

DJINANG AND DJINBA - A GRAMMATICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.



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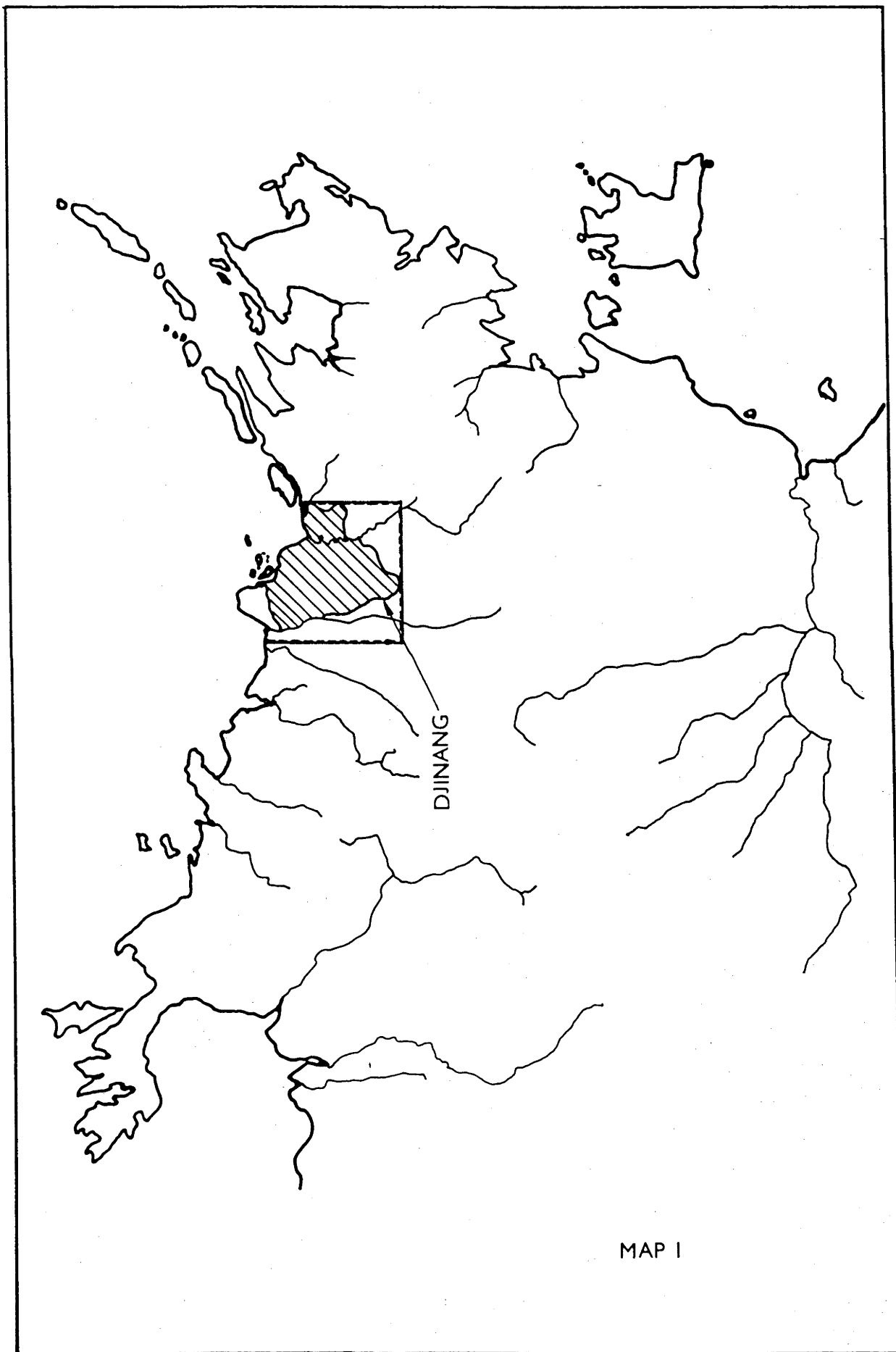
GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS

+	morpheme boundary (portmanteau, or unclear)
-	morpheme boundary (unambiguous)
.	used as a separator in glosses, or n - g sequences
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	Agent (syntactic context)
ABL	ablative (case)
ACC	accusative (case)
ALIEN	alienable proprietive (affix)
ALL	allative (case)
ARCHE	archetypal (affix)
ASSOC	associative (affix)
AUX	auxiliary (verb)
ba	Balmbi clan
BEY	'beyond' (affix)
CAU	causitive (case)
CAUS	causitive (verbal affix)
COL	collective (nominal particle)
COMIT	comitative (affix)
COMPL	completative (particle / affix)
CONTR	contrastive (affix)
CRE	Complex Referential Expression (series of juxtaposed NPs)
DAT	dative (case)
DEF	anaphoric definite (affix)
DEIC	deictic (affix)
DELIM	delimitative (affix)
DIRECT	directional (particle)

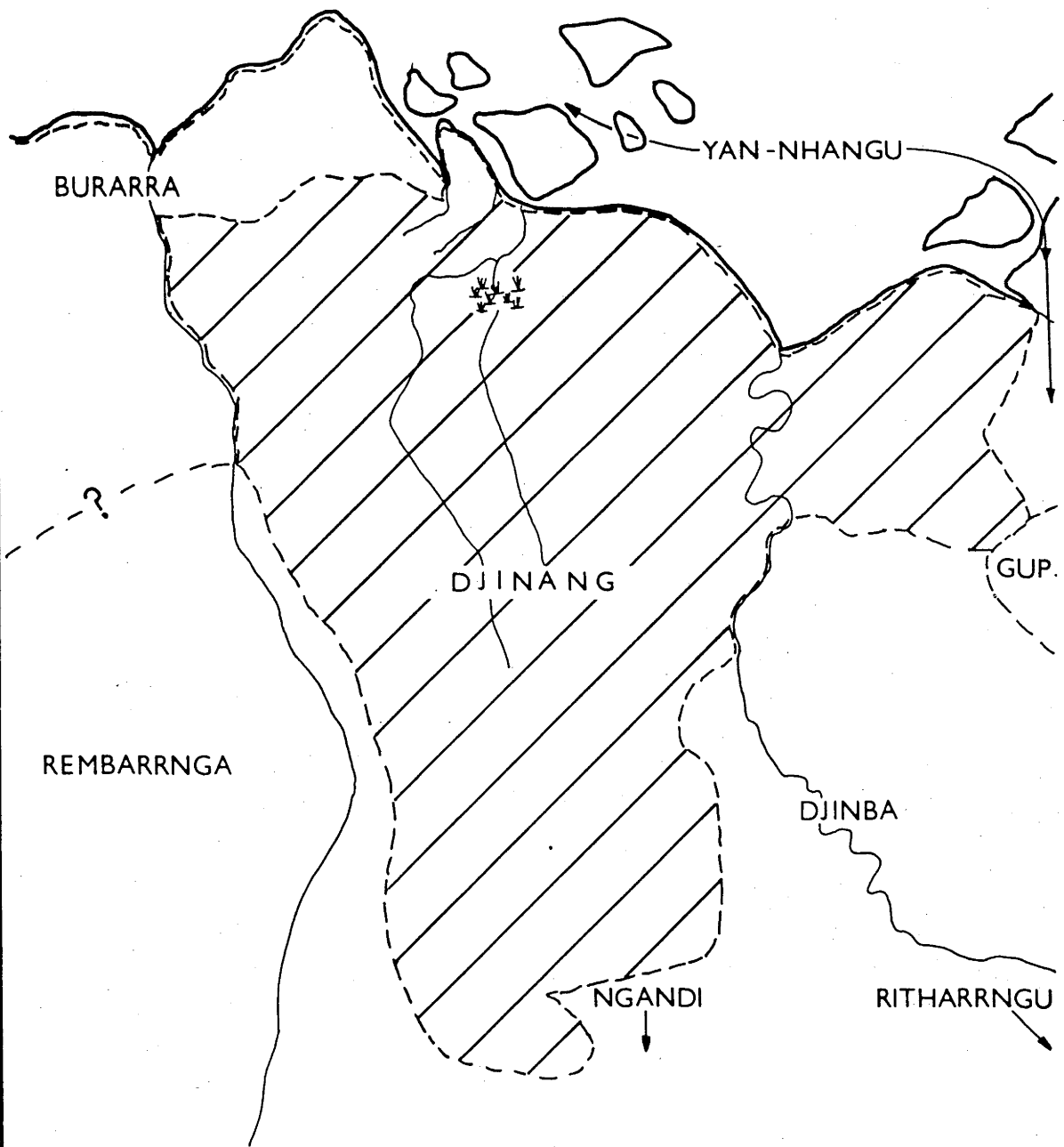
DIST	distributive (reduplication)
dj	Djadiwitjibi clan
DYAD	kin dyadic (affix)
du	dual number
DU	dual number
DUR	durative (final vowel lengthening, indicated by "...")
EMPH	emphasis (affix)
ERG	ergative (case)
ESS	'essive' in Dictionary, but reanalysed now as KINPROP)
exc	exclusive (of addressee)
EXCE	excessive (affix)
EXCL	exclusive (affix) (Actually, reduplicated OR case)
EXIST	existential aspect (auxiliary)
FACT	factitive (verbal affix)
FI	Future Irrealis (inflection)
FUT	FUTURE (inflection)
GEN	genitive (affix)
HABIT	habitual aspect (auxiliary)
HAST	hastitive aspect (auxiliary)
HITH	'hither' DIRECTIONAL particle
IM	immediate (clitic)
IMP	IMPERative (inflection)
inc	inclusive (of addressee)
INCHO	inchoative (affix)
INCOM	incompletative (particle)
INDEF	indefinite (affix / free form)
INHAB	inhabitant (affix)
INSTR	instrumental (case)
INTENS	intensive (affix / particle)
INTERJ	interjection
INTERM	intermittent aspect (auxiliary)
INTERR	interrogative/indefinite pronoun
IO	indirect object
Irreg	irregular (verb)
KINGRP	kin group (affix)
KINPROP	kinship proprietary (affix)

LOC	locative (case)
ma	Marrangu clan
mi	Mildjingi clan
mn	Manyarring clan
mu	Murrungun clan
NEG	negative (particle)
NF	non-final (vowel changes to a vowel)
NMLSR	nominaliser
NOM	nominative (case)
NP	noun phrase
O	Object (syntactic context)
OBL	oblique (affix)
OR	originative (case)
OWN	owner (affix)
PAUC	paucal number (affix)
PERF	perfective (particle)
PERL	perlative (case)
PL	plural number (affix)
POT	potential (semantic) function
PRES	PRESENT continuous (inflection)
PRI	PRESENT Irrealis (inflection)
PRIV	privative (affix)
PROG	progressive aspect (auxiliary)
PROM	prominence (affix)
PROP	propriative (affix)
PURP	purposive (morphological construction)
RAMBL	ramblitive aspect (auxiliary)
RECIP	reciprocal/reflexive/mutualis/intransitiviser (particle)
RED-PRO	reduced pronoun
RPA	Remote PAST (inflection)
RPC	Remote Past Continuous (inflection)
RPI	Remote Past Irrealis (inflection)
S	Subject (syntactic context)
SEQU	sequential function (of COMPL particle)
sg	singular number
SPEC	specific (or specific named) locality (affix)

TEMP	temporal function; also, temporal marker (on deictic stem)
THEMSR	thematiser (verbal affix)
THITH	'thither' DIRECTIONAL particle
TPA	Today PAsT (inflection)
TPC	Today Past Continuous (inflection)
TPI	Today Past Irrealis (inflection)
TRVSR	transitiviser
UNM	unmarked (used to indicate forms in citation form)
VC	verb complex
VOC	vocative (word-final vowel change)
wu	Wu _l aki dialect (or clan)
YPA	Yesterday PAsT (inflection)
YPI	Yesterday Past Irrealis (inflection)
YPC	Yesterday Past Continuous (inflection)

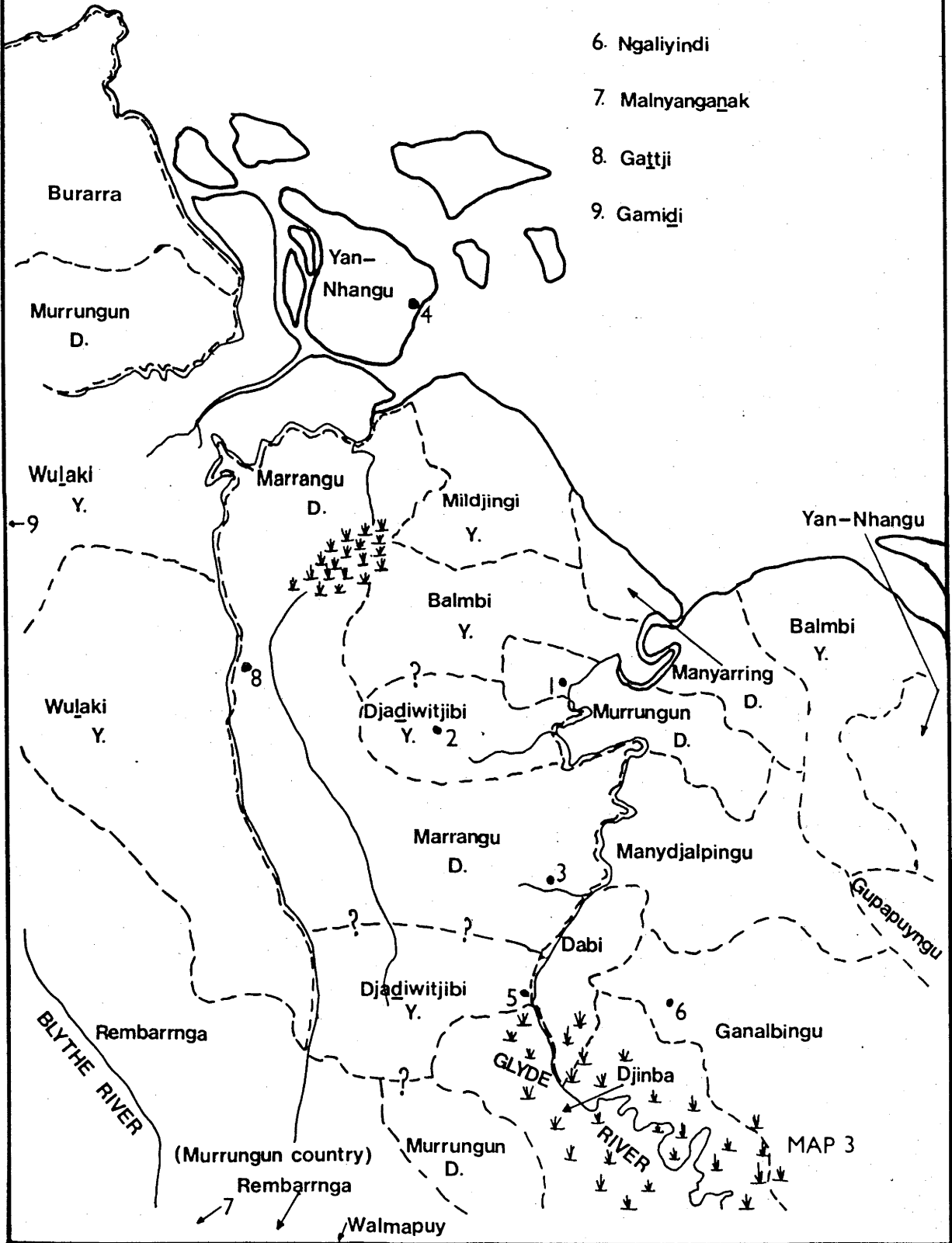


MAP I

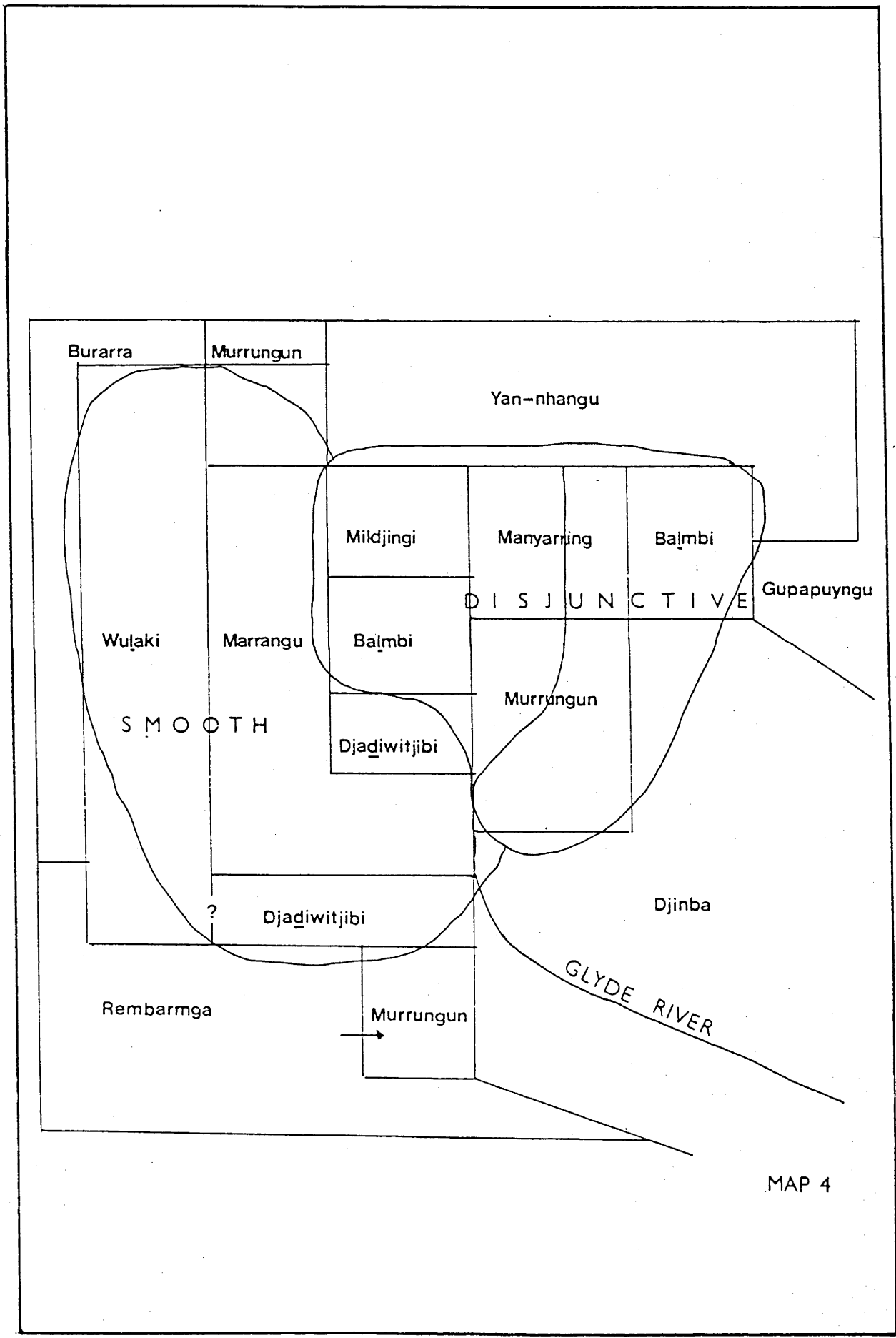


MAP 2

1. Nangalala
2. Ramingimbi Mission
3. Mulgarram
4. Milingimbi Mission
5. Murwanggi (Arafura homestead)
6. Ngaliyindi
7. Malnyanganak
8. Gattji
9. Gamidi



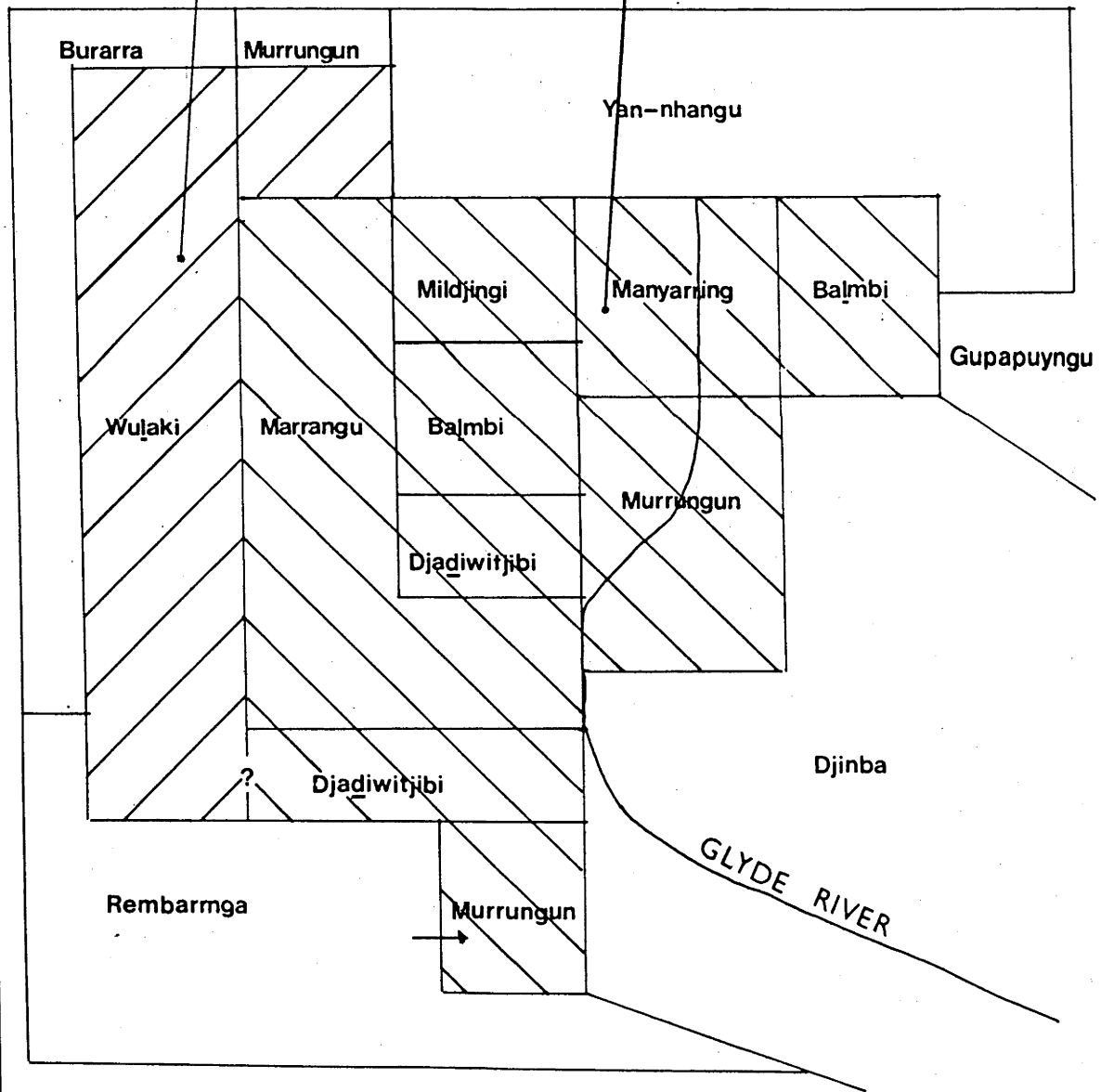
MAP 3



MAP 4

ARCHAIC DEICTICS

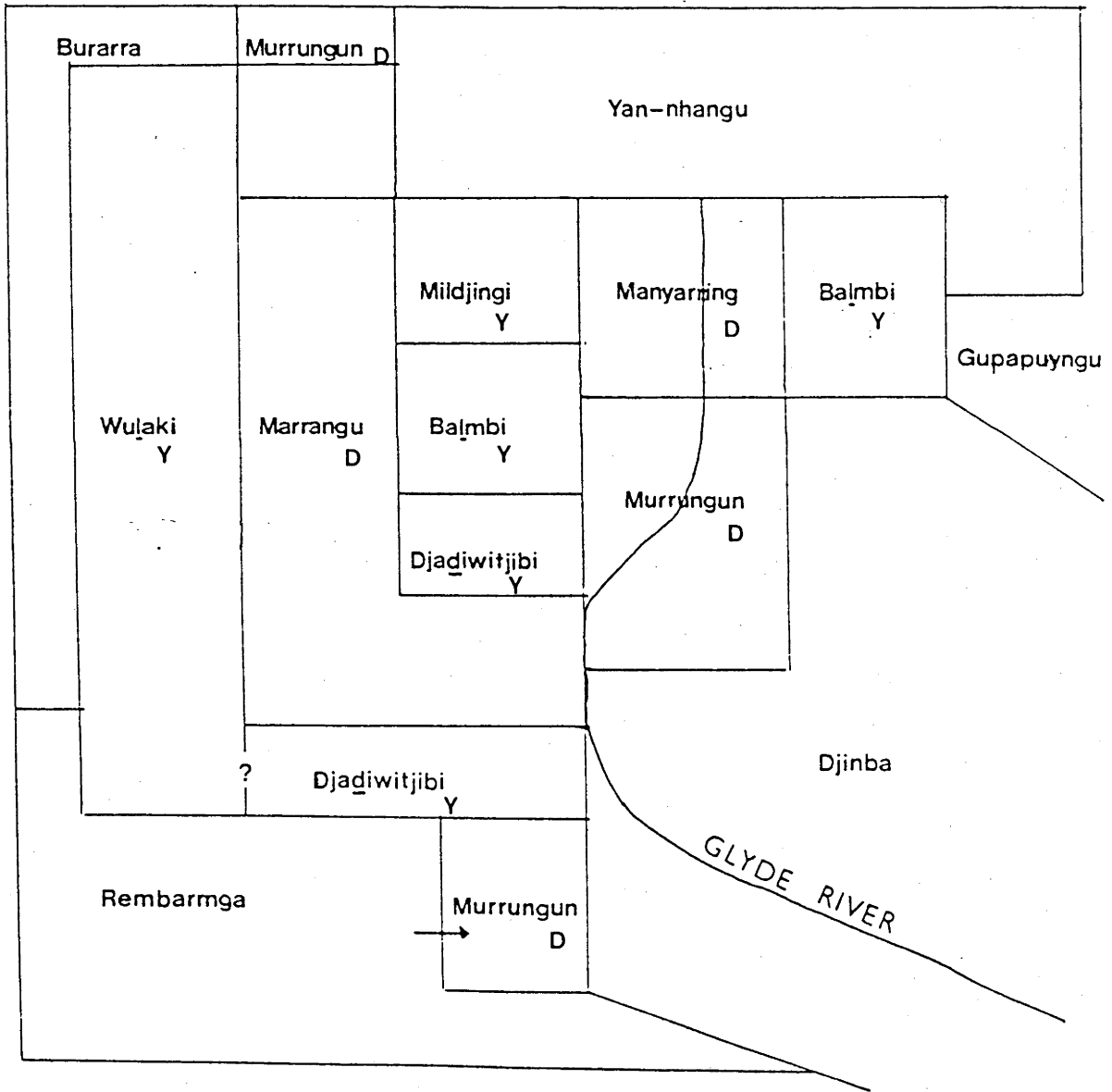
MODERN DEICTICS



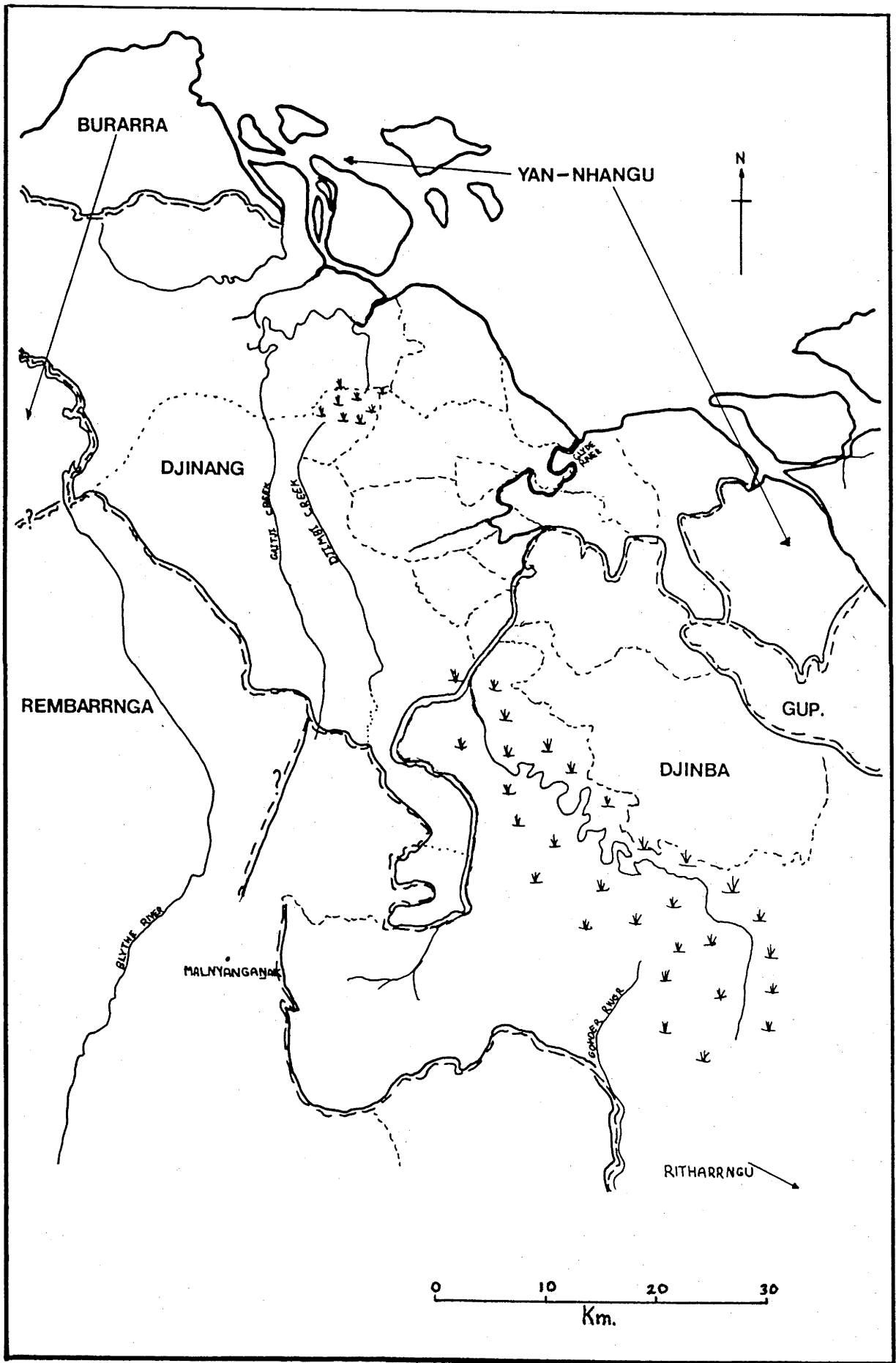
MAP 5

Y= YIRRITJING

D= DJUWING



MAP 6



INTRODUCTION

The Djinang language is the western-most member of the "Yolngu" language group. It is spoken by approximately 250 Aboriginal people living in the vicinity of Ramingining, a settlement on the mainland about 20 kilometres south of the Crocodile Islands. Most Djinang speakers live either at Ramingining, or at one of several outstations, all of which lie within about 30 kilometres of Ramingining. A few Djinang speakers live at Maningrida, and at Milingimbi; and a few women have married men who reside on Elcho Island, and live there with their husbands. Djinang is not mutually intelligible with any of the other Yolngu languages or dialects.

The Yolngu language most similar to Djinang is the Djinba language, situated to the south and east of the Djinang area. It is difficult to place a figure on the number of Djinba speakers, but it is probably not in excess of 150. Djinang and Djinba are approximately 60 percent cognate; but independent phonological changes in each language have caused the two languages to appear to be more different than comparative reconstruction indicates. These two languages are very definitely not mutually intelligible. Nevertheless, speakers of both languages mix freely, and interlinguistic marriage is common, so that most Djinang speakers have a good command of Djinba as a second language. There are also a considerable number of people in the Djinang area who speak as their first language one of the other Yolngu languages, the most commonly spoken ones being Dhuwal and Dhuwala. Multilingualism is the norm for a majority of the Aboriginal people, whether Djinang or not, in the Djinang area. Several maps are included, which show the traditional Djinang territory, and the location of the territories of the various Djinang clans.

The language name "Djinang" is an archaic form of the Proximate Deictic form *djining(i)*. The older form is still retained in the Wulaki dialect, in alternation with the modern form. In the literature the name is sometimes given as Yandjinang. The latter is actually a phrase *yan djinang* meaning 'Djinang language'.

Although this thesis aims to describe the grammar of Djinang; some brief attention will also be given to the Djinba language, which is the only other major Yolngu language not yet adequately researched. All Djinba materials are from my own fieldwork, and similarly for the Djinang materials - with the exception of some c. 1941 Wulaki sentences and texts, and some further sentences and texts in another Djinang dialect, collected by A. Capell. (Some use was made of Capell's material in the Appendices, but the main body of the thesis is based on my own collection of Djinang language data.)

Socially, the Djinang people still maintain much of their traditional way of life. The ceremonial life of the people has been maintained. Kinship privileges and obligations are still the basis of interpersonal relationships. The vernaculars are viable, and likely to remain so for a considerable period. (The advent of satellite television reception may be expected to have a profound effect, both socially and linguistically.) Although a number of people (both Djinang and other language groups) live in houses of European construction, their construction having been funded by the government, such people use them only for storage of goods, and for sleeping in at night. Cooking, and all social activities are carried on outside. Some aspects of European culture have been adopted. Vehicles, guns, tape recorders, and European clothes have an established status as items of value. With the advent of child endowment and pensions, together with a limited amount of local employment, the people are moving rapidly from a hunting and gathering economy; although those who have restricted access to sources of Government funding will engage in hunting and gathering according to need. Otherwise, hunting and gathering has become largely a 'fun' activity to be engaged in on weekends if vehicular travel permits.

The Djinang people have had mission contact for a period of approximately forty years; and until the mid sixties were largely to be found living either at Milingimbi (the former Methodist mission station in the Crocodile Islands), or at the Government settlement, Maningrida. Although very few Djinang and Djinba people are adherents of Christianity, the people have a very high regard for the mission staff of former years (the mission stations are now Government-run settlements), and are grateful for the mission presence in the past. The reason for this is that revenge killings were a common and greatly feared occurrence in the days before the advent of the missions. People have explained how they used to live in fear, particularly at night, because of real or imagined sorcery and revenge parties. There is very little evidence that sorcery is still practiced, though people still speak fearfully of it. Revenge killings are now almost unheard of. Both police and missions have contributed to this improved state of affairs. However, there are new problems now, as the white man's values and materialism increasingly penetrate the lives of the people. The present is a time of rapid social change for the Aboriginal community in the Ramingining area.

This thesis is based on four and a half years of field work. My family and I customarily reside at Ramingining. I and my wife work under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Field work will be resumed upon return to Ramingining, possibly in late 1984. I have made extensive use of a DEC VT103 computer (owned by my wife and myself) in the production of this grammar; both as a word processor, and as a tool to help in the collating and analysis of language data. Much of the statistical work embodied in chapter 1 and in the appendices would not have been possible without it.

The Djinang language is a suffixing language. There are two stop series, fortis and lenis, and lengthening of fortis stops is a common feature of Djinang (and Yolngu) phonology. (It should properly be called lengthening, rather than gemination. See Jaeger 1983.) Djinang does not have a lamino-dental order of sounds, and neither does Djinba. (Lamino-dentals were certainly present in proto-Yolngu.) There are three vowels, and non-contrastive vowel length may occur in the primary stressed syllable, which is usually the first syllable of a word. Djinang (like other Yolngu languages) has fewer constraints on consonant clusters than do many other Australian languages. Case is signalled by nominal suffixes; with pronouns inflecting in a nominative - accusative paradigm, and other nominals in an ergative - accusative paradigm. There are three major verb classes, each with numerous subclasses. The verb suffixes indicate tense, mood, and aspectual contrasts. Word order is relatively free, for clauses in isolation. However, there are strong constraints on word order in the verb complex, and the distribution of information in a clause appears to conform to a pattern which can be described in functional terms, for clauses studied in a textual context.

There is very little literature on the Djinang and Djinba languages. Anthropologists such as Warner and Thompson have studied the culture and ritual of the people, but little of substance of the languages themselves can be learnt from their published works. Capell elicited a hundred or so sentences, and collected a few texts, probably in 1941 (he thinks, p.c.). More recently, A. Borsboom has studied one of the song cycles and its ritual; but again there is little of the language in his published dissertation. I have previously published an account of Djinang verb morphology, and also Djinang phonology; and hence this thesis will not deal at length with these topics. I have also recently published (in the SIL Work Papers B series) an interim dictionary of Djinang, representing the state of my knowledge of the lexicon as at late 1982. This work contains over four thousand forms, with reversals by English keyword, and Roget Thesaurus semantic category number.

Four appendices are included in this thesis. The first deals with dialect differences in Djinang. The second deals with diffusion in the western Yolngu area. The third is a comparative dictionary of Djinang and Djinba (no English glosses), with extensive verb paradigmatic detail; and the fourth appendix is a reversal of the Djinang - Djinba dictionary. This material, and the content of the thesis proper, is available for anyone to use, provided the source is acknowledged in the normal way in any published work. Anyone undertaking independent studies in either Djinang or Djinba may find it worthwhile to seek further material from me, as I will be expanding my collection of data of both languages as opportunity permits. The thesis, appendices, and the (typed, un glossed) textual database will be lodged with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The stories are numbered and the text lines are numbered. Audio tapes containing the stories will also be lodged with the AIAS. All of the material is fully accessible.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 PHONEMES and FEATURES

Because I have published previously on Djinang phonology (Waters 1980b), the scope of this chapter will be restricted principally to those aspects of the phonology which either were not dealt with earlier, or need revision in the light of subsequent field work. Also, recapitulation of some information is inevitable, such as phoneme charts, syllable patterns, and so forth.

Although this work deals primarily with Djinang, the closely related Djinba language to the southeast will also be discussed, though in lesser detail. The two languages are not mutually intelligible. A cognate count based on the data in Appendix 4 yields the value 61.5 percent (plus or minus 0.5 percent).

TABLE 1.1 Djinang and Djinba phonemes

		peripheral		apical		laminal
		labial	velar	alveolar	post- alveolar	post-alveolar
stop:	fortis	p	k	t	<u>t</u>	tj
	lenis	b	g	d	<u>d</u>	dj
nasal		m	ng	n	<u>n</u>	ny
liquid:	lateral			l	<u>l</u>	
	rhotic			rr	r	
glide		w				y
vowels						
	high front		i			
	high back		u			
	low		a			

Glottal stop occurs sporadically, only at a morpheme boundary, in both Djinang and Djinba. In Djinang, its incidence is far less frequent than in other Yolngu languages; and as a general rule, where a glottal occurs in another Yolngu language's word, the Djinang cognate will have a fortis stop - although there are exceptions to this general statement. Glottal stop is slightly more prevalent in Djinba. It is not included in Table 1.1 because it is a prosodic rather than

segmental feature, is non-contrastive, and is often omitted in normal speech (see Wood 1978, and Morphy 1983:17-8, who indicate that glottal stop may be treated as a prosodic feature of the syllable). A number of Djinang and Djinba words have been spelt with a glottal stop (ʔ) included, provided the glottal is usually articulated.

While Yolngu languages typically have a lamino-dental order of stops and nasals, both Djinang and Djinba lack such an order. This is an areal feature due to the influence of prefixing languages to the west of these two languages. Both Djinang and Djinba once had a contrastive series of lamino-dental phonemes (see chapter 6 for validation of this point). The loss of lamino-dentals is dealt with in appendix 2, which is a study of the diffusion of some linguistic features between Djinang and Djinba, and the neighbouring prefixing languages. I mention in passing that the Yan-nhangu language, spoken by land-owners of the Crocodile islands to the immediate north, is closely related (genetically) to Djinba and Djinang, and that Yan-nhangu has lamino-dental phonemes occurring both word initially and non-initially.

Stops in both languages are never lenited to phonetic fricatives. The phonological opposition of fortis versus lenis is manifested primarily by the relative length of the stop. An intervocalic lenis stop is quite short, with minimal interruption of voicing. In word initial position, there is neutralization of the fortis/lenis opposition, the articulation usually being that of a lenis stop. However, in word initial position, the onset of voicing is sometimes delayed, giving the impression of a voiceless stop (but without extra duration). Neither fortis nor lenis stops are ever aspirated, in any position in the word. In word and syllable final positions, the fortis/lenis opposition is again neutralized. In this case, there is no extra duration, there is no voicing, and the stop is unreleased. Fortis stops occur only intervocalically. Such stops are considerably longer in duration than lenis stops, and are always unvoiced.

Two Djinba words were found to contain a voiced apical retroflex tap, which speakers distinguish from both the alveolar rhotic trill *rr*, and the lenis retroflex stop *ɖ*, although it is phonetically similar to both these sounds. The words are:

marrkuɖu 'hair' and *bakaɖa* 'stone'

where the sound in question is the final consonant of each word, written here as *ɖ*.

The distribution of phonemes in the word, in Djinang, has been dealt with in my earlier work. In that work I had claimed that the lenis/fortis (ie. voiced/voiceless) contrast in the stops was not neutralized word initially. My early data did support that claim, but subsequent experience in the language has shown that word initial position is a neutralizing environment for stops, in most cases. One exception is that the verb giri 'go' has two contrastive forms when used as a verbal auxiliary marking habitual aspect versus progressive aspect. The former meaning is encoded by giri, while the latter one is encoded by Kiri. Further environments which strongly condition the manner of articulation of word initial stops are the following:

1. breath group initially: usually the word initial stop will be lenis,
2. as non-initial word in a close-knit construction: frequently the initial stop will be fortis. (Examples can be found in the texts.)

This brings Djinang into line with the rest of the Yolngu languages with respect to the neutralization of the fortis/lenis opposition in word initial position. In what follows, I shall often use the terms voiced and voiceless, rather than lenis and fortis. This avoids confusing lenis stops with a stop lenition sound change which historically has caused lenis stops to become glides. It must be remembered, however, that a native speaker of Djinang does not perceive the opposition as a voicing contrast, but probably as a length contrast. I also mention that the Djinang dictionary, the data in the Appendices, and all vernacular forms in this study, will be cited with the symbols for voiced and voiceless stops, reflecting the voicing and unvoicing of the cited stops rather than their lenis versus fortis values.

We shall need to refer to groups of phonemes from time to time, so it is necessary to specify a set of features in order to facilitate this. I will largely follow the features used in my earlier work (Waters 1980b), though I will make some changes, as follows. I have abandoned the 'narrow' feature, and instead will use 'rhotic' for r and rr, while glides may now be characterized by negative values of other features. Instead of 'voiced', I will now use 'long' to distinguish fortis and lenis stops. This is also attractive for the reason that phonetic length occurs also on sonorant consonants, as well as on vowels in certain environments; so this feature captures a significant generalization of Yolngu phonologies. Dixon (1980:194) cites the feature with reference to vowel length only, but in Yolngu languages it is just as apt for consonants.

I have also abandoned the feature 'distributed' in favour of Dixon's feature 'laminal' (ibid:184). One of the main reasons for this change is to be able to use the features 'laminal' and 'peripheral' for the vowels as well as consonants - as Dixon suggests (ibid:187). In both Djinang and Djinba it commonly occurs that a laminal non-continuant will condition the occurrence of a preceding i vowel; and the peripheral glide will condition the occurrence of a preceding u vowel; while neither environment seems to strongly influence an a vowel. Finally, I

shall retain the feature 'anterior' because it does seem to capture the important generalization that there exist both front and non-front members in each of the laminal, apical, and peripheral series, despite Dixon's claim to the contrary (ibid:185).

This brings the inventory of necessary features to just ten: syllabic, laminal, peripheral, anterior, sonorant, continuant, nasal, lateral, rhotic, and long. Table 1.2 displays the phonemes in terms of feature oppositions.

TABLE 1.2 Phoneme Oppositions

			+periph		-periph -laminal		+laminal	
			+ant	-ant	+ant	-ant	(+ant)	-ant
-syll	-son	+long	p	k	t	<u>t</u>		tj
		-long	b	g	d	<u>d</u>		dj
	+son	+nasal	m	ng	n	<u>n</u>		ny
		+lateral +rhotic			l	<u>l</u> rr		r
		-lateral -rhotic	w				y	
+syll			u		a		i	

1.2 PHONEME FREQUENCIES

Table 1.3 gives a list of phoneme frequencies in word initial, medial, and final position; and also the total frequency of each phoneme. The table is based on an analysis of the current Djinang lexicon (Waters 1983). The first four columns of figures give the number of occurrences, the next four columns give the respective percentages. In counting phonemes, the dictionary was edited so that each unique word occurred only once. This means that words which enter

productively into close-knit constructions (these are usually hyphenated forms in the dictionary) will be often cited in the dictionary, and therefore will be counted a number of times. Hence, for example, the word *bumiri* 'forehead' occurs in over fifty compound forms. Body part terminology, which is highly productive in forming such compound words, will cause the figures for word initial *b*, *g*, and *m*, to be relatively high. Word initial vowels are rare, initial *i* occurs primarily in enclitic pronominal forms.

The table quantifies some interesting features of Djinang phonology. Firstly, consider the vowels (and compare with the frequencies of Djinba vowels in Table 1.4). Word initial vowels are rare, as discussed above. For initial *a* and *u* vowels, there are only the words *ama* 'mother' (child speech), *a* (a zero meaning onset to a breath group, or sometimes used as an allomorph of *ga* 'and'), and *u* 'or' (English loanword). Other instances of vowels are either word medial or final. Of interest are the relative frequencies of the three vowels. The *i* vowel is more than twice as frequent as the *a* vowel, and three times as frequent as the *u* vowel. This reflects the diachronic fact that the majority of closed-class Djinang morphemes have undergone a sound change in their *a* and/or *u* vowels, as follows:

**a* > *i* and **u* > *i*

while most open class roots resisted the change - although unstressed and/or root-final *a* or *u* vowels quite often also changed to an *i* vowel. In order to refer to this historical change, I will call it the "Djinang Vowel Shift". How this change came about is discussed in Appendix 2. The synchronic result of this change is that the 'unmarked' vowel in Djinang is the *i* vowel; whereas it is an *a* vowel in Djinba, the latter not having undergone this sound change.

Secondly, the low frequency of apical stops, particularly the alveolar apicals *d* and *t*, is noteworthy. This is a feature of Yolngu languages generally, rather than of Djinang in particular. Word-initial apico-alveolars typically occur as the initial segment only in loanwords, either of English or Austronesian origin; for there is a general constraint that a rhythmic segment (normally two syllables) must not commence with an apical consonant. This is dealt with at some length in my previous work (Waters 1980b), wherein I used the term 'stress group' for a rhythmic segment. Such rhythmic segments are typically disyllabic, but can be trisyllabic.

From the table we also observe that of the apical consonants, retroflex apicals are more frequent than the equivalent alveolar apicals (except for the class of liquids), and in the case of *d* and *g*, the ratio is of the order of 20 to 1. What this represents is a tendency for retroflexion to be the least marked articulation of apical sounds, especially in word initial position. Thus word initially, the two rhotics do not contrast, since only *r* occurs. (A few exceptions exist, such as *rripiya* 'money' which is a Macassan loan). One of the clearest examples of this is in Djinba, where the 1sg pronoun *ngarra* 'I' is pronounced *ra*, when it occurs

TABLE 1.3 Djinang word initial, medial, and final phoneme frequencies

	Number of occurrences				Frequency (percent)			
	init.	med.	fin.	tot.	init.	med.	fin.	tot.
p	8	567	15	590	.028	2.00	.053	2.01
t	1	39	11	51	.004	.14	.039	.18
<u>t</u>	0	113	33	146	0	.40	.17	.52
tj	1	391	36	428	.004	1.38	.13	1.51
k	12	569	81	662	.042	2.01	.27	2.34
b	609	645	0	1254	2.15	2.28	0	4.43
d	1	20	0	21	.004	.071	0	.074
<u>d</u>	99	280	0	379	.35	.99	0	1.34
dj	416	1043	0	1459	1.47	3.69	0	5.16
g	544	1236	0	1780	1.92	4.37	0	6.29
m	516	782	130	1428	1.82	2.76	.46	5.05
n	5	356	73	434	.018	1.26	.26	1.53
<u>n</u>	58	639	29	726	.21	2.26	.10	2.57
ny	121	351	43	515	.43	1.24	.15	1.82
ng	350	617	401	1368	1.24	2.18	1.42	4.84
l	19	713	42	774	.067	2.52	.15	2.74
<u>l</u>	52	651	67	770	.18	2.30	.24	2.72
rr	3	1233	155	1391	.011	4.36	.55	4.92
r	115	810	66	991	.41	2.86	.23	3.50
w	294	342	25	661	1.04	1.21	.088	2.34
y	152	340	56	548	.54	1.20	.20	1.94
i	44	4904	1815	6763	.16	17.33	6.42	23.90
a	2	2827	233	3062	.007	9.99	.82	10.82
u	1	1978	112	2091	.004	6.99	.40	7.39
'	0	45	6	51	0	.16	.021	.18
Total words =		3423			Average wordlength			8.27
Total phonemes =		28292						
CC clusters		2886			Ratio of consonant clusters			
CCC clusters		164			to phonemes			.108
CCCC clusters		11						
Total clusters		3061						

in reduced form (the initial syllable is dropped).

Clusters of form CCC are possible across a syllable boundary. It is also possible to get a CCCC cluster in certain circumstances. Such clusters always arise from underlying forms with the shape ...VCCNiCV... where N is a nasal. If the i vowel is elided, the cluster CCNC will result. In this case, the nasal always becomes syllabic. Two examples are:

ngidjirrŋngban 'close now'

wurpmpili 'one-PL' (ie. 'ones')

The only other syllabic consonants that I have encountered are r and w, in word initial position preceding glottal stop when a verb stem is partially reduplicated to indicate DURative aspect. Normally the first vowel of the stem is included in the reduplication, but in these two examples it was omitted:

r'ra-ny 'Kept on entering'

DUR-enter-T.PST.CONT

w'waŋi-ny 'Kept on swearing'

DUR-swear-T.PST.CONT

Since the table is based on dictionary data, the average word length is larger than it is in natural text (the latter varies from about 5.2 phonemes per word, to about 5.5, depending on the dialect or idiolect). It is the high incidence of reduced pronouns and small particles in text data which accounts for the lower textual word lengths.

A further point can be made about rhythmic units. A typical shape for such a unit is CVCV. The first consonant of such a unit is non-apical, and usually one of the peripheral or laminal stops, or peripheral or laminal nasals. However, the second consonant is typically a liquid or a nasal. This is clearly related to rhythm: for the rhythmic unit's stress occurs on the first syllable, making the first syllable more prominent. Syllables which are not prominent

typically have a liquid or nasal onset. These tendencies have been dealt with earlier (see Waters 1980b). Nasals are ambivalent, in that being non-continuants they can function like stops to form the onset of a rhythmic unit; while as sonorants they are suitable medial consonants in a rhythmic unit.

In word initial position, the relative frequency of phonemes is:

peripheral stops	>	peripheral nasals	>	glides	>	laminal stops	>	laminal nasal	>	rhotics	>	apical stops
34.22%		25.29%		13.06%		12.18%		3.55%		3.48%		2.95%
		>	laterals	>	apical nasals	>	vowels					
			2.04%		1.88%		1.41%					

In word final position, the relative frequency of phonemes is:

vowels	>	peripheral nasals	>	rhotics	>	laterals	>	apical nasals	>	peripheral stops	>	glides
63.15%		15.54%		6.45%		3.22%		2.98%		2.67%		2.38%
		>	apical stops	>	laminal nasal	>	laminal stops					
			1.73%		1.24%		1.07%					

In word medial position, the relative frequency of phonemes is:

vowels	>	peripheral stops	>	rhotics	>	laminal stops	>	peripheral nasals	>	laterals
45.26%		14.06%		9.52%		6.69%		6.52%		6.36%
		>	apical nasals	>	glides	>	apical stops	>	laminal nasal	
			4.64%		3.18%		2.11%		1.64%	

The commonest initial phonemes are peripheral stops and nasals (57%), while the next most common phonemes are glides and laminal stops (25%), while the laminal nasal, all apicals, and vowels, make up the remainder. As far as manner of articulation is concerned, the relative proportions are: peripherals 68.11%, laminals 20.19%, apicals 10.35%, which represents ratios of 7:2:1 in initial position.

The discussion above about rhythmic units is born out by the figures for the frequencies of word final phonemes. In this position, sonorant phonemes are expected to predominate, which is indeed the case. Vowels are most frequent (65.15%), then nasals (19.76%), then liquids (9.67%), stops (5.47%), and glides (2.38%). The apparent anomalous infrequency of glides is

largely due to the fact that they tend to be lost from word final position with the passage of time. Thus, in word final position the ratios are; vowels:nasals:liquids:stops :: 13:4:2:1. In terms of manner of articulation, the relative percentages of word final consonants are: peripherals 18.94%, apicals 14.38%, and laminals 3.96%. Peripherals are still the most frequent class of consonants, while apicals are nearly as common due to the high incidence of liquids in this position.

In the data sample, there are 21446 medial phonemes (75.8%), so that the relative frequencies are very accurate. In terms of manner of articulation, the relative percentages of medial consonants are: apicals 22.62%, peripherals 22.18%, and laminals 9.91%.

Considering all positions in the word, the relative frequency of phonemes in Djinang are:

vowels	> peripheral stops	> peripheral nasals	> rhotics	> laminal stops	> laterals	> glides
42.11%	15.07%	9.89%	8.42%	6.67%	5.46%	4.28%
	> apical nasals	> apical stops	> laminal nasal			
	4.10%	2.11%	1.82%			

Table 1.4 is an equivalent table of frequencies, for the Djinba language. This table is based on my field data, as represented in the Djinba entries in Appendix 4. The Djinba table should be used with caution, because I have systematically obtained Djinba equivalents only for Djinang words which begin with phonemes a, b, d, ... l, and ɭ; but lack of time prevented me from obtaining a similarly large set of equivalents for words which begin with the phonemes m, n, ... w and y, although I have obtained quite a number of words in this portion of the lexicon. Thus the word-initial figures for Djinba m, n, ŋ, ... w, and y, will not be as high as would be the case if I had had time to complete the collection of data. The effect will be minimal for all these phonemes except m, ng, r, w, and y.

In Table 1.4, consider the vowel frequencies. As noted previously, the least marked vowel in Djinba is an a vowel; the latter being as frequent as both i and u together. Furthermore, the i vowel is the least frequent of the three vowels. These relative frequencies are more typical of Yolngu languages. The predominance of the i vowel in Djinang is due to sound change. The table shows that while both a and u vowels in Djinang have historically changed to i vowels, the change has affected a larger proportion of a vowels than u vowels.

TABLE 1.4 Djinba word initial, medial, and final phoneme frequencies

	Number of occurrences				Frequency (percent)			
	init.	med.	fin.	tot.	init.	med.	fin.	tot.
p	1	171	5	177	.009	1.60	.047	1.66
t	0	4	1	5	0	.038	.009	.047
<u>t</u>	0	24	7	31	0	.23	.066	.29
tj	0	93	19	112	0	.87	.18	1.05
k	0	289	462	751	0	2.71	4.33	7.05
b	269	159	0	428	2.52	1.49	0	4.01
d	0	6	0	6	0	.056	0	.056
<u>d</u>	75	150	0	225	.70	1.41	0	2.11
dj	229	119	0	348	2.15	1.12	0	3.26
g	284	116	0	400	2.66	1.09	0	3.75
m	126	530	22	678	1.18	4.97	.21	6.36
n	4	295	42	341	.038	2.77	.39	3.20
<u>n</u>	15	165	63	243	.14	1.55	.59	2.28
ny	54	100	45	199	.51	.94	.42	1.87
ng	101	188	71	360	.95	1.76	.67	3.38
l	9	254	18	281	.084	2.38	.17	2.64
<u>l</u>	30	218	36	284	.28	2.04	.34	2.66
rr	0	480	90	570	0	4.50	.84	5.35
r	36	177	21	234	.34	1.66	.20	2.20
w	86	164	7	257	.81	1.54	.066	2.41
y	54	310	62	426	.51	2.91	.58	4.00
i	0	858	183	1041	0	8.05	1.72	9.77
a	0	2000	139	2139	0	18.76	1.30	20.07
u	0	1043	80	1123	0	9.79	.75	10.54
'	0	32	1	33	0	.30	.009	.31
Total words = 1373				Average wordlength 7.76				
Total phonemes= 10659								
CC	clusters		1027	Ratio of consonant clusters				
CCC	clusters		28	to phonemes .099				
CCCC	clusters		0					
Total clusters		1055						

We shall now compare the consonant frequencies for the two languages. The relative orderings of the various sound classes in word initial, final, and medial positions is given below. The figures in square brackets represent the relative difference from the equivalent Djinang value, rounded off to the nearest percent.

