Chapter 5
Nominals, Part II

In Chapter Four we discussed the nominal case system and the structure of the nominal word. In this chapter we turn to derivation and compounding within the noun/adjective class, as well as the specific properties of pronouns, locationals, manner nominals, time nominals and nominal predicators.

5.1 Word formation in the noun/adjective class

In this section I discuss derivation, compounding and reduplication patterns that affect the noun/adjective class.

5.1.1 Derivational suffixes

5.1.1.1 INDIVidualizer -(i)n- . This is -in- after consonants, -n- after a and i. The initial i of this suffix displaces stem-final u, e.g. bardangu —> bardang-in-da. Derived forms join the palatalizing Declension 6 (e.g. dirrkuli-n-ji [husband-INDIV-LOC], except for the word karndi-n-da 'female tree', which does not palatalize: karndi-n-ki [female-INDIV-LOC].

This suffix only occurs on some ten nouns, and the semantics are rather heterogeneous. Often the derived noun means "something that can be thought of as (a) Y":

bardangu	'big'	bardang-in-da	'big toe, thumb'
dirrkuli	'husband'	dirrkuli-n-da	'male (tree)'
karndi	'wife'	karndi-n-da	'female (tree)'

Note also kuwa-n-da 'firestick', from kuwa , an archaic word for 'eye'. Speakers drew my attention to this etymology by saying the burning tip of the firestick was like an eye glowing in the dark.

Two names of winds are derived, by this suffix, from fruits characteristically eaten in the season when they blow: kambuda 'pandanus fruit', kambuda-n-da 'north wind'; minjirr-a 'flesh of pandanus nuts that have been cooked in bushfires', minjirr-in-da 'cyclone'.

Because of the limited and semantically unpredictable nature of this morpheme, it will not be segmented off in glosses given outside this section.

5.1.1.2 REMote -*ij*-. This stresses the distance of the named location. Though most common with locationals (5.3.4.7), it sometimes occurs with noun/adjectives:

(5-1) *wambal-ij-i,* *wambal-i* *warra-ya* *wirdi-j*
       bush-REM-LOC bush-LOC far-LOC stay-ACT
       '(They) stayed way off in the bush, in the far bush.'

(5-2) *mibur-ij-i* *karrngi-ja* *kuwan-d*
       eye-REM-LOC keep-IMP firestick-NOM!
       'Keep an eye on the firestick!' (Lit.: 'keep it in your far eye').

5.1.1.3 BORN AT -*ngathi*. This derives personal birth-place names, through addition to the name of the place where someone was born. Different place-names may be applied to the same individual depending on how precisely the birth-place is being identified: Darwin Moodoonuthi was born at Marrkukinji, in the region known as Murdumurdu, and could be called either Marrkukinjingathi or Murdumurdungathi.

Normally -*ngathi* is added to the citation form of the place name, as in the above examples. However, there are three deviations from this: (a) place names ending in LOCative -*ya* change this to -*yi* before the suffix, e.g. *Thunduya*[1] but *Thunduyingathi*; (b) place names ending in the ABLative drop this before adding the suffix, e.g. *Dawarrinaba* but *Dawarringathi*; (c) place names ending with the NOMinative augment -*da* drop this before adding -*ngathi*: *Bukamanda* but *Bukamanngathi*.

The -*ngathi* names of young Kayardild are now based on where they were spiritually conceived or "presaged" (*ngaarrngija*), presumably because the majority are now born in white hospitals, either on Mornington or in Mount Isa, so that the actual birthplace would have little distinctive value. The place of spiritual conception, on the other hand, has contemporary importance as one means of claiming affiliation to country.

Another contemporary change is the extension of -*ngathi* names to aeroplanes, with the meaning "with its home airport at X", as in *Biringathi* 'the Birri plane' (Birri is a small fishing resort on Mornington Island).

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[1]   In fact such words are almost always heard without the final /a/, e.g. *Thunduy*, due to the interaction of prosodic truncation with the fact that such names usually occupy their own complete breath group.

These contemporary usages suggest that the primary function of the *-ngathi* suffix is to signal rights to a particular country. Cognate nouns of the form *ngathi* or *ngaji* occur in a number of northern Nyungic languages, e.g. Bilinara *ngaji* 'father', suggesting that the construction originated as a compound "X(place)-father", i.e. "whose father's country (and hence whose own country) is X".

Written *-nuthi* and pronounced [naθi] the birth place name has become the white surname of many Kaiadilt, in which case it is transmitted patrilineally and acquired through marriage, just like a European surname. Because these were initially given to the middle generation of arrivals from Bentinck, they have also been extended backwards to their parents. *Murdumurdungathi*, for instance, has become *Moodoonuthi* (pronounced according to English orthographic rules). The latter name, originally given to Darwin as a surname, was extended to his wife May and his mother Edith, even though their birth place names are quite different: *Dangkankurungathi* and *Kuwarajingathi* respectively. In other cases the birth place name without the *-ngathi* is used: Dugal's Kayardild birth place name was *Kungarrangathi*, and his European surname *Goongarra*. Kayardild speakers now regard the two names as quite independent.

5.1.1.4 DYAD *-ngarrba*. Most kin terms can take a suffix *-ngarrba* (formally identical to the CONSequential case) after the stem. The derived term names pairs of people, one of whom calls the other X, and stresses that these two people are acting together[2]. They may be used in reference (5-3) or address (5-4):

(5-3)   *kiyarrng-ka=rna   yiiwi-j,   thabuju-ngarrb*
        two-NOM=now   sleep-ACT   EB-DYAD(NOM)
        'Two are lying (in the sleeping bag) now, two brothers together.'

(5-4)   *yakukathu-ngarrba   dali-j,   nga-ku-l-da   warra-j!*
        EZ-DYAD(NOM)   come-IMP   1-INC-pl-NOM   go-IMP
        'You two sisters come on, let's all go!'

Dyadic kin terms may also be use ironically to emphasize that the referents' behaviour is not appropriate to their kin relationship (cf. Merlan—Heath 1982):

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2   Note the difference between this and the Dual {*-kiyarrng-ka*}. *Ngamathu-yarrng-ka* [mother-du-NOM] refers to two people who are both mothers to some other person, whereas *ngamathu-ngarrba* is used of two people, one of whom is mother to the other. In other words, the Dual follows a stem expressing the relation of two people to an outside referent, whereas the DYAD follows a stem expressing a relation within the group.

(5-5)   *jambathu-ngarrba*   *karndi-ya*   *dun-d*
          cousin-DYAD(NOM)   wife-NOM   husband-NOM
          'Those two cousins are husband and wife.'

Where the base term is not self-reciprocal, as in (a), the senior term is used (b):

(a)

| *kangku* | FF, FFZ, SCh | *kangku-ngarrba* | FF(Z) with (B)SCh |
| *kularrin-da* | Sibling of opposite sex | *kularrin-ngarrba* | B with Z. |

(b)

yakukathu	EZ	*yakukathu-ngarrba*	EZ with YZ
thabuju	EB	*thabuju-ngarrba*	EB with YB
ngamathu	M	*ngamathu-ngarrba*	M with Ch.

An interesting exception occurs with pairs containing a *kakuju* 'uncle; son-in-law' and a *kardu* 'father-in-law; nephew'. Here whichever term refers to the senior member of the pair serves as the base: *kakujungarrba* 'uncle with nephew'; *kardungarrba* 'father-in-law with son-in-law'. This reflects the "dual focus" of these terms, with neither sense being clearly dominant.

Note that with the terms *karndi-ya* 'wife (male ego), sister-in-law (female ego)' and *dun-da* 'husband (female ego), brother-in-law (male ego)', the derived dyad terms allow only the "in-law" meaning: *karndi-ngarrba* is 'pair who are each other's sisters-in-law' and *dun-ngarba* is 'pair who are each other's brothers-in-law.' 'Husband and wife' can only be translated by *karndiya dunda* (order fixed)[3].

There is one dyadic term, using this suffix, which is not based on a kin root: *dul-warniij-uru-ngarrba* [place-one-PROP-DYAD] means 'countryman'. This suggests that the semantics of hosting roots is somewhat wider than kinship, but involves shared relationships more generally.

The formal similarity with the CONsequential may be more than accidental. One semantic rationalization is that the pair behave the way they do *because* they have this kin relationship[4]. A comparative study of

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3   One possible reason for this is that there is neither an appropriate reciprocal term (K lacking a word 'spouse') nor a clearly "senior" term, so neither of the regular principles could be employed.

4   Almost every ethnography of an Australian Aboriginal society contains ample discussion of how people's kin relationships determine their behaviour together. See, for example, Thomson (1935), Meggitt (1962), and the discussions by Dixon (1971), Haviland (1979b) and Rumsey (1982b) on appropriate speech styles.

the etymology of dyad suffixes throughout Australia would be interesting.

5.1.1.5   AFFECtionate *-barda*. This suffix may be added to basic kin terms in address, to "show you really love someone". Such terms are particularly appropriate in such situations as expressing condolences (5-6) or asking for favours (5-7).

The suffix *-barda* usually follows the regular stem, e.g. *jambathu-bard* 'cross-cousin-AFFEC', *duujin-bard* 'younger brother-AFFEC'. But the two words *kakuju* 'uncle' and *thabuju* 'older brother' have irregular stems before this suffix: *kakutha-barda* and *thabutha-barda*[5].

(5-6)   bi-rr-a   kamburi-ja   dandanangan-d: yakukathu-bard
3-du-NOM   say-ACT   like this-NOM   older sister-AFFEC

- ngada   bi-rr-wan-da   yakukathu -   yakukathu-bard,
1sgNOM   3-du-POSS-NOM   sisterNOM   older sister-AFFEC

ngakin-da   kardu-wa   kurirr
1nsgINC:POSS-NOM   son-NOM   deadNOM

'They spoke (to me) like this: dear older sister—I'm their older sister—dear older sister, our son is dead.'

(5-7)   dan-da   kada   wuu-ja   kajakaja-bard
here-NOM   againNOM   give-IMP   daddy-AFFEC
'Give some more here darling daddy!'

There is one special monomorphemic form in this series: *wangkurdu* may replace *kularrinbard* 'darling opposite sex sibling'.

5.1.1.6   KIN *-THu*. Most kin terms contain a final segment *-ju* (after high vowels *i* and *u)* or *-thu* (after *a*). Examples are *babiju* 'father's mother', *ngarriju* 'mother's mother', *kakuju* 'mother's brother', *ngathiju* 'mother's brother's son'; *jambathu* 'mother's father', *marrkathu* 'father's sister', *ngamathu* 'mother', *kanthathu* 'father', *thabuju* 'elder brother', *yakukathu* 'elder sister', *ngardadathu* 'daughter-in-law (of female)', *ngayarndathu* 'mother's brother's daughter', *ngarrmandathu* 'son's child (of female)'.

Synchronically there is practically no evidence for this being a separate suffix: there is no opposition between it and zero or any other suffix. Inflection and derivation always follows *-THu* : *thabujuya* 'elder

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5   Speakers disagree on the forms of some of the other kin terms: some suggested forms without *-THu*, e.g. *babi-barda, marrka-barda*, while others suggested the full form: *babiju-barda, marrkathu-barda*. Forms on the pattern of *thabuju*, with irregular final *-tha* (e.g. *babitha-barda*) were not accepted.

brother-LOC'; *thabujungarrba* 'elder brother-DYAD'. The only evidence comes from its recent analogical extension to one new kin term (see below).

Diachronically, however, there is good evidence that it originated as a suffixed first person possessive pronoun (cf. the Yukulta first person oblique clitic *=thu*). Absorption of first person possessive affixes into kin terms (so that the word "my kin" comes to mean just "kin" and can then be combined with any possessive pronoun) is widespread in Australia—see Koch (1983a). Comparison of Kayardild and Yukulta with Lardil shows that at the level of proto-Tangkic only a few terms bore *-THu* : *kakuju* 'mother's brother', *thabuju* 'older brother' and possibly *jambathu* 'mother's father'; subsequently it has been extended by analogy to other kin terms in Kayardild and Yukulta.

