

Typological study of word order (14) :

Gooniyandi

Tasaku TSUNODA

(14) : Gooniyandi

0. Introduction

This is the 14th installment of my typological study of word order, following Tsunoda (1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1992d). (Tsunoda (1988) deals with Japanese.)

I am most grateful to William McGregor for generously providing data on Gooniyandi word order, for kindly and patiently checking and commenting on earlier versions of this work, and graciously supplying me with a copy of McGregor (1990). I alone am responsible for any errors or inadequacies that may remain.

1. Name of language

Gooniyandi (McGregor, p.c.). Also spelt as Kuniyanti and Kuniyan (McGregor 1984:1, 57). 'The language has usually been referred to in the anthropological and linguistic literature as Gunian' (McGregor 1984 :1).

2. Source of information

Questionnaire data provided by William McGregor (abbreviated as 'M, Q') and information obtained from McGregor (1984) ('M 1984'), supplemented with the additional information provided by McGregor ('M, p. c.') and with the information obtained from McGregor (1990) ('M 1990'), which is a substantially revised and published version of McGregor (1984).

3. Genetic affiliation

Gooniyandi 'has been classified as a member of the Bunaban language family, a

small family consisting of two languages only—Bunaba being the other member' (M 1984 : 1).

4. Geographical distribution

The traditional territory of the Gooniyandi is an area east of Fitzroy Crossing, extending to about half way to Hall's Creek, in the southern Kimberley region of Western Australia (M 1984 : 1, 3 ; M, p.c.). Nowadays, Gooniyandi 'is spoken fluently by about 100 Aboriginals living mainly in the Fitzroy Crossing area' (M 1984 : 14).

5. Morphological and other relevant facts

Nouns, free pronouns, etc. are case-marked by enclitics. They have the ergative-absolutive system ($St \neq Si = O$; $ERG \neq ABS = ABS$). They also have dative, locative, and other local cases. The ergative marking is optional when it marks a transitive subject (but not so when it expresses instruments). The absolutive case is phonologically zero, and is ignored in the examples below. Verbs inflect for tense, aspect, mood, etc. In addition, they indicate the subject and the object, by means of pronominal prefixes. (Details of verb morphology are generally not indicated in the examples in the source, and they will be ignored in the glosses below.) Pronominal prefixes have the nominative-accusative system ($St = Si \neq O$; $NOM = NOM \neq ACC$). With both free pronouns and pronominal prefixes, the first person non-singulars have the opposition of restricted and unrestricted numbers, but this, too, will be generally ignored in the glosses below. ('The restricted category ... encompasses the traditional categories of first person dual Inclusive, dual Exclusive, and the plural Inclusive, while the Unrestricted category corresponds to the plural Inclusive' (M 1984 : 142).)

Enclitics are indicated by means of an equal sign, while suffixes, etc. are indicated by means of a hyphen. (But glosses invariably employ hyphens.)

The notation system employed below differs from that of McGregor (1984) and also from that of McGregor (1990). It is a variant of the Hudson-Street-Chestnut system (McGregor, p.c.).

Abbreviations employed include the following : – ABL, ablative ; ABS, absolutive ; ACC, accusative ; ADV, adverb or adverb phrase ; ALL, allative ; COMMIT,

comitative; DAT, dative; DESID, desiderative; DO, direct object; DU, dual; ERG, ergative; FACT, factive; FUT, future; IO, indirect object; LOC, locative; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; O, object; OBL, oblique; p.c., personal communication; Q, question; S, subject; SG, singular; Si, intransitive subject; St, transitive subject; SUBJUNC, subjunctive; V, verb, and; 1, first person.

6. Subject, object and verb

McGregor (1984 : 2, cf. also p.223) states that 'constituent order is "free" in the sense that it does not affect the "content" ... of the clause'.

McGregor (p.c.) notes as follows: - 'quite possibly SOV is one of the most common, and least marked, at least when both S and O are present'. E.g.:

- (a) John=ngga Bill gardbini. (SOV)
 John-ERG Bill he killed him 'John killed Bill.' (M, Q)
- (b) nganyi=ngga wayandi jardli. (SOV)
 I-ERG fire I lit it 'I lit a fire.' (M 1984 : 254)

Examples of other attested orders follow. Among these orders, OVS seems the most common.

