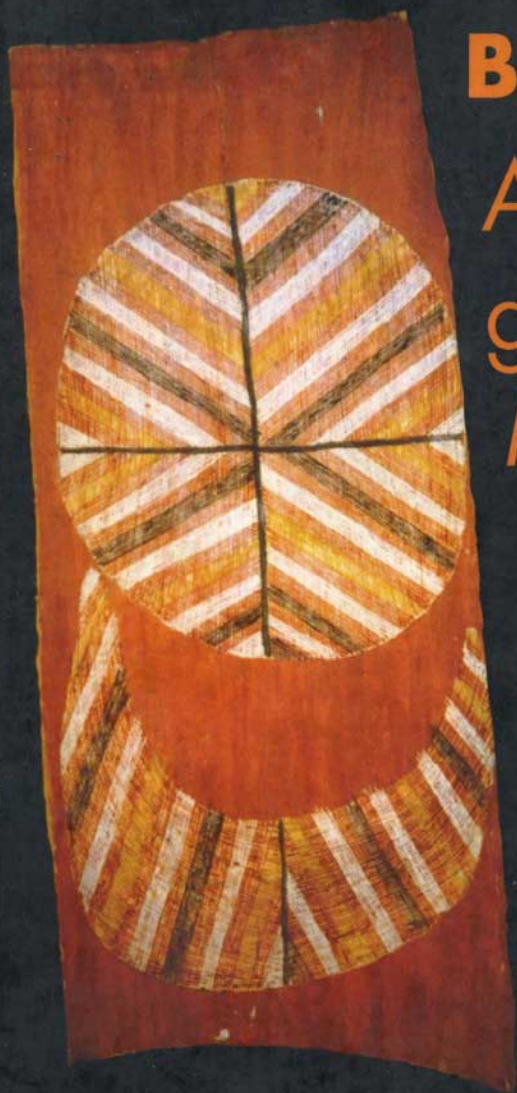


# **Bininj Gun-Wok**

A pan-dialectal  
grammar of  
Mayali,  
Kunwinjku  
and Kune

Volume 2

**NICHOLAS EVANS**



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*Volume 2: Chapters 9-14, texts  
and other appendices*

**Erratum:**

On the back cover, the coeditor of 'Problems of Polysynthesis' is erroneously given as Patrick McConvell; it should be Hans-Jürgen Sasse.



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

**Volume 2: Chapters 9-14, texts  
and other appendices**

**Nicholas Evans**



**Pacific Linguistics  
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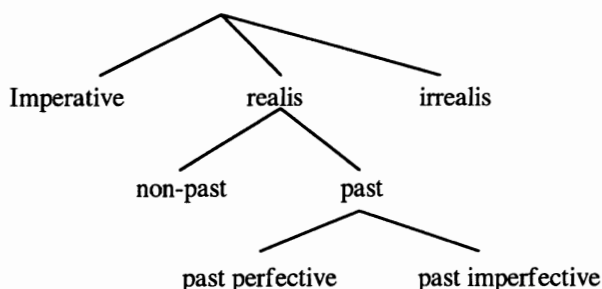
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# 9 *Tense, aspect and mood*

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## 9.1 The tense, aspect and mood system

As in most Gunwinyguan languages, Biniŋ Gun-wok has a basic system of five inflectional suffixes for tense, aspect and mood, with tense confined to realis mood, and aspect confined to the past tense, as shown in Figure 9.1. In the easterly dialects (Kuninjku and Kune) the aspect contrast in the past is lost, with the perfective forms only being retained for all verbs except the stance verbs, which use the imperfective forms. Compensatory strategies for expressing past imperfective meanings in the eastern dialects are discussed in §9.3.4.1.



**Figure 9.1:** The inflectional system for tense/aspect/mood

These five major tense/aspect/mood categories yield a richer system of grammaticalised distinctions through combination with various preverbal particles such as *kaluk* ‘bye and bye, later’, *djama/minj/marrek* ‘not’, *bayun/yuwun* ‘prohibitive’ and *wardi/marndi* ‘might’, as well as through more minor derivational categories like the persistive and stance-inceptive, and a system of reduplication encoding three further aspectual possibilities — inceptive, iterative and extensive.

## 9.2 Paradigm of verbal TAM inflections

The forms representing the five TAM categories are organised into a paradigm of considerable conjugational irregularity. Again, this is typical of the Gunwinyguan languages, and a paradigm of comparable complexity probably characterised Proto Gunwinyguan (Alpher, Evans & Harvey, forthcoming). The paradigm is shown in Table 9.1; in addition to



TAM are shown the other suffixal categories conditioned by conjugation, namely the persistent, reflexive/reciprocal and gerundive. (For the classes, and conjugation numberings, refer back to the discussion of verb stem structure in §8.2, which contains fuller facts about conjugation membership.) The three right-hand columns show a number of gaps, due to the logical impossibility of using reflexive/reciprocals with classes containing intransitive verbs<sup>1</sup>, and the non-productive nature of the persistent and gerundivising forms. Note that the symbol ' + ' here means 'add this suffix to the theme' and ' - ' means 'delete the final vowel of the theme, then add this suffix'.

Since the same segments occur now as markers of one category and now of another (e.g. *ng* marks non-past of some conjugations, but past perfective of others; *yi* marks the past imperfective of some conjugations and the irrealis of others, and so on), it is not possible to break the paradigm down into conjugation markers plus TAM-markers proper, as can be done for many Pama-Nyungan languages (see Dixon 1980). It is striking that all TAM inflections end in a vowel or a nasal.

There is striking cross-dialectal uniformity in the organisation and forms of this paradigm, so that this aspect of the inflectional morphology is the most stable cross-dialectally (compare the very different transitive pronominal prefix paradigms discussed in §10.2, and the major difference in noun-class systems and gender agreement discussed in §5.5). Apart from the lack of an imperfective series in Kunwinjku and Kune, the few differences are the following, corresponding to superscript numerals in the table:

- (1) Kunwinjku has *dowimen* rather than *dowemen* for the imperative of 'die', and *dowimeninj* rather than *dowemeninj* for the irrealis (see Etherington & Etherington 1994:69).
- (2) Some younger speakers from the eastern Kunwinjku area<sup>2</sup> form the past imperfective of the first two conjugations by adding *-ni* to the theme, giving forms like *name-ni* [make-PI], *yame-ni* [spear-PI] and *wurlhke-ni* [lit. fires-PI] instead of the standard *nami*, *yami* and *wurlhkeyi*; in other words, they have extended the commonest past imperfective ending *-ni* into conjugations 1 and 2a. While an alternative explanation for their Conjugation 1 forms is that they are just using the irrealis form (minus final *-nj*; see (3)), this would not hold for their Conjugation 2 forms which should on this account be *wurlhkemeni* rather than the attested *wurlhkeni*.
- (3) Particularly in Kunwinjku, there is a tendency to drop the final *nj* from certain irrealis forms, for which it is shown here in brackets (e.g. *warlkkayinj* ~ *warlkkayi*).
- (4) As with (3), there is variation between *inj* and *i* endings here; Carroll (1995:447) has a rare example of the nasal-final ending, *durndeyinj*.
- (5) Toby Gangele (Gun-djeihmi) had *dayi* rather than *dangemeninj* for the irrealis of 'stand up, come to a standstill'.
- (6) There is some difference in whether speakers build this irrealis form on the non-past or the imperative root: most have imperfective *rey*, but Minnie Alderson has *rayi*.
- (7) *Rayinj* is the standard form for the irrealis in Gun-djeihmi, and *rawinj* in Kunwinjku, but Toby Gangele had *raiwinj*.
- (8) Some thematics have two gerundive forms: one for incorporation into causatives, and one for incorporation into associated motion or stance. See §12.1 for discussion and details.

<sup>1</sup> Of course collective readings of these verbs should be possible, as they are with such intransitive verbs as *dowe* 'die' and *kolu* 'go down' (see §11.3.1.2 for examples). However, they are totally unattested over the relatively large corpus, suggesting that the ability to extend this suffix productively to form collectives of intransitive verbs is limited.

<sup>2</sup> This characterisation may be too specific, since Etherington and Etherington simply give the alternative forms in their description of Kunwinjku, without mentioning a geographical or age basis. Earlier sources, such as Carroll (1976), do not mention the variant forms, suggesting they are innovative.

Table 9.1: Paradigm of TAM inflections, arranged by conjugation class/thematic

conjug.	Theme/sample verb	Imperative	Non-past	Past perf.	Past imperf.	Irealis	RR/ COLL	Persistent
1	<i>-me</i> karme 'have'	+n karmen	+ø karme	+ng karmeng	-i (-eny) karmi	+ninj karmeninj	+rre- karmerre-	-iyindi (djuhmiyindi)
2	<i>-ke, we</i> kinje 'cook' baye 'bite' dowe 'die'	+men kinjemen bayemen +men dowemen <sup>1</sup>	+ø kinje baye +n down	+ng kinjeng bayeng +ng doweng	+yi (+ni) <sup>2</sup> kinjeng bayeng +ni downi	+meninj kinjemeninj bayemeninj +meninj dowemeninj <sup>1</sup>	+rre- kinjerre- bayerre- +rre- dowerre-	+ndi (djuhmikendi) +ndi downendi
3	<i>ka, na, wo</i> warikka 'hide'	+ø warikka	+n warikan	+ng warikkang	+ni warikkani	+yi(nj) <sup>3</sup> warikkayin(nj)	+rre- warlkarre-	+iyindi warlkkayindi
3ir	<i>ngu</i> ngu 'eat'	+ø ngu	+n ngun	+neng nguneng	+ni nguni	+yi nguyi	+rre- ngurre-	—
4	<i>-wa</i> djawa 'ask'	+ø djawa	+n djan	+n djawam	+ni djawani	+yi(nj) djawayinj	+rre- djawarre-	—
4b	<i>bu</i> bu 'hit'	+ø bu	+n bun	+om bom	+ni buni	+ninj buninj	+rre- burre-	+iyindi (buyindi)
5	<i>du, ru, lu, -dju, do</i> du 'growl'	+ø du	+ng dung	+ty duy	+ngi dungi	+yi(nj) duyin(nj)	+rre- durre-	—
5b	<i>-de, -dje</i> durnde 'return'	+ø durnde	+ng durndeng	+i durndi	+ngi durndengi	+yi(nj) <sup>4</sup> durndeyin(nj)	+rre- durnderre-	+indi (dudjindi)
5c	<i>ma</i> ma 'take'	+ø ma	+ng mang	+ey mey	+ngi mangi	+yi mayi	+rre- marre-	—
6	<i>da</i> da 'stand up'	+ngimen dangimen	+n/ngen dan/dangen	+n/nginj danj/danginj	+n/ngeni danj/dangeni	+ngemeninj dangemeninj <sup>5</sup>	+ngerre- dangerre-	—
6b	<i>-da</i> wayda 'be raised'	+ø wayda	+n waydan	+ø waydi	+nj waydani	+ngemeninj waydangemeninj	—	—
7	<i>di, -ri, ni</i> di 'stand' ni 'sit'	+n din nin	+ø di ni	+ø di ni	+ø di ni	+wirrinj diwirrinj niwirrinj	—	—
7a	<i>-yindi</i> 'persistent'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7b	<i>-yindi</i> 'persistent'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7c	<i>wokdi</i> 'speak'	wokdin	wokdi	wokdanj	wokdi	wokdiwirrinj	—	—
8	<i>yo</i> yo 'lie'	-un yun	+ø/ngen yo/yongen	+y/nginj yoy/yonginj	+y yoy	-uwirrinj yuwirrinj	—	—
9	<i>re</i> re 'go'	rey	re	wam	re (rayi) <sup>6</sup>	rayin(nj) <sup>7</sup> , rayinj	—	—
10	<i>-rre</i> burre- 'fight'	+men burremen	+n burren	-inj burrij	+ni burreni	+meninj burremeninj	—	—
11	<i>-men</i> warremen 'go bad'	-mimen warremimen	-men warremen	-minj warreminj	-i warremeni	+meninj warremeninj	—	—
non-verbal	<i>-ø</i> babang 'hurt'	n/a	+ø babang	+ni babangni	+ni babangni	+niwirrinj babangniwirrinj	—	—

### 9.3 Semantics of tense/aspect/mood categories

The main focus of this section is on the semantics of the five main TAM inflections, though grammaticalised combinations of these categories with the TAM inflections will be discussed where relevant. At the end of the section we consider two more restricted categories: the existence of alternative stem sets for 'assume stance' and 'maintain stance' for 'stand' and 'lie', and the persistive category, which occupies the same slot as the reflexive/reciprocal, and can be further inflected for the final tense/aspect/mood categories. The employment of the gerundive forms, which do not encode TAM but prepare the stem for incorporation into another verb, is discussed in Chapter 12. The treatment of negatives is only discussed in this section if they are not totally predictable combinations of negative particles plus the relevant verb inflection (e.g. negative imperatives, unlike positive imperatives, use the non-past rather than the imperative mood, so they are discussed here); a more general discussion of negation is in §13.7.

#### 9.3.1 Imperative

This forms positive imperatives and hortatives. Positive imperatives simply combine the imperative TAM inflection with the appropriate pronominal prefix in either monovalent or divalent prefix combinations. There is no deletion of the subject pronominal prefix.<sup>3</sup>

##### 9.1 *Nga-lod-ngu-n, kan-lod-wo!*

I 1/3-bread-eat-NP 2/1-bread-giveIMP  
'I want to eat some bread, give me bread!'

##### 9.2 *Yi-m-rai! Nguni-m-rai! Ngurri-m-rai!* Dj 2-hither-goIMP 2ua-hither-goIMP 2a-hither-goIMP 'You (sg/dual/plural) come here!'

A continuous imperative, 'keep doing V', can be formed by conjoining *munquyh* to the imperative:

##### 9.3 *Munguih yi-bunjhma, gun-marne-djare.* Dj repeatedly 2/3-kissIMP 3/2-BEN-likeNP 'Keep kissing her, she likes you!'

First person hortatives can also be expressed with the imperative TAM inflection:

##### 9.4 *Ngarrben-yame-n!* W 12/3pl-spear-IMP 'Let's spear them (pl)!'

##### 9.5 *Ngarr-wokdi-n!* Dj 12-talk-IMP 'Let's you and me talk!'

<sup>3</sup> The form *djal-bawo!* [just-leaveIMP] has been recorded in Manyallaluk Mayali for 'leave it'. At this stage it is not clear whether more generalised deletion of the subject prefix is allowed in Manyallaluk Mayali, or whether this is of a fixed expression.

In Kuninjku, clauses with *wardi* plus the imperative can also be used to make non-pushy suggestions, something like English 'just (V)' (see §13.11.3); *kab* 'what about' can also be combined with the imperative to mean 'what about Ving' (§13.11.5).

A more polite imperative can also be formed with the non-past (q.v.).

Third person hortatives are formed by combining the imperative TAM inflection with the past pronominal prefix series:

- 9.6 *Ba-ngu-n djenj!*  
Dj 3P-eat-IMP fish  
'That fish should bite (my bait)!'
- 9.7 *Yi-bawo ba-gurlah-dalehm-imen!*  
Dj 2-leaveIMP 3P-hide-dry-IMP  
'Leave the hides to dry!' (lit. 'Leave them, let the hides dry!')
- 9.8 *Barri-wern-m-inj, aban-widna-n, barri-ra-i!*  
Dj 3aP-many-INCH-PP 1/3pl-dislike-NP 3aP-go-IMP  
'There's a lot of people here, I don't like them, they should go!'
- 9.9 *Yi-bawo djang-no, yi-warrewo-n, ba-djal-yun!*  
MM 2/3-leaveIMP dreaming-POSSD 2/3-wreck-NP 3P-just-lieIMP  
'Leave the dreaming site alone, you're wrecking it, it should just stay there (untouched)!'
- 9.10 *Yi-marne-yime-n ku-m-ra-y konda.*  
W 2/3-IMP-say-IMP 3P-hither-go-IMP here  
'Tell him to come here!' [KH 21]

I have one Gun-djeihmi example of a hortative in which the pronominal prefix is non-past, combined with the future modal *galuk*:

- 9.11 *Ba-bo-ngune-ng, ga-rrowe-n, gukku an-wern gun-godj gabi-garrme,*  
Dj 3P-liquid-eat-PP 3-die-NP water VE-much IV-head 3/3h-haveNP  
*ga-geyun galuk.*  
3-sleepIMP bye.and.bye  
'He really hit the grog, he's out of it, all that grog has got him by the head, let him sleep.'

The imperative (plus past pronominal prefixes if the subject is third person) is also used to express obligation (translated as 'must' or 'have to'), either on its own (9.12, 9.13) or, in Kunwinjku, by combining the particle *mak* with the past pronominal series (9.14, 9.15). The imperative, when expressing obligation, urges immediate action; the non-past may also be used to express obligation (see below) when the emphasis is on general principles or behaviour rather than the need for a particular action to be carried out imminently.

- 9.12 *Nungka ø-ngu.*  
W he 3P-eatIMP  
'He must eat.'
- 9.13 *Bedda birri-yime-ng: "Nungka na-warre, ø-dowi-men!"*  
W they 3aP-say-PP he MA-bad 3P-die-IMP  
'They said: "He is evil, he must die!"'



9.14 *Ngad mak karri-bongu.*  
 W we must 12a-drinkIMP  
 'We must drink.'

9.15 *Ngaleng mak ø-keyu-n.*  
 W she must 3P-lie.down-IMP  
 'She must lie down.'

The 'just' verbal prefix *djal-* is sometimes also used to emphasise obligation:

9.16 *Bolkkime yi-djal-ay.*  
 W now 2-just-goIMP  
 'You have to go there now.' [GB]

Permission can also be expressed by the imperative, together with a declarative intonation pattern. The intonation pattern may be the only clue to the permission interpretation (9.17), or the particle *wanjh* 'then' may be placed before or after the verb (9.18, 9.19):

9.17 *Ngudda yi-ray.*  
 W you 2-goIMP  
 'You can go there.' [GB]

9.18 *Ma, gakkak guni-ra-y wanjh.*  
 Dj well.then MM 2ua-go-IMP then  
 'OK then, you and your mother's mother can go.' [EH]

9.19 *Ma, mawah wanjh yi-ga.*  
 Dj well.then FF then 2-takeIMP  
 'OK then, you can take your father's father.'

Prohibition can be expressed in Gun-djeihmi, by combining the particle *marrek* 'never' with the imperative (9.20). This is in contrast to the normal pattern of negative commands, which use a prohibitive particle plus the non-past (see below).

9.20 *Bu yi-bebme, marrek daluk yi-gadju.*  
 Dj when 2-appearNP never woman 2-followIMP  
 'When you come out (of the Garrwardi ceremony) you can't chase after women.'

### 9.3.2 Non-past

The non-past can have a present or future reading, and, in the present, a habitual or continuous reading. Thus *kayo konhda* can mean '(s)he sleeps here', '(s)he is sleeping here', or '(s)he will sleep here'. Nonetheless, the usual interpretation of the non-past is present tense:

9.21 *Ngal-yauk ga-gaihme.*  
 Dj II-girl 3-cry.outNP  
 'He's singing out for that young girl.'

9.22 *Ngarduk duruk ga-wulebme.*  
 Dj my dog 3-swimNP  
 'My dog is having a swim.'

Each of the above could, in context, be used with a future reading ('he will cry out for that young girl', 'my dog will have a swim'). Alternatively, the future can be shown explicitly by the future modal particle *kaluk* (reduced to *kalk* in Kune). *Kaluk* is always preverbal when signalling future; it may also be used with the more general meaning 'later', in any tense; with this second meaning its position is free (13.249).

9.23 *Ngoi, galuk nga-wayini.*

Dj OK FUT 1-singNP  
'OK, I'll sing it to you.'

9.24 *Kaluk ø-wo-n / ø-marnbu-n birrkala.*

W FUT 1/2-give-NP 1/2-make-NP boomerang  
'I'm going to give/make you a boomerang.'

Another way in which temporal reference is often clarified is by the use of the IMMEDIATE aspect prefix *-h-* (see §11.4.3 for fuller discussion) which typically implies a present continuous rather than a present generic or future reading. This use of the immediate prefix is more common in Kunwinjku than in Gun-djeihmi, and totally absent in Kune.

9.25 *Nga-re.* vs *Nga-h-re.*

Dj, W 1-goNP 1-IMM-goNP  
'I (will) go.' 'I am going.'

9.26 *Nga-ngu-n.* vs *Nga-h-ngu-n.*

1-eat-NP 1-IMM-eat-NP  
'I (will) eat.' 'I am eating.'

Negative generic statements, and negative past or future statements more generally, are expressed by a combination of the non-past TAM inflection with the particle *djama* (Dj, 9.27), *minj* (W, 9.28) or *marrek* (I, E, MM; 13.294). With second person or generic subjects this is often interpreted as meaning 'can't', that is as a general statement of withheld permission or impossibility (9.29).

9.27 *Barnangarra djama ngarri-na-n.*

Dj daytime not 1a-see-NP  
'We don't see (possums) in the daytime.'

9.28 *Minj na-ngale ka-wardde-burriwe, ka-rrulk-bakke, man-me ka-ngu-n*  
W not MA-who 3/3l-rock-throwNP 3/3l-tree-breakNP III-veg.food 3/3l-eat-NP

*dja ka-bongu-n kukku ku-mekke kun-red.*

and 3/3l-drink-NP water LOC-DEM IV-place

'Nobody is allowed to throw rocks, break trees, eat any fruit or drink water in this place.' [KS 156]

9.29 *Minj ngudda yi-re.*

W not you 2-goNP  
'You can't go there.' [GB]

Generic prohibitives are expressed by the combination of *marrek* 'never' and the non-past (9.30–9.33).

- 9.30 *An-garre djamun, marrek daluk ga-na-n.*  
 Dj III-sacred.dance forbidden NEG woman 3-see-NP  
 'The sacred dances are forbidden, women can't see them.'
- 9.31 *Marrek walem kabirri-du-rre-n, kakkak-wi kabirri-du-rre-n aa.*  
 I NEG south 3a-swear-RR-NP MMB-only 3a-swear-RR-NP yeah  
 (In reply to the question 'in the south, do they joke with their nakurrng?')  
 'In the south they don't/can't swear. Only with grandkin (MMB/ZDC), yeah.'  
 (Garde 1996:143)
- 9.32 *Marrek nga-ngun wardi nga-ngordom-en.*  
 I NEG 1/3-eatNP might.be 1-become.crippled-NP  
 I cannot eat that food otherwise I might become crippled.
- 9.33 *Marrek ngurri-djurlhme mudda, wardi ngun-baye na-barnng.*  
 E NEG 2a-touchNP spider maybe 3/2(a)-biteNP MA-dangerous  
 'You mustn't touch spiders, or they might bite you, they're dangerous.'

Negative imperatives are expressed by the combination of the non-past and the negative imperative particle *bayun* (Dj), *yu(wu)n* (W, I) or *marrek* (E):

- 9.34 *Bayun gan-yam-e!*  
 Dj don't 2/1-spear-NP  
 'Don't spear me!'
- 9.35 *Yun yi-ganj-ngu-n!*  
 W don't 2-meat-eat-NP  
 'Don't eat the meat!'
- 9.36 *Balang yun kan-wok-dahme.*  
 I Balang don't 2/1-language-answer.backNP  
 'Balang, don't answer back!'
- 9.37 *Marrek yi-birli-ma-ng kun-rak, wardi yi-ru-ng na-barnng.*  
 E NEG 2-flame-pick.up-NP IV-fire might 2-burn-NP MA-dangerous  
 'Don't touch the fire, you might get burned!'

The non-past can be used as a polite imperative. It may be used alone (9.38), or even more politely in combination with *gare* 'perhaps, maybe' (9.39).

- 9.38 *Ngayi nga-kudji kan-ka-n!*  
 E:D me 1-one 2/1\*-take-IMP  
 'Take me!'
- 9.39 *Gunak gare yi-yerrng-ma-ng, gun-boi.*  
 Dj fire maybe 2-firewood-get-NP IV-cooking.stone  
 'Maybe you could go and get some firewood and cooking stones.'

Apprehensive clauses are expressed by combining the non-past with the modal particle *marndi* (W, 9.40) or, in the other dialects, *wardi* 'might, "bye-and-bye"' (9.41). Kuninjku also has the variant *warde* (9.42). Speakers of Gun-djeihmi sometimes use *marndi* as well. In Kuninjku, *wardi* is used in the ordinary register and *marndi* in Kun-kurrng. As these

examples illustrate, apprehensive clauses may be independent (9.40–9.42), or combine with another clause advising on preventive action (9.43).

9.40 *Marndi yi-manka-n.*

W might 2-fall-NP  
'You might fall.'

9.41 *Na-marrgon wardi an-do-ng.*

Dj 1-lightning might 3/1-strike-NP  
'Lightning might strike me.'

9.42 *Yi-barnname-n warde duruk ka-ngun.*

I 2-put.up.high-IMP might dog 3-eatNP  
'Hang it up otherwise the dog will eat it.'

The non-past can also express obligation (9.43, 9.44). When the subject is first person, the particle *wanjh* 'then' is also used before (9.45) or after (9.46) the verb. Obligation can also be expressed by the combination of the particle *mak* with the imperative (§9.3.1) or the particles *wanjh* or *mak* with the irrealis (§9.3.5).

9.43 *Balanda ngun-djawa-n.*

Dj white.person 3/2-ask-NP  
'The white man has to ask you.'

9.44 *Yi-djawa-n.*

W 2-ask-NP  
'You have to ask.'

9.45 *Ngaye wanjh nga-re werrkwerrk.*

W I must 1-goNP quickly  
'I must go now.'

9.46 *Nga-warrhke wanjh.*

W 1-dropNP must  
'I'll have to drop it.'

Permission is expressed by combining the adverb *kamak* 'good, OK' with a clause in the non-past (9.47, 9.48). This is the normal way of saying 'you may X' or asking 'may I X?'

9.47 *Kamak yi-wok-ma-ng.*

W OK 2-language-get-NP  
'You can tape this'/'It's OK for you to tape this.'

9.48 *Wamud, gamak ngani-re gu-mekke?*

Dj [subsection] OK 1ua-goNP LOC-DEM  
'Wamud, may we two to go there?'

The non-past is used for the complements of perception verbs, whenever the perceived event actually occurred, with the time reference being given by the tense on the perception verb itself: one says 'I saw him, he swims' for 'I saw him swimming', rather than 'I saw him, he was swimming'. (Such constructions are discussed in §14.2.2.1.)



### 9.3.3 Past perfective

In Kune this is the only past category, the past imperfective having been lost. In the remaining dialects the past perfective is opposed to the past imperfective, with the choice between made along the following main dimensions: perfective for events that are punctual, completed, of current relevance, or foregrounded; imperfective for actions that are repeated or habitual, long-lasting, uncompleted, or used to frame another action. There are also a few verbs whose meaning is significantly different in the two aspects. We now discuss the main senses of the past perfective in detail; those of the imperfective are discussed in the next section, along with alternative strategies available for expressing these meanings in Kune.

Most typically the past perfective is used to refer to a single, completed past action.

- 9.49 *Bi-mok-garu-i, bi-nud-gorrhge-ng. Gun-nud ba-rrolga-ng an-ege.*  
 Dj 3/3hP-sore-dig-PP 3/3hP-pus-burst-PP IV-pus 3P-get.up-PP VE-that  
 'He dug in his sore and burst his pus out. All the pus rushed out.'

But the action may persist a long time, as long as the episode is completed:

- 9.50 *Galukborrk ba-werrhme-ng, gorrogo ba-rrolga-ng wanjh.*  
 Dj long.time 3/3P-rake-PP before 3P-get.up-PP then  
 'She raked them a long time, before suddenly he flew up.'

Where the effects of the completed action persist into the present, the past perfective may translate an English present perfect or even a simple present:

- 9.51 *Ba-rayek-m-inj.*  
 Dj 3P-hard-INCH-PP  
 'It has frozen.'
- 9.52 *An-barndarr ba-nguibo-m.*  
 Dj III-turkey.bush 3P-flower-PP  
 'The turkey bush is in flower (lit. has flowered).'
- 9.53 *ø-Dung-mirrhmirrhme-ng.*  
 W 3P-sun-get.sharp-PP  
 'It's hot.' (lit. 'The sun has got sharp.')
- 9.54 *Bolkki kikkik birri-marne-yime-rr-inj, kabirri-na-n narin.*  
 E now birds 3aP-BEN-say-RR-PP 3a-see-NP snake  
*Kabirri-marne-mulewa-rr-en.*  
 3a-BEN-inform-RR-NP  
 'Now all the birds have agreed to warn one another if they see a snake.'  
 (Given as conclusion to a myth.)

The past perfective may combine with the time adverbial *bolkgime* 'now' with the meaning 'have just Ved':

- 9.55 *Bolkgime ngarri-m-wam.*  
 Dj now 1a-hither-goPP  
 'We've just come.'

Possible, likely, past actions are expressed by the combination of *gare* 'maybe' with the past perfective.

- 9.56 *Njamed, djirndi, gare ba-yi-warlkga-rr-inj njanjuk, gu-mege*  
 Dj *whatsit quail perhaps 3P-COM-hide-RR-PP something LOC-there*  
*ganjdji.*  
*underneath*  
*'That whatsit, quail, might have hidden himself away with it or something,*  
*under (the leaves) there.'*

In Kuninju and Kune, with their lack of a formally distinct past imperfective, the past perfective is also used for durative actions that would in the other dialects be expressed with the imperfective. An example is the following rendition of the same text in two dialects; the Kuninju version was given as a translation of an original Kunwinju text. In the Kuninju version the Kunwinju imperfective forms *benebalhrey* 'they two were going along' and *bene-kuk-kani* 'they two carried the body' are rendered into Kuninju with the forms *bene-h-wam* (the immediate *h* here is marking the clause as subordinate) and *bene-kuk-kang*. These are past perfective forms in the other dialects, though of course, strictly speaking, they should simply be glossed 'past' in Kune due to the lack of an aspectual distinction. For this reason I gloss them P(P) in this example, but elsewhere in the grammar I will continue to gloss them PP for the sake of consistency with other dialects.

- 9.57 *Bu bene-balh-re-y na-mekbe duruk ø-woh-nome-ng na-kudji*  
 W SUB 3uaP-along-go-PI MA-DEM dog 3/3P-part-smell-PP MA-one  
*na-kimuk-ken kalawan wanjh bene-bom bene-kuk-me-y*  
 MA-big-GEN goanna then 3uaP-killPP 3uaP-body-pick.up-PP  
*bene-kuk-kani.*  
 3uaP-body-carry-PI  
*'As the two of them were going along, that dog smelt a big goanna along the*  
*way. Then they killed it and picket it up, and carried it along.'*
- 9.58 *Bu bene-h-wam namekke duruk ø-who-nome-ng na-kudji*  
 I SUB 3uaP-IMM-goP(P) MA-DEM dog 3/3P-part-smell-P(P) MA-one  
*na-kimuk-ken kalawan wanjh bene-bom bene-kuk-me-y*  
 MA-big-GEN goanna then 3uaP-killPP 3uaP-body-pick.up-P(P)  
*bene-kuk-ka-ng.*  
 3uaP-body-carry-P(P) (translation as 9.57)

Negation of the past perfective is expressed by the irrealis plus the particle *djama* (Dj) *minj* (W, I) or *marrek* (E) (see §9.3.5).

### 9.3.4 Past imperfective

The past imperfective is used for a variety of past actions that are uncompleted, neutralised, repeated, drawn out or backgrounded. Such clauses are negated with *djama* 'not' in Gun-djeihmi and *minj* in Kunwinju.

Habitual, repeated past actions or past states are typically but not necessarily accompanied by appropriate time adverbials with meanings like 'before, in ancient times, in the olden days'. The past imperfective extends to purpose complements of habitual verbs, as with 'to

get cane grass' in 9.62. For a whole text, reporting past ritual practices, see the Morak story (Text 4 in Appendix 1).

- 9.59 *Al-wanj djuk gorrogo al-gohbanj ba-rri ba-yim-i. Wou, ba-re-i*  
 Dj II-emu before II-old.person 3P-stand 3-say-PI yes 3-go-PI  
*an-djai, ba-bu-ni. Ba-re-i ba-ngolu-ngi ba-rro-ngi*  
 III-cane.grass 3/3P-hit-PI 3P-go-PI 3/3P-roast.on.coals-PI 3/3P-pound-PI  
*gu-warde.*  
 LOC-rock

'Long ago, Emu was an old woman, it is said. Yes, she would go off to get cane grass. She used to go and roast it, and pound it on a rock.'

- 9.60 *Ngaye daluk gorrogo ba-ganj-ginje-yi.*  
 Dj I woman before 3P-meat-cook-PI  
 'My wife used to cook for me.'
- 9.61 *Ngaye gorrogo an-bang nga-gurrm-i, gun-gurlah a-ma-ngi.*  
 Dj I before III-poison 1-put.down-PI IV-pelt 1/3-pick.up-PI  
 'In the old days I used to put down baits, to get (dingo) pelts.'

The past imperfective can also be used to refer to a single, drawn-out event, emphasising its duration (e.g. the carrying along of the goanna's body in 9.57), or the number of sub-acts involved (e.g. the many bamboo stems cut in 9.64). It need not imply that the event was not completed, if the emphasis was on how long the event was lasting. In 9.65 the eating of the fruit was complete, but took a long time; and in 9.66 the rain had finished, but went on for a long time, as evidenced by the large pool of water on the road.

- 9.62 *Nga-yawa-ni djama a-ngalge-meninj.*  
 Dj 1/3-look.for-PI not 1/3-find-IRR  
 'I looked for him for a long time but didn't find him.'
- 9.63 *A-djobge-i anabbarru malamalaiyi.*  
 Dj 1/3-cut-PI buffalo morning  
 'I was cutting up buffalo all morning.'
- 9.64 *Man-ekke man-kole birri-djobke-ni.*  
 W VE-DEM III-bamboo 3aP-cut-PI  
 'They've really chopped a lot of bamboo (only two stems are left standing).'
- 9.65 *Ba-ngu-ni wakwak.*  
 Dj 3/3P-eat-PI crow  
 'The crow ate all the fruit.'
- 9.66 *Na-gimuk ba-djakdu-i an-djeuk ... ba-djakdu-i.*  
 Dj MA-big 3-rain-PP III-rain 3-rain-PI  
 'It's rained a lot ... It's really been raining.'

The past imperfective is frequently used in backgrounding 'while' clauses, which may be marked with the subordinator *bu* 'when' (9.57, 9.58, 9.67) but are usually marked as a background clause simply by intonation (9.68, 9.69).

- 9.67 *Bu anabbarru barri-darnh-bebme-rre-ni, barri-darnh-bu-ni.*  
 Dj when buffalo 3aP-close-appear-RR-PI 3aP-close-kill-PI  
 'When the buffalo stampeded up close, they'd kill them.'
- 9.68 *Barri-h-ngu-ni djilidjili, gorlobbarra barri-na-ng.*  
 Dj 3aP-IMM-eat-PI cane.grass kangaroo 3aP-see-PP  
 'As they were eating cane grass, they saw a kangaroo.'
- 9.69 *Ba-ngarre-werrhm-i gun-marlaworr, gun-boi ba-ngune-ng.*  
 Dj 3P-scrub-scratch-PI IV-leaf IV-cooking.stone 3P-eat-PP  
 'While she was scratching around in the leaves, she ate a cooking stone.'

In Manyallaluk Mayali the clitic =*wi*, whose basic meaning is 'only' (§13.8.3) has developed as a marker of past imperfective with some verbs, particularly those without a formally distinct past imperfective, such as stance verbs. An example is *barri-niwi* 'they used to sit' (< 'they just sat (around)'). The full range of verbs in which this has happened has yet to be investigated.

### 9.3.4.1 Expressing repetition and duration in the eastern dialects

As noted, the eastern dialects (Kuninjku and Kune) lack the past imperfective category. They make use of a number of devices for expressing the relevant semantic contrasts:

- (a) They may simply make use of the perfective, with no formal marking of duration or repetition, as in the last verb in 9.58 above.
- (b) Particularly with monosyllabic verbs, and durational meaning, they employ prosodic vowel lengthening on the past form (e.g. *birriwaaaaam* 'they kept going', *birriiiii* 'they sat for a long time'; see Text 6.5, 70). This also occurs in other dialects — for an MM example, see Text 3.28.
- (c) Use of serial verb constructions with *ni* 'sit' and *re* 'go' (e.g. *I doweng ni* '(s)he was sick (for a long time)' [lit. she.was.sick/died she.sat], *I nganedurrinj nganewam* 'we used to swear at each other' [lit. we.swore.at.each.other we.went]). See §14.5 for fuller examples.
- (d) Extended use of the irrealis to cover habitual past actions:

- 9.70 *Kuybuk na-mekke, baleh ngarri-yime, man-kuybuk, man-limbidj,*  
 E:N banksia.dentata MA-DEM how 1a-do III-banksia III-banksia.dentata  
*sometime ngarri-karrme kun-ridme ngarri-dowe-n, toothache, korroko*  
 1a-getNP IV-tooth 1a-die-NP before  
*birri-kinje-ng, hot one, kun-ridme birri-kinjé-meninj and ø-dowé-meninj,*  
 3aP-burn-PP IV-tooth 3a/3P-burn-IRR 3P-die-IRR  
*marrek bi-kadju-yi pain ø-yime-ninj, na-mak, ø-mak-m-eninj*  
 NEG 3/3hP-chase-IRR 3P-do-IRR MA-good 3P-good-INCH-IRR



*nungan man-kuybuk.*

heEMPH III-banksia.dentata

'That *banksia dentata* cone, what we do, with that *man-kuybuk* or *man-limbij*, sometimes, if we get a really bad toothache. In the olden days they'd set fire to one of the *banksia* cones, and burn the tooth with it, and the pain would go, it'd be OK, it'd get better. That's the *banksia dentata*.'

- 9.71 *Yarlang ya yarlang birri-name-ninj birri-borrkke-meninj bungkurl-kah*  
E:N ordinary yeah ordinary 3a/3P-make-IRR 3aP-dance-IRR [style]-LOC

*birri-borrkke-meninj o djal kun-borrk-kah birri-borrkke-meninj.*

3aP-dance-IRR or just [style]-LOC 3aP-dance-IRR

'Ordinary ones (body decorations) yeah, they'd put it on and dance in the *bungkurl* style or in the *kun-borrk* style.'

#### 9.3.4.2 Lexicalised aspectual differences

With a few verbs, referring to states whose onset is highly salient, the perfective and imperfective forms differ more substantially in meaning, to the point where the Kunwinjku dictionary lists at least some as separate entries. In each case the perfective profiles the transition into the state, and the imperfective the state itself.

Thus with the verb *wakwa* 'lose, not know, be ignorant of', the perfective is typically translated as 'forgot', as in *ngawakwam* 'I forgot — I lost my knowledge of it' (9.72), while the imperfective translates as '(formerly) was ignorant, didn't know before': *ngabolkwakwani* 'I didn't know this place before (but now I do)'. *Downen*, which can mean either 'be sick, be in pain' or 'die', is associated with the first meaning in the imperfective, and the second in the perfective: *w downeni* '(s)he was sick', *doweng* '(s)he died'. With other TAM values either sense is possible (e.g. *wardi kabirri-downen* 'they might get sick' or 'they might die').

- 9.72 *Nga-ngey-burrbu-ni, bolkkime nga-ngey-wakwa-m.*

W 1/3-name-know-PI now 1/3-name-be.ignorant-PP

'I used to know the name, but now I've forgotten it.' (i.e. entered a state of not knowing)

#### 9.3.5 Irrealis

This is used for a variety of situations whose status is less than fully real: negated past sentences, past sentences with the meaning 'nearly' or 'about to', expressions of wish or obligation, hypotheses, certain types of yes/no questions (§13.8), and complements of 'desire' predicates. As discussed in §9.3.4.1 it is also used in eastern dialects to cover repeated past actions.

Previous descriptions of Kunwinjku have used a range of labels for this category. Oates (1964) and Carroll (1976) use the term 'past negative', which is too specific because the category need not be negative, and Etherington and Etherington (1994) use the term 'indefinite'. I prefer the term 'irrealis' since all senses have in common the reduced reality status of the proposition.

Negated past sentences combine the irrealis with a negative particle: Dj *djama* (9.73), *minj* in W (9.74) and I (9.75), and E *marrek* (9.76). (*Marrek* can also be used in Dj, W and I but has the more emphatic meaning 'never' in those dialects):

- 9.73 *Ngaye ngarduk duruk yahwurdurd-ni, djama a-bu-yi.*  
 Dj I my dog small-PI not 1/3-hit-IRR  
 'When my dog was small I never hit him.'

- 9.74 *Minj njale mak bene-bekka-yi.*  
 W not what too 3uaP-hear-IRR  
 'They did not hear anything.' [OP 395]

- 9.75 *Yimarnek nga-rrulubu-yi, la ø-bid-deyhmeng, minj ø-dowkme-ninj.*  
 I CTRFAC 1/3-shoot-IRR but 3-hand-clickPP not 3P-go.off-IRR  
 'I tried to shoot but the trigger just clicked without it (the gun) discharging.'

- 9.76 *ø-Wam, ø-wam, marrek ø-bengka-yi yungkih kamarrang rowk*  
 E 3P-goPP 3P-goPP not 3P-know-IRR ahead [subsection] all  
*bini-marne-warlkka-rr-inj.*  
 3ua/3P-BEN-wait-RR-PP  
 'And so off he went but he didn't know that two men of Kamarrang subsection were ahead hiding from him.'

- 9.77 *Marrek nga-yame-ninj gornobbolo.*  
 Dj never 1-spear-IRR wallaby  
 'I never speared a wallaby.' [EH]

The meaning 'nearly' or 'about to' is expressed by the irrealis inflection alone:

- 9.78 *A-rrowkme-ninj / a-bu-yi.*  
 Dj 1/3-shoot-IRR 1/3-hit-IRR  
 'I nearly shot it/nearly hit it.'

- 9.79 *Na-djik ba-m-bebme-ng gu-mege, wanjh bi-berdme-ninj,*  
 Dj I-tawny.frogmouth 3P-hither-appear-PP LOC-there then 3/3P-cover-IRR  
*barri-yame-ng, barri-burnname-ng.*  
 3aP-spear-PP 3aP-stop-PP  
 'Tawny Frogmouth appeared there, and just as he was about to cover(a would-be victim with stringybark), they speared him and stopped him.'

- 9.80 *Yi-man.ga-yi.*  
 Dj 2-fall-IRR  
 'You nearly fell.'

- 9.81 *Nga-kayhme-ninj glass ngarduk.*  
 E 1-call.out-IRR glasses my  
 'I was about to call out for my glasses (that's why I wanted the tape turned off).'

The meaning 'almost finished' is expressed by the prefix *-bal-guyin-* 'almost' plus the irrealis in Gun-djeihmi; other dialects use comparable prefixes with the past suffixes (§11.4.4).

- 9.82 *A-bal-guyin-yakwo-yi.*  
 Dj 1-away-almost-finish-IRR  
 'I've almost finished.'

Unsuccessful attempts are expressed by combining the irrealis with the modal counterfactual particle *yimankek* in W (9.83) or I (9.84). Kuninjku also has the variant *yimaneke* (9.85). See §13.11 for further discussion.

- 9.83 *Yimankek ø-lobme-ninj, dja na-yahwurd.*  
 W CTRFAC 3P-run-IRR but MA-small  
 '(The child) tried to run, but he was too small.'
- 9.84 *Nungka yimankek ø-dulubu-yi bulikki, dja burrkyak-ni.*  
 I he CTRFAC 3P-shoot-IRR bullock but nothing-PI  
 'He tried to shoot the bullock, but nothing.'
- 9.85 A: *Yimaneke kandi-bawo-yi, kadjin ngad ngarrben-marne-yime.*  
 I CTRFAC 3a/1a-leave-IRR parent-in-law we 1a/3pl-BEN-sayNP  
 B: *Daluk kandi-wo-yi.*  
 woman 3a/1a-give-IRR  
 A: 'They should leave off the swearing and joking, we're their in-laws.'  
 B: 'They're supposed to give us wives.' [Garde 1996]

Alternatively, the attempt clause may merely use the irrealis, followed by a subsequent clause containing the verb *barabu* 'try but fail' (9.86). *Yimaneke* plus the irrealis can also express 'supposed to', giving rules that should be followed but are in fact being broken (9.85).

- 9.86 *Birri-doh-dombu-yi, larrh, birri-barabo-m.*  
 E 3aP-INCEP-extinguish-IRR mothing 3aP-try.but.fail-PP  
 'They tried unsuccessfully to put the fire out.'

The irrealis is likewise sometimes used after the hearsay particle *djaying* (§13.11.2):

- 9.87 *Djaying ba-ra-yinj gurih.*  
 Dnj supposedly 3P-go-IRR there  
 'I thought he was going to go that way (but he didn't).'

Wishes, or desirable but unrealised actions may be expressed as the irrealis complement of an overt desire verb, implicating non-fulfilment:

- 9.88 *A-djare-ni a-bu-yi.*  
 Dj 1-want-PI 1/3-kill-IRR  
 'I wanted to kill him.'
- 9.89 *Ngaye nga-djare-ni nga-na-yi.*  
 Dj I 1-want-PI 1-see-IRR  
 'I wanted to see him.'

Alternatively, they may be expressed simply as an unadorned irrealis clause:

- 9.90 *Nga-bongu-yi.*  
 W 1-drink-IRR  
 'I wish I could have a drink.'

- 9.91 *Ngarr-na-yinj*  $\emptyset$ -wolewoleh-m-eninj, *ngarr-wok-yi-bid-bidbu-yi*.  
 I 1a-see-IRR 3P-afternoon-INCH-IRR 1a-language-COM-ITER-go.up-IRR  
 'We should have a look in the afternoon, talking as we climb up.'
- 9.92 *Nga-rrulubu-yi*.  
 W 1-shoot-IRR  
 'I wish I could shoot it.'
- 9.93 *Bi-ma-yi* *Na-burlanj* *gun-mak*.  
 E:D 3/3hP-marry-IRR MA-[skin] IV-good  
 'She should have married straight, to a Naburlanj man.'
- 9.94 *Yi-rrulubu-yi*.  
 E:N 2/3-shoot-IRR  
 'You should have shot it.'

Hypothetical situations may also be expressed by the irrealis:

- 9.95 *Kunukka korroko-ni kunubewu ngandi-kom-dadjke-meninj, dja bolkkime*  
 W IV:DEM before-P maybe 3a/1-neck-cut-IRR CONJ now  
*man-kerrnge man-karre*.  
 VE-new III-law  
 'Under the old-time law I would have been hanged, but this was the new law.'  
 [KS 254]

A number of other unrealised complements, of such verbs as 'ask', 'forget' and 'try for', take the irrealis. (These are discussed and exemplified in §14.2.2.4.)

The irrealis also appears in counterfactual conditional clauses (conditionals are discussed more generally in §14.4.4). In a counterfactual conditional both the protasis and the apodosis are in the irrealis. These may have either a present (9.96) or a past counterfactual (9.97, 9.98) meaning.

- 9.96 *Bu nga-burrbu-yi Kunwinjku, wanjh nga-wokdi-wirrinj*.  
 W if 1-know-IRR [language] then 1-talk-IRR  
 'If I knew Kunwinjku I would speak it.'
- 9.97 *Bu*  $\emptyset$ -na-yi *bulikki, wanjh*  $\emptyset$ -dulubu-yi.  
 W if 3P-see-IRR bullock then 3P-shoot-IRR  
 'If he had seen the bullock then he would have shot it.'
- 9.98 *Bolkkime karri-yu-wirrinj, or tomorrow, ngarr-ayi ngarr-ma-yi*  
 E:D now 12a-sleep-IRR 12-goIRR 12-get-IRR  
*kun-djahkorl and*  $\emptyset$ -bukka-yi *nga-borledme-ninj nga-wurlhke-meninj*.  
 IV-firestick 1/2a-show-IRR 1-twirl-IRR 1-make.fire-IRR  
 'If we'd all stayed here longer, we could have gone to get a firestick and I'd have shown you how I rub firesticks together to make a fire.'

More unusually, the irrealis can be used in the protasis and the non-past in the apodosis (in this case jokingly juxtaposing the hypothetical nature of the first part with the humorous certainty of the second part):

- 9.99 *Daluk yi-ngu-yi, yiben-kadju-ng ba yiben-dedjdjo-ng.*  
 I woman 2/3-“eat”-IRR 2/3pl-follow-NP so 2/3pl-fuck-NP  
 ‘If you want to have sex with a woman you follow them around to fuck them.’  
 (Garde 1996:137–138)

Obligation may also be expressed by combining the modal particles *mak* or *wanjh*, the past prefix set, and the irrealis:

- 9.100 *Nungka wanjh ø-ra-yi werrkwerrk.*  
 W he then 3P-go-IRR quickly  
 ‘He should go soon.’
- 9.101 *Nungka mak ø-ra-yi.*  
 W he must 3P-go-IRR  
 ‘He must go.’
- 9.102 *Ngaleng mak ø-ra-yi ø-warlbui-yi man-me.*  
 W she must 3P-go-IRR 3P-hunt-IRR III-food  
 ‘She must go hunting for food.’

Finally, the irrealis gets extended to express habitual repetition in eastern dialects that have lost the past imperfective (see §9.3.4.1).

### 9.3.6 *Persistent* -(yi)nd-

This suffix has not been described in previous publications on the language, despite appearing in all dialects (though typically recurring with the same handful of verbs). It consists of two parts: a persistent morpheme -(yi)nd-, which follows the stem (in the same slot as the reflexive/reciprocal), and a tense/aspect/mood suffix, on a similar pattern to the ‘stand’ verbs *di-* and *da-* (see Figure 9.1). Example 9.103 illustrates the non-past form, 9.104 the past perfective, 9.105 the irrealis, and 9.106 the past imperfective (formally identical with the non-past, like other verbs in this conjugation).

- 9.103 *Gorlobbarr ga-rrume-djuhm-iyind-i.*  
 Dj wallaroo 3-tail-be.in.water-PERSIS-NP  
 ‘The antelope wallaroo is dangling its tail in the water.’
- 9.104 *Ba-djal-wam mimbi ba-djuhm-iyind-anj.*  
 Dj 3P-just-goPP alive 3P-be.in.water-PERSIS-PP  
 ‘It kept going around and multiplying in the water.’
- 9.105 *Jesus ø-yimih-yim-i kun-djal-wern-duninh bu kuningkunu djurra*  
 W 3P-REDUP-say-PI IV-just-many-REALY SUB that book  
*kore minj ø-bimbu-yind-angimeninj.*  
 LOC not 3P-write-PERSIS-IRR  
 ‘Jesus did many things, so many they couldn’t all be written down in this book.’  
 [God Kanbengdayhke Kadberre; John 21.25]
- 9.106 *Bad wurdurd-no — ragul, gorlobbok, goddoukgoddouk,*  
 [but] children-POSSD red.eye.pigeon peaceful.dove bar.shouldered.dove

*gikgik, njanjuk-njanjuk maih na-wern-gen, barri-marridowe-nd-i.*  
 honeyeater all.sorts bird MA-many-GEN 3aP-be.hungry-PERSIS-PI  
 'But all her children — the red-eye pigeon, the peaceful dove, the bar-shouldered  
 dove, the brown honeyeater, all sorts of birds — they were constantly hungry.'

Semantically, the persistive expresses the persistence of the designated state or (if the verb designates a change of state) of the result.<sup>4</sup> In 9.103 the kangaroo is keeping its tail in the water for a long time, in 9.106 the children are hungry over a long period, in 9.107 the cheeky yams are left in the water for a long time to leach out the toxins (this typically takes several days), and in 9.108 the meat is subjected to prolonged cooking in the ground oven.

9.107 *Birri-djuhke-ng kun-djabarrk. Birri-barlke-ng man-bu man-me wanjh*  
 W 3aP-make.wet-PP IV-bag 3aP-fill-PP VE-DEM III-food then

*birri-djuhke-ng ø-djuhmih-djuhmi-yind-i.*

3aP-make.wet-PP 3P-ITER-be.in.water-PERSIS-PI

'They put (the cheeky yams) into a dilly bag and put it in the creek to soak (while the toxins leached out).' [KS 190]

9.108 *Bi-marne-bebme-ng bi-na-ng ø-yerrka-ng nungan, wanjh kun-kanj*  
 W 3/3h-BEN-appear-PP 3/3h-see-PP 3P-sit-PP him then IV-meat

*ø-kerribom (namarnde kun-kanj). ø-kerrih-kerribu-yind-i.*

3/3-roastPP devil IV-meat 3(/3?)-ITER-roast-PERSIS-PI

'(The devil) appeared and he saw him sitting there, then he cooked the meat in a ground oven, devil meat. It cooked in the ground oven for a long time.'

Where the verb is transitive, the persistive involves a change of diathesis: the persistive form becomes intransitive, and its subject is the patient (i.e. the object of the basic verb). Thus in 9.109 the transitive verb *balhme* 'to block off' (which normally takes the blocker as the subject and the place blocked off as the object and is exemplified with this argument structure in the second line) forms the persistive *balhmiyindi*, an intransitive verb which takes the place blocked off as its subject. Similar remarks apply to the underlying transitive verbs *bimbun* 'write' in 9.105, *dukka* 'tie up' in 9.110 and *marnbun* 'make' in 9.111. (For a further example with *dudje* 'bury' see 13.143.)

9.109 *Birri-na-ng ka-balhm-iyind-i birri-durnd-i ku-red*  
 W 3aP-see-PP 3-close.off-PERSIS-NP 3aP-return-PP LOC-camp

*bindi-marne-mulewa-m, "Nakka birri-rurrk-balhme-ng ngarri-na-ng".*

3a/3plP-BEN-inform-PP MA:DEM 3aP-cave-block-PP 1a-see-PP

(Some people have been walled up in a cave by an evil spirit; and some children come to find them:) 'They saw that it was blocked up, and went home, telling them (their family): "We've seen that they've blocked up the cave".' [KS 222]

9.110 *Ka-rrukka-yind-i.*

I 3-tie.up-PERSIS-NP

'He's tied up.'

<sup>4</sup> Note that Carroll (1995:413) translates a comparable form *kabirrihdjuhmiyindi kuronj* as 'they stay in the water' in one of his texts.

- 9.111 *Kun-debi bu karri-wokdi-h minj karri-ngeybu-rr-en kunuka*  
 W IV-triangular.kin.terms REL 12a-talk-IMM not 12a-name-RR-NP that

*man-karre kadberre ø-marnbuyi-nd-anj.*

III-custom our 3P-make-PERSIS-PP

'Kun-debi is when we talk without naming each other, that is how our custom has always been (i.e. that's how our custom was made).' [Manakgu & Djayhurrnga]

In many cases this patient-focussed diathesis is best interpreted as a medio-passive or reflexive. The persistive form of the transitive verb *warlkka* 'hide' in 9.112 could be translated either as 'were hidden' or 'had hidden themselves'. Use of the reflexive form *birriwarlkkarrinj* 'they hid (themselves)' would also be possible here but would emphasise the act of hiding rather than the resultant state.

- 9.112 *Minj ngad ngarrben-na-n, bedda birri-warlkka-yind-i kore*  
 W NEG we 1a/3pl-see-NP they 3a-hide-PERSIS-PI LOC

*ku-wardde-rurrk.*

LOC-rock-cave

'We couldn't see them, because they were hidden in the rock.' [KS 90]

Similarly, in 9.113 the reflexive verb *garridjuherren* 'we are making ourselves wet' would be possible, but would focus on the activity, whereas *djuhgendi* focusses on the resultant state of being in the water for a good long cool off. Note that here, besides the transitive *djuhge* 'to make wet, to put in the water' there is also an intransitive verb *djuhme* 'to be in water', as well as its persistive *djuhmiyindi* 'to be in water for a long time, to soak' (see 9.107 above). Finally, the Kuninju dialect, at least, has the form *djuhmikendi*, formally the incorporation of the gerundive form *djuhmi* (from *djuhme*) into the transitiviser *-ke*, which then forms a persistive form; it is not clear at this stage how this differs semantically from *djuhkendi*. A comparable example from the Kunwinju Bible is *birrikukbarlmikendi* 'they were filled with the Holy Spirit' (Acts 2:4), in which the verb *barlme* 'overflow, be full' has been gerundivised, incorporated into transitivising *ke*, and this then put in the persistive form.

- 9.113 *Garri-djuhge-nd-i.*  
 Dj 12-put.in.water-PERSIS-NP  
 'We're sitting in the water.'

The origins of the persistive suffix are not altogether clear. In the slot between stem and TAM inflections Proto Gunwinyguan appears to have had three derivational categories: a reflexive *-yi-*, a reciprocal *-NHDHi-*, and an inchoative *-Dhi-*, each with further allomorphs. Different Gunwinyguan languages have collapsed these three in a number of ways, and re-extended their functions around this semantic field. It is possible that the persistive descends from the reciprocal, via an extension from reciprocal to reflexive, which would account for the nasal onset; delaminalisation, a change we know has applied in the language, would account for the change from *-NHDHi-* to *-ndi-*.

However, it would not account for the *yi* segment found after some thematics, nor for the *a* vocalism in the perfective and irrealis. An alternative source would be as a grammaticalisation of a pattern by which gerundivised verbs were incorporated into the verb *da* 'stand'. Both the *a* vocalism and the *yi* segment would be consistent with this source, and

the semantics, extending 'stand' to mean 'persistent state', are not implausible. However, this explanation does not explain the *n* segment; although prenasalisation of affix-initial stops sometimes occurs elsewhere in the grammar (e.g. the *-ngke* allomorph of *-ke*, discussed in §7.1.3), it would be more consistent with *da* as an incorporating thematic to flap to *rra* after a vowel, as happens when *da* is used as an inchoative (§8.2.2.3).

Finally, it is not impossible that the current construction represents a paradigmatic merger of the two sources above.

### 9.3.7 Special 'inceptive' forms of stance verbs

With two of the stance verbs — 'stand' and 'lie' — there are two alternative stem sets,<sup>5</sup> that are on the road to merger even in older speakers, but at least in the non-past and past perfective encode the difference between 'be in stance X', with stem of form CV, and 'assume/become in stance X', with stem of form CVngV. I gloss this 'inceptive'; note that it is not to be confused with the inceptive pattern of partial reduplication discussed in §9.4.1, which is fully productive and whose meaning range is more complex.

The full set of relevant forms are given as alternatives in Table 9.1. For both verbs there is an encroachment of the imperfective forms (*danj* and *yoy*) into contexts where the perfective would normally be used. Revealingly, those dialects that have lost the imperfective form (I, E) have actually lost the perfective form of these verbs, and just for these verbs use the imperfective form (*danj*, *yoy*) as their normal past; at the same time, they have split off a separate verb *dangen* 'to stand, come to a standstill'. The third stance root, 'sit', lacks this contrast (though the existence of forms like non-past *ningen* and past perfective *ninginj* in some other Gunwinyguan languages suggests it once participated in a similar contrast; see Alpher, Evans & Harvey, forthcoming).

To discern the semantic contrast present in those speakers who have both sets, compare the two contrasting pairs *dan* 'be standing' and *dangen* 'become standing, come to a standstill' (9.135), both non-past, and *danj* 'stood' and *danginj* 'reached a standing position'<sup>6</sup> (9.114), both past perfective. Compare also *danj* 'stood' (imperfective) and the corresponding 'assume stance' imperfective *dangeni*, meaning 'was coming into a standing position' (9.115). Note that the use of the special 'assume stance' form extends to other verbs taking *da* as thematic, such as *ngokdan* '(sun) set, become dark' in 9.116.

9.114 *Ngarri-danginj wanjh ngarri-kolu-y.*

I 1a-standPP then 1a-get.down-PP  
'We stopped and got down (from the truck).'

9.115 *Bene-burriwe-yi, madjawarr ø-durnde-ngi, ø-djab-dange-ni*

W 3uaP-throw-PI spear 3P-return-PI 3P-upright-stand:INCEP-PI

<sup>5</sup> These alternative stem sets have not been discussed satisfactorily in published work: they are not mentioned in Oates (1964) or Carroll (1976); Etherington and Etherington give two alternative sets for 'stand', without going into the nature of the semantic distinction, and mention the use of *yoy* as the past perfective of *yo* alongside *yonginj*, but without mentioning non-past *yongen*.

<sup>6</sup> *Danginj* has the further idiomatic meaning 'was born'.



*kore bene-danginj.*

LOC 3P-standPP

'The two of them were throwing spears, but the spears were bouncing back and coming to stand upright in the ground where the two of them were standing.'

[OP 392, with translation slightly altered]

9.116 *Bene-re-y ø-ngokda-ngeni*

W 3uaP-go-PI 3P-sun.set:INCEP-PI

'They were going along as the sun was setting.' [OP 373]

The non-past form of 'lie, be lying' *yo*, participates in a similar opposition to *yongen* 'lie down, start to lie down'. In the past perfective there is a parallel opposition between *yoy* 'lay, slept, camped' and *yonginj* 'lay down; set up camp' (as in 9.117, where it co-occurs, as is typical, with the verb *gurrmerrinj* 'put himself').

9.117 *ø-Ngoreng-wam bonj, ka-bal-yongen.*

W 3P-wounded-gopp right 3-away-lie:INCEP:NP

'He went away wounded. Right, he (the wounded man) starts to lie down.'

[KH fn.161]

9.118 *Kure ø-yonginj ø-kurrme-rr-inj ø-yibmeng en Gun-djeihmi*

W there 3P-lie.downPP 3P-put-RR-PP 3P-sink-PP and [name]

*kabirri-yime "wodjmeng".*

3a-sayNP

'He lay down there, put himself (into the landscape), sank down, and Gun-djeihmi say "wodjmeng" (for 'he sank down').'

9.119 *Wanjh bu ka-djolengme-n karri-wayhke karri-kurrme kaluk*

W then SUB 3-get.cooked-NP 12a-liftNP 12a-put.downNP later

*bu ka-wolebuk-ki-yongen.*

SUB 3-get.cool-IVF-lie:INCEP:NP

'Then when it's cooked we take it out of the fire and put it down (by the side) until it starts to get cool.'

As with the 'stand' forms, compound verb stems including the root *yo* may use the inceptive forms:

9.120 *Man-dolng-kimuk wanjh ka-ke-yongen.*

W III-smoke-big then 3-asleep-lie:INCEP:NP

'With all the smoke (the baby) will go to sleep.' [KS 262]

#### 9.4 Verbal reduplication

There are three formal types of verbal reduplication, each associated with its own meaning or cluster of meanings: inceptive, iterative, and extended. Note, though, that these names merely characterise their prototypical functions, and further functions are discussed below.

### 9.4.1 Inceptive reduplication

Inceptive reduplications basically involve copying the first CV of the verb stem, adding a glottal stop, and prefixing the resultant string to the root. Thus the inceptive of *yame-* 'spear' is *yah-yame* 'try to spear' and the inceptive of *dolka-* 'get up, arise, fly up' is *doh-dolka-* 'hop along'.

Where the initial syllable has structure CVN (at least for apical Ns) speakers vary as to whether to place the glottal stop after the CVN, or to replace the N with it. For the inceptive of *durnde-* 'return' I have recorded both *duh-durnde-* and *durnh-durnde-*; for the inceptive of *manka-* 'fall', *manh-manka-* 'stumble'; for the inceptive of *dombu-* 'extinguish' I have recorded *doh-dombu-* 'try to extinguish'; for the inceptive of *barnname* 'hang up, put up high' I have recorded *barnh-barnname*. At present it is not clear what conditioning factors are involved.

The meanings conveyed by inceptive reduplication are:

- (a) INCEPTION, as in *du(rn)h-durnde-* 'start back':

9.121 *Garri-durnh-durnde-ng wurdurd, ba-ngokda-nj.*

Dj 12a-INCEP-return-NP children 3P-get.dark-PP  
'Let's get home, kids; it's already got dark.'

- (b) UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT, as in:

9.122 *Barri-yah-yame-ng gunj, barri-warreh-warrewo-ng.*

Dj 3a/3P-INCEP-spear-PP kangaroo 3a/3P-ITER-miss-PP  
'They tried to spear the kangaroo but they kept missing it.'

9.123 *Ba-bili-doh-dombu-ni dja ga-warre barri-djal-ru-ngi.*

Dj 3/3P-flame-INCEP-put.out-PI but 3-bad 3aP-just-burn-PI  
'He'd try to put out the fire but to no avail, they'd just get burned.'

9.124 *Birri-yah-yame-ng yimankek ø-warreh-warrewo-ng.*

W 3aP-INCEP-spear-PP CTRFAC 3P-ITER-wreck-PP  
'They tried spearing Ngalyod, but kept missing.' [Namarladj story]

- (c) LEXICALISED MEANINGS With *dolga-* 'get up' the inceptive form has the specialised meaning 'jump along':

9.125 *Ga-rroh-dolga-n.*

Dj 3-INCEP-get.up-NP  
'He jumps along.'

### 9.4.2 Iterative reduplication

For most iterative reduplications the meaning is 'do over and over again', 'do to many objects', 'do all over the place'. With intransitive verbs such as stance verbs it may mean 'many SUBJs do all around' (9.126). There are no examples of iteratives representing the plurality of a transitive subject.

- 9.126 *Na-mege duruk ga-yongo-yo-ø*  
 Dj MA-that dog 3-ITER-lie-NP  
 'There are dogs lying all around.'

Some verbs have specialised meanings for their iterative stems: with the verbs *bukkan* 'show, teach' and *wam* 'go:PP' it can mean 'thoroughly, completely, all the way', and with the verbs *rey* 'go:PI' and *da-* 'stop' it can mean 'gradually'.

In the Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali dialects, iterative reduplication of inflected monosyllabic roots involves just the first CV- of the root, as with E *birri-ngu-nguyi* 'they used to eat it', *ka-yo-yo* 'it/they lie(s) around', *ka-re-re* 'it goes and goes', *ka-ru-rung* 'it keeps burning', *ngarri-me-mey* 'we picked them up (many times)', *ngabin-kolk-wo-wong* 'we drank a lot of water' and MM *ngarri-bili-ka-kan* 'we carry flames around'. The complexity of the rules in the other dialects can be seen from the fact that the corresponding forms would be, respectively, *birri-nguyih-nguyi*, *ka-yongo-yo*, *ka-renge-re*, *ka-rungu-rung*, *ngarri-mene-mey*, *ngaben-kolk-wono-wong* and *ngarri-bili-kana-kan*. For other verb forms the reduplication patterns are identical across all dialects.

We now give the rather complex morphological rules for iterative reduplication.

- (a) FULL SINGLE-SYLLABLE REDUPLICATION (§3.6.1) Verbs with the themes *-ke* and *-ma*, delocutive verbs in *-me*, and some with the themes *-bu* and *-di*, reduplicate the prepond syllable; if it ends in a lateral or nasal they add a glottal stop to the end of the syllable. Many of these verb roots refer already, in their unreduplicated form, to inherently complex events. A few lack unreduplicated forms.

Some sentence examples follow Table 9.2:

**Table 9.2:** Full single-syllable iterative reduplication forms

Unreduplicated form		Reduplicated form	
<i>wurth-ge</i>	'light fires, burn off'	<i>wurth-wurth-ge</i>	'light fires all over the place'
<i>bak-ge</i>	'break'	<i>bak-bak-ge</i>	'break up, shred up'
—		<i>bob-bob-me</i>	'stink like baby's poo' (MM)
<i>dadj-ge</i>	'cut'	<i>dadj-dadj-ge</i>	'cut to pieces'
<i>djob-ge</i>	'cut'	<i>djob-djob-ge</i>	'keep cutting, cut all around'
<i>djid-ma</i>	'steal'	<i>djid-djid-ma</i>	'keep stealing, steal all the time'
—		<i>dolb-dolb-me</i>	'pulsate'
<i>dolk-me</i>	'clap'	<i>dolk-dolk-me</i>	'clap fast'
<i>belk-me</i>	'clap'	<i>belk-belk-me</i>	'clap fast'
<i>djek-me</i>	'laugh'	<i>djek-djek-me</i>	'laugh away'
<i>mel-me</i>	'dance, stomp, tread'	<i>melh-mel-me</i>	'feel around with feet'
—		<i>woyh-woyh-me</i>	'look around for food in water' (e.g. wader birds) (E)
<i>wak-bu</i>	'go round'	<i>wak-wak-bu</i>	'go round and round'
<i>manj-bu</i>	'thank'	<i>manjh-manj-bu</i>	'thank many people'
<i>barn-di</i>	'be high, sit in trees'	<i>barnh-barn-di</i>	'sit in trees all round, be high all round'
<i>wen-di</i>	'= <i>barndi</i> ' (MM, E)	<i>wenh-wen-di</i>	'= <i>barnh-barndi</i> ' (MM, E)

- 9.127 *Ga-rrulk-djob-djobge munguih.*  
 Dj 3-tree-ITER-cutNP always  
 'He keeps cutting trees down all the time.'

- 9.128 *Ga-yau-guk-djek-djek-me.*  
 Dj 3-child-body-ITER-laugh-NP  
 'The baby's laughing away.'
- 9.129 *Burd barrk ka-melh-melme dorrh-no.*  
 E:D [waterlily.sp.] 3-ITER-touch.with.footNP stem-POSSD  
 'She feels around with her foot for the waterlily stem.'
- 9.130 *Kikkik ka-wenh-wendi.*  
 MM birds 3-ITER-be.highNP  
 'Lots of birds are perched all over (the tree).'
- 9.131 *Kodjokbamdjelk ka-berd-welh-welhme daya-dayarr-hken.*  
 I [name] 3-penis-ITER-spin.aroundNP ZONE-pandanus-GEN  
 'Kodjok Bamdjelk (mythical being) spins his penis around in the pandanus groves.'  
 [GID]

- (b) OPEN DISYLLABLE REDUPLICATION Other disyllabic stems, whether simple or complex, reduplicate the first CV(C)CV (§3.6.3). This pattern is restricted to disyllabic stems whose final syllable is open (see Table 9.3). Occasionally, especially in Kunwinjku, a glottal stop is inserted to close the second syllable; attested cases are shown in Table 9.3, with the glottal stop in brackets.

Table 9.3: Open disyllable iterative reduplication forms

Unreduplicated form		Reduplicated form	
<i>kinje-</i>	'cook'	<i>kinje-kinje-</i>	'keep cooking'
<i>baye-</i>	'bite'	<i>baye-baye-</i>	'keep biting'
<i>durnde-</i>	'return, come back'	<i>durnde(h)-durnde-</i>	'keep coming back'
<i>bolk-na-</i>	'look around'	<i>bolkna(h)-bolk-na</i>	'keep looking around'
<i>bo-ngu</i>	'drink'	<i>bongu-bongu</i>	'drink repeatedly'
<i>mad+bu-</i>	'wait'	<i>madbu-madbu-</i>	'wait around'
<i>barrh+bu</i>	'dawn'	<i>barrhbu-barrhbu-</i>	'?'
<i>djava-</i>	'ask'	<i>djava-djava-</i>	'keep asking'
<i>bukka-</i>	'show, teach'	<i>bukka-bukka-</i>	'teach thoroughly, "right through"'
<i>noih-me-</i>	'fuck'	<i>noihme-noihme-</i>	'fuck all night long'
<i>dukka-rre-</i>	'coil, tie oneself up'	<i>dukka-rrukka-rre-</i>	'writhe around'
<i>dolkka-</i>	'stand up, get up'	<i>dolkka-dolkka-</i>	'keep getting up and down'
<i>wake-</i>	'crawl'	<i>wake-wake-</i>	'crawl all around'
<i>wokdi-</i>	'talk'	<i>wokdi-wokdi-</i>	'keep talking'
<i>nalkbu-</i>	'cry'	<i>nalkbu(h)-nalkbu-</i>	'keep crying'

- 9.132 *An-baye-baye munguih.*  
 Dj 3/1-ITER-biteNP always  
 '(The baby) keeps on biting me.'
- 9.133 *Gabarri-djal-noihme-noihme dja ga-rrung-bebme.*  
 Dj 3a-just-ITER-fuckNP and 3-sun-appearNP  
 'They just keep fucking till sunrise.'

Disyllabic inflected forms of monosyllabic roots also follow this pattern, for example *mangi-ma-ngi* 'ITERATIVE-get-PI', *ngune-ngune-ng* 'ITERATIVE-eat-PP' (9.134), and *dange-dange-n* 'ITERATIVE-stop:INCEP-NP' (9.135). The monosyllabic inflected forms of monosyllabic roots follow a different pattern, described in (d) below.

9.134 *Bi-yau-ngune-nguneng ginga.*

Dj 3/3hP-child-ITER-eatPP crocodile  
'The crocodile ate the baby right up.'

9.135 *Anabbarru ga-rrange-dange-n, ga-rrange-dange-n, ba-rra-nginj.*

Dj buffalo 3-ITER-stop:INCEP-NP 3-ITER-stop:INCEP-NP 3P-stop-PP  
'The buffalo's slowing down, it's slowing down, it's stopped.'

- (c) GLOTTAL-CLOSED DISYLLABLE REDUPLICATION Verb stems of more than two syllables reduplicate the first two syllables and insert a glottal stop at the end of the second syllable; this replaces any final consonant that may be present (§3.6.4). From *marridowe-* 'be hungry', for example, the iterative stem is *marrih-marridowe-*; from *mardukge* 'flash' the iterative stem is *marduh-mardukge-* 'flicker' (9.136); from *warrewo-* 'do badly, wreck' the iterative stem is *warreh-warrewo-* (9.137).

9.136 *Bidginjenbidginjen ga-marduh-mardukge gu-rredj-be.*

Dj firefly 3-ITER-flickerNP LOC-bum-ABL  
'Fireflies flicker from their bums.'

9.137 *Gabarri-bolk-warreh-warrewo-n.*

Dj 3a/3-place-ITER-wreck-NP  
'They're wrecking the place.'

With regard to patterns (b) and (c), there is some latitude as to whether incorporated nouns are included in the reduplication source or not. Examples where reduplication picks out two syllables of the stem, leaving the incorporated nominal untouched, are 9.134 and 9.137 above, the second verb (*gord-gurrmi*h-*gurrmi*) in 9.138 and 9.139.

9.138 *Djang an-ekge ba-ngukde-ngukde-ngi, ba-gord-gurrmi*h-*gurrmi.*

Dj dreaming VEG-DEM 3/3P-ITER-shit-PI 3/3-shit-ITER-putPI  
'That dreaming there, he shat it out all over the place, he put down a lot of shit there.'

9.139 *Anege ba-godj-gurrme-gurrme-rre-ni aleng an-ne gold.*

Dj VEG:DEM 3P-head-ITER-put.down-RR-PI she VEG-DEM  
'And where he put his head down all over the place that is gold.'

In 9.140, on the other hand, a monosyllabic incorporated nominal and the first syllable of the verb feed the reduplication. As is typical in this construction, the verb is in the past imperfective. Another commonly occurring example is the form *bolknah-bolknan* 'look after country', based on *bolk-na-* 'country-see'; further (past imperfective) examples from Kunwinjku are *ø-bona-bo-nani* 'he was watching the water' and *ø-bobi-bo-bidbuni* 'the water was getting deeper and deeper' [both from OP 396].

9.140 *ø-Dulkngoh-dulk-ngorrka-ni cross nuye-ni.*

W 3P-ITER-tree-carry.on.shoulder-PI his-P  
'He carried the cross (a long way).' [Jesus Kararrkid]

In 9.141 the incorporated nominal, being disyllabic, spans the reduplication domain, thus furnishing the only reduplicated material.

9.141 *ø-Wardde-wardde-djobge-ng.*

Dj 3P-ITER-rock-split-PP

'(White cockatoo) split the rock (in several places).'

Finally, there is at least one example in which both incorporated nominal and root are separately reduplicated (9.142); in this case separate treatment of the two reduplication domains leads to the root following the rules for reduplication of inflected monosyllables given below. This contrasts with 9.143, based on the same incorporated noun plus verb combination, in which only the root reduplicates, following the rules for monosyllabic roots.

9.142 *Karri-dulk-dulk-dongo-do-ng.*

I 12a-ITER-stick-ITER-strike-NP

'We beat sticks in rhythm against the burial pole.'

9.143 *Namarrgon ba-rrulk-dongo-do-i.*

Dj lightning 3P-tree-ITER-strike-PP

'Lightning struck lots of trees.'

It may be that the degree to which the incorporated noun plus verb has been phraseologised into a single unit affects the choice of reduplication source, but at present we have too few examples to decide the question; it is also likely that speakers have considerable expressive latitude here.

- (d) **NASAL-INSERTED DISYLLABLE REDUPLICATION** The most complex pattern involves verbs whose inflected forms are monosyllabic. These verbs undergo a special pattern of reduplication **just in those TAM categories whose inflected forms are monosyllabic**. The pattern of reduplication, in other words, is sensitive to the number of syllables in the **inflected** form, since non-monosyllabic inflected forms of the same root fail to undergo it.

Consider the root *wo-* 'give'. This has monosyllabic forms in the non-past (*wo-n*) and the past perfective (*wo-ng*) but its past imperfective is disyllabic: *woni*. The iterative forms of the non-past and the past perfective will be based on a root given by the pattern below, and then inflected in the normal way: non-past *wono-wo-n* (9.144) and past perfective *wono-wo-ng* (9.145). The iterative form of the past imperfective, on the other hand, is formed simply by reduplicating the disyllabic inflected root according to pattern (b): *woni-woni* (9.146).

9.144 *An-h-wono-wo-n munguih.*

Dj 3/1-IMM-ITER-give-NP always

'(The child) keeps giving me things.'

9.145 *Aban-bo-wono-wo-ng goba-gohbanj.*

Dj 1/3plP-liquid-ITER-give-PP REDUP-old.person

'I gave all my grog to the old people.'

9.146 *An-h-woni-wo-ni a-ngune-ng wanjh.*

Dj 3/1-IMM-ITER-give-PI 1-eat-PP then

'She kept giving me (food) and so I ate it all.'

In most verbs the non-past is monosyllabic, so an alternative statement of the rule would appear to be that it is based on the non-past inflected form. However, consideration of other roots show this not to be the case. Verbs with different vowels in different monosyllabic inflected forms have a separate iterative stem for each category. Thus *ma-ng* 'take-NP'/'*me-y* 'take-PP' has the distinct iterative stems *mana-ma-ng* (iterative non-past) and *mene-me-y* (iterative past perfective). Likewise, the suppletive verb for 'go' bases its iterative reduplication on the relevant tensed forms: *renge-re* (iterative non-past), *wana-wam* (iterative perfective), and *renge-rey* (iterative past imperfective). These cases show that iterative reduplication takes as its input inflected monosyllabic forms.

The rules for forming special iterative prefixes can now be formulated.

To a monosyllabic inflected form  $C_1V_1$  (X) is prefixed the iterative reduplicand  $C_1V_1NV_1$  (h). The inserted nasal segment depends on the place of articulation of the root-initial consonant: if it is peripheral (*b*, *g*, *m*, *ng* or *w*), the inserted segment is *n*, elsewhere it is *ng*. An alternative formulation is to say that *ng* is inserted, except that 'peripheral dissimilation' can change it to *n* (see §3.4 on peripheral dissimilation). A few examples are given below; see §3.4 for fuller data.

**Table 9.4:** Nasal-inserted disyllable iterative reduplication forms

With non-peripheral initial			With peripheral initial consonant		
Inflected simple form		Iterative form	Inflected simple form		Iterative form
<i>do-ng</i>	'strike-NP'	<i>dongo-do-ng</i>	<i>bu-n</i>	'hit, kill-NP'	<i>bunu-bu-n</i>
<i>do-y</i>	'strike-PP'	<i>dongo-do-y</i>	<i>bo-m</i>	'hit, kill-PP'	<i>bono-bo-m</i>
<i>na-n</i>	'see-NP'	<i>nanga-na-n</i>	<i>ma-ng</i>	'take, pick up-NP'	<i>mana-ma-ng</i>
<i>na-ng</i>	'see-PP'	<i>nanga-nang</i>	<i>me-y</i>	'take, pick up-PP'	<i>mene-me-y</i>
<i>ni-∅</i>	'sit, be-NP'	<i>ningi-ni-∅</i>	<i>ngu-n</i>	'eat-NP'	<i>ngunu-ngu-n</i>
<i>re-∅</i>	'go-NP'	<i>rengeh-re-∅</i>	<i>wo-n</i>	'give-NP'	<i>wono-wo-n</i>
<i>re-y</i>	'go-PI'	<i>rengeh-re-y</i>	<i>wo-ng</i>	'give-PP'	<i>wono-wo-ng</i>
<i>danj</i>	'stand-PI'	<i>danga-da-nj</i>	<i>wa-n</i>	'go-PP'	<i>wana-wa-m</i>

Note that the above pattern of formation does not always correspond to the division of verbs into conjugations. For example, *ka-* and *na-* are in the same conjugation (3a), but have different nasals in their iterative stems on account of their different initial segments.

Some sentence examples follow (see also Text 1.41).

9.147 *Gorregorre garri-ngunu-ngu-n garri-re gu-wadda.*

Dj quickly 12a-ITER-eat-NP 12a-goNP LOC-home  
'Let's quickly eat up and go home.' (Not clear what meaning the reduplication has here.)

9.148 *Gabarri-h-ningi-nin<sup>7</sup> munguih gu-bolk-gudji.*

Dj 3a-IMM-ITER-sitNP always LOC-place-one  
'They always stay in the one place.'

<sup>7</sup> Normally the NP form of 'sit' is simply *ni*, but this reduplicated form was recorded with suffix *n* from VA. This needs checking.

9.149 *Ba-wana-wa-m.*

Dj 3-ITER-go-PP  
'He's gone right away.'

9.150 *Ba-rengéh-re-i lëndol / gabbal.*

Dj 3P-ITER-go-PI horse boat  
'The horse/boat was coming from a long way away.'

Nasal-inserted iterative reduplication is not confined to verbs proper; occasionally it is found with predicate adjectives. An example is 9.151, in which the monosyllabic adjective root *-banj* 'stinking' reduplicates according to the rule for inflected monosyllables.

9.151 *Ka-kord-nud-bana-banj.*

I 3-shit-rotten-ITER-stinking  
'It stinks of rotten shit all around.' [GID]

Comparative note on iterative reduplication: Almost identical forms are widespread in Gunwinjguan, suggesting that this pattern of reduplication is of great antiquity. In Rembarrnga the vowel is copied but there is no place variation for the nasal, as in *mama-ma*, *nana-na*, and palatal nasals lenite to *y*, as in *ruyuruny* rather than *runyuruny* (McKay 1975:198–199).

In some languages this reduplicative pattern does not derive a new stem, but fills in gaps in the TAM paradigm (e.g. the Ngalakan present: (Merlan 1983:115 et seq.): *-bunubun* 'hit-PRES', *-wunuwun* 'give-PRES', *-janga-cangan* 'stand-REDUP.PRES', *nanga-rnangan* 'sit-REDUP. PRES').

### 9.4.3 Extended reduplication

The third type of reduplication is only available to stems in the *-me* or *-men* classes with monosyllabic preponouns, in other words with form

$C_1V_1C_2(C_3)me$  e.g. *bakme*, *welme*, *wirrkme*, *wurlhme*, or:

$C_1V_1C_2(C_3)men$  e.g. *yakmen*, *djordmen*

From these it forms reduplicative prefixes of the form  $C_1V_1C_2V_1$ , according to the rule of EPENTHETIC DISYLLABLE REDUPLICATION (§3.6.7). This gives, from the above set, the forms *bakabakme*, *welwelme*, *wirriwirrkme*, *wurluwurlhme*, *yakayakmen* and *djordodjordmen*. Occasionally a glottal stop appears at the reduplication boundary (e.g. *djordohdjordmen*).

There is one example where dissimilation applies to avert a sequence of three syllables beginning with the same consonant: *bebme* > %*bbebebebme*% > *bekebebme* [OP 368]. This is the only example of *b* > *k*.

The commonest function of extended reduplication is to indicate that an activity or state is spatially extended: that it is carried out, or obtains, in a number of distinct places. The best English translation is often 'all over the place'. Examples are the following (see also 13.332):

9.152 *Bandi-bu-ni narlangak-yi, darrgid, bi-djal-wirri-wirrk-m-i, o*  
Dj 3a/3plP-hit-PI blanket.lizard-INST alive 3/3hP-just-EXT-scratch-PI or

*narlangak bi-baye-yi.*

blanket.lizard 3/3hP-bite-PI

'They'd flog him with a live blanket lizard, and it would just scratch him all over, or it would bite him.'



9.153 *Man-me ka-wele-welme.*I III-fruit 3-EXT-be.aroundNP  
'The tree has fruit all over it.'

In other cases the semantics of spatial extent is not quite as clear, though still present. *Djurludjurlhme* means 'eject (e.g. poke out of a hole by using a stick)', as opposed to *djurlhme* 'touch'; here the spatial separation revolves around the distance between subject and object. And *bakabakme* means 'break into many pieces' (which would typically be scattered, but not necessarily) as opposed to *bakme* 'break (intr.)'. Likewise *barra-barrhmeng* means 'all smashed up (e.g. of a boat smashed on a reef)' as opposed to *barrhmeng* 'cracked'. In 9.154 the plants have each been planted in a different place:

9.154 *Ø-Djordoh-djordm-inj na-wu ngarri-dudji.*I 3P-EXT-grow.up-PP MA-REL 1a-plantPP  
'The ones we planted have all grown up.'

The verb *dokorrokme*, which we would expect to mean 'goes off ahead in different directions', has the slightly unexpected meaning 'be in a hurry, be chafing at the bit':

9.155 *Gawarre, ga-rrogo-rrokme, ga-djare ga-bolk-ma-ng.*Dj nothing.to.do 3-EXT-go.aheadNP 3-wantNP 3-place-get-NP  
'Don't worry (about his cranky impatience), he's in a hurry, he wants to get home.'

# 10 *Arguments on the verb*

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One consequence of polysynthetic structure is that information about every verbal argument is represented (at least potentially) on the verb itself, either as a pronominal prefix or an incorporated nominal, or through indexing the coreference of subject and object by the reflexive/reciprocal suffix. At the same time, the lack of the usual syntactic phenomena relevant to establishing grammatical relations by non-morphological means (such as voice alternations, movement rules, binding of infinitives or arguments deleted under other identity conditions), and even of case marking for core grammatical relations,<sup>1</sup> means that all the evidence relevant to our discussion of argument structure comes from the verbal morphology.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter, then, contains a lot of the material that is normally found in the syntax section of grammars of non-polysynthetic languages. First (§10.1) I sketch the sites of argument encoding on the verb, the criteria for identifying grammatical relations, the basic and derived argument structures and their interrelationships. Then (§10.2) I pass to the pronominal prefixes, their form and semantics. In §10.3 I examine the three relation-changing verbal affixes — the benefactive and comitative applicative prefixes, which increase valence, and the reflexive/reciprocal suffix, which decreases it. (See also §9.3.6 and §12.5 for less productive valence-reducing affixation.) In §10.4 the centrally important issue of noun-incorporation is discussed, with an emphasis on its semantics and its contribution to argument structure. Finally, in §10.5 we return to a more functionally-based overview of the whole system of argument representation on the verb, focussing on the normal alignment it presupposes between grammatical relations and person/animacy values, as well as what happens when this normal alignment is disrupted.

## 10.1 Argument coding on the verb: preliminary overview

### 10.1.1 Argument sites on the verb

The sites on the verb relevant to representing argument structure are the two pronominal prefixes at or just after the left edge (slots -11 and -10 in Figure 8.1), the incorporated nominal slots just left of the stem (slots -4 and -3) and the reflexive/reciprocal suffix just

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<sup>1</sup> Leaving aside the optional use of the instrumental to mark transitive subjects in Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali; see §5.2.1.2.

<sup>2</sup> See Dryer (1996) for a similar point with respect to Kutenai.

after the stem (position +1). Thus in 10.1 the subject 'they' and derived (benefactive) object 'them' are represented by pronominal prefixal morphemes, and the object 'meat' by the incorporated noun *ganj* 'meat', while in its reciprocal form (10.2) there is still a subject and (benefactive) object, but now there is just a subject prefix, and the reflexive/reciprocal suffix (given a reciprocal interpretation here) signals that the benefactive object is to be construed as coreferential with the subject.

- 10.1 *Bandi-marne-ganj-ginje-ng.*  
 Dj 3aSUBJ/3plOBJ-BEN-meat-cook-PP  
 'They cooked the meat for them.'
- 10.2 *Barri-marne-ganj-ginje-rr-inj.*  
 Dj 3aSUBJ-BEN-meat-cook-RR-PP  
 'They cooked the meat for each other.'

There is an important asymmetry between higher and lower animates in the distribution of overt marking across this system. (The exact boundary between higher and lower animates, though centred around human babies, is somewhat elastic; see discussion in §10.2.7.).

Lower animates will not normally have their number marked on the pronominal prefix (§10.2.5.1). Moreover, since only overtly plural objects, or, if minimal, higher animate objects receive non-zero marking in the pronominal prefix system (§10.2.7), these lower animate arguments are usually represented by a zero prefix, as in the first gloss of 10.3. Note, though, that since I normally gloss subject and object as a portmanteau unit (as in the second glossing of 10.3), the representation of such arguments as zeros will not always be obvious from the glosses. Zero exponence for objects is also not limited to non-humans, since even human objects have zero exponence if they are minimal and the subject is non-minimal (for fuller details see the discussion of the divalent prefix sets in §10.2.2).

- 10.3 *Nga-∅-ganj-ginje-ng.* (normally written *Nga-ganj-ginje-ng.*)  
 Dj 1SUBJ-3OBJ-meat-cook-PP (normally glossed 1/3-meat-cook-PP)  
 'I cooked the meat.'
- 10.4 *Nga-ginje-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3-cook-PP  
 'I cooked/burned<sup>3</sup> him/her/it.'

On the other hand, it is almost exclusively inanimates or body parts that are represented by incorporated nouns, so that humans (and other animates) will normally miss out on the chance to be overtly represented in the incorporated nominal slot (10.4), unless a body part proper, or a 'dummy' body part like *kuk*- 'body' is used (10.5).

- 10.5 *Nga-guk-ginje-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3-body-cook-PP  
 'I cooked the body' OR: 'I burned him/her.'

As a result of these asymmetries, overt coding on the verb is well-adapted to situations where indirect or benefactive objects (which will normally outrank true objects for the 'object' prefix slot — see below) are human while the true objects are inanimate, and poorly

<sup>3</sup> *Ginje* can mean either 'cook' or 'burn'. For obvious pragmatic reasons the second gloss will be preferred (though not required) with human objects.

adapted to the reverse situation. More generally, problems arise when the benefactive or indirect objects are higher on the hierarchy proposed by Silverstein (1976) than the objects are. These issues are discussed in §10.5.

### 10.1.2 Definition of grammatical relations

We are now in a position to discuss the issue of grammatical relations in more depth, giving definitions and operational tests for the grammatical relations of 'subject', 'true object', 'indirect object' and 'comitative object', as well as the more general terms 'object', 'first object' and 'second object', all of which will be needed to capture various generalisations.

**ARGUMENT** I define an argument as an actant subcategorised for and assigned a thematic role by the verb, and capable of being indexed on it by pronominal prefix or incorporated nominal. Underived verbs may have from one to three arguments, and derived verbs from one to four, though four is highly unusual.

**SUBJECT** This is defined as the argument represented by the first pronominal slot. Intransitive subjects may be incorporated, and their number represented by A-quantifying prefixes. Subjects bind reflexive/reciprocal arguments.

**OBJECT** This will be used in a broad way to characterise any other argument representable by pronominal prefix or incorporated noun. 'Objects' in this broad sense can be divided into the following types:

- (a) 'True objects' (O) are the second subcategorised argument of an underived transitive verb. With ditransitive verbs, 'true objects' are that argument which is neither subject nor indirect object (see below). Among 'objects' in the broad sense, it appears that only true objects can be reflexivised.
- (b) 'Indirect objects' (IO) are that argument of a ditransitive verb which is represented by the second pronominal prefix slot. As in most languages with two pronominal slots, indirect objects are encoded preferentially over direct objects.
- (c) 'Benefactive objects' are derived arguments introduced by the BENefactive prefix *marne-*. For most purposes they behave exactly like indirect objects. However, it is necessary to distinguish them since in rare cases a benefactive prefix can be added to a ditransitive verb, in which case it is the benefactive object which gains representation by the pronominal object slot.
- (d) 'Comitative objects' are arguments introduced by the COMitative applicative *yi-*.

Any of these four can, if the sole object, be represented by the second pronominal prefix (subject to their person and referential characteristics), and feed reciprocal formation. True objects and comitative objects, if the sole object, can be represented by incorporated nominals and bound by numerospatial A-quantifiers (that is, adverbial-type quantifiers — see §11.3). Only true objects can be reflexivised. When two objects are present, the above characteristics will be split such that one (which I term the 'first object') is registered by the second pronominal prefix and can feed reciprocals, while the other (the 'second object') can be registered by incorporated nominals and bound by numerospatial A-quantifiers.

For the role of second object, benefactives outrank indirect objects, which outrank comitatives and true objects. Only comitative and true objects can be second objects.

Where a verb has both a comitative and a true object, the question of which is first and which is second object is lexically determined; basically, the argument most likely to be human will be higher, and the one most likely not to be human will be lower. In the prototypical case, 'first' objects are higher on the Silverstein animacy/topicality hierarchy. What happens when there is a departure from these prototypical conditions is discussed in §10.5.

**CAUSAL** This is a minor type, and covers CAUSal/purposive arguments added by the benefactive prefix. Unlike normal benefactive arguments, causal arguments follow rather than precede reciprocalisation in their semantic composition, with the result that they may show up on the second pronominal slot even on reciprocalised verbs:

10.6 *Daluk bogen bani-marne-bu-rr-inj.*

Dj woman two 3uaP-BEN-hit-RR-PP

'The two women fought each other over him, because of him.'

We can summarise the availability of these five object types for representation by the object prefix, the incorporated nominal slot and for feeding reflexivisation and reciprocalisation in the following way: pronominal 'object' marking is available for all types of 'object', and if more than one candidate exists, it will be used to mark the leftmost of the types listed below; if both COM and O are present, the choice will be determined by complex factors (to be discussed in §10.1.3.4). Incorporated nominals are regularly available for COM and O objects, in exceptional cases for IO or BEN objects, and never for CAUS objects. Where both COM and O are present, the choice will again be determined by the factors discussed in §10.1.3.4; in general, complementary pronominal prefixation and noun incorporation will then be in contribution distribution, with the pronominal prefix representing the argument higher in animacy.

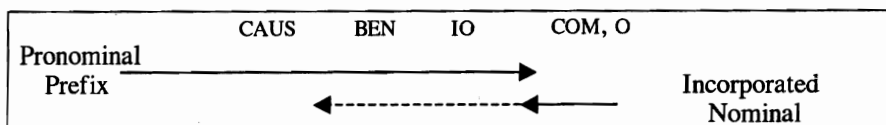


Figure 10.1: Availability of pronominal prefixation and incorporation for object types

### 10.1.3 Argument structures and coding

The following section illustrates the association of morphosyntactic privileges with arguments for all major valency types, summarised in Figure 10.1. Note that it is useful to limit the terms 'intransitive', 'transitive' and 'ditransitive' to underived verb stems, and save the terms 'monovalent', 'divalent' and 'trivalent' for characterising all verbs, derived or not, in terms of their number of argument positions.

With respect to the phenomena to be discussed here, verbs resulting from more restricted types of valency change, namely causative formation (§12.2), passive-like persistive constructions (§9.3.6) and medio-passive gerundive incorporation (§12.5), behave like the corresponding underived verbs with the same valency. For example, causatives behave like underived transitive verbs, and passive-like persistive constructions like underived intransitive verbs.

10.1.3.1 *Avalent (subjectless) verbs*

Avalent (subjectless) verbs, such as *ngurdurlme* ~ *ngurrurlme* 'to thunder' and *mayhke* 'to lightning' (10.7), formally resemble intransitive verbs with third person minimal subjects, except that unlike semantically similar intransitive verbs such as *marduhmarduhge* 'to flash, flicker' (10.8) they can have no incorporated or external subject:

10.7 *Namarrgon garramalk ga-rro-rre-n, ga-mayhge, ga-ngurrurrurlme.*

Dj lightning.man stone.axe 3-strike-RR-NP 3-lightningNP 3-thunderNP  
'Namarrgon the lightning man strikes together the stone axes (on his knees), and there is thunder and lightning.'

10.8 *Bidginjenbidginjen ga-marduh-marduhge gu-rredj-be.*

Dj firefly 3-ITER-flickerNP LOC-backside-ABL  
'The firefly flickers from its behind.'

A possible exception is the verb *barrhbun* 'to dawn, (day) to break', which can incorporate the root *malayi* 'morrow', giving for example, *ba-malayi-barrhbuni* 'the morrow would dawn' (see Text 4.37). However, *malayi* incorporates so rarely it may in fact be better analysed as an adverbial prefix rather than a properly incorporated noun here.

10.1.3.2 *Monovalent verbs*

The base type are intransitive verbs. These have a single pronominal prefix, representing the subject, and can incorporate nominals as generics, body parts or secondary predicates. A-quantifiers have scope over their subjects.

10.9 *Gabarri-lobme.*

Dj 3a-runNP  
'They are running.'

10.10 *Ga-rrulk-mirnde-rri an-dadjek.*

Dj 3-tree-many-standNP III-grevillea pterydifolia  
'There are many fern-leaved grevillea trees there.'

Monovalent verbs can also be derived from divalent verbs by reflexivisation or reciprocalisation. Such derived monovalent verbs have identical argument-marking properties to basic intransitive verbs. Examples 10.11 and 10.12 illustrate, for underlying transitives that have been reflexivised, the use of intransitive prefixes, with incorporated body-part and secondary predicate nominals; see 10.217 for an example with no incorporated nominal. For an example of a reflexive/reciprocal verb formed from a divalent verbs derived by adding the comitative to an intransitive see 10.187, and for a comparable example with a benefactive see 10.188.

10.11 *Nga-bid-djobge-rr-inj.*

Dj 1-hand-cut-RR-PP  
'I cut myself on the hand.'

10.12 *Daddubbe ba-bim-gurrme-rr-eni.*

Dj [name] 3P-painting-put.down-RR-PI  
'Daddubbe would turn herself into a rock painting, would put herself down (on rock walls) as a painting.'

## 10.1.3.3 Divalent verbs

The canonical type is the underived transitive verb; this cross-references its subject and object by pronominal prefix, and can incorporate nouns referring to the object itself in the case of a generic noun (10.3), or a part thereof (10.13):

- 10.13 *Ngaban-godj-do-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-head-strike-NP  
 'I strike them in the head.'

Divalent verbs derived by addition of the comitative or benefactive applicative to an intransitive verb take the expected pronominal prefixation, with the object pronoun representing the comitative or benefactive object as appropriate. However, they behave differently with respect to nominal incorporation: comitative divalent verbs parallel normal transitives, incorporating the object (10.14b), whereas benefactive divalent verbs incorporate the subject (10.15, 10.16):

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>10.14 a. <i>Yiban-yi-rrurnde-ng.</i><br/>         Dj 2/3pl-COM-return-NP<br/>         'You are taking them back.'</p> <p>10.15 <i>Ngan-marne-ganj-warrem-inj.</i><br/>         Dj 3/1-BEN-meat-go.bad-PP<br/>         'The meat went bad on me.'</p> <p>10.16 <i>Bi-marne-yau-dowe-ng.</i><br/>         Dj 3/3P-BEN-child-die-PP<br/>         'Her child died (on her).'</p> | <p>b. <i>Yi-yiuk-yi-rrurnde-ng.</i><br/>         2/3-honey-COM-return-NP<br/>         'You are taking the honey back.'</p> |
|---|--|

Divalent verbs derived by applying reflexivisation or reciprocalisation to trivalent verbs have a single prefix slot, for subject, and may incorporate nominals (representing the second object — see below). This is true whether the original trivalent verb is ditransitive, or created from transitives through the addition of an applicative.

- 10.17 *Barri-madj-bukka-rr-inj.*  
 Dj 3aP-swag-show-RR-PP  
 'They showed each other the swag(s).'
- 10.18 *Bani-marne-kanj-kinje-rr-inj.*  
 Dj 3uaP-BEN-meat-cook-RR-PP  
 'The two of them cooked meat for each other.'
- 10.19 *Bani-bo-yi-bawo-rre-ni.*  
 Dj 3uaP-liquid-COM-leave-RR-PI  
 'They used to leave grog with each other.'
- 10.20 *Bani-daluk-yi-bu-rr-inj.*  
 Dj 3uaP-woman-COM-hit-RR-PP  
 'The two of them fought (hit each other) over the woman.'
- 10.21 *Gabani-madj-yi-gadju-rre-n.*  
 Dj 3ua-swag-COM-follow-RR-NP  
 'They follow each other in the swag, share the swag.'

On the other hand, where an applicative adds an argument after reflexivisation or reciprocalisation has applied, both pronominal prefix slots can be used (for further examples see §10.3.4.1):

- 10.22 *Ben-marne-baru-rr-inj.*  
 I 3/3pl-BEN-paint-RR-PP  
 '(S)he painted himself up for them.'

#### 10.1.3.4 Trivalent verbs

The canonical type is the underived ditransitive verb, which cross-references its subject and indirect object by pronominal prefix, and can incorporate nouns referring to the true object itself in the case of a generic noun (10.23), or a part thereof (10.24):

- 10.23 *Aban-madj-bukka-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-swag-show-PP  
 'I showed the swag to them.'
- 10.24 *Ngaye wurdyau aban-ganem-bukka-ng doctor.*  
 Dj I child 1/3pl-ear-show-PP  
 'I showed my child's ear to the doctors.'

There are only around half a dozen underived ditransitive verbs in the language. The most important (besides *bukkan* 'show') are *won* 'give', *berlwon* 'give (daughter) in marriage', *yirrukman* 'deprive IO of O', *berrebbun* 'promise O to IO', *kaybun* 'withhold O from IO, deny IO O, refuse to give O to IO'.

More numerous are derived trivalent verbs formed by adding the benefactive to underlying transitives. These closely resemble ditransitives: they cross-reference their subject and benefactive object by pronominal prefix, and can incorporate nouns referring to the true object itself (10.1) or part thereof (the last verb in 10.25).

- 10.25 *Ngabor nang ba-wa-m barri-ngabed-marnbo-m,*  
 Dj my.daughter 3P-go-PP 3aP-hair-do.up-PP  
*ngandi-marne-ngabed-marnbo-m.*  
 3a/1-BEN-hair-do.up-PP  
 'My daughter went (to the salon) and they did up her hair; they did up her hair for me.'

Similar to this last group, though far less numerous, are trivalent verbs derived by adding both benefactive and comitative applicatives to an intransitive verb:

- 10.26 *Kandi-marne-kanj-yi-lobme-ng.*  
 W 3a/1pl-BEN-meat-COM-run-PP  
 'They drove (back) with the meat for us.'

The most problematic class of trivalent verbs are those formed from transitives through the addition of a comitative applicative suffix, which then have both a comitative and a true object. All these verbs show complementarity between the comitative and true objects, one of which is represented in the second pronominal slot and one by an incorporated nominal. However, they divide into three classes, depending on which object is represented where. I will name these the *yinan* class, the *yikurrme* class and the *yimang* class after typical members, meaning respectively 'see with', 'put down with' and 'take from'.



For verbs in the *yinan* class, the added comitative becomes the second object: the derived comitative object incorporates, while the original object is presented on the pronominal prefix, and controls reciprocal formation:

- 10.27 *Ngan-na-ng.*  
 Dj 3/1-see-PP  
 'He saw me.'
- 10.28 *Ngan-bo-yi-na-ng.*  
 Dj 3/1-liquid-COM-see-PP  
 'He saw me with the grog.'
- 10.29 *Bani-bo-yi-na-rr-inj.*  
 Dj 3uaP-liquid-COM-see-RR-PP  
 'They saw each other with the grog.'

Further examples illustrating this pattern of incorporation are 10.30, illustrating how body-part incorporation parallels generic incorporation in argument selection (i.e. the body part of the second object incorporates), and 10.31, illustrating incorporation of the added object with the derived trivalent verb *yikadjung* 'follow in place X, share X'; another verb in this class; 10.22 illustrates what happens when such a verb is put into the reflexive/reciprocal.

- 10.30 *Aban-berd-yi-na-ng anabbarru, barri-berd-garm-i.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-tail-COM-see-PP buffalo 3aP-tail-hold-PP  
 'I saw them with the buffalo's tail, holding the tail.'
- 10.31 *Ngan-madj-yi-gadju-ng.*  
 Dj 3/1-swap-COM-follow-NP  
 'He follows me in the swap.' (i.e. we share the same swap — typically referring to brothers sharing a sexual partner)

In a distinct subclass of *yinan* verbs the semantics of the comitative are 'over COM, wanting to have COM' (i.e. the 'potential possession' meaning of the comitative). An example is 10.32, as well as the examples with *yiburren* 'fight over, fight wanting to have' (10.165), *iyakwon* 'finish off, clean out of' (10.164) and *yibirrbme* 'clean out of' (10.166).

- 10.32 *Aban-warde-yi-bekka-n.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-money-COM-feel-NP  
 'I'll feel them for money, I'll frisk them for money.'

In all *yinan* class verbs, verbal entailments apply only to the original object: 'he saw me with the drink' entails 'he saw me' but not 'he saw the drink' (he may merely have seen that I had the drink hidden, e.g. under my shirt, without seeing the drink itself). The only exception is with *iyakwon*, where the metaphorical nature of 'finish' makes it difficult to determine how the entailments apply (see 10.164); certainly it need not apply to the money (since the sponger may still have it), and only applies in a loose sense to the object.

The main verbs in this class are:

'ACTUAL' COMITATIVE

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>yinan</i>                | 'see/watch O with COM' (< <i>nan</i> 'see')                                   |
| <i>yibekkan<sub>1</sub></i> | 'hear O with COM' (< <i>bekkan<sub>1</sub></i> 'hear')                        |
| <i>yikadjung</i>            | 'follow O in being with/in COM, share COM with O' (< <i>kadjung</i> 'follow') |

## 'POTENTIAL' COMITATIVE

- yibekkan<sub>2</sub>* 'feel O for COM, frisk O for COM' (< *bekkan<sub>2</sub>* 'feel')  
*yibun* 'hit O over/for possession of COM' (< *bun* 'hit')  
*yibirrbme* 'clean O out of COM' (< *birrbme* 'clean, clean up')

## IDIOMATIC

- yyakwon* 'clean O out of COM'

Common to all these verbs semantically is the fact that the COM argument is (or is thought to be) in the possession of the object at the outset of the event.

With verbs in the *yikurrme* class, which I will illustrate with *yibawon* 'leave with', it is the comitative argument that becomes the first object, occupying the pronominal object prefix slot (10.33) and feeding reciprocal formation (10.34), while the true object incorporates:

10.33 *Aban-ganj-yi-bawo-ng.*

- Dj 1/3pl-meat-COM-leave-PP  
 'I left the meat with them.'

10.34 *Bani-bo-yi-bawo-rre-ni.*

- Dj 3ua-liquid-COM-leave-RR-PI  
 'They used to leave grog with each other.'

Part nouns only incorporate rarely with verbs in this class, but when they do they occupy a separate argument slot, while being construed, exceptionally, as belonging to the subject at the beginning of the transaction and the object at the end.

10.35 *Ga-rrowe-n, an-ngey-yi-bawo-n.*

- Dj 3-die-NP 3/1-name-COM-leave-NP  
 'When he dies, he'll leave his name to (lit. with) me.'

Examples of other verbs are 10.36, with *yigurrme* 'put down', and 10.37, with *yiwarlkagan* 'hide with'.

10.36 *An-gole-yi-gurrme.*

- Dj 3/1-spear-COM-put.downNP  
 'He puts the spear down with me, leaves the spear with me.'

10.37 *Aban-daluk/bo-yi-warlkga-ng yerre.*

- Dj 1/3pl-woman/liquid-COM-hide-PP behind  
 'I hid the woman/drink with them out the back.'

Note that once again the entailments of the verb generally apply to the original object only: 'put down X with Y' entails 'put down X' but not 'put down Y', and 'hide X with Y' entails 'hide X' but not 'hide Y'. 'Leave X with Y' is an interesting exception: as a result of the specific semantics of 'leave', it entails both 'leave X' and 'leave Y'.

All the main verbs in this class have already been exemplified. In all of them, the COM argument ends up with the object at the end of the event.

- yigurrme* 'put O with COM, leave O with COM' < *gurrme* 'put down'  
*yibawon* 'leave O with COM' < *bawon* 'leave O (behind)'  
*yiwarlkagan* 'hide O with COM' < *warlkagan* 'hide'

The third class contains the two verbs *yimang* ‘take/get O off COM’, from *mang* ‘pick up, get’, and *yirrukman* ‘snatch O off COM’ from *durrrkmang* ‘tug, pull abruptly’.<sup>4</sup> These resemble *yigurrme* verbs in that the verbal entailments apply to the original object, the COM argument is represented in the pronominal slot, and the object noun can incorporate (10.38, 10.39). Body parts, if they incorporate, are construed as belonging to the object (10.40).

10.38 *An-madj-yi-rrukme-y.*

Dj 3/1-swap-COM-tug-PP

‘He grabbed the swap off me.

10.39 *Kumekke kanj-no ø-kuyin-dolkka-ng wanjh*

I then meat-3POSSD 3P-almost-get.up-PP right

*bi-woh-kanj-yi-me-y kun-kanj ø-me-y ø-njohlme-y*

3/3hP-PART-meat-COM-get-PP IV-meat 3/3I-take-PP 3P-pop-PP

*ø-kanj-me-y, bi-woh-dad-kaybom.*

3P-meat-get-PP 3/3hP-PART-leg-deprive.ofPP

‘Just as he was about to get up, he (emu) snatched the meat from right out of his mouth, took it and popped it into his mouth. He took half of the meat (kangaroo leg) off him.’

10.40 *Ngan-yaw-berl-yi-me-y.*

I 3/1-child-arm-COM-take-PP

‘He grabbed the baby off me by its arm.’

Unlike *yigurrme* verbs, however, the subject rather than the object ends up with the transferred object at the end of the event, like verbs of the ‘potential comitative’ subgroup of the *yinan* group. Table 10.1 summarises the semantic and morphosyntactic differences between these groups:

**Table 10.1:** Semantic and morphosyntactic differences between verb groups

<i>yinan</i> group	O is pronominal prefix, and feeds reciprocal COM incorporates if GEN or body part; body part construed as part of COM O and COM are in proximity from the beginning of the event [for ‘potential comitative’ subgroup, SUBJ and COM are in proximity at the end of the event]
<i>yigurrme</i> group	COM is pronominal prefix, and feeds reciprocal O incorporates if GEN; body part construed as part of SUBJ at beginning and OBJ at end O and COM are in proximity at the end of the event
<i>yimang</i> group	SUBJ and COM are in proximity at the end of the event COM is pronominal prefix O incorporates; incorporated BP construed as part of O

<sup>4</sup> There is irregular dissimilatory loss of the codal *rr*, following the flapping of the root-initial *d* to *rr* after the stressed comitative prefix (§3.1.1).

Finally, there are trivalent verbs derived from intransitive verbs by the addition of both applicatives (e.g. *marneyirrurnde* [BEN-COM-return] 'bring/take COM back for BEN'). These incorporate the COM argument and represent the BEN on the second pronominal prefix (e.g. 10.26 and 10.336).

### 10.1.3.5 Tetravalent verbs

This group is extremely rare and my only examples are elicited, formed by adding a benefactive applicative with 'indexed possessor' meaning to a trivalent verb.<sup>5</sup> An example with a ditransitive verb is 10.41, and with both applicatives on a transitive verb is 10.42; the exceptional incorporation of an indirect object in 10.43 most likely reflects the special status of *yau* 'child' as an incorporated noun (see §10.4.3.2), but too little data is yet available to make a conclusive ruling about the behaviour of incorporated nominals, or of reflexive/reciprocals, in this construction. There appears to be some inconsistency in whether the indirect object or the added benefactive gets indexed by the second pronominal; 10.41 and 10.42 exemplify the former, and 10.43 the latter.

10.41 *An-marne-yau-berrebbom.*

Dj 3/1-BEN-child-promisePP  
'He promised something to my child(ren).'

10.42 *Ngabenbene-marne-madj-yi-bawo-ng wurdurd rowk berrewoneng.*

W 1/3du-BEN-swap-COM-leave-PP children all they.twoOBL  
'I left the swags with the children of the two of them.'

10.43 *Ka-m-wa-m yayaw ben-marne-madj-yi-kurrme-ng Badjan.*

I 3-hither-go-PP children 3/3pl-BEN-swap-COM-put-PP mother

*Ben-madj-yi-bawo-ng.*

3/3pl-swap-COM-leave-PP

'The uncle came and left his swap with the children of his sister (the mother).

He left the swap with them.'

## 10.2 Pronominal prefixes

There are two sets of pronominal prefixes: a monovalent set, registering subject (§10.2.1), and a divalent set, registering subject and object (§10.2.2). A variant of the monovalent set can also be used with non-verbal predicates.

Most forms in the divalent set are portmanteaux, although occasionally segmentation into subject and object morphemes is possible. With third person singular objects the divalent set is identical to the monovalent set (or, viewed in another way, the third person object morpheme is zero) except that for the combination 'third person subject/third person object' there is a special form for high-animacy objects; the rather complex conditions governing its

<sup>5</sup> Of the other Gunwinjguan languages, only Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:275) has been reported as allowing addition of a fourth benefactive argument to an underlying ditransitive. A pair of Rembarrnga examples illustrating the parallel to 10.41 is the following (McKay labels the benefactive prefix with the term 'implicating'):

*nganba-dehwa-ø bordi-ø*  
3a/1-give-PP spear-NOM

'They gave the spear to me.'

*nganba-bak-dehwa-ø bordi-ø*  
3a/1-IMPL-give-PP spear-NOM

'They gave the spear to a member of my family.'

use are discussed in §10.2.7. In the case of trivalent verbs there are complex rules determining which is the 'higher object'; with underlying ditransitives it will normally be the indirect object, but with double object verbs it is lexically specified in such a way as to be the argument that is typically higher in animacy with that particular verb. These issues are discussed in detail in §10.5.

Where the subject is first or second person the pronominal prefixes form a single series, but where the subject is third person there are two prefix sets depending on the TAM of the verb: a past set and a non-past set. The past set is used with the past perfective, past imperfective and irrealis TAM inflections, and with conjunction with the imperative TAM inflection for third person hortatives. The non-past is used with the non-past and imperative TAM inflections.

Dialect differences with the monovalent pronominal prefixes are restricted to form; the semantic categories are identical. But with the divalent prefixes the dialect differences are greater: the Kunwinjku dialect has the most complex system, and is discussed first; the other dialects simplify this through various types of semantic neutralisation, and are discussed later.

### 10.2.1 Monovalent pronominal prefixes

The monovalent prefix sets, presented in Table 10.2, show relatively little cross-dialect variation, basically splitting along the Mayali vs Kunwinjku isogloss. The differences are greatest in the third person forms, with lesser differences in the second person non-minimal forms and the final vowel of all non-minimal forms. Here as elsewhere the lack of dialect identification means the same form is found in all dialects, and bracketed forms like *(ng)a-* mean '*nga-* in Kunwinjku etc., and *nga-* ~ *a-* in the Mayali dialects'.

In Gun-djeihmi all initial velar nasals are optional (e.g. 'I go' can be *ngare* or *are*). With the non-minimal second person forms, some speakers (e.g. Toby Gangele, Eddy Hardy) have *g-* initials; other speakers (e.g. Minnie Alderson) have *ng-* initials. These velar initials may be dropped before *u* and, further, a *w* glide may be inserted. Thus 'you two saw it' could be *gurrinang*, *ngurrinang*, *urrinang*, or *wurrinang*. In Manyallaluk Mayali only the *ng-* or  $\emptyset$ -initial forms are found in the non-minimal (e.g. *ngurrinang* or *urrinang*).

The paradigm in Table 10.2 can be constructed by concatenating the morphemes given in the following way, in the order Tense-Person-Number (e.g. *ka-bi-rri* [NP-3nm-a] in Kunwinjku. Note that *(ng)* means '*ng* initially dropped in Mayali dialects':

TENSE (third person only): non-past *ka-*, past *ba-* (M),  $\emptyset$ - (o.d.).

PERSON: 1st exclusive *(ng)a-*,  
1st inclusive *(ng)arr-* (minimal) *ka-* (non-minimal),  
2nd *yi-* (minimal), *ngu-* (non-minimal),  
3rd  $\emptyset$ - (minimal), *ba-* (M), *bi-/be-* (o.d.) (non-minimal).

The choice between *bi-* and *be-* in the non-Mayali dialects is decided by the vowel in the following number prefix. In its details this pans out as follows: in W and I, use *be* before *ua* *ne* and *bi* before *aug rri*; in E always use *bi*.

NUMBER:  $\emptyset$ - (minimal), M, E *-ni*, K *-ne* (unit augmented), *-rri* (augmented).

The only forms not accounted for by this set of rules are the two idiosyncratic forms *ngi-* 'second person minimal', limited to some speakers of Kunwinjku, and *yirri-* 'first inclusive augmented', limited to some speakers of Kun-djedjnjenhmi; both are likely to be archaic residues submerged by paradigm regularisation in most dialects.

Table 10.2: Monovalent pronominal prefixes

Person	Minimal	Unit augmented	Augmented
1 (first exclusive)	<i>nga-</i>	M (ng) <i>ani-</i> K <i>ngane-</i> I, E <i>ngani-</i>	(ng) <i>arri-</i>
12 (first inclusive)	(ng) <i>arr-</i>	M <i>gani-</i> K <i>kane-</i> I, E <i>kani-</i>	M <i>garri-</i> , K, I, E <i>karri-</i> (Dnj) <i>yirri</i> <sup>6</sup>
2	<i>yi-</i> (ngi-) <sup>7</sup>	M (ng) <i>uni-</i> , <i>guni-</i> K <i>ngune-</i> I, E <i>nguni-</i>	M (ng) <i>urri-</i> , <i>gurri-</i> K, I, E <i>ngurri-</i>
3 non-past	M <i>ga-</i> K <i>ka-</i>	M <i>gabani-</i> K, I <i>kabene-</i> E <i>kabini-</i>	M <i>gabarri-</i> K <i>kabirri-</i>
past	M <i>ba-</i> o.d. $\emptyset$ -	M <i>bani-</i> W, I <i>bene-</i> E <i>bini-</i>	M <i>barri-</i> W, I, E <i>birri-</i>

Most of this prefix paradigm can be equally combined with non-verbal stems (e.g. numbers, like *nguni-bogen* 'you two'), demonstratives (e.g. W *birri-mekbe* 'those'), predicate adjectives (e.g. Dj *garri-bondjek* 12a-cold 'we are cold') or skin names (e.g. W *ngarri-kamarrang* 'we Kamarrang men/women'). See §8.3 for numerous examples. But when the referent is third person the following 'non-verbal prefix' series is used:

Table 10.3: Pronominal prefixes used with non-verbs

3 (non-verbal)	non-past	M <i>ga-</i> , K <i>ka-</i>	M <i>bani-</i> W, I <i>bene-</i> E <i>bini-</i>	M <i>barri-</i> W, I, E <i>birri-</i>
	past	M, K $\emptyset$ -	M <i>bani-</i> W, I <i>bene-</i> E <i>bini-</i>	M <i>barri-</i> W, I, E <i>birri-</i>

For third minimal forms, this series observes the usual past vs non-past distinction, as exemplified by 10.44 and 10.45. Note that here Mayali uses the same  $\emptyset$ -prefix in the past that is found in Kunwinjku, instead of the verbal 3 minimal past form *ba-*.

<sup>6</sup> This form is only attested in the speech of Lofty Bardayal; it may be archaic since it appears to be cognate with Rembarrnga *yarra-* 'we augmented' and Dalabon *yarrah-* 'we unit augmented', though both these forms are exclusive rather than inclusive.

<sup>7</sup> The alternative form *ngi-* occurs frequently in KS (e.g. p.212 *Dja bu ngimarrwedowen ngidjare ngingun kuk*. 'Suppose you are too hungry and want to eat that mussel raw.'). Though not attested elsewhere (to my knowledge), it may be an archaic variant; certainly some other Gunwinyguan languages have cognate forms (e.g. Kungarakany *ngi-* 'you'), and *yi-* may be an irregular development from this via palatalisation and lenition, or by semantic shift from a first inclusive form; cf. the first inclusive prefix *yi-* in Ngalakan (Merlan 1983:87–88).

10.44 *Gun-dulk an-ege ga-wurdwurd.*

Dj IV-tree VE-this 3-child  
'This tree is a sapling.'

10.45 *Gorrogo nadjik ø-bininj-ni.*

Dj long.ago tawny.frogmouth 3P-person-P  
'Long ago Tawny Frogmouth was a person.'

But for third non-minimal forms, what is normally the 'past' form is used regardless of tense, as in 10.46. These will be glossed with no indication of TAM.

