APPENDIX 1

MORPHO-PHONEMIC CHANGES

1. AT ALL MORPHEME BOUNDARIES

Unstressed vowels are dropped between homorganic nasal plus stop or stop plus nasal.

ngu- + ga > ng-ga 'I could take it'
mu- + bay > m-bay 'he could eat it (food)'
a-jeka + -nga > a-jekang 'he returned (yesterday)'
a-trigirrnga + -nga > a-trigirrnga 'he went walkabout (yesterday)'

2. PREFIX-MEDIAL FLUCTUATION

abu-/awu-, ngubur-/nguwur- etc.: intervocalic b in the verb prefixes, being pre-stress, freely fluctuates with w, especially preceding stem-initial b. Other prefixes where this occurs are ngunabu-, bubu-, ngubu-, nyibu-, jibu-, gubu-, nyibur-, abur-. It also occurs in the dual factor prefixes abirri-, jibirri- and gubirri-, where following the resultant w, the i tends to change to u.

abirri-/awirri-/awurri-

jibirri-/jivirri-/jivurri-

gubirri-/guwirri-/guwurri-

3. AT PREFIX-STEM JUNCTURE

3.1 CHANGES TO END OF PREFIXES

nguji- + ama > nguj-ama and nguna- + anya > ngun-anya: preceding the kin terms ama 'mother' and anya 'father', which begin with a vowel, the prefix-final vowels of nguna- 'my male relative' and nguji- 'my female relative' drop out.

ny- > nji: preceding stem-initial n /rn/, l /rl/ and r, the prefix ny- '2nd pers. sg.' becomes nji-.

ty- + na > nji-na

ny- + lijiwarriya > nji-lijiwarriya

ny- + rorrcha > nji-rorrcha

arrny-, bijirrny- etc. > arrnyu-, bijirrnyu- etc: preceding stem-initial n /rn/, l /rl/ and r, prefix-final ny becomes nju (except in the case of ny- '2nd pers. sg.' which becomes nji-). Other prefixes where ny changes to nju are nyirrny-, abirrny-, jibirrny-, mibirrny-, gubirrny, birrny-, ngunabirrny-, ajirrny-, nyirrny- and ngubajirrny. (The rule for jinju- '3rd pers. sg. fem.' becoming jinju- is broader, and is listed separately.)

arrny- + lijiwarriya > arrnyu-lijiwarriya

bijirrny- + na > bijirrnyu-na

abirrny- + rorrcha > abirrnyu-rorrcha
APPENDIX 1

arriny-, bijirrin- etc. > arrin-, bijirrin- etc. preceding stem-initial d /rd/ and r, prefix-final ny becomes n (except in the case of jiny- '3rd pers. sg. fem.'; see the rules immediately following). Other prefixes where ny changes to n are the same as those listed in the preceding two rules. Following this change, stem-initial r becomes d.

ny- + rrima > n-dima
arriny- + rigrirrga > arrin-digirrga
bijirrin- + dalaja > bijirrin-dalaja

jiny- > jinyu-: preceding stem-initial d /rd/, n /rl/, l /rl/ and r, the prefix jiny- '3rd pers. sg. fem.' becomes jinyu-

jiny- + dalaja > jinyu-dalaja
jiny- + na > jinyu-na
jiny- + ljiwarriya > jinyu-ljiwarriya
jiny- + rorrcha > jinyu-rorrcha

jiny- > jin-: preceding stem-initial r, the prefix jiny- '3rd pers. sg. fem.' becomes jin-, and following this change the stem-initial r becomes d.

jiny- + rigrirrga > jin-digirrga

jiny- > jina- / jinu-: preceding the first order verb prefixes -na- 'toward' and -yu- 'away' which occur next to the stem, jiny- becomes jin- and appears in combination as jina- and jiyu-

jiny- + na + ga > jina-ga
jiny- + yu + boy > jiyu-boy

burr- > bun-/bin- and nguburr- > ngubun-/ngubin-: [This rule applies only to transitive verb prefixes.] Preceding stem-initial r, transitive verb prefix-final burr becomes bun where the stressed vowel of the stem is u or o, and it becomes bin where the stressed vowel of the stem is i, e or a. The stem-initial r also becomes d.

burr- + rongama > bun-dongama
burr- + ruma > bun-duma
burr- + rima > bin-dima
burr- + remarma > bin-demarma
burr- + rra > bin-da

abu-, burru- etc. > abi-, burbbi- etc.: preceding stems in which the stressed vowel is i, e or a and the initial consonant of the stem is apical (not d, but n, l or r) or laminal (especially j or y), the prefix-final u in the syllable bu tends to become i. Other prefixes where this may occur are jibu-, gubu-, ngunabu-, nyirrbu-, ngubu-, nyuubu-, arbbu- and bubu-

abu + na > abi-na
gubu + lapkujama > gubi-lapkujama
jibu + rra > jibi-rra
burru + jna > burbbi-jena
ngunabu + yerrnya > ngunabi-yerrnya

mu > m- and ngu > ng-: see the rule under ‘1. AT ALL MORPHEME BOUNDARIES’

APPENDIX 1

3.2 CHANGES TO BEGINNING OF STEMS

rra > da, rigrirrga > digirrga etc.: following prefix-final n or prefix-final rri, and optionally following prefix-final r, stem-initial r becomes d. This occurs in non-verbs as well as verbs. [Note that transitive verb prefix-final r always becomes r preceding stem-initial r, which in turn becomes d]

arr- + rra > an-da
an- + repara > an-depara
abirri- + rra > abirri-da
aburr- + rrigrrga > aburr-digirrga

ga > ja, galiiya > jaliya etc.: stem-initial g becomes f following a prefix ending in ny.

ny- + galiiya > ny-jaliya
abirrriny- + gana > abirriny-jana

ngeka > nyeka, ngartargacha > nyargartacha etc.: stem-initial ng becomes ny following a prefix ending in ny. In the case of ngammagama 'create' and ngammagama 'taste', this change at the beginning of the stem is repeated in the middle of the stem; in other reduplicated stems the change is not repeated.

ny- + ngeka > ny-nyeka
jiny- + ngartargacha > jiny-nyargartacha
abirriny- + ngammagama > abirriny-nyammamjama

walagiya > yalagiya, wenngana > yenggana etc.: stem-initial w becomes y following a prefix ending in ny.

abirriny- + walagiya > abirriny-yalagiya
ny- + wenngana > ny-yenggana

-welangga > -nelangga, -ygipa > -nigipa etc.: following the 3rd pers. singular descriptive prefixes, an-, jin-, mun- and gun-, which end in n, stem-initial w or y becomes m.

an- + -welangga > an-nelangga
gun- + -werra > gun-nerra
jin- + -ygipa > jin-nigipa
mun- + yika > mun-nika

wuleba > leba, wurrarriba > rarriba etc.: the unstressed recurring partial wu, which occurs stem initial in some stems preceding l /rl/ or r, is dropped following those prefixes which normally end with ny, and the appropriate prefix variation is then used preceding the l /rl/ or r.

gubiritin- + wuleba > gubirrinyu-lebana
jiny- + wurrarriba > jinyu-rarriba

bamba > jamba etc.: stem-initial b optionally changes to j following a prefix ending in ny. [Note that because this change is optional, the stem-initial b is usually retained in written material; the j form does not appear in the dictionary entries, except where there is an example of it.]

abirriny- +amba > abirriny-bamba/abirriny-jamba
ny- + binbirbirdabirdachaia > ny-binbirbirdabirdachaia/ ny-jinbirbirdabirdachaia

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ngu- + ngurrundabiya > ngu-rundabiya: following the prefix ngu- '1st pers. sg. excl.', the first syllable of ngurrundabiya 'to sweat' is dropped, being the same shape and stress pattern.