- (c) gardiya gardlooni nganyi=ngga.
 whiteman I hit him I-ERG (OVS)
 'It was the whiteman I hit.' (M 1984 : 306)
- (d) niyaji=ya nyaglooni nganyi=ngga yoowarni.
 this-LOC I speared it I-ERG one (ADV V S O)
 '... there I speared one.' (M 1984 : 478)
- (e) Ned Colin=ngga lajangangarra yawarda.
 Ned Colin-ERG he rode it on me horse (SVO)
 'Ned Colin, he rode my horse.' (M 1984 : 293)
- (f) wanyirri ngarragi=ngga yoowooloo gardbini ...
 river kangaroo I, OBL-ERG man he hit it (OSV)
 'My son killed a river kangaroo ...' (M 1984 : 307)

With verbs such as 'give', 'tell', 'show', etc., the IO is indicated in the verb in most of the examples. There are only two examples at hand in which both DO and IO are expressed by independent nouns phrases (as well as by the verb morphology).

- (g) nganyi=ngga yoowooloo manyi ngangli.
 I-ERG man food I gave him (S IO DO V)
 'I gave the man food.' (M 1984 : 269)
- (h) ngidi=yoorroo=yoo gamba binabinawa-ngirrangi-yi.
 we-DU-DAT water he'll show it-I, RESTRICTED, DAT-DU
 'He'll show the water to us two.' (M 1984 : 146, M, p.c.) (IO DO V)

(Note that in (g) the IO 'man' is in the absolutive case — phonologically zero — like the DO 'food', but that in (g) the IO 'we-DU-DAT' is in the dative. McGregor (p.c.) notes as follows : — 'IO is a reasonable designation for 'us two' in (h), but not for 'man' in (g) : it is cross-referenced by an accusative prefix, not by a dative/oblique enclitic ... the word is better translated as "begift X (with, by means of) Y", where X is the recipient, and Y the gift'. In the present, typological study of word order, I consistently use the label 'DO' for the gift and the label 'IO' for the recipient, irrespective of their cases and/or agreement patterns.)

With intransitive sentences, the SV order is very common, and the VS order is rare. McGregor (p.c.) notes as follows : — 'As to VS order, I suspect that this occurs only when there is focus (not necessarily contrastive) on S — e.g. when it presents new information'. Examples of SV and VS follow.

- (i) nayoo dijbindi. (SV)
 knife it snapped 'The knife broke.' (M 1984 : 262)
- (j) minyjirra=nyali warramba bijngarni. (SV)
 true-really flood it emerged
 'A really/truly big flood came up.' (M 1984 : 377)
- (=nyali 'really' is an enclitic (M 1984 : 377).)
- (k) boorowanbirri laandi yarrbanyi yoowooloo. (V ADV S)
 they were hiding up initiate man
 'They were hiding up, the initiates.' (M 1984 : 303)

7. Adposition

Gooniyandi possesses postpositions (M, Q). These postpositions are not free forms, but enclitics (M 1984 : 146, 223). Examples include the ergative enclitic in (a) of 6 ; the dative in (h) of 6 ; and :

- (a) mayaroo=nhingi
 house-ABL 'from the house' (M, Q)

'We put (spinifex) on top of the boughshade.' (M1984 : 233)

McGregor (1984 : 233) states that 'Without *lanngarri*, *ngaaloo* would of necessity occur in a [locative postpositional phrase — TT] (*ngaaloo=ya*) ["shade-LOC" — TT]'. That is, although this does not seem mentioned in the sources, *lanngarri* in such examples seems to be functioning rather like a preposition. Similarly for *babaabirri*. McGregor (p. c.) confirms that adverbs such as *lanngarri* 'on top of' and *babaabirri* 'inside' can be used as in (g). He adds that they can also follow, say, *ngaaloo* 'shade'. I think that in the latter instances they might be considered functioning like postpositions. Adverbs such as *wilajga* 'around', e. g. (e), and *riringgi* 'side' seem to lack this adposition-like use. McGregor (p. c.) states that he treats them as adverbs. (See also McGregor 1990 : 287–89.)

8. Genitive and noun

The dative case 'marks nominal possessors, both alienable and inalienable (but not pronominal possessors)' (M1984 : 148). (There is no separate genitive case — cf. M1984 : 147.) The dative-marked noun can either precede or follow the possessed noun (M, Q). E. g. :

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-----------------------------------|-------|-----|--------------|----------------------------------|--------|
| (a) | John=joo | mayaroo | | (b) | mayaroo | John=joo | |
| | John-DAT | house | | | house | John-DAT | |
| | | 'John's house' (M, Q) | | | | 'as left' (M, Q) | |
| (c) | ngoorroo=yoo | goornboo | marla | (d) | ngoorroo=yoo | goornboo | tharra |
| | that-DAT | woman | hand | | that-DAT | woman | dog |
| | | 'that woman's hand' (M1984 : 210) | | | | 'that woman's dog' (M1984 : 210) | |

(For the position of the dative enclitic in (c) and (d), see 7 above.)