The Lardil evidence for original final *-THu* being limited to a few lexical items is the following: although it is wiped out by apocope in the citation form, it is detectable either in the protected non-nominative stem or dyadic form (cf. *kaku* 'uncle', whose non-nominative stem is *kakuji-* and whose dyadic form is *kakujarrba*) or as the conditioning factor for lowering of the root-final vowel (cf. *jembe* 'mother's father' from **jambathu*[6]). On the other hand, the extent of truncation sometimes

provides evidence for the absence of original *-THu* : 'father's father', which is *kangkarliju* in Yukulta and *kangkariju* in Kayardild, is *kangkar* (non-nominative stem *kangkari-*) in Lardil. Had *-THu* been present on this root at the time apocope applied, the nominative form should have been *kangkari* rather than *kangkar* . In all other Lardil kin terms—e.g. *bebi* 'father's mother', *ngama* 'mother', *kantha* 'father', *yakuku* 'elder sister', *merrka* 'father's sister'—there is no evidence for an original *-THu* suffix.

That the process of analogically extending *-THu* through the kinship vocabulary is still ongoing in Kayardild is shown by the recent addition of *-thu* in the term *ngarrmandathu* 'son's child (of woman)'; this constitutes the sole case in which synchronic evidence favours segmentation. The recency of its addition here manifests itself as (a) free variation between *ngarrmanda* and *ngarrmandathu* in the nominative (b) its appearance after the nominative suffix *-da* (c) use of *ngarrman-* as the non-nominative stem, as in *ngarrmanki* 'son's child-LOC'.

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[6]   The most likely explanation for the fronting of the second vowel in *jembe* is the following interdental; against this, however, the evidence from the dyadic form *jembeerrba* suggests that either the truncated nominative form was generalized as the stem, or that the proto-Tangkic form lacked *-THu* and that some other explanation should be sought for the lowering of the final vowel

5.1.1.7   OWN -*nganji*.   A number of classificatory kin terms may be made "actual" by the addition of the suffix *nganji* 'own'. For example *kardu* can be applied to any classificatory father-in-law, while *kardunganji* is limited to the speaker's actual father-in-law. -*nganji* terms may be used in reference or address.

This suffix is most often heard with *kardu*. When I tried it on other terms, e.g. *marrkathu-nganji* [aunty-OWN] or *kularrin-nganji* [opposite sex sibling-OWN], these were at first accepted, but later my informants had second thoughts. I am therefore unsure whether this suffix can combine with all kin terms. This would fit with the likely origin of this suffix—probably already attached to the kin root *kardu* —as a loan from Yanyuwa and/or Karrwa.

5.1.1.8   BODY PART -*ri(i)J-*.   This suffix occurs in a few derived body part nouns:

ngumu	'black'	*ngumuriida dulka*	'navel'
jungarrba	'big'	*jungarrbarida*	'large intestine'
waldarra	'moon'	*waldarrari(i)da*	'caecum of dugong'

In Yukulta the cognate suffix -*(r)lid-* occurs in a number of words; Keen (1983) glosses it sometimes as 'side', e.g. *thaku-rlid-a* [left.hand-side-NOM] 'left hand side, left', and sometimes as 'nominalizer', e.g. *kangka-lid-a* [language-NMZR-NOM] 'language'. It is likely that the 'CONTinuous' suffix on cardinal locationals in Kayardild (5.3.4.6) is etymologically related.

5.1.2 Compound-like derivations

The following derivational suffixes are transparently derived from compounding with free forms. Note that the vowel lengthening found in the nominative of disyllabic vowel-final free forms disappears in the compounds, e.g. *mirra-a* 'good-NOM', *birdi-mirra* 'bad-INTENS'.

5.1.2.1   INTENSifier -*mirra*.   As mentioned above, this derives from the free form *mirra-a* 'good'. Bound -*mirra* indicates the possession of a quality to an exceptional degree, as in *kunya-mirra* 'very small'. With object-prefixed agentive nominalizations (5-8) it adds the meaning 'a great, a champion':

(5-8)   *niya   banga-durrwa-n-mirra-ɸ   dangka-a*
         3sgNOM   turtle-chase-N-INTENS-NOM   man-NOM
         'He is a champion turtle-chaser.'

With nominals denoting groups it increases the number: *ngurrnga-mirra* [mob-INTENS] 'really big mob'.

Hyper-intensives are formed by sandwiching *-mirr-* between two tokens of the nominal:

(5-9) *mutha-mirra-mutha-a*   *dangka-a*
       many-INTENS-many-NOM   person-NOM
       'lots and lots of people.'

(5-10) *bijarrba-diya-a-n-mirra-bijarrba-diya-a-n-d*
       dugong-eat-M-N-INTENS-dugong-eat-M-N-NOM
       'a place where lots and lots of dugong can be eaten'
       (see 11.2.3 on locational nominalizations)

A suffix *-mirra* occurs as a nominal intensifier in Karrwa and Wanyi (Breen to appear). Given that it can be transparently derived from the free form 'good' in Tangkic, but has no corresponding free form in Karrwan, it is probably a loan from a Tangkic language (probably Yukulta) into Karrwa and Wanyi.

5.1.2.2 SMALL *-kunya*. (Cf. *kunya-a* 'small'). This usually derives nouns commenting on the small size of a body part: *mun-kunya* [arse-SMALL] 'short-arsed'; *munirr-kunya* [breast-SMALL] 'small-breasted'. But it may also modify other nouns, as in *mala-kunya* [sea-SMALL] 'low tide':

(5-11) *ngada*   *mala-kunya-na*   *thaa-tharr*
       1sgNOM sea-SMALL-MABL   return-PST
       'I came back at low tide.'

5.1.2.3 ABUNDANT *-mutha*. (Cf. *mutha-a* 'big'). This derives nominals designating a place where a particular food-source is abundant. Allen Island is *warrun-mutha* [goanna-ABUNDANT] and also:

(5-12) *mirra-a*   *dulk,*   *banga-muth*
       good-NOM   placeNOM   turtle-ABUNDANT(NOM)
       'Good country, with lots of turtles.'

A somewhat different sense occurred when on one occasion I heard a woman, married many times, describe herself as *dangka-mutha* [man/husband-ABUNDANT]. When based on the more general sense of *dangkaa*, namely 'human being', *dangkamutha* can also mean 'populated place'.

5.1.2.4 EXceSsive *-muthan-*. This could be segmented into *-mutha-* plus INDIVidualizer *-n-*; like the latter it derives Declension 6 nominals. There is a difference in meaning, however: *-mutha-* is always

favourable and *-muthan-* generally unfavourable. So I will treat the two as distinct suffixes.

-muthan- derives deprecatory or humorous expressions of excess, always with human referents. The exact meaning depends on the nominal base:

(a) 'person indulging in too much X',
(b) 'person having too much X',
(c) 'person using their X too much',
(d) 'person spending too much time with X'.

The derived meaning depends to some extent on the semantic type of the base, so that meaning (a) is produced with action nouns like *rik-* 'crying' and nominalized verbs, (b) and (c) with body part nouns, and (d) with human nouns.

(a)	*ka-muthan-da*	speech-XS-NOM	'chatterbox'
	ri-muthan-da	cry-XS-NOM	'crybaby'
	mibul-muthan-da	sleep-XS-NOM	'sleepyhead'
	kulu-yii-n-muthan-da	scratch-M-N-XS-NOM	'person always scratching themself'
	dukurr-kali-n-muthan-da	sperm-jump-N-XS-NOM	'person who is always ejaculating'
(b)	*kubul-muthan-da*	body hair-XS-NOM	'hairy person'
(c)	*mibur-muthan-da*	eye-XS-NOM	'lecher; brazen woman' (MIE 'big eye')
(d)	*karndi-muthan-da*	wife-XS-NOM	'Casanova, playboy'
	maku-muthan-da	woman-XS-NOM	

5.1.2.5 LADEN *-thalkuru* . This has not been attested as a genuine free form, although it does occur in the idiomatic dual *thalkuru-yarrng-ka* [laden-du-NOM] 'mating turtles (one on top of the other)'. It may ultimately derive from *thali* 'heavy' plus PROPrietive *-kuru* .

As a derivational suffix it expresses the idea of being "fully loaded with X" (5-13); "overburdened with X", as when a turtle carrying a man is described as *dangka-thalkuru* [man-~] ; "covered with X", as when the tip of a fighting spear is *wanku-thalkuru* [stingray-~] 'covered with stingray barbs'; "wrapped in X", as when initiatory stingray pins are *kurda-thalkuru* [paperbark-~] 'thoroughly wrapped in paperbark'; or "riddled with X", as when Moon, after a treacherous attack, disappears into the ground *kurrumbu-thalkuru-da* [spear-LADEN-SAME] 'still riddled with spears'.

(5-13)   *budubudu   warra-ja   dangka-thalkuru*
boatNOM go-ACT   person-LADEN(NOM)
'The boat sailed off fully loaded with people.'

5.1.2.6 ORPHAN *-kurirra* . The addition of this suffix to kin terms derives "orphan" or "bereavement" terms, used in reference or address, and meaning "one whose X has recently died". The suffix is identical to the adjective *kurirra* 'dead'. Examples are *kangku-kurirr* 'one whose father's father has recently died', and *kambin-kurirr* 'one whose child has recently died'. There are special monomorphemic terms for three categories of kin most affected by loss: *kuwariwari* '"orphan", one who has recently lost a parent'; *marirr*, 'widow(er), one who has recently lost a spouse' and *burjululu* 'one who has recently lost a sibling'; these replace the expected terms in *-kurirra.*

5.1.3 Nominal compounding

Nominal compounding is extremely productive in Kayardild, and only a sketchy account is possible here. Most are exocentric *bahuvrihi* compounds: a compound X-Y typically has the meaning "a person/thing whose X is Y".

5.1.3.1 Order of elements. Bahuvrihi compounds are made up of a head followed by a modifier, e.g. *nguku-birdi* [water-bad] 'place having bad water', *kirr-maku* [face-woman] 'effeminate looking man'. Note that although the modifier is usually a "qualifying nominal" (6.3.3), it may also be the name of an entity when a "part-whole" construction would be appropriate, e.g. *maku-wa kirrk-a* [woman-NOM face-NOM] 'woman's face'. The head-modifier order found in such compounds is the opposite of that found in normal NPs.

A few compounds are made up of a nominal predicator and its object. Here, as with normal prefixed-object constructions, the object precedes the predicator, e.g. *dabarr-mungurru* [tree-knowing] 'tree expert, child who keeps climbing trees'.

5.1.3.2 Some examples. There appears to be no limit on what nominals can be compounded. Some words, however, are particularly common as the second elements of compounds:

Birdi 'bad', as in *kamarr-birdi* [rock-bad] 'treacherous reef', *birrjil-birdi* [custom-bad] 'immoral', and *nguku-birdi* (see above).

Dami 'blunt', can be compounded with a number of body-part terms to give the names of emotions or of somatic manifestations of telepathy

felt in the particular body-part, e.g. *birrmu-rdami* [7] [sternum-blunt] 'be telepathically aware (of someone's death)', *kurndu-rdami* [chest-blunt] 'sad'.

Mungurru 'knowing, expert', as in *mala-mungurru* [beer-expert] 'alcoholic'; *mibul-mungurru* [sleep-expert] 'sleepyhead'; *katha-mungurru* [bed-expert], used of a dog that always found its way into people's beds, and *kunawuna-mungurru* [child-expert] 'couple who can't stop procreating'.

5.1.3.3 Use of compounds to feed N P s into lexical derivations.
As mentioned in Chapter 3, a clear distinction can be made in Kayardild between inflection, which has phrasal scope and phrasal concord, and derivation, which has lexical scope (and no concord).

To repeat an example given there, the INCHoative suffix *-wa-tha*, deriving verbs of becoming from nouns, can apply to a single nominal word like *murndundun-kuru* [maggott-PROP], giving *murndundun-kuru-watha* 'become full of maggotts', but not to a phrase like *jungarra-wuru murndundun-kuru* 'full of big maggotts'; to express this, a copula plus nominal predicate construction must be used (9.1.8).

