

CHAPTER THREE

GRAMMAR OF THE SIMPLE SENTENCE

In order to present an overview of Wunambal clause grammar, in this chapter I first outline Wunambal word classes and parts of speech in 3.1, describing the grammar of verbless and verbal clauses in 3.2 and 3.3, respectively. Postpositions, adverbials, locational and temporal qualifiers, modal particles and enclitics and interjections are also introduced in 3.1. Morphological and semantic-functional characteristics of nominal and verbal word classes are discussed briefly in 3.1. They are expanded on as necessary in 3.2 and 3.3.

In 3.3 I outline the morphological structure of the Wunambal verb complex and the semantic types represented within it. Other aspects of verb morphology, specifically the details of pronominal affixation, TAM (tense-aspect-mood) inflection and further aspects of verb semantics are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. In 3.3.1, I introduce verbal statives using the existential/resultative verb root =N'be' and illustrate the various other uses of this root. In 3.3.2 I look at the semantic transitivity of the verbal clause. Discussion of some related aspects of clause structure follows.

3.1 Word classes

Word classes represented in Wunambal include nominal words, verbal words, interrogatives, locational, temporal and other clause qualifiers, particles and interjections. Postpositions in Wunambal are clitic-like and are discussed separately as a part of speech. In this work nouns, adjectives and demonstratives are treated as sub-classes of nominal words. Coverb and inflecting verb are treated as sub-classes of verbal word types. Enclitics with similar functions to particles are introduced with the particles.

3.1.1 Nominal words

Nominal words refer to individuals or entities or groups of individuals or entities, concepts, qualities or attributes. Nominals are typical members of NPs, they can take semantic case marking by means of postpositions (only one per NP) but no grammatical case marking. Nominal expressions in Wunambal can be sub-classified on semantic or functional grounds and on formal morphological grounds. The formal classification of nominal words distinguishes open classes of free nouns, adjectives and pronouns from

closed classes of bound nouns, adjectival roots, and demonstrative roots. The formal/morphological types are illustrated in the table below.

Table 3.1: Formal (morphological) types of nominal stems
(shading indicates open class stems)

Function as:	Free stems (non-prefixing)	Bound prefixing stems
'noun'	Most nouns (including many body parts) e.g. <i>wangayi</i> 'woman' <i>aamba</i> 'kangaroo' <i>garnman.gu</i> 'yam' <i>rangu</i> 'heart'	A sub-class of body part lexemes associated with the 'personal sphere', and a couple of other personal sphere nouns such as <i>-nguma</i> 'shadow' and <i>-lngi</i> name. e.g. <i>-rulu</i> 'body' <i>-(wu)narr</i> 'bones' <i>-marr</i> 'kidney' (prefix function: 'possessor PRO')
'adjective'	qualities, properties e.g. <i>wanjimaya</i> 'good' <i>birdibeni</i> 'small'	qualities, properties e.g. <i>-arriwa</i> 'no.good' <i>-newurr</i> 'large, important' <i>-ngule</i> 'alive' (prefix function: possessor of quality or 'subject' of adjectival predicate)
'demonstrative'		e.g. <i>-nya</i> 'this/ here', <i>-gala</i> 'that' <i>-gaya</i> 'that.over.there' (prefix function: indexes demonstrative predicate or indexes head of NP)
'pronoun'	personal (1 and 2) pronouns e.g. 1SG <i>ngaya</i> 'I' 2SG <i>naa</i> 'you'	3rd person (anaphoric) pronouns: e.g. <i>-ni</i>

Nouns

Free nouns are an open class of nominal lexemes. The distinction between nouns, on the one hand, and adjectives and demonstratives, on the other, is based on a morphosyntactic distinction. Nouns typically belong to one of five noun (gender) classes¹. The nouns themselves are unmarked for class. Their class membership is indexed by prefixation to bound verbs, adjectives, and demonstratives. That is, free nouns (or, more properly,

their referents) 'control' agreement marking². As will become evident the system actually classifies referents rather than words, hence agreement is controlled by real world referents rather than by nouns. There is a sense, however, in which if nouns are treated as typical heads of noun phrases then nouns can be said to control grammatical agreement. As nouns are not necessary elements of NPs in Wunambal however AND entities are frequently grammatically instantiated by pronominal and class prefixing it remains problematical in what sense a noun can be said to 'control' agreement. This point is noted by Blake (1987) for pronominal prefixation to verbs in languages like Wunambal.

The five noun classes are illustrated below in Table 3.2. The left hand column shows the various labels used to identify each class in interlinear glosses and in discussion. The noun examples in Table 3.2 are each accompanied by a demonstrative with a prefix which indicates the noun class membership of the entity referred to. It is worth noting, however, that nouns do not necessarily appear with an agreeing demonstrative unless the noun is being specified as a particular one in the linguistic (for example being introduced or reintroduced to the discourse, or being listed as a type) or extra-linguistic context.³ I give a number of examples for each class in order to give a 'taste' of class membership.

Table 3.2: Noun classes

Class	Example	English
B~Bcl~3B~	<i>wangayi binya</i>	'the/this (is a) woman'
3Bsg	<i>benjin binya</i>	'the /this (is a) man'
	<i>biyanda binya</i>	'the/this is a child/baby'
Acl	<i>gulingi anya</i>	'this (is) rain/(a) wanjina
	<i>agula anya</i>	'this (is a) spirit/devil'
	<i>dumurr anya</i>	'the/this (is a) breast-bone'
	<i>karnanggurr anya</i>	'the/this (is a) dog'
	<i>alamarr anya</i>	'plant with edible bulb, needs special prep'n'
	<i>miila anya</i>	'the/this (is a) spear'

N~Ncl	<i>winji ninya</i>	'the/this (is a) nose'
	<i>loya ninya</i>	'the/this (is a) bird'
	<i>warna ninya</i>	'the/this (is) honey'
	<i>bunu ninya</i>	'the/this is a scrub-nettle bush/powder made from'
	<i>namandi ninya</i>	'the/this (is a) canoe'
	<i>gambul ninya</i>	'the/this (is a) lower leg tendon/sinew (string)'
W~Wcl	<i>barndi winya</i>	'the/this(is a) head'
	<i>marirri winya</i>	'the/this(is a) crimson-winged parrot.
	<i>lumba winya</i>	'the/this(is a) tree/stick'
	<i>gurnu winya</i>	'the/this(is a) round yam (<i>dioscorea rotunda</i>).
	<i>arrgu winya</i>	'the/this(is a) stone'
	<i>winya Wunambal</i>	'this is (the) Wunambal (language)'
M~Mcl	<i>waya minya</i>	'the/this (is the) skin'
	<i>waburda minya</i>	'the/this (is a) water goanna'
	<i>gira minya</i>	'the/this (is a) camp'
	<i>mararlere minya</i>	'the/this (is a) river'
	<i>wungunimbi minya</i>	'the/this (is a) (type of) root food'
	<i>borlarlon minya</i>	'the/this (is a) (flat) grinding stone'

The semantic basis of noun class assignment.

B-class includes humans of all types. In one dialect some important animals are also included. (See Capell 1941 on the Southern and Roe River dialects). In some of the texts I recorded the human-like beings who became different animal species in creation phases are marked as for B-class human actors. The 3Bsg prefix is *bV-* and the plural prefix adds plural marker *-rr* or *-rra* to give *bVrr-/bVrra-*. Only the human B-class has a plural equivalent. B-class contrasts with the four non-human noun classes.

The B-class prefix is however also used for collective or mass nouns, including groups of mixed non B-class. There is no change in the form of non B-class nouns when they are treated collectively, only in their agreement pattern. Examples of the demonstrative *binya* used with A-class *mee* a generic term for 'vegetable food' occurs in 3.1. The individual foods/food plants *garnmangu* and *gumbia* are elsewhere individually attested as M-class (the B-class *an-* transitive object allomorph is discussed in sections 4.4.2 & 4.4.3).

- 3.1 (a) *Mee* *binya:* *Yarn.gu:* *gumbia:* *garnmarn.gu:*
 veg.food(*generic*) B-this kapok potato, long yam
- ngarrambu* *an-birr=mira-ngi.*
 root food type 3B-3pl=MIRA'grab'-PAST
- They got these foods: kapok roots/shoots, potato(round yam), long yam
 and *ngarrambu*. [JK]

In 3.1(b) where the food is not explicitly cross-referenced by the verb each food collected agrees with a B-marked demonstrative including M-class *garnmanggu* and *gumbia* and the W-class food plant *miyani*.

- 3.1 (b) *Wanawanarra minja-minjal nya=ndi-ja :* *garnmanggu binya.*
 Afternoon REDUP-eat 1expl=N:PAST-EM long yam B-this
- gumbiya binya.* *ngaan.gu binya.* *miyani binya.*
 potato B-this root food B-this lilies B-this
- wirrej birrme -ngarri minjaminjal nyandi.*
 cook 3pl=MA'do':PAST-SUBORD REDUP-eat 1expl=N'be':PAST

'Later on/in the afternoon we ate. When they had cooked long yams, bush potato, (another) root food type and lily in the sand we would eat them.' [LsK].

This type of listing is again exemplified in 3.124(b) where the food producing plants *Yarn.gu* 'an edible water-plant' and *dangana* 'cabbage palm (*Livistonia*)' are normally W-class and 3.124(c) where non-vegetable foods of different classes are also treated collectively with the B-class prefixes (*goya* 'crocodile' and *aamba* 'kangaroo' normally take A-class agreement and *warna* 'honey' is normally N-class). In the 'preparing *gurnu*' text in Appendix 5 the B-class 3rd person object prefix is used for the 'pieces' of *gurnu* which have been cut up preparatory to coating with wet ashes (line 8), whereas earlier in the text W-class marking refers to the *gurnu* plant/root. The use of B-class marking in this way is not completely understood, and may also relate to the possibility of individuation and/or specific generic distinctions.⁴

Noun class membership for A, N, W and M is somewhat opaque and abstract. For example there are body parts, animals, vegetable matter and artefacts belonging to each class. A-class and N-class however, have some clear characteristics and oppositions, similar to, or paralleling the masculine vs. feminine class opposition in some other Australian languages (See e.g. those discussed by Clendon 1999, Harvey 1997a:17-62, Dixon 1972:306-311). The A-class vs. N-class opposition is in turn paralleled in an

opposition between W and M-classes in Wunambal. Wunambal can be compared with Worrorra and Ungarinyin in this regard.⁵ The nature of these oppositions, based on the small set of data for which noun class was recorded is discussed below and summarized with examples in Appendix 1. Not all vocabulary recorded has been checked for noun class, therefore the precise semantic nature of noun class assignment in Wunambal awaits further investigation. Some tendencies can be noted.

Non-humans included in A-class are anthropomorphic/superhuman like the *wanjina*'s described in Chapter One (*gulingi* in Wunambal) and *agula* 'devil' or the only just sub-human *juwarru* 'dead body'. A-class is closely associated with those entities which are classified as masculine or animate in some other Australian languages with nominal classification (See e.g. Harvey 1997a). Most animals and meat foods are included in this class as well as some hunting tools used by men or when handling meat food e.g. 'spear', 'spearhead', 'axe'. The generic term for vegetable food, as well as a few particular vegetable foods or plants are also A-class. Some of the food/plant types and a few other terms beginning with the word-initial segment *a-* may be derived from A-class prefixing, but this is uncertain for a few words when no forms can be found with alternative prefixes. I noted however in Chapter 2 that whereas some nouns begin with the vowels *a*, *e* and *o* I do not know of any beginning with these segments that are not assigned to A-class.⁶ A-class body parts include many of the 'bony parts' e.g. *durlu*, 'forehead', *dumurr* 'breastbone', *jii* 'elbow', *munggurr*, 'ankle', *nyaninyani* 'wrist', *wurda* 'thigh' (but see also M-class: *juruwal* 'knee', *nunggu* 'shoulder', *mayil* 'neck/occipital bone' and W-class *gayila* 'back', *jinaru*, 'shinbone', *wunambarr* 'heel' and *wurirr* 'rib'). Artefacts in A-class include *burnduwali* 'headband' and *garagi* 'bark bucket'. The bark bucket is used to collect honey. The bark bucket may have special significance as it is depicted with *wanjina* in some cave paintings. Men were generally the ones who renewed the paintings.

N-class is the smallest class and includes some items like 'honey' that in other Australian languages are classified anomalously⁷. Honey is feminine in some Kimberley languages with masculine vs. feminine gender Capell (1984), Clendon (1999), Rumsey (1982:38). Many bird species [Vászolyi c1970-72] and *loya* the generic term for 'bird' are also N-class. Again this ties in with generalisations noted by Dixon (1972:306-311) and Harvey (1997a:17-62) although each author mentions different unifying semantic criterion: Dixon's cultural (i.e. mythical association) and Harvey's environmental (i.e. air/tree/water dwelling). N-class also includes a number of entities with concave shapes or which can be used as carrying vessels: e.g. *namandi* 'canoe', *namarrga* 'coolamon' and *yamalba* 'woomera, spear-thrower'. *Namandi* and *namarrga* are two words that may have been derived from N-class prefixing of verbal or nominal roots.⁸ The body

parts *winji* 'nose', *gambul* 'sinew' and *wale* 'dead skin', *ranggu* , 'heart' [Vás.], *langgan* 'throat' [Vás.] and *rirmul* 'fingernail' [Vás.] are also N-class. The cavities of the nose, heart and throat are perhaps related to the concave shape/vessel principle. *Gambul* 'string' or sinew from the lower leg which is N-class whether it refers to human or kangaroo 'strings' contrasts with M-class *jilaay* 'sinew from the kangaroo's tail'. The only plant I know of in this class is *bunu* 'the scrub-nettle'. The leaves of this plant is used to make a pleasant smelling 'powder' for applying to the body.⁹

W and M-classes also show a number of oppositions, chiefly in the non-animate 'neuter' sphere. W-class contains objects like *arrgu* 'stone rock, hill', *mudiga* 'car', *lumba* 'trees or sticks', *winjangan* 'fire and firewood' and *ngawa* 'water'. Most tree species are also W-class. Some root foods like *gurnu* 'round yam' that are poisonous or bitter without special preparation are also W-class. Other notable root/shoot foods that are W-class include those that grow in the water e.g. *miyani* 'lily', *yarn.gu* 'a water plant' and *arnu* 'smaller lily-type'. It is necessary to dive or submerge oneself in the (fresh) water to collect *miyani* and *arnu*. Two other important concepts associated with W-class: 'made of iron and wood' (referring to the noun class of the Toyota tray-back vehicle we were looking at) and the 'on-top' (matching 'high' or 'in the air' in the terminology of Clendon and Harvey) were suggested to me by Wilfred Goonak. Lily Karadada when asked by another linguist whether an animal species she had painted lived in the sea replied "no, on-top (i.e on the land)" (Frances Kofod pers. comm.). This statement points to the dichotomy between land and sea. Although the ground is M-class and somewhat mass (sand, dirt, mud etc), islands and the coastline are W-class, or sit object-like above the sea. One of the few animals included in W-class is the bird type *marirri* the 'crimson-winged-parrot'.

There are many W-class body parts, some of which appear to be derived from other (prefixing) body parts. e.g. *wumanda* 'sole of the foot', literally: 'its (the foot's) chest'. *Wumbul* 'eye' on the other hand is a non-prefixing term in Wunambal which may have been borrowed, since the prefixing body part stem=*mbul* 'eye' occurs in both Ungarinyin and Worrorra. Another aspect of W-class in Wunambal which was drawn out by Rumsey for Ungarinyin is that W-class codes concepts like 'language' and can be used on verbs, demonstratives and possibly adjectives to cross-reference other clauses or propositions and also stretches of time. For example the W-class prefix *wu-* applied to the adjectival root *-nunggule* 'old' refers to 'olden days' or 'a long time ago'.

