

# ESSENTIAL GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF JAMINJUNG AND NGALIWURRU

## CHAPTER 2

This chapter serves a twofold purpose. First, as the title implies, it describes those aspects of the grammar of Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru that will be essential for following the general line of argumentation and for understanding the examples in subsequent chapters. Illustrating examples are kept to a minimum; where possible, examples are given by referring to the texts in the Appendix.<sup>21</sup>

Second, this chapter also serves to establish coverbs – the uninflecting predicative lexemes which constitute an open class – as a distinct part of speech. Jaminjung has three major parts of speech, nominals (§2.2), coverbs (§2.3), and verbs (also referred to as generic verbs; §2.4). These can be distinguished by their morphological properties and syntactic distribution, which are described in some detail in this chapter. Notions that are expressed by members of a separate adverb class in some other languages are expressed in Jaminjung by members of the subclasses of adverbial nominals (for locational and time expressions) and adverbial coverbs (for manner and phase expressions).

The minor parts of speech, particles, clitics, and interjections (§2.5), are only dealt with in a cursory manner. Likewise, both phonology (§2.1) and the syntax of the clause (§2.6) are only given a brief discussion. Complex verb constructions and argument structure constructions are also left out of consideration since they will be discussed in more detail in Chs. 3 and 4, respectively. Very little will be said about discourse organisation and its reflections in the syntax of the clause. This is because the grammatical encoding of information structure in Jaminjung involves an intricate interplay of word order, prosodic features, and the use of certain particles and clitics, which still demands further investigation.

Generally, Jaminjung shares its main characteristics with many other non-Pama-Nyungan languages of Northern Australia: it has free word order, and argument roles are marked both by bound pronominals which are prefixed to the verb and by case-marking on the noun phrase. It has a closed class of inflected verbs, forming complex verbs with members of an uninflected class of coverbs. A

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<sup>21</sup> The notational convention adopted in reference to the texts in the appendix is a roman number for the text, followed by a slash and an arabic number for the line; for example, II/3 should read ‘line 3 of Text II.’

further characteristic is the scarcity of word-class changing derivational morphology. Nominal stems may be derived from coverb roots, but not vice versa. Verbs cannot be nominalised at all, and nominals cannot be verbalised. Therefore, the terms ‘nominal’, ‘coverb’ and ‘verb’ will be used to refer either to the lexical category (roots and stems) or the word form consisting of a stem and inflections, unless otherwise indicated; the relevant reading should be clear from the context. Note in particular that the treatment of the lexical categories in §2.2 to §2.5 takes the category of the lexical roots as a starting point in order to demonstrate the distinctive behaviour of nominal, coverb and verb roots. Therefore, derivational morphology is discussed in the section on the base category, not the resulting category.

## 2.1 Phonology

### 2.1.1 Phoneme inventory

Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru are rather typical of Australian languages in their phoneme inventory. Both dialects distinguish five points of articulation for stops and nasals, and three for laterals. The Jaminjung dialect has an additional lamino-dental stop. Voicing is not distinctive; consonants from the stop series are phonetically voiced in onset position, and voiceless in coda position. Occasionally, geminate stops occur at morpheme boundaries; these are always voiceless. Both dialects also have an alveolar trill and a labio-velar glide, a postalveolar glide, and a lamino-palatal glide. In addition, a glottal stop is found at some morpheme boundaries in the speech of some speakers. This does not appear to have phonemic status, but since its status is not clear at present, it will be represented in the transcription, with the orthographic symbol <’>.

The consonant inventory is presented in Table 2-1. The symbols of the practical orthography<sup>22</sup> adopted here are given in angular brackets.

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<sup>22</sup> There has been no official agreement so far on a standard orthography for the language. I have adopted the orthography used for Miriwoong at Mirima Dawang Woollab-gerring (Kununurra), except that the vowel /u/ will be represented orthographically as <u>, not <oo>.

Table 2-1. *Jaminjung / Ngaliwurru consonant inventory*

	Bilabial	Apico-alveolar	Apico-post-alveolar (retroflex)	Lamino-dental	Lamino-palatal	Velar
<b>Stop</b>	p <b>	t <d>	T <rd>	t̪ <th> <sup>23</sup>	c <j>	k <g/k> <sup>24</sup>
<b>Nasal</b>	m <m>	n <n>	= <rn>		^ <ny>	N <ng>
<b>Lateral</b>		l <l>	ɖ <rl>		ɣ <ly>	
<b>Trill</b>		r <rr>				
<b>Glide</b>	w <w>		ʀ <r>		j <y>	

The regular vowel inventory comprises only three vowels, /i/, /a/ and /u/. A small number of coverbs, e.g. *deb* ‘knock’, also have a mid vowel /e/; these are probably loans from surrounding languages with a four- or five-vowel system. A few monosyllabic words contain a long vowel (e.g. *baaj* ‘speech, word, language’); but vowel length does not appear to be distinctive. Non-phonemic vowel lengthening is often employed in discourse to indicate duration; the length of the vowel here is iconically related to the duration of the event described. This type of lengthening is represented by the lengthening sign ‘:(::)’ (see III/25, V/3 and V/22 in the Appendix for examples).

### 2.1.2 Phonotactic constraints

In general, phonological words in Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru are at least bimoraic, that is, they are at least disyllabic, or, if monosyllabic, contain a long vowel. Coverbs constitute an exception to this rule, since they may consist of a single closed syllable with a short vowel (see also §2.3). In addition, the following phonotactic constraints hold (the list is not exhaustive, and not ordered).

- (i) Words do not begin in a vowel, or in a trill <rr>, retroflex glide <r>, or lamino-palatal lateral <ly>.

<sup>23</sup> This phoneme is only present in Jaminjung, not in Ngaliwurru. Ngaliwurru cognates of Jaminjung words which contain this consonant have the palatal stop instead (orthographically <j>). In these forms the sound which corresponds to Jaminjung <th> and Ngaliwurru <j> is represented orthographically by <J>.

<sup>24</sup> The grapheme <k> is used to represent the velar stop following the alveolar and postalveolar nasals, in order to distinguish this consonant combination (<nk>) from the velar nasal (<ng>).

- (ii) Only one consonant is permitted in syllable onset position.
- (iii) Consonant clusters in the syllable coda only appear in word-final position. The only attested consonant clusters consist of a lateral or the alveolar trill as the first element, and a peripheral stop (<b> or <g>) or the velar nasal as the second element. Only coverbs exhibit all of these clusters, nominals only have a subset of them, and verb forms and particles never have word-final clusters.

### 2.1.3 Morpho-phonological alternations

General morpho-phonological alternations are lenition and assimilatory denasalisation.

Lenition reduces both the velar stop <g> and the labial stop (<b>) to a glide (<w>) intervocalically. This accounts for the allomorphy of a number of case markers, and of pronominal and modal verb prefixes. A few forms also show an alternation of the lamino-palatal stop (<j>) and the corresponding glide (<y>), e.g. =*jirram* ~ =*yirram* ‘two/dual’ (clitic).

Assimilatory denasalisation in syllables preceding or following non-nasal consonants is only found for the ergative marker *-ni* -> *-di*, and in verb forms. For example, the verb stem *-minda-* ‘EAT’ has the potential/future alternant *-bida*, by a merger of the potential/future prefix *-b-* with the stem-initial bilabial nasal, and denasalisation. Assimilatory denasalisation also spreads to the prefix; compare *gani-minda-ny* ‘3sg:3sg-EAT-PST’ and *gadi-bida* ‘3sg:3sg-FUT:EAT’.

Further morpho-phonological alternations which only affect verb stems are discussed in §2.4.2.3 below.

### 2.1.4 Stress

Details of the stress patterns of Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru are unclear at present. Primary word stress generally falls on the first syllable of a phonological word. However, in forms longer than two syllables, heavy syllables may attract stress when they are in non-initial position.

In canonical complex verbs, main stress falls on the coverb, at least when it precedes the verb; the verb receives secondary stress. This stress pattern can serve to distinguish coverb – verb combinations from the combination of an adverbial nominal with a verb (see also §2.2.2.4, §3.2).

## 2.2 Nominals

Nominals in Jaminjung can be identified by their ability to function as constituents of noun phrases, as sentence adverbials, or as predicates in ascriptive, copula-less clauses (see §2.6.3). They can be further divided into subclasses based on their predominant function, and, in some cases, based on distinct morphological marking.

These properties, in principle, distinguish nominals from other lexical categories, including coverbs. However, as we will see in §2.3.1.2, there is some minor overlap between the classes of nominals and coverbs.

The structure of the noun phrase is described in §2.2.1. Nominal subclasses are discussed in §2.2.2. An overview of the nominal derivational and inflectional morphology is provided in §2.2.3. Free pronouns are discussed in a separate subsection (§2.2.4) because they exhibit some additional functions in comparison with the other nominal classes.

### 2.2.1 The noun phrase

The existence of a phrasal unit ‘noun phrase’ has been questioned for some Australian languages (see e.g. Blake 1983, Hale 1983, Heath 1986). Rather, it has been argued that coreferential nominals are always in apposition. In this way, both the so-called ‘discontinuous noun phrases’, and the lack of a distinction between nouns and adjectives, can be accounted for.

For Jaminjung, several phenomena suggest the existence of a weakly grammaticalised phrasal category ‘noun phrase’. However, this term will be restricted to nominal constituents under a single intonation contour, which are not separated by pauses or other constituents (cf. Merlan 1994: 226). The status of coreferential nominals separated by an intonation break (the ‘fractured’ noun phrases of McGregor 1989b), or by other constituents (‘discontinuous noun phrases’), is left out of consideration here.

Apart from the prosodic criterion just given, two other criteria can serve to identify noun phrases in this narrow sense. First, the noun phrase is the domain of case marking. The position of the case marker with respect to the noun phrase is ‘free’ (in the terminology of Dench & Evans 1988: 5), that is, it may follow any constituent of a noun phrase. Optionally only one, or more than one constituent may be marked. The position of the case marker is probably conditioned by differences in information structure (cf. McGregor 1989b, 1990: 276ff.), but the conditioning factors have not been sufficiently investigated for Jaminjung.

Second, some nominals are restricted to either head or modifier (including determiner) function in a noun phrase, although others have both possibilities (see §2.2.2). Therefore, the ‘apposition’ analysis would not work for all noun phrases in Jaminjung, since it presupposes the functional equivalence of all nominals.

A noun phrase minimally consists of a referential head, which can be accompanied by one or more modifiers in either order, and optionally by a demonstrative functioning as determiner. The term ‘modifier’ is used here in a broad sense, comprising quantifiers (e.g. numerals) and qualifiers (e.g. adjectival nominals, possessive noun phrases). Apparently, the only restriction in constituent order within a noun phrase concerns the determiner: a demonstrative can only occur once in a noun phrase, and always precedes any modifier (if present). That is, the determiner either precedes both modifier(s) and head noun (in either order), or it separates the head noun and a following modifier.

Some of these ordering possibilities are illustrated in (2-1) to (2-6). All of these represent spontaneous utterances (in the sense that they were not elicited by translation). The noun phrases are in boldface.

Head only:

- (2-1)    guyawud    burru-yu        **wirib** \  
          hungry       3pl-BE.PRS       dog  
          ‘the dogs are hungry’ (DP, F02222)

Determiner – head:

- (2-2)    guyawud    ga-yu=gun            **thanthu**    **wirib**  
          hungry       3sg-BE.PRS=CONTR    DEM       dog  
          ‘it IS hungry, that dog’ (DB, D01106)

Head – modifier:

- (2-3)    ya,       ngab    gan-ba,            **wirib**    **mulanggirrng-ni** \  
          yes    miss    3sg:1sg-BITE.PST    dog       fierce-ERG  
          ‘yes, it missed me when trying to bite, the fierce dog’ (IP, F03640)

Determiner – head – modifier:

- (2-4)    yan-ba=mindag=gun            **thanthu**    **wirib**    **mulanggirrng**  
          IRR:3sg:1-BITE=1du.incl.OBL=CONTR    DEM       dog       fierce  
          ‘it might bite you and me, that fierce dog’ (IP, F03667)

Determiner – modifier – head:

- (2-5) DP: **thanthu**=gun    **mangurrb-bari**    **wirib**,  
                  DEM=CONTR    black-QUAL    dog
- IP: ngayin                   burrb                   gani-bida...  
          meat/animal           finish                   3sg:3sg-FUT:EAT
- ‘DP: that black dog- IP: -it will eat up the meat’ (DP/IP, D31065-6)

Head – determiner and Head – determiner – modifier :

- (2-6) **ngayin**=gun    **thanthu**    burrb    gani-bida    ngarrgina \
- meat=CONTR    DEM           finish    3sg:3sg-FUT:EAT    1sg:POSS
- ... **wirib**    **thanthu**    **mangurrb-bari**
- dog           DEM           black-QUAL
- ‘it will eat up that meat of mine ... that black dog’ (DP, D31068)

The structure of the noun phrase, with the two possibilities of determiner position, is schematically represented in (2-7), disregarding case marking. The only constituent of a noun phrase can also be a demonstrative, in which case it can be regarded as head. Not considered here are generic-specific constructions and part-whole constructions; these can be treated as complex heads. For subordinate clauses in the function of relative clause, which may take up the position of head in the noun phrase, see §2.6.4.

- (2-7) *Structure of the noun phrase*
- a) (Det) (Modifier\*) Head (Modifier\*)
- b) Head (Det) (Modifier\*)

## 2.2.2 Nominal subclasses

Nominals can be divided into subclasses according to their syntactic functions (following e.g. Hale 1983: 33ff. and Dench 1995: 53). Free pronouns (§2.2.2.1) and nouns (with further subclasses; §2.2.2.2) function mainly as heads of noun phrases. Adjectival nominals (§2.2.2.3) can function either as modifiers or as predicates in nonverbal clauses. Adverbial nominals (§2.2.2.4), with the further subclasses of locationals and time nominals, function as sentence adverbials. Finally, demonstratives (§2.2.2.5) can function both as determiners or heads in a noun phrase, and as adverbials. Interrogatives do not really constitute a sub-class of nominals, but are a functional class which cross-cuts lexical categories and subcategories, and whose members partly also function as indefinites. Nominal interrogatives comprise the forms *nanggayin* ‘who/someone’, *nganthan*

‘what/something’, *ngajang* ‘how many’, *warnang* ‘where’, and *nyangulang* ‘when’.

### 2.2.2.1 Free pronouns

Free pronouns form a closed class. Three sets of stems can be distinguished, the absolutive stem, the oblique stem, and the possessive stem. The latter may function as head and modifier. The absolutive stem and the oblique stem both only function as heads and, taken together, have the same inflectional possibilities as nouns. However, there are certain complications in matching form and function for the free pronouns. They are therefore discussed in more detail in a separate section (§2.2.4).

### 2.2.2.2 Nouns

Nouns comprise the subclasses of proper nouns, kinship terms, common nouns, and numerals. All nouns have the same case-marking possibilities, and typically only function as heads of noun phrases (e.g. *wirib* ‘dog’ in examples 2-1 to 2-6 in §2.2.1 above).

Numerals may function both as heads, as shown in (2-8) below, and as modifiers (see e.g. I/4, I/18 and V/13 in the Appendix). They constitute an essentially closed class, comprising the forms *jungulug* ‘one’, *jirrama* ‘two’, *murrgun* ‘three’ and *lubayi* (Ngaliwurru: *bardawurru*) ‘many’.

- (2-8)     **jirrama**     buny-angga     warlnginy  
                  two                   3du-GO.PRS     walk  
                  ‘two are walking’ (DB, D14105)

Kinship terms can be singled out as a subclass of nouns because they may take special possessive suffixes, *-(ng)guluwa* ‘your relation’ (KIN2), and *-(C)unthu* ‘his/her relation’ (KIN3); no possessive suffix exists for the first person possessor. For an example of a kinship possessive marker, see (2-41).

### 2.2.2.3 Adjectival nominals

All forms which may function as a modifier in a noun phrase and/or as a predicate in a verbless ascriptive clause can be subsumed under the adjective class. Both functions are illustrated for *jarlag* ‘good’ in (2-9) and (2-10).

- (2-9)    janyungbari-bina    yagbali-bina, \    shiftim    yirr-ijga-ny \
- another-ALL            place-ALL            shift:TR            1pl.excl-GO-PST
- jarlag**-bina            gulban-bina \
- good-ALL            ground-ALL
- ‘to another place, we moved, to (a place with) good ground’ (i.e. ground soft enough to dig for yam) (NG, E01057-8)
- (2-10)    malany    birri    nga-w-arra,    jarragja-ngarna    mali    ngiya +
- test            TRY    1sg:3sg-FUT-PUT    talking-ASSOC    thing    PROX
- +    majani    **jarlag**,    majani    marring \
- maybe    good            maybe    bad
- ‘I will try and try it out, this tape player, it is maybe good, maybe bad’ (DBit, E05040)

Most adjectives identified in this way may also form verbal predicates with the two verbs *-yu* ‘BE’ and *-ijga* ‘GO’ in their auxiliary function (see §5.2.1.2 and §5.3.2.3). In contrast to the verbless predicates, verbal predicates formed with an adjectival nominal, as in (2-11), describe (contingent) states rather than properties.

- (2-11)    nga-ngawu,            gurrany    **jarlag**    ga-yu +
- 1sg:3sg-SEE.PST    NEG            good    3sg-BE.PRS
- +    wangarr    gan-unggu-m \
- mad            3sg:3sg-SAY/DO-PRS
- ‘I saw him, he is not well, he is acting mad’ (DP, E05006)

Adjectival nominals in Jaminjung cover the semantic areas of dimension, physical property, age and value. The other semantic classes suggested by Dixon (1982b) as universal candidates for an adjective class – colour, speed, and human propensity – are encoded by coverbs, in the subclasses of states (§6.2), adverbial coverbs (§6.19), and coverbs of bodily and emotional condition<sup>25</sup> (§6.4.3), respectively. However, it should be pointed out that there is some degree of overlap between the classes of adjectival nominals and coverbs, in particular in the semantic areas of value and physical property. Thus, sometimes the same lexeme shows properties of both classes (see §6.2 for details and examples).

#### 2.2.2.4 Adverbial nominals

Adverbial nominals comprise the subclasses of locationals and time nominals. The core set of locationals, in turn, comprises two directionals based on river

<sup>25</sup> The coverb *wangarr* in (2-11) is an example of a coverb from this class.

drainage, *manamba* ‘upstream’ and *buya* ‘downstream’ (Ng. *buyagu*), and two directionals based on verticality, *Jangga* ‘above’ and *thamirri* (Ng. *jamurrugu*) ‘below’.<sup>26</sup> Directionals may also be derived from a demonstrative with the directional suffix *-wurla*, as shown in (2-12). Unmarked directionals have a locative interpretation. Directionals take special allative and ablative suffixes; the locational ablative is *-yun*, the locational allative, illustrated in (2-12), is *-ngining* in Jaminjung and *-ngarnang* in Ngaliwurru.

- (2-12) *pigipigi* mung ga-yu      **yina-wurla-ngining** \ **manamba-ngining**  
 pig      look.at 3sg-BE.PRS DIST-DIR-L.ALL      upstream-L.ALL  
 ‘a pig is looking that way, upstream’ (Farm Animals 7) (DMc, E13088)

While directionals are easily identified by their special spatial case forms, class membership is more difficult to determine for other locational expressions (cf. also Merlan 1994: 254f.). Usually, these forms are not inflected, and although they may take ablative case, this does not sufficiently distinguish them from coverbs of spatial configuration (see §6.1). Certain forms, including *warriya* ‘far’, *ganjagawu* ‘close’, and *balarrgu* ‘outside’, are considered here to be locational nominals rather than coverbs, because, unlike coverbs, they do not form a close prosodic unit with the finite verb. This suggests that in this case they function as clausal adverbials, rather than as part of the predicate. This is illustrated for *balarrgu* ‘outside’ in (2-13).

- (2-13) *waljub* ga-gba,      *jarriny-gi*,      *ga-jga-ny=biya*      *yina* \  
 inside      3sg-BE.PST      hole-LOC      3sg-GO.PST=NOW      DIST  
**balarrgu=biya**  
 outside=NOW  
 ‘it was inside, in the cave, it went away then over there, outside’ (MW, E15181-2)

However, this criterion does not allow one to arrive at a completely clearcut distinction. Moreover, it does not correspond to semantically defined classes; consider *waljub* ‘inside’ in (2-13) above, the semantic antonym of *balarrgu* ‘outside’, which however has to be regarded as a coverb (see §6.1)

Time nominals, like *gaburrgad* ‘yesterday’, *jalang* ‘today’, *gabugabu* ‘afternoon’, *ngidbud* (J.)/ *mirdang* (Ng.) ‘night’ or *garrijgiyung* ‘morning/tomorrow’, are usually not inflected. However, they occasionally take spatial cases,<sup>27</sup> and can therefore also be regarded as members of the adverbial subclass of nominals.

<sup>26</sup> Compass directionals were provided in elicitation by some speakers, but never used spontaneously.