- (e) Charlie=yoo manili Bill=yoo=jangi.
 Charlie-DAT nose Bill-DAT-like
 'Charlie's nose is like Bill's.' (M1984 : 244)

Other examples include 'Bill's father' in (a) of 23.

When the possessor is a pronoun, the oblique case 'indicates possession (alienable (including "temporary access" possession) or inalienable)' (M1984 : 145). It can either precede or follow the possessed noun. E. g. :

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|-------|-----|----------|--------|-----|--------|----------|
| (f) | ngarragi | marla | (g) | ngarragi | tharra | (h) | tharra | ngarragi |
| | I, OBL | hand | | I, OBL | dog | | dog | I, OBL |

'my hand' (M1984:210) 'my dog' (M1984:210) 'as left' (M1984:218)
 Other examples of oblique forms indicating possessors include 'my man' in (f) of 6;
 'your dogs' in (m) of 11; 'my sons' in (n), (o) of 11; 'my uncle' in (b) of 13; 'my
 brain' in (f) of 13; 'their child' in (c) of 22; and, 'your husband' in (e), (f) of 22.

'There is one other possessive construction, which applies only to kin terms.
 This involves the stem forming suffixes *-wa* "his, hers, their" and *-badi* "yours",
 attached to appropriate kin terms' (M1984:210), e. g.:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| (i) ngaboo-wa | (j) ngarranyoo-wa |
| father-his | mother-his |
| 'his father' (M1984:194) | 'his mother' (M1984:194) |
| (k) ngaboo-wadi | (l) ngarrany-badi |
| father-your | mother-your |
| 'your father' (M1984:194) | 'your mother' (M1984:194) |

Other examples include 'mother-his' in (c) of 12; and 'father-his' in (a) of 23.
 Note that (a) of 23 contains both the dative and the suffix *-wa*.

'The regular possessive constructions may always be used in place of these
 suffixes' (M1984:210), e. g. 'your husband' in (e), (f) of 22; and:

- | | | |
|----------------|---------|-------------------------|
| (m) ngaangi | garingi | |
| your (SG), OBL | wife | 'your wife' (M1984:210) |

9. Demonstrative and noun

Demonstrative can either precede or follow the noun they qualify (M, Q; M1984:
 208), but they 'normally precede' (M1984:209).

- | | | | | |
|--|-----------|------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (a) ngirndaji | mayaroo | (b) mayaroo | ngirndaji | |
| this | house | house | this | |
| 'this house' (M, Q) | | 'as left' (M, Q) | | |
| (c) nginyjingka | now, | bambimjawa | ngirndaji=yoo | nyirraji=yoo. |
| you, ERG | | you can pump it | this-DAT | bull-DAT |
| 'You now, you can pump (water) for this bull.' (M1984:481) | | | | |
| (d) ngunyjoo | ngirndaji | waranggila | dina=yawoo. | |
| tobacco | this | I hold it | dinner-ALL | (O V ADV) |
| 'I keep this tobacco until tea-time.' (M1984:219) | | | | |

Other examples include 'that woman' in (c), (d) of 8; and, 'that man' in (l) of 11,

(b) of 16, (j) of 20.

10. Numeral and noun

Numerals can either precede or follow the noun they qualify (M, Q; M1984:208), but they 'normally precede' (M1984:209).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---------|-----|------------------|------------|
| (a) | ngarloodoo | mayaroo | (b) | mayaroo | ngarloodoo |
| | three | house | | house | three |
| | 'three houses' (M, Q) | | | 'as left' (M, Q) | |

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|----------|----------|---------|------------|
| (c) | niyi-nhingi | yoowarni | nyirraji | wardji | gamba=yoo. |
| | that=ABL | one | bull | he went | water-DAT |

'Then a bull came up for water.' (M1984:481) (ADV S V ADV (?))

Further examples are 'one house' in (b) and (c) of 7; 'two dogs' in (m) of 11; and 'two sons' in (n), (o) of 11.