In word initial position, the relative frequency of phonemes is:

peripheral stops	>	laminal stops	>	peripheral nasals	>	glides	>	apical stops	>	laminal nasal	>	laterals
40.30%		16.70%		16.54%		10.25%		5.44%		3.96%		2.83%
[+6%]		[+5%]		[-9%]		[-3%]		[+2%]		[0%]		[+1%]
>	rhotics	>	apical nasals	>	vowels							
	2.64%		1.38%		0%							
	[-1%]		[-1%]		[-1%]							

Most of the differences in frequencies in word final position, when comparing with the Djinang frequencies, is due to the fact that elicitation of Djinba equivalents was discontinued when I was half way through the list of words beginning with 'm'. This has resulted in the word initial figures for ng, m, glides, and the r rhotic, being less than would otherwise be the case. Thus further elicitation would certainly have caused peripheral nasals to be the second-most common phoneme class, and rhotics possibly would also then precede laterals, as is the case in Djinang. In view of this, it appears that the only truly significant difference between the two languages for this word position is that Djinba has a slightly higher percentage of roots which begin with an apical stop.

In terms of manner of articulation, the relative percentages of word initial consonants are: peripherals 63.21% [-5%], laminals 24.62% [+4%], and apicals 12.29% [+2%]; which represents ratios of 5:2:1. The relative order of the classes is the same as for Djinang.

In word final position, the relative frequency of phonemes is:

peripheral stops	>	vowels	>	rhotics	>	apical nasals	>	peripheral nasals	>	glides	>	laterals
34.00%		29.28%		8.08%		7.61%		6.83%		5.01%		3.96%
[+31%]		[-33%]		[+2%]		[-1%]		[-9%]		[+3%]		[+1%]
>	laminal nasal	>	laminal stops	>	apical stops							
	3.26%		1.40%		0.58%							
	[+2%]		[0%]		[-1%]							

These frequencies differ markedly from the Djinang values, and there is considerable variation in the order of the classes as well. In terms of manner of articulation, the relative percentages of word final consonants are: peripherals 41.34% [+22], apicals 20.23% [+6%], and laminals 9.16% [+5%]. The relative order of these three classes is the same as for Djinang. Examination of Appendix 3 permits the following explanation of the various differences.

Firstly; like Dhuwal (Morphy 1983), Djinba strongly prefers to elide word final vowels, provided the resultant forms are phonologically well formed and non-ambiguous. This is particularly so in the class of suffixes (both nominal and verbal). In their dictionary citation forms, verbs have FUT inflection; this applies to both Djinang and Djinba. However, there are formal differences in the FUT allomorphs for each language which significantly affect the word final frequencies of the *i* vowel and the consonant *k*. Djinang verbs, in the dictionary citation forms, end either in *-gi*, *-ngi*, or *-dji*; while Djinba verbs in their citation forms end either in *-(n)mak* or *-rrak*. Since approximately one third of each dictionary is comprised of verbs, we expect the difference of frequencies of both word final peripheral stops, and word final vowels, to be about 33%. This is indeed the case, the actual differences being 31% and 33%, respectively.

Secondly, Djinba has significantly fewer word final peripheral nasals. Table 1.4 shows that it is primarily due to a much lower incidence of word final velar nasal (*ŋ*). The following historical explanation accounts for perhaps about 6% of the 9% difference. It has been noted by researchers in Yolngu languages that there is an archaic suffix *-ngu* (eg. Heath 1980:24) commonly appearing on nominals (eg. *yol-ngu* 'person' cf. Djinang *yul* 'person'). In Djinang, the *u* vowel of this suffix has become *i*, and very commonly has been dropped. Djinba, on the other hand, appears never to have productively used this archaic suffix. Consequently, many Djinang nominals and suffixes end with a velar nasal, while cognate forms in Djinba end with another consonant. For example; Djn *-gining* 'having' cf. Djb *-nan* 'having', Djn *gadjira-pi-ŋ* 'yesterday's one' cf. Djb *ripurru-birriy* 'yesterday's one', Djn *djini-djini-ŋ* 'now' cf. Djb *djini-pany* 'now', Djn *djini-ŋ* 'this' cf. Djb *djini-ny* 'this', and so forth. The other 3% of the difference may well be accounted for by the fact that a significant number of the Djinang verbs which have FUT *-ngi* are cited in the dictionary with the final *i* elided (because they are commonly pronounced this way). The equivalent Djinba verbs end in the *-mak* FUT suffix, discussed above.

There are differences in the frequencies of glides, rhotics, laminal nasal, and apical stops as well. For the most part, these differences are small and correlate with differences in morphemic shapes between Djinang and Djinba. For example, the *y* and *ny* phonemes occur slightly more often in Djinba, in word final position. However, the most interesting

comparisons between the two languages can be made from the word medial frequencies, and it is these we shall now examine.

In word medial position, the relative frequency of phonemes is:

vowels	> peripheral stops	> peripheral nasals	> rhotics	> glides	> laterals	> apical nasals
49.30%	9.29%	9.07%	8.30%	5.99%	5.96%	5.82%
[+4%]	[-5%]	[+3%]	[-1%]	[+3%]	[0%]	[+1%]
> laminal stops	> apical stops	> laminal nasal				
2.68%	2.33%	1.26%				
[-4%]	[0%]	[0%]				

In terms of manner of articulation, the relative percentages of word medial consonants are: apicals 22.40% [0%], peripherals 20.43% [-2%], and laminals 7.86% [-2%]. Notice that not only is the relative order the same as in Djinang, but the variations from the Djinang values are quite small. There were 7913 medial Djinba phonemes in the data base, representing 74.2% of the total phonemes, so that these figures are quite accurate. Since lenition does not affect the composition of these three classes, this close correlation with Djinang is what we would expect, even though the two languages are only 61% cognate.

However, although the major classes compare closely with Djinang, there is variation within the classes that needs to be explained. The first thing to consider is the class of apicals. As can be seen, there is no significant variation of frequency of medial rhotics, laterals, apical nasals, nor apical stops. The 1% increase in Djinba of apical nasals is probably due to the n phoneme which precedes the -mak FUT inflection on a large proportion of Djinba verbs. Also, we must note that while the Djinba and Djinang frequencies of rhotics differ by only 1%, Djinba has a high ratio of alveolar (rr) to retroflex (r) rhotics, with a value of nearly 3:1. The high frequency of rr is due to the -rrak FUT suffix in Inchoative verb forms, and to the -Birriy 'ORiginative' suffix (which is -Bi in Djinang).

If we consider the peripheral and laminal classes, we see that there are systematic differences from the Djinang values. However, in the class of nasals, the variation is only in the peripherals. Stops are fewer (peripheral stops are down 5%, laminals are down 4%), glides are more frequent (peripheral w is up .86%, laminal y is up 2.72%), and peripheral nasals are up 3%. The first thing to be accounted for is the increase in the frequency of peripheral nasals. Turning to Tables 1.3 and 1.4, we see that the increase in Djinba is due to a marked increase in the frequency of medial m. There is a morphological explanation for this: as explained before, there are a large number of Djinba verbs cited with -mak 'FUT' inflection. The m in this

morpheme accounts for the increase in the frequency of Djinba medial m's, and for much of the decrease in Djinba medial peripheral stops (since the equivalent Djinang verbs have a -gi suffix, so that the g contributes to the Djinang medial peripheral stops frequency). There is, however, an unexplained residue. Laminal obstruents are down about 4%, laminal glide is up about 3%. This suggests that a historical process of lenition has taken place.

Turning to Appendices 3 and 4, we observe the following facts. Firstly, in word initial position, peripheral and laminal stops are never lenited in Djinba. Secondly, many derivational affixes and case markers have been lenited, and some examples follow. (Note, capital letters representing archiphonemes are used at positions of morphophonemic alternation.)

Djinang	Djinba	Proto-form
-Bi 'ORiginative'	-Wirriy 'OR'	*-Buy 'ASSOCIative'
-Gi 'DATive'	-wu 'DAT'	*-Gu 'DAT'
-DJi- 'FACTitive'	-ya- 'FACT'	*-DHa- 'FACT'
	(often -dja- in <u>Dabi</u> dialect)	
-DJi- 'THEMatiseR'	-yu- 'THEMSR'	*-DHu- 'THEMSR'
	(often -dji- in <u>Dabi</u> dialect)	
-DJi- 'INCHOative'	-yi- 'INCHO'	*-THi- 'INCHO'

It is clear that Djinba has undergone a selective lenition process, peripheral stops being lenited to w, laminal stops to y. (This is covered in more detail in Appendix 2.) The important point is that the lenition process discussed above occurred only in non-initial position, and primarily in the (closed) class of affixes. This is significant, and is discussed in the next paragraph.

These facts permit two typological observations. Appendix 2 details how a vowel fronting/raising process in the prefixing language to the west of Djinang (ie. Rembarrnga) diffused into Djinang, starting with reduced pronominal forms, and extending through the classes of derivational affixes, case forms, and tense/aspect suffixes; and also to unstressed vowels in root forms (though with less regularity). This process in Djinang, and the lenition process in Djinba, are quite dissimilar - except that the morphemes affected are typologically similar: namely, the small closed classes of affixal forms. The lenition process is an innovation which spread from the east (eg. Gumatj, in the north-east tip of Arnhem Land has undergone this lenition process exhaustively throughout the lexicon). The typological observations we can make are: 1. that in Yolngu languages it is the affixal forms which are most susceptible to sound change, and 2. there is a precedence hierarchy to the diachronic order in which forms are

affected: affixes are at the high precedence end of the hierarchy, lexical roots at the low precedence end.

Concerning the frequency of word medial vowels, the Djinba values are 4% higher. In Djinang, the high incidence of the i vowel permits more elision. For example, the i vowel is always elided from a /d͡jny/ sequence. Thus, from *d͡jirrad͡j-gi* 'eat-FUT', the nominalization 'the eating' is formed as follows:

d͡jirra-d͡j-nyir-bi

eat-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR

Elision of medial i vowels, of which the above is one type of example, creates consonant clusters; which accounts for the greater incidence of clusters in Djinang.

Considering all positions in the word, the relative frequencies of phonemes in Djinba are:

vowels	> peripheral stops	> peripheral nasals	> rhotics	> glides	> apical nasals	> laterals
40.38%	16.46%	9.74%	7.55%	6.71%	5.48%	5.30%
[-2%]	[+1%]	[0%]	[-1%]	[+2%]	[+1%]	[0%]
	> laminal stops	> apical stops	> laminal nasal			
	4.31%	2.50%	1.87%			
	[-2%]	[0%]	[0%]			

Comparing with Djinang, we see that vowels are slightly less frequent due to Djinba having fewer word final vowels; the relative order of the first four classes is the same in both languages; thereafter glides have moved up due to lenition in Djinba - at the expense of laminal stops which have moved down. Apical nasals are also slightly increased, primarily to the common occurrence of the alveolar apical nasal (n) before the -mak 'FUT' suffix. The slightly higher figure for peripheral stops is probably due to the lack of systematic elicitation of Djinba equivalents for Djinang words beginning with m, n, ... w, and y: since there are no words beginning with peripheral stops in that portion of the lexicon.

1.3 DJINANG DIALECTS

There are dialectal varieties of Djinang. These are discussed at length, with the results of an analysis by computer, in Appendix 1. This section will therefore outline the main findings only. Dialects are discussed here because some of the more significant dialect differences are of a phonological nature.

Dialectal variations correlate closely with clan membership, although the computer analysis demonstrated that variation of some dialectal features could be as significant within a clan as it is across clan boundaries. The following are the Djinang clans, with their moiety affiliations. Marrangu (D), Murrungun (D), Manyarring (D), Wulaki (Y), Djagiwitjibi (Y), Mildjingi (Y), and Balmbi (Y). Wulaki is actually a dialect name, rather than a clan name. However, Djinang people use it as a cover term for people speaking that variety, and so it serves as a default clan name. This is not uncommon. A leader of the Manyarring clan gave me 'Manyarring' as the name of the clan, and of the dialect spoken by the clan. However, some other clans distinguish dialect names from clan names.

Djinang takes its name from the archaic form of the proximate deictic form *djining*. In pre-Djinang, the pronunciation of this was **djinaŋ*. Only Wulaki still uses the older form, in free variation with the modern form. Interestingly, Marrangu people call their dialect 'Djinang', and their dialect is very similar to Wulaki.

There is a 'native theory' concerning certain perceptual features of the dialect differences. I have coined the terms 'smooth' versus 'disjunctive' to characterize what appears to be a cline. Phonologically, a smooth dialect will have less elision of vowels, particularly the *i* vowel, and therefore fewer consonant clusters. In word final position, *i* will also be elided much less frequently, producing fewer clusters across word breaks. Also, a smooth dialect is more likely to use a lenis stop when variation is permitted. (Lenis versus fortis is a socio-linguistic marker in a small set of words.) On the other hand, disjunctive dialects elide vowels (especially *i*) more often, particularly in word final position. In such dialects, stops are more likely to be fortis when free variation is possible; and in some words a fortis stop is always used where a smooth dialect would have a lenis one. For example, the smooth form *ngidjirrgi* 'close' versus the disjunctive form *ngidjirrkngi*. (The latter form is more recent, being a fossilization of the former form together with the now unproductive nominal marker *-ngu*. In this formation, the stem-final vowel has been lost, resulting in obligatory hardening of the velar stop.)

It is not a simple matter to reduce several co-varying linguistic parameters to variations along a linear gradient. Dialects vary in the individual 'mix' of the various parameters. For example, Murrungun is a disjunctive dialect, similar aurally to Manyarring (which is also disjunctive). However, the Murrungun speaker was found to be disjunctive primarily because he had a high incidence of fortis stops, while elision of *i* vowels was not of comparable significance. On the other hand, one Manyarring speaker (Milurrurr) had much lower incidence of fortis stops, but a very high incidence of elision of *i* vowels. Even so, the computer results do show that there is a valid statistical basis for the 'native theory'. It turned out that Murrungun and Manyarring are of disjunctive type, Marrangu is smooth, and Wulaki is probably

smooth (possibly more so than Marrangu). However, there are problems with the Wujaki data: I had to rely on reconstructed text and elicited sentences recorded by Capell (c. 1941), which made the characterization of Wujaki less certain.

Other significant variations involve pronouns, deictics, and negatives. Correlation of these variations, together with the smooth - disjunctive cline, and the geographical location of the dialects shows that the disjunctive dialects are the ones which have innovated. The smooth dialects are generally more conservative, having linguistic features more similar to Yolngu languages to the east. The conservative dialects are, interestingly, to the west of the Djinang area. Between them and the Yolngu languages to the east is the Kernel area for the innovative changes. Geographically this area correlates closely with the coastal area near the mouth of the Glyde river, and along the lower reaches of the river. I have not been able to establish a clear source for the innovations, either internally or externally. It does appear that the source was not the prefixing languages to the west (see Appendix 2). Djinba may have been the source, but conclusive evidence is lacking.

There are also socio-linguistically important variations in lexical open classes (nouns and verbs). Diffusion of forms across clan boundaries has served to obscure the systemicity of the variations. However, it appears to be the case that many of the variations correlate with moiety distinctions. Also, of those words manifesting dialectal variants, Wujaki quite often has a form which is not attested in the other dialects. Examples can be seen towards the end of Appendix 1.

1.4 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The computer was used to search the dictionary data for consonant clusters, both intra- and inter-morphemic clusters. The results are sufficiently different from the previously published table of clusters (Waters 1980b:27) to warrant a revised account.

Firstly, the data base is now considerably larger, so that a number of new clusters have been observed. Secondly, using automated methods has enabled a comparison of intra- and inter-morphemic distribution of clusters, the result of which has been to show that inter-morphemic clusters exceed intra-morphemic ones in the ratio 2:1. With only a small number of exceptions, each intra-morphemic cluster is also represented in the set of inter-morphemic clusters. The exceptions will be dealt with below.

Thirdly, the results show that a claim in my previous work is false (ibid:27). I had claimed that apical sonorants (n η l $\underset{1}{j}$ rr and r) may not follow another consonant. That was true for the

data I had at that time, but examples to the contrary have come to light: although for most of them I have but one example. Within morphemes the following are attested:

tn bitn (abbreviation of bitma 'seemingly'; the n is syllabic)
rrl murr|ambirring 'pelican' (this is likely to be a compound of
lambirring 'wide')

rj gar-gar|ut 'ground depression'
bl blik 'exit through an opening'

The following are attested across morpheme boundaries:

pn nump-num 'small mud wasp' (reduplication)
kl djarrk-|anggarr yirrpigi 'wear a septum-bone'
kr rak-rakng 'lightweight', rarrak-rarrak 'toasted cycad flour cake'
(both are reduplications)
mn nam-nam 'high up' (reduplication)
mr rum-rumdjigi meaning unknown (reduplication)
ngl ngidjirrkng-|i-tji-dji near-ALL-INCHO-FUT 'to make it come close'
nn lurrkin-nirrpmyigi 'goad to do'
nr mungin-ran.girri 'grandchild' (periphrastic, lit. back-spear)
lr djal-rani 'find a food-bearing place'
rrl bundirr-|altjigi 'be deep', ngurr-|anggarrgining 'having a
septum-hole', rarr-|ambirridjidji 'be open-mouthed', rarr-
lapmyigi 'open the mouth of something'
rrn budjirr-nirrpmyigi 'goad to do', yagirr-ninin 'unimportant'
rrr burr-rirrtjigining 'pebbly ground surface', murr-rani 'promise',
ngurr-rani 'insert nose ornament', rurr-rurrdjigi 'throw up
repeatedly' (reduplication)
rl eighteen words, for example: bilnggar-|i 3duOBL-ALL 'to them two',
bumir-|i 'to the edge', bumir-|ili 'bald'
rn bir-nami 'higher than normal', bir-nunydjirri 'work hard at
providing hospitality'
r,r bumir-rirrkian 'rocky prominence', gar-rirrirr 'around the edge'

Table 1.5 displays the intra-morphemic consonant clusters, while Table 1.6 gives the inter-morphemic clusters, for clusters of two consonants. The tables show that the second consonant of a CC cluster is overwhelmingly likely to be a noncontinuant (ie. a stop or nasal), and moreover that the most likely subclass of noncontinuants will be peripherals, the next most likely subclass will be laminals, and finally apicals (rarely).

Yolngu languages permit a wider variety of consonant clusters than is the norm for most Australian languages (Morphy 1983:22), and Dj̄inang is perhaps an extreme example of this. The two principal sources of the atypical clusters are reduplication, and verb derivation by compounding a verb stem with a body-part. There are numerous instances of both in the examples given above.

TABLE 1.5 Dj̄inang Intra-morphemic Consonant Clusters

first member	second member																					
	p	k	tj	t	<u>t</u>	b	g	dj	d	<u>d</u>	m	ng	ny	n	<u>n</u>	l	<u>l</u>	rr	r	w	y	
p											pn										pw	
k								k dj		km	kng										kw	
tj	tjp	tjk																				
t								tdj														
<u>t</u>	<u>tp</u>	<u>ttj</u>							<u>td</u>	<u>tn</u>			<u>tny</u>	<u>tn</u>								
m	mp	mk				mb	ng						mny									
ng		ngk				ngb	ngg															
ny		nyk	nytj			nyb	nyg	nydj		nym	nyng											
n	np	ntj	nt			nb	n.g	ndj	nd	nm	nng											
<u>n</u>	<u>np</u>	<u>nk</u>				<u>nb</u>	<u>ng</u>	<u>ndj</u>	<u>nd</u>	nm	nng											
l	lp	lk	ltj			lb	lg	ldj	ld	lm	lng	lny									lw	
<u>l</u>	<u>lp</u>	<u>lk</u>	<u>ltj</u>			<u>lb</u>	<u>lg</u>	<u>ldj</u>	<u>ld</u>	lm	lng										lw	
rr	rrp	rrk	rrtj	rrt	rr <u>t</u>	rrb	rng	rrdj		rrm	rrng					rr <u>l</u>					rrw	
r	rp	rk	rtj		rt	rb	rg	rdj		rd	rm	rng				r <u>l</u>					rw	
w												wng										
y	yp	yk	ytj			yb	yg			ym	yng										yw	

Two further clusters not shown in the above table are gw which occurs in gwu an abbreviation of guwa 'come here'; and bl which occurs in blik 'exit through an opening';

The following clusters occur only intra-morphemically: ntj bintj̄i 'do thus'; nt birintj̄i archaic ALLative form with meaning 'back towards', marintj̄i archaic ALLative form with meaning 'towards trouble' (both these forms are probably stem + epenthetic n + t̄ij̄i, and therefore may perhaps be better placed in Table 1.6); nd baṅgunda 'yam species', rindigi 'cut off', and several other forms; nd bandany 'dry', bandira 'lengthwise', bandarr 'pain in groin

area', and several other forms; in bitn 'seemingly' (abbreviation of bitma); rrt murrurt 'bunch' 'bush'; rrt makarrta 'organized vengence fight', ngurratjigi 'be near the end of the wet season'.

TABLE 1.6 Djinang Inter-morphemic Consonant Clusters

first member	second member																				
	p	k	tj	t	<u>t</u>	b	g	dj	d	<u>d</u>	m	ng	ny	n	<u>n</u>	l	<u>l</u>	rr	r	w	y
p	pp							pdj		pm		pnj		pn						pw	
k	kp	kk	ktj			kb	kg	k dj		kd	km	kng	kny			k _l		kr	kw	ky	
tj	tjp	tjk	tjtj			tjb	tjg	tj dj		tjm	tjng	tjny									
t	tp	tk				tb	tg	t dj		tm											
<u>t</u>	<u>tp</u>	<u>tk</u>	<u>ttj</u>			<u>tb</u>	<u>tg</u>	<u>t dj</u>		<u>td</u>	<u>tm</u>	<u>tng</u>	<u>tny</u>								
m	mp	mk	mtj			mb	mg	m dj		md	mm	mng	mny		mn				mr	mw	
ng	ngp	ngk	ngtj			ngb	ngg	ng dj		ngd	ngm	ngng				ng _l					
ny		nyk	nytj			nyb	nyg	ny dj		nyd	nym	nyng	nyny								
n	np	nk				nb	n.g	n dj		nd	nm	nng									
<u>n</u>	<u>np</u>	<u>nk</u>				<u>nb</u>	<u>ng</u>	<u>n dj</u>		<u>nm</u>	<u>nng</u>	<u>nnj</u>		<u>nn</u>				<u>nr</u>	<u>nw</u>	<u>ny</u>	
l	lp	lk	ltj		<u>lt</u>	lb	lg	l dj		ld	lm	lng	lny						lr	lw	ly
<u>l</u>	<u>lp</u>	<u>lk</u>	<u>ltj</u>		<u>lt</u>	<u>lb</u>	<u>lg</u>	<u>l dj</u>		<u>ld</u>	<u>lm</u>	<u>lng</u>								<u>lw</u>	<u>ly</u>
rr	rrp	rrk	rrtj			rrb	rrg	rr dj		rrd	rrm	rrng	rrny		rrn	rr _l		rr.r	rrw	rry	
r	rp	rk	rtj		<u>rt</u>	rb	rg	r dj		rd	rm	rng	rny		rn	r _l		r.r	rw	ry	
w			wtj			wb	wg	w dj		wd	wm	wng				w _l				ww	
y	yp	yk	ytj			yb	yg	y dj		yd	ym	yng	yny		yn	y _l			yr	yw	yy

The list of CC clusters in the coda of CVCC syllables is almost identical to that previously published (ibid 1980b:26), with the following clusters needing to be added to that list: ltj ngiltj-nyi ldu.inc-ACC 'us two', and lng galngbuy 'meat prohibition'. CCC clusters arise by the juxtaposition of a CVCC syllable followed by another syllable, or by elision of an i vowel. The latter morphophonemic process has been dealt with in my previous work (ibid 1980b:25).

Finally, the following CCCC clusters are attested. In each case, they result from an underlying structure of ...CVCC + Ni + CV... where N is a nasal which is homorganic to a peripheral stop which immediately precedes. In these circumstances, the i vowel is always elided, and the nasal becomes syllabic. There is no constraint on the last C of such a cluster.

rʁkŋg-C mirkŋg-dʒidʒi 'be bad', mirkŋg-piʎi 'bad ones'

rrkŋg-C ngidʒirrkŋg-ʎitʒidʒi 'cause to come close'

rpm-C wurpm-dʒidʒi 'be one', wurpm-piʎi 'ones', wurpm-ban 'one now'

rrpm-C midʒirrpm-dʒidʒi 'be just dust', mirrpm-ban 'now very much'

2. WORD CLASSES and CASE

2.1 DESCRIPTIVE MODEL

Before embarking on a description of the morphology and syntax of Djinang, some prior discussion of the descriptive model that will be used herein, and also the display devices used, is apt. It is primarily the case system which which I am concerned, and the discussion below is confined to the view of case that I will be using.

In a very important paper for Australianist linguistic research, Goddard (1982:167-196) offers a new interpretation of case in Australian languages. I will presume the reader is familiar with his paper in some detail, for I will only summarize his main points here. Basically he claims that Australianists have confused 'case' (as a morphosyntactic abstraction) with (surface) 'patterns of marking'. In particular, three core cases are to be distinguished, ERGative, NOMinative, and ACCusative, even though this leads to homonymy for some classes of nominals (principally nouns and pronouns). He contends that if homonymy is entertained, then the need for a concept of 'split' ergative/accusative case systems disappears. The essential point in this is that capturing generalizations concerning agreement of cases in phrasal constructions leads to a unified view of a language's case system. The price that is paid for this unified view is a certain amount of non-isomorphism with the patterns of marking. However, this non-isomorphism is not random, but is rather quite predictable by rules sensitive to functional and syntactic criteria. While he admits that a small number of Australian languages may be analysed as having just two core cases, he claims that the best analysis of the majority of Australian languages is that they have the three core cases mentioned above. Finally, he claims that the often-used 'case' called ABSolute is in fact not really a case at all, but rather a pattern of marking in which the surface realization of accusative case is formally indistinguishable from the nominative form.

His analysis is appealing, and well argued. I intend to follow his approach in my description of Djinang, particularly so because I believe it makes sense, in an insightful way, of the complexities of case marking in Djinang. In this language, there is sometimes marking of each nominal constituent of an NP with the same case, and at other times there is not - usually just one nominal being marked for case (and it is often not the head nominal). But it sometimes happens that other case forms will appear in the NP and that these forms will not agree in case value with that of the NP as a whole. This is a problem which I will comment further on below, but I remark in passing here that Goddard's analysis is helpful because it conceptually separates the case SYSTEM from the patterns of marking. Using his analysis, the former permits useful generalizations to be made, but the marking patterns are not so conducive to neat generalizations.

Before moving on, I wish to make two observations. The first concerns core cases. Contra Goddard, I believe that some Australian languages should be analysed as having four (not three) core cases, including DATIVE case as the fourth core case. Morphy (1983:81), in discussing Djapu, describes how DAT case has both core-like properties (eg. it is obligatory on the O nominal for the class of semitransitive verbs, in order to 'complete the sense' of the clause), and periphery-like properties (eg. it may co-occur with both intransitive and transitive verbs, marking quite a variety of semantic functions). Her solution to the paradox of whether it is 'core' or 'peripheral' is that it is neither. Instead, she defines an in-between category of 'Outer Core'. Personally, I prefer to treat it as a case which has dual membership: each instance of a dative-marked nominal manifesting either a core function, or a peripheral function. Therefore I have just the two categories, 'core' versus 'peripheral'. The evidence for this dichotomy centres on semantic criteria rather than morpho-syntactic criteria. (This is reasonable since the core/peripheral distinction is heavily based on semantic criteria, see Dixon 1980:294, 378.) In brief, a core DAT has quite minimal semantic content (a logical consequence of its obligatoriness with semitransitive verbs), while a peripheral DAT has fairly transparent semantic content, given the semantics of the verb which governs it and given the textual context.

The other point I wish to make is that case marking is used to mark two semantically distinct syntactic patterns. One pattern is the well-known one in which a verb governs its dependent nominals - the latter being marked for case (in Goddard's theory, this marking may often be covert). The other pattern is when a case-marked nominal is governed not by a verb, but by the head nominal of the NP of which both nominals are constituents. When this occurs, the dependent nominal (or nominals - there are often several in an NP) may take a surface case marking which bears no relation to the case of the NP as a whole. Usually such dependent nominals are marked for DAT or GEN.

The distinction between the two patterns of marking is important, because for some cases the semantic function being marked depends on whether the marked constituent is governed by the verb, or by a noun. The dual marking pattern is a problem for Goddard's theory of case systems. To put it briefly, we are forced to predicate that double case marking sometimes occurs at the abstract level of the case SYSTEM, while at the level of surface realization, overt double case marking is quite rare (and, in fact, it is avoided as much as possible). Some examples would be helpful here.

(1) ga ingki djin marnggi ngunung God-ang yan-gi
 and NEG 3pINOM know [thatUNM God-GEN word-DAT] DAT
 ... and they did not know God's Word ... (32:19)

In (1), the head of the NP is the unmarked deictic; however, the verb obligatorily governs a DAT NP. In the NP itself, only one of the three constituents is overtly marked DAT, the others being GEN (which I will treat as a derivational marker rather than case, for GEN may be further marked by a case form), and UNMarked. The notational convention I am using is that whenever case on a nominal or NP differs from the overt marking in some way, then the nominal or NP will be placed within labelled brackets, with the labelling indicating the underlying case. In terms of Goddard's analysis of case, *ngunung* is formally UNM and covertly marked for DAT case, *God* is formally marked by the GEN suffix, and covertly marked for DAT case, and only *yan* is formally marked for DAT case. This notation permits the generalization that this particular verb takes an NP in DAT case, while permitting the internal morpho-syntax of the NP to mirror the functional relations obtaining there. Internally, this NP is an example of a Generic - Specific construction, the Generic deictic as the head of the NP and the qualifying nouns comprising an appositional NP.

According to the typical Australianist analyses of such a clause, the deictic would be labelled as taking either a NOM case (-Ø), or ABS; either of which would make it impossible to capture the generalization that the O complement of the verb *marnggi* must take DAT case. But what of the NP internal adnominal markings? These are case markings no less, but mark relations to governing nouns, as, for example, DAT in the following rather complex structure.

(2) Ga larr-ban bil gir-ali *ngunung* gurrbi-li *ngunung*
 And set.off-IM 3duNOM go-RPA [thatUNM place-ALL thatUNM
 gurrbi dji-tjarri God-ang bala' *ngunung* prayer-gi
 placeUNM DIST-stand God-GEN houseUNM thatUNM prayer-DAT] ALL

And setting off, they then went to that place, to (where) God's house stands, the one for prayer ... (32:12,13)

Verbs of motion often take a peripheral NP marked for ALLative case. But in (2) the ALL case overtly occurs only once. Clearly 'prayer' does not stand in the same relationship to the verb as does the noun *gurrbi* 'place'. The last two words of the NP are an embedded descriptive NP which is governed by the noun *bala'* 'house'. Thus case marking is used to mark two quite different kinds of semantic roles: firstly, to mark various functions of the arguments of a governing verb; and secondly, to mark adnominal relations within an NP. Because of this, we need a descriptive device which is capable of differentiating these two functions of case marking. Goddard's theory provides a theoretical framework, and the use of labelled brackets as explained above provides the necessary descriptive device.

Having said the above, Goddard's analysis is still not without its problems. Considering again example (2), we must say that 'prayer' is marked for DAT case overtly, and ALL case covertly. The examples that Goddard discusses are not of this type. His treatment makes use of the frequent fact that covert case marking is formally unmarked at the level of surface representation. He is then able to claim that the unmarked nominal is a realization of the underlying case-marked nominal at the systematic level. This approach does not, however, work for examples like DAT in (2) above: it is not possible to view DAT marking as an allomorph of ALL case, which would be required if we wish to maintain that prayer is marked but once for case. Thus we must assume that this nominal is marked twice, overtly by DAT case, and covertly by ALL case.

As a consequence, we lose the generalization at the systematic level that 'nominals may be marked for case only once'; while at the level of surface realization this generalization is quite apt (although there are some rare exceptions): the surface generalization being 'nominals may be marked (overtly) for case only once'. What is so odd here is that underlying (ie. more abstract) levels of representation are posited in order to capture generalizations, not lose them. (The problem would, of course, disappear if only we could say that nominals governed by other nominals may never be marked by 'case', but rather by some other category. But this would involve redefining case quite narrowly, in terms of formal differences between nominals governed directly by a verb.) Thus, while I will follow Goddard's approach, it is nevertheless not without its problems; though it is still better than earlier approaches to case in Australian languages.

Interestingly, the use of an UNM deictic as in examples like these is a strategy for avoiding dual (overt) case marking when the speaker wishes to qualify a case-marked nominal using a descriptive phrase. The idea is that by making the head an unmarked generic nominal (eg. the deictic *ngunung* 'that') agreement rules within a NP do not require the more specific nominals to be overtly marked. If this were not so, we might expect to find forms like *prayer-gi-li (noun-DAT-ALL), which in fact never occur.

Finally I remark that, wherever possible, examples used in this work are taken from natural text. Elicited sentences will be used as sparingly as possible. The examples above are taken from a text retelling the story of Paul and Silas and the conversion of the Philippian jailer. Examples from texts will be given with the text number and line number in parentheses or alternatively, in braces, after the free translation. Since the texts will eventually be lodged with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, the text numbers are given as they are found in the copies to be sent to the Institute. Only part of four of these texts will be reproduced in this dissertation, due to their length.

If a text cross-reference is given in parentheses, it signals that the relevant text is included in this dissertation; while braces (..) will be used when a reference is to a text not included herein. The texts numbered 66, 67, and 68, are not really texts, but are a collection of interesting clauses and sentences, some of them elicited, from my recent field notes and from some short natural texts. In the interlinear glosses, hyphen is used when a morpheme may be segmented reliably, + is used when the segmentation is tentative, and no - or + delimiter is used when a category is inherently a part of the form cited.

2.2 WORD CLASSES

Morphy (1983:31-32) has described the formal word classes, their various functions, and the criteria used to identify the various classes, in her account of Djapu. Because Djinang and Djapu are both Yolngu languages, an equivalent description for Djinang does not vary greatly from her account, except in a few small closed classes of particles. Hence in this section I will merely state the word classes for Djinang, and give a table showing the various functions that each class may realize. Wherever possible in this dissertation, I will use the same labels as Morphy in order to facilitate comparison.

Table 2.1 Word Classes in Djinang

<u>Nominals</u>	<u>Particles</u>
noun, derived noun	adverb
pronoun, reduced pronoun	temporal
interrogative pronoun	locational
deictic	directional
	orientational
	interjection
	reciprocal/reflexive/mutualis
<u>Verbs</u>	modal
verb, auxiliary verb	link/relator
non-thematic verbs	negative
predicate nominals	perfective

As in Djapu, there is no formal category of adjective, although the adjectival function exists. The only open classes are nouns and verbs, all other classes have closed membership. The class of non-thematic verbs is distinguished from other (thematic) verbs on the grounds that non-thematic verbs do not inflect, and they have restricted distribution - typically

occurring with or instead of a thematic verb, and adding stylistic nuances. When they occur without an accompanying inflected verb, they describe actions which are highly predictable from the textual or situational context. Subject and Object NPs are omitted, being recoverable from the context. Usually non-thematic verbs are suppletive, but in a small number of instances in my textual database a non-thematic verb occurs preceding the thematic (ie. inflected) verb with which it is synonymous. Thus, expressions such as *dubuk min-ali* carry carry-TPA 'he carried him', *bat ngu-li* throw throw-TPA 'he threw him', *baŋ marr-ngili* pick.up pick.up-TPA 'he picked him up', are attested in natural text.

Morphy distinguishes three different classes of non-inflecting verbs (1983:65,92-3,103): firstly, a set of non-inflecting verbs (most of which are Austronesian loans, see Walker and Zorc 1981); secondly, a set of root forms - some of which may sometimes occur in inflected form as thematic verbs; and thirdly, a small set of adjectival nominals which may function as verbs (such as *marrggi* 'know', *djal* 'desire', etc.). Some of the latter set may optionally be inflected. The Dj̄inang situation is slightly different. Austronesian loans such as *wukirri* 'write', *djama* 'work', etc. typically occur as thematic verbs (ie. they are inflected) - based on a stem formed by the addition of the THEM SR first-order verb suffix to the loan form. This is the normal strategy for deriving thematic verbs from, say, nominal stems; and so there is no good reason for treating these loans as a unique word class within Dj̄inang.

Words such as *marrggi* 'know', *djal* 'desire', and *djunga* 'ignorant', may occur within Dj̄inang as nominals or as verbs. As verbs, they govern DAT case for the Object NP. And they may also be used as derived thematic verbs using either the THEM SR or INCHO first-order verb suffices. These words are best viewed as a subclass of nominals, and because of the identity of behaviour with the same forms in Djapu, I will call them a class of 'predicate nominals'. Only these three are attested in Dj̄inang.

Morphy's class of root verb forms is comprised of two subclasses; a subclass of non-inflecting mono-morphemic roots, and a further subclass of root forms which may optionally be inflected. Morphy's first subclass of the class of root verb forms is to be identified with the class of Dj̄inang non-thematic verb roots, and indeed, many of these forms in the two languages appear to be either identical or related; eg. Djapu *dhut* 'sit', Dj̄inang *dj̄ut* 'sit', Djapu *gutj* 'return' Dj̄inang *gutj* 'return', etc. The other of Morphy's subclasses has a parallel in Dj̄inang also, though within Dj̄inang the relevant group of verb roots is best viewed as a subclass of the category 'verb', because the roots only very infrequently occur in text in uninflected form. What is distinctive about this subclass is that from it transitive verbs are derived using the -miy- CAUS verb suffix, while intransitives are derived by suffixation of THEM SR -d̄j̄-. The CAUS morpheme is only used with this subclass of roots. Some roots in this class are *lap* 'open', *maŋa* 'moon', *guŋ* 'cease', *muk* 'silent', and there are dozens more in the lexicon. Verbs from this subclass take overt Subject and Object NPs in the normal way, provided the former occur as inflected verbs rather than as uninflected root forms.

Dj̄inang has a class of cross-referencing pronouns, which are phonologically reduced forms derived from the corresponding full-form pronouns (see Appendix 1, section 2.3.1 where the full paradigm of the cross-referencing pronouns is given). Dj̄inba has a similar set of cross-referencing pronouns, likewise derived by reduction of Dj̄inba full pronouns, but space does not permit their reproduction here. Both Dj̄inang and Dj̄inba developed this class as a result of diffusion of a non-Yolngu pattern from prefixing languages to the west (see Appendix 2 for a detailed account). I shall refer to this class as 'reduced pronouns' (concentrating on their form, rather than their function). In Australian languages which have forms of this type, they are often called clitic pronouns because their cross-referencing function gives them a clause-wide scope, while phonologically they are bound to either a preceding or following form. In Dj̄inang and Dj̄inba, however, only the one-syllable vowel-initial reduced pronouns are often bound to another non-pronominal form (and if so, always to a preceding form), and even these quite often occur as free forms. The consonant-initial reduced pronouns are almost never bound to a preceding form. For these reasons it is not quite accurate to call them clitics, and so I prefer to call them 'reduced' pronouns. (A vowel-initial reduced pronoun, if preceded by another reduced pronoun, will always be bound closely to it - usually the two become a portmanteau free form.)

The other major difference from Morphy (ibid:31-32) is the large number of types of particles. I have merely chosen to cut up the 'particle' category somewhat more finely - into the divisions which can be justified on distributional and functional grounds. In Table 2.1, labels which are separated by slashes refer to a form or forms which have a variety of functions, and none of the functions can be reasonably inferred to have a priority status. Later in this dissertation each of the particle categories will be described, in the section appropriate to its function(s), and so I shall not develop the discussion of them here any further.

It remains to give a table of form - function relationships for the various word class categories. Table 2.2 has this purpose, and may be compared with the equivalent table in Morphy (ibid:31).

Table 2.2 Word Classes - Form and Function

<u>Function</u>	<u>Form</u>
Head of NP	noun, derived noun pronoun, reduced pronoun interrogative pronoun deictic negative wirr 'nothing' some non-thematic verbs, such as djal 'want' marnggi 'know'
Modifier of NP head	noun, derived noun pronoun, reduced pronoun clause
Determiner within NP	deictic
Predicator	verb non-thematic verb nominal

	adverbial particle
	noun
	auxiliary verb
	non-thematic verb
Modifier of Predicator	certain verbs which can be used adverbially
	reciprocal/reflexive/mutualis
	bi 'hither' minydji 'thither'
	body-part noun
Cross-referencing salient participants	reduced pronoun
Modifications having clause-wide scope: such as defining temporal, locational, or directional setting; and so forth.	deictic
	temporal particle
	locational particle
	directional particle
	negative
	perfective
	link/relator
	modal
Inter-clausal linkage	link/relator
	deictic
Stylistic	interjections
	non-thematic verb

The occurrence of 'certain verbs which can be used adverbially' as modifiers of a predicator bears further comment here. It is not known how many thematic verbs can be used as modifiers in this way, and I know of only two at the time of writing. One of these is the verb *djirridji*, 'stand' which also belongs to the class of auxiliary verbs; and the other is the verb *gurrkungi* 'heap together', 'add to a group', which is not an auxiliary verb. Adverbial modification usually precedes the verb, while auxiliary verbs always immediately follow the verb. The preceding two verbs, when they occur with the function being discussed, may occur preceding the main verb - if the latter is present. Auxiliary verbs do not have this freedom of distribution. The examples below illustrate each one. (Remember that the fortis/lenis stop

opposition is neutralized word initially. So throughout this dissertation I will spell initial stops according to how the speaker uttered it, as in (4) below.)

(3) djining yagirri yul gurrku-ny Djabal
 [thisUNM nameUNM]_{NOM} [manUNM add.to-TPC DjabalUNM]_{NOM}

... (and) this name (is) additionally a man's name, Djabal

(4) nyani tjarri-ny wangi-ny in.ga
 3sgNOM stand-RPC speak-RPC 3sg+DAT

He stood talking to him (34:269) (Literally: He erectly spoke to him)

(5) lim mili-ngili, tjarri-Ø libi nya-ngini,
 1plincNOM look.around-RPA, stand-PRES 1plexcNOM see-RPA

We looked around, standing we looked, ... (34:292-3)

One further thing worth mentioning here is the occurrence of a body part noun as a modifier of a predicator. Normally such nouns are incorporated into the verb stem (since the reduced pronoun precedes the noun), but occasionally the body part noun will precede the reduced pronoun. Such nouns typically provide metaphorical extensions to the range of meanings of a verb. When incorporated into the verb stem, the body part noun never is in an inflected form; however when separated from the stem by a reduced pronoun, the noun may sometimes take INSTR inflection. INSTR inflection on nouns is one way of deriving an adverb, which shows that the body part noun has an adverbial function when it is not incorporated into the verb stem. Even so, it is generally the case that the meaning of the body part noun together with the verb is not simply the semantic sum of the meanings of each constituent. Numerous examples of the construction are to be found at the end of section 3.10.

In the following example a suffix is shown with several periods after it. I use this notation when the speaker utters the word-final syllable with a temporally lengthened vowel - which may continue for a second or more. This lengthening has semantic content, and indicates that the activity signalled by the verb took place over a long period of time. I call this DURative marking. While the lengthened vowel is being articulated, pitch usually is fairly constant (or drops slowly) till the near end, whereupon it falls off more rapidly.

(6) Manymak, marr-dji bil nyini-na..., wirr.

Okay, soul-INSTR 3duNOM sit-RPA+DUR NEG

Well, they sat expectantly for a long time, (but) nothing (happened). (24:102)

2.3 CASE MARKERS

Case marking in Djinang is quite complicated, when compared with the comparatively 'tidy' marking system of, say, Djapu (Morphy 1983). The Djinang system is more complex for several reasons; firstly, the OBLique marker has merged with ERG on some nominal classes, and no longer is used as a case in its own right. Secondly, allomorphs of several cases in Djinang are not only conditioned by phonotactic criteria, but also by nominal class. Thirdly, sometimes the conditioning breaks down in 'performance' so that a form may occur when not expected, or be omitted when expected. Lastly, the change to an *i* vowel in many Djinang suffixes has caused loss of some cases due to merger on account of homophony, and some cases have been functionally maintained only by adopting suppletive forms. Comparison with Djapu (ibid 1983) and Gupapuyngu (Lowe 1960) shows that the older system is beginning to break down at some points.

Table 2.3 gives the Djinang case marking in a summarized form. It must be remembered that the table is a summary only, there is insufficient room for the many variances to be stated there. A fuller discussion of each case is given in the sections which follow. The table should be compared with the equivalent table (3.2) in Morphy (1983:34). OBL is not listed in the table as a case, although its reflex continues to be used as 'carrier' of case inflection in certain noun classes. OBL has many allomorphs, which derive historically from an earlier *-*Gara* OBL, in contrast to the *-Gala* forms in many Yolngu languages. Here the morphophoneme *G* may be realized as *g k* or *w* in other Yolngu languages; but as *ng* (mostly), *g* (mostly on kin nouns), or *k* (once only), in Djinang. The most commonly occurring allomorphs in Djinang are *-gir(i)* and *-ngir(i)*, but reflexes occur with forms as diverse as *-gira -gir -wir -ngira -ngi -ki -ra -ara -ar(i)*, depending on the class of nominal, and to some extent on the preceding phonotactic environment. Some examples of OBL on DAT-marked kin nouns are: *bapip-wir-ki FaSi-OBL-DAT*, *gadi-wir-ki Si-OBL-DAT*, and *wuw-gir-ki OBr-OBL-DAT*, *gurrung-ngir-gi FaSiDaChild-OBL-DAT*. OBL will be discussed further in sections 2.7 and 2.9; as well as in the current section.

Before proceeding, some comment about the earlier form *-*Gara* is warranted. It does appear that several northern Yolngu languages had this form either as an allomorph of *-*Gala*, or instead of the latter. I do not have enough data to give a comprehensive statement, but what I have is the following OBL forms:

Djinba	-nguri	djini-nguri-ny	this-OBL-ACC
	-ngir	yul-ngir-ka-ny	man-OBL-??-ACC
	-kar, -gar,	on pronouns	
Golpa	-kara, -wara,	on pronouns; -wara	on one kin noun
Wangurri	-wuru	bāpa-wuru-murru	father-OBL-PERL
Yan-Nhangu	-kara	nhung'kara	2sg-OBL 'with you'

These forms show that the retroflex rhotic here is not an innovation in just Djinang or Djinba, but is a reflex of an older **Gara* which may have had a wider distribution than in just Nhangu languages, as the Dhangu (Wangurri) example suggests. This is one of the evidences that Djinang and Djinba belong to a "Northern Yolngu" group of languages, suggested by Heath (1980a:6), and also by Tchekhoff and Zorc (draft manuscript, 1983).

In Table 2.3, the morphophoneme G in DAT case may be realized as either g or k. Which is used depends on a number of factors, such as the preceding phonotactic environment, the dialect of the speaker, the nominal class to which it is suffixed, and the form of the preceding OBL (if it occurs). When all these factors are known, the actual form can often be predicted. For example: if OBL is *-gir*, then DAT will be *-ki* for all dialects; if DAT occurs on a pronoun, it will be *-ki*; after OBL *-ngir*, it will be *-gi* for 'smooth' dialects (see Appendix 1) but 'disjunctive' dialects will sometimes use *-ki*; etc. A full statement of all the possibilities would take many paragraphs, and be very boring, so may it suffice here to say that in all morphophonemic variations of suffixal forms, the same four conditioning factors, or a subset of them, will be relevant. The suffixes in the Table are cited without any of the final vowels elided. After a rhotic, or nasal, an *i* vowel is often elided.

ORiginative case exhibits the morphophoneme B, which may be realized either as b or p. The *-bi* allomorph is the more common of the two, but when the OR suffix is reduplicated for the EXCLusive function, the reduplicated form is usually *-pibi*, although *-bibi* is the usual form on a pronoun which ends in the vowel *i*. The EXCL function may obtain even when the OR affix is not reduplicated. It therefore seems best to gloss the reduplicated form as a reduplication, rather than as an independent EXCL affix.

ERG case has three main allomorphs, *-d̥i* *-ri* and *-li*. The second of these often occurs without the final vowel. Elision of word-final vowels is a stylistic feature in Djinang, different dialects do it to varying extents (see Appendix 1): it is not as rigorous as in Djapu where 'final' versus 'non-final' forms for suffixes can be posited on the basis of whether a word break or another suffix, respectively, follows the suffix in question (see Morphy 1983). There are a further two allomorphs of ERG which are not shown. They are both reflexes of OBL after the latter merged with ERG in early Djinang, and have quite restricted distribution. The

Table 2.3 Djinang Case Markers

	Type of noun				
	+HU	-HU	Kin names	Personal names	Place names
ERG	-dji/-ri/-li	-dji/-ri/-li	-dji/-ri/-li	-	-
INSTR/CAU	-dji/-ri/-li	-dji/-ri/-li	-	-	-
NOM	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-Ø	-
ACC	-(OBL)-nyi	-(OBL)-nyi	-OBL-nyi	-nyi	-
DAT	-OBL-Gi	-Gi	-OBL-Gi	-Gi	-
OR	-Bi	-Bi	-	-Bi	-Bi
LOC ₁	-ri	-mirri	-ri	-ri	-Ø
LOC ₂	-	-ngi	-	-	-
ALL	-li	-li	-OBL-r-li	-li	-li
ABL	-ngiri	-ngiri	-KINPROP-ngiri -ngira-ri-KINPROP	-ngiri	-ngiri
PERL	-mirrpmi	-mirrpmi	-	-	-

forms are -ngir(i) (which is often used after PLural marking), and -ar(i) which is common on Kin nouns which end in an i vowel in their UNMarked form. Full details are reserved for the later discussion of ERG marking.

The infrequency of the -li allomorph occurring on +HUMAN nouns appears to be an accidental phenomenon, rather than systematic. There are few nouns which take this allomorph, and they appear to be mostly -HU, and end in the vowel i, or in the sequence iy. Some examples are butjij 'dog', guyi 'fish', mani 'river', djunggi 'fire', ngalbirki 'hunger', and so forth. A +HU example is the Kin noun walkiri 'child of male ego', the ERG form of which is walkir-li. The phonetic conditioning of the allomorphs has been historically weakening for a considerable time. The strongest conditioning factor is the noun class; so that Kin nouns regularly take the -ri allomorph (the stem-final vowel is realized as the a vowel when ERG follows, which suggests that the rhotic-initial allomorph was previously conditioned by the low vowel, before the sound change a > i took place.) Furthermore, except for Kin nouns, the -dji allomorph seems to be establishing itself as the least-marked allomorph; for it is the only one that speakers feel can be used as a substitute for either of the other two, on a given nominal stem.

Some Yolngu languages have a TEMPoral case, which is formally identical to ERG/INSTR marking, but which has the meaning 'at the time of X' where X is the nominal marked by the TEMP case. Djapu has such a case (Morphy 1983:34,39). Djinang lacks TEMP case; but although TEMP case does not obtain, the TEMP function still obtains in the language - sometimes it is marked lexically, and sometimes it is marked by PROM, as we shall see in later sections. A form such as *wajirr-dji* 'sun', 'time', as in example (7) below, should be analysed as sun-PROM. However, TEMP case is formally distinguished from ERG case in Djinba, where it is -djang. The Djinba TEMP marker is cognate to the Ritharrngu TEMP marker -thang' (see Heath 1980a:41), and Heath's comments regarding the use of Ritharrngu TEMP are equally apt for Djinba. The equivalent Djinang form is not -dji (except on the deictic stem *nya-* 'what' - see section 2.5), but rather the verb *bil(i)djirri* 'at the time of X' where X is the referent of the nominal subject of the verb, as for example, in *wurruki bildjirri* 'flower season'. The equivalent Djinba expression is *wurruki-djang* flower-TEMP 'flower season'. Very probably pre-Djinang lost TEMP case marking at the time of the Djinang Vowel Shift.

(7) *girr nguli-kuma wajirr-dji nyan inydji birrin-djingi-n*
 then there-EMPH sun-PROM 3sgNOM RECIP turn-CAUS-RPA
 then right at that time he repented (33:110)

The PROMinence marker is not shown on the chart, since PROM is not a case. The PROM marker is -(ny)dja in several Yolngu languages (Djapu has -tja and -ny, Morphy *ibid*:50). In Djinang (but not in Djinba) the PROM affix has merged with ERG due to the Djinang Vowel Shift. Subsequent to this merger, Djinang has reanalysed PROM as formally marked the same as ERG, and hence all the allomorphs of ERG marking may be used to signal PROM. The following forms are attested in the database: -dji and -r(i) on +HU nouns, -dji -r(i) and -li on -HU nouns, -r(i) and -li on kin names, and PROM is unattested on personal names and place names. PROM is easy to distinguish from ERG when the verb is intransitive or semitransitive; but is indistinguishable formally from ERG when the verb is transitive or ditransitive. One of the consequences of PROM being formally identical to the ERG case allomorphs is that portmanteau forms involving ERG case will be homophonous with equivalent portmanteau forms indicating PROM. This will add a further set of PROM pronoun forms homophonous with ERG and NOM pronoun forms. Thus, for example, the pronoun *ngarri* 'I' may be glossed as 1sgNOM, 1sgERG, or 1sgPROM, depending on the context in which it is used.

Another interesting feature of Table 2.3 is the two LOC markers. The second form, -ngi, is an archaism; the only forms it regularly occurs on are *mani* 'river', *gadjigarr* 'road' 'track', and *burri* 'backbone' 'hill' 'ridge'. Even on these, the -mirri form occurs sometimes. There is no semantic difference between -mirri and -ngi. Interestingly, the Dhangu dialect, Wangurri, has the LOC form -nga (eg. *ngirrima-nga* camp-LOC 'in the camp'), which is cognate to the Djinang form. Yan-nhangu also has the same LOC form: *dhungupal-nga* *nguy-nga* rock-LOC under-LOC 'under the rock'; *gurtja-nga* fire-LOC 'at the fire'. Schebeck (1967b) lists the -nga form as LOC

in the Dhangu, Djangu, and Nhangu dialect (ie. language) groups. This would suggest retention of an older form from a common proto-language, which appears to be at least co-extensive with "Northern Yolngu".

Comparing the occurrence of OBL in Table 2.3 with Morphy's Table 3.2 (ibid:34) illustrates how OBL has weakened in modern Dj̄inang. Firstly, it occurs sometimes, as a carrier of case, in contexts where it would not be expected. Thus, it is not expected with -HU nouns taking ACC case, but it sometimes does occur (examples may be seen in later sections where each case is described in detail). Also, although Table 2.3 does not show it, it sometimes occurs with -HU nouns taking DAT case, particularly if the stem ends in a velar nasal. Secondly, where it is expected, it sometimes does not occur. For example, +HU nouns (not Kin nouns) in ACC case usually take OBL, but not infrequently OBL is omitted. Thirdly, OBL has been lost in some environments, and its function taken over by a case having a more concrete sense. Thus, in Djapu, OBL is a marker of ALL on +HU nouns, COMITative (ie. 'with X') on +HU nouns, INSTR/CAU on the same class of nouns, and a carrier of case for ABL and PERL on +HU nouns. In Dj̄inang, ALL on +HU nouns is marked by the ALL marker -ji. However COMIT on +HU nouns is marked by ERG (the -ri allomorph). This is because ERG and OBL have merged in Dj̄inang. ERG also occurs on nouns in Dj̄inang LOC phrases - agreeing with a LOC-marked noun. (Djapu marks LOC on +HU nouns with OBL case.) Dj̄inang does not use OBL for INSTR/CAU, but rather ERG marking. Also ABL and PERL on +HU nouns do not require OBL to carry the case marking. Fourthly, while Djapu uses OBL to mark ALL on Kin nouns, Dj̄inang requires OBL plus ALL marking.

The ABL marker is -ngiri, which is cognate to Yolngu -nguru; the suffix final i phoneme is often elided. Only on Kin nouns does ABL marking exhibit unusual forms. Examples (42) and (43) of section 2.7 illustrate the two alternatives given in Table 2.3. The KINPROPriative allomorph -p+mi, may precede ABL; or ABL may be followed by -ri- (possibly an allomorph of OBL, or possibly it is a dummy formative having a disambiguating function) and then by the other KINPROP allomorph -mi. More research is required in order to clarify ABL marking on Kin nouns. (The p in the former allomorph is epenthetic; a p may similarly obtain before some other affixes which begin with a labial nasal consonant. This KINPROP allomorph is cited as -p+mi to distinguish it from the homophonous DELIMitative affix -pmi.)