As is the case for the Ungarinyin and Worrorra languages, things associated with the ground or a continuous surface are frequently M-class e.g. *birrga* 'ground', *mararlerle* 'river', 'sea water', *gira* 'home/hearth' (but not *gira* 'country' which is W-class) and *borlarlon* 'grinding stone (bottom surface)'. The notion of surface may also apply to the

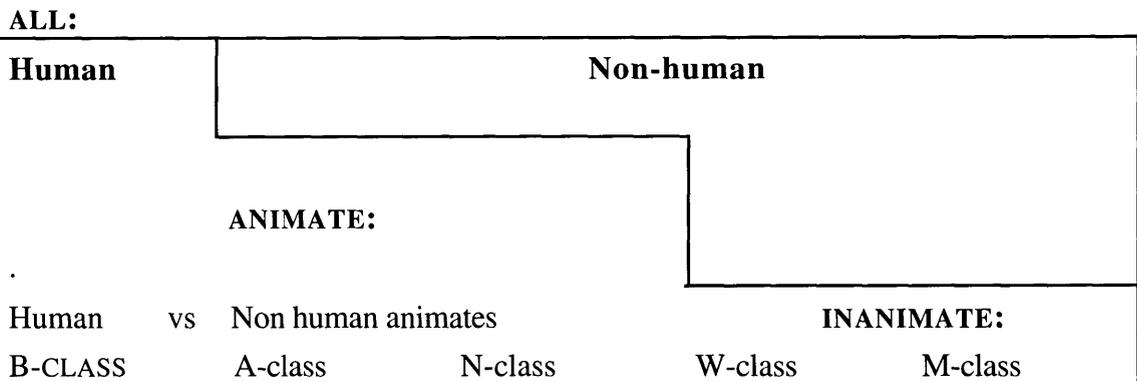
human body, and the surface of animals and plants. *Waya* 'skin, bark', *burulgu* 'cicatrice' (3.22) are M-class. Other M-class body parts include *marndu* 'stomach/belly' and *juruwal* 'knee'. A number of plants and trees with edible fruit or roots take M-class agreement in Wunambal. The few animals associated with this class include *waburda* '(black) water goanna' and *dïrrarn* 'black cockatoo'.

Clendon (1999) suggests for Worrorra, which has a similar neuter W-M class opposition, that M-class dark/matte, lustreless materials contrast with W-class light/bright lustrous or shiny materials. A similar opposition was first identified and described for *Anindilyakwa* language of Eastern Arnhemland (Leeding 1989:252-268, cited in Harvey and Reid 1997:3). The points Clendon makes there could be applied to the Wunambal opposition as illustrated in the table below, although Wunambal class membership is not identical to Worrorra class membership (Worrorra lacks B and N-classes but has a Masculine vs. Feminine opposition and W vs. M classes). For example the anomalously classified birds: the dark-coloured M-class black cockatoo *dïrrarn* and the bright parrot, W-class *marirri* could be assigned on this principle. Certainly this *marirri* species is bright and shiny, but its mythical significance is to do with fire, which is also W-class. Conversely two rather bright M-class entities in Wunambal are *marangi* 'sun' (N-class in one dialect) and *wardjili* 'star'. Other salient semantic criteria may apply to their class membership. For example in traditional stories the sun is a mother of many daughter 'suns'. Other semantic oppositions encoded in the Wunambal language are certainly worthy of further investigation.

If we take the semantic principles of Wunambal nominal class assignation to operate on a number of universal, cultural and linguistically specific salient axes, partition may look something like the representation in Appendix 1 and summarized below. An interesting aspect of partition is that qualities like high/on-top, reflective/bright/shiny and 'object'-like group together fairly naturally in opposition to low/below (ground-level or subterranean) and dark/matte, mass or 'continuous surface'. Similarly some obvious parallels can be drawn between the shape and function of A and N-class items and male vs. female bodily shape and function. Nevertheless an outsider cannot safely predict what the salient quality may be for noun classification of particular non-human entities. Body parts in particular present many puzzles. Speaker knowledge of the linguistic conventions associated with the Wunambal language is essential in order to use the noun class system correctly.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the cross-cutting oppositions between human and non-human, animate and non-animate. This situation could arise as person and number categories mesh with gender categories in the historical development of the nominal prefixing system.

Figure 3.1: Opposition sets:



The characteristics below are the ones I have come to associate with each class on a relatively slight knowledge of the language compared to a native speaker. Just as masculine and feminine are used to describe classes/genders with members which cannot be distinguished by sex or are even of the opposite sex, I use the terms animate and neuter below to describe classes with animate and neuter semantic cores although the animate classes contain inanimate objects and the neuter classes sometimes include animals.

Table 3.3 Summary of noun class characteristics in Wunambal

B	Human, Collective of non-humans
A	'Animate': Rational non-humans, Animals and meat foods, artefacts associated with male sphere, long in shape, ?poking function.
N	'Animate, Other' (e.g. birds), artefacts associated with female sphere or concave/round shape, carrying function.
W	Neuter: Objects, timber and other trees, language, time, propositions, 'on top'
M	Neuter: Topographical, food plants, 'surface'

Kin-terms can be regarded as a distinct sub-class of free nouns. They take a distinct set of 'possessive' pronominal suffixes, almost identical to the oblique pronouns listed in Table 3.4 except that third person *-ngunba* replaces *-ngu*. There is also a collective suffix *-jirra* found only with kin-terms.

Bound nouns are a closed class (Vászolyi counted twenty, all of which were confirmed by my informants) comprising mostly body part terms (but not the majority of body part nouns which are free nouns in Wunambal) and including the terms for 'name',

'shadow' and 'track or footprint', i.e. words in the personal domain. (Bally 1995 [1926]). Bound nouns are obligatorily prefixed for the person, number and noun class of a possessor or associated whole. Bound nouns do not seem to have an inherent gender, or I have not yet elicited sentences that indicate agreement other than with the possessor. This aspect of 'possessive' or 'inalienable' prefixing also requires further investigation.¹⁰

Adjectives

Adjectives describe qualities, characteristics or attributes. Free adjectives differ from free nouns in that they can either modify or refer to a member of any noun class. Unlike the bound adjectives described below there is no overt marking of agreement. There is however some evidence of derivation of such 'adjectives' from either prefixed (simple) verbs or prefixed adjectives.

<i>binjin wanjimaya</i>	'good man' (B-class)
<i>wanjimaya mudiga</i>	'good vehicle' (W-class)
<i>biyanda birtibini</i>	'small/young child' (B-class)
<i>marangi birtibeni</i>	'sunrise, East' [lit. small sun (N-class)]

Bound adjectives obligatorily agree in person, number and class with the referent of the NP. Words based on adjectival roots can function as referring expressions in themselves.

<i>yirminjal wu-nunggule</i>	{leaf W-'old'}	'an old leaf/ the leaf is old'
<i>birra-nunggule</i>	{3Bpl-'old'}	'olden-days people'
<i>mudiga wungg-arriva</i>	{vehicle W-'no.good'}	'broken-down vehicle'
		'the vehicle is broken down'
<i>binjin bi-yaba</i>	{man B-'good'}	'good man'

Each of the examples below with *-ngule* 'alive, well, lively' was recorded in response to an inquiry about health "How's your/the son, dog, guts, nose", in the context of illness or injury. The translations given below are as given by the speaker.

<i>bu-ngule</i>	{B-alive}	'he's better (son, child)'
<i>geji a-ngule</i>	{now A-alive}	'getting better (dog)'
<i>geji mu-ngule</i>	{now M-alive}	'it's better (gut)'
<i>ngaya geji na-ngule</i>	{I/mine now N-alive}	'it's better (nose)'

Both free and bound adjectives can function in a manner similar to coverbs in combination with the stative copula/resultative inflecting verb =N 'be/become(result)', discussed in 3.3.1.

- 3.2 (a) *Gala-ja wanjimaya da -anga.*
 then good W -N'be':NON.PAST
 'Then its good.'
- (b) *Wanjimaya wi =ndi -da.*
 good W =N'be':PAST -?EM
 'It comes good.'
- (c) *Nga -arriwa ngi =ndi.*
 1SG -not.good 1SG =N'be':PAST
 'I've grown old'
- (d) *Wiila nga -newurr ngi =ndi.*
 boy 1SG -'large' 1SG =N'be':PAST
 'I was a big boy/ I'd grown big, a teenage boy.'

Pronouns

Formally there are three distinct types of pronouns in Wunambal: bound pronoun prefixes, free pronouns and pronoun suffixes or oblique pronouns. Free pronouns are normally only used for emphasis or clarification. The third-person forms act as anaphoric forms. They are based on a root *-ni* which is not attested elsewhere. Dual and paucal forms of the pronouns can be formed by suffixing *-miya* 'dual' or *-na* 'paucal' to the plural forms or in the case of verbs after tense/aspect marking (§ 4.8). Possessive pronouns are also formed completely regularly by suffixing the genitive postposition *-ningga* (*-nangga* Southern) or *-ningge* to the free forms.

The pronominal prefix forms are tabled below for comparison with free form pronouns. The forms given here are those for the prefixes that appear on bound nominal body parts, adjectives and demonstratives, as well as the S and O pronominal prefixes to verbs. The pronoun prefixes are those used to represent S on monovalent verbs and O on bivalent verbs. While the normal order for bivalent verb prefixes is to have a pronoun prefix in O function immediately precede a prefix in A function, there are combinations where other prefixes such as an *-n-* inverse marker and/or an *-nV-* negative marker are prefixed between O and A and/or where A is either a zero morpheme or in a form that may be better treated as a fused portmanteau O:inverse:A form. Bivalent prefix forms are presented in Appendix 2 and discussed more fully in 4.7.

Whereas first and third-person prefixes resemble the corresponding free pronouns (apart from the final vowel), the second-person forms are based on distinct morphemes. Oblique or possessive pronominal enclitics or suffixes on the other hand have distinct first and third person singular forms while the plurals and second person forms are more similar to the free forms. The latter forms appear as though they could have been derived

historically from the free pronoun forms perhaps with *-u* 'dative' suffixing. Oblique pronouns do not participate in the noun class system apart from a possible contrast between human and non-human. The most likely candidate for oblique pronoun 'benefactor', 'receiver' etc. status is someone or thing high on the animacy/saliency scale i.e. a human or animal. On nominals the obliques usually cross reference the 'possessor' in a kin relationship. On verbs the obliques typically cross-reference an indirect object or 'dative' argument, for example the receiver, benefactor/malefactor of the action as exemplified in section 3.3 of this chapter.

Table 3.4: Bound pronoun prefixes, free pronouns and oblique pronoun suffixes.

	pronoun prefixes	free pronouns	obliques
1 sg	<i>nga-</i> , <i>ngirra</i>	<i>ngaya</i>	<i>-ra</i>
1 pl (inclusive)	<i>ngarr(a)-</i> , <i>nga-</i>	<i>ngarra</i>	<i>-ngarru</i>
1 pl (exclusive)	<i>nyarr(a)-</i> , <i>nya-</i>	<i>nyarra</i>	<i>nyarru</i>
2 sg	<i>gV-</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>-nu</i>
2pl	<i>girr(a)-</i> , <i>gii-/gi-</i>	<i>nurra</i>	<i>-nurru</i>
3 sg (B-class)	<i>bV-</i> , <i>a-</i>	<i>bini</i>	<i>-ngu (-ngunba)</i>
3 pl (B-class)	<i>birr(a)-</i> , <i>bii/bi-</i>	<i>birrani/birreni</i>	<i>-wurru</i>
A-class	<i>a-</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>-nungu</i>
W-class	<i>wu-</i> , <i>wi-</i> , <i>da-</i> , <i>ga-</i> , \emptyset , <i>wungg-</i>	<i>wini</i>	<i>?-nungu</i>
M-class	<i>mV(ng)-</i>	<i>mini</i>	<i>?-nungu</i>
N-class	<i>nV(ng)-</i>	<i>nini</i>	<i>?-nungu</i>

Allomorphic variation in the pronominal prefix forms:

Prefixes to verbs

The 1st person *singular* S allophone *ngirra-* was used by two speakers prefixed to the inflecting verb =MA only (see 4.4.1) and is associated with Southern Wunambal. The alternative third person B-class 'human' allomorph *a-*, occurs only in O function with the inverse marked prefix forms *an-* and *u-* and only when A (the transitive subject) is also third person human. Likewise *ga-* occurs as a W-class object form prefixed to bivalent verb roots only when A is third person. The *bi/bii-* third person plural prefix was mentioned in Chapter Two (note 14). The *nga/ngaa nya-/nyaa* and *ba-/baa-*, and *ga/gaa-*(HABitual)/*gi/gii-* (PAST) plural S allomorphs occur in the same circumstances, that is when plural *-rr-* is elided before =N 'be, become', the *-n-* inverse marker or the

-*nV*- of the negative prefix. A *wa*- allomorph for the W-class prefix is rare. Only the monovalent verb root =N'be' takes the W-class S prefix *da*-, see for example 3.2a above.

Non verb prefixes

The W-class allomorph *wungg*- has been noted on the /a/ initial adjectival root *-arriwa* 'bad' only. M-class *mung*- or *m̄ing*- and N-class *nung*- or *n̄ing*- occur only before the velar stop-initial mid and distant demonstrative roots *-gala* and *-gaya*. (*Gala* and *gaya* are the Ø prefix W-class forms, see demonstratives below). The third person alternative 'oblique' enclitic form, the kin-possessor *-ngunba* is used on nominals (e.g. kin-terms only).

Plural and collective pronoun prefixes

A, N, W and M-class pronoun/class markers do not have singular and plural forms although dual and paucal can be indicated by the number words *majarrimiya* 'two' and *majarrina* 'a few' (and sometimes by *-miya* 'dual' and *-na* 'paucal' suffixing or enclitics to nominals and verbs). The free quantifying adjective *jama* 'a lot' and another nominal *balanggarra* 'a group' are used for B-class and for other classes. In example 3.1(a) above a collective of foods of different types was explicitly coded as a B-class (collective) object on the verb. Likewise in line 8 of Appendix 5 describing the preparation of *gurnu*, a mass of pieces of the *gurnu* plant/root triggers a B-class (collective) O pronoun prefix.

Demonstratives

As in other Australian languages, proximal 'this here', distal 'that there' and hyperdistal 'that over-there' demonstrative roots are distinguished.¹¹ The discussion of deviant forms below raises the possibility of (a) another dimension of 'distance' and/or (b) specialized anaphoric, exophoric and endophoric deictics. Each of the demonstratives appears to be a bound root taking obligatory noun class prefixes, and sometimes person and number marking. This characteristic considerably restricts the referential function of the demonstrative words. As full a paradigm as possible is given below in order to demonstrate first and second person forms, the deviant *mung*- and *ning*- prefixes mentioned above and the zero prefix W-class forms *gala* and *gaya*.

Table 3.5 Common demonstrative forms

	'this' (near) -nya	'that' (mid-distant) -gala	'that (more distant)' -gaya
1	<i>nginya</i>	<i>ngigala</i>	<i>ngigaya</i>
1ex	<i>nyarrinya</i> [Vás.]	<i>nyarragala</i> [Vás.]	
1in	<i>ngarrinya</i> [Vás.]	<i>ngarragala</i> [Vás.]	
2	<i>ginya</i>	<i>gigala</i> [Vás.]	
2pl	<i>gírrinya</i> [Vás.]	<i>gírragala</i> [Vás.]	
3B/COLL	<i>binya</i>	<i>bugala, (bila)</i>	<i>bugaya</i>
3pl(B)	<i>bírrinya</i>	<i>birragala</i>	<i>burrgaya</i> [Vás.]
A	<i>anya</i>	<i>agala</i>	<i>agaya ?aya</i>
N	<i>ninya</i>	<i>ninggala</i>	<i>ninggaya</i>
W	<i>winya</i>	<i>gala</i>	<i>gaya</i>
M	<i>minya</i>	<i>munggala, (mila)</i>	<i>munggaya ?miya</i>

Note that I although I have used forms from Vászolyi 1972-3b to complete the paradigm I do not follow Vászolyi's glosses for the degrees of distance denoted by *gala* and *gaya*. For Vászolyi *-gaya* is 'that (not too far)' whereas *-gala* denotes 'yonder'. Vászolyi also found a fourth prefixing form *-galya* which he glosses as 'that (far away)'. I discuss the word *galya* below, I have not come across this form with person or class prefixing. Vászolyi also lists the third person forms *biya*, *bírriya*, *wiya*, *miya*, *aya* and *naya* as alternatives to the third person *-nya* forms above. I have come across A-class *aya* and *miya* in the speech of one speaker and list them as possible alternatives to *agaya* and *mínggaya* above although I am by no means certain of this. My following M-class prefixed examples below exemplify the three degrees of difference as I propose them in the table above for one class.

