BURARRA WORD CLASSES

Kathleen Glasgow

0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to define the word classes of the Burarra language as an aid to dictionary labelling, further analysis to be completed (particularly phrase and sentence), and translation work.

Five criteria have been employed in determining the Burarra word classes: (a) semantics, (b) derivation, (c) derivation potential for other word classes, (d) inflection and (e) distribution in paragraph, sentence, clause and phrase.

By these criteria Burarra words belong to nineteen different word classes: nouns, temporals, temporal relators, locatives, directionals, possessed body parts, descriptives, pronouns, demonstratives, kin terms, verbs, adverbs, restricted adverbs, aspect words, mood words, indeterminates, conjunctions, attention words and interjections.

There are also four generic classes within the nouns and eight morphological classes of verbs distinguished by criterion (d) above. There are four distribution classes of verbs distinguished by criteria (d) and (e). A subclass of intransitive verbs may occur as auxiliaries.

Number in the Burarra pronominal system is according to minimal, unit augmented and augmented categories, as described in section 10.1. The traditional terms — singular, dual and plural — used in earlier papers have, however, been retained in the example glosses.

Burarra is a language of Arnhem Land. There are approximately 600 speakers whose homelands are in the Blyth and Cadell River area and who also live at Maningrida.

My husband, Dave Glasgow, and I are indebted to the Burarra people for their friendship and help since 1962, when we commenced work in their language. We are also grateful to the Gunavidji people for allowing us to live and work at Maningrida.

0.1 Abbreviations and symbols

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
acc	accompaniment prefix
asp	aspect
Aux_1	auxiliary one verbs
Aux_2	auxiliary two verbs
$_sAux$	stative auxiliary verbs
caus	causative
cl	classifier
comp	compound
conj	conjunction
cont	continuous
ctf	contrafact
dat	dative
deriv	derivational
descr	descriptive
dir	direction prefix
dl	dual
ex	excluded person, in verb prefixes, which excludes the hearer in the minimal (singular) category and either the hearer or speaker in augmented (dual and plural) categories
excl	exclusive person which excludes the hearer in minimal (singular) non-verbs
fem	feminine
fut	future
imperf	imperfect
in	included person, in verb prefixes, which includes both speaker and hearer
incl	inclusive person which includes both speaker and hearer in minimal (singular) non-verbs
indeter	indeterminate
intr/i	intransitive (the shorter abbreviation is used in the appendix)
lit	literally
masc	masculine
mnr	manner
n	noun

neg	negative
nom	nominative
num	number
O	object
obliq	oblique (versus nominative pronoun)
perf	perfect aspect
pers	person
phr	phrase
pl	plural
poly-syll	poly-syllabic
poss	possessive
pred	predicate
pref	prefix
prn	pronoun
prob	probability, the aspect series which occurs with non-past. (All examples of aspect not marked 'prob' belong to the completive aspect series which occurs with past tense.)
punct	punctiliar aspect
recip	reciprocal
redup	reduplicated
reflex	reflexive
rep	repetition suffix
s/sg	singular (the shorter abbreviation is used in the glosses)
st	stative
subjunc	subjunctive
t/tr	transitive (the shorter abbreviation is used in the appendix)
vb	verb
voc	vocative
' '/*italics*	meanings
'	primary
"	secondary stress
+	obligatory
±	optional
∅	zero affix
→	'becomes' (in examples of derivations)
}	brackets areas neutralised or included in the expression pointed to
( )	enclose implied meaning or optional portion of utterance
/	occurs between alternate forms or meanings

–	a grammatical device separating prefix from stem
:	occurs between meaning components of a single morpheme
?	unidentified morpheme meaning
.	divides morphemes in examples

1. THE WORD

The Burarra word may be defined as a stem or stem-affix string potentially bounded by pause. Primary word stress normally occurs on the first syllable of the first root in the stem. A secondary stress occurs on the first syllable of subsequent roots in reduplicated and compound stems, although primary and secondary stress may be reversed in deliberate speech. Primary stress is shown in the following examples by a single quote mark; secondary stress is shown by a double quote mark.

1. 'japarndiya   *sing*
2. an-gu'japarndiya   *clapping sticks* (lit. *that with which one sings*)
3. 'bala   *lid, roof, house*
4. 'bungga   *fall down*
5. ngu-'bala''bunggabiya   *my eyelids are closing*

Descriptives derived from demonstratives are an exception, in that primary stress occurs word initial, on the prefix, unless over-ridden by clause stress.

6. 'nyiburr-guna   *we* (excl) *here*
7. nyiburr-'guna   *we* (excl) *are HERE*

The conjunctions rrapa *and* and rraka *and so* do not have word stress.

2. SPECIAL SUFFIXES

There are two special suffixes in Burarra which have wide distribution across word class boundaries, -ya 'realis' and -pa 'repetition'.

2.1 Realis suffix

The following are examples of the realis suffix -ya and the classes of words with which it may occur freely and optionally.

Descriptives:

1. an-ngardapa   + -ya   → an-ngardapiya
    one (an- class)   realis   *he's the only one*

2. gun-guna + -ya   → gun-guniya
    this one   realis   *this is the one, now*

Pronouns:

3. nipa + -ya   → nipiya
    he   realis   *he's the one*

Demonstratives:

4. gata   + -ya   → gatiya
    that place known to you   realis   *that's the place*

Aspect words:

5. gipa   + -ya   → gipiya
    already   realis   *that's it! you've got it right!*

Mood words:

6. minja + -ya   → minjiya
    if   realis   *that's so!*

On verbs -ya is not optional, but instead it functions as the classifier
and/or derivational suffix for the reflexive class of verbs, becoming part of
the stem.

7. wepa   + -ya   → wepiya
    wash it   realis   *wash yourself*

It could be said that the derivational suffix here and the special suffix above
are two separate morphemes. However, it seems reasonable to consider them the
same, the subject being specified as recipient of the action in the resulting
reflexive verb.

2.2 Repetition

The repetition suffix -pa occurs optionally and freely on all verbs. The
following sentence from a text describing a pelican 'spearing' and eating fish
with his beak is a good example.

1. A-rranapa, a-barrapa, a-wulebanapa.
    He kept spearing them, he kept eating them, he finished them up.

In combination with the auxiliary verb workiya *do habitually* a different shade
of meaning results.

2. a-nirrapa a-workiya
    he lives forever (lit. *he lives repeatedly he does habitually*)

On other classes of words -pa does not function as a suffix, but is part
of the stem. Again, it could be argued that this is a different morpheme.
However, the semantic relationship is clear in some cases. For example, the
concepts of 'further distance', 'simultaneity' and 'comparison', expressed in
the examples below by the demonstrative, aspect and mood words respectively
have a feasible semantic relationship to 'repetition'. Also, in view of the
strong Aboriginal value of belonging, rather than individualism, it seems
likely that the recurring partial -pa on kin terms and nominative pronouns is
related to the concept of repetition. For example, nipa *he* feasibly carries
the connotation *he (also) in contrast to others*, and mampa nuya *his mother*
feasibly carries the connotation *mother (also) in relation to him*. Evidence
for this can be seen in the way possessed body parts are referred to generically.
Except when referring to someone's head specifically, the body part 'head' is
always referred to as bama arr-jirra *yours and my head*. The following are
examples of -pa and the different word classes where it occurs not as a suffix,
but as part of the stem.

Kin terms:

3. gula   + -pa → gululapa
    mother's brother (voc form)   rep   *(your) maternal uncle*

Nominative pronouns:

4. ngay + -pa → ngaypa
    1s   rep   *I/me*

Demonstrative:

5. ga   + -pa → gapa
    place rep   *there further away*

    (cf. gata *there in sight* and gaba *there out of sight*, section 11, Table 4)

Aspect words:

6. waya   + -pa → waypa
    certainty (mood word)   rep   *at the same time as* (lit. *certainty also*)

Mood words:

7. minja   + -pa → minypa
    isn't it/if   rep   *isn't it also/like*

3. NOUNS

Nouns[1] are an open class of words representing tangible objects and
perceivable phenomena, and also a few abstracts such as marr *soul* and gurrurta
kinship love, and some terms which classify people according to age, moiety or
kinship role, for example gapula *old person*, yawarriny *single man*, marlu(ga)
person of Jowunga moiety, mori *person of Yirrchinga moiety*, an-jirrpungapa
father one and awurr-bureybureygu *father and sons*.

Nouns which classify people according to kinship role are distinguished
from kin terms by the obligatory presence of a descriptive or person-number
prefix (see description of derived nouns below) co-occurring with the obligatory
absence of other pronominal reference (compare section 12. Kin terms).

Nouns belong to four generic classes. The class of the noun is overtly
marked only on derived nouns, which have as part of their stem the 3rd person
singular descriptive prefix an-, jin-, mun- or gun- according to their class.
There are a few exceptions, however, where the class of the derived noun is
different from that indicated by the descriptive prefix component of the stem,
as in example 5 below.

1. an-   + mu + jaruk → an-mujaruk
    descr pref   acc   *story*   *messenger* (an- class)

2. jin-   + ngamangama → jin-ngamangama
    descr pref   *breast/milk*   *young girl* (jin- class)

3. mun   + banda   → mun-banda
    descr pref   *lower leg*   *type of yam* (mun- class)

4. gun-   + gu- + rrema   → gun-gurrema
    descr pref   acc   *hammer* (vb)   *stone* (gun- class)
    (lit. *thing to hammer with*)

5. mun-   + ngokngok   → mun-ngokngok
    descr pref   onomatopoeic sound of owl   *owl* (an- class)

Noun class is shown primarily by agreement in the following ways. Firstly, nouns may take the accompaniment prefix, which agrees with the class of the noun, taking the form ana-, ji-, mu- or gu- accordingly.

6. ana-galamang   *with an axe*

7. ji-marnnga   *(burnt) by the sun/in the sun*

8. mu-lipalipa   *by canoe/in the canoe*

9. gu-bala   *in/on the house*

Secondly, descriptives are obligatorily prefixed in agreement with the class of the noun modified, by either the accompaniment prefix described above or by the descriptive prefix, which takes the form an-, jin-, mun- or gun- accordingly.

10. galamang an-rrartka   *the axe is sharp/the sharp axe*

11. manakarda jin-jaranga   *the geese are many/the many geese*

12. balaja mun-molamola   *the food is good/the good food*

13. janguny gun-baykarda   *the story is long/the long story*

Thirdly, the person prefixes on verbs agree with the noun class of 3rd person singular intransitive subjects and transitive objects, taking the form a-, jiny-, mu- or gu-.

14. gornabola a-rrana   *he speared a wallaby*

15. marnnga jiny-bungguna   *the sun went down*

16. balaja mu-yalpurda   *he/she is cooking the food*

17. yorr gu-bungguna   *the rain fell down*

Noun class agreement is summarised in Table 1 below.

Noun class	an	jin	mun	gun
Noun class marker on descriptives	an-	jin-	mun-	gun-
Accompaniment prefix on nouns and descriptives	ana-	ji-	mu-	gu-
Person-Number prefix on verbs	a-	jiny-	mu-	gu-

Table 1: Noun class agreement

The membership of nouns in the four noun classes is based on Burarra mythology and world view. The an- class includes human males, many animals, the moon and metal objects. It could be glossed as 'masculine'. The jin- class includes human females, animals not in the an- class and the sun. It could be glossed as 'feminine'. The mun- class includes foods other than meats (which are classed according to their animal source), spearshafts,

clothing, bedding, paper, pens etc. It could be glossed as 'domestic'. The
gun- class includes wood (generic, although there are specific trees in each
noun class), water, fire, places, houses, and furniture. It could be glossed
as 'general'.

Nouns may be non-derived stems or they may be derived from non-derived
nouns, possessed body parts, locatives, temporals, verbs or descriptives.

18.   an-   + rrakal   → an-dakal
       descr pref   *white clay*   *war*

19.   an-   + mu- + rrakal   → an-murrakal
       descr pref   acc   *white clay*   *warrior*

20.   awurr- + {an} -burey + {an} -burey + -gu → awurr-bureybureygu
       3 pl   *(axe) handle*   *(axe) handle*   *father and sons*

21.   an-   + gelama → an-gelama
       descr pref   *ear*   *forked pole*

22.   jin-   + bu   + wupa   → jin-buwupa
       descr pref   deriv pref   *inside*   *feminine spirit who lives in the ground*

23.   an-   + wolawola → an-nolawola
       descr pref   *sometime*   *a type of spirit*

24.   an-   + gu- + jarrcha → an-gujarrcha
       descr pref   acc   *carve*   *knife* (lit. *one with which to carve*)

25.   an-   + darr + baykarda → an-darrbaykarda
       descr pref   ?   *long*   *spirit who makes lightning*

Nouns of non-derived stems have derivation potential for nouns, as seen
in examples 18 and 19 above, and for descriptives, temporals, adverbs and
mood words, as follows.