The same goes for nominal-nominal derivational suffixes, and even derivational uses of case suffixes. The PROPrietive, for example, can be used adnominally to express "having", in which case it has phrasal scope and concord: *jangka-wuru maku-wuru* [other-(ADN)PROP woman-(ADN)PROP] 'having another woman'. As we saw in 4.3.5, it may also be used derivationally, yielding nouns of "characteristic having", like *daman-kuru* [tooth-(DER)PROP] 'old man dugong'. But in this derivational "characteristic having" use it cannot apply to whole NPs.

The prefixation of objects to nominalized verbs (11.2.1) likewise operates with words, not phrases. Thus we can prefix the word *banga-* 'turtle' to the agentive nominalization *raa-n-da* [spear-N-NOM] 'spearer', giving *banga-raa-n-da* 'turtle spearer'. But we cannot prefix each member of a NP in this way: *mutha-raa-n-da banga-raa-n-da* '?many-spearer turtle-spearer' is unacceptable[8].

In all these situations the ban can be dodged by first turning the NP into a single word by compounding, then feeding the compound into the word-level processes of nominal-nominal or nominal-verbal derivation, or nominal prefixation, as in the following examples.

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[7]   In the present orthography the retroflexion symbol r, omitted from initial occlusives, is included in compounds.

[8]   While this restriction holds for most types of multi-word NP, it is relaxed with part-whole and generic-specific constructions, so that formations like 'man-eater blood-eater' and 'cartilaginous fish-spearer shark-spearer' are possible. See 6.3.4 and 6.3.5.

(5-14)   NP   —>   Compound nominal —> Inchoative verb

     birdi-ya   nal-da   *nal-birdi*   *nal-birdi-wa-tha*
     bad-NOM head-NOM   head-bad-INCH-ACT
     'bad (in the) head'   'mad, crazy'   'become drunk, mad'

(5-15)   NP   —>   Compound nominal —> Compound
                                                     + Derivation

     birdi-ya ngunguk-a   *ngungu-birdi*   *ngungu-birdi-wuru*
     bad-NOM story-NOM   story-bad-PROP
     'bad story'   'scandal'   'scandalmonger'

Note also the word *dul-warniij-uru-ngarrba* [place-one-PROP-DYAD] 'countryman', where a compound noun feeds two successive nominal-nominal derivations.

The construction N_1-N_2-PROP need not mean "having an N_1 that is N_2". It can also mean "having an N_2 on/in its N_1", as in *tharda-wanka-wuru* 'shoulder-branch-PROP' 'having branches on its shoulders (aeroplane)', or *wara-dangka-wuru* [mouth-man-PROP] 'having a man in his mouth (Kajurku)'.

(5-16)   NP —>   Compound —> Nominal prefix to
                                             agentive
                                             nominalization

     mutha-a   wuran-da   *[wuran-mutha-]*   *wuran-mutha-raa-n-da*
     much-NOM food-NOM   food-much-spear-N-NOM
     'a lot of food'   'spearer of lots of food'

5.1.3.4 Compounds with *minyi* 'like a'.

Minyi 'toward; thus' is usually a preverbal particle indicating that a trajectory is nearing its endpoint (8.1.5) or a sentence particle introducing the conclusion of a story (9.7.2.6). There is also a noun *minyi* meaning 'kind; colour'; this may follow nominals with a semblative meaning: *dangkaa minyi* 'like a man'.

There are a number of compound nominals with *minyi* as first element. These, too, have a semblative meaning, although the point of resemblance is not always clear to Europeans: compare *minyi-ngarnala* 'witchetty grub' and *ngarnala* 'white cockatoo' (both are white), *minyi-kandungka* 'praying mantis' and *kandungka* 'jabiru' (both are long with thin folding legs).

Highly abusive expressions can be formed on this pattern, using the kin term of a close relative, e.g. *nyingka minyi-ngamathu* 'you are like your mother'. This expression manages to insult both the addressee and the relative concerned, the implication being that both share various unspeakable qualities. It is interesting that such abuse is reported using a compound verb comprising the kin term plus *-marutha* 'put': the curse

just given would be reported as *niya ngamathu-marutha ngijinji* 'he mother-put me; he insulted me by comparing me to my mother'. The spatial metaphor begun by using *minyi* 'towards' as a semblative is thus preserved in the reported speech act by using the transfer verb 'put'.

5.1.4 Nominal reduplication

On the morphophonology of reduplication, see 2.5.7. Nominal reduplication has five main functions:

5.1.4.1 Nonce reduplications. Many nominals are formally reduplications, but lack unreduplicated equivalents. Examples are the words *rukaruka* 'cumulustratus cloud' and *buyilbuyilka* 'large shovel-nosed stingray': there are no unreduplicated correspondents **ruka* or **buyilka*.

5.1.4.2 Entity having quality. Some reduplications derive the names of entities characteristically having some quality named by the unreduplicated form:

marrkada	'soft'	*marrkany-marrkada*	'soft swamp weed used for swaddling newborns'
balarr-a	'white'	*balarr-walarr-a*	'white of egg'
bardiwuru	'whiskery'	*bardiwuru-bardiwuru*	'old man'

5.1.4.3 Quality exemplified by entity. This is the reverse of 5.1.4.2, and considerably more common. Examples are:

kandu	'blood'	*kandu-kandu*	'red'
jilangan-da	'hand-axe'	*jilangan-jilangan-da*	'sharp'

kurndungkal-da	'multi-coloured mudstone'
kurndungkal-kurndungkal-da	'bright, multi-coloured'

I have two examples where manner nominals are derived, with fairly idiosyncratic semantic changes:

junku	'straight'	*junku-yunku*	'in return, in retaliation'
murruku	'woomera'	*murruku-murruku*	'bellicose, with hostile intent'

5.1.4.4 Number. Some nominals may be reduplicated to indicate plurality: *marngan-da* 'prepubescent girl', *marngan-marngan-da* 'many prepubescent girls'; *kurda-a* 'coolamon', *kurda-kurda-a* 'many coolamons'.

Note also *kunya-wunya* 'a few' from *kunya-a* 'small', and the nonce reduplication *kurraji-wurraji* 'a measly, inadequate amount'.

5.1.4.5 Plurality of actors (manner nominals). Nominals functioning as second predicates of manner (including nominalized verbs and inherent manner nominals) can be reduplicated to show that many actors perform the same action:

(5-17)   *warra-ja   ngarn-ki,   wakiri-n-wakiri-n-d*
go-ACT   beach-LOC   carry coolamon-N-carry coolamon-N-NOM
'(They) went along the beach carrying coolamons.'

Reduplication is also possible with manner nominals serving as object complements:

(5-18)   *ngada   kurri-jarra   bi-l-wan-jina*
1sgNOM   see-PST   3-pl-POSS-MABL

rar-i-lar-ii-jina
south-CONT-south-CONT-MABL

'I saw them all heading ever southward.'
(See 5.3.4.6 for discussion of the compass manner nominal *rariida*.).

5.2 Pronouns

Kayardild has a rich set of free form pronouns, distinguishing person (first person exclusive and inclusive, second, and third) and number (singular, dual and plural). Apart from minor differences (5.2.2), the pronominal case system is identical to that of other nominal subclasses. There are no bound pronouns in Kayardild, unless one counts the slightly contracted 3sg form *ni* (cf. the full form *niya*) sometimes placed after the verb in narrative (3.2.1). The issue of whether proto-Tangkic had bound pronouns is discussed in 10.4.3.

Pronouns are mainly used with human referents, but also with other animates (e.g. dugong in 5-92 and fish in 11-40), and with places when these are seen as personifications of mythical beings (Text 4, Line 18). Elsewhere demonstratives are used (5.3.2.2).

5.2.1 Stem forms

At most three stem variants occur: nominative, possessive pronoun, and "subject oblique". The "subject oblique" form is limited to the

pronominal subjects of clauses complementized with the OBLique case (12.1.1). The first inclusive has an alternative non-singular form *ngakinda* with a simplified stem. First person inclusive forms of the subject oblique do not occur, since clauses with first inclusive subjects select the complementizing locative (12.1.4).

All other case suffixes are added to the possessive pronoun stem (all Declension 6). The 1sg possessive pronoun stem, for example, is *ngijinda*; from this we obtain the first singular LOCative *ngijin-ji(ya)*, the first singular PROPrietive *ngijin-ju(ru)*, the first singular verbal dative *ngijinmarutha*, and so on.

Person/ Number		Nominative	Possessive Pronoun	Subject Oblique
1	sg	*ngada*	*ngijin-da*	*ngijuwa*
	du	*nga-rr-a*	*nga-rr(a)-wan-da*	*nga-rr(a)-wa*
	plu	*nga-l-da*	*nga-l(a)-wan-da*	*nga-la-wa*
12	du	*nga-ku-rr-a*	*nga-ku-rr-wan-da*	----
	plu	*nga-ku-l-da*	*nga-ku-l(u)-wan-da*	----
	(non-sg)		*nga-kin-da*	----
2	sg	*nyingka*	*ngumban-da*	*ngumbaa*
	du	*ki-rr-a*	*ki-rr-wan-da*	*ki-rr-waa*
	plu	*ki-l-da*	*ki-l(u)-wan-da*	*ki-lu-wa*
3	sg	*niya*	*ni-wan-da*	*ni-waa*
	du	*bi-rr-a*	*bi-rr-wan-da*	*bi-rr-waa*
	plu	*bi-l-da*	*bi-l(u)-wan-da*	*bi-lu-wa*

Figure 5-1. Pronoun stems

The three stem variants for the pronoun series are shown in Figure 5-1. The number 1 indicates first person exclusive, and 12 first person inclusive (i.e. including speaker and hearer). Bracketed epenthetic vowels are optional, except that where the pronoun is breath-group final the epenthetic vowel of the 1st dual Subject OBLique is obligatory, supporting the final *w* left by prosodic truncation: *ngarraw*.

Apart from slight changes in the distribution of epenthetic vowels, these are identical to the Yukulta forms and, we may assume, to the proto Tangkic forms, except that the first non-singular exclusive root is likely

to have been *nya-* , as in Lardil, and to have been analogically reshaped to *nga-* in the South Wellesley languages.

Yangkaal pronouns are also virtually identical, except that the 1st and 2nd nominative singular have the extra forms *nganha* (besides *ngada*) and *nyiwa* (besides *nyingka*). The use of these forms is unclear. They may have been emphatic forms deriving from incorporation of an erstwhile emphatic clitic *-*ma* into the singular stems: 1sg *nganha* (Yangkaal) < *nganh-ma* (Yukulta + stative clitic) < 1sg *ngaTH-* plus emphatic -*ma*, 2sg *nyiwa* (< 2sg *nyi(ng)-* plus emphatic *ma*, with irregular lenition of the nasal). Lardil pronouns have undergone a number of phonological changes, and have innovated a "harmonic" vs "disharmonic" distinction in non-singular pronouns (see Hale 1966).

5.2.1.1 Analysis of stems. Temporarily leaving aside the non-singular forms, the nominative and possessive pronoun forms can be neatly segmented as follows:

Person		Inclusion	Number	Possessive stem
1	*nga-*	-*ku-*	Dual -*rr-*	-*wan-* (~-*umban-*)
			Plural -*l-*	
2	*ki-*			
3	*bi-*			

The possessive pronoun formative -*wan-*, with irregular -*(u)mban-* in the second singular *ngumban-*, is clearly cognate with the ORIGin case, with its parallel irregular alternation between -*wan-* with noun/adjectives and -*umban-* with compass locationals (the source of 1sg -*(i)jin-* is a mystery). It is likely that in pT -*mban-/-wan-* was the possessive case form, and that semantic specialization has in the modern languages split this into a possessive pronoun formative with pronominals, and a distinct ORIGin case elsewhere; certainly in K they can no longer be treated as one suffix.

Most "subject oblique" forms add -*waa* (after consonants or monosyllables) or -*wa* (after vowel-final disyllables) to the possessive pronoun stem, minus the -*wan-* formative. Alternatively, they can be derived by deleting *n* from the possessive stem). Epenthetic vowels that are optional in the possessive pronoun forms are obligatory in the subject oblique:

2 sg	*kirr-wan-da*	*kirr-waa*
3 sg	*ni-wan-da*	*ni-waa*
2 plu	*kil(u)-wan-da*	*kilu-wa*

Subject oblique forms in K are cognate with *dative* forms in Yukulta[9] and probably proto Tangkic, as in the Yukulta sentence:

(5-19)   *nguku-wa*   *kirla-ka=thu*   *ngijuwa*
Y   water-ABS   fetch-IMP=1sgOBL   1sgDAT
         'Get some water for me!'