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. III/36 and III/38 in the Appendix, and (2-35). The form *garrijgiyung* ‘morning/tomorrow’ can be analysed as *garrij* ‘cold’ + *-gi* ‘LOC’ + *-ung* ‘COTEMP’; however, the resultant expression is clearly lexicalised.

### 2.2.2.5 Demonstratives

The core set of nominal demonstratives comprises six forms, listed in Table 2-2. A three-way distinction is made between a proximal and a distal demonstrative (based on distance from the speaker), and a third form which is not based on distance, but whose function can be roughly characterised as (re)introducing a contextually ‘given’ referent. It can be used to refer to an entity ‘given’ in the nonverbal context, but also anaphorically to refer to a previously mentioned entity. In its adnominal form it functions as a general determiner, on its way to grammaticalising to a definite article (cf. Himmelmann 1997). It is therefore not surprising that it is far more frequent than the proximal and distal forms. The gloss chosen here is simply DEM; examples for its function in noun phrases were already provided in (2-1) to (2-6) in §2.2.1 above.

All three demonstratives occur in two forms, labelled ‘adverbial’ and ‘adnominal’ in Table 2-2. The ‘adverbial’ forms, though, may in addition also function as head nouns and as adnominal modifiers. The ‘adnominal’ forms mainly function as determiners, and occasionally as head nominals, but never as adverbials.

Table 2-2. *Nominal demonstratives*

	<b>Adverbial</b>	<b>Adnominal</b>
<b>PROX</b>	ngi(yi)ya	(ngi)yinJu
<b>DIST</b>	yina(ya)	(ngi)yina
<b>‘given’ (DEM)</b>	JanJiya	JanJu

### 2.2.3 Nominal morphology

Derivational morphology on nominal roots does not change their word class, and only comprises a few forms, discussed briefly in §2.2.3.2. Reduplication, treated in a separate section (§2.2.3.1), can also be considered derivational rather than inflectional.

Inflectional nominal morphology mainly comprises a rich set of case markers (§2.2.3.3). The proprietive and privative suffixes, whose status (case marker or derivational affix) is somewhat unclear, are treated in a separate section (§2.2.3.4). Unlike the related language Nungali, and a number of neighbouring

languages, Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru do not have noun class prefixes. Nor is number inflectionally marked, although number of humans is distinguished in free pronouns, and may be indicated by reduplication (§2.2.3.1) and by two clitics, =*jirram* ~ =*yirram* ‘two/dual’, and =*mulu* ‘COLlective’ (see §2.5.2).

### 2.2.3.1 Reduplication

Reduplication of nominals always has the function of indicating multiplicity of referents. For certain nouns with human referents, number marking by reduplication appears to be obligatory. The reduplicated forms are derived by initial partial reduplication and seem to be fully lexicalised. Some examples are *mululurru* ‘older women’ (<*mulurru*), *ngarlangarlangan* ‘young girls at puberty’ (<*ngarlangan*), *guragurang* ‘older men’ (Jam.; <*gurang*), *galwalwarrang* ‘females’ (<*galwarrang*), and *maljalju* ‘males’ (<*malju*) (a number of examples can be found in Text IV in the Appendix).

Full or partial reduplication in the function of marking multiplicity is also possible with adjectival nominals in attributive or predicative function; here it is not restricted to human referents. An example for a reduplicated nominal in attributive function is given in (2-14).

- (2-14)    *gardawarlng*    *gana-ma-ya*            **wuju-wuju**    *mali*        *jalig-gina*  
                  egg                            3sg:3sg-HAVE-PRS    RDP-small        thing        child-POSS  
                  ‘the egg has little things inside for kids’ (Kinder Surprise Egg) (JM,  
                  CHE102)

### 2.2.3.2 Derivational suffixes

In the absence of word-class changing derivation, derivational morphology on nominals is restricted to a few forms, which are comparatively rare; these are summarised in Table 2-3. The first two of these are also found as nominalisers on coverbs (see §2.3.2.3).

Table 2-3. *Nominal derivational suffixes: overview*

Form	Gloss	Section
- <i>ngarna</i>	‘ASSOCIative’	2.2.3.2.1
- <i>gina</i>	‘Function’ (= POSSESSive)	2.2.3.2.2
- <i>nguji</i>	‘ETC.’; ‘X and others’	2.2.3.2.3
- <i>mawu</i>	‘HABITAT’, ‘X-dweller’	2.2.3.2.4

### 2.2.3.2.1 *-ngarna* ‘ASSOCIative’

A derivational suffix of the form *-ngarna* is found, in related functions, in several languages of the region. In Jaminjung, it characterises the derived nominal as being habitually associated with the entity, place, or action designated by the base. The kind of association can differ considerably; for example, the derived nominal in (2-15) can be read as ‘school-attending’, but the one in (2-16) below as ‘louse-having’.

- (2-15)    *buru*    *yirr-anjama-ny*                      *jalig-gu*                      **garrij-ngarna-wu**  
           return    1pl.excl:3sg-BRING-PST    child-DAT                      cold/school<sup>28</sup>-ASSOC-DAT  
           ‘we took them back for the school kids’ (pandanus leaves to make  
           baskets) (VP, TIM021)

### 2.2.3.2.2 *-gina* ‘Function’ (= POSS)

The possessive suffix *-gina*, in its derivational function, characterises the derived nominal as being related through its function to the entity denoted by the base. This suffix is used particularly productively to derive terms for introduced artefacts. An example *wulngan-gina*, derived from *wulngan* ‘sun/day’, which can be used to refer to ‘suncream’ but also ‘watch’. Both associative and function marking were combined in the following on-the-spot coinage for ‘banana’.

- (2-16)    *nambul-ngarna-gina*  
           louse-ASSOC-POSS  
           ‘banana’ (lit. ‘thing for the one associated with lice (= monkey)’ (LR)

The same suffix also serves as an adnominal and adverbial case, marking possession as well as (intended) function of an entity, as in (2-14) above (see also §2.2.3.3.12).

### 2.2.3.2.3 *-mawu* ‘HABITAT’

Another derivational suffix, *-mawu*, is restricted to nominals which designate an environmental feature, and indicates that this environment serves as the habitat of a plant or animal species. (According to Mark Harvey (p.c.), *-mawu* is also used with place-names to refer to land owners). In all recorded uses the derived nominals are used as predicates in nonverbal ascriptive clauses. In (2-17), two

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<sup>28</sup> The polysemy of *garrij* ‘cold’ / ‘school’ has arisen through calquing from the Kriol form *kul* which translates both English *cool* and *school* (in broad Kriol at least, initial fricative-stop clusters are reduced). The homophony must have given rise to a semantic association because of the airconditioning in schools.

tree species, which are similar in other respects, are contrasted in terms of their habitats (see III/42 for a further example).

- (2-17)    yawayi,        garlijba    **wagurra-mawu** \  
               yes            kapok.tree rock-HABITAT  
               **buyud-mawu,**        wardi \  
               sandground-HABITAT    tree.species  
               ‘Yes – the *garlijba* (tree) – a hill dweller. A sandground dweller – the *wardi* (tree)’ (EH, E1806-7)

#### 2.2.3.2.4 -*nguji* ‘ETC’

Expressions formed with a nominal and the suffix *-nguji* ‘ETC’ can be translated as ‘X and others’, ‘X among other things’. The position of the suffix before any case marker, as illustrated in (2-18), suggests that it is a derivational suffix. It may also follow proper names; in this case the resulting expression refers to a group (usually related by kinship ties) around an individual X (see III/10 for an example).

- (2-18)    mayi,        ngayin-ku                wurdhaj        burrinyji        yirrag \  
               man            meat/animal-DAT        look.around    3pl-GO.IMP    1pl.excl.OBL  
               gumirrinyji-**nguji**-wu    ngalanymuwa-**nguji**-wu \  
               emu-ETC-DAT                echidna-ETC-DAT  
               ‘(as for) the men, they would go hunting for animals for us, for emu among other things, and for echidna among other things’ (Field notes 1999)

#### 2.2.3.3 Case suffixes

Case markers are treated here as inflectional suffixes. On phonological grounds, they could also be regarded as postpositions or perhaps clitics, since they may (occasionally) be separated from the nominal by a pause, and may have scope over a whole noun phrase, i.e. the case marker only needs to be present on one constituent of the noun phrase (cf. McGregor 1990: 276f.). This distinction is only one of degree of grammaticalisation, and is of no relevance for the purpose of this study.

Several functions of case markers can be distinguished (cf. e.g. Dench & Evans 1988). They all serve to relate one constituent to another, but may operate on different syntactic levels. In their prototypical function, case markers operate on the clause level, relating arguments to their predicates. Case markers in an adnominal function relate a noun phrase which serves as an attribute embedded in another noun phrase to its head noun. Several case markers in Jaminjung have

both an adverbial and an adnominal use; both functions will be discussed in the corresponding subsection in §2.3.3.3.

Case marking under agreement between a secondary predicate and its controller – termed ‘referential’ function by Dench & Evans (1988), following Austin (1981b) – can be found, if rarely, in Jaminjung, but will be left out of consideration here. Case agreement in a part/whole construction is treated briefly in §4.2.3.2.

The ‘complementising’ function of case identified by Dench & Evans (1988) for other Australian languages, that is, case marking of embedded subordinate clauses, also has correlates in Jaminjung: some case markers may occur on non-finite adverbial clauses with a coverb as predicate; see §2.6.5. A summary of the case forms and their functions is provided in Table 2-4.

Table 2-4. *Case forms and functions: overview*

Form <sup>29</sup>	Gloss	Adverbial Function	Adnominal Function	Comple- mentising Function	Section(s)
(unmarked nom.)	‘absolutive’	√	—	—	2.2.3.3.1 4.2.1.3
<i>-ni</i> ~ <i>-di</i> <sup>30</sup>	‘ERGative/ INSTRumental’	√	—	—	2.2.3.3.2 4.2.1.1
<i>-gu</i> ~ <i>-wu</i>	‘DATive’	√	√	√	2.2.3.3.3 2.6.5.1 4.2.1.4
<i>-ngulung</i>	‘PURPosive’	√	—	—	2.2.3.3.4
<i>-garni</i> ~ <i>-warni</i>	‘MOTIVative’	√	—	—	2.2.3.3.5
<i>-nyunga</i> (Jam.)	‘ORIGIN’	√	√	√	2.2.3.3.6 2.6.5.4
<i>-ngunyi</i> (Jam.) <i>-giyag</i> (Ngali)	‘ABLative’	√	—	√	2.2.3.3.7 2.6.5.5 4.2.1.2
<i>-bina</i>	‘ALLative’	√	—	√	2.2.3.3.8 2.6.5.2–3
<i>-gi</i> ~ <i>-g</i> (Jam.) <i>-gi</i> ~ <i>-ni</i> (Ngali)	‘LOCative’	√	—	—	2.2.3.3.9
<i>-mindij</i>	‘TIME’	√	—	√	2.2.3.3.10 2.6.5.6
<i>-mij</i>	‘COMITative’	√	—	—	2.2.3.3.11
<i>-gina</i>	‘POSSESSive/ function’	√	√	—	2.2.3.3.12
<i>-julu</i> ~ <i>-yulu</i>	‘GENitive’	—	√	—	2.2.3.3.13

<sup>29</sup> Allomorphy of the case markers, unless otherwise indicated, is due to regular lenition of both velar and labial stops to a glide (/w/) following vowels (see §2.1.3).

<sup>30</sup> In an earlier publication (Hoddinott & Kofod 1976a), the ergative case in Jaminjung is reported to be formally identical to the locative case. This appears to be a mistake based on the fact that both cases have an allomorph of the form *-ni*. The ergative is always *-ni* in careful speech but often denasalised to *-di* following a stop (see §2.1.3). The locative is *-gi*, with the allomorphs *-g* (mainly Jaminjung speakers) and *-ni* (mainly Ngaliwurru speakers), following a vowel.

### 2.2.3.3.1 Absolutive (unmarked nominal)

The absolutive form of nominals is always unmarked. The functions of absolutive noun phrases include, but are not restricted to, that of ‘intransitive subject’ (i.e. the only core argument with intransitive verbal predicates, and the predication base with nominal predicates, as in (2-17) above), and ‘transitive object’ (i.e. the non-agentive core argument with transitive predicates, as in (2-21) below). An example for an absolutive noun phrase functioning as the single argument of an intransitive clause is given in (2-19).

- (2-19)    ga-rna-ya=biya            **guyug**    **luba**            biya:::,            burrb,  
                  3sg-BURN-PRS=NOW    fire            big            NOW            finish  
                  ‘a big fire burns then, (and) finishes’ (VP, E11265)

Moreover, since ergative marking is not obligatory in Jaminjung, agentive arguments may also be in the absolutive case (see §4.2.1.3 for examples). It will therefore be argued in §4.2.1.3 that the absolutive, rather than having a positive ‘function’, only signals core argument status. The role of the absolutive argument depends in its interpretation on the context, e.g. the semantics of the predicate, the presence of other arguments, or the extra-linguistic context.

A similar variation can be observed with respect to location or goal arguments. Inherently locational nominals, such as place names or the nominal *yagbali* ‘place, camp, country’ illustrated in (2-20) may also appear in the absolutive, rather than marked with locative or allative case, although the latter possibility is by no means excluded (cf. e.g. II/15 in the Appendix).

- (2-20)    gurrany            yawurr-ijga            **ngarrgina**            **yagbali**  
                  NEG            IRR:2pl-GO            1sg:POSS            place  
                  ‘you shouldn’t go to my country’ (DB, D13032)

### 2.2.3.3.2 -ni ~ -di ‘ERGative/INSTRumental’

As in many Australian languages, in Jaminjung a single case form has the functions traditionally labelled ‘ergative’ and ‘instrumental’. Its range of uses is discussed in some detail in §4.2.1.1, where it is argued that they can be subsumed under a general meaning of ‘Effector’.<sup>31</sup> Two examples illustrating the prototypical uses are given in (2-21) and (2-22).

<sup>31</sup> For the sake of readability, this case form will be glossed as ‘ERG’ or – in ‘instrumental’ function – ‘ERG/INSTR’, deviating slightly from the usual principle of using the same gloss for a form in all functions.

- (2-21) **jalig janyungbari-ni gujugu-ni** yurl gani-ma-m wuju  
 child other-ERG big-ERG chase 3sg:3sg-HIT-PRS small  
 ‘the other, big child chases the little one’ (two children fighting) (ER, MIX063)

- (2-22) burrurrug=biyang gana **gurunyang-ni**  
 scatter=NOW 3sg:3sg:CHOP.PST head-ERG/INSTR  
 ‘he hit it with his head, scattering it’ (Change of State videos) (DBit, F02070)

#### 2.2.3.3.3 -gu ~ -wu ‘DATIVE’

The range of uses of the dative case is rather typical for Australian languages. Its functions comprise the marking of an ‘addressee’, a ‘purpose’, and a ‘beneficiary’ (see e.g. Tsunoda 1981a: 59 for Jaru). In addition it may also mark the stimulus e.g. of fear. Example (2-23) illustrates dative-marking of both beneficiary (*janju jalig-gu*) and stimulus (*eksiden-ku*).

- (2-23) yarrajgu ga-yu=nu gujarding **janju jalig-gu** \  
 afraid 3sg-BE.PRS=3sg.OBL mother DEM child-DAT  
**eksiden-ku** \  
 accident-DAT  
 ‘she is worried for him, the mother, for that child; (worried) about (him having) an accident’ (JM, E15304-5)

In §4.2.1.4, it will be argued that the dative in all these functions can be given a general meaning of marking an ‘anticipated reason’. A further function as an adnominal case can be linked to the ‘beneficiary’ function (cf. Wilkins 1989: 183). This is the marking of a ‘possessor’ either in a kinship relationship or in a relationship of traditional owner of country to the ‘possessum’. As (2-24) shows, the possessor can be indicated with a possessive pronoun in the same clause.

- (2-24) **Nawurla-wu** nuwina ngaba  
 <subsection>-DAT 3sg:POSS elder.brother  
 ‘Nawurla’s elder brother’ (DB, BUL220)

The dative is also found on coverbs, marking a purposive clause (see §2.6.5.1).

#### 2.2.3.3.4 -ngulung ‘PURPOSIVE’

In addition to the more general dative, Jaminjung also has a special purposive case, *-ngulung*, which appears to have a much more restricted function than the dative, but can be replaced by it, as shown in (2-25). Probably for this reason, this form is very infrequent. In all the attested uses, it indicates the purpose of a deliberate action.

- (2-25)    *gujarding-ni=biyang \    birri-ngarna-ny    yinju \*  
                  mother-ERG=NOW                      3pl:1pl.excl-GIVE-PST    PROX
- gagawuli-ngulung \    mamunya-wu, \    wajgany-gu \***  
                  long.yam-PURP                      round.yam-DAT                      honey-DAT
- ‘the mothers, they gave (i.e. taught) us this. About long yam. About round yam. About sugarbag.’ (VP, E09600-4)

#### 2.2.3.3.5 *-garni ~ -warni* ‘MOTIVative’

The function of marking certain kinds of ‘purpose’ or ‘reason’ can be fulfilled by another case marker; for lack of a better term, it is glossed here as ‘MOTIVative’. The most frequent use of this case form is to indicate the reason for a fight (see IV/23 and V/27 in the Appendix for examples).

In other contexts, *-garni ~ -warni* could be described as indicating a preoccupation, especially where the predicate is the stative verb *-yu* ‘BE’ (see also IV/2).

- (2-26)    ***gugu-warni***                      *burru-yu*                      *bulug-mayan*  
                  water-MOTIV                      3pl-BE.PRS                      drink-CONT
- ‘they are just preoccupied with alcohol, drinking’ (Orig. Transl.: ‘living la grog’) (VP, TIM195)

The common denominator in these uses of the motivative case appears to be that it presents the reason for an event as holding simultaneously with the event thus motivated. In other words, Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru differentiate between a simultaneous reason or motivation, an anticipated reason (marked with dative or purposive case, see §2.2.3.3.3-4), and an antecedent cause<sup>32</sup> (marked with ORIGIN case, see §2.2.3.3.6). The distinction, however, is not always clearcut; compare IV/21 and IV/23 in the Appendix for a use of the origin and the motivative case in the same context.

#### 2.2.3.3.6 *-nyunga* ‘ORIGIn’ (Jam.)

The case marker *-nyunga*, which is only used by speakers of the Jaminjung dialect, marks the origin of an entity or an event. This could be a place, as in (2-40), in which case it is interpreted as encoding a permanent affiliation to an entity. It contrasts with the ablative case (§2.2.3.3.7) which marks the starting point of a movement; compare (2-27) with (2-31) below.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> A similar distinction seems to be conveyed by the spatial metaphors underlying the ‘causative’ use of the English prepositions *over*, *for* and *from*, respectively.

<sup>33</sup> This distinction is common in other Australian languages; in the literature the gloss ‘source’ is also used for the case glossed ‘origin’ here (e.g. Merlan 1994: 81).

- (2-27) **warrgayin-nyunga** nga-ruma-ny  
 far-ORIG 1sg-COME-PST  
 ‘I came from far away’ (Orig. Transl.: ‘when you come from long way country’)

Other types of ‘origin’ include source material, descent, origin of a custom or name (see IV/12), or the source of a commodity. A related function is the marking of the origin of an event, i.e. its (antecedent) cause. Just as with the dative (§2.2.3.3.3), a noun phrase marked with *-nyunga* often stands metonymically for the causing event, as in (2-28).

- (2-28) yarl nganthu-nggu-m **wamajngarna-nyunga**  
 itchy 2sg:3sg-SAY/DO-PRS mosquito-ORIG  
 ‘yes, you are itchy from a mosquito (bite)’

The following quasi-minimal pair shows the contrast between (anticipated) reason, marked with the dative (2-29a), and antecedent cause, marked with the origin case (2-29b).

- (2-29a) **wirib-gu** marrug nga-rra-m=ni ngayiny  
 dog-DAT hidden 1sg:3sg-PUT-PRS=SFOC1 meat/animal  
 ‘I’m hiding the meat from the dog’ (because otherwise it might eat it) (DB, FRA005)
- b) marrugja yirr-agba **waitfela-nyunga**  
 hiding 1pl.excl-BE.PST whitefellow-ORIG  
 ‘we were hiding from/because of the whitefellows’ (because they were pursuing us) (MJ, FRA082)

The origin case in related functions is also found on coverbs forming a causal or resultative subordinate clause (§2.6.5.4). In the Ngaliwurru dialect, Ablative and Origin are not distinguished and are subsumed under a general ablative marker *-giyag*.

#### 2.2.3.3.7 *-ngunyi* (Jam.) / *-giyag* (Ngali) ‘ABLative’

The main function of the ablative is to mark the starting point of a motion event, as in (2-30).