- 3.3 (a) *Minya (gíra) ngayá-ningge.*
Mi -nya (gíra) ngayá -ningge.
 M -'this' (camp) I -GEN
 'This camp is mine.'
- (b) *Mung -gala gíra bini -ningga.*
 M -'that' camp (s)he -GEN
 'That house is his.'
- (c) *Mung -gaya gíra naa -ningga.*
 M -that.over.there camp you -GEN
 'That camp (way over there) is yours.'

Another set of demonstratives is used by Southern speakers including two forms that I have attested more than once: B/A-class *bila*, and M-class *mila*, and another *wila* which occurs only once in my corpus. (Recall that the Southern 3 -class system described by Capell (1941) apparently collapses B and A classes into a single class). The same speaker who used these forms which are apparently *-la* base demonstratives also uses *gala* which belongs to the 'that' (mid-distant) paradigm above. In most cases where I have come across *-la* forms (see e.g. sentence examples 3.7 a & b, 3.63 and 3.79 and possibly in 4.108(b) they can be interpreted either as a near demonstrative pronoun taking the place of *-nya* 'this', or a mid-distant 'that'.

The *-la* forms appear then to bridge the functions of both the near and the mid-distant demonstratives. The speaker who used *mila*, *bila* and *gala* however also uses *-nya* and *-gala* forms, including the A-class forms *anya* and *agala* and N-class forms *ninya* and *ninggala*. Unfortunately not enough examples occur to determine if they are a conflated paradigm, separate paradigms with separate functions or separate paradigms with similar function belonging to separate dialects. Most of the *-la* examples refer to discourse internal or endocentric referents. Alternatively the *-la* forms may be an alternate Southern anaphoric pronoun series alongside the 'free' pronouns *bini*, *mini*, *ani* and *nani*. The situation vis a vis alternate demonstrative forms is quite complex. For example a possible example of W-class *wu-* prefixed to the root *-ya* 'that.over.there' occurs in example 3.13. The speaker is a speaker of "northern" Wunambal who also uses *gaya*.

As *ga-* surfaces as a W-class form elsewhere (as a W-class O prefix when A is 3rd person), it seems reasonable to suppose that *gala* and *gaya* may in the past have been regarded as prefixed W-class-*la* and *-ya* demonstrative roots, respectively. However, comparison with other forms from the various Wunambalic dialects presents a complicated picture.

Capell in his 1941 description of three class Southern Wunambal lists (my segmentation before prefixing) *-la*, *-lyo* (*-la+wu* may be a more correct interpretation according to my informants) and *-larri* (*-la+rri*) for 'near', 'middle', and 'far', respectively. He gives the W-class forms: *ila*, *ilyo:* and *ilyarri*, for example. He also cites Wunambal forms from the Central Voltaire region as *-nya*, *-nyo:* and *-nyarri* respectively. For both these three class systems then, suffixation to a basic proximal demonstrative root either-*la* or *-nya* appears to take place. Both *-rri* and *-warra* are attested in other parts of Wunambal grammar; *-rri* connected with either distributive or continuative aspect and *-warra* with distance in time or space (see 3.1.5: spatial and temporal terms).

Capell's unprefixd forms for the five class systems (Capell's Roe River and Scott's Strait regions) yield proximal *-gala*, mid-distant *-gaya* and most distant *-lawarra/-*

galawarra respectively (1941: 300). Note especially the disagreement with my *-nya* 'proximal' *-gala* 'distal', *-gaya* 'hyper-distal' analysis for the five class system. Capell mentions too the difficulties of keeping the dialects apart. Both suffixing and reanalysis of base forms has obviously taken place across the three and five class systems. It is possible too that more than three degrees of difference in demonstratives need to be recognized. More importantly perhaps, it needs to be recognized that although roots can be defined as 'close', 'far' and 'further', they are almost always prefixed (the W-class forms are the exception here) and thus closely associated with the context in which a particular class of entity is near, mid-distant, or very distant from the speaker or subject. A confusing example is discussed at the end of section 3.1.5.

-Nya, *-gala* and *-gaya* were each used exophorically in the three examples in 3.3 above, i.e. they referred to houses nearby or that could be pointed to. By exophoric I mean that the referent is situated in the speaker context. Each of these three terms is also used endophorically in text referring to other instantiations of a referent in the same text. A prefixing stem *-nyanda* 'this right here' is only used for exophoric reference, i.e. when referring to physically present things and their location. The same stem *nyinda* is also a free form locational 'here'¹².

One speaker [BDj] also used the apparently B-class mid-distant demonstrative: *bungga* (used exophorically three or four times when demonstrating a procedure in his text 'Making a spear' and in the final line of example 3.16). In fact none of these examples indicate a B-class interpretation. BDj is a speaker from the Southern Wunambal speaking group who nevertheless uses the 5-class system, as mentioned above. He has lived at Kalumburu amongst Kwini speakers since he was a boy. For comparison's sake McGregor (1993), who distinguishes between exophoric and endophoric determiners in Kwini, reports exophorics: proximal *-nyja* and distal *-ngga* and endophorics: proximal *-nya* and distal *-gila*.

The same speaker also used what may be another determiner term: *burru* (See examples 3.79 and 3.80 from the same text and also 3.116, line 3 of a different text). Because *burru* is used in tandem with *-nya* 'this' and *gaya* 'that' (in the same text *burru* also occurs immediately before *anya* and *gaya*) as well as before the alternative demonstrative roots *-la* and possibly also *-ya*, I am uncertain if its reference is endophoric or exophoric but it does seem to be endophoric in function, and perhaps similar in function to the definite article in English.

The distributional suffix *-rri*, described in section 4.2 (coverb morphology) can be suffixed to demonstrative forms. The distributive *-rri* is homophonous with *-rri*, a verbal (continuative) aspect suffix. The function here is to qualify the predicate which is non-verbal:

3.4	<i>Birragala,</i>	<i>birragalergi</i>		<i>garra-wurru</i>
	<i>birra -gala,</i>	<i>birra -gale -rri</i>		<i>garra -wurru</i>
	3PL	-that	3PL	-that -DISTR
				mother -3PL:OBL
	<i>biyarri</i>		<i>garrawurru.</i>	
	<i>bi -yarri</i>		<i>garra -wurru</i>	
	3SG	-individual	mother	-3PL:OBL

'Those (people), they are (all/each/altogether) from the one mother.'

Locational and temporal deixis (demonstrative 'adverbs')

The locationals:

<i>nyinda</i>	'here'
<i>galyba</i> (also <i>galba</i> and <i>galaba</i>)	'there'
<i>gayanba</i>	'over:there'

appear to be based on *-nya*, *-gala* and *gaya* respectively, the latter two with a suffix *-ba*.

¹³ Examples of *nyinda* appear in 3.1.5 (locational and spatial qualifiers) and in 3.3.1 (=N clauses). Examples of *galyba* and *gayanba* occur throughout the text in Appendix 4, 'hospital visit', narrated by William Bunjuck.

The forms *galybawa* and *gayanbawa* were also recorded. They differ from the locational forms in meaning 'in that direction, that way'. *-Wa* also appears suffixed to the indefinite/interrogative (see Indefinites) locational *ngindaba* 'where', and is the final element of the spatial relator/locational qualifiers 'this side', 'other side' and 'top side' (see 3.1.5). However, there are insufficient examples in each case to give a clearer explanation of the significance of *-wa*.

Temporal or interclausal connectives.

Other words which appear to have demonstrative bases are used as clause or sentential connectives or as transitional elements. Words that appear to be based on either *gala* 'that' or *galyba* 'there' are *gala* 'that/then', *gale* 'then/when', *galaja* 'then', *galybaja* 'then', and *galali* 'then'. Glosses are rough and based on context only. *Gala*, *galaja* and *galbaja* are common in this function in my corpus. In text *gala* often refers to situations rather than entities, situations lend themselves to a temporal/aspectual interpretation. The same comments may also apply to the use of *galybaja*. The suffix *-ja* is elsewhere attested as an emphatic modifying enclitic particle 'EM' which occurs with other word classes (§ 3.1.6.)

Gale 'then/when' is most clearly restricted to temporal usage, but does not appear frequently in my corpus. This speaker's Wunambal idiolect may reflect some differences to other speakers. Writing about Worrorra, Clendon (1984) describes an aspect-like function of *karle* 'now, then' at the beginning and end of sentences, where it signifies a "change of state from one situation to another". In this sense it seems to be a close equivalent to Wunambal *ge(e)ji*. 'now' but also to the various uses of Wunambal *gala*, *gale* [in (c) above], *galali*, *galaja*, and *galybaja*.

Galali 'then' was noted in 3.5 (b) below for one speaker in one text only so little can be said about this connective. An indeterminate suffix *-li* 'MOD' which was identified by Vászolyi (1976c:632) and may serve a similar modifying function to *-ja* is also discussed with enclitic modifying particles in 3.1.6.

- 3.5 (a) *Marna, biija wog anbudnge*
Marna, biija wog anbud =wu -nge ?(an-birr-wu-ne.)
 Mum Dad cook 3B<3PL =WU(N)- PAST
- gale wanawanarra gunya yalebe*
gale wanawanarra gunya yala -ba
 then afternoon something hunt -DUR
- ngarrmeja aamba-gu.*
ngarr =me -ja aamba -gu.
 1in:PL =MA'do':PAST -EM kangaroo -PURP

'(Mum and Dad cooked it (fish that I caught).) Then in the cool of the afternoon we would hunt for whatever, for kangaroo/do whatever, hunting for kangaroo.'

[LsK96, fnbV: , tx:young days]

- (b) *Galali nyarrmerri*
Gala -li nyarr =me -rri.
 that -MOD 1ex:PL =MA'do':PAST -CONT
- 'That's what we were doing (then).'
- 'We were doing that sort of thing then.'

Gada 'then' was attested in text for one speaker (my primary informant) only. *Gardaji* 'then' and *garda-ningge* 'then, after that' were also attested in text for one (but a different) speaker only. I have not attested *garda*. Vászolyi (1972-1973a:7&?40, 1972-73b:no page #'s) lists *gada* 'there' and *gaderri* 'right there' (Vászolyi provides a person/number/class prefixing paradigm for *-gada*'there' in 1972-73b, I have not yet come across any of the prefixed forms). I have not attested a suffix *-ji* elsewhere either *-ningge* is the genitive postposition (See 3.1.3). Although an ablative or genitive marked

locational is a common device for change of location or sequencing in other (Central /Pama-Nyungan and Kriol) Australian languages, I have only the one example of such a usage in Wunambal.

3.1.2 Indefinite/interrogative words

Indefinite/interrogatives words are a closed class. They include *nginja* 'who, somebody', *ganya* 'what, something', *nginda*, (*gunya*) 'what, something' and *ngindaba* 'where, somewhere'. Each of these terms functions both as an indefinite determiner and as an interrogative. Indefinite/interrogatives usually occur clause-initially in verbal clauses. *Nginja* can occur attributively, as in (d). *Nginja* has been found with human referents only.

- 3.6 (a) *Nginja* *-ngurru* *gan* *=mira* *-ngi*.
 somebody -maybe ?(W<2SG) =MiRA 'grab' -PAST
 'Somebody (I don't know who/I wonder who) maybe you/did you pick it up?'
- (b) *Nginja* *wandi(j)* *ga* *=wu* *-ne?*
 who make W<3B =WU -PAST
 'Who made it?' [WG97, fnb22, p55]
- (c) *Nginja* *wurrey* *bundu* *=ne?*
 who discuss 3SG<3/2 =WU:PAST
 'Who are they/you talking about?' [LsK, ct 51, sylls & stress]
- (d) *Lewa* *nginja* *-ningga?*
 Dog who -GEN
 'Whose (is this) dog?' [WB, 96fnbI(KAL):]

Ganya is used to refer to things in questions, and where the speaker does not know what something is. The 'human' example in (b) below refers to the identity of a deceased body.

- 3.7 (a) *Lii* *nya* *=ndi* *-da* *-ja* *gaya*, *bi* *-la* *ganya*, *bi* *-la*
 watch 1ex:PL =N:PAST -? -EM that.over.there B -that what B -that
- ganya* *biinjan* *jurra-yurrow* *wi* *-yangga* *-nu* *nyarr* *=me* *-ja*.
 what smoke billow.black W -'go':IMM -? 1ex:PL =MA:PAST EM
- 'We saw that over there. What's that, what's that black cloud of smoke billowing, we exclaimed.' [BDj 96, BDjtx2:Journey]

- (b) *Binjin ngurru ganya bi -la dara*
 man maybe INDEF 3B -?that place

an =birr -ne -ngarri garnmen -ngindalu.
 3SG<3PL =WU -PAST -SUBORD cave -LOC

'Maybe (it was a) man (as opposed to a woman), someone unknown (the body) that they put in the cave.' [BDj 96, BDjtx2:Journey]

With the addition of the purposive postposition *-gu*, *ganya* can also refer to situations, thus expressing the sense 'why' or more literally 'what for':

- 3.8 *Ganya -gu wala jan =mirra -ngi -rri?*
 what -PURP cry 1SG<2SG =MIRRA:go.to' -PAST -CONT
 'Why were you crying for me?' [WG/PB, fnb22:18]

Nginda refers to speech and events, whereas *ganya* has a much wider distribution. In the sentences below (the only examples available) *nginda* refers (a) to the phrase framed by =MA'do/say' when used in reported speech, thought or wishes, as well as (b) to =MA'say/do' as in events/happenings, as indicated by the speaker's translation. An alternate form *gunya* was used in a similar function in a complex verb construction in sentence example 3.5 above.¹⁴

- 3.9 (a) *Nginda -ngurru ngu =miya.*
 something -maybe 1SG =MA'do/say':DES
 'I don't know (I forget) what I'm going to say.' [LsK, fnb 96-V, p9]
- (b) *"Nginda gu =me"*
 something 2SG =MA'DO/SAY':PAST
- bu =me -ngu.*
 3SG =MA'DO/SAY:PAST -3:OBL
 "'What happened to you?', he asked him.' [WG96, tx:Dunbi]

The locative indefinite *ngindaba* 'where, somewhere' appears to be based on *nginda* 'what'.

- 3.10 (a) *"Yagu nuurra galbo -wa girra =da ngindaba*
 try you(PL) that -way 2PL ='go'-away somewhere

mission mara -nurru:::"
 mission see -you(PL).

'You others ?(go) try find a mission somewhere that way.'

- (b) *Ngindaba bu -mindimindi -ga?*
 where 3SG<2SG =REDUP:MiNDA'take':PRES -IMM

'Where are you taking her?'

Another form *ngindaba-wa* is also used adverbially, with the meaning 'which way' or 'where to'.

- (c) Ques: *Ngindaba -wa (ngarrangga)?*
 somewhere -?way (1in:PL='go':IMM)

'Which way/where (are we going)?'

Ans: *Mararlerle -gu nyarrangga.*
 river -PURP 1ex:PL='go':IMM

'We're going to the river.'

Neither *-ba* nor *-wa* occur as local 'cases' or locative relator postpositions to NPs. Both forms are attested as phonological alternates of a coverb aspectual suffix and as deictic and locational qualifier suffix forms (see 3.1.4, 3.1.5 and 4.2). All of the indefinite/interrogatives are frequently modified by the particle *-ngurru* 'maybe/unknown'. More sentence examples appear in 3.1.6.

3.1.3 Postpositions (case markers)

Case markers do not mark grammatical relations in Wunambal, these are marked by subject and object prefixes and indirect (oblique) object suffixes to the verb. I have followed McGregor (1993:36; 1990:174, 278ff), Rumsey (1982:57-59) in referring to the Wunambal semantic case marking morphemes as postpositions. Postpositions are morphemes that normally follow other nominal suffixes or other postpositions suffixed to a nominal word, and only occur on one word in a noun phrase. Sometimes postpositions are suffixed to coverbs; in these cases the coverbs are nominalized or function as gerunds. I have tended to use a hyphen with postpositions because they are only loosely bound to nominal words. Apart from a possible *-wu* allomorph for the purposive *-gu*, there are no phonological variations at the morpheme boundary, for example. Each

postposition begins with either a nasal or a stop except for the ABLative *-yanga*. Wunambal postpositions are shown in Table 3.6

Table 3.6 Wunambal Postpositions

<i>-gajin</i>	LIKE	like, the same as
<i>-gu</i>	PURPositive	'to, for'
<i>-gude</i>	COMitative	'with, accompanied by'
<i>-marre</i>	TOWard	'toward, around'
<i>-ngindalu</i>	LOCative	'at, around, on, in, inside'
<i>-nyane</i>	INSTRumental	'with'
<i>-ningge</i>	GENitive	'of, belonging to, pertaining to, about, from'
<i>-yanga</i>	ABLative	'from'

The postpositions in Wunambal indicate that discontinuous noun phrases can be interpreted as such. For example, where co-referential nominals appear either side of the verb, usually only one is marked (see example 3.126 (b)). However NPs do not always receive overt marking. There are NPs where a postposition might be expected - (3.125) is an example - but is not used. As discussed in 3.3.2 pragmatic considerations and saliency of the NP are also relevant to the use of postpositions.

***-Gajin* LIKE, the same as**

This postposition is used to compare similar properties or qualities. For example when describing the *wurningarr* vine to me Wilfred and Pudja said that it was potato-gajin.

Wurningarr vine creeps up, 'big one it creeps up' 'like a potato'. "In the *lalai* ('similar to dreamtime') you see that two ladies digging" "potato-gajin." [12-7-00, WG&PB]

In the following example the speaker was referring to the spinifex wax used to bind sinew on the spear:

- 3.15 *Ngaya -wu*
 I -PURP
 'Mine/for me.'

As this is the only example of *-wu* suffixing in my corpus it is not certain that it should be treated as an allomorph of *-gu*. The suffix *-gu* does however occur however in a similar 'genitive' function in the following example:

- 3.16 *Durrbuba bi =nji -rri gala aamba- gu*
 put-IT 3pl =N'be' -CONT W.that kangaroo- DAT
wirrngi, jangulan wi -nya.
 fat fat W-this.
 'They put on kangaroo fat, its fat.'

-Gude COMitative 'with'

-gude means 'having' usually temporarily in one's possession at the time or being accompanied by.

- 3.17 *Wangayi galaja durru -biji (birrama)*
wangayi gala -ja durru -biji (birrama)
 woman that -EM put -REP (B:PL=MA'do')
- barndi -ngindalu winya SMOKE bijagu -gude.*
barndi -ngindalu winya SMOKE bijagu -gude.
 head -LOC W -this smoke smoke -COM

'Then the women covered their heads with smoke.'
 [WG96,tx:'about widows']

Other examples of *-gude* 'with' can be found in examples 3.87-3.89.

-Marre 'Toward'

-marre was used by one speaker only with the possible senses 'close to, around about or toward/in the general direction or vicinity of'. Vászolyi recorded *-marre* 'past' (perlative) which fits the second example below (and possibly the first as well). The purposive *-gu* seems to be more specific in terms of directing attention or intention toward. The verbal suffix *-yanga* which I have also labelled 'toward' is not semantically related to *-marre*. The 'toward' of the verbal directional suffix is meant to refer to direction from somewhere but toward the speaker and/or subject as in 'come'.

- 3.18 *Birraniwirri barij biindija // Wotjulum -gu.*
Birrani -wirri barij bii =ndi =ja // Wotjulum -gu.
 They -them rise 3:PL =N:PAST -EM Place name -PURP
- Wotjulum-marre gira waja ngurru burrmenungungayi*
Wotjulum-marre gira waja ngurru burr =me -nungu -ngayi
 Place-Toward country dummy maybe 3B:PL =do:PAST -3:OBL -SUBOR
- mirndaj burrwaneja bunga -gu, DERBY -gu.*
mirndaj burr =wan -ne -ja bunga -gu, DERBY -gu
 cut 3B:PL =WAN'fall' -PAST -EM ?(Bthat) -PURP, Derby -PURP

'As for them, they all set off for Wotjulum. In the direction of (or past) Wotjulum, I don't know what happened to them in that country, (then) they crossed to that/there, to Derby.'

- 3.19 *Wurdaagu -marre nyandi -ngayi*
Wurdaagu -marre nya =ndi -ngayi
 Place -toward 1ex:PL =N:PAST -SUBORD
- nyarrangayangangarri*
nyarr =yang -ga -yanga -ngarri
 1ex:PL =YANG'go' -IMM -toward -SUBORD

'We were on the other side of Wurdagu (a place on the river) when we were coming up ...'

-Ngindalu LOCative 'at'

-Ngindalu locates an event or referent in space including notional space, as for example in 3.20 below. Many examples involve locations on the body. It is not normally used with place names.

- 3.20 *Wunambi bume marangi -ngindalu.*
wunambi bu =me marangi -ngindalu.
 dry 3B:SG =MA'do':PAST sun -LOC
- 'She dried (the leaves) in the sun.' [WG89, tx:'bunu]

- 3.21 *Binmirangi balangarra*
Bin =mira -ngi balangarra
 3B:SG-3nonB =MiRA'grab' -PAST a:mob
- burrundi-burrundi gayla -ngindalu.*
burrundi-burrundi gayla -ngindalu.
 hornet-hornet back -LOC

'A mob of hornets got him on the back.' [WG]

3.22	<i>Winya</i>	MARK	<i>burung</i>	<i>minggala</i>	<i>burulgu</i>
	<i>Wi -nya</i>	MARK	<i>bu =rung</i>	<i>ming -gala</i>	<i>burulgu</i>
	W -this	mark	3B =?	Mcl -that	cicatrice
	<i>ananggu-ngindalu</i>		<i>wulumara</i>	<i>ananggu-ngindalu.</i>	
	<i>a -nanggu -ngindalu</i>		<i>wulumara</i>	<i>a -nanggu -ngindalu</i>	
	Acl -arm -LOC		turtle	Acl -arm -LOC	

'This mark is in the same place as/ comes from the cicatrice on its arm, on the turtle's arm.' [WG 4: 16, 293]

-Ningge GENitive 'of' (also *-ningga* and *ningge*)

The genitive *-ningge* is used to denote the relations: 'belonging or pertaining to' which can include 'originating from' or 'in relation to'.

3.23	<i>Birrandan-ningge</i>	<i>bilinya.</i>
	<i>Birra -nda -ningge</i>	<i>?birri-nya</i>
	B:PL -other -GEN	B:PL-this
	<i>biyambune-nungu-ja</i>	<i>aamba.</i>
	<i>birra =nbun -ne -nungu -ja</i>	<i>aamba</i>
	3B:PL =NBU(N)'kill' -PAST -3:OBL -EM	kangaroo

'As for the others, they speared kangaroo.'

Sentence examples 3.82 and 3.83 and 3.90 in section 3.2 demonstrate the use of *-ningga* on nouns in the possessive sense. Examples of the use of the genitive in a possessive function with free pronouns occur in examples 3.3 (a), (b) and (c) and 3.78. Example 3.81 demonstrates the genitive with an indefinite or interrogative pronoun. Other instances of *-ningge* on NPs cover the senses 'of', 'from', or 'pertaining to', 'in regard to', 'in relation to' or 'about' as in 3.23 above and 3.51 and 3.54 below. 3.51 appears to be an example of a non-finite verb 'complement' or the framed element being treated like an NP. 3.13 where *-ningga* is suffixed to a coverb is another example of a non-finite expression. In this example the sense 'in order to (camp/sit down/stop)' is much closer to that of a purposive¹⁵.

-Nyane INSTRUMENTAL 'with'

-nyane, *-nyine* or *-nyine* 'by' is used with NPs that are instruments. For example:

<i>anbile-nyane</i>	'with the tongue'
<i>dalagarr-nyane</i>	'with a stick'
<i>malan-nyane</i>	'with a rope'

namandi-nyane 'by canoe'

bugala-nyane 'by that (for example, by means of)'

- 3.24 (a) *Anbile-nyane mila binya gawurrngarri.*
انبيلة -nyane mila bi -nya ga -wurr =WU -ngarri
 tongue -INSTR lick 3B -this W(O) -3B:PL =WU'effect' -SUBORD
 '..when they smooth it with the tongue (like this).'
- (b) *Minja nyandija bugala-nyane.*
minja nya =ndi -ja bu -gala -nyane
 eat 1ex:PL =N'be':PAST -EM B -that -INSTR
- ada nyarrmerri.*
ada nyarr =me -rri.
 sit 1ex:PL =MA'do' -CONT
 'We survived by eating those (foods).'
- (c) *Baj bangga malan-nyane*
Baj ba =ngga malan -nyane
 climb 3B =N'be':IMM rope -INSTR
 'She's climbing up with the assistance of a rope.'
- (d) *Namandi-nyane bugala garigari nyandirri-ngarri gala::*
namandi -nyane bugala garigari nyandirri -ngarri gala::
 canoe -INSTR B-that REDUP'paddle' 1ex:PL?-SUBORD that
 'That's when we were paddling by canoe.'
- (e) *Namandi-nyane mirnde mayi nyarrmanda-ngayi.*
Namandi -nyane mirnde mayi nyarr =manda -ngayi.
 canoe -INSTR cross.over ?M-? 1ex:PL =MiNDA -SUBORD
 'When we crossed over (the water) by canoe.'

-Yanga ABLative 'from'

The nominal postposition *-yanga* 'from' occurs infrequently as the 'motion/direction from, origin' function seems to be expressed verbally (See ch 4). In the following clauses, discussing the preparation of the plant-food *alamarr*, the inflecting verb was omitted.

- 3.25 ... *guwiba winjangun- ngindalu, winjangun -yanga guwiba...*
 ...collect fire -LOC, fire -ABL collect
 ...rake up in the fireplace, collect (them) *from* the fire.

3.1.4 Verbal words

The discussion is brief here, as there is a more detailed treatment of simple and complex verb constructions in section 3.3 and in Chapter Four. Wunambal has both simple and complex verb constructions. Simple verbs are based on an inflecting verb alone. Complex verbs are based on the collocation of a lexical coverb and an inflecting verb in a closely linked two-word construction. Most coverbs can collocate with two or more inflecting verbs. Complex verbs are the more frequently occurring construction.

Inflecting verbs

The inflecting verbs are a closed class of bound roots in Wunambal. Morphologically the inflecting verbs are entirely distinct from all other word classes, carrying suffixed tense/mood and aspectual inflections and obligatorily S, A and O pronominal prefixes (indicating person and number for A, and person, number and noun class for S/O). Inflecting verbs can also carry a suffix indicating an additional or oblique argument. The template for the inflecting verb provided below is a simplified version showing the categories affixed. The template is presented in more detail in Chapter Four. As many as thirteen 'order' slots can be recognized, including 5-6 prefixes, though sometimes a fused or portmanteau morpheme fills two 'slot' functions. 'VR' stands for verb root:

pronomns-mood=VR-tense-direction-aspect-subord-oblique(dual/paucal)number-emphatic

The following three examples exemplify each of the above slots, bar mood and the emphatic enclitic *-ja/-diya*.

3.26 *Ngiyang-ga.*
ngi =yang -ga
 1SG =YA'go' -IMM
 'I'm going.'

3.27 *Jarri winyarrnengumiya.*
Jarri wi -nyarr =wun -ne -ngu -miya
 dig W -lex:PL =WU(N)'effect' -PAST -3SG.OBL -DUAL
 'We two dug (a cooking hole) for it (kangaroo meat).'

3.28 *Wandi(j) nyanjirringarri-miya.*
wandi(j) nyarr =nji -rri -ngarri -miya
 make lex:PL =N:PAST -CONT -SUBORD -DUAL
 'When we were working together (dually).'

Of the eleven inflecting verbs I am most familiar with, nine occur in the coverb-inflecting verb complex verb construction. All but two of these nine also occur with a recognizable verbal meaning as simple verbs.¹⁶ Another two inflecting verbs occur as simple verbs only in my corpus.¹⁷ The meanings of each inflecting verb range from roots with fairly identifiable common verbal meanings like =MALIMA 'kill' and =LNGA 'give', which occur only as simple verbs, and =YA(NG) 'go' and 'come to' which are used both as simple verbs and in complex constructions, to broad semantic categories such as 'effect', 'do', and 'be' which are more common in complex constructions.

Although the inflecting verb functions to some extent in the manner of an auxiliary it does not merely carry tense, aspect and other similar information. The function of the inflecting verb in complex constructions is a classifying one. Known inflecting verb roots are presented in Table 3.7 below. The glosses are based on their meaning in the simple verb construction. The semantic types are based on their classifying role in complex constructions. The semantic effect of the inflecting verb in complex constructions is discussed further in section 4.3. Note that for simple verbs I use the first word in the glosses below as an interlinear gloss. For complex verbs however I use both the verb stem form in capital letters and this same 'gloss' in most interlinear glosses. The = symbol is used to identify what I take to be the prefix-stem boundary. The inflecting verbs are labelled monovalent and bivalent according to whether they take one or two argument prefix(es). The overall transitivity of the clause, however, is also affected by the lexical coverb, the use of oblique pronoun suffixes, and the occurrence of overt NPs in the clause.

Table 3.7: Inflecting Verb Roots¹⁸

Verb Root*	Meaning in simple verb construction	Associated semantic quality/effect
#=N / (A)NGA'be' (Monovalent roots)		stative, inchoative, resultative
YANG(A)/=YA-N /	'go/come'	horizontal motion
=WAN	'fall'	vertical/downward motion
=(M)BU	'strike, kill/hit/spear'	active, effective
=MA (Bivalent roots)	'do/say/think/want'	active, framing device
=MANDA / M̄NDA	'take/bring'	movement of O by A
=M̄RA	'grab/pick up/catch/get'	contact with/positioning of O by A
=MIRRA	'go/come to'	movement of A (A's volition) to O (location)
#=WU(N)'effect'		active, O affected or perceived by A
**=A(L)NGA	'give to'	'transfer' of X from A to O
**=MALIMA	'kill'	

* For some verbs, in some inflections it is difficult to isolate the verb root. The different allomorphs of the verb roots are related to TAM morphology and are discussed in that section, as is the possibility of conjugation classes.

** simple verb only

mostly occurs in complex verbs

The following examples represent the eight common verb roots that can occur as simple verbs and the less common verb root =MALIMA 'kill', and demonstrate their lexical meaning in that context.

3.29 *Nguwane.*
Ngu =wan -ne
 1SG = 'fall' -PAST
 'I fell.'

3.30 *Ngiyangge.*
ngi =yangge
 1SG = 'go':PAST'
 'I went.'

3.31 *Ngumengu.*
ngu =me -ngu
 ngu = 'say':PAST -3OBL
 'I told him.'

- 3.32 *Ngambinengu.*
nga =mbin -ne -ngu
 1SG ='strike' -PAST -3OBL
 'I hit/knocked/killed one.'
- 3.33 *Ngawa janangaya.*
ngawa jan =anga -ya
 water 1SG<2SG ='give' -DES
 'Will you give me water.'
- 3.34 *Janmindimindiga?*
jan =mindi-mindi -ga
 1SG<2SG =REDUP'take' -IMM
 'Are you taking me to Kalumburu?'
- 3.35 *Ngundu =mira -ngi.*
 1SG<3B:SG =MiRA'grab' -PAST
 'She picked me up.'
- 3.36 *Ngundu =mirra -ngi.*
 1SG<3B:SG =MIRRA'go:to' -PAST
 'She came to me.'
- 3.37 *Bi -nyarr =malima -ngi.*
 3B:SG -lex:PL ='kill' -PAST
 'We killed it (kangaroo).' [K96,tx2:Bush/young.life]

Those inflecting verbs that take part in complex verb constructions are demonstrated in this function below:

=N'be'

- 3.38 *Barij bi =ndi.*
 rise 3PL =N:PAST
 'They got up to go/ set off.'

=YANG'go'

- 3.39 *Jo: ngiyangga.*
Jo: ngi =yang ga.
 drink 1SG =YANG'go' -IMM
 'I'm drinking.'

=WAN'fall'

- 3.40 *Juru bu =wane.*
 submerge 3SG =WAN'fall':PAST
 'He dived/jumped in.'

=(M)BU'strike'
 3.41 *Juru* *biya =mbin-bin* *-ngu -rr.*
 submerge 3PL -REDUP=(M)BU'strike' -OBL 'leave'
 'They soak or rinse them.'

=MA'do'
 3.42 *Ngud* *ngu =me* *-ngu.*
 knock 1SG =MA'do'PAST -3OBL
 'I hit him.'

=MIRRA'go.to'
 3.43 *Ba(a) mu* *-nga =mirra* *-ngi.*
 emerge Mcl(O) -1SG(S) =MIRRA'go:to' -PAST
 'I arrived/came out at it (the house).' [WG97,fnb1]

=MANDA'take'
 3.44 *Nguru* *ngandu =minda-minda.*
 hear 1PL<3B:SG =REDUP-MiNDA'take'
 '(S)he listens to us (inclusive).'

=MiRA'grab'
 3.45 *(Biyanda)* *dina andu =m̄iri-m̄iri* *-ngga.*
(biyanda) *dina andu =m̄ira-m̄ira* *-ga*
 (child) hold 3B:SG<3B:SG =REDUP-MiRA(NG)'grab' -IMM
 '(S)he's holding him/her (a child).'

=WU'effect'
 3.46 *Mara* *gunbunbun.*
mara *gun =bun-bun*
 find 2SG<1SG =REDUP-WU(N)'effect'
 'I see you.'

Coverbs

Coverbs are an open class. They can be distinguished from other word classes by their morphological characteristics. Coverbs can take aspectual suffixes only¹⁹ and these differ in function from those that appear on inflecting verbs (although one is homophonous with a verbal aspectual suffix). In other words, coverbs cannot take verbal suffixes. The coverb class is also the only word class where words can end in /j/ or /g/. Coverbs normally appear immediately before an inflecting verb (one of the nine from the Table 3.7 which participate in the complex verb construction). The coverb carries the bulk of the lexical information as illustrated in the complex verb sentence examples above. Most coverbs can collocate with more than one inflecting verb with subtle changes in meaning (see Chapter Four). The *complete* 'verbal word' is the complex verb. The possible

collocations and any variation in meaning need to be specified in, for example, a dictionary entry.

Numerous examples of coverbs have been presented so far. Less typically, some 'stative' coverbs e.g. *huri* 'fill/satisfy' and *wul* 'lie/lay', appear to function as adverbs as in (a) and (b) below. This function is clearest when the 'adverbial' coverb precedes another coverb, and carries suffixes like *-wa* and *-rri* which are similar in form and function to the aspectual suffixes that appear on coverbs. Coverb suffixes are discussed in 4.2.2.2-3. A 'DISTRibutive' interpretation for the suffixes *-rri* and *-rru* in examples like the ones below is offered in section 4.2.2.3 where the function of the suffix *-rri* on coverbs is explored further.

- 3.47 (a) *Wularru durru bu =me -miya.*
 lying put 3PL =MA:PAST -DUAL
 'The left (their things) lying (of clothing scattered).' [WG96,Rsb;17]
- (b) *Galaja huri -wa wul -arri nya =ndi wundugu.*
 then full -?IT lie -?DISTR 1ex:PL =N'be':PAST dark
 'Then we (each) lay down full up in the dark/at night.
 [LsK: fnb 96-V, p 51]

3.1.5 Temporal, locational qualifiers

It is difficult to identify a separate class of adverbs. I have not elicited expressions for manner qualifiers: 'hard', 'slow' and 'fast' that differ from other word classes. As in other Australian languages temporal and locational qualifiers appear to be largely derived from nominal and deictic expressions. What they have in common as a class is that they can be used to provide circumstantial information about time and place. The suffixes *-wa* and *-warra* may be derivational suffixes associated with this class.

Table 3.8: Locational and directional qualifiers²⁰

Spatial relators		Orientation terms	
<i>wardulu</i>	'near(ly), close to'	<i>barrwarda</i>	'this ?same side'
<i>boorra/bowarra</i>	'far, distant, long:way'	<i>janganduwa</i>	'other side'
<i>bale</i>	'behind'	<i>ngala ngawa</i>	'there to here'
<i>arrangu</i>	'on.top, up, above'	<i>arrangunduwa</i>	'higher/top-side'
<i>alyi</i>	'down, below, underneath'		

Some of the spatial relators in Table 3.8 locate both entities and events, i.e. they have both predicative and verb clause qualifying functions. Another (non-predicative) example of *boorra* 'long:way' appears in 3.55 (b) below.

3.48 *Arrangu ada wu =mamingga.*
on.top sit W =MA'do':IMM
'They (rocks) sit on top.'

3.49 *Alyi li: bangga.*
down look 3SG =N:IMM
'He's looking down.'

3.50 *Windij ban. -ga (arrangu) lumba -ngindalu.*
Windij bV =wan. -ga (arrangu) lumba -ngindalu.
fire' 3SG =?WAN 'fall' -IMM up tree -LOC
Windij ba =n. -ga (arrangu) lumba -ngindalu.
fire' 3SG =?N'be' -IMM up tree -LOC
'He's firing (a stone catapult) up into the tree.' [WG96,Rsb9]

3.51 *Gira wartulu wu -ngarr =mira -nga -ningga nyinda*
country close W -1PL ='grab' -toward -GEN here
burr =me -nyarru -ja.
3PL ='say':PAST -1ex:OBL -EM.

'We're getting closer to country here, they told us. (the expression 'catching up country' is also used in Aboriginal English of the region.)

3.52 *Gira bowarra Winyinji.*
country long:way Name
'Winyinji country is far away.'

3.53 *Bini wirrej bume bale.*
(s)he cook 3B:SG =MA'do'PAST behind
'(We went hunting), she stayed behind cooking.'

A predicative example of *bale* appears in section 3.2 (simple sentences):

3.54 *Bugala bale -ningga -nyarru.*
B -that behind -GEN -1ex:PL:OBL
'He is behind (in relation to) us (in time, i.e. youngest brother).'

I have little information on the orientation terms in Table 3.8. They appeared only once each (in text) in the corpus and all from the one speaker. They appear to be formatives suffixed with *-wa* 'way'²¹. *Nyala ngaawa* was translated as '(from) there to here'²².

- 3.55 (a) *Barrwarda nyarra nyalangaa -wa nyarra =yangga -yanga.*
 this:side we(ex) -way 1ex:PL:YA'go':IMM -toward
 'We came from there to here, this side?(way).'
- (b) *Borra rulug ga -wurr =mira -ngi gira gaya*
 long:way shift W -3B:PL =MiRA'grab' -PAST country that.over:there
- arrangundu -wa bii -rindi.*
 on:top -way/ 3B:PL =N'be(come)':PAST

'They shifted the camp further away to the higher country.'

Directional movement 'toward' and 'away from' speaker or deictic centre is usually indicated by suffixes to the verb. A number of other adverbial meanings, for example, 'again', and 'indeed', are also suffixed to the verb. They are described with particles and enclitics in 3.1.6. Intensification can also be signalled by reduplication of a coverb. The possible functions of *-wa* and *-rri* in deriving adverbs or coverbs from nouns and iterative *-wa* suffixing on coverbs and also *-rri* 'distributive' suffixes on both nominals and coverbs is discussed with coverbs in 3.1.1 (in relation to demonstrative bases), 3.14 (for adverb/coverb function) and 4.2.2 (coverb morphology).

Temporal terms

Temporal qualifiers and diurnal terms are listed below. Other temporal connectives based on demonstrative and locational terms have already been described.

Temporal qualifiers

Table 3.9 Temporal qualifiers

<i>geeji</i>	'now, before (up until now)'
<i>jerrge</i>	now, today'
<i>wanggi'</i>	'later on, ?soon ?after'

Geeji 'now, OK, alright' is used to refer to time up until the present including the imminent present, and is sometimes translated as 'alright' or 'already'. *Jerrge* is used with reference to present time and is sometimes translated as 'today' and sometimes as 'now'. *Wanggi* 'later, bye and bye' is used for future time.

- 3.56 *Jerrge ngurru debarr (ngurru) biyanga.*
today maybe die (maybe) 3B:SG =YA'go'
'He might die today.'
- 3.57 *Jerrge -we mara gun =(n)bun-bun*
today -SPEC find 2SG<1SG =REDUP:WU(N)'effect'
'Today is the first time I see you.'
- 3.58 *Wanggi mara gun =biya*
later find 2SG<1SG =WU:DES
'I'll see you later'
- 3.59 *Wanggi joli nganggi -ya*
later return 1SG =NGA'be' -DES
'I'll be back later.'

Diurnal terms

- (w)uguli* 'in the morning, tomorrow'
gumamama 'in the morning, next day'
wana(wa)narra 'in the late afternoon'
lewarra 'afternoon-time'
wundugu 'dark, night-time'

Stretches of time

- Jandei* '(about) a week' (from English 'Sunday')

Wunambal is like some other languages in using the same term for 'morning' and 'tomorrow'.

- 3.60 *Gejiwarra! Uguli mara gunbiya.*
geji -warra! uguli mara gun =wu -iya
geji -? morning see 2SG<1SG =WU -DES
'Goodbye! See you tomorrow!'

I suspect that *wanwanarra* and *lewarra* are semantically distinct but was unable to confirm this. It is also possible that *lewarra* is a borrowing. *Lewarra* 'daytime, daylight' and *lewarran* 'afternoon' occur in Worrorra and Ungarinyin respectively. *Wanawanarra* 'afternoon' seems to refer to the cool part of the afternoon preceding darkness. In the texts available the expression was used in reference to activities like

gathering together after eating, the time of eating or to opening up of the cooking oven immediately prior to eating (examples 3.2(a), 3.5(b) above and 3.61 below. It was invariably translated as 'in the (late) afternoon', but it may also refer to the passage of a period of time, in my examples the progressive stretch of time as the heat of the day is relieved, of no more than a few hours that in the routines described in these texts often follows the burying of meat or vegetable food to cook or the performance of some other afternoon task like eating, rather than to a *time* of the day alone. It may simply refer to that period in the afternoon when it grows cooler but before darkness.

- 3.61 Wananarra *wanarr*²³ *binyarrmirangi*.
 wana -*wanarra* *wanarr* *bV* -*nyarr* =*MiRA* -*ngi*
 after.a.few.hours ?open 3B -lex:PL = 'grab' -PAST
 'In the afternoon/after a few hours we got it (meat cooking in the ground)
 (out).' [JKtx:96]

Wununggule, the term for 'olden days', is an example of W-class prefixed adjectival root referring to the temporal/conceptual dimension, since *-nunggule* is a bound adjectival root 'old'. It is not uncommon for W-class to refer to the conceptual or temporal domains. To my knowledge, only *wununggule* and perhaps *wundugu* 'night, dark' (not productively prefixing) above are temporal terms that are also used to qualify entities, e.g. *mudiga wununggule* 'an old vehicle'²⁴. Temporal qualifiers do not take postpositions in adverbial function.

It is unlikely to be coincidental that all but one of the above diurnal terms begin with either *w-* or *g-*. Both these word-initial elements are associated with W-class prefixation to other word classes and it is likely that each of these terms is derived from a historically prefixed term. W-class is strongly associated with the temporal, conceptual and spatial domains.

As mentioned earlier there may also be a derivational suffix *-warra* 'extended in space or time' associated with the location/temporal 'adverbials' or space/time deictics. I have already mentioned the existence of demonstrative terms ending in *-warra* in the dialects described by Capell (1941:300) in the discussion of demonstrative forms and stems. It seems probable that these are in fact adverbial derivations of base demonstrative forms. Capell (1941: 300) lists a set of class marked 'far' distant demonstrative forms all based on the base *-la* and which all end in *-warra* for 'the 5 class dialects about the Roe River and Scott's Strait'. These terms were not used by my informants in text; however, they recognized them on questioning. The information they gave on their meaning seems contradictory. While they confirmed that e.g. M-class *milawarra* 'that (long way camp)' and *munggaya* can both be translated as 'there', they also stated that N-class *nilawarra*

{N-DEM.RT-*warra*} meant 'that one there' (close up) whereas *ninggaya* ?-*warra* {N-DIST.DEM.RT'over.there'} meant 'there (long way)'. The differences could simply be attributed to the effect of the class prefixes on the general referential meaning leading the speakers to translate them imprecisely on the distance axis. Most interestingly the B-class -*warra* suffixed proximal demonstrative root terms *binyawarra* and *bilawarra* were both said to mean something like e.g 'when she comes back, she's coming' which though verbless seems to indicate a passage in both time and space and to comply with an adverbial interpretation for the -*warra* suffixed terms. Capell himself admits to adverbial uses of the demonstrative forms he gives for Southern Wunambal and other demonstrative forms, but illustrates the adverbial usage only with a form ending in -*rri*.

Other examples of -*warra* deriving temporal/locational qualifiers may include *bowarra* 'long way', *Geejiwarra* 'goodbye, finished', *wana(wa)na-?(wa)rri*, 'in the afternoon, after a few hours', *lewarra* 'afternoon, late afternoon'. However, except for *geeji* 'now' these words are not found without the -*warra* ending. Further investigation is needed to clarify the situation vis a vis the function of the various demonstrative and nominal forms as well as the function of -*warra* and whether it is related to -*rri* and -*garr(a)* suffixing to coverbs (See 4.2.2.3).

Seasons

I did not pay much attention to recording seasonal terms. I have only *jawulij* 'cold-time (of year)'. A good introduction to the yearly cycle terms used at Kalumburu, and probably originating from both Kwini and Wunambal, can be found in Crawford (1982).

3.1.6 Particles

Free and clitic particles in Wunambal express modal, logical and temporal relations. Some particles have scope over the sentence and others over clauses or phrases.

Free particles

Nguwa 'negative'

Modal particles include negative *nguwa*, and variants *ngga* and *nungga* (Southern). *Nguwa* is used only in verbal clauses, and in combination with negative prefix -*nV*- on the inflecting verb.²⁵ The particle normally precedes the coverb, but has also been found between coverb and inflecting verb. Examples appear in the discussion of negative verb forms in Chapter Four.

Gajin.ga 'never'

Gajin.ga sometimes occurs with negative *-nV-* prefixed verbs in place of *nguwa*, but with a stronger force. As pointed out by Rumsey (1982: 169) Ungarinyin *gadjin.ga* covers one of the functions of English *can't*. It comments on the impossibility of the entire clause, but not on the subject's ability. Examples appear in Chapter Four in the section on prefixes.

Wardi polite interrogative

This morpheme may be a particle or an enclitic. It occurs only twice in the corpus. McGregor (1993) identifies an identical form in Kwini as a clause initial particle *wardi* 'perhaps', a type of indefinite marker. He states that Gunin *wardi*, like the interrogative/indefinite determiners, is used both in questions "where the hearer's opinion on the proposition is sought and in plain statements of lack of knowledge" [1993: 35]. In the Wunambal examples below adjunct NPs precede *wardi*, although the clauses can stand without *wardi* as first word.

- 3.62 (a) *Lewa wardi angule?*
lewa wardi a -ngule?
 dog ? A -alive
 'How's the dog? / Is he better?' [96-V, p86]
- (b) *Biyanda walangarru, waje/wardi bungule.*
biyanda wala -ngarru waja -yi/ wardi bu =ngule
 child son -1in:PL.POSS, dummy/ -?perhaps B =alive
 'How's our son?'/ Speaker translation: 'Is our son getting well?'
 [fnb96-Vp87]

In Worrorra (Clendon 1994) *wardi* is a modal particle 'I hope, I think' used to express 'one's hopes and fears'. This explanation fits the context of the sentences above where the speaker sought to make a polite enquiry equivalent to an English "How are you?" type enquiry. In the examples cited by Clendon *wardi* appears sentence-initially.

Waje {waj/waja+?yi} was substituted by the speaker in sentence (b), but it is not clear whether the meaning is the same or different. *Waj/waja* are described below with reference to the polar question marker *-ga*. Presumably the second speaker translation (a polar question) applies more strictly to the *waje* version of the sentence. Both *wardi* and *waja* may be historically relatable to a negative particle *wa* (discussed in footnote 18 for Ungarinyin).

Yagu(n) 'try'

I have very few examples of this particle. In each example below it occurs clause-initially. Rumsey (1982: 172-176) describes the semantics of an identical form in Ungarinyin, also translated as 'try' by his informants, and which he glosses *yagu* 'uncertain'. The available Wunambal examples are restricted to: (a) first-person desirable tense/mode, (b) second-person imperative and (c) and (d) first-person (inclusive) 'lets/we can' modal forms (underlined below). In Ungarinyin these are the only person/mood/tense categories that *yagun* is used with.

