USE OF THESES

A Grammar of Gurr-goni

(North Central Arnhem Land)

by Rebecca Green

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Declaration:
Except where otherwise indicated,
this thesis is my own work.

Rebecca Green
June 1995

Acknowledgments.

ABSTRACT

Ch. 1   gives an overview of the Gurr-goni language, its typological characteristics, speakers and genetic relationships. It also covers phonological and morphological preliminaries.

Ch. 2   is concerned with the morphology and syntax of nominals. A distinction between nouns and adjectives is established. §2.2 deals with noun class: the parts of speech on which it is registered; the number of noun classes; the membership of each class, and possible categorisation principles; and patterns of agreement. Noun phrases are briefly discussed in §2.3. §2.4 deals with case as a property of the noun phrase, and presents the case forms and functions. Possessive constructions are dealt with in §2.5, and derivational morphology is briefly covered in §2.6.

Ch. 3   presents the pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives. We discuss the pronominal categories of person, number and gender, and consider the discourse functions of free pronouns. The distinctions encoded by the demonstrative stems are the subject of §3.2, and §3.3 illustrates the use of interrogative/indeterminate forms.

Ch. 4   deals with verb morphology. First, an overview of the structure of the verb complex is given. In §4.3, I examine the pronominal prefixes, identifying their component morphemes. For the transitive prefixes, I also justify the recognition of a singular/non-singular number distinction, and elucidate the principles that determine which pronominal participant is overtly marked. §4.4 describes the tense system, which exhibits the rare feature of having the fixed time reference of one tense interrupted by part of the fixed time reference of another. The category of status, often called mood, is discussed in §4.5, while §4.6 covers illocutionary mood (or force). In §4.7, I list the verbal conjugations, established on the basis of the tense/status allomorphs selected. The final sections of Chapter 4 discuss valence changing devices and directional prefixes.

Ch. 5   looks at the structure of clauses. In §5.1, I illustrate non-verbal clause types. In §5.2, we turn to simple verbal clauses. I look firstly at the realisation of core arguments (A, S and O), and briefly consider peripheral arguments. We then consider the evidence for assigning core or non-core status to other arguments. §5.3 deals with serial verb constructions, a pervasive feature of the Gurr-goni language. We distinguish two major types, one which encodes categories of associated motion and aspect, and one which has 'experiencer' and causative functions. In §5.4, I suggest that a parallel construction may exist, in which the first predicate is a nominal. Moving from simple and complex single clauses, we turn in §5.5 to co-ordination of clauses, and in §5.6 to subordination. Chapter 5 concludes with a discussion of negation (§5.7) and questions (§5.8).

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Chapter 2: Nominal Morphology and Syntax.

Chapter 4: Verb Morphology.

A	transitive subject
Abl	ablative case
Anaph	anaphoric demonstrative
AnEmph	emphatic anaphoric demonstrative
Aug	augmented number
Bro	brother
Card	cardinal pronoun
Cl.	noun class
Coll	collective
Comit	comitative case
Con	contemporary tense (realis status) (Con$_1$; Con$_2$: see §4.4.2.1)
CP	completive tense/aspect
Da	daughter
Dat	dative
Der	derivational prefix
Dir	direct case
Emph	emphatic
extr	extreme degree of scope
F, f	feminine
Fa	father
Fut	future tense (realis status) (Fut$_1$; Fut$_2$:see §4.4.2.2)
Inch	inchoative
imm	immediate
Imp	imperative
Intr	intransitivising suffix
Irr1	irrealis status (precontemporary tense)
Irr2	irrealis status (non-precontemporary tense)
lg	language
Loc	local case
M	man
Min	minimal number
Mo	mother
NEG	negative particle
Nf, nf	nonfeminine
Nom	nominaliser
non3	other than 3rd person
nonloc	nonlocal (other than local case)
nonMin	nonminimal number

NP	noun phrase
ns	nonsingular
O	transitive object
Poss	possessive (glosses possessive marker, Set B possessive construction)
Poss$_A$	possessive agent (possessive pronouns indexing 3rd person As)
Poss$_C$	possessive case (used in Set C possessive construction)
Pre	precontemporary tense (realis status)
pron	pronominal
pu	see §1.4.2
Redup	reduplicated
QU	tag question particle
S	intransitive subject
sp	species
Thmsr	thematiser
Trans	transitivising suffix
twds	towards
UA	unit-augmented number
unm	unmarked form of direct case pronoun
veg	vegetable
voc	vocative
W	woman
X	extended duration
XO	extra object
ya	see §1.4.3
Zi	sister

I, II, III, IV	noun classes I-IV
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
1+2	one plus two person
{ }	morphemic representation
//	phonemic representation
[]	phonetic representation
-	separates segmentable morphemes
+	in glosses, joins two meanings encoded by one form; in examples, joins the variable tense suffix and invariable suffix -rni which encode Irrealis 1
.	separates A and O in glosses of transitive pronominal prefixes
:	indicates preceding vowel is held for some time at a raised pitch
=	separates clitics from their host
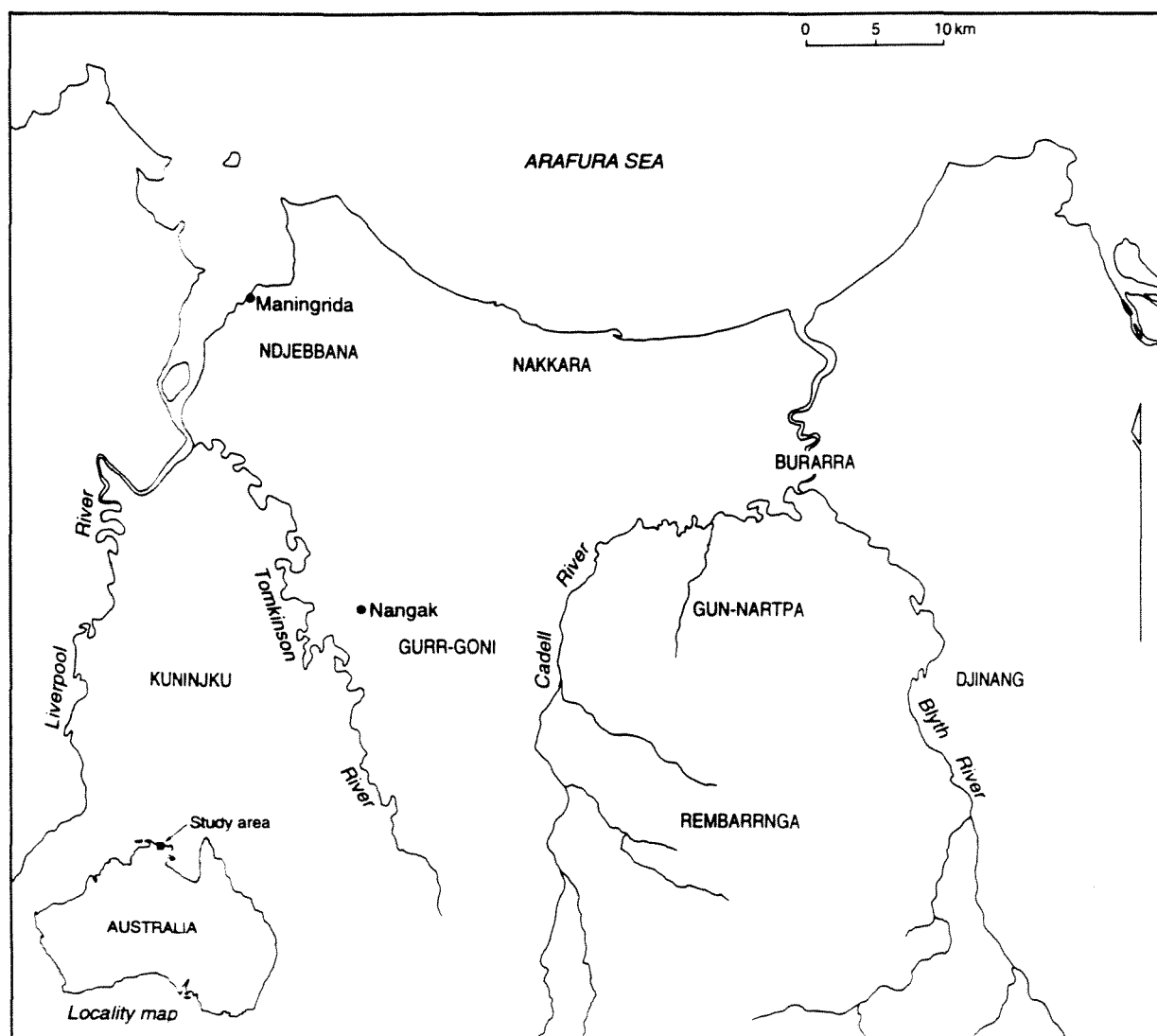
Map 1. Gurr-goni and Surrounding Languages.

Chapter 1: Introduction.
1.1. Linguistic Type.

This thesis is a description of the Gurr-goni language of north central Arnhem Land, in the Northern Territory of Australia. Gurr-goni is a non-Pama-Nyungan language, one of the large block of languages in the north of the Northern Territory and Western Australia which are genetically classified as not being members of the language family (known as Pama-Nyungan) which covers nine-tenths of Australia. In Capell's (1940) typological classification, Gurr-goni is a multiple classifying, prefixing language. Like many of its non-Pama-Nyungan neighbours, Gurr-goni makes use of pronominal prefixes encoding person, number and noun class on verbs and nominals. There are four noun classes, membership of which appears to be largely, if not completely, determined by semantic criteria. The pronominal paradigm can best be described in terms of four person categories (the traditional 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, and a fourth category which I term 1+2 person (following Harvey 1986 and Blake 1988), with a minimal, unit-augmented, augmented number system as described by McKay (1978) for Rembarrnga and Ndjébbana. Like many prefixing languages, Gurr-goni has few nominal cases: there is an ablative suffix, and a local (locative/ allative/ablative) form of the pronominal / noun class prefixes. Verbs, as well as taking pronominal prefixes indexing their arguments, may take directional prefixes, valence-affecting derivational suffixes, and tense/ status suffixes. Gurr-goni can thus be described as an agglutinating language, but unlike its immediate neighbours to the south and west, it is neither incorporating nor polysynthetic (following Comrie's 1989 definition of these structural types).

Gurr-goni, along with its immediate neighbours to the north and east, Ndjébbana, Nakkara and Burarra (the 'Maningrida languages'), also shares some features with the Yolngu languages to the east, which belong to the Pama-Nyungan language family. Both the Yolngu languages and the Maningrida languages have a small set of serialising verbs[1], which have aspectual and/or associated motion functions. The four Maningrida languages also share with the most westerly Yolngu language, Djinang[2], a highly distinctive tense system, whereby non-future time is divided into two tenses which both have discontinuous reference. Interestingly, too,

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[1] These are described as auxiliary verbs in Djinang (Waters 1989), Ndjébbana (McKay 1984 and forthcoming), Burarra (Glasgow 1984), Nakkara (Eather 1990), and as aspectual verbs in Djapu (Morphy 1983). Heath (1980b:113) also notes a durative use of the verb 'go' in Ritharrngu.

[2] The tense system of Djinang is described in Waters (1989); see pages 178-179, and 185-190.

the speakers' own names for the languages of both subgroups are based on their distinctive forms of the demonstrative stem 'this' (or, in the case of Burarra dialects, 'that known to you'). This naming technique is not used by their other non-Pama-Nyungan neighbours. These grammatical features, and this means of identifying each language and dialect, suggest that the two linguistic groups have been in contact for some considerable period of time.

<u>1.1.2. The Language Name, its Dialects, and Traditional Territory.</u>

The name Gurr-goni, given to this language by its speakers, is based on the demonstrative stem **-goni** 'this', with an apparent prefix **gurr-** (see Ch.3, footnote 2). Many variant spellings have been recorded. Some, such as Gungorogone (Capell 1942 and Kyle-Little 1950) and Gungorragonni (Sweeney 1939) incorporate a noun class prefix **gun-** 'class IV', (the class to which 'language' belongs), which speakers of Gunbarlang and the Kunwinjkuan dialects attach to language names. The spelling -goro-, -gorra- may reflect the pronunciation used by speakers of these languages, but Gurr-goni is the pronunciation both Elwell (1977) and I have recorded from Gurr-goni speakers. The term **Gu-djartabiyi-ø** *(3IVS-go fast-Con)* 'it goes fast' is also used by Burarra speakers in referring to this language.

There are two dialects of Gurr-goni, associated with the two moieties to which Gurr-goni speaking clans belong. This study is based on the Yirrtjinga moiety dialect, identified as **gun-dakangurrngu Gurr-goni**, 'hard Gurr-goni'. The Djowunga moiety dialect is called **gun-njalkitj** 'soft'. It is not clear to me which aspects of the language these descriptions (also applied to dialects of Ndjébbana (McKay forthcoming)) refer to. The two dialects appear to differ principally in vocabulary, and one vocabulary item in particular is used as an alternative means of identifying the dialects[3]:

Borr-pu   awurr-weki-ya   gut-bin.ngarrwulu
3Aug-Card 3AugS-speak-Con   3IV-little
They say gut-bin.ngarrwulu (for 'little')   (I/115/25)

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[3] This was also used in identifying a Kuninjku dialect or patrilect, in a narrative describing the travels of two dreaming characters:

Wulek Nu-morrumu   a-weki-ni, niyé-pu   arrawun,   "Galu! Gu-goni
finish   place name   3IS-speak-Pre 3MinNf-Card   name of dreaming   NEG   3IV-this
wowunupu arr-yu-ngu.   Galu, ngarr-pu gun-arpurr nji-weki-ya Gurr-goni
together   1+2MinS-lie-Fut NEG   2Min-Card   3IV-little   2MinS-speak-Con lg name
la   ngayi-ø   ngu-bo-go   yi-gabi   kun-kadjiwalakwut ngu-weki-ya."
and 1Min-unm 1MinS-go-Fut away-there   3IV-little   1MinS-speak-Con
Then at Nu-morrumu he spoke, this arrawun dreaming, "No! We'll stay here together. You say gun-arpurr (little) in Gurr-goni and I'll go over there, I say gun-gadjiwalakwut (for 'little').(XI/63)

arrapu ngaytjburru-ø gun-arpurr nguwurr-weki-ya
and 1+2Aug-unm 3IV-little 1+2AugS-speak-Con
and we say gun-arpurr. (I/117/4)

A list of the distinctive Djowunga dialect vocabulary items, with their Yirrtjinga equivalents, is given in Appendix B. Although I have made no extensive study of the Djowunga dialect, I noticed no differences other than in vocabulary in the speech of the Djowunga man from whom this vocabulary was elicited.

Gurr-goni speakers presently number about forty. There are three Gurr-goni speaking clans. Two, the Boburerre clan and the An-dirrdjalaba clan, speak the Yirrtjinga dialect; between them, these clans have 32 members, including children. The Djowunga dialect is spoken by the Gulúmarrarra clan, with 6 or 7 members (one elderly man, and his adult children; his three sons have as yet no children to pass their language and clan affiliation on to). Two clans, one Djowunga (At-binángi) and one Yirrtjinga (Marrarditj) have died out within living memory. Gurr-goni would thus have been slightly larger in the first half of this century than it is now. Sweeney's 1939 estimate of 60 "Gun-gorragoni" people may perhaps have been accurate, but is more likely to have been an estimate of the number of people in a camp comprising members of Gurr-goni clans with their in-laws from clans speaking other languages. No Gurr-goni people are currently married to people from other Gurr-goni clans, and the genealogies I obtained indicate that marriages with Rembarrnga, Kuninjku, Nakkara and Ndjébbana speaking clans have occurred throughout the last few generations. Gurr-goni is then one of the smaller of the Arnhem Land language groups: estimates for neighbouring language groups range from 135 for Nakkara (in 1985; Eather 1990:8) to 600 for Burarra (Glasgow 1988).

The traditional territory of the Gurr-goni speaking clans lies inland from and south of the settlement of Maningrida. Its western border lies along the Tomkinson River, where it meets Kuninjku (eastern Kunwinjku) speaking Dangkolo clan country, and Ndjébbana speaking Manengkererrbe clan country (this latter encompasses the junction of the Liverpool and Tomkinson Rivers, and both sides of the Tomkinson River for some distance inland). To the north, it is again bordered by Ndjébbana country, and also by Nakkara. In the east, it meets Burarra country just short of the Bitjuwu/Binyjawa swamp, and the Gurr-goni/Burarra (in fact, Gun-nartpa, Ngulinj clan) border runs south roughly in line with the Cadell River. To the south lie the lands of the

Kuninjku speaking Kardbam clan. This area encompasses the flood plains of the Tomkinson River, and the open eucalypt forests and paperbark swamps of the uplands.

1.1.3.Previous Study.

Gurr-goni is not only the smallest language in the region, but also, until this study, the least well described. Capell recorded some Gurr-goni data on his research trip through northern Australia, and published (Capell 1942:374-6)) a table of cardinal pronouns, the demonstrative 'this' with noun class prefixes, a possessive body part phrase, 20 items of vocabulary and 7 short sentences showing some transitive verb prefixes.

In 1977, during a fieldtrip to Maningrida to research multilingualism, Elwell elicited and recorded three and a half hours worth of Gurr-goni words, phrases and sentences, with a small amount of spontaneous monologue. Her transcriptions, and the sketch grammar based on them, are lodged at the AIATSIS library in Canberra.

Both of these small scale studies revealed the basic typological structure of Gurr-goni, but inevitably, given the limited contact with speakers, there are mistranscriptions and mistranslations, and many features of the language were overlooked.

1.1.4. Genetic Affiliations.

Capell (ibid) noted a close relationship between Gurr-goni and the Burarra dialects, and it was no doubt on the basis of his work that O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:31) grouped Gurr-goni and Burarra together in the "Bureran" family. The two languages share 48% of vocabulary (although when verbs alone are compared, this rises to 82%[4]). There are many similarities in the morphology: the pronominal paradigms, both free and bound, show only minor differences, and proto-Burarra-Gurr-goni verbal tense/status suffixes are easily reconstructable, with few changes between the parent and daughter languages. There are at least three Burarra dialects, named from their respective forms of the demonstrative 'that known to you', Gun-narda, Gun-narta and Gun-nartpa. Of these, Gun-nartpa is the closest geographically to Gurr-goni , and it also appears to be the closest linguistically. Although little material is available on Gun-nartpa, Glasgow and Glasgow's 1967 description of Burarra phonology, based on Gun-nartpa, shows that it has final vowels other than /a/ in the verb suffixes, verb roots and pronouns. In this it is

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[4] Percentages are based on comparison's of Dixon's 400 word vocabulary lists, including 82 verbs, compiled by me for each of the languages.

like Gurr-goni, and unlike Gun-narda on which Glasgow's later descriptions of Burarra are based. Gun-nartpa also appears to have shifted nasals to stops before stops, as has Gurr-goni (see §1.2.1.1.4 below); cf Gun-nartpa **mitjpa**, Gun-narda/Gun-narta **minjpa** like'.

O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:30) classified the languages Nakkara and Ndjébbana as the sole members of two separate language families. My own research (Green 1989 and forthcoming) shows, through a comparison of the verbal tense/status suffixes, that the four languages Burarra, Gurr-goni, Ndjébbana and Nakkara are in fact closely related, despite fairly low rates of shared vocabulary: 22% between Gurr-goni and Ndjébbana, 24% between Gurr-goni and Nakkara. (Comparing verbs alone, the scores are 33% and 56.5% respectively.) I also show, again on the basis of comparison of verbal suffixes, that this 'Maningrida' subgroup is part of the larger language family commonly termed Gunwinjguan.

1.1.5. Fieldwork and Descriptive Methodology.

This study is, as I have said, based on the Yirrtjinga dialect. A member of the An-dirrdjalaba clan, then secretary of the Maningrida Council, was instrumental in obtaining permission for me to go to Maningrida, and arranged with the family of Joe Inyamul, one of the two Boburerre clan families, that they would teach me their language. Thus I became a member of the Boburerre clan, and my description is based primarily on texts recorded by members of Joe Inyamul's family. This family divides their time between Maningrida settlement and Nangak outstation, a half hour's drive from Maningrida. When I first began my fieldwork, I camped with the family at Nangak for a week. During this week, Joe Inyamul's eldest daughter May Miorgar, who is fluent in English, took on the task of teaching me Gurr-goni, translating conversation for me and teaching me the words for many objects, activities, plants, animals, etc. She also patiently answered my questions "**a-goni** or **dji-goni**? (3I-this or 3II-this); he did it? she did it? they did it? they did it yesterday? they will do it tomorrow?" by which I obtained the class membership of nouns, and the pronominal prefixes and tense suffixes of the verbs. I then began recording texts, which were contributed by six of the adult members of this family, and by one member of the other Boburerre family (thus, by seven people altogether). Leila Nimbadja, the second daughter of Joe Inyamul's family, became my principal co-worker for the remainder of my time in the field (an initial period of ten months in 1988-89, followed by two months during the wet

season of 1990-91), and she helped me to transcribe and translate the stories I had recorded. Her mother, Kate Miwulga (Maka, father's mother, to me, and Nja-Bulanj in the Ndjébbana subsection system) recorded many stories, and took great delight in telling me about the old ways of hunting, fishing and preparing vegetable foods, and in remembering the words for tools and artefacts no longer in use. Although her own language is Ndjébbana (she learnt Gurr-goni from her father's mother (Djin-dirrdjalaba clan), and has spoken it daily since her marriage 35 odd years ago), Nja-Bulanj was the authority to whom her children - and younger members of the An-dirrdjalaba clan who worked with me - deferred. As I became more fluent in Gurr-goni, I was able to work with her directly in trying to determine the use (and existence) of verb suffixes, for instance, or of modal particles. While the middle generation of the family do speak English, many of the older generation (including Kate Miwulga and Joe Inyamul), and children who have not yet learnt it at school, do not. Gurr-goni is still used as an everyday medium of communication by the families I was in contact with, and their relatives by marriage. I was thus able to observe spontaneous conversational use of the language, and many examples in this thesis are short utterances noted in the course of conversation. All but a very few simple examples are taken either from texts or from conversations. The analysis also is based primarily on this corpus of material, and I have only used results gained from elicitation where they were supported by spontaneous speech.

In analysing and writing up this grammar, I have been greatly influenced by the work of my supervisor, R.M.W. Dixon, and former students of the ANU Department of Linguistics who followed in his descriptivist footsteps. In the words of Wilkins and of Evans, both shining lights in the department while I was still an undergraduate,

"Dixon's grammars, and those of the A.N.U. School generally .... are highly eclectic as far as their reliance upon, and use of, theory is concerned, and they have drawn freely upon a wide range of approaches to linguistic description." (Wilkins 1989:59)

"My many frustrating experiences trying to extract generalizations about a particular language from a grammar, or 'fragment' of a grammar, written in the ephemeral formalisms of a once-fashionable theory, have convinced me that grammars should be presented in straightforward language, and furnished with a generous set of naturally occurring example sentences. Only in this way can readers glean enough to reach their own conclusions about the internal consistency and

empirical accuracy of the description. And only when a relatively full informal account of a language's structure, and of the ways it encodes meaning, becomes available, can the next step - of more formal modelling - be taken." (Evans 1985:xii)

Having had similar experiences to those of Evans, and having on the contrary found the descriptive grammars of the ANU School to be a rich and accessible source of information on the languages concerned, I have attempted to follow in their footsteps. I use "straightforward" English, confining myself for the most part to linguistic terms in general currency among linguists of various theoretical persuasions. I hope that this will help to make some of the genius of the Gurr-goni language available to many generations of linguists.

1.2. Phonological Preliminaries.
1.2.1. Segmental Phonemes.

The phoneme inventory of Gurr-goni is typical of Arnhem Land languages: there are five places of articulation for stops and nasals, two laterals, two rhotics, two glides, and five vowels. The phonemes are shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1.: The Phonemes of Gurr-goni.
Consonants.

	Peripheral		Apical		Laminal	
	Bilabial	Dorso-Velar	Apico-Alveolar	Sub-lamino-Pre-palatal/Post-Alveolar	Lamino Pre-palatal	Glottal
Stop	b	g	d	ḍ	ɟ	(?)
Nasal	m	ŋ	n	ṇ	ɲ	
Lateral			l	ḷ		
Rhotic			r	ɹ		
Glide		w			y	

Vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

1.2.1.1. Consonants.
1.2.1.1.1. "Apical" and "Laminal" Consonants.

The terms "apical" and "laminal" have been commonly used in describing Australian phonologies since at least 1964, with the publication of O'Grady's grammar of Nyangumata (a Pama-Nyungan language of north-west Western Australia). Dixon (1980:135) described the basis of this distinction thus: "[e]ach stop/nasal involves the movement of an active articulator into contact with a passive articulator. The active articulator can be the tip of the tongue ('apical' sounds), the blade of the tongue ('laminal' sounds), the back or dorsum of the tongue, or the lower lip. ....Apical sounds involve just the tip of the tongue touching the roof of the mouth." The Gurr-goni apico-alveolar stop and nasal are articulated very much as Dixon has described, with "the tongue tip ... brought up to touch the front of the alveolar ridge" (ibid), but the retroflex consonants, usually termed "apico-post-alveolar", are in fact articulated with the underside of the tongue in contact with the alveolar ridge or the post-alveolar area. This manner of articulation, observed in slow and deliberate speech, has also been noted in Djingulu by Chadwick (1975) and in Gupapuyngu by Lowe (1975) (both quoted in Butcher, forthcoming). Butcher, summarising the results of palatograms made of speakers from six other languages (Warlpiri, Eastern Arrernte, Nyangumarta, Western Desert, Kuninjku and Murrinh-Patha) states "the active articulator is almost always the underside of the tongue blade. In fact, with one exception ..., every speaker has a sublaminal articulation for every POSTALVEOLAR allophone."[5]

The lamino-pre-palatal consonants, by contrast, involve contact of the upper part of the blade of the tongue with the post-alveolar or pre-palatal areas (the same area with which the underside of the tongue makes contact for the retroflex consonants). The tongue tip is not raised, but touches the back of the lower teeth. "Apical" can still be seen as an appropriate term for the apico-alveolar and sub-laminal post-alveolar

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[5] Butcher notes (ibid) that "it is quite possible that in spontaneous connected speech the tongue tip is more often used."

consonants, then, in that the tongue tip is raised for both of these, and kept down for the lamino-pre-palatal consonants.

1.2.1.1.2. Glottal Stop.

The glottal stop has only marginal status in the Gurr-goni phoneme inventory, as it is found only in loan words from Kuninjku (for example, -ɹɔʔɹɔg 'same', barʔmaɲ 'saratoga', yɛŋʔyɛŋʔganmi 'shake out and straighten pandanus fibres (after dyeing)').

1.2.1.1.3. Neutralisation of Place of Articulation Contrasts.

The five places of articulation contrast medially and finally; initially, there is no contrast between the two apical categories, for stops, nasals or laterals. In this position, only the retroflex series is found.

Both rhotics, the apico-alveolar trill/tap and the retroflex continuant, occur morpheme initially. When the apico-alveolar trill is in word initial position, however, a prothetic vowel is added (see below, §1.2.3.2); cf:

/ŋu-ra-ni /   {ø-ra-ø} → /ara/
1MinA.3MinO-spear-Pre   *2MinA.3MinOImp-spear-Irr2*
'I speared it'   Spear it!

/gi-rɛy/   {rɛy} → /arɛy / (nuyu)
Loc3IV-place of origin   *place of origin 3MinNf+Poss$_C$*
at/to the place of origin   (his) place of origin

/gi-riri /   {riri} → /iriri /   (a-jɛrɛ)
Loc3IV-teeth   *teeth*   *3I-Poss*
with the teeth, 'by tooth'   (his) teeth

1.2.1.1.4. Stop Contrasts.

Phonetically, there are two contrasting series of stops in word-medial position in Gurr-goni. These have been studied by Butcher, who has made acoustic analyses of the stops from recordings of two speakers of Gurr-goni. Butcher (forthcoming) finds that as "[f]or all the languages of this central Top End area for which data is available, constriction duration turns out to be the one cue to the stop contrast which is consistently present for all subjects at all places of articulation." He gives the following figures for the mean duration of word medial intersonorant stops:

	bilabial	velar	apico-alveolar	apico-post-alveolar	lamino-palatal	overall
fortis	178	153	168	160	172	166
lenis	90	86	45	30	84	73

Table 1.2: Mean duration of word medial stop constrictions as a function of place of articulation (values in ms) (following Butcher forthcoming).

While length of closure is the most consistent distinction between the two series, there are other associated differences:

(i) In the length of the preceding vowel. Butcher (ibid) notes that "Gurr-goni seems to make use of [this] cue more than the other two languages for which I have data. Thus both Gurr-goni informants ... produce vowels before the two peripheral consonant types which are between one-and-one-half times and twice as long before LENIS stops as before FORTIS stops. At other places of articulation ... the differences are minimal."

(ii) In voicing: "Both subjects show consistent voicing differences for apicals (not surprising in view of massive differences in closure duration) and for labials (easiest place to maintain voicing), which could be characterised as lead vs short lag. [Speaker] JW also has consistent differences for laminals and velars but [speaker] MB does not."(Butcher nd).

(iii) Butcher also recorded aerodynamic data from a Gurr-goni speaker. His measurements show that the intervocalic stops differ in peak intraoral pressure, as well as in duration. The mean value for the peak intraoral pressure of short intervocalic bilabial stops is 5060 dynes/cm^2, while for long intervocalic bilabial stops it is 7315 dynes/cm^2.

In Gurr-goni, then, several phonetic parameters - "articulatory duration, glottal width (as evidenced by intraoral pressure), glottal timing (as evidenced by voicing)" (Butcher forthcoming), and duration of the preceding vowel, all contribute to differentiating the two phonetically contrasting stop series.

This contrast occurs only word-medially, following vowels, glides, laterals, rhotics (and, in the case of one suffix, nasals). Word initially and word finally, no contrast is found. Butcher's preliminary measurements of word initial stops shows that their peak intraoral pressure (3600 dynes/cm^2 mean value for initial bilabial stops) is lower than that of word medial short/lenis stops, while the constriction duration (a mean of 250ms) is in the range for long/fortis medial stops. On my own observation, they may be partially voiced, voiceless and unaspirated, or

even strongly aspirated[6]. Word finally, stops are long, voiceless, and are often unreleased.

A similar contrast in word medial position is found in all the languages immediately surrounding Gurr-goni, and in others further afield. The phonetic basis and phonological status of the stop contrast have been discussed at some length by most of the linguists who have described these languages. Some have adopted a geminate phonological analysis; this is the case for all the Maningrida languages (Burarra (Glasgow and Glasgow 1967[7]), Ndjébbana (McKay forthcoming) and Nakkara (Eather 1990)), as well as Kunwinjku (Carroll 1976) and Rembarrnga (McKay 1975 and 1980) to the west and south. Merlan (1983), however, prefers an analysis based on contrasting series of stops for Ngalakan. Wood (1978) finally adopts a segmental analysis for Gaalpu, and Eastern Yolngu language, after considering the advantages of both geminate and prosodic analyses, and Morphy (1983) and Waters (1980) also decided on a segmental approach for Djapu and Djinang, two other Yolngu languages. Wood (1978:107), however, considers that the contrast in Gaalpu may well have had a prosodic origin, with long stops developing after fortis/tense syllables. These are characterised by a syllable final glottal stop, and he suggests that "fortis syllables terminating in a continuant ... preceding stops ... are manifested by the feature value [tense] in the stop, rather than by the presence of a glottal" (ibid:104). McKay (1984) and Eather (1990) both present evidence that suggests that geminate stops in Ndjébbana and Nakkara may also have a prosodic origin, although here the gemination would probably have been a non-distinctive prosody signalling morpheme juncture. In Nakkara, long stops occur word medially at certain morpheme boundaries, alternating with short stops in word initial position. In Ndjébbana, gemination is linked to another prosodic feature, stress[8]. Stem initial stops in many nominal and verbal stems are short in word initial position, while in word medial position (following a vowel) they are geminated when the following vowel receives primary stress, and lenite to a glide when it does not.

Historically, there appear to be at least two sources for the long stops in Gurr-goni. Some derive from earlier homorganic nasal-stop

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[6] One member of the family I worked with is deaf, and in speaking to her, people tended to speak slowly and forcefully; it was in this context that I heard strongly aspirated stops.

[7] Nevertheless, Glasgow (1981) subsequently adopted an orthography based on voiced and voiceless stop symbols, due to the preference expressed by a literacy worker for this means of representing the contrast.

[8] Although McKay considers stress to be phonemic in Ndjébbana, it was probably originally placed on the first syllable of the root in Ndjébbana as it is in the other Maningrida language; subsequent loss of the morpheme boundaries has obscured this relationship.

sequences; compare the following words found in Ndjébbana, Nakkara or Burarra, with the cognate Gurr-goni words. Phonetic length is signalled by [:].

B   weŋga 'speak'   B   buŋga 'fall'   B   beŋga 'come out'
Gg   weg:u-   "   Gg   bug:u - "   Gg   beg:u -   "

B   boŋaŋguna 'thorny tree sp.' B, Ndj -ŋga, -ɲɟa   Con tense suffixes
Gg   boŋag:una   'ribcage'   Gg -g:a -ɟ:a   "

B   gamba 'roast' Ndj ŋembo 'wake' B   wemba 'draw water'
Gg   gab:i   "   Gg ŋeb:i 'lift' Gg web:u   "

B   belambila 'wide, spacious' B   ŋuɲɟa '1. mimic; 2. be dark
Gg   belab:ili   "   Gg ŋuɟ:a   "   "

B   Biɲɟuwa , Ndj Binɟawa 'place name' B yinda 'do, say thus'
Gg   Biɟ:uwu   "   Gg yid:a   "

The same correspondences can be seen between heterorganic nasal-stop clusters in Burarra and Ndjébbana, and heterorganic stop clusters in Gurr-goni; cf. B. muŋba 'complete (v.tr)', Gg. mugbu "; B., Ndj. ŋaŋba 'perspiration', Gg. ŋaɖbu ".

At some stage of its history, Gurr-goni has clearly undergone a sound change, whereby nasals became stops when they occurred before a stop. Similar sound changes appear to have taken place in Old Norse, and in two Pama-Nyungan languages of Western Australia. In West Norse, and to varying degrees in East Norse dialects, a nasal stop cluster became a double (or geminate) consonant (Gordon 1957). In Burduna and Dhargari (Pama-Nyungan languages of the Kanyara and Mantharta families respectively), Austin (1981b:315) postulates "stopping of all nasals in preconsonantal position - in homorganic clusters this gives rise to geminate stops i.e. mp>pp which later degeminate and are realized as phonemically VOICELESS." Single intervocalic stops became voiced, resulting in a phonemic contrast of voiced and voiceless stops intervocalically.

Gurr-goni also appears to have had some lengthening of stops conditioned by the environment in which they occur. This can be seen by comparing the phonetic realisations of some tense suffixes, a verbal derivational suffix, and some free pronoun stems, in different environments. Phonetic length is again indicated by a colon [:].

-´na-ɟ:i	see-Con	-´gana-ɲi	watch-Con
-´wu-ɟ:i	give-Con	-´bawu-ɲi	leave-Con
-´ra-ɟ:i	spear-Con	-´mɔra-ɲi	not know-Con
-´mɛ-g:a	scold-Con	-´ɟɛrɲi-ga	find-Con
-´ɟɛ-g:a	get-Con		
´ŋuɟ:uyu	3MinFem+Poss_C	ŋi´ɲiyi ~ ŋiɲi´yɛ-	3MinF+Card
´rɔ-g:anmi-yi	be hot-Trans-Intr: be made hot, be heated	´ɟala-ganmi	torch-Trans: "torch it", shine light on
		´bɛl-ganmi	?-Trans: open eyes wide

Here, a long stop occurs following a root-initial, stressed, CV syllable. A short stop occurs in the same morphemes where the stress does not immediately precede the stop in question (either because the root is di-syllabic, or because the stress is placed elsewhere), or where the stressed syllable has the shape CVC. Synchronically, in the case of the verbal suffixes, this is analysed as a morphophonemic alternation between a geminate and single stop. Diachronically, however, the possibility also exists that this was an allophonic variation between phonetically long and short realisations of single stop phonemes, with length conditioned by a preceding open stressed (perhaps only root initial) syllable. (Eather (1990) in fact chooses to analyse some long stops in Nakkara in this way. There, long stops at word medial morpheme boundaries alternate with short stops when the same morpheme occurs word initially; Eather analyses these long and short stops as allophonic variants of single stop phonemes, while morpheme medial long stops are analysed as homorganic stop clusters. As the environment in which the alternation occurs is morphologically conditioned in both languages (in Gurr-goni, it can be described simply in terms of open stressed syllables versus other environments, but the rule is valid only for pronouns[9] and verb suffixes) it seems to me preferable to describe the varying realisation of the morphemes in a way that is consistent with the phonemic representation of long stops elsewhere in the language, and this is the approach I will take.)

How then do we analyse these long stops?

Eather (1990:25) based her decision to analyse the morpheme medial long stops in Nakkara as geminates largely on three arguments: "firstly, the distributional parallel between stop clusters and long stops;

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[9] With one exception: the 1st person minimal oblique form is ŋabu, rather than the expected *ŋapu . A long stop does occur in the corresponding dative form ŋapala, which appears to be built on the oblique form, so the short stop may be a recent innovation.

the fact that neither stop clusters nor long stops occur word-initially. Secondly, there is a phonetic parallel: the fact that the duration of a long stop is equivalent to the duration of a stop cluster. Thirdly, the opportunity that these arguments offer for considerable phoneme economy by elimination of a whole series of stops from the phoneme inventory." Glasgow and Glasgow (1967) and McKay (1980 and forthcoming) based their analyses of long stops in Burarra, Rembarrnga, and Ndjébbana, respectively on very similar grounds. All of these arguments are valid for Gurr-goni also: we have already seen that the stop contrast is only found medially, and, as we shall see below (§1.2.4), no stop clusters occur word initially or finally either. The economy of phonemes offered by this analysis is self-evident, and only the basis of the second argument needs to be demonstrated in Gurr-goni. Butcher's preliminary measurements of heterorganic stop clusters show that the mean duration for the cluster as a whole is 176ms, comparable to that of long stops (overall mean 166 ms, see Table 1.2 above). Furthermore, as McKay (1980:4) has noted for Rembarrnga, when two homorganic stops come together at a morpheme boundary, they are realised as a single long stop, as the following example illustrates:

ɲɔgɲɔg   'woof woof'

ɲɔg + ganmi   →   [ɲɔgːənmi]

woof   *Trans*   'bark at'

Merlan (1983:2), however, does not consider this sufficient reason to interpret long stops elsewhere as clusters. She also notes that the geminate analysis has implications for the phonotactics, leading to "a high frequency of syllables ending in a stop, with the following stop beginning in a homorganic stop." This, also, is true for Gurr-goni, particularly for triconsonantal clusters. As we shall see below (§1.2.4.5), even without a geminate analysis there are a large number of diconsonantal clusters, including heteroganic stop clusters. The number of triconsonantal clusters is greatly increased under a geminate analysis, but they also exist independently of the analysis, and include clusters where a sonorant (glide, rhotic, lateral or nasal) precedes two heterorganic stops.

We conclude, therefore, that the possible disadvantages of a geminate analysis are outweighed by its advantages, and this is consequently the analysis we shall adopt, treating all phonetically long stops in word medial position as geminates, regardless of their historical origin.

1.2.1.1.5. Minimal pairs, showing critical contrasts.

Critical phonemic contrasts are demonstrated by the following minimal or subminimal pairs:

Apical Consonants.

___#   r / ɹ / d/ ḍ / l / ḷ

lɔr	hard (adv)
gɔɹggɔɹ	ibis sp
gu´lɔddɔd	bar shouldered dove
ḍɔḍḍɔḍ	swamp bloodwood
bɔrɔl	Acacia sp
-ḍɔḷḍḍɔḷ	bald

V___V   r / ɹ / dd / ḍḍ / l / ḷ

ɹara	rather
baɹar	kurrajong
ɹadda	carve (v tr)
ɹaḍḍi	hurry, go quickly (v intr)
ɹalagaŋ	torch
ɹaḷabbu	make, fix (v tr)

Apical vs Laminal Contrasts.

Stops, V___V

ɹadda	carve (v tr)
ɹaḍḍi	hurry, go quickly (v intr)
ɹaɟɟa	MoBro

Nasals, V___V

nuna	white woman
muṇa	plant sp.
ɹuɲa	yam sp.

Nasals, ___#

galban	leaf
mabban.	boil (n)
-maɲ	taste

Medial Single Stops vs Homorganic Stop Clusters.

gɔbu	magpie goose
gɔbbu	keep to oneself (v tr)
ŋɛɖi	ant
-ɲɛɖɖi	grab
mɛɟɛg	wing fan
wɛɟɟi	word, language
nɛgi	squash, make be (v tr)
ŋɛggi	breathe (v intr)

1.2.1.2. Vowels.

The major allophones of the five vowel phonemes are as follows:

/i/   The main allophone is [ɪ]; [i] occurs mainly before palatal /ɲ/ and /y/, and in word final position, although it may occur as an infrequent variant in other positions also.

/ɛ/   The main allophone is /ɛ/, although a higher vowel [ɛˆ] or [eˇ] may be heard before palatal /ɲ/ and /y/. It is occasionally heard lowered to [æ͗], particularly in the environment of peripheral consonants.

/a/   The main allophone is the low central unrounded vowel [ɐ]. [æ͗] is often heard following the palatal glide /y/.

/ɔ/   This is a low mid back rounded vowel [ɔ] in all positions.

/u/   The main allophone is [ɷ].

/i/, /u/ and /a/ all frequently reduce to a central unrounded vowel [ə] in unstressed syllables, particularly in polysyllabic words.

The diphthongs [ɛ¹], [ɐ¹], [ɔ¹], [ɷ¹], [ɔᵘ] and [ɐᵘ] are interpreted as sequences of a vowel followed by a glide; thus /ɛy/, /ay/, /ɔy/, /ɔw/, and /aw/. No instances of /iw/ or /ɛw/ are known.

Although /ay/ and /ɛy/ clearly contrast, as in

/ŋayi(bbu)/   'I; 1st person minimal cardinal pronoun'

and   /ŋɛyŋɛyɟa /   'pant (v intr)'

there are some morphemes in which /a/ is realised as [ε^ˀ] ~ [e^ˀ] before a palatal glide:

{a-}	→	[ɐ]	3rd person minimal, Class I S/O prefix
{a- + -y-}	→	[e^ˀ]	3rd person minimal Cl.I, S/O + away prefix
{ar-}	→	[ɐr]	1+2 person minimal S/O prefix
{ay-}	→	[e^ˀ]	1+2 person minimal A prefix
{ba-}	→	[bɐ]	'eat' (before all tense suffixes)
{bay}	→	[be^ˀ]	'eat' (unsuffixed, as in Irr 2, and in derived nominals)

Sequences of a high front vowel - palatal glide - high front vowel (/iyi/) are often realised as a long high front vowel; for example:

/ɲi-gɔŋagi-yi-n / → [ɲɯgɔŋǝgiːn] 'you'll bathe, bath yourself'
/gi-yina-ga/ → [giːnǝgɐ] 'earlier today'

Other phonetically long high vowels have also been analysed as vowel - glide - vowel seqences. /u/ and /uw/ contrast finally in /-gu/: [gɷ] 'egg' and /-guw /: [gɷː] 'whisper'.

The following minimal and subminimal pairs show the five vowels contrasting in stressed and unstressed position:

ˈbiɟɟa	'tie, wrap'
ˈbeɟɟi	'come out'
ˈbaɟɲiyi	'fight'
ˈbɔɟɟa	'spit out'
ˈbuɟɟa	'fontanelle harden'
ˈŋaɖiˈˈgili	'snail; chips (of yam, etc)'
-ˈŋaɹbɛl	'deaf'
ˈgabbal	'flood plain'
ˈɖabbalɔl	'skink'
ˈŋaŋgul	'duck sp'
giˈnili	'smoke'
ˈɟɛngɛlɛ	'Sand palm, Livistona sp.'
ˈmal̪al̪a	'mangrove sp.'
ˈɹɔmɔlɔ	'frog'
ˈbululu	'fat (n)'

1.2.2. Stress.

Stress in Gurr-goni is to a large degree grammatically predictable: it is placed on the first syllable of the root. (Primary stress is shown here by an acute accent ´ placed before the stressed syllable.) Where the root takes prefixes, the first syllable of the prefix, or series of prefixes, takes secondary stress (shown here as ´´):

'garbaɹ   'bright, light (as in moonlight)'

´´ŋu-´warbaɹ -ɲi-n '1MinS-bright, light-Thmsr-Fut: I'll be bright'

´´and -gu-´warbaɹ -ɟa '3MinCl.I-Nom-bright, light-Thmsr: white man'

In compound stems, formed of two or more roots, the first syllable of the first root may receive primary stress, while the first syllable of the second root takes secondary stress. This is so both for (many) reduplicated forms, and for other compounds:

'balay   'far'

'balay´´b·alay   'very far'

'mibilu 'eye'   'gɛgi   'put in'

´´biy-'mibilu´´gɛgi -ɖi

3MinA.2MinO-eye-put in-Fut: 'she'll miss you (when you're gone)'

´-giri 'juice'   'ɟawa   'bleed, leak, seep'

ŋ-´gir ´´ɟawa-ŋa

1MinS-juice-seep, leak-Con   'my eyes are watering'

Often, however, compound forms (but not reduplicated forms), have the primary stress on the first syllable of the second root, and secondary stress on the first. For some stems, this may be optional (thus ´´biy-´´mibilu-´gɛgi -ɖi is also possible); for others, particularly derived verbs lexicalised with a particular meaning, stress placement appears to be fixed:

'gɔnda   'arm'   -´bayggiɖi   'long, tall'

´´and -´´gɔnda´bayggiɖi   'lightning'

There are a large number[10] of apparent exceptions to this rule of placing stress on the first syllable of the first root. Almost all of these probably contain a non-productive, unstressed, derivational or other

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[10] 69, in a vocabulary of approximately 1200.

prefix preceding the primary root (or, in some cases, a still productive prefix before a root that does not otherwise occur). Thus, the syllable preceding the stressed syllable has the form bV- for 8 stems, gV- for 14 and mV- for 22; 3 have nu-, and one na-. These may all derive from the class or person prefixes of the same forms (bV- 3rd person non-minimal, gV- class IV (and the current productive verb > noun derivational prefix), mV- class III (also Intensifier and Collective Plural), nu-/na- 3rd person minimal, non-feminine). Some stems have two unstressed syllables preceding the primary stress - in at least one of these, both syllables appear to have originally been productive prefixes; compare:

<p style="text-align:center">gin -mi-na -bami   'fresh water'</p>

(where **gin -** is the Class IV prefix, unmarked case, and alternates with the Class IV Local case prefix **yigi -**) with the Nakkara form

<p style="text-align:center">wu -na-bbama   'fresh water'</p>

where in Nakkara, **-na-** is the productive derivational prefix (and the 3rd person minimal, non-feminine prefix), and **wu-** the productive nominal 'Characteristic' prefix (Eather 1990:123-131).

In other cases, the stem is probably a compound. Thus the word ˝**maɖa´ŋayɟɟiga** 'snake' may be a compound of Burarra (and perhaps originally Gurr-goni also) **maɖa** 'tail', plus **ŋayɟɟiga** (meaning unknown, but it appears to be a verb of conjugation IIIa, **ŋayɟɟi -ga** '?-Con', so the meaning of the compound would be 'tail X-es').

The fact that stress is not placed on the first syllable of the stem may indicate that the stem-internal morpheme boundaries are still recognised as such. The treatment of some loan words suggests that the opposite may be true: ´**nawaɹan** 'python sp.' and ´**manberg** 'uplands, high country', both loans from Kuninjku, contain the Kuninjku prefixes **na-** 3rd person, class I, and **man-** 3rd person, class III. They appear not to be treated as prefixes, in that they do take stress, and they are invariable (**manberg**, for instance, does not inflect for case).

In the following circumstances, stress shifts from the first syllable of a monosyllabic root to a pronominal prefix. Where the monosyllablic root **wu** 'give' is preceded by a di- or polysyllabic prefix ending in -**bu-**, the primary stress is placed on this last syllable of the prefix, and **wu** itself is unstressed:

thus	**a´bu -wu-ni**	They gave him (something).
	˝**ɲiru ´bu-wu -ni**	They gave us / you; we gave them (something).
but	˝**ŋu- ´wu -ni**	I gave him/her (something).
	˝**biy- ´wu -ni**	He/she gave you (something).

When the verb **ni** 'sit' is in either the Precontemporary or the Irrealis 2 tense, it takes no overt suffix. In this case, stress may shift to the final syllable of the pronominal prefix, particularly if the prefix ends in -**riɲi(n**)- 'UA feminine', or is itself monosyllabic. The augmented number and UA non-feminine prefixes tend to take stress on their initial syllable when affixed to -**ni-ø**.

Thus,   **ʹa-ni-ø**   He sat.

          ʺɲiri ʹɲi-ni-ø   We/you two women sat.

but   **ʹɲiwur -ʺni-ø**   We/you all sat.

          ʹawuni -ʺni-ø [**ɐᵘnɩni**]   They two men sat.

1.2.3. Morphophonemics.
1.2.3.1. Vowel Assimilation at all Morpheme Boundaries.

A limited type of vowel harmony is found sporadically at all morpheme boundaries: between prefix and stem; between stem and suffix; between pronominal and directional prefixes; between derivational and inflectional suffixes; and between the morphemes that make up the pronominal prefixes, when person/number morphemes assimilate to the following number morphemes.

Unstressed high vowels in the last syllable of a morpheme may assimilate in frontness/backness to the first vowel of the morpheme following. Thus the front vowels /i/ and /e/ trigger assimilation in an unstressed /u/ in the preceding syllable, and the back vowels /u/ and /o/ trigger assimilation in a preceding /i/. The central vowel /a/ (both [-back] and [-front]) does not trigger assimilation.

$$V \atop \begin{bmatrix} high \\ stressed \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [\alpha\, back] \quad / \underline{\quad} (C^*) + \quad C \quad \begin{matrix} V \\ \begin{bmatrix} \alpha back \\ non\text{-}low \end{bmatrix} \end{matrix}$$

A morpheme initial palatal consonant, particularly /y/, the most vocalic, will also cause an unstressed /u/ in the final syllable of the preceding morpheme to shift to /i/.

$$\text{Rule 1b.} \quad V \atop \begin{bmatrix} back \\ high \\ unstressed \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [front] \quad / \underline{\quad} (C^*) \quad + \quad C \atop \begin{bmatrix} lamino\text{-} \\ palatal \end{bmatrix}$$

For example:

{gun-} + {mina 'bami}	→	/gin-mina 'bami/
3MinCl.IV *fresh water*		fresh water

{gu-y(i) -'buggu-n}	→	/gi-y(i)-'buggu-n /
3MinCl.IVS-away-fall-Fut		it will fall away

{a-'yibbu-yi-ø}	→	/a-'yibbi-yi /
3MinCl.IS-split-Intr-Irr2		it might split

{ni 'yɛ-pu-ya }	→	/ni 'yɛ-pi-ya/
3MinNf-Card-?		it was him

{mu-'bawu-ni }	→	/m-'bawi-ni/[11]
3MinA.3IIIO-leave-Pre		he/she left it

{ɟi-wu-'nɛgi-ri}	→	/ɟu-wu- 'nɛgi-ri/
3MinII-AugA-squash-Pre		they squashed her

{ɟin-'yu-ŋu}	→	/ɟuɲ-'yu-ŋu/[12]
3MinCl.IIS-lie,sleep-Fut		she'll sleep

{gu-'rɛy}	→	/gi-'rɛy/
Loc3IV-place of origin		at/to/from the place of origin

1.2.3.2. Morphophonemic Changes between Prefix and Stem.

1.2.3.2.1. Deretroflexion. Following the prefix-final alveolar nasal /n/ of the non-local nominal noun class prefixes (**an-, ɟin -, mun-, gun-**; see Table 2.2 below), a stem-initial postalveolar stop or lateral becomes an alveolar stop or lateral:

$$
C \rightarrow \text{[alveolar]} \quad / \quad C \quad + \quad \underline{}
$$

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{apical} \\ \text{postalveolar} \\ \text{non-rhotic} \end{bmatrix} \qquad \begin{bmatrix} \text{apical} \\ \text{alveolar} \\ \text{nasal} \end{bmatrix}
$$

So,	**an-**	+	**-ɖɔɭɖɖɔɭ**	→	**an-dɔɭdɖɔɭ**
	Cl.I		*bald*		

---

[11] 1.2.3.2.4 (vowel deletion) also applies here.

[12] See also §4.3.1.1.2.1, Allomorphy of the pronominal prefixes.

1.2.3.2.2. A stem-initial apical trill /r/ becomes an alveolar stop /d/ following a prefix ending in /n/ (ie, the four nominal noun class prefixes, and the verbal prefixes ɲin- 2nd person minimal S, A; ɟin - 3rd person Cl.II S, O; and all prefixes ending in -riɲin - UA feminine (S, A or O)). This process also applies after all transitive or intransitive prefixes ending in -ni - ~ -na- 'UA nonfeminine', -bu - 'Augmented A' and -rubu- 'nonsingular A and O'.

$$r \rightarrow d \;/\; n \qquad + \underline{\hspace{2cm}}$$

$$\text{pronominal prefix} \;+\; \underline{\hspace{2cm}}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{UA A/S/O} \\ \text{Aug A} \\ \text{nsA+nsO} \end{array} \right\}$$

(but see §1.2.4.2)

Thus stem-initial /r/ remains only after a zero prefix ʌand after those minimal number pronominal prefixes which end in a vowel or a glide.

This process occurs after the allomorphs of the morphemes {ɲin-} '2nd person minimal' and {ɟin-} '3rd person minimal, Class II' are chosen; see §4.3.1.1.2 for the variants and their distribution.
So:

a rimi !	Hold it!
ŋu-rimi-ŋa	I'm holding it
a-rimi-ŋa	He/she is holding it/him.
ɲin-dimi-ŋa	You are holding it.
ɟin-dimi-ŋa	He/she is holding her.
awuriɲin-dimi-ŋa	The two females are holding it/him.
abu-dimi-ŋa	They all are holding it/him.
muwuni-dimi-ŋa	Two men are holding it (Cl.III).
arubu-dimi-ŋa	We all are holding them/they are holding us.
ŋu-rirgga	I am sharp.
an-dirgga	He/it is sharp
gun-dirgga	It (Cl.IV) is sharp.

1.2.3.2.3. Apical Cluster Simplification. When two apical rhotics or two apical nasals come together at the boundary between prefix and stem, the second is deleted. For example:

{ɲiwur -ɹɔrɟɟa-ø}   →   /ɲiwur-ɔrɟɟa/
1,2AugS-clear up-Irr2   We all/you all might clear up.

{ar-rimi-ø }   →   /ar-imi /
3MinA.1+2MinO-hold-Irr2   He/she might hold us.

{an-niyi-ø }   →   /an-iyi /
3I-3MinNf-unm   It's his/his Cl.I thing.

(Elsewhere in the thesis, the underlying form of the stem is shown, however, to avoid possible confusion over the shape of the morpheme.)

1.2.3.2.4.Vowel Deletion. When an open monosyllabic prefix beginning with a nasal attaches to a stem beginning with a stop homorganic with the nasal, the vowel is optionally (but usually) deleted:

$$V \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \# \quad \text{nasal} \quad \underline{\quad\quad} \quad + \quad \text{stop}$$
$$[\alpha \text{ place}] \qquad\qquad [\alpha \text{ place}]$$

For example,
{mu-bawu-ni }   →   /m-bawi-ni /
3MinA.3IIIO-leave-Pre   He/she left it.

{ŋu-gɔŋɖa-ga }   →   /ŋ-gɔŋɖa-ga /
1MinA.3MinO-cut-Con   I cut it.

1.2.3.2.5. /n-w/ Simplification. In several nominal stems, there is an alternation between zero following /n/ final prefixes, and an initial /w/ otherwise (ie, after all other prefixes, and when the stem takes no prefix):

$$/w/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad /n/ \quad + \quad \underline{\quad\quad}$$

For example:

ŋu-waliɟɟi	ŋu-waɹbbur	ŋaɹ	awur-wuɖɔlu
1Min-name	*1Min-little*	*mouth*	*3Aug-narrow*
my name	I'm little	their mouths are narrow	

an-aliɟɟi	ɲin-aɹbbur	ŋaɹ	ɟin-uɖɔlu
3I-name	*2Min-little*	*mouth*	*3II-narrow*
his name	you're little	her mouth is narrow	

It must be noted, however, that there are a few nominals where this rule does not apply, for instance:

ŋu-wɔybug	ŋu-wɔɖuwuɖu	ŋu-waɖwaɖ
1Min-true	*1Min-shadow, spirit*	*1Min-lightweight*
I'm true	my shadow, spirit	I'm light (in weight)
(ie, telling the truth)		

gun-wɔybug	an-wɔɖuwuɖu	an-waɖwaɖ
3IV-true	*3I-shadow, spirit*	*3I-lightweight*
it's true	his shadow, spirit	he's light (in weight)

1.2.3.3. Morphophonemic Changes between Stem and Suffix.

1.2.3.3 Final Vowel Alternation. In the free pronouns and demonstratives, a morpheme final /ɛ/ becomes /i/ in word final position.

In pronouns and demonstratives: /ɛ/ → /i/ / ____#

Thus:

gu-gonɛ-kuwa	gu-gɔni
3IV-this,here-Abl	*3IV-this,here*

ni´yɛ-bbu	an-niyi
3MinNf-Card	*3I-3MinNf*

Compare:

a-ɟini-bbu	a-ɟini
3I-AnEmph-pu	*3I-AnEmph*

1.2.3.4. Elision of Vowels.

In normal speech, word final vowels are frequently deleted when the following word (usually in the same phrase or clause) takes a prefix beginning with /a/. All vowels may be affected by this elision, which has been noted between the verbs in a serial construction (1-1 and 1-4); between a noun and the possessive marker PREF-ɟɛrɛ (1-2); between a noun and an adjective (1-3); between a noun and a verb, particularly when these form a fairly fixed collocation (1-4 and 1-5); between two verbs constituting two clauses, one the complement of the other (1-6); and between the negative particle galu and a following noun or verb (1-7). The elided vowels are shown in brackets.

1-1

awu-bu-n(i)	awur-ma-nay	
3AugA.3MinO-hit-Pre	*3AugS-go along-Pre*	
They went on hitting it.		(X/147/5)

1-2

bam(i)	ar-ɟɛrɛ
ɦead	*1+2Min-Poss*
our head	

1-3   **mibil(u) ad-geɹɛwu**

      eye   3I-crooked

      he's got a squint

1-4   **wɔgg (u) a-galm (a)   a-ɟɛ-ɹɛ**

      arm   3IS-get up+Con 3IS-stand-Con

      He's standing waving.

1-5   **budɔgɔlb (ɔ) a-nɛ-rɛ**

      beetle   3IS-sit-Con

      Beetle sits (there) (place name).

1-6   **ŋu-na-n(i)   a-ɟi-ø .**

      1MinA.3MinO-see-Pre   3IS-stand-Pre

      I saw him standing.

1-7   **gal(u) a-wɛɟɟi-ø**

      NEG   3I-speak-Irr2

      He doesn't/can't speak.

1.2.4. Phonotactics.

      The syllable types   V(C)

                              C

                     CV(C(C))

are found in Gurr-goni. V and C occur word initially only; the remaining types may be found at any position within a word, which can consist of from one to at least eleven syllables.

1.2.4.1. The Syllable Type C.

      There are only three examples of this syllable type; all occur word initially, and all are nasals occurring before stops at the same place of articulation. Two are optional morpho-phonemic variants of the prefixes ŋu- (1st person minimal, A or S) and mu - (3rd person minimal, class III, S or O; also 'Collective Plural'). When these occur before a stem beginning with a stop at the same place of articulation, the vowel optionally, but usually, drops out, leaving a syllabic nasal as the prefix (see morphophonemic rule 1.2.3.2.7 above). For example:

           {ŋu-gɔŋɖu -ŋu}   →   /ŋ-gɔŋɖu -ŋu /   'I cut it'

           {mu-ba-ŋa}   →   /m -ba-ŋa /   'he/she eats it (Cl.III)'

The third, always a syllabic nasal, occurs in the prefixes **ɲɟi-na**, **ɲɟi-riɲin-** '2,3MinA.1UA (nonfem, fem) O'. /ɲ/ here is undoubtedly an allomorph of {**ɲi-**} '1st person non-minimal', but the vowel has never been heard in this particular prefix.

<u>1.2.4.2. The Syllable Type V(C).</u>

Vowel initial syllables also occur only word initially, and are rare. They are found within the pronominal prefixes in the following 3rd person and 1+2 person forms.

3rd person: Nominal   Verbal

	an-	**a-**	**abur-**	**awu-**	**awu-ni** /riɲin-
	3MinCl.I	3MinCl.I	3Aug	3AugA	3UAnf/fA
	Direct case	S,O	S	3MinCl.IO	3MinCl.IO

1+2 person, Verbal

	aru-	**ay-**		**arubu -**	**a-ni** /riɲin -
	1+2Min	1+2MinA		1+2nsA,O	1+2UAAnf/f
	S,O	(3MinO)		3nsA,O	3MinO

Apart from these prefixes, several interjections and two conjunctions begin with (or consist entirely of) a vowel:

εy?	'what was that? what did you say?'
aya	'I see'
awa	'oh, really'
ε	'yes'
ɔ	'or'
arabbu	'and'

(Two nouns begin with /a/: **ani´muggiri** 'louse' and **aɹa´gɔyɟbidi** a-nε -rε 'penny lizard'. The placement of stress (see §1.2.2) suggests that **ani-** and **aɹa-** were once prefixes, although they do not exist as such in present day Gurr-goni.)

As I describe below, the apical trill /r/ is not permitted word initially. When morphemes beginning with /r/ occur in this position, a prothetic vowel is added. In most cases, this is /a/; before two stems, however, it is a copy of the stressed, first vowel of the stem (ɔ´rɔŋuru 'throat, voice', and i´riri 'tooth'). (Prothesis may be the source of the initial vowel in **arabbu** 'and', listed above, although in this word the stress tends to fall on the initial vowel, which it does not in other /r/ initial morphemes.)

There are thus no examples of initial /u/, and only one of /i/ and two each of /ɔ/, and /ɛ/.

1.2.4.3. Initial Consonants.

Word initially, all consonants occur except the apico-alveolar series: /d/, /l/, /n/ and /r/. As noted above, word initial /r/ is preceded by a prothetic vowel. The remaining alveolar consonants are not found at all in this position, as the alveolar/retroflex distinction is neutralised here, and only the retroflex consonants occur.

There are of course differences in the frequency with which the consonants occur in initial position. The table below displays these frequencies, as a percentage of the total number of consonant initial words, based on a lexicon of just under 1200 words.[13] (The vowel-initial words were listed above ; they comprise .8% of all words[14]. There is thus a difference of points of a percentage only, in considering the frequency of a particular consonant over all words, or over consonant initial words only.)

Table 1.3: Frequency of Word Initial Consonants (as % of total).

	bilabial		velar		palatal		alveolar		Total
stop	b	17.4	g	19.4	ɟ	14.4	ḏ	2.4	53.6
nasal	m	14.4	ŋ	6.4	ɲ	1.2	ṇ	2.1	24.1
liquid							ḷ	1.3	
							ɻ	1.8	6.8
							(r	3.7)	
glide		w 12			y	3.5			15.5
Total		31.8		25.8		19.1		11.3	

Total peripheral:69.6

In regard to the most and least frequent initial consonants, Gurr-goni is typical of Australian languages: the picture presented here is very

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[13] McKay (forthcoming:§2, p8) describing the phonology of Ndjébbana, excludes from his database for calculating word initial consonants all verb stems and some classes of nominal stems, as "[i]n a prefixing language a significant number of lexical items cannot appear without a prefix". In Gurr-goni, most verbs have the possibility of surfacing as a bare stem in the imperative form, as one of the imperative mood pronominal prefixes is ø-. Most adjectives, which take prefixes, also occur without a prefix, as secondary predicates. I have therefore included verb and adjectival stems in calculating frequencies of occurrence of initial and final phonemes.

[14] Somewhat inconsistently, perhaps, I have included the /r/ initial morphemes among the consonant initial words. As can be seen from the table, their frequency of occurrence in initial position is comparable to other consonants, rather than to vowels, and they are in fact the most common of the apical consonants in this position.

similar to that given by Dixon (1980:167-169), based on a sample of 40 other Australian languages.

In syllable initial position, word medially following a consonant, all consonants except /r/, /ŋ/, and /ḷ/ occur. However, while all the stops and the peripheral nasals and glide are common in this position, there is only one example each of /ɹ/, /n/ and /l/ (all of which are either reduplicated forms or compounds) and two each of /y/ and /ɲ/ (two of which are reduplicated forms). The palatal and apical continuants are thus very rare, and would be excluded from an intra-morphemic count. (/ɹ/ does occur syllable initially as a result of contraction: in **bamaɹa** 'island' and **Bɔbuɹɛre** 'clan name', for example, the second vowel is often dropped, with the resulting pronunciations of **bamɹa** and **Bɔbɹɛre**.)

In syllable initial position, word medially following a vowel, all consonants occur. The apico-alveolar stop is however limited to stem-initial position following certain verbal prefixes, where it is a morpho-phonemically conditioned variant of the apical trill /r/ (see §1.2.4.2.3 below).

1.2.4.4. Final Consonants.

All consonants may occur as the single final consonant of a CVC syllable, whether it is word final or word medial.

Word finally, however, there are again differences in the frequency with which different phonemes occur. Of the total lexicon of 1200 words, 404 are verbs. All but 3 verb stems[15] are vowel final. In some tense/mood categories, no suffix is added, so that the stem final vowel becomes word final. Otherwise, of the 16 distinct non-zero suffixes, 12 are vowel-final; 3 of the remaining 4 end in a glide, /y/, and one in /n/. In the tally of final phonemes, the verbs have been counted as vowel final. In all, 74% of words end in a vowel (all verbs, plus 476 words from other parts of speech).

Only 26% of words, then, end in a consonant; the frequency with which individual consonants are found in this position is shown in Table 1.4.

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[15] These three exceptions (**bay** 'eat', **way** 'throw' and **bɔy** 'go') all end in a glide.

Table 1.4: Frequency of Word Final Consonants, as % of total words.

	bilabial		velar		alveolar		palatal		glottal		Total
stop	b	0.2	g	5.5	ḍ,d	1.8	ɟ	1.4	ʔ	0.2	9.1
nasal	m	0.3	ŋ	2.2	ṇ,n	3.8	ɲ	0.8			7.1
					ḷ,l	4.4					
liquid					r	3.0					8.2
					ɹ	0.8					
glide		w 0.2					y	1.8			2.0
Total		0.5		7.7		13.8		4.0			

Total peripheral: 8.4

Dixon (1980:169) notes that it "is quite unusual" for words in Australian languages to end in a stop. Gurr-goni, then, is unusual in permitting word final stops, and more so in that the velar stop is the most common consonant in this position (it occurs in 5.5% of all words!). The next most frequent final consonants are the apical laterals (together, 4.4%), apical nasals (3.8%) and the trilled rhotic (3%), conforming to the general Australian pattern. The next most common consonant, /ŋ/, with 2.2%, again puts Gurr-goni in the class of "unusual" Australian languages: Dixon (ibid) says " peripheral nasals, m and ŋ ... do occur at C4 [ie, word finally] over limited geographical regions, and can be considered 'areal features'". (/m/ is rare word finally in Gurr-goni, as is /b/: they account for 0.3% and 0.2%, respectively, of all words.) All other phonemes occur finally in less than 2% of words; we can again note, however, that Gurr-goni is unusual in Australian terms (but normal for Arnhem Land) in allowing final /ɹ/.

1.2.4.5. Consonant Clusters.

A consonant cluster is considered to be the coda of a syllable when it precedes another consonant or a word boundary. Where only two consonants occur word medially, they are analysed as the coda and onset, respectively, of two successive syllables; these intersyllabic clusters are discussed below. Intrasyllabic word final clusters are shown in Table 1.6, while Table 1.5 shows the attested word medial triconsonantal clusters.

Table 1.5: Triconsonantal Medial Clusters.

CC/C	b	g	ʝ	d	ḍ	m	n	l	ɹ	w
b	yb-b									
	rb-b									
	ɹb-b									
	lb-b									
	ḷb-b									
	ŋb-b									
	nb-b									
g		wg-g	wg-ʝ							
		yg-g								
	rg-b	rg-g	rg-ʝ				rg-n	rg-l		rg-w
	ɹg-b	ɹg-g				ɹg-m				
	lg-b	lg-g	lg-ʝ			lg-m				lg-w
		ḷg-g								
			ŋg-ʝ						(ŋg-ɹ)	
ʝ	yʝ-b		yʝ-ʝ							
			rʝ-ʝ							
			ɹʝ-ʝ							
			lʝ-ʝ							
			ḷʝ-ʝ							
d		nd-g		rd-d						
				ld-d						
ḍ					ḷd-ḍ				nd-ɹ	
m	ɹm-b									
ŋ	ɹŋ-b									

Here, we see that the most common triconsonantal clusters are found where a syllable ending in a glide, lateral or rhotic plus a stop, precedes another stop. The cluster interpretation of long stops greatly increases the attested combinations of syllable final consonants (all those shown outside the boxes in Table 1.5), but this table shows clearly that a cluster consisting of a glide, lateral or rhotic plus a velar stop occurs (across a morpheme boundary) before bilabial and laminal stops, as well as before velar stops, and also before /m/, /n/, /l/ and /w/. /yʝ/ is also attested syllable finally before a bilabial stop /b/, as well as in the homorganic cluster /yʝ-ʝ/; compare

nu´gɔyʝburu-bbu	*2Aug-Card* 'you all'
ŋɔʝbu	'prepare for cooking and eating'

ŋayɟburu-bbu   *1, 1+2 Aug-Card* 'we all'

gaɟbu   'deprive of'

There are also examples of the retroflex continuant /ɹ/ preceding a peripheral nasal /m/ or /ŋ/ syllable finally, and several syllable final homorganic nasal-stop clusters: /ŋg-ɟ/, /ŋg-ɹ/[16] , /nd-g/ and /ṇḍ-ɹ/[17] .

Table 1.6: Word Final Clusters.

	g	ŋ
w	wg	
r	rg	rŋ
ɹ	ɹg	ɹŋ
l	lg	lŋ
ḷ	ḷg	

We have seen that the velar stop is the most common word final consonant, and that word medially, most syllable final consonant clusters (other than those involving geminate stops) consist of a glide, lateral or rhotic plus a velar stop. It is not surprising, then, to find that clusters comprising a glide, lateral, or rhotic plus a velar stop may also occur word finally. Clusters of a liquid plus a velar nasal also occur here. (The attested combinations are shown in Table 1.6 above.) While /ɹŋ/ also occurs in syllable final, word medial position, (albeit in what is probably a loan word, **geɹŋboɹoŋ** 'lizard sp., probably the chameleon dragon, *Chelosania brunnea* '), /rŋ/ and /lŋ/ do not. This may be a lacuna in the data, rather than in the language.

Intersyllabic Consonant Clusters.

The following table shows the attested intersyllabic consonant clusters. Intra-morphemic clusters are enclosed within dotted lines; they are limited to the following combinations: bilabial stops preceded by all consonants except /w/ (again, this may be a lacuna in the data); velar stops preceded by most sonorants; palatal stops preceded by non-peripheral stops and a few sonorants; other homorganic nasal-stop clusters; peripheral nasals preceded by sonorants; /w/ preceded by liquids; and /ny/.

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[16] This is found in the frequent contraction of **baŋgaɹalg** 'black cockatoo' to **baŋgɹalg.**

[17] This last occurs in **baṇḍɹa** 'stringybark tree', which may perhaps be a contraction of *baṇḍaɹa , although a medial vowel has never been heard. Similar contractions occur in Ndjébbana; compare the Ndjébbana place name Manayingkarírra, Maningrida in English (McKay forthcoming: §2, p6).

Table 1.7: Diconsonantal Medial Clusters.

	b	g	d	ḍ	ɟ	m	ŋ	ɲ	ɹ	w	y
b	bb	bg			bɟ	bm			(bɹ)	bw	
g	gb	gg		gḍ	gɟ		gŋ	gɲ			
d	db	dg	dd		dɟ	dm					
ḍ	ḍb	ḍg		ḍḍ	ḍɟ	ḍm				ḍw	
ɟ	ɟb	ɟg			ɟɟ					ɟw	
m	mb	mg			mɟ				(mɹ)		
ŋ	ŋb	ŋg	ŋd		ŋɟ	ŋm					
n	nb	ng	nd		nɟ	nm	nŋ		nl	nw	ny
ṇ	ṇb	ṇg		ṇd	ṇɟ	ṇm					
ɲ	ɲb	ɲg			ɲɟ	ɲm					
l	lb	lg			lɟ	lm	lŋ			lw	ly
ḷ	ḷb	ḷg		ḷd	ḷɟ	ḷm				ḷw	
r	rb	rg	rd		rɟ	rm	rŋ	rɲ		rw	
ɹ	ɹb	ɹg		ɹd	ɹɟ	ɹm	ɹŋ				
w		wg		wd	wɟ						
y	yb	yg		yd	yɟ	ym	yŋ				
ʔ					ʔɟ				ʔɹ	ʔw	

1.2.5. Orthography.

The orthography used in the remainder of this thesis is that chosen by a group of Gurr-goni men in consultation with the N.T. Dept of Education linguist, then working at Maningrida School, Ms Carolyn Coleman. The phoneme inventory of Gurr-goni is virtually identical to those of most of the surrounding languages, which already have orthographies. The main factor in deciding on the Gurr-goni orthography was that it should be different from all the surrounding orthographies; thus the geminate stop clusters are represented by voiceless stop symbols, and single stops by voiced stop symbols, as in Burarra, but the palatal series is represented by the digraphs dj, tj and nj, following Ndjébbana and Nakkara, rather than by j, ch and ny, as in Burarra.

Table 1.% Orthographic Representation of Gurr-goni Phonemes

	Peripheral		Apical		Laminal	
	Bilabial	Dorso-Velar	Apico-Alveolar	Sub-lamino-Pre-palatal/Post-Alveolar	Lamino Pre-palatal	Glottal
Single Stop	b	g	d	rd	dj	h
Geminate Stop	p	k	t	rt	tj	
Nasal	m	ng	n	rn	nj	
Lateral			l	rl		
Rhotic			rr	r		
Glide		w			y	

Vowels.

	i	u
	e	o
	a	

I have decided also to follow the Burarra practice of using the voiceless stop symbols word finally and syllable finally in heterorganic stop clusters, and the voiced stop symbols syllable and word initially. In these positions, length of closure is not contrastive, and these symbols are arbitrarily chosen to represent the single stops found in these positions.
To distinguish between the sequences [ng] and [ŋg] on the one hand, and [ŋ], [ɟŋ] on the other, a full stop is inserted before the velar stop in the first two sequences:

n.g (eg **djen.gele** 'sand palm') vs ng (eg **rdengendak** 'mistletoe')
rn.g (eg **marn.gi** 'knowledge') vs rng (eg **gerngborong** 'dragon sp')

To improve readability, clusters of apico-post-alveolar consonants have been simplified orthographically: rnrd is reduced to rnd, rlrt to rlt, etc. (Apico-alveolar and apico-post-alveolar consonants do not co-occur in heterorganic clusters (l-rt, rn-d, etc), so no loss of contrast is caused by this simplification.) Word initial apicals, neutralised to a usually retroflex pronunciation, are however written with the apico-alveolar symbols d, n and l, except in reduplicated stems.

The Gurr-goni orthography, as it has been used in producing children's books, etc, also uses a hyphen to separate a prefix, or string of prefixes, from the stem (as is done in Burarra, but not in Ndjébbana or Nakkara). Suffixes are not separated from the stem. In this thesis,

however, I have separated all segmentable morphemes with a hyphen; fused morphemes are indicated by a +. In addition, primary stress is indicated by means of an acute symbol ´ placed over the stressed vowel, in those cases where the stressed syllable is not already obvious (either by being the first syllable, or the first following a hyphen).

1.3. Morphological Preliminaries: Parts of Speech.

The following parts of speech can be identified in Gurr-goni: verbs, nominals (a macro class subsuming nouns, adjectives and pronouns), demonstratives and indeterminates, and particles (including interjections).

1.3.1. Verbs are a large open class of words which function as primary predicates in the clause. They take obligatory pronominal prefixes (sets Vi and Vii) indexing their arguments, optional directional prefixes, and obligatory tense/status suffixes. Each verb stem is either morphologically transitive or intransitive. Transitive stems take a set of pronominal prefixes (set Vii) indexing A and O arguments, while intransitive stems take a different set of prefixes, set Vi, which indexes one argument only, the S. These pronominal prefixes are tabulated and discussed in §4.3.

The morphological or formal transitivity of a verb stem, as determined by which set of pronominal prefixes it selects, is not always directly matched by its syntactic valency. Some verbs which select two arguments are formally transitive and some are formally intransitive; all syntactically ditransitive verbs are formally transitive. There is some discussion of syntactic frames in §5.2.

The system of tense/status suffixes is complicated, and verbs can also be divided into 8 major conjugation classes, all with subconjugations. These are tabulated and discussed in §4.7.

1.3.2. Nominals also constitute a large, open class of words, which may fill argument positions, both core and oblique, within a clause, and may also function as the predicate, the head of the clause itself.

There are some grounds for distinguishing between a subclass of nouns and a subclass of adjectives.

Adjectives can function as the head of an NP, and can also occur within an NP as modifier of the head noun. Nouns are restricted to NP head function; virtually the only exception to this is whole-part NPs, in which two nouns occur. Most adjectives, when functioning as a modifier

of a noun, as head of an NP, or as the primary predicate of a clause, take an obligatory pronominal prefix (set Ni or Nii) encoding the person, number and noun class of their referent or subject. This prefix varies according to the pronominal/noun class categories of the referent or subject. Most nouns have inherent membership of one of the four noun classes. On some nouns this is overtly indicated by a noun class prefix which forms part of the lexeme. For many nouns, however, class membership is only shown by the 3rd person minimal noun class prefixes on verbs and adjectives, which must agree with the noun. Adjectives can also be derived from some nouns by the addition of a variable pronominal/noun class prefix directly to the stem, or to a derivational prefix. The grounds for distinguishing nouns and adjectives are further discussed in §2.1.1, where it will be seen that kinship terms seem to constitute an intermediate category - syntactically, they behave like nouns, while morphologically, they are like adjectives.

Case is also a category for which adjectives and some nouns can be inflected: local case ('to', 'at', 'from') is encoded by a distinctive set of pronominal/noun class prefixes (set Nii), and ablative case by an ablative suffix, often used in conjunction with the local case prefix. As some nouns (particularly place names, and those referring to geographical features) cannot take the local case prefix , the ability to inflect for case cannot be taken as a defining criterion of nominals.

While any stem can readily be identified as nominal or verbal, verbs or clauses are often used as nominal lexemes without undergoing any derivational processes. Examples are the verbal kinship forms, such as:

1-8 **weleng** <u>**a-rrirrmi-rri-pu**</u>
　　　 then 　　　 *3MinA.3IO-hold+Redup-Pre-pu*[18]
　　　　　　 he held him = father
　　gu-gupi-ni 　　　　　　 **djitbinibini**
　　3MinA.3IVO-build-Pre 　*traditional platform*
　　Then <u>his father (lit. he held him)</u> built a platform. (V/62/24)

and the names of some fauna, including the blue tongue lizard:
1-9 **djit-gorlungu** 　**dji-ba-nga** 　　　　　 **a-ne-rre**
　　snail 　　　　　 *3MinA.3IIO-eat-Con* 　*3IS-be,sit-Con*
　　he eats snails = blue tongue lizard

---

[18] The function of -**pu** is not clear here. It may in fact be that it does mark non-verbal (or non-predicate) status in some way, but as -**pu** can be added, with variable meaning, to verbs which are clearly functioning as heads of their clause, this is not certain.

1.3.3. <u>Pronouns</u> distinguish three numbers (minimal, unit-augmented and augmented) and four persons (first, second, third and 1+2 (speaker and hearer)). Three cases are distinguished in the pronominal paradigm: direct (covering A, S, O, vocative, and topics (which may be coreferential with dative pronouns)), possessive and dative. There is one set of non-minimal person/number stems, to which the gender, number and case suffixes are attached. The minimal number pronouns are largely distinct from the nonminimal ones, and many of the possessive stems are irregular. Dative pronouns are built on the possessive stems. The direct case pronouns take a set of suffixes (optional in most person/number categories) which encode pragmatic distinctions such as 'first', 'next' and 'contrastive/emphatic topic'. The forms and uses of the pronouns are described in §3.1.

1.3.4. <u>Demonstratives</u> can be distinguished as a separate part of speech on the grounds that, when modifying nouns or functioning as the head of an NP, they take verbal pronominal prefixes, rather than the nominal prefixes which occur with noun and adjectives. Three degrees of distance or relative accessibility are distinguished by the demonstrative adjectives and adverbs. The proximate adjective and adverbs have different stems, while the adjectives encoding the two further distances are formed from the respective adverbs by the addition of a pronominal prefix (set Vi). In addition, there are two anaphoric demonstrative adjectives, and a number of adverbs encoding directional oppositions such as 'this side or way', 'that side or way', 'the opposite side or way'. The demonstratives are listed and exemplified in §3.2.

1.3.5. <u>Indeterminates.</u> The words which function as interrogative and indeterminate pronouns do not constitute a formally identifiable class, but form a coherent class syntactically and semantically. In interrogative clauses, they represent a constituent about which a speaker is requesting information; in positive declarative clauses, they refer to an entity whose precise identity the speaker does not know; in negative declarative clauses, they have a negative indefinite function. Indeterminates are discussed and exemplified at §3.3

1.3.6. <u>Particles</u>. This is a catch-all class for the remaining, uninflecting, parts of speech. It subsumes adverbs (of place, time and manner), conjunctions, both coordinating and subordinating (see §§5.5

and 5.6.1); the negative and interrogative particles (see §§5.7 and 5.8 respectively), and interjections. Interjections have the distinguishing feature of being able to constitute a complete utterance.

The following interjections have been recorded:

burdak	wait, hang on
guwa	come here
awa	oh, really
aya	I see, right
mah	OK
bayit	it's all right
e	yes
hi-hi	yes!
ey	what's that?
galu	no
ngaw, nguwa	yes
lay	hey
worro	what a pity
yula	is that so, really
njonjonj	how sweet, how cute
wardaw	wow

1.4. Morphemes with Universal Distribution.

Three morphemes exist in Gurr-goni which are not specifically linked with any one part of speech, but rather co-occur with a wide range of word classes. They are therefore discussed here, before I proceed, in the following chapters, to an examination of each of the major word classes.

1.4.1. -X: 'extended duration'.

To express prolonged duration of an event, the final vowel of a word may be lengthened and held for some time at a pitch higher than that of the preceding stretch of discourse. This vowel lengthening, indicated by a colon and glossed X for 'extended', occurs most often on verbs (as exemplified by 1-10), but has also been heard on nouns (also illustrated by 1-10), adjectives (1-11), and even on loan words from English (1-12).

1-10　**Wek a-djerre　gu-garrapu　dji-me-nji**

　　place name　　3IV-Anaph　　3MinA.3IIO-get-Pre

　　dji-ma-na-:-y　　djongo-:-k.

　　3IIS-go along-Pre+X　　Mo-in-law+X

　　At that place Wek a-djerre djongok (your mother-in-law) went on
　　and on getting (turtles). 　　　　　　　　　　　　　(IX/30/10)

1-11　**Wurru　awurr-gabu　awurr-mukdji-nji　awurr-ni-ø**

　　but　　3Aug-that　　3AugS-die-Pre　　　3AugS-be-Pre

　　an-mu-matjirri　yerrtji, gut-gu-:-warr[19].

　　3I-Coll-dead people　mob　　3IV-long ago+X

　　But those people are dead, all the dead people, it was a long time
　　ago. 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(IX/83/1)

1-12　**Djona　djin-malátja　njiwu-marrpi-ni**

　　name　3II-abandoned　1AugA.3MinO-look after-Pre

　　njiwurr-ni-ø,　　milk　　njibu-wu-ni,

　　1AugS-be,sit-Pre　milk　　1AugA.3MinO-give-Pre

　　njibu-wu-ni　　　njiwurr-ni-ø　　mi-:-lk.

　　1AugA.3MinO-give-Pre　1AugS-be,sit-Pre　milk+X

　　We were looking after the baby left behind (Djona), we gave her
　　milk, we were giving her milk for such a long time. (VI/79/17)

1.4.2. Universal clitic -pu '?extreme degree', '?immediate'.

　　A clitic -**pu** may be optionally attached to almost any part of
speech. Its function is not completely clear, and indeed, there may be a
number of homophonous forms involved which have different functions.
The following two examples will serve as a starting point in considering
its function(s); here, informants were able to clearly express the meaning
contributed in each case by the clitic.

1-13　**Mu-djartabiyi-ni　gatji,　　mu-djartabiyi-ni　　gatji**

　　3IIIS-rush-Pre　　down,low　3IIIS-rush-Pre　　　down,low

　　mu-warrtji-nji　　mu-djartabiyi-ni

　　3IIIS-climb-Pre　　3IIIS-rush-Pre

　　wurru　gatji-pu　　mu-djartabiyi-ni.

　　but　　down,low-pu　3IIIS-rush-Pre

　　It (a bomb/bombs) rushed down, it rushed down, it rose up fast, but
　　right down it rushed. 　　　　　　　　　　　　　(IX/139/25)

---

[19] Here, the lengthening is on the penultimate, rather than the final, syllable. The reason for this is not
known.

1-14 **Rdoyrdoy dji-na-ni   yimúrtbitj**
Wo'sCh   3MinA.3IIO-see-Pre fish sp
a-na-garlma-nay-pu a-warrtji-nji a-na-djarti,
3IS-twds-get up-Pre-X 3IS-climb-Pre 3IS-twds-hurry
a-weki-ni,   "Lay? Galu nguwurr-boy-ø   ...
3IS-speak-Pre hey   no   1+2AugS-go-Irr2
dji-goni yimúrtbitj ngu-me-n."
3II-this   fish sp   1MinA.3MinO-get-Fut
Your son saw the fish and <u>got straight up</u> and came quickly up, he
said "Hey, no, let's go and I'll get this fish."   (IX/43/12)

In 1-13, my informant translated **gatji-pu** *low-pu* as 'real low',
and said that **gatji** 'low' alone would mean 'half low'. **Gatji-pu** could be
said to mean 'an extreme degree of lowness'. The demonstrative adverb
mutju-pu is often translated as 'right here', contrasting with **mutju**
'here'; again we could say that **-pu** indicates an extreme degree of
closeness. In other instances, **-pu** has been translated 'all': the pronoun
ngaytjburru-pu *1,1+2Aug-pu* is explained as 'all of us, the whole lot of
us', while **ngaytjburru-ø** *1,1+2Aug-unm,* the same form without **-pu**, is
explained as 'a few of us'; and the difference between **burr-ga-tji-pu**
and **burr-ga-tji** was explained as 'she(/he) took them all, none left
behind' versus 'she took them -could be half left behind'. In all these
instances it seems that **-pu** specifies an extreme degree of scope: with
verbs, the scope of the action has the fullest possible extent; with adverbs
which have a spatial range, the most extreme degree of that range is
intended; with pronouns, the greatest possible reference.

The analysis is not so straightforward, however, when other
pronouns are considered. **-pu** is obligatory on most minimal number
direct case pronouns, but is optional on 1st person minimal and all unit-
augmented number direct case pronouns. It is hard to see how a function
of specifying 'extreme degree of scope' can apply here, as there is no
possible variation in the range of reference. See §3.1.4.2.1.1 for further
discussion.