-jirromba > jirromba etc.: in derived nouns, the vowel in the accompaniment prefix ji-, serving a derivational function in the stem, may change to a between adjacent non-front vowels (a, o, u). [Note that this change is only optionally symbolized in written material.]
an + -jirromba > an-jirromba/an-jurromba

4. AT STEM-SUFFIX JUNCTURE

4.1 CHANGES TO END OF STEMS

a-bungga + -ya > a-bunggiga etc.: stem-final a becomes i when followed by a suffix beginning with y.

a-worija + -nya > a-worijiga, a-wechawecha + -n > a-wechawechin etc.: the stem-final a of verbs which end in ji or cha becomes i when followed by a suffix beginning with n or ng.

gu-jarlpa + rra > gu-jarlapurda, a-jobujoba + -na > a-jobujobuna etc.: in verb stems where the final stressed syllable is ba, ma, pa or wa (i.e. has a bilabial consonant), and where the vowel of the last stressed syllable is a, o or u (a central or back vowel), the stem-final a becomes u when followed by a tense-aspect suffix other than with y following with y. (There are two exceptions to this rule: nimullahmaun and janambulukuma, both meaning 'to peel something from back to front') There is no stem change when only the repeated suffix -yu is added.

wurnawurnarrar + ngga/-ngga/-n > a-wurnawurnarronga/ a-wurnawurnarrongga/ a-wurnawurnarron: the stem-final a of wurnawurnara 'be smoked' becomes o when followed by suffixes beginning with n or ng. [Note: this reflects the presence of ro 'to burn' in the make-up of the word.]

irregular verbs—the stem variations for the seven irregular verbs are listed in their dictionary entries: bamba 'move along'; bay 'eat'; boy 'go'; benga 'arrive'; burlbingga 'come out'; wengga 'speak'; yinda 'do/say like this'.

4.2 SUFFIX VARIATIONS

-n/-rn 'probability-perfect': occurs as -rn with the transitive verb morra 'fail to know/understand'; elsewhere occurs as -n.

-na/-rnal/-zero 'perfect aspect': occurs mainly as -na; occurs as -nha with morra 'fail to know/understand'; occurs as -zero with the intransitive static verbs fi, ni, ya 'be standing, be sitting, be horizontal', and with their non-static counterparts jinya, ninya, yunya, and with most verbs whose stems end with ji or cha, but not with baxa 'fight', rurujja 'cry', wacha 'break of own accord', burrana 'be crippled' and lumburruracha 'give startled movement'. [Note: It seems possible that these exceptions to the occurrence of 'past perfect' as -zero may be words which historically ended with fiya or chipa and have contracted.]

ngu-wuna 'I gave to him'

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gu-morrrama 'he failed to understand'
jana a-ji 'he worked'
jal a-ri 'he wanted (it)'
mu-gomariyanu mu-yu (aeroplane) circled around'
a-jinya 'he stood'
aburr-ninya 'they stayed'
jinyu-yunya 'he slept'
a-gurkuja 'he was afraid'
wechawechana 'he searched (today)'

-ral/-rala/-manda 'punctiliar aspect': occurs mainly as -ra; occurs as -ral with verbs whose stems end with lab or raa (except not with sunbra 'draw water'); occurs as -manda with the one-syllable transitive verb buh 'hit, kill, propagate'.

ng-galiyarra buurwa 'I heard them'
bugula gu-wembarra 'he/she drew up water'
mirikal mu-weparda 'he/she washed the clothes'
gu-derda nguna-burnda 'sickness hit me'

-jal/-nyja/-cha/-yal/-zerol/-ga/-nnga 'continuous aspect': occurs mainly as -ja; occurs as -nyja with the three transitive verbs ga 'take', barrga 'follow and join' and warga 'tempt, carry away'; occurs as -cha with the one-syllable transitive verbs na, rrug, wu 'see, spear, give to', and with a few, not all, of the other verbs whose stems appear to end with one of these; occurs as -ga with a few intransitive verbs of movement, speaking, dying', which although not reflexive, are for the most part something one does with one's whole self: barrnguma 'enter', garba 'get up', hambungga 'be born', benga 'arrive', bungga 'fall down', jawa 'die', wengga 'speak', boy 'go'; occurs as -zero with all verbs whose stems end with ya; occurs as -ga with the irregular verb yinda 'do like this' (which stem changes to yina when taking suffixes); occurs as -nnga with the three one-syllable verbs jo, ma, rrug, 'scoot, get, burn', and also with bimbulukumanambulukuma 'feel it' and wurnawurnara 'be smoked out'.

a-ganaya 'he has his eyes open'
arr-gukukuwija 'it is cooling us off'
a-ganja 'he takes him'
a-racha 'he spares him'
arr-wucha 'he gives to us'
ay-rakawua 'you and I catch fish'
burr-bamanacha 'she watches over them'
a-boa 'he goes' [Note that boy 'go' drops the y when taking suffixes; here it occurs with the suffix -ya.]
a-japaradiya 'he sings' [Note that ya is part of the stem and the suffix form here is -zero.]
a-yinaga 'he says does like this'
gu-wroanga 'it burns'

-jini/-nyjini/-chin/-ga 'probability-continuous': occurs mainly as -jin; occurs as -nyjini with the one-syllable stem ga 'take'; occurs as -chin with the one-syllable transitive verbs na, rrug, wu 'see, spear, give to', and with a few, not all, of the other verbs whose stems appear to end with one of these; occurs as -ga with the one-
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syllable stem, boy 'go' (which drops the final y when taking tense-aspect suffixes).

gala yapa gun-nerra gu-gutuwujin 'lest he be picking up bad ideas'
gala yapa a-nachin 'lest he see him'
gala yapa arr-wengganachin 'lest he ask us'
gala yapa a-ganyijn a-boga 'lest he go taking him'

Other suffixes do not have variations, i.e. -ngra 'imperfect aspect', -n 'probability-
perfect', -nla 'probability-punctiliar', -ngin 'probability-imperfect', -pa 'repetition',
-wa 'specific' and -ya 'realis'.

APPENDIX 2

PARTS OF SPEECH (OR MAJOR WORD CLASSES)
of BURARRA - GUN-NARTPA

Seventeen parts of speech or major word classes are described:

1. Nouns
2. Proper nouns
3. Stative nouns
4. Pronouns
5. Kin terms
6. Descriptives
7. Temporals & Temporal relators
8. Locatives & Locative relators
9. Demonstratives
10. Verbs
11. Adverbs
12. Aspect words
13. Mood words
14. Indeterminates
15. Conjunctions
16. Attention words
17. Interjections

Some words belong to more than one class, such as those derived nouns which may be an-
class or jin-class depending on whether the referent is masculine or
feminine, or a few words which function as locatives meaning 'in front' and 'behind'
and as temporals meaning 'first' and 'last', or rrearrga 'clean, clear', which
functions both as adverb and descriptive.

Most of the major word classes may take inflection, i.e. prefixes and suffixes
which modify the meaning but do not change the word class. Verbs and descriptives
are most heavily and regularly inflected; proper nouns, adverbs, mood words,
indeterminates, conjunctions, attention words and interjections are not inflected.

Most of the major word classes also have derivation potential for other parts of
speech. The exceptions here are indeterminates, conjunctions, attention words and
interjections.