- (2-30) yugung ga-ram **warrgayin-ngunyi**  
 run 3sg-COME.PRS far-ABL  
 ‘he comes running from far away’

The ablative (as well as the corresponding locational ablative form *-yun*, restricted to directionals; see §2.2.2.4) is also found marking a spatial region in expressions of static location (see III/47-8 for an example). A presumably related

function is the indication of the part of an object or animal that is being handled (as in English *by the tail*).

The Jaminjung ablative form *-ngunyi* is also used as a contrastive agent marker, which may replace the ergative marker; this function is discussed in §4.2.1.2 (see also (2-33) below for an example). No instances of the Ngaliwurru form *-giyag* in this use have been recorded. Ngaliwurru *-giyag*, on the other hand, covers the function of the Jaminjung ‘ORIGIN’ case, as already stated in §2.2.3.3.6.

#### 2.2.3.3.8 *-bina* ‘ALLative’

The allative case marks the place or entity towards which an event of motion (II/14-5) or caused change of location (2-31) is directed; it does not entail that the moving entity reaches the place.

- (2-31)    thawu            gan-arra-m            **ti:-bina**  
              immersed    3sg:3sg-PUT-PRS       tea-ALL  
              ‘she is soaking it (bread) in tea’ (DB, BUL311)

It may also be used to express the orientation of a ‘featured’ entity (i.e. an entity which has differentiated sides). This can be accounted for by invoking a type of fictive motion termed ‘prospect path’ by Talmy (1996: 218). In (2-32), the allative indicates the direction that the relevant feature (*juwiya* ‘nose’) ‘points to’ while the use of the verb *-yu* ‘BE’ indicates stative location as opposed to motion.

- (2-32)    juwiya        **ngunggina-bina**    ga-yu \  
              nose        2sg:POSS-ALL       3sg-BE.PRS  
              ‘he is (facing) towards you (with his) nose’ (toy man) (DB, D30056)

An allative-marked noun phrase may also be understood to indicate the location of the perceived entity with the verb *-ngawu* ‘SEE’, as in (2-33). Here, the allative indicates the direction of gaze, also a kind of prospect path.

- (2-33)    nindu-ngunyi=malang    mung    gani-ngayi-m    buliki    **ngarlu-bina**  
              horse-ABL=GIVEN       look.at    3sg:3sg-SEE-PRS    cow       shade-ALL  
              ‘the horse is looking at the cow, towards the shade’ = ‘the horse is  
              looking at the cow in the shade’ (Farm Animals 4) (DB, D30028)

Some further discussion of the functions of the allative marker on noun phrases can be found in §4.2.2.1.2 and §5.2.3. In complementising function, i.e. on the predicate of a non-finite subordinate clause, the allative can yield two different interpretations. In one function, it has a purposive reading (see §2.6.5.2). In its other function, it marks secondary predicates on an affected argument (see §2.6.5.3).

2.2.3.3.9 *-gi ~ -g* (Jam.) / *-gi ~ -ni* (Ngali) ‘LOCative’

The locative case, with stative predicates, marks the place at which an entity is statically located. It is non-specific as to the exact spatial region where the entity is located, and as to whether it is in contact with the location (as in (2-34a)), or not (as in (2-34b)).

(2-34a) **langiny-gi**    dirrg    ga-yu  
                  tree-LOC        tied        3sg-BE.PRS  
                  ‘it is tied around a stick’ (ribbon) (Topological Relations Picture book) (DP, D09063)

b) mangurn        gurdij        ga-yu        **langiny-gi**  
                  whitefellow    stand        3sg-BE.PRS    wood-LOC  
                  ‘a white person is standing at a tree’ (Men & Tree 8) (DB, D30001)

With dynamic predicates (including verbs of locomotion, see §5.3), the locative usually marks a location which holds for the event encoded by the entire clause. However, with verbs of change of locative relation, it can mark an end location (see §5.2.3-4). With temporal nominals, the locative may also indicate ‘location in time’ (2-35).

(2-35) **ngiyidbud-gi**    ga-rdba-ny        gugu    luba  
                  night-LOC        3sg-FALL-PST    water    big  
                  ‘at night a lot of rain fell’ (DB, D01131)

2.2.3.2.10 *-mindij* ‘TIME’

The status of the ‘TIME’ suffix *-mindij* is not completely clear at present. It has been grouped with the case markers, first, because, like a subset of the other case markers, *-mindij* has both an adverbial and a ‘complementising’ function (see §2.6.5.5). Second, it is semantically comparable to the locative case, in that it serves to place an event in time. A noun phrase marked with *-mindij* in its adverbial use refers to a period of time which can be characterised by the entity (or event) designated by the nominal, e.g. ‘rain time’ in (2-36) (see also III/9).

(2-36) jalang=guji    na-ruma-ny,        buru    na-jga-ny        **gugu-mindij=na**  
                  now=FIRST    2sg-COME-PST    return    2sg-GO.PST    water-TIME=NOW  
                  ‘you just came now (i.e. recently), you had gone back in the wet season (ESB’s travels) (JM, F04138/9)

2.2.3.3.11 *-mij* ‘COMITative’

The comitative marks a noun phrase whose referent (animate or inanimate) is construed as involved in an event together with another participant (for examples see IV/26 and IV/28). This concomitant participant will sometimes be interpreted

as an ‘instrument’, as in (2-37) and IV/4, where the instrument is not construed as Effector and so is not marked with ergative/instrumental case (see also §4.2.1.1).

- (2-37) thunuj                      gan-arra-m..                      **mununggu-mij**  
    carry.under.arm    3sg:3sg-PUT-PRS                      string-COMIT  
    ‘she is carrying it in a bundle with a string’ (DP, C10031)

Another use of the comitative is to mark the language spoken in (see II/32 in the Appendix for an example).

#### 2.2.3.3.12 -gina ‘POSSessive/function’

The suffix -gina is used adnominally to emphasise the function of the nominal referent for the possessor, as in (2-38) and IV/24. It is also a transparent part of possessive pronouns; however, these can be used for a wider range of possessors than nouns marked with -gina.

- (2-38) mangarra    **waitbala-gina**  
    plant.food    whitefellow-POSS  
    ‘whitefellow’s (= imported) vegetable food’

The possessive suffix may also mark the inalienable possessor of body parts, as an alternative to a part-whole construction (see §4.2.3.2).

- (2-39) mayany    buliki=biya    thangga-yun    bayirr    ga-yu=nu  
    young    cow=NOW    above-L.ABL    supported    3sg-BE.PRS=3sg.OBL  
    **ngagaj-gi    pigibigi-gina-ni**  
    back-LOC    RDP:pig-POSS-LOC  
    ‘a young cow is leaning on the pig’s back’ (Men & Tree 7) (DB, D30064)

On nouns, -gina ‘POSS’ may even mark the function of an entity with respect to another entity without any sense of a possessive relationship. It can also be used as a derivational suffix to derive nouns from both other nouns (§2.2.3.2.2) and coverbs (§2.3.2.3.3). In its adverbial use, -gina ‘POSS’ only has the ‘function’ reading, and appears to be interchangeable with the dative, as illustrated in (2-40).

- (2-40) barrawi..    thanthiya    **jub-gina**=biji    yirra-ngga-m,  
    soap.tree    DEM                      soap-POSS=ONLY    1pl.excl:3sg-GET/HANDLE-PRS  
    gurrany    **thawaya-wu**  
    NEG                      eat-DAT  
    ‘the soap tree, that one we only get for soap, not for eating’ (DB, PLN023)

### 2.2.3.3.13 *-julu ~ -yulu* ‘GENitive’

A second possessive suffix, *-julu ~ -yulu*, is restricted to adnominal function and always conveys a notion of possession, not of function. It is only attested for human possessors. Unlike *-gina* ‘POSS’, *-julu ~ -yulu* ‘GEN’ is also found in expressions of kin relationships, as in (2-41).

- (2-41)    *ngiya=biyang, garlaj-guluwa*            Jangari,            **Noeline-jurlu**  
              PROX=NOW        younger.sibling-KIN2    <subsection>    <proper.name>-GEN  
              ‘this one now, your little brother, Jangari, Noeline’s’ (IP, EV03101)

### 2.2.3.4 Proprietary and privative suffixes

There has been a debate in the literature (cf. e.g. Dench & Evans 1988) on whether the proprietary ‘having’ and the privative ‘lacking’ forms, common throughout Australia, should be analysed as derivational affixes, or (inflectional) case markers. In Jaminjung, they could be considered derivational rather than inflectional, since the resulting expressions are always adjectival nominals which always have a predicative function, either as the main predicate in a nonverbal clause, or as a secondary predicate.

#### 2.2.3.4.1 *-burru ~ -wurru* ‘PROPRietive’

The proprietary or ‘having’ suffix marks a nominal predicate which characterises its predication base as possessing the referent of the nominal marked in this way. It can function as the main (ascriptive) predicate in a nonverbal clause, as in (2-42), or as a secondary predicate, as in (2-43). Example (2-42) also illustrates the functional relationship to verbal predication of possession with the verb *-muwa* ‘HAVE’. While the verb predicates the existence of the possessed in relation to the possessum, the proprietary encodes the possessive relationship as a property of the possessor.

- (2-42)    *marring*        *yinyju*        *birrigud*  
              bad                PROX        billycan  
  
              *jarriny*        *gani-ma-ya*  
              hole                3sg:3sg-HAVE-PRS

**jarriny-burru**  
 hole-PROPR

‘It is no good, this billycan. It has holes. (It’s) full of holes.’ (DM, fieldnotes Mark Harvey)

- (2-43)    galuwirrb    buru    nga-jga-ny    yagbali-bina    **gagawuli-wurru**  
               footwalk    return    1sg-GO-PST    place-ALL    long.yam-PROPR  
               ‘(I got a lot of long yam, and) I walked back to the camp with the yam’  
               (VP, TIM156)

#### 2.2.3.4.2 *-marnany* (Jam.) / *-miyardi* (Ngali) ‘PRIVative’

The privative has a function complementary to the proprietive, characterising the predication base as lacking the referent of the noun phrase marked with this case.

- (2-44)    **wagurra-marnany**    yiga    yirrag  
               rock-PRIV                    BUT    1pl.excl.OBL  
               ‘but we (have) no money’, ‘but we (are) money-less’ (DB, D13048)

The privative is also found on coverbs; the resulting expressions are functionally equivalent to a negative imperative (see §2.3.2.4).

## 2.2.4 Form and function of free personal pronouns

### 2.2.4.1 Pronominal forms

Formally, free personal pronouns fall into three sets, termed here absolutive, oblique (OBL), and possessive (POSS). The oblique and the possessive pronoun stems quite transparently contain the dative marker *-g(u) ~ -wu* (see §2.2.3.3.3), and the possessive marker *-gina ~ -wina* (see §2.2.3.3.12), respectively. However, since these pronouns fulfill a different range of functions from the corresponding case-marked noun phrases, their specific functions are discussed in §2.2.4.2 to §2.2.4.4 below.

As is typical for languages with pronominal cross-referencing, free pronouns are generally infrequent in discourse; they are usually emphatic, and are restricted to animate referents. However, the first two statements do not hold for the oblique pronouns. These are not only relatively frequent, but also have a tendency to cliticise to the verb (or another constituent), to be unstressed, and to cross-reference lexical arguments. Although it has to be recognised that the oblique pronominals represent an intermediate stage of grammaticalisation from free pronouns to bound pronominals, they are discussed together with the free pronouns here.

As in many Australian languages, all personal pronouns distinguish three numbers, three persons, and inclusive and exclusive nonsingular first person. The first person dual inclusive form, *mindī*, presents an irregularity in the

system. An alternative analysis would treat this as the minimal form in a minimal/augmented system (cf. e.g. McKay 1978, 1990; McGregor 1989a). However, since there are no first/second person unit-augmented forms (for a single first and second person and one additional referent), these forms will be glossed as inclusive/exclusive dual and plural, both in the free pronoun system and the formally related system of bound pronominals (see §2.4.1.2). The details of analysis have no consequences for the main topic of this study. The three sets of free pronouns are presented in Table 2-5.

Table 2-5. *Pronominal forms*

	<b>Absolutive</b>	<b>Oblique</b>	<b>Possessive</b>
<b>1sg</b>	ngayug	ngarrgu ~ =arrgu	ngarrgina
<b>2sg</b>	nami	ngunggu ~ =nggu	ngunggina
<b>3sg</b>	ji	nu ~ =rnu	nuwina
<b>1du.incl</b>	mindì	mindag	mindajgina
<b>1du.excl</b>	yirrinyi	yinyag	yinyajgina
<b>2du</b>	gurrinyi	gunyag	gunyajgina
<b>3du</b>	burrinyi	bunyag	bunyajgina
<b>1pl.incl</b>	yurri	yurrag	yurrajgina
<b>1pl.excl</b>	yirri	yirrag	yirrajgina
<b>2pl</b>	gurri	gurrag	gurrajgina
<b>3pl</b>	burri	burrag	burrajgina

## 2.2.4.2 Functions of the absolutive pronominal stems

### 2.2.4.2.1 The absolutive stem as absolutive noun phrase

Absolutive free pronouns, not surprisingly, can be used in the same functions as other absolutive noun phrases (§2.2.3.3.1), i.e. as the single core argument in intransitive clauses, and as non-agentive argument in transitive clauses (see III/4 and III/12 for examples), but also as the agentive argument in transitive clauses (recall that ergative marking is not obligatory). An example for the latter function is given in (2-45).

- (2-45)    gayayi              olrait,        **yirri**        gardaj        yirr-arra-nyi,  
                  waterlily.seeds    all.right    1pl.excl    grind        1pl.excl:3sg-PUT-IMPF  
                  ‘the lily seeds all right, we used to grind them’ (IP, E17326)

#### 2.2.4.2.2 The absolutive stem as basis for ergative and ablative agent marking

Although there is no ergative split in Jaminjung, ergative marking on free pronouns is very rare. It is only attested for first and third person singular pronouns. Where it does occur, the case marker follows the absolutive stem, as in (2-46).

- (2-46)    mulurru-ni        gani-minda-ny        jungulug,  
                  old.woman-ERG    3sg:3sg-EAT-PST    one  
                  **ngayug-ni** nga-minda-ny        jungulug  
                  1sg-ERG    1sg:3sg-EAT-PST    one  
                  ‘the old woman ate one, and I ate one’ (goanna) (VP, NUN135-6)

Contrastive agent marking with the ablative case is attested with free pronouns, as well as nouns. In this function, the ablative marker is also suffixed to the absolutive stem. The ablative in its spatial function, in contrast, is suffixed to the possessive stem (see §2.2.4.4 below). In (2-47), contrastive agent marking occurs in an intransitive clause, which is exceptional.

- (2-47)    **ji-ngunyi**    ga-ruma-ny,        **ngayug-ngunyi** \  
                  3sg-ABL    3sg-COME-PST    1sg-ABL  
                  durl=yirram    yiny-gijja-ja<sup>34</sup> \  
                  push=two        1du.excl-POKE-REFL.PST  
                  ‘she came, and I (did), and the two of us bumped into one another’  
                  (DP, E04037-8)

#### 2.2.4.2.3 Adversative use of absolutive pronouns

Unlike many other languages, which treat maleficiary and beneficiary alike, Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru use absolutive rather than oblique pronouns to represent a participant who is indirectly affected by an event, but does not count as a recipient or beneficiary, i.e. is negatively affected. Absolutive pronouns, in this use, tends to be unstressed and cliticised to the verb, like oblique pronouns. The examples in (2-48) illustrate directly the contrast between the ‘adversative’ use of the absolutive pronoun, and the ‘benefactive/recipient’ use of the oblique pronoun. In the text from which (2-48a) is taken, the speaker describes how a

<sup>34</sup> The verb *-ijja* ‘POKE’ is subsequently corrected to *-uga* ‘TAKE’ by another speaker; this is in line with the secondary sense of ‘impact using body weight’ of this verb (see §5.3.4.4).

policeman destroyed, and threw away, a sling shot used by children, that is, the children were adversely affected. In (2-48b), the participant whom the boomerang is thrown at is presumably also adversely affected, but is represented here as the recipient (see IV/8-9 for further examples).

- (2-48a) diwu'      gani-yu                      **burri** \
- throw      3sg:3sg-SAY/DO.PST      3pl
- 'he threw it away on them' (IP, F01026)

- b) yinthu      diwu      nga-wu-yu                      **ngunggu**      gali
- PROX      throw      1sg:3sg-FUT-SAY/DO      2sg.OBL      boomerang
- 'I will throw a boomerang at you' (ER, NOT068)

#### 2.2.4.2.4 Evidential use of absolutive dual inclusive pronoun

The absolutive dual inclusive pronoun *mind*i has a further use; here it is not related to the semantic role of any participant in the event, but refers to the speech act participants, comparable to the 'dativus ethicus' in some European languages. Consider (2-49) and (2-50) below.

- (2-49) wurdhaj      bunthu-yu **mind**i \
- look.for      3du-BE.PRS 1du.incl
- 'the two are looking for him' (speaker describing a picture from the Frog Story book) (IP, F03042)

- (2-50) majani      guyawud      ga-gba      **mind**i
- maybe      hungry      3sg-BE.PST      1du.incl
- gani-mindi-ya      **mind**i      ngabulu      gujarding
- 3sg:3sg-EAT-PRS      1du.incl      breast/milk      mother
- 'maybe it was hungry; it sucks (its) mother('s) milk/teats'
- (commenting on a scene in the camp visible to both speaker and addressee) (JM, SPO025)

The full extent of this phenomenon has not been sufficiently explored; its frequency varies considerably from speaker to speaker, but it is attested for both Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru speakers. Tentatively, I suggest that the dual inclusive pronoun here has an evidential function (which may be related to the 'adversative' function). In the case of the examples above, as well as most of the other occurrences in the corpus, the situation referred to was visible to both speaker and addressee. Presumably, the speaker emphasises the shared nature of the information by presenting the event as if it is affecting both speaker and addressee. In the examples in subsequent chapters, *mind*i in this function is usually translated as 'on you and me' or 'you and me watching'.

### 2.2.4.3 Functions of the oblique pronominal stems

As already mentioned, the status of the oblique pronominals is somewhat ambiguous. They are usually cliticised and unstressed, they may undergo phonological reduction, and, like true bound pronominals, they may cross-reference lexical arguments. Therefore, they have to be regarded as being in the process of grammaticalising into bound pronominals.

Additional sets of bound pronominal markers, identifying a core grammatical relation of indirect object, have been described for some Australian languages, including Warlpiri (Nash 1986, Simpson 1991), and are of course also found in languages outside Australia. It is argued here that in Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru, bound pronominal clitics cannot be used to identify core arguments (§2.2.4.3.1), except in one of their functions, where they enter into the bound pronominal paradigm for nonsingular first persons (§2.2.4.3.3); this only happens in the Jaminjung dialect.

#### 2.2.4.3.1 Oblique pronominals representing an indirectly affected participant

Oblique pronominals in Jaminjung, superficially, appear to have a variety of readings. They may cross-reference dative-marked noun phrases in all of the readings mentioned in §2.2.3.3.3, including addressee, recipient, beneficiary, and purpose. In addition, oblique pronominals may also represent participants in a spatial role. The addressee reading is illustrated in (2-51) and the spatial goal reading in (2-52) below; in the Appendix examples can be found for the beneficiary reading (II/5, III/39, III/44) and the purpose reading (IV/4), as well as for some of the other uses. For an example of a location reading, see (2-39) above, and V/31.

Oblique pronominals in these functions cliticise to the verb, but (more rarely) also to constituents other than the verb, or even to more than one constituent in a clause, as in (2-51). In this respect, Jaminjung seems to be developing in the direction of the neighbouring Jarragan languages which already possess a complex system of pronominal clitics which are not restricted in their position (Kofod 1994).

(2-51) “e’e:” / Nangari=**rnu**                      nga-yu=**rnu**=ngarndi \

INTERJ      <subsection>=3sg.OBL    1sg-SAY/DO.PST=3sg.OBL=SFOC2

“‘uhuh’ I said to Nangari’ (VP, E11029)

Unlike true bound pronominals, though, oblique pronominal clitics are not obligatory with any (simple or complex) verb. Rather, like the free pronouns, oblique pronominal clitics are more or less restricted to reference to higher animates (cf. Blake 1987: 37f.), although there are also a few counterexamples in the data. In fact, they seem to be near-obligatory if a noun phrase marked with the dative or a local case and referring to a higher animate is present, regardless of

the semantics of the predicate. This is illustrated in (2-52), where an allative-marked free pronoun is cross-referenced with an oblique pronominal clitic. This contrasts with (2-53), where the referent of the allative-marked noun phrase is inanimate, and is not additionally represented by an oblique pronominal.