26.   an-   + delipa   → an-delipa
       descr pref   *little child*   *little* (an- class)

27.   yi- + rrawa → yi-rrawa
       away   *camp*   *yesterday*

28.   burr-   + gorlk → burr-gorlk
       mnr pref   *swag*   *with belongings*

29.   marr + -ka → marrka
       soul   ?   *try*

Nouns may manifest the following clause-level tagmemes and predicate phrase
tagmemes, which are described by Glasgow and Garner (1980): Subject, Object,
Benefactive, Indirect Object, From, Location-Instrument, and Vocative;
modifier of Intransitive, Intransitive Stative and Transitive Stative Predicate
Phrases; and head of the Descriptive Predicate Phrase.

4. TEMPORALS

Temporals manifest the clause-level tagmeme, time (Glasgow and Garner 1980),
expressing either ordinal relationship or point in time. Duration is not
expressed by temporals, but rather by descriptives, adverbs or verbs as shown
in the following examples.

1. gun-jaranga   arr-ni   barra
    descr pref-*many* 1s incl-*be*:subjunc fut
    you and I will stay many (days)

2. yarta   ngu.na-bo.na
    temporarily 1s excl.*toward-go*.perf
    I came for a short time

3. ngu-mungbuy.pa   barra ngu-boy
    1s excl-*finish*.rep:subjunc fut   1s excl-*go*:subjunc
    I will go forever

4. awurri-ji.rra.pa ngu-ni
    3dl-*be*.punct.rep 1s excl-*be*:subjunc
    I will stay two (days)

Habitual is expressed by the auxiliary verb workiya *do habitually* (see section 13), and repeated action is expressed by the repetition suffix -pa on verbs (see section 2). *Dawn* guna-gepa, is also a verb.

    Temporals include words for first, last, first time at a place, long ago, yesterday, today, tomorrow, sometime, morning, mid-day, evening and night. They may be non-derived stems, simple or reduplicated, or they may be derived from nouns, possessed body parts, demonstrative compounds or compounds of temporal plus demonstrative.

5. ngulam   *morning, tomorrow*

6. ngulam + ngulam → ngulamngulam
    morning   morning   early morning

7. yi- + rrawa → yi-rrawa
    away   camp   yesterday

8. ana- + munya   → ana-munya
    acc   *darkness   night*

9. mu- + guya → muguya
    acc *nose   first*

10. barra   + -wa   → barrwa
    tail bone   similar   last, next

11. gu- + ga   + gapa   → gu-gagapa
    acc *place   place further away   first time at a place*

12. ngulam + gaba   → ngulamgaba
    morning   there out of sight   early morning

13. ana-munya + gaba   → ana-munyagaba
    night   there out of sight   early morning

    Temporals are uninflected. They have derivation potential for nouns and descriptives.

14. an-   + wolawola → an-nolawola
    descr pref *sometime   type of spirit*

15. gun-   + geka → gun-geka
    descr pref *today   new* (gun- class)

5. TEMPORAL RELATORS

There are two temporal relators which occur in Relator-Axis Time Clauses (Glasgow and Garner 1980, section 4.4). They are nuwurra *afterwards....* and waypa *at the same time as....* Nuwurra may possibly be derived from the conjunction wurra *but, or.* Waypa is derived from the mood word waya *certainly* by the addition of the repetition suffix -pa.

These temporal relators are uninflected and do not have derivation potential for other word classes.

The following are examples of temporal relators in Relator-Axis Time Clauses. Example 3 shows a Concurrent Time Clause embedded in a Subsequent Time Clause (Glasgow 1981).

1. waypa   barra ji-gabi
    at the same time as fut   3s:*away-there out of sight:*realis
    when (the sun) will be over there

2. nuwurra   ngulam
    afterwards morning
    afterwards (it will be) morning (a typical farewell)

3. nuwurra   waypa   barra a-bengga
    afterwards at the same time as fut   3s-*arrive*(non-past subjunc)
    afterwards when he arrives

6. LOCATIVES

Locatives are a small class of words which express relative position, such as 'high', 'low', 'inside', 'outside', 'near', 'far', 'in between', and one term which covers both 'on the shoreline' and 'in the middle of the water'. The concepts 'on the other side of' and 'on this side of', however, are not expressed by locatives, but by phrases such as the following.

1. gu-gapa   gu-rrarnba
    acc-*there far* acc-*thigh, shore*
    on the far side of

2. gu-guta   gu-rrenji.ya
    acc-*this side of* 3s-*be:on.*cont
    on this side of

Locatives may take the accompaniment prefix expressing 'in', 'on' or 'at'. Locatives are distinguished from nouns semantically, and by their different distribution and the fact that they may not be modified by descriptives. Locatives may manifest the clause-level tagmemes Descriptive Predicate, Indirect Object, From (ablative) and Location-Instrument (Glasgow and Garner 1980).

Locative stems may be simple, reduplicated, or compound. They may be non-derived or derived from other locatives or from possessed body parts or adverbs.

3. bulay   *far*

4. bulay + bulay → bulaypulay
    far   far   very far

5. wupa   *under*

6. wupa + na + -na   → wuparnana
    under   *see*   perf   *inside*

7. waykin   *high place*

8. gu-   + mu- + waykin   → gu-muwaykin
    descr pref   acc   *high place*   *in a specific high place*

9. gochula + -wa   → gochulawa
    abdomen   *similar*   *shoreline, middle of the water*

10. gu- + mu + gochulawa   → gu-mugochulawa
    acc   acc   *shoreline/middle of the water*   *in a boat in the water*

11. yi- + gu- + rrepara → yi-gurrepa
    away   acc   *foot*   *near*

12. gu- + werra + -pa → gu-werrapa
    acc   *poorly*   rep   *deserted place*

   Locatives have derivation potential for descriptives and nouns.

13. an-   + yarlanga → an-yarlanga
    descr pref   *outside*   *naked* (an- class)

14. jin-   + bu-   + wupa → jin-buwupa
    descr pref   deriv pref   *under*   *a feminine spirit under the ground*

7. DIRECTIONALS

   There are two directional words. They are uninflected and do not have
derivational potential for other word classes.

   Gurda *toward* occurs only in Transitive Predicate Phrases where subject and
object are non-singular, and in Intransitive Predicate Phrases where there is
a non-singular subject or object (Glasgow and Garner 1980). Where subject and
object are only singular, *toward* is expressed by the first order verb prefix
na- (see section 13.1). Both gurda and na- define the verbal action as being
toward the locational focus of the context. Gurda seems to be derived by
contraction from the demonstrative-derived descriptive gun-narda *that one near
you* (gun- class). Examples of gurda as it occurs with non-singular and na-
as it occurs with singular follow.

1. awurr-bo.na gurda nula
    3pl-*go*.perf *toward* 3s:dat prn
    they came here to him (in which 'here' refers to the location of the story,
                          not the speaker)

2. a.na-na.na   a-ni
    3s:3s.*toward-see*.perf 3s-*be*:perf
    he was this direction watching him (in which 'this direction' refers to the
                                location of the person being watched,
                                the focal point of the story)

   Wenga *from* is non-derived and occurs as the relator in the From Phrase
which manifests the From Tagmeme and Descriptive Predicate. (Glasgow and
Garner 1980).

3. gu-gata   wenga
    acc-*there known from*
    from that known place/time

4. yina   gaya wenga
    interrog *place from*
    where from

Wenga *from*, like gurda *toward*, is also paralleled by a first order directional
prefix on non-imperative verbs, y- *away* (see section 13.1), which occurs with
singular subject and/or object in the Transitive and Intransitive Predicate
Phrases. For reasons of redundancy or collocational clash wenga and y- do not
co-occur. Wenga is also paralleled by the directional prefix yi- *away* which
occurs on demonstratives (see section 11).

   The first order directional verb prefixes y- *away* and na- *toward*
obligatorily co-occur with an overt person-number prefix and therefore do not
co-occur with the zero singular imperative prefix (see section 13.4).

8. BODY PARTS (OR STATIVE NOUNS)

   Burarra possessed body parts are elsewhere referred to as stative nouns
(Glasgow and Garner 1980), because when functioning as nouns they obligatorily
occur as modifier in an Intransitive Stative Predicate Phrase.

1. bama + ngu-ji.rra + nguna-bu.na
    head 1s-*be*.punct   3s/2s:1s-*hit*.perf
    Intr St Pred Phr   Tr Pred Phr
    it/he/she/you hit me on the head

In this construction, as modifier in Intransitive Stative Predicate Phrase,
possessed body parts may manifest Subject, Object and Location-Instrument.
Possessed body parts may also occur as modifier in Transitive and Intransitive
Predicate Phrases.

2. bama + ngu-yina.nga
    head   1s excl-*say*.imperf
    Intr Pred Phr
    I thought/said to myself

3. bama + nguna-yerrnji.nga
    head 3s:1s-*throw*.imperf
    Tr Pred Phr
    I have a headache

   Possessed body parts include head, hair, eye, ear, forehead, nose, mouth,
cheek, tongue, teeth, neck, throat, voice, shoulder, arm, hand, chest, abdomen,
rear, thigh, shin and foot.

   Possessed body parts do not include eyeball, eyebrow, skin, whiskers, fat,
ribs, liver, genitals, fingernails and toenails, which are regular nouns
instead.

   Possessed body parts are not only attributed to people and animals, but
idiomatically to all sorts of objects, including intangible objects such as
'story' (see example 5 below), wherever it is convenient for describing the
parts.

4. gochula + gu-ji.rra
    abdomen   3s:gun- class-*be*:punct
    centre of the camp

5. banda + gu-ji.rra
    shin   3s:gun- class-*be*.punct
    main point of a story

6. bama + mu-ji.rra
    head   3S:mun- class-*be*.punct
    lid of a bottle

Certain possessed body parts are also associated with certain kinship relationships. These are employed in sign language or used verbally to refer to a relative. For example, forehead refers to grandparents or grandchildren; cheek refers to mother-in-law; upper arm refers to father and father's sister or conversely paternal offspring, niece or nephew; abdomen refers to child; knee or thigh refers to mother or mother's brother; hip refers to mate; lower leg refers to brother/sister.

Possessed body parts are non-derived and uninflected. They occur in predicate phrases as described above. They have derivation potential for nouns, descriptives, locatives, temporals (ordinal), and occur as the first component in compound verbs and are reduplicated as adverbs. Examples of these follow.

7. an-   + gelama → an-gelama
    descr pref *ear*   *forked pole*

8. an-   + murna → an-murna
    descr pref *hand*   *big/important* (an- class)

9. yi- + gu + rrepara → yi-gurrepa
    away acc *foot*   *close* (lit. *a distance away by foot*)

10. mu- + guya → muguya
    acc *nose*   *first*

11. barra + -wa   → barrwa
    rear   *similar* *last*

12. bama + na → bamana
    head   *see*   *guard someone*

13. bama + bama → bamapama
    head   *head*   *crazy*

14. murna + murna → murnamurna
    hand   *hand*   *handshake*

9. DESCRIPTIVES

Although descriptives have the same form as some derived nouns, i.e. descriptive prefix plus stem (see section 3), and often occur without the overt manifestation of the nouns they modify, descriptives are distinguished from nouns in that they modify a wide range of nouns and are not themselves modified. Nouns, however, specify a particular class of objects and may be modified by descriptives.

Descriptives are an open class of words which refer to the size, shape, colour, age, physical characteristics and mental attitudes, which are the properties of the nouns they modify.

Burarra descriptives are mostly derived stems, perhaps all derived stems, but those for which derivation has not been identified are, as yet, considered non-derived, e.g. gun-baykarda *long* (gun- class). Descriptives may be derived from possessed body parts, nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, temporals, verbs, adverbs and aspect words.