1. Nouns

Nouns are an open class of words—the names of things, most of which we can
touch or see, and a few which we cannot touch or see but still talk about as things.
Some nouns are basic and may occur with no prefix unless an accompaniment prefix
is required to show 'in/on/with/by'. Other nouns are 'extended meaning nouns'
built from other words by the addition only of a descriptive prefix, as in examples 2,
3 and 5 below. And still other nouns are derived by the accompaniment prefix
functioning as a derivational prefix and the addition of a descriptive prefix as well,
as in examples 1 and 4.

Nouns belong to one of four generic classes. The class of the noun is overtly
marked only on nouns which are derived from other words and have as part of their
stem the 3rd person singular descriptive prefix an-, jin-, mun- or gun- which usually
reflects the noun class. There are a few exceptions where the class of the derived
APPENDIX 2

nouns is different from that indicated by the descriptive prefix, as in example 5 below.

1. an- desc pref + mu- + jaruk > an-mujaruk
   acc message messenger (an-class)
2. jin- desc pref + ngamangama > jin-ngamangama
   breas/milk young girl (jin-class)
3. mun- desc pref + banda > mun-banda
   lower leg Long Yam (mun-class)
4. gun- desc pref + gu + rema > gun-gurrema
   acc to hammer rock
5. mun- desc pref + ngokngok > mun-ngokngok
   onomatopoeic sound of owl Southern Boobok (an-class)

Noun class is shown mainly by agreement in the following ways. Firstly, when nouns take the accomplishment prefix expressing ‘in/on/with/from’, the form of the prefix, ana-, jin-, mun- or gu-, corresponds to the class of the noun.

6. ana-galamang with an axe (an-class)
7. jin-marrnga (burn) by the sun in the sun (jin-class)
8. mun-nilipalpa by cane in a cane (mun-class)
9. gu-bala in the house (gun-class)

Secondly, descriptives must be prefixed in agreement with the class of the noun modified, either by the accomplishment prefix described above or by the descriptive prefix which takes the form an-, jin-, mun- or gun- (the forms used to refer to the different noun classes).

10. galamang an-darrarika the axe is sharp sharp axe
11. manakarda jin-jaranga the gorse are many many gorse
12. balaja mun-molamola the food is good good food
13. janguny gun-baykarda the story is long long story

Finally, the person-number prefixes on verbs agree with the noun class of 3rd person singular intransitive subjects and transitive objects, taking the form a-, jin-, mun- or gu-.

14. gornabola a-ranna he spared a wallaby
15. marrnga jinny-bungguna the sun set
16. balaja mu-yalpurda he/she is cooking food
17. yorr gu-bungguna it rained (the rain fell)

When the subject of a transitive verb is non-singular, the class of the 3rd person singular object is marked at the beginning of the prefix complex, jin- appearing as jir-, and mun- appearing as m-. For example: jibi-nana ‘they (pl.) saw her’; mibirriny-barra ‘they two (fem.) ate it (foody).’

Noun class agreement is summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Noun class agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>an-</th>
<th>jin-</th>
<th>mun-</th>
<th>gun-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun class marker on descriptives</td>
<td>an-</td>
<td>jin-</td>
<td>mun-</td>
<td>gun-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accompaniment prefix on nouns and descriptives</td>
<td>ana-</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>gu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person-number prefix (3rd pers sg.) on verbs</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>jiny-</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>gu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The membership of nouns in the four noun classes is based on Burarra - Gun-natarpa mythology and world view. The an-class includes human males, many animals, the moon and metal objects. It could be glossed as ‘masculine’. The jin-class includes human females, animals not in the an-class and the sun. It could be glossed as ‘feminine’. The mun-class includes foods other than meats, which are classed according to their animal source, spears, clothing, bedding, paper, pens etc. It could be glossed as ‘domestic’. The gun-class includes wood, water, fire, places, houses and furniture. It could be glossed as ‘general’.

2. PROPER NOUNS

Proper nouns are such words as place names, personal names, clan names and moiety and subsection names. Place names are gun-class; personal names, clan names and moiety names are an-class or jin-class depending on the person(s) referred to; moiety subsection names are intrinsically an-class or jin-class. Proper nouns are always capitalized and as such do not take prefixes. However, clan names may also serve as descriptives which then take descriptive prefix as in example 2 below.

1. rrawa gun-gaba Gochna jiny-jirra
   that place (named) ‘Where the Gochn Woman is’ (Gochna is moiety subsection name)
   [Note that the place name in this example is a phrase containing a moiety subsection name which is a proper noun in its own right.]
2. An-warrrawarra a-bupiyana, bichay mu-wirrkarra a-nil....
   The Warrawarra clansman went down (nearer to the water, and) was carrving/smoothing a paddle....

3. STATIVE NOUNS (BODY PARTS)

Stative nouns are names of body parts, which when expressing subject or object always occur as the modifier in an intransitive stative predicate phrase, with -jirra ‘be (standing) punctilcary’ as the head of the phrase. Stative nouns may also occur as modifier in other predicate phrases, adding specialized meaning to specific verbs. When expressing location/instrument, stative nouns occur on their own with an accomplishment prefix expressing ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘by’ or ‘with’. When stative nouns occur with a descriptive prefix they are no longer stative nouns, but have become derived nouns with their own extended meaning (see 1. Nouns, example 3). In all these uses,
APPENDIX 2

noun class agreement with the owner of the body part is shown in the phrase or on the word. Roughly half the body parts are expressed by stative nouns.

1. bama ngu-jirra nguna-buna help! hit my head
2. bama ngu-yinanga i said/thought to myself
3. bama ngu-balcha rra nula head I rest up high on [puct] to him I believe/trust him
4. wangarra ana-bama he has a devil in his head

4. PRONOUNS

Burarra - Gun-nartpa free pronouns tell 'who' in terms of 1st person (I, we, me, us), 2nd person (you), and 3rd person (he, she, it, they, him, her, them); and in terms of singular, dual and plural (with some differences to English); and in terms of masculine and feminine in the dual category.

First person free pronouns are either inclusive (including the hearer) or exclusive (excluding the hearer). In this way 1st person inclusive singular is actually the two of us 'you and I' whereas 1st person exclusive singular is just 'I'. There are different forms for these two concepts in the singular, while for the 1st person dual there is only one form and it is understood as either 'we three inclusive' or 'we two exclusive' depending on the person and number marked in the verb prefix. And likewise for the 1st person plural free pronoun there is only one form, but it is understood as 'we more than three inclusive' or 'we more than two exclusive' depending on the person-number prefix on the verb. The person-number prefixes have their own area of ambiguity, but together free pronouns and verb prefixes make the exact meaning clear.

The free pronouns also have different forms for nominative case (occurring as Subject, Object and Indirect Object), dative case (occurring in the predicate phrase telling 'to' or 'for' whom), possessive case (occurring in kinship phrases, telling 'related to' whom), and causative case (indicating 'personal involvement' and in some contexts turning an expression into swearing). The nominative pronouns are shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Meaning</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>ngarripa</td>
<td>ngaypa</td>
<td>nipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual non-fem</td>
<td>ngatipa</td>
<td>ana-gotipa</td>
<td>bitipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual fem</td>
<td>ngarrinyipja</td>
<td>ana-gorinyipja</td>
<td>biritiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ngayburrrpa</td>
<td>ana-goyburrrpa</td>
<td>biritiya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Nominative pronouns

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All nominative pronouns derive to descriptives which express ownership of the noun or other nominal they modify. This is done by the addition of the appropriate descriptive prefix in agreement with the noun: either an-, jin-, mun- or gun- if the noun is 3rd person singular, or the appropriate intransitive verb prefix, which prefixes double as descriptive prefixes for non-3rd-person-singular.