The final comment about Table 2.3 is that there is no ASSOC case in Dj̄inang. Again this is due to the Dj̄inang Vowel Shift, with the resulting form merging with the Dj̄inang OR case. OR case in Dj̄inang now also marks the ASSOCiative function, and the INTENSive (see Morphy ibid:54) function on pronouns.

It remains to briefly give the cases, with their principle allomorphs, for Djinba. ERG has the forms -r after i, -y after u, -di after alveolar stop. The first form seems to be the most common, and also for INSTR case. PROM forms are -ma (most common), -amdja, and occasionally -andja; and -ny occurs on the COLlective mala 'group'. TEMP is -djang, and unlike the Djinang TEMP case, -djang is used quite frequently. ACC is -ny, and is sometimes preceded by a 'carrier' formative -ka- (which may be a reflex of OBL, but -ka- can co-occur with OBL): examples are Djilminy-ka-ny man's name-??-ACC, yul-ngir-ka-ny man-OBL-??-ACC. DAT is -wu, -w following u. OR is -wirriy after a vowel, otherwise -birriy. LOC is -murr; both Djinang and Djinba derived the LOC form from an earlier -*murru, which was probably a PERL marker (eg. -murru is PERL in modern Wangurri). I have not encountered in Djinba a reflex of the -*nga LOC form, up to the time of writing. On place names, LOC is -Ø, which is typical of Yolngu languages. ALL is nearly always -ril, although -dil is attested after alveolar n, and -dil after ŋ. (Historically, it derives from -*Lili, which is supported by even more extensive allomorphy in Yan-nhangu.) ABL is -ngur. PERL is -pari.

Case marking on pronouns and deictics in Djinang is somewhat different than on nominals, and so a separate treatment of these is given in the following two sections. Section 2.4 deals with pronouns, and 2.5 with deictics. The other sections in chapter 2 deal with the detailed behaviour of each case, and the functions marked by each case form.

2.4 PRONOUNS AND CASE

In this section I will give the pronoun paradigms in the Djinang case marking system. Table 2.4 gives the case marking on Djinang pronouns. (Note: 'reduced pronouns' are not cited here, for these see section 3.14.) For a comparison with another Yolngu language, the Table may be compared with Djapu (see Tables 3.7 and 3.8 in Morphy 1983:51-52). Table 2.4 gives the forms for conservative dialects (Marrangu, Wulaki, and Djadiwitjibi clans). Below each column, the forms which are different in the innovative dialects (these are also the 'disjunctive' dialects - see Appendix 1) are given. The conservative forms are the older forms.

Table 2.4 also includes the GENitive forms. GEN is used for various functions, the most common one being to mark possession. However, it has another function as well when it occurs on a pronoun; namely, to mark a contrastive "reference switch". This latter function is marked by DAT on nouns and deictics, but always by GEN on pronouns. For example, when occurring clause initially and followed by pause, nyan-ngangi 3sg-GEN means 'As for him/her', and the participant so marked becomes the new topic of discourse. I will deal with this later in detail, with examples, but I mention it here because of the light it throws on the etymology of the GEN pronominal forms. In Gupapuyngu (Lowe 1960, lesson 14), possession is marked by DAT

pronominal forms. For example: ngalitjalunggu iduinc-DAT, ngalinyalanggu iduexc-DAT, ngalimurrunggu lplinc-DAT. The Gupapuyngu DAT forms all end with DAT -gu. (Probably the proto-affix was -*nggu on the pronominal stems. The initial velar nasal subsequently being reanalysed as part of the stem.) In Djapu (Morphy 1983:51), the -gu suffix is optional in the DAT pronoun paradigm. The Djinang GEN paradigm was formed (allowing for other changes to vowels) by omitting the -gu suffix entirely. The formal similarity of Djinang GEN pronouns to Djapu and Gupapuyngu DAT pronouns is therefore easily explained; and (in Djinang) the functional similarity of GEN pronouns to DAT-marked nouns and deictics in contrastive switch reference function, gives excellent corroborative evidence for this historical change whereby Djinang GEN pronoun forms were diachronically derived from earlier DAT pronoun forms.

Table 2.4 Case Marking on Djinang Pronouns

	NOM	ACC	DAT	GEN	OBL
1sg	ngarri	ngirrinyi	ngirrki	ngirrangi	ngirrar
1duexc	ngilinyi	ngilinyilinyi	ngilinyiliki	ngilinyilangi	ngilinyilar
1duinc	ngili	ngilitjnyi	ngilitjiki	ngilitjangi	ngilitjar
1plexc	nginibi	nginibilinyi	nginibiliki	nginibilangi	nginibilar
1plinc	ngilimi	ngilimilinyi	ngilimiliki	ngilimilangi	ngilimilar
2sg	nyuni	nyuninyi	nyunki	nyungungi	nyungur
2du	nyumi	nyumilinyi	nyumiliki	nyumilangi	nyumilar
2pl	ngilidji	ngilidjnyi	ngilidjiki	ngilidjangi	ngilidjar
3sg	nyani	nyaninyi	nyanki	nyangangi	nyangar
3du	bilanggi	bilanginyi	bilangki	bilangangi	bilangar
3pl	djani	djaninyi	djanki	djangangi	djangar
Innovative dialects:					
1duexc			nginyiliki	nginyilangi	nginyilar
1duinc		ngiltjnyi	ngiltjiki	ngiltjangi	ngiltjar
1plexc		nginbilinyi	nginbiliki	nginbilangi	nginbilar
1plinc		nginmilinyi	nginmiliki	nginmilangi	nginmilar
2pl	ngildji	ngildjnyi	ngildjiki	ngildjangi	ngildjar
3du				bilngangi	bilngar

Subsequent to this historical change, the pronoun-final -ang(i) sequence has been reanalysed as a marker of GEN, and this form is used in modern Djinang to mark GEN on nouns, and together with OBL to mark GEN on deictics. Semantically, a good translation of the GEN suffix on any class of nominal is "pertaining to ...". This covers both the possessive function and the contrastive reference switching function. It also correlates well with the intuitive

notion that a DAT-marked participant is less salient to the predication than if marked by ERG, NOM, or ACC. (The 'intuition' is my own, as I struggle to gain a verbal mastery of the language.)

In Table 2.4 the forms are given with final vowel *i*. However, in normal speech most of these forms are uttered with the final vowel elided, except when this would produce a word-final stop. ACC and GEN are particularly likely to occur without the final *i* vowel. OBL occurs so rarely with a final *i* vowel that I have not included it in the forms cited in the table. The NOM forms rarely have the final *i* vowel elided, and never with 2pl *ngil(i)dji*.

The NOM forms are also used for ERG (and PROM) as well; that is, according to the Goddard analysis of case, there is homonymy of ERG and NOM marking for pronouns (and also with PROM marking). The OBL forms also function as stems taking either ALLative or ABLative case. When ABL case, marked by *-ngiri*, occurs with the OBL forms, the stem-final *r* is always elided; but it is not elided when the stem takes ALL marking.

The GEN forms may also be used as stems taking further marking by either DAT or OR case. The GEN stem form always lacks the final *i* vowel, and sometimes the final *ng* consonant is also elided. If inflected for DAT case, then the OBL marker must precede the DAT case marker. GEN pronouns forms inflected for OR or DAT typically occur in Possessive NPs which are themselves marked OR or DAT, respectively. For example: *nyan-ngang-ngir-gi djama-gi* 3sg-GEN-OBL-DAT work-DAT 'for his own work'; *ngirra-pi-bi gingi-nyir-bi* 1sg-OR-OR think-NMLSR-OR 'from my own thoughts'. Quite often, the possessor (ie. the GEN-based form) will occur by itself, without a head noun. In these circumstances, the head noun is "understood" from the context.

Historically, modern Djinang OR case is a merger of the Yolngu ASSOCIative affix *-Buy*, and an INTENSive suffix *-pi* (see Heath 1980a:47, and Morphy 1983:54). Wulaki dialect still uses the *-pi* form I have been told, but other dialects use the lenis form *-bi*. The Yolngu OR case form is *-Gungu*, but Djinang shows no trace of this form in its morphology; it occurs in the Djinba pronoun paradigm however.

OR case has several functions on pronouns. One function is to add a slight emphasis. When used this way, *-bi* is added to the UNM pronoun form (ie. NOM form). An example occurs in (52:42-3): *ingki ngilimi-bi bil bubalikining nyi'nyini yul, bardjininga mulngi* 'not just we (Aboriginals) but everyone, both Whites and Blacks'. Secondly, OR case may be reduplicated (on any nominal, not just pronouns), which strengthens its illocutionary force to give a meaning 'one's own', that is, an EXCLUSIVE sense as in the example above. (The reduplicated OR suffix often occurs with the initial consonant as fortis *p*; this is a morphophonemically conditioned

hardening of the stop, rather than a retention of an earlier *-*pi* form.) Finally, OR case can be used to mark the referent of the pronoun as the 'source' of something.

In Djapu (Morphy 1983:144-5) and Gupapuyngu (eg. see Lowe 1960, lesson 26), OBL-marked pronouns are used to signal the COMITative function: X-OBL 'with X', where X is a pronominal stem. OBL functions the same way in Dj̄inang. However, I believe that in modern Dj̄inang at least, the English 'with X' function is seen as a LOC function to Dj̄inang speakers; that is, as 'at the location of X'. This is because the OBL pronominal forms may occur in noun phrases which are LOC, or ERG/INSTR/CAU. Consider (8), (9), and (10), where the OBL pronoun is in covert agreement with the LOC noun which is the head of the NP. In (9), the NP is discontinuous.

(8) djina butjalmi-dji God-nyi marrga djani
 3p1DAT ask-FUT God-ACC so.that 3p1NOM
 nyan-ngar gumbirri-mirri
 [3sg-OBL hand-LOC]_{LOC}

They will pray to God so that they will belong to him (lit. 'in his hand') (65:5)

(9) nyu-ngur mutika djarri-Ø giri-mi gumbirri-mirri
 [2sg-OBL]_{LOC} motor.carNOM stand-PRES HABIT-PRES [hand-LOC]_{LOC}

The car is always in your control/possession (65:7)

(10) biling bil nyini-ny ngidjirrkng nyan-ngar gurrbu-wi
 3duNOM 3duNOM sit-TPC [nearUNM 3sg-OBL camp-SPEC]_{LOC}

They were sitting near his camp (66:144)

Examples such as these demonstrate that an OBL-marked pronoun may agree with a LOC noun or NP. Appositional constructions of this type (not just having LOC case, but other cases as well) are common as a means of marking possession. Except for LOC and ERG/INSTR/CAU noun phrases, the possessor is typically a GEN-marked pronoun or noun. In (8) to (10), a COMIT interpretation of OBL marking would not make much sense semantically, but a LOC interpretation does make good sense.

In example (11), there is CAU case (which is marked the same as ERG) on an NP. As in the previous examples, the OBL-marked pronoun has possessive function in this appositional construction, but is in covert agreement with an CAU-marked noun. This is in agreement with Djapu and Gupapuyngu, where an OBL-marked pronoun is used in examples such as these.

(11) nyan-ngar djal-dji giri-Ø
 [3sg-OBL desire-CAU] CAU go-FUT

Due to his desire, (he) will go {65:9}

Space does not permit me to cite here all the forms for the pronoun paradigms in Djinba. I will limit my discussion to the NOM case, and to the 'root' forms to which are added suffixes to produce the DAT, OR, and OBL paradigms. Djinba also exhibits dialectal variations; and pronoun forms for Ganalbingu, Dabi, and Walmapuy clans are given. Dabi territory closely adjoins Djinang territory at the upper reaches of the Glyde river, while Ganalbingu territory is to the east of Dabi territory. The differences between Dabi and Ganalbingu NOM pronoun forms is consistent with the geographical proximity of Ganalbingu to lenition influences from the east. The Dabi forms are more similar to Djinang forms, showing the vowel change *a > i in several forms. The Walmapuy forms are of interest; that clan's territory being to the south of the Djinang area and remote from Djinang influence. Walmapuy does not use the expected 3sg and 3pl pronominal forms, but has suppletively replaced them with the Distant and Proximate deictic forms, respectively.

Table 2.5 Djinba Pronouns

	Ganalbingu NOM	<u>Dabi</u> NOM	Walmapuy NOM	Ganalbingu 'root-'	<u>Dabi</u> 'root-'
1sg	ngarri	ngarri	ngarri	ngarr-	ngarra-
1duexc	ngalinyi	ngilinyi	ngalinyi	ngalinyal-	ngilinyil-
1duinc	ngali	ngali	ngali	ngalitjal-	ngilitjil-
1plexc	nganuwi	nganabi	nganuwi	nganiwal-	nganabal-
1plinc	ngalimi	ngilimi	ngalimi	ngalimal-	ngilimil-
2sg	nyuni	nyuni	nyuni	nyu-	nyu-
2du	nyumi	nyumi	nyumi	nyumal-	nyumil-
2pl	nyuli	nyurruli	nyuluwi	nyulu-	nyurrul-
3sg	nyan	nyani	nguniny	nyan-	nyan-
3du	bala	bala	bala	bali-	bali-
3pl	djani	djani	djininy	djani-	djani-

To the root forms are added -Guru DAT, -Gung OR, -Gar OBL; where the morphophoneme G is g after n, and k elsewhere. Dabi lacks the -gur, -gung, and -gar allomorphs. Also, Dabi has an alternative 1duinc form ngalikar, as well as the more correct ngilitjilkar. Both Ganalbingu and Dabi mark possession with OR case; this applies to both nouns and pronouns. (Recall

Djinang developed a GEN marker from an earlier form of DAT marking on pronouns.) The use of OR marking for the possessive function in Djinba is quite unusual, since other Yolngu languages use either DAT or OBL marking - depending on the case of the possessed noun. The Djinba pattern can be explained as an analogical development, the model being the formal shape of the Djinang GEN marker. (Djinba could not develop a GEN marker by dropping a gu syllable, since Djinba DAT marking shows no evidence of such a final syllable in pre-Djinba.) Semantically, the ORiginative function is similar to the possessive function, and so Djinba extended the functions marked by OR to include possession.

The final comment to be made about the pronoun system is the observation that while proto-Yolngu certainly had unique forms for 2du and 2pl, a number of Yolngu languages subsequently lost the 2pl form - using the earlier 2du form as a second person non-singular form instead. Evidence for this is the following. The Dhuwal/Dhuwala languages have only the form *nhuma* for the 2pl and 2du categories. The other Yolngu languages have separate 2pl forms, and these forms exhibit quite an amount of variation, although forms based on NHurrulV and NHurralV are fairly common, being characteristic of Nhangu languages, and also occurring in Magarrpa - a southern Dhuwala language. (2pl forms of this shape are found elsewhere in Australia, so these forms may be cognate to a proto-Yolngu 2pl form.) Ritharrngu (Heath 1980a:44) has developed a unique 2du form *nhumaga* by adding the formative *ga* to the former second person non-singular form *nhuma*, and the latter now is just used for 2pl. Djinba retains the typical Nhangu form, *Ganalbingu nyuli* being a contraction of *nyurruli* - the *Dabi* form. The Dhangu and Djangu language groups (Schebeck 1967b) use *nyeli* (e is the long vowel [i:]); and this is likely to be cognate with NHurrulV. An archaic *nhurruwa-* stem survives as an alternative second person non-singular DAT pronoun in Djapu. These facts suggest that proto-Yolngu had a 2pl pronoun form, possibly with the shape *NHurralV, and that some Yolngu languages subsequently lost the 2pl form and extended the range of the 2du form to derive a second person non-singular pronoun form.

Djinang is quite aberrant with respect to its 2pl pronoun form, since *ngilidji* has no known cognate in other Yolngu languages, nor in suffixing languages to the west. It is phonetically very similar to *iduinc* 'root' form *ngilitji-*. Therefore the most likely hypothesis is that it developed either from this form, or at least from **ngili-*, for these refer to both first and second persons. Dixon has hypothesized (Dixon 1980:329-56) that the modern singular/dual/plural pronoun systems may have arisen from an earlier minimal/augmented system. This may well be the reason for the variation in Yolngu second person non-singular pronouns.

Finally, I remark that the difference in the Djinba and Djinang 2pl pronoun forms suggests that these two languages developed from different parent languages in the 'northern Yolngu' group: because the Djinba forms are clearly a retention of the early Nhangu 2pl pronoun, while

the Djinang form is quite unrelated. This conclusion is also supported by the differences in the DAT paradigms, and Djinang GEN forms versus Djinba OR forms.

2.5 DEICTICS AND CASE

Djinang has four basic deictic categories, which may be classified according to the relative proximity to the semantic Subject, or to the speaker. The categories may be labelled Immediate-Proximate, Near-Proximate, Near-Distant, and Distant. The first and last are used extensively in discourse; while the Near-Proximate and Near-Distant are relatively rare.

In discussing Djapu deictics, Morphy (1983:56-62) distinguishes two functions: "context deixis (pointing to things in the real world) and discourse deixis (pointing to things which are mentioned in a speech act, ...)". While Djinang deictics also signal these two functions, Djinang has a third major function of temporal deixis (either pointing to the time at which an event took place, or orienting temporally one event to another). The spatial versus temporal functions of deictics rely on an underlying semantic equation: the distribution of events in space is the paradigm for the distribution of events in time. Thus, if a given deictic form is used to mean 'at that place', then the parallelism of time and space means that the same form can be used for 'at that time'; or if an ABL deictic form signals the meaning 'from that place', then the same form can be used to mean 'after that time'; and so forth. While ngunungi thatNOM can be used to mean 'at that time' (as well as 'at that place'), it is far more likely to occur as ngunu-ban that-IM 'at that time', since the IMMEDIATE clitic -ban unambiguously marks it as having temporal reference.

Motion in space may be either 'to' or 'from' some reference point; but time is structured - it only increases. Hence once a reference point in the time line has been established, time only increases from that reference time. Deictics (marked with ABL usually, but ALL marking is also possible) may be used to indicate a time which is later than a reference time. That is, 'from some reference time' may be signalled by a deictic. We would expect that deictic forms may be used to express 'up to the time X', (particular an ALL-marked deictic); but this does not occur. (Particles, or auxiliary verbs are used to convey the notion of 'until time X'.) So while ABL and ALL cases can be used on deictics with a temporal sense, the meaning is always 'after': ABL is used when the temporal reference point is in past time, and ALL when it is in future time.

The discourse deixis mentioned by Morphy may therefore be viewed as an extension of temporal deixis to the universe of discourse, since anaphora implies pointing to a referent previously identified. This becomes even more obvious when the COMPLETETIVE marker -Girri is

suffixed to an ABL-marked deictic, but a discussion of this is reserved for the discussion of the functions of COMPL in the next chapter.

Djinang has even further extended the range of functions, for deictics taking ABL case. ABL with motion verbs implies motion originating from a beginning point as a 'source'. This notion of source has been extended to cover the situation of a directed activity originating from a source (cf. OR case which marks source of a non-directed activity), and to the situation when one event logically arises out of another. 'Directed' is here not used volitionally, but only in the sense of emanation from a reference point as source. Thus an ABL-marked deictic can be used to mark the source of a directed activity, and also the notion of logical contingency (ie. 'because of that'). Examples will be given below.

Table 2.6 Djinang Deictics

	IMM-PROX	NEAR-PROX	NEAR-DIST	DISTANT
ERG/INSTR	djini	-	-	nguni
NOM	djini(ngi)	djinimi	ngunumi	ngunu(ngi)
Wu _l aki ->	djinangi	djinami	ngunami	ngunangi
ACC	djini-OBL-nyi	-	-	ngun(u)-OBL-nyi
DAT	djin-OBL-ki	djinim-OBL-ki	ngunum-OBL-ki	ngun(u)-OBL-ki
	djini-ki	djinim-ki	ngunum-ki	ngunu-ki
OR	djin-OBL-pi	djinim-OBL-pi	ngunum-OBL-pi	ngun-OBL-pi
LOC	dji _l i	dji _l imi	ngu _l imi	ngu _l i
ALL	bapi _l i	-	-	ngunyi _l i
ABL	djin(i)-ngiri	djinim-ngiri	ngunum-ngiri	ngun(u)-ngiri
PERL	djini-mirrpmi	-	-	ngunu-mirrpmi
GEN	djini-OBL-angi	-	-	ngunu-OBL-angi

Table 2.6 shows the Djinang deictic forms for each case. There is considerable variation in some forms - especially in the OBL marker. Some of the variation is dialectal, while the rest involves performance variables such as vowel or syllable deletion, and regularization of a paradigm (such as the omission of OBL before DAT, which although it does happen, is extremely rare). The Near-Proximate and Near-Distant forms are clearly based on the Immediate-Proximate and Distant forms, respectively, by the addition of a mi formative. I have not been able to find any clear evidence that +HU and -HU categories are marked distinctly. Possibly they once were, but in modern Djinang both categories are marked alike. The Djapu evidence for the distinction relies heavily (see Morphy 1983:57-8) on the distribution of OBL

marking: but in Djinang presence versus absence of OBL is governed by case - ACC, DAT, OR, and GEN must take OBL preceding the case marker, while ABL and PERL never do so, and ERG, INSTR, LOC, and ALL use suppletive forms. These facts are consistent with the historical weakening of OBL marking, as discussed before for nouns. Because of the variation in the OBL forms, such forms are not given in the chart, but rather in a paragraph below.

As the table shows, some case values are unattested in my data. Also, the Wulaki dialect has preserved older forms, at least in the NOM paradigm. This is why the language is called "Djinang" (or Yan-djinang 'Djinang language') even though the modern form of the Immediate-Proximate deictic is *djining(i)* in all other dialects. Wulaki also uses the *ngunung*, *djining*, etc. forms in free variation with the older forms. Forms from each paradigm occur in Capell's (1941) fieldnotes. The only non-NOMinative form in these fieldnotes which is different from the forms in other dialects is the ABL form *djina-ngiri* this-ABL 'from here' 'after this' etc.

Some of the variation not shown in Table 2.6 is as follows; I will confine examples to just the Imm-Prox and Distant categories. ACC case forms which are common are: *djini-giri-ny(i)*, *djini-gi-ny(i)* (Marrangu dialect often uses this form), *djini-kiri-ny(i)*; *ngunu-giri-ny(i)*, *ngunu-gi-ny(i)* (Marrangu), *ngun-giri-ny(i)*, and *ngunu-kiri-ny(i)*. Common DAT forms are: *djin-gir-ki*, *djin-gira-ki*, *djin-ngir-ki*, *ngun-ngir-ki*, and *ngunu-gir-ki*. The OR forms are always *djin-gira-pi* and *ngun-gira-pi*, although other forms of OBL may occur - such as on the possessive plural form with reduplicated OR case, *ngunu-wila-ngir-ang-pi-bi* that-PL-OBL-GEN-OR-OR 'belonging to those ones only'. All of the OR forms in Table 2.6 may occur with a further OR suffix, to give an EXCLUSIVE sense; for example, *djin-gira-pi-bi* this-OBL-OR-OR 'only this one' 'from this one only'. The variation in ABL forms is confined to the elision of the stem-final vowel (this is frequent in disjunctive dialects), or the suffix-final vowel, but rarely both.

Suppletive forms are common. ERG/INSTR use the forms *djini* and *nguni*, which are of obscure derivation. The same forms also mark the PROM and TEMP functions. The *ngi* formative in the NOM forms, which is sometimes deleted, is quite likely a reflex of the archaic *-ngu* nominalizer which occurs on such non-Djinang forms as *yolngu* 'man' 'person'. The deictic stems are therefore likely to be *djini-* and *ngunu-* (and compare the Djinba forms given below, which have a final *ny* formative). Possibly the ERG forms may once have been **djini-ri* and **ngunu-ri*, with retroflexion subsequently being anticipated in the nasal in the Imm-Prox form, prior to eventual loss of the suffix. In the ALL paradigm, the similarity of *ngunyi* 'to there' 'to that place' 'to that one', etc., to Djapu LOC form *ngunhili* 'there' is too obvious to miss. The **nh > ny* change is well-attested for Djinang. It appears that Djinang borrowed this form, with an appropriate semantic shift, by reanalysing the final *li* syllable as the Djinang

ALL case marker *-li*. The Imm-Prox ALL form, *bapili* 'to here' is etymologically obscure. Literally it means 'to the shoulder' (*bapi-li* shoulder-ALL). As a very tentative guess, we may note that the gesture which requests a person to 'come here' involves a sweeping movement of the fingers from the direction of the person towards one's own shoulder. This has parallels elsewhere. Body parts are used in Djinang as referencing expressions for kin categories; and a person who is "father's sister" (FZ) may be indicated by touching one's left shoulder. Furthermore, the kin noun for FZ is *bapipi* shoulder-OR 'originating from the shoulder'. Thus the connection between gesture and lexicon may not be as far fetched as one may at first suppose.

The LOC paradigm is of interest for another reason. Considering the deictic stems, and the modern LOC marker *-mirri*, leads us to expect that the LOC deictics should have been *djini-mirri* and *ngunu-mirri* instead of the forms cited. However, these two forms do occur, but not with the expected LOC meanings; they mean 'this way' and 'that way' respectively. *Wulaki* is the only dialect with different forms for these two meanings, using *djina-tjarri* and *nguna-tjarri* instead. These two forms literally mean 'being/standing this' and 'being/standing that', respectively. It is unlikely that the *Wulaki -tjarri* form is cognate to the *-tjarra* 'having' affix found, for example, in Pitjantjatjarra. To explain the semantic shift in the non-*Wulaki* forms, we must consider the PERL forms. Schebeck (1967b:14) gives *-murr(u)* as the modern PERL form in Nhangu, Dhangu, and Djangu dialect groups of the Yolngu language family. Thus a form such as **djini-murr(u)* probably meant 'through this place'. Adding the DELIMITATIVE marker *-*pimi* (Djinang *-pmi*, Djinba *-pim*) would produce a form **djini-murr(u)-pimi* with the meaning 'straight through this (place)'. We know that at some time in early Djinang, *-murr(u)* PERL became the modern Djinang *-mirri* LOC; and we assume that while this change was in progress, *-murr(u)pimi* was reinterpreted as a single morpheme, namely PERL - leading to the modern Djinang PERL marker *-mirrpmi*. However, this then permitted the older **djini-murr(u)* to be used to mark another function, hence 'this way'. Apparently *Wulaki* resisted the last change, preferring to innovate a different form based on the **djini-* stem. The same comments would apply to the **ngunu-* stem. Djinba uses the PERL affix *-pani*; for example, *djiniku-pani* 'this way'.

Finally, we note that PROM forms, and also NOM forms, may occur in contexts where a different case would have been expected. Typically, a deictic marked for PROM may occur instead of a deictic marked for LOC; and an UNM deictic (which, of course, is formally identical to a NOM deictic) may commonly occur instead of one marked for ACC or LOC, and less frequently for ERG, DAT, or ALL. A couple of examples are given below. The first, (12), shows an UNM deictic used in an ERG NP (commas are retained to show pauses); while (13) shows both UNM and PROM forms used with LOC function. The context of (13) is that two warriors are taunting each other to fight, using spears.

(12) nyimila-rr galbi-dj-nyir-dji-mi guyi,
 2duDAT-1sgERG many-THEMSR-NMLSR-THEMSR-YPA [fishUNM]_{ACC}
 ngarri ngunungi, wugiji-ri
 [1sgERG thatUNM spirit-ERG]_{ERG}

I, that spirit, caused the fish to become many for you two (49:58)

(13) nyani djini ran+a, nyani djini, a wirr
 3sgERG [thisUNM]_{LOC} spear+FUT+NF 3sgERG [thisPROM]_{LOC} - NEG

He₁ speared here, and he₂ (speared) there, and neither (hit the other) (28:31)

Table 2.7 Djinba Deictics (Known forms only)

	IMM-PROX	NEAR-PROX	NEAR-DIST	DISTANT
Ganalbingu				
ERG	djinirpany	-	-	-
NOM	djininy	baliny	nguniny	nguniny
LOC	-	-	-	ngunuku
ALL	guwang	-	-	bini
ABL	-	-	-	ngunungur
Dabi				
ERG	nikanmi	-	-	-
NOM	nikirmany	-	-	ngunukurrmany
LOC	-	-	-	ngunuki
ALL	guwabi	-	-	banbala

I do not have data for the full paradigm of Djinba deictics, except for NOM case. Table 2.7 gives the forms that I do have, for the Ganalbingu and Dabi clans. Djinba, and Walmapuy appear to follow the Ganalbingu paradigm, Manydjalpingu possibly follows the Dabi paradigm, but the data is not reliable enough to be included here.

The origin of the Dabi ni- stem for the Imm-Prox deictic forms is unknown. (Manydalpingu also uses the nikirmany and ngunukurrmany stems.) Otherwise, all dialects exhibit the djini- and ngunu- stems, as for Djinang. Dabi uses both the ngunukurrmany form and the nguniny form, according to my informants. The ALL stem guwa-, which occurs in Djinang as a free form meaning 'come here', is very probably a Macassan loan. The Ku/Ki formative on the Distant deictic LOC forms may be a relic of the Ku formative in the same position but on NOM Distant

deictics in some other Yolngu language groups, including Nhangu, Dhangu, and Djangu (see Schebeck 1967b:19).

FUNCTIONS OF DEICTICS

In the remainder of this section I will give examples of deictics used in various different ways, to illustrate a number of the remarks made in the preceding paragraphs.

As a determiner in an NP.

- (14) *ngunung djanguny bil katji-nm ngunung*
 [thatUNM storyUNM]_{ACC} 3duERG hold-PRES [thatUNM
wangir-nya-king
 save-NMLSR-PROP]_{ACC}

... they possess that story - the one which saves (32:32)

As head of an NP.

- (15) *djini walkiri-marr-ngili djini-gi-nyi*
 thisERG child-get-TPA this-OBL-ACC

This one begat this (other) one (65:1)

Marking TEMP function.

- (16) *ban djini, ingki wari marri dji-tjalng-dji-yi*
 however now, NEG whoNOM probably DIST-desire-THEMSR-PRI

On the other hand, nowadays probably nobody wants (it) (43:80)

In the next example, *ngunyi* is used to mark temporal 'after' with reference to a time which is in the future. This is an example of the parallelism between space and time categories.

- (17) *djam ngunyi-pm yil-il wanngi-dji-dji*
 later thatALL-DELIM again-1duincNOM alive-THEMSR-FUT

Later, straight after (that), we will become alive once more (42:35)

The next two examples illustrate the use of ABL to mark temporal sequence 'after that'. The IM clitic is nearly always used in the context to mark the temporal sense unambiguously, the IM clitic is not necessarily on the deictic form (though it often is) as these two examples show. Example (18) has been chosen because the sense of *ngunu-ngiri* may only be temporal sequence in this context. On the other hand, (19) was chosen because it illustrates the parallelism of time and space so well - either 'from that place' or 'after that time' are equally good translations of the ABL deictic in (19).

(18) djini, malkarri-dji ga-ngili, ga ngunu-ngiri
 thatTEMP spear-PROM take-RPA and that-ABL
 a wurpm-ban djarak ga-ka-ny Kiri-ny+
 - [oneUNM-IM wood.spearUNM]_{ACC} DIST-take-RPC PROG-RPC+NF
bunduk
 [woomeraUNM]_{ACC}

At that time, (he) bore (several) spears, and after that he kept on bearing one wooden spear (and his) woomera {34:343-4}

The context of (18) is that a man who was bearing several spears expended them all, except for one, in spearing a buffalo. The time reference for the deictic 'that' is the time of his spearing the buffalo; and 'after that' he had just the one spear. Since there was no change in location, only a temporal interpretation will fit the context.

(19) Warrwarr nguli bil batji-djini,
 move.fast thatLOC 3duERG cook-RPA
 ngunu-ngiri bil wini-ny Kiri-ny-ban
 that-ABL 3duNOM return-RPC PROG-RPC-IM

Moving off, there (in the bush) they cooked (it), after that they then returned (24:84-5)

In the next two examples, ABL is used to mark the notion of 'source'. (20) illustrates ABL marking logical contingency (ie. 'because of' or 'due to'); while (21) illustrates how ABL can mark the 'source of a directed activity'.

(20) lim dubu-dubu-tji-m giri-m+_a, girr inydji
 1plincNOM REDUP-twitch-THEMSR-PRES HABIT-PRES+NF COMPL RECIP
 lim bultji-n giri-m-ban ... ngunu-ngir
 1plincERG tell-PRES HABIT-PRES-IM ... that-ABL
 djanguny-gining
 story-PROP

We twitch, then we tell each other " ... " because of that omen (Note: the actual quote is omitted for brevity, it reads "later tomorrow people will arrive") (32:24,26,28)

(21) gu-kurri-ny-ban, manymak, nyan ngunu-ngir-kim
 DIST-ride.the.top-RPC-IM okay 3sgNOM that-ABL-EMPH
 wangi-n-ban
 speak-RPA-IM

Okay, while in the tree top, from there he spoke {24:167-8}

There are a few other functions of deictics that should be explained here to complete the picture. The forms *djin(i)-ngir-pm(i)* this-ABL-DELIM, and *ngun(u)-ngir-pm(i)* that-ABL-DELIM, do not mean *'just from this place' and *'just from that place', as would be expected. Instead they have a LOC sense, meaning 'on this side' and 'on that side', respectively. (It is possible that ABL is here really a reflex of OBL, but there is no proof. Compare OBL used to mark LOC on +HU nouns in other Yolngu languages.) The other common use of the deictic stems, particularly *ngunu-*, is as a carrier of the INDEFinite affix *-bilang(i)*, giving the meaning 'if' as in (22).

(22) *ngunu-bilang nyani bali-dji in.ga-rr*
 that-INDEF 3sgNOM die-FI 3sgDAT-1sgNOM
ngadji-dji kiri-Ø
 cry-FUT PROG-FUT

If he dies I will mourn for him {65:57}

2.6 INTERROGATIVE/INDEFINITE PRONOUNS AND CASE

In this section we examine the paradigms for interrogative/indefinite pronouns inflected for case. These forms, used as interrogatives, express such meanings as 'who?' 'what?' 'which?' 'why?' 'when' 'how?' and so forth. But as indefinites, they may be used to express such meanings as 'whoever' 'whatever' 'whichever' 'for whatever reason' 'whenever' 'however', and so forth. There is usually no formal difference between these two functions, and often only the context can give sufficient cues as to which function is being used in a given instance. However, suffixation of *-Bila(ng(i)) INDEF* (where B = b mostly, and occasionally p) is possible with a few forms in order to signal indefiniteness unambiguously. Examples are *nyili-bilang* what+INSTR-INDEF 'by whatever means'; *nyabini-bila(ngi)* how.about-INDEF 'possibly how about' (see text 34:268). But normally the *-Bila(ng(i))* morpheme is suffixed to the deictic stem *ngunu-* to form an indefinite word *ngunupila(ng(i))*, and this typically follows the indefinite pronoun which is to be marked unambiguously as indefinite. For example: *wili ngunu-pilang* who+ERG that-INDEF 'whoever' (as Agent); *wari ngunu-pilang* whoNOM that-INDEF 'whoever' (as Subject); *nyabini ngunu-pilang* how.manyUNM that-INDEF 'however many'; *nya-dji ngunupilang* what-TEMP that-INDEF 'whatever time'; *nyim ngunu-pilang* whatUNM that-INDEF 'whatever'.

There is an alternative way of indicating indefiniteness unambiguously, and that is by reduplication. Hence the following forms: *nyali-nyali* whereUNM-whereUNM 'wherever' (32:124); *nyim-nyim* whatUNM-whatUNM 'whatever' (33:107 43:72); *nyibirri-nyibirri*

what+LOC-what+LOC 'at whatever place' (32:124). The +HU indefinite pronouns apparently do not undergo this reduplication, the *ngunupilang* construction being preferred.

Table 2.8 gives the known interrogative/indefinite pronouns, for each case. The paradigms are based on three root forms: *wira-* for +HU referents, and three other forms for -HU referents; *nyim(i)* 'what', *nya-* 'what', and *nyali-* 'where/how/which'. The table may be compared with the equivalent Djapu table (3.11) in Morphy (1983:55), with Gupapuyngu forms in the Lowe dictionary, with the Djinba forms given below in Table 2.9, and Ritharrngu forms in Heath (1980a). These sources reveal that the -HU root *nya-* is cognate with the *nhä-* 'what' root in other Yolngu languages; but while other Yolngu languages have a further *wa-/wanha-* 'where' root, Djinang and Djinba lack the latter form - having instead two basic forms: *nyali* 'where' 'which' (and the related form *nyaliki* 'how'), and *nyim(i)/nyami* 'what'. This latter form (*nyimi* in Djinang, *nyami* in Ganalbingu dialect of Djinba, and *nya-/nyagi* in Dabi dialect) probably is also cognate to the Yolngu *nhä-* root; and both Djinang and Djinba have developed a paradigm based on it. Furthermore, this new paradigm is the means of expressing 'what', while other Yolngu languages continue to use forms based on the root *nhä-*. The Djinba forms show the most diversity in this paradigm, so possibly Djinang borrowed the *nyimi* form from Djinba.

The question remains as to the origin of the root *nyali*, which is used to express the meanings 'where' or 'which', and with an apparent DAT case to express the meaning 'how' (see examples 24 and 25 below). The "DAT" form, *nyaliki*, functions as a stem in its own right, and does not have a meaning derivable from the known functions of DAT marking. It is quite possible that the *Ki* formative is unrelated to DAT. The Djinba forms which correspond to the *nyali* root also begin with *nya* (see Table 2.9), so it is reasonable to assume that these forms, and Djinang *nyali*, were likewise developed from the Yolngu *nhä-* root. In fact, the form may be a borrowing from Yan-nhangu. Wood (1973) obtained the Yan-nhangu word *nhala* 'where' (however, this form does not appear to occur in Alpher's 1977 data, where *baypi* occurs instead, while in Wood's data the latter is glossed as 'here'). Both Wood and Alpher worked with the same Yan-nhangu speaker. Also, Schebeck (1967b:19) also obtained the form *nhala* 'where' in Golpa, another Nhangu language. This *nhala* form probably was derived from an earlier **nhä-la* what-LOC, where the *-la* suffix is an old LOC form common in Pama-Nyungan languages. However, the etymology of the form would have long been opaque at the time it diffused into Djinang, and the Djinang sound changes (see Appendix 2) would have then produced the modern *nyali* 'where' root. The modern Djinang INSTR form *nyili* is a reflex of an earlier **nha-li* what-INSTR form. The modern Djinang *nyaliki* 'how' form is difficult to explain; it may somehow have developed out of a conflict between the earlier forms **nyala* 'where', and instrumental **nya-li* 'with what', in the period when the vowel change **a > i* was taking place.

Table 2.8 Djinang Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns

	+HU 'who'	-HU 'where/how/which'	-HU 'what'
ERG	wi <u>l</u> i	-	-
INSTR	-	nyi-l <i>i</i>	-
TEMP	-	nya-d <i>ji</i>	-
OBL	wira-r	-	-
NOM	wari	-	nyim(i)
ACC	wiri-ny(i)	-	nyim(i)
DAT	wir(a)-ki	nyaliki	nyim-ki
OR	wira-pi	nyaling-OBL-pi	nyim-pi
LOC	<OBL used>	nyali- <i>ngi</i>	nyibirri
			Wu <u>l</u> aki --> nyimbirri
ALL	wira- <u>l</u> i	nyanydji <u>l</u> i	nyimi- <u>l</u> i
ABL	wira-ngiri	nyali-ngiri	nyim-ngiri
PERL	?	nyali-mirri	nyim-mirrpmi
GEN	wir+ang(i)	-	-
Other forms:		nyabini	
		nyaliki-dji-dji	
	war-ngarri(ny)		nyim(b)irr(a)-ngarri
			nyimi-ni
			nyimay
			nyim-gi <u>ngi</u>
			nyim-nyirringi

In Table 2.8, points in each paradigm for which no form is known and which would not be expected to occur for semantic reasons, are marked by "-"; while points where a form is expected to be allowed, but is unattested at the time of writing, are marked by "?". In each column, there are some additional derived forms which are given at the bottom of the table - these are discussed later in this section. The PROM form is identical to the ERG forms. PROM is rare, I have only one clear instance of it - see example (23) below, where it occurs with a semi-transitive verb (which do not take ERG-marked semantic Subjects). A similar effect to PROM may be obtained using the suffix -Gima/-Guma EMPH, as in wari-gima whoUNM-EMPH 'who?'; nyim-gima whatUNM-EMPH 'what?', etc. TEMP marking is included in the table; the form nya-d*ji* what-TEMP 'when' being a reflex of former TEMP case marking.

(23) Wili nginmili-ki wangi-dji

who+PROM iplinc-DAT talk-FUT

Who will talk to us? (22:252)

The *wira-* (NOM *wari*) root form is evidently a reflex of an earlier **wara* 'who' root (see below). *Djinba* lacks this root in *Ganalbingu*, *Djinba*, and *Manydjalpingu* clans; *Dabi* has it (probably as a retention, rather than a borrowing), and the *Walmapuy* form is unknown. The *Ganalbingu*, *Manydjalpingu* and *Djinba* form, *nyalung* was probably historically derived from the *Yolngu* *nhä-* 'what' root. *Yan-nhangu* (Alpher 1977) has the forms *wara* whoNOM, *wuri-li* who-ERG, *wara-nyi* who-ACC, and *wara-wala* who-PAUC. The *Ritharrngu* forms are *wara* and *wara-li* in the NOM and ERG cases, respectively (Heath 1980a:57). Schebeck (1967b:19) gives *yolngu* as the *Nhangu* form for 'who', which suggests *Yan-nhangu* may have borrowed the **wara* root. While there is insufficient data to be able to prove which language is the source of the **wara* root, it does seem that the root was common to *Djinang*, *Djinba*, and *Ritharrngu*, with *Yan-nhangu* borrowing it from either *Djinang* or *Djinba*. The modern *Djinang* ERG form *wili* is clearly a contraction of either **wuri-li* or **wara-li*, the former being more likely.

The *wira-r* OBL form is the only instance in modern *Djinang* where OBL functions as a case marker; in all other instances, it functions only as a carrier of case or of other suffixes. The *wira-r* form is historically derived from **wara-kara* who-OBL, by loss of the *ka* syllable. This syllable loss is attested in a number of forms, when compared with their *Djinba* cognates. A good example are the *Djinang* and *Djinba* words for 'dance', which are compounds of *wakal* 'fun' 'gambol about', and the verb meaning 'lie down' (*Djinang* *ngurridji*, *Djinba* *ngurrak*). In *Djinang* we have *walngirridji* 'dance', and in *Djinba* *wakalngurrak*: it is evident that *Djinang* has lost the *ka* syllable. A similar loss occurred regularly in the paradigm of *Djinang* verbs which take TPA (Today PAst) inflection *-ali* in modern *Djinang*. The *Djinba* cognate inflection is *-gal(i)/-kal(i)*: for example; *Djinang* *gir-ali* 'went', *Djinba* *gar(a)-kal(i)* 'went'. No evidence for a series of gradual changes has survived in either of the modern languages; diachronically the syllable loss may have been fairly abrupt.

The OR form based on the *nyali-* root is *nyaling-gira-pi*, which obligatorily includes the OBL marker preceding the OR case marker. Otherwise OBL does not occur with interrogative/indefinite pronouns except when marked for PLural. In this case, OBL often occurs, though not always. There is also some variation in the PL forms in the DAT case, including double DAT marking in one form. The PL forms recorded up to the time of writing are: *wira-pil-ngir* who-PL-ERG, *wira-pili* whoUNM-PL (ie. NOM form), *wira-pil-ngiri-ny* who-PL-OBL-ACC, *wira-pil-ngir-gi* who-PL-OBL-DAT, *wir-wil(i)-ki* who-PL-DAT, *wir-ki-wili-ki* who-DAT-PL-DAT, and *wira-pil-ngir-ang* who-PL-OBL-GEN. Note that the ERG allomorph after PL is *-ngir(i)*, which is formally identical to the OBL allomorph in the same environment. OBL and ERG have merged, after PL marking, as we saw also in the discussion of deictics in section 2.5.

The OR and LOC forms for the root *nyali-* are based on a stem *nyali-(ng(i))*, in which the formative *ngi* is the archaic LOC suffix discussed in section 2.3 (see Table 2.3). The LOC forms *nyibirri* and *nyimbirri* (the latter is *Wulaki*) are derived historically from **nyim-mirri* 'what-LOC'; where **m > b* following *m*, and all dialects except *Wulaki* subsequently lost the *m* phoneme. The Marrangu dialect retains the *nyimbirri* form as a stem in the form *nyimbirr(a)-ngarri* 'so-and-so place' 'what-is-its-(place)-name?', while Murrungun dialect uses *nyimirr-ngarri*, a contracted form. The +HU equivalent of *nyim(b)irr(a)-ngarri* is, for all dialects, *war-ngarri(ny(i))* 'so-and-so person' 'what-is-his/her-name?'. These are clearly based on the *wari* and *nyimi* roots. The *ngarri* formative is, I believe, the 1sgNOM pronoun form; which would be consistent with these forms having been derived by contracting sentences of the form "what I call it?", and "whom I call him?", where the verb form "call it" (*bultjigi*) was eventually always omitted. Omission of verbs from contexts in which the verbal meaning is highly predictable is a feature of *Dj̄inang* syntax.

The ALL form *nyanyd̄j̄i* needs some explaining. This appears to be a reflex of an earlier form **nyam-Lili* 'what-ALL'. The *-Lili* suffix is cognate with the *-lili* ALL case marker in many modern Yolngu languages. The morphophoneme **L* is posited on the following grounds. Firstly, Wood's Yan-nhangu data (1973) includes the following ALL-marked nouns: *gurtha-li* 'fire-ALL', *bambitj-dhili* 'tree-ALL', *Maningrida-lili* 'Maningrida-ALL', *nguy-thili* 'under-ALL', *dhungupal-lili* 'rock-ALL'. Secondly, *Dj̄inba* ALL allomorphs *-ril* and *-dil* are attested in my data. The hypothesis is that *Dj̄inang* resegmented **nyam-Lili* as **nyamLi-li*, and identified the final *li* with the modern ALL marker *-j̄i*, and assimilated the *m* to the realization of *L* after a nasal (which, in *Dj̄inang*, would have been *d̄*), to obtain the modern form *nyanyd̄j̄i*.

Other *nyimi* forms are as follows: *nyimi-ni* means 'what is there?', or alternatively, 'whatever is there'. I have no idea of the origin of the *-ni* suffix, it occurs nowhere else in *Dj̄inang*. The form *nyimay* appears to simply be a stronger form of *nyimi*, and is often used as a single word utterance meaning "What?", or "What's going on?". The PROP and PRIV suffixes may occur with the *nyimi* root; *nyim-gining* (or *nyim-kining*) meaning 'what kind?' 'in what condition?', or, 'whatever kind' 'in whatever condition'; *nyim-nyirring* meaning 'lacking what?', or 'lacking anything'. The *ny(i)* formative on the word *warngarriny(i)* is unrelated to ACC case. This *nyi* may be a reflex of the PROM allomorph *ny* found, for example, in *Djapu* (Morphy 1983:50); it occurs nowhere else in *Dj̄inang* (although word-final *ny* is common in *Dj̄inba* - see Tables 2.9 and 2.7).

The remaining forms to discuss are *nyalikid̄j̄d̄j̄i* and *nyabini*. The former is a verb, based on the form *nyaliki* which means 'how', as in example (24). The verb form *nyaliki-d̄j̄i-d̄j̄i* 'how-THEMSR-FUT' means 'do how?', or 'do however'; example (25) illustrates the former meaning. (Note in this example both the full pronoun and synonymous reduced pronoun co-occur.)

(24) djulam irri-ny ku-ny kiri-nyi maypil-gi
 instruction 1sg-ACC give-RPC PROG-RPC animal-DAT
 nyaliki djudap-dji-g+a, a ranta, ...
 how sneak.up-THEMSR-FUT+NF and spearFUT+NF ...
 He instructed me about how to sneak up on animals and spear them {34:593}

(25) nyum nyim nyaliki-dji-rri Balanda-mirrpm
 2duNOM 2duNOM how-THEMSR-PRES European-PERL
 How do you two (say it) in English? {22:12}

The nyabini form means either 'how much?' 'how many?', 'however much', 'however many'; or 'what about (doing ...)?'. That is, it either questions quantity, or expresses indefiniteness of quantity, or is used to put forward a proposition for consideration by others. Other Yolngu languages apparently use two different forms for these functions: Djapu nhã-mirr and Gupapuyngu nhã-mirri 'how about (doing)??'; Djapu nhã-muny and Gupapuyngu nhã-munha 'how many?' 'how much?'. The bini formative in nyabini is etymologically obscure, but possibly it is cognate to the -bilang INDEF marker. This is suggested by the Dabi form nyabilkang 'how much', etc., in which the formative bilkang is used elsewhere in Dabi as an INDEF marker, in contexts where Djinang uses the ngunu-pilang form. (Note that Djinang -bilang is probably cognate to Djinba bilkang, and recall the discussion above concerning the loss of a ka syllable in Djinang.)

Table 2.9 gives the known Djinba interrogative/indefinite pronouns; for the Ganalbingu and Dabi clans only.

Table 2.9 Djinba Interrogative/Indefinite Pronouns

	+HU 'who'		-HU 'where/how'		-HU 'what'	
	Ganal.	<u>Dabi</u>	Ganal.	<u>Dabi</u>	Ganal.	<u>Dabi</u>
ERG	nyalung	warinyun	-	-	-	-
INSTR	-	-	nya-yi	-	-	nyagi-dji
TEMP	-	-	nyi-nuk	nya-dji-nuk	-	-
NOM	nyalung	wari	-	-	nyami	nyagi
DAT	-	-	nyarrpani	nyarrpan	nyamu-wu	nya-kuru
OR	-	-	-	-	nyami-wirriy	-
LOC	-	-	nyirri	nyirri	nyarrka	nyibirrik
ALL	-	-	nyiyin	-	-	-

The equivalent terms for Djinang nyabini are nyakalng (Ganalbingu), and nyabilkang (Dabi). Corresponding to Djinang warngarri(ny) is the Ganalbingu form nyaliyukany; the form for other Djinba dialects is not known. For Djinang nya-dji ngunu-pilang 'sometime', Ganalbingu uses nyi-nuk ngunu-pilak, and Dabi uses nya-dji-nuk bilkang. Comparison of Tables 2.8 and 2.9 in the light of the preceding discussion suggests that both Djinang and Djinba have each independently innovated extensively in the class of interrogative/indefinite pronouns; and neither language has forms which closely parallel those of their immediate Yolngu neighbours, especially Yan-nhangu. This suggests that the split of these languages from a northern Yolngu group occurred quite early.

2.7 ERGATIVE MARKING

In this and the remaining sections of chapter 2, I will discuss each of the cases, concentrating on the different functions marked by each case form. In the present section, I will deal with ERG marking: this includes not only true ERGatives, but also any case or non-case marking by suffixes identical in form to ERG. Hence I shall discuss INSTR and CAU case markers, and also PROM, OBL, and TEMP marking here as well. I will not deal with the typical use of ERG to mark the grammatical Agent of a transitive or ditransitive verb, since examples are numerous in the texts.

Frequency

First we shall consider the frequency of ERG marking on Subject nouns or deictics in clauses having transitive or ditransitive verbs. A check of a narrative of over a thousand clauses reveals the following facts. Firstly, Agent nouns and deictics in transitive clauses are quite infrequent (I am using transitive to include ditransitive also, unless specific note is made to the contrary). This is due to the system of cohesion, where nouns and full pronouns are absent from surface structure when reference is unambiguous. When an Agent noun does occur, it is nearly always marked for ERG case, though very occasionally the ERG marker is omitted - as in (26) below.

(26) nyani djulam irri-ny ku-ny kiri-ny,
 3sgERG [instructionUNM]_{ACC} 1sg-ACC give-RPC PROG-RPC
 malu,
 [daddyUNM] ERG

He gave me instruction, daddy (did) (34:592)

Omission of ERG, as in the preceding example, may occur when the noun is in an "afterthought" construction: that is, an NP juxtaposed to the end of a clause, after pause, and in which the head noun further specifies a participant previously referenced in the clause - in this case an Agent referenced by the third person pronoun.

However, the omission of ERG in afterthought constructions is by no means obligatory. The following example illustrates.

(27) biling batji-djini-ban, bininggili marrngu, wagirri-r
 3duERG cook-RPA-IM [twoUNM possumUNM]_{ACC} crow-ERG

They cooked the two possums, the (two) crows (did) {20:94}

TEMPoral

TEMP marking was mentioned in sections 2.3, 2.5, and 2.6. TEMP marking (it is not a case in modern Djinang) occurs only on the deictic stem *nya-* 'what' (see section 2.5). Also the deictic stems *nguni* and *djini* can have a TEMP function. Otherwise, the TEMP function is marked lexically by the verb *bil(i)djarri* 'the time of X'. There are additional ways of expressing temporal categories such as 'now', 'then', 'today', etc. For example, to express the meaning 'now', 'today', 'here', or 'this one', very often the reduplicated form *djini'djining* is used in preference to *djini*. Another way of expressing 'now', or a contextually-defined time 'then', is by the IMMEDIATE clitic *-ban*.

PROMinence

Prominence is basically a discourse level function, and pertains to the system of inter-clausal cohesion, especially participant tracking. There are two basic mechanisms in Djinang for making a constituent prominent: (1) fronting of the constituent, or (2) marking the constituent by the PROM affix (which is formally identical to ERG marking). One of the most common uses of prominence is to indicate a change of participant focus, such as a new actor. Fronting is the more commonly employed strategy for indicating prominence. Indicating prominence by means of the PROM suffix is less frequent, but this method does not require the prominent constituent to be fronted - as in (28). However, both fronting and affixation by PROM may occur together. In the case of fronted full pronouns, which is the normal construction for switching reference, there is no possibility of formal marking of prominence since NOM, ERG, and PROM forms of pronouns are homophonous. Fronting alone marks prominence in the case of pronouns. It would therefore be reasonable to indicate covert PROM marking of such fronted pronouns, but in general I have not done so because of the problem of validating such an analysis. PROM marking may be used in contexts other than switching reference. PROM marking has the effect of drawing the hearer's attention to the word so marked. PROM marking most

often occurs on nouns and deictics, but in the database I have at least one instance each of PROM marking (using the -dji form) on a reduced pronoun, and on a verb.

One example of PROM was given in section 2.6, example (23). Another example is the following, this time on a proper noun in an afterthought construction. That it is PROM rather than ERG is clear from the verb, which is intransitive. The underlying case of a noun marked by PROM is not necessarily NOM, as in (28), but could be one of a number of cases. Example (18) shows PROM on a noun which is covertly ACC, and example (13) shows PROM on a deictic which is covertly LOC. Thus it certainly can occur on nominals which are covertly ERG, NOM, ACC, and LOC; and further research may indicate an even wider distribution.

(28) nyani pirrmirri-ny, Warpurr-dji
 3sgNOM sing-RPC Warpurr-PROM
 He sang, Warpurr (did) {20:20}

CAUsative

CAUsative marking occurs on nouns (I have no deictic examples) which are -HU. I also have some +HU instances, but only for pronouns, as in: ngarri irr marnggi-dji-dji nguru-wila-r nguli 1sgNOM 1sgNOM know-INCHO-FUT that-PL-CAU thatLOC 'I will learn from those (people) there' {67:73}. As described by Morphy (1983:38), "CAU (marks) the cause of a state". Another example occurs in (11) of section 2.4; and some -HU examples follow.

(29) yarim ngulpirri-dji irri-ny pu-nyi, heavy one
 just egg.white-CAU 1sg-ACC hit-RPC heavy one
 Just (eating) one (emu egg) finished me off {34:1138}

(30) nguy-djunggi-li-pm linyili-ny bari-mi
 internal-fire-CAU-DELIM 1duexc-ACC overspread-YPA
 We were just consumed with anger {66:90}

INSTRument

INSTR marking has two functions. The most common function is to mark the instrument used to accomplish an action, such as in (31).

(31) galmi-ni, nginibi-tja galiyirr-djini lipalipa-dji
 land-RPA 1plexcNOM-CONTR paddle-RPA dugout.canoe-INSTR
 He landed (the plane), but we paddled (there) by dugout canoe {22:249}

The other major function of INSTR is to form adverbial clause modifications. Typically, though not exclusively, body part nouns and nouns expressing emotional states are used to derive such adverbial words. However, nouns such as *gapi* 'water', *munatja* 'ground', *nami* 'above' 'sky', also are used to form adverbial modifications. Often the resulting adverbial forms assume metaphorical senses. Thus, for example, *gumbirr-dji* hand-INSTR can be used to mean either 'by hand', or 'gently'; and in example (32) the latter meaning obtains. Example (33) illustrates a metaphorical sense of the form *galngi-li* body-INSTR, meaning 'as a human being' (rather than the literal meaning 'bodily'); since the speaker is contrasting life as a spirit being with life as a human being in the physical world.