11. Adjective and noun

In Gooniyandi, 'adjectives' are really nouns. (Gooniyandi 'does not distinguish a lexical class of Adjectives in opposition to Nouns' (M1984:216).) 'Adjectives' can either precede or follow, but they 'follow the modified [noun — TT] twice as often as they precede' (M1984:209).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------|-----|----------------------------|--------|
| (a) | mayaroo | nyamani | (b) | labawoo | jiga |
| | house | big | | white | flower |
| | 'big house' (M, Q) | | | 'white flower' (M1984:209) | |

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---------|-----|-------------------------|---------|
| (c) | yoowooloo | nyamani | (d) | gamba | yijawoo |
| | man | big | | water | bad |
| | 'big man' (M1984:217) | | | 'bad water' (M1984:217) | |

Other examples include 'big flood' in (j) of 6; and, 'little boy' in (c) of 12.

The relative order of the noun and the adjective is semantically significant (McGregor, p. c.). Examples from McGregor (1984:221):

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------|-----|--------------|-------|
| (e) | thiwa | goornboo | (f) | jiga | thiwa |
| | red | woman | | flower | red |
| | 'woman of European descent' | | | 'red flower' | |

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|-------|-----|-------|---------|
| (g) | jiginya | marla | (h) | marla | jiginya |
| | little | hand | | hand | little |

	'finger'				'a little hand'
(i)	doomoo	marla	(j)	marla	doomoo
	clenched	hand		hand	clenched
	'a clenched hand'			'a fist'	

According to McGregor (1990), an adjective preceding the noun, e. g. (e), (g), (i), 'indicates the type of thing referred to' (p. 214), while an adjective following then noun, e. g. (f), (h), (j), 'usually indicates a physical quality of a thing' (p. 217).

In the examples above, the constituents of a given noun phrase are contiguous with each other/one another. However, 'NPs need not be continuous' (M1984 : 210), e. g. :

(k)	goorooroo	dajgila	jalandi.
	black	I wear it	belt
	'I'm wearing a black belt.' (M1984 : 210)		

The following types of the relative order of a noun and its modifiers have been attested :

- (i) Demonstrative + Noun + Adjective, e. g. (l) ;
- (ii) Demonstrative + Numeral + Noun, e. g. 'that-ERG two man' in (d) of 7 ;
- (iii) Numeral + Noun + Oblique for possessor, e. g. (m) ;
- (iv) Oblique for possessor + Numeral + Noun, e. g. (n), and ;
- (v) Oblique for possessor + Noun + Numeral, e. g. (o).

Examples include :

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----------|---------|------------------------------|
| (l) | ngooroo | yoowooloo | nyamani | |
| | that | man | big | 'that big man' (M1984 : 209) |
-
- | | | | | |
|-------|---|-------------|--------|--------------------|
| (m) | milarla | garndiwirri | tharra | ngaanggi. |
| | I saw it | two | dog | you (SG), OBL (VO) |
| | 'I saw two dogs of yours.' Or 'I saw two of your dogs.' (M1984 : 220) | | | |
- (In (m), 'the hearer has more than one dog' (M1984 : 220).)
- | | | | | |
|-------|----------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| (n) | ngarragi | garndiwirri | ngaloowinyi | |
| | I, OBL | two | son | 'my two sons' (M1984 : 221) |
- | | | | | |
|-------|---|-------------|-------------|--|
| (o) | ngarragi | ngaloowinyi | garndiwirri | |
| | I, OBL | son | two | |
| | 'the two of my sons' or 'both of my sons' (M1984 : 221) | | | |

McGregor (1984 : 221) discusses the difference between (n) and (o) as fol-

lows:— (o) ‘occurred in a context in which the referent thing was given, and known to be two in number, it may be glossed “the two of my sons”, or “both of my sons”. [(n) — TT] is a neutral version, simply indicating the number of my sons (under consideration), “my two sons”,’ (Note that it is natural that (n) is neutral since numerals normally precede the noun they qualify; cf. 10 above.)

12. Relative clause and noun

Gooniyandi ‘has no embedded relative clauses finite or non-finite. Finite clauses modifying constituents of another clause always occupy marginal positions with respect to the latter clause, either preceding or following it’ (M1984 : 354).

- (a) [yoowoooloo=ngga Bill gardbini]. niyaji mayari=ya waranggiri.
 man-ERG Bill he hit him this house-LOC he sits
 ([S O V], S ADV V)

‘The man who killed Bill is sitting in the house’. (Literally, ‘The man killed Bill, this (person) is sitting in the house.’ (M, Q)

- (b) [ngarlloodoo yawarda=ngarri wardgilawirri jamoondoo]
 three horse-COMIT they few went, FACT other day
 boorloomani maroorrwirra.
 bullocks they mustered it ([S ADV ADV, O V])

‘The three men who came on horses the other day were mustering bullocks.’ (M1984 : 357)

- (c) Government=ngga ngangbindi jiginya gambayi [ngarranyoo-wa
 Government-ERG he gave them little boy mother-his
 nangbani].
 he died (SVO, [SV])

‘The Government gave them a little boy whose mother had died.’ (M1984 : 355)

(The relative clauses are indicated by square brackets.)