- (2-52)    buwu            ga-w-irdbaj=**ngarrgu**    **ngarrgina-bina**  
              enter.water    3sg-FUT-FALL=1sg.OBL    1sg:POSS-ALL  
              ‘she will dive in after me (i.e. following me)’ (DR, D27188)

- (2-53)    jag            ga-rda-m \            **gugu-bina**    buwu \  
              go.down    3sg-FALL-PRS    water-ALL    enter.water  
              ‘he jumps down, diving into the water’ (JM, E15364)

The conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that the oblique pronominal clitic is best characterised as representing any affected participant that does not qualify for Undergoer status (in a sense to be made more precise in §4.2.2.1.2), i.e. an ‘indirectly affected’ participant. Indirect affectedness in this sense will normally only be marked for higher animates.<sup>35</sup>

#### 2.2.4.3.2 Oblique pronominals cross-referencing the predication base in ascriptive verbless clauses

Oblique pronominals also cross-reference a first or second person predication base in verbless clauses (see §2.6.3). In all attested examples, they follow the nominal predicate, as in (2-54) (see also II/27 in the Appendix).

- (2-54)    damarlung!    jamin    gujugu=**ngunggu**    **nami**  
              nothing    mature    big=2sg.OBL    2sg  
              “‘no!, you are old (enough to fight for yourself), you!’ (MJ, C11020)

#### 2.2.4.3.3 Oblique pronominal clitics as part of the bound pronominal paradigm in Jaminjung

In the Jaminjung dialect, but not in Ngaliwurru, the number and exclusive/inclusive distinction is neutralised for non-singular first person Undergoers in the bound pronominal paradigm (see also §2.4.1.2.2). Here the oblique pro-nominal clitics are (obligatorily) used to maintain the distinction, supplementing the pronominal prefix which appears in first person singular form throughout.

- (2-55)    gurrany    yanggi    ya-**wun**-karra=**yinyag**    mangarra-wu!  
              NEG    ask    IRR-2du:1-PUT=1du.excl.OBL    plant.food-DAT  
              ‘don’t ask us two for food, you two!’ (IP, F03696)

<sup>35</sup> See McGregor (1998b) for a similar analysis of the oblique clitic in Gooniyandi.

- (2-56) **gan-buga=yirrag=biyang** murrgun \  
 3sg:1-FUT-TAKE=1pl.excl.OBL=NOW three  
 ‘she will take us three then’ (JM, E16564)

#### 2.2.4.4 Functions of possessive pronominal stems

The pronouns in the possessive set are used to represent a possessor, either as an adnominal modifier as in (2-57), or as an independent noun phrase, characterising the referent as possessed, as in (2-58).

- (2-57) **wirib.. nuwina-ni** yurl gani-wa,  
 dog 3sg:POSS-ERG chase 3sg:3sg-BITE-PST  
 ‘her dog chased it (to bite it)’ (IP, F03487)

- (2-58) “**ngarrgina** dalag gan-arra-ny!?” nga-yu=nu  
 1sg:POSS send 3sg:3sg-PUT-PST 1sg:3sg-SAY/DO.PST  
 “‘did she send mine?’ I said to her’ (IP, F01233)

The possessive stem is also the base for suffixation with the spatial cases locative, allative and ablative. Its use with a locative is illustrated in (2-59), its allative use in (2-33) and (2-52) above. It is possible that in this use of the possessive pronouns, a ‘possessed’ location is always understood.

- (2-59) **yirrgbi gurru-w-iyaj birang ngarrgina-ni**  
 talk 2pl-FUT-BE behind 1sg:POSS-LOC  
 ‘you will have to talk in my absence’ (Orig. Transl.: ‘you got to talk behind la me’) (MMc, TIM015)

### 2.3 Coverbs

As has been repeatedly pointed out above, in Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru the function of ‘verbs’ in many other languages is fulfilled by members of two distinct parts of speech. The term ‘verb’ (or ‘generic verb’) is reserved here for members of a closed class of lexemes which obligatorily take verbal inflections. In addition, there is an open class of uninflecting lexemes which translate into languages like English or German as either verbs or adverbs and also have properties which are intermediate between members of these two classes in other languages. Members of this class will be termed ‘coverbs’ here.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> In glossing coverbs, the nearest available English translation equivalent will be used. This could be an infinitival verb form (e.g. ‘drink’) or a participle (e.g. ‘hidden’), an adverb

Of the alternative terms found in the literature on Northern Australian languages, the most frequent are ‘preverb’ (used especially in descriptions of Pama-Nyungan languages, e.g. Nash 1986, Simpson 1991, Tsunoda 1981a) and ‘verbal particle’ (e.g. Cleverly 1968, Hoddinott & Kofod 1976c, Merlan 1994). Other terms that have been proposed are ‘base’ (Capell 1979), ‘non-finite verbal word’ (Rumsey 1982a), ‘compound verb stem’ (Hoddinott & Kofod 1988, Green 1989), ‘pre-stem’ (Metcalf 1975, 1980), ‘participle’ (Cook 1987, 1988), and ‘uninflecting verb’ (McGregor 2000). Especially where the inflecting elements form a close phonological unit with the non-inflecting elements, the latter are also often treated as the main or ‘lexical’ verbs (e.g. Birk 1976; McGregor 1990; Reid 1990, Walsh 1996).

The term ‘coverb’ is used here, in accordance with a number of other authors (Kofod 1995, 1996b, Wilson 1999), because, unlike ‘preverb’, it does not suggest a fixed order with respect to the verb, and because, unlike ‘verbal particle’, it does not have the connotation of a minor word class restricted in size. It also captures the dependent nature of members of this class, which in finite clauses have to combine with a verb carrying person and tense/aspect/mood inflections, and serves as a reminder that this class covers both verbs and adverbs of many other languages. Note that my use of the term ‘coverb’ differs from that of some other authors (e.g. Bisang 1992, Lord 1993, Lehmann 1995: 104ff.; see also §7.2.1), who use it to refer to grammaticalised serial verbs in case-marking function, especially in discussions of South-East Asian languages. For the purposes of this study, no confusion should arise from the two distinct uses of the term, since grammaticalised verbs of this type do not exist in the languages under investigation.

Whatever the terminology adopted, there is a general agreement in the literature on Northern Australian languages that the lexical category corresponding to the Jaminjung coverb is distinct from both verbs and nominals, with only occasional overlaps (cf. e.g. Blake 1987: 119, and the references cited above). Most of the criteria adduced by these authors can also be applied to Jaminjung; they include phonological and phonotactic peculiarities of the coverb class, differences in syntactic functions, and to some extent distinctive morphological marking. The evidence for regarding coverbs as a distinct lexical category – with some marginal zones of overlap to other parts of speech – is summarised in §2.3.1. Coverb morphology is discussed in §2.3.2. The syntactic functions of coverbs as part of complex predicates, as secondary predicates, and as semi-independent main predicates are treated in more detail in a separate chapter (Ch. 3). The use of

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(e.g. ‘inside’), or a phrase (‘go.up’, ‘enter.3D.container’). Differences in glossing should not be taken to imply differences in word class status of the forms in question.

coverbs as main predicates in case-marked subordinate clauses is described in §2.6.5. A detailed subclassification of coverbs into semantically circumscribed classes, defined formally by cooccurrence patterns with inflecting verbs, is presented in Ch. 6.

### 2.3.1 The coverb as a distinct lexical category

Coverbs can easily be distinguished from verbs in that only the latter may take verbal inflections (see also §2.4). The uninflecting nature of coverbs is reminiscent of the adverb class of many languages, and indeed one could argue that ‘adverbs’, in Jaminjung, form a subclass of the coverbs (§2.3.1.1). There is also a marginal overlap between the classes of coverbs and nominals, but in principle, the two classes can be distinguished by taking into consideration a number of intersecting criteria (§2.3.1.2). The distinction between coverbs and particles is straightforward: coverbs always receive phrasal stress, while particles are generally prosodically dependent on another element in their tone unit (see also §2.5).

It is also worth noting that members of the coverb class exhibit phonological and phonotactic peculiarities, which however can only be regarded as sufficient, not as necessary criteria for coverb status.<sup>37</sup> Unlike members of any other word class, coverbs may form monosyllabic words, may have certain clusters in word-final syllable codas (e.g. /rrb#/ as in *garrb* ‘gather, pick up many things’), and may contain the mid vowel /e/ (as in *deb* ‘knock down’; see also §2.1.1). A subset of coverbs can be argued to be sound-symbolic (see Schultze-Berndt to appear); coverbs in Jaminjung as well as their counterparts in other Australian languages therefore have also been compared to ideophones in other languages (see §7.1.3 and references there).

#### 2.3.1.1 Coverb and adverbs

The standard linguistic definition of ‘adverbs’ also applies, to some degree, to Jaminjung coverbs. Adverbs are defined as invariable elements which modify the verb, are optional, and occur in a position that is reserved for this class (van der Auwera 1994: 39 ff.).

Coverbs, like adverbs, do not inflect, and they are restricted to certain positions. Optionality, though, is a difficult criterion, since although coverbs are not grammatically obligatory (all verbs can constitute a predicate without a coverb), the meaning and, occasionally, also the argument structure of a clause may be

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<sup>37</sup> For similar observations see e.g. Kofod (1996b: 14) for Gija, McGregor (1990: 190 and 1996b) for Gooniyandi, Wilson (1999: 47f.) for Wagiman, Nordlinger (1990: 99) for Bilinara, and Tsunoda (1981a: 44ff., 177) for Jaru.

completely changed if the coverb is omitted. In other words, it is not always easy to determine whether coverb-verb constructions are endocentric or exocentric (see also §3.2.5 for further discussion). For example, a coverb of manner of motion, like *warrng-warrng* ‘walk’ in (2-60), may be interpreted as an (optional) modifier of a locomotion verb.

- (2-60)    *nga-jga-ny*    *ngiya-ngunyi*    **warrng-warrng**  
           1sg-GO.PST    PROX-ABL    RDP-walk  
           ‘I went walking from here’ (MJ, E04223)

The same verb, *-ijga* ‘GO’, also has a reading of change of state with coverbs of change of state such as *bag* ‘break’ in (2-61) (see also §5.3.2.2 and §6.6), and here the coverb cannot be omitted without resulting in a nonsensical expression, that is, it cannot be regarded as a modifier.

- (2-61)    *thanthu*    *minyga*            *gurdbu*    *ngunggina*    **bag**    *na-jga-ny*  
           DEM            what’s.it.called    lower.leg    2sg:POSS    break    2sg-GO.PST  
           ‘That whatchamacallit, you broke your lower leg’ (ER, cf. II/4)

The ‘adverbial’ nature of coverb-like elements in other Australian languages has also been pointed out e.g. for Warlpiri by Nash (1986: 42ff.) and for Wagiman by Cook (1988). For Wardaman, a language bordering onto, and structurally very similar to, Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru, the difficulty of establishing a class of adverbs distinct from coverbs<sup>38</sup> is described by Merlan (1994: 59) as follows:

The class of adverbs cannot, satisfactorily, be entirely distinguished from the (...) [coverb] class. Adverbs by definition occur in construction with verbs and modify them, and generally each may occur with a large number of verbs. [Coverbs], on the other hand, tend to be more restricted in the number of verbs with which each commonly occurs. That is, there is a greater semantic specificity to many [coverbs] which determines the greater selectivity of their occurrence. In Wardaman, there is no set of formal properties by which adverbs can be distinguished from members of other word classes.

Still, Merlan (1994: 60, 165) identifies a separate class of manner adverbs. Possible criteria for adverb status are not only optionality, semantic generality, and variability in occurrence with verbs, but also non-occurrence with the continuous derivational suffix *-mayan* (see §2.3.2.2), and non-occurrence as predicates in case-marked purposive or causal adverbial clauses (see §2.6.5).

By these criteria, a small class of manner adverbs can be identified for Jaminjung. It comprises only a few expressions like *gabardag* ‘quick’, *miyarra* ‘slow’,

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<sup>38</sup> Since nothing hinges on the choice of terminology, and to facilitate comparison, the term ‘coverb’ is substituted here, and in the quote, for the term ‘(verbal) particle’ employed by Merlan.

careful, softly’ and *lurruj* (J.)/*marnungurru* (Ng.) ‘fast, hard, loud’. Alternatively, these could be regarded as a subclass of coverbs, in addition to those identified in Ch. 6. (cf. Wilson 1999: 123ff.). The greater semantic independence from verbs of these manner expressions, in comparison with ‘real’ coverbs, is also reflected in their position: they are often separated by an intonational boundary from the main predicate, as in (2-62), and if they modify a verb that is already complex, they do not intervene between coverb and verb, but either precede or follow the complex verb.

- (2-62)    bulgub      ba-rrga,                    **miyarra** \
- sneak.up   IMP-APPROACH    slow
- ‘sneak up on it, carefully’ (CP, E11237)

Expressions that function as unmarked locational and temporal adverbials are considered subclasses of nominals, rather than members of the coverb/adverb class. This is in line with observations made for other Australian languages (cf. e.g. Wilkins 1989: 301). However, for some locational expressions it is also difficult to determine whether they should be considered adverbial nominals or coverbs (see §2.2.2.4 for a brief discussion). Since these insecurities concern a relatively small, semantically defined class of forms, the principled distinction between coverbs and nominals can still be maintained. Criteria for this distinction are discussed in the next section.

### 2.3.1.2 Properties distinguishing coverbs from nominals

The function that most clearly distinguishes coverbs from most subclasses of nominals is their occurrence in combination with a verb, i.e. as part of a complex verb, or in a progressive construction. These constructions are discussed in somewhat more detail in §3.2 and §3.3.

Derivational morphology on coverbs (§2.3.2) partly overlaps with nominal derivational morphology (§2.2.3.2), but there are also clear differences. Only coverb roots can take the quality nominaliser *-bari* ~ *-wari* (§2.3.2.3.1), and productively take the continuous suffix *-mayan* (§2.3.2.2). Only nouns occur with the derivational suffixes *-mawu* ‘HABITAT’ (§2.2.3.2.3) and *-nguji* ‘ETC’ (§2.2.3.2.4).

Moreover, coverbs do not occur as a constituent of noun phrases as defined in §2.2.1. This issue is somewhat complicated by the fact that coverbs can take a subset of the nominal case markers. The case markers in this use function as complementisers of a subordinate clause, which has a coverb as its main predicate (see §2.6.5). However, coverbs may not take all of the case markers, and do not combine with a determiner.

When we apply these criteria, we find a few heterosemous roots which may function both as true nouns and as coverbs. Three of these are *nguyang* ‘smell (n)’ or ‘smell (v), be smelly’, *ngayimaj* ‘breath’ or ‘breathe’, and *janga* ‘sore (n), sickness’ or ‘sore (adj), sick’. Examples for *janga* in both functions are given in (2-63).

- (2-63a) *thanggagu*      *marnal-ni*      ***janga***      *gana-ma-ya*  
 above              ankle-LOC      sore      3sg:3sg-HAVE-PRS  
 ‘on top of the ankle he has got a sore’ (Topological Relations Picture book) (DR, NGA109)
- b) *bib*      *nga-mili-ny*                      *ngardurru*,  
 move.up    1sg:3sg-GET/HANDLE-PST    heavy  
***janga***    *biyang*    *nga-yu*  
 sore      NOW      1sg-BE.PRS  
 ‘I lifted up something heavy, and now I’m sore’ (MW, CHE025)

Another nominal ‘doubling’ as coverb is *dili* ‘light (n), torch’ or ‘light (up), shine (of fire, light)’, illustrated in (2-64).

- (2-64a) ***dili***-*marnany*    *burru-yu*      *thalbud=malang*  
 light-PRIV      3pl-BE.PRS      house=GIVEN  
 ‘without light they are in the house’ (DR, BAR059)
- b) *binyinyi::b*,      ***dili***      *ga-rna-ya \*  
 use.firedrill      light      3sg-BURN-PRS  
 ‘(put (dry) grass on it, and it will burn,) use the firedrill, it lights up’  
 (DB, F02241-3)

The evidence that *dili* in (2-64b) functions as a coverb and not a noun (in which case (2-64b) would read ‘the light burns’) is that the referent on which ‘burning’ is predicated is independently established in the context: it is grass which is set on fire with the help of a fire drill. The noun *dili*, on the other hand, is only used for artefacts that provide light, e.g. firesticks, torches, or car lamps. The existence of a few of these heterosemous forms in no way challenges the principled distinction between nominals and coverbs.

Still, it has to be conceded that in Jaminjung there is some overlap between coverbs and those adjectival nominals which are used predominantly in predicative function. Like stative coverbs, these may combine with the two verbs *-yu* ‘BE’ and *-ijga* ‘GO’ in their auxiliary function (see §2.2.2.3 for an example). Unlike coverbs, however, adjectival nominals may also function as the predicate in verbless clauses. Again, this criterion is complicated by the fact that coverbs may occur on their own as semi-independent predicates (see §3.4); unlike verbless clauses with nominal predicates, these are stylistically marked.

Sometimes, though, various criteria yield conflicting results. For example, *jurriya* ‘know/knowledgeable’ qualifies as a coverb in that it has a derived nominal counterpart *jurriyawari* ‘knowledgeable’ (2-65), and in that it forms verbal predicates with the verb *-yu* ‘BE’ in its auxiliary function (2-66).

(2-65)    *nami*        ***jurriya-wari***,        *jurdug*        *ba-ijja* \

             2sg        know-QUAL                straight        IMP-POKE

             ‘you are (a) knowledgeable (person), weave it the right way’ (DP, RIV018)

(2-66)    *marndaj*    ***jurriya***    ***nga-yu***        *ngunggu*

             all.right    know        1sg-BE.PRS    2sg.OBL

             ‘all right, I know you (now)’ (VP, NUN118)

However, *jurriya* also doubles as an adjectival nominal in a verbless ascriptive clause (see §2.6.3), as in (2-67).

(2-67)    *gurrany*    ***jurriya***    *ngarrgu*    *ngiya*    *yagbali*

             NEG        know        1sg.OBL    PROX    place

             ‘I don’t know this country’ (DP, E05060)

There are a few other forms which combine properties of nominal adjectives and coverbs; one of them is *marring* ‘bad’ (see §6.4.3 for examples).

### 2.3.1.3 Coverbal pro-forms

The existence of distinctive pro-forms constitutes another piece of evidence for the status of coverbs as a word class in its own right. In addition to the nominal demonstratives (see §2.2.2.5), Jaminjung also has a demonstrative coverb, *maja* ‘thus; do like that’.

(2-68)    *thandarlng*    *ga-rra-ja*                ***maja***                *gani-yu* \

             stretched    3sg-PUT-REFL.PST    do.like.that        3sg:3sg-SAY/DO.PST

             ‘she stretched, she did it like that’ (IP, E08381)

A nominal can be derived from *maja*, just as from other coverbs, with the quality nominaliser *-bari* ~ *-wari* (see §2.3.2.3.1); the resulting form can be translated as ‘one like that’.

(2-69)    *yawayi*,        *gujugu*        *warrag*,        ***maja-wari***

             yes            big            catfish        thus-QUAL

             ‘yes, a big catfish, one like that’ (indicating size by gesture) (DB, D13088)

In addition to the demonstrative coverb, Jaminjung also has an interrogative coverb, *warndug* ‘how, do what’, illustrated in (2-70).

- (2-70)    yalamburrma        bul        yani-ma        burrag=burlu  
              saltwater.crocodile    emerge    IRR:3sg:3sg-HIT    3pl.OBL=COLL1  
              “**warndug**=biya    yurru-yu”  
              do.what=NOW        1pl.incl:3sg-FUT:SAY/DO  
              ‘a saltwater crocodile might come up on them, (and they will say)  
              “what are we going to do?”’ (people in a boat) (DP, E04235)

Both the interrogative coverb *warndug* and the demonstrative coverb *maja*, just like ordinary coverbs, can take the continuous suffix *-mayan* (see §2.3.2.2).

- (2-71)    majani        ganunggum=nu,  
              maybe        3sg:3sg-SAY/DO-PRS=3sg.OBL  
              “**warndug-mayan**    na-yu,        thanthiya?”  
              do.what-CONT        2sg-BE.PRS    DEM  
              ‘maybe he says to him “what are you doing there?”’ (IP, E13597)

However, the status of these two pro-forms is somewhat complicated by the fact that they may also substitute for quotations, and manner adverbials. The demonstrative coverb *maja* also often accompanies gestures. The issue of the relationship between coverbs and quotations will be further addressed in §2.3.2.2 below, and in §4.2.3.2.

## 2.3.2 Coverb morphology

As has already been pointed out, coverbs completely lack inflections for any verbal category. Both reduplication (§2.3.2.1) and marking for continuous aspectual character (§2.3.2.2) are treated as derivational here. These are the only derivations on coverbs that do not change word class membership. All word-class changing derivational morphology results in nominalisation (§2.3.2.3); it is not possible to derive verbs from coverbs. The use of the privative suffix with coverbs is treated in a separate section (§2.3.2.4) since it allows for two alternative analyses.

Coverbs, however, may – without any formal sign of nominalisation – take a subset of case inflections. This is because they may function as the main predicate in non-finite adverbial clauses, whose relationship to the main clause is encoded by a case marker in ‘complementising’ function. Coverbs as main predicates in non-finite subordinate clauses are discussed in §2.6.5.

