

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

Seventeen parts of speech or major word classes are described:

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

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 *rrewarrga* '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

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

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

Noun class is shown mainly by agreement in the following ways. Firstly, when nouns take the accompaniment prefix expressing 'in/on/with/by', the form of the prefix, *ana-*, *ji-*, *mu-* or *gu-*, corresponds to the class of the noun.

6. ana-galamang *with an axe (an- class)*
7. ji-marnnga *(burnt) by the sun / in the sun (jin- class)*
8. mu-lipalipa *by canoe / in a canoe (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 accompaniment 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-darrantka *the axe is sharp / sharp axe*
11. manakarda jin-jaranga *the geese are many / many geese*
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-*, *jiny-*, *mu-* or *gu-*.

14. gornabola a-rrana *he speared a wallaby*
15. marnnga jiny-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, *jiny-* appearing as *ji-*, and *mu-* appearing as *m-*. For example: *jibi-nana* 'they (pl.) saw her'; *mbirriny-barra* 'they two (fem.) ate it (food)'.

Noun class agreement is summarized in Table 1 below.

## APPENDIX 2

Noun Class	an-	jin-	mun-	gun-
Noun class marker on descriptives	an-	jin-	mun-	gun-
Accompaniment prefix on nouns and descriptives	ana-	ji-	mu-	gu-
Person-number prefix (3rd pers sg.) on verbs	a-	jiny-	mu-	gu-

Table 1: Noun class agreement

The membership of nouns in the four noun classes is based on Burarra - Gun-nartpa mythology and world view. The *an-* class includes human males, many animals, the moon and metal objects. It could be glossed as 'masculine'. The *jin-* class includes human females, animals not in the *an-* class and the sun. It could be glossed as 'feminine'. The *mun-* class includes foods other than meats, which are classed according to their animal source, spearshafts, clothing, bedding, paper, pens etc. It could be glossed as 'domestic'. The *gun-* class includes wood, 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 Gochan Jiny-jirra  
*that place (named) 'Where the Gochan Woman Is' (Gochan 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-warrawarra a-bupiyana, bichay mu-wirrkarra a-ni...  
*The Warrawarra clansman went down (nearer to the water, and) was carving/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) punctiliar' 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 accompaniment 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 *he/she/it/you hit my head*
2. bama ngu-yinanga *I said/thought to myself*
3. bama ngu-balcha.rra nula  
*head I-rest up high on.punct 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.

Basic Meaning	1st Person		2nd Person	3rd Person
	inclusive	exclusive		
Singular	ngarripa	ngaypa	nginyipa	nipa
Dual non-fem	ngatipa		ana-gotipa	bitipa
fem	ngarrinyjipa		ana-gorrinyjipa	birrinyjipa
Plural	ngayburrrpa		ana-goyburrrpa	birripa

Table 2. Nominative pronouns

## APPENDIX 2

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-borrmunga *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 *-wa* 'specific', which intensifies the dative sense; *-wa* '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

Number	Case	1st Person		2nd Person	3rd Person	
		inclusive	exclusive		non-fem	fem
Singular	Poss	arrku	apa	nggu	niya	acha
	Dat	arrkula/ arrkuluwa	apula/ apuluwa	nggula/ ngguluwa	nula/ nuluwa	achila/ achilawa
	Caus	ngarrku	ngapa	nggu	niya	ngacha
Dual	Poss	non-fem	ata	ana-gota	buta	
		fem	arrinyja	ana-gorrinyja	burrinyja	
	Dat	non-fem	atila/ atilawa	ana-gotula/ ana-gotuluwa	butula/ butuluwa	
		fem	arrinyjila/ arrinyjilawa	ana-gorrinyjula/ ana-gorrinyjuluwa	burrinyjula/ burrinyjuluwa	
	Caus	non-fem	ngata	(ana-gota)	(buta)	
		fem	ngarrinyja	(ana-gorrinyja)	(burrinyja)	
Plural	Poss	arrburra		ana-gorrburra	burra	
	Dat	arrburrwa		ana-gorrburrwa	burrwa	
	Caus	ngarrburra		(ana-gorrburra)	(burra)	

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.