10.46 *Bani-wok-buyiga.*

Dj 3ua-language-different  
'They have a different language.'

Comparative note: on phonological grounds we would expect the Gun-djeihmi forms *bani-* and *barri-* to be older than the Kunwinjku forms *bene-* and *birri-*, with the latter resulting from vowel levelling and vowel harmony respectively. Some support for this position comes from the place name *Barridjowkkeng* in Kunwinjku territory, whose prefix has the Gun-djeihmi form; the expected form is *Birridjowkkeng*.

Comparison with further Gunwinyguan and other non-Pama-Nyungan languages also suggests that *-rr-* originally had dual or unit augmented semantics, and that the *-nV* unit-augmented morpheme is a relatively recent innovation. The opposition of dual *rr* to plural *l* is widespread in non-Pama-Nyungan languages (see Evans 1995c:34–35 for a tabulation) and is preserved in the Dalabon prefix system, where unit augmented *rr*, however, now competes with an innovative *nV*.

### 10.2.2 Divalent pronominal prefixes

As in many north Australian languages, the transitive pronominal prefixes form a complex paradigm with complex patterns of formal neutralisation, referral rules from one part of the paradigm to another, and irregularities for combinations involving first person acting upon second or the reverse. There is a tendency for the combinations with first or second person objects to be represented by forms whose basic meaning involves third person participants (see Heath 1991; Evans, Brown & Corbett 2001).

A series of neutralisations of object categories, by eliminating the inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person objects, get rid of the motive for analysing the number system of objects as a minimal/augment rather than a singular/plural system (see more below under §10.2.2.3). I therefore adopt a singular/dual/plural analysis for the system of object number. There is further neutralisation of the dual/plural distinction in sub-parts of the paradigm.

In addition, there is much more substantial cross-dialectal variation here than in any other part of the grammar. These variations basically involve the neutralisation of the non-singular number categories, first for subjects (in all dialects except Kunwinjku) and then for objects (in the easternmost dialects), as well as neutralisation of the inclusive/exclusive distinction with non-minimal objects for some speakers of Gun-djeihmi, and all Kune and Kuninjku speakers.

Full paradigms for three main systems (Kunwinjku, Gun-djeihmi and Kuninjku/Kune) are given in Tables 10.4–10.6. Aside from a few remarks on minor variant forms, these tables give the complete set of forms, so that readers who merely seek the forms can skip the rest of this section, which gives a detailed analysis of the paradigms in terms of sub-paradigms and patterns underlying the variation across dialects.

Table 10.4: Overall paradigm of Kunwinjku subject/object combinations

Object									
Subject	3 [ø]	3pl [ben-]	3du [benbene-]	1sg [ngan-]	1pl	1du	2 [ngun-]	2pl	2du
1 [nga-]	nga-	ngaben-	ngabenbene-				ø-		benbene-
1ua [ngane-]	ngane-	nganeben/ ngarrben-	nganebenbene/ ngarrbenbene-				ngundi-		ngundi-/bi-
1a [ngarri-]	ngarri-	ngarrben-	ngarrbenbene-						
12m [ngarr-]	ngarr-								
12ua [kane-]	kane-	kaneben-/ karrben-	kanebenbene-						
12a [karri-]	karri-	karrben-	karrbenbene-						
2 [yi-]	yi-	yiben-	yibenbene-	kan-		kanbene-			
2ua [ngune-]	ngune-	nguneben/ ngurrben-	ngunebenbene/ ngurrbenbene-	kandi-					
2a [ngurri-]	ngurri-	ngurrben-	ngurrbenbene-						
3 [ka-/ø-]	ka-/ø- (l.o.) (ka)bi- (h.o.)	(ka)ben-	(ka)benbene-	ngan-	kan- (/ngan-)	kanbene-	ngun-		ngunbene-
3ua [(ka)bene-]	(ka)bene-	(ka)bindi-		ngandi-	kandi- (/ngandi-)	kandi-	ngundi-		
3a [(ka)birri-]	(ka)birri-								

Third person series have *ka-* in the non-past and *ø-* elsewhere (e.g. *kaben-* '3/3plNP', *ben-* '3/3plP'). Plural object forms generally serve as the base for dual forms and are given before these in the paradigm; the reason for switching from a minimal/augmented to a singular/plural analysis with objects is discussed in the text.



Table 10.5: Overall paradigm of Gun-djeihmi subject/object combinations

Subject	Object								
	3 {ø}	3pl {ban-}	3du {benbene-}	1sg {ngan-}	1pl	1du	2 {ngun-}	2pl	2du
1 {nga-}	nga-	ngaban-	ngabanbani-				ø-	bi-, di- (MM ~ngundi)	
1ua {ngani-}	ngani-								
1a {ngarri-}	ngarri-	ngarrban-	ngarrbanbani-				ngundi-	bi-, di-, (MM ~ngundi-)	bi-, di- (MM banbani)
12m {ngarr-}	ngarr-	ngarrban-	ngarrbanbani-						
12ua {gani- ~ ngarri-}	gani-/ngarri-	ngarrban-							
12a {garri-}	garri-	garriban-/ ngarrban-	garribanmani/ ngarrbanmani-						
2 {yi-}	yi-	yiban-	yibanbani-	gan-	gan-	garbani-			
2ua {nguni-}	nguni-								
2a {ngurri-}	ngurri-	ngurriban-	ngurribanbani-	ngandi-		gandi-			
3 {ga-/ba-}	ga-/ba- (l.o.) (ga)bi- (h.o.)	(ga)ban-	(ga)banbani-	ngan-	gan- (/ngan-)	ganbani-	ngun-	ngudberre= / ngun-	ngunbani-
3ua {(ga)bani-}	(ga)bani-		(ga)bandi-	ngandi-	gandi- (Dni ngambi-)	gandi-	ngundi-		
3a {(ga)barri-}	(ga)barri-							bi-, di-	

Again, third person series have *ga-* in the non-past and *ø-* elsewhere (e.g. *gaban-* '3/a', *ban-* '3/aP'). Optional dropping of initial *ng* (e.g. *nga-* ~ *a-* '1/3') is not shown on the table, but is available for all initial velar nasals. Also not shown is the variant realisation of initials with second non-minimal subjects; thus, *nguni-* stands for *nguni-~uni-~wuni-~guni-*. Finally, optional realisation of *bani-* as *mani-* after nasals (e.g. *(ng)abanbani-* ~ *(ng)abanmani-* for 1/3ua) is not indicated here. Other remarks as for Table 10.4.

Table 10.6: Overall paradigm of subject/object combinations in Kuninju and Kune

Subject	3 [ø]	Object				
		3pl		1sg [ngan-]	1pl	2 [ngun-] (all numbers)
		[ben-] (I)	[bin-] (E)			
1 [nga-]	nga-	ngaben-	ngabin-			ø-
1ua [ngani-]	ngani-					
1a [ngarri-]						
1a [ngarri-]	ngarri-					
12m [ngarr-]	ngarr-					
12ua [kani-]	kani-					
12a [karri-]	karri-					
2 [yi-]	yi-	yiben-	yibin-		kan-	
2ua [nguni-]	nguni-					
2a [ngurri-]	ngurri-	ngurben-	ngurbin-		kandi-	
3 [ka-/ø-]	ka-/ø- (I.o.) (ka)bi- (h.o.)	(ka)ben-	(ka)bin-	ngan-	kan-	ngun-
3ua [I (ka)bene- E (ka)bin-]	(ka)bene- (ka)bin-					
3a [(ka)birri-]	(ka)birri-			ngandi-	kandi-	ngundi-

Again, third person series have *ka-* in the non-past and *ø-* elsewhere (e.g. E *kabin-* '3/3plP', *bin-* '3/3plP'). Note the complete reduction of object number marking to a two-valued system, singular vs plural (including dual), and the neutralization of the inclusive/exclusive distinction for subjects once object number exceeds singular. The Kuninju and Kune systems have identical semantic structure, but Kune has *bin(i)* wherever Kuninju has *ben(e)*. In Kuninju there is conditioned alternation between *i-* final and *e-* final prefixes (see §10.2.2.1); only the *i-* final forms are shown here.

The most revealing way to present this complex data is through a series of partial paradigms, beginning with the most differentiated system (Kunwinjku) and passing through the successive neutralisations that occur in other dialects. Within the system of any one dialect, there are also patterns of formal extension such that it makes sense to begin with the paradigm for third person object forms, pass to the paradigms for third person acting on first and second person, then finally to the paradigms for first on second and second on first. In the first (subject) column of each paradigm I give in square brackets, for comparison in factorising the forms, the relevant intransitive subject form.

Throughout these paradigms, I use (*ka-*) or (*ga-*) to represent the segment present in third person non-past prefixes. As with the intransitive series, initial velar nasals are optional in Mayali, and in Gun-djeihmi there are *g-*, *ng-*,  $\emptyset$ - and *w-*initial variants of the second non-minimal series. For example 'you two saw it' has the variants *nguninang*, *guninang*, *uninang* and *wuninang* in Gun-djeihmi. The  $\emptyset$ - and *w-*initial variants, which result from elision of the initial consonant in the case of  $\emptyset$ - (optionally followed by a prosthetic *w-*) are not shown in the paradigms.

### 10.2.2.1 Third person object forms

Tables 10.7–10.23, which follow over the next ten or so pages, are laid out in such a way as to show the most peripheral categories — namely the combinations not represented in all dialects — in the outer cells. Thus the unit augmented category for objects, not distinguished in the eastern dialects, is shown in the rightmost column; the eastern dialects simply use the augmented form, made more precise where necessary by a dual free pronoun (see §10.2.3 below). Similarly the unit augmented category for non-third person subjects with non-minimal objects, distinctive only in the Kunwinjku dialect, is shown in the bottom rows; other dialects simply use the augmented form for the subject, again supplemented where necessary by a dual free pronoun. In all dialects the neutralisation of augmented and unit augmented, for both subject and object, occurs where both are third person. To show the morphological analysis more concisely, the morphological factors (given after the table in the case of monovalent prefixes) are given in square brackets within the relevant cells, throughout §10.2.2. Where nothing is said, the subject morpheme is identical to that found in the monovalent set. Morphemes occur in the order: Tense/Subject-Object Augmented-Object Unit Augmented; there is no form with separate exponence for tense and subject outside zero and fused forms.

**KUNWINJKU** This is the most differentiated system, with distinct forms for all three numbers in subject and object, except that the two non-singular values are neutralised where both subject and object are non-singular.

In Table 10.7, *+bene* means the dual suffix is added after the plural object form. Note also that the initial *b* of the dual suffix optionally assimilates in nasality to the preceding nasal, so that alongside *ngabenbene-* etc. is the variant *ngabenmene-*. This applies to all transitive prefix forms with dual suffix *-bene*. If the subject morpheme ends in *rri*, the *i* is dropped before a following non-zero morpheme (e.g. *ngarrbenbene* '1a/3pl' instead of predicted *ngarribenbene*); this leads to neutralisation of the difference between 1a and 12m

subjects in the paradigm.<sup>8</sup> Where unit-augmented subjects have non-singular objects there is also optional neutralisation with the corresponding form for plural subjects; for example, instead of using the distinct form *nganeben* for '1ua/3pl', one can use the form *ngarrben* which is identical to the '1a/3pl' form.<sup>9</sup>

**Table 10.7:** Kunwinjku third person object divalent pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	3sg [-Ø]	3pl [-ben/Ø, -bin/-di]	3du [+bene]
1m	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ngaben-</i>	<i>ngabenbene-</i>
1ua	<i>ngane-</i>	<i>nganeben-/ngarrben-</i>	<i>nganebenbene-/ngarrbenbene-</i>
1a	<i>ngarri-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbenbene-</i>
12m	<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbenbene-</i>
12ua	<i>kane-</i>	<i>kaneben-/karrben-</i>	<i>kanebenbene-/karrbenbene-</i>
12a	<i>karri-</i>	<i>karrben-</i>	<i>karrbenbene-</i>
2m	<i>yi- (ngi-)</i>	<i>yiben-</i>	<i>yibenbene-</i>
2ua	<i>ngune-</i>	<i>nguneben-/ngurrben-</i>	<i>ngunebenbene-/ngurrbenbene-</i>
2a	<i>ngurri-</i>	<i>ngurrben-</i>	<i>ngurrbenbene-</i>
3m: lower object	<i>(ka-)</i>	<i>(ka)ben-</i>	<i>(ka)benbene-</i>
3m: higher object	<i>(ka)bi-</i>	<i>(ka)ben-</i>	<i>(ka)benbene-</i>
3ua [+di if O nm]	<i>(ka)bene-</i>	<i>(ka)bindi-</i>	<i>(ka)bindi-</i>
3a [+di if O nm]	<i>(ka)birri-</i>	<i>(ka)bindi-</i>	<i>(ka)bindi-</i>

MAYALI These dialects neutralise the augmented vs unit augmented contrast for subjects once the object is non-singular; in other words what in Kunwinjku is an optional neutralisation always occurs in Mayali. There is also a tendency to neutralise the inclusive vs exclusive contrast for subjects (in favour of the exclusive) once objects are non-minimal. As in Kunwinjku, the initial *b* of the unit augmented suffix optionally assimilates in nasality to the preceding nasal, so that alongside *ngabanbani-* etc. is the variant *ngabanmani-*. This applies to all transitive prefix forms with unit augmented suffix *-bani*.

<sup>8</sup> Carroll (1976:66) cites augmented forms with non-minimal objects as retaining the vowel found on the corresponding monovalent forms (e.g. *ngurriben* for 'you augmented acting upon them' rather than *ngurrben* as here). I give the vowel-less forms here on the basis of my own field notes as well as the main other published sources (e.g. Oates 1964; Etherington & Etherington 1994:58).

<sup>9</sup> Again, the possibility of these neutralisations is shown in Etherington and Etherington (1994:58), whereas Carroll (1976:66) only showed the unneutralised forms. It is not clear at this stage whether this reflects a process of historical change, or a corpus based on less idealised language use.

Table 10.8: Mayali third person object divalent pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	3sg [-ø]	3pl [-ban]	3du [+bani]
1m	(ng)a-	(ng)aban-	(ng)abanbani-
1ua	(ng)ani-	(ng)arrban-	(ng)arrbanbani-
1a	(ng)arri-	(ng)arrban-	(ng)arrbanbani-
12m	(ng)arr-	(ng)arrban-	(ng)arrbanbani-
12ua	gani- ~ (ng)arri-	(ng)arrban-	garrbanbani- ~ (ng)arrbanbani-
12a	garri- (Dnj yirri-)	garrban- ~ (ng)arrban-	garrbanbani- ~ (ng)arrbanbani-
2m	yi-	yiban-	yibanbani-
2ua	(ng/g)uni-	(ng/g)urrban-	(ng/g)urrbanbani-
2a	(ng/g)urri-	(ng/g)urrban-	(ng/g)urrbanbani-
3m	ga-/ba- (low obj) (ga)bi- (hi obj)	(ga)ban-	(ga)banbani-
3ua	(ga)bani-	(ga)bandi-	(ga)bandi-
3a	(ga)barri-	(ga)bandi-	(ga)bandi-

KUNINJKU AND KUNE Throughout their transitive pronominal prefix system Kuningku and Kune are parallel semantically, but there is an important formal difference: Kune has forms in *i* where Kuningku has forms in *e*, though Kuningku speakers often sporadically use *i* forms as well. For the unit-augmented non-third person subject forms with singular objects, Kuningku speakers have conditioned allomorphy between the two forms, using the *i* forms before *y* and the *e* forms elsewhere — *ngunewon* ‘you two give it to him/her/it’ but *nguniyakwon* ‘you two finish it’ — while Kune speakers generalise the *i* form.

These paradigms neutralise the plural vs dual contrast for objects, so that here ‘plural’ includes ‘dual’, whereas in Kunwinjku and Mayali plural means ‘three or more’. They also minimise the augmented vs unit-augmented distinction for subjects if the objects are non-minimal, and the inclusive vs exclusive distinction once the objects are non-minimal. Example 10.47 shows the neutralisation of unit augmented vs augmented for object arguments (*bin-*) but not intransitive subjects (*kabini-*). As this example shows, postposed free pronouns may be brought in to express the distinction; this is discussed more fully in §10.2.3 below.

- 10.47    *Daluk*    *djarrkno*    *bini-ngune-ng*    *man-me*                      *man-birlanghbirlangh*,  
E        woman two            3uaP-eat-PP        III-vegetable.food    III-[plant.sp.]
- mural*            *bin-bom*            *berrewoneng*  
          nasty.spirit    3/3pl-killPP    them.uaOBL  
          ‘Two women ate that (tabooed) *man-birlanghbirlangh* food, and an evil  
          mural spirit killed them.’

**Table 10.9:** Kuninjku and Kune third person object divalent pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	3sg [- $\emptyset$ ]	3pl: (I) [-ben]	3pl: (E) [-bin]
1m	<i>nga-</i>	<i>ngaben-</i>	<i>ngabin-</i>
1ua	<i>ngane-/ngani-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbin-</i>
1a	<i>ngarri-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbin-</i>
12m	<i>ngarr-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbin-</i>
12ua	<i>kane-/kani-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbin-</i>
12a	<i>karri-</i>	<i>ngarrben-</i>	<i>ngarrbin-</i>
2m	<i>yi-</i>	<i>yiben-</i>	<i>yibin-</i>
2ua	<i>ngune-/nguni-</i>	<i>ngurrben-</i>	<i>ngurrbin-</i>
2a	<i>ngurri-</i>	<i>ngurrben-</i>	<i>ngurrbin-</i>
3m	(ka-) (lo obj) (ka)bi- (hi obj)	(ka)ben-	(ka)bin-
3ua	I (ka)bene-, E (ka)bini-	(ka)bindi-	(ka)bindi-
3a	(ka)birri-	(ka)bindi-	(ka)bindi-

#### 10.2.2.2 Non-third person objects: some general characteristics

Once we move to first and second person objects, we witness four changes in the organisation of forms. Firstly, ordering of morphemes by person appears, so that first or second person morphemes precede third person regardless of whether they are subject or object. Secondly the morpheme *-n-* directly follows non-third person morphemes representing objects (e.g. *ngu-n-di-* [2-OBJ-3aSUBJ] '3a/2(a)' and *nga-n-di* [1-OBJ-3aSUBJ] '3a/1(a)' [the exact meaning of this form varies across dialects]). Thirdly, forms in which first person acts upon second or vice versa never have separate exponence for both participants, using a variety of alternative strategies. Fourthly, the distinction between augmented and unit augmented subjects is neutralised everywhere.

#### 10.2.2.3 Third person subject forms with first person objects

This is the most confused and variable part of the paradigm; for Kunwinjku every source gives a different version. We have already seen (in §10.2.2.1) the tendency for the inclusive/exclusive distinction to break down for the subjects of divalent prefix combinations; for objects it breaks down completely.

Two constants survive this variation: the use of *-di* for all non-minimal third person subjects, and the use of *ka-* as a base for at least some first person non-minimal objects. Recall that the use of *-di* with third person objects was restricted to cases of third non-minimal subject on third non-minimal object; its extension in this part of the paradigm and subsequently suggests it should be characterised as 'neither subject nor object are third person minimal'. The use of *ka-*, familiar to us as the 12 non-minimal base in the monovalent paradigm, sees various extensions from this, for example to cover all 1 non-singular objects (not just first inclusive) in the Etheringtons' analysis of Kunwinjku, and in Kuninjku and Kune; at the same time the root *nga-*, basically first person exclusive in the monovalent

paradigm (though also found in the first inclusive minimal form *ngarr-*) sees an extension into first person more generally, as a variant form in the Etherington's analysis. In other words, one of the factors generating the range of forms is the competition between inclusive and exclusive roots for extension into a neutralised first person object base.

**KUNWINJKU** There is so much variation in the Kunwinjku speech community on this point that no analysis is likely to be definitive, though a comparison of idiolectal differences would be fascinating. It is worth beginning with Carroll's (1976:69) analysis, set out in Table 10.11 below (I have changed his number glosses for the subject to their minimal-augmented system equivalents).

**Table 10.11:** Kunwinjku 3 subject / 1 object pronominal forms: Carroll (1976)

Subject	Object		
	1sg	1(2)pl	1du
3m	<i>ngan-</i>	<i>kan-</i>	<i>kanbene-</i>
3ua, a	<i>ngandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>

Note (a) the realignment of the *nga-* vs *ka-* contrast away from the inclusive/exclusive distinction it carries with the monovalent and third person object forms, to a distinction between singular vs non-singular object, (b) the collapse of the inclusive/exclusive distinction, (c) the concomitant reanalysis of the object number system to a singular/plural system, and (d) the revaluing of the *bene* prefix from having relative number (unit augmented), which it has in subjects, to absolute number (dual).

It is possible that this derives from an earlier stage in which *ngandi-* was associated with first exclusive augmented objects, and *kandi-* with first inclusive augmented objects, as well as *nganbene-* for first exclusive unit augmented objects and *kanbene-* for first inclusive augmented objects. However, not even the oldest existing corpora require this analysis, though they are suggestive. Note, however, the following quote in Rowe (n.d.:6), likely to be based on an old form of the language: 'The use of *kanbene-* for "he to us (you 2 & I)" supports my reasoning [regarding kinds of "we" – NE] as *bene-* is the prefix for two people. In other words, the Kunwinjku seem to think of "you 2 & I" as 2 people'.

A subsequent snapshot, some two and a half decades later, is furnished by the following excerpt from the grammar by Etherington and Etherington (1994:58):

**Table 10.12:** Kunwinjku 3 subject / 1 object pronominal forms:  
Etherington and Etherington (1994)

Subject	Object		
	1sg	1(2)pl ('us (3+)')	1du ('us two')
3m	<i>ngan-</i>	<i>kan-/ngan-</i>	<i>kanbene-</i>
3ua, a	<i>ngandi-</i>	<i>kandi-/ngandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>

The Etheringtons' grammar, well-attuned as it is to variant forms found in the Kunwinjku speech community, notes explicitly (p.56) that '*kanbene* and *nganbene* are simply alternatives'. The paradigm they note shows an extension of the *ngan-* and *ngandi-* forms from singular object forms to become alternative plural object forms as well.

MAYALI This represents another complex twist; again, it shows a collapse of the inclusive vs exclusive distinction, with slight differences in form between the Gun-djeihmi, Gun-dedjnjenghmi and Manyalluk Mayali systems.

**Table 10.13:** Mayali 3 subject / 1 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	1sg	1pl	1du
3m	(ng)an-	gan-	ganbani-
3ua, a	(ng)andi- (Dj)/ gandi- (MM)	gandi-/ ngambi- (Dnj)	gandi-

This is structurally identical (with slightly different forms) to Carroll's analysis of the relevant part of the Kunwinjku paradigm.

KUNE AND KUNINJ KU As with the other combinations, Kune and Kuninjku neutralise the distinction between plural and dual objects.

**Table 10.14:** Kune and Kuninjku 3 subject / 1 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object	
	1sg	1nsg
3sg	ngan-	kan-
3nsg	ngandi-	kandi-

For this part of the paradigm the formative *ka-* is '1(2)nsg'. However, this meaning for *ka-* becomes untenable once one looks at the derivation of the 2/1 forms (see §10.2.2.6).

#### 10.2.2.4 Third person subjects on second person objects

These are more straightforward. Throughout there is a generalisation of the root *ngu* beyond the second person non-minimal value it has in the monovalent paradigm to cover minimal values as well, completely displacing *yi-*, the monovalent form for second person non-minimal.

KUNWINJ KU This has a comparable structure to one version of the Mayali first person object forms. Unit augmented object number is marked only where the subject is minimal. Object number is neutralised for non-minimal subjects, and also between minimal and augmented objects where the subject is minimal.

**Table 10.15:** Kunwinjku 3 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	2sg	2pl	2du
3m	ngun-	ngun-	ngunbene-
3ua,a	ngundi-	ngundi-	ngundi-



MAYALI This resembles Kunwinjku, except that (a) the dual object marker *-bani* can be used even when subject is non-minimal, (b) there is a suppletive form *bi-/di-* for 3nm/2pl, and (c) the neutralisation between singular and non-singular objects with minimal subjects is patched by procliticising the oblique augmented pronoun to specify plural number.

The initial variation *ng ~ g ~ ø ~ w* is confined to Gundjeihmi; other Mayali varieties just have *ng*.

**Table 10.16:** Mayali 3 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	2sg	2pl	2du
3m	(ng/g/w)un-	(ng/g)udberre=ngun-	(ng/g)unbani-
3ua, a	(ng/g/w)undi-	bi-, di-	(ng/g)unbani-

KUNINJKU AND KUNE This is simplified from the Kunwinjku system by getting rid of dual number.

**Table 10.17:** Kuninjku and Kune 3 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object	
	2sg	2pl, 2du
3m	ngun-	ngun-
3ua, a	ngundi-	ngundi-

#### 10.2.2.5 First person subjects with second person objects

Where the subject is minimal, all dialects use a zero portmanteau for the singular object, whose primary function is to mark third minimal on third singular lower animate. There are varied strategies for dealing with non-singular objects, basically amounting to different ways of encoding object number and not coding the subject overtly. Where the subject is non-minimal, the basic strategy is to reuse the 3/2 forms, though with some further intricacies. In other words, within the broad set of pronominal disguise strategies identified by Heath (1991) as being used in north Australian languages for combinations of first person on second or the reverse, the two basic strategies employed for this sub-paradigm are (a) don't encode person of either referent (where the subject is first minimal) and (b) reuse the third person subject forms for first person (where the subject is first non-minimal).

KUNWINJKU With minimal subjects the form is basically zero, but with dual number of the object marked by the standard dual combination *benbene*. This is identical to the third person subject on third person object paradigm, keeping number constant except that the zero is extended from third singular to third plural object. With non-minimal subjects, the forms for third person on second person are used. There is, however, an additional variant *bi-* (used elsewhere for 3/3hP); according to the Etheringtons' grammar (p.53) '*ngundi* and *bi* are interchangeable when we (any number) does action of verb to you (more than one person)',

but Garde (pers. comm.) suggests *bi-* is restricted to the past tense. This would be the sole intrusion of tense distinctions into the pronominal prefix system outside 3/3 combinations.

**Table 10.18:** Kunwinjku 1 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	2m	2a	2ua
1m	∅-	∅-	<i>benbene-</i>
1a, ua	<i>ngundi-</i>	<i>ngundi-/bi-</i>	<i>ngundi-/bi-</i>

MAYALI These resemble the Kunwinjku subparadigm, except for the intrusion of *bi-* into the 1m/2pl form, the occurrence of *di* for first non-minimal subjects with second plural objects (and second dual objects in Gun-djeihmi), and the extension of the dual object marker *banbani* (corresponding to *benbene*) to non-minimal subjects. Relative to Kunwinjku, the form *ngundi* is more restricted, having been partly or totally supplanted by *bi*, *di* or *banbani* (according to the dialect and the combination). Gun-dednjenghmi has a form *ngunbi-*, used for 1a>2sg/pl; this serves as a possible bridge between the *ngundi* and *bi* forms.

**Table 10.19:** Mayali 1 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	2m	2a	2ua
1m	∅-	<i>bi-, di-</i>	<i>banbani-</i>
1a, ua	<i>(ng/g)undi-</i> <i>(Dnj ngunbi-)</i>	<i>bi-, di- (Dj)</i> <i>bi-, ngundi- (MM)</i> <i>ngunbi- (Dnj)</i>	<i>bi-, di- (Dj)</i> <i>banbani- (MM)</i>

KUNINJKU AND KUNE These resemble Kunwinjku, except that the *bi-* variant is not found. As elsewhere in the paradigm, there is also a greater tendency to encliticise the oblique pronoun form to make object person and number unambiguous; see §10.2.3.

**Table 10.20:** Kuninjku and Kune 1 subject / 2 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object	
	2m	2(u)a
1m	∅-	∅-
1a, ua	<i>ngundi-</i>	<i>ngundi-</i>

#### 10.2.2.6 Second person subjects with first person objects

These forms are generally based on the third/first inclusive paradigms, except that the picture is complicated by the various degrees of neutralisation of the inclusive/exclusive object distinction with third person subjects that was discussed in §10.2.2.3. This complication is almost certainly the result of a lag, in which the 2/1 forms, once based transparently on the 3/12 forms, have been detached from them by remodelling of the 3/1(2) paradigm.

**Table 10.21:** Kunwinjku 2 subject / 1 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	1sg	1pl	1du
2m	<i>kan-</i>	<i>kan-</i>	<i>kanbene-</i>
2a	<i>kandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>

**KUNWINJKU** With non-minimal objects these are identical to the 3/1 forms, with number values taken from the corresponding subject and object values (e.g. 2m/1du is the same as the form for 3m/1du). With minimal objects they are based on the corresponding 2/1pl form, *ka-* initial variant.

**MAYALI** This is based on the 3/1 system given in §10.2.2.3, except that 2m/1sg uses the 3/1 plural form *gan-* instead of the 3/1sg form (*ng*)*an-*. Unlike in Kunwinjku, a *ng-* initial form *ngandi-* intrudes into this paradigm from the 3/1 paradigm, presumably an extension of the 3nm/1 form.

**Table 10.22:** Mayali 2 subject / 1 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object		
	1m	1a	1ua
2m	<i>gan-</i>	<i>gan-</i>	<i>ganbani-</i>
2a	( <i>ng</i> ) <i>andi-</i>	<i>gandi-</i>	<i>gandi-</i>

**KUNINJKU AND KUNE** These forms are the most straightforward: they are basically derived directly from the 3/1 forms, except that as in Mayali the 2/1sg form is based on the 3/1pl form *kan-* rather than the 3/1sg form *ngan-*.

**Table 10.23:** Kuninjku and Kune 2 subject / 1 object pronominal forms

Subject	Object	
	1sg	1pl, du
2m	<i>kan-</i>	<i>kan-</i>
2a, ua	<i>kandi-</i>	<i>kandi-</i>

### 10.2.3 Use of free pronouns to supplement prefixal categories

The dialects that neutralise number contrasts in their transitive pronominal prefix series commonly make use of juxtaposed free pronouns to add specification where needed. Most significant is the placement directly after the verb of the oblique series pronouns (10.48–10.51), which in free use mark possessive or oblique participants (§7.1), to indicate the number of the object. Though positionally fixed, these are not clitics, since they bear independent word stress.

Note that these juxtaposed free pronouns employ a minimal/augmented number system, in contrast to the singular/plural system used on the object prefixes, as illustrated by the use of the first inclusive minimal form *ngarrku* for a group of two in 10.50.

When the number of the subject is indicated it is usual to use the intransitive pronominal prefix on the corresponding number word (e.g. *ngunibogen* 'you two' (Dj), *birridanjik* 'they three' (W)), usually but not necessarily before the verb.

Juxtaposition of oblique pronouns is found from Kunwinjku, through Kuningku, to Kune.

The more neutralisations occur in the prefix paradigm the commoner it is, so that it is maximally frequent (though still not obligatory) in Kune and Kuningku:

10.48 *Wanjh bin-weleng-baye-ng berrewoneng.*

E then 3/3pl-then-bite-PP 3uaOBL

'Then the dog bit them two.' [DK]

10.49 *Duruk djarrkno wardi kan-baye kadberre karri-wern.*

E dog two might 3/1pl-biteNP 12aOBL 12a-many

'Those two dogs might bite all of us (inclusive).' [DK]

10.50 *Wardi kan-baye ngarrku.*

E maybe 3/1pl-biteNP 12minimalOBL

'It might bite us two (you and me).' [DK]

10.51 *Karri-re djenj, ø-ka-n ngudberre.*

E 12a-goNP fish 1/2°-go-NP 2aOBL

'Let's go fishing, I'll take you guys'. [DK]

10.52 *ø-Wo-n ngurrewoneng.*

I 1/2-give-NP 2uaOBL

'I'll give it to you two.'

But it is also found in Kunwinjku:

10.53 ... *ngurri-ngime-n werrk, ba ø-na-n ngudberre!*

W 2a-enter-IMP first so.that 1/2-see-NP 2aOBL

'... you mob go in first, so that I can see you!' [KS 222]

10.54 *Kornkumo dja Ngai-badjan ngandi-kelehm-i ngadberre ...*

W Father and II-Mother 3a/1-scare-PI 1aOBL

'Father and Mother used to scare us.'

Similar is the use of pronouns to clarify whether inclusive or exclusive readings are intended in cases where the pronominal prefixes neutralise this distinction. In Kunwinjku, Kuningku and Kune this is achieved by the choice between inclusive and exclusive free pronouns (e.g. 10.54). In Gun-djeihmi the inclusive reading can also be forced by placing a second person pronoun next to the verb in a set-subset construction (§10.2.6) with the pronominal prefix:

10.55 *Wudda ganmani-na-ng.*

Dj you 3/1du-see-PP

'He saw you and me.'

#### 10.2.4 m- support

In Kunwinjku and Kuningku the expected zero third person minimal past prefix would leave the directional prefix *m-* in a phonotactically unacceptable position word-initially. For example, we would get the unacceptable

- 10.56 \*  $\emptyset$ -*M-wam*.  
 W, I 3P-hither-goPP  
 'He/she came.'

This is avoided in different ways in these two dialects.

In Kunwinjku it is avoided by inserting a nonce prefix *ku-*,<sup>10</sup> giving *kumwam* as the correct realisation:

- 10.57 *Ku-m-ka-ng*  
 W 3P-hither-bring-PP  
 'He brought it (here).' [PC 64]

In Kuninjku, the prefix *ka-*, normally confined to the non-past, is extended to this context:

- 10.58 *Ngaleng ka-m-wam*  $\emptyset$ -*kayhme-ng* "koooo"  
 E she 3(P)-hither-goPP 3P-call.out-PP kooo  
 '(then) she came (and) she shouted "koooo".'

In Gun-djeihmi the problem does not arise because the *ba-* prefix provides phonological support: *bamwam* 'he/she went'; in Manyallaluk Mayali and Kune it does not arise because the directional prefix is not found (and since Manyallaluk Mayali and Gun-dedjnjenghmi have 3P *ba-* the problem would be avoided anyway). The second distribution map in Figure 1.3 summarises the treatment of this feature across dialects.

The same problem can potentially arise after a number of other prefixes in all dialects, for example after the 1/2 prefix  $\emptyset$ -, or the 3/1 prefix *ngan-* which would create an unacceptable cluster *nganm-*. I lack a good set of corpus examples of how this is dealt with, but two particular solutions are offered by the following examples. In the first the resultant cluster is simplified by dropping the second element; in the second the problem is avoided by not having an overt first person subject, with the directional prefix implying a first person object.

- 10.59 *Migan*.  
 Dj  $\emptyset$ -*m-yiga-n*.  
 1/2-hither-fetch-NP  
 'I'll bring you here.'
- 10.60 *Ga-m-wohna-n ngahdjarre*.  
 Dj 3/31-hither-look-NP this.way  
 'It's looking this way' (given as a translation of 'It's looking at me.')

Oates (1964:110) contains an example that suggests a third solution is sometimes applied; she gives the form *ngan-kum-yikang*<sup>11</sup> for 'he was coming to get me', which looks like the prefix *ku* has been inserted to avoid the phonotactically impossible sequence \**nganmyikang*. However, I have never heard such a form myself, or seen it in other Kunwinjku texts.

<sup>10</sup> Several other Gunwinyguan languages, such as Ngalakan and Ngandi, employ *ku-* as the third person neuter pronominal prefix (unlike Bininj Gun-wok, these languages have gender agreement on the verb; this is of course the verbal equivalent of the neuter *ku-* found on nominals); so do many other non-Pama-Nyungan languages outside Gunwinyguan, making it likely this is an archaic feature that has been lost in Bininj Gun-wok (and several other Gunwinyguan languages). Diachronically, then, Kunwinjku *ku-* in *kum-* may be a residue of an old neuter pronominal prefix on the verb.

<sup>11</sup> I have converted her form into the Kunwinjku orthography.

### 10.2.5 Number in pronominal prefixes

In this section I discuss various ways in which speakers employ the pronominal-prefix number system in a way that deviates from the mathematically expected choice.

#### 10.2.5.1 Lack of number agreement for non-humans

Number agreement is normally restricted to humans (e.g. 10.61), and not found on non-humans (10.62, 10.63) or parts of humans (10.64):

10.61 *Abanmani-na-ng bininj.*

Dj 1/3du-see-PP man  
'I saw the two men.'

10.62 *Duruk ginga ba-baye-ng ba-ngune-ng na-wern-gen.*

Dj dog crocodile 3/3I-bite-PP 3/3-eat-PP MA-many-GEN  
'The crocodile has eaten all the dogs.'

10.63 *Nga-na-ng boken kornobolo.*

W 1/3-see-PP two wallaby  
'I saw two wallabies.'

10.64 *Barri-bid-wern-wo-ng delek.*

Dj 3AP/3-hand-many-make-PP white.clay  
'They made many white clay hand prints.'

Suppression of number with inanimates is not limited to grammatical objects: subjects that are non-human equally fail to trigger number agreement:

10.65 *Bolkigime ga-yauma-rre-n ba-wernm-inj.*

Dj now 3-breed-RR-NP 3-become.plentiful-PP  
'(Those dingoes) are breeding up now and have become plentiful.'

10.66 *Na-mege maih ga-m-golu-rr-en gaddum-be.*

Dj MA-that bird 3-hither-descend-RR-NP up-ABL  
'Those birds are coming down from higher ground.'

10.67 *Nganabbarru ga-mirnde-rri.*

Dj buffalo 3-many-standNP  
'There are many buffaloes.'

10.68 *Galawan ba-rrulk-bidbom.*

Dj goanna 3P-tree-climbPP  
'Goannas have climbed up into the trees'/'The/a goanna has climbed up into the tree.'

10.69 *Bod ga-di.*

Dj fly 3-standNP  
'There are flies there.'

As these examples show, lack of number marking on the pronominal prefixes can be compensated for in a number of ways: overt NP quantifiers like *nawern.gen* 'many' (10.62) or *boken* 'two' (10.63); A-quantifying number prefixes to the verb like *mirnde-* 'many' (10.67), chaining with inherently plural verbs like *wernmen* 'become plentiful, become many'

(10.65), or the collective use of the reflexive/reciprocal (10.66). In other cases there is no overt indication of plurality (10.68, 10.69).

### 10.2.5.2 Situations in which the number of non-humans is marked

There are two circumstances in which non-humans may trigger pronominal number marking. The first involves inanimates that are personified as dreamtime beings (i.e. as transmogrified humans):

- 10.70 *Gabani-warde-djal-ni bogen.*  
 Dj 3ua-rock-just-sitNP two  
 'There are two (dreaming) rocks there.'

The second involves making vivid just how close the entities are to the speaker — clearly the multiplicity of objects is more visually salient, and at the same time the objects are more visually distinct, when seen from close up: 10.70 could also be used of ordinary rocks looming apart very close to the speaker. A further example below (10.71) occurred in a text about being charged by a herd of buffaloes. While it is common for herds of buffalo to be referred to using the minimal pronominal prefix (e.g. 10.67), in this text the closeness and individuation of buffalo charging towards the narrator is indicated through the use of the augmented prefix:

- 10.71 *Bu nganabbarru barri-darnh-bebme-rre-ni ...*  
 Dj when buffalo 3aP-close-appear-RR-PI  
 'When buffalo would stampede up close ...'

Similar uses of number marking to express individuation or visual salience with body parts are discussed in §10.4.2.5.

### 10.2.5.3 Plurality of non-referential humans not marked

Non-referential arguments usually receive the same person, animacy and number marking as referential arguments (§10.2.8). However, occasionally non-referential humans are simply not marked for plurality or animacy, which is equivalent to having a zero pronominal prefix for that argument:

- 10.72 *Bininj ga-yawa-n.*  
 Dj man 3(/3I)NP-look-NP  
 'She's looking for men/for a man.' (but see §10.2.7 for alternative phrasings)
- 10.73 *Man-kare na-wu nakka kunukka korroko ø-yah-yame-ninj.*  
 E:D III-old MA-REL MA:DEM then before 3P-INCEP-spear-IRR  
*yoh ø-bu-rre-meninj na-mekke daluk-ken, ø-yame-rr-imeninj yoh.*  
 yes 3P-hit-RR-IRR MA-DEM woman-GEN 3P-spear-RR-IRR yes  
 'Yes, long ago there'd be spearings or people would fight each other over women,  
 yes they'd spear each other, yeah.'

#### 10.2.5.4 The vague plural with singular human referents

There are two circumstances in which augmented pronominal forms are used with singular human referents. Firstly, this may indicate uncertainty about which of a number of possible referents is involved — as Eddie Hardy explained the augmented form (10.74), ‘just guessing a couple of places — don’t know which one it is’. (Note that although the surface referent here is actually a place, I include it under human referents because it is a euphemistic and indirect way of discussing human mishaps.)<sup>12</sup>

10.74 *An-berredjalkme-i, gare barri-bolk-yakm-inj, malayi*  
Dj 3/1-stick.in.gullet-PP maybe 3aP-place-become.bad-PP tomorrow

*garri-wok-bengyirri.*

12a-word-hearNP

‘Some food has got stuck in my gullet, (a sign that) maybe something bad has happened somewhere, we’ll hear the news tomorrow.’

He explained that, once the actual identity of the place was known, one would say something like 10.74, with a minimal form:

10.75 *Gu-mege ba-bolk-warrem-inj.*

Dj LOC-DEM 3P-place-become.bad-PP

‘Something bad happened there (= someone died there).’

Kuninjku speakers do not employ this usage and would just say *bolkwarreminj* throughout, with the minimal prefix form.

A Kunwinjku example, from the Yirrbardbard and Kurrwirluk story in Hale’s fieldnotes, is:

10.76 *Ngayh, nakka na-wu birri-kayhme?*  
W hey that MA-REL 3aP-cry.out

*Aba na-nu ngaye ø-djal-gowe-ng wanjh yiman ngudda.*

oh MA-DEM I 1/2-just-trick-PP well like you

‘Hey, who’s that who sang out?’

‘Oh, that was only me tricking you, as you did me.’

The ‘vague plural’ is also used in certain situations in which indirectness is appropriate, such as some Kun-derbi terms, as when a wife mentions her brother to her husband:

10.77 *Baleh birri-wam na-kurndjewarre?*

W where 3aP-goPP MA-my.brother,your.wife’s.brother

‘Where has my brother gone?’ [KH 41]

#### 10.2.6 Prefixes and set/subset constructions

Set/subset constructions are the usual way of translating conjoined NPs referring to composite sets of people, i.e. ‘X and Y’ or ‘X with Y’. A non-minimal pronominal prefix designating the superordinate set is combined with a free NP designating a member of the set:

<sup>12</sup> Note that in the Yolngu language Djamparrpuynyu (Wilkinson 1991:215) ‘non-singular pronouns are used to refer to a deceased person’. Although this would fit with example 10.74, I do not have wider evidence for this usage in Bininj Gun-wok.



10.78 *Ladjkurrungu wahjh yi-re, konda ngalyabokwarre ngane-yo.*  
 I novice then 2-goIMP here my.wife/your sister 1ua-lienP  
 'Ladjkurrungu you go, I'm sleeping here with your sister.'

10.79 *Al-gudji daluk guni-djal-ni-n!*  
 Dj FE-one woman 2ua-just-sit-NP  
 'You've got to stay with one woman!' (lit. 'You two, including just one woman, should stay together'.)

10.80 *Ma, gakkak guni-ra-y wanjh!*  
 Dj well mother's.mother 2ua-go-IMP then  
 'Well then, you and your mother's mother can go.'

In 10.81 the set is represented by both a bound and a free expression, while the subset is designated by another free expression:

10.81 *Minj bene-yu-wirrinj burrkyak, djarre ngalengman ø-djal-yo-y,*  
 W NEG 3uaP-sleep-IRR no far sheEMPH 3P-just-sleep-PP  
*med bedman bene-yo-y bene-kare, ngal-kare.*  
 wait theyEMPH yuay-sleep-PP yua-old FE-old  
 'They (the old husband and his young second wife, who is repulsed by him) did not sleep together, she just slept far off, while he and his old wife slept together.'  
 [OP 406]

Further discussion of set/subset constructions is in §6.2.4.1.

### 10.2.7 Semantics of the ø- vs bi- choice

For combinations of third minimal subjects with third minimal objects, there is a choice between two prefixes, depending on the animacy, both relative and absolute, of the object. The *bi-* forms are used for 'higher animate' objects ('higher', as we shall see, can be given an absolute or a relative interpretation), while the zero forms are used for 'lower animate' objects (again this can be interpreted in either absolute or relative terms).

The relevant form sets (which I shall simply refer to as ø- and *bi-* in the following discussion, since the *ba-* and *ka-/ga-* elements simply mark tense) are given in Table 10.24. Note that in certain pre-peripheral environments *kabi* is realised as *kayi*; see §3.4.

In the examples of this section I shall gloss the *bi-* forms with /3h (for 'acting upon third minimal higher-animacy object'), and the ø- forms with /3l (for 'acting upon third minimal lower-animacy object') appro. Typically *bi-* will be used with human objects (10.82, 10.84) and ø- with sub-human objects (10.83, 10.85):

**Table 10.24:** Forms of ø- and *bi-* across dialects

		ø-	<i>bi-</i>
Past	Dj, Dnj, MM	<i>ba-</i>	<i>bi-</i>
	W, I, E	ø-	
Non-past	All dialects	<i>ka- (ga-)</i>	<i>kabi- (gabi-)</i>

- 10.82 *Daluk bi-bom.*  
A woman 3/3hP-hitPP  
'(S)he hit the woman.' OR: 'The woman hit him/her.'
- 10.83 a. *Daluk ba-bom.* b. *Daluk ø-bom.*  
M woman 3/3L:P-hitPP W, I, E woman 3/3L:P-hitPP  
'The woman hit it.' 'The woman hit it.'
- 10.84 *Bininj bi-baye-ng duruk.*<sup>13</sup>  
A man 3/3hP-bite-PP dog  
'The dog bit the man.'
- 10.85 a. *Bininj ba-ngune-ng duruk.* b. *Bininj ø-ngune-ng duruk.*  
M man 3/3L:P-eat-PP dog W, I, E man 3/3L:P-eat-PP dog  
'The man ate the dog.' 'The man ate the dog.'
- 10.86 *Duruk ba-baye-ng gornobbolo.*  
Dj dog 3/3L:P-bite-PP wallaby  
'The dog bit the wallaby.'
- 10.87 *Gornobbolo ba-na-ng duruk.*  
Dj wallaby 3/3L:P-see-PP dog  
'The wallaby saw the dog.'
- 10.88 *Na-waran ba-rrukka-ng gunj.*  
Dj MA-Oenpelli.python 3/3L:P-strangle-PP kangaroo  
'The Oenpelli python strangled the kangaroo.'

Another hypothesis that would fit the above data is that *bi-* is like an inverse marker: in addition to equally matched pairings of two humans, it can be used in situations where the object is substantially higher than the subject in animacy. In support of this 'inverse' interpretation, we could bring in sentences like the following, in which powerful malevolent beings interact with humans. (All my data relevant to this point are from Gun-djeihmi.) Here *bi-* is only used with the inverse combination (i.e. with human killing spirit) showing that humanness of the object is not a sufficient condition for *bi-*:

- 10.89 *Bininj / daluk ba-bu-ni na-bulwinjbulwinj.*  
Dj man woman 3/3lP-kill-PI MA-spirit  
'The spirit killed the man/woman.'
- 10.90 *Bininj / daluk bi-bu-ni na-bulwinjbulwinj.*  
Dj man woman 3/3hP-kill-PI MA-spirit  
'The man/woman killed the spirit.'

Further support for an 'inverse' interpretation comes from the following sentences (10.91–10.94), in which non-human animate objects are allowed the *bi-* form when the subject is inanimate. Note that if both subject and object are inanimate (as in 10.95), the *ø-* form is used.

- 10.91 *Gunj / duruk gun-dulk bi-bom.*  
Dj roo dog IV-stick 3/3hP-hitPP  
'The stick hit the kangaroo/dog.'

<sup>13</sup> In Kune *duruk* could optionally take instrumental *-yih* here (see §5.2.1.2).

- 10.92 *Ba minj birri-na-yinj nganabbarru ø-yo-y, wanjh man-wurlh*  
 I but not 3a/3-see-IRR buffalo 3P-lie-PI then III-bushfire  
*bi-wayhke-ng.*  
 3/3hP-wake-PP  
 'But they didn't see a buffalo lying there, and the bush fire woke him up.'
- 10.93 *Wanjh arri-ngu-n djenj, ngarri-ginje-ø gun-murrung, minj duruk*  
 Dj right 1a/3-eat-NP fish 1a/3-burn-NP IV-bone not dog  
*ga-murrng-ngu-n gabi-gom-dulubu-n gun-murrng, arri-murrng-ginje.*  
 3-bone-eat-NP 3/3h-neck-shoot-NP IV-bone 1a/3-bone-burnNP  
 'When we eat fish, we burn the bones, so a dog won't eat them and they won't get stuck in his gullet, we burn the bones.'
- 10.94 *Bi-rrang-gardme-i djenj.*  
 Dj 3/3hP-mouth-get.hooked.up.with-PP fish  
 'The hook has caught the fish's mouth.'
- 10.95 *Ba-rrulk-gardme-i, ba-rrulk-gardme-i murdikka.*  
 Dj 3/3LP-stick-get.hooked.up.with-PP 3/3LP-stick- get.hooked.up.with-PP car  
 'The car has got hooked up with a stick, has caught a stick (in its axle).'

To sum up so far: let us assume the following scale of 'animacy':

- 10.96 Malevolent spirits > humans > other animates > inanimates

*Bi-* is used (a) for inverse combinations, where the object is higher than the subject on this scale, and (b) for equal combinations if both participants are human or above.

However, we need to modify this further. Where both participants are non-human, the choice seems to be affected both by the degree of individuation of the participants, and by the degree of difference between them. We saw above that 'dog bit wallaby' or 'kangaroo saw dog' does not trigger *bi-*; however, 'my dog bit your dog' does (10.97), and so does a case of one wallaroo licking another (10.98):

- 10.97 *Ngaye duruk ngarduk bi-baye-ng ngudda duruk.*  
 Dj I dog my 3/3hP-bite-PP you dog  
 'My dog bit your dog.'
- 10.98 *Kandakkidj kabi-belenghme karndayh.*  
 E:N male.antilopine.wallaroo 3/3h-lickNP female.antilopine.wallaroo  
 'The male antilopine wallaroo is licking the female antilopine wallaroo.'

And while 'bushfire woke buffalo' triggers *bi-*, as does 'poison kills fish' (10.99), 'fire frightened dog/kangaroo' (10.100) does not:

- 10.99 *Mawurrumbulk kabi-bu-n ka-dowe-n.*  
 E:N fish.poison 3/3h-kill-NP 3-die-NP  
 'The fish poison kills the fish.'
- 10.100 *Gunak ba-gelehme-ng gunj / duruk.*  
 Dj fire 3/3LP-frighten-PP kangaroo dog  
 'The fire frightened the kangaroo/the dog.'

This may be attributable to dialect difference, to narrative intent, or to the higher position of 'buffalo' on the animacy scale.

For some speakers, third person human objects must be referential to get the *bi-* form (10.101), while non-referential objects take the  $\emptyset$ - form (10.102). Other speakers, however, prefer 10.101 in all circumstances, whether the object is referential or not. The issue of referentiality on bound pronouns is discussed further in §10.2.8.

- 10.101 *Bininj gabi-yawa-n.*  
 Dj man 3/3hNP-*seek*-NP  
 'She is looking for her man.' (all speakers)  
 'She is looking for a man.' (some speakers)

- 10.102 *Bininj ga-yawa-n.*  
 Dj man 3(/3l)-*seek*-NP  
 'She is looking for a man (any man).'

Finally, with referential human objects there is a certain amount of flexibility, depending on the degree of affectedness of the object. With the verb *bimbun* 'paint', for example, human and other higher animate objects typically trigger the  $\emptyset$ - form when a simple depiction is involved (10.103), but the *bi-* form when painting leads to ensorcelment of the depicted object (10.104).

- 10.103 *Na-ngamed Na-bangardi Na-malawarrbenggan al-gaihgo daluk*  
 Dj MA-who I-[skin] I-[proper.name] 1-[name] woman  
*ba-bimbo-m.*  
 3/3lP-paint-PP  
 'Whatsisname, Nabangardi NaMalawarrbenggan, did a painting of an *al-gaihgo* woman.'

- 10.104 *Bi-bimbom.*  
 Dj 3/3hP-paintPP  
 'He "painted" her (did a painting that caused her to be ensorcelled).'

The frequently used verb *karrme* takes the *bi-* form for objects when it means 'grasp, hold' (see Text 5.13), but the  $\emptyset$ - form when it means 'have' (§13.3.5.2), even though object-incorporation shows it to be transitive in both cases. This is part of a more general pattern of not marking third person object features (e.g. plural number) with the 'have' meaning.

With nouns referring to children and babies there is also considerable variation. To begin with, baby non-humans, as one would expect, select the  $\emptyset$ - form (10.105):

- 10.105 *Ga-yau-djolga-n.*  
 Dj 3/3l-baby-carry.in.pouch-NP  
 'It carries a baby in its pouch.'

Where *yau* is human, the choice depends on the degree of affectedness. Where the object is an indirect object or beneficiary (10.106–10.108), the *bi-* form is always used:

- 10.106 *Ba-yau-dang-barrme-ng, ngal-badjan gabi-wo-n.*  
 Dj 3P-baby-mouth-open-PP II-mother 3/3h-give-NP  
 'The baby opened its mouth, and its mother is giving (food) to it.'

10.107 *Gun-djikka bi-marne-yau-warre-m-inj.*  
 Dj IV-breast 3/3hP-BEN-baby-bad-INCH-PP  
 'That kid, his tit went bad on him.'

10.108 *Gun-djikka bi-marne-yau-wolngwo-ng.*  
 Dj IV-breast 3/3hP-BEN-baby-warm-PP  
 'She warmed the milk for the baby.'

With transitive verbs such as *bun* 'hit' or *burriwe* 'throw', there is more variation, with both  $\emptyset$ - (10.109) and *bi*- (10.110) attested:

10.109 *Bininj ba-bu-ni wurdya.*  
 Dj man 3/3L-hit-PI child  
 'The man hit the child.'

10.110 *Gabi-guk-burriwe gu-wukku.*  
 Dj 3/3h-body-throwNP LOC-water  
 'She will throw the baby into the water.'

An illustration of the latitude available when the object is *yaw* comes from the following version of the Echidna and Tortoise text, recorded by Peter Carroll from Jimmy Nganjmira (Carroll 1995:540–541):

10.111 *Ngarrbek nani, ...  $\emptyset$ -yaw-me-y,  $\emptyset$ -yaw-bawo-ng, kondah*  
 W echidna MA:DEM ... 3/3IP-baby-get-PP 3/3IP-baby-leave-PP here  
*wurdyaw, ku-m-wana-wa-m ngal-mangeyi  $\emptyset$ -yaw-na-ng*  
 child 3P-hither-ITER-go-PP II-tortoise 3/3IP-baby-saw  
*ku-m-dolkka-ng, kurih djarre ku-m-wa-m  $\emptyset$ -yaw-na-ng*  
 3P-hither-get.up-PP this.way far 3P-hither-go-PP 3/3IP-baby-see-PP  
*ka-h-yaw-yo,  $\emptyset$ -yaw-me-y,  $\emptyset$ -yaw-ngune-ng, bi-yaw-ngune-ng,*  
 3-IMM-baby-lyeNP 3/3IP-baby-get-PP 3/3IP-baby-eat-PP 3/3hP-baby-eat-PP  
*bi-yaw-wukme-ng kun-njam. Wanjh ku-m-durndi ngarrbek,*  
 3/3hP-baby-swallow-PP IV-belly then 3P-hither-returnPP echidna  
 *$\emptyset$ -yaw-yawa-m ku-red nawu kobakobanj.*  
 3/3IP-baby-look.for-PP LOC-camp MA:DEM old.people

'This is about echidna ... Echidna had a baby and left it here. Tortoise came from a long distance and saw the baby. Tortoise came here from a long distance. He<sup>14</sup> came and saw the baby lying there. He got the baby and ate it. He ate the baby and swallowed it into his stomach. Then echidna returned and looked for her baby in the old people's camp.'

In the first part of the story, concerning echidna's gestation of the baby and her leaving it to go out hunting, the  $\emptyset$ - form is used; the  $\emptyset$ - form continues as the short-necked turtle sees the baby and picks it up. As the climax is reached, in which Tortoise eats and swallows echidna's baby, the narrator shifts to the *bi*- form, presumably to focus on the affectedness of the patient; in fact the verb 'eat' is first given with the  $\emptyset$ - prefix, then repeated with the *bi*- form.

<sup>14</sup> This is Carroll's translation. In other versions Turtle is said to be a woman.

Finally, as the narrative moves back to echidna searching for the baby, the narrator goes back to the  $\emptyset$ -form.

The scope for narrator latitude here is shown by the fact that in some other versions of this story the *bi*-form is not even used for the crucial verb 'ate' (it is rendered as *nguneng*, with the  $\emptyset$ -prefix), while in other versions *bi*- is extended further, and used with verbs of lower discourse transitivity such as *gurrme* 'put down' (*biyawgurrmeng* 'she put the baby down') and *bawo* 'leave' (*biyawbawong* 'she left the baby'), both in a Manyallaluk Mayali version of the text. Although it could be argued that some of this may reflect dialect variation, all three Carroll versions are in the Kunwinjku dialect (told by Sam Garnarraj (p.401) and Dolly Maralngurra (p.425)), so that this would at best be a partial explanation.

To sum up this section, in clear-cut cases, such as with adult human objects on the one hand or inanimate objects on the other, the rules are categorical: use *bi*- for the first, and  $\emptyset$ - for the second. But there are border-line cases, such as babies or higher non-humans, where the speaker enjoys considerable latitude to manipulate the  $\emptyset$ - vs *bi*- choice for communicative ends, with the *bi*- form emphasising patient affectedness and/or the speaker's empathy for the patient's plight.

### 10.2.8 Non-referential uses of pronominal prefixes

Because of the obligatory nature of pronominal prefixes, they cannot be used to encode the choice between referential and non-referential uses. Thus in 10.112 the third person augmented object prefix need not be referential: it could mean 'them' or 'people', while in 10.113 and 10.114 the interpretations are clearly non-referential. (See 11.122 for a further example.)

- 10.112 *Al-ege daluk gaban-du-ng*  
 Dj FE.DEM woman 3/3pl-scold-NP  
 a. 'That woman scolds people.'  
 b. 'That woman is scolding them.'

- 10.113 *Kulalung ka-rohrok yiman Namorrorddo. Nungka kaben-widnan*  
 W [name] 3-same like [name] he 3/3pl-hateNP  
*wurdwurd. Bu kaben-bekka-n kabirri-h-nalkbu-n munguyh.*  
 children SUB 3/3pl-hear-NP 3a-IMM-cry-NP always  
 'Kulanung is a spirit like a Namorrorddo. He hates hearing babies cry and cry all the time.' [KS 232]

- 10.114 *Munguyh kaben-yawa-n daluk, minj kabi-marnedjare daluk bininj*  
 I always 3/3pl-look.for-NP woman not 3/3h-loveNP woman man  
*na-mekke. Kabirri-warnyak daluk.*  
 MA-DEM 3a/3-not.want woman  
 'He's always looking for women, but there is no women who loves that man.  
 Women don't want him.'

Similarly, in 10.101, many speakers prefer to use the *bi*-form even when the object is non-referential, that is the best translation is 'she's looking for a man'; a further example is 10.115.

- 10.115 *Bad ga-re an-gung ga-na-n, ga-rrurnde-ng gabi-marne-yime*  
 Dnj but 3-goNP III-honey 3/3L-seeNP 3-return-NP 3/3h-BEN-sayNP  
*"An-gung nga-na-ng. Come on ngarr-e, ngarr-ni 'iiiiiiiiii' ga-yime*  
 III-honey 1/3-see-PP 12-goNP 12-sitNP [noise] 3-sayNP  
*ga-m-borled-borledme wanjh maitbi ngarri-dolkka-ni.*  
 3-hither-ITER-turn.roundNP then maybe 1a-get.up-PI  
 '(talking about the *None* honey wasp spirit:) But he goes and sees some honey,  
 comes back and says to someone: "I've seen some honey. Come one, let's go",  
 he goes "iiiiiiiiii" and buzzes around and around; then maybe we get up (to look).'  
 [Lofty Nadjimerek Bardayal per MG]

Similar remarks apply to subject prefixes; 10.116 is an example in which the subject pronoun is non-referential (with the use of augmented number here suggesting referential vagueness, as discussed in §10.2.5.4):

- 10.116 *Bu kabirri-djirdma-ng nuye man-me kore ku-labbarl*  
 W SUB 3a/3-steal-NP his III-veg.food LOC LOC-billabong  
*kore Ugulumu, wanjh kabi-bu-n.*  
 LOC [place] then 3/3h-kill-NP  
 'Anybody who steals his food at the waterhole at Ugulumu will get killed.'  
 (lit. If they steal his food ... he will kill him/her.) [KS 234]

The pronominal prefixes, in other words, merely specify the person and number of a potential reference set, without making a commitment to the existence of a particular referent; this task of reference management is achieved by the free pronouns (§7.1) and demonstratives (§7.3). Unlike bound pronouns, free personal pronouns and demonstratives must be referential; 10.112 could be disambiguated to the referential reading by adding a free pronoun, for example, giving (10.117).

- 10.117 *Al-ege daluk gaban-du-ng bedda*  
 Dj FE.DEM woman 3/3pl-scold-NP them  
 'That woman is scolding them.'

Occasionally, generic, non-referential arguments fail to be registered on the pronominal prefix, merely appearing as an unmodified free noun after the verb:

- 10.118 *Namorrorddo na-bang, ka-djare ka-bu-n bininj.*  
 I [name of dangerous spirit] MA-dangerous 3-wantNP 3-kill-NP person  
 'Namorrorddo is dangerous, he kills humans.'

For further discussion of the issue of non-referential uses of pronominal object prefixes, see Evans (1999).

### 10.3 Relation-changing verbal affixes

In this section I discuss the various methods by which valency changes are overtly signalled on the verb. Two applicative prefixes, BENefactive *marne-* and COMitative *yi-*, each add an object, while the reflexive/reciprocal suffix decreases the verb's valency by one, while specifying that subject and object are coreferential. Interactions between these three

affixes, and their phraseologisation with certain verbs, are also discussed in this section. Argument structure alternations that are not signalled by productive argument changing morphology are discussed in §13.4.

### 10.3.1 BENefactive marne-

For some speakers (e.g. EH) this has the variant form *-mene*; this may be the Pine Creek Mayali variant. In just one example it is reduplicated (11.146), for unknown reasons. Before *marne-* the 3/3h prefix *kabi-* is frequently realised as *kayi-* (10.145). It is used with certain non-verbal predicates as well (see §8.3.3).

The benefactive applicative increases the valency by one, converting monovalent into divalent (10.15, 10.16), divalent into trivalent (10.25), and trivalent into tetravalent (10.41) verbs.

#### 10.3.1.1 Beneficiary or maleficiary

Most commonly the added argument introduces a beneficiary or maleficiary:

- 10.119 *Gan-marne-bebm-i.*  
Dj 2/1-BEN-arrive-PI  
'You came out to get me, came out for me.'
- 10.120 *Gan-marne-bu-n gunj a-ngu-n.*  
Dj 2/1-BEN-kill-NP kangaroo 1/3-eat-NP  
'You will kill the kangaroo for me so I can eat it.'
- 10.121 *An-dehne gun-dulk gan-marne-djobge-men!*  
Dj VE-that IV-tree 2/1-BEN-chop-IMP  
'You cut that tree for me!'
- 10.122 *Yiben-marne-kole-munkewe!*  
W 2/3pl-BEN-spear-sendIMP  
'You send them a spear!' [PC 78]
- 10.123 *Lama kan-marne-ka ba nga-yame.*  
W shovel.spear 2/1-BEN-getIMP so 1/3-spear  
'Get me the shovel spear, so I can spear him!' [KH 19]
- 10.124 *Marrek ø-bawo-yi, ngayih nga-marne-bengka-n rule.*  
E:D not 3/3lp-leave-IRR I 1/3-BEN-know-NP rule  
'(My son) didn't leave (school), I know what rule is best for him.'

With monovalent verbs of communicative action, BEN introduces an interlocutor argument:

- 10.125 *A-marne-yime-n.*  
Dj 1/3-BEN-say-NP  
'I will tell her, say to her.'
- 10.126 *Bi-marne-mim-bulhm-i.*  
Dj 3/3-BEN-eye-close-PI  
'He was closing his eyes for her.'



10.127 *ø-Marne-ngeybom.*

E:N 1/2-BEN-namePP

'I named it for you, I told you its name.'

Malefactive readings are commonest with verbs of removal or destruction:<sup>15</sup>

10.128 *A-djare-ni a-rrulubu-yi na-mege gunj, njanjukge gan-marne-bo-m?*

Dj 1-want-PI 1/3-shoot-IRR MA-that kangaroo why 2/1-IMP-kill-PP

'I wanted to shoot that kangaroo, why did you kill it on me (depriving me)?'

10.129 *An-marne-djidme-i.*

Dj 3/1-BEN-steal-PP

'He stole it from me.'

### 10.3.1.2 Indexing possessor of absolutive argument

Some uses of the benefactive applicative are examples of what is sometimes called 'possessor raising'; they allow a translation in which the beneficiary/maleficiary is expressed as a possessor of the subject (underlying intransitives) or the object (underlying transitives):

10.130 *An-marne-djak-dowe-ng.*

Dj 3/1-BEN-pain-die-PP

'The pain's subsiding on me; my pain is subsiding.'

10.131 *Kabi-marne-durn-karrme.*

I 3/3h-BEN-hole-haveNP

'It (the conception spirit) bears his (the child's) hole (i.e. the spirit, which dwelt in an animal which was speared at the event signalling the child's conception, carries the hole or wound across as it passes to the child, which will then show up as a birth mark on the child).' [Garde pers. comm.]

In fact, the benefactive construction is the normal way of expressing possession under these circumstances. Some further examples in which a possessed noun translation is more appropriate are given below. This construction is particularly common where the benefactive argument is in a kinship relation to the intransitive subject or the object (10.132), so much so that the normal interpretation of a sentence like 10.134, in which there is no external NP, is that the possessed noun is close kin to the benefactive argument.

10.132 *Ngaye wurdiau ngan-marne-yolyolme.*

Dj I child 3/1-BEN-mentionNP

'Someone was talking about my kid.' (cf. *nganyolyolme* 'someone was mentioning me')

10.133 *Duruk ngarduk ngan-marne-bo-m.*

Dj dog my 3/1-BEN-kill-PP

'Someone shot my dog.'

<sup>15</sup> Two other Gunwinyguan languages, Ngalakan (Merlan 1983:47–50, 94–95) and Ngandi (Heath 1978:83) have, in addition to the comitative and benefactive, a third applicative with form *paṯa*; in Ngalakan the semantic focus is ill effect or deprivation, and in Ngandi this is the meaning just with the verb *ma* 'get, pick up'.

10.134 *An-marne-berrebbom.*

Dj 3/1-BEN-promisePP

'He promised (something to) my kids.' (first contextual interpretation;  
lit. He promised something to (someone) of mine)

Where the possessed noun is a body part of the absolutive argument, the benefactive is not normally used, since the body part is construed with the absolutive in any case: one says 10.135, for example, for 'I touched the woman's hand'. Further examples are in §10.4.2.2.

10.135 *A-bid-garrme-ng daluk.*

Dj 1/3-hand-grasp-PP woman

'I touched the woman on the hand; I touched the woman's hand.'

When, however, the benefit to the owner is being stressed, one can use a benefactive for possessed body parts also, as in 10.136, where the bird, agonised by his sore, clearly benefits from the surgical action. However, the use of the benefactive in such circumstances is not grammatically required, as may be seen by the similar sentences in §10.4.2.2, which lack the benefactive.

10.136 *Gan-marne-dowkge-men!*

MM 2/1-BEN-burst-IMP

'Burst (my blister) for me!'

In cases where the argument higher in animacy is actually the second object of the verb, the benefactive prefix can be used to promote it to being a higher object, without actually adding an argument. Thus in 10.137, 'I showed your scar to them', the indirect object is 'them' and the object would normally be 'you (your scar)'. Here, however, we have a conflict between the principle that indirect objects beat objects for pronominal representation, and the principle that first or second person objects should outrank third person objects. This conflict is resolved here through the use of the benefactive prefix to promote it to higher object, allowing it to be represented pronominally without a conflict of principles. Eddy Hardy, who gave me this sentence, suggested a second clause should be added as shown, which allows 'them' to be shown explicitly as an argument (here the subject) of the second verb.

10.137 *ø-Mene-bolidj-bukka-ng (ba gundi-bolidj-na-n).*

Dj 1/2-BEN-scar-show-PP so.that 3a/2-scar-see-NP

'I showed them your scar so that they could see your scar.'

## 10.3.1.3 'Having' construction with stance verbs

Used with the verbs 'stand' and 'lie', *marne-* is part of a phrase meaning 'have ready' (10.138); see §13.3.5.5 for further examples.

10.138 *Bi-marne-bong-yo-y.*

W 3/3h-BEN-string-lie-PP

'He has the string (lying there) for her.' [PC 71]

## 10.3.1.4 Goal

With verbs of controlled perception, BEN introduces an argument denoting the goal or anticipated object:

10.139 *A-marne-bolk-nah-na-n.*  
 Dj 3/1-BEN-place-REDUP-see-NP  
 'I'm looking around for him.'

10.140 *A-marne-wohna-n.*  
 Dj 1/3-BEN-watch.out-NP  
 'I'm watching out for him.'

The sequence *marne-wohnan* here has the further idiomatic meaning 'SUBJ be boss of BEN', 'boss of BEN' (e.g. *anmarnewohnan* [3/1-BEN-watch.outNP] 'he's my boss', 'my boss').

### 10.3.1.5 Reason; prior cause; relevance

The benefactive may also introduce a prior cause or reason (10.141, 10.142) or purpose (10.143).

10.141 *Daluk bogen bani-marne-ginjwe-rri-nj, bani-marne-bu-rri-nj.*  
 Dj woman two 3ua/3-BEN-be jealous-RR-PP 3ua/3-BEN-hit-RR-PP  
 'They were jealous of each other over him and hit each other over him.'

10.142 *Bukbuk bininj ø-durnd-i ku-red, ben-marne-yime-ng "ngayi*  
 I coucal man 3P-return-PP LOC-camp 3/3pl-BEN-say-PP I  
*ngane-danginj ø-dowe-ng". Bene-marne-kodj-do-rr-inj,*  
 1ua-standPP 3P-die-PP 3ua/3P-BEN-head-strike-RR-PP  
*bene-kurlba-wam bene-nalkbom.*  
 3uaP-blood-goPP 3uaP-cryPP

'Coucal man returned to his camp, and them "my brother is dead". The two of them struck their heads over him, their blood ran down, and they cried.'

10.143 *Kun-ak birri-me-i birri-wam bindi-marne-wurlh-wurlhke-ng.*  
 E IV-fire 3aP-get-PP 3aP-goPP 3a/3pl-BEN-ITER.light.fire-PP  
 'They picked up their firesticks and went to set fires around for them (to burn them with).'

Although the zero exponence of the introduced causal argument in the above cases fails to show explicitly that it receives pronominal representation, non-minimal third person causal arguments unambiguously show that it is represented on the second prefix slot:

10.144 *Bindi-marne-du-rr-inj.*  
 I 3a/3plP-BEN-swear-RR-PP  
 'They argued over them.'

In some cases the meaning is vague between 'out of respect for' and 'with respect to':

10.145 *kayi-marne-kadju-ng bininj*  
 E:D 3/3h-BEN-follow-NP Aboriginal  
 'He follows Aboriginal (law) with respect to her (his wife).'

Occasionally *marne-* is used pleonastically with comitative *yi-*; here both applicatives appear to be introducing the same causal argument:

- 10.146 *Bani-marne-guk-yi-bu-rr-inj.*  
 Dj 3uaP-BEN-body-COM-hit-RR-PP  
 'The two of them fought each other over him.'

### 10.3.1.6 Phraseologised uses

There are a few verbs in which *marne-* is idiomatically fixed and does not add an argument. The most important is with *djare*, a non-verbal predicate which means 'want'; the form *marnedjare* means 'desire, love, want'. *Djare* is often used either on its own (e.g. *yidjare?* 'do you want (some)?'), as a main clause predicate taking a desire complement (§14.2.2.4), or with an object in the meaning of 'want (something), desire (something)', as in Dj *gabarribodjare gukku* 'they (the birds) want water' and Dj *barridjareni namegebu daluk* 'they desired those women'. In the combination *marnedjare* 'desire, love, want', it cannot therefore be said that *marne-* is adding an argument, since *djare* may already be used transitively anyway. However, it focusses on the positive effects on its object (where a woman was object, for example, *djare* denotes lust, and *marnedjare* 'love', in line with the concern for the benefits to the grammatical object). Similarly, when a complement clause is embedded under 'want', *djare* will be used if both clauses have the same subject (e.g. 'I want to go'), whereas *marnedjare* will be used if the desired action is to be initiated by a different subject (e.g. 'I want him to go'):

- 10.147 *Ngaye nga-marne-djare ka-re, minj nungka ka-djare ka-re.*  
 I I 1/3-BEN-wantNP 3-goNP not he 3-wantNP 3-goNP  
 'I want him to go (there), but he doesn't want to.'

Partially disjoint sets count as different subjects for this purpose:

- 10.148 *Bi-marne-djare-ni ngal-badjan ba bini-yu-wirrinj.*  
 E:D 3/3hP-BEN-want-PI II-mother so.that 3uaP-sleep-IRR  
 'He wanted to sleep with (Balang's) mother.'

Another important phraseologised use is the combination *marneyimerran* 'happen to', based on *yimerran* 'turn into; happen', although in this case *marne-* is still adding a benefactive; thus *baleh ngunmarneyimerranj* 'what happened to you?'.

In Kunwinjku the sequence *marne-di* [BEN-stand] is used with the meaning 'pray'. See also the expression *djudju ... marne-ngalke* 'have a tooth-ache', discussed in §13.4.5.

### 10.3.1.7 Goal of movement

There is a single example in which the benefactive introduces the goal of movement with a transitive verb; interestingly, the object (which is human) is indicated by pronominal prefix, and the introduced goal argument (which is non-human) incorporates:

- 10.149 *Wanjh bonj kukku bi-marne-bo-kurrme-ng.*  
 W then finished water 3/3hP-BEN-liquid-put-PP  
 'Then he finished, he put him in the water.' [OP 365]

## 10.3.1.8 Comparative note

Functionally similar prefixes are found in most Gunwinyguan languages (Kungarakany being an exception), and in a number the forms are cognate with *marne-*. In Kunparlang the form is *marnaj-* and in Dalabon it is *marnv-*. It is possible that this construction originated as an incorporated serialised verb, incorporating a verb meaning ‘do for, look after’: in Ngalakan the verb ‘take care of someone’ is *marninj*, and in Ngandi *marninjh-dhu* means ‘make, make properly, do properly’.

## 10.3.2 comitative yi-/re-

The comitative applicative adds an argument that is considered as being with the intransitive subject or object. From a prototypical sense in which it accompanies, and is under the control of, an intransitive subject a number of semantic extensions occur, as discussed below. However, the introduced argument is never construed as accompanying a transitive subject: it cannot be used to express, for example, ‘we chopped down the tree with the youths’ (on the reading that they are helping us; on the reading that they are in the tree the comitative is possible), for which a set-subset construction would be used.

The comitative has the form *yi-* in most dialects, but in Kune it is *re-*<sup>16</sup> (see Figure 1.8). There is a prosodic difference between these two forms (not shown in the orthography): unlike *yi-*, *re-* forms its own foot, and like other CV morphemes forming their own foot, has a phonetically long vowel.

- 10.150 Dj *Ngaban-madj-yi-bawo-ng.*  
 W, I *Ngaben-madj-yi-bawo-ng.*  
 E *Ngabin-madj-re-bawo-ng.*  
 1/3pl-swag-COM-leave-PP  
 ‘I left the swags with the lot of them.’

The added argument becomes a ‘second object’ (see §10.1.2 for definition of this term) and is cross-referenced by pronominal prefix and/or incorporated nominal as appropriate to the verb’s valency; see §10.1.3.4 for the complex question of which non-subject argument takes the pronominal slot, and which is incorporable.

Thus in 10.150 above the added third person plural argument is cross-referenced by object prefix (*ban/ben/bin* according to the dialect), and in 10.151 by the third person minimal higher prefix *bi*; in 10.152 it is cross-referenced by an incorporated nominal. There are also cases, of course, where the added argument is not marked overtly either by incorporated nominal or by object prefix; this arises where there is no appropriate incorporable nominal, and where the subject/object combination is such that so that the object is zero, as in 10.153.

- 10.151 *Kabi-yi-barndi-∅.*  
 W 3/3h-COM-climb(hill)-NP  
 ‘He climbed a hill with him (on his shoulders).’ [PC 73].

<sup>16</sup> As well as in Dalabon, the form *re-* is also found as a non-productive comitative prefix in Ngalakgan (Baker 1999:100–101), where it is confined to two verb roots; others use the productive comitative *bartda-*. In Ngalakgan, as in Bininj Gun-wok, the prefix *re-* has a long vowel.

- 10.152 *Yi-yiuk-yi-rrurnde-ng.*  
 Dj 2-honey-COM-return-NP  
 'You are taking the honey back (returning with the honey).'

- 10.153 *Djenj ka-re-dolhme*  
 E fish 3/3l-COM-pop.upNP  
 '(The bird) pops up with a fish.'

The comitative is usually an alternative to the nominal suffix *-dorreng* 'with' (§5.2.1.5). Occasionally, however, it co-occurs with it, at least in MM (10.154). It is also compatible with the ablative *-beh* (see §10.3.2.3 below).

- 10.154 *Nga-guk-yi-ngalge-ng gunj-dorreng, Gojok.*  
 MM 1/3-body-COM-find-PP kangaroo-with Gojok  
 'I would see him, Gojok, (returning from the hunt) with a kangaroo.'

### 10.3.2.1 Comitative use proper

Most commonly the comitative adds an argument that is construed as being 'with' the subject of an underlying intransitive or the object of a transitive. With an intransitive verb the subject is always implied to be in control (10.155), or at least to have been in control at some point (10.156), of the comitative argument.

- 10.155 *Ba-guk-yi-golu-i gunj, ba-guk-yi-lobm-i.*  
 Dj 3/3lP-body-COM-descend-PP kangaroo 3/3lP-body-COM-run-PI  
 'He took the kangaroo's body down and ran along with it.'

- 10.156 *Ku-mekbe Mayawunj wanjh kanjdji ben-yi-yibme-ng,*  
 W LOC-there [place] then down 3/3plP-COM-sink-PP  
*kaben-h-yi-yo ku-mekbe walem Mayawunj.*  
 3/3plNP-IMM-COM-lienP LOC-there southwest [place]  
 'And then (the rainbow) took them down under the water there at Mayawunj,  
 and he still lies with them there in the southwest, at Mayawunj.'

Note also the idiom *beng-yi-rrri* [attention-COM-stand] 'pay attention'.

With transitive verbs the association with 'control' is less strong — with 'hear with' (10.157) or 'see with' (10.28), for example, there is no necessary implication that the object is in control of the COMitative, though control is implicit with such other verbs as 'put down with' (10.158) and 'leave with' (10.35, 10.37).

- 10.157 *Aban-yi-bekka-n.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-COM-hear-NP  
 'I hear them with him/her.'
- 10.158 *Nga-kole-yi-kurrme-ng.*  
 W 1/3-spear-COM-put.down-PP  
 'I left the spear with him.' [PC 73].

However, the added argument must always be located in the same place as the underlying object. This links the above examples to occasional instrument interpretations (10.159), in which the two objects are in contact.

- 10.159 *Gun-yarl ba-yi-dukga-ng.*  
 MM IV-string 3/3I-COM-tie.up-PP  
 'He tied it up with string.'

Although such examples receive an 'instrument' translation in English, with other types of 'instrument' uses, such as 'hunting kangaroos with a gun', the construction is unsuitable due to the lack of physical contact, and a case suffix must be used (§5.2.1.2).

The comitative has been lexicalised and is pleonastic in the verb *yikan* 'go for, fetch', etymologically *yi-kan* [COM-take].

Another important lexicalised use is with the verb *yawmang* 'conceive, give birth to, be mother of'; the comitative *yi yawmang* means 'be mothered with, get (country) from one's mother', that is it identifies someone's mother's country, as in I *Baleh karrard ngun-yi-yawmey? Ngaye karrard ngan-yi-yawmey Kandadjaken*, lit. 'Where did (your) mother give birth to you with?' 'Mother gave birth to me with Kandadjaken', and more freely 'What is your mother's country?' 'my mother's country is Kandadjaken'.

### 10.3.2.2 Locative use

Less commonly, the COMitative applicative introduces a locative argument; in 10.160 this is left implicit ('they're following us (in our camping place)'), but it can also be expressed by an external noun giving the location (10.161) or by an incorporated noun (10.31).

- 10.160 *Ngandi-re-kadju-ng.*  
 E:D 3a/1a-COM-follow-NP  
 'They're camping with us.'
- 10.161 *Nga-yi-kodjdje-kurrme-rre-n bila.*  
 I 1-COM-sleep-put.down-RR-NP pillow  
 'I laid (my head) down to sleep on the pillow.'

In fact the boundary between locative and comitative is not always clear: *yibawon* will mostly be translated 'leave with' (10.33, 10.35) but sometimes also 'leave in', as in:

- 10.162 *Bene-bad-yi-bawng-ng manu kabbala.*  
 W 3ua/3P-now-COM-leave-PP VE:DEM boat  
 'The two of them left him in the boat.' [KH 151]

### 10.3.2.3 Speaking a language

In Manyallaluk Mayali this construction can be used for talking a language. The external nominal naming the language retains the ablative case:

- 10.163 *Namu English-beh, Gunwinjgu-beh, Gunmayali-beh, ngan-ekge*  
 MM not -ABL Kunwinjku-ABL Mayali-ABL VE-DEM  
*nga-yi-wokdi.*  
 1-COM-talkNP  
 'Not in English, just in Kunwinjku, in Mayali, that's what I'll talk in.'

10.3.2.4 *Eventual possession*

In a number of combinations, the COMitative introduces an argument possessed at the beginning of the transaction by the object and at the end of the transaction by the subject (whether in reality, or intention);<sup>17</sup> see §10.1.3.4 for further discussion of this argument frame.

10.164 *Bedda andi-yi-yakwo-ng.*  
Dj they 3a/1-COM-finish-PP  
'They finished off my (money).' ('They finished me, ending up with money at the end.')

10.165 *Ani-guk-yi-bu-rr-en.*  
Dj 1ua-body-COM-hit-RR-NP  
'We're fighting over (her).' ('We're fighting, aiming to have her.')

10.166 *Ban-warde-yi-birrbme-ng.*  
Dj 3/3pl-money-COM-clean-PP  
'She cleaned them out of money.'

*Yi-* is used, optionally and pleonastically,<sup>18</sup> with the ditransitive verb *berrebbun* 'promise O to IO', to emphasise that the object argument will end up in the possession of the indirect object. Compare 10.167, with no COM, and the synonymous 10.168, with COM.

10.167 *Banbani-gorrk-berrebbom.*  
Dj 3/3du-material-promisePP  
'She promised the two of them clothes.'

10.168 *An-warde-yi-berrebbom.*  
Dj 3/1-money-COM-promisePP  
'He promised me money.'

A similar pair is:

10.169 *Gun-doi arduk an-berrebbom al-yau nuye.*  
Dj IV-father-in-law my 3/1-promisePP II-child his  
'My father-in-law promised me his baby daughter.'

10.170 *An-beiwurd-yi-berrebbom.*  
Dj 3/1-child-COM-promisePP  
'He promised me his daughter.'

10.3.2.5 *Cause*

The comitative is sometimes extended to mean 'over', in its causal sense. Usually this means 'because of wanting to have', as in 10.165, where it may be seen as a contextual sense

<sup>17</sup> For comparable examples with the proprietive case in Kayardild see Evans 1995c:146–147.

<sup>18</sup> McGregor (1998:184) mentions a similar phenomenon in the Kimberley language Warrwa, in which just a few verbs, such as 'chase' and 'pass over', take the comitative applicative *-ngany* without apparent change in argument structure. He suggests that the comitative expresses greater physical closeness between interactants than the corresponding non-comitative construction.



of 'eventual possession'. But it can also be used for cause more generally (typically in connection with conflict), as in:

- 10.171 *Bi-yi-bom namarladj.*  
 W 3/3hP-COM-killPP I:orphan  
 'He killed him because of the child.'
- 10.172 *Ngudda nuk kandi-rurk-yi-rru-y man-balmardi.*  
 I you DUB 2/1pl-hollow-COM-growl-PP III-hollow.log  
 'You must be growling at us over that hollow tree business.'

### 10.3.2.6 Incipient subordinating use

One of the striking differences between Dalabon and Rembarrnga on the one hand, and Bininj Gun-wok on the other, is the existence of special subordinate-clause prefixes in the former. In Dalabon the pronominal prefixes in subordinate clauses appear formally related to the comitative applicative.

In Manyallaluk Mayali one hears occasional sentences with the comitative applicative that are compatible with either a comitative or a subordinate clause reading. An example is 10.173, where the verb *ngayiman.gang* could be translated either as 'I was born with it (the digging stick)/at it/where it is' or as 'where I was born'. The bridging context is the resumptive use of the comitative for the second mention of the digging stick, coinciding with the subordinate-clause like backgrounding of the repeated verb as old information.

- 10.173 *Jatj ngarduk ga-yo gure nga-man.ga-ng,*  
 MM 'digging.stick'<sup>19</sup> my 3-lieNP LOC 1-be.born-PP

*nga-yi-man.ga-ng Ngarratjbambirlang.*

1-COM-be.born-PP [place]

My digging stick (i.e. a woman's birthplace) is there (in Arnhem Land) where I was born; where I was born is Ngarratjbambirlang (I was born with it — my *djatj* — at Ngarratjbambirlang).

•

### 10.3.2.7 Use with *dukkan* 'tie' and *dulubun* 'spear'

In Manyallaluk Mayali, the comitative has a special effect with *dukkan* 'tie', in that, at the same time as promoting the instrument (e.g. rope) to object position, the thing tied up is demoted to a locative. In other words the alternation is between *dukkan* 'tie up O (with NP:INSTR)' to 'tie O around NP:LOC'. So far this is the only example of a verb in which the addition of an applicative causes the original object to be demoted to adjunct status.

A sample sentence pair is:

- 10.174 *Barri-kalh-dukka-ng.*  
 MM 3a/3-stump-tie-PP  
 'They tied the stump up.'

<sup>19</sup> In Jawoyn, Dalabon and Manyallaluk Mayali, the idiom 'my digging stick' is used by women to refer to their birthplace; men use the expression 'my woomera'.

- 10.175 *Yarl-no ba-yi-dukka-ng kalh-no-kah.*  
 MM string-3POSSD 3/3LP-COM-tie-PP stump-3POSSD-LOC  
 'They tied the rope onto the stump.'

In the other dialects the comitative is not used with *dukkān* in this way; besides the commonest use, in which the object is the thing tied (e.g. 10.176, 10.177), it is also possible (though less usual) to incorporate the instrument of tying, as in 10.177. This suggests that *dukkān* is a true double-object verb in these dialects.

- 10.176 *Bi-djorrh-dukka-ng.*  
 I 3/3h-waist-tie-PP  
 'He held him round the waist.'
- 10.177 *Barri-bid-dukka-ni.*  
 Dj 3a/3P-hand-tie-PI  
 'They used to tie together (the kangaroo's) arms.'
- 10.178 *Birri-yarl-dukka-ng kun-dulk.*  
 I 3a/3P-rope-tie-PP IV-tree  
 'They tied the rope around the tree.'

Again in Manyallaluk Mayali, the verb *dulubun* 'spear O' has a special comitative *yidulubun* 'skewer O onto NP:LOC', although in this case the thing penetrated is in object relation in both diatheses. In other words, this shares with the *yidukkan* construction the fact that the location ends up as a locative, but differs from it in that the underived verb does not treat the location as an object. An example of the comitative construction is:

- 10.179 *Beba ba-yi-dulubom waya-kah*  
 MM paper 3/3LP-COM-spearPP spike-LOC  
 'He has skewered the papers (e.g. receipts) onto the spike.'

There is one example, from Gun-dedjnjenghmi (Murray Garde, pers. comm.) in which both objects of 'tie' incorporate, though note that the verb has been reflexivised and the thing tied around is therefore a body part of the derived subject:

- 10.180 *An-djoh arri-kodj-dukka-n "o an-djoh monidj*  
 Dnj III-[wattle.sp.] 1a-head-tie-NP oh III-[wattle] secretly  
*ngurri-djoh-kodj-dukka-rr-imen" wanjh arri-kodj-dukka-rr-en now.*  
 2a-[wattle]-head-tie-RR-IMP then 1a-head-tie-RR-NP now  
 'We tie *an-djoh* wattle (bark) round our heads. "Oh, quickly tie wattle-bark headbands around your heads!" (someone would say), and then we'd tie them round our heads.'

### 10.3.2.8 Comparative note

The comitative applicative seems to have evolved by stranding of a comitative noun suffix originally attached to an incorporated nominal (cf. the nominal instrumental suffix *-yi* discussed in §5.2.1.2, which can have a comitative meaning when used derivationally). This possibility was first raised by Carroll (1975:74). In Rembarrnga (McKay 1976:171–172) nouns suffixed with comitative *-yi(nda)* can be incorporated with a secondary predicate sense, as in:

- 10.181 *Djenj-ø nga-[bikkang-yinda]-mi-ya.*  
 R fish-NOM 1/3-hook-COMIT-get-PAST.PUNC  
 'I caught a fish with a hook in its mouth, which already had an old hook in its mouth.'
- 10.182 *Barra-yang-yi-bolh-moern.*  
 R 3a-story/words-COMIT-arrive-PAST.CONT  
 'They shouted as they arrived.'

In Rembarrnga the actual conditions on the choice between *-yi* and *-yinda* with incorporated nominals are not straightforward (see McKay 1975:171–172) but in any case it is clear that some sort of comitative nominal suffix is being incorporated, with a secondary predicate meaning.

The origins of the comitative as a 'with' suffix on incorporated secondary predicates may explain the semantic restrictions on the comitative preventing instrumental or 'with transitive subject' interpretations. As we shall see in §10.4.5, incorporated secondary predicates must modify absolutes. In examples like 'we/it-[hook-with]-caught' or 'we-[speech-with]-arrived', the comitative predicate is construed semantically with the absolute. However, in readings 'with transitive subject', as in 'we chopped down the tree with them' (i.e. with their help) or 'we hunted the kangaroos with a gun' the comitative predicates have scope over the transitive subject, and would therefore be blocked from incorporating as secondary predicates.

### 10.3.3 *Interaction of the two applicatives*

It is possible to derive a trivalent from a monovalent verb by prefixing both applicatives to an underlying intransitive (10.183), and likewise to derive a tetravalent verb from a divalent verb (10.43); in such cases the two applicatives combine in a compositional way. I have no examples of both applicatives being prefixed to an underlying ditransitive; given the total absence of five-place predicates (§10.1.1) it is unlikely that such combinations are admitted.

- 10.183 *Bi-marne-yi-rrurnd-i wurdurd.*  
 A 3/3P-BEN-COM-return-PP children  
 '(S)he brought the kids back for him/her.'

Additionally, as we saw in §10.3.1.5, both *marne-* and *yi-* are sometimes combined pleonastically when introducing a causal argument (10.146).

### 10.3.4 *Reflexive/reciprocal suffix -rr-*

In addition to the applicative prefixes, which increase valency, there is a reflexive/reciprocal suffix *-rr-*, which typically adds a reflexive or reciprocal meaning while reducing the valency of the verb by one. It is added directly to the stem and has its own distinctive TAM conjugation; see §8.2.3.10. The reflexive/reciprocal is also used to express collective activity, in which case the valency is unaffected; this is discussed separately in §11.3.1.2.

Most typically, the reflexive/reciprocal is added to di- or tri-valent verbs, which may be underived (10.184), or have reached the requisite valency by addition of an applicative

(10.185, 10.186). Where the resultant predicate is monovalent, or where the reflexive/reciprocal is the last derivational step, the object prefix slot is left unfilled (10.185, 10.187, 10.188), and the verb is interpreted as having a first object coreferential with its subject.

10.184 *Gabandi-bu-n.*

Dj 3a/3pl-hit-NP  
'They are hitting them.'

10.185 *Gabani-bu-rre-n.*

Dj 3ua-hit-RR-NP  
'Those two are fighting each other, those two are fighting.'

10.186 *\*Gabandi-bu-rre-n.*

Dj 3a/3pl-hit-RR-NP

10.187 *Bani-guk-yi-rrurnde-rre-ni.*

Dj 3uaP-body-COM-return-RR-PI  
'The two of them carried each other home, brought each other home.'

10.188 *Barri-marne-borrkke-rre-ni.*

Dj 3aP-BEN-dance-RR-PI  
'They danced for each other.'

However, where the addition of a beneficiary or causal argument follows the application of the reflexive/reciprocal, the second pronominal slot may be re-filled by the added beneficiary or causal argument. This is commonest in the frame 'X oneself/one's body part for BEN', as in 10.189 and 10.190.

10.189 *Kabi-marne-djikka-djuyme-rre-n.*

I 3/3h-BEN-breast-squeeze-RR-NP  
'She squeezes her breasts for him (her baby).'

10.190 *Ngarrben-marne-bok-kurrme-rre-n.*

I 1a/3pl-BEN-track-put-RR-NP  
'We'll leave our tracks for them.'

#### 10.3.4.1 Ordering of RR and applicatives in semantic composition

Since the applicative and reflexive/reciprocal morphemes lie on opposite sides of the verb stem, the morpheme ordering cannot be said to determine the ordering of semantic composition, in contrast to the situation with comitative and benefactive applicatives, which are always semantically composed from the inside (comitative) to the outside (benefactive) when both occur. In fact both orderings of composition are attested between RR and the applicatives.

The available ordering partly depends on whether a reflexive or reciprocal interpretation is involved.

Reflexives must always bind true objects. Examples like 10.191a,b, in which the coreferential argument would be introduced by a comitative or benefactive applicative, are judged unacceptable.

10.191 a. \**ø-yi-lobme-rr-inj*

I 3P-COM-run-RR-PP

(for 'he drove himself there'; *yilobme* is a common phrase for 'drive (someone)')b. \**Nga-marne-bayahme-rr-inj mudikka*

I 1-BEN-buy-RR-PP

car

(for 'I bought myself a car.'; this must be expressed with an oblique pronoun — see 7.16)

Since reflexives must always bind true objects, reflexive formation always precedes valency increases by applicatives in semantic composition. Examples are 'he saw himself with the beer/child' in 10.194 and 'he hid himself away with it' (Text 1.47; Text 2.56–57), in both of which the order of composition is COM-[hide-reflexive].

10.192 a. *ø-Bo-yi-na-rr-inj*.

I 3/3IP-liquid-COM-see-RR-PP

'He saw himself with the beer.'

b. *ø-Yaw-yi-na-rr-inj*.

3/3IP-child-COM-see-RR-PP

'He saw himself with the child.'

As mentioned above, where reflexive formation precedes the benefactive, the second pronominal prefix can be re-filled by the benefactive argument, for example 'he cut his arm for them' (10.193), composed as BEN-[arm-cut-reflexive], 'we'll show ourselves (our bodies) to them' in 10.194, and 'we'll put our footsteps (leave our tracks) for them' in 10.190.

10.193 *Kaben-marne-berl-dadjdje-rr-en*.

I 3/3pl-BEN-arm-cut-RR-NP

'He cuts his arm for them.'

10.194 *Ngarrben-marne-kuk-bukka-rr-inj*.

I 1a/3pl-BEN-body-show-RR-PP

'We showed ourselves to them.'

Reciprocals, on the other hand, typically take the output of valency increases as their input, for example 'they brought each other back (i.e. came back with each other)' (10.187), which is [COM-return]-reciprocal; 'they left a spear with each other' (10.195), which is [spear[COM-leave]]-reciprocal; and 'they cooked meat for each other' (10.2), which is [BEN-cook]-reciprocal.

10.195 *Bene-korle-yi-kurrme-rr-inj*

I 3ua-spear-COM-put-RR-PP

'They two left a spear with each other, left each other a spear.'

However, reciprocals may serve as input to valency increase when this is the causal or 'affected family member' sense of the benefactive applicative, as in 'they swore at each other over them' (10.144), which is composed as BEN-[swear-recv], and 'they showed each other their kids' (10.196), composed as BEN-[show-recv].

10.196 *Bindi-marne-bukka-rr-inj wurdurd rowk*.

I 3a/3pl-BEN-show-RR-PP child all

'They showed each other all their kids.' (though the simpler construction *birri-bukka-rr-inj rowk wurdurd bedberre* is also possible here, where 'their' is expressed by an external oblique pronoun *bedberre* rather than by the combination of benefactive and object prefix)

Whether the second pronominal slot is filled thus depends on the order of composition. Object arguments introduced after reflexive/reciprocalisation can be represented by pronominal prefix (10.193, 10.194, 10.196), though of course there are many cases, such as 10.192 where this does not show up overtly owing to zero exponence of third singular objects. On the other hand, object arguments introduced before reflexive/reciprocalisation will be suppressed (10.18, 10.21).

#### 10.3.4.2 Extent of reflexive/reciprocal use

The reflexive/reciprocal is used more widely than its English equivalents, and occurs with all implicit reciprocals and reflexives.

Thus English verbs with plural subjects, that delete reciprocal objects (e.g. 'they are fighting (each other)'), will be translated with an overt reflexive/reciprocal in Bininj Gun-wok (10.185); further examples with 'shake hands' (10.197), 'mix' (10.198), 'kiss' (10.199) and 'fuck' (10.200)<sup>20</sup> illustrate the fact that all semantic self-converses (i.e. where  $V(A,B) \leftrightarrow V(B,A)$ ) employ the reflexive/reciprocal.

10.197 *Guni-bu-rr-inj, bonj, guni-bid-ma-rre-men.*

Dj 2ua-hit-RR-PP finished 2ua-hand-take-RR-IMP  
'OK, you two have finished fighting, shake hands now.'

10.198 *Kun-kare minj karri-rawo-rr-inj na-wu Mimih. Ngad karri-yo*

W IV-old not 12a-mix-RR-PP MA-DEM mimih we 12a-campNP

*kondah, dja bedda kabirri-yo kore ku-warde-rurrk.*

here and they 3a-campNP LOC LOC-rock-cave

'A long time ago, we didn't mix with the *Mimih* — we lived here, and they lived in the rocks.' [KS 90]

10.199 *Kabene-bunjhme-rr-en.*

I 3ua-kiss-RR-NP  
'They are kissing.'

10.200 *Kabene-dedjdo-rr-en.*

I 3ua-fuck-RR-NP  
'They're fucking.'

This does not mean that such verbs cannot be used in their simple transitive form, if the depiction of the action is as a non-reciprocal. A non-reciprocal transitive example with 'kiss' is:

10.201 *An-gudji-gen a-bunjhme-y.*

I III-one-GEN 1/3-kissPP  
'I kissed her once.'

<sup>20</sup> Of course the situational context determines whether the predicate is self-converse or not. Both 'kiss' and 'fuck' can be used non-reciprocally precisely when the action is not being actively reciprocated, or is not so portrayed, exactly as in the difference between English 'she kissed him' and 'they kissed'. The corresponding verbs in Bininj Gun-wok are comparable in allowing both transitive and reciprocal uses; the difference is that in Bininj Gun-wok the reciprocal is always overtly marked.

An overt reflexive will likewise be used where English typically has only an implicit reflexive, with such verbs as 'dress (oneself)' (10.202), 'hide (oneself)', 'shave (oneself)' (below) etc.

- 10.202 *Bokngarru kabirri-djongbu-rr-en kun-borrk-kenh.*  
 I dancing.belt 3a-dress-RR-NP IV-dance-GEN  
 'They dress in dancing belts for dances.' [GID]

And it is often more idiomatic to use reciprocal constructions where English would use a unidirectional transitive, as in 10.203 with 'see', 10.204–10.206 with 'marry' and 10.207 with 'have an argument with'. In such cases the set/subset construction is used, with the pronominal prefix referring to the whole set, and one or both of the subsets represented by a free noun phrase (if there is just one, it will always be the non-subject noun phrase in English). In some such cases, particularly *marren* 'marry', the reciprocal has arguably become phraseologised; I discuss idiomatic and phraseologised reciprocals in §10.3.4.6.

- 10.203 *Wolewoleh Peter Wellings arri-na-rr-inj Jabiru.*  
 Dj yesterday 1a-see-RR-PP  
 'We saw Peter Wellings in Jabiru yesterday.' (lit. Peter Wellings and us, we saw each other in Jabiru yesterday)
- 10.204 *Ngayi Balang ngane-ma-rr-inj.*  
 I I Balang 1ua-take-RR-PP  
 'Balang and I got married.'
- 10.205 *Wamuddjan ngane-ma-rr-en Ngarridj la Ngarridjdjan nga-bebke.*  
 I Wamuddjan 1ua-take-RR-NP Ngarridj and Ngarridjdjan 1/3-produceNP  
 'I'll get married to a woman of Wamuddjan skin and I'll have (produce) children of Ngarridj and Ngarridjdjan skin.' [GID]
- 10.206 *Ani-ma-rre-n al-mardgu.*  
 Dj 1ua-take-RR-NP FE-mardgu  
 'I have to marry a woman of the -mardgu matrimoiety.'
- 10.207 *Nungka bene-dangwe-rr-inj dird.*  
 W he 3uaP-argue-RR-PP moon  
 'He had an argument with the moon.'

#### 10.3.4.3 Selection of bound argument

Reciprocal and reflexive constructions, even though they are marked by the same verbal suffix, employ different principles for determining which argument is coreferential with the subject. In reflexives only true objects are bound by the subject. Objects introduced by applicatives are therefore always interpreted as having applied, in semantic composition, after the reflexive (10.208); see also §10.3.4.1, Text 1.47 and Text 2.56–57.

- 10.208 *Ngal-badjan ngan-yi-warlkka-rr-inj.*  
 I II-mother 3/1-COM-hide-RR-PP  
 'Mum used to hide herself away with me.'

In reciprocals, on the other hand, indirect objects and benefactives outrank true objects for binding by the subject. Concomitantly, reciprocalisation can apply after the addition of benefactive and comitative arguments (though before the addition of causal arguments — see §10.3.4.1).

- 10.209 *Barri-warde-wo-rre-ni.*  
 Dj 3aP-money-give-RR-PI  
 'They used to give each other money.'  
 \* 'They used to give themselves as money.'

- 10.210 *An-me barri-wo-rre-ni.*  
 Dj III-veg.food 3aP-give-RR-PI  
 'They used to give each other food.'  
 \* 'They used to give themselves as food.'

- 10.211 *Gabarri-bolidj-bukka-rre-n.*  
 Dj 3a-scar-show-RR-NP  
 'They show each other their scars.'

In reciprocals of double-object verbs, regardless of the verb type (§10.1.3.4) the lexically-determined 'first object' — the one that would be represented by object affix, and would not sanction incorporation — binds the reciprocal (10.29, 10.196). A further example is 10.212, which is ambiguous between reflexive and reciprocal readings:

- 10.212 *Birri-wardde-yi-warlkka-rr-inj.*  
 I 3aP-money-COM-hide-RR-PP  
 'They used to hide the money with each other.'/'They used to hide themselves away with the money.'

Causal NPs introduced by BEN are outranked by the original objects for reciprocal binding; another way of interpreting this is that reciprocalisation precedes the introduction of a causal argument in semantic composition.

- 10.213 *Daluk bogen bani-marne-godj-badjdje-rr-inj.*  
 Dj woman two 3uaP-BEN-head-punch-RR-PP  
 'The two women punched each other in the head over him.'

- 10.214 *Bindi-marne-kodj-badjdje-rr-inj.*  
 I 3a/3pl-BEN-head-punch-RR-PP  
 'They punched each other in the head over them.'

Where a reflexive/reciprocalised transitive verb has an incorporated body-part nominal, this is interpreted as part of the subject, in the same way as happens with an intransitive verb (§10.4.4.1); this is of course, referentially, the same argument that would be construed as part of the incorporated object of a transitive verb. Thus *ngey-bimbu-rren* [name-write-RR] means 'write one's own name' (10.215), *bid-kurrme-rren* [hand-put.down-RR] means 'make, put down a print of one's own hand', and *keb-birrka-rren* [nose-poke-RR] means 'stick finger up one's nose'. There are examples, however, where the subject possessor interpretation of reflexives is extended in a way that cannot be derived from a corresponding basic transitive construction. These are dealt with in §10.3.4.5 below.

- 10.215 *Yi-ngey-bimbu-rr-en!*  
 I 2-name-write-RR-NP  
 'Write your name!'



In one interesting example a clausal object, involving a body part in object relation in the main clause but incorporated as subject of the subordinate clause, is placed before the reflexivised verb:

- 10.216 *Karri-kurlba-dolbdolbme karri-bekka-rr-en.*  
 I 12a-blood-pulseNP 12a-feel-RR-NP  
 'We can feel our blood pulsing.'

#### 10.3.4.4 Reflexive vs reciprocal interpretations

We now turn to the question of whether a reflexive or reciprocal interpretation is given. In most cases context is enough to decide. Reflexive interpretations, for example, are forced where the subject is singular:

- 10.217 *Marrek munguyh ø-ru-yinj, ø-dombu-rr-inj.*  
 E:D not for.long 3P-burn-IRR 3P-extinguish-RR-PP  
 'It didn't burn for long, it burned itself out.'
- 10.218 *Kun-wern ø-wungme-ng ø-bulkkidjma-rr-inj.*  
 I NEU-much 3P-smoke-PP 3P-cause.serious.illness-RR-PP  
 'He smoked too much and made himself seriously ill.'
- 10.219 *A-bid-bik+ma-rr-en.*  
 Dj 1-hand-take.out.splinter-RR-NP  
 'I'm cutting the splinter out of my hand.'
- 10.220 *A-djawurk-djobge-rr-eni.*  
 Dj 1-beard-cut-RR-PI  
 'I used to shave myself.'

Note that the object of the reflexive action may be a physically separated body part of the subject, which will typically (always?) be incorporated:

- 10.221 *Ka-waral-na-rre-n.*  
 I 3-spirit-see-RR-NP  
 '(S)he is looking at him/herself (in water, or mirror).'

Where the subject is non-singular, there is possible ambiguity for most verb lexemes:

- 10.222 *Arri-wok-bekka-rr-en.*  
 Dj 1a-word-listen-RR-NP  
 'We listen to each other talking.' OR: 'We listen to ourselves talk (on a tape recorder).'
- 10.223 *Gabarri-djobge-rre-n.*  
 Dj 3a-cut-RR-NP  
 'They are cutting themselves/each other.'

To avoid ambiguity in such cases, an emphatic pronoun can be added to force a reflexive reading:

- 10.224 *Bedman gabarri-djobge-rre-n.*  
 Dj themselves 3a-cut-RR-NP  
 'They are cutting themselves (\*each other).'

#### 10.3.4.5 Extended coreferential domain in reflexive constructions

In reflexivised or reciprocalised verbs with incorporated body parts, as we have seen, these are construed as belonging to the subject. This corresponds to the standard interpretation of body part incorporation, described in §10.4.5.1. However, there are also cases where the reflexive possessor interpretation cannot be so derived, because (a) the incorporated noun is not a body part:

- 10.225 *Yi-worrhme an-dumuk, yi-yaw-ginje-rr-inj wurtyaw dolng-no-yih.*  
 MM 2-make.fireNP III-native.cherry 2-baby-burn-RR-PP child smoke-its-INSTR  
 'You make a fire with native cherry (wood); you used to 'burn' (sterilise) your baby with its smoke.'

(b) the verb meaning is such that the subject is not affected via the incorporated body part:

- 10.226 *A-woh-re, a-gurlh-melme-rr-inj.*  
 Dj 1-a.bit-goNP 1-vomit-step-RR-PP  
 'I took a step, and trod in my own vomit.'<sup>21</sup>

or (c) with verbs of excretion, when used in their base form, the body part would not be their object; an example is the coarse *mad-ngukde-rren* [ankle-shit-RR] 'shit all over one's own ankles as a result of eating too much' [GID].

Though in each of these cases the extension of the reflexive possessive interpretation goes beyond what is available through regular body-part incorporation, it is still limited within the general domain of entities that were until recently inside the body.

While on the topic of extending the semantics of 'self', note that with some verbs this extends to twins, or to other identical representations. Thus in Kuninjku the verb *yurhke* 'to go past' can incorporate *kuk* 'body' and be reflexivised, giving *kuk-yurhkerren*. This can then be used in examples like *kuk-yurhkerrinj* 'he passed himself (two twins, or in supernatural contexts)' and *yi-kuk-yurhkerrinj* 'you passed someone who looks just like you' (Murray Garde, pers. comm.).

#### 10.3.4.6 Chained reciprocals

Instead of the action being directly exchanged between two actors, it is possible for it to be chained in sequence, that is instead of  $A \leftarrow V \rightarrow B$ , the arrangement is  $A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C \rightarrow D$ . Lichtenberk (1985) mentions comparable extensions of the reciprocal in a number of languages; in Bini Gun-wok it is particularly common when talking about transmission from generation to generation:

<sup>21</sup> Note, though, that for some speakers the transitive affected-body-part construction is possible here (e.g. *bi-kurk-melmeng* [3/3hP-vomit-stepped] 'he stepped in his (another person's) vomit').

- 10.227 *Birri-bid-yi-bukka-bukka-rr-inj.*  
 I 3aP-hand-COM-ITER-show-RR-PP  
 'Each generation taught the next.'

#### 10.3.4.7 Middle and passive-like uses of the reflexive

With inanimate subjects the reflexive/reciprocal is also sometimes used as a passive, in parallel with the use of reflexives in many languages with 'decausative' semantics (Geniusienie 1987). Compare the reflexive interpretation given to *barrkburren* ~ *barrhburren* in 10.228 with the passive interpretation in 10.229, as well as the decausative use of *domburrinj* (< *dombun* 'put out, extinguish') in 10.217, and *barleyerdkerrinj* in 10.230 (used with a male human subject this would have the reflexive sense 'masturbate'). See also 8.15 for an example translatable as 'he gets circumcised'.

- 10.228 *Ginga ga-godj-barrkbu-rr-en gun-bak.*  
 Dj crocodile 3-head-cover-RR-NP IV-slime  
 'The crocodile covers its head with slime.'
- 10.229 *Barlabarla ka-djordme Manbulukarri, ka-barrhbu-rr-en.*  
 I river.mangrove 3-grownP [place name] 3-cover-RR-NP  
 'The river mangrove grows at Manbulukarri; it (the place) is all covered over.'
- 10.230 A: *ø-Bakme-ng ø-nangah-na-ng bonj.*  
 I 3P-break-PP 3/3P-ITER-see-PP finish  
 'He saw it was broken and that was the end of it.'
- B: *Njale ø-bakme-ng?*  
 what 3P-break-PP  
 'What was broken?'
- A: *ø-Barle-yerdke-rr-inj ... (laughter)*  
 3P-glans.penis-expose.elongated.object-RR-PP  
 'The "prick" of the spear had been pulled out ...' [Garde 1996:143]

Rarely, verbs in the reflexive may have a middle interpretation, this time benefactive. This is chiefly with verbs of reproduction, meaning 'to conceive/beget a child for oneself' or, to give a gloss more revealing of the link to the reflexive, 'to conceive/beget a child (as a continuation) of oneself'.<sup>22</sup> As well as 10.231, see 5.287.

- 10.231 *Ngane-h-wam ngane-wurdma-rr-inj.*  
 W 1ua-IMM-goPP 1ua-get.child-RR-PP  
 'We lived together, and made ourselves a child.'

<sup>22</sup> In fact the use may extend more generally to actions performed on one's family, when these concern birth and death. Consider MM *yyawginyerriny wurtyaw dolngnoyih* 'you disinfect (your) newborn child with its smoke (disinfectant plant sp.)' [you baby-cook-yourself], and Dj *ngarrigukbehgerren* 'we smoke the bodies of our dead' [we body-smoke-ourselves].

## 10.3.4.8 'All over the place'

A further semantic extension of the reflexive/reciprocal, so far attested only in Kuninjku, is to denote situations where the action is repeated in many places. The use of *bokkarrinj* with this effect in 10.233 suggests this extension may be motivated by a metaphor of 'following one's own tracks', something like 'chasing their own tails' in English.<sup>23</sup>

10.232 *Man-me ka-yawa-rr-en.*

I III-food 3-search.for-RR-NP  
'She's looking for food all over the place.'

10.233 *Minj birri-warlkka-rr-imeninj la kunak birri-bokka-rr-inj*

I NEG 3A-PP-hide-RR-IRR CONJ fire 3A-PP-follow.track-RR-PP

*man-wurrk birri-bokka-rr-inj birri-wam birri-wurlhke-ng*  
III-grass.fire 3A-PP-follow.track-RR-PP 3A-PP-gopp 3A-PP-light.fire-PP

*birri-bid-karrme-rr-inj.*

3A-PP-hand-hold-RR-PP

'We wouldn't hide ourselves, but we'd follow the (hunting) fires all over the place, we'd follow the tracks everywhere, we'd go along and cooperate in the hunt, lighting fires.'

## 10.3.4.9 Phraseologised and frozen forms

There are many idiomatic lexical items in which the reflexive/reciprocal form differs semantically from the underived form through more than the addition of reflexive, reciprocal or collective meaning. I refer to these as phraseologised interpretations.<sup>24</sup> There are also verbs which are formally reflexive/reciprocals, but have no corresponding underived form; I call these frozen reflexive/reciprocals. These are really two poles of a continuum, and my discussion will pass from the frozen extreme back to cases where the meaning is more and more compositional. Most of my data come from the Gun-djeihmi and Kuninjku dictionary data bases.

**FROZEN REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCALS** Examples where the semantics is clearly reflexive are the following; in each, the RR suffix follows a thematic attested elsewhere in its plain form, but the combination with the prepound does not occur outside the RR construction.

*yeykerren* 'give self away in hiding, cause self to be found in hiding' (I)

*nidberren* 'stop in one's tracks' (I)

*ngirrburren* 'rub body against something, scratch by rubbing against' (I)

*borndurren* 'wipe oneself' (10.228)

*kungabmerren* 'comb one's hair' (I; note similarity to *gun-ngabek* (Dj), *kun-ngabired* (Dj) and *kun-ngabed* (W), all 'hair').

<sup>23</sup> See also Lichtenberk (2000:39) for discussion of some Oceanic languages in which reciprocals can 'signify that the overall situation comprises a plurality of localities or different directionalities: the locality or directionality of one subevent is not the same as that of another subevent'.

<sup>24</sup> These correspond to Geniusie's (1987:363) 'semantic reflexiva tantum', that is reflexive verbs 'that are related to the base verb in an irregular, individual way semantically'. Frozen reflexive/reciprocals correspond to her 'formal reflexiva tantum'.

*mimwodburren* 'wave hands in front of one's eyes (*kun-mim*), usually to swat flies' (I); though note Dj *wodbun* 'wave (magic leaf, when clever man is ministering to patient) over O'.

*kodjkerren* 'stay still' (E:D, see Text 5, para 5)

*rakburren* 'go, head off' (E:D)

10.234 *A-geb-borndurr-en.*

Dj 1-nose-wipe(RR)-NP  
'I wipe my nose.'

Usually there is a good match between reflexive-reciprocal forms in the ordinary language and in Kun-kurrng. Sometimes, however, a frozen RR form is found in Kun-kurrng, corresponding to an underived form in the ordinary language: 'warm oneself by the fire' is *kuwan* in ordinary language, but *ngolkkerren* in Kun-kurrng (I).

There is only one frozen example where the meaning is clearly reciprocal: *yurrmerren* 'pass each other going in opposite directions'; although *yurrme* is not attested, note the related form *yurrke* 'go ahead, be in front of'.

Of the frozen reflexive/reciprocals, *kurren* can add a benefactive object (10.235), while *ngirrburren* (10.236) may take a locative adjunct:

10.235 *Gan-marne-gu.rre-n.*

Dj 2/1-BEN-lie-NP  
'You're lying to me.'

10.236 *Nganabbarru ka-ngirrbu.rre-n ku-rrulk.*

I buffalo 3-rub-NP LOC-tree  
'The buffalo is rubbing itself on a tree.'

PHRASEOLOGISED REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCALLS One can recognise three types of phraseologised reflexive/reciprocals.

Firstly, the combination of elements may be completely or almost completely compositional, with the expected argument structure, but only attested in the reflexive/reciprocal:

*dangwerren* 'argue with each other' [mouth-throw-RR] (Dj, I) (10.237)

*milhmerren* 'face each other' [forehead-verb.thematic-RR] (I) (10.238)

*bolkdadjerren* '(country, place) "cut off", come to an end (used of border areas where one location ends and another begins)' [place-cut-RR] (I)

*ronjwerren* 'urinate' (lit. water-throw-RR) (I)

*kukmarnburren* 'organise oneself, arrange the position of one's body' (I) [body-make(good)-RR]

*djenmarnburren* 'pronounce speech correctly' (I) [tongue-make(good)-RR]

10.237 *Gabani-dang-we-rr-en*

Dj 3ua-mouth-throw-RR-NP  
'They're arguing.'

10.238 *Ka-kom mayh kabene-milhmerr-en Dilebang.*

I 3-neck creature 3ua-face.each.other-NP [place]  
'The rainbow serpents heads stand there facing each other at Dilebang.'

Somewhat less compositional are:

<i>woknarren</i>	'call out to each other/have a talk [OP 427]' [lit. word-see-RR], (perhaps originally 'see each other by words, as a result of each other's words') (I) <sup>25</sup>
<i>gebnarren</i>	'urinate' [lit. nose-see-RR] (Dj)
<i>ganemwarreworren</i>	'marry wrong way' [lit. ear-ruin-RR, perhaps 'violate each other's common sense'] (Dj)
<i>bidwernworren</i>	'have many children' [lit. hand-many-give-RR]

Secondly, specific idiomatic semantics may coexist alongside completely compositional semantics:

<i>narren</i>	'see, look at each other', but also 'give each other the eye, flirt with the eyes, be boyfriend and girlfriend' (A)
<i>bekkarren</i>	'listen to oneself, feel (oneself)', but also 'consider, think about before making a decision' (Dj, I)
<i>burlumerren</i>	'praise oneself', but also 'show off, perform' and 'stalk prey when hunting' (I)
<i>kadjurren</i>	'follow each other', but also 'be countrymen' (A)
<i>werren</i>	'throw oneself', but also 'keep coming and coming to see someone, throw oneself on someone (through frequent visits)'
<i>djorringmerren</i>	'straighten oneself', but also 'spread legs and head down, usually to drink, of animals' (I)
<i>marnburren</i>	'make oneself', but also 'prepare oneself, get ready'
<i>raworren</i>	'mix oneself up, combine oneself together' but also 'make a group of many'
<i>larlmarren</i>	'divide oneself up, be divided, be separated' but also 'get divorced, separate'
<i>bakkerren</i>	'break oneself', but also 'compose a song, inspired by some event' (13.209)
<i>ngurren</i>	'eat oneself' (e.g. of a cat eating its tail), 'eat each other' (e.g. two snakes), but also, with plural subject 'have sex' ('eat each other')
<i>kundjiburren</i>	'argue/fight and then walk away in anger, walk away from an argument' but also 'stay away out of sullenness, keep oneself away from a fight' (I)
<i>dukkarren</i>	'tie oneself up', but also 'writhe'

Rarely, there is a complete break between underived and reflexive/reciprocal constructions; an example is *wurlhke* 'set fire, ignite, start a seasonal bush fire; turn a light on' (neither permitting reflexive/reciprocals), but *wurlhkerren* 'get dressed' (I), a synonym for *djongburren*.

The third situation is where the semantic extension in the reflexive/reciprocal affects the argument structure itself. Consider verbs of excretion, which in their underived form are either intransitive or take a cognate object designating the thing excreted: faeces or eggs with

<sup>25</sup> Dalabon *wonan* 'hear' may result from further extension along the same path, with irregular cluster simplification.

*ngukdeng* 'defecate (v.i.), shit out (v.t.); lay (eggs)', and urine with *dilebun* 'urinate (v.i.), piss out (v.t.)' (see Text 9.17 for an example). However, in their reflexive/reciprocal form these verbs mean 'shit (on) oneself' and 'piss (on) oneself' (10.239). In other words (as in English) they can be construed as having a locational object only in the reflexive construction.

- 10.239 *Ga-rrilebu-rr-en gun-bang ba-bonguneng ngan-wern*  
 Dj 3-piss-RR-NP IV-grog 3P-drinkPP VE-much  
 'He's pissing himself; he drank too much.'