### 2.3.2.1 Reduplication

Reduplication of coverbs serves to express extended duration, repetition or intensity of events, as well as multiplicity (or an aggregate) of participants. Usually, this involves full reduplication, although word-initial partial

reduplication is also found (for this reason, all reduplication is treated as initial reduplication for the purpose of glossing).

In its first function, reduplication is very frequent – almost obligatory – with coverbs representing inherently repetitive events, such as walking, or moving one’s knees in and out in a dance (2-72).

- (2-72)    **mang-mang**                      ganu-nggu-m  
                  RDP-move.knees.outward    3sg:3sg-SAY/DO-PRS  
                  ‘she is moving her knees in and out in dancing’ (DP, C10026)

For punctual coverbs, the interpretation is iterative. The non-reduplicated coverb *durrb*, in comparison with the form used in (2-73), would convey the reading of ‘poke s.th. a single time’.

- (2-73)    **durrb-durrb**    ga-ma-ji              gayil  
                  RDP-poke              3sg-HIT-REFL    tooth  
                  ‘he cleans his teeth (with a stick)’

Very frequently, reduplication is combined with continuous marking (see §2.3.2.2), as in (2-74), where the interpretation is again iterative.

- (2-74)    **lag-lag-mayan**    yirr-angu  
                  RDP-split-CONT    1pl.excl:3sg-GET/HANDLE.PST  
                  ‘we were splitting them’ (leaves of Pandanus, for basketweaving) (VP, TIM095)

Repetition of an event and multiplicity of participants of course coincide for many events involving multiple theme or patient referents, as shown in (2-75).

- (2-75)    **wirriny-wirriny**    ba-rra  
                  RDP-turn                      IMP-PUT  
                  ‘turn them round’ (loaves of bread on the fire) (MJ, C10056)

A clear example for a non-repetitive event involving multiple participants is given in (2-76). The reduplication of the positional coverb *mugurn* ‘lie, sleep’, in combination with a stative verb such as *-yu* ‘BE’, only conveys a reading of multiple figures, not of repetition. Note that *warrb* in (2-76), also a positional coverb, is inherently specified for multiplicity of a figure (see also §6.1), and is therefore not reduplicated.

- (2-76)    gininggi-ni            warrb            yirr-agba            ngarlu-ni,  
              coolibah.tree-LOC    sit.together    1pl.excl-BE.PST    shade-LOC
- mugurn-mugurn**            yirr-agba  
              RDP-lie                    1pl.excl-BE.PST
- ‘we sat down under a coolibah tree in the shade, we were lying down’  
              (DMc, TAP050)

Reduplication has to be distinguished from repetition of a coverb to iconically represent a repeated action; reduplicated coverbs only carry a single word stress, while each reiterated coverb receives its own word stress (see §3.4.2 for an example).

Finally, it seems possible to derive a stative, resultative coverb from a coverb of change of state or change of location by reduplication, although this phenomenon is not too well attested in the data. Usually the derivational suffix *-bari* ~ *-wari* expresses this function (see §2.3.2.3.1).

- (2-77)    **gad-gad**    ga-yu            (\* gad ga-yu)  
              RDP-cut            3sg-BE.PRS
- ‘it is partitioned’ (description of turtle shell) (DBit, JAM258)
- (2-78)    **burduj-burduj**    ga-yu            (\* burduj ga-yu)  
              RDP-move.up            3sg-BE.PRS
- ‘he is up (in a tree)’ (referring to boy already up in a tree) (IP, EV03063)

### 2.3.2.2 *-mayan* ‘CONTInuous’

The suffix *-mayan* is used to derive coverbs of continuous activity (see §6.3) from coverbs of other classes. The resulting coverbs encode an event that is presented as ongoing at reference time, e.g. with respect to another event. Coverbs derived with this suffix exhibit a striking functional resemblance to English present participles in *-ing*. They can be used as main predicates in a progressive construction with the verbs *-yu* ‘BE’ or *-ijga* ‘GO’ in auxiliary function, as in (2-79) (see also §3.3.1).

- (2-79)    jiwayurru    **buru-mayan**            ga-gba=biya  
              bower.bird    return-CONT            3sg-BE.PST=NOW
- ‘the bower bird was going back and forth then’ (Bolt et al. 1971a)

Like English present participles, coverbs taking the *-mayan* suffix are also used with verbs other than *-yu* ‘BE’ and *-ijga* ‘GO’, as in (2-80) (see also §3.3.2). Unlike English present participles, however, Jaminjung forms in *-mayan* are never used referentially or attributively.

- (2-80) **ngabuj-ngabuj-mayan** na-ram \ ba-jga \  
 RDP-smell-CONT 2sg-COME.PRS IMP-GO  
 ‘you come (here) sniffing, go away’ (order to an imaginary dog) (JM, F04189)

Depending on the semantics of the coverb, continuous marking may lead to a change in aspectual character or valency. For example, *-mayan* can be added to a stative coverb, such as the positional *mun* ‘face down, be upside down’. Since the reading of the derived coverb has to be dynamic, it is interpreted as iterative, i.e. as repeatedly assuming a position (cf. also (2-79) above).

- (2-81) **mun-mayan** ga-yu  
 face.down-CONT 3sg-BE.PST  
 ‘he is bending up and down’

A change in valency results from the combination of *-mayan* with a coverb which is restricted to an inanimate participant, such as *jurrb* ‘lie/be left of multiple entities’. The addition of the continuous suffix not only enforces a dynamic reading, but also adds a second, agentive, participant to the resulting activity coverb, since the single inanimate participant of *jurrb* cannot be ascribed a repeated ‘lying down’. From the context of example (2-82) it is clear that the referent of the third person singular prefix on the verb is a human agent, who is stacking books.

- (2-82) ... **jurrb-mayan**=mang ga-yu=ni ba-ngawu, **book**,  
 lie.multiply-CONT=SUBORD 3sg-BE.PRS=SFOC1 IMP-SEE book  
 ‘ (...) the one who is putting them down, look, the books’ (TEMPEST videos) (IP, E08263)

The continuous-marked, dynamic form of some other stative coverbs, such as *guyawud* ‘hungry’ only adds a nuance of intensity and prolonged situation; compare (2-83) and (2-84).

- (2-83) **guyawud** yirr-agba  
 hungry 1pl.excl-BE.PST  
 ‘we were hungry’

- (2-84) **guyawud-mayan**=biya yirr-agba gurrija,  
 hungry-CONT=NOW 1pl.excl-BE.PST digging  
 ‘hungry we had been digging / we were being hungry, digging’ (DR, E09418)

Interestingly, continuous marking is not restricted to coverbs. The suffix *-mayan* is also attested with nominals in a few cases (however, it does not seem to be a productive derivational affix with nominals). The examples either involve the

numeral *jungulug* ‘one’, as in (2-85), or the compound *ngayimaj judbung* ‘heavy breathing’, lit. ‘short breath’, as in (2-86).

- (2-85)    *ga-da-m*                    ***jungulug-mayan***  
              3sg-FALL-PRS    one-CONT  
              ‘they fall one by one’ (fruits) (DB, D14063)

- (2-86)    ***ngayimaj judbung-mayan***    *nga-gba=ni,*                    *warranya-giyag*  
              breath                    short-CONT                    1sg-BE.PST=SFOC1                    remove.cover-ABL  
              ‘I was out of breath from scratching’ (for crocodile eggs) (DR, D27035)

Even more puzzling is the fact that *-mayan* (which is perhaps better treated as a clitic rather than a suffix in this case) may also follow quotations, as in (2-87). The resulting expression combines with *-yu* ‘BE’, just like a coverb in the progressive construction.

- (2-87)    “*wanaja na-jga-ny=ngardi:.*”    ***mayan***    *ga-gba=rnu*                    *waya*  
              where                    2sg-GO-PST=SFOC2                    CONT                    3sg-BE.PST=3sg.OBL                    call  
              “‘where did you go!’” he was calling out’ (DR, E02153)

A formal relationship between coverbs and quotations is also reflected in the fact that both can be replaced by the propositional demonstrative *maja* ‘thus, do like that’, and the propositional interrogative *warndug* ‘how, do what’ (see §2.3.1.3 above and §4.2.3.2-3, §5.6.2).

### 2.3.2.3 Nominalisation

Most nominalising derivational morphemes on coverbs also derive nominals from other nominals (see §2.2.3.2). The only exception is the quality nominaliser *-bari* ~ *-wari*, which is only found on coverbs.

#### 2.3.2.3.1 *-bari* ~ *-wari* ‘QUALity nominaliser’

The quality nominalising suffix, applied to coverb roots, derives nominals which denote a property, quality or state. The derived forms belong to the ‘adjectival’ subclass, since they are usually used either as adnominal modifiers (2-88), or as nominal predicates (2-89).

- (2-88)    *wirib jirrama mangurrb-bari bunthu-yu mugurn*  
              dog                    two                    black-QUAL                    3du-BE.PRS                    lie/sleep  
              ‘two black dogs are lying down’ (DR, NGA086)

- (2-89)    **lag-bari**    mali    thanthu  
                  split-QUAL    thing    DEM

‘(it’s) cracked, that thing’ (plastic bottle) (DP, MJ, CHE268)

The quality nominaliser is especially frequent with stative coverbs denoting colour and texture; many of these, like *mangurrb-bari* ‘black’ in (2-88), occur in their derived form more frequently than in their underived form. However, it seems possible to derive quality nominals from coverbs of most subclasses, e.g. coverbs of change of state like *lag* ‘split’ in (2-89). One of the exceptions is the subclass of coverbs denoting activities (see §6.3). The exact restrictions on the distribution of *-bari* ~ *-wari* require further investigation.

### 2.3.2.3.2 *-ngarna* ‘ASSOCiative’

The associative suffix *-ngarna* derives nouns from other nouns (§2.2.3.2.1), or from coverbs. The resultant noun characterises an inanimate or animate entity as habitually performing the event designated by the base (see e.g. *jarragja-ngarna* ‘tape recorder’, lit. ‘talking thing’ in 2-10), or as otherwise habitually associated with an event (2-90).

- (2-90)    mangarra=gayi    gani-mindi-ya,    **bud-ngarna**  
                  plant.food=ALSO    3sg:3sg-EAT-PRS    cook.on.coals-ASSOC

‘it also eats plant food, (of the type) cooked on coals’ (pet bird) (VP, E09823)

Just as with nominals, the associative suffix with coverbs is very productive in the spontaneous coinage of new terms for introduced professions and artefacts. For example, in the word for ‘nurse’, *durrbdurrb-ngarna*, the suffix follows the reduplicated coverb *durrb* ‘poke’. A motor, truck or tractor can be referred to as *yuguyugung-ngarna*, derived from the coverb *yugung* ‘run’.

### 2.3.2.3.3 *-gina* ‘Function nominaliser’ (= ‘POSS’)

The suffix *-gina* functions both as a derivational suffix and as an adnominal possessive marker on nominals (§2.2.3.2.2, §2.2.3.3.12). It also combines with coverbs to derive function nominals, referring to an entity (or place) that has a function in the event designated by the coverb. These derived nominals can be used as adnominal modifiers (2-91), or as characterising predicates (2-92).

- (2-91)    **garla-garla-gina**    mali  
                  RDP-play-POSS    thing  
                  ‘things for playing (= cards)’

- (2-92)    *garnmurru...*      **gurrany**    **thawaya-gina** (...)  
                  plant.species      NEG            eat-POSS  
                  ‘the *garnmurru* tree (is) not for eating’ (DB, PLN001)

Like the associative nominaliser *-ngarna*, the function nominaliser is frequently used to derive terms for introduced artefacts, for example *bardbard-gina* ‘blanket’ from the coverb *bardbard* ‘covered’.

#### 2.3.2.4 Verbless negatives with *-marnany* (Jam.) / *-miyardi* (Ngali) ‘PRIVative’

Coverbs can occur with the nominal privative suffix *-marnany* (J.) / *-miyardi* (Ng.) (see §2.2.3.4.2). In some cases, the privative marker may also have arguments of the coverb in its scope, as in (2-93).

- (2-93)    **liny**            **marringma-marnany**  
                  speech      use.bad.language-PRIV  
                  ‘no using bad language!’ (DBit, CHE322)

Alternatively, privative-marked coverbs can be interpreted as negative ascriptive predicates. In this function, they have the same distribution as the nominal predicates derived with this suffix, as shown by the fact that their predication base, if pronominal, can be cross-referenced by an oblique pronoun, as in (2-94) (compare this with (2-44) in §2.2.3.4.2).

- (2-94)    **mugurn-miyardi**    burrag  
                  lie/sleep-PRIV            3pl.OBL  
                  ‘they won’t sleep’, ‘they are sleepless’ (context: ‘the drunken people wake us up’) (VP, NUN159)

Most frequently, expressions of this type, just like their English translation equivalents in (2-93) and (2-95), are used with negative imperative illocutionary force.<sup>39</sup> Thus they function as an alternative to the inflected negative imperative in irrealis mood (see §2.4.1.3.1.2).

- (2-95)    gud            ba-iyaj,    **mugurn-marnany!**  
                  get.up      IMP-BE      sleep-PRIV  
                  ‘get up, no sleeping’ (VP, NUN163)

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<sup>39</sup> Similar constructions have been described for Wardaman (Merlan 1994: 266f.) and Wagiman (Cook 1987: 256f., Wilson 1999: 57f.).

## 2.4 Generic verbs

Verb roots can be identified by their obligatory inflectional morphology. As has already been pointed out in §1.1, these verb roots form a closed class with around 30 members. More precisely, 26 verb roots are well attested both in Jaminjung and in Ngaliwurru, and 9 are very marginal in terms of frequency; moreover, two of these nine only occur in the Ngaliwurru dialect. An important indication of the closed-class status of Jaminjung verbs is also the fact there is no way to derive new verb stems (except for the reflexive/reciprocal derivation) from either existing verbs or members of other word classes.

In the literature on Northern Australian languages, the inflecting verbs forming a closed class are often termed ‘auxiliaries’. Most commonly, this term is reserved for their function as part of a complex verb, and they are referred to as ‘verbs’ when forming a predicate on their own.<sup>40</sup> It is one of the main objectives of this study to show that there is no principled difference, either formally or semantically, between verbs on their own and verbs as part of a complex verb; this is the topic of Chs. 3 to 5. For a discussion of the principled difference between auxiliaries in a grammatical function in other languages and the closed-class verbs in Northern Australia see Ch. 7.

A number of descriptions (see §5.1 for references) also use the terms ‘classifier’ or ‘verb class’ for the inflecting verbs (or verbs reduced to phonologically bound elements). This term points to the fact that closed-class verbs can be said to categorise events, which will be demonstrated for the Jaminjung verbs in Ch. 5. However, since I do not regard them as grammatical classifiers, but rather as semantically general lexemes with categorising function, I will use the term ‘generic verb’ (interchangeably with ‘verb’), in analogy to ‘generic noun’. The semantically general nature of the verbs is also indicated by glossing them with small capitals. As mentioned earlier (§1.4.2.2), each form is paired with the same gloss in all of its uses, and the glosses should not be taken to adequately represent the meaning of the verbs, or their reading in a particular context. The semantics of each of the generic verbs is the topic of Ch. 5.

Since many of the verbs are irregular with suppletive stems, and no clear conjugation classes can be established, an overview of all verbs and their conjugation is provided in §2.4.2.

The syntactic functions of generic verbs will be dealt with in Ch. 3. Since no non-finite forms can be derived from verbs, they are restricted to finite clauses, either as the main predicate (§3.1), or as a part of the main predicate in a complex verb construction (§3.2).

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<sup>40</sup> Cf. e.g. Cleverly (1968), Bolt et al. (1971a, b), Rumsey (1982a), Merlan (1982, 1994).

### 2.4.1 Generic verb morphology

Verbs can easily be distinguished from all other lexical categories, including coverbs, by a rich set of obligatory verbal inflections. These comprise pronominal prefixes (§2.4.1.2), mood prefixes (§2.4.1.3.1), and tense/aspect suffixes (§2.4.1.3.2). For a number of verbs, some tense/aspect categories are expressed by stem suppletion rather than suffixation. The structure of the inflected verb is represented – in a somewhat simplified form – in (2-96).

(2-96) *Structure of the inflected verb*

(Mood1-)Bound.Pronominals-(Mood2-)V.Stem(-Tense/Aspect)

Pronominal prefixes obligatorily occur in all verb forms (except in some imperative forms with singular addressee). Tense and aspect is only marked in indicative mood (with the exception of imperfective future/potential forms; see §2.4.1.3.1.1).

Verbal derivational morphology is limited to the reflexive/reciprocal suffix (§2.4.1.1). There are no other morphological valency-changing devices. Verbs of different valency, combined with the same coverb, often fulfil the same function as applicative markers, causativisers, and other valency-changing morphology in other languages (see Ch. 4 and §7.1.4). There is no word-class changing morphology for verb roots. Verbs cannot be nominalised, and in fact do not have non-finite forms. As shown in §2.3.2.4, §2.6.5, §3.3 and §7.2.1, coverbs may fulfil the functions of non-finite verb forms in other languages. It is important to note that coverbs cannot be productively derived from verbs, or vice versa. Jaminjung differs in this respect from some neighbouring languages like Wagiman (Wilson 1999: 23).

Unless otherwise noted, the verbal morphology is identical for Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru. The only dialectal differences reside in some nonsingular forms of transitive pronominal prefixes (see §2.4.1.2.2).

#### 2.4.1.1 REFLEXIVE/reciprocal derivation

The reflexive suffix *-ji* immediately follows the verb stem. It is suffixed to the present tense stem of the verb (see Table 2-12 in § 2.4.2.4), except for the verbs *-ina(ngga)* ‘CHOP’ and *-inama* ‘CHOP’, where the past perfective/imperfective stem is used. The suffix is identical in form to the third person singular absolutive free pronoun (in the past perfective, a portmanteau form *-ja* occurs). Reflexive/reciprocal forms can be derived from almost all transitive verbs; the resulting stems are intransitive, i.e. only take intransitive pronominal prefixes. The only formally transitive verb which has no reflexive form is *-yu(nggu)* ‘SAY/DO’; this verb also has reduced transitive properties in other respects (see §5.6).

(2-97) ngidbud-gi nga-**mili**-ja **yurr**  
 night-LOC 1sg-GET/HANDLE-REFL.PST rub  
 ‘at night I rubbed myself’ (with medicine) (DB, FRA013)

The vowel in the last syllable of a polysyllabic prefix is always /-a/ in past imperfective forms, and is otherwise often subject to assimilation to the vowel of

the verb stem. For example, the 2sg:3sg past perfective form of *-mili* ‘GET/HANDLE’ is *nganJi-mili-ny*, but the corresponding past imperfective form is *nganJa-mila*.

Table 2-6. *Intransitive pronominal prefixes*

	<b>Indicative</b>	<b>Irrealis</b> (following <i>ya-</i> )	<b>Imperative</b> (following <i>ba-</i> )
<b>1sg</b>	nga-	-ngV-	—
<b>2sg</b>	na-	-nJV-	0
<b>3sg</b>	ga-	-nV-	—
<b>1du.incl</b>	mindV-	-mindV-	—
<b>1du.excl</b>	yiny-	-rriny-	—
<b>2du</b>	guny-	-wuny-	-wuny-
<b>3du</b>	buny-	-wuny-	—
<b>1pl.incl</b>	yurrV-	-rrV-	—
<b>1pl.excl</b>	yirrV-	-rrV-	—
<b>2pl</b>	gurrV-	-wurrV-	-wurru-
<b>3pl</b>	burrV-	-wurrV-	—

#### 2.4.1.2.2 Transitive bound pronominals

The transitive pronominal prefixes are listed in Tables 2-7 to 2-9 below, divided by number of Undergoer. Again, the allomorphs following the irrealis prefix *ya-* are also given (for the imperative forms, see Table 2-10 below). Since details of morphological analysis are irrelevant for the main topic of this study, the transitive prefixes are treated here as portmanteau forms, although many of them are clearly segmentable. A further segmentation would reveal that the order is consistently Actor (A, or ‘subject prefix’) followed by Undergoer<sup>41</sup> (U, or ‘object prefix’). The labels A and U are therefore omitted in the glosses. In other words, a gloss like ‘1sg:3pl’ should be read ‘first person singular Actor acting on third person plural Undergoer’.

As a comparison of the intransitive and the transitive paradigms shows, the Actor prefixes are clearly formally related to the intransitive prefixes. Thus, the formal encoding of arguments in the bound pronominals basically follows a nominative-accusative pattern. This is especially obvious for forms representing third person singular Undergoer, which receives zero exponence. Here the transitive

<sup>41</sup> For a justification of the terminology (‘Actor’ and ‘Undergoer’ rather than ‘subject’ and ‘object’) see §4.1.

paradigm is identical to the intransitive paradigm, with the exception of the second and third person singular A forms.

The transitive prefixes with nonsingular Undergoer, presented in Tables 2-8 and 2-9, require some additional comments. First, there is a major difference between Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru in that only Ngaliwurru has distinct prefixes for dual and plural first person Undergoers. In Jaminjung, the number and exclusive/inclusive distinctions are neutralised in the first person Undergoer forms, and only the singular prefixes are used. Instead, the number and exclusive/inclusive distinction is maintained analytically, by obligatorily adding the corresponding oblique pronominal clitic (see also §2.2.4.3.3).