The Yukulta dative forms were presumably also used for the subjects of clauses complementized with the dative case (12.6.1). This would have given rise to the Kayardild "subject oblique" use, which is the only place these forms still appear in modern K.

For other OBLique functions the pT dative has been replaced in modern K by the OBLique suffixed to the *possessive pronoun stem*, as in:

(5-20)   *dathin-a*   *wanku*   *baa-nyarra*   *ngijin-inj*
         that-NOM   sharkNOM   bite-APPR   1sgPOSS-MOBL
         'That shark might bite me.'

5.2.2 Special characteristics of pronominal case

In most respects, case use with pronominals is indistinguishable from that with other nominals. Two differences are discussed in this section: the use of possessive pronouns to show possession of all types, and the formal identity (outside the NOMinative) of possessives and ordinary pronouns. Two other important differences are discussed elsewhere: the optional use of the LOCative case with pronominal objects of imperatives (3.4.3), and the unusual case forms of pronominal subjects in complementized clauses (12.1.1).

5.2.2.1 Possessive pronouns. These are used for all types of possession. The three-way distinction maintained with noun/adjectives between the ablative (possession through inheritance or manufacture), the apposed noun construction (inalienable possession) and the genitive (the unmarked case) is neutralized, with possessive pronouns being used for all types:

(5-21)   *ngamathu-na*   *wunkurr*   *ni-wan-da*   *wunkurr*
         mother-ABL   grass shelterNOM   3sg-POSS-NOM   shelterNOM
         'Mother's grass shelter (that she made)'   'Her grass shelter (that she made)'

---

[9]   My gloss 'DATive' here corresponds to Keen's 'benefactive'. See Appendix B for justification.

(5-22) *dangka-karra dulk*   *ni-wan-da*   *dulk*
        man-GEN   countryNOM   3sg-POSS-NOM countryNOM
        'the man's country (that he   'his country (that he has
        has rights to)'   rights to)'

(5-23) *kunawuna*   *kirrk*   *ni-wan-da*   *kirrk*
        childNOM   faceNOM   3sg-POSS-NOM faceNOM
        'the child's face'   'his face'

I noted in 4.3.8 that younger speakers are generalizing the genitive case at the expense of the ablative and appositional constructions, and attributed this to English influence. Another possible explanation is that possessive pronouns, which neglect the distinction, are taken as a model.

Sentence examples of the use of possessive pronouns are:

(5-24) *dathin-a*   *ngumban-da*   *wumburung-k*
        that-NOM   2sgPOSS-NOM   spear-NOM
        'That is your spear.'

(5-25) *ringurrnga*   *ngijin-da*   *dulk*
        Sweers IslandNOM   1sgPOSS-NOM   countryNOM
        'Sweers Island is my country.'

(5-26) *nyingka*   *thurrung-ka* *bula-a-ja*   *kirrk-a*   *ngumban-d*
        2sgNOM   snot-NOM   remove-M-IMP nose-NOM   your-NOM
        'You clean that snot out of your nose!'[10]

5.2.2.2 Neutralization of pronoun/possessive pronoun distinction in non-nominative cases. This occurs because non-nominative pronominal cases are built on the possessive stem. Thus *niya* [3sgNOM] is formally distinct from the possessive form *niwan-da* [3sgPOSS-NOM], but the LOCative of both is *niwan-ji(ya)*, which is ambiguous between 'him-LOC' and 'his-LOC'.

Another example is *bilwanji* in the following two sentences:

(5-27) *ngada*   *kurri-ja*   *bi-l-wan-ji*
        1sgNOM   see-ACT   3-pl-POSS-MLOC
        'I saw them.'

---

[10] This clause parses as follows: the middle form *bulaa-* has the meaning 'clean OBJ off oneself' (as opposed to the underived form *bulatha* 'clean OBJ off VABL'). In 5-26 the object is *thurrungka,* and *kirrka ngumbanda* is a body-part nominal, agreeing with the subject in taking the nominative, which specifies the locus of cleaning. See 9.3.3 for more examples.

(5-28)   *ngada*   *kurri-ja*   *bi-l-wan-ji*   *ngamathu-y*
          1sgNOM   see-ACT   3-pl-POSS-MLOC   mother-MLOC
          'I saw their mother.'

Given the possibility in Kayardild of conjoining nominals by simple apposition (6.5), e.g. *maku-wa bithiin-da* [woman-NOM man-NOM] 'women and men', and of representing groups by a "set" pronoun and a "subset" nominal (e.g. *bilda ngamathu* 'they (including mother)') one would expect this formal neutralization to lead to ambiguity: could not *bilwanji ngamathuya* in (5-28), for example, mean either 'their mother' or 'them, including mother'? Kayardild speakers, however, do not consider this ambiguous, accepting only the possessive meaning. Where ambiguity would arise, the set-subset construction is not used, and the ASSOCiative of accompaniment is used in its stead:

(5-29)   *ngada*   *kurri-ja*   *bi-l-wan-ji*   *ngamathu-nurru-y*
          1sgNOM   see-ACT   3-pl-POSS-MLOC   mother-ASSOC-MLOC
          'I saw them, including mother.'

5.3   Locationals

5.3.1   Introduction

The locational subclass includes three types of inherently locative words:

(a) the demonstratives *dathin-a* 'there, that' and *dan-da* 'here, this'. A third demonstrative, *nganikin-da* 'that, beyond the field of vision' is rarely used.
(b) The four compass locationals *jirrkara* 'north', *rara* 'south', *riya* 'east' and *bada* 'west', plus a rich set of derivatives.
(c) A number of positionals, including *marrwa-a* 'near, nearby', *kukurdu* 'close', *kurangkuru* and *warra-a* 'far; far away', *walmu* 'on top of; up high'; *walmathi* 'high'; *ngaruwarra* 'between'; *yurda-a* 'inside'; *dulkalarri* 'outside'; *yuthiji* 'in front of', *bud-a* 'behind (in a line)', *jardi-ya* 'behind', *kirnkirn-da* 'overhead'; *nal-iya* 'on top of' [lit. head-LOC]; *dulkida* 'low off the ground'; and *yark-a* 'underneath'.

Demonstratives are always deictic; compass locationals and positionals are deictic in certain constructions. Thus expressions like 'your east father in law' or 'a near(by) house' assume some *origo* or deictic anchoring point (Levinson 1986), since we must answer the question "east from where?" or "near to where?". Typically the *origo* is the scene of the speech act (i.e. east from, or near to, where we are now) but it may alternatively be a "standard reference location" (east from / near to where you habitually live) or a deictic centre given by the discourse (east

from where the character was at that point of the discourse). In most relevant constructions it is possible to make the *origo* explicit through phrases like 'on east side of *me*', or 'near *the cliff*'.

In certain other constructions, such as the "heading continuously Xward" derivative (5.3.4.6), or the "X end of entity" derivative (5.3.4.8), the *origo* is not variable in this way, since the reference point is given by the construction as the current location of the moving object (in the case of "heading Xward") or the space occupied by the entity (in the case of "X end of entity").

All locationals can function as adjuncts of location. Since location is inherent in their meaning, they do not ordinarily inflect for the relational LOCative taken by other nominals (e.g. 'beach'), but appear in the nominative in instantiated (a) and zero (b) modalities.

(5-30) (a) *ngada*   *wirdi-ja*   *dan-d*   (b) *wirdi-ja*   *dan-d!*
            1sgNOM   stay-ACT   here-NOM   stay-IMP   here-NOM

            "   "   *bad*   "   *bad!*
                                 westNOM

            "   "   *warra-a*   "   *warra-a!*
                                 far-NOM

            "   "   *yurda-a*   "   *yurda-a!*
                                 inside-NOM

            "   "   *ngarn-ki*   "   *ngarn-ki!*
                                 beach-LOC

(a) 'I am here / in the west / far off / inside / on the beach.'
(b) 'Stay here / in the west / far off / inside / on the beach!'

(5-31) *dii-ja*   *rar,*   *rara*   *thula-th*
        sit-ACT   southNOM   southNOM   descend-ACT
        'He sat down in the south, in the south he went down.'

(5-32) *Kanduwadangkaa*   *marrwawuthun-da*   *dulk*
        (place name)   ghost-NOM   placeNOM

        dathin-a   *barrki-i-nangku,*   *buthuraa-nangku*   *dan-ku,*
        there-NOM   chop-M-NEGPOT   sleep-NEGPOT   here-MPROP

        nganikin-da   *barrki-ja*   *jirrkar*
        yonder-NOM   chop-IMP   northNOM

        'Kanduwadangkaa is ghost country. (Wood) mustn't be chopped, (one) mustn't sleep there. Chop (wood) way up north (of there)!'

(5-33)   *warra-a   ngijin-da   kularrin-d*
          far-NOM   my-NOM   brother-NOM
          'Far off is my brother.'

The lack of locative marking in such constructions is my criterion for grouping these lexemes together in a special "locational" subclass[11]. In addition, special derivational possibilities are available to distance and compass locationals.

Outside imperative, nominalized and instantiated clauses, locationals inflect normally for modal case. (This parallels the noun/adjective pattern: in non-zero and instantiated modalities, locationals take the NOMinative and other nominals the LOCative; in other modalities, all subclasses take modal case alone).

(5-34)   *ngada   wirdi-ju   dan-ku   /   bath-u   /   ngarn-ku*
          1sgNOM   stay-POT   here-MPROP   west-MPROP   beach-MPROP
          'I will stay here / in the west / on the beach.'

(5-35)   *dathin-ku   ri-wu   dii-ju   yakuri-y*
          there-MPROP   east-MPROP   sit-POT   fish-NOM
          'The fish will sit down (be trapped) there in the east.'

Locationals may also take other spatial cases, normal or verbal (e.g. 5-37, 5-38), spatially-related adnominal cases like the ORIGin (5-36)[12] and the "instrument of place" use of the instrumental (5-72):

(5-36)   *nga-la-wan-ji   dangka-ya   kurrka-th, jatha-ya   dangka-y,*
          1-pl-POSS-MLOC   man-MLOC   take-ACT   other-MLOC   man-MLOC

          dathin-man-ji   dangka-y,   dul-marra-ya   dangka-y
          there-ORIG-MLOC   man-MLOC   place-UTIL-MLOC   man-MLOC

          'They took our man, another man, the one from there, the custodian of that place.'

(5-37)   *walmathi-maru-tha   darrbuu-j,   ban-maru-th*
          up-VD-ACT   drag-ACT   west-VD-ACT
          'They're dragging it up, to the west.'

(5-38)   *mala-a   durldi-j,   dathin-mula-a-j*
          sea-NOM   murky-ACT   there-VABL-M-ACT
          'The sea was foaming, so they went away from there.'

---

[11]   We shall see, however, that under various conditions the LOCative case can appear: (a) when showing agreement with a LOCative-marked head (b) when functioning as discourse determiners (c) in certain kinds of "space relational" use.

[12]   Compass locationals have special ORIGin and ALLative forms, discussed in 5.3.3.

And with those motion verbs which code locations as objects (*warraja* 'go to', *jawija* 'run to', *diija* 'sit on' etc.), distance locationals take a locative (5-39, 5-40), which is a modal case marking the object (3.4.3).

(5-39)   *kiyarrng-ka   waydbala   dathin-ki   warra-j*
          two-NOM   white man   there-MLOC   go-ACT
          'Two white men went to that place.'

(5-40)   *dathin-ki   bal-ung-ki   jawi-j*
          there-MLOC   west-ALL-MLOC   run-ACT
          '(He) ran to there in the west.'

5.3.2 Functions of locationals

The local adjunct function just discussed is only one of four possible functions carried out by locationals. The others are:

(a) SPATIAL DETERMINERS, which use spatial information to restrict the reference of their heads. The demonstrative and compass locationals can be used in this way, and some of the positionals.