1. an-   + murna → an-murna
    descr pref   *hand   big*

2. an-   + delipa → an-delipa
    descr pref   *child   little*

3. mun-   + ngaypa → mun-ngaypa
    descr pref   *I   mine*

4. gun-   + gata   → gun-gata
    descr pref   *there in sight   that one there in sight*

5. gun-   + geka → gun-geka
    descr pref   *today   new*

6. jin-   + bacha + -rra   → jin-bachirra
    descr pref   *fight*   punct   *cheeky, angry*

7. mun-   + werra → mun-nerra
    descr pref   *poorly   bad*

8. an-   + mola → an-mola
    descr pref   *again   well/friendly*

For a display of all descriptives derived from demonstratives see section 11, Table 5.

Descriptive stems may also be reduplicated or compounded.

9. gun-   + mola + mola → gun-molamola
    descr pref   *again   again   good*

10. an-   + balma   + barra   → an-balmbarra
    descr pref   *finished   tail bone   short*

Non-derived descriptives, which are few, have derivation potential for nouns. An-darrbaykarda *the spirit who makes lightning* is an example which has already been given in section 3. (See gun-baykarda *long* above.)

The inflection of descriptives has been described in section 3, Nouns, as the obligatory occurrence of either the descriptive or accompaniment prefix on all descriptives and in agreement with the class of the noun modified. The realis suffix -ya also occurs on descriptives, as described in section 2.

Descriptives have an even wider distribution in Burarra than do nouns. Although they do not occur as modifier in the Intransitive Predicate Phrase, where nouns may occur, they do occur, as nouns do, expressing Subject, Object, Benefactive, Indirect Object, From, Location-Instrument, Vocative, modifier of the Intransitive Stative and Transitive Stative Predicate Phrases and head of the Descriptive Predicate Phrase. As well, descriptives express Time (both specific and durative), and Mood may be expressed by the descriptive gun-burral *true*.

10. PRONOUNS

Burarra free pronouns are non-derived stems built from sixteen or so morphemes. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the possible meanings of these morphemes. This was done in an earlier paper (K. Glasgow 1964a. In the same paper, based on the presence of i or y stem medial in the nominative only, pronominal case is described as nominative versus oblique, in which oblique includes causative, accusative and possessive case. This distinction remains convenient for the display of the various case forms. In the present paper, however, the term 'dative' replaces 'accusative' and the term 'causative', although it remains, is seen to pertain to '1st person involvement'.

There is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive in 1st person pronouns. In the earlier paper (Glasgow 1964a) number expressed in the pronouns was described as singular, dual and plural, in which 1st person singular exclusive is 'I', but 1st person singular inclusive is 'you and I'. However, Graham McKay's number categories (1978) for Rembarrnga and Djeebbana are an apt description for Burarra also, and have been incorporated alongside the traditional terms, which are retained for convenience in cross referencing in the larger description of the language. That is, 'minimal', 'unit augmented' and 'augmented' parallel 'singular', 'dual' and 'plural' respectively. The minimal/augmented categories are described as "a system based upon a minimal number appropriate to each person category, appropriately augmented by the addition of one or more" (McKay 1978).

There is a feminine/non-feminine distinction in the unit augmented number category. The feminine forms are signalled by the morpheme -rriny- and the resulting morphophonemic change of the following t to j. By orthographic device this appears as -rrinj-.

10.1 Nominative pronouns

The nominative pronouns are shown in Table 2.

	1st Person		2nd Person	3rd Person
	incl (minimal)	excl (minimal)		
Minimal (singular)	ngarripa	ngaypa	nginyipa	nipa
Unit augmented (dual)				
non-fem	ngatipa		ana-gotipa	bitipa
fem	ngarrinjipa		ana-gorrinjipa	birrinjipa
Augmented (plural)	ngayburrpa		ana-goyburrpa	birripa

Table 2: Nominative pronouns

Note that the inclusive/exclusive distinction only occurs in Minimal 1st Person. It is this minimal category which also serves as a pattern for distinctions in the demonstratives and kin terms.

Nominative pronouns may manifest Descriptive Predicate Phrase Head, and the Subject, Object and Benefactive Tagmemes. They have derivation potential for descriptives which define the ownership of the noun they modify.

1. mun-   + ngaypa → mun-ngaypa
    descr pref   1s;nom   *my/mine*

All nominative pronouns derive to descriptives as in the above example, except for nipa 'minimal 3rd person' which derives irregularly to the following forms.

2. mun-nigipa *his/hers*

3. (bambay) mun-nika *(old woman)'s*

Nominative pronouns are uninflected except for the realis suffix -ya (see section 2).

10.2 Oblique pronouns

The oblique pronouns, which include possessive, dative and causative case forms, are shown in Table 3. In the oblique pronouns the feminine/non-feminine distinction, as well as occurring in the unit augmented category, also occurs in the minimal 3rd person forms, where it is manifested by different stems.

The possessive pronouns are uninflected and occur in the Kinship Phrase with 3rd person inclusive kin terms (see section 9).

1. nganyapa acha
    father   3s:fem:poss
    her father

The dative pronouns obligatorily take a first order 'benefactor' suffix, which is -la in the minimal and unit augmented categories and zero in the augmented category. A 2nd order suffix, -wa 'specific', occurs obligatorily in the augmented category, and optionally in the minimal and unit augmented categories emphasising the benefactor as distinct from the subject or object. Dative pronouns may express 'oblique' in all predicate phrases. This position is termed 'benefactor' by Glasgow and Garner (1980), but is referred to here as 'oblique' (see paragraph 1 of this section), since it is not only expressed by dative pronouns, which carry the meaning 'benefactor', but it is also expressed by causative pronouns (see example 6 in the following paragraph, which discusses causative pronouns).

2. a-gonji.nga   apula
    3s-*call out*.imperf 3s:dat
    he called to me

3. janguny a-wu.na   burrwa
    story   3s:3s-*give to*.perf 3pl:dat
    he gave him a message for them

Causative case is contrastively marked only in 'mono-focal' pronouns (K. Glasgow 1964a), that is, pronouns which differ from ego in only one aspect, either person or number. These forms take the prefix ng- '1st person involve-ment' (cf. recurring partial on 1st person nominative pronouns, Table 2). For pronouns further removed in person and number from ego, the causative forms are the same as the possessive forms. Causative pronouns occur both in the Kinship Phrase, as the possessive pronouns do, and expressing 'oblique' in predicate phrases, as dative pronouns do. The use of causative pronouns sometimes results in obscene connotations.

Number	Case	1st Person		2nd Person	3rd Person	
		incl	excl		non-fem	fem
Minimal (singular)	Poss	arrku	apa	nggu	nuya	acha
	Dat	arrkula/ arrkulawa	apula/ apulawa	nggula/ nggulawa	nula/ nulawa	achila/ achilawa
	Caus	ngarrku	ngapa	nggu	nuya	acha
Unit Augmented (dual)	Poss					
	non-fem	ata		ana-gota	buta	
	fem	arrinja		ana-gorrinja	burrinja	
	Dat					
	non-fem	atila/atilawa		ana-gotula/ ana-gotulawa	butula/ butulawa	
	fem	arrinjila/ arrinjilawa		ana-gorrinjula/ ana-gorrinjulawa	burrinjula/ burrinjulawa	
	Caus					
	non-fem	ngata		ana-gota	buta	
	fem	ngarrinja		ana-gorrinja	burrinja	
Augmented (plural)	Poss	arrburra		ana-gorrburra	burra	
	Dat	arrburrwa		ana-gorrburrwa	burrwa	
	Caus	ngarrburra		ana-gorrburra	burra	

Table 3: Oblique pronouns

4. mampa ng.apa
    mother 1st person involvement.ls excl
    my mother (this usage is acceptable)

5. mampa ng.acha
    mother 1st person involvement.3s:fem
    her mother, involving me (this usage considered obscene)

6. a-ngiwja   ng.apa
    3s-*beg*:perf 1st person involvement.ls excl
    he propositioned me (obscene)

Contrast: a-ngiwja   apula
           3s-*beg*:perf ls excl:dat
           he begged me (for something) (acceptable usage)

It is probably the minimal 3rd person non-feminine causative pronoun form which occurs in the close-knit phrases wurpa nuya *except also* and ngaypa nuya *me too* in the sense of an external cause (see Glasgow 1981b, section 3.9).

11. DEMONSTRATIVES

There are nine demonstratives in Burarra. As mentioned in Section 10, these may be conveniently described in terms of the minimal (singular) pronominal distinctions. The demonstratives with their meanings are shown on the pronominal grid in Table 4.

Basic meaning	1st Person incl	1st Person excl	2nd Person	3rd Person
here, now	ngunjurta *here where you and I are*	ngunyuna *here where I am*	ngunyunarda *here near you*	ngunyunaga *this place here*
there	gata *there in sight*		ganarda *there near you*	gaba *there out of sight*
another, further	gawata *another place specific to there*			gapa *there far*

Table 4: Demonstratives

The demonstratives are non-derived stems built on the morphemes nguna *toward* ls, ga *place*, narda *near you*, ta *known, in sight*, ba *unknown, out of sight*, wa *specific*, and pa *repetition*.

A tenth and restricted demonstrative, gaya *place is* is formed by the addition of the realis suffix -ya to the morpheme ga *place*. gaya obligatorily co-occurs with the mood word yina 'interrogative' in close-knit phrases which function as indeterminates and are therefore listed along with the indeterminate words in section 18 (examples 18 and 20).

The nine demonstratives in Table 4 optionally take two affixes — the directional prefix yi- *away* (from the focal point), as in yi-gata *away there in sight or known to you,* and the realis suffix -ya, as in gatiya *that's where.* These nine demonstratives may express the clause level tagmemes Indirect Object, From and Location-Instrument (Glasgow and Garner 1980).

Descriptives derived from and corresponding to the demonstratives in meaning, e.g. gun-gata *the one there in sight or known to you,* etc., are shown in Table 5. The hyphen indicates the obligatory occurrence of the appropriate descriptive or accompaniment prefix (see section 3, examples 1 and 2). The resulting 2nd person descriptives an-narda, jin-narda, mun-narda and gun-narda *that one near you or known to you,* the form depending on the class of the noun being described, optionally contract to arda, jurda, murda and gurda respectively. As a fixed contraction gurda is the directional word *toward* (the focal point) described in section 7.

Basic meaning	1st Person incl	excl	2nd Person	3rd Person
this	-guta *this side of*	-guna *this*	-narda *that near you/ known to you*	-gunaga *this one here*
that	-gata *that one there in sight*		-ganarda/-garda *that one there near you*	-gaba *that one out of sight*
another, further	-gawata *one near to/ specific to that one*			-gapa *that one far away*

Table 5: Demonstrative-derived descriptives

The demonstrative gaya *place is* derives, as well, to the descriptive -gaya *placed,* which has restricted distribution as follows: obligatorily co-occurring with the mood word yina 'interrogative' gaya manifests Descriptive Predicate (Glasgow and Garner 1980) in a Simple Sentence (Glasgow 1981b, section 4.1b); obligatorily co-occurring with the accompaniment prefix gu-, -gaya occurs in an indeterminate phrase (see section 18, example 20) which may manifest the first Base of the Indeterminate Merged Sentence (Glasgow 1981b, section 4.2.3); or optionally co-occurring with the accompaniment prefix gu-, -gaya occurs in a close-knit phrase which may manifest the relator of the sentence level Reference Margin (Glasgow 1981b, section 3.13, examples e and h).

1. yina   an-ga.ya
    interrog descr pref-*place*.realis
    where is he

2. gu-ga.ya   wenga
    acc.*place*.realis *from*
    where from

3. gun-ga.ya   gata
    descr pref-*place*.realis *there*
    the one placed there

     As well as deriving to descriptives, demonstratives also have derivation
potential for temporals.

4. ana-munya + gaba   → ana-munyagaba
    night   there out of sight   morning

5. gu- + ga   + gapa   → gu-gagapa
    acc *place   there far   first time at a place*

12. KIN TERMS

     There is a rich inventory of kin terms in Burarra, expressing actual and
classificatory relationships between people, although dogs may sometimes also be
included.

     There are different forms for each relationship depending on the pronominal
viewpoint, paralleling the pronominal system as it is found in the minimal
(singular) free pronouns and demonstratives (see sections 7 and 8). 1st person
inclusive kin terms are used vocatively, including speaker and hearer. 1st
person exclusive kin terms speak of 'my' relative, excluding the hearer. 2nd
person kin terms speak of 'your' relative. 3rd person kin terms refer to some-
one else as related to either 1st, 2nd or 3rd person.