- 3.63 (a) *Yagun* *birra* *-miya* *ngi* =*yang* *-iya*.
try walk ? 1SG =YA'go' -DES)

gambul *gululu* *nu* =*wanyi* *-ra*.
'sinew'/tendons ?settle Ncl =WAN'fall':DES -1SG:OBL

"(I'm restless), I'll try walk a bit and let my strings settle down."
[BDj98,tr/el:Journey] [BDj's translation]

- (b) "*Yagu* *nuurra* *galbowa* *girrada* *ngirdaba*
try you(PL) there 2PL =?YA -away somewhere

MISSION *mara* *-nurru:::*"
MISSION see -2PL:OBL

'You others?(go) try find a mission somewhere that way./ See if you can find (for yourselves) a mission somewhere in that direction.'

- (c) *Yagu* *TRY* *-ngayi* *gari-gari* *-ngayi* *-ja* *wi* *-inda*
'try' try -CHAR REDUP-paddle -CHAR -EM W -other

gaya *wu* *-ngarr* =*mira* *burr* =*me* *-ja*.
'that.over.there' W -lex:PL =MIRA'grab' 3PL ='say':PAST -EM

'Let's try paddling (so) we can get to the other side, we said.'
[BDj96: tx-Journey]

- (d) *Ganya* *-ja* *-ngurru* *bi* *-la* *nyarr* *=me* *-ja*.
 what -EM -maybe 3B -ANAPH 1ex:PL ='say':PAST -EM
- Yagurn* *-ja* *nguru* *-ba* *nga* *=ya* *-nda* *-ja*
 try -EM understand -DUR 1in:PL ='go' -away -EM
- nyarr* *=me* *-ja*.
 1ex:PL ='say':PAST -EM

'What's this (cloud of black smoke) we wondered/ said to one another.

Lets go try and find out then, we said.' [BDj: Journey]

The distinction between the enclitic *-ngurru* 'maybe' described below and *yagu* concerns the non-indicative modality expressed in the verb forms that accompany *yagu*, as well as the scope of *yagu* over the clause.

Bound modifying particles

-Diya, -ja '(yes) indeed, of course, emphatically so, well then'

This morpheme acts as an intensifier or confirmatory clitic on most word classes. It can appear on more than one word in the sentence. It frequently appears clause-finally, at the end of inflecting verbs in narrative text. More Southern speakers use the variant *-ja*. Examples of *-diya/-ja* appear in lines 16 and 17 of the text in Appendix 3, lines 4, 5, 10 and 18 of the text in Appendix 4 and in examples (c) and (d) above. Its use with a 'maybe' marked indefinite/interrogative, as in (d), above is exclamatory.

As mentioned earlier, when applied to demonstratives or space and time deictics and nominalized verbs *-ja* seems to have a conjoining, connective effect. *-ja* is quite ubiquitous word-finally and can be followed only by another enclitic such as *-ngurru* 'maybe' (see (d) above).

-li 'MOD'

Vászolyi indicates a presentational or 'drawing attention to' function in his attempted gloss of 'the hard to render' suffix *-li* 'lo;, voici/voila' in his discussion of verbal affixes (1976c:632). I have not come across *-li* suffixed to (inflecting) verbs however a homophonous suffix appears in my corpus associated with a demonstrative word in example 3.5(b). Like Vászolyi I have difficulty characterizing *-li*. A suffix *-li* may be associated with a particular Wunambalic dialect. Although Mary Pandilo, a longtime resident of Kalumburu (with Wunambal and Gamberre associations) and a speaker of Eastern Kwini associated expressions like *yawuli* *-yawu* based on *yawu* 'yes' with the Western Wunambalic dialects none of my other informants used this particular expression.

-Ngurru 'maybe'

The enclitic *-ngurru* 'maybe' indicates uncertainty and usually modifies only the element it is attached to, which may be either a nominal (including indefinite/interrogatives) or a verb. It is variously translated as 'perhaps', 'maybe' and 'might', and also occurs in clauses where speakers use the translation: 'I don't know, maybe ____'. Another example of *-ngurru* attached to an interrogative appears in example 3.63 (d) above.

- 3.64 (a) *"Ngindaba -ngurru, Burrunggu -ngurru nyarr-i =yanga:;*
Where -maybe, Broome -ALL -maybe 1ex:PL?DES =YANGA'go',

Debi -gu -ngurru nyarr =angga."
Derby -ALL -maybe 1ex:PL =YANGA:IMM

"(I don't know) where, maybe we'll go to Broome, maybe we're going to Derby."

- (b) *Galba -nyale -ngurru ngiyangga.*
there -also -perhaps 1SG =YA'go':IMM

'I might go there as well.' [WB96, 'visit']

- (c) *Gaya ganya- ngurru mara awune, lii*
Gaya ganya -ngurru mara a =wu-ne, lii
Over.there something -maybe see 3Acl<3nonB =WU:PAST observe

awunbinga galaja lewa -ngurru
a =wun -bin -ga gala -ja lewa -ngurru
3Acl<3nonB =REDUP -WU(N) -IMM that -EM dog -maybe

mara awune.
mara a =wu -ne.
see 3Acl<3nonB =WU -PAST

'Maybe he saw something over there. Maybe he saw a dog then.'

- (d) *Biinda-nyale bu-ngan-mirrimirringga-ngurru.*
biinda -nyale bu -ngan =mirri-mirring -ga -ngurru
B-'other' -also 3B -1SG =REDUP:MIRRA(NG)'go.to' -IMM -maybe

'Maybe I'll go to the other bloke too'. [See Appendix 4, line 7]

-Ga 'interrogative focus'

The interrogative enclitic *-ga* attaches to the first word of a sentence and turns the clause into a polar question. Interrogative *-ga* has been found attached to sentence-initial pronouns and coverbs, but not to sentence-initial inflecting verbs. The effect is to focus the element in doubt.

- 3.65 (a) *Ngud -ga ga =miya -ngu?*
 knock -INT 2 =MA:DES -3SG:OBL
 'Are you going to hit him?'
- (b) *Nyarra -ga ngayag nyanbirr =miri-miringgu?*
 1ex:PL -INT ask 1ex:PL<3PL =REDUP-'grab':IMM:?PURP
 'Are you (plural) asking us (exclusive) (to come with you)?'

A dummy *waj/waja* can be inserted at the beginning of a sentence. Its apparent function here is to carry the *-ga* clitic. The dummy has been found before sentence-initial coverbs as in example a) and before a simple verb as in example b).

- 3.66 (a) *Waja -ga nguru gaanga?*
 dummy -INT hear 2:N'be':IMM
 'Are you listening?'
- (b) *Waj -ga ngarranana gawi-gu?*
waj -ga ngarra =?yana -na gawi -gu
 dummy -INT 1in:PL =?YA(N) -?PAUC fish -PURP
 'Are you lot coming fishing with us?'

While it is probable that polar question-*ga* cannot attach to inflecting verbs (because it is homophonous with a tense.aspect/mood verbal suffix *-ga* 'IMM'), it is not clear whether *waj* is inserted to make the question more general when it appears before a coverb. The degree or type of compounding of the verb complex construction may determine whether or not the coverb is available to take *-ga*. Further testing is needed to determine if this is indeed the case.

If *waj* is synonymous with *wardi* 'perhaps', as mentioned above and *-ga* to a negative form (as suggested by Rumsey 1982)²⁶, then the illocutionary force of the questions above may be 'softer'. For example, in relation to 3.66(a) 'Perhaps you are not listening?'

-Ga 'INTerrogative also appears on the interjection/temporal term *geji* 'righto', presumably with a related function:

geji-ga {now-INT} 'ready?'

-Nyale 'also, too, as well, again'

-Nyale appears attached to both nominals and inflecting verbs. Examples appear in 3.64(b) and (d) above. Note that in example 3.61(b) *-nyale* precedes the enclitic *-ngurru* 'maybe'. *-nyale* is within the semantic range of clitic types which 'supply further

information about the referent of that word' as described for other Australian languages by Dixon (1980: 284).

- 3.67 *Munggalaja ngiyangga-nyale bumera.*
Mung -gala -ja ngi =yang -ga -nyale bu =me -ra
 M -that -EM 1SG ='go' -IMM -too 3SG ='say'PAST -1SG:OBL
 'I'm going there (to that camp/hospital) too, he told me.' [WB 'visit' 16]

3.1.7 Interjections

These include:

- gaabu!* 'no, nothing, none'
yawu! 'yes'
nga! 'here' (presentational, directing attention to)
ayi! 'hey' (also used as a coverb 'hail, call out to')

The following forms, based on *geji* 'now', may be also be used as interjections.

- geji* 'now, already, before'
geji-ga 'righto, OK, well then, now then, what now?, ready?'
gejili 'and then, OK now, its time to...'
gejiwarra 'right on, lets get on with it' ?
 '(finish up and move onto the next thing), finished, goodbye'

3.2 Verbless clauses

I distinguish two types of verbless clause, relational and existential/possessive, the latter with the privative as its negative counterpart. Formal morphological distinctions, such as the distinction between prefixed bound nominals and free nominals or free pronouns, cross-cut the functional distinctions, and the ability of many words to carry a 'possessive' oblique argument pronoun marker also affects the types of relations which can be represented by a single non-verbal word or phrase in a non-verbal clause. Word order in the verbless clause is relatively free. There is one type of clause where a possessive nominal precedes a possessed nominal and neither is marked for possessor/possessee.

3.2.1 Relational type

Relational clauses typically link juxtaposed NPs or nominals in various semantic relationships of attribution or equation. They have nominal predicates. Subjects are

instantiated by pronominal prefixes (to adjectives), apposed pronouns, demonstratives or nouns.

Attributive clauses associate a more or less permanent quality or property with a referent by apposition or prefixation, as in 3.68-3.76 below. This construction and function contrasts with its verbal equivalent, the stative construction, where a nominal collocates with =N'be' (described in 3.3.1), which is used for changing, achieved, or resulting states.

- 3.68 *(Binjin) bu -gala bu -arriwa.*
 (man) B -'that' B -no.good
 'That's a bad man.' OR 'That man is bad.'
- 3.69 *Binjin bu -gala wanjimeya.*
 man B -'that' good
 'That man is a good bloke.'
- 3.70 *Modiga wungg -arriwa.*
 vehicle W -no.good
 'The vehicle is broken down.'
- 3.71 *Yulyul ngi =nya.*
 wet 1SG ='this'
 'I'm all wet here' [97,fnb20:69]
- 3.72 *Ngaya nga -wan.garra.*
 I 1SG -'older.brother'
 'I'm (the/an) older brother.'
- 3.73 *Goonack ba -wungarra/ bu-wan.garra.*
 Pers name 3B -older.brother
 'Goonack is the oldest brother.'
- 3.74 *Winjangun gala birra -nunggule (buju bi =ndi -ngarri).*
 fire W-that 3PL -old (finish 3PL =N:PAST -SUBORD)
 'That (kind of) fire (making) is associated with the old people (who have all passed on).' [BDj96:Making Fire]
- 3.75 (a) *Naa geji wu -nduba -ngarri.*
 you now W -good -CHAR
 'You now have good (eyes).'
- (b) *Naa munangga, wumbul wu -nduba.*
 you young.woman eye W -good
 'You're young (therefore) good eyes.'
 'Your young woman's eyes are good.'

- 3.76 *Ngaya nginja Wunambal -ngarri.*
 I/me someone language.name -CHAR/'having'
 'I, someone (have Wunambal/am characterized by Wunambal)'
 'I am a Wunambal speaking person.' [LUsong,WG,fnb 96-Z, p8]

Two NPs are asserted to have the same referential identity by apposition, as in examples 3.74-3.80. Note that composition of an NP and therefore its function is inferred from intonation contour. Several of the strings below could have different functions depending on the constituency of apposed NPs. Examples like 3.75 and 3.79 can be interpreted either as equational: 'Wunban.gurr is my country', 'That child is Doreen's child', or as attributional: 'My country is (named) Wunban.gurrwangurr', 'That child is from Doreen'. Example 3.68 is an example of a locational.

- 3.77 *A -nya murdura.*
 A -'this' hat
 'This is a hat.'
- 3.78 *Gira nyarra -ningge Wunban.gurr -wan.gurr.*
 country lex:PL -GEN REDUP -Name.of.country
 'Wunban.gurrwan.gurr is our country.' [LK96:Country]
- 3.79 *Baaja burru bi -la.*
 father(priest) ?that B -DEM
 'He is/was the minister.' [BDj96:Journey]
- 3.80 *Barawarra ning -gala namandi burru ni -nya.*
 canoe N -that canoe ?that N -this
 'That barawarra is the canoe.' [BDj96:Journey]
- 3.81 *Leewa nginja -ningga?*
 Dog INDEF.PRO -GEN
 'Whose (is this) dog?' (looking at photo) [?WB,KAL96fnbI:
- 3.82 *Doreen -ningge biyanda bu -gala.*
 Doreen -GEN child B -that
 'That child is Doreen's.' [?JK,KAL98:fnb1:11]
- 3.83 *Aamba -ningga birri -nya gambul.*
 kangaroo -GEN 3B:PL -this sinew
 'These 'strings'(sinews) are of kangaroo (sinew).'
 [BDj96,tx spearmaking]

A 'possessor' pronoun form can be suffixed to a demonstrative predicate as in 3.84, to some nominal predicates (e.g. a kin predicate) as in example 3.85, or to an adjectival

predicate as in 3.86 to indicate the relationship of the subject to a(nother) person. In some cases the relationship is better translated as 'in relationship to' or 'with regard to'. Example 3.84 may qualify as an existential restricted by 'possessor' rather than time/place.

3.84 *Gira gala -nyarru -ja.*
country W:that -1ex:PL -EM
'Those places (are) ours/that is our country.' [lit. That's country for us]

3.85 *Bu -gala bu =wangarra -nyarru.*
B -that B =older brother -1ex:PL:PRO
'He's our older brother.' / 'He's an elder brother to us.'

3.86 *Bu -gala bale -ningga -nyarru.*
B -that behind -GEN -1ex:PL:PRO
'That one/he is behind (in relation to) us (in time, i.e. youngest brother).'

3.2.2 Having constructions

-Gude clauses

The comitative postposition *-gude* 'with/in possession of/accompanied by' is used in verbless clauses to denote something that is temporarily in the possession of the subject. The second clause below was translated by the speaker as 'I got spear and *garrgarr* already.' The (b) example is a similar simple sentence example from Vászolyi (1976a:282-283).

3.87 (a) *(Yalgi ngirndi -ja), garrgarr miila -gude wule.*
teenage.boy 1SG-'be':PAST -EM) fishing.spear spear -COM already/time
'(I was a teenage boy.) I already had fishing and other spears.'

(b) *Bini jandingarri -gude.*
he waddy- having(COM)
'He has a waddy / He is armed with a waddy.'

The 'having' clause in 3.88 (b) is formed with the comitative *-gude*, in answer to the playful question in 3.88 (a):

3.88 (a) *Wuyu wana -nu.*
ear ?W =N-2OBL
'You got ears? / Where are your ears?'

- (b) *Ngaya wuyu -gude.*
 I ear -COM
 'I have ears.'

-Gude can also be used in a verbless existential clause:

- 3.89 *Luu -gude gala.*
 snake -COM that
 'There's a snake (there).'

Negative existentials: the privative construction

Constructions in Wunambal involving the negative word *gaabu* 'no, none' can be viewed as a type of verbless negative existential.

- 3.90 *Wajbala -ningge binya layiburru gaabu.*
 whiteman -GEN B'this' knowledge none
 'There was no knowledge of these whiteman's things (at that time)'

McGregor (1993: 52) suggests that Kwini clauses with a similar structure to the Wunambal privative examples below are a type of existential which he calls a 'negative possessive existential'. These clauses are viewed by McGregor as being restricted by possessor rather than time/place.