(32) *girr ngunu gumbirr-dji-pm bili-ny ka-ny*
 COMPL [thatUNM] ACC hand-INSTR-DELIM 3du-ACC take-RPC

Then (a soldier) took those two away gently {32:160}

(33) *galngi-li il gukirri-B*
 body-INSTR 1duincNOM walk.about-PRES

As humans we (Yolngu and Balanda) live {67:61}

Other forms are the following. Notice that some are quite figurative, while others are transparently instrumental. *nuli-dji* 'on foot' (*nu-li* is a fossilized INSTR form itself, from *nu* 'foot' and *-li* INSTR) {22:232 34:196}; *galngi-li marrngi-n* body-INSTR perceive-RPA 'felt' (note this is a standard metaphor for 'feel', the verb *marrngirridji* in other contexts is used to mean 'hear') {24:143}; *ganda-li* thigh-INSTR meaning 'striding quickly' {34:994}; *marr-dji* soul/power-INSTR meaning 'expectantly' (see example (6) in section 2.2); *ganydjirr-dji* strength-INSTR meaning 'powerfully' {32:117}; *guni-r* shame-INSTR meaning 'shamefully' {65:8}; and so on.

Some -HU examples are the following; note that nouns marked by OR have in some cases been used as stems which take further INSTR marking to form an adverbial expression. *gapi-li* water-INSTR 'by water' (this occurred in a sentence which reads "he showered them with water") {32:137}; *munatja-bi-ri* ground-OR-INSTR 'by land' (as in "we journeyed by land"); *nam-pi-ri* above-OR-INSTR 'by air'; *gapi-bi-dji* water-OR-INSTR 'by sea'.

ERG allomorph -ngir(i)

Now we shall consider the -ngir(i) allomorph of ERG. This is formally identical to the most common allomorph of OBL, and also to the ABL case marker, but is nevertheless used to mark ERG case, as in examples (34) and (35).

(34) girr nyim-pi djama-gin-pil-ngir djin bultji-djin-ban
 COMPL what-OR work-PROP-PL-ERG 3plERG tell-RPA-IM

Then straight away the workers told (the boss) what (it was) about (32:47)

(35) yidjipil-pili-ngir u gapi-li inma rindi-gi
 child-PL-ERG or water-CAU 2sgDAT sever-FI
 u wana-pili-mirringitri
 or big-PL-ARCHE+ERG

Children or water may sever (the mooring rope), or true adults (66:39)

Example (35) is of further interest. Consider the segmentation of the last word. We could just as easily have segmented it as follows: wana-pili-mirring-ngiri big-PL-ARCHE-ERG. A ng-ng sequence becomes phonetically just a lengthened ng, making it hard to decide what the correct segmentation should be. Thus, ERG after a stem-final ng or ngi will always be -ir(i) or -r(i), respectively; never -dji or -li. For this reason it is highly likely that the alternative segmentation posited above is correct, so that we should extend the statement of the distribution of the ERG allomorph -ngir(i) to include the latter environments. Another common example is the word for 'each', when inflected for ERG: bubali-kining-ngiri random-PROP-ERG, and bubali-kiningi-ri random-PROP-ERG, being equally viable segmentations.

The only other occurrence in my data of this -ngir(i) allomorph is with the word nyibi 'some' 'other'. Example (36) illustrates its use.

(36) djani nyibi-ngiri, yarraman djin ga-ngil+a,
 3plERG some-ERG [horseUNM]_{ACC} 3plERG take-RPA+NF

Some took the horses (34:197)

Etymologically, this allomorph of ERG is a reflex of OBL case. As the latter's function as a case marker weakened, OBL was reinterpreted as a new allomorph of ERG marking. The PROM marker (itself a merger of an earlier PROM form with ERG) also exhibits the -ngir(i) allomorph after PL, as shown by (37).

(37) djani butjiy-pili-ngiri, djin nunydjirr-ali
 3plNOM dog-PL-PROM 3plNOM run-RPA

The dogs ran off (34:905)

Nguni djini mala

An unusual ERG phrase is the expression *nguni djini mala* that+ERG 3plERG COL 'that group'. The first word is the Distant decitic *nguni* 'that' in its suppletive ERG form, as discussed in section 2.5. What is unusual is that the subject reduced pronoun is included in the expression, as well as occurring before the verb. A similar expression, this time NOM case, occurs in (32:6): *ngunu-kirri djini mala* that-COMPL 3plNOM COL 'that afore-mentioned group'. Example (38) illustrates the use of the former expression.

(38) *nguni djini mala irri-ny djin bi-pini*
[that+ERG 3plERG COL]_{ERG} 1sg-ACC 3plERG hit-RPA
That group hit me {65:10}

Kin nouns

It has already been stated that OBL marking very often occurs with Kin nouns (see Table 2.3, section 2.3). For kin nouns taking ERG case, Table 2.3 suggests that OBL does not occur with ERG case. This is generally true, but in certain circumstances OBL does occur with ERG marking. One such circumstance is when the kin noun is marked by the KINPROP affix. KINPROP marking follows case marking, and the occurrence of KINPROP governs the occurrence of OBL - except that the latter precedes the case marking. Some examples will help at this point. Example (39) includes a kin noun which is covertly ACC, and which is marked by KINPROP (amongst other things). Notice that preceding KINPROP -mi the OBL marker is shortened to just -ngi-. Example (40) on the other hand includes a kin noun with overt case marking (ERG in this example) as well as with KINPROP marking. Notice that the ERG allomorph -ri occurs (no other allomorph of ERG may occur in this environment), and is preceded by OBL -ngi- and followed by KINPROP -mi. It is examples such as (39) and (40) which preclude an analysis of KINPROP as *ngimi, unless we wish to posit the hypothesis of a discontinuous suffix.

(39) *ngarri dji-nyi-rr nya-ngini wuw-wili-ngi-mi-pm*
1sgERG 3pl-ACC-1sgNOM see-TPA
[older.brother-PL-OBL-KINPROP-DELIM]_{ACC}
I saw just (my) older brothers {66:119}

(40) *wuw-ngi-ri-m dji-ny djaga-dji-gi*
older.brother-OBL-ERG-KINPROP 3pl-ACC help-THEMSR-FUT
Older brother will help them {66:126}

ABL and ALL case on kin nouns is equally complicated, and particularly when KINPROP is also present. In the case of ALL marking, the word structure is Kinnoun-OBL-r-ALL (KINPROP does not seem to co-occur with ALL on kin nouns). In the case of ABL marking, one potential word structure is to use the -p+m(i) allomorph of the KINPROP marker preceding the ABL case, to give Kinnoun-KINPROP-ABL; and the other potential structure uses the -mi KINPROP allomorph to give the structure Kinnoun-ABL-ri-KINPROP. Example (41) illustrates the ALL structure, (42) the first ABL structure, and (43) the second ABL structure. In these complex examples, the infix -r(i)- is formally the same as ERG, but cannot possibly be ERG in this context. It is probably a transition segment in (41). In (43) it may likewise simply be a transition syllable. Alternatively, it may be PROM marking. Only further research will clarify the situation.

(41) ga-wi ngambirri-gira-r-li
 take-IMP mother-OBL-r-ALL

Take it to mother! {66:127}

(42) nyan inydji birrin-djingi-ni gunydjirri-p+m-ngiri
 3sgNOM RECIP turn-CAUS-TPA father-KINPROP-ABL

He turned himself away from (his) father {66:132}

(43) nyan inydji birrin-djingi-ni gunydjirri-ngira-ri-mi
 3sgNOM RECIP turn-CAUS-TPA father-ABL-ri-KINPROP

He turned himself away from (his) father {66:133}

Further research is needed into the complexities of kin noun inflections. Forms of the kind and complexity illustrated in this discussion of kin nouns are quite rare in natural text, in fact, examples (39) to (43) were elicited. We shall meet forms of a similar nature and complexity when I later discuss DAT marking. Fortunately, this complexity is limited to the class of kin nouns only, and to a lesser extent, to the noun yul 'man'.

Fossilized first-order ERG suffix -li-

The nouns wurpi (cf. Yolngu wiripu) 'another' 'different', and wurpm(i) 'one', have suppletive ERG forms: wurpi+li another+ERG, different+ERG, and wurpi+li+m one+ERG. Also, while wurpm-ipm one-DELIM is the NOM or ACC form meaning 'just one'; the ERG form with the same meaning is wurpi+li-pm one+ERG-DELIM. The retroflexion of the lateral in this allomorph of ERG is surprising, I have no explanation for it. The m which occurs in the forms with the meaning 'one' is of obscure origin.

Another unusual ERG form, again with final m(i) and retroflex lateral is the PAUC marker. The PAUCal marker ('a few') is -mirrpil̩i (cf. Yan-nhangu mirribulu PAUC, Alpher 1977:7) with NOM and ACC cases. However, the ERG form of this suffix is -mirrpil̩im(i). No other Djinang suffix has a suppletive ERG form, except perhaps KINPROP - providing we were to treat -ngirimi in (40) as a portmanteau KINPROP+ERG suffix. The unusual ERG forms mentioned above make the latter suggestion an entertainable possibility, although I am not analysing it that way in this dissertation.

What is significant here, and also in the discussion of Kin nouns, is that the unusual forms and complex patterns of marking occur when word-final -m(i), is present. (Even the DELIM marker, -pm(i) may be traced back to an earlier *-pimi form (cf. Djinba -pim DELIM). And this marker also occurs in quite complex patterns of marking.) The following examples illustrate some of the forms discussed.

(44) nangudu-mirrpil̩im irri-ny djin marr-ngili
 sister-PAUC+ERG 1sg-ACC 3p1ERG get-RPA

A few sisters picked me up (34:254)

(45) wurpil̩im yul-dji bu-butjal̩mi-ny bumiri-man̩bi
 one+ERG man-ERG DIST-ask-TPC forehead-hard

One man kept on asking relentlessly (67:76)

(46) yili litja-nydji bil gurrpi-n̩ wurpili-tja
 again 1duincDAT-RECIP 3duERG chase-RPC different+ERG-CONTR

Once again we were chased, but by (two) different (buffalo) (34:955)

The morphology of forms which take a word-final formative m(i) is the one area of Djinang grammar which is not satisfactorily elucidated by a combination of diachronic and synchronic methodology. Further research may shed more light on this area, but I suspect that the necessary information may in fact be beyond recovery.

2.8 TRANSITIVITY AND SEMANTIC ROLE

In this section we shall consider patterns of ACC marking, and especially how ACC marking interacts with DAT or ALL marking. The only ALL marking to be considered in this section is when ALL marks a noun which would have been expected to have been marked by ACC or DAT; we shall delay a discussion of ALL in its capacity as a peripheral case till later. Also, other aspects of ACC and DAT marking will be treated in later sections.

The traditional understanding of 'core' cases is that they have minimal semantic content, but serve rather to mark different syntactic roles within a system of transitivity relations. However, if we view ACC, DAT, and non-local uses of ALL in this way only, then we lose insights which enable us to explain why DAT or ALL case is used in certain contexts, versus ACC in others. What I am claiming is that ACC, DAT, and ALL (in its non-local function), have definite semantic content. What I will be saying below is not new, though the concepts have yet to be applied systematically in the analysis of a Yolngu language.

There are two intersecting dimensions of 'choice' (in Halliday's sense, see Kress 1976): the first dimension is whether an event is goal-directed (G-DIR) or goal-terminative (G-TERM); and the second dimension is whether the referenced participant is in the same location (SAME LOC) or different location (DIFF LOC) as the semantic subject's location. Both of these dimensions have been mentioned by others. For example, in describing LOC versus ALL alternations in Djapu, Morphy writes "Locational function is clause-wide in scope: a location function case-marker ... may only be used if all the participants enumerated in the clause are in the same place. ... If the subject is in one place and the object is in another, the local NP is always marked from the perspective of the subject" (1983:100). This is an important insight; however in Djinang (if not also in other Yolngu languages) the preceding observation applies not just to peripheral case marking, but also to core case marking as we shall see.

As for the choice between goal-terminative and goal-directed activity, consider the following quote from Blake (1977:36): "If a predicator refers to an activity that actually affects or impinges on a patient, this will normally be expressed by a transitive verb. In other cases the predicator may appear with a complement in the DATIVE or in some instances the LOCATIVE or CAUSAL." Blake recognized that there is some semantic content to the patient marking (ACC in Goddard's terminology), and that DAT (or other cases) are used when the patient is not impinged or affected. Likewise, Morphy (1983:94-96,114-116) recognizes a semantic contrast when, say, DAT is used in a context where otherwise another core case would be expected, such as marking an indirect object.

What I hope to do is to give more substance to these ideas, to show that there is an underlying system of choice that is part of the linguistic competence of Djinang speakers, and that the categories involved are the ones given above. My purpose now is to demonstrate that the semantic categories G-DIR, G-TERM, SAME LOC, and DIFF LOC, are crucial for an adequate understanding of patterns of marking in the transitivity system.

Goal-TERMinative versus Goal-DIRected

To appreciate the difference between these categories, let us consider an activity expressed by a verb as a locus in event space; with the activity represented as a curve. The activity, if transitive, may be described by a curve beginning at the semantic subject, and terminating at the semantic goal (or patient). Verbs such as 'hit', 'see', 'accept', 'remember', are of this kind. Semitransitive verbs would be represented differently: there is still a semantic subject as the beginning point of the activity locus, and there is still a goal towards which the locus is oriented, but the locus does not actually terminate at the goal. (Orientation of the locus towards a goal must not be confused with directionality, if any, in the physical activity within real space; there is no connection between the two.) Verbs of this kind involve activities which are directed or oriented towards (or from) a goal which "maintains its distance" from the directed activity of the subject. In terms of our analogy, the goal maintains sufficient distance in event space for the locus of activity to not succeed in making terminative connection to the goal. Verbs of this kind are 'talk', 'look for', 'desire', etc.

Ditransitive verbs have two loci emanating from the subject, one locus makes terminative contact with the direct object (ACC if +HU, usually UNM if -HU), and the other may or may not make terminative contact with the indirect object, depending on whether the verb is inherently G-DIR or G-TERM. No analogy is perfect, and this one is no exception. I am trying to convey an impressionistic idea, rather than give a formal definition. As a definition, it does not work in all instances; for example, why is 'ask' G-TERM (ie. takes ACC object) but 'tell' G-DIR (ie. takes DAT object)? (The verb 'tell', when it takes ACC marking, means 'report', 'blame', etc., which does make sense in terms of our analogy.) Even so, the analogy makes sense in a sufficiently large number of cases for it to provide the framework for understanding marking contrasts and the meanings conveyed by such contrasts.

One of the telling arguments for the G-TERM versus G-DIR distinction is the pattern of marking on indirect objects of some ditransitive verbs. Very often the indirect object will have ACC case, indicating a G-TERM semantic relation to the verb. In terms of our analogy, it is immediately apparent why ACC may mark an indirect object; such verbs typically involve the transfer of something to or from the indirect object as termination point of the activity locus. Verbs such as 'give', 'deprive of' (as in X-ERG deprives person Y-ACC of thing Z-UNM), and 'show' (as in X-ERG shows Y-UNM to Z-ACC), are of this type. It is possible for a ditransitive verb to be inherently G-DIR, so that the verb normally takes a non-ACC case (typically DAT) on the indirect object. Two such verbs are 'tell/report' and 'send'. Most examples of 'send' in my database (except for three) exhibit a DAT indirect object. (The exceptions took an ALL IO, which will be explained later; and a couple of elicited examples had ACC, but I omitted to enquire for the precise meaning of the latter.) The use of DAT on the indirect object is again consistent

with the above analogy: the goal of an act of sending is typically remote from the subject, so that the activity of 'sending' is a directed one. Termination of the transfer may, or may not, later take place; but the act of sending is not inherently terminative, and so DAT is appropriate for the indirect object.

Each verb, therefore, has a set of case frames which characterize the verb's potential for expressing various nuances as a function of differences of semantic roles for its arguments, according as surface case markings may be varied within the limits defined by the set of case frames. Each verb has a semantically 'least marked' case frame; and the variations of case marking permitted for each argument mark different nuances of the unmarked meaning that speakers may choose to express. Thus, for example, the verb 'give' usually takes an ACC indirect object as goal, but a Benefactive nuance obtains if the goal is marked instead by DAT. Or the verb 'talk to' or 'speak' in hundreds of occurrences takes a DAT-marked object as goal, but in a few clauses the object was marked by ACC - highlighting the object as the person to whom the speech was specifically directed. Or the verb 'hit', which takes ACC objects, may take a DAT object to express the nuance 'hit at' (but not succeed in making contact); similarly 'see' normally takes an ACC object, but DAT is used instead when one is looking directly at something without actually 'seeing' it (eg. when looking at a well-camouflaged animal).

Now we shall consider examples which illustrate some of the points made in the discussion up to this point. Since examples are taken from text, nouns are often omitted from surface structure. In fact, there is not one instance in the natural texts of a noun overtly marked by ACC as IO, and only a handful of examples of a noun marked by DAT or ALL as IO. Such constituents in O context are much more frequent, many examples of nouns marked by ACC or DAT in O context can be found, though ALL is rare in O context (because the subject and object are usually in the same location). However, even though overt nominals are often lacking, the cross-referencing pronouns reveal the case that would obtain if the nouns were present on the surface. The first set of examples (47 to 53) illustrate ACC marking the G-TERM role with transitive verbs.

(47) *bili-ny yart̩i-nya-nyi-pm-ban Peter-nyi ga John-nyi-ban*
 3du-ACC 1sg-see-RPC-DELIM-IM Peter-ACC and John-ACC-IM
 He then just imitated Peter and John {33:112}

(48) *nyabin mi-milu-wi malu-ny nya-ngi*
 how.about DIST-look.around-IMP daddy-ACC see-FUT
bilang bi w̩ni-dji kiri-ŋ
 INDEF towards return-FI PROG-FI

How about you look around to see if daddy is returning to (us)? {34:358-60}

(49) nyani djini-mirr ngurr-gim bi-pigi nganaparra-dj+a
 3sgERG this-LOC PERF-EMPH struck-RPA buffalo-ERG+NF
 gurrtji-ngi-ny+a yul-ngi-nyi
 tree-OBL-ACC+NF man-OBL-ACC

The buffalo struck the tree and the man in this same way (34:840-41)

(50) ili, bili-nyi-rr bagili-ban
 1duincNOM 3du-ACC-1sgERG fetch-IM

Let's (go), I will fetch them (two women) now (34:876)

(51) ngunyili-ban irri-ny djin ga-li, gurubi-li
 thatALL-IM 1sg-ACC 3p1ERG take-RPA camp-ALL

They took me then to (their) camp (34:253)

(52) ngunyili-pm irri-ny djin wini-djingi-n Wingu-li
 thatALL-DELIM 1sg-ACC 3p1ERG return-CAUS-RPA Lefthand-ALL

They returned me straight to Left-Hand (a nickname) (34:257)

The next example shows covert ACC on a -HU noun, the verb is transitive.

(53) girr bungan libili-ny nyumirr-djini
 COMPL [sweatUNM]_{ACC} 1plexc-ACC smell-RPA

Then (he) smelled our sweat (46:73)

Now let us consider ACC marking the G-TERM role for the indirect object of ditransitive verbs.

(54) bil bultji-djini Burrealang-li bunggawa-nyi
 3duERG report-TPA section.name-ALL boss-ACC

They reported Burrealang to the boss (66:3)

Example (54) should be compared to (72) below, where the case marking is reversed. The difference between the two examples is a function of the relative location of subject and non-subject participants, as we shall later explain. In (54), Burrealang and the speaker are in the one location, the boss and the people referenced by 'they' are in another location. In (72), the bosses are in a different location to the subject and object participants, and the latter are in the same location. Example (72) also demonstrates clearly that it is the location of the subject which is important, rather than the location of the speaker - unless of course the speaker is also the subject.

(55) ngarri irr yani-Ø wali gadi-giri-nyi
 1sgERG 1sgERG send-FUT [foodUNM]_{ACC} sister-OBL-ACC

I will send food to (my) sister {66:118}

(56) nganaparra-ban-dirri-ny bil mildirrpini kiri-ny
 [buffaloUNM]_{ACC} -IM-1sg-ACC 3duERG show-RPC PROG-RPC
 yarraman
 [horseUNM]_{ACC}

They were then showing buffalo and horses to me {34:47}

(57) djambaku bili-ny djin gu-li
 [tobaccoUNM]_{ACC} 3du-ACC 3plERG give-RPA

They gave tobacco to them {34:162}

Of thirteen clauses similar to (57), each with the verb 'give' and +HU IO, ten take ACC marking for the pronoun cross-referencing IO, and the other three take DAT marking for the equivalent pronoun. The ACC marking is the least-marked semantically. The use of DAT gives a Benefactive nuance. (DAT has other functions, such as Malefactive; but when marking the IO with the verb 'give', only the Benefactive nuance obtains in the data to hand.)

(58) djini-gi-nyi biri+ntili-pm irri-ny gaypi-li
 this-OBL-ACC chest+ALL-DELIM 1sg-ACC deprive-TPA

He snatched this from me {65:6}

Examples (47) to (58) help validate the norms for ACC marking the G-TERM role. Now we shall consider a number of examples in which DAT forms are used to indicate a G-DIR role. Some of the verbs are inherently G-DIR, for example 'call out', 'hope for', 'search for', and so must take DAT when the semantically least-marked meaning obtains. One example has already been given in (46), for the verb 'chase' 'run after' which normally takes ACC for the thing chased, but which takes DAT in (46).

(59) bat-pan in.ga djin ngu-li
 throw-IM 3sgDAT 3plERG throw-RPA

They then threw (the firebrand) towards him {24:137}

(60) in.ga yarrarra-miy-ngili, dul'
 3sgDAT aim-CAUS-RPA pow!

(He) aimed (the spear) towards him, pow! (he hit him) {34:322-23}

(61) malu djundi-n in.ga
daddyNOM descend-RPA 3sgDAT

Daddy walked down towards him (the wounded buffalo) (34:447)

(62) ganda-li lidja nibi djugadjuga-mi-ny Kiri-ny
thigh-INSTR 2p1DAT 1plexcNOM try.catch.up-CAU-RPC PROG-RPC

Striding out we tried to catch up to you (34:994)

(63) wurpan limila minigi-m Kiri-m
[emuUNM]_{ACC} 1plincDAT carry-PRES PROG-PRES

(He) is carrying the emu to us (34:1100)

(64) gungi libi baltj-ny miri, wali-gi-ban
headUNM 1plexcNOM climb.up-RPC like food-DAT-IM

We then anticipated/hoped for the food (43:38)

(65) libila witji-l+a
1plexcDAT call.out-RPA+NF

(He) called out to us (34:912)

(66) Maningrida-li-ban djina-nydji nibi garrkarrpi-ni
Maningrida-ALL-IM 3p1DAT-RECIP 1plexcNOM search.for-RPC
Kiri-ny
PROG-RPC

We searched for them on the way to Maningrida (34:747)

The verb in (66) may take ACC on the object, to express a G-TERM role under the following circumstances. If the subject must move his head from side to side to look past someone in order to see someone else, then the latter person is marked with ACC case, as in (67). Consider how hard this would be for us to understand without perceiving the difference between G-TERM role and G-DIR role.

(67) inydji-rr garrkarrpi-ni nyuni-ny
RECIP-1sgNOM search.for-TPA 2sg-ACC

I looked around (him) (to catch sight of) you

The final examples show DAT on IO with a ditransitive verb. Many examples could be given of this type, but three will have to suffice. In the first two, the DAT adds a Benefactive nuance to the G-DIR role: compare (68) with ACC marking for IO in (56); and then compare (69) with ACC marking for IO in (57).

(68) ingki limila-nydji+n mildirpi-gi
 NEG 1plincDAT-RECIP+3plERG show-FI

They (totemic spirits) will not show themselves to us (66:26)

(69) wali, diy, ... libila djin ku-ny Kiri-ny-ban
 [foodUNM teaUNM]_{ACC} ... 1plexcDAT 3plERG give-RPC PROG-RPC-IM

They were giving food and tea to us (34:251)

(70) girr bilingga yan-il-ban mir warngarriny
 then 3duDAT send-RPA-IM like what's.its.name
 dirritirri bili-ny parrtji-ni Kiri-ny,
 [thornsUNM]_{CAU} 3du-ACC pierce-RPC PROG-RPC

Then (he) sent to them thorns which would pierce (them) (53:40-41)

I have given quite a number of examples thus far in this section. This is deliberate, for I wish to place the analysis on a firm footing. The semantic contrast of G-DIR versus G-TERM is, together with the further contrast yet to be discussed, crucial for understanding the semantics of the marking patterns for O and IO; and likewise for the semantic roles which may be expressed by a DAT cross-referencing pronoun (to be dealt with later). Now we shall consider the function of ALL marking on O and IO, which is far simpler to explain and illustrate.

SAME LOCation versus DIFFerent LOCation

A few clauses in the database exhibit an ALL-marked noun, or ALL deictic (or both), in either O or IO context. This is a context where we normally expect either ACC (which may be realized as UNM in many instances) or DAT. The meaning being conveyed by ALL marking in these circumstances is simply that at the inception of the action the referent of the ALL-marked form is at a different location to the location of the semantic subject (which may be ERG or NOM). The event represented by a clause is viewed as taking place within a spatial (and temporal) setting which is contextually defined (the context being the location and time setting of the semantic subject, unless some other context is signalled explicitly by locational or temporal particles or nouns). The contextually-defined spatial setting defines a locale within the scope of which actions take place. The extent of the locale is relative, rather than absolute. (The same is true of time changes.) Some actions involve participants which are not

within that locale, and in these circumstances ALL may be used to specifically mark such participants as being external to the locale of the subject. However, this is the marked case. The lack of ALL marking on O or IO does not necessarily imply that the O or IO referents are situated within the subject's locale; it is potentially ambiguous, although the textual and real-world context normally supply sufficient cues to locate O and IO referents unambiguously.

Morphy (1983:100) mentions the SAME LOC versus DIFF LOC contrast with reference to local and temporal peripheral extensions to the sentence or clause. However, we shall see from the examples below that the contrast applies equally well within the sentence core, at least in Djinang. (I believe it is not restricted to just Djinang.) Before considering ALL with O and IO, first I shall give example (71) illustrating the fact that Djinang uses ALL in peripheral local extensions of the clause as does Djapu, and also that the referent marked by ALL is distant from the subject referent (compare Morphy's example 150, *ibid*:100).

(71) gurrpuli-ban libili-ny djin nya-ngini, munuymunuy-li
 open.plain-ALL-IM 1plexc-ACC 3pdERG see-RPA paperbark.tree-ALL
 They saw us among the paperbark trees across the plain (34:1180)

Example (72) is a further example of ALL as a peripheral extension of the clause; except in this example the destination is +HU. The verb 'take' is transitive, and always uses ALL marking for the destination. Another example was (51).

(72) nyani ngunu dji-ny ga-ngili, Paul-nyi ga
 3sgERG [thatUNM]_{ACC} 3pl-ACC take-RPA [Paul-ACC and
 Silas ngunyili, bunggawa-li-ban
 SilasUNM]_{ACC} thatALL boss-ALL-IM
 He took those ones, Paul and Silas, to the boss then (32:54)

The fact that ALL implies DIFF LOC is clearly seen in some unexpected collocations, as in (73). In English, we 'climb a tree', with the tree as direct object. In Djinang, the tree is marked by ALL because the final location is not the location of the subject at the inception of the action.

(73) ngarri djunggi-l-dirr baltji-li
 1sgNOM tree-ALL-1sgNOM climb.up-RPA
 I climbed up a tree (34:65)

The following two examples exhibit ALL marking O. The verb 'accept' is semitransitive, normally taking DAT for the O nominal; while 'praise' is transitive, taking ACC for the O nominal. However, since 'Jesus' is in a location different from the subjects, ALL is appropriate in O context for these clauses. I emphasize once again that these are not elicited sentences; the next two occurred in the retelling of a Bible story. A third example was given as (54), two more occur in (32:7) and (33:66).

(74) ngunu-bila nyuni marr inydji yirrpi-gi, Garray-iji
 that-INDEF 2sgNOM soul/powerUNM RECIP set-FI Wonderful-ALL
 If you accept Jesus (32:122)

(75) a Djesu-ng-ban nami-ji-ban wuk-ny Kiri-ny-ban
 - Jesus-GEN-IM above-ALL-IM praise-RPC PROG-RPC-IM
 (He) was praising then the One above concerning Jesus (33:67)

The next examples give ALL marking on a noun and a pronoun as IO for clauses having ditransitive verbs. Notice that if the IO is +HU, usually it will be cross-referenced by the DAT reduced pronoun, even though the case on the IO is ALL. This does not mean that ALL marking is a subtype of ACC marking; it is just that there is no ALL paradigm of reduced pronouns, in which case the DAT paradigm is used suppletively instead. Such examples are the only ones I know of in which the case on the reduced pronoun does not agree with the case on the cross-referenced nominal. The verb 'bring' takes an overt nominal IO only when the referent of the IO is other than the semantic subject. In (77), the equivalent Gupapuyngu clause has OBL on IO *yagatay*. The use of OBL in other Yolngu languages makes it difficult to perceive this underlying pattern in those languages; for while OBL is the surface marking, the underlying role is that of ALL case - the latter only appearing as an overt case when the IO is -HU. With the weakening of OBL case, Dj̄inang has normalized the surface marking of +HU to conform to the underlying pattern. Some further examples may be found in (66:141) 'send', (66:143) 'bring', (34:268) 'send', with -HU IO, (32:151) 'pray to' loanword, (43:25) 'insert'.

(76) djina wangi-dji "djining nyumila pirru-ma wali
 3plDAT say-FUT [thisUNM] ACC 2duDAT bring-YPA [food] ACC
 nyumila-r-ji"
 2du-OBL-ALL

(He) said to them "She brought this food to you two" (66:139)

(77) ngarri in.ga-rr yan-ali djurra yagatay-iji
 1sgERG 3sgDAT-1sgERG send-TPA [bookUNM] ACC taboo.name-ALL

I sent the book to "yagatay" (66:140)

One further example needs to be given, because it illustrates how information may be divided between clauses to avoid overloading the semantic content of a clause. The context of the example needs explaining. I was about to leave the area for an extended period, and I asked Manbarrarra how I would say "I will tell my father about you". Example (78) is the reply he gave. At the time, my father was several thousand miles away. Notice he did not use ALL on the noun 'father', but rather DAT - which is the least semantically marked case for the IO of the verb *bultji-* 'tell' 'report'. The cross-referencing reduced pronouns repeated after the verb indicate that there is an adjoined clause, with the same verb obligatorily deleted from the surface structure, but taking the extra argument *nyuni-ny* 2sg-ACC 'you' as direct object. When ACC occurs overtly with this verb, the stem has the nuance 'report'. Thus this sentence means "I am going to tell something to my father, I am going to report you to him". The first time he gave his reply, he used just one clause (ie. *in.ga-rr* not articulated after the verb), but then immediately changed it to the form in (78).

When (54) is compared with (78), we obtain the following picture for the verb *bultji-*. If the O referent has DIFF LOC role, then it is marked ALL, and the IO will be assumed to be in the SAME LOC role (else how could the event of 'telling' occur?) and take ACC marking. If, however, the O referent has SAME LOC role (as in 78), then it is marked by ACC, and an IO having DIFF LOC role will be marked by DAT, indicating the directed nature of the event.

(78) *gunydjirri-gir-ki in.ga-rr bultji-gi*
 father-OBL-DAT 3sgDAT-1sgNOM tell-FUT
in.ga-rrri nyuni-ny
 3sgDAT-1sgERG 2sg-ACC

I will tell my father about you

It should be clear now how the system operates. Table 2.10 summarizes our previous discussion: it gives the case of the nominal (which may be absent from surface structure) for each of three syntactic contexts; O of transitive verb, O of ditransitive verb, IO of ditransitive verb. Each of these is the subcategorized by the dimension of G-TERM role versus G-DIR role; and the resulting categories are cross cut by the dimension of DIFF LOC versus SAME LOC. Some cells in the matrix are empty, which possibly indicates that such a combination of categories never obtains.

The numbers refer to example numbers. Examples (59-61), and (63), are not in the table. These examples are ones in which a peripheral 'motion towards' clause extension, which we would expect to be marked with ALL on an overt nominal, is marked by DAT only on the cross-referencing pronoun. Considering (76), an ALL-marked nominal could legitimately be added to such clauses, marking the thing towards which the motion takes place. However, since

Table 2.10 Roles Marked by Case in O and IO Contexts

		SAME LOC		DIFF LOC	
Transitive	0	G-TERM	ACC 47-50,53	ALL	75
		G-DIR	DAT 56,62,64-6	ALL	74
		nuance ->	ACC 67		
Ditransitive	0	G-TERM	ACC 51-2,77,78	ALL	54
		G-DIR	-	-	
Ditransitive	IO	G-TERM	ACC 54	ALL	76
		nuance ->	DAT 68-9		
		G-DIR	DAT 70,78	ALL	77
		?nuance ->	ACC 54		

the table summarizes behaviour only in O and IO contexts, these examples of peripheral extension do not appear there.

Notice that (78) must be placed with (70), rather than with (77). The latter placement would have obtained if the noun in (78) had been marked for ALL case, as *gunyɔ̃d̃j̃irri-gira-r-li* (cf. example 41 in section 2.7).

2.9 ACCUSATIVE and DATIVE

In this section we shall consider further the behaviour of ACC and DAT case marking; and also the functions of ACC or DAT reduced pronouns. The first part of this section deals with ACC, then later with DAT.

Firstly we shall consider the frequency of the OBL marker before ACC case marker. Table 2.11 gives the frequencies, for various classes of nominals. In other Yolngu languages (such as Djapu, Djambarrpuynngu, Gupapuyngu), OBL occurs just with peripheral cases; and in particular, ACC case does not occur with OBL. In fact, ACC case is typical only with +HU nouns, and comparatively rare with -HU nouns. Deictics do not take ACC (though they do take OBL), and the ACC form of deictics is homonymous with NOM forms (ie. UNM). The Djinang situation is

Table 2.11 Frequency of OBL Preceding Overt ACC Case Marker

Category:	%
kin noun	100
+HU proper noun	0
+HU interrogative/indefinite pronoun	0
pronoun	0
other +HU nouns (including spirit beings)	77
-HU nouns	75
deictic	100

somewhat different. Firstly, OBL has a wider distribution: obligatory with ACC-marked kin nouns, nearly always on other ACC-marked +HU nouns, never on ACC-marked +HU proper names, and may even occur on ACC-marked -HU nouns. Secondly, ACC has a slightly wider distribution: being able to occur on deictics - although the UNM deictic forms are by far the most common ACC forms (paralleling the situation in other Yolngu languages). Table 2.11 shows only the relative percentages of OBL marking when ACC is overtly marked: thus it would be incorrect, for example, to assume from the percentage for deictics that in O context deictics always take the form stem-OBL-ACC; rather what is meant is that if ACC occurs overtly on a deictic, then OBL will precede it in 100% of all instances. Similarly with -HU nouns, which are common in text in UNM form; but of the few which do occur with ACC marking, OBL also occurs in 75% of those instances. These facts are entirely consistent with the loss of OBL as a case marker in Djinang. The category of +HU proper nouns includes the words *maju* 'daddy' (Djuwing moiety), and *muri* 'daddy' (Yirritjing moiety), which we otherwise would have expected to belong to the class of kin nouns.

Body parts (including secretions and emotional or psychic states) are inalienably possessed. When a possessed body part occurs in O context a special construction is used. Instead of a possessive pronoun form (GEN) together with an ACC-marked noun, the possessed noun is UNM (covertly ACC), and the possessor is indicated by an ACC reduced pronoun in normal pre-verbal position. The possessed noun usually precedes the reduced pronoun, though not necessarily so. Some examples of this construction are given below. Some further examples are found in {46:65,73}, and {50:333}.

(79) gapi ... biri-galmirr linyili-ny
 [waterUNM]_{CAU} ... [chest-cicatriceUNM]_{ACC} 1duexc-ACC
 Katji-ni Kiri-ny
 reach-RPC PROG-PRC

The water reached the level of our chest-scars {34:1018}

(80) ngunu-ngir libili-ny nyumirr-djin bunggan
 that-ABL 1plexc-ACC smell-RPA [sweatUNM]_{ACC}

Because he smelled our sweat {46:87}

Finally, in verbless clauses, ACC-marked nominals do not occur unless a transitive verb is "understood", though not appearing in surface structure. There is only one example of this nature in the data base.

Now we shall go on to consider DAT case. Table 2.12 gives frequencies of OBL marking preceding overt DAT marking on some nominal classes. The classes of 'other +HU nouns', and '+HU interrogative/indefinite pronouns', are not given with numerical figures, due to a lack of sufficient occurrences to make figures indicative of the actual situation. In the database, neither category of nominal has DAT occurring with OBL, but only four forms are represented. I do know from experience in the language that OBL can occur with DAT on both these classes, though infrequently; the most commonly occurring examples are when other suffixes (such as PL, or GEN) obtain on the DAT-marked form.

Table 2.12 Frequency of OBL Preceding Overt DAT Case Marker

Category:	%
kin noun	100
+HU proper noun	0
+HU interrogative/indefinite pronouns	low
pronoun	33 (see discussion below)
other +HU nouns (including spirit beings)	low
-HU nouns	10
deictic	17

Comparing Table 2.12 with Table 2.11 suggests that OBL marking before DAT has not widened its distribution as much as has OBL marking before ACC. Of the few forms in which OBL occurred with DAT on a -HU noun, the noun had a stem-final ng phoneme, which strongly conditions the occurrence of OBL.

Consider now the pronoun forms (see Table 2.12) which take OBL with following DAT marker. These are special forms, and their function is quite different to the functions of DAT in all other contexts, and on all other nominal classes. On these pronouns, OBL takes the form -r-, (-ngar- after 3sg or 3pl stems), and DAT -ki then follows. The resulting DAT forms are functionally a semantic subject (and may co-occur with an ERG or NOM nominal), and have the meaning 'X does the action during the physical absence of the other contextual participants' where X is the semantic subject referent. This is one further example of DAT being used as Agent (or Subject) in an Australian language (see Blake 1977:35, in which he cites an example from Djingili). The following are some examples. It should be noted that the actual frequency of occurrence of these forms in text is far lower than Table 2.12 suggests. By accident it happened that my computerized database included nearly every instance of these forms in my total database.

(81) ili, bili-nyi-rr bagili-ban, djini djam
 1duincNOM 3du-ACC-1sgERG fetch-IM [thisUNM]_{NOM} later.today
 nyan-ngar-ki bali-dji yili-mirri
 3sg-OBL-DAT die-FI again/after-LOC

Let's (go), I will fetch them (2 women) now, later this (buffalo) may die behind us while we are gone (34:876-7)

(82) bilay-pilay lim gubi-yi, nyan-ngar-ki duli-tji-dji
 far-far 1plincERG leave-IMP 3sg-OBL-DAT rotten-INCHO-FUT

Let's leave it (the buffalo) far away, it can get rotten all by itself (34:974-5)

Further examples may be found in text 22: in a verbless clause (22:278), and in a transitive clause (22:279). Djänba has this function, but uses a free form gana 'just' (equivalent to Djänang yarimi 'just'). gana is used following pronoun forms inflected for OR case: for example, ngarra-kung gana 1sg-OR 'just' meaning 'I alone'. I am unaware of pronominal forms with a DAT-like inflection having this function in any other Yolngu language.

The next topic we shall consider is 'switching reference'. Djänang usually uses the overt occurrence of a full pronoun (sometimes with a co-referential noun), having ERG or NOM case, to signal a switch of reference to a new semantic subject. However, there is another means of switching reference using DAT marking on a nominal (except that GEN is used instead on a

pronoun - see the beginning of section 2.4, where this is explained to be the result of historical change, formerly the pronominal form would have been DAT). This should be glossed "As for X, ..." where X is a participant previously identified in the discourse. (This gloss was suggested to me by a Djinang speaker with some command of English.) Some instances of it could better be thought of as Topicalizing something or someone referred to in the preceding context; (84) is such an example. Some examples from the database are the following.

(83) *djin-gira-ki gurrbi, Manguw, kukunat mir ngili nyini-Ø*
 this-OBL-DAT place Manguw coconut like 1duinc sat-YPA

As for this place Manguw, we sat (there at) the coconut (palms) (22:180)

(84) *ingki djinim dirra-dju-w, djining+a mirkng*
 NEG [thatUNM] ACC eat-THEMSR-IMP [thisUNM+NF] NOM [badUNM
 wali, djinim-ki ngunung-ngu biligi nyimila-rr
 foodUNM] NOM that-DAT [thatUNM-DEIC] DAT long.ago 2duDAT-1sgNOM
 bultji-djini
 tell-RPA

Don't eat that, this is bad food. As for this (food) I told you both about it long ago. (53:28-30)

(85) *djunggi-gi wirr*
 tree-DAT NEG

As for the trees, there weren't any. (22:215)

DAT-marked reduced pronouns also occur in verbless clauses. One example is (85) above, in which 'tree' is topicalized. However, the most common function of DAT-marked pronouns in verbless clauses is to mark possession. However, other functions are possible. Of 17 examples of a DAT reduced pronoun in a verbless clause, 13 marked possession (76%), 2 marked Beneficiary, 1 marked Purposive, and 1 marked Topicalization. Some examples follow.

(86) *nyani gulmi-ngi-m bilngga*
 3sgNOM [younger.brotherUNM-OBL-KINPROP 3duDAT] NOM

He is their younger brother (34:245)

(87) *nginibi lidja wuw-wili-ngi-m*
 1plexcNOM [2p1DAT older.brother-PL-OBL-KINPROP] NOM

We are your older brothers (67:12)

The following illustrates Purposive; the verb 'go' is "understood":

(88) nyabini, djili nyimi, ngiliny maypil-gi ngunyi-ingu
 how.about here 2duNOM 1duexcNOM meat-DAT thatALL-DEIC
 How about you two (stay) here, (and) we (will go) for meat in that direction? (34:591)

In what follows, we shall be discussing the various functions of DAT reduced pronouns. Several of the functions have already been discussed in this or previous sections. The functions will be enumerated now, with examples given later - one example per function. Although the examples have only DAT reduced pronoun forms, it is quite permissible for a co-referential DAT-marked noun, or NP, to co-occur with the DAT reduced pronoun. In text, as has already been stated, such nominals are normally deleted from surface structure, because in most clauses their referents are 'old' information.

Functions of DAT reduced pronouns:

1. marking goal of G-DIR activity (see section 2.8)
2. marking Benefactive or Malefactive function (12) (35) (90)
3. marking O of semitransitive verb (91)
4. marking IO of ditransitive verb (69-70) section 2.8
5. marking Possessive function (92)
6. marking Aversive function (93)
7. marking "on account of ...", 'with respect to', ...
 when a participant has only an indirect
 relationship to the activity (22) (89) (94)
8. maintaining salience of a participant (95) (34:258)

(89) a ngarri djining, wali nyi-rr gu-ng
 - 1sgPROM [thisUNM]_{PROM} [food]_{ACC} 2sgACC-1sgERG give-FUT
 in.ga, mundjarr
 3sgDAT [presentUNM]_{ACC}

I (will do) this: I will give you a present of food on account of him (34:274)

(90) gadjigarr in.ga minibi-li
 [pathUNM]_{ACC} 3sgDAT close-RPA

He (the buffalo) closed the path to him (the man) (34:809)

(91) in.ga-rr yawngi-nyi
 3sgDAT-1sgNOM afraid-RPC

I was afraid of it (the buffalo) (34:317)

(92) ngul_i-pan gapi-mirr-ban bil nyini-ny, gurrbi bilngga
 thatLOC-IM water-LOC-IM 3duNOM sit-RPC [areaUNM 3duDAT]_{LOC}

There in the water they lived then, in their country {19:96}

(93) djunggi-mirr in.ga pirrgili-nyi
 tree-LOC 3sgDAT take.cover-RPC

(He) took cover behind the tree for fear of it (the buffalo) {34:851}

(94) galng ngunungi litja gubi-ni
 [bodyUNM thatUNM]_{ACC} iduinc leave-RPA
 gim bilay-pilay, gapi-nyirring
 because far-far water-PRIV

He left that carcass on account of us, because (it was) far away in dry country {34:964}

(95) ngul_i-ban-gima libila balnggi-dji-ni
 thatLOC-IM-EMPH 1plexDAT afternoon-INCHO-RPA

When we (got) there, it was the afternoon {34:1085}

A count reveals there are at least 17 examples in the data base of the type illustrated by (94). In such instances, all that the DAT marking indicates is that there is a participant implicated in the activity in some respect. The way that participant is implicated way vary widely, and is not signalled in any way by the morphemes obtaining in surface structure. The hearer must supply the additional components of meaning to make proper sense of the clause. In examples such as (95), the semantic role is still that of an 'implicated participant', but the implication is so vague that an English gloss for libila 1plexDAT is not possible. The DAT reduced pronoun in (95) seems only to indicate that the participants in the story are still salient in the viewpoint of the narrator. In Possessive examples like (92), (86), and (87), the DAT form is used adnominally within an NP to express a head - possessive qualifier relation. Examples of this nature are very numerous.

The final use of DAT marking is in PURPositive constructions. With motion verbs, constructions of the form 'go meat-DAT' are common examples of PURP. Less common are examples in which DAT occurs on a nominalized verb form. The latter construction is more prevalent in other Yolngu languages, in Dj̄inang it is used extremely rarely and may possibly be losing ground to an alternative PURP construction which uses ALL case marking (see section 2.10).

The NMLSR affix derives a noun from a verb, and the affix is homophonous with the TPI/RPI inflection - from which it derives historically. The PURP takes the form stem-NMLSR-DAT; some examples follow.

(96) ngarri giri-Ø bunggul nya-nyir-gi ga dutj
 1sgNOM go-FUT [corroboreeLNM see-NMLSR-DAT]_{DAT} and return
 I will go to see the corroboree and return (afterwards) (65:32)

(97) djan ragi-li-ban ngurri-nyir-gi-ban
 3p1NOM enter-RPA-IM lie.down-NMLSR-DAT-IM
 They entered (the hut) then in order to sleep (24:117)

A historical note is of interest here. In Dhuwal/Dhuwala, some verbs form the Purposive as stem-nha-raw. This is a resegmentation of an earlier form *stem-nhara-wu, where -nhara is an old NMLSR form (see Heath 1980b:41, and Morphy 1983:77), and -wu is, of course, an allomorph of DAT -*Gu. The Djinang segmentation in (96) and (97) corroborates this.

Djinba forms the PURPOSIVE similarly to Dhuwal/Dhuwala. For example, the verb ngar'-ya-nmak breathe-FACT-FUT forms the PURP as ngar'-ya-na-ruw breathe-FACT-NMLSR-PURP 'in order to breathe'.

2.10 ALLATIVE CASE

This section will review the functions of ALL case marking. ALL typically marks the goal of motion, but it has other functions as well. The use of ALL to mark O or IO when the referent of the nominal so marked is situated at a locale different from the locale of the semantic subject has already been dealt with at length in section 2.8. ALL marking on different classes of nominal was discussed in section 2.3. The function of ALL marking 'temporal deixis' was discussed at the beginning of section 2.5, and an example was given in (17) of the same section.

The following examples illustrate ALL in its normal function of marking 'goal of motion'. A Possessive NP is illustrated in example (100), ALL marking a +HU noun can be found in (72), marking a +HU proper noun in (52), and with the verb 'climb' in (73).

(98) Ngunung ngunyi_li-pm-ban liny gurupi-gi
 [thatUNM]_{ACC} thatALL-DELIM-IM 1duexcERG chase-FUT
 gurubi-_li-ban
 place-ALL-IM

We will chase that (buffalo) now to the place {34:792}

(99) djin yagi-_ni giri-ny djirrk-il+a garrung-il+a,
 3plERG insert-RPC HABIT-RPC string.bag-ALL+NF flour.bag-ALL+NF
 batjparra-_l+a
 large.string.bag-ALL+NF

They used to put it into string bags, or into flour bags {43:25}

(100) mir gurubi-_li ngilitja-r-_li il wini-dji
 like place-ALL 1duinc-OBL-ALL 1duincNOM return-FUT

And so we will return to our own place {49:13}

ALL case marking may be used to derive Purposive verbs. In Yolngu languages, DAT marking the nominalized verb form is the normal Purposive construction: and Djänang still uses this construction (see 96 and 97 of section 2.9). However, Djänang has an alternative Purposive form. (Djapu seems to have the same construction; see Morphy 1983:131-2, example 261.) The construction involves adding ALL to the nominalised form of the verb, and the resulting form may (or may not) itself be used as a stem in a further verbal derivation. An example in which the Purposive is derived from a locative particle 'near' is ngidjirrkng-_li-tj-dji near-ALL-INCHO-FUT 'to make it be close' (locational sense), 'to make it be soon' (temporal sense). Further examples are given below, in which the stem is derived from a verb in each instance. Example (102) has a reduced pronoun (cross referencing the O participant) preceding the purposive predicate, which shows that the verb is being used as a purposive predicate "to show me" rather than as a derived nominal "to the showing"

(101) lim giri-Ø yigili-nyir-_li
 1plincNOM go-FUT swim-NMLSR-ALL

We will go for a swim

(102) irri-ny gundjirr-pirru-ngili ma_u-r
 1sg-ACC arm-bring-RPA daddy-ERG
 irri-ny mildirpi-_nir-_li
 1sg-ACC show-NMLSR-ALL

Daddy led me by the arm to show me (the wounded buffalo) {34:422-3}

(103) a djini-ngiri yigili-gi guyi gurrpi-gi
 - this-ABL swim-FUT [fishUNM]_{ACC} chase-FUT
 gar-gurriyili-dj-nyir-li-dji-gi
 groin-to.outside-INCHO-NMLSR-ALL-THEMSR-FUT

Swimming from this side, he chased the fish to cause them to come into the open {34:554-5}

The final topic to be discussed is the use of ALL to mark 'spatial deixis'. The idea here is that ALL may be used to orient an activity in some direction; all instances of this function in my data base also involve a body part noun connoting 'facing' or 'pointing', and several use the name of a seasonal wind to indicate the direction. Three examples follow.

(104) irr nyini-Ø biri-tjalatjang-ili
 1sgNOM sit-PRES chest-south.wind-ALL

I am sitting facing the south {66:7}

(105) ngambu-barra-ili irr giri-Ø
 eye-north.west.monsoon-ALL 1sgNOM go-FUT

I will go in a north-westerly direction {66:9}

(106) gungi buki in.ga-rr bari-ngili,
 [headUNM embankmentUNM]_{LOC} 3sgDAT-1sgNOM lie.flat-RPA
 ngurri-djirridjirri-ili gapi-ili
 nose-downwards-ALL water-ALL

I spread myself on the edge of the embankment for fear of (the buffalo), headfirst towards the water {34:424-5}

2.11 ABLATIVE CASE

This section will discuss the various functions of ABL case marking. ABL typically marks the point away from which motion occurs; but like ALL case, it has a variety of other functions. The idea of 'motion from a spatial point', which characterizes ABL in its normal local function, has been extended to the idea of 'source of a directed activity'; and in logical space to the notion of 'logical contingency' - where a subsequent event is viewed as being logically contingent on the prior occurrence of a preceding event, from which it arises as a logical consequence. Motion is, of course, a directed activity; and so it is not difficult to see how the local function of ABL marking was generalized to events which do not involve motion. Time is also inherently directional, so that ABL is used to indicate temporal sequence, translatable in English as 'after that', 'afterwards', and so forth.

Several of these functions have already been dealt with in the previous discussion of deictics in section 2.5: temporal sequence was illustrated by examples (18) and (19); example (21) illustrated ABL as 'source of a directed activity', and example (20) illustrated 'logical contingency'.

At the end of section 2.5 the use of ABL followed by DELIM on deictics to indicate 'on this side', and 'on that side', was discussed. If the stem is not a deictic, then the DELIM morpheme may be omitted. Example (107) illustrates this sense of ABL marking on the words 'left' and 'right'. The only other words which may take ABL with this sense are wurpmi 'one': wurpi-ngir-pmi one-ABL 'on the one' (note the stem is discontinuous) which is used in counting expressions such as gumbirri wurpi-ngir-pmi hand one-ABL 'on one hand' 'five'; and the root mal 'part' (which occurs only in compound stems, or with ABL case): mal-ngiri part-ABL 'part way' 'half way'.

(107) wingu-ngir nu-nunydjirri-nyi ban djunupa-ngiri,
left-ABL DIST-go.fast-RPC on.the.other.hand right-ABL
irr rindi-ngil in.gi-rrri
1sgERG sever-RPA 3sgDAT-1sgERG

On his left side he kept running, but on his right side - I had severed it for him {34:640-1}

Now we shall continue the discussion of ABL used with the sense of 'source'. The following two examples illustrate further how ABL marking may be used to indicate the idea of logical consequence (or contingency), translatable as 'because of' or 'due to'. The first example involves a conversational exchange between two totemic men who had speared each other, and their respective sons asked them for what reason their fight had come about. The sons speak first, then the fathers, then sons, then fathers.

(108) "Wiy! Nyim nyaliki-dj-nyi?" "Ngil inydji-l parrti-ni
hey! what how-INCHO-TPC 1duincERG RECIP-1duincERG spear-TPA
"Nyim-ngiri?" "Miyilk-ngiri"
what-ABL woman-ABL

"Hey! What happened?" "We speared each other." "Because of what?" "Because of a woman."
{19:70-3}

The next example is taken from a text in which the narrator had just speared his first wallaby. He had hit it in the leg, severing the main tendon. The wallaby escaped temporarily, dragging its disabled leg from which the broken spear protruded (also see 107 above).

(109) malu marrngi-ni ngunu-ngir, dapili-dj-nyir-bi
 [daddyUNM]_{NOM} hear-RPA that-ABL, [break-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR
ngunung djarak
 thatUNM spearUNM]_{ABL}

Daddy could hear it due to that broken spear shaft (34:645)

The following example illustrates ABL in its local function of marking 'away from' with motion verbs.

(110) Wamut djining gi-kiri-mi Walanggat-ngiri
 [WamutUNM]_{NOM} thisUNM DIST-come-PRES Walanggat-ABL

Wamut is now coming from Walanggat (34:1187)

The difference between ABL and OR marking 'source' needs further explaining. OR case marks the source of something when no directionality is involved (see section 2.13 for details); while ABL marks the source of something when there is directionality involved. The directionality (or lack of it) is a function of the main verb of the clause, rather than being inherent in the meaning of OR or ABL case; and it is the inherent directionality value of the verb which governs the case marking. Thus ABL marks the function of 'source' of a directed activity. (Compare the examples following and in section 2.5 with the examples for OR case in section 2.13.) The 'directionality' inherent in this use of ABL reminds us of the G-DIR function of DAT case and ALL case, as discussed in section 2.8. Those interested in the Whorfian hypothesis may find these facts to be of considerable interest. There is a semantic contrast of 'directed' versus 'non-directed' which emerges in the transitivity system (as G-DIR versus G-TERM role), and in the peripheral case marking system (as governing ABL versus OR marking). This is not a coincidence.

(111) ga lim gungi-marrayarr-dji-m giri-m+a, galngi-ngir
 and iplinc_{NOM} head-bristle-THEMSR-PRES HABIT-PRES+NF body-ABL

And our hair bristles (with fright) from our body (32:25)

(112) a nyani ngunu-ngiri nam-ngiri Gunydjirr in.ga
 - 3sg_{NOM} that-ABL above-ABL [FatherUNM]_{NOM} 3sg_{DAT}
wangi-n-ban
 speak-RPA-IM

And the Father spoke to her from on high (53:27)

If ABL, marking 'source of directed activity', occurs on a noun which is inherently temporal, then the resulting form indicates an event which is 'temporally directed' (ie. from a past time towards a future time); and may be translated by English 'since', or 'ever since'. An

example follows, where the temporal noun is 'dreamtime', that distant past time when totemic being walked the earth.

(113) ngilimil-angi mirrkungaling-ngir bultji-ni djanguny
 1plinc-GEN dreamtime-ABL tell-RPA [storyUNM]_{ACC}
 ... our story (which) has been told ever since the dreamtime {42:40}

A very common function of ABL marking is to signal 'after that'. This is not different in principle from the 'temporally directed' sense discussed above; however, in this case, the nominal to which DAT is affixed is always a deictic. Example (18) of section 2.5 illustrates this function of ABL marking. It is extremely common in text as a marker of temporal sequence. However, temporal sequence is only one of its possible senses. The form *ngunu-ngiri* that-ABL can mean 'from that place', 'from that person', or 'after that time'. A related form may be derived by adding the COMPLETETIVE affix *-Girri*, where G is realized as either k (in disjunctive dialects) or g (in smooth dialects); hence *ngunu-ngir-kirri* that-ABL-COMPL, for example. When this form takes a temporal sense, the COMPL morpheme indicates that the preceding event has concluded and a new event now follows in temporal sequence. This form therefore explicitly excludes any temporal overlap of the successive events. The ABL + COMPL form also has non-temporal functions. For example, it may take a local sense, meaning 'from the person(s) back there behind'. A full discussion is left till the discussion of COMPL in section 3.7. Corresponding to *ngunu-ngiri* and *ngunu-ngir-girri*, are the forms based on the Proximate deictic *djini-* 'this'; *djini-ngiri*, and *djini-ngir-girri*. These two forms are used similarly to the forms based on *ngunu-* 'that', though they are not used as frequently.

The following rather lengthy example illustrates the use of *ngunu-ngir-kirri* to mark anaphora.

(114) manyak, biling ngunu-ngir bil gir-ali, bininggili,
 okay 3duNOM that-ABL 3duNOM come-RPA [twoUNM
 yul-mirrpili girri, Mininyili, a warngarriny Rurri,
 man-PAUC COMPL Mininyili - what's.his.name Rurri
 ngunu-ngir-kirri djani mala
 that-ABL-COMPL 3p1NOM COL1NOM

Okay, two people, *Mininyili* and *Rurri*, who were also men, came from that (group) - that group who were back there {19:24}

The next example features the same form indicating temporal sequence without temporal overlap. The example comes from the story of Adam and Eve, when they had just donned clothes for the first time.

(115) girr ngunu-ngir-kirri, inydji bil ... guni-dji-n-ban
 COMPL that-ABL-COMPL RECIPIENT 3duNOM ... shame-INCHO-RPA-IM

Then after that, they were mutually ashamed (53:59)

Finally, ABL may be used to mark 'spatial deixis', similarly to ALL (see the end of section 2.10). However, ABL orients the activity away from some direction. Similarly to the ALL instances, a body part noun may occur, having the sense 'facing' or 'pointing'; and the names of winds may be used to indicate the direction away from which the activity is oriented. The following is an example.

(116) bumiri-barra-ngir irr giri-Ø
 forehead-north.west.monsoon-ABL 1sgNOM go-FUT

I will go towards the south-east (66:11)

The following is a brief summary of the various functions of ABL marking that we have discussed.

1. local function: (motion) 'away from' (103, 110)
2. source of a directed activity: 'from' (111, 112, 42, 43, 21)
3. logical contingency: 'due to' 'because of' (108, 109, 20)
4. source of a temporally directed activity: 'since' 'ever since' (113)
5. temporal sequence: 'after that' 'after this' (18)
6. anaphora, using COMPL affix: 'the previously mentioned' (114)
7. expressing the local sense 'left behind', using COMPL affix
8. temporal sequence, without temporal overlap; using COMPL affix (115)
9. with a LOC sense on some words: 'on that side', 'on the left', etc. (107)
10. spatial deixis: 'direction away from' (116)

2.12 LOCATIVE CASE

This section reviews the functions of LOC case marking, and also deals with suppletive LOC forms encountered in our previous discussion. The archaic LOC form -ngi deriving historically from an earlier *-nga LOC was discussed in section 2.3, and will not be discussed further in the present section, except to give an example of its use in (117), see also (121). Examples (117) to (119) illustrate LOC used in its local sense, meaning 'at', 'on', 'in', 'within', and so forth. Example (119) illustrates that LOC marking is -Ø for place names; notice also that in the English free translation of (119) the LOC is given an ALL-like interpretation: this

will be explained later in this section. Although place names do not take LOC marking as a rule, very occasionally the speaker will include the -mirri LOC suffix (in 6% of instances in the database).

(117) mani-ng-ban libi yulgu-li
river-LOC₂-IM 1plexcNOM arrive-RPA

We then arrived at the river {34:543}

(118) minimbirri-mirri bi tjarri-Ø
jungle-LOC HITH stand-PRES

(He) is standing somewhere in the jungle {34:785}

(119) djudju-ga-ny Kiri-nya..., djudju-ga-ny Kiri-nya,a,
drove-take-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR drove-take-RPC PROG-RPC+NF
Murwan.gi
[Murwan.giUNM]_{LOC}

(We) were driving (the cattle) along, driving (them) to Murwangi {22:197}

In section 2.8 we discussed the semantic contrast of Goal-DIRECTED activity, versus Goal-TERMINATIVE activity; describing how, amongst other things, the former is typically marked by DAT, while the latter by ACC. We also discussed how these categories interacted with the transitivity class of verbs. Also, in section 2.11 we briefly discussed how the contrast of 'directed activity' versus 'non-directed activity' accounted for the distributional differences in ABL versus OR marking having the function of 'source'. In the present section, we shall now discuss how the G-DIR versus G-TERM distinction emerges once more in patterns of surface marking. In the present instance, we are concerned with the use of ALL marking versus LOC marking of a nominal functioning as 'destination of motion'. Example (119) is one such instance, where the destination of motion is marked as LOC rather than, as we would have expected, by ALL case.

The destination of motion may be marked by either ALL case, or by LOC case; but the choice is certainly not random. The choice of marking depends on what is salient to the speaker. If he is interested in events occurring during the motion, he will use ALL case. On the other hand, if he is interested only in events which are to occur once the destination is reached, he will use LOC marking. In the latter instance, the LOC-marked nominal functions as the termination point of the motion, and as the locational setting of events which occur after having reached the destination. The semantic parallelism of termination point with the G-TERM category is obvious. Examination of the sentences following example (119) in text 22 reveals that the following context deals only with events at Murwangi. Example (119), however, does

not include an overt LOC marker, so some examples are now given illustrating LOC marking the termination point of motion towards a destination.

(120) *Guwa nyumili-nyi-rr ga-ng-ban*
 come.here 2du-ACC-1sgERG take-FUT-IM
 Bili-ny ga-ngili-ban... nambidi bala'-mirr
 3du-ACC take-RPA-IM+DUR [insideUNM house-LOC]_{LOC}
 girr bili-ny rurrtjirrimi-n-ban
 COMPL 3du-ACC wash-RPA-IM

"Come here, I'll take you both (home)" (He) took them then to the inside of his house, (and) then he washed them {32:134-6}

(121) larr-ban libi kiri-ny nyini-ny
 set.off-IM 1plexcNOM walk-RPC PROG-RPC
 Kiri-ny nyini-ny+a mani-ng djuṭ
 walk-RPC PROG-RPC+NF river-LOC₂ sit.down

We set off, walking all the way to the river (and there we) sat down {34:73-4}

(122) djari-ngili, biling mini-ny kiri-ny+a, gurru-w
 chop-RPA 3duERG carry-RPC PROG-RPC+NF [place-SPEC]_{LOC}
 (They) chopped (the log, then) they carried (it) to (their) camp {20:8}

Now we must consider the SPECific suffix *-wi*, which occurs in (122). This affix is only used with the words *gurru* 'place' 'camp', and *ganba* 'deserted camp' 'empty place' (see section 3.19, example 278 for an instance of the latter). When this affix occurs with the noun *gurru*, the stem-final *i* vowel is always assimilated to the following *w* phoneme to give the form *gurru-w(i)*. When this form is used, the speaker has either a specific locality in mind, or a specific named locality (cf. Djapu *-ngumi* which has the same function, Morphy 1983:33). If the SPEC affix occurs, no other LOC form may occur with it. This would be grounds for treating it as an allomorph of LOC case, but I prefer to treat it as a separate morpheme, since neither the Djänang or Djapu forms appear to be cognate to any Yolngu LOC affix. Thus, *gurru-wi* appears to belong to the paradigm of place names, which also do not take LOC marking. To corroborate this analysis, we note that just as place names may take ABL case marking, so too may *gurru-wi*, as in (123). Of sixteen instances of *gurru-wi* in the data base, six (38%) occur in conjunction with a place name. Another example occurs in (32:91).

The Djänba affix having the same function is *-li*. For example, *ngirri-li* place-SPEC 'camp'. In my data, the form only occurs on the word *ngirri* 'place' 'camp'. In view of the wide

variation of forms used in different Yolngu languages for this function, it is unlikely that the Djinang form is etymologically related to DAT -gi.

(123) a ngunu-ngir yagatay-ngir gurrbu-w-ngiri giri-B
 - that-ABL taboo.name-ABL place-SPEC-ABL go-FUT

From so-and-so's camp (I) come (46:198)

In Table 2.6 of section 2.5, the LOC deictic forms were shown to be based on two suppletive forms *djili* thisLOC, and *nguli* thatLOC. These are rarely, if ever, used with a temporal function (at least I know of no unambiguous examples of such use); instead they always have the local sense of 'here' and 'there', respectively. The Near-Proximate and Near-Distant forms are *djilimi* and *ngulimi*, respectively. The LOC-marked forms based on the deictic stems *djini*- 'this' and *ngunu*- 'that' are used to indicate a non-LOC function: namely 'this way' and 'that way', respectively. These forms can also be used in a non-local sense, to mean 'this way of doing it', and 'that way of doing it': the former meaning occurs in (49) of section 2.8. The interrogative/indefinite pronoun, 'which way?' or 'whichever way', corresponding to these two forms is *nyali-mirri* where-LOC. Like the LOC deictic forms, its meaning is not what we would have expected from the meanings of its parts.

The following examples illustrate the preceding comments. Example (125) not only illustrates *nguli*, but also another instance of *gurrbu-wi*, and a further instance of a LOC form marking the termination point of motion towards a destination.

(124) *Nyum djiningi, rum mirkng nyim
 2duERG [thisUNM] ACC [way.of.lifeUNM badUNM] ACC 2duERG
 djama-dji-m djili nginbil-a gurrbu-wi"
 work-THEMSR-PRES [thisLOC 1plexc-GEN place-SPEC] LOC

"You (are doing) this: you are instigating bad practices here in our area" (32:58)

(125) Warrwarr nguli, biling nyini-ny gurrbu-wi
 move.fast thatLOC 3duNOM sit-RPC [place-SPEC] LOC

They went quickly there, (and) sat at the place (20:87)

(126) djini-mirri minydji lim walmi-dji
 this-LOC THITH 1plincNOM ascend-FUT

We will go up from here this way (34:507)

(127) biling bil gir-ali, bininggili wu|gaman,
 3duNOM 3duNOM go-RPA [twoUNM old.personUNM]NOM
 ngunu-mirr-pan-gima
 that-LOC-IM-EMPH

The two old men went that way then {19:35-6}

The adverbial particle *yili* 'again' 'once more', is used to indicate succession of similar events. This particle may take LOC marking, *yili-mirri* again-LOC, but like the LOC deictic forms discussed above, the meaning is different from what we would have expected. This LOC form may be used in either a temporal sense, or a local sense. The temporal sense may be translated by English 'afterwards'. The local sense is 'coming/following behind' when motion is involved, or 'occurring behind' (see example 81 of section 2.9) when no motion is involved. Thus this word is used when sequence of events is involved, and it points to the event which 'follows'. The similarity in the meaning is more readily perceived if viewed in the following way: temporal 'following after in temporal sequence'; versus local 'following after in spatial sequence'. The next two examples illustrate the temporal and local senses of this LOC form. Note that *ngurrwakng* 'before' in example (128) is used to indicate remote future time. (This probably reflects the Yolngu view of large spans of time being intrinsically cyclic.)

(128) ngurrwakng yili-mirri djin yulgu-ng
 before again-LOC 3pINOM arrive-FUT

They will arrive a long time after (the present) {66:13}

(129) djani yili-mirri buluki djin ka-ny kiri-ny
 3p1ERG again-LOC [cattleUNM]ACC 3p1ERG take-RPC PROG-RPC

Following after (us) they were taking the cattle {34:214}

In examples (118) and (126) the DIRECTIONAL particles *bi* HITH 'towards' 'hither', and *minydi* THITH 'away from' 'thither' occurred. (The former is cognate to Djapu *be*, see Morphy 1983:62.) As may be expected from our discussion thus far in chapter 2, these two particles actually may be used in a variety of functions; and furthermore, these functions involve directed versus non-directed activity, and also local versus temporal senses. However, a full discussion of these particles is beyond the scope of this section, and will be reserved till another chapter. *bi* can be used in four ways: marking indefinite (non-remote) location, marking indefinite (earlier) time, marking motion towards a salient participant or place, or marking directed activity (non-motional) towards a salient participant or place; see section 3.15 for details. In this section, we shall consider only the first of these.

I shall give just one example, (130), in which *bi* occurs three times – each instance marking indefinite location. The context of this example is as follows: the speaker’s companions had earlier speared a buffalo on the other side of a creek and left it to rot. The speaker has just climbed a tree, but all he could see from there was live buffalo. (130) continues the narrative; (note the relative clause):

(130) *bi* *du**ling* *ngunu* *bi*+nydji *bi* *par*rti-ni,
 but [rottenUNM thatUNM HITH+RECIP 3duERG spear-TPA]_{NOM}
ngunu *ngunu*-ngir-pm, *ngunu*-ngir-pm *bi* *nyini*-nyi,
 [thatUNM that-ABL-DELIM that-ABL-DELIM]_{NOM} HITH *sit*-RPC
bi *ngurri*-nyi
 HITH *lie*-RPC

But the rotten one that they had speared somewhere, that one was somewhere on the other side, it was lying somewhere (on the other side) (34:353-5)

Further instances of *bi* are common in the texts. Examples, having various functions, may be found in the following places: (22:202,225), (32:69,105), and (34:238). A summary of the functions of LOC discussed in this section follows.

1. local function: ‘at’ ‘in’ ‘on’ ‘within’, etc. (117, 118, 119)
2. marking ‘towards termination point of motion’ (119, 120, 121, 122)
3. -wi SPEC affix marking ‘specific (or named) place’ (122, 123, 125)
4. suppletive LOC deictic forms *djili* and *nguli* (124, 125)
5. LOC deictics marking ‘this/that way’ (126, 127)
6. LOC-marked interrogative/indefinite pronoun *nyali-mirri* ‘which way’
7. LOC-marked adverbial particle *yili-mirri* (128, 129)
8. LOC function of *bi* HITH particle ‘indefinite location’ (130)

2.13 ORIGINATIVE CASE

While all Yolngu languages appear to have an OR case, the Djänang form for this case is unrelated to the typical Yolngu form -Gung(u). The Djänang form for OR is -Bi. For further comments on the origin of this form, see section 2.4. Because OR case was derived historically from the Yolngu ASSOC and INTENS affixes, it follows that in modern Djänang OR case is used to mark semantic roles which in other Yolngu languages are marked by distinct affixes. These functions have been mentioned in section 2.4, and will not be discussed further here.

In section 2.11 the difference between ABL marking 'source' of a directed activity and OR marking 'source' of a non-directed activity was discussed. I will now give a number of examples illustrating OR case used in this sense. As for the local cases, temporal and non-temporal senses obtain, depending on the semantic features of the word marked by OR case. The most common temporal example is the word ngurrwagi/ngurrwakngi 'before' 'long ago' 'the beginning'; which when it takes OR marking means 'from the beginning', 'since the beginning', 'since before', and related meanings. That is, OR used in a temporal sense marks a state which originates existentially from an event or state at an earlier time. However, used non-temporally it marks a referent (which may be a person or place) as the point of origin for an item. This sense permits OR case to be used in verb nominalizations in which an item or state comes into existence by means of the activity expressed by the verb.

The first group of examples illustrates OR used to denote a (non-temporal) source in the context of a non-directed activity. The examples include both +HU nouns, and -HU nouns (usually places) as the 'source'. Words marked by OR may be used adjectivally (as in 131), still with the sense of a non-directed 'source'. However, in the latter instance, whether the main verb involves directed or non-directed activity is irrelevant, since here OR marks an adnominal relation to the noun 'resin'. Example (132) is a coordinate NP in which there is embedded a relative clause: "that were sitting right there". The final constituents of the coordinate NP illustrate OR case used to indicate 'source' in the context of a non-directed activity (ie. of existing).

(131) nyani bunyin-balpi-gi djidji-li ngaditjali-bi
 3sgERG buttock-pound-FUT crack-ALL [ironbark.tree-OR
 galanyan
 resinUNM]_{ACC}

He will press resin from the ironbark tree into the crack (66:2)

(132) ... ngunung, miyilk-ang, djama-gin-pili,
 ... [thatUNM woman-GEN work-PROP-PL
 ngunu ngu_{li}-kum djin nyini-ny,
 thatUNM thatLOC-EMPH 3pINOM sit-RPC
 ga bunggawa ngun-gira-pi gurrbi-bi
 and bossUNM that-OBL-OR place-OR]_{ERG}

... the woman's workers that were sitting right there and the boss from that place (32:45-6)

(133) a ngilim djini-wil-tji ingki-ban lim rrupiya
 - 1plincERG [this-PL-DEF]_{OR} NEG-IM 1plincERG [moneyUNM]_{ACC}
 marr-gi wana ngunu wurpa-pi yul-bi
 get-FI [bigUNM]_{ACC} [thatUNM other-OR man-OR]_{OR}
 We won't now get lots of money from those other men (32:52)

(134) wali libi ka-ny mitjin-bi
 [food]_{ACC} 1plexcERG bear-PRC [Mission-OR]_{ACC}
 We were bearing food (which came) from the Mission (34:22)

The next three examples illustrate OR used to denote temporal source in the context of a non-directed activity.

(135) nyani ngurrwagi-pi ngunung, Murrumbitj,
 [3sgUNM beginning-OR thatUNM MurrumbitjUNM
 yul-ang-pi-bi
 Aboriginal-GEN-OR-OR]_{NOM}

That (place has) from the beginning belonged to Aboriginals only (34:218)

(136) milgali libi dirra-dj-nyi ngurrwagi-pi
 [cycad.nut]_{ACC} 1plexcERG eat-THEMSR-RPC beginning-OR

We have been eating cycad nuts since long ago (43:2)

(137) yil-dirr bultji-gi djanguny, ngurragi-pi girri
 once.more-1sgERG tell-FUT [storyUNM beginning-OR COMPL
 mirrkungalingi-bi, bultji-nir-bi djanguny
 dreamtime-OR tell-NMLSR-OR storyUNM]_{ACC}

Once again I will tell (you) a story which comes from the beginning also, a traditional story from the dreamtime (42:1-2)

Example (137) also contains a nominalization of the verb to 'tell', which means literally 'a telling' and is used adjectivally to mean 'traditional' (i.e. canonized by repeated tellings over a long period of time). Further examples of this nature are: *gingi-nyir-bi* 'thoughts' from *gingi-* 'think'; *manya-nyir-bi* 'fictitious' from *manya-* 'find' 'try out'; *wukirri-dj-nyir-bi* 'written' 'a writing' from *wukirri-dji-* 'write'; *bunduk-patji-nir-bi* 'semi-cooked (meat)' from *bunduk-patji-* 'half-cook'; *djama-dj-nyir-bi* 'a fabricated object' from *djama-dji-* 'work' 'fabricate'; and so on. An older way of nominalizing, now no longer productive, was to add the archaic nominalizer suffix *-ng(i)* to the nominalized form of the verb: for example, *bali-nyiri-ng* 'dead one' from *bali-* 'die'.

One further sense of OR marking is to convey the meaning 'about' in constructions of the type: 'a story about X', where X will be marked by OR case. GEN is usually used in constructions of this type; but in just a few examples OR is used instead. Example (138) is one of these.

- (138) ... djanguny, mir Yalurr-bi, yuw, bilapila djanguny
 ... storyUNM like Yalurr-OR yes its.like.that storyUNM
 ... yes, it's like that story about Yalurr (20:37)

2.14 PERLATIVE CASE

The etymology of PERL -mirrpmi is mentioned briefly at the end of section 2.3. In what follows, we are concerned with its functions. PERL case, in its local sense, indicates that an activity occurs through a locus in physical space. It is typically used to express motion 'through X', where X is an extended medium such as the sky, the bush, water, etc.; or 'along X' where X is a long thin entity, such as a road, a beach, or a river (bank). (139) illustrates PERL used locally.

- (139) mawurrk-mirrpm, minydji nibi djundi-dji,
 casuarina.tree-PERL THITH 1plexcNOM descend-FUT
 Gugatjirri
 [GugatjirriUNM]_{LOC}

We went away down to Gugatjirri through the Casuarina trees (34:1148)

A further function of PERL marking is INSTRUMENT-like. It conveys the sense of 'through the medium of', or 'enabled by', with nominals representing non-manipulable or non-wieldable entities. Such entities are language, persons, and attributes. It can even be used on a noun representing a wieldable entity, but when so used the speaker has in mind its enabling function. Examples (140) to (142) illustrate the sense 'through the medium of', used with non-manipulable nouns. In (140) yan-mirrpm language-PERL 'through language' is "understood", though not expressed overtly; a similar example occurs in (25).

- (140) Balanda-mirrpm in.ga wangi-Ø
 European-PERL 3sgDAT speak-YPA

(He) spoke to him in English (22:167)

- (141) yaku-mirrpm Djesu-mirrpm, yulgu-w-ban budjirri-ngiri
 name-PERL Jesus-PERL come.out-IMP-IM belly-ABL

In the name of Jesus, come out of (her) belly (32:39-40)

(142) nyuni wanngi-pm gi-kiri-Ø nyan-nga ganydjarr-mirrpm
 2sgNOM alive-DELIM DIST-go-FUT 3sg-GEN power-PERL

You will continue still living (ie. live eternally) through his power {32:125}

The third function of PERL marking is to indicate a span of similar activities; which in English would be expressed as 'from one to another', 'throughout', or as 'in one after another'. The span can be either temporal or spatial. Because the intention of PERL marking is to indicate a span of activity, it can be used to express a single participant doing a span of activity (ie. the same activity in a variety of places), or alternatively, to express one activity done by a number of participants within an extended area. The examples below illustrate both these possibilities: (143) illustrates one activity repeated over an extended time; (144) illustrates one activity done by many people at the same time but over an extended area.

(143) nyani ngurri-dji galbi-mirrpm yul-mirrpm
 3sgNOM lie.down-FUT many-PERL man-PERL

She will sleep with many men

(144) a lim ngurri-dji garray-mirrpm bala'-mirrpm
 - 1plincNOM sleep-FUT good-PERL house-PERL

And we shall sleep in many fine houses {52:20}

The similarity of PERL marking in (143) and (144) to the DISTributive reduplication of the initial syllable of a verb stem is worthy of comment here. DIST reduplication will be discussed in detail in section 3.10. Some examples of DIST reduplication may be found in the preceding examples: (110), (107), (21), and (16). Briefly, DIST signals that the activity represented by the verb is 'distributed' across a span of time, or across a group of participants (who are each doing the activity at the same time). The similarity to the last-discussed function of PERL marking is apparent. The difference between them is minimal, as far as I can discern, when the 'span' encompasses a number of different participants acting simultaneously. However, there is a difference between them when the activity spans an extent of time or space: PERL indicates a discrete activity repeated across a span of time or space; DIST indicates a non-discrete activity which continues uninterrupted across a span of time or space. (There is also DURative vowel lengthening, which has similar meaning to DIST. It signals continuity or repetition of action through a span of time, until an end point is reached. If motion is involved, then it has the added component of meaning that the participant is changing his physical location as a result of performing the activity.) It is clear from these facts that temporal and spatial spans are a basic category in the Djinang semantic system. PERL case is but one point in the semantic system where the category of 'span' is realized morphologically.

Finally, the Djinba PERL case marker is *-pani*; for example, *djunggu-pani tree-PERL* 'through the trees'. This completes our discussion of case, and the functions which may be signalled by case marking. In chapter 3 we shall consider the form and functions of non-case suffixes. Djinba forms will be given as well, where known.

3. NON-CASE MORPHOLOGY and MINOR WORD CLASSES

The focus of this chapter will be firstly to deal with those aspects of nominal morphology not discussed in the in the chapter on case; secondly, to describe the functions of the minor word classes; and lastly, to describe non-suffixal verbal morphology. Thus, by the end of this chapter, we will have covered the inflectional resources of Džinang, except for the tense/aspect/mood verb suffixes. The latter will be dealt with in chapter 4. In discussing the functions of minor word classes, it is inevitable that some of the syntax of clauses will need to be included in the discussion.

3.1 PROPRIETIVE, ALIENABLE, AND PRIVATIVE AFFIXES

PROPrietive -giningi -kiningi

The PROP affix derives nominal stems with the meaning 'having X', where X is the referent of the form to which PROP is affixed. PROP therefore indicates Possession, and is used in the context of inalienable possession. (The related affix, ALIEN, is used for alienable possession of the type 'having X'.)

The derived PROP-marked nominal may be used as the head of an NP, or adjectivally, as a verbal stem (in which case it takes further affixation), or as a predicate nominal (in which case it takes no further affixation). PROP may be affixed to the following word classes: noun, loanword (mostly Macassan or English loans), deictic, adverbial particle, nominalized verb, or interrogative/indefinite pronoun.

The unshortened form of the PROP affix is -Gining(i), where G = g or k. Which phoneme occurs in any one instance will depend on several factors: the preceding phoneme (whether vowel or consonant - k is more common after a consonant), the dialect of the speaker (g is slightly more common in smooth dialects), the word class to which the stem belongs (k is more common with adverbial particles, and nominalized verbs), and the length of the stem (k is more likely if the stem is long). The shortened form of the PROP affix is -Gin(i), with the archiphoneme G realized as above. The short PROP form typically occurs when further suffixation follows: and if the suffix which follows begins with a consonant, then the form -Gin will be used. I have only one example of -Gin occurring in word-final position. There is one exception to the rule that if suffixation follows the PROP affix then PROP takes the short form: the unshortened form of PROP is used when the allomorph -r(i) of ERG, PROM, CAU, or INSTR, follows; or when OBL -ngir(i) follows. Thus, for example: laykin-giningi-ri healing-PROP-ERG, djama-gining-ngi-mi work-PROP-OBL-KINPROP.

Examples (14) and (20) include *wanngir-nya-king* verb-NMLSR-PROP 'saving one'; and example (34) includes *djama-gin-pil-ngir* noun-PROP-PL-ERG 'the workers'. Further instances of PROP can be found in the cited texts in the following places: fossilized PROP (22:178); on a noun stem (32:23,28,74,100); on a noun stem and followed by PL (32:44,47).

One PROP form of frequent occurrence is *bubali-king(i)* randomly-PROP; which takes a variety of meanings, depending on context. It may refer to persons or things, meaning 'everyone' 'each one' 'everything'; or to location, meaning 'everywhere'; or to time, meaning 'everytime'. The form *bubali-king(i)-mirri* randomly-PROP-LOC means either 'at any time' or 'at any place'.

ALIENable -ginimi -kinimi

The ALIEN affix appears to be derived from the short form of the PROP affix, to which is added the obscure formative *-mi*, the etymology of which is unknown (see the end of section 2.7). ALIEN expresses 'having X', except that in many contexts it contrasts with PROP in that the ALIEN affix indicates alienable possession. A man characterized the difference for me as follows: (145) expresses inalienable possession - the food intrinsically belongs to the area, while (146) expresses alienable possession - the food does not intrinsically belong to the plate.

(145) *djining gurrbi, wali-gining*
 [thisUNM placeUNM]_{NOM} [food-PROP]_{NOM}
 This place is a food-bearing (place)

(146) *djining plate, wali-ginim*
 [thisUNM plateUNM]_{NOM} [food-ALIEN]_{NOM}
 This plate has food on it

In example (147), ALIEN occurs with a noun stem *yuwiridja-* meaning 'new'. The ALIEN form means 'a new experience'; and ALIEN is appropriate here because the same experience will cease to be 'new' for the rest of the narrator's life: its 'newness' is not a characteristic of the experience itself.

(147) *gundjirr inydji-rr manya-ngi miri,*
 [armUNM]_{ACC} RECIP-1sgERG try-FUT like
yuwiridja-kinimi, nganaparra
 new-ALIEN [buffaloUNM]_{PROM}

I will try my ability with a buffalo, (it will be) a new experience (for me) {34:399}

However, some instances of ALIEN are hard to account for if we assume this meaning in every instance. For example, bubali-kinim(i) randomly-ALIEN has a range of meanings: 'anyone', 'anything', 'next time', 'anytime', and 'anywhere'. With the exception of 'next time', these meanings seem to be like the meanings with PROP except for being indefinite. Moreover, example (148) illustrates ALIEN used where PROP would have been expected: as a buffalo chased the narrator and his father, they climbed into a tree having a forked branch (djit-ginim instead of the expected *djit-gining) rather than spear it so far away from their destination. Possibly the use of ALIEN in this example was a performance error on the part of the narrator (it was he who explained the difference between ALIEN and PROP to me).

(148) wirr ngiliny djit-ginim liny baltji-li
 NEG 1duexcNOM forked.branch-ALIEN 1duexcNOM climb-RPA

(We did) nothing, we climbed up to a forked branch {34:787}

PRIVative -nyirring(i)

The PRIV affix means 'lacking X', where X is the referent of the stem to which PRIV is affixed. Like PROP, it forms nominals which function either as the head of a NP, or as modifiers of a head. Some examples are miyilk-nyirring woman-PRIV 'unmarried'; gungi-nyirring head-PRIV 'thoughtless' 'inconsiderate'; mayali-nyirring meaning-PRIV 'impolite'. For an example of its use with modifying function see (295) of section 4.5. It may also be used in negative existential constructions, to indicate "there is not X". Several instances of its use with this function occur in (149). The narrator's party had just been asked "How many cattle did you see over there somewhere?", and (149) was the reply.

(149) wirr, ngununga... buluki-nyirring+a, nyim-nyirring+a,
 NEG [thatUNM+DUR] LOC cattle-PRIV+NF whatever-PRIV+NF
 yarraman-nyirring, nganaparra-pm libi
 horse-PRIV [buffalo-DELIM] ACC 1plexERG
 Kurr-kurrpi-ni kiri-ny
 REDUP-chase-RPC PROG-RPC

None, (while) moving through that place, there were no cattle, no horses, nothing at all; we were busy chasing just buffalo {34:141-2}

Like PROP, PRIV may take further suffixation (eg. by case), as in bupini-nyirringi-li mosquito-PRIV-ALL 'to a place lacking mosquitoes' {34:1047}. In my database, it occurs only on nouns, or verbs. However, on verbs it acts as a strong Prohibitive: for example, baltj-nyirring climb-PRIV 'climb down!'. PRIV in other Yolngu languages is used in this way

also. The affix is not used a great deal, and I believe that a wider sample of data would reveal that it may occur on stems from the same word classes as does PROP.

The Djinba PROP affix is -nan, which is probably cognate to Djinang -Gining(i). The Djinba PRIV affix is -nyarrang, which is cognate to the Djinang form. I do not know if Djinba has an ALIEN affix. The Yan-nhangu PROP affix is -way (eg. ngarr-way camp-PROP 'married man').

3.2 PLURAL, PAUCAL, EXCESSIVE, AND DYADIC AFFIXES

Plural -pili -wili

The Djinang productive PLural affix is -Pil(i); where the archiphoneme P is usually realized as p, but with some nominals is obligatorily w. The occurrence of the w phoneme may also be conditioned by a preceding peripheral glide or vowel (w or u), but only for certain nominal stems: wuw- 'older brother', and ngunu- 'that'. The -wili allomorph always marks the function PL. However, the -pili allomorph marks PL everywhere except on the deictic stems djini- 'this' and ngunu- 'that' - on these stems it marks PAUC (or DUal, when the reference is to two participants). Examples containing the -pili allomorph are (34) and (35); examples having the -wili allomorph are (39), (87), and (133). The former allomorph, having DU reference, occurs in (22:3): ngunu-pili-ngu that-PAUC-DEIC 'there they(du) are!'.

The -wili allomorph occurs on some two-syllable forms obligatorily, with no apparent possibility of phonological conditioning - these stems all end in the vowel i. (The -pili allomorph occurs with other stems ending in the vowel i.) The stems which take the -wili allomorph are: nyibi 'some' 'other'; gulmi- 'younger brother'; galbi 'many'; djini- 'this'; and nyabin- 'how many'. A wider sample of data could be expected to produce a few more.

PL is typically used on nominals (except not on pronouns), although occasionally it is found on other parts of speech. For example, the particle guyimi 'later on', can take PL affixation as guyim-pili 'much later on'. Historically, the Djinang PL derives from a PAUCal or DUal marker found in Djinba. The productive Djinba PAUC affix is -yarr (Dabi dialect apparently uses -barr); but a few forms in my Djinba data have an obscure affix -pu. It is not clear from the data whether this is a relic of an earlier Djinba PL affix, or earlier PAUC affix. Considering the fact that the cognate form in Djinang marks PAUC on the deictic stems, it is most likely that the Djinba form is a relic of an earlier PAUC affix *puV. I have not been able to trace this form with certainty in other Yolngu languages thus far; although the bulu formative in the Yan-nhangu PAUC marker mirribulu 'few' 'two', may be cognate. Also, Ritharrngu (Heath 1980a:181) cites a morpheme -bulal which is used to convey the sense 'having

two of X'; and Dixon (1980:356) cites the same form as a third person dual pronoun of wide distribution in non-prefixing languages. This may perhaps then be explained as common retention.

Many Yolngu languages use *mala* COL 'group' as a plural marker. Yan-nhangu is one of these. Djinba uses an affix *-mirring*, which is cognate to the Yan-nhangu *-mirringu* KIN PROPriative affix (see Morphy 1983:45); and to the Djinang *-mirringi* ARCHEtypal affix (see section 3.3). Both Djinang and Djinba have retained the *-*mirringu* form, but mark the KIN PROP function differently (see section 3.4). The identification of Djinba *-mirring* with Yan-nhangu *-mirringu* is quite certain: Djinba takes ERG allomorph *-y* after a *u* vowel, and when ERG and PL both occur, then *-mirringu-y -PL-ERG* obtains. Djinang does not often use *mala* as a plural marker; and when it does, collective group membership is always implied. Thus, whether used as a plural marker or as a collective, *mala* indicates 'a group of ...', that is, a COLlective function.

PL may co-occur with a number of other nominal affixes. The relative positions of the affixes conform to the structural description given below. All affixes are optional, and mutually independent - except that if KINPROP occurs, then OBL must also occur; OBL may not occur by itself. If KINGRP occurs then the nominal must be a Kin noun; and if KINPROP occurs, then the nominal must either be a Kin noun, or a nominal which may refer to someone who is classed as Kin (such as *yalimirring* 'stranger', or *djama-gining work-PROP* 'worker', etc.). In the structural description, the nominal stem may be a noun, derived noun, deictic, or interrogative/indefinite pronoun.

<nominal stem> + PROP + PL + X + Case + Y + DELIM

where X belongs to the set {OBL, ARCHE}, and Y to the set {KINGRP, KINPROP}.

PAUCal number *-mirrpili*

The PAUC affix is used to express either a true paucal number 'a few', or a dual number 'two'. Example (150) illustrates PAUC used with DU reference. As was stated in section 2.7, there is a suppletive PAUC+ERG form, *-mirrpilim(i)*. Example (44) illustrates its use.

(150) *balanda-mirrpili*, *nyabin-wili bin.gili*, *a miyilk-mirrpili*
 [European-PAUC how.many-PL twoUNM - woman-PAUC
bin.gili, *a nyun+a*, *Ngarritjan*, *ngilim nyini-ny*
twoUNM and 2sgUNM+VOC section.name 1plincNOM] NOM sit-RPC

How many Europeans? Two men, two women, you and Ngarritjan, we were sitting {22:174-6}

EXCEssive -bini

The EXCE affix is similar to the PROP affix, except that the referent is deemed to have the indicated quality or item to excess; giving a meaning 'having X excessively', where X is the referent of the nominal. Some examples are: djarrma-bini calumny-EXCE 'vicious liar'; guni-bini shy-EXCE 'very shy person'; gungi-bini head-EXCE 'person with over-large head'.

Djinba does not have this affix, nor any other affixal form with this function. Instead, Djinba uses the adjectival free form gadung 'big' in post-nominal position. I do not know what the Yan-nhangu form is; nor have I been able to trace the -bini form to any other Yolngu language.

DYADic (kin dyadic) -manydji

This is not a very commonly used affix, but I do have instances of it in my data. It marks a reciprocal pair of Kinship relationships, such as MoMoBr - SiDaSo which is the form midji-manydji MoMo/MoMoBr-DYAD. The senior of the two referents is the term which takes the DYAD suffix, insofar as my data shows. I do not know the Djinba DYAD form, if any.

The DYAD affix is of particular interest because from it Djinang has historically developed at least one particle (possibly two particles) with a quite different function to the Kin DYADic function. The particle is inydji, the RECIProcal/reflexive/mutualis/intransitiviser particle. (The other particle possibly derived from the same protoform is minydji THITH 'thither' which marks motion 'away from' some reference point or person. The latter also has temporal functions, but a full discussion is reserved till section 3.17.) For convenience, I will refer to the particle inydji as RECIP only, although this is but one of its three functions.

Yolngu languages mark the RECIProcal, reflexive, and mutualis functions by a verbal suffix -mi- (Yan-nhangu uses a suffix -ma- eg. nyina-ma-na 'sit together' - which is the mutualis function). However, both Djinang and Djinba have developed a pre-verbal particle having this function, and have entirely lost the suffix form. The Djinba form corresponding to Djinang inydji is niy. The Djinang and Djinba forms occur preceding the NOM or ERG reduced pronoun, and if there is an ACC or DAT reduced pronoun, such a pronoun will precede the RECIP form. RECIP may thus function as a carrier for the reduced pronouns, and often occurs as a portmanteau form with the latter.

The common thread of meaning between DYAD and RECIP is the notion of reciprocation. Probably the DYAD affix was once a particle which occurred following the noun it modified (which is the normal position for adnominal modifiers). What must have happened diachronically is that a noun + DYAD particle (possibly at the time of the Djinang Vowel Shift) came to be reinterpreted as noun + reciprocal marker for the clause; that is, the reciprocation function was shifted from the nominal to the predicate. The initial *m* was lost as well.

The other form potentially cognate to the DYAD affix, *minydj* HITH 'hither', is so similar to the DYAD affix that the Djinang Vowel Shift would account for the derivation the HITH particle from a proto-particle **manydj*. Also, both RECIP and HITH particles have mutually exclusive distribution; both occur pre-verbally; and both precede any NOM or ERG reduced pronoun (but DAT or ACC reduced pronouns may not co-occur with *minydj*). The problem with the HITH particle is that there is no apparent semantic connection between the DYAD function and any of the functions of *minydj* (see section 3.15 for details). Because of this I would not wish to claim that the HITH particle is cognate to the DYAD affix, without having further supporting evidence. At this time, the issue must be left open.

3.3 ARCHETYPAL, INHABITANT, AND DELIMITATIVE AFFIXES

ARCHEtypal -mirring(i)

The ARCHE affix indicates that the referent of the nominal is a true or proper representative of the class of real-world objects denoted by the nominal. Thus, it may be glossed as an English adjective with a meaning such as 'proper', or 'truly'. On a Kin noun, it indicates actual blood relationship, rather than merely a classificatory relationship of the nominated type. The equivalent Djinba affix is uncertain, but may possibly be *-nguy* (the Djinba equivalent of *wana-pili-mirring* was given as *gilarr-pul-nguy*).

In the previous section we saw that the form of this affix is cognate to the Yolngu KINPROP affix *-mirringu*; that the latter occurs in Yan-nhangu marking KINPROP; and that Djinba uses the form to indicate PL rather than KINPROP. The claim was made there that Djinang and Djinba have retained the form of the Yolngu KINPROP affix, but shifted the meaning; Djinang shifted it to mark ARCHE, and Djinba to mark PL. The shift in meaning to 'true' 'actual' 'proper' is not limited to Djinang, and Djinang cannot be presumed to be the source of this innovation. Heath (1980a:28) states that *-mirringu* is used in Ritharrngu specifically in the sense 'actual'. Ritharrngu and Djinang use the affix in the same way. Example (151) illustrates both KINPROP and ARCHE affixes occurring in the one (non-elicited)

sentence. The most common occurrence of ARCHE is on the PL nominal form *wana-pili* big-PL 'important ones', as in (152).

(151) *ban nyanta, warngarri Binalany,*
 on.other.hand 3sgPROM+NF [so.and.soUNM Binalany]_{ERG}
gurrpi-n+a wup!, gurrpi-n+a wup!, nyan-nga
 chase-TPC+NF whack! chase-TPC+NF whack! [3sg-GEN
wuw-mirring-ngi-m pu-ny Kiri-nyi
 older.brother-ARCHE-OBL-KINPROP]_{ACC} hit-TPC PROG-TPC

On the other hand, Binalany was chasing his true brother about, (and when he caught him) Whack! he would hit him {22:103-5}

(152) *wana-pili-mirringi-ri di-dirra-dj nyini-nyi*
 big-PL-ARCHE-ERG DIST-eat-THEMSR EXIST-RPC
wana-pili-mirring galkngu miyilk-pili -
 [big-PL-ARCHE for.example woman-PL]_{ERG}

The truly important people used to eat (it), truly important ones such as women {43:75-6}

INHABitant -mimigi

This affix may be added to a place name, or to any nominal which refers to a place (eg. *wana* 'big' referring to a 'big place' or 'town'), to give the meaning 'person(s) from X', or 'inhabitant of X'. The usual Yolngu affix for this function is *-puyngu* (see Morphy 1983:45), based on the Yolngu ASSOC affix *-Buy*. Both *Djanang* and *Djinba* have lost the *-Buy* form, which has become in both languages the OR affix (*-Bi* in *Djanang*, and *-Birriy* in *Djinba*). Both *Djanang* and *Djinba* have developed (or borrowed) quite different forms to express this function. I cannot trace the *Djanang* INHAB form *-mimigi* in other Yolngu languages. The *Djinba* form, which tentatively is *-pulung*, appears to be based on the old *Djinba* PAUC or PL morpheme *-*puIV*. In (153), notice the use of epenthetic *p* preceding the INHAB affix; in a context where other Yolngu languages would use a glottal stop. (Homorganic unreleased stops are used in this way in *Djanang* in preference to glottal stop, although the latter does occasionally occur. Recall also the *-p+mi* allomorph of the KINPROP affix.)

(153) *nyini-ny nginib+a, nyali-ng ngunu, Yurrwip-mimigi*
 sit-RPC 1plexcNOM+NF [where-LOC thatUNM]_{LOC} Yurrwi-INHAB
Murwan.gip-mimigi
 Murwangi-INHAB

Where was that where we were living, we (were) inhabitants of Milingimbi and Murwan.gi {22:1}

This affix functions similarly to word stress in English. For example: "I saw the man" emphasizes the word man and implies a contrast such as "the man (rather than something else)". That is, what was seen is delimited to just the referent of the noun in this example. Word stress in English may occur on many different parts of speech. The Djinang DELIM affix behaves similarly. Its function is to delimit the scope of reference to just the item(s) or person(s) it marks, or to delimit the activity to just the one signalled by the verb, or to delimit the goal of motion to just the location specified, and so forth. Hence it can be glossed by English 'just' or 'only' in many contexts. On verbs it can also be used to express non-termination of an activity, expressed by English 'still'. In some contexts its function is only to emphasize the word it marks (rather than there being an implied contrast). The Djinba affix is -pim, which is cognate to the Djinang form.

Etymologically, the DELIM affix is a reflex of the "Northern Yolngu" PROM marker, which was -*ma (Tchekhoff and Zorc 1983). In many Yolngu languages PROM is marked either by -ma or by -(ny)dja (and its allomorphs); and marks one of two functions: either to indicate switch of reference, or to emphasize the word it marks (as discussed in the previous paragraph). Within Djinang, reference switches are marked by fronting and by the occurrence of full pronouns. (The same appears to be true in Djinba.) Djinang PROM marking is now identical to ERG marking; while the delimitative (or implied contrast) functions of the former PROM marker are now marked by the DELIM affix. It would be a misleading oversimplification to treat modern Djinang PROM and DELIM affixes as allomorphs of one affix; PROM is used mainly in the system of interclausal cohesion (see section 2.7), and to some extent in the formation of adverbs, while DELIM is used to emphasize a word in a delimitative sense. While PROM is comparatively rare, DELIM occurs very frequently.

1. DELIM on verbs.

The functions of DELIM when affixed to a verb may be reduced to just two: firstly, it may express the meanings 'just do X' or 'do X only', where 'do X' is lexicalized as a Djinang verb. The idea is that there is an implied contrast of potential activities, (the potentialities are contextually defined), and the DELIM affix marks the activity which was the only one possible, or desirable, in the context. The contrasting potentiality may, or may not, be expressed; and if expressed it will typically be expressed by the next clause (or clauses).

Secondly, DELIM may express the meaning 'still doing X', where 'doing X' is lexicalized by a verb. When expressing this meaning, the inflection of the verb must be compatible with the feature [+continuous]; which means that the inflection must be one of FUT, PRES, YPC, TPC, or RPC. All instances in my database conform to this. When DELIM is affixed to a NEG particle, the meaning 'still not doing X' obtains.

DELIM is affixed to verbs (and similarly to non-verbs) following any inflectional affixes, and only the IM marker *-ban* may follow the DELIM affix. The next two examples illustrate DELIM used with a verb to indicate 'do just X' or 'do X only'. The first example comes from the Bible story of the healing of a crippled man. In this example, the implied contrast is explicitly given in the following clause; and note that this clause contains a double auxiliary verb construction. The second example is taken from a story in which the narrator's party had come to a clear pool full of fish, but to avoid supernatural sanctions they did not spear any straight away for fear of repercussions (this was expressed in the text's preceding context).

(154) *nyabini ngunu-pila mayurrk, nyini-n+ta ran.gu*
 how.many that-INDEF rain.seasonUNM sit-RPA+NF moonUNM
bini-ny ngurrum nyini-nyi-pm, ingki giri-nyir
 do.thus-RPC PERF sit-RPC-DELIM NEG walk-RPI
nyini-nyir giri-nyir
 PROG-RPI HABIT-RPI

For an indefinite number of months and years he had just sat like that, not walking around (33:20-22)

(155) *bil ngungung yarim libi nya-nyi-pm+ta, libi*
 but [thatUNM]_{ACC} just 1plexcERG see-RPC-DELIM+NF 1plexcERG
kiyKa-ny mulitji-r
 net-RPC fish.net-INSTR

But we just only watched those (fish), we caught them with a net (34:525-6)

The following example is one further instance of DELIM expressing 'just did X', but is included here because it is representative of a class of examples in which the verb takes a [-continuous] tense, and time is in focus (either IM *-ban* 'now' 'then' occurs, or a temporal noun), and the directional particle *minydji* is used to express existential continuity of the result of the activity into the indefinite future. In this example, DELIM indicates that the buffalo fell down right there and then, when speared, rather than staying on its feet wounded.

(156) *djarak-dji ran.gi-rri, yarim minydji*
 spear-INSTR spear-YPA just away.from
galmi-ni-pm-ban, ngu-ngurri-nyi
 fall.down-RPA-DELIM-IM DIST-lie-RPC

(He) speared (the buffalo) with a spear, (and it) just fell down then and lay still (34:326-8)

In the next group of examples, DELIM is used to express 'still doing X'. This use of DELIM is consistent with the notion of delimitation, for the meaning being expressed is that event X still continues existentially in a context where event Y is possible or expected. The first example is taken from the story of the Philippian jailer, at the point where he is about to take his own life - thinking that the prisoners had escaped in the earthquake. (157) is what Paul then said to him. The second example comes from a story in which the narrator states that many of the present generation had lost the knowledge of how to prepare cycad nuts for eating. Clearly, in these examples, the only possible meaning for DELIM is 'still'. The third example illustrates DELIM, still with the meaning 'still', occurring on the locative particle bilay 'far away' used predicatively. A fourth example occurs in (142), where 'still living' expresses the idea of eternal life.

(157) djini nibi warrpam wanngi-pm
 [thisUNM]_{LOC} 1plexcNOM [allUNM]_{NOM} alive-DELIM
 nibi nyini-Ø
 1plexcNOM sit-PRES

We are all here (and) still alive (32:115)

(158) bil marri djin gingi-Ø-pm miyilk-pili
 but possibly 3p1NOM remember-PRES-DELIM [woman-PL]_{NOM}
 galkngu
 for.example

But possibly (some) remember, the women for example (43:103)

(159) bit ngunung ngidjirrKng-ban libi yulku-ny
 seemingly [thatUNM]_{DAT} close-IM 1plexcNOM come.to-RPC
 kiri-ny, bil nyani marri bilay-pm
 PROG-RPC but 3sgNOM probably far.away-DELIM

Seemingly we were getting close then to that (place), but probably we were still far way (34:51-2)

2. DELIM on nouns and other non-verbal parts of speech.

Several examples of DELIM have already been illustrated in previous sections. Example (149) in section 3.1 illustrates the affix on the noun nganaparra 'buffalo'. In that example, DELIM expresses the meaning that 'only buffalo' were chased, rather than cattle, horses, or anything else. This is perhaps the most common use of DELIM, to express 'X only', where X is the referent of the noun marked by the affix. Another instance occurs in (32), section 2.7.

The DELIM affix is homophonous with an allomorph of the KINPROP affix. The latter is usually -m(i), but in some contexts an epenthetic p obtains preceding the -mi, so that we may speak of a KINPROP allomorph -p+m(i), as is illustrated in example (160) below. There is insufficient data to be able to state the conditions under which p is inserted preceding the -mi KINPROP affix; but following a syllable of shape Ci, where C is a non-apical noncontinuant (ie. non-apical stops and nasals) seems to be a common environment.

(160) gurrbi-li bil wini-ny kiri-nya... biling
 camp-ALL 3duNOM return-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR 3duNOM
 yulgu-ngili, nyan-ki-p+m-ban, bilnga nginipi-ngi-m
 come.to-RPA [3sg-DAT-KINPROP-IM 3duDAT husband-OBL-KINPROP] _{DAT}

They returned all the way to camp, (and) came to their husband (24:87-8)

In many instances, DELIM is untranslatable. Possibly this is because it merely emphasizes a word and so is not reducible to a simple English gloss. An instance of this occurs in (30) where 'internal-fire' is marked with DELIM, which appears to not readily admit an English translation. This latter example is typical of a class of examples where DELIM is used to mark an adverbial constituent - often a body part, and in which the function of delimitation is not readily apparent (if indeed it is there at all). Another example of this nature is (161); where the body part gari 'groin' is used figuratively to express 'low down'. Other similar uses of DELIM are on budjirri 'stomach' to give a figurative sense 'in the middle' 'amongst' (66:31 22:118); on gumbirri 'hand' to express the figurative meaning 'gently' (32:159); on the adverb yipi 'delayed' 'after an interval of time', to express the meaning 'after an interval of space' (34:819), and so forth.

(161) gar-pm liny kiri-ny nyini-ny
 groin-DELIM 1duexcNOM go-RPC PROG-RPC

We went along (bending) low (so as not to be seen) (34:611)

I have two instances where DELIM is used to express 'while X was happening'. Both instances involve the noun gadjigarr 'road' 'path' to which is affixed DELIM with DUR vowel lengthening. The DUR marking implies that the event is taking place (in the context of these two examples) over an interval of space; and DELIM delimits the event to occurring within the interval of space being spanned. Hence, it is best translated as 'while on the way', as in (162).

(162) gadjigirr-pma... irra bil bultji-n "Djini-ban
road-DELIM+DUR 1sgDAT 3duERG tell-RPC [this-IM]_{LOC}
eh? Murrumbitj, Maynuru dji-tjarri-Ø"
INTERJ [MurrumbitjUNM]_{NOM} [MaynurruUNM]_{NOM} DIST-stand-PRES

While on the way, they were telling me "This area is Murrumbitj, (where) Maynuru is"
(34:216-7)

On deictics, DELIM usually has a clear delimitative meaning. Firstly, on the ALL deictic forms *bapili* 'to here', and *ngunyi* 'to there', DELIM delimits the activity expressed by the verb to the terminal goal, rather than there being the possibility of intermediate goals obtaining during the course of the activity. To take a concrete example, if the verb is 'come', and occurs with *bapili-pm to.here-DELIM*, the meaning is that the subject will come straight here, rather than come via one or more different places along the route. (This was how mother-tongue speakers described it to me.) Similarly, *ngunyi-pm to.there-DELIM* means 'straight to there'. Examples we have already encountered are (52), and (98). Example (17) illustrated the same form used temporally, to indicate 'straight after'. On a LOC deictic, such as *djili* 'here' or *nguli* 'there', the meaning expressed by DELIM is 'just here' (and not anywhere else), and 'just there' (and not anywhere else), respectively. (163) illustrates the latter; the narrator had just arrived at a deserted camp near a large inland lake, and were being attacked viciously by mosquitoes - while at other places there were comparatively few mosquitoes.

(163) ganangarra, litja nguli-pm ngurr-wangi-ni
mosquito.species 1duincDAT [thatLOC-DELIM]_{LOC} nose-speak-RPA
Mosquitoes buzzed at us just there (but not elsewhere) (34:1037)

Finally, we mention that several instances of the occurrence of DELIM seem to be fossilizations, and that the meaning of DELIM in these examples is not clear (to me at least). Two common examples discussed earlier were the ABL-marked deictics *djini-ngir-pm this-ABL-DELIM* 'on this side', and *ngunu-ngir-pm that-ABL-DELIM* 'on that side', discussed at the end of section 2.5. DELIM here is not hard to understand, since the notion of 'side' implies a contrast of 'this side' versus 'that side'; so that DELIM here again has a delimitative function. What is unusual here is that there is ABL marking, rather than LOC. (ABL used to indicate relative location occurs in other languages, such as Latin. Koch (p.c.)) One tentative solution is that these are relic forms, and that *-ngiri* is a reflex, not of ABL *-nguru*, but of LOC *-ngura*, which is the modern LOC case in many Yolngu languages. A similar word, to which the same explanation would apply, is *wurpi-ngir-pm other-ABL-DELIM* 'on the other side'. Instances of these forms occur in (34:202), (34:221, 229), example (130), (34:381, 460, 610, and 639). A further unusual example is *yarimi-pm just-DELIM* 'until', where the stem may be used

as a noun meaning 'free time', 'free of responsibility', or as a particle meaning 'just' (synonymous with the DELIM affix). With DELIM affixed, however, it means 'until', as in (164).

(164) ngarri nyini-dji djili walirr bunyin-dji
 1sgNOM sit-FUT [thisLOC] LOC [SunUNM] NOM buttock-INSTR
 yirrpi-gi yarimi-pmi
 set-FUT just-DELIM

I will sit here until the Sun sets {65:29}

3.4 KINSHIP PROPRIETIVE, and KIN GROUP AFFIXES; and particle GUDJUW

KINshipPROPrietive -mi

In this section we shall consider affixes which are used with Kinship nouns, and other forms which are used in the context of Kinship. In the Djinang dictionary (Waters 1983) I called the KINPROP affix "ESSive case"; because at the time of compilation of the dictionary the function of the KINPROP affix was not clear (mainly because it could occur on some non-Kin nouns). However, an analysis of all instances of the relevant affix showed that the affix always occurred on nouns which denoted relationship to either the speaker, or to a second or third person. Comparison with Djapu then showed its function to be identical to KINPROP. One difference from Djapu was that there appears to be only the one form -mi (or possibly -ngimi) for first, second, and third person; whereas Djapu has a unique second person form (Morphy 1983:45). Occasionally an epenthetic p obtains before the -mi, giving an alternative form -p+mi. This epenthesis of p never obtains when the OBL allomorph -ngi precedes the KINPROP affix. The conditioning factor(s) for the insertion of the p phoneme need further investigation.

When affixed to a Kin noun, KINPROP indicates a Kinsperson of the nominated type in relation to an ego who is contextually defined. Often the ego is the speaker, in which case KINPROP denotes 'my father', 'my mother', etc. when added to 'father', 'mother', etc. The ego may be the addressee, in which case 'your father', 'your mother', etc. would obtain. Otherwise, the ego is defined from the textual context; being usually third person, 'his father', 'his mother', etc. See sections 3.2 and 3.3 for comments on the relationship of KINPROP to the marker of this function in other Yolngu languages. The Djinba form is unknown.

A number of examples including the KINPROP affix have already been cited; they are (39), (41), (42), (43), (86), (87), (151), and (160). Most of these examples do not have both KINPROP and overt case on the same constituent. Exceptions are (41), which includes ERG case marking; (42) which includes ABL marking; and (160) which includes DAT marking on the pronoun. Two more

DAT examples are (165) and (166); which illustrate DAT and KINPROP on the nouns *mumngimi* 'mother', *nyuny-nyuny* 'father', and *nginipi* 'husband'. (Note that the affix order is OBL-DAT-KINPROP. It is partly for this reason that the segmentation in (41) was *wuw-ngi-ri-m* noun-OBL-ERG-KINPROP, and in (160) *nginipi-ngi-m* noun-OBL-KINPROP; rather than positing *-ngirimi and *-ngimi as ERG and NOM forms, respectively, of the KINPROP affix.)