1. gun-ngaypa rrawa my country
2. aburr-ngaypa aburr-bormungu my countrymen

There are a few exceptions where the descriptive stem varies from the nominative pronoun form: The 2nd person dual and plural pronouns drop the initial ana- when taking a descriptive prefix; also there are irregularities for the 3rd person singular owner. These are shown in the following examples.

3. gun-goyburrrpa rrawa your (pl.) country
4. gun-nigipa rrawa his country
5. an-guna gun-nika rrawa this man's country [where gun-nika is equal to the 's' in man's]

The dative, possessive and causative pronouns are shown in Table 3. Note that the singular and dual dative pronouns optionally take the suffix -uar 'specific', which intensifies the dative sense; -uar 'specific' is obligatorily included in the plural dative pronouns. Note also that certain causative forms are in parentheses. They are the same as their corresponding possessive forms, showing less differentiation between these two cases in that quadrant of the pronoun table.
## APPENDIX 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td>non-fem</td>
<td>fem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Poss</td>
<td>arrku</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>nggu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>arrkula/</td>
<td>apula/</td>
<td>nggula/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>arrkulua/</td>
<td>apuluwa</td>
<td>ngguluwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caus</td>
<td>ngarrku</td>
<td>ngapa</td>
<td>nggu</td>
<td>nija</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>Poss</td>
<td>non-fem</td>
<td>ata</td>
<td>ana-gota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem</td>
<td>arrinyja</td>
<td>ana-gorrinyja</td>
<td>burrinyja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>non-fem</td>
<td>atila/</td>
<td>ana-gotula/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>atilawa</td>
<td>ana-gotulua</td>
<td>butulua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem</td>
<td>arrinyjila/</td>
<td>ana-gorrinyjala/</td>
<td>burrinyjula/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>arrinyjilawa</td>
<td>ana-gorrinyjilawa</td>
<td>burrinyjilawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caus</td>
<td>non-fem</td>
<td>ngata</td>
<td>(ana-gota)</td>
<td>(buta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fem</td>
<td>ngarrinyja</td>
<td>(ana-gorrinyja)</td>
<td>(burrinyja)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Poss</td>
<td>arburra</td>
<td>ana-gorrburra</td>
<td>burra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dat</td>
<td>arburra</td>
<td>ana-gorrburra</td>
<td>burra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caus</td>
<td>ngarrburra</td>
<td>(ana-gorrburra)</td>
<td>(burra)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Possessive, dative and causative pronouns

## 5. KIN TERMS

There is a rich inventory of kin terms in Burarra - Gun-nartpa which express actual and classificatory kin relationships mainly between people, although dogs which belong to the household may also be included, and one may speak of his ‘dreaming’ or the ‘dreaming’ of a relative in kinship terms.

There are different forms of the kin terms to express any relationship. These different forms depend on the pronominal viewpoint. Vocative forms are used to address a person, and include speaker and hearer (1st person singular inclusive). Nominative forms include: forms which speak of ‘my’ relative, excluding the hearer (1st person singular exclusive); forms which speak of ‘your’ relative, excluding the speaker (2nd person singular); forms which refer to someone else (3rd person singular) as ‘related to’ someone; forms which depend on a ‘three-way’ relationship (1st person included dual, which is etically trio); and finally, forms which are more generic in nature and may be glossed as ‘the’ relative(s), focusing on the kinship role itself, singular or mutual. These more generic forms take appropriate descriptive / person-number prefixes, those expressing mutual relationship particularly reflecting dual and plural categories on the pronominal grid. Some of the kin relationships and the forms which express them are displayed in Table 4 on page 900.
6. DESCRIPTIVES

Descriptive are an open class of words which tell more about nouns or other nominals, referring to such things as size, shape, colour and other physical characteristics, age, desirability, mental attitude etc. Descriptive always take a descriptive or accompaniment prefix which agrees with the noun class of the nominal they modify (see I. Nouns). Many, if not all, descriptive are derived from other words in the language. Those derived from nominative pronouns (see 4. Pronouns) describe a nominal by its owner, and those derived from demonstratives (see 9. Demonstratives) describe a nominal by its relative position. In the examples below, number 6 shows a reduplicated stem and number 8 shows a compound stem, features which are common throughout the language.

1. an- + murna > an-murna
   an-class hand big/capable/mature male

2. jin- + delipa > jin-delipa
   jin-class child little girl (or other jin-class thing)

3. mun- + ngaypa > mun-ngaypa
   mun-class 1 my (food, book, etc.)

4. gun- + gata > gun-gata
   gun-class there in sight that (place, time etc.) there in sight or known

5. mun- + mola > mun-mola
   mun-class again ripe/cooked (food)

6. gun- + mola + mola > gun-molamola
   gun-class again again good (place, story etc.)

7. jin- + bacha + ra > jin-bachira
   jin-class fight punch angry/irritated (woman, sun etc.)

8. gun- + balma + barra > gun-balmbalma
   gun-class completed rear end short (stick, story etc.)

Descriptive occur in noun phrases or as descriptive predicate, and they may actually replace the nominal they modify, occurring in its stead.

9. gun-molamola rrawa 'good place/country'
10. rrawa gun-gunaga gun-molamola 'this (emphatic) place is good'
11. gu-molamola arr-ninya 'you and I stayed on the good (road)'

7. TEMPORALS AND TEMPORAL RELATORS

7.1 TEMPORALS

Temporals express time. Some temporals express 'time of day' such as 'morning', 'daytime', 'night' etc., and as well 'beginning/creation time'. Other temporals express relative time, such as 'yesterday', 'today', 'tomorrow', 'long time from now', 'anytime' 'straight away', 'in due course', 'first' and 'last'.

Temporals do not take prefixes or suffixes, although some have been derived by the addition of an accompaniment prefix or the prefix yi- 'direction away'. The
APPENDIX 2

word for 'beginning/creation time' always occurs in a special stative construction with the intransitive stative verb ni 'be (sitting)', having the sense 'it (time) was beginning/creation time'. Other 'time of day' temporals commonly also occur in this stative construction with ni, but may also occur without. Temporals expressing relative time do not occur in the stative construction with ni 'be (sitting)', but geka 'today' may occur as Subject of the intransitive verb guna-gopa 'to dawn'.

1. ana-munya gu-ni
   in-darkness (night) it was
   it was night

2. ngulam.gaba abirri-bona
   morning, there out of sight they two masc-went
   they two (masc) went early in the morning

3. ana-barlpa barra arr-boy
   afternoon fut you and I go
   in the afternoon we (you and I) can go

4. gu-bamuna.pal gornborrk gu-ni
   it-went along rep middle of the night it was
   (time) went on and it was the middle of the night

5. waygaji balnga gu-ni barra waygaji ana-munya gornborrk
   maybe afternoon it be fut maybe in-darkness middle of the night
   maybe it will be afternoon, maybe it will be the middle of the night

6. geka guna-gepana gun-geka
today dawned now

7. yi-rawa gun-guna waya
   away-place it-this specifically
   yesterday relative to this time now (not 'yesterday' in the more general recent past sense possible in less specific context)

8. wola gun-guwarr baman gu-ni...
   long time from now it of long ago beginning time it was
   a long time ago in the beginning...

9. wola-wola ny-boya ny-yorkya
   sometime you going you-habitually
   whenever you go all the time

10. yi.birrich arr-boy pal
    direction away straightaway you and I go rep
    Let's go straightaway!