- 3.91 (a) *MATCHES gaabinyarru, CIGARETTE-LIGHTER gaabinyarru.*
gaabu -nyarru gaabu -nyarru
 none -lex:PL none -lex:PL
 'We didn't have matches, we didn't have cigarette lighters.'
 [lit. no matches for us; no cigarette lighters for us]
- (b) *Ngulanba wiyanga BRAKE gaabinu.*
(ngulanba wi =yanga), gaabu -ngu
 (move -IT W ='go') brake NEG -3SG
 'It (vehicle) can move. It's got no brakes on it.'
- (c) *Wuyu gaabirnu.*
{gaabu -nu}
 ear NEG -2SG
 'You lack ears (i.e. you're stupid, you don't listen/understand).'
 [lit. no ears on you]

3.3 Verbal sentence types

The Wunambal verb is the nucleus of the verbal clause and also contains the core arguments. That is to say, Wunambal verbal clauses are head-marking. As we shall see,

core dependent relations are marked only on the verb; NPs are not marked for grammatical role. Obligatory pronominal arguments are affixed to the verb in such a way that grammatical or 'inner core' dependency relations are always represented, with or without independent or adjunct NPs. Furthermore, third-person intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O) verbal affixes carry noun class information. Where co-referential NPs do appear they are not morphologically marked for grammatical role, but the verbal affixes agree with person, number, and (for S/O) noun class of the co-referent NPs. Postpositions mark non-co-referential NPs for semantic case roles only. The Wunambal verbal clause can and often does consist of a single verbal word.

- 3.92 *Ngì* =*yangga*.
 1:SG =YANG'go':IMM
 'I'm going.'
- 3.93 *Ngìyangga jab -gu*.
 1SG-go:IMM shop -PURP
 'I'm going to the shop/shopping.'
- 3.94 *Bu -nga =manda-manda*.
 3:SG(O) -1:SG =MìNDA'take'-REDUP
 'I'm taking her/him.'
- 3.95 *Jab -gu bu -nga =manda-manda*.
 shop -PURP 3:SG(O) -1:SG =MìNDA'take'-REDUP
 'I'm taking her shopping / to the shop.'

3.3.1 Verbal clause types: States and processes

Verbal clauses typically describe states, actions or events in which one or more participants may be involved. I have already indicated in my introduction to the verb section 3.1.4 that the verb clause types can to some extent be characterized by the inflecting verb. Below I briefly discuss =N'be' clauses, or what may be distinct subsets of =N clauses, as a distinct type of simple sentence.

Stative verb clauses with =N'be'

In section 3.2 we saw that apposed nominals can have a copula function. In the verbless relational clause, the attributed states are more or less permanent or defining properties. An inflecting verb, on the other hand, can be used in a copula-like function with nominals to indicate a changed, achieved or accomplished state or resulting change of state. The verb root =N'be' is notable in this role. Note that =N is unusual in having a 'present' or non-past tense form =(A)NGA (immediate aspect =(A)NGGA) and past

tense =NDI. In collocation with adjectives or other nominals =N usually indicates an inceptive/inchoative state, or a change of state, with the subject as passive experiencer. In past tense form, as =NDI it can denote accomplishment (BECOME nominal state).

Adjective =N

- 3.96 *Wanjimaya da =anga.*
good W =N:nonPAST
'It's good.'
- 3.97 *Wanjimaya wu =ndi.*
good W =N:PAST
'It's (got) good.'
- 3.98 *Wogumada a =nga(n) - ngarri.*
black A =N:NON.PAST -SUBORD
'(When) it's/goes black.'
- 3.99 *Nga -arriwa ngi =ndi.*
1SG =old 1SG -N:PAST
'I'm old / I've grown old.'
- 3.100 *Nga -newurr ngi =ndi.*
1SG -large 1SG =N:PAST
'I was big/I'd grown bigger.'

Noun =N

- 3.101 *Barnman biinji -nungu.*
doctor/magic 3PL=N'be':PAST -3:OBL
'They become/turn into doctors from it/him.'
- 3.102 *Geji baran ngi =nji -nu.*
now widow 1SG =N:PAST -3OBL
'I'm already your widow.'
- ? =N
- 3.103 *Ngala bi =nji -rri.*
sick 3:SG =NGA'be'PAST -CONT
'He was/had been sick.'
- 3.104 *Ngure nyandu.*
hunger 1ex:PL =N'be':?
'We're hungry.'

Describing a similar verb and function in Mangarayi, Merlan (1989: 69) notes that present and past forms have partial functional overlap: 'due to the semantics of change of

condition or state: anything which is in a state or condition has previously entered into that state.'

What is perhaps a more basic function of =N, is as much to do with relative position as with state. Each of the examples below occurs with a coverb rather than a nominal, except for the last, where a locational with allative suffix collocates with a nominalized or subordinated version of =N. The state of sitting, setting off, returning, etc. is in each case related to relative position or posture of the subject.

3.105 (a) *Ada ba =ni.*
sit IMP(2SG) =N'be'
'Sit! ?be seated.'

vs (b) *Ada ba =ma.*
sit IMP(2SG) =MA'do'
'Sit!/?stay!' (perform the act of sitting or stay seated)

3.106 (a) *Ada nya =ndi -rri.*
sit 1ex:PL =N'be':PAST -CONT
'We were staying.'

vs (b) *Ada ngu =me -rri.*
sit 1SG =MA:PAST -CONT
'I was living.'

3.107 *Barij bi =ndi.*
set off 3PL =N:PAST
'They set off.'

3.108 *Baj ba =ng -ga.*
climb 3SG =N'be'nonPAST -IMM
'(S)he's climbing.'

3.109 *Joli nga =nga.*
return 1SG =N'be'non-PAST
'I'm back.'

3.110 *Wanggi joli nga =ng -iya.*
later return 1SG =N'be'non.PAST-DES
'I'll be back later.'

3.111 *Yarrij ba =n -ga.*
descend 3SG=N'be' -IMM
'(S)he's climbing down'

- 3.112 *Yorr-yorr nya =ndi -ja.*
 together 1ex:PL =N'be':PAST -EM
 'We were gathered together (socially/ enjoying ourselves).'
- 3.113 *Wurdaagu -marre nyandi -ngayi.*
 ?close -toward 1ex:PL =N'be'PAST -SUBORD
 'We were close by.' [BDj96,tx:Journey]
 [A ?nominalized form of the spatial relator used with =N.]

When certain 'active' coverbs are involved, and the subject is human, a causative function is often implied. In these examples an unspecified inanimate 'undergoer' is understood, though it is apparently not realized on the verb or in the clause.²⁷

- 3.114 (a) *Jog ba =anga.*
 heap.up 3PL =N'be':non:PAST
 'They heap (them) up / They cause to be heaped up.'
- (b) *Jidi (-wa) bii =ndi -rri:::*
 tie -IT 3PL =N:'be':PAST -CONT
 'They tie it / They cause it to be tied / They've caused it to be tied.'
- (c) *Jarri -wa bi =ndi.*
 dig -IT 3:SG =N'be':PAST
 'They've dug (them) up.'
- (d) *Wog bi =ndi.*
 burn 3PL =N:'be':PAST
 'They cooked.'
- (e) *Wari-wari bi =(r)ndi -ja.*
 REDUP-smoke 3PL =N:'be':PAST -EM
 'They made a lot of smoke.'

The non-causative in the example 3.115 below contrasts with the causative in example (e) above.

- 3.115 *Winjangun nyinda -ja wari winji.*
 fire here -EM smoke W =N'be':PAST
 'The fire smoked right here.'

With coverbs, the effect of =N'be' is similar to that of the passive or medio-passive construction. An active causative translation is possible only with human subjects. With nominals, however, human subjects are semantic experiencers or undergoers.

Compare also the semantic role of the 'active' human subjects in lines 1 and 4, with the inanimate 'passive' subjects in lines 2 and 5 in the text excerpt from "making a spear" narrated by Basil Djanghara below. In line 2 the wood is firmly fixed (passive achievement/accomplishment). In lines 1, 4 and 6 the twine and wood are caused to be bound by human agency.

- 3.116 1 *Galaja jidiwa bii =ndi -rri (?bu-nga)*
 then tie 3PL =NDI'be':PAST -CONT (?this/that)
 'Then they bind (it like so)'
- 2 *{buju wi =ndi -ngarri gala -ja} miila -ngindalu,*
 finish W =N'be':PAST -SUBORD then spear -LOC
 'until it is (tight/firmly fixed) on the spear'
- 3 *a =ngirri -ngindalu miila {burru} a=ya*
 A =sharp -LOC spear ?the ?{A=?YA'go'}/?{A-that}
 'on the tip of the spear it goes'
- 4 *Nyuwila bi- ay jidi bii -ndi -rri:::*
 tie/wind (false start) tie 3PL -NDI -CONT
 'They tie it'
- 5 *buju endi.*
 finish A =N'be':PAST
 '(until) its done.'
- 6 *durru -wa bii =ndi -dha galaja.*
 put -IT B =N'be':PAST -?EM then
 'They've put it on then.'

3.3.2 Valency of verb roots and transitivity of the clause

Monovalent roots (see Table 3.7) are so classified because they take only a subject prefix. Each monovalent root varies in its degree of inherent/semantic transitivity and likelihood of suffixing a more or less patient-like 'indirect' object in the oblique pronoun slot. =MA and =MBU, for example, frequently appear with semantically object-like pronominal suffixes.

Bivalent roots are so-termed because they obligatorily prefix two grammatical arguments (subject and object), although each root varies in type of semantic role for subject and object. As will be seen below a third argument (usually a semantic benefactor or malefactor) can be indexed by pronominal suffixing. The resulting verbal form can and often does stand alone as a verbal sentence without adjunct noun phrases. Where adjunct NPs do occur they may be co-referential with either or both subject and object

prefixed arguments, less commonly with a suffixed Oblique argument, or they may be a non-verbally indexed 'participant'. The degree of semantic transitivity of such a clause varies not only with the valency and semantic effect of the verb root, but also with the nature of the activity/state/event described by the coverb and the use of the optionally suffixed OBLIQUE pronouns.

Oblique arguments

The full paradigm of oblique pronouns was presented in Table 3.4. Oblique arguments in Wunambal are of two morphosyntactic types: suffixed pronominals, on the one hand, and NPs that are not verbally indexed, on the other. Oblique arguments in Wunambal fulfil a range of semantic roles. They can be semantic patients, recipients, benefactors, malefactors, or possessor of S or O arguments. To a large extent, the semantic nature of the verb affects the possible range of semantic roles for the Oblique argument. Oblique arguments are not, of course, obligatory constituents in the same way that S and O arguments are.

- 3.117 (a) *Debarr bi =yangge.*
die 3:SG =YANG'go':PAST
'He dies.'
- (b) *Debarr bi =yangga -ngu.*
die 3:SG =YANG'go':IMM -3:SG:OBL
'He dies on her.'
- 3.118 (a) *Ngū =me.*
1:SG =MA'do':PAST
'He said.'
- (b) *Ngū =me -ngu.*
1SG =MA'do/say' -3SG:OBL
'I told him / I said to him.'
- 3.119 *Ngud ngu =me -ngu.*
knock 1SG =MA'do/say':PAST -3SG:OBL
'I hit him / *I hit on him.'

I have already mentioned that independent NPs in Wunambal are not marked for grammatical relations. It is of interest then that Oblique arguments (which, when suffixed to the 'active' monovalent roots =MA and =(M)BU, are sometimes semantic patients) are either indexed as verbally suffixed enclitic pronouns (these are usually animates) or can appear as independent NPs that are not cross-referenced on the verb at all. It is comparatively unusual for a suffixed Oblique and a co-referential NP to occur in the same

clause, although they sometimes do as in examples 3.120(a), (b) and (c) below. However, except for 3.120(c) the Oblique NP is in a separate intonation contour, and could perhaps be construed as a separate existential clause introducing the entity concerned. This applies to example 3.122(b) also.

Semantic role: ? (kin of S)

- 3.120 (a) Maana winyanda waj ngindi -ngu
 Mother W -this.here ?throw 1:SG =NGA'be':PAST -3SG:OBL
 'I was bereaved of mother here in this country.'

Semantic role: ?source

- (b) Anya wunggurr barnman bii =nji -nungu
 A-this dreaming.snake 'doctor/magic' 3PL =NJI'be':PAST -3SG:OBL
 'This snake is/was a magic man/medicine man/doctor.' / 'The snake turns
 into/makes a doctor(s). 'By means of the snake they become
 doctors/acquire magic.'

Semantic role: recipient.

- (c) Gawala nyandi -wurru baalanggarra,
 share -IT 1ex:PL =NGA'be':PAST -3:PL:OBL everyone,
br -nyarr =anga -ne.
 3B:PL -1ex:PL =A(L)NGA -PAST
 'We were sharing (meat) with them, with everyone. We gave (meat) to
 them.'

Co-referential Oblique NPs are never case marked. Obliques can be thought of as core arguments, but because they are optional and not so tightly bound to the verb as S and O arguments I distinguish them from 'inner core' or obligatory arguments, i.e. those that are indexed as prefixed S/A or O arguments. Rumsey (1982:143) points out that for Ungarinyin the Oblique argument is always semantically more peripheral than the S argument. If S is a semantic agent then Oblique can be a patient or benefactor for example, but if S is a patient/undergoer as in the =N'be' clauses in this section then Oblique can be a benefactor but not a semantic patient. See examples 3.117(b), 3.118(b) above and 3.120(a) above for examples with different monovalent verbs, where the oblique is in turn a semantic malefactor, a benefactor, and in 3.120(a) an addressee. In example 3.119 above, and the examples below with =MA and =MBU S is something agentive and the oblique is a semantic patient.

Semantic role: benefactor/recipient.

- 3.121 *Gawal nyadme -wurru birra -gaya birr -anda.*
 share 1ex:PL =MA'do':PAST-3PL:OBL 3:PL =over.there 3:PL =other
 'We shared with them, the others.' [?JK96, tx2: Bushlife]

=(M)BU

Semantic role: patient/malefactor.

- 3.122 (a) *Nga =mbu -ne -ngu*
 1SG ='strike' -PAST -3SG:OBL
 'I killed it/him'

Semantic role: patient

- (b) *RAIT THAT banggul AN' minja...*
 bladder/urine mouth/eat?

wulug nya =mbi -na -nungu
wulug nyarra -(M)BU -na -nungu
 swallow 1.ex =(M)BU -?CONJ -?(non-human)3SG:OBL

'Well that urine/bladder (a snake's), and mouth/eat... (demonstrating), we swallow it.'

The role of the oblique is more easily defined as a dative-like argument when suffixed to a bivalent root. To an even larger extent than was the case with monovalent verb roots the role of the oblique argument is prescribed by the semantic nature of the bivalent verb root.

=WU

Oblique semantic role: possessor of O (body part) / malefactor

- 3.123 (a) *Barndi dirr ga -wurr -ne =nungu.*
barndi dirr ga -wurr =Ø -ne -nungu
 head cut W(O) -3PL =WU'effect' -PAST -3?(non.human)OBL
 'They cut off its (a turtle's) head.' [WG97,fnb:13]
 LIT: 'head (W class), they cut it (W class) on him (turtle A class).'

Semantic role: ?purposive

- (b) *Jarri wi -nyarr -ne -ngu -miya.*
 dig W(O) -1ex:PL =WU'effect' -PAST -DUAL
 'We (two) dug (?a hole) for it (the meat).'

So far I have been discussing obliques which are indexed on the verb by means of the OBLIQUE suffix. There can also be oblique NPs which are not so indexed on the verb. In Wunambal (as for Ungarinyin (Rumsey 1982:145-146)) such an Oblique with a monovalent verb root is normally inanimate and non-specific or non-individuated. The NP (if there is one) can be either a semantic patient or a quasi-instrumental (without case marking). I will follow Rumsey in referring to these arguments as Oblique 2 to distinguish them from the enclitic pronoun obliques or Oblique 1.

Semantically the clause is transitive, but in terms of core grammatical relations such arguments do not qualify as core arguments in Wunambal and are not verbally affixed. Nor are Oblique 2 NP elements obligatory sentence constituents. The verb 'makes sense' without specification of a patient argument and the clausal structure does not require that this 'slot' is filled. Where the semantic patients are realized they often appear in the focussed position before the verb, as in the examples below:

- 3.124 (a) *Gurnu jarri birra =ma -ja.*
 dioscorea ?bulbifera yam dig 3B:PL =MA -EM
 'They dig for gurnu.'
- (b) *Arlarl nya =ndi*
 cook:in:ground:oven:REDUP 1ex:PL =N'be':PAST
- dangana binya, karnmanggu*
 livistonia:palm (hearts) B(?COLL) =this, dioscorea:transversa:(long):yam
- bi -nya. Maana bi -nya arlarl bi =ndi -rri.*
 B(?COLL) =this, Mother B -this roast:REDUP 3B =N:PAST -CONT
- 'We cooked in the earth palms and dioscorea transversa roots. Mum cooked these (types of vegetables).'
- (c) *Goya bi =nya, warna bi =nya, aamba bi =nya*
 crocodile B =this honey B =this kangaroo B =this
- minja nya -nde -rri.*
 eat 1:ex:PL =(E)N'be' -CONT
- 'We were eating crocodile, honey, kangaroo...'