     One term, worlangura *yours and my brother/sister*, fits in the 1st person
unit augmented category. 3rd person non-minimal relationships are expressed by
derived nouns (see section 3. Nouns) such as awurriny-berrkuwa *married couple*
and awurr-bureybureygu *father and sons*, rather than kin terms.

     Some kin relationships and some of the forms which express them are
displayed on pronominal grid in Table 6. Although all forms expressing a
particular relationship are not necessarily shown, wherever no form is shown
none has been recorded and it may be concluded that that particular relationship
does not receive that particular pronominal focus. Where there is no 1st person
exclusive focus, the 3rd person focus form is used instead, e.g.:

1. an-ngaypa   walkur
    descr pref-1s nom prn *man's or brother's offspring*
    my son/my brother's son

Where there is no 2nd person focus, either the 1st person inclusive focus form
or 3rd person focus form may be used, e.g. worla *(your) brother* or worlapa
nggu *brother to you*.

     In Table 6 it may be seen that 1st person inclusive kin terms are the
simplest. 1st person exclusive kin terms are prefixed with nguna- or nguji-
my masculine and *my* feminine respectively. There are a greater variety of
2nd person kin terms, because a speaker must use the appropriate term consider-
ing his relationship both to the hearer and the person referred to. 3rd person
kin terms obligatorily carry pronominal reference, usually on oblique pronoun,
possessive or causative (see section 10). The following is an example of a
3rd person kin term as it occurs with a possessive pronoun.

Relationship	1st pers Incl (vocative)	1st Pers Excl (my)	2nd Pers Sg (your)	3rd Person (he/she related to...)
mother, mother's sister	ama	nguj-ama	muma	mampa + obliq prn
mother's brother	gula	nguna-gula	gululapa	gululapa + obliq prn
father, father's brother	anya	ngun-anya	nyinya	nyanyapa + obliq prn an-bipa + obliq prn
man's son, man's/woman's brother's son	anya walkur		nyanyapa	descr pref + nom prn + walkur
man's daughter, man's brother's daughter	bapa walkur	nguji-bapa		descr pref + nom prn + walkur
woman's brother's daughter	bapa walkur	nguji-bapa	ngawunyapa	descr pref + nom prn + walkur ngawunyapa + obliq prn
father's sister	bapapa	nguji-bapapa		jin-bipa + obliq prn
woman's child, man's sister's child	ngalanga	nguna-/nguji- + ngalanga	mu-lopa	mu-lopa + obliq prn descr pref + jawapa + obliq prn
older brother	japa	nguna-japa		worlapa + obliq prn
younger brother	worla	nguna-worla		worlapa + obliq prn
sister	jala	nguji-jala		jalapa + obliq prn

Table 6: Some kin terms on pronominal grid

2. worlapa   nuya
    *brother:*3s incl 3s:poss
    his brother

Kin terms are non-derived stems except for mengga *wife,* which is derived from the past punctiliar form of the verb ma *get*. Kin terms have derivation potential for verbs.

3. worla   + worla   + -cha → worlworlcha
    brother   brother   cl   be happy

4. jachacha   + ma + -ya → jachachamiya
    mother's brother   get   cl   play

Kin terms may manifest the clause-level tagmemes Subject, Object, Benefactive and Descriptive Predicate. As well they may manifest modifier in the Transitive Stative Predicate Phrase.

13. VERBS

13.1 Structure

The verb consists of an obligatory person-number prefix, followed by an optional direction prefix (see section 7), followed by an obligatory verb stem, followed by an optional aspect suffix, followed by the optional contrafact suffix (see section 13.7), followed by the optional repetition suffix (see section 2.2). The verb structure is expressed in the following formula:

verb = + pers-num ± dir + vb stem ± asp ± ctf ± rep.

A minimal example of the verb is: a-ga
                                    3s:3s-*take*
                                    he/she/it could take him/it

An optimum example of the verb is: a.na-ga.nja.rna.pa
                                     3s:3s/*toward-take*/cont/ctf/rep
                                     he/she/it could have brought him/it
                                     repeatedly.

13.1.1 Verb stems

13.1.1.1 Simple stems

(a)   Monosyllabic verb stems include the basic concepts of standing, sitting and lying positions, ji, ni and yu respectively, as well as *hit* bu, *spear* rra, *give* wu, *get* ma and *take* ga. It is likely that these roots are the classifiers which occur in all other verb stems, where they undergo vowel changes in accord with the Burarra phonological patterns (Glasgow 1981a), and, in some cases, changes in the manner of consonantal articulation.

Three further monosyllabic verb stems have been noted. They are jo *scold,* na *see* and rro *burn up.* Perhaps these have been derived by vowel change from ji, ni and rra above.

(b)   Polysyllabic simple verb stems have only two roots. The first root carries the central meaning of the stem and the second root is a monosyllabic simple verb stem which serves as classifier (see sections 13.1.1.1(a) and

13.3.2). The first root is optionally either preceded by a derivative prefix
or immediately precedes the repetition suffix, which also has a derivational
function.   The polysyllabic simple verb stem structure is expressed in the
following formula:

$$\overset{\displaystyle\pm}{\boxed{\text{polysyllabic simple verb stem} = \pm \text{ deriv pref} + \text{root} \mp \text{rep} + \text{cl.}}}$$

polysyllabic simple verb stem = ± deriv pref + root ∓ rep + cl.

A minimal example of a polysyllabic simple verb stem is:

1. yal.pa
    cook.class
    cook it

Optimum examples of polysyllabic simple verb stems are:

2. wu.le.ba
    deriv pref.*finish*.cl
    finish/use it all up

3. werr.pi.ya
    poorly.rep.cl
    waste away, disappear

13.1.1.2 Compound stems

Compound verb stems consist of two or three components, the first being
a non-verbal stem (possessed body part, noun, or descriptive), and the last
being a simple verb stem by definition, although some, such as kujama in
example 6 below, only occur as components of compound verb stems. In compound
verb stems having three components an additional stem, either non-verbal or
simple verb, occurs between the first and last components. The compound verb
stem structure is expressed in the following formula:

comp vb stem = + non-vb stem ± (non-vb stem/simple vb stem) + simple vb stem

Examples 1 through 4 below are minimal compound verb stems; examples 5 and 6 are
optimum compound verb stems. Note that simple transitive verb stems which do
not include the optional derivative prefix (see section 3.1.1.1(a)) may take
the derivative prefix when occurring as the last component in a minimal compound
verb stem. Only two examples of this have been noted to date, 2 and 3 below.
In these examples the derivative prefix seems to indicate a stem-level relation-
ship of object to predicate between the first and last components.

In the examples below the component stems have not been divided into root
and classifier, as the meaning is intrinsic to the whole. Vowel neutralisation,
morpho-phonemic changes and elision take place in the compounding of verb stems.
Sometimes a whole morpheme/syllable is elided, as in example 5 below where the
classifier ja is elided from the second stem, but present in the third stem.
In section 13.1.1.3 Reduplicated stems, example 1, the root go is elided from
the second component stem.

1. ngana.mukcha
    mouth.shut
    shut mouth

2. murna.mu.gaypa
    *hand.*deriv pref.*deprive*
    deprive someone of what he is holding

3. barr.bu.rrima
    *tail bone.*deriv pref.*hold*
    be behind something/someone

4. bachirra.miya
    fighty.get self
    be angry

5. bim.burla.burlaja
    backbone.curve outward.curve outward
    retch

6. jurr.buray.kujama
    trail.handle(n).*get it to be*
    whip someone (lit. *get [him] to be in trail of the handle*)

13.1.1.3 Reduplicated stems

Verbs, nouns, possessed body parts, temporals, adverbs or directionals may be reduplicated to form verb stems with the addition of a verb classifier where there is no classifier already present in the second component (examples 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7), or where the reduplicated stem belongs to a different class than its component parts (example 5). The reduplicated verb stem structure is expressed in the following formula:

redup vb stem = + stem + redup ± cl.

In example 1 below note that the root go is elided in the reduplication. Examples 3 and 4 show how a different meaning is achieved by a different classifier.

1. gorndu.rnda
    cut.cut
    chop up

2. gurda.gurda.rra
    *toward.toward.*cl
    show someone something

3. wurr.wurr.ja
    *man.man.*cl
    tremble, shiver

4. wurr.wurr.ga
    *man.man.*cl
    rub together

5. wola.woli.ya
    *long ago.long ago.*cl
    swing (to and fro) from something

6. werr.werri.ya
    poorly poorly.cl
    become worse and worse

13.1.1.4 Reflexive stems

Reflexive verb stems are intransitive, and may be simple, compound or reduplicated in structure. They are usually derived from transitive verb stems by the addition of the classifier -ya (see section 2.1 Realis suffix) which carries a reflexive meaning.

1. wepa + -ya → wepiya
    wash   cl   *wash self*

2. bukula.bicha   + -ya → bukulabichiya
    forehead.tie   cl   *tie something around own forehead*
    (tie something around forehead)

Some verb stems only occur with the classifier -ya and are intrinsically reflexive.

3. walagi.ya   *dance*

4. gulolmi.ya   *be rotten*

13.1.1.5 Reciprocal stems

Reciprocal verb stems are reflexive intransitive verb stems derived from transitive verb stems by the addition of -chi/-chichi 'reciprocal', followed by the classifier -ya which carries a reflexive meaning (see section 13.1.1.4 Reflexive stems).

1. bu.chichi.ya
    hit.recip.cl
    hit each other

2. jurr.buray.kujama.chichi.ya
    trail.handle(n).*position something*.recip.cl
    whip each other

13.2 Derivation potential

As seen in section 13.1.1 inclusive, simple verbs have derivation potential for compound, reduplicated, reflexive and reciprocal verbs. Simple verbs also have derivation potential for further simple verbs, and for kin terms, nouns, descriptives and mood words.

1. jawa   + -ja → jawaja
    bleed, spurt   cl   *get up ready to go*

2. jawa   + -pa → jawapa
    bleed, spurt   rep   *offspring of mother or mother's brother*

3. ma + ngga → mengga
    get   cont   *wife*

4.   an-   + gu- + jarrcha → an-gujarrcha
     descr pref   acc *carve*   *knife*

5.   an-   + bacha + -rra   → an-bachirra
     descr pref   *fight*   punct *fighty, cheeky one*

6.   waya   + gu + ji   → waygaji
     certainty   acc *be*:subjunc *maybe*

13.3 Classes

13.3.1 Distribution classes

13.3.1.1 Transitive and intransitive

     Burarra verbs are either transitive or intransitive as distinguished by
the transitive or intransitive person-number prefixes which they take. These
are shown in Tables 7 and 8 below, as adapted from "Burera verb prefixes",
Glasgow and Kerr 1964. Note that the distinction between excluded and 2nd
person occurs only in the minimal (singular) category. This neutralisation is
in a different area from the neutralisation which occurs in free pronouns (see
section 10, Tables 2 and 3). Therefore the use of the optional free pronoun
together with the obligatory verb prefix clarifies any ambiguity. This applies
also to the further neutralisation which occurs in the transitive verb prefixes,
i.e. the neutralisation of non-minimal 2nd and 3rd persons (see Table 8), which
leaves a contrast of minimal and non-minimal only.

	Included	Excluded	2nd Person	3rd Person
Minimal (singular)	arr-	ngu-	nyi-	{a}
Unit Augmented (dual)	arri		nyirri-	{a}birri-
Augmented (plural)	nguburr-		nyiburr-	aburr-

Table 7: Intransitive verb person-number prefixes

13.3.1.2 Stative

     There are stative subdivisions within the transitive and intransitive
verbs. These are distinguished semantically, as well as by their different
distribution. The non-stative verbs, transitive and intransitive, are open
classes of words expressing 'activity', while there is only one transitive
stative verb, nega *cause to be*, and there are only four intransitive stative
verbs including negiya, the reflexive form of nega and the three verbs of being
listed under auxiliary one in section 13.3.1.3 below. Accordingly, verbs occur
as head of their respective predicate phrases in their respective clause types:
transitive or intransitive, transitive stative or intransitive stative. (For a
full description of Burarra clauses and predicate phrases see Glasgow and Garner
1980.)