## APPENDIX 2

Other interesting generic kin terms with a mutual sense, but which are not included in Table 4, are: *abirriny-berrkuwa* 'husband and wife', *aburr-yawyawga* 'mother and children', *abirri-bureygu* 'father and son', *aburr-bureybureygu* 'father and sons' and *aburr-marmanyja* 'maternal grandparent - grandchild group'.

Table 4. Some kin terms on pronominal grid

Vocative (1st pers sg incl)	'My' (1st pers sg excl)	'Your' (2nd pers sg)	'Related to' (+poss/caus prn) (3rd pers sg)	Three-way' (1st pers dl incl)	'The' (+/-poss/caus prn)
Ama! <i>Mother!</i> Muma! <i>Mum!</i>	nguj-ama <i>my mother</i>	mampa <i>your mother</i> muma <i>your mum</i>	mampa + <i>mother to...</i>		-mampa +/- -gugochila (jin)-babalapa <i>mother one</i>
Ngalanga! <i>Maternal offspring!</i>	nguna-ngalanga <i>my maternal offspring (masc)</i> nguji-ngalanga <i>my maternal offspring (fem)</i>	mu-lopa <i>your maternal offspring</i>	mu-lopa + <i>maternal offspring to ...</i>	jawa ngarrku <i>our mutual offspring (sg)</i> (said by husband to wife)	-jawapa +/- <i>the maternal offspring</i>
Anya! <i>Father! Son!</i> Nyinya! <i>Dad!</i> Jirrpungapa! <i>Father!</i>	ngun-anya <i>my father/son</i>	nyanyapa <i>your father</i> nyinya <i>your dad</i>	nyanyapa + <i>father to...</i>		wagarba -gurrima -nyanyapa -jirrpungapa -gubokamapa <i>the father or paternal uncle or aunt</i>
Walkur! <i>Paternal offspring!</i> Anya! <i>Father! Son!</i> Bapa! <i>Paternal daughter!</i>	ngun-anya <i>my father/son</i> nguji-bapa <i>my paternal daughter</i>	ngawunyapa <i>your paternal offspring</i>	ngawunyapa + <i>paternal offspring to...</i>	-bipa +/- nggu <i>paternal offspring to you</i> (said to spouse)	-walkurpa +/- <i>the paternal offspring</i>
Worla! <i>Brother!</i> Japa! <i>Older brother!</i>  Gu-rrora! <i>Younger brother!</i>	nguna-worla <i>my brother</i> nguna-japa <i>my older brother</i>	worlapa <i>your brother/sister</i>  (only here is the meaning 'sister' included)	worlapa + <i>brother to...</i>	worlangura <i>our mutual brother</i> ana-guwula <i>your brother my father or father's brother</i> an-jumburra <i>your brother my daughter's child</i> (said by grandmother)	abirri-marrarruk <i>two brothers</i> aburr-marrmarrarruk <i>more than two brothers</i>  aburr-manypa <i>siblings</i>
Jela! <i>Sister!</i> Ratamba! <i>Younger sister!</i>	nguji-jela <i>my sister</i>		jelapa + <i>sister to ...</i>	jina-guwula <i>your sister my mother or mother's sister</i> an-jumburra <i>your brother my daughter's child</i> (said by grandmother)	
Jerda! <i>Mother's mother's brother!</i>	nguna-jerda <i>my mother's mother's brother</i>	jerdapa <i>your mother's mother's brother</i>	jerdapa + <i>mother's mother's brother to...</i>		gun-jerdapa niya rrawa <i>the country of his mother's mother's brother</i> nyirri-jerdapa <i>we the two mother's mother's brothers (to you)</i>



## 6. DESCRIPTIVES

Descriptives 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. Descriptives always take a descriptive or accompaniment prefix which agrees with the noun class of the nominal they modify (see 1. Nouns). Many, if not all, descriptives 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 I 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 + rra > jin-bachirra  
jin-class fight punct angry/savage (woman, sun etc.)
8. gun- + balma + barra > gun-balmbarra  
gun-class completed rear end short (stick, story etc.)