#### 10.3.4.10 The aberrant 'stick together' construction

Two verbs of physical cohesion, *-djudme-rr-en* 'stick together' (cf. *djudme* 'stick onto') and *belbmang* 'stick together', have an aberrant construction whose analysis is still unclear. They take the divalent prefix set with plural object form; the first verb uses a reflexive/reciprocal suffix. It is unclear whether these are to be analysed as object-oriented verbs whose subject is to be understood as the cohering agent (bamboo nodes, glue) and whose object is the bits stuck together (in other words, this would be a verb with reflexive/reciprocal form that, exceptionally, does not become intransitive), or a collective reading of a transitive verb, imposed by the *rr* in the case of *-djudme-rr-en* (recall that collective uses of *rr* are unusual in not reducing the verb's valency), and by lexical semantics in the case of *belbmang*.

- 10.240 a. *Gaban-gorlebard-djudme-rr-en*.  
 Dj<sup>26</sup> 3/3pl-bamboo.node-stick-RR-NP  
 'Bamboo nodes hold each other together; bamboo is held together by its nodes.'
- b. *Kaben-korlebardbolidj-djudme-rr-en*.  
 I 3/3pl-bamboo.node-stick-RR-NP  
 = a.
- 10.241 *Gaban-belbma-ng*.  
 Dj 3/3pl-stick.together-NP  
 'It sticks together.' (cf. MM *gabibelbme* '(the child) sticks to (its mother)')

### 10.4 Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation is a central, complex and theoretically interesting part of the argument grammar of Bininj Gun-wok. Basically, it involves the combination of a noun root and a verbal root into a single, semantically more specific, verbal word. Since noun incorporation is grammatically optional, there exist near-synonymous alternatives in which the noun root is not incorporated but appears as an external nominal.

<sup>26</sup> Goldie Blyth, a speaker of Kunwinjku and Gun-djeihmi whom I asked about these sentences, said 10.240 would sound better with a unit augmented subject (*gabani-gorlebard-djudmerren*), and suggested the construction was used because there are joined pairs of segments all the way along the bamboo. On this explanation, the unit augmented prefix would refer to the two sides of each node, and the RR would be the collective reading, iterated over the many joints. However, this would fail to account for the construction in 10.241.

An example of such a pair is 10.242a,b. As this pair illustrates, nominal morphology, in the form of noun-class prefixes, is present in the external form, but dropped in the incorporated form; 10.242b is also typical in that the incorporated noun is the object. Intransitive subjects are also commonly incorporated (10.243). Incorporation of nouns in other grammatical relations (comitative objects, and, just with *yaw* 'baby', indirect objects and benefactives) occurs with certain lexemes; this is discussed in §10.4.2.2.

10.242 a. *Al-ekge al-gohbanj ba-bimbu-ni gun-gurlah.*

Dj FE-DEM II-old.person 3/3P-paint-PI IV-skin  
'That old lady used to paint buffalo hides.'

10.242 b. *Al-ekge al-gohbanj ba-gurlah-bimbu-ni.*

Dj FE-DEM II-old.person 3/3P-skin-paint-PI  
'That old lady used to paint buffalo hides.'

10.243 *Ga-wardde-djabdi.*

Dj 3-rock-stand.up.straightNP  
'There is a rock standing up straight.'

We have already discussed the morphology of noun incorporation in §6.1.3 and §8.1.3. That section contains a full list of incorporable 'generic' nouns and a discussion of the criteria for distinguishing lexico-syntactic incorporation, which will be our sole focus in this section, from the often formally similar process of deriving new verbs by compounding. As shown in detail there, verbs with lexico-syntactic incorporation have agnate constructions where the nominal is external, allow the incorporated noun to be syntactically unified with external material and/or pronominal affixes on the verb. Generic and part nouns also have distinctive positional slots.

In this section, the emphasis will be on three cross-cutting parameters: (a) the type of incorporated nominal (body part, generic or secondary predicate), (b) the grammatical relation borne by the incorporated nominal to the verb, and (c) the semantic and discourse differences between incorporated and non-incorporated constructions. The following sections are organised around the first parameter, with the other two discussed in each relevant section.

While generative accounts of noun incorporation, notably those by Baker (1988, 1993, 1995), have attempted to give a unitary account of the phenomenon in terms of the syntactic environments allowing and disallowing incorporation, the approach taken here will be *constructional*. Both the constraints on incorporability, and the semantics of the choice to incorporate, will be shown to be construction-specific, depending on the semantic class of both the verb and the nominal root, as well as on broader characterisations in terms of valency, and generic vs body-part status. For example, while Biniŋ Gun-wok basically conforms to the robust cross-linguistic preference for incorporated nouns to be in an absolutive relation to the verb (i.e. object or intransitive subject), the normal interpretation of verbs with incorporated objects is rather different to that of verbs with incorporated intransitive subjects: the former tend to be given, while the latter are existential orthetic, at least with stance verbs. And while the limitation on incorporability to nouns in absolutive relations holds generally of generic nouns, it needs to be modified in the case of part nouns (where the absolutive constraint applies to the possessors of the part, not the part itself) and discarded in the case of the incorporable noun *yaw* 'baby, child', which is exceptional in being incorporable even as an indirect object. All this means that, while bearing in mind an overarching absolutive preference, we need to approach noun-incorporation as a family of



related but distinct constructions, each with its own partially unique semantic and syntactic characterisation.

### 10.4.1 External modification of incorporated nouns

As in other polysynthetic languages possessing what Rosen (1987) has called 'classifier noun incorporation', it is common for referring expressions (shown below in bold) to include both an incorporated nominal and external modifiers (see also Baker 1995, Chapter 4). Among the various types of external material that can be construed with the incorporated nominal are adjectives (10.244), which may themselves incorporate the same root as the verb (10.245), proper nouns, illustrated here in the form of a subsection name (10.246), possessive pronouns (10.247, 10.248), demonstratives (10.249), numerals (10.250) and relative clauses (10.251, 10.252). For further examples see §6.2.2. As with arguments represented pronominally, external material is crucial to the interpretation of incorporated nominals, for example in deciding whether a generic, newly presented or definite interpretation is to be given (though the verbal construction itself also plays an important role, as we shall see).

- 10.244 *Ga-yau-garrme al-daluk.*  
 Dj 3-child-haveNP FE-woman  
 'She has a female child.'
- 10.245 *Minj na-ngale ka-rrulk-karrme man-dulk-djamun.*  
 W NEG MA-who 3-tree-touchNP VE-tree-sacred  
 'No-one can touch that sacred tree.' [KS 196]
- 10.246 *Galijan bi-dulubom, Gojok bi-marne-yaw-ngune-ng, well*  
 MM [name] 3/3h-hit.with.missilePP [name] 3/3h-BEN-child-eat-PP  
*Galijan-ih bi-bom.*  
 [name]-ERG 3/3h-killPP  
 'Galijan killed him, she ate **her** (Tortoise's) **child Gojok**, yes Galijan killed him.'
- 10.247 *Gamak gan-bolk-bukka-n ge.*  
 Dj good 2/1-place-show-NP your  
 'It's good that you will show me **your country**.'
- 10.248 *Warramurrungundji ø-dulk-wakwam ngalengarre kun-barlkbu.*  
 W [name] 3/3P-stick-forgotPP her IV-digging stick  
 'Warramurrungundji forgot **her digging stick**.' [KS 20]
- 10.249 *Ga-rrulk-gimuk an-ege, ga-rrulk-yahwurd ngan-dehne.*  
 Dj 3NP-tree-big VE-that 3-tree-small VE-this  
 'That tree is big, **this tree** is small.'
- 10.250 *Bogen gabani-dulk-di.*  
 Dj two 3ua-tree-standNP  
 'There are **two trees** there.'

10.251 *An-bolk-bukka-ng gu-mege, bu nungga ba-rrang-inj.*

Dj 3/1-place-show-PP LOC-that SUB he 3P-be.born-PP  
'He showed me that place where he was born.'

10.252 *Ga-rrulk-gimuk ngan-du nga-djobge.*

Dj 3-tree-big VE-REL 1/3-cutNP  
'The tree that I will cut is big.'

In addition to being modified, incorporated nominals may also be conjoined with external material:

10.253 *"Oo gunak gare yi-yerrng-ma-ng, gun-boi."*

Dj oh fire perhaps 2-wood-get-NP IV-cooking.stone  
"Well maybe you should get some firewood and cooking stones"  
(they said to her).'

Over the last decade Baker (1988, 1993, 1995) has given arguments for a movement treatment of noun incorporation in languages such as Mohawk, whereby head nouns are moved from being the head of a NP into the verb, leaving a trace to head the stranded phrase and mediate external modification. But I prefer to adopt a non-movement analysis of such constructions, and the arguments given by Rosen (1987) for Onondaga and Mohawk can equally well be applied here. Since Bininj Gun-wok freely dispenses with external NPs, and allows stranded modifiers even without incorporation (§6.3), 'head movement' is not needed to explain empty or headless external nominal groups, which are simply commonly exercised options, whether or not noun incorporation takes place. Also problematic for the movement account is 'doubling' — the repetition of the nominal root inside and outside the verb (10.254, 10.256) — which shows that nominal roots can appear on the verb without moving out of an external NP. In 10.257 only the first of a conjoined pair of nouns ('grass' and 'stick') is incorporated, presumably because the prototypical characterisation of the activity needed for such a small fire is in terms of grass (as opposed to the more substantial firewood needed for a larger cooking fire).

10.254 *ba-m-bo-re-i, ba-bo-lobm-i, an-bo-gimuk*

Dj 3P-hither-liquid-go-PI 3P-liquid-run-PI VE-liquid-big  
'when the floodwaters used to come running high'

10.255 *Gun-barlkbu ba-m-durnd-i, gun-gom bi-gom-djudme-ng.*

Dj IV-digging.stick 3P-hither-return-PI IV-throat 3/3hP-throat-stick-PP  
'The digging stick came back and stuck right in her throat.'

10.256 *Djaying kun-murrng birri-murrng-moyhme-y ...*

W it.is.said IV-bone 3a/3-bone-get-PP  
'They reckon they got those bones ...' [KS 68]

10.257 *Bene-dalk-mey man-dalk-buk dja kun-dulk, bene-worrhme-ng*

W 3uaP-grass-getPP VE-grass-dry and IV-stick 3uaP-make.fire-PP

*bene-kinje-ng na-wu wirlarrk.*

3uaP-cook-PP MA-DEM goose.egg

'Gathering dry grasses and sticks, they made a fire to roast the eggs.' [KS 172]

In fact all logically possible combinations — incorporated noun only, incorporated noun plus external noun, external noun only, and noun represented by a zero (i.e. neither incorporated noun or external noun) — are grammatical. The differences between them

represent a number of constructional and discourse differences, discussed in §10.4.2.6 and §10.4.3.3. It is therefore difficult to see what explanatory value a movement account would have in Bininj Gun-wok.

### 10.4.2 *Incorporation of body parts*

Although body parts are sometimes excluded from discussions of the grammatical relations borne by incorporated nominals to the verb,<sup>27</sup> there are enough significant parallels between the incorporation of body-part and generic nouns that it makes sense to consider these together. Before passing on to an overall consideration of grammatical relations, then, we go over this constructional parallelism in some detail.

#### 10.4.2.1 *Constructional parallelism between generic and body-part incorporation*

The basic meaning of the incorporated body-part construction is to express the concurrent involvement of both the part and the whole in the designated action. Syntactically, the whole and the part are treated, in the grammar of Bininj Gun-wok, as being in apposition: a sentence like English 'I touched her on the hand' is cast as 'I touched her, the hand'. Anticipating the arguments for apposition given in the next section, we can formulate the following constraint on body-part incorporation, in terms of grammatical relations:

- 10.258 Body-part nominals can incorporate if their wholes occupy grammatical relations that sanction generic incorporation.

Leaving aside for the moment the special case of double-object verbs (for some of whose subclasses additional semantic constraints cut in — see §10.4.3.1), this means that the parts of intransitive subjects (10.259, 10.260) and of objects (10.261, 10.262) can incorporate; see §6.2.4.2 for further examples.

10.259 *A-bikbik-bakme-ng.*

Dj 1-rib-crack(intr.)-PP  
'I cracked my ribs.'

10.260 *Yi-gurlah-yayme-n ngan-galngginj.*

MM 2-skin-be.itchy-NP III-freshwater.mangrove  
'You get an itchy skin from the freshwater mangrove.'

10.261 *Gun-dulk an-bid-djudme-n.*

Dj IV-splinter 3/1-finger-stick.in-NP  
'A splinter is sticking into my finger.' (lit. A splinter is sticking into me, in the finger.)

10.262 A: "Garrang! Yi-na-ø na-gomdudj ganhmani-djamun-lidjge!"

Dj mum 2-look-IMP I-initiate 3/1du-private-pinchNP  
"Mum! Look at this young initiated man pinching us on our private parts!"

<sup>27</sup> See, for example, Baker (1993:15) who justifies it in terms of 'narrowing in on the natural class of things about which something meaningful can be said'.

- B: "Yiddok ngaye, dimin-dimin gunhmani-lidjge, gunhmani-djamun-lidjge"  
 is.it I stripey.fish 3/2du-pinchNP 3/2du-privates-pinchNP  
 'It's not me, it's those stripey fish that are pinching you two, pinching you on  
 your privates'"

Subjects of intransitives with added benefactives (10.263, 10.264) also allow body-part incorporation. Note that, to understand these sentences, it helps to recast the English translation in a way that reflects the Bininj Gun-wok syntactic organisation (e.g. 'I cracked in the ribs' or 'He became big in the eyes for her' instead of 'I cracked my ribs' or 'He made his eyes big for her').

- 10.263 *Bi-marne-mim-gimukm-inj.*

Dj 3/3h-BEN-eye-become.big-PP

'He made eyes at her.' (lit. He became big in the eyes for her.)

- 10.264 *Ngan-marne-djen-bebme-ng.*

Dj 1/3-BEN-tongue-appear-PP

'She stuck out her tongue at me.' (lit. She emerged in the tongue for me.)

The incorporated body part is never construed with the transitive subject.<sup>28</sup> In 10.265 the 'mouth' must belong to the fish, not the pelican, even though  $\sqrt{dang}$  may mean 'mouth' or 'beak' and either meaning is pragmatically plausible. In 10.266 the incorporated form 'hand' must be construed as the object's; to specify that the subject used his hand a free nominal plus the ablative suffix must be used (10.267). If the subject's body part is seen as a 'location' rather than an 'instrument', it is represented by a free nominal with the locative prefix (10.268, 10.269.)

- 10.265 *Makkakurr ba-rrang-danjbo-m djenj.*

Dj pelican 3/3-mouth-spear-PI fish

'The pelican "speared" the fish in the mouth (\*with its beak).'

- 10.266 *A-bid-garrme-ng daluk.*

Dj 1/3-hand-grasp-PP woman

'I touched the woman on the hand.'

- 10.267 *Gun-bid-be nga-garrme-ng daluk.*

Dj IV-hand-ABL 1/3-grasp-PP woman

'I touched the woman with my hand.'

- 10.268 *Gun-ganj a-ngorrga-ni gu-garlang.*

Dj IV-meat 1-carry.on.shoulder-PI LOC-shoulder

'I carried the meat on my shoulder.'

- 10.269 *ø-Warrem-inj kore ø-ngorrrkah-ngorrrka-ni kore ku-karlang.*

W 3P-become.bad-PP LOC 3P-ITER-carry-PI LOC LOC-shoulder

'(Wurrakak) got sick of carrying it (his large penis) on his shoulder.' [KS 16]

- 10.270 *Ka-karrme marlakka ka-welh-welme kore ku-kom ngalengarre.*

W 3-haveNP bag 3-ITER-hang LOC LOC-neck her

'She has a bag hanging from her neck.' [KS 82]

<sup>28</sup> The location/instrument body-part noun root *djol* 'pouch' in *djolkan* 'carry in pouch' is an instance of noun-verb compounding, and there is no agnate construction in which *djol* is external. See §8.2.1.1.

## 10.4.2.2 Body-part incorporation and 'possessor raising'

Accounts of body-part incorporation often make use of the term 'possessor raising', defined by Mithun (1995:642) as a construction in which 'the possessor of an entity seems to assume the grammatical role of that entity'. In this section I assess the suitability of this account for body-part incorporation in Bininj Gun-wok.

If the term 'possessor raising' is taken to mean simply that the 'whole' (or 'possessor') is coded as an argument equivalent to that representing the 'part' (or 'possessed') term in English, the term is quite appropriate. In each of 10.271–10.273 the 'possessor', represented as an adnominal in English, is represented as a pronominal argument on the verb, sometimes supplemented by external nouns (10.273).

10.271 *A-mim-warremi-nj.*

1-eye-go.bad-PP

'My eyesight has gone.' (lit. I went bad in the eyes.)

10.272 *Wanjh bi-mim-delkkeng nud-no, and njamed djirndih*

Dnj then 3/3hP-eye-spatterPP pus-3POSSD whatsit quail

*bi-keb-delkkeng and lumbuk konda kabarri-keb-malkme*

3/3hP-face-spatterPP fruit.dove here 3a-nose-be.markedNP

*nudno bi-keb-delkkeng namekke wirriwirriyak*

pus.3POSSD 3/3hP-face-spatter-PP MA:DEM cuckoo.shrike

*ka-keb-malkme, denge-nud-no.*

3-face-be.markedNP foot-pus-his

'Then his pus spattered in his eye, and spattered whatsisname's face, quail's, and fruit doves have their face marked here, where the pus spattered his face, his face is marked with the pus from his foot, from that black-faced cuckoo-shrike.'

10.273 *Aban-berd-yi-na-ng anabbarru, barri-berd-garm-i.*

Dj 1/3pl-tail-COM-see-PP buffalo 3a/3-tail-hold-PI

'I saw them with the buffalo's tail (lit. I saw them with the buffalo at its tail), they were holding it by the tail.'

However, when the term 'possessor raising' is given the further analytical implication that body-part incorporation is a formal index of possessor raising, which is conceived of as a process of syntactic derivation rather than simply a descriptive label about semantic interpretation, this becomes inappropriate, since for Bininj Gun-wok the same syntactic argument structure should be postulated for a clause whether or not the body part is incorporated. This raises the question of what that structure is. I shall suggest that the most suitable analysis is one in which part and whole are syntactically in apposition, with 'head' like properties shared between the part and the whole, and that this analysis is appropriate whether or not the part is incorporated.

The first question, of whether body-part incorporation constitutes a formal index of possessor raising, is best approached by beginning with another construction in which there is a clear formal index of a possessor being raised to argument status: the use of the benefactive applicative to promote possessors to argument status (§10.3.1), exemplified in 10.274, 10.275. In 10.274 the possessor is shown by the possessive pronoun *ngarduk* 'my'; the verb

*melme-* 'touch with foot, kick' is transitive, and its object is 'child'. In 10.275 the benefactive prefix *marne-* promotes the possessor to indirect object status, as shown by its representation in the pronominal prefix slot.

- 10.274 *Bi-yau-melme-ng* *ngarduk na-beiwurd.*  
 3/3hP-child-touch.with.foot-PP my I-child  
 'He kicked my child.'
- 10.275 *Ngan-marne-yau-melme-ng na-beiwurd. (\*Ngan-yau-melme-ng.)*  
 3/1-BEN-child-touch.with.foot-PP I-child  
 'He kicked my child, he kicked the child on me.'

Here, then, there is evidence that the argument structure of the clause has been changed, since different arguments get represented in the pronominal prefix slots. And there is a formal exponent of the change, in the form of the applicative *marne-*. Finally, there are two alternative constructions available, a 'possessor-raised' construction (§10.3.1.2), and an unraised construction in which the possessor is represented by an adnominal, not an argument. These three considerations justify treating 'possessor raising' as a productive rule with clear syntactic ramifications.

If we now turn to the relevant body-part constructions, we find that none of the above three observations hold. Firstly, the argument structure of the clause, as shown by the choice of pronominal prefixes, is the same regardless of whether or not the body part is incorporated (10.276, 10.277), at least where the body part is in object relation. Body-part incorporation, therefore, cannot be claimed to be a formal index of possessor raising. This contrasts with the situation in Mohawk, for example (Mithun 1995), where nominal incorporation can signal possessor raising both of body parts and of other possessed items, subject to the semantic condition that the possessor must be the primary affected participant of the clause (as with 'he car-stole me' for 'he stole my car').<sup>29</sup>

- 10.276 *Ngan-melme-ng an-gorn.*  
 Dj 3/1-crotch-touch.with.foot-PP III-crotch  
 'He felt my crotch with his foot.'
- 10.277 *Ngan-gorn-melme-ng. (\*Ngan-marne-gorn-melmeng.<sup>30</sup>)*  
 3/1-crotch-touch.with.foot-PP  
 'He felt my crotch with his foot.'

Secondly, the formal index *marne-*, found with other types of possessor raising, is not found in the case of body-part incorporation. Thirdly, there is no corresponding construction in which the whole is encoded as an adnominal possessor NP.<sup>31</sup> There is thus no motivation for postulating possessor-raising as an optional, formally registered rule with effects on argument structure.

<sup>29</sup> Closer to home, Rembarnga appears to use nominal incorporation with a possessor-raising meaning, to judge by such examples as *nga-djenj-djunghminj* I-fish-fell for 'my fish fell' and *nga-njarra-bolhminj* I-father-arrived for 'my father arrived' (McKay 1975:304–305).

<sup>30</sup> *Nganmarnegornmelmeng* is not ungrammatical, however; it could mean 'he touched (her) crotch with his foot' with the implication that 'her' refers to a close female relation (e.g. wife, sister) whose interests coincide with the speaker's. See §10.3.1.2 for this construction.

<sup>31</sup> It is possible to treat the part as an independent argument when stressing perceptual separation (see §10.4.2.5) but in this case the possessor is not overtly represented.

An alternative account of body-part syntax here is to see part nouns (whether incorporated or not) as syntactically in apposition to their wholes. This analysis has been proposed for a number of dependent-marking Australian languages in which part nominals agree in case with, but are separate constituents from, their wholes (e.g. Warlpiri (Hale 1981) and Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1982)). It has also been proposed for another Gunwinyguan language, Ngalakan (Merlan 1983), and for Nunggubuyu by Heath, who uses the term 'part-for-whole grammatical identity' (1984:472).

On this latter analysis, then, part nominals and whole nominals are syntactically in apposition, regardless of whether or not one is incorporated, and both are linked to the same argument position of the verb. It is possible to incorporate one of the apposed pair, for discourse purposes, but this does not alter the basic appositional argument structure. One advantage of this analysis is that it accounts for the syntactic constraints on body-part incorporation automatically: we already need a set of interpretation rules specifying which argument incorporates for generics, and by applying these to all apposed nominals linked to the same argument position, we account for constraints on body-part incorporation as well. Another advantage is that it accounts for certain parallelisms between the incorporation of body parts, of generics, and of secondary predicates: in dependent-marking Australian languages, there is a widespread tendency to syntactically appose all three types by the mechanism of case-agreement. The fact that all three types allow incorporation in Mayali is a significant parallel, that could be captured by saying that noun incorporation has the general characteristic of picking out one of two apposed nominals.

The apposition analysis, with its implication that information is spread over the two apposed elements, is also well-placed to account for certain splits in head-like semantic properties between the part and the whole. Apposition-based analysis of part-whole constructions in dependent-marking languages that have attempted to identify one or other element as head have generally concluded that some head-like properties are associated with the part, some with the whole (see, for example Hale (1981) on Warlpiri, Evans (1995c) on Kayardild). For example, number marking in argument positions indexes the number of the whole, not the part, as shown by 10.278. (On the other hand, semantic entailments about which entity the predicate holds apply sometimes only to the part, sometimes only to the whole: 10.271 entails only that the eyes, not the whole person, became big, and 10.264 only that the tongue, not the whole person, emerged.)

10.278 *Abanmani-bid-garrme-ng daluk.*

Dj 1/3du-hand-grasp-PP woman  
 'I grabbed the two women by their hands.'  
 \* 'I grabbed the woman by her two hands.'

In all the examples so far the predicate holds only of the part, not of the whole, and this is the usual situation, but in 10.279 'being afraid' is predicated of the whole, not the part (here 'the hand'), and in 10.280 the predicate 'ascending' holds of both (although only the back may actually be sticking out of the water).

10.279 *Nga-melme-ng bigibigi gun-denge-be, nga-bid-gelem-inj.*

1/3-touch.with.foot-PP pig IV-foot-ABL 1-hand-fear-PP  
 'I touched the pig with my foot, I was afraid for my hand ("I bin fright my hand").'

- 10.280 *Ginga ba-bodme-waihme-ng.*  
crocodile 3P-back-ascend-PP  
'The croc's back has floated up.'

Given these complexities, it seems unlikely that the scope of the predicate could be decided at the level of syntax. Rather, detailed knowledge of the global semantics, in combination with real-world knowledge (e.g. that tongues can stick out without their possessor moving, but that crocodile's backs cannot float up without the whole crocodile floating up as well) is probably used to reconstruct the scope of the predicate, starting from the general premise of body-part involvement. As McGregor (1985:210.11) has put it: "the body part specifies the EXTENT or LOCUS of the participant's involvement in the action. That is, it specifies that part of the individual which is most directly and intimately involved in the action. And secondly, it expresses the fact that it is usually whole individuals rather than their body parts that are involved in the 'direction' of actions or processes." By simply specifying which is the whole and which the part, and linking them to the same entity, while leaving open the question of whether the predicate has scope over whole only, part only or both, the apposition analysis builds in about the right amount of syntactically specified semantics.

Before concluding this section, it is worth noting three deviations from the typical body-part construction as described above.

Firstly, in rare cases what we have been calling the 'part' remains external, while the 'whole' incorporates, reversing the usual pattern.<sup>32</sup> Thus in 10.281, which ties up the tortoise and echidna myth by pointing to the hyoid bone inside the tortoise, said to be a modern-day remnant of the spirit of echidna's child (which tortoise had eaten), *malng* 'spirit' is external while *yaw* 'child' incorporates.

- 10.281 *Malng kondah ga-yaw-rdi.*  
MM spirit here 3-child-standNP  
'The child's spirit is here.'

What is unusual here is that the usual emphasis has been reversed: from the usual situation, where the spirit is a part of the child, to the salient and unusual situation here, in which the hyoid 'child' has become a manifestation of the child's spirit. The fact that this could be paraphrased with *yaw* as a secondary predicate, as 'its spirit is here, in the form of this "child"', not only emphasises the connection between part-whole constructions and secondary predicates, but opens up the possibility that we could have even more underspecification, with the construction merely pairing part and whole without stipulating which is which.<sup>33</sup>

Secondly, there are many cases where the body part is no longer presented in relation to a whole, but has become separated from its possessor and is treated as an argument in its own right, but still incorporates. One example is 10.282, and further will be given below.

<sup>32</sup> Recall also from our discussion on the 'part-noun' nominal construction (§5.5.2.5) that, in the case of bees and their hives, the usual pattern of marking product with the third person possessed suffix is reversed, so that one says *diwarra nabarnng bodno* ['diwarra-honey cheeky (is) bee-its] with the bee encoded as the part.

<sup>33</sup> For example, this could be done by saying that 'body part' nouns can occur in the part slot, without requiring that they always be given a part interpretation when they occur there. This would allow for a more natural treatment of cases where part nouns are functioning as separate arguments; see examples below.



- 10.282 *Gunekke ga-h-gurlh-yo ganjdji.*  
 Dj there 3-IMM-vomit-lieNP below  
 'The vomit lies there underneath.'

Thirdly, in constructions describing situations where the subject deliberately moves, transforms or shows their body part, this is encoded as a separate argument, without the need for reflexivisation, as in I *kodjkurluborledke* 'change one's mind (*kodjkurlu*)', with *kodjkurlu* as the object of the transitive verb *borledke* 'change' and *kukborledke* 'change one's form (my sorcery)' (*kuk* 'body'), as well as 'he showed me *the sore on his calf*' in 8.45.

#### 10.4.2.3 The semantic range of incorporated body part nominals

Although I have been using the general term 'body-part incorporation' in deference to descriptive tradition, body parts are only a subset, perhaps the prototypical subset, of nominals incorporable in this construction.

Some clearcut examples of body parts proper being incorporated have already been given; further examples are 10.283 and 10.284. The construction is not limited to parts of animates, but extends to parts of trees and plants (10.298; also Text 6.50), beehives (10.304), and even of rocks (8.44):

- 10.283 *A-yidme-baba-ng.*  
 Dj 1-tooth-hurt-NP  
 'My tooth aches.'
- 10.284 *A-berd-bakke-ng duruk.*  
 Dj 1/3-tail-break-PP dog  
 'I broke the dog's tail.'

If the verb is intransitive, the incorporated part will be interpreted as executing the action (6.30), undergoing it (10.284), or being the focus of it (10.283). If the verb is transitive or ditransitive, the incorporated part will be interpreted as the part of the object upon which the action is focussed. This semantic range parallels that found in body-part constructions in non-incorporating Australian languages like Warlpiri (Hale 1981) and Gooniyandi (McGregor 1985). All of the specific meanings just mentioned are essentially sub-senses of a more general meaning of 'body-part involvement', as discussed above.

However, the semantic range of this construction is wider than what one would normally understand by 'body parts', or even by 'part-whole' constructions. To begin with, it includes 'replaceable' body parts like hair (10.285), and spirits (10.286), contents (10.287) and corpses (10.288); in both these cases action involving the part simultaneously involves action on the possessor or whole as with the canonical body-part incorporations already discussed.

- 10.285 *Ngabor nang ba-wam barri-ngabed-marnb-om,*  
 Dj my.daughter 3P-goPP 3a/3P-hair-make-PP  
*ngandi-marne-ngabed-marnb-om.*  
 3a/1-BEN-hair-make-PP  
 'My daughter went (to the salon) so they would do up her hair, and they did up her hair for me.'

- 10.286 *Na-morrorddo gabi-waral-ma-ng gabi-waral-yi-rrolga-n.*  
 Dj I-shooting.star 3/3h-spirit-take-NP 3/3h-spirit-COM-go.up-NP  
 'The shooting star (believed to be an agent of death) takes his spirit, and goes up into the sky with his spirit.'
- 10.287 *Djabbilarna ba-bo-warrkme-ng.*  
 Dj billycan 3P-liquid-drop-PP  
 'The billycan of water dropped.'
- 10.288 *Gabarri-guk-gurrm-e.*  
 Dj 3a/3-body-put-NP  
 'They are putting his body (onto the burial platform).'

But there is a second set of incorporable part nominals for which appearance in this type of construction does not entail any effects upon the whole. This set includes nouns of 'personal representation' (Chappell & McGregor 1995), such as speech (10.289), names (10.290) and tracks (10.291); 'products' such as nests (10.292) and eggs (10.293), and residues such as bones (10.294).

- 10.289 *Aban-wok-bekka-n.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-speech-hear-NP  
 'I hear their speech (on a tape recorder).'
- 10.290 *David ga-ngei-burrbu-n.*  
 Dj 3/3-name-know-NP  
 'David will know its name.'
- 10.291 *Gorlobbarr ga-berd-bok+yo-ø.*  
 Dj antelopeine.wallaroo 3-tail-track+lie-NP  
 'An antelopeine wallaroo's tail-track is there.'
- 10.292 *Na-wurkkbil ga-yed-yo-ø.*  
 Dj I-eagle 3-nest-lie-NP  
 'There is an eagle's nest.'
- 10.293 *Gumugen ga-rrabu-yo-ø.*  
 Dj freshwater.crocodile 3-egg-lie-NP  
 'Freshwater crocodile eggs are there.'
- 10.294 *Gubehne guluban ba-murrung-do-i.*  
 Dj here flying.fox 3/3P-bone-crush-PP  
 'Someone crushed up the bones of a flying fox here.'

Is it possible to give a unified semantic characterisation to this set? Clearly the term 'body part' is too narrow, as it would fail to include, for example, nests, tracks or names. Nor is inseparability a requirement — the bones in 10.294, for example, have long been separated from their one-time 'possessor'. (We shall see below that there is a way of encoding separation, independently of incorporation.) There is no requirement of 'unity of action' — in 10.292 the eagle is not lying 'with' the nest; in 10.293 the crocodile that has laid the eggs is not present, etc. On the other hand, the term 'inalienable' is too strong: such 'inalienables' as core kin, and country, cannot be incorporated in this construction type.

What is important here is that one item is seen as a 'clue' to the existence of the other. The incorporated noun is an 'index' of the whole, in the sense of Peirce (1940:104–110) or an 'indexical', in the sense of Lyons (1977:106) who takes as 'criterial for the application of

the term indexical that there will be some known or assumed connexion between a sign A, and its significatum C such that the occurrence of A can be held to imply the presence or existence of C'. In other words, the incorporated part noun, although it may in fact be separated physically from its 'possessor' at the time of the reported action, would nevertheless not exist unless its possessor exists or existed.

#### 10.4.2.4 The special use of incorporated *kuk*- 'body'

While on the subject of generic vs body-part nouns, it is worth discussing the several semantic interpretations available to this noun when incorporated. Firstly, there is the important fixed expression *ka-kuk-yo* [3-body-lieNP] which means 'it lies dead'. Secondly, in narratives that make a crucial transition from life to death, *kuk*- will be used for the dead body; in hunting stories this often means that incorporated *kuk*- represents killed animals. For example, in a hunting story in Carroll's Kunwinjku corpus (1995:355), the initial section proceeds as 'he saw it then standing still; then it saw him standing still; it just came closer looking for food; he stalked it he saw it standing still ... bull's eye he speared it'. In this entire pre-kill section there is no incorporation; *kuk*- first appears incorporated into the verb *mankang* 'fall', as *kukmankang* 'it fell dead'. Subsequently the narrative describes the hunter doing various things to the dead kangaroo, constantly represented by incorporated *kuk*-:

- 10.295     $\emptyset$ -Bal-wa-m     $\emptyset$ -kuk-bardme-y,     $\emptyset$ -kuk-ngorrme-y,  
 W        3P-along-go-PP    3/3LP-body-get.by.legs-PP    3/3LP-body-heave.on.shoulders-PP  
            $\emptyset$ -komba-kom-badj-i     $\emptyset$ -bal-kuk-ngorrka-ng.  
           3/3LP-ITER-neck-break-PP    3/3P-along-body-carry.on.shoulder-PP  
           'He just went and got it by the legs, he put the body on his shoulder, he broke its  
           neck with a stick, he put the body on his shoulder.' [OP 355]

The narrative continues for another dozen or so lines, all the time tracking 'dead kangaroo' with incorporated *kuk*-.

More generally, *kuk*- is sometimes used as a sort of dummy generic to make up for the lack of a generic for adult humans or other animates. With trivalent verbs in which a human third argument is out-ranked for the second pronominal slot (e.g. 10.296), it is frequently cross-referenced on the verb by incorporated *kuk*- which is here leached of its body-part meaning.

- 10.296    *Abanmani-guk-wo-ng al-beiwurd.*  
 Dj        1/3du-body-give-PP    II-daughter  
           'He gave his daughter to them two.'

#### 10.4.2.5 Encoding cognitive separation of body parts

As mentioned above, physical separation of the body part from the corresponding whole does not prevent the noun referring to it from being incorporated. However, there is a construction which allows cognitive separation to be shown by representing them as separate arguments of the verb, and encoding their number in the relevant pronominal prefix position.

In the overwhelming majority of body-part constructions, including all examples given so far, the pronominal prefix positions on the verb represent the person and number of the

whole, not the part. Thus in 10.297 the subject prefix is singular since the man is singular; the fact that two eyes are affected is not overtly represented, and the unit-augmented (here equivalent to dual) prefix *bani-* is unacceptable. In 10.298 the prefix *ga-* represents the singularity of the tree, not the plurality of its pods.

10.297 *Ba-(\*bani-)mim-barnibarnimi-nj.*  
Dj 3P(\*3uaP)-eye-droop-PP  
'His (the drunk man's) eyes drooped.'

10.298 *Ga(\*gabbarri)-mim-barndi-ø.*  
Dj 3(\*3a)-seed.pod-be.high-NP  
'The tree's seed pods are hanging up high.'

However, I have a small set of examples in which body parts themselves are cross-referenced for number, instead of their possessors, and, in those cases where it would differ, for person (see 10.307):

10.299 *Barri-bok-barrkme-ng.*  
Dj 3aP-track/footprint-break-PP  
'The tracks are broken/cracked.' ('Footprint they bin bust.')

The key semantic factor here is separation, a fact to which I was first alerted by Toby Gangele when he pointed out that the above sentence would be appropriate in the context of tracks set in concrete. These are sufficiently separated and 'distinct' to govern their own number agreement. Incorporated *bok-* here is best analysed as the incorporated intransitive subject itself, rather than 'part' of a subject.

Although in the case of 10.299 the separation is physical, this need not always be the case. The complexities of treating separability are well illustrated in the following fictitious dialogue between dentist (D) and patient (P), written by Judith Alderson:

- 10.300 a. *Yi-m-ra-i yi-yerrga, ø-yidme-na-n.*  
Dj 2-hither-go-IMP 2-sitIMP 1/2-tooth-look-NP
- b. *Yi-rrang-barrme-n, gan-bukka aye-ga yi-baba-ng.*  
2-mouth-open-IMP 2/1-show(IMP) where-LOC 2-hurt-NP  
Dentist: Come and sit down. I'll look at your teeth. Open your mouth, and show me where it hurts.
- c. *Nahni bogen yerre.*  
MA:DEM two behind  
Patient: These two behind.
- d. *Bani-yidme-nudmi-nj, ø-yidme-durrkma-ng.*  
3uaP-tooth-go.rotten-PP 1/2-tooth-pull-NP  
Dentist: The two teeth are rotten, I'll pull your teeth out.
- e. *Wau! Warddau!*  
Ouch! Yow!
- f. *Okko ø-yidme-durrkme-i. Ma, yi-yidme-na-rre-men!*  
already 1/2-tooth-pull-PP well 2-tooth-look-RR-IMP  
Dentist: I've already pulled your teeth out. Well, take a look at your own teeth!

- g. *Wou, bani-nudmi-nj.*  
 yes 3uaP-go.rotten-PP  
 Patient: Yeah, they've gone rotten all right.
- h. *Bani-yidme-guyeng-gen yiman dalkgen.*  
 3ua-tooth-long-GEN like dingo  
 Dentist: They're long teeth, like a dingo's.
- i. *Ma, abanmani-yidme-ga-n, aban-yidme-bukka-n.*  
 well 1/3du-tooth-take-NP 1/3pl-tooth-show-NP  
 Patient: Well, I'll take the two teeth and show them to everyone.
- j. *Nja, bobo.*  
 here.you.are see.you.later  
 Dentist: Here you are, and see you later.

As this dialogue shows, it is too simplistic to equate number-cross-referencing with physical separation. It is true that the 'intact' teeth in a. and the second verb in d. are not cross-referenced for number, and that the extracted teeth in g., h. and i. are cross-referenced with the unit.augmented (two) prefix. However, in the first verb of d. the still-attached teeth trigger number- marking, and in f. the extracted teeth do not trigger number marking. Furthermore, 'tooth' and 'you' must be viewed as part of the same entity in f. to account for the use of the reflexive. The crucial difference, it would appear, is not physical separation but cognitive separation: Are the teeth being focussed on as separate entities, or as part of something else?

#### 10.4.2.6 Functions of body-part incorporation

As Mithun (1986) has remarked, in incorporating languages there is considerable variation across construction types in whether incorporated or external nominals are the unmarked choice. With body-part nominals in Bininj Gun-wok, incorporation is clearly the unmarked choice whenever this is grammatically sanctioned,<sup>34</sup> and is obligatory in the case of intransitive verbs.

Intransitive verbs with incorporated body parts fall into two types semantically.

In the first the predicate expressed by the verb stem is true of the body part but not necessarily of the whole. Examples already given are 'I-hand-feared' for 'I was afraid for my hand' (10.279), 'it-back-ascended' for 'its back floated up' (10.280), 'he/her-BEN-eye-became.big' for 'his eyes became big for' (10.271), 'she-tongue-emerged' for 'she stuck out her tongue' (10.264), 'he-eyes-drooped' for 'his eyes drooped' (10.297); further examples are 'we-head-be.immersed.in.water' for 'we wet our heads' (10.301), 'it-face-be.marked' for 'its face is marked' (10.302) and 'I-spirit-disappeared' for 'my spirit has disappeared' (10.303). In all examples in the corpus with this constructional meaning, the body part is incorporated; sentences like *bimarnegimukminj gunmim*, the unincorporated equivalent of 10.271, simply do not exist. This may be because it is only by incorporating the body part

<sup>34</sup> Obviously there are also cases, such as body parts of transitive subjects, which do not allow incorporation for grammatical reasons; since non-incorporation in such cases is obligatory this is irrelevant to the present discussion.

noun that the limitation of the predicate's applicability to the body-part, rather than the subject as a whole, is made clear.<sup>35</sup>

- 10.301 *Gonhdagi Wirrirri arri-dadjge-yiii, ngarri-yo-i, ngarri-godj-djuhm-i,*  
Dnj here [place] 1a/3-cut-PI 1a-sleep-PP 1a-head-bathe-PI

*ngarri-yo-i.*

1a-lie-PI

'Over here at Wirrirri we'd cut (bamboo) for a long time, then lie and have a rest, we'd wet our heads (to cool down) and have a rest.'

- 10.302 *Na-mekke wirriwirriyak ka-keb-malkme, denge-nud-no.*

Dnj MA-DEM cuckoo.shrike 3-face-be.markedNP foot-pus-his  
'His face is marked with the pus from his foot, from that black-faced cuckoo-shrike.'

- 10.303 *Nga-djal-malng-yakm-inj my ghost disappeared.*

Dj 1-just-spirit-become.nothing-PP

'My spirit has just disappeared altogether.'

The second constructional meaning found with body parts incorporated into intransitive verbs is the presentative or existential interpretation (10.304, 10.305), in which the presented entity is incorporated into a stance verb. (For a negated example see 13.94.) This construction is shared with incorporated generics (§10.4.3), but with generics, incorporation is not obligatory, perhaps because of the lexical restriction that only some nouns can incorporate. Note, though, that existentials with body-part subjects also allow a special construction (§13.3.5.4) in which, in the non-past at least, the body part takes regular pronominal prefixation, but without an incorporating verb being present.

- 10.304 *Ga-geb-di.*

Dj 3-nose-stand

'There is a nose!' (i.e. there is an entrance to a native bee hive)  
(Chaloupka & Alderson n.d.)

- 10.305 *Ka-ngey-di.*

I 3-name-stand

'There is a name there.' (e.g. written down on a list, or on a T-shirt)

Body-part nouns incorporated in object function, by contrast, allow agnation with non-incorporated versions, with the choice controlled by discourse factors. Incorporation is by far the commonest choice whenever the correct grammatical relations obtain between the possessed noun and the verb. This may partly reflect the unnaturalness of focussing on the effects of the action on the parts rather than on their possessors.<sup>36</sup> However, since body parts in Bininj Gun-wok incorporate even when the part is cognitively separate, this cannot be the whole explanation. More important is the fact that incorporated nominals tend in general to be backgrounded with respect to other material (Mithun 1984a). In all examples where

<sup>35</sup> This would explain the conundrum, pointed out by Ken Hale (pers. comm.), that one can say *wurdyaw dangbarmeng* (with incorporated body part and external generic) for 'the child opened its mouth', but not *\*kundang yawbarmeng*, with external body part and incorporated generic.

<sup>36</sup> See Mithun's discussion (1984a:858) of why unincorporated body parts in Blackfoot appear only marginally grammatical, since they imply "that the effect of my action on the back is more important than its effect on the man".

body parts do not incorporate, there is clear evidence that, for one reason or another, they are being foregrounded. This may result from conjunction, contrast or their emergence as a distinct discourse participant in their own right.

An example of non-incorporation under conjunction, which has the effect of focussing on successive attributes of individual body parts, is the following:

- 10.306 *Barri-marnbom rouk, barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng, gun-berd, gun-dad,*  
 Dj 3a/3P-prepare:PP all 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP IV-tail IV-thigh  
*njanjuk namegebu barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng.*  
 anything all.that 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP  
 'They prepared it (the kangaroo), they each took their share, some part of the  
 tail, some a thigh, they each took something like that.'

In the above case it could be argued that the non-incorporation of conjuncts represents a grammatical rather than a discourse fact, since no language to my knowledge has been reported as allowing the incorporation of conjuncts. But in the next example, which directly follows from it in the original text, non-incorporation is not grammatically forced, since the word *barrumeyiwarlkgarrinj* 'he hid himself away with the backbone' is perfectly grammatical. Here non-incorporation has a clear discourse motivation — the weakly contrastive emphasis suggested in English by 'quail hid himself away with the *backbone*'.

- 10.307 *Na-gudji djirndih gun-dume ba-yi-warlkgarr-inj.*  
 Dj MA-one quail IV-backbone 3P-COM-hide-RR-PP  
 'One bird, quail, hid himself away with the backbone.'

Another example of non-incorporation of a body part due to discourse contrast comes from the following textlet, where the speaker is describing his prowess at catching magpie geese with a throwing-stick, and enumerates a number of different 'shots', each hitting a different goose on a different body part. Note that in the final example (for reasons that are unclear) the body part is doubled, appearing in both external and incorporated positions.

- 10.308 *Bamurru ba-m-re-i, an-barnba nga-rrelmi gun-berl a-bakke-yi,*  
 Dj goose 3P-hither-go-PI III-goose.stick 1/3-throwPI IV-wing 1/3-break-PI  
*yiga gun-gom a-bu-ni, yiga gun-geb a-geb-badjdji-ni.*  
 some IV-neck 1/3-hit-PI some IV-beak 1/3-beak-smash-PI  
 'A magpie goose would come up, and I'd throw a goose stick. I might break its  
 wing, or I'd hit it in the neck, or I'd smash its beak.'

Non-incorporation may also signal the emergence of a body part as a discourse participant in its own right, as illustrated by a passage in Text 1, which deals with the origin of the birds. The episode in lines 14–21, excerpted here as 10.309, involves *wirriwirriyak* the black-faced cuckoo shrike, who is unable to hunt due to his sore foot, and the other birds, in particular *ragul* the red-eyed pigeon, who undertake to cure him by lancing the pus out of his foot.

- 10.309 a. *Gun-dulk barri-mey, barri-nud-gorrhge-ng.*  
 IV-stick 3a/3P-getPP 3a/3P-pus-burst-PP  
 'They picked up a stick, and they burst his pus out.'

- b. *njamed na-wu, ragul,*  
 whatchamacallit MA-that red.eyed.pigeon  
 'That whatchamacallit, the red-eyed pigeon,
- c. *Nungga gun-dulk ba-me-i.*  
 he IV-stick 3/3P-get-PP  
 'he picked up a stick.
- d. "Aye, *a-nud-gorrhge*" *ba-yime-ng.*  
 me 1/3-pus-burstNP 3P-say-PP  
 "Me, I'll burst the pus out", he said.
- e. *Bi-mok-garu-i, bi-nud-gorrhge-ng.*  
 3/3hP-sore-dig-PP 3/3hP-pus-burst-PP  
 'He dug in his sore and burst his pus out.
- f. *Gun-nud ba-rrolga-ng an-ege.*  
 IV-pus 3P-arise-PP VE-that  
 'All the pus rushed out.
- g. *Gurlba gun-nud bi-rrelkge-ng rouk, ragul.*  
 blood IV-pus 3/3hP-spatter-PP all red.eyed.pigeon  
 'Blood and pus splattered him all over, the red-eyed pigeon.'

In the first few lines, disposing of the pus is being viewed as an action carried out for the benefit of *wirriwirriyak*, and it remains in the unmarked incorporated position. But by line f. the pus emerges (literally) as an independent participant, splattering over *ragul*'s face and hence accounting mythologically for his 'red eyes'; at this point it becomes an external argument. Although in this case non-incorporation coincides with physical separation, we have seen already that physically and conceptually separate parts may still incorporate and conversely that non-incorporation may take place even when the part is not separate. It seems unlikely, then, that it is simply the physical separation of the pus which is responsible for non-incorporation here. An additional factor favouring non-incorporation, in line g., is its conjunction with another body-part nominal, *gurlba* 'blood'.

In summary, then, non-incorporation of eligible body-part nominals construed with the object signals discourse salience due to various factors: conjunction, contrast and independent interest as a discourse participant. Note that although physical or cognitive separation may on occasion go together with discourse salience (as in f., g.) the two factors are in principle independent, and have different formal realisations: discourse salience is shown by non-incorporation; cognitive separation by encoding as a distinct argument and control of person and number marking by the body part.

### 10.4.3 Incorporation of generic nouns

We now pass to incorporation of generic nouns. Recall that, unlike with body parts, the incorporation of generic nouns is not productive: only around forty generic nouns can incorporate (listed in §8.1.3.4), while a few other human nouns can only incorporate into three-place verbs. This means that incorporated constructions inevitably only occur with certain lexical items as objects.

This section falls into three parts. First we look at the question of which grammatical relations can be contracted between the incorporated nominal and the verb. We then examine



the special behaviour of one incorporated noun, *yaw* 'child, baby', which is aberrant in the grammatical relations it contracts. Finally we look at the discourse and semantic effects of the choice between incorporated and external constructions.

#### 10.4.3.1 Generic incorporation and grammatical relations

In this section I survey the full range of grammatical relations sanctioning incorporation. Since we have already shown that generic and body-part incorporated nominals behave in a similar way with respect to their grammatical relations once part-for-whole grammatical identity has been allowed for, in what follows I shall give examples of each type, with 'G' for generic and 'BP' for body part.

We have already seen that the basic pattern, as is widespread cross-linguistically, is for absolutes to be incorporated: objects (as in 10.242b) and intransitive subjects (as in 10.243).

Since it has sometimes been claimed that intransitive subject incorporation is restricted to 'unaccusative verbs', it is worth stating here that no such restriction applies in Bininj Gunwok — such typically 'unergative', volitional verbs as 'crawl', 'get up' and 'wave' can incorporate their subjects (10.310–10.312) or body parts thereof (10.313).

10.310 *Ga-yau-dolga-n.*

Dj 3-baby-get.up-NP

'The baby (kangaroo) gets out of its pouch.' (G)

10.311 *Ga-bod-ngih-ngime-n, ga-bod-ngime-n, ga-ngih-ngime-n bod-no,*

MM 3-bee-INCEP-enter-NP 3-bee-enter-NP 3-INCEP-enter-NP bee-3POSSD

*man-gung.*

III-honey

'The bee starts to go in (by the entrance to the hive), the bee goes in to the honey.' (G)

10.312 *Ga-yau-wage-n.*

Dj 3-baby-crawl-NP

'The baby is crawling.' (G)

10.313 *Ga-bid-waida-n.*

Dj 3-hand-wave-NP

'He is waving (with) his hand.' (BP)

Intransitive verbs with an added benefactive argument behave like simple intransitives for purposes of incorporation (10.314; see also the examples with incorporated body parts in 10.263, 10.264):

10.314 *Ngan-marne-ganj-warreminj.*

3/1-BEN-meat-go.badPP

'The meat went bad on me.' (G)

On the other hand, underlying intransitive verbs with an object added by the comitative applicative behave like transitives, incorporating the derived comitative object:

10.315 *A-madj-yi-rrurnde-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3-swap-COM-return-NP  
 'I take the swap back.'

10.316 *Ba-guk-yi-golu-i gunj ba-guk-yi-lobm-i.*  
 Dj 3/3l-body-COM-descend-PP kangaroo 3/3-body-COM-run-PP  
 'He took the kangaroo's body down and ran along with it.'

Two more relations to the verb allow incorporation in a much more restricted way. Firstly, locatives denoting 'base' locations allow incorporation into verbs of stance and waiting in Manyallaluk Mayali:

10.317 a. *Ga-mele-di.* b. *Ga-ni mele-gah.*  
 MM 3-blanket-standNP 3-sitNP blanket-LOC  
 '(S)he is on the blanket.' '(S)he is on the blanket.'

10.318 *Ga-mitj-yo.*  
 MM 3-burrow-lieNP  
 '(The goanna) stays in his burrow.'

10.319 *Datbe gabi-watda-marnbu-n.*  
 MM deaf.adder 3/3h-camp-wait-NP  
 'The deaf adder waits for him at his camp.'

Locative incorporation of this type is even more limited in the other dialects. In all dialects it is possible in the single collocation *yed-di/red-di* 'be in camp, be at home', which agnates with a construction in which 'camp' is an external locative *kured*. There are also very limited possibilities for incorporating locations into stance verbs after marking them with the genitive suffix for example 10.320. Some further, and more lexicalised, examples are given in §11.5.8.

10.320 *Ka-rurk-ken-di.*  
 I 3-hollow-GEN-standNP  
 'He's inside (e.g. in jail).'

Secondly, the verb *dowen* 'die' can incorporate nominals denoting a goal, with the meaning 'be dying for/of':

10.321 *Ba-kukku-dowe-ni.*  
 MM 3P-water-die-PI  
 'They were dying of thirst.' (Notice the unusual appearance of *kukku* as an incorporated form here; normally the suppletive root *bo-* or *kolk-* is used.)

10.322 *Nga-ronj-dowe-ng.*  
 E:D 1-liquid-die-PP  
 'I was dying for a drink.'

CAN TRANSITIVE SUBJECTS INCORPORATE? An apparently robust generalisation cross-linguistically is that transitive subjects can never incorporate. We have already seen (§10.4.2.1) that body parts incorporated into transitive verbs will generally be construed with the object, not the transitive subject. There are two construction types, however, which are equivocal on this point.

Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku each have a single transitive verb which, when used in a particular sense, means 'hurt (tr.)' and appears to incorporate as its transitive subject the

bodily source of pain.<sup>37</sup> The verbs are Dj *gan* 'take, carry' (13.159, 13.160), and W *kadjung* 'chase':

- 10.323 *Ngan-yidme-kadju-ng.*  
 W 3/1-tooth-chase-NP  
 'My tooth is hurting me.' [PC 75]

This is not, however, an unequivocal case of transitive subject incorporation, since an alternative explanation is that it is an 'impersonal' construction (§13.4.5) with a null subject, and the body part is actually construed with the object (i.e. 'it is chasing/carrying me on the tooth'). Without ergative marking to clarify the role of the external NP we cannot tell.

A similar example is the collocation *djare-bun* [desire-hit], as in 10.324. Is *√djare* 'desire' here to be construed as an incorporated transitive subject (i.e. 'desire struck her') or as an incorporated object in an impersonal type construction (i.e. 'it struck her desire, for *burda* grass')?<sup>38</sup> Again we lack decisive tests.

- 10.324 *Njamed-kenh kun-djare burda bi-djare-bom.*  
 Dnj whatsit-GEN IV-desire [grass.sp.] 3/3hP-desire-strikePP  
 'A desire for whatsit, for *burda* grass seized her.'

Another class of constructions that may suggest transitive-subject incorporation is exemplified by the verbs *djowkke* 'cross' (10.325, 10.326), *bidbun* 'climb, ascend' (10.327–10.329) and *kadjung* 'follow' in 10.330, 10.331. The secondary uses of each verb all involve motion verbs used as path verbs; in the path sense, the entity forming the path incorporates.

- 10.325 *A-rud-djoukge-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3-road-cross-PP  
 'I crossed the road.'
- 10.326 *Barri-bolk-ngeibu-ni Gamirn, Gamirn gorrogo ba-rud-djoukge-yi.*  
 Dj 3a/3P-place-name-PI [place] [place] before 3/(3!?)P-road-cross-PI  
 'They used to call that place Gamirn, in the olden days the road crossed (the river) at Gamirn.'
- 10.327 *Galawan ba-rrulk-bidbom.*  
 Dj goanna 3/3!P-tree-climbPPP  
 'The goanna has climbed up the tree.'

<sup>37</sup> Kunbarlang also incorporates body parts as transitive subject into the verb 'inflict pain', as in *djangal-ngaybu ga-ngany-djangal-gulangwany* [foot-my it-me-foot-inflicts.pain] for 'my foot hurts'; this construction has the same ambiguous analysis as in Bininj Gun-wok. Heath (1982:174, 1984:473) suggests transitive-subject-incorporation analyses for two verbs of pain: *-ambam=ba-* 'headache afflict (O)' and *-andhula=walga-* 'sores on head to afflict (lit. pound)' (examples from Heath 1984:473), but without giving what would be the knock-down evidence: the gender of the grammatical subject on the verb, which should be determined by the incorporated nominal on his analysis.

<sup>38</sup> A third possibility would be that *djarebun* involves noun-verb compounding and is hence not a relevant example of incorporation. This could be tested by seeing if *bibom* could be substituted for *bidjarebom*, but so far I have not had the chance to check this.

- 10.328 *Ba-bo-bidbom gu-rrulum.*  
 Dj 3/(3!?)P-liquid-climbPP LOC-high.point  
 'The water has reached up over the little island.'
- 10.329 *Ba-bo-bidbom gu-gebgale.*  
 Dj 3/(3!?)P-liquid-climbPP LOC-bank  
 'The floodwaters have reached over the banks.'
- 10.330 *Karri-djurle-kadju-ng.*  
 MM 12a/3-shadow-follow-NP  
 'We follow the shade.' (e.g. keep moving so as to remain in the shade as it shifts)
- 10.331 *Kun-djurle ka-djurle-kadju-ng kun-rurk.*  
 MM IV-shade 3/(3!?)-shade-follow-NP IV-house  
 'The shade reaches as far as the house.' ('That shadow go long the house.')

In each case the path verb could be interpreted as incorporating a transitive subject, especially given the general lack of O=S diathesis alternations in Bininj Gun-wok. The crucial support for a transitive-subject-incorporation analyses would be to demonstrate that verbs in this construction can both incorporate and have a non-zero object prefix, but the nature of their verb semantics makes human objects almost impossible to obtain (cf. English '? The road crosses them', '? The water flooded us').

Again another analysis is not implausible: these are rare examples of such O=S alternations (i.e. between 'X V Y' and 'Y V'), and the second construction in each set is to be construed as intransitive. This is supported<sup>39</sup> by the presence of the locative prefix *gu-* on the would-be object, and by occasional intransitive uses of these verbs without an external nominal denoting an endpoint (10.332).

- 10.332 *Ka-kolk-bidbu-n.*  
 E 3-liquid-climb-NP  
 'The tide is coming up.'

To conclude this section: although these two constructions may be thought to permit transitive subject incorporation, both are compatible with other analyses in which the incorporated noun is absolutive.

INCORPORATION WITH DOUBLE OBJECT VERBS With ditransitive verbs, whether underlying (10.333) or derived by adding an indirect object to an underlying transitive by the benefactive applicative (10.1), it is the true object that is incorporated.

- 10.333 *Abanmani-ganj-wo-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3du-meat-give-PP  
 'I gave meat to the two of them.'

The same applies to incorporated body parts of objects of ditransitives, whether underlying (10.334) or derived (10.335).

- 10.334 *Ngaye wurdyau aban-ganem-bukka-ng doctor.*  
 Dj 1sg child 1/3pl-ear-show-PP  
 'I showed my child's ear to the doctors.' (BP)

<sup>39</sup> This support is suggestive rather than absolute, since *gu-* prefixes do not categorically signal a locative case relation; see §5.2.2.1.

- 10.335 *Ngabornang ba-wam barri-ngabed-marnb-om,*  
 Dj my.daughter 3P-go:PP 3a/3P-hair-make-PP  
*ngandi-marne-ngabed-marnb-om.*  
 3a/1-BEN-hair-make-PP  
 'My daughter went (to the salon) so they would do up her hair,  
 and they did up her hair for me.'

Ditransitive verbs derived by adding both comitative and benefactive arguments to an intransitive by the respective applicatives behave similarly:

- 10.336 *An-marne-bo-yi-rrurnd-i gukku.*  
 Dj 3/1-BEN-liquid-COM-return-PP water  
 'He brought the water back for me.'

Where violations of topicality distribution in ditransitive verbs (§10.5) cause the true object to usurp the pronominal slot and the indirect object to be represented by an external pronoun, the object can still incorporate anyway:

- 10.337 *An-bolidj-bukka-ng gure bedda.*  
 Dj 3/1-scar-show-PP LOC them  
 'He showed my tribal scar to them.'

Everything described so far fits the basic 'absolutive analysis', provided absolutes are defined in a sufficiently constrained way to include the true objects of ditransitives, the subjects of semi-transitives (BEN-V<sub>i</sub>) and the derived objects of comitatives. But with double object verbs, in which the comitative adds a second object to a transitive verb, the situation is more complicated, although all such verbs still follow the basic absolutive pattern in the sense that one of the objects is incorporated.

We saw in §10.1.3.4 that there are three classes of double object verb: one in which the underlying object occupies the pronominal slot (e.g. *yinan* 'see with'), and two in which the derived object occupies the pronominal slot (e.g. *yikurrme* 'leave with, put with' and *yimang* 'get off'). In each type, the argument allowing generic incorporation is that which does not occupy the pronominal slot: the comitative object with O<sup>+</sup> verbs, and the true object with O<sup>-</sup> verbs.

An example of incorporation of the comitative object with *yinan* type verbs is 10.338 (see also 10.28, 10.30 and 10.31); 10.338 also illustrates the possibility of incorporating certain human nouns (in this case *daluk* 'woman') just in the case of double-object verbs.

- 10.338 *Bi-rraluk-yi-bom.*  
 Dj 3/3P-woman-COM-hitPP  
 'He hit him over the woman.'

An example of incorporation of the true object with *yikurrme* type verbs is 10.339 (see also 10.33, 10.35, 10.44).

- 10.339 *Ngan-ganem-yi-bawo-ng anabbarru.*  
 Dj 3/1-horn-COM-leave-PP buffalo  
 'He left the buffalo's horns with me.'

The patterning of incorporation here reflects the functional complementarity between pronominal prefixation and incorporation introduced in §10.1.1, and which we will return to

in §10.5. The choice of which argument verbs lexicalise as the incorporand reflects, semantically, the participant which is prototypically lower in animacy, and functionally, the argument which is statistically most likely not to be a human and hence to miss out on representation by the second pronominal affix. On the other hand, two commonly given explanations of incorporating argument selection fail to account for these facts. A Baker-style account, based on PS sisterhood in d-structure, predicts that it should always be the true object that incorporates, since this will always be the d-structure sister; this fails to account for cases like 10.28 and 10.31, in which it is the derived object which incorporates. Thematically based accounts that predict which argument incorporates on the basis of a hierarchy thematic roles like 'patient', 'location' and 'theme' (typically defined as 'that whose movement is at issue') are also empirically inadequate: with *yigurrme* the theme ('spear' in 10.36) incorporates in preference to the location ('me'), while with *yigadjung* the location ('swag' in 10.31) incorporates in preference to the theme ('me').

#### 10.4.3.2 Incorporation of yaw 'baby'

Apart from the limited conditions under which one can incorporate *daluk* 'woman', *bininj* 'man' and *beywurd* 'child' with double-object verbs, *yaw* is unique in being the only incorporable generic noun referring to humans. Indeed, apart from *bod* 'bee', it is the only generic noun referring to animates. Ordinarily *yaw* behaves like any other incorporated root, being incorporated as object (10.340) or intransitive subject (10.310, 10.312):

- 10.340 *Bi-yau-nguneng ginga.*  
 Dj 3/3h-child-eat-PP crocodile  
 'The crocodile ate the child.'

However, it allows an additional possibility: it can be incorporated as an indirect object or benefactive:

- 10.341 *Galamarnmarn a-yau-bukka-ng.*  
 Dj spinning.top 1/3-child-show-PP  
 'I showed the top to the child.' (also OK in MM)
- 10.342 *Gorrk abanmani-yau-wo-ng.*  
 Dj clothes 1/3du-child-give-PP  
 'I gave the clothes to the two babies.'
- 10.343 *Gun-matj ngabanbani-yaw-wo-ng.*  
 MM IV-swag 1/3du-baby-give-PP  
 'I gave the stuff for those two kids.'
- 10.344 *Bi-yaw-djikka-wo-ng.*  
 W 3/3hP-child-breast-give-PP  
 'She gave the baby the breast.' (E&E 87)
- 10.345 *Gun-djikka bi-marne-yau-warrem-inj.*  
 Dj IV-breast 3/3hP-BEN-child-go.bad-PP  
 'That kid, his tit went bad for him.' (also acceptable in MM)
- 10.346 *Bi-marne-yau-wolngwo-ng.*  
 Dj 3/3hP-BEN-child-warm.milk-PP  
 'He warmed the milk for the baby.' (also acceptable in MM)

In Gun-djeihmi, at least, this construction appears to be somewhat marginal in that both orders of the two INs have been attested:

10.347 *A-yau-bo-wo-ng.*  
Dj 1/3-child-liquid-give-PP  
'I gave water to the baby.'

10.348 *Aban-gorrk-yau-wo-ng.*  
Dj 1/3pl-clothes-child-give-PP  
'I gave the babies clothes.'

The aberrant behaviour of incorporated *yaw* is awkward for all accounts of incorporation, and constitutes an exception to the supposedly universal claim made in Baker (1988) that indirect objects never incorporate. In reference to this data, Baker (1995:332) suggests that *yaw* may not always be an incorporated noun root, and may optionally count 'as some kind of adverbial element'. Interestingly, Etherington and Etherington (1994:86), in their pedagogical grammar of Kunwinjku imply a similar analysis: 'When the action is done by, or to a baby, [*yaw* — NE] is incorporated. Kunwinjku is most unusual in this particular prefix, which is usually incorporated into every verb relating to a baby'. We shall also see below that, in line with other generic incorporated nominals, *yaw* can sometimes be given the predicate interpretation 'as a child, like a child'.

Finally, there are occasional examples in which *yaw* qualifies the size of an absolutive argument (10.349), a non-argument (10.350) or a transitive subject argument; in 10.351 it refers to the smallness of the microphone.

10.349 *ø-bo-karu-y man-ekke ka-yaw-labbal-yo.*  
W 3/3IP-liquid-dig-PP VE-DEM 3-child-billabong-lienP  
'He dug it out, so that there's a little billabong there.' [KS 178]

10.350 *Kan-yaw-wok-ma-ng.*  
I 2/1-child-language-get-PP  
'You are recording me with a small one.' [Murray Garde, pers. comm.]

10.351 *Kaben-yaw-wok-ma-ng.*  
I 3/3pl-child-language-get-PP  
'It (that small mike) records their words.' [Murray Garde, pers. comm.]

This suggests that *yaw* 'child' can have at least three interpretations: the regular generic incorporated nominal interpretation 'child, baby', the predicate interpretation available with other generic nouns 'as a child, like a child', and a broader adverbial-type interpretation 'pertaining to or involving something small or young'. Note that while this would allow the generalisation that indirect objects do not incorporate to be saved, by saying *yaw* has the adverbial-type incorporation in such constructions, this still begs the question of why just this one generic noun, across a large number of languages, has this aberrant behaviour. It also stresses the lexico-syntactic nature of noun incorporation: though certain broad syntactic generalisations are possible, certain incorporating lexemes make their own rules.

## 10.4.3.3 Functions of incorporated generic nominals

Pairs of sentences differing only in whether the noun is incorporated are essentially synonymous, apart from the special case of body-part incorporation with intransitive verbs discussed in §10.4.2.6 above. However, there are subtle discourse factors controlling when a generic noun incorporates: basically, for tracking inanimates that are given in the discourse (whether through prior mention or through their evocation as props in a context), but also, with certain intransitive verbs, for presentatives. In the 'given' use, the incorporated nominal usually occurs alone without external modification; in the presentative use, it may occur alone or be followed by a more specific external nominal.

In Bininj Gun-wok, and cross-linguistically, the commonest functions of incorporated generic nominals are for tracking established inanimate participants, as well as 'procedurally implicated' entities that have a short-lived discourse appearance in the context of certain activities (e.g. house-building, wood-gathering). These are normally grammatical objects, and as inanimates miss out on overt representation on the pronominal prefix system. It is common for inanimates to progress from external to incorporated status through the discourse, as in the following textlet by Toby Gangele about getting dingo pelts for bounty:

10.352 *Ngaye gorrogo an-bang nga-gurrm-i, gun-gurlah a-ma-ngi.*

Dj I before III-dangerous 1/3-put down-PI IV-pelt 1/3-get-PI

*Gun-gurlah a-ga-ni djamun-djahdjam. A-gurlah-wo-ni, gun-warde*  
IV-pelt 1/3-take-PI dangerous-place 1/3-pelt-give-PI IV-money

*an-wo-ni.*

3/1-give-PI

'In the old days I used to put down (dingo) baits to get their pelts. I would take the hides to the police station. I would give them to him and he would give me money.'

Note how *-gurlah* is first introduced as a free nominal, recurs once as a free NP, then is incorporated into the ditransitive verb *-woni*. Note also how the **new** entity *warde* 'rock, money' is not incorporated into the verb in the following clause, even though the argument frame is the same, and even though the verb complex *anwardewoni* 'he used to give me money' is quite grammatical.<sup>40</sup>

A similar example, this time from the Kunwinjku dialect, is 10.353; here 'firewood' progresses from an external argument of the second verb to an incorporated argument of subsequent verbs.

10.353 *ø-Worrhmeng, wanjh kun-rerrng ø-yikang, ø-wam ø-rerrng-mey,*  
W 3P-make.firePP then IV-firewood 3/3IP-go.forPP 3P-goPP 3/3IP-wood-getPP

*ku-m-wam ø-rerrng-name-ng, ø-rerrng-kurrme-ng, keb*  
3P-hither-goPP 3/3IP-wood-make-PP 3//3IP-wood-put-PP first.flames

*ø-rerrng-name-ng.*

3/3P-wood-make-PP

'He went and got firewood, he came and put wood on the fire first, he put wood on the fire, he put more wood on the fire.' [OP 384:24-28]

<sup>40</sup> Although 10.352 illustrates the possibility of incorporating the object of *won*, it is equally common not to incorporate the object with this verb, for example I *yiwon kunmadj* 'you give him sheets' (with the incorporable root *√madj* 'sheets, swag, material') and *minj ngalkka ngurriwon kunj* 'don't give her [ngalkka] any kangaroo [kunj]' (with the unincorporable root/word *kunj*).



Note that similar progressions are sometimes found with body-part nouns as well:

- 10.354 *Bu karri-n-an na-wern karri-dulubun, karri-ngu-n*  
 W SUB 12a/3-see-NP MA-many 12a/3-shootNP 12a/3-eat-NP  
*kun-karrk. Bu karri-djal-burriwe, kun-ukka kun-warre.*  
 IV-wing.membrane SUB 12a-just-throwNP NEU-DEM NEU-bad  
*Minj karri-yawoyh-danjbu-n bu minj karri-karrk-kinje.*  
 NEG 12a/3-again-spear-NP SUB not 12a/3-membrane-cookNP  
 'When we see a lot of (flying foxes) and shoot them, we have to cook and eat  
 the lot, including the wing membranes. We won't be able to shoot them again if  
 we don't cook that membrane part.' [KS 46]

Another example of the use of incorporated generics to track given inanimate referents is 10.355, in which 'cane grass' is introduced in the first clause by a specific external nominal, then tracked in the next clause by the incorporated generic root *-dalk* 'grass'.

- 10.355 *Barri-wam djilidjilih, barri-dalk-djobge-yi.*  
 Dj 3aP-goPP cane.grass 3aP-grass-cut-PI  
 'They went out for cane grass, and were cutting it.'

In other cases, the incorporated nominal has not been overtly mentioned before, but is situationally given, as with 'the ground' in 10.356, and 'the scrub' in 10.357 (the frame for which was built up by the context of the preceding two lines).

- 10.356 *Bonj. Ba-rrolkka-ng ba-bolk-melme-ng ba-rra-nginj gamak.*  
 Dj OK 3P-get.up-PP 3/3P-ground-tread-PP 3P-stand-PP good  
 'OK. He got up, he tested his foot on the ground, he put his weight on it, it was  
 all right.'
- 10.357 *Njamed djirndi gare ba-yi-warlkge-rri-nj njanjuk gu-mege*  
 what quail perhaps 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP something LOC-there  
*ganjdji." Djirndi-djahdjam merenghmerenggidj right bi-yawa-ni.*  
 underneath quail-place [?] 3/3hP-look-PI  
*Ba-ngarre-werrhm-i gun-marlaworr, gun-boi ba-ngune-ng,*  
 3/3P-scrub-scratch-PI IV-leaf IV-cooking.stone 3/3P-eat-PP  
 'Maybe that wharrit, quail, might have hidden himself away with it or something  
 under (the leaves) there. The *merengmerenggidj* (?) looked for him there where  
 the quail was. While she was scratching around in the leaves, she ate a cooking  
 stone.'

In 10.358 both *dalk* 'grass' and *bule* 'burnt grass' are contextually implicated by the general frame, which in this text was a discussion of traditional fire practices:

- 10.358 *Gurrih na-wu ba-m-bebme-ni an-bu barri-dalk-wurlhge-yi.*  
 Dj blue.tongue MA-REL 3-towards-appear-PI VE-REL 3a/3P-grass-burn-PI  
*Gurrih na-wu ba-bule-yiga-ni, ba-bule-yawa-ni ...*  
 blue.tongue MA-DEM 3P-burnt.grass-go.for-PI 3P-burnt.grass-search-PI  
 'Those blue-tongue lizards would come out when they were burning off the  
 grass. Those blue-tongues would go out for the burnt grass, looking for the  
 burnt grass ...'

An inanimate whose first appearance as an incorporated nominal is through contextual implication may then persist in the discourse, recurring as an incorporated nominal without modifying generic in subsequent clauses:

- 10.359 *Na-bene maih a-na-ng ga-m-golu-rr-en gaddum-be djohboi.*  
 Dj MA-that bird 1/3-see-PP 3-hither-descend-RR-NP up-ABL poor.thing  
 'I've seen that bird coming down (to the waterhole) from higher up, dear little thing.

*Ngarri-ngeibu-n mimgoi ...*  
 1a/3-call-NP red.eyed.pigeon  
 'We call it *mimgoi* (lit. eye-red) ...

*Na-mege, maih ngarrgu gabarri-bó-djare gukku.*  
 MA-that bird our 3a-liquid-wantNP water  
 'Those birds of ours, they're thirsty for water.

*Because bedda wurd gabarri-yo gu-berrk,*  
 they children 3a-lieNP LOC-dry.scrub, higher.country  
 'Because they and their children live higher up, in the dry scrub.

*gu-berrk gabarri-yo gabarri-bo-djare gukku gabarri-bongu-n.*  
 LOC-dry.scrub 3a-lieNP 3a-liquid-wantNP water 3a-drink-NP  
 'They're staying in a dry place and want to drink some water.

*gukku ngan-ege barri-bo-garrm-i ganjdji, gabarri-yó,*  
 water VE-that 3a/3P-liquid-hold-PP inside/under 3a-lieNP  
 'They (the parents) can hold it underneath there (in their crops) while they sleep.

*galuk malaiwi, gabarri-m-yauh-golu-ng, gabarri-yauh-bo-ma-ng, gukku*  
 then tomorrow 3a-hither-again-descend-NP 3a-again-liquid-get-NP water  
 'Then the next day they'll come down again and get more (water)

*gabarri-bo-ga-n ...* [another bird chases it away]  
 3a-liquid-carry-NP  
 'and carry it ...'

Nouns in object role are also frequently incorporated with transitive verbs of creation and discovery, such as *marnbun* 'make', *kurrme* 'put (e.g. a painting in a location)' (10.360) and *ngalke* 'find' (10.361); semantically this is more akin to the presentative constructions with stance verbs in which the incorporated noun is completely new in the discourse.

- 10.360 *Birri-bim-kurrme-ng ka-bim-di.*  
 W 3a-picture-put-PP 3-picture-standNP  
 'Her picture has been put there.' (said in response to a picture of a stamp with an image of the queen)

- 10.361 *Bene-h-yawa-m korroko wanjh bene-red-ngalke-ng wirlarrk bokenh.*  
 W 3uaP-IMM-look.for-PP before then 3uaP-nest-find-PP egg two  
*ø-yongoh- yo-y*  
 3-ITER-lie-PP  
 'They looked around and then they found a nest with two eggs.' [KS 172]

We now turn to the role of generic incorporation with intransitive verbs. Less attention has been given to the semantic and discourse role of incorporated nominals in intransitive subject function, though Sasse (1987) discusses the role of incorporation in 'thetic' predicates and Mithun and Corbett (1999:53) note that: 'Incorporation for discourse purposes can also be seen with presentative verbs, verbs with little semantic content of their own, such as "exist" or "have". The entity and its existence together form a single unit of newsworthy information, so they are often packaged together in a single word.'

In fact there are three distinct conditions under which intransitive verbs may incorporate their subjects in Bininj Gun-wok: presentational/thetic constructions with stance verbs, the tracking of animate discourse participants, and a few fixed expressions. We now discuss each in turn.

- (a) PRESENTATIONAL/THETIC, WITH STANCE VERBS In presenting a new scene comprising both an entity and its disposition (10.362), introducing a new entity (10.363) or asserting existence (10.364), a stance verb with an incorporated noun is regularly used; the relevant stance verbs are *di* 'stand', *ni* 'sit', *yo* 'lie' and *barndi/wendi* 'be up high'. Modifiers of the incorporated noun may follow (10.363) or precede (10.364) the stance verb.

10.362 *Ku-rurrk*  $\emptyset$ -wam *man-kabo* *ku-mekke* *ku-wardde*  $\emptyset$ -bo-yo-y.  
W LOC-shelter 3P-goPP III-river LOC-DEM LOC-cave 3P-water-lie-PP  
'She went to the shelter near the river where there is water in that cave.' [OP 349]

10.363 *Ka-djang-di* *kurdukadji*.  
Dnj 3-dreaming-standNP emu  
'There's an emu dreaming there.' OR: 'There's a dreaming of an emu there.'

10.364 *Muddikka*  $\emptyset$ -bolh-yo-y *but balanda* *nuye-ni* *na-wu* *nganabbarru*  
W vehicle 3P-track-lie-PP European his-P MA-REL buffalo  
 *$\emptyset$ -bonoh-bom*.  
3P-ITER-killPP  
'There was a vehicle track, but it was for European buffalo hunters.'

Although such constructions sometimes occur in texts (e.g. 10.362), they are more commonly encountered in responses to new situations, for example in a task where people are asked to describe what is in pictures (10.365–10.367; see also 13.61, 13.62):

10.365 *Ben-no* *ka-ben-di*, *karri-ben-karrme*.  
I handle-3POSSD 3-handle-standNP 12a-handle-holdNP  
'There is a handle, we grasp the handle.' (response to a picture of door with a handle)

10.366 *Birri-djal-keb-kurrme-ng*, *wanjh* *ka-h-keb-yo*.  
I 3aP-just-'nose'-put-PP then 3-IMM-'nose'-lieNP  
'They put (clothes) hooks (on the wall), so that there are clothes hooks there.'  
(response to a picture of hooks projecting from a wall)

- 10.367 *Kun-madj ka-wendi, ka-rurrk-ni.*  
 MM IV-cloth 3-be.highNP 3-hole-sitNP  
 'There are towels hanging out to dry, there is a hole (in one of them).'  
 [response to a picture of towels on a line, one with a conspicuous hole]

Where the noun is not incorporable, it will appear (a) doubled by an incorporable generic, if one exists, as with *an-bernbarn* (10.368), (b) doubled by an incorporated body part of which the verb holds (10.369), or (c) if none exists, simply as an external noun (10.370, 10.371).

- 10.368 *Gonhdah ga-rrulk-di an-bernbarn.*  
 Dj here 3-tree-standNP III-ghost.gum  
 'There's a ghost gum tree here.'
- 10.369 *Ku-rurrk kure duruk ka-keb-darrkme.*  
 I LOC-enclosed.space LOC dog 3-nose-stick.outNP  
 'There is a dog in the kennel, with its nose sticking out.'
- 10.370 *Kabirri-barnh-barndi kardab.*  
 I 3a-ITER-be.highNP spider  
 'There are spiders up (on the wall).'
- 10.371 *Djenj ku-rurrk ka-ni, bol-kah.*  
 MM fish LOC-enclosed.space 3-sitNP bowl-LOC  
 'There is a fish in the bowl.'

Incorporation is not possible with intransitive stance verbs if they are negated; the noun must appear externally (10.372). With objects of most verbs, on the other hand, negation is no bar to incorporation (10.373). The only transitive verb where negation is incompatible with incorporation is *karrme* 'have', again concerned with existence and presence; once again the object must appear externally if this verb is negated (10.374).

- 10.372 *Minj kun-dulk ø-ni-wirrinj, kun-wardde, man-kabo.*  
 W NEG IV-tree 3P-sit-IRR IV-rock III-river  
 'There were no trees, rocks, or rivers.' [KS 16]
- 10.373 *Minj kabirri-dulk-dadjke.*  
 W NEG 3a/3-tree-cutNP  
 'They can't cut trees down.'
- 10.374 *Ngaye minj yaw nga-karrme.*  
 W I NEG child 1-haveNP  
 'I don't have a baby.'

So far our discussion has concerned stance verbs. More rarely intransitive subjects incorporate with other verbs. Sometimes these are compatible with a presentational interpretation, as in 10.375, which was again given in response to a picture (of rain streaming down a window).

- 10.375 *Ngan-djewk ka-njilk-birdikke do-kah.*  
 MM III-rain 3-rain-enterNP window-LOC  
 'The rain is coming through the window.' OR: 'There is rain coming through the window.'

A further example is 10.376; although Carroll translates this as ‘he waited then he heated lots of antbed’, an alternative translation would be ‘he waited until there were lots of hot (bits of) antbed’:

- 10.376 *ø-Madbom wanjh ø-wernh-boy-ru-y ø-bolk-karu-y wanjh*  
 W 3P-waitPP then 3P-properly-antbed-be.hot-PP 3/3P-place-dig-PP then  
*ø-wilkd-i.*  
 3P-put.in.ashes-PP  
 ‘He waited then he heated lots of antbed, then he put it in the ashes.’ [OP 445]

*Bo* ‘liquid’, in particular, is attested as in incorporated intransitive subject with a wide range of verbs of appearance and motion, such as *re* ‘go, flow, issue forth’, *bebm* ‘appear’, *lobme* ‘run, flood (water)’:

- 10.377 *Ba-bo-lobm-i gorrogo, an-djeuk, bu ba-bo-bebm-i gaddum-be,*  
 3P-liquid-run-PI before III-rain REL 3P-liq.-appear-PI upstream-ABL  
*ba-m-bo-re-i, ba-bo-lobm-i an-bo-gimuk ...*  
 3P-hither-liq-go-PI 3P-liq.-run-PI III-liquid-big  
 ‘When the floodwaters used to run, when the waters came down from upstream,  
 when the floodwaters used to come running high ...’

At other times incorporated-subject nouns are interpretable as parts (and hence follow the obligatory incorporation of part nouns discussed in §10.4.2.6). An example is the root *dang* ‘mouth; opening’ in 10.378, which is here specifying the part of the cave which is affected:

- 10.378 *Yiman gayime bininj barri-ngim-i gorrogo,*  
 Dj for example person 3a/3P-enter-PI before  
 ‘For example, when people used to go in (into caves),  
*maih barri-yawa-ni ganjdji-gen, yiman gayime ngarrbek,*  
 animal 3a/3P-see-PI inside-GEN for example echidna  
 ‘and look for animals from inside (the caves), such as echidna.  
*ban-marne-dang-balhm-i barri-dowe-ni ganjdji gu-rurrk,*  
 3/3plP-BEN-mouth-be.blocked-PI 3a/3P-die-PI inside LOC-cave  
 ‘The mouth of the cave would close behind them and they would die inside.  
*an-djeuk bogen or danjbik, that mean maybe two year three year,*  
 III-rain two three  
 • ‘After two or three years,  
*ba-rrang-marrhma-ngi, that mean used to open the door,*  
 3P-mouth-open-PI  
 ‘the door would open,  
*gareh people barri-re-i barri-rurk-na-ni gu-rurrk.*  
 maybe 3aP-go-PI 3a/3P-cave-see-PI LOC-cave  
 ‘maybe people would go and look in the cave’

With other intransitive verbs, however, generic nouns do not incorporate; thus *djordmen* ‘grow up’ is not attested with an incorporated noun, even in contexts where a thetic interpretation is reasonable. An unincorporated example from the Nganjmira corpus is:

- 10.379 *Yerre bu bene-dowe-ng wanjh kun-dulk ø-djordm-inj, man-kod.*  
 W later SUB 3uaP-die-PP then IV-tree 3P-grow-PP III-paperbark  
 'After they died a tree grew up, a paperbark.' [KS 196]

- (b) TRACKING DISCOURSE PARTICIPANTS The few generic animate nouns — notably *yaw* 'child' and *bod* 'bee' — can be incorporated as intransitive subjects, including of agentive verbs, when functioning as established discourse participants, in the same way as objects. For examples of incorporated *yaw* tracking an established participant (and moving between intransitive subject and object roles) see the versions of the Echidna and Tortoise text in 10.111; for an example with *bod* where it is contextually implicated, see 10.311. With *yaw*, in particular, incorporation into intransitive verbs in a discourse-tracking rather than a presentative sense is permitted; this is not the case for other generic nominals.
- (c) Finally, there are a few relatively FIXED EXPRESSIONS, such as *ka-balk-ngey-yo* [3-place-name-lienP] 'the place is called ...' which are used without discourse constraints.

#### 10.4.4 Secondary predicate incorporation

Secondary predication is the third function of lexico-syntactically incorporated nominals in Biniñ Gun-wok, though this is less common than the generic or body-part functions.<sup>41</sup>

Such elements make a predication about the subject that is only asserted to be true during the time of the main predicate.<sup>42</sup> Compare the role of the adjective when used as a main predicate (10.380), and when used as an incorporated secondary predicate (10.381, 10.382). When used as main predicate the state of being alive is asserted as true categorically in the present, while in 10.381 and 10.382 it is only asserted to be true at the time of the main action, respectively of getting away and being picked up.

- 10.380 *Na-rangem ga-rrarrgid.*

Dj I-boy 3-alive  
 'The boy is alive.'

- 10.381 *Ba-rrarrgid-wa-m.*

Dj 3P-alive-go-PP  
 'He got away alive.'

- 10.382 *Barri-re-i gare ginga barri-barlah-na-ni. Barri-djuhm-i*

Dj 3aP-go-PI maybe crocodile 3aP/3-track-see-PI 3a-swim-PI

*barri-yawa-ni barri-darrgid-ma-ngi.*

3a/3P-look.for-PI 3a/3-alive-pick.up-PI

'They (novices in the Morak ceremony) might see some crocodile tracks.

They'd have to go into the water, look around for the crocodile and pick it up alive.'

<sup>41</sup> See Evans (1995d:94–97) for some discussion about possible semantic links between these three functions.

<sup>42</sup> Typological discussion of secondary predicate incorporation has been limited compared to the lively discussion of generic and body-part incorporation, though the phenomenon recurs in a number of languages. See, however, the discussion of predicate incorporation in Aztec in Launey (1981:167–169) and some brief general remarks in McGregor (1997:166–167).

In §10.4.4.1 we discuss the incorporation of roots that can only ever function as predicates when incorporated, while in §10.4.4.2 we turn to secondary-predicate interpretations of noun roots which normally have a referring, generic function when incorporated.

#### 10.4.4.1 Nominal roots only incorporable as secondary predicates

Like the other types of syntactic incorporation, incorporated secondary predicates follow an absolutive pattern: they are controlled by objects (10.382, 10.384) and intransitive subjects (10.381, 10.384). The most commonly incorporated nominal predicates are *darrkid* (10.3), *mimbi* or *kerrnge* (8.16) 'alive',<sup>43</sup> *kodjek* 'trysting, eloping, for purposes of illicit sex' (10.383, 10.384), *ngoreng* 'sick' (10.385), and *djoleng* 'cooked' (10.386):<sup>44</sup>

10.383 *Bani-godjek-wam.*

Dj 3uaP-elope-goPP  
'They eloped, they ran off together.'

10.384 *Gaban-godjek-ma-ng.*

Dj 3/3pl-elope-take-NP  
'He's taking them off for sex.' (lit. He's taking them, as elopers.)

10.385 *Bininj gabarri-dowe-n, gaban-marnbu-n gabarri-ngoreng-yo.*

Dj person 3a-die-NP 3/3pl-make-NP 3a-sick-lieNP  
'He can make people die and get sick.'

10.386 *Wanjh bene-wam bene-bebke-ng bindi-djoleng-wo-ng rowk*

w then 3uaP-goPP 3uaP-take.out-PP 3a/3pl-cooked-give-PP all

*na-wu kalawan.*

MA-DEM goanna

'So the two of them went and took it out (from the fire) and gave everyone some goanna cooked.'

Further incorporated predicates not exemplified here are *dulkki* 'sick from invisible causes' (cf. *kun-dulkki* 'internal sickness'; *dulkki-mankan* 'fall down sick', *dulkki-yo* 'lie sick'), *barrkid* 'different' (13.143) and *ro* 'dodging spears' (see Oates 1964:108).

Theoretically, incorporated secondary predicates with double object verbs should behave in the same way as incorporated generics and body parts, by having scope over the second object in the same way that second objects can sanction generic incorporation (§10.1.3.4). This is certainly the case with some predicates, such as *ngoreng* 'sick', which has scope over the true objects with some comitative verbs (10.387) and over the comitative object with others (10.388), exactly like an incorporated generic.

<sup>43</sup> The difference is dialectal, *mimbi* being used in Kunwinjku, *kerrnge* in Manyallaluk Mayali and *darrkid* in the other dialects.

<sup>44</sup> McKay's discussion of Rembarnga noun incorporation (McKay 1975:290–297) contains a number of examples that I would consider secondary predicate incorporation, with partial semantic overlap with those considered here: *kardburr* and *kari* 'wounded', *murnungu* 'one who has just carried out a killing', *durra* 'alive', boy 'left unharmed (of game)' and *djuk* 'ritually set apart'.

10.387 *Ngalekke daluk ben-ngoreng-yi-bawo-ng.*  
 I FE:DEM woman 3/3pl-sick-COM-leave-PP  
 'That woman left the sick person with them.'

10.388 *Ngalekke daluk ben-ngoreng-yi-na-ng.*  
 I FE:DEM woman 3/3pl-sick-COM-see-PP  
 'That woman saw them with the sick person.'

However, when the secondary predicate suggests a degree of conjoint action, as with *godjek* 'elope', the interpretation becomes more complicated. In both of the following examples the secondary predicate is interpreted as being true of both objects.

10.389 *Aban-godjek-yi-bawo-ng.*  
 Dj 3/3pl-elope-COM-leave-PP  
 'I left them with her (for sex).' (They and her were there illicitly.)

10.390 *Ngaban-godjek-yi-na-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-elope-COM-see-PP  
 'I saw them with a woman.' (They and the woman were there illicitly.)

All of the above are adjective roots: like adjectives they can appear in predicate nominal constructions (*darrgid* in 10.380), take gender prefixation (e.g. Dj *an-djorleng* 'cooked', with vegetable prefix *an-*), and be compounded with nouns in bahuvrihi and predicative compounds (§5.4) such as *bidngoreng* [finger-sick] 'deformed finger'. As across the set of adjectives, not all of these properties are possessed by any given member of the set. Thus *darrgid*, for example, is unattested with gender prefixes, whereas *djorleng* is attested with both gender prefixes and pronominal prefixes in the predicate nominal construction.

Not all adjective roots can incorporate as secondary predicates; just as the set of incorporable nominals is limited in a somewhat arbitrary and lexeme-specific way, so is the set of incorporable adjectives. The adjective root *nud*, for example, cannot incorporate as a secondary predicate, and when expressing a comparable meaning must appear externally:

10.391 *Ga-bawo-n ga-nudme-n wanjh nud ga-ngu-n.*  
 Dj 3/3l-leave-NP 3-rot-NP then rotten 3/3l-eat-NP  
 '(The crocodile) leaves (his victim) to rot, and then eats it rotten.'

#### 10.4.4.2 Secondary predicate interpretations of incorporated generics

Occasionally incorporated generic nominals have a secondary predicate interpretation, best translated by 'as a N' or 'like a N'. Thus in 10.392 the noun root *rurrk* 'cave; hollow cavity' is incorporated into the verb *wokdi* 'speak' to convey the meaning 'sound hollow (i.e. make a noise as something hollow does)', in 10.393 the noun root *bim* is interpreted as 'as a painting', in 10.394 *yaw* 'child' is best translated 'like a child, like children', and in 8.58 and 10.395 *yaw* is interpreted as 'as a child' rather than '(the) child'.

10.392 *Nga-bekka-n ga-rurrk-wokdi.*  
 Dj 1/3-listen-NP 3-cavity-speakNP  
 (when tapping trees to see which will make a good didgeridoo:)  
 'I listen for which sounds hollow.'



- 10.393 *Daddubbe ba-bim-gurrme-rre-ni.*  
 Dj [name] 3-painting-put-RR-PI  
 'Daddubbe would turn herself into a rock painting, would put herself there as a rock painting.'
- 10.394 *Birri-yaw-ni.*  
 W 3a-child-sitPI  
 'They sat down like children.'
- 10.395 *Ø-Yaw-na-rr-inj.*  
 I 3P-child-see-RR-PP  
 'He saw himself as a child.' (e.g. in a photograph)

More rarely, body parts can be construed as secondary predicates. The commonest case is the body-part nominal *kuk* 'body', which can be given the secondary predicate interpretation 'as a (mere) body (i.e. dead)', most commonly in the collocation *ka-kuk-yo* [3-body-lieNP] '(s)he is dead'.<sup>45</sup>

There is no single formal clue as to when a secondary predicate rather than an argument interpretation is appropriate, except in the rare cases where the filling of more than one incorporated nominal slot provides a clue. The person of the absolutive argument is one guide, since incorporated generics construed with non-third person arguments will usually have a predicate construal (compare 8.57 and 8.58), but the converse is not true and predicate construals are available alongside argument construals for third person absolutes.<sup>46</sup> Also relevant are the discourse restrictions on incorporation into intransitive verbs (§10.4.3.3), which cases of secondary predicate incorporation usually violate; intransitive verbs like *wokdi* are basically limited to incorporating *yaw* 'child' in argument function, so that incorporation of another nominal root like *rurrk* 'cavity' forces a secondary predicate reading. Likewise reflexive verbs normally incorporate body parts rather than generics, so that the incorporation of generic nouns like *bim* in 10.393 or *yaw* in 10.395 is likely to induce a secondary predicate reading (and in any case the combination *bim-kurrme* 'put O (onto a rock wall) as a painting or image' is on the way to becoming phraseologised).

A peculiar case of secondary predication involves the root *mudj* 'rainbow serpent', which takes the Class II prefix when used as an external nominal: *ngal-mudj*. In narratives in which the rainbow serpent is transformed into part of the landscape, this often incorporates into verbs such as *yerrkan* 'sit down', but always takes the genitive suffix *-ken(h)* when incorporated (as in 10.396).<sup>47</sup> As discussed in §11.5.8, Dalabon nouns in locative function

<sup>45</sup> An interesting case of opposite semantic developments comes from the other word for 'body' in the dialect chain, which is *darrkid* in Kune. Recall that this means 'alive' when used as a secondary predicate in dialects such as Gun-djeihmi. The semantic development to 'alive' seems to have passed via the meaning 'actually present, at hand, with us (in the realm of the living)' which this form has in Kuninjku.

<sup>46</sup> Here the situation is reminiscent of the discussion in Hale (1983) 'predicate' vs 'argument' construals of Warlpiri nominals, though in this case they are free rather than incorporated nouns.

<sup>47</sup> For further examples, with the verbs *ni* 'sit' and *namerren* 'make oneself', see OP 379. The following page also has a puzzling similar example with incorporated *njaladjken*; *njaladj* is the name of an exchange ceremony.

take the genitive suffix when incorporated, but in Bininj Gun-wok suffixation of incorporated nouns with the genitive is limited to a couple of frozen spatial prefixes.<sup>48</sup>

- 10.396    *Wanjh gumekke ba-mudj-genh-yerrga-ng, ba-djal-gurrme-rr-inj*  
 Dj        then        there        3P-rainbow.serpent-GEN-sit-PP    3P-just-put.down-RR-PP  
*djang.*  
 dreaming  
 'Then he sat down there in the form of a rainbow serpent, and made himself  
*djang.*'

## 10.5 Pronominal prefixes, incorporation and prototypical animacy distribution

In §10.1.1 we discussed the functional complementarity between the two systems available for representing arguments on the verb: the system of pronominal prefixes, basically set up to represent higher animates (in that lower animates will not have their number marked, and even the third person minimal form is always represented by zero), and the system of incorporated nominals, basically set up to represent inanimates (in that all incorporable generics except *yaw* 'child' and *bod* 'bee' refer to inanimates). The distribution of zero exponence within the divalent prefix paradigm (§10.2.2) also means that, outside simple 3 minimal / 3 minimal combinations, even human objects will only receive non-zero marking if they are non-third person and/or non-minimal.

In monovalent and divalent verbs there is spare capacity within the system, as it were, since there are more coding slots than arguments to code, so that arguments are sometimes represented in two places, once on the pronominal prefix and once by incorporated nominal (e.g. *biyawnguneng* in 10.111).

However, with trivalent verbs the system is stretched to the limit. If the arguments have what I shall call a 'prototypical animacy'<sup>49</sup> distribution, in which the first object is in fact higher on the Silverstein hierarchy than the second (as in clauses like 'he showed me the stone', 'he gave her to me', 'he left the money with them' or 'I saw them with her'), then overt exponence is optimised and each argument can be overtly expressed, at least potentially.

But although each verb presupposes a prototypical distribution of reference across the animacy hierarchy, and the marking system operates most efficiently when this distribution holds, this does not mean that situations violating this distribution will never be encountered. What happens in such circumstances? One possibility would be for the marking preferences to override the normal morphosyntactic privileges, so that first person true objects with third person indirect objects would override the rule that indirect objects claim the pronominal prefix slot, and trigger the first person object form. Another possibility would be that trivalent verbs are simply disallowed in this situation — this is what happens in French, for example, where a clause like *\*Il me lui montre* is ungrammatical for 'he shows me to him/her'.

<sup>48</sup> Though I have one example from Gun-djeihmi of a genitive-suffixed form of *gele* 'afraid' being incorporated, with scope over a transitive subject: *barrigelegenhbawong* 'they left it (the dreaming), in fear'.

<sup>49</sup> This terminology is unfortunately inexact, but has become established: for animacy, read 'person/number/animacy, as arranged in the Silverstein hierarchy'.

We find that Bininj Gun-wok has two main strategies for dealing with such non-prototypical cases, depending on the argument structure of the verb. It should be noted, though, that such cases are so unusual as to be virtually absent from the textual corpus, so that the following examples were all obtained by elicitation unless otherwise noted.

- (a) Where the verb is an underived ditransitive and the true object is higher in animacy than the indirect object, it simply usurps the privilege of pronominal object marking (10.397). That it is still a true object is shown by the fact that it still licenses incorporation of associated body parts (10.398). The indirect object appears as an external pronoun or noun phrase preceded by the locative preposition *gure/guri* (10.399, 6.90).

10.397 *An-bukka-ng gure bedda.*

Dj 3/1-show-PP LOC them  
'He showed me to them.'

10.398 *An-bolidj-bukka-ng gure bedda.*

Dj 3/1-scar-show-PP LOC them  
'He showed my tribal scar to them.' (lit. He showed me, the scar, to them.)

10.399 *Arduk abbard an-berlwo-ng guri na-nih bininj.*

Dj my father 3/1-give.in.marriage-PP LOC MA-DEM man  
'My father gave me in marriage to that man.'

There is one textual example of this type, in which the third argument is introduced by an applicative (the causal use of the benefactive) rather than being intrinsic to the basic verb stem; in this example the displaced third person argument is ellipsed, presumably being recoverable from context.

10.400 *Ngan-marne-baye-ng.*

W 3/1-BEN-bite-PP  
'It (dog) bit me because of it (because I damaged the mythological site).' [PC 71]

- (b) If the would-be violating verb is a derived double-object verb, it is avoided and a simple transitive verb used instead. The third entity is represented either as a prepositional phrase (10.401b; 10.402b; 10.403b,c) or case-marked phrase (10.404b), or by using a second clause (e.g. 10.402b). In each of the examples below I first give a double-object verb in which the person/animacy distribution is prototypical, and normal morphosyntactic privileges apply; then I give one or more examples of the divalent alternatives used in cases of person/animacy distribution violations.

10.401 a. *Arduk garrard an-yau-yi-bawo-ng.*

Dj my mother 3/1-child-COM-leave-PP  
'My mother left the child with me.'

b. *An-yau-bawo-ng gure bedda.*

3/1-child-leave-PP LOC them  
'He left me, as a child, **with them**.'

10.402 a. *An-bo-yi-na-ng.*

Dj 3/1-liquid-COM-see-PP  
'She saw me with the drink.'

- b. *An-na-ng gure berluh rowk.*  
 3/1-see-PP LOC aunty all  
 'She saw me with all the aunties.'
- c. *Al-badjan gun-na-ng berluh rowk gurri-h-re-y.*  
 II-mother 3/2-see-PP aunty all 2a-IMM-go-PI  
 'Your mother saw you with your two aunties.' (lit. Your mother saw you,  
 when you with all your aunties were going.)

10.403 a. *Bani-kole-yi-gurrme-ng.*  
 Dj 3ua/3P-spear-COM-leave-PP  
 'The two of them left a/the spear with him.'

- b. *Bi-kurrme-ng gure bedda.*  
 3/3HP-put-PP LOC them  
 'He put her with them.'
- c. *Ban-gurrme-ng gure aleng.*  
 3/3pl-put-PP LOC her  
 'He put them with her.'

10.404 a. *Bani-daluk-yi-bu-rr-inj.*  
 Dj 3uaP-woman-COM-hit-RR-PP  
 'The two of them fought over the woman.'

- b. *Na-meke daluk bogen bani-bu-rr-inj aye-genh / udda-genh.*  
 MA-that woman two 3uaP-hit-RR-PP me-GEN you-GEN  
 'Those two women fought over me/over you.'

Note that in some examples (e.g. 6.92) it is sufficient for both objects to be higher than third singular on the animacy hierarchy to trigger the alternative construction, even though the higher object (e.g. 'me' in 6.92) may still be higher than the lower object ('them') in person/animacy. The generalisation is this: whenever the existence of a non-prototypical animacy distribution means that both objects would have a non-zero form registered on the pronominal prefix, the comitative construction is avoided in favour of an underived transitive with the comitative argument represented by a PP. In the case of third person singular objects, there is a choice between representing them as incorporated nominals in the derived trivalent construction (e.g. 6.93) or using underived transitives with prepositional comitatives that allow them to appear as non-zero object prefixes (e.g. 6.94b).

To summarise: non-prototypical distributions of animacy across the three arguments lead to either (a) the use of a marked construction in which the lower-animacy indirect object, displaced from the prefix slot, is represented by a free pronoun preceded by a preposition, or (b) the non-use of the comitative double-object construction, with the comitative argument represented either by a prepositional or case-marked phrase. The fact that in either case a marked construction must be used is a grammatical diagnostic for the marked nature of the semantics, as indicated by the virtual absence of such examples from the text corpus.

# 11 *Adverbial elements in the verb*

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In this chapter we discuss the many adverbial elements that can precede the verb root, which furnish information about direction, location, position quantification, aspect and seriation, time and manner. Their semantic functions do not correlate neatly with their morphological position, so I discuss the two separately: in §11.1 I outline the ordering facts, and in §11.2–§11.7 I discuss their semantic effects. A third variable is the question of whether there exists, for each prefix, a free-standing counterpart. Many, such as the prefixes *yawoih-* ‘again’, *darnh-* ‘near’ and *gak-* ‘at night’, have free-standing counterparts, respectively *yawoyhno* (external in some dialects only), *darn.gih* and *gun-gak*. Some, like *warrgah-* ‘in the wrong place’ have etymologies suggesting an external origin, but no synchronic free-standing counterpart. Prefixes that are synchronically or diachronically relatable to external material may have the ‘heavy’ syllable structures characteristic of lexical roots (§2.4.1). A third group, like the directionals *-m-* and *-bal-* and the ‘immediate’ prefix *-h-*, only occur as prefixes; these are either non-syllabic or have the ‘light’ syllable structures characteristic of affixes. Throughout this chapter, I mention corresponding free-standing forms wherever they exist.

Although the prefixes are grouped roughly, for expository purposes, into quantificational, aspectual, directional, etc., there is a considerable amount of semantic overlap; for example *bal-* can have both directional and aspectual senses, and *djal-* can function both as a restrictive quantifier and as a marker of continuous aspect.

There is also considerable semantic overlap with material outside the verb, in particular with free adverbials, clitics and demonstratives, and I discuss this where relevant in this chapter.

## 11.1 Prefix orderings

The prefixes at hand occupy slots -9 (directionals), -8 (immediate), -7 (‘miscellaneous’ — the majority), -5 (another miscellaneous set, including *djal-* ‘just’), -2 (numerospatial). See §8.1.1 for a full expansion. The spatial prefixes occur inside the incorporated nominal slots (-3 and -4); incorporated nominals precede *da-* ‘in the sun’ and *yirri-* ‘spread’, but the position of the latter with respect to the numerospatial and comitative slots has yet to be determined.

Several prefixes of the same slot can co-occur, and it is the relative ordering of such prefixes that concerns us here. Full data is not available yet, but the following statements can

be made: *woh-* 'part' precedes *djarrk-* 'together', and *bed-* 'now' precedes *yawoih-* 'again', as shown by the following examples.

- 11.1 *Arr-woh-djarrk-yo-ø!*  
 Dj 12-part-together-sleep-IMP  
 'Let's you and me both sleep for a bit!'
- 11.2 *Arri-bed-yauh-dadjge-yi ...*  
 Dj 1a-now-again-cut-PI  
 'Now we'd cut some more (spearshafts) ...'

## 11.2 Directionals *m-*, *bal-*

These prefixes specify direction, basically 'towards' and 'away/along' respectively, and co-occur with a wide range of verbs. A Gun-djeihmi set illustrating the three-way contrast is *ga-re* '(s)he is going', *ga-m-re* '(s)he is coming', *ga-bal-(r)e* '(s)he is going along'.

Only the western dialects (Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku) have both these directional prefixes; *bal-* is lacking in Kuninjku and Kune Dulerayek, while the Kune Narayek and Manyallaluk Mayali lack both prefixes, relying on free adverbials to convey directional information. Combined with the distinctive variation in third person past prefixes with *m-* this makes the directionals a salient dialect marker; the shading shows the extent of overt marking on the verb of these categories.

**Table 11.1:** Directional prefixes across dialects

	3NP.hither	3P.hither	3NP.away
Dj	<i>ga-m-</i>	<i>ba-m-</i>	<i>ga-bal-</i>
W	<i>ka-m-</i>	<i>ku-m-</i>	<i>ka-bal-</i>
I	<i>ka-m-</i>	<i>ka-m-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
E:D	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ø-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
MM	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ka-</i>

### 11.2.1 *m-* 'hither'

The basic function of this affix is to mark movement towards the deictic centre. Compare Dj *yirai* 'you go!' and *yimrai!* 'you come'; *yirrurnde!* 'you return, you go back!' and *yimdurnde!* 'you come back!'; *ngarrurnde* 'I'll go back' and *ngamdurnde* 'I'll come back (here)'.

Initial zero pronominal prefixes, such as the 1/2 prefix in all dialects and the 3P prefix in Kunwinjku and Kune, leave the *m-* prefix unsupported in a phonotactically unacceptable position. In the case of the third person past prefix this is resolved by using a special allomorph *ku-* (W) or *ka-* (E); see §10.2.4.

Dialects lacking the hither prefix resort to the use of adverbials like *gonhda* (11.3) or *kondanj* (11.4) 'here', or combine the verb with an interjection like *woy!* 'come here!' (11.5). A few lexemes in these dialects retain a frozen *m-* prefix, most notably *-m-dolkka* in the meaning 'to come from (homeland, clan land)' (11.6).

- 11.3 *Yi-ra-i gondah!*  
MM 2-go-IMP here  
'Come here!'
- 11.4 *Wolewoleh-ken nga-wam kondanj.*  
E yesterday-GEN 1-go here  
'I came here yesterday.'
- 11.5 *Yi-ra-y woy!*  
E 2-go-IMP come.here  
'Come here!'
- 11.6 *Namirwi ka-m-dolkka-n.*  
E Namirwi 3-hither-get.up-NP  
'He comes from the Namirwi clan.'

The 'hither' prefix exhibits a number of semantic extensions. With some verbs the 'towards' motion may not be part of the verbal predicate itself, but of some contextually obvious subsequent, prior or concurrent action:

- 11.7 *Yi-m-yerrng-ma-ø!*  
Dj 2-hither-wood-pick.up-IMP  
'You pick up the wood (and bring it here).'
- 11.8 *Birri-m-h-di.*  
I 3aP-hither-IMM-standP  
'They were standing there (on their way here).'
- 11.9 *Kum-rdurndi kum-bininj-minj.*  
W 3hitherP-returnPP 3hitherP-man-INCH:PP  
'He came back as a man.'

With stance verbs the 'hither' form may in other contexts imply either closeness to some deictic centre (11.10), or a narrowing distance between the static object and some moving participant (11.11, 11.12):

- 11.10 *Darn.gih ga-m-ni.*  
Dj close 3NP-hither-sitNP  
"'Him close-up sit down.'"
- 11.11 *Bu bene-bal-kolu-ngi na-wu nganabbarru ku-m-di kore*  
W • SUB 3uaP-along-descend-PI I-REL buffalo 3P-hither-standPI in  
*kukku, dja bedda minj bene-burrbu-yi.*  
water but they not 3ua-know-IRR  
'While the two of them were climbing down (towards it) that buffalo was standing in the water, but they didn't know it.'
- 11.12 *Ku-m-kuni-yo-y.*  
W 3P-hither-VIOL-lie-PI  
'The devil lay in wait for him.' [Oates 1964:93]

11.2.2 *bal-* 'away, along'

According to an early characterisation by Berndt and Berndt (1951a), this signifies 'movement in space or time'. Most truly directional uses are compatible with an 'away' meaning, if the current deictic centre is static, or an 'along' meaning if it is moving. Each of these spatial senses has a corresponding aspectual extension: (a) completion (moving away from the relevant action) and (b) recurrence or continuation (cf. English 'talking away').

- (a) Trajectory in space away from the current static deictic centre, which may be based on the speaker and/or hearer (11.13, 11.14) or, in third-person-based narrative, on the protagonist's current position (11.15).

11.13 *Wudda-djahdjam guned a-bal-e.*

Dj you-place camp 1-away-goNP  
'I'll come out to your place.'

11.14 *Yi-bal-derrebme-n!*

Dj 2-away-move-IMP  
'Move over!' (so there's room for me to squeeze in)

11.15 *Nungka ø-bal-wam kore man-kabo bu ø-dung-yibmi-yibmi darnki.*

W he 3P-away-goPP LOC III-river SUB 3P-sun-REDUP-sinkPI near  
'He went to the river near sunset.'

- (b) Where the central participant is moving, it denotes a continued trajectory ('along'):

11.16 *Yi-bal-ngomka!*

W 2-along-swimIMP  
'Swim along ahead!' [KH 58]

11.17 *Kun-dulk makah ka-bal-h-dulk-darlka-n.*

W IV-stick 3DEM 3-along-IMM-tree-float-NP  
'A stick is floating along (down the river).' [KH 59]

Sometimes the trajectory is more metaphorical:

11.18 *Bedda birri-borrkke-ng kondah kun-kare. Bu dabbarrabbolk*

W they 3aP-dance-PP here IV-before SUB old.person

*bindi-bal-bukka-ng yawuh-yawurrinj.*

3a/3plP-along-show-PP REDUP-young.man

'They danced it here long ago, when the adults passed it on to the young men.' [KS 140]

- (c) An aspectual extension of the 'away' meaning, so far only attested in Gun-djeihmi, is its use with just completed or about-to-be completed (11.19) actions: the actors are moving 'away' from that action to another. Completed actions take the past, perfective (11.20) or imperfective (11.21) according to whether the sequence is repeated, or the non-past plus immediate aspect (11.22).

11.19 *Ga-bal-ngokda-n ga-rrung-yibme ganjdji, wanjh ga-golu-ng.*

Dj 3-away-night.fall-NP 3-sun-sinkNP down then 3-go.down-NP  
'When night is about to fall and the sun is setting down, then he goes down.'



- 11.20 *A-bal-djal-gukwe-rr-inj.*  
 Dnj 1-away-just-profane-RR-PP  
 'I just said a tabooed name.'/'"I just swore myself."'
- 11.21 *Barri-bal-djud-warrehwarrewo-ni, ba-rrurnde-ngi, darah*  
 3aP-away-back.of.neck-turn.away-PI 3P-return-PI stringybark  
*ba-mangi, ban-berdm-i, ban-bu-ni.*  
 3/3P-pick.upPI 3/3pl-cover-PI 3/3pl-kill-PI  
 'As soon as they had turned their backs on him he'd come back, pick up a sheet of stringybark, cover them, and kill them.'
- 11.22 *Bolkkime arri-bal-h-yakwo-n.*  
 now 1a-away-IMM-finishNP  
 'We just finished (building) it now.'

Nearly completed actions take *guyin-* 'nearly' (§11.4.4) plus the irrealis.

- 11.23 *A-bal-guyin-yakwoyi.*  
 1-away-almost-finish-IRR  
 'I've nearly finished.'
- (d) An aspectual extension of the 'along' meaning is its use for recurrent aspect, equally well attested in Gun-djeihmi (11.24, 11.25) and in Kunwinjku (11.26, 11.27):
- 11.24 *Yi-bal-yolyolme-n al-gohbanj!*  
 Dj 2-along-tell-IMP II-old.person  
 'You tell on, old woman!' (Said by a storyteller wanting the old woman to 'take over' the telling of the same story.)
- 11.25 *"Aaa, gadberre!" ban-bal-manjh-manjbo-m rouk.*  
 Dj aaa ours 3/3plP-along-ITER-thank-PP all  
 "'Aah, (meat) for us!" and she (emu) heartily thanked them all around.'
- 11.26 *Nga-birli-rrombo-m nga-rohrokme-ng dja ø-bal-djal-wurlhme-ng.*  
 W 1-flame-extinguish-PP 1-try-PP but 3P-along-just-flare.up-PP  
 'I tried to put the fire out, but it kept starting up again.' [KH 51]
- 11.27 *Bene-bal-djal-yonginj ku-ronj kandji.*  
 W 3uaP-along-just-liePP LOC-water under  
 'They were just only lying under the water.' [PC 100]

Dialects lacking *bal-* do not have any particular compensating strategies. The above sentences were mostly translated into Kune simply by dropping the *bal-*. Thus 11.14 was translated as *yiderrebmen!*, 11.20 as *ngadjalkukwerrinj*, 11.22 as *bolkkime ngarriyakwon* and 11.24 as *yiolyolmen!* The main exception is the continuing trajectory sense, where Kune will often employ the adverb *munguyh* 'always, continuously', for example in the translation (11.28) of 11.16:

- 11.28 *Yi-warrme-n munguyh!*  
 E 2-swim-IMP always  
 'Keep swimming!'

### 11.3 The A-quantifier prefixes

In this section I discuss a number of quantifier-type prefixes, with meanings like 'each', 'many' or 'all together' marked on the verb. Following Bach et al. (1995) I call these A-quantifiers (for 'adverbial-type' quantifiers) to distinguish D-quantifiers (for 'demonstrative/determiner-type quantifiers'), which appear within external NPs. For most meanings in this domain Bininj Gun-wok has both means available, as illustrated for 'many' in 11.29 and 11.30, and 'another' in 11.31 and 11.32:<sup>1</sup>

11.29 *Bamurru ga-mirnde-rri.*  
Dj magpie.goose 3-many-standNP  
'There are many magpie geese.'

11.30 *A-na-ng bamurru na-wern-gen.*  
Dj 1/3-see-PP magpie.goose MA-many-GEN  
'I saw many magpie geese.'

11.31 *Wolewoleh a-me-i djenj, bolkgime a-yauh-me-i.*  
Dj yesterday 1/3-get-PP fish today 1/3-again-get-PP  
'I caught a fish yesterday, and I got another one today/and I got one again today.'

11.32 *Yawurrinj na-buyiga ba-man.ga-ng.*  
Dj young.man MA-another 3P-fall-PP  
'Another young man fell down.'

As these examples show, in many contexts both A- and D-quantifiers are possible. However, there are significant differences as well. In general, the meaning of the A-quantifiers will include other, more specific components, such as information about the spatial arrangement of the magpie geese in the case of *mirnde-* (discussed in §11.3.3) and the implication that a whole event was repeated in the case of *-yawoyh-* (§11.3.5.1). For fuller discussion see Evans (1995a).

A second difference concerns the scope of quantification: in the case of D-quantifiers the scope is determined by constituent contiguity, being restricted to the phrase of which they form a part, whereas in the case of A-quantifiers there is no such constituent contiguity, so that other means must be used to determine their scope. With some of these the scope is determined by semantic roles; *djarrk-*, for example, translatable as 'all' or 'altogether', has scope over semantic agents, while *wernh-* and *woh-*, respectively 'properly, to completion' and 'partly', mostly have scope over semantic patients. Those with number-based meanings have scope over absolutes (objects and intransitive subjects) in the overwhelming majority of cases. With some (such as *warrgah-* 'the wrong one') the selection of scope reflects a complex interaction of their semantics with cultural knowledge. And with others (such as *djal-* 'only, just' and *yawoyh-* 'again; another') scope selection reflects the building up of presuppositions and topic relations in the discourse context.

<sup>1</sup> Some of the affixes discussed in this section would not uncontroversially be regarded as quantifiers, but are included because of parallelisms in their behaviour with other clear cases. *Djal-* 'only', for example, does not count as a quantifier by the usual tests of Barwise and Cooper (1981), van Benthem (1986) etc., but relationally it is the converse of the universal quantifier 'all', and as noted by Partee (1990), it quantifies over implicit sets that contrast with the given focus.

The order of presentation in this section will reflect approximate semantic groupings: §11.3.1 will deal with those with ‘universal quantifier’-like meanings like ‘all’; §11.3.2 with ‘extent’ quantifiers like ‘properly, completely’ and ‘partly’; §11.3.3 with numerospatial quantifiers like ‘many’; §11.3.4 with a prefix, meaning ‘the wrong one; in the wrong place’; and §11.3.5 with ‘again, another’ and ‘just, only’, whose scope is determined by discourse factors. My most extensive data for this domain comes from the Gun-djeihmi dialect, (particularly from Eddie Hardy), which I later cross-checked against the Kune dialect with David Karlbuma, and these sentences are given in brackets without interlinear glosses where their structure is sufficiently similar to be obvious to the reader. Where I am aware of differences in other dialects I note these, but the analysis has not been checked exhaustively for these dialects.

### 11.3.1 ‘Universal’ A-quantifiers

Three verbal affixes express meanings closely related to universal quantification: *djarrk-* ‘all, altogether’, *rr-* ‘all, collective’ and *bebbeh-* ‘distributive’. The basic scopal affinity of each of these is with the subject, but with subtle additional restrictions or extensions. *Djarrk-* is restricted to semantic actors acting in concert, at the same time and place. The collective sense of the reflexive/reciprocal suffix is the most general form, and is used in cases where the others are inappropriate (e.g. when the subject is not an agent), as well as in cases where *djarrk-* would be possible. *Bebbeh-* marks distributive share (explained below), most commonly over a subject key although events themselves may also be the key.

Universal quantification may also be achieved by the use of the D-quantifier *rouk/rowk* ‘all’, which comes at the end of the nominal group over which it has scope, or directly after the verb if its argument is only represented by a verbal prefix; for discussion and examples see §6.5.2.

#### 11.3.1.1 *djarrk-* ‘all acting together’

This has scope over the semantic actor. Its rough meaning is ‘acting together, all doing the same thing at the same time and place’.<sup>2</sup> An intransitive example is 11.33 and a transitive example is 11.34. Note that 11.34 cannot mean ‘we shot all the dogs’ although the number of neither the external nominal nor the pronominal object rules this out.

- 11.33    *Nguni-djarrk-re    nguni-boken    nguni-bo-yiga-n.*  
 Dj        2ua-together-goNP    2ua-two            2ua-liquid-fetch-NP  
           ‘You two go together and get drinks.’

- 11.34    *Garri-djarrk-dulubom    duruk.*  
 Dj        12a-together-shootPP    dog  
           ‘We all shot the dog(s).’

<sup>2</sup> There is a single exception in which *djarrk-* appears to quantify over the object: *benmenedjarrkmokenbom* [OP 439] ‘he hit the two of them together’.