(b) DISCOURSE DETERMINERS, which use discourse information to restrict the reference of their heads. Only the distal demonstrative *dathina* 'that' can have this function.

(c) SPACE-RELATIONALS, which refine the basic spatial information given by the local cases. *Ngambirr-iya* 'hut-LOC', for example, merely states the broad coincidence of figure and location, and is thus vague between 'in the hut', 'at the hut', 'by the hut', 'on the hut' and others. Locationals can combine with it to give a more accurate specification, e.g. *walmu-ya ngambirr-iya* 'on top of the hut', *marrwa-ya ngambirr-iya* 'near the hut', *yurda-ya ngambirri-ya* 'inside the hut'. Compass locationals and positionals, but not distance locationals, can be used space-relationally.

The interaction of locational functions with the three subtypes can be summarized as follows:

Type of Locational	Function			
	Local Adjunct	Spatial Determiner	Discourse Determiner	Space-Relational
distance	+	+	+	-
compass	+	+	-	+
positional	+	(some)	-	+

We will now examine the determiner and space-relational functions in more detail.

5.3.2.1 Spatial determiner function. As mentioned above distance and compass locationals, and some positionals, can serve as spatial determiners. Note that this requires a different set of English translation equivalents in the case of the distance locationals: 'here' and 'there' for adverbial function, 'this' and 'that' for determiner function. Similarly, the compass locationals translate as 'in the east', 'in the west' etc. when functioning adverbially, and 'the east one', 'the west one' etc. when functioning as determiners.

(5-41) *dan-da*   *kujiji*   *birdi-y,*   *kalangin-d,* *dathin-a*
        this-NOM   spearNOM   bad-NOM old-NOM   that-NOM

        kujiji   *mirra-a*
        spearNOM   good-NOM

        'This spear is bad, it's old; that spear is good.'

(5-42) *bana* *ri-ya*   *kardu*   *wirrka-a-ja*   *bandingka-y*
        and   east-NOM   father-in-lawNOM initiate-M-ACT Bentinck-LOC
        'And your east father-in-law (i.e. the one staying at the east end of the settlement) was initiated on Bentinck Island.'

Determiners based on positionals take the ORIGin case: *marrwa-wan-da dangka-a* [near-ORIG-NOM man-NOM] 'the man nearby'; *ngaruwarra-wan-da* [between-ORIG-NOM] 'the (one) from in between', and so forth.
    Distance and compass determiners may be combined, as in:

(5-43) *dan-da*   *ri-ya*   *dangka-a* *daami-jarra* *ngijin-jina*
        this-NOM   east-NOM   man-NOM   ask-PST   me-MABL
        'This man in the east asked me.'

Since they are now functioning as modifiers they agree in case with their head, even if this is in LOCative case (contrasting with the non-appearance of the LOCative when used adverbially):

(5-44)   *ngada*   *wirdi-ja*   *dan-ki*   *ngambirr-iy*
          1sgNOM   stay-ACT   this-LOC   hut-LOC

                                  bath-iya   *ngambirr-iy*
                                  west-LOC   hut-LOC

                                  warra-ya   *natha-y*
                                  far-LOC   camp-LOC

'I am staying in this hut / in the west hut / in the far camp.'

So in the zero and instantiated modalities the determiner use is distinguished from the adverbial by the presence of the LOCative, as well as by the potential for pause (and consequent prosodic truncation) in adverbials, since pauses can fall between NPs but not within them.

(5-45)   *ngada*   *wirdi-ja*   *dan-d(a)*   *(,)*   *natha-y*
          1sgNOM   stay-ACT   here-NOM   camp-LOC
          'I stay here in the camp.'

(5-46)   *ngada*   *wirdi-ja*   *dan-ki*   *natha-y*
          1sgNOM   stay-ACT   this-LOC   camp-LOC
          'I stay in this camp.'

In limited contexts the head may be ellipsed:

(5-47)   [Pointing to one of a row of huts:]

          Bana   *dan-ki*   *dana-tha*   *kangku*
          and   this-MLOC   depart-ACT   grandfatherNOM
          'And in this one your grandfather passed away.'

When other modal cases apply only the potential for pause distinguishes the two functions:

(5-48)   *ngada*   *wirdi-ju*   *dan-ku*   *(,)*   *natha-wu*
          1sgNOM   stay-POT   here-MPROP   camp-MPROP
          'I will stay here in the camp.'

(5-49)   *ngada*   *wirdi-ju*   *dan-ku*   *natha-wu*
          1sgNOM   stay-POT   this-MPROP   camp-MPROP
          'I will stay in this camp.'

5.3.2.2 Discourse determiner function. Only *dathin-a* 'that' is used as a discourse determiner. It occurs with

(a) referents which cannot be represented by a pronoun (5.2) but which have been established in prior discourse. These include motives for action (5-50), implements (5-51), and places (5-52):

(5-50)   *birdi-ya*   *birrjilk,*   *kambin-ji*   *karrngi-j,*   *maraka*
bad-NOM   way-NOM   child-MLOC   keep-ACT   CTRFCT

dathin-kuru   *ra-yii-ju*
that-PROP   spear-M-POT

'It was wrong, he committed incest with his own daughter, he should have been speared for that.'

(5-51)   *yuuma-th,*   *dathin-ki*   *thungal-i*   *warna-j,*   *dathin-kuru*
drown-ACT   that-MLOC   thing-MLOC   dislike-ACT   that-PROP

bala-a-nyarr
shoot-M-APPR

'They drowned, because they didn't like that thing (McKenzie's gun), they were afraid they'd be shot by it.'

(5-52)   *mala-a*   *warna-ja*   *Bardathurr-i.*   *maku-wa*   *bithiin-da*
sea-NOM   avoid-ACT   place name-MLOC   woman-NOM   man-NOM

kaa-ja   *dathin-kiya*   *kaa-j*
shelter-ACT   that-LOC   shelter-ACT

'The high seas avoided Bardathurr. Women and men sheltered there /at that place.'

Note that in the possible English translation 'men and women sheltered there', 'there' is vague between discourse and spatial deictic functions. In Kayardild the discourse deictic use requires the LOCative, which does not appear with the locational use.

(b) established human referents are usually ellipsed or pronominalized. But *dathina* may be used to give prominence to the main protagonist. Text Two provides several examples of this: the main character, Kajurku, is repeatedly identified as *dathina dangkaa* 'that fellow', whereas his relatively anonymous victim and pursuers merely rate zero anaphora or simple pronouns.

5.3.2.3 Space relational function. Positionals and compass locationals can combine with local adjuncts to give more precise location, as in:

(5-53)   *wirdi-jarra*   *walmu-na*   *kurndaji-na*
stay-PST   up-MABL   sandhill-MABL
'They were up on the sandhill.'

(5-54)   *dali-ja*   *ngijin-jiiwa-tha*   *marrwa-yiwa-th,*   *dan-kiiwa-th* !
come-IMP   me-VALL-IMP   near-VALL-IMP   here-VALL-IMP
'Come close to me, here !'

Such complex locational expressions are of two types:

(a) Expressions like 'to the east of us', 'near to us' or 'on that side of us', which give a directional relation between two distinct entities in different places. Here the reference point takes a locative governed by the space-relational, e.g.*danda-nangan-da kamarr-i* [this-side-NOM stone-LOC] 'on this side of the stone'. Examples in unmarked modalities, such as (5-50), are crucial in deciding the syntactic relationship here: because the two components differ in case, we can conclude that the relation is one of government by the directional rather than agreement with the reference point. In marked modalities, where both take a modal case, e.g. *danda-nangan-ju kamarr-u* [this-side-MPROP stone-MPROP], there is no way of telling whether agreement or government is involved.

(5-55)   [Traversing the central salt-pans of Bentinck Island must be done in complete silence, for fear of the *damurra dangkaa* 'short people' who inhabit the cliffs nearby. Anyone looking in their direction, or attracting their attention with untoward movements or bright clothing, risks instant death. Following a tense journey the leader speaks up:]

kamburi-ja	*ngada*	*dathin-ki*	*jardi-ya*	*kunawuna-y:*
say-ACT	1sgNOM	that-MLOC	mob-MLOC	child-MLOC

wirrka-ja=rna,
play-IMP=NOW

ri-ya	*nga-ku-lu-wan-ji*	*dathin-a*	*kiyarrng-ka*	*ngilirr*
east-NOM	1-INC-pl-POSS-LOC	that-NOM	two-NOM	cliffNOM

'I said to all the boys: relax now, those two cliffs are to the east of us.'

(5-56)   *marrwa-a*   *dii-ja*   *niwan-ji!*
near-NOM   sit-IMP   3sg-LOC
'Sit close to him!'

(5-57)   *niwan-ji*   *jirrkara-nangan-da*   *nyingka*   *barnkaldi-j!*
3sg-LOC   north-SIDE-NOM   2sgNOM   sit crosslegged-IMP
'Sit down cross-legged on the north side of him!'

(b) Expressions like 'on top of', 'at the west end of', or 'inside', where the "position" is actually seen as "part" of the reference point. Here both take the same case (like a part-whole relation—6.3.5):

(5-58)   *baa-n-marri*   *mala-a,*   *ngarn-da*   *bath-inyin-da*
bite-N-PRIV   sea-NOM   beach-NOM   west-END-NOM
'The tide didn't cover it, the western end of the beach.'

(5-59)   *dathin-a*   *kuna-walad-a*   *nal-iya*   *kamarr-iya*   *wirrka-j*
          that-NOM   child-LOT-NOM   top-LOC   stone-LOC   play-ACT
          'Those children are playing on top of the stones.'

(5-60)   *nyingka*   *kali-ju*   *barji-ju*   *yark-iring-ku*
          2sgNOM   jump-POT   fall-POT   bottom-ALL-MPROP

          ngambu-ring-ku
          well-ALL-MPROP

          'You will fall to the bottom of the well.'

The part-whole construction is also used of positions "in between" the reference point(s):

(5-61)   *bakii-ja*   *yiiwi-ja*   *ngaruwarra-ya*   *kaburrba-y,*   *kalarrang-inja*
          all do-ACT   sleep-ACT   between-LOC   fire-LOC   mosquito-COBL

          ba-yii-nyarra-nth
          bite-M-APPR-COBL

          '(They) all slept between fires, so they wouldn't get bitten by mosquitoes.'

"Directional" and "part-whole" constructions are only distinguished formally in the instantiated and zero modalities—elsewhere both parts of both construction types agree in receiving modal case. As a result, decisive examples are rare, and the exact set of positionals occurring in each construction has not been fully determined.

5.3.3 Special derivations with demonstrative locationals

Demonstratives take the following special derivational suffixes:

(a) *-nangan-da* 'side' attaches to the full nominative form, deriving the manner demonstratives *dandananganda* 'this way' (5-62) and *dathinananganda* 'that way'.

(5-62)   *dan-da-nangan-da,*   *ngada*   *ngumban-ju*   *marraa-ju*
          this-NOM-side-NOM   1sgNOM   2sg-MPROP   show-POT
          'This way, I'll show you.'

(b) the REMote suffix *-ij-*, which follows the stem:

(5-63)   *kurirra*   *dathin-ij-i*   *dii-ja*   *mala-y*
          dead-NOM   there-REM-LOC   sit-ACT   sea-LOC
          'They sat down dead way over there in the sea.'

(a) and (b) also combine with cardinal demonstratives—see 5.3.4.

(c) The suffix *-murrkida* 'as far as, up to' only occurs on demonstratives:

(5-64)　*dan-murrkida*　　*budii-j*
　　　　　this-AS.FAR.AS　run-ACT
　　　　　'(I) was running about (with water) up to here (pointing to thigh).'

(5-65)　*dathin-murrkida*　*dulk*
　　　　　there-AS.FAR.AS　countryNOM
　　　　　'(The Wind Story) country (reaches) as far as there.'

5.3.4 Derivatives of compass locationals

Compass locationals and their derivatives are centrally important in K. They recur constantly in myths and other narrative, and even requests to squeeze a few inches across a car seat make use of them: *jirrkara-yiwa-th!* (north-VALL-IMP) 'move to the north!' is a typical command in such circumstances.