It could be argued that obliques and semantic/peripheral case marked nominals (post-positional phrases) have the same status. However, unlike a language like Gooniyandi (McGregor 1990) we have already seen that these are never co-referential and seem to have quite different functions in Wunambal. That is Oblique pronouns are never co-referential with 'dative' (purposive/allative) or any other case marked NP.

Occasionally one finds a non-indexed NP in a semantic role that one might expect to be peripheral case marked, as in the examples below. Possibly peripheral case marking is optional, non-individuated/unspecified instruments (any rock, not a particular rock) do not attract *-nyine* instrumental marking. Another interpretation is that they are locational or adverbial in function. Sometimes a non-verbally affixed preposed NP as in (b) below can be interpreted as a separate nominal existential focus clause of the type discussed in section 3.1.

- 3.125 *Arrgu* *ga* *-wurr* *-mira-mira,*
 rock W(O) -2/3PL =REDUP-MiRA'grab'
- di* *-wa* *bi* *-yanga* *dii* *-wa* *arrgu.*
 smash -IT 3B:SG -go pound -IT rock

'They get a stone, then she pounds it with the stone.'

- 3.126 (a) *Gurnu* *jarri birra* *=mingga,* *jarri bi* *=yanga.*
 yam-type dig 3:PL =MA'do'-IMM dig 3:SG =YANGA'go'
- 'They (i.e. the women) dig gurnu, she (Mum) digs.'

- (b) *Arrgu* *winya,* *mardug* *ngi* *=yangge* *arrgu -ngindalu.*
 rock(s) W -this walk 1SG =YA'go':PAST rock -LOC
- 'These are the rocks I went walking on (at the seaside).'

Word order considerations in the verbal clause

Apart from the fixed position of the coverb before the inflecting verb, word order is free in the verbal clause. Non-verbal words can occur before or after the simple or complex verb. In practice, the left-most position is the focus position. We have already seen that interrogatives, emphatic free pronouns etc. are more likely to appear there. Verbally indexed co-referential NPs can appear either before or after the verb, but the left position is 'focussed', whereas the right-hand position often appears to be an 'afterthought', functioning to expand or add further information regarding the verbally affixed referent. Postpositional phrases can also appear before or after the verb, but again the left-hand position is more focussed. Adverbial and locational words are more common immediately before the verb but can occur after the verb. The ad-clausal, ad-sentential connectives are the most peripheral elements of a clause.

Summarizing remarks on verbal clauses

I see the Wunambal verbal clause as exhibiting a number of degrees of tightness. The notable aspect of surface clause organization is that core (and semi-core) constituents are usually closer to the verb and peripheral ones whether to the right or left are furthest from

the verb. We have already seen that Wunambal has a number of ways of encoding semantic patients as semi-core or non-core arguments. The obligatorily coded subject and object of verbs with bivalent verb roots can be considered to be core arguments. The suffixed oblique argument of monovalent (patient or possessor/ benefactor/ malefactor) and bivalent verb roots (e.g. possessor/ benefactor/ malefactor), the 'Oblique 1' argument is more peripheral, but not so peripheral, in my view, as non-suffixed non-case marked NPs or Oblique 2 (semantic patients). Iconically, these are no less peripheral than those NPs with semantic postpositions (e.g. locatives, instrumentals, purposive/allatives). Other expressions of time, place or manner modify the clause.

Nichols (1986) lists the operation of an animacy hierarchy as one method of syntactic organization and reference disambiguation in head-marking languages. A human vs non-human distinction may operate in the form of Wunambal Oblique pronouns and an animate vs non-animate distinction in the two types of Oblique argument coding. The operation of an animacy hierarchy in conjunction with noun class marking and a partial inverse system in pronominal prefixation is discussed further in Chapter Four.

NOTES

¹ I prefer the term 'noun class system', but consider it equivalent to the term 'gender', although unlike Worrorra and Ungarinyin, masculine and feminine (humans) are not distinguished in the Wunambal system. Dixon (1980: 273) regards noun class systems as 'extended gender systems'. Note that the system is one of partition classes, each noun (or its referent) can be assigned a noun class.

² Dixon (1982, cited in Harvey and Reid 1997:1) distinguished between non-concordial classifier (generic-specific) systems 'which are neither exhaustive nor exclusive' and concordial (agreement) class marking systems 'which exhaustively partition the nominal lexicon into largely exclusive classes, indicated by bound markers.' (Harvey and Reid 1997:1). Despite my comments above, I also use the term *agreement* here to distinguish between classification systems that involve prefixing of a generic nominal class marker to nouns as in some languages of the Daly River region of the NT, and the concordial or agreement type Wunambal system. This distinction is otherwise referred to as head vs agreement classes (Harvey 1997b:147-163).

While Wunambal classes are clearly partition classes, and generic nouns do not function systematically as classifiers, class marked demonstratives can function in a manner similar to that of generic 'classifiers'. This point is discussed by Clendon (1999) for Worrorra in more detail.

³ I mention this here because other presentations e.g. Clendon (1994) for Worrorra, Capell (1941) for Wunambal, sometimes give the impression that nouns and determiners do commonly appear together.

⁴ Another possibility is that this phenomenon is evidence of the 3-class system in operation, this could be the case for e.g. *mee* in 3.1, which in the absence of an A-class may fall in the B-class, but I would not expect each of the foods listed in 3.2 to belong to the same class, especially B-class, in a 3-way system.

⁵ Worrorra and Ungarinyin both contrast masculine and feminine and W and M 'neuter' classes (Clendon 1999, Rumsey 1982:37-44). Clendon argues that the prototypical elements involved are man, woman, sky and earth.

⁶ The possibility is more notable here because words do not normally otherwise begin with a vowel. There is some evidence of the odd B, N, M and W-class terms that may be derived from prefixing but they are not numerous enough to be considered a phonological/morphological criterion for class membership and the converse applies, i.e. there are nouns beginning with bV-, nV-, mV- and wV- that do not belong to the B, N, M and W-classes respectively.

⁷ I use the term 'anomalous' in a slightly more general manner to Harvey (1997:18) (who uses the term whenever either sex or animacy is not relevant to a referent's classification) to also indicate that the majority of referents of this type e.g. food types belong to a different class.

⁸ It is known that the canoe was introduced to the area by the 'Indonesians'. Some researchers look for borrowings from the languages of these visitors. It seems to me that *namandi* 'canoe' is very likely to be a word manufactured by the Wunambal from the verbal root =MANDA'take' which may or may not relate historically to the prefixing nominal *-manda* 'chest'. A more tenuous link for *namarrga* 'coolamon' could relate it to the Worrorra verb stem =MURRGA'go/come.to' which matches Wunambal =MIRRA'go.to'

⁹ I do not know if the powder was used by men, women or both. When WG called this 'ladies powder' on one occasion I took this to be a reference to the talcum powder used by European women not to the provenance of the traditional use of *bunu*.

¹⁰ Vászolyi 1971-72:16 stated that prefixing nouns could only appear as part of a possessive noun phrase and that the prefixing stem had no noun class affiliation of its own. In Gunin also (McGregor 1993:25) prefixing body parts agree only with the possessor (no examples are given), whereas in Ungarinyin (Rumsey 1982:55-56) prefixing body parts do control agreement, indeed this is taken by Rumsey to be morpho-syntactic evidence for distinguishing between prefixing adjectives (which do not control agreement in Ungarinyin) and prefixing nouns. Aikhenvald (n.d:33-34) indicates that both types of agreement occur in other world and Australian languages with concordial gender marking.

¹¹ This is not the only way of viewing demonstrative words. Rumsey's (1982:32-33) analysis of Ungarinyin demonstrative forms for example treats the part of the word representing degrees of distance as a suffix and the pronominal/class forms as class differentiated demonstrative stems, as I have for free pronouns ie.

¹² The function of *-nda* can be compared to the evidential morpheme *-ja* 'evident' described by Goddard (1983: 56) for Yankunytjatjara. I do not suggest that the function is identical to that in Yankunytjatjara. I am not certain, for example, if *-nyinda* can be used to specify another nominal (as a restrictive modifier).

¹³ The occurrence of distal and hyperdistal demonstrative forms with (*ly*) and (*n*) final stems seem to suggest that *-ba* is preferred to *-wa* and may help to distinguish a 'locational' *-ba* from *-ba (~wa)* coverb 'aspectual' suffixes. However, it is more likely that *galy* and *gayan* are the 'older' stems and that word-finally (recall word-final consonants are rare in Wunambal apart from coverb forms) an epenthetic final vowel has evolved for the demonstrative forms.

¹⁴ Rumsey (1982: 35) reports a similar situation for Ungarinyin, where *gunya* 'what' is found only with the Ungarinyin verb root =MA'do, say' whereas *anyja* 'what' has a more general distribution. *Gunya* 'is never used attributively'. Furthermore, Ungarinyin like Wunambal has an 'apparently related' locative interrogative *gunjal* which is used adverbially. *Gunya* (which is equivalent to *nginda* not *ganya*) is used by one of my informants in one text, see sentence example 3.5(a). I do not know if the speaker is using a Ungarinyin word OR whether *gunya* occurs in place of *nginda* in this speaker's Wunambal dialect.

¹⁵ Capell (1984:157) notes that *-nangga* is an ablative ('motion from') in Ungarinyin and the 'Forrest River' (Oombulgurri) languages.

¹⁶ The two verbs that normally occur only in complex constructions =N and =WU have in fact been found without an accompanying coverb. However, in most of these instances a coverb appears to have been ellipsed and is recoverable from context.

¹⁷ There is some evidence, in song texts for example, of a greater number of simple verb roots. Whether these are archaic or belong more properly to other languages requires further investigation.

¹⁸ Although there are examples of longer simple verb roots like =MALIMA the inflecting verbs found in the complex verb construction are of one or two syllables at the most. The Wunambal verb roots =MiRA/MARA'grab' [equivalent to =MRA'gather/pick up'] in Worrorra and =MiNDA/MANDA'take' undergo reduction of the first vowel in many environments. There is a possibility of historical derivation for these two =mV- initial roots: which may both be related to a more basic 'do with hands' type root. Dixon 1980:405 identifies *maa-n* (in the conjugation class -n), as a possible 'do with hands' proto-Australian root. Dixon believed monosyllabic verb roots to be 'amongst the most important evidence for comparison and reconstruction of conjugations (ibid:403). Dixon, notes that amongst North Kimberley 'auxiliary' verb roots *bu* 'hit', *ya* 'go', *ma* 'take', *ba* 'fall and *ma* 'do' appear to be cognate with his proto-Australian monosyllabic roots. "The similarity of critical verb roots and, in most cases, their conjugation markers between prefixing and non-prefixing is the main evidence that they are related as one Australian family." (ibid:428). Dixon's proposed proto-conjugation classes were based on evidence from non-prefixing languages.) In Wunambal *-nda* 'away' is elsewhere a verbal directional suffix and the suffix *-ra* marks a 1st person oblique argument on verbs and a 1st person 'possessor' on nouns but in nearby Ungarinyin *-ra* it is a past tense marker for the Ungarinyin monovalent verb root =MA'do' only. In Ungarinyin there is also a bivalent verb root =MA(RA) 'take or bring' (depending on directional suffix) which despite the misleading gloss is apparently equivalent to Wunambal =MiRA.

Ungarinyin =MARA occurs however only in non-indicative modes. Rumsey hastens to add that monovalent Ungarinyin =MA'do/say' and bivalent =MA(RA) are remote in meaning, transitivity values and belong to different conjugation 'classes'. There are also transitive Ungarinyin verb roots =MINDA'take or bring' which matches Wunambal MiNDA/MANDA and =(R)A 'go to or come to'. The former matches Wunambal =MiNDA and the semantics of the latter most closely match Wunambal =MIRRA'go to' [=MURRGA in Worrorra]. There are a number of other examples in e.g. Ungarinyin and Wunambal past tense markers that raise the possibility that either borrowing of morpheme forms for different functions or development of divergent semantics for formally similar morphemes has taken place between the Northern Kimberley languages.

¹⁹ Exceptions are the polar question enclitic *-ga* which occurs attached to all word classes except inflecting verbs and a few semantic case markers which also appear on nominal words, i.e. nominalized or gerundivized forms of coverbs can take postpositions.

²⁰ Note that Cardinal points are not used to indicate direction per se in Wunambal, although there are terms for e.g. people/region to West, East and South which are used widely in the region. Spatial orientation is indicated through the demonstrative system, 'in combination with '-way' and '-side' suffixes, as well as by the direction of motion suffixes *-yang* 'toward, from' and *-nda* 'away' which are suffixed to inflecting verbs, and the allative and ablative postpositions *-gu* and *-yanga*. Left and right orientation may also be important. There are separate nominal terms *amoyi* 'left-hand' and *warawarta* 'right hand', for example, which were used on one occasion when I was driving with speakers. It is likely that there are a great many terms to do with navigating on the sea and connected with landward, seaward and/or tide directions which I have not elicited.

²¹ In Ungarinyin *-wa* (~*ba*) apparently derives adverbs from adjectives and nouns. Rumsey (1982: 126) distinguishes this function from the function of homophonous *-wa* on coverbs.

²² *-langa* is an alternative to *-yanga* according to Capell & Coate 1984, hence this word could be based on *nya* 'here'-*langa* 'from'-*wa* 'side/way'

²³ Although the sentence was translate as getting the food out of the oven I could not determine if the apparent coverb *wanarr* was in fact a coverb in this context, or its precise meaning as =*MiRA* suffices as a simple verb in the sense 'to get/pick up'. Neither could I determine if its semantics are related to the semantics of *wana(wa)narra*. Both could mean something like next, following on...

²⁴ Rumsey (1982: 40) indicates that the cognate words for 'late afternoon', 'midday', 'morning, tomorrow' in Ungarinyin are in fact W-class nouns; that is, they take W-class marked determiner/demonstratives in Ungarinyin.

²⁵ The prefix *-nV-* is never word initial, it is always preceded by a pronominal or class prefix.

²⁶ Rumsey (1982: 128) identifies a prior negative function for the interrogative suffix *-ga* in Ungarinyin. Rumsey contrasts *-ga* which can appear on words of any class and negates a single word or phrase with the negative mode particle *wa* which negates whole propositions in Ungarinyin (i.e. equivalent to Wunambal *nguwa*). As for the negative particle, however, the sentence verb is marked for irrealis mood. For Rumsey the interrogative effect of *-ga* in Ungarinyin is secondarily derived from this negative function. A distinction Rumsey identifies between the two functions in Ungarinyin is that in the negative function *-ga* appears in construction with irrealis verbs whereas in the interrogative function it occurs with indicative verbs.

²⁷ A somewhat different interpretation of the sentences in 3.114 may be applied. There is a possibility here that the monovalent prefix in fact refers not to human agency (as I have assumed from the translations and by treating the *bV-* prefixes as generalised plural when they are in fact equivalent to the 'singular' forms) but to the undergoer. As discussed in the discussion on noun class semantics in 3.1.1 mass / non-individuated collectives sometimes take collective or mass agreement (which is identical to B-class marking) rather than the associated class (e.g. *anya*, *winya*, *minya* or *ninya*.) In Ungarinyin there is also a mass/collective *bV-* demonstrative form, (i.e. Ungarinyin has a *bV-* (B-class) marker on demonstratives used only for 'neuter collective and human plural' (Rumsey 1982: 32-36, or p 39), i.e B marking is not used for human singular in Ungarinyin which does not have this noun class category) but I do not know if collective masses are indexed in the same way (i.e by B-marking) on verbs in Ungarinyin and I have only the one transitive O class/pronoun prefix example for a collective of foods of different classes for Wunambal, already cited in example 3.1(a)). It has not been not entirely clear to me that this could be happening in Wunambal because I first assumed that the speakers listing e.g. food types for example in the examples given in section 3.1, were using a 'reduced' 3 class system.