A seemingly different function is illustrated in 1-14. In this case,
the informant's translation was 'he got up real quick'; without **-pu**, it
would simply mean 'he got up', with no indication of how quickly he did
so. Another graphic example of this use of **-pu**, perhaps, is given in 1-15:

1-15 **Barlmarrk <u>a-y-wa-rri-pu</u>** yi-garrapu
wind *3MinA.3IO-away-throw-Pre-pu* *away-Anaph*
a-y-guybi-ni, ... **<u>a-djorrwi-rri-pu</u>** **a-ma-nay**
3IS-away-sink-Pre *3IS-jump-Pre-pu* *3IS-go along-Pre*
a-rrimi-rri **gakak a-goni. A-djorrwi-rri maka**
3MinA.3IO-grasp-Pre MoMo 3I-this 3IS-jump-Pre FaMo
arrapu gakak a-garrapu a-djorrwi-rri
and MoMo 3I-Anaph 3IS-jump-Pre
<u>awuni-garlma-nay-pu</u> awuni-ngepi-rri.
3UAnfS-get up-Pre-pu 3UAA.3IO-lift-Pre
The wind <u>threw him right off/?suddenly threw him</u>, he sank down
away, ... <u>he jumped in straight away</u> and went and grabbed him,
this "grannie" (maternal great-uncle). Maka (paternal great-uncle)
jumped in and that "grannie" jumped in, they both <u>got up straight</u>
<u>away</u> and lifted him out. (V/114-115)

In 1-14 and in the second two instances in 1-15, -**pu** appears to
specify that the action described by the verb to which it is attached
happens immediately after another action. In other cases, -**pu** appears to
indicate that the action described by the <u>following</u> verb took place
immediately after that of the verb with -**pu**; 1-16 exemplifies this. In both
cases, however, -**pu** relates the timing of one action to that of another.

1-16 **<u>A-beki-ni-pu</u> a-werdaguma-nay a-djartabiyi-ni.**
3IS-arrive-Pre-imm 3IS-be frightened-Pre 3IS-rush-Pre
(VIII/14/6)
<u>As soon as it (a truck) arrived</u> he (a dog) rush off frightened.

Where the function of -**pu** is reasonably clear, it is glossed
accordingly: -*extr* for 'extreme degree of scope', and -*imm* for
'immediate'. In all pronoun forms, however, it is glossed -*Card* for
'cardinal', as it is the most frequently occurring clitic or suffix in direct
case, and its use appears to be grammaticalised to a large extent.
Otherwise, where its function is obscure, -**pu** is simply glossed -*pu*.

1.4.3. -**ya** '?Emphatic predicator'.

The clitic -**ya** can optionally follow the clitic -**pu** on any
forms to which the latter is optionally or obligatorily attached (direct case
pronouns (see §3.1.4), demonstratives (§§3.2 and 3.2.2.3), kin terms such
as -**gu-marrpu-pu**, 'spouse', where -**pu** is part of the stem (see below,

§§2.4.2.2-3) and verbs). -**ya** does not occur independently of -**pu**, and we could in fact consider it to be a compound clitic -**pi-ya**[20]. I recorded few spontaneous uses of -**pi-ya**, and its function is even less clear to me than that of -**pu**. Usually, a word to which -**pi-ya** was cliticised was used alone as a complete, rather emphatic utterance; the following are two examples:

1-16 **A-yiti-nji-pi-ya**

3IS-do like this-Pre-pu-ya

That's what he was doing. (VIII/80/20)

1-17 **Ninjokoni   gabi   gut-djorlk   a-dji-ø?   Ngarrpi-ya!**
who   Loc   3IV-creek   3IS-stand-Pre   2Min-Card-ya
Who was down at the creek? It was you!

---

[20] Morphophonemic rule 1 (§1.2.3.1) applies to -**pu** here.

Chapter 2: Nominal Morphology and Syntax.

2.1.0. Nominals distinguished from other word classes.

On syntactic grounds, nominals can be identified in Gurr-goni as those words which can fill the position of core argument within a clause; they can also occur in outer core and peripheral roles (see §§5.2.2-5.2.4 for discussion of these roles), and as predicates, heads of the clause itself. Within the noun phrase, many nominals can be used both as heads and as modifiers.

When nominals are used in core argument positions, their noun class and the noun class registered on the predicate as part of the pronominal prefix must agree.

Nominals are also marked for the category of case. This however is not by itself a clear indicator of part of speech membership, for several reasons, namely, that the direct case (see below, §4.3.2) has zero marking; case marking is optional in some instances; and some nominals cannot inflect for some cases.

The distinctively nominal categories of <u>class</u> and <u>case</u> are discussed in sections 2.2 and 2.3 respectively, of this chapter. Nominals as predicates are discussed in §5.1. Before turning to these categories, I will firstly consider the question of whether, within the larger set of 'nominals', nouns and adjectives can be distinguished as parts of speech.

2.1.1. Nouns and Adjectives: Does Gurr-goni have Adjectives?

If, as is generally accepted, nouns are found as a distinct word class in all languages, and adjectives in most if not all languages, are there universal criteria according to which they can be identified? According to Dixon, there are: nouns can be identified on universal grounds as "[t]hat open class .....which includes the semantic type OBJECTS (terms for flora and fauna, body parts, etc)" (Dixon 1984:583); the limits of this word class within any language must then be identified by "morphological and syntactic criteria particular to that language." (ibid). Dixon defines adjectives semantically as "describ[ing] some important but non-criterial property of an object" (Dixon 1982:56); typically these properties fall into the universal semantic types COLOUR, DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE, PHYSICAL PROPERTY, HUMAN PROPENSITY and SPEED (Dixon 1982:16, 56-57). Wierzbicka takes a similar, but stronger, stance, claiming that "nouns .. differ in meaning from adjectives, not just core nouns from core adjectives, but, probably, all nouns from all adjectives" (Wierzbicka 1988:466); the "crucial and interrelated semantic differences between nouns and adjectives" are that "nouns tend to designate 'kinds of things' endowed with certain properties; whereas adjectives designate properties as such ... a noun tends to suggest a rather large number of

properties .. an adjective, on the other hand, designates .. a single property" (ibid: 472).

Here, I will consider whether there are morphological and syntactic criteria distinguishing nominals referring to OBJECTS, or 'kinds of things', from those referring to single properties (COLOUR, DIMENSION, AGE, etc).

Morphologically, we can note that some nominals have inherent membership of one of the four noun classes, and others do not; some have overt marking of noun class, and others do not. Most nominals which do not have inherent class membership take variable noun class / pronominal prefixes (shown in Table 2.1 below) indexing the person, number and noun class of the nominal's referent or subject. Among these nominals we find many that fall into the semantic types proposed by Dixon as typically associated with the adjective word class:

Dimension				
-mornóngi	'big'		**-mornungu**	'guilty'
-warpurr	'small'		**-garpi**	'clever (hunter)'
-baykirdi	'long, tall'		**-guwábu**	'noisy'
-djapulmu	'short'		**-ngoworlk**	'quiet'
-belipili	'wide'		**-gapurla**	'blind'
-wurdólu	'narrow'		**-ngarbel**	'mute'
Value			**-ngordongordo**	'crippled'
-marrman	'good'		Physical Property	
-gagurru	'bad'		**-rrakangurrngu**	'hard'
-woybuk	'true'		**-njalkitj**	'soft'
-narr	'wrong'		**-djeltji**	'wet'
Colour			**-borna**	'dry'
-gungútju	'black, dark'		**-gun.gun**	'heavy'
-guwárrbardja	'white, bright'		**-wartwart**	'lightweight'
-midjírrkimi	'coloured, patterned		**-djakurga**	'lightweight'
Age			**-rrirrka**	'sharp'
-gegu	'new'		**-djamulu**	'blunt'
-bulún	'old'		**-rdorltorl**	'bald'
Human Propensity			**-murgumurgu**	'hairy'
-bomung	'ignorant'		**-gerewu**	'crooked'
-djurrkdjurrk	'greedy'		**-ngolingoli**	'winding'
-gerna	'mad'		**-bolibeybigiyi**	'slippery'
-gulítjagorrmi	'nuisance'		**-biléypiley**	'flat'

Table 2.1: Nominal Pronominal Prefix Sets Ni (non-local) and Nii (local).

	Minimal		UnitAugmented		Augmented
1	ngu-	n f	njina-		njiburru-
2	njin-	f	njdjirrinjin-		
1+2	arru-	nf	ani-		nguburru-
		f	arrinjin-		
	Ni	Nii			
3I	an-	nu-	nf	awuni-	aburru-
3II	djin-	dji-	f	awurrinjin-	
3III	mun-	mu-			
3IV	gun-	gu-			

See §1.2.3 for the morphophonemic variants of these forms, and § 2.2.1.11 for the morphophonemic and morphological variants of the noun class prefixes (3rd person minimal).

Words referring to OBJECTS or 'kinds of things' do have inherent class membership; for most (60-80%[1]), this is not marked overtly on the nominal itself, but only covertly, through agreement on associated words. For those where noun class is marked overtly, the noun class prefix cannot be varied without changing the meaning of the lexeme. Thus, while **djit-baykirdi** describes something in Cl. II as 'long', and **gut-baykirdi** describes something in Cl. IV as 'long', **djin-minabami** refers specifically to a kind of snake, and **gin-minabami** refers specifically to fresh water. The class prefix here is part of the lexeme, not a variable agreement marker.

The set of words identifying properties or qualities, to which those listed above belong, and the set of words denoting OBJECTS also show different syntactic behaviour. The 'property' words, with a pronominal / noun class prefix attached, can occur within an NP, modifying an OBJECT word:

2-1   [gu-mornóngi   wipa]   njina-bo-gi+ni.
         Loc3IV-big   *place*   *1UAnfS-go-Pre*
         We two went to the big place (ie, the city).   (VII/75/15)

---

[1] The proportion varies in different semantic domains, with many flora and fauna terms, for example, being lexicalised adjectives, or phrases, which do include an invariant class prefix, for instance:

at-bolibeybigi	mut-gu-ngutju	at-gu-ngutju	gin-darri dji-guyu
3I-slippery	*3III-Nom-black*	*3I-Nom-black*	*3IV-ashes Loc3II-nose*
lit. he's slippery,	lit. it's black	lit. he, it's black	lit. ashes on her nose
= dolphin	tree with black bark	=yam species	=black headed python

(Lophostemon grandiflorus)

Here, one feature is particularly salient in identifying the species (dolphins are slippery, that particular plant has dark bark, etc), but these lexemes now undoubtedly mean more than the adjectives from which they are derived. **At-bolibeybigiyi** as a species name identifies a kind of creature which has many properties: it lives in the sea, is slippery, eats such and such, is or is not good to eat, etc.

They can also occur as the head of an NP:

2-2   [**Gun-mornóngi**]   **ngu-wepi-ni.**
    3IV-big   *1MinA.3MinO-draw water-Pre*   (I/5/19)
    Lit. Big Cl.IV I drew water (ie, I drew a lot of water, Cl.IV).

and as predicates:

2-3   **a-nji**   **a-ba-rri**   **ngapala**   **burrkarl,** ..
    3I-what   *3MinA.3MinO-eat-Pre* *1Min+Dat* *baby*
    bami a-djerre [**an-mornóngi**].
    head   *3I-Poss*   *3I-big*
    What happened to my baby, his head is big.   (VII/45/5)

OBJECT nominals freely occur as the head of an NP, but do not co-occur within one NP except in possessive constructions; in other words, OBJECT nominals do not modify other OBJECT nominals.

Here, then, we have three grounds for distinguishing nouns and adjectives, two morphological and one syntactic. Adjectives, the 'property' words, do not have inherent noun class, take variable pronominal / noun class prefixes, and can modify nouns. Nouns have inherent noun class membership, do not take variable pronominal / noun class prefixes, and cannot modify other nouns.

There are a very few words which would be classed as adjectives on the grounds of having no inherent class membership, and being able to modify nouns, but which do not take pronominal/noun class prefixes. These are **wana**, another word meaning 'big', **galatjarr** 'deaf', and **ngirrépu** 'one'. (Two other quantifiers, -**mukupu** 'two' and -**muka** 'many', do qualify as adjectives on all three criteria).

There is also one word, **getjigra** 'something', which does not have inherent noun class, does not take any pronominal prefixes, and does not modify nouns. Here the last two factors suggest that it be classed as a noun (although comparing this word with the three just discussed, it seems that syntactic behaviour is criterial in determining word class here, and that morphological behaviour is largely, but not completely, predictable from this).

Both adjectives and nouns form large, open word classes: adjectives are productively formed by nominalising verb stems (and, in fact, some of the stems listed above are derived from verbs; -**gungútju** 'black, dark' derives from **ngutju** 'be black, dark, dirty' and -**guwárrbardja** 'white, bright' from **warrbardja** 'be white, bright').

A semantic type (or types) which has not yet been referred to is that of human classification - stages of life, kin and bereavement

relationships. While Dixon proposes a semantic type AGE, including 'young' and 'old', among typical adjectival concepts, Wierzbicka (1988:478) suggests that this could more accurately be called 'newness', as "for human beings age tends to be treated as a crucial determinant of KIND, rather than as one feature among many", and "[i]n Australian Aboriginal languages, the words for human age categories, such as 'young (initiated) man' or 'old person' tend to be ... more 'nouny' in their grammatical behaviour than words for 'unripe', 'fresh', 'new' or 'old' applied to plants or artefacts" (ibid:479). This may be the case in Gurr-goni, but it is not entirely clear. Many of the words referring to different stages of life or kin relations do not have inherent noun class, and do take variable pronominal/noun class prefixes: in 2-5 and 2-8, a 2nd person prefix; in 2-4 a 3rd person augmented prefix; and in 2-7 a Class I prefix. 2-6 illustrates the use of a bereavement term with reference to land, Cl.IV. It was spontaneously uttered after the death of a Boburerre man - the country to which he had stood in the relationship of father was now bereaved. The construction type (unprefixed attributive stem plus copula **ni** 'be') is one in which many adjectives occur; it is described at §5.4 below.

2-4   **Awurr-ngorrumu**   **awurr-bogi-ni.**

      3AugS-one whose parent(s) has/have died   *3AugS-go-Pre*

      The fatherless children went.   (2/-ngorrumu)

2-5   **Nji-ngorrumu**   **ngiy-bawu-n**

      2Min-one whose parent(s)   *1MinA.2MinO-leave-Fut*
             has/have died

      I'll leave you motherless.   (3/-ngorrumu)

2-6   **Ngorrumu**   **gi-ni-ø**   **wipa.**

      one whose parent(s) has/have died   *3IVS-be-Pre*   *country*

      The country became a bereaved child.

2-7   **At-bambay**

      3I-old person

      the old man, he's an old man   (I/3/5)

2-8   **Nji-bambay**   **nji-ne-rre**   **nji-ma-ma**

      2Min-old person   *2MinS-be,sit-Con*   *2MinS-go along-Con*
                                         (VI/77/1a)

      You're getting to be an old lady (said, in fun, to a little girl).

In this they are like adjectives. However, they have not been found modifying other nominals[2]. Further research may clarify whether they are to be treated as a futher subclass of nominals, or as part of the adjective class.

2.2. Noun Classes

As a basic definition of noun class or gender we can take Hockett's statement: "Genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words." (1958:231, quoted in Corbett 1991:1). From this definition, it is clear that several points must be established in a discussion of noun class: which are those "associated words" which reflect the category of noun class; how they reflect it; and how many noun classes exist. In the section that follows, §2.2.1, I detail all those parts of speech which register the class of an associated noun, and show the class prefixes associated with each; the markers of noun class are then summarized in Table 2.2. In §2.2.2, I take up the question of the number of noun classes. §2.2.3 is concerned with the principles which determine membership of the noun classes; in §2.2.4, I look at variation in noun class agreement, and in §2.2.5, I examine how the categories of person and number interact with noun class, and describe the use of those parts of speech which do not distinguish the total number of noun classes.

2.2.1. Parts of Speech Registering Noun Class.

All the word classes (other than nouns) which may appear in an NP (adjective, pronoun, demonstrative, indeterminate) show noun class agreement. In addition, intransitive and transitive verbs register the noun class of 3rd person S and O (when A is 3rd person), respectively.

2.2.1.1. Adjectives take noun class prefixes agreeing with the class of their head noun, referent or subject. These prefixes distinguish two cases, local and non-local (see §2.4), for each of the four noun classes. The examples below show the adjective **-marrman** 'good', with the non-local forms of the prefixes, modifying eight nouns (two from each noun class):

Cl.I   **worri** **an-marrman**   **mardangaytjiga** **an-marrman**
       man   *3I-good*   *snake*   *3I-good*
       good man   good snake

---

[2] As they primarily describe humans, this may be because nominals such as 'man' and 'woman' would simply be redundant, since the prefix indicates the sex of the referent.

Cl.II gami **dji̲n̲-marrman**   ngalngi **dji̲n̲-marrman**
woman 3II-good   *turtle   3II-good*
good woman   good turtle

Cl.III mitja   **mu̲n̲-marrman** wupunj **mu̲n̲-marrman**
vegetable food 3III-good   *canoe   3III-good*
good food   good canoe

Cl.IV gin-minabami **gu̲n̲-marrman** wipa   **gu̲n̲-marrman**
fresh water   3IV-good   *place,country 3IV-good*
good freshwater   good country

2.2.1.2. <u>Local case prefixes</u> are illustrated below. In example 2-9, the Cl.I local prefix **nu-** on **woku** 'hand' encodes both local case and possession - it agrees with the class of the possessor of the body part (see §2.4.1.5). Likewise, in 2-10, the Cl.II prefix on **gotjila** 'stomach' indicates location in that body part, and possession of the body part by a member of Cl.II (a woman, although this is not stated overtly). In 2-11 to 2-12, the prefix encodes only local case and class. In 2-11, it is added to a lexeme (**wupunj** 'canoe') which does not incorporate a class prefix in nonlocal case, while in 2-12, it replaces the nonlocal prefix which is part of the lexeme **gin-minabami** 'fresh water'. In 2-13, it is attached to an adjective -**warraka** 'other, different', modifying the noun **wipa** 'place'.

2-9   **a-rrimi-rri**   **nu-woku**
       3MinA.3IO-hold-Pre Loc3I-hand,foot
       He held it in his hand.   (VII/41/23)

2-10   **Burrkarl dji̲-gotjila   a-ni-ø**
       baby   Loc3II-stomach   3IS-sit-Pre
       The baby was in her stomach.   (VII/42/9)

2-11   **mu̲-wupunj   gabi njiwu-gorrma-nay   djitjitja**
       Loc3III-canoe Loc   1AugA.3MinO-put-Pre   fish
       We put the fish in the canoe.

2-12   **a-djorrwi-rri yi̲gi̲-minabámi**
       3IS-jump-Pre   Loc3IV-fresh water
       He jumped into the water.   (III/49/11)

2-13   **gu-warraka wipa   a-bogi-ni**
        Loc3IV-other place   3IS-go-Pre
        He went to another place.

2.2.1.3. Demonstrative adjectives. The same eight nouns given in §2.2.1.1 are here shown modified by the demonstrative adjective **-goni** 'this'. As with common adjectives, four distinct prefixes appear : **a-, dji-, mu-, gu-** These are slightly different, it will be noted, from the nominal/ adjectival local and non-local prefixes above; all variants of the noun class markers are shown in Table 2.2 below.

Cl.I   **a-goni worri**   **a-goni mardangaytjiga**
        3I-this   man   *3I-this   snake*
        this man   this snake

Cl.II   **dji-goni gami**   **dji-goni ngalngi**
        3II-this   woman   *3II-this   turtle*
        this woman   this turtle

Cl.III **mu-goni mitja**   **mu-goni   wupunj**
        3III-this   vegetable food   *3III-this   canoe*
        this food   this canoe

Cl.IV   **gu-goni gin-minabámi**   **gu-goni wipa**
        3IV-this   fresh water   *3IV-this   country, place*
        this water   this place

2.2.1.4. The indeterminate pronoun **-nji** 'what, which?' also distinguishes noun class; it takes the same prefixes as the demonstratives:

2-14   Cl.I   **A-nji   balanda?**
                3I-what,which white man
                Which white man?   (IV/29/9)

2-15   Cl.II   **Dji-nji   djin-alitji?**
                3II-what,which   3II-name
                What is her name?   (I/28/19)

2-16   Cl.III **Mi-nji   mitja?**
                3III-what,which vegetable food
                Which food?   (V/79/9)

2-17   Cl.IV **Gi-nji**   **gun-alitji wipa?**
         3IV-what,which 3IV-name place
         What is the name of the place?

A common use of **-nji** is in the phrase '**-nji -goni?**', literally 'what/which is this?' This is the more normal way of asking 'which person?' or 'who?', for instance:

2-18   **Dji-nji**   **dji-goni?**
         3II-what,which 3II-this
         Who is she?   (I/27/7)

2-19   **Awuni-nji**   **awuni-goni?**
         3UAnf-what,which 3UAnf-this
         Who are those two men?   (I/27/8)

When asking about individual human males, however, we find not the expected

         *a-goni worri   a-nji   a-goni?
         3I-this   man   3I-what,which 3I-this
         Who is this man?
but
2-20   **a-goni worri   ninjokoni?**
         Who is this man?

This form **ninjokoni** appears to be derived from ***ni-nji a-goni**, with a prefix **ni-** (the 2nd person minimal form ***nji-nji nji-goni** has similarly coalesced to become **njinjokoni**). As well as being used with reference to human males, it is used in asking about indeterminate humans, where the sex is not known, and named male pets, such as dogs and buffaloes:

2-21   **Awurr-gone-pu djungdjung awurr-walitji   Gubulolo**
         3Aug-this-pu   dog   3Aug-name   name
         Djinjdja Banda arrapu   ninjokoni an-alitji,   Murdurdu.
         Ginger   Panda and   who, what 3I-name   crab
         These dogs names were Gubulolo, Ginger, Panda and <u>what</u> was his name, Crab.   (V/150/17)

The implications of this prefix **ni-** are discussed below at §2.2.2.

<u>2.2.1.5. Possessive adjectives</u> (see §3.1.4.3) agree in noun class with the possessed noun. Here four of the nouns used previously are shown

modified by **-ngayi-pu**, 'my', and **ant-gu-marrpupu** 'husband' (or 'male spouse') here exemplifies agreement with a human male. The prefixes, and the number of noun classes distinguished, are the same as with regular adjectives:

Cl.I   **<u>an</u>-ngayi-pu**   **mardangaytjiga**
3I-1Min-Card   *snake*
my snake

Cl.I   **<u>an</u>-ngayi-pu**   **ant-gu-marrpu-pu**
3I-1Min-Card   *3I-Nom-wait,care for-pu*
                     =spouse
my husband

Cl.II   **<u>djin</u>-ngayi-pu**   **ngalngi**
3II-1Min-Card   *turtle*
my turtle

Cl.III   **<u>mun</u>-ngayi-pu**   **mitja**
3IV-1Min-Card   *veg.food*
my food

Cl.IV   **<u>gun</u>-ngayi-pu**   **wipa**
3IV-1Min-Card   *place, home, country*
my home, my country

<u>2.2.1.6. Body part nouns.</u> Some nouns (mostly body parts) occur in a possessive construction (see §2.4.1.1) where, in non-local case, the possessed noun carries a prefix agreeing in noun class with that of the possessor:

Cl.I   **worri <u>an</u>-maliyirri**   **mardangaytjiga <u>an</u>-maliyirri**
man   3I-skin   *snake   3I-skin*
Lit. 'man his-skin': man's skin   'snake his-skin': snake's skin

Cl.II   **gami   <u>djin</u>-maliyirri**
woman   3II-skin
woman's skin

Cl.III **yakala** **mun-maliyirri**

green plum   3III-skin

skin or peel of the green plum

Cl.IV **djulu** **gun-maliyirri**

matches (Cl.IV)   3IV-skin

Lit. skin of the matches, = match box

2.2.1.7. Intransitive verbs with 3rd person minimal subjects take a pronominal prefix indexing the class of the noun in subject position:

Cl.I **worri a-yo-rri** `   **mardangaytjiga a-yo-rri**

man   3IS-lie-Con   *snake   3IS-lie-Con*

(the) man lies/sleeps   (the) snake lies/sleeps.

Cl.II **gami   djinj-yo-rri**

woman   3IIS-lie-Con

(the) woman lies/sleeps.

Cl.III **mitja   mu-yo-rri**

veg.food   3IIIS-lie-Con

Lit. Vegetable food lies (=There is vegetable food)

Cl.IV **Gin-minabámi gu-yo-rri**

fresh water   3IVS-lie-Con

Lit. Fresh water lies (=There is fresh water)

2.2.1.8. Transitive verbs with 3rd person minimal objects and 3rd person agents show agreement in the pronominal prefix with the noun class of the object noun. In the examples which follow, there is no overt agent NP in the clause, nor does the agent receive any overt marking in the pronominal prefix. That the agent is 3rd person minimal is clear from the absence of any agent number morphemes (see §4.3.1.3 on transitive pronominal prefixes).

Cl.I **worri / mardangaytjiga a-na-ni**

man / snake   3MinA.3IO-see-Pre

He/she saw (the/a) man / snake.

Cl.II **gami   dji-na-ni**

woman   3MinA.3IIO-see-Pre

He/she saw (the/a) woman.

Cl.III **mitja** **<u>mu</u>-na-ni**

veg.food 3MinA.3IIIO-see-Pre

He/she saw vegetable food.

Cl.IV **gin-minabámi** **<u>gu</u>-na-ni**

fresh water 3MinA.3IVO-see-Pre

He/she saw fresh water.

2.2.1.9. Pronouns. 3rd person minimal pronouns are also specified for class, but here, instead of the four or five class oppositions we have previously seen, there are only two: **ni-** (in direct and dative cases) ~ **nu-** (in possessive case) used for all members of Classes I, III and IV; and **ngidji-** (in direct case) ~ **ngutju-** (in possessive and dative cases), used with members of Cl.II. In other words, this is a feminine/non-feminine opposition. (Use of pronouns with members of Classes III and IV is discussed and exemplified in §2.2.5. Direct, dative and possessive case pronouns are shown in Table 3.1; direct case pronouns optionally take suffixes (such as -**na** 'emphatic', -**pu** 'cardinal') indicating their discourse function. The segment -**yé**- is discussed at §3.1.4.1.)

2-22 **<u>Ni-yé-na</u>**   **Paul** **an-arpurr** **a-ni-ø**

3MinNf-?-Emph   "   *3I-small*   *3IS-be,sit-Pre*

<u>Paul</u>, he was little.   (IX/10/15)

2-23 **Weleng** **<u>ngidji-yé-pu</u>** **dji-garrapu** **gami**

then   *3MinF-?-Card*   *3II-Anaph*   *woman (Cl.II)*

dji-ni-ø   **wipa.**

3IIS-sit, stay-Pre home

Then the woman I'm talking about stayed home. (VII/42/17-25)

2.2.1.10. All Unit-Augmented pronominals, both free pronouns and prefixes, distinguish the category of class, in all persons. As with the 3rd person minimal pronouns, there are only two class forms for each person and case category. As described in §2.2.5.2, on the interaction of noun class with number, non-minimal number is usually used only of humans and higher animates, and only Class I and Class II (into which all living creatures are classified) are found in UA number.

In the free pronouns, Class I UA is marked by a morpheme -**ti**-, and Class II UA by a morpheme -**rritji**-. In the bound pronominals the noun class morphemes are Cl.I UA -**ni**-~-**na**-, and Cl.II UA -**rrinjin**-. (The full paradigm of free pronouns is presented in Table 3.1, while the

intransitive and transitive prefixes are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.3 respectively.)

2.2.1.11. Summary of Noun Class Markers.

The forms of all the variants of the noun class prefixes are shown for comparison in the following table:

Table 2.2: Comparative Table of Noun Class Markers.

	Minimal						Unit-Augmented	
	-nji	dem. adj	noun/adj nonloc	noun/adj loc	verb	pronoun	verb	pronoun
Ia	ni-							
Ib	a-	a-	an-	nu-	a-	ni-~nu-	-ni-~-na-	-ti-
II	dji-	dji-	djin-	dji-*	djin-	ngidji- ~ngutju	-rrinjin-	-rritji-
III	mu-	mu-	mun-	mu-	mu-	= I		
IV	gu-	gu-	gun-	gu-*	gu-	= I		

*In three cases, a disyllabic allomorph of the case prefix is found: djidji- replaces djin- in djin-murrka 'sun', yigi- replaces gin- in gin-minabami 'water' and yuwu- replaces gun- in gun-ngak 'fire'.

The nominal nonlocal noun class prefixes have three major allomorphs. Before stems beginning with non-apical stops, the forms at-, djit-, mut- and gut- appear (ie, there is nasal to stop assimilation); before stems beginning with peripheral (especially velar) stops, these allomorphs are in free variation with the forms ant-, djint-, munt- and gunt- (ie, a homorganic stop is inserted between the nasal and stop). The forms an-, djin-, mun- and gun- occur elsewhere.

Thus:

{an-	+	baykirdi}	→	at-baykirdi ~ ant-baykirdi
Cl.I		tall, long		
{an-	+	gapurla}	→	at-gapurla ~ ant-gapurla
Cl.I		blind		
{an-	+	djeltji}	→	at-djeltji
Cl.I		wet		

For other variants of these prefixes, see §1.2.3 and §4.3.1.1.2.

2.2.2. Number of Noun Classes.

Corbett (1991:45-46) proposes a useful distinction between gender (or noun class; I use the two terms interchangeably) as "the sets into which nouns are divided", which he terms "controller genders", and

gender as found in agreement forms, "target genders". The number of controller genders may be established "on the basis of all the agreement forms taken by particular nouns, both singular and plural." On examining the sets of agreement forms in Gurr-goni, it is clear that we must establish at least four noun classes. But what of the fifth agreement marker found in **ninjokoni** (in 2-20 above; see also §3.3.1 below)? Does the set of nouns which trigger this agreement marker constitute a fifth noun class, or a sub-class of one of the classes? Corbett (ibid:168) suggests that sub-classes can be characterised as "agreement classes ... separated by a distinction which is widely and consistently marked, but only for a small proportion of the morphosyntactic forms of the target." The distinction here can hardly be described as "widely and consistently marked", appearing as it does on one lexical item in one fixed expression only. On the contrary, this case exactly matches Corbett's definition of overdifferentiation: "for targets to be considered overdifferentiated, a specific gender agreement distinction must be restricted to a particular word class, and even within this word class it must be restricted to certain lexical items" (ibid:169).

On this analysis, then, Gurr-goni has four controller noun classes. Four target noun classes are distinguished in the 3rd person (minimal) category of the bound pronominals. Only two target classes are distinguished in unit-augmented number in both the free and bound pronominals, and in the 3rd person minimal category of the free pronouns. Neither the free nor the bound pronominals make distinctions of noun class in the augmented number, nor in 1st, 2nd, and 1+2 persons minimal. The matching of controller noun classes and target noun classes is discussed further in §2.2.5.

2.2.3. Membership of the Noun Classes.

As there are many polysemous nouns in Gurr-goni, with their different meanings assigned to different noun classes, it is clear that phonological criteria are not the basis of noun class membership in Gurr-goni. In the sections that follow, I list the members of each noun class. A quick survey of these lists reveals that there are some general semantic principles of classification: animate creatures are in Classes I and II, with males in Cl.I and females in Cl.II, where sex is identified. Most plants are in Cl.III. Cl.IV could perhaps be described as a residue class, or as containing several (discrete?) semantic domains: liquids, fire and the natural environment. Further discussion of the principles of classification follows in §2.2.3.5; this discussion must however remain inconclusive at this stage, as it is clear that without further cultural and linguistic knowledge, it is not possible to present well-motivated criteria accounting

for all the data.

2.2.3.1. Class I

In class I are found:

-Human males: **worri** 'man', **at-gu-galiyi** 'male person'[3], etc;

-Malevolent beings:

> ghost/dead person, **matji**, which always takes Cl.I agreement even when it is the ghost of a woman; **an-marlpa**, the shooting star, a malevolent spirit; **ragalk**[4] 'murderer';

-Celestial phenomena which are mythically male:

> the moon, **ngolkwarr**, and lightning/thunder, **ant-gonda-baykirdi**, lit. *3l-arm-long* 'long-arm';

-Male kangaroos, wallabies, wallaroos:

> Male and female macropods have distinct names, for example, **garndayala** 'male antilopine kangaroo, *Macropus antilopinus*', and **garnday** 'female *M. antilopinus*'; **gornobolo** or **balkitj** 'male *M. agilis* the agile wallaby', and **merlpe** 'female *M. agilis*'. Where reference is made to the species or a group, or the sex is not known, the male term is used;

-Dingoes: **ant-gumúpurda** for the species and individual males[5];

-Male members of introduced animals species:

> There is one name only for most species of introduced animals, thus , **djarrang** 'horse', **djungdjung** 'dog', **bigibigi** 'pig', **nganaparru** 'buffalo' (although **batgaw**, from 'fat cow', is also used for females). Agreement is determined by the sex of the referent, where this is known. Where it is not known, or a group is referred to, Cl.I agreement is used for buffaloes and dogs, and Cl.II agreement for pigs, cats, horses and goats;

-Most other animal species;

-Lizards (all but two);

-Crocodiles: **mandunuyu** (the species, and males; females have the same name but take Cl.II agreement);

-Frogs;

-Most birds (and the generic word for bird);

-Most fish (and the generic word for fish);

-Half the 16 snake names (and the generic word for snake);

-Some insects and related creatures;

-Six types of shells or shellfish;

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[3] **-gu-galiyi**, the word for 'human', and specifically 'Aboriginal person', is derived from the verb **galiyi** 'to hear, listen, understand, feel'; literally, it is 'the listening / understanding one'. It takes pronominal prefixes indicating the person, number and sex of the referent.
burrkarl, 'child, baby', is unspecified for sex. For babies in the womb, Cl.I agreement is normal, but once born, the sex of the child determines agreement.

[4] This is a loan word from (originally) Warndarang ra-galga, where ra- is the indefinite class prefix, and galga means 'warrior' (Heath 1980a).

[5] Where a female is specifically referred to, a Cl.II prefix can be used: **djint-gumúpurda**.

-A number of plants:

> **gurtu**, a poisonous plant, *?Diospyros sp.*; two types of palm, **girrgirr** *Ptychosperma bleeseri* (a dreaming plant), and **at-djondu**, *Carpentaria acuminata;* **at-bitja**, the banyan tree; **berper**, mushrooms; and a number of edible lilies, yams and other roots (see the discussion below, §2.2.4.1);

-Some traditional manufactured items:

> the shoulderbag, **bulungun.ngun**; the forked pole, **ant-gelamu**, and straight stick, **at-bulóligiyin**, used in building shelters; grinding stones, **at-balpi**; and clapsticks, **at-gu-djapirdiyi**; **an-daparl**, goose spear; **wanarda**, paddles; the traditional garments, **mokoy**, women's bark skirt, and **bulnjin**, men's pubic cover; and **marradjiri**, a ceremonial pole;

-**Djuna** 'red ochre' and **moli** 'antbed';

-Metal objects;

-Cars and trucks;

-Clothes and soft furnishings;

-Some body parts: the shoulder blade, **ant-gurrúrlu** {**ngarrku**}; the female

> reproductive organs[6] (see §2.4.1.3 below); and **maparn** 'boil'.

2.2.3.2. Class II

The members of Class II are:

-Human females;

-Meteorological phenomena which are mythically female:

> the sun, **djin-murrka**, the Milky Way, **Bogolang**, and stars, **gata**;

-Female kangaroos, wallabies, wallaroos and dingoes;

-Introduced animals of the female sex;

-Turtles:

> The names for the two named turtle species, **ngalngi**, the long-necked turtle, and turtles in general, and **ngart**, the short-necked turtle, take Cl.II agreement. There are specific terms to refer to male and female long-necked turtles: **bobulu at-belipili**, lit. *back 3I-wide* or 'back he is wide', male turtle, and **mut-djamulu ngutjuyu**, lit. *3III-blunt 3MinF+Poss$_C$*, 'blunt Cl.III one to her'. Agreement is Cl.I for the male. In the text in which these terms appeared, Cl.III and Cl.II agreement was used in succession for the female; it is not clear if these are grammatical alternatives, or whether the speaker self-corrected to Cl.II;

-Two lizards:

> **galkalk** 'small dragon' (*Diporiphora bilineata*, the two-lined dragon, and *Ctenophorus candicinctus*, the ring-tailed dragon), believed to grow up into **an-**

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[6] Male genitals are grouped with most body parts in Cl.III; agreement is either with the class of the body part, or with the class of the possessor (see §2.4.1.3). Gurr-goni does not seem to be alone among northern Australian languages in treating the female genitals and reproductive organs differently from other body parts; similar distinctions are made in Murrinh Patha (Walsh forthcoming), Marrithiyel (I. Green forthcoming), Ngan'gityemerri (Reid 1990:301), Nunggubuyu (Heath 1984: 182, 191-2) and Tiwi (Osborne 1974:51); this has been noted also by Evans (forthcoming).

mabórrol the frill-necked lizard (or perhaps lizards thought of as young **an-mabórrols**, including young frill-necked lizards); and **djin-murrka**, the snake-like lizards (Burton's snake lizard *Delma borea*, and the headed scaly foot) (this name is homonymous with 'sun');

-All other natural creatures not categorised as Class I: **manamátjibobulu** echidnas, **gulirri** marsupial mice, some birds, some fish, half the snakes, **murdurdu** crabs, **bala** lobsters and **djin-maliyirri** prawns, some insects and related creatures, some shellfish;

-A few plants:

all the grevilleas: **djilwirdi**, *Grevillea pteridifolia*, **djint-gi-rrirri** (Cl.II-Der-tooth), *G. decurrens* and *G. heliosperma*; **buwárta**, *G. ?mimosoides* and *G. ?parallela*; a shrub, **djin-dirrka** (Cl.II-sharp) probably *Lysiphyllum binatum*; and **ngal**, the fruit of the pandanus;

-One man-made item: the ceremonial dillybag, associated with the female mythological being **djarldjarl**;

-A few body parts:

djit-bamu 'knee'; **djin-marnmu** 'kidney'; **djin-walirrng** 'placenta'; and probably **djit-bini** 'ball of foot' and **djin-mibilu** 'eyelashes and eyebrow'.

2.2.3.3. Class III

In Class III are found the following:

-Most living plants:

including **golborr** 'grass (generic)'; grass species; tree species; etc (but not **djalmirri** 'tree (generic); stick; wood', which belongs in Cl.IV);

-Vegetable foods (and solid consumables derived from plants, like tobacco);

-Most items made from plant materials:

including sticks fashioned for a particular use, such as **barnaka** 'digging stick', **murlu** 'walking stick'; the small woven fishing net **munt-gu-mewiyi**, and large fish trap **djuyu**; **ngolurru**, the traditional pandanus mat; **mut-burdja** 'didjeridoo';

-**Worrga**, the deliberately lit grass or bush fire;

-Most body parts; dead bodies; faeces (but body fluids and secretions are in Cl.IV);

-Corroboree and songs;

-Traditional canoes: **wupunj** (bark canoe) and **mit-djalmirri** (log canoe); also **gapala** 'boat, ship' and **erriplen** 'plane';

-**Djurra** 'paper', **golku** 'paper money, playing cards (and the paperbark tree); pictures, **mun-worduwurdu**;

-**burdá**: that which a witchdoctor (**an-mú-burda** '*3III-Der-?power*, the male one with ?power') has: 2-24   **burdá**   **mu-rrimi-nga**   **a-bogi-ya**

         ?power   *3MinA.3IIIO-hold,have-Con*   *3IS-go-Con*
         He goes holding ?power;

-Bombs (which older people remember falling over Arnhem Land during WWII);

-Direction or 'way'[7], in expressions like:

2-25 **mu-goni arr-ma-rdi**

3III-this 1+2MinS-go along-Fut

Let's you and I go this way;

-The way of doing something or reason why: this is expressed by a demonstrative stem taking a Cl.III prefix, followed by a 3rd person minimal possessive pronoun, literally 'this/that Cl.III one of/to him':

2-26 **galu njiwu-djurnitbi-ø+rni, djorro njibu-gorrmi-ø+rni,**

NEG 1AugA.3MinO-bury-Irr1 up,high 1AugA.3MinO-put-Irr1

a-yo-rri+rni, djapu mu-garrapu nuyu.

3I-lie-Irr1 like 3III-Anaph 3MinNf+Poss$_C$

We didn't bury him, we would put him up high, he would lie there, <u>like that</u> (is how we would do it). (III/91-92)

2.2.3.4. Class IV

The following semantic domains belong in Class IV:

-The natural environment:

including **wipa** 'land', **djel** 'sand, ground', **djilpirr** 'mud', **balpi** 'stone', **barlmarrk** 'wind' , **bamungunmu** 'clouds';

-Water, bodies of water and rain:

gin-minabámi and **gukuk** "fresh water', **djalawarritj** 'sea, salt water', **gut-djardi** 'rain', **gutbu** 'creek', **gelupulu** 'well, spring', **gugóndu** 'billabong';

-Other liquids (including **wami** 'wild (and now also shop-bought) honey');

-Fire and associated things:

gun-ngak 'camp fire, firewood', **worrga** 'flame of campfire or torch', **gin-ili** 'smoke', **gin-darri** 'ashes', **djulu** 'matches', **djalagang** 'torch';

-A few plants:

Djalmirri, the generic word for tree, which can also refer to a stick which has not been fashioned for any particular use; **djalwurr** 'branch'; one indigenous plant, **yirrinji** 'pandanus' (and **berr**, the dilly bag made from it); and an introduced tree common in Maningrida, the malyna;

-Structures and buildings:

including the traditional bark shelter, **djitbinibini**, and **latarra**, stretcher, and modern buildings such as the hospital, school and shop (tents vary between Cl.IV and Cl.I, where other things made from steel and cloth are found.);

-Time:

Time in general is referred to by Cl.IV prefixes:

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[7] There is a noun **-goy** 'track, road', used of visible paths and tracks (for instance, animal tracks, when it takes a prefix agreeing with the class of the animal (e.g.**nganaparru ant-goy**, buffalo tracks), and modern roads, where it has a Cl.IV prefix: **gut-goy**). **Gut-goy** is also used metaphorically to mean a way of living, but is not used when talking about walking or travelling in a general direction.

2-27 **gut-baykirdi nguwurr-ni-ngu**

3IV-long 1+2AugS-sit,stay-Fut

We'll stay a long time. (III/1/23)

2-28 **Wednesday gu-ne-rre**

" *3IVS-be,sit-Con*

It was Wednesday.

Time is traditionally measured by nights (literally 'sleeps') **ngorrungurru**, Cl. IV, and by months (literally moons) **ngolkwarr**, Cl.I. 'Dawn' is a verb, which takes Cl.IV agreement: **gu-na-gepiyi-n**, *3IVS-twds-dawn-Fut*, 'it will dawn, day will come'. Times of the day (e.g. **djidjirru** , daylight, **mokol** , nighttime, and modern hours) are all Cl.IV. **Djin-murrka** 'sun' (Cl.II) is also used as the name for clocks and watches, and reference to where the sun is standing is also used to signal times of the day. The English phrase "what's the time?" has been translated:

2-29 **"dji-nji djin-murrka?"**

3II-what sun

Literally, 'what is the sun?", 'what is the clock?'

-Language/word/story, all **wetji**; also stretches of speech and word-forms

(when spoken; written words are Cl.III);

-Custom, the traditional way:

2-30 **gun-ngaytjburru-ø gu-yo-rri**

3IV-1,1+2Aug-unm 3IVS-lie-Con

Our Cl.IV one which lies (or exists);

-Sicknesses;

-The following body parts:

anus and bottom; tooth; the upper and lower extremities (**woku** hand, wrist / foot; toes (and ?fingers) are **woku gun-mornóngi**, *foot 3IV-big* , and **woku gun-arpurr**, *foot 3IV-small)*; **guyu** 'breast, breast milk', and **gardi** 'flesh';

-Abstract nouns:

for example, **gut-gu-waligiyi**, *3IV-Nom-play*, 'play'; **mari**, 'trouble', 'war', used as a loan word, **girdéy**, *'something funny'* ; **gut-djawarra**, *'blame')*.

2.2.3.5. Categorisation Principles

Without a great deal more information on the identity of natural species, and their mythical and cultural associations, it is not possible to do more than speculate on the principles by which animate creatures are divided between Classes I and II. (My identification of the snake names, for instance, is very uncertain.) Nor is it clear why some yams, for instance, are found in Cl.I and some in Cl.III.

As far as manufactured items are concerned, the material they are made from seems to have some importance in their classification: metal

spears, crowbars and fish-hooks are in Cl.I, while wooden spears, wooden digging sticks and fish traps and fishing nets made of wood and vines are in Cl.III. Things made of metal belong (primarily) in Cl.I (although why they do is not obvious; perhaps it is because, being bright, they attract lightning (in Cl.I)*. This does not apply to boats and planes, however: they are members of Cl.III (boats presumably because traditional bark and log canoes are in Cl.III, with many other things made from plants; and planes perhaps because the first to land at Maningrida were seaplanes, which floated on the water like boats). Cars and trucks are asssigned to Cl.I, but this may be more because they are (or were) perceived as animate, than because they are made of metal (tyres are **woku a-djerre** 'his feet', the top of a car is **bami a-djerre** 'his head', and when we unsuccessfully tried pushing a 4WD to make it start, this was described as **galu a-wetji** (*NEG 3IS-speak+Irr2*) 'he didn't speak').

While the varying classification of these metal objects can be understood, the basis for classifying wooden objects is less clear. Some are in Cl.I (the straight and forked sticks on which traditional bark shelters are raised, clapsticks, goose spears and paddles); some are in Cl.III (digging stick, walking stick, coolamon, wooden spears, fish nets and fish traps, didjeridoo, bark and dugout canoes); and some in Cl.IV (stretcher, and the shelter built on the straight and forked sticks classed as Cl.I).

The existence of a number of polysemous nouns has been mentioned above. Examining the way in which their different meanings are classified reveals only very basic semantic oppositions between the classes, such as animate in Cl.I or II versus plant in Cl.III; liquid in Cl.IV versus plant in Cl.III:

Animate vs plant (Cl. I or II vs. Cl. III):

galban	Cl.I:	sole, halibut fish
	Cl.III:	leaf
mint-girrbaykirdi	Cl.I:	sea perch
	Cl. III:	bush sugar cane
djubularra	Cl.I:	freshwater long-tom
	Cl.III:	Red Ash Tree, *Alphitonia excelsa.*
golópu	Cl.I:	nits
	Cl.III:	a grass with seeds that look like nits.
ngarditji	Cl.I:	crow
	Cl.III:	a plant, probably *Grewia retusifolia.*
yimúrtbitj	Cl.II:	orange-coloured fish
	Cl.III:	pink apple, *Syzygium eucalyptoides*

* This hypothesis is based on informants' comments that lightning is attracted to things which are bright or colourful, and that metal things are (often) bright.

djit-gorlungu   Cl.II: snail

Cl.III: Quinine tree, *Petalostigma pubescens.*

Liquid vs Plant:

wogirdi   Cl.IV: urine

Cl.III: a plant, probably *Abutilon indicum ssp. albescens.*

2.2.4. Agreement Patterns.

As stated above, most nouns in Gurr-goni have no overt signal of noun class membership in their citation form; this can only be determined by reference to the class prefixes appearing on verbs and adjectives, and when specially applied to the noun to mark case oppositions. These class markers must 'agree' with the covert class of the noun. Evans (1990 and in press) terms this 'agreement class', distinguishing it from 'head class', where the noun class is overtly marked by a prefix on the noun. A minority of nouns in Gurr-goni do have 'head class' as well as 'agreement class'.

2.2.4.1. Quirky Agreement Patterns.

For many of the nouns recorded, the agreement class was clear from the context in which it appeared. For others, where no agreement markers appeared in the context in which the noun occurred, information on agreement was sought through elicitation. For most nouns, one agreement class was consistently used for each noun. Sometimes an agreement marker other than the expected one occurred; some instances of this were clearly mistakes, as the speaker would repeat the phrase with the correct noun class. In some cases, however, there was no self-correction, and while "re-classification" is sometimes a one-off matter (as when in telling a story about a shooting star (**an-marlpa**, Cl.I), the speaker uses Cl.I agreement for the aeroplane (Cl.III) they had at first thought the shooting star was), for some nouns variation between noun classes is frequent for all speakers.

Some nouns which display this quirky agreement are among those that are distinguished from the other nouns in their semantic domain by being assigned to a different noun class. For instance, the majority of plants and plant parts are found in Cl.III; a very small number are classified as Cl.I or Cl.II. Examples are: Cl.I: **an-daka** and **djitjitj**, waterlily seeds; **at-bitja**, the banyan tree; **wartbirritji**, a white yam, *Merremia dissecta;* **at-gu-ngutju**, another yam; **gulpuru**, *Discorea bulbifera,* a yellow yam; **berper**, mushrooms; and Cl.II: **ngal**, the fruit

of the pandanus; **djint-girrirri**, the pink grevillea, *Grevillea decurrens;* **djilwirdi**, the fern-leafed grevillea, *G. pteridifolia*. Particularly for those with Cl.I or Cl.II head-class (or overt marking of class in the lexeme), agreement tends to be Cl.I or Cl.II respectively, but Cl.III agreement has been noted for all these nouns[8]. In these instances, speakers may be emphasizing the use of these plants as food or as raw material for weaving, both semantic domains which are associated with Cl.III. As an illustration of this, consider the following example, an extract from a text about pandanus fruit in which a switch between noun classes occurs. In the first clause, the object noun **ngal** 'pandanus fruit' is crossreferenced on the verb with a Cl.II prefix **djin-** (the agent receives zero crossreferencing in this 3rd person minimal A, 3rd person minimal O combination). The subject of the second and following clauses is referred to only anaphorically through the class prefixes on the adjectives **-nogubol** 'ripe' and **-gu-ngutju** 'dark brown/black', and on the copula **ni** 'be (sitting)' and the verb **-buki-** 'fall', all of which have Cl.III prefixes. Their subject is clearly the pandanus fruit - 'when it was ripe, when it was dark, they said, "It must have fallen," - and yet the controller class of **ngal**, Cl.II, is not used. It seems that the semantic component of '(edible) plant/vegetable food' has at this point overridden for the speaker whatever criteria lead **ngal** to be ordinarily classified as Cl.II.

2-31 **Yirrinji   djin-dimi-rri   ngal,**
pandanus   3MinA.3IIO-have-Pre   pandanus fruit (Cl.II)
mun-nogubol mi-ni-ø   munt-gu-ngutju   mi-ni-ø
3III-ripe   3IIIS-be-Pre 3III-Nom-black,dark 3IIIS-be-Pre
wulek awurr-weki-ni   "Nguwurr-bo-go
finish   3AugS-speak-Pre   1+2AugS-go-Fut
nguwu-me-n   m-buki-ni   gare."
1+2AugA.3MinO-get-Fut   3IIIS-fall-Pre   must be
(V/79/1)

The pandanus had fruit, when it was ripe, when it was dark, then they said, "We'll go and get it, it must have fallen."

Cl.II agreement <u>can</u> also be used in talking of the fruit as food:
2-32 **ngal   djibu-me-nji   djibu-gorndu-ngu**
pandanus fruit   3AugA.3IIO-get-Pre 3AugA.3IIO-cut-Pre
They got pandanus fruit and cut it.   (V/79)

---

[8] The opposite tendency has also been noted. Yams which do not have any overt marking of class within the lexeme usually take Cl.III agreement markers, but some speakers occasionally use Cl.I agreement markers for these yams as well. Both patterns of reclassification act to reunite yams within one noun class.

There are also a very few nouns which belong to Cl.IV, but which are frequently given a Cl.III Local case prefix. For two nouns (**djilpirr** 'mud' and **yirrinji** 'pandanus') of the three with which this behaviour has so far been noted, the Cl.III prefix can alternate with the regular Cl.IV prefix. The other noun, **djalawarritj** 'sea', has been recorded with only Cl.III Local case prefixes (but with Cl.IV agreement in all other contexts). For one example, where **djilpirr** 'mud' is given a Cl.III prefix, the speaker's translation may suggest an explanation for this variation:

2-33 **Ngayi-pu mi-djilpirr bayin[9] ngu-na-warrtji-nji**
1Min-Card Loc3III-mud ? 1MinS-twds-climb-Pre
(I came up) "**gabi** (there) mud way" (informant's translation)

The Cl.III Local case prefix may here be indicating an orientation or direction (I came up by way of the mud flats); compare the use (illustrated above, §2.2.3.3) of demonstratives with Cl.III prefixes in describing a way to go, or to behave. Both Cl.III and Cl.IV agreement can, however, be used of stationary location, as in describing the habitat of various creatures:

2-34 **djit-barrparr ngarna gu-djerre djinj-yo-rri**
3II-file snake inner thigh 3IV-Poss 3IIS-lie-Con
= *river bank*
gi-djilpirr bayin
Loc3IV-mud ? (V/3/9)
The file snake lies in the mud in the side of the (river) bank.

2-34 **djorndjorn mu-djilpirr bayin a-yo-rri**
mudskipper Loc3III-mud ? 3IS-lie-Con
The mudskipper lies in the mud. (V/47/8)

The significance of the variation here is unknown.

2.2.4.2. Agreement Patterns on Indeterminates.

The class prefixes used on the indeterminates **-nji** ('what/which/any thing') and **-njatbu** 'whatsitsname' (see §3.3.2) reveal more about the relative markedness of the noun classes. If the semantic

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[9] The exact meaning of **bayin** is not clear. It may only occur immediately after a noun in local case, and could thus be described as a local case postposition, but its presence or absence makes no discernable difference to the meaning of the phrase.

domain of the referent is known, the appropriate noun class prefix can be used; thus, in example 2-36, the speaker is trying to remember a plant name, and so uses **mu-njatbu** with a Cl.III prefix:

2-36   **Mint-djentgirdi,   mint-djentgirdi   galu,   <u>mu-njatbu</u>**
          3III-cycad nut   3III-cycad nut   NEG   3III-whatsit
          muwu-me-nji   awurr-ni-ø
          3AugA.3IIIO-get-Pre   3AugS-be-Pre   (III/6/22)
          Cycad nuts, not cycad nuts, what's that Cl.III thing (vegetable food) they were getting.

In example 2-37, the speaker was specifying that no women went, and so Cl.II prefixes are used:

2-37   **galu   dji-nji   dji-goni   dji-bogi-ya+rni**
          NEG   3II-what 3II-this   3IIS-go-Irr1
          No women went.

However, when the referent is not specifically female, the masculine human form, with Cl.I agreement, is used here:

2-38   **galu   ninjokoni   a-ne-rre+rni**
          NEG   who, indeterminate human   3IS-be,sit-Irr1
          No-one was there.

A Cl.I prefix is also commonly used where the referent is not known, as in asking:

2-39   **a-nji   njin-dimi-nga?**
          3I-what   2MinA.3MinO-have-Con
          What have you got?
or
2-40   **a-nji   nji-na-ni?**
          3I-what   2MinA.3MinO-see-Pre
          What did you see?

Cl.I agreement can also be used with a known referent of a <u>different</u> class, as in 2-41, enumerating members of Cl.III, and in 2-42, referring to a Cl.II noun:

2-41 **njiwu-ba-rri** **mitja,** **<u>a-nji,</u>**

1AugA.3MinO-eat-Pre *veg.food(III)* *3I-what,which*

djuka, **dilip,** **<u>niyé-pu</u>**

sugar(III), *tealeaves(III)* *3MinNf-Card*

(IV/45/17)

We ate vegetable food, <u>which one (kind)</u>, sugar, tealeaves, <u>that one</u>.

2-42 (ngalngi) galu <u>a-nji</u> djuwu-me-ka+rni awurr-ne-rre+rni

(turtle) *NEG* *3I-what* *3AugA.3IIO-get-Irr1* *3AugS-be-Irr1*

They didn't get any Cl.II thing (turtle). (V/38/21)

Here, where the existence of a specific entity is being queried or negated, Cl.I appears to be functioning as the unmarked class: with these two indeterminates, Cl.I can optionally be used in referring to members of any of the other noun classes. Use of the specific noun class prefix is also possible.

Evans (1990:4) has termed this choice "concordial superclassing", stating that "In concordial superclassing, there is a choice between two synonymous and equally grammatical possibilities: the class specific, and the superclassed." Concordial superclassing is highly restricted in scope in Gurr-goni, being possible only with these two indeterminates **-nji** and **-njatbu**; with the 3rd person minimal pronoun used in the NP as determiner; and with the numeral 'two'. The choice of Cl.I as superclass and Classes II, III or IV as specific class does not apply to any other parts of speech[10] (thus it would be incorrect, for example, to use a Cl.I prefix on an adjective modifying a Cl.III noun.). (In the Mayali dialects described by Evans (1990 and forthcoming), concordial superclassing appears to be restricted or most likely with certain demonstratives and quantifiers.)

2.2.4.3. All well; nothing.

There are several instances where Cl.IV is used as the superclass, rather than Cl.I, and this is where, rather than referring to a specific entity, the scope of reference is universal: everything or nothing. **-marrman** is an adjective meaning 'good, well'. **Gun-marrman**, *3IV-*

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[10] I have noted rare instances of a Cl.I prefix being used to mark Local case on a Cl.III noun, as in:

(wupunj) **nu-nguw**

canoe *Loc3I-backside*

in, at the back of the canoe

nu-ger **gapala** **a-ni-ngu**

Loc3I-side *boat* *3IS-sit-Fut*

He'll sit at the side of the boat

These were from a speaker in her twenties, and I suspect would be rejected by older speakers, but may indicate a trend for the use of Cl.I as a superclass to be extended.

good, is frequently used to mean 'everything is fine, all is well'. Compare the use of **gun-marrman** in the last clause of the following example with the use of **nji-marrman** earlier in the text, where an enquiry about her state is addressed to one particular person:

2-42　**Awurr-ngidjiyé-pu**　　**school**　　**teacher**
3Aug-3MinF-Card　　　　　"　　　　"
　　　djuwu-dimi-rri　　　　　**awurr-bogi-ni　djuwu-matjbi-ni.**
　　　3AugA.3IIO-hold-Pre　*3Aug-go-Pre*　　　*3AugA.3IIO-kiss-Pre*
　　　"Nji-marrman?"　**awurr-yiti-nji**　　　**....**
　　　2Min-good　　　　　　*3AugS-do thus-Pre*
　　　Djaluwu ring up awurr-nguna-ni-ø,
　　　again　　　"　　"　*3AugS-twds-be,sit-Pre*
　　　"gu-garrapu　njiwurr-dji-ø,　gun-marrman."
　　　3IV-Anaph　　*1AugS-stand-Pre 3IV-good*

(IX/131/20)

Her school teachers went (to the hospital) and held her, they kissed her. "Are you all right?", they said. ... They rang me up again, "We went there, everything's fine."

Similarly, **-yalang** is an adjective meaning 'without anything' (thus of people, 'naked'; of bags, etc, 'empty'). **Gun-yalang**, *3IV-without anything,* means 'nothing, not at all', and can be used to deny the possession or existence of something from any of the noun classes.

2.2.5. Controller Classes and Target Classes.

As we saw above, many parts of speech register noun class agreement, but not all of them distinguish the same number of classes. Here I will discuss the use of those parts of speech - or targets for noun class marking - which distinguish fewer than four classes. These are free pronouns in 3rd person minimal, and all unit-augmented pronominals. I will deal first with 3rd person minimal pronouns, and then discuss UA pronominals under the general question of how the categories of noun class and number interact. I also describe how the categories of noun class and person interact.

2.2.5.1. Noun Class in Free Third Person Pronouns.

The 3rd person minimal free pronouns are freely used with reference to members of all four controller noun classes, human, nonhuman and inanimate, but, as shown above, there are only two distinct forms. As the following examples show, that form which is used for human females is used only for members of controller Class II, while the

form used for human male reference is also used for nonhuman and inanimate members of Class I (see examples 2-44 and 2-45, and for members of Cl.III (example 2-46), and Cl.IV (as in 2-47), and even, on occasions, for some some members of Cl.II. (This use is confined to lower animates, such as turtles (as in 2-48) and centipedes. A Cl.II form can also be used in these cases, suggesting that this is another extension of Cl.I as a superclass.)

2-44   **dji-beki-ni   ni-lorndo   mardangaytjiga**
        3IIS-come out,to-Pre 3MinNf-Dat snake
        Lit. She came to him snake: she came to a/the snake.   (III/52/20)

2-45 **Mutika   niyé-pu   ant-gagurru   a-dje-rre   awuni-bogi-ya.**
     car   3MinNf-Card 3I-bad   3IS-stand-Con   3UAnfS-go-Con
     'Where the wrecked cars are.'   (V/12/17)

2-46   **Arrapu mi-nji   lay, mi-nji   mu-garrapu moligiyi,**
        and   3III-what hey 3III-what 3III-Anaph   green plum
        moligiyi,   yakala,   niyé-pu   mu-garrapu,
        green plum green plum 3MinNf-Card   3III-Anaph
        munt-gomómorrtji   njiwu-ba-nga+rni
        red apple   1AugA.3MinO-eat-Irr1
        mu-garrapu butj   guwarr.
        3III-Anaph   bush   long ago
        And which food hey, which (were) the ones I'm talking about,
        green plum (*Buchanania obovata*), green plum, green plum
        (*Persoonia falcata*), he's the one I'm talking about, red apple
        (*Syzygium suborbiculare*) we used to eat, those ones, long ago in
        the bush.   (III/89/4)

2-47   **nguwurr-weku-n   gu-goni wipa   ni-lorndo**
        1+2AugS-speak-Fut 3IV-this land   3MinNf-Dat
                                                           (VII/75/16)
        We will all speak about (lit. affecting him) this country.

2-48   **Djaladjala   njiwu-ba-rri,   guwarr, arrapu a-nji**
        waterlily root 1AugA.3MinO-eat-Pre long ago and   3I-what
        lay, e   ngalngi,   niyé-pu   njiwu-ba-rri.
        hey yes turtle(Cl.II) 3MinNf-Card 1AugA.3MinO-eat-Pre
        We ate waterlily roots, long ago, and what else hey, yes, turtle, we
        ate him.   (IV/31/5)

2.2.5.2 The Interaction of Noun Class and Number.

Distinctions of number can be signalled at several levels in Gurr-goni. At phrase and clause level, one of a small set of quantifying words (such as **ngirrépu** 'one', **awuni-mukupu** 'two', **-muka** 'many', **-murlpam** 'crowd') can be chosen to specify either an exact number or an approximate amount; this option is available for any quantifiable noun.

Number is also an important inflectional category in Gurr-goni, and in the inflectional system (of nominal/adjectival prefixes, verbal intransitive prefixes, and transitive prefixes used for verbs and deverbal kin terms), five number categories must be recognised, in two separate systems: all word classes which inflect for number distinguish minimal, unit-augmented and augmented numbers (described in §3.1.1), and, intersecting with these categories, a distinction between singular and non-singular number also appears in the transitive pronominal prefixes (this is discussed in §4.3.1.3.1). Use of these inflectional number categories is highly influential in determining how noun class is marked, in that the non-minimal number categories (unit-augmented and augmented), and the nonsingular agent/nonsingular object combinations in the transitive verb prefixes are used, in the main, only of humans and higher animates[11]. Even where lower animates or inanimates are explicitly stated (through the use of a quantifier) to be of non-singular number, number agreement on the verb is rare: I have only one clear example from the entire body of texts, and this is referring to a white man's food, fish and chips!

2-49 **Arrapu   mu-garrapu   ngardigili   muwu-bu-ni**
and   3III-Anaph   snail, chip   3AugA.3IIIO-hit-Pre
mu-garrapu   djapu   nji-barrwu-nga   mu-goni
3III-Anaph   like   2MinA.3MinO-know-Con   3III-this
awuni-bogi-ni   mi-njatbu   fish   and   chips   djapu
3UAnfS-go-Pre   3III-whatsit   "   "   "   like
awuni-bogi-ni   awuni-workiyi-ni   mu-garrapu   nuyu
3UAnfS-go-Pre   3UAnfS-do always-Pre   3III-Anaph   3MinNf+Poss_C
(IX/68/25-69/1)
and they hit (ie cut) that vegetable (a yam) into chips, those ones like you know, they go together, what are they, fish and chips, like they two always go together, that's how.

It is far more common to find the 3rd person "minimal" class prefix used, as in the following example (and, indeed, as it is with the demonstratives and hesitation form in the previous example):

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[11] Extensions of this use to lower animates or celestial beings do occur, notably where they are protagonists in stories, and thus personified.

2-50 [baladji <u>awuni-mukupu</u>] yalang

> *bag*   *3UAnf-two*   *empty*

⌈ **<u>a</u>-ga-tji**   **a-na-ma-nay**
{ *3MinA.3IO-take-Pre/Con*   *3IS-twds-go along-Pre*
⌊ ***?bidjina-ga-tji**
   3MinA.3UAnfO-take-Pre/Con

He came along bringing two bags empty.   (V/123/1))

For humans, the opposite tendency is found. With human referents, it is unusual for a "minimal number" class prefix to be used on a verb in agreement with an NP which specifies an exact number of individuals; thus we find 2-54a, with the object indexed as unit-augmented, rather than 2-54b, where it is indexed as Cl.I:

2-54 **mburrklerrtji**   **awuni-mukupu**

> *child*   *3UAnf-two*

a ⌈ **bidjina-ga-tji**   **a-na-ma-nay**
   { *3MinA.3UAnfO-take-Pre/Con*   *3IS-twds-go along-Pre*
b ⌊ ***?a-ga-tji**
      3MinA.3IO-take-Pre/Con

He brought along two children.

The 3rd person "minimal" class prefixes <u>can</u> be used, in which case they have generic reference, for example to 'white man' in 2-51, and 'old time man' in 2-52:

2-51 **Gu-goni balanda   birdibirdi   a-garnagarri-dji**

> *3IV-this   white man   recently   3IS-sit down-Con*

White man only settled here recently.   (IX/66/5)

2-52 **An-mu-matjirri   guwarr a-bogi-ni mu-me-nji.**

> *3I-Coll-dead person   long ago   3IS-go-Pre   3MinA.3IIIO-get-Pre*

Old time man went and got it long ago.   (IX/84/5)

With the quantifier **-muka** 'many', both class and number agreement are found:

2-53 **djin-muka / awurr-muka   gami   awurr-galeletji-nji**

> *3II-many /   3Aug-many   woman 3AugS-call "galelelele"-Pre*

Lots of women made the women's ritual call "galelelele". (III/22/25)

Use of the non-minimal number prefixes appears to focus on the

individuals making up the group of people; use of the class prefixes focusses more on the category of people making up the group (white people, old time people, old people, women, men, etc).

The only instance where class agreement, rather than number agreement, was found in conjunction with a numeral specifying an exact number of individuals was in reference to babies in utero, who are no doubt thought of less as individuals before they are born than afterwards:

2-55 **awuni-mukupu a-rrima-nga**   **burrkarl**
      3UAnf-two   3MinA.3IO-have-Con baby
      She's having twins.   (I/62/1)

Similar variation in number versus class agreement is found with large creatures, such as emus and buffaloes:

2-56 **wurrparn   ngu-rra-ni,   weleng awurr-goni,**
      emu   1MinA.3MinO-shoot-Pre then   3Aug-this
      awuni-goni gatji djorro awuni-yurrburridji-nji.
      3UAnf-this low   high   3UAnfS-run-Pre
      Awuni-yurrburridji-nji-: djinj-yurrburridji-nji djapanji
      3UAnfS-run-Pre-X   3IIS-run-Pre   so much
      wurrparn.
      emu   (IV/62)
      I shot (an) emu, then they, these two ran all over the place. These two ran and ran, the emus ran so much.

As number marking is rarely used with inanimates, there is little need for the nonminimal numbers to show agreement with Classes III and IV (which contain only inanimates)[12]. A two-way distinction of class would therefore seem to be all that is needed, and this is exactly what is found in unit-augmented number:

2-56 **awuni-mukupu worri awuni-ma-nay**
      3UAnf-two   man   3UAnfS-go along-Pre
      Two men went along.

---

[12] The numeral 'two' is the only inflecting word which regularly shows number agreement with inanimate nouns. In form it consists of a stem -**mukupu** (?-**muka** 'much, lots'+ -**pu**), which takes unit-augmented pronominal prefixes. The prefix **awuni-** is used with Class I, III and IV nouns, while the prefix **awurrinjin-** is used only with nouns in Cl.II. Thus the Unit-Augmented class distinction could be said to be one between feminine (Cl.II) and non-feminine (Cl.I, and less frequently Cl.III and IV also). **Awuni-mukupu**, 'two' with non-feminine agreement, has also been used for lower animate Cl.II nouns, so it would seem that this numeral can be added to the small list of words with which concordial superclassing is possible.

2-57 **awurrinj-mukupu gami awurrinj-ma-nay**
3UAf-two woman 3UAfS-go along-Pre
Two women went along.

In augmented number, however, there is no noun class agreement at all:

2-58 **worri awurr-ma-nay / worri awurr-marrman**
man 3AugS-go along-Pre / man 3Aug-good
(the) men went along / (the) men are good

2-59 **gami awurr-ma-nay / gami awurr-marrman**
woman 3AugS-go along-Pre / woman 3Aug-good
(the) women went along / (the) women are good

The Gurr-goni data is fully consistent with Greenberg's findings stated as Universal 37:
"A language never has more gender categories in nonsingular numbers than in the singular." (Greenberg 1963:112, quoted in Corbett 1991:156).

2.2.5.3. The Interaction of Noun Class and Person.

As we have just discussed, there are no noun class distinctions in Augmented number. Nor are there in Minimal number, except for 3rd persons: Table 2.1, of nominal prefixes, shows only one form for each of 1st, 2nd and 1+2 persons minimal. It is these prefixes which are used on adjectives describing qualities one attributes to oneself as speaker, or to a second person as addressee; use of noun class prefixes in these circumstances is ungrammatical. Even if the speaker is a woman, she could not say:

2-60i* **ngayi-pu djin-marrman**
1Min-Card 3II-good

meaning 'I am good', nor could a man say:

2-60ii* **ngayi-pu an-marrman**
1Min-Card 3I-good

Both would use 1st person agreement on the adjective (and, in fact, the free pronoun is often omitted as being unnecessary):

2-60iii   (**ngayi-pu**)   **ngu-marrman**
   1Min-Card *1Min-good*
   I am good/well.

Corbett comments (1991:128) that "[t]his split between the 3rd person (with separate forms of the pronoun) and the other two [1st and 2nd persons] (without) is relatively common." He suggests a functional explanation for this: "Third person forms are the most likely to be referentially ambiguous. The first and second persons are defined in terms of speaker and addressee respectively, while the third person is neither of these. Hence it is the third person which is the one most in need of further means to ensure referential clarity, and gender can fulfil this role" (ibid:131-132). In Gurr-goni we find both free and bound pronouns following this pattern; and at least for pronominal agreement markers, this split is common in the classifying languages of Arnhem Land.

2.2.6 Conjoined NPs: Resolution of Noun Class.

Whether nouns belonging to different noun classes can be conjoined within an NP depends largely on two factors: whether they refer to humans or higher animates, or lower animates and inanimates, and if the latter, what syntactic function the NP plays within the clause.
2.2.6.1. Where the referents of both or all the nouns are human or higher animates, conjunction is possible, and the conjoined NP may occur in any syntactic function within a clause or phrase. Resolution of number operates first, and if the resulting number is unit-augmented, noun class resolution also operates. Where the result is augmented number, or a non-singular A, non-singular O combination in the transitive verbs, no resolution of noun class is necessary or possible, as noun class is not marked in these number categories.

The resolution of noun class in unit-augmented number can be described by the following statements:

In 3rd person, if at least one conjunct is female, then the feminine form (Cl.II) is used; otherwise the masculine form (Cl.I) is used;
or, stated the other way around, if all conjuncts are male, then the masculine form (Cl.I) is used; otherwise the feminine form (Cl.II) is used.

Thus, it is the feminine form which is used in referring to a married couple, brother and sister or other mixed couples, as the following examples illustrate:

2-61 **A-weki-ni**   **an-muburda,**   **a-yiti-nji,**   **"Wulek,**
3IS-speak-Pre   3I-witch doctor   3IS-do,say thus-Pre finish
<u>**nugórritjiyu-pu njirritj-berrku**</u>   **ngu-weku-n**
2UAf-Card   2UAf-spouse   1MinS-speak-Fut
<u>**nugórritji-lorndo**</u>. **Galu   yandu   nguwurr-yita-ø**
2UAf-Dat   NEG   what do   1+2AugS-do thus-Irr2
wurru   mornoburto   a-djerre   a-watjiyi-ni
but   neck   3I-Poss   3IS-break-Pre
a-bu-ni,   **ant-gondabaykirdi   garpi   a-ni-ø."**
3MinA.3IO-hit-Pre 3I-lightning   clever hunter 3IS-be-Pre
Wulek <u>awurritj-berrku   awurritj-djeki-rri</u> wipa..
finish   3UAf-spouse   3UAfS-return-Pre   home
The witch-doctor spoke, he said this, "Well, you two husband and
wife, I will speak to you...We can't do anything, but his neck is
broken, he hit him, the lightning hit the mark." So the husband
and wife went home.   (V/62/3-10)

2-62 **awurrinj-ngayi-pu awurrinj-mukupu mburrklertji**
3UAnf-1Min-Card   3UAnf-two   children
My two children (the children in question being a boy and a girl)

<u>In other than 3rd person</u>, the sex of the 'other', the augment, determines
the gender[13]:
-if the 'other' is male, the masculine form (Cl.I) is used;
-if the 'other' is female, the feminine form (Cl.II) is used.

Thus for 1st, 2nd and 1+2 pronominals, for the combinations of
men and women listed below in 1(a), 2(a) and 1+2(a-d), the feminine
form is chosen, while non-feminine is chosen for 1(b), 2(b) and 1+2(e-h):

1st person:
(a) I (a man) and another person (a woman):   feminine
(b) I (a woman) and another person (a man):   non-feminine

2nd person:
(a) you (a man) and another person (a woman):   feminine
(b) you (a woman) and another person (a man):   non-feminine

---

[13] A very similar system determining gender of unit-augmented pronominals has been described for
Ndjébbana by McKay (1979). In Ndjébbana, the choice of gender in 1+2 UA pronominals is dependent on
whether there are one or two addressees (in other words, whether all of the three people referred to are part
of the speech situation, or whether one is absent). This does not appear to be the case in Gurr-goni, where
speakers choose which of the two people they regard as the addressee, and which as
the 'other', when both are present.

1+2 person:
(a) I (a woman) and you (a woman) and another (a woman):   feminine
(b) I (a woman) and you (a man) and another (a woman):   feminine
(c) I (a man) and you (a woman) and another (a woman):   feminine
(d) I (a man) and you (a man) and another (a woman):   feminine
(e) I (a man) and you (a woman) and another (a man):   non-feminine
(f) I (a woman) and you (a man) and another (a man):   non-feminine
(g) I (a woman) and you (a woman) and another (a man): non-feminine
(h) I (a man) and you (a man) and another(a man):   non-feminine

Example 2-63 illustrates the combination of a male addressee and female 'other', while 2-64 shows the opposite combination, of female addressee and male 'other'. 2-65 is an example of a 1st person non-feminine form, used by a woman referring to herself and her husband (as the 1st and 2nd person non-minimal pronominal prefixes are identical, the prefixes in 2-64 and 2-65 are the same):

2-63   **gakak birritj-boy-ø!**
        MoMo   2UAfSImp-go-Irr2
        A woman to her son: Go with your grandma! (Lit you and her go.)

2-64   **gengurdu njina-bo-go**
        FaFa   2UAnfS-go-Fut
        (Said to the author:) Lit., Your father's father you two (non-feminine) will go; i.e., Your grandpa will go with you.

2-65   **Ngatiyu-narrapu njina-bo-gi+ni**
        1UAnf-Next   1UAnfS-go-Pre
        a-goni mawa ngayi-ø   Darwin njina-bogi-ni.
        3I-this FaFa   1Min-unm   "   1UAnfS-go-Pre
                                                (IX/132/5,10)
        We two went next, your grandpa here and I, we went to Darwin.

2.2.6.2. Where the referents of two or more nouns of different noun classes are inanimates or lower animates, conjunction is possible when they are the syntactic object of a clause in which the agent is other than 3rd person. With a non-3rd person agent, there is no overt marking of any features of a 3rd person object NP, and therefore no need to decide on an agreement class. In the following example, for instance, the subject is 1st person augmented and the object a conjoined noun phrase comprising nouns from classes I, III and IV. The prefix which encodes

this combination of A and O is (underlyingly) **njibu-**, which is analysed in §4.3.1.3.1 as **nji-** '1st person nonminimal' plus **-bu$_2$-** 'Augmented agent'. This form is used only where the object is 3rd person minimal (or unspecified for number), but there is no overt marking of the person, number or class of the object at all.

2-66 **Nji-wu-ba-rri**   **ganditjawa**   **an-mokirri**
1nonmin-AugA
=1AugA.3MinO-eat-Pre   *damper(Cl.III) fish (Cl.I)*
arrapu   **di.**
and   *tea (Cl.IV)*
We ate damper, fish and tea.   (III/42/8)

Conversely, with a 3rd person agent and 3rd person (minimal or unspecified) object, the verb must register noun class agreement with the object. Similarly, with intransitive verbs the verb agrees with or indexes the noun class of 3rd person (minimal or unspecified) subjects. Conjoined NPs, consisting of nouns belonging to different noun classes, tend not to be used in intransitive subject or transitive object position, thereby avoiding the agreement clash between noun classes. Instead, the verb is repeated as many times as there are noun classes involved. In example 2-69 we find the same verb, **bay** 'eat', as in 2-66 above; the object nouns are in the same classes as in 2-66 (Cl.I, III and IV), but the agent in this example is 3rd person: the class of the 3rd person object must therefore be marked on the verb, and so the verb is repeated.

2-69 **Njirrubu-wu-tji**   **borr-lorndo djarldjarl,**
1nsA.3nsO-give-Con   *3Aug-Dat*   *game, animals*
djunja   **muwu-ba-nga,**   **wukali awu-ba-nga,**
long yam 3AugA.3IIIO-eat-Con goanna 3AugA.3IO-eat-Con
wami guwu-ba-nga   **muburrklerrtji djapanji.**
honey 3AugA.3IVO-eat-Con children   *so much*
                                      (V/137/9-21)
We gave them animals for themselves, they ate long yam, they ate goanna, they ate honey, the children (did), so much.

Occasionally, conjoined NPs are found in positions where noun class or number resolution is necessary. As discussed above, number resolution is largely avoided where inanimates are involved, but in one instance (example 2-49 above, repeated here as 2-67) the conjoined nouns 'fish and chips', which individually would be accorded Cl.I and Cl.III agreement respectively, were indexed on the verb (as intransitive subject)

by a unit-augmented non-feminine prefix.

2-67   **Arrapu mu-garrapu ngardigili muwu-bu-ni**
        and   3III-Anaph   snail, chips   3AugA.3IIIO-hit-Pre
        mu-garrapu djapu nji-barrwu-nga   mu-goni
        3III-Anaph like   2MinA.3MinO-know-Con 3III-this
        awuni-bogi-ni mi-njatbu fish and chips djapu
        3UAnfS-go-Pre   3III-whatsit   "   "   "   like
        awuni-bogi-ni awuni-workiyi-ni   mu-garrapu nuyu
    3UAnfS-go-Pre 3UAnfS-do always-Pre 3III-Anaph 3MinNf+Poss_C

                                                     (IX/68/25-69/1)

and they hit (ie cut) that vegetable (a yam) into chips, those ones like you know, they go together, what are they, fish and chips, like they always go together, that's how.

Where number resolution is not applied, and the verb is not repeated, the verb agrees with the class of the noun closest to the verb:

2-70   **nganaparru a-goni di   bupurru   m-ba-rri**
        buffalo   3I-this tea   flour porridge 3MinA.3IIIO-eat-Pre
        (Cl.IV) (CL.III)
        This buffalo ate tea and porridge.   (VI/14/21)

Adjectives also show noun class, and must agree in noun class with their head noun; it is therefore not usual to find a single adjective with scope over nouns from more than one noun class. Instead, the adjective is repeated as many times as there are noun classes involved, as in the following example:

2-68   **Wulek   njiwurr-garlma**
        Finish   1AugS-get up+Con
        (wukali)   <u>an</u>-nogubol njiwu-ga-tji
        goanna (Cl.I)   3I-cooked   1AugA.3MinO-take-Pre/Con
        djunja   wartbirritji   <u>mun</u>-nogubol njiwu-ga-tji
        long yam white yam   3III-cooked 1AugA.3MinO-take-Pre
         both Cl.III
        Then we set off, we took cooked Cl.I thing (goanna), we took cooked long yam and white yam.   (V/36/1-9)

<u>2.3. Noun Phrases.</u>
    Noun phrases in Gurr-goni may contain demonstratives (§3.2), pronouns (§3.1), adjectives and nouns. Any of these may occur alone as

the head of an NP. Where two or more of these word classes co-occur within an NP, the order of elements is not fixed, but some tendencies can be observed.

Demonstratives and pronouns are usually placed before the noun:

2-69   [DEM   N]

[A-garrapu an-marlpa]   a-meme.
3I-Anaph   3I-shooting star   3IS-go along+Irr2
That shooting star might go along.   (V/50/18)

2-70   [PRON   N]

Yama   [nugóytjburru-pu   mburrklerrtji]
how about   2Aug-Card   children
burr-boy-ø   wipa.
2AugSImp-go-Irr2   home   (IV/153/25)
(informant's translation:) "How about youse kids go home."

The opposite orders have also been observed, however.

Where a demonstrative and a pronoun co-occur within an NP, the pronoun always precedes the demonstrative[14] and the noun, if one is present. The demonstrative may precede or follow the noun:

2-71   [PRON   DEM]

Wulek a-ne-rre,   [niyé-pu   a-garrapu] a-ne-rre-:.
finish   3IS-sit-Con   3MinNf-Card   3I-Anaph   3IS-sit-Con-X
Then he sits there, he that I'm talking about sits there and sits
there.   (VIII/45/9)

2-72 **Gi-djel-kuwa   arr-beki-ni   ngarritj-bu,**
Loc3IV-earth-Abl   1+2MinS-come out-Pre   1+2Min-Card
 [PRON   DEM   N]
[ngatiyu-ø   njina-goni   njina-gu-ngutju] djapu ngarr-pu
1UAnf-unm   1UAnf-this   1UAnf-Nom-be black   like   2Min-Card
We came out of the earth, we black people like you.   (VIII/52/5)

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[14] The only instance in which pronouns have been found after demonstratives is where a UA number pronoun is used in reference to one person, the parent of a child whose name precedes the pronoun:
     Wulek   a-yu-y   [a-garrapu Lawrence   botiyu-pu]
     finish   3IS-lie-Pre   3I-Anaph   name   3UAnf-Card
     Then he lay (there), that father of Lawrence's.

2-73   [PRON   N   DEM]
      Wotjbil dji-bogi-ni,   [ngidjiyé-pu maka dji-goni].
      hospital   3IIS-go-Pre   3MinF-Card   FaMo 3II-this
      She went to hospital, this Grandma here.   (IV/75/1)

Adjectives occur before or after a noun with approximately equal frequency:

2-74 **Wulek gu-garrapu   geno   a-ba-rdi**
      finish 3IV-Anaph   time   3MinA.3IO-eat-Fut
      [N   ADJ]
      [djarldjarl an-mornóngi]   arrapu
      game   3I-big   and
      [ADJ   N]
      [an-arpurr   ant-gardi]   a-ba-rdi.
      3I-little   3I-flesh   3MinA.3IO-eat-Fut   (VII/100-101)
      Then that's the time she'll eat large game and she'll eat small meat.

Occasionally, a pronoun, demonstrative and an adjective are all found modifying a noun within a single NP:

2-75 **Ngu-me-nji   ngu-bamiyi-ni**
      1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre   1MinS-carry on head-Pre
      [PRON   DEM   ADJ   N]
      [niyé-pu   a-garrapu an-arpurr   nganaparru].
      3MinF-Card 3I-Anaph   3I-little   buffalo
      I got him and I carried that little buffalo.   (VI/11/21)

In coordinate NPs, conjoined nouns or pronouns may be simply juxtaposed, as in 2-76, or linked by the conjunction **arrapu** 'and, too' (see §5.5.1), as in 2-77:

2-76 **Mutika awu-me-nji,   [gika, borr-pu,   bapa,**
      car   3MinA.3IO-get-Pre mother 3Aug-Card   father
      mburrklerrtji] mutika   awu-me-nji,   awurr-bogi-ni.
      children   car   3AugA.3IO-get-Pre 3AugS-go-Pre
      They got a car, mother, them, dad, the children, they got a car and went.   (III/4/4)

2-77   [**Awuni-goni djerritet <u>arrapu</u> bobulu at-bararr**]
3UAnf-this   nightjar   and   northern quoll
awuni-yiti-nji.
3UAnf-say this-Pre   (VIII/31)
These two nightjar and northern quoll said this.

Possessive NPs are discussed in §2.5 below. Relative clauses may also be embedded within NPs, but the position of the clause in relation to the head nominal is not fully clear; see §5.6.3.

2.4. Case.

Case-marking is a strategy whereby "the syntactic function of the NP is indicated by a morphological marker on the NP. This marker may take the form of an inflectional ending, or be a morphologically autonomous element, in which case it is often called a 'particle', a preposition .. or a postposition..." (Andrews 1985:72). The position within the NP where inflectional case marking occurs may vary also; Dixon (1979:65) noted that "the inflection can occur just on the head word, or just on the last word, or on every word".

An NP in Gurr-goni may contain a noun, an adjective, a demonstrative adjective and/or a pronoun. These different parts of speech have different case marking possibilities; compare the following clauses:

2-78   **Djibu-ga-tji**   [**borr-lorndo mburrklerrtji**]$_{NP:DAT}$
3AugA.3MinO-take-Pre/Con 3Aug-Dat   children
Wulek [**borr-pu mburrklerrtji**]$_{NP:DIR}$ **awurr-yiti-nji ...**
finish   3Aug-Card   children   3AugS-do,say thus-Pre
They took (cockles, Cl.II) for the children .... Then the children
said ...   (VII/49/15)

2-79   **A-beki-ni**
3IS-come to,out-Pre
[**ngutju-lorndo wana djit-bolupu   gornabola**]$_{NP:DAT}$
3MinF-Dat   big   3II-mother, biggest   wallaby
He came to a very big wallaby.   (III/48/11)

2-80   [**Ngidjiyé-pu djit-bolupu**]$_{NP:DIR}$ **dji-bamirritbi-yi-ni**
3MinF-Card 3II-mother,biggest   3IIS-throw to ground-Intr-Pre
The mother threw herself to the ground.   (V/60/11)

In 2-78, the NPs **borr-lorndo mburrklerrtji** 'for the children' and **borr-pu mburrklerrtji** 'the children' both contain a noun and a

pronoun; the noun is identical in both, while the pronoun is in dative case in the first NP and in direct case in the second. Similarly in 2-79, the NP contains a pronoun, an uninflecting adjective **wana**, an inflecting adjectival/kin stem (-**bolupu** ~ -**bobulupu** means both 'biggest' in general, and 'mother, mother's brother' in particular), and a noun. In 2-80 the same adjectival/kin stem -**bolupu** appears, again with a pronoun. Again, it is only the pronoun that shows a difference in case. "[S]ince on the traditional view, case is a category belonging to NPs, not to nouns" (Goddard 1982:172), we must consider the whole NP to be in dative or direct case, with overt case marking only on the pronoun. Dixon (1994:40) has recently revised his earlier statement (quoted above) to include the possibility of inflection occurring "just on a word of a certain word class", after I drew these facts about Gurr-goni case marking to his attention.