13. Proper noun and common noun

The proper noun generally follows the common noun (M, Q; M, p. c.), e. g. :

- (a) yoowoooloo booloogoo
 Aboriginal man Booloogoo

- 'the Aboriginal man, Booloogoo' (M, Q)
- (b) ngarragi nyaanyi John
I, OBL mother's brother John
'my uncle John' (M, Q)
- (c) gardiya Colin
whiteman Colin
'the whiteman Colin' (M1984 : 215)
- (d) mayaroo Quanbun
house Quanbun
'Quanbun homestead' (M1984 : 300)
- (e) riwi ngatharramany
place Ngatharramany
'the place Ngatharramany' (M1984 : 128)
- (f) thangarndi gooniyandi doowoowilanyji ngarragi=ngka milyilyi.
word Gooniyandi I'll get it, DESID I, OBL-ERG brain
'I want to get the Gooniyandi language into my brain.' (M1984 : 432)

Examples in which the proper noun precedes, rather than follows, the common noun :

- (g) jangajardi gamba
Jangajardi water
'the waterhole Jangajardi' (M, p. c.)
- (h) joonabaabarra gamba nyarna goorroola nyamani
Joonabaabarra water deep billabong big
'Joonabaabarra, a deep water hole, a big billabong' (M1984 : 231, M, p. c.)
- (i) lilinggoo ngaarri, marliwa ngaarri joorlgoo
to west rock Marliwa rock round
'in the west at that hill, Marliwa, the round hill' (M1984 : 474)

In (f), the proper noun 'Gooniyandi' follows the common noun 'language'. However, McGregor (p. c.) notes that 'Gooniyandi quite frequently precedes *thangarndi*' :

- (j) Gooniyandi thangarndi
Gooniyandi word
'the Gooniyandi language' (M, p. c.)

14. Comparison

There is no comparative construction like the English 'than' construction. Comparison is always expressed as follows (M, Q):

- (a) John girrabingarri, Bill thigi.
 John tall, long Bill short
 'John is taller than Bill.' (M, Q)

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

Gooniyandi has no auxiliary verbs (M, Q). A finite verb phrase contains elements which indicate tense, aspect and mood among other things. See McGregor (1990: 191-92).

16. Adverb and verb

The position of adverbs (/adverb phrases) seems non-rigid, as is the case with word order in Gooniyandi generally. However, there appear to be certain tendencies. Sentence adverbs/modal adverbs seem to occur in the initial position or in a position close to it. Other types of adverbs 'usually' occur 'next to the verb', and they 'can be on either side' (M, Q).

(i) Sentence adverb/modal adverb. Examples of *yiganyi* 'maybe':

- (a) *yiganyi maningka wardjawingi.*
 maybe night I might come (ADV ADV V)
 'I might come one night.' (M1984:405)

- (b) *yoowooloo=ngga ngoorroo=ngga ngaarri yiganyi doowoongangarra.*
 man-ERG that-ERG stone maybe he took it on me
 'Maybe that's the man who took my money.' (M1984:227) (S O ADV V)

(ii) Time, e.g. 'until tea-time' in (d) of 9; 'the other day' in (c) of 12; 'yesterday' in (f) of 18; 'at dawn' in (h) of 22; and 'one night' in (a) above.

(iii) Place, etc., e.g.:

- (c) *ngidi=yoorroo garndiwirri wardjirri babligaj=jirra.*
 we-DU two we went pub-ALL (S V ADV)
 'We two went to the pub.' (M1984:111)

Other examples include 'there' in (d) of 6; 'in one house' in (c) of 7; 'around the fire' in (e) of 7; 'by the side of the water' in (f) of 7; 'on top of the boughshade'

in (g) of 7; 'in the house' in (a) of 12; 'very close by' in (c) of 17; 'here' in (b) of 20; 'by the tree' in (g) of 22; and, 'on the road' in (j) of 22.