Verbs that count as taking semantic actors include any that are potentially controlled, including stance verbs; *yo* can mean 'lie' or 'sleep'.<sup>3</sup>

- 11.35 *wanjh yika na-wu ngarri-ngime ku-rurk ngarri-djarrk-yo-y.*  
 W well some MA-REL 1a-enterNP LOC-house 1a-together-sleep-PP  
*balanda-dorrenge, dja yika na-wu wurdwurd birri-lobme-ng.*  
 white-with and some MA-REL children 3aP-run-PP  
 'Some of our people went into the dormitory, and slept among white people;  
 but some of the children ran away.' [OM 42]

With a few verbs, like 'chase', where the grammatical object is still an agent, *djarrk-* may have scope over it:

- 11.36 *ø-Wam wanjh benbene-djarrk-worrumbokka-ni kunak.*  
 W 3P-goPP then 3/3duP-together-chase.around-PI fire  
 'He went then, the fire was chasing them.' (i.e. a man is pursuing a  
 kangaroo and both are running away from a bush-fire)

On the other hand, verbs like 'die', denoting actions that cannot be controlled, cannot be quantified over with *djarrk-*; instead, the collective suffix must be used. This shows that concerted controlled action is a key part of the meaning of *djarrk-*.

As with all A-quantifiers in the language, *djarrk-* falls within the scope of negative particles. Thus 11.37 cannot be given an interpretation with the 'altogether' outside the negative: to say 'all of them (collectively) didn't go' one must say something along the lines of 11.38.

- 11.37 *Djama barri-djarrk-rayinj.*  
 Dj not 3aP-together-goIRR  
 'They didn't all go together.'
- 11.38 *Barri-yerrga-rr-inj, barri-bolkmaddi.*  
 3aP-sit.down-RR-PP 3aP-stay.in.one.placeP  
 'They all sat down and stayed in one place.'

In Kune the external form *djarrkno* means 'two'. It is likely that this is a dialect-specific semantic development, given that *boken/bogen* is found meaning 'two' in all other dialects, and that *-djarrk-* has the 'altogether' meaning in Dalabon as well.

### 11.3.1.2 Collective reading of -rr-

The basic meaning of *-rr-* is as a reflexive/reciprocal suffix; this is discussed and exemplified in §10.3.4. Extension from reflexive/reciprocal to collective is not infrequent in Australian languages (see Dench (1987) on Martuthunira and other Pilbara languages), nor cross-linguistically. Lichtenberk (1985:28) attributes this to the fact that each participant in a collective event concurrently has the roles of performer of the activity and of 'companion' to the other participant(s), while Kemmer (1993:124) motivates the link through her

<sup>3</sup> In fact, in Kune, *djarrk-* is most commonly used with such verbs; 'go together' and 'all shoot' in (11.33) and (11.34) were translated without prefixed *djarrk-*: *nguniray djarrkno ngunikolkman kunronj!* (note that *djarrkno* here simply means 'two', its commonest meaning in this dialect) and *karridulubom duruk*.

prototype of 'middle voice' semantics: 'Instead of distinguishing conceivably separate component events, in which individual entities carry out similar actions, the speaker merges the component events conceptually into a single event'.

Unlike the reflexive/reciprocal readings, the collective reading does not decrease the valency of the verb (see examples below), and is compatible with intransitive verbs like *bebmeng* 'appear, come, turn up' (11.206), though there are several intransitive-only conjugations for which the collective is unattested (see Table 9.1).

The collective use of *-rr-* universally quantifies over subjects, without the semantic restrictions associated with *djarrk-* or *bebbeh-*. It can be used with controlled verbs such as 'go down' (11.39), 'enter' (11.40) or 'stand' (11.41), but also with uncontrolled verbs like 'die' (11.42):

- 11.39 *Wanjh, na-behne barri-m-golu-rr-inj maih, mimgoi djohboi.*  
 Dj well MA-DEM 3aP-hither-come.down-RR-PP bird pigeon dear  
*gabbarri-djare gabbarri-bongu-n gukku,*  
 3a-wantNP 3a-drink-NP water  
 'Well, those birds all came down here again, those dear little red-eyed pigeons, they want to drink the water.'
- 11.40 *Barri-ngime-rr-inj gure Djabardurrwa.*  
 Dj 3aP-enter-RR-PP LOC [ceremony]  
 'They went through the Djaburdurrwa ceremony together.'
- 11.41 *Barri-dange-rr-inj gandi-nah-na-ni ani-bu-rre-ni.*  
 Dj 3aP-stand-RR-PP 3a/1a-ITER-see-PI 1a-hit-RR-PI  
 'They all stood and watched us fighting each other.' (Here the first RR is collective, the second reciprocal.)
- 11.42 *Barri-dowe-rr-inj.*  
 Dj 3aP-die-RR-PP  
 'They have all died.' ('They bin all die.') [DK, referring to all his parents' generation]

Most verbs in which *-rr-* is given a collective rather than a reflexive/reciprocal interpretation are intransitive, as with 11.39–11.42, while with transitive and ditransitive verbs, a reflexive/reciprocal reading is favoured. But for transitives, too, a collective reading can be forced by adding *djarrk-*, as in 11.43. Without *djarrk-* this would be given the reciprocal reading 'the men took each other back'.

- 11.43 *Bani-djarrk-yi-rrurnde-rre-ni.*  
 Dj 3ua/3P-together-COM-return-RR-PI  
 'The two of them both took him back together.' ('They take im back somebody else altogether.')

Other comparable examples without *djarrk-* were only accepted with a reciprocal reading:

- 11.44 *Bani-guk-yi-rrurnde-rre-ni.*  
 Dj 3uaP-body-COM-return-RR-PI  
 'They carried each other back.'

Ambiguity can arise in these examples because the pronominal prefix set has the same forms where there is no object and where there is a third minimal object. The following example, however, suggests that the collective use of *-rr-*, unlike the reflexive/reciprocal uses, does not preclude an object prefix, since the form *bandi-* is divalent. The presence of divalent prefixes here forces the collective reading:

- 11.45 *and some, al-gaihgo daluk ba-bimbo-m, bininj*  
 Dj and some Algaiho woman 3P-paint-PP man  
*bandi-h-worrum-bokka-rre-ni.*  
 3a/3plP-IMM-around-chase-RR-PI  
 'and some painted female Algaiho figures, they who all used to chase  
 around after men.'

### 11.3.1.3 bebbe(h)- 'DISTRIBUTIVE'

The prefix *bebbeh-* marks distributives: its presence on the verb indicates that the meaning of some word or constituent is distributed over some semantically plural **distributive key**. There is, in addition, a frequent extra meaning of spatial separation. A broad range of elements can function as distributive share and key (see Gil 1995 for these terms).

First let us consider examples where the verb is intransitive. There, the distributive key may be the intransitive subject, as in 11.46, or the event itself (11.47, 11.48). Where the distributive key is the event, a meaning of spatial (11.47) or spatiotemporal (11.48) separation is added.

- 11.46 *Bonj, garri-bebbe-yarlarm-e.* (= E *Bonj, karribebbehray.*)  
 Dj OK 12a-DIST-separate-NP  
 'All right, let's each go our own way.' (one separating per each of us)  
 ([us]<sub>key</sub> [separate-bebbeh]<sub>share</sub>, i.e. one separating off per each of us)
- 11.47 *Barri-bebbe-wam.* (= E *Birribebbehwam.*)  
 Dj 3aP-DIST-goPP  
 'They each went on their own.'  
 ([EVENT]<sub>key</sub> [someone-go-bebbeh]<sub>share</sub>, i.e. one person-going per event)
- 11.48 *Ngad karri-yid-yak karri-djal-bebbeh-ni yid-yak.*  
 W we 12a-trouble-PRIV 12a-just-DISTR-sitNP trouble-PRIV  
 'We won't cause any trouble, we'll just sit down separately (each in our own proper place) without any trouble.' [KH 47, excerpted and slightly retranscribed]

Now let us consider the situation with transitive verbs. In 11.49–11.52 the distributive key is the subject, and the distributive share is the verb-object plus-/component of the event. Note that the identification of distributive key is reinforced by *rouk* 'all' in 11.51, and by the iterative reduplication of the verb in 11.52.

- 11.49 *Gunj barri-bebbe-yame-ng.* (= E *Birribebbehayameng kunj.*)  
 kangaroo 3aP-DIST-spear-PP  
 'They each killed a kangaroo.'  
 ([they]<sub>key</sub> [kangaroo-spear-bebbeh]<sub>share</sub>, i.e. one kangaroo-killing per man)

- 11.50 *Bani-bebbeh-marne-djidme-rr-inj daluk.*  
 3uaP-DIST-BEN-steal-RR-PP woman  
 'They each stole each other's wife.' (i.e. one wife-stealing per man)  
 (= E *Benebebbehmarnedjidmarrinj daluk.*)
- 11.51 *Na-mege rouk bininj barri-bebbeh-garrm-i an-gorle.*  
 Dj MA-that all man 3a-DIST-have-PI III-spear  
 'Each of those men had a spear.' (i.e. one spear-having per man)  
 (= E *Bininj kabirribebbehkarrme mankorle.*)
- 11.52 *Barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng — gun-berd, gun-dad, njanjuk na-megebu.*  
 Dj 3aP-DIST-ITER-take-PP IV-tail IV-leg what MA-those  
 'They each took their share — tail, thigh, all that stuff, they each carted off their share.' (i.e. one share-taking per person)

In each of the above examples, then, *bebbeh-* marks the verb, possibly plus some argument, as distributive share; another semantically plural constituent is then selected as distributive key. Except for the cases where the distributive key is the event itself, in all cases so far the distributive key was marked overtly as plural by the form of the pronominal prefix. In 11.53, however, there is no overtly plural argument, but the semantic plurality of the object is inferred from the meaning of the verb *larlmang* 'separate (tr.)':

- 11.53 *God ø-yime-ng "Mah, kun-ngol kum-ra-y ka-kurrme-rr-en*  
 W 3P-say-PP well.then IV-heaven 3P-hither-go-IMP 3-put-RR-NP  
*ku-bulkayh kore ka-bo-yo, ba ka-bebbe-bo-larлма-ng".*  
 LOC-middle at 3-water-lieNP so.that 3-DIST-water-separate-NP  
 'God said: "Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters".' [Genesis 1:6 (The Bible Society in Australia 1992)]  
 ([water]<sub>key</sub> [bebbeh-firmament-separate-it EVENT]<sub>share</sub>, i.e. one firmament-separating-it event per unit of water)

Note that here the distributive share contains the verb and its subject, and the key is the object; from the viewpoint of constituency, this is the reverse of an example like 11.49.

A similar example in which a plural transitive subject can be the distributive key is:

- 11.54 *Nga-bebbeh-dulubom duruk.*  
 Dj 1sg-DIST-shotPP dog  
 'I shot (all) the dogs.'  
 ([dog]<sub>key</sub> [I-shoot-bebbe EVENT]<sub>share</sub>, i.e. one event of me-shooting-it per dog)

This object-key reading, however, is not the most favoured one for 11.54, which many speakers do not find particularly acceptable for 'I shot all the dogs'. These speakers say it would only be appropriate if it further means 'I shot (the) dogs, in a number of different places or on a number of separate occasions'. Moreover, they prefer to recast it in the imperfective aspect (as in 11.55), giving a meaning more like 'I went around shooting dogs in different places'. The glosses given, and the use of the imperfective here, suggest an analysis in the event is distributive key as shown. This would explain why 11.55 does not have an exhaustive reading, since it is not the set of dogs which is distributed.

- 11.55 *Nga-bebbeh-dulubu-ni duruk.*  
 Dj 1/3-DIST-shoot-PI dog  
 'I went around shooting dogs.'  
 ([EVENT]<sub>key</sub> [I dog-shoot-bebbe]<sub>share</sub>, i.e. one me-shooting-dog per event)

In Kune, which lacks a clear past imperfective category, the preference is to rephrase this with a related external version of the distributive, *bebbeh-be* (11.56); the use of this adverb in Gun-djeihmi is exemplified below.

- 11.56 *Nga-dulubom bebbeh-be duruk.*  
 E 1/3-shootP distrib-ABL dog  
 (= 11.55)

To give a more direct translation of 'I shot all the dogs' speakers prefer a D-quantifier like *na-wern* 'many' or *rouk* 'all':

- 11.57 *Nga-rrulubom na-wern duruk / duruk rouk.*  
 Dj 1sg-shotPP MA-many dog dog all  
 'I shot all the dogs, I shot the many dogs/all the dogs.'

To summarise, *bebbeh-* allows a variety of partitioning of the verb's core arguments into the distributive share, as presented in Table 11.2.

**Table 11.2:** Partitioning of core arguments into distributive share using *bebbeh-*

Key	Share	Example
S: intr. subject	V- <i>bebbeh</i>	11.46
A: tr. subject	O-V- <i>bebbeh</i>	11.49, 11.51
O: object	A-V- <i>bebbeh</i>	11.53
Event	S-V- <i>bebbeh</i>	11.47
Event	A-O-V- <i>bebbeh</i>	11.54

Where the distributive key is the event, a meaning of spatial (11.48) or temporal (11.54) separation, or both (11.47), is present.

To show distribution over non-core NPs, a formally-related external adverb is needed, such as *bebbehbebbeh* 'all around' (11.58) or *bebbeh-be* 'from each place' (11.59):

- 11.58 *Aban-marne-ganj-ginje-ng na-wern-gen bebbeh-bebbeh.*  
 1/3pl-BEN-meat-cook-PP MA-many-GEN REDUP-DIST  
 'I cooked meat for each of them, I cooked them meat all round.'
- 11.59 *Arri-h-mangih-mangi bogen=wi bebbeh-be.*  
 1a-IMM-REDUP-getPI two=ONLY DIST-from  
 'We got two from each place.'

### 11.3.2 Extent quantifiers

The A-quantifiers *wernh-* 'properly' and *woh-* 'partly, in a limited way' quantify over the extent to which an event is properly carried out or reaches its full potential. More than any other of the A-quantifying prefixes, their semantics is complex and interacts strongly with the



lexical semantics of the verb they are attached to, so that in many cases it does not make sense to talk about them having scope. With affect verbs, however, they may have object scope, and for that reason I discuss them here.

### 11.3.2.1 *wernh-* 'properly'

This typically shows that the predicate is carried out in a full or satisfactory way. It is related to the free manner adverbial *wern-kih* (§13.7). An example is:

- 11.60 *Djama ba-wernh-ngomga-yi.* (= E *Marrek wernhdjuhmeninj.*)  
 Dj not 3P-properly-swim-IRR  
 'He couldn't swim properly.'

The exact effect of *wernh-* depends on the verb it combines with. With *nan* 'look' it means 'have a good close look at' (11.61), with *bun* 'hit' it means 'hard', with *lobme* 'run' it means 'run fast' (11.62, 11.63), with *burrbun* 'know' it means 'be sure of' (11.64), with *dokme* 'lead off, be in front' it means 'be way out in front' (11.65), and with *re* 'go' it means 'go further' (11.66). In this last case only Kune uses the corresponding external adverb, which adds *-kih* to the verbal-prefix form.

- 11.61 *A-wernh-na-n gun-mok.*  
 Dj 1/3-properly-look-NP IV-sore  
 'I look at the sore properly, have a good look at the sore.'
- 11.62 *Ga-wernh-lobme ngudjmak.* (= E *Kawernhkudkudme ngudjmak.*)  
 Dj 3-properly-runNP fleet-footed  
 'He's running really fast, he's fleet-footed.'
- 11.63 *Bininj ø-borledme-ng kunj, ba bedda kabirri-wernh-lobme djarre.*  
 I person 3P-turn-PP kangaroo so they 3a-properly-runNP far  
 'The people turned themselves into kangaroos, so they could run further and faster.'
- 11.64 *Gukku a-wernh-burrbu-n.* (= E *Kunronj ngawernhbengkan.*)  
 Dj water 1/3-properly-know-NP  
 'I want to make sure of the water'.
- 11.65 *Ga-wernh-dokme.* (= E *Kawernhdokme.*)  
 Dj 3-properly-be.in.frontNP  
 'It's way out in front.'
- 11.66 *Garri-wernh-ra-i!* (= E *Karriray wernkih!*)  
 Dj 12a-properly-go-IMP  
 'Let's keep going a bit further!'

When such verbs are negated, *wernh-* gives the meaning 'not properly' (11.60, 11.67) or, with verbs of existence, 'not really, not authentically' (11.68):

- 11.67 *Djama ga-wernh-wokdi.* (= E *Marrek kawernhwokdi.*)  
 Dj not 3-properly-talkNP  
 'He can't talk properly.'

- 11.68 *Namiminja marrek ga-wernh-djang-di, nakka ø-djal-wam*  
 Dj [place name] not 3-properly-dreaming-beNP that 3P-just-goPP  
*ø-gurrme-rr-inj Namarrgon.*  
 3P-put-RR-PP lightning  
 'Namiminja isn't really a dreaming place, except that Namarrgon (lightning)  
 put himself there.'  
 (= E *Namumuyak marrek kawernhdjangdi ...*)

With transitive verbs of affect, like 'eat' or 'drink', *wernh-* has the meaning 'all of O', 'to completion' and, if negated, 'not much of O':

- 11.69 *Aban-bo-wono-wo-ng gobagohbanj, marrek a-wernh-bongu-yi.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-liquid-REDUP-give-PP old.people NEG 1-properly-drink-IRR  
 'I kept giving (my) drink to the old people, and didn't get to drink much myself.'  
 (= E *Ngabinkorlhwowong kobakohbanj, marrek ngawernhkolnguyi.*)
- 11.70 *Ba-gukku-yak-ni, an-djeuk ba-wernh-man.ge-yi, ba-gudjeuk-warre-ni.*  
 Dj 3P-water-PRIV-PI III-rain 3P-properly-fall-PI 3P-wet.season-bad-PI  
 'There was no water, it didn't rain properly, it was a bad wet.'

### 11.3.2.2 woh- 'PARTially'

This expresses limitation in extent. Again the exact effect depends on the semantics of the modified verb. With stance verbs like *ni* 'sit' or *yo* 'lie, sleep' and other verbs implying that an animate subject remains in a fixed location it means 'for a little while' (11.71–11.74). In Kune (only?) this can also be expressed (in conjunction or alternation) by the external adverbial *iyangbonj* 'little while':

- 11.71 *Arr-woh-djarrk-yo.* (= E *Ngarrwohyun yiyangbonj.*)  
 Dj 12-PART-together-lieNP  
 'Let's you and me lie down together for a bit.'
- 11.72 *A-djare an-gudji ani-woh-yo, djama a-yauh-marne-djare.*  
 Dj 1-want III-one 1ua-PART-sleepNP not 1/3-again-BEN-desireNP  
 'I only wanted us to sleep together for a short time, I don't want him anymore.'
- 11.73 a. *Gabani-woh-ni.* b. *Kabini-ni yiyangbonj.*  
 Dj 3ua-part-sitNP E 3ua-sitNP short.while  
 'They two sit down only for a short while.'
- 11.74 *Yi-marre-dadjdje Bangardi, nga-woh-dirri.*  
 I 2-hair-cutNP Bangardi 1-PART-playNP  
 'I'll play for a while, while you cut Bangardi's hair.'

With affect verbs the interpretation can either be that the action was done in haste, or that the object was only partly affected (11.75). To force the partitive object meaning, an external nominal compounded with *-yahwurd* 'small' must be used (11.76).

11.75 *Barri-woh-ganj-ngune-ng.* (= E *Birriwohkanjnguneng.*)

Dj 3a/3P-PART-meat-eat-PP

'They just ate some of the meat.' OR: 'They ate their meat hurriedly.'

11.76 *Barri-ganj-ngune-ng an-ganj-yahwurd.* (= E *Birrikanjnguneng kanjyawno.*)

Dj 3a/3P-meat-eat-PP VE-meat-small

'They ate some of the meat.'

With transitive verbs, negated *woh-* means 'not even a bit, not at all':

11.77 *Barri-djal-ni marrek barri-woh-bolk-na-yi gu-red gayakki.*

Dj 3aP-just-sitPI never 3aP-a.bit-place-see-IRR LOC-camp nothing

'They just sat there and weren't allowed to look around at all.'

It is impossible for *woh-* to have subject scope. To say, for example, 'only some of them ate meat', one must use a contrastive construction (11.78) or the D-quantifier *yiga* 'some, sometimes' (§13.11.12).

11.78 *Nanibbu barri-ganj-ngune-ng, dja nanibu gayakki.*

Dj that.lot 3aP-meat-eat-PP but that.lot nothing

'That lot ate some meat, but that (other) lot (ate) nothing.'

(= E *Nabenobo birrikanjnguneng, ngad kayakki.*)

With verbs that either themselves describe a trajectory, or refer to a point along a contextually evoked trajectory, the interpretation is 'part-way along', and is often translated into English as 'halfway'. Examples where the verb itself describes the trajectory are *bebme* 'come out, stick out' in 11.79, *djobme* 'run out, stop' and *yakmen* 'become nothing, finish up' in 11.80, while in 11.81 the context (a picture of a tree growing halfway up a hill) interacts with the stance verb 'be located high', whose semantics itself projects a path.

11.79 *Djorrkkun ga-wo-gom-bebme, an-gururrk-be.*

MM possum 3-PART-neck-emergeNP III-hole-ABL

'The possum's neck is sticking halfway out from the hollow tree.'

11.80 *Gu-ngarre-wern, ga-woh-ngarre-djobme, ga-woh-ngarre-yakme-n.*

Dj LOC-scrub-much 3-part-scrub-run.outNP 3-part-scrub-finish-NP

'There's a lot of scrub there, but it doesn't extend all the way up the escarpment, it runs out.'

(= E *Ngarreno nawern, wohngarredadjmeng.*)

11.81 *Kun-dulk man-dulum ka-woh-barndi.*

I IV-tree III-hill 3-PART-be.up.highNP

'The tree is halfway up the mountain side.'

The following example is very similar to 11.81, in that 'halfway' is with respect to a vertical path, but in this case the path is given by context rather than the lexical semantics of the verb:

11.82 *Ka-woh-ngey-di.*

I 3-PART-name-standNP

'It (the T-shirt) has a name on it half-way up.'

Finally, with some verbs the meaning of *woh-* is lexicalised to the point where the semantics is quite specific, and noun incorporation will be outside rather than inside it; an example is *worhnan*, which means 'look after, keep an eye on, be the boss of'.

### 11.3.3 The numerospatial A-quantifiers

We saw in §9.2 that some information about grammatical number of subjects and objects, particularly for human arguments, is furnished by pronominal prefixes. In addition, several A-quantifying prefixes (the number and forms depend on the dialect) provide information about approximate number. Between them, these prefixes can be used of any entities, animate or inanimate. To an extent, this makes them functionally complementary to the pronominal number system, which only shows the number of human arguments. But unlike the system of pronominal number, the numerospatial A-quantifiers are optional, and furnish additional spatial information.

Two initial examples with *mirnde-*, the most common such prefix in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku, are 11.83 and 11.84. These illustrate the prevailing absolutive orientation of this prefix, modifying the intransitive subject (11.83) and the object (11.84):

11.83 *Gonhdah ngudda ngurri-mirnde-yerrga!*

Dj here you 2a-many-sitIMP  
'You lot sit here!'

11.84 *Al-djal-gudji ba-mirnde-bimbu-ni gun-gurlah.*

Dj FE-just-one 3P-many-paint-PI IV-hide  
'She, by herself, painted a whole heap of buffalo hides.'

Unlike the pronominal prefixes, which provide information just about number, the A-quantifying prefixes additionally provide information about the spatial disposition of the group. Table 11.3 presents the Gun-djeihmi system, which has the most contrasts.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 11.3:** A-quantifying prefixes in Gun-djeihmi

Form	Gloss	Spatial Disposition	Further Remarks
<i>mirnde-</i>	many	scattered all over, stretching in all directions	often implicates very large number
<i>gaberrk-</i>	mob	in a bounded space in a group	applied to humans, suggests lack of common purpose
<i>djangged-</i>	bunch	all bunched up close	with humans suggests common purpose

Eddie Hardy used the following sentence to illustrate the differences between the Gun-djeihmi prefixes:

<sup>4</sup> In Kune there is a two-way system, in which *kaberrk-* is more spread out (frequently offered as an equivalent to both *mirnde-* and *gaberrk-* in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku) and *moken-* is more bunched up, and offered as an equivalent to *djangged-*. (The free noun *gun-mogen* (Dj) or *mokenno* (E) literally means 'bundle'.)

- 11.85 *Bamurru ga-mirnde-rri.* (= E *Manimunak kakaberrkdi.*)  
 magpie.goose 3-many-standNP  
 'There are many magpie geese, there are magpie geese all over the place.'

With *mirnde-*, this sentence would be appropriate to describe a situation where the geese are stretching out in all directions across the floodplain. The equivalent sentence with *djangged-* (*bamurru gadjanggeddi*) would be used of a flock of geese tightly bunched in a small waterhole. The intermediate *bamurru gagaberrkdi* would be used of geese around a waterhole but not necessarily crowded together.

Where humans are involved similar differences obtain (11.86–11.91), but in addition the relative spatial dispositions are typically given metaphorical extensions so that 'spatially closer' implies 'more co-ordinated, with more common purpose'. The exact interpretation depends on the verb: with 'dance' only the 'closest' prefix implies common purpose, while with 'sing' the 'medium density' prefix *gaberrk-* implies common purpose but not closely coordinated activity, while the closest prefix *djangged-* implies both common purpose and close coordination.

- 11.86 *Gabarri-mirnde-borrkge.* (= E *Nawern kabirriborrkke.*)  
 Dj 3a-many-danceNP  
 'There are many (people) dancing.'
- 11.87 *Gabarri-gaberrk-borrkge.* (= E *Kabirrikaberrkborrkke.*)  
 Dj 3a-mob-danceNP  
 'There's a mob of people dancing, all in one place (e.g. on the one disco floor, but possibly doing different dances).'
- 11.88 *Gabarri-djangged-borrkge.* (= E *Njonno kabirriborrkke.*)  
 Dj 3a-bunch-danceNP  
 'They're all dancing in a group.'
- 11.89 *Gabarri-mirnde-wayini.* (= E *Kabirrikaberrkwayini.*)  
 Dj 3a-many-danceNP  
 'There are many (people) singing.'
- 11.90 *Gabarri-gaberrk-wayini.* (= E *Kabirrikaberrkwayini.*)  
 Dj 3a-mob-singNP  
 'They're all singing in a group.'
- 11.91 *Gabarri-djangged-wayini.* (= E *Mokenno kabirriwayini.*)  
 Dj 3a-bunch-singNP  
 'They're all singing in a chorus.'

A further illustration of the difference in spatial meaning comes from examples where two such prefixes combine. In each case, *mirnde-* expresses the multitude of groups, and *djangged-* the fact that each group is a closely packed bunch or flock. (In Kune such double prefixes are not possible, and just *kaberrk-* is used.)

- 11.92 *Maihmaih ga-djangged-mirnde-rri.* (= E *Kikkik kakaberrkdi.*)  
 Dj birds 3-bunch-many-standNP  
 'There are many flocks of birds in the tree.'

- 11.93 *An-mim ga-djangged-mirnde-rri.*  
 Dj III-fruit 3-bunch-many-stand  
 'There are many bunches of fruit in the tree.'

A further manifestation of the spatial nature of these prefixes is their failure to occur with certain verbs which do not focus on spatial orientation. For example, none of these prefixes is attested as object of the verb 'hear'.

The spatial differences between these three further account for the affinity of certain referents for a particular prefix, which we can illustrate by the choice of typical intransitive subjects and typical objects with the prefixes *djangged-* and *gaberrk-*. Flying foxes typically congregate in dense flocks, while the rib-bones of an old buffalo skeleton are strewn around within a circumscribed area:

- 11.94 *Guluban ga-djangged-di.* (= E *Kuluban kamokendi.*)  
 Dj flying.fox 3-bunch-stand  
 'There's a flock of flying foxes.'
- 11.95 *Guluban a-djangged-na-ng.* (= E *Kuluban ngamokennang.*)  
 Dj flying.fox 1/3-bunch-see-PP  
 'I saw a flock of flying foxes.'
- 11.96 *Anabbarru ga-birrkbirrk-gaberrk-yo.*  
 Dj buffalo 3-rib.bone-mob-lieNP  
 'There's a heap of buffalo rib-bones lying there.'  
 (= E *Nganabbarru birrkbirrkmono kakaberrk-yo.*)
- 11.97 *Anabbarru a-birrkbirrk-gaberrk-na-ng.*  
 Dj buffalo 1/3-rib.bone-mob-see-PP  
 'I saw a heap of buffalo rib-bones.'

The semantic operation of these prefixes can be made clear by considering the incorporation of *mogen-* '(in a) bundle' in Gun-djeihmi. Unlike in Kune, where it has been fully grammaticalised as a numero-spatial quantifier, in Gun-djeihmi it can appear in addition to a generic incorporated nominal. This selects the argument denoting an object likely to be bundled up, such as 'spears' or 'swags':

- 11.98 *Aban-mogen-madj-wo-ng.* (=E *Ngabenmokenmadjbom.*)  
 Dj 1/3pl-bundle-swap-give-PP  
 'I gave them a bundle of swags.'

A pseudo-English parallel in which 'bundle' is prefixed to the verb, like 'I bundle-gave them the swags', should make clear both the process by which the scope of the argument is selected, and the degree to which selectional affinities operate — 'I bundle-gave them the dogs' sounds strange. With the three other numero-spatial A-quantifiers considered here, similar processes of semantically guided selection operate, but the selectional affinities are less strict than with 'bundle'.

*Mirnde-* is the unmarked form and as such has the weakest selectional affinities. Nonetheless, it tends to be associated with humans and higher animates more than do the other two, presumably because humans are more perceptually differentiated and correspondingly less likely to be lumped together conceptually. These effects are complex and the reader is referred to Evans (1995a) for details.

### 11.3.4 *warrgah-* 'wrong, (something/one in the) wrong (place)'

This prefix is only found in Gun-djeihmi and Kune.<sup>5</sup> In Kunwinjku the roots *warre-* and *warribu-* are occasionally incorporated with similar effects, but the system is more limited; this is discussed at the end of this section. The presence of the same form at both ends of the dialect chain, as well as in Dalabon (e.g. 11.100) suggests it is original and has been lost in Kunwinjku.

Translations of some clauses with *warrgah-* initially suggest it means simply 'the wrong one', and more specifically 'the wrong O':

11.99 *Na-binjgobeng bani-warrgah-bom.* (see also 6.10 for an E example)

Dj I-spouse 3uaP-wrong-hitPP  
'They punched the wrong husband.'

11.100 *Bi-no bvkah-warrkah-bong.*

D man-3POSS 3/3h-wrong-hitPP  
'He punched the wrong husband.'

11.101 *Ngan-warrgah-marne-dulubom duruk.* (= E *Duruk warrkahdulubom ngarduk.*)

Dj 3/1-wrong-BEN-shootPP dog  
'He shot the wrong dog of mine.'

However, the full facts are considerably more complex and exhibit the considerable effects of lexical semantics, including the contribution made by the incorporated nominal to defining the type of event (see Mithun 1986). I shall first present what appear to be a bewildering and arbitrary set of syntactic behaviours, and then propose a unifying semantic account. For example, 11.102 means 'the tree fell in the wrong place', not 'the wrong tree fell', showing that the scope of *warrgah-* is not restricted to arguments but can extend to (implied) locations:

11.102 *Ba-warrgah-dulk-man.ga-ng.*

Dj 3P-wrong-tree-fall-PP  
'The tree fell in the wrong place (e.g. across the road).'

But it is not the case the *warrgah-* can never quantify over intransitive subjects:

11.103 *Barri-buyiga barri-warrgah-wayini-ø-yerrga-ng.*

Dj 3uaP-wrong 3uaP-wrong-sing-IVF-sit-PP  
'The wrong people were singing (at the ceremony).'

With some ditransitive verbs *warrgah-* has scope over the object; to obtain scope over the indirect object a D-quantifier such as *na-biya* '(the) wrong' must be used:

11.104 *An-djamun a-warrgah-bukka-ng gun-bim.*

Dj VE-sacred 1-wrong-show-PP IV-painting  
'I showed him the wrong painting, a secret one.'

11.105 *Bani-warrgah-marne-wayini an-biya an-garre, an-djamun.*

Dj 3uaP-wrong-BEN-singPI VE-wrong III-song VE-sacred  
'They sang him the wrong (category of) song, a sacred song.'

<sup>5</sup> It is likely *warrgah-* derives from the root *warre* 'bad' plus the locative suffix *-gah*, with loss of the second vowel.

11.106 *A-bukka-ng gun-bim na-biya bininj.*  
 Dj 1-show-PP IV-painting MA-wrong person  
 'I showed the painting to the wrong person.'

11.107 *Bani-marne-wayini na-biya bininj.*  
 Dj 3uaP-BEN-singP MA-wrong person  
 'They sang a song for the wrong person.'

With other ditransitive verbs, *warrgah-* is unselective, allowing either object or indirect object scope:

11.108 *A-warrgah-warde-wo-ng mungu.*  
 Dj 1sg-wrong-money-give-PP accidentally  
 'I accidentally gave the money to the wrong person.' OR: 'I accidentally gave him/her the wrong money.'

We have seen examples of transitive verbs in which *warrgah-* binds the object (11.104, 11.105) but with other transitive verbs it can select either subject or object:

11.109 *Ba-warrgah-warde-me-i.*  
 Dj 3P-wrong-money-get-PP  
 'He picked up the wrong money.' OR: 'The wrong person picked up the money.'

There are derived double-object verbs like 11.110 in which the scope is over the underlying object:

11.110 *Ngaban-warrgah-madj-yi-ma-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-wrong-swap-COM-pick.up-NP  
 'I might get the wrong swap off him.'

But with derived double-object verbs the scope of *warrgah-* is not over an argument at all, but over an implied locative adjunct:

11.111 *Ngaban-warrgah-bo-yi-na-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-wrong-liquid-COM-see-PP  
 'I saw them with the beer in the wrong place.'  
 \*'I saw them with the wrong beer.'  
 \*'I saw the wrong people with the beer.'

Finally, in some cases *warrgah-* is interpreted as having scope over one member of the plural set of subject referents:

11.112 *Nguni-warrgah-yerrng-yiga-ng.*  
 Dj 2ua/3-wrong-wood-fetch-PP  
 'You went with the wrong woman (i.e. not your wife) to fetch wood.'

It should now be abundantly clear that the scope behaviour of *warrgah-* does not follow from any syntactic features of argument structure. On the other hand, a semantically unitary account can be given if we marry an enriched semantics for *warrgah-* to certain cultural assumptions about ways of being wrong, in particular to beliefs about the appropriateness of certain actions to certain places. If we define its meaning as 'the event was wrong because [some entity] was in or is culturally associated with the wrong place, during or as a result of the event' we can make sense of the scope behaviour of all of the above examples.



In 11.99 and 11.101 the victims were in the wrong place: wrongly in the shooting or punching line. In 11.102 the tree came to be in the wrong place — the reason the ‘wrong tree fell’ interpretation is ruled out is that this would need the tree to be in the wrong place *before* the event. In 11.103 *warrgah-* can have scope over an intransitive subject because one’s clan and language affiliation is central in giving rights to sing in a ceremony; for this event the wrongness lies in an outsider usurping the rightful place of members of another clan in singing in the ceremony. Example 11.104 concerns a spectator being shown sacred rock paintings, when he should just have been taken to see the ‘open’ paintings in another place. In 11.105 a sacred song, which should be confined to particular ceremonial grounds, is wrongly sung in an ‘open’ place. In 11.108, by contrast, the everyday act of giving is involved, so it may go wrong either because the giver picks up a pay package that’s lying in the wrong place, or because (in the context of royalty payments to traditional owners of a particular territory) the recipient is actually associated with another clan territory — significantly, the latter reading can be forced by adding the external noun *na-wokbuyiga* ‘member of another language group’ as object. A similar wrongful clan affiliation accounts for the possibility of subject scope (11.109), where the wrong person (again, of the wrong clan territory) comes to pick up the money.

In 11.110 the action goes wrong because the right and the wrong swag end up in the wrong places. Scope selection in 11.111 depends intimately on the contemporary rules of beer-rationing — the beer is not subject to absolute moral prohibitions, and it is unnatural to talk of the ‘wrong beer’ or a ‘wrong person’ drinking beer, but there are certain places ‘out of bounds’ to given individuals who have been banned from those areas as a result of previous incidents. Finally, in 11.112 the stereotyped frame of using ‘going off to get wood’ as an alibi for illicit liaisons interacts with the dual number of the pronoun to give an interpretation based on the insinuation that the event was wrong because the addressee was in the wrong place (the bush) with the wrong partner.

With a unitary semantics for *warrgah-* of this type, we can say that scope selection by *warrgah-* is not necessarily lexicalised, but does require a sophisticated representation of lexical semantics together with cultural presuppositions about which activities should be performed by which participants in which places. The extra meaning ‘through some entity being/ending up in the wrong place’ is crucial to this interpretive process.

As mentioned above, Kunwinjku lacks this form of the prefix, though it has a formally related prefix *warrebu-* (11.113); this is compatible with the meaning discussed for *warrgah-* but I lack a comparably broad corpus to determine whether the semantic range is exactly equivalent.

- 11.113 *Mungu nga-m-warrebu-wam.*  
 W unknowing 1-hither-wrong-go:PP  
 ‘I have come to the wrong place.’ [Oaes 1964:91]

### 11.3.5 Quantifiers whose scope is affected by discourse factors

We now discuss two A-quantifiers, each found in all dialects, whose scope selection is not constrained by the sorts of extra semantic factors discussed in §11.3.1–§11.3.4, and on superficial examination appears to be unselective. In each case, however, there are

additional factors, having to do with discourse structure, presuppositions and event structure, which rule out some scope interpretations.

### 11.3.5.1 yawoih- 'again, another'

This prefix takes a number of forms: basically *yawoih-* (Dj), *yawoyh-* (W) and *rawoyh-* (E); in Gun-djeihmi it is often reduced to the forms *yawuh-* or *yauh-*. For convenience I will use *yawoih-* in the discussion below to cover all these variants. Its external counterpart *rawoyhno* 'again' is particularly common in Kune.

*Yawoih-* expresses phasal quantification, in particular the speaker's view that essentially the same event has been repeated.<sup>6</sup> Depending on its scope, *yawoih-* may be translated into English as 'again', 'too', 'the next', 'another' or '(some) more'. All of these can be regarded as expressing the same fact of repetition that is coded by the A-quantifier *yawoih-*, with the choice between the English forms conditioned by the nature of what they qualify — definite or indefinite, count or mass, noun or verb, seriated or non-seriated.

It is likely this prefix originated as an incorporated form (§12.1) of the verb *rawo-n* 'combine, make two, put together, make an addition'; the incorporating form would regularly be *rawoyh-*, identical to the Kune dialect form. An example of *rawon* being used as a main verb in a context where repetition is contextually conveyed is I *ka-karre-rawon* [3-ceremony-make.two/combine] 'he is participating in his second ceremony, he is repeating ceremony'. Following grammaticisation as an 'again' suffix it would then have become positionally more flexible, being able to occur further to the left than an incorporated verb, though in most cases this prefix directly precedes the verb root anyway.

Since what counts as 'the same event' is cognitively flexible, it is worth distinguishing three types of repetition.

In some cases, both the verbal action and the identity of all participants remain the same; in such cases the only suitable English translation is 'again'. I shall call such situations 'exact replays'. Two examples are:

11.114 *A-yawoih-man.ga-ng.*

Dj 1-again-fall-PP  
'I fell over again.'

11.115 *A-warnyak, djama yi-yawoih-djobge-rre-n!*

Dj 1-don't.want not 2-again-cut-RR-NP  
'I don't want you to cut yourself again!'

More frequently, the repeated event is viewed as being the same, even though one or more participants has been substituted by another individual in the same role. An English example would be 'I saw an accident yesterday, and I saw an accident again today'. I shall call these 'replays with token-replacement(s)', and refer to 'substitutes' in particular roles. In such cases the most appropriate English translation varies — most often the substitute nominal will be qualified by such words as 'another', '(some) more', 'too' or '(the) next'.

<sup>6</sup> In rare cases the event is composite and represented by more than one verb, but with *yawoyh-* marked only on the first, for example:

*mak kun-kudji-ken ø-yawoyh-dang-kolu-yi dja ø-kalkid-ngu-neng*  
then IV-one-GEN 3P-again-mouth-go.down-PI and 3P-juice-eat-PP  
'(Wirriwirriyak) put his head down again and ate some more.' [Oates 1964:100]

A third possibility is that only a part of the event is repeated, for example the component state of a causative verb. An English example is *Mary closed the door again*, which is ambiguous<sup>7</sup> between a reading in which the whole event of Mary closing the door is repeated, or merely the resultant state of the door being closed (it may be the first time Mary has closed it). Likewise, *the jungle has grown over the ruins again* is ambiguous in allowing either that the whole causative event the jungle growing over the ruins — is repeated, or merely that the final state — of being jungle — is repeated. Indeed, with the right set of indefinite NPs, as in *little Edwin got lost at the supermarket, but a kind old lady took him home again*, only the repeated-state reading is natural. I shall call these ‘final-state replays’.

With ‘exact replays’, the scope of ‘again’ must by definition be the complete clause, so scope selection is not an issue. I will therefore concentrate on the scope effects of *yawoih*- with the second and third types of repetition.

Replays with token-replacement can be expressed with *yawoih*- in cases where the substitute is the object, the subject or both.<sup>8</sup> Three examples where the substitute is in object relation are 11.116–11.118. Where the substitute nominal is a mass or plural noun in English the translation ‘some more’ is required; where it is a singular count noun the translation ‘another (one)’ is needed:

11.116 *Gan-yawoih-wo!*

Dj 2/1-again-giveIMP

‘Give me some more (tobacco, cigarettes, etc.)!’

11.117 *Kabirri-yawoh-dah-dakendo-ng.*

W 3a/3-again-INCEP-put.in-NP

‘They put in more (rubbish) (into the log).’ [KH 156]

11.118 *Gunubewu nga-yauh-ma-ng daluk, nga-yawurrinj.*

Dj perhaps 1/3-again-get-NP woman 1-young.man

‘Perhaps I’ll get another wife, I’m (still) a young man.’

A further example where the substitute nominal is in object relation is 11.119. In this context (where the substitutes form an ordered series), the English translation is ‘the next’, as in line c. In line f, ‘and then again they saw his next camp’, we have a nested repetition: an exact replay of a replay with replacement; that is, the event of them seeing the next camp is repeated. In such cases the replay with replacement is expressed by *yawoih*, the exact replay by *kun-kudji* ‘once (more)’:

11.119 a. *Bene-bokka-ni kerrenge-ken kure ø-yonginj*

W 3uaP-track-PI new-GEN where 3P-sleepPP

‘They tracked him to the first place where he had slept’

b. *bene-na-ng red-kare dja munguyh bene-djal-bokka-ni*

3uaP-see-PP camp-old and always 3uaP-just-track-PI

‘saw that it was an old camp, and continued tracking him until’

<sup>7</sup> As McConvell (1983:4) points out, the O.E.D. recognises both these senses of ‘again’ by identifying the two senses ‘repetition of an action or fact’ and ‘back into a former position or state’.

<sup>8</sup> I have no examples in my corpus of *yawoih*- having scope over a clause where the substitute is an indirect object. I suspect this is not an accidental gap, but have not systematically tested this. I therefore confine my discussion to its interaction with subjects and objects.

- c. *bene-bal-h-wa-m bene-yawoyh-red-na-ng*  
 3uaP-away-IMM-go-PP 3uaP-again-camp-see-PP  
 'they came up and saw his next camp (lit. again saw a camp (of his))'
- d. 'they went up and saw that the wood in the fireplace was blackened
- e. 'and had been burning only the day before
- f. *dja munguyh bene-djal-bokka-ni, kun-kudji mak bene-yawoyh-red-na-ng.*  
 and still 3uaP-just-track-PI next.time then 3uaP-again-camp-see-PP  
 'and still kept following his tracks, then again they saw his next camp.' [Oates 1964:109]

Now consider example 11.120, where the replacement is the intransitive subject. Here the speaker is talking about successive generations of young girls being raised in the mission dormitories and married off by the missionary to young men, in his attempt to break the tradition of betrothing young girls to old men. The verb *birribadyawoyhdjordmerreni* in the last line, 'now another (lot) of them began to grow up', expresses the repetition of a familiar cycle with a new set of equivalent participants. The replacement is the intransitive subject 'those other young girls who were just starting to grow'.

- 11.120 a. 'On his own account, then, he chose them, and gave them (in marriage) until none were left;
- w b. 'and we younger people were born.
- c. *Ngarri-wam, ngarri-djordmen rowk,*  
 1a-goPP 1a-grow.upNP all  
 'We all grew bigger,'
- d. 'and afterwards another white man came.
- e. 'He questioned us,
- f. 'and made a choice from among us to give those young boys who had been in the dormitory at the same time as we had.
- g. 'Time went by, and he had finished giving us all.
- h. *Wanjh birri-bad-yawoyh-djordme-rre-ni, na-wu yawkyawk*  
 then 3aP-now-again-grow-RR-PI MA-REL young.girls  
*birri-m-yahwurd-ni.*  
 3aP-hither-small-PI  
 'And then those other young girls were just starting to grow (i.e. a new generation of girls was growing up again to go the same way as us). [OM 45]

It is also possible for both subject and object to be replaced, if both are further tokens of appropriate types. Example 11.121 could be used either to a person who had already been getting filesnakes, or to someone who had not been gathering filesnakes herself but was joining a group who had been getting filesnakes. The exactly replayed event is thus 'someone gets some filesnakes', allowing substitution of either or both NPs.

- 11.121 *Bayun yi-yauh-ma-ng. An-dehne bayun yi-yauh-ma-ng.*  
 Dj don't 2-again-get NP VE-DEM don't 2-again-get-NP  
 'Don't get any more filesnakes. Don't take any more of those.'

Likewise, in 11.122 the event of a young man marrying a young woman (under the supervision of a missionary) is repeated with new individual men and women in line e; that is, both subject and object are substituted. This may be related to the fact that since third person pronominal prefixes need not be referential, the event is loosely specified enough to count as a repetition even when the exact referential identity of participants is being varied; that is, the verb *bi-me-y* encodes 'someone married someone', which is being repeated, rather than 'he married her', which is not being repeated.

11.122 a. 'Well, at last that white man said:

- W b. *"Ngaben-wono-wo-n, kabirri-ma-rr-en, yawurrinj dja yawkyawk"*.  
 1/3pl-REDUP-give-NP 3a-marry-RR-NP young.man and young.woman  
 "I want to give them in marriage, those young boys and girls".
- c. *Wanjh ngokkogen bene-bad-ma-rr-en, bininj daluk*.  
 well at last 3uaP-now-marry-RR-NP man woman  
 'So two of them were married, a man and a woman.'
- d. *Ngarri-wam, dird-buyika ngal-buyika daluk bi-yawoyh-me-y*  
 1a-gopp moon-other FE-other girl 3/3P-again-marry-PP  
*na-wu bininj*.  
 MA-REL man  
 'We went on, and the next month another girl was married to another man.'
- e. 'He kept on doing that, that white man,
- f. 'giving in marriage whoever had grown up at the same time as each other
- g. 'until at last he had finished (giving) them all.' [OM 45]

It is also possible to repeat the event with the verb and object held constant, but the subject being substituted (11.123, 11.124). In all my examples of this type the substituted subject is marked either with the D-quantifier *buyiga* 'other' or the nominal clitic *=wali* 'in turn, for his/her/their part'.

- 11.123 Aye *a-ga-ng* Cooinda, *a-yi-rrurnd-i gu-red*,  
 Dj I 1/3-take-PP [place] 1/3-COM-return-PP LOC-home  
*dja barri-buyiga barri-yauh-yi-rrurnd-i Cooinda*.  
 and 3a/3P-other 3pa/3P-again-COM-return-PP [place]  
 'I took her to Cooinda, then I took her back home, then another mob took her back to Cooinda again.'
- 11.124 Aye *werrk ø-ga-ng* Cooinda, *dja bedman-wali ngundi-yawoih-ga-ng*  
 Dj I first 1/2-take-PP [place] and they-IN.TURN 3a/2-again-take-PP  
*Cooinda*  
 [place]  
 'First I took you to Cooinda, then they took you to Cooinda again.'

Example 11.125 is similar, with a substituted subject (a different Aboriginal guerilla) while the verb 'spearing' and the object (the white policeman) are held constant. Note that the place of spearing, grammatically a body-part nominal construed with the object, is also varied from 'armpit' to 'ribs'.

- 11.125 a. *Ku-m-djal-burriwe-ng bi-marne-yame-ng na-wu ka-h-kodjbakke-rr-en,*  
 W 3P-hither-just-threw-PP 3/3-BEN-spear-PP MA-REL 3-IMM-head.break-RR-NP  
 'He just threw it at him (the policeman) and speared his hat (i.e. what was on his head),'
- b. *na-wu ka-h-kodjbakke-rre-n bi-marne-yame-ng.*  
 MA-REL 3-IMM-head.break-RR-NP 3/3P-BEN-spear-PP  
 'and speared his hat.'
- c. *Yimanek ø-kuyin-yime-ng.*  
 CNTRFAC 3P-almost-do-PP  
 'He (the policeman) tried to have a go.'
- d. *Ngokkoyen kun-wanj bi-yame-ng.*  
 by.now IV-armpit 3/3humanP-spear-PP  
 'But by now he (the Aborigine) had speared him in the rib below the arm,'
- e. *Bi-kariburriwe-ng. "Waaaaw", ø-yime-ng.*  
 3/3-knock.down-PP aargh 3P-say-PP  
 'and knocked him down. He (the policeman) said "aargh".'
- f. *Yimanek ø-kuyin-yirrhme-y mako,*  
 CNTRFAC 3P-almost-pull.out-PP gun  
 'He was about to pull out his gun (when)'
- g. *na-buyiga ku-m-yawoh-kolhmibo-m bi-bad-yawoh-yame-ng*  
 MA-other 3P-hither-again-set.woomera-PP 3/3P-now-again-spear-PP  
*ku-berremalk.*  
 LOC-shoulder.blade  
 'the other Aborigine aimed his woomera towards him and now he speared him again between the shoulderblades.' [KH 153]

There is some evidence suggesting that replays with replacement expressed with *yawoih* in which the the object is unchanged and the subject is substituted can only be made if the object is the topic of the clause. The evidence that the object is the topic in these examples is:

- (a) The use of deictic 'hither' in 11.125 — the deictic centre is the policeman.
- (b) The greater elaboration of adjuncts on the object in 11.125 — the terms for body parts, gun etc. all refer to policeman.
- (c) The use of term *gured* 'home' to mean 'to her home' in 11.123 without any overt pronominal modification.
- (d) The fact that it is the non-objects that are realised by external nominals, including free pronouns. External pronouns and other nominals usually mark non-topics, in particular contrastive focus, or new subjects. For example the two subjects in contrast are *aye* and *barribuyiga* in 11.123 and *aye* and *bedmanwali* in 11.124, and the subject nominal in line g is *nabuyiga*.
- (e) The fact that all attempts to elicit constructions of this type have been unacceptable when the object is not human and hence not easily made a topic; for example 11.126, where the object is 'rock', was rejected in favour of 11.127:

- 11.126 \**Nungga werrk ba-warde-bidbo-m, dja aye yerre a-yawoih-bidbo-m.*  
 he first 3/3P-rock-climb-PP and I later 1/3-again-climb-PP  
 'First he climbed the rock, then later I climbed it again.'
- 11.127 *Nungga werrk ba-warde-bidbo-m, dja aye yerre a-weleng-bidbo-m.*  
 he first 3/3P-rock-climb-PP and I later 1/3-then-climb-PP  
 'First he climbed the rock, and then later I climbed it.'

To summarise the data on 'replays with replacements', *yawoih-* is used for cases where only the object is replaced (11.116–11.118), where an intransitive subject is replaced (11.120), where both subject and object are replaced (11.122), and where the object is held constant and the subject replaced (11.123–11.125).

There are two asymmetries between subject substitutions and object substitutions that are worth pointing out.

Firstly, transitive-subject substitutions appear to require heavy contextualisation, in the form of various textual indications that the object is the point of view, and overt marking of the substituted subject nominal with *-buyiga* 'other' or *=wali* 'in turn, for his/her/their part'. Such heavy contextualisation is unnecessary with object substitutions (see 11.116–11.118, for examples). I take this to reflect the fact that the non-substituted argument will be the topic, and that the unmarked topic is the subject. There is no passive, and the means of treating an object as topic are rather indirect, but include the sorts of devices just discussed.

Secondly, there are stricter limitations for subjects than for objects on what can be considered another token of the same type. We have seen that subject substitutions need not be similar; in 11.123, for example, the first subject is 'I' and the second 'another mob', and in 11.124 the first subject is 'I' and the second 'they'. Object substitutions, on the other hand, need to be fellow-tokens of a clearly defined type, such as 'fish', 'wife', 'camp' or 'filesnakes'. My corpus lacks any examples in which the substituted objects vary in a way comparable to the substituted subjects — there is no example like 'they saw me, and then they saw you again'. This is not an absolute subject–object asymmetry, since as we have seen both subjects and objects can be substituted. But it is indicative of the relative importance of objects over subjects in defining what is considered the same event.

Now consider 'final-state replays'. We saw above that English 'again' can be used in cases where the resultant state, but not the entire complex event, is repeated. In Bininj Gunwok, analogously, semantically causative verbs allow the use of *yawoih-* even where the total event described by the verb has not occurred before, provided that the state contained within the verb has occurred before.<sup>9</sup>

Thus in 11.128 it is not necessary that the referent has made himself whole before; merely that he has been whole before. Note that the state of being whole is not described by the verb lexeme *marnbu-* 'make good, cause to be good', but is only implied by lexical composition.

- 11.128 *Bene-kuk-me-y bene-kuk-ngorrga-ng kun-ak bene-yerr(ng)-me-y*  
 W 3ua/3P-body-get-PP 3ua/3P-body-carry-PP IV-fire 3ua/3P-wood-get-PP

<sup>9</sup> McConvell (1983:4) shows that the verbal clitic *-rningan* 'again' in Gurindji behaves in a similar way. For example, the Gurindji sentence below can mean either that the child had covered up the money before, or that the money had been covered up before (not necessarily by the child).

*Karu-ngku wumara-ma jakarr ma-ni-rningan.*  
 child-ERG money-TOPIC cover get-P-again  
 'A child covered up the money again.'

*bene-kuk-yi-karrme-rr-inj bene-yime-ng "Marndi kun-malng*  
*3ua/3P-body-COM-get-RR-PP 3ua-say-PP maybe IV-spirit*  
*ka-rrorka-n mak ka-yawoyh-marnbu-rr-en marndi kan-h-bu-n".*  
 3-get.up-NP then 3-again-make.good-RR-NP maybe 3/12-IMM-kill-NP  
 'They took his body, dragged it to a fireplace, gathered wood for a fire and lifted his body on it. They said, "Maybe his spirit will rise up and he will make himself whole again. Then he will kill us".' [Oates 1964:111]

Similarly, in 11.129, the ancestral 'Dreaming Mother' Snake Yingarna, who has given birth to many people and animals, decides they are not to her liking and that she must swallow them and try gestating them again. The verb *ngaben-yawoyh-kuk-ngun* 'I will swallow them again' indicates the repetition of the final state (i.e. of them being inside her) but not of the total event, since she has not swallowed them before:

11.129 *Ngaben-yawoyh-kuk-ngun, kaluk ngaben-djordm-ih-we kore kun-njam.*  
 W 1/3pl-again-body-eatNP later 1/3pl-grow-IVF-throwNP LOC IV-stomach  
 'I will swallow them again, so as to grow them in my belly.' [KS 4]

Comparing the behaviour of *yawoih-* with English 'again' reveals both parallels and differences. The most significant parallel is that, in both Bininj Gun-wok and English, the same form can be used for exact replays, replays with replacement(s), and partial replays, and that partial replays are based on similarity of final state. The major difference is that Bininj Gun-wok is much more liberal than English in allowing substitutions, since many of the examples above cannot naturally be translated into English with 'again' and require various D-quantifiers. It is likely that this reflects the much weaker association between topic and subject in Bininj Gun-wok than in English, one of whose consequences is to allow objects to be topics without needing to be promoted to subject status by a passive.

This is a good point at which to review the contribution made by discourse and general pragmatic assumptions to the scope of *yawoih-*. In many examples (e.g. 11.119, 11.120, 11.122) it is clear which event is being considered as repeated because preceding textual material mentions a parallel episode. In other cases the nature of the repeated event is clear either from pragmatic context, as when 'give me some more (tobacco)' (11.136) was uttered after the addressee had already given some tobacco to the speaker, or from presuppositions about the state of the world, as with *kayawoyhmarnburren* (11.128), where the 'final-state replay' interpretation depends on a presupposition that being whole or healthy is the normal state. Finally, in cases of deciding whether a partial replay interpretation is to be 'subject [again V object]' or '[subject again V] object', information about which argument is topic is drawn on it is assumed that the partial replay includes the V and whichever argument is topic. Thus discourse and pragmatic factors accomplish the selection, in particular utterances, from among the larger set of possibilities allowed by the grammatically unselective nature of *yawoih-*.

### 11.3.5.2 *djal-* 'just'

*Djal-* is the commonest optional verbal prefix, and has a wide range of senses, fairly close to that of English 'just'. It can also precede noun-adjective compounds (5.208), adjectives, numerals (8.87) and locationals (11.130) when they are used predicatively, again with a



restrictive meaning.<sup>10</sup> When it restricts nouns, it is a separate word rather than a prefix (11.160). Occasionally it is reduplicated (with regular syllable-final replacement of the codal consonant by a glottal stop), as in W *ø-djah-djal-nalkbuni* 'he just kept crying' [KS 30].

- 11.130 *Minj na-ngale ka-re ku-mekke. Djal djarreh-beh karri-di karri-nan.*  
 W not I-who 3-goNP LOC-DEM just far-ABL 12a-standNP 12-seeNP  
 'Nobody is allowed to go there. Only from afar can we stand and look.' [KS 196]

We now discuss its various senses.

UP TO A POINT *Djal-* may express continuation up to or at a given point: either 'keep doing A until B' (11.131), or 'still be doing A at reference time, keep on doing A' (11.132). Given the existence of a free adverbial particle *jalngh* in Ngalakan, with the meaning 'right to, as far as', this may well be the etymologically prior sense.

- 11.131 *Maminga ngun-ma-ng, yi-djal-yo yi-rrowen.*  
 Dj clam 3/2-get-NP 2-just-lieNP 2-dieNP  
 'If a giant clam grabs you, you just lie there till you die.'  
 11.132 *Gu-mege-be ngarri-dolkga-ng Ngurrkdu, ngarri-djal-wam.*  
 Dj LOC-there-from 1-get.up-PP Spring.Peak 1-just-goPP  
 'From there at Spring Peak we got up and kept travelling.'

DURATIVE One extension from the continuative sense is to a durative. Frequently this sense is accompanied by the adverb *mungui* 'a long time' or its reduplicated form *munguihmungui*:

- 11.133 *Djabel gukku ga-djal-di mungui.*  
 Dj perch water 3-just-standNP long.time  
 'The perch just stays there in one place all the time.'  
 11.134 *A-djal-benghngukme munguihmungui.*  
 Dj 1/3-just-forgetNP always  
 'I just keep forgetting that word all the time.'

ONLY DO X AND NO MORE Another semantic extension is from 'do up to a reference point' to 'only do X and no more', 'only do X and not something else one might expect'. It is this sense which brings us to the basic pragmatic function of 'only' in most languages, and of *djal-* in Bininj Gun-wok, namely to restrict the scope of an assertion against a presupposition that more would be expected. In 11.135 the preceding text makes clear that the expected activity that fails to take place is catching a fish. And in 11.136 the dialogue makes clear that *yirrbardbard* presupposes the presence of some new bird or animal, but that *kurrwirluk* disabuses him of this: 'all that happened was ..., all it was was me ...' Note that here the scope of the restriction is the whole clause.

- 11.135 *Wardibu ngarri-ma-ng, ande gamak, wanjh ngarri-yi-rrurnde-ng*  
 Dj if.possible 1a/3-get-NP maybe good then 1a-COM-return-NP

<sup>10</sup> As can its equivalent *ja-* in Ngandi; see Heath (1978:79).

*djenj, dja bu gayakki, gare larrk, ngarri-djal-durnde-ng.*

fish and REL nothing maybe nothing 1a-just-return-NP

'If we can catch (a fish), maybe we'll be lucky, then we'll take some fish back, and if not, maybe we'll get nothing, then we'll just go back (emptyhanded).'

- 11.136 (From a myth about *yirrbardbard* (king brown snake) and *kurrwirluk* (curlew).  
W These two originally human characters, at this point in the myth, are on the verb of turning into animal form.)

Kurr: *Kakali, na-yin na-bang marndi ngun-baye.*

B-in-law I-snake MA-dangerous might 3/2-biteNP

'Brother-in-law, that dangerous snake might bite you.'

Yirr: *Nakka ngaye, ø-marnehmarne-warre-me-n. Ngayh, nakka na-wu*

that 1sg 1/2-REDUP+BEN-bad-become-NP hey that MA-REL

*birri-kayhme?*

3a-cry.out

'That's me, I'm turning into a snake on you.' 'Hey, who's that who sang out?'

Kurr: *Aba nanu ngaye ø-djal-gowe-ng wanjh yiman ngudda.*

oh that I 1/2-just-trick-PP well like you

'Oh, that was only me tricking you, as you did me.' [KH 119]

11.137 *Madjibarli ngarri-djal-ngu-n.*

I white.apple 1a-just-eat-NP

'We simply eat the white apple (without needing to prepare it in any way); we just eat the white apple as is.'

In addition to the interpretation 'all that happens is X, without further consequences' (as in 11.136) or 'all that happens is X, without further preparations being needed' (as in 11.137), a further contextual modulation may be 'all that happens is X, without any warning signal (i.e. X happens unexpectedly)'. Thus one reading of *birri-djal-kodj-nang* [they/him-just-head-saw] is 'they unexpectedly saw his head' (E&E 82). See footnote 13 for further discussion of this example.

Frequently clauses with *djal-* are preceded or followed by a negative clause overtly denying that some presupposed activity took place:

11.138 *Minj ø-yidduwe, dja ø-djal-bawo-ng.*

W not 3P-get.angryNP but 3P-just-leave-PP

'He didn't get angry, but just left it.'

11.139 *Barri-djal-ni marrek barri-woh-bolkna-yi gu-red gayakki.*

Dj 3aP-just-sitPI not 3aP-a.bit-look.around-IRR LOC-camp nothing

'They just sat there and weren't allowed to look around at all.'

ONLY (NP) In addition to the cases we have just seen, in which *djal-* makes a restriction with clausal or verbal scope, it may have scope over arguments.<sup>11</sup> We shall now turn to cases

<sup>11</sup> I have found just one example, in Hale's 1959 field notes, of *djal-* having scope over a non-argument, namely a purpose complement. A passage outlining what Aboriginal people can now buy with their wages — 'they buy food, they buy materials, they buy axes, knives, billycans maybe, anything they can buy now' — goes on:

where *djal-* restricts some argument; typically these are translatable by 'only NP' in English. We shall see that, grammatically, *djal-* has unselective scope: it can bind any argument of the verb, as well as non-argumental adjuncts. Scope is worked out contextually, from the surrounding discourse and beliefs about the world, which build up presuppositions about what is expected to take place. It is these positive expectations which contextualise the scope of the restriction given by *djal-*.

In many cases *djal-* is ambiguous between argumental scope and some other reading; 11.140 for example, allows the continuative reading 'I keep speaking Gun-Djeihmi' as well as the object scope reading 'I speak only Gun-djeihmi':

- 11.140 *A-djal-wokdi gun-djeihmi.*  
 Dj 1-just-speakNP [language name]  
 'I keep speaking Gun-Djeihmi.' OR: 'I speak only Gun-djeihmi.'

Often the discourse establishes the context for assigning scope to a particular argument, such as the object:

- 11.141 *Wanjh karri-djal-burrbu-n kun-kudji balanda bu karri-wokdi,*  
 W well 12-just-know-NP NEU-one white.man REL 12a-speak-NP  
*dja karri-bimbu-n yarrka, dja minj bu ngadman kadberre*  
 and 12a-write-NP anything and not REL we ours  
*kun-wok karri-bih-bimbu-n, kunu karri-wakwa-n.*  
 IV-language 12a-INCEP-write-NP NEU:REL 12a-not.know-NP  
 'We know only how to speak English, when we write any time, but we don't  
 know how to write our own language.' [OM 37]

In decontextualised sentences, unambiguous restriction of scope to object is achieved by the D-quantifiers  $\sqrt{gudji}$  'one' and  $=wi$  'only':

- 11.142 *Gun-wok an-gudji ga-wokdi.*  
 Dj IV-language VE-one 3-speakNP  
 'He speaks only one language.'

The scope of *djal-* may also be the subject. This makes a sentence like 11.143 three-ways ambiguous, although the preferred interpretation is for it to have scope over the verb and a continuative reading (*marne- ... -djare* is a collocation with the meaning 'love, desire').

- 11.143 *A-marne-djal-djare.*  
 Dj 1/3-BEN-just-wantNP  
 'I still love her/him.' (first interpretation offered) OR: 'Only I love her/him.'  
 OR: 'I love only her/him.'

The subject-scope interpretation could be forced by 11.144, and the object-scope interpretation by 11.145:

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*Dja gorrogo-ni kunu burrkyak, birri-djal-durrkmirri bonj, man-me=wi.*  
 and before-PI then nothing 3pl-just-work enough III-food=only  
 'But in those old days there was nothing, they just worked for food.'

- 11.144 *Aye a-djal-gudji a-marne-djal-djare.*  
 I 1-just-one 1/3-BEN-just-want  
 'Only I love her/him.'
- 11.145 *Ngaleng=wi al-gudji(=wi) a-marne-djal-djare.*  
 she=only FE-one(=only) 1/3NP-BEN-just-want  
 'I love only her.'

A textual example of *djal-* having subject scope with a transitive verb is:

- 11.146 (Several lines back it was mentioned that only one old man and his daughter  
 W remained who had true ownership rights of Oenpelli, with the associated  
 obligation to look after that country.)
- Dja na-wu ngadman kun-winjku karri-h-wokdi, dja yiwadja, ngad*  
 and MA-REL weEMPH IV-winjku 12-IMM-speak and Iwaidja we  
*gunu wanjh karri-mungu, yimankek nungan ø-djal-wohna-yi*  
 NEU-REL well 12-stranger CTRFAC him 3P-just-look.after-IRR  
*na-wu kun-red nuye kondan kunu.*  
 MA-REL IV-country his here NEU:REL  
 'And we who speak Kunwinjku, and Iwaidja, well we are strangers (to this  
 country), he should be the only one looking after this country of his here.'

With a ditransitive verb, there are five possibilities:<sup>12</sup>

- 11.147 *Gabi-djal-ganj-wo-n.*  
 Dj 3/3-just-meat-give-NP  
 a. '(S)he's still giving him/her meat.'  
 b. 'All (s)he's doing is giving him/her meat.'  
 c. 'Only she gives him meat.'  
 d. 'She gives him only meat.'  
 e. 'She gives meat only to him.'

To force one of the last three interpretations, a restricted external nominal is used:<sup>13</sup>

- 11.148 *Al-ege=wi gabanmani-bo-wo-n bani-bogen.*  
 Dj FE-that=only 3/3du-liquid-give-NP 3ua-two  
 'Only she gives it to them two.' [= c.]

<sup>12</sup> There may in fact be more, e.g. 'all that's happening is that (s)he is giving him meat'; this type of interpretation has yet to be checked out.

<sup>13</sup> Etherington and Etherington (1994:82) discuss a similar example in Kunwinjku, in which *birridjalkodjngan* is five-ways ambiguous between (a) 'they unexpectedly saw his head', (b) 'they were seeing his head for a period of time/continuously', (c) 'they saw only HIS head', (d) 'they saw only his HEAD', and (e) 'only THEY saw his head'. They mention that disambiguation between these readings can be achieved, respectively, by (a) use of *wanjh*, e.g. *wanjh birridjalkodjngan*, (b) use of a durative adverb like *kunkakkuyeng* 'all night long', (c) use of the possessive pronoun *nuye* plus *kih*, e.g. *birridjalkodjngan nuyekih kukodj*, (d) prefixing *djal-* to the whole 'his head' phrase, e.g. *birridjalkodjngan djalkunkodj nuye*, (e) apposing a subject pronoun doubled by the appropriate pronominally prefixed form of *√kudji*, e.g. *bedda birri-djal-kudji birri-djal-kodjngan*.

- 11.149 *An-me=wi / gun-ganj=wi gabi-djal-wo-n.*  
 Dj III-veg.food=only IV-meat=only 3/3h-just-give-NP  
 'She only gives him vegetable food/meat (never beer).' [= d.]
- 11.150 *Gun-wardde=wi ø-djal-wo-n.*  
 Dj IV-money=only 1/2-just-give-NP  
 'I offer you only money.' [= d.]
- 11.151 *Na-mekke=wi gabi-djal-bo-wo-n.*  
 Dj MA-that=only 3/3h-just-water-give-NP  
 'She gives it only to him.' [= e.]
- 11.152 *A-djal-bim-bukka-ng na-mekke na-gudji.*  
 Dj 1/3-just-painting-show-PP MA-that MA-one  
 'I showed the painting only to him.' [= e.]

In the case of a verb with two or three arguments, therefore, *djal-* can have scope just over the verb, over the configuration of verb plus its object arguments, or over any of the three arguments.

Thus *djal-* can unselectively bind actants in addition to its verb-restricting senses. In practice, however, its scope is determined by pragmatic context, and *djal-* behaves like the various operators whose scopes can be derived from Topic-Focus Articulation and other discourse factors (Hajicová & Sgall 1987; Koktová 1986; Sgall, Hajicová & Panevová 1986). Similarly, Partee (1995) has argued that other A-quantifiers are responsive to topic-focus articulation, such that their scope is always the non-topic.

Although 'topic' is not always easy to identify in Bininj Gun-wok, particularly in decontextualised sentences, the textual examples in my corpus conform to the generalisation that the scope of the restriction is always a non-topic. In 11.141, for example, the topic is clearly the subject 'we' throughout the paragraph, while *djal-* restricts the object. In 11.146 the situation is a little less clear, but I would argue that the topic is 'this country', which is the object of the last sentence, in which *djal-* has scope over the subject.

A clear illustration of the importance of informational status to the interpretation of *djal-* comes from intransitive clauses, which, unlike transitive clauses, do not readily lend themselves to argument-scope interpretations of *djal-*. Put simplistically, the reason is that in transitives there are enough arguments for one to be topic and the other to be restricted by *djal-*, while with intransitives, with their sole argument, such a division of labour is not possible. Let us consider three types of intransitive clause:

- (a) Presentatives like 11.153; formally these have a stance verb and an incorporated generic term, which may be coreferential with an external specific term:

- 11.153 *Ga-rrulk-di (an-dubang).*  
 Dj 3-tree-stand III-ironwood  
 'There is a tree there.'

Since the function of presentatives is to draw attention to a new situation, including the presence of a new intransitive subject, they do not respond to a discourse presupposition that something is there, so restriction is pragmatically unmotivated. If *djal-* is added to such a construction it will not be given a restrictive interpretation, but a continuative one:

- 11.154 *Birndu ga-djal-di.*  
 Dj mosquito 3-only-stand  
 'There are still a lot of mosquitoes around.'

This cannot mean 'only mosquitoes are here', which would need to be expressed by:

- 11.155 *Gu-bolk-birndu-wern.*  
 LOC-place-mosquito-many  
 'This is a mosquito-ridden place.'

(b) Straightforward intransitive clauses in which the subject is the topic:

- 11.156 *Ga-yau-wage.*  
 Dj 3-baby-crawlNP  
 'The baby is crawling.'

Here the subject, as a topic, is unavailable for restriction. Here again *djal-* cannot have scope over the sole NP, and will be given scope over the verb, typically with a continuative interpretation:

- 11.157 *Ga-djal-yau-wage.*  
 Dj 3-just-child-crawlNP  
 'The child is still crawling, only crawling (it can't walk yet).'

Note, though, that when a body-part nominal is present in such constructions — and syntactically these behave as adjuncts construed as a sort of stage predicate on the argument they are part of (§10.4.5) — *djal-* can have scope over the body-part NP. This shows that it is the number of referring expressions available, rather than the syntactic transitivity of the verb, which affects the possibility of *djal-* restricting an NP.

- 11.158 *Na-mege bininj ga-djal-murrng-yo.*  
 Dj MA-that man 3-just-bone-lienNP  
 'Only the man's bones remain.' (lit. The man remains only as bones.)

(c) The only way for the subject to be a non-topic, and therefore available for restriction, is for the non-subject part of the sentence to be overtly shown as presupposed. The restriction may then be marked either by *djal-* on the subordinate verb (11.159), or by nominal clitic =*wi* (11.160).

- 11.159 *Na-marnde dja ø-wayhme-ng, "Na-ngale ka-ni ku-red ngudda*  
 W I-devil and 3P-call.out-PP I-who 3-sitNP LOC-camp you  
*yi-h-yo?" Kaluk ø-yime-ng, "Ngaye na-gudji nga-djal-h-yo*  
 2-IMM-sleepNP then 3P-say-PP I MA-one 1-just-IMM-sleep  
*wanjh" ø-yime-ng.*  
 well 3P-say-PP

'And the devil asked him, "Who is staying there where you camp?" Then he said, "I'm the only one camping in that place."' [Oates 1964:91]

- 11.160 *Kabirri-melme man-me manu ka-re rowk. djal kun-ngen=wi*  
 W 3a/3NP-press-NP III-food VE:DEM 3-goNP all only IV-sweat=only

*ka-h-yo, kurduk man-bu kun-ngen-dorren, wanjh kabirri-wirrkme.*  
 3-IMM-lieNP shit VE-that IV-sweat-COM then 3a/3-scratchNP  
 'They press it, and all the food (in the turd) goes away. All that remains is the  
 sweat, the shit with the sweat in it. Then they scratch it.' [KH 155]

*Djal-* is thus grammatically unselective, with its scope being made clear by various discourse mechanisms: building up of presuppositions through a text, explicitly denying expectations, and using devices such as relativisation of the verb to indicate relative informational status.

### 11.3.5.3 *djaloh-* 'just doing this little action'

The prefix *djaloh-*, though etymologically a combination of *djal-* 'just' with *woh-* 'partial action', now functions as a unit, at least in Gun-djeihmi. Its function is to downplay the significance of the action denoted by the modified verb, usually against the interlocutor's assumption of greater significance; in this sense it appears synonymous with the third sense of *djal-* discussed above.

11.161 A: *Udda gamak?*

Dj you well  
 'How are you, all right?'

B: *Wou, gamak. Dja njanjukgen?*

yes good and why  
 'Yes, fine. Why do you ask?'

A: *Gayakki, dja nga-djaloh-djawa-n.*

nothing and 1-just.this.little.action-ask-NP  
 'Nothing, I'm just asking.'

11.162 *Ga-djaloh-geiyo.*

Dj 3-just.this.little.action-sleepNP  
 'He's just having a nap.'

11.163 *ø-Djaloh-malerrme-i, dja njalegen yi-godj-dadjme-ng.*

Dj 1/2-just.this.little.action-tease-NP so why 2-head-cut-PP  
 'I was just teasing you, so why are sulking?'

## 11.4 Aspect and sequence prefixes

These specify the sequencing of the event described in the clause with respect to other events (such as the speech act), the sequence of events described in the narrative, and other events evoked by the context of the narrative. They occupy slots -8, -7 and -5 in the optional prefix range.

### 11.4.1 *-bangme-* ~ *-bangmi-* 'not yet'

Note on form: the *e*-final form is found in all dialects, the *i*- form sporadically in Gun-djeihmi. This prefix expresses the fact that the verbal action has yet to occur at the reference

time.<sup>14</sup> Where the irrealis verb inflection is used, no explicit negative particle is needed (11.164).

- 11.164 *Ba-bangme-durnde-yi.*  
 Dj 3P-not.yet-return-IRR  
 'He hasn't come back yet.'

In imperatives with *bangme-* the negative imperative particle is used:

- 11.165 *Bayun yiban-gelehme-ø, bayun yi-bangme-yarl-waroume-ø!*  
 Dj don't 2/3pl-frighten-IMP don't 2/3-not.yet-line-swing-IMP  
 'Don't frighten them (the birds), don't swing your line yet!'

In Gun-djeihmi this prefix can be used with non-verbal predicates, as long as a negative particle is used (11.166), but in Kune, at least, the preference is to use the inchoative to form the corresponding verb (11.167):

- 11.166 *Djama a-bangmi-ngudjwarre.*  
 Dj not 1-not.yet-lame  
 'I'm not disabled yet, I can still walk.'
- 11.167 *Marrek nga-bangme-ngudjwarre-m-inj.*  
 E not 1-not.yet-lame-INCH-PP  
 '= (11.166)'

#### 11.4.2 *bed-* (Dj, E), *bad-* (W) 'in due course; at the proper point in time'

This emphasises that an action is carried out at an appropriate time. It may be used, as in 11.168, to indicate that the action will occur later than the moment of speech, once the subjects are ready, and here would be best translated as 'when ready; eventually', but it can also indicate, in a different context, that the appropriate moment in time has now been reached, after the carrying out of appropriate preparatory activities (11.169, 11.170). In (11.171) it indicates that, after having rested, the speaker's group were once again ready to start cutting bamboo again. The semantic invariant through these situations is always the appropriateness of the action to the point in time, with the context contributing the information needed to decide whether this entails a delay (short or long) or not.

- 11.168 a. *Garri-bed-re.* (Dj)      b. *Karri-bed-re* (E)      c. *Kaluk karri-bad-re* (W)  
 12a-now-goNP      12a-now-goNP      FUT      12a-now-goNP  
 'We'll come later (eventually; when we're ready).' OR: 'We can go now.'
- 11.169 *Gani-m-bed-re.*  
 Dj 12-hither-now-goNP  
 'We'll come now that we've finished.'
- 11.170 *Bani-bed-marnbom.*  
 Dj 2ua/3P-now-fixPP  
 'Those two have got it going now.'

<sup>14</sup> Oates (1964:53) on Kunwinjku calls it 'unattained aspect'.



- 11.171 *Gonhdagi Wirrirri arri-dadjge-yiii, ngarri-yo-i, ngarri-godj-djuhm-i,*  
 Dnj here [place] 1a/3-cut-PI 1a-sleep-PP 1a-head-bathe-PI  
*ngarri-yo-i. Arri-bed-yauh-dadjge-yi, ngarri-godj-djuhm-i ngarri-yo-i.*  
 1a-lie-PI 1a/3-now-again-cut-PI 1a-head-bathe-PI 1a-lie-PI  
 'Over here at Wirrirri we'd cut (bamboo) for a long time, then lie and have a  
 rest, we'd wet our heads (to cool down) and have a rest. Now we'd cut some  
 more, then we'd wet our heads and have a rest.'

### 11.4.3 h- 'immediate'

This is present in all dialects but Kune, with comparable functions across all dialects that have it.<sup>15</sup> The immediate form emphasises the immediacy of the predicate or its simultaneity with the deictic centre — either the speech act ('Ving now') or a framing clause (e.g. 'he saw it standing', as in 11.175). Note that a very similar meaning of immediacy is given by the glottal stop in demonstratives (§7.3) and on pronouns (§7.1).

- 11.172 *Gan-h-na-n.*  
 Dj 2/1-IMM-see-NP  
 'You're looking at me right now.'
- 11.173 *Ga-h-geyo.*  
 Dj 3-IMM-sleepNP  
 'He's sleeping now.'
- 11.174 *Gun-warde gabarri-h-na-n.*  
 Dj IV-rock 3a-IMM-see-NP  
 'They're looking at the rock (just now).'
- 11.175 *ø-Na-ng ka-h-di.*  
 W 3/3P-see-PP 3-IMM-standNP  
 'He saw it standing.'

The immediate is also used in presentatives to give vividness, as in the following section of Text 8 in which the immediate present is used in sports-commentary style:

- 11.176 *Yiman bolkgime ngani-h-ni-ø, wakkidj nungga ba-djare-ni*  
 Dj like now 1ua-IMM-sit-NP fishing he 3P-want-PI  
*ba-m-wam ngadburrung*  
 3P-hither-goPP my.brother  
 'Well here we are sitting now, my brother wanted to come here fishing.'

<sup>15</sup> It is tempting to speculate that its absence in Kune is due to its obvious association in that speech community with Dalabon, in which all pronominal prefixes end in a glottal stop, so that a Dalabon word like *ngah-ngun* 'I eat (it)' is simply the present-tense form, without the *h* having any aspectual function, whereas in Kunwinjku, for example, *nga-h-ngun* is specifically 'I am eating now' in contrast to *nga-ngun* 'I eat, I am eating'. In other words, it is possible that the disappearance of this morpheme from Kune may have been due to the need to reserve it as a clear marker of Dalabon language in the special case of the Kune speech community, traditionally bilingual in Kune and Dalabon.

Related to this presentative use is its employment for commentary, for example on pictures in a book, translatable as 'here we have ...' or 'now, in this one there is ...':

11.177 *Djurra ka-h-djabdi.*

I book 3-IMM-be.uprightNP

(commenting on one of a series of pictures illustrating topological relations)

'Here we have a book standing upright (on a shelf).'

The immediate prefix is also used in subordinate clauses of various types (see §14.3–§14.4).

#### 11.4.4 *guyin-/kuyin-, ba(r)lanh- 'nearly'*

These forms are exactly synonymous; *balanh-* is used in Kune (Dalabon has an identical form) and occasionally in Kunwinjku (11.182), while *guyin-/kuyin-* is used in all dialects except Kune. In Kune *balanh-* may also appear as a free form with the same meaning (11.178).

On its own, this prefix means 'nearly happened but didn't' or 'be about to'. It is attested with the irrealis, past perfective and past imperfective TAM inflections:

11.178 *Nga-guyin-djongburremeninj.* (= E *Balanh ngangarkmeninj.*)

Dj 1-nearly-drownIRR

'I nearly got drowned.'

11.179 *Ban-wo-ni barri-m-guyin-re-y darn.gih. "Ngam" ba-yim-i*

Dj 3/3pLP-give-PI 3aP-towards-almost-go-PI close gulp 3P-do-PI

*ban-gaibu-ni*

3/3pLP-deny-PI

'She'd offer (food) to them and they'd be about to come close almost up to her.

'Gulp', she'd go and deny it from them.'

11.180 *A-bal-guyin-yakwo-yi.*

Dj 1-away-nearly-finish-IRR

'I've nearly finished.'

11.181 *Guwak ba-guyin-yime-rre-ni.*

Dj night 3P-almost-turn-RR-PI

'When it was just starting to get dark, they'd put on a corroboree.'

11.182 *Ngal-kudji bi-keb-baddji man-djad la ngal-buyika ngal-bu*

W FE-one 3/3hP-face-bashPP III-straight and FE-other FE-REL

*bi-barlanh-bom, wanjh ø-djal-woh-manka-ng ngal-ekke.*

3/3hP-nearly-hitPP then 3P-just-PART-fall-PP FE-DEM

'He clubbed one straight in the the face, and he was about to club the other one, when she fell down.' [KS 68]

11.183 *Ngan-balanh-keb-do-y.*

E 3/1-almost-face-strike-PP

'He was about to punch me.'

11.4.5 *weleng- 'then, next'*

This marks the verb it modifies as occurring next in a series of events. Formally and semantically similar forms occur in Rembarnga (*walang-* 'then, after that, next; as a result, so' — McKay 1975:188) and Dalabon (*yelvng-* 'next, then'). See Text 7.3, for a further example.

- 11.184 *Nungga an-ga-ng gure bininj gabarri-mirnde-rri-ø*  
Dj he 3/1-take-PP LOC person 3a-many-be-NP

*arri-weleng-wokdanj.*

1a-then-talkPP

'He took me to a group of people and then we started talking.'

- 11.185 *Nungga werrk ba-warde-bidbom, dja aye yerre a-weleng-bidbom.*  
Dj he first 3P-rock-climbPP and I after 1/3-then-climbPP  
'He climbed up the rock first, and then I climbed up after him.'

- 11.186 *Birri-dad-ngorroka-ni wanjh birri-bid-dukk-a-ni wanjh ku-mekke*  
I 3a/3P-leg-shoulder.carryPI then 3a/3P-hand-tie-PI then LOC-DEM

*birri-weleng-dedjbu-ni madjangh-no birri-ngu-ni.*

3a/3-then-cut.open-PI offal-3POSSD 3a/3P-eat-PI

'They would carry (the kangaroo) on their shoulders, then tie its arms together, then next they would cut it open there, and eat its offal.' (*Madjanghno* refers to the small bits of offal that can be cooked quickly on the coals and eaten while the rest of the meat cooks slowly.)

11.4.6 *yinggih- 'previously, before, already'*

When the verb modified by *yinggih-* is in the past tense, this prefix refers to events that had already occurred before the temporal reference point (11.187). It probably derives from the free adverbial *yungkih* 'first; in front' (§13.7).

- 11.187 *Ba-yinggih-ni.*

Dj 3P-before-sitPI

'He was already sitting there (before us).'

- 11.188 *Ba-yinggih-wokdi.*

Dj 3P-before-speakPI

'He's already been talking before us.'

- 11.189 *Yoh gorrogo barri-yinggih-bolk-garu-i, barri-bolk-duhge-ng.*

Dj yeah already 3a/3P-before-place-dig-PP 3a/3P-place-drill-PP

'Yes, (here) they have already dug and drilled the ground.'

- 11.190 *Njalekenh konhdah kore ku-midj ngurri-yawa-n na-wu ka-rrarrkid?*  
W why here LOC LOC-tomb 2a-look-NP MA-REL 3NP-alive

*Nungka ø-yawoyh-mimbi-minj yiman ngun-yingkih-marne-yime-ng*

he 3P-again-alive-PP like 3/2a-before-BEN-say-PP

*ngudberre.*

you

'Why are you seeking here in the tomb he who is alive? He has come alive again, as he told you before.' [Karrarkid 10]

When the verb is in the non-past, the modified verb specifies an action that needs to be carried first in a series:

11.191 *Med, nga-yingkih-bo-ma-ng.*

I wait 1/3-before-liquid-get-NP

'Wait, I'll fill up the gerrycan first.'

## 11.5 Spatial prefixes

These give the spatial disposition of the verbal action or of the absolutive participant. Apart from *darnh-* 'close up' and *bulurru-* 'sliding' all lie between the incorporated nominal and the root. In addition, some only occur with a few verbs—preeminently the stance verbs, and verbs of induced position like *gurrme-* 'put (down)'—and taken together with their inner position this raises the question of whether these are productive prefixes or simply recurring prepositional elements in a limited lexical set; see §13.3.4 for a discussion of such 'positional verbs'.

### 11.5.1 *boiboi-*, *bobo-* 'flat'

The form *boiboi-* is confined to older speakers of Gun-djeihmi. Younger Gun-djeihmi speakers and speakers from other dialects use *bobo-*. It has absolutive scope.

11.192 *Ga-warde-boiboi-yo-ø.*

Dj 3-rock-flat-lie-NP

'The rock is lying flat.'

11.193 *Ga-bobo-yo-ø.* (= E *Kaboboyo.*)

Dj 3-flat-lie-NP

'He's lying on his belly.' [EH]

11.194 *Bi-bobo-gurrme-ng.*

E:N 3/3hP-flat-put-PP

'He put him on his belly.'

### 11.5.2 *bulurru-/burlurr-* 'along'

The first variant is found in Gun-djeihmi, the second in Kunrayek; at least for Kunrayek the identical form may be used in the mother-in-law register. I have no examples from other dialects. This prefix precedes incorporated nominals (11.196).

This refers to movement, or disposition, along a line. It can refer to sliding action (11.195) or to tracks made by sliding (11.196), but also to a stationary entity stretching over a significant distance (11.197):

- 11.195 *Ga-bulurru-di.*  
 Dj 3-slide-standNP  
 '(S)he is sliding (i.e. slipping while standing).'
- 11.196 *Ga-bulurru-bok-yo.*  
 Dj 3-sliding-track-lieNP  
 'There are (crocodile) sliding tracks there.' (referring to tracks of a crocodile sliding into the mud).
- 11.197  
*Ka-burlurr-yo nanih nganabbarru. (o.l.)*  
 I *Ka-burlurr-morndi nanih badjorrrorongko. (k.k.)*  
 3-slide-lieNP MA:DEM buffalo  
 'The buffalo is lying stretched out.'

### 11.5.3 *da-/larra-* 'in the sun'

The form *da-* is used in Gun-djeihmi, and the form *larra-* in Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali (as well as Dalabon).

This prefix is closely bound to the verb, inside incorporated nominals. It has absolutive scope. It only combines with a few verbs, such as:

- 11.198 *Ba-guk-da-yo-i. (= E Kuklarrayoy.)*  
 Dj 3P-body-in.sun-lie-PI  
 'It (the crocodile) was lying in the sun.'
- 11.199 *Garri-da-gurrme.*  
 Dj 12a-in.sun-putNP  
 'We are drying them (the clothes), putting the clothes out in the sun'.
- 11.200 *Bolk ba-rra-barrkme-ng.*  
 Dj ground 3P-in.sun-crackPP  
 'The ground cracked in the sun.'
- 11.201 *Barri-madj-larra-gurrme-ng kure waya-gah gah-walayhme.*  
 MM 3a/3P-clothes-in.sun-put-PP LOC wire-LOC 3-hangNP  
 'They've hung out the clothes on the line in the sun.'

### 11.5.4 *darnh-* 'close up'

This precedes incorporated nominals; it occurs in all dialects (as well as in Dalabon) with identical form and meaning. In all dialects there is an agnate free form *darn.gih* (Dj) / *darnkih* (W, E), also commonly used with no clear difference in meaning (see the alternation in 11.205). It has three related senses:

(a) One actant is close to the other.

- 11.202 *Al-daluk djama gabarri-darnh-yo. (= E Kabirridarnhyo.)*  
 Dj II-female not 3a-close.up-lieNP  
 '(Young men) can't sleep close to their sisters.'

11.203 *An-darnh-geb-barrkme-ng.*

Dj 3/1-close-nose-hit-PP  
'He hit me in the nose close up.'

11.204 *Barrkdord kan-marne-yime-ninj ngadberre, barrk ka-rrarnh-ni.*

E [bird.sp.] 3/1a-BEN-say-IRR usOBL black.wallaroo 3-close-sitNP  
'The *barrkdord* bird would tell us when a black wallaroo is close by.'

(b) The subject is close to another implicit participant (11.205, 11.206) or location (11.207) in the frame.

11.205 *Ba-gaihme-ng ba-wam darn.gih, ba-rrarnh-gaihme-ng.*

Dj 3P-call.out-PP 3P-goPP close 3P-close-call.out-PP  
'She called out and went close up, she called out from close up (to them).'

11.206 *Bu nganabbarru barri-darnh-bebme-rre-ni, barri-darnh-bu-ni.*

Dj when buffalo 3aP-close-appear-RR-PI 3a/3P-close-kill-PI  
'When buffalo stampeded up close (to them), they'd shoot them at close range.'  
(= E *Nganabbarru birridarnhbebmeng, birridarnhbom.*)

11.207 *Galuk gumege ba-bolk-na-ng ba-yime-ng "niyih nga-rrarnh-wodjme"*

Dj then there 3/3P-place-see-PP 3P-say-PP here 1-close-sink  
'Then (black-headed python) looked around and said, "I'll sink down near here."'

(c) Aspectual extension: the action is about to happen.

11.208 *An-darnh-geb-do-ng.*

Dj 3/1-close-nose-strike-NP  
'He's about to punch you on the nose.' ('He not punch you yet, but he ready to punch you.')

### 11.5.5 *lambarri-/lambarr- 'lying on back'*

The form *lambarri-* is found in Gun-djeihmi (and Dalabon), the form *lambarr-* in Kune. This also patterns absolutely.

11.209 *Ga-lambarri-yo-ø.*

Dj 3-on.back-lie-NP  
'He's lying on his back.'

11.210 *Gabi-lambarri-gurrme.* (= E *Kabilambarrkurrme.*)

Dj 3/3hNP-on.back-putNP  
'He puts him on his back.'

### 11.5.6 *neigen(h)- 'propped up, leaning against'*

This is etymologically the genitive of *gun-nei* 'elbow', plus the genitive *-gen*. In Kune it tends to be reduplicated to *neyhneyken-*.

This construction is interesting because it is a rare Bininj Gun-wok example of a construction much commoner in Dalabon: the incorporation of locations, suffixed with the genitive *-kvn*, into verbs. A Dalabon

example is *balah-djarrk-dun-kvn-ni*, *balah-djarrk-dun-kvn-daddi* 'they're all in the cave [*dun*], they're all inside the cave'. It is possible that Manyallaluk Mayali permits a greater range of incorporated locatives with *-ken*; I have one Manyallaluk Mayali example *ba-buk-ken-dowe-ng djenj* [3P-dry-GEN-die-PP fish] 'the fish died in the dried up (water)', but an insufficiently large MM corpus to determine how common this construction is. A solitary Kuninju example is *ka-rurk-ken-di* [3-hollow-GEN-stand] for 'he is in gaol'.

Typically it is used for situations where a participant is propped on their elbow, although some other prop may be used.

- 11.211 *Ga-neigenh-di*. (= E *Kaneyhneykendi*.)  
 Dj 3-propped-standNP  
 'He's standing propped up (e.g. leaning against the wall).'

- 11.212 *Ga-neigen-yo-ø*.  
 Dj 3-propped-lie-NP  
 'He's lying propped up on his elbow.'

### 11.5.7 warnam- 'crosswise'

This occurs close to the root, inside incorporated nominals.

- 11.213 *Gun-mayorrk ga-warnam-bu-buhme*.  
 Dj IV-wind 3-cross-ITER-blownNP  
 'The wind is blowing across through the car (between two open windows).'
- 11.214 *Bogen ba-rrulk-wanam-yo-i*, *arri-dulk-yirri-gurrm-i*.  
 Dj two 3P-stick-crosswise-lie-PI 1a-stick-spread-put-PI  
 'Two rails would lie crosswise, and we would lay out sticks (on them) to make a sleeping platform.'  
 (= E *Djalkno dulkwarnamyoy*; *ngarriyirrikurrmeng*.)

### 11.5.8 worrum- 'around'

This is only attested with the verb *bokkan* 'follow tracks':

- 11.215 *Ngalege daluk bi-worrum-bokkani na-mege bininj*.  
 Dj FE:that woman 3/3hP-around-follow.track-PI MA-that man  
 'That woman was always following that man around.'

### 11.5.9 yirri- 'spread, extended, parallel, in a line'

This occurs close to the root, inside incorporated nominals; it is present in all dialects. For verbs describing the spreading of a body part, the body part is incorporated into *yirriyo* (e.g. 'spreading her hand' (11.218) and E *kadadyirriyo* 'she is spreading her legs').

- 11.216 *Arri-dulk-yirri-gurrm-i*.  
 Dj 1a-stick-spread-put-PI  
 'We laid out all the sticks (in making a sleeping platform).'

- 11.217 *Ga-berl-yirri-yo ga-rrolga-n.*  
 Dj 3-wing-spread-lieNP 3-rise-NP  
 'It spreads its wings and takes off.'
- 11.218 *Daluk ngal-yauk ga-bid-yirri-yo.*  
 Dj woman II-girl 3-hand-spread-lieNP  
 'The woman is spreading her hand.'

#### 11.5.10 *yurrrguh-* 'on side' (Dj)

This occurs close to the root, inside incorporated nominals; it is restricted to Gun-djeihmi. It has two senses:

- (a) One one's side. This partially overlaps with the Kune prepound *lurlh-* 'stooped over', which would be used for 11.219, whereas for 11.220 Kune uses an external form of the Gun-djeihmi prefix. It thus appears that the Kune prefix *lurlh-* has the more specific meaning 'leaning from the vertical'.

- 11.219 *Ga-rrolk-yurrrguh-di.* (= E *Karlurlhdi kundulk.*)  
 Dj 3-tree-on.side-standNP  
 'The tree is leaning sideways.'
- 11.220 *Murrikka ga-guk-yurrrguh-yo-ø.* (= E *Murdikka yurrrkku kadi.*)  
 Dj car 3-body-on.side-lie-NP  
 'The car's lying on its side.'
- 11.221 *Gu-djakku ga-yurrrguh-yo-ø.* (= E *Kudjakkubeh kayo.*)  
 Dj LOC-left 3-on.side-lie-NP  
 'He's lying on his left side.'
- (b) Facing towards the speaker.
- 11.222 *Ga-yurrrguh-ni-ø.*  
 3-on.side-sit-NP  
 'He's sitting facing towards me.'

### 11.6 Time prefixes

These two prefixes pertain to the time of the diurnal cycle at which the action is carried out. Both are highly productive, and lie outside incorporated nominals.

#### 11.6.1 *gak-/kak-* 'by night'

This occurs in identical forms (orthography aside) in all dialects. It is related to the free noun *gun-gak* 'night-time, darkness', and clearly originated as an incorporated manner nominal.



- 11.223 *A-gak-ganj-ngune-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3-night-meat-eat-PP  
 'I ate meat by night.'
- 11.224 *Barri-gak-re-y.* (= E *Birrikakwam*,)  
 Dj 3a/3P-night-go-PI  
 'They travelled by night.'
- 11.225 *Gun-djolamah a-gak-di, gunak a-worrhmi, an-gimuk,*  
 Dj IV-hide 1-night-standPI IV-fire 1/3-light-PI VE-big  
*gunj ba-m-re-i, ba-bongu-ni, a-gak-yam-i.*  
 kangaroo 3P-towards-go-PI 3P-drink-PI 1/3-night-spear-PI  
 'I'd stand in a hide by night, light a big fire. A kangaroo would come up  
 to drink, and I'd spear it under cover of darkness.'
- 11.226 *Marndi ngarri-yo-y kan-kak-dulubu-n ngadberre*  
 W might 1a-lie-PP 3/12pl-night-shoot-NP we  
 'He might shoot at us during the night.' [OM 42]

Occasionally this root shows the same external to incorporated progression through the discourse that characterises incorporated generic nominals. A short text in the Kunwinjku Spirit collection begins with the sentence *Djidjnguk kare kukak* 'Djidjnguk passes by at night'. Several sentences later the same verb is repeated, this time with incorporated *kak*: *Nungka karranjbun nawern djenj bu kahkakre*. 'He gets a lot of fish going after them at night.'

### 11.6.2 mala- 'in the morning'

This prefix is commonest in Kuninjku, Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali. It indicates that the action occurs during the morning, usually early, and lies outside incorporated nouns (11.242), and numerospatial quantifiers (e.g. *malakaberrkdi* 'be many in the morning').

- 11.227 *Karri-mala-bok-na-ng.*  
 I 12-morning-track-see-PP  
 'We saw the tracks early in the morning.'
- 11.228 *Birri-mala-kakdoy.*  
 R 3aP-morning-get.up.before.dawnPP  
 'They got up before dawn.'
- 11.229 *Ngani-durndi na-kare, kure ngani-mala-bidbom.*  
 E:N 1ua-returnPP MA-old LOC 1ua-morning-ascendPP  
 'We came back along the same road that we went up this morning.'

Additional examples from Kuninjku and Kune are *maladjangkan* 'go hunting early in the morning', *maladulubun* 'shoot something early in the morning', *malabebme* 'turn up early in the morning' and *malakaberrkdi* 'be many early in the morning'.

## 11.7 Manner prefixes

Of the following three prefixes, the first two have scope over the subject, while the third has scope over the absolutive. All predicate a motive or style of action that holds at the time of the predicate.

### 11.7.1 *gele-/kele-* 'afraid'

This is found in all dialects. It is related to the class IV noun *gun-gele/kun-kele* 'fear', and also appears in the denominal inchoative verb *gelemen/kelemen* 'be afraid' and the denominal factitive verb *gelehme/kelehme* 'frighten'; it clearly originated as an incorporated manner nominal. In all examples so far it expresses the subject's fear.

- 11.230 *Yawurrinj ba-gele-bo-bawo-ng.*  
 Dj young.man 3P-afraid-liquid-leave-PP  
 'The young man, being afraid, left the grog.'

- 11.231 *Ba-gele-wam.* (= E, I *Kelewam.*)  
 Dj 3P-afraid-goPP  
 'It went away in fear.'

- 11.232 *Birri-na-ng mako ø-karrme-ng wanjh birri-kele-lobme-ng.*  
 I 3aP-see-PP gun 3P-take-PP then 3aP-afraid-run-PP  
 'When they saw him grabbing the gun they took off in fear.' [GID]

There is one Gun-djeihmi example in which this prefix, modifying a transitive subject, takes a genitive prefix before the main verb root. Given the limited pattern of marking incorporated nouns giving locations, however (§11.5.6), it is possible that this should be construed as something like 'they left it, at the fearful place'.

- 11.233 *Barri-gele-genh-bawo-ng.*  
 Dj 3a/3P-fear-GEN-leave-PP  
 'They left (the sacred site) in fear.'

### 11.7.2 *molk-, monidj-* 'stealthily, secretly'

No semantic difference has been found yet between these prefixes, and the distribution may be just dialectal, with *monidj-* occurring in Kune and *molk-* in Kuninjku; both state that the subject is carrying out his/her activity in secret, stealthily or hidden. In some contexts it overlaps with *guni-* (§11.7.3), but *guni-* only implies stealth with some verbs (e.g. 'lie in wait') and is perfectly compatible with noisy demonstrations of anger in others (e.g. 'leave fighting'); *molk-* and *monidj-*, on the other hand, always require stealth. Both have corresponding external nominals (e.g. I *molkno bininj kare* 'the man is sneaking along):

- 11.234 *Nga-molk-na-ng kunj.*  
 I 1/3-stealth-see-PP kangaroo  
 'I saw the kangaroo in hiding.'

- 11.235 *Ka-monidj-bebme.*  
 I 3-stealth-appearNP  
 'He sneaks up (appears by stealth).'

- 11.236 *Bininj ka-monidj-re.*  
 I man 3-stealth-goNP  
 'The man is sneaking along.'

### 11.7.3 *guni-/kuni-* 'intending to cause harm; with violent intent'

This expresses the fact that a core argument is involved, or will become involved, in some sort of harmful behaviour, typically involving violence, such as fighting (11.237), killing (11.238) or hunting (11.239), and typically involving stealth to assist in achieving these violent ends. However, in Gun-djeihmi at least (though probably not in other dialects) the activity may also be merely verbal, provided that it involves a clash or confrontation (11.240–11.242).<sup>16</sup> Usually *guni-* has scope over the absolutive; examples where it qualifies the intransitive subject are 11.238, 11.240, 11.241 and 11.12, and with the object, 11.23 and 11.243, although Kune prefers not to use *kuni-* when it would have scope over the object of 'see', another intransitive verb to bear the prefix (11.237).

- 11.237 *A-guni-na-ng (... bi-bom).* (= E *Nganang kuniwam bibom.*)  
 Dj 1/3-VIOL-see-PP 3/3hP-killPP  
 'I watched someone kill somebody.'
- 11.238 *An-gole ba-me-i, barri-guni-nahna-ni.*  
 Dj III-spear 3/3P-pick.up-PP 3a/3P-VIOL-watch-PI  
 'He picked up a spear, and they watched him go off to hunt.'
- 11.239 *Ba-guni-wam.* (= E *Kuniwam.*)  
 Dj 3P-VIOL-goPP  
 'He's gone off to scold someone.'
- 11.240 *Ba-guni-wokdi.*  
 Dj 3P-VIOL-talkPI  
 'He talked wildly.'
- 11.241 *A-guni-re nga-rru-ng.* (= E *Ngamarnekunire ngadung.*)  
 Dj 1-VIOL-goNP 1-growl-NP  
 'I'm going off to growl him.'
- 11.242 *A-guni-na-ng ba-wam gabi-rru-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3-VIOL-see-PP 3P-goPP 3/3h-growl-NP  
 'I watched someone going to growl someone.'

It may also have scope over derived objects:

16 Dalabon has a formally, semantically and combinatorially identical prefix; Dalabon equivalents of 11.239, 11.237 and 11.244 are *kahkunibong*, *ngahnang kahkunibong*, and *bulu ngahkunirebawong*. Rembarrnga has a cognate prefix *kunji-* which means 'stalking, sneaking up with the purpose of killing' (McKay 1975:189–190); it is restricted to intransitive verbs or benefactives derived from intransitives.

11.243 *Aban-guni-marne-bebme-ng.*

Dj 1/3pl-VIOL-BEN-appear-PP  
'I came in on them fighting.'

In many cases, the violent activity is predicated of both objects of a double-object verb:

11.244 *Aban-guni-yi-bawo-ng.* (= E *Ngabinkunirebawong.*)

Dj 1/3pl-VIOL-COM-leave-PP  
'I left them there fighting with him/her.'

11.245 *Aban-guni-bawo-ng.*

Dj 1/3pl-VIOL-leave-PP  
'I left them fighting.'

Where a transitive verb subcategorises an inanimate object, *guni-* may have scope over its subject:

11.246 *Ba-guni-bongu-ni bi-nahna-ni.*

Dj 3P-VIOL-drink-PI 3/3hP-look-PI  
'He was drinking, getting worked up for a fight, and looking around for someone to pick a fight with.'

# 12 *Verbal incorporation*

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A closed class of verb stems can incorporate a further verb immediately before the main stem. This incorporated verb will be labelled an 'incorporated verb form' (IVF). Gerundive verbal incorporation has three main functions:

- (a) Deriving MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES, for example Dj *goluihwe* 'drop off, cause to get down', formed by incorporating *golu* 'descend' into *we* 'throw':

12.1 *Gan-golu-ih-we-men*                      *gore* *Manaburdulba*.  
 Dj    2/1-go.down-IVF-throw-IMP    at    [place]  
 'Drop me off at Manaburdulba.'

- (b) Deriving a range of other complex predicates, predominantly of ASSOCIATED MOTION OR STANCE, as in 12.2. This further illustrates the possibility of incorporating a nominal into the incorporated verb.

12.2 *Ga-ganj-ngu-nihmi-re*.  
 Dj    3-meat-eat-IVF-goNP  
 'He goes along eating meat.' ('He eat beef all the way.')

- (c) Deriving MEDIOPASSIVES:

12.3 *Ba-rrang-marrhm-i-wam*.  
 3P-door-open(tr.)-IVF-goPP  
 'The door opened up.'

Note that the outer verb, as well as the gerundivised verb, may (rarely) incorporate a nominal; the gerundive and its incorporated nominal are embedded between the finite verb and its incorporated nominal.

12.4 *Ga-yau-[ganj-ngu-nihmi]-re*    *al-ege*    *wurdyau*.  
 Dj    3-child-meat-eat-IVF-goNP    II-that    child  
 'That little girl is going along eating meat.'

There is always identity between the subject of the incorporated verb and either the object of the incorporating verb (in the case of causatives), or the subject of the incorporating verb (in other cases). The changes to argument structure resulting from the three types of verbal incorporation can be shown as follows; in all cases it is the incorporating verb that determines argument structure.

MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES (for illustrative examples, see 12.15–12.17):

$X\langle\text{subject}\rangle\ (Y\langle\text{object}\rangle)\ V \rightarrow C\langle\text{subject}\rangle\ X\langle\text{object}\rangle\ V\text{-causative}\ (Y\langle\text{adjunct}\rangle)$

ASSOCIATED MOTION:

$X\langle\text{subject}\rangle\ (Y\langle\text{object}\rangle)\ V \rightarrow X\langle\text{subject}\rangle\ (Y\text{-incorporated.object})\ V\text{-V}\langle\text{motion}\rangle$

MEDIOPASSIVE:

$X\langle\text{subject}\rangle\ Y\langle\text{object}\rangle\ V \rightarrow Y\langle\text{subject}\rangle\ V\text{-mediopassive}$

In delimiting the phenomenon of verbal incorporation, I do not include non-verbal secondary predicates, which are discussed in §10.4.4. Examples of the latter are *ngoreng-man.ka* [sick-fall] 'fall sick', *kodjdje-bawo* [sleep-leave] 'leave asleep' and *djare-mulewa* [desire-inform] 'tell of one's wishes'. In each case the first element is not a fully fledged independent verb; some, like *djare*, function regularly as non-verbal predicates; others, like *kodjdje*-, only occur incorporated into verbs. I also exclude such elements as *munke*- in *munke-kadju* 'follow later, come later, let O go ahead' [*kadju* 'follow'], *munkena* 'watch someone go' [*na* 'see, look at'] and *munkewe* 'send' [*we* 'throw; causative']; although the verb-like meaning 'go away' could be set up here without problems, *munke* can itself never function as a verb on its own, and thus resembles an incorporated secondary predicate in its behaviour. None of these elements require any morphological preparation before combination with a verb, whereas most regular verbs require a non-zero gerundivising suffix. Table 12.1 shows the forms of incorporated verbs, arranged by conjugation.

## 12.1 Form of incorporated verbs

Verbal incorporation tends to be highly lexicalised and limited in productivity, with regard to both the incorporating and the incorporated verb; such constructions tend also to be of low text frequency. This makes it impossible to obtain a full paradigm, since speakers do not accept made-up forms and the investigation is dependent on finding examples within the corpus. Since different verbs from the same conjugation incorporate into different host verbs, one cannot always get comparable data for the same gerundivised verb with different host verbs. For example, the incorporated form of *bu* conjugation verbs might be inferred to end in *buyh*, from the causative *bidbuyhwe* 'pick up' (made up of *bidbu*- 'climb' plus *we* 'throw'), and there are a number of examples of this pattern with incorporations into *we*.

Table 12.1: Form of incorporated verbs, by conjugation (cf. Table 9.1)

Conj.	Theme/ex.	With causative	With other verb
1	<i>-me</i>	<i>ngimewon,</i> <i>yimeworren,</i> <i>-me/-mi</i> <i>djekmiwon,</i> <i>worrkmiwon,</i> <i>ngimiwe</i>	<i>-mi</i> <i>kolkmiyakmen</i> <i>borledmingun,</i> <i>kolhmibun,</i> <i>lobmidurndi,</i> <i>bunjhmire</i>
2	<i>-ke, we</i> <i>djowkke</i> 'cross'	<i>-kayh</i> <i>djowkkayhwe</i>	<i>-keyihmi-</i> <i>wakeyihmire</i>
3	3 <i>ka, na, wo</i> <i>dolkka</i> 'get up' <i>rudka</i> 'follow a path'	<i>+yh(mi)</i> <i>dolkkayhwe,</i> <i>rokayhmiworren,</i> <i>mankayhwo</i>	<i>+yh(mi)/</i> <i>(djangkayhni)</i> <i>-kiyi-</i> <i>rudkiyire</i>
	3irr <i>ngu</i> <i>ngu</i> 'eat'	—	<i>+nihmi</i> <i>ngunihmire</i>
	4a <i>wa</i> <i>djawa</i> 'ask'	—	<i>+yh</i> <i>djawayhme</i>
4	4b <i>bu</i>	<i>+yh</i> <i>bidbuyhke,</i> <i>dombuyhke</i>	<i>-ki</i> <i>nalkkihre</i> < <i>nalkbun</i>
	5a <i>du, ru, -lu,</i> <i>-dju, do</i>	<i>+yh</i> <i>koluyhwe</i> ( <i>goluihwe</i> )	—
5	5b <i>-de, -dje</i> <i>durnde</i> 'return'	<i>-i</i> <i>durndiwe</i>	<i>-i</i> <i>durndi</i>
	5c <i>ma</i> <i>ma</i> 'take'	<i>-i</i> <i>mi-</i>	<i>-i</i> <i>marrhmire,</i> <i>djalkmire</i>
6a	<i>da</i> <i>da</i> 'stand up'	<i>+yh</i> <i>bengdayhke</i>	<i>+yh</i> <i>dayh-</i>
7	7a <i>di, ni</i> <i>di</i> 'stand', <i>ni</i> 'sit'	—	<i>-di</i> <i>dirrimurlmurlme</i> <i>-ni(hmi)</i> <i>wayinihmire</i>
	7c <i>di</i> <i>wokdi</i> 'speak'	—	<i>-ki(h)</i> <i>wokkimeddand,</i> <i>wokkihre</i>
8	<i>yo</i> <i>yo</i> 'lie'	—	<i>-y</i> <i>yoywam</i>
9	<i>re</i> 'go'	—	—
10	<i>-rre</i> 'reflex/recip'	<i>-mi</i> —	<i>+n</i> <i>kurrenwan</i>
11	<i>-men</i>	<i>-mi(h)</i> <i>djordmi(h)we</i>	—
Non-verbal	<i>-ø</i>	—	—

But incorporations into *re* 'go' are only found with a different set of verbs in this class, such as *nalkbu* 'cry' (e.g. *nalkkihre* 'go along crying'). Does this mean that there are two incorporating forms for *bu* verbs, one for incorporation into causatives and one for incorporation into motion verbs? Or is *nalkkihre* in fact not an example of an incorporated verb at all: could *nalk* be treated as an incorporated noun or secondary predicate (cf. *nalkngurdme* 'stop crying'), with a special suffix *kih* found on such words? This analysis seems rather forced, since *nalk* does not occur as a nominal in most dialects. It would be tenable for Manyallaluk Mayali, where a nominal root *nalk* is found in the collocation *nalk-dorrend* 'with tears, with crying', but there is also a verb *nalkge* 'cry' in that dialect from which an incorporating form *nalkgi* could be derived. Also problematic for the predicate-incorporation analysis is the function of *-kih*: though attested as a suffix on free adverbials, it is always dropped when these are incorporated (see §4.3.7).

Because of these problems, it is impossible to give a full paradigm showing the incorporating form of every verb. Instead, Table 12.1 presents all attested incorporating forms, organised by both conjugation and incorporating verb, since there is some evidence that there are two patterns, depending on the incorporating verb, though this is not clinched

by minimal pairs, for the reasons just given. The alternations between *-me* and *-mi* for first-conjugation verbs incorporated into causatives, and between *-mi* and *-mih* for eleventh-conjugation verbs, appear to lack a clear conditioning factor.

Overall it must be stressed that there is a great deal of heterogeneity in the form of incorporating verbs. Etymologically this is likely to reflect a merger between several distinct methods of incorporating verbs: one by adding *-kih* to the prepound (as with *nalkkih*, described above), a second by adding *-yi(h) ~ -y(i)h* to the thematic (as with *da-yh-ke* from *da*), with a reduced variant consisting of the raising of final *e* (thus *-mi* from *-me*), and a third by adding *-hmi* to the thematic (as with *wayinihmi* from *wayini*), as well as various combinations of these.

## 12.2 Causatives formed by verbal incorporation

Causatives meaning 'cause O to V' are formed from verbs meaning 'V' by incorporation into the verbs *we* 'throw' and *wo* 'give', and into the transitive theme *-ke*. Recall that each of these is also associated with causative-type meanings for some combinations with prepositions (§8.2.2.2, §8.2.3.2). See also §14.2.2.3 on synthetic causative constructions involving two distinct inflected verbs.

### 12.2.1 Causatives with *we* 'throw' and *-ke* 'transitive theme'

There are some differences across dialects in the choice between these; in Kunwinjku only the first option appears to occur, while in Gun-djeihmi and Kuninjku some verbs incorporate into *we* and some into *-ke* with no systematic conditioning factor yet evident.

In some verbs, such as *durndiwe* 'throw back; return', the 'throw' meaning is still present, at least in some contexts, as in W *dolkkayhwe* [go.up-IVF-throw] 'toss up' and 12.5 and 12.6. In the case of *ngimiwe* 'throw inside', there is a contrast with *ngimewo* 'put inside' (e.g. putting people in dormitories; see 12.21). It is likely that such examples formed the bridging context for extension to a more general causative meaning (particularly in Kunwinjku, where the *-ke* causative is restricted or even absent).

- 12.5 *Bene-burriwe-yi manbu man-kole, ngalyod ø-durnd-i-we-yi.*  
W 3uaP-throw-PI VE:DEM III-spear rainbow 3/3I-return-IVF-throw-PI

*berrewoneng*

3uaOBL

'When they threw spears, Ngalyod threw them back at them.'

- 12.6 *Kururrk ka-ngim-i-we Lorrkkon.*  
I inside 3-enter-IVF-throwNP Lorrkkon  
'He throws it inside the *Lorrkkon* pole.'

Sometimes the causation is direct and physical, such as picking children up (12.7), taking them across a river (12.8), or pulling something out of the ground (12.9).

- 12.7 *Aban-bidbu-ih-geng gure gu-rrulk na-mege wurdurd.*  
Dj 1/3pl-climb-IVF-causePP LOC LOC-tree MA-that children

'I lifted the children into the tree.'



12.8 *Gabandi-djoukga-ih-we wurdurd.*

Dj 3a/3pl-cross-IVF-throwNP children  
'They take the children across.'

12.9 *ø-Marne-dolkka-yh-we-ng.*

W 1/2-BEN-come.up-IVF-throw-PP  
'I pulled it up for you.' [E&E 61]

But it may also be indirect verbal causation (asking the boys to climb up in 12.10; in this context giving a command as ceremonial boss), or be a matter of allowing or acceding to someone's wishes (*goluihwe* in 12.11, meaning 'let me get down, let me get out, drop me off').

12.10 *Bandi-bidbu-ih-ge-yi yawurrinj.*

Dj 3a/3pl-go.up-IVF-TR-PI young.man  
'They (the Morak bosses) would make/get the boys (to) climb up (the trees).'

12.11 *Gan-golu-ih-we-men gore Manaburdulba.*

Dj 2/1-go.down-IVF-throw-IMP LOC [place]  
'Drop me off at Manaburdulba.'

And it may involve a number of acts over a long period:

12.12 *Bi-djordm-ih-we-ng.*

Dj 3/3P-grow.up-IVF-throw-PP  
'She grew him up, raised him up.'

In the case of *dombu-* 'extinguish; put out (fire)', the gerundive-incorporated form is less direct than the simple transitive form (i.e. acting upon the ignition system of a car, rather than directly on the engine itself).

12.13 *Yi-rrombu-ih-ge-men!*

Dj 2-extinguish-IVF-TR-IMP  
'Turn it off!'

In some cases the semantics of the causative is somewhat idiomatic — from *bengdi* 'wait in readiness, be expectant' is derived *bengdaihge* 'remind, inform that something is ready':

12.14 *Yamidj an-bengda-ih-ge-ø adberre, gore*

Dj grasshopper 3/1-be.ready-IVF-TR-NP us LOC

*ba-guk-gih-gimukm-inj an-gindjek.*

3P-body-INCEP-become.big-PP III-cheeky yam

'The long-horned grasshopper lets us know when the cheeky yams have got big.'

Whether the incorporated verb is intransitive (e.g. *djordmen* 'grow, mature'), transitive (e.g. *dombun* 'extinguish') or ambitransitive (e.g. *bidbun* 'climb up O; climb') the result of incorporation into *-ke* or *-we* is always a transitive verb, never a ditransitive. If there is an original object, it gets demoted to locative adjunct status in the causative.

Thus while *bidbu* is ambitransitive, allowing the frames 'climb' and 'climb up O', the derived *bidbuihge* is only transitive, and means 'SUBJ put O up (in some high location which may be specified by an adjunct)' (12.15); the causee, not the location, incorporates, which (as seen in §10.1.2) is a good diagnostic of object status.

- 12.15 *Aban-yau-bidbu-ih-geng gure gu-rrulk.*  
 Dj 1/3pl-climb-IVF-causePP LOC LOC-tree  
 'I got those children to climb the tree.'

- 12.16 *\*Aban-dulk-bidbu-ih-geng.*

Similarly, from the transitive verb *djowkke* 'cross (O, e.g. river or road)' we get the derived causative 'take O across (LOC, e.g. river, road)' (12.17). Again, the derived object can incorporate and be indexed by object pronominal prefixes, while the erstwhile object takes local marking (in this example, a preposition):

- 12.17 *Ngaban-yau-djoukga-ih-we-ng gure an-gabo.*  
 1/3pl-child-cross-IVF-throw-PP LOC III-river  
 'I took the children across the river.'

### 12.2.2 Incorporation into *wo-* 'give'

In §8.2.2.2 we saw that factitive verbs may be derived from adjectives or nouns by incorporating them into *wo-* 'give'. It is also possible to incorporate gerunds into *wo-*. In most cases this derives a causative. However, in some cases the changes are more idiosyncratic.

Typical examples of the causative use are Dj *worrkmiwon* 'fill (tr.)' (12.19) from *worrkmen* 'be full, be sated' (12.18), MM *man.gayhwon* 'let fall' (12.20) from *man.gan* 'fall' and *ngimewon* 'put (people) inside (dormitories)' (12.21) from *ngime* 'enter'. In each of these cases the 'give' meaning is not absent in the context: the subject of (12.19) is giving food to the object; in 12.20 cockatoo is giving, if unwillingly, emu the chance to get hold of the dropped piece of kangaroo meat; and the subject of 12.21 is giving the Aboriginal children over to the missionaries running the dormitory supervisors.