In the table below, the major parts of speech occurring within NPs (noun, adjective and pronoun)[15] are set out, showing the case forms distinguished by each. It will be seen that, although only three overt distinctions of case are made on the pronouns, and four on nouns and adjectives, the three pronominal case forms co-occur with a single case form of the nouns and adjectives. As Goddard (ibid:176) notes, "the existence of pronoun-noun and pronoun-adjective NP constructions provides an argument to assign a case value even to unmarked nouns", and we therefore recognise 6 cases in total.

	Pronoun (3rd Minimal)	Adjective prefix-ADJ-suffix	Noun prefix-N-suffix
Direct (A,S,O)	niyé-pu	{an}-ADJ-ø	ø-/{an}-N-ø
Dative	ni-lorndo	{an}-ADJ-ø	ø-/{an}-N-ø
Possessive_C	nuyu	{an}-ADJ-ø	ø-/{an}-N-ø
Local	___	{nu}-ADJ-ø (gabi)	{nu}-/ø-N-ø (gabi)
Ablative	___	{nu}-ADJ-kuwa	{nu}-/ø-N-kuwa
Comitative	niyé-pu waypu	burr-ADJ-ø (waypu)	burr-N-ø (waypu)

Table 23 : Case Marking within the NP.

Pronouns are an optional component of NPs, which function within discourse primarily to focus on previously introduced participants, often contrasting one with another (see below, §3.1.4.2.1-2). When no pronoun is present, there is no overt marking of direct, dative and possessive cases. Thus in example 2-81, the speaker is referring to a time

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[15] Demonstrative adjectives take intransitive verbal prefixes, and the local / non-local distinction possible for regular adjectives is thus not made on demonstrative adjectives. The only case overtly marked is ablative.

when the subject of the clause was pregnant with a specific, known individual, and so uses a dative pronoun, as well as the child's name. In 2-82, the referent is simply said to be pregnant ('with child'); who she was pregnant with is not important, and no dative pronoun appears.

2-81   **dji-borldji-nji**   [**ni-lorndo   Kirby**]NP:DAT
   3IIS-be full-Pre   3MinNf-Dat   name
   She was pregnant (lit. full) with Kirby.

2-82   **dji-borldji-nji**   [**burrkarl**]NP:DAT
   3IIS-be full-Pre   child
   She was pregnant (lit. full with child).

2.4.1. The Direct Case.

In the direct case[16], adjectives take a prefix from set Ni, as do nouns which incorporate a case-inflecting class prefix within the lexeme[17]. The direct case form of the pronouns (see Table 3.1 below) is used; these optionally take suffixes (such as -**pu** Cardinal) indicating discourse function.

Set Ni (non-local) Noun Class prefixes (3rd person minimal)

3I	3II	3III	3IV
an-	djin-	mun-	gun-

This case covers the core syntactic functions A, S and O. Examples of direct case NPs in S function appear above in 2-78 and 2-80; direct case NPs in A function (2-83) and O function (2-84) are illustrated below:

2-83   [**Niyé-pu   a-garrapu   burrkarl**]NP:DIR(A)   **gu-na-ni**
   3MinNf-Card   3I-Anaph   child   3MinA.3IVO-see-Pre
   a-ni-ø   guyu   gu-djawi-rri   gun-malatja
   3IS-be,sit-Pre   breastmilk   3IVS-drip-Pre   3IV-abandoned
   That baby watched the breastmilk dripping abandoned (ie, without drinking it).   (VII/42/7)

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[16] Greenberg (1966:37-38) contrasts the oblique cases (dative, locative, instrumental, genitive, etc) with the direct cases (nominative, accusative, vocative). The 'direct case' is the term generally used in Indo-Aryan linguistics for the case covering A, S and O (Blake 1994:10, 200), and it has also been used for a similar case in other languages which, like Gurr-goni, are headmarking (for example, the Mayan language Tzutujil (Dayley 1985)).

[17] Some nominal lexemes contain an invariant class prefix - for example, **mun-molmu** 'heart' with a set Ni prefix (***mu-molmu**, with a set Nii prefix, is not possible); and **gu-gondu** 'billabong', with a set Nii prefix (there is no ***gut-gondu** with a set Ni prefix).

2-84   [Niyé-pu   an-marlpa]_{NP:DIR(O)}   njiwu-na-ni
       3MinNf-Card 3I-shooting star   1AugA.3MinO-see-Pre
       a-djarti   a-ma-nay
       3IS-hurry 3IS-go along-Pre   (VIII/58/17)
       We watched the shooting star going quickly along.

These functions (A, S and O) are distinguished only through the verbal pronominal prefixes (although often only one argument is overtly represented in the prefix; see §4.3.1.3.2 for analysis and discussion).

In addition, direct case is used in address, as a vocative:

2-85   [**Nugórritjiyu-pu njirritj-berrku**]_{NP:DIR(VOC)} **ngu-weku-n**
       2UAf-Card   2UAf-spouse   1MinS-speak-Fut
       nugórritji-lorndo
       2UAf-Dat   (V/62/6)
       You two husband and wife, I'll talk (I want to talk) to you.

Topic and afterthought NPs also take direct case, even when coreferential with an NP in another case. In example 2-86, **ngarr-pu** 'you' introduces the topic of the second clause 'we cried for you':

2-86   **Djapu nji-barrwa-nga**
       like   2MinA.3MinO-know-Con
       ngarr-pu   njina-duwdjiyi-ni nguku-lorndo
       2Min-Card 1UAnfS-cry-Pre   2Min-Dat
       Like you know, you, we cried for you.   (X/72/21)

In 2-93 below, **ngarr-pu** 'you' (direct case) may be functioning either as an address form or as a topic.

2.4.2. The Dative Case

As with the direct case, the non-local form of nominal prefixes (set Ni, Table 2.1 above) appears on nouns and adjectives in dative case. Distinctive case-marking is found only on the free pronouns (shown in Table 3.1 below), where a suffix **-lorndo** appears on all pronouns in non-minimal number, as well as 2nd and 3rd persons in minimal number. The 1st and 1+2 minimal forms appear to contain a suffix **-la ~ -lu** (see §3.1.4.1 for discussion).

The dative case has been defined as that "case used to designate the recipient in sentences of GIVING in Indo-European languages such as

Latin, Russian or German" (Wierzbicka 1988: 391-92); its name in fact derives from *dare* 'to give' in Latin. In Gurr-goni, the recipient of the verb 'to give' is not in fact designated by what I am calling the dative case (instead, it is indexed on the verb as the O element of the pronominal prefix), but many of the other semantic roles designated by the dative case in languages discussed by Wierzbicka are covered by this case in Gurr-goni: beneficiary, maleficiary (Wierzbicka's 'dative of misfortune' (ibid:278)), addressee, goal, source, purpose, cause and target of emotion, etc. The following examples show the range of its use.

Addressee:

2-87 **Yandu gi-yinmi-rdi-pu   njirrinjinj-djeki-rdi niyi**
do what 3IVS-do thus-Fut-pu 2UAfS-return-Fut   alright
= when(ever)
ngu-weku-n [nugórritji-lorndo njirritj-bego] yuwa.
1MinS-speak-Fut 2UAf-Dat   2UAf-Fa,FaZi and child OK
When you two come back alright I'll talk to you and your auntie,
OK.   (III/10/20)

2-88 **Weleng dji-gogidji-nji borritji-lorndo, "Goooy!"**
then   3IIS-call-Pre   3UAf-Dat   Cooee
    (III/66/26)
Then she called to those two girls, "Cooee!"

Listened to:

2-89 **Weleng niyé-pu   a-garrapu burrkarl**
then   3MinNf-Card 3I-Anaph   child
galu a-galiyi-ø+rni [ngutju-lorndo djit-bolupu].
Neg 3IS-listen-Irr1 3MinF-Dat   3II-mother, biggest
Then that child didn't listen to the mother.   (VII/41/21)

Beneficiary:

2-90 **At-bitja   awu-me-nji   awurr-workiyi-ni**
banyan tree   3AugA.3IO-get-Pre 3AugS-do always-Pre
awu-djarlapi-ni   borr-lorndo mokoy.
3AugA.3IO-make-Pre 3Aug-Dat   bark skirt
    They used to get banyan (bark) and make it into bark skirts for
them.   (V/72/14)

Maleficiary:

2-91 **Djin-murrka nguna-bawu-ni,** **guypu**
3Il-sun *3MinA.1MinO-leave-Pre* *already*
nguna-bawu-ni **dji-bupiyi-ni** **dji-ma-nay,**
3MinA.1MinO-leave-Pre *3IIS-go down-Pre* *3IIS-go along-Pre*
mokol gu-ne-rre+rni **ngapala.**
night *3IVS-be,sit-Irr1* *1Min+Dat*
The sun already left me, she was going down leaving me, it would
be night <u>on me</u>. (III/38/18)

2-92 **Gerard a-buki-ni. "Waa, a-buki-ni** **ngapala,"**
(name) *3IS-fall-Pre* *alas* *3IS-fall-Pre* *1Min+Dat*
ngu-yiti-nji, **"Waa, a-buki-ni** **ngapala!"**
1MinS-do,say thus-Pre *alas* *3IS-fall-Pre* *1Min+Dat*
Ngu-djarti **ngu-me-nji** **ngu-ngepi-rri.**
1MinS-hurry *1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre* *1MinA.3MinO-lift-Pre*
(IV/38/12)

Gerard fell down. "Alas, he's fallen down <u>on me</u>," I said, "Alas,
he's fallen down <u>on me</u>!" I hurried and got him, I picked him up.

2-93 **Ngarr-pu gu-gatji-nji** **nguku-lorndo gutbu?**
2Min-Card 3MinA.3IVO-dry up-Pre 2Min-Dat *creek*
Has the creek dried up on you? (III/38/12)

Goal:

2-94 **Ngu-wa-rdi** **[ngutju-lorndo gika].**
1MinA.3MinO-throw-Fut *3MinF-Dat* *mother*
I'll send it (lit. throw it) to your mother. (IV/75/21)

Purpose:

2-95 **Ngaytjburru-ø gu-goni** **buwu-dimi-nga**
1Aug-unm *3IV-here,this* *1AugA.2MinO-hold-Con*
njiwurr-ne-rre **[wetji ni-lorndo].**
1AugS-be,sit-Con *language 3MinNf-Dat*
We now are keeping you for language. (I/113/5)

2.4.3. The Possessive_C Case.

As with direct and dative cases, overt marking of this case appears
only in the pronouns; see Table 3.1 for the forms of the possessive
pronouns.

Possessive case has several functions. The primary function
synchronically is to mark possession of a certain set of nouns - some body

parts, some abstract concepts, and many kin terms. This possessive construction is discussed and illustrated in detail below (as the Body Parts Set C possessive construction (see §2.4), hence Possessive_C); a single example will suffice here:

2-96 **Galu njiwu-barrwa-ø**   **yandu** <u>**arrey**   **ngutjuyu**</u>
      Neg 1AugA.3MinO-know-Irr2   where place of 3MinF+Poss_C
                                            origin
      We didn't know where she was from.   (I/87/4)

A second function is to designate some of the clausal participants which are not crossreferenced on the verb. In many cases, the same semantic roles may also be designated by NPs in dative case, and the distinction between the two cases is not clear. In 2-97, the possessive pronoun designates an addressee, in 2-98 a maleficiary, and in 2-99 a beneficiary; there seems to be little difference between the use of possessive case here, and the use of dative case, illustrated for the same semantic roles above.

2-9 **Ng-gogidji-nji** <u>**borro**</u>.
     1MinS-call-Pre   3Aug+Poss_C
     I called <u>to them</u>.   (borro/3)

2-98 **Mut-burdja   ng-ga-tji**   **ngu-ma-nay**
      3III-gun   1MinA.3MinO-take-Pre/Con 1MinS-go along-Pre
      Gurtal   min-niyi,
      (name)   3III-3MinNf
      halfway ngu-bawu-ni=<u>nuyu</u>.
      "   *1MinA.3MinO-leave-Pre=3MinNf+Poss_A*
                                            (V/30/5)
      I took along a gun, it was Gurtal's, I left it halfway <u>on him</u>.

2-99 **Di ngi-djinji-rri**   **gi-dji-ø**   **ngatiyu.**
      tea 1MinA.3MinO-cook-Pre   3IVS-stand-Pre   1UAnf+Poss_C
      I made tea, it stood there for us.   (I/113/23)

Use of possessive pronouns sometimes has obscene connotations; it is felt to be swearing, and is therefore avoided in speech situations where people in a taboo relationship are present. The corresponding dative pronouns have no such connotations. This distinction emerged as I attempted to discover the difference between the dative and possessive cases when used for peripheral arguments. Informants varied in their

judgements of which verbs and which person categories in the pronoun these connotations arose with; 1st person and 3rd person feminine minimal possessive pronouns were most often rejected for polite use, and 2nd and 1+2 persons minimal were commonly grouped with them. Non-minimal number pronouns did not trigger this reaction. This association may perhaps derive from the primary use of the possessive case, as the genitals are among the nouns which appear in possessive construction C.*

Thirdly, the 3rd person minimal possessive pronouns **nuyu** 'nonfeminine' and **ngutjuyu** 'feminine' are optionally[18] cliticised to a transitive verb where the agent is third person minimal and the object is other than 3rd person[19]. Use of these pronouns unambiguously identifies the agent as third person where this is not clear from the prefix, for example when the object is 1st person minimal. Compare 2-100 and 2-101: in both the prefix on the transitive verbs is **nguna-**, ambiguous between a 2nd and a 3rd person agent. Use of **nuyu** in 2-101 disambiguates the person of the agent (as does using a serial verb in 2-100). (Following McKay (forthcoming) I will gloss these clitic forms as PossA, combining a formal identification (as possessive) with a functional one (A).)

2-100 **Nguna-wirrpi-ga**   **nji-ne-rre.**
    2,3MinA.1MinO-spray,wet-Con   *2MinS-be,sit-Con*
    You're wetting me.   (VII/65/3)

2-101 **Doctor   nguna-na-ni=nuyu,**
    "   *2,3MinA.1MinO-see-Pre=3MinNf+PossA*
    nguna-bitji-nji=nuyu.
    2,3MinA.1MinO-tie-Pre=3MinNf+PossA
    The doctor saw me, he tied me up (in a bandage) (VII/84/5)

In addition, use of the possessive pronoun identifies the agent as nonfeminine or feminine, and this would appear to be its primary function where the object is 2nd or 1+2 person, as here the person of the agent is clear whether or not a possessive pronoun is attached:

2-102 **Biy-djinji-rdi=nuyu.**
    3MinA.2MinO-burn-Fut=3MinNf+PossA
    It (hot food) will burn you.   (III/76/2)

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[18] Some speakers use them (sometimes or usually), some speakers never use them.
[19] Nakkara and Ndjébbana both make a similar use of 3rd person possessive (or dative, in the case of Ndjébbana) pronouns to disambiguate 3rd person agents. * Hiatt (1965:117) says, in reference to the neighbouring Burarra, "Swearing at a woman meant making insulting remarks about her sexual organs and appetite."

It seems that, for speakers who do use these cliticised pronouns, their use is becoming grammaticalised, as the information they provide about person and gender of the agent is often quite redundant. In 2-103, for example, the agent is named, the prefix encodes only one combination of A and O (3rd person minimal A and 2nd person minimal O), and the prefix on the intransitive serial verb identifies the subject as 3rd person, Cl.I.

2-103 **Daryl biy-bambidji-nji=nuyu**   **a-na-ma-nay.**
     " *3MinA.2MinO-be -Pre=3MinNf+PossA   3IS-twds-go along-Pre*
                upset with
     Daryl came along upset with you.   (VII/79/10)

2.4.4. The Local/Instrumental Case.

NPs in local case may be marked as such by the use of inflections or adpositions. Inflecting adjectives take the local case form of the nominal prefixes (set Nii).

Set Nii (Local Case) Noun Class Prefixes (3rd person minimal)

3I	3II	3III	3IV
nu-	dji- (/djidji-)	mu-	gu- (/yigi-, yuwu-)

Compare 2-104, where the NP (in O function) is in direct case, and the adjective has an Ni prefix **gun-**:

2-104 **Ngu-barrwi-dji**   [**burrkburrk gut-bulun-pu.**]NP:DIRECT
     1MinA.3MinO-know-Cp bad sickness 3IV-old-pu
     "I know that same (lit. old) sickness that they had." (VII/99/5)

with 2-105, where the NP (referring to a goal) is in local case, and the adjective has an Nii prefix **gu-**:

2-105 **Njiwurr-nguna-djeka-rri [gu-bulun-pu.**]NP:LOCAL
     1AugS-towards-go back-Pre Loc3IV-old-pu
     We came back to the old place.   (X/80/11)

Many nouns also inflect for local case in this way. In the case of nouns which incorporate a case inflecting prefix into the lexeme, an Ni prefix appears when the noun is in a non-local case, and an Nii prefix appears when the noun is in Local case:

2-106 **Djin-murrka nguna-bawu-ni.**
 3II-sun   3MinA.1MinO-leave-Pre
 The sun left me.   (III/38/18)

2-107 **Djop awu-bu-ni   an-maliyirri**
 soap   3AugA.3IO-hit-Pre 3I-skin
 weleng djidji-murrka awu-da-ni.
 then   Loc3II-sun   3AugA.3IO-spear-Pre
 They cleaned (lit. hit) the skin with soap, then they dried it (lit.
 speared it) in the sun.   (V/93/21)

Many nouns which do not have a class prefix in their citation form
or in direct case, as in 2-108, take an Nii prefix when in local case, as in
2-109:

2-108 **Guyu nji-djerre biy-rra-ni.**
 nose   2Min-Poss   3MinA.2MinO-spear, poke-Pre
 She poked you in the nose (lit. she poked you your nose).

2-109 **Gelepu nji-guyu   gu-galtja-ø**
 otherwise Loc2Min-nose 3IVS-enter-Irr2
 Otherwise it (smoke, Cl.IV) might go <u>in your nose</u>.

An adposition **gabi** may be used, in addition to or instead of the
case inflection. A number of words (many of which are place names or
refer to geographical features, others of which incorporate an
uninflecting prefix into the lexeme) cannot inflect for case, and the only
choice available for overtly marking local case is the use of **gabi**. This
word is identical to the demonstrative adverb **gabi** 'there not far', but as
2-111 shows, when used as an adposition, it carries no distinctions of
distance.

2-110 "**Djaluwu guwu-na-ni   djalmirri.**" ..
 again   3AugA.3MinO-see-Pre   stick,splinter
 "**Arrgiyitawu?**" "**Galu, gabi mun-molmu.**"
 where in the body   no   Loc 3III-heart   (VII/97/25)
 "They saw another splinter." "Where?" "<u>In the heart</u>."

2-111 **Ngu-bo-go gapu   ngu-yu-ngu   gabi Nangak.**
 1MinS-go-Fut there far   1MinS-sleep, stay-Fut Loc place name
 I'll go and stay way out there <u>at Nangak</u>.   (I/3/21)

Younger speakers show a tendency to treat some nouns as uninflecting, which older speakers prefer to inflect. For instance, in translating a children's story, the initial translation (from a Burarra original which had many case/class prefixes) given by younger speakers was:

2-112 **Awurrinj-mukupu mburrklerrtji**
    3UAf-two   *children*
    awurrinj-waligiyi-ni   **gabi gut-goy.**
    3UAf-play-Pre   *Loc 3IV-road*
    Two children played <u>on the road</u>.

When this was checked with older speakers, they corrected it to:

2-113 ... **awurrinj-waligiyi-ni**   **gu-goy.**
    3UAf-play-Pre   *Loc3IV-road*

As can be seen from these examples, the local case has a generalised spatial meaning, and can be translated as 'in', 'on', 'at', 'to', and also as 'from' or 'through'.

Nouns referring to or naming living beings (both human and non-human) do not inflect for Local case. Rather, a part-whole NP, indicating the affected part of the creature's body, is used, and the noun referring to the body part takes the Local case prefix. In such a construction, the case prefix agrees with the class or person/number of the possessor, not with the noun class of the possessed body part (see §§2.4.1.5-6[20]). Thus for example:

2-114 **nganaparru nu-bobulu**
    buffalo   *Loc3I-back*
    'on the buffalo's back'

2.4.4.1. Case Forms

For three of the classes, the Local case forms differ from the non-local forms in lacking a final **-n-**; or, stated the other way around, the non-local forms differ from the Local forms only in the addition of a final **-n-**. Heath (1987:233) examines several prefixing languages with class/case prefixes, and hypothesizes that "some medium-depth proto-languages of [the prefixing languages in and around Arnhem Land had] an opposition between *CV- and *CV-n- forms of noun

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[20] 'Back' has in fact never been recorded with an agreement class of its own, but other nouns in the possession set to which it belongs have been found with class III agreement.

class......prefixes.....*CV-n- may have been used for intrans. subject and trans. object (i.e. Absolutive) vs. *CV- in Ergative-Instrumental and various "oblique" cases (including spatial ones)." He suggests identification of this -n- with the Accusative case suffix appearing as -n, -na, -nya, -nha in Pama-Nyungan languages (Dixon's (1980:315) pA pronominal accusative -nya). Heath's reconstructions are based on languages shown to be related to the Maningrida languages (Green forthcoming) and if within an ancestor of Gurrgoni/Burarra this opposition between Ergative/Instrumental/spatial cases and Absolutive (S,O) noun class prefixes existed, it would suggest that at some stage this was reanalysed or shifted to one between core arguments (S, O and A) and peripheral (including Instrument)).

2.4.5. The Ablative Case: ({nu-}) -kuwa.

The Ablative case specifies the source of motion. This source may be a specific place, as in 2-115 or a relative distance, as in 2-116 and 2-117. The derived noun **gu-gu-warlpu** *Lo 3IV-Nom-hunt* 'hunting', or a noun referring to the object of hunting or gathering, such as **an-diwirri** 'mussels' in 2-118, may also be inflected for ablative case and be identified as a source from which the hunter/gatherer moves. Ablative case is marked by a suffix **-kuwa**, which co-occurs with the Local prefix; thus the generalised spatial concept of the Local case (which includes that of source of motion, as illustrated by the first NP in 2-115) can be made specifically ablative by the addition of this suffix, as in the second NP in 2-115:

2-115 **Gi-djel** **arr-ga-tji,**
Loc3IV-ground *3MinA.1+2Min,AugO-take-Pre/Con*
gi-djel-kuwa **arr-beki-ni** **ngarritjbu**
Loc3IV-ground-Abl *1+2MinS-come out-Pre* *1+2Min+Card*
He (God) took us from the ground, you and I came out <u>of the</u>
<u>ground</u>. (VIII/52/1)

-kuwa can be also be suffixed to words which cannot take the Local prefix, such as place names; to the interrogative **yandu** 'where?'; to adverbs such as **balay**, 'far', and **djorro** 'high up', and it is also frequently used with demonstratives, which as they take verbal pronominal/class prefixes, do not distinguish the Local and non-local cases.

2-116 <u>Gu-gabu-kuwa</u> nji-na-bogi-ni   balaypalay mern gabi
3IV-there-Abl   2MinS-twds-go-Pre far+Redup cold   Loc
You came <u>from there</u> far away in the cold.   (I/109/1)

2-117 **Dji-weku-n   ngaytjbu-lorndo <u>balay-kuwa</u>.**
3IIS-speak-Fut 1Aug-Dat   far-Abl
She'll talk to us <u>from far away</u>.   (III/7/25)

2-118 <u>An-diwirri-kuwa</u> **njiwurr-nguna-warrtji-ga**
3I-mussel-Abl   1AugS-twds-go up-Con

njirr-rra-tji=nuyu   **mun-muka**
3MinA.1AugO-spear,stab-Pre/Con=3MinNf+PossA 3III-a lot
(As) we came back up <u>from mussels</u> (ie from getting mussels) it
(the sharp rocks) stabbed us a lot.   (-kuwa/19)

2.4.6. Comitative Case: burr-N/Adj (waypu).

The comitative case is marked on nouns and adjectives by a prefix **burr-**, which replaces other prefixes. An adposition **waypu** 'with' may occur with the inflected nominal, and is the only means of signalling comitative case with pronouns (it co-occurs with the direct case pronouns). **Waypu** is also sometimes used alone with nominals.

The functions of the comitative resemble those of the 'having'/'with' affix in many other Australian languages (compare the list given by Dixon (1976:306-307) with the functions illustrated below), and the name comitative has been chosen on this basis, and as representing some of its functions in Gurr-goni. It is probably not to be considered a derivational affix in Gurr-goni, however, as comitative nominals do not take further inflections. They do not modify nouns within an NP, and (like NPs in local case) do not occur as predicates in non-verbal clauses. It could perhaps be treated as a derivational affix creating adverbs from nouns and adjectives; this is the analysis Merlan (1994:86) accords the suffix -**barra** ~ -**warra** (similar in form and function) in Wardaman. Although comitative NPs certainly do function adverbially, I treat it here as a case inflection which, with the adposition **waypu**, signals comitative case (just as local case may be signalled by the case prefix, the adposition **gabi**, or both).

The functions of the comitative are:
(a) indicating means of transport: **burr-** occurs freely on nouns referring to vehicles, such as **wupunj** 'canoe', **mutika** 'car, truck'. It optionally co-occurs with the adposition **waypu**:

2-119 **burr-wupunj (waypu) awurr-bogi-ni**
Comit-canoe (with) 3AugS-go-Pre
They all went by canoe.

2-120 **burr-mutika burr-ga-tji**
Comit-car 3MinA.3AugO-take-Pre/Con
He took them by car.

(b) motion with other objects: In 2-121 and 2-122, the comitative NP designates things which the subjects of the clauses took with them as they went (food, gear). In 2-123 and 2-124, the object of the clause was taken complete with the parts marked by comitative case (the turtle's shell, the plants' roots):

2-121 <u>**burr-mitja**</u>   (**waypu**) **awurr-bogi-ni**
Comit-veg.food (with) 3AugS-go-Pre
They went <u>with a lot of food</u>.

2-122 <u>**Burr-gorlk**</u> **arr-djeki-rdi ngutju-pu nguburr-yu-ngu**
Comit-gear 1+2MinS-return-Fut here-extr 1+2AugS-sleep,stay-Fut
                                                            (IX/48/21)
We'll return <u>with all our gear</u>, we'll all stay right here.

2-123 (**Ngalngi**) **njirritj-gewi-rri**   **djin-mumu**
(turtle) 1AugA.3MinO-get from ashes-Pre 3II-bone
njirrinj-wa-rri   **rowk, njirritj-bitji-nji   rowk.**
1AugA.3MinO-throw-Pre all 1AugA.3MinO-tie-Pre all
Djin-arraka djin-mumu, <u>burr-mumu waypu</u>
3II-other   3II-bone   Comit-bone with
njirritj-ga-tji.
1AugA.3MinO-take-Pre/Con
We got it (the turtle) out of the ashes, her shell we threw away, we tied it all up. We took other ones with her shell, <u>complete with the shell</u>.   (VIII/148/13)

2-124 **Wulek wurru njibu-gegi-nga-:**   **mu-gabi**
finish   but   1AugA.3MinO-put in-Con-X 3III-that
<u>**burr-woku,**</u>   **arrapu njibu-gegi-nga**   **mu-gabi**
Comit-foot,root and   1AugA.3MinO-put in-Con 3III-that
woku   mi-djerre njibu-gornda-ga
foot,root 3III-Poss 1AugA.3MinO-cut-Con
Finish but we put them in the bag, that one <u>with roots and all</u>, and

we put that one in the bag, we cut off the roots.   (VIII/117b/5)

(c) Motion with a group of animate beings: A "human agent moving ... in the company of human(s)" is one of the possible uses of the 'having' affix identified by Dixon (1976:203). A similar function exists in Gurr-goni for the comitative prefix but, as with its instrumental meaning, it can be used only of a group of people (not individuals) accompanying someone, or performing an action together. The following examples illustrate this:

2-125   **Burr-gami   ngu-bogi-ni**
    Comit-woman   1MinS-go-Pre
    I went with the woman mob (could be said by a boy joining in with a whole lot of women)

2-126   **burr-gu-ngutju   burr-gu-warrbardja   git-gegu school**
    Comit-Nom-black   Comit-Nom-white   3IV-new   "
    guwu-gupi-ni
    3AugA.3IVO-build-Pre
    They all built (the) new school, working together as a group of black and white people.

2-127   **Burr-bobulupu   burr-djarnurrupu   mandunuyu**
    Comit-Mo,MoBro   Comit-W's, M'sZ's child   crocodile
    burr-djurr-gaki-dji   a-na-ma-ma
    3MinA.3AugO-behind-follow-Pre/Con   3IS-twds-go along-Con
    burr-ba-nga
    3MinA.3AugO-eat-Con
    Parent (ducks) and babies together, the crocodile followed behind them and ate them all.

The adposition **waypu** can be used to indicate individuals who accompany others in some activity, particularly when the individual is referred to by a pronoun:

2-128   **Ngarr-pu   waypu   njiwurr-bo-go**
    2Min-Card   with   1AugS-go-Fut
    We'll go with you.   (V/44/2)

However, the most common way of designating individuals who accompany others is to use a pronominal prefix on the verb which includes all participants (the accompanied and the accompanying) within the scope of its reference; only the accompanying individuals, who are

new information, are specifically named in the clause, while the previously mentioned or known 'accompanied' participants are referred to only anaphorically, through the verb prefix. See 2-63 and 2-64 above for examples, and also:

2-129 **Ninjokoni njina-yo-rri?**

who   2MinUAnf-sleep,stay-Con

Who are you living with? (lit. who you and he stay?)

(d) In some of the examples above, the translations suggested that the referents of the comitative NP were numerous. It is not clear whether this is one component of the meaning of comitative or whether an implication of a large quantity arises from the context. However, when the comitative case is used to designate an instrument, it apparently does refer to a large number of implements. Thus 2-130, where 'spear' appears in comitative case, implies a lot of spears; this implication is absent from 2-131, where 'spear' is unmarked, as NPs in instrument function usually are[21]:

2-130 **burr-garlpi a-rra-ni**

Comit-spear 3MinA.3IO-spear-Pre

he/she speared him with a lot of spears.

2-131 **garlpi a-rra-ni**

spear   3MinA.3IO-spear-Pre

He/she speared him with a spear.

(e) Location-having: a further use of the comitative is to designate a location which is filled with a certain type of entity. It seems that the entities are literally said to be (lie, stand, sit) 'place-having', and are perhaps thought of as being in possession of, or in control of, that location:

2-132 **gabi   burr-djurra awurr-walitji awurr-dji-ø**

there/?Loc Comit-book   3Aug-name   3AugS-stand-Pre

Lit. 'Their names stood book-having': or Their names were all through the book, the book was full of their names.

2-133 **burr-gelupulu   girdili   a-yo-rri**

Comit-pond, well   leech   3IS-lie-Con

Lit. Leeches lie pond-having, or Leeches are all through the pond,

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[21] As no pronouns have appeared in NPs in instrument function, it is not clear what case this represents.

the pond is full of leeches.

(f) Finally, there is one expression, **burr-yorritji** 'in the rain', in which the comitative prefix appears. This is probably an archaic or lexicalised form, as **yorritji** does not exist independently (but compare the Burarra **yorr** 'rain'). In Burarra, the cognate prefix **burr-** productively derives temporal or ambient (and other manner) adverbs such as 'by moonlight', 'at sunset' (Glasgow 1984:39; 1985:41,183). The existence of this archaic and apparently vestigial form **burr-yorritji** in Gurr-goni suggests that ·**burr-** formerly had this function in Gurr-goni also.

2-134 **Burr-yorritji awurr-bogi-ni**
     Comit-?rain   3AugS-go-Pre
     They went in (through the?) the rain.   (IX/125/15)

2.5. Possession

Gurr-goni has five distinct possessive constructions, with the choice of construction largely determined by the type of possessed noun. Thus there are three types of construction for different sets of body parts, one for simple nominal kin terms (other ways of expressing kin relationships are also described here), and one for general nouns. These five types are described below.

2.5.1. Body Part Nouns.
2.5.1.1. Body Part Nouns, Set A.

This is a closed class, with 27 nouns to date, all shown in the following list. (Not all of these are strictly speaking 'body' parts, but such concepts as 'name' and 'subsection' are presumably thought of as being as much a part of oneself as 'flesh' and 'skin'. Goddard (1985:104), discussing the similar treatment of words for 'name', 'spirit' and 'tracks' in the Western Desert language Yankunytjatjara, suggests that "the crucial semantic relationship is not whole-part in a physical sense, but has to do with the significance of the ... secondary term [the possessed] for the identity or person of .. the primary term [the possessor], rather than with his or her body as such.")

-**birdíli**	liver	-**girri**	juice of fruit or
-**burrpu**	guts		meat
-**djarriwu**	body, ghost	-**girdéy**	lungs
-**gardi***	flesh, meat	-**gu**	egg
irrirri -gardi	tooth flesh:	-**maliyirri**	skin
	gums	-**mari**	bladder

-medjimidji*	head hair	**-bapurr***	clan, moiety
-mumu	bone, shell	**-malk**	subsection
-murugu	feathers, fur	**-gun**	subsection
-murrpu	tracks	**-goy**	road, track
-murrumu	body hair	**-mitj**	burrow
-mutji	hole in skin (ie a	**-manj**	taste, smell
	sore) or in fabric	**-walitji**	name
-ngalkundu	hip crease	**-worduwurdu**	fleshless being:
-ngurrungu	muscles		picture, ghost,
-warrpura*	underarm sweat		dream, reflection

(* beside a noun indicates that it can also be used as a general noun, in that it can occur without a prefix signalling possession, or in the possessive construction appropriate for general nouns. This is discussed and exemplified below.)

Possession is signalled by a pronominal prefix on the possessed noun, which agrees in person, number and/or class with the possessor of the body part. (The prefix is taken from set Ni non-local prefixes. Local case prefixes can be used with some nouns when appropriate; this is discussed in §2.5.1.5 below.)

An NP referring to the possessor can optionally precede the body part noun, or follow it, as in 2-138. The structure of such a possessive noun phrase can be summarised as follows:

(NP)	Pronominal Prefix	-	N	(NP)
	[Person-Number/Class]			
[POSSESSOR]	[POSSESSOR]		[POSSESSED]	[POSSESSOR]

The following examples show the prefix functioning as a possessive marker:

2-135 **Ngu-mumu** **gudjuwórrwu** **ngu-dje-rre**

1Min-bone   *outside, exposed*   *1MinS-stand-Con*

(3/-mumu)

Lit.'my bone exposed I stand', ie 'my bone is exposed, visible'.

2-136 **Weleng** **an-mumu djitjitja** **ngu-me-n**

then   *3I-bone*   *fish (Cl.I)*   *1MinA.3MinO-get-Fut*

Then I will get a fishbone.   (V/86/9)

2-137 <u>**Awurr-mumu**</u>   awurr-na-yi-n   awurr-ni-ngu
       3Aug-bone   *3AugS-see-Intr-Fut* *3AugS-be,sit-Fut*
       They will see their own bones.   (VIII/32/9)

2-138 **Brian** <u>**an-alitji**</u> **nganaparru** <u>**a-garrapu.**</u>
       "   *3I-name*   *buffalo*   *3I-Anaph*
       Brian is <u>the name of that buffalo.</u>

2.5.1.2. Body Part Nouns, Set B.

This also constitutes a small closed class of nouns, totalling 28 to date.

These are:

bami	head	**ngalmu**	whole leg
bobulu	back	**ngarna**	inside of thigh
djamal	tail, shin	**ngar**	mouth
djapurra	chin	**ngordo**	cheek (??)
djarnurra	neck	**nguw**	bottom
djingerra	navel, umbilical cord	**arrartba**	top/front of thigh
galbirli	shoulder blade	**arrenjmu**	temple
gelamu	ear	**irrirri**	teeth
ger	side	**orrongurru**	throat, voice
gonda	arm	**walugunu**	shoulder
gotjila	stomach, belly	**warumbarrk**	front of ribs
guyu	nose	**wele**	forehead
mibilu	eye, fruit, seed	**woku**	foot, hand, wrist
mornoburto	nape of neck		
murrpu	chest (sternum)		

With these nouns, possession is indicated by a pronominal prefix attached to the Contemporary tense form of the verb 'to stand', **-djerre** *(stand-Con)*. This is a frozen form, in which tense is invariant; it immediately follows the body part noun[22]. **-djerre** takes intransitive verbal prefixes, agreeing with the person/number/class of the possessor. In this construction, **-djerre** will be glossed *Poss,* for 'possessive'. As with set A body part terms, an NP referring to the possessor may optionally either precede or follow the possessed noun. The construction

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[22] An equivalent possessive construction, in which the verb 'stand' in its Contemporary tense form follows the noun, exists in Burarra, Nakkara and Ndjébbana also. In all languages, the nouns which occur in the construction are a subset of body part terms. These three other languages also have other possessive constructions similar in structure to those of Gurr-goni; the categorisation is slightly different in each language (see McKay in prep for a discussion of Ndjébbana categorisation). (Even in the Djowunga dialect of Gurr-goni it is slightly different: back, chest and throat are all set C in Djowunga, set B in Yirrtjinga).

can be summarised as:

(NP)	N	Pronominal Prefix	- djerre	(NP)
		[Person-Number/Class]		
[POSSESSOR]	[POSSESSED]	[POSSESSOR]		[POSSESSOR]

Examples follow:

2-139 **Woku   ngu-djerre ngu-gerdji-nji**
foot, hand   1Min-Poss   1MinS-be bogged-Pre
My foot's stuck in the mud.   (I/59/10)

2-140 **Mutika   woku a-djerre   njalkitj   a-ni-ø**
car (Cl.I)   foot   3I-Poss   soft   3IS-be,sit-Pre
Lit. The car's foot is soft, = The tyre is flat.   (I/47/24)

2-141 **woku dji-djerre   dji-na-ni   batgaw**
foot   3II-Poss   3MinA.3IIO-see-Pre fat cow (Cl.II)
He saw the tracks of a cow.   (VI/101/25)

2.5.1.3. Body Part Nouns, Set C.

Set C contains at least 29 nouns. Here, the possessive pronouns (shown in Table 3.1) are used immediately following the noun to indicate the possessor, which may also be further identified by a preceding or following NP:

(NP)	N	Possessive Pronoun	(NP)
[POSSESSOR]	[POSSESSED]	[POSSESSOR]	[POSSESSOR]

This set comprises several groups of words:

1) Words relating to excretion and reproduction[23]. The latter are given here with either the masculine (=non-feminine) or feminine 3rd person singular oblique pronoun, as appropriate. 1st, 2nd and 1+2 persons, and non-minimal pronouns, can all also be used.

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[23] **An-mari** 'womb' (compare **-mari** 'bladder', Set A), **bulungun.ngun** '1. shoulderbag, 2. "baby bag", i.e. womb', and **djin-walirrng**, placenta, were all elicited without possessive marking, and no textual examples occur to identify which possessive construction, if any, they take.

mirdíla ngutjuyu	vulva, female genitals
ngar ngutjuyu a-djerre[24]	vagina
djutjúrdu nuyu	testicles
gúdjurdu nuyu	penis
gurdól nuyu	semen
djarral nuyu	beard, whiskers

gun-mipirdi ngarrku	anus
nguw nuyu[25] **gi-djerre**	anus (lit. bottom to him it stands)
mibilu nuyu[24,25] **gi-djerre**	anus (lit. eye to him it stands)
ngukulenjdji nuyu*	faeces
wogirdi nuyu*	urine

(As above, * indicates that these nouns may also be used as general nouns.)

Clausal examples are:

2-142 **A-gabi djungdjung djutjúrdu nuyu   a-buburdiyi-rri**
3I-that   dog   testicles 3MinNf+Poss$_C$ 3IS-be swollen-Con
That dog's balls are swollen.

2-143 **[Nguw nuyu   gi-djerre]**
bottom   3MinNf+Poss$_C$ 3IVS-stand-Con
= his$_i$ anus
gu-numi-rri   nuyu   a-bogi-ni.
3MinA$_j$.3IVO$_i$-smell-Pre   3MinNf$_i$+Poss$_C$ 3IS$_j$-go-Pre
Lit. His$_i$ arsehole (bottom to him$_i$ it stands) he$_j$ smelt it to /
affecting him$_i$ he$_j$ went: He (a buffalo) went and smelled his
(another buffalo's) arse.   (VI/29/17-21)

2) Most body part nouns that include an invariant class prefix as part of the stem are also in set C. In the following list, this prefix is underlined, and as examples 2-144 and 2-145 show, it does not vary for the person, number or class of the possessor.

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[24] **A-dje-rre** *'3IS-stand-Con '*, here, and **gi-djerre** *'3IVS-stand-Con '* in the expressions for 'anus', below, both agree with the body part (Class I and Class IV respectively), not with the possessor. This thus appears to be a different use of -**djerre** from that described above for the body parts set B possessive construction. The phrase here could perhaps be translated as 'mouth to her it stands' or 'it exists'. All the posture verbs (sit, stand, lie) can be used as existential verbs (see §5.1.2), and the use of -**djerre** as a possessive marker may well derive from such a use.

[25] These nouns occurred in a text in reference to a buffalo. Whether or not they are used of humans remains to be checked.

an-damu ngarrku	hinge of jawbone
at-gurrúrlu ngarrku	shoulder blade and joint
djit-bamu ngarrku	knee
djit-bini ngarrku	ball of foot
djin-marnmu ngarrku	kidneys
djin-mibilu ngarrku	eyelashes and eyebrows
gunt-gurlúrlu ngarrku	elbow (??) (or djit-gurrúrlu)
gunt-guyu ngarrku	fingernail; heel
gun-gala ngarrku	ankle (shinbone also?)
mut-burdja ?ngarrku	throat, windpipe
mun-molmu ngarrku*	heart
mun-watj ngutjuyu	pouch (of kangaroo, etc)

2-144 **Djit**-bamu   ngu-dje-n   ngu-yu-ngu

knee   1MinA.3MinO-put vertically-Fut 1MinS-lie,sleep-Fut

"I'll put my knee up and sleep."   (VI/70/21)

2-145 **Djit**-bamu   djuwurritj-dje-ka   awurrinj-yo-rri

knee   3UAfA.3IIO-put vertically-Con 3UAfS-lie,sleep-Con

They (two women, or man and woman) are sleeping with their
knees up.   (VI/70/23)

3) A more miscellaneous subset comprises the following words, which include some body parts and some physical attributes:

barnaka ngarrku	spine
bornakuna ngarrku	side of ribs, flank(?)
manamatji ngutjuyu	spines of echidna
arrey (ngarrku)	the place where we come from
giy (ngarrku)	speed, we are fast
burrpu ngarrku	strength, we are strong

As these glosses indicate, the NPs **giy ngarrku** and **burrpu ngarrku** constitute fully grammatical clauses in themselves. (This is true also of at least some of the nouns listed in 1 and 2 of this set: when a baby girl is born, her sex is announced by saying "**mirdíla ngutjuyu!**", translated by Gurr-goni speakers as "it's a girl".) This construction is discussed further in §5.1.2.1, where it is analysed as a non-verbal existential clause (literal translations would be "our speed (exists)", "her vulva (exists)").

The data contains several examples of similar constructions involving an adjectival stem. Adjectival stems can occur as modifiers of the copular verbs **ni** 'be' (lexical meaning 'sit, stay') and **negi** 'make be' (lexical meaning 'put weight of body on something', 'call by kin name'); in this case they may or may not take a pronominal prefix. They also occur as modifiers of nominals, in which case they take nominal pronominal prefixes (local or non-local) indexing the person, number and class of the nominal referent. Such prefixed forms can also function as heads of NPs, and as primary predicates. In the construction relevant here, the stem takes a class III or class IV prefix, and is followed by a possessive pronoun identifying the "possessor" of the quality described by the adjectival stem. For example:

2-146 **munt-guwábu nguku**
  3III-noisy 2Min+Poss_C
  you're noisy

2-147 **mit-djirrpurk** **ngutjuyu**
  3III-poisonous, dangerous, sour 3MinF+Poss_C
  she's a wild woman

  mit-djirrpurk **nuyu**
  3III-poisonous, dangerous, sour 3MinNf+Poss_C
  he's a wild man

2-148 **mut-djamulu ngutjuyu**
  3III-blunt 3MinF+Poss_C
  Lit. It is blunt to her; a specific term for a female turtle

In structure, then, these look like body parts of set C2, where the noun class prefix is invariant and the possessor identified by the oblique pronoun. Of the few occurrences in the data, one (2-148 above) is lexicalised as the specific term for a female turtle, and two (2-146 and 2-147 above) were given clausal translations. Again, it seems that these can be analysed as existential clauses ('your noise (exists)', 'her wildness (exists)'[26]).

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[26] As I said above, prefixed adjectival stems can occur as heads of NPs; some are also lexicalised as specific names (of plants, for example). It may be possible to say that as they occur in a possessive construction here, they are to some extent nominalised, although without showing any overt derivational morphology. On the other hand, I think it is the case that any adjective can occur in a possessive construction: as any adjective with a prefix can be translated as 'a/the X one' (and even more specifically, 'a/the class n X one', where X = the adjective, and n = I-IV).

2.5.1.4. Categorisation of the Body Parts Sets.

The three body parts sets, A, B and C, are mutually exclusive sets of nouns. Each set has one or more core semantic domains: many set A nouns refer to those things from which the body is made up, both physically (bone, flesh, juice, muscles, skin, feathers/fur, taste/smell), and socially and spiritually (conception dreaming, clan/moiety, subsection, name). Many interior parts of the body are also found here. Set B consists of segmentable parts of the body, visible from the outside; the elements from which these parts are made are largely members of set A. Set C body parts, as described above, are those concerned with excretion and reproduction (C1), and those which have an invariant noun class prefix as part of the stem (C2) (many of these latter nouns refer to joints)[27].

There are a number of homophonous forms occurring in more than one possessive construction which have a different, but related meaning. Thus, **ngar arr-djerre** 'our mouth' (set B) is distinguished from **ngar ngarrku (a-djerre)** 'our vagina' (set C) by the choice of possessive construction; a similar relationship holds between **nguw a-djerre** 'his bottom' (set B) and **nguw nuyu gi-djerre** 'his arsehole' (set C); **mibilu a-djerre** 'his eye' (set B) and **mibilu nuyu gi-djerre** 'his arsehole' (set C). **Murrpu a-djerre**, set B, means 'his chest', while **an-murrpu**, set A, refers to the tracks of a slithering or shuffling creature such as a snake or a goanna. Other words for impressions or homes made by creatures (**-goy** 'track/road', **-mitj** 'burrow') are also found in set A; interestingly, however, **woku a-djerre** means both 'his feet' and 'his tracks' (for large creatures such as kangaroos, emus, buffaloes, etc), with no change of possession class.

The corpus contains instances of a number of nouns being used at times with the possessive marking appropriate for one of the sets described above, and at times with either no possessive marking at all, or with a possessive adjective, both of which are characteristic of general nouns (see below). These nouns are: **warrpura** 'underarm sweat', **gardi** 'flesh', **medjimidji** 'head hair', **bapurr** 'clan, moiety', and **ngorrungurru** 'sleep' (all occurring in set A), and **ngukulenjdji** 'faeces', **wogirdi** 'urine', and **mun-molmu** 'heart' (all occurring in set C).

The distinction between -**bapurr** 'clan, moiety' as a possessed noun, and **bapurr** as a general noun may be that between one's clan and

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[27] Anna Wierzbicka has suggested, p.c., that these sets can be defined by the formulae: A, Y is part of X, X can't do what X wants with Y; B, Y is part of X, X can do what X wants with Y; C2, Y is a place in X's body. I have not tested these formulae with Gurr-goni speakers.

moiety as an inherent part of one's being, and the clan as a group of people, a social entity, a distinction that may be evident in the following example. Here, the speaker uses **bapurr** as a general noun, with possession marked by a possessive adjective (**gun-ngaytjburru-pu bapurr**) when talking about putting me into his clan group. Otherwise, when talking about the clan identity of various individuals, he uses -**bapurr** as a Set A body part noun.

2-149　**arrapu　gu-garrapu** <u>**gut-bapurr,**</u>　<u>**gut-bapurr,**</u>
　　　　and　　*3IV-Anaph　3IV-clan*　　　　*3IV-clan*
　　　　<u>**nji-bapurr**</u>　**buwu-gorrmi-rdi,**　　　**arrapu**
　　　　2Min-clan　　*1AugA.2MinO-put-Fut*　*and*
　　　　<u>**[gun-ngaytjburru-pu　bapurr]**</u>　**buwu-gorrmi-rdi,**
　　　　3IV-1Aug-Card　　　　　*clan*　　*1AugA.2MinO-put-Fut*
　　　　ngardawa　niyé-pu　　　**at-djapulmu**
　　　　because　　*3MinNf-Card　3I-short*
　　　　biy-me-ka=nuyu　　　　　　　<u>**at-bapurr**</u>
　　　　3MinA.2MinO-get-Con=3MinNf+PossA　3I-clan
　　　　an-dirrdjalaba, an-dirrdjalaba at-bapurr,　arrapu
　　　　3I-clan name　　*3I-clan name*　　*3I-clan*　　*and*
　　　　ngaytjburru-pu　buwu-dima-nga　　　　　**njiwurr-ne-rre**
　　　　1Aug-Card　　　*1AugA.2MinO-keep-Con　1AugS-be,sit-Con*
　　　　Nangak　　　**arrey　ngaytjburru-ø,**
　　　　place name　　*place　1Aug-Poss$_C$*
　　　　ngaytjburru-ø　njiwurr-bapurr　boburerre　bapurr
　　　　1Aug-unm　　　*1Aug-clan*　　　*clan name*　　*clan*
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(I/110-111)

and in that matter of the clan (gut-bapurr), we'll put you (ie give you) your clan identity (nji-bapurr), and we'll put you in our clan group (gun-ngaytjburru-ø bapurr), because that little one who got you, his clan identity (at-bapurr) is An-dirrdjalaba, An-dirrdjalaba is his clan (identity at-bapurr), and we who are keeping you, our place is Nangak (come from Nangak), our clan identity (njiwurr-bapurr) is the Boburerre clan (bapurr).

Bodily secretions and excretions can be thought of as a kind of substance with certain characteristics, or as part of a person or creature, distinctive of them, and this may be the basis for choosing to use **wogirdi** 'urine', **ngukulenjdji** 'faeces' and **warrpura** 'underarm sweat', as general nouns, or as possessed body parts. Thus, for instance, the texts contain only one occurrence of **warrpura** with a pronominal

prefix. Here, someone wiped their own sweat on an animal in order to tame it, transferring the sweat directly from their own body:

2-150 **ngu-warrpura**   **ngu-wu-ni**
1Min-underarm sweat   *1MinA.3MinO-give-Pre*
I gave him my sweat.   (V/157/9)

In many references to it in the texts, smelling the hunter's sweat is the cause of an animal running off; in such cases the "possessor", or source, of the sweat is obvious from the context, and is not stated, or is indirectly stated, as in 2-151, where the dative pronoun appears to be functioning as a "malefactive" (see §2.3.2):

2-151 **warrpura**   **gu-numi-rri**   **ngapala**
underarm sweat   *3MinA.3IVO-smell-Pre*   *1Min+Dat*
He smelt the sweat (and ran off) on me.   (III/36/22)

Where excreta are thought of as part of the animal, as when finding droppings is a sign of the hunted animal's presence, possessive marking is used, as in 2-152. In 2-153, however, the source of the urine is not mentioned, nor relevant, as it is the fact that urine is smelly, regardless of whose it is, that is concerning the speaker.

2-152 **djungdjung at-garpi,**   **nganaparru wogirdi nuyu**
dog   3I-good hunter   *buffalo   urine 3MinNf+Poss$_C$*
gu-numi-nga   **arrapu ngukulenjdji nuyu**
3MinA.3IVO-smell-Con   and   faeces   3MinNf+Poss$_C$
The dog is a good hunter, he smells the buffalo's urine and faeces.

2-153 **wogirdi an-ma-yi-pu,**   **ngu-motu-ma.**
urine   3IS-get-Intr-extr 1MinS-smell-Con
It (my dress, Cl.I) is full of urine, I stink.   (IV/145/9)

Gardi 'flesh' is frequently used in the sense of 'meat', the flesh of an animal, bird, etc, which is eaten, and the prefix identifies the creature's noun class membership (Cl.I or II). However, when talking about gaining or losing weight, **gardi** is used without possessive marking, much as we might say 'the flesh just dropped away from him':

2-154 **an-marrman, wurpu gardi gu-bogi-ni ni-lorndo rowk**
3I-good just flesh 3IVS-go-Pre 3MinNf-Dat all
He's all right, it's just that he's lost a lot of weight (lit. all the flesh went from him). (VII/73/13)

The case of **medjimidji** 'head hair' is slightly different. I have several examples where it is used with a class III noun prefix in reference to human hair (mine, in fact). This is an instance where (as with **gardi**, just discussed) the person, etc, of the possessor is not indexed, but the class of the body part, the hair itself, is. Unlike **gardi**, however, this involves no change of possession class. In the examples where the class III prefix is used, the hair appears to be acting independently (as in eg 2-155). In examples where someone does something to their own hair, and thus to a part of themselves, it is the possessor which is indexed, as in 2-156[28]:

2-155 **mun-medjimidji mi-djilwi-yi-ni**
3III-head hair 3IIIS-untie, unwind-Intr-Pre
Your hair has come untied, has unwound itself.

2-156 **an-medjimidji a-gorndi-yi-ni**
3I-head hair 3IS-cut-Intr-Pre
He cut his hair (lit. he cut himself his hair). (1/62/5)

Mun-molmu 'heart' usually takes no possessive marking at all (this is exemplified in 2-157 and 2-158). This is the case also for **mint-djentgirdi** 'brains', **merdamirdi** 'veins', **genjgenj** 'heartbeat', **golidja** 'blood', **guyu** and **gitgal** both 'breast, breastmilk', and other secretions such as **arru** 'tears', **gurdól** 'pus', **mit-djeyirri** 'spittle' and **ngartbu** 'body sweat'. **Mun-molmu ngarrku** was once given in eliciting names of body parts, and it may be that these other nouns, too, could appropriately be used in a body part possessive construction. Most commonly, however, they are not explicitly referred to as belonging to, or as part of, a person, and in this they resemble general nouns. (It is not certain, however, whether they can occur in the general noun possessive construction.)

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[28] I also recorded **medjimidji mi-djerre** (ie set B possessive marking, with a class III possessor), meaning the leaves of a plant, several times, both in texts and in casual speech. **Mun-medjimidji** also can refer to leaves of a plant.

2-157 **mun-molmu**   **guypu**   **mu-me-nji**   **an-marlpa**

heart   *already*   *3MinA.3IIIO-get-Pre*   *shooting star*

The shooting star had already got her heart.   (V/51/26)

2-158 **mun-molmu**   **mu-warrtji-nji**

heart   *3IIIS-climb-Pre*   (IV/108/4)

Lit. the heart climbed up, or in idiomatic English, 'my heart was in my mouth', as someone said thinking they had seen a snake.

<u>2.5.1.5. Body Parts and Case.</u>

While the sets described above have distinctive possessive constructions in non-local case functions, local case is encoded for set B, and some set A, nouns, in the same manner as for general nouns. For set A nouns, the local case prefix replaces the non-local prefix; for set B nouns, **-djerre** is omitted, and the case prefix affixed to the noun. The prefix in this case serves the double function of encoding local case, and identifying the possessor of the body part.

For example,

2-159 <u>**nu-bobulu**</u>   **blanket**   **ngu-djarrka-rday**

Loc3I-back   "   *1MinA.3MinO-spread-Pre*

I spread out the blanket <u>on his back</u>.   (VI/33/1)

2-160 **Burrkarl**   **gudjuwórrwu**   **a-yu-ø**,   **arritj-bay-ø**

baby   *outside*   *3IS-lie-Irr2*   *1+2UAfA.3MinO-eat-Irr2*

ngalngi   **arrapu**   <u>**arritj-gotjili**</u>   **a-ni-ø**   **burrkarl**

turtle   *and*   *Loc1+2UAf-belly*   *3IS-be-Irr2*   *baby*

arritj-bawu-ø   **ngalngi**

1+2UAfA.3MinO-leave-Irr2   *turtle*

When the baby is born (lit. lies outside), we eat turtle, and when the baby is <u>in our bellies</u>, we leave turtle alone.   (VII/44/13)

In some instances, a Class III or Class IV prefix occurs, rather than one agreeing with the class, person and number of the possessor. Thus, 2-161 with a Cl.IV prefix contrasts with 2-162, where the Cl.I local prefix agrees with the class of the agent of the verb, 'he held it <u>in his</u> hand'. 2-161 could perhaps be translated as 'by hand':

2-161 **mangarraka   nji-bay-ø   gu-woku,**
don't   *2MinA.3MinO-eat-Irr2   Loc3IV-hand*
spoon ø-ma-ø
"   *2MinA.3MinOImp-get-Irr2*   (IV/153/8)
Don't eat with your fingers (lit. by hand), get a spoon.

2-162 **Wulek   a-rrimi-rri   nu-woku**
finish   3MinA.3IO-hold-Pre   Loc3I-hand
a-ga-tji   a-ma-nay
3MinA.3IO-take-Pre/Con   3IS-go along-Pre
Then he held it in his hand and took it away.   (VII/41/23)

Gu-woku is also used to talk about going somewhere 'on foot' (**woku** means both 'foot' and 'hand').

There are no examples in the corpus of **irrirra** 'teeth' with a prefix indexing the possessor; instead, it occurs with the Class IV prefix, both in the idiomatic expression **gu-rrirra rra**, literally 'spear or stab with the teeth', meaning 'ask', and in literal uses such as 2-163[29]:

2-163 **gu-rrirra   nguna-ba-rri**
Loc3IV-teeth   3MinA.1MinO-eat, bite-Pre
Lit. She/he bit me with the teeth.   (I/63/24)

Case-marked body part nouns are also used as directional or orientational terms. Many body parts have been found functioning in this manner, expressing a wide range of distinctions. 2-164 and 2-165 give textual examples, and I then list all other directional and orientational terms, based on body parts, recorded to date.

2-164 **Ngayi-pu   ngu-ni-ø   gengurdu nu-bobulu**
1Min-Card   1MinS-be,sit-Pre   FaFa   Loc3I-back
I sat behind grandad.   (IV/141/16)

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[29] Both 2-161 and 2-163 contain apparent instrumental uses of the local case. The only spontaneously occurring instances of the local case marking nouns in instrument function were with body part nouns such as these. In elicitation sessions, the local case prefix was accepted on nouns such as 'spear' and 'stick' with the meaning 'with a spear', 'with a stick', but in spontaneous speech such instrument nouns were always unmarked.

2-165 **burrkburrkang ngu-woroworoganma-nga**
bag   *1MinA.3MinO-swing back and forth-Con*
ngu-djarti ngu-ma-ma,   ngu-wa-nga
1MinS-rush 1MinS-go along-Con 1MinA.3MinO-throw-Con
<u>ngu-bobulu</u> a-yo-rri gi-djel
Loc1Min-back 3IS-lie-Con Loc3IV-ground
I rushed along swinging the bag back and forth, I threw it behind
me, it lay on the ground.   (III/104/22)

a	**ngu-bami**	*1Min-head*	above me
b	**ngu-ger**	*1Min-flank, side*	beside me
c	**ngu-djamal**	*1Min-tail/shin*	??(V/18/9)
d	**ngu-mornoburto**	*1Min-nape*	right behind me
e	**ngu-ngalmu**	*1Min-leg*	under me, under my leg
f	**ngu-murrpu**	*1Min-chest*	by, near my chest
g	**mu-rrenjmu**	*3III-temple*	(look) back, to the side
h	**gotjilupu**	*stomach+pu*	in the middle, between

(h) involves the clitic -pu; for discussion of this clitic, see §1.4.2. (g) is an example of the use of a Cl.III, rather than a personal, prefix on the noun meaning 'temple'. This occurs with the verb **gana** 'watch, have eyes open'; an appropriate English translation would be 'look to the side'.

The local/instrumental prefix cannot be used with set C2 body part terms (those which incorporate an invariant noun class prefix into the stem), nor has it been found to occur with set C1 (or C3) nouns. With these nouns, only an adposition can be used.

2.5.1.6. Body Parts and Agreement.

In many Australian languages, the person of the possessor is cross-referenced on the verb. Body part nouns in sets A and B are generally treated in this way: as is evident in many of the examples given above, it is the person, number and class of the possessor which is crossreferenced on the verb (and on adjectives, etc), rather than the inherent noun class of the body part (either Cl.III or Cl.IV). Examples 2-137 and 2-141 (repeated here as 2-166 and 2-167) are particularly good illustrations of this; literal translations (in Gurr-goni word order) are: 'their bones they will see themselves they will be/sit', and 'her feet he saw her cow'.

2-166 <u>**Awurr-mumu**</u> **awurr-na-yi-n   awurr-ni-ngu**
3Aug-bone   3AugS-see-Intr-Fut 3AugS-be,sit-Fut
They will see their own bones.   (VIII/32/9)

2-167 **woku dji-djerre dji-na-ni   batgaw**

foot   3II-Poss   3MinA.3IIO-see-Pre fat cow (Cl.II)

He saw the tracks of a cow.   (VI/101/25)

Body parts in set C are treated differently, however; here it is the possessed body part which is cross-referenced. Examples 2-142, 2-143, 2-145 and 2-152, above, illustrate this; 2-145 is repeated here as 2-168.

2-168 **Djit-bamu djuwurritj-dje-ka   awurrinj-yo-rri**

knee   3UAfA.3IIO-put vertically-Con 3UAfS-lie,sleep-Con

They (two women, or man and woman) are sleeping with their knees up.   (VI/70/23)

However, the opposite patterns have also been observed, albeit rarely. 2-169 shows the possessors of the knees being cross-referenced, rather than the knees, as is the case in 2-168. (With a 1+2 person agent, the noun class of **djit-bamu** would not appear in the prefix. The expected form would be **ngubu-**, 1+2 person augmented A with a 3rd person minimal O, comparable to the transitive prefix in 2-168: 3rd person unit-augmented A, with 3rd person minimal, Class II, O. **Arrbu-**, the prefix which appears, encodes a 1+2 person nonsingular A or O, with a 3rd person nonsingular A or O.)

2-169 **Nguwurr-boy-ø ranba mu-yo-rri**

1+2AugS-go-Irr2   beach   3IIIS-lie-Con

nguwu-me-n   borr-lorndo yandu

1+2AugA.3MinO-get-Fut 3Aug-Dat   so

arrbu-djinji-rdi   djit-bamu borro-ø.

1+2nsA.3nsO-heat-Fut   3II-knee   3Aug-Poss$_C$

We'll go and get (the plant) that grows on the beach for them so we can warm their knees.   (V/83/14)

2-170 shows a set B noun, **gonda** 'arm, wing', indexed on the verb with a Cl.III prefix, rather than a Cl.II prefix agreeing with the possessor, as is normally found with set A and B nouns:

2-170   **Gonda**   **dji-djerre**   **mu-rrimi-nga**
         arm   *3Il-Poss*   *3MinA.3IIIO-have-Con*
         wurru   **djin-murugu**   **galu.**
         but   *3Il-feather*   *NEG*
         She's got arms (/wings), but not feathers.   (IV/143/22)

It appears that, while the possession class of body part nouns largely determines whether it is the possessor or the body part which is treated as the head of the NP, speakers do have a choice, and can opt to use the opposite pattern.

2.5.1.7. Non-Use of the Possessive Construction with Body Part Terms.

Unlike general nouns, body parts usually occur in a possessive construction. There are some situations, however, which promote non-use of possessive marking. These include metaphorical or idiomatic uses of the body parts, and expressions analogous to English 'you big head', 'baldy head'.

Examples of metaphoric expressions involving body parts include:

2-171   **ngar**   **awurr-wa-yi-n**   **awurr-ni-ngu**
         mouth   *3Aug-throw-Intr-Fut*   *3AugS-be,sit-Fut*
         Lit. Mouth they will throw each other: they'll argue with each other (for something).

2-172   **bobulu**   **burr-ngutji-ga**   **nji-ne-rre**
         back   *3MinA.3AugO-call name-Con*   *2MinS-be,sit-Con*
         Lit. back you are naming them: You're blaming them.

2-173   **ngar**   **djin-dakangurrungu**
         mouth   *3Il-hard, tight*
         Lit. she's a hard-mouth: she's hard, mean, "tightfisted".

As in these uses the body part term does not identify a specific part of a particular person's body, omission of a possessive construction which would specifically identify a possessor of the body part is not surprising.

The second situation mentioned where possessive marking is omitted involves adjectival modification of body part terms. In the full possessive construction, a body part can be modified by an adjective which describes one of its qualities, as in:

2-174 **bama nji-djerre nji-rdorltorl**

head   2Min-Poss   2Min-bald

Your head is bald (lit. your head you are bald).

Omitting the possessive marking from such a construction results in one which appears to equate the <u>owner</u> of the body part with that part, or to label[30] the owner by their possession of that kind of head (etc). The following expression was used (by his father) to greet a child whose head had just been shaven, much as we might say, "Hey, baldy head':

2-175 **bama nji-rdorltorl**

head   2Min-bald

'you baldy head'

Similarly,

2-176 **bami ant-gu-warrbardja**

head   3I-Nom-be white, bright

"white or grey-head"

is a common form of reference for old men. Similar constructions appear to have been lexicalised as the names for various species of plants and animals, although in some cases the noun and adjective occur in the opposite order to that found in off-the-cuff creations such as that above:

2-177 **guyu an-dirrka**

nose   3I-sharp

"sharp nose" = Turkey Bush (*Calytrix exstipulata*)

2-178 **bami an-mornóngi**

head   3I-big

"big head" = King Brown snake

2-179 **at-djapulmu-guyu**

3I-short-nose

"short nose" = Fork tailed Kite

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[30] Compare Wierzbicka's (1988:466-70) distinction between the use of adjectives (such as fat, blond) to describe individual features, and the use of nouns (such as fattie, fatso, blonde) to categorize people into types defined by that feature.

2-180 **an-dirrka-bami**

3I-sharp-head

"sharp head" = Sulphur Crested Cockatoo

2.5.2. Kin Terminology.

The area of kin terminology in Gurr-goni, as in many Australian languages, is very rich and highly complex. There are several types of expression: address terms, referential terms based on nominals and referential terms based on verbs, dyadic terms, and triangular kin terms (also called "trirelational" (Laughren 1982) or "shared terms" (McConvell 1982). Most kinship categories are represented by totally different forms for each type of expression. All of these types of construction are still in use: many were recorded in texts, or heard in casual speech, and these provided the basis for elicitation sessions in which speakers of the older and younger (20s-30s) generations participated. I thus have a rich picture of the kin terminology, but one which may still be incomplete. It may be the case, for instance, that dyadic terms do not exist for some kin categories (none were recorded for **djongok** (mother-in-law/son-in-law) or **gakak** (MoMo, woman's DaCh)); but it remains to be seen whether these are gaps in the system, or in the data.

A full analysis of this area of the language is beyond the scope of this study. Instead, I give here a brief description of the five types of expression referred to above. Not all of them are in fact possessive constructions (many of the triangular terms encode the relationship between three people in one morpheme), and some are partly verbal, and hence do not strictly belong in a chapter on nominal morphology. As they form a semantically coherent domain, however, they are included in the description here.

2.5.2.1. Address Terms.

The address terms are single, monomorphemic words (although several appear to be historical reduplications). Many of the terms are shared with neighbouring languages. I give here examples of the address terms for the kin relations used in exemplifying the more complicated referential kin expressions discussed below:

gika	mother
ngalingi, rdoyrdoy	woman's (man's sister's) child
bapa	father
yirra	man's (woman's brother's) child
djapa	older sibling

djali	younger sibling
gakak	mother's mother
mamam	mother's father
maka	father's mother
gengurdu	father's father

2.5.2.2. The Nominal Referential Kin Construction.

The nominal kin possessive construction shares characteristics of both the general noun and body part set C possessive constructions. The kin nominal takes a pronominal prefix (nominal non-local) registering the person, number and/or class of its referent. It is preceded by a possessive adjective (see §3.1.4.3), where the pronominal stem identifies the possessor, and the pronominal prefix again crossreferences the possessed kin relation. Following the kin nominal is a possessive pronoun, referring again to the possessor. In the full construction, both possessor and possessed are thus doubly encoded. However, either the possessive adjective or the possessive pronoun, or both, are commonly omitted. In summary, the structure is:

(possessive adjective)	kin noun	(possessive pronoun)
[pron.prefix-pronoun]	[pron.prefix-noun]	
[POSSESSED-POSSESSOR]	[POSSESSED-]	[POSSESSOR]

For example,

2-181 **djin-ngayi-pu** **djit-bobulu-pu** **ngabu**
   3II-1Min-Card *3II-back-pu* *1Min+Poss$_C$*
      =*biggest one, mother*
   lit. she-my she-parent to me, my mother.

The translation of "Are you my mother?" in the children's story is:

2-182 **ngarrpu nji-ngayi-pu** **nji-bobulu-pu ngabu ya?**
   you 2Min-1Min-Card 2Min-back-pu 1Min+Poss$_C$ QU
      =*biggest one, mother*
   lit., you you-my you-mother to me?

2-183 **an-ngidjiyé-pu at-djarnurru-pu (ngutjuyu)**
   3I-3MinF-Card 3I-neck-pu 3MinF+Poss$_C$
      =*W's(M'sZi's)child*
   lit. he-her he-child to her: her son.

2-184 **an-ngayi-pu   at-djirrpungupu (ngabu)**
     3I-1Min-Card   3I-father   1Min+Poss$_C$
     lit. he-my he-father to me: my father.

In the following example, **djit-djarnurrupu** and **djit-bobulupu** are used alone, without any possessive marking. The passage describes shooting buffaloes, the 'daughter one' and the 'mother one':

2-185 **Dji-na-ni   djapanji   dji-dji-ø.   ...**
     3MinA.3IIO-see-Pre so many   3II-stand-Pre
     Djin-da-ni   ngirrépu. Dji-djarti,
     3MinA.3IIO-shoot-Pre   one   3IIS-hurry, go quickly
     dji-buki-ni   djit-djarnurru+pu,
     3IIS-fall-Pre   3II-W's child
     djaluwu .. djit-bobulupu djin-da-ni.
     again   3II-mother   3MinA.3IIO-shoot-Pre
                                             (VI/102/26)
     He saw so many of them standing (there). He shot one. She/they ran off, the daughter one fell, again he shot the mother one.

2.5.2.3. Verbal Referential Kin Expressions.

For many kin categories, there exists an expression in which the relationship is encoded by a verb or clause. Those categories for which I have recorded a verbal expression are mother/woman's children, father/man's children, mother's mother/woman's daughter's children, mother's father/man's daughter's children / cross-cousins (mother's brother's children, father's sister's children), and siblings. All expressions, excepting one for siblings, involve transitive verbs. The assignment of syntactic function is fixed: it is always the member(s) of the senior generation which is the A, and the junior generation the O. By using the appropriate transitive prefixes, the relationship can be expressed from the point of view of either generation, as is shown in 2-186(a) and (b), and 2-187(a) and (b) respectively, for the reciprocal relationships of mother and woman's child, and father and man's child[31]. Textual examples of the use of some of these verbal expressions are given in 2-191 and 2-192; 2-192 shows that verbal and nominal terms can be combined in one NP, in

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[31] A woman's siblings, both male and female, stand in the same relationship to her children as she does; the same thing applies to a man and his siblings in relation to his children. But although they are treated as the same here, and in nominal referential, dyadic and triangular terms, male and female members of these categories are distinguished in the vocative terms.

which the verb appears to have the function of a relative clause.

2-186a Mother: **djin-ngayi-pu nguna-me-nji-pu=(ngutjuyu)**
3II-1Min-Card 3MinA.1MinO-get-Pre-pu=3MinF+Poss$_C$
Lit. she-my she got me (to/of her): my mother.

2-186b Woman's Children: **an-ngayi-pu ngu-me-nji-pu**
3I-1Min-Card 1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre-pu
Lit. he-my I got him: my son (said by a woman,
or by a man of his sister's children).

2-187a Father: **an-ngayi-pu ngunda-rrirrmi-rri-pu**
3I-1Min-Card 3MinA.1MinO-hold back-Pre-pu
Lit. he-my he held me back: my father

2-187b Man's children: **djin-ngayi-pu ngu-rrirrmi-rri-pu**
3II-1Min-Card 1MinA.3MinO-hold back-Pre-pu
Lit. she-my I held her back: my daughter (said by
a man, or by a woman of her brother's children).

2-188 Mother's Mother: **wele-pu a-rremi-rri**
forehead-pu 3MinA.3IO-pound,hammer-Pre
Lit. She pounded him forehead-pu: She is his
grannie (mother's mother).

2-189 Mother's Father, etc: **gondu-pu awurr-ba-yi-ni**
arm-pu 3AugS-Intr-Pre
Lit. They ate/bit each other arm-pu: They are
all cousin to each other (mother's brother's
and father's sister's children)

2-190 sibling **awurr-ngayi-pu rdarrigiy njiwurr-dji-ø**
3Aug-1Min-Card sibling 1AugS-stand-Pre
Lit. They-my sibling we all stood, = my siblings

2-191 **Weleng awurr-rruwdjiyi-ni.** [**Djin-niyé-pu rdarrigiy**
then 3AugS-cry-Pre 3Il-3MinNf-Card sibling
awurritj-dji-ø] **arrapu** [**rdarrigiy awuni-dji-ø**]
3UAfS-stand-Pre and sibling 3UAnfS-stand-Pre
arrapu [**djin-niyé-pu a-me-nji-pu**]
and 3Il-3MinNf-Card 3MinA.3IO-get-Pre-pu
arrapu [**a-rrirrmi-rri-pu**].
and 3MinA.3IO-hold back-Pre-pu
Then they all cried. His sister (lit. she-his sibling they two
feminine stood) and his brother (lit. sibling they two masculine
stood) and his mother (lit. she-his she got him) and his father (lit.
he held him).

2-192 **ngirrepu njirrbu-marrpi-ni** [**djit-bolupu**
one,only 3nsA.1nsO-wait/care for-Pre 3Il-mother
ngaytjburru-ø njirru-me-nji-pu] **arrapu**
1Aug-Poss c/unm 3MinA.1AugO-get-Pre-pu and
[**at-bolupu ngaytjburru-ø njirr-rrirrmi-rri**]
3I-parent 1Aug-Poss c/unm 3MinA.1AugO-hold back-Pre
The only ones who cared for us (kept us) were <u>our mother</u> and
<u>our father</u>. (III/11/5-8)

(Many of these kin terms consist of a body part noun or an
inflected verb plus -**pu**. The function of -**pu** here could perhaps be that of
specifying 'extreme degree of scope', as the scope of the noun or verb is
extended from a literal to a metaphoric sense.)

2.5.2.4. "Triangular" kin terms.
Gurr-goni has a full set of what Evans (n.d.) and others (Heath
1982) have labelled "triangular" kin terms. These are largely
monomorphemic nominal stems, most of which take a prefix identifying
the class and/or number of third person referents. Expressed within this
stem is the three-sided relationship of the speaker, addressee and referent:
the form used depends on the (actual or classificatory) relationship
between speaker and addressee, and that of the referent to both the
speaker and the addressee. For example, in speaking to my father's
father, I will use the form **at-giwilak**, with the meaning:

> my father
> your child (or brother's child, if the addressee is a woman)
> you are his father (or father's sister)

The same form is not appropriate in speaking to my father's mother (or his mother's brother), as this last factor has changed. The appropriate form here is **na-rroyingu**:

> my father
> your child (or sister's child, if the addressee is a man)
> you are his mother (or mother's brother)

I include some of the terms I would use in speaking about my father to:

my mother:	**ni-nengaba** (= your spouse)
my siblings:	**bapa** (= father, dad)
my father's father:	**at-giwilak**
my father's mother:	**na-rroyingu**
my mother's father:	**na-manji**
my mother's mother:	**djaburku**
my mother-in-law:	**at-golayku**

(The prefixes **ni-**, **at-**, and **na-** are all markers of Class I. **At-** is the form of the regular Gurr-goni cl. I, nominal non-local prefix **an-** before non-apical stops (see §2.2.1.11). **Na-rroyingu** and **na-manji** are borrowed from Kuninjku (the eastern dialect of Kunwinjku), complete with noun class prefixes, as are many of the other triangular terms. I have not yet identified the source of **ni-nengaba** (feminine **djini-nengaba**; **ni-** and **djini-** may be archaic Gurr-goni forms of the prefixes).

2.5.2.5. Dyadic Kin Terms.

To date, I have recorded the following dyadic terms, or terms which refer to a pair or group of people in a reciprocal kin relationship:

-berrku: people who call each other **galikali** 'spouse', thus husband and wife, brothers- and sisters-in-law.

-yawgo (a pair), **-yayawgo** (a group of three or more): children and the people who call them **ngalingi** (/**rdoyrdoy**): their mother and her brothers and sisters.

-bego (a pair), **-bebego** (a group of three or more): children and the people who call them **yirra**: their father and his brothers and sisters

-marmarduku: brothers and sisters.

-gengurduwu marmunga {awurr}-ne-rre, *Father's Father+wu Father's Father {3AugS}-be,sit-Con* : children and their grandfathers and grandfathers' brothers and sisters, whom they call **mamam** (mother's father('s sister)) and **gengurdu** (father's father('s sister)).

In addition, an intransitivised form of the verbal expression for cross-cousins is used for a group of people who are cross-cousins (mother's brother's children and father's sister's children) to each other:

gondu-pu awurr-ba-yi-ni, *arm-pu 3Aug-eat-Intr-Pre* : they are all cousins.

As noted above, no dyadic terms covering the relationship of people who call each other **djongok** (mother- and son-in-law), or of children and their grandmothers (whom they would call **gakak** (MoMo) and **maka** (FaMo)), were recorded. Further research will confirm whether such expressions exist.

It is interesting to note that the dyadic terms conflate the relationships of father's and mother's father, which are elsewhere distinguished, and distinguish between the two possible referents of **mamam**: cross-cousins and mother's father/man's daughter's children.

These dyadic expressions can function as clausal arguments (as in the textual example in 2-193), and can also be used in addressing a group of people, and can be used predicatively, to state the relationship between two or more people.

2-193 **gu-garrapu   ngu-mukbi-ni   waypu niyi**
3IV-Anaph   1MinA.3MinO-complete-Pre until   alright
yandu gi-yinmi-rdi-pu njirrinjinj-djeka-rdi   niyi
=when   2UAfS-return-Fut   alright
ngu-weku-n   <u>nugorritji-lorndo njirritj-bego</u>   yuwa.
1MinS-speak-Fut 2UAf-Dat   2UAf-child and Fa,FaZi ok
(III/10/20)

I've finished this story (Cl.IV), until whenever you two come back again, I'll talk <u>to you and your auntie,</u> OK.

2.5.3. General Nouns.

The set of general nouns is large and open; loan words can freely enter this set. The possessive construction consists of a possessive adjective, of which the stem is a cardinal or unmarked pronoun, identifying the possessor, and the prefix agrees with the person, number and class of the possessed. The possessed noun is unmarked, and usually follows the possessive adjective. If an NP further identifies the possessor, it usually precedes the possessive adjective and possessed noun.

(NP)	possessive adj	NP
	pron.prefix-pronoun	
POSSESSOR	POSSESSED-POSSESSOR	POSSESSED

2-194 **awurrinj-ngayi-pu awurrinj-mukupu muburrklerrtji**
3UAf-1Min-Card   3UAf-two   children
My two children (two girls, or boy and girl)

2-195 **Jon Hart   an-niyé-pu   mutika**
name   3I-3MinNf-Card   car
Jon Hart's car.

2.6. Derivational Morphology.
2.6.1. Deverbal Nominals.

Nominals can be derived from verbs by a regular productive process: a prefix **-gu-** (identical to one allomorph of the Cl.IV prefix) is added to the bare stem of the verb (that used in the imperative), and pronominal prefixes (sets Ni or Nii) are affixed to this derived stem. The resulting form can function syntactically as a noun (many derived nominals function as nouns with fixed reference to one entity) or as adjectives (occurring within an NP as head or modifier, or as primary predicate of a non-verbal clause). Semantically, this process derives agent and experiencer nominals, object nominals, instrument nominals, and action or state nominals. Examples are given below.

Agent nominal (functioning as the predicate of an equational clause):
2-196 **Bapa Joey ant-gu-djarlapu**
father "   3I-Nom-make,fix
Your father Joey is the one fixing it.

Experiencer nominal (also the predicate of an equational clause):
2-197 **dji-garrapu sister djint-gu-werdaguma.**
3II-Anaph   "   3II-Nom-be frightened
That (nursing) sister is the frightened one.

Object nominal:
2-198 **gut-gu-gurltja**
3IV-Nom-vomit
One which is vomited: vomitus.

Instrument nominals:
2-199 **at-gu-djapirdiyi**
3I-Nom-sing
A Cl.I thing for singing with: clapsticks.

2-200 **munt-gu-mewiyi**

3III-Nom-fish with net

A Cl.III thing for fishing with: woven fish net (also spider's web).

Action and state nominals:

2-201 **Romolo** **gut-gu-waligiyi** **gu-djeni-rri**

frog   3IV-Nom-play   3MinA.3IVO-look for-Pre

Frog was looking for play.

2-202 **gu-gu-warlpu   ngu-bo-go.**

Loc3IV-Nom-hunt   1MinS-go-Fut

I'll go hunting.

2-203 **gu-gu-metja   awurrinj-wa-yi-ø   awurrinji-ne-rre**

Loc3IV-Nom-cling 3UAfS-throw-Intr-Con   3UAfS-sit,be-Con

Lit. They two women are throwing each other out of the clinging
one, clingingness (ie jealousy); they are jealous of each other.

2.6.2. Non-verbal Stem → Noun/Adjective.

There are a number of nominals which are derived from non-
verbal stems (nouns, adjectives or adverbs) by a similar process to that
just described: a prefix is attached to the non-verbal stem, and
pronominal prefixes are then affixed to the derived stem. Three
derivational prefixes appear: -**gu**-, -**mu**- and -**bu**-. None appears to be
completely productive synchronically.

<u>2.6.2.1</u>. -**gu**- appears in the following derived stems:

-**gu-balpi**	a stone country one (**balpi** Cl.IV 'stone')
-**gu-bamura**	an island one (**bamura** Cl.IV 'island')
-**gu-djilpirr**	a mud one (**djilpirr** Cl.IV 'mud')
-**gu-wipa**	a 'stay-at-home' (**wipa** Cl.IV 'home, country')
-**gi-djidjirru**	a daytime one (**djidjirru** Cl.IV 'daytime')
-**gu-djaluwu**	last one, one coming after (**djaluwu** ADV 'again, coming behind')
-**gu-burrkburrk**	one with bad sickness (**burrkburrk** Cl.IV 'bad sickness, flu')
-**gu-gondu**	a pond one (**gu-góndu** Cl.IV 'pond')
-**gu-djuwórrwu**	an outside one (**gudjuwórrwu** (ADV 'outside')
-**gi-minabami**	a water one, one in the water (**gin-minabami**, Cl.IV 'fresh water')

It thus appears to derive an adjective or noun describing someone or something associated with the referent of the original stem. This association can be permanent, indicating the environment in which a species is found, or a temporary one, as in the following example:

2-204 **Ya,   a-goni   an-marlpa   ant-gi-djidjirru**
QU   3I-this   3I-shooting star   3I-Der-daytime
(VIII/59/25)
What do you think, this shooting star is a daytime one!

A number of names of flora and fauna appear to be derived from nouns by means of this prefix **-gu-**. They are **djint-gi-rrirri**, *Grevillea decurrens* (cf. **irrirri**, Cl.IV, 'teeth'); **djit-gu-golku**, Blue-Winged Kookaburra (cf. **golku**, Cl.III/?IV 'paperbark'), **at-gu-ngolurdu** Red-winged parrot (cf. **golurdu** Cl.?, 'gumnuts'), **git-gi-djel**, a type of honey found at the base of a tree (**djel** Cl.IV, 'ground'), and **gut-gu-wurrpu**, honey found in mangroves (**guwúrrpu** Cl.IV 'mangroves').

2.6.2.2. The prefix **-mu-** similarly appears in several derived stems often used in describing the environment in which a person, animal or plant lives:

-mu-djodjurru	a high place one, upcountry or inland one (**djodjurru** ADV 'high place');
-mu-djalawarritj	a sea/saltwater one (**djalawarritj** Cl.IV/III 'sea')
-mu-gotjiluwu	low country one, coast one (**gotjiluwu** ADV 'coast'?)

2-205 **Mu-djalawarritj   mu-yo-rri?   E,   mun-mu-djalawarritj.**
Loc3III-sea   3IIIS-lie-Con   yes 3III-Der-sea,saltwater
Does it live in the sea? Yes, it's a saltwater one.   (V/81/4)

These can also be used as directional terms:

2-206 **Gu-mu-djalawarritj   m-bogi-ya,   gu-mu-djodjurru**
Loc3IV-Der-sea   3IIIS-go-Con   Loc3IV-Der-high country
(Big planes) go over the sea or over the high country (ie, further inland) (not over here).

The prefix **-mu-** appears in another noun, **an-mú-burda**, designating a witch doctor, one who has **burdá** 'power?, that which a witch doctor carries'.

Attached to adjectival stems, -mu- creates a superlative form of the adjective. This function is also not productive, as only six adjectival stems may take this prefix: -mu-mornóngi, 'biggest, -mu-djurrkdjurrk 'greediest, "too greedy"', -mu-gapurla "too blind", -mu-garpi 'best at hunting, "too clever"', -mu-gerna 'maddest, "too mad"', and -mu-mornungu 'guiltiest, "too guilty"'. For example:

2-207 **Awuni-mu-mornóngi yerrtji gi-yina-ga**
       3UAnf-Der-big   *mob*   *3IVS-do thus-Con*
                                              =earlier today
       awuni-buki-ni,   **nguwurr-weku-n**
       3UAnfS-fall,land-Pre *1+2AugS-speak-Fut*
       gu-goni wipa   **ni-lorndo.**
       3IV-this country,land *3MinNf-Dat*
       Two very big (=high up in government) people landed today, we'll all talk about this land.   (VII/75/15)

Some instances of -mu- involve a collective meaning; this is found in **an-mu-ragalk** 'all the murderers' (**ragalk** 'murderer') and **an-mu-matjirri** 'all the dead people' (-**matjirri** does not exist independently, but compare **matji** 'ghost, dead person'), and also in the phrases **mu-gami yerrtji** *Coll-woman mob* 'all the women', **mu-djungdjung yerrtji** *Coll-dog mob* 'all the dogs'.

2-208 **Mu-gami yerrtji burdak borr-gugu awurr-bogi-ni**
       Coll-woman mob wait 3Aug-first 3AugS-go-Pre
      niyi awurr-nguna-djeki-rdi ngaytjburru-narrapu
      alright 3AugS-twds-return-Fut 1+2Aug-next
      All the women have gone first, when they come back, we'll all go next.   (VI/111/21)

As with -gu-, the stress pattern of a number of nouns suggests an etymology involving -mu- as a derivational prefix; these are: **an-mu-djétjini** 'pelican'; **an-mi-bírdin**, pigeon sp.; **an-mu-rrárdi**, probably the chequered rainbow fish.

<u>2.6.2.3.</u> The prefix **-bu-** also has a collective meaning in two of the forms in which it appears, **at-bu-burrkarl** 'all the children' and **at-bu-bambay** 'all the old people':

2-209 **Wulek awurr-garrapu at-bu-burrkarl awurr-djarti**
finish   3Aug-Anaph   3I-Der-child   3AugS-hurry
awurr-djidjigi-yi-ø
3AugS-hide-Intr-Con
Then all the children rush off and hide.   (V/54/16)

This is not found however in the third derived adjective in which -**bu**- is found, -**bu-guyuguyu** 'the first one' (**guyuguyu** ADV 'ahead, first'):

2-210 **Gu-bu-guyuguyu   ganditjawa galu,   balanda   galu.**
Loc3IV-Der-ahead,first   flour   Neg   white man Neg
In the beginning, there was no flour, no white people. ()

(Note that -**bu**- and -**gu**- are not interchangeable in -**bu-guyuguyu** 'first one' and -**gu-djaluwu** 'last one').