In locating objects or giving directions the words *junku* 'right' and *thaku* 'left' are rarely employed; compass locationals are used in their stead[13]. Even in visualizing imaginary situations a cardinal reference is established. Once Dugald Goongarra was singing the praises of a newly made *kujiji* spear with many barbs. It would penetrate a big queenfish, he said, as far as the second barb; a turtle's fin, as far as the fourth; a man's chest, as far as the tenth. And speared into a dugong:

(5-66)　*burri-ja*　　　*bath-inyin-da*　　*thawurr-i*
　　　　　come out-ACT　west-END-NOM　throat-LOC
　　　　　'The west[14] end (of the spear) comes out of its throat.'

Reflecting the importance of the compass locationals, a large number of special derivatives exist[15]. These are discussed in this section. For semantic coherence I will also include:

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[13]　Haviland (1989) and Levinson (1991) make similar points for Guugu Yimidhirr.

[14]　I have no idea why 'west' was chosen here—probably because the speaker visualized himself on a particular beach, with the dugong facing a particular way.

[15]　Such rich sets of compass derivatives are commonly found in Australian languages; see Levinson (1986). Furby—Furby (1976) and Laughren (1978) describe similarly complex systems in Karrwa and Warlpiri respectively. The Karrwa system includes formatives like *muwa* 'hidden (needing to be uncovered) to the X', *ngurra* 'belonging to a specific place to the X', and *-najnga /-jba* 'obscured from view by a vertical object to the X'. To a greater extent than in Kayardild, these may be concatenated into forms such as *gula-najnga-ngurra* 'one belonging to a south place

(a) the ALLative and ORIGin cases, whose forms differ slightly from the regular nominal equivalents, as do their distributions: (i) they must follow the root, whereas the nominal ALLative and ORIGin cases may be positioned further out. (ii) the allative form of cardinals must be followed by some other case (if only the nominative).

(b) special verb-deriving suffixes limited to compass locationals.

5.3.4.1 Forms. Compass locationals are rather irregular morphologically. Three stem sets must be recognized:

(a) THE ORDINARY STEM, exemplified by the following nominative and locative forms ('south' has the alternate stems *ra-* and *rar-*).

	North	South	East	West
Nominative	*jirrkara*	*ra-a, rar-a*	*ri-ya*	*bad-a*
Locative	*jirrkara-ya*	*ra-ya, rar-i*	*ri-ya*	*bath-i*

All case inflections except the ALLative and ORIGin are based on these, in addition to a number of derivations applicable to all nominals (e.g. the INCHoative).

The root *bad-* 'west' is irregular. Before vowels it behaves like a lamino-dental final stem (e.g. *bath-i*); but before nasals it becomes an apical rather than the expected lamino-palatal nasal: *ban-maru-tha* [west-VD-ACT] and *ban-mali* [west-HAIL] rather than the expected *bany-maru-tha* and *bany-mali*. Before *w*-initial inflections like *-wula-tha* [VABL] the final segment is lost altogether: *ba-wula-tha*.

In addition to its use in locational adjuncts (e.g. 5-30—5-32), the ordinary stem is sometimes used in place of the ALLative form to give the destination of motion: see Text 10 for numerous examples, e.g. Line 116.

(b) THE "FROM" SET. This is identical to the ordinary set, except for the loss of final *-ra* from the 'north' form, and the unavailability of the *rar-* option for the 'south' form. It occurs with the irregular 'from' and 'boundary' derivations:

FROM	*jirrka-an-da*	*ra-yin-da*	*ri-in-da*	*bath-in-da*
BOUND	*jirrka-rrnga*	*ra-ngurrnga*	*ri-ngurrnga*	*bath-urrnga*
	jirrku-rrnga			

(c) THE ALLATIVE STEM SET, found with the ALLative, ORIGin, and CONTinuous forms:

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obscured from view.' Lardil and Yukulta have systems that closely resemble the Kayardild one, with most morphemes being cognate.

ALL	*jirrkur-ung-ka*	*rar-ung-ka*	*ril-ung-ka*	*bal-ung-ka*
			rul-ung-ka	
ORIG	*jirrkur-umban-da*	*rar-umban-da*	*ril-umban-da*	*bal-umban-da*
			rul-umban-da	
CONT	*jirrkur-i(i)d-a*	*rar-i(i)d-a*	*ril-i(i)d-a*	*bal-i(i)d-a*

Some speakers vowel-harmonize the 'east' root before ALLative and ORIGin suffixes. See 2.5.6.

The allative stem is also used before the verbal derivatives *-ija-tha* 'turn to the X' and *-ijulu-tha* 'move (OBJ) to the X'[16].

(d) FULL NOMINATIVE FORMS are used before the suffix *-nangan-da* 'side', e.g. *bada-nangan-da* 'west side of'. This form is not a clitic, however, since case-marking appears on *-nangan-da*, not the preceding stem, e.g. *bada-nangan-ju* [west-SIDE-MPROP]. There is evidence that it has only recently become a bound form: in Yukulta (Keen 1983: 262) it is still an independent word, as shown by *nangan-da dan-da* [side-ABS this-ABS] 'this side, this way' (cf. the Kayardild equivalent *dandanangan-da*).

Each derivation draws all its forms from the same stem set, except for {*-(i)injin-da*} 'END'. This takes the nominative as the base for the 'east' set—*riya-nyin-da*—and uses the ordinary stem for the other sets, e.g. *bath-injin-da*.

5.3.4.2   Multiple derivations. The only multiple derivations I have heard involve the REMote suffix, which may follow the 'FROM' form (5-81) as well as the root; the HAIL form, which may follow the ALLative and FROM forms as well as the root; and the CENTRIPETAL BOUNDary form, which follows the FROM stem.

5.3.4.3   ALLative. The compass ALLative, like the ordinary ALLative, can mark the observable direction of motion. Here it takes the appropriate modal case:

(5-67)   *niya*   *warra-jarra*   *rar-ung-kina*
         3sgNOM   go-PST   south-ALL-MABL
         'He went southwards.'

Two other uses are restricted to combinations of the ALLative with compass locationals.

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[16]   The final /l/ in the east and west forms is a vestige of a pT ALLative form *(k)irlu* (Proto Tangkic /rl/ has split in modern K into /r/ and /l/.)

(a) It may mark the *intended destination* rather than the current direction. I may, for example, be going to somewhere in the west, but en route move first northwards, then southwards, then eastwards. A compass allative is used to give the intended direction (here, west); it is followed by a relational 'PROPrietive of anticipation', and escapes modal case:

(5-68) *ngada*   *warra-ja*   *bal-ung-ku*
        1sgNOM   go-ACT   west-ALL-PROP
        'I am going to the west.'

(b) It may function as a local adjunct referring to the horizon, or some distant place towards the horizon in a given direction.

(5-69) *rul-ung-ka*   *kalnaa-j*
        east-ALL-NOM   dawn-ACT
        'It's dawning in the east.'

Compass allatives used in this latter function can combine with verbal cases expressing movement, e.g. *bal-u-wula-a-n-da* [west-ALL-VABL-M-N-NOM] 'leaving from the far west, leaving from towards the western horizon'.

5.3.4.4   ORIGin. The form *-umban-* is a suppletive alternative of the ORIGin suffix {*-wan-*}[17]. It derives ordinary nouns/adjectives naming the inhabitant of a region (5-70) or its language or ways (5-71).

(5-70) *ngada*   *rar-umban-d*
        1sgNOM   south-ORIG-NOM
        'I am a southerner (from Bentinck Island).'

(5-71) *nyingka*   *marri-ja*   *nga-la-wan-ji*
        2sgNOM   hear-ACT   1-pl-POSS-MLOC

        rar-umban-ji   *kangk-i*
        south-ORIG-MLOC   talk-MLOC

        'You can understand our southern language (Kayardild) .'

5.3.4.5   FROM-*Vn-*. In contrast to the cases expressing movement, which must function as local adjuncts, FROM derivatives may modify any NP, agreeing with it in case[18]. In (5-72) it modifies the subject, taking the

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[17] The same alternation is found in Yukulta and Lardil; and in the Kayardild possessive pronoun system (5.2.1.1).

[18] Because of this, because it is limited to the four compass points (and lacks parallel categories outside the compass locationals with which agreement could be set up) and because of its fixed position after the root, I consider it a derivation rather than

nominative (and escaping modal case); in (5-73) it modifies the object, agreeing with it in taking the modal LOCative:

(5-72)   *walmathi-nguni*   *jirrka-an-da*   *warra-ja*   *ngam-ki*
          high-INSTR   north-FROM-NOM   go-ACT   beach-LOC

          wakirinwakirin-d
          with coolamon-NOM

          'Passing through the high country (we) came from the north along the beach carrying coolamons.'

(5-73)   *jirdawa-tha*   *marri-ja*   *ngada*   *wangarr-i*   *mutha-ya*
          salivate-ACT   hear-ACT   1sgNOM   song-MLOC   many-MLOC

          banga-ya   *bath-in-ki*
          turtle-MLOC   west-FROM-MLOC

          'Drooling with anticipation I heard the song of many turtles coming from the west.'

FROM may also feed the "instrumental of place" (4.3.9.3):

(5-74)   *ra-yin-nguni-ya*   *kurri-ja*   *kanthathu,*
          south-FROM-INSTR-MLOC   see-ACT   fatherNOM

          yirrbaa-j
          speak.excitedly-ACT

          'Father had seen (the European boat) by looking from a vantage point on the way from the south, and spoke excitedly about it.'

Although usually implying movement concurrent with the main clausal action, this is not necessary: the subject may be temporarily at rest. The sentence *thaldi-ja ri-in-da* [stand-ACT east-FROM-NOM], for instance, was explained to me as 'stand up, then he gonna come along again'.

Like motion verbs, FROM compass locationals may take the pre-verbal directional particle *minyi* 'towards' when modifying the subject:

(5-75)   *duburrka*   *kala-tha*   *minyi*   *ri-in-d*
          mullet-NOM   cut-ACT   towards   east-FROM-NOM
          'The Mullet Being cut it out (the Makarrki estuary) on his way back from the east.'

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a case inflection. Klokeid (1976) treats the cognate Lardil suffix as an "elative case", restricted to compass locationals.

5.3.4.6 CONTinuous *-i(i)d-*. This derives nominals which mean either "continually heading Xward" or "heading in direction X at the reference time". These meanings are linked: in either case, the direction is unchanging over the reference time frame.

(5-76)   *minyingkal-d   jirrkur-iid*
          groper-NOM   north-CONT(NOM)
          'Heading ever northward was a groper.'
          'Heading northward at that moment was a groper'.

In expressing instantaneous direction, this morpheme contrasts with the ALLative (5.3.4.3), which expresses the direction of the *ultimate destination* but not necessarily of *instantaneous direction* .

Syntactically, CONTinuous compass locationals function as second predicates of manner. This is shown (a) by their agreement in relational case with the actor, which is usually subject (5-76, 5-78) but may also be object (5-18), (b) by their failure to take an associating OBLique case when coreferential with the subject of a nominalized clause (5-77) and (c) by their reduplication to show plurality of actors (5-18).

(5-77)   *bi-l-da   bal-iid-a   warra-n-d*
          3-plu-NOM   west-CONT-NOM   go-N-NOM
          'They are heading westward.'

It often combines with *bardaka* 'belly', adding the meaning 'facing X':

(5-78)   *nga-ku-rr-a   ril-iid-a   bardaka   warra-j*
          1-INC-du-NOM   east-CONT-NOM   bellyNOM   go-ACT
          'We two went along facing eastwards.'

This suffix probably derives from the nominal *niida* 'same', like the clitic *-(i)da*, which differs from it only in vowel length (9.7.4.1).

I have recorded one example of the CONTinuous form being followed by *-ngathi*: *Nyinyaaki dangalwirdind, rilid, rilinyngathi* 'Nyinyaaki the tree frog is a pandanus-dweller, (where one) goes eastward, born where (one) goes along eastward'.

5.3.4.7 REMote *-ij-*. This suffix, also found with noun / adjectives and demonstratives, stresses distance of location. It may follow the ordinary stem (5-79, 5-80) or the FROM suffix (5-81). 'Remote' may range from 100 metres to twenty kilometres (the greatest distance on Bentinck Island); for distances beyond that, the ALLative form is used.