- 12.18 *Ga-worrkm-en.*  
 Dj 3-fill-NP  
 '(S)he gets full, she fills up.'
- 12.19 *Ga-worrkm-i-wo-n.*  
 Dj 3-fill-IVF-give-NP  
 'He fills her (e.g. with food).'
- 12.20 *Garnamarr ba-yi-dolga-ng but imin burn, ba-manka-yh-wo-ng.*  
 MM cockatoo 3/3l-COM-go.up-PP hePST 3/3-fall-IVF-cause-PP  
 'Red-tailed cockatoo flew up with it (the kangaroo's leg bone), but it burnt him and he let it fall.'
- 12.21 *Bindi-yawoyh-ngime-ø-wo-ng kure kun-rurk birri-di.*  
 W 3a/3pl-again-enter-IVF-give-PP LOC IV-cave 3aP-standP  
 'They put them (i.e. the next generation of Aboriginal children) into dormitories again.'

The reflexive form *-worren* is used in cases of deliberate causation of a change to oneself. For example, the verb *rokan* normally expresses either uncontrolled motion as in Dj *gayidmerogan* 'his tooth is wobbly', or movements that require no particular effort as in W

*ngadengerokahrokan* 'I'm wiggling my toes'; *rokaworren*, by contrast, emphasises the greater voluntary control needed for a more difficult wiggling task.

12.22 *Kunu nga-h-ganem-roka-yhmi-wo-rr-eni.*

W then 1-IMM-ear-wobble-IVF-give-RR-PI  
'I used to be able to wiggle my ears.' [KH 106]

Comparable is the derivation, from *yime* 'say, do', of *yimeworren* 'turn oneself into'; this contrasts semantically with *yimerran* 'turn into' in that the first, as a reflexive causative, means 'deliberately cause oneself to become', while the second describes an unvolitional transformation.

12.23 *Daddubbe mimih ba-yime-wo-rr-eni.*

Dj [name] mimih 3P-do-give-RR-PI  
'Daddubbe could turn himself into a *mimih*.'

An idiosyncratic use of *wo*, in which the object added is a patient rather than a causee, is *djekm-i-wo* 'laugh at' (12.25), from *djekme* 'laugh' (12.24).

12.24 *Njale yi-djekme?*

W what 2-laughNP  
'What are you laughing at?'

12.25 *Birri-wern ngandi-ngey-djekm-i-wo-n*

W 3a-many 3a/1-name-laugh-IVF-give-NP  
'Everyone laughs at my name.'

Also idiosyncratic is the form *djare-wo* 'want some more (food)', from the predicate adjective *djare* 'want, desire':

12.26 *Ga-djare-wo-n gun-ganj.*

Dj 3-want-give-NP IV-meat  
'He wants another taste (of meat).'

### 12.2.3 Other verb incorporations with causative-type meanings

The verb *kurrme* 'put, put down' is attested with a causative-type meaning in two combinations: I *larrhmikurrme* 'put in the sun (to dry)' alongside *larrhme* 'dry out' and Dj *wolehbugurrme* 'leave to cool, away from heat of the fire' alongside *wolehbun* 'breeze come up'.

*Bun* 'hit' appears in one further possible example: *kolhmibun* 'shake or shuffle something into a correct position (e.g. spear into the notch of spearthrower)', but although *kolhmi* has the form of a gerundivised *me* verb, so far no form *kolhme* is attested outside this combination.

With both the *kurrme* and *bun* examples, the other semantic components of the incorporating verb (placing with *kurrme*, and physical impact with *bun*) remain in the causative construction.

### 12.3 Associated motion and verb incorporation

A handful of motion verbs — so far only *durnde* 'return', *medda* 'turn around', *re* 'go' and *murlmurlme* 'slide' are attested — can incorporate a gerundive expressing what the subject was doing while or immediately after the relevant motion.

*Re* 'go' is the commonest motion verb to incorporate gerundives (it also derives mediopassives; see §12.5). Complex predicates of the form V-IVF-*re* are often translated as 'V all the way', implying that the subject was continually engaged in the gerundive verb activity while moving along (see also 12.2).

12.27 *Ga-rud-g-iyi-re.*

Dj 3-road-carry-IVF-goNP

'He goes along following the path.' (*rudgan* 'follow a path')

12.28 *A-yo-i-wam.*

Dj 1-sleep-IVF-goPP

'I slept going along (as we drove along).'

12.29 *Ga-bo-ngu-nihmi-re.*

Dj 3-liquid-eat-IVF-goNP

'He goes along drinking.' ('Him drinkin all the way.')

12.30 *Ga-wayini-hmi-re.*

Dj 3-sing-IVF-goNP

'He goes along singing all the way.'

12.31 *Gabani-bunjhm-i-re.*

Dj 3ua-kiss-IVF-goNP

'The two of them go along kissing all the way.'

12.32 *Nahnane ø-wage-yihmi-re-i.*

Dj MA:DEM 3P-crawl-IVF-go-PI

(pointing to the tracks left by a Dreamtime being) 'This is where he came crawling along.'

Although particularly common in Gun-djeihmi and Manyallaluk Mayali, this construction is also widespread in Kunwinjku (12.33, 12.34) and present, though not common, in Kuninjku (12.35).

12.33 *Wanjh, bene-wok-ki-wam.*

W well 3uaP-talk-IVF-goPP

'Well, they went along talking together.' [KS 94]

12.34 *Na-kudji na-marladj ø-ngiwkmih-ngiwkm-i-re-y.*

W MA-one I-orphan 3P-ITER-cry-IVF-go-PI

'An orphan was always crying.' [OP 429]

12.35 *Ka-wurrke, yi-bo-rrahkendo ka-wurrm-i-re.*

I 3/3-startNP 2/3-liquid-put.insideIMP 3-rumble-IVF-goNP

'He'll start it up (the engine) and you fill it with water (radiator) while the engine is running.'

However, once one reaches the easternmost dialects (particularly Kune), *re* appears in a serial verb construction, rather than incorporating the other verb (§14.2). This happens even where the speakers are bilingual in Dalabon, which has an incorporating construction similar to the more westerly dialects (see §12.6).

It may be an accidental gap, but I have found no examples containing a directional prefix. Would-be examples like *banimwokkihmire* for ‘the two of them came along talking’ are so far unattested.

With *durnde* ‘return’, the best translation is ‘back’ or ‘(all) the way back’:

12.36 *ø-Nalk-kih-durn-durnd-i.*

I 3P-cry-IVF-ITER-return-PP

‘He went all the way back crying/he cried all the way back.’ (Note that iterative reduplication here precedes gerundive incorporation.)

12.37 *Birri-kanj-yi-lobm-i-durnd-i.*

W 3aP-meat-COM-run-IVF-return-PP

‘They ran back with the meat.’

Two other motion verbs only occur rarely in this construction; *medda* ‘turn around’ denotes an action that just precedes the incorporated verb:

12.38 *Bene-wam bene-danginj bene-wok-ki-medda-nj Gagudju.*

W 3uaP-goPP 3uaP-standPP 3uaP-talk-IVF-turn.around-PP Gaagudju

‘The two sisters went along, and then they turned around and spoke Gaagudju.’

And *murlmurlme* ‘slide’ can incorporate a verb describing the stance while moving:

12.39 *Yi-rrirri-murlmurlme.*

Dj 2-stand-slideNP

‘You slide standing up.’

## 12.4 Incorporation of non-motion verbs

Finally, several stance verbs can incorporate gerundives, plus a miscellany of other once-off combinations.

### 12.4.1 Stance verbs

The commonest meaning of this construction with stance verbs is ‘(hold stance) while Ving’, although the interpretation ‘(get in stance) to V’ is also compatible with many contexts. Examples of this with *yerrgan* ‘to sit down’ are 12.40 and 12.41 — the common complex *wayiniyerrgan* (lit. ‘sit down singing’) is typically used in the context of singing a long ceremonial song or song cycle — *yo* ‘lie, lie down’ is used in 12.42.

12.40 *Ga-wayini-ø-yerrga-n.*

Dj 3-sing-IVF-sit.down-NP

‘He sits down singing.’

- 12.41 *Barri-buyiga barri-wayini- $\emptyset$ -yerrga-ng.*  
 Dj 3aP-other 3aP-sing-IVF-sit-PP  
 'The wrong people sang the song.' (i.e. they were from the wrong country to sing that song)

- 12.42  *$\emptyset$ -Ngiwkmih-ngiwkm-i-yo-y.*  
 W 3P-ITER-whinge-IVF-lie-PP  
 'He lay down, whingeing and whimpering.'

In 12.43 the stance verb *di* 'stand' is used more to emphasise the vertical disposition of the subjects: it was offered as a description of a picture in which raindrops were running down the pane of a window:

- 12.43 *Man-djewk  $\emptyset$ -djerlhm-i-rri,  $\emptyset$ -djerlhke-ng.*  
 I III-rain 3P-drip-IVF-standPP 3P-drip-PP  
 'The rain drops are running down (the window pane).'

The monosyllabic 'sit' verb *ni* is not attested in this construction, its place being taken by *yerrka*; but it does occur, in Gun-dedjnjenghmi at least, in one highly idiomatised gerundive with the verb *djangga* 'hunt', in which *djanggaihni* means 'cheer, greet someone's appearance'. Note that the most obvious etymology for this verb, 'sit while (waiting for others to come back from) hunting' would have non-identity of arguments between the two verbs, which is not found in any other gerundivised construction.

- 12.44 *Arri-bebm-i ngan-gorle gandi-marne-djangga-ih-ni.*  
 Dnj 1a-appear-PI III-spear 3a/1a-BEN-hunt-IVF-sitP  
 'As we turned up with the spear shafts everyone would cheer our appearance.'

#### 12.4.2 Other verbs

A sprinkling of other verbs occurs in this construction.

With the verbs *wokdi* 'speak' (12.45) and *yakme* 'finish, stop' (12.46) the meaning is clearly compositional, simultaneous in the first case and phasal in the second.

- 12.45 *Ga-nalk-gi-wokdi.*  
 Dj 3-cry-IVF-speakNP  
 'She's crying and talking at the same time.'
- 12.46 *Nga-bekka-n yi-kolkm-i-yakme-n, bukkān nga-m-warr-warrme.*  
 I 1/3-hear-NP 2-chop-IVF-stop-NP that.place 1-hither-ITER-wadeNP  
 'When I hear you stop (chopping), I'll come wading across there where you are.'

With other verbs the combination is highly idiomatic. *Ngun* 'eat' incorporates *borledme* 'turn round (intr.)' to give the meaning 'take around, put right around, fence off' (12.47); similarly, it incorporates the verb *wabme* 'move from place to place; shift camp' to give *wabmingun* 'step around someone, go around someone'.

*Wan*, which cannot occur independently but is etymologically the verb for 'follow' (§8.2.3.4), combines with *gurren* 'lie, deceive' (itself a frozen reflexive) to give the meaning 'accuse of lying, reckon O is lying' (12.48).

- 12.47 *Waya birri-dukka-ng birri-borledm-i-ngune-ng.*  
 I wire 3aP-tie-PP 3a/3P-turn.around-IVF-eat-PP  
 'They stretched the wire (as a fence) around (the house).'
- 12.48 *Andi-gurren-wa-n aye ... dja nawu guk-bele wanjh*  
 Dj 3a/1a-lie-follow-NP me and MA:REL body-white then  
*gan-gurren-wa-n ga-yime.*  
 3/1a-lie-follow-NP 3-doNP  
 'They say I'm lying ... the white bloke thinks we are lying.'

There is a single example (in a text in Oates 1964:104) of a perception complement being incorporated: *dalkmi*, the IVF of *dalkme* 'crunch', is incorporated into *bekkang* 'heard':

- 12.49 *Na-mekbe nawu bininj ø-dalkm-i-bekka-ng bu bene-h-mim-baye-yi.*  
 W MA-DEM MA:REL man 3/3P-crunch-IVF-hear-PP SUB 3aP-IMM-seed-bite-PI  
 'That man heard the crunching sound of them eating seeds.'

## 12.5 Mediopassive incorporation

A second function of verbal incorporation into *re* 'go' is to derive mediopassives; this is only attested with verbs of the *ma* conjugation. In this construction the first element remains the semantic head, though with intransitivated argument structure.

Thus from *djalkmang* 'to slice, split (tr.)' (12.50), one gets *djalkmire* 'to split along (intr.)' or simply 'to split (intr.)' (12.51), while from *marrhmang* 'to open (tr.)' one gets *marrhmire* 'to open (intr.)' (12.52, 13.136). The semantic route by which this developed may be the 'all the way' sense of the associated motion constructions, although the normal interpretation of these would be 'he went along splitting the rock' rather than 'the rock went along splitting'. In any case, the verb *re* offers a way for the main clause argument structure to be presented as intransitive.

- 12.50 *Duruk ba-rrad-djalkme-y na-mege bininj.*  
 Dj dog 3/3-leg-slice-PP MA-DEM man  
 'The man sliced the dog's leg.'
- 12.51 *Ba-warde-djalkm-i-wam.*  
 Dj 3P-rock-split-IVF-goPP  
 'The rock split along.'
- 12.52 *Ba-rrang-marrhm-i-wam.*  
 Dj 3P-mouth-open(tr.)-IVF-goPP  
 'The door opened up.'

## 12.6 Comparative remarks

So far the only other Gunwinyguan languages known to have something like verbal incorporation are Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:175–178) and Dalabon (author's field notes), which both have something similar to the associated motion construction. Tiwi also has verb incorporation, using suppletive incorporating forms of verbs (Osborne 1974:47–50).

The Rembarrnga construction is formally similar to that in Biniŋ Gun-wok, in that a sequence *yi* (or *yu*) appears between the two verb stems (though McKay treats it as a prefix to the second stem rather than a suffix to the first); there are also some changes to the initial of the second verb. The only verbs appearing in the second slot are *ra ~ wa* 'go/come' and *many* 'went'; the construction indicates 'durative aspect, or the fact that the activity is in progress at the time in question, or that it takes place while the subject is in motion' (McKay 1975:175).

Despite the formal similarity, there is a major difference in the status of the two verb stems: McKay treats the 'go' verb as a 'progressive suffix', with the first stem being the main verb, and it is the first stem that determines the argument structure (though there is only a difference where the first verb is transitive). It is likely that the Rembarrnga construction originated as a structure of the Biniŋ Gun-wok associated motion type, but that later the erstwhile incorporating verb was reanalysed as a suffix leaving the incorporated verb as the head (as with the mediopassive construction in Biniŋ Gun-wok). Intransitive incorporated verbs would have played a key bridging role here, as the argument structure with such verbs is compatible with both analyses.

In Dalabon the verb *bon* 'go' can incorporate another verb, which must be suffixed by a gerundivising *ye*; the result indicates associated motion or 'along', though it is sometimes also used with an imminent future meaning. An example of the 'along' meaning is 12.53; significantly, David Karlbuma, who supplied this sentence and was bilingual in Dalabon and Kune Narayek, offered 12.54 as its Kune equivalent, employing a serialised verb construction.

- 12.53 *Dulh djakih kah-warme-ye-bo-n.*  
 D stick that 3-float-IVF-go-PR  
 'A stick is floating along (down the river).'

- 12.54 *Kun-dulk nakkanj ka-warme ka-re.*  
 E:N IV-stick that 3-floatNP 3-goNP  
 'A stick is floating along (down the river).'

In Ngalakan (Merlan 1983:129) the nearest equivalent seems to be verb compounding, as with *burriny'-ja* 'to bury' (*burriny'* (thematic verb), *-ja* 'make stand'), *marninyh-ja* 'to wear' (*marninyh* 'make'). There is no gerundivising morphology, and no evidence the first verb can itself incorporate nominals.



# 13 *Syntax of the simple clause*

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## 13.1 Preliminaries

In organising this grammar I have followed a general principle of discussing semantic systems in that part of the grammar where their encoding is most elaborated and grammaticalised. Because the language is so heavily polysynthetic this means that much of what one expects in a syntax chapter, on the basis of more familiar languages, is to be found in the various chapters on verbal morphology. Thus the bulk of information on argument structure is discussed in Chapter 10 (e.g. reflexivisation and reciprocal formation in §10.3.4); auxiliary preverbal particles are discussed with the tense/aspect/mood inflections in Chapter 9, and quantification in §11.3 (except for the 'only' clitic =*wi* in §13.8.3 below). The present chapter is devoted to those aspects of the syntax where the dominant means of expression is not morphological, or where it is useful to bring together material, in a summary way, from a number of areas of the morphology (e.g. in a comparison of how the 'having' relationship is expressed, or in discussing the different means of negation).

Despite the title of this chapter, the delineation of a unit 'clause' is difficult to achieve in a watertight way, although the problems are a little less severe than is the case for the noun phrase (cf. §6.1). There is considerable freedom of element order (§13.2), and the fact that core case marking is not assigned by the verb (except for optional ergative marking in Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali) makes it difficult to show that a particular nominal is truly a subject or object of the verb rather than an adjoined nominating word serving to give extra information about one of the arguments, comparable to an 'afterthought' NP in English. As we saw in Chapter 10, the rich system of subject and object agreement, as well as noun incorporation, means that information about up to three arguments may be represented on the verb itself. Although intonational breaks will be present in clear cases of such afterthought nominals, there will be many examples in rapid speech where such breaks are not made, so these are not a reliable guide.

A useful guiding metaphor is that of a solar system: the verb forms the centre of the clause, and immediately joining it are various words in close construction with it; most of the construction types to be discussed in this chapter involve specifications of order and morphological features of non-verbal words placed next to the verb. Most syntactic statements apply to elements which the verb's gravitational pull has attracted into an adjacent position where constructions have become grammaticalised. Most other elements (e.g. adverbials), but also most nominal groups representing the arguments of verbs, are free to be positioned anywhere within the intonational group. Only a few constructions — some involving the elements *wanjh* and *bonj* (§13.12.4) the placement of interrogative pronouns

(§13.8), and some floated quantifiers such as *rowk* 'all' — involve positional options which are not immediately adjacent to the verb.

## 13.2 Word order

Word order in Biniŋ Gun-wok plays an important part in the organisation of discourse, but its grammatical function is limited. The few grammatical rules involving word order are:

- (a) Ignoratives almost always appear initially when used as interrogatives (§7.2).
- (b) Purpose adjuncts and complements appear adjacent to the verb (§13.5), as do second predicates (§13.4.4).
- (c) Modal particles immediately precede the verb (Chapter 9), except that ignoratives used as negative pronouns come between the negative particle and the verb (§13.9.5).
- (d) Oblique pronouns used as objects immediately follow the verb (§10.3).
- (e) The quantifier *rowk* 'all' floats to the end of the intonational group, whether it be a nominal group or a clause (§6.5.2).
- (f) There are some ordering restrictions in presentative/existential constructions (§13.3.4).
- (g) Non-arguments tend to follow rather than precede the verb.

In the rest of this section, we focus on the ordering of nominal groups representing verbal arguments. First (§13.2.1) we demonstrate that all orderings are grammatically possible, then (§13.2.2) we turn to some of the discourse-based preferences regarding order.

### 13.2.1 Order of major clausal constituents

Grammatical relations do not determine order in Biniŋ Gun-wok, and there is no evidence that particular orders (like SVO) are used to disambiguate clauses where the prefixal morphology fails to identify subject and object clearly (*pace* Blake 1987:158). Speakers whom I have consulted claim that a sentence like 13.1 is ambiguous.

- 13.1     *Na-marnde bi-baye-ng ginga.*  
           I-devil        3/3hP-bite-PP    crocodile  
           'The devil bit the crocodile.' OR: 'The crocodile bit the devil.'

By far the commonest pattern is for clauses to lack any overt nominal group, and to rely on the pronominal prefixation on the verb. Next most common is for a single overt nominal group to be present. Out of a sample of 105 transitive and ditransitive clauses from monologic texts, just over half (54) had no external nominal group, most of the remainder (44) had just one external nominal group, and only seven had two. One context where more than one nominal group naturally appears is in descriptive statements accompanied by gestures to elements in a picture; Text 8 contains some examples.

Of those transitive clauses with one external nominal group, the commonest orders were OV (24), SV (8) and VO (7). This distribution reflects the interaction of some of the discourse-ordering tendencies discussed below, in particular the tendency to place episode-initial and contrastive material before the verb, and non-episode-initial new material after it.

Here are some examples illustrating each order for transitive clauses. Note that the two verb-initial orders are the rarest, and I could not find any clear examples in Gun-djeihmi; but examples from Carroll (1976), who illustrates the existence of all six orders in Kunwinjku, are reproduced here. Additional exemplification of the commoner orderings will be given in the next section's discussion of discourse-driven order.

## SVO

- 13.2 *An-garehgen gohbagohbanj barri-nam-i gun-djurle-gimuk-gen.*  
 Dj III-before old.men 3a-make-PI IV-shade-big-GEN  
 'In the olden days the old men would make a big bough-shade.'

## SOV

- 13.3 *Na-gudji djirndih gun-dume ba-yi-warlkga-rr-inj.*  
 Dj MA-one quail IV-backbone 3P-COM-hide-RR-PP  
 'One bird, quail, had hidden himself away with the backbone.'

## OVS

- 13.4 *Bininj barri-djare-ni namegebu daluk.*  
 Dj man 3a-want-PI those woman  
 'Those women wanted a man.'

## OSV

- 13.5 *Duruk ginga ba-baye-ng ba-ngune-ng na-wern-gen.*  
 Dj dog crocodile 3/3P-bite-PP 3/3P-eat-PP MA-many-GEN  
 'The crocodile has bitten and eaten many dogs.'

## VSO

- 13.6 *Bi-bo-m marrkidj ngal-i ngal-bu daluk.*  
 W 3/3hP-kill-PP clever.man FE-DEM FE-REL woman  
 'The clever man killed the woman.' [PC 81]

## VOS

- 13.7 *Ka-na-n nuye kun-warde Na-bulanj.*  
 W 3/3-see-NP 3mascOBL IV-money I-[subsection]  
 'Nabulanj will see (i.e. get) his money.' [Carroll 1976:81]

It is rare for ditransitive verbs to have more than one external NP. As with verbs of lower valence, it is usual for one or more arguments to be represented simply by pronominal prefix, as with the subject of 13.8, or by an incorporated nominal, as with the object of 13.9:

- 13.8 *Ngal-bu daluk bininj birri-wo-ni.*  
 W FE-DEM woman man 3a/3-give-PI  
 'They were giving this woman to a man.' [OP 418]
- 13.9 *Ngal-mangiyi ngarrbek bi-marne-yaw-ngune-ng korroko.*  
 W II-tortoise echidna 3/3hP-BEN-baby-eat-PP before  
 'Long ago Tortoise ate Echidna's baby'. [OP 426]

A rare example of a ditransitive with three external NPs, the order IO V O SUBJ, is:

- 13.10 *If bininj na-buyiga gabi-marne-djidma-ng daluk, yawurrinj ...*  
 Dj if man MA-other 3/3h-BEN-steal-NP woman young.man  
 'If a young man steals another man's wife ...'

### 13.2.2 Word order and discourse factors

Below I present the main word-order tendencies in connected discourse. I refrain from giving quantitative support, pending a full study on a larger corpus. None of these word-order tendencies are cross-linguistically unusual (see e.g. Givón 1987).

Note that some of these tendencies may conflict, for example a new participant introduced by a presentative motion verb like *bebme* 'appear' would be assigned postverbal position by (e), but preverbal position by (a) if its appearance coincides with a new paragraph or episode.

- (a) i. NEW PARAGRAPHS ARE OFTEN FLAGGED WITH PREVERBAL NOMINALS REPRESENTING CORE ARGUMENTS. Consider the following extract from a Gun-djeihmi text by Toby Gangele about Nadjik, the tawny frogmouth bird. The preceding portion of text has recounted his habit of turning up at people's camps, asking for food, then swallowing the person who offered it; in the end people decide to kill him. The two-line episode in which the humans lure Nadjik by cooking a kangaroo begins with two preverbal external nominals, denoting the man and the kangaroo; the next line of the episode has no external nominals. The next episode, in which Nadjik arrives, is signalled with the preverbal external noun *Nadjik*, last referred to with an external nominal in the first line of the texts. Here I symbolise episode boundaries by '[' for close, and '[' for open.'

- 13.11 *Barri-wam,] [Na-gudji bininj gunj ba-bardngorm-ei.*  
 Dj 3aP-goPP MA-one man kangaroo 3/3P-break.leg.joints.for.cooking-P  
*Ba-wilkde-ngi, yiga barri-warlkga-rr-inj.] [Na-djik*  
 3/3P-put.on.fire-PI some 3aP-hide-RR-PP I-tawny.frogmouth  
*ba-m-bebme-ng gumege. Wanjh bi-berdme-ninj,*  
 3P-towards-appear-PP there just.then 3/3hP-cover-IRR  
*barri-yame-ng, barri-burnname-ng.*  
 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-stop-PP  
 'They went (to execute their plan).] [One man broke the joints of a kangaroo ready to cook it. While he was putting it on the fire to cook, some of the others hid themselves away.] [Na-djik turned up there. Just as he was about to cover him (with the bark), they speared him and stopped him doing it.'

Texts frequently begin with an external nominal introducing the main protagonist:

- 13.12 *Namarnde gun-marne-bebme, yi-gurdangyi.*  
 devil 3/2-BEN-appearNP 2-clever.man  
 'A devil comes to you, and you (become) a clever man.' (first line of a text explaining how one becomes a 'clever man' or sorcerer)

ii. NEW MENTIONS OF ARGUMENTS TEND TO OCCUR PREVERBALLY, for example:

- 13.13 *Ba-ngarre-werrhm-i gun-marlaworr, gun-boi ba-ngune-ng,*  
 3P-scrub-scratch-PI IV-leaf IV-cooking.stone 3/3P-eat-PP

*gun-njamed, gun-yirrge ba-ngune-ng.*

IV-what IV-ash 3/3P-eat-PP

'While she was scratching around in the leaves, she ate a cooking stone, and (also ate) the whatsitsname, the ash.'

To the extent that major participants tend to be introduced at the beginning of new episodes this tendency blends into (a)i. An example is 13.14, excerpted from the Al-wanjduk text (Text 1.38–43). Here both quail and the prized backbone (Alwanjdjuk's last chance for a piece of the meal) are both mentioned for the first time in the text, and are both introduced as preverbal nominal groups. Note that 'quail' is further identified as a new mention by the use of *nagudji* 'one' (see §6.3.2).

- 13.14 *Bonj an-barrgid ba-wam, man.gek gunak.*  
 Dj OK VE-other 3P-gOPP CTRFAC fire

*Ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-djoleng-m-inj ba-ru-i na-wu gunj.*  
 3P-wood-go.for-PI 3-ready-INCH-PP 3P-cook-PP MA-REL roo

*Barri barri-marnbom rouk, barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng, gun-berd, gun-dad,*  
 3aP 3a/3P-preparePP all 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP IV-tail IV-thigh

*njanjuk namegebu barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng. Na-gudji djirndih*  
 anything all.those 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP MA-one quail

*gun-dume ba-yi-warlkga-rr-inj.*

IV-backbone 3P-COM-hide-RR-PP

'All right, she (emu) had gone off another way, supposedly to get fire. While she was going for wood it had been cooked and got ready, that roo. They prepared it, they each took their share, some part of the tail, some a thigh, they each took something like that. One bird, quail, had hidden himself away with the backbone.'

However, there are examples where protagonists are established participants (and would be expected to be postverbal by (c) below), but owing to the commencement of a new paragraph are placed in preverbal position. In the following example, from a story about the brutal ancestral figure Luma-Luma, two preceding paragraphs have outlined various of his dangerous and destructive doings with his enormous penis; 13.15 initiates a new paragraph telling about his parentage and role as an initiator of ceremonial designs. (Note that Yingarna, his mother the rainbow serpent, is placed postverbally here despite being a new mention.)

- 13.15 *Luma-Luma bi-yawme-y Yingarna. Nungka ø-wam Gumardderr*  
 W [name] 3/3h-have.child-PP [name] 3masc 3P-gOPP [place]

*kore Malworn.*

LOC [place]

'Luma-Luma was born of Yingarna. He walked down the Goomadeer River to Malworn.' [KS 60]

- (b) CONTRASTIVE MENTIONS OCCUR PREVERBALLY. This holds equally true of simple contrastives of the form 'A V<sub>1</sub>s, while B V<sub>2</sub>s' (e.g. 13.16, 13.17) and of paired contrastives of the form 'A Vs X, while B Vs Y' (e.g. 13.18).

13.16 *Gohbagohbanj barri-borrkge-yi, dja yawurrinj bandi-nahna-ni.*  
 Dj old.men 3aP-dance-PI CONJ young.man 3a/3pl-watch-PI  
 'The old men would dance, and the young men would watch them.'

13.17 *Ngad ngarri-danjik ngarri-bebme, ngudda yi-ni-n kanjdji!*  
 W we 1a-three 1a-go.outNP you 2-sit-IMP inside  
 'We three will go out, you stay inside.' [WH 23]

13.18 *ngaleng ga-ga-n na-gudji yau, nungga na-bininjgobeng*  
 Dj 3fem 3/3-take-NP MA-one chick 3masc I-spouse

*ga-ga-n gun-bid-bogen.*

3-take-NP IV-hand-two

'She (the female emu) takes one chick, and he, the husband, takes ten.'

- (c) ESTABLISHED PARTICIPANTS TEND TO BE POSTVERBAL IF THEY APPEAR AS EXTERNAL NOMINALS AT ALL. This applies equally to 'afterthought NPs', whose function is to ensure that the pronominal prefixes are properly construed (13.19), and to NPs in 'linked repetitions'. These are a characteristic structure of Bininj Gun-wok discourse<sup>1</sup> which proceeds as 'A. A having happened, B. B having happened, C.' An example is 13.20, whose second line shows both a postverbal established participant (*djilidjili*) and a preverbal new participant (*gorlobarra*).

13.19 *Gurrih na-wu ba-bule-yiga-ni, ba-bule-yawa-ni,*  
 Dj blue.tongue MA-REL 3/3P-burnt.grass-go.for-PI 3/3P-burnt.grass-search-PI

*barri-bokga-ni.*

3a/3P-track-PI

'Those blue-tongue (lizards) would go out for the burnt grass, looking for the burnt grass, and they'd track them (i.e. the old people would track the blue-tongue lizards).'

*Barri-na-ni ba-ngim-i gu-rurk, barri-durk-m-i. Barri-bu-ni*

3a/3P-look-PI 3P-enter-PI LOC-hole 3a/3P-pull.out-PI 3a/3P-kill-PI

*gohbagohbanj.*

old.people

'They'd look for where they had gone into their holes, and pull them out.

They'd kill them, the old people.'

13.20 *Barri-wam djilidjilih barri-dalk-djobge-yi, barri-h-ngu-ni*  
 Dj 3aP-goPP cane.grass 3aP-grass-cut-PI 3a/3P-IMM-eat-PI

<sup>1</sup> This pattern is found in a number of other Australian languages (see Heath (1985), for example, on a similar phenomenon in Ngandi).

*djilidjili, gorlobbarra barri-na-ng.*

cane.grass kangaroo 3a/3P-see-PP

'They went out for cane grass and were cutting it. As they were eating cane-grass, they saw a kangaroo.'

- (d) ADJUNCTS (E.G. PURPOSE, LOCATION, INSTRUMENT) TEND TO BE POSTVERBAL ON FIRST MENTION. For example, each of the lines below, all from the Morak text (Text 4), includes a postverbal first mention of an adjunct.

13.21 *Galuk danjbi dja bogen bani-lobm-i gunak-dorreng*

Dj bye.and.bye three CONJ two 3uaP-run-PI fire-with

*bani-wurlh-wurlhge-yi.*

3ua-ITER-light-PI

'Bye and bye two or three would run around with a firestick and set fire (to the shelter).'

13.22 *"Marrek gurri-darrgid-ma-ng, bi-rrulubu-n bokkoh-yi."*

Dj NEG 2a/3-alive-grasp-NP 1a/2a-hit.with.missile-NP spear-INTR

'If you don't pick it up alive, we'll spear you!'

13.23 *Galuk ba-malayi-barrkbu-ni, barri-yauh-re-i gu-gabohgabo.*

Dj bye.and.bye 3P-morning-dawn-PI 3aP-again-go-PI LOC-streams

'Bye and bye it would grow light, and they'd go on again along the creeks.'

Interestingly, adjuncts often shift into preverbal positions on subsequent mention — the opposite of what happens with arguments. Two examples of this happening (where near-synonyms are employed in the repetition) are:

13.24 *wanjh na-mege ginga ga-ga-n gu-rurk ganjdji,*  
Dj then MA-that crocodile 3/3-take-NP LOC-home underneath

*gure gelbi ga-yi-ngime-n. Djama ga-bangme-guk-ngu-n.*

LOC lair 3/3-COM-enter-NP NEG 3/3-not.yet-body-eat-NP

'then that crocodile takes it down into his home under the ground, and goes into his lair with it. He doesn't eat its body yet.'

13.25 *Nicholas ngaye Benny Lee, Helen Lee, arri-m-wam wakkidj,*  
Dj 1sg 1a-hither-goPP fishing

*djenj ngarri-m-wam*

fish 1a-hither-goPP

'Nicholas, me, Benny Lee and Helen Lee have come here fishing, have come for fish.'

- (e) NOMINALS REPRESENTING ARGUMENTS IN PRESENTATIVE, EXISTENTIAL AND THETIC CONSTRUCTIONS TEND TO BE POSTVERBAL.

13.26 *gun-marlaworr ga-ma-ng, gabi-wordbu-n, ga-rrolga-n gun-dulk*

Dj IV-leaf 3/3-take-NP 3/3h-wave.magic.leaf-NP 3-arise-NP IV-stick

'He takes a (magic) leaf and waves it (over the patient), and a stick comes up (out of the patient's body).'

With existential constructions the situation is actually a little more complicated, depending on whether the entity can be represented by an incorporable noun. This construction is discussed in more detail in §13.3.4 and §10.4.3.3.

### 13.3 Non-verbal predicates and related constructions

In this section I discuss a number of constructions which typically do not use verbal predicates, there being no copula in the language: ascriptive and equational clauses, some types of 'having' predicates, possessive constructions, and constructions expressing similarity and comparison. Certain other constructions which do use verbs (typically of stance and position) are included here also, either because they contract semantic oppositions to non-verbal predicates (e.g. some 'having' constructions), or because they frequently group with non-verbal predicates cross-linguistically (e.g. locative and existential constructions). Note that although presentative constructions have sometimes been claimed to be structurally similar to existentials (see Hengeveld 1992:118–121 for discussion and references), these are not expressed in Bininj Gun-wok by a particular clausal construction, but rather by the addition of the presentative demonstrative *nahni* to a range of clause types (§7.3.1.11).

#### 13.3.1 Constructional characteristics

Non-verbal predicates have a topic — comment structure, with the topic invariably placed first and realised by a nominal group. The comment is realised by a nominal of some kind, which may range from an adjective, noun, oblique pronoun, or some combination of nominals into a nominal group. Occasionally a pronoun or demonstrative from the *nakka* 'just mentioned' series (§7.3.1.12) is used as a link between the topic and comment, particularly in definitions and equational constructions. The following excerpt from Text 2 (lines 10 to 14) illustrates four successive non-verbal ascriptive clauses. In this example a pronoun or demonstrative is used as a link in each clause: *ngaleng* 'she' in a., *nakka* 'that just now' in b. and e., and *nawu* 'that (relative)' in c./d.

- 13.27 a. *ngaleh ngal-yuhyungki ngurrurdu ngaleng bininj, Bulanjdjan.*  
 Dnj FE-DEM II-ancestor emu she human [subsection]  
 'that female ancestor emu, she was a human (then), of Bulanjdjan subsection.
- b. *Mayh na-mekke nakka bininj-ni,*  
 bird MA-DEM MA:DEM human-P  
 'Those birds, they were human then,
- c. *bininj yerre-kah-wi na-wu korlordoddok,*  
 person after-LOC-only MA-REL peaceful.dove  
 'people only afterwards became (such birds as) the peaceful dove,
- d. *la rakul lumbuk karrkkanj, njalehnjale,*  
 and red.eyed.pigeon banded.fruit.dove brown.falcon whatever  
 'the red-eyed pigeon, the banded fruit dove, the brown falcon and so forth,



- e. *nakbu wakwak nakka bininj-ni.*  
 MA:DEM crow MA:DEM person-P  
 'and the crow was human too.'

As discussed in §8.3, nominal predicates take a subset of the morphology available to the verbs, particularly pronominal prefixes and TAM suffixes. The form *bininj-ni* in lines b. and e. of the above example illustrates the use of the past suffix *-ni* on a nominal predicate, while the use of a pronominal prefix is illustrated by the third augmented prefix *birri-* and the first minimal prefix *nga-* in the following examples. As they illustrate, it is possible to omit the topic nominal leaving just the nominal predicate.

- 13.28 (*Bedda*) *birri-warre.*  
 W they 3a-bad  
 'They are bad.'

- 13.29 (*Ngaye*) *nga-mungu.*  
 I I 1-innocent  
 'I am innocent.'

Third person pronominal prefixes draw on a slightly different set of forms when applied to nominal predicates, neutralising the past/non-past distinction found with pronominal prefixes on verbs (see §10.2.1).

Noun class prefixes (§5.5.2), such as the Class IV prefix *kun-* in *kun-kanj* 'meat' (13.30), remain attached in nominal predicates. They are neither replaced nor preceded by pronominal prefixes:

- 13.30 *Ngad kun-kanj bedberre bininj.*  
 W we IV-meat 3aOBL Aborigine  
 'We are meat for Aborigines.' [OP 511]

Nouns belonging to the zero-prefix class may, if they refer to life-stages, take pronominal prefixes, for example *nga-wurdurd-ni* [1-child-P] '(when) I was a child' (8.95), *nga-yawurrinj-ni* '(when) I was a young man' (13.31) and *ga-wurdwurd* 'it is a sapling' (13.32). Other zero-class nouns, such as *bininj* 'person', do not take pronominal prefixes.

- 13.31 *Bern ngan-bim-mey korroko, ngayi nga-barndi kure, wirlih-wirlih*  
 I [name] 3/1-picture-getPP before I 1-be.highP LOC Wubarr.pole  
*nga-yawurrinj-ni.*  
 1-young.man-PI

'Berndt (Ronald Berndt, the anthropologist) took a photograph of me a long time ago when as a young man I climbed up the ceremonial Wubarr pole.' [GID]

- 13.32 *Gun-dulk an-ege ga-wurdwurd.*  
 Dj IV-tree VE-DEM 3-child  
 'This tree is a sapling.'

With gender prefixes the situation is more complicated. It is common to replace them with pronominal prefixes to signal plurality (13.28, 13.33) or to indicate non-third person subject (13.29).

- 13.33 *Ngal-eke moleh-molenj birri-kih-kimuk.*  
 W FE-that REDUP-woman 3a-REDUP-big  
 'Those women are big.'

But most adjectives used as nominal predicates only allow the gender prefixes (13.34); the same applies to attributive compounds (13.35, 13.36).

- 13.34 a. *Na-meke bininj na-kimuk.* b. *Ngal-eke daluk ngal-kimuk.*  
 W MA-DEM man MA-big FE-DEM woman FE-big  
 'That man is big.' 'That woman is big.'

- 13.35 *Gun-dulk an-dehne an-dulk-djumbung.*  
 Dj IV-tree VE-that VE-tree-short  
 'That tree is short.'

- 13.36 *Ngal-daluk-buk.*  
 W FE-woman-peaceful  
 'She is a quiet-tempered woman.'

Where the referent is third person minimal, however, a few adjective roots allow either gender or pronominal prefixes, but with a difference in meaning, as with the following examples with *-mak* 'good' and *-warre* 'bad'. In each case the pronominally-prefixed root conveys a situational meaning — 'it's good/bad for him/her'<sup>2</sup> — while the gender-prefixed root attributes the adjective as a long-term property of the individual. The forms *gamak/kamak* and *gawarre/kawarre* may also be used with no clear subject, to mean '(it's) OK' and '(it's) no good' respectively; exceptionally, these forms are used in the past tense without replacing the prefix (see Text 1.59 and Text 4.11).

- 13.37 a. *Kodjok ka-mak.* b. *Kodjok na-mak.*  
 I [subsection] 3-good [subsection] MA-good  
 'Kodjok's OK (e.g. not upset or sick).' 'Kodjok's a good/handsome person.'
- Dj c. *Na-mak-ni.*  
 MA-good-P  
 'He was a good man.'
- 13.38 a. *Alekke daluk ga-warre.* b. *Alekke daluk ngal-warre.*  
 Dj FE:DEM woman 3-bad FE:DEM woman FE-bad  
 'That woman's no good (upset, sick etc.).' 'That woman is bad/ugly.'
- 13.39 *Nungka na-warre, ø-dowi-men.*  
 W he MA-bad 3P-die-IMP  
 'He is a bad man, and must die.'

Similarly, the root *ngudjwarre* means 'bad at walking, bad on one's feet'; Dj *al-ngudjwarreni*, with the feminine gender prefix and past suffix, was translated by EH as 'she was too old to walk' (i.e. she was someone unable to walk), a stable property, while *bangudjwarreni*, with the verbal prefix, was translated as '(felt) too tired to walk', a more transient state.

<sup>2</sup> This applies only to the third minimal prefixed form. Non-minimal pronominal prefixes, like *birri-* in 13.28, get the property interpretation, like gender-prefixed forms.

Predicate adjectives like *babang* 'be sore, sick', *banj* 'stink(ing)', *bonjdjek* 'cold', Dj *gangemak* 'happy' and *warnyak* 'not feel like, not want' take the pronominal prefix set found with verbs, most obvious from the presence of the prefix *ga-/ka-* in non-past, non-minimal forms:

- 13.40 *Gabarri-gange-mak.*  
 Dj 3a-feeling-good  
 'They're feeling happy.'
- 13.41 *Ga-bonjdjek.*  
 Dj 3-cold  
 'She is cold.'

And in Gun-djeihmi, which has the non-zero form past form *ba-*, predicate adjectives can take this in the past:

- 13.42 *Ba-warnyak-ni.*  
 Dj 3P-not.want-P  
 'He didn't want any.' (transient, verb-like; verbal past prefix and past suffix)
- 13.43 *Ba-bonjdjek-ni.*  
 Dj 3P-cold-P  
 'She was cold.'

*Rohrok* 'same, similar' can occur with either prefix set. In Gun-djeihmi, for example, it can take the non-verbal third person unit augmented form *bani-* (13.44), or the verbal form *gabani-* (13.45, 13.46).

- 13.44 *Bani-berd-rohrok.*  
 Dj 3ua-tail-similar  
 'The two of them have similar tails.'
- 13.45 *An-mardba, an-djalen, gabani-rohrok an-ngui.*  
 Dj III-scarlet.gum III-woollybutt 3ua-similar III-flower  
 'The scarlet gum and the Darwin woollybutt have similar flowers.'
- 13.46 *Gun-dulk nahni gabani-werrk-rohrok.*  
 Dj IV-tree MA:DEM 3ua-bark-similar  
 'These two trees have similar bark.'

### 13.3.2 Ascriptive and equational predicates

Extensive examples of ascriptive predicates have been given in the preceding section, involving nouns like *bininj* 'person, human' (13.27) and *yawurrinj* 'young man' (13.31), adjectives like *warre* 'bad' (13.28) and *kimuk* 'big' (13.33), attributive noun-adjective compounds like *an-dulk-djumbung* 'short tree' (13.35) and *ngal-daluk-buk* 'peaceful woman' (13.36), and predicate adjectives like *bonjdjek* 'cold' (13.41). To this may be added social identification terms like subsection terms (13.47) and clan names (13.48). (Further examples of nominal ascriptive predicates can be found in §8.3.)

- 13.47 *Ngal-kudji ngal-bu Ngal-bangardi, ngal-buyika Ngal-kangila.*  
 W FE-one FE-REL II-[subsection] FE-other II-[subsection]  
 'One of the women was Ngalbangardi (subsection), the other was Ngalkangila.'  
 [KS 196]

- 13.48 *Na-mege bininj Na-badmardi.*  
 Dj MA-that man I-[clan]  
 'That man is a Badmardi man.'

Although ascriptive predicates most commonly describe stable states, occasionally they are applied to situations of becoming. One example is c. 13.27, *bininj yerrekahwi nawu korlordoddok, la rakul ...* 'only later did people become (such birds as) the peaceful dove, the red-eyed pigeon ...'; another is:

- 13.49 *Namarnde gun-marne-bebme, yi-gurdangyi.*  
 Dj devil 3/2-BEN-appearNP 2-clever.man  
 'A devil comes to you, and you (become) a clever man.'

More commonly, however, transformations are expressed by either denominal inchoative verbs (§8.2.2.1) or the verb *yimerran* 'turn out, turn into, become':

- 13.50 *Ba-djal-yim-i galukborrk "gurlulk, gurlulk" ba-yime-ng.*  
 Dj 3P-just-say-PI long.time [onomatopoeic] 3P-say-PP  
 'She just kept saying for a long time: "gurlulk, gurlulk".'

*"Anege yi-yimerra-nj."*  
 that 2-turn.into-PP

'"That's how you turned out," (they said).'

*"Ayed a-yimarra-ng? Al-wanjdjuk a-yimarran!"*  
 how 1-turn.into-NP II-emu 1-turn.intoNP

'"How am I going to turn out? I'll turn into an emu."'

Equational predicates, in which identity is asserted to hold between a topic and a comment, both with unique reference, are rare, except in cases of demonstrative identification:

- 13.51 *Ngad karri-bekka-n bu ka-h-re ka-h-yime "wuhwu, wuhwu".*  
 W we 12a-hear-NP SUB 3NP-IMM-goNP 3NP-IMM-sayNP [onomatopoeic]  
*Wanjh karri-yime "Ah, nakka nungka-h."*  
 then 12a-sayNP ah MA:DEM him-IMM  
 'We hear him going along saying "wuhwu, wuhwu". Then we say, "Ah, that's him (the little man known as Djidjnguk)".' [KS 88]

The other common circumstance in which equational clauses are used is in identificational statements about place. Note that in each of the following examples a locative comment (including the locative preposition *kure*) is directly linked to the topic, without the need for any verb; this contrasts with locational constructions which always require a stance or positional verb (§13.3.3).

- 13.52 *Djikkabbal kun-red kure Kamarrang ø-danginj.*  
 I [place] IV-place LOC [subsection] 3P-be.bornPP  
 'Djikkabbal is the place where Kamarrang was born.' [GID]
- 13.53 *Kabirilingun kure wakkidj ngarri-we.*  
 I [place] LOC fish.hook 1a-thrownNP  
 'Kabirilingun is where we go fishing.' [GID]
- 13.54 *Yingundje kure ngarnkul djang ka-rri.*  
 I [place] LOC black.duck dreaming 3-standNP  
 'Yingundje is where the black duck dreaming is.' [GID]

### 13.3.3 Locative predicates

Locative constructions use a stance or positional verb, plus (usually) a locative complement, typically a spatial deictic or a locative-marked nominal group — by suffix (13.55), one of the two locative prefixes (13.56) and/or preposition (13.57) — though when the verb has a specific locative content the noun may be left unmarked (13.58).

- 13.55 *Ga-h-wendi galk-no-gah.*  
 MM 3-IMM-be.highNP stump-PRT-LOC  
 'The hose is on top of the tree stump.'
- 13.56 a. *Barri-dahgendi gu-rredj.*  
 Dj 3aP-be.insideP LOC-back  
 'They were inside the back (of the truck).'
- b. *Bob mi-ngarre ka-di.*  
 E:D red.backed.fairy.wren VEG.LOC-jungle 3-standNP  
 'Red-backed fairy wrens live in the jungle.'
- 13.57 *Barri-ni gure gu-rurrk.*  
 Dj 3aP-sitPI LOC LOC-shelter  
 'They used to sit in the shelter.'/'They would be in the shelter.'
- 13.58 *Mambard ka-barndi kaddum table.*  
 I cup 3-be.highNP up/above  
 'The/a cup is on the table.'

Locational words may also be used, with no noun:

- 13.59 *Djamo ka-di karrikad.*  
 MM dog 3-standNP outside  
 'The dog is outside (the kennel).'
- 13.60 *Karrh ka-wendi kaddum.*  
 MM spider 3-be.highNP above  
 'The spider is above.' (used to describe a situation where a spider was hanging from the roof).

Locational constructions in Bininj Gun-wok never occur without a verb. In this respect Bininj Gun-wok contrasts markedly with dependent-marking Australian languages such as

Kayardild,<sup>3</sup> where locative-marked nominals are sufficient to constitute a locational predicate.

Structurally and semantically distinct from both locationals and existentials are predications with the meaning 'be present, be there (with someone else)'. These are expressed by adding the comitative suffix plus a tense marker to a free pronoun (e.g. *ngaye-dorrengh-ni* 'I was there, I was present as a witness'). See 5.81 for a sentence example.

### 13.3.4 Existential and presentative predicates

The commonest type of existential construction likewise uses one of the four stance verbs 'stand' (13.61), 'lie' (13.62), 'sit' (13.63) or 'be high' (13.64, 13.65; E and MM have *wendi* corresponding to *barndi* in other dialects). Where morphologically possible the stance verb incorporates a generic term (13.61, 13.62), otherwise the noun is immediately adjacent to the verb (13.64, 13.65). A locative group may precede (13.61) or follow (13.65), but need not be present (13.62–13.64). Where incorporation occurs, the incorporated generic noun will usually be followed by a more specific external noun, as with 'cypress pine' in 13.61 and 'billabong' in 13.62. (For further examples see §10.4.3.3.)

- 13.61 *Ku-dulum-kah ka-dulk-di an-larrh ngan-dulk-kudji, ka-djabdi.*  
 MM LOC-peak-LOC 3-tree-standNP III-cypress.pine III-tree-one 3-be.verticalNP  
 'There is a cypress pine on top of the mountain.'
- 13.62 *Ga-bo-yo an-gabo.*  
 Dj 3-liquid-lieNP III-billabong  
 'There's a billabong there.'
- 13.63 *Gukku alengman ba-gole-ni ba-bo-ni, an-gole.*  
 Dnj water herEMPH 3P-spear-sitPI 3P-liquid-sitPI III-spear  
 'The water itself (was heavy), there were the spears and the water inside the spears.'
- 13.64 *Kabirri-barnh-barndi kardab.*  
 I 3a-ITER-be.highNP spider  
 'There are spiders up (on the wall).'
- 13.65 *Pensil ka-h-wendi kure kabad kaddum.*  
 MM pencil 3-IMM-be.highNP LOC cupboard on.top  
 'There is a pencil on top of the cupboard.'

In general the choice of stance verb in these existentials reflects the position of the entity at issue: trees stand, while billabongs 'lie' (i.e. are stretched out horizontally). There is some room to stress salient facts of the situation: normally one says of fruit in a tree that are not too high up, *kamimdi* [it-fruit-stands] 'there are fruit', but if one wanted to stress how high up they were one could say *kamimbarndi* [it-fruit-be.high] 'there are fruit up high'.

There are also some more idiosyncratic distinctions. Thus one normally uses *yo* 'lie' with names (e.g. *kangeyyo* [it-name-lies] 'it has a name; its name is ...'); in the standard situation

<sup>3</sup> Verbless locational predicates are of course found in many languages of the world – see Hengeveld (1992) and Clark (1978).

that this denotes the name is not physically present but exists in people's minds and in the language. But if a name is physically present, through being written down (e.g. in a book, or on someone's T-shirt) one says *kangeydi* [it-name-stands], regardless of its physical orientation.

Two other structures found in existentials are:

(a) The simple use of quantifier, with no copular, after a locative expression:

- 13.66     *Warradjan ... Kun-dedj ka-rrudje-rr-en ka-rrabu-dudje. Kure*  
 I           [turtle.sp.]     IV-rear     3-bury-RR-NP     3-egg-buryNP     LOC

*Mikkinj na-wern.*

[place]     MA-many

'The pig-nosed turtle ... It buries its rear end and lays eggs in the ground.  
 There are many in Mikkinj valley.'

(b) Use of *karrme* 'have' (see §13.3.5) with a locational noun as the subject:

- 13.67     *Warnwarnh man-ngarre ka-karrme.*

E:D       *ficus.racemosa* III-jungle     3-haveNP

'The jungle has *ficus racemosa* trees, i.e. there are *ficus racemosa* trees in the jungle.'

- 13.68     *Man-ngarre ka-karrme badjikokok yawnowurd.*

E:D       III-jungle     3-haveNP     leech     little

'There are little leeches in the jungle.'

### 13.3.5 'Having' predicates

A number of distinct constructions express a range of 'have'-type relations at the clausal level.

#### 13.3.5.1 Instrumental and comitative suffixes

These are treated first because, across the Australian continent, they are the commonest way of expressing 'having' in predicates. In Bininj Gun-wok, however, this method is hardly ever used.

The instrumental suffix *-yih* is frequently used in adnominal expressions to express the meaning 'having, equipped with' (e.g. *nawu mayh bidngalngyih* 'that animal with nails on its claws'); see §5.2.1.9 for many examples. However, it is vanishingly rare to see it used in clausal predications of 'having'. The only example known to me is from Kune (Dulerayek):

- 13.69     *Buyuh ko-no man-kung-yih.*

E:D       *a.aulacocarpa* flower-3POSSD III-honey-INSTR

'*Acacia aulacocarpa* flowers have honey.'

The comitative suffix *-dorreng* is likewise restricted to instrumental and other adjunct uses, and is not attested in having predicates, although it occasionally appears on secondary predicates:

- 13.70 *Wanjh kun-djawurrk-dorrenge nga-m-wam kondanj kunu.*  
 W well IV-beard-COM 1-hither-goPP here then  
 'I had a beard when I came here.' (i.e. I came here bearded.) [OP 354]

### 13.3.5.2 *garrme-/karrme- 'have'*

This verb is the unmarked method of expressing the 'having' relationship. It has a broad semantic range, which spans 'grab' (6.106), 'grasp' (13.71), 'touch' (13.72), 'take hold of' (13.73), 'hold on to' (13.74) and 'hold' (13.75).

- 13.71 *Galawan ga-rrulk-garrme.*  
 Dj goanna 3/3-tree-graspNP  
 'The goanna is **grasping** onto a tree.'
- 13.72 *A-guk-garrme-ng a-yibbom bigibigi.*  
 Dj 1/3-body-touch-PP 1/3-patPP pig  
 'I **touched** the pig. I patted it.'
- 13.73 *Nga-kodj-wurrrkme ng marrkidjbu kam-wam ngan-kodj-karrme-ng*  
 I 1/3-head-stunPP clever.man 3hither-goPP 3/1-head-hold-PP  
*ngan-marnbom.*  
 3/1-healPP  
 'I had an object inside my head and the clever man **took hold of** my head and healed me.' [GID]
- 13.74 *Yi-wernh-karrme warde ka-biwme.*  
 2-properly-holdIMP might 3-bendNP  
 'Hold on to it tightly or else it might bend.' [GID]
- 13.75 *Ngudda yi-karrme-n wardi nga-walewarre.*  
 I you 2/3-hold-IMP might 1-wrongly.hold  
 'You **hold** her (the baby) otherwise I'll hold her incorrectly.' [GID]

Used with the meaning 'have', this verb applies a wide range of possessive relationships:

- (a) Temporary or long-term possession of alienable or constructed objects (see also 6.97, 6.103, Text 9.9).

- 13.76 *Man-me yi-karrme? Kayakki, birri-yakwong birri-dedjwarla.*  
 I III-food 2-haveNP nothing 3a/3P-finishPP 3a-greedy.guts  
 'Have you got any food? No, those greedy guts finished it all.' [GID]

- (b) 'Having' kin and other types of relationship:

- 13.77 a. *Na-bininjkobeng ka-karrme.* b. *Daluk ka-karrme.*  
 I I-spouse 3-haveNP woman 3-haveNP  
 'She **has** a husband.' 'He's married.'
- 13.78 *Ka-karrme mararradj. Nga-na-ng bi-mim-lewkme-ng.*  
 I 3-haveNP lover 1/3-see-PP 3/3hP-eye-look.suggestively-PP  
 'She **has** a lover. I saw him give her the eye.' [GID]



(c) 'Having' diseases and afflictions

- 13.79 a. *Yeng ka-karrme*. (I)  
V.D. 3-haveNP  
'He's got venereal disease.'
- b. *Burrubburru nga-garrme*. (Dj)  
scabies 1-haveNP  
'I've got scabies.'

(d) 'Having' problems; experiences; powers:

- 13.80 *Korroko dabbarrabolk birri-h-bongdi, kun-warre birri-h-karrme-ng.*  
I before old.people 3aP-IMM-travailP IV-bad 3aP-IMM-have-PP  
'A long time ago our ancestors lived difficult lives and they **had** bad problems.'  
[GID]
- 13.81 *Kulawuddul nungka, man-karre-kudji ka-karrme.*  
I novice 3masc III-ceremony-one 3-haveNP  
'He is a novice, he has one ceremony (cf. 'has two PhDs).' [GID]
- 13.82 *Na-kordang na-wu marrngkidj ka-karrme, ka-rrolka-n ka-re.*  
I I-clever.man MA-REL magic.power 3-haveNP 3-rise.up-NP 3-gonP  
'The clever men, who **have** magical powers, can rise up into the air and travel.'  
[GID]

(e) 'Having' membership in clans etc.:

- 13.83 *Ngudda njale yi-karrme kun-nguya?*  
 I you what 2-have IV-clan  
 ‘What clan do you belong to?’ (i.e. ‘What do you **have** as your clan?’)

(f) Properties, including the possession of particular parts or physical characteristics:

- 13.84 *Nakardabama na-wardde-ken. Birdi ka-karrme koy-no. Birdi*  
 I [honey.type] MA-rock-GEN wax 3-haveNP resin-PRT wax  
*ku-rrulk na-buyika.*  
 LOC-tree MA-different  
 ‘Nakardabama honey is found in rock. Its wax **has** a resin. Beeswax from  
 trees is different.’ [GID]
- 13.85 *Ngal-bu ngal-yod ngal-bu horn ka-karrme djabbana-no.*  
 I FE-REL II-rainbow.snake FE-REL 3-haveNP horn-PRT  
 ‘But the rainbow serpent, she’s **got** horns.’
- 13.86 *Kurrkurrbi murrng-no ka-karrme bukkarn-no.*  
 I [fish.sp.] bone-PRT 3-haveNP protrusions.in.caudal.area-PRT  
 ‘The *kurrkurrbi* catfish **has** protrusions at the end of the bones (in its  
 caudal area).’ [GID]

As will be seen in §13.3.5.3 below, a separate construction is used if one wishes to describe those possessed parts, if their orientation is salient, or if they are striking or disproportionate.

Note that, in contrast with its use with the senses of 'grab', 'grasp' etc., this verb does not normally take object prefixes when used to mean 'have', except when change of state is being emphasised (with a meaning more like 'get'), as in 13.87. It is, however, able to incorporate

the object (10.131, 10.245), showing that in some respects it is transitive and in others not. No other verb has a comparably ambiguous status.

- 13.87 *Yi-bengka-n Kodjok? Bale nakka ka-h-ngey-yo?*  
 I 2/3-know-NP [subsection] where MA:DEM 3-IMM-name-lieNP  
*Bulanj bi-karrmeng.*  
 [subsection] 3/3hP-have-PP  
 'You know that Kodjok? What's his name now? He's got a son (now)  
 — (a little) Bulanj.'

### 13.3.5.3 Restricted-domain constructions

English and many other languages extend the use of 'have' to situations like 'he has bad eyes', 'she has rough skin' and so on, which are actually predicates restricted to some domain of the subject (i.e. he is bad, as far as his eyes are concerned). Bininj Gun-wok grammaticalises this restricted-domain analysis, expressing such statements in the form *X N-Pr* where *N* is a 'part noun' and *Pr* is predicate (which may be an adjective or a verb). Note that 'part' here includes parts of the persona (voice, shadow, spirit, language, reflection) as well as the body proper.

Because of the structural parallels between incorporation and noun-adjective compounding the same formulation works for both types: restricted domain noun-adjective compounds used as predicates (as in 13.88–13.90), and body-part nouns incorporated into intransitive verbs (10.91); the incorporation of 'affected' body-part nouns into intransitive verbs (discussed and exemplified in detail in §10.4.2).

- 13.88 *Bene-mim-warre.*  
 I 3ua-eye-bad  
 'They both have poor eyesight.' [GID]
- 13.89 *Bulurr bodme-darrkdarrk.*  
 E:D Storr's.monitor back-rough  
 'Storr's monitor has a rough back.'
- 13.90 *Nga-ngabed-guyeng.*  
 Dj 1-hair-long  
 'I have long hair.'
- 13.91 *Ba-rrang-barrme-ng yau.*  
 Dj 3-mouth-open(intr.)-PP baby  
 'The baby (bird) has its mouth open.' (lit. it is open, as far as its mouth is concerned)

The predicate may also be a predicative adjective like *dulmuk* 'heavy' (13.92) or *rohrok* 'alike' (13.44: *bani-berd-rohrok* [they.two-tail-alike] 'they have similar tails; they are alike as far as their tails are concerned').

- 13.92 *Ga-merlem-dulmuk.*  
 Dj 3-belly-heavy  
 'She is pregnant.' (lit. Her belly is heavy.)

The verb 'stand' is often used in this construction when the possession of a particular protruding part is at issue:

- 13.93 *Ka-ker-di.*  
I 3-spike-standNP  
'It has a spike.' [GID]
- 13.94 *Marndingunjungunj minj ka-werl-di.*  
I dugong NEG 3-side.fin-standNP  
'Dugong don't have side fins.' [GID]

#### 13.3.5.4 'Have a prominent (part)': the bare part construction

In this construction the part noun is prefixed with a verbal prefix, but no actual verb is present, i.e. the construction resembles body-part incorporation, but without a verb to incorporate into. Past tense suffixes may be added. This construction is mostly used to denote salient, transient prominence of some part:

- 13.95 a. *Ga-merlem.* b. *Ba-merlem-ni.*  
Dj 3-belly 3P-belly-PI  
‘She is pregnant.’ ‘She was pregnant.’
- 13.96 *An-dehne gun-dulk ga-bamo.*  
Dj VE-that IV-tree 3-bud  
‘That tree is in bud.’ (*an-bamo* ‘bud’)
- 13.97 *Towel ka-rurrrk.*  
I 3-hole  
‘The towel has a hole in it. (A speaker of MM translated this by incorporation into ‘sit’: *karurrrkni*.)
- 13.98 *Djama ga-wok.*  
Dj not 3-speech  
‘He says nothing.’

Occasionally the transience requirement is relaxed, where the salience is unusual.

- 13.99 *Ka-kodj.*  
I 3-head  
'It (the rock formation) has a head.' (said of a cliff with a head-like shape)

#### 13.3.5.5 'Have ready'

This special construction employs the benefactive applicative plus a stance verb, with the special meaning ‘BEN have SUBJ ready to use’ (see also §10.3.1.3). The subject may incorporate.

- 13.100 *Djama ga-bangme-ngu-n bu ga-h-gulba-re, ga-bawo-n*  
Dj not 3-not.yet-eat-NP REL 3-IMM-blood-goNP 3-leave-NP

*galuk ga-re, djandi, an-gudji, djandi bogenh, gu-mege bu*  
 then 3-goNP week VE-one week two LOC-there REL

*gabi-marne-ganj-yo, now might be ga-ngu-n yerre-ga.*

3/3hNP-BEN-meat-lieNP 3-eat-NP after-LOC

'He won't eat it as long as the blood is flowing. He leaves it while one week goes by, two weeks, when he has the meat lying there ready for him, now he might eat it, afterwards.'

- 13.101 *Ngaleng ø-karrm-i, ngalmangeyi, mankole, ø-marne-yo-y, madjawarr.*  
 W she 3/3-get-PI tortoise III-spear 3/3-BEN-lie-PP throwing.stick

*Ngarrbek, kun-wardde ø-marne-wardde-yo-y.*

echidna IV-stone 3/3P-BEN-stone-lie-PP

'Tortoise got spears, she had a bundle of bamboo spears and throwing sticks. Echidna she had a pile of stones (ready for the fight).' [OP 401]

- 13.102 *Bu wangbol yarrka kabi-marne-yo bininj, nungka werrk*  
 W SUB [dead.parts] all.sorts 3/3h-BEN-lie man 3masc first

*ka-rrokme kaben-bun*

3-get.upNP 3/3pl-killNP

'When he's got some part of a dead man ready (e.g. hair, finger, bones), he's ready to head off and kill a man.' [KH 154]

### 13.3.5.6 'Have N[um] X'

As an alternative to using the verb *karrme* (see above), one may use an ascriptive construction whose topic is a possessive expression, and whose comment is a numeral:

- 13.103 *Yau nuye bogen.*

Dj child his two

'He has two children.' (lit. His children are two.)

### 13.3.5.7 'Have on (item of clothing etc.)'

Expressions of wearing are generally phrased using positional verbs or their derivatives:

- 13.104 *Ka-kodj-djongdi hat.*

I 3-head-have.placed.inside.a.containerNP hat

'He has a hat on.'

- 13.105 a. *Ka-bid-djongbu-rr-en ring.*

3-finger-put.on-RR-NP

'She has a ring on her finger'

(lit. She put a ring on her finger.)

- b. *Ring ø-bid-dahkendo-rr-inj.*

3P-finger-put.inside-RR-PP

'She has a ring on her finger.'

(lit. She put her finger inside a ring.)

- 13.106 *Ka-dolng-dakan.*

I 3-smoke-hold.in.mouthNP

'He has a cigarette in his mouth.' (lit. He is holding a cigarette in his mouth.)

## 13.3.6 Possessive predicates

Possessive predicates are expressed in one of three ways: either by a nominal predicate in the genitive, though this is unusual and tends to have the specific semantics 'belonging to through association' (13.107), by a possessive group comprising a noun denoting the possessor, plus an adjacent oblique pronoun (13.108), or simply by an oblique pronoun (optionally preceded by a cardinal pronoun) (13.109). The latter two methods, both employing the oblique pronoun, are the normal means of expressing possession. Where the possessive relationship no longer obtains (e.g. when one loses one's car at gambling, or through the death of the owner) the oblique pronoun may be marked for past tense (7.32, 8.94).

- 13.107 *Wularla* *Yabbadurruwa-ken.*  
I spectacled.hare.wallaby [ceremony]-GEN  
'The spectacled hare wallaby is associated with the Yabbadurruwa ceremony.' [GID]
- 13.108 *Nawu maralakka nuye na-bininkobeng.*  
W MA:DEM bag.type heOBL MA-spouse  
'The bag belongs to her husband.' [KS 82]
- 13.109 *Duruk bedda bedberre.*  
Dj dog they 3aOBL  
'It's their dog.' OR: 'The dog is theirs.'

Note also the idiom *ngayeman ngarduk* [1EMPH 1OBL] '(it's) my business'.

## 13.3.7 Comparative constructions

As in most Australian languages, comparatives and superlatives are not commonly used,<sup>4</sup> but nonetheless distinct constructional means are available.

Absolute comparatives and superlatives (i.e. with no explicit comparandum) modify the adjective by one of three means. Although these are often translated with the superlative meaning, they are also compatible with the comparative translation when this means 'possessing the quality to the greater extent of two comparanda'; I have no examples of the distinction between grades of three-way comparisons (good, better, best) and in all the examples I have heard the same form permits either comparative or superlative interpretation according to context.

- (a) Addition of the clitic =*duninj* 'real' (e.g. Dj *an-mak=duninj* [VE-good-real] 'really good'). This often implicates a superlative reading:

- 13.110 *Ngerbungnerbu yiman namindjibuk, la*  
I baby.barramundi.fingerling like barramundi.fingerling CONJ

<sup>4</sup> See Schweiger (1984) for a survey of the little descriptive material available up to 1984.

*na-yahwurd=duninj.*

MA-small=real

'Ngerbungerbu is the name for barramundi fingerlings, like *namindjibuk*, but the smallest ones.' [GID]

- (b) Addition of the prefix *wernh-* 'properly', mostly found on verbs (§11.3.2.1) but also available with predicate adjectives (e.g. *nawernhkimuk* [MA-properly-big] 'bigger/biggest', according to context).<sup>5</sup>
- (c) The adjective root *mak* 'good' has the special comparative/superlative form *makgayigen* ~ *makgayen* (Dj) or *makkayken* (o.d.) 'best quality, wonderfully beautiful', which I here gloss 'POSitive evaluation'. This form can be used either as a predicate (13.111–13.112) or directly as an argument (13.113).

13.111 *A-warnyak al-dehne, al-buyiga a-djare al-mak-gayigen.*

Dj 1-not.want FE-DEM FE-other 1-want FE-good-POS  
'I don't want this woman, I want the other one, the prettier one (or: the really beautiful one).'

13.112 a. *Ga-bo-mak-gayen.* (Dj)

3-liquid-good-POS  
'(It's) the cleanest water!'

b. *Kolk-mak-kayken.* (E:N)

water-good-POS  
'(It's) the cleanest water!'

13.113 *An-bolk-mak-gayen.*

Dj VE-place-good-POS  
'(It's) a most beautiful place.'

Relative comparatives, in which explicit comparison between two entities is made, employ two distinct techniques:

- (a) Two assertions are made, using antonymic adjectives, with or without a conjunction like *dja* 'and, but':

13.114 *Nungka na-kimuk, dja ngaye nga-yahwurd.*

W 3masc MA-big CONJ 1 1-small  
'He's big, but I'm small.' (i.e. 'He's bigger than me.') [E&E 98]

13.115 *Na-yaw-kimuk nawu namarnkorl. Nakka namindjibuk*

I MA-child-big MA:REL I-barramundi MA:DEM barramundi.fingerling  
*yahwurd.*  
small

'The *namarnkorl* are the larger juveniles. The small ones are called *namindjibuk*.' OR: 'The *namarnkorl* type of barramundi are bigger than the *namindjibuk*, smaller fingerling ones.'

- (b) The verb *yurhke* 'beat, pass, surpass' (13.116) is used, usually together with some other predicate describing the property or activity being compared (13.117–13.119) though sometimes this is left to context (13.120). Note that for some comparisons

<sup>5</sup> Etherington and Etherington (1994:97) gloss this form as 'biggest' in Kunwinjku but in the dialects I am most familiar with this can also be used in situations where it is not necessarily claimed that no bigger entity exists, merely that the described entity is somewhere at the top end of the bigness range.

special verbs exist to specify the dimension of contrast, such as *kodjnan* [head-see] 'look (down) on someone's head, be taller than'.

- 13.116 *Ngun-ngudj-yurrrhk-eng.*  
I 3/2-speed-beat-PP  
'(S)he left you behind (running, racing), (s)he beat you.'
- 13.117 *Ngan-kodj-na-n, ngan-yurrrhke.*  
I 3/1-head-see-NP 3/1-beatNP  
'He's taller than me, he beats me.' (lit. He looks at my head.)
- 13.118 *Nani ka-ngudj-bang kaben-yurrrhke.*  
I MA:DEM 3-speed-fierce 3/3pl-beat-NP  
'He's really fast, he'll beat them all.' (or: He's the fastest.)
- 13.119 *Nungka ngun-yurrrhke-ng Kuninjku ka-wokdi.*  
I 3masc 3/2-beat-PP Kuninjku 3-speakNP  
'He can speak Kuninjku better than you.' (He's passed you in knowledge now.)
- 13.120 *Ngudda yiben-yurrrhke-ng mayh yi-bengkan.*  
I you 2/3pl-beat-PP creature 2-know-NP  
'Your knowledge of ceremony is better than theirs.'
- 13.121 *Nani kabi-yurrrhke.*  
I MA:DEM 3/3h-beatNP  
'This one has more than that one (reference to one container having more water than another).'<sup>6</sup>

Equal degree is expressed by the predicate adjective *ka-rohrok* 'same, similar', which may incorporate a part noun designating the locale of similarity (13.44, 13.46, 13.122); alternatively the noun may be placed adjacent to the predicate (13.45). To express 'they are equally tall', one would typically incorporate *kuk* 'body' or *kornom* 'height', then juxtapose an adjective next to the predicate, appropriately prefixed according to the dialect.

- 13.122 *Kabene-keb-rohrok.*  
I 3ua-face-same  
'Those two have the same face.' [GID]
- 13.123 a. *Gabani-guk-rohrok, na-guyeng bani-bogen.*  
Dj 3ua-body-same MA-long 3ua-two  
'They are equally tall; they are both tall.'
- b. *Kabene-konom-rohrok, bene-konom-kuyeng.*  
I 3ua-height-same 3ua-height-long  
'They are equally tall; they are both tall.'

Enquiries about degree are formed by combining *baleh kayime* 'how (much)' (§7.2.5) with an appropriate adjective:

<sup>6</sup> Note the anomalous use of the *kabi-* prefix here, normally reserved for objects of higher animacy.

- 13.124 a. *Baleh kayime na-kimuk?*  
 I ...how... MA-big  
 'How big?'  
 b. *Ka-rrulmuk yiman kayime njale?*  
 3-big ...how... what  
*Ka-wob yiman kayime nanih bu karri-wayhke.*  
 3-light ...like... MA:DEM REL 12a-liftNP  
 'How heavy is it?' 'As light as this, which we're lifting now.'

### 13.4 Argument structure

#### 13.4.1 Preliminaries

Most of the means for building up and altering argument structure are morphologically encoded in the verb, and have already been discussed in Chapter 10: the use of benefactive and comitative applicatives to add an argument and of the reflexive/reciprocal suffix to indicate the identity of subject and object. The way in which the choice between the thematics *-me* and *-ge/-ke* is used to express the distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs (e.g. *bakme* 'break (intr.), get broken', *bakke* 'break (tr.), cause to break') was discussed in §8.2.3.1, and the incorporation of one verb into another (usually 'throw' or 'give') to derive causatives was treated in §12.2 (e.g. *worrkmen* 'become full', *worrkmi-won* [become.full-give] 'make full (of food), feed'). Methods for forming synthetic causatives through conventionalised complex sentences are discussed in §14.2.2.3.

Apart from such overtly signalled means for changing the transitivity of verbs, there are few alternations in transitivity; the few that exist are treated in §13.4.2.

Apart from the causative and transitivity operations (which add a new causer subject while demoting the old subject to object status), all of the above morphological operations add or subtract non-subject arguments while leaving the original subject intact. There is no productive passive, antipassive or instrumental voice. Some functional equivalents to the passive are discussed in §13.4.3.

A second type of argument-structure alternation found in many languages, but expressed in Bini Gun-wok without modulating the basic mapping of thematic roles onto verbal arguments, involves the transformation of perception clauses from those overtly expressing the perceiver ('I heard her talking') to those in which only the perceived object is overtly expressed, as subject, with the perceiver relegated to an optional oblique phrase ('she sounded tired (to me)'). This second type is expressed in Bini Gun-wok by introducing the complement (e.g. 'tired') as a secondary predicate on the object (i.e. 'I heard her tired'). These constructions, along with the more general issue of secondary predication, are discussed in §13.4.4.

In §13.4.5 we turn to 'impersonal' constructions in which the experiencer is encoded as object, while the subject is either unspecified or is the name of a sensation or emotion (e.g. 'it-me-tooth-chases' (Dj) or 'toothache it-me-chases' (E) for 'I have tooth-ache'). Finally, in §13.4.6 we examine idioms, with particular emphasis on which argument positions are fixed.



## 13.4.2 Transitivity alternations

Differences in the 'discourse transitivity' of semantically transitive verbs (Hopper & Thompson 1980) are not generally reflected in any formal change to the verb stem, the pattern of argument prefixation or the use of role-marking affixes on external nominals. Instead, the relevant information about the identifiability, genericity and referential status of the object is supplied by external nominals (§6.2.3), while encoding a fully saturated argument structure through the relevant pronominal prefixes.

Where the object is generic and human, the third person augmented pronoun will be used in a generic sense. Thus 'she scolds' (habitually) will be expressed as 'she-them-scolds' (10.112), 'we don't circumcise (in that area)' as 'not we-them-circumcise' (6.25j.), 'he kills people (with a fighting club)' as 'he-them-kills' (13.125), 'she (can) give birth to young' as 'she-them-gives.birth.to' (13.126) etc.

- 13.125 *Namorrorddo ka-karrme miyarrurl kaben-bu-n.*  
 I [name] 3-haveNP fighting.club 3/3pl-kill-NP  
 'Namorroddo has a fighting club which he uses to kill people.' [GID]
- 13.126 *Kaben-yawwo-n ngalkunburriyaymi yiman ngalyod*  
 I 3/3pl-give.birth.to.young-NP mermaid.spirit like rainbow.serpent  
*la ngal-berd-djenj ngal-buyika.*  
 CONJ II-tail-fish FE-different  
 'The mermaid spirit can reproduce just like the rainbow serpent but the woman with a tail like a fish (another variety) is different.' [GID]

Likewise, where the object is human, non-generic, but unidentified (because the exact identity is not yet important) the commonest pattern is to use the transitive prefix set, identifiable through the form *bi-* where the subject is also third person minimal, for example 'she should have married a Naburlanj man' [she-him-marry-IRR Naburlanj] (9.97), 'he has got a Bulanj (as son)' [he-him-has.got Bulanj] (13.87), 'she married a European' (13.127) and 'he says (to someone)' (13.128).

- 13.127 *Balanda bi-mey.*  
 E:D European 3/3h-marryPP  
 'She married a European.'
- 13.128 *Bad ka-re an-kung ka-na-n, ka-rrurnde-ng kabi-marne-yime*  
 Dnj but 3-goNP III-honey 3/3l-see-NP 3-return-NP 3/3h-BEN-sayNP  
 "An-kung nga-na-ng. Come on ngarr-e, ngarr-ni 'iiiii' ka-yime  
 III-honey 1/3-see-PP 12-goNP 12-sitNP [noise] 3-sayNP  
*ka-m-borled-borledme wanjh maitbi ngarri-dolkka-ni.*  
 3-hither-ITER-turn.roundNP then maybe 1a-get.up-PI  
 (talking about the None honey wasp spirit:) 'But he goes and sees some honey, comes back and says to someone: 'I've seen some honey. Come one, let's go, he goes "iiiiiii" and buzzes around and around; then maybe we get up (to look).'  
 [Lofty Nadjimerek Bardayal per Murry Garde]

With verbs like 'look for', with a 'psychological object' (Quine 1960) for which it is not yet known whether a candidate for successful reference has been found, speakers disagree on

whether to use the *bi*-form, which overtly marks a third person minimal object or whether to use the  $\emptyset$ -form, appropriate to intransitives: for 'he is looking for a woman' some will use the prefix *kabi*- (he-(s)he) and others the prefix *ka*- (he) (§10.2.7).

The verb *karrme*, when used with the sense 'have', is unique in disallowing overt object coding in the pronominal prefix, even though the possibility of incorporating objects shows it to be transitive (§13.3.5.2).

The biggest analytic problem arises with generic inanimate objects of the type '(s)he drinks', 'he can't hear' etc., where the fact that no pronominal prefix combination with a third person inanimate object is distinguishable from the corresponding intransitive form makes it impossible to determine whether the argument structure includes an object or not. Consider a sentence like 13.129, in which the first use of *ngun* 'eat' is followed by an external object (*djenj* 'fish'), whereas the second isn't; in both cases the pronominal prefix to the verb is *ka*- which can either be transitive (3/3 lower object) or intransitive (3 subject). Clearly the first use of the verb is transitive. But how can we decide whether the second is intransitive (i.e. 'he could eat then') or transitive with no overt external object (i.e. 'he could eat it then')? Nothing in the grammar allows us to decide between these analyses, although the patterns discussed above for verbs with human objects favour the second analysis in terms of allowing a more general statement.

- 13.129 *Minj ka-ngu-n djenj, la birri-berhk-eng wanjh bonj*  
 I NEG 3/3-eat-NP fish CONJ 3aP-lift.restriction-PP then finished  
 *$\emptyset$ -nguneng.*  
 3(/3?)P-eatPP  
 'He wasn't allowed to eat fish and then they lifted the restriction and it was OK for him to eat it then.'

Similar problems arise with the lexeme *yakwon* 'finish, finish off'. Most of the time this takes third person minimal, non-human objects, making it difficult to determine whether it is transitive:

- 13.130 *Birri-ngune-ng birri-yakwo-ng.*  
 I 3a/3P-eat-PP 3a(/3?)P-finish-PP  
 'They ate it all.' (i.e. 'They ate and finished it.')

However, there are some clear cases (i.e. where there is an object that will bring out overt object-coding morphology) establishing that it can be used transitively:

- 13.131 *Bi-ngu-ni bi-yakwo-ni.*  
 W 3/3hP-eat-PI 3/3hP-finish-PI  
 'He finished eating her.' (i.e. 'He was eating her and finishing her off.') [OP 362]

Here again, the most general solution is to treat it as a transitive verb in all cases, in order to avoid a proliferation of constructions, so that the gloss 3a/3P rather than 3aP is the better one for 13.131.

In the case of 'see' there is actually a lexical difference between intransitive and transitive uses. *Nan*, a transitive verb, is 'see, look at (O)', whereas *worhnan*, an intransitive verb, is 'be awake, conscious; watch out, be responsible; be sighted' (13.132); a second pronominal argument can only be introduced by the use of the benefactive applicative (13.133).

13.132 *Mim-dubbe, nomo ka-worhna-n.*

I eye-blocked NEG 3-see-NP  
'He's blind, he can't see.'

13.133 *Ngan-marne-worhna-n.*

Dj 3/1-BEN-watch.out-NP

'He watches out for me.' OR: 'He is responsible for me.' OR: 'He's my boss.'

With other perception verbs such doublets are not found, so that *kabekkan*, for example, can mean either '(s)he is listening to it, (s)he is hearing it' or '(s)he is listening; (s)he can hear, understand'; again the most general solution is to treat these verbs as always formally transitive, but with the exact nature of their object underdetermined by the verb morphology.

A final type of transitivity alternation that should be mentioned involves a small set of 'path verbs', such as 'cross' and 'climb'. These have two argument projections: one in which a moving entity is subject and the path is object ('I crossed the river', 'we follow the shade') and a second in which the path is subject and an intersected location is the object ('the road crosses the river', 'the shade follows (reaches) the house'. Because the intersected locations are inanimate, the transitivity of the second type cannot be shown by the pronominal prefixes. However, the path noun is incorporable in both cases (§10.4.3.1). While incorporation of the path noun in the first case is expected of an object, in the second case it is anomalous if the verb is transitive (i.e. it would be transitive subject incorporation, which otherwise does not occur); this anomaly would be resolved by claiming the second type to be an intransitive construction. However, there is no other clear proof that the verb in these constructions is transitive, and claiming them to be intransitive would also produce an anomaly, namely that these are the only verbs in which there is an absolutive-type alternation in which the same thematic role (path) is projected onto object in one construction, and intransitive subject in the other. This small set of verbs, then, remains anomalous by either analysis.

### 13.4.3 Functional equivalents of the passive

There is no true productive passive voice in the language. In this section we discuss the major functional equivalents to it. In §13.4.3.1 we discuss construction types which induce a passive-like diathesis with certain transitive verbs, though in each case the construction is limited in productivity and semantically specialised. Then in §13.4.3.2 we discuss another method of achieving the general discourse goal of focussing on the patient and downgrading attention to the agent, but without changing the actual diathesis of the verb: the use of generic third person plural subjects.

#### 13.4.3.1 Constructions with passive-like diathesis

There are three constructions in which the patient is encoded as object and the agent does not get argument status. In each case the verb is marked suffixally.

In the PERSISTIVE construction (exemplified by 13.134), a suffix *-(yi)nd-* is added to the verb root, adding the meaning 'remain for a long time in this state'. Where the verb is intransitive (as with *wohmen* 'wait around, hang around'), the argument structure is

unaffected, but where it is transitive (as with *dudje* 'bury' in 13.135), the original object becomes the subject (i.e. 'remain buried'). Further details and examples are given in §9.3.6.

13.134 *Wanjh bolkgime ngarri-wohme-nd-i.*

Dj then now 1a-hang.around-PERSIS-NP  
'And now we'll wait around for a while.'

13.135 *Karri-re kore ku-labbarl ku-mekbe kun-u karri-djuhme wanjh*  
W 12-gONP LOC LOC-billabong LOC-there NEU-DEM 12a-batheNP then

*karri-ma-ng yika nawu ka-yo kore ku-bak dja yika na-wu*  
12a-get-NP some MA:DEM 3-lieNP LOC LOC-weed and some MA-DEM

*ka-rrudji-nd-i kore ku-kih.*

3-bury-PERSIS-NP LOC LOC-mud

'Let's go to the billabong and get into the water there, then we'll get some (filesnakes) that are lying in the weed, and some that are buried in the mud.'

In the mediopassive construction, the lexical verb is incorporated into *re* 'go'. This verb also incorporates 'associated motion' verbs (e.g. *sing-go* 'go along singing'), and in such associated motion constructions it is the 'go' verb that determines the overall argument structure. With the mediopassive version of this construction, in which verbs of opening or severing (like *marrhmang* 'to open (something)' and *djalkmang* 'to split (something)') are incorporated into *re*, the 'go' meaning is no longer present, although an 'along' spatial element may remain. As with the 'associated motion' uses, the resultant complex is intransitive; unlike the associated motion verbs, however, it takes as its subject the object of the incorporated verb, so that in 13.136, for example, the subject of *marrhmire* is 'the shell' (i.e. the patient of the verb *marrhmang* 'open'). See §12.5 for further examples and discussion.

13.136 *Ka-rrang-marrhm-i-re.*

W 3-mouth-open-IVF-gONP  
'(The shell) opens.' [KS 212]

Neither of the above constructions is used productively; so far the first is attested with about ten verbs and the second with only two. And in both cases the uses of a passive-like diathesis appears to be a side-effect of a particular semantic effect conveyed by the suffix: in the first case the passive diathesis appears to follow from the general correlation with passive voice and resultativity; in the second owing to a more idiosyncratic connection between trajectory and certain types of result.

The reflexive/reciprocal is also used with a passive-like meaning. However, this use is extremely rare and only a couple of examples are attested, such as [cover-RR] for 'it's covered over' and [shaft-pull.out-RR] for 'the shaft has been pulled out'; see also 13.145 below. (For fuller discussion see §10.3.4.7.)

### 13.4.3.2 Vague third person plural subjects

Third person plural subjects, as well as objects (see above), can have a non-referential, vague interpretation and such uses are frequently found in statements focussing on a resultant state. In describing a picture of a bottle with a cork in it, for example, some informants

employ a passive-like use of the reflexive (13.137), while others use a third person augmented subject (13.138) whose exact reference is left unspecified. Similarly a picture of a tree-trunk with a rope around it was described with an unspecified third person augmented object (13.139).

13.137 *Ka-rrang-barlhme-rr-en.*

I 3-mouth-block-RR-NP  
'Its opening is blocked.'

13.138 *Birri-dang-barlhme-ng.*

I 3a/3P-mouth-block-PP  
'They've blocked its opening.' (i.e. the bottle is stopped with a cork)

13.139 *Birri-yarl-dukka-ng kun-dulk.*

I 3a/3P-string-tie-PP IV-tree  
'The tree has a rope tied round it.' (i.e. they've tied a rope round it)

Kunwinjku speakers fluent in English often translate such constructions with the English passive. In Andrew Manakgu's English translation of Nawakadj Nganjmira's Kunwinjku in Kunwinjku Spirit (Nganjmira 1997:258), for example, the Kunwinjku expression *kunubewu birringerrehmeng* 'maybe they ran over him' is translated with the passive "he might get run over (with all them cars)":

13.140 *Dorothy ngane-wam ngane-h-yawa-ni Alex, kunubewu*

W 1ua-gopp 1ua-IMM-search-PI maybe

*birri-ngerrehme-ng moddikka.*

3a/3-run.over-PP car

'Dorothy and I were always looking for Alex. We were worried he might get run over with all them cars.'

Another example from the same source (p.40) is *wurdyaw birrinjilngwarrewong birrihwoni yaldanj* (lit. 'they spoilt the child and gave him *yaldanj* water-lily'), translated as 'the little boy had been spoilt by people giving him *yaldanj*'.

#### 13.4.4 Secondary predicate constructions

Secondary predicates — which supply a predication holding at the time of the event or state denoted by the main predicate — are expressed in one of two ways.

A small set of predominantly adjectival roots may be incorporated into the verb, provided they are modifying an absolutive argument (13.141). Incorporated generic roots may also be given a secondary predicate interpretation, particularly when coreferential with a non-third person argument (13.142). For further discussion and examples see §10.4.4.

13.141 *Nungka-kih ka-mak, kun-kodjke boken, wanjh ka-rrulkki-manka-n.*

W he-now 3-good IV-sleep two then 3-internally.sick-fall-NP  
'He's all right for a couple of days, then he falls down sick from some internal cause.' (This describes the results of a certain sort of sorcery; the noun *kun-dulkki* refers to sicknesses with no externally obvious cause.) [KH 157]

13.142 *Arduk garrard an-yaw-bawo-ng gure arduk berluh rowk.*  
 Dj 1OBL mother 3/1-child-leave-PP LOC my aunty all  
 'My mother left me as a child with all my aunts.'

13.143 *Kabirri-barrkid-wokdi.*  
 W 3a-different-speakNP  
 'they speak differently.'

The second method is to place an appropriate nominal immediately before (13.144, 13.145) or after (13.146, 13.147) the verb, within the same intonational group.

13.144 *Ngalelek birri-berdnud=wi birri-wam la Na-korrkko*  
 I corella 3aP-uncircumcised=only 3aP-goPP CONJ I-[name]  
*nakka bene-rrayka-ng.*  
 MA:DEM 3uaP-be.circumcised-PP  
 'The corella ancestors went uncircumcised but the Nakorrkko father and son were circumcised.' [GID]

13.145 *Yawurrinj na wangbol ø-garrm-i bi-djal-gadju-ngi, djarre*  
 Dj young.man now [sorcery item] 3/3P-hold-PI 3/3hP-just-follow-PI far  
*wanjh nungan=wali bi-bu-ni. Na-mege bininj yawurrinj*  
 then 3mascEMPH=in.turn 3/3hP-kill-PI MA-that man young.man  
*gun-munungu ø-durnde-ngi.*  
 IV-hit.man 3P-return-PI  
 'The young man would hold onto that *wangbol*<sup>7</sup> and follow him far until he would kill him in revenge. That young hit man would come back as the victorious revenge killer.'

13.146 *Twelve years old, I first came, a-m-wam wurdyau.*  
 1-hither-goPP child  
 'I first came (here) when I was twelve years old, I came as a child.'

13.147 *Wanjh birri-djal-yo-y birri-mim-dubbe.*  
 W then 3aP-just-lie-PP 3aP-eye-blocked  
 'Then they just lay there with their eyes closed.' [OP 352]

As 13.144 and 13.147 illustrate, secondary predicates may take the pronominal prefixes under the same circumstances as when they are used as primary nominal predicates (§13.3.2). This raises the question of whether such examples as the above are a genuinely distinct construction, or merely represent the conjoining of two predicates, of the type 'they lay there; their eyes were closed'. This is part of the more general problem of demonstrating the existence of larger grammaticalised syntactic constructions, and will be encountered again in Chapter 14 when we discuss serialised constructions and other complex sentences. As with so many issues in the syntax of Bininj Gun-wok, there are two main clues to the construction type: the contiguity requirement, and the joining of the elements under one intonational contour, whereas separate predications would have the possibility of being non-adjacent, and under distinct contours. Obviously, however, the restriction of constructional

<sup>7</sup> This is a sort of wooden tube, sealed with ironbark resin, in which some exuviae (e.g. faeces) of a wanted criminal have been placed.

rules to these two highly iconic elements makes secondary predication less easy to identify unambiguously than in the many Australian languages which use case agreement rules to flag secondary predication (see e.g. Dench & Evans 1988).

Two more conventionalised subtypes of secondary predication deserve special mention. The first is the 'locative secondary predicate', giving the concurrent or subsequent location of the object of verbs of placing, finding etc. These are represented by locative expressions, realised either as locative-affixed nominals (13.148), or by prepositional groups (13.149, 13.150):

- 13.148 *Nawalawalak bi-bawo-ng ku-red.*  
 his.yB 3/3hP-leave-PP LOC-camp  
 'He left his younger brother in the camp.' [KS 38]
- 13.149 *Yiben-ma-ng wurdurd ngaben-rohrokme kure Marrkolidjban.*  
 I 2/3pl-get-NP children 1/3pl-put.in.groupNP LOC [place]  
 'Go and get the children and I'll put them in a group at Marrkolidjban.'
- 13.150 *Yabok, yabok manih nga-ngalke-ng man-kung kure mi-kambe.*  
 I sister sister VE:DEM 1/3-find-PP III-honey LOC VEG.LOC-antbed  
 'Sister, sister, I've found some honey here in an ant bed.'

Note that since locative primary predicates always require a stance or positional verb (§13.3.4), which does not appear with locative secondary predicates, the constructional distinction between primary and secondary predication is clearer here than with the examples discussed at the beginning of this section.

The second conventionalised type of secondary predication involves perception verbs. In many languages, including English, there is a special construction (and special lexemes) for presenting perception events without necessary reference to the perceiver, but in a 'source construction' (see Viberg 1984) with the perceived object framed as subject with an obligatory subject complement: 'I heard her' but 'she sounded **upset** (to me)'. Bininj Gunwok, like most Australian languages (see Evans & Wilkins 1998), lacks a specific perceptual-source construction, instead using the regular perception verb and presenting the evaluations as a secondary predicate on the object (on the lines of 'I heard her upset', as in 13.151, 13.152). Note that, unlike the English construction (which allows the perceptual judge to be suppressed), rendering the evaluative nature of the expression optionally covert, the Bininj Gunwok construction always has an overt perceptual judge. The only sensory modality which allows something like a source construction is smell, which is expressed by the predicate adjective *banj* 'stink' (§8.3.2) if the smell is bad.

- 13.151 *Gabarri-na-n an-warre, gabarri-wo-n.*  
 Dj 3a/3-see-NP VE-bad 3a/3-put-NP  
 'If it looks bad they put it back.' (lit. If they see it (as) bad, they put it back.)
- 13.152 *Birri-bo-na-ng njamed birri-do-y djidjerok birri-bo-nguneng*  
 I 3a/3P-liquid-see-PP whatsit 3a/3P-strike-PP melaleuca 3a/3P-liquid-eatPP  
*birri-bekka-ng na-bang and birri-wam wanjh.*  
 3a/3P-taste-PP MA-'cheeky' 3a/3P-gopp then  
 (Here they lived thirsty, at one time. They ate (only) honey:) 'They went and got water out of the Melaleuca trees but it tasted foul (lit. they tasted it foul) and so they kept going.' [GID]

The form *bu* may optionally precede the secondary predicate:

- 13.153 *A-manj-bekka-n bu an-mak, a-ga-n.*  
 Dj 1/3-taste-hear-NP SUB VE-good 1/3-take-NP  
 'If (the yam) tastes good, I take it.' (lit. If I taste that it's good (the yam), I take it.)
- 13.154 *Gabarri-na-n gabarri-bebge bu ngan-mak, gabarri-yiga-n,*  
 Dj 3a/3-see-NP 3a/3-take.outNP SUB VE-good 3a/3-get-NP  
 (continuation of 13.151) 'If it looks good when they take it out, they gather it.'  
 (lit. If they see it, when they take it out, as good, then they gather it.)

The multifunctionality of *bu*, which functions as both a general subordinator, especially in adverbial clauses (§14.2, §14.4), and a preposition meaning something like 'as regards, concerning' (§6.4.1.3), raises the question of whether sequences like *bu an-mak* are actually adverbial or conditional clauses ('when it's good, if it's good') structurally parallel to sequences like *bu nga-yahwurd-ni* [1-small-PI] 'when I was small', or are prepositional groups (comparable to English 'I see it as a good one'). Again reflecting the difficulty of structurally distinguishing primary and secondary predication, there is no conclusive evidence either way, although there is one small fact favouring the analysis as preposition: perceptual complement clauses (§14.2.2.1), unlike many other types of subordinate clauses, are not normally introduced with *bu*.

### 13.4.5 Impersonal constructions

There are a small number of impersonal verbs<sup>8</sup> in which the experiencer appears as the grammatical object.

The possibilities for the grammatical subject are varied. In some cases there is no overt subject at all:

- 13.155 *Ngan-kinjeh-kinje-ng.*  
 W 3/1-ITER-burn-PP  
 'I reached the climax (just before ejaculation).' (lit. It was burning me.) [KH 83]

In other cases a particular external noun is fixed as subject, as with (*kun*)*bele* 'cramp':

- 13.156 *Kun-bele ngan-karrme-ng ngan-mim-ladbom.*  
 I IV-cramp 3/1-grab-PP 3/1-eye-turnPP  
 'That cramp was intense, it turned my eye.' [GID]
- 13.157 *Bele ngan-denge-karrme.*  
 I cramp 3/1-foot-grabNP  
 'I've got a cramp in my leg.' [GID]

In other cases again, as with *djarebun* 'cause desire for (especially in the case of food)', the set of subjects ranges across a number of semantically plausible candidates: *nabiwo* 'honey', here causing desire for a change of diet, to meat (13.158), and *burda* 'grass sp. used as cooking herb', here meaning something like 'a desire for *burda* grass seized her' (10.324).

<sup>8</sup> See Walsh (1987) for a survey of impersonal verb constructions in Australian languages.



- 13.158 *Birri-na-ng ka-m-kuk-ngorr-ngorrka-ng.* "Kadberre,  
 W 3a/3P-see-PP 3/3-hither-body-ITER-carry.on.shoulder-PP 12aOBL  
*karri-djarewo-ng, karri-ngu-n, na-biwo kan-djarebom."*  
 12a/3-be.hungry-PP 12a/3-eat-NP 1-[honey.type] 3/12-cause.desirePP  
 'They saw him coming with the kangaroo on his shoulder. "It is for us, we are  
 hungry for meat, we will eat it, (eating too much) honey has made us desire  
 (meat).' [OP 358, with slight modifications to translation]

The grammatical relation held by the non-experiencer nominal is not always easy to determine. Expressions for 'have toothache' in Gun-djeihmi and Kunwinjku use a verb like 'take' (Dj) or 'follow' (W), with the experiencer as object and the word 'tooth' incorporated (13.159, 10.323) or external (13.160). It is not clear whether 'tooth' should be analysed here as transitive subject (i.e. '(my) tooth is taking me'), along the lines of the 'desire' construction, or as object (i.e. 'it is taking me, at my tooth') with an unspecified subject, as with the 'climax' construction, though treating it as transitive subject would go against a general ban on incorporating transitive subjects (see §10.4.3.1).

- 13.159 *An-yidme-ga-n.*  
 Dj 3/1-tooth-take-NP  
 'My tooth is aching.'
- 13.160 *Gun-yidme an-ga-n.*  
 Dj IV-tooth 3/1-take-NP  
 'My tooth is hurting me, is aching.'

With just one impersonal construction the benefactive applicative is used; again this deals with toothache, but in the Kuninjku and Kune dialects. In common with a handful of phraseologised benefactives (§10.3.1.6) the benefactive does not appear to add a new argument in this construction.

- 13.161 *Djudju ngan-marne-ngalke-ng.*  
 I, E toothache 3/1-BEN-find-PP  
 'I've got a toothache.'

### 13.4.6 Structure of idioms

Cross-linguistic similarities and differences in the syntactic structure of idioms have been used as evidence for particular analyses of syntactic structure.<sup>9</sup> Relevant dimensions for polysynthetic languages are the grammatical and thematic relations available to the fixed argument (e.g. object in English 'kicked the **bucket**'), and whether the fixed argument is incorporated or external.

<sup>9</sup> See for example Marantz (1984) on subject-object asymmetries in idiom formation (i.e. that you get V + Object idioms but not (Transitive) Subject + V idioms); Heath (1986:385), who argues that the existence of just such Subject + V idioms in Nunggubuyu is evidence against the existence of a VP constituent (e.g. *headache-afflict X* for 'X has a headache'); Speas' equivocal evaluation of data from Hungarian idioms (Speas 1990); and a brief suggestion in Baker (1995:133) that because it is the bound morphemes in polysynthetic languages which are the arguments, idioms should be confined to incorporated nouns and not found with external nouns.

Bininj Gun-wok has a rich set of idioms, first discussed by Berndt (1951) from which some of the following examples are drawn (glossed and orthographically adapted). The evidence from these idioms suggests that it allows transitive subjects to be the fixed term in idioms, in addition to intransitive subjects and objects, and body parts and complements of these arguments; on the other hand, there is no evidence for indirect objects ever being fixed. The fixed argument may be incorporated or external, according to the idiom.

The data given below illustrate the range of possibilities, but is still preliminary. In particular, I have not explored the degree to which the relevant arguments must be a given lexeme: is it a matter of semantically definable selectional restrictions (e.g. 'body part', 'liquid', 'weapon') or actual lexical restrictions (e.g. *keb* 'nose').

I have also yet to obtain comprehensive data on how far incorporated nominal roots have the option of appearing externally (as with 'tooth-take' for 'have toothache' discussed in the preceding section), or whether in particular cases they must be incorporated for the idiomatic meaning to be expressed. The basic pattern is for incorporation to be obligatory when the idiomatic meaning is being expressed, provided that (a) the relevant root is incorporable (this excludes, for example, *mayh* 'rainbow serpent', which is not an incorporable root and must remain external), and (b) the argument is in an incorporable grammatical relation to the verb (i.e. object or intransitive subject, or a body part of or secondary predicate on either of these).

Thus *w birri-dulk-dukkang* [they-tree-tied] has the idiomatic meaning 'they (women in a ritual) danced around and around a special post or tree', and as such must use the incorporated form of tree *kundulk*, whereas to express the more literal meaning 'they tied up the tree', either the incorporated form or the external form (*birridukkang kundulk*) is appropriate. Likewise *w ben-bid-bayeng bedberre* [he/them-hand-bit them] has the idiomatic meaning 'he died', and as such must incorporate its noun, whereas the more literal meaning 'he bit their hands' is compatible with both incorporated and unincorporated versions (i.e. also with *benbayeng kunbid bedberre*). To the extent that incorporation is obligatory, such idioms would become structurally indistinguishable from noun-verb compounding, discussed in §8.1.3.2. Note, however, that there are also idioms in which an incorporable object noun remains external: see *kun-madj ... kadjung* and *duleno ... kadjung* (13.162).

For each type, I first give those which incorporate the nominal, and then give those where the nominal appears externally. (For discussion of phraseologisation of the applicative and reflexive/reciprocal affixes see §10.3.)

#### OBJECT:

13.162	<i>yirrkke-bakke</i>	[coals-break(tr.)]	'burn down to coals'
	<i>kurlh-we</i>	[vomit-throw]	'be successful in a hunting expedition'
	<i>kodj-nan</i>	[head-see]	'be taller than someone' (I) (13.117)
	<i>yid-ngalge, rid-ngalke</i>	[fight-find]	'pick a fight' (Dj, I)
	<i>dalk-yame</i>	[grass-spear]	'roam free (of dogs)'
	<i>dalk-ngun</i>	[grass-eat]	'die' (w) (13.163)
	<i>dang-bakke</i>	[mouth-break]	'obtain a large sum of money' (I) (13.164)
	<i>kun-madj ... kadjung</i>	[bag ... follow]	'follow the stitch (in making a bag)' (E)
	<i>duleno ... kadjung</i>	[song ... follow]	'sing a song' (E)

- mayh ... bengan* [snake ... know] 'have knowledge of ceremony' (I) (13.120)
- mayh ... yakwon* [snake ... finish] 'complete ceremony' (I) (13.165)
- 13.163 *Dja med, ø-bal-dalk-ngu-ø munguyh.*  
W CONJ wait 3/3P-away-grass-eat-IMP always  
'But wait, presently he will die.' (lit. He will eat grass all the time.)
- 13.164 *Balang ø-bimbom dolobbo, ø-dang-bakke-ng nungka.*  
I [subsection] 3/3P-paintPP bark.painting 3/3P-mouth-break-PP 3masc  
'Balang painted a bark painting and really got a lot of money for it.'
- 13.165 *Mayh ngarri-yakwo-ng, bonj ø-bunbom.*  
I snake 1a/3-finish(tr.)-PP right 3P-finishPP  
'We completed the ceremony and now it's finished.'

There are also a few examples involving the lower object of a ditransitive verb:

- 13.166 *wangbol ... won* [wangbol ... give] 'perform wangbol sorcery on IOBJ' (Dj)  
*gun-buyiga ... won* [different ... give] 'do something unexpected to' (Dj)  
*man-kordang ... won* [magic ... give] 'give magic powers to' (I) (13.167)
- 13.167 *Man-kordang birri-wo-ng wayah-wayarra.*  
E III-magic 3aP/3-give-PP REDUP-ghost  
'The ghosts gave him the power to be a clever man.' (lit. The ghosts gave him magic.)

There are a number of examples where the fixed element is the body part of the object (incorporated in all examples so far):

- 13.168 *Ngarrbenbene-djen-bolkkadju-ng.*  
W 1ua/3du-tongue-follow-NP  
'We both copy the speech of those two.' [Berndt 1951:268]
- 13.169 *ø-Geb-ngune-ng.*  
Dj 1/2-nose-eat-PP  
'I thank you.' (lit. I ate your nose.) A synonymous alternative in most dialects is *korn-nguneng* 'I ate your crotch/balls' (which can also be used to a female addressee). As well as meaning 'thankyou' this is used as an expression of great affection.
- 13.170 *ngurl-durrkme*  
I heart-jerk.out  
'kidnap with intent to seduce' (This can also be used more literally, e.g. in describing a dog pulling out the heart of an animal to eat.) [GID]

A productive little set of idioms with incorporated body parts of the subject involve expressions for being interrupted in the midst or on the verge of unloading some bodily fluid or semifluid, where the name for the relevant fluid/body part is incorporated into the relevant word for 'cut, chop': *djobge* (Dj) or *dadjke* in (W, I and E). Thus in Dj *ngan-gord-djobgeng* [3/1-faeces-cutPP] means '(s)he interrupted me in the middle of defecating' and *ngan-duk-djobgeng* [3/1-sperm-cutPP] means '(s)he interrupted me on the verge of ejaculation'.

13.171 *Ngan-dile-djobge-ng.*

Dj 3/1-urine-cut-PP

'(S)he interrupted me in the middle of urinating.'

INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT There are only a couple of clear examples of this construction. One is the idiom *bol-k-yakmen* [place-become.nothing], which means 'something bad happen somewhere', typically in the context of saying a death has occurred somewhere (see 10.74). The other involves the external noun *mayh* 'snake', which is also used to refer allusively to the rainbow serpent and thereby, even more indirectly, to particular ceremonies. The expression *mayh kawokdi* (lit. 'the rainbow serpent speaks') is used (publicly) to refer obliquely to the staging of certain ceremonies:

13.172 *Mayh ka-wokdi Mimarn.*

I serpent 3-speakNP [location]

'There will be a ceremony at Mimarn.' [GID]

There are more examples involving subject complements (external (13.173), incorporated (13.174)) and body parts (13.175, 13.176, both incorporated) of intransitive subjects.

13.173 *Kun-kamak ø-yimerrange-ni.*

W IV-good 3P-turn-PI

'A ceremony was held.' (lit. It turned good.) [Berndt 1951:266]

13.174 *kodjdje-wake*

asleep-crawl

'go looking for a girlfriend/boyfriend at night' [GID]

13.175 *Birri-kele-bukminj.*

W 3aP-fear-dry.up-PP

'They lost all their fear.' [Berndt 1951]

13.176 *Ba-ngolek-djobme-ng.*

Dj 3P-breath-cut.off-PP

'(S)he died.'

TRANSITIVE SUBJECT A number of idioms having to do with situations over which people have no control involve a fixed transitive subject.

It is striking that the fixed subject element always appears externally rather than incorporated; the only possible exception is the problematic idiom for 'suffer from tooth-ache' where it is unclear whether incorporated 'tooth' is in subject or object relation (see above). Some examples of idioms with fixed transitive subjects were given already in the preceding section on impersonal verbs; further examples are:

13.177 *Gebdjined ngan-h-ma-ng.*

Dj cold 1/3-IMM-take-NP

'I have a cold.' (lit. A cold gets me.)

13.178 *Mayh ngan-kolhbom, konbib nga-ngune-ng minj*

I serpent 3/1-strike.with.illnessPP corned.beef 1/3-eat-PP NEG

*nga-rrang-baru-rr-imeninj tap nga-wam nga-bo-nguneng.*

1-mouth-rub-RR-IRR 1-goPP 1/3-liquid-eatPP

'The rainbow serpent struck me (with illness) because when I ate some corned beef I didn't ritually rub my mouth (with sand) before drinking out of the tap.'  
(The verb *kolhbun* has as its basic meaning 'poison fish by the use of plant toxins'; the idiom *mayh kolhbun* is then used, with human objects, to refer to sickness caused by failure to observe certain food rituals; in common with many parts of Australia, the Rainbow Serpent is implicated in such sicknesses.)

Two idioms fix the body part of the object, and at the same time restrict the subject to one or two possible nouns. Onset of menstruation is expressed by the verb 'pierce' (object's foot), with the subject fixed as 'stick' or 'bamboo spear':

- 13.179 *Kun-dulk / madjawarr bi-rrenge-djudme-ng.*  
W IV-stick bamboo.spear 3/3hP-foot-stick.in-PP  
'She had her first menstrual period.' (lit. A stick/bamboo spear pierced her foot.)

Drowning is expressed by the verb 'eat (object's nose)', with the subject fixed as freshwater (*gukku*) or seawater (*gurrula*) as appropriate:

- 13.180 *Gukku / gurrula bi-geb-ngune-ng.*  
Dj water sea 3/3hP-nose-eat-PP  
'He drowned.' (lit. The water/sea ate his nose.)

Two other expressions of mishap with fixed transitive subjects involve the collocations *njale* / *ngun* [what eat (O)] 'what happen to O' and [spear] *baye* [O] 'spear hit O'.

- 13.181 *Njaleh mak ngun-nguneng?*  
W what then 3/2-eatPP  
'What happened to you?' (lit. What ate you?)
- 13.182 *Man-gole bi-baye-ng.*  
W III-spear 3/3P-bite-PP  
'A spear hit him.'

And expressions relating to the height of water use the verb *djobge* 'cut' (object: extent reached), with 'water' as transitive subject.

- 13.183 (*Gukku*) *bi-gom-djobke-ng.*  
Dj water 3/3hP-throat-cut-PP  
'The water came right up to his throat.' (lit. The water cut his throat.)
- 13.184 (*Kukku*) *ø-warde-djobke-ng.*  
W water 3/3P-rock-cut-PP  
'The water came up to a point on the rock.' (lit. The water cut the rock.)

ADJUNCTS A few idioms involve adjuncts rather than arguments. An example is:

- 13.185 *Nga-djordminj gu-bid nuye.*  
W 1-grow.bigPP LOC-hand 3masCOBL  
'He reared me.' (lit. I grew big by his hand.)

### 13.5 Verbal satellites and other unaffixed nominals

In this section we examine two ways in which morphologically unmarked nominals enter into construction with an adjacent verb: verbal satellites, and nominal adjuncts of various types which escape overt role-marking.

I reserve the term verbal satellites for two types of case:

- (a) nominals that are subcategorised by the verb but are not arguments (§13.5.1), and therefore ineligible for registration by pronominal prefix or as an incorporated nominal, and
- (b) preverb-like elements which combine with the verb to give a more specific characterisation of the event type; the semantic relation parallels that of prepositional + theme structures (§8.2.1), but instead of being morphologically fused, the element is placed immediately before the inflected verb (§13.5.2). Most of these are loanwords (especially from English), but a small number appear to be inherited.

The use of unaffixed nominal adjuncts, which we will discuss in §13.5.3, is a result of the general optionality of case-type morphology in Bininj Gun-wok. In most cases a role-marking affix could in principle be used to make the thematic role explicit, so that the unaffixed form is an optional alternative to a more explicitly role-marked form.

#### 13.5.1 Subcategorised, non-argument nominals

Verbal satellites that are subcategorised by the verb, but do not function as arguments, are almost invariably non-referential, and go unmodified. As the examples below will illustrate, the satellite noun may either precede or follow the verb. Their functions are varied, most importantly including:

- (a) Purpose complements (e.g. Dj *barroweng gukku* [3-diePP water] '(s)he was dying for a drink'). Another example is:<sup>10</sup>

13.186 *Ngarri-bebm-i, bakki-yak-ga barri-yiga-ni or bakki barri-dowe-rr-inj.*  
 Dj 1a-appear-PI tobacco-PRIV-OBL 3aP-fetch-PI tobacco 3aP-die-RR-PP  
 'We'd turn up there, cause we had no tobacco, they'd go to fetch some or else they'd all be starving for tobacco.'

- (b) Complements of involvement, as with work (with crocodiles, crocodile hunting etc.) (13.187) and *card kabirridirri* 'they are playing cards'.

13.187 *Bani-djarrk-wokgihm-i ginga.*  
 Dj 3uaP-together-work-PI crocodile  
 'The two of them used to work together shooting crocodiles/as crocodile hunters.'

<sup>10</sup> In Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali only, the verb *dowe* can incorporate some goal nominals (e.g. E:D *nga-ronj-doweng* [1-water-diePP] 'I was thirsty' and MM *ba-kukku-doweni* '(s)he was dying for water'). This is not possible in the other dialects (see §10.4.3.1), but illustrates the borderline argument status of such nominals.

- (c) Subject complements, e.g. 'turn into *birds*' (Text 1.68), 'turn into *larvae*' (13.188), w *Nawaran kukborledkerrinj Ngalyod* 'the oenpelli python turned into *Ngalyod* (the rainbow serpent)'.

13.188 *Bodbang ka-rrabu-ngukde-ng wanjh marre ka-yimerra-n.*  
 I green.ant 3-egg-excrete-NP then larvae 3-turn.into-NP  
 'Green ants lay eggs which then turn into larvae.'

- (d) Locutionary complements, as in 'I called my wife *a whore*' (13.189), 'say *fish*' (13.190), 'say/go *waw*' (13.191), 'mention/announce wind/green plums (13.192–13.194). Locutionary complements may sometimes be separated from their verb by an object nominal group (13.193). Complements of *yime* 'say' need not be regular nominals, but may include any representation of a sound, such as *waw* and *wa* (13.191), and this use grades into the combination of *yime* with ideophone-like elements discussed in the next section.

13.189 *Ngaye daluk a-marne-yime-ng ngal-goigoi.*  
 Dj I wife 1/3-BEN-say-PP II-whore  
 'I told my wife she's a whore.'/ 'I called my wife a whore.'

13.190 *Birri-ma-yi kun-malawo birri-djangwe-meninj djenj*  
 I 3a/3P-get-IRR IV-branch 3aP-perform.increase.ritual-IRR fish  
*birri-yime-ng. "Ngarrri-djare djenj ka-wernm-en ngarrri-ngu-n".*  
 3aP-say-PP 1a-want fish 3-increase-NP 1a-eat-NP  
 'When they would perform the increase ritual they would go and get branches and say *fish*. "We want fish to increase so we can eat".'

13.191 "*Wa, wa waw, waw*",  $\emptyset$ -*yime-ng "waw"*, *wanjh bene-h-bu-rr-inj*,  
 I ow ow ow ow 3P-say-PP ow then 3aP-IMM-hit-RR-PP  
*bene-h-bu-rr-inj, kure-beh, konda-beh bene-h-bu-rr-inj.*  
 3uaP-IMM-hit-RR-PP there-ABL here-ABL 3uaP-IMM-hit-RR-PP  
 (He grabbed him and held him around the waist here.) "Ow, ow", he cried and they both fought and fought all over the place.'

13.192 *Maih al-dehne gun-wok ga-m-ga-n, ga-morlewa-n*  
 Dj bird FE-DEM IV-word 3/3-hither-carry-NP 3-inform.about-NP  
*gun-mayorrk.*  
 IV-wind  
 'That bird brings warning, it tells you there's wind coming.'

13.193 *Ngal-ekke djirungh-djirungh ka-wokdi man-dudjmi ka-mulewa-n.*  
 I FE-DEM pallid.cuckoo 3-speakNP III-green.plum 3-inform.about-NP  
 'The Pallid Cuckoo calls out and announces the coming into season of the Green Plum fruits.'

13.194 *Ngarrri-bolk-ngeibu-n ngan-ege gure ganjdji, gure gu-wukku, gelbi.*  
 Dj 1a-place-call-NP VE-that LOC under LOC LOC-water lair  
 'We call that place that is underneath, in the water, his *gelbi* (lair).'

## 13.5.2 Preverb-like satellites

The normal way of borrowing verbs from English is as satellites combined with a very general verb from Bininj Gun-wok,<sup>11</sup> most commonly  $\sqrt{yime}$  'say, do',  $\sqrt{re}$  'go' or  $\sqrt{gan}$  'take'. The borrowed words normally precede the inflected verb, but occasionally follow it.

- 13.195 *walkabout*  $\sqrt{ga}$  'take someone walkabout'  
*naughty*  $\sqrt{yime}$  'have a "naughty", have illicit sex'  
*start*  $\sqrt{yime}$  'start'  
*blockim*  $\sqrt{yime}$  'block'  
*travellingman*  $\sqrt{re}$  'go travelling' (also phonologically adapted as *drabla*  $\sqrt{re}$ )
- 13.196 *Bandi-ga-ni walkabout, lookabout bandi-ga-ni.*  
 Dj 3a/3pl-take-PI 3a/3pl-take-PI  
 'They'd take them walkabout, they'd take them to look around.
- 13.197 *Kamak, ngurri-ka-n use ngurri-yime.*  
 I 3-good 2a-take-NP 2a-doNP  
 'It's OK, you take it and use it.'

There are a few cases where an ideophone-like element (§13.13) can function as a prepositional in combination with the thematics *me* or *ke*, or enter a preverb construction with *yime* or *gan/kan*. Thus 'be silent' is normally *ngurdme* (e.g. Kuninjku *karri-ngerh-ngurdme* [12a-breath-be.silent] 'we hold our breath', but in Kunwinjku at least *ngurd* can sometimes occur externally in combination with *yime*:

- 13.198 *Ka-bal-h-ngolek-djobme, ngurd ka-yime.*  
 W 3-away-IMM-breath-cut.offNP silent 3-say/doNP  
 'His breath gets short, and then stops completely.' [KH 157]

Similarly, in Kuninjku *derrengkerd* refers to the sound of an axe cutting deep into wood; it may either combine with the thematic *me* as a prepositional to give the verb *derrengkerdme* '(axe) make sound as it cuts into wood', or appear as a preverb before *yime*:

- 13.199 *Wanjh bi-marne-wenjhme-ng ku-mekke kam-lobme-ng yimarnek*  
 I then 3/3HP-BEN-trick-PP LOC-DEM 3hither-run-PP like  
*ø-libka-ng, ø-libka-ng, ø-libka-ng, kun-kudji ø-libka-ng, ø-bekka-ng*  
 3P-lick-PP 3P-lick-PP 3P-lick-PP IV-one 3P-lick-PP 3/3P-hear-PP  
*derrengkerd ø-yime-ng kabban ø-baye-ng na-mekke waliman*  
 [axe sound] 3P-say-PP handle 3/3P-bite-PP MA-DEM axe  
*dadken kare ...*  
 stone.axe maybe  
 'Then he tricked him into licking (the honey), he licked and licked and then he heard the sound of the axe squeaking in the wood as the handle was grabbed ...'  
 [GID]

<sup>11</sup> A few English verbs are actually integrated with the thematic *-men*, and as such become part of a single (complex) verb stem. See §8.2.3.11 for examples.



This very limited possibility of alternation between prebound and preverbal structures contrasts with a much greater productivity of the same phenomenon in the Gunwinyguan languages at the western (e.g. Warray) and southern (e.g. Ngalakan) peripheries of the group.

### 13.5.3 Unaffixed nominal adjuncts

The various affixes that can be used to mark such adjunct roles as instrument, cause and source were discussed in §5.2. In each such case, however, it is possible to use the nominal with no overt marking, leaving the determination of its role to context and background knowledge. The use of bare nominals is commonest with verbs that stereotypically imply particular thematic roles as adjuncts: vehicles, or purpose, with *re* 'go', source of material with *marnbun* 'make', instrument with *bun* 'hit', and so on. Unaffixed adjunct nominals are usually placed next to the verb, though locationals appear to have more freedom in this regard.

Initial observations suggest that use of the bare nominal is commonest in the north-westernmost dialects (Dj, W, I), which about languages with practically no role marking (like Iwaidja and Maung), but detailed quantitative studies would be required to evaluate this claim definitively.

- (a) INSTRUMENT Leaving the NP unmarked is an alternative to the use of instrumental-*yih* (§5.2.1.2) or comitative *-dorren* (§5.2.1.5):

13.200 *Na-mekbe djarlung na-bang, gun-dulk nga-bu-n.*

Dj MA-DEM brown.snake MA-dangerous IV-stick 1/3-hit-NP  
'That brown snake is a dangerous one, I'll hit it with a stick.'

13.201 *An-dehne gun-dulk nga-bu-n.*

Dj MA-DEM IV-stick 1/3-hit-NP  
'I'll hit him with this stick.'

13.202 *Ba-wam djobba.*

Dj 3P-goPP helicopter  
'He came by helicopter, in the helicopter.'

13.203 *Gabbala ngarr-e-i.*

Dj boat 1a-go-PI  
'We went by boat.'