Descriptives 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-gepa* '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.pa 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 balngga 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 new*
7.     yi-rrawa 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.     wolawola ny-boya ny-yorkiya  
      *sometime you-going you-habitually*  
  
      *whenever you go all the time*
10.    Yi.birrich     arr-boy.pa!  
      *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

12. warrika bitipa abirri-garlmuna  
*straightaway they two (masc) got up*
13. burraya biy-wu barra  
*soon / in due course he:you-give to fut*  
*soon / in due course he will give to you*
14. mu-ngoyurra ngayburrpa gala marn.gi  
*first / in front we pl neg knowing*  
*at first we (pl) didn't know*
15. an-gata jurdach aburr-bachirra murna burr-wuna  
*he-that(man) last they-savage hand he:them-gave to*  
 an-nigipa an-borrmunga  
*he-his he-countryman*  
*that (man who) in the end turned his countryman over to the enemy*

Other time expressions employ other parts of speech. The expression for 'now' is the demonstrative form *gun-guniya* (lit. 'it-this-realis', see 9. DEMONSTRATIVES). And duration of time is expressed in various ways: by descriptives expressing quantity of days etc., or by adverbs expressing 'temporarily', or by a verb expressing 'forever'.

16. gun-jaranga arr-ni barra  
*it-many you and I-be fut*  
*you and I will stay many (days)*
17. yarta ngu.na-bona  
*temporarily I.toward-came*  
*I came for a short time*
18. ngu-mungbiya.pa barra ngu-boy  
*I-be finished.rep fut I-go*  
*I will go forever*

### 7.2 TEMPORAL RELATORS

There are five temporal relators, which occur as relator in relator-axis constructions, clarifying or intensifying temporals or incorporating other parts of speech and whole clauses as time reference. They are: *nuwurra* 'until'; *waya* 'specifically, present certainty'; *waypa* 'at the same time as'; *gu-gegapa* 'the first time'; *mu-namangarta* 'in the time of'. And the combination *nuwurra waypa* occurs as 'later when / until when'.

1. nuwurra ngulam *until tomorrow (a way of saying goodbye)*
2. buburr-wecha nula nuwurra nyibu-barripa  
*you all search for him until you find him*
3. gun-guna waya *just now*

## APPENDIX 2

4. Jin-guna waya gun-nyagara gu-ni.  
*she-this specifically (breath)-nothing it-became*  
*She died just now.*
5. ngulam waypa arr-boy *when it's tomorrow you and I can go*
6. Wurra gun-gata waypa nipa gu-borrwurra a-ni...  
*but it-that same time as he he:it-thought about he-did...*  
*But when he was thinking about that...*
7. Jon mu-namangarta *in the time of John*
8. jarracharra mu-namangarta *in the cold weather time*
9. birripa gu-gegapa jibi-nana *the first time they saw her*
10. gu-gegapa nyiburr-bena mern *the first time we arrived (it was) cold*
11. Rrapa nuwurra waypa gun-gata mari gu-wulebiyana...  
*And later when that trouble finished...*
12. Gala gun-burrall jiny-ma.ngga.ma burdak, nuwurra waypa nipa  
*neg it-true he:her-get.punct.ctf yet until certainty also she*  
 an-nurra a-menga  
*he-male(child) she:him-got*  
*He didn't really take her for his wife yet, until when she had had her son.*

## 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 stative nouns, adverbs and descriptives, 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