(iv) Manner, means, instrument, etc., e.g.:

- (d) John galjini girragirrayi. (S ADV V)
 John fast he ran 'John ran fast.' (M, Q)
- (e) gardlooni wangmarra=ngga. (V ADV)
 I hit him mad-ERG 'I hit him crazily.' (M1984:278)
- (f) manyi mirra=ya thirrangga.
 vegetable food head-LOC she carries it on head (O ADV V)
 'She carries the food on her head.' (M1984:290)

Other examples include 'on horses' in (b) of 12; 'with my brain' in (f) of 13; and 'fast' in (b) of 23.

17. Adverb and adjective

To express meanings such as 'very', 'Adjectives are used, not adverbs, as a rule; usually [they] precede the thing qualified' (M, Q).

- (a) John nyamani girrabingarri.
 John big long 'John is very tall.' (M, Q)
- (b) yoowooloo garayili girrabingarri
 man much long 'a very tall man' (M1984:218)

In addition, there is the enclitic =nyali, which has a wide range of meanings, one which is intensification, 'really'. Examples include 'truly big' in (j) of 6, and:

- (c) gooniyandi yalawa=nyali yoodbindi.
 Gooniyandi near-really he put them
 '(The mythical being) put the Gooniyandi people very close by.' (M1990:466)

18. General questions

General questions often (cf. M1984:298) contain the indefiniteness-marking morpheme =mi or -ma, 'indicating doubt or indefiniteness' (M, Q), '-ma occurring in VPs and [=mi — TT] elsewhere' (M1984:392). (=mi is used as an enclitic (M1984:392).) They occur 'On the word that is the focus of doubt or indefiniteness (usually the stressed word of English equivalents)' (M, Q).

- (a) John=ngga=mi Bill gardbini ?
 John-ERG-Q Bill he killed him (S=Q O V)
 'Did *John* kill Bill?' Or, 'Was it John who killed Bill?' (M, Q)
- (b) John=ngga Bill=mi gardbini ? (S O=Q V)
 'Did John kill *Bill*?' Or, 'Was it Bill who John killed?' (M, Q)
- (c) John=ngga Bill gard-ma-wini ? (S O V-Q-V)
 'Did John *kill* Bill (or see him or what)?' (M, Q)

As another pair of examples :

- (d) nginyji ward-ma-wiri ? (S V-Q-V)
 you come-Q-FUT, 2 SG 'You'll *come*?' (M1984:392)
- (e) nginyji=mi wardbiri ? (S=Q V)
 you-Q come, FUT, 2 SG 'You'll *come*?' (M1984:392)

(I have somewhat simplified the gloss for *ward-ma-wiri* of (d).)

Also, general questions can be formed without employing =*mi* or -*ma*, e.g.:

- (f) garrwaroo bijngarni ? (ADV V)
 afternoon he emerged 'Did he come yesterday?' (M1984:298)
- (g) John=ngga manyi ngabnga ?
 John-ERG food he ate it 'Did John eat the food?' (SOV)

The word order in general questions is 'free' as in declarative sentences. Thus, the order in (g) can be arranged in 'any other order' (M, Q).

Regarding intonation, McGregor (p.c.) notes as follows: - 'questions often occur on rising intonation contours. However, so too do statements, and I am not certain that it is possible to distinguish the two according to different intonation contours used. ... we can at least say that the intonation centre of the question is on the focus of the question — so for [(g) — TT] it could be on any of the words: Did *John* eat the food; Did John eat *the* food; or Did John *eat* the food'.

19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

This is irrelevant, since in declarative sentences (as in general questions) the order of the subject and the verb is not fixed.

20. Special questions

Interrogative words usually occur initially (M, Q), e.g. (a), (c), (d), etc., although

they can occur in a non-initial position, e.g. (b), (i). However, McGregor (p.c.) notes as follows : - 'Stronger than the association of interrogatives words (really indefinite words, in my opinion) with initial position in questions is their association with the intonation centre of the contour (McGregor 1990 : 369)'.

Examples of general questions follow.

- (a) ngoorndoo=ga dijjingi ? (SV)
 who-ERG he broke it 'Who broke it?' (M1984 : 125)
- (b) ngirndi=ya wayandi ngoorndoo=ga girraringa ?
 this-LOC fire who-ERG he ran away with it (ADV O S V)
 'Who's run off with the fire here?' (M1984 : 180)
- (c) ngoorndoo John=ngga gardbini ? (OSV)
 who John-ERG he hit him 'Whom did John hit?' (M, Q)
- (d) jaji John=ngga ngabnga ? (OSV)
 what John-ERG he ate it 'What did John eat?' (M, Q)
- (e) jaji ngabnga John=ngga ? (OVS)
 what he ate it John-ERG 'As above.' (M, Q)
- (f) ngoonyoo=nhingi wardji ? (ADV V)
 which-ABL he went 'Where did he come from?' (M1984 : 126)
- (g) yiniga ngawali ngaragginyja ?
 in what manner woomera you make it (ADV O V)
 'How do you make a woomera?' (M1984 : 130)
- (h) yiniga mawoolyi goorrijoonjoonarri ?
 how many child you held them (OV)
 'How many children do you have?' (M1984 : 131)

Interrogative words can also have an indefinite meaning. (See also McGregor's comment cited above.) For example, (a) can also mean 'Someone broke it' (M1984 : 125).