13.204 *Gabarri-behge-∅ an-dubang, gabarri-waral-dolngbu-n.*

Dj 3a/3NP-touch.with.smoking.leaves-NP III-ironwood 3a/3-spirit-drive.away-NP  
'They're touching (the dead man's possessions) with smoking ironwood leaves, to drive away his spirit.'

- (b) PURPOSE This is the usual way to express purpose with non-human goals, particularly with the verb *re* 'go'. (With human goals, in contrast, the COMitative applicative is often used to promote goal NPs to argument status — §7.6.2.)

13.205 *Ba-re-i an-djai.*

Dj 3P-go-PI III-cane.grass  
'She would go off for cane grass.'

- 13.206 *Mayh*  $\emptyset$ -*wam*.  
 I animal 3-goPP  
 'He went hunting.'

(c) SOURCE OF MATERIAL This is an alternative to the more explicit expression of source using the ablative (§5.2.2.1).

- 13.207 *Godwalidjbun* *ga-yed-marnbu-n* *gun-god*.  
 Dj white.throated.warbler 3-nest-make-NP IV-paperbark  
 'The white-throated warbler makes its nest out of paperbark.'

- 13.208 *Darh-yak*, *gun-dalk* *ngarri-rurrk-nam-i*. *An-ngulubu*  
 Dj bark-PRIV IV-grass 1a/3-shelter-make-PI III-spear.grass

*arri-rurrk-nam-i*, *arri-yo-i*.  
 1a/3-shelter-make-PI 1a-lie-PI

'If we had no stringybark, we used to make shelters out of grass.  
 We'd build them out of spear grass, and sleep in them.'

(d) LOCATION, DIRECTION, AND SOURCE OF MOVEMENT. Various means for indicating locative relations have already been discussed: the locative suffix for location and direction (§5.2.1.4), the ablative for source of movement (§5.2.1.1), and the locative prefix (§5.2.2.1) and locative preposition (§6.4.1.1), the last two also serving as markers of location or direction.

However, all three primary locational relations can also be expressed by unaffixed nominals. This is most likely to happen with proper nouns, and when the accompanying verb is *re* 'go' or *bebme* 'arrive at' (direction: 13.209, 13.210), or the verb *dolkkan* 'get up; leave; come from' (source of movement: 13.210, 13.211). With static location there does not appear to be any restriction on the verb involved; examples are attested, for example, with 'spear' ('at Lorlo'; Text 2.15) and 'hold ceremony' (13.173), as well as with motion verbs such as *derrehme* 'move across' (13.211). For examples where proper nouns are overtly marked for location, see 6.89, with a locative suffix, and 6.77, 6.78 with the locative preposition *kure* ~ *kore*. Occasionally unaffixed nominals are also used to express adnominal modification with the meaning 'X, from Y', e.g. 'David, from Korlobidahdah'. See Text 5.20 for an example.

- 13.209 *Nungan*  $\emptyset$ -*bakke-rr-inj* Darwin *birri-wam*, *kun-bang*  
 I 3masCEMPH 3P-compose-RR-PP 3aP-goPP IV-grog

*birri-bongune-ng* *wanjh* *birri-bawo-ng*  $\emptyset$ -*mayah-mayahme-ng*.  
 3aP-drink-PP then 3aP-leave-PP 3P-ITER-get.lost-PP

'He created it (a song) for himself when they went to Darwin and got drunk  
 and they left him and he became lost.'

- 13.210 *Djamarlingki* *Nakorrkko* *bene-dolkka-ng* *wanjh* *Mindjilang* *bene-bebme-ng*.  
 I [place] [name] 3uaP-set.off-PP then [place] 3uaP-arrive-PP  
 'The Nakorrkko creation ancestors set out from Djamarlingki and arrived  
 at Midjilang.'

- 13.211 *Arri-yi-rrolkga-ni Awarn.garradj arri-bal-e-i Garlbagarridjam*  
 Dnj 1a-COM-set.off-PI [place] 1a-along-go-PI [place]

*arri-bal-derrehm-i.*

1a-along-move.across-PI

'We would set off with them (the spearshafts) from Awarn.garradj and keep going along, and we'd cross over at Garlbagarridjam.'

- (e) CAUSE Cause may be expressed overtly by the instrumental (§5.2.1.2), genitive (§5.2.1.3), and locative (§5.2.1.4) suffixes, as well as by either of the applicative prefixes: the benefactive (§10.3.1.5) and the comitative (§10.3.2.4); the reader is referred to these sections for the various semantic nuances these means express.

In addition, however, one often encounters the use of bare nominals to express cause, with no overt marking on either noun or verb:

- 13.212 *Gukku ga-m-waihme, an-djeuk-wern.*

Dj water 3-hither-riseNP III-rain-much

'The water is rising from all the rain.'

- 13.213 *Ngarri-marnbu-ni, yimin makem fire here middle nomo propa bigwan*

Dnj 1a/3-make-PI used.to make not really big

*jad kunak, an-yahwurdurd, Djibdjib ngarri-marnbu-ni.*

that fire VE-small [spirit being] 1a-make-PI

'We used to make fires in the middle (of our campsite), not really big ones, little ones, we made them because of those *Djibdjib* spirit beings (which might come and molest us otherwise).'

## 13.6 Adverbs of location and time

### 13.6.1 Locational adverbs

Adjuncts of place may be expressed by members of the closed class of locational adverbs, as an alternative or supplement to the use of nouns or demonstratives affixed for a locational role, to nominal groups headed by the locative preposition, or to unaffixed proper nouns used with locative function.

Such locational adverbs are, morphologically, a subset of the broader nominal class, sharing restricted aspects of role-marking morphology with nominals more generally, such as the possibility (for most locationals) of taking the ablative suffix *-beh* (e.g. *kanjdjibeh* 'from inside, from underneath') and, less commonly, the locative *-ka(h)* when indicating direction (5.68). Some have absorbed the locative prefix *gu-/ku-* (e.g. *ku-djakku* 'on the left' (cf. *kun-djakku* 'left hand'), *ku-kun* 'on the right' (cf. *kun-kun* 'right hand')), and others optionally take the locative suffix *-kah* (Dj, W *yerre ~ yerrekah* 'after'). The only special morphological possibility found with locational adverbs is the directional prefix *berre-*, found on '3-D' terms (e.g. *berre-kaddum* 'upwards', *berre-kakbi* 'northwards'), and this is restricted to Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali (see §5.2.2.5). Syntactically they have no special characteristics, and can be placed anywhere in the clause, though they tend to fall outside any nominal arguments or adjuncts that are present. The possibility of using certain locationals as postpositions is discussed in §6.4.2.

A number of semantically based subclasses exist:

CARDINAL TERMS These are skewed about 45° anticlockwise from the standard reference:

	<i>kakbi</i> 'north, north-east'	
<i>karrikad</i> 'west, north-west'	+	<i>koyek</i> 'east, south-east'
	<i>walem</i> 'south, south-west'	

Two sentence examples are:

- 13.214 *Yiman gayime goyek-be ga-m-lobme gun-mayorrk gun-godjngol*,  
 Dj ... like ... east-ABL 3-hither-runNP IV-wind IV-stormcloud  
*ngandjeuk ga-m-lobme goyek-beh.*  
 III-rain 3-hither-runNP east-ABL  
 'So a wind and stormclouds are coming up from the east, rain is coming up quickly from the east.'

- 13.215 *Bene-bebme-ng kondah nuk kakbi.*  
 W 3uaP-arrive-PP here DUB north  
 'The two of them arrived around here somewhere to the north.' [KS 20]

RELATIVE LOCATION In this category are *kanjdji* 'down, under; inside', with its two antonyms *kaddum* 'up, above' and *kuberrk* 'outside' (E:D *kurorrebo*) as well as its partial synonym *kururrk* 'inside (an enclosed space)' (see §5.2.2.1 on the ongoing grammaticalisation of this form from a locative-prefixed noun *ku-rurrk* 'in the cave'), as well as such terms as *ku-djakku* 'on/to the left', *ku-kun* 'on/to the right', *ngahdjarre* 'this side, this way' (Dj), *djurrungun* 'straight ahead' (Dj), *borledmiken* 'on the other side of, behind' (formed by adding genitive *-ken* to the verb *borledme* 'turn around').

- 13.216 *Ban-marne-dang-balhm-i barri-dowe-ni ganjdji gu-rurrk.*  
 Dj 3/3pIP-BEN-entrance-be.blocked-PI 3aP-die-PI down/inside LOC-cave  
 'The entrance would close behind them and they would die inside the cave.'

DISTANCE AND SERIATION *darn.kih* 'close (up), near (in place or time)', *djarre* 'far, a long way off (in place or time)', *yerre(-ka)* (*rerre* in eastern dialects) 'behind; after, later', *yungki* 'in front, further along; first', *werrk* 'first in series (space or time)' (but also 'quickly, in a hurry' in W and I).

The first four of these, it will be seen, are polysemous between spatial and temporal meanings, as the following examples illustrate:

- 13.217 *Nga-wam darnkih.*  
 W 1-goPP close  
 'I went close'. [E&E 88]
- 13.218 *Darnkih ka-m-re.*  
 W soon 3-hither-goNP  
 'It will be soon'
- 13.219 *Namege bininj darngih ga-rrowe-n.*  
 Dj MA:DEM man close 3-die-NP  
 'That man's "close-up dead", is about to die.'

Verbs of movement, of course, provide a natural bridging context, since travelling spatially behind, for example, means arriving later:

- 13.220 *Yerre nga-m-re.*  
 Dj behind 1-hither-goNP  
 'I'll come behind you, after you.'
- 13.221 *Nungga werrk ba-warde-bidbom, aye yerre, a-weleng-bidbom.*  
 Dj 3masc first 3/3P-rock-climbPP 1 behind 1/3-then-climbPP  
 'He climbed up the rock first, then I climbed up behind/after.'

With other verbs, however, pure spatial ('these two teeth behind' in 7.211) or temporal senses (13.222) are obtained:

- 13.222 *Aleng ba-rrowe-ng, ngaye nga-djordminj yerre.*  
 Dj 3fem 3P-die-PP 1 1-grow.upPP after  
 'She died before I grew up.' (lit. She died, I grew up after/after.)

Two of these polysemous locational adverbs have formally related verbal prefixes, for example 13.217 can be paraphrased as *ngadarnhwam*. In the corresponding verbal prefixes space/ time polysemy is either restricted or absent: *darnh-* 'close (to)' is almost always used spatially (§11.5.4) and *yingkih-* 'first' is only ever used temporally/aspectually (§11.4.6).

### 13.6.2 Time adverbs

Time specification can be achieved in three ways, not counting the use of time prefixes on the verb (see §11.4 and §11.6).

The first method is through the use of a nominal or nominal group, for example a noun capable of measuring time, typically *kun-kak* 'night', *dird* 'moon' (MM *garra-kbal*) or *kudjewk* 'rain, rainy season, year', plus a numeral or root like *buyika* 'other'. Apart from the restricted use of the 'time' suffix *-keno* in eastern dialects (see §5.2.1.12), there is no overt marking of the time relation, which is inferred from the lexical content of the expression. There is a tendency for the time expression to precede the verb.

- 13.223 *Ga-rrowe-n malayi, bogen gun-gak ga-rrowe-n.*  
 Dj 3-die-NP tomorrow two IV-night 3-die-NP  
 'He'll die tomorrow, in two nights he'll die.'
- 13.224 *Gabarri-re, dird na-gudji gabarri-dowe-n.*  
 Dj 3a-goNP moon MA-one 3a-die-NP  
 'They (the victims) go off, and after a month they die.'
- 13.225 *Bogen gu-djeuk ba-rrowe-ng.*  
 Dj two LOC-rain 3P-die-PP  
 'He died two years ago.'

Where necessary the direction of temporal projection may be shown by the addition of a word like 'come' or 'before', as with MM *naguji garra-kbal ngan-kare* [one moon before] 'one month ago', W *dird kamre* [moon it-comes] 'next month', W *kun-barnangarra-buyika* [IV-day-other] 'the other day' and W *dird-buyika* [moon-other] 'last month'.

The second method is to use a verbal expression describing the epoch, season or diurnal cycle. There is considerable variation in how far such words get morphologically frozen and acquire nominal characteristics, and time expressions of this type are strung along a continuum from adverbial clauses comprising a word with full verbal status, to nominals which happen to be of verbal origin. See §4.1.2 and §5.6.2 for discussion and examples; some samples are Dj *ba-garre-wakwam* [3P-law-was.ignorant] 'the founding time, dream time (before the laws of life were known)', (all dialects) *ka-ngurdurlme* [it-thunders] 'stormy season', W *kum-barrhbom* [it-hither-dawned] 'at dawn (past)', MM *ka-rrung-di* [it-sun-stands] 'mid-day, "dinner-time"', Dj *ga-rrung-yibme* [it-sun-sinks] 'sunset'.

13.226 *Ga-ngutda-ngutme mayhmayh gabarri-wokdi.*

MM 3-sun-just.riseNP birds 3a-speakNP

'The birds sing at dawn.'

The third method is to use a word from the class of temporal nominals. These words are basically morphologically invariable, except that some may take the past suffix *-ni* to emphasise their location in the past (8.93, 13.227). This suffix is attested with *kaluk* 'then, next', *ku-kak* 'at night, during the night' and Dj *an-garehgen* 'a while back', *wolewoleh* 'yesterday' and *wolehwolehbuiyiga* 'the day before yesterday'. Particular temporal nominals may also contain noun-class prefixes (e.g. Dj *an-gare* [III-old] 'before', W *kun-kudji* [IV-one] 'once'), locative prefixes (Dj *gu-gak* 'night-time' < *gun-gak* IV-night), the part suffix *-no* (E *kakno* 'night') or the suffix *-wi* (Dj *malaiwi* 'tomorrow', *bolkgimewi* 'just about', *ngokkowi* — 'afternoon' (Dj), 'yesterday' (MM)). In Kune many temporals have both of the latter suffixes (e.g. *ngorkkowino* 'night').

13.227 *An-gareh-gen-ni a-rrurkmirri gure Bulaydjang.*

Dj III-before-GEN-P 1-workP LOC [place]

'A few months ago I was working at Bulaydjang.'

Time adverbs tend to precede the verb when used in verbal clauses (13.228–13.230), but this is not always the case (13.231).

13.228 *Gorrogo, bu ngarri-ni gorrogo, birrgala barri-mun.ge-yi gakbi.*

Dj before REL 1a-sit before boomerang 3aP-send-PI northeast  
'Before, as we were before, they used to send boomerangs north-eastward (from the desert).'

13.229 *Gorrogo nga-wayini a-burnbom.*

Dj already 1-singP 1-finishPP

'I've already finished singing.'

13.230 *Galuk yerrega bu ga-nudme-n an-egé ga-ngu-n.*

Dj later afterwards when 3-rot-NP VE-that 3-eat-NP

'Till later, afterwards, when it rots, that's when he eats it.'

13.231 *Karri-durnde ngulam Djandi.*

E:N 12a-returnNP tomorrow Sunday

'We'll come back tomorrow, on Sunday.'

When used in non-verbal predicates they are usually preceded by *wanjh* 'then, now':

13.232 *Yekke wanjh bolkkime.*Dj cool.season then now  
'It's the cool season now.'

Temporal nominals may be divided semantically into the following groups. Note that there is a lot of semantic extension and change across dialects, for example the extension of *gugak* from 'night' to 'last night' to 'yesterday' in Gun-djeihmi, of *ngokkowi* from 'afternoon' to 'yesterday afternoon' to 'yesterday' across the dialects, and of *mala(y)wi* from 'morning' (one of its senses in Kunwinjku and Kuninjku) to 'tomorrow' in all dialects. A likely cause of such changes is the bleeding of tense meaning from the verbal inflection onto the temporal (e.g. *kukak* 'night' in 'I saw him in.the.night' will be construed in context as 'last night', which may go on to become part of its lexical meaning).

## RELATIVE TIME

<i>bolkgime</i> (Dj), <i>bolkkime</i> (W), <i>bolkki</i> (I)	'now, today'
<i>bolkgimewi</i> (Dj)	'just about, only now'
<i>gugak</i> ~ <i>guwak</i> (Dj), <i>ngokkowi</i> (MM), <i>wolewoleh</i> (I)	'yesterday'
<i>boyen</i> (W, I), <i>boyenjhgen</i> (MM)	'in the recent past, in the last couple of days'
<i>gorrogo</i> (Dj), <i>korroko</i> (W)	'before, formerly; already'
<i>ngokko</i> (W, Dj)	'already'
<i>an-gare</i> (Dj), <i>an-garehgen</i> (Dj)	'in the olden days, before'
<i>na-yuhyungki</i>	'the ancestors; the time of the first beings'
<i>kaluk</i>	'later, after a while, bye and bye' (see below)
<i>malayi</i>	(also <i>malaiwi</i> in Dj) 'tomorrow; the morrow'
<i>ngulam</i> , <i>ngulanjak</i> (I, E)	'tomorrow; the morrow'
<i>yerre(ka(h))</i>	'behind, after'
<i>werrk</i>	'first'

An example is:

13.233 *Ngad guwak djama andi-ma-yi.*Dj 1a yesterday NEG 3/1a-get-IRR  
'She didn't get us any filesnakes yesterday.'

## DIURNAL

<i>kukabel</i>	'pre-dawn'
<i>malayi</i> (all dialects except Dj)	'morning' (cf. prefix <i>mala-</i> 'morning' (§11.6.2))
<i>malamalai</i> (Dj)	'morning'
<i>kukak</i> (W, I)	'during the night, last night'
<i>guwakguwak</i> (Dj)	'night-time'
<i>ngorkkowino</i> (E)	'night'
<i>ngokkowi</i>	'afternoon' (Dj), 'dusk, early evening' (I)
<i>wolewoleh(h)</i> (Dj, W, I)	'late afternoon, dusk'
<i>makirrarra</i> (I)	'dusk'
<i>barnangarra</i>	'daytime'

*kumunun* (W, I) 'midnight, dead of night'

*gu-mununburrk* (Dj) 'midnight, dead of night'

An example (note the semantic difference from the Dj cognate *guwak* in the last example):

13.234 *Birndu ngan-baye-ng ku-kak.*

W mosquito 3/1-bite-PP LOC-night  
'The mosquitoes bit me during the night.'

#### DURATION

*munguy* 'continually; for good'

*munguyhmunguy* 'always; for a long time'

*galukborrk* (Dj) 'for a long time'

*gun-babi* (Dj) 'for long'

*gun-guyenggu* (Dj) 'for a long time, in the long run'

*waken* (W) 'a couple of days'

Two examples are:

13.235 *Ba-djal-yim-i galukborrk "gurlulk, gurlulk" ba-yime-ng.*

Dj 3P-just-say-PI long.time [onomatopoeic] 3P-say-PP  
'She just kept saying for a long time: "gurlulk, gurlulk".'

13.236 *Munguih gunak ga-rrowe-n.*

Dj continually fire 3-die-NP  
'The fire keeps going out.'

#### ITERATION

*an-gudji-(h)gen* (Dj) 'once'

*kun-kudji* (W, I) 'once'

*boken-kah* (I) 'twice'

An example:

13.237 *Kun-kudji birri-borrkke-ng mamurrng kore Manuwukan.*

I IV-one 3aP-dance-PP [ceremony] LOC Maningrida  
'Once they danced a Mamurrng ceremony at Maningrida.'

SERiation See also the discussion of space/time polysemy in §13.6.1.

*werrk* 'first' (cf. verbal prefix *yingkih-* in §11.4.6)

*yerre, yerrekah* 'later, afterwards; behind'

*kaluk* 'later, after a while, by and by'

*weleng* 'then, next' (cf. formally identical verbal prefix in §11.4.5)

An example is:

13.238 *Weleng ku-meke-be bene-dolkka-ng bene-djowkka-ng kabo-no.*

I then LOC-DEM-ABL 3uaP-get.up-PP 3uaP-cross-PP river-PRT  
'Then, from there, the two of them got up and crossed a river.'



*Kaluk*, when used as an adverb with the meaning 'then, later' has the same freedom of position as other time adverbs, and need not precede the verb directly (13.239; Text 4.6). Alternatively it may function as a modal particle with straightforward future meaning, in which case it must immediately precede the verb (see §9.3.2 for examples).

- 13.239 A: *Namege yi-na guwarrang!* B: *Djama a-na-yi.*  
 Dj MA:DEM 2/3-seeIMP echidna NEG 1/3-see-IRR  
 'Look at that echidna!' 'I didn't see it.'
- A: 'Galuk' *na-gudji yinan.*  
 later MA-one 2-see-NP  
 'You'll see one later.'

### 13.7 Manner adverbs

As with adverbs of place and time, manner-adverbial modification can be effected by nominal groups, whose constituents may bear appropriate role-affixation such as the instrument suffix or the 'manner' use of the Class III prefix (*m*)*an-* (§5.2.2.4) or may simply appear without formal marking (§13.5.3). In addition there is a set of specific lexical manner adverbials, which occasionally contain non-productive morphology, though many have the suffix *-kih* (which is dropped in any corresponding verbal-prefix form); see §4.3.7.

Specific semantic sub-classes are:

**SPEED/INTENSITY** As well as modifying clauses in the regular way, these can be used in isolation as imperatives (e.g. *yalmo!* 'slowly!', *wern.gih!* 'louder/faster/harder!'). Those marked with '(x2)' may be reduplicated for emphasis.

<i>korre</i> (x2)	'quickly' (sometimes also 'already (quickly)')
<i>yeledj</i> (x2) (W)	'slowly, gently, softly'
<i>yamgo</i> (Dj)	'slowly'
<i>yalmo</i> (I)	'slowly'
<i>ngalingali</i> (Dj)	'slowly'
<i>walakkih</i> (x2)	'gradually, bit by bit'
<i>wernkih</i>	'properly; loud, fast, hard' (cf. verbal prefix <i>wernh-</i> in §11.3.2.1)
<i>bulkkidj</i>	'really, properly, truly'
<i>na-borlok</i> (Dj)	'swiftly, suddenly, "one shot"'
<i>an-baloh</i> (Dj)	"quick job", hastily'

Some examples:

- 13.240 *Yalmo! Nakka wurdurd!*  
 I slowly MA:DEM children  
 'Drive slowly, there's children here!'
- 13.241 *Nga-makmen walakkih.*  
 W 1-become.goodNP gradually  
 'I'm gradually improving.' [E&E 88]

- 13.242 *Ngan-du-i bulkkidj.*  
 Dj 3/1-swear.at-PP properly  
 'He really swore at me.'
- 13.243 *Yawarral naborlok bi-baye-ng, ga-ngu-n djorrkgun.*  
 Dj [snake.sp.] swiftly 3/3h-bite-PP 3/3-eat-NP rock.possum  
 'The diamond-headed rock snake swiftly bit the possum to eat him.'
- 13.244 *Gorre arri-ma-ngi an-djarradjarrah, an-baloh.*  
 Dj quickly 1a-get-PI III-stringybark III-hasty  
 'We got the stringybark quickly, and made a hasty job of it.'

## MOTIVES

<i>djanggogo</i>	'for nothing, for no purpose, for no payment'
<i>man-molk</i> (W), <i>molkno</i> (I, E)	'secretly, stealthily' (cf. verbal prefix <i>molk-</i> in §11.7.2)
<i>red-dorrengh</i> (I)	'with all the possessions needed to shift camp' (this could be treated as a straightforward comitative use, but for the dropping of <i>kun-</i> from <i>kun-red</i> 'camp')

## An example:

- 13.245 *Djanggogo a-marnbom, djama andi-wo-yi.*  
 for.nothing 1/3-makePP not 3a/1-give-IRR  
 'I made it for nothing, they never gave me anything.'

## SPATIAL LAYOUT

<i>monambadbad</i>	'in single file'
<i>rayekkih</i>	'in one place, without moving around, stationary' (cf. the adjective root <i>rayek</i> 'hard')
<i>gun-wunggal</i> (Dj)	'behind someone'

## Examples:

- 13.246 *Yiman wolewoleh birri-m-yurrubirdihme-ng nganabbarru monambadbad.*  
 I like yesterday 3aP-hither-gallop-PP buffalo single.file  
 'Just like yesterday when the buffalo came galloping towards us in single file.'
- 13.247 *Wurdurd yuwn ngurri-wohre ngurri-djal-ni-n rayekki.*  
 I children NEG.IMP 2a-moveNP 2a-just-sit-IMP stationary  
 'Children, don't move around everywhere. Just sit in the one place.'

QUANTIFICATION A rather disparate collection of adverbs with quantificational-type meanings exists:

<i>yawoyhno ~ rawoyhno</i>	'again' (see discussion of verbal prefix <i>yawoyh-</i> in §11.3.5.1)
<i>bebbeh-bebbeh</i> (Dj),	'all around, from each place' (see discussion of verbal prefix
<i>bebbeh-be</i> (I)	<i>bebbeh-</i> in §11.3.1.3)

- 13.248 *Mani mak bebbebeh, ngalengman kunj birri-murrng-doyi.*  
 I VE-DEM also from.each.place 3femEMPH kangaroo 3a/3P-bone-crush-IRR  
 'It (a grindstone) was used from each place (in a different manner), this one was used for grinding kangaroo bones.'

Finally, note that nouns denoting actions, suffixed with privative *-yak* (§5.2.1.6), are also used as manner adverbs meaning 'without Xing'. In this use they drop their noun-class prefix, so that *wok-yak* rather than *kun-wok-yak* is used (13.249) and *yid-yak* rather than *kun-yid-yak* (13.250).

13.249 *Gurri-modme-n garri-ni-n wok-yak!*

Dj 2a-be.quiet-IMP 12a-sit-IMP talk-PRIV  
'You mob shut up and let's all be quiet!'

13.250 *Bayun gurri-bu-rr-en gun-yi gurri-bawo yid-yak garri-ni-n*  
Dj don't 2a-hit-RR-IMP IV-trouble 2a-leaveIMP trouble-PRIV 12a-sit-IMP

*djamun gan-ma-ng.*

policeman 3/1a-take-NP

'Don't fight each other, lay off the quarrelling, let's just sit here without fighting, or the policeman will get us.'

### 13.8 General clitics

Several clitics are able to attach to constituents of a range of word classes; their clitic status is indicated by their lack of independent word stress. Other clitics with specifically nominal hosts are discussed in the section dealing with the morphology of their host: see §6.5.1 for the clitic *=wali*, which attaches to nominal groups, and §10.2.3 on the placement of oblique pronouns after the verb to indicate objects, though in this case they are not phonologically integrated to the point of losing their own word stress.

#### 13.8.1 =ki(h) 'now'

This clitic occurs most commonly on pronouns, with the meaning 'this ... now', that is what has just been talked about, or is contextually obvious; an example is 13.251 (see also §7.1.4). On demonstratives such as *gonhda* 'here' (13.252) it has a similar effect.

13.251 *Aleng=gi an-gare.*

Dj she-NOW III-before  
'(I had) this one now (your truck) before.'

13.252 *Arri-dolkga-ni an-gorle arri-bunj-yiga-ni, Nulkwarre or Gugarndjal.*  
Dnj 1a-go.up-PI III-bamboo 1a-bamboo-fetch-PI [place] [place]

*Arri-dolkga-ni an-gorle arri-dadjge-yi. Gonhda=gi Wirrirri*  
1a-go.up-PI III-bamboo 1a-cut-PI here=NOW [place]

*arri-dadjge-yiii, ngarri-yo-i, ngarri-godj-djuhm-i, ngarri-yo-i.*  
1a-cut-PI 1a-sleep-PP 1a-head-bathe-PI 1a-lie-PI

'We used to climb up to fetch bamboo, at Nulkwarre or Gugarndjal. We used to go up and cut bamboo. Here at Wirrirri now we'd cut (bamboo) for a long time, then lie and have a rest, we'd wet our heads (to cool down) and have a rest.'

I also have one example each of it combining with nouns (13.253) and verbs (13.254). From this small sample, and from these particular contexts of utterance, it is not possible to determine what semantic contribution the clitic makes here.

- 13.253 *anything tree, gun-dulk=gi, whole lot gun-dulk*  
 Dnj IV-tree-? IV-tree  
 'all sorts of trees'

- 13.254 *ø-Bah-bakme-ng=ki.*  
 E 3P-ITER-break-PP=?  
 'It's broken down properly.'

Two lexicalised expressions — *gayakki* 'no, nothing' and *woibukki* 'true' — appear to have absorbed this clitic. Their roots are respectively  $\sqrt{\text{yak}}$  'without' and  $\sqrt{\text{woibuk}}$  'true'. A suffix *-kih* also appears on a number of adverbs; see §13.6 and §13.7.

### 13.8.2 =bukka 'eh?'

This invites the hearer to supply more information. It is probably derived from the verb *bukkan* 'show'.

Attached to a non-ignorative, it is usually a request to verify the marked word, functioning like an English tag question or 'eh'.

- 13.255 *Barri-wam=bukka Pine Creek?*  
 Dj 3aP-goPP=eh?  
 'They've gone, haven't they, to Pine Creek?'/ 'They've gone to Pine Creek, eh?'

However, it may be requesting further information from the hearer, rather than simply confirmation, or merely indicating uncertainty about the some aspect of the proposition:

- 13.256 *Nga-bekka-ng=bukka ka-h-ni nuk ø-mey.*  
 W 1/3-feel-PP=eh? 3-IMM-sitNP DUB 3/3P-getPP  
 'I feel something at your end, maybe it's an animal.' [OP 423]

This clitic most commonly attaches to ignoratives, inviting the hearer to respond to the interrogative:

- 13.257 *Yauk-yauk bogen, njamed, Al-gaihgo. A-wakwam aye njale=bukka?*  
 Dj girls two what [name] I-forget:PP I what=eh?  
*Al-buyiga, am, daluk bogen, al-daluk rouk, yauk-yauk bene-djuhm-i*  
 II-other um woman two II-female all girls 3ua.P-swim-PI  
*gu-gukku.*  
 LOC-water

(A younger woman with a strong voice was doing the narration, prompted by an old, frail but knowledgeable woman.) '(About) the two girls, and (the one called) *Al-gaihgo*. I've forgotten it, what is it eh? Another two women, both females. The two girls were swimming in the water.'

- 13.258 *Ngarri-wam right up to, ngaled=bukka ngarri-wam?*  
 W 1a-goPP where=eh? 1a-goPP  
 'We went on to, where was it we went?' (This is my only instance of the root *ngaled*. It is possibly an archaic form from the series *ngale/njale* reflected in Djeihmi *ngayed*.)

This clitic has a rarer variant =*makka*, apparently synonymous:

- 13.259 *bula kan-ka-ng ngadberre andu, bula yi-yime,*  
 W earthquake 3/1a-take-PP us then earthquake 2-callNP  
*njale=makka bula.*  
 what=eh? earthquake  
 'An earthquake struck us then, a whatchacallit, eh, an earthquake.'

### 13.8.3 =wi 'only'

This restricts the scope of a (semantic) predication to the host word. It may attach to any non-verbal word class capable of serving as a semantic predicate (see 13.144 for a secondary predicate example), though mostly words bearing this clitic are arguments (13.260, 13.261) or adjuncts (13.262) in their clause.

- 13.260 *Gun-wardde=wi ø-djal-wo-n.*  
 Dj IV-money=only 1/2-just-give-NP  
 'I will give you only money.'
- 13.261 *Manawukan=wi ngurri-re?*  
 I Maningrida=only 2a-goNP  
 'Are you only going to Maningrida?' [GID]
- 13.262 *Manin yawurrinj=wi kabirri-bidbu-n.*  
 I VE:DEM young.men=only 3a-climb.up-NP  
 'Only the young men can get in this one (truck).' [GID]

It is often used in conjunction with the prefix *djal-* 'just' to clarify the scope of restriction; this may attach to the verb (13.260) (see §11.3.5.2 for more detailed discussion of *djal-*), or to the noun bearing =*wi* (13.263).

- 13.263 *Djal-bim=wi ø-yuwurrinj yiman delek bolkki nga-h-bimbom*  
 I just-image=only 3P-lieIRR like white.ochre now 1/3-IMM-paintPP  
*wolewoleh kunekke ka-yime-ninj kun-kudji dilh dilh dilh.*  
 yesterday NEU:DEM 3-do-IRR IV-one dot dot dot  
 'There was only (solid figure) images in white ochre like I use today and like I painted before with dots, one by one dot dot dot.' [GID]

On certain verbs =*wi* gains the idiomatic meaning 'right away, in a minute', as in 13.264. Presumably the extension is from 'I'll do nothing but return' to 'therefore, nothing will delay me — I'll be right back'.

- 13.264 *A-m-durnde-ng=wi.*  
 Dj 1-hither-return-NP=only  
 'I'll be right back.'

In Manyallaluk Mayali, this clitic occurs frequently on verbs used in the past imperfective (13.265); while in some cases it simply follows the past imperfective suffix (*djangka-ni=wi*), in others it is attached to verbs like *ni* 'sit' with no overt past imperfective markers, and in others it has actually displaced the past imperfective suffix (*barri-djuhgewi*; cf. its Gun-djeihmi past imperfective equivalent, *barri-djuhgeyi*). It therefore appears to be in the process of being grammaticised as a new form for the past imperfective category in this dialect.<sup>12</sup>

- 13.265 *Guk-no ngarri-ngu-ni=wi, barri-juhge=wi guhgu-gah, bang-no*  
 MM body-PRT 1a/3-eat-PI=only 3a/3P-soak=only water-LOC poison-PRT  
*ba-we-yi gukgu-yi gunj gure worrbajin gobagohbany*  
 3/3-throw-PI water-INST kangaroo LOC old.fashioned old.people  
*barri-djan.ga-ni=wi.*  
 3a-hunt-PI=only  
 'We used to eat the body (of the yam), they used to soak it in water, and the water would leach out the poison; in the olden days the old people used to hunt kangaroos.'

A formative *wi*, probably related, occurs in several time adverbials; see §4.3.8. In Kunwinjku it has also developed into a suffix, or part of a suffix, for the instrumental; see §5.2.1.9.

### 13.8.4 =bonh 'already'

This suffix is restricted to Kune, and so far only a few examples have been recorded, in all of which it follows either the verb or an oblique pronoun postposed after the verb. Bidialectal speakers say it is roughly equivalent to *wanjh* 'then' in other dialects (§13.12.4), although *wanjh* has many more functions than *bonh*. When combining with a verb in the past perfective it means roughly 'already'; with a non-past verb used as a suggestion, it means 'now'.

- 13.266 *Duruk ngun-baye-ng ngudberre=bonh.*  
 E:N dog 3/2-bite-PP 2OBL=already  
 'The dog's already bitten you.'
- 13.267 *Yi-re=bonh.*  
 E:N 2-goNP=already  
 'You go now.'

Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:232) has a formally identical particle which McKay glosses 'resultative'. Unlike in Kune, in Rembarrnga it is positionally free.

<sup>12</sup> In such cases it is difficult to be consistent about representing boundaries consistently; I use the clitic boundary when it follows an existing past imperfective inflection, and a suffix boundary when it displaces the suffix. But such divisions are rather artificial.

## 13.8.5 =warridj 'too, also'

This follows a word, group or clause of which a previously given predication is also true.

- 13.268 *Na-mud yi-ma-ng, na-mud a-ma-ng aye arduk=warridj.*  
 Dj I-group 2/3-get-NP I-group 1/3-get-NP I 1OBL=too  
 'You get your group, and I'll get my group too.' (said by someone challenging another to a fight)

Often the host is the only word in its clause:

- 13.269 *Gu-behne marrek anabbarru ba-diwirrinj. Gunj, gornobolo,*  
 Dj LOC-DEM not buffalo 3P-standIRR kangaroo agile.wallaby  
*yok, ngal-wanjduk. Galawan=warridj.*  
 bandicoot II-emu goanna=too  
 'Here there were no buffalo. Kangaroos, agile wallabies, bandicoots, emus. Goannas too.'
- 13.270 *Ngaye=warridj.*  
 W I=too  
 'Me too.'

This clitic tends to occur at the end of the intonational group, even where a word over which it has scope comes earlier:

- 13.271 *Na-djinem ka-h-ngu-n=warridj.*  
 I I-black.rock.kangaroo 3/3-IMM-eat-NP=too  
 'The black rock kangaroo eats it also.'

However, the Etheringtons' grammar gives an example of it occurring earlier:

- 13.272 *Bininj=warridj nga-na-ng.*  
 W man=also 1/3-see-PP  
 'I also saw a man.' [E&E 88]

## 13.8.6 =duninj(h) 'real'

The final *h* in all dialects, and the final *-nj* in Gun-djeihmi, are sometimes dropped.

On nominals this clitic marks the preceding word as an authentic or good example of the entity or quality referred to.

- 13.273 *Dinirdini ga-wokdi, gunumeleng=duninj.*  
 Dj cicada 3-talk buildup.season=real  
 'The cicadas are crying out, (that) it's the real build-up season.'
- 13.274 *Man-nguk nuye, mako man-nguk nuye nungkah yimarnek*  
 I III-guts 3masCOBL didg III-guts 3masCOBL him CTRFAC  
*birri-kodj-yime-ng mako=duninh na-mekke but nungka nguk-no*  
 3aP-head-say-PP didg=real MA-DEM him guts-3POSSD

*Bulanj nuye.*

[subsection] 3mascOBL

'The didgeridoo was made from his (Balang's) gut, everyone thought it was a real didgeridoo but it was Bulanj's guts.' (speech error; should have said 'Balang's guts')

- 13.275 *Djang ba-yimerra-nj gorro:go, an-ege an-godjboyorr, djama*  
Dj dreaming.site 3P-turn.into-PP before VE-that III-washaway not

*ngan-gabo=duninjh.*

III-billabong=real

'It became a *djang* (dreaming site) long ago ... there where that washaway came from downstream, not really a billabong.'

On adjectives this emphasises the outstanding degree of the quality (13.276); see §13.3.7 on its use in comparative and superlative constructions.

- 13.276 *an-mak-duni*

Dj VE-good-real

'really good one'

The clitic =*duninjh* may also occur as a free form after verbs, again with the meaning 'really', whether used simply as an intensifier (13.277), or to mean 'in the proper way' (13.278). This second sense is equivalent to the verbal prefix *wernh-* (§11.3.2.1).

- 13.277 *Wudda al-gudji ø-marnedjare=duninj.*

Dj you FE-one 1/2-desireNP=real

'I really want you, only you.'

- 13.278 *Wurdurd ngurri-na ngaleng ka-bengka-n ka-borrkke=duninj.*

I children 2a-lookIMP her 3-know-NP 3-danceNP=real

'Look you kids, she knows how to dance the proper way.'

This clitic frequently combines with *woybukki* 'true', to give *woybukki=duninj*

## 13.9 Negation

We have already discussed aspects of negation in a number of places. Here we summarise the main types, and give pointers to more detailed discussion in other sections.

Note that negation is the grammatical domain whose formal exponents vary most across dialects. The negative particle, negative imperative particle and negative interjection all have major differences across dialects, and different forms of the negative are sometimes used as dialect names (see §1.2.3). The privative suffix is also the only grammatical formative to have a distinct form in the respect register, though here there is no variation across geographical dialects.

### 13.9.1 Negative interjection

The interjection meaning 'no' is *burrkyak* in Kunwinjku, *kurruh* in Kune, and *kayakki/kayakki* in the remaining dialects. In the respect register it is *kayakura*. Except for *kurruh* all



these are built up from the privative suffix (see §5.2.1.6). These words can also be used to mean '(it's) nothing' or 'there is/was nothing'; the interjection *larrh* can also be used with this meaning in all dialects. Note that in a response that affirms agreement with a negative polarity question (e.g. 'didn't he come?') one uses the positive interjection (§13.12): 'yes (he didn't come)' rather than the negative.

These can either stand alone, or be followed by an appropriate negative statement:

- 13.279 A: *An-gorle uddanggi nga-yawa-m, djama a-ngalge-meninj.*  
 Dj III-spear 2OBL 1/3-look.for-PP NEG 1/3-find-IRR  
 'I looked for your spear, but didn't find it.'
- B: *Gayakki, djama yi-yawa-yi.*  
 no NEG 2/3-look-IRR  
 'No, you didn't look for it.'
- 13.280 A: *Man-me kan-dadju bih?* B: *Kurruh, marrek ø-dadju-ng.*  
 E:D III-food 2/1-giveIMP OK? no NEG 1/2-give-NP  
 'Give me some food, eh?' 'No, I won't give you (any).'

### 13.9.2 Negation in indicatives and interrogatives

This is signalled by a negative particle placed immediately before the verb. When discussing past events the regular TAM inflection is replaced by the irrealis (§9.3.5), while with other TAM values, such as non-past, negation is signalled by the negative particle alone. The forms of the negative particle are Dj *djama*, W and I *minj*, and o.d. *marrek*, though in Gun-djeihmi, Kunwinjku and Kuninjku *marrek* is also used to some extent (14.125; T4.4).

- 13.281 *Djalbonj, gumeke gabani-yarlarrme, djama gabani-yawoh-ma-rr-en.*  
 Dj finished after 3ua-split.upNP not 3ua-again-marry-RR-NP  
 'And that's it, after they split up, they never mate with each other again.'
- 13.282 *Kúnabidji minj kabindi-berd-dadjdje, man-karre bedberre.*  
 I [name] NEG 3a/3pl-penis-cut III-custom 3aOBL  
 'The Kúnabidji do not practice circumcision. It is their custom.'
- 13.283 *Marrek birri-ngu-yi.*  
 E NEG 3a/3-eat-IRR  
 'They didn't eat it.'

The negative interacts with a number of verbal affixes to give specific complex meanings. Two important ones are 'not again', expressed by the sequence of the negative particle plus the verbal prefix *yawoyh-* 'again' (13.284), and 'no further', expressed by the negative particle plus the verbal prefix *bal-* 'along' (13.285).

- 13.284 *Bu karri-djal-burriwe, kunukka kun-warre. Minj karri-yawoyh-dulubun*  
 W SUB 12a-just-throwNP IV:DEM NEU-bad NEG 12a/3-again-shootNP  
*nawu kuluban.*  
 MA:REL flying.fox  
 'If we just chuck them away, that's very bad. We won't be able to shoot any more flying foxes.' [KS 46]

- 13.285 *Ngarr-yo kondah dja ø-dung-yibme-ng, dja minj ngarr-bal-e*  
 W 12-lieIMP here CONJ 3P-sun-set-PP CONJ neg 12-just-goNP  
*yungkih.*  
 in.front

'Let's camp here at sunset, because we can walk no further.'

Denial of the applicability of a nominal descriptor to its referent is also expressed using the appropriate negative particle, as with Dj *djama an-gabo-duninjh* 'not a proper billabong' (see 13.275).

### 13.9.3 Negation in imperatives

Some dialects have special negative particles for use in prohibitives: Dj *bayun*, and W and I *yuwun* ~ *yuwn*. These combine with the non-past rather than the imperative form of the verb.

- 13.286 *Ngai, bayun yi-wokdi gorlonj, ngarr-bawo.*  
 Dj hey PROHIB 2-talkNP son 12-leaveIMP  
 'Don't argue, son, let's leave it be.'
- 13.287 *Yuwn yi-kilekme warde ka-bakme.*  
 I PROHIB 2/3-touchNP might 3-breakNP  
 'Don't touch it or it might break.'

In reporting speech containing negative commands, the regular negative particle is used instead of the prohibitive:

- 13.288 *Nga-marne-yime-ng djama ga-bolk-melme.*  
 Dj 1/3-BEN-say-PP NEG 3/3-place-treadNP  
 'I told him not to set foot here.'
- 13.289 *Nga-marne-yime-ng djama ga-m-re.*  
 Dj 1/3-BEN-say-PP NEG 3-hither-goNP  
 'I told him not to come.'

Kune lacks a special prohibitive particle, using the regular negative particle *marrek* for negative commands as well.

### 13.9.4 Negation in existentials

Existential negation is most commonly expressed by using a privative-suffixed noun as a nominal predicate (see §5.2.1.6 for further examples):

- 13.290 *Ngad kabbal konda wardde-yak.*  
 I we plain here rock-PRIV  
 'We are plains people, there is no stone country here.'
- 13.291 *Ku-mekke bini-bininj-yak, nungka na-djal-kudji.*  
 I LOC-DEM REDUP-person-PRIV 3masc MA-just-one  
 'But there were no people there, only himself.'

Although such privative predicates can be used in any tense without special marking, it is also possible to suffix them with the past marker:

- 13.292 *Ba-gukku-yak-ni.*  
 Dj 3P-water-PRIV-P  
 'There was no water.'

Where it is clear from context what is lacking, negative existentials can be expressed just using the negative interjection:

- 13.293 *Yimanmakken bininj bin-karrme-ng kayakki bin-wurrrhke-ng.*  
 E:D CTRFAC person 3/3plP-get-PP no 3/3plP-trick-PP  
 'They all thought he had got lots of people there but he had tricked them, there was no one.'

### 13.9.5 Negative pronouns

Negative pronouns ('no-one', 'nowhere', 'in no way' etc.) are expressed by placing the appropriate ignorative pronoun (§7.2) between a negative particle and the verb:

- 13.294 *Balang kururk ø-wawhme-ng marrek baleh yim-eninj ø-bebme-ninj*  
 E:D [subsection] inside 3P-screamPP NEG ...how-IRR... 3P-get.out-IRR  
*ku-wardde-rurk bi-bad-dabke-ng bi-marne-wurllhke-ng.*  
 LOC-rock-cave 3/3hP-rock-block.up-PP 3/3hP-BEN-light.fire-PP  
 'Balang inside screamed in pain and there was nothing he could do to get out of the rock cave because Bulanj had blocked the entrance with rocks and fire.'

Plentiful examples are given in §7.2.

### 13.9.6 Referent negation

Denial that a referent has been correctly identified is expressed by a one-word clause using the adjectival *wid* 'the wrong one' (also 'strange, different'), appropriately prefixed for gender:

- 13.295 *Ngalngale ngalkka? Kalidjan ngalekke. Ngai-wid.*  
 I FE-who FE:DEM [subsection] FE:DEM FE-wrong  
 'Who is that woman? That's Kalidjan. No not her (it's another one).'

### 13.9.7 Lexical negatives

We lack the space to explore this topic fully here, but the following particularly important negative verbs should be mentioned: *-wakwan* 'not know, be ignorant of' (see discussion of interactions with aspect in §9.3.4.2), *-kaybun* 'not give to, withhold from' (see Text 1.5; 14.126), *mayahme* 'be lost, confused, unaware' (13.296), and *-midjbun* 'not recognise'. There are also two important predicate adjectives: *-warnyak* 'not want to, not feel like' (13.42, 13.111) and *-mungu* 'not responsible for, not involved in, innocent, having no proprietary rights with regard to something' (13.297, 13.298).

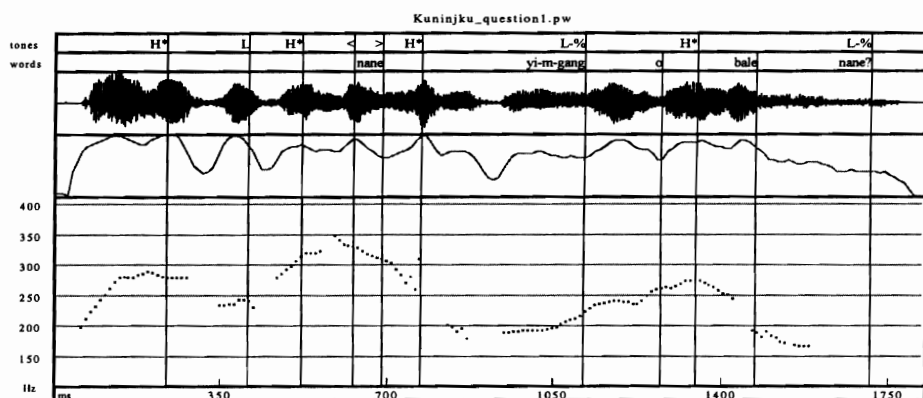
- 13.296 *Balanda kabirri-na-n kabirri-yime "Oh good colour", la*  
 I white.people 3a/3-look-NP 3a-sayNP CONJ  
*kabirri-mayahme na-djamun ka-h-di.*  
 3a-be.unawareNP I-sacred 3-IMM-standNP  
 'Non-aboriginal people look (at a bark painting design) and they say "Oh good colour", but they're not aware that there is a sacred/secret meaning there.' [GID]
- 13.297 *Namege bininj ga-mungu, djama bi-bu-yi.*  
 Dj MA:DEM man 3-innocent NEG 3/3hP-kill-IRR  
 'That man's innocent, he didn't kill him.'
- 13.298 *Duruk ngadberre, wudda yi-mungu.*  
 Dj dog 1aOBL you 2-not.responsible  
 'That dog's ours, not yours (you've got no claim/authority over him).'

### 13.10 Questions

Signalling of yes-no questions is most commonly achieved by intonation, without further formal marking. Consider the following example of a sequence of two questions (the first polar, the second a *wh*-question). In the sound spectrogram following the example the  $F_0$  contour is shown in the bottom window; the top two windows show amplitude traces, and in the example sentence itself the intonation has been represented using the TOBI transcription system as adapted to Bininj Gun-wok (see Bishop & Fletcher forthcoming).

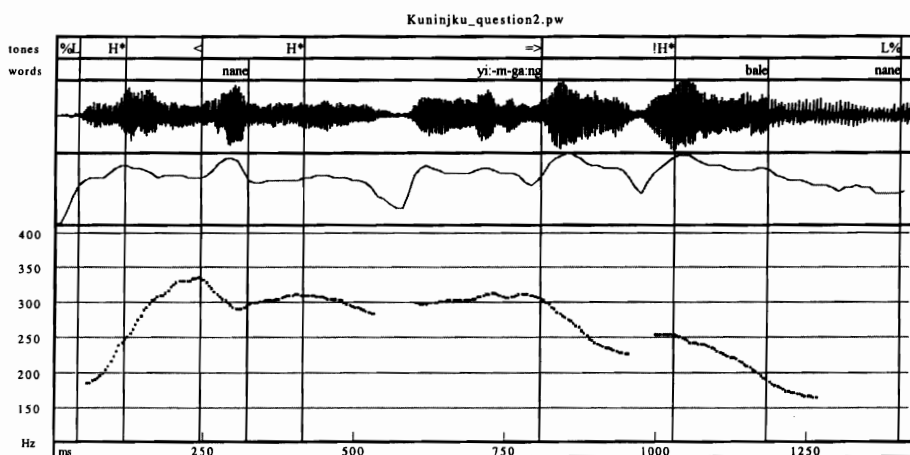
In each of the two questions, the intonation contour rises to a high over the main focus of the question (*nani yim* ... in the first, and *baleh* in the second), followed by a steep fall. In the TOBI notation used here this is shown by an  $H^*$  (high) over the raised pitch syllable, followed by a  $L\%$  (low continuation tone, at right-edge) at the clause edge.

- 13.299 a  $H^*$  L  $H^*$   $H^*$  L- $\%$   $H^*$  L- $\%$   
*Na-kudji nani yi-m-ka-ng o baleh nani?*  
 MA-one MA:PROX.SER 2/3-hither-carry-PP or where MA:PROX.SER  
 'Did you bring one of them, and if so where is it?'



This contrasts with a later repetition of nearly the same words by the same speaker, but this time not as a question but as a hint or suggestion; in this case there is a gradual fall over the whole utterance, notative in the TOBI system by an arrow showing pitch continuation, !H\* showing a slight downstep, then dropping to a final low L%:

- 13.299 b. H\*                      H\* →                      !H\*                      L%  
*Nani                      yi-m-ka-ng                      o bale nani*  
 MA:PROX.SER 2/3-hither-carry-PP or where MA:PROX.SER  
 'You might have brought it, or it might be somewhere.'



The clause-initial word *yiddok*, restricted to the western dialects (Dj and W), converts declaratives into yes-no questions, glossed Q. It is usually clause initial.

- 13.300 *Yiddok kan-h-na-n?*  
 W                      Q                      2/1-IMM-see-NP  
 'Do you see me? [KH]

Sometimes it is used rhetorically or sarcastically to mean 'do you really think it is?' or 'I suppose you think it is?':

- 13.301 "*Garrang! Dimin-dimin ganmani-lidjge! Ganmani-djamun-lidjge.*"  
 Dj                      mum                      small.stripey.fish                      3/1ua-pinchNP                      3/1ua-privates-pinchNP  
*"Yiddok ngaye, dja ngudman nu:k, ngudman nu:k dimin-dimin*  
 Q                      I                      CONJ                      2EMPH                      DUB                      2EMPH                      DUB                      small.stripey.fish  
*ngunmani-djamun-djuime!" ba-yim-i na-rangem.*  
 3/2ua-privates-squeezeNP                      3P-say-PI                      I-boy  
 (Sisters:) "Mum! Those small stripey fish are pinching the two of us, pinching us on our private parts!"  
 (Brother:) "Do you really think it's me, I reckon you're doing it yourselves. It's your problem if (you think) those little fish are squeezing your private parts!" said the boy. (cf. another version of this in Text 6)

*Yiddok* can be used on its own, with the meaning 'really? is that right?':

Polar questions to which the speaker is expecting a negative answer can be asked by using the negative particle plus the irrealis, with a questioning intonation contour:

- 13.302 *Minj kum-ra-yinj?*  
 W NEG 3Phither-go-IRR  
 'Didn't he come?' [E&E 100]

The use of the clitic =*bukka* 'eh?' in inviting an answer to a statement for which the speaker lacks sufficient information was discussed in §13.8.2 above.

Kune has a clause final particle *bih?* that calls for confirmation, agreement or consent on the hearer's part; it is often used to soften imperatives (13.303) or make requests seem less pushy (13.280).

- 13.303 *Yi-kurrme bih!*  
 E 2-putIMP OK?  
 'Put it there, OK?'

Information questions are formed using an appropriate member of the ignorative pronoun set. Although these also allow indefinite and negative pronoun readings (thus *njale* can mean 'what', 'something' or, with a negative, 'nothing'), the fact that an information question is intended is signalled by placing the ignorative in clause-initial position and using interrogative intonation. See §7.2 for discussion and exemplification.

### 13.11 Particles

These are morphologically invariable words that express the speaker's attitude to the clause, evaluate its truthfulness, or suggest the range of situations to which it applies. They differ from interjections, to be discussed in the next section, in typically not constituting a complete utterance in themselves. However, the dividing line is not always clear, since certain words that are basically interjections sometimes occur alone but are also frequently integrated intonationally (e.g. *wanjh* and *bonj*, to be discussed in the interjections section), while other words that are basically particles and are normally integrated into the clause may be used on their own (e.g. *kare* 'maybe, perhaps').

#### 13.11.1 *yimannek* ~ *yimanek* ~ *yimarnek* 'counterfactual'

This counterfactual has a number of different forms, partly depending on the dialect. The first form is preferred in Gun-djeihmi; in this dialect the first syllable is sometimes dropped to give *man.gek*. In Kunwinjku both *yimannek* and *yimanek* are found, while in Kuninjku the preferred form is *yimarnek*. In Kune a further alternative form *yimanmakken*, apparently synonymous with *yimannek* etc., is also sometimes heard (see 13.293).

This particle is used to represent a descriptor nominal, or the state of affairs in a clause, as someone's belief. This belief is almost always false, but see 13.312 below for one example where it is justified. In each case it is left to an interaction of the context and the construction type to decide who is supposed to hold the belief; the most common alternatives are the subject of an immediately preceding clause of perception or judgment (13.305, 13.306), the subject of an immediately following verb in the irrealis (13.311, 13.312), or a hypothetical onlooker (13.308).

According to the exact construction in which it occurs, a range of distinct senses can be distinguished.<sup>13</sup>

- (a) When it precedes a nominal (13.304, 13.305) or perfective verb with a stative interpretation (e.g. *doweng* 'died, was dead' in 13.306 it reports a mistaken perception based on illusory resemblance:

13.304 *Yimarnek man-bedje la wayarra ka-bardrohkme.*

I CTRFAC III-spear.grass CONJ spirit 3-stand.like.spear.grassNP  
'It looked like spear grass but it really was a spirit standing up like spear grass.'  
[GID]

13.305 *Bindi-na-ng bedda la yimarnek kunj, wanjh bindi-yame-ng.*

I 3a/3pl-see-PP them and CTRFAC kangaroo then 3a/3pl-spear-PP  
'They saw them and thought they were kangaroos (failing to realise they were really dangerous snake beings), then speared them.'

13.306 *Karri-na-ng yimarnek ø-dowe-ng ba ngal-mak ø-ngehme-ng.*

I 12a-see-PP CTRFAC 3P-die-PP but FE-good 3P-breathe-PP  
'We saw her (the buffalo) and thought she was dead but she was still breathing OK.'

- (b) However, when the nominal is in a purpose role, as in 13.307, the 'supposedly' applies to the purpose, rather than the entity itself; in this example emu who has been deceived into thinking that she has to go off for fire, when in fact the other creatures merely want to get her out of the way so they can eat the kangaroo without sharing any with her.

13.307 *Bonj an-barrgid ba-wam, man.gek gunak*

Dj OK VE-other 3P-goPP CTRFAC fire  
'All right, she (emu) had gone off another way, supposedly to get fire.'

- (c) When placed before a verb, it can have one of three interpretations. Before a verb in the irrealis it most commonly means 'was about to V', 'nearly V'. In the first example below, the false belief is, as it were, attributed to a hypothetical onlooker (i.e. 'one would have expected that ...'); in the second, to the subject of the irrealis verb (i.e. her intentions about what she was going to say).

13.308 *Yimarnek bi-yame-ninj la ø-dedj-barlkarrhke-ng ø-mud-yarlarrme-ng*

I CTRFAC 3/3hP-spear-IRR CONJ 3/3P-butt-graze-PP 3/3P-feather-scatter-PP  
*wanjh ø-ngukdirrhme-ng ø-kuk-wurrhke-rr-inj!*  
then 3P-shit.oneself.in.fright-PP 3P-body-startle-RR-PP  
'He nearly speared him but grazed his backside, feathers went everywhere and he got such a fright that he shat himself!'

<sup>13</sup> Particles whose range corresponds closely to that described here are common in Australian languages; see Laughren (1982) on the Warlpiri particles *kulanganta* and *nganta*, Breen (1984) on particles in Yandruwandha and Pitta-Pitta that represent both semblative and counterfactual, and Evans (1995c:378-382) on the semantically similar Kayardild particle *maraka* (which, unlike *yimarnek*, can be used to outline a right course of action that was not followed).

- 13.309 *Dja Wurrakak kun-bid nuye bi-rrang-balhme-ng kore kun-dang*  
 W CONJ [name] IV-name 3masCOBL 3/3hP-mouth-block-PP LOC IV-mouth  
*ngalengngarre, yimanek ngaleng ø-yime-ninj kun-warre kore bene-yonginj.*  
 3femOBL CTRFAC 3fem 3P-say-IRR IV-bad LOC 3uaP-liePP  
 'But Wurrakak put his hand over her mouth, because she was about to say where  
 they had slept together.'

It can also mean 'tried (unsuccessfully) to' (13.310, also 9.83–9.85) or 'was supposed to, was planning to' (13.311, 13.312). Here the false belief is the subject's belief about the realisation of their intentions.

- 13.310 *Yimarnek nga-rrulubu-yi, la ø-bid-deyhme-ng, minj ø-dowkme-ninj.*  
 I CTRFAC 1/3-shoot-IRR CONJ 3P-finger-click-PP NEG 3P-go.bang-IRR  
 'I tried to shoot but the trigger just clicked without it (the gun) discharging.' [GID]
- 13.311 *Yimarnek wolewoleh nga-m-durnd-i la ngandi-marne-kuyenghme-ng.*  
 I CTRFAC yesterday 1-hither-return-PP CONJ 3a/1-BEN-make.stay-PP  
 'I was supposed to come back yesterday but they've made me stay for a long time.'
- 13.312 *Yimarnek kam-ra-yinj la Ngarridj bi-rrahme-ng.*  
 I CTRFAC 3hitherP-go-IRR CONJ [subsection] 3/3hP-block-PP  
 'She was going to come but Ngarridj wouldn't let her.'

Occasionally the particle is used after a verb in the perfective to describe situations that have almost reached their conclusion (13.313), though it more common to use the verbal prefix *guyin-/balanh-* for this (§11.4.4).

- 13.313 *Wanjh bene-rdehme-ng bene-djal-rdehme-ng bene-rdehme-ng*  
 I then 3uaP-chop-PP 3uaP-just-chop-PP 3uaP-chop-PP  
*bene-h-djal-yi-wam bene-yi-wam ngoko-kenh wanjh*  
 3uaP-IMM-just-COM-gOPP 3uaP-COM-gOPP already-GEN then  
*bene-karnhmeng yimarnek.*  
 3uaP-make.narrowPP CTRFAC  
 'Then they started to chop and chop and chop (to get themselves down).  
 They kept going, as fast as they could until they had nearly cut through.'

As mentioned above, there is one case in which the attributed belief is actually correct. A common leitmotif in stories concerning the Rainbow Serpent is the belief that it will not hear the noise of one slapping mosquitoes, as long as this is done loudly; but as soon as one does it softly, by squashing them or brushing them away, she will hear and attack. In the following passage *yimanek* precedes the statement 'Ngalyod wouldn't hear them if they slapped loudly', and has been translated by Andrew Manakgu as 'they reckoned', which captures the meaning perfectly, since it is more typically used in counterfactual contexts but is also compatible with true belief, as in this case:

- 13.314 *Birndu kum-mirnde-wam, wanjh bene-h-bu-ni wernkih ka-mak,*  
 W mosquito 3hitherP-many-gOPP then 3ua/3P-IMM-hit-PI hard 3-good  
*yimanek Ngalyod minj benbene-bekka-yinj bu wernkih bene-h-bu-ni.*  
 CTRFAC Rainbow NEG 3/3duP-hear-IRR SUB hard 3ua/3P-IMM-hit-PI



Wanjh yerre bene-h-yirrm-i nawu birndu wanjh  
 then after 3ua/3P-IMM-brush-PI MA:REL mosquito then

benmene-bekka-ng wanjh benmene-kuk-nguneng.  
 3/3duP-hear-PP then 3/3duP-body-eatPP

'Mosquitoes started to swarm around them, and they slapped at them hard, but that was OK, they reckoned Ngalyod couldn't hear them slapping hard. But when they started brushing them off gently, he heard them and ate the two of them.'

[KS 40]

### 13.11.2 djaying 'supposedly'

This particle is most common in Gun-dednjenghmi, but rarely heard in other dialects to its east, such as Kuninju. It is also a counterfactual, but is more restricted in its semantic range, only occurring in cases in which the mistaken person is not a participant of the clause in its scope, and not applying to cases of similarity, or of events that nearly happened. The person holding the mistaken belief is typically the speaker (13.315; see also 9.87) though it may also be the subject of a preceding utterance verb (13.316).

13.315 Djaying ba-m-ra-yinj.

Dj supposedly 3P-hither-go-IRR

'I thought he was going to come (but he didn't).'

13.316 Wanjh bu barri-yime-ni djaying 'O djang ø-gurrme-rr-inj',

Dnj OK REL 3aP-say-IRR supposedly oh dreaming 3P-put-RR-PP

gayakki djang-yak.

nothing dreaming-PRIV

'And though some might say, mistakenly, 'Oh, a dreaming put itself there', there's nothing, no dreaming.'

### 13.11.3 wardi/wardibu 'try, hopefully'

The form *wardibu* is found in Gun-djeihmi, while *wardi* is found in the other dialects, and is clearly related to the *wardi* ~ *warde* found in 'lest' constructions (§9.3.2). It is always clause initial.

This particle has two meanings. It can be used to preface suggestions (something like 'what about ...?' or 'could you try ...?'):

13.317 Wardi man-me ngurri-munkewe-men nakka bininj kukadjeh?

E:D try III-food 2a-send-IMP MA:DEM person abundant

'Could you try and send food for all the people?'

13.318 Ah! Wardi kun-mim yi-ma-ng wardi mulawarre ka-madjyikolda-n.

I oh try IV-eye 2/3-get-NP might aunty 3-have.nothing-NP

'Oh! Well could you get the eyes too, otherwise aunty will go empty handed.'

- 13.319 *Wardi yim-ra-y yi-na-n*  
 I try 2-hither-go-IMP 2/3-see-IMP  
 'Just come over here and have a look.'

Alternatively, it can express the speaker's hope for a successful attempt, something like 'hopefully' or 'we'll try', as in 13.320 (see also 7.91).

- 13.320 *Nicholas ngaye Benny Lee, Helen Lee, arri-m-wam wakkidj, djenj*  
 Dj me 1a-hither-goPP fishing fish  
*ngarri-m-wam wardibu ngarri-ma-ng, djama arri-bangme-ma-yi,*  
 1a-hither-goPP try 1a/3-get-NP not 1a/3-not.yet-get-IRR  
*gayakki,*  
 nothing  
 'Nicholas, me, Benny Lee and Helen Lee have come here fishing, have come for fish. To try and catch something, but so far we haven't got anything.'

#### 13.11.4 barna 'look's like it's time'

This particle, restricted to the Mayali dialects, signals that the time has come to get on with some hard task.

- 13.321 *Arri-bed-yauh-dadjge-yi, ngarri-godj-djuhm-i ngarri-yo-i. Ngarri-dukkani*  
 Dnj 1a-now-again-cut-PI 1a-head-bathe-PI 1a-lie-PI 1a-tie-PI  
*warre ngarri-dukkani andu barna arri-re-i.*  
 poor.feller 1a-tie-PI then looks.like.time 1a-go-PI  
 'Now we'd cut some more, then we'd wet our heads and have a rest. We'd tie them up in bundles, poor us (working so hard), we'd tie them up, then: "looks like it's time to go".'
- 13.322 *Barna, ga-wurlu-wurlhme.*  
 Dj looks.like.time 3-EXT-burnNP  
 'Oh well, looks like it's burning off time.'

#### 13.11.5 kab 'what about?'

This particle is confined to Kunwinjku, and introduces a suggestion, either about a fact being true (e.g. what about X?) or, with an imperative, about a course of action:

- 13.323 *Kab yi-ra-y?*  
 W what.about 2-go-IMP  
 'What if you go?'/ 'Why don't you go?' [E&E 91]

#### 13.11.6 burrbarna 'for sure'

This particle is confined to Gun-djeihmi. It expresses the speaker's conviction in what he says; it variously translates as 'for sure, clearly, obviously'.

- 13.324 *Ngarri-durnde-ng, na-behne burrbarna an-djeuk ngaye nga-burru-n*  
 Dj 1a-return-NP MA-that for.sure III-rain I 1-know-NP  
*a-m-gayeh-burru-n ga-m-lobme. Galuk gamak gare ngarri-ni*  
 1-hither-?-know-NP 3NP-hither-runNP then good maybe 1a-sitNP  
*gu-rurk rouk.*  
 LOC-shelter all  
 'We'll go back, cause I know for sure that rain is going to come up. Then it  
 might be good for us all to sit inside under cover.'

### 13.11.7 warre! djohboi! 'poor feller!'

These two particles normally occur clause finally, and signal pity or affection for some entity involved in or likely to be affected by the action:

- 13.325 *Na-bene maih a-na-ng ga-m-golu-rr-en gaddum-be djohboi.*  
 Dj MA-that bird 1/3-see-PP 3-hither-descend-RR-NP up-ABL poor.feller  
 'I've seen those birds coming down (to the waterhole) from higher up, dear  
 little things.'
- 13.326 *Gukku barri-bó-djare Nángarridj bayun yiban-gelehme, bayun*  
 Dj water 3aP-liquid-wantNP [skin] don't 2/3pl-scareNP don't  
*yi-bangme-yarl-waroume warre!*  
 2-not.yet-line-jerkNP poor.feller  
 'They're wanting water. Hey, Nángarridj, don't scare (those birds), don't jerk  
 your line yet, poor little things!'

The object of pity may be oneself (poor me, poor us), as in 13.321.

### 13.11.8 kare and kunubewu 'maybe'

Uncertainty is expressed by the particles *kunubewu* (mostly in W) and *kare* (in other dialects, though also possible in W). *Kare* may be a frozen form of the third person non-past verb *kare* 'he/she/it goes'. It is sometimes pronounced with a final glottal stop: *kareh*.

These particles are used to express uncertainty about details (13.327), or the likelihood of an event (13.328), but also in describing a particularised but typical hypothetical situation (13.329).

- 13.327 *Bu ngarri-berredjalkma-ng ngarri-yime kare na-kudji*  
 I SUB 1a-get.food.stuck-NP 1a-sayNP maybe MA-one  
*ø-bolkyakm-inj wanjh ngulam karri-bengyirri.*  
 3P-bad.luck.happen.somewhere-PP then tomorrow 12a-hearNP  
 'If we get food stuck when eating we say that someone has maybe had an  
 accident and the next day we'll hear the news.' [GID]
- 13.328 *Kunubewu Ngalyod ka-m-re ka-ka-n na-wu kuluban*  
 W maybe Rainbow 3-hither-goNP 3/3-take-NP MA-REL flying.fox

*minj ka-rrurndi-we.*

NEG 3/3-return-causeNP

'Maybe Ngalyod will come and take the flying fox away, and never return them.' [KS 46]

13.329 *Gorogo na-djik bininj-ni. Gare ba-bebm-i, aa*

Dj long.ago I-tawny.frogmouth person-PI maybe 3P-appear-PI

*gunj barri-wo-ni, gun-diu ...*

kangaroo 3a/3P-give-PI IV-liver

'Long ago Na-djik the tawny frogmouth was a person. He might turn up (at someone's camp). They would give him some kangaroo meat, liver ...'

Semantically these forms belong in the same category as the various preverbal modal particles discussed in §9.3. However, they can also occur postverbally as in 13.330, clause finally as with *gunubewu* in 13.332, or alone, as one says just *kare* to mean 'maybe; I don't know'. These are not positional possibilities for the preverbal modal particles.

13.330 *Na-buybuyika yi-bengka ø-bimbom kareh nawu na-yuhyungki.*

I MA-REDUP-different 2-know 3P-paintPP maybe MA-REL I-old.people

'Maybe they painted different things, the old people.' [GID]

### 13.11.9 *yarrkka* 'anything, etc.'

This particle, used most commonly in the Mayali dialects, is usually translated into Kriol as *enijng* (< English 'anything'), but has a much wider range of meaning than standard English 'anything' would imply; often a better translation is 'et cetera' or 'and so on'. It basically suggests that the proposition would still be applicable under any range of conditions that the cultural context would allow.

13.331 *Gure man-garre ngadberre mulil, yiman gayime gu-bu namarnde*

Dj, W LOC III-ceremony 1aOBL feast ... for.example... LOC-SUB corpse

*ga-rrowe-n, or yiman gayime bininj ngarri-djuhme yarrkka.*

3-die-NP ...for.example... person 1a-bogeyNP anything

'At our ceremonies we have a feast, for example when someone dies, for example when we Aboriginal people have a bogey ceremony, and so on.'

13.332 *Ngarri-m-yauh-re ngahdjarre, gare djäl ngarri-yauh-re*

Dj 1a-hither-again-goNP this.way maybe just 1a-again-goNP

*gu-bolk-buyiga dja yarrkga bu Sunday, week off nuye, an-buyiga*  
LOC-place-other and anything when his VE-other

*djandi gunubewu.*

Sunday maybe

'We'll come here this way again, maybe we'll just go to another place again. And whenever it's Sunday, on his week off, maybe some other Sunday.'

13.11.10 *mungu* 'accidentally'

This is clearly related to the nominal predicate root *-mungu* 'uninvolved, not responsible' (see §13.9.7), which unlike the particle is always prefixed for gender. It is used in Gun-djeihmi to mean 'by accident, without intending to':

- 13.333 A-*warrgah-wo-ng mungu*.  
 Dj 1/3-wrong-give-PP by.accident  
 'I gave it to the wrong person by accident.'

13.11.11 *nuk* 'DUBitative'

This marks doubt, uncertainty or scepticism. The vowel is usually long; this is characteristic of monosyllables (see §2.1.2). In the western dialects it is often also used as a one-word utterance, something like English 'I dunno', to express either lack of certainty or reluctance to participate, but Kune speakers say they do not use it in this way, instead saying *kareh, ngawarkwan* 'maybe, I don't know'.

In clauses it usually follows the word about which the most doubt is being expressed:

- 13.334 "O" *ø-yime-ng "konda nu:k nga-na-ng modjarrkki ka-bolh-yo"*.  
 E:D oh 3P-say-PP here DUB 1/3-see-PP freshwater.crocoile 3-track-lieNP  
 "'Oh" he said, "I must be looking at freshwater crocodile tracks".'
- 13.335 *Arri-yerrga-ni arri-yo-i gare malaiwi ngalengman nuk,*  
 Dnj 1a-sit-PI 1a-sleep-PI maybe tomorrow herEMPH perhaps  
*Na-Yulhman-gen ngarri-yerrga-ni.*  
 I-[clan]-GEN 1a-sit-PI  
 'We'd sit down there and camp the night, then maybe the next day we'd sit down at her (country) maybe, we'd sit down in Na-Yulhman clan country.'
- 13.336 A: *Galuk na-mak?* B: *Na-mak nu:k, nah ngarri-ngu-n.*  
 MM then MA-good MA-good DUB MA:DEM 1a-eat-NP  
 'Then it's a good one?' 'I suppose you could say it's good; we eat it.'
- 13.337 *Gunubewu ngal-buyiga daluk nga-ma-ng nu:k.*  
 Dj maybe FE-other wife 1/3-get-NP DUB  
 'Maybe I'll get another wife, who knows?'
- The doubt expressed is often feigned or rhetorical. It is often used in suggestions or accusations (often joking) not likely to be taken seriously (13.338), or likely to meet with disagreement (13.301), roughly like English 'I reckon it's ...'.
- 13.338 *Ngudda wanjh kan-marne-ngaduhge-ng. Ngaye nuk nga-mungu.*  
 W you then 2/1-BEN-fire.up-PP I DUB 1-not.responsible  
 'You're the one who got me fired up (to have an affair with you). I reckon I wasn't the one who started it.' [KH 67]

13.11.12 *yiga(h)* 'some'

This particle partitions the space of possibilities over which the proposition or some part of it may apply; according to the constructional context it may have a range of English translations: 'sometimes, or, some (of them), maybe'.

It may, for example, have scope over a subset of entities (13.339, 13.340), in which case 'some of them' is the best translation:

13.339 *Ba-wilkde-ngi, yiga barri-warlkga-rr-inj.*

Dj 3P-put.on.fire-PI some 3aP-hide-RR-PP

'While he was putting it on the fire to cook, some of the others hid themselves away.'

13.340 *Gorogo bininj barri-worm-i barri-m-re-i, na-meg-be*

Dj before person 3aP-swim-PI 3aP-hither-go-PI MA-that-ABL

*Pine Creek-be yiga, Gunbarlanja-be yiga barri-m-re-i, still*  
Creek-ABL some Oenpelli-ABL some 3aP-hither-go-PI

*barri-warm-i barri-djuhm-i bularl*

3aP-swim-PI 3aP-bogy-PI bark.raft

'In the old days people used to come swimming across, some of them from there at Pine Creek, some from Oenpelli used to come, they'd still swim across, using a stringybark raft.'

But it can also mean 'on some occasions', 'sometimes', as in the next three examples. Stringing a series of *yigah* together like this is a common equivalent of English 'or':

13.341 *Ngarri-bebm-i, bakki-yak-ga barri-yiga-ni or bakki barri-dowe-rr-inj,*  
Dj 1a-appear-PI tobacco-PRIV-OBL 3aP-fetch-PI or tobacco 3aP-die-RR-PP

*yiga money, ga-yime-n an-me, gu-mege gorogo ngandi-ga-ni ...*  
some 3-do-NP III-food LOC-there before 3a/1-take-PI

'We'd turn up there, cause we had no tobacco, they'd go to fetch some or else sometimes they'd be starving for tobacco. Or sometimes money, or sometimes food. There, in the olden days, they used to carry me ...'

13.342 *Na-mekke nadjinem man-me ka-ngun man-badbirri, yika*  
I MA-DEM I-black.rock.kangaroo III-food 3/3-eatNP III-fruit.sp some

*ka-kolu-ng ku-wardde ka-kolu-ng man-buyh-buyika ka-ngu-n.*  
3-descend-NP LOC-rock 3-descend-NP VE-REDUP-other 3/3-eat-NP

'That black rock kangaroo eats Melodorum fruit, sometimes it comes down from the rocks and eats other kinds of food.'

It can also be used to give a single instance in illustration, as in the following example, where the Mayali word for the freshwater crocodile (in contrast to the word in other dialects and languages) is being given:

13.343 *But na-behne ngad now na-djeihmi, yiga Mayali,*

Dj MA-this we I-djeihmi some [language]

*ngarringeibu-n modjarrgi*

1a-call-NP

'But we Na-djeihmi here, to take Mayali as an example, we call it *modjarrgi*.'

And it may indicate that an evaluation is being made from one of several perspectives:

- 13.344 *Ngan-ege gurrambalk, yiga gun-rurrk an-mak, djalbonj an-ege*  
Dj VE-that house some IV-shelter VE-good enough VE-that

*a-yolyolme-ng.*

1-tell-PP

'That house, in some respects it's a good shelter. Enough, that's what I've talked about.'

Sometimes this particle is reduplicated, to stress distributivity:

- 13.345 *Wanjh gabarri-bo-delengga-n gure gured bedberre,*  
Dj then 3a-liquid-carry.in.container-NP LOC LOC-place 3aOBL

*wanjh gabandi-bo-wo-n yigahyiga na-wu gabarri-ni.*

then 3a/3pl-liquid-give-NP some.each MA-REL 3a-sitNP

'Then they'll take water back to their nests, and share out the water among the other lot of birds who had stayed behind.'

### 13.12 Interjections

Bininj Gun-wok has a rich and frequently-used set of interjections.<sup>14</sup> These play such a central role in the organisation of conversation that it is possible to carry out certain sorts of conversation with little resort to the morphologically complex verbs so typical of its grammar. A sample conversation in Gun-djeihmi, developed by Eddie Hardy and myself for pedagogical purposes, but not unrepresentative of normal conversation, is given below. Interjections are in bold; the glosses used in this example are a little fuller than will generally be given.

- 13.346 A: **Boi!**

Hey.come.here!

(Old woman to youth:) 'Hey, come here!' (Old woman holds up baby.)

- B: **Njonj-njonj!**

**Njudj!**

**Njonj-njonj!**

What.a.little.sweetheart!

Blow.your.nose!

What.a.little.sweetheart!

'Isn't she a little sweetheart!

Blow your nose!

Isn't she cute!'

- B: *Gakkak, bakki gan-wo-ø!*

granny tobacco 2/1-give-IMP

'Granny, give me a smoke!'

- A: *Nja! Gun-warde gan-wo-ø ngayeman=wali!*

here.you.are IV-money 2/1-give-IMP 1EMPH=in.turn

'Here you are. And you give *me* some money!'

<sup>14</sup> See Evans (1992b) for a more detailed discussion of some of these.

- B: *Gayakki!* (pause) *Bonj! Mah!* *Garri-re!*  
 have.nothing enough let.it.happen.now 12a-goNP  
 'I've got nothing.' 'OK then. Come on, let's go!'
- A: *Med! A-madj-ma-ng werrk.* (pause) *Ma!*  
 wait 1/3-swap-get-NP first OK to.act.now  
 'Wait on! I'll get my stuff first.' 'OK (I'm ready so) we can go now.'
- B: *Wanjh, bonj, garri-re. Bobo!*  
 well enough 12pl-goNP goodbye  
 'Well, that's it, let's go! (To others remaining behind) See ya!'
- A: *Bobo.*  
 goodbye  
 (Also going) 'See ya!'

Interjections can be usefully grouped into the following functional categories:

- Response interjections like *wou* 'yes', *woibukki* 'true', *gayakki* 'no'.
- Exclamations (or 'emotive interjections') that express the speaker's current emotions or sensations, such as *warddau* 'ouch' and *waaaau!* 'aargh!'.
- 'Cognitive' interjections express changes in the speaker's state of knowledge; an example is *gek!* 'I say', 'I have just found out something interesting'.
- 'Conative' interjections that are aimed at getting an addressee's attention, or demanding an action or response from the addressee. Examples of these are *bauh!* 'shh!', *njudj* 'blow your nose!' and *tja!* 'git! (to a dog or pig)'.
- Conversational organisers like *bonj* 'finished, righto, well, so', *wanjh* 'now, then, next, all right' which serve to organise the overall move structure of a discourse, but also of basically non-verbal interaction.

Below I first give a complete listing and approximate translation of interjections in each of the above groups. Then I discuss in more detail the class of 'conversational organisers', which is the richest set semantically and functionally.

### 13.12.1 Response interjections

Throughout this section dialect affiliations of particular interjections are shown in square brackets where appropriate; no note on dialect means it is found throughout the dialect chain.

<i>wou</i> [Dj, MM]	yes (in reply to polar question) <sup>15</sup>
<i>yo</i> [W, I]	yes (in reply to polar question) <sup>16</sup>
<i>gayakki</i> [Dj, I, E]	no, nothing
<i>burrkyak</i> [W]	no, nothing
<i>kurruh</i> [E]	no, nothing
<i>larrh</i>	nothing; there was nothing; it didn't work out

<sup>15</sup> Compare Rembarrnga *woh* 'yes (reply to question or suggestion)'.

<sup>16</sup> Compare Ngalakan *yo* 'yes'.



<i>adjuh</i>	1. who knows; maybe; search me; let me think about it 2. (in I) said after a joke which provides mild embarrassment to the hearer
<i>arda</i> [I]	OK
<i>ngoi</i> [Dj, MM, W, E]	OK (acquiescing to a request)
<i>badbu</i> [I]	yes, it might be
<i>a</i>	what was that?, what did you say?
<i>gen!</i>	1. oops! I mean ... (introduces self-correction when speaking) 2. get along with you! piss off! (in response to joke or outrageous statement) <sup>17</sup>
<i>karrimen</i> [I]	just joking!

Examples illustrating some of these interjections are:

13.347 A:	<i>Mah, yi-wayini!</i>	B:	<i>Ngoi, galuk nga-wayini.</i>
Dj	it's.time 2-singIMP 'Come on, sing!'	OK FUT 1-singNP	'OK I'll sing.'
13.348	<i>Bini-ka-ng kenh bi-ka-ng ku-mekke yungkih ...</i>		
E:D	3ua/3P-take-PP oops 3/3hP-take-PP LOC-DEM ahead 'They took him, oops, I mean he took him on ahead there ...'		
13.349 A:	<i>Dja baleh ngarr-e?</i>	B:	<i>Adju.</i>
W	CONJ where 12-goNP 'Where will we go?'	I.don't.know 'I don't know.'	
A:	<i>Yiddok koyek ngarr-djal-e.</i>	B:	<i>Ngoy. Mah! Mah!</i>
Q	east 12-just-goNP all right 'Shall we head east?'	it's.time it's.time 'OK. Let's go then.'	

Two groups of interjections presuppose specific features of the social setting, and their use merits further discussion:

<i>nadjalaminj</i>	bless you (to a member of the Badmardi clan who has just sneezed)
<i>nabamgarrk</i>	bless you (to a member of the Mirarr clan who has just sneezed)
<i>balmarded</i>	} sorry for the swearing! (different forms are used when different relatives are insulted, see below)
<i>go</i>	
<i>gabarani</i>	
<i>kurdi</i> [I]	

The first set, exemplified by the first two forms above, comprises so-called *yigurrumu* words, which should be uttered when a companion sneezes. Unlike such English interjections as 'Gesundheit' or 'bless you', which are basically insensitive to social setting, the Bininj Gunwok equivalents encode specific assumptions about the identity of the interlocutor — in particular, his or her clan membership. Every speaker belongs to a patrilineal clan (§1.4). In addition to specific clan names, such as *Badmardi* or *Djok*, each clan has a special word

<sup>17</sup> Compare Rembarrnga *ken* 'woops' (mostly recorded in cases of slips in speaking, whether concerning fact, grammatical form or inadvertent language mix), Ngalkakan *gen* 'oops! (as when one has mis-spoken)'.

known as a *yigurrumu*.<sup>18</sup> For example, the *yigurrumu* of the *Badmardi* clan is *nadjalaminj*, and that of the *Mirarr* clan is *nabamgarrk*. Traditionally, *yigurrumu* had a range of functions, including their use as ritual invocations and to ward off danger. Today, however, their main use (at least in the Kakadu area) is as a response to sneezing. Chaloupka (1993:73) writes that the appropriate name 'is still used by the old people when somebody sneezes, so that the person's spirit, if ejected by the sneeze, would know where to return'.

A second group of interjections with highly specific social deixis are a set of words that are appropriate as a response of sympathy or apology after someone has been sworn at. Swearing in a joking way is a somewhat ritualised activity with clear norms about who can swear at what kin (see Garde 1996 for a detailed discussion), and the use of these interjections falls within the scope of norms about swearing.

A brief but typical Gun-djeihmi exchange exemplifying the use of one of these interjections, *balmarded*, was staged for me by a single informant, but is quite typical of what actually occurs:

- 13.350 A: *Yi-balk-beng!*                      *Yi-nguk-gord-beng!*                      *Yi-bid-dedj-djo-rr-en!*  
 Dj        2-orifice-mind                      2-guts-shit-mind                      2-hand-crotch-fuck-RR-NP  
           'You orifice-maniac!    You shit-brain!                      You wanker!'
- B: *Balmarded!*  
      sorry.for.my.sibling  
      'Don't get upset, brother!'

Note that *balmarded* may be used either by a third person, in which case the interjection offers sympathy (paraphrasable something like 'I'm sorry to hear you sworn at like that, brother'), or by the initial swearer himself, in which case it is used to apologise for one's own behaviour (much as the statement 'just a joke— don't be offended' might be used in English).

The choice of 'sorry for the swearing' interjection depends on the kinship relation of the sympathiser to the insultee. If, as in 13.350, the insultee is the speaker's brother or sister, the interjection *balmarded* is used. If the insultee is the speaker's wife (actual or classificatory), father, mother, uncle (*ngadjadj*), cross-cousin (*ganjok*) or mother's father (*mamamh*), the interjection *go* is employed. And if the insultee is the child, nephew/niece, son-in-law, mother-in-law, or parallel grandparent (*gagak* or *mawah*) of the speaker, the interjection *gabarani* is used. These are the Gun-djeihmi norms, and there is some difference across dialects; Garde (1995:110–116) has a detailed discussion of the norms in the Kuninjku dialect.

### 13.12.2 Emotive and cognitive interjections

The most important are:

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| <i>wau</i>              | ow!  |
| <i>bulkkidj</i> (I)     | oh shit! (said after fumbling or dropping something)         |
| <i>warddaw ~ wardaw</i> | yow! oh I'm tired! oh my goodness!                           |
| <i>njonj-njonj</i>      | how sweet! how lovely! (normally used in response to a baby, |

<sup>18</sup> This word is probably related to the Iwaidja word *yuwurrumu* (via lenition of *g* > *w* and vowel assimilation in Iwaidja), which simply means '(patrilineal) clan' in Iwaidja and related languages.

(also Dj <i>onj-njonj</i> in)	but can also be used in other situations, e.g. marvelling at a floodplain full of magpie geese)
<i>karddjinga!</i> (E, I)	oh God! oh no! (said after witnessing something amazing)
<i>gek!</i>	I say! (in response to perceiving situation) Fair dinkum! Really! (as interested response to someone else's statement)
<i>yeng!</i> (I)	oh, it's nothing (not what I thought)!

An example:

13.351	<i>Gek, ga-bukmen!</i>
Dj	I say 3-dry.becomeNP 'I say, it's getting dry!'

### 13.12.3 Conative interjections

The most important of these are:

<i>ay!</i>	hey! (in hailing someone)
<i>oi!</i> (Dj)	hey! (in hailing someone)
<i>boi!</i> (Dj)	hey, come here! <sup>19</sup>
<i>bordoh!</i> (E)	go on! (encourages someone to do something)
<i>woi!</i>	come here! <sup>20</sup>
<i>ngai!</i>	hey! (exhortation to activity) <sup>21</sup>
<i>nja!</i>	here you are! (on giving someone something)
<i>kah!</i> (I)	ta! (acknowledgment of retreat)
<i>mah!</i>	come on, time (for someone) to act! get to it! (can be used to get someone else to do something, but also to serve notice of one's own intention to begin)
<i>med</i> (Dj, W, I)	hang on, wait a bit, I'm not ready yet. (in response to a request)
<i>manj</i> (E, MM)	hang on, wait a bit, I'm not ready yet. (in response to a request)
<i>bebba</i>	it'll be a while yet (in response to a request, or an enquiry about whether something is ready)
<i>ma</i> <sup>22</sup>	OK, go ahead now (after a delay, gives permission for something to happen) <sup>23</sup>
<i>njudj!</i>	blow your nose!
<i>bauh!</i>	shh! shut up!

<sup>19</sup> Compare Rembarrnga *boy* 'hey' (attract attention)

<sup>20</sup> Compare Rembarrnga *woy* 'here', 'this way', 'come here', 'pass it here' (handsign for beckoning).

<sup>21</sup> Compare Rembarrnga *ngayh* 'hey listen' (request consideration of a point of view with a view to action)

<sup>22</sup> The orthography causes some confusion here. Orthographic *mah*, phonetically [ma?], which is used to spur on action, is distinct from orthographic *ma*, with a distinctive aspiration after the vowel [mah], which is used to signal that permission to go ahead is now being given.

<sup>23</sup> Compare Rembarrnga *ma* 'OK' (when acceding to a request or agreeing to a suggested course of action).

*tja!* git! (to a dog or pig). (Note that the stop in this interjection is always voiceless, the only example of an obligatorily voiceless stop in the language.)

Some examples:

13.352 *Mah,* *yi-yarl-durkma-ø!*  
Dj time.to.do.something 2/3-line-pull-IMP  
'Come on, it's time to pull your line in!'

13.353 *Manj ngarr-marne-walkka-rr-en!*  
ED wait 12/3-BEN-hide-RR-NP  
'Wait let's hide ourselves from him!'

Note that the form *med* is occasionally integrated into a phonological phrase and used more like a conjunction meaning 'later on when':

13.354 *ø-Karrme kakkak ø-karrme kaluk ø-dadjdje med yi-djordme-n*  
I 1/2-grabNP grandson 1/2-grabNP FUT 1/2-cutNP wait 2-grow.up-NP  
*ø-dadjdje.*  
1/2-cutNP  
'I'll grab hold of you grandson, I'll grab you and when you've grown up  
I'll circumcise you.' [Garde 1995:140]

#### 13.12.4 Conversational organisers *bonj* and *wanjh*

These structure the overall move sequence or narrative structure of a discourse. The two most important conversational organisers are *bonj*, which signals the completion of one topic or organisational unit, and *wanjh*, which shows a new direction for the conversation and can also begin a new turn or a whole conversation. More abstractly, *bonj* means 'now, as the end of something'<sup>24</sup> and *wanjh* 'now, as the beginning of something'; 'now' can be relativised to 'then' in both cases. Each can work at a number of levels, signalling episodes within a story or turn, turns in a conversation, or boundaries to a whole activity, conversation or narrative.

An example of *bonj* signalling the completion of an episode within a single story is the following, excerpted from Text 1.19–23; for simplicity of exposition only the translations of the surrounding text are given here, but see Appendix 1 for the full version. The occurrence of *bonj* in line d. marks the completion of the pus-spattering episode, and is followed by a new episode in which Cuckoo-shrike, his sore now properly lanced, is able to walk.

- 13.355 a. (Pigeon) dug in (Cuckoo-shrike's) sore, and he burst the pus out.  
Dj b. All that pus rushed out.  
c. Blood and pus spattered him all over, the red-eyed pigeon (hence his red eye-marks today).'  
d. *Bonj.* ('All right.')

<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, in the respect register the form *kun-bonj* (i.e. with the Class IV prefix) is used to express *korroko* 'before'.

- e. (Cuckoo-shrike) got up, tested his foot on the ground, put his weight on it, it was all right.
- f. He got a bamboo spear shaft.

An example of *bonj* signalling the end of a conversation, drawn from the same telling of the Emu myth (lines 56–64), is the following. The various mythical characters, who are about to assume their eventual forms as birds, are asking each other what species they will turn into. The end of the conversation is signalled in line h. by a turn beginning with *bonj*, followed by an explicit suggestion that they each now go their own way:

- 13.356 a. While the others were sitting in the tree, (they asked):  
 Dj b. 'What are you going to turn into?'  
 c. She (emu) tried to talk, but it was no good.  
 d. She tried (to speak) but it was no good, it was something else (than language).  
 e. She just kept saying for a long time: '*gurlulk, gurlulk*' she went.  
 f. 'That's how you turned out' (they said).  
 g. 'How am I going to turn out? I'll turn into an emu.'  
 h. '*Bonj*, (that's it then), we'll each go our own separate way.'  
 i. And they all got up.

*Bonj* may also signal a speaker's renunciation of some activity. In 13.357, for example, the malevolent *Daddubbe* spirit supplements an announcement that he has stopped killing people with *bonj* between two clauses:

- 13.357 a. 'Ngaye *Daddubbe*, *nga-bom bininj nga-yakwo-ng*,  
 Dj I [name] 1/3-killPP person 1/3-finish-PP  
 'I, *Daddubbe*, have finished killing people,  
 b. *bonj*,  
 finished  
 'enough,  
 c. *nga-bunbom bolkgime*.  
 1-stopPP now  
 'I've stopped now.'

It is also typical to signal the end of a narrative with *bonj* or its derivative *djalbonj* (*djal-* means 'only, just' so *djalbonj* means 'that's all, there's nothing else'). For example, the narrative just given ends in the following way:

- 13.358 *Minj djama barri-yawoih-na-yi gayakki, gu-djal-mege ba-bunbom*,  
 Dj NEG not ya/3P-again-see-IRR nothing LOC-just-there 3P-stopPP  
*an-ege gun-wok, bonj*.  
 VE-that IV-word finished  
 'And no-one ever saw (*Daddubbe*) again, he stopped (bothering people) then and there, that's the story, that's all.'

A more specialised use of *bonj* is in concessive constructions, where 'although X, Y' is expressed by 'X *bonj* Y'. This can be understood as 'X is the case — but enough, its effects go no further — Y'.

- 13.359 *ø-Dowe-ng ø-ni bonj bi-djal-kadju-y.*  
 I 3P-be.sick-PP 3P-sitPI finished 3/3hP-just-follow-PP  
 'Although he was sick he still just followed her around.'

- 13.360 *Nga-karrme-ninj bonj nga-djal-yakwo-n.*  
 I 1/3-keep-IRR finished 1/3-just-finish-NP  
 'Although I should keep it, I'll just use it all up anyway.'

The uses of *bonj* discussed so far have involved discourse organisation. But it can also be used to organise activity more generally. It is frequently uttered to show when a speaker judges an activity is complete, whether the activity is carried out by the speaker or someone else. For example, one could say it to indicate that one has finished a task (say, packing one's swag) or activity (e.g. watching a video) and is ready to move on to another, or one could use it to regulate someone else's activity, e.g. to signal that one has been given enough of something.

The interjection *bonj*, then, is used in an extremely general way to signal the end of a unit of narrative, conversation, or of non-verbal activity. It can operate at a number of levels; within a story, for example, it can mark the end of short episodes, or of the whole narrative, and within a larger non-verbal interaction (e.g. helping someone change a tyre) it may signal the completion of either a sub-event (e.g. tightening a bolt) or of the whole event (changing the tyre).

*Wanjh* is likewise used in an extremely general and flexible way, but to signal the beginning of new units rather than their end. It is used in all dialects except Kune, where the clitic *=bonh* is used instead (§13.8.4), but only Gun-djeihmi examples will be used for illustration in this section.

Basically *wanjh* can be translated as 'right then (right now), something new starts'. *Wanjh* varies considerably in its degree of syntactic integration: it often occurs as an isolated word, but it also occurs in various positions within the clause, including preverbal (13.361), postverbal (Text 1.53) and postnominal (14.170). Two constructions in which it is more tightly integrated syntactically, and which are discussed separately, are temporal sequence clauses (§14.4.2) and the apodosis of conditionals (§14.4.4).

In narratives it frequently signals the beginning of a new episode; in giving the same narrative in English, bilingual speakers use 'all right'.

- 13.361 *Na-djik ba-m-bebme-ng gu-mege.*  
 Dj I-tawny.frogmouth 3P-hither-appear-PP LOC-there

*Wanjh bi-berdme-ninj, barri-yame-ng, barri-burnname-ng.*  
 then 3/3P-cover-IRR 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-stop-PP  
 'Na-djik turned up there. **Just then** as he was about to cover him  
 (with the bark), they speared him and stopped him doing it.'

In such cases *wanjh* signals the beginning of a short new action rather than a larger-scale paragraph. An example of it signalling the latter is 13.362, where the narrator, after an excursus on what crocodiles are called in an impressive variety of neighbouring languages (of which the last two lines are included here), gets back to talking about what the crocodile actually does. In such circumstances the best translation is 'well'.

- 13.362 *Yiman ga-yime Rembarrnga, yiman ga-yime Dangbon, or Ngalkbon,*  
 Dj like 3-doNP [language] like 3-doNP [language] [language]

*But na-behne ngad now Na-djeihmi, yiga Mayali, ngarri-ngeibu-n*  
 MA-this we I-djeihmi some [language] 1a/3-call-NP

*modjarrgi, bedda gun-djawonj gabarri-ngeibu-n*  
 freshwater.crocodile they IV-Jawoyn 3a/3-call-NP

*goymarr, bu ngarri-ngeibu-n. Wanjh ginga*  
 freshwater.crocodile REL 1a/3-call-NP then crocodile

*nga-yolyolme, but ga-rohrouk. Bu ga-yime ginga ga-bolkbun,*  
 1-tellNP 3-alike REL 3-doNP crocodile 3-buildNP

'Like for example the Rembarnga, like the Dangbon or Ngalkbon. But we Na-djeihmi here, or Mayali, we call it *modjarrgi*, they Jawoyn call it *goymarr*, and we too can call it that way. **Well now** I'll explain about the estuarine crocodile, but (the freshwater croc) is just the same. That which the crocodile does, when he builds a tunnel ...'

In other cases it is better translated as 'at that very moment'; it signals the beginning of a new action as coinciding temporally with a previously stated action:

- 13.363 *Bonj, maih ba-yimerra-nj, wanjh ba-berl-da-nginj.*  
 Dj finished bird 3P-turn.into-PP then 3P-wing-stand-PP  
 'And so he turned into a bird, at that moment he sprouted wings.'
- 13.364 *Galuk ga-guk-nudme-n, wanjh gu-mege ga-ngu-n.*  
 Dj later 3-body-rot-NP then LOC-that 3-eat-NP  
 'And when later the body rots, that's when he eats it.'
- 13.365 *Ga-bal-ngokda-n ga-rrung-yibme ganjdji, wanjh, ga-golu-ng,*  
 Dj 3-away-night.fall-NP 3-sun-setNP down then 3-descend-NP
- gare djenj ga-bu-n, ga-ngu-n,*  
 maybe fish 3/3-kill-NP 3/3-eat-NP  
 'When night falls and the sun sets down, that's when he goes down and maybe kills a fish, and eats it.'
- 13.366 *Gunak ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-yerrng-yiga-ni. Bedman wanjh*  
 Dj fire 3P-wood-go.for-PI 3P-wood-go.for-PI themselves then
- barri-yerrng-me-i.*  
 3aP-wood-get-PP  
 'She was going around and around for firewood. But just then they themselves got the firewood.'

*Wanjh* can also be used to signal the initiation of a new interactional phase, for example as an accompaniment to the departure of speaker or hearer. In this case it normally follows the verb (e.g. Dj *are wanjh* [I-go then] something like 'I'll be going then.'). At the end of narratives it is also sometimes combined with *bonj* in the expression *wanjh bonj*, whose effect is roughly 'well, that's it!' or 'that's the end, then'.

Cognates of both *bonj* and *wanjh* also occur in neighbouring languages, though *wanjh* varies in its meaning and function.

In Dalabon *wanjh* can mean 'well now' or 'since'. In Ngalakan (Merlan 1983) there is a particle *wañba* 'should not', with a synonymous prefixal form *wañ* as in *ngiñ-wañ?-janggan* 'you shouldn't go hunting.' In

Jawoyn (Merlan n.d.) a cognate form *wayn* has developed into an enclitic, usually to the first word of the clause, which marks subordination in a general way.

In Dalabon *bonj* means 'finished!' or 'and that was it!'; in Ngalakan *boñi* is an adverb meaning 'now, already'. In Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:247–248) *bonj* means 'that's enough', 'stop', 'the end'.

### 13.13 Ideophones

There is quite a large class of ideophones (see §4.3.13 for a partial list), used to represent sounds accompanying actions in the narrative. These are normally placed next to the verb depicting the relevant event, and the ideophone is often rhythmically integrated, that is not cut off by a long pause, although it is also possible to pause before it for dramatic effect. Unlike preverb-like satellites however (§13.5.2), ideophones are accompanied by a reset of the intonational range, and often a change in voice quality, for example to a more nasalised production in the case of the ideophone representing the sound of the didgeridoo, which is either *didjmurrng* or *didjmrrooo* according to the dialect.

13.367 *Barri-dulk-djobge-yi worr! barri-man.ga-ni.*

Dj 3a/3P-tree-chop-PI crash 3aP-fall-PI

'They (the old men) would chop down a tree and crash! — they (the youths) would fall down.'

13.368 *Morle ka-monhme ka-burrhnjudjme didjmurrng didjmurrng.* (k.k.)

I didgeridoo 3-haveNP 3/3-blowNP ...[ideophone]...

'He's got a didgeridoo and he's blowing it *didjmurrng didjmurrng*.' [GID]

13.369 *Kuni ø-wam dorlh ø-bom, dorlh ø-bom,*

I there 3P-goPP [ideophone] 3/3P-hitPP [ideophone] 3/3P-hitPP

*dorlh ø-bom wanjh.*

[ideophone] 3/3P-hitPP then

'He hit the clap sticks *dorlh!*, and he went along like that, *dorlh!* he hit them *dorlh!* he hit them and so on.' [GID]

Ideophones are normally unanalyseable, but in MM there are a few words that function as ideophones but which are morphologically complex, comprising an incorporated noun root plus a verbal prebound. Examples are *marlaworrbak* 'branch.break!' and *dedj.bak* 'tail.break!', each of which combines an incorporated noun root ( $\sqrt{\text{marlaworr}}$  'branch',  $\sqrt{\text{dedj}}$  'tail') with the prebound *bak* (cf. *bakme* 'break'). For examples of their use see Text 3.9 and Text 3.37.



# 14 *Syntax of complex sentences*

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## 14.1 The rarity of subordination in Bininj Gun-wok

Subordination is rare in Bininj Gun-wok, and there is a paucity of formally distinct subordinating structures.<sup>1</sup> In fact, although there are certain formal features that are commoner in subordinate clauses — notably demonstratives of the *nawu* series, and the ‘immediate’ verbal prefix — there is no formal marking that is unique to subordinate clauses. For example, the *nawu* series, whose most common use is as a relative pronoun, can also be used as a demonstrative for new mentions. The only special subordinate structures are rare and limited to some dialects: Kunwinjku allows the genitive case to follow inflected verbs, basically in purpose clauses; this is also found in Manyallaluk Mayali, which also allows the ‘time’ nominal suffix to appear on verbs in adverbial clauses of time.

To some extent, the complex verbal morphology and obligatory argument registration of the language reduces the need for subordination. For example, it is often possible to have more than one predicate in a single verb complex. This may arise through the use of incorporated verb forms (14.1; cf. Chapter 12), manner/action prefixes (14.2; cf. §11.7), or compound verbs with highly complex semantics, which often derive historically from gerundive or secondary predicate incorporation (14.3).

- 14.1 *Ga-ganj-nguni-hmi-re.*  
Dj 3-meat-eat-IVF-goNP  
‘He goes along eating meat.’

- 14.2 *Aban-guni-marne-bebme-ng.*  
Dj 1/3pl-VIOL-BEN-appear-PP  
‘I came in on them fighting.’

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<sup>1</sup> This has often been claimed to be a typical characteristic of polysynthetic languages — see Mithun (1984b) and Heath (1975), who include Kunwinjku and Nunggubuyu, respectively, in their discussions. It should not, however, be taken as criterial, since there are polysynthetic languages like Yimas (Foley 1991) which have non-finite constructions. Within the Gunwinyguan family, Warray (Harvey 1986:229) is particularly interesting in having an infinitive construction which bears dative case-marking and drops pronominal agreement. Dalabon (my own field notes) has extensive possibilities for inflecting verbs for case showing interclausal relations, though without dropping the pronominal agreement; like Rembarrnga to its east it has special pronominal prefix forms confined to certain types of subordinate clause. Rembarrnga, though comparably polysynthetic to BGW, also has clear infinitive constructions (Nordlinger & Saulwick 2002).

14.3 *Bi-gerremadbu-ni.*

W 3/3hP-wait.for.something.to.cook-PI

'He (a cannibal) waited for her to cook.' [Oates 1964:106]

Consider the main three 'engineering problems' for non-finite subordinate clauses in languages that have them: identifying a deleted pivot, identifying the antecedent, and inferring interclausal relations of relative tense, purpose etc. How are these resolved in a polysynthetic language like Biniñ Gun-wok?

**IDENTIFYING THE PIVOT** In languages with non-finite clauses, pivots are restricted syntactically so that it is possible to retrieve their identity. For example, we may know that the deleted argument must be the subject of the verb. If rich verbal cross-referencing always identifies arguments — of which there may be more than one — there is no need for such a 'pivot'. In the following examples, biclausal equi constructions in English are translated by two finite verbs in Biniñ Gun-wok; the identity of the argument(s) of the second verb is in each case clear from the pronominal prefixes.

14.4 *Bani-wam gabani-na-n al-badjan.*

Dj 3uaPP-go:PP 3ua/3-see-NP II-mother

'They have gone to see their mum.'

14.5 *Yi-djare yi-na-n?*

Dj 2-want 2/3-see-NP

'Do you want to see it?'

14.6 *Ka-bengka-n ka-marnbu-n.*

E:N 3-know-NP 3/3I-make-NP

'He knows how to make them (boomerangs).'

14.7 *Nga-bengka-n nga-monghme lama.*

E:D 1-know-NP 1-haft.spearpointNP shovel.spear

'I know how to haft a blade onto a shovel spear.'

**IDENTIFYING THE ANTECEDENT** In many cases, the 'matching' of arguments by person and number allows us to pair up each argument in the would-be subordinate clause with its antecedent. Consider our English sentence, 'they watched him lying in the shade', in which ambiguity arises because either 'they' or 'him' can be antecedent. The two sentences below each unambiguously express one of these senses; no ambiguity arises because we can 'match' the number of the second subject with that of one of the arguments of the first:

14.8 *Barri-nahna-ni ba-h-yo-i gu-djurle.*

Dj 3a/3P-watch-PI 3P-IMM-lie-PI LOC-shade

'They watched him lying in the shade.' (he is in the shade)

14.9 *Barri-nahna-ni barri-h-yo-i gu-djurle.*

Dj 3a/3P-watch-PI 3aP-IMM-lie-PI LOC-shade

'They watched him lying in the shade.' (they are in the shade)

In most cases the combination of person and number is enough to sort out participants. But in the case of third person minimal acting upon third person minimal, or third person augmented on third augmented, potential ambiguities arise. For example, 14.6 can have the

further reading 'he (X) knows that he (Y) makes them'. These ambiguities can be eliminated in a number of ways:

- (a) Through narrowing the reference of one argument by cross-referencing another participant via the possessor-raising use of the benefactive applicative, whose indexed possessor must be object rather than subject (14.10). Related to this is the use of the benefactive with 'want' when the subject of the desire complement is different from the subject of 'want' itself (see §10.3.1.6).

14.10 *Na-mege ga-m-re, gogok na-wu gun-marne-yame-ng.*

Dj MA-that 3-hither-go eB MA-REL 3/2-BEN-spear-PP

'Here comes the man who speared your brother.'

\* 'Here comes the man, whom your brother speared.'

- (b) Through use of pronoun forms showing gender, where this can disambiguate, as well as the 'emphatic' and 'in turn' forms; see §7.1.3.

- (c) Through use of overt afterthought NPs:

14.11 *Galuk danjbik dja bogen bani-lobm-i gunak-dorrenng*

then three or two 3uaP-run-PI fire-with

*bani-wurlh-wurlhge-yi, dja barri-ru-ngi yawurrinj.*

3aP-REDUP-light-PI and 3aP-burn(intr)-PI youth

'Bye and bye two or three would run around with a firestick and set fire (to the shelter), and they would get burned, the youths.'

- (d) Through exploitation of frame semantics. In 14.12, for example, from the Morak text, we identify the respective subjects through our knowledge of the overall semantic frame, which throughout the text involves the old men imposing unpleasant tests or tasks upon the initiates. From the same text 14.13, again exploits cultural knowledge, here that the old men 'guard' and 'watch over' the initiates rather than vice versa.

14.12 *Barri-re-i barri-nahna-ni gabo ga-mirnde-rri, bandi-bidbu-ihge-yi*

Dj 3aP-go-PI 3a/3P-watch-PI ant 3-many-standNP 3a/3plP-go.up-CAUS-PI

*yawurrinj.*

youth

'They'd go along looking for where there were lots of green ants around, and make them climb up, the youths.'

14.13 *Gohbagohbanj barri-djal-ni bandi-nahna-ni.*

Dj old.men 3aP-just-sit 3a/3plP-watch-PI

'The old men would just sit watching over them.'

SPECIFYING INTERCLAUSAL RELATIONS OF TENSE, CAUSALITY ETC. To a large extent the semantic relationships between clauses can be inferred from a comparison of the TAMs of each clause. For example, a sequence of past followed by non-past (14.14) typically signals purpose with same subjects.

14.14 *Bani-wam gabani-na-n al-badjan.*

Dj 3uaP-goPP 3ua-see-NP II-mother

'They have gone to see their mum.'

And a sequence of past imperfective followed by past perfective typically signals a 'when/while' adverbial clause. The following example illustrates a sequence of three tenses signalling cross-clausal relations: past imperfective in the framing 'when' clause, past perfective for the framed event (here an act of perception), then the non-past for the perceived event (see §14.2.2.1 below).

- 14.15 *Kum-kuyin-re-y      ø-bekka-ng      kabene-mim-baye man-mim,*  
 W    3Phither-almost-go-PI    3/3P-hear-PP    3ua-seed-biteNP    III-seed  
*man-karralarlhmanj.*  
 III-bush.cashew  
 'As he was coming closer he heard two people eating seeds, bush cashew nuts.'  
 [OP 439]

Sometimes particular subordinate-type interclausal relationship can be inferred from the presence of an adverb or adverbial prefix in one clause, even though neither clause is formally subordinate in any way. Thus in 14.16 the adverb *yerre* 'after, behind' in the second clause signals a relationship between clauses that would be captured by the subordinating conjunction 'before' in English.

- 14.16 *Aleng ba-rrowe-ng, ngaye nga-djordmi-nj yerre.*  
 Dj    she    3P-die-PP    I    1-grow.up-PP    later  
 'She died before I grew up.' (lit. She died, I grew up later/behind.)

The verb prefix *djal-* 'just' in the first clause, combined with a second clause denoting some bounding action (e.g. 'seeing his camp' in 14.17), renders the sense translated by the subordinating conjunction 'until' in English (for further examples see §11.3.5.2).

- 14.17 *Kaluk mungoyh bene-djal-bok-ka-ni      bene-bal-h-wam*  
 W    then    long.time    3uaP-just-track-take-PI    3uaP-along-IMM-goPP  
*bene-yawoyh-red-na-ng.*  
 3uaP-again-camp-see-PP  
 'They continued tracking him until they came to his second camp.'  
 [Oates 1964:109]

Rarely, case suffixes on the fully inflected verb are used to signal temporal or purposive relations between clauses, though this is much rarer than in Dalabon, for example. Significantly, this use is commonest in the two dialects in closest contact with Dalabon: Manyallaluk Mayali (14.18; see also 8.99 and 5.114) and Kune (14.19).

- 14.18 *Bunbarr barri-m-re-yi      barri-yi-rdam-i-gen.*  
 MM    [herb.sp.] 3uaP-hither-go-PI    3uaP-COM-flavour-PI-GEN  
 'They were coming back with *bunbarr* herb, to stuff (the kangaroo) with.'  
 14.19 *Na-mekke ø-wam nungka kornkumo bi-nahna-ng-kah ø-wam.*  
 E    MA-DEM    3P-goPP    he    father3REF    3/3P-watch-PP-LOC    3P-goPP  
 'His father went off (to find him) while (the clever man) watched him.'  
 (See §6.3.1 on the abbreviation 3REF.)

FORMAL MEANS OF EXPRESSING SUBORDINATION: SUMMARY The formal indicators of subordination thus amount to:

- (a) Case-marking on the verb (as in 14.18, 14.19), though this is rare.
- (b) Grammatically-determined sequences of tenses, such as the imperfective-perfective sequence for framing 'when' clauses, and the use of non-past clauses for purpose and as perception complements.
- (c) The use of subordinating conjunctions has not been exemplified above, but two that are commonly used are *bu* 'when, if' (which is also used for a range of other subordinate clauses, such as 14.20), and *ba* 'in order to/that'. Subordinating conjunctions are commonest in adverbial clauses and will be discussed in §14.4.

14.20 *Wanjh karri-bolbme-ng bu karri-dadjke na-wu kunj*  
 W then 12a-become.accustomed-PP SUB 12a-cutNP MA-REL kangaroo  
*ka-rohrok.*  
 3-same  
 'We've got used to cutting kangaroos the same as them (*mimihs*).' [KS 90]

Beyond this a great deal of what would be subordinated in English is simply expressed by strings of finite verbs, sometimes serialised in tightly-linked sequences (§14.5), but often just loosely strung together, as in 14.21, though with intonation assisting the grouping. Since the complex topic of intonation is beyond the scope of this grammar such loose sequences will not be discussed here.

14.21 *ø-Kolu-y ø-wurlebme-ng ø-yawa-m, kayakki.*  
 E 3P-descend-PP 3P-swim-PP 3P-search-PP nothing  
 'He swam down to look for it, but to no avail.'

The rest of this chapter is structured as follows. In §14.2 we examine complementation; in §14.3 relative clauses, and in §14.4 a range of adverbial constructions, including conditionals. In §14.5 we look at serialised constructions, and in §14.6 we examine nominalised clauses.

## 14.2 Complementation

For the most part, complement constructions are formed simply by conjoining the two clauses. Outside the requirement for plausible semantics, there are no constraints on the grammatical roles involved; for example, the common NP may be subject of both, or object of the main clause and subject of the subordinate. All core arguments are cross-referenced, as in a main clause, and there are no special subordinate TAM inflections. There are, however, particular TAM sequences characteristic of complement clauses: most importantly, the selection of irrealis on complements of verbs like 'want', 'ask', 'forget', and the selection of immediate aspect and non-past tense in complements of perception predicates. There is also some evidence that 'want', 'perception' and causative constructions allow the option of close juncture between the two fully inflected verbs (see below).

We next discuss cases in which there is no special grammatical signalling of complementation, and then pass to the restrictions on sequences of TAM with particular complements.

### 14.2.1 Complementation without formal marking

The following example is a Gun-djeihmi sentence of three finite verbs, all inflected for tense/mood and actants, translating an English sentence best rendered with a main verb, a gerund and a bare complement verb:

- 14.22 *Barri-dange-rr-inj gandi-nahna-ni ani-bu-rre-ni.*  
 Dj 3aP-stand-RR-PP 3a/1a-watch-PI 1ua-hit-RR-PI  
 'They stood watching us fight.'

Various meanings that would be expressed with a complement in English are expressed simply as a sequence of two verbs in Bininj Gun-wok, such as 'finish' (14.23), 'know (how to)' (14.24), 'pretend to' (14.25), 'try' (14.26) and 'teach/show' (14.27). In all these cases the TAM of both verbs is absolute, that is calculated relative to the utterance time. Complements containing more than just a verb, such as an object noun, will usually be introduced by the general relative demonstrative *nawu* (14.27).

- 14.23 *Nga-bo-ngune-ng nga-yakwo-ng.*  
 Dj 1/3-liquid-consume-PP 1/3-finish-PP  
 'I've finished drinking it.' (lit. I drank (and) finished it.)

- 14.24 *Nga-burrbu-n nga-wokdi-ø.*  
 Dj 1-know-NP 1-talk-NP  
 'I know how to talk (language).'

- 14.25 *Ga-gurre-n na-be ga-rrenggelhme.*  
 Dj 3-pretend-NP MA-DEM 3-limpNP  
 'That fellow over there is pretending to limp.' ('He gammon limping.')

- 14.26 *Gun-wok ba-rohrokme-ng, ga-warre. Ba-rohrokme-ng ba-yime-ng gawarre,*  
 IV-talk 3P-try-PP 3-bad 3P-try-PP 3P-speak-PP no.good  
*an-wid.*  
 VE-different  
 'She tried to talk, but it was no good.' OR: 'She tried to speak but it was no good, it was something else (than language).'

- 14.27 *Nagidjgidj an-bukka-bukka-ng ngadberre, na-wu gunj ngarri-yam-i,*  
 [name] 3/1-ITER-show-PP us MA-DEM kangaroo 1a/3-spear-PI  
*na-wu maih arri-bu-ni.*  
 MA-DEM animal 1a/3-kill-PI  
 'Nagidjgidj taught us how to spear kangaroos, and how to kill animals.' (lit. Nagidjgidj taught us that business/law of how we speared kangaroos and killed animals.)

Although the verbs in these complement constructions are morphologically indistinguishable from ordinary main verbs, there is some evidence that syntactically they are tightly linked to the complement-taking predicate. Firstly, unlike normally chained verbs (which are strung together with a 'listing' intonation), verbs in complement constructions fall under a single intonation contour. Secondly, it is normal for their arguments not to interpose between the two verbs, so that they are placed before and/or after the verb sequence (14.28);

with verbs of causation the verbs may be reordered relative to the temporal sequence, so that the causative verb follows the complement verb (14.29).

14.28 *Bininj gabarri-dowe-n gaban-marnbu-n gabarri-ngoreng-yo.*

Dj person 3a-die-NP 3/3pl-make-NP 3a-sick-lieNP

'He can make people die and get sick.'

14.29 *Yiman bolkgime ngarri-h-ni, wakkidj nungga ba-djare-ni ba-m-wam*

Dj like now 1a-IMM-sitNP fishing he 3P-want-PI 3P-hither-goPP

*ngadburrung.*

brother

'Like now we're sitting here, he wanted to come fishing, my brother.'

Evaluative complement-taking predicates are expressed by following the word for 'good' with a complement in absolute tense, usually the non-past (14.30); this is also the usual construction for giving and requesting permission (§9.3.2).

14.30 *Gamak nga-bongu-n?*

Dj good 1/3-drink-NP

'Is it OK to drink (beer in your car)?'

#### 14.2.2 Complementation marked by sequence of TAM

In the complement types discussed so far, the selection of TAM values is absolute, being oriented to the moment of the speech act. In 14.22, for example, as well as 14.31, the perception clause is in the past imperfective, with pastness calculated relative to the moment of speech, and disregarding the simultaneity, in relative terms, of the perceiving and perceived events; in this sense, there is no pressing reason to consider the construction a complex sentence rather than a sequence of the two independent clauses 'they saw the buffalo; it was sleeping'. In 14.32, on the other hand, the TAM value selected is relative; the non-past is used because the perceived event is non-past relative to the perceiving event, and the immediate aspect marker *h-* (§11.4.3) is commonly inserted in the complement clause.<sup>2</sup>

14.31 *Minj birri-na-yinj nganabbarru ø-yo-y, wanjh man-wurrk*

I not 3a/3-see-IRR buffalo 3P-sleep-PP then III-bushfire

*bi-wayhke-ng.*

3/3hP-wake-PP

'But they didn't see the buffalo, which was sleeping, until a bushfire woke him up.'

14.32 *Na-bene maih a-na-ng ga-m-golu-rr-en gaddum-be djohboi.*

Dj MA-DEM bird 1/3-see-PP 3-hither-descend-RR-NP up-ABL poor.thing

'I've seen those birds coming down (to the waterhole) from higher up, dear little things.'

<sup>2</sup> This was first pointed out by Rowe (n.d.:26): 'It seems that *h* is used in verbs mostly to emphasise the "presentness" of an activity ... The ... use is very common in stories. The story is set in the past but some of the verbs are in the present continuous.'

Since the full semantics of the clause can only be evaluated by taking into account its relation to the framing perception clause, these are clearly complex sentence constructions despite the lack of uniquely subordinate-clause morphology.

In this section we discuss perceptual and knowledge complements, utterance complements (including jussives), resultative complements, closing with a series of constructions taking the irrealis in the complement clause in which the status of the irrealis as absolute or relative TAM category is less clear. Where relevant we comment on the difference between absolute and relative TAM values.

#### 14.2.2.1 Perception and knowledge complements

As just exemplified, perceptual complements, as well as complements of knowledge and ignorance, commonly occur in relative-tense constructions in which the perceived-event predicate is in the non-past, often but not always with the immediate aspect prefix as well. Further examples are with 'see' (14.33), 'hear' (14.34, 14.35), 'know' (14.36, 14.37) and 'not know' (14.38):

14.33 *Ba-na-ng ga-h-barndi.*

Dj 3/3P-seePP 3-IMM-be.highNP  
'He saw it hanging up.'