(165) *bu^lki-dji mir ngun^ungi, in.ga yulgu-ng miri*
 dream-FUT like thatUNM 3sgDAT come.to-FUT like
mumngim-ngir-gi-m+a u nyunynyuny-ngir-gi-mi
 mother-OBL-DAT-KINPROP+NF or father-OBL-DAT-KINPROP

(She) will dream so that (the spirit-child) will come to either his mother or to his father
 {49:51-2}

(166) *nginipi-ngir-gi-m in.ga wangi-dji*
 husband-OBL-DAT-KINPROP 3sgDAT say-FUT

(She) will say to her husband ... {49:62}

KINGRouP -uw(i) -aw(i)

The KINGRP affix is added to a kin noun (following any case affixation) to indicate a group of people who have the nominated kinship relationship to ego, where ego could be either the speaker, addressee, or a third person - as for KINPROP. The group so delineated is regarded as plural, which may explain why DELIM is incompatible with KINGRP. Examples (167) and (168) illustrate its use; the affix-final *i* vowel rarely occurs. The -aw allomorph is used when the noun stem immediately precedes the KINGRP affix; the -uw allomorph is used if a case suffix immediately precedes the affix - as in (168). Further examples are *wuw-gir-k-uw* older.brother-OBL-DAT-KINGRP in {66:115}; and *wuwa-r-uw* older.brother-ERG-KINGRP in {65:41}; *gunydjirr-aw* father-KINGRP in {65:55}; and *wuw-aw* in {67:10, 14}. The KINGRP affix does not occur in the texts I have collected; so the examples here are elicited.

(167) *ngarri dji-ny+irr nya-ngini wuw-aw*
 1sgERG 3pl-ACC+1sgERG see-TPA [older.brother-KINGRP]_{ACC}

I saw the group who are my older brothers {67:5}

(168) *ngarri bi-pⁱni wuw-giri-ny-uw*
 1sgERG hit-TPA older.brother-OBL-ACC-KINGRP

I hit each of my older brothers {67:17}

If one wishes to speak of a group of people who all have the same Kinship section membership, one may use the particle *gudjuw* 'group of'. Both Djinang and Djinba have this particle; and it may only be used with section names, such as *Burralang*, *Balang*, *Ngarritjan*, and so forth. It occurs pre-nominally, as in expressions such as: *gudjuw Burralang* 'a group of people who are each *Burralang*'. I do not have any instances of this particle occurring in text; nor have I ever heard it used spontaneously by Djinang speakers. Probably the circumstances appropriate for its use rarely obtain.

3.5 DEICTIC, AND EMPHASIS AFFIXES

DEICTIC -ngu

The DEIC affix is used to add extra deictic force. Probably the affix is historically related to the modern Distant deictic *ngunung(i)*. In my data, the affix is found on deictics, nouns, and verbs; and the three examples below illustrate each of these occurrences. The most frequent use of DEIC is when a speaker wishes to point to an object or place to which he is referring, and which is usually either in the field of vision of the hearer, or in a certain direction. The speaker will often use DEIC in such circumstances with a pronounced rounding of the lips, which is a typical deixis gesture, in the direction of the item or place. The gesture is contemporaneous with the articulation of the -ngu morpheme. Further examples can be seen in (84) and (88).

(169) "Djambaku djini-pilang-ngu? Batjikali,
 [tobaccoUNM]_{NOM} [this-INDEF-DEIC]_{LOC} [pipeUNM
 djayina bi lidji marru-wi"
 pipe.cleanerUNM]_{ACC} HITH 2p1ERG pick.up-IMP

"Is there tobacco somewhere here? Go pick up (any) pipes and pipe cleaners around here!"
 {34:1155-6}

(170) a mir ngunu gadjigarr-ngu ngurri-β kiri-mi,
 - like thatUNM [road-DEIC]_{NOM} lie-PRES PROG-PRES
 gadjigarr, ngu_i-gima
 [roadUNM thatLOC-EMPH]_{NOM}

Like that road situated there, the one right there {34:350}

(171) "Djining ngu-ngurri-β-ngu"
 [thisUNM]_{LOC} DIST-lie.down-PRES-DEIC

(He) is sleeping right here {22:259}

EMPHasis -gim(a) -kim(a) -gum(a) -kum(a)

The EMPH clitic adds emphatic force to the word it marks. It is similar to PROM marking, except that EMPH is quite independent of the system of inter-clause cohesion (PROM is used in inter-clause cohesion); and while PROM is usually added to a noun, EMPH may be added to any part of speech, and may co-occur with case marking. In my data, there are instances of EMPH occurring with nominals marked for ALL, ABL, OR, LOC, and NOM. EMPH is always last on any form it marks, it even follows IM marking. The latter fact indicates that EMPH should be analysed as a clitic. There is some variation in the phonetic shape of the medial vowel; and while each speaker seems to prefer either u or i, there is some fluctuation within the ideolect of each speaker. Milurrurr (Manyarring clan) seems to prefer u, while other speakers appear to favour the i vowel. The -Guma form is probably older than the -Gima form. The medial vowel, because it occurs between two peripheral consonants, is often phonetically indeterminate - being articulated as a high central unrounded vowel quite often.

The clitic occurs mostly on deictic forms (60% of instances), less frequently on verbs (18%); infrequently on nouns (7%), and occasionally on adverbs, interrogative/indefinite pronouns, interjections, temporal nouns, and on the COMPL and PERF particles. On the latter particles, girr-gima COMPL-EMPH is a stronger way of indicating either 'finished', or 'also' (the form girri COMPL way have either meaning - providing it is not clause-initial); however, on the PERF particle ngurru(m), the resultant form ngurrigim(a) (or ngurrigum(a)) PERF-EMPH, has a quite different meaning, namely 'the same' 'similarly' and similar meanings, and occurs often in the phrase nguru ngurrigima 'the same as that' 'similarly'. The latter phrase is used to form a semblative NP, often in conjunction with the particle miri 'like'. The semblative function is an affix in some Yolngu languages (eg. Ritharrngu -'wanydjä' Heath 1980a:42). There is no semblative affix in Djinang or Djinba. The Djinba EMPH form is uncertain, though there is evidence that the PROM marker -amdja may be used. If this is correct, then possibly the Djinang Gima (or Guma) EMPH clitic may be etymologically related to the -ma PROM marker in Djinba and Yan-nhangu.

Some examples of EMPH that have already been cited are (7), (127), (132), and (170). These involve the emphatic form nguli-gima thatLOC-EMPH 'right there', except for (127) which has the form nguru-mirr-pan-gima that-LOC-IM-EMPH 'right at that time', or 'at that very instant'. Three more examples are given below: (172) to (174) illustrate EMPH occurring on a verb, and adverb, and on a noun (actually, on the final noun in an NP). Further examples can be found in the cited texts in the following locations: (24:77, 89, 103, 106, 109, 114); (32:17, 45, 75, 100); and (34:238, 240).

(172) wira-r bilidjirr-gim ngunu
 [who-OBL]_{LOC} in.the.time.of-EMPH [thatUNM]_{NOM}

In whose era was that? (34:1196)

(173) a birral-gim budi djiningi,
 - truly-EMPH [bloodUNM]_{NOM} [thisUNM]_{LOC}

Truly here (is) blood (34:653)

(174) yakirri warranguwili-gim liny ngurri-nyini
 sleepUNM few-EMPH 1duexcNOM lie.down-RPA
 Wingu, ngirra wuw-ngi-mi
 [Left.handUNM 1sgGEN older.brother-OBL-KINPROP]_{NOM}

For a few days we slept (there, me and) Left-hand, my older brother (34:278)

3.6 DEFINITE AFFIX, and INDEFINITE AFFIX/PARTICLE

DEFinite -tji

The DEF affix marks anaphoric definiteness. It is used with a nominal stem (a deictic, noun, or pronoun), and it indicates that the referent of the nominal (which may be a person, thing, place, or time) is to be identified with a previously mentioned referent. The affix is not often used. The Djinba DEF affix is tentatively -yirri. The Djinang form is cognate to the Ritharrngu form -dhi - which has the same function (Heath 1980a:54-5). Dhuwal/Dhuwala appears to lack an affix or particle with this function. An example of its use occurred in (133). A further example is given in (175). Notice that in (175), -tji is used cataphorically. The definite location marked by the affix is not made explicit until the following clause. For this reason, I called the affix DEF (rather than ANAPHoric), since it always indicates DEFiniteness, but may or may not be anaphoric. Most instances of its use, however, will be anaphoric.

(175) nginibi mir djili gurrbi-li libila djin-ngir-pmi,
 1plexcNOM like thisLOC camp-ALL 1plexcDAT this-ABL-DELIM
 ga nyani rari-ngunu-ngir-tji galmi-n, mir gadjigarr
 and 3sgNOM mouth-that-ABL-DEF fall.down-RPA like [roadUNM]_{NOM}
 bi tjarri-Ø
 HITH stand-PRES

It was like this; we were here, on this side towards the camp, while it (ie. the buffalo) collapsed there on the other side, wherever the road is (34:381-3)

INDEFinite -Bila(ng(i)) affix, and bila(ng(i)) particle

The INDEF affix is used to indicate indefiniteness; and usually is affixed to either a deictic stem, or to an interrogative/indefinite pronoun. The archephoneme B may be realized as either b or p. However, when the stem is the Distant deictic *ngunu-* 'that', there is a meaning and distribution difference between the forms *ngunu-bila(ng(i))*, and *ngunu-pila(ng(i))*. The former is used regularly with the meaning 'if', and almost invariably occurs at the beginning of its clause; while the latter form is used as an INDEF word, and occurs post-positionally to the word for which it signals indefiniteness. Other than these two forms, there is no meaning contrast between the two allomorphs *-pilangi* and *-bilangi*. Elision of the final *i* or even the final *ngi* syllable is fairly common in natural speech.

The Djinba INDEF affix is *-bilak*; I do not have sufficient data to know if Djinba also has a *-pilak* allomorph. The *-Bilangi* affix, and also the *bilangi* particle, are cognate with the Dhuwala/Dhuwal *balang(u)* particle, as we shall see below. The Djinang affixal form historically developed from the particle form. The particle form is used mostly for signalling mood distinctions in the clause.

We shall consider first the affixal form, used to indicate hypotheticality or conditionality. This function, translatable as 'if', is signalled by the form *ngunu-bilang*; and two instances have already been cited, in examples (22) and (74). In protasis - apodosis constructions, the conditional clause usually is given first, and then the apodosis clause follows. The use of the *ngunu-* stem in the protasis is parallel to the use of the same stem preceding an appositional descriptive NP. In both cases, the deictic is used cataphorically as a generic 'that', the specific content being filled out by the following clause or phrase. When the INDEF affix is added to the deictic stem, the clause then takes an irrealis nuance, thereby permitting an interpretation of hypotheticality or conditionality. Without the INDEF affix, the clause would be interpreted as a relative clause adding descriptive detail to a referent mentioned immediately before.

The following two examples illustrate INDEF affixed to the Near-Distant deictic stem *ngunumi* 'over there', and to the interrogative pronoun *nyi-li* 'what-INSTR 'by what means?' 'how?'. The affix adds an indefinite nuance, in each case. In (176) the verb is inflected for irrealis because there is doubt that the subject actually saw any cattle. A further example, on the deictic stem *djini-* 'this', occurred in (169).

(176) *ngunum-bila nyabini buluki lidji nya-nyiri*
 over.there-INDEF [how.manyUNM cattleUNM]_{ACC} 2p1ERG see-RPI

While somewhere over there, how many cattle did you see? (34:140)

(177) nyi-li-bila ngunu pintji-Ø-kum ili
 what-INSTR-INDEF [thatUNM]_{ACC} do.thus-FUT-EMPH 1duincERG

By whatever means we do likewise {33:129}

Probably the most common use of the INDEF affix is to form the INDEF word *ngunu-pilang*; which is typically used following an interrogative/indefinite pronoun. Thus, corresponding to *wili* whoERG, *wari* whoNOM, *nyabini* 'how many' 'how much' 'how about', *nyimi* 'what', etc. are the INDEF expressions: *wili ngunu-pilangi-r* whoERG that-INDEF-ERG 'whoever'; *wari ngunu-pilang* whoNOM that-INDEF 'whoever'; *nyabini ngunu-pilang* 'however many' 'however much' 'how about maybe'; *nyim ngunu-pilang* 'whatever'; and so forth. The second last of these expressions occurred in example (154); example (178) below illustrates another of these expressions; and a further one may be seen in (34:268).

(178) miri wili ngunu-pilangi-r irri-ny manya-ngi
 like whoERG that-INDEF-ERG 1sg-ACC find-FI
 irri-ny bu-ngi
 1sg-ACC kill-FI

So whoever finds me will kill me {66:103}

The particle *bilang* is used to signal mood contrasts. It usually occurs clause-initially, or following a linking particle in clause initial position. The basic sense of the particle is still 'indefiniteness'; but this translates into quite a variety of English modal contrasts. It expresses meanings such as 'can do'; 'may/might do'; 'should do'; or contrafactual constructions of the kind 'if X had occurred, then Y would have occurred' - where the particle is used in the first clause. Examples of these mood contrasts are given below. The sense 'might do' was illustrated in example (48). Example (179) illustrates the sense 'can do'; (180) illustrates 'should do'; and (181) illustrates contrafactuality. Example (179) also illustrates the reduplicated form *bila-pilang INDEF-INDEF* which is used to express the meaning 'it is like that'. (This particle is used when the speaker wishes to exemplify behaviour or an event by means of an example.)

(179) ga bila-pilang djinim-kirri djanguny bila-ldji
 and INDEF-INDEF [that-COMPL storyUNM]_{ACC} INDEF-2p1ERG
 nya-ngin ...
 see-TPA ...

It's like this, you can read that story (for yourselves) ... {33:131}

(180) galngbuy, bilang galbi-wi_i nyumili-nyi-rr gaypi-nyir,
 meat.taboo INDEF [lots-PL]_{NOM} 2du-ACC-1sgERG deprive-TPI
 bil djining ngidawa nyimi, marri-ban
 but [thisUNM]_{LOC} [aloneUNM]_{NOM} 2duNOM possibly-IM
 nyim dirra-dji-gi
 2duERG eat-THEMSR-FUT

It's taboo meat; if there were lots (of people) I should deprive you (of the meat), but we are all alone here, (so) never mind, you can eat it. {34:715-6}

(181) bilang lim gu_i-miyu-wi nyi+rr mildirri-ri
 INDEF 1plincNOM stop-CAUS-YPI 2sgACC+1sgERG show-YPI

If we had stopped, I would have shown it to you {67:35}

3.7 CONTRASTIVE CLITIC, and COMPLETATIVE AFFIX/PARTICLE

CONTRastive -tja

The CONTR clitic is added to a word when there is a contrast (either implied or overtly stated) between the referent of the word, and some contextually-defined different referent enumerated in the immediate context (usually the preceding context). The affix is best treated as a clitic for two reasons: (1) its scope extends beyond the immediate clause in many instances; and (2) CONTR may be added to a variety of parts of speech, and it appears that there is no grammatical restriction on its distribution. In my data, it occurs on verbs, auxiliary verbs, nouns, pronouns, deictics, and adverbs. It always signals a contrast of some sort, but the type of contrast depends on the part of speech to which the clitic is bound. Thus, on verbs, it contrasts the event expressed by the verb with another event; on nouns, and pronouns it contrasts participants in events, and so forth. When the contrast is vague, a 'good' versus 'bad' contrast is assumed, and the clitic then marks the 'good' pole of the implied contrast. The latter situation can be glossed in English either by contrastive word stress, or as "It's better (that)". I shall give examples below.

Djinba has the same clitic form -tja; and the suffix is cognate to the Ritharrngu clitic -ya (see Heath 1980a:47-8). The proto-form may have been -*tha, although it cannot be ruled out that it may be cognate to the PROM clitic -(ny)dja of Dhuwala/Dhuwal, since Dhuwala/Dhuwal has -(ny)dja, but apparently nothing similar to the former tentative form.

The most common use of the CONTR clitic is to contrast participants in events. We have seen two examples already of this nature: in (31) there is a contrast between Shepherdson (the missionary pilot) and the Yolngu party - the former travelled back to Milingimbi by plane, the latter by canoe; and in (46), the buffalo is contrasted with another buffalo which had chased them earlier. Three more examples of this type are given below. (182) has CONTR on a pronoun; (183) and (184) have it on a noun. Notice that it is not possible to give a single consistent English gloss for CONTR: in the first example, the appropriate gloss is 'your turn'; in the second example, 'old' meat is contrasted with 'fresh' meat, while the only English gloss suitable here is 'also'; and in the third example no English gloss is suitable, though it is clear that a contrast obtains between the two clauses.

(182) a nguning nyi+rr Ka-ng Kira-Ø, ngidjirrKng
 - carefully 2sgACC+1sgERG take-FUT PROG-FUT near
 rani-Ø, nyuni-tja
 spear-FUT 2sgERG-CONTR

I will carefully take you to it, and when near enough it will be your turn to spear it (34:406-7)

(183) a wanim ngunung djangu minydji nibi
 - [oldUNM thatUNM fleshUNM]_{ACC} THITH 1plexERG
 kali-ni-pm, a yuwiridjini-tja
 have-RPC-DELIM [and new-CONTR]_{ACC}

We still had that old meat, and (now) the new (meat) also (34:967)

(184) nyibi-wili djin yulgu-li, djina lim
 [some-PL]_{NOM} 3pINOM arrive-TPA 3pIDAT 1plincNOM
 marrka-ng nyibi-wili-ki-tja
 wait-FUT other-PL-DAT-CONTR

Some have arrived, we shall wait for the others (65:183)

CONTR on a verb, to contrast the action with another action, is illustrated below in example (185). In this example, the pounding and pulverizing of cycad nuts is contrasted with the nuts having been immersed to soften the shells (which was stated in the preceding context). It is very hard to come up with an adequate gloss for CONTR in this context; probably contrastive word stress (indicated here by underlining) conveys the intent correctly. (Note; while CONTR occurs on the auxiliary, the English gloss requires the stress on the main verb.)

(185) *djin wini-ny djin balpi-ny giri-nyi-tja*
 3pINOM return-RPC 3p1ERG pound-RPC HABIT-RPC-CONTR
burtjil-dj-ny ngambu ngunungi
 soft-THEMSR-RPC [nutUNM thatUNM]_{ACC}

They returned (to camp). They used to pound the nuts to pulverize them (43:21-3)

CONTR can be used when there is no apparent context to define the nature of the contrast that is being signalled. In such a circumstance, a contrast of felicitous versus non-felicitous action obtains. This can be translated by an English expression of the form "It's better (that) X" where X is a clause. (This explanation was given me by Joe Gidarri.) Contrastive word stress would here also be a good English translation equivalent; but I will retain the original glosses given me by Gidarri. Some examples follow:

(186) *gar-gurri_i-tja il ngurri-dji*
 groin-outside-CONTR 1duincNOM lie.down-FUT

It's better we sleep outside (65:14) (We'll sleep outside.)

(187) *malipmalir-tja il giri-Ø*
 tomorrow-CONTR 1duincNOM go-FUT

It's better we go tomorrow (65:15) (We'll go tomorrow.)

(188) *nyibi-wi_i-tja djin djama-dji-gi*
 [other-PL-CONTR]_{ERG} 3p1ERG work-THEMSR-FUT

It's better that others do the work (65:16) (Others can do the work.)

COMPLetative affix -girri -kirri, and **COMPL** particle girri

The **COMPL** particle, and the **COMPL** affix, signal a variety of functions - all of which are related to the basic meaning of **COMPL** which is 'finished'. The **COMPL** affix derives historically from the particle form; such that a former post-positional **COMPL** particle has become bound to the preceding word as an affix. The affixal form has subsequently undergone various semantic extensions which may be traced to the basic function of the particle form. I will first discuss the particle *girri*, enumerating its functions, and then I will discuss the affix and its functions. The functions marked by **COMPL** -*girri* interact with case in quite complex, though systematic, ways; and as we observed for various cases, **COMPL** may be used in either a spatial sense, a temporal sense, or a textual (anaphoric) sense. The basic function of the **COMPL** affix is to 'refer back', where the referal process may be either spatial, temporal, or textual. Details will be given below.

The functions of the COMPL particle may be reduced to just two: SEQUENCE, and COMPL (in the sense 'finished'). These functions are distinguished syntactically; SEQU obtains when COMPL occurs clause-initially; while for non-clause-initial occurrences (mostly clause-final), COMPL has the sense 'finished'. How COMPL came to mark SEQU is easy to explain. Consider a sentential structure of the kind [X, girri]. Y; where X and Y are consecutive clauses, comma and period mark pause. This type of structure occurs quite often in Djinang; and the function of girri here is to indicate that the event X has terminated, and event Y occurred later. (or it may indicate that the speaker has terminated his discussion of a topic, so that the Y clause will be the first clause of a new topic). In a structure such as the above, the COMPL particle is considered part of the X clause; and Y begins a new sentence (as the bracketing indicates). From this basic pattern, a new pattern emerged; whereby the pause after the girri was omitted, so that the COMPL becomes the first element of the second clause, as exemplified by the following structure: X, [girri Y]. Because the event Y follows event X, this new structure was used to mark temporal SEQU overtly; and in such a construction girr(i) always may be translated by 'then'. It is not obligatory to use COMPL with the function SEQU whenever there is temporal sequence between two consecutive clauses; it is used only when the SEQU function is to be made prominent by being marked explicitly.

The next two examples illustrate these comments. The [X, girri]. Y structure is illustrated in (189). Notice that COMPL functions as a terminator of a set of related events, (the provision of food and various goods to the narrator), and the Y clause occurred later on. In such a situation, the COMPL particle is best translated as 'Later' in the translation of the following clause. Example (190) illustrates the X, [girri Y] structure. Further examples of the former structure may be observed in the texts as follows: (22:200, 208, 214); (24:83, 118); and (32:68, 95). Further examples of the latter structure may be observed in: (22:205); (24:149); and (32:26, 30, 41, 47, 79).

(189) nguli wal-dirr dirra-dji-la..., blanket
 thatLOC [foodUNM]_{ACC} -1sgERG eat-THEMSR-RPA+DUR [blanketUNM
 nyim gunyirri girri irri-ny djin gu-li,
 whateverUNM kindsUNM goodsUNM]_{ACC} 1sg-ACC 3plERG give-RPA
 girri. Ngunyili-pm irri-ny djin wini-djingi-n
 finished thatALL-DELIM 1sg-ACC 3plERG return-CAUS-RPA
 Wingu-li.
 Left.hand-ALL

There I kept eating food, and they gave me blankets and all kinds of things. (Later) they returned me directly to Left-hand. (34:256-7)

(190) nyani ngunu net marr-ngil, girr garrpi-n-ban.
 3sgERG [thatUNM netUNM] ACC pick.up-RPA then tie.up-RPA-IM
 He picked up the net, then (he) tied it up (24:71-2)

There is one further function which the COMPL particle may mark; and that is to indicate the sense 'also'. This is a subcase of the structure [X, girri]. Y above. When COMPL is used at the end of a list of items, or a series of events, without a pause preceding the girri particle (that is, in a structure X ... Y girri.) then it acts as a terminator of the list. Usually this occurrence of COMPL can be translated as 'also'. This construction is typically used when the speaker adds a clause as an afterthought, having the sense 'Y also', where Y is the afterthought clause. An example is given below. In this example, Paul and Silas have just been stripped and lashed to please the managers of the girl who was possessed, and as an afterthought the narrator adds (191), indicating that Paul and Silas were led before the assembled audience. (Note that he paused in the middle of the compound verb ngurri-djiti-nose-drag 'lead'.)

(191) ngurri, djiti-ngil dji+ny djina girri.
 nose drag-RPA 3pl+ACC 3plDAT COMPL
 He led them in front of them also (32:68)

COMPL, with the sense 'also', can also occur within a clause. However, the particle commonly takes the EMPH affix -gim(a), which has no function in this context other than to signal the fact that the word is to be interpreted as 'also' rather than as one of the other functions of the COMPL particle. The COMPL-EMPH form may also be used clause-finally.

(192) bil girr-gima djini-gima il wini-djingil kiri-g
 but COMPL-EMPH [this-EMPH] ACC 1duincERG return-CAUS PROG-FUT
 marrga, djibu
 so.that be.okay

But we also will take this (dead wallaby) back so that all will be well (34:693)

Dj̄nba appears not to have developed a clause-initial equivalent of Dj̄nang girri 'next'; since when transliterating a Dj̄nang story into Dj̄nba the Dj̄nang COMPL particle was consistently translated by Ø. Nor have I yet found any trace of a COMPL affix in Dj̄nba. The closest equivalent to Dj̄nang girri in another Yolngu language appears to be bili (for example, see Lowe 1960 lesson 89). However, in Dhuwala/Dhuwal the bili particle is used not only as COMPL, but also as PERF. Dj̄nang, on the other hand, uses a distinct form for PERF, namely ngurru(m(i)).

The remainder of this section will be devoted to a discussion of the the -Girri COMPL affix. The archephoneme G is strongly conditioned by the speaker's dialect. In my computerized database, there were 70 occurrences of the affix, 52 were articulated by speakers of disjunctive dialects, and 18 by a smooth dialect speaker (Joe Gidarri). There was 100% correlation with dialect; Gidarri used only the -girri allomorph, and the disjunctive dialect speakers used only the -kirri allomorph. (Yililpawuy, who speaks Djinang as a second language, used the -kirri form only.)

In order to understand the semantics of the COMPL affix, I offer the following as an explanation of how it developed semantically from the COMPL particle having the sense 'finished'. Consider again the [X, girri]. Y structure, where X and Y are clauses. If we consider event X from the reference point of event Y, then this involves a backwards-directed referential process. Firstly, X occurs before Y in the stream of speech, which possibly led to the modern textual use of the COMPL affix for anaphoric reference. Secondly, event X occurs before Y, so that X and Y as events are in temporal sequence; which possibly led to the modern temporal use of the COMPL affix to refer to a previous time. Thirdly, X and Y often would be events involving motion, so that event X would have occurred at a different location to the location of event Y. In fact, since an event is often located at the locale of the semantic subject, event X is thus often the subject's locale at an earlier time. This possibly led to the modern spatial use of the COMPL affix to refer to a location 'behind', or of motion 'back to' a place. I trust it can be seen that the common thread of meaning in these functions is 'referring back'. As the affix form developed, its distribution widened so that it was added to whatever word was appropriate for the required sense, irrespective of the position of that word in the clause.

The COMPL affix is added only to deictic stems. The deictic stems usually occur in their unmarked form, but they can also occur with overt case marking. The COMPL marker is always the final affix, whether other affixes occur or not; the only exception being that the IM clitic may occur following COMPL affixation.

Table 3.1 summarizes the various functions of the COMPL affix that are attested in the computerized database. Some combinations of case and COMPL are unattested: those which I expect would actually occur in a wider sample of data are marked as "unattested"; while those I doubt would ever occur are marked with a hyphen. The R, T, P, and E codes are as follows: R = specified Referent, T = specified Time, P = specified Place, and E = specified Event; each as defined by the textual context. R, T, or P, represent NPs in the clause which define the referent, time, or place; while E is an event defined by a previous clause. In general, the UNM deictic stems (ie. ngunu- djini- djinim-, and ngunum- if it occurs) require a coreferential NP in the clause to make the reference unambiguous; while the case-marked deictic forms do not

Table 3.1 Functions of the COMPL Affix

Case	Deictic Stem	"referring back -"		
		- in text	- in space	- in time
ERG	ngunu-	'that previously mentioned R'	-	-
PROM	ngunu- djinim-	'that previously mentioned R'	-	-
NOM	ngunu- djinim- djini-	'that previously mentioned R'	unattested unattested	-
		'this previously mentioned R'	'this R there behind'	
ACC	ngunu- djinim- djini-	'that previously mentioned R'	'that R there behind'	-
		'this previously mentioned R'		
OR	ngunu-OBL-OR!	unattested	unattested	'originating from that previous T'
LOC	ngunu- nguli	'at that prev'ly mentioned R'	unattested	'at that previous time of E'
		'at that prev'ly mentioned place'	'there behind R'	'at that previous time'
ALL	ngunu- bapili	unattested unattested	'back to R' 'back to this locale'	-
ABL	ngunu-ABL!	unattested	'from R back there'	'after that E'

require a coreferential NP in the clause. This, however, is not a rigid rule, but rather the general pattern.

When a COMPL-marked deictic having a discourse anaphoric function occurs, it occurs contiguous to its coreferential NP. Sometimes it may precede the NP, usually it follows it. If the NP is realized as a pronoun (not a reduced pronoun), it follows the pronoun; and very often one or more coreferential NPs are juxtaposed following the COMPL-marked deictic - as in (193), (194), etc. below. The ABL deictic form marked by COMPL usually is first in its clause, though a linking particle or episode-marking particle (*manymak*) may precede it. It can occur post-verbally, although this is rare (an example occurs in (19:25)). The LOC and ALL instances display a greater distributional freedom, consistent with their peripheral case status; so that they may occur wherever a LOC or ALL NP may occur.

The cases listed in Table 3.1 are the cases (either covert or overt) which occur on the NPs which are coreferential with the COMPL-marked deictic form. Generally, no case occurs on the deictic form, the exceptions to this being ABL, OR, and the suppletive ALL and LOC forms *bapili* 'to here' 'to this locale', and *nguli* 'there' 'at that locale'. The ALL form *ngunyi-girri* thatALL-COMPL 'back to there' did not occur in the data, though it is semantically well-formed. The column of deictic stems lists only those stems in the data sample. A wider sample would yield more: for example, there is no semantic reason for the Near Distant deictic stem *ngunum-* being absent, other than the fact that the appropriate conditions for its use did not obtain in any of the texts.

The most common function of the COMPL affix is to mark anaphora in discourse; of the 70 instances of the COMPL affix in the database, 47 were marking anaphoric reference, 13 had temporal reference (9 of these were the ABL form *ngun-nger-Girri* 'after that (event)'), and the remaining 10 referred back in space. There is also some stylistic variation in the frequency of use of these forms. In story 22, comprising over 320 clauses and dealing with subject matter ideally suited to the use of the COMPL-marked deictic forms, there is not a single instance of such forms in the text. The speaker, Manbarrarra, has a very colloquial style, and relies a lot on gesture and onomatopoeia. I suspect that the use of the COMPL-marked deictics is more a function of good discourse style, rather than dialect, so that Manbarrarra's lack of use of these forms is a function of his personal speech register for story-telling. On the other hand, in Milurrurr's two texts (32 and 33), together totalling only about 300 clauses, there were 30 instances of such forms - nearly half the total in the database!

I will now give a series of examples to illustrate the functions of COMPL marking on deictics. I have only one ERG example, (193), and ERG marking is covert in this particular instance. One point that needs to be explained is the use of *nyani* 3sg pronoun in a context of

plurality of reference. Whenever a referent is a group, (eg. a group of people, or a number of members of a species), the third person singular pronoun may be used. This always obtains when referring to fish, and animals. A similar use of *nyani* occurs in (198) below. In (193) *ngunu-kirri* refers anaphorically to the Jews, last mentioned sixty clauses previously.

(193) *nyani ngunu-kirri ngunung, Jew mala, ga wurpi*
 [3sgERG that-COMPL thatUNM JewUNM COL and anotherUNM
mala bapurrurr, djin nya-ngin-ban
 COL lineageUNM] _{ERG} 3plERG saw-RPA-IM

Those afore-mentioned Jews and people of a different race saw (him) then (33:69-70)

In the next example, *djinim-kirri* 'that afore-mentioned ...' occurs between the pronoun and the NP with which it is coreferential. There is covert PROM case here, which later appears on the surface in the deictic form *nguni thatPROM*. Notice, this is PROM rather than ERG, since the referent is in a Patient relationship to the action of the verb.

(194) *manymak, nyani djinim-kirri lapitji-gining yul,*
 okay [3sgPROM that.near-COMPL leprosy-PROP manUNM] _{PROM}
ngunung, balnggili ngunungi, nguni bil
 thatUNM afternoonUNM thatUNM [thatPROM] _{ACC} 3duERG
wanngir-ngili-pm
 save-RPA-DELIM

Okay, this leprous man, it was on that afternoon that they saved that (man) (33:108-9)

The next two examples illustrate NOM case. The first is similar to (194) and needs no further comment. However the context of (196) needs explaining. The narrator's party was trying to catch up with another group travelling to Maningrida. When they began to get close, a member of the other group looked back, saw the narrator's party back where they had just come from, and then said (196). Here the COMPL affix can only have a spatial interpretation, in the sense of 'back there behind X' where X is the speaker's locale. Further NOM instances may be found in the cited texts as follows: (32:18, 29, 79, and 100).

(195) *manymak, ga nyani ngunu-kirri, ngunung prisoner*
 okay and [3sgNOM that-COMPL thatUNM prisoner
djaka-gining, nguli-kum dji-tjarri-ny
 care-PROP] _{NOM} thatLOC-EMPH DIST-stand-RPC

Okay, that prisoner supervisor was standing right there (32:74-5)

(196) djini-girri-gin-pi_i wira-pi_i
 [this-COMPL-PROP-PL]_{NOM} [who-PL]_{NOM}
 Who (are) these people back there behind (us) {34:1182}

An ACC example follows, where COMPL has the spatial sense 'back behind'. Discourse anaphoric ACC examples do not occur in the cited text portions, but can be found in the following places: {24:42} {32:162, 163} {33:3, 131} {34:600, 1137} and {53:45, 46, 49, 51-2}.

(197) nyuni djinim-kirri, bilny Silas ga Paul,
 2sgERG [this.near-COMPL 3duACC SilasUNM and PaulUNM]_{ACC}
 bilny-ildji ga-ng-ban
 3duACC-2plERG take-FUT-IM

You now go take away (from here) Paul and Silas who are back there (behind me) {32:154}

I have only one instance of OR case occurring with the COMPL affix. In this instance, a temporal sense obtains because the coreferential NP contains the temporal noun mirrkungaling 'the dreamtime'.

(198) nyani nyurrwakng mirrkungalingi-r ngurrwak litja
 3sgERG before dreamtime-TEMP the.beginning 1duDAT
 giyKa-nyi, ngun-gira-pi-bi-girri
 net-RPC that-OBL-OR-OR-COMPL

We people have been netting (fish) from the very beginning, from back there in the dreamtime {34:562-3}

I will now deal briefly with the local cases. ABL deictic ngunu-ngir occurs with COMPL sufficiently often with the temporal sense 'after that (event)' that an example is unnecessary. Instances can be observed in the cited text portions in the following locations: {32:64, and 69}; and further examples can be found in the wider database in the locations: {19:25} {53:9, 59} and {34:474, 538, 625, 993}. In (114), section 2.11, I gave the one instance I have of COMPL on an ABL deictic and having probably a spatial sense 'from R back there', where R is a group of people previous identified. This example is ambiguous; ngunu-ngir-girri could be being used there to mark anaphora - although the previous instance of ngunu-ngir 'from that (group)' makes this a less likely alternative.

The ALL examples which I have involve the stems ngunu- thatUNM, and bapili thatALL 'to here'. Taking COMPL affixation, in each case a spatial sense obtains; either 'back to R' (in the case of the former form), or 'back to this locale' (in the case of the latter form). Additional examples may be found in {34:88, 766, and 1147}.

(199) bapi-ban bi nibi kiri-ny ngunu-girri,
 thatALL-IM HITH 1plexcNOM come-RPC [that-COMPL
 Maningrida-i-ban djina-nydji nibi garrkarrpi-ni
 Maningrida-ALL-IM] _{ALL} 3p1DAT-RECIP 1plincNOM search.for-RPC
 Kiri-ny
 PROG-RPC

Back towards here we then came, back towards Maningrida in order to look for them (34:746-7)

(200) ngunung inydji nibi wayku-li-ban bapi-girri-ban,
 [thatUNM] _{TEMP} RECIP 1plincNOM get.up-RPA-IM thatALL-COMPL-IM
 nyimbiringarri-i, Bunyinbaday-i
 what's.the.place-ALL Bunyinbaday-ALL

At that time we awoke (and went) back to this locale, to Bunyinbaday (34:983-4)

The final three examples are for LOC case. For this case I have instances of COMPL marking which exhibit all three senses: discourse anaphoric, spatial, and temporal. I will give one example of each. In (201), ngui-girri refers anaphorically to the location of the trunk of the cycad palm, from which the cycad nuts sprout. In (202), the woman is 'there behind R' where R is the group of men identified in the immediately preceding clauses. In (203), the COMPL-marked deictic refers back to a previous time, which is made explicit in the clause which follows. Further anaphora examples may be found in (32:278-9) (32:144) (33:32-4) and (34:504, 971). Further spatial examples are found in (32:23) and (53:12).

(201) ga djakirr in.ga djiningi, wali ngunu-girri
 and [trunkUNM 3sgDAT] _{NOM} [thisUNM] _{NOM} [foodUNM that-COMPL
 minydji giri-ny+a, ngui-girri milgai-dj-ny-ban
 THITH come-TPC+NF thatLOC-COMPL cycad.nut-INCHO-TPC-IM

And this (is) its trunk, the afore-mentioned food comes out (of it), at that afore-mentioned place it then becomes cycad nuts (43:9-10)

(202) ga nyan ngui-kirri nyini-ny miyilk,
 and 3sgNOM thatLOC-COMPL sit-RPC [womanUNM] _{NOM}
 and a woman was sitting there behind (them) (32:21)

(203) Mr Draysil bi gir-ali ngunu-girri,
 [Mr DraysilUNM] _{NOM} HITH come-RPA [that-COMPL] _{LOC}
 settlement miri yirrpi-ni-ban
 [settlement] _{ACC} like set-RPC-IM

Mr Draysil came here at that previous time, when he founded the settlement (34:1198-9)

3.8 WORD-FINAL VOWEL A, DURATIVE, VOCATIVE

In this section we shall discuss the functions of a word-final change of vowel from an underlying *i* vowel to a surface *a* vowel. There is no change in stress pattern or intonation. The vowel change nearly always occurs word finally; and in many instances it has semantic content. (The change can occur non-word-finally only in certain circumstances, and even then it is limited to the vowel of the final syllable. See the discussion below.)

VOCative

When a relationship nominal, such as a Kin term ending in an *i* vowel (in Djinang, such a vowel is always an *i* vowel), is used as a term of address, the final vowel is changed to an *a* vowel. In some cases, there are phonetic reductions in the stem as well. The following are VOC forms of Kin terminology, in which a final *i* vowel becomes *a*: *gunydjarra* 'father', and its abbreviated form *djarra* 'father'; *ngambarra* 'mother'; *wuwa* 'older brother' 'brother'; *migira* 'grandchild' (DaCh); *ngatjätja* 'grandparent' (opposite moiety, Fa is linking relative); *midja* 'grandparent' (same moiety, Mo is linking relative); and so forth. The following are same VOC forms which not only have word-final *a*, but other changes as well. The non-VOC forms are given in parentheses: *gida* (*gadi*) 'sister'; *mina* (*minini*) 'wife' and *MoBrSo*; and the following is an exception to the rule that the vowel change occurs only word finally, *gimnyarr* (*gimnyirri*) 'grandchild' (SiDaCh). Personal names, and familiar forms such as *muri* 'daddy' (*Yirritjing*), and *malu* 'daddy' (*Djuwing*), do not change their final vowel; the above change is limited to Kin terms only.

When Kin terms take ERG or PROM marking *-r(i)*, the stem form ending in *a* is used: hence *gunydjarra-r* father-ERG; *wuwa-r* brother-ERG; and so forth. The *a*-final forms are, in many instances, identical or similar to the non-VOC Kin forms in other Yolngu languages: for example: Djinba *gunydjarra* 'father'; *ngambarra* 'mother'. Presumably, at the time of the Djinang Vowel Shift, the historical change of word-final **a* to *i* on Kin nouns permitted word-final *a* to be used to mark another function. VOC was one such function. For nominals other than Kin terms, verbs, and other parts of speech, other functions came to be marked by a word-final *a* vowel where an *i* vowel otherwise would occur (or be elided). We shall consider these functions below.

i → *a* word finally

One of the functions of this change is to enable DUR marking, which will be discussed separately below. In what follows in this subsection, I am concerned with those instances of the change to a word-final *a* vowel which are manifestations neither VOC nor DUR marking. For

the sake of economy of discussion, I will speak of 'final a'; it should be borne in mind that I do not mean all instances of word-final a vowels, but only those in which there has been a change from an underlying i vowel.

Final a is a fairly frequent phenomenon. Of the thirteen texts used as my minimal database, there were approximately 300 instances of the change. All speakers do it. Analysis reveals that in some circumstances it has very clear semantic content, but in many cases (probably about half the total instances) there is little or no semantic content, and the change becomes a performance-related stylistic device. I will deal with the instances which have semantic content first, and then with the rest. Final a seems to be a purely Djinang phenomenon; there is no evidence of VOC, DUR, or final a in Djinba, insofar as my limited data collection of Djinba materials reveals. This is entirely expected, since Djinba did not undergo the Djinang Vowel Shift.

Final a is used in lists, to mark the non-final constituents of the list (at least, those which may end in an i vowel in their citation form). It combines with intonation: the pitch level falls on the last member of the list, and remains level on the preceding members of the list. The last member of the list usually reverts to an i vowel word-finally, provided the word has a final i vowel in its citation form. (This sometimes does not happen, as in (206) below.) The members of the list do not have to be nouns, but can be other parts of speech, such as deictics, or verbs; only very rarely do other parts of speech undergo this vowel change. On nouns, the change commonly indicates a list of items, or a list of participants of an event. On verbs, it indicates a list of events which, taken together, have semantic coherence (such as would be involved in verb chaining in Papuan languages). On deictics, it may be used to mark a list of items, or on a list of deictics marked with a local case (indicating a multitude of directions). On other parts of speech, I have only two examples, and so I cannot ascertain if there is any definite nuance of meaning being signalled. (I suspect not.)

The following examples illustrate these comments. It will be apparent from the examples that final a is independent of any nominal or verbal inflection. It is the word-final vowel which is lengthened, irrespective of inflection. Because it often has semantic content, it will be treated as a morpheme as far as illustrative examples are concerned. It will be marked by a plus (+) preceding the a vowel, and with a NF ("Non-Final vowel change") gloss. Example (204) illustrates final a on a list of nouns inflected for ERG case. Example (205) illustrates it with a list of PERL-marked nouns (the repeated nouns indicate that the action took place over a large spatial span, as is indicated also by DUR marking on the verb). Example (206) illustrates final a on a list of ALL deictic forms (the repeated deictics indicate that the action was taking place in a multitude of directions - implying a multitude of participants). Example (207) illustrates it on

a list of verbs which comprise a coherent set - the word *bukil-mirri-ban* cliff-LOC-IM terminates the sequence of coherent actions.

(204) *bil ngambirra-r+ta gunydjirra-r+ta mar'mingi-r+ta, gada-r+ta,*
 but mother-ERG+NF father-ERG+NF grandfather-ERG+NF sister-ERG+NF
galiyKaliy, wuwa-r, gayKa-r, djanguny djin
 [husbandUNM]_{ERG} brother-ERG uncle-ERG [storyUNM]_{ACC} 3plERG
bultji-ni, ngurrwagi-pi
 tell-RPA the.beginning-OR

But (my) mothers, fathers, grandparents, sisters, uncles, husbands, brothers, and uncles told me (this) story which comes from the beginning times {42:38-9}

(205) *Warrwarr..., minimini-mirrpm+a, minimini-mirrpm+a*
 go.quickly+DUR paperbark-PERL+NF paperbark-PERL+NF
minimini-mirrpm+a,
 paperbark-PERL+NF

(We) went quickly along, through an endless forest of paperbark trees {34:1177}

(206) *ga butjiyi-li ngunu gu-kurrpi-ni, ngunyi+ta*
 and dog-ERG [thatUNM]_{ACC} DIST-chase-RPC thatALL+NF
ngunyi+ta ngunyi+ta ngunyi+ta
 thatALL+NF thatALL+NF thatALL+NF

And the dogs were chasing those (buffalo) in all directions {34:318}

(207) *libi kiri-ny nyini-ny+ta, nibi baltji-l+ta,*
 1plexcNOM go-RPC PROG-RPC+NF 1plexcNOM climb.up-RPA+NF
libi djundi-n+ta, bukil-mirri-ban, ...
 1plexcNOM descend-RPA+NF cliff-LOC-IM ...

We went along, we climbed up, then we climbed down at the cliff ... {34:30-33}

Termination is important for lists. As noted above, intonation is one signal of termination; reversion to word-final *i* vowel is another, use of *girri* COMPL particle is another, and so forth. One of the ways of terminating a list of semantically coherent verbal actions is the use of non-thematic verbs. This verb class occurs in all Yolngu languages, though some Yolngu languages have used these verbs as stems to form regular inflecting verb forms - *Djinba* has done this. However, typically this class of verbs are not inflected, and usually occur alone (ie. without an accompanying synonymous inflected verb in the same clause), or occasionally with a synonymous inflected verb (see section 2.2). Some verbs of this class are: *larr* 'set off', *djut* 'sit', *djip* 'stand still' *rarr* 'spill', *bur* 'arrive', *bat* 'throw', *bat* 'get' 'pick up',

blik 'exit' (and dozens more). Example (208) illustrates the use of a non-thematic verb to terminate a set of coherent actions. In this example, a party of people had just arrived by canoe at the river bank. DUR marking signals a length of time during which they moved the stores to the top of the bank; and the loan verb *larr* 'set off' signifies the termination of the implied sequence of actions.

(208) *nginiba...*, *nginib+a*, *walmi-n+a*, *larr-ban*
 1plexcNOM+DUR 1plexcNOM+NF go.up-RPA+NF set.off-IM

We repeatedly went up (the river bank), then we set off (22:250)

We must now consider the large number of instances where final *a* occurs, but there is no apparent list either of nominals or verbs. Inspection shows that final *a* is very common preceding pause. Of 288 instances, 184 (64%) occurred immediately before pause. Those instances not occurring before pause were mostly semantically coherent groupings, such as a list of nouns, or deictics, or a set of coherent actions, as discussed above. If we ignored these, then the frequency of final *a* occurring immediately before pause and with apparently no semantic function, would rise markedly. Pause is very much a performance variable, since a large proportion of pauses in any speech event represent breaks for purposes of encoding the next section of speech. Final *a* here apparently is used to indicate non-finality in a string of encodings. That is, final *a* indicates to the hearer that the speaker has more to say on this topic. This is clearly parallel to the use of final *a* in lists, and coherent action sequences. To support this contention, I cite the following facts: firstly, the COMPL particle *girri* 'finished', which acts as an event terminator, never occurs with a final *a*; final *a* never occurs at the end of quoted speech; and final *a* never occurs at the end of a logically complete set of events. All of these contexts have in common that there is a semantic termination of an event (or events); and as can be seen from the discussion above, semantic termination is incompatible with the function of final *a*. Hence, we can summarize these instances of final *a* as marking a non-terminal point in the speech event. The cited text portions give numerous examples of this behaviour.

DURative vowel lengthening a...

DUR has consistent semantic content, and must be regarded as a morpheme. It involves the change *i* → *a* in the word-final vowel of a verb (the main verb, but if an auxiliary verb follows, it occurs only on the auxiliary verb), and the *a* vowel then has temporally extended articulation, perhaps for up to two seconds. It may occur on a non-verb, (see 208 above) but still signifying duration of the activity. As a descriptive device, I use three periods following the *a* vowel in order to indicate length of articulation. If the final syllable of a word contains an *a* vowel in its citation form, and the word ends in a sonorant consonant, then the final syllable's *a* vowel can be lengthened. Sometimes, when this obtains, the word-final consonant

is lost. I use three periods following the final consonant to indicate length of the preceding vowel. Thus, Warrwarr... is phonetically [warrwaaaaaaaaaaaaarr].

Semantically, DUR indicates duration of the activity represented by the clause. The duration is always temporal (as in examples (189) of section 3.7, and (6) of section 2.2), but it may also involve an added component of meaning - namely that the semantic subject is changing its location as a function of doing the action which is signified by the verb (as in examples (149) of section 3.1, (119) of section 2.12, and (160) of section 3.3).

Like non-final *a*, termination is important for DUR marking. In fact, in approximately 80% of instances of DUR marking, there is some means of explicit termination of the event so marked. Of the remaining 20%, the termination is implicit. DUR cannot be used to mark an event of indefinite duration, either in space or in time. (The THITH particle *minyɔ̃ji*, or DIST marking, or verbal inflection, or verbal auxiliaries, are used for indicating indefinite duration.) There are five ways of explicitly indicating the termination of an event marked by DUR, as below. Method 5. is comparatively rare.

1. by the COMPL particle *girri*.
2. by another event which is either semantically incompatible with the continuance of the DUR-marked event, or which involves an expectation of its termination.
3. like 2., except that the terminating event is implied but not stated.
4. by an interjection 'good' (indicating successful completion of the event), or by the NEGative particle 'nothing'.
5. by restating the DUR-marked constituent, but without DUR or final *a* marking.

I shall give an example of each of these. The first illustrates termination using the COMPL particle, which is a very common means of termination (many dozens of instances in the database). The COMPL particle does not necessarily occur immediately after the DUR morpheme, but further amplificatory information (sometimes involving another instance of DUR as in 209) may occur between the DUR morpheme and the terminating COMPL particle - as in (189). DUR is not easy to translate into English, often it must be left untranslated, though sometimes it can be represented by an expression such as 'till done', as below.

(209) *nginibi dutji-la... kukim-dji-la..., girri.*
IplexERG squeeze-RPA+DUR cook-THEMSR-RPA+DUR COMPL
We kneaded (damper), and cooked it till done (22:207-8)

The next example illustrates how a DUR marked event may be terminated by a following clause. Semantic incompatibility follows from the fact that it is not possible to continue coming after one has arrived at one's destination.

(210) bil kiri-ny nyini-nya... muri in.ga bil
 3duNOM walk-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR [daddyUNM]_{DAT} 3sgDAT 2duNOM
 yulgu-ngili
 come.to-RPA

They walked all the way to (the boy's) father (24:16-7)

The next example illustrates implicit termination of the DUR-marked event. There are numerous instances of this type, where an terminating event has occurred but is not represented by a verb in the surface structure. In (211), "arrival" is assumed, though not stated. It can be inferred from the LOC marking of the place name. That is, X-LOC is all that remains of an underlying clause "we arrived at X-LOC", the pronoun and verb having been deleted because in the context they are both redundant.

(211) nginibi ga-ngili-ban, ka-ny kiri-nya...,
 1plexERG take-RPA-IM take-RPC PROG-PRC+DUR
 djiningi, Nginggilali-Ø, bat-pan nguli
 [thisUNM Nginggilali-LOC]_{LOC} throw-IM thatLOC

We then took (the tools) all the way to Nangalala and threw them down there (22:141-3)

The next example illustrates manymak 'good' used as a terminator of DUR marking. The narrator's party were making an airstrip at Murwangi. An example where wirr 'nothing' is used as a terminator was given previously as example (6) in section 2.2.

(212) a madjirri, nibi buyubuyu-dji-li-tja...
 - next 1plexERG smooth-THEMSR-RPA-CONTR+DUR
 garrku_luk-dji-l+a, manymak
 clear-THEMSR-RPA+NF good

Next, we completely smoothed and cleared (the airstrip) till satisfactory (22:229-30)

Example (213) illustrates termination by means of restating the DUR-marked constituent - in this case, a deictic. In this example, the narrator is describing how one may stand at the edge of a certain clear waterhole and see a very long way through the water. The DUR marker here indicates the long span through which one's vision may penetrate in the water. The meaning of the compound verb djay-wuywuy- is 'penetrate to a great depth', and is not equivalent to the sum of the meanings of its constituent parts.

(213) mir djini-ngira..., mir djini-ngir+ta,
 like this-ABL+DUR like this-ABL+NF
 djay-wuywuy-dji-m+ta
 submerge-shake-THEMSR-PRES+NF

So from this (bank) for a long way (one) sees through (the water) {34:550}

Finally, DUR marking temporal duration is synonymous with DIST marking temporal continuity, with the exception that DIST does not require termination. DIST is vague as to the time of termination of an event, whereas DUR requires either explicit termination, or implicit termination. The following example comes from a story where a boat is being loaded with tools and provisions. The two clauses are synonymous.

(214) ngunyili mitjiyang-ili r'-ra-ny kiri-ny-ban,
 thatALL boat-ALL DIST-enter-RPC PROG-RPC-IM
 mitjiyang-ili ra-ny kiri-nya..., girri
 boat-ALL enter-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR COMPL

(He) kept on entering the boat then, he entered repeatedly till done {22:137-8}

3.9 OWNER, BEYOND, -miny, and -ping(i) AFFIXES

This section deals with the remaining nominal inflections not dealt with up to this time. Some of these affixes are rare, and appear to be no longer productive (namely, all except OWN).

OWNer -watangu

The OWN affix is used to indicate possession by inherited right, or to indicate rightful possession for some reason. It is most commonly used with the noun gurrbi 'land' 'camp' 'place', etc. to indicate the rightful owner of an area of land (by inheritance patrilineally). This affix occurs in several Yolngu languages (Zorc 1979). I do not yet know if it occurs in Djinba.

(215) biling ngunu-kirri gurrbi-watangu-mirrpili, biling ...
 3duNOM [that-COMPL place-OWN-PAUC]NOM 3duNOM ...

Those two afore-mentioned land owners, ... {19:92}

BEYond -atjuy

This affix appears, as far as I know, on only one form - the Distant deictic ALL form ngunyili thatALL 'to there'. This affix is historically derived from a particle *gatjuy 'go on'; by

The -ping(i) affix is actually a frozen combination of two affixes, the modern OR affix -Bi, and the archaic Yolngu nominalizing affix -*ngu. The only examples I have of this form are on the temporal noun gadjiri 'yesterday' 'recent definite past', and the adverb yili 'next'. Thus gadjiri-ping means "yesterday's one"; while yila-ping means 'the next one', 'the last one (in sequence)'.

3.10 DERIVED VERBS AND DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION

In the remaining sections of chapter 3 we shall consider various small word classes; as well as nominal and verbal derivations. The present section is devoted to the topic of verbal derivations, and DIST reduplication.

INCHOative -dji- FACTitive -dji- THEMatiSeR -dji-

Before we proceed further, a historical digression is necessary in order to explain the difference between INCHO, FACT, and THEM SR morphemes, since they are formally identical in Djinang. INCHO forms a verb having the meaning 'become X', or 'be X'; and FACT forms a verb having the meaning 'cause to become X', or 'to make X'. THEM SR sometimes has minimal semantic content - seeming only to be an augment which derives an inflectible verb stem. But in some instances, THEM SR has the same function as FACT. This ambivalence in the function of THEM SR will be explained below. In Djinba, these three morphemes are formally distinct, and each is cognate with the Djinang form -dji-. For example, the following are three Djinba verbs, each illustrating one of the morphemes, of which the most common allomorphs are -yi- INCHO, -ya- FACT, and -yu- THEM SR.

Djinba		Djinang	
marr-burr-al- <u>nan</u> -yi-rrak	..INCHO-FUT	marr-pirral-kin- <u>dji</u> -dji	..INCHO-FUT
balangaw-ya-nmak	..FACT-FUT	balangaw- <u>dji</u> -gi	..FACT-FUT
djama-yu-mak	..THEMSR-FUT	djama- <u>dji</u> -gi	..THEMSR-FUT

There are numerous examples of each Djinba morpheme in Appendix 4, and the interested reader can find more there. Comparison of Dabi and Galabingu THEM SR, FACT, and INCHO morphemes, together with the cognate Djinang forms, and the cognate Ritharrngu forms (Heath 1980a:60-1, 73), reveals that the protoforms were -*DHi INCHO, -DHa FACT, and -*DHu THEM SR. (I have borrowed Heath's terminology in using THEM SR, for what he called a "Thematizing Increment" - although he uses the latter terminology for any segmentable verbal formative having the shape -Cu-, rather than just those cognate to -*DHu.) Where Galabingu

has -yi- -ya- -yu-, Dabi often has -dji- -dja- -dju-, respectively; so that to be correct we should characterize the modern Djinba morphemes as -Dji- INCHO, -Dja- FACT, and -Dju- THEMSR. (The explanation of the Dabi dj-initial forms is simple: due to early contact with Djinang, Dabi palatalized *DH earlier than the time of the stop lenition historical change which caused *DH > y in Ganalbingu. Details are in Appendix 2.) Ganalbingu usually retains the dj-initial allomorphs -dji- -dja- and -dju- when a lamino-palatal consonant immediately precedes.