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-looked.rep he-forehead(horns)  
a-gurrmiyana burrwa.  
he-put down self at them  
*Right in front of themselves they looked and (a buffalo) had its horns lowered at them.*
8. Ngayburrrpa mu-ngoyurra nyiburri-ni; ana-goyburrrpa barrparrwa.  
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-rreyma gu-rreyma  
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-rrarnba  
acc-that far out of sight acc-bank of river  
*on that side of the river*
11. gu-guta gu-rrarnba *on this side of the river*
12. gu-guta gu-rrenyjiya  
acc-this side it-has weight put on it  
*on this side of river*
13. gu-gapa gu-rrenyjiya *on that side of the river*
14. yi-gurrepa gu-jirra gu-boya a-bengga barra  
away-close it(time)-is it-is going he-arrive fut  
*the time is coming close (when) he will arrive*
15. aburr-bamuna balay ngika  
they-went along far no  
*they went along not far*

## APPENDIX 2

16. gun-birripa rrawa aburr-bona balay.palay  
*it-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-barlmarrk ngana gu-burnda gu-workiya,  
*waves acc-wind mouth it:it-hits it-habitually*  
 ay-guwerranga ay-guwerranga 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 RELATORS

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: *wupa* 'inside', *wuparnana* 'deep inside', *yarlanga* '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-gapa 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-ngurrnga *deep inside our-souls*
7. gu-bala yarlanga  
*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.

Basic Meaning	1st Person		2nd Person	3rd Person
	inclusive	exclusive		
<i>here</i>	ngunyuta <i>here where you and I are</i>	ngunyuna <i>here where I am</i>	ngunyunarda <i>here where you are</i>	ngunyunaga <i>that place right here</i>
<i>there</i>	gata <i>there in sight</i>	gunyuna <i>here (non-specific)</i>	ganarda <i>there where you are</i>	gaba <i>there out of sight</i>
<i>far, further</i>	gawata <i>another place there</i>			gapa <i>there far</i>

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 *gunyuna* 'here (non-specific)' is not recognized by some speakers, and the directional prefixes have not been noted with it.

The realis 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 *gunyuna* '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 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. Half of the demonstrative-derived descriptives include a stem change. Note that there are variations for singular and non-singular referents in *-narda/-gunarda* 'that/those near or known to you'. The demonstrative descriptives with their meanings are given in Table 6.

## APPENDIX 2

Basic Meaning	1st Person		2nd Person	3rd Person
	inclusive	exclusive		
this/these	-guta <i>this side of</i>	-guna <i>this/these here</i>	-narda /-gunarda <i>that/those near or known to you</i>	-gunaga <i>this/these right here</i>
that/those	-gata <i>that/those in sight or known to you and I</i>		-ganarda <i>that/those there where you are</i>	-gaba <i>that/those out of sight there</i>
that/those far	-gawata <i>that/those in another place there</i>			-gapa <i>that/those far out of sight</i>

Table 6. Demonstrative derived descriptives

### 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 'contrafact' 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.nyja.ma.pa  
*3rd sg:3rd sg masc.toward-take.cont.ctf.rep*  
*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 *ni/ji/yu* 'be sitting / standing/horizontal' respectively, *bu* 'hit', *rra* 'spear', *wu* 'give', *ma* 'get', *jo* 'scold', *na* 'see' and *rro* '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; *wuleba* 'finish it up' has a derivational prefix as well as root and classifier; *werrpiya* '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.rrima*  
      *rear.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*  
      *backbone.humped.humped/swollen.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)*  
  
      *show 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.werri.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).

	1st Person		2nd Person	3rd Person
	Included	Excluded		
Singular	arr-	ngu-	nyi-	{a}
Dual	arri-	nyirri- ↔	nyirri-	{a}birri-
Plural	nguburr-	nyiburr- ↔	nyiburr-	aburr-