14.34 *Birri-bek kang ka-h-borrborrbme ...*

I 3aP-hear-PP 3-IMM-dripNP  
'They heard it dripping ...' [GID]

14.35 *Yi-gurr-en, yi-garrme. A-bekka-ng ga-djili-djilhm-e.*

Dj 2-lie-NP 2-haveNP 1/3-hear-PP 3-EXT-jingle-NP  
'You're lying, you've got some (money). I heard it jingling.'

14.36 *Ngaye nga-burrbu-n gurri-h-wokdi.*

Dj I 1-know/understand-NP 2a-IMM-talkNP  
'I can understand you talking.'

14.37 *Nga-bengka-n ku-mekke ka-yo kun-bad.*

ED 1-know-NP LOC-DEM 3-lieNP IV-money  
'I know where the money is.'

14.38 *∅-Wakwa-ni na-yin ka-m-h-wage.*

W 3P-not.know-PI 1-snake 3-hither-IMM-crawlNP  
'He didn't know that a snake was crawling towards him.' [Rowe n.d.: 26]

Note that where English often simply uses an indefinite noun phrase object of existence with perception verbs, Bininj Gun-wok prefers to use thethetic construction with a stance verb (14.39) and, where allowed, an incorporated generic noun (14.40), which asserts existence inside the complement predicate:

14.39 *Barri-re-i barri-nahna-ni gabo ga-mirnde-rri.*

Dj 3aP-go-PI 3a/3P-look.out.for-PI green.ant 3-many-standNP  
'They'd go along looking for a whole lot of green ants.'



- 14.40 *ø-Kuyin-kolu-y ku-kabo ø-kuyin-worhna-ng ka-bolh-yo*  
 I 3P-almost-descend-PP LOC-billabong 3/3P-almost-see-PP 3-track-lieNP  
*ø-barlah-yo-y ø-larrhme-ng.*  
 3P-slither.track-lie-PP 3P-dry-PP  
 'He was about to go down to the billabong when he saw (there were) tracks,  
 crocodile sliding tracks of a crocodile drying in the sun.'

Two differences between the absolute and relative tense constructions deserve mention. Firstly, there is usually a difference in argument registration as well. In the absolute TAM construction the perceived participants are registered as arguments on the perception verb as well as in the perceived predicate, on the model of 'they-us-saw we-fought' (14.22), and 'he-them-heard they-played' (14.41). In the relative-tense construction, on the other hand, the perceived participant is usually not registered on the perception verb, so that one can say 'he-it-saw they.two-are.high' as in 14.42; this example also exemplifies the tendency to revert to absolute tense for the perceived event after the first complement clause.

- 14.41 *Ben-bekka-ng wurdwurd birri-h-dirri.*  
 W 3/3plP-hear-PP children 3aP-IMM-play  
 'He heard children playing.' [Oates 1964:92]
- 14.42 *ø-Na-ng kabene-h-barndi kore kaddum, bene-h-ngu-ni man-ekke*  
 W 3/3P-see-PP 3ua-IMM-be.highNP LOC high 3uaP-IMM-eat-PI VE-DEM  
*man-karralarlhmanj bene-h-darlkke-yi.*  
 III-bush.cashew 3uaP-IMM-crack-PI  
 'He saw the two of them up in the tree eating bush cashew fruit.' [KS 68]

Secondly, there is a difference in semantic emphasis between the two constructions, with the absolute construction focussing on the perception of the entity, and the relative construction focussing on the perception of the state affairs, as in the difference between English 'I saw him sleeping' and 'I saw that he was sleeping'. Compare 14.31 and 14.32: in the first, absolute construction, the focus is on the fact that they didn't see the buffalo, whereas in the second, relative construction, the focus is on the actions of the birds as they come down to the waterhole.

When the TAM of the perception clause is non-past, of course (as in 14.43), we cannot tell whether the non-past in the complement clause results from the relative or the absolute rule. However, at least for certain person/number/animacy values of the subject of the perceived event, the semantic contrast is inferrable from the presence or absence of its appearance as object of the perception verb; in 14.44, for example, the choice of the third person minimal object prefix *nga-* instead of the third augmented object form *ngaban-* indicates that the relative TAM construction is being employed.

- 14.43 *Kabirri-h-djal-ni kabirri-bekka-n ka-m-ngolek-wokdi.*  
 W 3-IMM-just-sitNP 3a/3-hear-NP 3-hither-breathing-speakNP  
 'They sit and hear the sound of his spirit approaching.' [KH 156]
- 14.44 *Bu nga-bolk-na-n gabarri-bolk-warreh-warrewo-n wanjh bonj*  
 Dj SUB 1/3-place-see-NP 3a/3-place-ITER-wreck-NP then finished

*nga-re wanjh gu-bolk-buyiga gure a-h-ni.*

1-goNP then LOC-place-other there 1-IMM-sitNP

'If I see that they are destroying (my) country well then I will go and live there in another place.'

I have just one example, from Manyallaluk Mayali, in which relative tense is used but the subject of the perceived event is registered as an argument on the perception verb (14.45). It is not clear at this stage if this exceptional behaviour is confined to that dialect.

14.45 *Bi-yaw-na-ng ka-yaw-kodjdje-yo.*

MM 3/3P-child-see-PP 3-child-sleep-lieNP

'She saw the baby sleeping.'

While on the topic of perception clauses it should be noted that non-verbal predicates may appear as complements of perception verbs:

14.46 *ø-Danjbom ø-na-ng berl-yi.*

W 3/3IP-spearPP 3/3IP-see-PP arm-INSTR

'He speared it (a fish, perhaps like a lungfish) and saw it had arms.'

#### 14.2.2.2 Utterance and jussive complements

Reported statements and questions are virtually always direct: the quoted speech or thought are given with the TAM and other deictics as actually uttered or thought, most commonly in the non-past, while the locutionary verb has absolute tense, typically the past perfective or imperfective. There is typically an upward resetting of the intonational pitch range, as well as other voice-quality indicators that the speech is quoted.

14.47 *Barri-djawayhm-i "na-nganjuk gaban-h-bu-n?"*.

Dj 3aP-ask-PI MA-who 3/3pl-IMM-kill-NP

'They'd ask, "Who's killing them?".'

14.48 *Ba-warnyak-ni, gun-yidme ba-mulewa-ni, "Gun-yidme a-rrowe-n"*

Dj 3P-not.want-PI IV-tooth 3P-talk.about-PI IV-tooth 1-hurt-NP

*ba-yim-i.*

3P-say-PI

'He wouldn't want any (food), and would mention his tooth: "My tooth is aching" he'd say.'

14.49 ... *ø-yim-i "Ka-bu-n kinga"*.

W 3-think-PI 3/3l-kill-NP crocodile

'... she was thinking "He is killing the crocodile".'

14.50 *Bukbuk bininj ø-durnd-i ku-red, ben-marne-yime-ng "Ngayi*

I coucal man 3P-return-PP LOC-camp 3/3plP-BEN-say-PP I

*ngane-danginj ø-dowe-ng"*.

1a-standPP 3P-die-PP

'Pheasant coucal man went back to his camp and told them: "My brother is dead".'

- 14.51 *ø-Kele-durh-durnd-i ku-red ben-marne-yime-ng "Nga-kelem-inj*  
 I 3P-afraid-ITER-return-PP LOC-camp 3/3pl-BEN-say-PP 1-grow.afraid-PP  
*wayarra".*

ghost

'He went back to his camp and told them "I have grown afraid of the ghosts".'

Occasionally the irrealis may be used in the quote clause to indicate some speaker assessment that the representation of the communication is subjective and not completely dependable (see 6.20 for an example).

Noises, as opposed to utterances, may be introduced by the verb *re* 'go' rather than a speech act verb (14.52); the verb may, unusually, follow the ideophone giving the noise. However, it is also possible to use *yime* 'do, say' in these circumstances (14.53).

- 14.52 *Ngal-kordow kordorrk! ka-re.*  
 I II-brolga [ideophone] 3-goNP  
 'Brolgas go *kordorrk!*'

- 14.53 *Duruk birri-kom-dukka-ng korroko Aboriginal birri-kom-dukka-ng*  
 I dog 3a/3P-neck-tie-PP long.ago 3a/3P-neck-tie-PP

*wanjh ngarlirrk ngal-bu ø-yime-ng "lerre lerre lerre".*

then snail.shell FE-DEM 3P-say-PP ...[ideophone]...

'A long time ago it was the Aboriginal way to place collars of snail shells around the necks of dogs and those snail shells would jingle, going "*lerre, lerre, lerre*".' [GID]

The sole example of indirect speech in questions that I have seen is the following sentence from the Kunwinjku Spirit corpus, which changes the person and tense values to those appropriate to the utterance event:

- 14.54 *Macassar bininj ngandi-djawa-m, baleh ngaye nga-h-yo-y.*  
 W man 3a/1-ask-PP where I 1-IMM-lie-PP

'The Macassans asked me where I lived.' [KS 246]

Imperatives and requests, in contrast to questions and statements, are pretty well equally split between direct and indirect quotations; 14.55 exemplifies the use of direct quotation with an imperative, and 14.56 illustrates the use of indirect speech, shown by the use of non-past instead of imperative TAM inflection (not decisive evidence for indirect speech, given that the non-past is sometimes used for polite imperatives — §9.3.2), and the use of third instead of second person subject pronominals. (See 13.289 for a further example.)

- 14.55 *Bi-marne-yime-ng "Kan-wo-n delek!" Bi-marne-yime-ng "Marrek*  
 I 3/3hp-BEN-say-PP 2/1-give-NP clay 3/3hp-BEN-say-PP not

*ø-wo-n."*

1/2-give-NP

'He said: "Give me the white clay!". And he said: "I won't give it to you".'

- 14.56 *Bene-rllobme-ng bindi-marne-mulewa-m bininj bu kabirri-kele-rllobme,*  
 W 3uaP-run-PP 3a/3pl-BEN-tell-PP person SUB 3a-fear-runNP

wardi Ngal-yod kaben-kuk-ngu-n.  
 might.be II-rainbow.serpent 3/3pl-body-eat-NP  
 'The two of them ran and told people to run away, or Ngalyod would eat them.'  
 [KS 40]

#### 14.2.2.3 Resultative and other causal complements

The most tightly linked type of resultative complements like 'spear him dead' are expressed by following the first verb, in whichever TAM category is suitable, by the result predicate, which always remains in the non-past (see also Text 6.59). Note that a pronoun may intervene between the two verbs (see 7.154 for an example).

14.57 *Karri-yame-ø ka-kuk-yo-ø!*  
 ED 12a-spear-NP 3-body-lie-NP  
 'Let's spear him dead!'

14.58 *Bi-bom ka-kuk-yo.*  
 A 3/3hP-hit/killPP 3-body-lieNP  
 'He hit him/her dead.'

It is also possible to use absolute tense in the result predicate, indicating a looser connection between the two events (14.59, 14.60). Note that in 14.60 the reduplicated iterative form of the result predicate indicates it is linked not just to the preceding verb, but to other similar events that had preceded.

14.59 *Bi-bom ø-kuk-yo-y.*  
 W 3/3hP-hitPP 3P-body-lie-PP  
 'He hit her and she lay dead.'

14.60 *Wanjh bi-yawoyh-yam-i na-buyika, bi-yam-i ø-kukyo-kuk-yo-y.*  
 W then 3/3hP-again-spear-PI MA-other 3/3hP-spear-PI 3P-ITER-body-lie-PP  
 'Then he would spear another one, he'd spear him, and the bodies lay dead.'  
 [OP 363]<sup>3</sup>

A number of two-verb causal constructions appear in the corpus, though with such low frequency that I only have one or two examples of each. 'Leave' (14.61, 14.62) and 'make' (14.63, 14.64, 10.385) each form synthetic causatives in which the caused verb directly follows the verb of causation. To show that the non-past in these complements results from a relative TAM rule we need examples with a past main-clause verb, and so far these are rare, but an example is Text 6.101.

14.61 *Arr-bawo-ø ga-geyo-ø nabibe.*  
 Dj 1a-leave-IMP 3-sleep-NP my.MM.who.is.your.child  
 'Let's leave my granny to sleep.'

14.62 *Al-ege daluk ga-wok-wern, djama ngan-bawo-n nga-wokdi.*  
 Dj II-that woman 3-word-much NEG 3/1-leave-NP 1-talk  
 'That woman talks too much, she never lets me talk.'

<sup>3</sup> Carroll gives the translation 'he was spearing them and leaving the bodies', but I have altered this to a more literal translation here.

- 14.63 *Ngaye ngaben-marnbu-n kabirri-yawoyh-mimbi-men, ba*  
 W I 1/3pl-make-NP 3a-again-be.alive-NP so.that  
*kabirri-djal-darrkid munguyh.*  
 3a-just-alive always  
 'I will make them all alive again, so that they'll stay alive forever.' [KS 120]
- 14.64 *Kan-marnbu-n karri-mimbi man-djewk dja man-djewk.*  
 W 3/1a-make-NP 12a-alive III-year and III-year  
 'He makes me alive every year.' [KS 120]

Other synthetic causatives, equally rare in the corpus, employ overt markers of subordination such as the general subordinating conjunction *bu* (14.65) or the locative preposition *kore* (14.66) after verbs that are more usually used as independent transitive predicates: *djurkkan* 'force, be pushy to, prevail on' and *ngurdke* 'stop, prevent'.

- 14.65 *Ngudda kan-h-djurkka-ni bu nga-yame-ng.*  
 W you 2/1-IMM-force-PI SUB 1/3-spear-PP  
 'You were pushing me into spearing him.' [KS 252]
- 14.66 *Ka-ngurdke kore karri-djohme bu karri-baru-rr-en ku-kodj,*  
 W 3-stopNP LOC 12a-coughNP SUB 12a-rub-RR-NP LOC-head  
*ka-djal-e kanjdji ku-rrenge.*  
 3-just-goNP down LOC-foot  
 'It stops us from coughing when we rub it over ourselves from top to foot.' [KS 196]

#### 14.2.2.4 Complements taking the irrealis

A number of verbs commonly take complements in the irrealis, but it is not usually appropriate to say the irrealis is governed by the construction, since the irrealis usually encodes the absolute low realis status of the proposition from the point of view of the speaker at the moment of speech. In one or two cases, however, the assessment as low realis is relativised to the subject of the complement-taking verb.

Consider the verb *djare* 'want', which can take complements with the same subject (14.5, 14.67, 13.299), with a totally different subject (14.68, 14.69), or with a partially disjoint subject (14.70). It is possible, though not necessary, to prefix benefactive *marne-* to *djare* if the subjects are not identical (14.70, 10.147).

- 14.67 *Birri-kerrh-kerrnge kabirri-djare konda kabirri-ngime kamak.*  
 I 3a-REDUP-new 3a-want here 3a-enterNP good  
 'These new people, they want to come here, it's OK for them to enter.' [GID]
- 14.68 *Birri-ma-yi kun-malaworr birri-djangwe-meninj 'djenj'*  
 I 3aP-get-IRR IV-leaf 3aP-perform.increase.ritual-IRR fish  
*birri-yime-ng, 'Ngarri-djare djenj ka-wernme-n ngarri-ngun'.*  
 3aP-say-PP 1a-wantNP fish 3-increase-NP 1a-eat-NP  
 'When they would perform the increase ritual they would go and get branches and say: "Fish! We want fish to increase so we can eat".' [GID]

- 14.69 *Yi-djare*  $\emptyset$ -*bu-n*  $\emptyset$ -*kuk-kurrme*.  
 I 2-wantNP 1/2-hit-NP 1/2-body-put.downNP  
 'Do you want me to hit you and knock you down?'

- 14.70 *Ngun-marne-djare* *ngune-wokdi*.  
 I 3/2-BEN-wantNP 2ua-talkNP  
 'She wants to talk to you.'

In all these examples the 'want' verb is in the non-past, as is the complement; the non-past is an appropriate absolute TAM value, since at the moment of speech the complement event is potential or future, falling within the semantic range of the non-past. When 'want' is in the past, it is commonest for the complement to be in the irrealis (14.71, 14.72).

- 14.71 *Nga-djare* *nga-m-ra-yi* *nga-bunjhme-yi*.  
 Dj 1-want 1-hither-come-IRR 1-kiss-IRR  
 'I wanted to come and kiss her.'<sup>4</sup>

- 14.72 *A-djare-ni* *a-bu-yi*.  
 Dj 1-want-PI 1/3-kill-IRR  
 'I wanted to kill him (but didn't).'

- 14.73 *Nga-djare* *gogok* *ba-m-ra-yi* *bi-bunjhma-yi*.  
 Dj 1-want eB 3P-hither-go-IRR 3/3hP-kiss-IRR  
 'I wanted my older brother to kiss her.'

- 14.74 *Al-ege* *daluk* *nga-djare-ni* *ngani-yi-wirrinj*.  
 Dj FE-that woman 1-want-PI 1ua-sleep-IRR  
 'I wanted that woman to sleep with me.'

Similar uses of the irrealis in complements are found with *djawan* 'ask':

- 14.75 *Nga-djawa-m* *al-ege* *daluk* *ngan-bunjhma-yi* / *bi-bunjhma-yi*.  
 Dj 1/3-ask-PP FE-DEM woman 3/1-kiss-IRR 3/3P-kiss-IRR  
 'I asked that woman to kiss me/him.'

However, the main verb in such cases cannot be said to strictly govern the irrealis, since the evaluation of the lowered realis state of the complement is arguably always made with respect to the speech act. This is because the use of the irrealis is restricted to cases where the complement is unrealised, or is unspecified for realisness but with a strong implication that it didn't occur. Where the event described in the complement actually occurred, it may take a realis past ending:

- 14.76 *Yiman* *bolkgime* *ngani-h-ni*, *wakkidj* *nungga* *ba-djare-ni* *ba-m-wam*  
 Dj like now 1ua-IMM-sitNP fishing he 3P-want-P 3P-hither-gopp  
*ngadburrung*.  
 my.brother  
 'Well here we are sitting here now, my brother wanted to come fishing (and here we are).'

<sup>4</sup> In both 14.71 and 14.73 the verb 'want' lacks a past inflection, even though these were given as translations of past English sentences. Unless the translation was inaccurate, the possibility of omitting tense from 'want' may be taken as evidence for a special complement construction.

There is a stronger case for regarding the irrealis as being governed by the main clause predicate in the case of the verb for 'forget'. This has a number of lexical equivalents in different dialects, but let us consider the Gun-djeihmi form *benghngukme*. This takes complements in the irrealis, with overt negator *djama*, whether or not the 'forgotten event' in fact eventuates. It seems that if the two clauses have same subjects, the interpretation is that the subordinate event didn't happen; if they have different subjects, that the subordinate event did happen.

- 14.77 *Nga-benghngukme-ng djama nga-m-ra-yi ø-na-yi.*  
 Dj 1-forget-PP not 1-hither-go-IRR 1/2-see-IRR  
 'I forgot to come and see you.'
- 14.78 *Nga-benghngukme-ng djama ba-m-ra-yi ngan-na-yi.*  
 Dj 1-forget-PP not 3P-hither-go-IRR 3/1-see-IRR  
 'I forgot that she was coming to see me.'

### 14.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are not a clearly delineated formal category in Biniŋ Gun-wok. Most translation equivalents of English relative clauses, at least those which qualify arguments of the main clause, employ the *nawu* demonstrative series, though see §6.3.5 for some counter-examples. But presence of a *nawu*-series demonstrative is not a sufficient condition to diagnose relative clauses, since the *nawu* demonstratives are used more generally to introduce any stretch of language that will help identify the referent; as discussed in §7.3, the best gloss for these demonstratives is 'that which you should be able to identify from the following words', and it commonly occurs with bare nouns, for example, where these are sufficient to evoke a referent. The difficulty of describing distinct relative clause-structures is amplified by the arbitrariness of identifying clause boundaries in a language without morphosyntactic dependencies or fixed constituent orderings; this makes it difficult to decide, for example, when one is dealing with an 'embedded' clause, except in the naive sense in which the head noun and its predicate are lineally separated by the clausal material providing the identifying material. Finally, the fact that all arguments have obligatory representation on the verb, and are only ever optionally present as external phrases, renders 'gaps' useless as diagnostics.

Bearing this in mind, the rule for forming relative clauses in Biniŋ Gun-wok could be formulated simply as 'use an appropriate *nawu* series demonstrative, followed by a semantically appropriate descriptor clause'. (Note that the *nawu* series demonstratives are formed by prefixing the gender prefix to the general subordinating conjunction *bu*, with some morphophonemic changes.) The following material basically elaborates this formulation.

Note that there are no restrictions, in terms of grammatical relations, on the shared argument, which may be subject (14.80) or object (14.83, 14.89) in the main clause, and subject (14.81) or object (14.79, 14.80) in the subordinate clause. The treatment of non-arguments is dealt with at the end of the section.

Relative clauses are most commonly adjoined after the main clause (14.79, 14.80), but rarely they are embedded (14.81, 14.82). The main clause antecedent is typically modified by another demonstrative.

- 14.79 *Ga-rrulk-gimuk ngan-du nga-djobge.*  
 Dj 3-tree-big VE-REL 1/3-cutNP  
 'The tree that I will chop down is big.'
- 14.80 *Na-mege bininj ga-m-re, na-wu gogok bi-yame-ng.*  
 Dj MA-that man 3-hither-goNP MA-REL brother 3/3hP-spear-PP  
 'The man is coming, whom your brother speared.'
- 14.81 *Galuk na-gudji [na-wu ba-di gu-mekke], [na-wu gare yirridjdja o*  
 Dj then MA-one MA-REL 3P-stand LOC-there MA-REL maybe Yirridjdja or  
*duwa, njamed], ba-bili-doh-dombu-ni dja ga-warre, barri-djal-ru-ngi.*  
 Duwa what 3/3lP-fire-INCEP-extinguish-PI and 3-bad 3aP-just-burn-PI  
 'Then one (youth) who was right there, who was maybe Yirridjdja or Duwa,  
 whatever, would try to put out the fire but to no avail, they'd all just get burned.'
- 14.82 *Ga-djal-e bu ga-guk-nudme-n, gu-mege wanjh ga-ngu-n,*  
 Dj 3-just-goNP SUB 3-body-rot-NP LOC-DEM then 3/3l-eat-NP  
*na-mege [na-wu na-gerrnge] minj ga-ngu-n,*  
 MA-that MA-REL MA-fresh not 3-eat-NP  
 'He just does nothing until the body rots, and that's when he eats it; that which  
 is fresh he doesn't eat ...'

Occasionally the relative demonstrative is placed prosodically in the main clause:

- 14.83 *right bi-wo-ni na-mege bininj na-wu, bi-yam-i na-buyiga*  
 Dj right 3/3hP-give-PI MA-DEM man MA-REL 3/3hP-spear-PI MA-other  
*bi-malng-durndewe-yi bin-wo-ni na-mege wangbol.*  
 3/3hP-spirit-bring.back-PI 3/3plP-give-PI MA-that wangbol  
 'Right, he'd give her to that man, who'd speared the other bloke, brought his spirit  
 back, and given them back the *wangbol* (a sort of voodoo figure).'

More usually it is in the subordinate clause, typically clause initially (14.84, 14.85) but not necessarily (14.86–14.88):

- 14.84 *An-dehne gun-dulk, an-du ba-djordm-inj ngaye guned ngarduk.*  
 Dj VE-this IV-tree VE-REL 3P-grow-PP I country my  
 'This is the tree that grew in my country.'
- 14.85 *Yiman gayime bininj, na-wu na-buyiga bi-yam-i, djarreh*  
 Dj, w ...for.example... man MA-REL MA-other 3/3hP-spear-PI far  
*na-yunggi, ø-re-i, birri-wo-ni wangbol ngan-ege.*  
 MA-ahead 3P-go-PI 3a/3P-give-PI wangbol VE-REL  
 'For example a man, who had speared another man, and got off far ahead (of his  
 pursuers), They'd give that *wangbol* to him.'
- 14.86 *Na-mege ga-m-re, gogok na-wu gun-marne-yame-ng.*  
 Dj MA-that 3-hither-goNP eB MA-REL 3/2-BEN-spear-PP  
 'Here comes the man who speared your brother.'



- 14.87 *Na-bene bininj, wudda gogok wuddanggi na-wu gun-marne-bom.*  
 MA-this man you eB your MA-REL 3/2-BEN-killPP  
 'This is the man who killed your brother.'
- 14.88 *Al-ege daluk, gogok gun-marne-bom ngal-u.*  
 FE-that woman eB 3/2-BEN-hitPP FE-REL  
 'This is the woman who your brother hit.'

In many cases the lack of clear clause boundaries makes it arbitrary to assign the relative demonstrative to one clause rather than another:

- 14.89 *Bu karri-bu-n na-wu karri-na-n kelebuk, wanjh kan-bu-n kadberre*  
 W SUB 12a-kill-NP MA-REL 12a-see-NP tame then 3/1a-kill-NP us  
*mimih.*  
*mimih*  
 'If we kill those we see are tame, then *mimihs* will kill us.' [OP 443]

And in rare cases there is scrambling of material between the two clauses; in 14.90, for example, the relative verb *benedahkendoy* appears between the demonstrative and the head noun, while the directional complement of the verb ('in the billycan') follows the head noun:

- 14.90 *Dja na-wu bene-dahkendoy man-kung kore djabbilana munguyh*  
 W and MA-REL 3uaP-put.in-PP III-honey LOC billycan long.time  
*ø-deleng-barndi kore balabbala ku-red kore bene-yo-y.*  
 3P-container-be.up.highP LOC table LOC-camp LOC 3uaP-sleep-PP  
 'And that left-over sugarbag that was in the billycan would stay hanging for them near the table at the camp where they were staying.'

In general the selection of the gender-appropriate form of the relative demonstrative follows the rules for gender agreement given in §5.5: the vegetable form (*ng*)*andu* (Dj; 14.79, 14.84) or *manbu* (W; 14.91), the feminine form *ngalu* (Dj; 14.88) or *ngalbu* (5.293) and the masculine form *nawu* (14.87, 14.90). As befits the default status of the masculine gender, the *nawu* form is by far the commonest; it is also the only form used with non-singular human referents (14.92). We saw in §5.5 that neuter agreement is extremely rare; and examples of neuter relative pronouns are non-existent; the formally corresponding demonstrative *kunu* basically functions as a time demonstrative (§7.3.1.2).

- 14.91 *Kum-durnde-ngi madjawarr man-bu ø-djabda-nginj.*  
 W 3Phither-return-PI spear VE-REL 3P-stick.up-PP  
 'The spears which stuck up in the group came back.' [PC 105]
- 14.92 *Dja yika karri-ka-n ku-red bu karri-djare, karrben-marne-ka-n*  
 W and some 12a-carry-NP LOC-camp SUB 12a-wantNP 12a/3pl-BEN-take-NP  
*na-wu kabirri-h-ni ku-red.*  
 MA-REL 3a-IMM-sitNP LOC-camp  
 'And we take some back to camp, if we want, we take it back for those who are sitting in the camp.'

Relative clauses of location are introduced either by *gubu* (in Gun-djeihmi), which is the locative form of the *nawu* series (14.93), the locative demonstrative *kumek(k)e/gumege*,

often with the general subordinator *bu* (14.94–14.96), or the locative preposition *kore* (W; 14.97a) or *kure* (o.d.; 14.97b).

- 14.93 *Ngarri-m-lobme-ng Nawurlanjdi gu-bu ga-h-rud-djoukge*  
 Dj 1a-hither-drive-PP [place] LOC-DEM 3-IMM-road-crossNP  
 'We drove to Nourlangie, where the road crosses (the river).'
- 14.94 *Nga-bolk-dilebo-m gukku ba-bo-marnbu-rr-inj, wanjh gu-mege bu*  
 Dj 1/3-place-piss-PP water 3P-liquid-make-RR-PP then LOC-there SUB  
*nga-wodjme-ng.*  
 1-sink-PP  
 'I pissed onto the place and it turned to fresh water; that's the place where I sank down.'
- 14.95 *An-bolk-bukka-ng gu-mege, bu nungga ba-rrang-inj.*  
 3/1-place-show-PP LOC-there SUB he 3-stand-PP  
 'He showed me the place where he was born.'
- 14.96 *Ku-mekke ka-djang-di Bunkurduyh-Bunkurduy ku-mekke*  
 Dnj LOC-DEM 3-dreaming-standNP [place] LOC-DEM  
*ngan-bu ø-do-ng[i] korroko ...*  
 VE-REL 3/3P-strike-PI long.ago  
 'There is a dreaming there at Bunkurduyh-Bunkurduyh, where she struck like that long ago ...' (*ngan-bu* here is not functioning as a relative pronoun, but means something like 'like that')
- 14.97 a. *Birri-dowe-ng kore birri-moken-yonginj.*  
 W 3aP-die-PP LOC 3aP-bunch-sleepPP  
 'They died where they slept all together.' [KS 435]
- b. *Djikkabbal kun-red kure Kamarrang ø-danginj.*  
 I [place] IV-place LOC [skin] 3P-be.bornPP  
 'Djikkabbal is the place where Kamarrang was born.'

Presentative relative clauses in English of the type 'this is the X that Y' are often translated into a single clause:

- 14.98 *An-ege gun-dulk bi-bedme-ng gogok ngan-marne-bom.*  
 Dj VE-that IV-tree 3/3hP-fall.on-PP brother 3/1-BEN-kill  
 'This is the tree that fell on him and killed my brother.'

If the pivot is a possessive in the subordinate clause, the possessed argument will be suffixed with *-no*:

- 14.99 *Njale [na-wu al-yurr ga-ngu-n marlaworr-no] ga-ngei-yo.*  
 Dj what MA-REL II-grasshopper 3/3-eat-NP leaf-POSSD 3-name-lieNP  
 'What is the plant called that Leichhardt's grasshoppers eat its leaves?'

If the pivot is an adjunct in the subordinate clause, a simple paratactic structure with no relative pronoun is used:

- 14.100 *Ngan-ege gun-dulk, gan-marne-yime-ng woibukki.*  
 Dj VE-that IV-tree 2/1-BEN-say-PP truth  
 'That tree, you told me the truth about it.' (given as translation for  
 'that is the tree you told me about.')

#### 14.4 Adverbial clauses

The lack of formally distinct subordinate clauses is even more evident in the case of adverbial clauses. These are frequently indistinguishable from main clauses on the one hand, and coordinate clauses on the other. In fact, since main clauses normally occur within higher order discourse sequences in which a range of cross-clausal semantic links are found, the totally free-standing main clause is also a rarity. 'Discourse-organising' interjections, such as *bonj* 'finished' and *wanjh* 'then; next' (§13.12.4), then play an important in organising sentences into coherent paragraph-like units, with the result that a sequence CLAUSE — INTERJECTION — CLAUSE may be best translated with an English subordinate clause, as in the following extract from the story of Nadjik the tawny frogmouth, for which I have furnished both a literal translation using independent English clauses and interjections, and a freer translation rendering the sense using a more articulated syntactic structure.

- 14.101 *Wanjh bi-berdme-ninj, barri-yame-ng, barri-burnnameng. Bonj, maih*  
 then 3/3hP-cover-IRR 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-stop-PP OK bird

*ba-yimerra-nj, wanjh ba-berl-da-nginj.*

3P-turn.into-PP just.then 3P-wing-stand-PP

**Literal:** 'Then, he was going to cover him (with the bark), they speared him, they stopped him. All right, he turned into a bird. Then he sprouted wings.'

**Freer:** 'Just as he was about to cover him (with the bark), they speared him and stopped him doing it. And so he turned into a bird; at that moment he sprouted wings.'

In many conditional and temporal adverbial constructions the 'adverbial clause' is indistinguishable from a main clause; *gare* (14.132, 14.161) could be translated as 'maybe' (modal adverb) or 'if' (conjunction), while *yerre* (14.16) could be translated as 'after, later' (time adverb) or recast with the meaning 'before'. And *dja*, usually best translated as 'and' (i.e. as a coordinating conjunction), can sometimes mean 'but' (again, a coordinating conjunction) but also 'so' or 'because' (i.e. a subordinating conjunction linking cause and consequence). Rather than try to force this range of clauses into procrustean categories, I shall ignore the distinction between main, subordinate and coordinate clauses when it comes to the range of interclausal meanings associated cross-linguistically with adverbial clauses, and instead use semantic groupings of linkage types.

There are around a dozen subordinating conjunctions across the dialects, such as *bu* 'when/if/as for', *ba* 'in order to', *bambu* 'so that' (I, E only) *dja* 'and, and so, but', *la* 'and' (W and eastern dialects), *wanjh* 'then, next', *yika* 'in some cases', *yiman* 'like, when, for example'. The exact number depends on where one draws the line between conjunctions and time or modal adverbs in cases like *yerre* and *gare* (see preceding paragraph). Intonation plays an important role in marking clausal linkage, but is beyond the scope of this grammar (see Bishop, in prep); for present purposes 'non-final intonation', typically a suspended high

contour, is simply shown by a comma. In rare cases case marking on the verb is used to show interclause relationships, particularly with purposives (14.18, 14.19).

#### 14.4.1 Intentionality and cause

There is a clear asymmetry between the formal means for expressing intentionality (purpose or 'so that' clauses) and expressing prior cause. The conjunction *ba* (and the I variant *bambu*) is a clear and unambiguous exponent of intention, and there are also less commonly used constructions involving conventionalised tense sequences and case suffixes on the verb. For cause, on the other hand, adverbial clauses make use of either loan conjunctions from Maung/Iwaidja and English, or zero overt marking; the only traditional marker for cause is restricted to apprehensive causal clauses.

**INTENTION AND PURPOSE** In all dialects, purpose clauses mostly employ the conjunction *ba*. Usually this is clause initial (14.102, 14.103), but sometimes it follows the verb (14.104). The TAM inflection in the purpose clause is usually calculated absolutely; most commonly it is non-past, after imperatives (14.103–14.104) and non-past verbs (14.102), but it may be irrealis (14.105) when the realis status of the purpose clause is being downplayed (for example so as not to commit to whether it happened). Occasionally the non-past is used for purpose clauses embedded in past narratives, presumably because the intended action is non-past relative to the enabling action (14.106).

- 14.102 *Karri-kurlah-ma-ng man-ngarnarrngh, karri-do-ng kun-bad-yih,*  
E:D 12a-skin-take-NP III-owenia.vernicosa 12a-pound-NP IV-rock-INST

*karri-djuhke ku-ronj, kurlah-no, ba djenj ka-rrowe-n.*  
12a-immersedNP LOC-water skin-3POSSD so fish 3-die-NP

'We take the skin of the *owenia vernicosa*, pound it with a rock, and put it to soak in the water, so that fish will die.'

- 14.103 *Yi-rrolkka ba karri-re.*

I 2-get.upIMP so 12a-goNP

'Get up so we can go.'

- 14.104 *Yi-wok-bimbu-ø, ga-burrbu-n ba.*

W 2-language-write-NP 3-know-NP so

'Write down the language, so he will know it.'

- 14.105 *Ben-djawa-m bininj kunak ba ø-kinje-meninj.*

W 3/3plP-ask-PP person fire so 3P-cook-IRR

'He asked the people for a fire, so that he could cook it.' [KS 208]

- 14.106 *Bininj ø-borledme-ng kunj, ba bedda kabirri-wernh-lobme djarre.*

E person 3P-turn-PP kangaroo so they 3a-proper-runNP far

'The people turned themselves into kangaroos, so they could run further and faster.'

The conjunction *bambu*, limited to eastern dialects, is synonymous with *ba*; it is probably a merged form of the sequence *ba* plus general subordinating conjunction *bu*, with

prenasalisation of the second syllable. The sequence *ba bu* is found in Kunwinjku with similar meaning (14.108).

- 14.107 *Ngun-bukka-n kun-wok bambu yi-kurmen.*  
 I 2/3-show-NP IV-language so 2-put.down-NP  
 'He'll show you the language so you can put it (write it) down.' [GID]

- 14.108 *Kan-wo djurra ba bu nga-na-n.*  
 W 2/1-giveIMP book so SUB 1/3-see-NP  
 'Give me the book, so I can look.' [E&E 102]

*Ba* or *bambu*, however, are not obligatory, since purpose complements may also be expressed simply by conjoining the purpose clause after the enabling clause, with TAM appropriate to an independent clause:

- 14.109 *Ga-bawo-n ga-nudme-n wanjh nud ga-ngu-n.*  
 Dj 3-leave-NP 3-rot-NP then rotten 3-eat-NP  
 'He leaves it to rot, and then eats it rotten.'
- 14.110 *Ngaye gorrogo an-bang nga-gurrm-i, gun-gurlah a-mangi.*  
 Dj I before III-poison 1/3-put.down-PI IV-skin 1/3-getPI  
 'I used to put down baits to get dingo pelts.'
- 14.111 *Nahni djurra gun-bukka-n yi-rrilhdilhm-e gun-djeihmi. gun-wok*  
 Dj MA:DEM book 3/2-show-NP 2-write-NP [language] IV-language  
 'This book will show you how to write down Gun-djeihmi language.'
- 14.112 *Bani-wam gabani-na-n al-badjan.*  
 Dj 3uaPP-goPP 3ua-see-NP II-mother  
 'They have gone to see their mum.'

The following example illustrates two purpose-marking strategies: the use of *ba* in the second clause, and simple verbal juxtaposition in the first.

- 14.113 *Ga-garrme bathroom baddumang arri-geb-na-rr-en, and gukku ba*  
 Dj 3-haveNP mirror 1a-face-see-RR-NP water so  
*arri-djuhme, gure ngarri-madj-djirridjbu-n.*  
 1a-washNP LOC 1a/3-swag-wash-NP  
 'It's got a bathroom and mirrors for us to see our faces, and water so that we can have a wash, where we can wash our clothes.'

Purpose clauses with *ba* may be used as main clauses with the restoration of the enabling clause left to the hearer's inference. Such clauses function as exhortations:

- 14.114 *Ba garri-re!*  
 Dj so 12a-goNP  
 '(Do what you need to) so that we can go!'
- 14.115 *Yi-worrkme-n ba!*  
 Dj 2-become.fill-NP so  
 '(Eat up) so that you are full!'

Finally, the genitive suffix *-ken/-gen* is occasionally attached to inflected verbs in purpose clauses, though this is only attested in Manyallaluk Mayali (14.18) and in Kunwinjku, where it occurs relatively frequently in the Kunwinjku Bible, as in:

- 14.116 "Bu na-marnde ka-bebme kabi-bawo-n bininj, wanjh ka-djal-e  
 W SUB 1-devil 3-come.outNP 3/3h-leave-NP person then 3-just-goNP  
*kore kukku-yak ka-bolk-yawa-n ka-ngudj-ngehme-kenh.*  
 LOC water-PRIV 3/3l-place-seek-NP 3-vigour-take.a.breakNP-GEN  
 'When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walks through dry places,  
 seeking rest.' [GKK Luke 11.24]

**APPREHENSIVE** A particular semantic subtype of purpose construction grammaticalised in most Australian languages and frequently associated with subordinate clause morphosyntax is the 'apprehensive' construction, with the meaning 'do X, in case/to avert that this bad thing Y happens'. In Bininj Gun-wok the modal particle *wardi ~ warde*, in conjunction with the non-past is used to express this meaning (9.32, 9.33, 14.158). However, this particle actually occurs more often in main clauses, with the meaning 'this bad thing might happen' (see §9.3.2 for examples), so there is no reason to propose a particular apprehensive subordinate construction, as opposed to a simple clause sequence where proximity implicates a purposive link, and the semantics of apprehension are supplied by the particle.

**CAUSE** As mentioned above, there is no single morpheme clearly specialised as a causal conjunction. Frequently causal relations are left implicit, with the cause and consequence clauses simply conjoined with no overt marker:

- 14.117 Bu ka-kurrabu-n marrek ka-re, ka-kom-dadjme, konda  
 I SUB 3-wind.blow-NP NEG 3-goNP 3-neck-breakNP here  
*kun-kom nuye.*  
 IV-neck his  
 'If the wind is blowing they don't go out (the *mimih*), because their necks  
 would break here at their necks.' [GID]
- 14.118 Mayh ngan-kolhbom, konbib nga-ngu-neng minj  
 I rainbow 3/1-strike.with.illnessPP corned.beef 1/3-eat-PP NEG  
*nga-rrang-baru-rr-imeninj tap nga-wam nga-bongu-neng.*  
 1-mouth-rub-RR-IRR tap 1-goPP 1/3-drink-PP  
 'The rainbow serpent struck me (with illness) because when I ate some corned  
 beef I didn't ritually rub my mouth (with sand) before drinking out of the tap.'  
 [GID]

Nonetheless, there are a number of other ways of indicating cause.

Firstly, the conjunction *la* (loaned from Iwaidja or Maung, and present in all dialects except Gun-djeihmi), which basically means 'and', is often used to connect two clauses between which a clausal relation exists (14.119, 14.120). The conjunction *dja*, also basically 'and', can be used in a similar way (14.121–14.123); the Etheringtons' grammar states that in Kunwinjku it can mean 'because, and can be used for so, and or but' (Etherinton & Etherington 1994:102). In both types the conjunction initiates the second clause in terms of prosodic grouping. Note that, where the presentation of clauses follows temporal order, a translation 'and' is also suitable for English (14.119), but in other cases only 'because' is

suitable (14.120, 14.121); this 'because' reading is also sometimes appropriate when the conjoined element is a noun phrase or adjunct instead of a full clause (14.122).

- 14.119 *Kun-madj ngurri-yingki-marnbu la ku-murrng karri-re.*  
 I IV-swig 2a-before-prepareIMP CONJ LOC-early 12a-goNP  
 'Get your swags ready beforehand because we'll be going early.' [GID]  
 'Get your swags ready beforehand, and we'll go early.'
- 14.120 *Werrk karri-lawkma-ng la dolobbo ka-kuk-djokkorra-nj.*  
 I quickly 12a-peel.bark-NP CONJ stringy.bark 3-body-become.tight-PP  
 'We must hurry to peel the bark off the tree because the bark is becoming tight  
 (due to the onset of the dry season).' [GID]
- 14.121 *Kan-wo manimunak dja nga-marrwe-dowe-ng.*  
 W 2/1-giveIMP magpie.goose CONJ 1-hunger-die-PP  
 'Give me some goose because I am hungry.' [OP 447]
- 14.122 *Barri-wurlh-wurlhge-yi, dja njamed-gen.*  
 Dj 3aP-ITER-light.fires-PI CONJ what-GEN  
 'They would go around lighting fires, for/because of whatever reason.'

Finally, where the situation described in the second clause is enabled by that in the first clause, the translation 'so' is appropriate alongside 'and':

- 14.123 *Bonj, garri-balge, dja garri-re.*  
 Dj enough 12a-have.plenty CONJ 12a-goNP  
 'OK, we've got plenty, so let's go.'
- 14.124 *Ngaye nga-na-ng nayin, dja nga-kele-rlombe-ng.*  
 W 1sg 1/3-see-PP snake CONJ 1-afraid-run-PP  
 'I saw a snake, so I ran away.' [E&E 102]

It is striking that the semantic range of *la* and *dja*, including as it does simple conjunction, cause and purpose, is exactly parallel to that of simple clause sequences without an overt conjunction, so that these overt conjunctions can be said to share the same set of contextual implicatures that enriches simple clause sequencing.<sup>5</sup> I therefore avoid postulating 'because' as part of the lexical meaning of *la* and *dja*, and simply gloss them as CONJ.

A second formal means used with causal clauses is the modal particle *wardi* ~ *warde* 'might', normally employed in clauses with the meaning 'this unpleasant/dangerous thing might happen'. In Kuninjku this can be used with causes taking the form of dangerous (14.125) or unpleasant (14.126) facts motivating the actions in the first clause. Again, though, it seems that the 'cause' reading comes from the proximity of the two clauses, while *wardi* contributes the semantics of 'unpleasant possibility' in the cause clause.

<sup>5</sup> This is not to claim, of course, that *la* means 'because' (i.e. that 'because' is a conventional sense) any more than 'and' means 'and therefore' in an English sequence 'my house is on fire and my children are gone': there is an ample pragmatic literature (see Levinson 1983) on ways in which pragmatics can enrich the basically conjunctive meaning of 'and'.

- 14.125 *Marrek ngalyod birri-kurrrm-eninj ya ku-wardde marrek wardi*  
 I NEG rainbow.serpent 3aP-put-IRR yeah LOC-rock not might

*birri-bimbu-yi wanjh ben-ngu-yi, wardi ka-yo ka-bim-yo*  
 3a/3P-paint-IRR then 3/3plP-eat-IRR might 3-lieNP 3-painting-lieNP

*Kubumi and Kabarbarre and Dilebang and Milmilngkan and Kabolkdadjerren.*

'They didn't put rainbow serpents when they painted on the rock, because if they painted them then the snake might have consumed them because there were rainbow serpents located at Kubumi, Kabarbarre, Dilebang, Milmilngkan and up to where that area finishes.'

- 14.126 *Minj ngalkka ngurri-wo-n kunj, karri-kaybun ngalengman-wali*  
 I NEG FE-DEM 2a/3-give-NP kangaroo 12a/3-withholdNP herEMPH-in.turn

*wardi kan-kaybu-n man-me man-djay.*  
 might 3/1a-deny-NP III-veg.food III-[tuber.sp.]

'Don't give her (emu) any of that kangaroo meat because she is not going to share the tubers with us.'

A third formal possibility is to use the English word 'because':

- 14.127 *Bikibiki an-ngorrme-ng an-wayhke-ng, wanjh a-rrolkka-ng, an-warrhke-ng,*  
 Dj pig 3/1-pick.up-PP 3/1-lift-PP then 1/3-get.up-PP 3/1-drop-PP

*wanjh a-rrolkka-ng, an-warrhge-ng na-meke bikibiki, because*  
 then 1/3-get.up-PP 3/3-drop-PP MA-DEM pig

*na-bang-kirridjdja-ni.*

MA-fierce-really-P

'A pig picked me up off the ground with his shoulders, then I got up, he dropped me down, then I got up, that pig dropped me down, because he was really fierce.'

- 14.128 *"Maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng" barri-bolk-ngeibo-m, because maddjurn*  
 python 3P-sink-PP 3a/3P-place-call-PP python

*ba-wodjme-ng.*

3P-sink-PP

'They called it "where the python sank down", because a python sank down there.'

It has frequently been remarked that Australian languages borrow such conjunctions in order to have an explicit means of marking such discourse relations as cause, and certainly most uses of 'because' in Mayali or Kunwinjku can be translated into English with 'because'. However, there are uses of 'because' that fall outside, even with the very wide range that comes from admitting the 'discourse' sense of because (I assert X, because Y is relevant), and which cannot be translated as English 'because'; an example is 14.129, where the best translation is 'but'. Such examples suggest that, for some speakers at least, 'because' is merely another conjunction like *la* and *dja* that includes causality in its semantic range, but can also be used for a wide other range of logical connections.



- 14.129 *Yirridjdja Duwa im lookafterim because minj gabarri-burru-n that*  
 Dj Yirridjdja Duwa NEG 3a-know-NP  
*lot wurdurd.*  
*lot children*  
 'Yirridjdja and Duwa moieties look after each other, but they don't understand,  
 the younger people.'

#### 14.4.2 Temporal relations

As with relations of causality and intention, there is frequently no explicit marking of temporal relations. However there are a number of ways of making temporal relations explicit when needed. The various verbal prefixes coding aspect and sequence (§11.4) play a particularly important role here.

**SIMULTANEITY AND TEMPORAL FRAMING** The two commonest means for expressing this are:

- Placement of the general subordinator *bu* in the framing clause, most typically in initial position (14.130, 14.131) but sometimes later in the clause (14.132).
- Simple juxtaposition, with the framing clause first (14.133, 14.134). Rarely the conjunction *dja* may be used (14.135), if the subjects are different.

Simultaneity of clauses with distinct subjects will normally call for the use of the IMMEDIATE prefix (14.133) in all dialects except Kune. The exact translation as 'when', 'while' or 'as' depends on context, and particularly on the TAM value of the two clauses.

- 14.130 *Bu ngaye nga-yawurd-ni, ngandi-marne-yolyolm-i*  
 W SUB I 1-small-P 3a/1-BEN-tell-PI  
 'When I was small, they used to tell me stories.' [PC 106]
- 14.131 *Bu man-kole kabirri-yame-rr-en, bininj kabirri-baye na-mekk*  
 W SUB III-spear 3a-spear-RR-NP person 3a-biteNP MA-DEM  
*marlakka ba kun-yid kaben-wo-n.*  
 string.bag so IV-fight 3/3pl-give-NP  
 'When they are fighting each other with spears, men bite this string bag  
 (a little bag they wear round their necks), to give them power.' [KS 822]
- 14.132 *Na-gudji gare bu ba-bolk-warre-woh-wo-ni njamed narlangak*  
 Dj MA-one maybe SUB 3/3LP-place-bad-INC-make-PI what blanket.lizard  
*barri-ma-ngi.*  
 3a/3-grab-PI  
 'When one (youth) would be about to muck around (not staying in the place where  
 he was told), they (the old men) would pick up a whatsit, a blanket lizard.'
- 14.133 *Barri-h-ngu-ni djilidjilih, gorlobbarra barri-na-ng.*  
 Dj 3a/3P-IMM-eat-PI cane.grass wallaroo 3a/3P-see-PP  
 'While they were eating cane grass, they saw a wallaroo.'

14.134 *Ngan-djedj ga-gobu-n, wurlk-no gunj garndalpburru.*  
 MM III-[plant.sp.] 3-flower-NP fire-3POSSD macropod antilopine.wallaroo  
 'When the *cochlospermum fraseri* comes in to flower, it's time to hunt antilopine wallaroos with fire-drives.'

14.135 *Goba-gohbanj barri-borrkge-yi, dja yawurrinj bandi-nahna-ni.*  
 Dj REDUP-old.person 3aP-dance-PI and young.man 3a/3pl-watch-PI  
 'The old men danced, while the young men watched them.'

Clauses marked with *bu* normally come first (14.130, 14.131), but may follow a framing negative clause (14.136, 14.137). The meaning 'won't X as long as Y' can be expressed by adding the verbal prefix *bangme-* 'not yet' (§11.4.5) to the verb in the main clause (14.136).

14.136 *An-djal-nekke an-garre nuye na ginga djama*  
 Dj III-just-that III-custom his now estuarine.crocodile not  
*ga-bangme-ngu-n bu ga-h-gulba-re,*  
 3-not.yet-eat-NP SUB 3-IMM-blood-goNP  
 'It's just as I have just told you, his custom, the estuarine crocodile; he won't eat (his victim) as long as the blood is flowing.'

14.137 *Minj karri-re kore man-dalk-kuyeng-kuyeng bu karri-ma-ng man-me.*  
 W not 12a-goNP LOC III-grass-long-long SUB 12a-get-NP III-food  
 'We don't go into the long grass when we go hunting.' [KS 112]

If the complex clause describes a repeated event, the TAM sequence is imperfective-imperfective:

14.138 *Barri-bal-djudwarrehwarrewo-rre-ni, ba-rrurnde-ngi, darah*  
 Dj 3a/3P-away-turn.backs.on-RR-PI 3P-return-PI stringybark  
*ba-ma-ngi, ban-berdm-i, ban-bu-ni.*  
 3/3lP-pick.up-PI 3/3plP-cover-PI 3/3plP-kill-PI  
 'He'd come back, pick up a piece of stringybark, cover them (with it) and kill them.'

There are three other more explicit means of marking the general relation of temporal coincidence and framing. Firstly, and apparently only in Gun-djeihmi, the framing clause may be preceded by the locative preposition *gure*:

14.139 *Gure bi-djal-yawa-ni ganjdji ba-djal-wokda-nj na-mege.*  
 Dj while 3/3hP-just-look-PI under 3P-just-speak-PP MA-DEM  
 'While she was looking for him under the leaves that one (quail) spoke up.'

14.140 *Garrang! Yi-na-ø nagomdudj ganmani-lidjge-yi ngarrewoneng gure*  
 Dj mother 2-see-IMP initiate 3/1du-pinch-PI 1duOBL while  
*ani-birndulhmi!*  
 1ua-splashPI

'Mum! Look at (our brother the) initiate who has been pinching the two of us while we were splashing about!' (This is from the Gun-djeihmi version of Text 6.)

Secondly, and again only in Gun-djeihmi, the subordinate verb may be prefixed with *gu* (14.141). This is normally the locative prefix (§5.2.2.1) but may here simply be a reduced form of the locative preposition.

- 14.141 *Bedman gu-barri-barnh-barndi "Ngayed yi-yimarra-n?*  
 Dj theyEMPH LOC-3a-REDUP-hangPI how 2-turn.into-NP  
 'While the others were sitting in the tree, (they asked) "What are you going to turn into?"'

Thirdly, this time only in Manyallaluk Mayali, the subordinate verb may bear the temporal case suffix *-geno*, normally found on time nominals (§5.2.1.12); see 8.99 for an example.

Where the framing clause is in some sense a precondition for the inception of the second clause (which will be translated sometimes as 'when' and sometimes as 'once' or 'only when'), the framing clause is often marked with *ngandu(d)* (Dj) or *med* (I). Usually *med* is an interjection meaning 'wait, hold on', but here it is integrated into the intonational contour of the clause.

- 14.142 *Loklok ba-yim-i andud ba-djordm-inj ba-boledme-ng, gebyirrge*  
 Dj skink 3P-do-PI once 3P-grow.up-PP 3P-turn-PP [snake.sp.]  
*maih ba-yimarra-n.*  
 animal 3P-turn.into-NP  
 'Once the skink gets big, it turns into a snake.'
- 14.143 *Ngaye ngandu nga-re, bayun yi-djirdma-ng.*  
 Dj I once 1-gONP don't 2-steal-NP  
 'Don't steal it once I go!'
- 14.144 *Ngandu birndu-wern, an-dumuk ngarri-worrhme.*  
 Dj once mosquito-many III-native.cherry 1a-lightNP  
 'When/once there are a lot of mosquitoes, then we light a fire of native cherry wood.'
- 14.145 *Med yi-djordme-n ø-dadjdje-ø*  
 I wait 2-grow.up-NP 1/2-cut-NP  
 'Once you're grown up I'll circumcise you.' [Garde 1996:140]

TEMPORAL SEQUENCE. Once again, the commonest strategy is to simply place the verbs in the order of occurrence with no further explicit marking of temporal relationships:

- 14.146 *Barri-darrgid-ma-ngi. Barri-ga-ni barri-mungewe-yi. Barri-re-i.*  
 Dj 3a-alive-grasp-PI 3a-take-PI 3a-let.go-PI 3a-go-PI  
 'They (the initiates) would pick (the snake) up. Then they'd take it and let it go. Then they'd keep going along.'

When more attention is focussed on a moment in the sequence, the discourse-organising interjection *wanjh* 'then' is used. Normally this falls in the second clause of an intonationally linked pair, as in:

- 14.147 *Birri-worrhm-inj, wanjh birri-yo-y.*  
 E 3aP-become.full-PP then 3aP-sleep-PP  
 'When they had eaten their full, they went to sleep.'

A special use in which it appears in the first clause, in conjunction with the irrealis, is to specify an action that was about to happen, before being preempted by a second action:

- 14.148 *Wanjh bi-berdme-ninj, barri-yame-ng, barri-burnnameng.*  
 Dj then 3/3HP-cover-IRR 3a/3-spear-PP 3a/3P-stopPP  
 'Just as he was about to cover him (with the bark), they speared him and stopped him doing it.'

For more discussion of the semantics of *wanjh* see §13.12.4.

*Kaluk*, basically 'later, after a while' but also usable as a modal preverb marking futurity (§9.3.2), can also be used to make the event sequence overt. Whereas this word is always preverbal when marking futurity, it need not be when used as a conjunction.

- 14.149 *ngarrbek ø-buni-h-bu-ni. Kaluk ku-mekbe man-kung ø-na-ng.*  
 W echidna 3P-REDUP-IMM-kill-PI then LOC-there III-sugarbag 3/3P-see-PP  
 'He was killing edhidnas, then he saw a sugarbag.' [Oates 1964:98]

The relative temporal relation between clauses can also be made explicit through the use of the verbal prefixes *weleng-* 'then' (14.150) and *yingkih-* 'first' (see §11.4.5–11.4.6 for fuller discussion).

- 14.150 *Bedda kabirri-dokme wanjh ngarr-weleng-re.*  
 I they 3a-lead.offNP then 1a-then-goNP  
 'They'll go first and then you and I will go after.' [GID]

It may also be shown by the adverbials *yerre ~ rerre* 'behind, later' (14.151, 14.152; also 14.16) and *werrk* (14.151), or the adjective *yungki* '(as) first (one)' (14.152).

- 14.151 *Bu ngarri-birli-ma-ng lorrkkon-kenh Bulanj werrk ka-birli-ma-ng.*  
 I when 1a-fire-get-NP Lorrkkon-GEN Bulanj first 3-fire-get-NP

*wanjh Bangardi yerre, wanjh Ngarridj, Kodjok. Yerre Duwa*  
 then Bangardi after then Ngarridj Kodjok after Duwa

*kabirri-birli-ma-ng, Kela, Wamud, Balang, Kamarrang.*  
 3a-fire-get-NP

'When we get fire for the Lorrkkon ceremony, first all the Bulanj subsections get fire, then Bangardi, Ngarridj, and Kodjok. After this all the Duwa get fire, Kela, Wamud, Balang and Kamarrang.' [GID]

- 14.152 *Ngayi nga-yungki nga-rrulebo-m wanjh nungka rerre.*  
 I I 1-first 1/3-shoot-PP then he after  
 'I shot it first and then he shot it next.'

Where an initial state of affairs lasts some time up to a delimiting event, two constructions may be used. In the first construction the clause expressing the initial state of affairs includes the adverb *korroko/ gorrogo* 'for a long time; long ago', while the clause with the delimiting event is marked with *wanjh* 'then' before or after its verb (14.153, 14.154). The resultant construction may be translated as 'for a long time ... and then' or simply as '(for a long time) until'.

- 14.153 *Galukborrk ba-werrhme-ng gorrogo ba-rrolga-ng wanjh.*  
 Dj long.time 3P-scratch-PP long.time 3P-get.up-PP then  
 'She raked them up for a long time until he suddenly flew up.'
- 14.154 *Ku-m-wam ø-yerrka-ng korroko, wanjh bi-djawa-m ...*  
 W 3P-hither-goPP 3P-sit-PP long.time then 3/3hP-ask-PP  
 'He came and sat down for a long time, then/until he asked him ...' [OP 447]

More commonly the first verb takes the prefix *djal-* 'just' and is followed by a second clause giving the endpoint (see also 14.18):

- 14.155 *Maminga gun-ma-ng, yi-djal-yo-ø yi-rrowe-n.*  
 Dj clam 3/2-get-NP 2-just-lie-NP 2-die-NP  
 'If a giant clam grabs you, you just stay there until you die.'
- 14.156 *Gabarri-djal-noihme-noihme dja ga-rrung-bebme.*  
 Dj 3a-just-ITER-fuckNP and 3-sun-appearNP  
 'They just keep fucking until the sun comes up.'

The 'until' meaning can also be conveyed by pairing a verb in immediate aspect with a *bu* clause containing a verb like *yakmen* 'die down, become nothing':

- 14.157 *Ngaye nga-h-ni Darwin bu ø-yakm-inj rowk.*  
 W I 1-IMM-sitP SUB 3P-become.nothing-PP all  
 'I lived in Darwin until everything settled down.' [KS 256]

#### 14.4.3 'X without Ying'

To express the fact that one action was carried out and a second one wasn't, *djal-* 'just' is prefixed to the verb of the first clause, followed by an ordinary negative clause:

- 14.158 *Munguih ø-djal-barndi ku-kak minj ø-kolu-yi, wardi*  
 E always 3P-just-be.highP LOC-night not 3P-come.down-IRR might  
*birri-baye-meninj.*  
 3a/3-bite-IRR  
 'He stayed up in the tree all night without coming down, in case the snakes bit him.'

#### 14.4.4 Conditionals

The commonest type of conditional employs the subordinating conjunction *bu* in the protasis, usually initially (14.159, 14.160) but more rarely later in the clause (14.161). (Formally these clauses are thus identical to the 'when' clauses discussed in §14.4.2 above.) Very rarely, *bu* appears in the apodosis instead, with no identifiable difference in meaning (14.162).

- 14.159 *Bu karri-ngadjinbu-n, karri-ngeybu-n kun-nguya yikurrumu.*  
 I SUB 12a-sneeze-NP 12a-name-NP IV-clan secret.version.of.clan.name  
 'If we sneeze, we call out the *yikurrumu* version of our clan name.'

- 14.160 *Bu anabbarru barri-darnh-bebme-rre-ni, barri-darnh-bu-ni.*  
 Dj SUB buffalo 3aP-close.up-appear-RR-PI 3a/3P-close.up-kill-PI  
 'When/if the buffalo stampeded up close, they'd shoot them at close range.'
- 14.161 *Na-gudji gare bu ba-bolkwarrehwo-ni ... njamed, narlangak*  
 Dj MA-one perhaps SUB 3P-muck.around-PI what blanket.lizard  
*barri-ma-ngi, bandi-bu-ni narlangak-yi, darrgid.*  
 3a/3P-pick.up-PI 3a/3pl-hit-PI blanket.lizard-INSTR alive  
 'If one (initiate) was maybe mucking around ... they'd pick up a whatsit, a blanket lizard, and they'd flog him with it, alive.'
- 14.162 *Djama njanjuk ngarri-ma-yi ga-djal-yakki, bu ga-yauh-makna-n.*  
 Dj not something 1a-get-IRR 3-just-nothing SUB 3-again-look.around-NP  
 'If we don't get anything at all, then we'll have a look (for fish) somewhere else.'
- Where an adjective follows a verb of perception or discovery, and it is the ascription of the quality that is conditional, *bu* will come between the verb and the adjective:
- 14.163 *Gabarri-na-n an-warre, gabarri-bawo-n; gabarri-bebge bu ngan-mak,*  
 Dj 3a/3-see-NP VE-bad 3a/3-leave-NP 3a/3-take.outNP SUB VE-good  
*gabarri-ga-n.*  
 3a/3-take-NP  
 'If they see it's a bad one, they leave it; if they take out a good one, they take it.'
- 14.164 *A-manjbekka-n bu an-mak, a-ga-n.*  
 Dj 1/3-taste-NP SUB VE-good 1/3-take-NP  
 'If I taste that it's a good one, I take it.'

Rarely, the protasis follows the apodosis:

- 14.165 *Kanjwerr mim-rayek bu ngarri-do-ng.*  
 I waterlily.fruit seed-hard SUB 1a-pound-NP  
 'The seeds of the waterlily fruit are hard if we pound them.'

Most commonly both clauses are in the non-past (14.159), and of course a clause may also be non-verbal (14.165); such combinations are appropriate for general statements of condition and consequence. But other TAM values are possible: past imperfective in both clauses is used when outlining repeated condition and consequence in narratives about past customs (14.160, 14.161), the non-past followed by a prohibitive clause (prohibitive particle plus non-past) is used when giving instructions about what to do in a general class of situations (14.166), and the irrealis in both clauses is used for counter-factual conditionals, whether located in the present (14.167) or the past (14.168). See 9.99 for an unusual example of an irrealis in the protasis followed by the non-past in the apodosis.

- 14.166 *Bu yi-na-n kelebuk yuwn yi-bu-n.*  
 I SUB 2/3-see-NP tame PROHIB 2/3-kill-NP  
 'If you see a tame animal, don't kill it.'
- 14.167 *Bu nungka ø-di-wirrinj, wanjh nga-bu-yi.*  
 W SUB he 3P-stand-IRR then 1/3-hit-IRR  
 'If he was here, I would hit him.'

- 14.168 *Bu*  $\phi$ -*bu-yi* *ngarduk duruk, wanjh nga-bu-yi.*  
 W SUB 3/3I-hit-IRR my dog then 1/3-hit-IRR  
 'If he had hurt my dog, I would have hit him.'

In addition to TAM values on the verb, various other expressions may be used to modulate the likelihood of the condition occurring, such as *gare* 'maybe' (14.161) and *yiman baleh* 'like somewhere' (14.169):

- 14.169 *Ngandi-marne-yime-ng "kun-red man-ih nguddangke, bu yiman baleh*  
 I 3/1a-BEN-say-PP IV-place VE-DEM your SUB like where  
*ngarri-dowe-n wanjh nguddangke kun-re yi-worhna-n".*  
 1a-die-NP then your IV-place 2/3-look.after-NP  
 'They said to me, "This place belongs to you and if we might like die somewhere,  
 then you have to look after this place".'

The apodosis sometimes contains *wanjh* 'then', initially (14.169) or finally (14.170). Such overt marking is commoner when the conditional is part of a more complex logical sequence requiring more 'punctuation' (as in these examples), and in fact *wanjh* can then bracket off the beginning of a whole double conditional, as with its first occurrence in 14.170:

- 14.170 *Bu rakalk kaben-yawa-n bininj kun-dulk kabirri-djuhke*  
 I SUB sorcerer 3/3pl-seek-NP person IV-stick 3a/3-make.wetNP  
*wanjh ka-warme, la darnki. Bu ka-yibme, djarre wanjh.*  
 then 3-floatNP CONJ near SUB 3-sinkNP far then  
 'If a sorcerer wants to find a (particular) victim, they throw a stick in the water.  
 If it floats then (the victim is) close, if it sinks, then the victim is a long way away.'  
 [GID]

As with other types of adverbial clause, it is frequent for intonation and juxtaposition to be the only mark of the relationship, so that the conjunction *bu* is frequently omitted:

- 14.171 *Na-warre, djama arri-gorle-wo-yi.*  
 Dj MA-bad not 1a-spear-give-IRR  
 'If it was no good, we wouldn't give the spear (in *bulk* exchange).'
- 14.172 *Marrek gurri-darrgid-ma-ng, bi-rrulubu-n bokkoh-yi.*  
 Dj not 2a/3-alive-pick.up-NP 1a/2a-hit.with.missile-NP spear.type-INSTR  
 'If you don't pick it up alive, we'll spear you.'

All other characteristics of conditionals, as described above for those overtly marked with *bu*, can be found in conditionals with no overt link other than intonation. TAM values again vary according to the realis and aspectual status of the situation, being attested as non-past (14.172, 14.173), irrealis (14.171) and past imperfective (14.174), and the likelihood of the condition may be modulated with adverbs like *gare* 'maybe' (14.173, 14.175):

- 14.173 *Gare wurdyau gabani-garrm-e, an-ege wern maih ga-garrme*  
 Dj maybe child 3ua/3-get-NP VE-DEM much food 3-getNP  
*berrewoneng.*  
 3uaOBL  
 'If it maybe happens that two people conceive a child, then in that case he  
 (the father) gets a lot of food for them.'

- 14.174 *Bininj na-buyiga bi-marne-djidma-ngi daluk, yawurrinj,*  
 Dj man MA-other 3/3hP-BEN-steal-PI woman youth  
*bi-godjek-ma-ngi barri-gadju-ngi na-mege yawurrinj, barri-bu-ni,*  
 3/3hP-eloping-take-PI 3a/3-follow-PI MA-DEM youth 3a/3P-hit-PI  
*barri-yam-i.*  
 3a/3P-spear-PI  
 'If another man pinched his wife, if a young man ran off with her, they'd follow that man and kill him, they'd spear him.'
- 14.175 *Gare gabarri-ngalbonghe, arri-munáme nguddangge. (k.k.)*  
 Dj perhaps 3a-obtainNP 1a/3-keepNP 2OBL  
 'If anyone should get some food, we'll keep some for you.'

Again, the protasis may occasionally follow the apodosis:

- 14.176 *Gunak ga-bili-yakme-n, gayakki, a-rrilebu-n.*  
 Dj fire 3-flame-become.nothing-NP nothing 1-piss-NP  
 'The flames will go out if I piss on them.'

## 14.5 Serialised constructions

By serialised constructions I refer to tightly linked sequences of fully inflected verbs, necessarily under a single intonation contour and without intervening material being acceptable, that have a meaning more specific than can be obtained from the composition of the individual verb meanings plus the pragmatic contribution made through juxtaposition and order. Distinguishing true serialised-verb constructions from simple strings of verbs is a notoriously difficult problem — see, for example, Enfield (2000) on Lao and Eather (1990) on Nakkara — and each of the four operational elements this definition includes is still problematic to apply in our present state of knowledge. We still lack an explicit description of intonation,<sup>6</sup> a large enough corpus to decide whether the lack of intervening material simply reflects the overall preference of the language for long strings of verbs, a dictionary with specific enough entries for verb lexemes to determine the precise semantic contribution of each lexeme, and an explicit account of the pragmatics of adjunction. This account of verb serialisation, then, must be regarded as extremely preliminary, and further investigation is likely to throw up many more subtle examples.

The two most clear-cut cases of serialisation involve the verbs *re* 'go' and *ni* 'sit', which when serialised follow the verb they modify, adding the aspectual meanings 'do while going along; do repeatedly' and 'do/be in a state for a long time'. Both constructions are commonest in the eastern dialects, and interestingly correspond to morphological categories lacking or rarely used in these dialects, respectively incorporation of verbs into *re* 'go' (see §12.3) and use of the 'away, along' directional *bal-* (§11.2.2) and use of the past imperfective aspect TAM inflection.

<sup>6</sup> Though the corpus in Carroll (1995), with its annotations of pause lengths, is now a useful source as regards rhythmic groupings. The present author, together with Judith Bishop and Janet Fletcher, is working on a full description of the intonational system.



Serial constructions with *re* 'go' have three distinct but closely related meanings. Passing from the meaning most closely related to that of the verb when used independently, they are:

DO WHILE GOING ALONG, GO ALONG V-ING as in 14.177, but also more the general dynamic meaning of a gathering change of state (14.178, 14.179). Note that *re* in the first clause of 14.178 is simply dynamic, while in the second clause it merges the movement and change-of-state meanings.

14.177 *Kun-dulk nakkanj ka-warme ka-re.*

E:N IV-stick MA:DEM 3-floatNP 3-goNP  
'A stick is floating along (down the river).'

14.178 *Ka-ngokda-n ka-re, mudda ka-kolu-ng ka-re.*

E:N 3-become.night-NP 3-goNP sun 3-descend-NP 3-goNP  
'Night is falling, the sun is going down.'

14.179 *Ka-rrolka-n ka-re, ka-berl-yalkme.*

E:N 3-fly.up-NP 3-goNP 3-wing-spreadNP  
'It spreads its wings and takes off.'

14.180 *Munguyh, birri-wayini-wirrinj birri-ra-yi, birri-yime-ninj*

E:D long.time 3aP-sing-IRR 3aP-go-IRR 3aP-say-IRR

'Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba nguyunguy kayakay'.

...[song words]...

'They kept walking along singing: "Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba nguyunguy kayakay".'

Interestingly †David Karlbuma, the Kune speaker who supplied these sentences, gave Dalabon equivalents in which the first verb was incorporated into *bon* 'go', linked to the incorporating verb by *ye ~ yi*: the Dalabon equivalents were *dulh djakih kah-warme-ye-bon*, *mudda kah-yibme-yibon* and *kah-werl-yalhme-yebon* respectively.

GO AROUND V-ING Here the action still involves movement, but is repeated rather than continuous, so that the movement translation into English is habitual 'go around Ving' rather than 'go along Ving'.

14.181 *Yiben-bolka-n yi-re!*

I 2/3pl-follow.scent-NP 2-goNP

'You (always) go around sniffing their scent!' (i.e. of girlfriends or women) (uttered as part of a joking exchange) [Garde 1996:138]

V HABITUALLY, USED TO CARRY OUT ACTION V Here the habitual component is carried over, but the movement meaning is no longer required, so that the construction can still be used with non-movement verbs:

14.182 *Ngane-du-rr-inj ngane-wam ...*

I lua-swear.at-RR-PP lua-goPP

'I used to swear with him ...' [Garde 1996]

Serial constructions with *ni* 'sit' can be used to give a general durative meaning. Unlike the construction with 'go', the first element can be a (change of) state verb like *dowe* 'be sick; die' (14.183a) or a (change of) stance verb like *yerrkan* 'sit (down)' (14.184), and in fact the

ability of *ni* to combine non-pleonastically with *yerrkan* 'sit' demonstrates that in this construction it has a more general durative meaning, rather than its specific lexical meaning of 'sit'.

14.183 a.  $\emptyset$ -Dowe-ng  $\emptyset$ -ni.  
I 3P-die/be.sick-PP 3P-sitP  
'(S)he was sick.'

b.  $\emptyset$ -Dowe-ni.  
W 3P-die/be.sick-PI  
'(S)he was sick.'

14.184  $\emptyset$ -Bolk-yawam kore ku-buk ba  $\emptyset$ -yerrka-yinj  $\emptyset$ -ni-wirrinj dja  
W 3/3P-place-seePP LOC LOC-dry so 3P-sit.down-IRR 3P-sit-IRR CONJ

baladj na-wern-ni kore kukku.

leech MA-many-PI LOC water

'She looked for a dry place where she could sit down (for a long time), because of the leeches near the water.' [KS 16]

Two points need to be made about this use of *ni*.

Firstly, though it is commoner in eastern dialects (Kuninjku and Kune) that lack the past imperfective category (as shown by the synonymy of 14.183a and b), it is still found in Kunwinjku at least (as shown by 14.184).

Secondly, it may occur to the reader that *doweni* as in 14.183b, is simply a coalesced and grammaticalised form of *doweng ni* as in 14.183a. At least within the recent time frame of the Gunwinyguan languages, this is clearly not the case, since past imperfectives in *-ni* are found throughout the Gunwinyguan family, and in fact a past imperfective in *-ni* is reconstructible to a time depth well beyond Proto Gunwinyguan (see Alpher, Evans & Harvey, to appear). On the other hand, the root *ni* for 'sit' is ubiquitous in non-Pama-Nyungan languages and probably reconstructable to Proto Australian, so that an original source of the past imperfective as a grammaticisation of 'sit' on the Kuninjku pattern is not unlikely, albeit at a much greater time-depth. The serialised construction in eastern dialects would thus be a recapitulation of the first part of a rather common path of grammaticalisation.

## 14.6 Nominalised clauses

In §4.1.2 I mentioned a number of cases of inflected verbs lexicalised as nominal arguments, such as W *bene-danginj* [they two-stood] 'the two siblings', Dj *ga-bo-man.gan* [it-water-falls] 'waterfall' and Dj *ba-yo-i* (it. 'it lay') 'leftovers'. For some, their derived nominal status is shown by their ability to take nominal prefixes for noun class or location, (e.g. Dj *al-nguni-h-yo* [II-you.two-IMM-lie] 'your wife', Dj *gu-barroweng* [LOC-(s)he.died] 'at his/her funeral').

These examples, which have specific idiomatic meanings, are best analysed as lexicalised nominalisations formed by zero conversion from inflected verbs, and then allowing, in some cases at least, the prefixation possibilities available to regular nominals. Such lexicalised deverbal nominalisations can be used as arguments without the need for an accompanying

demonstrative or possessive pronoun to establish their categorial status as a noun. Likewise they can function as a possessor noun within a noun phrase simply through juxtaposition:

- 14.185 *ngan-yaume-i gun-red*  
 Dj 3/1-conceive-PP IV-country  
 my.mother  
 'my mother's country (i.e. the country of (she who) conceived me)'

The ability to use fully inflected verbs as nominal arguments is not limited to such lexicalised forms. Although it is not a common strategy, there are a number of textual examples in which inflected verbs (along with adjuncts or adverbs) function as nominalised clauses would in English. In contrast to the situation with verbs lexicalised as nouns, such 'improvised nominalisations' are normally overtly marked as referring expressions by either a possessive pronoun (14.186, 14.187), the masculine (and general) relative demonstrative *nawu* (4.188, see also 14.27), or the locative (or temporal) demonstrative *gubu* (14.189).

- 14.186 *so much ngan-garre nga-marne-yolyolme gure ngayeman ngarduk*  
 Dj III-culture 1/3-BEN-tellNP LOC myself.EMPH my  
*that far, gure man-guyeng man-garre ngarduk nga-wam djarreh,*  
 LOC VE-long III-story my 1-goPP far  
*gure nga-rrabbolk-m-inj.*  
 LOC 1-adult-INCH-PP  
 'I tell him all about culture and about my own life, about the long story of my distant travels, about how I grew up.'

- 14.187 *but ngalengman maddjurn, gun-merlem-bok ngarre*  
 Dj herEMPH black.headed.python IV-belly-track herPOSS  
*ba-m-wage-ng gaddum-be gu-bolk-dulum*  
 3P-hither-crawl-PP upstream-ABL LOC-place-high  
 'her, black-headed python, it's the belly-track of her slithering down from the high ridges upstream'

- 14.188 *Ba njamed yi-mene-yime-n bu an-garehgen. Bu dabbarrabbolk*  
 Dj well what 2/3-BEN-say-IMP when III-before when old.people  
*bu barri-djah-djangga-ni na-wu barri-wurlh-wurlhge-yi.*  
 when 3aP-INCEP-hunt-PI MA-that 3aP-ITER-light.fire-PI  
 'Well, you tell them what happened in the old days, the time of the old people. When they used to start on the hunt, about how they used to burn off then.'

- 14.189 *Bolkgime ngaye nga-yolyolme, gu-bu, gu-bu nga-wurdurd-ni.*  
 Dj now I 1-tellNP LOC-REL LOC-REL 1-child-P  
 'Now I will tell about when I was little.'

## Appendix 1: texts<sup>1</sup>

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### Text 1: Toby Gangele: Alwanjdjuk the emu (Gun-djeihmi)

Told by Toby Gangele to NE in Gun-djeihmi, Nourlangie Camp, May 1987. Transcribed by NE and Violet Lawson, Cooinda, 1990.

1. *Al-wanjdjuk gorrogo al-gohbanj ba-rri ba-yim-i.*  
II-emu before II-old.person 3P-beP 3P-say-PI  
Long ago, Emu was an old woman.
2. *Wou, ba-re-i an-djai, ba-bu-ni.*  
yes 3P-go-PI III-cane.grass 3/3P-hit-PI  
Yes, she would go off to get cane grass.
3. *Ba-re-i ba-ngolu-ngi ba-rro-ngi gu-warde.*  
3P-go-PI 3/3P-roast.on.coals-PI 3/3P-pound-PI LOC-rock  
She used to go and roast it, and pound it on a rock.
4. *Ban-wo-ni barri-m-guyin-re-i darn.gih,*  
3/3pl-give-PI 3a-hither-almost-go-PI close  
She'd offer it to them, they'd come close almost up to her, [note offer/give polysemy]
5. *"ngam" ba-yim-i, ban-gaibu-ni.*  
gulp 3P-do-PI 3/3plP-deny-PI  
but she'd swallow it down, "gulp", and deny them the food.
6. *Aleng ba-djal-yim-i.*  
she 3P-just-do-PI  
She used to to that all the time.
7. *Wurdurd barri-marrih-marri-dowe-ng.*  
children 3aP-ITER-be.hungry-PP  
The children got hungrier and hungrier.
8. *[na wirriwirriyak ba-rrenge-mok-ni.]*  
now cuckoo.shrike 3P-foot-sore-(sit)PI  
Now Black-faced cuckoo-shrike had a sore foot.  
[This line came in too early, and is a false start].

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<sup>1</sup> In the following texts, incomplete or interrupted words are represented by ' .. '.

9. *Bad wurdurd-no ragul, gorlobbok, goddoukgoddouk,*  
 ? children-3POSS red-eyed.pigeon peaceful.dove bar.shouldered.dove  
*gikgik, njanjuk-njanjuk maih na-wern-gen, barri-marridowe-ndi.*  
 brown.honeyeater all.sorts bird MA-many-GEN 3aP-be.hungry-PERSIS:PI  
 All her children — the red-eye pigeon, the peaceful dove, the bar-shouldered dove, the  
 brown honeyeater, all sorts of birds, they were perpetually hungry.
10. *Barri-wam djilidjilih barri-dalk-djobge-yi,*  
 3aP-goPP cane.grass 3a/3P-grass-cut-PI  
 They went out for cane grass and were cutting it.
11. *barri-h-ngu-ni djilidjili, gorlobbarra barri-na-ng.*  
 3a/3P-IMM-eat-PI cane.grass kangaroo 3a/3P-see-PP  
 As they were eating cane grass, they saw a kangaroo.
12. *Barri-durnd-i, wirriwirriyak ba-rrenge-mok-ni.*  
 3aP-return-PP black.faced.cuckoo.shrike 3P-foot-sore-PI  
 They turned around, (then) Black-faced cuckoo-shrike's foot started to hurt.
13. *"Ayed garri-yime? Nga-rrenge-mok" ba-yime-ng.*  
 how 12aug-doNP 1-foot-sore 3P-say-PP  
 "What are we going to do? I've got a sore foot", he said.
14. *Gun-dulk barri-me, barri-nud-gorrhge-ng.*  
 IV-stick 3a/3P-getPP 3a/3P-pus-burst-PP  
 They picked up a stick, and they burst his pus out.
15. (? *wirri..nungan..*)  
 [inaudible]
16. *njamed na-wu, ragul,*  
 whatchamacallit MA-that red-eyed.pigeon  
 That whatchamacallim, the red-eyed pigeon,
17. *nungga gun-dulk ba-me-i.*  
 he IV-stick 3/3P-get-PP  
 he picked up a stick.
18. *"Aye, a-nud-gorrhge" ba-yime-ng.*  
 me 1/3-pus-burstNP 3P-say-PP  
 "Me, I'll burst the pus out", he said.
19. *Bi-mok-garu-i, bi-nud-gorrhge-ng.*  
 3/3hP-sore-dig-PP 3/3hP-pus-burst-PP  
 He dug in his sore and burst his pus out.
20. *Gun-nud ba-rrolga-ng an-ege.*  
 IV-pus 3P-arise-PP VE-that  
 All the pus rushed out.
21. *Gurlba gun-nud bi-rrelkge-ng rouk, ragul.*  
 blood IV-pus 3/3hP-spatter-PP all red-eyed.pigeon  
 Blood and pus spattered him all over, the red-eyed pigeon (hence his red  
 eye-marks today).

22. *Bonj. Ba-rrolkka-ng ba-bolk-melme-ng ba-rra-nginj gamak.*  
 OK 3P-get.up-PP 3/3P-ground-tread-PP 3P-stand-PP good  
 OK. He got up, he tested his foot on the ground, he put his weight on it, it was all right.
23. *An-gole ba-me-i.*  
 III-bamboo 3/3P-get-PP  
 He got a bamboo shaft.
24. *Barri-guni-nahna-ni.*  
 3a/3P-stalking-watch-PI  
 They were watching him stalking.
25. *Ba-guni-yiga ... ba-yame-ng, ba-yame-ng.*  
 3/3P-stalking-take 3/3P-spear-PP 3/3P-spear-PP  
 He was taking it (the spear) along sneaking up, he speared it (the kangaroo), he speared it.
26. *Bonj, barri-guk-ngorrme barri-yi-bebme-ng.*  
 OK 3a/3P-body-pick.upPP 3a/3P-COM-appear-PP  
 All right, they picked it up and went back to the camp with it.
27. *Barri-ngalwandjuk-ni, bandi-yi-na-ng.*  
 3aP-emu-bePI 3a/3pl-COM-see-PP  
 'They that were emus, they saw them with it.
28. *"Aaa, gadberre" ban-bal-manjh-manjbom rouk.*  
 ah for.us 3/3plP-away-ITER-thankPP all  
 "Ah, food for us", and she (Emu) thanked them all profusely.
29. *"Oo gunak gare yi-yerrng-ma-ng, gun-boi."*  
 oh fire perhaps 2/3-wood-get-NP IV-cooking.stone  
 "Well maybe you should get some firewood and cooking stones" (they said to her).
30. *Ba-gaihme-ng ba-wam darn.gih, ba-rrarnh-gaihme-ng.*  
 3P-call.out-PP 3P-goPP close.up 3P-close-call.out-PP  
 She went a little way, and called out from close by.
31. *"Bebba" ba-djal-wam ba-djal-wam.*  
 not.yet 3P-just-goPP 3P-just-goPP  
 "Not yet" (they replied). She just kept going and going.
32. *Gunak ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-yerrng-yiga-ni.*  
 fire 3/3P-wood-go.for-PI 3/3P-wood-go.for-PI  
 She was going around and around for firewood.
33. *Bedman wanjh barri-yerrng-me-i.*  
 theyEMPH then 3a/3P-wood-get-PP  
 But then they themselves got the firewood.
34. *Gun-boi barri-me-i, barri-mud-ginje-ng,*  
 IV-cooking.stone 3a/3P-get-PP 3a/3P-fur-cook-PP  
 They got cooking stones and singed its fur.

35. *ngayed barri-yime-ng, anegebu.*  
how 3aP-do-PP all.that.stuff  
(That's) what they did, all that sort of stuff.
36. *Barri-girribom, barri-bard-ngorrme-i.*  
3a/3P-roastPP 3a/3P-knee-break-PP  
They roasted it; they broke its leg joints.
37. *Barri-girribom rouk, gorre ba-ru-i.*  
3a/3P-roastPP all quick 3P-cook-PP  
They roasted it all, and it was soon cooked.
38. *Bonj an-barrgid ba-wam, man.gek gunak.*  
OK VE-other 3P-goPP supposed fire  
All right, she (Emu) had gone off another way, supposedly to get fire.
39. *Ba-yerrng-yiga-ni ba-djoleng-m-inj ba-ru-i na-wu gunj.*  
3/3P-wood-go.for-PI 3-ready-INCH-PP 3P-cook-PP MA-that kangaroo  
While she was going for wood it had been cooked and got ready, that kangaroo.
40. *Barri.. barri-marnbom rouk,*  
3aP 3a/3P-preparePP all  
They prepared it,
41. *barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng, gun-berd, gun-dad,*  
3a/3P-DIST-ITER-take-PP IV-tail IV-thigh  
they each took their share, some part of the tail, some a thigh,
42. *njanjuk namegebu barri-bebbe-gana-ga-ng.*  
anything all.those 3a/3P-each-ITER-take-PP  
they each took something like that.
43. *Na-gudji djiirndih gun-dume ba-yi-warlkga-rr-inj.*  
MA-one quail IV-backbone 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP  
One bird, Quail, had hidden himself away with the backbone.
44. *Aleng al-wanjdjuk ba-m-durnd-i.*  
she II-emu 3P-toward-return-PP  
(Just then) Emu came back.
45. *"Maih na-wu, gunj na-wu bonj andi-wo, gunj andud!"*  
meat MA-that kangaroo MA-that OK 2a/1-giveIMP kangaroo then  
"Right, give me that meat, that kangaroo then!"
46. *"Gunj-yak, ba-yak-m-inj.*  
kangaroo-PRIV 3P-nothing-INCH-PP  
"There's no kangaroo, it's all finished.
47. *Njamed djiirndi gare ba-yi-warlkga-rr-i-nj njanjuk gu-mege ganjdji."*  
what quail perhaps 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP something LOC-there underneath  
Maybe that whatsit, quail, might have hidden himself away with it or something under  
(the leaves) there."

48. *Djirndi-djahdjam merenghmerenggidj right bi-yawa-ni.*  
quail-place ? 3/3P-look-PI  
The merengmerenggidj(?) looked for him there were the quail was.
49. *Ba-ngarre-werrhm-i gun-marlaworr, gun-boi ba-ngune-ng,*  
3/3P-scrub-scratch-PI IV-leaf IV-cooking.stone 3/3P-eat-PP  
While she was scratching around in the leaves, she ate a cooking stone,
50. *gun-njamed, gun-yirrge ba-ngune-ng.*  
IV-what IV-ash 3/3P-eat-PP  
and the whatsitsname, the ash.
51. *Gure bi-djal-yawa-ni ganjdji ba-djal-wokda-nj na-mege.*  
while 3/3P-just-look-PI under 3P-just-speak-PP MA-that  
While she was looking for him under the leaves that one (Quail) spoke up.
52. *"Ayega monidj" ba-yim-i.*  
where sneaking 3-say-PI  
"Where can I sneak off?", he was saying.
53. *Galukborrk ba-werrhme-ng, gorrogo ba-rrolga-ng wanjh.*  
long.time 3P-scratch-PP before 3P-get.up-PP then  
She raked them up for a long time before he suddenly flew up.
54. *Gun-barlkbu an-ege bi-rrerlme-ng.*  
IV-digging.stick VE-that 3/3P-throw-PP  
She threw that digging stick at him.
55. *Gun-barlkbu ba-m-durnd-i, gun-gom bi-gom-djudme-ng.*  
IV-digging.stick 3P-toward-return-PP IV-throat 3/3P-throat-stick-PP  
The digging stick came back and stuck right in her throat.
56. *Bedman (gu?)-barri-barnh-barnd-i*  
themselves LOC-3aP-REDUP-hang:PI  
While the others were sitting in the tree (they asked),
57. *"Ngayed yi-yimerra-n?".*  
what 2-turn.into-NP  
"What are you going to turn into?".
58. *Gun-wok ba-rohrokme-ng, ga-warre.*  
IV-talk 3P-try-PP 3-bad  
She tried to talk, but it was no good.
59. *Ba-rohrokme-ng ba-yime-ng ga-warre, an-wid.*  
3P-try-PP 3P-speak-PP 3-bad VE-different  
She tried to speak but it was no good, it was something else (than language).
60. *Ba-djal-yim-i galukborrk "gurlulk, gurlulk" ba-yime-ng.*  
3P-just-say-PI long.time (onomatopoeic) 3P-say-PP  
She just kept saying for a long time: "gurlulk, gurlulk".
61. *"Anege yi-yimerra-nj."*  
that 2-turn.into-PP  
"That's how you turned out", (they said).



62. "Ayed a-yimarra-n? Al-wanjdjuk a-yimarran!"  
 how 1-turn.into-NP II-emu 1-turn.intoNP  
 "How am I going to turn out? I'll turn into an emu."
63. "Bonj, garri-bebbe-yarlarrme."  
 all right 12a-each-separateNP  
 "That's it then, we'll all go our own separate ways."
64. *Barri-dolkga-rr-inj rouk.*  
 3aP-get.up-RR-PP all  
 And they all got up.
65. *Djirndi na-wu na-mege goddoukgoddouk na-wu gorlobbok*  
 quail MA-that MA-that bar.shouldered.dove MA-that peaceful.dove  
*na-wu merengmerenggidj na-wu njamed na-wu wirriwirriyak,*  
 MA-that ? MA-that whatsit MA-that cuckoo-shrike  
*na-wern-gen bininj.*  
 MA-many-GEN people  
 That quail and that bar-shouldered dove and that peaceful dove and that  
*merengmerenggidj* and that whatsit, the cuckoo shrike, all the many people.
66. *Na-mege bininj barri-yim.. maih barri-yimerra-nj rouk, alengman*  
 MA-that person 3aP- bird 3aP-turn.into-PP all herself  
*al-wanjdjuk.*  
 II-emu  
 All those people turned into birds, including Emu herself.
67. *Wanjh barri-mun.ge-rr-inj. Bonj, maih barri-yimerra-nj.*  
 then 3aP-send-RR-PP finished bird 3aP-turn.into-PP  
 And then they sent each other off. That's all. They'd all turned into birds.

## Text 2: Jimmy Kalarriya: Emu story (Gun-dedjnjenghmi)

This is the transcription of a text told in the Gun-dedjnjenghmi dialect by Jimmy Kalarriya, Kodjok/Na-wamud Na-wurrbbarn from Manmoyi, Western Arnhem Land. The story is the 'Greedy Emu' bird story associated with the site Lorlo in Warddjak clan estate. Recorded by Peter Cooke, Manmoyi October 1991. Transcribed by Murray Garde and NE. Additional comments, given here as footnotes, from discussion between NE, MG and JK at Maningrida, 15/2/95.

1. *Ngale ngarrku ngurrurdu djang ka-yo ø-djang-kurrme-rr-inj,*  
 thatFE our emu dreaming 3-lienP 3P-dreaming-put-RR-PP  
 That emu of ours is a dreaming, she put herself in the landscape as a dreaming,
2. *ka-djang-di kurdukadji*  
 3-dreaming-standNP emu  
 there's an emu dreaming there

[*kurdukadji* and *ngurrurdu* are words from different dialects — see Appendix 2]

3. *Dedjbarlkarrhmeng kure Na-warddjak-kenh*  
[place] LOC [clan]-GEN  
at Dedjbarlkarrhmeng in Nawarddjak clan country.
4. *Ngarri-djang-berhme ba Wularri*  
1a-dreaming-increase.ceremonyNP and [place — wind dreaming]  
We carry out increase ceremonies (for emu) there, and at Wularri.
5. *Wularri ngarri-djang-berhme kun-kurra,*  
[place] 1a-dreaming-increase.ceremony IV-wind  
At Wularri we carry out increase ceremonies for wind.
6. *kun-kurra and djang kurdukadji mak Lorlo,*  
IV-wind dreaming emu too [clan]  
There's the wind and the emu dreaming too in Lorlo (clan country).
7. *ku-mekke ka-djang-di Bunkurduyh-Bunkurduy,*  
LOC-DEM 3-dreaming-standNP [proper name]  
There is a dreaming there at Bunkurduyh-Bunkurduyh,
8. *ku-mekke ngan-bu ø-do-ng[i] korroko ..*  
LOC-DEM III-DEM 3/3P-strike-PI long.ago  
where she struck that (plant) [or: like that] long ago,
9. [later correction:] (*ba-rro-ngi korroko ngalwurrbbarn*)  
3/3l-strike-PI long.ago II[clan]  
where that Wurrbbarn clan woman struck it long ago,  
[Wurrbbarn is a Kunwinjku-speaking clan name, but is also the Rembarrnga word for 'emu'.]
10. *ngaleh ngal-yuhyungki ngurrurdu ngaleng bininj, Bulanjdjan.*  
FE:DEM II-ancestor emu she human [skin]  
that female ancestor emu, she was a human (then), of Bulanjdjan subsection.
11. *mayh na-mekke nakka bininj-ni,*  
bird MA-DEM MA:DEM human-P  
Those birds, they were human then,
12. *bininj yerre-kah-wi na-wu korlordoddok,*  
person after-LOC-only MA-REL peaceful.dove  
people only afterwards became (such birds as) the peaceful dove,
13. *la rakul lumbuk karrkkanj, njalehnjale,*  
and red.eyed.pigeon banded.fruit.dove brown.falcon whatever  
the red-eyed pigeon, the banded fruit-dove, the brown falcon and so forth,
14. *nakbu wakwak nakka bininj-ni.*  
MA.DEM crow MA:DEM person-P  
and the crow was human too.
15. *Djuwe na-mekke wirriwirriyak ba-yameng karndakidj Lorlo.*  
great.bowerbird MA-DEM cuckoo.shrike 3/3P-spear-PP kangaroo [place]  
The great bowerbird and black-faced cuckoo-shrike speared a kangaroo at Lorlo.

16. *Ku-mekke ka-djang-di mak ngurrurdu yerrih.*  
 LOC-DEM 3-dreaming-standNP also emu behind  
 There's a dreaming there and also an emu (dreaming) behind;
17. *Ku-bolk-yirridjdja ngurrurdu.*  
 LOC-place-Yirridjdja emu  
 the emu dreaming is a Yirridjdja moiety place.
18. *Kaluk ø-wam ban-kaybuh-kaybu-ninj ngan-burda..* [inaudible]  
 then 3P-goPP 3/3pLP-REDUP-deny-PI III-cane.grass  
 Then she went and refused to give them any cane grass.
19. *bedman barri-dowe-ni kun-marrwi. Barri-dowe-ni.*  
 theyEMPH 3aP-die-PI IV-hunger 3a-die-PI  
 They were dying of hunger. They were really starving.
20. *Nungka ba-rrenge ... denge-mok-ni na-wu wirriwirriyak.*  
 he 3P-foot foot-sore-PI MA-DEM cuckoo.shrike  
 His foot ... foot was hurting, that black-faced cuckoo-shrike.
21. *Wanjh marrkinj warde ø-marrkinj-yi-djangka-yi,*  
 well champion? maybe 3/3P-champion-COM-hunt-PI  
 Well, he was a champion, he hunted like a champion,
22. *ba barri-nah-na-ni kunj. La ø-kuni-djehme-ng njamed*  
 so.that 3a/3P-REDUP-see-PI kangaroo and 3/3LP-VIOL-crawl-PP what  
 so that they looked around for kangaroo, and he crawled up to kill it, (but) whasit,
23. *ba-rre.. denge-nud-ni. Wanjh ø-denge-nud-dowkke-ng*  
 3P- foot-pus-PI then 3/3LP-foot-pus-burst-PP  
 his foot was all pussy. Then he (shrike's companion) burst the pus out of his foot,
24. *wanjh ngal-ekke wakwak karri-na-n konda ka-mim-dah<sup>2</sup>*  
 like FE-DEM crow 12a-see-NP here 3-eye-bad  
 so that then crow, when we see him here his eye is no good,
25. *wanjh bi-mim-delkkeng nud-no.*  
 then 3/3hP-eye-spatterPP pus-his  
 then his pus spattered in his eye,
26. *and njamed djirndih bi-keb-delkke-ng*  
 whasit quail 3/3hP-face-spatter-PP  
 and spattered whasisname's face, quail's,
27. *and lumbuk konda kabarri-keb-malkme nud-no bi-keb-delkke-ng.*  
 fruit.dove here 3a-nose-be.markedNP pus-3POSSD 3/3hP-face-spatter-PP  
 and the fruit-dove has his face marked here, where the pus spattered his face;
28. *Na-mekke wirriwirriyak ka-keb-malkme, denge-nud-no.*  
 MA-DEM cuckoo.shrike 3-face-be.markedNP foot-pus-his  
 his face is marked with the pus from his foot, from that black-faced cuckoo-shrike.

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<sup>2</sup> Dnj kamindah = W kamimwarre.

29. *ø-Bolk-melme-ng man-kole ø-me-y,*  
3/3P-ground-trod-PP III-spear 3/3LP-pick.up-PP  
He tested his foot by treading on the ground, and picked up his spear.
30. *ø-korlh-mibo-m borndok kamak rowk.*  
3/3LP-put.spear.in.woomera-PP woomera good all  
He put his spear in his woomera, that was OK.
31. *Wanjh karndakidj barri-marne-darrkid-bengka-ng<sup>3</sup> ba-yameng.*  
then kangaroo 3a/3-BEN-body-think-PP 3/3-spear-PP  
Then they thought about where they had the kangaroo's body there with them,  
and he speared it.
32. *Barri-kuk-yi-rrurnd-i ngalengman ngurrurdu*  
3a/3-body-COM-return-PP she emu  
They brought back the body, and she, emu,
33. *wanjh not happy ba how ø-yime-ng ba-djurrrkm-eninj.*  
then so.that 3-say-PP 3P-rejoice-IRR  
well, she was unhappy, but how could she have been, she should have rejoiced.
34. *Njamed-kenh kun-djare burda bi-djare-bom.*  
what-GEN IV-want [plant.sp.] 3/3hP-desire-hitPP  
For whatsit, a desire for the *burda* plant seized her. [*Duwa* lect name for *man-djay*]
35. *Konda Lorlo waleng ku-bolk-Burlarldjdja-kenh.*  
here [place] ?<sup>4</sup> LOC-place-[clan?]-GEN  
Here at Lorlo, in Burlarldja clan territory,
36. *Burlarldjdja bokenh kun-yed Yayminji and Lorlo.*  
[clan] two IV-place [place] [place]  
two Burlarldja places, Yayminji and Lorlo,
37. *And njamed Karlbbarrad kun-yed.*  
whatsit [place] IV-place  
and whatsitsname, that place Karlbbarrad.
38. *Ku-bolk-Burlarldjdja-kenh, ku-djal-bolk-danjik ku-mekke kun-yed.*  
LOC-place-[clan]-GEN LOC-just-place-three LOC-DEM IV-place  
In Burlarldjdja clan country, at just those three places there,
39. *Ba-yame-ng ngurrurdu*  
3/3L-spear-PP emu  
he speared an emu.
40. [JK: added 15/2/95: *wanjh alengman ba-yika-ng an-bunbarra*]  
then sheEMPH 3/3L-get-PP III-kangaroo.herb  
And then she for her part (i.e. emu) went to get the herb for cooking kangaroo,

<sup>3</sup> On tape sounds like *birri-mardadj-behbengkang*. *Barrimarnedarrkidbengkang*: means something like 'they thought about where they had speared it', where it really was.

<sup>4</sup> -*waleng* is the Dalabon form of the ablative suffix; it is not clear what its function is here.

41. (? *welng* *dowenghdoy* ...)  
[transcription uncertain] [inaudible]
42. *wanjh barri-marne-wenjhme-ng*.  
then 3a/3-BEN-trick-PP  
then they played a trick on her over it.
43. *ø-Wam, ngan-burnbarra ba-yika-ng*.  
3P-goPP III-kangaroo.herb 3/3P-get-PP  
She had gone off to get kangaroo herbs,
44. *Barri-marne-bolk-ngeybu-ni ba-djal-ey munguyh*.  
3aP/3-BEN-place-name-PI 3P-just-goIRR long.time  
and they kept directing her to keep going. (lit. they kept naming places for her,  
so she would keep going)
45. *Ba-djal-wam, konda ba-rrurrkme-ng an-burnbarra ba-yi-ni*.  
3P-just-goPP here 3/3P-pull.up-PP III-cooking.herb 3/3P-COM-sitPI  
She went along; here she pulled up some kangaroo herb and sat there with it.
46. "*Kayakki*" *barri-marne-yi-mi "balay, balay,*  
no 3a/3P-BEN-say-PI far far  
"No", they said to her. Go further!
47. *yi-ra-y yi-rrurrkme dja kun-yad-yih*  
2-go-IMP 2/3-pull.upNP and IV-digging.stick-INSTR  
Go and dig up (some more) with your digging stick!"
48. *ba-djal-e-y munguyh ba-yika-ng*.  
3P-just-go-PI always 3/3-get-PP  
She just kept going along gathering (herbs).
49. *Ba-re-y ba-kayhm-i bedberre ngurrurdu*.  
3P-go-PI 3P-shout-PI them emu  
She went along shouting out to them, emu did.
50. "*Konda nga-rrang-marrhme-ng*" *ban-marne-yim-i mulah (morlah?)*.  
here 1-mouth-open-PP 3/3plP-BEN-say-PI MeZ  
"I've got my mouth open here!" she kept saying to them, their oldest mother did,
51. "*Kayakki yi-djal-rah-ra-yi kun-yungki dja* ...  
no 2-just-REDUP-go-IRR IV-ahead and [inaudible]  
"No, you just keep going on ahead and [inaudible]"
52. *yad-yih ba-djal-ey munguyh*.  
digging.stick-INSTR 3P-just-goPI always  
She just kept going along with her digging stick.
53. *Ba-djal-wam, n[g]a-yuhyungki*  
3P-just-goPP 1[I]-in.front  
She just kept going on further and further,
54. *ba-rruk.. an-burnbarr ba-yi-durh-durnd-i*  
3P-pulled.up? III-herb 3P-COM-INCEP-return-PI  
pulling up kangaroo herb, and she set off back with it.

55. *bedman korlokun barri-barrh-barrhbo-m.*  
theyEMPH ?[korrvhkv] 3a/3P-INCEP-cover-PP  
They covered it over (the what?).
56. *Barri-barrh-barrhbo-m berd-no ba-yi-warlkka-rr-inj djirndih,*  
3a/3P-ITER-cover-PP tail-its 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP quail  
They covered it (the remains?), and quail hid himself away with the (kangaroo) tail.
57. *djirndih ngal-u na-yahwurdurd, ba-yi-warlkka-rri-nj.*  
quail FE-that MA-little 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP  
That little quail hid himself away with it.
58. *Andud kun-bad kure kayulyurkkarrinj ku-bad-kah.*  
then IV-rock LOC ? LOC-rock-LOC  
Then that rock (?) [meaning unclear].
59. *Njamed-no berd-no ba-yi-warlkka-rr-inj.*  
whatsit-its tail-its 3/3P-COM-hide-RR-PP  
He hid himself away with its whatsit, with his tail.
60. *Namurla namurla namurla bunkurduh bunkurduy*  
[song words]  
(Someone sings:) *Namurla namurla namurla bunkurduh bunkurduy*
61. *namurla namurla namurla baleh wurang baaa,*  
(song continued.)
62. *bidjirdridi* (growls).  
squeak! (sound of quail)
63. *Bi-wok-ma-ngi djirndih.*  
3/3hP-language-get-PI quail  
He adopted the call of the quail as his language.  
[Note use of *bi-* here, presumably due to the personification of quail prior to this.]
64. *Wehwehweh ba-kod-weh-wehm-i kumekke djalnekke*  
scratch.scratch 3/3P-paperbark-ITER-scratch-PI LOC:there just-there  
*ba-h-buldi, djirndih.*  
3P-IMM-be.downPI quail  
Scratch! Scratch! Scratch! (Emu) scratched around in the paperbark there, right where quail was down underneath.
65. *Mene kumeke berdno bi-yi-burlaburladme,*  
? there tail.its 3/3hP-COM-?  
He (?)ed its tail there.
66. *bonj ba-ngole-yame-ng. Wanjh mayh*  
OK 3/3P-[ngolek?]-spear-PP right birds  
He speared him in the (?). Right, so the birds said:
67. *"Baleh ba-yimerra-nj? Kaddum karri-dolh-dolka-n."*  
where 3P-happen-PP up 12a-REDUP-go.up-NP  
"What happened? Let's fly up (to safety)."

68. *Ngalengman, ngurrurdu wanjh ø-kuk-manj(rn?)bu-rr-inj*  
 sheEMPH emu then 3P-body-make-RR-PP  
 Then she, emu, rearranged her body.
69. *ngaleh bulanjdjan-ni ngal-yuhyungki.*  
 whosit [skin]-PI II-ancestor  
 She had been a whatsit, a Bulanjdjan subsection ancestor,
70. *Ngale ngarrku. Rlorlo.*  
 whosit ours [clan]  
 from our whatsit, from Lorlo clan.
71. *Kondah one way ø-ma(rn?)bu-rri-nj. Dreaming kondah*  
 here 3P-make-RR-PP here  
 She turned herself into a dreaming here, for good,
72. *boy djang. Ka-djang-di.*  
 dreaming 3-dreaming-standNP  
 it's a male dreaming here.
73. *But na-nih really one rlorlo, ku-bolk-yirridjdja, kurah?*  
 MA-DEM [clan] LOC-place-yirridjdja there  
 But it's really that one in Lorlo, in that Yirridjdja place.
74. *Bulanj djakerr. Rlorlo. ngal-yuhyungki.*  
 [skin] younger.sibling [clan] II-before  
 Bulanj was the younger brother, of Lorlo clan. She was the ancestor.

### **Text 3: Peter Bolgi: Hunting freshwater crocodile (Manyallaluk Mayali)**

Recorded at Manyallaluk from Peter Bolgi by Judith Bishop, Archive tape MM2 [DAT]/MMm7 & 8. Transcribed by Judith Bishop with the help of Judy Galmur; subsequently checked with PB & AB, 16/8/98, with slight further retranscriptions by NE in August 1999.

1. *Barri-re::, goba-gohbany na, barri-re::,*  
 3aP-goDUR REDUP-old.person now 3aP-goDUR  
 They went along, the old people, you know, they went along,
2. *barri-nan-i ga-dolo-dolpm-e gorlomomo.*  
 3a/3P-see-PI 3-REDUP-swim-NP freshwater.crocodile  
 and they saw freshwater crocodile swimming along.
3. *Wardi bani-mirnde-di gu-mekge.*  
 maybe 3uaP-many-stand LOC-DEM  
 Maybe there was a big mob of them there.  
 [The use of the unit augmented rather than the augmented here is puzzling.]
4. *Nawern bu barri-na-ng.*  
 MA-many SUB 3aP-see-PP  
 Lots of them, they saw.

5. "Ngale, bony! *Gandi-gerri-worrhm-e(n?)*"  
right enough 2a/1a-ground.oven-make.fire-NP  
"Right, this is it. Make us a ground oven!"
6. *Gun-gerri barri-worrhm-i ngan-gimuk.*  
IV-ground.oven 3a/3P-make.fire-PI VE-big  
They made a big ground oven fire.
7. "Woy, *gani-marne-wo-rr-en!*"  
come.on 1ua-BEN-give-RR-NP  
"Come on, we'll help each other!"
8. *Barri-juhm-i na.*  
3aP-go.into.water-PI now  
With that, they entered the water.
9. *Na-guji jal-marlaworr-bak,*  
MA-one just-leaf-break.off  
One of them would just break off leaves,<sup>5</sup>
10. *now detjmak duniny ba-mang-i.*  
now hero real 3P-take-PI  
and then the real brave guy took it.
11. *Ba-nulk-ngun-i. Ba-warlkga-rre-ni gu-bo-bulhjan.*  
3P-water.weed-eat-PI 3P-hide-RR-PI LOC-water-deep  
He'd be in among the water weeds. He'd hide himself in the deep water.
12. *Gu-lanybulh-be ba-barndi.*  
LOC-log[underside]?-ABL 3P-hang-PI  
He'd hang from the underside of a log.
13. *Gun-marlaworr-dorrenge ba-gotj-barrkbui-rre-ni.*  
IV-leaf-with 3P-head-cover-RR-PI  
He'd cover his head with the leaves.
14. "Nahni bo!"  
"All in!"
15. *Barri-marne-yarrm-i.*  
3a/3P-BEN-swim.out-PI  
They swam out to help him.
16. (*O?*), *barri-re barri-birndulhm-i gure-beh gure-beh,*  
? 3aP-go 3aP-strike.waterPI there-ABL there-ABL  
(Others?) would go and strike the water with their hands, from one end of the place to the other,
17. *barri-birndulhm-i::, binij.*  
3aP-strike.water-PI finish  
they'd keep on striking the water, (then they were) done.

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<sup>5</sup> See §13.13 on this deverbal ideophone.



18. *Barri-ni na.*  
3aP-sitP now  
Now they'd sit down.
19. *Barri-ni barri-molk-nahna-ni,*  
3aP-sitP 3aP-sneakily-watch-PI  
They sat down while keeping an eye out.
20. *barri-nyak-nyak, wurduh-wurdurt.*  
3aP-REDUP-chatter REDUP-children  
All the kids would be chattering away.
21. *Barri-marne-bo-bu-ni,*  
3a/3P-BEN-liquid-hit-PI  
They hit the water for it (the crocodile)
22. *barri-na-ni ga-dolpme.*  
3a/3P-see-PI 3-swimNP  
(and then) they saw it swimming.
23. *"Gumekge! Walem!" gareh "gakbi!" o "goyek! ngale gareh garri!",*  
there south maybe north or east right maybe west  
"Over there! To the south!" or maybe "North!" or "East! maybe to the west!"
24. *barri-marne-yim-i.*  
3a/3P-BEN-say-PI  
they'd tell them (the men in the water (the hunters)).
25. *Gorrogo ba-gokwerrem-i namekge.*  
for.a.long.time 3P-concentrate/focus-PI MA:DEM  
For a long time he'd been focused (on the crocodiles).
26. *Detjmak na-wu.*  
hero MA-REL  
That brave guy.
27. *Marlaworr-no-yi ba-rrolgan-i bat ba-yipm-i.*  
leaf-3POSSD-INSTR 3P-rise.up-PI CONJ 3P-sink.down-PI  
With the leaf covering his head, he was rising up and sinking back down again.
28. *Ba-jal-re bi-morokm-i:;*  
3P-just-go 3/3P-being.wary-PI  
It would be swimming along being wary of him,
29. *bi-mang-i na.*  
3/3hP-take-PI now  
and then he'd catch it.
30. *Barri-nan-i bart.*  
3aP/3-see-PI thrash.about  
They'd see it thrash about.
31. *"Bordoh nga-rretj-ngune-ng!"*  
great 1-arse-eat-NP  
"This is great, I could kiss you all over!", [Judy G's translation]

32. *en ba-ngurt-ngurtma-ngi, barri-jan.gayhm-i.*  
and 3/3P-ITER-take.everything-PI 3a/3P-call.out-PI  
and he was getting all the crocodiles, they were cheering him on.
33. *Ba-jal-ga-ni:: bony,*  
3P-just-carry-PI:DUR finish  
He just kept on carrying them out, till he was done.
34. *"Yi-mim-dapge-yi!"*  
2-eye-cover.up-IRR  
"What about covering its eyes!",
35. *wardimak bi-bu-yi bert-no-yi.*  
otherwise? 3P/3-hit-IRR tail-POSS-with  
otherwise it might hit him with its tail.
36. *Bi-jal-gan-i,*  
3P/3-just-carry-PI  
He just carried them out.
37. *bi-gurrmeh-gurrme-y du. Jut-bak. ø-Guk-gurpme-ng.*  
3P/3-ITER-put.down-PP too neck-break 3P-body-twitch-PP  
and he put them all down. (Then) broke their necks. They lay twitching.  
[Note the deverbal ideophone *jutbak* and the lack of pronominal prefixation on *gukgurpme*.]
38. *"Mayh nyaleman, na-jal-wern",*  
flesh.food what MA-just-a.lot  
"Here's food, what about that eh, a lot of it",
39. *barri-yim-i.*  
3aP-say-PI  
they'd say.
40. *Marrek ø-nahna-ni yaw-no ba mayh ba-bawo-ni yeh*  
NEG 3P-watch-PI baby-POSS CONJ flesh.food 3-leave-PI ?  
He wouldn't leave any food behind, any of those young ones,
41. *nanu yaw.*  
MA:DEM baby  
those baby crocodiles.
42. *Na-gih-gimuk werrk ba-jal-ma-ngi.*  
MA-REDUP-big first 3/3P-just-take-PI  
The big ones he just took first.
43. *Ba-lng-yakwon-i na-gih-gimuk.*  
3P-then-finish.up-PI MA-REDUP-big  
Then he finished (bringing in) the big ones.
44. *ya-yaw-no na ban-jut-bak-bakge-yi.*  
REDUP-baby-3POSSD now 3/3plP-neck-REDUP-break-PI  
Now he broke the necks of the young ones.

45. *Ba-jal-duh-durndeng-i gure gun-marlaworr nuye-ga ba-warlkga-rre-ni.*  
 3P-just-ITER-return-PI where IV-leaf his-LOC 3P-hide-RR-PI  
 He just kept returning to where he hid under his leaves.
46. *Ba-gotj-barrkbu-rre-ni, ba-molk-nahna-ni.*  
 3P-head-cover-RR-PI 3P-watch-see-PI  
 He covered his head and kept a look out.
47. *Ba-jal-yi-ni::, madi.*  
 3P-just-COM-sit maybe  
 He just stayed there with it (under his leaves), maybe.
48. *(Neibo?) gareh ba-lng-guk-yo-y.*  
 somewhere maybe 3P-then-body-lie-PP  
 It might be dead already.
49. *Yaw-no, na-gimuk, dabu-gen-no ba-lng-ma-ngi,*  
 baby-3POSSD MA-big egg-GEN-3POSSD 3P-then-take-PI  
 Baby ones, big ones, pregnant females, he took them all then,
50. *"Ngale bony",*  
 right finish  
*"OK, that's it".*
51. *Barri-murwit-ginye-yi,*  
 3aP-scales-burn-PI  
 They burnt the scales off,
52. *barri-gep-dukkan-i, ngan-butbu::t, wanyh.*  
 3aP-snout-tie.up-PI IV-bark.of.the.stringy.bark<sup>6</sup> then  
 then they tied up their jaws with stringy-bark
53. *Barri-dang-barrme-niny.*  
 3aP-mouth-close-IRR  
 so as to close up their jaws.
54. *Barri-murwit-ginye-yi, barri-nguk-mang-i, barri-weleng-dram-i,*  
 3a/3P-scales-burn-PI 3a/3P-guts-take-PI 3a/3P-then-stuff.with.hot.coals-PI  
*barri-bulnam-i.*  
 3aP/3pl-cover.with.paperbark.and.hot.coals-PI  
 They burnt off the scales, took the guts out, then stuffed the bodies with hot coals, and covered them with paperbark and hot coals.
55. *Nguk-no mijelp barri-ginye-yi.*  
 guts-POSS by.itself 3aP-cook-PI  
 They cooked the guts separately;
56. *Bepbe-beh nungan.*  
 DIST-ABL himself  
 each his own.

<sup>6</sup> This identification needs checking; in Gun-djeihmi *an-budbud* refers to the kurrajong, whose bark is also used for making string.

57. *Nguk-gih yaw-no.*  
guts-NOW small-3POSSD  
First up the small guts (intestines, heart),
58. *Nguk bajan-no, marlk-no.*  
guts-large-3POSSD liver-3POSSD  
(then) the larger guts (stomach), and the liver.
59. *Barri-werrkm-i, barri-m-ngun-i, barri..[inaudible]-banderrm-i,*  
3a/3P-take.out.of.ground.oven-PI 3a/3P-hither-eat-PI 3a/3P-?-cut.into.quartersPI  
They'd take them out of the ground oven and eat them, (? and cut them into quarters)
60. *gun-balem-mak ba-lng-yo-y.*  
IV-fat-good 3P-then-lie-PP  
Then the good fat would remain.
61. *Di:rd-genh ngan-bu ba-lng-balem-yalhm-i, yiga.*  
moon-GEN VE-SUB 3P-then-fat-?-PI sometimes  
[translation needs checking — could it mean 'sometimes the fat would last for a month'?]
62. *Barri-jal-balem-nguh-ngu-ni.*  
3a/3P-just-fat-ITER-eat-PI  
They'd just eat and eat the fat.
63. *Barri-weleng-worrkme-ni,*  
3aP-then-fill.oneself.up-PI  
Then they'd get full.
64. *barri-yawoih-re gah..*  
3aP-again-goPI [false start]  
They'd go (to the water?) again.
65. *gabo-no barri-gabo-gajung-i.*  
spring-3POSSD 3aP-spring-follow-PI  
They'd follow the spring water.
66. *Yiga barri-jal-y(errgani?)[jidaran – Kriol?] bu barri-jal-garrm-i mayh.*  
sometimes 3aP-just-(sit.around?) SUB 3aP-just-have-PI flesh.food  
Sometimes they'd just stay home, if they'd just got food.
67. *Barri-ni, gohba-gohbany bandi-jawa-ni, "Mah! Garri-lng-re"*  
3aP-sitP REDUP-old.person 3a/3plP-ask-PI OK! 12a-then-goNP  
They'd sit around, and the old people would ask them: "Right! Shall we go now?"
68. *barri-lng-re bu barri-bolk-ngeybu-ni*  
3aP-then-go SUB 3aP-place-name.call-PI  
Then they'd go to the places whose names the old people have called (places which are good for finding tucker).
69. *Guny-gah na.*  
kangaroo-LOC now  
(They'd go) for kangaroo now.

70. *O ngan-gung-gah bandi-jare-bun-i du na, ba gany-no-yi.*  
 or III-sugarbag-LOC 3a/3plP?-desire-hit-PI too now so meat-3POSSD-INSTR  
 Or the desire for honey would seize them, to eat with the meat. ['wanting something  
 sweet after all the salty food' — JG]
71. *Ngan-gung-gah barri-yawa-m.*  
 III-sugarbag-LOC 3a/3P-look.for-PP  
 (So) they'd look for sugarbag.

#### **Text 4: Eddie Hardy: The *morak* ceremony (Gun-djeihmi)**

Told by Eddie Hardy to NE in the Gun-djeihmi dialect, February 1989, Patonga.  
 Transcribed by Eddie Hardy and NE, Patonga, February 1989.

The Morak ceremony belonged to the various floodplain groups, such as the Umpugarla and Ngumbur, and was their equivalent to the initiation ceremonies practiced by other groups. There was a Morak initiation site near the present Patonga Airstrip settlement. The details of this ceremony were told to Eddie Hardy by the late Butcher Knight.