A derivational prefix -**bu**- may perhaps occur in **at-bu-lóligiyin**, the straight stick used in building shades and the traditional bark shelter, where the stress pattern suggests a root *****loligiyin** (not, however, found independently).

-**mu**- and -**gu**- are identical in form to the Cl.III and IV noun class prefixes, and may derive from them historically; -**bu**- may perhaps be related to -**bu**- (3rd person) non-singular in the pronominal prefixes (see §4.3.1.3.2), but with so few instances of -**mu**- and -**bu**- as derivational prefixes it is hard to determine if there is any semantic difference between the three forms.

2.6.3. Addition of a Pronominal Prefix.

The words listed above require the addition of a derivational prefix to create a stem which can take sets Ni and Nii pronominal prefixes. In other cases, an adjective or noun has been derived from a non-verbal stem by the addition of a pronominal prefix directly to this stem. This is the process by which possessive adjectives are created from direct case pronouns (see §3.1.4.3). Other words in which direct affixation is found are **djit-gami** 'female' (**gami** Cl.II 'woman'), **an-worri** and **ant-gudjurdu** 'male' (**worri** 'man', **gudjurdu** 'penis'), {**at-**}**gurdól** 'rotten' (**gurdól** 'pus'), **at-balpi** 'grinding stones, (a Cl.I kind of stone)' (**balpi** Cl.IV 'stone'), **mit-djalmirri** 'dugout canoe, (a Cl.III kind of tree)' (**djalmirri** Cl.IV 'unfashioned tree, stick'). This

process also does not appear to be productive.

Chapter 3: Pronouns, Demonstratives and Indeterminates.
3.1. Pronouns.

Pronouns constitute a small closed class of words, which encode categories of person, number, noun class (or gender) and case. The distinctions made within each of these categories are discussed in the sections following, and the forms of the pronouns are then presented and analysed in §3.1.4.

3.1.1. Person and Number Categories.

Within the system of independent personal pronouns, three number categories are distinguished: Minimal (Min), Unit-Augmented (UA) and Augmented (Aug). There are four distinctions in the category of person, and these I term 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 1+2 person. These person and number categories were first named thus for Rembarrnga by McKay (1975), building on Conklin's (1967:135) suggestion of a minimal vs non-minimal opposition, and subsequently used in describing Ndjébbana (McKay 1978 and forthcoming), Nakkára (Eather 1990), and Burarra (Green 1987) (and also the Kimberley language Nyigina (Stokes 1982)). Glasgow (1964a) describes the same categories in Burarra under different terminology.

1st person is equivalent to the traditional category of 1st person exclusive (speaker, but not addressee), 2nd and 3rd persons refer to addressee and other respectively, and 1+2 person comprises at least the speaker and one addressee (the traditional '1st person inclusive' category). The Minimal category is the minimum number of people each person category can refer to: one for each of 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, and two for 1+2 person. Unit-augmented is this minimum number plus one (so two people for 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, and three for 1+2 person), and Augmented comprises the minimum number plus two or more.

These three number categories are also distinguished in the inflectional system of intransitive and transitive pronominal prefixes. In the transitive set, a further distinction is made, one between singular and nonsingular, which intersects with the three categories just described. See §4.3.1.3.1 for discussion.

3.1.2. Gender in the Personal Pronouns.

As described above in §2.2.5, there are four controller noun classes in Gurr-goni, but only two target noun classes or genders are distinguished in the 3rd person minimal free pronouns, and in all unit-augmented pronominals (free and bound).

The 3rd person minimal, Class II pronoun is used only with members of controller Class II, while the Class I pronoun is used for reference to and agreement with members of controller classes I, III and IV, and to a limited extent with Cl.II also. (See §2.2.5.1 for examples.)

Choice of gender in unit-augmented number, described and illustrated in §2.2.6, is summarised in the statements repeated as 3-a:

3-a   In 3rd person: if at least one conjunct is female, then the feminine form (Cl.II) is used; otherwise the masculine form (Cl.I) is used;

or, stated the other way around, if all conjuncts are male, then the masculine form (Cl.I) is used; otherwise the feminine form (Cl.II) is used.

In other persons, the sex of the 'other', the augment, determines the gender:

-if the 'other' is male, the masculine form (Cl.I) is used;

-if the 'other' is female, the feminine form (Cl.II) is used.

3.1.3. Case.

The pronouns are the only word class in which the Direct, Dative and Possessive$_C$ cases are distinguished; this is achieved through the use of case suffixes, as well as limited stem suppletion. The grammatical functions of the cases were discussed in detail above (§§2.3.1-2.3.3). Direct case is used for NPs in the core functions A (transitive subject), O (transitive object), and S (intransitive subject), as well as for extra objects (see §5.2.3.1 below), nominal predicates, topics, and as a vocative. Direct case pronouns also take suffixes which signal participant or discourse status. Dative case designates a range of semantic roles not indexed on the verb, including beneficiary, maleficiary, addressee, human goal, etc. Possessive$_C$ case indicates the possessor of a certain set of nouns (see §§2.3.3 and 2.4.1.3), and may also be used for many of the semantic roles covered by the dative case. The dative case covers the functions of the Local or Ablative cases for personal pronouns. Comitative case is expressed by the adposition **waypu** 'with' in conjunction with a direct case pronoun.

3.1.4. The Free Pronouns.

The free pronouns are displayed in Table 3.1 below.

	Minimal	UA	Augmented
1	ngayi (-PROM)		
1+2	ngarritj-PROM ~	nga-CLASS-yu (-PROM)	nga-ytjbu-rru (-PROM)
	ngarr-PROM*		
2	ngarr-PROM	nugó-CLASS-yu (-PROM)	nugó-ytjbu-rru (-PROM)
3	nf niyé-PROM	bo-CLASS-yu (-PROM)	bo-rr(o)-PROM
	f ngidjiyé-PROM		
		DIRECT CASE	
·1	ngabu	nga-CLASS-yu	nga-ytjbu-rru
1+2	ngarrku		
2	nguku	nugó-CLASS-yu	nugó-ytjbu-rru
3	nf nuyu	bo-CLASS-yu	bo-rro
	f ngutjuyu		
		POSSESSIVE CASE	
1	ngapala	nga-CLASS-lorndo	nga-ytjbu-lorndo
1+2	ngarrkulu		
2	nguku-lorndo	nugó-CLASS-lorndo	nugó-ytjbu-lorndo
3	nf ni-lorndo	bo-CLASS-lorndo	bo-rr(o)-lorndo
	f ngutju-lorndo		
		DATIVE CASE	

PROMinence: -pu 'Cardinal', -na 'Emphatic', -gugu 'First', -narrapu 'next' (see §3.1.4.2.1-4)

CLASS: non-feminine -ti-, feminine -rritji

*ngarritj- co-occurs with prominence suffixes -pu 'cardinal' and -barrapu, an allomorph of -narrapu 'next'; ngarr- co-occurs with prominence suffixes -na 'emphatic' and -gugu 'first'.

Table 3.1: Free Pronouns: Direct, Possessive and Dative Case Forms.

3.1.4.1. Analysis of Forms.

The Gurr-goni pronouns vary in the degree to which they are susceptible to a morphemic analysis. Pronouns in Unit-Augmented number are easily segmentable into morphemes which occur in a fixed and regular order. Augmented number pronouns are fairly regular in their formation. Morphemes identified in these non-minimal number categories can also be found in the minimal number pronouns, but such an analysis leads to the isolation of a number of segments which are not found elsewhere.

In Unit-Augmented number, all forms can be analysed as having a person/number stem, followed by a maximum of three suffixes. (These are shown in Table 3.2 below.) In the first suffix position, immediately to

the right of the person/number stem, is a class (or gender) prefix, signalling whether the pronoun has feminine or non-feminine reference. Following this is a slot which contains what are probably to be analysed as case suffixes: -yu- Direct/Possessive, -lorndo Dative. In third order position, farthest from the stem, are the prominence suffixes which optionally attach to pronouns in direct case. The same sequence of morphemes is found in the augmented number pronouns in 1st, 2nd and 1+2 persons: the same person/number stems found in UA number are here followed by a segment -ytjbu-, which can be analysed as encoding augmented number for other than third person, and then by case suffixes -rru- Direct/Possessive and (as in UA number) -lorndo Dative. In 3rd person augmented, in all cases, the person/number stem bo- is followed by a number affix -rro-. In possessive case, no further case affix appears. In direct case, a prominence suffix is obligatory; it attaches directly to this stem bo-rro. A zero suffix -ø is therefore shown for 3rd person augmented, direct and possessive cases in the case/number slot in the table below.[1]

Pers/Number (non-minimal)		Number + Class or person		Case/Number		Prominence	
1, 1+2	nga-	UA Class	nf -ti-	Dir/Poss UA	-yu-	unmarked	-ø
2	nugó-		f -rritji-	Dir/Poss AUG non 3	-rru-	Cardinal	-pu
						Emphatic	-na
3	bo-	Aug non 3	-ytjbu-	Dir/Poss AUG 3	-ø	First	-gugu
		Aug 3	-rr(o)-	Dative	-lorndo	Next	-narrapu

Table 3.2. Morphemic analysis of the non-minimal free pronouns.

It is possible to analyse the minimal number pronouns into a sequence of three morphemes (or in some cases even four), but this method of analysis is not particularly satisfying, as it results in a number of otherwise isolated segments. However, a number of segments can be identified here which recur in the other pronouns and in other parts of the morphology. The prominence suffixes are obligatorily affixed to direct case pronouns in minimal number (with the single exception of 1st person minimal, which may occur with no overt suffix in direct case). The dative suffix -lorndo occurs in 2nd and 3rd persons; in 1st and 1+2 persons, comparison of the dative and possessive forms suggests that -la ~

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[1] This -ø is not however shown in the remainder of the thesis, nor are the morpheme boundaries within pronouns other than those between the prominence suffixes, the dative suffix and the stems to which these attach.

-lu encodes dative case here. As far as morphemes encoding person are concerned, the same initial CV- sequence **nga-** appears in 1st and 1+2 persons minimal as well as non-minimal numbers. In 3rd person, comparison of the non-feminine and feminine forms isolates the class allomorphs **ni-** ~ **nu-** nonfeminine and **ngidji-** ~ **ngutju-** feminine, leaving a segment -yé- ~ -yi-[2] ~ -yu- in direct and possessive cases (perhaps historically related to the suffix -yu- found in UA number in the same cases). The form **nu-** also occurs as the Cl.I local case prefix (set Nii pronominal prefixes), and **ni-** appears in **ninjokoni** 'who' (<*ni-nji a-goni, see §2.2.1.4); but **ngidji-** and **ngutju-** do not occur elsewhere.

3.1.4.2. Function of the Free Pronouns.
3.1.4.2.1. Direct Case Pronouns.

As described in §2.3.1, the direct case covers the core functions of transitive subject (A) and object (O), and intransitive subject (S). These core arguments are obligatorily indexed on most predicates (all verbs, and adjectives and some nouns functioning as primary predicates) through pronominal prefixes. Use of free pronouns is therefore not obligatory, and in describing their function it is revealing to consider the discourse status of their referents. In order to do this, I have carried out a simple survey like that done by Heath (1984:254-257) for Nunggubuyu (another prefixing non-Pama-Nyungan language spoken in south-eastern Arnhem Land, on the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria). 9 Gurr-goni texts[3] were examined, giving a total of 1,245 clauses. Free pronouns occurred in only 95 (or 7.6%) of the total number of clauses[4]. The 95 free pronouns which appeared were coded on several criteria: (1) whether the pronoun occurred in the clause which introduced the referent to the text (a NEW mention), or whether the referent was GIVEN (previously mentioned, or present in the context of the speech situation[5]); (2) for GIVEN referents, whether they occurred in a core function in the previous clause (SAME) or not (DIFFERENT); and (3) according to grammatical function. The results are presented in Table 3.3 below, where n is the actual number of occurrences, and % the percentage over the total.

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[2] -yi- is found only in the possessive adjectives; see §3.1.4.3 below.

[3] Including at least one from each of the seven speakers who contributed to the corpus.

[4] This number includes pronouns used alone (in 71 instances, 5.7%) and within an NP, modifying a noun, adjective or demonstrative (24 instances, or 1.9%).

[5] I follow Du Bois' (1987:816) definition of GIVEN as including referents present in the speech situation. Very few pronominal mentions fall into his 'accessible' category (those mentioned more than 20 intonation units previously, or "part of a previously evoked entity-based frame .. although previously unmentioned)" (ibid); they have been counted here with GIVEN mentions. In other words, NEW and NON-NEW mentions have been contrasted, as Du Bois himself does in much of his discussion.

	-pu		-ø		-na		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
New	6	6.3	0	0	1	1	7	7.4
Given	61	64.2	22	23	5	5.3	88	92.6
Total	67	70.5	22	23	6	6.3	95	100
Different	41	46.6	18	20.5	4	4.5	63	71.6
Same	20	22.7	4	4.5	1	1.1	25	28.4
Total	61	69.3	22	25	5	5.7	88	100

Table 3.3: Number of Direct Case Pronouns (by prominence suffix) used for first and subsequent mention of participants, and in cases of change of core arguments between clauses.

	-pu		-ø		-na		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
A	14	14.7	3	3.1	3	3.1	20	21
S	37	38.9	16	16.8	3	3.1	56	58.9
O	10	10.5	2	2.1	0	0	12	12.6
XO	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Voc	2	2.1	0	0	0	0	2	2.1
Topic	2	2.1	1	1	0	0	3	3.1
?	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	67	70.4	22	23.1	6	6.3	95	100

Table 3.4: Grammatical Function of Direct Case Pronouns.

It is clear from these figures that although direct case pronouns can be used to introduce a new participant, they "are most common in connection with referents which have already been introduced into the text" (the Given figures above), as Heath (ibid:255) found for nominative and contrastive pronouns in Nunggubuyu, and they "typically occur in clauses ... where there is a clear referential contrast between the referent of the pronoun and some other referent in the preceding clause"; see the Different versus Same figures above. As Heath concludes, "retrospective contrast is the predominant function of these forms" (ibid:256). The following example illustrates these tendencies.

This example, 3-1, shows the opening paragraphs of a text telling how the northern quoll and nightjar determined that we humans should not return after death, while the moon argued that we should return as he does. First the moon and then the northern quoll are introduced, by full

NPs (underlined singly), within the first three clauses. In the fourth clause, the narrator focusses first on the moon, and what he desires to have happen, ending with "Yes, moon said this.": ("**Ee, a-yiti-nji ngolkwarr.**"). The narrator then returns to the northern quoll, and marks this change of focus by using a free, direct case pronoun in the NP: **niyé-pu bobulu at-bararrr**, 'he northern quoll' (doubly underlined in the example). Then up gets the moon and has his say again: "**niyé-pu ngolkwarr a-dji-ø a-yiti-nji**", 'he moon stood, he said..', and again the change in focus is marked by the use of a free pronoun (also doubly underlined).

3-1 **Ngu-weku-n ngolkwarr.**
1MinS-speak-Fut moon
I will speak about Moon.

Like njiwurr-mukdji-nji njiwurr-ni-ø,
"   1AugS-die-Pre   1AugS-be,sit-Pre
Like we were dying,

njiwurr-worduwurdu njirr-wa-rri
1Aug-spirit   3MinA.1AugO-throw-Pre
he threw our spirits

a-njatbu   a-goni   bobulu at-bararr,
3I-whatsit 3I-this   northern quoll
what's his name, this northern quoll,

like ngolkwarr gu-djarlapi-ni   a-weki-ni,
"   moon   3MinA.3IVO-make-Pre   3IS-speak-Pre
like moon made it, he said,

njiwurr-beki-yi+rni, njiwurr-mukdji-gi+rni,
1AugS-come out-Irr1   1AugS-die-Irr1
we would die, we would come out,

njiwurr-beki-yi+rni djapu golborr m-beki-ni,
1AugS-come out-Irr1 like   grass   3IIIS-come out-Pre
we would come out like grass came out,

djapu mu-garrapu nuyu   njiwu-bu-ndi+rni,
like   3III-Anaph   3MinNf+Poss$_C$ 1AugA.3MinO-hit-Irr1
like that we would have hit it (?),

njiwurr-beki-yi+rni njiwurr-djartibiyi-ø+rni.
1AugS-come out-Irr1 1AugS-hurry-Irr1
we would have hurried out.

"Ya, ma,"   ngolkwarr   a-yiti-nji,   "ya,
QU   OK   moon   3I-do,say thus-Pre   QU
"What will it be, OK," moon said, "what will it be,

galu,   galu   awurr-mukdja-ø awurr-boy-ø,
no   NEG   3AugS-die-Irr2   3AugS-go-Irr2
no, they won't die and go

galu,   awurr-mukdji-n,   awurr-beku-n,
no   3AugS-die-Fut   3AugS-come out-Fut
no, they will die, they will come out,

awurr-beku-n,   awurr-bo-go,   gudjuwórrwu,   wipa.
3AugS-come out-Fut 3AugS-go-Fut   outside   camp
they will go out in the open at the camp.

E,"   a-yiti-nji   ngolkwarr.
yes   3IS-do,say thus-Pre   moon
Yes, said moon.

Rrapu niyé-pu   bobulu at-bararr a-yiti-nji,
and   3MinNf-Card   northern quoll   3IS-do,say thus-Pre
And the northern quoll said,

ya, djerritet a-yiti-nji,   "galu   awurr-goni
QU nightjar 3IS-do,say thus-Pre   no   3Aug-this
ay, nightjar said, "no, these ones

awurr-mukdji-n, awurr-mukdji-n wulungmunguy,
3AugS-die-Fut   3AugS-die-Fut   forever
will die, they'll die forever,

awurr-bo-go, galu djaluwu   awurr-be-tji,"
3AugS-go-Fut NEG again   3AugS-come out-Irr2
they'll go, they won't come out again,"

djerritet   a-yiti-nji   a-ni-ø.
nightjar   3IS-do,say thus-Pre   3IS-be,sit-Pre
nightjar was saying.

Arrapu niyé-pu   ngolkwarr a-dji-ø
And   3MinNf-Card   moon   3IS-stand-Pre
And the moon stood and said,

a-yiti-nji   "Galu,   awurr-beku-n,.....
3IS-do,say thus-Pre   no   3AugS-come out-Fut
"No, they'll come out..."   (VIII/29-31)

3-2 and 3-3 give further examples of pronouns marking a change in subject from the previous clause. In 3-2 the change is from 'those (people) who speak Kuninjku' to 'we (Gurr-goni people); while in 3-3,

the narrator switches from the first person augmented subject of most of the text ("I and others") to focus on the others and herself as separate units, using free pronouns to highlight this change of perspective.

3-2   **Gi-njatbu   gu-goni   awurr-yiti-ga**
3IV-whatsit   3IV-this   3AugS-do,say thus-Con

awurr-workiyi-ø   Kuninjku "Mankotpe   ka-yo"
3AugS-do always-Con   lang. name   ??plant   3Min-lie+?
                                                        = place name

but   ngaytjburru-ø   njiwurr-yiti-ga
"   *1Aug-unm   1AugS-do,say thus-Con*

njiwurr-workiyi-ø   "Bart a-dje-rre-pu".
1AugS-do always-Con   ?   3IS-stand-Con-pu
                                        = place name

Whatsit, this place they always say (=call) in Kuninjku "Mankotpe ka-yo", but we always say "Bart a-djerrepu".   (XI/51/26)

3-3   **Wulek njiwurr-bamiyi-ø,   awurr-bamiyi-ø   borr-pu,**
Finish   1AugS-carry-Con   3AugS-carry-Con   3Aug-Card

ngayi-pu   ngu-bamiyi-ø.
1Min-Card   1MinS-carry-Con   (V/140/9-13).

Then we carried (it), they carried (it), I carried (it).

Free pronouns are also used to emphasize or clarify the identity of a referent which is the same as in previous clauses; this is the function of the first direct case pronoun (doubly underlined) in 3-4 to 3-6, while subsequent pronouns (singly underlined) again mark a change in subject.

3-4   **Numórrumu   a-garlma-nay   gu-garrapu   a-dji-ø**
place name   3IS-get up-Pre   3IV-Anaph   3IS-stand-Pre
a-ma-nay,   wulek Numórrumu   a-weki-ni,
3IS-go along-Pre   finish   place name   3IS-speak-Pre
niyé-pu   arrawun,   "Galu!   Gu-goni   wowunupu
3MinNf-Card   name of dreaming   No!   3IV-this   together
arr-yu-ngu.   Galu,   ngarr-pu   "gun-arpurr"
1+2MinS-lie-Fut   No   2Min-Card   3IV-small
nji-weki-ya   Gurr-goni, la⁶ ngayi-ø   ngu-bo-go
2MinS-speak-Con   lang. name and   1Min-unm   1MinS-go-Fut
yi-gabi   "kun-kadjiwalakwut"   ngu-weki-ya."
away-there   3IV-small   1MinS-speak-Con
                                            (XI/63,64)

At Numorrumu he (the dreaming) got up, that's where he went on standing, so then at Numorrumu he spoke, the arrawun (dreaming), "No! We will lie together at this place. No, you say "gun-arpurr"('small') in Gurr-goni, and I will go over there, I say "kun-katjiwalakwut" ('small' in a dialect of Kuninjku)."

3-5   **Dji-weki-ni   ngaytjburru-ø,   "Nguwurr-bo-go**
3IIS-speak-Pre   1Aug-Poss_C   1+2AugS-go-Fut
ngunabu-gogadarra-n   nguwurr-bo-go."   Mutika
2AugA.1MinO-show-Fut   1+2AugS-go-Fut   car
awu-me-nji,   gika   borr-pu   bapa
3AugA.3IO-get-Pre   mother   3Aug-Card   father
mburrklerrtji   mutika   awu-me-nji   awurr-bogi-ni,
children   car   3AugA.3IO-get-Pre   3AugS-go-Pre
djibu-gogadarra-ni   awurr-bo-gini,
3AugA.3IIO-show-Pre   3AugS-go-Pre
ngayi-pu   wipa   ngu-ni-ø.
1Min-Card   camp   1MinS-be(sit)-Pre   (III/4/10)

She said to us, "Let's go, let's go you showing me." They got a car, mother and them, father, the children, they got a car and went, they went showing her, I stayed at home.

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⁶ **la**, meaning 'and', is a Kuninjku and Kunparlang word, which some Gurr-goni speakers use in otherwise Gurr-goni utterances.

3-6   **Njina-bupiyi-ni   njina-djarti   ngu-babirrwi-rri,**
1UAnf-go down-Pre   1UAnf-hurry   1MinA.3MinO-know place-Pre
bart   ngu-me-nji.   "Lay,   ngu-na-tji
?   1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre   hey   1MinA.3MinO-see-Con
ngu-ne-rre,   guwa   arr-bamiyi-n."
1MinS-be-Con   come here   1+2MinS-carry on head-Fut
Ngalmu   a-djerre   ngalmu   a-djerre   ngu-rrumi-rri,
leg   3I-Poss   leg   3I-Poss   1MinA.3MinO-break-Pre
ngu-me-nji   ngu-bamiyi-ni
1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre   1MinS-carry on head-Pre
<u><u>niyé-pu</u></u>   **a-garrapu   an-arpurr   nganaparru.**
3MinNf-Card   3I-Anaph   3I-little   buffalo

(VI/11)

We hurried down (where) I knew the place, and I got him. "Hey, I'm looking at him, come here and we'll carry him." I broke both his hind legs, I got him and carried him, that little buffalo.

Pronouns are also sometimes used in clauses which, except for the pronoun, are identical to the preceding clause. In such cases, too, the pronoun appears to serve to reinforce and highlight the change from one participant to another. 3-7 shows an example of such a use of the 3rd person minimal non-feminine pronoun **niyé-pu** (doubly underlined), as well as pronouns marking change of subject (underlined).

3-7   **di   ngu-djinji-rri   gi-dji-ø   ngatiyu-ø**
tea   1MinA.3MinO-cook-Pre   3IVS-stand-Pre   1UAnf-Poss$_C$
njina-ba-rri   njina-bo-gini   wulek
1UAnfA.3MinO-consume-Pre   1UAnfS-go-Pre   finish
a-weki-ni,   <u><u>niyé-pu</u></u>   a-weki-ni,   "Nganaparru
3IS-speak-Pre   3MinNf-Card   3IS-speak-Pre   buffalo
bapa   njina-da-ni   ngatiyu-ø,
father   1UAnfA.3MinO-shoot-Pre   1UAnf-Poss$_C$/unm
<u>**nugóytjburru-pu**</u>**,   gika   <u>ngarr-pu</u>   nji-bo-go**
2Aug-Card   mother   2Min-Card   2Min-go-Fut
mutika   rowd   nji-ni-ngu...
car   road   2MinS-sit-Fut

(IV/14-15)

I cooked tea, it stood there for us two (males), we were drinking, then he said, <u>he</u> said, "Dad and I shot a buffalo for ourselves (or Dad and I, we two shot a buffalo), <u>you all</u>, Mum, <u>you</u> go and sit

by the road (to watch for a car)."

Direct case pronouns then are used primarily to focus on a previously introduced participant, often contrasting this participant with another. This is the primary function of all direct case pronouns. This focus or contrast can be further specified by the use of one of the prominence suffixes -**pu**, -**na**, -**gugu** and -**narrapu**. In the following sections I will look at the meanings of the four suffixes.

3.1.4.2.1.1.:-pu 'Cardinal' and -ø 'unmarked'.

By far the most frequent suffix on direct case pronouns in the texts is -**pu**, glossed 'cardinal' on the basis of its frequency, although its function is not always clear. As I noted at §1.4.2, -**pu** appears to function on augmented number pronouns to specify 'extreme degree of scope', 'all' the pronominal referents, while the unmarked forms indicate 'some' or 'a few'. However, its function with minimal and UA number pronominals is obscure. Analysing textual occurrences has revealed little about its function: the tables above suggest that -**pu** is more frequently used than -ø, but in 41 of the 67 instances of pronouns with -**pu**, the person/number category represented was one where a prominence sufix is obligatory, and -ø is not a grammatical option. Where a choice between -ø and an overt suffix was possible, -**pu** was used in 27 instances, -ø in 22 instances, and -**na** in 6 instances. -**pu** and -ø thus occur with roughly comparable frequency, and are spread fairly equally across grammatical functions (of the 27 -**pu** pronouns where the choice of -ø was available, 5 (18.5%) occurred in A function, 16 (59%) in S function and 6 (22%) in O function; the corresponding figures for -ø from the table above are A 3 (13.6%), S 16 (72.7%), O 2 (9%) and Topic 1 (1%)).

1+2 person minimal form: there is no 1+2Min form with a zero suffix. The -**pu** form is **ngarritj-pu** (**ngarritj-bu** in the orthography).

3.1.4.2.1.2. -na 'Emphatic'.

Informants often translated pronouns with the suffix -**na** using the English forms 'myself, yourself', etc. It is clearly not the reflexive function of these forms that they were intending, as this function is filled in Gurr-goni by a verbal suffix; but the emphatic use of these pronominal forms in English corresponds well with the use of -**na** direct case pronouns. They are used far less frequently than the alternative forms with suffixes -**pu** or -ø, and seem to place a stronger focus on the participant they refer to, or contrast it more strongly with other participants, often singling it out from a larger group.

Example 3-8 is drawn from the same text as 3-3 above, and occurs several paragraphs before it. In this example, the narrator is describing her own actions as distinct from those of her companions for the first time, and in doing so she identifies them, and herself, using -n a pronouns. When, several paragraphs later, in the example given in 3-3, she again focusses on herself as an individual, acting with a group of other people, she uses -pu pronouns - the second time this comparison is made, the focus on the participants is not as strong.

3-8 **Njiwu-me-ka** **njiwurr-bogi-ya,**
1AugA.3MinO-get-Con *1AugS-go-Con*

awu-me-ka **borr-na,**
3AugA.3IO-get-Con *3Aug-Emph*

ngayi-na **ngu-me-ka.**
1Min-Emph *1MinA.3MinO-get-Con*

We went getting it (shellfish), those ones, they got it, I myself got it. (V/139/9-13)

Examples 3-9 and 3-10 also illustrate the use of emphatic pronouns in individually specifying participants in a group.

3-9 **Njiwurr-garlma-ø njiwurr-ma-ma**
1AugS-get up-Con *1AugS-go along-Con*

njiwurr-yurrburridji-ga. **Ngayi-pu** **wulek**
1AugS-run-Con *1Min-Card* *finish*

ng-ga-tji **ngutjuyu** **ngu-ne-rre** ....
1MinA.3MinO-take-Pre/Con *3MinF+Poss$_C$* *1MinS-be,sit-Con*
=*took off running*

ngu-djarti-pu **ngu-ne-rre** **ngu-warrtji-ga,**
1MinS-hurry-imm *1MinS-be,sit-Con* *1MinS-climb-Con*

Leila **Lynn** **borritjiyi-na** **ngardupu**
name *name* *3UAf-Emph* *alone*

awurrinj-yurrburridji-ga.
3UAfS-run-Con (III/105/1)

We all set off running. I just took off, I hurried up, Leila and Lynn, those two were running by themselves.

3-10   **Njiwu-djinji-nga   ngalngi di arrapu**
1AugA.3MinO-cook-Con turtle   tea and

bararr.   Ngidjiyé-na maka djit-burrpu
kurrajong (seeds) 3MinF-Emph FaMo 3Il-guts

dji-warrka-nga   njiwurr-ne-rre.
3MinA.3IlO-pull out-Con 1AugS-be,sit-Con

We all cooked turtle, tea and kurrajong seeds. We all sat while
<u>grandma herself</u> gutted the turtle.   (III/64/23)

<u>The 1+2 person minimal form</u> is **ngarr-na**, which is identical to the 2nd
person form.

3.1.4.2.1.3. -gugu 'First'.

This suffix, added to the direct case pronoun, indicates that the
person referred to has performed an action 'first': before another
participant.

3-11   **ngarr-gugu**
2Min-First
You started it (to a child fighting).

3-12   **<u>Borr-gugu</u>   awurr-bogi-ya**
3Aug-First   3AugS-go-Con

burr-bobulupu   burr-djarnurrupu,
Comit-biggest one, mother   Comit-W's,M'sZi's Ch

mandunuyu burr-djurr-gaki-dji
crocodile   3MinA.3AugO-behind-follow-Pre/Con

a-na-ma-ma   burr-ba-nga.
3MinS-twds-go along-Con 3MinA.3AugO-eat-Con

They went first, mother (duck) and baby (ducklings), the
crocodile followed after them and ate them.   (VI/111/16)

Example 3-13 below also contains an example of a pronoun with
the suffix -**gugu**.

<u>The 1+2 person form</u> here is **ngarr-gugu** (again, identical to the 2nd
person Minimal form).

3.1.4.2.1.4. -narrapu 'Next'.

The suffix -**narrapu** was often translated '(my, your, his, etc) turn'; I have glossed it 'Next' as it always means a turn after someone else: someone goes first, then my turn comes next. Example 3-14 below shows a direct case pronoun affixed with -**narrapu** in O function, and one in S function; in example 3-13 it is in S function.

The 1+2 person form is **ngarritj-barrapu**, instead of the expected *ngarritj-narrapu.

3-13 **Mu-gami   yerrtji   burdak   borr-gugu   awurr-bogi-ni**
      Coll-woman   mob   wait   3Aug-First 3AugS-go-Pre
      niyi   awurr-nguna-djeki-rdi,   ngaytjburru-narrapu
      alright 3AugS-twds-return-Fut   1+2Aug-Next
      The women have gone first, later they'll come back, (then it's) our turn.   (VI/111/23)

3-14 **Ngu-bamiyi-ni-:   niye-narrapu   ngu-wu-ni**
      1MinS-carry-Pre-X   3MinNf-Next   1MinA.3MinO-give-Pre
      a-bamiyi-ni.   A-bamiyi-ni-:
      3MinS-carry-Pre   3MinS-carry-Pre-X
      arrapu   ngayi-narrapu   ngu-bamiyi-ni,
      and   1Min-Next   1MinS-carry-Pre
      njina-bamiyi-ni   njina-gorrma-nay.
      1UAnfS-carry-Pre   1UAnfA.3MinO-put down-Pre
      I carried it on and on, I gave it to him next, he carried it. He carried it on and on, and I in my turn carried it, we two men carried it, we put it down.   (VI/12/1)

3.1.4.2.2. Dative and Possessive$_C$ Pronouns.

The dative case is used to designate a wide range of semantic roles which are not indexed on the verb; the possessive$_C$ case has similar uses (it also marks possession of a set of nouns including body part and kin terms, but this function is not considered here). These functions were discussed and illustrated in §§2.4.2. and 2.4.3 respectively.

Like direct case pronouns, dative and oblique pronouns are used primarily for referents whose identity has already been established. Table 3.5 below displays the results of a survey of dative and possessive$_C$ pronouns in the 9 texts examined above for the use of direct case

pronouns. To some extent also dative pronouns are used more for referents not mentioned in the previous clause than for those which are, although this difference is not as marked as with Direct case pronouns.

	Dative		Poss$_C$		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
New	1	1.4	1	1.4	2	2.9
Given	47	67.2	21	30	68	97.1
Total	48	68.6	22	31.4	70	100
In previous clause	20	29.4	15	22.1	35	51.5
Not in previous clause	27	39.7	6	8.8	33	48.5
Total	47	69.1	21	30.9	68	100

Table 3.5: Number of Direct and Possessive$_C$ Case Pronouns used for first and subsequent mention of referents, and whether or not the referent is mentioned in the previous clause.

3.1.4.3. Possessive Adjectives.

Possessive adjectives consist of a pronominal prefix (set Ni, non-local case (see Table 2.1 above) attached to a pronoun in direct case (with the suffix -pu, or no suffix[7]). The pronoun indicates the possessor, which may also be indicated by a noun. The prefix agrees with the person, number and/or class of the possessed noun, which again may be indicated by a noun; see §§2.4.2.2 and 2.4.3. For example:

3-15   **galu njiwu-gegimi-ø**   **wurru djin-nugóytjburru-pu.**
        NEG 2AugA.3MinO-dislike-Irr2   but 3II-2Aug-Card
        Don't dislike her, she's yours.   (I/61/18)

3-16   **gu-goni wetji [gun-ngidjiyi-ø maka]**
        3IV-this story 3IV-3MinF-unm   FaMo
        This story is Grandma's.   (I/61/20)

3-17   **an-ngayi-ø   a-buki-ni!**
        3I-1Min-unm   3IS-fall-Pre
        My Cl.I one (son) fell down! (said at a football game)

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[7] See §1.2.3.3 for the final vowel of unsuffixed pronouns.

3-18   [**an-ngayi-pu**   **burrkarl**]   **ngu-barrwi-dji**
        3I-1Min-Card   child   1MinA.3MinO-think of-Cp
        I'm thinking about my child.   (V/63/2)

Possessive adjectives, like other adjectives, can function as modifiers of a noun within an NP, as in 3-18; as head of a noun phrase, as in 3-17; or as a predicate, as in 3-15.

The nature of the distinction (if any exists) between possessive adjectives with the suffix -**pu** and those without is not clear. It is interesting to note that, while the free direct case pronouns in 3rd person minimal and augmented numbers must take -**pu** or another prominence suffix, possessive adjectives in these person categories exist both with and without the suffix -**pu**:

	Free pronouns:	Possessive adjectives:
3Min Non-feminine	niyé-pu	-niyé-pu
	*niye/niyi	-niyi[8]
3Min Feminine	ngidjiyé-pu	-ngidjiyé-pu
	*ngidjiye/ngidjiyi	-ngidjiyi[8]
3Aug	borr(o)-pu	-borr(o)-pu
	*borro (in direct case)	-borro

The unsuffixed possessive adjectives may perhaps be productively formed by analogy with other person/number categories (-**ngayi-pu**, -**ngayi**; -**ngaytjburru-pu**, -**ngaytjburru**, etc) or they may perhaps be historical remnants, retaining forms lost as free pronouns.

3.2. Demonstratives.

The demonstrative adverbs and adjectives are set out below:

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[8] The alternation between medial /e/ and final /i/ in these pronouns is described in §1.2.3.3.

Demonstrative Adverbs		Demonstrative Adjectives	
ngutju(-pu)	here	**-goni(-pu)**	this
mutju(-pu)	here		
gabi	there not far	**-gabi**	that not far
gapu	there far away	**-gapu**	that far away
wurréypu	right there	**-djini(-pu)**	that's the one, this is it
gurrgábu	other/opposite side or way	**-garrapu**	the one that I'm talking about
gurrgónewu[9]	this side		
yibénapu	that way, side		
yiguwápu	this way, side		

3.2.1. Distinctions Encoded.

The three demonstrative adjectives **-goni**, **-gabi** and **-gapu**, and the demonstrative adverbs **ngutju/mutju**, **gabi** and **gapu** encode three degrees of relative distance in space from, or ease of accessibility to, the speaker. **Mutju/ngutju** (no clear distinction is discernible between these two forms) and **-goni** point to the place or time where the speaker (or character in a narrative) is at the time of speaking. **Gabi** covers a wide range of distance between that of immediate proximity and accessibility (indicated by **mutju/ngutju** and **-goni**), and that of distant location and lack of accessibility (indicated by **gapu**). The scale by which the appropriate demonstrative is chosen is relative, and includes factors such as the speaker's feeling about the distance, as well as the scale of reference involved (the camp, the settlement, Arnhem Land, Australia, etc). Thus, people sitting in the shady area where the wells are at Nangak, the Gurr-goni outstation, could refer to the main camp area by any of the three demonstratives: as **mutju/ngutju** or **gu-goni**, 'here', if, for example, it was being compared to Maningrida or to another outstation; as **gabi**, 'there not far', if the distance to it did not seem great; or as **gapu**, 'there far away', as, although it is only a short walk away, it is up a steep hill, and if someone has forgotten their soap on a hot day, they may consider it too far to go to get it.

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[9] This demonstrative appears to be made up of the same form as the language name, Gurr-goni, plus a suffix **-wu**. An apparent suffix **-wu** also appears in four other forms (three adjectives and an interrogative) known to me: **-mugónewu** 'right hand side', **-muléwu** 'left hand side', **-gudjélwu** 'sandy, full of sand' (cf. **djel** 'sand, earth') and **arr-gi-yita-wu** (probably *1+2Min-Nom-do like this-wu*) 'which part of the body?' Comparing **gurrgónewu** with the adjective **-mugónewu** (probably to be analysed, historically at least, as -mu-goni-wu, *NOMinaliser-this-??*) and with **gurr-gabu** 'other way/side', suggests a prefix **gurr-**. With only two known instances of such a prefix (or three, if the language name is included), and only five of the suffix **-wu**, it is not possible to say anything about the meaning or function of either.

Examples illustrating the use of these five demonstratives follow.

3-19 **"Arrongurru nji-gorrmi-rdi ngutju-pu**
throat,voice 2MinA.3MinO-put-Fut here-extr
nji-na-djeki-rdi nji-na-n."
2MinS-twds-return-Fut 2MinA.3MinO-see-Fut
Nurse to narrator of story: "(If) you want to come back here (to
the hospital), you will see her."

"Galu... Ngu-djeki-rdi. Maningrida ngu-djeki-rdi,"
No 1MinS-return-Fut " 1MinS-return-Fut
ngu-yiti-nji-pu.... Ngu-na-djeki-rri ngutju-pu.
1MinS-say thus-Pre-imm 1MinS-twds-return-Pre here-extr

(IX/137-138)

Narrator to nurse: "No. I'm going back. I'm going back to
Maningrida," I said straight off. I came back right here
(Maningrida, where the narrator was telling the story).

3-20 **Mutju nji-negi-rri ngaytjburru-ø,**
here 2MinA.3MinO-tread-Pre 1Aug-Poss_C
gun-ngaytjburru-ø wipa nji-negi-rri
3IV-1Aug-unm land 2MinA.3MinO-tread-Pre
ngaytjburru-ø.
1Aug-Poss_C (I/109/7)
Here you trod it for us, you trod our land for us.

3-21 **Mutju airport m-buku-n.**
here " 3IIIS-fall,land-Fut
It will land (lit. fall) here at the airport (said in Maningrida
settlement, not at the airport itself). (VII/89/3)

3-22 **Balanda arr-me-nji.**
white man 3MinA.1AugO-get-Pre
"Nji-goni yandu njiwurr-bogi-ni?"
2Min-this,here where 2AugS-go-Pre
"Gu-gabu-kuwa njiwurr-nguna-djeki-rri."
3IV-there-Abl 1AugS-twds-return-Pre
The white man got us. "You here, where did you all go?" "We've
come back from out there." (IV/72/13)

3-23 **Djama   ngu-dji-ø   gu-gabi,   gabi   preschool.**
work   1MinS-stand-Pre 3IV-there Loc   "
I worked <u>at that place there</u>, at the preschool.   (IX/124/1)

3-24 **ø-Boy-ø   nji-gabi   chair!**
2MinSImp-go-Irr2 2Min-there   "
<u>You there</u>, go to a chair!   (V/82/5)

3-25 **Yey, <u>awurr-gabi</u> a-nji   awurr-gogidji-nji?**
Hey, 3Aug-there   3I-what 3AugS-call out-Pre
Hey, what did <u>those people over there</u> call out?   (IV/52/13)

3-26 **"<u>A-gabi</u>   burrkarl a-rruwdjiyi-ø, gare**
3I-that,there child   3IS-cry-Pre   must be
a-rremi-rri."....   dji-djartabiyi-ni a-na-ni
3MinO.3IO-pound-Pre 3IIS-hurry-Pre   3MinA.3IO-see-Pre
wulek dji-weki-ni,   "A-goni   a-barpi-rdi
finish   3IIS-speak-Pre   3I-this,here   3IS-hurt-Con
munguy a-rruwdjiyi-ø."
keep on   3IS-cry-Con
"<u>That</u> baby is crying, (the lightning) must have hit him." She
hurried to see him, then she said, "<u>This one's</u> hurting, he keeps
crying."   (V/61/17,24)

3-27 **Git-gegu-pu   awurr-bo-gini gu-gapu**
3IV-new-extr   3AugS-go-Pre   3IV-there far
awurr-ni-ø   wulek Darwin East Arm gi-dji-ø.
3AugS-sit,stay-Pre finish   "   place name 3IVS-stand-Pre
                              (V/6/6)
The first time they (people with leprosy) went, they stayed <u>at that
place far away</u>, it was there in Darwin at East Arm.

Demonstratives are used in preference to free pronouns when
referring to people who are present at the time of speaking. Example 3-
28 shows two instances of this: the person mentioned, Sarah, was present
at the time of the recording, and had also been present at the time the
reported conversation took place, and so is referred to as **dji-goni**, 'she
here', both times.

3-28 **Dji-goni Sarah** djuwu-me-nji, "**Dji-goni**
3II-here " *3AugA.3MinO-get-Pre* *3II-here*
njibu-ga-tjin njiwurr-bo-go."
1AugA.3MinO-take-Fut *1AugS-go-Fut* (V/125/1-10)
They got <u>Sarah here</u>, "We'll take <u>this girl</u> with us."

-**garrapu** and -**djini(pu)** are specifically anaphoric deictics, and -**goni** can also be used to refer to things which are not necessarily physically present, but which have been mentioned in the narrative or conversation. In this function, -**goni** refers to topics of the immediately preceding clause; examples are found in 3-29 and 3-30. The distinction between -**garrapu** and -**djini(pu)** is not entirely clear: -**djini(pu)** appears to be more emphatic than -**garrapu**, and occurs far less frequently (cf the ratio of use of the emphatic pronouns to the simple direct pronouns).

3-29 **Djuwurrinj-me-nji awurritj-bamiyi-ni.**
3UAfA.3IIO-get-Pre *3UAfS-carry-Pre*
Bulungun.ngun arrapu a-nji berr, berr, <u>gu-goni</u>
shoulder bag and 3I-what bag bag 3IV-here
djapu basket guwu-da-tji
like " *3AugA.3IVO-sew-Con*
awurr-workiyi-ø yirrinji
3AugS-do always-Con pandanus
They got her (turtle), they carried (her). (In) shoulder bags, and what else, (in) **berr, berr**, <u>that's</u> (lit. this) like a basket they sew out of pandanus. (IX/36/25)

3-30 "**Marrka <u>dji-gabi</u> ngu-na-n**
try,let 3II-there 1MinA.3MinO-see-Fut
Bami At-belipili Mi-dje-rre," gakak djinj-yiti-nji.
head 3I-wide 3IIIS-stand-Con MoMo 3IIS-say this-Pre
= place name
Like gakak <u>dji-goni</u> An-dirrdjalaba ngidjiyé-na.
" *MoMo 3II-this,here clan name 3MinF-Emph*
"Just let me see <u>the Cl.II ones over there</u> (i.e. turtles) at Bami At-belipili Mi-djerre," your granny said. Like <u>this</u> granny of yours, she was An-dirrdjalaba clan. (IX/33/15)

3-31　**Wangarr　a-ba-rri,　　　　a-njatbu　at-djondu**
dreaming　3MinA.3IO-eat-Pre　3I-whatsit　3I-palm
at-djondu　a-ba-rri　　　　　weleng　a-garrapu
3I-palm　　3MinA.3IO-eat-Pre　then　　3I-Anaph
dji-bu-ni.
3MinA.3IIO-hit-Pre
She ate a dreaming, whatsit, a Carpentaria palm, she ate a
Carpentaria palm, then that Cl.I one (palm) hit her (ie, made her
sick).　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(IX/116/9)

3-32　**ø-(a)rrimi-ø　　　　　　　nji-garrapu　nji-dje-rre!**
2MinA.3MinOImp-hold-Irr2　2Min-Anaph　　2MinS-stand-Con
Hold it! you standing (there) that I'm talking to!
(shouted to a football player during a match)　　(IV/121/14)

3-33　**"Galu,"　ngayi-pu　　ngu-dji-ø-pu　　　　ngu-weki-ni**
No　　1Min-Card　1MinS-stand-Pre-imm　1MinS-speak-Pre
"Galu,　galu　a-djini-pu　　galu　ant-gu-galiyi,
No　　no　　3I-AnEmph-pu　NEG　3I-Nom-listen
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　=human being
a-djini-pu　djitjitja,　a-djini-pu　　djitjitja
3I-AnEmph-pu　fish　　3I-AnEmph-pu　fish
nji-weki-ya　　　ni-lorndo　nji-ne-rre."
2MinS-speak-Con　3MinNf-Dat　2MinS-be,sit-Con
"No," I stood and said straight away, "No, no, that's not a man,
that's a fish, that's a fish you're talking to."　　(IV/24/10,13)

3-34　**Djibú-wu-ni　　　a-ba-rri,　　　　a-nji　　wiri**
3AugA.3IIO-give-Pre　3MinA.3IO-eat-Pre　3I-what　perhaps
a-ba-rri　　　　a-djini　　an-daka　djibú-wu-ni.
3MinA.3IO-eat-Pre　3I-AnEmph　lily seed　3AugA.3IIO-give-Pre
They gave her something to eat, what was it maybe she ate, that
was lily seed they gave her.　　　　　　　　　(III/4/14)

The remaining demonstrative adverbs (which are directional)
　　are illustrated below.

3-35 **Wulek   a-na-garlma-nay   yiguwápu**
finish   3IS-twds-get up-Pre   this way
nguna-gaki-dji   a-na-djarti
3MinO.1MinA-chase,follow-Pre/Con 3IS-twds-hurry
(IV/12/19)
Then he rose up this way, he came rushing after me this way.

3-36 **Tju   yibénapu   a-be-tji!**
wish   that side   3IS-go out-Irr2
I wish it (the football) would go out that side (of the boundary
fence)   (V/lp/4)

3-37 **Arrapu   niyé-na   gurrgábu   nguna-negi-rri**
and   3MinNf-Emph   other side   3MinA.1MinO-make be-Pre
And he was opposite me. (Lit., And he made me be (on) the other
side.)   (IV/28/6)

3-38 **"Football   ø-ma-ø   ni-lorndo!"**
"   *2MinA.3MinOImp-get-Irr2   3MinNf-Dat*
"Yandu?"   "Wurréypu   ø-na-ø!"
where   right there   2MinA.3MinOImp-see-Irr2
"Get the football for him!" "Where (is it)?" "Look right there
(under your nose)."   (VII/89/19)

3-39 **Wurréypu   ø-ni-ø.**
right there   2MinSImp-be,sit-Irr2
Sit right there (where you are).   (VII/106/8)

3.2.2. Morphology of the Demonstrative Adjectives.
3.2.2.1. Pronominal Prefixes.

Like other adjectives, demonstrative adjectives may function
syntactically as modifiers within an NP, head of an NP, and as the
predicate of a clause. Their position within the NP does appear to be
distinct from that of ordinary adjectives; see §2.3. Morphologically, they
differ from ordinary adjectives in taking verbal intransitive prefixes (see
Table 4.1) rather than nominal prefixes. They are thus incapable of
distinguishing local and non-local cases, but can take the ablative suffix
(as in 3-22 above).

The demonstrative adjectives are not limited to use with 3rd

person referents, but can occur with other persons as appropriate. 3-22, 3-24 and 3-32 above show -**goni** 'this, here', -**gabi** 'that, there' and -**garrapu** 'the one that I'm talking about' with 2nd person referents, and 3-40 illustrates the use of -**goni**, -**gabi** and -**garrapu** with a 1+2 person minimal prefix in the context of discussing different parts of our bodies:

3-40   arrapu   <u>arr-goni</u>   galu,   <u>arr-goni</u>   galu,
        and   *1+2Min-this NEG*   *1+2Min-this NEG*

        <u>arr-goni</u>   djapu   mu-goni   nuyu,   galu,
        1+2Min-this   *like*   *3III-this*   *3MinNf+Poss$_C$ NEG*

        wurru   <u>ngutju</u>   a-njatbu   abu-dje-ka+rni,
        but   *here*   *3I-whatsit*   *3AugA.3IO-put up-Irr1*

        <u>arr-garrapu</u>   nguw   arr-djerre   galu.
        1+2Min-Anaph   *bottom*   *1+2Min-Poss*   *NEG*

        Dress   galu.   <u>Gu-garrapu.</u>   <u>Arr-goni</u>   galu
        "   *NEG*   *3IV-Anaph*   *1+2Min-this*   *NEG*

        arrapu   <u>arr-gabu</u>   nguw   arr-djerre   galu.
        and   *1+2Min-that*   *bottom*   *1+2Min-Poss*   *NEG*
                                                (IX/91-93)

And <u>this part of us here</u> (speaker pointing to her breasts), nothing, nothing <u>here on us</u>, <u>this part of us</u> (pointing to bottom), it was like that, nothing, but <u>here</u> (pointing to pubic area) they would put up (=on) that whatsit (ie pubic cover); <u>that part of us I was referring to</u>, our bottom, nothing. There weren't any dresses. That's how it was. <u>Here on us</u> (<u>this part of us</u>), nothing, and <u>there on our</u> bottoms, nothing.

3.2.2.2. The prefix yi-.

A prefix **yi-** appears optionally on -**gabi**, -**gapu** and -**garrapu**. A directional prefix -**y(i)**- 'away (from point of reference)' can optionally follow pronominal prefixes on verbs (see §4.9.2). **Yi-** appears to have a similar meaning on the demonstrative adjectives.

In example 3-41, where the narrator is describing how her small son fell out of a canoe, she uses -**yi**- 'away' twice, on the verbs 'throw' and 'fall'; **yi**- on the anaphoric demonstrative -**garrapu**; and **yibénapu**[10], 'that side', all of which combines to give a graphic picture

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[10]   **Yibénapu** 'that side' and **yiguwápu** 'this side' both appear to contain a stem (**béna** and **wá** respectively) of obscure etymology, with a prefix **yi-** (perhaps originally this 'away' prefix), a suffix -**pu**, and, in the case of **yiguwápu**, a prefix -**gu**- (possibly the derivational prefix (verb to nominal or noun to adjective) of the same form).

of the child falling away from them, down into the water:

3-41   **A-garlma-nay a-ma-nay-pu   yibénapu**
3IS-get up-Pre   3IS-go along-Pre-imm that side
barlmarrk a-y-wa-rri-pu   yi-garrapu
wind   3MinA.3IO-away-throw-imm/extr? away-Anaph
a-y-guybi-ni.
3IS-away-sink-Pre
He got up and as soon as he went along, the wind threw him right/straight <u>off</u> out <u>the far side</u> (of the canoe), he sank <u>away</u> that way.   (V/114/22-26)

Yi- appears to give the demonstrative a directional sense, rather than a locational one. It is usual to use **yi-gabi**, rather than simply **gabi** (or even **gu-gabi** *3IV-there,that* 'that place') to indicate where you are going:

3-42   **Ngarr-pu yandu nji-bo-go?**
2Min-Card where 2MinS-go-Fut
Galu, ngayi-pu yi-gabi   ngu-bo-go.
NEG   1Min-Card away-there 1MinS-go-Fut
Where are you going? No, I'm going over there . (III/60/10)

In 3-43, too, the directional prefix **-nguna-** 'towards here' on the verb 'sit' contrasts with the prefix **yi-** on the demonstrative adjective **-gapu** 'that (place) far away':

3-43   **Wulek ranba abu-gogurndu-ngu   yi-gapu,**
finish   beach   3AugA.3MinO-cut up-Pre away-there far
ngarritj-bu   yiguwápu   arr-nguna-ne-rre,
1+2Min-Card   this side   1+2Min-twds-be,sit-Con
wurru   yi-gapu.
but   away-there far   (V/99/5-19)
At the end they cut it up on the beach <u>way away there</u>, you and I were sitting <u>over towards this way</u>, but they were <u>off over thataway</u>.

3.2.2.3. The clitic -pu.

A clitic **-pu** can optionally occur on **mutju**, **ngutju** and **-goni**, all 'here, this', and **-djini,** the emphatic anaphoric demonstrative. The

function of the suffix may be to specify 'extreme degree of scope': the forms **mutju/ngutju** and **mutjupu /ngutjupu** were translated by informants as 'here' and 'staying right here' respectively. See §1.3.7.2 for discussion of other occurrences of a clitic -**pu**.

3.3. Interrogatives / Indeterminates.

Unlike the pronouns and demonstratives, the words which function as interrogative and indeterminate pronouns are morphologically diverse: some (-**nji** 'an indeterminate person, thing or kind', -**njatbu** 'an indeterminate name') inflect like demonstratives; some (**yandu** 'an indeterminate place/activity' and **arr-giyitawu** 'an indeterminate part of the body') are uninflecting, and some (**yandu PREF-yinmu-ø-pu** 'an indeterminate quantity', **yandu PREF-yinmi-rdi-pu** 'an indeterminate time/quantity of time units') are verbal in form. Syntactically and semantically, however, they do appear to form a class. Like the class of indeterminates in Ngiyambaa, they can be said to "represent constituents whose precise reference the speaker cannot identify" (Donaldson 1980:148). Placing an indeterminate pronoun before the verb, in a clause with interrogative intonation (see §5.8), a speaker is asking for information about that constituent; the indeterminates could be translated 'who', 'what', 'where', etc, in this context. Using an indeterminate pronoun (placed before or after the verb) in a clause with declarative intonation results in an "indefinite" meaning; in other words, the speaker either cannot, or does not choose to identify its referent precisely, but does not solicit further information from the hearers; 'someone', 'something', 'somewhere', or 'anything', 'anywhere' ('anyone?') may be appropriate English equivalents. In a negative clause, placed between the negative particle **galu** and the verb, the indeterminate pronoun has a negative indefinite function: 'no-one', 'nowhere', 'nothing'.

Yandu 'an indeterminate place/activity' and **yandu PREF-yinmirdipu** 'an indeterminate time' have also been found introducing subordinate clauses; this function is discussed in §5.6 below.

3.3.1. -nji 'an indeterminate person, creature, thing or kind'.

-**nji** refers to an indeterminate person, creature or thing, and can be glossed 'who, which, what (kind of) (creature/thing)?' Like the demonstratives, -**nji** takes the pronominal prefixes used on intransitive verbs, and, as shown at §2.2.1.4 above, an additional noun class prefix appears in **ninjokoni**, a fixed, contracted form of PREF-**nji** PREF-**goni** 'what/which is this' used in reference to a single male, as in 2-20 above,

or an indefinite human, as in 3-48 below. If the semantic domain of the referent of -nji is known, the appropriate class prefix may be used. Cl.I may also be used as a superclass where the referent is unknown, as in 3-47 below, and in some cases even when it is known; see §2.2.4.2 above. Interrogative use:

3-44 **Mi-nji**   **mitja** **njiwu-me-nji?**
3III-which,what *food*   *2AugA.3MinO-get-Pre*
Which (kind of) food did you get?   (V/70/9)

3-45 **Nji-nji**   **nji-walitji?**
2Min-which,what 2Min-name
What is your name?   (I/51/12)

3-46 **Wurru** **ngaytjburru-ø wiri** **a-nji**   **ngubu-ngutji-ga?**
but   *1+2Aug-unm*   *maybe 3I-what* *1+2AugA.3MinO-*
                                           call-Con
But what do we call it?   (V/151/9)

3-47 **A-nji**   **biy-ba-rri?**
3I-what,which *3MinA.2MinO-eat-Pre*
Lit. What ate you? or, what happened to you?

3-48 **Balpi gu-dje-rre**   **ninjokoni arr-me-nji,**   **ay?**
stone 3IVS-stand-Con *who*   *3MinA.1AugO-get-Pre hey*
= place name
Who got us at Balpi gu-djerre, hey?   (IV/71/25)

Negative use: -nji occurs in the construction
    galu PREF-**nji**   (PREF-**goni**) Verb+Irr
    NEG   *-what,which*   *-this*
meaning 'not any, no one'. Note that the scope of the negative particle includes the verb, which must be in one of the irrealis tenses (Irr1 or Irr2, see §4.5 below). Again, agreement in this phrase can be either with the appropriate noun class or with Cl.I as a superclass. Examples were given above in §2.2.4.2, and further examples follow:

3-49 **Ngaytjburru-ø wulek arr-bawu-n=ngutjuyu,**
1Aug-unm finish 3MinA.1AugO-leave-Fut=3MinF+PossA
galu ninjókoni ngaytjbu-lorndo djaluwu
NEG who,someone 1Aug-Dat again
nguwurr-ni-ø, dji-nji dji-goni ngaytjbu-lorndo
1+2AugS-be,sit-Irr2 3II-who,which 3II-here 1Aug-Dat
In the end, she'll leave us,...we will again be without <u>anyone</u>
with/for us, <u>any woman</u> with/for us. (lit. no one with/for us again
we will be/sit, any/no woman with/for us. (III/8-9)

3-50 **Wulek dji-bamabi-ni, galu gi-nji**
finish 3IIS-forget-Pre NEG 3IV-what
gu-barrwa-nga+rni
3MinA.3IVO-know-Irr1 (IX/128/15-20)
Finish, she forgot, she didn't know <u>anything</u> (about it).

Ninjokoni has been found functioning as an indefinite pronoun. In the following example, the presence of a positive modal particle **gare** 'must be' appears to give the reading 'someone':

3-51 **gare ninjókoni a-na-bo-gini**
must be someone 3IS-twds-go-Pre
<u>Someone</u> must have come.

3.3.2. Hesitation Pronoun -njatbu 'whatsit, whatchamacalledit'.

-njatbu is the form used when a name or word has been temporarily forgotten. Like **-nji**, it is prefixed with the verbal noun class markers, those appropriate to the nouns forgotten, if their class is known, or with Cl.I as superclass if the class or semantic domain is forgotten. (No examples have been heard with other than 3rd person minimal, or class only, agreement). As the following examples illustrate, speakers do often use the correct noun class for the forgotten noun, either because it is a member of a major semantic domain, like place names, or, apparently, because that feature of the object has been remembered, while its name has not:

3-52 **Ngutju** **gi-njatbu** **gare** **Djikaterre awa,**
here *3IV-whatsit* *must be* *place name* *?yeah*
Djikaterre gu-garrapu njiburr-yu-y.
" *3IV-Anaph* *1AugS-sleep,stay-Pre*
<u>What's the name of this place</u> here, must be Djikaterre, ?yeah,
Djikaterre, that's the place where we stayed.   (IV/63/9)

Cl.I again functions as a superclass, used not only where the noun class has been forgotten, as in 3-53, but also when the forgotten word is not a noun, as in 3-54, where it is an adverb:

3-53 **gu-garrapu** **Nangak** **njiwurr-ni-ø,** **njiwurr-ni-ø**
3IV-Anaph *place name* *1AugS-be,sit-Pre* *1AugS-be,sit-Pre*
a-njatbu **ni-lorndo** **njiwurr-ni-ø,**
3I-whatsit *3MinNf-Dat* *1AugS-be,sit-Pre*
wetji **ni-lorndo**
language (Cl.IV) *3MinNf-Dat*
At that time/place we stayed at Nangak, we stayed, <u>what</u> was it we stayed <u>for</u>, <u>for language</u>.(Cl.IV).   (III/5/19)

3-54 **galu** **arrarka** **njiwurr-bogi-yi+rni,**
NEG *properly* *1AugS-go-Irr1*
a-njatbu **burriyin** **njiwurr-bogi-yi+rni**
3I-whatsit *fast* *1AugS-go-Irr1*
We didn't go properly, <u>um</u> we didn't go <u>fast</u>.   (IV/69/9)

This hesitation form **-njatbu**, with a Cl.I prefix also appears to function as a secondary predicate of the intransitivised (reflexive/reciprocal) verb **-negi-yi** 'make self/each other be', as in the following example:

3-55 **gu-gapu** **gu-goni** **burdak** **a-njatbu**
3IV-there far *3IV-here* *wait* *3I-whatsit*
njiwurr-negi-yi-ni **ngaytjburru** **njiwurr-ni-ø**
1AugS-make be-Intr-Pre *1Aug-Poss_C* *1AugS-be-Pre*
Lit. 'That far (side), this (side)), we were still making each other be we <u>don't know what</u>'. Translated by informants as 'We (she and us) still couldn't/didn't know each other, didn't know what we were doing to each other, what was going on.'   (III/3/1)

3.3.3. Yandu 'an indeterminate place'; 'an indeterminate activity'.

Yandu is an uninflecting form that is used to ask both '(at/to/in) what place?' ie 'where?', and 'what (action)?', as in 'what did you do?'

3-56   **Mburrklerrtji   _yandu_   awurr-bogi-ni?**
children   _where_   _3AugS-go-Pre_
Where did the children go?   (I/60/16)

3-57   **Bapa _yandu_ gu-goni?**
dad   _where_   _3IV-this,here_
Dad, where is this?   (IV/13/13)

3-58   **_Yandu_   arr-yinmi-rdi?**
what   _1+2MinS-do,say this-Fut_
What will we do?

The negative use of **yandu** in referring to activities has been recorded only in the phrase **galu   yandu**   (**yita**)   V/Clause
                                  NEG   _indet. activity_   _do what_
                                  not be able to V/Clause

as in 3-59:

3-59   **galu nji-boy-ø   njin-dimi-ø   ngorrungurru**
NEG _2MinS-go-Irr2_ _2MinA.3MinO-hold-Irr2_ _gecko_
djaluwu   orrongurru   biy-rrimi-ø,
otherwise   _throat_   _3MinA.2MinO-hold-Irr2_
galu yandu njinj-yita-ø   nji-bay-ø   guyu.
NEG _what_ _2MinS-do what-Irr2_ _2MinA.3MinO-eat-Irr2_ _milk_
Don't go and hold a gecko, otherwise it will hold your throat, you won't be able to drink breastmilk.   (VII/41/9)

3-60 illustrates the negative use of **yandu** 'an indeterminate place':

3-60   **ngayi-pu   galu   _yandu_   ngu-bo-giya+rni**
1Min-Card   _NEG_   _where_   _1MinS-go-Irr1_
I didn't go anywhere.

Indefinite use:

3-61 **nji-djewudji-n**   **ngaytjburru-ø**
2MinS-decide to go-Fut   1,1+2Aug-Card
nguwurr-bo-go   yandu.
1+2AugS-go-Fut   indet place
You'll decide to go (and) we'll all go <u>somewhere</u>.

3-62 **gare   yandu   awurr-bogi-ni**
must be   where   3AugS-go-Pre
They must have gone <u>somewhere</u>.

3.3.4. Yandu PREF-yinmirdipu 'when, how many?'
Yandu PREF-yinmupu 'how much, how many?'

Yandu PREF-yinmirdipu is used to ask 'when, how many (time periods, eg nights, years), while **yandu PREF-yinmupu** asks 'how much/many' of things other than units of time.

Both **-yinmirdipu** and **-yinmupu** take verbal intransitive prefixes, agreeing in person and number, or class, with the noun being quantified; **yandu** is invariable here as in its other functions. The stems **-yinmirdipu** and **-yinmupu** are formally analysable as verbal forms based on **yinma** 'do, say this':

-yinmi-rdi-pu   **-yinmu-ø-pu**
-do,say this-Fut-pu   *-do,say this-Irr2-pu*

Synchronically, however, these appear to be somewhat idiomatic uses of the verb.[11]

The interrogative and indefinite uses are exemplified below. No negative uses have been recorded.

3-63 **Yandu gi-yinmi-rdi-pu ngorrungurru njiwurr-yu-y?**
what 3IVS-do thus-Fut-pu sleep (Cl.IV) 1AugS-sleep,stay-Pre
=how many
How many sleeps (=nights) did we stay?   (III/3/13)

---

[11] But compare the use of another pro-verb **yina** 'do, say like this' in **gi-yina-ga** *3IVS-do like this-Con*, the temporal expression referring to time earlier today before now (for which <u>precontemporary</u> tense is used). This not only takes a verbal prefix, but changes to Irrealis 1 tense in referring to events not realised earlier today.

3-64 **Yandu gi-yinmi-rdi-pu** **dji-na-bo-go?**
what *3IVS-do thus-Fut-pu* *3IIS-twds-go-Fut*
=when
When will she come?

3-65 **Yandu awurr-yinmu-ø-pu mburrklerrtji**
what *3AugS-do thus-Irr2-pu* *children*
=how many
birr-rrimi-nga?
3MinA.3AugO-have-Con
How many children does she have?

3.3.5. arr-giyitawu 'an indeterminate part of the body'

Arr-giyitawu as an interrogative is used to ask what part of the body is involved, as in asking someone suffering pain or sickness where a pain or sickness is localised. Like the indeterminates just discussed, it appears to derive from another pro-verb **yita** 'do, say like this':

arr-gi-yita-wu
1+2Min[12]-Nom-do,say like this-wu

but the synchronic validity of such an analysis is even less certain than that of **-yinmirdipu** and **yinmupu**, as **-wu** is probably not a productive suffix. **Arr-giyitawu** will be glossed simply 'which part of body'.

3-66 **Arr-giyitawu nji-barpi-rdi?**
which part of body *2MinS-hurt-Con*
Where are you hurting? (VI/26/7)

3-67 **Arr-giyitawu nji-buburdiyi-rri?**
which part of body *2MinS-be swollen-Con*
Where are you swollen? (VI/26/7)

---

[12] Identification of **arr-** with the 1+2 person minimal prefix may seem strange, but this is in fact the usual way of referring to body parts; 3-49 above is another example of this convention, which may perhaps be compared with English nurse or nursery talk.

3-68 **Djuwu-da-ni   batgaw,**
3AugA.3IIO-shoot-Pre cow
djibu-gogurndu-ngu...... murrpu dji-djerre
3AugA.3IIO-cut up-Pre   chest   3II-Poss
dji-djini-pu   awurr-bamiyi-ni   wurru ngalmu
3II-AnEmph-pu 3AugS-carry-Pre   but   leg
dji-djerre, gonda dji-djerre, <u>arr-giyitawu</u>   gapu
3II-Poss   arm   3II-Poss   which part of body there far
They shot a cow, they cut her up, ... her chest, they carried that
part of her back, but her leg, her arm (ie foreleg), <u>some bits of
the body</u>, (they left) out there.   (IX/4-6)

3.3.6. Indeterminate Nominal getjigara.

Getjigara does not appear to have an inherent noun class, but is
analysed as a noun in §2.1.1 above on the grounds that it does not take
pronominal prefixes and does not modify other nouns. It is included here
as it has an indefinite meaning. It often follows either the indeterminate
pronoun **-nji** or the demonstrative **-djini**, or both, and in combination
with these it is probably translatable as 'any/a (Cl.I/II/III/IV) kind of
thing', or 'this (Cl.I/II/III/IV) thing'. By itself it appears to mean
'anything, something'.

3-69 **Nji-ngutji -n   ngaytjburru <u>getjigara</u> ngalngi**
2MinA.3MinO-call name-Fut 1Aug+Poss$_C$ anything   turtle
gobu o a-nji   mardangaytjiga
goose or 3I-what,which snake
You'll name <u>anything</u> for us, turtle or goose, or which kind of
snake.   (I/113/17)

3-70 **Ngu-numi-rri   <u>getjigara</u> a-motu-ma**
1MinA.3MinO-smell-Pre something 3IS-smell-Con
I smelt <u>something</u> that smells.   (V/50/16)

3-71 **Buwu-gogadarra-n   wetji,   djalmirri, mi-nji**
1AugA.2MinO-show-Fut language,story tree   3III-what
mi-djini   <u>getjigara</u> mu-dje-rre   awuni-bogi-ya
3III-AnEmph   thing   3IIIS-stand-Con 3UAnfS-go-Con
We'll show you language/stories, trees, any kind of Cl.III things

(ie plants and bush tucker) that are in the bush.   (I/109/13)

Chapter 4: Verb Morphology.
4.1. Verbs and the Verb Complex.

Verbs can be identified as those words which inflect for categories of tense, status and illocutionary mood[1]. They also index categories of person, number and class of their arguments (as do adjectives, demonstratives and some nouns), and can optionally specify the direction of an action, away from or towards a focal point.

All verb stems are inherently transitive or intransitive: they either take a mono-referential prefix, which registers one core argument, the subject (S), or a di-referential prefix, which registers two core arguments, the agent (A) and the object (O). The pronominal prefixes are displayed and analysed in §4.3 below. 3rd person minimal agents are also optionally indexed by Possessive$_C$ pronouns (see §2.4.3 above) cliticised to the verb.

Tense and status are indicated by portmanteau suffixes, and verbs can be classed into conjugations on the basis of the set of tense/status allomorphs selected. The categories distinguished, and the conjugations thus identified, are discussed at §§4.4-4.5 and § 4.7, respectively.

Illocutionary mood is expressed through the pronominal prefixes: the sets of declarative and imperative pronominal prefixes are tabulated and discussed at §4.3.1 and §4.3.2 respectively.

Aspect is expressed within the verb complex through one or two serial verbs, which follow the lexical verb. Serial verbs also encode associated motion; see §5.3.2.1.

The verb complex can be summarised by the following diagram:

(V PARTICLE/NOUN)^2# LEXICAL V# (=POSS$_C$PRONOUN)#   (SERIAL V$_1$#   (SERIAL V$_2$))

Inflecting verbs have the following structure:

---

[1] I use these terms in the sense of Foley and Van Valin 1984. 'Status' is defined below at §4.5.

[2] A small number of verbal lexemes consist of an uninflecting verbal particle, or a noun, plus an inflecting verb. An example of the former is **werr** plus **ma** 'get', meaning 'pass by (O)', and of the latter, **djama** 'work, job' plus **dji** 'stand' meaning 'work'. In Gurr-goni, unlike some Arnhem Land languages like Mara (Heath 1981) and Mangarayi (Merlan 1982), this type constitutes a small minority, and it is not discussed further here.

PRONOMINAL - PREFIX	(DIRECTION PREFIX)-	V	-(DERIV SUFFIX)	-(DERIV SUFFIX)	-TENSE/ STATUS	(-pu)	(-ya)
Decl.Intr §4.3.1.1	'towards'		-ganmi-	-yi-	§§4.4,	§1.4.2	§1.4.3
Decl. Tr §4.3.1.3	§4.9.1		trans	intrans	4.5, 4.7	-:	
Imp. Intr §4.3.2	'away'		§4.8.3	§4.8.1		§1.4.1	
Imp. Tr §4.3.2	§4.9.2						

4.2. Valence: Morphological, Semantic and Syntactic.

All verbs in Gurr-goni are morphologically either intransitive or transitive, in the sense that all verb stems take a pronominal prefix which encodes information about only one argument, or one which encodes information about two arguments. These can be called mono-referential and di-referential prefixes, respectively.

The morphological transitivity of a verb (mono-referential or di-referential), and its semantic and syntactic transitivity, coincide for the majority of verbs. In other words, most verbs which take prefixes indexing one argument have only one core argument, and most verbs which index two, have two core arguments. However, a number of mono-referential verbs are semantically transitive, and can co-occur with two NPs in direct case (see §5.2.3.1 below). Examples of morphologically intransitive, semantically and syntactically transitive verbs are **bamiyi** 'carry (on head)', **weleberrmiyi** 'carry bag slung around forehead', **bamabu** 'forget', **rorrtja** 'clear up, sweep up', **golokdja** 'chop', **dirrdirrdja** 'pull hard on', **rdakrdakdja** '?cut along branch'. (In most cases, these involve a human agent and a non-human patient, and it is the former which is indexed on the verb.) For example,

4-1 **Sheila a-djerrdji-ga   ditjburrk,**
name   3MinA.3IO-find by chance-Con   axe
dji-golokdji-ga   dji-dje-rre   golku.
3IIS-chop-Con   3IIS-stand-Con   paperbark   (III/65/19)
Sheila found an axe (and) stood chopping (at?) a paperbark tree.

Younger speakers show a tendency to resolve this clash between morphological and semantic transitivity by one of two means. In several of the verbs mentioned, a thematising suffix -dja-~-tja appears. The majority of verbs with this suffix are intransitive morphologically, semantically and syntactically, and there are a number of pairs of verb stems where -dja- contrasts with the transitive verbal suffix -ganmi- (for instance, **ngurt-dja** 'shut up, be, become quiet' and **ngurt-ganmi**

'quieten, shut someone up'). The discrepancy between the meaning of verbs such as **dirrdirrdja** and **rdakrdakdja** and the number of arguments crossreferenced was resolved by some speakers by replacing -**dja**- with -**ganmi**-, resulting in stems like **dirrdirrganmi** and **rdakrdakganmi**, which automatically take direferential prefixes. For other verbs, the monoreferential prefix was simply replaced by a direferential prefix; this was noted with **bamabu** 'forget' and **rorrtja** 'sweep, clear up', as in:

4-2   **Njirr-bamabi-ni=nuyu**
          3MinA.2AugO-forget-Pre=3MinNf+PossA
          He forgot you.   (VII/96/11)

A mismatch between morphological transitivity and syntactic/semantic valence also exists in Nakkara (Eather 1990:162), although there, no attempts to resolve the conflict were noted.

4.3. Pronominal Prefixes.

Bound pronominals encode the same person and number distinctions as the free pronouns, discussed in §3.1.1, with one additional number category. There are four person categories: 1, 2, 3, and 1+2, and three major number distinctions, minimal, unit-augmented and augmented. In addition, a singular/non-singular distinction is made in the transitive pronominal prefixes. The number of noun classes, their semantic fields and their formal marking was discussed in §4.2.5 etc; in the bound pronominals, four classes are distinguished in 3rd person minimal, and two (feminine and non-feminine) in unit-augmented number (all persons).

There are four sets of pronominal prefixes: declarative intransitive and declarative transitive (shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.3 respectively), and imperative intransitive and imperative transitive (Tables 4.11 and 4.12).

4.3.1. Declarative Prefixes.
4.3.1.1. Declarative Intransitive Prefixes.

The set of declarative intransitive prefixes is displayed in Table 4.1. This table, and following tables, show the underlying forms of the morphemes. Examples throughout the thesis show surface forms, derived

from the underlying forms by the morphophonemic processes described in §1.2.3, and following the statements of allomorphic distribution given in §4.3.1.1.2 and with Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.1: Declarative Intransitive Prefixes.

Person (+ class)	MIN	UA gender non-fem	fem	AUG
1	ngu-	⌠njina-⌡	⌠njirrinjin-⌡	⌠njiburru-⌡
2	njin-			
1+2	arru-	ani-	arrinjin-	nguburru-
3 I	a-	abuni-	aburrinjin-	aburru-
II	djin-			
III	mu-			
IV	gu-			

(Number spans the three right columns: MIN, UA gender (non-fem/fem), AUG)

4.3.1.1.1. Morphemic Analysis.

In both unit-augmented and augmented numbers, the prefixes can be segmented into a morpheme encoding person and number followed by one encoding class and/or number. These morphemes are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Intransitive Prefixes: Nonminimal Person, Number and Class morphemes.

UA   AUG

1	nji-	
2		
1+2	a-	ngu-
3	abu-	a-

Person/Number

UA nonfem	-na- (i+__) ~-ni- (a,u+__)
UA fem	-rrinjin-
AUG	-burru

Number(/Class)

The minimal number intransitive prefixes are probably best treated as mono-morphemic (but see the discussion below of 1+2 minimal in the transitive prefixes).

4.3.1.1.2. Allomorphy of the Pronominal Prefixes.

4.3.1.1.2.1 There are three allomorphs of the verbal prefixes {njin-} '2nd person minimal S, A' and {djin-} '3rd person minimal Cl.II S, O'. The allomorphs /njin-/ and /djin-/ occur before morphemes beginning with underlying /r/, /njinj-/ and /djinj-/ occur before morphemes

beginning with /y/, while the forms /nji-/, /dji-/ occur in all other environments. This deletion of /n/ before most consonants appears to be morphologically based, as it is evident from Table 1.7 above that nC clusters are not prohibited in Gurr-goni.

{ njin-, djin- } are realised as /njin-, djin-/ / ___ + r

/njinj-, djinj-/ / ___ + y

/nji-, dji-/   / elsewhere[3]

In fast speech, the palatal nasal may drop from /njinj-/ and /djinj-/; this loss is optional, in contrast to the loss of /n/ before all other consonants except /r/.

Thus: { njin-rra-ni }   →   /njin-da-ni/[4]
       2MinA.3MinO-spear-Pre   you speared it

       { njin-yu-ngu }   →   /njunj-yu-ngu/ (~nju-yu-ngu)
       2MinS-sleep-Fut   you'll sleep

but   nji-bogi-ni   you went
       nji-dje-rre   you're standing
       nji-rduburdji-nji   you were startled
       nji-galtji-nji   you went in

       nji-me-nji   you got it
       nji-na-ni   you saw it
       nji-nji   who are you?
       nji-ngepi-rri   you lifted it

       nji-rorrtji-nji   you cleared up
       dji-rlarlarrdji-nji   she dried out
       dji-waligiyi-ni   she danced

4.3.1.1.2.2 There are four allomorphs of the unit-augmented feminine morpheme -rrinjin-:

---

[3] ie, before all other consonants, as no verb stems begin with vowels.

[4] See §1.2.3.2.2 for rr → d.

{-rrinjin-} is realised as /-rrinjin-/ / ___ + stop
[apical] (including
/d/ ← /r/)

/-rrinji-/ / ___ + continuant
[apical]

/-rrinj-/ / ___ + continuant
[non-apical]

/-rritj-/ / ___ + stop
[non-apical]

So:

{a-rrinjin-rruwdjiyi-ø} → /a-rrinjin-duwdjiyi/
1+2-UAfem-cry-Irr2 We three women might cry

{a-rrinjin-rorrtja-ø} → /a-rrinji-rorrtja/
1+2-UAfem-clear up-Irr2 We three women might clear up

{a-rrinjin-ma-nay} → /a-rrinj-ma-nay/
1+2-UAfem-go along-Pre We three women went along

{a-rrinjin-bo-go} → /a-rritj-bo-go/
1+2-UAfem-go-Fut We three women will go

4.3.1.1.2.3 An intervocalic bilabial stop /b/ may lenite to a labio-velar glide /w/. This is optional for all prefixes containing intervocalic /b/, in that all have at times been heard with /b/ and at times with /w/. However, the unit-augmented number prefixes are almost always pronounced as /awuni-/, /awurrinjin-/ (etc), and hardly ever as /abuni-/, /aburrinjin-/ (etc); the transitive prefixes with non-singular agent and object are almost always pronounced as /burr(u)bu-/, etc, and only very rarely as /burruwu-/ (etc). For the augmented number agent prefixes (/abu-/ ~ /awu-/, etc) and the augmented number subject / object prefixes (/aburr-/ ~ /awurr-/, /njiburr-/ ~ /njiwurr-/, etc) both pronunciations are equally common.

The glide-vowel sequence /wu / which results from the lenition just described may further reduce to being merely an offglide on the preceding vowel ([eʷr], [ɲɪʷr], etc), and, in fast speech, may even disappear altogether, with the result that the 3rd person forms {abuni-}, {aburr-}, etc, are indistinguishable from the 1+2 person forms {ani-}, {arr-}, etc.

4.3.1.1.2.4. The segment /-rru-/, wherever it appears in the pronominal prefixes, is usually pronounced simply as /rr/, with no clear vocalic segment following the trill. /u/ is occasionally clearly pronounced here, however, and the occasional lenition of a following bilabial stop to a glide /w/ (§4.3.1.1.2.3), indicates that the vowel is present in the underlying form.

4.3.1.2. Neutralization of Person Categories.

It will be noted that the distinction between 1st and 2nd persons is neutralized in nonminimal number, while the 1+2 person forms are distinct. This is in contrast to the free pronouns (see Table 3.1 above), where, in nonminimal number, 1st and 1+2 persons are not distinguished and 2nd person forms are distinct. Here, the inclusion of both speaker and addressee in 1+2 forms is opposed to either speaker or addressee with someone else in the 1st and 2nd person forms (thus, 'me and you and others' versus 'me and someone else (but not you)'; 'you and someone else (but not me)').

4-3a **nugóytjburru-ø**   **nji-burr-bogi-ni**
      2Aug-unm   *1,2Aug-go-Pre*
      You all went.

4-3b **ngaytjburru-ø**   **nji-burr-bogi-ni**
      1,1+2Aug-unm   *1,2Aug-go-Pre*
      We all (not including you) went.

4-3c **nga-ytjbu-rru-ø**   **ngu-burr-bogi-ni**
      1,1+2Aug-unm   *1+2Aug-go-Pre*
      We all (including you) went.

Theoretically, the ambiguity of both the free pronoun and the bound pronominal in 4-1b means that the hearer has to compute the person category from their common denominator. In fact, as discussed in §3.1.4.2.1, free direct case pronouns are rarely used. The prefix often provides the only identification of core participants, and the interpretation of **njiburr-** as 1st or 2nd person derives from the context in which it occurs.

4.3.1.3. Declarative Transitive Prefixes.

Transitive pronominal prefixes cross-reference not one but two

MINIMAL / UNIT-AUGMENTED / AUGMENTED

A/O		MINIMAL 1	2	3	1+2	UNIT-AUGMENTED 1	2	3	1+2	AUGMENTED 1	2	3	1+2
M	1	------	ngiy-	ngu-	----	------	adjina- adjirrinjin-	ngudjina- ngudjirrinjin-	----	----	arru-	nguburru	----
N	2	nguna-	----	njin-	----	njdjina- njdjirrinjin-	----	bidjina- bidjirrinjin-	----	njirru-	---	burru-	----
M	3	nguna-	biy-	{a-}	arru-	njdjina- njdjirrinjin-	djina- djirrinjin-	bidjina- bidjirrinjin-	adjina- adjirrinjin-	njirru-	njirru-	burru-	arru
L	1+2	------	----	ay-	----								

		1	2	3
	1nf f	------	bubuni- buburrinjin	njina- njirrinjin-
U	2nf f	bubuni- buburrinjin-	----	njina- njirrinjin-
A	3nf f	ngubuni- nguburrinjin-	bubuni- buburrinjin-	{a}-buni- {a}-burrinjin-
	1+2nf f	------	------	ani- arrinjin-
A	1	------	bubu-	njibu-
U	2	bubu-	------	njibu-
G	3	ngunabu-	bubu-	{a}-bu-
	1+2	------	------	ngubu-

Non-singular A and O

A/O	1	2	3	1+2
1	-------	njirrubu-	njirrubu-	-------
2	njirrubu-	-------	njirrubu-	-------
3	njirrubu-	njirrubu-	burrubu-	arrubu-
1+2	--------	--------	arrubu-	-------

* nguna- has a variant form ngunda-, which optionally precedes stems beginning with /rr/. For other allomorphs of these prefixes, see §4.3.1.1.2.

{a-} indicates that the set of noun class markers shown in Table 4.1 above occurs in this position. The Cl.II marker occurs as dji- before -bu-; see §4.3.1.1.2.1.

Table 4.3: Gurr-goni Transitive Declarative Prefixes.

core arguments: the subject (A), and the object (O), of the transitive verb. As with the intransitive pronominal prefixes, however, in most cases only one morpheme within the prefix encodes the category of person; in other words, only one of the two participants receives overt marking of person. Other morphemes which follow this person marker may give information about the grammatical function, number, and class of either of the A or the O.

The full set of declarative transitive prefixes is displayed in Table 4.3 above. In the discussion which follows, I firstly demonstrate why it is necessary to recognize a singular/non-singular distinction, in addition to the minimal, unit-augmented and augmented numbers already discussed. I then attempt to identify the morphemes which make up the transitive prefixes, and to elucidate the principles by which it is decided which of the arguments receives overt marking. The concept of a "hierarchy" of pronominal participants has been proposed (for example, by Silverstein (1976), Heath (1984)) for other cross-referencing languages. In Gurr-goni a very complex hierarchy appears to operate, in which the category of person interacts with those of number and grammatical function.

4.3.1.3.1. Singular vs Non-singular Number.

Looking at the intransitive pronominal prefixes shown in Table 4.1 above, it is clear that the three numbers distinguished in the 1+2 person category (traditionally called 1st person inclusive, this category refers to 'you and me (and others)') pattern with the three numbers distinguished in 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons: the morphemes encoding number (and noun class) in the two larger numbers are identical for all persons. These number categories are not called singular, dual and plural here, because the smallest number category in 1+2 person involves two people: it is, in fact, non-singular. For this reason, the term 'minimal' is used, to indicate the smallest number of people possible in each of the four persons (two in 1+2 person, and one in 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons). 'Minimal' and 'singular' are interchangeable for 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, but not for 1+2 person; for all persons, both the non-minimal numbers could also be called non-singular. As 1+2 person minimal is not singular but non-singular, it is not surprising to find that in the transitive prefixes it patterns with the non-minimal (ie non-singular) numbers.

In the transitive prefixes, the possibility exists for distinguishing all combinations of minimal, unit-augmented and augmented number

agents and objects. This possibility is not realised, however: the combinations of UA agent and object, AUG agent and object, UA agent with AUG object and AUG agent with UA object are all encoded identically. This can be seen by examining the four cells in the bottom right hand corner of Table 4.4 below, which shows the transitive prefixes where the object is 3rd person. All prefixes in these four cells end in -rrubu-, with a morpheme encoding person preceding this: nji- 1st and 2nd persons, bu- 3rd person, and a- 1+2 person. We could perhaps analyse -rrubu- as encoding 'non-minimal agent, non-minimal object'.

Table 4.4: 3rd Person as O Pronominal Prefixes.

3rd Person O Number

A		MIN	UA		AUG
MIN	1	ngu-	nf	ngudji-na-	nguburru-
	2	njin-	nf	bidji-na-	burru-
	3	{a-}	nf	bidji-na-	burru-
	1+2	ay-		arrubu-	arrubu-
UA	1	nf nji-na-		njirrubu-	njirrubu-
	2	nf nji-na-		njirrubu-	njirrubu-
	3	nf {a}-bu-ni-		burrubu-	burrubu-
	1+2	nf a-ni-		arrubu-	arrubu-
AUG	1	njibu-		njirrubu-	njirrubu-
	2	njibu-		njirrubu-	njirrubu-
	3	{a}bu-		burrubu-	burrubu-
	1+2	ngubu-		arrubu-	arrubu-

*{a} indicates that the set of noun class markers shown in Table 4.1 above occurs in this position. (Cl.II djin- occurs as dji- before -bu-; see the statement of allomorphs in §4.3.1.1.2.1 above).

Note that only non-feminine UA forms are shown. In the feminine forms, -rrinjin- replaces -na---ni-.

Turning our attention to the two cells in the top right, the 3rd person unit-augmented and augmented object prefixes, we see that where the agent is 1st, 2nd or 3rd person minimal, the prefix ends in (or consists of) -dji-na- (UA O) and burru- (AUG O). Where the agent is 1+2 person minimal, however, the prefix takes the form a-rrubu- for both UA and AUG O. This is the same form as appears where both the agent and the object are unit-augmented or augmented in number.

Here, then, where the agent is minimal and singular, and the object non-minimal/non-singular, an affix indicating the number of the object appears. But where the agent is minimal but non-singular, as in the case of the 1+2 person minimal category, the number marking is identical to that for non-minimal (ie, non-singular) 1st, 2nd and 3rd person agents

with non-minimal objects. While we tentatively glossed -**rrubu**- as 'non-minimal A, non-minimal O' above, the treatment of these 1+2MinA.3nonMinO combinations indicates that a more accurate gloss is 'non-singular A, non-singular O'.

4.3.1.3.2. Further Identification of Person and Number Morphemes.

We have shown immediately above that -**rrubu**- encodes 'non-singular agent and non-singular object', and that the person markers preceding this number/role affix are **nji**- '1st person non-minimal/2nd person non-minimal', **bu**- '3rd person non-minimal' and **a**- '1+2 person'. We will now attempt to identify the morphemes found within the remaining prefixes in Table 4.4 above.

Minimal A, 3 Minimal O.

In the top left hand cell, where O is 3rd person minimal and A is also minimal, it can be seen that almost all forms are identical to minimal number intransitive prefixes (shown above in Table 4.1). In the case of the 1MinA.3MinO and 2MinA.3MinO prefixes, there is overt marking only of the A, which is formally equivalent to the intransitive subject:

4-4a **ngu-na-ni**
1MinA.3MinO-see-Pre
I saw him/her/it.

4-4b **ngu-bogi-ni**
1MinS-go-Pre
I went.

4-5a **nji-na-ni**
2MinA.3MinO-see-Pre
You saw him/her/it.

4-5b **nji-bogi-ni**
2MinS-go-Pre
You went.

For the 3MinA.3MinO forms however, the class of the O is crossreferenced, and there is no overt marking of the A; here the O

(transitive object) is formally identical to the S (intransitive subject)[5]:

4-6a **Maka djalmirri gu̲-gorndu-ngu**
FaMo tree,stick (Cl.IV) 3MinA.3IVO-cut-Pre
Grandma cut the tree/stick.

4-6b **Djalmirri gu̲-buki-ni**
tree/stick (Cl.IV) 3IVS-fall-Pre
The tree/stick fell.

The 1+2MinA.3MinO form **ay-** is the only form in this cell not identical to an intransitive prefix. It may perhaps be analysed as consisting of a 1+2 person marker **a-** (identified above in the non-singular A, non-singular O prefixes, and also in the intransitive prefixes (as a 1+2 person stem in unit-augmented number)), plus a segment -y-. The 1MinA.2MinO form **ngiy-** and the 3MinA.2MinO form **biy-** also appear to consist of a person stem plus -y-, which may function as an agentive marker; see below.

<u>Augmented A, 3 Minimal O.</u>

The prefixes in the bottom left corner of Table 4.4, where the object is 3rd person minimal and the agent is augmented in number, all consist of a class or person morpheme plus **-bu**. The morphemes **nji-** '1st and 2nd person nonminimal' and **ngu-** '1+2 person augmented' are the same as those identified above in the intransitive prefixes (although in all other positions within the intransitive and transitive prefix paradigms, the 1+2 person marker is **a-**). {**a-**} in the 3AugA.3MinO prefix signifies that the four noun class prefixes shown in Table 4.1 above occur in this position within the prefix. As in the minimal A, minimal O prefixes, they index the noun class of the object. For example:

a-bu-na-ni
Cl.I-AugA-see-Pre
They saw him/a Cl.I thing.

---

[5] Blake (1987:173-174), noting the same facts in Burarra, cites it as a partial exception to his finding that no Australian languages have ergative marking on bound pronouns, and speculates that "the crossreferencing of the absolutive among inanimates is based on an absolutive versus ergative case opposition now lost ..... This system seems to have survived in the inanimate area where it is not overridden by the pressure of topic-worthy higher animate agents to be given a central unmarked representation, a pressure that induces subject versus object (or oblique) marking." As we will see below, 1+2 person (minimal) (surely a higher animate agent) also shows an ergative/absolutive pattern of marking: **arru-** represents 1+2minS and 3MinA.1+2MinO, while **ay-** encodes 1+2MinA.3MinO (this is the case in Burarra too). It may be that this pattern is simply a historical accident.

mu-bu-na-ni
Cl.III-AugA-see-Pre
They saw a Cl.III thing.

ngu-bu-na-ni
1+2Aug-AugA-see-Pre
We all saw him/her/it.

We can tentatively analyse **-bu-** here as a portmanteau morpheme, expressing the number (augmented) of the agent. (We will label it **-bu$_2$-**, and gloss it 'Aug(mented) A(gent)', to distinguish it from **bu$_1$-** '3rd person non-minimal'). Compare, for instance,

nji-bu-	encoding 1, 2 Aug A. 3 Min O	
1,2nonMin-AugA		
and **nji-rrubu-**	encoding 1, 2 ns A. 3 ns O	
1,2nonMin-nsA.nsO		

In both forms, **nji-** encodes 1st or 2nd person non-minimal (or non-singular), and the morpheme following it tells us the number of the A and/or O.

<u>Unit-Augmented A, 3 Minimal O.</u>
Of the prefixes representing combinations of a unit-augmented A with a 3rd person minimal O (shown in the middle section of the left hand column in Table 4.4), all, except the 3UA A.3MinO form, are identical to the intransitive unit-augmented prefixes. Where the A is 1st, 2nd or 1+2 person, there is thus overt marking of the A but not of the O. Here again, the transitive subject (A) receives identical marking to the intransitive subject:

4-7a **nji-na-na-ni**
1,2nonMin-UAnf-see-Pre
We two/you two saw him/her/it.

4-7b **nji-na-bogi-ni**
1,2nonMin-UAnf-go-Pre
We two/you two went.

4-8a   **a-rrinji-na-ni**
        1+2-UAf-see-Pre
        You and I and another woman saw him/her/it.

4-8b   **a-rritj-bogi-ni**
        1+2-UAf-go-Pre
        You and I and another woman went.

Within the 3UA A.3MinO forms, the variable class prefix (indicated by {**a**}) again indexes the class of the O. The UA number affixes (-**ni**-~-**na**- nonfeminine, -**rrinjin**- feminine) refer to the A. For example:

4-9a   **dji-bu-ni-na-ni**   4-9b   **dji-bu-rrinji-na-ni**
        3II-?3ns/?AugA-UAnf-see-Pre   *3II-?3ns/?AugA-UAf-see-Pre*
        They two men saw her.   They two women saw her.

4-9c   **mu-bu-ni-na-ni**   4-9d   **mu-bu-rrinji-na-ni**
        3III-?3ns/?AugA-UAnf-see-Pre   *3III-?3ns/?AugA-UAf-see-Pre*
        They two men saw it (Cl.III).   They two women saw it (Cl.III)

Between the O class marker and the A class marker there is a segment -**bu**-. We have already identified two distinct functions for a morpheme -**bu**-: -**bu**$_1$- encodes '3rd person non-minimal' in the non-singular A, non-singular O prefixes, and -**bu**$_2$- encodes 'augmented agent'. Either of these functions could be represented here, if 'augmented agent' is adjusted to 'non-minimal agent'. As the pronominal prefixes are not segmented into their component morphemes outside this section (I simply identify the person and number of the agent and object represented by the prefix as a whole), it will not be necessary to decide on this question here. In either analysis, it refers to the A, and encodes non-singular number.

Singular A, 3 Unit-Augmented O.

In those prefixes where the A is singular and the O is 3rd person nonminimal (see the middle and right cells of the top row of Table 4.4), other case/number affixes appear (these were briefly examined in §4.3.1.3.1 above). A Unit-Augmented number O affix -**dji**- occurs in the 1, 2 and 3MinA,3UAO prefixes; the class affixes following this, -**na**- (and -**rrinjin**-, not shown), indicate the gender of the augmentor in UA number, and so also refer to the O. There is no overt marking of the

person (as distinct from the noun class) of the O in the 1MinA.3UAO form: **ngu-** marks only 1st person minimal. In the 2 and 3MinA.3UAO form **bi-dji-na/rrinjin-**, an element **bi-** precedes the UA O affix. This could be considered a morphophonologically conditioned variant of **bu-** before **-dji-**, following rule 1, §1.2.3.1, but does the function of **bi-** fit with either of those defined for **bu₁-** or **-bu₂-**? Certainly 'augmented (or even non-minimal) agent' is incompatible here, as the agent is minimal. However **bu₁** '3rd person non-singular' does fit the person/number specifications of the object here. Taking this as its function, it appears that with 2nd and 3rd person agents there is no overt marking of the agent at all in these prefixes: all morphemes refer to the object. With a 1st person agent, by contrast, the person of the agent is marked, and the person of the object is not:

1MinA.3UAO	**ngu-dji-na-**
	1Min-UAO-UAnf-
	A O

2,3MinA.3UAO	**bi-dji-na-**
	3nonMin-UAO-UAnf-
	O O

<u>Singular A, 3 Augmented O.</u>

In the top right hand corner of Table 4.4, we find the forms **nguburru-** '1MinA.3AugO' and **burru-** '2,3MinA.3AugO'. We can again identify **-bu-** as a marker of '3rd person non-minimal', marking here the person of the object. **Ngu-** again marks '1st person minimal' (the agent), while 2nd and 3rd person agents appear to receive no overt marking, as in the UA O forms just discussed. The final morpheme **-rru-**, which follows the person marking morphemes, can be tentatively identified as encoding 'augmented object'. (This identification is strengthened by considering the remaining sets of prefixes below.)

<u>1+2 Person as O Prefixes.</u>

Looking now at the prefixes encoding combinations of 1+2 person as O with 3rd person As (shown below in Table 4.5), we find that these prefixes show many of the morphemes identified in those with 3rd person Os.

Table 4.5: 1+2 Person as O Prefixes.

3rd A	1+2 Min O	1+2 UA O	1+2 Aug O
MIN	**arru-**	**nf adjina-**	**arru-**
UA	**arrubu-**	**arrubu-**	**arrubu-**
AUG	**arrubu-**	**arrubu-**	**arrubu-**

a-, which encodes 1+2 person in all functions and numbers except augmented number A and S, appears here in all the prefixes. It is followed by the affixes encoding number, case and class: **-dji-** 'unit-augmented O', **-na-** ~ **-ni-** 'unit-augmented non-feminine' (or **-rrinjin-** 'unit-augmented feminine') and **-rrubu-** 'nonsingular A, non-singular O'. Note that in the bottom left hand cell where the 1+2 person object is minimal, and the 3rd person agent non-minimal, we find **-rrubu-** as a number affix, rather than affixes like **(-bu)-ni-** or **-bu$_2$-** which indicate the number of the agent. The smallest number in 1+2 person, minimal but non-singular, again patterns with the non-minimal, and hence non-singular numbers, rather than with the minimal and singular number of 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons.

Interestingly, **-rru-**, tentatively identified above as encoding 'augmented O', here appears both where the 1+2 person O is augmented and where it is minimal (1+2 person minimal in the intransitive prefix set is of course also **arru-**). So a strict definition of **-rru-** as a morpheme encoding augmented number cannot be maintained; perhaps it would be more accurate to define it as 'non-singular O/S', used where other number markers (specifically those appearing in unit-augmented number) do not appear.

In the 1+2 and 3rd person object prefixes, we have found it reasonably easy to segment the prefixes into their component morphemes, and to assign a function to each morpheme. The morphemes that have been identified in the transitive prefixes are shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6. Morphemes in Transitive 1+2 and 3rd Person Prefixes.

	MIN	UA	AUG		-y-	Min A (1+2 only)
1	ngu-		nji-		-dji-	UA O
2	njin-				-bu-	AUG (nonmin) A
3	{a}		bu-		-rru-	AUG (nonsg) O(/S)
1+2		a-	ngu- A(/S)		-rrubu-	nsg A, nsg O
		a- O			-na- (/-rrinjin-)	UA nonfem (/fem)

PERSON/NUMBER   NUMBER/FUNCTION

The structure of the prefixes can largely be described in terms of a maximum of three morpheme positions. Unit-augmented object prefixes (and, on one analysis, the 3UA A.3MinO prefix) have the structure

PERSON/NUMBER - NUMBER/FUNCTION - UA CLASS

(although in 3MinA.2UA O, the person/number affix is ø-).

The other UA prefixes seen above have two morpheme slots:

PERSON/NUMBER - UA CLASS

(or, to retain a tri-morphemic structure for all UA O and A prefixes, we could say that the number/function affix for these prefixes is -ø-).

All augmented O and A prefixes, and the nonsingular A, nonsingular O prefixes have two morpheme positions:

PERSON/NUMBER - NUMBER/FUNCTION

with the exception of the 1MinA.3AugO prefix which, on the analysis given above, has two person/number positions, one indexing the A and one the O.

Most minimal number A and O prefixes consist solely of a person/number morpheme. 1+2 A and O prefixes can be said to have an affix indicating function (and number) following this.

For these prefixes, we can also describe a pronominal hierarchy which determines which of the arguments is overtly represented in the person/number slot (where there is only one). Pronominal categories on the left in the following diagram are marked in precedence to those on the right:

$$1, 1+2 \quad > \quad 3O \quad > \quad 3A$$
$$2 \quad > \quad 3$$
$$\text{except 3nonMin (O)} \quad > \quad \text{2Min (A)}$$

As we have examined both the 3rd person and the 1+2 person object prefixes, we have seen that in all combinations of 1+2 and 3rd person, whether or not 1+2 person is equal to, greater than or smaller than 3rd person, 1+2 person is always represented in the prefix, and 3rd person is not.

1st and 2nd Person Object Prefixes.

Table 4.7: 3rd Person as A, 1st Person as O Prefixes.

A	1 Min O	1 UAnf O	1 Aug O
3Min	nguna-	njdji-na-	njirru-
3UAnf	ngubu-ni-	njirrubu-	njirrubu-
3Aug	ngunabu-	njirrubu-	njirrubu-

We have also seen that a 1st person agent always outranks a 3rd person object. Examination of the 1st person object with 3rd person agent prefixes (shown in Table 4.7 above) suggests that we can extend this statement, modifying it slightly, to say that in all combinations of 1st and 3rd persons, 1st person is always represented, and 3rd person is not (except in the combination of a 1st person minimal agent with a 3rd person augmented object, represented by the form **ngu-bu-rru-** *1Min-3nonmin-AugO*). In all the prefixes in Table 4.7, a 1st person morpheme appears. This is **nji-** '1st person non-minimal' in the two right hand columns of Table 4.7, where it is followed by **-dji-na-** *UAO-UAnf-*, **-rr(u)-** *Aug O* or **-rrubu-** *nsgA,nsgO*. In the left hand column, the forms are 3MinA.1MinO **ngu-na-** *1Min-?*, 3UAnfA.1MinO **ngu-bu-ni-** *1Min-nonminA-UAnf*, and 3AugA.1MinO **ngu-na-bu-** *1Min-?-AugA*. We can tentatively establish the function of the affix **-na-** by comparing the following forms:

ngu-ø	1MinA.3MinO
1Min-	
***ngu-y** > **ngiy-**	1MinA.2MinO
1Min-MinA	
ngu-na-	2,3MinA.1MinO
1Min-	

While the presence of **-ø-** or **-y-** following **ngu-** serves to distinguish between 3rd person and 2nd person, respectively, as object, **-na-** appears to indicate that the 1st person here is the object.

The analysis of the 3rd person object prefixes above showed that where 2nd person is agent, it outranks 3rd person in the hierarchy determining selection of person/number marking, except where the 3rd person object is greater in number than the 2nd person agent. Looking at the 2nd person object, 3rd person agent prefixes (shown below in Table 4.8), we find again that number, and also grammatical function, play a part in determining whether a 2nd or 3rd person morpheme appears.

Table 4.8: 3rd person as A, 2nd Person as O prefixes

A	2 Min O	2 UAnf O	2 Aug O
3Min	biy-	dji-na-	njirru-
3UA	bubu-ni-	njirrubu-	njirrubu-
3Aug	bubu-	njirrubu-	njirrubu-

Where both the 2nd person object and the 3rd person agent are

non-singular (or non-minimal), the prefix is **nji-rrubu-** *2nonmin-nsgA,nsgO*, and for the combination 3MinA.2AugO we find **nji-rru-** *2nonmin-AugO;* both prefixes have a 2nd person morpheme. However, where the 2nd person object is unit-augmented and the 3rd person agent is minimal, the prefix **dji-na-** *UAO-UAnf* appears, with no person/ number morpheme at all (ie, neither participant is overtly marked).

In the left hand column, where the object is 2nd person minimal, the forms are:

*bu-y > biy-	3MinA.2MinO
3nonMin-MinA	
bu-bu-ni	3UAA.2MinO
3nonMin-nonminA-UAnf	
bu-bu	3AugA.2MinO
3nonMin-AugA	

In all of them, a 3rd person morpheme appears. (Identifying **biy-** as **bu$_1$-y** *3nonMin-MinA* may seem strange when the 3rd person indexed is minimal in number, but it seems plausible that a 3rd person non-minimal form has been used in the absence of a minimal number person marker, as distinct from class markers; or, alternatively, **bu$_1$-** could perhaps be glossed simply '3rd person', appearing in minimal number only when noun class is not distinguished.)

The following patterns of marking, then, have been observed in combinations of 2nd and 3rd persons (the person on the left of the arrow is the one marked in that particular combination):

2 Min A > 3 Min O
3 Min A > 2 Min O

2 nonMin A > 3 Min O
3 nonMin A > 2 Min O

3 nonMin O > 2 Min O
2 Aug A   > 3 Min A
(2 UA O, 3 Min A: neither)

2 nsg A/O > 3nsg A/O

In these combinations of 2nd and 3rd persons, the principles determining which receives overt representation must be stated in terms of person, number and grammatical function: minimal A outranks minimal O; non-minimal A or O outranks minimal A or O (with the

single exception of 3MinA.2UAO, where neither is marked); and 2nd person nonsingular (A or O) outranks 3rd person nonsingular.

Examination of the prefixes encoding 2nd person A with 1st person O, and 1st person A with 2nd person O (shown in Tables 4.9 and 4.10 respectively) reveals even more complex patterns of representation.

Table 4.9: 2nd Person as A, 1st Person as O Prefixes

A	1 Min O	1 UAnf O	1 Aug O
2Min	nguna-	njdji-na-	njirru-
2UAnf	bubu-ni-	njirrubu-	njirrubu-
2Aug	bubu-	njirrubu-	njirrubu-

Table 4.10: 1st person as A, 2nd Person as O prefixes

A	2 Min O	2 UAnf O	2 Aug O
1Min	ngiy-	adji-ni-	arru-
1UAnf	bubu-ni-	njirrubu-	njirrubu-
1Aug	bubu-	njirrubu-	njirrubu-

In the top line of Table 4.9, all forms contain a 1st person morpheme:

ngu-na-	for 2 Min A.1 Min O
1Min-1MinO	
nj-dji-na-	for 2 Min A.1 UAnf O
1nonMin-UAO-UAnf	
nji-rru-	for 2 Min A.1 Aug O
1nonMin-AugO	

In the top line of Table 4.10 above, one form contains a 1st person morpheme: **ngu-y- > ngiy-**   for 1 Min A.2 Min O
1Min-MinA

The remaining prefixes in this line, however, have **a-** as the person marker. We have previously analysed this as a 1+2 person morpheme, but this is clearly not its function here. Rather, it appears to represent this particular combination of 1st and 2nd persons.

The two bottom lines of Tables 4.9 and 4.10 are identical. **nji-rrubu-** represents the combination of 1st person nonsingular A with 2nd person nonsingular O, and 2nd person nonsingular A with 1st person nonsingular O. As **nji-** means both '1st person nonminimal' and 2nd person non-minimal', it is impossible to determine which it is representing here.

In the bottom left lines of each table, the forms **bubuni-** and

bubu- appear. These are identical to the 3rd person UA and Aug A.2MinO forms shown in Table 4.8 above, where the person marker **bu**-was identified with **bu$_1$**- '3rd person non-minimal'. This seems incongruous where no 3rd person is involved, but we have already seen a 1+2 person morpheme appearing in Table 4.10 (where we could say that <u>both</u> the 1st person agent and the 2nd person object were represented). Here we could say that <u>neither</u> is represented.

The following summary of person marking in the 1st and 2nd person A and O prefixes shows each distinctive combination, the person morpheme which appears, and whether it represents 1st and/or 2nd person.

1 Min A > 2 Min O 1 Min O > 2 Min A	**ngu-** *1Min*	1st person
1 nonMin O > 2 Min A	**nji-** *1 nonMin*	
2 nonMin O + 1 Min A	**a-** *1+2 person*	both 1 and 2
1 nonMin A, 2 Min O 2 nonMin A, 1 Min O	**bu-** *3 nonMin*	neither 1 nor 2
1 nsg A/O, 2nsg A/O	**nji-** *1,2 nonMin*	either 1 or 2

The notion of a hierarchy of pronominal (and grammatical) features is useful here not only in stating which of the two arguments is represented in the (usually) single person/number slot of the pronominal prefixes, but also in understanding why the person marking is consistent in some combinations and variable in others.

1st and 1+2 person on the one hand and 3rd person on the other are at opposite ends of the hierarchy, separated by 2nd person, and in combinations of 1st and 3rd, or 1+2 and 3rd persons, the person higher on the hierarchy is always marked.

2nd person appears to be higher than 3rd person, in that it is marked when both are nonsingular, but otherwise the factors of number and function step in. Where both 2nd and 3rd person are minimal, the person marker represents whichever is in A function; where 2nd person is nonminimal and 3rd person is minimal, and vice versa, the person marker represents whichever is in nonminimal number, regardless of

Table 4.11 (Gurr-goni Transitive Declarative Prefixes) — MINIMAL section:

	A/O	1	2	3	1+2	1	2	3	1+2	1	2	3	1+2
M I	1	------	ngi-y- *1Min-MinA*	ngu- *1Min*	----	------	a-dji-na- *1+2-UAO-UAnf*	ngu-dji-na- *1Min-UAO-UAnf*	----	----	a-rru- *1+2-nsO*	ngu-bu-rru *1Min-3nonMin-nsO*	----
N I	2	ngu-na- *1Min-1MinO*	---	njin- *2Min*	----	nj-dji-na- *1nonMin-UAO-UAnf*	---	bi-dji-na- *3nonMin-UAO-UAnf*	----	nji-rru- *1nonMin-nsO*	---	bu-rru- *3nonMin-nsgO*	----
M A	3	ngu-na- *1Min-1MinO*	bi-y- *?3nonMin-MinA*	{a-} *class of O*	a-rru- *1+2-nsO*	nj-dji-na- *1nonMin-UAO-UAnf*	dji-na- *UAO-UAnf*	bi-dji-na- *3nonMin-UAO-UAnf*	a-dji-na- *1+2-UAO-UAnf*	nji-rru- *1nonMin-nsO*	nji-rru- *1nonMin-nsO*	bu-rru- *3nonMin-nsO*	a-rru *1+2-nsO*
L	1+2	------	---	a-y- *1+2-MinA*	----								

UNIT AUG section:

	A/O	1	2	3
U	1	------	bu-bu-ni- *3nonMin-nonMinA-UAnf*	nji-na- *1nonMin-UAnf*
A	2	bu-bu-ni- *3nonMin-nonMinA-UAnf*	---	nji-na- *2nonMin-UAnf*
A	3	ngu-bu-ni- *1Min-nonMinA-UAnf-*	bu-bu-ni- *3nonMin-nonMinA-UAnf-*	{a}-bu-ni- *O Cl-nonMinA-UAnf-*
	1+2	------	------	a-ni- *1+2-UAnf-*

AUG section:

	A/O	1	2	3
A	1	------	bu-bu- *3nonMin-AugA*	nji-bu- *1nonMin-AugA*
U	2	bu-bu- *3nonMin-AugA*	------	nji-bu- *2nonMin-AugA*
G	3	ngu-na-bu- *1Min-1MinO-AugA*	bu-bu- *3nonMin-AugA*	{a}-bu- *O Cl-AugA*
	1+2	------	------	ngu-bu- *1+2Aug-AugA*

Non-singular A and O

A/O	1	2	3	1+2
1	------	nji-rrubu- *1,2nonMin-nsA,nsO*	nji-rrubu- *1nonMin-nsA,nsO*	------
2	nji-rrubu- *1,2nonMin-nsA,nsO*	-------	nji-rrubu- *2nonMin-nsA,nsO*	------
3	nji-rrubu- *1nonMin-nsA,nsO*	nji-rrubu- *2nonMin-nsA,nsO*	bu-rrubu- *3nonMin-nsA,nsO*	a-rrubu- *1+2-nsA,nsO*
1+2	-------	-------	a-rrubu- *1+2-nsA,nsO*	------

Table 4.11: Gurr-goni Transitive Declarative Prefixes: Morphemic Analysis.

person and function.[6]

Where 1st and 2nd person, both speech act participants, combine as A and O, there is some evidence for saying that 1st person is higher on the hierarchy than 2nd, but in most of the prefixes the issue of deciding which is overtly marked is avoided by using a morpheme that is ambiguous between them or is not a specific 1st or 2nd person form. Heath (1991) noted a similar phemonenon in other prefixing languages of Arnhem Land. He identified several strategies for encoding combinations of 1st and 2nd person: use of a 3rd person morpheme, noted above in Tables 4.9 and 4.10, is found also in Mangarrayi, Warndarrang and Kunwinjku, and use of a 1+2 person morpheme, seen in Table 4.10, occurs also in Jawonj, Nunggubuyu, Anindilyakwa and Alawa.

The discussion above has focussed specifically on identifying the individual morphemes that make up the pronominal prefixes, and we have been able to show that they are based on a system of some complexity. Table 4.11 above shows the full set of transitive pronominal prefixes, segmented and glossed according to the analysis given above. In the remainder of the thesis, however, the prefixes will not be segmented into their component morphemes, and for ease of understanding, the glosses will show the person and number of agent and object encoded by the prefix as a whole.

4.3.2. Imperative Prefixes.

The imperative mood prefixes are displayed here in Tables 4.12 and 4.13.

Table 4.12: Imperative Intransitive Prefixes.

MIN	UA nf	UA f	AUG
ø-	bi-na-	bi-rrinjin-	burru-

Table 4.13: Imperative Transitive Prefixes.

A/O	1Min	3Min	1UAnf	3UAnf	1Aug	3Aug
2Min	nguna-	ø-	njdji-na-	bidji-na	njirru-	burru-
2UAnf	ngubu-ni-	bi-na-	njirrubu-	burrubu-	njirrubu-	burrubu-
2Aug	ngunabu-	bubu-	njirrubu-	burrubu-	njirrubu-	burrubu-

All but two of the transitive imperative prefixes with a 1st person object are identical to the declarative prefixes with 2nd person agent and

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[6] With, of course, the exception noted above, where neither is overtly marked.

1st person object. The exceptions are 2UAnfA.1MinOImp **ngubu-ni-** and 2AugA.1MinOImp **ngunabu-**. These prefixes (and, in fact, all the 1st person object prefixes) are identical to declarative prefixes with a <u>3rd</u> person agent and 1st person object.

Where the object is 3rd person, two forms, **bidji-na-** 2MinA.3UAnfOImp and **burr-** 2MinA.3AugOImp, are the same as the corresponding declarative prefixes. In the declarative set, however, 2nd and 3rd person agents are not distinguished where the object is 3rd person nonminimal, so, again, the imperative forms are identical to declarative 3rd person agent forms. The same is true of **burrubu-**, analysed in the declarative set as 3nonMin-nsgA,nsgO, and **bubu-** 3nonMin-AugA. Only the 2MinA.3MinOImp and 2UAnfA.3MinO transitive prefixes, and the entire intransitive imperative paradigm, have forms not also found among the declarative prefixes. For 2nd person S and A, there is no overt prefix (this is shown by **ø-** in the tables above). In the remaining prefixes, the person marker is **bi-** (UA number) ~ **bu-** (AUG number), which again appears to be a 3rd person morpheme. Perhaps it is used here, as in combinations of 1st and 2nd persons in the declarative transitive prefixes, to avoid specific reference to the addressee; compare the use of 3rd person pronouns for polite 2nd person reference in Italian (Vincent 1990:292) and German (Wells 1985:274-275), for instance. Koch (1995:58), however, notes specifically that, while "[w]ithin the category of Person, the Third Person is generally unmarked .... it is the Second Person which is conditionally unmarked in the context of the co-occurring Imperative Mood..... [a] consequence of this markedness reversal is that the markers of Second Person subject Number in Imperative clauses may be identical to the markers of Third Person Number in Non-Imperative clauses. This is the situation with enclitic subject markers in the Western Desert language" - and, as we have seen, this is also the situation with pronominal prefixes in Gurr-goni.

4.4. Tense.

4.4.1. Major Tense Categories.

There are three major tense distinctions in Gurr-goni: future, contemporary and pre-contemporary. The future tense covers all time after the moment of speaking, while all time prior to and including the time of speaking is divided between the contemporary and pre-

contemporary tenses. (I follow Eather (1990) in naming the tenses thus.) These two non-future tenses were first recognised in the Burarra language and described (under the terms "contemporary" and "remote") by Glasgow and Glasgow (1964), who showed how the division between the tenses is made within two time frames, that of today and that of before today. I have found it necessary to recognise a third time frame, comprising all non-future time, both in Gurr-goni and in Burarra (see Green 1987). Within each of these three time frames, a division is made between contemporary and pre-contemporary tense: this is illustrated in the following diagram and described below.

TIME FRAMES	TENSE CONTEMPORARY	PRE-CONTEMPORARY
TODAY	now (**gu-goni** *3IV-this*)	earlier today (**giyinaga**)
BEFORE TODAY	yesterday / recently (**birdibirdi**)	long ago / the time before (**guwarr/gu-bu-guyuguyu**) *3IV-Der-ahead*
ALL TIME UNTIL NOW	now / these days (**gu-goni**) *3IV-this*	before now / long ago (**gu-bu-guyuguyu/guwarr**) *3IV-Der-ahead*

Within the time frame of <u>today</u>, Contemporary tense refers only to the moment of speaking. Precontemporary tense covers the remainder of this time frame - from after nightfall the previous night until the moment before speaking.

The use of the tenses within this time frame is completely fixed: it is not possible to use precontemporary tense for events taking place at the time of speaking, nor to use contemporary tense for those that took place before that:

4-10   **mokol ngu-bogi-ni / *ngu-bogi-ya**
      night   1MinS-go-Pre / 1MinS-go-Con
      I went last night.

4-11   **mokol gabi ngu-bogi-ni / *ngu-bogi-ya**
      night   there 1MinS-go-Pre / 1MinS-go-Con
      =this morning
      I went this morning.

4-12 giyiniga ngu-bogi-ni / *ngu-bogi-ya
today before now 1MinS-go-Pre / 1MinS-go-Con
I went earlier today.

4-13 "Yandu nji-bogi-ya?" "Wipa ngu-bogi-ya."
where 2MinS-go-Con home 1MinS-go-Con
"Where are you going?" "I'm going home."

(Cf. "Yandu nji-bogi-ni?"
where 2MinS-go-Pre
"Where did you go?" / "Where have you been?")

The second time frame is that of <u>before today</u>. Here, contemporary tense refers to the recent past, and precontemporary to the more distant past. Contemporary tense is obligatory for the days immediately preceding today (yesterday, the day before yesterday, and several days before that). Precontemporary tense must be used for 'long ago', the remote past. Between these two poles, however, there is a large span of time which may be referred to using either tense. Speakers have a choice: an event perceived as happening relatively recently can be referred to using contemporary tense, whereas if it is felt to be relatively far in the past, precontemporary tense can be used.

The most recent use of precontemporary tense recorded was for events that took place two weeks before the time of speaking, but contemporary tense was often used in speaking of events of 1, 2 and even three months ago. Thus in the following example, the speaker is telling of going hunting, at some unspecified time in the past, near Waypordo, which he identifies by saying "I showed it to you recently". Our trip to Waypordo had taken place seven weeks before the recording session, but was relatively recent compared to his hunting trip.

4-14 Gu-gu-warlpu ngu-bogi-ni-: ngu-ma-nay-pu
Loc3IV-Nom-hunt 1MinS-go-Pre-X 1MinS-go along-Pre-pu
gu-gabi Waypordo wurru yiguwápu, <u>birdibirdi</u>
3IV-that place name but this way recently
<u>ngiy-gogadarri-dji.</u>
1MinA.2MinO-show-Con (IV/96-97)
I went hunting, on and on, I went along straight to/near that place Waypordo, but this side (of it), <u>I showed it to you the other day</u>.

While precontemporary tense is usual when someone is relating stories about their childhood, or about when their own children were young, one speaker refers to an event which took place 30 years ago, the coming of white people, in contemporary tense. The way of life she was describing belonged to the time before white people, who are recent arrivals in Maningrida from the perspective of her life span and memories:

4-15 **Mubu-gapi-rri**   **awurr-ma-nay**   **gulpuru**
3AugA.3IIIO-roast-Pre   *3AugS-go along-Pre*   *yellow yam*
mubu-gapi-rri   **arrapu**   **djunja**   **arrapu**
3AugA.3IIIO-roast-Pre   *and*   *long white yam*   *and*
gurrngu. Guwarr butj njiwu-ba-rri   **arrapu**
yam sp.   *long ago bush*   *1AugA.3MinO-eat-Pre*   *and*
mu-goni nuyu   **ganditjawa**   **galu.... Arrapu baki**
III-this   *3MinNf+Poss_C flour/damper*   *NEG*   *and*   *tobacco*
galu, arrapu ganditjawa, djuka galu, guwarr butj.
NEG and   *flour/damper*   *sugar NEG*   *long ago bush.*
<u>**Gu-goni balanda   birdibirdi   a-garnagirri-dji.**</u>
3IV-this   *white man recently*   *3IS-sit down-Con*
                                 (IX/65-66)

They roasted it, yellow yam[7] they roasted, and long white yam and another kind of yam. Long ago in the bush we ate that, and there wasn't any of this flour....And there was no tobacco, and no flour or sugar, long ago in the bush. <u>White man only settled recently.</u>

In the third time frame, which covers all time up to and including the present, contemporary tense is used for actions which are taking place at the moment of speaking, for states or actions which are ongoing or habitual, and for generic statements. Precontemporary tense is used in talking of states and events of long ago. Several examples will illustrate this. The first is taken from a story about the births of the narrator's children and their contemporaries:

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[7] Probably *Discorea bulbifera.*

4-16   **Djona**   <u>**malyna tree**</u>   <u>**gi-dje-rre**</u>   **gu-garrapu**   **wulek**
(name)   "   "   3IVS-stand-Con   3IV-Anaph   finish
dji-djorrwi-rri   **wulek bapa**   <u>**Yurrwi**</u>   <u>**a-yo-rri**</u>
3IIS-jump,be born-Pre finish Dad   Milingimbi   3IS-lie-Con
dji-ga-tji   **awurritj-bogi-ni**   **Darwin,**
3MinA.3IIO-take-Pre/Con   3UAfS-go-Pre   "
dji-goni   **ø-na-ø**   **murla**
3II-this,here 2MinA.3MinOImp-see-Irr2 oldest mother
<u>**dji-bupiyi-ø**</u>   <u>**dji-na-ma-ma,**</u>
3IIS-descend-Con   3IIS-twds-go along-Con
dji-garrapu   **wulek**   **njalkitj**   **dji-ni-ø,**
3II-Anaph   finish   weak   3IIS-be-Pre
wulek   **Darwin**   **dji-bogi-ni....**   **wotjbil**   **djinj-yu-y.**
finish   "   3IIS-go-Pre   hospital   3IIS-lie-Pre
(VI/78-79)

Djona, (where) the malyna tree stands, that's where she was born, then your father who lies (= is buried) at Milingimbi took her to Darwin - see her here, your oldest mother coming down now, that's who I mean, well she was weak, she went to Darwin, she was in hospital.

In this example, both precontemporary and contemporary tenses are used. The statements in precontemporary tense describe events that occurred 20-30 years ago: Djona was born, and her mother was ill and went to Darwin. The first clause in contemporary tense identifies where the baby was born, by a tree which is still standing. Her father (and, in the classificatory kin system, my father also, hence the translation) took her mother to Darwin. As he has since died, he is described by the clause 'he lies (ie is buried) at Yurrwi' (the name my informants used for Milingimbi). Her mother, my classificatory mother, who went to hospital in Darwin, was visible nearby as we were recording this story, and the narrator pointed this out to me: 'see your oldest mother, she is coming down now'. The three contemporary tense clauses all describe things in existence at the time of speaking, while the narrative in precontemporary tense describes events of long ago.

Contemporary tense is also used in describing characteristic actions (both those that are characteristic of the present, as opposed to the past, and those that are unchanging), and in making generic statements. As an example of the former, I am often kept informed of the progress of various children since I last saw them:

4-17 Lawrence school a-bogi-ya,   Alton a-ne-rre,
      "   *"*   *3IS-go-Con*   *"*   *3IS-be sitting-Con*

      Roderick gu-negi-nga   **a-bogi-ya.**
      "   *3MinA.3IVO-tread on-Con*   *3I-go-Con*

Lawrence is going to school, Alton is sitting up, Roderick is walking (lit. he treads on/puts weight on (the ground) he goes).

Like the English translations, these statements refer not to the time of speaking specifically (nor to yesterday or any specific recent past time), but to 'these days'.

The second example describes the characteristic activities of the shooting star:

4-18 **Wulek a-ne-rre,**   **niyé-pu**   **a-garrapu**
     finish   *3IS-be sitting-Con*   *3MinNf-Card*   *3I-Anaph*

     an-marlpa a-ne-rre-:,   **weleng**
     shooting star *3IS-be sitting-Con-X*   *then*

     yandu a-mukdji-ga,   **a-numi-nga**   **ant-gurdol,**
     where 3IS-be sick,die-Con   *3MinA.3IO-smell-Con* *3I-rotten*

     a-na-bogi-ya-:,   **a-na-bogi-ya :**   **wulek**
     3IS-twds-go-Con-X   *3IS-twds-go-Con-X*   *finish*

     mun-molmu ... mu-me-ka   **ni-lorndo**   **...**
     heart   *3MinA.3IIIO-get-Con* *3MinNf-Dat*

     weleng mu-ga-tji   **a-y-ma-ma**
     then   *3MinA.3IIIO-take-Pre/Con*   *3IS-away-go along-Con*
                              VIII/45-46

Then he sits there, this shooting star sits there and sits there, then wherever someone is dying, he smells the stink, and he comes, he comes and gets his heart and takes it away.

Finally, 4-19 exemplifies generic statements:

4-19 **gobu**   **m-ba-nga**   **bambam.**
     magpie goose *3MinA.3IIIO-eat-Con* *bush wheat*
     Geese eat bush wheat.   (IX/15)

Distinctions of remoteness in tense systems, and particularly distinctions contrasting 'earlier today', 'yesterday' and a 'distant past', exist in many languages (Dahl 1984 gives a survey of such languages and the distinctions involved; Comrie 1985 also discusses degrees of

remoteness). Common also is the possibility of subjective contrast between the 'yesterday/recently' and 'distant past' tenses. What appears to be rare is a system with discontinuous tenses, where the fixed time reference of one tense is interrupted by part of the fixed time reference of the other tense. The tense system found in Gurr-goni is also found (in realis status) in its close relations Burarra, Nakkara and Ndjébbana, and the neighbouring but genetically distant language Djinang appears to have a very similar system, which perhaps developed through the influence of Burarra[8]. (Waters' 1989 analysis treats the Present, Yesterday Past, Today Past and Remote Past tenses as four distinct tenses, although in all conjugations one suffix marks Present/Yesterday Past, and one Today Past/Remote Past).

4.4.2. Minor Tense Categories.

Most verbs in Gurr-goni distinguish only the three tenses described above (although in one conjugation (Conj. 6, see below) the distinction between contemporary and pre-contemporary tenses is neutralised). A small number of verbs apparently distinguish two contemporary tenses; two future tenses are found with one or two verbs; and a non-future suffix that appears to encode an aspectual distinction is used by some speakers, again with a very small number of verbs.

4.4.2.1. Contemporary Tenses 1 and 2.

The three way distinction between future, contemporary and pre-contemporary was evident from the earliest days of my fieldwork, and the relevant suffixes were easily elicited using the time words **garnaway** 'soon' or **nungúrtdjungupu** 'tomorrow' for the future, **birdibirdi** 'yesterday, recently' for the contemporary, and **giyiniga** 'earlier today' for the precontemporary. I also noticed that for a number of verbs, particularly those in Conj. 5, there was apparently more than one contemporary tense suffix. This variation was observed only in conversation, where, for example, when one of the children was holding on to my hat and basket and resisting all pleas to give someone else a turn, someone remarked "**a-gopi-ga**" (*3MinA.3IO-keep to oneself-?*), "she's keeping it to herself". Another time, in very similar circumstances, the same person said, "**a-gopi-rdi**"; again, "she's keeping it to herself". In most instances where these forms were noticed, they were used either

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[8] Waters (1989:275-289) discusses several features in Djinang and Djinba which appear to have developed under influence from the prefixing languages with which they had most contact, Burarra and Rembarrnga, but does not mention the tense system.

in referring to something taking place at the time of speaking, or to events that I knew had occurred the day before. Checking confirmed that both could be prefaced with the time word **birdibirdi** 'yesterday/ recently', and neither could co-occur with **giyiniga** 'earlier today'. When either form was used in a serial verb construction, only a serializing verb in contemporary tense was acceptable. Both forms clearly encode contemporary tense. My observations of the speech of the middle generation (20-30ish) is that these forms are used interchangeably; there was no observable and consistent distinction between them of tense or time frame. For these speakers, they could be described as allomorphs of the Contemporary tense suffix (allomorphs of which they were a little uncertain about the distribution).

Towards the end of my fieldwork I discussed the forms concerned with Nja-Bulanj, my main teacher in the older generation. She described a clear tense distinction: one form is used for "**gu-goni git-gegu birdibirdi**" (*3IV-this,here 3IV-new yesterday*): 'this time, new time, yesterday', and for "**ngutjuwey**" 'right now'; and the other for "**gu-gapu, gu-bu-guyuguyu, birdibirdipu**" (*3IV-that far distant, there; 3IV-DER-before, ahead; the day before yesterday*), 'that far off time, the time before, the day before yesterday'. Thus it appears that, just as the distinction between contemporary and pre-contemporary is one of relative distance in time, so also the contemporary tense is divided into the present, and, within the time frame of "before today", time closer to the present (this constitutes Con$_1$) and time further from it (Con$_2$). Nja-Bulanj claimed that this distinction is made for some, but not all, of the verbs where I had observed variant forms, and also for some where I had heard no variation at all. For example:

4-20a **ngu-yerrk-ganma-nga** (**gu-goni**)
1MinA.3MinO-take off-Trans-Con1 3IV-this
I'm taking it off now, I took it off just yesterday.

4-20b **ngu-yerrk-ganma-ø** (**gu-bu-guyuguyu**)
1MinA.3MinO-take off-Trans-Con2 Loc3IV-Der-ahead
I took it off

The b form occurred only in elicitation; no instances of -**ganma**- (Conj. 2) verbs with this tense ending were found in texts or noted in conversation. As I noted above, two contemporary tense forms were heard in conversational speech for other verbs, but with no apparent

difference in meaning.

A distinction between contemporary tense 1 (the most recent) and Contemporary tense 2 (further in the past) would appear to be made only on 21 verbs comprising 2 subconjugations of Conjugation 2, 1 verb in Conj. 4, and between 10 and 17 of the 47 verbs in Conj. 5[9] (at most, 9% of the total number of verbs). Further work is needed to confirm the description and scope of the distinctions with other speakers of the older generation. Younger speakers appear to be losing the distinctions, and the fact that so few verbs have them even in the speech of older people suggests that a process of neutralisation and loss has been underway for some time.

4.4.2.2. Future Tenses.

One verb, **galiyi** 'listen, hear, understand, feel', has two future tense suffixes, -**n** and -**ngu**. According to Nja-Bulanj, -**n** is used when "**ngutju arr-ne-rre**" (*here 1+2MinS-be sitting-Con*), 'we two are sitting right here (next to each other)'; the other, -**ngu**, is used when you are listening from a long way away, "**balaypalay**" (*far+Redup*). Both these forms were recorded in texts, and occurred in contexts not inconsistent with the interpretations given above. 4-21 illustrates -**n**, supposedly the 'close addressee', in the context of my language teachers listening to me speaking, and 4-22 illustrates -**ngu**, the 'distant addressee', where it occurred in a story about a man travelling to Goulburn Island to hear some news. Both forms were also used in the context of listening to a tape immediately after we had recorded stories, and it is clear that the functions of these suffixes require further research and confirmation. Other verbs in this conjugation, and other conjugations, were checked for a second future tense, mainly by suggesting possible suffixes: many were rejected as Burarra forms.

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[9] Nja-Bulanj herself gave different verdicts on the verbs of Conj. 5 on different occasions.

4-21 **Nji-weku-n** **yandu ngaytjburru-ø** <u>**njiwurr-galiyi-n**</u>
2MinS-speak-Fut so 1Aug-unm 1AugS-listen-Fut$_1$
<u>**nguku-lorndo**</u> **gun-dakangurrngu nji-weku-n** ..
2Min-Dat 3IV-hard 2MinS-speak-Fut
Gun-marrman nji-weku-n njiwurr-yiti-n
3IV-good 2MinS-speak-Fut 1AugS-say this-Fut
nguku-lorndo
2Min-Dat

You'll speak, so <u>we'll listen to you</u>, you'll speak hard (ie Yirrjinga Gurr-goni; or well, not 'weakly, softly'), "You speak well (lit. it's good you will speak)", we'll say to you. (I/117/22)

4-22 **A-bogi-ni Martbalk a-na-djeki-rri,**
3IS-go-Pre Goulburn Island 3IS-twds-return-Pre
gu-ga-tji a-na-djeki-rri ngaytjburru-ø
3MinA.3IVO-take-Pre/Con 3IS-twds-return-Pre 1Aug-Poss$_C$
wetji. Wulek a-weki-ni ngaytjburru-ø,
word finish 3IS-speak-Pre 1Aug-Poss$_C$
"Burdak arr-galiyi-ngu arr-ni-ngu, gu-goni
wait 1+2MinS-listen-Fut$_2$ 1+2MinS-sit-Fut 3IV-this
arr-galiyi-ngu arr-ni-ngu. Djaluwu ngu-djeki-rdi,
1+2MinS-listen-Fut$_2$ 1+2MinS-sit-Fut again 1MinS-return-Fut
djaluwu ngu-djeki-rdi ng-galiyi-ngu yandu a-yiti-n."
again 1MinS-return-Fut 1MinS-listen-Fut$_2$ how 3IS-do-Fut

He went to Goulburn Island and came back, he brought us news.
He said to us, "Wait, we'll stay listening, we'll stay listening now. I'll go back again, I'll go back again (and) I'll hear how he is doing." (XI/20)

4.4.2.3. The suffix -dji in Conjugation 1.

Younger speakers of Gurr-goni (the middle generation of 20-30 year olds) often use a suffix -dji with the verbs **barrwa** 'know, think, remember', the formally reduplicated verb **babirrwa** 'know where a place is', and **gornagi** 'bath, wet'. These verbs are all transitive, and, on the basis of their Precontemporary, Contemporary and Future tense suffixes, are members of Conjugation 1.

This suffix -dji encodes nonfuture time, but is not further specified as to tense: it contrasts with both -rri and -nga (the Conj. 1 suffixes for precontemporary and contemporary tenses respectively), and when one of these three verbs, suffixed with -dji, is used in a serial verb

construction, the serialising verb can be in either of these two tenses.

The function of -dji is most apparent with the verb **gornagi**: it can only be used when the object of the verb is made completely wet, for instance being drenched by rain or immersed in water, as in the following example (with -dji glossed CP for 'completely'):

4-23 **(Gut-djardi) gu-bogi-ni a-na-ni** **moli**
3IV-rain *3IVS-go-Pre* *3MinA.3IO-see-Pre* *anthill*

a-dji-ø. **Wulek a-gornagi-dji,** **wulek**
3IS-be standing-Pre *finish* *3MinA.3IO-wet-CP* *finish*

njalkitj a-ni-ø, **weleng a-guybi-ni.**
weak,soft *3IS-be sitting-Pre* *then* *3IS-sink-Pre*

(III/54/12-14)

The rain went on and saw an anthill standing there. Then it soaked it, and after that the anthill was soft, and sank down.

-dji cannot be used when the object is only partially made wet, and so is unacceptable in the following sentence:

4-24 **burrkarl a-bugórtawi-rri ni-lorndo cushion,**
child *3IS-urinate-Pre* *3MinNf-Dat* "

√**a-gornagi-rri** / *a-gornagi-dji
3MinA.3IO-wet-Pre / *3MinA.3IO-wet-CP*

The child peed on the cushion and wet it. (VII/79)

This distinction was revealed with the help of LN, one of the younger speakers, and accords with the other uses I observed of **(a-)gornagi-dji**. I later attempted to confirm it with Nja-Bulanj, and to understand how it worked with the other two verbs, but she rejected the form completely, saying that it was a Burarra word[10], or a Djowunga dialect form, not a Yirrtjinga Gurr-goni one. Whether it is regarded in the same way by all of the older generation of Gurr-goni speakers remains to be discovered; clearly, younger speakers are aware of its function and do use it in speaking Gurr-goni, albeit with only a very few verbs. (Younger speakers also use a future suffix -djin with the verb **gornagi**, but find it less acceptable with **barrwa** and **babirrwa**. -djin appears to encode the same semantic distinction in the future as -dji does in the non-future.) (For a comparison with the suffixes of Conj.6, see

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[10] Suffixes -dja and -djin do occur in the corresponding conjugation in Burarra (1984:33,36), but their function is not clear.

below.)

4.5. Status.

The verb suffixes of Gurr-goni also encode distinctions of mood, or what Foley and Van Valin (1984) refer to by the less ambiguous label 'status'. They define status as "the variable of actuality of the event, whether it has been realised or not......[or] whether the action is necessary, or likely, or merely possible." (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 213)

Gurr-goni has a two way distinction of status, realis and irrealis, whereby events are differentiated as being more or less real. Only two tenses are formally distinguished in irrealis status: precontemporary (Irrealis 1), as in realis status, and non-precontemporary (Irrealis 2), corresponding to the contemporary and future tenses of realis status. It is usually clear from the context, however, whether the non-precontemporary form is being used with contemporary (now/recently) or future time reference.

Clauses negated by the particle **galu** *NEG* have irrealis status. These clauses describe events that did not happen, are not happening or will not happen. In the following examples, affirmative and negative statements are contrasted in precontemporary tense (4-25 a and b), in contemporary tense (4-26 a and b, in time frame 3 (all time), and 4-27 a and b, in time frame 1 (today)), and in future tense (4-28).

4-25a **dji-na-ni**   **wurrparn.**

      3MinA.3IIO-see-Pre *emu.*

      He (or she) saw an emu.   (III/47/11)

4-25b **galu**   **dji-na-dji+rni**   **djit-bolupu nuyu.**

      NEG   *3MinA.3IIO-see-Irr1*   *3II-mother*   *3MinNf+Poss$_C$*

      He couldn't/didn't see his mother.   (III/46/15)

4-26a **gobu**   **m-ba-nga**   **bambam**

      goose   *3MinA.3IIIO-eat-Con*   *bush wheat*

      Geese eat bush wheat.   (IX/15)

4-26b **at-gardi galu**   **a-bay-ø**   **dji-workiyi-ø.**

      3I-flesh   *NEG*   *3MinA.3IO-eat-Irr2*   *3IIS-do always-Irr2*

      She doesn't eat meat.

4-27a   **Lay,**   <u>**ngu-na-tji**</u>   <u>**ngu-ne-rre,**</u>

       Hey   *1MinA.3MinO-see-Con*   *1MinS-be-Con*

       guwa,   **arr-bamiyi-n.**

       come   *1+2MinS-carry-Fut*   (VI/11/9-11)

       [A hunter says when he finds the prey he has shot:] Hey, <u>I'm looking at it</u>, come here and we'll carry it.

4-27b   **A-gornagorrmi-yi-ni**   **ngapala,**

       3IS-block-Intr-Pre   *1Min+Dat*

       <u>**galu**</u>   <u>**ngu-na-ø**</u>   <u>**ngu-ni-ø.**</u>

       NEG   *1MinA.3MinO-see-Irr2*   *1MinS-be,sit-Irr2*   (I/80/14)

       He's blocking my view, <u>I can't see it / I'm not seeing it</u>.

4-28   **Maka**   **woku**   **dji-bu-yi-ni,**   <u>**galu**</u>   <u>**djitjitja**</u>

        FaMo   *hand,foot*   *3IIS-hit-Intr-Pre*   *NEG*   *fish*

        <u>**a-bay-ø.**</u>   **....**   **dji-ma-rdi-:**   **niyi**

        3MinA.3IO-eat-Irr2   *3IIS-go along-Fut-X*   *alright*

        waypu   **gu-bulun-miyi-n**   <u>**a-ba-rdi**</u>   <u>**djarldjarl.**</u>

        until   *3IVS-old-Inch-Fut*   *3MinA.3IO-eat-Fut*   *game*

                                                 (VII/99-100)

       Grandma has lost her son (lit. has hit her hand/foot), <u>she won't eat fish</u>. ...She'll go on (like this) for a long time, then when time has passed (lit. it (a death) has become old), <u>she'll eat game</u>.

<u>4.5.1. Irrealis Precontemporary (Irr 1).</u>

      The irrealis precontemporary has two functions aside from its use in negated clauses. One function, illustrated in the following examples, is to refer to events which have not happened, but which the speaker can imagine having happened: something almost happened, or might have or would have happened. We could call this function 'potential'.

4-29   **Djungdjung**   <u>**dji-ba-nga+rni,**</u>   **ngu-bu-ni.**

        dog   *3MinA.3IIO-eat,bite-Irr1*   *1MinA.3MinO-hit-Pre*

       A dog <u>almost bit her</u>, I hit it.

4-30   **maka**   **dji-na-djeka-nga+rni,**   **nguwurr-bogi-ya+rni.**

        FaMo   *3IIS-twds-go back-Irr1*   *1+2AugS-go-Irr1*

       Your grandma could have come back, (so) we could all have gone (implying <u>if</u> your grandma had come back, we could all have gone).

4-31 **Wurru at-gardi nji-na-ga-tji-rni ngapala.**
but 3I-flesh 2MinA.3MinO-twds-take-Irr1 1Min+Dat
(VII/89/22)
But you might have brought some meat for me.

4-32 **Gi-yini-gi+rni ngu-bogi-ya+rni Nangak, worro.** *cf*
[3IVS-do thus-Irr1] 1MinS-go-Irr1 place name what a pity
=earlier today, unrealised[11]
Translated as "I was going to go to Nangak today, what a pity."

4-33 **Mundjarra ngu-rra-dji+rni**
unrealised intention 1MinA.3MinO-shoot-Irr1
wurru warrpura gu-numi-rri ngapala.
but underarm sweat 3MinA.3IVO-smell-Pre 1Min-Dat
(III/36/20)
I intended to shoot it, but it smelt my sweat (and ran off).

While several of these examples could be translated as "I wish I could have...", "I wish you/she had...", it is clear from 4-29 that this is not part of the meaning of this tense/status category, but is inferred from the actual meaning.

The second function of precontemporary irrealis is to refer to events characteristic of a time long past; we could call this 'past habitual'. It is used, for example, when someone is recalling the type of activities that took place when they were young, or the way they would go about doing something. These things did happen, and are referred to not as specific events taking place at a particular place on a particular day, but as typical events, events that would have happened at that time. For example, the following text tells about the traditional kind of "damper":

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[11] Note that in this example, the word **gi-yina-ga** 'earlier today' (formally, the verb **yina** 'do thus'(?) in Contemporary tense) itself appears in the Irrealis Precontemporary: 'today that might have been'.

4-34 Njiwurr-bogi-yi+rni   njiwu-me-ka+rni   *cf p 196*

1AugS-go-Irr1   *1AugA.3MinO-get-Irr1*

at-balpi   weleng   njibu-wa-nga+rni.

3I-grinding stone   then   *1AugA.3MinO-throw-Irr1*

Njibu-wa-nga+rni   njiwurr-ma-ø+rni:

1AugA.3MinO-throw-Irr1   1AugS-go along-Irr1-X

djapu ganditjawa   njibu-yolidji-ga+rni,

like   damper   *1AugA.3MinO-cook in ashes-Irr1*

mu-garrapu   an-daka   arrapu djitjitj.

3III-Anaph   3I-waterlily seeds   and   waterlily sp.seeds

<div align="right">(III/84-85)</div>

We used to go and get grinding stones, then we would throw it (=grind), we would grind it and grind it, we would cook it in the ashes like damper, waterlily seeds (?Nelumbo nucifera?) and seeds of another waterlily (?Nymphaea gigantea?) are the ones I'm talking about.

In another text, the narrator is describing a particular time when her father and several others went hunting brolga, and she uses Precontemporary tense for the storyline. After some dialogue, she explains that this is how her father used to propose a hunting trip:

4-35 Gurrkal mi-dje-rre   njiwurr-ni-ø,   awurr-weki-ni

?   3IIIS-stand-Con 1AugS-be sitting-Pre 3AugS-speak-Pre

"Lay? Arr-bo-go,   Balpi gu-dje-rre.   A-njatbu

Hey?   1+2MinS-go-Fut stone 3IVS-stand-Con   3I-what'sit

nguwu-bu-n,   an-daparl... at-gu-butja[12]

1+2AugA.3MinO-hit,kill-Fut goose spear   3I-Nom-head harden
                                         = brolga

nguwu-bu-n,   at-gubutja arr-boy-ø."

1+2AugA.3MinO-hit,kill-Fut brolga   1+2MinS-go-Irr2

Like a-goni mawa a-yini-ga+rni ni-lorndo   *cf p 196*

"   3I-this FaFa 3IS-say this-Irr1 3MinNf-Dat

wurru gakak, a-gabi djongok   bami a-galiyi-rri.

but MoMo(Bro) 3I-there Mo-in-law(Bro) [head 3IS-hear-Con]
                                        =father

<div align="right">(X/129-130)</div>

We were staying at Gurrkal mi-djerre, and they said, "Hey? You

---

[12] **Butja** is the word used of baby's heads hardening when the fontanelle closes over. **At-gu-butja**, 'brolga', thus means literally 'he with the hardened head'.

and I'll go, to Balpi gu-djerre (stone stands there). We'll all kill some whatsits with goose spears, we'll kill brolga, let's you and I go for brolga." Like <u>this grandfather of yours would talk like this to him</u>, your granny, your djongok over there's father.

Use of a single form to express past habitual and past potential or contrafactive is not unique to Gurr-goni. It is common among South Asian languages (of the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda families) (von Munkwitz 1995 and pc). In English, also, one way of expressing past habitual is to use the modal verb 'would'; and the Californian language Tolkapaya Yavapai[13] has a modal affix, the semantic domain of which "includes such expressions as failed attempts, unfulfilled desires, descriptions of a state that formerly obtained but which no longer does, and situations where the realisation of one event precludes that of another" (Harvey and Gordon 1980:191). This range of functions is very close to those of the precontemporary irrealis in Gurr-goni.

4.5.2. Irrealis Non-Precontemporary (Irr2).

As mentioned above, there is no formal distinction between contemporary and future tenses in irrealis status. Often, however, it is clear from the context which is intended. In 4-36, the clause in which the Irr2 verb form appears is apposed to one in realis contemporary tense:

4-36 **Mundjarra**   **njina-boy-ø ngayi-pu arrapu**
      unrealised intention   *1UAnfS-go-Irr2 1Min-Card and*
      Daryl wurpu burrkburrk gu-me-ka.
      name   just   bad sickness   3MinA.3IVO-get-Con
                                        (IV/152/23)
      Daryl and I intended to come (yesterday), but he got sick.

In 4-37, the non-precontemporary irrealis follows an imperative, and so clearly indicates a possible future outcome:

4-37 **ø-Wu-ø**   **an-ngidjiyé-pu djaluwu**
      2MinA.3MinOImp-give-Irr2 3I-3MinF-Card   otherwise
      djin-duwdjiyi-ø
      3IIS-cry-Irr2   (I/65/8)
      Give it to her, it's hers, otherwise she might cry.

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[13] Discussed by Palmer (1986:214).

As this example shows too, imperative mood is expressed by a combination of an Irrealis 2 verb form with an imperative pronominal prefix (given above in §4.3.2). The imperative mood is discussed more fully below in §4.6.

The habitual function identified above is also found with the non-precontemporary irrealis. The following example describes a typical scenario, one that might happen any day, rather than a particular event. Again, the connection between the irrealis form and the aspectual meaning can be carried into the English translation by using the modal verb 'will'; among many other functions, 'will' also expresses 'habit' (Palmer 1986:216).

4-38   **Mu-djungdjung-yerrtji arrbu-gorrmi,**
    Coll-dog-mob   *1+2nsA.3nsO-put+Irr2*
    arrbu-gorrmi   **wipa awurr-dji-ø**
    1+2nsA.3nsO-put+Irr1   *camp 3AugS-stand-Irr1*
    wurru nguwurr-boy-ø   **gu-gu-warlpu**   **ngalngi**
    but   *1+2AugS-go-Irr2*   *Loc3IV-Nom-hunt*   *turtle*
    gu-manj.   **.... Wulek ant-gumúpurda a-boy-ø**
    purpose of hunt   *finish*   *3I-dingo*   *3IS-go-Irr2*
    burr-bay-ø   **mu-djungdjung-yerrtji**
    3MinA.3AugO-eat-Irr2   *Coll-dog-mob*

                                (V/55)

We'll put the dogs (there), we'll leave them to stay at camp (lit. we will put them they will stand), but we'll go hunting for turtle. Then the dingo will come and eat the dogs.

Although I have taken the terms realis and irrealis as convenient labels that represent the two extremes of 'realised' and 'unrealised' events, both statuses are available when referring to future events, which are by definition unrealised.

Future tense in realis status is used to state the speaker's intentions and to make predictions about the behaviour of others; in using the future realis, speakers indicate that they consider the realisation of an event highly probable: it is only a matter of time before it happens. Non-precontemporary irrealis, with future reference, on the other hand, is used where an event is merely possible: time will reveal whether it will happen or not, and, sometimes, timely action may perhaps be taken to avoid it. In 4-39, a child states his intention of moving to the back of the

canoe: this is in realis status. His mother sees that he won't be as safe there, and says "No, you might drown", using irrealis status:

4-39   "Ngayi-pu   ngu-djeki-rdi   ngu-djarti   gabi
       1Min-Card   *1MinS-go back-Fut* *1MinS-go quickly* *there*
       ngu-ni-ngu   wulun."   "Galu,   nji-guybu-ø."
       1MinS-sit-Fut *back*   *No*   *2MinS-sink,drown-Irr2*
       "I'm going back there to sit in the stern." "No, you might fall in
       and drown."   (V/114/5)

Future realis is also often used in place of the imperative when telling people what to do (see §4.6 below), while future irrealis is used in making suggestions involving the speaker and addressee. 4-40 shows future irrealis used both in making a suggestion - "let's go", and in referring to a possible future event - "the sun might go down". The movement of the sun is of course entirely predictable, and the time of future events can be predicted or stated in relation to it, as in 4-41, where future realis is used. In 4-40, the implication is that unless we move now, the sun might set before we reach home: something that is possible, but can be avoided.

4-40   Nguwurr-boy-ø   la?   djaluwu   djinj-yipdja-ø
       1+2AugS-go-Irr2   *?*   *otherwise* *3IIS-sun set-Irr2*
                                                      (VI/35/26)
       Let's go, shall we? otherwise the sun might set.

4-41   "Djinj-yipdji-n yandu   njirrbu-gorrmi-rdi
       3IIS-sun set-Fut   *so*   *1nsA.2nsO-put down-Fut*
       njiwurr-ni-ngu   wurru   njina-bo-go
       2AugS-be sitting-Fut *but*   *1UAnfS-go-Fut*
       an-daparl   njina-bu-n   ant-gubútja.
       3I-goose spear *1UAnfA.3MinO-hit,kill-Fut* *3I-brolga*
       A-garnagarra-n   bipinerre,"   a-yiti-nji.
       3IS-sit down-Fut   *evening*   *3IS-do,say like this-Pre*
       "The sun will go down so we will leave you here (lit. we will put
       you you will sit), but we will go with sticks and kill brolga. They
       will settle in the evening," he said.   (X/134-135)

4.6. Illocutionary Mood.

In the category of illocutionary mood, Gurr-goni distinguishes

two moods, declarative and imperative. It is only in the verbal pronominal prefixes that the distinction is made; there are no distinct imperative verbal suffixes. The declarative mood is signalled by the use of the declarative pronominal prefixes, which may co-occur with any of the tense/status suffixes. Imperative mood is expressed by the combination of imperative pronominal prefixes and the irrealis non-precontemporary (Irr 2) suffix.

The imperative prefixes are shown above in §4.3.2. These distinctive prefixes are used only in affirmative imperatives when no direction is specified, and in imperatives of the type 'Stop Xing'. Their use is illustrated in the following examples:

4-42 **Arlay? Ngutju birrinjí-ni-ø,** ....
Hey? here 2UAfSImp-be,sit-Irr2
wurru ngu-bo-go ngu-yerrk-ganmi-rdi.
but 1MinS-go-Fut 1MinA.3MinO-take off/out-Trans-Fut
(X/47)
Hey? You and your sister stay here, I'm going to take off (=cut) (bark).

4-43 **An-daparl bini-boy-ø, bini-boy-ø**
3I-goose spear 2UAnfSImp-go-Irr2 2UAnfSImp-go-Irr2
bini-gornda-ø ani-djata-n
2UAnfA.3MinOImp-cut-Irr2 1+2UAnfS-whittle-Fut
You two boys go for a goose spear, you two go and cut one and we'll all three whittle it. (X/131/21)

4-44 **njdjina-gogadarra-ø yandu nji-na-ni**
2MinA.1UAnfOImp-show-Irr2 where 2MinA.3MinO-see-Pre
matji a-dji-ø
ghost 3IS-stand-Pre
Show us where you saw the ghost standing. (III/68/22-23)

4-45 **Wulek buwu-walkwu-ø Nicole!**
finish 2AugA.3MinOImp-frighten-Irr2 name
Stop frightening Nicole! (VIII/65/1a)

4-46 **Wulek ø-wa-waligiyi-ø**
finish 2MinSImp-Redup-play-Irr2
Stop playing around! (cs)

When a directional prefix (see below, §4.9) is included, specifying the direction of the action, the declarative prefixes must be used. Thus:

4-47a ø-boy-ø!   but b   nji-na-boy-ø!
       2MinSImp-go-Irr2   *2MinS-twds-go-Irr2*
       Go!   Come here!

To form a negative imperative, declarative prefixes are used with the non-precontemporary irrealis form of the verb, and the verb is negated by one of the particles **galu** 'NEG', **wurpu** 'don't just' or **mangarraka** 'mustn't'. For example:

4-48 **galu   balay   nji-boy-ø!**
      NEG   far   2MinS-go-Irr2
      Don't go far!

4-49 **mangarraka   nji-bay-ø   gu-woku,**
      mustn't   2MinA.3MinO-eat-Irr2   Loc3IV-hand
      spoon   ø-ma-ø.
      "   *2MinA.3MinOImp-get-Irr2*
      You mustn't eat with your hands, get a spoon.   (IV/153/8)

While **wurpu** and **mangarraka** have unambiguously imperative force (see §§5.7.4-5), **galu** does not. The same clause, for example:

4-50 **at-gardi galu   nji-bay-ø**
      3I-flesh NEG   2MinA.3MinO-eat-Irr2

can be understood, according to context and also intonation, as a statement ('you don't eat meat'), as a question ('don't you eat meat?'), or as a command ('don't eat (the) meat').

Declarative verbs in the future tense, realis status can also be used with imperative force, as illustrated in the following example:

4-51 **Nji-na-wa-rdi   ngaytjburru-ø mun-muka**
      2MinA.3MinO-twds-throw-Fut 1Aug-Poss_C   3III-lots
      Throw us down lots (of fruit).   (III/68/7)

4.7. Tense/Status Suffixes: The Conjugations.

Gurr-goni, like all the languages immediately surrounding it, has a large number of inflecting verbs[14]. The total number to date is around 400, and further research would undoubtedly add to this. The tense/status/(aspect) categories which they inflect for are described above; any one verb can inflect for only 4 or 5 of the 8 distinct categories. The realis status tense categories each have a number of allomorphs: verbs select one of the 10 realis precontemporary allomorphs, one or two of the 10 realis contemporary allomorphs, and one or two of the 5 realis future allomorphs. The irrealis status suffixes, by comparison, show almost no variation. For all verbs excepting those of Conjs. 2c, 5a and 7b, Irrealis 1, the precontemporary tense, is encoded by a suffix -**rni** added to the realis contemporary tense suffix. For Conjs 2c, 5a, and 7b, the contemporary tense suffix is omitted and -**rni** is added directly to the stem. (Conj. 5c has two Irrealis 1 forms, one in which -**rni** is added directly to the stem, and one in which it follows a contemporary tense suffix.) In Irrealis 2, the non-precontemporary tense, all verbs take a zero suffix. (It is the Irr 2 form which has been chosen as the citation form for all verbs, as in this category, with an Imperative prefix, the bare verb stem appears. This stem is identical to that on which derived nouns are based.) In Conjugations 2, 3 and 8 there are also some irregularities between the root form and the stem to which tense suffixes are attached.[15].

26 distinct patterns of inflection result from this selection of tense/status allomorphs. Many of these patterns are very similar, and can be grouped together. I have chosen here to group them into 8 major conjugations; other arrangements are no doubt possible.

Many of the conjugations established on this basis also show great homogeneity in the final syllable of the stem, and it is possible that many verbs are derived from ancient compounds of a noninflecting (or non-

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[14] A small number of verbal lexemes consist of an uninflecting verbal particle, or a noun, plus an inflecting verb. See footnote 2, this chapter. Also, one verb, **djartabiyi** 'go quickly, hurry', has an alternative, shortened, form **djarti**, which takes no tense/status suffixes, but does cross-reference subjects, and can take take the optional directional prefixes.

[15] Evidence from current irregularities in verb stems suggests that there may once have been a suffix /-y/ in Irr 2. Several verbs have irregular Irr2 forms (here recognised as the root): **boy** 'go (stem **bo-~ bogV-**), **bay** 'eat' (stem **ba-**), **way** 'throw' (stem **wa-**), **meme** 'go along' (stem **ma**), **butji** 'fall' (stem **buku**), **betji** 'come out' (stem **beku**), and **wetji** 'speak' (stem **weku**). The first three of these have a segmentable -y- in Irr 2, and as the other forms involve either fronting of a consonant and/or raising or fronting of a vowel, it seems possible that they may have originally had a suffix -**y**, which provided the environment for these changes (and then, perhaps, fused with the final vowel). Conj. 2 verbs show an alternation in the final vowel of the stem between /a/ in CON tense and /i/ in Irr 2. No overt suffix now follows in either of these tenses, but it may be that the /i/ in Irr 2 represents an original structure *-ma-y, with /a/ shifting to /i/ before a suffix /y/, a process that occurs synchronically when unstressed stem final /a/, in di- and polysyllabic verb stems, is followed by the intransitivising suffix -**yi**-).

verbal) part of speech with an inflecting, monosyllabic verb root, which is reflected synchronically in the stem final syllable. Thus, for instance, all di- or poly-syllabic verb stems in conj. 2 end in -ma~-mi, and the monosyllabic root ma 'go along' has a very similar pattern of inflection (it is grouped with this conjugation). All verbs (bar one) in Conj. 3a end in -dja or -tja, and there is a monosyllabic verb dja ~ dje 'put vertically' which takes very similar tense allomorphs. Similarly, all verbs in Conj. 5 end in -bu/-pu (or -pi), and the monosyllabic root bu 'hit' has an almost identical pattern of inflection. In a very few cases, the initial segment of the verb stems also exists as an independent word (these verb stems and the related morphemes are shown in (a) to (i) below). There are also a small number of pairs of intransitive and transitive verb stems, which share the same initial segment, and whose transitivity clearly derives from the final segment. Examples of these are shown in (j) to (m) below. For all verbs, the conjugational membership is shown in brackets.

(a)	**arruw**	tears	**rruw-dji-yi** (8c) tears-?-Intr
(b)	**garrbar**	bright moonlight	**warrbar-dja** (3a) be white, bright
(c)	**ngek**	breath	**ngeki** (ngek-gi??) (1a) breathe, rest for breath
(d)	**buka**	type of honey	**buka-bu** (5a) soak up honey with grass
(e)	**gurkur**	cough (n)	**gurkur-dja** (3a) cough (v)
(f)	**girdéy**	lungs, laughter	**girdétja** (3a) laugh
(g)	**rarrk**	design of painting	**rarrk-wa** (1a) 'paint design on sth'
(h)	**njok, njok**	woof, woof	**njok-ganmi** (2a) (dog) bark at (tr)
(i)	**-rohrok**	same (adj)	**rohrok-ganmi** (2a) count

(j) **gunji-wi** (1a) trick, play joke   **gunji-yi** (8c) tell a lie

(k) **ngurt-ganmi** (2a) stop someone talking, shut someone up   **ngurt-dja** stop talking, shut up, become quiet

(l) **bengday-ganmi** (2a) let know   **bengday-dja** remind oneself

(m) **gart-ma** (3b) hook up   **gartgart-dja** (3a) be caught up in/by something

     gart-dja (3a) be crowded in, stuck in together

Table 4.14. Tense / Status Allomorphs.

	Total	Pre	Con 1	Con 2	CP	Fut 1	Fut2	Irr 1	Irr 2	monosyllables
1a	39	-rri	-{ga}			-rdi		-{ga}+rni	-ø	
1b	2	[a]-rri	[a]-{ga}			[a]-rdi		[a]-{ga}+rni	[ay]-ø	**bay** eat,bite **way** throw
1c	3	-rri	-{ga}		-dji	-rdi	-djin	-{ga}+rni	-ø	
1d	4	-rday	{-ga}			-rdi		-{ga}+rni	-ø	
2a	21	-nay	{-ga}	[a]-ø		-rdi		-ø+rni	[i]-ø	
2b	12	-nay	[a]-ø			-rdi		-ø+rni	[i]-ø	
2c	1	-nay	-ma			-rdi		-ø+rni	<u>meme</u>	**ma** go along
2d	1	-rri	[a]-ø	{-ga}		-rdi		?	[i]-ø	
3a	100	[i]-nji	[i]-{ga}			[i]-n		[i]-{ga}+rni	[a]-ø	
3b	7	[e]-nji	[e]-ka			[e]-n		[e]-{ga}+rni	[a]-ø	**dja** stand (tr) **ma** get
3c	5	-ngu	-{ga}			-n		-{ga}+rni	-ø	**djo** scold **rro** burn (in)
4a	7	-ni	-tji			-n	*	-dji+rni	-ø	**na** 'see' **rra** 'spear' **wu** 'give'
4b	20	-ni	-dji			-n	*	-dji+rni	-ø	
4c	1	-ni	-dji	-{ga}		-n	*	-{ga}+rni	-ø	
5a	33	-ni	-rdi	*		-n		-ø+rni	-ø	
5b	7	-ni	-rdi	{-ga}		-n		?	-ø	
5c	5	-ni	-{ga}	-rdi		-n		-ø/{ga}+rni	-ø	
5d	1	-ni	-{ga}	*		-n		-{ga}+rni	-ø	
5e	1	-ni	-rndi			-n		-rndi+rni	-ø	**bu** 'hit'
6a	10	-dji	-dji			-djin		-dji+rni	-ø	
6b	2	-tji	-tji			-tjin		-tji+rni	-ø	**ga** 'take'
7a	4	-ø, -y	-rri, -rre			-ngu		CON+rni	-ø	**dji** 'stand' **ni** 'sit' **yu** 'lie'
7b	4	-ni	-rri			-n	-ngu	-ø+rni	-ø	
8a	2	[o]-gi-ni	[o]-gi-ya			[o]-go		[o]-gi-ya+rni	[oy]-ø	**boy** 'go'
8b	5	[ki]-ni	[ki]-ya			[ku]-n		[ki]-ya+rni	[tji]-ø	
8c	102	-ni	-ø			-n		-ø+rni	-ø	

[x] shows variable stem endings. * indicates that possible suffixes were rejected by Nja-Bulanj.

Allomorphs of the contemporary tense suffix {-ga}: This morpheme has three allomorphs. It is realised as /-ka/ following an open syllable which receives primary stress (ie, an open monosyllabic root, and compound stems where such a root is the

second element). Following an open unstressed syllable beginning with a non-velar stop, it is realised as /-ga/. Elsewhere (following unstressed syllables beginning with a velar stop, any nasal or any glide[16], or following stressed closed syllables) it is realised as /-nga/.

{-ga}	is realised as /ka/	/	C	V	+	____
				[stressed]		
	/ga/	/	Stop	V	+	____
			[velar]	[stressed]		
	/nga/	/	elsewhere			

Thus with /-ka/:

Conj. 3b: /ngu-me-ka/   Conj. 3c: /ngu-rro-ka/
           1MinA.3MinO-get-Con   *1MinS-burn-Con*

With /-ga/:

Conj. 3a: /ngu-bitji-ga/   Conj. 3c: /ng-gornda-ga/
           1MinA.3MinO-tie, wrap-Con   *1MinA.3MinO-cut-Con*

Conj. 3a: /ngu-yita-ga/   Conj. 5c: /ng-gopu-ga/
           1MinS-do,say thus-Con   *1MinA.3MinO-keep to self-Con*

With /-nga/:

Conj. 1a: /ngu-rrimi-nga/ Conj. 1c: /ngu-barrwa-nga/ Conj. 1d: /ngu-rrika-nga/
          1MinA.3MinO-hold-Con   *1MinA.3MinO-know-Con*   *1MinS-crawl-Con*

Table 4.14 above displays the tense/status allomorphs for each of the 8 conjugations. (Asterisks * in the CON 2 and FUT 2 columns show that Nja-Bulanj, my main informant of the older generation, specifically indicated that the verbs in question did not encode that category.) In the section following, I briefly summarise the characteristics of each conjugation: the number of verbs to date, their characteristic final syllables, the prevailing transitivity, and the tense/status categories encoded, and I also list all monosyllabic members.

Conjugation 1.

	Pre	Con1	Con2	CP	Fut	FutCP	Irr1	Irr2
1a	-rri	-{ga}			-rdi		-{ga}+rni	-ø
1b	[a]-rri	[a]-{ga}			[a]-rdi		[a]-{ga}+rni	[ay]-ø
1c	-rri	-{ga}		-dji	-rdi	(-djin)	-{ga}+rni	-ø
1d	-rday	-{ga}			-rdi		-{ga}+rni	-ø

In conjugation 1, verbs take the allomorphs /-ga/ and /-nga/ of the morpheme {-ga}, see note to Table 4.14 above.

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[16] No verb stems have final syllables beginning with a lateral or rhotic.

Conjugation 1a contains 39 verbs to date, all di- or poly-syllabic. The final syllables of verbs in this conjugation are:

-mi	13	-gi	7	-nji	1	-wa	6
-pi	3	-ki	1	-tji	1	-wu	4
-bi	1	-ka	1	-na	1		

Just over two-thirds (27/39) of the verbs in this subconjugation are transitive, as are all the verbs in subconjugations 1b and 1c.

Conjugation 1b contains only two verbs, both monosyllabic: **bay** 'bite, consume' and **way** 'throw'. These are irregular in that the root-final glide /y/ is deleted before overt tense suffixes:

$$/y/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset \quad / \quad \underline{\qquad} + \quad \text{tense suffix}$$

This deletion must be ordered after the Contemporary tense suffix is chosen (see note to Table 4.14 above), as **bay** and **way** both take /-nga/, which does not occur after stressed open syllables.

Conjugation 1c contains the three verbs **gornagi** 'wet, bath (tr)', **barrwa** 'know, think', and **babirrwa** 'know where place is' with which younger speakers use the completive (CP) suffixes **-dji** and **-djin** (see §4.4.2.3 above).

Conjugation 1d comprises four verbs which take an unusual precontemporary tense suffix **-rday**. In the remaining tenses they pattern like Conj. 1 verbs, taking Con {-ga} and Fut **-rdi**, and on this basis they have been placed within Conjugation 1. The verbs are **djarrka** 'spread out (tr)', **djoka** 'waken', **rrika** 'crawl' and **rrirrga** 'walk around'.

Conjugation 2

	Pre	Con1	Con2	CP	Fut	Irr1	Irr2
2a	-nay	-{ga}	[a]-ø		-rdi	-ø+rni	[i]-ø
2b	-nay	[a]-ø			-rdi	-ø+rni	[i]-ø
2c	-nay	-ma			-rdi	-ø+rni	[meme]
2d	-rri	[a]-ø	-{ga}		-rdi	?	[i]

The final syllable of all verbs in this conjugation is -mV: the vowel is /a/ in contemporary tense, realis status, and /i/ in the non-precontemporary irrealis form. The verb 'put' illustrates this:

ø-gorrmi-ø　　　　　　　　　'put it down!'
2MinA.3MinOImp-put down-Irr2
mu-gorrmi-ø　　　　　　　　'he/she might put it (Cl.III) down'
3MinA.3IIIO-put down-Irr2
mu-gorrma-ø　　　　　　　　'he/she puts it (Cl.III) down'
3MinA.3IIIO-put down-Con

Conjugation 2a, with 21 verbs to date, is completely transitive: all verb stems end in the transitive suffix -**ganmi**- (see §4.8.3 below). Conjugation 2b, with 12 verbs, is primarily intransitive, and includes the verbs **yinmi** 'do what, how' and **garlmi** 'get up, set off', and three verbs derived from **garlmi** by a process of lexical nominal incorporation (not fully productive): **bamagarlmi** 'surface in water' (cf **bami** 'head'; or **gin-minabámi** 'water'[17]); **djarnurragarlmi** 'stretch neck up' (**djarnurra** 'neck'); and **gondagarlmi** 'wave arms, put arms up' (**gonda** 'arm'). The only transitive verbs in this subconjugation are **gorrmi** 'put down' and two verbs which appear to be derived from it, **bologorrmi** '(rain) fill up (creeks, ponds, etc) with water' (although **bolo** is otherwise unknown), and **rrenjmugorrmi** 'put to sleep, lay flat' (**rrenjmu** 'temple, side of head'). One mono-syllabic verb, **ma** 'go along, walk' is found in sub-conjugation 2c; it has irregular (and formally reduplicated) contemporary realis and non-precontemporary irrealis forms, **mama** Con and **meme** Irr2.

Conjugation 2d comprises one verb, **gegimi** 'dislike' (transitive), which, like verbs in Conjs. 1a-1e, takes -**rri** as the precontemporary suffix, but otherwise patterns with the verbs in Conj.2.

According to Nja-Bulanj, verbs in subconjugations 2a and 2c distinguish contemporary tense 1 and contemporary tense 2, while those in subconjugation 2b do not. In 2a, the suffix {-**ga**} is apparently used for CON 1, and the -**ma-ø** ending functions here to encode CON 2. The opposite applies in 2c, where CON 1 is encoded by -**ma-ø** and CON 2 by {-**ga**}. No instances of -**ma-ø** used with 2a verbs, nor of {-**ga**} with **gegimi**, were recorded or noted in conversation or elicitation sessions other than the session in which this information was given, and I was unable in the time remaining to check this with other older speakers.

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[17] Cf also Nakkara wunabbama 'water'

Conjugation 3.

	Pre	Con1	Con2	CP	Fut	Irr1	Irr2
3a	[i]-nji	[i]-{ga}			[i]-n	[i]-{ga}+rni	[a]-ø
3b	[e]-nji	[e]-{ga}			[e]-n	[e]-{ga}+rni	[a]-ø
3c	-ngu	-{ga}			-n	-{ga}+rni	-ø

The allomorphs of {-ga} occurring here are /-ga/ (3a) and /-ka/ (3b+c); see note to Table 4.14 above.

This conjugation comprises several groups of verbs, all of which take -n in the future tense, {-ga} in the contemporary tense, and -nji or -ngu in the precontemporary tense.

Of all conjugations and sub-conjugations, Conjugation 3a is the largest (apart from the open conjugation 8c in which all derived intransitive verbs are found). 100 verbs have been recorded to date for Conj. 3a. The final syllable of 99 of the verbs is -tja or -dja (the hundredth is **yita** 'do, say like this'). The majority (75) are intransitive.

Conjugation 3b contains only 7 verbs: two monosyllabic roots **dja~dje** 'stand something up, put vertically, name', and **ma~me** 'get', and 5 compounds of **ma**: **djalk-ma** '?strike and slash open?', **djit-ma** 'steal', **gart-ma** 'hook up', **mornin-ma** '?win from, take the place of', and **wil-ma** 'pull in or down with a long stick'.

Conjugations 3a and 3b have almost identical inflectional patterns. In both, the root (or Irr2 form) ends in /a/. Before all overt suffixes, the stem final vowel of verbs in Conj. 3a is /i/; that of verbs in Conj. 3b is /e/. Other word forms in which a mid vowel is found in a stressed syllable, alternating with a high vowel in an unstressed syllable (for example, **medjimidji** 'hair', **merdimirdi** 'vein', **worduwurdu** 'shadow, spirit',) suggest that an alternation between i and e (and between u and o) was once phonologically conditioned. Synchronically, this is not a valid analysis, however, and so two subconjugations are recognised here.

In Conjugation 3c, there are 5 verbs, monosyllabic **djo** 'scold (tr)', and **rro** 'burn, cook, be hot (intr)' disyllabic **gornda** 'cut', and two derivatives of it: **gogurnda** 'cut in half, cut in pieces?' and **djamagornda** 'cut horizontal section out of?'

Conjugation 4.

	Pre	Con1	Con2	CP	Fut	Irr1	Irr2
4a	-ni	-tji			-n	-tji+rni	-ø
4b	-ni	-dji			-n	-dji+rni	-ø
4c	-ni	-dji	-{ga}		-rdi	*-dji/√{ga}+rni	-ø

* indicates that this form was rejected by Nja-Bulanj; √ that this form was accepted.

Conjugation 4a contains three monosyllabic verbs, **na** 'see', **rra** 'spear (poke, stab, sew, etc)', and **wu** 'give', plus compounds of **na** and **rra**: **burrkburrk-na** 'recognise by sight' (compare **burrkburrk-galiyi** 'recognise by hearing', **mornungu-na** 'blame' (**mornungu** 'culprit, guilty one'), **warle-rra** 'raise and aim spear', and **wetji-na** 'ask' (**wetji** 'language; speak, talk'). All are transitive. In all the compound verbs, the verb root retains primary stress (and the first syllable of the left member of the compound takes secondary stress).

There are 20 verbs in Conj. 4b, all of which are di- or poly-syllabic. The majority (16) are transitive. The final syllable of 10 of the verbs is -**wu**, 8 end in -**rra**, 1 in -**na** (**gana**, 'watch, be awake'), and 1 in -**ta** (**djata** 'shave, whittle'). **Gana** 'watch, be awake' may well be derived from monosyllabic **na** 'see', as there is a clear semantic connection. Some of the verbs ending in -**wu** and perhaps -**rra** may also be derived from **wu** 'give' and **rra** 'spear' respectively. A semantic connection can be seen between 'give' and **walkwu** 'scare' ('give a fright to') and perhaps also **gilikiliwu** 'tickle' (?'give the giggles to?'), **rraka(rraka)wu** 'tie up tightly, prevent from doing something' (cf **rraka** 'hard, tight'), and **rrirriwu** 'tie up, tighten'. Others, such as **bawu** 'leave', **djawu** 'breastfeed'[18], **garra** 'mix together, make one' and **morra** 'not know' appear to be monomorphemic, and some are themselves the basis for etymologically compound verbs (**bap-morra** 'father A die leaving children O', **gal-bawu** '(clothing) not fit (be too big for)', **garna-garra** 'sit down'.

Conjugation 4c contains only one verb, **djarnda** 'hurt (tr)', which is set apart in a separate sub-conjugation as it is the only verb in this conjugation which distinguishes contemporary tense 1 (-**dji**, the regular Con suffix for this conjugation) from contemporary tense 2 (-**ga**).

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[18] This may possibly be a compound of **wu** 'give' with a verb root **dja** 'drink'. This verb does not occur in Burarra or Gurr-goni, but is found in Ndjébbana (**dji**, 'drink') and Nakkara (**dji~dja** 'eat, drink').

Conjugation 5.

	Pre	Con1	Con2	CP	Fut	Irr1	Irr2
5a	-ni	-rdi	*		-n	-ø+rni	-ø
5b	-ni	-rdi	-{ga}		-n	?	-ø
5c	-ni	-{ga}	-rdi		-n	-ø-/{ga}+rni	-ø
5d	-ni	-{ga}	*		-n	-{ga}+rni	-ø
5e	-ni	-rndi			-n	-rndi+rni	-ø

{-ga} is realised as /-ga/ here; see note to Table 4.14 above.

Conjugation 5, with 47 verbs, is as large as conjugation 1, but more homogeneous in stem formation. All di- or polysyllabic verb stems end in -bu, -pu, or -pi, and one monosyllabic verb, bu 'hit, kill', belongs in this conjugation (with an irregular contemporary tense suffix, it is placed alone in subconjugation 5e). Although very few of the initial syllables in these verb stems are recognisable as independent morphemes , it seems likely that they result from very ancient compounding on the verb bu 'hit, kill'. Etymologically recognisable compounds include bukabu 'soak up honey with grass' (cf. buka 'grass type'), and possibly bamabu 'forget' (cf. bami (Burarra bama) 'head'.

Subdivisions a, b, c and d of this conjugation divide the verbs which have only one contemporary tense suffix (a and b) from those that have two (c and d). Although only two allomorphs are involved, it seems that {-ga} is Con 1 for some verbs, and Con 2 for others; -rdi likewise is Con 1 for some verbs and Con 2 for others. Even with the verbs that have only one Contemporary tense, one selects {-ga}, and the others -rdi. This system seems tailormade to create confusion, which was in fact evident in the speakers' use of these allomorphs (see §4.4.2.1); it may well be that the complexity of the system represents a stage in which the contemporary tense distinctions are gradually going out of use, and the allomorphy of the suffixes is being lexicalised to some extent.

Conjugation 6.

	Pre	Con1	Con2	CP	Fut	Irr1	Irr2
6a	-dji	-dji			-djin	-dji+rni	-ø
6b	-tji	-tji			-tjin	-tji+rni	-ø

This conjugation is small. 6b comprises one monosyllabic verb, ga 'take', and a compound based on this, guyuga 'take (dogs) hunting' (cf. guyu 'nose', guyuguyu 'ahead'). 6a contains 10 other verbs ending in -ka or -ga: balka 'stick (to something)', babilga 'be all over something', gaka 'chase, push, follow (tracks)', djurrgaka 'follow

behind, after' (cf **-djurru** 'behind'), **rurrgaka** 'drag', **murniga** 'carry child on shoulders', **rreka** 'go and get someone', **warrka** 'pull guts out', **wirrka** 'scrape, scratch' and **yerrga** 'stroke, fondle'. All except **yerrga** are transitive.

This is the only conjugation which does not maintain the distinction between the precontemporary and contemporary tenses. It is interesting that the tense allomorph that appears here, **-dji**, is that which in Conj.1 appears as a non-future tense suffix, encoding 'O completely affected', with no distinction between precontemporary and contemporary tense. (Its future counterpart in Conj. 1 is also **-djin.**) It may be that this aspectual distinction had wider distribution in some former stage of the language, and that the verbs of Conj. 6 selected it more often than the (possibly unmarked) aspect represented by the other tense suffixes. The verbs of Conj. 6 do not maintain the distinction, but may have retained the more frequently used suffixes, which formerly signified 'completely affected'.[19]

Conjugation 7.

Conjugation 7a comprises the three monosyllabic, intransitive verb roots **dji** 'stand, be standing', **ni** 'sit, be (sitting)' and **yu** 'lie, sleep, camp', and also **gogini** 'be under water' (perhaps historically based on **ni** 'sit'). All of these are slightly irregular in the formation of the realis status tenses, and so are listed here individually.

7a	Pre	Con	Fut	Irr1	Irr2
'stand'	dji-ø	dje-rre	dje-ngu	dje-rre+rni	dji-ø
'sit'	ni-ø	ne-rre	ni-ngu	ne-rre+rni	ni-ø
'lie'	yu-y	yo-rri	yu-ngu	yo-rri+rni	yu-ø
'be under water'	gogini-ø	gogini-rri	gogini-ngu	CON+rni	?
7b	-ni	-rri	-n, (-ngu)	-ø+rni	-ø

Conjugation 7b contains 4 verbs (the stems of which all end in **-yi**) which have been placed here as they also take **-rri** as the

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[19] On the other hand, Nakkara, with a cognate verb **ga** 'take' does distinguish precontemporary and contemporary tense: **-ya** and **-njdja** respectively. **-ya** would derive from **-dja** through a regular shift in Nakkara of dj>y; */dj/ and */njdj/ would both develop here into /tj/ in Gurr-goni, through stop lengthening following stress on the monosyllabic verb root **ga**, and development of a homorganic nasal-stop sequence to a long stop. Burarra also has a single non-future suffix **-njdja**, which must result from a merger of categories, as there is no regular sound change to give /njdj/ from /dj/.

contemporary tense allomorph. The verb stems are: **galiyi** 'hear, listen, feel, understand', **burrkburrk-galiyi** 'recognise by sound or voice', **buburdiyi** 'swell up, be swollen', and **lokdjeyi** 'have an opening in'. All are intransitive. One of the verbs, **galiyi**, has two future tense allomorphs -n and -ngu, as noted above (§4.4.2.2). The other three verbs in Conj. 7b take -n (the most common future tense allomorph), while -ngu is the future tense allomorph of Conj. 7a.

Conjugation 8.

The verbs of Conjugation 8a and 8b are also irregular, and the monomorphemic roots are listed individually.

		Pre	Con	Fut	Irr1	Irr2
8a	'go'	**bo-gi-ni**	**bo-gi-ya**	**bo-go**	Con+rni	**boy-ø**
8b	'go out, arrive'	**be-ki-ni**	**be-ki-ya**	**be-ku-n**	Con+rni	**be-tji-ø**
	'fall'	**bu-ki-ni**	**bu-ki-ya**	**bu-ku-n**	Con+rni	**bu-tji-ø**
	'speak, talk'	**we-ki-ni**	**we-ki-ya**	**we-ku-n**	Con+rni	**we-tji-ø**
8c		**-ni**	**-ø**	**-n**	**-ø+rni**	**-ø**

The verb **boy** 'go', and a compound stem **warboy** 'be dizzy' (cf. **warbu** 'sing (tr)') are the sole members of Conj. 8a, which differs from 8b mainly in the future and root forms. The other members of Conj 8b are compound stems based on the verbs 'fall' and 'come out, arrive': **bambutji** 'be born' (cf. **bami** 'head') and **djurrkdjurrkbetji** 'be greedy for' (cf. **-djurrkdjurrk** 'greedy'). All of these verb stems are intransitive, as are all members of Conj. 8c. This latter is the largest in Gurr-goni, and the only open conjugation, as it contains all intransitivised verbs (that is, all verbs derived by the suffix -yi- 'Intransitiviser' (§4.8.1) from transitive verbs of any conjugation). To date, 102 verb stems are attested in this subconjugation, of which at most half are productively derived from transitive verbs. We would thus expect further work to reveal more derived intransitives, as well perhaps as more stems for which a transitive counterpart does not exist synchronically. The fact that the final syllable of all Conj. 8c verb stems is -yi may explain the choice of -ø as contemporary tense allomorph (and is the reason for placing the subconjugation here, rather than with Conjugation 4 or 5, which also take -ni Pre and -n Fut). It seems quite plausible to suggest that these verbs may originally have taken -ya as a contemporary suffix, as the verbs of 8a and 8b do, and that the -ya then dropped from the sequence -yi-ya.

<u>4.8.Valence Changing Processes.</u>

Three suffixes can be identified in Gurr-goni which change the valence of a verb stem. Only one, which derives intransitive stems from transitive ones, is fully productive. A second intransitivising suffix appears in only a few verb stems, and may be a relic of a formerly productive process. There is one semi-productive transitive suffix.

<u>4.8.1. -yi- Intransitivising Derivational suffix.</u>

An intransitive verb stem can be derived from any transitive verb stem by the addition of a suffix -yi-. These derived intransitive stems become members of conjugation 8c, and take the tense/status suffixes of that conjugation (Pre -ni, Con -ø, Fut -n). The direferential prefixes appropriate to the transitive stem are replaced by monoreferential prefixes.

A number of meanings are expressed through this suffix. It derives reflexive verbs, where the A and O of the transitive stem from which it is derived are identical. For example, from the transitive verb root **bu** 'hit' can be derived the reflexive stem **bu-yi-** 'hit oneself':

4-52a **nguna-bu-ni**
2,3MinA.1MinO-hit-Pre
You or he/she hit me.

4-52b **ngu-bu-yi-ni.**
1MinS-hit-Intr-Pre
I hit myself.

The action referred to can be either intentional or accidental.

-yi- also derives verbs with a reciprocal meaning, which must have a non-singular subject. For example:

4-52c **awuni-bu-yi-ni.**
3UAnfS-hit-Intr-Pre
They two males are hitting each other.

This can also mean 'they (two males) are hitting themselves'. Where the meaning is not clear from the context, the reciprocal meaning can be made unambiguous by using a phrase **gu-gapu** **gu-goni** *3IV-that far away 3IV-this,* literally 'that far Class IV one this Class IV one' (the use

of Class IV cross-referencing seems impersonal, referring to a place or side ('that side, this side') rather than the people involved), or by using two transitive clauses, to describe each part of the action separately. Both stategies are used in the following example:

4-53 **gu-gapu   gu-goni   nguwurr-barrwi-yi-n**
3IV-that far 3IV-this   1+2AugS-think-Intr-Fut
nguwurr-ni-ngu,   ngaytjburru-ø
1+2AugS-be,sit-Fut   1+2Aug-unm
nguwu-barrwi-rdi   arrapu   ngidjiyé-pu
1+2AugA.3MinO-think-Fut   and   3MinF-Card
arr-barrwi-rdi=ngutjuyu
3MinA.1+2Min/AugO-think-Fut=3MinF+Poss_A
We will be thinking of each other - we will think of her and she will think of us.   (III/10/4)

There are no special reflexive/reciprocal markers for oblique roles in Gurr-goni. Where a beneficiary or addressee or some other role marked by a Dative or Poss_C pronoun is identical with the A or S argument of a verb, the Dative and Poss_C pronouns are still used, as the following example illustrates:

4-54 **Gu-gu-warlpu   ng-garlmi-rdi   ngayi-pu   o   bapa**
Loc3IV-Nom-hunt 1MinS-get up,-Fut 1Min-Card   or   father
                         set off
a-bo-go,   njiwurr-weku-n   ngaytjburru-ø
3IS-go-Fut   1AugS-speak-Fut   1Aug-Poss_C   (I/103/20)
I'll set off hunting or father will go, we'll all speak <u>to each other</u>.

Thus with 3rd person referents, Dative and Poss_C pronouns can be ambiguous between a reflexive/reciprocal reading and one where the referents are not identical:

4-55 **a-weki-ni   ni-lorndo**
3IS-speak-Pre 3MinNf-Dat
He_i spoke to him_{i,j}.

The suffix **-yi-** is also used to derive intransitive stems which function as agentless passives: the O of the original transitive verb becomes the S of the derived intransitive, and the A is obligatorily

deleted. Sometimes the A may not be known, or may not be specific; in other cases, such as 4-56, the A is known, and is subsequently mentioned. In all cases, the derived intransitive places the focus on the original O as the undergoer of the action or event, and defocusses the A.

4-56 **Gukuk gu-wunapi-yi-ni, mburrklerrtji gubu-wunapi-ni.**
water 3IVS-finish-Intr-Pre children 3AugA.3MinO-finish-Pre
The water is finished, the children finished it.

4-57 **Shop gu-djakabi-yi-ø gi-dje-rre.**
" *3IVS-close-Intr-Con 3IVS-stand-Con*
The shop is closed.

4-58 **ngarr-pu big boy nji-munigi-yi-ø**
2Min-Card " " *2MinS-carry on shoulders-Intr-Con*
You're a big boy (to be) carried on (my) shoulders.

4-59 **matji awurr-djurnitbi-yi-ø-pu awurr-dje-rre.**
dead people 3AugS-bury-Intr-Con-pu 3AugS-stand-Con
(where) the dead people are buried.

4-60 **Arrapu bapa a-garrapu a-djorrwi-rri** ....
and father 3I-Anaph 3IS-jump, be born-Pre
Galu balanggit wurru manburrba,
NEG blanket but material
manburrba a-bitji-yi-ni.
material 3IS-tie,wrap-Intr-Pre (V/100/9)
And your father that I'm telling you about was born.....There was no blanket, but there was material, he was wrapped in material.

4.8.2. -miyi Frozen Inchoative.

Four verbs in conjugation 8c can be analysed as consisting of an adjective plus a suffix **-miyi**. The verbs in question, and the adjectives from which they appear to be derived, are:

bulúnmiyi 'become old'	**-bulún** 'old' (and cf. **wulun** 'stern of canoe')
gurdólmiyi 'rot, become rotten'	**-gurdól** 'rotten'; **gurdol** 'pus'
marrmanmiyi 'get better'	**-marrman** 'good'

rrakamiyi 'be fixed, rigid, still'

(-**rraka** also found in -**rrakangurrngu** 'hard, tight', etymologically probably **rraka**-rigid + **ngurrungu** muscles)

The meaning of all these verbs is 'become ADJ': -**miyi** may thus have once been a productive means of deriving inchoative verbs from adjectives. It cannot now be applied to any adjectives other than these four (the productive inchoative construction is a compound serial verb construction, ADJ **ni** 'be' **meme** 'go along' (see below, §5.3.2.1.7)).

There are also two intransitive verbs with this affix -**miyi** which appear to be derived from nouns; again, this is not productive:

weleberrmiyi 'carry bag slung around forehead'

wele 'forehead', **berr** 'gear'

warmborrkamiyi '?find self children, get chidren'

warumbarrk 'rib bone, front of ribs, just under breast in women, "where we hurt" (KM)'

4.8.3. -ganmi Transitiviser, semi-productive.

All members of conjugation 2a (20 to date) end in -**ganmi**; all are transitive. Two of these verbs have intransitive counterparts in which, in place of -**ganmi**-, a segment -**dja** occurs, thus **ngurtdja**, 'shut up, be, become quiet' and **ngurtganmi** 'shut someone up, make someone be quiet'; **bengdayganmi** 'let someone know, inform someone' and **bengdaydja** 'remind oneself'. -**ganmi** appears to have been added to the whole verb stem in the case of two other intransitive verbs which end in -**dja**/-**tja**: **warrtja** 'ascend, climb' and **warrtjiganmi** 'put someone up', **galtja** 'enter, get or go in', **galtjiganmi** 'cause to go in' (as in making children go to school). Neither of these processes (of replacing -**dja**/-**tja** with -**ganmi**, or of adding -**ganmi** to an intransitive stem) is fully productive. The suffix is however clearly recognised by speakers as a separate segment, and as a marker of transitive verbs. As described above, some verbs have a mismatch between formal transitivity (determined by whether they take a mono- or di-referential pronominal prefix), and semantic transitivity. **Dirrdirrdja** 'pull hard on', for example, takes mono-referential pronominal prefixes, but clearly involves a patient or undergoer role (that which is pulled). Younger speakers were sometimes observed to replace -**dja**/-**tja** in verbs like this with -**ganmi**, thus making them formally, and unmistakably, transitive, in accordance with their semantic transitivity. Similarly, **ngongerr-**

ganmi (diref., transitive) was used for **ngongerr-dja** 'shake (monoref., transitive) and **rdakrdak-ganmi** for **rdakrdak-dja** 'chop(?)'.

4.9. Directional Prefixes.
4.9.1. -na- ~ -ngun(i)- 'Towards'.

A directional prefix indicating motion or alignment towards the speaker may be optionally added to any semantically appropriate verb. The distribution of the two allomorphs is, interestingly, another area of the grammar where the singular/non-singular distinction is active: **-na-** co-occurs with singular arguments, and **-nguni-** (which is often shortened to /**-ngun-**/ or even /**-ng-**/) with non-singular arguments (i.e. 1+2 minimal, and all nonminimal categories)[20].

The 'towards' prefix is frequently used with intransitive verbs of motion, and can also be used with transitive verbs involving motion. Examples are:

4-61   **Gi-gegu-pu**   **nji-buki-ni**   **nji-na-bogi-ni**
Loc3IV-new-extr *2MinS-fall,land-Pre* *2MinS-twds-go-Pre*

       balaypalay   **mern**   **gu-gabi**
       far+Redup   *cold*   *3IV-there*

       nji-na-djarti   **nji-na-ma-nay**
       2MinS-twds-hurry *2MinS-twds-go along-Pre*

In the first place when you came and landed here, you came from far away where it's cold.   (III/1/2-5)

4-62   **Burr-nguni-bo-y**   **nguwurr-bo-go**
       2AugSImp-twds-go-Irr2 *1+2AugS-go-Fut*

       ngubu-gorndi-n.
       1+2AugA.3MinO-cut-Fut

Come here all of you, we'll go and cut it.   (V/35/13)

4-63   **Welenggen nji-na-ga-tjin**   **ngapala.**
       sole agent   *2MinA.3MinO-twds-take-Fut* *1Min+Dat*

Bring it to me yourself.   (IV/108/21)

4-64   **Nji-na-wa-rdi**   **ngaytjburru-ø mun-muka...**
       2MinA.3MinO-twds-throw-Fut *1Aug-Poss$_C$*   *3III-lots*

Throw us down lots (of fruit).   (III/68/7)

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[20] All transitive verbs recorded with this affix involve two singular arguments; it is not known which allomorph would be selected with, for example, a nonsingular A and singular O, or even if the affix can be used following pronominal prefixes such as those.

The stance verbs **ni** 'be sitting', **dji** 'be standing' and **yu** 'be lying' have all been recorded with this affix; in some instances they are functioning as serial verbs with a verb of motion as the main verb, but they can also be used as main verbs with the directional affix indicating the position of the subject relative to the speaker.

4-65 **Wulek gu-na-gepiyi-ni abu-ga-tji**
finish 3IVS-twds-dawn-Pre 3AugA.3IO-take-Con/Pre
awurr-warrtji-nji wulek ranba abu-gogurndu-ngu
3AugS-climb-Pre finish beach 3AugA.3IO-cut up-Pre
yi-gapu, ngarritj-bu yiguwápu <u>arr-nguna-ne-rre</u>
away-there far 1+2Min-Card this way 1+2MinS-twds-sit-Con
wurru yi-gapu
but away-there far (V/91+)
Then the next day (lit. (when) it dawned) they took them (crocodiles, Cl.I) up and cut them up on the beach way out there (you and I were sitting more over this way (i.e. closer to Maningrida, where we were recording the story) the other day, but this was a long way away).

This example also illustrates the use of the 'towards' prefix with the verb 'to dawn'; with this verb it appears to be used without exception.

The 'towards' prefix has also been recorded with verbs of speech; some examples are given here.

4-66 **Nji-na-wetji ninjokoni biy-bu-ni.**
2MinS-twds-speak+Irr2 who 3MinA.2MinO-hit-Pre
Say (to me, this way) who hit you (as a mother called out to her child playing some distance away)

4-67 **djaluwu ring up awurr-nguna-ni-ø**
again " " 3AugS-twds-be,sit-Pre
They rang up here again. (IX/131/5)

4-68 **dji-galiyi-rri ngaytjbu-lorndo, dji-na-weki-ya,**
3IIS-listen-Con 1Aug-Dat 3IIS-twds-talk-Con
njiwurr-galiyi-rri ngutju-lorndo
1AugS-listen-Con 3MinF-Dat (I/91/10)
She listens to us, she talks back to us, we listen to her.

4.9.2. -yi- (~-y- ~ -i-) 'Away'.

The 'away' directional prefix can be used with any appropriate verbs, transitive or intransitive, to signify that one of the arguments is moving away from the speaker (or other focal point). The allomorphy is conditioned not by the number category encoded in the pronominal prefix, as with the 'towards' prefix, but by its phonemic shape: /-i-/ follows consonant-final pronominal prefixes, and /-yi-/ ~/-y-/ (in free variation) follow vowel-final prefixes[21].

4-69   **Welenggen gi-y-buku-n**

        sole agent   3IVS-away-fall-Fut

        It (mud) will fall away by itself (said to a child soaking his mud-encrusted feet)   (VII/37/9)

4-70   **A-garlma-nay a-ma-nay-pu**

        3IS-get up-Pre   3IS-go along-Pre-imm

        yibénapu barlmarrk a-y-wa-rri-pu

        that side   wind   3MinA.3MinO-away-throw-Pre-pu

        yi-garrapu a-y-guybi-ni

        away-Anaph   3IS-away-sink-Pre   (V/114-115)

        He got up (on the stern of a boat) and as soon as he went along the wind suddenly threw him off the far side, and he sank down away (from us).

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[21] The 'away' prefix in UA feminine requires further research.

<u>Chapter 5: Syntax.</u>

In this chapter, I investigate the structure of simple and complex clauses in Gurr-goni. Several elements are readily identifiable in the simple clause in Gurr-goni: the predicate; its obligatory cross-referenced arguments, S (the subject of an intransitive verb and of an adjective), A (the subject of a transitive verb) and O (the object of a transitive verb) (I am here following Dixon's (1979) terminology in referring to these basic grammatical functions); and the optional NPs which set the scene of the event in time and space. This three-way division corresponds very neatly to the three layers of the clause proposed by Foley and Van Valin (1984); they term them the nucleus, which contains the predicate; the core layer, which contains the arguments selected by the predicate; and the periphery, comprising those optional NPs which provide the spatio-temporal setting. Van Valin (1993:41) further divides the core layer into direct core arguments and oblique core arguments, the former being those that are "morphologically unmarked ...or are cross-referenced on the verb" and the latter "those marked by an adposition or by an oblique case." Dixon has also used the terms core and peripheral in defining the elements of the clause: for him, the core NPs are those "that MUST be included in a sentence if it is to have a complete sense.......these are intransitive subject, transitive subject and transitive object' (Dixon 1980:296). In Dixon's scheme, however, all other NPs are peripheral, and "can be added, quite optionally, to any core" (ibid:268). Dixon divides peripheral NPs into local ones (those that refer to places) and syntactic ones ("indirect object, goal of activity, 'what is feared', and so on" (ibid)); this division makes no distinction between, for instance, locative NPs which are the complement of a verb like 'put', and those which indicate where an event takes place. Blake makes a very similar distinction between core relations ("the complements of one-place intransitive verbs and two-place transitives" (Blake 1987:13)) and non-core relations (all others (1987:31)).

My concern in the sections below will be to examine the language-specific evidence for distinguishing between different layers of the clause. An initial question is what can function as the predicate. As we will see, both verbs and other parts of speech can fulfil this function, and in §5.1 below I firstly describe non-verbal clauses, and then move on in §§5.2-5 to discuss verbal clauses. Here, in §5.2.1, I look firstly at the realisation of S, A and O arguments. I then turn, in §5.2.2, to those NPs which provide the spatial and temporal setting for the event described. By all the

definitions cited above, the former are core arguments, and the latter are peripheral (or non-core), and in Gurr-goni, their morpho-syntactic behaviour clearly reflects their status. A, S and O are obligatory, in that they are indexed on the verb through pronominal prefixes. Spatio-temporal setting NPs are never indexed on the verb; they are optional with any predicate, and are clearly not part of the thematic structure of any particular predicate. What of other NPs? The thematic structure of many Gurr-goni verbs includes semantic roles which are not indexed on the verb (themes, locations, goals, etc). In Foley and Van Valin's terms, NPs in these roles would be considered to be part of the core (or oblique core) layer. In Dixon's terms, they are all peripheral, as they may be present in the clause, or may be omitted from it. In §5.2.3, I examine the syntactic behaviour of these nominal arguments in Gurr-goni, in an attempt to identify language specific evidence for establishing an intermediate layer (or layers) between the core and the periphery.

In §§5.3-5.4, I discuss complex clauses - single clauses with a complex predicate. Foley and Olson (1985:57) define the clause as "a grammatical structure consisting of one and only one non-composite periphery", and allow for the possibility of composite cores or nuclei within a single periphery; ie, within a single clause. Thus as well as two clauses being joined together, either by co-ordination or subordination, nuclei, or nuclei and their core arguments, may be joined within a single periphery, giving a complex inner layer. There is strong evidence in Gurr-goni for considering some series of verbs, each indexing their own core arguments, as constituting a single clause; these are discussed at §5.3, Serial Verbs. In addition, just as nominals may function as the sole predicate of a clause, there appear to be cases where a nominal predicate and a verb are joined together within a single periphery; these are considered at §5.4. Juncture at the peripheral level, ie coordination and subordination of entire clauses, is covered in §§5.5 and 5.6, respectively.

5.1. Verbless Clauses: Non-verbal Predicates.

5-1 **djorndjorn   galu   yandu**   **nguwurr-yita-ø**
mudskipper   NEG   what do   *1+2AugS-do thus-Irr2*
nguwu-dimi-ø[1],   **giy   nuyu,**   **arrapu**
1+2AugA.3MinO-grasp-Irr2   *speed   3MinNf+Poss$_C$ and*
nguwu-dimi-ø,   **at-bolibeybigiyi**
1+2AugA.3MinO-grasp-Irr2   *3I-smooth, slippery*
We can't catch the mudskipper, <u>he's fast</u>, and if we catch him, <u>he's slippery</u>.   (V/47/10)

5-2 **Wurru   wulek   <u>an-ngarritj-bu</u>,   ay-ba-rdi.**
but   finish   3I-1+2Min-Card   1+2MinA.3MinO-eat-Fut
<u>Galu ninjokoni   ngarrkulu</u>   a-njatbu   warrpura
NEG who   1+2Min+Dat 3I-thingy   armpit sweat
a-bu-ø,   gun-yalang,   wurru
3MinA.3IO-hit-Irr2 3IV-nothing   but
ay-ba-rdu-pu   waymak."
1+2MinA.3MinO-eat-Fut-pu   anyway   (IV/9/10-19)
But <u>it's ours</u>, we'll eat it (a buffalo). <u>There's no one with us</u> who can (ritually) hit it with sweat, but we'll eat it anyway.

Clauses such as those underlined in the examples above are not uncommon in Gurr-goni speech or narration, and in Australian languages generally, verbless clauses appear to be a common feature. There has been some discussion about what constitutes the true predicate in clauses like this. Wilkins (1989:220) analyses similar clauses in Mparntwe Arrernte as having a copular verb as predicate, which "need not appear when the tense is understood to be present tense but must appear when any other tense is intended. This means that the NP acting as subject complement.....may be the apparent predicate in present tense stative or equative clauses." McGregor (1990:308), on the other hand, states that in Gooniyandi verbal attributive clauses (similar structurally to Mparntwe Arrernte copular clauses) and verbless characterising clauses "are NOT synonymous, and the VP is NOT an optional place marking copula. In brief, the verbal type makes reference to a situation, which is a mode of being or existence of the Medium/Carrier, concomitant with its carrying the Attribute; in the verbless type the Carrier is characterised by its

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[1] Text has **a-rrimi-ø** *3MinA.3IO-grasp-Irr2*, but this is surely wrong.

possession of the attribute". McGregor appears to be saying here that, while the verbless clause attributes a single quality to its subject, the verbal clause conveys the information that its subject is in the state, posture or type of motion indicated by the verb, at the same time as it has the quality indicated by the non-verbal part of speech.

Before going on to describe the various types of verbless clauses found in Gurr-goni, I will consider the evidence which could help to determine whether they are best analysed as having an ellipsed verbal predicate, or as a distinct construction conveying a meaning different from that of verbal clauses.

Firstly, it is the case that in Mparntwe Arrernte, among other languages, verbless clauses can only be used with present or general reference; where some other time reference is intended, a copular verb must be used to show this. This is not the case in Gurr-goni, as the following examples will show (the non-verbal clause is underlined, and its immediate constituents separated by brackets):

5-3 **[Dji-goni bapa Leila] [gapu]. Ay, ngutju-pu,**
    3II-this   Fa(Zi) name there far hey   here-pu
    dji-ni-ø   gul   dji-bo-gini
    3II-be,sit-Pre school   3IIS-go-Pre
    Your aunt Leila was out there. Hey (no), she was staying here, she was going to school.   (IX/24/26)

5-4 **Wurru a-goni bapa (name), [a-goni wulek] [wana],**
    but   3I-this Fa(Zi)   3I-this finish   big
                                    = this one
    gu-negi-rri   a-bo-gini.
    3MinA.3IVO-tread on-Pre 3IS-go-Pre   (IV/20/13)
    But this father of yours, this one was big, he was walking.

5-5 **Waymak   djina-gaki-dji   .... ngayi-pu**
for no reason 3MinA.1UAnfO-chase-Pre/Con   1Min-Card
ngu-warrtji-nji arrapu niyé-pu   mut-burdja
1MinS-climb-Pre and   3MinNf-Card 3III-gun
m-bawu-ni   a-dji-ø   a-warrtji-nji.
3MinA.3IIIO-leave-Pre 3IS-stand-Pre 3IS-climb-Pre
[Mut]-[gagurru].
3III-bad
(The buffalo) chased us for no reason. I climbed up, and he left
the gun and climbed up. It (the tree they climbed, (Cl.III)) was
rotten.   (IV/10/10)

In all these examples (and more could be adduced), the time
reference is provided by the context. It is clear, however, that the
speakers could have used a verbal predicate, as well as the nominal or
adverbial, in these clauses (and indeed, in her self-correction in the
second clause of example 5-3, the speaker does exactly that).

The corpus also provides instances of clauses with present time
reference which do have a verbal predicate:

5-6 **Gun-ngak galu ni-lorndo, an-ngultji a-yo-rri maka.**
3IV-fire   NEG 3MinNf-Dat 3I-dark   3IS-lie-Con FaMo(Bro)
There is no fire for him, your great-uncle lies dark.

5-7 **Nguwunji, guwa   ø-na-ø,**
aunt (FaZi)   come here 2MinA.3MinOImp-see-Irr2
a-goni an-marrman a-dje-rre.
3I-this 3I-good   3IS-stand-Con   (I/65/26)
Auntie, come and see, this (a tent) is standing up well.

5-8 **awurr-gurdu   awurr-bogi-ya awurr-workiyi-ø**
3Aug-uncircumcised 3AugS-go-Con   3AugS-do always-Con
They always go uncircumcised.   (VII/92/3)

In these instances, omitting the verbs **a-yo-rri** 'he lies', **a-dje-rre**
'it stands' and **awurr-bogi-ya awurr-workiyi-ø** 'they habitually go'
would leave fully grammatical clauses, exactly like the second clause
underlined in example 5-1, and the one underlined in example 5-5. But,
while the speakers there chose not to use a verbal predicate, here they

have chosen to do so, and in so doing, are saying more than just 'he is dark', 'it is good', 'they are uncircumcised'. The three stance verbs **ni** 'sit', **dji** 'stand' and **yu** 'lie' are the verbs most often found following adjectives in constructions like these, but others, such as **boy** 'go', can also be used, allowing many distinctions to be expressed concerning the situation of the subject. These constructions, and the verbs which can occur in them, will be discussed in more detail in §5.4 below.

The facts then are that a verbal predicate is not necessary in a grammatical clause in any tense, and that a wide range of meanings can be conveyed when one is chosen, through the large number of possible verbal predicates. I conclude, then, that verbless clauses constitute a different clause type from verbal clauses, and convey a different meaning (generally, a more limited one than can be expressed through a verbal clause). The nominal or adverbial, which, I argue below (§5.4), combines with the verb in 'verbal' clauses to form a complex predicate, functions as the main, and only, argument-taking predicate in verbless clauses.

Several types of non-verbal clauses can be discerned. In identifying and naming these clause types I have been largely guided by Lyons' (1977:469-475) insightful discussion, but I add one type: existential clauses. Lyons appears not to distinguish these from locative clauses; in Gurr-goni, non-verbal existential and locational clauses have different structures, and also differ semantically. Existential clauses, consisting solely of an NP, assert the existence or non-existence of an entity. Locational clauses, consisting of an NP and an adverb, in either order, place a referent in relation to a focal point. (I use the term 'locational', rather than Lyons' term 'locative', for reasons that will become apparent in the discussion below.) A third structural type consists of an NP as subject and an NP as predicate; a subtype of this third construction has a possessive NP as predicate. This clause type has the function of identifying the referent of one nominal as the same as the referent of another nominal (the equative function); or of ascribing to a referent a particular quality or property, or membership of a certain class of entities (the ascriptive function).

All of these types will now be exemplified and discussed.

5.1.2. Existential Clauses.

5-9 **Galu balanggit, wurru manburrba, manburrba**
NEG blanket   but   material   material
a-bitji-yi-ni.
3IS-wrap-Intr-Pre
There was no blanket, but there was material, he was wrapped in
material.   (V/100/5-9)

5-10 **Djirrin djin-muka!**
centipede 3II-many
There were so many centipedes!   (IV/66/1)

5-11 **Djuka   galu   lay,   nguwurr-djeka-ø,**
sugar NEG   hey   1+2AugS-return-Irr2
baki   galu   ngaytjbu-lorndo.
tobacco NEG   1+2Aug-Dat   (V/110/21)
Hey, there's no sugar, let's go back, there's no tobacco for us/with
us (or in more idiomatic English, we haven't got any tobacco).

The positive existential clauses illustrated here consist of a single
NP, which names the entity whose existence is being asserted. In the
negative clauses, which assert the non-existence of an entity, the negative
particle **galu** precedes or (more usually) follows this NP. The time or
place in which the entity exists is often evident from the context, but both
may be specified; in example 5-12, this information is provided by the
nominals **butj** '(in the) bush' and **guwarr** 'time long ago'.

5-12 **Butj,   guwarr   butj,   balanda   galu.**
bush   time long ago bush   white people NEG   (III/88/13)
In the bush, long ago in the bush, there were no white people.

(There are also verbal clauses which have the function of predicating the
existence or non-existence of some entity; in these, one of the three stance
verbs 'sit', 'stand' and 'lie' is chosen as the predicate:

5-13 **ngaytjburru-ø galu   njiburr-ni-ø**
1Aug-unm   NEG   1AugS-be,sit-Pre
We did not exist (i.e, we were not yet born).   (V/66/4)

5-14 **gu-na-ni**   **gu-gatji-nji**   **galu gu-yo-rri+rni gukuk**
3MinA.3IVO-see-Pre 3IVS-dry up-Pre NEG 3IVS-lie-Irr1 water
Lit. It saw it had dried up, water did not lie, i.e, it saw there was no
water.   (III/54/16)

5-15 **Cordial gi-dje-rre?**
"   *3IV-stand-Con*
Lit. Does cordial stand? ie, Is there any cordial?

5-16 **gu-garrapu**   **wetji galu**   **gu-yu-ø**
3IV-Anaph   *word NEG*   *3IVS-lie-Irr2*
That word does not lie (ie, does not exist).

As these examples indicate, the existential verbs are not completely
bleached of their stance component, and often contribute meaning other
than that of simple existence. **Yu** 'lie' is used of liquids forming a
horizontal expanse, as in 5-14, but when liquids are held within an
upright container, such as a bottle, a tin, or even the tank of a car, they
are said to 'stand'. **Ni** 'sit' appears to be the unmarked choice for humans,
and contributes least about the subject's actual "mode of being".)

Negative existentials can also be expressed through the NP
[SUBJECT] NP [PREDICATE] construction (§5.1.4 below), using the
adjective **gun-yalang** 'nothing' as a predicate, as in 5-17.

5-17 **Mutika**   **niyé-pu**   **gun-yalang**
car,truck (Cl.I)   *3MinNf-Card 3IV-nothing*
There was/were no truck(s).   (KM)

(-**yalang** can also mean 'empty, naked' (perhaps 'nothing in/on'),
and in such uses agrees with the noun class etc of its referent. But here,
meaning 'nothing', it always takes class IV agreement (this is the class
which contains abstract nouns); presumably 'nothing' cannot be a member
of any other class. **Gun-yalang** is a frequent response to requests for
food, money or cigarettes; this is an instance of a (negative) existential
construction being used in Gurr-goni, where English would choose a
possessive construction (for example, 'I haven't got any').)

Clauses which consist of a nominal and quantifier are structurally ambiguous. **Djirrin djin-muka** in example 5-10, for instance, could form one NP, 'many centipedes', and be interpreted as an existential clause ('many centipedes (exist)', '(there are) many centipedes'). It could also be understood as an ascriptive clause with **djin-muka** as predicate, and **djirrin** as the subject: 'centipedes are/were many'. In example 5-18 below, **awurr-gabi awurr-muka** can have three interpretations: as one NP forming an existential clause, roughly '(there are) many of them there'; as subject nominal plus predicate nominal, 'they are many'; and it could also be interpreted as two clauses, 'they are there, they are many', if each word were given clausal intonation.

5-18 **Njiwurr-yu-y gu-na-gepiyi-ni   a-na-bogi-ni**
      1AugS-sleep-Pre 3IVS-twds-dawn-Pre 3IS-twds-go-Pre
      njirr-me-nji.   "Arlay? <u>Awurr-gabi</u>
      3MinA.1AugO-get-Pre hey   3Aug-there
      <u>awurr-muka</u>, ngarr-pu orrongurru nji-gorrma
      3Aug-many   2Min-Card throat   2MinA.3MinO-put+Con
      arr-bo-go   Mawurrk?"
      1+2MinS-go-Fut   place name
      We slept, it dawned (= the next day), he came and got us. "Hey, <u>there are a lot of people out there</u>, do you want to go to Mawurrk with me?"   (XI/31/9-13)

<u>5.1.2.1. Clauses consisting of a Possessive NP (set C).</u>

The clause **giy nuyu** in example 5-1 above consists of a single NP (a possessive NP, set C). Based on its morphological structure, the expected meaning would be ' speed to him', or 'his speed', but is always translated by informants with an ascriptive clause, 'he's fast'. This is not an isolated formation; other set C possessive NPs can also be used as attributive clauses:

5-15 **mirdíla ngutjuyu**
      vulva   3MinF+Poss$_C$
      It's a girl.

5-16 **Mut-guwábu nguku**
      3III-noise   2Min+Poss$_C$
      You're noisy.

5-17 **Mut-gurdu   borro**
3III-uncircumcised   3Aug+Poss_C
They are uncircumcised.

Structurally, these most resemble the clauses described above, and they are probably best analysed as existential clauses (i.e., consisting of a single NP) where the noun identifies a property attributed to the referent of the oblique pronoun (the "possessor" of the property): 'your noise (exists)', 'his speed (exists)', and so on. Several adjectival stems are found in this construction in the data; it is not yet known whether it is fully productive for all adjectival stems. However, it is clear that for those adjectives, such as **-guwábu** and **-gurdu**, which can occur in this construction, there are many ways of forming clauses which function attributively. Example 5-16, for example, contrasts formally, and perhaps semantically, with 5-18 (a non-verbal ascriptive clause; see §5.1.3.2 below) and 5-19 (a verbal ascriptive clause; see §5.4 below):

5-18 **nji-guwábu**
2Min-noisy
You're noisy.

5-19 **guwábu nji-ne-rre**
noisy   2MinS-be,sit-Con
You're being noisy.

It is possible that these three[2] constructions encode subtle differences in meaning; further work may help to elucidate this.

5.1.3. Locational Predicates.

In example 5-3 above, the demonstrative adverb **gapu** 'there far' was bracketed as one of the immediate constituents; its function, I claim, is that of predicate of that clause. Other examples of adverbs functioning as matrix predicates are given below; they include **arreyuwulupu** 'close, near', **balay** 'far', **djaluwu** '(go) behind, after', demonstrative adjectives

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[2] In fact, there is a fourth construction, where a prefixed adjectival stem co-occurs with a verbal predicate; this is exemplified in 5-6, 5-7, and 5-8 above. This construction was not recorded for (-)**guwábu**, but is presumably possible; the distinction between this and that shown in 5-19 is not yet clear.

(-**goni** 'this, here', -**gabi** 'that, there', -**gapu** 'that /there far'), as well as demonstrative adverbs (**ngutju(pu)** 'here', **gabi** 'there', **gapu** 'there far', etc), and -**gudjérrpam**, an adjective derived from the adverb **gudjérrpam** 'somewhere else'. As these examples demonstrate, where the subject of the locational predicate appears as an NP, it may either precede or follow the predicate.

5-24 **Wurru   gu-garrapu   wulek arreyuwulupu   niyé-pu**
But   3IV-Anaph   finish close   3MinNf-Card
matji. Matji <u>arreyuwulupu</u>.
ghost   ghost   close   (IV/81/21)
But then, that ghost was near. A ghost <u>was near.</u>

5-25 **A-bamiyi-ni   a-na-djarti,   ngayi-pu <u>djaluwu</u>.**
3IS-carry on head-Pre 3IS-twds-hurry 1Min-Card behind
He came hurrying on carrying it, I <u>was behind</u>.   (IV/43/7)

5-26 **Dji-gapu   dji-warrtji-ga   dji-ma-ma,**
3II-far there   3IIS-climb-Con   3IIS-go along-Con
gu-garrapu   ay-bu-n   arreyuwulupu,
3IV-Anaph   1+2MinA.3MinO-hit-Fut   close
warri   <u>galu   balay</u>   wipa
because NEG   far   camp   (VI/7/21)
She's way over there climbing up, let's kill her there close by,
because <u>it's not far</u> to the camp (or the camp is not far).
(Or, the one far off there is climbing up......)

5-27 **Arrapu awurr-warraka   awurr-djarti gabi gudjérrpam**
and   3Aug-other   3AugS-hurry   there somewhere else
aburr-djidjigi-yi-ni. Arrapu djin-arraka   dji-djarti
3AugS-hide-Intr-Pre   and   3II-other   3IIS-hurry
gudjérrpam   arrapu djin-arraka   dji-djarti
somewhere else   and   3II-other   3II-hurry
gudjérrpam.   <u>Awurr-gudjérrpam</u>.
somewhere else   3Aug-somewhere else.   (XI/27-28)
And the others rushed (off), they hid themselves somewhere else.
And another woman rushed off to another place, and another
woman rushed off to another place. <u>They were all somewhere
else</u>.

5-28 (Me: **Maka   gapu   dji-ne-rre?**)   **Ee, dji-gapu.**
    FaMo   far there   3IIS-be,sit-Con   Yes,   3II-far there
    Is Maka (grandma) staying out there?   Yes, <u>she's out there</u>.

In all non-verbal locational clauses, the adverb places the referent <u>in relation to a focal point</u>; it is a relative location, not an absolute one. I know of no instances of a noun in locative case, for instance, or a place name, being used as a predicate in a non-verbal clause. To say that someone or something is at a particular place, it is necessary to use a verbal predicate (often, one of the three stance verbs 'sit', 'stand', 'lie'). Locative nouns, and others indicating a location, do occur in non-verbal clauses, but I analyse them as adjuncts, not as matrix predicates. In 5-12 above, **butj** '(in the) bush' occurs in an existential clause, adding information about where there were no white people. In 5-29 below it could perhaps be argued that **mu-djen.gele bayin** (or **manberrk**; or both?) is functioning as the predicate. However, the clause also contains a demonstrative adjective, **-gabi** 'there', which unquestionably functions as a predicate in other examples, and the other two locational expressions appear to be acting as adjuncts to this, adding information that enables us to precisely locate the subject.

5-29 **Wurru   mu-djen.gele   bayin <u>awurr-gabi-:</u> manberrk.**
    But   Loc3III-sand palm in   3Aug-there-X   uplands
    But they were some way off (lit. there not far) in among the sand palms, on the uplands.   (VI/16/8)

5.1.4. NP [S] NP [PREDICATE] Clauses.
5.1.4.1. The Equative Function.

Clauses of this type "identify the referent of one expression with the referent of another" (Lyons 1977:472). In examples 5-30 and 5-31, the speaker uses a demonstrative adjective to refer to something or someone present at the time of speaking, and identifies this as being the same as the referent of the following nominal. In both cases, the characterisation provided by this second nominal had been previously given. The statement in 5-32 was made during a discussion about a broken-down car which was (hopefully) being fixed; Joe was identified as the one who was fixing it.

5-30 **Gu-goni wulek wipa, gu-goni wipa.**
3IV-this finish place 3IV-this place
This is indeed the place, this is the place.   (IV/16/7)

5-31 **Dji-garrapu djint-gu-werdagumi.**
3II-Anaph   3II-Nom-be frightened
She's the frightened one.

5-32 **Bapa   Joey ant-gu-djarlapu.**
father   name 3I-Nom-fix,make
Your father Joey is the one fixing it.

In all these examples, it is the contextual information that leads me to identify these as equative, rather than ascriptive, clauses (and to translate them into English using definite articles). All of these clauses could be used ascriptively, attributing to the referent of the first NP qualities identified by the second NP, as in 5-31 and 5-32 (so 'she is frightened/a frightened one', 'he is a fixer, one who fixes'), or membership of a class of entities ('this is a place') (see below for further discussion of ascriptive clauses). However, the function of ascriptive clauses is to say something new about a referent; here, the referent is new, and the qualities attributed to it have been previously discussed.

All the examples of equative clauses in the corpus have a similar structure: the second NP, which functions as the predicate, gives the known characterisation of the referent, while the first identifies it by a new expression. Further work is needed to establish whether the order of the NPs is permutable; as new information tends to be placed before the predicate (see §5.2.1 below), it may be that their ordering is largely constrained by pragmatic considerations.

5.1.4.2. The Ascriptive Function: Ascribing Class Membership.

In these clauses, the first NP, the subject, identifies a referent, while the second NP, which is functioning as the predicate, characterises that referent as belonging to a certain class of entities or beings. The examples given here illustrate classification by natural categories (in example 5-33, as human being, as opposed to fish), and by social categories (in 5-34, according to the subsection system, and in 5-35, according to the classificatory kinship system, which determines the kin

relationship between any two people in all communities in which the system operates.

5-33 **A-djini-pu   galu ant-gu-galiyi,   a-djini-pu**
3I-AnEmph-pu NEG 3I-Nom-understand 3I-AnEmph-pu
djitjitja, a-djini-pu   djitjitja nji-weki-ya
fish   3I-AnEmph-pu fish   2MinS-speak-Con
ni-lorndo   nji-ne-rre
3MinNf-Dat 2MinS-sit-Con   (IV/24/10+)
That's not a man, that's a fish, that's a fish you're talking to.

5-34 **Ngayi-pu Godjok**
1Min-Card male subsection name
I'm Godjok.

5-35 **A-goni at-giwilak**
3I-this   3I-my father/your child/you are his father
This is my father, your son.

5.1.4.3. Ascribing Properties or Qualities.

Examples of clauses ascribing a property or quality to an entity have been included above in 5-1 (second clause), 5-4 and 5-5 (all with adjectives as predicate), and examples 5-31 and 5-32, with nominalised verbs as predicate, can have both ascriptive and equative readings. Further examples of clauses with an ascriptive function are given here. The predicate adjective usually follows the subject NP, but may precede it, as in 5-38.

5-36 **woku   ngu-djerre ngu-djeltji**
foot/hand 1Min-Poss 1Min-wet
My feet are wet.

5-37 **At-tjondu   ant-gugín**
3I-Carpentaria palm sp. 3I-good to eat
The carpentaria palm is good to eat.

5-38 **Gun-arpurr rangin   airport.**
3IV-small   same, still   "
The airport was still small.   (KM 15/1/91)

5.1.5. Possessive Clauses.

In possessive clauses, a possessive NP (see §2.5) functions as the predicate. The possessor may be indicated solely by the stem of the possessive adjective, as in 5-40, or by a nominal as well, as in 5-39. The subject of the clause is registered by a pronominal prefix on the possessive adjective, and may also appear as an NP, as in 5-39. These clauses may have both ascriptive and equative functions.

5-39 **Gu-goni   wetji   gun-ngidjiyi-ø   maka**
3IV-this   story   3IV-3MinF-unm   FaMo
This story is grandma's.   (I/61/20)

5-40 **Galu   njiwu-gegimi-ø,   wurru   djin-nugoytjburru-ø**
NEG   2AugA.3MinO-dislike-Irr2   but   3II-2Aug-unm
Don't dislike her, she's yours.   (I/61/18)

5.1.6. Arguments of Verbless Clauses.

Non-verbal predicates clearly select subjects. As the examples given above illustrate, they can also have peripheral arguments, NPs in oblique or dative case, which cover a range of semantic roles. The peripheral NPs in the existential clauses in examples 5-6 (first clause, not underlined) and 5-11 could be translated by peripheral NPs in English (thus for example, for 5-6, 'there is no fire for him'); their referents are perhaps conceptualised as people affected by the existence or the non-existence of the fire, the sugar, etc. The same relationship between people and objects is more often thought of as one of possession in English, and a more natural translation would involve the transitive verb 'have', with the Gurr-goni peripheral NP becoming the A NP, the possessor (so 'he has no fire', 'we have no bullets', and so on). The most natural translation of example 5-2, clause 2, on the other hand, is an existential construction with an oblique NP in English, as it is in Gurr-goni: 'there is no-one with us'.

We have also seen that a nominalised verb may function as the predicate of a nonverbal clause (see 5-31 and 5-32 above). These could in fact be described as nominalised clauses, as when the verb stem is transitive, its object may be retained in the nominalised clause, as several examples show:

5-41 **Mint-girr-baykirdi mut-djowunga ngika**
3III-juice-long 3III-djowunga moiety NEG
munt-gu-bay, woku munt-gu-rra.
3III-Nom-eat foot/hand 3III-Nom-spear,stab
Lit. The djowunga moiety bush sugar cane is not an eating one (or
one for eating), it's a foot stabbing one (while the yirrtjinga kind
is eaten). (VI/86/15)

5-42 **Mundjarra djalmirri gut-gu-way**
failed intention stick,wood 3IV-Nom-throw
(VII/88/8)
Lit. It was meant to be wood throwing (operation) (ie, it was
meant to be an operation to remove the piece of wood).

More research is needed to establish how freely these object NPs
may occur.

5.2. Verbal Clauses.
5.2.1. Realisation of the Core Arguments S, A, O.

Foley and Van Valin (1984: 79) note that "[t]he main coding feature
distinguishing core from peripheral arguments is that core arguments
tend to occur in unmarked morphological or syntactic forms and
peripheral arguments in marked, often adpositional codings ....
Correlating with the unmarked morphological status of core arguments is
the possibility of their being cross-referenced on the verb." Gurr-goni
verbs do cross-reference core arguments - the subject of an intransitive
verb (S), the subject of a transitive verb (A), and the object of a transitive
verb (O), are indexed on the verb through the pronominal prefixes
analysed in §4.3. They may also be represented by an NP in direct case,
shown by a direct case pronoun (as in 5-43 and 5-45), a direct case prefix
on adjectives and nouns which have overt marking of their noun class (as
in 5-44), and by lack of any marking on other nouns (for example, those
in S function in 5-43 and O function in 5-45):

5-43 **Ngayi-pu** **ng-golokdji-n,** **ng-golokdji-n**
 1Min-Card *1MinS-chop-Fut* *1MinS-chop-Fut*
 ngu-ma-rdi, **gu-buku-n** **djalmirri**
 1MinS-go along-Fut *3IVS-fall-Fut* *tree* (V/132/9)
 I will chop at the tree, I'll chop away and the tree will fall.

5-44 **gun-ngak** **gu-rro-ka**
 fire *3IVS-burn-Con*
 The fire is burning. (I/8/17)

5-45 **Botiyu-pu** **wulek** **guypu** **awuni-djarlapi-ni**
 3UAnf-Card *finish* *already* *3UAnfA.3IO-make,prepare-Pre*
 gupa **arrapu** **lagayan**
 steel bar *and* *?bone spear* (V/53/19)
 The two men had already prepared the steel bar and bone spear.

NPs are not necessary in these functions; an inflected verb, with pronominal prefix, constitutes a fully grammatical clause in and of itself:

5-46 **Galu** **ngunabu-ngutja-ø,** **burr-ngurtdja-ø!**
 NEG *2AugA.1MinOImp-tell-Irr2* *2AugSImp-be quiet-Irr2*
 Don't tell me, shut up! (IV/148/15)

In fact, in naturally occurring speech and narration, the majority of verbal clauses have no NPs in S, A or O functions. In a survey of four texts (extracts of which are given in Appendix A), a total of 545 clauses with a verbal predicate were counted[3], 326 (59.8% of the total) with an intransitive verb as the main argument taking predicate, and 219 (40.18% of the total) with a transitive verb. 389 (71.37%) of the total of 545 clauses had no NPs in S, A or O functions.

Looking at the transitive and intransitive clauses separately, we see that 269 of the 326 intransitive clauses, or 82.5%, have no S NP. More core NPs are found with the transitive clauses: just over half (120/219; 54.79%) have neither an A nor an O NP, while 76 (34.7%) have an O NP only, 17 (7.76%) an A NP only, and only 6 (2.7%) have NPs in both A and O functions.

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[3] Serial verb constructions (see §5.3 below) were counted as one clause, with the transitivity determined by the first verb.

These figures are shown in Table 5.1 below, which also shows the frequency of the orders in which the S, O and A NPs occurred in relation to the verb. The order of these constituents is by no means fixed, and yet it is clear from this table that some patterns occur more frequently than others. Where only one core NP occurs, be it S, A or O, it is more likely to occur before the verb than after it: the total count is 115 before, and 49 after, the verb.

| | Texts | | | | | Total as % of: | | |
	A	B	C	D	Total	all clauses	intr	tr
Vintr only	8	125	29	107	269	49.3	82.5	
Vtr only	6	72	2	40	120	22		54.8
Total V only	14	197	31	147	389	71.2	82.5	54.8
SV	3	29	3	12	47	8.6	14.4	
OV	3	22	4	17	46	8.4		21
AV	2	1	1	11	15	2.5		6.4
Total NP V	8	52	8	40	108	19.8	14.4	27.4
VS	---	5	---	5	10	1.8	3.1	
VO	3	12	2	13	30	5.5		13.7
VA	---	2	---	1	3	.6		1.4
Total V NP	3	19	2	19	43	7.9	3.1	15.1
AVO	---	1	---	---	1			
OVA	---	1	---	---	1			
AOV	---	---	---	2	2			
OAV	---	---	---	2	2			
Total 2 NPs	0	2	0	4	6	1.1		2.7
Total Clauses	25	270	41	210	546	100	100	100

Table 5.1: NPs in Core Argument Functions.[4]

Clauses with both A and O NPs occur in Gurr-goni with approximately the same frequency as reported for other languages with pronominal affixes representing these functions; compare the study by Mithun (1992) of Ngandi, also a non-Pama-Nyungan language, and Cayuga and Coos, both North American; Mithun gives the rates of 2%, 1-2% and 2-3%, respectively, for the occurrence of clauses with both A and O NPs. As Mithun noted (ibid:20), "since such constructions appear so

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[4] This table shows the frequency with which NPs appear in those functions which are indexed on the verb: A, S and O. Clauses containing NPs in all other functions, including the XO (extra object) function identified below (§5.2.3), are here included among the 'verb only' clauses.

rarely, strong statistical evidence for any [basic] order is simply lacking." In the texts tabulated above, four of the possible permutations of A, O and V occur; the remaining orders (VOA and VAO) have also been found, and all are illustrated here:

5-47   A   O   V

niyé-na   baladji a-me-nji.
3MinNf-Emph bag   3MinA.3IO-get-Pre
He got the bag.   (V/3/5)

5-48   O   A   V

Nganaparru bapa njina-da-ni   ngatiyu-ø.
buffalo   dad   1UAnfA.3MinO-shoot-Pre 1UAnf-unm/Poss$_C$
Dad and I shot a buffalo (for ourselves).   (V/14/25)

5-49 **djunja muwu-ba-nga,   wukali awu-ba-nga,**
     yam sp 3AugA.3IIIO-eat-Con goanna   3AugA.3IO-eat-Con
     O   V   A
     wami guwu-ba-nga   mburrklerrtji djapanji
     honey 3AugA.3IVO-eat-Con children   so much
                                            (V/137/13-21)
     They ate yam, they ate goanna, the kids ate so much honey.

5-50   A   V   O

[gakak   a-goni] a-rra-ni   wulek [an-maliyirri.]
MoMo(Bro) 3I-this 3MinA.3IO-spear-Pre finish   barramundi
This "granny" of yours speared a barramundi.   (V/118/5)

5-51 **arrapu gun-narraka,   gun-narraka gi-djini-pu**
     and   3IV-other   3IV-other   3IV-AnEmph-pu
        V   A   O
     mu-gornda-ga   [a-gabi djongok]   [wupunj]
     3MinA.3IIIO-cut-Con 3I-there Mo-in-law('sBRO) canoe
     And another (story, Cl.IV), another one is this, that djongok
     (of yours) carved a canoe.   (VIII/69/15)

5-52   V   O   A

A-barrwi-rri [arrawun] [mamam a-djini an-ngulinj.]

3MinA.3IO-   name   MoFa   3I-AnEmph 3I-clan

think of-Pre of dreaming   name

(XI/54/5)

Your grandfather An-ngulinj remembered the arrawun dreaming.

Gurr-goni, then, is a language for which "it is not particularly insightful to brand a particular order of grammatical relations as basic" (Payne 1992:1). As is the case in Ngandi, Cayuga and Coos, word order in Gurr-goni is probably determined by pragmatic considerations, but a full study of this issue is beyond the scope of this thesis. A preliminary study[5] of the four texts given in the appendix shows that if an NP conveys new information, it will probably be placed before the verb (35 new NPs before : 5 after). Most NPs placed after the verb convey old information (27 old : 5 new), but as there are more old NPs in <u>preverbal</u> than in postverbal position (the count is 40 before to 26-27 after the verb), it is clear that the categories of new, old and accessible information are not adequate in predicting word order, and that other factors, such as contrast with another referent, emphasis, topicality, etc, need to be taken into account.

An issue relevant to the question of word order is whether the core argument positions are in fact filled by NPs, or whether this role is borne by the verbal pronominal prefixes. It has been claimed that in languages which are like Gurr-goni in having a full set of bound pronouns, "the pronouns themselves bear the primary case relations to the verb. The associated noun phrases function grammatically more as appositives to the pronominal affixes, rather than directly as verbal arguments themselves" (Mithun 1992:58; the same idea was previously developed at length by, among others, Jelinek (1984) for Warlpiri, Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) for Chichewa, and Foley (1991) for Yimas).

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[5] NPs were classified, largely following du Bois 1987, as new mentions; given (mentioned within the previous 20 clauses, or present at the time of the speech act); or accessible (mentioned more than 20 clauses previously, or part of a previously mentioned entity). The figures for NPs are:

	OV	SV	AV	NP V	VO	VS	VA	V NP
NEW	17	14	4	35	3-4	0	1	4-5
GIVEN	14	15	11	40	20	5	1-2	26-7
ACCESSIBLE	8	4	1	13	0	1	0	1
Total	39	33	16	88	23-4	6	2-3	31-3

In Yimas, the pronominal affixes are not obligatory; in Chichewa, the S/A affix is obligatory while the O affix is not; in Warlpiri, as in Gurr-goni, the pronominal clitics <u>are</u> obligatory, but Jelinek (1984:44) argues that, in Warlpiri, "the clitic pronouns do not constitute agreement .. with a nominal, since .... a clitic may be coindexed with a nominal that does not agree with it in person, number or case." This is the case in Gurr-goni also, as the following examples illustrate:

5-53   3 (Min) 2UA (= 2Min + 3Min)
Gengurdu   njina-bo-go
FaFa   2UAnfS-go-Fut
Grandpa will go with you / You and Grandpa will both go.
(Lit. Grandpa you two will go.)

5-54   3Min   3UA (=3Min+3Min)
[A-goni   mawa] [awuni]   -bogi-ni.
3MinI-this   FaFa   3UAnfS   -go-Pre
This grandpa of yours and another man went.
(Lit. This grandfather they two men went.)   (V/107/17)

5-55   3Min   1Aug (+1+3+3(+3+3...))
[Dji-njatbu   dji-goni]   [njiwurr]   -ni-ø,
3MinII-thingummy 3MinII-this   1AugS-   sit-Pre
Sister Hammer, dji-garrapu   djit-bu-guyuguyu,   e,
"   name   3MinII-Anaph 3MinII-Der-ahead   yes
    3Min   1Aug (=1+3+3(+3+3...))
[Hammer] [njiwurr] -ni-ø,   dji-garrapu.
name   1AugS   -sit-Pre   3MinII-Anaph
                                              (V/105/13)

What's the name of this woman we were with (lit. we all stayed), Sister Hammer, she was the first one, yes, Hammer and us were together (lit. Hammer we all stayed), she's the one.

In these examples here, the number specified by the NP (minimal in both 5-54 and 5-55; not specified in 5-53, but minimal in the context in which it occurred) is less than that encoded by the verbal prefix (unit-augmented in 5-53 and 5-54, and augmented in 5-55). In 5-53 and 5-55, the person specification also differs: the NP refers to a 3rd person, and the pronominal prefix to 1st and 3rd persons, or 2nd and 3rd persons. In

both cases, the NP refers to someone who is <u>part of</u> the group referred to by the pronominal prefix: grandpa is the person going with the addressee in 5-53, and one of the two men going in 5-54; in 5-55, Sister Hammer is one of the other people in the group 'I and other people'.

To say that the verbal pronominal prefix copies person/number information from the NP, we would have to claim, that, underlyingly, these NPs also make reference to the whole argument. (This is the position taken by McKay (1975:255) for Rembarrnga.) Following this analysis, for the Gurr-goni example given in 5-53 the full NP would be **ngarr-pu (arrapu) gengurdu** '2Min-Card (and) FaFa: you (and) grandpa' (or perhaps even **ngarr-pu arrapu niyé-pu** (3MinNonfem-Card) **gengurdu**, as the nominal **gengurdu** gives no information about number (this can only be given in the NP by pronouns, demonstratives and adjectives), nor about the sex of the referent (**gengurdu** means father's father and father's father's <u>sisters</u> and brothers)). The sum of the pronominal categories in this NP would then be copied on to the verb (2 Minimal + 3, Class I (number unmarked, but minimal in context) = 2UAnon-feminine), after which part or all of the NP may be deleted.

I do not find this convincing - of course, **ngarr-pu** '2Min-Card' could be added to the NP, but in Gurr-goni, as in Warlpiri, "independent pronouns are used primarily for emphatic contrastive reference; and sentences with an independent pronoun in adjunction to a pronominal affix or clitic are the *marked* constructions .... There is no reason to assume that these languages should match English in requiring an independent lexical subject, which is then dropped, in the *unmarked* construction" (Jelinek 1984:48-49).

Furthermore, Gurr-goni not only has instances where the number category encoded by the pronominal prefix is greater than that of the NP, but the opposite situation is also found:

5-56		3UA	3Min A
Ngirrepu	**[Bulanj**	**botiyu-pu]**	**[burr]-na-ni**
only	*male*	*3UAnf-Card*	*3MinA.3AugO-see-Pre*
	subsection		
awurr-garrapu			
3Aug-Anaph			

Only Bulanj's father (lit. Bulanj they two males) saw those people.

Here, the number specified by the pronoun in the A NP is greater than that registered for that function on the verb. The verbal prefix indicates that the A is 3rd person minimal, and the O is 3rd person augmented. We have an NP in 3rd person augmented number (**awurr-garrapu** 'those ones mentioned'), and we have another NP in 3rd person, but containing a unit-augmented number pronoun. This NP, in this context, actually refers to one person, the father of the boy identified as Bulanj. Using the name or subsection of a child, with a unit-augmented number pronoun, is a conventional way of referring to the child's parent, while avoiding the use of an adult's name. However, the same NP <u>can</u> refer to two people (two boys or men of the Bulanj subsection) as it does in the following example.

5-57 **Bulanj**   **botiyu-pu   awuni-bogi-ni.**
      male subsection name   3UAnf-Card   3UAnfS-go-Pre
      The two Bulanjs went.

It is the pronominal prefix which determines the actual reference of the NP.

However, whether or not we take the pronominal prefixes to be the real instantiation of the core arguments, the question arises of how NPs are linked to the prefixes - how do we determine what role the NPs are representing?

Jelinek (1984:52) proposes a 'Linking Rule' for Warlpiri; in essence: "A clitic pronoun may be coindexed with a nominal, providing [they] ..... are *compatible* "; she later states that "Primary L-case[6] marked nominals *must* be co-indexed with a clitic verbal argument" (ibid:63). Foley (1991:228) similarly says for Yimas "any noun phrases filling what seem to be the core argument positions of the verb are actually only indirectly linked to it, by being in apposition to a pronominal affix which bears the same noun class, person and number specifications as the noun phrase."

For Gurr-goni, then, we could propose that NPs are linked with the grammatical functions indexed on the verb by comparing the person, number, class and case specifications of the NPs with those given for each argument by the pronominal prefix; NPs and pronominal arguments with compatible specifications may be matched. This would allow the matching

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[6] ie, ergative, absolutive and dative (Jelinek 1984:51).

of the NPs in examples 5-53 - 5-55 above with the pronominal prefixes in S function, as the persons, classes and/or numbers of the NPs are compatible with those encoded in the prefix. Where two NPs are present, and both are compatible with the specifications for A and O arguments on a transitive verb, either NP may be matched with either argument function, and as word order also gives no clues regarding the assignment of grammatical function, such clauses are ambiguous. For example, a child telling about someone travelling overland from Darwin said:

5-58 **mandunuyu**   **a-bu-ni**   **mutika**
    crocodile (Cl.I)   *3MinA.3IO-hit-Pre* *car, truck (Cl.I)*

The pronominal prefix indicates that the A is 3rd person, minimal number (the A function is not marked overtly here), and that the O is Class 1 (3rd person, and either minimal in number, if human or higher animate, or unmarked for number). Both motor vehicles and crocodiles are 3rd person, and Class I; either could have been the referent of the Class I prefix indexing the object, O, and either could equally well be matched with the A function, being grammatically compatible as well as possible agents in the real world. To clarify the situation, his listeners had to ask questions like

5-59 **mutika**   **a-negi-rri**   **mandunuyu?**
    car, truck   *3MinA.3IO-put weight of body on-Pre*   *crocodile*
    Did the car run the crocodile over?

using a predicate where there could be no mistaking the agent and the object. (**Negi** means 'put the weight of one's body on (something)'; with animate objects, it often means 'squash', and with cars as agents, 'run over'. Thus while a crocodile could hit a truck, it would be nigh on impossible for it to squash it.)

The linking principle proposed above would exclude all NPs that are marked for local cases, whether by adpositions or case affixes. There are, however, many examples of clauses with unmarked NPs - NPs that appear to be in direct case, and certainly have no local case markers - where these NPs are not linked to a pronominal prefix argument, even when they are grammatically compatible. Consider the following examples:

5-60 <u>**bila**</u>   **a-na-bamiyi-ni.**

pillow(case)   3MinS-twds-carry (on head)-Pre
Class I   Class I

He came along carrying a pillowcase.

*The pillowcase came along carrying (something).

5-61 **git-gelu a-mukdji-nji   <u>at-djondu</u>**

hunger   3MinS-die,be sick-Pre 3Min-palm sp., Carpentaria
*   Class I   Class I   acuminata*

He was hungry for Carpentaria palm.

*The Carpentaria palm was hungry.

5-62 <u>**balanggit**</u>   **a-wu-ni**

blanket   3MinA   -give-Pre
Class I   3MinO,ClassI

He / she gave him a blanket.

*The blanket gave him (something).

All of the underlined nouns are unmarked - they have neither a local case affix nor an adposition. In terms of case, then, they could be linked to the core argument prefixes on the verbs; in person and in class, where this is marked on the verb, they are all also compatible with the verbal prefixes. None of them, however, is in fact linked to a core argument position.

In 5-60 and 5-61, the prefix indexing the S function on the intransitive verbs is 3rd person, Class I, in both cases. Both clauses contain a Class I noun - **bila** 'pillow(case)' in 5-60, and **at-djondu**, '*Carpentaria acuminata,* the Carpentaria palm', in 5-61. It is the meaning of the predicate that tells us these are not subjects, nor linked to the subject prefix - both **bamiyi** 'carry (on head)' and **mukdja** 'be sick, die'/ **gitgelu mukdja** 'be hungry', require animate subjects.

In 5-62, the noun **balanggit** (Class I again), is compatible in terms of person and class with the specifications for both A and O: A is 3rd person minimal, and O 3rd person, Class I. However, the verb **wu** 'give' not only requires an animate agent, but also an animate O: for this verb, it is the recipient which is indexed as O, not that which is given. This latter role may be represented in the clause by an unmarked NP; it is this role that 'blanket' fills.

How then do we know what role to assign to these nominals? It seems that we must specify for each verb a number of semantic roles, whether or not they must be filled by animate beings, and which argument positions in the verb they are linked to.

Even with these specifications, it may not be possible to determine, out of context, whether an NP is to be linked to one of the core arguments indexed on the verb, or whether it fills a semantic role which is not indexed on the verb. In all of examples 5-63 to 5-67, the clause is ambiguous: the translation given in (a) is that which represents the meaning intended in the context in which it occurred; the (b) translation presents an alternative, equally grammatical reading.

5-63 **manburrba** **a-bitji-yi-ni**
   material   *3MinS-tie,wrap-Intr-Pre*
   Class I   *Class I*
   (a) He was wrapped up in material.
   (b) The material was wrapped/tied up.   (V/100/9)

5-64 **djop**   **awu-**   **bu-ni awurr-djarti**
   soap   *3AugA-*   *hit-Pre 3AugS-hurry*
   Class I   *3MinO,ClassI*
   (a) They cleaned (lit. hit) it thoroughly/quickly with soap.
   (b) They went on quickly hitting the soap.   (V/96/1a)

5-65 **a-**   **rra-ni**   **gayut**
   3MinA-   *spear-Pre*   *metal tipped spear*
   3MinO,ClassI   *Class I*
   (a) He speared him with a metal tipped spear.
   (b) The metal tipped spear stabbed/pricked him.

5-66 **Djambakang** **biy-wirrki-dji.**
   iron   *3MinA.2MinO-scratch-Pre*
   (a) The iron scratched you.
   (b) He/she scratched you with the iron.

5-67 **Niyé-pu   mawa a-garrapu**$_{i,j}$ **a**$_i$**-weki-ni**   **ni-lorndo**$_{i,j}$
   3Min-Card FaFa 3Min-Anaph 3MinS-speak-Pre   3MinNf-Dat
   (a) He$_i$ spoke to that grandfather$_j$.   (V/113/25)
   (b) That grandfather$_i$ spoke to him$_j$ / to himself$_i$.

In 5-63, **manburrba** 'material' could be the subject of the verb **bitji-yi** 'tie, wrap self up; be tied, wrapped up'. In fact, it is clear from the context that the S prefix refers to the speaker's newborn baby, mentioned previously, whom she had wrapped in material. In 5-64 and 5-65, the nouns **djop** 'soap' and **gayut** 'metal tipped spear' refer to instruments which the human agents of the respective verbs use in performing the actions. In a different context, 'soap' could be linked to the O prefix, but here, the O is known from the previous discourse to refer to crocodile skins. Similarly, in 5-65, we know that someone is hunting buffaloes, and that this human agent and a buffalo are the referents of the A and O prefixal arguments. Conversely, in the context in which 5-66[7] occurred, no human agent was involved: I had scratched myself on a piece of corrugated iron forming the roof of a shelter, and seeing blood on my arm, someone made this remark. Had someone picked up a piece of iron and scratched me with it, the same utterance could have been made.

In example 5-67, the first NP, in direct case, could be coreferential with the S prefix on the verb; in other words, it could be functioning as the subject of the clause. In the context in which it occurred, however, the use of the direct case and preverbal position serves to focus on this NP[8], which is in fact coreferential with the dative pronoun, as in the (a) reading.

In examples 5-63 to 5-64, the referents of the pronominal prefixes have been previously mentioned in the discourse. It seems then that any rule linking NPs and pronominal prefixes must have more options than recognised by Jelinek for Warlpiri, and must look beyond the single clause, as the pronominal prefix may have anaphoric reference to an NP mentioned in a previous clause. The potential for ambiguity exists where, within a single clause, an NP and a pronominal prefix could be interpreted as being coreferential, or the NP could be interpreted as filling a non-indexed argument position and the pronominal prefix as

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[7] A better example perhaps to compare with 5-65 in showing the lack of morphological and syntactic coding of grammatical functions is:

    biy-rra-ni   **minja**
    3MinA.2MinO-spear,prick,stab-Pre   *black plum tree*
    The black plum tree stabbed/pricked you.

where the order of verb and NP, and the verb itself, are identical to those in 5-65, but where the NP is linked to the A argument. I am not certain, however, that **minja** would be appropriate as an instrument used by a human agent.

[8] This use of the direct case is noted in §2.3.1 above.

referring to a previously mentioned participant. Bresnan and Mchombo (1987) discuss a similar ambiguity with respect to the obligatory subject marking prefix in Chichewa, where, they argue, "all simple SuV sentences are functionally ambiguous: the apparent subject NP could be either a true subject with which the verb shows grammatical agreement ... or it could be a topic NP related by anaphoric agreement to the subject pronominal in the verb." (Bresnan and Mchombo 1987:787). Furthermore, "the subject NP must be local to the verb; but .. the floating topic NP may be non-local to the verb [and] ... the SM [subject marking prefix] can be used .. for non-local anaphora to the topic. However, on our analysis, the SM is ambiguous: besides being an incorporated pronominal, it can also be used as a true agreement marker" (ibid:788). (An example of a floating topic NP ('pig') can be seen in Appendix A, Text 4, line 17; the predicate of the second clause following this NP registers anaphoric agreement with this topic.)

5.2.2. Peripheral Arguments: Place, Time, Manner.

In Gurr-goni, the clearest distinction between core and peripheral NPs is not on the NP itself, but on the verb: core arguments are indexed on the verb, peripheral ones are not. Many peripheral arguments can occur in a local case, or with an adposition - 5-68, 5-70, 5-71, 5-73 and 5-74 show examples of this. However, as noted in §2.3.4, many temporal nominals, place names and other nouns referring to places cannot inflect for the locative case, and those which can take adpositions often do not[9]. Thus in 5-72, no marking is possible with **mokol** 'night'; in 5-69, **gabi** 'there; at, to' could be used, as it is in 5-68, but it is not necessary: in both 5-69 and 5-72 the role of the underlined nominal is unambiguous.

5-68   **Nguwurr-bo-go   nguwurr-gornagi-yi-n**
       1+2AugS-go-Fut   1+2AugS-bath-Intr-Fut
       gabi   Gapan   gu-ne-rre   arrapu   Waypordo
       there   white clay   3IVS-sit-Con   and   place name
           = place name   (I/3/17)
       We'll all go and swim at Gapan gu-nerre and Waypordo.

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[9] Some younger speakers also use the locative case prefix optionally on those nouns which can take it; older speakers, however, usually insist that nouns which can inflect for locative case be so inflected when they appear in a local semantic role.

5-69 **Numángiya** **djuwu-me-nji**   **ngalngi**
place name   *3AugA.3IIO-get-Pre*   *turtle*
They got turtles <u>at Numángiya.</u>   (IX/29/25)

5-70 **Gu-goy**   **nguna-na-ni.**
Loc3IV-road   *3MinA.1MinO-see-Pre*
He saw me <u>on the road.</u>   (VIII/18/13)

5-71 **Arr-ngorrungurru**   **a-garrapu**   **ant-gu-galiyi**
Loc1+2Min-sleep   *3I-Anaph*   *3I-Nom-listen*
                                         =man

a-na-meme.
3IS-twds-go along+Irr2   (V/56/12)
(Say) that man came along <u>in our sleep</u> (ie, while we slept).

5-72 **Mokol** **awurr-bogi-ni.**
night   *3AugS-go-Pre*
They went <u>at night.</u>   (V/91/25)

5-73 **Gi-gegu-pu**   **ngarr-pu** **nji-na-buki-ni**
Loc3IV-new-pu   *2Min-Card 2MinS-twds-fall-Pre* (III/1/1)
<u>In the first place</u> / <u>the first time</u> when you landed (lit. fell) here...

5-74 **Burr-yorritji**   **awurr-bogi-ni.**
Comit-rain   *3AugS-go-Pre*
They went <u>in the rain.</u>   (IX/125/15)

<u>5.2.3. Other Arguments Revisited.</u>

We have seen above that in Gurr-goni, case-marking cannot be used as the basis for determining syntactic function or semantic role - or rather, while the presence of local case-marking indicates that the NP is not linked with a core argument function, the absence of local case marking does not imply such a link. Unmarked NPs may function as core arguments, peripheral arguments, and, contra Van Valin as quoted above (page 221), other, non-crossreferenced, non-peripheral arguments also. Like peripheral NPs, NPs in some of these latter functions may receive overt marking of their role, while others may not.

5.2.3.1. The semantic role of THEME has been illustrated above, as the non-crossreferenced argument of verbs like **wu** 'give' (5-62) and **bamiyi** 'carry' (5-60). Other direferential (or morphologically transitive) verbs which, like **wu** 'give', involve a third semantic role are **gatjbu** 'deprive of', **gogadarra** 'show', **njimi** 'paint', and (in one of its argument frames) **ngutja** 'tell story, call name'. Other monoreferential (or morphologically intransitive) verbs like **bamiyi** 'carry' are **weleberrmiyi** 'carry in bag slung around forehead', **bin.ngarriyi** 'lay (egg), give birth to (babies), shit', **galiyi** 'hear, understand, feel', **wetji** 'speak', and **bipidja** 'blow', etc. The unindexed argument, when it appears in the clause, always appears as an unmarked NP - it cannot take local case marking.

5-75 **djungdjung** <u>**burrkarl**</u> **dji-bin.ngarriyi-ni**
    dog   *baby*   *3IIS-give birth to, drop-Pre*
    The dog had puppies.   (IV/20/20)

5-76 **a-bipidji-ga** <u>**mut-burdja**</u>
    3IS-blow-Con   *3III-didjeridoo*
    He's blowing the didjeridoo.   (I/7/19-20)

5-77 <u>**Gun-dakngurrngu**</u> **dji-galiyi-rri**   <u>**Gurr-goni**</u>,   **arrapu**
    3IV-hard   *3IIS-understand-Con* *lang. name*   *and*
    <u>**gun-njalkitj**</u> **arrapu**   **galu**   **dji-galiyi-ø**
    3IV-soft   *and*   *NEG*   *3IIS-understand-Irr2*
    She understands "hard" Gurr-goni, and she doesn't understand
    "soft" Gurr-goni too.   (III/7/13-16)

5-78 **Ngayi-pu**   **ngu-weleberrmiyi-ni**   <u>**berr**</u>.
    1Min-Card   *1MinS-carry around forehead-Pre* *dillybag*
    I carried a dillybag round my forehead.   (IV/41/4)

5-79 <u>**Wipa**</u>   **njirrbu-gogadarra-n** **mburrklerrtji**
    country   *1nsA.3nsO-show-Fut*   *children*
    We'll show the children the country.   (I/101/1)

5-80 **Beki biy-njimi-rdi**   **purple paint.**

name 3MinA.2MinO-paint-Fut   "   "

Rebecca will paint you with purple paint (ie, gentian violet, for fungal infections).

Lee (1987:251) identifies a similar clause type in Tiwi, and refers to this unindexed argument as a Secondary Object (SO): "The SO [Secondary Object] is a nominal argument required by certain verb stems but which is not indicated on the verb by a personal prefix. It may occur in the verb as a nominal incorporated form ....or expressed overtly in the clause .... In some cases there is no reference to the secondary object in the clause at all but it has to be inferred from the context."

There is some evidence in Gurr-goni that, with the transitive verbs at least, this argument is treated like the O argument which is indexed on the verb. We have seen (§4.8.1) that identity between the referents of the A and O arguments of a direferential, or transitive, verb, triggers reflexivisation of the verb: the intransitivising derivational suffix -yi- is added to the verb stem, and the direferential prefix replaced by a monoreferential one. There is an example in the texts of reflexivisation being triggered by identity between the A and the extra object (XO) arguments of a transitive verb:

5-81 **ant-gegu a-mukdji-nji a-na-bogi-ni   a-gogadarri-yi-ni.**

3I-new   3IS-die-Pre   3IS-twds-go-Pre 3IS-show-Intr-Pre

The new one who died came and showed himself. (III/69/16)

This is a small piece of evidence, which of course cannot be matched for the intransitive verbs with XO arguments; it is not even certain that it applies to the other semantically ditransitive, morphologically transitive verbs (identity between the A and XO arguments of **gatjbu** 'deprive of' and **njimi** 'paint' would probably be semantically anomalous, and I do not know whether 'give oneself to someone' is a possible meaning of the reflexive form of **wu** 'give').

We can add a further fact, however, suggesting that these extra arguments form an outer or oblique core layer in the clause. In the causative serial verb construction described in §5.3.4.2.3 below, we find NPs occurring between the verbs in the complex. In all cases, these NPs fill roles in the semantic structure of both verbs; in the example given

below, this role is linked to a core argument position on the second verb, but it appears as an unindexed extra object of the first:

5-82 **galu ngunabu-wu-ø**   **mitja ngu-bay-ø**
      NEG 2AugA.1MinOImp-give-Irr2 food 1MinA.3MinO-eat-Irr2
      Don't give me food to eat / don't feed me (lit. don't give me food I won't eat it).   (V/63/2)

As I describe below, there is a strong constraint in serial verb constructions such that core arguments must be shared by all verbs in the complex. This resultative type of serialisation has not yet been explored with informants, so that I have as yet no evidence as to what cannot occur within the complex. However, the presence of extra objects (and of subcategorised local NPs, see below) does suggest that they are treated as part of the core layer of the clause, and as they are not indexed on the verb, and hence are not obligatory, must belong to an outer layer of the core.

5.2.3.2. Instruments.

We have seen above that NPs in instrument role are unmarked for case. The locative prefix does appear on some nouns acting as instruments; in all spontaneously occurring examples, these are body part nouns, and in many instances, the prefix does not vary for person, class or number, but is Class IV regardless of the class of the owner of the body part:

5-83 **Ngu-mibilu ngu-bu-ndi**   **a-djapirdiyi-ø a-ne-rre**
      Loc1Min-eye 1MinA.3MinO-hit-Con 3IS-sing-Con 3IS-sit-Con
      "I know him that man who was singing"; appears to be literally 'I hit him with my eye he was singing'.

5-84 **Mangarraka nji-bay-ø**   **gu-woku,**
      don't   *2MinA.3MinO-eat-Irr2* *Loc3IV-hand*

      spoon   ø-ma-ø.
      "   *2MinA.3MinOImp-get-Irr2*
      Don't eat with your hand (by hand?), get a spoon.

(Cf

5-85 **A-rrimi-rri**   **nu-woku**
3MinA.3IO-hold-Pre   Loc3I-hand
He held it <u>in his hand</u>.   (VII/41/21)

5-86 <u>**Gu-woku**</u>   **dji-bogi-ya**   **dji-workiyi-ø**
Loc3IV-foot   3IIS-go-Con   3IIS-do always-Con
She always goes <u>on foot</u>.

Other nouns in instrumental function do not take this prefix. Use of the prefix was accepted for some nouns in elicitation sessions, but where the referent of a noun could logically be an instrument or a location, use of the prefix was given the latter interpretation. Thus:

5-87 <u>**djalmirri**</u> **burrbu-bu-ni**
stick, tree   3nsA.3nsO-hit-Pre

means 'They hit them <u>with sticks</u>', while

5-88 <u>**gu-djalmirri**</u>   **burrbu-bu-ni**
Loc3IV-stick,tree   3nsA.3nsO-hit-Pre

was interpreted as 'They hit them <u>at the tree</u>'.

Instruments, then, are like extra objects in that they cannot take case marking. While case marking is often optional with NPs referring to locations, here it is not: the presence of a locative prefix changes the meaning of the NP, giving it a peripheral function. Thus while the absence of casemarking is not always a determiner of non-peripheral status, here it appears to be, suggesting that instruments also are part of an outer core layer.

5.2.4. Dative and Possessive_CNPs.

The range of semantic roles covered by the dative and possessive cases was illustrated in §§2.3.2 and 2.3.3 Some of these roles (for example, beneficiary, maleficiary) appear to be optional with all predicates; others fill argument positions of particular predicates, and are thus more like core NPs. Is there any evidence, other than semantic, for their status?

For neighbouring Nakkara, Eather (1990:81) proposes an outer-core layer with two components, one of which is "the oblique pronoun which is an associated non-peripheral argument which immediately follows a VC [verb complex]" (ibid:385). Eather borrows the term 'outer-core' from Morphy (1983), whose proposal to consider the dative case in Djapu "as the marker of an outer core function", "intermediate between core functions and peripheral functions" (Morphy 1983:81) is based on the following facts about Djapu:

1) "there are two sets of verbs with which DAT NPs behave like core NPs, in that they are necessary if the sentence is 'to have a complete sense'. They are: (a) SEMITRansitive verbs [eg 'desire', 'become knowledgeable about', 'seek', 'wait for', 'accompany']. These require an intransitive subject (S) NP and <u>an obligatory DAT-marked NP</u> in object function. (B) Ditransitive verbs [eg 'give', 'tell, call']. These require a transitive subject (A) NP, and two other core NPs. One is always marked as an O NP .... <u>The other may be marked either as an O NP or as a DAT NP</u>" (ibid) (my emphasis).

2) An NP in a subordinate clause may be deleted if it is coreferential with one in the main clause, if, in the subordinate clause, it is in any of A, S, O <u>or dative</u> functions (ibid:129).

While Eather does not discuss the applicability of these criteria to Nakkara, it is clear that these facts cannot be matched in Gurr-goni. Gurr-goni subordinate clauses can be identified on the basis of intonation and embedding within another clause; morphologically and syntactically, they are identical to main clauses, with the verb fully inflected with pronominal prefixes as well as tense/mood suffixes. There is thus no deletion of core arguments in subordinate clauses.

As for alternative argument frames, only one verb in the entire corpus has more than one argument frame. This is **ngutja** 'tell story, tell about X to someone'[10], where the speaker is always in A function and the addressee may be in O function (indexed on the verb), and the story or name may appear as an 'extra object' (ie, as an unmarked NP within the clause); or the story, name, etc, is indexed on the verb in O function, and the addressee takes the dative (or possibly $Poss_C$) case. For instance,

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[10] **Ngutja** also means 'name'; in this sense, the O is always the person or thing named, and the name, or the word -**walitji** 'name', is an XO.