11. Ngaypa yi-gaba ngu-boy barra gandin; ay.birrich
    I away-there I go fut shop back this direction straightaway
    ngu-na-jeka barra nggula.
    I toward-return fut to you
    I will go to the shop (and) straightaway come back to you.
APPENDIX 2

4. Wupa gomarriya.
inside circle around
Circle around undercover (of grass and scrub).
5. wupa a-yu on bottom he-was (horizontally)
he was on the bottom (lost the fight)
6. Yarlanga arr-ni. outside you and I-be
Let's sit outside.
7. M-bukula abirri-ganana.pa an-bukula
acc-forehead (in front of selves) they two masc-looking rep he-forehead (horns)
a-gurrujniya burrwa.
he put down self at them
Right in front of themselves they looked and (a buffalo) had its horns lowered at them.
8. Ngayurrpa mu-ngoyurra nyiburr-ni; ana-goyurrpa barrparwa.
we incl pl acc-nose we excl pl-were you all at the rear
We were in the front; you all were at the rear.
9. Nipa gojilapa a-yunya rrapa gu-reynma gu-reynma
he between he-slept and acc-side acc-side
abirri-jirra.pa jaga abirri-ganana
they two (masc)-were (standing) rep guarding they two-watched
nula abirri-ni.
to him they two masc-did
He slept between them and they two (masc) were guarding him.
10. gu-gapa gu-rarrba
acc-that far out of sight acc-bank of river
on that side of the river
11. gu-guta gu-rarrba on this side of the river
12. gu-guta gu-reynjiya
acc-this side it has weight put on it
on this side of river
on this side of the river
13. gu-gapa gu-reynjiya on that side of the river
14. yi-gurrepa gu-jirra gu-boyya a-bengga barra
away-close (time)-is it is going he-arrive fut
the time is coming close (when) he will arrive
15. aburr-bamuna balay ngikja
they went along far no
they went along not far

8. LOCATIVES AND LOCATIVE RELATORS

8.1 LOCATIVES
Locatives express position. Some locatives express areas or habitats in terms of natural features, areas such as ‘on the coast’ or ‘out to sea’, ‘in the deep’, ‘on land’, ‘on the beach’, ‘in the mangroves’, ‘in the paperbark stand’, ‘on the mudflats’, ‘inland on high ground’, ‘in wooded area’, ‘in a valley or ditch (a ground depression where water may collect)’, ‘in the stone country’ and ‘in a deserted place’. Some of these are nouns which also function as locatives. Some are derived from static nouns, adverbs and descriptive, and one is derived from a verb. The accompaniment prefix is typical of these locatives which express areas or habitats.

Other locatives express relative position, such as ‘high’ or ‘on top’, ‘low’, ‘inside’, ‘outside’, ‘in front’, ‘at the rear’, ‘between’, ‘on each side’, ‘on this side’, ‘on that side’, ‘near’, ‘far’, ‘everywhere’, ‘in other place(s)’ and ‘in scattered positions’.
1. a-warrchinga waykin he went up high / on top
2. Jin-nga waykin?
she-who on top
Who (which woman) was on top (won the fight)?
3. Waykin wengga!
high / on top speak
Speak up! (with chin lifted up and not mumbling)
APPENDIX 2

16. gun-birripa rawa aburr bona balay palay
   is they place they went far far
   they went to their homes everywhere

17. mu-ganday kanday aburr ni
   acc-spaced apart spaced apart they were
   they were in scattered positions

18. Bartpa gu-barilmarrk ngana gu-burnda gu-workiya,
    warrn acc wind mouth it hits it habitually
    ay-guwerenga ay-guwerenga gu-boya.
    away this side in other (place) away in other... it goes
    When the wind whips up the waves, they go back this way everywhere.

Other locative concepts are expressed by other parts of speech. The concepts of east and west may be expressed by clauses in terms of where the sun rises and where it sets. The names of the different winds are also reference points for the different points of the compass.

8.2 LOCATIVE RELATIVES

Locative relators are a few words which add locative orientation in locative relator-axis phrases. Two of these occur only as locative relator, i.e. wenga ‘from’ and marlaga ‘staying there / here’. Some locatives also serve as locative relators. They are: waypa ‘inside’, wayparrna ‘deep inside’, yarlangu ‘outside’ and yi-gurrepa ‘near’.

1. balay wenga ji na bona
   far from she toward came
   she came from far away

2. gu-balay wenga gubi nana gurda aburr ji
   acc far from they it looked at toward they did
   they watched from a distance

3. an gapara marlaga
   he there far altogether in there
   he’s there in that group

4. wupa gu bala
   inside acc house
   inside the house

5. jiny bungguna gu rralala wuparnana
   she fell acc hole deep inside
   she fell into a deep hole

6. wuparnana arr ngurrrnga deep inside our souls

7. gu bala yarlangu
   acc house outside
   outside the house

8. yi gurrepa Darwin close to Darwin

APPENDIX 2

9. DEMONSTRATIVES

Burarra - Gun-nartpa demonstratives tell ‘where’ in terms of ‘here’, ‘there’ and ‘far’. Each of these is considered from the different viewpoints of where you and I are, where I am, where you are, and where he, she or it is. These viewpoints match the singular pronominal distinctions (see 2. Pronouns). The ten demonstratives with their meanings are seen in Table 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Meaning</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inclusive</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>ngunyuna</td>
<td>here where you and I are</td>
<td>ngunyuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>gata</td>
<td>there in sight</td>
<td>gyunyna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far, further</td>
<td>gawata</td>
<td>another place</td>
<td>there out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Demonstratives

Demonstratives may take the two directional prefixes yi- ‘away there’ and ay- ‘away this direction’, limited only by semantic restraints. That is, those with the basic meaning of ‘here’ may only take ay- ‘away this direction’, whereas those with the basic meanings ‘there’ or ‘further’ may occur with either prefix. For example: yi-gata ‘away there in sight / away in that place known to you and me’; ay-gata ‘away back this side in sight / away back this side in that place known to you and me’. The word gyunyna ‘here (non-specific)’ is not recognized by some speakers, and the directional prefixes have not been noted with it.

The real suffix -ya also occurs on some demonstratives, particularly as gatiya ‘it’s that place there in sight’, gawatiya ‘it’s that place specific to there’, ngunyunardiya ‘it’s that place there where you are’, ganardiya ‘there near you’.

The demonstratives, except for gyunyna ‘here (non-specific)’ also derive to descriptives which express location of the noun or other nominal they modify. This is done, as it is for pronominal descriptives, by the addition of the appropriate descriptives prefix in agreement with the noun: either an-, jin-, man- or gun- if the noun is 3rd person singular, or the appropriate intransitive verb prefix, which prefixes double as descriptive prefixes for non-3rd-person singular. Half of the demonstrative-derived descriptives include a stem change. Note that there are variations for singular and non-singular referents in -nardal/gunarda ‘that / those near or known to you’. The demonstrative descriptives with their meanings are given in Table 6.
APPENDIX 2

Table 6. Demonstrative derived descriptives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic Meaning</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this/these</td>
<td>-guta</td>
<td>-guna</td>
<td>-gunaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>this side of</td>
<td>this/these</td>
<td>this/these</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that/those</td>
<td>-gata</td>
<td>-ganarda</td>
<td>-gaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>that/those in sight</td>
<td>that/those</td>
<td>that/those</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or known to</td>
<td>there where</td>
<td>out of sight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you and I</td>
<td>you are</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that/those</td>
<td>-gawata</td>
<td>-gapa</td>
<td>-gapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>that/those in another place</td>
<td>that/those</td>
<td>far out of sight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>there</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. VERBS

10.1 VERB STRUCTURE

Verbs tell about action, either doing or being. The makeup of a verb consists of an obligatory person-number prefix (which is zero— in the case of commands to 2nd person singular), plus or minus a directional prefix ‘toward’ or ‘away’, plus the verb stem, plus or minus an aspect suffix telling the degree of completeness, plus or minus the ‘contraction’ suffix which means it could have happened but didn’t, plus or minus the ‘repetition’ suffix which links the verb in various ways to context. The following are minimal and optimal examples of a verb.