Table 7. Intransitive verb person-number prefixes

Table 8. Transitive Verb Person-number Prefixes  
911

		OBJECT—SINGULAR				OBJECT—DUAL			OBJECT—PLURAL			
		Incl	Excl	2nd	3rd	Incl	Excl	3rd	Incl	Excl	3rd	
<b>S</b>	Singular Incl	-	-	-	ay-	-	-	arrbu-	-	-	arrbu-	
	Excl	-	-	ngiy-	ngu-	-	ajirri-	ngujirri-	-	arr-	nguburr-	
	<b>U</b>	2nd	-	nguna-	-	nyi-	-	nyjirri-	bijirri-	-	nyirr-	burr-
		3rd	arr-	nguna-	biy-	{a-}	ajirri-	nyjirri-	bijirri-	arr-	nyirr-	burr-
<b>B</b>	Dual Incl	-	-	-	arri-	-	-	arrbu-	-	-	arrbu-	
	Excl	-	ngunabirri-	birri-	nyirri-	-	nyirrbu-	nyirrbu-	-	nyirrbu-	nyirrbu-	
	<b>E</b> 3rd	-	ngunabirri-	birri-	{a}birri-	arrbu-	nyirrbu-	burrbu-	arrbu-	nyirrbu-	burrbu-	
<b>C</b>	Plural Incl	-	-	-	ngubu-	-	-	arrbu-	-	-	arrbu-	
	<b>T</b>	Excl	-	ngunabu-	bubu-	nyibu-	-	nyirrbu-	nyirrbu-	-	nyirrbu-	nyirrbu-
		3rd	arrbu-	ngunabu-	bubu-	{a}bu-	arrbu-	nyirrbu-	burrbu-	arrbu-	nyirrbu-	burrbu-

## APPENDIX 2

### 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, *wepa* 'wash' derives to *wepiya* 'wash self'.

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

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

### 10.3.3 STATIVE 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'. Stative 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 predicate phrases. Stative Auxiliary (sAux) may occur in the transitive and intransitive stative predicate phrases. Auxiliary two (Aux2) may occur in all predicate phrases.

Aux1:

<i>ji</i>	<i>be (standing)</i>	<i>gomarriya</i>	<i>circle round</i>
<i>ni</i>	<i>be (sitting)</i>	<i>rrigirrga</i>	<i>walk about</i>
<i>yu</i>	<i>be (horizontal)</i>	<i>jarl</i>	<i>hasten</i>
<i>boy</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>rrika</i>	<i>crawl</i>
<i>yurtcha</i>	<i>run</i>	<i>garlma</i>	<i>get up</i>

sAux:

<i>ni</i>	<i>be (sitting)</i>	<i>jarl</i>	<i>hasten</i>
<i>ninya</i>	<i>stay</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>hit</i>
<i>boy</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>rra</i>	<i>spear</i>
<i>gomarriya</i>	<i>circle around</i>		

Aux2:

<i>bamba</i>	<i>move along</i>	<i>workiya</i>	<i>do habitually</i>
--------------	-------------------	----------------	----------------------

## APPENDIX 2

The following are a few examples of auxiliary verbs in predicate phrases.

1.     m-ba.rra                    a-ni                    a-bamu.na  
        3rd sg:it-eat.punct        he-be perf(zero)        he-move along.perf  
        *he was eating it moving along*
  
2.     abirri-garlaji.nga        abirri-yurtchi.nga        abirri-bambu.rda  
        they two masc-paddle.imperf    they two masc-run.imperf    they two masc-move along.punct  
        *they paddled quickly along*
  
3.     jama jiny-ji.rra                    jiny-yorkiya  
        work she-be(standing).punct    she-habitually  
        *She always works*
  
4.     Bampa burrbi-nenga        burrbu-bu.rnda        aburr-workiya  
        helpless they:them-cause to be    they:them-hit.punct    they-habitually  
        *They always persecute them.*

### 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'
- birri-*        '2nd person dual'
- buburr-*     '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.

	3rd Singular Object	3rd Dual or Plural Object
2nd Singular Subject	zero-	bijirri-
2nd Dual Subject	birri-	burrbu-
2nd Plural Subject	bubu-	burrbu-

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 (*-y-* 'away' or *-na-* 'toward') occurs, the normal declarative-subjunctive person-number prefix *ny-* is used instead.