An example of interrogative/indefinite verb :

- (i) ngidi yinigayirri? (SV)
 we we do something 'What are we doing?' (M1984 : 453)

In indirect speech, an interrogative word seems to occur within the quoted clause, not in the initial position of the entire sentence :

- (j) ngoorroo=ngga yoowoooloo yinigaminganggi ngoonyi=yirra
 that-ERG man he did something to you where-ALL
 wardgiri?
 he goes
 'Where did that man tell you he's going?' (M1984:340)

21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

Same as 19.

22. Negative sentences

The two main words for negation are *mangarri* 'not' and *marlami* 'no, nothing'.

Regarding the position of *mangarri*, McGregor (p. c.) notes as follows: it 'usually occurs before the verb complex ... , although there are one or two counter-examples in my corpus'. Examples:

- (a) mangarri gilbawidi banda.
 NEG they found it dirt (NEG V O)
 'They didn't find (any) dirt.' (M1984:314)
- (b) gamba mangarri ngoorloogbila.
 water NEG I'll drink it (O NEG V)
 'I won't drink the water. (M1984:423)
- (c) jiginya birrangi mangarri wardgiri ...
 child they, OBL NEG he walks (S NEG V)
 'Their child doesn't walk (yet; he still crawls). (M1984:375)
- (d) mangarri wardbiri ... (NEG V)
 NEG you'll go 'Don't go!' (M1984:425)

Another example is in (b) of 23.

In relational (verbless) clauses like (e), *mangarri* is usually found between the two NPs, although it is possible to have the variant shown in (f) (M, p. c.):

- (e) nganyi mangarri ngaanggi ngoombarna.
 I NEG you (SG), OBL husband
 'I'm not your husband.' (M1984:314)
- (f) mangarri nganyi ngaanggi ngoombarna.
 NEG I you (SG), OBL husband
 'I am not your husband.' (M, p. c.)

McGregor (1984:395) adds that 'occasionally two instances of *mangarri* are found in a single clause. ... It is probable that, as in non-standard English, the two negatives intensify the negation':

- (g) yaadiyarndi ngarloodoo mangarri girili=ya=nyali mangarri
 we-PL three NEG tree-LOC-again NEG
 warayarri.
 we stood (S NEG ADV NEG V)
 'We didn't stand by that tree again.' (M1984:395)
- (h) mangarri ganarraya mangarri bijginyjawoo!
 NEG dawn NEG you'll come! (NEG ADV NEG V)
 'Don't come at dawn!' (M1984:395)

See also (k).

mangarri never occurs in a clause-final position (M1984:314), although the other negation word *marlami* 'no, nothing' can (M, p. c.), e.g. (k).

marlami seems to function rather like an adjective, e.g. (i), (j), although it can also occur independently. McGregor (p.c.) notes as follows: - 'it seems reasonable to say ... that [*marlami* — TT] functions rather like an adjective; it certainly frequently occurs as a modifier within NPs'. Examples follows.

- (i) marlami gamba ngoorloogoorra. (NEG O V)
 no water they drank it 'They drink no grog.' (M1984:398)
- (j) marlami gamba ngambirri baali=ya.
 no water again road-LOC (NEG S ADV ADV)
 'There is no water again on the road.' (M1984:397)
- (k) jirigi mangarri milayirrayi marlami.
 bird NEG we two saw it NEG (O NEG V NEG)
 'We didn't see any birds, nothing.' (M1990:496)

In addition, it seems that *marlami* generally occurs next to the noun it qualifies, e.g. (i), (j), but that it can be separated from the latter (M1984:398), e.g. (k), (l).