1. a-ga  
   3rd sg:3rd sg masc take
   he, she or it could take him or it (an-class)

2. a-na-ga.niya.na.pa  
   3rd sg:3rd sg masc toward-take.cont.affect
   he, she or it could have brought him or it (an-class) and...

10.2 VERB STEM STRUCTURE

The verb stems themselves may be simple or compound or reduplicated. The above examples are built on the one-syllable simple verb stem ga ‘take’. There are other one-syllable simple verb stems, and all of these seem to be basic building blocks in the language. They are the source for the classifiers that occur on the end of all other verb stems; in this position, however, they undergo vowel change and sometimes voiced to voiceless change in accord with the phonological patterns of the language. As well as ga ‘take’, the other one-syllable verbs are nifji/niyu ‘be sitting / standing/horizontal’ respectively, bu ‘hit’, re ‘spear’, uu ‘give’, ma ‘get’, jo ‘scold’, ma ‘see’ and ro ‘burn up’.

APPENDIX 2

Simple verb stems of more than one syllable have a root and classifier, or a root and classifier plus either a derivational prefix or the repetition suffix -pa as part of their makeup. For example: yalpa ‘cook’ has a root and classifier; wauleha ‘finish it up’ has a derivational prefix as well as root and classifier; werrripja ‘waste away’ has a root, the repetition suffix in derivational role, and a classifier.

Compound verb stems basically consist of a non-verbal stem followed by a simple verb stem, such as nganamukcha ‘shut mouth’, where ngana is ‘mouth’ and mukcha is ‘shut’. Sometimes there is another component between: either a derivational prefix or a second non-verbal stem or a reduplicated part.

3. bachirra.miya  
   savage/become
   be angry

4. barr.bi.riima  
   roar:derivation prefix:hold
   hide behind

5. jurr.buray.kujama  
   tracks long wooden handle get it to be  
   [kujama only in compound verbs
   whip someone

6. bim.burlu.burlu.ja  
   backward:jumped:jumped:inside:classifier:be:standing
   to retch
   Reduplicated verb stems are derived from various parts of speech by reduplication and the adding of a verb classifier (one of the basic one-syllable verb stems). In examples 8 and 9 note that two different verb stems are achieved by the use of two different verb classifiers.

7. gurda.gurda.rra  
   toward:toward:classifier(spear)
   shoot someone something

8. wurr.wurr.ja  
   man:man:classifier:be:standing
   shiver

9. wurr.wurr.ga  
   man:man:classifier:take
   rub together

10. wola.woli.ya  
    long time from now:long time from now:classifier:be:horizontal
    swing to and fro from something

11. werr.werr.ya  
    ruined:ruined:classifier:be:horizontal
    signal "no" (I have nothing)
APPENDIX 2

12. wecha.wecha
    search.search
    search extensively

In the following example, only the verb classifier is reduplicated:

13. go.rndu.rnda
    cut.classifier.classifier
    chop

10.3 VERB CLASSES

10.3.1 TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS

There are two main classes of verbs: transitive verbs which tell of action upon someone or something, and intransitive verbs which tell of independent action. These are distinguished by the transitive or intransitive person-number prefixes which they take. The intransitive person-number prefixes are shown in Table 7. Note that the distinction between 1st person excluded and 2nd person occurs only in the singular category. This neutralization in the dual and plural categories is in a different area from the neutralization which occurs in the free pronouns (see 4. Pronouns, Tables 2 and 3), and therefore the use of the optional free pronoun together with the obligatory person-number verb prefix clarifies any ambiguity as to the subject of the verb. The same is true of the further neutralization which occurs in the transitive verb prefixes where the contrast between dual and plural object occurs only with singular subject (see Table 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Included</td>
<td>Excluded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>arr-</td>
<td>ngu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>arri-</td>
<td>nyirri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>nguburr-</td>
<td>nyiburr-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Intransitive verb person-number prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT—PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT—DUAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arbu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT—SINGULAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBJECT—SINGULAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Transitive Verb Person-number Prefixes

910
10.3.2 Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs

Reflexive verbs are intransitive and may be derived from transitive verbs by the addition of the realis/reflexive suffix -ya. For example, tepe ‘wash’ derives to tepe-ya ‘wash self’.

Reciprocal verbs are intransitive and derived from transitive verbs by the addition of the reciprocal suffix -chi or -shi followed by -ya ‘realis/reflexive’, as seen in the following examples derived from the transitive verbs bu ‘hit’ and beya ‘bypass’.

1. abiriri-bu.chichi.ya.na
   they two masc-hit.recip.reflex.perf
   they two (masc.) hit each other
2. gu-beya.chi.ya.na
   hit-recip.reflex.perf
   (stories) by-passed each other (not taking notice of each other—collective plural sense)

10.3.3 Static Verbs

There are stative subdivisions within the transitive and intransitive verbs. These are pure verbs of being or causing to be. There is only one transitive stative verb: nega ‘cause to be’. The intransitive stative verbs are: ji ‘be (standing)’, ni ‘be (sitting)’, yu ‘be (horizontal)’ and the reflexive form negiya ‘cause self to be’. Static verbs occur in stative predicate phrases, transitive or intransitive respectively. The basic intransitive stative verbs also serve as auxiliary verbs, as described in the next section.

10.3.4 Auxiliary Verbs

Limited sets of verbs occur also as auxiliary verbs in the different predicate phrase types. These draw upon nine intransitive verbs of motion and one of ‘staying’, the two one-syllable transitive verbs of impact and the three basic intransitive stative verbs of being. Auxiliary one (Aux1) may occur in the transitive and intransitive stative predicate phrases. Auxiliary two (Aux2) may occur in all predicate phrases.

Aux1:  
ji    be (standing)  gomarriya circle round
ni    be (sitting)    rigirga walk about
yu    be (horizontal)  jarl hasten
boy  go  rrika crawl
yurucha run  garlma get up

sAux:
ni be (sitting)  jarl hasten
ninya stay  bu hit
boy  go  rra spear

Aux2:
bamba move along  workiya do habitually

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10.4 Mood

Burarra - Gun-nartpa verbs have three moods: declarative, subjunctive and imperative; where declarative states something as fact, subjunctive states something as a possibility, and imperative makes a command to 2nd person.

Imperative verb forms are distinguished by the imperative person-number prefixes. The intransitive imperative person-number prefixes are:

zero- 2nd person singular
biri- 2nd person dual
bubur- 2nd person plural

Table 9 shows the transitive imperative person-number prefixes where the object is 3rd person. Where the object is 1st person, the prefixes are those shown in Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parts of Speech</th>
<th>3rd Singular</th>
<th>3rd Dual or Plural Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd Singular</td>
<td>zero-</td>
<td>bijirri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Dual</td>
<td>birri-</td>
<td>bubur-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Plural</td>
<td>bubu-</td>
<td>buburu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Transitive imperative person-number prefixes

An exception to the use of the singular imperative zero- prefix is that when a first order direction prefix (e.g. ‘away’ or -na ‘toward’) occurs, the normal declarative-subjunctive person-number prefix ny- is used instead.
10.5 TENSE

There are two Burarra - Gun-nartpa tenses: past and non-past. The past tense is signalled by the occurrence of a completive aspect suffix on the verb. (Aspect suffixes are explained in the following section, 10.6.) Non-past is signalled by the absence of a completive aspect suffix, and by the occurrence of *bara* 'future' in the declarative mood, and by the optional occurrence of a probability aspect suffix in the subjunctive mood. These features of past and non-past, as well as the way in which a declarative statement is further made negative, are shown in Table 10. Contrafact, mentioned in Table 10, is the 2nd order verb suffix -rna; its use is described in 10.7 CONTRAFACT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>NON-PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td>+ completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ barra 'future'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>+ contrafact + gala 'neg.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>+ (completive + contrafact)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Features of Past and Non-past

Past tense includes two sets of two meanings, depending on which frame of reference, either ‘today’ or ‘before today’. If the frame of reference is ‘today’, the meanings included in past tense are ‘today past’ (all moods) and declarative ‘now’ (something which has already begun and is in process). If the frame of reference is ‘before today’, the meanings included in past tense are ‘long ago’ and ‘recently before today’. Aspect, which is used to achieve these meanings, is described in the following section, 10.6. The more complete aspects are usually linked with the meanings ‘long ago’ or ‘today past’; the less complete aspects are usually linked with the meanings ‘recently before today’ and ‘now’.