## APPENDIX 2

### 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 *barra* '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.

	PAST	NON-PAST
Declarative	+ completive	+ <i>barra</i> 'future'
Negative declarative	+ contrafact + <i>gala</i> 'neg.'	+ <i>gala</i> 'neg.'
Subjunctive	+ (completive + contrafact)	± probability
Imperative	not applicable	+ imperative prefixes

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.

APPENDIX 2

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

Table 11. Functions of Past and Non-past

## APPENDIX 2

### 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 obligatorily on verbs in the past tense, expressing degree of completeness. The probability series of the four aspects occurs optionally on verbs in the subjunctive mood, 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 *-rra*) 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 *-n*) defines a probable action as reaching completion and implies a consequence. 'Punctiliar' (basic form *-rda*) 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)', *yu* 'be (horizontal)', and the indeterminate verb *yinda* 'do/say like this'.

### 10.7 CONTRAFACT

The 2nd order verb suffix *-rna* '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 *-rna* 'contrafact' appears to be listed as occurring without an aspect suffix, it is actually occurring with the *-zero* variation of *-na* 'perfect aspect'.



## 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, *ganapiya* 'finished' serves as a link on the sentence and paragraph/discourse levels, as in example 5.

1. wugupa 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. ganapiya nega  
finished cause to be  
*all it finished / forgive*
5. Ganapiya, like aburr-bona rrawa.  
finished then they pl-went place/camp  
*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. baparrurr bokmak aburr-nirra  
clan whole group they-are  
*the whole clan is there*
7. gubu-ngurrjinga burrrwa burrr-gurla gun-gata janguny  
they:it-told to them manner-fin (and all) it-that story  
*they told them the whole story*
8. ngaypa warrpam barra ngu-worlworlcha  
I total future I-be happy  
*so I will be completely happy (all of me)*

## APPENDIX 2

9. Nginyipa burr-guta nguburr-boy.  
*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  
*he/it big he-was he-went along*  
*he grew big*
13. nipa wana  
*he/it big*  
*he is big/important*
14. nipa wana an-bapala  
*he/it big he-buttock*  
*he is very big/important*
15. nipa wana an-babalapa  
*he/it big he-buttock superlative*  
*he is the biggest/most-important*
16. wana an-gu.yinda an-gugaliya  
*big he-acc.do like this he-person*  
*important kind of man*

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

17. "dak!" a-buna  
*thud/crack he:him-hit*  
*"thud!" he hit him*
18. "di!" a-rrana  
*whirr he:him-speared*  
*"whirr!" he speared him*
19. "but burdul!" gu-bungguna  
*crash it-fell down*  
*"crash!" it fell down*

20. "Brr.rr!" a-bona balay.  
*birr he-went far*  
 "Birr!" 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:

21. Nguna-wu. Ma wamarrkana marrchila biy-rrima.nga a-yurra.  
*you:me-give get it under threat of crocodile he:you-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', *gorlk* 'swag' becomes *burr-gorlk* '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.heavy work you and I-be (standing)*  
*you and I worked hard*
23. ngan.derta abi-negarra aburr-ni  
*mouth.strong they:him-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 ganday nguburr-negiya barra  
*head scattered we pl incl-cause selves to be future*  
*we will scatter (ourselves)*
26. gelama werra a-negarra  
*ear bad he:him-caused to be*  
*he tempted him (by making suggestions)*

## APPENDIX 2

### 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 completive 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 *-ya*. These aspect words and their verbal parallels are shown in Table 12.