In both dialects, the distinction between second and third person Undergoer is neutralised in both dual and plural forms. The distinction between dual and plural Actor is also neutralised for the second and third person with nonsingular Undergoers.

A further complication concerns the position of the potential/future prefix (see §2.4.1.3.1.1). This immediately precedes the stem following prefixes with singular Undergoer, but, with nonsingular Undergoers, separates the Actor and the Undergoer prefix. The resulting forms are included in Tables 2-8 and 2-9, as well as the irrealis prefix forms.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> ‘Etc.’ in a table cell for these person/number combinations should read: “Use the first person singular Undergoer form (as listed in Table 2-7) also in irrealis and potential/future forms, and add the same oblique pronominal clitic.” For example, the irrealis verb form with 3sg A and 1du.incl U is (ya-)n-...=*mindag*.

Table 2-7. *Transitive pronominal prefixes, singular Undergoer*

U		1sg	2sg	3sg
A	1sg			
	Ind.	—	nganyV-	nga-
	Irr.	—	-nyi-	-ngV-
2sg	Ind.	nganJin-	—	nganJV-
	Irr.	-nJin-	—	-nJV-
3sg	Ind.	gan-	ganiny-	ganV-
	Irr.	-n-	-niny-	-nV-
1du.incl	Ind.	—	—	mindV-
	Irr.	—	—	-mindV-
1du.excl	Ind.	—	yinyV-	yiny-
	Irr.	—	-wunyV-	-rriny-
2du	Ind.	gunyin-	—	guny-
	Irr.	-wunyin-	—	-wuny-
3du	Ind.	bunyin-	bunyV-	buny-
	Irr.	-wunyin-	-wunyV-	-wuny-
1pl.incl	Ind.	—	—	yurrV-
	Irr.	—	—	-rrV-
1pl.excl	Ind.	—	yinyV-	yirrV-
	Irr.	—	-wunyV-	-rrV-
2pl	Ind.	gun-	—	gurrV-
	Irr.	-wun-	—	-wurrV-
3pl	Ind.	bun-	bunyV-	burrV-
	Irr.	-wun-	-wunyV-	-wurrV-

Table 2-8. *Transitive pronominal prefixes, dual Undergoer*

A	U	1du.incl		1du.excl		2/3du
		Jaminjung	Ngaliwurru	Jaminjung	Ngaliwurru	
1sg	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	—	—	ngawuny- nga-b-uny- -nguny-
2sg	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	nganJin- ... =yinyag etc.	nganjiny- nganji-b-irriny -njirriny-	nganJuny- nganJi-b-uny- -nJuny-
3sg	Ind. Fut. Irr.	gan- ... =mindag etc.	ganimindi- gadi-bidi- -nimindi-	gan- ... =yinyag etc.	ganirriny- gadi-b-irriny- -nirriny-	ganuny- gadu-b-uny- -nuny-
1du.incl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	—	—	munduny- mundu-b-uny- -munduny-
1du.excl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	—	—	yirruny- yirru-b-uny- -rruny-
2du	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	gunyin-... =yinyag etc.	girrirriny- girribiny- -wurriny-	gurruny- gurru-b-uny- -wurruny-
3du	Ind. Fut. Irr.	bunyin-... =mindag etc.	birrimindi- birri-bidi- -wurrimindi-	bunyin-... =yinyag etc.	birrirriny- birri-biny- -wirrirriny-	burruny- burru-b-uny- -wurruny-
1pl.incl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	—	—	yurruny- yurru-b-uny- -rruny-
1pl.excl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	—	—	yirruny- yirru-b-uny- -rruny-
2pl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	gun- ... =yinyag etc.	girrirriny- girri-biny- -wirrirriny-	gurruny- gurru-b-uny- -wurruny-
3pl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	bun- ... =mindag etc.	birrimindi- birri-bidi- -wurrimindi-	bun- ... =yinyag etc.	birrirriny- birri-biny- -wirrirriny-	burruny- burru-b-uny- -wurruny-

Table 2-9. *Transitive pronominal prefixes, plural Undergoer*

A	U	1pl.incl		1pl.excl		2/3pl
		Jaminjung	Ngaliwurru	Jaminjung	Ngaliwurru	
1sg	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	—	—	ngawurrV- nga-b-urrV- -ngurrV-
2sg	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	nganJVn-... =yirrag etc.	nganjirri- nganji-b-irri- -njirri-	nganjurrV- nganji-b-urrV- -njurrV-
3sg	Ind. Fut. Irr.	gan-... =yurrag etc.	ganirri- gadi-b-irri- -nirri-	gan-... =yirrag etc.	ganirri- gadi-b-irri- -nirri-	ganurrV- gadu-b-urrV- -nurrV-
1du.incl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	—	—	mundurrV- mundu-b-urrV- -mundurrV-
1du.excl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	—	—	yirrurrV- yurru-b-urrV- -rrurrV-
2du	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	gunyin-... =yirrag etc.	girrirri- girri-b-irri- -wirrirri-	gurrurrV- gurru-b-urrV- -wurrurrV-
3du	Ind. Fut. Irr.	bunyin-... =yurrag etc.	birrirrV- birri-birrV- -wirrirri-	bunyin-... =yirrag etc.	birrirrV- birri-birrV- -wirrirri-	burrurrV- burru-b-urrV- -wurrurrV-
1pl.incl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	—	—	yurrurrV- yurru-b-urrV- -rrurrV-
1pl.excl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	—	—	yirrurrV- yirru-b-urrV- -rrurrV-
2pl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	—	—	gun- ... =yirrag etc.	girrirri- girri-b-irri- -wirrirri-	gurrurrV- gurru-b-urrV- -wurrurrV-
3pl	Ind. Fut. Irr.	bun- ... =yurrag etc.	birrirrV- birri-b-irrV- -wirrirri-	bun- ... =yirrag etc.	birrirrV- birri-b-irrV- -wirrirri-	burrurrV- burru-b-urrV- -wurrurrV-

The transitive pronominal prefixes following the imperative prefix *ba-* are listed in Table 2-10. For first person nonsingular Undergoer, only the Ngaliwurru forms are given; the corresponding Jaminjung forms are again formed analytically, by supplementing the prefixes for first person singular Undergoer with the oblique pronominal clitics =*yinyag* ‘1du.excl.OBL’ and =*yirrag* ‘1pl.excl.OBL’.

Table 2-10. *Transitive pronominal prefixes in imperative forms*

U A	1sg	3sg	1du.excl Ngaliwurru	3du	1pl.excl Ngaliwurru	3pl
2sg	-n-	-0-	-yirriny-	-wuny-	-yirri-	-wurrV-
2du	-wunyin-	-wuny-	-wurriny-	-wurruny-	-wirri-ri-	-wurrurrV-
2pl	-wun-	-wurrV-	-wirri-ri-ny-	-wurruny-	-wirri-ri-	-wurrurrV-

### 2.4.1.3 Tense, aspect and mood

In the tense/aspect/mood system of Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru, four mood categories (§2.4.1.3.1) are distinguished: indicative, potential/future, irrealis, and imperative. The last three categories are marked by prefixes to the verb stem, while the indicative is unmarked. Tense or aspect distinctions (§2.4.1.3.2) are only made in indicative and potential mood. Imperfective and perfective aspect are only distinguished in past indicative and potential/future forms. In addition to these inflectional categories, Jaminjung has an analytic progressive construction; this is discussed in §3.3.1.

#### 2.4.1.3.1 Mood

Only the marked mood categories, i.e. potential/future, irrealis, and imperative, are described below. The formally unmarked category, the indicative, covers all other areas in the domain of modality, notably positive declarative and interrogative clauses.

##### 2.4.1.3.1.1 -*b(V)*- ~ -*w(V)*- Potential/FUTURE

Potential/future, simply glossed ‘FUT’, is marked with the infix -*b(V)*- ~ -*w(V)*-, which follows all singular pronominal prefixes and precedes the verb stem. In (2-96) above, it fills the ‘Mood2’ slot, as represented again in (2-98).

(2-98) *Position of the FUT prefix*

Pronominal(s)-FUT-V.Stem(-IMPF)

However, in combination with transitive pronominal prefixes with nonsingular Undergoers, the infix instead precedes the Undergoer pronominal prefix, as represented in (2-99). The combined forms are listed in Tables 2-8 and 2-9 above.

(2-99) *Position of the FUT prefix in transitive verbs with nonsingular U*

A.Pronominal-FUT-U.Pronominal-V.Stem(-IMPF)

The potential/future prefix may be prefixed to the unmarked stem, or a stem marked as past imperfective. The unmarked form covers the domains usually labelled ‘prediction’, ‘potential’, ‘intention’, and ‘optative’. The more general meaning underlying these possible interpretations could be described as ‘non-realised at speaking time, but potentially, and desirably, realised at a point in time subsequent to speaking time’. Potential/future marking cannot be used in negative predictions, where the irrealis form (§2.4.1.3.1.2) is used instead.

An example for desiderative reading is (2-100), a (rhetorical) question posed to two hunters by a ‘devil kangaroo’ who is able to speak. There is no element of prediction here, since the message the kangaroo conveys is ‘you cannot spear me’.

- (2-100)    nanggayan                      guny-bi-yarluga?  
                 who                              2du:3sg-FUT-POKE

‘Who do you two want to spear?’ (DB, E10010)

Examples for ‘prediction’ or ‘definite future’ readings (with sometimes shades of desiderative reading) are II/5, II/7-8, II/13 and II/14 in the Appendix; an example for the ‘optative’ reading is V/14.

Its range of uses, as well as its formal position show that the potential/future is a modal, not a tense category, since other modals are prefixed but tense is suffixed or expressed by stem suppletion. The modal character of future time reference is well known (see e.g. Bybee 1985: 156ff, Dahl 1985: 103ff.), and no distinct future tense category exists in Jaminjung. For the sake of readability, however, this prefix has been glossed as ‘FUT’ throughout.

The potential/future marker can also be prefixed to the past imperfective forms (see §2.4.1.3.2.3, and the overview of verb forms in §2.4.2.4). Both in its form and its function, the past imperfective potential is reminiscent of the French conditional: it expresses ‘future-in-the-past’ (cf. Byrne & Churchill 1993: 322), or, more precisely, presents an event as ‘potentially, and desirably, realised, at a reference time in the past of utterance time’. These forms can often be glossed as ‘should have, would have, was about to, wanted to’. The pragmatic inference arising from the use of this form is usually that the event in question was not realised. An example is (2-101).

- (2-101) yatha    **nga-b-irriga-na**            mangarra /    dempa /    damarlung \
- alright    1sg:3sg-FUT:COOK-IMPF    plant.food    damper    nothing
- ‘I was going to bake bread all right, damper, (but) nothing (i.e. I didn’t)’ (IP, E08124)

However, such an inference does not arise necessarily; in (2-102), from a narrative about the travels of a mythical Emu, the event in question – finding a place to stay – is described as realised in the second clause.

- (2-102) yagbali    birdij    **gana-w-arra-nyi,**
- place    find    3sg:3sg-FUT-PUT-IMPF
- buru    ga-jga-ny    Gurlugurlu    waga    ga-rdba-ny \
- return    3sg-GO.PST    <place.name>    sit    3sg-FALL-PST
- ‘he wanted to find a camp, he went back to Gurlugurlu and sat down (i.e. stayed there)’ (DM, EV06037-8)

Unlike the unmarked potential/future, the imperfective past form is frequently found in negative statements; as in (2-103) below.

- (2-103) gana,                    damarlung,    **gurrany**    **ga-w-irdba**            burrurrug
- 3sg:3sg:CHOP.PST    nothing    NEG    3sg-FUT-FALL.IMPF    scatter
- ‘he hit it, (but) nothing (happened), it wouldn’t fall over’ (lego wall, in Change of State videos) (DP, F02092)

The nature of the semantic difference between the imperfective potential and the past perfective forms in negative clauses is not completely clear at present.

#### 2.4.1.3.1.2 *ya-* IRRealis

Irrealis mood is marked with the prefix *ya-* in the ‘Mood1’ slot in (2-96), i.e. preceding the pronominal prefixes. The pronominal prefixes, in this case, are often modified in form; usually their first syllable is elided. The resulting forms are listed in Tables 2-7 to 2-9 above.

The basic meaning of the irrealis form is ‘non-realised’; unlike the potential/future form, it does not have an additional component of ‘potential and desired realisation’. In positive clauses, the interpretation of the irrealis form is usually ‘non-realised, and non-desirable’; it is glossed as *mait* ‘might’ in Kriol, and often used in warnings (see e.g. III/2). Furthermore, the irrealis form is always used – in combination with the negative particle *gurrany* – in statements of negative ability or negative prediction, and in negative imperatives. Examples can be found in II/10 and V/31 in the Appendix. Uses of an irrealis verb form in both a negative and a positive clause are illustrated in (2-104).

- (2-104) garrij, gurrany **yang-iyaj**=biyang ngabulgja,  
 cold NEG IRR:1sg-BE=NOW bathe  
 yana- **yan-mangu** garrij-di \  
 <false.start> IRR:3sg:1sg-HIT cold-ERG  
 ‘(it’s) cold, I won’t be swimming now, the cold might ‘hit’ me’ (DB, E02061)

#### 2.4.1.3.1.3 *ba*- IMPerative

Imperative mood is marked with the prefix *ba*- in the same position as the Irrealis prefix, i.e. preceding the pronominal prefixes. The pronominal prefixes in this case distinguish number of Actor (only second person) and person/number of Undergoer (see Table 2-10 in §2.4.1.2). As shown in (2-105), the second person singular is not represented in imperative forms, and will not be glossed.

- (2-105) waj **ba-wunga** wajgany  
 leave IMP-LEAVE honey  
 ‘leave the honey alone!’ (DB, E01259)

Note that imperative marking is restricted to positive orders, since negative orders are always marked as irrealis (see §2.4.1.3.1.2 above).

#### 2.4.1.3.2 Tense and aspect

Jaminjung/Ngaliwurru has a tripartite tense/aspect system, comprising present tense, past perfective and past imperfective. (Future time reference is achieved by a more general modal category, labelled potential/future in §2.4.1.3.1.1 above). Since the form of tense/aspect marking is lexically conditioned, the tense/aspect forms of all verbs are listed in Table 2-12 in §2.4.2.4 below.

##### 2.4.1.3.2.1 PReSent

Present tense is marked with the suffixes *-m* or *-ya*, and/or by stem suppletion; the present tense of reflexive verbs is unmarked.

No aspect distinction is made in present tense. The interpretation of present tense forms is always straightforward: the event time overlaps with the speech time. This includes the possibility of a generic interpretation, as in (2-106).

- (2-106) mununggu-wurru-ni **yirr-angga-m**  
 string-PROPR-ERG/INSTR 1pl.excl:3sg-GET/HANDLE-PRS  
 ‘we catch it with a fishing line’ (short neck turtle) (DR, CHE201)

Further examples can be found throughout Text I in the Appendix, which is a comment on an ongoing event.

### 2.4.1.3.2.2 PaST perfective

Imperfective and perfective aspect are only distinguished in past tense. Past perfective is marked with the suffix *-ny* or by stem suppletion; the reflexive/past perfective portmanteau suffix is *-ja*.

The perfective is clearly the unmarked aspect category in Jaminjung, both formally and in its range of uses. It presents an event as prior in time to the speech time, and at the same time as bounded. The past perfective is the form most frequently found in narratives; examples can be found throughout Texts II to V in the Appendix.

### 2.4.1.3.2.3 Past IMPerFective

Past imperfective is marked with the suffixes *-nyi* or *-na* (the latter also following reflexive stems), as well as by suppletive stems, which all end in *-a*.

Most frequently, the past imperfective has a past habitual reading (‘used to do’). This is illustrated in (2-107), from an account of the traditional Ngaliwurru lifestyle.

- (2-107) **burri-ya-luga-na**    na,            gagawuli,    nganjanug,    wajgany \
- 3pl:3sg-POKE-IMPF    NOW            long.yam    what:DAT    honey
- burr-arra-nyi**            birdigud-gi,    jamam \
- 3pl:3sg-PUT-IMPF    billycan-LOC    full
- ‘they used to dig then, long yam, what now, honey. They used to put it in the billycan, right full,’ (VP, E09612-4)

However, the past imperfective has a more general function – common to imperfectives cross-linguistically – in presenting an event as unbounded, or ‘backgrounded’, with respect to another (see e.g. III/11).

The function of the past imperfective combined with the potential/future marking is described in §2.4.1.3.1.1 above.

## 2.4.2 Generic verb stems

Since a number of verbs are irregular, and the form of tense/aspect marking is lexically conditioned, the tense/aspect forms of all verbs are listed in Table 2-12 at the end of this section (§2.4.2.4). Only a few comments on the verb forms are offered here. These concern the etymology of verb roots (§2.4.2.1), dialectal differences (§2.4.2.2), and suppletion and productive morphophonemic alternations accounting for the stem allomorphy (§2.4.2.3).

### 2.4.2.1 Etymological remarks

The etymology of most Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru verb roots is unclear; consequently, the semantic analysis of the verbs presented in Ch. 5 will be almost exclusively based on language-internal, synchronic evidence. Specifically, few of the verbs can be identified as corresponding to one of the pan-Australian monomorphemic verb roots listed in Dixon (1980: 402ff.). One of these is *-uga* ‘TAKE’, which is probably cognate with proto-Pama-Nyungan *\*-ga(a)* ‘take, bring, carry’ (Dixon 1980: 404), a form which also has reflexes in several other Non-Pama-Nyungan languages of the area.

The stems *-mili* ‘GET/HANDLE’, as well as *-ma* (present tense stem of *-muwa* ‘HAVE’), and *-ma* ‘HIT’, can possibly be related to a common Australian verb form *-ma(a)-n* whose original sense may be ‘hold in hand’ (Capell 1956: 77, Dixon 1980: 405) (see also §5.4.1.1).

Other verb roots or suppletive stems have cognates in at least some Non-Pama-Nyungan languages; relationships can be found to languages both to the east and to the west of the Jaminjungan family. For example, the suppletive present tense stem *-ngga* of *-ijga* ‘GO’ is cognate with allomorphs of irregular verbs translated as ‘go’ in Nunggubuyu (Heath 1990: 410), Wagiman (Cook 1987: 217), Wardaman (Merlan 1994: 199f), and Ungarinyin (Heath 1990: 410). The Jaminjung root *-ruma* ‘COME’ has cognates in suppletive stems of motion verbs based on *\*-ruma* in a number of non-Pama-Nyungan languages (Heath 1990: 410).

A stance verb root based on *\*-yV-* ‘lie, sleep’ is also found in several Non-Pama-Nyungan languages and is possibly cognate with a proto-Pama-Nyungan root (Heath 1990: 413); in Jaminjung, it has a reflex in the present tense stem of the verb *-yu* ‘BE’.

The root *-minda* ‘EAT’ is possibly related to Northern Kimberley *mindjal* ‘mouth’ (Capell 1979b: 572). The root *-arra* ‘PUT’ may be cognate with the Gooniyandi verb stem +ADDI (*/-arri/*) which has a similar range of readings (McGregor 1990: 564).

A potential cognate of *-irdba* ‘FALL’, *-ward-*, occurs in the Jarragan languages, Gija, Miriwoong and Gajirrabeng (Kofod 1996a). Jingulu (Pensalfini 1996) and Wambaya (Nordlinger 1998b: 302) also have a cognate verb meaning ‘fall’, *bardk-* ~ *wardk-*. Jingulu has some further cognates, a fact which provides further evidence for a distant genetic relationship of this language family, the Barkly languages, with the Jaminjungan family, as proposed by Chadwick (1984, 1997). The clearest cases are *-maya*, cognate with Jaminjung *-ma* ‘HIT’ (Chadwick 1997: 104), *nangk-* ‘chop with an axe’, cognate with *-inangga* ‘CHOP’, and *mil-* ‘get’, cognate with *-mili* ‘GET/HANDLE’ (from Pensalfini 1996).

A number of Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru verbs appear to be historically complex, although they have to be regarded as unanalysable roots from a synchronic perspective. Four verbs have a final element *+ma*, these are *-ina+ma* ‘KICK/STEP’, *-anja+ma* ‘BRING’, *-(ma)liny+ma* ‘MAKE’ and *-yang+ma* ‘FEAR’. Of these, *-ina+ma* ‘KICK/STEP’ is transparently related to *-ina* ‘CHOP’, and *-anJama* ‘BRING’ is clearly associated with the present tense stem *-nJa* of *-uga* ‘TAKE’. In the latter case, the formal markedness relation between the two verbs of accompanied locomotion also reflects their semantic markedness relation (see §5.3.4-5). Furthermore, the past imperfective form *-wanyi* of *-uga* ‘TAKE’ corresponds to the potential/irrealis/imperative stem *-wany* of *-anJama* ‘BRING’. It also seems likely that *-irdba* ‘FALL’ is related to the first element in the verbs *-(w)ard+giya* ‘THROW’ and *-(w)arda+garra* ‘FOLLOW’.