Non-past tense includes all future time (declarative, subjunctive and imperative). It also includes ‘recently before today’ and ‘now’ in the subjunctive mood, as these situations are unrealised potential still within the range of possibility. Table 11 shows the functions of past and non-past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DECLARATIVE</th>
<th>NON-PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wola</td>
<td>a-bo-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>long ago</em></td>
<td><em>he-go-perf</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>He went long ago.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goka</td>
<td>a-bo-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>today</em></td>
<td><em>he-go-perf</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>He went today.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi-rrawa</td>
<td>a-bo-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yesterday</em></td>
<td><em>he-go.cont</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>He went yesterday.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gun-guniya</td>
<td>a-bo-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>now</em></td>
<td><em>he-go-cont</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>He is going now.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-boy barra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he-go</td>
<td><em>future</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>He will go.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJUNCTIVE</th>
<th>NON-PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wola</td>
<td>a-bo-ya.rna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>long ago</em></td>
<td><em>he-go-cont.clt</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>He could have gone long ago</em> (but didn't).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goka</td>
<td>a-bo-ya.rna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>today</em></td>
<td><em>he-go-cont.clt</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>He could have gone today</em> (but didn't).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi-rrawa</td>
<td>a-boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yesterday</em></td>
<td>he-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>He could have gone yesterday.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gun-guniya</td>
<td>a-boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>now</em></td>
<td>he-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>He could be going now.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burraya</td>
<td>a-boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>soon</em></td>
<td>he-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Soon he could go.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>NON-PAST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>go</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Go!</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11. Functions of Past and Non-past
10.6 ASPECT

There are four aspects which occur as suffixes on Burarra verbs. They are perfect, punctiliar, continuous and imperfect. The completive series of these four aspects occurs optionally on verbs in the past tense, expressing degree of completeness. The probability series of the four aspects occurs optionally on verbs in the subjunctive mood, non-past tense, expressing the extent of the probability.

In the completive aspect series, ‘perfect’ (basic form -na) defines an action as completed and final. ‘Punctiliar’ (basic form -ra) defines an action as confined to a point in time. ‘Continuous’ (basic form -ja) defines an action as continuing in the past and allows that it still may be continuing at present. ‘Imperfect’ (basic form -nga) defines an action as just beginning or incomplete. Variations of the basic forms are explained in Appendix 1 (see section 4.2 Suffix Variations).

There are semantic restrictions on the occurrence of the four aspects with verbs, so that only two completive aspects occur with most verbs. The most complete aspect which occurs with a verb stem, where either perfect and/or punctiliar may occur, is the one usually used when referring to ‘long ago’ or ‘today past’; the less complete aspect is usually used when referring to ‘recently before today’ and ‘now’. The reverse is true, however, for the few verbs which do not take either perfect or punctiliar aspect. For these, imperfect is used when referring to ‘long ago’ or ‘today past’, and continuous is used when referring to ‘recently before today’ and ‘now’. There is also a large class of verbs which take only imperfect aspect, whatever the past tense focus. In the dictionary, the aspect suffixes which may occur are listed under each verb.

In the probability aspect series, ‘perfect’ (basic form -na) defines a probable action as reaching completion and implies a consequence. ‘Punctiliar’ (basic form -ra) defines a probable action as a ‘once off’. ‘Continuous’ (basic form -jin) defines a probable action as continuing. ‘Imperfect’ (-ngin) indicates a probable beginning, and occurs only with the stative verbs ni ‘be (sitting)’, ji ‘be (standing)’, ya ‘be (horizontal)’, and the indeterminate verb jinda ‘do/say like this’.

10.7 CONTRAFACT

The 2nd order verb suffix -ra ‘contrafact’ makes the verb (or more specifically the completive aspect which it follows) an unrealized possibility. On their own such forms function as past subjunctive; with gala ‘negative’ co-occurring, they express past declarative. For ease of description and ready use, each verb entry in the dictionary lists contrafact in suffix complex(es) with the aspect suffix(es) with which it occurs. Where -ra ‘contrafact’ appears to be listed as occurring without an aspect suffix, it is actually occurring with the -na variation of -na ‘perfect aspect’.

APPENDIX 2

11. ADVERBS

Adverbs serve several different functions, telling something more about the verb or descriptive predicate. They may tell the manner in which something is done, or the state of being, or the sound effects, or something quantitative about the participants, implying the extent of the verb action.

Accordingly, adverbs may express Manner on the clause-level, as in example 1, or occur as modifier in stative predicate phrases, as in example 2, or as descriptive predicate where the stative verb is omitted, as in example 3. As descriptive predicate, ganapinya ‘finished’ serves as a link on the sentence and paragraph/discourse levels, as in example 5.

1. wugupina aburr-bona together they-went
   they went together

2. Gun-narda gipa marn.gi ngu-ni. it-that already knowing I-was
   I already know that.

3. Ngaypa marn.gi. I knowing
   I know.

4. ganapinya nega finished cause to be
   all it finished / forgive

5. Ganapinya, like aburr-bona rrawa. finished then they pl-went place/jump
   That finished, then they went home.

Those few adverbs expressing ‘total/only/whole-lot’, ‘all one group the same’, ‘all different kinds’, ‘included’ and ‘in its entirety’ are more closely linked to nouns, pronouns and descriptives, but are pivotal between them and the verb when a verb is present.

6. baparrurrik bokmak aburr-nirra clan whole group they-are
   the whole clan is there

7. gubu-ngurriinga burrwa burr-gula gun-gata janguny they-got-told to them manner-fin (and all) it-that story
   they told them the whole story

8. ngaypa warrapam barra ngu-worlworicha I total future I-be happy
   so I will be completely happy (all of me)
APPENDIX 2

   you included we incl-go
   You included we could all go.

10. ngayburrpa nguburr-jaranga warlaman
    we pl we pl-many all different kinds
    we many different kinds

   The adverb wana ‘being big’, as well as occurring as modifier in stative predicate phrases, may occur as descriptive predicate, either alone or in relator-axis phrase.

11. wana nega
    big cause it to be
    make it big

12. nipa wana a-ni a-bamuna
    hefi big he-was he-went along
    he grew big

13. nipa wana
    hefi big
    he is big/important

14. nipa wana an-bapala
    hefi big he-buttock
    he is very big/important

15. nipa wana an-tabalapa
    hefi big he-buttock superlative
    he is the biggest/most-important

16. wana an-gu.yinda an-gugaliya
    big he-acq.o do like this he-person
    important kind of man

   The following are some examples of adverbs expressing the onomatopoetic sound of an action.