The REMote suffix does not alter the function of its host, so compass locationals bearing it may function either as adnominals, agreeing in case with their head (5-79), or as local adjuncts. In this latter function a

LOCative case inflection is explicitly present after the REMote suffix (5-80).

(5-79)   *bal-ung-ku*   *nga-ku-l-da*   *thaa-thu,*
         west-ALL-MPROP   1-INC-pl-NOM   return-POT

         bath-ij-uru   *dulk-u*   *kurri-ju.*
         west-REM-MPROP   place-MPROP   see-POT

         'We'll go back west now, to see that far west country (about fifteen kilometres away).'

(5-80)   *ngambura-tha*   *bi-l-d,*   *riya-th-i.*
         dig.well-ACT   3-pl-NOM   east-REM-LOC
         'They dug a well, way off in the east.'

(5-81)   *ngada*   *katharr-u*   *biya-ju*   *wanjii-ju*
         1sgNOM   lagoon-MPROP   swim-POT   go up-POT

         bath-in-ij-u
         west-FROM-REM-MPROP

         'I will swim the lagoon and, far away (i.e. on the other side) will climb up a place oriented from the west.'

5.3.4.8   END *-(i)njin- ~ -(i)nyin-.* This suffix is *-(i)njin-* (phonemically *-(i)nyjin-*) in older speakers, a form also found in Yukulta (Keen 1972: 98). With younger speakers the stop segment is lost, giving *-(i)nyin-*. For all speakers the stop is retained when another suffix follows, e.g. *bath-injin-marutha* [west-END-VD].

It names a location at the end of, but still a part of, the entity under discussion. Thus in (5-66) above it specifies the western end of the spear thrust into the dugong; in (5-82) below it refers to the western end of the beach which the tide would have encroached upon; and in (5-83) it refers to the part of the traveller's body furthest to the west (his 'west shoulder'). This forms a "part-whole" NP (6.3.5) with the nominal denoting the full entity, agreeing with it in case.

(5-82)   *baa-n-marri*   *mala-a,*   *ngarn-da*   *bath-inyin-da*
         bite-N-PRIV   sea-NOM   beach-NOM   west-END-NOM
         'The tide didn't cover it (bite it off), the western extremity of the beach.'

(5-83)   [To a traveller approaching the deadly cliffs at Wamakurld:]

         nyingka   *bath-inyin-da*   *wuu-ja*   *tharda-a*
         2sgNOM   west-END-NOM   put-IMP   shoulder-NOM
         'Put (your gear) on your western shoulder.'

5.3.4.9 BOUNDary *-ngurrnga*. This refers to a point of discontinuity or geographical boundary, located to the X of some other entity. It is appropriate when describing the coast of an island (5-84), and in fact Ringurrnga and Rangurrnga are often used as proper names for Sweers Island, which lies to the south east of Bentinck Island. It may also be used of a cliff or bluff (5-85) and even the wall of a building.

(5-84) *ri-ngurrnga*   *bi-rr-a*   *dali-j*
        east-BOUND(NOM)   they-du-NOM   come-ACT
        'They came to the east side (of Albinia Island).'

(5-85) *jatha-a*   *ngilirr*   *bath-urrng,*   *jatha-a*   *ri-ngurrng*
        other-NOM   cliffNOM   west-BOUND(NOM)   other-NOM   east-BOUND
        'There was one cliff on the west side (of a saltpan bounded by cliffs),
        another on the east side.'

As these examples show, *-ngurrnga* words are themselves locationals and do not inflect for the locative; like other locationals they may take modal case:

(5-86) *maraka*   *wirdi-ju*   *mutha-a*   *ra-ngurrnga-wu*
        CTRFCT   stay-POT   many-NOM   south-BOUND-MPROP
        'A whole lot of (water lilies) should have stayed on the south coast.'

A single noun/adjective takes this suffix: *dumu-rrnga* [sandhill-BOUND] 'shoreline'.

5.3.4.10 CENTRIPETAL BOUNDary *-kirida*. This also denotes a geographical boundary, but the compass direction is centripetal rather than centrifugal, as with *-ngurrnga*. *X-ngurrnga*, that is, denotes a boundary encountered in direction X as one moves away from the reference point; while *X-kirida* denotes a boundary moving from direction X towards the reference point. Significantly, it is only attested after compass locationals in the FROM form.

Taking Gununa township as an example reference point, one sees the northern end of Denham Island as one looks south. This is therefore described as *ra-ngurrnga* 'south-BOUND'. Alternatively, it could be described as *ra-yin-kirida* 'south-FROM-CENTRIPETAL.BOUND', since one passes through it by moving from the south towards the speaker.

A possible segmentation of this suffix is ALLative *-kiri* plus the SAME clitic *-(i)da* .

5.3.4.11 SIDE *-nangan-da*. This is another suffix sometimes translated as English 'side'. It derives positionals giving the orientation on a flat surface of one location with respect to another, e.g. of houses laid out on flat ground (5-87) or of a swimmer relative to a rock (5-88).

Like other positionals it does not take the LOCative in the instantiated modality, and may be turned into a determiner by adding the ORIGin suffix (5-87). The reference point may be implicit, as in (5-87), or may be given explicitly by a NP in the LOCative, as with 'rock' in (5-88) and 'him' in (5-57).

(5-87) *rara-nangan-man-da*   *dangka-a*   *kurrka-th*
        south-SIDE-ORIG-NOM   man-NOM   take-ACT
        'The man from next door (from the house to the south of mine) took it.'

(5-88) *kunawuna*   *biya-ja*   *jirrkara-nangan-da*   *kamarr-i*
        childNOM   swim-ACT   north-SIDE-NOM   rock-LOC
        'The child swam around the north side of the rock.'

-nanganda may also follow distance demonstratives (5.3.3) and the interrogative *jina-a* 'where' (9.5.2.2).

5.3.4.12 HAIL *-mali*. This is used in hailing an unidentified person or group located in a particular direction. It follows the ordinary root if the person is stationary (5-89); if the group is moving it may follow the ALLative (5-90) or FROM (5-91) forms:

(5-89) *nyingka*   *ngaak,*   *ban-mali?*
        2sgNOM   who-NOM   west-HAIL
        'Who are you, standing to the west? (Answered by: I'm your uncle.)'

(5-90) *ril-u-mali,*   *dali-j!*
        east-ALL-HAIL   come-IMP
        'You going eastward, come!'

(5-91) *jirrka-an-mali,*   *ngaakawuru*   *warra-wa-th,*
        north-FROM-HAIL   why   far-INCH-ACT

        dali-ja   *marrwa-yiwa-th!*
        come-IMP   near-VALL-IMP

        'You coming from the north, why are you hanging back, come up close!'

5.3.4.13 Sea Territory *-mirdamirda*. This follows the allative stem. It derives locational nouns referring to stretches of sea territory, particularly dugong hunting grounds. Although *mirdamirda* does not occur as a free form, a related noun *mirdaa* means 'water churned up by dugong grazing'. My only examples of this are nominal clauses like *X jirrkurumirdamirda* 'X is a dugong hunting ground to the north'.

5.3.4.14 Wind names. Several names for winds are derived from compass terms:

balu-bal-ung-ka [REDUP-west-ALL-NOM]	'west wind'
jirrk-uru-budii-n-da [north-ALL-run-N-NOM]	'north wind'
jirrkaraalinda *rulunganda* *rarunganda*	'strong north wind' 'east wind' 'south wind'.

The *-linda* and *-nganda* formatives in the last three words are not found elsewhere; *-nganda* may be reduced from *-nangan-da* 'SIDE'.

5.3.4.15 Idioms and compounds involving compass words.
A number of special idioms and compounds exist.

(a) COMPASS-ALLATIVE/FROM + TERRAIN TRAVERSED. These are idioms rather than compounds. Word order is fixed, but both words are fully inflected and individually stressed. Examples: *ngarn-da bal-ung-ka* [beach-NOM west-ALL-NOM] 'westward along the beach', *mala-a ri-in-da* [sea-NOM east-FROM-NOM] 'from the east across the sea'.

(b) BODY-PART NOUN + COMPASS-ALL/FROM. These involve the body-part nominals *bardaka* 'belly' and *thukan-da* 'chin'.
The *bardaka* forms are idiomatic phrases, like the terrain forms in (a): *rul-ung-ka bardaka* [east-ALL-NOM stomach-NOM] 'facing eastwards', *bath-in-da bardaka* [west-FROM-NOM stomach-NOM] 'facing from the west'.
The *thukanda* forms are compounds, only attested with the ALLative compass term, e.g. *ril-u-thukan-da* [east-ALL-chin-NOM] 'facing/heading eastwards':

(5-92) *jijina kurrngu-w?*   *kurri-ja junku-ru-tha*
        whither dugong's.feeding.path-NOM   look-IMP straight-FACT-IMP

        kurrngu-w, niya   ril-u-thukan-da   thaa-thu,
        path-NOM   3sgNOM east-ALL-chin-NOM   return-POT

        bath-in-ku
        west-FROM-MPROP

        'Which direction is the dugong moving? Look straight ahead at where it
        has muddied the water, it'll head back eastward, from the west.'

(c) COMPASS-ALLATIVE-*RAYAANDA*. The verb *rayaa-ja* means 'open up; open one's eyes'; its nominalized form may be compounded with the ALLative, e.g. *rar-u-rayaa-n-da* [south-ALL-open eyes-N-NOM]. These function as manner nominals, meaning 'previous night's camp in the X'.

Because this orients the hearer to the coming day, it normally occurs with suffixes giving 'movement away from'.

(5-93) rabi-ja   bal-u-rayaa-n-mula-a-n-d
        arise-ACT   west-ALL-open eyes-N-VABL-M-N-NOM
        'They got up, leaving their previous night's camp in the west.'

(d) *nganikin-* + COMPASS WORD. Allative or root forms may follow the distance locational *nganikin-* 'yonder' in a compound, as in *nganikin-bad* 'way over there to the west', *nganiki-lil-ung-ka*[19] [yon-east-ALL-NOM] 'way over there to the east', and:

(5-94) [Discussing the creation of a track by Rainbow:]

        nganiki-la-a   *kurrka-a-ja*   *mirrayala-a-j*
        yon-south-NOM take-M-ACT   make-M-ACT
        'Way out of sight to the south it was taken, and made.'

(e)*ngarnda* + COMPASS-ALLATIVE, as in *ngarnda rilungka* 'eastwards along the beach'. In such idioms *ngarnda* does not take the expected modal locative. For examples see Text 10, Lines 72 and 84.

(f) INTERMEDIATE DIRECTIONS. There are no morphologized forms for intermediate directions. This is presumably because the compass terms denote quadrants rather than "true directions", so that the term for 'north', for example, can still be applied to such directions as 5° west of north, 20° east of north, and so on.

Nonetheless, there are two formal devices for indicating deviations from the prototypical cardinal directions. One technique is to combine two cardinals:

(5-95) niya   dali-j   bath-in-da   jirrka-an-d
        3sgNOM   come-ACT   west-FROM-NOM   north-FROM-NOM
        '(S)he is coming from the north west.'

(5-96) budubudu rar-ung-ka   ru-lung-ka   warra-j
        boatNOM   south-ALL-NOM   east-ALL-NOM   go-ACT
        'The boat is going south east.'

The second technique, sometimes used for smaller deviations, is to add the word *ngaruwarra* 'between':

(5-97) kajakaj   ngaruwarra   ra-yin-da   dali-j
        daddyNOM   betweenNOM   south-FROM-NOM   come-ACT
        'Daddy is coming from a bit off south.'

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[19] Initial *r* in the 'south' and 'east' forms alternates with *l* in the compounds by regular LATERALIZATION—see 2.5.2.

5.3.5 Verbalizing derivatives of compass words

The first two of these are based on the allative stem, the third on the ordinary stem.

5.3.5.1   TURN to the X *-ija-tha.* This is used of entities turning around to face to the X:

(5-98)   *tharda-wanka-wuru*   *ril-ija-th,*   *dii-ju*
          shoulder-branch-PROP   east-TURN-ACT   sit-POT
          'The aeroplane is turning to the east, so it can land.'