5-89a **Gu-goni wetji ngu-ngutji-n nguku-lorndo.**
 3IV-this story 1MinA.3MinO-tell-Fut 2Min-Dat
 I'll tell this story to you.

5-89b **Gu-goni wetji ngiy-ngutji-n.**
 3IV-this story 1MinA.2MinO-tell-Fut
 I'll tell you this story.

There are other transitive verbs with which a dative NP can occur, representing a role which is part of the thematic structure of the predicate. **Djitma** 'steal' and **mulwu** 'keep secret' are examples: the theme is indexed on the verb in O function, and the person from whom something is stolen or kept secret is represented by a dative NP. Similarly with intransitive verbs like the speech act verbs **wetji** 'speak', **gogidja** 'call out', where the speaker is indexed as the subject (S) on the verb, and the addressee appears as a dative NP; motion and transfer of location verbs too can take a dative NP representing a human or higher animate as the goal, source or location. Thus:

5-90 **Wetji gu-mulwi-ni ngaytjbu-lorndo.**
 story 3MinA.3IVO-keep secret-Pre 1Aug-Dat
 He/she kept the story(/news) from us. (VII/74/2)

5-91 **Ø-Gogidja-ø borro-ø!**
 2MinSImp-call out-Irr2 3Aug-Poss_C
 Call out to them!

With none of these verbs, however, is a dative NP obligatory, any more than they are where they do not fill a semantic role determined by the predicate:

5-92 **Nji-mulwu-n wetji.**
 2MinA.3MinO-keep secret-Fut story
 (You'll) keep the story secret. (VII/74/1)

5-93 **Yey, awurr-gabi a-nji awurr-gogidji-nji?**
 hey 3Aug-there 3I-what 3AugS-call out-Pre
 Hey, what did those people over there call out?

Are there then any grounds other than that of semantic "completeness" on which to claim a non-peripheral status for dative and possessive$_C$ NPs? There may be some evidence to be found within serial verb complexes (§5.3.1 below). These comprise two or three verbs in an ordered sequence: any verb can occur in the first slot, while the second two slots can be filled only from a small set of verbs. All verbs index their core arguments, and NPs in core functions may also occur, either before or after the serial complex; they may <u>not</u> occur between the verbs in the complex. Dative and possessive$_C$ pronouns, however, <u>can</u> occur in this position between verbs. Two of the relevant examples from §5.3.1 are repeated here:

5-94 **A-djini-pu   djitjitja   nji-weki-ya   <u>ni-lorndo</u> nji-ne-rre.**
      3I-AnEmph-pu   fish   2MinS-speak-Con   3MinNf-Dat   2MinS-sit-Con
      That's a fish you're talking to.   (IV/24/16)

5-95 **dji-gorrmi-yi-ni   <u>ngaytjburru-ø</u>   dji-bogi-ni,**
      3IIS-put-Intr-Pre   1Aug-Poss$_C$ 3IIS-go-Pre

      dji-weki-ni   <u>ngaytjburru-ø</u>   dji-bogi-ni.
      3IIS-speak-Pre   1Aug-Poss$_C$ 3IIS-go-Pre
      She went about establishing herself (lit. putting herself down) with us, she set about speaking with / to us.   (III/16-22)

The dative pronoun can also follow the complex:[11]

5-96 **Galu   ng-galiyi-ø   ngu-ni-ø   <u>ngutju-lorndo</u>**
      NEG   1MinS-hear-Irr2   1MinS-sit-Irr2   3MinF-Dat

      yandu   djinj-yiti-ga   dji-ne-rre   <u>ngapala</u>   ngayi-pu.
      what   3IIS-say thus-Con   3IIS-sit-Con   1Min+Dat   1Min-Card
      I can't hear what she's saying to me.   (I/65/14)

These facts may suggest that there is a tendency for dative and possessive$_C$ pronouns to gravitate to the verb with which they are associated. (This is a tendency only, as a preverbal position is possible.) However, the post verbal position is the most frequent; and in serial complexes, this can mean that the pronoun remains with the verb which determines its semantic role, rather than following the complex as a

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[11] And, presumably, precede it, as they can precede single verbs.

whole. In this, the dative and possessive_C pronouns behave like the pronominal prefixes, which occupy a fixed position on the verb regardless of whether it is in a serial construction or not, rather than like NPs in (or linked to) core argument positions, which cannot occur within a serial verb complex. It may be, then, that these pronouns are thought of as encoding inflectional categories of the verb, like the pronominal prefixes. They are clearly not accorded identical status to the core functions, however, as there are no serial constructions of the type:

*ngu-weki-ya   nguku-lorndo nji-ne-rre
1MinS-speak-Con 2Min-Dat   2MinS-sit-Con

where the dative pronoun encoding the addressee of the first verb is identical to the subject (S) of the second verb. The verbs in a serial complex must share at least one core argument; this constraint can be met by S/A/O = S (or rarely, A), but not by DAT = S/A.

The data contains very few examples of dative and possessive_C pronouns within serial verb complexes; those that occur involve the verbs **wetji** 'speak', **gorrmi** 'put' and **gorrmi-yi** 'put oneself' (this last used metaphorically)[12]. With all these verbs, the dative/possessive_C pronoun encodes a role that is determined by the predicate. Further investigation is needed to determine whether the "dative of affect" can also occur mid-complex; this may provide clues as to whether, if it is the case that dative and oblique pronouns have a status intermediate between the core and oblique layers, this applies only when they encode a semantic role predicated by the verb, or to these cases in all circumstances.

5.2.5. Other Goals, Sources and Locations.

Like NPs referring to the setting of an event, in time or in space, NPs referring to places which play a role in the thematic structure of the verb are not indexed on the verb. Again, like spatio-temporal setting NPs, some receive overt marking of their role (as in 5-97 and 5-98 below), while others do not or cannot (as in 5-99).

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[12] Perhaps also **dji** 'stand', although it is not absolutely clear that this is a serial construction.

5-97 **A-gorrma-ø**   **gengurdu**   **gi-djel.**
3MinA.3IO-put-Con   *FaFa*   *Loc3IV-ground*
Grandpa put it <u>on the ground.</u>   (III/65/8)

5-98 **Wulek mu-garrapu mi-njatbu m-buki-ni   ni-lorndo,**
finish   3III-Anaph   3III-whatsit   3IIIS-fall-Pre   3MinNf-Dat
mi-djini   **mi-nji**   **yigi-minabami**   **m-buki-ni**
3III-AnEmph   3III-what   Loc3IV-water   3IIIS-fall-Pre
mu-workiyi-ni.
3IIIS-do always-Pre
Then that whatchamecallit landed (lit. fell) for him, what's that
thing that always landed <u>on water</u>?   (V/107/5)

5-99 **Ngayi-pu**   **njina-djarti**   **njina-ma-nay**
1Min-Card   1UAnfS-hurry   1UAnfS-go along-Pre
ranba   **njina-beki-ni.**
beach   1UAnfS-come (out)to-Pre
I hurried along with him, we came <u>to the beach.</u>   (V/103/17)

As mentioned above, when humans and higher animates are the
goals, sources or locations of an action, they are represented by dative (or
possessive$_C$) pronouns, which may occur within a serial verb complex.
There are no examples of nominals referring to goals, sources or
locations occurring in this intra-verb complex position (in fact, no
nominals whatsoever occur here). If, as discussed above, the acceptability
of this position for dative pronouns indicates a tendency to treat them like
core arguments, then, in the case of these semantic roles, coreness is
determined by animacy: human and higher animate goals, etc, are more
core-like, and lower and in-animate ones are less core-like. (This is the
position taken by Eather for Nakkara.)

On the other hand, there is some evidence from a second type of
verb serialisation, where O = S/A (the meaning is basically causative, see
below §5.3.4.2.3), that inanimate locations, etc, may be treated like core
arguments. Here, nouns <u>are</u> found between the verbs in the complex; in
the examples noted, these nouns fill roles in the semantic structure of <u>both</u>
verbs. In example (a), for instance, the object and goal arguments of the
first verb are, respectively, the subject and location of the second:

5-100 **Wulek** <u>**njirr-gorrma-nay=ngutjuyu**</u> <u>**mibitja**</u> <u>**njiwurr-ni-ø**</u>.
finish 3MinA.1AugO-put-Pre=3MinF+Poss$_A$ shade 1AugS-sit-Pre
Then she put us at the shade. (VII/53/14)

Much work remains to be done on this causative type of serialisation, and it remains to be seen whether only non-cross-referenced arguments that are common to both verbs can occur within the complex, or whether other nouns - spatio-temporal setting NPs, for instance, or NPs in core argument functions can also occur here. If spatio-temporal setting NPs are found not to occur, this would suggest that the shared argument constraint on serial verb complexes applies in this case also to those arguments which are not cross-referenced, but which are subcategorised for by the verbs; these goal, source and location NPs would thus be seen to have a different status syntactically, as well as semantically, from the peripheral, scene-setting, NPs.

5.3. Serial Verbs in Gurr-goni.

5-101 i **Njiwurr-bupiyi-ni wotjbil,**
1AugS-go down-Pre hospital
We went down to the hospital,

ii **abu-wu-ni awurr-bogi-ni Kimbies niyé-pu,**
3AugA.3IO-give-Pre 3AugS-go-Pre nappies 3MinNf-Card
they gave him nappies,

iii **wulek, njina-bogi-ni,**
finish 1UAnfS-go-Pre
then he and I went,

iv **ngayi-pu njina-djarti njina-ma-nay,**
1Min-Card 1UAnfS-hurry 1UAnfS-go along-Pre
I hurried along with him,

v **ranba njina-beki-ni......**
beach 1UAnfS-arrive-Pre
we arrived at the beach

vi **"Aya, abu-wu-ni awurr-ni-ø ya?"**
oh 3AugA.3IO-give-Pre 3AugS-sit-Pre Qu
"Oh, they've been giving him (things), have they?"

vii **djongok djinj-yiti-nji.**
Mo-in-law 3IIS-say like this-Pre
Djongok said. (V/102-103))

This example, an extract from a story telling of the birth of one of the narrator's children, illustrates a construction characteristic of Gurrgoni, in which a stance or motion verb follows another verb, and together, the two verbs refer to one event. Thus, in line (iv), **njina-djarti njina-ma-nay** 'we two hurried we two went along', the actions of hurrying and going along are simultaneous; they are part of one event. In lines (ii) and (vi) the verbs **boy** 'go' and **ni** 'sit' do not refer to actions at all: these lines do not mean 'they gave him and they went' or 'they gave him and they sat', nor even 'they went giving him', 'they sat giving him'. Rather than carrying their full lexical meaning, the function of these verbs here appears to be to provide aspectual modification of the preceding verb. Constructions like these occur frequently in both casual speech and narration, and they are also found in the other languages of the Maningrida subgroup, as well as in neighbouring, but not closely related, Djinang. While they have been described as auxiliary constructions (see McKay 1984, Glasgow 1984 and Waters 1989), they have many features identified as typical of serial verbs (cf. Foley and Olson 1985, Schiller 1990, Durie nd; and, indeed, within Australia, I. Green (1989) and Reid (1990) have described similar constructions in the Daly languages Marrithiyel and Ngan'gityemerri as serial verbs.) The construction contains an open slot, which can be filled by any verb, followed by one or two restricted slots, filled from a small set of (mainly intransitive) stance and motion verbs. The two (or three) verbs are inflected for the same tense/mood category, and share polarity. Each verb takes pronominal prefixes indexing its core arguments; at least one of these arguments must be shared by all the verbs. The verbs are covered by one intonation contour, appropriate to a mono-verbal clause, and few elements can occur between them. As the example above shows, the second verb is sometimes bleached of its full lexical meaning, and modifies the first verb; in identical constructions in different contexts, however, the second verb could refer to motion or stance, and carry its full lexical meaning. These verbs are therefore not coordinate (the construction is not equivalent to two coordinate clauses, whether marked as such by conjunctive particles or by intonation). Nor is one subordinate to the other, in the sense of being an argument of, or an adjunct to, the other. Perhaps we could say that the second verb is dependent, as in some cases, it does appear to modify the other; but as we will see, the second verb may also carry more information about the core arguments than does the first verb. It is clear that they are not independent, as they refer

to one event, and, must share tense, mood and at least one (or part of one) of their core arguments; Foley and Olson's (1985) term 'co-subordinate' seems to capture their relationship very neatly.

In the sections following, I will firstly discuss the constituents of this construction, and the order in which they occur, and then look in turn at each of the serialising verbs (those that can occur in the restricted slot), illustrating their functions. I then take up the question of what constitutes a common core argument - as we will see, this constraint can be satisfied by the identity, or partial identity, of the A, S or O of the non-restricted verb with the S (or, less frequently, the A) of the serialising verb. Some O = S/A serials appear to behave differently with respect to the constraints observed for S/A = S(/A) serialisations, and may need to be treated as a distinct construction.

5.3.1. The Serial Verb Construction: Order of Constituents.

Each verb in a serial construction is fully inflected, taking tense/mood suffixes (the tense/mood category is shared by all the verbs), and pronominal prefixes indexing the subject, or subject and object.

5-102 **awu-ba-rri**   **awurr-ma-nay**
      3AugA.3IO-eat-Pre   *3AugS-go along-Pre*
      They went on eating it. / They ate on.
      OR They went along eating.

5-103 **nguna-na-ni**   **dji-na-ma-nay**
      3MinA.1MinO-see-Pre   *3IIS-twds-go along-Pre*
      "She saw me all the way", She came along watching me.
      (perhaps also: She went on looking this way at me.)

Subject and object NPs can precede or follow this complex:

5-104   **Awu-ba-rri**   **awurr-ma-nay mburrklerrtji**
      Mburrklerrtji awu-ba-rri   **awurr-ma-nay**
      children   *3AugA.3IO-eat-Pre 3AugS-go along-Pre*
      The children ate on / went on eating it / went along eating it.

5-105   **Nguna-na-ni**   **dji-na-ma-nay**   **ngayi-pu**
         Ngayi-pu   **nguna-na-ni**   **dji-na-ma-nay**
         1Min-Card 3MinA.1MinO-see-Pre 3IIS-twds-go along-Pre
         She came along watching me / (?went on watching me.)

When a subject or object NP is inserted between the main verb and the serialising verbs, the two verbs are interpreted as referring to separate, usually sequential events. Thus, when I proffered 5-106a, attempting one clausal intonation over the three constituents:

5-106a   ***Awu-ba-rri mburrklerrtji awurr-ma-nay**

it was corrected to the two separate clauses of 5-106b (ie, each with its own clausal intonation):

5-106b   **awu-ba-rri**   **mburrklerrtji,**
          3AugA.3IO-eat-Pre   *children*
          awurr-ma-nay,   **awurr-borldji-nji**
          3AugS-go along-Pre   *3AugS-be full-Pre*
          The children ate, they went on (eating) and became full.

When I proffered the following construction, as an alternative to 5-105, and with a single clause intonation

5-107a   **nguna-na-ni**   **ngayi-pu**   **dji-na-ma-nay**
          3MinA.1MinO-see-Pre   *1Min-Card*   *3IIS-twds-go along-Pre*

it was repeated with clausal intonation for both the first verb (plus object pronoun), and the second verb[13], and translated as :

5-107b   **nguna-na-ni**   **ngayi-pu,**   **dji-na-ma-nay**
          3MinA.1MinO-see-Pre   *1Min-Card*   *3IIS-twds-go along-Pre*
          She saw me and then she came.

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[13] This is an elicited example, but is supported by the evidence of spontaneously occurring examples, those observed in speech and narration, which indicate that core argument NPs either precede or follow the serial verb complex (or straddle it, in the case of part-whole NPs - see 5-157 below).

(A similar situation is reported by Crowley (1987:43) for Paamese: "There is no independent marking of the subject noun phrase of the second verb .... If there is a filler of the subject slot, then the only reading that is possible is a conjoined reading.")

Note, however, that if a Poss$_A$ 3rd person minimal pronoun is used with a transitive verb to unambiguously identify the agent of that verb as 3rd person (see §2.4.3), this possessive$_A$ pronoun must immediately follow the transitive verb both in a serial construction as well as when the verb stands alone:

5-108   **nguna-na-ni=ngutjuyu   dji-djarti dji-ma-nay**
     3MinA.1MinO-see-Pre=3MinF+PossA   3IIS-hurry 3IIS-go along-Pre
      *nguna-na-ni dji-djarti=ngutjuyu dji-ma-nay
      *nguna-nani dji-djarti dji-ma-nay=ngutjuyu
      She stared at me / she hurried along looking at me.

Like the pronominal prefixes, the possessive$_C$ pronouns form a complex with the transitive verb, and just as each verb in the serial construction is inflected individually, each taking pronominal prefixes and tense/mood suffixes, the possessive$_A$ pronouns remain cliticised to the transitive verb.

Possessive pronouns functioning as agent markers are not the only possessive pronouns found in serial verb constructions, and dative pronouns too can be found between the main verb and the serialising verb, as in 5-110 - 5-112:

5-109 **dji-gorrmi-yi-ni   ngaytjburru-ø   dji-bogi-ni, ...**
     3IIS-put-Intr-Pre   1Aug-Poss$_C$ 3IIS-go-Pre
     dji-weki-ni   ngaytjburru-ø dji-bogi-ni.
     3IIS-speak-Pre 1Aug-Poss$_C$ 3IIS-go-Pre
     She went about establishing herself (lit. putting herself down) with us, she set about speaking with / to us.   (III/3/16-22)

5-110 **A-djini-pu djitjitja <u>nji-weki-ya ni-lorndonji-ne-rre.</u>**
     3I-AnEmph-pu fish 2MinS-speak-Con 3MinNf-Dat 2MinS-sit-Con
     That's a fish you're talking to.   (IV/24/16)

5-111 **Niyé-na**　　　**ng-gorrma-nay**　　　**ni-lorndo**
　　　　3MinNf-Emph　*1MinA.3MinO-put-Pre*　*3MinNf-Dat*
　　　　ngu-bogi-ni　**nu-bobulu.**
　　　　1MinS-go-Pre　*Loc3I-back*
　　　　I set about putting it on him on his back.　　　(VI/36/5)

5-112 **Bapa　dji-gabi　Leila　dji-weku-n nguku-lorndo dji-ni-ngu**
　　　　Fa(Zi)　3II-there　"　3IIS-speak-Fut 2Min-Dat　3IIS-sit-Fut
　　　　like　ngu-weki-ni　　ngutju-lorndo ngu-workiyi-ni.
　　　　"　　1MinS-speak-Pre　3MinF-Dat　　1MinS-do always-Pre
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(IX/90/9)
　　　　Your aunt Leila there will talk to you like I've always talked to her.

Aside from these pronominals, only an aspectual particle, **munguy** 'keep on', has been found to occur within the serial verb complex:

5-113 **Gi-djirritji-nji**　　　　　**munguy**　**dji-ni-ø-:.**
　　　　3MinA.3IVO-light fire-Pre　*keep on*　*3IIS-sit-Pre-X*
　　　　She kept on sitting lighting the fire.　　　(IV/70/13)

Like core argument NPs, peripheral NPs such as goals either precede or follow the serial verb complex:

5-114 **Burr-gorrma-nay**　　　**a-bogi-ni**　**wipa**
　　　　3MinA.3AugO-put-Pre　*3IS-go-Pre*　*home, camp*
　　　　He went putting them at (their) homes.　　　(VII/76/8)

5-115 **Niyé-pu　　　mu-garrapu mut-bulun-pu rangin wurere**
　　　　3MinNf-Card　3III-Anaph　3III-old-pu　　still　reeds
　　　　njiwurr-galidji-nji　njiwurr-bogi-ni
　　　　1AugS-paddle-Pre　　1AugS-go -Pre
　　　　We went paddling through the same old reeds.　　(V/118/5)

5.3.2. The Serialising Verbs

A serial construction can be composed of up to three verbs, comprising a main or lexical verb followed by one or two serialising verbs; the table below shows these serialising verbs. All but three are intransitive. The verbs in column 1 can freely occur in a serial

construction following any other verb. Those in column 2 can occur as the second serialising verb, following any of those in column 1. (Any one verb can only occur once, however, whether as lexical verb or serialising verb.) The verbs in group B are used only to indicate associated motion; those in group A have aspectual functions also. The functions of each verb are described and illustrated below.

	Serialising Verb 1		Serialising Verb 2
A	ni	'be (sitting)'	
	dji	'be (standing)'	
	yu	'be (lying)', 'sleep'	(yu)
	boy	'go, move towards a goal or with a purpose'	
	meme	'move along steadily'	meme
	djartabiyi, djarti	'move quickly'	djarti
	workiyi	'do always'	workiyi
	*mukbu	'complete' (tr)	
	mukbi-yi-	'be complete'	

Compound Serial Verbs

djarti meme	'do intensely'	
ni meme	'become'	

B.	djirritbu	'go, turn around'
	betji~beku-	'move out, arrive'
	djeka	'return'
	djorrwa	'jump'
	warrtja	'climb, move up'
	bupiyi	'descend, move down'
	*(way	'throw')
	*(mupu	hold tight')

An asterisk * identifies the transitive verbs. Brackets () indicate that the verb has limited use in this position as a serialising verb.

Foley and Olson (1985:41) propose a "hierarchy of verb types accessible to the restricted slot" in nuclear and core layer serial constructions, with, from left to right, the most favoured to the least favoured: "motion verbs > stance or postural verbs > stative intransitive verbs > transitive verbs" (ibid:48). As well as encapsulating cross-linguistic tendencies, Foley and Olson (ibid:42) suggest that this hierarchy

predicts access to the restricted slot **within** languages. As can be seen here, Gurr-goni serialisation involves many motion verbs and all the stance verbs. There are fewer transitive verbs, and, as will be seen below, they are less productive, but there is **no** serialisation with stative intransitive verbs (be sick, be afraid, be closed, be clean, etc). *In Gurr-goni, then, the order of Foley and Olson's last two categories is reversed.*

5.3.2.1. Ni 'stay, be (sitting)', dji 'be (standing)', yu 'be (lying), sleep, stay': Durative/*Iterative*.

These three stance verbs are used as serial verbs with the aspectual meaning of 'last for some time'; this aspect could be called durative. With main verbs describing actions of an inherently short nature (for example, cough, hit, stab oneself), the action is understood to have lasted sometime by occurring several times. Thus:

5-116 **dji-ngawkdji-nji**
  3IIS-yawn-Pre
  She yawned.

says merely that someone yawned; it is not explicit about how often, while

5-117 **dji-ngawkdji-nji   dji-ni-ø**
  3IIS-yawn-Pre   3IIS-sit-Pre
  She was (sitting) yawning.

does imply that the subject yawned more than once.

As well as indicating that an action lasts for some time, **dji** and **yu** also specify the subject's posture or orientation[14]. Thus in 5-118, a child is lying smiling (in fact, smiling in his sleep), while in 5-119, someone is told to smile standing (to have their photograph taken).

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[14] There are some verbs with which **yu** is always used, regardless of the subject's posture. These are **djirritbu** 'go around' and **wenjigi-yi** 'hang-Intr', thus for example:
  Dji-djirritbi-ni   djinj-yu-y
  3IIS-go around-Pre   3IIS-lie-Pre
  She went round and round (said of a child standing and turning round and round in circles)

5-118 **A-girdétji-ga a-yo-rri**
3IS-smile-Con   3IS-lie-Con
He's smiling in his sleep.

5-119 **Ø-Girdétji-ø   ø-dji-ø!**
2MinSImp-smile-Irr2 2MinSImp-stand-Irr2
Smile!

Similarly, 5-120 describes a buffalo lying submerged in the water, while 5-121 refers to someone standing under water (while having a shower):

5-120 **A-gogini-ø   a-yu-y   yigi-minabámi**
3IS-be under water-Pre   3IS-lie-Pre Loc3IV-water
He was lying submerged in the water.   (V/27/25)

5-121 **Dji-gogini-ø   dji-dji-ø**
3IIS-be under water-Pre 3IIS-stand-Pre
She was standing under the shower.

Dji is the verb used to describe the action of water dripping down, rain falling - or anything else, like bombs, which has a salient vertical extension or trajectory. **Yu** is used to describe horizontal movement, as with sewerage seeping out of a pipe, or nutrients entering a hospital patient through a tube:

5-122 **Niyé-pu   gukuk gu-garrapu gu-djawi-rri   gi-dji-ø**
3MinNf-Card water 3IV-Anaph 3IVS-seep,leak-Pre 3IVS-stand-Pre
That water was dripping down.   (IX/71/25)

5-123 **Mu-garrapu bomb m-buki-ni   mi-dji-ø   djapanji**
3III-Anaph   "   3IIIS-fall-Pre   3IIIS-stand-Pre so many
So many bombs were falling.   (IX/100/1)

5-124 **Ngukulenjdji   mu-djawu-nga   mu-yo-rri**
shit   3IIIS-seep, leak-Con 3IIIS-lie-Con
The sewerage flows out.   (VIII/18/9)

5-125 **Mitja mu-galtji-ga   mu-yo-rri.**
food   3IIIS-enter-Con   3IIIS-lie-Con
The food enters horizontally.

Ni can be used with its literal meaning of sitting; 5-126 below is an example of this. *the translation is that given by the informant* In many cases, however, **ni** does not convey any reference to posture. It is used with many verbs of motion, as in 5-127, and even with verbs describing actions or states which are not incompatible with a sitting posture, use of **ni** does not necessarily imply that the subjects were seated. Thus in 5-128, the referents of **njiwurr-gogi-ni njiwurr-ni-ø** may have been sitting in the water, but their lying or standing in the water would also be consistent with the use of **ni**, which appears to be the unmarked durative, indicating only that they were there for some time.

5-126 **Mun-medjimidji djen.gele mu-gornda-ga   a-ne-rre.**
3III-hair   Livistona sp. 3MinA.3IIIO-cut-Con 3IS-sit-Con
           sand palm
He's sitting down cutting the palm frond.   (I/9/1)

5-127 **Djin-arraka burr-gaki-dji   dji-ni-ø.**
3II-other   3MinA.3AugO-chase-Pre/Con 3IIS-sit-Pre
Awurr-yurrburridji-nji awurr-ni-ø mburrklerrtji
3AugS-run-Pre   3AugS-sit-Pre children
wulek   awurr-warrtji-nji.
finish   3AugS-climb-Pre
Another (pig) chased them. The children ran on, then they climbed up.   (V/128/1)

5-128 **Njiwurr-ni-ø-: njiwurr-rro-ngu njiwurr-ni-ø,**
1AugS-sit-Pre-X 1AugS-burn-Pre 1AugS-sit-Pre
njiwurr-ma-nay, njiwurr-gogi-ni   njiwurr-ni-ø
1AugS-go along-Pre 1AugS-be under water-Pre 1AugS-sit-Pre
We stayed for a long time, we were very hot, we went along and submerged ourselves in the water.   (V/37/9-13)

Ni can also be used in a serial construction following **dji** (5-129) or **yu** (5-130). The reverse does not apply, nor is the same verb used

twice in a serial construction. **Meme** 'go along' and **boy** 'go' can be used following **ni** (and in fact, following **dji** and **yu**); see below for examples.

5-129 **Djama awurr-dji-ø**[15]   **awurr-ni-ø-:**   **gabi.**
  work   3AugS-stand-Pre   3AugS-sit-Pre-X   there
  They stayed working there.   (Mutjarra tape)

5-130 **Weleng njinj-yu-y   nji-ni-ø   djinj-yipdji-nji ya.**
  then   2MinS-sleep-Pre 2MinS-sit-Pre 3IIS-sun set-Pre   Qu
                                    (V/124/25)
  Then you were sleeping and the sun went down, didn't it?

The sole use recorded of **yu** as the second serial verb is following **djirritbu**, 'go around', when that is itself used as a serial verb describing associated motion:

5-131 **Gu-ba-rri   dji-djirritbi-ni   djinj-yu-y**
  3MinA.3IVO-eat-Pre 3IIS-go around-Pre 3IIS-lie-Pre
  She went around drinking.

5.3.2.2. Meme 'move along steadily through space/time'.

Meme has the literal meaning of 'move along steadily'; with humans, usually 'walk'. Used as a serial verb, it can have the literal meaning of 'V while walking or moving along steadily', as in 5-132.

5-132 **ditjburrk ngu-bamiyi-ni   ngu-ma-nay**
  axe   1MinS-carry-Pre   1MinS-go along-Pre
  I went along carrying the axe.   (V/33/21)

Its aspectual meaning is a restriction of this meaning to movement through time only: 'go along steadily through time Ving (in the manner of/doing the action of the main verb).

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[15] Here, **djama dji** is the verbal expression. **Dji** 'stand' is the main inflecting verb; combined with the noun **djama** 'work (n), job', it means 'work (v)'.

5-133 **Wulek njiwurr-gorrmi-yi-ni njiwurr-yu-y.**
finish   1AugS-put down-Intr-Pre   1AugS-sleep-Pre
Njiwurr-yu-y   njiwurr-ma-nay,   gu-na-gepiyi-ni
1AugS-sleep-Pre   1AugS-go along-Pre   3IVS-twds-dawn-Pre
wulek njiwurr-bo-gini.
finish   1AugS-go-Pre
Then we lay down and slept. <u>We slept on</u>, day came (or perhaps
'we slept until dawn'), then we went.   (V/40/5)

5-134 **Ganday   dji-djini-pu   ø-na-ø**
doe kangaroo   3II-AnEmph-pu   2MinA.3MinOImp-see-Irr2
bapa, dji-goni   dji-ne-rre dji-ma-ma
Dad   3II-this   3IIS-sit-Con   3IIS-go along-Con
Look at that kangaroo, dad, this one <u>sitting</u> here.   (IV/13/25)

In these last two examples, it is clear that the aspectual meaning is
intended. There are other examples, however, where the meaning is
ambiguous, where both the aspectual and the associated motion functions
are compatible with the meaning of the main verb. This ambiguity is
discussed in §5.3.3 below.

In a very few of the examples, **meme** adds the meaning 'go
gradually/ steadily into the state of the main verb'; for example:

5-134 **Nji-borldji-ga   nji-ma-ma**
2MinS-be full-Con   2MinS-go along-Con
You're getting full.   (V/1/29)

It appears that there can also be ambiguity between the two
aspectual meanings 'go steadily through time Ving' and
'gradually/steadily go into Ving'. The following example was said of a
child gradually dropping off to sleep, and contrasts with the use of **yu
meme** in 5-133, which describes sleeping through the night:

5-136 **A-yo-rri   a-ma-ma.**
3IS-sleep-Con   3IS-go along-Con
He's going to sleep.

Meme can be freely used as a second serialising verb, as for instance in:

5-137 Ngu-warrbardji-n ngu-beku-n ngu-ma-rdi

1MinS-be white-Fut 1MinS-arrive,go out-Fut 1MinS-go along-Fut

I'll arrive white (said by someone painting herself with white clay before a funeral). (VII/106/1)

5.3.2.3. Boy 'go'.

Boy as a main verb has the meaning 'go'; it often takes a goal or purpose NP, while **meme** rarely does. As a serial verb, it can be used to describe motion associated with doing the action of the main verb, as in going treading on the ground (5-138) or going taking something (5-139). Its aspectual function is illustrated in (5-101) above, and in (5-140) here; it appears to have the meaning 'set about doing', 'go about the business of doing', deriving from the connotations of purposefulness associated with the lexical meaning of **boy**.

5-138 A-goni wulek wana, gu-negi-rri a-bogi-ni.

3I-this finish big 3MinA.3IVO-tread on-Pre 3IS-go-Pre

This one was big, he was walking (lit. going treading on it (the ground, Cl.IV).) (IV/20/16)

5-139 Awuni-mukupu ngudjina-ga-tji ngu-bogi-ni.

3UAnf-two 1MinA.3UAnfO-take-Pre 1MinS-go-Pre.

I went taking two. (V/118/5)

5-140 Njiwurr-bo-gini gun-ngak, .. njiwu-djirritji-nji

1AugS-go-Pre firewood 1AugA.3MinO-light fire-Pre

njiwurr-bo-gini, midjikit njiwu-gupi-ni,

1AugS-go-Pre mosquito net 1AugA.3MinO-put up-Pre

gu-rro-ngu gi-dji-ø, mokol gi-ni-ø.

3IVS-burn-Pre 3IVS-stand-Pre night 3IVS-be-Pre

We went for firewood .. we set about lighting the fire, we put up a mosquito net, the fire blazed high, it was nighttime. (V/144/21)

5.3.2.4. Djartabiyi ~ djarti 'be quick'.

Djartabiyi (and its shortened form **djarti**, which does not take tense/ mood suffixes) has the lexical meaning 'be quick, move quickly', and as a serial verb means 'move quickly Ving' and 'V quickly'.

5-141 **Wulek njiwurr-warrtji-nji njiwurr-djartabiyi-ni**
      finish   1AugS-climb-Pre   1AugS-be quick-Pre
      Then we climbed quickly up.   (IV/52/25)

5-142 **Ngu-yiti-nji**   **ngu-njimi-rri,**
      1MinS-do like this-Pre   1MinA.3MinO-paint-Pre
      ngu-njimi-rri   **ngu-djarti**
      1MinA.3MinO-paint-Pre   1MinS-be quick
      I painted like this, I painted quickly.   (IV/82/25)

Unlike **meme** and **boy, djarti** does not occur after the stance verbs,
barring **yu** when it is used with reference to rivers, creeks and roads:

5-143 **Gu-garrapu   wulek   gut-goy   gu-yo-rri   gu-djarti**
      3IV-Anaph   finish   3IV-track   3IVS-lie-Con   3IVS-be quick
      That's where the road runs (lit. lies quickly).   (V/14/9)

Djarti can also occur as the second serialising verb, as in:

5-144 **Wulek   ngu-me-nji**   **ngar   gu-djerre   gun-ngak,**
      finish   1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre   mouth   3IV-Poss   3IV-fire
      ...... ng-ga-tji   **ngu-na-djorrwi-rri**
              1MinA.3MinO-take-Pre   1MinS-twds-jump-Pre
      ngu-na-djarti   **guwúrrpu.**
      1MinS-twds-be quick   mangroves
      Then I got a spark of fire, I came jumping quickly through the
      mangroves bringing it.   (V/121/25)

5.3.2.5. Workiyi 'walk about': Habitual aspect, 'do always'.

As a main verb **workiyi** means 'walk about, walk from place to
place'. Unlike the other verbs described so far, it does not appear to be
used as a serial verb to describe associated motion; all serial uses of this
verb are aspectual. Speakers often translate it as 'always'; it is used to
describe habitual states and actions. **Workiyi** freely occurs as either the
only serial verb, or as the second of two.

5-144 "Ey?" Bobo a-weki-ni, gun-niyé-pu <u>a-weki-ya</u>
eh? name 3IS-speak-Pre 3IV-3MinNf-Card 3IS-speak-Con
<u>a-workiyi-ø,</u> "Ey?" a-bogi-ni.
3IS-do always-Con eh? 3IS-go-Pre
"Eh?" Bobo (a buffalo) said, (in) his (language: Cl.IV) he always
speaks, "Eh?" he went. (VI/29/1)

5-146 Gabi djel <u>a-djurnitbi-yi-ø a-yo-rri a-workiyi-ø</u>
there ground 3IS-bury-Intr-Con 3IS-lie-Con 3IS-do always-Con
It (a frog) always lies buried in the ground.

5.3.2.6. Mukbu 'complete'(tr) 'do properly', mukbi-yi 'be, do forever'.

Mukbu is one of only three transitive serialising verbs in Gurr-goni, and the only one with an aspectual function. Its lexical meaning is 'complete, finish'; as a serial verb, it has the same terminal meaning 'do to completion', and is sometimes used in an adverbial sense 'do completely, thoroughly', and hence 'do properly':

5-147 **Buwu-dirrwu-ø** **buwu-mukbu-ø**
2AugA.3MinOImp-tie up-Irr2 2AugA.3MinOImp-complete-Irr2
yandu galu yandu a-yita-ø a-boy-ø
so NEG what do 3IS-do like this-Irr2 3IS-go-Irr2
Tie him up properly so he can't go. (VI/91/4)

5-148 **Baladji a-me-nji a-mukbi-ni.**
bag 3MinA.3IO-get-Pre 3MinA.3IO-complete-Pre
(IV/6/19)
Informant's translation: "He got that bag and he kept that bag."

The intransitivised form **mukbi-yi** means not 'complete oneself' or 'be complete', but 'be or do (as if) forever', as in going somewhere and staying (semi) permanently, and as a serial verb, it has the same meaning:

5-149 Worro gut-djardi <u>gu-buku-n gu-mukbi-yi-n</u>,

pity	*3IV-rain*	*3IVS-fall-Fut* *3IVS-complete-Intr-Fut*

gu-dje-ngu-pu   **gu-dje-ngu-pu**   **gu-dje-ngu-pu**

3IVS-stand-Fut-pu   *3IVS-stand-Fut-pu*   *3IVS-stand-Fut-pu*

gu-dje-ngu-pu   **gu-na-gepiyi-n**

3IVS-stand-Fut-pu   *3IVS-twds-dawn-Fut*

What a pity, the rain will fall forever, it will fall and fall and fall and fall until dawn. (VII/11/16)

5.3.2.7. Compound Serial Verbs: **Djarti meme and ni meme.**

While three verbs, **meme** 'go along', **djarti** 'move quickly' and **workiyi** 'do always', can freely occur following other serial verbs, there are two collocations of serial verbs which have developed meanings not entirely predictable from the sum of their parts. These are **djarti meme,** literally 'go quickly + go along', and **ni meme,** literally 'sit, stay + go along'.

<u>5.3.2.1.7. A:</u> **Djarti meme** can describe associated motion, 'moving along steadily and quickly in the manner of V / Ving':

5-150 ngu-yurrburridji-nji   ngu-djarti   ngi-yi-ma-nay

1MinS-run-Pre   *1MinS-hurry 1MinS-away-go along-Pre*

I ran quickly away. (IV/121/26)

5-151 balatji a-garrapu   an-malátja   <u>njina-ga-tji</u>

bag	*3I-Anaph*	*3I-lacking*	*1UAnfA.3MinO-take-Pre/Con*

<u>njina-djarti   njina-ma-nay.</u>

1UAnfS-hurry   1UAnfS-go along-Pre (V/125/17)

We hurried along taking that bag with nothing in it.

It is also used where there is clearly no movement through space involved, nor necessarily any quickness of action; this use is exemplified in 5-152 and 5-153. Here, **djarti meme** appears to describe the intensity with which the action is performed.[16]

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[16] There appears to be a similar compound serial verb construction in Nakkara: Eather (1990:415) translates a serial construction comprising the verbs 'talk + go quickly + go' as 'talk too much'.

5-152 **Ngu-djedjiyi-ni**   <u>**ngu-na-ni**</u>   <u>**ngu-djarti**</u>
      1MinS-stop-Pre   *1MinA.3MinO-see-Pre* *1MinS-hurry*
      <u>**ngu-ma-nay**</u>   **njan matji a-na-djarti**
      1MinS-go along-Pre if   ghost   3IS-twds-hurry

                                                   (V/13/5-9)

I stopped and looked hard (to see) if a ghost was coming.

5-153 **Daryl   school   a-bo-gini,   wurru   Nicole**
      "   "   *3IS-go-Pre*   *but*   "
      <u>**djinj-yu-y**</u>   <u>**dji-djarti dji-ma-nay**</u>.
      3IIS-sleep-Pre   *3IIS-hurry 3IIS-go along-Pre*   (L17/3/89)
      Daryl went to school, but Nicole went on sleeping soundly.

<u>5.3.2.1.7. B</u>: **Ni meme**. Using the serial construction **ni meme** is the productive means of forming inchoatives from adjectives and nouns. In §5.4 below, I described the formation of complex predicates comprising a nominal followed by a verb, often one of the stance verbs, and in §5.3.2.2 above, describing the functions of **meme** as a serial verb, I illustrated its (infrequent) inceptive function with stative verbs. The compound serial construction **ni meme**, marking inchoative aspect, may thus result from a nominal plus **ni**, the most copula-like of the stance verbs, taking **meme** as a serial verb with this inceptive meaning. It is used frequently with nominals, and one example appears in the data where it follows another verb:

5-154 **Nji-bambay**   **nji-ne-rre**   **nji-ma-ma**
      2Min-old woman   *2MinS-sit-Con*   *2MinS-go along-Con*
      You're getting to be an old woman.

5-155 **Ngorrungurru a-bu-ndi a-ne-rre   a-ma-ma.**
      sleep   3MinA.3IO-hit-Con 3MinS-sit-Con 3MinS-go along-Con
      He's getting sleepy (lit. he's sitting sleep hitting him).

<u>5.3.2.8. Associated Motion Serialisation.</u>

While the verbs described thus far have both literal and aspectual functions, the remaining serialising verbs have not been found to have aspectual meanings. They describe motion of a particular kind (jumping, going around), or in a particular direction (moving up, moving down, coming out or arriving, returning), concurrent with the action referred

to by the first verb; most commonly (but not exclusively) this first verb is 'take' or one of the verbs referring to carrying. Concurrent motion is identified by Koch (1984) as one distinction in a verbal category he terms 'associated motion'. This category is common in Australian languages; it has been described in detail for languages such as Kaytej (Koch 1984 and 1990:204), Kayardild (Evans 1985:250-253), Adnyamathana (Tunbridge 1988), Arrernte (Wilkins 1989) and Arabana-Wangkangurru (Hercus 1994). The markers of associated motion are described as verbal affixes or compound verbs in all of these languages excepting Kayardild, which, like Gurr-goni, expresses associated motion through inflected verbs in a serial construction. Some examples containing these verbs of associated motion have already appeared: **djirritbu** 'go around' in 5-131 above, **betji** 'arrive, come out' in 5-137, and **djorrwa** 'jump' in 5-144. Further examples are given here:

5-156 **Nguwu-da-n**   **gobu** **nguwurr-bamiyi-n**

     1+2AugA.3MinO-shoot-Fut   *goose* *1+2AugS-carry-Fut*

     nguwurr-warrtji-n

     1+2AugS-climb-Fut

     We'll shoot geese (and) <u>carry them up.</u>

5-157 **Weleng** **a-garrapu** **an-maliyirri**

     then   *3I-Anaph*   *3I-skin*

     njibu-ga-tji   **njiwurr-nguna-djeki-rri** **mandunuyu**

     1AugA.3MinO-take-Pre *1AugS-twds-return-Pre*   *crocodile*

     Then we <u>brought back</u> that crocodile skin.   (V/101/13)

5-158 **A-rduburdji-nji** **a-beki-ni**   **a-ma-nay-:**

     3IS-be startled-Pre *3IS-go out-Pre*   *3IS-go along-Pre-X*

     He moved out startled.   (V/29/1)

Transitive serialising verbs appear to be less common, and less productive. I know of only two: **way** 'throw' which occurs only with **golidjirritja** 'turn over'[17], and **mupu** 'keep hold of, hold tight', which is in fact known only from this serial construction, where it follows **rrimi** 'hold'.

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[17] An identical collocation is found in Ndjébbana (McKay 1984:126); it is the only transitive "auxiliary" which appears in McKay's discussion.

5-159 Gurrgábu ng-golidjirritji-n   ngu-wa-rdi.

other side 1MinA.3MinO-turn over-Fut 1MinA.3MinO-throw-Fut

I'll turn it over to the other side.   (V/40/21)

5-160 Ay-rrimi-rdi   ay-mupu-n,

1+2MinA.3MinO-hold-Fut 1+2MinA.3MinO-??keep in hands-Fut

galu   ay-bawu-n.

NEG   1+2MinA.3MinO-leave-Fut

We'll hold it tight, we won't let it go.   (VI/64/4)

All four of the Maningrida languages use the three stance verbs, and 'do always', 'go', and 'go along' as serial verbs, with aspectual and literal functions. Nakkara and Burarra, like Gurr-goni, also have a small set of serial verbs which describe associated motion. In this set of verbs, there is considerable variation between the languages, although some meanings are shared. It may be that this set of 'associated motion' verbs is open, and other verbs of motion could be used as serialising verbs when appropriate; this remains to be investigated.

5.3.3. Ambiguity between Associated motion/stance and aspectual modification.

5-157 At-balpi njiwu-me-ka+rni weleng njibu-wa-nga+rni.

3I-stone 1AugA.3MinO-get-Irr1 then 1AugA.3MinO-throw-Irr1

Njibu-wa-nga+rni   njiwurr-ma-ø+rni-:

1AugA.3MinO-throw-Irr1   1AugS-go along-Irr2

djapu ganditjawa njibu-yolidji-ga+rni

like   flour, damper 1AugA.3MinO-cook in ashes-Irr1

We would get grinding stones, then we would throw them (ie, grind with them). We would grind away, on and on, (then) we would cook it in the ashes like damper.   (III/84/22-25)

In this example, it is clear that **meme** in the underlined phrase does not refer to movement through space, but to movement through time (continuing to wield the grinding stones): **meme** has an aspectual function here, rather than an "associated motion" function. The same phrase, however, in another context, could mean 'we went along throwing it' or 'we threw it on our way'. In other words, where compatible with the meaning of the lexical verb, **meme** is ambiguous as a serial verb: its

function could be either to provide aspectual specification of the first verb, or to describe associated motion. The other serialising verbs, like **boy** 'go' and **djarti** 'move quickly', are similarly ambiguous; consider example 5-152 above. The underlined serial construction in that example could mean "I hurried along looking"; here it clearly does not, as the clause immediately preceding it is "I stopped". A very similar ambiguity exists also in Yoruba (Lord 1993, quoting Obilade 1977), where a serial construction containing the verb meaning 'eat' followed by lǫ can mean either 'eat along the way / eat before going', or 'continue to eat'. The fact that one and the same construction can have both aspectual and literal meanings calls into question the distinction Foley and Van Valin (1984:210) seek to make: "One of the ways for aspect to be indicated is by a serial verb construction with a stance verb like 'sit', 'stand', or 'live' for progressive aspect and 'finish', 'throw away', or a similar verb for perfective aspect. These are not verbs in a nuclear juncture, but rather an aspectual operator realized by a verb stem and a predicate within its scope." (my emphasis). While it is clear that in some languages there is a contrast between serialisation (whether at the nuclear level, or, as in Gurr-goni, at core level), and aspectual marking derived from such constructions (this is the case in Fijian, as demonstrated by Foley and Van Valin), there is equally clearly no syntactic or morphological contrast in Gurr-goni (or in Yoruba, with lǫ). In Foley and Van Valin's terms, we have core level cosubordination (or serialization), where one of the verbs in the complex can act as an aspectual operator over the other.

5.3.4. Shared Core Arguments.
5.3.4.1. What constitutes "the same"?

Foley and Olson (1985:26) identify as one of the defining features of serial verb constructions that they "are formed only on the basis of the same subject or object-subject constraints". While it has been pointed out (Crowley 1987; Schiller 1990) that in some languages this constraint is violated, it does apply in Gurr-goni, assuming a more pragmatic interpretation of "same" than one based solely on the person/number categories indexed on the verbs.[18] In most of the examples of serial verb

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[18] It has been noted in some languages with switch-reference systems that where the referents of two NPs are not identical, but overlap, speakers have the choice of marking same-subject or different-subject (Roberts 1988, Comrie 1983, Austin 1981a). When 'same-subject' marking is chosen, it is decided on the same basis as that used in forming these serial constructions: identity of some of the referents, rather than identity of marking.

constructions in the corpus, there is identity of person and number between the subject or object of the main verb, and the subject of the serialising verb. All examples thus far have shown identical subjects, and object-subject identity is discussed below at §5.3.4.2. There are, however, a substantial number of examples where, instead of complete identity, there is "referential overlap" (Roberts 1988), where the referents of the indexed arguments overlap. The subject of the main verb may be <u>part of</u> the subject of the serial verb, as in the following examples:

5-162 **Swag a-djini-pu   ng-gorrmi-ø+rni   ni-lorndo**
     "   3I-AnEmph-pu   1MinA.3MinO-put-Irr1   3MinNf-Dat
     nu-bobulu gu-ga-tji+rni   njiwurr-bogi-yi+rni,
     Loc3I-back 3MinA.3IVO-take-Irr1   1AugS-go-Irr1
     tinstuff,   sugar, niyé-pu   a-djini
     "   "   3MinNf-Card   3I-AnEmph
     a-bamiyi-ø+rni   njina-bogi-yi+rni.
     3IS-carry-Irr1   1UAnfS-go-Irr1
     I would put the swag on his (a buffalo's) back and <u>we would go</u> <u>with him taking it</u>, tinned stuff, sugar, <u>we two</u> (ie the speaker and the buffalo) <u>would go with him</u> (the buffalo) <u>carrying</u> that stuff.

5-163 **Munguy dji-ngartbi-ni   njiwurr-ni-ø.**
     keep on   3IIS-warm self-Pre 1AugS-be,sit-Pre
     We stayed while she kept on warming herself.   (IV/70/1)

5-164 **Wulek   ngu-me-nji   njiwurr-ni-ø.**
     Finish   1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre   1AugS-be,sit-Pre
     Then we stayed while I got it.   (IV/25/1)

5-165 **Ngidjiyé-na   maka   djit-burrpu**
     3MinF-Emph   FaMo   3II-guts
     dji-warrka-nga   njiwurr-ne-rre.
     3MinA.3IIO-pull guts out-Con 1AugS-be,sit-Con   (III/64/23)
     We sat while grandma herself pulled the (turtle's) guts out.

5-167 Mit-djeyirri   mubu-wa-nga+rni,   njirrbu-na-ni,

3III-spittle   3AugA.3IIIO-throw-Irr1   1nsA.3nsO-see-Pre

= smoke or chew tobacco

"E, e   mu-garrapu   burr-bu-ni."   Butj

yes yes   3III-Anaph   3MinA.3AugO-hit-Pre   bush

mu-yo-rri   muwu-ba-rri   njiwurr-ni-ø.

3IVS-lie-Con   3IIIO.3AugA-eat-Pre   1AugS-sit-Pre

They would smoke, we saw them, "Yes, yes, that (plant thing) has hit them (ie affected them)." We stayed with them consuming that tobacco that grows in the bush.   (IX/86/9-17)

It is almost impossible to give a mono-clausal translation for these Gurr-goni examples - English requires one of the verbs to be subordinated to or co-ordinate with the other. However, in Gurr-goni these constructions have the intonation contour appropriate for single clauses, as well as shared tense, mood and polarity, and it seems that however hard it may be to express in English, the events being described are thought of as one event, rather than two separate actions or events. The serialising verb gives the total picture of the participants, and to some extent of the event (in these examples, either going or sitting/staying for some time), while the main verb spotlights an activity of one or more members of that group of participants, which is carried on concurrently with, and appears to be central to, the actions of the whole group. (Similarly, in a mono-verbal clause, the "subject" NP can also be used to mention one member of a group of participants, while the subject prefix on the verb refers to the group as a whole; this was discussed and exemplified at §5.2.1 above.)

A discussion of serialisations where the number of the A or S of the first verb is smaller than the number of the S of the second verb (A/S<S) would not be complete without mention of a construction common in describing the existence or location of inanimates and lower animates. Here, a stance verb, with a prefix indexing the noun class of the species or object, is followed by the verb **boy** 'go' with a 3rd person, unit-augmented number prefix. The reference of the unit-augmented pronominal is not clear, nor is the meaning of the complex as a whole; speakers have given translations like 'that's where they are', 'the tea was waiting for them'. The following examples will, however, illustrate its use:

5-167 Buwu-gogadarra-n wetji, djalmirri, mi-nji
1AugA.2MinO-show-Fut language,story tree 3III-what
mi-djini <u>**getjigra**</u> <u>**mu-dje-rre**</u> <u>**awuni-bogi-ya**</u>
3III-AnEmph something 3IIIS-stand-Con 3UAnfS-go-Con
<div align="right">(I/109/10-16)</div>
We'll show you language/stories, trees, any kind of Cl.III things
(ie plants and bush tucker) that are in the bush.

5-168 At-bu-burrkarl djapanji awu-na-ni a-yu-y
3I-Der-child so many 3AugA.3IO-see-Pre 3IS-lie-Pre
arrapu a-bimidjiyi-ni, an-arpurr djapanji
and 3IS-float-Pre 3I-little so many
<u>**a-yu-y**</u> <u>**awuni-bo-gini**</u>
3IS-lie-Pre 3UAnf-go-Pre
They saw so many baby (crocodiles) lying and floating, so many
little ones were there. <div align="right">(VIII/84/1)</div>

5-169 Guwu-djinji-rri awurr-ma-nay, di niyé-pu
3AugA.3IVO-cook-Pre 3AugS-go along-Pre tea 3MinNf-Card
<u>**gi-dji-ø**</u> <u>**awuni-bogi-ni,**</u> **gitgal, milk,**
3IVS-stand-Pre 3UAnfS-go-Pre milk "
gitgal gi-dji-ø.
milk 3IVS-stand-Pre
They cooked (tea), the tea was waiting for them, milk, there was
milk. <div align="right">(VI/13/5)</div>

5-170 Njiwurr-beki-ni gabi ngalngi <u>djin-yo-rri awuni-bogi-ya</u>.
1AugS-arrive-Pre there turtle 3IIS-lie-Con 3UAnfS-go-Con
<div align="right">(V/146/17)</div>
We came to "where the billabong [is] where that turtle is."

Other relationships may also hold between the subject of a
serialising verb and the arguments of the main verb. The pronominal
category indexed as subject on the serialising verb may represent the
<u>combination</u> of subject and object of the main verb:

5-171 Ngiy-gilikiliwi-dji arr-ne-rre.
1MinA.2MinO-tickle-Con 1+2MinS-be,sit-Con
I'm tickling you. <div align="right">(VI/26/15)</div>

5-172 **Dji-bu-ndi**   **awurrinji-ne-rre.**
   3MinA.3IIO-hit-Con   *3UAfS-be,sit-Con*
   He is/was hitting her.

5-173 **Ngu-rrimi-rri,**   **a-gogidji-nji**   **a-ni-ø,**
   1MinA.3MinO-hold-Pre   *3IS-call out-Pre*   *3IS-be,sit-Pre*
   ngu-rrimi-rri   **njina-ni-ø.**
   1MinA.3MinO-hold-Pre   *1UAnfS-be,sit-Pre*
   I held him, he was calling out, I was holding him.

5-174 **Dji-weki-ni**   **ngaytjburru-ø,**   **"Nguwurr-bo-go,**
   3IIS-speak-Pre   *1Aug-Poss$_C$*   *1+2AugS-go-Fut*
   ngunabu-gogadarra-n   nguwurr-bo-go."
   2AugA.1MinO-show-Fut   *1+2AugS-go-Fut*   (III/4/1-4)
   She said to us, "Let's go, let's go showing me (it)."

This is also found in Ndjébbana (McKay 1984), and Crowley (1987:48) notes a similar construction in Paamese, which is "used when both the subject and object are involved as actors in the action represented by the second verb". It can certainly be said of example 5-174 above, and perhaps of 5-171 also, that both subject and object of the transitive verb are actors in the action represented by the serialising verb. In 5-172 and 5-173, however, the function of the serial verb seems more to be that of an aspectual marker, indicating that the subject and object of the main verb were both involved for some time in the action referred to by the main verb.

5.3.4.2. Object = Subject Serial Constructions.
5.3.4.2.2. Experiencer Serials.

In the majority of serial verb constructions, the subject (A or S) of the first verb is identical to, or overlaps with the referent of, the subject (S or A) of the serial verb. There are also instances where the object of the first verb is the same as the subject (S or A) of the second. This is a very common construction in many of the serialising languages of the world, and is often used to express causation or result (Li and Thompson 1976, Foley and Olson 1985, Durie nd). For some of the object = subject serial constructions in Gurr-goni, the action of the second verb is caused by, or allowed to happen through, the action of the first verb; such

constructions will be discussed below. In other instances, however, this is not the case. Consider the following examples:

5-175 **Njirr-rre+rrmi-rri**   **njiwurr-ma-nay**
    3MinA.1AugO-pound+Redup-Pre 1AugS-go along-Pre
    gut-djardi   wana.
    3IV-rain   big
    We went along being pelted by heavy rain.   (VII/11/4)

Here, in 5-175, the rain is not causing the referents of the verb **njiwurr-ma-nay** to go; rather, their going and the rain pelting down on them were simultaneous. In 5-176 and 5-177 below, the agents (rain and sleep respectively) are not making their objects (the subjects of serial 'sit') sit, but concomitantly with their sitting, rain is spraying them, and sleep hitting (ie affecting) them. These serialisations appear to be focussing on the subject as the experiencer of the action of the first verb: the pragmatic equivalent, perhaps, of a passive voice.

5-176 **Biy-wirrpi-rdi**   **nji-ne-rre?**
    3MinA.2MinO-spray-Con 2MinS-sit-Con
    Lit. Are you sitting it spraying you? or, Are you getting rained on?

5-177 **Ngorrungurru nguna-bu-ndi**   **ngu-ne-rre.**
    sleep   3MinO.1MinA-hit-Con 1MinS-sit-Con
    Lit. I'm sitting sleep hitting me, or I'm getting sleepy.

5.3.4.2.3. Causative Serials.

Those serial constructions where the action of the first verb does cause the action of the second involve a limited number of verbs; the collocations observed are shown here, and exemplified below[19]. With the sole exception of **bay** 'consume', the set of verbs occurring in the second position in these causative complexes is a subset of that found with aspectual/associated motion serialisation.

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[19] McKay (1984) also notes the existence in Ndjébbana of constructions like 'we put it it stood, 'we sent them they went', and considers it necessary to distinguish these from the motion and aspect "auxiliary" constructions, apparently because he considers the second verb to be a complement of the first.

A	djawa	'suckle, give drink to'	+	bay	'consume'
	wu	'give'			
B	gorrmi	'put down'		ni	'sit'
	bawu	'leave'	+	dji	'stand'
	ngepi	'lift'		yu	'lie'
C	way	'throw'	+	boy	'go'
	galtji-ganmi	'enter-tr'			

A.

5-178 **galu ngunabu-wu-ø   mitja ngu-bay-ø**

NEG 2AugA.1MinOImp-give-Irr2 food 1MinA.3MinO-eat-Irr2

an-ngayi-pu   burrkarl   ngu-barrwi-dji

3I-1Min-Card   child   1MinA.3MinO-think of-CP

Don't give me food to eat (or, don't feed me), I'm thinking of my (dead) son.

5-179 **A-djawu-ni   gu-ba-rri.**

3MinA.3IO-give drink to, suckle-Pre 3MinA.3IVO-eat-Pre

He / she gave him a drink; she breastfed him.   (VII/78/18)

B.

5-180 **Wami   njiwu-bawu-dji   gi-dje-rre**

sugarbag   1AugA.3MinO-leave-Con   3IVS-stand-Con

wurru wukali   djunja   njiwu-gapi-ga

but   goanna   long white yam   1AugA.3MinO-dig-Con

We left the sugarbag standing (there), but we dug for goanna and yams.   (V/135/21)

5-181 **Galu   njin-da-ø   djaluwu   wurru**

NEG   2MinA.3MinO-shoot-Irr2 again   but

nji-bawu-n-pu   a-yu-ngu.

2MinA.3MinO-leave-Fut-pu   3IS-lie-Fut

Don't shoot him again, but just leave him lying (there). (IV/13/4)

5-182 **Awurritj-bawu-ni   a-ni-ø.**

3UAfA.3IO-leave-Pre   3IS-sit-Pre

They two left him.

5-183 **Djibu-ngepi-rri** **dji-ni-ø.**
   3AugA.3IIO-lift-Pre *3IIS-sit-Pre*
   They sat her up. (IX/131/25)

5-184   O = S
   Ng-gorrma-nay **a-yu-y**
   1MinA.3MinO-put down-Pre *3IS-lie-Pre*
                    A = S
   djapanji **ng-gorrma-nay** **ngi-dji-ø**
   so much *1MinA.3MinO-put down* *1MinS-stand-Pre*
   I lay them down, I put down so many. (IV/23/13)

5-185 **Ngubu-gorrmi** **mitja arrapu**
   1+2AugA.3MinO-put down+Irr2 *food* *and*
   mu-djungdjung-yerrtji arrbu-gorrmi,
   Coll-dog-mob *1+2nsA.3nsO-put down+Irr2*
   arrbu-gorrmi **wipa awurr-dji-ø**
   1+2nsA.3nsO-put down+Irr2 *camp* *3AugS-stand-Irr2*
   wurru nguwurr-boy-ø **gu-gu-warlpu.**
   but *1+2AugS-go-Irr2* *Loc3IV-Nom-hunt*
   Say we put food down, and we put all the dogs, we put them at the
   camp, but we go hunting. (V/55/5-7)

5-186 **Wulek njirr-gorrma-nay=ngutjuyu**
   finish *3MinA.1AugO-put-Pre=3MinF+Poss$_A$*
   mibitja njiwurr-ni-ø.
   shade *1AugS-sit-Pre*
   Then she put us at the shade. (VII/53/14)

C.

5-187 **Yama** **ngubu-way-ø** **a-boy-ø**
   how about *1+2AugA.3MinO-throw-Irr2* *3IS-go-Irr2*
   abu-na-ø **murrpu a-djerre**
   3AugA.3IO-see-Irr2 *chest* *3I-Poss*
   a-nji a-ba-rri
   3I-what *3MinA.3IO-eat-Pre*
   = happen to
   How about we send him (to Darwin) (so) they can see what
   happened to his chest. (V/62/20)

5-188 **Galu   arrapu   njirrbu-galtji-ganmi-ø+rni   school**
      NEG   and   1nsA.3nsO-enter-tr-Irr1   "
      awurr-bogi-ya+rni
      3AugS-go-Irr1
      And we couldn't send them to school.   (III/17/1)

It will be apparent from these examples that there are differences between these causative constructions and the associated motion, aspectual and experiencer serialisations discussed above. Goal NPs occur between the two verbs in 5-185, 5-187 and 5-188, and an extra object NP in 5-178; in all cases, this NP argument is common to both verbs. This has not been found with the other types of serialisation in Gurr-goni, but, as Durie (nd:5) remarks, "what seems appropriately regarded as genuine verb serialisation comes in a variety of syntactic forms, even within a single language".

The illocutionary mood may also differ between the two verbs:

5-189 **Wulek   buwu-bawu-ø**   **a-dje-ngu**
      finish   2AugA.3MinOImp-leave-Irr2 3IS-stand-Fut
      Just leave him there.   (VI/14/25)

This may still be consistent with Foley and Olson's (1985:24) "constraint which prohibits any independent choice of mood for verbs in serial constructions." Crowley (1987:44) notes in Paamese that "there is a close dependence between the mood and polarity categories that are marked on the initial verb in the series, and the second verb", and "when the initial verb is in the imperative, subsequent verbs receive marking for either the immediate or distant moods" (p.46). It may be the case that, in Gurr-goni, an imperative first verb determines that the second verb is in the future. This is an important area for future research.

<u>5.4. Nominal + Verbal Complex Predicates.</u>
    In §5.1 above, I showed that adjectives (among other parts of speech) can stand alone as the primary argument-taking predicate of a clause. Several examples were included where a verbal and an adjectival predicate were both present; these are repeated here for ease of reference:

5-190 **Gun-ngak galu ni-lorndo, <u>an-ngultji a-yo-rri maka.</u>**
3IV-fire   NEG 3MinNf-Dat 3I-dark   3IS-lie-Con FaMo(Bro)
There is no fire for him, <u>your great-uncle lies dark</u>.

5-191 **Nguwunji, guwa   ø-na-ø,**
aunt (FaZi)   come here 2MinA.3MinOImp-see-Irr2
<u>a-goni an-marrman a-dje-rre.</u>
3I-this   3I-good   3IS-stand-Con   (I/65/26)
Auntie, come and see, <u>this</u> (a tent) <u>is standing up well.</u>

5-192 **awurr-gurdu   awurr-bogi-ya   awurr-workiyi-ø.**
3Aug-uncircumcised 3AugS-go-Con   3AugS-do always-Con
They always go uncircumcised.   *(VII/92/3)*

The verbs in these examples are **yu** 'lie', **dji** 'stand' and **boy** 'go' (with **workiyi** 'do always'). **Ni** 'sit, stay' occurs very frequently following adjectives, and appears to be relatively unmarked for posture/physical orientation, while **dji** 'stand' and **yu** 'lie' retain much of the postural component of their meaning: **yu** in 5-190 above refers to someone actually lying down, and **dji** is used in 5-191 above of a tent, which stands upright. The contrast between **dji** for erect, vertically oriented objects and **ni** either for objects in a squatter position, or simply unmarked, is nicely illustrated in the following example, taken from a children's story in which the rain travels along seeing how dry everything is. The grass firstly 'sits' dry:

5-193 **gu-na-ni   golborr gorla mu-ni-ø**
3MinA.3IVO-see-Pre grass   dry   3IIIS-be,sit-Pre
It saw the grass was dry.

But when the grass has been refreshed by the rain, and begins to grow again, it sees that is 'stands' good:

5-194 **mu-na-ni   mun-marrman mi-dji-ø**
3MinA.3IIIO-see-Pre 3III-good   3IIIS-stand-Pre
It saw it was good.

By contrast, when the rain first sees an anthill, the anthill 'stands', but then 'sits' when it begins to dissolve after being rained on:

5-195 **a-na-ni**   **moli**   **a-dji-ø.**   **Wulek**
   3MinA.3IO-see-Pre   *anthill*   *3IS-stand-Pre*   *finish*
   a-gornagi-dji,   **wulek**   **njalkitj**   **a-ni-ø**
   3MinA.3IO-wet-CP   *finish*   *soft*   *3IS-be,sit-Pre*
   It saw an anthill standing (there). Then it soaked it, and it sat (was)
   soft.   (III/54)

These are not semantically empty copular verbs then; both the adjective and the verb contribute meaning. Motion verbs can also be used in conjunction with an adjective, as with **boy** 'go' in 5-192 above, and **meme** 'go along' and **djeka** 'return' in the following examples:

5-196 **djit-gegu dji-na-ma-nay**
   3II-new   *3IIS-twds-go along-Pre*
   "She was too new" (lit. She came new.)   (III/3/7)

5-197 **djit-gegu dji-na-djeki-rri**   **dji-na-ma-nay.**
   3II-new   *3IIS-twds-return-Pre*   *3IIS-twds-go along-Pre*
                     (III/3/10)
   "She was too new coming from her home." (lit. she returned new.)

The examples given here are all taken from texts, and illustrate all the verbs which have so far been found in this construction. Comparing them with the list of serialising verbs on p.265, we see that the verbs which can follow adjectival predicates are a subset of those which act as serialising verbs after a verbal predicate: the first five of the serialising verbs with both aspectual and associated motion functions occur here, as does one of the group B verbs, indicating associated motion only.

The compound serialiser **ni meme** 'become' (lit. 'sit go along') of course also occurs with adjectives, as was noted above in §5.3.2.7B. It may well be that others of the set of serialising verbs shown on p.265 can also occur following an adjectival predicate, but this remains to be investigated.

Comparisons with serial verb constructions are suggested because, like the two (or three) verbs in a serial complex, the adjective and verb(s) here occur in a fixed order, and are covered by a single intonation contour. It appears then that just as two verbal predicates combine to form a single clause in serial verb constructions, here an adjective and a

verb also form a single clause. Whether all the syntactic restrictions which apply to serial verbs also apply to these constructions remains to be seen. All examples found comply with the shared argument constraint on serial verbs (and in fact have identical arguments); the shared tense/mood constraint clearly does not apply, as adjectives do not inflect for tense (but the adjective is dependent on the verb for its time reference). Semantically, the verbs appear to be used more in the 'associated motion' sense; there are no examples where the verb carries an unambiguously aspectual function.

As I noted briefly in §5.1.2.1, (footnote 2, this chapter), there are in fact <u>two</u> constructions here; both are illustrated in examples 5-193 - 5-195 above. There, in 5-194, the attributive predicate -**marrman** 'good' has a prefix indexing the noun class of the subject (**mun-**, Cl.III). In 5-193 and 5-195, on the other hand, the attributive predicates **gorla** 'dry' and **njalkitj** 'soft' do not have noun class prefixes. -**Marrman** has not been recorded without a prefix[20], and **gorla** has not been recorded with one; **njalkitj** occurs both with and without a noun class/pronominal prefix, as do many other attributive stems. There may well be a subtle difference in meaning between the two constructions, but it has not yet been discovered. However, on a syntactic level, we can note that while prefixed attributive stems can occur alone as argument taking predicates, unprefixed stems cannot. Moreover, **ni** 'sit, stay' is the only stance verb found to occur with unprefixed attributives; testing may show that **dji** 'stand' and **yu** 'lie' can occur in this construction, but no spontaneous examples have been recorded to date. It may be, then, that the prefixed attributive stem plus verb represents the nexus of two <u>primary</u> argument taking predicates, while the unprefixed stem plus verb complex involves a <u>secondary</u> predicate plus a copular verb, **ni**.

I have previously argued that **ni, dji** and **yu** are not semantically empty copulas, precisely because a choice is available, and that choice is significant. Here there appears to be no choice, and **ni**, the least marked member of the set of stance verbs, does appear to function simply to encode tense/status distinctions and to index the person and number of the subject. (**Ni** also appears to function as a copular verb where a noun, which cannot be prefixed, functions as a predicate, as in equative clauses and those ascribing class membership:

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[20] And, indeed, was rejected in elicited sessions without one, when I offered such constructions as ****marrman ni** 'be good', ****marrman negi** 'make be good'.

5-198 **Monday gu-ne-rre   nji-na-bogi-ya?**
"   *3IVS-be,sit-Con   2MinS-twds-go-Con*
It was Monday when you came?

5-199 **Gerard burrkarl a-ni-ø**
       name   child   3IS-be-Pre
Gerard was a child.   (IV/20/4)

5-200 **ngayi-pu   worri ngu-ne-rre+rni**
       1Min-Card man   1MinS-be-Irr1
If I had been a man.   (VII/93/26)

I have no examples of such clauses with verbs other than **ni**.)

Un-prefixed attributive stems can occur with verbs other than **ni**. The most common and most productive of these is the transitive verb **negi**. The lexical meaning of this verb is 'put the weight of one's body on (O)'; following attributive stems (and it can occur with both prefixed and unprefixed stems) it appears to function as a transitive copula meaning 'make be'. Both the lexical and copular uses are illustrated in the following example:

5-201 **Awuni-goni ngarna awuni-djerre ngarna awuni-djerre**
       3UAnf-this thigh   3UAnf-Poss   thigh   3UAnf-Poss
       burrbu-negi-rri   lorr, burrbu-murdórdubi-ni,
       3nsA.3nsO-put weight on-Pre hard   3nsA.3nsO-press-Pre
       gu-garrapu-kuwa awurr-mayidja burrbu-negi-rri
       3IV-Anaph-Abl   3Aug-circumcised 3nsA.3nsO-make be-Pre
       They sat down hard on these two boys' thighs, they pressed them down, and after that they made them circumcised men (informant's translation: they made them young men).   (VII/93/15-20)

and 5-198 shows its use following an unprefixed attributive:

5-202 **Djeltji gi-negi-rri**
       wet   3MinA.3IVO-make be-Pre
       He/she made it wet.   (VIII/50/2)

These constructions with a transitive verb following an attributive stem share the features of fixed order and one intonation contour common to serial verb and adjective plus intransitive verb constructions, and do appear to be treated as one clause. They add, then, a further possibility for shared arguments, as here the S of the (prefixed) adjective is the same as the O of the transitive verb.

A few examples of an unprefixed attributive with a verb other than **ni** or **negi** have been found in texts; they are given here:

5-203 **Njan   ng-ngalganmi-ø+rni**
    if   1MinA.3MinO-find-Irr1

gulámun.nga   ngu-djeki-nga+rni   wipa.
raw   1MinA.3MinO-return-Irr1   home, camp
                                                    (III/34/13)
If I had found it, I would have returned home (with it) raw.

5-204 **Njirrinji-na-ni   a-na-djarti   a-na-ma-nay**
    1UAfA.3MinO-see-Pre 3IS-twds-hurry   3IS-twds-go along-Pre

baladji   awuni-mukupu   yalang   a-ga-tji
bag   3UAnf-two   empty   3MinA.3IO-take-Pre/Con

a-na-ma-nay.
3IS-twds-go along-Pre
We two women saw him hurrying along this way bringing two bags empty (or bringing empty two bags).   (V/122-123)

5-205 **Galu   arrarrka   njiwurr-bogi-ya+rni.**
    NEG   ?properly   1AugS-go-Irr1
We didn't go properly (ie we kept stopping and going slowly, because we had a sick person with us).

5-202 **Ngowolk   dji-djeni-yi-ni.**
    quiet   3IIS-look for-Intr-Pre
"She didn't have any company."

Much remains to be investigated regarding these constructions. In all cases here, the unprefixed attributive precedes the primary predicate of the clause, but it is not certain that this position is fixed (in 5-204, for example, it may perhaps be an adnominal secondary predicate, rather than being linked to the main predicate. If it is linked to the main

predicate **ga meme** 'take go along', then we appear to have a different set of verbs to which secondary predicates can be linked, from the set of serialising verbs found with verbs and (probably) prefixed attributives). 5-193 is particularly interesting, as the unprefixed attributive **gulámun.nga** does not appear to refer to any argument of the clause in which it appears. **Gulámun.nga** means 'raw' (of food that needs cooking) or 'unripe' (of fruits, etc, that ripen); in no way can it be predicated of the subject of **djeka** 'return'. Rather, it refers to the object (a buffalo, or other game) of the predicate in the first clause, **ngalganmi** 'find', with which the hunter (the subject of both clauses) returns home - but his catch is not overtly expressed in the second clause except through this secondary predicate.

Very little can yet be said about this unprefixed attributive plus verb construction from a cross-linguistic perspective. The other construction, comprising a prefixed attributive (or adjective) plus a stance or motion verb, shares many features with a "productive construction type" identified by Nichols (1978a:115) in English and Russian (and other languages), comprising "verbs of motion or position ... with adjectives of quality" (ibid). Nichols (1978b:320) terms these adjectives (for example, 'happy' and 'drunk' in 'walk along happy', 'come home drunk') "copredicates". (Copredicates in English (and Russian?), however, have "no preferred position relative to the controller or the verb per se" (ibid:332); syntactically, therefore, the Gurr-goni construction is quite distinct.)

Elsewhere (Larson 1991, Tenny 1994), adjectives such as 'happy' and 'drunk' in constructions like these have been termed 'depictive secondary predicates'. Larson (1991) notes that, cross-linguistically, serial constructions display a range of functions which is also found with secondary predicates. He suggests that "verb serialization might actually be a form of secondary predication similar to what is found in English" (1991:205) and that the difference between serialising and non-serialising languages is a question of what can function as a secondary predicate: "Serial languages show non-nominal secondaries, whereas nonserial languages show non-verbal secondaries" (1991:206).

We have seen evidence from Gurr-goni that an adjective can fill the open slot in a serial predicate construction. Larson does not treat adjectives as nominal; since "in serializing languages, notions typically expressed by AP or PP are quite pervasively grammaticalised with intransitive verbs, ... these minor categories are largely assimilated to the

category of VP" and "are understood as essentially a subcase of VP" (1991:206). This position is not tenable in Gurr-goni: adjectives do function as predicates, and do index their subjects, as verbs do, but they do not inflect for tense, and are thus not verbs.

It seems, then, that any distinction between serialising and non-serialising languages cannot be reduced to quite such a simplistic parameter. Further research on these Gurr-goni constructions may contribute much to discussions on this question.

5.5. Co-ordination of Clauses and Phrases .

As is evident from the texts included in the appendix, and from many of the examples given above, clauses are often linked by parataxis alone, without the use of connective particles; the same is true of NPs. There are, however, a number of connective particles, which will be discussed and illustrated here.

5.5.1. Arrapu 'and'.

Arrapu is used to co-ordinate both nouns within an NP (and presumably also NPs), and clauses. The first use is illustrated in the following examples:

5-207 **Njiwu-gogadarra-n   mitja   mun-ngaytjburru-ø**
1AugA.3MinO-show-Fut   plant food   3III-1Aug-unm
an-daka   arrapu munt-gadjila arrapu djitjitj
3I-waterlily seeds   and   3IIIwaterlily root   and   waterlily buds
arrapu mi-nji   mu-goni la
and   3III-which   3III-this   (?)   (III/2/7-16)
We'll show her our plant foods, waterlily seeds and waterlily roots and waterlily buds and which ones now.

5-208 **Ngayi-pu   arrapu   mburrklerrtji**
1Min-Card   and   children
njirrubu-gaki-dji   mokol.
3nsA.1nsO-chase-Pre/Con   night
They chased me and the kids last night.   (I/67/15)

Arrapu can be used to link clauses describing sequential actions:

5-209 **Guwu-na-n** **wipa,** **njiwurr-yu-ngu** <u>**arrapu**</u>

3AugA.3IVO-see-Fut country 1AugS-sleep, stay-Fut and

gu-warraka **njiwurr-bo-go.**

Loc3IV-other 1AugS-go-Fut (I/101/13)

They'll see the place / the country, we'll sleep and we'll go to another place.

More often, however, it links clauses describing several parts of one event, or which describe referents which are thought of as belonging together. Thus 5-210 describes my actions, and those of my informants, when I first began learning Gurr-goni; these actions did not necessarily occur in the order in which they are described, but were parts of the whole process:

5-210 **wetji** **ngar** **njibu-wu-tji,**

language mouth 1AugA.3MinO-give-Con

= translate

gun-arpurr **gun-arpurr** **dji-weki-ya,**

3IV-little 3IV-little 3IIS-speak-Con

njiwurr-ng-djeki-nga .. **mutju-pu** .. <u>**arrapu**</u>

1AugS-twds-return-Con here-pu and

dji-na-warrtji-ga **giygiy** **njirru-na-tji,**

3IIS-twds-climb-Con little while 3MinA.1AugO-see-Con

wetji **ngar** **njibu-wu-tji,** **mu-gorrma**

language mouth 1AugA.3MinO-give-Con 3MinA.3IIIO-put+Con

gabi **djurra** <u>**arrapu**</u> **dji-weki-ya** **ngaytjbu-lorndo** ..

there book and 3IIS-speak-Con 1Aug-Dat

<u>**arrapu**</u> **njiwurr-bogi-ya** **njiwurr-workiyi-ø**

and 1AugS-go-Con 1AugS-do always-Con

gun-ngidjiyé-pu **wipa**

3IV-3MinNf-Card place (I/89)

We translated for her, little by little she spoke, we came back here, and she comes up, she sees us for a while, we translate for her, she puts it down in a book, and she speaks to us .. and we go to her place all the time.

5-211 similarly describes the actions of the father and son when the buffalo they were hunting turned on them:

5-210 **djina-gaki-dji,** **ngayi-pu** **ngu-warrtji-nji**
3MinA.1UAnfO-chase-Pre/Con *1Min-Card* *1MinS-climb-Pre*
arrapu **niyé-pu** **mut-burdja** **m-bawu-ni**
and *3MinNf-Card* *3III-gun* *3MinA.3IIIO-leave-Pre*
a-dji-ø **a-warrtji-nji**
3IS-stand-Pre *3IS-climb-Pre* (IV/10/7)
It chased us, I climbed up and he left the gun (and) climbed up.

5-212 describes the two Gurr-goni languages, or dialects: one is Yirrtjinga moiety, and the other is Djowunga:

5-212 **gu-goni** **nguwurr-weki-ya** **nguwurr-ne-rre**
3IV-this *1+2AugS-speak-Con* *1+2AugS-be, sit-Con*
ngaytjburru-pu **gin-yirrtjinga** **arrapu** **djowunga**
1+2Aug-Card *3IV-yirrtjinga moiety* *and* *djowunga moiety*
gurr-goni **gun-arraka.**
language name *3IV-other, different* (I/115/16-22)
This language we're speaking is Yirrtjinga and the Djowunga language is different / another one.

5.5.2. Wurru 'but'.

Wurru links two clauses describing contrasting actions or attributes, whether of the same or different referents:

5-213 **mu-djungdjung-yerrtji** **arrbu-gorrmi,**
Coll-dog-mob *1+2nsA.3nsO-put+Irr2*
arrbu-gorrmi **wipa** **awurr-dji-ø** **wurru**
1+2nsA.3nsO-put+Irr2 *camp* *3AugS-stand-Irr2* *but*
nguwurr-boy-ø **gu-gu-warlpu** **ngalngi** **gu-manj**
1+2AugS-go-Irr2 *Loc3IV-Nom-hunt* *turtle* *Loc3IV-taste*
= purpose of hunt
(V/55/7)
We put all the dogs, we put them at the camp, <u>but</u> we go hunting for turtle.

5-214 **Awurr-gornagi-yi-ø**   **awurr-dje-rre**   **wurru**
      3AugS-bath-Intr-Con   *3AugS-stand-Con*   *but*
      maka   **ngalngi**   **dji-djeni-nga.**
      FaMo   *turtle*   *3MinA.3IIO-look for-Con*   (III/64/19)
      They were swimming, <u>but</u> grandma looked for turtles.

5-215 **Galu** **dji-wetji**   **dji-djarti,**   **burriyin** **dji-boy-ø**
      NEG *3IIS-speak+Irr2* *3IIS-go quickly* *fast*   *3IIS-go-Irr2*
      wurru **djapu** **dji-weki-ya**   **dji-bamabi-rdi**
      but   *like*   *3IIS-speak-Con*   *3IIS-forget-Con*
      She doesn't speak quickly, she doesn't go quickly, <u>but</u> like she
      speaks (and) she forgets.   (I/91/19-25)

5-216 **Djapu** **gomorlo** **wurru** **an-arpurr.**
      like   *egret*   *but*   *3I-little*
      It's like an egret <u>but</u> it's little.   (I/126/11))

A particle **wurpu** is sometimes interchangeable with **wurru**. Both have occurred in sentences where an initial clause describes something that did not happen, but was going to, or might have; the following clause, linked to the first by **wurru** or **wurpu**, describes what happened to prevent it, as in:

5-217 **Ngayi-pu mundjarra**   **ngu-bogi-ya+rni mokol**
      1Min-Card unrealised intention *1MinS-go-Irr1*   *night*
      wurru/wurpu **gut-djardi** **gu-gornagorrmi-yi-ni,**
      but/?just   *3IV-rain*   *3IVS-block-Intr-Pre*
      wana **gu-buki-ni.**
      big   *3IVS-fall-Pre*
      I was going to come last night, but the rain intervened, it was
      falling heavily.   (IV/153/4)

In other contexts, **wurpu** translates as 'just'[21], so its function here may be to say 'the only thing was (the rain started)'.

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[21] As in **wurpu**   **ngayi-pu** **ngu-bo-gini** **Beki** **dji-ne-rre-pu,**   **ngu-na-djeki-rri.**
    just   *1Min-Card* *1MinS-go-Pre* *Becky* *3IIS-stay-Con-pu* *1MinS-twds-return-Pre*
    I just went to Becky's place and came back.

5.5.3. O 'or'.

O links clauses and phrases describing alternative actions, participants or descriptions. While it looks suspiciously like the English word 'or', and thus may be a loan word from English, it is used by speakers of all ages, and is well integrated into the syntax of the language. This suggests that it is either a native form, or, perhaps, has replaced one (as 'but', for example, is sometimes used in place of **wurru** - but not by all speakers, all of the time).

5-218 **Gu-gu-warlpu   ng-garlmi-rdi   ngayi-pu**
  Loc3IV-Nom-hunt   1MinS-set off-Fut   1Min-Card
  o   bapa   a-bo-go.
  or   father   3IS-go-Fut
  I'll set off hunting, <u>or</u> my father will go.   (I/103/17)

5-219 **Nji-ngutji-n   ngaytjburru-ø getjigra,**
  2MinA.3MinO-name-Fut   1Aug-Poss_C   anything
  ngalngi gobu o a-nji   mardangaytjiga.
  turtle   goose   or 3I-which snake   (I/113/17)
  You'll name anything for us, turtle, geese <u>or</u> any snakes.

5-220 **Nji-djirritji-nji   ngarrkulu   ya?**
  2MinA.3MinO-kindle-Pre   1+2Min+Dat   Qu
  o   galu gu-mukdji-nji
  or   Neg   3IVS-die-Pre   (V/120/21)
  Have you kindled it for us? <u>or</u> no, it's gone out (lit. died).

5.5.4. Wulek 'finish', 'enough'.

Used by itself, **wulek** means something like 'that's all', 'finish(ed)', 'the end', 'enough'; it is often used to end narratives. Within narratives, it is often placed either at the end of one clause or the beginning of the next, to indicate that the action of the first clause is finished, and another activity (often consequent on the first) is begun. It is often translatable as 'then':

5-221 **Bupurru**   **ngu-djinji-rri**   **ngu-bogi-ni**
flour porridge   *1MinA.3MinO-cook-Pre*   *1MinS-go-Pre*
<u>**wulek**</u> **ng-gorrma-nay.**
finish   *1MinA.3MinO-put-Pre*   (IV/80/1)
I went about cooking the flour porridge, <u>then</u> I put it down.

5-222 **"Ngarr-pu galu**   **nji-ni-ø**   **ngutju, wurru**
2Min-Card NEG   *2MinS-stay-Irr2 here*   *but*
dji-betji-ø   **nguku-lorndo." "Aa, niyi,**
3IIS-come out-Irr2 2Min-Dat   *oh all right*
ng-goni ng-gu-galiyi.   **Ngu-ni-ngu." "Ma, ma."**
1Min-this 1Min-Nom-hear,   *1MinS-stay-Fut*   *OK OK*
              understand
<u>**Wulek**</u> **borr-na**   **awurr-bogi-ni.**
finish   *3Aug-Emph*   *3AugS-go-Pre*   (IV/78/1-13)
"Don't you stay here, she (a ghost) might come to you." "Oh, I'm all right, I'm a person, I'll stay." "OK, OK." Then they went.

(**Wulek** is also used within NPs, either medially or finally. Here, it appears to give some emphasis to the identity of the referent:

5-223 <u>**Maka dji-goni wulek**</u> **djin-arpurr, wurru djin-mornóngi.**
FaMo   *3II-this finish*   *3II-little*   *but*   *3II-big*
                                    (IV/84/5)
<u>This grandma</u> is the little one, but (I'm talking about) the big one.

5-224 <u>**Borr-pu wulek djungdjung**</u> **abu-numi-rri awurr-murugu.**
3Aug-Card finish dog   *3AugA.3MinO-smell-Pre 3Aug-fur*
<u>Those dogs</u> smelt their fur.   (V/154/12))

<u>5.5.5. **Weleng** 'then'.</u>

    Weleng occurs clause initially, and indicates that the action described by the clause it belongs to is subsequent to the action of the previous clause.

5-225 **Djop**   **awu-bu-ni**   **an-maliyirri**
      soap   *3AugA.3IO-hit-Pre*   *3I-skin*
      weleng **djidji-murrka** **awu-da-ni.**
      then   *Loc3II-sun*   *3AugA.3IO-spear-Pre*
      They cleaned (lit. hit) the (crocodile) skins with soap, then they
      dried (lit. speared) them in the sun.   (V/93/17)

5-226 **A-berriyi-n**   **ngutju-lorndo**
      3IS-be expelled-Fut   *3MinF-Dat*
      weleng **dji-marrman-miyi-n.**
      then   *3IIS-good-Inch-Fut*   (V/134/26)
      It (a boil, Cl.I) will be expelled from her, then she'll get better.

5.6. Subordination.

Verbs in subordinate clauses take the same pronominal prefixes and tense/status suffixes as those in main clauses. The subordinate clause may be introduced by an indeterminate/interrogative word; linked to the main clause by a subordinating conjunction; embedded within a nominal argument of the higher clause; or, perhaps, subordinated by intonation alone, although the analysis is less certain here. These four indicators of subordination will now be discussed.