Aspect Word		Verbal Parallel
<i>barra</i>	<i>future</i>	non-past tense
<i>gipa / gipiya</i>	<i>already</i>	perfect aspect
<i>mola</i>	<i>again</i>	punctiliar aspect
<i>mu-nguy / ngurpiny</i>	<i>keep on</i>	continuous aspect
<i>burdak</i>	<i>wait, yet</i>	imperfect aspect

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. *Ngurpiny jin-duwuja; 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 pl:it-take*  
*You all stop being noisy!*
2. *Wurri.ya n-duwuja?*  
*but.realis you-crying*  
*But why contrary to expectation are you crying?*

## APPENDIX 2

3. Gala ngaypa marn.gi.  
*neg. I knowing*  
*I don't know.*
4. An-gata wenggana, yanma nipa gu-rrima.nga.  
*he-there ask.(him), since he he:it-hold.imperf*  
*Ask that man, since he has it.*
5. Ganapiya, lika gu-yinagata gu-bona nipa a-bambungguna.  
*finished then it-did like that it-went he he-was born*  
 Ngardawa Wangarr a-wena mu-ngoyurra...  
*Because God spoke beforehand*  
*(That) finished, then that's how he was born. Because God had spoken beforehand...*

### 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/-gaya* 'is placed', *gu-gurda* 'in these/those known to you' and *ngacha* 'indeed!'. The following list includes all or most of the indeterminates, including special phrases and co-occurrences.

- |     |                                    |   |
|-----|------------------------------------|---|
| 1.  | <i>yinda</i>                       | <i>do like this, say...</i>                   |
| 2.  | <i>-guyinda</i>                    | <i>one that does like...</i>                  |
| 3.  | <i>{ana}-nga {an}-guyindawa</i>    | <i>what kin relationship</i>                  |
| 4.  | <i>yinarda/yinagata</i>            | <i>do like that / did or said like that</i>   |
| 5.  | <i>yinardiya/yinagatiya</i>        | <i>is/was like that</i>                       |
| 6.  | <i>-yinmiya/-yin</i>               | <i>do how</i>                                 |
| 7.  | <i>-yinmiyapa/-yinpa</i>           | <i>how many</i>                               |
| 8.  | <i>-guyinmiya</i>                  | <i>by what means (with one that does how)</i> |
| 9.  | <i>-yinga/-nga</i>                 | <i>what</i>                                   |
| 10. | <i>{an}-anngiya</i>                | <i>whatchamacallit</i>                        |
| 11. | <i>yanngiya</i>                    | <i>such and such a place</i>                  |
| 12. | <i>gu-yanngiya</i>                 | <i>how come</i>                               |
| 13. | <i>gu-yanngiyarra</i>              | <i>what happened; what went wrong</i>         |
| 14. | <i>yagatay</i>                     | <i>so and so</i>                              |
| 15. | <i>{an}-an.gaya</i>                | <i>which one (the one that is where)</i>      |
| 16. | <i>yina gaya / yina gaya wenga</i> | <i>where / from where</i>                     |
| 17. | <i>gu-gaya wenga</i>               | <i>from being where</i>                       |

## APPENDIX 2

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

### 15. CONJUNCTIONS

There are six conjunctions in Burarra - Gun-nartpa, 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.

Conjunctions		Level of operation
aa	<i>and uh</i>	paragraph/discourse, sentence, phrase
o	<i>or uh</i>	paragraph/discourse, sentence, phrase
like	<i>then</i>	paragraph/discourse, sentence
rrapa	<i>and also</i>	paragraph/discourse, sentence, phrase
rraka	<i>and so potentially</i>	sentence
wurra	<i>but, or</i>	paragraph/discourse, sentence, phrase

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 paralleling 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.

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

Table 14. Attention words

## APPENDIX 2

### 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 *eeek!; 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 *yoohoo*
17. ay *what did you say*
18. guwa *come here*
19. bobo *goodbye*

**National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication data:**

**Burarra - Gun-nartpa dictionary: with English finder list**

**Bibliography.**

**ISBN 0 86892 354 0**

- 1. Burarra language - Dictionaries - English. 2. English language - Dictionaries - Burarra. I. Glasgow, Kathy.**
- II. Summer Institute of Linguistics. Australian Aborigines and Islanders Branch.**

**499-15**



**Published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics  
P.O. Berrimah, Northern Territory  
Australia 0828**

**© Summer Institute of Linguistics 1994**