Another instance of a transparent formal and semantic relationship between two verb roots is presented by the (marginal) Ngaliwurru verb *-garra* ‘excrete’ and *-arra* ‘PUT’ (see also §5.9.1). The formal relationship between Ngaliwurru *-malangawu* ‘hear’ and *-ngawu* ‘SEE’ is interesting since the domains of visual and auditory perception are usually quite distinct in Australian languages; however, complex stems for ‘hear’ based on ‘see’ can be found in a few other languages of the region (Evans & Wilkins 1998: 23).

Finally, a few verb roots, listed in Table 2-11, are transparently related to coverbs. All of these coverbs belong to the ‘continuous activity’ class, whose members have a number of recurring non-productive endings including *-ja* (see §6.3). There is no indication, however, that verbs can be productively derived from coverbs (or vice versa).

Table 2-11. *Verb roots with cognate coverbs of continuous activity*

Verb root	Gloss	Coverb	Gloss
<i>-irriga</i>	‘COOK’	<i>wirrigaja</i>	‘cook’
<i>-yaluga</i> (Ng)	‘POKE’	<i>yalugaja</i> (Ng)	‘dig with digging stick’
<i>-malangawu</i> (Ng)	‘HEAR’	<i>malangayij</i> (J)	‘listen, hear’
<i>-garrwa</i> (Ng)	‘SWEAR’	<i>garrwaja</i> (J)	‘swear’

#### 2.4.2.2 Dialectal differences

Although Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru differ to some extent in vocabulary, their verb stems are almost identical.<sup>43</sup> Ngaliwurru has some marginal verbs that are

<sup>43</sup> Notably, also the Nungali verbs listed in Bolt et al. (1971b) are almost identical in form, although the inflections differ to some extent. The only additional verb attested for Nungali but not for Jaminjung or Ngaliwurru is *-yalgarra* ‘send’.

not attested in Jaminjung, these are marked as ‘Ng.’ in Table 2-12 (see also §5.9). Only in one case do speakers of the two dialects use different roots; this concerns the verb glossed as ‘POKE’, which is *-ijja* in Jaminjung but *-yaluga* in Ngaliwurru (occasionally, the variant *-ijga* was also heard in the Jaminjung dialect).

The forms *-angu* and *-mili* ‘GET/HANDLE’ probably also originated as dialectal variants, and in fact are claimed to be just that by some speakers. However, they seem to be used interchangeably by speakers of both dialects with no difference in meaning. In addition, both have defective paradigms (with one verb filling in the gaps in the paradigm of the other, see Table 2-12 for details), which suggests that they are on their way to forming a single suppletive paradigm.

Two roots have slightly different forms in Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru: *-irdba* ‘FALL’ has a past perfective form *-irda* in Ngaliwurru (*-irdba* in Jaminjung). The verb glossed as ‘MAKE’ is *-ilinyma* in Jaminjung, corresponding to *-malinyma* in Ngaliwurru. A few verb stems differ only in the realisation of a stop as lamino-dental (<th>, Jaminjung) or lamino-palatal (<j>, Ngaliwurru); as elsewhere in this thesis, these forms are represented with an ‘archiphoneme’ written as <J>.

### 2.4.2.3 Stem allomorphy

Stem allomorphy in Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru verb forms can be accounted for by both stem suppletion, and productive morphophonemic alternations.

A number of verbs have suppletive present tense, past perfective, and/or past imperfective stems. Since all stem forms are listed in Table 2-12 below, no further comments are offered here. I will (with the exception of a few verbs) generally use the non-indicative stem (i.e. the stem occurring in irrealis, imperative, and potential/future forms) as the citation form.

For ease of reference, some allomorphs that are derived by productive morphophonemic alternations have also been included in Table 2-12. Two types of alternation are conditioned by the form of the pronominal prefix; these are Vowel Elision and Velar Insertion. Vowel Elision accounts for the elision of a stem-initial vowel /i/ following a prefix with final /a/, e.g. intransitive third person singular *ga-*, or imperative *ba-*. For example, the third person singular past perfective form of *-irdba* ‘FALL’ is *ga-rdba-ny*. If stem-initial vowel and prefix-final vowel are identical, they are also reduced to a single vowel.

Velar Insertion accounts for an epenthetic velar before vowel-initial verb stems after a consonant-final pronominal prefix (e.g. *bun-* ‘3pl:1sg’ or *buny-* ‘3du:3sg’).

The epenthetic consonant is a velar stop <g> if the verb stem does not contain a nasal, and a velar nasal <ng> if the verb stem contains a nasal. It is not glossed separately, but treated as part of the stem in the glosses.

Some stem forms are related by productive lenition (see §2.1.3) of an initial bilabial stop <b> or a lamino-palatal stop <j> to a glide (<w> and <y> respectively) intervocalically; compare *gan-jangma-ny* ‘3sg:1sg-FEAR-PST’ and *gani-yangma-ny* ‘3sg:3sg-FEAR-PST’.

For stems with initial bilabial nasal, a special morphophonemic rule of ‘Bilabial Merger’ applies following the potential/future prefix: the prefix <bV-> and the stem-initial <m> are merged to <b>. For example, the past perfective form *nga-mili-ny* ‘1sg:3sg-GET/HANDLE-PST’ corresponds to a potential/future form *nga-bili* ‘1sg:3sg-FUT:GET/HANDLE’. The resulting forms may be subject to denasalisation (see §2.1.3).

Furthermore, for forms derived by ‘bilabial merger’, the epenthetic syllable *-ji-* is inserted after consonant-final pronominal prefixes; compare *nga-bili* ‘1sg:3sg-FUT:GET/HANDLE’ and *gan-ji-bili* ‘3sg:1sg-FUT:GET/HANDLE’. With the verb *-unga* ‘LEAVE’, this epenthetic syllable is also found even though this stem otherwise behaves like a vowel-initial stem. In the glosses, this epenthetic syllable is treated as part of the potential/future prefix.

Finally, haplology applies to the stems *-ina* ‘CHOP’ and *-inama* ‘KICK/STEP’, following the 3sg:3sg pronominal prefix, *gana-*. The resulting forms are *ganam* (present tense of both verbs), *gana* and *ganama-ny* (past perfective), and *ganangga* and *ganama* (past imperfective). The present tense form of *-ruma* ‘COME’, *-rum* (instead of *\*-ruma-m*) also results from haplology.

#### 2.4.2.4 Overview of verb stems

An overview of all verb stems and the tense/aspect forms is provided in Table 2-12. For ease of reference, the order of the verbs follows the semantic grouping established in Ch. 5.

Table 2-12. *Verb stems and tense/aspect/mood inflections: overview***Verbs of location, existence, possession, and change of locative relation**

Gloss		Present	Past Perfective	Past Imperfective	Potential/Future <sup>44</sup>	Irrealis/Imperative
BE	itr	-yu ~ -Juyu	-agba	-anyi / -agba-nyi	-(w-iy)aj ~ -(b-iy)aj	-(iy)aj
HAVE	tr	-(ma-)ma-ya	-muwa	-(ma-)ma-na	-buwa ~ -jibuwa	-muwa
FALL(J.)	itr	-irda-m ~ -girda-m	-irdba-ny ~ -girdba-ny	-irdirdba	-w-irdbaj ~ -b-irdbaj	-irdbaj
(Ng.)	itr	-irda-m ~ -girda-m	-(g)irda-ny	-irdirdba	-w-irdbaj ~ -b-irdbaj	-irdbaj
PUT	tr	-arra-m ~ -garra-m	-arra-ny ~ -garra-ny	-arra-nyi ~ -garra-nyi	-w-arra ~ -b-arra	-arra ~ -garra-

**Verbs of locomotion**

GO	itr	-angga	-(i)jga-ny	-inyji	-w-ijga ~ -b-ijga	-ijga
COME	itr	-ram ~ -daram	-ruma-ny ~ -du(ru)ma-ny	-ruma ~ -daruma	-wu-rum ~ -bu-rum	-rum ~ -dum
TAKE	tr	-anJa ~ -nganJa	-uga ~ -guga	-a-nyi ~ -ng-a-nyi	-w-uga ~ -b-uga	-uga ~ -guga
BRING	tr	-anJam ~ -nganJam	-anJama-ny ~ -nganJama-ny	-anJama ~ -nganJama	-w-any ~ -b-any	-any ~ -ngany
LEAVE	tr	-unga-m ~ -ngunga-m	-unga-ny ~ -ngunga-ny	-unga-na ~ -ngunga-na	-w-unga ~ -jib-unga	-unga ~ -ngunga
APPROACH	tr	-arrganJi-ya ~ -garrganJi-ya	-arrga ~ -garrga	??	-b-arrga	-arrga ~ -garrga
FOLLOW	tr	-wardagara-m ~ -bardagara-m	-wardagara-ny ~ -bardagara-ny	-wardagara-nyi ~ -bardagara-nyi	-bardagara	-wardagara ~ -bardagara

<sup>44</sup> The potential/future forms given here only hold for intransitive verbs and transitive verbs with a singular U prefix, where the potential/future prefix immediately precedes the verb stem. For transitive verbs with nonsingular Undergoer, where the potential/future prefix precedes the Undergoer prefix (see §2.4.1.3.1.1), the verb stem is identical to that in irrealis and imperative forms.

**Verbs of contact/force**

Gloss		Present	Past Perfective	Past Imperfective	Potential/Future	Irrealis/Imperative
GET/ HANDLE	tr	-angga-m ~ -ngangga-m	-angu ~ -ngangu	—	—	-angu ~ -ngangu
	tr	-mili-m	-mili-ny	-(ma)mila	-bili ~ -jibili	-mili <sup>45</sup>
HIT	tr	-ma-m	-ma(ngu)	-(ma)ma-nyi	-ba(ngu) ~ -jiba(ngu)	-ma(ngu)
CHOP	tr	-ina-m ~ -ngina-m	-ina(ngga) ~ -ngina(ngga)	-inangga	-w-ina ~ -b-ina	-ina <sup>46</sup> ~ -ngina
KICK/ STEP	tr	-(i)nam ~ -nginam	-inama-ny ~ -nginama-ny	-inama ~ -nginama	-w-inama	-inama ~ -nginama
POKE (J.)	tr	-ijja-m ~ -gijja-m	-ijja-ny ~ -gijja-ny	-ijja-na ~ -gijja-na	-w-ijja ~ -b-ijja	-ijja ~ -gijja
(Ng.)	tr	-yaluga-m ~ -jaluga-m	-yaluga-ny ~ -jaluga-ny	-yaluga-na ~ -jaluga-na	-wi-yaluga ~ -bi-yaluga	-yaluga ~ -jaluga
BITE	tr	-wirri-m ~ -birri-m	-wa ~ -ba	-wa-na ~ -ba-na	-bu-wa ~ -jibu-wa	-wa ~ -ba
THROW	tr	-(w)ardgiya-m ~ -bardgiya-m	-(w)ardgiya-ny ~ -bardgiya-ny	-(w)ardgiya-na ~ -bardgiya-na	-bardgiya	-(w)ardgiya ~ -bardgiya

**Verbs of burning/cooking**

BURN	itr	-irna-ya	-irna	-irna-nyi	-w-irna	-irna
COOK	tr	-irriga-m ~ -girriga-m	-irriga ~ -girriga	-arriga-na ~ -garriga-na	-b-irriga	-irriga ~ -girriga

**The polyfunctional SAY/DO verb**

SAY/DO	tr	-(y)unggu-m ~ -Junggu-m	-yu ~ -Ju	-ina	-wu-yu ~ -bu-yu	-yu ~ -Ju
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<sup>45</sup> The stem *-mili* is only used in the imperative; in the irrealis, only *-angu* is used.

<sup>46</sup> The imperative 2sg:3sg form is *ba-nanggu* ~ *ba-nangga*.

**Verbs of caused change of possession**

Gloss		Present	Past Perfective	Past Imperfective	Potential/Future	Irrealis/Imperative
GIVE	tr	-ngarna-m	-ngarna-ny	-(nga)ngama-nyi	-wu-ngarna ~ -bu-ngarna	-ngarna <sup>47</sup>
REMOVE	tr	-yungga-ya ~ -jungga-ya	-yungga-ny ~ -jungga-ny	-yungga-na ~ -jungga-na	-wu-yungga ~ -bi-yungga	-yungga ~ -jungga

**Other major verbs**

SEE	itr	-ngayi-m ~ -ngami	-ngawu	-ngayi-na	-wu-ngawu ~ -bu-ngawu	-ngawu
EAT	tr	-mindi-ya	-minda-ny	-iya ~ -ngiya	-bida ~ -jibida	-minda
MAKE (J.)	tr	-ilinyama-ya	-iliny-ma-ny	-liny-ma-na	-b-ilinyama	-irlinyama
(Ng)	tr	-malinyama-ya	-malinyama-ny	-malinyama-na	-balinyama	-malinyama

**Marginal verbs**

excrete (Ng)	tr	-garra-m	-garra-ny	??	??	??
fear	tr	-yangma-ya ~ -jangma-ya	-yangma-ny ~ -jangma-ny	??	??	??
hear (Ng)	tr	-malangayi-m	-malangawu	-malangayi-na	??	??
swear at	tr	-garrwa-ya	-garrwa-ny	-garrwa-na	-barrwa ~ -jibarrwa	-garrwa
tell a lie	tr	-yima-ya ~ -jima-ya	-yima-ny ~ -jima-ny	-yima-na ~ -jima-na	-biyima ~ -jibiyima	??
do by magic	tr	-inijba-ya	-inijba-ny	-inijba-na	??	??
be sick	itr	-ngardgani-m	??	??	??	??
be angry	??	-manka-ya	-manka-ny	??	??	??
BE†	itr	-yangi-m	-yangi-ny	??	??	??

**Conjugation of reflexive verb forms (V = transitive verb root)**

V-REFL	itr	V-ji	V-ja	V-ji-na	V-ji	V-ji
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<sup>47</sup> A short 2sg:1sg imperative form *ba-na* exists alongside the regular *ba-n-ngarna*.

## 2.5 Particles, clitics, and interjections

Only a brief overview is given here of the minor word classes of particles, clitics, and interjections. The meaning and function of the most common forms is characterised, and references are provided to examples in the texts in the Appendix, or in other sections in this study. For reasons of space, no further examples are given in this section.

### 2.5.1 Particles

Particles can be distinguished from the major lexical categories of nominals, verbs, and coverbs, in that they not only do not inflect, but also always form part of a tone unit with some other element, and do not receive phrasal stress. They are distinguished from clitics in that they are free forms, i.e. can occur clause-initially, although the boundary is not clearcut, since (except for the negative particle *gurrany*) particles may also be cliticised to a preceding word. The most common particles are listed in Table 2-13 below with their glosses and an informal characterisation of their function.

Table 2-13. *Particle forms and functions*

Particle	Gloss	Function	Examples
<i>gurrany</i>	‘NEG’	general negator, used in both constituent and sentence negation	II/10, V/31, (2-113)
<i>majani</i>	‘maybe’	expresses uncertainty / lack of commitment to an assertion	IV/23
<i>bugu</i>	‘JUST’	has a range of uses similar to English <i>just</i> , related in function to the clitic = <i>biji</i> ‘ONLY’	III/21
<i>birri</i> (Jam.) <i>ngarla</i> (Ng.)	‘TRY’	used in a similar function to English <i>try</i> in <i>try and look over there</i>	(2-10)
<i>yiga</i>	‘BUT’	expresses a contrast between an assertion and a previous assertion or a presupposition; precise range of functions not clear	(2-44)
<i>yatha(ng)</i>	‘all right’	conveys a contrast as in English ‘I was going to come all right, but...’; also used as a (stressed) interjection	(2-101)
<i>jama(ng)</i>	‘ready’	marks an event as following a previously completed event; ‘after that’, ‘then’	(3-38)
<i>barraj</i>	‘further’	translates as ‘further’ (as in ‘further downstream’), or propositional ‘also’, ‘then’	(2-108)

## 2.5.2 Clitics

Clitics always follow another constituent (in the notation, they are distinguished from suffixes by ‘=’ rather than ‘-’ as a boundary symbol). Clitics can be divided into subgroups according to the nature of the constituent they attach to; there are unrestricted clitics, clitics restricted to nominals, and clitics that have to follow the finite verb (apparently, no clitic is restricted to a position after a coverb). These will be considered in turn.

Table 2-14. *Unrestricted clitics: forms and functions*

Clitic	Gloss	Function	Examples
= <i>ma</i>	‘SUBORD’	general subordinator, always follows the first constituent of the subordinate clause	III/6, see also §2.6.4.
=( <i>C</i> ) <i>ung</i>	‘COTEMP’	when following the verb, indicates cotemporality of asserted event with the speech situation (‘still’); when following adverbs or secondary predicates, indicates that these fall into the time frame asserted by the main predicate	II/5, III/20; see also §3.3.3
= <i>biyang</i>	‘NOW’	marks information focus by indicating temporal succession, or simply contrast; often replaced with its Kriol equivalent <i>na</i>	II/8, II/9, III/12, III/14
= <i>gun</i>	‘CONTR’	marks contrastive or ‘verum’ focus	III/29, IV/21, IV/24, IV/46
= <i>ga</i>	‘YOU KNOW’	seems to indicate that the addressee should already know what is being asserted (very rare; precise function unclear)	III/4
= <i>warra</i>	‘DOUBT’	often follows interrogatives, conveys ignorance about the intended referent (‘I don’t know wh-’)	(5-69)
= <i>ja</i>	‘QU’	polar interrogative marker (rare; not obligatory)	
= <i>biji</i> ~ = <i>binji</i>	‘ONLY’	very similar in use to English ‘only’	III/21, V/13
= <i>guji</i>	‘FIRST’	marks a referent as first in a series of referents (‘first X then Y’) or an event as first in a series of events (‘already X’)	I/22, V/16
= <i>jirram</i> ~ = <i>yirram</i>	‘two’	related in form to the numeral <i>jirrama</i> ‘two’; indicates duality of the referent of a noun phrase, or of one of the central participants in a clause (when following the verbal predicate).	III/14
= <i>mulu</i>	‘COLL’	collective or ‘plural’ clitic; indicates multiplicity of referents (on noun phrase) or of a participant in the clause (on verbal predicate)	II/10, III/14, III/25

Table 2-15. *Clitics restricted to post-nominal position: forms and functions*

Clitic	Gloss	Function	Examples
= <i>gayi</i>	‘ALSO’	similar in range of uses to English ‘too’	IV/44
= <i>marraj</i>	‘SEMBL’	characterises something as similar to the denotation of the noun phrase to which it attaches (‘like X’)	(3-29)
= <i>marlang</i>	‘GIVEN’	Presents a referent as ‘given’, often used contrastively (‘as for X’)	IV/25, IV/46, V/10, V/15

Table 2-16. *Clitics restricted to post-verbal position: forms and functions*

Clitic	Gloss	Function	Examples
=( <i>r</i> ) <i>n(d)i</i>	‘SFOC1’	sentence Focus, marks a clause as presenting ‘all-new’ information (thetic statement)	III/39-47
= <i>ngarndi</i>	‘SFOC2’	emphatic sentence Focus, marks a clause as presenting ‘all-new’ information of particular relevance to the hearer	V/34
= <i>gurra</i>	‘EMPH’	marks emphasis	III/39
= <i>wunthu</i>	‘COND’	marks a finite clause as conditional	II/7, III/3

### 2.5.3 Interjections

Interjections, unlike particles and clitics, are always stressed. Still, they can be distinguished from the major word classes in that they do not have the same syntactic properties as those. In particular, they differ from coverbs in that they cannot form part of a complex verb. Most frequently, an interjection constitutes an intonation unit by itself (therefore, examples in the data used for the purposes of this study are rare). The most frequent interjections are listed in Table 2-17.

Table 2-17. *Some frequent interjections*

Interjection	Gloss	Examples
<i>yawayi</i>	‘yes’	III/2
<i>ngaa</i> ( <i>ng</i> ) <i>awu</i>	‘no’	I/11, II/9
<i>ma!</i>	‘go on! here you are!’	
<i>marndaj</i>	‘all right’ (often used to mark the end of a text)	V/41
<i>yathang</i>	‘all right, enough’ (also used to mark the end of a text)	
<i>yakkayi</i> ~ <i>yakkarrayi</i>	‘ouch!’, ‘oh dear!’, ‘alas!’	V/22
<i>ngi’</i>	‘TAG’ (tag question, also often substituted with the Kriol equivalent <i>yintit</i> (< Engl. <i>isn’t it</i> )).	(5-140)

## 2.6 The clause

Information on the properties of Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru clauses is scattered throughout this work; only those aspects not dealt with in other chapters are discussed here.