5.6.1. Interrogatives/Indeterminates in Subordinate Clauses.

In addition to their functions in main clauses (described above in §3.3 above), interrogative/indeterminate forms also introduce subordinate clauses, as the following examples show. In the examples noted, the subordinate clause functions as the object (as in 5-227), extra object (as in 5-228) and adverbial modifier of the main clause (as in 5-229 and 5-230). Use of the interrogative/indefinite may indicate that a specific entity or location is unknown (as in 5-227 and 5-228), or signal an open choice of place, time or activity (as in 5-229 and 5-230).

5-227 **Galu** **njiwu-barrwa-ø**
NEG *1AugA.3MinO-know-Irr2*
yandu **arrey** **ngutjuyu** **arrapu**
where *place of origin* *3MinF+Poss$_C$* *and*
yandu **gun-ngidjiyé-pu** **wipa** **dji-na-bogi-ya**
where *3IV-3MinF-Card* *home* *3IIS-twds-go-Con*
arrapu **dji-nji** **djin-alitji**
and *3II-what* *3II-name*
We didn't know <u>where</u> her place of origin was and <u>where</u> her home was (that) she came from, and <u>what</u> her name was.   (I/87/4)

5-228 **Galu** **ng-galiyi-ø** **ngu-ni-ø** **ngutju-lorndo**
NEG *1MinS-hear-Irr2* *1MinS-be,sit-Irr2* *3MinF-Dat*
yandu **djinj-yita-ga** **dji-ne-rre** **ngapala.**
what *3IIS-do,say this-Con* *3IIS-be,sit-Con* *1Min+Dat*
I can't hear <u>what</u> she's saying to me.   (I/65/13)

5-229 **Wurru** **gu-goni** **yandu** **nji-bo-go** **nji-weku-n**
but *3IV-here* *where* *2MinS-go-Fut* *2MinS-speak-Fut*
ngaytjburru-ø **o** **yandu** **njin-yinmi-rdi**
1Aug-Poss$_C$ *or* *what* *2MinS-do,say this-Fut*
njirr-gelamu-ngepi-rdi **ni-lorndo** **wetji**
2MinA.1AugO-ear-lift-Fut *3MinNf-Dat* *language*
        =let know
But now <u>wherever</u> you go, you'll speak to us, or <u>whatever</u> you do you'll let us know about language.   (I/117/16,22)

5-230 **Niyé-pu** **a-garrapu** **(an-marlpa)** **a-ne-rre-:,**
3MinNf-Card *3I-Anaph* *3I-shooting star* *3IS-sit-Con-X*
weleng **yandu** **a-mukdji-ga,** **a-numi-nga**
then *where ever* *3IS-be sick-Con* *3MinA.3IO-smell-Con*
ant-gurdól, **a-na-bo-giya-:**
3I-rotten *3IS-twds-go-Con-X*   (VIII/45/13)
That shooting star sits on and on, then <u>wherever</u> someone is sick, he smells the rotten smell and he comes.

The clauses introduced by the interrogative/indeterminate forms have no morphosyntactic indication of subordination; they could be used as fully grammatical independent clauses. This does not appear to be their

function here, however, and an interrogative or indefinite reading is not always appropriate in these examples. In 5-229, for instance, interpreting **yandu** as an interrogative would lead to a translation: 'but now where will you go, you will talk to us, or what will you do, you'll let us know about language'. The first half of this is nonsensical, and while the second half is semantically acceptable, it is not what the speaker intended. An indefinite interpretation is not much better: 'but now you'll go somewhere, you'll speak to us, or you'll do something, you'll let us know about language'. The informant's translation (using 'whenever', 'whatever') clearly indicated that, in each pair of clauses, the **yandu** clause was semantically subordinated to the other, and indicated that the action described by the second clause would take place in all possible circumstances: now that I was learning Gurr-goni and was part of their clan, I would speak to them wherever I went and whatever I did.

5.6.2. Subordinating Conjunctions.
5.6.2.1. Ngardawa and warri 'because'.

The word **ngardawa** is shared with Burarra, and is probably the original Gurr-goni word for 'because'; **warri** is shared with Kuninjku, and is probably a loan word from that language. There appears to be no difference in meaning: both introduce clauses giving the reason why an event or action occurs. In all examples noted, the subordinate clause follows the main clause.

5-231 **Njiwu-gegimi-rri**   **njiwurr-ni-ø**
        1AugA.3MinO-dislike-Pre 1AugS-be,sit-Pre
        ngardawa djit-gegu dji-na-ma-nay.
        because   3II-new   3IIS-twds-go along-Pre   (III/3/4)
        "We didn't like her <u>because</u> she was too new." (lit. she came new.)

5-232 **"Ngaw", a-yita-ø,**   **"Ngu-bo-go warri**
        yes   3IS-say like this-Irr2 1MinS-go-Fut because
        ngu-numi-rri   **getjigara a-motuma-ø"**
        1MinA.3MinO-smell-Pre   something 3IS-emit smell-Con
        "Yes", he (the shooting star) might say, "I'll go <u>because</u> I smelt something which smells."   (V/50/15)

5.6.2.2. Njan 'if'.

Njan introduces a clause which identifies an event upon which another event, described by the main clause, is conditional.

5-233 **Njan ng-ngalganmi-ø+rni   gulámunnga**
      if   1MinA.3MinO-find-Irr1   raw
      ngu-djeki-nga+rni   wipa.
      1MinS-return-Irr1   home, camp   (III/34/13)
      If I had found it, I would have returned home (with it) raw.

5-234 **Njan gu-rrorrtji-n   djapu   gu-goni,**
      If   3IVS-clear up-Fut like   3IV-this
      nji-na-ma-rdi;   njan galu, galu nji-na-boy-ø.
      2MinS-twds-go along-Fut if   NEG NEG 2MinS-twds-go-Irr2
                                      (IV/47/5,6)
      If it's clear like this, come (/ you'll come); if not, don't come.

Njan is not necessary in conditional clauses, which may be linked paratactically; see §5.6.4 below.

5.6.2.3. Yandu₂ 'so that, with the potential result that'.

Yandu₂ occurs in initial position in a clause following a main clause, which details an event which will make, or could have made, that of the **yandu₂** clause possible. **Yandu₂** can be consistently glossed 'so that, with the potential result that'. Often, the result is a desired one, and the action described by the main clause is done in order that the action of the second clause can take place. However, 5-237, where the scope of the negative extends to both clauses, shows that this is not always the case.

The realis precontemporary and contemporary tenses cannot occur in **yandu** clauses; only the future tense, and irrealis precontemporary and non-precontemporary occur. **Yandu₂** is homophonous with the interrogative/indeterminate 'an indeterminate place/activity', and it is possible that its meaning 'so that, with the potential result that' may have developed from the 'do what, do something' meaning of the latter.

5-235 **Wipa njirrbu-gogadarra-n mburrklerrtji**
country 1nsA.2nsO-show-Fut children
yandu awurr-djirrárlmi-rdi awurr-rrirrigi-rdi.
so that 3AugS-grow up-Fut 3AugS-walk around-Fut
We'll show the children the country, so that they'll grow up and
walk around (it).   (I/101/4)

5-236 **Bubu-djirritja-ø yandu ngubu-gapi-rdi.**
2AugA.3MinO-light fire-Irr2 so that 1+2AugA.3MinO-roast-Fut
Imp
You all light a fire, so that we can roast it.   (XI/11/9)

5-237 **Djalmirri galu njiwu-me-ka+rni**
stick NEG 1AugA.3MinO-get-Irr1
yandu njibu-wilme-ka+rni.
so that 1AugA.3MinO-pull down with hooked stick-Irr2
We didn't get a stick so we couldn't pull it down.   (5.1.91)

5.6.2.4. Waypu 'until'.

Waypu 'until' occurs clause initially in a subordinate clause which
follows the main clause and indicates the temporal extent of the activity
described by that main clause.

5-238 **Wurru nganaparru galu awu-na-dji+rni**
but buffalo NEG 3AugA.3MinO-see-Irr1
gu-garrapu a-yu-y waypu worrga a-djoka-rday.
3IV-Anaph 3IS-sleep-Pre until grass fire 3MinA.3IO-wake-Pre
But they didn't see a buffalo who was sleeping there until the fire
woke him up.   (III/50/7)

5.6.3. Relative Clauses.

Unlike many Australian languages, Gurr-goni does appear to have
relative clauses embedded within NPs. The following examples illustrate
the NP functions which can be relativised. (Very literal translations are
provided.)

A:

5-239 **Gun-ngaytjburru-pu** **bapurr** **buwu-gorrmi-rdi**
    3IV-1Aug-Card   *clan*   *1AugA.2MinO-put-Fut*

    ngardawa **niyé-pu**   **at-djapulmu**
    because   *3MinNf-Card*   *3I-short*

    <u>**biy-me-ka=nuyu**</u>   **at-bapurr** **an-dirrdjalaba**
    3MinA.2MinO-get-Con=3MinNf+Poss$_C$ *3I-clan* *3I-clan name*

    .. **arrapu** **ngaytjburru-pu** <u>**buwu-dima-nga**</u>
    and   *1Aug-Card*   *1AugA.2MinO-hold,keep-Con*

    <u>**njiwurr-ne-rre**</u> .. **njiwurr-bapurr** **Bobrerre** **bapurr.**
    1AugS-be-Con   *1AugS-clan*   *clan name*   *clan*

    We'll put you in our clan because that short man <u>he got you</u>, his
    clan is An-dirrdjalaba, and we <u>we are keeping you</u>, our clan is the
    Bobrerre clan.   (I/111/1-16)

S:

5-240 **Nguwurr-boy-ø** <u>**ranba mu-yo-rri**</u>
    1+2AugS-go-Irr2   *beach* *3IIIS-lie-Con*

    nguwu-me-n   **borr-lorndo** **yandu**
    1+2AugA.3MinO-get-Fut *3Aug-Dat*   *so that*

    arrbu-djinji-rdi   **djit-bamu** **borro.**
    1+2nsA.3nsO-heat-Fut *3II-knee*   *3Aug+Poss$_C$*

    Let's go and get (the plant) <u>it lies on the beach</u> for them so we can
    warm their knees.   (V/83/14)

O:

5-241 **Gengurdu,** **an-ngayi-pu** <u>**nguwu-gupi-ni**</u>
    FaFa   *3I-1Min-Card* *1+2AugA.3MinO-put up, build-Pre*

    a-wa-yi-ø   **a-wa-yi-ø**   **a-dje-rre**
    3IS-throw-Intr-Con *3IS-throw-Intr-Con* *3IS-stand-Con*

    ngapala.
    1Min+Dat

    Grandpa, my class I thing (tent) <u>we put it up</u> is shaking about
    on me.   (I/65/22)

Locations, sources, etc, that are part of the thematic structure of the verb:

5-242 **Galu njuwu-barrwa-ø yandu .. gun-ngidjiyé-pu**
 NEG 1AugA.3MinO-know-Irr2 where 3IV-3MinF-Card
 wipa dji-na-bo-giya
 home,place 3IIS-twds-go-Con (I/87/7)
 We didn't know where her home was <u>she came (from)</u>.

There are no examples of possessive NPs being relativised; investigation may show that this is possible, however.

As is obvious from these examples, and from the very literal translations, the relative clauses are not marked as subordinate in any way: the verbs are fully inflected, and take pronominal prefixes and tense/status suffixes identical to those in main clauses. They do not have a separate clausal intonation contour, however, but are included within the intonation contour covering the main clause of which they are a constituent. Semantically, their function is to provide additional information about a participant in the higher clause, and to further identify the referent of a nominal or pronominal constituent of the higher clause. 5-241, for example, does not contain two predications of equal status: 'we put my Cl.I thing up, (and) it's shaking about'. Rather, 'we put it up' serves to identify which Cl.I thing of mine is shaking.

Little definitive can be said about the possible configurations of NPs containing relative clauses, pending further research[22]. On the basis of the data shown above, however, we can say that the relative clause may occur after the head nominal in the NP, (whether this is a noun (as in 5-242), an adjective (as in 5-241 and the first relative clause in 5-239), or a pronoun (as in the second relative clause in 5-239)). The relative clause in 5-240, however, has no head noun. Without the relative clause, this example would translate literally 'we will go, we will get it for them', with all

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[22] One example is particularly interesting:
Ngayi-pu ngu-barrwi-dji <u>a-goni a-yo-rri ant-gu-galiyi.</u>
1Min-Card 1MinA.3MinO-know-CP 3I-this 3IS-sleep-Con 3I-Nom-understand (ie, male person)
I know <u>this man sleeping here.</u> (V/18/25)
Here there are two nominals, **a-goni** 'this male one here' and **ant-gu-galiyi** 'male person'; the verb, **a-yo-rri** 'he sleeps', comes between these two nominals. It is not at all clear how this is to be analysed - is the head noun **ant-gu-galiyi**, with two modifiers (a demonstrative and a relative clause) or one (a relative clause with a subject NP **a-goni**) preceding it, or, following the apparent structure of 5-239 and 5-241 - 5-242, is the head nominal **a-goni** 'this male one', with one or two modifiers following it? Alternatively, perhaps the head noun is internal to the relative clause; this analysis would perhaps be valid for the examples given above also. These questions must remain unanswered pending further research.

arguments indexed on the verb and none represented by an independent nominal. The relative clause itself is literally 'it lies on the beach'.

5.6.4. Subordination by Parataxis and Intonation.

There are many examples of clauses which appear to be functioning as adverbial modifiers of another clause, but where there is no formal indication of the subordination of one to the other except, perhaps, in the intonation pattern covering both. In the following sentence, for example,

5-243 **Ngarr-pu   njinj-yu-y,   ngayi-pu   ngu-ba-rri.**
       2Min-Card   2MinS-sleep-Pre   1Min-Card   1MinA.3MinO-eat-Pre
       (While) you slept, I ate it.   (VII/37/13)

the first clause ends with rising intonation, which gradually falls over the second clause. As no systematic study of intonation patterns has yet been carried out in Gurr-goni, I cannot say with any certainty that this identifies the first clause as a modifier of, and hence subordinate to, the other clause; however, this is my impression. In the context in which it was uttered, too, the first clause seemed to be intended to give the temporal setting of the second, rather than to refer to two independent events: while we were sitting talking over tea and biscuits, a small child went to sleep. When she woke up and asked where the food was, her mother replied, 'While you were asleep, I ate it.'

Further examples of clauses functioning as adverbial modifiers of time are:

5-244 **Njiwurr-warpurr   njiwurr-ni-ø,   Nangak njiwurr-yu-y.**
       1AugS-little   1AugS-be-Pre place name 1AugS-stay-Pre
       (When) we were little, we stayed at Nangak.   (VII/53/2-4)

5-245 **Burrkarl   gudjuwórrwu a-yu-ø,   arritj-bay-ø**
       baby   outside   3IS-lie-Irr2   1+2UAfA.3MinO-eat-Irr2

       ngalngi,   arrapu   arritj-gotjili   a-ni-ø   burrkarl,
       turtle   and   1+2UAf-belly   3IS-be-Irr2   baby

       arritj-bawu-ø   ngalngi.
       1+2UAfA.3MinO-leave-Irr2 turtle.   (VII/44/11-15)
       (When) the baby is born (lit. lies outside), we can eat turtle, and (when) the baby is in our belly, we leave turtle alone.

As mentioned above, the subordinating conjunction **njan** 'if' is not necessary in conditional clauses; often the clause identifying the condition simply precedes that describing the outcome:

5-246 **Maka dji-na-djeki-nga+rni, nguwurr-bogi-ya+rni.**
    FaMo 3IIS-return-Irr1   *1+2AugS-go-Irr1*
    (If) grandma had come back, we could all have gone.

5-247 **Wurru mutika njiwu-ngalganmi-rdi njiwu-ga-tjin.**
    but   truck   1AugA.3MinO-find-Fut   1AugA.3MinO-take-Fut
    "But if we find a truck, we'll take her."   (III/2/4)

The translation in this last example is as given by the narrator of that story. On the face of it, the first clause could also mean 'but we'll find a truck'; whether the conditional meaning derives from context (trucks being extremely hard to find), or is signalled by a distinct pattern of intonation, is not clear.

5.7. Negation.

5.7.1. Galu 'NEGative; no'.

One invariant particle, **galu**, negates all clause types, both verbal and non-verbal. In verbal clauses, **galu** is placed before the verb, which takes irrealis status tense suffixes. There are thus fewer tenses distinguished in negative clauses than in positive clauses (negative precontemporary and non-precontemporary vs positive precontemporary, contemporary and future; see §4.5). Additionally, there is no distinction between the declarative and imperative moods in the negative. The negative non-precontemporary tense thus corresponds to four tense/status/mood distinctions in positive clauses:

	Precontemporary	Non-Precontemporary	
		Contemporary	Future
Positive, Realis			
	nji-weki-ni	**nji-weki-ya**	**nji-weku-n**
	2MinS-talk-Pre	*2MinS-talk-Con*	*2MinS-talk-Fut*
	you talked (earlier today /before yesterday)	you talked (yesterday) / you talk/are talking (now)	you will talk
.Positive, Irrealis			
	nji-weki-ya+rni	**nji-wetji-ø**	
	2MinS-talk-Irr1	*2MinS-talk-Irr2*	
	you might have talked	you might have talked (yesterday) you might/can talk (now/in the future)	
		Positive, Imperative **ø-wetji-ø** *2MinSImp-talk-Irr2* Talk!	
Negative, Irrealis			
	galu nji-weki-ya+rni	**galu nji-wetji-ø**	
	NEG 2MinS-talk-Irr1	*NEG 2MinS-talk-Irr2*	
	you didn't talk	you didn't talk (yesterday) you aren't talking (now) / you won't/can't talk don't talk	

Galu precedes the verb, and is usually immediately adjacent to it, with nominal arguments being placed before or after the **galu** V$_{\text{Irrealis}}$ complex:

5-248 **Wurru nganaparru galu awu-na-dji+rni**
　　　but　　buffalo　　　NEG　3AugA.3IO-see-Irr1
　　　But they didn't see a buffalo.　　　　　　　　　(III/50/6)

5-249 **Galu njiwu-bay-ø　　　　　ant-gu-butja.**
　　　NEG　2AugA.3MinO-eat-Irr2　3I-Nom-forehead harden
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　= *brolga*
　　　Don't eat brolga.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(VII/39/5)

Adverbs are also negated by **galu**; negation is effected by placing the adverb after **galu**, usually immediately before the verb:

5-250 **galu djaluwu ngu-na-djeka-ø**
NEG   again   1MinS-twds-return-Irr2
I can't / won't come back again.   (I/60/5)

If the adverb is placed before the negative particle, it is outside the scope of negation; compare 5-251 and 5-252:

5-251 **djaluwu   galu   gun-muka   dji-wetji**
again, still NEG   3IV-many, much 3IIS-talk+Irr2
Still she doesn't / can't talk much (lit. say many Cl. IV things, ie words).

5-252 **galu   djaluwu (gun-muka)   dji-wetji**
NEG   again   3IV-many, much 3IIS-talk+Irr2
She can't / won't talk (much) again.

As these examples show, the verb is also formally negated when it follows **galu** (ie, it must be in irrealis status), even though, as Givón (1984:329-320) has pointed out, the only part of the proposition that is being denied is the optional adverbial. In the next example, for instance, 'we didn't go properly, we didn't go quickly' does not imply 'we didn't go'; only the manner of going is denied.

5-253 **Galu   arrarrka   njiwurr-bogi-ya+rni, a-njatbu,**
NEG   properly   1AugS-go-Irr1   3I-whatsit
burriyin njiwurr-bogi-ya+rni, galu, njiwurr-dji-ø
fast   1AugS-go-Irr1   NEG   1AugS-stand-Pre
njiwurr-bogi-ni. Maka dji-goni   dji-mukdji-nji.
1AugS-go-Pre   FaMo 3II-here,this 3IIS-be sick-Pre
Wulek, njiwurr-bogi-ni...
finish   1AugS-go-Pre   (IV/69)
We didn't go properly, um, we didn't go fast, no, we went stopping and starting. Grandma here was sick. Anyway, we went ...

5-251 above also shows the negation of a quantifier using **galu**; as with adverbs, the quantifying word is placed after the negative particle, but may precede the verb, as in 5-251, or follow it, as in 5-254:

5-254 **Galu a-rruwdjiyi-ø+rni gun-muka, awuni-mukupu**
      NEG 3IS-cry-Irrl 3IV-many,much 3UAnf-two
      ngirrépu a-rruwdjiyi-ni.
      one 3IS-cry-Pre
      He didn't cry much (lit. many Cl.IVs, ie times), three (times) he
      cried.   (IV/38/21)

There are no inherently negative pro-forms. To form the equivalent of 'no-one' 'nothing', etc, **galu** is placed before the relevant indeterminate. As with negation of adverbs and quantifiers, the verb is also negated:

5-255a   **Ninjokoni a-ni-ø?**
      who 3IS-sit-Pre
      Who was there?

5-255b   **galu ninjokoni a-ne-rre+rni**
      NEG who 3IS-sit-Irrl
      No one was there.

5-256a   **a-nji awu-me-nji?**
      3I-what,which 3AugA.3IO-get-Pre
      What did they get?

5-256b   **Galu a-nji awu-me-ka+rni**
      NEG 3I-what,which 3AugA.3IO-get-Irrl
      They didn't get anything / any Cl.I thing.

5-257a   **Yandu nji-bogi-ni?**
      where 2MinS-go-Pre
      Where did you go?

5-257b   **Galu yandu ngu-bogi-ya+rni**
      NEG where 1MinS-go-Irrl
      I didn't go anywhere.

In verbal clauses, then, the scope of the negative particle covers the elements that follow it, and at least some of the constituents that precede it are not within its scope, being asserted rather than denied. All verbs

following **galu** are formally negated, in that they take irrealis mood tense suffixes, although pragmatically speaking, what is denied may be limited to optional constituents such as adverbials and quantifiers. And, as can be seen in example 5-253 above, the scope of negation appears to extend beyond a single clause. Subsequent clauses which have a common argument (or at least, a shared S/A argument), and are in irrealis mood, are intrepreted as having a negative, rather than a potential meaning. As discussed in §§4.5.1 and 4.5.2, an irrealis verb alone has a potential meaning, and it is clear from the following examples that this is not what is intended. The meaning of 5-258 is not 'she didn't know anything and she might have been watching/awake again', but 'she didn't know anything and wasn't awake/watching again' (the person referred to was in hospital and unconscious). 5-259, said of a dog who had been hit by a truck and had her spine broken, means 'she hasn't eaten anything, she can't shit', not '... she might shit':

5-258 **Wulek dji-bamabi-ni, galu gi-nji**
finish 3IIS-forget-Pre NEG 3IV-what
gu-barrwi-ngi+rni arrapu djaluwu
3MinA.3IVO-know-Irr1 and again
dji-gani-dji+rni gun-yalang.
3IIS-watch-Irr1 3IV-nothing
Then she forgot, she didn't know anything and she wasn't awake, nothing. (IX/128/20)

5-259 **Mitja galu m-ba-nga+rni dji-bin.ngarriyi-ø**
plant food NEG 3MinA.3IIIO-eat-Irr1 3IIS-shit-Irr2
She hasn't eaten any food, she can't shit. (XI/121)

The use of the coordinating conjunction **arrapu** 'and' in 5-258 and the different tenses on the two verbs in 5-259 show that we are dealing with two co-ordinated clauses here; the negative force of **galu** clearly carries across this conjunction of clauses. Whether it would do so if the second clause involved a different subject is not certain. 5-260 shows that **galu** negates both verbs in a resultative serial construction, where the S of the first verb and the O of the second verb are identical. As we have already discussed (§5.3.4.2.3 above), these verbs may be in a relationship of co-subordination, and thus it still remains to be seen whether the scope

of negation extends over co-ordinated clauses with different arguments (or, indeed, what other constraints may apply).

5-260 **galu   arrapu njirrbu-galtji-ganmi-ø+rni**
      NEG   and   1nsA.3nsO-enter-Trans-Irr1
      school awurr-bogi-ya+rni
      "   3AugS-go-Irr1
      We couldn't send them to school (lit., we couldn't put them in school they wouldn't go).   (III/17/1)

In non-verbal clauses, **galu** sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the predicate. The examples below illustrate its use.

5-261 <u>**Djuka   galu**</u>   **lay, nguwurr-djeka-ø,**
      sugar   NEG hey   1+2AugS-return-Irr2
      <u>**baki   galu   ngaytjbu-lorndo.**</u>
      tobacco   NEG   1+2Aug-Dat
      Hey, <u>there's no sugar</u>, let's go back, <u>there's no tobacco for us/with us</u> (ie, we haven't got any tobacco).   (V/110/21)

5-262 **Galu at-bapa. At-bapa   gun-yalang.**
      NEG 3I-Fa(Zi) 3I-Fa(Zi) 3IV-nothing
      There's no father (or, you don't have a father anymore). Your father is dead.   (XI/25/17)

5-263 **Gu-garrapu   ay-bu-n   arreyuwulupu,**
      3IV-Anaph   1+2MinA.3MinO-hit-Fut   close
      warri galu balay   wipa
      because NEG far   camp
      Let's kill her there close by, because it's not far to the camp (or the camp is not far).   (VI/7/21)

5-264 **A-djini-pu   galu   ant-gu-galiyi,**
      3I-AnEmph-pu NEG   3I-Nom-understand
      a-djini-pu   djitjitja, a-djini-pu   djitjitja
      3I-AnEmph-pu fish   3I-AnEmph-pu   fish
      nji-weki-ya   ni-lorndo   nji-ne-rre
      2MinS-speak-Con   3MinNf-Dat 2MinS-sit-Con
                                                   (IV/24/10+)

That's not a man, that's a fish, that's a fish you're talking to.

5-265 **Weleng a-njatbu, dina galu, wurru a-njatbu**
        then 3I-whatsit dinner(time) NEG but 3I-whatsit
        awurr-ni-ø, knock off awurr-ni-ø
        3AugS-be-Pre " " 3AugS-be-Pre (IV/93-94)
        Then um, not dinner time, but they were um, they knocked off.

There are several examples in the texts (two of which are given below), where a verb in realis status precedes the negative particle **galu**. The effect of these constructions is to deny the proposition expressed by the clause, as if the speaker were saying 'I don't mean to say "X"'. Here the verb is not formally negated.

5-266 **Dji-garlma-nay wulek mu-ba-rri dji-ni-ø,**
        3IIS-get up-Pre finish 3MinA.3IIIO-eat-Pre 3IIS-be,sit-Pre
        mu-ba-rri galu wurru dji-gani-ni dji-ni-ø.
        3MinA.3IIIO-eat-Pre NEG but 3IIS-watch-Pre 3IIS-be,sit-Pre
        She (the hospital patient from example 5-258 above) got up, then she sat eating something, no, I don't mean eating, but she was awake/alert. (IX/127/1)

5-267 **Djaluwu njiwurr-ni-ø-:, an-marrman**
        again 1AugS-be,sit-Pre-X 3I-good
        njiwu-na-ni galu rangin wurru njiwurr-ni-ø.
        1AugA.3MinO-see-Pre NEG still but 1AugS-sit-Pre
                                      (VIII/66/9)
        Again we sat (there), we couldn't see him well still, but we stayed.

5.7.2. **Mundjarra** 'unrealised intention or expectation, mistaken impression'.

Mundjarra is a modal particle which may co-occur with a verb in realis or irrealis status; the meaning is slightly different in each case.

When the verb is in realis status, or the predicate is non-verbal, **mundjarra** indicates that the speaker had a mistaken impression of something, or had wrongly identified it, as in the following examples.

5-268 **Ngayi-pu ng-gana-ni, mundjarra matji**
1Min-Card 1MinS-look-Pre mistaken impression ghost
ngu-na-ni gu-gabi a-yu-y.
1MinA.3MinO-see-Pre 3IV-there 3IS-lie-Pre
I looked, I thought it was a ghost lying there. (IV/48/10)

5-269 **Njiwurr-yiti-nji "Erriplen a-djini-pu**
1AugS-say this-Pre aeroplane 3I-AnEmph-pu
a-na-ma-ma", mundjarra erriplen a-garrapu
3IS-twds-go along-Con mistaken impression aeroplane 3I-Anaph
wurru a-garrapu an-marlpa a-na-ma-nay.
but 3I-Anaph 3I-shooting star 3IS-twds-go along-Pre
We said, "That's a plane coming", we thought that was a plane, but
it was that shooting star coming along. (LN 2/2/89)

When the verb following **mundjarra** is in irrealis status, the
meaning conveyed is that some event was intended to happen, but did
not. When the subject of the verb is animate, **mundjarra** is often
translated by informants as 'tried to'; in other words, someone (or some
creature) has attempted to do something and failed. The subject may also
be inanimate, however, as in 5-272. Here, the sense appears to be that
other people intended that something should happen - we could perhaps
translate this as 'it was supposed to V'.

5-270 **Mundjarra ngu-rra-dji+rni wurru**
unrealised intention 1MinA.3MinO-shoot-Irr1 but
warrpura gu-numi-rri ngapala.
underarm sweat 3MinA.3IVO-smell-Pre 1Min+Dat
(III/36/20)
I tried to/was going to shoot it, but it smelt my sweat (and ran off).

5-271 **Mundjarra njina-boy-ø ngayi-pu arrapu Daryl**
unrealised intention 1UAnfS-go-Irr2 1Min-Card and "
wurpu burrkburrk gu-me-ka.
but just bad sickness 3MinA.3IVO-get-Con
Daryl and I intended to/were going to come, but he got sick.

5-272 Mundjarra   **gabi police station**   **mu-yo-rri+rni**
unrealised intention   *Loc*   *"*   *3IIIS-lie-Irr1*
It was supposed to lie at the police station (said of a dead body which people had expected would be flown to Maningrida, but which was flown to an outstation instead).   (VI/69/7)

A particle expressing both these meanings (unrealised intention and mistaken impression) is also found in the neighbouring languages Burarra (Glasgow 1984, 1985), Nakkara (Eather 1990) and Ndjébbana (McKay forthcoming), and in a different area of Australia, the Queensland language Pitta Pitta has a word which encompasses a wide range of meanings involving similarity and deception, as well as unfulfilled expectation and mistaken impression (Breen 1984).

5.7.3. Wulek V_Imp 'stop Ving!'

It was noted above that verbs in the imperative mood cannot follow the negative particle **galu**. They can however follow the particle **wulek** 'finish', other uses of which were discussed above in §5.5.4. The **wulek** V_Imp construction is a negative command used to tell someone to stop doing an activity in which they are already engaged:

5-273 wulek bubu-walkwu-ø   **Nicole.**
finish   *3AugA.3MinOImp-frighten-Irr2*   *name*
Stop frightening Nicole!   (VIII/65/1a)

5-274 Wulek ø-djigardiwu-ø   **ø-boy-ø**
finish   *2MinSImp-stretch body-Irr2*   *2MinSImp-go-Irr2*
Stop stretching out!

5.7.4. Mangarraka 'must not'.

Mangarraka is a modal particle which is often translated 'don't' when it is used in addressing someone. In fact, it can be used in reference to the actions of all persons, including first and third persons, and expresses the speaker's belief that something should not be done, because bad things will happen in consequence. In 5-275, sitting next to one's brother would break a cultural taboo on brother-sister interaction; if the children being addressed in 5-276 ran, the ghost might get them; in 5-277, the speaker presumably thought that I would not like the child to eat with her fingers.

5-275 Mangarraka ngu-djarti bobulu njina-garri-yi-ø
must not   1MinS-hurry   back   1UAnfS-put together-Intr-Irr2
njina-ni-ø   an-ngayi-pu darrigiy njini-dji-ø.
1UAnfS-sit-Irr2 3I-1Min-Card sibling   1UAnfS-stand-Pre
"I mustn't sit next to my brother." (Lit. I mustn't go quickly (and)
we two (who) stood brother and sister sit putting our backs
together.)   (IV/150/13)

5-276 A-garrapu matji dang   dang   dang a-na-ma-nay.
3I-Anaph   ghost (sound)   "   "   3IS-twds-go along-Pre
"Aa, mburrklerrtji,   mangarraka njina-djartabiyi-ø",
oh   children   must not   2UAnfS-go quickly-Irr2
ngu-yiti-nji.
1MinS-say like this-Pre
That ghost came along (going) 'dung, dung, dung'. "Oh, kids, don't
run / you mustn't run", I said.   (IV/42/12)

5-277 Mangarraka   nji-bay-ø   gu-woku,
must not   2MinA.3MinO-eat-Irr2   Loc3IV-hand
spoon   ø-ma-ø.
"   *2MinA.3MinOImp-get-Irr2*   (IV/153/8)
You mustn't/don't eat with your hands, get a spoon.

As these examples show, **mangarraka** requires a verb in irrealis
status, nonprecontemporary tense. It cannot be used to refer to past
actions which should not have happened.

5.7.5. **Wurpu$_2$** 'mustn't, shouldn't'.

Wurpu$_2$ appears to have a very similar function to **mangarraka**.
It is also often translated by informants as 'don't', 'mustn't', as in :

5-278 **Awuni-mukupu awuni-weki-ni ni-lorndo,**
3UAnf-two 3UAnfS-speak-Pre 3MinNf-Dat
"Wurpu njin-duwdjiyi-ø, wurru njdjina-gogadarra-ø
don't 2MinS-cry-Irr2 but 2MinA.1UAnfO-show-Irr2
yandu nji-na-ni matji a-dji-ø."
where 2MinA.3MinO-see-Pre ghost 3IS-stand-Pre
Two boys said to him, "Don't cry, but show us where you saw the ghost standing." (III/68/22)

5.8. Questions.

5.8.1. Information Questions.

Questions asking who?, what?, where?, etc, have been described and illustrated at §3.3 above. The interrogative word is usually placed first in the clause, but may follow other focussed constituents:

5-279 **Djulu dji-goni yandu gu-wa-rri?**
matches 3II-this where 3MinA.3IVO-throw-Pre
Where did this girl throw the matches?

5.8.2. Yes/No Questions.

Rising intonation on the phrase or clause signals that the speaker is asking for a yes or no answer to their question:

5-280 **A-nji ya? Mitja ngiy-wu-n?**
3I-what QU vegetable food 1MinA.3MinO-give-Fut

Ay, borritj ngiy-wu-n nji-ba-rdi?
oh porridge 1MinA.3MinO-give-Fut 2MinA.3MinO-eat-Fut

Ay, a-nji, di ngiy-wu-n nji-ba-rdi?
oh 3I-what tea 1MinA.3MinO-give-Fut 2MinA.3MinO-eat-Fut
(IV/24/1)

What? Shall I give you vegetable food? Oh, shall I give you porridge to eat? Oh, what, shall I give you tea to drink?

5-281

Nji-galiyi-rri?
2MinS-listen-Con
Are you listening?

5.8.3. Tag questions.

5-280 above also shows an example of the tag question particle **ya**, which may follow a phrase or clause:

5-282 **Mutika a-beki-ni ngaytjburru-ø, Alfie ya? galu Alfie.**
   car   3IS-come out-Pre 1Aug-Poss$_C$ name   QU   NEG   name
   A car came out to us, Alfie was it? not Alfie...   (IV/56/25)

5-283 **Ngutju-pu   nguburr-yu-ngu   ya?**
   here-imm   1+2AugS-sleep,stay-Fut QU
   Let's stay here, shall we?

As in Ndjébbana (McKay forthcoming:4.7.2), **ya** may also precede a question or statement; here its meaning appears to be 'what do you think?'

5-284 **Ya, a-goni a-nji   a-ba-rri   ngapala burrkarl?**
   QU 3I-this 3I-what 3MinA.3IO-bite-Pre 1Min+Dat baby
                = happen to
   What do you think, what happened to my baby?   (VII/44/25)

5-285 **Ya, a-goni an-marlpa   ant-gi-djidjirru**
   QU 3I-this 3I-shooting star 3I-Der-daytime
   a-y-djarti   a-y-ma-nay!
   3IS-away-hurry   3IS-away-go along-Pre
   What do you think, this shooting star is a daytime one that went rushing along.   (VIII/59/25)

A second tag question particle, **yuwa**, asks for the addressee's agreement to a proposed course of action:

5-286 **Niyi bipinerre gare mokol ngu-na-ma-rdi,** **yuwa?**
alright evening   must be night   1MinS-twds-go along-Fut   OK

(V/42/19)

Alright, this evening or more likely tonight I'll come, OK?

Appendix A - Texts.

Text 1. Hunting story (Joe Inyamul) (IV/1)

Ditjburrk **ngu-me-nji,** **ditjburrk** **ngu-me-nji,**
axe *1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre* *axe* *1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre*
I got an axe, I got an axe,

niyé-na **baladji** **a-me-nji.** **Njina-bogi-ni,**
3MinNf-Emph *bag* *3MinA.3IO-get-Pre* *1+2UAnfS-go-Pre*
He got a bag. We (the two of us) went,

Waypordo **gun-mornóngi** **njina-bogi-ni.**
place name *3IV-big* *1+2UAnfS-go-Pre*
we went to the big billabong at Waypordo.

Njina-bogi-ni-: **ant-goy** **njina-na-ni,**
1+2UAnfS-go-Pre-X *3I-track* *1+2UAnfA.3MinO-see-Pre*
We went on and on, we saw his (their) tracks,

njina-na-ni **a-dji-ø** **djapanji.** **A-dji-ø,** **djapanji.**
1+2UAnfA.3MinO-see-Pre *3IS-stand-Pre* *so many* *3IS-stand-Pre* *so many*
we saw so many standing (there). They stood (there), so many of them.

A-dji-ø, **gu-garrapu-kuwa** **mundjarra** **ngu-rra-dji+rni,**
3IS-stand-Pre *3IV-Anaph-Abl* *unrealised intention* *1MinA.3MinO-shoot-Irr1*
They stood (there), from there/after that I intended to shoot them,

ngu-rra-dji+rni, **wurru** **warrpura,** **a-yurrburridji-nji** **djapanji.**
1MinA.3MinO-shoot-Irr1 *but* *underarm sweat* *3IS-run-Pre* *so many*
I would have shot them, but (they smelt) my sweat and ran off, so many.

Gatji **djorro** **a-djartabiyi-ni** **a-bogi-ni** **Njina-djarti-:,**
low *high* *3IS-hurry-Pre* *3IS-go-Pre* *1UAnfS-hurry-X*
Big ones and little ones hurried off. We hurried on and on,

"Ng-ngek-gorndi-yi-ni, **marrka** **ø-boy-ø** **wayi,**
1MinS-breath-cut-Intr-Pre *try* *2MinSImp-go-Irr2* *?*
"I'm out of breath, you try and go,

wurru ngu-bo-go ngayi-na."
but 1MinS-go-Fut 1Min-Emph
but I'll go by myself."

Baladji nguna-wu-ni, ditjburrk ngu-me-nji,
bag 3MinA.1MinO-give-Pre axe 1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre
He gave me the bag, I got the axe,

ngayi-pu ngu-dirrpi-ni-pu ngu-bogi-ni,
1Min-Card 1MinA.3MinO-tuck in belt-Pre-pu 1MinS-go-Pre
I went with it tucked in my belt.

Njina-bogi-ni, a-yurrburridji-nji a-djarti a-ni-ø-:,
1UAnfS-go-Pre 3IS-run-Pre 3IS-hurry 3IS-be-Pre-X
We both went, he was running quickly on,

a-na-djeki-rri ngayi-pu nguna-na-ni,
3IS-twds-return-Pre 1Min-Card 3MinA.1MinO-see-Pre
he came back and saw me,

a-djeki-rri a-na-djarti nguna-na-ni ngayi-pu.
3IS-return-Pre 3IS-twds-hurry 3MinA.1MinO-see-Pre 1Min-Card
he came hurrying back and saw me.

"Ø-Boy-ø! Ngika nguna-na-ø ngayi-pu!
2MinSImp-go+Irr2 NEG 2MinA.1MinO-see-Irr2 1Min-Card
"Go! Don't look at me!

Ø-Yurrburridja-ø! Ngika nguna-gaka-djin ngayi-pu,
2MinSImp-run-Irr2 NEG 2MinA.1MinO-follow-Fut 1Min-Card
Run! Don't follow me!

Guyuguyu ø-boy-ø! Nj-djarti nji-na-n
ahead 2MinSImp-go-Irr2 2MinS-hurry 2MinA.3MinO-see-Fut
Go ahead! You hurry and see it,

njin-da-n,   **ng-galiyi-n**   **m-berriyi-n**   **gu-garrapu geno.**

2MinA.3MinO-shoot-Fut 1MinS-hear-Fut 3IIIS-go off,out-Fut 3IV-Anaph when

you shoot it, I'll hear it going off, that's when (I'll come).

Wurru bolubunu ngi-yi-bo-go."   **A-djartabiyi-ni**   **a-djartabiyi-ni**

but   slowly   1MinS-away-go-Fut   3IS-rush, hurry-Pre 3IS-rush, hurry-Pre

But I'll go on slowly."

a-djartabiyi-ni   **a-djartabiyi-ni**   **a-djartabiyi-ni**

3IS-rush, hurry-Pre 3IS-rush, hurry-Pre 3IS-rush, hurry-Pre

He hurried on and on and on

a-djartabiyi-ni   **a-djartabiyi-ni,**   **djaluwu**   **a-djeki-rri,**

3IS-rush, hurry-Pre   3IS-rush, hurry-Pre   again   3IS-return-Pre

and on and on and on and on, he came back again,

a-djeki-rri   **a-djarti**   **nguna-na-ni.**   **A-ni-ø-:,**

3IS-return-Pre   3IS-hurry   3MinA.1MinO-see-Pre   3IS-sit-Pre-X

he hurried back and looked at me. He sat there,

"Marrka nguna-wu-ø   **ngayi-pu,**   **nguna-wu-ø**   **marrka.**

try   2MinA.1MinOImp-give-Irr2   1Min-Card   2MinA.1MinOImp-give-Irr2   try

Try and give it to me, try and give it to me.

Marrka   **nguna-wu-ø**   **ngayi-pu yandu ngu-bo-go wipa**   **ya.**

try   2MinA.1MinOImp-give-Irr2   1Min-Card   so   1MinS-go-Fut   home   Qu

Try and give it to me, so I can go home, hey.

Wurru nji-dje-rre   **ngapala**   **nji-bogi-ya."**

but   2MinS-stand-Con   1Min+Dat   2MinS-go-Con

But you're standing about one me."

Ngayi-pu   **ngu-me-nji.**   **Ngu-me-nji**   **mut-burdja**

1Min-Card   1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre   1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre 3III-gun

I got it. I got the gun

wurru baladji ngu-wu-ni.   **Baladji ngu-wu-ni.**

but   bag   1MinA.3MinO-give-Pre bag   1MinA.3MinO-give-Pre

but I gave him the bag. I gave him the bag,

Ditjburrk ngu-dirrpi-ni-pu ngu-djarti,

axe 1MinA.3MinO-tuck in belt-Pre-pu 1MinS-hurry

I quickly tucked the axe in my belt,

ngu-dirrpi-ni ngu-djarti, wurru a-garrapu nawu

1MinA.3MinO-tuck in belt-Pre 1MinS-hurry but 3I-Anaph ?

I quickly tucked it in, but that thing now,

a-njatbu baladji a-me-nji a-mukbi-ni balay.

3I-whatsit bag 3MinA.3IO-get-Pre 3MinA.3IO-complete-Pre far

whatsit, the bag, he got it and kept it and was off.

Ngu-djarti ngu-ni-ø-: Waypordo gun-mornóngi,

1MinS-hurry 1MinS-be-Pre-X place name 3IV-big

I was hurrying on and on to the big (billabong, Cl.IV) Waypordo

wurru djapanji mu-rro-ngu. Njina-djartabiyi-ni-:

but so much 3IIIS-burn, be hot-Pre 1UAnfS-hurry-Pre-X

but it was so hot/the grass was burning so much. We hurried on and on,

woku-woku njina-do-ngu-:, njina-djeki-rri njina-djarti

foot-foot 1UAnfS-burn-Pre-X 1UAnfS-return-Pre 1UAnfS-hurry

our feet were really burning, we hurried back

njina-djedjiyi-ni njina-dji-ø, njina-djeki-rri njina-djarti

1UAnfS-stop still-Pre 1UAnfS-stand-Pre 1UAnfS-return-Pre 1UAnfS-hurry

we stopped and stood still, we hurried back

njina-dji-ø, djaluwu njina-djeki-rri njina-djarti.

1UAnfS-stand-Pre again 1UAnfS-return-Pre 1UAnfS-hurry

and stood, we hurried back again.

"Yi-gabi, yi-gabi bapa yi-gabi a-djartabiyi-ni nganaparru,

away-there away-there dad away-there 3IS-hurry-Pre buffalo

"Away there, dad, away over there the buffalo ran,

yi-gabi   a-djartabiyi-ni   nganaparru."

away-there 3IS-hurry-Pre   buffalo

the buffalo ran off over there."

"Marrka   ø-djarti   ø-na-ø   wayi,

try   2MinSImp-hurry   2MinA.3MinOImp-see-Irr2   ?

You try and hurry and look,

wurru woku-woku ngu-rro-ka ngu-ne-rre,   wurru ø-yurrburridja-ø."

but   foot-foot   1MinS-burn-Con 1MinS-be-Con,   but   2MinSImp-run-Irr2

but my feet are burning, but you run."

"A-djarti gabi   a-goni bapa."

3IS-hurry   there   3I-this   dad

This one rushed off over there, Dad."

Ma,   marrka ngu-bo-go   ngayi-pu   balay."   Ngu-yurrburridji-nji-:,

OK   try   1MinS-go-Fut 1Min-Card   far   1MinS-run-Pre-X

"OK, I'll try and go a long way." I ran on and on,

gu-garrapu-kuwa djorro ng-gani-ni   ngu-na-ni   djapanji

3IV-Anaph-Abl   up, high 1MinS-look-Pre   1MinA.3MinO-see-Pre   so many

then after that/from there I looked up and saw so many

mu-galabarrbarr a-dji-ø.   Gu-garrapu-kuwa

Loc3III-long grass   3IS-stand-Pre   3IV-Anaph-Abl

standing in the long grass. Then after that

mundjarra   ngu-rra-dji+rni   wurru djarldjarl a-bu-ni,

unrealised intention   1MinA.3MinO-shoot-Irr1 but   game spirit 3MinA.3IO-hit-Pre

I tried to shoot it, but the game spirit hit it,

djarldjarl   a-bu-ni,   Yapurdurrwa a-bu-ni,

game spirit   3MinA.3IO-hit-Pre   Yapurdurrwa   3MinA.3IO-hit-Pre

the game spirit hit it, Yapurdurrwa hit it,

ngalmu   a-djerre a-rrumi-rri.

leg   3I-Poss   3MinA.3IO-break-Pre

she broke its leg.

Gu-garrapu-kuwa   ngu-weki-ni   ni-lorndo,
3IV-Anaph-Abl   1MinS-speak-Pre   3MinNf-Dat
After that I said to him,

"Marrk   ø-djarti   wayi." A-yurrburridji-nji   guyuguyu,
try   2MinSImp-hurry   ?   3IS-run-Pre   ahead
You try and hurry. He ran ahead,

a-yurrburridji-nji   guyuguyu,   wulek   a-weki-ni   ngapala,
3IS-run-Pre   ahead   finish 3IS-speak-Pre 1Min+Dat
he ran ahead, then he said to me,

"Bapa,   a-goni a-nji   a-ba-rri?"
dad   3I-this 3I-what 3MinA.3IO-eat,bite-Pre
Dad, what ate/bit this? ie, what happened to it?

"A-djini-pu   djarldjarl a-bu-ni,   djarldjarl   a-bu-ni.
3I-AnEmph-pu   game spirit 3MinA.3IO-hit-Pre   game spirit   3MinA.3IO-hit-Pre
It was the game spirit who hit it, the game spirit hit it,

galu   yandu   arr-yinmi-ø.   Wurru   wulek   an-ngarritj-bu
NEG   do what 1+2MinS-do thus-Irr2   but   finish 3I-1+2Min-Card
we can't do anything about it. But anyway, it's ours,

ay-ba-rdi.   Galu   ninjokoni   ngarrkulu   a-njatbu
1+2MinA.3MinO-eat-Fut NEG   anyone   1+2Min+Dat 3I-what'sit
we'll eat it. There's no one with us, um,

warrpura   a-bu-ø,   gun-yalang,
underarm sweat   3MinA.3IO-hit-Irr2   3IV-nothing
who can hit it with sweat (ie wipe sweat on it), not at all,

wurru ay-ba-rdu-pu   waymak." Wulek.
but   1+2MinA.3MinO-eat-Fut-pu   anyway   finish
but we'll just eat it anyway." So that was that.

Gu-garrapu-kuwa a-na-djeki-rri djaluwu.
3IV-Anaph-Abl 3IS-twds-return-Pre again
After that he came back again.

Niyé-pu welenggen a-rra-ni, a-rra-ni.
3MinNf-Card independently 3MinA.3IO-shoot-Pre 3MinA.3IO-shoot-Pre
He shot it himself, he shot it.

Waymak djina-gaki-dji, djina-gaki-dji,
for no reason 3MinA.1UAnfO-chase-Pre/Con 3MinA.1UAnfO-chase-Pre/Con
For no reason it chased us, it chased us

djina-gaki-dji, ngayi-pu ngu-warrtji-nji, ngu-warrtji-nji
3MinA.1UAnfO-chase-Pre/Con 1Min-Card 1MinS-climb-Pre 1MinS-climb-Pre
and chased us, I climbed up, I climbed up,

arrapu niyé-pu mut-burdja m-bawu-ni a-dji-ø
and 3MinNf-Card 3III-gun 3MinA.3IIIO-leave-Pre 3IS-stand-Pre
and he left the gun

a-warrtji-nji. Mut-gagurru.
3IS-climb-Pre 3III-bad.
and climbed up. It (the tree they climbed) was bad (ie rotten).

Ditjburrk a-warrtji-nji a-dirrpi-ni a-dji-ø djorro.
axe 3IS-climb-Pre 3MinA.3IO-tuck in belt-Pre 3IS-stand-Pre up
He climbed up and stood up above with the axe tucked in his belt.

Njina-dji-ø, gu-garrapu-kuwa ngu-djeki-rri ngu-djarti
1UAnfS-stand-Pre 3IV-Anaph-Abl 1MinS-return-Pre 1MinS-hurry
We two stood (there) then I went quickly back,

ngayi-pu ngu-warrtji-nji ngu-djarti. Ngu-warrtji-nji ngu-djarti,
1Min-Card 1MinS-climb-Pre 1MinS-hurry 1MinS-climb-Pre 1MinS-hurry
I climbed up quickly, I climbed up quickly,

mundjarra ngu-me-ka+rni mut-burdja,
unrealised intention 1MinA.3MinO-get-Irr1 3III-gun
I intended to get the gun

mut-burdja ngu-me-ka+rni   ngu-rra-dji+rni.
3III-gun   1MinA.3MinO-get-Irr1   1MinA.3MinO-shoot-Irr1
I would have got the gun and shot it.

Gu-garrapu-kuwa, "Ø-Bupiyi-ø   ø-meme,
3IV-Anaph-Abl   2MinSImp-descend-Irr2   2MinSImp-go along+Irr2
After that, "Go down,

ø-bupiyi-ø   ø-meme,   nji-gorndi-n,
2MinSImp-descend-Irr2   2MinSImp-go along+Irr2   2MinA.3MinO-cut-Fut
go down and cut it,

nji-gorndi-n   weleng a-yurrburridji-n, a-yurrburridji-n,
2MinA.3MinO-cut-Fut   then   3IS-run-Fut   3IS-run-Fut
you'll cut it then he'll run, he'll run,

a-yurrburridji-n gabi yandu a-yinmi-rdi."
3IS-run-Fut   there what do 3IS-do what-Fut
he'll run there, what will he do (?)'.

Gu-garrapu-kuwa a-bupiyi-ni   a-ma-nay
3IV-Anaph-Abl   3IS-go down-Pre 3IS-go along-Pre
After that he got down

a-gorndu-ngu   bobulu a-djerre. Wulek a-na-garlma-nay
3MinA.3IO-cut-Pre back   3I-Poss   finish 3IS-twds-get up-Pre
and cut his (the buffalo's) back. Then he got up

yiguwápu   nguna-gaki-dji   a-na-djarti, gu-garrapu-kuwa
this way   3MinA.1MinO-chase-Pre 3IS-twds-hurry 3IV-Anaph-Abl
and came rushing after me this way, and after that

a-bupiyi-ni   mu-me-nji   mut-burdja, mu-me-nji mut-burdja,
3IS-go down-Pre 3MinA.3IIIO-get-Pre 3III-gun   3MinA.3IIIO-get-Pre 3III-gun
he got down and got the gun, he got the gun,

weleng a-rra-ni, a-rra-ni wulek ngu-yiti-nji,

then 3MinA.3IO-shoot-Pre 3MinA.3IO-shoot-Pre finish 1MinS-say this-Pre

then he shot it, he shot it, then I said,

"Galu njin-da-ø djaluwu wurru nji-bawu-n-pu a-yu-ngu."

NEG 2MinA.3MinO-shoot-Irr2 again but 2MinA.3MinO-leave-Fut-pu 3IS-lie-Fut

"Don't shoot it again, but just leave it lying there."

Gonda a-djerre awuni-mukupu mi-djini nuyu a-bogi-ni

leg 3I-Poss 3UAnf-two 3III-AnEmph 3MinNf+Poss$_C$ 3IS-go-Pre

?That's the way he went with two of his legs

guwarr a-ma-nay, wulek ngu-weki-ni ni-lorndo "Arr-boy-ø."

long ago 3IS-go along-Pre finish 1MinS-speak-Pre 3MinNf-Dat 1+2MinS-go-Irr2

he went along long ago. Then I said to him, "Let's go."

"Bapa yandu gu-goni?"

Dad where 3IV-this

"Dad, where is this?"

"Bilarrgoy gu-goni wulek gi-dje-rre gu-ma-ma."

place name 3IV-this finish 3IVS-stand-Con 3IVS-go along-Con

"This place extending along here is Bilarrgoy."

"Ma, arr-bo-go marrka." Balay njina-bogi-ni, gu-garrapu-kuwa,

OK 1+2MinS-go-Fut let, try far 1UAnfS-go-Pre 3IV-Anaph-Abl

"OK, let's go." We went far,

"Ganday dji-djini-pu ø-na-ø bapa,

doe kangaroo 3II-AnEmph-Card 2MinA.3MinOImp-see-Irr2 dad

"Look at that doe kangaroo, Dad,

bapa dji-goni dji-ne-rre dji-ma-ma"

dad 3II-this 3IIS-sit-Con 3IIS-go along-Con

Dad, she's sitting here."

"Mut-burdja galu mibilu mi-djerre wurru arr-boy-ø-pu."

3III-gun NEG eye,seed 3III-Poss but 1+2MinS-go-Irr2-pu

"The gun hasn't got any bullets, but (?) we'll go."

Balay, gu-garrapu-kuwa Waypordo gi-njatbu Bilarrgoy
far 3IV-Anaph-Abl place name 3IV-what'sit place name
A long way, from there to Waypordo, what's it called, Bilarrgoy

gu-garrapu-kuwa Damdam gun-mornóngi
3IV-Anaph-Abl place name 3IV-big
from there to the big one at Damdam

gu-garrapu-kuwa Nangak njina-beki-ni.
3IV-Anaph-Abl place name 1UAnfS-arrive-Pre
from there we arrived at Nangak.

Njina-garnagarri-ni njina-ni-ø, njina-ni-ø njina-bogi-ni,
1UAnfS-sit down-Pre 1UAnfS-sit,be-Pre 1UAnfS-sit-Pre 1UAnfS-go-Pre
We were sitting down, we went about sitting down,

wulek djinj-yipdji-nji. Di ngu-djinji-rri gi-dji-ø ngatiyu-ø,
finish 3IIS-sun set-Pre tea 1MinA.3MinO-cook-Pre 3IVS-stand-Pre 1UAnf-Poss_C
then the sun went down. I made tea, it stood (there) for us,

njina-ba-rri njina-bogi-ni
1UAnfA.3MinO-eat-Pre 1UAnfS-go-Pre
we set about drinking it,

wulek a-weki-ni, niyé-pu a-weki-ni,
finish 3IS-say-Pre 3MinNf-Card 3IS-say-Pre
then he said, he said,

"Nganaparru bapa njina-da-ni ngatiyu-ø.
buffalo dad 1UAnfA.3MinO-shoot-Pre 1UAnf-unm/Poss_C
"Dad and I shot a buffalo (for ourselves).

Nugóytjburru-pu, gika ngarr-pu nji-bo-go, nji-bo-go
2Aug-Card mother 2Min-Card 2MinS-go-Fut 2MinS-go-Fut
You all, Mum you go, you go,

mutika   rowd nji-ni-ngu,   nji-ni-ngu
car   road 2MinS-sit-Fut   2MinS-sit-Fut
sit by the road, sit

arrapu gun-yalang mutika a-na-bo-go   gabi a-na-n
and   3IV-nothing car   3IS-twds-go-Fut   there 3MinA.3IO-see-Fut
and maybe (?; lit. nothing) a car will come and see it there

njan   burdak   nguwu-na-n   nguwurr-ni-ngu
if   wait   1+2AugA.3MinO-see-Fut   1+2AugS-sit-Fut
if wait we sit looking

njan   a-beku-n   ngaytjburru-ø."
if   3IS-arrive, come out-Fut   1+2Aug-Poss$_C$
if he comes out to us."

Galu   gul   ninjokoni gare   a-bogi-ni,   Chris   gare   a-beki-ni,
NEG   school who   must be 3IS-go-Pre   name   must be   3IS-arrive-Pre
No, who was it went from the school, must be Chris who arrived,

Chris a-beki-ni,   gu-garrapu-kuwa wulek,
name 3IS-arrive-Pre 3IV-Anaph-Abl   finish
Chris arrived, after that then

njiwurr-bogi-ni mu-galabarrbarr,   njibu-ga-tji   mutika
1AugS-go-Pre   3III-long grass   1AugA.3MinO-take-Pre/Con   car
we went through the long grass, we took the car,

njiwurr-bamiyi-ø   njiwurr-i-ma-ma,   njiwurr-i-ma-ma,
1AugS-carry on head-Con 1AugS-away-go along-Con   1AugS-away-go along-Con
we went along carrying (something) away from here, we went on

njiwurr-i-ma-ma,   njiwurr-i-ma-ma,   njiwurr-i-ma-ma,
1AugS-away-go along-Con   1AugS-away-go along-Con   1AugS-away-go along-Con
and on and on and on,

wulek,   "Gu-goni wulek wipa,   gu-goni wipa."
finish   3IV-this finish place   3IV-this place
finally, "This is the right place, this is the place."

Njiwurr-ma-nay   wulek   njiwu-na-ni   a-yu-y.
1AugS-go along-Pre   finish   1AugA.3MinO-see-Pre   3IS-lie-Pre
We went along then we saw it lying there.

"Ma.   Mut-burdja   ø-(a)rra-ø   gonda   a-djerre   ngirrépu,
OK   3III-gun   2MinA.3MinOImp-shoot-Irr2   arm   3I-Poss   one
"OK, shoot it with the gun in one foreleg,

gonda   a-djerre   ngirrépu."
arm   3I-Poss   one
?and the other one.

Njirr-gaki-dji,   njirr-gaki-dji   mutika   wulek,
3MinA.1AugO-chase,follow-Pre   3MinA.1AugO-chase,follow-Pre   car   finish
It followed us, the car followed us

wulek   awurr-djarti   awurr-djedjiyi-ni,   awurr-djedjiyi-ni   mutika...
finish   3AugS-hurry   3AugS-stop-Pre   3AugS-stop-Pre   car
well, they hurried and stopped, they stopped in the car...

Wulek   bitja   njirru-na-ni   njirru-me-nji   awurr-bogi-ni
finish   picture,photo 3MinA.1AugO-see-Pre 3MinA.1AugO-get-Pre 3AugS-go-Pre
Then he took our picture, he (they?) set about getting us (in a photo),

arrapu   nganaparru   awu-me-nji,   awu-me-nji   awurr-bogi-ni.....
and   buffalo   3AugA.3IO-get-Pre   3AugA.3IO-get-Pre   3AugS-go-Pre
and they got the buffalo, they set about getting the buffalo.

Njiwurr-bogi-ni   gapu   Nangak,   njiwurr-gorrmi-yi-ni.
1AugS-go-Pre   there far   place name   1AugS-put-Intr-Pre
We went way back there to Nangak, we put ourselves down there.

Gu-garrapu   wulek   selling   a-ni-ø   ngutju-pu   a-bogi-ni   a-ma-nay.
3IV-Anaph   finish   "   3IS-be-Pre   here-pu   3IS-go-Pre   3IS-go along-Pre
That's where he was selling, in fact, he was going along here.

Ngaytjburru-ø   **ngubu-gaki-dji**   **ngubu-gaki-dji**

1+2Aug-unm   *1+2AugA.3MinO-chase,follow-Pre*   *1+2AugA.3MinO-chase,follow-Pre*

We all chased it, we all chased it (or perhaps refers to preparing the buffalo for cooking?)

ngubu-gapi-rri   **gatji**   **djorro.**   **A-yu-y**   **djapanji.**

1+2AugA.3MinO-roast-Pre   *high*   *low*   *3IS-lie-Pre*   *so much*

we roasted it all. There was so much.

Njiwu-ba-rri.   **Njiwu-ba-rri**   **gatji**   **djorro.**   **Wulek.**

1AugS.3MinO-eat-Pre   *1AugS.3MinO-eat-Pre*   *high*   *low*   *finish*

We ate it. We ate it all. The end.

Text 2. Gerard's birth and childhood. (Kate Miwulga) (V/91)

Arrapu   **bapa**   **a-garrapu**   **a-djorrwi-rri,**   **an-arpurr**   **a-ni-ø,**

and   *father*   *3I-Anaph*   *3IS-jump-Pre*   *3I-little*   *3IS-be-Pre*

And that father of yours was born (lit. jumped), he was little,

a-djorrwi-rri   **wulek**   **a-yu-y**

3IS-jump-Pre   *finish*   *3IS-lie-Pre*

he was born, then he lay (there),

a-garrapu   **Lawrence**   **botiyu-pu,**   **a-yu-y.**

3I-Anaph   *name*   *3UAnf-Card*   *3IS-lie-Pre*

that father of Lawrence's (lit Lawrence they two men), he lay (there).

Galu   **balanggit,**   **wurru**   **manburrba,**   **manburrba**   **a-bitji-yi-ni,**

NEG   *blanket*   *but*   *material*   *material*   *3IS-wrap-Intr-Pre*

There was no blanket, but there was material, he was wrapped in material

wurru   **golku**   **ng-gorrma-nay.**

but   *paperbark*   *1MinA.3MinO-put down-Pre*

but I put him down on paperbark.

Wulek   **djingirri**   **a-djerre**   **ng-gorndu-ngu,**

finish   *umbilical cord*   *3I-Poss*   *1MinA.3MinO-cut-Pre*

Then I cut his umbilical cord,

a-gorndu-ngu   dji-gabi   murla

3MinA.3IO-cut-Pre   3II-there   oldest mother

your oldest mother there cut it,

dji-garrapu dji-gabi oval djinj-yo-rri, ng-gorrma-nay.

3II-Anaph   3II-there   "   3IIS-lie-Con   1MinA.3MinO-put down-Pre

the one who lives there by the oval, (and) I put him down.

Wulek, wulek njiwurr-nguna-bogi-ni

finish   finish   1AugS-twds-go-Pre

Well, that was that, then we came

rdoyrdoy   waypu an-ngayi-pu,   "Nguwurr-boy la,

woman's child   Comit   3I-1Min-Card   1+2AugS-go-Irr2   ?

with my son. "Let's go shall we,

gu-ngar   nguwu-me-n   ngubu-ga-tjin

Loc3IV-mouth   1+2AugA.3MinO-get-Fut   1+2AugA.3MinO-take-Fut

we'll fill up (lit. get it to the mouth) and take it

ngubu-gorrmi-rdi   balatji a-njatbu", awurr-yiti-nji.

1+2AugA.3MinO-put down-Fut bag   3I-whatsit   3AugS-say this-Pre

we'll put it in a bag or something", they said.

Weleng   a-garrapu an-maliyirri njibu-ga-tji

then   3I-Anaph   3I-skin   1AugA.3MinO-take-Pre/Con

njiwurr-nguna-djeki-rri   mandunuyu.

1AugS-twds-return-Pre   crocodile

Then we came back bringing that crocodile skin.

Wulek njiwurr-djeki-rri njiwurr-ngun-ma-nay

finish   1AugS-return-Pre   1AugS-twds-go along-Pre

Then we came back

wulek mawa a-goni a-bogi-ni a-wenjigi-rri

finish   FaFa   3I-this   3IS-go-Pre   3MinA.3IO-hang-Pre

then Grandpa here went and hung it up.

A-bupiyi-ni   **njina-djarti**   **balanggit**   **a-wu-ni,**   ...

3IS-go down-Pre   *1UAnfS-hurry*   *blanket*   *3MinA.3IO-give-Pre*

I hurried down with him and they gave him a blanket.

Wulek   **njiwurr-ngun-ma-nay**   **njiwurr-bupiyi-ni**   **wotjbil**

finish   *1AugS-twds-go along-Pre*   *1AugS-go down-Pre*   *hospital*

Then we came here and went down to the hospital

abu-wu-ni   **awurr-bogi-ni**   **djapu**   **mu-goni**   **nuyu**

3AugA.3IO-give-Pre 3AugS-go-Pre   *like*   *3III-this*   *3MinNf+Poss$_C$*

they went about giving him it, like that kind

abu-wu-ni   **a-dji(ni)-pu**   **a-njatbu**   **yandu**   **a-goni,**

3AugA.3MinO-give-Pre   *3I-AnEmph-pu 3I-what'sit*   *where*   *3I-this*

they gave him, that thingummyjig, where is it,

  Roderick an-iyi-ø,   **e,**   **mu-garrapu**   **nuyu**   **abu-wu-ni**

name   *3I-3MinNf-unm*   *yes 3III-Anaph*   *3MinNf+Poss$_C$ 3MinA.3IO-give-Pre*

niyé-pu   **bapa**   **gabi**   **wotjbil,**   **balanggit.**

3MinNf-Card father   *Loc*   *hospital*   *blanket*

Roderick's thing, yes, that's what they gave that father at the hospital, a blanket.

Abu-wu-ni   **awurr-bogi-ni Kimbies niyé-pu,**

3AugA.3MinO-give-Pre   *3AugS-go-Pre*   *nappies*   *3MinNf-Card*

They set about giving him nappies,

wulek,   **njina-bogi-ni,**   **ngayi-pu**   **njina-djarti**   **njina-ma-nay**

finish   *1UAnfS-go-Pre*   *1Min-Card*   *1UAnfS-hurry*   *1UAnfS-go along-Pre*

then that was that, we went, we hurried along (?I hurried him along)

ranba   **njina-beki-ni.**   ..   **"Aya abu-wu-ni**   **awurr-ni-ø**   **ya?"**

beach   *1UAnfS-arrive-Pre*   *oh*   *3AugA.3IO-give-Pre*   *3AugS-sit-Pre Qu*

and came to the beach. "Oh, they've been giving him things, have they?"

djongok djinj-yiti-nji,   **djongok djin-ngarrpu,**

Mo-in-law 3IIS-say this-Pre   *Mo-in-law*   *3II-2Min+Card*

mother-in-law said, your mother-in-law,

like botiyu-pu gakak awuni-yina-ga, a-yina-ga niyé-pu Gerard.
" 3UAnf-Card MoMo 3UAnfS-say this-Con 3IS-say this-Con 3MinNf-Card "
like they say to each other 'grannie', Gerard says this (to her).

Djin-njatbu dji-goni njiwurr-ni-ø
3II-what'shername 3II-this 1AugS-sit-Pre
What's the name of this woman we were with (lit. this female one we all sat)

sister Hammer dji-garrapu djit-bu-guyuguyu, e, Hammer njiwurr-ni-ø,
" name 3II-Anaph 3II-Der-ahead yes name 1AugS-sit-Pre
Sister Hammer , she was the first one, yes, we were with Hammer,

dji-garrapu. Wulek njirrinji-ni-ø, njina-ni-ø njina-ni-ø
3II-Anaph finish 1UAfS-sit-Pre 1UAnfS-sit-Pre 1UAnfS-sit-Pre
she's the one. Well, we two women stayed, I stayed with him, I stayed with him,

wulek a-garlma-nay. Njina-ma-nay njina-ma-nay
finish 3IS-get up-Pre 1UAnfS-go along-Pre 1UAnfS-go along-Pre
then he stood up. We went on and we went on,

a-djirrarlma-nay a-djirrarlma-nay a-djirrarlma-nay a-djarti a-ma-nay
3IS-grow up-Pre 3IS-grow up-Pre 3IS-grow up-Pre 3IS-hurry 3IS-go along-Pre
he grew and grew, he grew really fast,

wulek a-njatbu a-ba-rri, a-njatbu
finish 3I-what'sit 3MinA.3IO-eat-Pre 3I-what'sit
then he ate a whatchamacalledit, um,

bapa botiyu-pu awuni-wa-waligiyi-ni awuni-ni-ø
father 3UAnf-Card 3UAnfS-Redup-play-Pre 3UAnfS-sit-Pre
the two fathers were playing

wulek gu-goni Gubulyarde getjigra a-ba-rri.
finish 3IV-this place name something 3MinA.3IO-eat-Pre
then at this place Gubulyarde he ate something.

Wulek drunk a-ni-ø gu-goni Gubulyarde
finish " 3IS-be,sit-Pre 3IV-this place name
Then he was drunk (ie, in a strange state) at this place Gubulyarde

weleng ngu-wa-rri   a-bogi-ni   Darwin wotjbil,
then   1MinA.3MinO-throw-Pre   3IS-go-Pre   "   hospital
then I sent him (lit. I threw him he went) to hospital in Darwin.

A-njatbu a-goni a-ba-rri,   gurtu, gurtu   a-ba-rri.
3I-what'sit 3I-this   3MinA.3IO-eat-Pre   plant sp   plant sp   3MinA.3IO-eat-Pre
What's this thing he ate, gurtu (?Diospyros compacta), he ate gurtu.

Njina-nguna-djeki-rri
1UAnfS-twds-return-Pre
He and I came back here,

wulek gu-wa-rri   a-djarti a-ma-nay   golidja
finish   3MinA.3IVO-throw-Pre   3IS-hurry   3IS-go along-Pre   blood
then he was throwing up blood non-stop,

djapu wulek gu-wa-rri   a-ma-na-:-y   wulek.
like   finish   3MinA.3IVO-throw-Pre   3IS-go along-Pre+X   finish
he went on and on throwing up like anything.

Njina-yu-y   gu-na-gepiyi-ni
1UAnfS-lie,sleep-Pre   3IVS-twds-dawn-Pre
We slept, and the next day came

wulek mu-garrapu   mi-njatbu   m-buki-ni   ni-lorndo,
finish   3III-Anaph   3III-what'sit   3IIIS-fall-Pre   3MinNf-Dat
then that what's it called landed (lit. fell) for him,

mi-djini   mi-nji   yigi-minabami   m-buki-ni   mu-workiyi-ni?
3III-AnEmph   3III-what   Loc3IV-water   3IIIS-fall-Pre   3IIIS-do always-Pre
what's the one that always landed on water?

[Seaplane] E   mu-garrapu   m-buki-ni   nawu   balay.
"   yes 3III-Anaph   3IIIS-fall-Pre   ?   far
[seaplane] Yes, that's what landed, and he was off.

Ngu-wa-rri **a-bogi-ni** **Darwin a-goni** **mawa** **awuni-bogi-ni.**
1MinA.3MinO-throw-Pre 3IS-go-Pre " *3I-this* *FaFa* *3UAnfS-so-Pre*
I sent him to Darwin, this grandpa went with him.

Gu-gone-pu **njiwurr-garlma-nay** **mu-garrapu** **mut-bulun-pu rangin**
3IV-this-pu *1AugS-get up,set off-Pre* *3III-Anaph* *3III-old-pu* *same*
njiwurr-bogi-ni, ...
1AugS-go-Pre
At this time we set off for the same place as before (the same old place)...

Niyé-pu **bapa** **a-garrapu an-arpurr** **a-ni-ø**
3MinNf-Card father *3I-Anaph* *3I-little* *3IS-be-Pre*
That father was little

wurru a-garrapu wurru a-gabi oval a-yo-rri
but *3I-Anaph* *but* *3I-there* " *3IS-lie,stay-Con*
but that father now, he lives at the oval,

njiwurr-ma-nay **a-guybi-ni.**
1AugS-go along-Pre *3IS-sink, go underwater-Pre*
we went along and he went into the water.

Njiwurr-galidji-nji **njiwurr-ma-nay** **niyé-pu** **a-weki-ni,**
1AugS-paddle-Pre *1AugS-go along-Pre* *3MinNf-Card* *3IS-speak-Pre*
We were paddling along, and he said,

"Yay", **niyé-pu** **mawa a-goni a-yiti-nji** **ni-lorndo,**
hey *3MinNf-Card FaFa* *3IS-this 3IS-say this-Pre* *3MinNf-Dat*
"Hey," he said to this grandfather,

"Bapa ngayi-pu ngu-djeki-rdi **ngu-djarti gabi ngu-ni-ngu wulun."**
father 1Min-Card 1MinS-return-Fut 1MinS-hurry there 1MinS-sit-Fut stern
"Dad, I'm going back there to sit in the back."

"Galu nji-guybu-ø."
NEG 2MinS-drown, go under water-Irr2
"No, you might drown."

Weleng a-djeki-rri a-djarti gabi a-ni-ø wulun awuni-ni-ø,

then 3IS-return-Pre 3IS-hury there 3IS-sit-Pre stern 3UAnfS-sit-Pre

Then he quickly went back and sat there, they two males sat in the stern,

niyé-pu mawa ngutju a-galidji-nji a-ni-ø,

3MinNf-Card FaFa here 3IS-paddle-Pre 3IS-sit-Pre

Grandpa was sitting here paddling,

a-djeki-rri a-djarti a-warrtji-nji gabi a-galidji-nji

3IS-return-Pre 3IS-hurry 3IS-climb-Pre there 3IS-paddle-Pre

he went quickly back and climbed up where he was paddling,

a-garlma-nay a-ma-nay-pu yibénapu barlmarrk a-y-wa-rri-pu

3IS-get up-Pre 3IS-go along-Pre that side wind 3MinA.3IO-away-throw-Pre-pu

he got up and as soon as he went along the wind suddenly threw him off the far side

yi-garrapu a-y-guybi-ni. "Waa, waa ngapala a-guybi-ni!"

away-Anaph 3IS-away-sink-Pre alas,help alas,help 1Min+Dat 3IS-sink-Pre

and he sank down away from us. "Help, help, he's sunk on me!"

A-djorrwi-rri-pu a-ma-nay a-rrimi-rri gakak a-goni.

3IS-jump-Pre-pu 3IS-go along-Pre 3MinA.3IO-grab-Pre MoMo(Bro) 3I-this

This "grannie" jumped in straight away and went and grabbed him.

A-djorrwi-rri mawa arrapu gakak a-garrapu a-djorrwi-rri

3IS-jump-Pre FaFa and MoMo 3I-Anaph 3IS-jump-Pre

Grandpa jumped in and that "Grannie" jumped in

awuni-garlma-nay-pu awuni-ngepi-rri.

3UAnfS-get up-Pre 3UAnfS-lift-Pre

they came up and lifted him up.

Njiwu-dimi-rri njiwurr-ni-ø, ngu-djedjiyi-ni ngu-me-nji

1AugA.3MinO-hold-Pre 1AugS-sit-Pre 1MinS-stop-Pre 1MinA.3MinO-get-Pre

We sat holding him, I stopped and got him

ngu-djedjiyi-ni-pu ngu-na-ni mibilu a-djerre an-marrman,

1MinS-stop-Pre-pu 1MinA.3MinO-see-Pre eye 3I-Poss 3I-good

as soon as I stopped I saw his eyes were good,

ngu-yiti-nji,   **"Galu yama gin-minabámi ngu-na-dji+rni**

1MinS-say this-Pre   *NEG* *?*   *3IV-water*   *1MinA.3MinO-see-Irr1*

I said, "Oh, I thought I might have seen water

gu-beki-yi+rni." **An-marrman djapu wulek niyé-pu**   **lay.**

3IVS-come out-Irr1 *3I-good*   *like*   *finish* *3MinNf-Card* *hey*

coming out." He was quite all right, you know.

A-rruwdjiyi-ni a-rruwdjiyi-ni an-marrman.

3IS-cry-Pre   *3IS-cry-Pre*   *3I-good*

He cried, and he cried, and then he was alright.

Text 3. Dingo Story. (Leila Nimbadja)

    A-goni ant-gumúpurda.

    3I-this   *3I-dingo*

    This is the dingo.

    Ngubu-gorrmi   **mitja**

    1+2AugA.3MinO-put down+Irr2 *food*

    We might put down food,

    arrapu mu-djungdjung-yerrtji arrbu-gorrmi,

    and   *Coll-dog-mob*   *1+2nsA.3nsO-put down+Irr2*

    and we might put the dogs,

    arrbu-gorrmi   **wipa awurr-dji-ø**

    1+2nsA.3nsO-put down+Irr2 *camp* *3AugS-stand-Irr2*

    we'd put them at the camp (lit. we might put them at the camp they might stand),

    wurru nguwurr-boy-ø gu-gu-warlpu ngalngi gu-manj,

    but   *1+2AugS-go-Irr2* *Loc3IV-Nom-hunt* *turtle*   *Loc3IV-taste*

                                                 =purpose of hunt

    but we would go hunting for turtle.

arrapu nguwurr-nguna-djeka-ø mitja nguwu-ma-ø.

and   1+2AugS-twds-return-Irr2   food   1+2AugA.3MinO-get-Irr2

and we would come back and get food

Wulek ant-gumúpurda   a-boy-ø

finish   3I-dingo   3IS-go-Irr2

Well then the dingo might go

burr-bay-ø   mu-djungdjung-yerrtji.

3MinA.3AugO-eat-Irr2   Coll-dog-mob

and eat all the dogs.

Ngaytjburru-ø   nguwurr-djeka-ø   gu-gu-warlpu-kuwa,

1+2Aug-unm   1+2AugS-return-Irr2   Loc3IV-Nom-hunt-Abl

We would come back from hunting,

nguwu-na-ø   wipa gi-dji-ø.

1+2AugA.3MinO-see-Irr2   camp   3IVS-stand-Irr2

and see the camp standing (there).

Nguwurr-gogidja-ø

1+2AugS-call-Irr2

We would call

arrbi-djena-ø   mu-djungdjung-yerrtji,

1+2nsA.3nsO-look for-Irr2   Coll-dog-mob

and look for all the dogs

wulek nguwu-barrwa-ø,   nguwurr-yita-ø,

finish   1+2AugA.3MinO-think-Irr2   1+2AugS-say this-Irr2

then we would think, we might say this,

"Ant-gumúpurda   burr-ba-rri

3I-dingo   3MinA.3AugO-eat-Pre

"The dingo ate them

warri   arrbu-bawu-ni,

because   1+2nsA.3nsO-leave-Pre

because we left them,

galu ninjokoni birr-rrimi-nga+rni."

NEG who, noone 3MinA.3AugO-hold, look after-Irr1

no one was looking after them."

Weleng galu awurr-beki-ya+rni

then   NEG 3AugS-arrive,come out-Irr1

Then they didn't come

njiwurr-ni-ø njiwurr-rruwdjiyi-ni.

1AugS-sit-Pre 1AugS-cry-Pre

we sat (and) cried.

Djungdjung njiwu-barrwa-rri

dog   1AugA.3MinO-think-Pre

We thought about the dogs

warri   awurr-garpi.   Njirrbu-guyu-ga-tji,

because 3AugS-good hunter 1nsA.3nsO-nose-take-Pre/Con

=take hunting

because they are/were good hunters. We take/took them hunting

abu-numi-ø   gabi   an-mitj.

3AugA.3MinO-smell-Irr2 Loc,there 3I-burrow

(and) they can/might smell the game in its burrow.

Text 4. Pig Story. (May Miorgar)

Mutju-pu   njiwurr-bogi-ya njiburr-yo-rri   giygiy

here-Imm   1AugS-go-Con   1AugS-lie,stay-Con short time, little while

Right here (?) we went and stayed for a while

gi-njatbu   Wek a-djerre. Njiburr-yo-rri   ngorrungurru   ngirrépu,

3IV-whatsit place name   1AugS-lie,stay-Con sleep   one

at what's that place, Wek a-djerre. We stayed one night (lit. we slept one sleep),

gu-na-gepiyi-ø, wulek, njiburr-garlma gu-gu-warlpu

3IVS-twds-dawn-Con finish 1AugS-set off+Con Loc3IV-Nom-hunt

then the next day we set off hunting,

Leila, Lynn, ngayi-pu njiwurr-djarti njiwurr-i-ma-ma.

name name 1Min-Card 1AugS-hurry 1AugS-away-go along-Con

Leila, Lynn and I hurried along away.

Njiwurr-djarti njiwurr-ma-ma, njiwurr-djenjinigi-nga

1AugS-hurry 1AugS-go along-Con 1AugS-hunt for turtle with feet-Con

We hurried along, we felt for turtles with our feet,

njiwu-ngalganmi-nga ngalngi awuni-mukupu

1AugA.3MinO-find-Con turtle 3UAnf-two

we found two turtles,

weleng djaluwu njiwu-djeni-nga-:, njiwurr-djirritbi-rdi-:

then again 1AugA.3MinO-search-Con-X 1AugS-go around-Con-X

then we searched again for a long time, we went around and around,

njiwu-ngalganmi-nga ngirrépu, ngirrépu njiwu-me-ka

1AugA.3MinO-find-Con one one 1AugA.3MinO-get-Con

we found one, we got one

weleng njiwurr-i-ma-ma

then 1AugS-away-go along-Con

then we went along further,

nawu pig njiwu-ngalganmi-nga dji-na-ma-ma, dji-na-ma-ma,

? " 1AugA.3MinO-find-Con 3IIS-twds-go along-Con

then we found pigs coming along, they came along,

ngaytjburru-ø njiwurr-garlma njiwurr-ma-ma njiwurr-yurrburridji-ga.

1Aug-unm 1AugS-set off+Con 1AugS-go along-Con 1AugS-run-Con

we set off and ran.

Ngayi-pu   **wulek**   **ng-ga-tji**   **ngutjuyu**   **ngu-ne-rre,**

1Min-Card   *finish*   *1MinA.3MinO-take-Pre/Con*   *3MinF+Poss$_C$*   *1MinS-be-Con*

                   = take off

I just took off,

burrkburrkang   **ngu-woroworoganmi-nga**   **ngu-djarti**   **ngu-ma-ma**

shoulderbag   *1MinA.3MinO-swing-Con*   *1MinS-hurry*   *1MinS-go along-Con*

I rushed along swinging my shoulderbag,

ngu-wa-nga   **ngu-bobulu**   **a-yo-rri**   **gi-djel**

1MinA.3MinO-throw-Con   *Loc1Min-back*   *3IS-lie-Con*   *Loc3IV-ground*

I threw it behind me, it lay on the ground,

ngu-djarti-pu   **ngu-ne-rre**   **ngu-warrtji-ga**

1MinS-hurry-pu   *1MinS-be-Con*   *1MinS-climb-Con*

I hurried straight along and climbed up,

Leila,   **Lynn**   **borritjiyu-na**   **ngardupu**   **awurrinj-yurrburridji-ga,**

name   *name*   *3UAf-Emph*   *alone*   *3UAfS-run-Con*

Leila and Lynn, those two were running by themselves,

ngardupu   **awurritj-bogi-ya,**   **wulek**   **njiwurr-ne-rre, pig,**   **pig,**

alone   *3UAfS-go-Con*   *finish*   *1AugS-sit-Con*   "   "

they two went alone, then we sat, the pigs, the pigs

njiwurr-ne-rre   **dji-bogi-ya**   **werr**   **njirru-me-ka=ngutjuyu**

1AugS-sit-Con   *3IIS-go-Con*   *pass*   *3MinA.1AugO-get-Con=3MinF+Poss$_A$*

we sat and they went and passed us,

nawu   **njiwurr-bupiyi-ø**   **njiwurr-ng-ma-ma**

?   *1AugS-go down-Con*   *1AugS-twds-go along-Con*

then we came along down

wulek   **njirrinj-weki-ya,**   **njiwurr-weki-ya**   **ngaytjburru-ø,**

finish   *1UAfS-say-Con*   *1AugS-say-Con*   *1Aug-unm/Poss$_C$*

then we two, we all said to each other,

"Nguwurr-bogi-ya wipa, galu   a-nji   nguwu-ma-ø."   "Aya."

1+2AugS-go-Con   home   NEG   3I-what   1+2AugA.3MinO-get-Irr2   I see, right

"We're all going home, we won't get anything." "Right."

Wulek njiwurr-djeki-nga njiwurr-i-ma-ma   wipa

finish   1AugS-return-Con   1AugS-away-go along-Con   home

Then we went along back home

njiwurr-garnagarra-dji   njiwurr-ne-rre

1AugS-sit down-Con   1AugS-sit-Con

we were sitting down,

wulek   njiwur-girdétji-ga   njiwurr-djarti   njiwurr-ma-ma.

finish   1AugS-laugh-Con   1AugS-hurry   1AugS-go along-Con

then we laughed our heads off.

Wulek njiburr-gorrmi-yi-ø.

finish   1AugS-put down-Intr-Con

Then we went to bed.

Appendix B - The Djowunga Dialect of Gurr-goni.

This grammar is based on the dialect of Gurr-goni spoken by clans of the Yirrtjinga moiety. Of the Djowunga variety, I recorded only a small amount of vocabulary, from the senior member of the Gulúmarrarra clan, and I present here the vocabulary items which differ between the dialects. There may be more; these were the words remembered as being distinctive, or revealed as such by asking for the Djowunga equivalents of basic vocabulary and flora and fauna terms. The elicitation was conducted in Gurr-goni, with the help of Leila Nimbadja, and, assuming that the Djowunga man was speaking his own dialect, the Djowunga dialect appears to be otherwise essentially the same as the Yirrtjinga variety: no differences were immediately apparent in free pronouns, demonstratives, pronominal prefixes or verb suffixes.

English	Yirrtjinga Gurr-goni	Djowunga Gurr-goni
antbed	moli	gut-balmunapu
ashes	gun-darri	burdudjitjitj
back	bobulu arr-djerre	buluwak (?-wok?) ngarrku
blue tongue lizard	djit-gorlungu dji-ba-nga a-ne-rre	djilili dji-ba-nga a-ne-rre
	3II-snail 3MinA.3IIO-eat-Con 3IS-sit-Con (?same in Djowunga?)	
chest	murrpu arr-djerre	djuwupu ngarrku
child, baby	burrkarl	{at-}-bin.ngarrwulu
		PREF-little
digging stick	barnaka	buluwak
fire	gun-ngak	djowuga
firewood	gun-ngak	git-djardigirli
foot, hand	woku arr-djerre	bumarrk arr-djerre
frog	romolo	at-djawuli
grass	golborr	mun-molibidji
leech	girdíli	bongi
man	worri	ant-gudjurdu*
python, black-headed	gun-darri dju-guyu	gut-balmunap dji-guyu
small	-warpurr	-bin.ngarrwulu
snake, common tree	gul	mirnarr
throat	orrongurru arr-djerre,	mut-burdja ngarrku
	mut-burdja ngarrku	
stringybark tree	barndra	gunt-gu-gupi-yi
		3IV-Nom-put up-Intr
water	gin-minabami	djawulgu
yam sp	djunja	munt-gu-walaguwu
	munt-gadjila	djigórdugu

(Body part nouns are given with the appropriate possessive marking, inflected for 1+2 person minimal; see §2.5.1 and footnote 12, chapter 3.)

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