The Djinang Vowel Shift regularly changed a and u vowels in these morphemes to i (see chapter 1). Consequently, the three functions THEMSR, FACT, and INCHO, can now only be separated by two criteria: the conjugation class of the verb, and the word class of the verbal stem. Djinang has three major verb classes (so too does Djinba): class 1 are mostly transitive verbs, and verbs formed by THEMSR all fall in this class; class 3 are mostly intransitive verbs, and verbs formed by INCHO all fall in this class. Class 2 is more complicated. This class has a mixture of transitive and intransitive verbs; and the equivalent class in Djinba is similar. Djinba verbs formed with the FACT morpheme fall into Djinba's class 2 conjugation, which is a conjugation class equivalent to Djinang's class 2. But the cognate Djinang verbs fall, not in Djinang's class 2, but into Djinang's class 1. Also, the Ritharrngu FACT paradigm (Heath *ibid*:72) shows that the earlier Djinang FACT morpheme was conjugated as a class 1 verb, rather than switching conjugation class at the time of the Djinang Vowel Shift. This is fairly conclusive evidence that Djinang and Djinba are descended historically from different branches of a "Northern Yolngu" protolanguage.

In Djinba, FACT may possibly be still viable semantically; certainly it is quite 'visible' phonetically. In Djinang however, FACT appears to have almost lost its semantic viability. There are only a handful of instances where Djinang FACT, forming a transitive verb, contrasts with CAUS or THEMSR. One example is the verb stem gu₁ 'cease' 'stop'. This stem forms intransitive and transitive inflecting forms in two different ways. The common way is:

Intransitive gu₁-dji-gi cease-THEMSR-FUT (conjugation class 1)

Transitive gu₁-miy-gi cease-CAUS-FUT (conjugation class 1)

However, there is a less common way, as follows:

Intransitive gu₁-dji-dji cease-INCHO-FUT (conjugation class 3)

Transitive gu₁-dji-gi cease-FACT-FUT (conjugation class 1)

That the latter way uses INCHO and FACT is revealed by the Djinba cognate verbs, which are gu₁-yi-rrak cease-INCHO-FUT, and gu₁-ya-nmak cease-FACT-FUT. Thus, in Djinang, there is ambiguity in the form gu₁-dji-gi, which could be either transitive, or intransitive. The other forms, gu₁-dji-dji and gu₁-miy-gi, are unambiguously intransitive and transitive, respectively.

In the second pair of examples immediately above, it can be seen that the transitive form may be derived from the intransitive form by replacing the underlying INCHO morpheme with an underlying FACT morpheme - thereby changing the conjugation class for the inflectible stem. This is no longer a productive schema for deriving transitives from intransitives in Djinang. Apparently it is still productive in Ritharrngu (see Heath *ibid*:60); and possibly also in Djinba, although this has yet to be investigated systematically. The Djinang Vowel Shift has caused the FACT morpheme to weaken vis-a-vis the THEM SR morpheme, so that the former no longer enters into productive strategies for the formation of transitive verbs from intransitive verbs. Hence, modern Djinang speakers have almost merged FACT with THEM SR, and only a few isolated instances such as discussed above have resisted the merger. This accounts for the afore-mentioned ambivalence in the function of THEM SR. (There is some evidence that FACT has similarly weakened in Djinba as well. For example: the nouns such as *gagung* 'big' form transitives using the THEM SR morpheme, rather than the FACT morpheme. Hence *gagung-yu-mak* big-THEM SR-FUT 'cause to become big'. This would be due to diffusion of the Djinang pattern into Djinba.)

Verbs Derived From Non-Verbs

There are three productive means of deriving a verb from a non-verb: the first is by means of INCHO - deriving an intransitive verb of class 3. A second way is by means of CAUS -*miy-*, which derives a transitive verb (never a ditransitive verb) of class 1. The third way is by means of THEM SR, which usually derives a transitive verb of class 1; but may occasionally derive an intransitive verb of class 1 (*gul-dji-gi* cease-THEM SR-FUT discussed above is an example). I shall briefly discuss each in turn.

The INCHO always derives an intransitive verb. The affix is added to a stem which may be a nominal stem (adjectival nominals are the most common class of nominals which behave like this), a loan noun or loan verb, or a NEG word such as *wirr* 'nothing' 'no'. Some examples are: *wana-dji-dji* big-INCHO-FUT 'become big', *yul-dji-dji* man-INCHO-FUT 'become a man', *marnggi-dji-dji* knowledge-INCHO-FUT 'become knowledgeable' 'learn', *wirr-dji-dji* nothing-INCHO-FUT 'become nothing' 'die', *ingki-dji-dji* not-INCHO-FUT 'be nothing', *mirgi-dji-dji* bad-INCHO-FUT 'become bad' 'be bad', etc.

THEM SR usually derives a transitive verb, and irrespective of the transitivity value, the resulting form will belong to the class 1 conjugation. (It is not possible to derive a verb belonging in conjugation class 2, from either nominal or verbal base forms. All derived verbs belong to either class 1 or class 3.) The THEM SR affix is added to a stem, which is usually a noun, but can also be an adverb, NEG word, or a loan noun or verb. Besides the example given previously, further examples of derived intransitive verbs using THEM SR are, firstly, with the

adjective *bumir-wurpm* forehead-one 'one time' 'once', where *bumir-wurpm-dji-gi* forehead-one-THEMSR-FUT means 'do once'; and secondly, *wukirri-dji-gi* write-THEMSR-FUT 'write'. However, intransitives derived by THEMSR are very rare. Some transitive examples are: *wana-dji-gi* big-THEMSR-FUT 'make big' (this is probably really big-FACT-FUT, as will be explained later), *yul-dji-gi* man-THEMSR-FUT 'cause to become a man', *marnggi-dji-gi* knowledge-THEMSR-FUT 'cause to become knowledgeable' 'teach', *mirgi-dji-gi* bad-THEMSR-FUT 'make bad', *butjurru-dji-gi* count-THEMSR-FUT 'count', etc. The last example, and the verb 'write' above, involve well known Macassan loan verbs, *wukirri* 'write', and *butjurru* (cf. GUP *bothurru*) 'write'.

CAUS always derives a transitive verb of class 1. It is added directly to a root form. This follows the Gupapuyngu pattern (see the comment in Morphy 1983:76), and Djinba behaves similarly. Whereas Djapu and Ritharrngu add the CAUS to the UNMarked inflection of verbs in a certain conjugation class, Djinang, Djinba, and Gupapuyngu add CAUS directly to the stem. However, CAUS cannot be used indiscriminately in either Djinang or Djinba. It occurs only on stems which appear to be root forms (that is, not internally segmentable); or on certain reduplicated root forms. Hence, *lap* 'open' forms the transitive inflecting stem *lap-miy-open-CAUS*. (See section 2.2 for more details.) There is one clear example of a noun being used to derive a transitive verb using CAUS. The noun *bulwarr* means 'nest'. The CAUS-derived verb is *bulwarr-miy-gi* nest-CAUS-FUT 'cause to take shelter'. More research is needed in order to ascertain exactly what the conditioning factor is for the use of CAUS, since there are certainly many instances where an indivisible root form (such as *wana* 'big') takes THEMSR rather than CAUS. At present, CAUS appears to be lexically conditioned. Loans from English always use THEMSR, never CAUS. One further point while on the topic of loans. While in Canberra I met student from Indonesia (Hamzah Machmoed). He had no knowledge of Yolngu languages. While discussing Austronesian loans, I asked if he knew the word *marnggi*. He did know it, and said it means 'shaman' or 'knowledgeable person'. Unfortunately he did not tell me the source language. This raises the possibility that *marnggi* may be an Austronesian loan; the other possibility is that it is a pure coincidence. The latter is perhaps unlikely because of the rather unusual phonetic shape of the word. The possibility of it being a loanword needs further investigation.

A digression is apt here before leaving the CAUS morpheme. Firstly, the form *-miy-* in Djinang becomes *-mi-* when a nasal-initial suffix follows; and is *-miyu-* before IMP suffix *-wi*. Secondly, the CAUS morpheme in other Yolngu languages yields some interesting facts. Schebeck (1967a) gives *-miyana-* CAUS in the Nhangu language group, on the basis of Golpa data (the only Nhangu language he sampled). Capell's 1941 wordlist gives the Yan-nhangu CAUS morpheme as *-miya-* (eg. *dhawar'-miya-ma* finished.up-CAUS-UNM 'cause to be finished up' 'tire out'). In most Yolngu languages, it appears to be *-mara* (eg. *Dhuwala/Dhuwal*, Ritharrngu, *Dhay'yi*). The Dhangu form appears to be *-ma-*. The Djinang Manyarring clan uses CAUS *-miri-*

(see text 32:94, 96), which is cognate to the common Yolngu form *-mara-*; while other Djinang clans use *-miy-* which is cognate to the Nhangu forms. Also, the Djinba form is *-miy-*, with allomorphs *-miyi-* and *-miyu-* occasionally attested. These facts would support the contention that Djinang and Djinba are both descended from a "Northern Yolngu" protolanguage.

There is an archaic CAUS morpheme in both Djinang and Djinba. It is no longer productive. (For purposes of genetic groupings, it would be very helpful to know the distribution of this morpheme in Nhangu, Dhangu, and Djangu languages - if it occurs in any of these at all. Unfortunately, these languages are as yet insufficiently documented.) The Djinang morpheme is *-djingi(l)-* CAUS; where the final *l* is retained only before FUT *-gi*. Verbs inflected with this CAUS morpheme belong to conjugation class 2. A common example is *wini-djingil-gi* return-CAUS-FUT 'cause to return', compared with *wini-dji* return-FUT 'return' - which belongs to class 3. The Djinba morpheme, which is cognate to the Djinang morpheme, is *-djunga-* in one instance, either *-djungul-* or *-djungurr-* in some other instances, and either *-nga-* or *-ngul-* in still other instances. Verbs which take this morpheme belong to conjugation class 2 in Djinba. These archaic CAUS morphemes do not, in general, occur on the same Djinang and Djinba stems, showing that both these languages have independently retained an earlier CAUS morpheme. Variations of the morpheme in Djinang and Djinba imply that the protoform may have been segmentable as *-*DHu-ngVL*. (Western Desert has a verb form *DHu* 'put' which is also used in compounds. Koch p.c.) There are probably less than a dozen instances of the morpheme in each modern language.

A few verbs exhibit the formative *-pini-* (or possibly *-pini-*, there is variation in my data as to whether the nasal is retroflex or not), which appears to have been a causative derivational affix. It is cognate to the archaic causative affix *-punu-* in Dhuwal/Dhuwala (Morphy 1983:46). Three Djinang verbs of this type are: *mutpini-gi* 'assemble' 'muster'; *gandapini-gi* 'make fish-trap weir'; *mungbini-gi* 'not reciprocate' (ie. not give a gift in return), 'for good' (ie. an event resulting in a state which obtains permanently). The verbs belong to conjugation class 1. The formative is no longer productive in Djinang, and must be treated as part of the modern stem.

Verbs Derived from Verbs: transitives from intransitives

Yolngu languages uniformly use the NMLSR affix to derive a nominal stem from a verb. Djinang and Djinba are not exceptions. Also, in both languages a transitive verb is typically derived by adding the THEM SR morpheme to a nominal stem. It follows, then, by combining these two facts, that intransitive verbs can productively be used to derive transitive verbs by first nominalising the intransitive stem, and then thematising the resulting nominal stem. This schema has been described in every grammar of a Yolngu language thus far written. The

structure of such derived transitive verbs is stem-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR-. Not all intransitive verbs have an INCHO morpheme: for example, *nyini-dji sit-FUT*, *djirri-dji stand-FUT*, *walma-dji go.up-FUT*, *giri go+FUT*, and many other inherently intransitive stems lack INCHO. At the time of writing, while these verbs may certainly be nominalized using the NMLSR affix, I have not yet observed these verbs transitivized. I suspect that forms such as **nyini-nyir-dji-gi *sit-NMLSR-THEMSR-FUT* 'cause to sit' are grammatically deviant. Certainly, attempts to elicit such forms have been unfruitful.

Some examples of transitive verbs derived from intransitives having INCHO are the following: *wana-dj-nyir-dji-gi big-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR-FUT* 'cause to become big', *mirgi-dj-nyir-dji-gi bad-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR-FUT* 'cause to become bad', *birral-dj-nyir-dji-gi true-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR-FUT* 'cause to occur' 'bring to light' 'expose' 'cause to be true', etc.

In the subsection above I claimed that a form such as *wana-dji-gi* 'cause to become big' may in reality be big-FACT-FUT rather than big-THEMSR-FUT. This is because the above forms *wana-dj-nyir-dji-gi* and *mirgi-dj-nyir-dji-gi* are synonymous with the forms *wana-dji-gi* and *mirgi-dji-gi* (and similarly for other derived verbs which have this same ambiguity of structure, but the same meaning). An obvious explanation is that the shorter forms are reflexes of a once-productive stem-FACT- transitive verb derivational schema.

The other ways of deriving transitive verbs from intransitives have been dealt with above. That is, with some verb roots, INCHO may be replaced by THEMSR, changing the conjugation class to class 1, and the transitivity value to 'transitive'. And some other intransitive verbs having THEMSR may replace THEMSR with CAUS, to derive a transitive verb of conjugation class 1.

Verbs Derived From Verbs: intransitives from transitives

In Yolngu languages the productive way to derive intransitive verbs from transitive ones is to use the RECIP affix. This affix has the effect, when used either with the 'reciprocal', 'reflexive', or 'intransitiviser' functions, of reducing a verb's valency by a value of one. Thus, a three-place verb (ie. ditransitive) becomes a two-place verb, or a transitive verb becomes intransitive. All Yolngu grammars describe this process. In Djänang and Djänba the RECIP form is a pre-verbal particle, not an affix.

In the case of three-place verbs (ie. those involving an Agent, Object, and Indirect Object) with RECIP, the 'place' which is lost may be either O or IO. Which is lost in any one instance depends on the meaning which is to be conveyed, rather than on grammatical factors (see section 3.17). In example (218), RECIP with the verb *bultji-* 'tell' and the EXCL-marked pronoun results in a meaning of 'tell myself' (where there is coreferentiality of the Agent and IO). In example (219), RECIP again indicates reflexivity, but of the Agent and Object, the Agent and Object being coreferential. The same verb can be used with RECIP indicating a reciprocal relationship between two participants, in which case there is loss of an explicit IO as in example (220).

(218) *djanguny inydji-rr bultji-gi ngarri-bi-bi*
 [storyUNM]_{ACC} RECIP-1sgERG tell-FUT 1sgERG-OR-OR

I will explain the story to myself {65:26}

(219) *mi_ligidji-pi_lingir ingki limila-nydji+n mildirpi-gi*
 totem.hero-PL-ERG NEG 1plincDAT-RECIP+3plERG show-FI

Totemic spirits will not show themselves to us {66:27}

(220) *bambu_l i inydji bil mildirpi-nmi*
 [bark.paintingUNM]_{ACC} RECIP 3duERG show-YPA

They showed each other (their) bark paintings

The RECIP particle may also be used to derive an intransitive verb phrase from a transitive verb. Thus, for example, corresponding to transitive *malim-dji-gi* finish.off-THEMSR-FUT 'finish off' is the intransitive phrase *inydji malim-dji-gi RECIP* finish.off-THEMSR-FUT 'be finished off'. There are dozens of examples like this in the Djanang lexicon (Waters 1983). It is not possible to form an intransitive verb by first nominalising a transitive verb, and then adding INCHO.

The other means of deriving intransitives has been discussed above. That is, the interchange of INCHO with THEMSR on some roots, and of THEMSR with CAUS on other roots.

Table 3.2 Summary of Verb Derivations

INTRANSITIVE			TRANSITIVE		
stem/root-INCHO-	(class 3)	<-->	stem/root-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR	(class 1)	
stem/root-THEMSR-	(class 1)	<-->	stem/root-CAUS-	(class 1)	
root-INCHO-	(class 3)	<-->	root-THEMSR-	(class 1)	
root-INCHO-	(class 3)	<-->	root-FACT-	(non-productive)	(class 1)
RECIP	transitive verb	<-->	transitive verb	(any class)	

Verbal Reduplication and DISTributive reduplication CV'-

The properties of verbal reduplication discussed by Morphy (1983:78-80) for Djapu, are equally apt for Djinang. For this reason, I do not intend to devote much space to a discussion of reduplication. The essential effect of reduplication is to quantitatively increase the activity signalled by the non-reduplicated verb form; or, to put it a different way, it indicates 'lots of the action'. This increase of activity is realised in various ways, according to the semantics of the non-reduplicated verb. For inherently punctiliar verb, the reduplicated form indicates repetition of the action, or distribution of the action over a number of participants. For example, *djarribi-dji-gi* quieten-THEMSR-FUT 'quieten someone', and *djarribi-djarribi-dji-gi* REDUP-quieten-THEMSR-FUT 'repeatedly quieten someone'. *gilgirr-gi* hide-FUT, and *gil-gilgirr-gi* REDUP-hide-FUT 'many (people) hide'. Another example is *galbi-gima w'-walngirri-ny* many-EMPH DIST-dance-RPC 'very many people were dancing'. Further instances of repeated activity occur in (149), (214), (217). For inherently durative verbs, reduplication can signal distribution of the action over a number of participants, or continuance over time. For examples, see the next paragraph.

There is one major difference between Morphy's account, and the Djinang pattern. In Dhuwal/Dhuwala, reduplication of the full stem is quite common. In Djinang, reduplication of the full stem is comparatively rare; and reduplication usually occurs as merely the first consonant and vowel of the stem being reduplicated (and the vowel is usually centralized to schwa, or fronted/raised to i, and following w or r it may be omitted entirely). This type of reduplication I have called DISTributive reduplication. It has been mentioned briefly in sections 2.14 and 3.8. When more than the first open syllable of a verb root occurs as the reduplication, I use the label REDUP rather than DIST. However, there is sometimes a semantic difference between the two kinds of reduplication (see the next two paragraphs). Examples of DIST indicating temporal distribution of an inherently durative event can be found in (16), (21), (107), (110), (156), (162), (171), and (195). Example (206) illustrates distribution over a number of

participants, for an inherently durative event. Example (110) could also be considered as duration over space, as well as time. However, since an inherently durative action continued across space will also necessarily be continued across time, it is not necessary to set up a spatial category in this instance.

As in Dhuwal/Dhuwala, there is sometimes a shift of lexical meaning between the reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms, rather than one of the distributive functions obtaining. Forms exhibiting lexical shifts all appear to involve REDUP, and never DIST. For example: *inydjä garrpi-gi* RECIP tie.up-FUT 'be tied up', versus *inydjä garr-karrpi-gi* RECIP REDUP-search.for-FUT 'search for'; *girrbi-gi* be.named-FUT 'be named X', versus *girr-girrbi-gi* REDUP-twist-FUT 'twist' 'rotate'; *liyuw-miy-gi* turn.round-CAUS-FUT 'turn a corner', versus *liyuw-liyuw-miy-gi* REDUP-turn.round-CAUS-FUT 'encircle' 'enclose'.

Finally, as in Dhuwal/Dhuwala, reduplicated forms (verbs, and other parts of speech) for which there are no corresponding non-reduplicated forms are quite common. These likewise seem to be restricted only to REDUP forms, and never occurring with DIST. For example: *bit-bit-djä-gi* REDUP-twist-THEMSR-FUT 'twist hair string', *bur-bur-djä-gi* REDUP-ascend-THEMSR-FUT 'rise straight up', *buyu-buyu-djä-gi* REDUP-smooth-THEMSR-FUT 'smooth over', *galng-galng-djä-gi* REDUP-hunt-THEMSR-FUT 'go hunting', and so forth.

Verb compounding by means of body-part nouns

All Yolngu languages productively expand their lexical inventories of verbs by forming compound verb stems of the form: [body.part]-[verb.stem]-. Body part nouns are certainly the most productive word class in forming compounds of this nature (both verbal compounds, and nominal compounds); but other word classes may also be used. For example: the NEG word *wirr* 'nothing' forms a compound with *bultji-* 'tell', so that *wirr-pultji-gi* NEG-tell-FUT means 'to say nothing'. Another involves an unknown formative *bulu-* '??' with the root *ngurri-* 'throw', forming *bulu-ngurri-* '??-throw-' 'banish'. Compounds involving *djay-*, and *djuj-* are similar, and the meaning of these formatives is somewhat obscure (at present).

The reason for the prevalence of body part nouns in forming (noun and) verb compounds lies in the Whorfian concept of a cryptotype. In Yolngu world view, the human body is the paradigm for the expression of figurative meanings. That Yolngu people all have the same cryptotypes, is illustrated by the following facts. Body part nouns are not, in general, formally identical (nor even cognate) across many Yolngu internal language divisions. For example, Gupapuyngu *liya* 'head', Djinang *gungi* 'head'; Gupapuyngu *diltji* 'backbone', Djinang *burri* 'backbone'. Nevertheless, a compound in one language is not borrowed intact by speakers of

another language; instead, the body part noun is replaced by the form for the same body part in the borrowing language. Furthermore, speakers of Yolngu languages productively coin new compound forms as the need arises. These facts show that the body provides a semantic paradigm which functions to generate compound words having figurative meanings.

The generation of figurative meanings is the most common function of compounding with body part nouns, but occasionally a compound may be used with its literal meaning: for example, *gunḡi-balpi-gi* head-pound-FUT 'hit on the head'. More commonly, a compound will have a literal meaning, or a semi-literal meaning, and one or more figurative meanings as well. For example; *guraki* 'nape of neck' is used figuratively with the sense 'back' or 'rear', and the compound *guraki-wiṅi-dḡngil-gi* nape-return-CAUS-FUT may have the semi-literal meaning 'cause to return back', or figurative meanings such as 'reciprocate in kind', 'change one's mind', 'rewind', 'have a ceremony in memory of someone'.

A full study of figurative meanings must wait until I have a deeper understanding of Dḡnang world view, and further discussions about figurative meanings associated with body parts. However, I can illustrate some of the figurative senses which obtain for the noun *bumiri* 'forehead'. The list of figurative senses for this noun is not exhaustive, it is merely a selection of those which I know of at the time of writing. Firstly, it can be used to express 'number of times': *bumir-wurpm-dḡ-gi* forehead-one-THEMSR-FUT 'do once'. Secondly, it may express direction of orientation: *bumir-ngunyiḡ-atḡy* forehead-thatALL-BEY 'facing further on'. It may express mutuality of interaction: *bumir-pangari-gi* forehead-pass.by-FUT 'pass by each other', 'exchange something'. It may express the state of the will: *bumir-manbi-dḡ-gi* forehead-hard-THEMSR-FUT 'be stubborn' 'be resolute'; *bumir-bilbaḡ-dḡ-dḡ* forehead-soft-INCHO-FUT 'be weak willed' 'be irresolute'. It may express remoteness, either of perception, or of an action: *bumir-nya-gi* forehead-see-FUT 'observe part of something in the distance' 'be uninterested' (ie. Keeping oneself at a distance because of disinterestedness); *bumir-witḡgi* forehead-call.out-FUT 'call out over a long distance' 'make a telephone call', *bumir-giṅ-dḡ-gi* forehead-PROP-THEMSR-FUT 'invoke a spirit' 'pray'. It can indicate approach of participants with implied escalation: *bumir-mirrpili-dḡ-dḡ* forehead-PAUC-INCHO-FUT 'approach each other' 'come together in an argument'. There are other senses too, but this list should be sufficient to illustrate not just that the phenomenon occurs, but something of its complexity as well. It is certainly not the case that each such compound must be learnt holistically by mother-tongue speakers; for then there would be no possibility for speakers to productively coin new compounds.

Finally, there is evidence that certain monosyllabic verb roots have, in the past, been used as stem-forming suffixes. This is no longer a productive process, and of no significance for a synchronic grammar of Djinang. One example is the verb *galbu-ngi* place.down-FUT 'place down'. This verb, and the synonymous *manbu-ngi*, are fossilized compounds of the unknown formatives **gal-* and **man-* with the common Pama-Nyungan verb *bu-* 'hit'. The evidence for this is that the Djinang and Djinba TPA or RPA inflection for the verb 'hit' is unique; in Djinang it is *bi-pini* hit-TPA/RPA, while in Djinba it is *bi-pan* hit-TPA/RPA. In both languages, the stem is *bu-* for other inflections. For both of the above Djinang words, the *-pin(i)* allomorph for TPA/RPA obtains: *galwu-pin* place.down-TPA/RPA 'placed down', and *manwu-pin* place.down-TPA/RPA 'placed down'. There are other verbs where **bu-* can be tentatively identified as a stem-forming suffix - mainly on comparative grounds using Djinba cognates; however, the TPA and RPA inflections have been levelled to the modern *-(ng)illi* allomorphs.

3.11 DERIVED NOUNS, NOMINALISER

There are two common ways of deriving nouns. The first way is to derive nouns from verbs using the NMLSR suffix appropriate to the conjugation class of the verb. The other way is to form compound nouns using body part nouns as prefixes. The latter method derives nouns which have mostly figurative meanings, or which refer to abstract entities such as emotions; although this method also derives nouns which refer to concrete entities - provided there is a semblative link between the concrete entity and the body part.

Some examples of nouns derived from body part nouns are given in the following paragraph. The list is not exhaustive, and contains a mixture of abstract and concrete derived nouns. Many more can be found in the Djinang lexicon (Waters 1983); especially in the sections where the following body part nouns may be found: *bumiri* 'forehead', *bunyan* 'buttocks', *burri* 'backbone', *butjiri* 'ear', *djabiri* 'mouth' and *rarri* 'mouth', *galngi* 'body', *gundjarr* 'arm', *gumbirri* 'hand' *gungi* 'head', *lurrkan* 'waist', *mani* 'oesophagus' 'neck', *marr* 'soul', *mil* 'eye', *mungan* 'lower back', *ray* 'temple'; *yarti* 'lower leg', and so forth. All Yolngu languages use body part nouns in this way; it is certainly a proto-Yolngu feature.

The examples are: *bumir-rirrkian* forehead-rock 'rocky prominence'; *bumir-mala-gining* forehead-COL-PROP 'group having mixed social affiliations'; *bumir-manbing* forehead-hard 'stubborn person'; *bumir-yabulu* forehead-serene 'kind' 'self-controlled' 'impartial'; *bunyin-djanguny-gining* buttocks-story-PROP 'newsmonger'; *bunyin-garrpi-na-kining* buttocks-wrap-NMLSR-PROP 'ceremonially dressed person'; *burri-ngirki* backbone-bone 'mainland' (ie. *burri* in sense 'high ground' and *ngirki* in the sense 'foundation'); *butjir-badatj* ear-incomplete 'disobedient'; *butjir-balpiri-gining* ear-visit-PROP 'companion'; *butjir-bilbal*

ear-soft 'easily persuadable'; butjir-djumiling ear-blunt 'deaf' 'willfully disobedient'; butjir-marnggi ear-knowledge 'overheard'; djabir-mar-gining mouth-trouble-PROP 'estranged friend' 'enemy'; djabir-murrurt mouth-bunch 'mutually cooperative group of people'; galngi-wakal-gining body-fun-PROP 'healthy'; gumbirr-ngangi-gining hand-spear-PROP 'male'; gumbirr-gani-gining hand-digging.stick-PROP 'female'; gungi-bilbaling head-soft 'weak headed' 'kind' 'compliant person'; gungi-bukil head-cliff 'cliff-top'; gungi-djarrkut head-sharp 'person with pointed head' 'clever thinker'; and so forth. The preceding list should be sufficient to illustrate the point.

Nominaliser -nyir(i) -nir(i)

To nominalize a verb, the NMLSR verbal suffix is used. The actual form of the suffix varies with the conjugation class of the verb: verbs of class 1 or class 3 take the allomorph -nyir(i)- or -nyira-, and verbs of class 2 take the allomorph -nir(i)- or -nira-. The first allomorph in each pair of NMLSR inflections is identical in form to the today-past-irrealis and remote-past-irrealis verbal inflection (Morphy calls the equivalent Djapu inflection 'past non-indicative'). The second allomorph in each pair is an older form, as the next paragraph indicates. All Yolngu languages nominalise verbs using the NMLSR suffix.

The Djinba NMLSR forms are -nya for Djinba classes 1 and 3, and -na for Djinba class 2. It would also be helpful here to indicate the relationship between the Djapu conjugation classes given by Morphy (1983:63-69) and the Djinang / Djinba conjugation classes. Djinang class 1 inflections correspond to Djapu class NG inflections; Djinang class 3 inflections correspond to Djapu class Ø inflections; and Djinang class 2 inflections correspond to Djapu classes N and L (these two classes have merged in Djinang and Djinba). (Djinang class 1 corresponds to Djinba class 1; Djinang class 2 corresponds to Djinba class 2; and Djinang class 3 corresponds to Djinba class 3.) Consideration of the Djapu forms, and Schebeck's data (1979b), indicates that the proto-Yolngu NMLSR forms were -*nhara and -*nara, corresponding to Djinang classes 1 and 3, and class 2, respectively. Thus, the allomorphs -nyira- and -nira (which some dialects of Djinang, such as Marrangu, shorten to -nya- and -na- before the PROP affix) are older forms which have partially resisted the Djinang Vowel Shift. These forms typically occur before the PROP affix.

In Djinang, nouns formed from verbs using the NMLSR affix require further affixation following the NMLSR affix. A form such as *gingi-nyir *think-NMLSR is deviant (as a noun). Two common ways of forming a noun using NMLSR are either to further add the OR case following NMLSR, or to further add the PROP affix following NMLSR. OR is used when the derived noun refers to an entity which arises existentially out of the action denoted by the verb. Thus wukirri-dj-nyir-bi write-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR 'a writing'; gingi-nyir-bi

think-NMLSR-OR 'a thought'; marr-pirral-kin-dj-nyir-bi soul-true-PROP-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR 'a belief'; mil-gultji-gin-dj-nyir-bi eye-fat-PROP-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR 'a lust' 'greed'. OR case in Djinang is an historical merger of OR and ASSOC cases. Thus OR case is also used when the derived nominal has an associative relationship to the action denoted by the verb. Thus nyini-nyir-bi sit-NMLSR-OR 'a seat'; baltj-nyir-bi climb.up-NMLSR-OR 'a step'; midjirr-dj-nyir-bi dust-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR 'a duster'. PROP is used when the derived nominal represents an action or property possessable by a referent. Thus wanngir-nyira-kining save-NMLSR-PROP means 'one who saves'; and mil-gultji-gin-dj-nya-kining eye-fat-PROP-THEMSR-NMLSR-PROP means 'lustful person' 'greedy person'; and rum-dapili-dj-nya-kining law-break-THEMSR-NMLSR-PROP means 'a lawbreaker'.

If a noun takes a case suffix, then the case suffix may occur immediately following NMLSR; as in rirrkijan bari-nyir-mirri rock overspread-NMLSR-LOC 'at the place where rocks form a ford'. However, although nominalized verbs may potentially be inflected for case or other affixation, they seldom are inflected. Instead, speakers prefer to use them in descriptive appositional NPs. In such NPs, case is unmarked (except for adnominal NP-internal functions). (ERG may occur after PROP on a nominalized verb, since such nouns usually refer to +HU referents and thus may be Agents.) However, nouns derived using OR case are seldom +HU, and therefore usually occur as Objects, so that overt ACC case marking is unnecessary. In these ways, excessive complexity is avoided.

A further post-NMLSR affix which was once productively used in the formation of nominalised verbs is the archaic nominaliser affix *-*ngu*, of which the Djinang reflex is *-ng(i)*. It is no longer productive in Djinang. There are few nominalisations which prefer this form, rather than the more usual *-bi* OR marker. The verb *wil-dji-gi* crooked-THEMSR-FUT (*-dji* here was probably once FACT) 'make crooked', forms the nominal *wil-tj-nyiri-ng* crooked-THEMSR-NMLSR-*ng* 'crooked'. Other forms are *bali-nyiri-ng* die-NMLSR-*ng* 'dead'; *dapili-dj-nyiri-ng* break-THEMSR-NMLSR-*ng* 'broken' (the equivalent form *dapili-dj-nyir-bi* is also used).

3.12 ADVERBS

There is a relatively small closed class of true adverbs. True adverbs do not take case suffixation, although one particular adverb, *yili* 'again' 'next', can occur with LOC case. This however generates an idiomatic adverbial form *yili-mirri* next-LOC 'next in succession' 'following after'; it is not a productive process. Other than this one example, true adverbs do not take case suffixation.

Some of the true adverbs identified thus far are: warray 'certainly'; wawu 'unsuspectingly'; munguy 'continually'; ngidawa 'singly' 'alone'; djayal 'slowly'; gida-gida REDUP-quick 'quickly'; badatj 'incompletely' 'ineffectually'; madjirri 'again' 'next' (this form does not take LOC suffixation); rungili 'while on the run'; bubali 'randomly' 'without aiming'; djuditj 'following after' (cognate to GUP dhudi 'buttocks'); yalkuy 'for a while' 'temporarily'; nguning 'carefully'; gididjirrim 'together'; giliwilim 'together'; yungan 'secretly' 'unobserved'; baman 'a long time interval'; gumbala 'empty-handed'. There are undoubtedly others, but certainly the class of true adverbs is not large.

Two INTENSifiers are commonly used adverbially. One is the word pirr 'very', which usually occurs in the expression baman pirr long.time.interval INTENS 'a very long interval of time'; though it can occur by itself, though rarely. A more common adverbial INTENS morpheme is the particle mirrpm(i), which is formally identical to the PERL case affix, though mirrpm(i) 'very' 'at the height of', is a free form having no connotations related to the PERL function. This particle intensifies the activity, and may also be used adjectivally to intensify a noun. For example wana mirrpm 'very big'. Though it often may be translated by 'very', this is not adequate in all instances. For example, with the season noun rarranydjarr 'south wind' 'cold weather season', the expression rarranydjarr mirrpm means 'at the height of the cold season' (ie. at the very coldest time of the year). Another example is (221) below, where the particle indicates deepness of sleep.

(221) nyan ngurri-nyina..., nyani ngurri-nyin mirrpmi, yul
 3sgNOM sleep-RPA+DUR 3sgNOM sleep-RPA INTENS [manUNM]_{NOM}

The man fell into a very deep sleep (24:126-127)

Certain nouns and certain verbs may be used adverbially. Of the class of nouns which may be used adverbially, most are body part nouns. Only a couple of verbs have been observed with adverbial function. The stem of the verb balpari-gi visit-FUT 'visit' may be used as an adverb meaning 'in company', as in (222). The verb ngurri-dji lie.down-FUT can be used adverbially (see 223) with ABL to express the meaning 'from a lying position' (do an action), and the locative particle ngidjirrkngi can similarly be used with ABL to express 'from close at hand' (do an action). Thus this use of ABL is probably quite productive, although I have only a couple of examples in the collected texts. The most common adverbial verb is the verb djirri-dji stand-FUT, which when used adverbially has meanings such as 'erectly' 'standing' 'with head raised' 'straight-legged', depending on the verb which it modifies. Examples (5) and (4) illustrate the the first two meanings: in (4) the meaning is 'standing', in (5) it is 'standing erect' (ie. to get one's head as high as possible).

(222) balpiri lim ka-ng Kiri-Ø
 in.company 1plincERG take-FUT PROG-FUT

We will take him in company with us {65:44}

(223) ngurri-nyi-ngir dji-tjaltji-bi-n tjarri-Ø
 lie.down-TPC-ABL DIST-ground-OR-PRES EXIST-PRES

From a lying position he keeps on lifting it {67:71}

Body part nouns may be used to derive adverbs. They usually take either the DELIM affix -pm(i), or the INSTR case marker -dji; though occasionally a marker is lacking. Adverbial phrases are possible, using body parts. A common adverbial phrase is bumiri X forehead X, where X is a number such as wurpm(i) 'one', biringgili 'two', and so forth. Such a phrase means 'one time', 'two times', etc. according to the number which X represents. Reduplicated body parts may be used adverbially: for example, biri-biri chest-chest means 'face-to-face', or 'facing each other'. Example (224) illustrates gumbirri 'hand' used with both INSTR and DELIM marking, to express the meaning '(by the hand) gently'. Further examples may be observed in (161), and (58). In the latter, the body part biri 'chest' is fused with what may have been an allomorph of ALL case; in any case, the form birintili- is now used as an adverb indicating 'springing forth from a person'.

(224) girr ngunu gumbirr-dji-pm bili-ny ka-ny,
 SEQU [thatUNM] _{ERG} hand-INSTR-DELIM 3du-ACC take-RPC

Then those (people) took them gently (away) {32:159}

The following nouns, none of which are body parts, have been observed to have been used as adverbs: wurpm 'once' (probably a contraction of the phrase bumir wurpm forehead one 'once', djunupa 'straight' - used in the sense 'straight away', wurpi 'other' 'different' - used in the sense 'differently', mirgi 'bad' - used in the sense 'badly', warrarri 'red clouds (at sunset)' - used in the sense '(set) redly'. Example (225) illustrates birral 'true' used in the sense 'truly'; and (226) illustrates the noun garray 'good' used with INSTR marking as the adverb 'well'.

(225) yarim nyani, marr-yirrim-kin-dji-n birral,
 just 3sgNOM soul-true-PROP-THEMSR-RPA trueUNM

He just truly believed {33:115}

(226) nyuni garray-dji giri-Ø
 2sgNOM good-INSTR go-FUT

You will do well {53:20}

The adverbial item, irrespective of its word class, may occur either before or after the verb complex. Clause initial position seems to be slightly favoured. Adverbs formed from body part nouns most commonly occur preceding the verb complex.

3.13 AUXILIARY VERBS

Yolngu languages use a closed set of motion and stance verbs as auxiliary verbs in order to express durative aspect, with varying nuances according to the actual auxiliary verb used. Morphy (1983:89-90) lists four such verbs in Djapu: *yukurra-Ø* 'lie down', *dhärra-Ø* 'stand', *nhina-Ø* 'sit', and *marrtjü* 'go'. In Djapu, *yukurra* is the most commonly used. Djinang likewise has a set of auxiliaries, except that the Djinang inventory includes a few verbs not in Morphy's set. The Djinang set is, exhaustively, and in order of frequency: *Kiri-Ø* go-FUT 'go', *nyini-djü* sit-FUT 'sit' 'be', *giri-Ø* go-FUT 'go' (note the word-initial voicing contrast), and the following occur infrequently; *djürrü-djü* stand-FUT 'stand', *ngurri-djü* lie.down-FUT 'lie down', *ṇunydjürrü-Ø* go.quickly-FUT 'go quickly' 'run', and *wali-ki* crawl-FUT 'crawl about'. The Djinang inventory thus numbers seven auxiliary verbs.

The full number of auxiliary verbs in Djinba is unknown, but is unlikely to be greater than the number of Djinang auxiliaries. The following auxiliary verbs are attested in my Djinba data: *gar(a)-mak* go-FUT used as either a PROG or HABIT auxiliary; the archaic form of the verb 'stand', *djarra-k* stand-FUT, used as an EXIST auxiliary (this form is not used as a main verb); and *nyina-k* sit-FUT used as an auxiliary with durative function, though the precise nuance is as yet unknown.

Auxiliary verbs, in Djinang and Djinba, always immediately follow the main verb, and always agree in inflection with the inflection of the main verb. Auxiliary verbs are of frequent occurrence; in my shorter database, there are 315 auxiliary verbs, with the following frequencies of occurrence: *Kiri-Ø* 72%, *nyini-djü* 18%, *giri-Ø* 12%, *djürrü-djü* 2%, *ngurri-djü* 2%, *ṇunydjürrü* 1.5%, and *wali-ki* 1%.

While the basic function of each auxiliary is to denote durative aspect, various different nuances are obtained by varying the auxiliary used in the construction. The actual nuance depends on the unmarked lexical meaning of each auxiliary when used as a main verb, at least for the less frequently used auxiliary verbs. On the other hand, the frequently used auxiliaries have very precise meanings, and the meaning relationship of each to the same verb used as a main verb is not so direct.

The PROGRESSIVE auxiliary *Kiri-Ø* is glossed by speakers who have some facility in English as 'all the way'. This is to be interpreted either spatially, or temporally (ie. 'all the time till done'), according to context. With motion verbs, this auxiliary indicates that the motion is taking place along a locus in space until a goal is attained. The goal of the motion is defined by the context, usually overtly but not necessarily so. (This auxiliary is very commonly used in conjunction with DUR vowel lengthening, being synonymous in such a context.) With non-motion verbs, it indicates that the event is taking place over a span of time, until some contextually-determined completion obtains. (227) illustrates a common phrase in which the PROG auxiliary is used temporally in this way.

(227) *djin ngurri-ny kiri-ny djadaw*
 3pINOM sleep-RPC PROG-RPC [daybreakUNM]_{LOC}
 They slept till daylight (34:149)

From the preceding paragraph, it is clear that termination of the activity is compatible with the use of this auxiliary. The termination of the activity is very often the next clause in the stream of speech, so that the PROG auxiliary may be used in a context of sequential action - where the departure point of the later action is the former action (ie. the one which involves the PROG auxiliary). A good example of this kind of construction is example (228); in which the SEQU function is emphasized by the IM clitic *-ban*. Notice that *Kiri* is not used in this example. This is because the same verb cannot be both a main verb, and an auxiliary verb, in the same clause. For this reason, whenever the main verb is *giri* 'go', the PROG auxiliary is suppletively *nyini-* 'sit' (there are 35 examples of this in my shorter database). As a result, the proportion of actual instances of the PROG function in the shorter database is 83%, and the proportion of instances of auxiliary *nyini-dji* sit-FUT with non-PROG function drops to 7%. Djapu likewise suppletively changes the auxiliary form, when otherwise the auxiliary and main verbs would be identical (ibid:90). There is one exception in Djingang, the main verb *giri-* with auxiliary *giri-* is permitted (it occurs once in my data).

(228) *libi kiri-ny nyini-ny nganaparra-ban-dirri-ny bil*
 1plexcNOM walk-RPC PROG-RPC [buffalo-IM]_{ACC} -1sg-ACC 3duERG
mildirpi-ni Kiri-ny yarraman
 show-RPC PROG-RPC [horseUNM]_{ACC}
 We were walking along (and) then they showed me buffalo and horses (34:46-7)

Not all instances of PROG *Kiri-* imply sequence, nor even completion. Very often the auxiliary is used to merely mark duration, and the termination or completion of the activity is vague. An example of this occurs in the second clause of (228) above: the context does not indicate when the action of pointing out buffalo and horses ceased - it is left vague. In such a

context, the PROG auxiliary merely indicates that the subject is preoccupied in an activity over a length of time. A Djinang speaker explained this to me using the following example:

(229) bambu_li nyani ngami-n Kiri-m
 [bark.paintingUNM]_{ACC} 3sgERG paint-PRES PROG-PRES
 He is preoccupied painting the bark {67:53}

The nuance here is that he is painting "all the way" till he finishes, and so is unavailable for any other activity. The activity is done until completion, or till the purpose for which it is done is satisfied. In English, we would simply say he is "preoccupied", as in the gloss above. However, quite often PROG is best left untranslated, provided it is clear from the context that the event is non-punctual.

The HABITual auxiliary giri- denotes events which are habitually done, or customarily done. A good translation in English is 'used to do X', or 'always does X'. Examples of HABIT have occurred previously in (9), (20), (99), and (154); and a further one is found in (32:25).

The two auxiliaries nyini- 'sit' and djarri- 'stand' mark EXISTential aspect. They are used in the context of an event which is a durative state. There is sometimes a difference in meaning between the two; mainly when these forms are used to indicate an event done either 'while sitting' or 'while standing', respectively. Thus, (230) illustrates an event in PRES tense, where this meaning of 'standing cutting' obtains. However, the verb suffix -m also may indicate yesterday-past tense, in which case EXIST aspect would here indicate that the cutting was an act done over a period of time, with no connotations of standing, and would be translated 'used to cut'. Similarly, the FUT form of the djarri- EXIST auxiliary indicates 'will begin to do X'; that is, the start of an existential state of 'doing X'.

(230) djunggi ngarr-irr djari-m tjarri-Ø
 [woodUNM]_{ACC} 1sgERG-1sgERG cut-PRES EXIST-PRES
 I am standing cutting wood

The djarri- 'stand' EXIST auxiliary does not always indicate 'standing doing' when used with PRES tense. For example, (223) in section 3.12 illustrates an action done from a lying position, and the djarri- EXIST 'stand' auxiliary is used. (Needless to say that the ngurri- 'lie down' INTERM auxiliary can be used instead in (223), in which case the meaning of that auxiliary will be 'lying doing'.) When either EXIST auxiliary is used in a purely existential sense, there is a preference for the nyini- 'sit' form to be used with states involving +HU referents, while djarri- is likely to be used with -HU referents - especially with places and towns. Example (231) illustrates the nyini- EXIST auxiliary used to indicate a state of

observing. In this story, a dead relative (MoMoBr) watches ego (a living human) whenever the latter eats a certain type of yam. (Later, when ego dies, he will meet with some nasty repercussions in the afterlife.) It is clear that in this example, the act of watching is a state which obtains over a long time (in fact, over ego's whole life).

(231) nyani ngilitj-angi, ngilitj-angi midji, a litj-ny
 3sgERG 1duinc-GEN 1duinc-GEN [MoMoBrUNM]_{ERG} - 1duinc-ACC
 nya-ng nyini-dji, midja-r, djirritjirr inydji ga-ngi
 see-FUT EXIST-FUT MoMoBr-ERG [yamUNM]_{NOM} RECIP take-FUT

And our (male) granny will be watching us: yams being taken ... {42:6-7}

By way of summary then; these two EXIST auxiliaries may be used to indicate a durative event in which the action is done either 'sitting' or 'standing' according to the auxiliary verb used. Alternatively, they may signal an existential state of doing an action, with no connotations of either sitting or standing. When djirri- 'stand' EXIST aspect is used with FUT tense, it indicates that at a future time an existential durative state is about to begin. The nyini- 'sit' EXIST auxiliary is the one typically used with +HU nominal referents, and -HU nominal referents are more likely to occur with the djirri- 'stand' EXIST auxiliary. Which function of the various functions that may be marked by these auxiliaries actually obtains in any one clause, is conditioned by semantic rather than grammatical factors. Some examples of these auxiliaries occur in the cited texts as follows: djirri- EXIST in (22:216); and nyini- EXIST in (34:261).

We now come to the three remaining auxiliaries: ngurri- 'lie down' INTERMittent aspect, nunydjirri 'run' 'go fast' HASTitive aspect, and wali- 'crawl' RAMBLitive aspect. Each of these auxiliaries may probably also be used to indicate a durative action done 'while lying', 'while running', and 'while crawling', respectively. I have one example of ngurri- INTERM auxiliary being used to indicate duration of an action done while lying (see the comments on (223) immediately above). I do not have clear examples of the other two being used this way, though I am quite certain that they can be used this way. The nunydjirri 'run' HAST auxiliary, not used as a hastitive, but used in a sense akin to its lexical meaning of 'run' is illustrated in (232). The semantic subject is a 'road'; and as in English, Djinang speakers say that a road 'lies' at a certain location. In English, we can say that a road 'runs' to a certain place. It appears that this sense also obtains in the use of nunydjirri as an auxiliary, when used in such a context. (This example was not elicited; but is taken from a story where the cited clause is synonymous with a previous clause in which the PROG auxiliary Kiri- is used, with DUR marking as well, and with the same main verb and subject.)

(232) a nyani gadjigarr ngurri-Ø nunydjirri-ma...
 - 3sgNOM [roadUNM]_{NOM} lie-PRES HAST-PRES+DUR

The road there runs on and on (50:48)

However, the usual meaning of nunydjirri 'run' 'go fast' when used as an auxiliary is to indicate HASTitive aspect: that is, an action done with haste, or a repeated action done with rapidity, or a state which comes into being very quickly. Example (233) illustrates HAST aspect indicating a state which obtains rapidly; the context is that of a husband and wife energetically procreating, and (233) refers to the state of affairs which will obtain with respect to the numbers of their children. Example (234) illustrates the same auxiliary used to indicate a punctual action repeated with extreme haste. The context is that of a very overworked bank employee on payday. Notice that FUT inflection on the main verb may optionally be omitted when an auxiliary verb follows, as in (233) and (234).

(233) ga yili bi-pung-tji-gi girri, a galbi-dji nunydjirri-Ø
 and again DIST-born-THEMSR-FUT COMPL - many-INCHO HAST-FUT

And again (children) will keep being born, and will quickly become many (49:142-3)

(234) nyani wukirri-dji nunydjirri-Ø rrupiya gu-ng
 1sgNOM write-THEMSR HAST-FUT [moneyUNM]_{ACC} give-FUT
 nunydjirri-Ø ganydjirr-dji
 HAST-FUT power-INSTR

He will rapidly write, quickly giving out money with great haste (65:37)

The verb ngurri-dj lie.down-FUT may be used as an auxiliary, as noted above where we saw it can be used to indicate 'lying doing X'. It is not often used with this sense however. It normally indicates one of two other functions: firstly, INTERMittent (durative) aspect; that is, an action which takes place for a while, stops for a while, then takes place for a while once more, then stops once more, and so on. Secondly, it may indicate an action done with concentration on the part of the doer, so that he is oblivious to events taking place around him. The latter function may be translated as 'busy doing X', or possibly 'single-mindedly doing X'. The sense 'busy doing X' is illustrated in example (236); where the man is oblivious to everything except his painting activity. This example can also mean 'he painted intermittently'. The example is truly ambiguous, and only the context can indicate which meaning is intended; either 'busy painting', or 'intermittently painting'. In example (237), the only interpretation possible is 'intermittently raining', since raining is not a volitional act. The semantic connection between the main verb meanings 'lie down' 'sleep', and the auxiliary verb meaning 'do X oblivious to events around oneself' is not hard to perceive; but the connection with the meaning 'intermittently do X' is not so easily seen. Possibly the latter obtains because sleep

is an activity done intermittently when viewing it from the perspective of a time period of very long duration. Finally, notice in (235) that the -nmi PRES inflection for class 2 verbs is shortened to -n before an auxiliary verb. This shortening always obtains in such an environment.

(235) bambu_li nyani ngami-n ngurri-Ø
 [bark.paintingUNM]_{ACC} 3sgERG paint-PRES INTERM-PRES

He is busy painting a bark painting {67:50}

(236) nyani riki-Ø ngurri-Ø
 3sgNOM rain-PRES INTERM-PRES

It is raining intermittently

The final auxiliary verb is wali-ki crawl-FUT which may be used to indicate RAMBLitive durative aspect. That is, a motion which involves no specific direction or goal, but just rambles about from place to place. It may be used with non-motion verbs to indicate an action done at various different and arbitrary places, such as in example (238) below. With a motion verb such as 'float', it indicates an aimless floating activity, as when a canoe is set adrift. A similar example is given below in (237); where the mother and father of a dead boy have not properly disposed of the dead son's bones, but continue to carry them about with them from place to place. All examples of this auxiliary in my database involve only this function of RAMBLitive activity.

(237) ngambirra-r gunydjirra-r bil ka-ny wali-ny ngirki
 mother-ERG father-ERG 3duERG take-RPC RAMBL-RPC [boneUNM]_{ACC}
 bil minigi-nyi, wiltjnyi-wil-tj-nyiri-ng
 3duERG carry-RPC REDUP-crooked-THEMSR-NMLSR-NMLSR(archaic)

(His) mother and father carried his bones about from place to place {50:75-6}

(238) giliwilim bil ngurri-ny wali-ny
 together 3duNOM sleep-RPC RAMBL-RPC

They slept together in various places {66:102}

Table 3.3 Functions of Auxiliary Verbs

kiri	PROG	'do X all the way/time till done' 'preoccupied doing X'
giri	HABIT	'always doing X' 'used to do X'
nyini-	EXIST	'be existential state of doing X' (mostly +HU) 'sitting doing X'
djirri-	EXIST	'be existential state of doing X' 'begin to do X' 'used to do X' 'standing doing X'
nunydjirri	HAST	'hastily doing X' 'quickly becoming X' 'repeat X rapidly'
ngurri-	INTERM	'intermittently do X' 'single-mindedly do X' 'lying doing X'
wali-	RAMBL	'do X from place to place arbitrarily'

3.14 REDUCED PRONOUNS

Reduced pronouns have already been mentioned in section 2.2, and also in section 2.8, and Appendix 2. This present section will give the reduced pronoun paradigms, their syntax within the verb complex (VC), and their function in the VC. The etymology of reduced pronouns is discussed in Appendix 2.

Reduced pronouns are used primarily in the system of inter-clause cohesion, to cross-reference a (semantic) subject or non-subject referent. Reduced pronouns may co-occur in the same clause with a coreferential full pronoun. When this obtains, the full pronoun typically marks a switch in participant focus (ie. a switch in reference, usually subject reference). They may also co-occur with a coreferential NP in the same clause. Usually, however, once reference has been established in a given clause, overt subject and non-subject NPs are omitted from surface structure, and the coreferential reduced pronouns function as sufficient referencing forms for the deleted NPs. This function of reduced pronouns is typical of bound pronoun forms which occur in very many Australian languages; and needs no elaboration here. As in other languages, the Djinang and Djinba reduced pronouns agree in person and number with the referent of the NP with which they are coreferential. Reduced pronoun inflections may only be NOM, ERG, ACC, or DAT.

DAT reduced pronouns may also be used as possessive pronouns within a NP. Examples (55), (86), (87), and (92) demonstrate DAT reduced pronouns used this way. Further instances of DAT reduced pronouns may be seen in the cited texts as follows: (22:203) (24:152) (32:39, 40, 49) and (34:245). Used as a possessive pronoun in a NP, the DAT reduced pronoun usually is last in the NP. When such a NP precedes the verb, the DAT reduced pronoun has a high probability of occurring immediately preceding the subject reduced pronoun. In this circumstance it is difficult to tell whether the DAT reduced pronoun is part of the NP, or part of the VC. An example illustrating this ambiguity follows. The reduced pronoun *in.ga* 3sgDAT could be a possessive indicating "his various camps" or a constituent of the VC indicating directionality, as "we will go to him at (his) various camps". I think the former possibility is the more likely in this example.

(239) *gurrbi-gurrbi in.ga lim giri-Ø*
 [*camp-campUNM 3sgDAT*]_{ALL} *1plincNOM go-FUT*

We will go to his various resting places {34:375}

In the rest of this section, we shall consider only reduced pronouns within the VC. Reduced pronouns occur immediately preceding the main verb. Only two reduced pronouns may occur in this position in normal circumstances. In certain circumstances only one may occur preceding the verb (see below). The order of reduced pronouns in pre-verbal position is governed by the overt or covert case of the coreferential NP: the semantic subject always immediately precedes the main verb, and if another reduced pronoun occurs, it will precede the subject reduced pronoun, and cross-reference a non-subject participant. Usually the non-subject reduced pronoun will immediately precede the subject one, but if the RECIP particle occurs, then the non-subject reduced pronoun will precede the RECIP particle. Also, if one of the DIRECTIONAL particles *bi HITH* 'towards' or *minyɔdʒi THITH* 'away from' occurs in the clause, no non-subject reduced pronoun may occur preceding the verb.

The following diagram illustrates the syntax of reduced pronouns in the VC, where X is an ERG or NOM reduced pronoun, and Y is an ACC or DAT reduced pronoun. Parentheses indicate optionality.

1. ([Y]_{non-subject}) [X]_{subject} main verb ...
2. ([Y]_{non-subject}) RECIP [X]_{subject} main verb ...
3. DIRECT ([X]_{subject}) main verb ...

A third reduced pronoun may occur post-verbally. However this may obtain only provided the following conditions obtain: firstly, the pre-verbal non-subject reduced pronoun must be ACC; secondly, the post-verbal reduced pronoun must be DAT; and thirdly, the DAT reduced

pronoun must indicate a peripheral function, such as Benefactive. These conditions mutually obtain only very rarely. More common is a DAT reduced pronoun occurring post-verbally, as above, except that no ACC reduced pronoun occurs pre-verbally, or possibly no pre-verbal reduced pronoun occurs at all. An example of a post-verbal reduced pronoun occurring with two pre-verbal reduced pronouns was given previously in example (89), section 2.9. Example (240) illustrates a DAT reduced pronoun occurring post-verbally with Benefactive function, and possibly no pre-verbal reduced pronoun. (It is not clear from the context whether two persons were carrying the flesh, so that the subject reduced pronoun was omitted here, or whether the narrator's companion carried it - in which case the reduced pronoun would be Ø 1sgERG. I think the former possibility is more likely.)