SUBJECT	OBJECT Minimal (singular) In	Ex	2	3	Unit Augmented (dual) In	Ex	3	Augmented (plural) In	Ex	3
Minimal										
In	-	-	-	ay-	-	-	arrbu	-	-	arrbu-
Ex	-	-	ngi	ngu-	-	ajirri-	ngujirri-	-	arr-	nguburr-
2	-	nguna-	-	nyi-	-	njirri-	bijirri-	-	nyirr-	burr-
3	arr-	nguna-	bi-	{a-}	ajirri-	njirri-	bijirri-	arr-	nyirr-	burr-
Unit Augmented										
In	-	-	-	arri-	-	-	arrbu-	-	-	arrbu-
Ex	-	ngunabirri-	birri-	nyirri-	-	nyirrbu-	nyirrbu-	-	nyirrbu-	nyirrbu-
3	arrbu-	ngunabirri-	birri-	{a}birri-	arrbu-	nyirrbu-	burrbu-	arrbu-	nyirrbu-	burrbu-
Augmented										
In	-	-	-	ngubu-	-	-	arrbu-	-	-	arrbu-
Ex	-	ngunabu-	bubu-	nyibu-	-	nyirrbu-	nyirrbu-	-	nyirrbu-	nyirrbu-
3	arrbu-	ngunabu-	bubu-	{a}bu-	arrbu-	nyirrbu-	burrbu-	arrbu-	nyirrbu-	burrbu-

Table 8: Transitive verb person-number prefixes

13.3.1.3 Auxiliary

Limited sets of verbs occur as auxiliaries in the different predicate phrase types. These draw upon eight intransitive verbs of motion and the three intransitive stative verbs of being. Auxiliaries one and two occur in the Transitive and Intransitive Predicate Phrases. Stative Auxiliary ($_s$Aux) occurs in the Transitive Stative and Intransitive Stative Predicate Phrases.

Aux$_1$:

ji	*be (standing)*	gomarriya	*circle*
ni	*be (sitting)*	rrigirrga	*walk about*
yu	*be (lying)*	jarl	*hasten*
boy	*go*	rrika	*crawl*
yurtcha	*run*		

Aux$_2$:

bamba	*go steadily*	workiya	*do habitually*

$_s$Aux:

boy	*go*	bamba	*go steadily*
gomarriya	*circle*	workiya	*do habitually*
jarl	*hasten*		

See section 18, Indeterminates, for verbs which belong to that word class.

13.3.2 Morphological classes

Burarra verb stems may be divided into eight morphological classes and their subclasses according to which aspect suffixes may occur with them (see Tables 12 and 13). The classifier, which occurs stem final (see section 13.1.1.1b), tends to be the same or phonologically similar for verbs within their classes. As well, distinguishing connotations seem to belong to the classes. These are more clearly recognisable for some classes than for others. The eight verb stem classes and their subclasses are shown in Table 9, with the number of verb stems in each, out of a total of 354 used for this study (see Appendix). The predominant classifier(s), the transitive-intransitive, and other distinguishing connotations where clear are also given for each class. More than one stem is sometimes given as representative of a class or subclass to ensure that all classifiers, although not listed as predominant, are never-theless represented.

Five of the verbs have stem allomorphs: wengga/we- *speak* and bengga/be-*arrive*, both Class IV, use the short stem form with all suffixes except probability aspect. The following verbs use the short stem forms with all suffixes: bay/ba- *eat* (Class VII), boy/bo- *go* (Class IV), yinda/yina- *do like, say* (Class VIII).

	Verb stem class Subclass	No. of verbs out of 354	Predominant classifier	Connotations

I.	wepa *wash*
	    bu *hit*
	    galiya *hear*
		50
		2
		2
			ba/pa	Transitive tendency.

II.	burninja *be dirty*
	    wecha *be searching*
	    ni *be sitting*
	        (stative verb)
	    ninya *be sitting*
	        (non-stative)
		11
		3
		
		3
		
		1
			ja/cha	All intransitive.
				State of being.
				Continuous sense
				(classifier has same
				form as continuous
				aspect).

III.	jarrkarra *lift up*
	    morra *forget*
	    wenggana *ask*
		5
		2
		6
			rra/na	Transitive tendency.

IV.	molamiya *recover*
	    bacha *fight*
	    garlma *get up*
	    bungga *fall*,
	        juwa *die*
	    boy *go*
		56
		3
		2
		
		5
		1
			ya	All intransitive.
				Includes all
				reflexives.

V.	raka *sit*
	    rrigirrga *walkabout*
	    rrayka *fetch*
	    rrika *crawl*
	    balika *send*
	    ga *take*
	    bawa *leave*
		27
		1
		10
		1
		4
		1
		3
			ga/ka/wa	Predominantly
				transitive.

VI.	ngunja *mimic*, gornda *cut*	110	ja/cha	Transitive-intransitive. Includes verbs involving action related to a state of being. Continuous sense.

VII.	gurrma *put*
	    wemba *draw water*
	    jena *look for*,
	        bay *eat*
		37
		1
		
		2
			ma/wa	Predominantly transi-
				tive. Includes verbs
				involving positional
				relationship, cutting,
				breaking, movement of
				liquid.

VIII.	ma *get*, rro *burn*, jo *scold* yinda *do like*, *say*	4 1	absent	Transitive-intransitive.

Table 9: Verb stem classes

13.4 Mood

Burarra verbs have three moods: declarative, subjunctive and imperative.
The distinguishing features which express these moods in past and non-past tenses
are shown in Table 10.   The imperative forms of verbs are restricted to 2nd
person, and are distinguished by the imperative person-number prefixes, which
differ from the normal intransitive prefixes (Table 7), and in most instances
from the normal transitive prefixes (Table 8) where the object is 3rd person.
The imperative person-number prefixes for intransitive verbs and for transitive
verbs with a 3rd person object are listed below, as shown by Glasgow and Garner
1980, with a few additions.

```
2nd pers·sg (intr, or tr with 3rd sg O):        zero
            (tr with 3rd dl O):                 bijirri-
            (tr with 3rd pl O):                 burr-
2nd pers dl (intr, or tr with 3rd sg O) masc:   birri-
                                        fem:    birriny-
2nd pers pl (with intr verbs):                  buburr-
2nd pers pl (with tr vbs 3rd sg O):             bubu-/bubi-/buwu-
                                                 (phonologically
                                                  conditioned)

2nd pers dl or pl (tr vbs 3rd dl or pl O):      burrbu-
```

An exception to the use of the singular imperative zero prefix is that when a
first order direction prefix (y- *away* or na- *toward*) occurs, the 'normal'
second person singular prefix nyi- is used instead (see section 7).

13.5 Tense

There are two Burarra tenses, past and non-past.   These are not manifested
by affixes as such, but the past is signalled by the obligatory co-occurrence
of completive aspect, and the non-past is signalled by the obligatory
co-occurrence of barra 'future' in the declarative, and by the optional
co-occurrence of probability aspect in the subjunctive.   These distinguishing
features of past and non-past, as well as the optional negation of the
declarative, are shown in Table 10.

	PAST	NON-PAST
Declarative	+ completive ± (contrafact + gala 'neg')	+ barra 'future' ± gala 'neg'
Subjunctive	+ (completive + contrafact)	± probability
Imperative	not applicable	+ imperative prefixes

Table 10: Distinguishing features of past and non-past

Contrafact, mentioned in Table 10, is discussed in section 13.7.   The repetition
suffix -pa (see section 13.1) may also occur with all the forms of Table 10.

Past tense includes four meanings: 'long ago' and 'today past', which are usually linked with the more complete aspects, 'recently before today' and the declarative form of 'now', which are usually linked with the less complete aspects. Present declarative is part of the past concept in that the action has already begun and completive aspect obligatorily co-occurs.

Non-past tense includes all future time (declarative, subjunctive, and imperative), as well as the subjunctive forms for 'recently before today' and 'now', which are non-past in that they are not yet unrealised.

These functions of past and non-past are displayed in Table 11.

	PAST	NON-PAST
Declarative	wola a-bo.na *long ago he-go*.perf *He went long ago.* geka a-bo.na *today he-go*.perf *He went today.* yi-rrawa a-bo.ya *yesterday he.go*.cont *He went yesterday.* gun-guniya a-bo.ya *now he-go*.cont *He is going now.*	a-boy barra *he-go* future *he will go.*
Subjunctive	wola a-bo.ya.rna *long ago he-go*.cont.ctf *He could have gone long ago* *(but didn't).* geka a-bo.ya.rna *today he-go*.cont.ctf *He could have gone today* *(but didn't).*	yi-rrawa a-boy *yesterday he-go* *He could have gone yesterday.* gun-guniya a-boy *now he-go* *He could be going now.* burraya a-boy *soon he-go* *He could go soon.*
Imperative		boy *go* *Go!*

Table 11: Functions of past and non-past

13.6 Aspect

There are four aspects which occur as suffixes on Burarra verbs. They are perfect, punctiliar, continuous and imperfect. The completive series of these four aspects occurs obligatorily on verbs in the past tense, expressing degree of completeness. The probability series of the four aspects occurs optionally on verbs in the subjunctive mood of non-past tense, expressing the extent of probability. There is a phonological correspondence between the completive and probability aspect series, as may be seen by comparing Table 12 with Table 13.

13.6.1 Completive aspect series

The completive aspect series occurs with past tense as follows. Perfect defines an action as completed and final. Punctiliar defines an action as confined to a point in time. Continuous defines an action as continuing in the past, regardless of whether it has continued to the present. Imperfect defines the ultimate goal of the action as being incomplete.

There are semantic restrictions on the occurrence of these four aspects with the various verb stem classes, so that only two completive aspects occur with most verbs. Table 12 shows the completive aspect forms and their co-occurrence with the various verb stem classes and sub-classes.

From Table 12 it can be seen that the basic perfect suffix form in the completive series is -na, with the variation of -rna on the verb stem morra *forget*, and zero on Class II verb stems.

The basic punctiliar suffix form in the completive series is -rra, with the variant -rnda on the verb stem bu *hit*.

The basic continuous suffix form in the completive series is -ja, with the variant -nja on the verb stem ga *take*, and the variant -cha on the III Subclass verb stems represented by wenggana *ask*, in which the last syllable of stems receives a secondary stress. The variant zero occurs with Class IV verb stems represented by molamiya *recover* and by bacha *fight* in which the classifiers in the stems have the same form of variants as the continuous suffix. The variants -ngga and -ga occur on Class VIII and the VIII Subclass verb stem respectively.

The imperfect suffix form in the completive series is -nga.

13.6.1.2 Functions of aspect in the completive series

The aspect columns in Table 12 have been arranged according to the degree of completeness progressively from left to right. The most complete aspect which occurs with a verb stem where either perfect and/or punctiliar may occur, is the one usually used when referring to 'long ago' or to 'today past', and the less complete aspect is usually used when referring to 'recently before today' or to present (see section 13.5 Tense). The reverse is true for Class VIII verbs, however, which do not co-occur with perfect or punctiliar aspect.

	Verb Stem Class Subclass	Perfect	Punctiliar	Continuous	Imperfect
I.	wepa	-na	-rda		-nga
	bu	-na	-rnda		
	galiya	-na	-rra		
II.	burninja	-∅	-rra		-nga
	wecha	-∅	-rra		
	ni	-∅	-rra		
	ninya	-∅	-rra		
III.	jarrkarra	-na		-ja	
	morra	-rna		-ja	
	wenggana	-na		-cha	
IV.	molamiya	-na		-∅	
	bacha	-na		-∅	
	garlma	-na		-ya	
	bungga, juwa	-na		-ya	
	boy	-na		-ya	
V.	raka		-rra	-ja	-nga
	rrigirrga		-rda		-nga
	rrayka			-ja	-nga
	rrika		-rra		-nga
	balika		-rra	-ja	
	ga			-nja	
	bawa	-na		-ja	-nga
VI.	ngunja, gornda				-nga
VII.	gurrma		-rra		-nga
	wemba		-rra		-nga
	jena, bay		-rra		-nga
VIII.	ma, rro, jo			-ngga	-nga
	yinda			-ga	-nga

Table 12: Aspect — stem class co-occurrences, completive series

For example:

1. gipa   mu-nguyurra a-ni.∅   a-worki.ya.na
   already beginning   3s-be.perf 3s-*throw about*.cl.perf
   Already in the beginning he was all the time

2. geka   ngu-wepa.na
   today 1s:3s-*wash*.perf
   I washed it today.