- (l) nganyi marlami goorjigila yawarda.
 I no I hold it horse (S NEG V O)
 'I haven't got a horse.' (M1984:399)

23. Conditional clause and main clause

A conditional clause 'Almost always precedes the main clause' (M, Q; cf. also M1984: 351)). The verb in a conditional clause can be in the subjunctive mood, the factive mood, the irrealis tense, the future tense, etc. Examples in which the conditional clause precedes:

- (a) John=ngga Bill gardjawoonoo, ngaboo-wa Bill=yoo
 John-ERG Bill he'll kill him, SUBJUNC father-his Bill-DAT
 thirriwoondi.
 he'll get angry, FUT (SOV, SV)
 'If John kills Bill, Bill's father will be angry.' Literally, 'Should John kill Bill, Bill's father will be angry.' (M, Q)
- (b) thirroo galjini girrayawoomi mangarri nyaggoowawoolooni.
 kangaroo fast it might run, FUT NEG I'll be spearing, FUT
 (S ADV V, NEG V)
 'Should the kangaroo run quickly, I won't be able to spear it.'
 (M1984: 352)

An example in which the conditional clause follows:

- (c) doowooyarni jirigi wamba=nyali
 he might have got it, IRRREALIS POTENTIAL bird still-again
 warangjayi.
 he might have sat, SUBJUNC (V O, ADV(?) V)
 'He'd have got the bird had it kept still.' (M1984: 351)

24. Purpose clause and main clause

A verb in the desiderative mood can express purpose. Such a purpose clause follows the main clause in all of the three examples available. McGregor (p. c.) notes as follows: - 'The desiderative clause usually follows the other clause ... and I suspect that if the order is reversed the purpose reading does not come out as clearly'.

- (a) girili ngangba milawa-nyji.
 stick you'll give him he'll see him-DESID (OV, V)
 'Give him a stick so he can look at it.' (M1984: 433)
- (b) barwingirni milawila-nyji.
 I could climb I'll see it-DESID (V, V)
 'I might climb so as to get a look.' (M1984: 433)

In addition, a verb in the subjunctive mood can express purpose. Such a subjunctive clause normally follows — rather than precedes — the main clause (M, p. c.).

(c) ngaraggila dillybag gardiya ngangjawili.

I make it dillybag whiteman I could give him, SUBJUNC (V O, IO V)

'I make dillybags to sell to white people.' (M1984:335)

'There is [also — TT] a non-finite type (embedded), which usually follows the main clause' (M, Q), e. g. (d), although it occasionally precedes (M, p. c.).

(d) wardngi gamba=yoo ngoorloog=goo.

I went water-DAT drink-DAT

'I went to drink water. (M, Q)

McGregor (p. c.) adds as follows: — 'The final type ... , the non-finite purposive clause is really the only one I would treat as a purposive: the others have a wide range of other functions'.

References

Abbreviations employed are the following: — JFLNU, Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University; SLLL, Studies in Language and Literature, Language (published by Institute of Literature and Linguistics, University of Tsukuba); and, UNP, University of Nagoya Press.

McGregor, William Bernard. 1984. A grammar of Kuniyanti: An Australian Aboriginal language of the southern Kimberley, Western Australia. Ph. D. thesis. University of Sydney.

———. 1990. A functional grammar of Gooniyandi. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Tsunoda, Tasaku. 1988. Typological study of word order in languages of the Pacific region (1). *Kantaiheiyou mondai kenkyuu*, 23–37. UNP.

———. 1989. Typological ... (2): Djaru (Australia). *JFLNU*, No. 103: 19–47.

———. 1990a. Typological ... (3): Thai. *Kantaiheiyou ni okeru bunkateki-shakaiteki kouzou ni kansuru kenkyuu-1990nen*, 53–70. UNP.

———. 1990 b. Typological ... (4): Areal survey of East and Southeast Asia. *Proceedings of International Forum for Studies on the Pacific Rim Region*, 115–26. UNP.

- . 1990 c. Typological ... (5): Warrungu (Australia). JFLNU, No. 106 : 13-47.
- . 1990 d. Typological ... (6): Korean. SLLL 18 : 1-13.
- . 1991 a. Typological study of word order (7): Chinese. SLLL 19 : 15-29.
- . 1991 b. Typological ... (8): Rumanian. SLLL 20 : 1-25.
- . 1991 c. Typological ... (9): Spanish. SLLL 20 : 25-42.
- . 1992 a. Typological ... (10): Swedish. SLLL 21 : 121-45.
- . 1992 b. Typological ... (11): Q'eqchi'. SLLL 21 : 145-56.
- . 1992 c. Typological ... (12): Kalkatungu. SLLL 22 : 71-97.
- . 1992 d. Typological ... (13): Diyari. SLLL 22 : 97-119.