Difficulties with the application of the notion of ‘clause’ to Jaminjung are discussed in §2.6.1. Taking only the clear instances of clauses, main clauses can be subdivided into clauses with verbal (§2.6.2) and non-verbal predicates (§2.6.3). Jaminjung makes very little use of subordinate constructions. The general finite subordinate clause (with a verbal predicate) is discussed in §2.6.4. All nonfinite subordinate clauses are embedded in the main clause through case marking, and either have an adverbial or secondary predicate interpretation (§2.6.5). Usually, they consist of just a coverb with the appropriate case suffix.

Jaminjung does not have non-finite complements with obligatory control which would resemble those of English complement-taking verbs like *tell*, *want* or *try*. Comparable notions are either expressed by a juxtaposed, finite clause, by morphological means (the future form of the verb can have a desiderative reading) or by clause-level particles (like *birri* ‘TRY’). Perception verbs also do not take non-finite complements. A propositional stimulus is either encoded as a juxtaposed main clause or as a secondary predicate (see §5.8.1 for examples).

### 2.6.1 The nature of the ‘clause’

A refinement of the notion ‘clause’ is in order first. It is well known that it is problematic to identify clauses in spontaneous spoken discourse; for a discussion of this point with respect to Australian languages see e.g. Heath (1984: 514ff., 1985: 100ff.), McGregor (1990: 362) and Merlan (1994: 225f.). As indicated in §1.3.4, I assume with Halliday (1985), Chafe (1987) and others that intonation units correspond to the basic units of information in spoken discourse and should therefore be taken as the basis of description. However, where an intonation unit contains a (verbal or nonverbal) predicate, and no more than one predicate, it can be said to correspond to what is traditionally called a ‘clause’; I will employ the term ‘clause’ in this sense.

Minimally, a clause consists of a predicate constituting an intonation unit on its own (see e.g. I/31, II/20 and V/29 in the Appendix). Rarely, one intonation unit corresponds to more than a clause; an example is given in (2-108).

- (2-108) warung ga-rdba-ny barraj bul gani-ma yina-ngunyi \\  
 disappear 3sg-FALL-PST further emerge 3sg:3sg-HIT.PST DIST-ABL  
 ‘he disappeared and then came out over there’ (Enter/Exit Animation  
 video) (IP, E17178)

The status of intonation units that correspond to constituents below clause level mostly has to be left out of consideration here. Often, but not always, these units are noun phrases that can be regarded as topics or afterthoughts in relation to a following or preceding intonation unit. In some cases, they can be regarded as secondary predicates on one of the arguments in the preceding intonation unit; coverbs as secondary predicates of this type are described in §3.4.3. Examples of intonation units corresponding to grammatical units below the clause level include I/13, II/12-15, II/24-25, III/8-9, III/41-42, IV/1, IV/9-14, IV/17-20, IV/26-31, IV/35-39 and V/1 in the Appendix; some of these present a real problem for establishing clause boundaries.

### 2.6.2 Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses always contain a finite verb, either as a simple verb (see also §3.1), or as constituent of a complex verb (see also §3.2). Coverbs can be used as ‘semi-independent predicates’ in a distinct, stylistically marked type of clause (see §3.4). The argument structure of verbal clauses is the topic of Ch. 4.

Examples of simple verbal clauses can be found throughout this study. The examples given in (2-109) to (2-112) illustrate free word order, one of the

features which have been associated with ‘non-configurationality’.<sup>48</sup> Jaminjung, like many other Australian languages, also lacks evidence for a category ‘verb phrase’, and freely allows omission of lexical arguments. As recent research (summarised in Austin & Bresnan 1996 and Nordlinger 1998a) has shown, these features may occur independently of one another, and are also not dependent on the presence of bound pronominals in a language, as claimed by, e.g., Jelinek (1984). However, all these features do cluster in Jaminjung.

- (2-109) [jungulug-di<sup>49</sup>]<sub>NP</sub>=biya [kroba]<sub>NP</sub> [dud gan-angga-m]<sub>V</sub>  
 one-ERG=NOW crowbar hold.one 3sg:3sg-GET/HANDLE-PRS  
 ‘one then picks up a crowbar’ (IP, A97-01-568)

- (2-110) [dud gan-angu]<sub>V</sub>=rindi=biya [treila]<sub>NP</sub> +  
 hold.one 3sg:3sg-GET/HANDLE-PST=SFOC1=NOW trailer  
 + [gujarding-guluwa-ni ngarrgina Nawurla]<sub>NP</sub> +  
 mother-KIN2-ERG 1sg:POSS <subsection>  
 ‘she picked up the trailer, your mother did, my Nawurla,’ (IP, A97-03-832)

- (2-111) ngiyi=biya [gujarding-guluwa-ni]<sub>NP</sub> +  
 PROX=NOW mother-KIN2-ERG  
 + [dud gan-angga-m]<sub>V</sub> [janyung marlayi]<sub>NP</sub>  
 hold.one 3sg:3sg-GET/HANDLE-PRS other woman  
 ‘here is your mother holding another woman’ (IP, A97-03-868)

- (2-112) [jalyi]<sub>NP</sub> [burrb gan-angga-m]<sub>V</sub> [jajaman-ni]<sub>NP</sub>  
 leaf finish 3sg:3sg-GET/HANDLE-PRS wind-ERG  
 ‘the wind is blowing off all the leaves’ (MW, CHE014)

There is no evidence that any of the possible orderings of arguments with respect to the verb is more ‘basic’, more neutral or more frequent than the others. Word order is likely to be conditioned by information structure on a discourse pragmatic level, although this has not been investigated in sufficient detail. Like variation in word order within the complex verb (see §3.2.2), a change in word

<sup>48</sup> See e.g. Hale (1981, 1983, 1992); Nash (1986); Jelinek (1984), Heath (1986), Laughren (1989), Simpson (1991).

<sup>49</sup> For the sake of readability noun phrases (NP) and complex verbs (V) have been enclosed in square brackets.

order within the clause is often observed under repetition<sup>50</sup> (see e.g. V/18, V/19 and V/23 in the Appendix).

### 2.6.3 Verbless clauses

The brief characterisation of verbless clauses given here – subdivided into equative clauses, ascriptive clauses and existential clauses – certainly does not exhaust all subtypes and possibilities.

Equative clauses assert or negate the identity of referents of predication base and the noun phrase functioning as predicate.

- (2-113) ngayug      gurrany      gujarding      ngunggina,  
                  1sg                NEG                mother                2sg:POSS  
                  ‘I am not your mother’ (DR, BAR018)

Ascriptive clauses serve to characterise the referent of the predication base. The nominal predicate in an ascriptive verbless clause can be an unmarked nominal from the adjective subclass (see §2.2.2.6), or a nominal marked with the proprietive or privative suffix (see §2.2.3.4) or the ‘HABITAT’ suffix (see §2.2.3.2.3). It can also be a case-marked noun phrase. An example is given in (2-114); here the speaker is indicating the kin relation traditionally associated with certain body parts. This example shows that in verbless clauses, like in verbal clauses, word order can vary, and that repetition is one of the conditioning factors.

- (2-114) miri...      mama-wu \  
                  thigh      MoBr-DAT  
                  ‘the thigh is for the uncle’ (DB, D14117)

- babiny-gu                gurdbu,                gujarding-gu      miri  
                  older.sister-DAT      lower.leg                mother-DAT      upper.leg  
                  ‘the calf is for the sister, for the mother the thigh’ (DB, D14120)

Ascriptive nominal clauses have a further interesting property. If the predication base is a first or second person, it is cross-referenced with an oblique pronominal, as in (2-115) (see also §2.2.4.3.2 for another example).

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<sup>50</sup> This has been reported for other Australian languages as well; see e.g. Heath (1984: 514) for Nunggubuyu.

- (2-115)    bib                ba-ngu,                birrila                **ngunggu**  
              move.up        IMP-GET/HANDLE        strong                2sg.OBL  
              ‘pick it up, you are strong’ (Orig. Transl.: ‘yu strongwan, yu liftimap’)  
              (DBit, JAM324)

Verbless existential clauses are used to draw attention to the existence of an entity, usually in a particular location (cf. McGregor 1990: 304ff.); an example is (2-116).

- (2-116)    thanthiya    julag \  
              DEM                bird  
              ‘there is a bird’ (while looking at a picture book) (IP, F03012)

#### 2.6.4 Finite subordinate clauses

There is only one type of finite subordinate clause in Jaminjung, which subsumes the functions of a relative clause (cf. Comrie 1981: 137, Lehmann 1984: 136ff.). It is marked with a clitic =*ma* ~ =*mang*, following the first constituent of the subordinate clause. Like a headless relative clause, expressions of this type can take up the position of the head noun in a noun phrase, as in (2-117).

- (2-117)    ba-mili                janju    [mugurn=*ma*    ga-yu]  
              IMP-GET/HANDLE    DEM        sleep=SUBORD    3sg-BE.PRS  
              ‘wake up the one who is sleeping’ (VP, NUN157)

Alternatively, a general subordinate clause can be ‘adjoined’ to the main clause (cf. Hale 1976), and function like an non-specific adverbial clause. This use is illustrated in (2-118).

- (2-118)    nami=*biyang*        yirrgbi        ba-iyaj \  
              2sg=NOW                talking                IMP-BE  
              [ngalanymuwa=*ma*    ngantha-mila] \  
              echidna=SUBORD                2sg:3sg-GET/HANDLE.IMPF  
              ‘you now, you talk, (about) when you used to catch porcupine’  
              (handing over the microphone to another speaker) (CP, E09706-7)

#### 2.6.5 Non-finite subordinate clauses

The main predicate in a non-finite subordinate clause is always a coverb (note that the term ‘non-finite’ here does not imply that the coverb can appear in finite form; rather, it indicates absence of finite categories which would require a verb). Subordinate clauses of this type always take a case marker in

‘complementising’ function (see also §2.2.3.3). The subordinate clause is fully embedded in the main clause, that is, it is not restricted to a marginal position (see e.g. (2-120) below). They may function as adverbials or as secondary predicates.<sup>51</sup>

More often than not, the case-marked coverb is the only constituent of the subordinate clause. If an argument of the coverb is present, it is either unmarked, or (more rarely) has the same case marking as the coverb; both patterns of case marking are also found in noun phrases (see §2.2.1).

The case markers employed as relators of these nominalised clauses include the dative (§2.6.5.1) and the allative case (§2.6.5.2) in purposive adverbial function. The allative can also be used in secondary predicate function (§2.6.5.3). The ‘origin’ case marks secondary predicates or causal adverbials (§2.6.5.4), and, on rare occasions, the ablative case also occurs on subordinate clauses (§2.6.5.5). The ‘TIME’ suffix *-mindij* was grouped with the case markers partly because it also has ‘complementising’ function (§2.6.5.6).

### 2.6.5.1 Dative-marked purposive clause

The most frequent type of nominalised subordinate clause is marked with the dative case, and has a purposive reading. An example of a non-finite subordinate clause with the coverb as its only constituent is given in (2-119). Much less frequently, the subordinate clause contains both a coverb and an argument, as in (2-120).

- (2-119) *burr-irriga*                      **jawaya-wu**  
 3pl:3sg-COOK.PST            eating-DAT  
 ‘they cooked it to eat it / they cooked it for eating’ (DR, NGA008)

- (2-120) *buru*            *yirr-anjama-ny*                      *skul*-bina  
 return            1pl.excl:3sg-BRING-PST            school-ALL  
**[jalig-gu    birrgab-birrgab-gu]**<sub>CL-nonfin</sub>  
 child-DAT    RDP-make-DAT  
 ‘we took them back to the school for the kids to make (baskets)’  
 (pandanus leaves) (VP, TIM020)

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<sup>51</sup> Similar uses of case-marked (but otherwise underived) coverbs have been reported for other Northern Australian languages, including Wardaman (Merlan 1994: 276ff.), Wagiman (Wilson 1999), the Jarragan languages Miriwoong and Gija (Kofod 1976: 652, 1996b), Gooniyandi (McGregor 1990: 392ff., 1992), Nyulnyul (McGregor 1996a: 60-61), and the Ngumbin languages including Jaru (Tsunoda 1981a: 180f.), Gurindji (McConvell in prep.) and Ngarinyman (Jones 1994, and my own fieldwork).

This example also shows that no coreference constraints hold between arguments of the main clause and the subordinate clause (cf. also McGregor 1990: 402). For example, in (2-119) above, the agent of the ‘cooking’ is interpreted as the agent of the eating. In (2-120), on the other hand, the agent of the subordinate clause is not coreferent with either the agent or the patient of the main clause. Finally, in (2-121), it is the patient of the ‘cooking/burning’ that is the single argument of the ‘going down’.

- (2-121) *guyug-di burru-rriga=nu, [jag-gu]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub> \*  
*fire-ERG/INSTR 3pl:3sg-COOK.PST=3sg.OBL go.down-DAT*  
 ‘they burnt it with fire for her so it would go down’ (a leech) (IP, F03441)

### 2.6.5.2 Allative-marked purposive clause

Allative-marked purposive clauses only occur with motion verbs (although the dative may also occur with motion verbs, as example (2-120) above shows). Wilson (1999: 87) describes the same phenomenon for Wagiman, and concludes that “the allative encodes purpose, but with a further entailment of movement towards the site of the action”. This analysis works equally well for the Jaminjung data, as illustrated in (2-122) and (2-123) (see also (2-127) below).

- (2-122) *nga-w-ijga [mugurn-bina]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub>*  
*1sg-FUT-GO lie/sleep-ALL*  
 ‘I’m going off to sleep’
- (2-123) *mangarra [luny-bina]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub> nga-w-uga jalig-gu*  
*plant.food put.down&leave-ALL 1sg:3sg-FUT-TAKE child-DAT*  
 ‘I will take some food to leave for the kids’ (JM, CHE075)

### 2.6.5.3 Allative-marked secondary predicates

Allative-marked non-finite subordinate clauses are not restricted to the purposive function with motion verbs, but can be employed more generally, with a reading of depictive secondary predicate on a non-agentive argument.

Subordinate clauses in secondary predicate function are illustrated in (2-124) to (2-126). Frequently, they function as secondary predicate on the Undergoer of a perception verb (see also §5.8.1.1). For example, the person opening his trousers can only be interpreted as the ‘perceived’, not the ‘perceiver’ in the ‘seeing’ event in (2-124).

- (2-124) mangurn-ni      ganyi-ngayi-m      [**openimbat-bina** **traujaj**]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub>  
 whitefellow-ERG 3sg:2sg-SEE-PRS      opening-ALL      trousers  
 ‘the whitefellow looks at you opening your trousers’ (to child) (ER, SPO012)

The controller of the secondary predicate may also be the Undergoer of a verb of contact/force, as in (2-125), or of other transitive verbs.

- (2-125) gani-ma                      janyungbari      mayi      [**mugurn-bina**]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub>  
 3sg:3sg-HIT.PST      another      man      lie-ALL  
 ‘he hit another man who was lying down’ (LR, NGA156)

This use of an allative case marker has parallels in a number of other Australian languages, e.g. in Wardaman (Merlan 1994), Wagiman (Wilson 1999) and Warlpiri. In Warlpiri, a comparable construction has been used as a test for object status (Simpson & Bresnan 1983, Simpson 1988, 1991: 314ff.). This analysis would work for examples (2-124) and (2-125) above. However, for Jaminjung it is very doubtful in which sense the controller of the secondary predicate in (2-126), an oblique pronominal representing the ‘person on whose behalf it is knocked’, would be an object; there is no other morphosyntactic evidence that it is.

- (2-126) du-du      gani-ma                      ngarrgu      [**mugurn-bina**]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub>  
 RDP-knock 3sg:3sg-HIT.PST 1sg.OBL      sleep-ALL  
 ‘she knocked for me while I was sleeping’ (RB/DB, MIX114)

Therefore it seems more fruitful to give a semantic description for the co-reference constraints that hold for this construction: any argument representing a participant towards whom an action is directed may control an allative-marked secondary predicate.

#### 2.6.5.4 Origin-marked resultative clauses

The origin case *-nyunga* (see also §2.2.3.3.6) marks subordinate clauses with a resultative interpretation.

- (2-127) [**burrb-nyunga** **warrg**]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub>      ga-ram=biyang      waga-bina  
 finish-ORIG      work                      3sg-COME.PRS=NOW      sit-ALL  
 ‘having finished work, she comes now to sit down’ (JM, CHE152)

Notably, marking with the origin case is the only way of forming resultative stative expressions (that is, translation equivalents of English past participles like *broken*) with coverbs of change of state like *bag* ‘break’ or *digirrij* ‘die’, (see also §6.6).

- (2-128) buliki=biya ngiya bulumab ga-yinji, [digirrij-nyunga]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub>  
 cow=NOW PROX float 3sg-GO.IMP die-ORIG  
 ‘the cows were floating here, having died / dead’ (EH, EV03123)

Often, embedded subordinate clauses marked with *-nyunga* have a causal reading. However, this should be regarded as an inference, not an entailment; what is entailed is only temporal precedence. Thus, the translation of (2-129) brings out the intended causal reading, but an alternative translation would run ‘I have sore legs, having walked’.

- (2-129) miri janga nga-gba [walnginy-nyunga]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub>  
 upper.leg sore 1sg-BE.PST walking-ORIG  
 ‘I had sore legs from walking’ (IP, F03979)

### 2.6.5.5 Ablative-marked clauses

Ablative-marked nonfinite subordinate clauses are only found very rarely. They seem to be restricted to encoding an event which serves as both the spatial and temporal starting point for another event. For example, (2-130) describes a change of spatial configuration away from an original configuration, which is encoded by the positional coverb *warrngalab* ‘belly up’, marked with ablative case.

- (2-130) [warrngalab-giyag]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub> wirriny nga-w-irdbaj  
 belly.up-ABL turn 1sg-FUT-FALL  
 mun nga-w-iyaj mugurn  
 belly.down 1sg-FUT-BE lie/sleep  
 ‘from (lying) on my back I will turn over, I will be lying on my belly’  
 (LR, NGA133)

In (2-131), the ablative follows a derived coverb of continuous activity. Again, ablative-marking indicates that the place of the activity is the starting point of motion away from it, with a strong implication of temporal precedence.

- (2-131) buru yirru-ruma-ny yagbali-bina [di-mayan-ngunyi]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub>  
 return 1pl.excl-COME-PST camp-ALL stay.overnight-CONT-ABL  
 ‘we came back to the camp from/after camping out’ (VP, TIM153)

### 2.6.5.5 Temporal-marked clauses

The ‘TIME’ suffix *-mindij*, like other case markers, may follow a coverb which functions as the predicate of a subordinate clause; an example is (2-132).

- (2-132) [**gulban**      **burrb-mindij**]<sub>Cl-nonfin</sub>    nga-w-ijga    buru      Kununurra  
 ground      finish-TIME      1sg-FUT-GO    return      <place.name>  
 ‘after the funeral I’m going back to Kununurra’ (MW, CHE227)

However, unlike the other case markers, *-mindij* ‘TIME’ may also follow an inflecting verb, thus relating a finite main clause to another main clause.

- (2-133) [**Nangari**      **buru**      **ga-w-ijga-mindij**]<sub>Cl-fin</sub> +  
 <subsection>      return      3sg-FUT-GO-TIME  
  
 marndaj      ngabulg      nga-w-irdbaj  
 later/allright      dive      3sg-FUT-FALL  
 ‘when Nangari goes back, all right, I’m going to have a shower,’ (IP, E09073)

## 2.7 Summary

In this chapter, the basic grammatical features of Jaminjung and Ngaliwurru were presented. In particular, the main lexical categories and subcategories were defined by their morpho-syntactic characteristics. It was shown that coverbs – uninflecting lexemes that are inherently predicative – constitute a major part of speech distinct from nominals and verbs, and from the minor classes of particles, clitics and interjections. Verbs can be identified by a rich set of obligatory verbal inflections, comprising bound pronominals and tense/aspect/mood marking. The verbs identified in this way form a closed class. Coverbs take a subset of the nominal derivational morphology (which derives nominals from coverb roots). When functioning as the head of a non-finite subordinate clause, they can be followed by a subset of nominal case markers. Still, they can be distinguished from nominals: first, most subclasses of nominals, but not coverbs, can function as a constituent of a noun phrase. Second, coverbs, but not nominals, can form complex verbs together with a generic verb. However, boundaries were shown to be somewhat fuzzy between stative coverbs and the classes of locational nominals and adjectival nominals (§2.3.1.2). It is also difficult to distinguish coverbs from adverbs (e.g. manner adverbs). For the purposes of this study, it will be assumed that the adverbs mentioned in §2.3.1.2 constitute a subclass of coverbs.

Some construction types have also been discussed briefly in this chapter: the noun phrase (§2.2.1), verbal (§2.6.2) and verbless (§2.6.3) main clauses, and finite (§2.6.4) and nonfinite (§2.6.5) subordinate clauses. The next chapter is devoted to those constructions that constitute the focus of this study; these are constructions in predicate function that involve verbs, coverbs, or combinations of verbs and coverbs.