17. “dak!” a-buna
    thud/crack hehim-hit
    “thud!” he hit him

18. “di!” a-rrana
    whirr hehim-speareed
    “whirr!” he spearred him

19. “but burdul!” gu-bungguna
    crash it-fell down
    “crash!” it fell down

APPENDIX 2

    brr he-went far
    “Brr!” he went far away.

   The following is an example of an adverb which tends to occur as relator in relator-axis constructions, incorporating more content into Manner:

    you-me-give get it under threat of crocodile heyou-hold imperf he-is (horizontal)
    Give it to me (the favour I ask). Come on (get the motivation to do it) under threat of the crocodile (dreaming who) controls you.

   Adverbs may be non-derived or of unknown derivation, or they may be derived from nouns or stative nouns (body parts) by the addition of the manner prefix burr-. As, for example, guya ‘nose’ becomes burr-guya ‘with full strength’, gun-jong ‘tree, stick’ becomes burr-jong ‘leaning on a stick’, ran-gu ‘moon’ becomes burr-ran-gu ‘by moonlight’, gorli ‘swag’ becomes burr-gorli ‘with belongings’, and -guta ‘this side of’ becomes burr-guta ‘including everything like that’.

   Also, some of the adverbs expressing state of being incorporate a stative (body part) noun in the adverb stem or in a close-knit adverbial phrase as in the following examples.

22. jonama.gun gun jama arr-ji
    back.harry work you and I-be (standing)
    you and I worked hard

23. ngan.deria abi-negarra aburr-ri
    mouth strong they-be caused to be they-be (sitting)
    they caused him to be speaking strongly in self defence

24. jonama dorr jama ngu-ji
    back hard working work I-was (standing)
    I worked hard

25. bama gandy nguburr-negiya barra
    had scattered we pl incl-cause selves to be future
    we will scatter (ourselves)

26. gelama werra a-negarra
    ar bad hehim-caused to be
    he tempted him (by making suggestions)
12. ASPECT WORDS

There are six aspect words (two are synonyms), which express Aspect on the clause-level. Semantically these aspect words parallel non-past tense and the four completeives aspects which occur as suffixes on verbs in the past tense (see 10.5 TENSE and 10.6 ASPECT). The word gipa 'already' also occurs as gipiya when taking the realis suffix -yi. These aspect words and their verbal parallels are shown in Table 12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect Word</th>
<th>Verbal Parallel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>barra</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gipa / gipiya</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mola</td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-nguy / ngurrpiny</td>
<td>keep on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burdak</td>
<td>wait, yet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Aspect words and verbal parallels

The non-past aspect word barra 'future' always occurs with non-past tense, and gipa/gipiya 'already' occurs with past tense. The other aspect words may occur with both past and non-past tense. Aspect words occurring with past tense are not limited to co-occurrence with the aspect verb suffix they parallel. A few examples follow.

1. mola wengga say (it) again
2. lika mola jibi-nana then they saw her again
3. Ngurrpinyn jin-duwu:ja; gipiya gugu Jandi gun-ngardapa. She is constantly crying; it's already (been) one week now.
4. burdak ngu-weparda wait, I'm washing it

13. MOOD WORDS

Mood words are a closed class of words which manifest Mood on the clause-level, also serving as links on the sentence and paragraph/discourse levels. Mood words express such things as 'why contrary to expectation', question of potential, interrogative, negation, uncertainty, supposedness, comparison, concession, cause, result, correlation, and instruction to 'stop' or 'try'. For example:

1. Ganapa burr-gala bubu-ga!
   stop noisily you pitt-take
   You all stop being noisy!
2. Wurr. ya n-duwu:ja?
   but-really you-crying
   But why contrary to expectation are you crying?

14. INDETERMINATES

Indeterminates are a closed and heterogeneous class of words and close-knit phrases which are semantically generic and are used in making reference to or asking questions about context, real or spoken. Most indeterminates are derived from the mood word yina ‘interrogative’. Also featuring in indeterminate phrases or obligatory co-occurrences are gaya/gay 'is placed', gu-garda 'in these/those known to you' and ngupa 'indeed'. The following list includes all or most of the indeterminates, including special phrases and co-occurrences.

1. yinda
2. guyinda
3. (anal)-nga (an)-guyindawa
4. yinarda/yinagata
5. yinardiya/yinagitaya
6. -yinmiya/-yin
7. -yinmiyapa/-yinpa
8. -guyinmiya
9. -yinga/-nga
10. (an)-anngiya
11. yangiya
12. gu-yangiya
13. gu-yanggiyarra
14. yagatay
15. (an)-an.gaya
16. yina gaya / yina gaya wenga
17. gu-gaya wenga

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18. gu-gurda ngacha / gu-guyinarda ngacha like that indeed

15. CONJUNCTIONS

There are six conjunctions in Burarra - Gun-narnta, expressing sequence, coordination and antithesis. On the paragraph/discourse level conjunctions link sentences and paragraphs; on the sentence level they link clauses; and on the phrase level they link the parts of the phrase. Not all conjunctions operate on all levels; they are listed in Table 13 together with the levels on which they operate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunctions</th>
<th>Level of operation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aa</td>
<td>and uh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>paragraph/discourse, sentence, phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like</td>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rapa</td>
<td>and also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raka</td>
<td>and so potentially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wurra</td>
<td>but, or</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13. Conjunctions and their levels of operation

16. ATTENTION WORDS

There are nine attention words, as shown in Table 14 below: a masculine, feminine and neuter form parcelling each of the three moods—declarative, subjunctive and imperative. The imperative forms are not used in imperative constructions, but instead for emphatic reference. The subjunctive forms are used when some contradiction is being voiced; otherwise declarative forms are used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Declarative</th>
<th>Subjunctive (contradiction)</th>
<th>Imperative (emphatic reference)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masc. a-lay</td>
<td>key</td>
<td>a-la (key), ngarla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem. a-jay</td>
<td>a-ja (key, no)</td>
<td>ngaja (indeed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuter marlay</td>
<td>hey, look at that</td>
<td>marla (hey, shouldn't do that) ngacha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14. Attention words

17. INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are a small class of words which express pleasure, displeasure, affirmation, disaffirmation, request for affirmation, calling from a distance, response, shock, summons and farewell. Interjections often occur as sentence fragments.

The interjections are listed below.

1. an-nyan isn't it adorable!
2. yaw goodie!
3. yakay ouch!
4. angga horrors!
5. waw eek! help!
6. ngaw yes
7. minyjiya it is so
8. ee oops
9. aya all right
10. awa yes indeed
11. e-e (confirmation)
12. i-i (enthusiastic confirmation)
13. ngika no
14. ya (request for information)
15. yuwa you don't say! / (request for approval of planned action)
16. guuu yohoo
17. ay what did you say
18. guwa come here
19. bobo goodbye
THE TWO MOIETIES AND THEIR BURARRA - GUN-NARTPA SUBSECTIONS

The setting out of the subsection names below is patterned after Dr. Les Hiatt's very useful diagram (Kinship and Conflict, 1965:49).

• Jowunga moiety subsections are in normal print and shaded grey.
• Yirrchinga moiety subsections are in italics.
• Feminine forms end in jan or chan.
• Arrows point from mother's subsection to the subsection of her children.
• 'Mate', and hence potential marriage relationship, exists between subsections of opposite moieties on the same intersecting plane of the circle.
References on the Burarra - Gun-nartpa People and Language:


____________. 1978. Burarra Dictionary. (A preparatory draft on file at SIL, Darwin, and in the AIAS Library, Canberra.)


(See over for References on Flora and Fauna)

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REFERENCES ON FLORA AND FAUNA:


