I take the scope of "nominal compounding" to be restricted to single-word compounds I do not discuss these systematically.

1.8. Word classes

Both nouns and verbs are clearly open classes, though in the case of verbs the number of monomorphemic lexical items is only around twenty, with the rest being, formally, compounds of the form X-V as described above.

Adjectives form a much smaller class. Often they are hard to distinguish from nouns, especially given the shared prefixal morphology and frequent recruitment of new nouns from N+Adj compounds, e.g. "white person" can be denoted using the compound *kuk-bele* [[body]_N-[white]_{Adj}]_N. The simplest test for distinguishing adjectives from nouns is to see if their prefixes can range over the whole set of genders without change of meaning other than that directly attributable to the gender itself, which never happens with nouns. But while this works fine with adjectives like *-warre* "bad" or *-mak* "good" it doesn't work so well with others that are more restricted in what they can combine with, like *-lorrk* "hollow" (never attested with masculine or feminine prefixes). At the same time there are plenty of nouns with paired masculine and feminine forms, such as *na-gohbanj* "old man" and *ngal-gohbanj* "old woman"⁹.

The freedom with which adjectives can be used as the only element of a NP makes it impossible to apply tests of syntactic combination to determine if these are nouns or adjectives, since either could occur alone. A better diagnostic for adjectives is their ability to take predicate pronominal prefixes, and (in these constructions) to incorporate selected nouns¹⁰, as in (12); nouns cannot do this.

⁹ Diachronically this is a N+Adj compound, but is no longer transparent. Though the root *banj* is attested elsewhere in BGW with the meaning "rotten", e.g. *nudbanj* "rotten smelling", *goh-* does not. In the related language Dalabon, however, it appears in several words pertaining to eye(sight) and vision, such as *koh-ngurl* [eye-dark] "poor visibility conditions", so it is likely that *gohbanj* was once a restricted domain compound with the meaning "having bad eyesight, with failing vision".

¹⁰ In such cases, it is difficult to decide if we are dealing with incorporation of a noun into a predicate adjective, or the prefixation of a compound with a predicate pronominal prefix, especially given the identity of compositional approaches, with both drawing on the same limited stock of nominal roots, the same suppletive roots etc. I prefer the former analysis, somewhat arbitrarily, because of its exact functional equivalence to incorporation with intransitive verbs.

(12) *Ga-rrulk-gimuk*.

3-tree-big

"It is a big tree."; "It (the tree) is big."

2. FORMAL CATEGORIES OF NOMINAL COMPOUNDS

Nominal compounding in Biniñ Gun-wok is both productive and regular, and moreover reveals a striking correlation between morphological make-up and semantic interpretation, as we shall see.

Nominal compounds may involve two or more elements, though multi-root compounds are largely restricted to detailed anatomical terms, as in (13).

- (13) *gun-garre-murrng-badjan* *gun-garre-murrng-yau*
 Dj IV-calf-bone-mother IV-calf-bone-child
 "femur" "tibia"

Except for "whole-part" compounds, which involve body part roots (2.2.), nominal compounds are built on a closed class of first elements, or "compounding elements", which are typically noun roots stripped of their class prefixes. As mentioned above, this set is identical to the set of incorporable nominals, and suppletive forms found with incorporated nouns reappear in nominal compounds (most notably *gukku/kukku* "water" in Dj and W, and *kun-ronj* "water" in E and MM, whose suppletive compounding forms are *bo-* and *korlh-* respectively). For a full review of compounding elements see Evans (2003), but the examples in (14) will show the parallelism.

- (14) Free (prefixed) form Ex. in nominal compound Ex. as incorporated nominal
- gun-dulk* *an-dulk-rayek* *ngarri-dulk-djobgeng*
 "[IV-]tree, wood" "hard wood" "we chopped the tree"
- gun-madj* *madj-mak* *nga-madj-gurrmeng*
 "[IV-]swag" "tidy" "I put down my swag"¹¹.
- an-rud* *an-rud-gare* *ga-rud-yo*
 "[III-]road" "old road" "there is a road"
- gukku* *an-bo-mak* *ga-bo-yo*
 "water" "good water" "there is water"

Compounds fall into six classes on both structural and semantic grounds; the sixth is limited in productivity. Table 3 summarises these types, and gives parallels to compositionally analogous noun-incorporation constructions

11 (Aus.) "A bundle of personal belongings."

where these exist. Note that restrictive domain, mishap and taste compounds are exocentric, modifying compounds are endocentric, while the centricity of whole-part compounds is problematic and will be discussed below.

Table 3
Types of nominal compound in Biniñ Gun-wok.

Type of compound	Structure [X-Y]	Semantics	Parallel verbal construction
Restricted domain compounds	N-Adj E.g. <i>rakmo-warre</i> "lame, bad-hipped"	"having an X which is Y"; "Y as far as one's X is concerned"	Incorporated body part constructions with intransitive verbs
Similative restr. domain compounds	CL-N-N, where X is a body-part and Y is a N	"(animal or person) having an X like a Y's"	None
Whole-part compounds	CL-N-N where Y is a body part, e.g. <i>gun-denge-gurlah</i> "sole of foot"	"The Y part of X" or "Y, which is inalienably linked to X"	None
Modifying compounds	GENDER-N-Adj where the gender value is governed by the N, e.g. <i>an-dulk-rayek</i> "hard wood"	"X which is Y, (a) Y X"	Generic noun incorporation with intransitive verbs
Mishap nicknames	N-N, where X is a body part and Y is a noun denoting an animal or weapon, e.g. <i>mad-djarrang</i> "kicked in the ankle by a horse"	"person who suffered an injury to their X inflicted by Y"	None
Taste compounds	N-N, where X denotes the type of taste and Y means "taste"	"(thing) smelling/tasting like X"	Incorporation of nouns into non-verbal predicates meaning "smell/stink"

The major types of nominal compound are summarized in Table 3, which also refers to any parallel verbal constructions involving incorporation; the third and sixth are limited in productivity. The word status of three of these – "modifying compounds", "similative compounds" and "restricted domain" compounds – is problematic, in each case sharing both noun-like and adjective-like characteristics, and we will discuss these problems in the

relevant sections. For the others, the word-class of the compound is clearly nominal.

There are also a few less productive types of compound – essentially constructions that originated as compounds but whose second element is on its way to becoming a derivational morpheme – which we discuss in 2.7.

2.1. Restricted domain compounds.

These make a predication whose application is restricted to a part designated by the first element, which must be a body-part noun. The noun class prefix or part suffix associated with the root is dropped (although use as a predicate may then result in the addition of a predicate prefix). The resultant structure is thus:

- (15) [N_{<body part>} - Adj]_Y
X

The meaning is "(person/thing) having a Y X" or "Y as far as one's X is concerned", which often translates into English as *Y-Xed*. Examples are:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (16) <i>rakmo-warre</i> (Dj)
hip-bad
"lame, bad-hipped (person)"
(<i>gun-rakmo</i> "hip") | <i>dule-kelk</i> (E:D)
language-soft
"(person/group) having a "soft" language variety" (<i>dule-no</i> "language") |
| <i>mim-warre</i> (Dj)
eye-bad
"short-sighted, having bad eyes"
(Cf. <i>gun-mim</i> "eye") | <i>balem-gimuk</i> (Dj)
fat-big
"(person/animal) having lots of fat"
(Cf. <i>gun-balem</i> "fat") |
| <i>njam-gimuk</i> (Dj)
guts-big
"fat, having big guts" | <i>keb-dukkurr</i> (E)
nose-short
"short-nosed, having a short nose; estuarine crocodile" |
| <i>kodj-rayek</i> (I)
head-hard
"fuzzy-haired" | <i>bid-mak</i> (I)
hand-good
"dextrous" |
| <i>kuk-yirrek</i> (I)
body-smooth
"smooth-bodied" | <i>darrkid-badjan</i> (E:D)
body-big
"big, big-bodied" |

The word-class status of these compounds is not straightforward: like adjectives, and unlike nouns, they may take prefixes for subject person and number when used predicatively (17, 18) and be suffixed for past tense if

appropriate (19)¹². However, unlike adjectives, they do not take gender prefixes. This locates these compounds somewhere on a continuum between noun and adjective status. (Though some, such as *keb-dukkurr* "estuarine crocodile", have become standard nouns as their denotation becomes conventionalized.)

- (17) *Bani-wok-buyiga*.

Dj 3ua-language-different

"They have a different language, they are different as far as their language is concerned."

- (18) *Yi-berd-kimuk* !

I 2-penis-big

"You've got a big prick!" (typical remark between joking partners)

- (19) *Ngaleng wanjh ø-kele-ni Lumaluma na-wu ø-berd-kimuk-ni*.

W she then 3P-afraid-P [name] MA-REL 3P-penis-big-P

"She was afraid of (the monster) Luma-Luma, who had a big penis."

There is a clear structural parallelism between these constructions and verbs with incorporated body-part nouns (see Evans 1996), such as *nga-mim-warreminj* [I-eye-bad.became] "my eyes are no longer any good" or Dj *ba-bid-ngimeng* [(s)he-hand-entered] "he put his hand in", lit. "he entered as far as his hand is concerned". Structurally, both are made up of a body-part noun followed by a predicate, which is an adjective in the case of the compound and a verb in the case of the incorporated noun construction. Semantically, in both cases the body part noun gives the domain or part of the nominated entity to which the predication is restricted. It is the preference for predicate use of this type of compound which makes the word-class status of these compounds hard to determine, since the best tests for both noun and adjective status (e.g. case suffixation with nouns, agreement with a nominal head in adjectives) only work on words used non-predicatively.

12 A further feature of these compounds that might be taken to be adjective-like is the fact that, like uncompounded adjectives, they may be followed by the genitive suffix *-ken/-gen* in expressions of quantity (Evans 2003:143-5). Compare *na-kimuk-gen* [MA-big-GEN] "big ones", *na-wern-gen* [MA-many-GEN] "many, a lot", which illustrate this use of the genitive with simplex adjectives, with compound expressions like *berd-guyeng-gen* [tail-long-GEN] "having a long tail", *bani-yidme-guyeng-gen* [3ua-tooth-long-GEN] "the two teeth are long". However, it is unclear whether the constituency is [[X-Y]-GEN] or [[X][Y-GEN]]. If it is the latter, which seems plausible given that all attested examples so far use a Y also found in the plain adjectival construction, then the presence of the genitive suffix follows from the fact that it is the second compounding element, rather than the compound as a whole, which is adjectival.

2.2. Similitive compounds

Structurally close to restricted-domain construction are similitive compounds, which have a body-part noun as their first element, a noun rather than an adjective as their second element, and in which this second element contributes the meaning "like an X" rather than just "X" as in a restricted-domain compound.

- (20) [N_{<body part>} - N]_N
X Y

Examples are Dj *molo-borndok* [tail-woomera] "orange horseshoe bat", i.e. "like a woomera as far as its tail is concerned", Kuninjku *ngal-berd-djenj* [II-tail-fish] "mermaid, i.e. like a fish as far as her tail is concerned", W *kodj-bulu* "white-haired person", lit. head-old.person, i.e. "like an old person as far as his/her head is concerned" and I *kodj-njalng* [head-yabby] "having a head like a yabby¹³", a term of reference used by a man about his sister. On the basis of their translations, similitive compounds appear to be clear nouns, though at present we lack the crucial syntactic evidence, since we have too few examples of them being used in sentence contexts, as opposed to simple nomination contexts. One piece of evidence against them being adjectives, as it was with the restrictive-domain compounds discussed in 2.1., is the possibility of zero-prefixation, which is available for nouns but not adjectives.

2.3. Whole-part compounds

These have the meaning "the Y part of X" (e.g. "sole" is "the skin part of the foot") or "Y, which is only there because X is/was there" (e.g. "foot print" is "track, which is only there because (a) foot was there"). Note that by "whole-part" I am including a range of inalienable semantic relations (see Evans 1996), which, in addition to regular parts like "foot" or "eye", takes in representations (e.g. "name"), manifestations (e.g. "shadow"), and natural signs (e.g. "footprint"). Whole-part compounds take a noun class appropriate to the first noun; the fact that this prefix is fixed marks them clearly as nouns rather than adjectives. Their structure, then, is

- (21) [CL - N - N_{<body part>}]_N
X Y

Some examples are:

13 (Aus.) A crayfish (*Charax sp.*).

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (22) | <i>gun-denge-bok</i> | <i>gun-dulk-berl</i> | <i>gun-denge-gurlah</i> |
| Dj | IV-foot-print | IV-tree-arm | IV-foot-skin |
| | "foot print" | "branch" | "sole of foot" |
| | <i>gun-dulk-dad</i> | <i>gun-bid-ngalanj</i> | |
| | IV-tree-leg | IV-hand-nail | |
| | "root" | "finger nail" | |
| | <i>gu-wardde-rurrk</i> | <i>an-gorle-bard</i> | |
| | LOC-rock-cavity | III-bamboo shaft-knee | |
| | "cave in rock" | "node of bamboo shaft" | |

The crucial role of the first noun in determining the noun class prefix is not established by all the examples in (22), since in most cases both elements take the same noun class prefix, e.g. *gun-denge* "foot", *gun-bok* "print, track", *gun-denge-bok* "footprint". In the case of *an-gorle-bard*, however, "bamboo" is *an-gorle* while "knee" is *gun-bard*. Further examples demonstrating that it is the head noun which determines the noun-class prefix of the compound come from terms for genitals, in which the part noun takes the class IV prefix, whereas the head noun takes the class III prefix – *man-day* "head of penis", *man-berd* "penis" (this class is anomalous for body parts as a whole, but standard for nouns denoting genitalia).

- (23) *man-day-djen* *man-berd-kurlah*
W III-head.of.penis-tongue III-penis-skin
"urethra" (cf *kun-djen* "tongue") "foreskin" (cf *kun-kurlah* "skin")

The question of which nominal root is head is not straightforward. On the one hand, the first noun determines the noun class of the whole, a head-like property. On the other, tests of semantic substitution – is the resulting compound a type of X or a type of Y – generally work better with the second noun (a cave is a type of cavity, the sole of the foot is a type of skin), though this requires a bit of casuistry in some cases: it is not clear, for example, that a root is a type of leg or that a branch is a type of arm, though this could be solved by opting for a very general root meaning, such as "lower-limb-like projection" for *√berl*. And if the semantic test is based on substance rather than form – i.e. we answer the question, is X or Y consubstantial (i.e. whole or part of) X-Y, rather than is X or Y more like X-Y in terms of denoted shape – then the test favours the first element again as head: a footprint is part of a foot, a root is part of a tree, a rock cave is part of the (surrounding) rock and so on. Overall, then, the determination of which element is head is not straightforward, though on balance it favours the first element.

In the eastern dialects body-part nouns take a part suffix *-no* instead of a noun class prefix, e.g. eastern dialects have *mad-no* "ankle" instead of *kun-mad*, the form in other dialects. In these dialects part-whole compounds have the form:

- (24) [N - N<body part> - no]_N
 X Y PART

Examples are

- (25) *dedj-mad-no* *bid-ngalanj-no*
 E:R butt-ankle-PART hand/finger-nail-PART
 "root of tree" "fingernail"
 (cf *mad-no* "(its) ankle") (cf *ngalanj-no* "(his/her/its) nail",
bid-no "(its) hand")

bodme-murrng-no
 back-bone-PART
 "backbone" (cf *bodme-no*
 "(his/her/its) back")

As mentioned above, whole-part compounds are the only morphologically complex nouns that may incorporate into verbs. Like all incorporated nouns, they drop their noun class prefix when incorporated. Thus the class IV prefix *kun-* is dropped from *kun-karre-mok* [IV-calf-sore] "sore on calf" in (26a) and from *kun-kodj-mud* [IV-head-hair] in (26b), and the class prefix *an-* is dropped from *an-gorle-bard* [III-bamboo-knee] "node of bamboo" in (26c):

- (26a) *Ngan-[karre-mok]-bukka-ng.*
 3/1-[calf-sore]-show-PP
 "He showed me the sore on his calf."
 (26b) *Nga-[kodj-mud]-djobke-rre-n.*
 1-[head-hair]-cut-RR-NP
 "I'm going to cut my hair."
 (26c) *Kaban-[gorle-bard]-djudme-rre-n.*
 3/3pl-[bamboo-knee]-join-RR-NP
 "The bamboo's nodes join it together."

- Noun-part collocations

Where the noun denoting the whole is neither a generic (e.g. *gun-dulk* "tree") nor a body part noun (e.g. *gun-denge* "foot"), it is not eligible for compounding, as mentioned above. In such cases the terms for whole and part will still be conjoined, in the same order as for whole-part compounds, but as morphologically separate words. In the eastern dialects the part noun bears the part suffix *-no* (27a), but in the western dialects it does not (27b). Examples are:

- (27a)
- | | | | | | |
|---|--|----------------|---|--|---------------|
| I | <i>man-kalarr</i> | <i>dulk-no</i> | E | <i>ngal-kordow</i> | <i>mim-no</i> |
| | III-E. <i>bleeseri</i> | tree-PART | | II-emu | eye-PART |
| | "trunk of <i>Eucalyptus bleeseri</i> " | | | "red-flowered herbaceous bush"
(flowers are said to resemble
emu's eyes) | |
- (27b)
- | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|------------------|----|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| Dj | <i>gurdugadji</i> | <i>gun-denge</i> | Dj | <i>gunj</i> | <i>gurlba</i> |
| | emu | IV-foot | | kangaroo | blood |
| | " <i>Hibiscus meraukensis</i> " | | | "plant sp. (<i>Vitex glabrata</i>)" | |
| | (leaves have emu-foot shape) | | | | |

2.4. Modifying compounds

These have the meaning "(an) X which is Y" or "(a) Y X". As with restricted domain compounds, the word class status of the resultant compound is a little unclear: in most respects they pattern like nouns, and they can take the locative prefix *gu-/ku-*. However, the initial prefix is selected according to the principles of gender that apply to adjectives and other modifiers, rather than according to the noun-class assignment principles found with nouns. Again, then, we must locate their word-class membership along the continuum from nouns to adjectives, though, in terms of their regular use as arguments rather than predicates, as well as their ability to take the locative prefix, they fall closer to the noun than the adjective end.

As with restricted-domain compounds, there is also a semantic parallel to generic incorporation with intransitive verbs, as in W *dulk-mankang* "(the/a) tree fell". In both constructions – intransitive subject incorporation, and modifying compounds – the second element supplies a predicate whose argument is the first element. Normally, however, verbs with incorporated generic nouns function as predicates, while noun-modifier compounds function as arguments (in addition to other regular functional differences between verbs and nouns).

As mentioned, modifying compounds take a gender prefix, whose value is governed by the first element. The second element may be an adjective, but may also be a numeral root such as *kudji* "one" or a social-category noun like the patrimoiety names Duwa and Yirridjdja, e.g. *kun-bolk-duwa* "Duwa country". Eastern dialects, in which gender agreement has been lost, lack the gender prefix in this construction – though note that most regular adjectives in the eastern dialects retain the generalized masculine prefix *na-*, as shown in Table 2.

- (28) Western dialects
[GENDER - N - Mod]_{N?}
X Y

- Eastern dialects
[N - Mod]_{N?}
X Y

In all dialects, modifying compounds are the preferred method of applying adjectives to nouns capable of compounding or incorporation, and in some dialects (e.g. I) this is the only way of modifying such nouns. Compare the behaviour of the noun *an-gayawal* 'long *Dioscorea transversa* yam', which cannot be compounded, with the noun *gun-dulk* 'tree', which can: modification of the first results in the phrasal two-word combination *an-gayawal ngan-guyeng-guyeng* [III-*Dioscorea transversa* VEG-big-big] 'long *Dioscorea* yam' (using the Dj forms), while modification of the second is expressed by the compound *an-dulk-guyeng* [VEG-tree-long] 'tall tree' in Dj and by the structurally parallel *man-dulk-kuyeng* in W and I.

In E gender agreement is restricted to occasional use of the masculine prefix and a more productive means of marking modifiers is to use the part suffix, as in *bininj dukkurh-no* [man short-PART] 'short man'. Modifying compounds in these dialects simply join the noun and adjective, with no part suffix, as in *yarl-dukkurrh* [string-short] 'short string'. The fact that most compounding roots are either inanimate generics, or body parts, skews the semantic distribution of this construction, since modification of animate nouns, and of specific inanimates (e.g. tree names) will instead be carried out by the non-compounding construction.

Because of the formal identity of gender and noun class prefixes it is not immediately obvious that gender prefixes are involved here, as opposed to the noun class prefixes used in whole-part compounds. The reason for analysing them as gender rather than noun prefixes comes from the principles of prefix selection. Examples are the words for 'tree' and 'flame', both of which take *kun-* noun class prefixes (e.g. Dj *gun-dulk* 'tree, wood', W *kun-birli* 'flame') but govern agreement with the vegetable prefix (*m*)*an-*. Modifying compounds based on these roots are Dj *an-dulk-rayek* 'hard wood' and W *man-birli-kimuk* 'big flame', in each case taking the vegetable prefix (*m*)*an-*, according to the principles of gender agreement, rather than the *kun-* noun class prefix associated with the noun root.¹⁴ Analysing the prefixes as gender also allows a unified account of gender agreement in nominal modification, whether it is realised by separate words or compounds.

14 Where the noun governs neuter agreement, as in the case of most body parts and landscape features, the compound will take the prefix *kun-*, e.g. *kun-mok-kare* [NEU-sore-old] 'old sore', *kun-bid-kudji* [NEU-hand-one] 'five', *kun-bid-bokenh* [NEU-hand-two] 'ten', and 'water' viewed as a landscape feature in (29). However, such cases are not decisive for our argument, since *kun-* is also the noun class prefix of the head noun.

- (29) *Kun-ekke kukku kun-bo-kimuk.*
W NEU-DEM water NEU-water-big
'That water's big.'

Nonetheless, the above account is not without its problems: most importantly, some modifying compounds with complex modifiers in Dj, a dialect where the prefix *gun-* is not used in gender agreement, take this prefix, which is compatible with it being a noun class but not a gender prefix¹⁵.

Some further examples of modifying compounds in the dialects where the prefix is assigned according to the principles of gender agreement are in (30), and from dialects without gender agreement in (31).

- | | |
|---|--|
| (30) <i>an-dalk-bang</i> (Dj)
VEG-grass-cheeky
'cheeky (i.e. spiky) grass'
(cf <i>gun-dalk</i> 'grass') | <i>an-dulk-gohbanj</i> (Dj)
VEG-tree-old
'full-grown tree' |
| <i>an-boi-gilelh</i> (Dj)
VEG-cooking.stone-soft
'antbed used in ground oven,
lit. cooking-stone which is soft'
(cf <i>gun-boi</i> 'cooking stone') | <i>an-dalk-mirrh-mak</i> (Dj)
VEG-grass-sharp-very
'sharp grass' |
| <i>man-ngorl-kimuk</i> (W)
VEG-cloud-big
'big clouds'
(cf <i>kun-ngorl</i> 'cloud') | <i>an-dedj-barng</i> (MM)
VEG-base-cheeky
'wild grape' (lexicalised) |
| (31) <i>dule-djurrkdjurrk</i> (E:D)
speech-fast
'quick language' | <i>djalh-badjan</i> (E:D)
leaf-thick
'thick leaf' |

Although predicative compounds occasionally co-occur with a noun identical in reference to their root, particularly when a demonstrative is also present,

15 An alternative analytic move would be to argue that in fact all prefixes in modifying compounds are noun-class rather than gender prefixes. This would have the further advantage of accounting automatically for the availability of the locative prefix. However, this approach has two drawbacks. First, it would fail to account for the fact that (at least in non-eastern dialects) all modifier compounds must take a prefix, which is explained by treating them as gender prefixes, but would be anomalous if they are noun class prefixes. Second, it would lose the useful distinction between the rules for gender and noun-class assignment. In other words, though in general it is useful to distinguish gender from noun-class prefixes despite their identity of form, in the case of noun compounds the distinction is blurred. It seems, therefore, that not only do compounds sometimes sit on a squish between nouns and adjectives, they also induce a blurring of the distinctions between nominal and adjectival affixes.

e.g. (29, 32), it is more typical for them to be the sole word in their phrase, as in (33, 34).

- (32) *An-jarrman go-no go-ngerrmey.*
MM III-kurrajong flower-PART flower-red
"Kurrajong trees have red flowers."

- (33) *Man-wodj-kare kani-dorrorrke.*
I VEG-log-old 12ua-dragNP
"Let's drag the hollow log."

- (34) *Bolkime karri-re kaddum karri-yo kun-kak-djarrkno.*
E:N now 12a-goNP up.high 12a-sleepNP NEU-night-two
"Let's go into the high country now, and camp there for two nights."

– Complex modifiers

As well as monomorphemic adjectives or numerals, the second element in modifying compounds may comprise a derived property expression formed by adding the privative ("without") or "much" suffixes to a noun root:

- (35) *gun-bolk-djidning-yak*
Dj NEU-place-laterite-PRIV
"place with no laterite"

- (36) *gun-bolk-djidning-wern*
Dj NEU-place-laterite-much
"place with lots of laterite"

Note that the above examples are exceptional, within the Dj dialect, in taking a neuter prefix. As discussed in Evans (1997b, 2003) and Evans et al (2002), this dialect retains *gun-* as a noun class prefix but has lost neuter gender agreement, replacing it with generalised vegetable agreement. The above examples may represent archaic formations from a period when neuter agreement was still possible; in W the head noun *kun-bolk* "place" still governs neuter agreement when used to discuss landscape features.

– Buyiga/-biyika/-biya "other" in modifier compounds

There are two ways of translating English "another": the adjective *-buyiga/-biya* (Dj), *-buyika/-biyika* (I, E) and the verbal prefix *yawoyh-* (Evans 1995a). The adjective can have both meanings of English "another", viz. "another (token of the same type)" and "another, a different one, one of the wrong type", whereas the verbal prefix can only have the first meaning (in addition to covering other types of event-repetition). The forms *-buyiga*, *-biyika* and *-biya* appear to be merely phonological variants.

Like other modifiers in this construction, this root appears as a separate word when modifying words whose roots are not compounding elements, such as *narangem* "male" in (37). It may also be used as a head noun, particularly with the third person augmented prefix, with the meaning "others", as in (38). When modifying a word whose root is a compounding element, however, it generally appears in a modifying compound, as in (39, 40).

- (37) *Ngal-dah-daluk, na-rangem na-buyika nani wanjh* →
I FE-RED-female MA-male MA-different MA.DEM then →
→ *konem-kuyeng nungka.*
→ tallness-long he
"That's a female, the male is different; he has a long neck."

- (38) *Birri-buyika minj balemane birri-bebme-ninj, bonj birri-ru-y* →
I 3a-other NEG where 3aP-emerge-IRR right 3aP-burn-PP →
→ *birri-dowe-n birri-dukka-rrukka-rr-inj.*
→ 3aP-die-PP 3aP-REDUP-tie-RR-PP
"Some of the others had nowhere to get away, and so in the end were burned, writhing to death."

- (39) *Ngad wurdyau ba-rrowe-ng gu-djeuk-biya.*
Dj we child 3P-die-PP LOC-rain-other
"Our child died last year."

- (40) *"Ladjkurrungu la yi-re, kondangal-yabok-warre ngane-yo."*
I [address.term] CONJ2-goNP here II-sister-RESP 1ua-sleepNP
"Oh, *ku-mekke* *nuk* *ku-bolk-buyika* *nga-h-yo*."
LOC-DEM DUB LOC-place-other 1-IMM-lieNP
– "Ladjkurrungu you go, I'm sleeping here with your sister."
– "Oh, I'll go and sleep somewhere else then."

The set of roots with which *-buyiga* and its variants can form modifying compounds is slightly larger than that found with other modifiers, taking in a number of time nominals that do not normally incorporate, such as "tomorrow" and "yesterday" (41) as well as other such as *dird* "month"¹⁶, which suggests that it is on its way to becoming a derivational suffix and thereby freed from the combinatorial restrictions applying to compounds. The extended set of combinatorial possibilities for *-buyiga* suggests it is on its way to being grammaticalised as a suffix rather than a simple compounding element.

16 The only attestations of these as anything like incorporated or compounded nouns are in the collocations *malayi-barrhbun* (Dj) "day break, day dawn" and *dird-kan* (W) "hunt by moonlight", in both of which they are arguably lexicalised rather than productive incorporating elements.

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (41) <i>malayi-buyiga</i> | <i>wolewoleh-buyigah-ni</i> |
| Dj tomorrow-another | yesterday-other-P |
| "the day after tomorrow" | "the day before yesterday" |

2.5. Mishap nicknames

Nicknames identifying people by a mishap that has befallen them have the form X-Y, where X denotes the body part affected by the mishap, and Y the source of the mishap. As one Gun-djeihmi speaker, Mick Alderson, explained this practice: "whatever you get hit by, you get a nickname". Examples of such nicknames are:

- (42) *Ngorrk-madjawarr*
 Dj flank-goose.spear
 (Nickname) "hit in the flank by a goose spear"
- (43) *Mad-djarrang*
 Dj ankle-horse
 (Nickname) "kicked in the ankle by a horse"
- (44) *Garre-ginga*
 Dj calf-crocodile
 (Nickname) "bitten on the calf by a crocodile"
- (45) *Denge-wamba*
 I foot-shark
 (Nickname) "bitten on the foot by a shark"

Though they are clearly descriptive, these terms are only used as proper names. It is therefore reasonable to say that they belong to a subclass of the noun category, namely proper nouns. They are probably metonymical, but it is not clear how one could decide in a principled way.

2.6. Taste compounds

The order expected in taste/smell compounds, by analogy with other modifying compounds (2.4.), is exemplified by forms such as *man-manj-mak* [III-taste-good] "delicious" and *na-manj-warre* [I-taste-bad] "saltwater crocodile", said to taste foul. Often the two-part element *manj-warre* [taste-bad] is further compounded after the tasted entity, e.g. *an-bo-manj-warre* "stagnant water" and *guk-manj-warre* [body-taste-bad] "filthy, disgusting to taste" (said of black bats in contradistinction to fruit bats). These can all be treated as a semantically-defined subtype of modifying compounds.

However, a second and unexpected order is found in a handful of other taste/smell compounds, which exemplify a distinct compounding structure. These form exocentric compounds which have the second element as head, preceded by a modifier giving the type of smell, e.g. *an-nguk-manj* [III-shit-taste, i.e. tasting like shit] "cheese fruit, *Morinda citrifolia*"¹⁷. What appears to be this order is found in many names for plants and fishes which have *manj* as a second element, without the first element being analysable: Dj *an-garralarlhmanj* "wild cashew", *durnbuhmanj* "bream", *an-djarrmanj* "*Brachychiton* sp."; the name for the olive python exhibits both orders, but in different dialects: Dj *al-ngururrkmanj* but W *manjdjur(d)urrk*.

It is possible this aberrant ordering results from the affects of structural analogy on nominal compounds, taking nominal predicates in which *banj* "smell" incorporates a nominal root designating the source of the smell, e.g. *ga-nguy-banj* [3-flower-smell] "it smells of flowers", *ga-nud-banj* [3-pus-smell] "it smells rotten", *ka-bolk-dile-banj* [3-place-piss-smell] "the place smells of piss" or *yi-kord-banj* [2-shit-smell] "you smell of shit or farts". Unlike the examples with *-manj*, which take nominal morphology in the form of noun class prefixes, the *banj* constructions clearly take predicate morphology, viz. pronominal prefixes, and the order [incorporated noun - predicate] is normal for a predicate. It seems possible that analogy mediated by the close semantic link between "taste" and "smell" has then led to the order in nominal predicates with *-banj* influencing that with nominal compounds in *-manj*.

2.7. Minor types of compound; extension of second compounding elements into derivational use

In addition to the major, productive structures discussed above, there are several minor types in which

- (a) the set of Y elements is restricted to one, or just a few, nominal roots,
- (b) there may further have been reanalysis of the second root as a derivational suffix; in this case it may combine with first elements otherwise unattested in compounds.

I discuss one example of each of these; see Evans (2003:5.3.) for the full set.

2.7.1. *gu-X-POSition*

Precise location can be expressed by prefixing the locative prefix *gu-* to nouns compounded with various roots denoting positional parts. Examples are *gu-X-burrk* "in the middle of X" (cf *burrk* "body"), as in (46, 47), *gu-X-wodj*

17 I can personally vouch for the accuracy of this description.

"underneath X" (48, cf *gun-wodj* "fallen log"), and *gu-X-godj* (cf *gun-godj* "head" "to the top of X" (49).

- (46) *A-milmilm egandji-ga gu-bo-burrk.*
 Dj 1-diveNP down-LOC LOC-water-body
 "I dive into the middle of the water."

- (47) *Gukku ga-bo-yakm-en gu-rrung-burrk.*
 Dj water 3-water-vanish-NP LOC-sun-body
 "The water will vanish in the middle of the dry season."

- (48) *Gukku bi-burriwe-ng gu-rrulk-wodj.*
 Dj water 3/3HP-throw-PP LOC-tree-fallen.log
 "The water threw him under a log."

- (49) *Barri-djal-bidbu-ni gu-worr-godj-duninj.*
 Dj 3aP-just-climb-PI LOC-leaf-head-real
 "They'd just climb right up into the tree tops."

2.7.2. INSEParable -dord

As a free noun this root means "louse", but it has been grammaticalised in the eastern dialects, via compounding, into a suffix meaning "inseparable from" or "always connected with". Two Kune examples in which the collocation is phrasal and has not developed into a suffix are *Namarden dordno* [lightning louse-3POSSD¹⁸] "Leichhardt's grasshopper" (which always appears during the lightning storms preceding the wet season) and *barrk dordno* [lit. black.wallaroo¹⁹ louse-3POSSD] "small bird that calls out *djiwiwi* whenever it sees a black wallaroo". In Kuninjku and Kune this second form has an alternant in which *dord* is simply suffixed and appears without the possessed marker *-no*; note that the noun *barrk* "black wallaroo" is not a member of the set of compounding nouns.

- (50) *Barrk-dord kan-marne-yime-ninj ngadberre, →*
 E:D black.wallaroo-INSEP 3/1a-BEN-say-IRR us:OBL →
 → *barrk ka-rrarnh-ni.*
 → black.wallaroo 3-near-sitNP
 "The *barrkdord* bird tells us, if a black wallaroo is nearby."

Further examples of the suffixal use, but with a more idiomatic interpretation, are *mim-rdord* [eye-INSEP] "someone who hunts all the time, esp. who is always on the lookout for a particular type of animal" and *korn-dord* [crotch-INSEP] "hunter who specialises in one particular animal".

18 3POSSD = "possessed by a 3rd person singular possessor"

19 A kangaroo, *Macropus robustus*.

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS OF COMPOUNDING

Bininj Gun-wok is highly agglutinative, with only a few morphophonemic rules adjusting sounds at morpheme boundaries within words. None of these apply to compounds: apart from dropping their noun class prefixes, as described above, compounded morphemes keep their shape unchanged.

The stress assignment rules in BGW are complex (see Evans 1995b, 2003 for accounts): the three main features are the sensitivity of foot construction to morpheme boundaries, the tolerance of monosyllabic feet, and the stressing of the leftmost syllable of each foot. Primary stress, manifested primarily by raised pitch, is normally assigned to the first foot of at least two syllables as one moves from the word's right edge.

Compounds deviate from the normal stress pattern by allowing more than one primary stress per word, just in case both compounded roots are disyllabic. Compare (51), where one of the roots is monosyllabic and hence only receives secondary stress, with (52), where both roots are disyllabic and each receives primary stress. (Feet are enclosed in square brackets, primary stress is shown by an acute accent and secondary stress by a grave accent).

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| (51) [gùn-][dénge-][bòk] | [àn-][górlé-][bàrd] | [kù-][bòlk-][wárré] |
| IV-foot-track | III-bamboo-knee | LOC-place-bad |
| "footprint" | "joint of bamboo" | "bad place" |
| (52) [gùn-][dénge-][gúrlah] | [rákmo-][wárré] | [bálem-][gímuk] |
| IV-foot-skin | hip-bad | fat-big |
| "sole of foot" | "lame, bad-hipped" | "having lots of fat" |

This aberrant stress pattern, though primarily associated with compounds, is also found with a couple of other disyllabic suffixes, some originating as the second element of compounds (e.g. *-dorrenge* "with", originally a nominal root meaning "body"), but others apparently arising through the reduplication of a monosyllabic suffix (*-djahdjam* "characteristic location", <*-djam* "location") or the fusing of two suffixes (*-migen* "kin dyad", from delocutive *-mi* plus genitive *-gen*).

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Nominal compounding is an important resource for word-formation in Bininj Gun-wok. However, as we have seen, it is constrained on the one hand by a small set of constructional templates, each with their own strict semantics, and on the other by grammatical and semantic constraints on what may be the first element of the compound. As a result of these constraints, there are many types of compound, found in other languages, that cannot be expressed as compounds in Bininj Gun-wok. Notions like "ash-tray", "book-shelf", "police-

station" or "meat-cleaver" in English are not possible compounds in Bininj Gun-wok because their semantics – "Y to be used for X" or "place [Y] where one finds X" – do not fall into one of the types mentioned in 2. Such concepts will be expressed by various types of nominal derivation, such as using the derivational suffix *-djahdjam* "characteristic location", as in *djamun-djahdjam* [dangerous-CHARACTERISTIC.LOCATION] "police station".

Others, like "kangaroo-hunter", "land-owner", "hit-man" or "washer-woman" in English, are likewise impossible, this time because the head noun would need to be translated by a BGW noun (*bininj* "man" or *daluk* "woman") that is not a permissible compounding element. Concepts of this type are frequently expressed as deverbal nominals, in which a fully inflected word is simply used as a syntactic noun without any overt signalling of class-change; these may or may not have an incorporated nominal. Examples are *kawarlun* "hunter", segmentable as *ka-warlu-n* [3-hunt-NP], lit. "he hunts", and *kabarriolknahnan* "land-owners, custodians", segmentable as *kabarri-bolk-nahna-n* [3a-land-look.after-NP], lit. "they look after the land".

Although criteria for identifying word-classes can be clearly established in BGW, and applied straightforwardly to many types of compound, there are two types – "restricted-domain compounds", which are a type of bahuvrihi compound, and "modifying compounds" – which appear to lie halfway between nouns and adjectives in their behaviour. Initial observations suggest these are rarely or never used within argument NPs, i.e. in the prototypical role for nouns or attributive adjectives, and are instead confined to predicate uses where the features that distinguish nouns from adjectives are less manifest. As yet, though, we are at an early stage in our understanding of BGW grammar, and are yet to establish a substantial corpus: we need much more quantitative discourse-based work before we can fully understand what lies beyond the rather mixed behaviour of compounds.

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