3. gipa   yi-rrawa   ngu-wepa.rda
   already yesterday 1s:3s-*wash*.punct
   I already washed it yesterday.

4. burdak ngu-wepa.rda
   still 1s:3s-*wash*.punct
   I'm still washing it.

    The imperfect completive aspect may occur when referring to any past time as the time of inception. For example:

5. wola   nguna-guybuk.nga
   long ago 2s/3s:1s-*show*.imperf
   Long ago he began showing me.

6. yi-rrana nguna-guybuk.nga
   evening 2s/3s:1s-*show*.imperf
   (Yesterday) evening he began showing me

7. gaba lika ngu-ninya.rra nguna-gukukuwu.nga
   there then 1s-*sit*.punct 2s/3s:1s-*cool*.imperf
   Then when I sat there (yesterday), (the breeze) began to refresh me.

8. arr-wardaji.nga
   1s incl:3s-*watch*.imperf
   we've begun watching it (implying *we're not ready to stop yet*)

    When only one aspect may occur with a verb stem, it is used in all instances of past. Note that the first verb remains the same in the following examples.

9. gu.na-ga.nja   a.na-bo.na
   3s:3s.*toward-take*.cont 3s.*toward-go*.perf
   He brought it (and) came (long ago/today past).

10. gu.na-ga.nja   a.na-bo.ya
    3s:3s.*toward-take*.cont 3s.*toward-go*.cont
    He brought it recently before today and came / He is bringing it and coming.

    In the Class V subclass represented by rrayka *fetch,* both the continuous and imperfect completive aspects may occur in all instances of past, but for semantic reasons the co-occurrence of imperfect is rare, and continuous is the usual completive aspect.

    For example:

11. nginyipa marn.gi   gipa   ngi-guybuka.ja
    you   knowledge already 1s:2s-*show*.cont
    You know. I already showed you.

12. gipa   ngi-guybuk.nga   yama   ny-borrwa
    already 1s:2s-*show*.imperf *ability* 2s:3s-*consider*
    I've already begun to show you. Why don't you consider it?
    N.B. The 'showing' has not yet achieved its purpose. This is a rarer usage.

Likewise, the co-occurrence of the imperfect completive aspect with Class V subclass verb stems represented by bawa *leave it* is rare.

In Class V represented by raka *sit*, depending on the connotations of the particular verb stems, at least one of the possible co-occurring completive aspects is rare. For example:

13. a-raka.ja
    3s-*sit*.cont
    He was/is sitting.

14. a-raka.rra.pa,   a-garlmu.na
    3s-*sit*.punct.rep 3s-*get up*.perf
    He sat down and got right up again.   (Rare)

15. a-rak.nga   a-ji.rra   manikurdorrk
    3s-*sit*.imperf 3s-*be standing brolga*
    The flock of brolgas is alighting.   (Rare)
    N.B. 'sitting' can be imperfect in this example because it refers to
    a whole flock.

13.6.2 Probability aspect series

The probability aspect series occurs with non-past tense as follows: Perfect probability defines an action as a definite prediction or as having consequence. Its basic form is -n. Punctiliar probability defines a probable action as an isolated instance or as having only temporary consequence. Its basic form is -rda. Continuous probability defines a probable action as a repetition ('again'). Its basic form is -jin. Imperfect probability, -ngan, only occurs with the stative verbs ni *be sitting*, ji *be vertical*, yu *be horizontal*, and the indeterminate verb yinda *do like, say* (see section 13.3.1), which have only an auxiliary function. Imperfect probability indicates a probable beginning. Examples of the probability aspect series and semantic connotations follow.

1. a-garlmu.n
    3s-*get:up*.perf:prob
    (watch out) he's going to get up

2. rrima   gala   ya.pa   a-garlmu.rda
    hold:him negative ability.*also* 3s-*get:up*.punct:prob
    hold him otherwise he'll get up

3. a-gutuwu.jin
    3s:3s-*pick:up*.cont:prob
    he might pick it up again

4. gala   ya.pa   gun-nerra   gu-ni.ngan
    negative ability.*also* descr pref-*bad* 3s-*be*.imperf:prob
    lest it start to become bad

5. gala   ya.pa   ny-yina.ngan   ny-yorrpu.n
    negative ability.*also* 2s-*do:like*.imperf:prob 2s-*be:sick*.perf:prob
    you mustn't start to get sick like that

Table 13 shows the probability aspect forms and their co-occurrence with the various verb stem classes and subclasses. It will be seen by comparing Table 12 with Table 13 that although there is some correspondence between which completive and which probability aspects co-occur with the various verb classes, some shift also takes place. As with the completive aspects, probability co-occurrences are limited semantically.

	Verb Stem Class Subclass	Perfect	Punctiliar	Continuous	Imperfect
I.	wepa	-n			
	bu	-n			
	galiya	-n			
II.	burninja	-n			
	wecha	-n			
	ni				-ngan
	ninya		-rda		
III.	jarrkarra	-n		-jin	
	morra	-rn		-jin	
	wenggana	-n		-chin	
IV.	molamiya	-n			
	bacha	-n			
	garlma	-n	-rda		
	bungga, juwa	-n			
	boy			-ga	
V.	raka	-n	-rda	-jin	
	rrigirrga		-rda		
	rrayka	-n	-rda	-jin	
	rrika	-n	-rda	-jin	
	balika	-n	-rda	-jin	
	ga			-njin	
	bawa	-n	-rda	-jin	
VI.	ngunja, gornda	-n			
VII.	gurrma	-n	-rda		
	wemba	-n			
	jena, bay		-rda		
VIII.	ma, rro, jo	-n			
	yinda				-ngan

Table 13: Aspect — stem class co-occurrences, probability series

13.7 Contrafact

The 2nd order suffix -rna 'contrafact' makes the verb, specifically the completive aspect with which it obligatorily co-occurs, a 'long ago' or 'today' past unrealised possibility, which functions as past subjunctive, or co-occurring with gala 'negative' becomes past declarative. 'Recently before today' is included in the concept of non-past subjunctive, of which -rna 'contrafact' is not a component (see section 13.5). Contrafact examples are shown below along with non-past examples, which do not employ contrafact, for contrast.

1. japalana nyi.na-ga.nja.rna   rraka bugula ngu-wemba.nga.rna
   container 2s:3s.*toward-take*.cont.ctf conj *water* 1s:3s-*draw water*.imperf.ctf

   nggula
   for you
   If you had been bringing the drum, I would have begun to draw the water
   for you. (past subjunctive)

2. gala   bugula ngu-wemba.nga.rna
   negative *water* 1s:3s-*draw water*.imperf.ctf
   I didn't begin to draw water (today). (past subjunctive with negative)

3. minja yi-rrawa nguwurr-boy ngubi-na
   if   yesterday incl pl-*go* incl:pl:3s-*see*
   If we had gone yesterday, we would have seen him. (non-past subjunctive)

4. gala   yi-rrawa nguwurr-boy ngubi-na
   negative *yesterday* incl pl-*go* incl pl:3s-*see*
   We didn't go and see him yesterday. (non-past subjunctive with negative)

Table 14 defines which completive aspects co-occur with contrafact in the various verb classes. Again, although there is some correspondence between which completive aspects occur with and which occur without contrafact in the various verb classes, it will be seen by a comparison of Table 12 with Table 14 that some shift takes place.

The following examples illustrate the different shades of meaning achieved by the occurrence of contrafact with different completive aspects.

5. minja mu-nguyurra gun-nerra   gu-gutuwu.rna
   if   beginning   descr pref-*bad* 3s:3s-*pick up*.ctf
   if he had picked up badness in the beginning

6. gun-nerra   gu-gutuwu.ja.rna
   descr pref-*bad* 3s:3s-*pick up*.cont.ctf
   if he were picking up badness

7. gun-nerra   gu-gutuwu.nga.rna
   descr pref-*bad* 3s:3s-*pick up*.imperf.ctf
   if he had begun to pick up badness

	Verb Stem Class Subclass	Perfect	Punctiliar	Continuous	Imperfect
I.	wepa	-∅			-nga
	bu	-∅	-rnda		-nga
	galiya	-∅	-rra		
II.	burninja	-∅	-rra		
	wecha		-rra		
	ni		-rra		
	ninya	-∅	-rra		
III.	jarrkarra			-ja	
	morra			-ja	
	wenggana			-cha	
IV.	molamiya			-∅	
	bacha			-∅	
	garlma	-∅		-ya	
	bungga, juwa			-ya	
	boy			-ya	
V.	raka	-∅		-ja	-nga
	rrigirrga	-∅		-ja	-nga
	rrayka	-∅		-ja	-nga
	rrika	-∅			-nga
	balika	-∅		-ja	
	ga			-nja	
	bawa	-∅		-ja	-nga
VI.	ngunja, gornda	-∅			-nga
VII.	gurrma	-∅			-nga
	wemba	-∅			-nga
	jena, bay				-nga
VIII.	ma, rro, jo			-ngga	
	yinda				-nga

Table 14:   Distribution of completive suffixes as they
co-occur with contrafact

14. ADVERBS

Adverbs are a small class of uninflected words manifesting the Manner Tagmeme (Glasgow and Garner 1980) and expressing such concepts as slowly, immediately, first/suddenly, alone, together, aimlessly/fruitlessly, leaning on a stick, by moonlight, with belongings, or with full strength.

Adverbs may be non-derived or of unknown derivation, or they may be derived from nouns or possessed body parts by the addition of burr-, the manner prefix. As in example 1. below, the descriptive prefix is dropped from derived nouns with the addition of the manner prefix.

1.   burr-   + gun-jong   → burr-jong
     manner   *tree/stick   leaning on a stick*

2.   burr-   + ran.gu → burr-ran.gu
     manner   *moon   by moonlight*

3.   burr-   + guya → burr-guya
     manner   *nose   with full strength*

The adverb below appears to be derived from a demonstrative (see section 11, Table 4, and compare with another derivation, section 17, example 2). Contractions similar to the one in the derivation below occur in the demonstrative-derived descriptives also (see section 11, paragraph 5).

4.   ngunyunarda   + -pa   → ngardapa
     here near you   rep   *alone*

Adverbs have derivation potential for descriptives and verbs.

5.   an-   + ngardapa → an-ngardapa
     descr pref   *alone*   one (an- class)

6.   gugu   + ya   → guguya
     first/suddenly   cl (reflex)   *lead the way*

15. RESTRICTED ADVERBS

Restricted adverbs are a small, closed class of words which differ from regular adverbs in their distribution. Restricted adverbs do not manifest the Manner Tagmeme, but occur as modifier within predicate phrases. Each restricted adverb is limited to co-occurrence with only one verb, except that wana *big* occurs with all four stative verbs, and werra *poorly* and marn.gi *understanding* occur with the stative verbs ni *be (sitting)* and nega *make be.*

Other concepts expressed by restricted adverbs are 'ended/completed' in balma nega *complete it (ceremony),* and sound effects such as dak a-buna *"dak" he hit him,* and brr.rr a-bona bulay *"brr.rr" he went far away,* and lak gu-ganja *he did the ultimate* (lit. *"lak" he took it).*

Restricted adverbs are non-derived and uninflected words. Those not expressing sound effects have derivation potential for descriptives, locatives and verbs.

1.   an-   + balma + barra   → an-balmbarra
     descr pref   *ended   tailbone   short*

2. an-   + werra → an-nerra
    descr pref   *poorly*   *poorly/bad*

3. gu- + werra + -pa   → gu-werrapa
    acc   *poorly*   rep   *deserted place*

4. werra + -pa + -ya   → werrpiya
    poorly   rep.   cl(reflex)   *waste away, disappear*

5. werra + maya   → werrmiya
    poorly   *get self*   *be hungry*

6. werra + werra + ma → werrwerrma
    poorly   *poorly*   cl   *erase*

16. ASPECT WORDS

There are five aspect words, which manifest the Aspect Tagmeme (Glasgow and Garner 1980), and semantically parallel non-past tense and the four completive aspects which occur as verb suffixes. These aspect words and their verbal parallels are shown in Table 15.

Aspect Word		Verbal Parallel
barra	*future*	non-past tense
gipa	*already*	perfect aspect
mola	*again*	punctiliar aspect
burdak	*still*	continuous aspect
munguy	*further*	imperfect aspect

Table 15: Aspect words and verbal parallels

Aspect words are uninflected and non-derived, and their derivation potential is limited to mola *again*, from which two descriptives and one verb are derived.

1. an-   + mola → an-mola
    descr pref   *again*   *alive, well, friendly* (an- class)

2. an-   + mola + mola → an-molamola
    descr pref   *again*   *again*   *good* (an- class)

3. mola + maya   → molamiya
    again   *get self*   *recover*

17. MOOD WORDS

Mood words are a closed class of words which manifest the Mood Tagmeme (Glasgow and Garner 1980) expressing attitudes such as why contrary to expectation, ability, interrogative, negation, certainty, uncertainty, supposedness, comparison, concession, cause, correlation, and instruction to 'stop' or 'try'.

On the sentence level many of the mood words function as relator in relator-axis sentences which are peripheral to the sentence nucleus (see Glasgow 1981b, section 3).

Mood words are uninflected, although several mood words have one of the special suffixes, -ya or -pa (see section 1.), as a component.

Mood words may be non-derived or of unknown derivation, or they may be derived from other mood words, one demonstrative, one verb, one noun, one interjection and one conjunction as shown in the following examples.

1. waya   + gu-ji   → waygaji
   certainty   3s-*be*(subjunc)   *maybe* (lit. *it could be certain*)

2. ngunyunarda   + -wa   → ngardawa
   here near you   specific   *related to that* (see section 14, paragraph 3)

3. gana   + -pa → ganapa
   have eyes open   rep   *stop*

4. marr + ka → marrka
   soul   ?   try

5. ya   + ma   → yama
   request for affirmation   *?get   can* (interrogative)

6. ya   + -pa → yapa
   request for affirmation   rep   *can also* (interrogative)

7. wurra   + -ya   → wurriya
   but, or   realis   *but contrary to expectation, but why*

   Wurriya *but why* occurs sentence initial and is characterised by a distinctive non-falling intonation continuing to the end of the sentence.

   Mood words do not have derivation potential for other word classes, except for yina 'interrogative' from which most indeterminates are derived (see section 18), and waya *certainty* which derives to a temporal relator (see section 5).

18. INDETERMINATES

   Indeterminates are a closed and heterogeneous class of words, and close-knit phrases (examples 18-20 below), which are semantically generic, making reference to or inquiring about context real or spoken. Each indeterminate has a specialised distribution. Many occur as the first base of the Indeterminate Merged Sentence described in Glasgow 1981b, section 4.2.3; example 2 below occurs in a noun phrase; example 3, 6 and 21 may occur as relator in the relator-axis sentence which manifests the sentence level Reference Margin (Glasgow 1981b, section 3.13); example 4 occurs as the second base of an Indeterminate Merged Sentence; examples 13-16 manifest the sentence level Hesitation Tagmeme (Glasgow 1981b, section 2.6); and examples 1, 5, 7 and 8 may manifest the predicate in a Simple Sentence or the first base of a Generic-Specific Sentence (see Glasgow 1981b, sections 4.1 and 4.3.3.1).

   One indeterminate is derived from the demonstrative gaya *place is* (example 16); two indeterminates are derived from demonstrative-derived descriptives (examples 17 and 21); all other indeterminates are derived from the mood word

yina 'interrogative' or from other indeterminates which have been derived from yina. The indeterminate phrases in examples 18-20 contain both yina and a demonstrative.

Indeterminates do not have derivation potential for other word classes.

All indeterminates noted to date are listed below.

1. yinda   *do like, say*

2. {an}-guyinda   *one that does like* e.g. motor car ana-guyinda
                           *in one that does like a motor car, in a motor
                           car*

3. gu-guyinda   *with one that does like* (the neuter imperative
                           attention word ngacha *indeed* obligatorily co-
                           occurring)

4. {an}-guyindawa   *one specific to the one that does like*
                           e.g. ana-nga an-guyindawa *what kin relationship
                           is he*

5. yinarda   *do like that* (a compound including the
                           demonstrative-derived descriptive -narda
                           that known to you)

6. gu-guyinarda   *with one that does like that* (obligatory
                           co-occurrence of ngacha *indeed*)

7. -yinagata   *did like that, said* (a compound including the
                           demonstrative gata *there in sight*)

8. -yinagatiya   *be like that*

9. -yinmiya/-yin   *do how* (alternate form is a contraction)

10. -yinmiyapa/-yinpa   *how many, when* (derived from -yinmiya by the
                           addition of the repetition suffix -pa)

11. {ana}-guyinmiya   *with one that does how, by what means*

12. -yinga/-nga   *what* (the stem usually elides to the shorter
                           form in combination with the obligatory
                           descriptive or accompaniment prefix, e.g.
                           gu-yinga/gu-nga *with what, by what means*;
                           ana-nga *who*; an-nga *whom*; gun-nga *what*)

13. {an}-anngiya   *whatchamacallit* (derived from an-nga by the
                           addition of the descriptive prefix and the
                           realis suffix)

14. yanngiya   *such and such a place* (derived from an-nga
                           by the addition of the interjection ya 'request
                           for affirmation', see section 21, and the
                           realis suffix)

15. gu-yanngiyarra   *what happened, what went wrong* (derived from
                           yanngiya by verbal inflection)

16. yagatay   *so and so* (derived from the demonstrative gata
                           there in sight by addition of the interjection
                           ya 'request for affirmation' and the realis
                           suffix)

17.	{an}-an.gaya	*the one that is where, which one* (derived from the demonstrative-derived descriptive an-gaya (see section 11, second last paragraph)
18.	yina gaya	*where* (gaya *place is,* see section 11, paragraph 3)
19.	yina gaya wenga	*where from* (wenga *from* is a directional, see section 7)
20.	gu-gaya wenga	*from being where*
21.	gu-gurda (gu-gunarda)	*with that one known to you* (derived from the demonstrative-derived descriptive {gun}-narda *that one known to you* by the addition of the accompaniment prefix; ngacha *indeed* obligatorily co-occurs)

19. CONJUNCTIONS

There are six conjunctions[2] in Burarra expressing sequence, coordination and antithesis. The distribution for each one is different as shown in Table 16. Those operating on phrase level join parts of a phrase, those operating on sentence level join clauses, and those operating on paragraph or discourse level join larger chunks, which will be more clearly defined in future analysis.

Conjunction		Level of operation
aa	*and uh*	phrase, sentence, paragraph/discourse
o	*or uh*	phrase, sentence, paragraph/discourse
lika	*then*	sentence, paragraph/discourse
rrapa	*and also*	phrase, sentence, paragraph/discourse
rraka	*and so*	sentence
wurra	*but, or*	phrase, sentence, paragraph/discourse

Table 16: Conjunctions and their level of operation

Conjunctions are uninflected and do not have derivation potential for other word classes.

The following are examples of some of the more semantically interesting conjunctions in context. For a further example of rraka with contrafact see section 13.7, example 1.

1. wuley   gun-gunega   gun-nerra   arrkulawa
   taken away from descr pref-*thing for making be* descr pref-*bad* 1 incl sg:dat

   o   borijipa a-ni   a-bu
   or uh aimlessly 3s-*be*(non-past subjunc) 3s:3s-*hit*(non-past subjunc)

   gun-nerra   arrkulawa
   descr pref-*bad* 1 incl sg:dat

   taking things away from people is bad for us, and uh, hitting someone who is not doing anything (wrong) is bad for us

2. tea ngu-yalpa   minja rraka a.na-bo.ga
    tea 1s:3s-*cook*(non-past:subjunc) *if   and so* 3s.*toward-go*.cont:prob
    I could boil some tea in case he is coming

20. ATTENTION WORDS

There are nine attention words, a masculine, feminine and neuter form parallelling each of the three moods, declarative, subjunctive and imperative. Attention words manifest the clause level Vocative Tagmeme (Glasgow and Garner). The masculine and feminine declarative attention words, a-lay, a-jay *hey*, occur most commonly; the neuter declarative and subjunctive attention words, marlay *hey look at that* and marla *hey don't*, occur as sentence fragments; the imperative forms, ngarla, ngaja, ngacha *indeed* are used for emphatic reference, ngacha obligatorily co-occurring with certain relators in the Reference Margin (see section 18, examples 3.6 and 20, and see also Glasgow 1981b); the subjunctive forms, a-la, a-ja, as well as marla mentioned above, indicate a negative response, or a command that is uncertain of fulfillment. The attention words are shown in Table 17.

	Declarative	Subjunctive (Contradiction)	Imperative (Emphatic reference)
Masc.	a-lay ⎱ *hey*	a-la ⎱ *hey no*	ngarla ⎱
Fem.	a-jay ⎰	a-ja ⎰	ngaja ⎰ *indeed*
Neuter	marlay *hey, look at that*	marla *hey don't*	ngacha ⎰

Table 17: Attention words

Attention words manifest the Vocative Tagmeme (Glasgow and Garner). They are built on a masculine root -la, and a feminine root -ja. The preceding a is probably a generic use of the third person singular masculine prefix. Third person is used generically elsewhere in vocative expressions, e.g.

    a-lay awurr-borrmunga
    hey   3pl *-countryman*
    hey, countrymen

Note that in this example third person plural is indicated on the word for 'countryman' although in reality it is second person plural being addressed. Masculine is used generically elsewhere also, as in ana-nga *who*, where the class of the noun to be given is response to unknown.

The final y on the declarative forms is a shortened form of the realis suffix. The subjunctive forms are used when contradicting someone and are minus the y. The imperative forms are used for emphatic reference to something mutually known and are formed by the addition of the morpheme ng- '1st person involvement' (see section 10.2).

The attention words are uninflected and do not have derivation potential for words of other classes.

21. INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are a small class of words which express pleasure, displeasure, affirmation, finality, disaffirmation, request for affirmation, calling from a distance, response and summons. Interjections often occur as a sentence fragment, and manifest the sentence level tagmemes, Exclamation-Response, Finis, Tag Question and Mistaken Utterance (see Glasgow 1981b). Ngika *no* may also manifest the clause level Mood Tagmeme as a negation (Glasgow and Garner 1980).

an-nyan	*isn't it adorable*
yaw	*goodie*
yakay	*ouch*
angga	*horrors*
ngaw	*yes*
minjiya	*it is so*
ganapiya	*it is finished*
ee	*oops*
aya	*all right*
awa	*yes indeed*
e - e	'confirmation'
i - i	'enthusiastic confirmation'
ngika	*no*
ya	'request for affirmation'
yuwa	*you don't say*/'request for approval of planned action'
guuu	*yoohoo*
ay	*what did you say / what do you want*
guwa	*come here*

Most of these interjections appear to derive from various particles and affixes such as -ya 'realis', ng- 'lst person involvement', wa 'specific', and from the monosyllabic verb ma *get*. The interjection minjiya and ganapiya clearly derive from the mood words minja *isn't it* and ganapa *stop* by the addition of the realis suffix -ya.

The interjection ngaw *yes* derives to the verb ngawiya *say yes* by the addition of the reflexive classifier -ya; the interjection ya 'request for affirmation' derives to mood words, as shown in section 17, examples 5 and 6; and yaw *goodie* may be the root which appears in yawuk *single/childless woman*, yawarriny *single man*, aburr-yawyawgu *mother and her children* and yawcha *fill in (as when burying someone)*.

Interjections are not inflected.

NOTES

1.   Proper nouns have not been included in this description.

2.   Nine conjunctions are listed by Glasgow and Garner 1980, Appendix B. However, in the present paper aa and o have been added, and nuwurra *afterwards* and waypa *at the same time as* are seen to be temporal relators (section 5), and gugu *first, suddenly* and warrika *immediately* are seen to be adverbs (section 14), and wurriya *but why* is seen to be a mood word.

APPENDIX: VERB LIST

The following Burarra verbs are grouped according to the classes and subclasses described in the accompanying paper, and they are marked transitive or intransitive, t. or i. respectively.

I.   barrba *to bag* t.
        barripa *find* t.
        bamapa *be forgetful* i.
        bamba *move along* i.
        barparpa *fail* i.
        barpa *be disabled*   i.
        beyba *pass by* t.
        birdukarrba *pinch* t.
        birlpa *patch* t.
        dirrkpa *put (axe) in loincloth* t.
        galpa *summon* t.
        gaypa *deprive* t.
        girrba *lay eggs, pass faeces* i.
        gopa *keep for self* t.
        gorlapa *dry out* t.
        gurderrba *peel* t.
        gupa *build* t.
        guyba *sink, drown* i.
        jakaba *shut* t.
        jarlapa *make, repair* t.
        jobujoba *cause to stop* t.
        jorpa *pluck* t.
        junumba *bury* t.
        jupa *extinguish* t.
        marrpa *take care of, wait for* t.
        malapa *take care of, wait for* t.
        marawarrba *talk unreasonably* i.
        mardaworba *be incompetent* i.
        mardayipa *throw onto back* t.
        marnmarnba *rescue, save* t.
        mulaba *aggregate around* t.
        mungba *complete* t.

murnamugaypa *deprive someone of what he is holding* t.
murrpa *swarm around* t.
nganagobuguba *make to be quiet* t.
ngarnamarnba *knead* t.
ngarnba *warm self at fire* i.
nguypa *sling around neck at front (as dilly bag when fighting)* i.
ralba *sting* t.
roba *poke around in a hole* i.
rrolpa *roll something on thigh (as in making string)* i.
wepa *wash* t.
wirrpa *make something wet, spill onto* t.
warba *work sorcery on* t.
worlpa *hunt* i.
wuleba *finish up something* t.
wurarrba *avenge* t.
yalpa *cook, burn, sting* t.
yopa *discuss* t.
yorrpa *be sick* i.

- bu *hit* t.
  bukaba *mop up (as honey with* buka *grass)* t.
- galiya *hear* i.
  wolawoliya *hang from something* i.

II.   banja *be submerged* i.
       balcha *be up high* i.
       bimburlaburlaja *retch* i.
       burlaja *be swollen* i.
       burninja *be dirty* i.
       diwja *have a hole* i.
       gurkuja *be afraid* i.
       ngarlcha *become white* i.
       ngiwja *beg* i.
       ngolkuja *stink* i.
       wardaja *observe* i.

       - jinja *be standing* i.
         wecha *be searching* i.
         yunya *be lying down* i.
       - ji *be standing* i.
         ni *be sitting* i.
         yu *be horizontal* i.
       - ninya *be sitting* i.

III.   gana *watch* i.
       garra *put vertically* t.
       gurdagurdarra *show* t.
       jarrkarra *lift up* t.
       jurnarra *tease* t.

       - morra *forget beyond recall* t.
         ngulmorra *fail* i.
       - bamana *guard* t.
         na *see* t.
         rakawa *hook (a fish)* t.
         rra *spear* t.
         wenggana *ask* t.
         wu *give to* t.

IV.   bachirrmiya *be angry* i.
         barrbichiya *tie on loincloth* i.
         balabunggabiya *have drooping eyelids* i.
         balangambiya *appear* i.
         balawerrpiya *disappear* i.
         bamiya *carry on head* i.
         berriya *burst* i.
         birrnggiya *sling onto self* i.
         birtarrmiya *turn light on, shine light* i.
         bortkujamiya *become unattached* i.
         burriyapiya *find out, inquire after* i.
         bulupiya *stick onto self (fluff)* i.
         bupiya *descend* i.
         garlagulurrmiya *be crippled* i.
         garrwiya *startle* i.
         gelakuya *gorge self* i.
         gelambelapiya *clean ears* i.
         gochulabichiya *tie one's waist* i.
         gomarriya *circle* i.
         gorlkakiya *move camp* i.
         gornakuniya *bathe self* i.
         gulolmiya *be rotten* i.
         guyborrngbiya *snore* i.
         guyburrkiya *lead to one's camp* i.
         guguya *lead the way* i.
         jachachamiya *play* i.
         japarnamiya *become dry* i.
         japurrmaya *be pleased* i.
         japarndiya *sing* i.
         jarlabiya *hasten* i.
         jarlapiya *save one's self* i.
         jayanaya *shine* i.
         jaywarriya *turn head around* i.
         jerrjangardawiya *stretch out one's limb* i.
         jordapiya *roll over* i.
         lijiwarriya *become lost, turn aside* i.
         marrnguypiya *worship* i.
         mobalurrmiya *bow head* i.
         molamiya *recover* i.
         mormiya *live or sleep alone* i.
         murrparriya *turn around (especially chest)* i.
         ngarlwepiya *lick chops* i.
         ngekorndiya *stop breathing* i.
         ngukiya *be unfulfilled (as leftover food or needs unmet)* i.
         ngunyangunjiya *try out* i.
         ngurrundabiya *perspire* i.
         walagiya *dance* i.
         warnawarnjiya *swing to and fro* i.
         warnbupiya *swing from something* i.
         werrmiya *be hungry, wasting away* i.
         werrwerriya *worsen* i.
         werrpiya *waste away, disappear* i.
         welamberrpiya *put on ritual string harness* i.
         workiya *do habitually* i.
         yermiya *squirm* i.

yinmiya *do how* i.

- bacha *be fighting* i.
  rruwja *cry* i.
  wacha *be broken* i.
- barrnguma *enter* i.
  garlma *get up* i.
- bambungga *be born* i.
  bengga *arrive* i.
  bungga *fall* i.
  juwa *die* i.
  wengga *speak* i.
- boy *go* i.

V.   balka *stick to* t.
balka *stick to* t.
bamagutuwa *collect, gather people* t.
barrjeka *move backwards* i.
belaweka *dig out* i.
borrwa *remember, consider* t.
ditka *mate* t.
gaka *move* t.
gornaga *water* t.
gukukuwa *cool, refresh* t.
gutuwa *pick up* t.
guykuywa *unload the laden (as of a ship)* t.
jarrka *spread down (as blanket)* t.
jaywa *point* i.
jeka *return* i.
jirrka *cause to burp* t.
jortka *wake* t.
jurnajuchuwa *push, tempt* t.
malawa *recognise* t.
ngeka *breathe, rest* i.
ngurtkawa *work firesticks* i.
raka *sit down* i.
warrka *take out, unsheath* t.
wenyaga *hang up* t.
wirrka *scratch, scrape* t.
wurrkaka *extract* t.
yarlka *strip off fibre (as from pandanus leaf)* t.
yolka *trick* t.

- rrigirrga *walk about* i.
- gorlkaka *be blocking something* i.
  gurraga *water* t.
  guybuka *show* t.
  jalkaka *refresh* t.
  rurrgaka *pull, push* t.
  rrayka *fetch* t.
  wurrgaka *cook, burn* t.
  wurrwurrga *rub together* t.
  yarlangga *spread down (as blanket)* t.
  yilkaka *hide* t.
- rrika *crawl* i.

- balika *send* t.
  ngorrka *rock, wobble* t.
  wulaka *carry on shoulder* t.
  wulkaka *extract* t.
- ga *take* t.
- bapawa *leave, forsake* t.
  bawa *leave, forsake* t.
  gerrkbawa *dodge* t.

VI.   balamukcha *close eyes* i.
       bamagurdanja *turn end for end* t.
       bamangumja *nod head* i.
       barrja *burst, explode, split* i.
       bicha *tie* t.
       bipija *blow into (as didjeridoo)* t.
       birlja *burst* i.
       birrirrja *stir, wind* i.
       bocha *spit out* t.
       bokalcha *thunder* i.
       bongarramukcha *have ears blocked* i.
       bukulabicha *tie something around forehead* t.
       bunja *suck* t.
       burrgurdanja *translate* t.
       dalaja *be ungiving, inattentive to someone* t.
       daltalja *shake up and down to loosen (as when emptying pipe or billy
              tin)* i.
       dawarrja *play* i.
       dawardawaja *be too tired to participate* i.
       dercha *stop* i.
       dildilja *draw* i.
       dolja *emerge from water* i.
       duldulja *bang, rattle* i.
       durcha *be full of food, be pregnant* i.
       durrja *thunder* i.
       gacha *be dried up (water)* i.
       galalaja *give certain women's ritual call* i.
       gapaja *dig* i.
       garcha *be stuck* i.
       garkarja *tell story* i.
       garlaja *paddle (as a canoe)* i.
       golja *challenge to fight* i.
       gomagornda *cut through the middle* t.
       gonja *call* i.
       gonyinja *cover* t.
       gornda *cut* t.
       gorndurnda *chop up* t.
       gortkurrcha *jump, mount, dismount, board, disembark* i.
       gunja *receive present* i.
       gunggaja *help* i.
       gurdacha *laugh* i.
       gurlja *vomit* i.
       gurrja *roar* i.
       gutkucha *run* i.
       jabarrcha *talk loudly for all to hear* i.
       jangakcha *give men's ritual call* i.

jarlcharlja *chew* i.
jarrcha *carve* t.
jarrja *lift down* t.
jawaja *be ready to go* i.
jawarcha *raise head up and peer over* i.
jaybicha *tie neck* t.
jaygacha *be thirsty* i.
jaygornda *cut throat* t.
jaywarrcha *lift head up from lying down* i.
jerrjerrja *pour into* t.
jerryercha *slip* i.
jilamja *chew* i.
jorrjorrja *pour* t.
jorrnja *remove from water* t.
jolartcha *bag* t.
jortcha *leak, spurt, bleed* i.
jordaja *conceal* t.
jorlcha *stalk, creep* i.
jurnja *be speechless* i.
lalarrja *be dry* i.
laja *be all clear* i.
lirrja *be all clear* i.
macha *kiss* t.
marnja *crowd around* t.
marrkapcha *be happy* i.
merndabicha *tie hands* t.
mipilabicha *tie around eyes* t.
mirlcha *flash (as lightning)* i.
munggurrparja *shiver* i.
ngamngamja *taste* i.
nganamukcha *shut mouth* i.
ngawcha *yawn* i.
ngawurrcha *perspire* i.
ngicha *give birth* i.
ngocha *become calm (wind, waves)* i.
ngorrcha *pull out of fire* t.
ngorrkornda *separate* t.
ngukurdanja *turn over* t.
ngunja *mimic* t.
ngurcha *refrain from speaking* i.
ngurrguja *hold close, nurse* t.
ngurrja *tell about* t.
nyarlcha *become weak* i.
nyilja *be refreshed* i.
rorrcha *sweep, rake* i.
rrenja *be on something* t.
rrirrja *itch* i.
rrucha *move close to* t.
warndaja *return* i.
warrcha *ascend* i.
wawaja *clap* i.
werrwerrja *flow* i.
worja *be concerned* i.

wulupcha *submerge* i.
wumbarja *be hot* i.
wurkurcha *pain* i.
wurlcha *eat, swallow* t.
wurrwurrja *shiver* i.
yerrnja *throw away* t.
yawcha *fill in hole, bury something* i.
yilicha *bother* t.
yoguja *grind* t.
yolaja *grill on coals* t.
yurtcha *run* i.

VII.   barrburrima *come up behind someone* t.
balgujama *open eyes, stare* i.
benagurrma *spread to dry* t.
bitima *chase, follow* t.
bokama *beget* t.
burrburrngma *put hand into* i.
garlagulurrma *fold* t.
garlawa *urinate* i.
garrma *rake through mud under water (to get grass lily roots or
        cockle shells)* i.
gengama *be shy of* t.
gorlama *want something of someone* i. (has suggestive usage)
gurrma *put horizontally* t.
guyma *have as sibling* t.
jagulma *trim fringe or hair* t.
jawa *bleed* i.
jaygurrma *trim fringe or hair* t.
jerrmama *send* t.
jurrbitima *follow tracks* t.
jurrburaykujama *whip* t.
jurrjurrma *follow, succeed someone* t.
jurrwa *cross to other side* i.
lapkujama *open* t.
numa *smell* t.
ngima *paint* t.
rrema *hit with implement* t.
rremarrma *hammer* t.
rrima *hold, touch* t.
rrimarrma *hold back* t.
rruma *break* t.
rrumarrma *break up* t.
waywa *swim, float* i.
wulorlama *roll up* t.
wumbargujama *heat* t.
yagurrma *agree, give assent* t.
yargujama *make known* t.
yerrkujama *remove from someone's person (as clothes, tooth)* t.
yartkujama *cut* t.

- wemba *draw water* t.
- bay *eat, bite* t.
  jena *search for* t.

VIII. bimbulukma *peel* t.
       jo *scold* t.
       ma *get* t.
       rro *burn* i.

     - yinda *do like, say* i.

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