1. *An-garehgen gohbagohbanj barri-nam-i gun-djurle gimuk-gen.*  
 III-before old.men 3a/3P-make-PI IV-shade big-GEN  
 In the olden days the old men would make a big bough-shade.
2. *Yawurrinj bandi-gurrrm-i,*  
 young.men 3a/3plP-put-PI  
 They put the young men there,
3. *barri-ni gure gu-rurrk.*  
 3aP-sitP LOC LOC-shelter  
 to sit inside the shelter.
4. *Barri-djal-ni marrek barri-woh-bolk-na-yi gu-red gayakki,*  
 3aP-just-sitP NEG 3a/3P-a.bit-place-look-IRR LOC-camp nothing  
 They just sat there, and weren't allowed to look around the camp at all,
5. *dja barri-djal-ni gu-rurrk gu-mege.*  
 CONJ 3aP-just-sitPI LOC-shelter LOC-there  
 and they just sat there in the shelter.
6. *Galuk gohbagohbanj barri-marne-yime-rre-ni:*  
 bye.and.bye old.men 3aP-BEN-say-RR-PI  
 Bye and bye the old men would say to each other:
7. *"Mah".*  
 let's.get.on.with.it  
 "Let's get on with it."
8. *Galuk danjbik dja bogen bani-lobm-i gunak-dorrenge bani-wurlh-wurlhge-yi,*  
 then three CONJ two 3uaP-run-PI fire-with 3uaP-ITER-light-PI  
 Then two or three would run around with a firestick and set fire (to the shelter),

9. *dja barri-ru-ngi yawurrinj. [laughter]*  
 CONJ 3aP-burn-PI young.man  
 and the young men would get burned.
10. *Galuk na-gudji na-wu ba-di gu-mekke,*  
 bye.and.bye MA-one MA-REL 3P-standPI LOC-right.there  
*na-wu gare yirridjdja o duwa, njamed,*  
 MA-REL maybe [moiety] or [moiety] whatever  
 Bye and bye one who was standing right there, who was maybe of the Yirridjdja or  
 Duwa moiety, whatever,
11. *ba-bili-doh-dombu-ni dja gawarre barri-djal-ru-ngi.*  
 3/3P-fire-INCEP-put.out-PI CONJ no.good 3aP-just-burn-PI  
 would try to put out the fire but it'd be no good, they'd just all get burned anyway.
12. *Barri-bebme-rre-ni barri-re-i.*  
 3aP-emerge-RR-PI 3aP-go-PI  
 They'd all come out and they'd go along.
13. *Bandi-ga-ni walkabout, lookabout bandi-ga-ni.*  
 3a/3plP-take-PI 3a/3plP-take-PI  
 They'd take them walkabout, they'd take them to look around.
14. *Gare na-gudji yawurrinj marridj ba-bok-nahna-ni.*  
 maybe MA-one young.man maybe 3/3P-track-watch-PI  
 Maybe one of the youths would be watching a track.
15. *"Njamed, na-gudji nayin ga-yo!" ba-mulewa-ni.*  
 what MA-one snake 3-lieNP 3P-inform-PI  
 "Hey, there's a snake here!", he'd say.
16. *Well, gohbagohbanj bandi-marne-yime-ni:*  
 old.men 3a/3plP-BEN-say-PI  
 Well, the old men would say to them:
17. *"Gurri-darrgid-ma-ø!"*  
 2a-alive-grasp-IMP  
 "You mob pick it up alive!"
18. *Marrek gurri-darrgid-ma-ng, bi-rrulubu-n bokkoh-yi."*  
 not 2a-alive-grasp-NP 1a/2a-hit.with.missile-NP spear-INSTR  
 If you don't pick it up alive, we'll spear you!"
19. *Barri-darrgid-ma-ngi.*  
 3a/3P-alive-grasp-PI  
 They picked it up alive.
20. *Barri-ga-ni barri-mungewe-yi.*  
 3a/3P-take-PI 3a/3P-let.go-PI  
 They'd take it and let it go.
21. *Barri-re-i.*  
 3a/3P-go-PI.  
 They'd go along.

22. *Na-gudji gare bu ba-bolk-warre-woh-wo-ni*  
 MA-one maybe SUB 3/3P-place-bad-INC-make-PI  
 When one (youth) would be maybe mucking around (not staying in the place where he was told),
23. *njamed narlangak barri-ma-ngi.*  
 what blanket.lizard 3a/3-grab-PI  
 they (the old men) would pick up a whatsit, a blanket lizard.
24. *Bandi-bu-ni narlangak-yi, darrgid.*  
 3a/3pl-hit-PI blanket.lizard-INSTR alive  
 They'd belt them with a blanket lizard, a live one.
25. *Bi-djal-wirri-wirrk-m-i o narlangak bi-baye-yi.*  
 3/3hP-just-EXT-scratch-PI or blanket.lizard 3/3hP-bite-PI  
 It would just scratch him all over, or the blanket lizard would bite him.
26. *Bonj, barri-djal-bu-ni.*  
 enough 3a/3P-just-hit-PI  
 Even so, they'd just keep flogging him.
27. *Barri-re-i gare ginga barri-barlah-na-ni.*  
 3aP-go-PI maybe crocodile 3aP-slither.track-see-PI  
 They'd go along and maybe they'd see some crocodile slither-tracks.
28. *Barri-djuhm-i barri-yawa-ni barri-darrgid-ma-ngi.*  
 3aP-swim-PI 3aP-look.for-PI 3aP-alive-grab-PI  
 They'd have to swim in and look for it and grab it alive.
29. *Barri-re-i o barri-yauh-dolkka-ni barri-yauh-re-i gu-bolk-buyiga.*  
 3aP-go-PI or 3aP-again-get.up-PI 3aP-again-go-PI LOC-place-other  
 They'd go along or get up again and go along again to another place.
30. *Barri-yo-ngi*  
 3aP-sleep-PI  
 They'd sleep there,
31. *one line bandi-gurrm-i.*  
 3a/3plP-put-PI  
 and they'd put them in one line.
32. *Gobagohbanj barri-djal-ni bandi-nahna-ni.*  
 old.men 3aP-just-sit(PI) 3a/3plP-watch-PI  
 The old men would just sit and watch over them.
33. *Gu-wak ba-guyin-yimarra-ni,*  
 LOC-night 3P-almost-turn.into-PI  
 When it would be almost dark,
34. *mulirr barri-manbu-ni barri-borrkge-yi all the gohbagohbanj.*  
 corroboree 3aP-make-PI 3aP-dance-PI old.men  
 they'd stage a corroboree, all the old men would dance.

35. *Gohbagohbanj barri-borrkge-yi*,  
old.men 3aP-dance-PI  
The old men would dance,
36. *dja yawurrinj bandi-nahna-ni*.  
and young.man 3a/3pl-watch-PI  
and the young men would watch them.
37. *Galuk ba-malayi-barrhbu-ni, barri-yauh-re-i gu-gabohgabo*.  
bye.and.bye 3P-morrow-dawn-PI 3aP-again-go-PI LOC-streams  
Bye and bye the next day would dawn, and they'd go on again along the creeks.
38. *Barri-re-i barri-nahna-ni*  
3a-go-PI 3a/3P-look.out.for-PI  
They'd go along looking for
39. *gabo ga-mirnde-rri*.  
green.ant 3-many-standNP  
where there were lots of green ants around.
40. *Bandi-bidbu-ih-ge-yi yawurrinj*,  
3a/3plP-go.up-IVF-CAUS-PI young.man  
They'd make the young men climb up.
41. *barri-djal-bidbu-ni gu-worr-godj-duninj*.  
3aP-just-go.up-PI LOC-leaf-head-real  
They'd just climb up right into the tree top.
42. *Gu-mege barri-bunbu-ni yawurrinj*.  
LOC-there 3aP-stop-PI young.man  
There they'd stop, the young men (being bitten by green ants).
43. *Barri-dulk-djobge-yi gohbagohbanj*,  
3a/3P-tree-chop-PI old.men  
The old men would chop the tree down,
44. *barri-dulk-djobge-yi wurr!*  
3a/3P-tree-chop-PI crash  
they'd chop down the tree ... crash!
45. *Barri-man.ga-ni*.  
3a-fall-PI  
They'd fall down.

### Text 5: Lena Yarinkura: The killer *mimibs* (Kune Dulerayek)

This text was narrated by Lena Yarinkura (with some discussion by her husband Bob Burrawal) in the Kune (Dulerayek) dialect, as part of the documentation of paperbark sculptures she had made for Maningrida Arts and Crafts. It was recorded at Maningrida



21/10/94, and subsequently transcribed and translated by Murray Garde with the help of Tom Wood; interlinear glosses and some modifications to the translation added by NE.

1. *ϕ-Ni Kodjok bi-wokna-ng nakornkumo ϕ-yime-ng*  
 3P-sitP [subsection] 3/3hP-call.out-PP his.father 3P-say-PP  
*"Ngabba nga-re nga-djangka-n".*  
 fatherVOC 1-goNP 1-hunt-NP  
 A man of Kodjok subsection called out to his father as he left saying, "Father I'm going hunting".
2. *"Ma korlonj wardi yi-ra-y yi-yawan ngarrku. Nga-djare-dowe-n."*  
 time.to.act son might.be 2-go-IMP 2-see-NP usOBL 1-desire-die-NP  
*ϕ-Wam, ϕ-wam, marrek ϕ-bengka-yi yungkih Kamarrang rowk*  
*ϕ-goPP ϕ-goPP NEG 3P-know-IRR in.front [subsection] all*  
*bini-marne-warlkka-rr-inj.*  
 3ua/3P-BEN-hide-RR-PP  
 "OK my son, you go and look for something for us. I'm really hungry." And so off he went but he didn't know that two men of Kamarrang subsection were ahead hiding from him.
3. *ϕ-Wam kunj ϕ-karwo-ng, bini-na-ng*  
 3P-goPP kangaroo 3/3P-frighten.off.animal-PP 3ua/3P-see-PP  
*ϕ-warrowk-warrowkme-ng ku-bad nakkan woybukki*  
 3P-ITER-hop-PP LOC-rock MA:DEM true  
*ϕ-bebme-ng. "Manj ngarr-marne-warlkkarren."*  
 3P-appear-PP wait 12/3-BEN-hide-RR-NP  
 He frightened off a kangaroo and the two of them saw it hop away in the rocks. Then Kodjok appeared himself. "Wait, let's hide ourselves from him."
4. *Bini-warlkka-rr-inj bini-na-ng kunj ϕ-djorlme-ng ϕ-wam*  
 3uaP-hide-RR-PP 3ua-see-PP kangaroo 3P-hop-PP 3P-goPP  
*bedman bini-ni ku-bad-rurk bini-kodjkerr-inj*  
 theyEMPH 3uaP-sitP LOC-rock-cave 3ua-stay.still-PP  
*Bini-niiii kaluk bini-na-ng ϕ-bidbom ϕ-kolu-y*  
 3uaP-sitP:DUR then 3uaP-see-PP 3P-go.upPP 3P-go.down-PP  
*"Ngarr-marnburre-men nuye" bini-yime-ng.*  
 12-prepare.self-IMP himOBL 3uaP-say-PP  
*Kam-wam wanjh korren darnkih, ϕ-kuyin-warrowkme-ng ϕ-bad-melme-ng*  
 3Phither-goPP then ? close 3P-almost-jump-PP 3P-rock-tread-PP  
*bini-warrowkme-ng bini-karrmeng.*  
 3uaP-jump-PP 3uaP-grab-PP  
 Those two hid themselves and watched the kangaroo hop away and so they remained still in a cave. They stayed there a long time until they saw Kodjok climbing up and down in the rocks. "Let's get ready for him", they said. Just as Kodjok was about to jump up and stand on a rock, the two Kamarrang sprang out and grabbed him.

5. *Wanjh bini-ka-ng. ø-wawhme-ng baleh yime-ng wanjh ø-kodjkerr-inj.*  
then 3ua/3P-take-PP 3P-yell.out-PP ...do.what-PP... then 3P-be.still-PP

*Bini-wam bi-marne-yime-ng na-yahwurd,*  
3uaP-goPP 3/3hP-BEN-say-PP MA-small

*"Kokok kano ngayih nga-karrme, ngudda yi-re yibin-ma-ng bininj".*  
eB ? I 1-holdNP you 2-goNP 2/3pl-get-NP person

*"Ma, yi-karrme-n, ngayih nga-re ngabin-ma-ng. Nga-re ngabin-ma-ng*  
OK 2/3-hold-IMP I 1-goNP 1/3pl-get-NP 1-goNP 1/3pl-get-NP

*wardi ngun-bu-n yi-wernh-karrme" bi-marne-yime-ng.*  
might.be 3/2-kill-NP 2/3-properly-holdNP 3/3hP-BEN-say-PP

*"Nga-bengka-n nga-karrme" ø-yime-ng.*  
1-know-NP 1-holdNP 3P-say-PP

And so the two Kamarrang took him and Kodjok yelled out but there was nothing he could do. Kodjok remained still, they went off, and the younger Kamarrang said to his brother, "I'll hold on to him and you go off and get everyone else". "OK, you hold him, and I'll get them. But watch out, hold on to him tightly, otherwise he'll kill you." "Yes I know, I'll hold on to him", the younger brother said.

6. *Bini-di koh wam bin-marne-yime-ng, "Kun-madj nawu djerrh*  
3uaP-standP ? 3P-goP 3/3plP-BEN-say-PP IV-swap MA:DEM bag  
*nawu kunukka bu ka-m-yo-ø ka-warlkka-rr-en ngurri-m-ay rowk*  
MA:DEM there SUB 3-hither-lie-NP 3-hide-RR-NP 2a-hither-goIMP all  
*karri-re, mayh nga-bawo-ng" ø-yime-ng. Birri-mey "Ma karri-ray"*  
12a-goNP animal 1/3-leave-PP 3P-say-PP 3aP-takePP OK 12a-goIMP  
*birri-marne-yime-ng.*  
3a/3P-BEN-say-P

Those two stayed and the younger Kamarrang went back to his family and said, "Let's go, bring your baskets and string bags lying around inside, I've left some meat behind back there" he said. They got their things together. "OK let's go", they all said.

7. *Birri-wam ø-kudkudme-ninj bi-djawa-yi. "Bordoh yi-karrme [= I yidjalkarrme]."*  
3aP-goP 3P-run-IRR 3/3hP-ask-IRR just 2/3-holdNP  
*"Nga-karrme" ø-yime-ninj, munguyh, birri-wayini-wirrinj birri-ra-yi,*  
1/3-holdNP 3P-say-IRR long.time 3aP-sing-IRR 3aP-go-IRR  
*birri-yime-ninj "Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba nguyunguy*  
3aP-say-IRR [song words]

*kayakay."*

[song words]

They kept travelling and Kamarrang ran off ahead and called out to his brother, "Just keep holding on to him!" "I've still got him", he said. The others kept walking, singing as they went: "Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba nguyunguy kayakay".

8. "Nakkan marrek ngurri-yime kayakay, dja muyumuy ngurri-yime"  
 MA:DEM not 2a-sayNP [song.word] CONJ [song word] 2a-sayNP  
*bin-marne-yime-ninj, Kodjok na-mekke na-wernwarre.*  
 3/3plP-BEN-say-IRR [subsection] MA-DEM MA-younger.sibling  
 "Hey, don't call out that *kayakay*, say *muyumuy*!", one of the brothers said.
9. *Munguyh birri-ra-yi ø-kudkudme-ninj nungka Kodjok bi-djawa-yi*  
 long.time 3aP-go-IRR 3P-run-IRR he [subsection] 3/3hP-ask-IRR  
*"Bordoh yi-karrmeh?" "Nga-karrme" ø-yime-ninj. ø-durnde-yi*  
 still 2/3-holdNP 1/3-holdNP 3P-say-IRR 3P-return-IRR  
*birri-wayini-wirrinj birri-ra-yi, "Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba*  
 3aP-sing-IRR 3aP-go-IRR [song words]  
*muyumuy kayakay." "Nakkan marrek kayakay ngurri-yime, djamuyumuy*  
 [song words] MA:DEM not [song word] 2a-sayNP CONJ  
*ngurri-yime, wardi ngun-bekka-n ngudberre kabi-bu-n."*  
 2a-sayNP might 2/3-hear-NP 2aOBL 3/3hNP-kill-NP  
 They kept walking a long way and Kamarrang called out to his brother, "Brother have you still got him?" "I'm still holding him", he replied. Kamarrang ran back to the others who were singing as they went: "*Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra Djingakbangakba nguyunguy kayakay.*" "Hey, don't call out that *kayakay*, just say *muyumuy* otherwise he'll hear you and kill my brother".
10. *But nungkah [r]nane Kodjok nakkaya korroko bin-bekka-ng*  
 he MA:DEM [subsection] MA:DEM before 3/3plP-hear-PP  
*birri-kayhme-ng birri-wam. [nj] Yungkih darnkih bonh<sup>7</sup> ø-marnburr-inj.*  
 3a/3-call.out-PP 3aP-goPP hesitation ahead close then 3P-prepare-PP  
*"Kamarrang, yi-rrolkka-ø nga-marnburr-en, nga-marnburr-en unge*  
 [subsection] 2-get.up-IMP 1-arrange.self-NP 1-arrange.self-NP youOBL  
*ba, kamak rowk kan-karrme," bi-marne-yime-ng. Nakka*  
 so good all 2/1-holdNP 3/3hP-BEN-say-PP MA:DEM  
*bi-marne-wenhme-ng ku-mekke. ø-Borledme-ng "Ma!" Bi-bawo-ng*  
 3/3hP-BEN-trick-PP LOC-DEM 3P-turn-PP OK 3/3hP-leave-PP  
*ø-dolkka-ng ø-marnburr-inj ø-borledme-ng bi-karrme-ng like*  
 3P-get.up-PP 3P-arrange-PP 3P-turn.around-PP 3/3hP-hold-PP  
*bi-bodme-wo-ng. Like first up bene-yime-ng kureh, bindi-mirrkme(-ng?)*  
 3/3hP-back-give-PP 3uaP-do-PP there 3a/3plP-face.front.on-?  
*na-mekke bininj birri-m-rakburr-inj.*  
 MA-DEM person 3aP-hither-go-PP  
 However, Kodjok had already heard them calling out as they went (and because of their singing he knew they were *wardbukkarra mimih* who would kill him). As they came closer Kodjok said to Kamarrang who was holding him, "Just let me move a

<sup>7</sup> *Bonh* is the Kune equivalent of *wanjh* in other dialects. See §13.8.4.

bit so you can hold me much better", but he was tricking him. He turned around and Kamarrang said "OK", and let go of him and he stood up and moved around so his back faced his *mimih* captor. Originally they had both been facing the approaching people (who were really *mimih*).

11. *Rawoyh-no*  $\phi$ -*kudkudme-ng* "Ngadburrung *yi-karrme!*".  
again-PRT 3P-run-PP brother 2-holdIMP  
"Nga-karrme"  $\phi$ -*yime-ninj*. *Birri-wayini-wirrinj*, "Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra  
1/3-holdNP 3P-say-IRR 3aP-sing-IRR [song words]  
*Djingakbangakba muyumuy kayakay*". "Yakkan *marrek ngurri-yime kayakay*  
[song words] ? NEG 2a-sayNP [song word]  
*dja muyumuy ngurri-yime, wardi ngun-bekkan ngudberre.*"  
CONJ [song word] 2a-sayNP might 3/2a-hear-NP 2aOBL  
Again he (the younger Kamarrang) ran back. "Brother are you holding him?" "I'm  
holding him", the other replied. The others sang, "Wardbukkarra, Wardbukkarra  
*Djingakbangakba nguyunguy kayakay*". "Don't say *kayakay* say, *muyumuy*  
otherwise he'll hear you."
12. *Korroko bin-bekka-ng nungka*  $\phi$ -*nanga-na-ng birri-kuyin-darnkihme-ng*  
before 3/3plP-hear-PP he 3P-ITER-see-PP 3aP-almost-be.close.up-PP  
*bonj*  $\phi$ -*marn-marnbu-rr-inj na-mekk bukka Kodjok, Kamarrang kah*  
finished 3P-ITER-make-RR-PP MA-DEM eh [subsection] ?  
*bi-nanga-na-ng bi-ngerh-do-y rerreh*  $\phi$ -*badbadme-ng*  
3/3hP-ITER-see-PP 3/3hP-heart-strike-PP after 3P-flop.around.on.ground-PP  
 $\phi$ -*ni wurru* [= I la] *balay*.  
3P-sitP CONJ far  
But Kodjok had already heard them coming and he saw them coming close so he made  
his move and struck Kamarrang and knocked him to the ground where he rolled  
around in pain and Kodjok took off and ran a long way.
13. *Kaluk na-mekke na-kornkungmo*<sup>8</sup> *nungkah*  $\phi$ -*bengka-ng korroko bi-na-ng*,  
later MA-DEM I-fatherPOSSD 3masc 3P-know-PP before 3/3hP-see-PP  
*bi-bo-m kun-morne*<sup>9</sup> *rerreh yungki like*  $\phi$ -*kurrkurrkme-ng na-kornkungmo*.  
3/3hP-hit-PP IV-shoulder later first 3P-twitch-PP I-fatherPOSSD  
 $\phi$ -*niiii*, *nungkah-bonh*<sup>10</sup> *na-mekke na-wu na-ne Kodjok*  
3P-sitP:DUR 3masc-then MA-DEM MA-REL MA-DEM [subsection]  
*konda birri-kerng-lawkme-y. Bi-kanj-ngu-neng*.  
here 3a/3P-cheek-slice-PP 3/3hP-meat-eat-PP  
*Kodjok bi-karrme-ng Kamarrang-yih bi-kanj-ngu-neng*  
[subsection] 3/3hP-hold-PP [subsection]-INSTR 3/3hP-meat-eat-PP

<sup>8</sup> The pronunciation with a final velar nasal, as here, is unusual; in other dialects the form is *nakornkumo*.

<sup>9</sup> This is a specifically Kune word (cf. Dalabon *mvrne*); in other dialects 'shoulder' is *kun-karlang*.

<sup>10</sup> The enclitic *bonh* is a specifically Kune form, corresponding to *wanjh* in other dialects.

*bi-kerng-lawkme-y ba yiman birri-bu-yi birri-ngu-yi kun-kanj nuye.*  
 3/3hP-cheek-slice-PP so.that like 3a/3P-hit-IRR 3a/3P-eat-IRR IV-meat his  
 Later, Kodjok's father already knew that something had happened to his son because  
 his shoulder had been twitching. [It is believed that different parts of the body refer to  
 various kin; the shoulder refers to one's son. When a part of the body has a nervous  
 twitch it is believed that this refers to something significant happening to the respective  
 family member.] Kodjok had his cheek on his face cut off and eaten by Kamarrang  
 who was holding on to him (and who was really a killer *mimih*) and they would have  
 eventually killed him and eaten all of him.

14. *ø-Worhna-worhna-ng bi-na-ng na-ne ka-m-kudkudme<sup>11</sup> ka-m-re-re<sup>12</sup>*  
 3P-ITER-watch-PP 3/3hP-see-PP MA-DEM 3-hither-runNP 3-hither-ITER-gonP

*ø-bebme-ng. "Njale ngun-baye-ng korlonj?"*  
 3P-emerge-PP what 3/2-bite-PP son

*"Kayakki Ngabba, ngandi-bu-yi ngandi-barlanh-bu-yi ngandi-kuyin-bu-yi",*  
 nothing father 3a/1-kill-IRR 3a/1-almost-kill-IRR 3a/1-almost-kill-IRR

*ø-yime-ng. "Kamarrang ngan-karrme-ng nga-bo-m ø-ngerh-dadjme-ng."*  
 3P-say-PP [subsection] 3/1-grab-PP 1/3-hit-PP 3P-heart-break-PP

*Bonj nungkah ø-me-y na-mekke njamed like njamed na-ne kun-djila*  
 right 3masc 3/3-get-PP MA-DEM what what MA-DEM IV-axe

*ø-mirrh-warbom nungka kareh baleh ka-yime,*  
 3/3P-sharp.part-sing.magicallyPP 3masc maybe howNP 3-sayNP

*na-bene marrek ka-burkme-n, [MG: yiman dadken]*  
 MA-DEM NEG 3-become.dry-NP like stone.axe

*yoh dadken, dadken ø-mey, kuu, manjh na-mekke dule-no*  
 yes stone.axe stone.axe 3/3P-takePP ? wait MA-DEM song-3POSSD

*ken njamed na-mekke dule-no na-wu nungkah Burlanj*  
 oops what MA-DEM song-3POSSD MA-REL 3masc [subsection]

*na-kornkungmo ø-karrme-ng, [MG: ø-wayirni] yoh ø-wayirni ...*  
 MA-fatherPOSSD 3P-have-PP 3P-singP yeah 3P-singP

His father sat and kept watch until Kodjok came running home "What bit you  
 my son?" "No father, they tried to kill me, they nearly killed me", he said. "That  
 Kamarrang grabbed me but I struck him and killed him." So, his father went and got  
 his stone axe and sang the sharp edge of it (to give it power to kill someone) with his  
 own special song which he had. And so he started to sing ... [Discussion with  
 Kamarrang Bob Burruwal follows in order to clarify some details of the story.]

15. Burruwal:

*Na-mekke ø-wam nungkah kornkungmo bi-nahna-ng-kah ø-wam ø-rerrka-ng*  
 MA-DEM 3P-goPP he his.father 3/3hP-watch-PP-LOC 3P-goPP 3P-sit-PP

<sup>11</sup> This form is equivalent to *lobmeng* in other dialects.

<sup>12</sup> The use of the reduplicated form here was said to be equivalent to the immediate form *kamhre* in other dialects.

*bi-nahna-ng marrek birri-na-yi la nungka clever marrkidjbu*  
 3/3h-watch-PP NEG 3a/3P-see-IRR CONJ he shaman shaman  
*nungka kornkumo. ø-Ngurdurl-ra-yi "Kal[u]k njale-ken ka-ngurldulme"*  
 he father 3P-thunder-go-IRR then what-GEN 3-roarNP

*birri-yime-ng.*

3aP-say-PP

Kodjok's father went off to find the killer *mimih* and he sat down watching them but they could not see him because he was a 'clever man' or shaman. Then thunder roared. "What made that thunder", they called out.

16. LY: *Nungkah ø-wayini-wirrinj.*

he 3P-see-IRR

Kodjok's father kept singing.

17. BB: *Keep goin' ø-wayini-wirrinj na-mekke mimih birri-wayini birri-dirri-wirrinj.*  
 3P-sing-IRR MA-DEM mimih 3aP-singP 3aP-play-IRR

*Birri-ni start birri-yime-ng birri-wayini "Manjhkilkilyo manjhdjilimarda*  
 3aP-sitP 3aP-say-PP 3aP-singP [song words]

*manjhdjordobbo dirridirridibbo". Yi-bengka-n na-mekke nawu David*  
 [song words] 2-know-NP MA-DEM MA:DEM

*ka-wayini yo djad kind ø-borledke-ng yo.*

3-singNP yeah that 3/3P-turn-PP yeah

The killer *mimih* kept singing and standing there. They sang like this:

"*Manjhkilkilyo manjhdjilimarda manjhdjordobbo dirridirridibbo*". You know this is the same song which David (Karlbuma) sings today, well that's the kind those *mimih* were singing.

18. LY: *Ngalkarredilhdilmiken bini-borrkke-meninj.*

[song/dance style] 3uaP-dance-IRR

The two of them danced that style called *Ngalkarredilhdilmiken*.

19. BB: *Ngalkalhdilmiken rowk.*

[song/dance style] all

All that *ngalkalhdilmiken* style.

20. LY: *Nguni-dolkka-n nguni-borrkke. Bedman mimih like bindi-ngeybu-yi kareh*  
 2ua-get.up-NP 2ua-danceNP 3aEMPH mimih 3a/3pl-call-IRR maybe

*bindi-bimbu-yi Ngalkalhdilmiken rowk nguni-dolkka nguni-borrkke*  
 3a/3pl-paint-IRR [style] all 2ua-get.upIMP 2ua-danceIMP

*na-mekke bini-dolkka-ng bini-borrkke-ng yi-bengka-n*

MA-DEM 3uaP-get.up-PP 3uaP-dance-PP 2-know-NP

*na-mekke David ka-wayini Kamarrang, Korlobidahdah.*

MA-DEM 3-singNP [subsection] [place]

That's the way those *mimih* call that song and the way they paint themselves. (They sing the words) "You two get up and dance *Ngalkalhdilmiken*". Just like today David (Karlbuma) of Kamarrang subsection sings, from Korlobidahdah.

21. "Kaluk njale na-ne ka-ngurdulme njale ka-kodj-ngolke?"  
 then what MA-DEM 3-thunderNP what 3-head-cloud.pile.upNP  
*birri-marne-yime-ninj birri-bekka-rr-inj ø-ngurdulme-ng*  
 3aP-BEN-say-IRR 3aP-hear-RR-PP 3P-thunder-PP  
*bedda birri-mekke birri-borrkke-meninj. Ku-mekke bi-nahna-ng Bulanj.*  
 they 3a-DEM 3aP-dance-IRR LOC-DEM 3/3hP-watch-PP [name]  
 "What's it thundering for? What's going on here?", they said to themselves as they  
 heard the thunder whilst they were dancing. But Kodjok's father, Bulanj was there  
 watching them.
22. BB: *Birri-wayini: birri-wayini: kure, birri-ngurdme-ninj, birri-ngurdme-ninj*  
 3aP-singP 3aP-singP there 3aP-stop-IRR 3aP-stop-IRR  
*ø-marduhme-ninj, ø-marduhme-ninj na-w shhhhhhkew bi-do-y*  
 3P-lightning-IRR 3P-lightning-IRR MA-DEM [onomatopoeic] 3/3hP-strike-PP  
*but nungka na-mekke kornkumo. Na-mekke njamed ø-karrme-ng Bulanj*  
 he MA-DEM his.father MA-DEM what 3/3P-get-PP [name]  
*kornkumo. ø-Djal-wam kun-kudji wanjh bonj. Bin-kodj-worrhme-ng*  
 father 3P-just-gopp IV-one then finished 3/3plP-head-destroy-PP  
*na-mekke story bonj.*  
 MA-DEM finished  
 The killer *mimih* kept singing and singing and then they stopped and saw a great  
 bolt of lightning *shhhhhhkew*. It was Bulanj, Kodjok's father making the lightning.  
 It came done and struck them all and destroyed them. That's the story of these  
 paperbark sculptures.

### Text 6: Mick Kubarkku: Ngurdyawok and Nawalabik (Kuninju)

Told by Mick Kubarkku, a Kuninju speaker (though in the text some of the characters speak Kunwinju). Versions of this story are also told further west in Kunwinju and Gundjeihmi country.

This version was recorded Yikarrakkal outstation, 21/11/89 by NE, Carolyn Coleman and Murray Garde. The story was told around the evening campfire to an audience of around fifteen Kuninju-speaking people from outstations in the region, who were gathered at Yikarrakkal for a vernacular literacy workshop. Subsequent transcription by Murray Garde in Maningrida and by NE and Murray Garde in Melbourne; translation by Murray Garde and NE.

As becomes clear (though not until lines 46–49, through the use of triangular kin terms which allow the relationships to be worked out), Ngurdyawok is the husband of one of the sisters, while Nawalabik is their brother and Ngurdyawok's brother-in-law.

1. *Yo, Ngurdyawok, Nawalabik, en ngal-daluk na-mekke,*  
yes [name] [name] and II-woman MA-DEM  
Yes, Ngurdyawok, Nawalabik, and his sisters;  
[*ngal-daluk*, the II-prefixed form of 'woman', is an anaphorically possessed form  
with the meaning 'his sister']
2. *ngal-dah-daluk na-ngamed.*  
II-REDUP-woman MA-whatsit  
his sisters, whatsit,
3. *Nawalabik Ngurdyawok nakka*  
[name] [name] MA:DEM  
those fellers, Nawalabik and Ngurdyawok,
4. *wanjh na-mekke na-rangem la ngal-dah-daluk na-mekke wanjh*  
then MA-DEM MA-male CONJ II-REDUP-woman MA-DEM then  
*birri-wam*  
3aP-goPP  
well that boy and his sisters went.
5. *wanjh birri-wam kure birri-wurlebme::ng*  
then 3aP-goPP there 3aP-swimPP  
Well, they went there and swam.
6. *birri-wurlebmenng wanjh bene-h-bo-rro-y,*  
3aP-swimPP then 3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP  
They swam, then they started clapping on the water.
7. *bene-h-bo-rro-y njamed njamed nakkan njale nakkan,*  
3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP whatsit whatsit MA:DEM what MA:DEM  
They clapped on the water, whatsit, what's that called —
8. *ngad madjulbirri yo madjulbirri*  
we ? yes ?  
we say *madjulbirri*, yes, *madjulbirri* —
9. *djiluh djiluh djiluh djiluh ku-ronj ya,*  
splash splash splash splash LOC-water yes  
they splashed and splashed and splashed and splashed in the water, yeah.
10. *bene-h-bo-rro-y bene-h-bo-rro-y ngal-dah-daluk*  
3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP 3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP II-REDUP-woman  
The two of them were clapping and clapping on the water, the two girls.
11. *bene-h-bo-rroy la nungan ø-dingih-di wanjh ku-mekke*  
3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP CONJ he 3P-ITER-standP then LOC-DEM  
The two of them were beating the water, and he was standing there,
12. *nungan ø-dingih-di ø-yime-ng*  
heEMPH 3P-ITER-standP 3P-say-PP  
He stood there and said,



13. *Konda wanjh ngune-h-na-n nga-wurlebme ngayi,*  
 here then 2ua-IMM-see-NP 1-swimNP I  
 “You two look at me swimming here;
14. *ngayi nga-wurlebme, la ngudda wanjh ngune-bo-rro!”*  
 I 1-swimNP CONJ you then 2ua-water-strikeIMP  
 I’m going to swim, and you two strike the water”.
15. *Wanjh bene-bo-rro-y bene-h-bo-rroy wanjh la nungka ø-wurlebme-ng*  
 then 3uaP-liquid-strike-PP 3uaP-liquid-strike-PP CONJ he 3P-swim-PP  
 So the two of them struck the water then, they struck the water and he swam.
16. *ø-djal-yulyulme-ng kure ø-na-ng kure ø-na-ng*  
 3P-just-swim.under.water-PP there 3P-see-PP there 3P-see-PP  
 He swam along under the water, looked this way and that,
17. *ø-na-ng kabene-bebbih-bo-rro-ng,*  
 3P-see-PP 3ua-DIST-liquid-strike-NP  
 and saw them each striking the water in a different place
18. *djilu lahlarrk wanjh ø-wabwabme-ng*  
 splash naked then 3P-sneak.up-PP  
 splashing about naked; then he snuck up on them
19. *durrrk durrrk. “Ah, karrang na-ni ladjkurrungu<sup>13</sup> ngudda*  
*tug tug aa mum MA-DEM mardayin.novice you*  
*kanhbene<sup>14</sup>-kornmud-yirridjme-ng ngarrewoneng.”*  
 3/1aIMM-pubic.hair-snatch-PP 1ua  
 Tug! Tug! (he pulled their pubic hairs). “Aa, mother, your son the *mardayin* ceremony  
 novice here has been snatching at our pubic hair!”
20. *“Aa, kare ngudman nakka nuk burd kare*  
*aa maybe youEMPH MA:DEM DUB grunter.fish maybe*  
*ngunhbene-kornmud-baye ngudberre la ngayi nga-mungu.”*  
 3/2uaIMM-pubic.hair-biteNP you CONJ I 1-uninvolved  
 “Aa, it was you yourselves, it might have been a grunter fish or something nibbling at  
 your pubic hairs, because I had nothing to do with it.”
21. *“Ngudda wanjh, ngudda kanh-kornmud-yirridjme-ng ngarrewoneng.”*  
 you then you 2/1aIMM-pubic.hair-snatch-PP 1ua  
 “It was you, you were snatching at our pubic hair.”
22. *“Ngayi wanjh burrkyak, la burd nakka.”*  
 I then nothing CONJ grunter.fish MA:DEM  
 “It wasn’t me at all, but that grunter fish.”  
 [Again, *burrkyak* is the Kunwinjku form; in Kuninjku it would be *kayakki*]

<sup>13</sup> The term *ladjkurrungu* is used, in reference and address, to refer to someone who is a novice in the Mardayin ceremony. From now on it will not be translated.

<sup>14</sup> Here and on and off through the text the characters speak Kunwinjku (since it is a story from that area). Here this is shown by the prefix *kanhbene-*; in Kuninjku it would be simply *kan-* (§10.2.2.3).

23. *Rawoyhno wanjh*, “*Ngane-rawoyh-bo-rro-ng*,” *wanjh bene-bo-rro-y*  
again then 1ua-again-liquid-strike-NP then 3uaP-liquid-strike-PP  
Again they said: “Let’s clap on the water again”, and they clapped on the water.
24. *djilurh djilurh djilurh djilurh djilurh djilurh bene-bo-rro-y*.  
splash splash splash splash splash splash splash 3uaP-liquid-strike-PP  
Splash! Splash! Splash! Splash! Splash! Splash! they struck the water.
25. *Wanjh*, “*Konda ngune-na nga-wurlebme*, *wanjh yewel kondah ngah..*”  
then here 2ua-seeIMP 1-swimNP then bubble here 1IMM  
*njamed yewelk*, *burrng-burrng*, *nawu yewel kabirr-ih-wokdi*, *wanjh*  
whatsit bubble(w) bubble-bubble MA:DEM bubble 3a-IMM-sayNP then  
*burrng-burrng*  
bubble-bubble  
Then he said: “You two look at me swimming here, bubbles here I’m —” *whatsit*,  
*yewelk* (bubbles), (we say) *burrng-burrng*, they call bubbles *yewelk* —
26. “*konda ngune-na nga-h-baye yewel mak la ngudda*  
here 2ua-seeIMP 1-IMM-biteNP bubble also CONJ you  
*ngune-bo-rr.*”  
2ua-liquid-strikeIMP  
“You two watch me swallow the bubbles here, and you two clap on the water.”
27. *Wanjh bene-bo-rro-y rawoyhno bene-rawoyh-bo-rro-y*  
then 3uaP-liquid-strike-PP again 3uaP-again-liquid-strike-PP  
Then they clapped on the water and clapped on the water again.
28. *ø-wurlebme-ng yiman ku-mekke djunj ø-bayeh-baye-ng la ø-djal-wam*  
3P-swim-PP like LOC-DEM bubbles 3P-ITER-bite-PP CONJ 3P-just-goPP  
He swam again, and acted like he was swallowing bubbles there but he just went along
29. *ø-yulyulme-ng ø-wam kure wanjh ø-rawoyh-wam ø-na-ng*  
3P-sneak.up-PP 3P-goPP there then 3P-again-goPP 3P-see-PP  
*kabene-h-rawoyh-bo-rro-ng djirlurh djirlurh djirlurh<sup>15</sup> wanjh*  
3ua-IMM-again-liquid-strike-NP splash splash splash then  
and snuck up, went there and then again he went and saw them splashing and splashing  
and splashing the water.
30. *ø-wabwabme-ng djirrih djirrih! ben-kornmud-yirridjme-ng*  
3P-sneak.up-PP tickle tickle 3/3plP-pubic.hair-snatch-PP  
He snuck up and tickle! tickle! he snatched at their pubic hair.
31. “*Ah*”, *wanjh ø-wabme-ng*  
aa! then 3P-move.along-PP  
“*Aa!*” (they called out) then he moved along (under the water).

<sup>15</sup> The last occurrence of *djilurh* is pronounced without the final glottal stop and merged with the following *wanjh*.

32. *kure*  $\phi$ -*dolhme-ng* *wanjh*  $\phi$ -*dolhme-ng* *bene-h-marne-yimeng*,  
there 3P-pop.up.head-PP then 3P-pop.up.head-PP 3ua/3P-IMM-BEN-say-PP  
He popped his head up somewhere, then popped it up somewhere else, and the two girls  
said to him:
33. “*Ladjkurrungu njal ngudda kanhbene-kornmud-yirridjme-ng ngarrewoneng?*”  
novice what you 2/1uaIMM-pubic.hair-snatch-PP 1ua  
“*Ladjkurrungu*, what are you doing snatching at our pubic hair?”
34. “*Ngayi wanjh nga-mungu*”,  $\phi$ -*yime-ng*, “*ngayi nga-mungu nakkan*  
I then 1-uninvolved 3P-say-PP I 1-uninvolved MA:DEM  
*\phi*-*baye-ng burd=bukka ngun-kornmud-baye-ng ngudberre*”.  
3P-bite-PP grunter=eh? 3/2a-pubic.hair-bite-PP you.pl  
“It wasn’t me”, he said. “I’m innocent; it must have been that grunter fish nibbling at  
your pubic hair.”
35. *Wanjh bene-h-bo-rro-y* *wanjh birri-wam*,  
then 3uaP-IMM-liquid-strike-PP then 3aP-goPP  
Then the two of them clapped on the water, then they all went.
36. *birri-wam birri-bidbom wanjh birri-yo-y*.  
3aP-goPP 3aP-climb.upPP then 3aP-lie-PP  
They went and climbed up (out of the billabong), then lay down.
37. *Birri-yo-y wanjh bene-djangka-ng, bene-djangka-ng*  
3aP-lie-PP then 3uaP-go.hunting-PP 3uaP-go.hunting-PP  
They lay down, then the two of them (i.e. the two men, Ngurdyawok and Nawalabik)  
went hunting, the two went hunting,
38. *Ngurdyawok la nungka Nawalabik, ken, bene-wam njamed Dird*  
[name] CONJ he [name] oops 3uaP-goPP whasit Moon  
*na-wu duruk birri-kom-dukka-ng korroko Aboriginal birri-kom-dukka-ng*,  
MA-REL dog 3aP-neck-tie-PP before Aboriginal.way 3a/3P-neck-tie-PP  
Ngurdyawok and him, Nawalabik, the two of them went off with whatchacallim,  
Moon, that dog of theirs, they tied something (snail-shells) around his neck (as a rattle)  
in the old Aboriginal way.
39. *wanjh ngarlirrk ngal-bu \phi*-*yime-ng lerre lerre lerre*  
then [snail.sp.] FE-REL 3P-say-PP rattle rattle rattle  
Well, those snail shells (around his neck) went rattle rattle rattle,
40. *bene-h-wam wanjh bene-h-wam mayh bene-h-bom*,  
3uaP-IMM-goPP then 3uaP-IMM-goPP animal 3ua/3P-IMM-killPP  
They went along then and went and killed an animal.
41. *yimarnek bi-rrulubom nungka kun-dulk*,  
CTRFAC 3/3hP-hit.by.throwingPP he IV-stick  
He (Ngurdyawok) wanted to kill him (Nawalabik) by throwing a stick at him.
42. *yimarnek bi-rrulubom la \phi*-*djal-durnd-i*  
CTRFAC 3/3hP-hit.by.throwingPP CONJ 3P-just-return-PP  
He wanted to kill him by throwing a stick, but he just came back (without doing it).

43. *ben-bengka-ng ngal-dah-daluk, ben-bengka-ng wanjh*  
 3/3plP-think-PP II-REDUP-woman 3/3plP-think-PP then  
 He was thinking about the sisters, he was thinking about them then,
44. *birri-yo-y ku-mekke ø-wam ben-bengka-ng birri-yo-y ngal-dah-daluk*  
 3aP-lie-PP LOC-DEM 3P-goPP 3/3plP-think-PP 3aP-lie-PP II-REDUP-woman  
 "they were sleeping there", he went along and was thinking about them, "the sisters were sleeping".
45. *Wanjh nungka kam-duh-durnd-i ø-na-ng kabirri-yo*  
 then he 3towardsP-INCEP-return-PP 3/3P-see-PP 3a-lieNP  
 Well, he started back, and saw them sleeping there.
46. *"Nga!" bi-djurlhme-ng.*  
 hey 3/3h-wake-PP  
 "Hey!", he woke her (his wife).<sup>16</sup>
47. *"Nakkan na-wu nadjumuwarre kam-wam=bukka ngurri-h-yo"*  
 MA:DEM MA-REL [triangular kin term] 3towardsP-goPP=eh 2a-IMM-lieNP  
 "Here, my wife, the one who is your brother and my brother-in-law is coming now, you (women) sleep together (for safety, to avoid the sexual antics of your brother).
48. *ngayi burrkyak, ladjkurrungu ngudda" bi-djurlhme-ng*  
 I nothing novice your 3/3hP-wake-PP  
 Not because of me, but because of that novice (brother) of yours" he (said as he) woke her.
49. *"Ladjkurrungu wanjh yi-re, konda ngal-yabokwarr ngane-yo."*  
 novice then 2-goNP here [triangular kin term] 1ua-lieNP  
 "Ladjkurrungu, you go (and sleep somewhere else), I'm sleeping here with the one who is my wife and your sister."
50. *"O, ku-mekke nuk ku-bolk-buyika nga-h-yo."*  
 oh LOC-DEM DUB LOC-place-other 1-IMM-lieNP  
 "O, I better sleep somewhere else."
51. *"Ya wanjh yi-ra-y ku-ni yi-yo."*  
 yes then 2-go-IMP LOC-DEM 2-lieNP  
 "Yes, you go and sleep over there then."
52. *Bene-wam la nungan ø-wanah-wam man-kung ø-bekka-ng,*  
 3uaP-goPP CONJ heEMPH 3P-ITER-goPP III-honey 3/3P-hear-PP  
*ø-wanah-wam ø-bekka-ng bu::m ka-h-yime,*  
 3P-ITER-goPP 3/3P-hear-PP hum 3-IMM-sayNP  
 (Later) the two of them (Ngurdyawok and Nawalabik) went off, and he (Ngurdyawok) was going along and heard the sound of (bees buzzing near their) honey, as he was going along he heard them going hummmm;

<sup>16</sup> Here and in the next three lines, it is the use of triangular kin terms by Ngurdyawok that holds the key to figuring out who is doing what.

53. *bobbidj*, *ø-bekka-ng ka-h-bume*, *wanjh birri-yo-y, birri-yo-y malamalayi*  
[bee sp.] 3/3P-hear-PP 3-IMM-humNP then 3aP-lie-PP 3aP-lie-PP tomorrow  
*bobbidj* bees, he heard them humming. Meanwhile they (back at the camp) slept, they  
slept till the next day.
54. *wanjh bene-dolkka-ng bene-wam*. “*Ngarr-e*” *biliken bene-mey, mak*  
then 3uaP-get.up-PP 3uaP-goPP 12-goNP *billycan 3ua/3-getPP another*  
*biliken*  
*billycan*  
Right, the two (men) got up and set off. n“Let’s go!” They took a *billycan*, and another  
*billycan*,
55. *nanih biliken wanjh bene-ka-ng rowk*  
MA:DEM *billycan* then 3uaP-take-PP all  
and this other *billycan* they took, all of them.
56. *bene-wa::m kure wanjh “Na-ni yi-na bobbidj,*  
3uaP-goPP there then MA-DEM 2-seeNP [bee.sp.]  
The two of them went along there, then (one of them said): “See these *bobbidj*  
bees here,
57. *la nga-bidbu-n wanjh nga-ngadje-ng wanjh,*  
CONJ 1-climb.up-NP then 1/3-strike-NP then  
well I’ll climb up and strike the tree.
58. *nga-rradjdje nga-yende<sup>17</sup>-dadjke*  
1/3-cutNP 1/3-projecting.branch.stump-cutNP  
I’ll cut the off projecting branch-stump (to get at the honey).
59. *nga-yende-dadjke ka-manka-n.”*  
1/3-branch.stump-cutNP 3-fall-NP  
I’ll cut the branch-stump down.”
60. “*Ma ma ma*”, *ø-bidbom wanjh ø-yende-dadjdje-ng, ø-yende-dadjdje-ng*  
hey hey hey 3/3P-climbPP then 3/3P-branch.stump-cut-PP 3/3P-stump-cut-PP  
*rowk*  
all  
“Hey, hey, hey!”, he climbed up and cut off all of the branch stump.
61. *wii bum ø-manka-ng.*  
whee boom 3-fall-PP  
Whee, boom! it fell down.
62. *Yimanek ø-kuyin-dabu-bakme-ng dabu-no ø-mey.* “*Ay! ay! ay!*”  
CTRFAC 3/3P-almost-(bee).egg-break-PP egg-3POSSD 3/3P-getPP stop stop stop  
He was about to get the eggs, he got the eggs, but “Stop! stop! stop!” (said the other).

<sup>17</sup> Once again, *yende* is a Kunwinjku form; the Kulinjku form would be *dinh-no*.

63. *"Mandi yi-yakwa-n la na-njeknjek, na-njeknjek mandi yi-yakwa-n,*  
 NEG.IMP 2-eat-NP CONJ MA-taboo.food MA-taboo.food NEG.IMP 2-eat-NP  
 "Don't eat it, because it's taboo food (for you, in your ritual state as an initiand); it's  
 taboo food, don't eat it! [This quote is in Kun-kurrng.]
64. *kayakki kayakki ka:k, ka:k, ka:k kayakki", kondah ku-djen ø-ka-ng*  
 NEG NEG no no no NEG here LOC-tongue 3/3P-take-PP  
*kun-djen ø-nguneng dabu-no wanjh ø-yo-y. "Kak kak kak kayakki!"*  
 IV-tongue 3/3P-eatPP egg-3POSSD then 3P-lie-PP no no no no  
*"Ngayi kayakki, kuni na-ngalabak kayakki."*  
 I nothing here MA-cheek nothing  
 "No, no, no, no, no, no!", (but) he took it on his tongue here. He ate the food with his  
 tongue and it remained there (on his tongue). "No, no, no, no!" "I've got nothing here,  
 there's nothing in my cheeks."
65. *"Ba yi-ngune-ng kun-mekke na-djamun nakka yi-ngune-ng.*  
 but 2/3-eat-PP IV-DEM MA-taboo MA:DEM 2/3-eat-PP  
*Na-njeknjek wanjh yi-yakwam."*  
 MA-taboo then 2/3-eatPP  
 "But you ate it then, you ate that ritually taboo food. You ate that ritually taboo food  
 then." [Note that this is repeated, first in the everyday and then in the Kun-kurrng  
 register.]
66. *Wanjh bene-bo.. ø-monbuhme-ng rowk yiman kondanj wanjh*  
 then 3ua/3P-liquid 3/3P-break.open.honey-PP all like here then  
 OK, the two of them ... he broke open all the honeycomb then.
67. *ø-kurrme-ng yiman kuni, wanjh bonj bene-baru-y, ø-baru-y rowk,*  
 3/3P-put-PP like IV:DEM then finished 3ua/3P-paint-PP 3/3P-paint-PP all  
 He put it like this, then they rubbed (the honey), rubbed it all (onto the twig scoop  
 which they'll use to eat it up with).
68. *ø-baru-y rowk, ø-baru-y rowk, ø-baru-y wanjh ø-yakwo-ng.*  
 3/3P-paint-PP all 3P-paint-PP all 3/3P-paint-PP then 3/3P-finish-PP  
 He painted it all, painted it all, painted honey (onto the twigs) till they'd done it all.
69. *Wanjh "Konda yi-na-ø nga-rrijnh-bardmey", ø-yime-ng. ø-Dijnh-bardka-ng*  
 then here 2-see-IMP 1/3-knob-break.offPP 3-say-PP 3/3-knob-break.off-PP  
 Then he said "Look here, I've broken off the knob (of the tree-trunk)". He'd broken  
 off the knob,
70. *wanjh ø-bo-rrorka-ng man-kung. ø-li::bka-ng, ø-li::bka-ng,*  
 then 3P-liquid-come.up-PP III-honey 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-lick-PP  
*ø-li::bka-ng, ø-li::bka-ng, ø-lib-libka-ng,*  
 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-ITER-lick-PP  
 then honey came gushing out. He (Ngurdyawok) licked, and licked, and licked,  
 and licked, and licked.
71. *"Yi-m-lobme-n yi-m-lobme-n, yi-m-ra-y, yi-m-ra-y,*  
 2-towards-run-IMP 2-towards-run-IMP 2-towards-go-IMP 2-towards-go-IMP

*yi-m-ra-y, ba yingan=wali yi-libme."*

2-towards-go-IMP so.that youEMPH=IN.TURN 2-lickNP

"Run over here, run over here, come, come, come, so that you can have your turn at licking!"

72. *Wanjh bi-marne-wenjhme-ng ku-mekke kam-lobme-ng*  
 then 3/3HP-BEN-trick-PP LOC-DEM 3:towards-run-PP  
 Then (Nawalabik) played a trick on (Ngurdyawok) there. He (Ngurdyawok) ran up.
73. *ø-libka-ng, ø-libka-ng, ø-libka-ng, kun-kudji ø-libka-ng, ø-bekka-ng*  
 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-lick-PP IV-one 3/3P-lick-PP 3/3P-hear-PP  
*derrengkerd*  
 [sound of axe]  
 He licked and licked and licked, and licked one more time, then he heard the noise of an axe (stuck in wood).
74. *ø-yime-ng kabban ø-baye-ng na-mekke waliman, dadken kare,*  
 3P-say-PP axe.handle 3/3P-bite-PP MA-DEM steel.axe stone.axe maybe  
 That steel axe made a noise as it bit (into the wood), or maybe it was a stone axe,
75. *yimarnek ø-yime-ng rawoyhno lib.. "Yi-yakwa-ø", bi-marne-yime-ng*  
 CTRFAC 3/3P-say-PP again lick 2/3-eat-IMP(k.k.) 3/3HP-BEN-say-PP  
 He was about to have another lick ... "You eat!", (Nawalabik) said to him [in Kun-kurrng] —
76. *wanjh ø-kuyin-libme-ng bonj wanjh bi-djurd-dadjdje-ng.*  
 then 3P-almost-lick-PP finished then 3/3HP-nape.of.neck-chop-PP  
 right, he was about to have a lick, but that was it, (Nawalabik) chopped him in the back of the neck then.
77. *ø-Keleh-kele-kayhme-ng wanjh, ø-kele-kayhme-ng rowk wanjh,*  
 3P-REDUP-afraid-cry.out-PP then 3P-afraid-cry.out-PP all then  
 He cried out in terror then, he cried out in utter fear.  
 [This is a rare case of an adverbial prefix being reduplicated.]
78. *ø-me-y, wanjh bi-kuk-kurrme-ng man-kole nuye,*  
 3/3P-pick.up-PP then 3/3P-body-put.down-PP III-spear his  
 He (Nawalabik) picked up his (Ngurdyawok's) stuff then, laid out his body, his spear,
79. *man-kole nuye bi-marne-kurrme-ng, borndok nungka=kih,*  
 III-spear his 3/3P-BEN-put.down-PP spear.thrower he=NOW  
 He put down his spear for him, his spear thrower, and then (Ngurdyawok) himself,
80. *ku-mekke ø-yi-yo-y darrkid-no ø-yo-y.*  
 LOC-DEM 3/3P-COM-lie-PP body-3POSSD 3P-lie-PP  
 And he lay there with them, his body lay there.
81. *La nungka wanjh ø-duh-durnd-i man-kung ø-deleng-me-y,*  
 CONJ he then 3P-INCEP-return-PP III-honey 3/3P-container-get-PP  
 And then he (Nawalabik) set off back to camp, he took a container of honey,
82. *ku-red bene-h-wam, ø-bebme-ng kure ngal-daluk ngal-badjan*  
 LOC-camp 3uaP-IMM-goPP 3P-turn.up-PP LOC II-woman II-mother

*birri-h-ni.*

3aP-IMM-sitP

The two of them (Nawalabik and his dog, presumably) went along towards their camp, and turned up where his mother and sisters were staying.

83. *Birri-h-ni, "Nga, na-wu ladjkurrungu baleh ø-wam?"*

3aP-IMM-sitP hey MA-REL initiate where 3P-gOPP

They were sitting there, (and said:) "Hey, where's that initiate (our son/brother) gone?"

84. *"Kure wanjh ka-m-h-re, kurih Mondabongkel kureh wanjh*  
there now 3-towards-IMM-gONP there [name] there now

*ka-h-re*

3-IMM-gONP

"He's coming up now, there's Mondabongkel (the dog) there now already."

85. *"njamed, nabarlek." Yimarnkek, la nungka ø-kuk-yo-y. ø-Kuk-yo-y*  
what [wallaby.sp.] CTRFAC CONJ he 3P-body-lie-PP 3P-body-lie-PP  
(He must have a) whatchallit, a *nabarlek*." (Nawalabik) acted as if it were like that,  
but he lay dead, he lay dead;

86. *ku-mekke bi-bawo-ng wanjh ø-kuk-yo-y.*  
LOC-DEM 3/3P-leave-PP then 3P-body-lie-PP  
he'd left him there and he lay dead.

87. *Birri-wohna-ng wanjh ø-ngokda-nj.*  
3aP-look.out-PP then 3P-become.night-PP  
They kept watch for him then, and it grew dark.

88. *Ngalengman ngal-badjan ø-nalkbom, ø-nalkbom rowk, ø-nalkbom*  
sheEMPH II-mother 3P-cryPP 3P-cryPP all 3P-cryPP  
The mother cried, and cried her eyes out, she cried.

89. *wanjh birri-yo-y rowk, wanjh na-mekke nungka na-wu bi-djurd-dadjke-ng*  
then 3aP-sleep-PP all then MA-DEM he MA-REL 3/3hP-nape-chop-PP  
*na-murnungu wanjh, ø-borrme-ng wanjh ø-kodjke-yo-y.*  
MA-killer then 3P-snore-PP then 3P-asleep-lie-PP  
Then they all slept, and he who had chopped him in the back of the neck, the murderer,  
he snored as he slept.

90. *ø-Kodjke-yo-y, wanjh ø-me-y man-kung birri-me-y na-mekke birri-me-y*  
3P-asleep-lie-PP then 3/3P-get-PP III-honey 3a/3P-get-PP MA-DEM 3a/3P-get-PP  
He slept, then he picked up the honey, they got that honey.

91. *wanjh birri-nangah-na-ng birri-worrhme-ng wanjh, birri-dalk-berrewe-ng*  
then 3a/3P-ITER-see-PP 3aP-make.a.fire-PP then 3a/3P-grass-set.ablaze-PP  
Then they looked at it, and made a big fire, and set some grass ablaze.

92. *birri-worrhme-ng ø-runguh-ru-y ø-njerreyh-njerreyhme-ng, la nungan*  
3aP-make.fire-PP 3P-ITER-burn-PP 3P-ITER-sizzle-PP CONJ heEMPH



*borr.*

snore

They made a fire, and it burned and burned, and sizzled and sizzled, and he just went SNORE.

93. *Birri-bal-madj-me-y birri-wa::m kure:: birri-buyika ku-mekke*  
3aP-along-swap-get-PP 3aP-goPP there 3aP-other LOC-DEM

*na-wernwarre birri-m-h-ni.*

MA-older.brother 3aP-towards-IMM-sitP

Then they packed up their swags and went along there, to where some others were, to where some of (his) older brothers were camped.

94. *Birri-wam birri-bebme-ng, "Aa ladjkurrungu kenh karrard*  
3aP-goPP 3aP-appear-PP aa initiate oops mother

*ka-m-nalk-ki-re,*

3-hither-cry-IVF-goNP

They went along and arrived. "Ah, initiate, I mean mother, is coming along crying.

95. *kare ladjkurrungu njale bi-baye-ng. Kare ladjkurrungu, njale nuk*  
maybe initiate what 3/3hP-bite-PP maybe initiate what DUB

*bi-baye-ng?"*

3/3hP-bite-PP

Maybe something has bitten (our) initiate (brother). Maybe something has bitten (our) initiate brother?"

96. *Wanjh birri-doh-doko-rrokme-ng birri-bebme-ng, "Ngurri-mulewa!"*  
then 3aP-INCEP-ITER-go.ahead-PP 3aP-appear-PP 2a-tellIMP

Then they went on ahead (to investigate) and arrived. "Tell us (what happened)!"

97. *Wanjh, "Bi-djurd-dadjdje-ng, na-ngamed Ngurdyawok, Ngurdyawok*  
then 3/3hP-nape-chop-PP MA-who [name] [name]

*la Nawalabik bi-djurd-rdehme-ng".*

CONJ [name] 3/3hP-nape-knock-PP

Then (they said): "He chopped him in the nape of the neck, whatsisname, Ngurdyawok, Ngurdyawok, and it was Nawalabik who knocked him in the back of the neck."

98. *"Kaluk?"*

then

"And then what?"

99. *"Ka-kuk-yo, korroko."*

3-body-lieNP before

"He's already dead."

100. *"Kare nungka baleh ø-wam?"*

maybe he where 3P-goPP

"And where might he (Nawalabik) have gone?"

101. *"Kureh ngarri-bawo-ng ka-yo, ka-kodjke-yo la ngarri-marne-kinje-ng*  
there 1a-leave-PP 3-lieNP 3-asleep-lieNP CONJ 1a-BEN-cook-PP

*ku-mekke man-kung ka-ru-ng.*"

LOC-DEM III-honey 3-burn-NP

"We left him lying there asleep, and we've burned honey there for (i.e. to exact magical revenge on) him, there's honey burning there."

102. *Birri-kuyin-wohna-ng na-bang na-mekke duruk na-wu*  
 3aP-almost-look.around-PP MA-dangerous MA-DEM dog MA-REL  
*bin-karre-bolh-mey bin-h-kadju-y ku-mekke ku-bininj*  
 3/3plP-calf-track-pick.upPP 3/3plP-IMM-follow-PP LOC-DEM LOC-person

*ø-bebme-ng.*

3P-appear-PP

They were about to look around, when that vicious dog which had been following their tracks, which had followed them now to where the people were, appeared.

[This is the only example of LOCative *ku-* prefixed to the noun *bininj*, and may be a speech error.]

103. *Birri-na-ng na-ni kam-bebme-ng wanjh ø-nangah-na-ng*  
 3a/3P-see-PP MA-DEM 3hitherP-appear-PP then 3P-ITER-see-PP  
*ø-dulbume-ng birri-yame-ng, birri-yame-ng, birri-yame-ng,*  
 3/3P-flock.of.birds.fly.up-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP  
*birri-yame-ng, birri-yame-ng birri-warreh-warrewo-ng birri-yame-ng,*  
 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-ITER-miss-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP

*ø-ngime-ng.*

3/3P-enter-PP

They saw it appearing there, then they watched a flock of birds fly up from the ground.

They speared and speared and speared and speared and speared, but they missed, they speared, and it (the dog?) went inside. [The translation of this section is problematic.]

104. *Birri-karu-y birri-karu-y, birri-karu-y, birri-karu-y rawoyhno, ø-bebme-ng.*  
 3aP-dig-PP 3aP-dig-PP 3aP-dig-PP 3aP-dig-PP again 3P-appear-PP  
 They dug and dug and dug and dug again, and it appeared.

105. *Birri-kadju-y, birri-yame-ng birri-yame-ng birri-yame-ng birri-yame-ng*  
 3aP-dig-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP 3a/3P-spear-PP

*ø-ngime-ng.*

3/3P-enter-PP

They dug and they speared and speared and speared and speared and it went inside.

106. *Birri-karu-y birri-karu-y birri-karu-y birri-karu-y birri-karu-y birri-karu-y*  
 3a/3P-dig-PP 3a/3P-dig-PP 3a/3P-dig-PP 3a/3P-dig-PP 3a/3P-dig-PP 3a/3P-dig-PP

*rowk.*

all

They dug and dug and dug and dug and dug and dug everywhere.

107. *Birri-rawoyhno, ø-bebme-ng. Wanjh birri-kadju-y, man-dubang*  
 3a-again 3P-appear-PP then 3a/3P-chase-PP III-ironwood.tree

*ø-ngime-ng birribirl.*

3P-enter-PP crawl.inside.a.hole

They — again — he appeared. They chased him and he crawled inside an iron wood tree.

108. *Birri-korlkme-ng yimarnek birri-rdehme-ng yimarnek birri-rdehme-ng*  
3aP-chop.down.tree-PP CTRFAC 3a/3P-chop-PP CTRFAC 3a/3P-chop-PP

*yimarnek birri-dehme-ng*

CTRFAC 3a/3P-chop-PP

So they started to chop it down, they wanted to chop it and chop it.

109. *“Bonj, makka ngurri-bawo, warde ka-h-bakme kadberre*  
finished VE:DEM 2a-leaveIMP maybe 3-IMM-breakNP us

*la ngurri-ra-y ngurri-ma-ng karri-wulhke nungan=wali.”*

CONJ 2a-go-IMP 2a-get-NP 12a-burnNP heEMPH=in.turn

“Enough, leave it now, or it might break on us. And you mob go and get him and we’ll burn him (to punish him in turn).”

110. *Wanjh birri-wam birri-nangah-na-ng man-karrarndalk birri-ngim-i-we-ng*  
then 3aP-goPP 3aP-ITER-see-PP III-kerosene.grass 3aP-enter-IVF-throw-PP

*rowk.*

all

Then they went and looked around for kerosene grass and they put it all inside (the tree trunk).

111. *Birri-ngim-i-we-ng rowk wanjh bonj ø-nangah-na-ng wurlh*  
3aP-enter-IVF-throw-PP all then finished 3/3P-ITER-see-PP whoosh

*birri-ka-ng birri-wurlhke-ng birri-bekka-ng ka-h-wowme kure*

3a/3P-carry-PP 3a/3P-set.ablaze-PP 3a/3P-hear-PP 3-IMM-groanNP LOC

*kaddum “Wa, wa, wa”,*

above wa wa wa

They put it all inside then they were done, they watched it go ‘whoosh!’ as they set it ablaze (to flush him out), and heard him high up yelling in agony “Wa, wa, wa”,

112. *ben-du-y warribo ben-du-y ben-du-y ben-du-y*  
3/3plP-swear-PP obscenity 3/3plP-swear-PP 3/3plP-swear-PP 3/3plP-swear-PP  
and swearing obscenities at them.

113. *Birri-madbom wanjh ø-ngeh-dadjme-ng birri-djal-di birri-bekka-ng*  
3a/3P-waitPP then 3P-breath-cease-PP 3aP-just-standP 3a/3P-listen-PP

*ka-h-borrb-borrbme ngabdjorrmimbeb, ngabdjorrmimborrbborrbborrborrb*

3-IMM-ITER-sizzleNP dripping.of.body.fluids dripping.and.sizzling

They waited until he breathed his last, and they just stood there listening to him sizzling away and his body fluids dripping down as he cooked.

114. *kam-djal-borrb-borrbme-ng ø-manka-ng bonj*  
3hitherP-just-ITER-sizzle-PP 3P-fall-PP finished

la birri-djandjanme-y birri-djalk-djalkme-y.

CONJ 3aP-pull.spear.out.of.body-PP 3a/3P-ITER-cut.up-PP

He just kept sizzling down and his body fluids dripped down towards them until it was all finished, and they pulled the spear out of his body and hacked him into pieces.

115. wanjh birri-kinje-ng nungan=wali. Bonj.

then 3a/3P-cook-PP heEMPH=in.turn finished

So that's how they cooked him in revenge. The end.

### Text 7: David Kalbuma: Fish poisoning (Kune Narayek and Dalabon)

This text was given by David Kalbuma to NE in November 1991 at Korlobidahdah outstation. It was dictated step by step as his wife Kodjdjan actually carried out the procedure described over the course of an afternoon.

Nearly parallel versions, first in Kune Narayek and then in Dalabon, were given, and both are included here in order to show the close structural isomorphism between the two languages. (See §1.2.4.3 on Kune-Dalabon bilingualism). The Dalabon orthography used here differs from that for Kune only by the addition of *v* for the sixth (high central) vowel.

Note that the term *mawurrumbulk* can refer to a range of unrelated plants capable of being used as fish poisons; see Chaloupka and Giuliani (1984) and Russell-Smith (1985) on the range of this term.

Particular striking parallels between the Kune dialect and Dalabon, as they appear in this text, are:

- the high incidence of shared or near-identical vocabulary, e.g. all fish terms, terms for poison plants, pounding, throwing poison in water, and fish poison, and
- use of instrumental to mark 'catfish' when used as a transitive agent in Kune, exactly as in Dalabon; this ergative use of the instrumental is restricted to Kune and Manyallaluk Mayali.

Kune version:

1. Wolewoleh Kodjdjan mawurrumbulk  $\phi$ -me-y, ngarri-madbom,  
afternoon [subsection] fish.poison.plant 3/3P-get-P 1a-waitP

$\phi$ -weleng-djorndo-y.

3/3P-then-pound-P

This afternoon Kodjdjan gathered plants for use as fish poison; we waited, while she pounded them. (The procedure involves pounding the branches, to release the poison from the bark.)

2. Kumekke-beh  $\phi$ -kolkbo-m ngarri-nahna-ng djenj  $\phi$ -dowe-ng  
then-ABL 3/3P-throw.poison.in.water-PP 1a-watch-PP fish 3P-die-PP

$\phi$ -kodjka-ng.  $\phi$ -dowe-ng djirrbili ngong, wakbah, bokorn, djabel.

3-float-PP 3P-die-PP [fish.sp.] mob [fish.sp.] [fish.sp.] [fish.sp.]

Then she threw the poison-bundles in the water and we watched the fish floating to the surface and dying. [The verb *kodjkan*, lit. head-carry, specifically refers to the action

of stunned fish floating up to the surface.] Lots of *djirrbili* fish (a type of glass-fish) died, *wakbah* fish (a type of catfish), spangled grunters, and mouth almighties.

3. *Kodjdjan bi-weleng-bid-dulubom wakbah-yih ø-weleng-kurlba-ka-ng.*  
[subsection] 3/3HP-then-hand-spikePP catfish-INSTR 3P-then-blood-carry-P  
Then a lesser salmon catfish spiked Kodjdjan on the hand and she bled.
4. *Kumekke-beh mambard ø-me-y, wurdurd birri-kuk-me-me-y,*  
there-ABL billycan 3/3IP-get-P children 3a/3P-body-ITER-get-P  
*birri-kurmeh-kurrme-ng mambard-kah,*  
3a/3P-ITER-put-P billycan-LOC  
After that she got a billycan, and the children picked up all the dead fish and put them in the billycan.
5. *weleng Kodjdjan ø-djirridjbom, ngarri-ngu-neng.*  
then [subsection] 3/3IP-washP 1a/3-eat-P  
Then Kodjdjan washed them, and we ate them.

Dalabon version:

1. *Dabarng Kodjdjan mawurrumbulk kah-ma-me, yilah-yidinja-ng,*  
afternoon [subsection] fish.poison.plant 3/3-REDUP-getPP 1a/3-hold-PP  
*kah-yvlvng-djornduyhm-inj.*  
3/3I-then-pound-PP  
This afternoon Kodjdjan gathered plants for use as fish poison; we held them, while she pounded them.
2. *Kah-djukwo-ng wah-kah, kah-kolkbo-ng.*  
3P-throw-PP water-LOC 3P-throw.poison.in.water-PP  
*Ka-yvlvng-do-nj djenj, kah-kodjka-ng bokorn, djabel, djirrbvln, wakbah.*  
3-then-die-PP fish 3-float-PP [fish.sp.] [fish.sp.] [fish.sp.] [fish sp.]  
She threw it in the water. Then fish died, mouth almighties, spangled grunters, glass fish and catfish floated to the surface.
3. *Kodjdjan bvkah-yvlvng-ngarrinj-dulubo-ng wakbah-yih*  
[subsection] 3/3h-then-hand-spike-PP catfish-INSTR  
*kah-yvlvng-ngarrinj-kurlba-bo-ng.*  
3-then-hand-blood-go-PP  
Then a lesser salmon catfish spiked Kodjdjan on the hand and she bled.
4. *Wurdurd mambard bvlah-me, bvlah-yvlvng-njerrh-yunjh-yunj,*  
children billycan 3a/3-getPP 3a/3-then-body-ITER-putPP  
The children got a billycan, and then put all the dead fish into it.
5. *Kodjdjan kah-yvlvng-yewkm-inj wah-kah, kah-yvlvng-kinj-vng mimal-kah,*  
[subsection] 3/3-then-wash-PP water-LOC 3/3-then-cook-PP fire-LOC  
*yalah-yvlvng-ngu-nj.*  
1a-then-eat-PP  
'Then Kodjdjan washed them in the creek, then she cooked them on the fire, and then we had a feed.'

### Text 8: David Kalbumba: Commentary on a rock painting (Kune Narayek)

Told by David Kalbumba to NE at Yayminji, Arnhem Land, 16/7/95; transcribed and translated by DK and NE, same day. The text was given as a description of an old rock painting, accompanied by gestures pointing to the elements of the painting.

1. *Yow, nani nungan nawaran*  $\phi$ -bom, *na-kudji bininj*,  
yeah this heEMPH Oenpelli.python 3/3P-killP MA-one man  
Yeah, this (male figure here) has killed an Oenpelli python, this one man.
2. *kabin-marne-kayhme na*, "*nawaran nga-bom*"  $\phi$ -yime-ng.  
3/3pl-BEN-call.outNP now Oenpelli.python 1/3-killPP 3P-say-PP  
He's calling out to them now; "I've killed an Oenpelli python", he said.
3. *Nanemah nungan, kunj ka-kuni-ka-n*,  $\phi$ -yame-ng *na*,  
this.other.one heEMPH kangaroo 3/3-VIOL-take-NP 3/3P-spear-PP now  
This other one here is sneaking up on a kangaroo, he's speared it now.
4. *birri-kayhme-ng "Eyi!  $\phi$ -Yame-ng!"* and  
3aP-cry.out-PP hey 3/3P-spear-PP  
They cried out "Hey! He speared him!", and
5. *bedman kabirri-du-rre-n na*, *daluk-ken kabene-du-rre-n*.  
theyEMPH 3a-swear-RR-NP now woman-GEN 3ua-swear-RR-NP  
these (other) ones now are quarrelling, two of them are fighting over a woman.
6. *Nungka man-korle ka-karrme na-wern*,  
heEMPH III-bamboo.shafted.spear 3/3-holdNP MA-many  
This man here is holding a whole lot of bamboo-shafted spears,
7. *nungka kun-dulk ka-karrme*,  
heEMPH IV-tree 3/3-holdNP  
and this one here is holding a tree.
8. *and nungan ka-wayirni na-kudji, and ka-njarlme, kabirri-melme*,  
heEMPH 3-singNP MA-one 3-danceNP 3-stompNP  
And this one here is singing, and dancing, and they are stomping;
9. *ngal-kudji daluk ka-borrkke, bedman nungan Na-mumuyak*,  
II-one woman 3-danceNP theyEMPH heEMPH I-[ancestral.figure]  
one woman is dancing, they're (celebrating) him, Namumuyak —
10. *mimih karre-no*.  
Mimih song-3POSSD  
it's a song belonging to the *Mimihs*.
11. *Kun-dulk bedberre man-dedjbang, mm, dorrbakbak, djorrbakdudjildungh*,  
IV-tree theyOBL III-[tree.sp.] [tree.sp.] possum's.sperm  
That tree (depicted here) is a *man-dedjbang*, a *dorrbakbak*, known as 'rock possum's sperm',

12. *bonj*.  
finished  
That's all.

### Text 9: David Kanari: Where the python sank down (Gun-djeihmi)

Told by David Kanari to NE in Gun-djeihmi, Muirella Park, February 1990; transcribed by DK and NE, Cooina, February 1990.

1. *Bolkgame ngarri-m-lobme-ng, JimJim-beh gu-mege ga-bolk-ngei-yo,*  
now 1a-hither-drive-PP [place]-ABL LOC-there 3-place-name-lieNP  
Today we drove down here from Jim Jim, that place there's called
2. *Cooinda Hotel, wanjh gu-mege gun-bang ngarri-h-bo-ma-ng,*  
then LOC-that IV-grog 1a-IMM-liquid-get-NP  
Cooinda Hotel, there where we get grog,
3. *bu gabarri-bo-ma-ng, yiman bininj ga-garrme gun-warde.*  
REL 3a-liquid-get-NP like person 3-haveNP IV-money  
where they get grog, like if someone has money.
4. *Ngarri-m-lobme-ng Nawurlanjdi gu-bu ga-h-rud-djoukge,*  
1a-hither-drive-PP [place] LOC-REL 3-IMM-road-crossNP  
We drove to Nourlangie, where the road crosses (the river),
5. *galuk ngahdjarre yunggi, ngarri-m-wam*  
then this.side ahead 1a-hither-goPP  
just a bit further, we went
6. *wanjh nga-marne-bolk-ngeibo-m ngadburrung Nicholas,*  
then 1/3-BEN-place-say.name-PP brother  
then I told my brother Nicholas the name of that place.
7. *wanjh ngan-djawa-m nungan-wali ba-yime-ng,*  
then 3/1-ask-PP he-in.turn 3-say-PP  
then he asked me, he said:
8. *"Njale njanjukgen maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng?" ngan-djawa-m nungga.*  
what why python 3P-sink-PP 3/1-ask-PP he  
"Why is it called *Maddjurn bawodjmeng*<sup>18</sup> ('where the black-headed python sank down')", he asked me.
9. *Ngayeman-wali nga-marne-yime-ng*  
1EMPH-in.turn 1/3-BEN-say-PP  
Then I said to him:

<sup>18</sup> Compared to the verb *yibme*, which can also mean 'sink' (or '(sun)set') and is typically used of boats or people, *wodjme* implies that its subject is large, long and heavy (e.g. a log (*gun-wodj*, from which *wodjme* is derived), or in this case a huge snake). In other dialects *yibme* covers both.

10. *Djang ba-yimerra-nj gorro:go,*  
dreaming.site 3P-turn.into-PP before  
It became a djang (dreaming site) long ago ...
11. *an-ege an-godjboyorr, djama ngan-gabo-duninh,*  
VE-that III-washaway not III-billabong-real  
that washaway there, it's not really a billabong,
12. *but ngalengman maddjurn,*  
herEMPH black.headed.python  
her, black-headed python,
13. *gun-merlem-bok ngarre ba-m-wage-ng gaddum-be gu-bolk-dulum*  
IV-belly-track herPOSS 3P-hither-crawl-PP upstream-ABL LOC-place-high  
it's the belly-track of her slithering down from the high ridges upstream.
14. *galuk gu-mege ba-bolk-na-ng ba-yime-ng*  
later LOC-that 3/3P-place-see-PP 3P-say-PP  
When she saw that place she said:
15. *"niyih nga-rrarnh-wodjme",*  
here 1-near-sinkNP  
"Near here is the place where I can sink down (under the water)",
16. *wanjh gu-mege maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng.*  
then LOC-then python 3P-sink-PP  
so that's where black-headed python sank down.
17. *Maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng, wanjh gukku ba-rrilébo-m,*  
python 3P-sink-PP then water 3P-piss-PP  
Black-headed python sank down, and pissed out fresh water there.
18. *"Wanjh, an-dehne nga-rrilebu-n" ba-yime-ng,*  
well.now VE-that 1-piss-NP 3P-say-PP  
"Well, I'll pass my urine now", she said.
19. *"wanjh, an-dehne gukku nga-bo-bawo-n bedberre munguih-munguih,*  
well VE-that water 1-liquid-leave-NP for.them for.ever  
"Yeah, I'll leave that water for them for ever,
20. *bu ngayed ngan-dehne ga-yimerra-n,*  
REL how VE-that 3-turn-NP  
so that whatever season it may be —
21. *gurrung, wurrngeng, yekke, gurrung-duninh,*  
hot.dry first.cool winter hot.dry-proper  
the hot dry season, or the first cool, or winter, even in the middle of the hot dry season —
22. *wanjh andi-dilé-bongu-n, ngaye gure nga-wodjme-ng and nga-rrilébo-m.*  
then 2a/1-piss-drink-NP I LOC 1-sink-PP 1-piss-PP  
well, you mob will be able to drink my piss, where I sank under the water and urinated.



23. *Nga-bolk-ngei-gurrme-ng.* *Na-yunggi bininj ba-bolk-ngei-gurrme-ng*  
1/3-place-name-put-PP MA-first person 3/3P-place-name-put-PP  
I have named this place." So the first person named the place,
24. *ba-yime-ng gu-behne maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng.*  
3P-say-PP LOC-there python 3P-sink-PP  
and called that place 'where the black-headed python sank down'.
25. *"Nga-bolk-dilebo-m gukku ba-bo-marnbu-rr-inj ,*  
1-place-piss-PP water 3P-liquid-make-RR-PP  
"I pissed onto the place and it turned to fresh water;
26. *wanjh gu-mege bu nga-wodjme-ng,*  
then LOC-there REL 1-sink-PP  
that's the place where I sank down."
27. *maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng barri-bolk-ngeibo-m,*  
python 3P-sink-PP 3a/3P-place-call-PP  
They called it 'where the python sank down',
28. *because maddjurn ba-wodjme-ng, and maddjurn na-mege*  
python 3P-sink-PP python MA-that  
because a python sank down there, and that black-headed python
29. *maih, nayin, gabani-guk-rohrok, ga-garrme gun-guk-bele ngarre*  
animal snake 3ua-body-alike 3-haveNP IV-body-white her  
is an animal, a snake, they have the same form, she has a white stripe,
30. *al-guk-gurduk. Balanda gabarri-yime*  
FE-body-black white.person 3a-sayNP  
and a black body. White people call it
31. *black and white striped taipan gabarri-h-ngeibu-n,*  
3a-IMM-call-NP  
a black and white striped taipan (should be 'python' — N.E.) is what they call it,
32. *but ngad ngarri-yime-n, maddjurn ngarri-ngeibu-n.*  
we 1a-say-NP python 1a-call-NP  
but we say, we call it, *maddjurn*.
33. *Djalbonj, well gu-mege gukku ngarri-bo-ma-ng bu gurrung ga-yimerra-n*  
finished LOC-there water 1a-liquid-get-NP REL hot.season 3-turn-NP  
Right, well we can get water there when it becomes the hot dry season.
34. *An-djal-nekke nga-yolyolme-ng bolkgime Nicholas,*  
VE-just-that 1-tell-PP now  
That's what I told to Nicholas just now,
35. *ngaye, Mr David Kanari, djalbonj.*  
I finished  
I, Mr David Kanari. That's all.

# **Text 10: David Kanari: The crocodile and his lair (Gun-djeihmi)**

Recorded by NE from David Kanari in Gun-djeihmi at Muirella Park, February 1990; transcribed and translated at Cooina, February 1990, by NE and DK.

1. *Bonj bolkgime ngan-ih ngaye nga-yolyolme, ginga*  
 OK now VE-this I 1-tellNP estuarine.crocodile  
 Right, now in this story I'll tell about the estuarine crocodile,
2. *yiman ga-yime modjarrgi,*  
 like 3-doNP freshwater.crocodile  
 like the freshwater crocodile, too ...
3. *or yiman goyek-goyek bedda gabarri-ngeibu-n golomomo,*  
 like REDUP-east they 3a/3-call-NP  
 or as the easterners call it, *golomomo*,
4. *yiman ga-yime, yiman gayime Rembarrnga, yiman gayime Dangbon, or Ngalkbon,*  
 like 3-doNP ...for.example... ...for.example...  
 [for.example]  
 like for example the Rembarrnga, like the Dangbon or Ngalkbon.
5. *But na-behne ngad now na-djeihmi, yiga Mayali, ngarri-ngeibu-n*  
 MA-this we MA-djeihmi some 1a/3-call-NP  
*modjarrgi,*  
 freshwater.crocodile  
 But we Na-djeihmi here, or Mayali, we call it *modjarrgi*.
6. *bedda gun-djawonj gabarri-ngeibu-n goymarr, bu ngarri-ngeibu-n.*  
 they IV-Jawoyn 3a/3-call-NP SUB 1a/3-call-NP  
 They Jawoyn call it *goymarr*, which we can (also) call it.
7. *Wanjh ginga nga-yolyolme, but ga-rohrok. Bu ga-yime ginga*  
 then crocodile 1-tellNP 3-alike SUB 3-doNP crocodile  
*ga-bolkbun,*  
 3-buildNP  
 Well now I'll explain about the estuarine crocodile, but (the freshwater crocodile) is just the same. That which the crocodile does, when he builds a tunnel,
8. *ngarri-bolk-ngeibu-n ngan-ege gure ganjdji, gure gu-wukku, gelbi.*  
 1a/3-place-call-NP VE-that LOC under LOC LOC-water lair  
 we call that place that is underneath, in the water, his *gelbi* (lair).
9. *Modjarrgi ga-garrme gelbi ga-rohrok,*  
 freshwater.crocodile 3-haveNP lair 3-alike  
 The freshwater croc has one in the same way.
10. *wanjh yiman ga-yime ga-baye duruk, or yiman ga-yime bigibigi,*  
 then ...for.example... 3/3-biteNP dog ...for.example... pig  
 Then when, for example, he bites a dog, or a pig,

11. *yiman gayime gunj, or yiman gayime bininj.*  
...for.example... kangaroo ...for.example... person  
or a kangaroo, or a person,
12. *wanjh na-mege ginga ga-ga-n gu-rurrk ganjdji,*  
then MA-that crocodile 3/3-take-NP LOC-cave underneath  
then that crocodile takes it down into his cave under the ground,
13. *gure gelbi ga-yi-ngime-n. Djama ga-bangme-guk-ngu-n,*  
LOC lair 3/3-COM-enter-NP not 3/3-not.yet-body-eat-NP  
and goes into his lair with it. He doesn't eat its body yet.
14. *wanjh bonj na-gerrnge ga-bu-n,*  
then OK MA-fresh 3/3-kill-NP  
Then, well, when he first kills it,
15. *ganjdji ga-guk-gurrme, ga-h-yo, galuk ganjdji, gure gu-wukku*  
under 3/3-body-putNP 3-IMM-lieNP later inside LOC LOC-water  
he puts the body underneath to lie, then inside, where it's in the water,
16. *galuk gaddum-ga ga-gurrme gure ga-h-yo, gu-bolk-buk, ga-h-yo,*  
later up-OBL 3/3-putNP LOC 3-IMM-lieNP LOC-place-dry 3-IMM-lieNP  
then he puts it higher up in the tunnel to lie in a dry place,
17. *galuk ga-guk-nudme-n, wanjh gu-mege ga-ngu-n.*  
later 3-body-rot-NP then LOC-that 3/3-eat-NP  
and when later the body rots, that's when he eats it.
18. *Djama ga-bangmi-ngu-n an-bu wanjh ga-gulba-re na-gerrnge,*  
not 3/3-not.yet-eat-NP VE-REL then 3-blood-goNP MA-new  
He doesn't eat it yet when there's fresh blood flowing.
19. *ga-djal-e bu ga-guk-nudme-n, gu-mege wanjh ga-ngu-n,*  
3-just-goNP SUB 3-body-rot-NP LOC-that then 3/3-eat-NP  
He just does nothing until the body rots, and that's when he eats it.
20. *na-mege na-wu na-gerrnge minj ga-ngu-n,*  
MA-that MA-REL MA-fresh not 3/3-eat-NP  
That which is fresh he doesn't eat.
21. *bu ga-bu-n, ga-guk-yi-ngime-n, ga-guk-bawo-n wanjh ga-re,*  
SUB 3/3-kill-NP 3/3-body-COM-enter-NP 3/3-body-leave-NP then 3-goNP  
When he kills it and takes the body in, he leaves it and goes off,
22. *ga-bal-ngokda-n ga-rrung-yibme ganjdji,*  
3-away-night.fall-NP 3-sun-setNP down  
when night falls and the sun sets down,
23. *wanjh, ga-golu-ng, gare djenj ga-bu-n, ga-ngu-n,*  
then 3-descend-NP maybe fish 3/3-kill-NP 3/3-eat-NP  
then he goes down and maybe kills a fish, and eats it, [They can eat fish fresh.]
24. *ga-rrurnde-ng ga-godjge-yo,*  
3-return-NP 3N-sleep-lieNP  
goes back and has a sleep.

25. *djama ga-bangmi-ngu-n na-mege na-wu na-gerrnge ba-bo-m, ga-bawo-n,*  
not 3-not.yet-eat-NP MA-that MA-REL MA-fresh 3/3-kill-PP 3/3-leave-NP  
He doesn't eat it yet, that which he has freshly killed, he leaves it,
26. *galuk yerre-ga bu ga-nudme-n anegé ga-ngu-n,*  
later after-LOC SUB 3-rot-NP like.that 3-eat-NP  
till later, afterwards, when it rots, that's how he eats it.
27. *an-djal-nekke an-garre nuye na ginga*  
VE-just-that III-custom his now estuarine.crocodile  
It's just as I have just told you, his custom, the estuarine crocodile,
28. *djama ga-bangme-ngu-n bu ga-h-gulba-re,*  
not 3-not.yet-eat-NP REL 3-IMM-blood-goNP  
He won't eat it as long as the blood is flowing.
29. *ga-bawo-n galuk ga-re, djandi, an-gudji,*  
3-leave-NP then 3-goNP week III-one  
He leaves it while one week goes by,
30. *djandi bogenh, gu-mege bu gabi-marne-ganj-yo,*  
week two LOC-there REL 3/3h-BEN-meat-lienNP  
two weeks, when he has the meat lying there ready,
31. *now might be ga-ngu-n yerre-ga,*  
3/3-eat-NP after-LOC  
now he might eat it, afterwards.
32. *gun-godjgulu garri-yime, ngabbard nungan bi-wo-ng, creature,*  
IV-sense<sup>19</sup> 12a-doNP father(god) heEMPH 3/3hP-give-PP  
We use our common sense, that (our) father gave to all creatures;
33. *because nungga, gubu garri-yime ngabbard, gun-godjgulu bi-wo-ng*  
he when 12a-doNP father IV-sense 3/3P-give-PP  
*nungan own way*  
he  
when we act as we do, it is because he, our father, gave to each creature its own sort of sense.
34. *gure nungan an-garre nuye, djama ga-bangme-ngu-n,*  
LOC heEMPH III-custom his not 3-not.yet-eat-NP  
Whereby he, after his own custom, does not eat yet,
35. *ga-bawo-n ga-nudme-n wanjh nud ga-ngu-n,*  
3-leave-NP 3-rot-NP then rotten 3-eat-NP  
he leaves it to rot, and then eats it rotten,
36. *an-djal-nekke an-garre, a-yolyolme-ng, djalbonj.*  
VE-just-that III-custom 1-tell-PP finished  
It's just as I've told you, his custom. That's all.

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<sup>19</sup> *Gun-godjgulu* means 'brain'; 'rationality'; 'commonsense'.

**Text 11: Ruby Ngalmindadjek: Getting crocodile eggs  
(Gun-djeihmi *Gun-gurrng*)**

Recorded at Biruk (Bamboo Creek) by NE from Ruby Ngalmindadjek, December 1989; transcribed Nourlangie Camp by NE with the help of RN, January 1990.

This short text in the Gun-djeihmi variety of *gun-gurrng* is about getting crocodile eggs and catching filesnakes. For comparison, an 'ordinary language' version has been supplied underneath each line of *gun-gurrng*. The speaker was obliged to talk *gun-gurrng* to everyone at this time, while in mourning for the death of her husband.

1. *Gamarlang, ngarri-doga-ng, ngarri-doga-ng gu-mekke,*  
*Gamak ngarri-wa-m ngarri-wa-m gu-mekke,*  
 good 1a-go-PP 1a-go-PP LOC-DEM  
 OK, we went there.
2. *gilkgen garri-modme-ng, garri-modme-ng gilkgen, wirlarrk*  
*dabu garri-me-i garri-me-i dabu wirlarrk*  
 egg 12a/3-get-PP 12a/3-get-PP egg crocodile.egg  
 We got eggs, eggs we got, crocodile eggs.
3. *wanjh, na-mege dabu garri-modme-ng, wanjh garri-dogan gu-mekke,*  
*wanjh na-mege dabu garri-me-i, wanjh garri-re gu-mekke*  
 right MA-that egg 12a/3-get-PP then 12a/3-goNP LOC-DEM  
 OK, we got the eggs, then we went there (to another stretch of creek).
4. *garri-yauh-modme, wanjh, garri-m-warnduihme,*  
*garri-yauh-mang wanjh garri-m-durndeng*  
 12a/3-again-getNP right 12a/3-hither-returnNP  
 We'll get some more, then we'll come back here.
5. *bu le:rra wanjh bonj, that means nothing, we don't catch anything, lerra,*  
*bu larrk wanjh bonj larrk*  
 SUB nothing right enough nothing  
 If there's nothing, well, OK [...], nothing,
6. *bu le:rra wanjh gayagura, wanjh garri-m-warnduihme minj arri-modme-ng.*  
*bu larrk wanjh gayakki wanjh garri-m-durndeng minj arri-me-i*  
 REL nothing then nothing then 12a/3-hither-returnNP not 1a/3-get-PP  
 If there's nothing, right, nothing, well then we'll come back without getting anything.

## Appendix 2: basic vocabulary

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This list contains, as far as they are known, the forms in all dialects (and in Kun-kurrng) for most of the 150 lexical items used in Alpher and Nash (1999) for lexicostatistical classifications of Cape York languages. This list incorporates the 100-word list of O'Grady and Klokeid (1969:303–307), a further twenty words from Hale's (1961) 100-word list that are not in O'Grady and Klokeid's, another twenty-five words from Black's (n.d.) 100-word list but not in either of the above, and a further five words added by Alpher and Nash to their Cape York comparisons because of their relevance to the monsoon tropics of Australia.<sup>1</sup> Ten of the 150 words are personal, demonstrative or interrogative pronouns; the reader is referred to Chapter 7 for these forms. Items follow the semantic fields used in the volumes of the *Handbook of Australian languages*.

As far as possible, terms from all dialects are given; the tags given Dj, MM, W, I, and E are used to identify forms specific to one dialect or another. Where no tag is given the identical word is found in all dialects. \$ before a term identifies words from the *kunkurrng* avoidance register; unless otherwise indicated these are identical across dialects, and will be cited in the Kunwinjku/Kuninjku orthography. Where nouns have a suppletive incorporated (root) form, this is listed after 'incorp.', with dialect specification if necessary. Where a word appears to be a loan, the source is given.

Part of speech is given after the first Bininj Gun-wok word and unless otherwise specified is the same for all others. The following abbreviations are used for part-of speech membership: adj. (predicative adjective), v. dtr. (ditransitive verb), v.i. (intransitive verb), v. pref. (verbal prefix) and v.t. (transitive verb). Full sets of senses are not usually given, unless needed to show the precise meaning of the sense under discussion.

### Body parts

head: Dj *gun-godj* (n.), MM *gun-gotj*, W, I  
*kun-kodj*, E *kodjno*; \$ *kun-bambarah*  
hair (of head): Dj *gun-ngabek* (n.), MM  
*gun-marre*, E *marreno*, W *kun-ngabek*  
~ *kun-ngabed*, I *kun-ngabek* ~ *kun-*  
*marre*, E *marreno*; \$ *kun-burndih*

chin: Dj *gun-djangarak* (n.), W, I *kun-*  
*dangmad*, I, E *dangmadno*  
forehead: Dj *gun-milh* (n.), W, I *kun-milh*;  
\$ *kun-bambubbu*  
eye: Dj, MM *gun-mim* (n.), W, I *kun-mim*,  
I, E *mimno*; \$ W *kun-kambulu*, I *kun-*  
*kalngunj*

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<sup>1</sup> Their last term, 'mangrove' (*avicennia* sp.) is omitted because (saltwater) mangroves are not found in the environments in which most BGW dialects are spoken, and mostly lack a lexical exponent; so is the term 'shield', which refers to an item of material culture absent from Western Arnhem Land.

- nose; face: Dj *gun-geb* (n.), MM *gun-gep*,  
W, I *kun-keb*, I, E *kebno*;  
\$ W, Dj *kun-modjarrk*, I *kun-  
nganjdjak*
- mouth: Dj *gun-dang* (n.), W, I *kun-dang*, E  
*dangno*; \$ *kun-djangara*
- tongue: Dj, MM *gun-djen* (n.), W, I *kun-  
djen*, I, E *djenno*; \$ *kun-kudjirri*
- tooth: Dj *gun-yidme* (n.), MM *gun-yitme*,  
W, I *kun-yidme*, I, E *ridmeno*;  
\$ *kun-kudjirri*
- ear: Dj, MM *gun-ganem* (n.), W,  
I *kun-kanem*, E *kanemno*;  
\$ *kun-mardorrh*
- neck, throat: Dj, MM *gun-gom* (n.), W, I  
*kun-kom*, E *komno*; \$ *kun-munjud*
- nape: Dj *gun-djud* (n.), W, I *kun-djud*,  
E *djudno*; \$ *kun-munjud*
- chest: Dj *gun-berre* (n.), W *kun-berrekalk*,  
I *kun-berre*, *kun-manem*, E *berreno*;  
\$ *kun-romed*
- rib: Dj *gun-bikbik* (n.), W, I *kun-birrkbirrk*,  
I, E *birrkbirrkno*
- breast: Dj, MM *gun-djikka* (n.), W,  
I *kun-djikka*, E *djikkano*
- belly (external), paunch: Dj *gun-melem*  
(n.), I *kun-melem*, E: D *ngukno*
- stomach (internal): Dj *gun-djing* (n.),  
W *kun-wurrrkanj*, I *kun-njam*,  
E *wurrno*
- guts, innards (including stomach and  
intestines): Dj *gun-njam* (n.), W *kun-  
njam*, MM *gun-nguk*, I *kun-nguk*,  
*ngukno*; \$ I *man-njam*
- shoulder: Dj *gun-garlang* (n.), W *kun-  
mone*, W, I *kun-karlang*, E *mvrnino*
- armpit: Dj *gun-wanj* (n.), I *kun-wanj*,  
E *wanjno*
- upper arm; wing: Dj, MM *gun-berl* (n.),  
W, I, E *kun-berl*, I, E *berlno*;  
\$ *kun-barndja*
- elbow: Dj *gun-nei* (n.), W *kun-ney(h)*,  
I *kun-ney*, I, E *neyno*
- hand: Dj *gun-bid* (n.), MM *gun-bit*, W, I  
*kun-bid*, E *bidno*; \$ *kun-kundam*
- finger nail: Dj, MM *gun-bidngalanj* (n.),  
W *kun-bidngalng*, I, E *kun-bidngalanj*
- hip: Dj *gun-rakmo* (n.), W *kun-mobalh*,  
I *kun-ngardmo*, *kun-rakmo*, I, E  
*ngardmono*
- leg, thigh: Dj *gun-dad* (n.), W, I *kun-dad*,  
E *dadno*; \$ *kun-karnkelk*
- knee: Dj *gun-bard* (n.), W, I *kun-bard*,  
E *bardno*; \$ *kun-kuyuk*
- shin, calf, lower leg: Dj *gun-garre* (n.),  
W, I *kun-karre*, E *karreno*
- foot: Dj, MM *gun-denge* (n.), W, I *kun-  
denge*, E *dengeno*; \$ *kun-badjorr*
- skin: Dj, MM *gun-gurlah* (n.), W, I *kun-  
kurlah*, E *kurlahno*
- bone: Dj *gun-murrng* (n.), W, I *kun-  
murrng*, I, E *murrngno*, MM, I, E *mono*
- blood: Dj *gun-gurlba* (n.), W, I *kun-  
kurlba*, MM *gurlbano*, E *kurlbano*;  
\$ *kun-kurradj*
- spit: Dj *gun-nunj* (n.), W *kun-nunj*,  
I, E *nunjno*
- urine: Dj *an-dile* (n.), W, I *man-dile*,  
I *dileno*
- faeces: Dj *an-gord* (n.), W *man-kord*,  
*kurduk*, I *kordduk* ~ *kurdduk* (but  
incorp.  $\sqrt{\text{kord}}$ ), I, E *kordno*
- heart: Dj *gun-durddu* (n.), W, I *kun-  
durddu*, E *ngerhno*; \$ *marlkdjakarlno*
- liver: Dj, MM *gun-diu* (n.), W *kun-diw*,  
MM *gun-marlk*, I *kun-marlk*, E  
*marlkno*<sup>1</sup>
- fat, grease: Dj, MM *gun-balem* (n.),  
W, I *kun-balem*, I, E *balemno*
- egg: Dj *dabu* (n.), W *wirlarrk*,<sup>2</sup>  
MM *dabuno*, I, E *dabuno*<sup>3</sup>;  
\$ *morrodjornno*.

<sup>1</sup> The I, E and MM forms may be a Dalabon loan — cf. D *marlkno* 'liver' — since reflexes of the *gun-diw* form are more widely distributed, e.g. Ngalakan *jiwi*.

tail: Dj *gun-berd*, W, I *kun-berd*, I, E  
*berdno*, MM *bertno*

### Human classification

man, person, Aboriginal person: *bininj*  
(n.); \$ *yul*<sup>4</sup>

woman: *daluk* (n.); \$ *ngal-djubdjubken*.

old man: Dj *nagohbanj* (n.), W, I, E  
*nakohbanj*

### Mammals

animal: no word exists with this exact  
range; the nearest is Dj *mai*h, o.d. *mayh*  
'flesh food', which includes animals,  
birds, fish and edible insects'; it also  
means 'creature' more generally and is  
widely used as a euphemism for *ngal-*  
*yod* the Rainbow Serpent

dog: Dj, W, I, E *duruk* (n.), MM *djamo*<sup>5</sup>;  
\$ Dj, E, W *djungdjung*h, *njunjungh*  
[KH]

dingo: Dj *nagarndegin* (n.), W, I, E  
*dalkken* (lit. 'of the grass'), W *na/ngal-*  
*woydo* (according to  
sex of dingo); \$ *djanudken*,  
*djarnudken*. Note that the \$ forms  
calque the structure of *dalkken*, since  
*man-djanud* means 'grass'.

### Reptiles

snake (generic): there is no generic  
covering exactly the range of English  
'snake'. *Nayin* (*narin* in eastern  
dialects) comes closest, but for  
dangerously poisonous snakes the term  
*dadbe*, which means 'king brown

snake' in some dialects, can also be  
used as a generic. In the avoidance  
language, *namari* covers non-  
dangerous snakes, and *nayambah*  
covers dangerous snakes; these are  
based on the adjectives *mari* 'good' and  
*yambah* 'bad' respectively.

goanna (Gould's Sand Goanna, but also  
often used as a generic): Dj *galawan*  
(n.), W, I *kalawan*; \$ Dj *mai*h *djenguk*,  
I *mayawurlhwurlh*

### Birds

feather: Dj *daberrk* (plume), *gun-mud*  
(down) (both n.), I *mudno*, MM *mutno*  
pelican: Dj, W, E *makkakkurr*, I *werni*

### Fish

fish (gen.): *djenj* (n.); \$ *korrrngelk*

### Insects

fly: Dj *bod* (n.), I *bord*; \$ *muk*  
mosquito: *birndu* (n.); \$ *mernengel*

### Language

language, speech, sound: Dj, MM *gun-wok*  
(n.), W, I, E *kun-wok*, E:D *duleno*;  
\$ *gun-darok*

name: Dj *gun-ngei* (n.), MM *gun-ngey*,  
I *kun-ngey*, I, E *ngeyno*, *ngeyno*

### Artefacts

boomerang (used ceremonially only, and  
traded from south): Dj *birrkala* (n.),  
W *birrgala*, I *barlkan*, *karlikarli*  
woomera, spearthrower: Dj, W, I *borndok*  
(n.); \$ *karndubu*

yamstick, digging stick: Dj *gun-barlkbu*,  
*gun-barlku* (n.), MM *gun-djatj*, *ngan-*  
*warnbu*, I *kun-karninj*; \$ *kun-budjub*

rope, string: Dj *gun-yarl* (n.), I *man-yarl*, E  
*kun-yarl*; \$ *man-yirrurl*, *man-yurrurn*

<sup>2</sup> Probably a Iwaidja loan; cf. Iwaidja *wirlarrg*  
'egg'.

<sup>3</sup> Dj uses the term *an-dabu* specially for bee  
eggs.

<sup>4</sup> The \$ form is a loan from Ngandi *yul* or  
Ritharrngu *yu:l* 'human; Aborigine; man'.

<sup>5</sup> A loan from Rembarrnga, which has the  
identical form.



**Food, fire, water, camp and humanised places**

meat, flesh: Dj *gun-ganj* (n.), MM *ganjno*,  
W, I *kun-kanj*, I, E *kanjno*;  
\$ *kun-mulbbuy*

vegetable food (can also mean food in  
general): Dj *an-me* (n.), MM *ngan-me*,  
W, I, E *man-me*; \$ (m)*an-worrh*

fire: Dj, MM *gunak* (n.), W *kunak*,  
I *kun-rak*; \$ *kun-mimal*

ashes: Dj, MM *gun-wilk* (n.) (but note MM  
loc. form *gu-yilk-kah*), W, I *kun-bule*,  
E:D *kun-djarridj*; \$ Dj *gun-djarridj*

smoke: Dj, MM *gun-dolng* (n.), W, I, E  
*kun-dolng*; \$ *gun-mimal*

water (fresh): Dj *gukku* (n.), M *gukgu*,  
W *kukku*, E *kun-ronj* incorp. √*bo*  
(Dj, W), √*kolk* (E); \$ *kun-djurkkinj*,  
incorp. √*djurkkinj*

camp, home, place (local), hearth:  
Dj *gun-red* (n.), I, E *kunred* W *kun-*  
*wadda*,<sup>6</sup> MM *gun-wadda*; \$ *kun-*  
*melworn*

place, country: Dj, MM *gun-bolk*,  
W, I, E *kun-bolk*; \$ *kun-melworn*

shade, shadow, shelter: Dj *gun-djurle*,  
W, I *kun-djurle*; \$ *kun-kurnu*

**Celestial, weather**

sun: Dj, MM *gun-dung* (n.), W, I *kun-dung*,  
E *mudda* MM *gun-mudda*<sup>7</sup>, E:D *ngal-*  
*benbe*; \$ I *ngal-djarala*, I, W *kun-*  
*djarala*, Dj *gun-mimal*

moon, month: Dj, W, I *dird* (n.), W, I  
*karrakbarl* MM *garrakbarl*;  
\$ *berrebabi*, *bendarr*

star: Dj, MM *ginhginh* (n.), W, I, E  
*kinhkinh*

cloud: Dj *gun-ngol* (n.), MM *gun-godjingol*,  
E *berreno*, W, I, E:D *kun-ngol*; \$ *kun-*  
*kurnu*

sky, heavens: Dj *gaddum*, I *kaddum* (n.);  
\$ *kadwohka*

wind: Dj *gun-mayorrk* (n.), W *kun-*  
*mayorrk*, I *kun-kurra*; \$ I *kun-mawun*,  
W *kun-mawul*

rain: Dj *an-djeuk*, MM *ngan-djewk*, W, E  
*man-djewk*; \$ Dj *mindjil*, W *mandjil*

**Geography, etc.**

stone, rock (also money): Dj *gun-wardde*  
(n.), MM *gun-wartde*, W, I *kun-wardde*,  
I, E *kun-bad*; \$ *kun-bangam*

hole: there is no single word covering  
English 'hole'. For ruts, ditches etc. the  
root *djorlok* is used (I *kun-djorlok*, Dj  
*gun-bolk-djorlok*); for enclosed spaces  
like caves, rooms or other cavities the  
root *rurrk* is employed (Dj *gun-bolk-*  
*rurrk* 'hole, burrow', I *kun-rurrk* 'cave,  
hollow, large hole or cavity', W *man-*  
*rurrk* 'hole'; \$ *kun-yurruurr*), for  
burrows like goanna holes the root *midj*  
is employed (Dj *gun-midj*, I *kun-midj*,  
both 'goanna hole, burrow'), and for  
vertical breathing holes (e.g. of a  
tortoise or crab buried under the mud)  
the root *mim* (Dj *mim*, I *mimno*) is  
used.

mud: Dj *gun-gih* (n.), I *kun-kirh*, *kirhno*  
sand: Dj, MM *gun-gayalanj* (n.), W *kun-*  
*karnalanj*, E, I *kun-kawadj*;  
\$ I *kun-karnalanj*

ground, dirt: Dj, MM *gun-gurlk* (n.), W, E  
*kun-kurk*; \$ *kun-kabuy*

creek, river: Dj *an-gabo* (n.), W, I *man-*  
*kabo*, E *kabono*

north, northeast: Dj *gakbi* (loc.), W, I *kakbi*

south: Dj, W, I, E *walem* (loc.)

east, southeast: Dj *goyek* (loc.), W, I, E  
*koyek*; \$ W *kure kamdungkurudme*  
[KH]

<sup>6</sup> *Kun-red* is found in W, but has the connotation  
'old, abandoned camp'.

<sup>7</sup> The E and MM forms appear to be loans from  
Dalabon, where 'sun' is *mudda*.

west, northwest: Dj *garrigad* (loc.), W, I, E  
*karrikad*

### Flora

tree; stick: M *gun-dulk* (n.), W, I, E *kun-dulk*; \$ *kun-muluru*

grass: Dj, MM *gun-dalk* (n.), W, I *kun-dalk*  
\$ *kun-djarnud*

bark: Dj *an-gurlah* (n.), W *man-kurlah*,  
I, E *kurlahno*, MM *gouk*<sup>8</sup>

leaf: Dj, MM *gun-malaworr* (n.), W *kun-marlaworr*, I *kun-worr*, *kun-malaworr*  
E, MM *malaworrno*,  
E:D *kun-djalh*, incorporated form  
*mala-* (I, E); \$ *kun-worred*

long yam (*dioscorea transversa*): Dj  
*garrbada* (n.), W, I *karrbada* E  
*kayawal*; \$ (m) *an-karremudiyi*

'cheeky yam' (*amorphophallus glabra*):  
Dj *an-didjgan.gu* (n.), *gamarn*, W  
*kamarn*, I, E *man-yawok*; \$ (m) *an-mari*, (m) *an-mileken*

screw palm (*pandanus spiralis*): Dj *an-yakngarra* (n.), W *man-belk*, I, E *gun-dayarr*; \$ *kun-yarilng*, *kun-rarilng*

water pandanus (*pandanus aquaticus*):  
Dj *an-djimdjim* (n.), MM *ngan-djimdjim*, W, I, E *man-djimdjim*;  
\$ *kun-yarilng*

rock pandanus (*pandanus basedowii*): Dj  
*an-morre* (n.), I *man-njohmi*, E *man-ngokngo*; \$ *kun-yarilng*

### Qualities

(Adjectives are cited in the masculine form, except where they are normally restricted to compounds, in which case only the root is cited.)

### Number

one: Dj, MM *nagudji* (adj.), W, I, E  
*nakudji*; \$ *na/(m)an-ngomi*

two: Dj *bogen* (adj.), MM *burrghen*,  
*bogenh* W, I *boken*, E *djarrkno*;  
\$ *bulalh*<sup>9</sup>

three: Dj, W, E *danjbik* (adj.), I *nakudji*  
*djarrkno*, MM *worrbbam* (<  
Rembarnga); \$ (m) *an-bulalh* (m) *an-ngomi*

many: *nawern* (adj.); \$ *nakorrongo*

### Colour

(These are normally compounded with *kuk* 'body' or a part noun.)

black: Dj *nagukngurlmeng*, *guk-gurduk* (adj.), Dj, W *√bulerri*, I *kukkurduk*, MM *gun-djarridj*, I *nangurlmeng*, E:R *√ngurlmeng*; \$ *√kurlngunj*

### Dimension

big, important: Dj, MM *nagimuk* (adj.), W, I *nakimuk*, E *nabadjan*;  
\$ *nakorrongo*

small: Dj, W, I, E *nayahwurd* (adj.), E:D  
*yawnohwurd*; \$ Dj *namanjyakku*,  
W *namanjakkuhwurd*

long, tall: Dj *naguyeng* (adj.), W, I, E  
*nakuyeng*; \$ *nawulhwulh*

short: Dj, W *√djumbung* (adj.), I  
*dedjdjumbung*, E *dukkurhno*;  
\$ *nangadjan*

### Physical property

dry (of place), shallow: Dj, MM *ga-buk* (pred. adj.), W, I *ka-buk*, E *kaburk*.  
W allows the form *man-buk* to be used attributively of inanimates;  
\$ *ka-burnduyh*

heavy: Dj, W, I *√dulmuk* (adj.)

light: Dj, W, I *-wob* (adj.)

hard: Dj, W, I, E *narayek* (adj);  
\$ *√dernku*

soft: Dj *nagerlk* (adj.), W, I, E *nakerlk*

<sup>8</sup> In E this has the more specific meaning 'paperbark'.

<sup>9</sup> Loan from *bulal* 'two', found in most Yolngu languages.

*Age and value*

good: *namak* (adj.), *kamak* (pred. adj.);  
\$ *namarlang*, *kamarlang*  
bad: *nawarre* (adj.), *kawarre* (pred. adj.);  
\$ *na-yambah*  
rotten:  $\sqrt{\text{nud}}$  (adj.),  $\sqrt{\text{nudmen}}$  (v.i.);  
\$ I *nadjarr*,  $\sqrt{\text{nadjarrmen}}$ , W  
 $\sqrt{\text{yomohbanj}}$ . (Used in the non-past,  
 $\sqrt{\text{nudmen}}$  means 'become rotten'; in  
descriptions it is normally used in the  
past perfective, i.e. 'it's got rotten'.)

**Verbs of motion and induced motion**

go:  $\sqrt{\text{re}}$  (v.i.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{dokan}}$ . This verb is also  
used for 'walk', with the specification  
*gurrenge* 'on foot' added if needed; MM  
also uses  $\sqrt{\text{wohre}}$  for 'walk'  
climb up, go up, ascend:  $\sqrt{\text{bidbun}}$   
(v.i.); \$ Dj  $\sqrt{\text{mirrngalkme}}$ , W  
 $\sqrt{\text{mirrngalhme}}$ . This verb also  
means 'climb' when used transitively,  
particularly when an object is  
incorporated e.g. I *dulk-bidbom* '(s)he  
climbed a/the tree'  
run, go fast, drive: Dj, W, I, E  $\sqrt{\text{lobme}}$   
(v.i.), E  $\sqrt{\text{kudkudme}}$ <sup>10</sup>;  
\$  $\sqrt{\text{kurlkurlme}}$   
fall, fall down: Dj  $\sqrt{\text{man.gan}}$  (v.i.), W, I  
 $\sqrt{\text{mankan}}$ ; \$  $\sqrt{\text{mandjarrme}}$   
throw: Dj, I  $\sqrt{\text{we}}$  (v.t.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{warlhke}}$ .  
pick up, get; marry:  $\sqrt{\text{mang}}$  (v.t.);  
\$  $\sqrt{\text{modme}}$   
take, carry, give a lift to: Dj  $\sqrt{\text{gan}}$  (v.t.),  
I, E  $\sqrt{\text{kan}}$ ; \$  $\sqrt{\text{yirrolkan}}$   
leave:  $\sqrt{\text{bawon}}$  (v.t.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{warnmorrhme}}$

**Giving**

give: Dj, W, I, E, MM  $\sqrt{\text{won}}$  (v. ditr.),  
E:R  $\sqrt{\text{dadjung}}$  (esp. in contexts of 'hand

to, pass to'); \$  $\sqrt{\text{weyibun}}$ , W  
 $\sqrt{\text{djedjuhme}}$

**Position and induced position**

sit, be sitting:  $\sqrt{\text{ni}}$  (v.i.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{morndi}}$   
stand (intr):  $\sqrt{\text{di}}$  (v.i.) MM  $\sqrt{\text{wohrdi}}$ ;  
\$  $\sqrt{\text{djarrbelme}}$   
lie, lie down: *yo* (v.i.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{morndi}}$

**Affect**

cut: Dj  $\sqrt{\text{djobge}}$  (v.t.), W  $\sqrt{\text{djobke}}$ , W, I  
 $\sqrt{\text{dadjke}}$  MM  $\sqrt{\text{datjge}}$ ; \$  $\sqrt{\text{dilhke}}$   
hit, kill:  $\sqrt{\text{bun}}$  (v.t.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{bonghme}}$ . With the  
specific meaning 'kill, spear, shoot',  
 $\sqrt{\text{biribonghme}}$  is also used  
spear with a pronged spear (from close up):  
Dj, W, I  $\sqrt{\text{danjbun}}$  (v.t.);  
\$ I  $\sqrt{\text{yakidjme}}$ , W  $\sqrt{\text{djarrkbonghme}}$   
spear (typically from a distance, with a  
more solid spear):  $\sqrt{\text{yame}}$  (v.t.);  
\$ I  $\sqrt{\text{biribonghme}}$ , W  $\sqrt{\text{djakidjme}}$   
dig: Dj, MM  $\sqrt{\text{garung}}$ , I  $\sqrt{\text{karung}}$  (v.t.);  
\$  $\sqrt{\text{rlurribme}}$   
burn, cook (intr.):  $\sqrt{\text{rung}}$  (v.i.); \$ *bobekme*  
burn, cook (tr.) Dj, MM  $\sqrt{\text{ginje}}$  (v.t.), W, I,  
E  $\sqrt{\text{kinje}}$ ; \$  $\sqrt{\text{bobekke}}$   
eat:  $\sqrt{\text{ngun}}$  (v.i.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{yakwan}}$   
bite:  $\sqrt{\text{baye}}$  (v.t.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{lawme}}$

**Attention, mental activities and attitudes**

smell:  $\sqrt{\text{nome}}$  (v.t.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{yamohme}}$   
hear, listen; understand:  $\sqrt{\text{bekkan}}$  (v.t.);  
\$  $\sqrt{\text{marrngalahme}}$   
look at, see:  $\sqrt{\text{nan}}$  (v.t.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{kurdurdme}}$   
dream: W  $\sqrt{\text{bukirriyo}}$  (v.i.)  
dream of: Dj  $\sqrt{\text{bugirribun}}$  (v.t.),  
W, I, E  $\sqrt{\text{bukirribun}}$ ;  
\$  $\sqrt{\text{borridjbonghme}}$ <sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Probably a loan from Dalabon, where the verb  
for 'run' is *kudkud(mv)*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Burarra *borrich* (n.) 'dream, vision'.

**Talking, etc.**

say, do: *yime* (v.i.); \$ *dakalhme*

[In W, possibly as a result of the need to distinguish 'say' and 'do' in bible translation, the term  $\sqrt{\text{kurduyime}}$  is used to mean 'do'; this is recognised but only rarely used in other dialects.]

speak, talk:  $\sqrt{\text{wokdi}}$  (v.i.); \$  $\sqrt{\text{darokdi}}$

cry: Dj, W, I  $\sqrt{\text{nalkbun}}$  (v.i.);  
\$  $\sqrt{\text{ngadjdijhme}}$

laugh: Dj, W, I  $\sqrt{\text{djekme}}$  (v.i.);  
\$  $\sqrt{\text{yedjekme}}$

**Corporeal**

die, be sick:  $\sqrt{\text{downen}}$  (to specify the die meaning, E uses the phrase *kukno*  $\sqrt{\text{downen}}$ ); \$ I  $\sqrt{\text{ngarirrihme}}$ ,  
 $\sqrt{\text{ngayirrihme}}$ , W  $\sqrt{\text{ngarrkme}}$

sickness: Dj *gun-djak*, W, I *kun-djak*

be hungry: Dj, MM  $\sqrt{\text{marredowen}}$ , W, I  
 $\sqrt{\text{marrwedowen}}$ . hungry (v.i.),  
I *ka-marrwe* (pred. adj.);  
\$ I  $\sqrt{\text{marrwulngayirrihme}}$ ,  
W  $\sqrt{\text{marrwulngarrkme}}$

**Location**

far: Dj, I *djarre* (loc.), W *djarreh*;  
\$ W *djarreken*

near: Dj *darn.gih* (loc.), *darnh-* (v. pref.),  
W, I, E *darnkih*, *darnh-*; \$ *kalhki*

up, above; in(to) high country: Dj *gaddum*,  
*gaddung* (loc.) W, I, E *kaddum*;  
\$ *kadwohka*

down; below; inside: Dj *ganjdji* (loc.), W, I  
*kanjdji*; \$ *kilhken/kilkken*. With the  
'inside' meaning *gururk/kururk* is  
also used, particularly in situations of  
greater enclosure, though the exact  
boundary with *ganjdji/kanjdji* varies  
with the dialect.

**Time**

now, today: Dj *bolkgime*, I, E *bolkkime*;  
\$ *kolhkol*

tomorrow: Dj *malaiwi*, W *malaywi*,  
I *malayi*, E *ngulam*; \$ *milbabba*

bye and bye: Dj *galuk*; W, I *kaluk*;  
\$ Dj *gun-mari*

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## Abbreviations:

AIAS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (to May 1990, then renamed Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies — AIATSIS)
<i>AJL</i>	Australian Journal of Linguistics
<i>AL</i>	Anthropological Linguistics
ANPWS	Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service
ANU	Australian National University
CUP	Cambridge University Press
MIT Press	Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press
<i>NLLT</i>	Natural Language and Linguistic Theory
OUP	Oxford University Press
PL	Pacific Linguistics
<i>STUF</i>	Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung

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(*see also* non-configurationality)



## BININJ GUN-WOK: A PAN-DIALECTAL GRAMMAR OF MAYALI, KUNWINJKU AND KUNE VOLUME 2

The term Bininj Gun-wok was recently coined to cover a large group of related dialects spoken in Western Arnhem Land, Australia, including Kunwinjku, Mayali, Gun-djeihmi, Kune, and others; many of these dialects have not been described before. Bininj Gun-wok, in turn, belongs to the so-called Gunwinjguan family, the largest family of non-Pama-Nyungan languages. It is one of the few Australian languages still being passed on to children, and in fact the number of speakers is increasing.

This detailed pan-dialectal grammar takes care to set the language in its cultural context throughout, with rich ethnographic discussion of the many special kinship-based speech registers and a sizeable text collection with examples of all major dialects. Bininj Gun-wok is a heavily polysynthetic language, with three productive types of noun incorporation, incorporation of one verb into another, two applicatives, reflexive/reciprocal formation, prefixes representing subject and object/indirect object, and a large number of further adverbial-type prefixes. Within the nominal system, it has four genders in some dialects, reducing to simpler systems in others. A major focus of the grammar is the many problems of how meanings are constructed in a polysynthetic language, and how the many elements of the verbal morphology interact with one another in the composition of grammatical structure.

This volume will be of interest to a wide range of readers: morphologists and syntacticians, Australianists, linguistic anthropologists, dialectologists, typologists, and educationists and others working in Western Arnhem Land.

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