Occasionally the *j* lenites to *y* :

(5-99)   [*jirrkur-iya-thurrk,*   *warrmara-ntha*   *ra-yin-inja*
          north-TURN-IMMED:COBL   wind-COBL   south-FROM-COBL

          ngudi-jurrk]COBL
          throw-IMMED:COBL

          'It's blowing round to the north, the wind is throwing from the
          south now.'

5.3.5.2   MOVE TO the X *-ijulu-tha.* This derives verbs meaning "move (OBJ) to the X":

(5-100)   *jirrkur-ijulu-tha*   *dathin-a*   *thungal-d!*
           north-MOVE TO-IMP   that-NOM   thing-NOM
           'Move that thing to the north (away from the flames)! '

The middle form is common, with a reflexive meaning:

(5-101)   *wadu-wa*   *jinka-j,*   *yakay!*   *ngada*   *ril-ijul-i-j!*
           smoke-NOM   follow-ACT   EXCL   1sgNOM   east-MOVE TO-M-ACT
           'The smoke's following (me), *yakay* ! I'm moving round to the east (side
           of the fire).'

5.3.5.3   LOOK *-maru-tha.* The ending *-maru-tha,* formally identical to the free form *maru-tha* 'put' and the verbal dative case (4.4.2.2), may attach to compass stems. It functions here as a verb-deriving suffix meaning "look to the X" (attached to the unmarked form) or "look from the X" (attached to the FROM form):

(5-102)   *ri-maru-tha*   *kurri-j*
           east-LOOK-ACT   look-ACT
           'He looked to the east.'

(5-103)   *bujuku*   *kurri-j,*   *jirrka-an-maru-th,*   *ngudi-ja*
            craneNOM   look-ACT   north-FROM-LOOK-ACT   throw-ACT

            ri-in-ki   *mibur-iy*
            east-FROM-MLOC   eye-MLOC

            'Black Crane looked from the north, from the east he cast his eye.'

5.4 Minor nominal classes

Three minor nominal classes have limited inflectional possibilities, due to semantic or functional restrictions: manner nominals, time nominals and predicator nominals. Note that manner, time and nominal predicator *functions* are not limited to the corresponding minor nominal classes: certain ordinary noun/adjectives, for example, may function as manner, time, or predicator nominals. The distinguishing feature of these minor subclasses is that they are restricted to one function, whereas the other nominal classes are versatile.

5.4.1 Manner nominals

These function as second predicates of manner, usually on the subject but sometimes on the object (see 9.2.4.3 for a discussion of object complements). When construed with the subject they take the nominative relational case and escape modal and associating case[20], as do other nominals in this function (9.4). When construed with the object, manner nominals agree with it in taking modal case. Some sentence examples are:

(5-104)   *nga-l-da*   *wuu-ja*   **kantharr-jarrad**
            1-pl-NOM   give-ACT   self-OTHER(NOM)
            'We're sharing among ourselves (but YOU have to cook your own food).'

(5-105)   *ngada*   *junkuyarrad-a* *bala-thu*   *ngumban-ju*   *kirrk-u*
            1sgNOM   in.return-NOM   hit-POT   2sg-MPROP   face-MPROP
            'I'll hit you back, in the face.'

(5-106)   **junkuyunku**   *ri-in-ki*   *bath-in-ki*
            towards.each.otherNOM   east-FROM-MLOC   west-FROM-MLOC

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[20] This is the obverse of what happens in a number of morphologically ergative Australian languages (such as Pitjantjatjara or Warlpiri) where manner nominals agree with transitive subjects in taking the ergative case.

kurrka-th
take-ACT

'(They're) taking nets from the east and west towards each other.'

(5-107)   *maarra   junkuyunku   munirr-wu-j*
all   among each otherNOM   breast-give-ACT
'(In the old days) all (the women) suckled each others children.'

(5-108)   *niya   wuu-n-marri   dangka-walay-arri   junkii-yarri*
3sgNOM   give-N-PRIV   person-LOT-PRIV   in.reciprocation-PRIV
'He never gives food back to other people.'

(5-109)   *rakin-da   daman-da   burri-ju,   walbu-uru   baa-ju*
soon-NOM   tooth-NOM   emerge-POT   corkwood-MPROP   bite-POT
'(A child's) teeth will soon come, if he will bite on some corkwood.'

(5-110)   *dathin-a   bath-in-da   kalthakaltha-tha   dangka-walada*
there-NOM   west-FROM-NOM   sneak up-ACT   man-LOT(NOM)

murrukumurruku
warlikeNOM

'There from the west all the men are sneaking ready for war.'

(5-111)   *nga-ku-l-da   bakii-n-da   mardala-a-ja   marin-d,*
1-INC-pl-NOM   all-N-NOM   paint-M-ACT   self-NOM

kantharrkuru, rarrthararrth
aloneNOM   individuallyNOM

'We all paint ourselves, each man paints himself.'

All known Kayardild manner nominals are listed below, segmented into stem plus nominative.

kantharrk-a	Alone, unaided, without interference	(9-164)
kantharrk-uru	" " "	(5-111)
kantharrjarrad-a	Among members of a group (Etym: *kantharrka* plus *-yarraTH-* 'OTHER')	(5-104)
junkuyarrad-	In return, in retaliation (Etym. *junku* 'straight' + *-yarraTH-* 'OTHER')	(5-105)
junkuyunku	In return; towards each other; among one another	(5-106) (5-107)
junkiid-a	In reciprocation, e.g. returning gift of food	(5-108)

warrjawarri	Slowly, without undue movement. (Etym: perhaps from *warraja* 'go' plus *-warri* 'PRIV')	
rakin-da	Promptly, soon after	(5-109)
murrukumurruku	Hostilely, with aggressive intent, e.g. a raiding party. (Etym: *murruku* 'woomera')	(5-110)
rarrthararrtha	Separately	(5-111)
jaburra	Kneeling	
jardirid-a	behind people's backs (cf. *jardi* 'behind')	
karbakarba	In water up to waist	
kirrkajara	Gingerly, carefully (*kirrka* 'nose' + *jara* 'foot')	
kirthan-da	Behind someone's back (Text 3, Line 46).	
wulthuru	Lying in rows	

5.4.2 Time nominals

Some time nominals are invariable, and do not take modal case[21]: *banda* 'soon, now' (5-112); *wuljiya* 'yesterday night'; *dilaya* 'a few days ago'; *kurdiwirdi* 'some time ago (a few weeks or months)' (5-113), *yuujbanda* 'in the old days, in historical times'; *yulkaanda* 'forever'; *birangkarra* 'usually; for a long time' (5-114). The lack of modally case-marked variants is not due to semantic incompatibility, since these words can occur in marked modalities, e.g:

(5-112) *ban-da   nyingka   kantharrkuru   kala-thu*
now-NOM 2sgNOM   alone(NOM)   cut-POT
'Now you can cut (the spearhead) on your own (without my help).'

(5-113) *niya   thaa-tharr   kurdiwirdi*
3sgNOM   return-PST   some time ago
'He came back some time ago.'

(5-114) *bi-l-da   wirrka-ju   birangkarr, jungarra-wu   ngimi-wu*
they-pl-NOM dance-POT long time   big-MPROP   night-MPROP
'They'll dance a long time, late into the night.'

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[21] Although diachronically the words *dilaya* and *wuljiya* probably contain a locative inflection *-ya*.

Other time nominals take modal case, subject to semantic compatibility. Often the modal case contributes to the temporal meaning:

yan-da	*yan-ki*	*yan-ku*
now-NOM	now-MLOC	now-MPROP
'now'	'a little while ago'	'in a little while'

	balmbi-ya	*balmbi-wu*
	morrow-MLOC	morrow-MPROP
	'on the morrow,	'tomorrow'
	the next day (past)'	

	barruntha-ya	*barruntha-wu*
	a few hours off-MLOC	a few hours off-MPROP
	'yesterday'	'in a few hours'

Younger speakers take the modally-inflected forms as unanalyseable, so that *balmbiwu* or *balmbu* has become an invariable word meaning 'tomorrow', and *barrunthaya* an invariable word meaning 'yesterday'.

Balmbi- may also take the UTILitive suffix, giving *balmbimarra* 'for tomorrow' (3-32), the Verbal Translative, giving *balmbimariija* 'until tomorrow', and the 'another' suffix, giving *balmbiyarrada* 'the day after tomorrow'.

The word *ngimiijida* 'before daybreak' has an irregular future modal form *ngimiijuda* '(tomorrow) before daybreak'; the root *ngimiJ-* (with short vowel) is found before relational cases with a temporal component (e.g. *ngiminy-marii-ja* [before daybreak-V.TRANSL-ACT] 'in attendance of daybreak'). In all other modalities *ngimiijida* is used, e.g.:

(5-115)   *bal-umban-da   jardi   warra-jarra   ngimiijid*
           west-ORIG-NOM   mobNOM   go-PST   before.daybreakNOM
           'The western mob set off before daybreak.'

The mixed behaviour of this word may reflect the half-completed absorption of an enclitic into the stem: *ngimi-* 'night' plus *-ij-* 'REMote' plus the 'SAME' clitic *-(i)da*, meaning 'far into the night; still night'.

Three other time words: *yuuda* 'already', *kada* 'again' and *buda* 'behind, later' are so closely integrated with the verbal complex that they may be treated as preverbal particles, and are discussed in 8.1.

TIME OF DAY TERMS. These give the time of day by reference to the position of the sun. They may combine with any modal case. Except for the interrogative, both words of the idiom inflect.

kalna-n-da warrku	[dawn-N-NOM sunNOM]	dawn
ri-in-da warrku	[east-FROM-NOM sunNOM]	morning
kirnkirn-da warrku	[overhead-NOM sunNOM]	midday
warrku-nurru	[sun-ASSOCNOM]	daytime

warrku bad, bada warrku	[sunNOM westNOM]	afternoon
jinawarrku	[where-sunNOM]	what time of day

DURATION TERMS. Based on *darri* '(stretch of) time', these give impressionistic duration. The term *warngiida darri* is a post-contact coinage for 'one week'. More specific durative expressions may be based on *warrku* 'sun', *waldarra* 'moon' or *wun-da* 'rain(y season)' with multiplicands as for *darri*.

darri		a while
mutha-a darri	[much-NOM timeNOM]	a long time
warngiid-a darri	[one-NOM timeNOM]	one week
jangka-a darri	[other-NOM timeNOM]	a few weeks later
jinamulu darr-u	[how manyNOM time-PROP]	for how long (future)

5.4.3 Predicate nominals

These are restricted to predicate function, either as the main predicates of nominal clauses or as second predicates. They may not be used attributively.

Thus *mungurru* 'knowing, knowledgeable' may be a nominal predicate, and even take an object (5-116) or a clausal complement (9.1.7). It may also function as a second predicate, as in (5-117). But it cannot be used attributively: **dathina mungurru dangkaa* [that knowing man] is unacceptable.

(5-116)	*nyingka*	*mungurru*	*ngijin-ji.*
	2sgNOM	know	1sg-MLOC
	'You know me.'		

(5-117)	*niya*	*mungurru*	*wirrka-j*
	3sgNOM	knowingNOM	dance-ACT
	'He knows how to dance (lit. he dances knowingly).'		

Other nominals that can only be used predicatively are *birrmurdami* 'know, be painfully aware that (Clause), be sad', *jirdaa* 'hungry', *mibulka* 'asleep', *riki* 'in tears'.

Other nominals may be used either predicatively or attributively; an example is *burdumbanyi* 'ignorant, not knowing', the antonym of *mungurru*. This can be used as a transitive main predicate (5-118), a secondary predicate (5-119), and can also be used attributively, as in *burdumbanyi waydbala* 'the ignorant white man' (4-39).

(5-118)	*ngada*	*burdumbanyi*	*niwan-ji*
	1sgNOM	ignorant	3sg-MLOC
	'I don't know him/her.'		

(5-119)   *ngada*   *burdumbanyi*   *kurri-ja*   *bilwan-ji*
        1sgNOM   ignorant   see-ACT   3pl-MLOC
        'I looked at them without recognizing them.'