The subject reduced pronoun is not often omitted; though it does happen sporadically, and with slightly increased frequency when a DIRECT particle occurs in the VC - as the structural description number 3 above indicates.

(240) wurpm birrangany mi-minigi-ny kiri-ny libila,
 [oneUNM carcass.sideUNM] ACC DIST-carry-RPC PROG-RPC 1plexDAT
 djunggu
 [fleshUNM] ACC

(We/he) carried one side of the carcass for ourselves {34:291}

It is not necessary to cite examples of the use of reduced pronouns in this section; the interested reader may turn to the cited texts instead, where instances of reduced pronouns occur in nearly every line. Instead, I will briefly discuss the use of the non-subject reduced pronouns in relation to the underlying NPs with which they are coreferential.

Firstly, in the case of ditransitive verbs, either the referent of the O or IO noun phrase may be cross-referenced, depending on which is more salient to the speaker. In the vast majority of clauses, an IO will be +HU, so that it is typically the IO NP which is cross-referenced. However, when the O is +HU, O can receive the cross-referencing, as in example (182) of section 3.7. Example (189) of section 3.7 illustrates both types of behaviour: in the second clause, +HU IO is cross-referenced; while in the next clause, +HU O is cross-referenced; the same referent is involved in each instance. This example clearly shows that it is the salient participant which is cross-referenced; and +HU referents are usually more salient than -HU referents. An example where +HU O is cross-referenced by an ACC reduced pronoun, while IO is also +HU is (72) of section 2.8. In the entire database there are only two instances (in {50:333-4}) where a cross-referencing pronoun refers to a -HU participant. In each case the participant is the bones of a dead person. However, since a person's bones are closely identified with the person's identity, it is possible that human bones may be regarded

as inherently +HU to Djinang speakers. Given this possible exception, we may state that -HU referents are not cross-referenced by reduced pronouns.

Secondly, when a non-subject reduced pronoun cross-references a core participant, the reduced pronoun will be either ACC or DAT, as indicated above. However, a DAT reduced pronoun may cross-reference a core NP taking ALL case. In section 2.8 we saw instances of this type of behaviour, where ALL here expresses the DIFF LOC function (see examples 76 and 77). Except for such examples, the case of the reduced pronoun will agree with the case of the coreferential NP.

Lastly, the only peripheral NPs which may be cross-referenced are those which are DAT-marked, usually with Benefactive function, and the referent of the DAT-marked NP is +HU, as in (241) where the referent of the DAT reduced pronoun is Adam and Eve, with Benefactive function.

(241) bilngga djama-dji-li-ban warngarrinyi, maypal
 3duDAT work-THEMSR-RPA-IM [what's.it's.nameUNM meatUNM
 gi_lingka_l, Gunydjirra-ri
 skinUNM] ACC Father-ERG

The Father made animal skins for them (53:56)

Table 3.4 Reduced Pronoun Paradigms

	ERG/NOM	ACC	DAT
1sg	irr	irri-ny	irra
1duexc	liny	linyili-ny	linyila
1duinc	il	litj-ny(i)	litja
1plexc	nibi/libi	libili-ny	libila
1plinc	lim	limili-ny	limila
2sg	∅	nyin	inma
2du	nyim	nyimili-ny	nyimila
2pl	lidji	lidj-ny(i)	lidja
3sg	∅	∅	in.ga
3du	bil	bili-ny	bilingga
3pl	djin	dji-ny	djina

Table 3.4 gives the reduced pronoun paradigmes for NOM, ACC, and DAT reduced pronoun forms. The ERG paradigm is the same as the NOM one. These forms are those for the smooth dialects, which are the older and more conservative forms. Variant forms which obtain in the disjunctive dialects are given in the next paragraph. The variant forms *nibi/libi* have the following distribution. ERG or NOM *libi* occurs only initially in the VC (whether or not there is a constituent preceding the VC in the same clause). If, in the VC, another reduced pronoun, or RECIP, or one of the DIRECT particles precedes the 1plinc ERG or NOM reduced pronoun, then that pronoun occurs as the *nibi* allomorph. The *nibi* allomorph is the older form. Examples of *nibi* in non-initial position in the VC, from a smooth dialect speaker, are found in (66), (183), and (200). In the cited texts, text 34 is from a smooth dialect speaker. Examples of *libi* in VC-initial position are found in (34:212, 215, 222, 223, 226, 259, 260, 261), and of *nibi* in non-VC-initial position (34:221, 224, 228). The apparent counter-example in (34:225) is really a repeat of (34:224), but with the *minyɔ̃* constituent not restated.

The following are the variant forms used by disjunctive dialects. For 1duexc: *inyili-ny* ACC, *inyila* DAT. For 1duinc: *iltj-ny(i)* ACC, *iltja* DAT. For 1plexc: only *nibi* NOM, *inbili-ny* ACC, *inbila* DAT. For 1plinc: *inmili-ny* ACC, *inmila* DAT. For 2pl: *ildj* NOM, *ildj-ny(i)* ACC, *ildja* DAT. Lastly, for 3du: *bil-ny* ACC, and *bilngga* DAT.

While in many Australian languages reduced pronouns are clitics, in Djinang the reduced pronouns may stand as free forms, and often do. If a reduced pronoun form begins with a vowel, and there is a preceding constituent in the clause, the reduced pronoun will be bound to that constituent. Sometimes this involves epenthesis of a homorganic transition consonant. A common example of this is that NOM and ERG reduced 1sg pronouns *irr*, which after word-final *n* or *l* receive epenthetic *d*, as in (189). Reduced pronouns which begin with a consonant are rarely bound to a preceding constituent, and usually take normal word stress. When a subject reduced pronoun occurs following a non-subject reduced pronoun, sometimes there results a portmanteau combination of the two. This is also true when the RECIP particle is present. For example: *bilngga* 3duDAT plus *ildj* 2plNOM becomes *bilngga+ldj*; *in.ga* 3sgDAT plus *irr* 1sgNOM becomes *in.g+irr* in some dialects, *in.ga+rr* in others; *nyin* 2sgACC plus *nibi* 1plexcERG becomes *nyi+nibi*; *inyɔ̃* RECIP plus *djin* 3plERG becomes *inyɔ̃+n*; and so forth.

3.15 DIRECTIONALS: *bi* HITH and *minyɔ̃* THITH

The DIRECTIONAL particles, *bi* HITH and *minyɔ̃* THITH are of considerable interest. Probably nowhere else in the grammar of Djinang is the parallelism of space and time so fully developed as is the case with these two particles. The particle *bi* occurs in Djapu (Morphy 1983:62,86) and Djinba; so it is probably not a recent innovation. The Djapu form is *be*, and the

Djinba form *ba*. The *bi* particle was mentioned briefly at the end of section 2.12, where one of its functions was discussed. However, I have not been able to find a form in either Djapu or Djinba with functions equivalent to some of the functions of Djinang THITH particle *minyɔ̃jɔ̃*. The etymological obscurity of the latter was mentioned at the end of section 3.2, in the discussion of the (Kinship) DYAD affix. It is highly probable that the *minyɔ̃jɔ̃* form is a purely Djinang innovation, where the analogical model was the functions of the *bi* particle. This will be readily apparent from the discussion in the rest of this section.

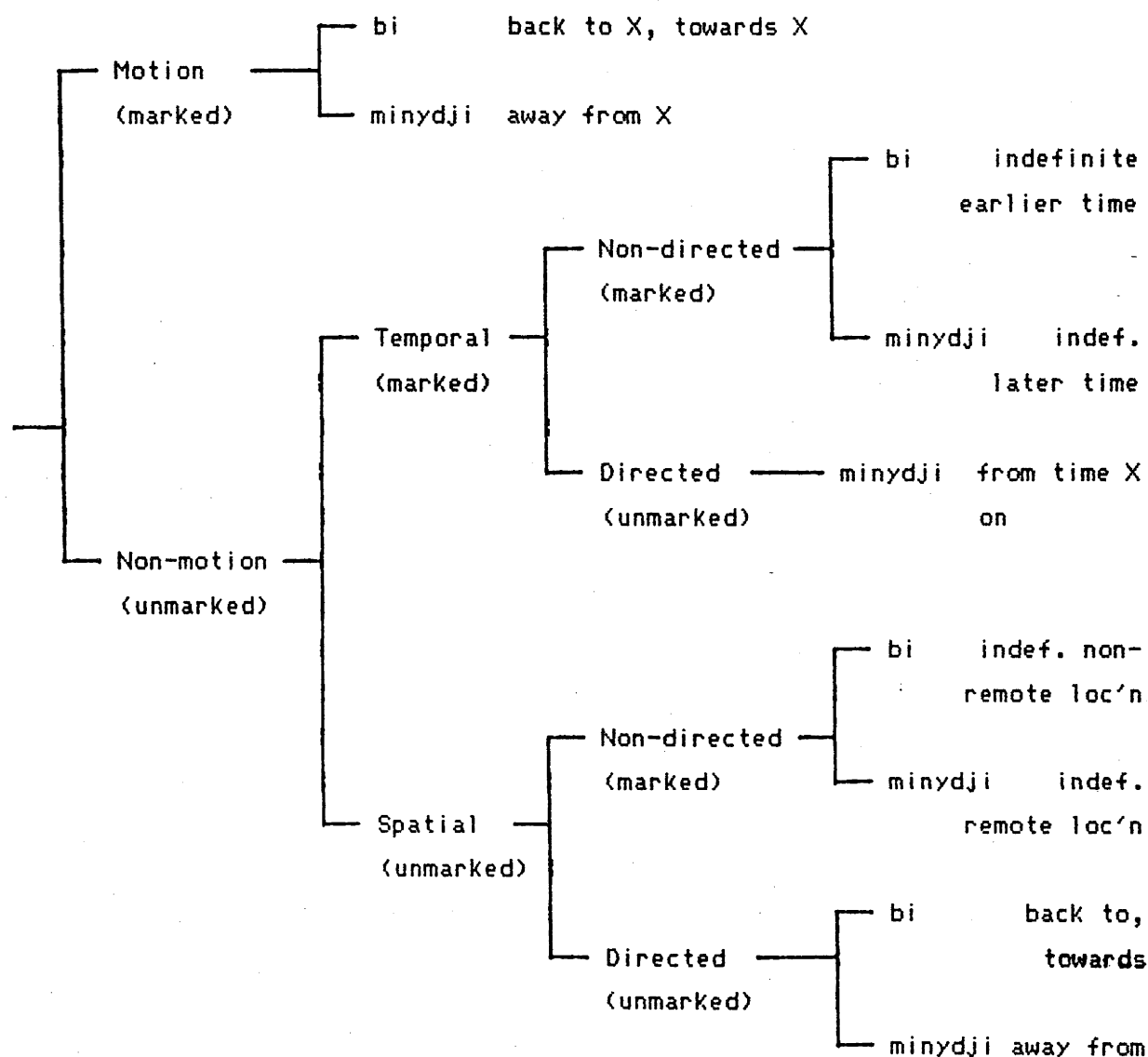
Three dimensions of semantic contrast are pertinent to an analysis of the DIRECT particles. These dimensions are the following: motion versus non-motion, temporal versus spatial, and non-directed versus directed. Also, the concept of markedness is involved as well, as we shall see. The preceding dimensions of contrast exhibit a partial semantic hierarchy: the motion versus non-motion contrast is the primary dimension, and then the non-motion category is further intersected by the other two dimensions. Systemic (semantic) networks (Kress 1976) are an excellent formal device for displaying the intersecting dimensions of choice implied by these categories, and a display is given below in Table 3.5. The analysis is based on 60 instances of *bi*, and 42 instances of *minyɔ̃jɔ̃*. Some categories obtain only rarely, and thus there are only a few examples of some combinations of the above categories.

For each dimension of contrast enumerated above, the first value in each dimension is the marked value, and the second is the unmarked value. (This will be justified later.) Thus, the categories motion, temporal, and non-directed are the marked categories. This follows from the fact that additional information is required in the clause in order to signal these categories, vis-a-vis the unmarked categories. This will be clear when examples are presented later.

I have called these particles DIRECTIONAL particles, not because they always mark a directional function, but rather because this is how they are used in a majority of clauses (63% directional usage, 37% non-directional) in my shorter database. The labels HITH and THITH are used to distinguish between them. The label DIRECTIONAL must not be confused with the category "Directed" in Table 3.5; they are not the same thing, though they are closely related concepts. The DIRECT label relates only to the meanings HITH 'back to' or THITH 'away from', which happen to obtain in a majority of instances; while "Directed" implies an activity directed towards a goal, or temporally extended to indefinite times later than a reference time.

The primary choice to be made is whether the verb is a motion verb, or a non-motion verb. A motion verb is one whereby a salient participant (usually the semantic subject, and usually +HU) necessarily must change his spatial location as the activity takes place. Without exception, *bi* and *minyɔ̃jɔ̃* indicate motion 'towards X' or 'back to X', and motion 'away from X', respectively, when used with a motion verb. This is the marked case, according to an inherent

Table 3.5 Semantic Network for DIRECTIONAL Particles



verbal category of [+salient participant motion]. Verbs like 'spear' involve motion, but only of a non-salient instrument (the spear). The subject does not change his location as a function of performing the action of spearing. The reference location 'X' is situationally or contextually determined. Usually it is the location of the speaker, and with the particle *minydji* it can be the location of the semantic subject. Alternatively it can be some place defined in the context. There were 50 instances of DIR particles used with motion verbs. The verbs were: 'go/come', 'return', 'run', 'take/bring', 'assemble', 'traverse', 'carry', 'descend'; and the verb 'send' which involved motion of a +HU direct object participant.

The following examples illustrate these comments. Example (242) illustrates that the referent location may be other than the speaker's location. In this example, the reference location for the *bi* particle is the place Madjararrk, defined in the preceding context. In example (243), the reference location is determined by the speech situation, being the location of the speaker. In (244), the reference location is the location of the semantic subject (recalling that the speaker is referring to an event which occurred many years previously, so that the speaker's location is not the location from which Mr. Biyuw was sent ahead); and in (245) the reference location is contextually defined. See also the last clause of example (252).

(242) *ngunu-ngiri, malu-ban, Madjararrk bi liny*
 that-ABL [daddy-IM]_{NOM} [MadjararrkUNM]_{ALL} HITH 1duexcNOM
wini-ni, malu Madjararrk
 return-RPA [daddyUNM]_{NOM} [MadjararrkUNM]_{ALL}

From that place Dad and I came back to Madjararrk {34:280}

(243) **Bukmak, bi+ldji giri-Ø-ban, ngarri wali*
 [allUNM]_{NOM} HITH+2pINOM come-FUT-IM 1sgERG [foodUNM]_{ACC}
Ku-ng Kiri-Ø-ban
 give-FUT PROG-FUT-IM

Everybody come here now, I am going to distribute the food now! (22:202)

(244) *ngarri Mista Biyuw minydji-rr yan-ali ngurrwakng*
 1sgERG [Mr. BiyuwUNM]_{ACC} THITH-1sgERG send-RPA first

I sent Mr. Biyuw on ahead {22:233}

(245) *biling burri-ngir djini-ngir minydji bil mi_larr-dji-li*
 3duNOM backbone-ABL this-ABL THITH 3duNOM sink-THEMSR-RPA

They sank down from this high ground {19:95}

Next let us consider instances of the Directed category, when the Spatial category obtains. The Directed category is the unmarked category vis-a-vis the Non-directed category. The Directed category obtains when the following conditions obtain: the verb is Non-motional; and the verb represents an action which may be directed towards to away from some goal. Sometimes the clause will contain additional marking indicating a directed activity; such as ABL case in example (248).

My shorter database has six examples of the type Spatial + Directed. Example (247) needs further comment. It illustrates both *bi* and *minydj̄i*, each used in different ways. At present we are concerned only with the use of *bi* in that example. The final clause ends the quote with the phrase *bi gir-ali* which literally means 'he came to me'. However, *giri* 'go' is often used as a dummy verb, meaning 'do' or 'say'; and in the present example it means 'say'. Thus *bi* here indicates a Non-motional action which is directed towards a participant in the story. In example (246), an action of thinking is directed towards two women participants who had been left behind while the narrator and his father engaged on the dangerous task of approaching a wounded buffalo. The father instructs the boy to think about the women as a means of diverting his attention from his personal danger. In (248) an action of speaking is directed away from the tree in which the subject sits; and in (249) an action of spearing is directed away from the thrower of the spear. A further example not cited here is *minydj̄i* with the verb *gu-* 'give', meaning 'give it away'.

(246) a nyuni butjpu bi bilingga gingi-dji kiri-Ø
 - 2sgNOM [ladUNM]_{NOM} HITH 3duDAT think-FUT

As for you lad, you keep your thoughts on them (the women) {34:899}

(247) "Nyabini butjpu? Djiningi, djalk il garrpi-g+a,
 how.about ladUNM thisUNM paperbark 1duincERG wrap-FUT+NF
 girr il warrdji Kiri-Ø-ban... ngu_li minydji-l
 COMPL 1duincERG ignite PROG-FUT-IM+DUR thatLOC THITH-1duincNOM
 ngurri-dji?" bi gir-ali.
 sleep-FUT HITH go-RPA

"How about it lad? Shall we now tie paperbark, and then set it alight - moving off while it burns, (and) somewhere far away we will sleep?" he said to me.

(248) a nyani ngunu-ngiri minarr minydji wangi-n-ban,
 - 3sgNOM that-ABL [snakeUNM]_{NOM} THITH speak-RPA-IM

The snake spoke then from that (tree) {53:16}

(249) ngunu minydji ran.gi-rri
 [thatUNM]_{NOM} THITH spear-RPA

That one (ie. the man) speared {34:829}

Secondly, we shall consider instances of the Non-directed category, when the Spatial category obtains. For this combination of categories, the verb must be Non-motional, and there must be some indication that the event represented by the verb takes place at a definite locale. The necessity for this extra information implies that the Non-directed category is the more marked

value in the Directed - Non-directed dimension. Usually the locale is indicated overtly by a deictic such as *nguli* thatLOC 'there', or similar form; or the verb *djirri-* 'stand' 'be' is used to indicate the location of a place. Even so, verbs which involve inherently directed activities can occur: such as 'look for', and 'spear'. However, in the latter instances, there is marking in the clause to indicate indefiniteness of location within a definite locale (see 169 for an example). When the Spatial + Non-directed categories obtain, *bi* and *minydjä* both indicate indefiniteness of location within a specific locale. The *bi* particle is the least marked of the two, and indicates indefinite non-remote location; while the *minydjä* particle is more marked, indicating indefinite remote location, each within a specific locale (which is usually defined contextually). The *bi* particle is used far more often than *minydjä* to signal indefiniteness of location: in my shorter database there are 22 instances of the former, and only 3 of the latter, having this function.

Example (250) shows how a deictic and a place name may be used to define the specific locale, with *bi* indicating an indefinite location within that locale. (The narrator was at that locale, and so the participants were not remote from his location - hence *bi* was used rather than *minydjä*.) (Example 250 also illustrates how a plural pronoun may be used instead of a dual pronoun, once reference to two participants has previously been established.) Example (130), in section 2.12, involves three instances of *bi*, each indicating indefinite non-remote location within a locale defined in the context as 'the other side' (of a stream). Example (247) given above illustrates *minydjä* used to indicate indefinite remote location: although the specific locale is not made explicit, the context indicates that the specific locale is any place distant from where the participants were, since they were being troubled by mosquitoes and could not sleep. Finally, example (251) shows *minydjä* used to indicate indefinite remote location. In this example, the subject is diving into water to chase fish to where they can be speared, and he surfaces at a place which is relatively remote from the place at which he dives in.

(250) *biling nguli-gima, nangudu ngunu djining,*
 3duNOM thatLOC-EMPH [sisterUNM thatUNM]_{NOM} [thisUNM]_{LOC}
bi djin ngurri-Ø djining Galutmirri-Ø
 HITH 3p1NOM sleep-YPA [thisUNM Galutmirri-LOC]_{LOC}

Right there, two sisters (of mine) lived somewhere at this place Galutmirri (34:238)

(251) *djini-ngiri wulkwulk-dji-g+a nguli minydji bunarrmi-dji*
 this-ABL dive.down-THEMSR-FUT+NF thatLOC THITH surface-FUT
a ngunu-ngir bi yigili-g+a djili bunarrmi-dji
 and that-ABL HITH swim-FUT+NF thisLOC surface-FUT

He dived from this side, surfacing somewhere remote, and from there he swam back, surfacing here (again) (34:556-9)

Now we shall consider the Temporal value in the Temporal - Spatial dimension. This is assumed to be slightly more marked than the Spatial value; which is reflected by a relatively high incidence of the IM clitic in clauses where this value obtains. (One of the functions of the IM clitic is to make temporal reference unambiguous.) Also, I am presuming that Spatial functions would be historically older, and the parallel Temporal functions a development from them. I am unable, however, to offer any etymological evidence for this assumption.

Firstly, we shall examine the category combination of Temporal + Directed. When the category of Temporal obtains, the category Directed is the least-marked value in the Directed - Non-directed dimension. This is suggested partly by the fact that the Directed category obtains more often than the Non-directed category (when Temporal also obtains). And further evidence is that fact that the Non-directed value obtains only when there is additional information in the clause to signal reference to a specific time (ie. the temporal equivalent to the function of LOC case marking).

For the categories of Temporal + Directed to obtain, the verb must be Non-motional; and there needs to be some indication in the clause, or in the context, that time is in focus. The latter condition is typically indicated by the presence of the IM clitic *-ban* 'now' 'then' in the clause (it occurred in 92% of the 13 examples of this combination of categories). The one example lacking the IM clitic was cited as (183), and there is no explicit indication of temporal focus in the clause; although it is hardly necessary because the context and the meaning of the verb imply that the possession of the meat was a state which continued into the indefinite future. The fact that time is in focus rules out a Spatial interpretation of the function of *minyďjĭ*.

Notice that the *bi* particle cannot be used in a Temporal + Directed context. Its use would lead to a semantic clash. Temporally, it would mean that an action or state begins at some reference time and then continues to times earlier than the reference time. But time flows in only one direction - into the future, and thus *bi* cannot be used with the categories Temporal and Directed occurring together. The temporal reference of *bi* is necessarily to a time earlier than the reference time.

When Temporal + Directed categories obtain, *minyďjĭ* indicates that from some reference time the action continues indefinitely into the future; or that a state defined by the action continues indefinitely into the future. In English, it may be translated as 'from now on' (if the time reference is present time), or as 'from then on' (if the time reference is contextually determined). Thus, *minyďjĭ* may signal an event directed forwards along the temporal axis from some reference point on that axis. The following two examples illustrate.

(252) ngiy, yul-ban minydji nyini-ny,
 yes [Aboriginal.man-IM]_{NOM} THITH sit-RPC
 Murwan.gi-pm, Murwan.gi-p munguy
 [Murwangi-DELIM Murwangi-DELIM]_{LOC} continually

Yes, from that time on Aboriginal people lived at Murwangi only, (they lived) at Murwangi continually (22:310-1)

(253) girr minydji manbi-dj-ny Kiri-ny-ban
 COMPL THITH firm-THEMSR-RPC PROG-RPC-IM
 yarim minydji wana-dj-ny Kiri-ny-ban
 just THITH big-THEMSR-RPC PROG-RPC-IM

Then (his feet) were firm from then on, they were just enlarged from then on (33:57-8)

Lastly, we must consider the category combination of Temporal + Non-directed. I have only three unambiguous instances in the shorter database of this combination of categories. The verb must be Non-motional, and there must be some indication of a specific time as the reference time, otherwise the reference time is the time of speaking. Given these conditions, *bi* signals an indefinite time earlier than the reference time; while *minydji* signals an indefinite time later than the reference time. Example (255) illustrates *bi* used to indicate an indefinite time much earlier than the time of speaking. In this example, the place where the narrator slept is specified, which precludes a spatial interpretation for the particle. It would not make sense to translate this as "*we again got up from sleep somewhere" when the place of sleeping has previously been specified. The *minydji* examples are given first. Notice in (254b) that *minydji* together with INCHO indicates a time well-advanced from the time that the event began. In (254a), the narrator and his father are trying to track a trail of blood from a wounded wallaby, and the trail is getting hard to follow because the wound has almost ceased bleeding.

(254a) *Ingki, djini-gim bambarr gurpi-gi, a ngunu-ban
 NEG [this-EMPH trackUNM]_{ACC} follow-FUT - thatUNM-IM
 budi minydji-l nya-ng"
 [bloodUNM]_{ACC} THITH-1duincERG see-FUT

"No. Let us follow this track, when sometime later we see blood (again) (34:669-70)

(254b) nyani ngurru minydji maliri-dji-n-ban girri,
 3sgNOM PERF THITH night-INCHO-RPA-IM COMPL
 gar-maliri-dji-ni-ban
 groin-night-INCHO-RPA-IM

It was already well-advanced into the night as well, it had become pitch dark (34:1016-7)

(255) Garngarrimirri-Ø libi ngurri-nyini,
 Garngarrimirri-LOC 1plexcNOM sleep-RPA
 yili bi+nydji nibi wayku-la, ...
 again HITH+RECIP 1plexcNOM get.up-RPA ...

We slept at Garngarrimirri, (and) sometime we again got up (from sleep) ... {34:476-7}

3.16 NEGATIVES

There are two common negative particles in Djinang: *ingki* 'no' 'not'; and *wirr* 'no' 'not' 'nothing'. The former is used in denials, and as the most common sentential negative. The latter is not often used as a sentential negative, but is commonly used with the sense 'nothing', to indicate absence of a person or quality, or the non-obtaining of an event. The Wulaki dialect sometimes uses the negative *ngiki*, which is cognate to the *ingki* form, as well as using the *ingki* form.

The Djinba negatives are, respectively, *waba* (borrowed from Rembarrnga), and *wirr*. The Djinang form *ingki* is derived historically from *ngiki*, and the latter was borrowed from Burarra by the Wulaki dialect, from whence it diffused throughout the other Djinang clans. I do not know the origin of the form *wirr*, since the usual Yolngu form with equivalent meaning is *bayngu*; and corresponding to Djinang *ingki* is *yaka* 'no' 'not' used by many Yolngu languages. The Yan-nhangu equivalent of Djinang *ingki* is *ruḷka*. A relic form cognate to Yan-nhangu *ruḷka* is preserved by the Marrangu clan, the form being *ruḷapir* (see section 2.3.3 of Appendix 1.). It would appear that both Djinang and Djinba have borrowed their modern negative particles. Koch (p.c.) offers an interesting hypothesis; that the final KV syllable in these NEG forms may perhaps be a vestigial IMP morpheme (perhaps the NEG particles were once imperative verb forms of the type 'leave it!'). This is a distinct possibility. For example; from Schebeck's (1967a) Golpa data, one verb class (equivalent to Djinang class 1 - the largest class of verbs) has IMP suffix -ka, the allomorphs being -ka -ga -wa -nga and Ø.

In Djinang, both NEG particles may take suffixation by the IM clitic -ban 'now' 'then'; or by the DELIM affix. When the latter obtains, *ingki-pm* NEG-DELIM means 'still not', or 'still has not'; while *wirr-ipm* NEG-DELIM means 'still dead', or 'just nothing'. Both particles may be verbalised: though this occurs extremely rarely. I have instances of, for example, *ingki-dḷi-gi* NEG-THEMSR-FUT 'not do', and *wirr-dḷi-dḷi* NEG-INCHO-FUT 'become nothing' 'be nothing' 'be dead'.

Both particles may be used as interjections. *ingki* 'No!' is used for denials and prohibitions. *wirr* 'none' 'nothing' 'no' is used to affirm non-possession of something, or non-obtaining of an event, or a gentle denial.

Both particles may be used as negative qualifiers in a NP, though *ingki* is by far the more common of the two when used this way. Some examples are *wirr guyi* 'no fish' (24:53); *ingki ngirr-ang-pi-bi manya-nyir-bi* NEG 1sg-GEN-OR-OR find-NMLSR-OR (story) 'not invented by me'; and *ingki birral* 'not true'. The NEG particles may also qualify other particles. For example: *ingki bilay* 'not far away'. The particle *ingki*, but not *wirr*, may be used with the +HU interrogative/indefinite pronouns *wari* whoNOM 'who', and *wili* whoERG 'who', in the sense 'nobody'. When used this way, there is ambiguity of structure. Semantically, the NEG particle modifies the interrogative/indefinite pronoun as if the NEG was a nominal qualifier in a NP; and at the same time it functions as a sentential qualifier, negating the verb (which takes an irrealis tense). An example of this behaviour occurred in (16): whereas in English we would say 'nobody wants it', the Djinang appears to be 'somebody not wants it'. Another example of this kind is given below.

(256) *ingki wili ngunu-pilang inma bultji-nir*
 NEG [whoERG that-INDEF]ERG 2sgDAT tell-RPI
nyuni gar-gurriyili giri-m nyini-Ø
 2sgNOM groin-outside go-PRES EXIST-PRES

Nobody told you (that) you are naked {67:4}

Syntactically, each negative particle occurs immediately preceding the constituent it negates. As a sentential negative, *ingki* shows a slight preference for clause initial occurrence; otherwise it occurs immediately preceding the VC. As a sentential negative, *wirr* occurs immediately preceding the VC. Examples of both particles may be found in the cited texts in the following places: (22:198, 215) (24:53, 99, 102, 124) (32:9, 20, 52, 59, 114, 116) and (34:270, 272, 277).

3.17 RECIPROCAL/REFLEXIVE/MUTUALIS PARTICLE *inydji*

The RECIP particle has four functions. It may be used to indicate that two participants, or two groups of participants, have a reciprocal relationship to each other with respect to the action denoted by the verb. For example, if X is hitting Y, then Y is simultaneously hitting X. Secondly, it may be used to indicate a reflexive relationship to the verb: for example X is hitting X. Thirdly, it may be used to indicate a mutual activity in which a number of participants take part simultaneously in the action (ie. each participant separately performs the action): for

example, X hits M and Y hits M and Z hits M etc. Lastly, it may be used to intransitivise a transitive verb. For example, for transitive X finished Y, using the RECIP particle produces Y is finished. Or X ties Y becomes with RECIP, Y is tied/tangled. The intransitivising function was briefly mentioned at the end of section 3.10.

The first and third functions (ie. reciprocal and mutualis) are quite similar. In both, a plural (or dual) number of referents are each performing an activity. Thus if X and Y are each performing an action, there are two possibilities which may obtain. Firstly, X and Y perform the action, and each affects a third party Z; secondly, X and Y perform the action, and each affects the other (no third party is involved). The former situation is the mutualis function; the latter situation is the reciprocal function. (The mutualis function is not limited to two participants, it applies equally well to plural participants.) It is clear from this discussion that when the mutualis function obtains, the valency of the verb is not decreased. However, each of the other functions of the RECIP particle results in a decrease by one of the valency of the verb.

A good discussion of the functions of the RECIP affix in Djapu is found in Morphy's grammar (1983:117-21). Morphy is the first, I believe, to identify in print the mutualis function of the RECIP affix in a Yolngu language, though she does so only tentatively. She analyses RECIP constructions which involve an ACC-marked constituent as a combination of two clauses: one with reduced valency (the one containing the RECIP affix), and its transitive counterpart, of which only the ACC-marked constituent appears in the surface structure. Apparently the warrant for this analysis is a prior assumption that the RECIP affix necessarily involves a decrease of valency.

The analysis I prefer is that there is not necessarily a decrease in a verb's valency when the RECIP particle (/ affix, in Djapu) occurs, but only when certain conditions are imposed, such as coreferentiality of core participants, or when an undergoer is raised to subject position as when the particle (/ affix) is used to form an intransitive verb. There is then no need to view the occurrence of ACC-marked constituents in the clause as implying an underlying combination of two clauses, when the valency remains unchanged. Instead, the RECIP particle (/ affix) merely signals the mutualis function, which semantically implies co-participation of more than one subject participant without affecting the non-subject reference possibilities for the verb.

In this analysis, what triggers RECIP is not coreferentiality of participants in the action, but rather the obtaining of a category which I will call "skewed-subject-reference" (suggested by Bill Foley, p.c.). By this term I mean that for a predication of a given transitivity type, that subject reference is skewed in some way beyond whatever constitutes unmarked subject reference for a predication of that type. Using this category it is possible to explain not only

the mutualis function, but also the use of the RECIP particle with the function of an intransitiviser; all within one coherent framework, and without recourse to two underlying clauses (one intransitive and one transitive) for the one surface clause.

There are two ways that subject reference can be skewed. Before I explain these ways, consider the following example. If I were to say (in English) "They told me the story", I would not be making a false claim about the event even though only one of the referents denoted by 'they' did the actual telling. If I want to indicate that each of the referents performed an act of telling, extra marking would be required. I would say "They each told me the story". Precisely the same is true in Djinang. The least-marked way of skewing subject reference is to distribute it across all subject denotata as illustrated by the English example. We can then consider an additional feature of "distributed-across-actors" which obtains only when the referents within the scope of the subject each perform the action.

A second way in which subject reference may be skewed is when a subject referent(s) is an undergoer of the action. This is a more highly marked situation; and it is common to each of the reciprocal, reflexive, and intransitiviser functions of the RECIP particle. This feature can be called "undergoer(s)-as-subject". Of course, the distributed-across-actors feature will be positive for the reciprocal function; since each of the subject referents is performing the action, as well as being an undergoer of the action. Whereas for the reflexive function, and the intransitive function, the distributed-across-actors feature is irrelevant; for what is important with these two functions is that the subject referent be an undergoer of the action.

A final feature we need is "coreferentiality of undergoer(s) and actor(s)"; or with the understanding that coreferentiality of actors and undergoers is the only possibility which makes sense semantically, this can be shortened to just "coreferentiality". It is this feature which distinguishes between the reflexive and intransitiviser functions of RECIP marking.

We are now in a position to understand the ambiguity of a sentence such as *inydj+n bu-mi* RECIP+3plERG hit-PRES; which can be interpreted either as the Reciprocal 'they are hitting each other'; or alternatively as the Reflexive 'they are hitting themselves'. Consider Table 3.6 where the system is laid out in diagrammatic form. The Reciprocal and Reflexive functions for transitive verbs differ essentially only in the coreferentiality feature. However, if there is no overt indication of coreferentiality, then only the context can disambiguate between Reciprocal and Reflexive interpretations. A better example may be (219), which is Reflexive in the textual context in which it occurred, meaning "Totemic spirits will not show themselves to us". However, in another context, this could equally well mean "Totemic spirits will not point each other out to us"; that being a Reciprocal interpretation.

The one feature that has a positive value for all instances where RECIP obtains in the clause is the feature "skewed-subject-reference". This feature is thus the trigger for a RECIP construction. The various functions of RECIP obtain as the other three features are taken into account.

With intransitive verbs often the features are irrelevant (for intransitive verbs are one-place predicates). A positive value is represented by 'yes', negative by 'no', X indicates infelicity of the feature with verbs of the relevant transitivity type, and 'yes/no' indicates that the feature value is irrelevant for that function. The rows of the Table give feature values for transitive (including ditransitive) verbs, and for intransitive verbs. Each row of the table thus represents a feature bundle which defines which of the functions 'mutualis', 'reciprocal', 'reflexive', or 'intransitiviser', obtains when the RECIP particle is used in a predication. A 'no' value for the 'extended-subject' feature means that RECIP cannot have the indicated function when used with that type of verb.

Table 3.6 Semantic Features Governing the Use of RECIP Particle

	Skewed subject reference	Distributed across actors	Undergoer(s) as subject	Corefer- entiality
Mutualis	trans yes	yes	no	no
	intrans yes	yes	X	X
Reciprocal	trans yes	yes	yes	no
	intrans no	yes/no	X	X
Reflexive	trans yes	yes/no	yes	yes
	intrans no	yes/no	X	X
Intransitivsr	trans yes	no	yes	no

I have called the particle RECIProcal because this was probably the proto-function. Certainly, considering the etymology of the Džnang particle (from the kinship DYADic affix - see section 3.2), the reciprocal function is the semantic link between the particle and the DYAD affix. However, the reciprocal function obtains less often than the reflexive or mutualis functions. In my shorter database, the frequencies of occurrence of the various functions are: reflexive 36%, mutualis 33%, reciprocal 16%, intransitiviser 15%.

Mutualis function

Consider first intransitive verbs. These verbs have no undergoers, and hence only the first two features are relevant. We do find RECIP used with intransitive verbs, and it always indicates the Mutualis function. It is not possible to use the RECIP particle with an intransitive verb (such as 'cry') to express "We cried for ourselves" (reflexive) or "We cried for each other" (reciprocal). (Morphy (1983:118) observed the same in Djapu.) Such meanings can be conveyed by only by using a DAT-marked IO pronoun of the same number and person as the subject.

The verb wayku- is an intransitive verb meaning 'to arise', 'to go up'; and can be used in the context of vertical motion, or arising from sleep. This verb is commonly used with RECIP to indicate a mutualis function; that is, each of the subject referents arises (from sleep). An example occurred in (200) of section 3.7. Another intransitive example occurred in (115) of section 2.11, where the verb is guni-dži- shame-INCHO- 'become ashamed'.

Next consider transitive verbs. A transitive verb has an undergoer; but there is no possibility of subject - undergoer coreferentiality if there is an explicit non-coreferential O participant in the clause. Some examples from text are given below. (Recall that these are not elicited.) The first example is the transitive verb 'spear', and two men each did the spearing. The next two examples involve the ditransitive verb 'tell', which takes ERG subject, ACC O, and DAT IO. In the first of these, the IO is covert - but from the context the IO participant is the man that the two sisters are planning to burn to death. In the second, the DAT IO is cross-referenced by the reduced pronoun džina 3plDAT. In the fourth example, Peter and John took the healed cripple to a corner of the Temple building (ie. mutualis), rather than taking themselves there (*reflexive) or taking each other there (*reciprocal). Clearly then, the only possibility for skewing of subject reference in examples such as these is with respect to the feature of distributed-across-actors, because there is no possibility of coreferentiality of the subject and non-subject referents. Hence the Mutualis function obtains.

(257) ingki bilay inydji bil parrtji-nir, nganaparra-ngi-nyi
 NEG far RECIP 3duERG spear-RPI buffalo-OBL-ACC

It was not far away they they both speared the buffalo {34:869}

(258) ngil ingk-inydji bultji-gi
 1duincERG NEG-RECIP tell-FI

We will not tell (him) (24:124)

(259) balanda-g+a, u yidjipili-pil-ngir-gi ingki
 European-DAT+NF or child-PL-OBL-DAT NEG
 djina-nydji bultji-gi, buluki lim ran.gi-rrri
 3p1DAT-RECIP tell-FI [cattleUNM]_{ACC} 1plincERG spear-TPA

(We) will not tell Europeans or children (that) we speared cattle {34:114-5}

(260) ga mun.gurr-li inydji bil ga-ngil
 and corner-ALL RECIP 3duERG take-RPA

And they took him to a corner (of the building) {33:81}

Reciprocal function

An instance of the reciprocal function occurred previously in example (108) of section 2.11. Some more examples are given below. The first involves three instances of the function in three consecutive clauses: the example comes from the story of Adam and Eve, and the narrator explains that they were not aware of each other's nakedness. In the second example, a charging buffalo dodges a thrown spear: the participants are the buffalo and the spear. A further example is (220) of section 3.10.

(261) ingk-inydji bil nya-nyiri, inydji bil nya-ngin,
 NEG-RECIP 3duERG see-RPI RECIP 3duERG see-RPA
 manymak, yarimban-nydji bil pumir-marrbi-ni
 all.right just-IM-RECIP 3duERG forehead-lose.possession.of-RPC

They didn't see each other, they really did see each other, it's just that when they did they failed to perceive (their nakedness) {53:3-5}

(262) inydji bil bangari-ngili ngunu-ngiri djini-ngiri
 RECIP 3duERG pass-RPA that-ABL this-ABL

They passed each other, (the buffalo) from there (and the spear) from here {34:833}

Reflexive function

Several instances of RECIP having reflexive function have already been cited; they are found in examples (7), (42), (43), (68), (147), (218), and (219), so just one more will suffice here. Example (263) illustrates a couple of points concerning RECIP used with reflexive function. Firstly, quite often there is some extra marking in the clause in order to make the reflexive function unambiguous. The verb *wangi-* 'speak' usually takes DAT O. With singular subject, the phrase *inydji wangi-* could be interpreted either as reflexive or as intransitive. Thus *-bi* OR case (having INTENS function) is added to the subject pronoun in order to signal the reflexive interpretation of RECIP. A similar thing obtained in example (218). Secondly, a singular +HU subject referent is usually sufficient to indicate a reflexive meaning; excluding the possibility of an intransitiver function for RECIP; and a -HU O referent is usually sufficient to indicate an intransitiver function for RECIP. Thus, for example, "The man finished off the food", can occur with RECIP to mean "The food was finished off" (an intransitiver function for RECIP). The -HU O and +HU subject preclude coreferentiality.

(263) *nyani-bi-nydji wangi-ni*
3sgNOM-OR-RECIP speak-TPA
He spoke to himself {67:64}

Intransitiver function

The essential characteristic of RECIP functioning as an Intransitiver is that an undergoer is the subject referent. The actor is left unspecified (but is recoverable from the context), which permits the undergoer to be made the grammatical subject of a predication. The construction is almost exclusively used with -HU undergoers, when something must be predicated about a -HU referent. Thus, RECIP here shares some of the functions of RECIP marking a Reflexive or Reciprocal function, but without any possibility of coreferentiality, or of plural -HU referents being able to perform the action (which leads to a 'no' value for the distributed-across-actors feature). Example (231) involves RECIP used to Intransitiver the verb *ga-ngi* take-FUT; and compare it with (260) above where the same verb obtains but with RECIP indicating Mutualis. Finally, example (264) illustrates a -HU noun in subject context, thereby requiring an Intransitiverised form of the verb 'finish' 'complete'. (A better translation of (264) would be 'on the next day'.)

(264) *yakirr inydji djingiri-ngili-ban*
[sleepUNM] NOM RECIP complete-RPA-IM
A night's sleep was completed {43:41}

3.18 COLLECTIVE NOUN mala

This is a pan-Yolngu noun, meaning 'group'. Some Yolngu languages use it as the productive plural morpheme (eg. Dhuwal/Dhuwala, see Lowe, lesson 83; also Morphy 1983:47). (Dhuwal/Dhuwala has an apparently archaic PL affix *-wurr(u)*, which is possibly cognate to Dj̄inang PL *-pili*; but while the Dj̄inang PL affix is productive, the Dhuwal/Dhuwala affix is not.) Dj̄inang does not use the COL noun as the productive pluralising morpheme, except when the referents of the noun are items of a well-defined set. For example, a number of dogs were described in the following way: *mala mala galbi COL COL lots* 'a very large group of dogs'. Thus *mala* is used in contexts where set membership, or group membership, is in focus; rather than merely plural number. The COL noun may be inflected, but this occurs only rarely, and then only with either ACC or DAT case. Probably other cases could be used, but syntactic strategies which avoid marking the COL noun for case are preferred.

When COL is used, there is typically some overt indication of the defining characteristics of the set or group being referred to. When overt marking of the set is not given, nor may be implied from context, then the COL noun means 'things'; but when this obtains, the idea is still that they are things belonging to a set due to some shared characteristics. In (265) the narrator is talking about various types of cake made with cycad nut flour; and after naming a few types, he names certain ones as 'long things', or 'long ones'. In (266) the narrator is talking about the things hit by the wind gusts where Paul and Silas were imprisoned: it is not that 'windows' were hit, but 'window-like things'; 'window' here only indicates that the things belong to the set of objects which are 'window-like'.

(265) *giliwiling mala, djin batji-ni*
 [longUNM COL]_{ACC} 3plERG cook-RPA

They cooked long things (43:58)

(266) *yarimta window-ban mala pu-ny Kiri-ny*
 just+NF [window-IM COL]_{ACC} hit-RPC PROG-RPC

Just window-like things were hit then (32:93)

The most common type of expression involving *mala* is that in which *mala* is the head noun of a NP, and is modified by a preceding constituent. Usually this preceding constituent is a pronoun, or another NP. Sometimes it is a clause. However, regardless of what type of constituent precedes the COL noun, the function of the preceding constituent is always to specify the set of objects being referred to by the COL noun. Descriptive appositional NPs may occur following the COL noun, to make the set more definite; and the COL noun may, or may not, be repeated at the end of such appositional NPs. Example (266) illustrates a set of appositional

descriptive NPs, with repeated COL nouns; while example (277) illustrates appositional descriptive NPs without repeating the COL noun. Although mala most commonly is used with +HU reference, it may be used with -HU reference also: (267) and (268) illustrate the latter. In (268) and (269) mala is modified by the clause constituent which immediately precedes. Brackets are included in the vernacular to make the structure more clear. In (268) the verb is used with the sense of 'separate parts of a whole'. The context of (269) is as follows. Paul and Silas went to a place where they thought people who were worshippers of God would be found at prayer; and the second line of (269) was uttered as a NP referring to the people who had gone to the place in earlier times. Two previously cited instances of mala are found in (114) of section 2.11, and (193) of section 3.7.

(266) girr gulukng-ban mirrpm-ban yul-pili
 COMPL [crowd-IM INTENS-IM person-PL]ERG
 ngunu wana-dji mala ngun-gira-pi-gima,
 [thatUNM big-ERG COL that-OBL-OR-EMPH]ERG
 warngarriny mala, wana-pili ngurrudawalangu mala,
 [what's.their.nameUNM COL]ERG [big-PL leaderUNM COL]ERG

Then a very big crowd of people, the important people of the place, the important leaders, ...
 {33:98-9}

(267) djani mala, baman, pirr, history-dji djanguny,
 [3p1PROM COL long.time INTENS history-PROM storyUNM
 gayping
 ancientUNM]PROM

These are ancient history stories, from a very long time ago {20:34}

(268) djani [[maltji-m giri-m] mala] djanguny]
 3p1NOM [separate.part-PRES HABIT-PRES COL storyUNM]NOM

They are separate parts of the story {67:32}

(269) marri ngunu djin gungi-gin-dji-m
 possibly [thatUNM]ACC 3p1ERG head-PROP-THEMSR-YPA
 giri-m-ban, [[a yul-pili ngurrwakn djin gir-ali] mala]
 HABIT-YPA-IM - [person-PL before 3p1NOM come-RPA COL]ERG

Possibly they used to suggest that (place), the people who came (there) in times past {32:14-5}

Lastly, when the COL noun is used as the semantic subject in an expression having the meaning 'that group', the subject reduced pronoun is repeated preceding the COL noun, as well as occurring preceding the verb. An example was given as (38) in section 2.7; and another instance occurs in the paragraph preceding that example.

3.19 PARTICLES AND LINKS

In this section we shall be concerned with the class of particles and links (or relators). **Links are just a subclass of particles which function as clause-linking morphemes.** Links occur clause initially; while particles have wider distribution, and may occur initially, medially, and finally in a clause. By far the most common position is clause-initial occurrence. I will not attempt to give Djinba equivalents for the particles discussed in this section; for the most part I do not yet know what the equivalent forms are.

Particle: *biḡak* 'not yet' 'wait'

The particle *biḡak* is sometimes pronounced *baḡak*; both forms mean 'not yet', or 'wait'. From memory, I believe it may also be used to indicate INCOMpletive aspect; that is, indicating that the event denoted by the clause has not yet been completed at the time of uttering the clause. Unfortunately, I do not have an example at hand to illustrate this; but I mention it here for the sake of completeness. Used this way, the particle occurs preceding the verb complex. Two other forms of the particle occasionally occur: *biḡakwa*, and *biḡakma*, each having the same meaning as the *biḡak* form. The *-ma* formative on the second form is probably the Djinba PROM affix; and possibly the *-wa* formative is related to it also. Further instances can be found in the cited texts as follows: (22:206) and (24:101).

(270) *ngarri biḡak irr giri-Ø*
1sgNOM INCOM 1sgNOM go-FUT

I am not yet ready to go

Particle: *yipi* 'delay'

The particle *yipi* indicates a delay of time before an event obtains, or an interval of space beyond a reference position. The particle occurs only infrequently. The examples below illustrate the particle used with the spatial and temporal senses.

(271a) nyani ngunyi_i yipi-pm-ban dji-tjarri-nyi
 3sgNOM thatALL delay-DELIM-IM DIST-stand-RPC

It (ie. the buffalo) was standing there a little way beyond (34:819)

(271b) nyuni yulgu-ng yipi Darwin-Ø
 2sgNOM arrive-FUT delay Darwin-LOC

You will arrive at Darwin after a while

PERFective particle: ngurru(m(i)) 'already'

The PERF particle is used to signal perfective aspect. Sometime it may be translated by the English modal verb 'have'; sometimes it is best translated as 'already'. For example; if one is asked to do something, and one goes and does it and is subsequently asked "Have you done it?", a sufficient reply is ngurrumi "it's done". Usually, however, it is used in a clause. It occurs as the first constituent in the VC. An instance where it may be translated as 'already' occurs in (255) of section 3.15. A further example of its use follows.

(272) bigak ngurrum inmila wangi-ni, nginibi bindji-rri
 INCOM PERF 1plincDAT speak-RPA 1plexERG do.thus-YPI

Wait, he had said to us (that) we would do so-and-so (22:120)

The PERF particle is the base form for the word ngurr-gima PERF-EMPH 'same'. This word occurs very often in the phrase ngunu(ng) ngurr-gima thatUNM PERF-EMPH 'the same as that', 'likewise'.

(273) mir ngunu ngurr-gima wanimi-pm djanguny
 like [thatUNM PERF-EMPH old-DELIM storyUNM]_{ACC}
 inydji-l bultji-gi
 RECIP-1duincERG tell-FUT

Like that same old story we told (67:1)

Semblative miri 'like' and Exemplificatory particle bilapilang

The particle miri is extremely common. Its basic function is to indicate a semblative 'like' 'similar to'; but is used in any context where the speaker wishes to a nominal or verbal phrase which adds exemplificatory information to a predication. Thus, in some contexts it can be translated as 'for' (see 276 below), or as 'so', or as 'for example'. Quite often, it can be left untranslated. For example, in (273) above, miri has semblative meaning; but in (178) of section 3.6, it has an exemplificatory sense and may be translated as 'so' or 'for'. In (274) below, it can

be left untranslated, although either 'so' or 'for' are here also acceptable translations. In example (70) it is best left untranslated (although the nuance it signals is still exemplification), and in (32:6) it can similarly be left untranslated.

Another commonly used exemplificatory particle is *bilapilang* REDUP-INDEF 'it is like that'; and (275) gives an instance of its use. Further instances can be found in the cited texts as follows: (22:214) (24:91, 112) and (32:24, 25, 28, 62, 63).

(274) ngarri miri djanguny nyi+rr pultji-nmi miyilk-ang
 1sgERG like [storyUNM]_{ACC} 2sgACC+1sgERG tell-YPA woman-GEN
 (So) I told you a story about a woman (66:148)

(275) nyani-ban nambidi+n.ga ra-ny ngunu-kirri
 3sgNOM-IM [insideUNM]_{ALL} +3sgDAT enter-RPC [that-COMPL
 minarr, bilapilang galngayngu
 snakeUNM]_{NOM} [it's.like.that King.brown.snakeUNM]_{NOM}
 Then that snake entered into her, a snake such as a King Brown snake (32:22)

Probability particle: marri

The particle *marri* indicates that an event probably or possibly obtained or will obtain. Hence it can usually be translated as 'possibly' or 'probably'. Another sense is 'must have' (ie. an event 'must have' obtained). The particle indicates a high degree of certainty on the part of the speaker that an event has obtained (if in past time), or will obtain (if the event is in future time). Because the speaker assumes the event is highly probable, irrealis tenses are not used with the verb when the clause contains *marri*. The Dhuwal/Dhuwala equivalent particle is *mak(u)*.

When the particle *marri* takes the IM clitic, an idiomatic sense obtains: *marri-ban* possibly-IM 'never mind'. It is possible that this form is cognate to the Djinba *marrap* 'like' (ie. the semblative particle in Djinang, which is equivalent to Djinang semblative *miri*). If this is is, it may perhaps explain why *marri-ban* is semantically so unlike the meaning of its root. An example occurs in (180) of section 3.6.

Example (276) illustrates the *marri* particle used to express a high degree of certainty that a buffalo just speared by a relative fell down and stayed down because it must have been a young one. The example also further illustrates the use of *miri* and *bilapilang* having the function of exemplification. Then (277) illustrates *marri* used twice in the one clause to

indicate a high degree of certainty that a place had a certain name. Further examples occur in (16), (158), and (159).

(276) nyi-nya-nyta bay', miri yidjipili marri
 DIST-see-RPC+NF leave.it like [childUNM must.be
 yuwiridjing-ngu bilapilangi, yuwiridji
 new-DEIC it's.like.that newUNM]_{ACC}

(He) had a look and left it, for it must have been a young one {34:329}

(277) nyimbirrangarri, marri djin bultji-n giri-m
 [what's.the.placeUNM]_{ACC} probably 3plERG call-PRES HABIT-PRES
 marri Dugiladitjingu
 must.be [Dugiladitjingu]_{ACC}

What's the name of that place? It must be Dugiladitjingu, that's what they call it {34:285}

Contrafactuals *biṯma* 'seemingly' and *yurru* 'because seemingly'

The first particle, *biṯma* is well-attested in the data, while *yurru* occurs only a few times. Consequently, the meaning given for the latter must be regarded as tentative, although it fits the context in those instances where it occurs. These particles are similar in meaning to *miri* 'like', and *gima* 'because', respectively. However, there is an additional component of meaning. When *biṯma* or *yurru* obtain, the implication is that whatever is being talked about does not in fact actually obtain, but only appears to obtain. Two allomorphs of *biṯma* are *biṯn* (where the final n is syllabic), and *biṯ*; these are performance-governed, being more likely to occur as the tempo of speech quickens. Similarly, *yurru* may be shortened to *yurr* in rapid speech. Each is illustrated below; and a further instance of *yurru* may be found in (24:105). *Yurru* is most definitely not a FUT marker, as is the case in Dhuwal/Dhuwala. (Djinang and Djinba indicate FUT by a verbal suffix; there is no particle having a FUT-marking function in either language. Yan-nhangu (Alpher 1977) uses a FUT particle *Gurrku*, where G is mostly w, but sometimes occurs as g.) Djinang *yurru* may possibly be the result of a meaning shift in the Dhuwal/Dhuwala FUT particle, since Djinang appears to be the only Yolngu language in which *yurru* has a contrafactual sense.

(278) *biṯn* yul-pili nguli bi nyini-nyi,
 seemingly [person-PL]_{NOM} thatLOC HITH sit-RPC
bil wari-ban ganba-w
 but [whoeverUNM]_{NOM}-IM [deserted.camp-SPEC]_{LOC}

It seemed as though there would be people living there, but the camp was deserted at that time {34:995-6}

(279) bili-nyi liny yiripi-ni, ngambirri-giri-ny+ta
 3du-ACC lduexcERG set-RPA mother-OBL-ACC+NF
 bapipa-giri-ny, bil nyini-nyi, yurru gurrtji-mirri
 FaSi-OBL-ACC 3duNOM sit-RPC because.seemingly tree-LOC
 bil nyini-nyi djunggi-mirr ngidjirrkg,
 3duNOM sit-RPC [tree-LOC nearUNM] LOC

We settled my auntie and mother (there), because it appeared they were sitting amongst trees, (but) actually they were only close to trees (34:412-4)

Coordination particles: ga 'and' and a 'Ø'

The particle ga is used for both nominal coordination and clause coordination. When used to coordinate clauses, any temporal relations of sequence or overlap between the coordinated clauses are not in focus. An example which illustrates ga used both as a nominal coordinator and a clausal coordinator is (47) of section 2.8.

A very common particle is a, which has the same distribution as ga. It is probably just an abbreviated form of the latter. However, while it can be used to indicate coordination, and therefore may be translated as 'and'; nevertheless, in the vast majority of instances it has no discernable meaning. It apparently functions as a phonological marker of the onset of the next breath group. Numerous instances of it can be found in the cited texts: for example (32:6, 8, 15, 29, 40, 44, 51, 60, 89, 110, 112, 113).

Other common particles

I will merely mention the other common particles. Their function and use is as would be expected from the gloss supplied with each. If an instance occurs in one of the cited text portions, I will also supply the cross-reference. Unless indicated otherwise, these particles occur clause initially and may be regarded as links. (But u and galkngu are just particles.)

bintji 'in case' 'otherwise' (this is an invariant form of the pro-verb bintji-Ø do.thus-FUT 'do thus') (32:90)
 bil 'but' (32:10) (34:268) and (278) above
 gim(a) 'because' (32:61)
 u 'or' (English loan) May also occur before NP.
 marrga 'therefore' 'thus' 'hence' (expresses logical consequence) (32:50)

ban	'on the other hand' (expresses contrast between events); this particle may re-occur on a later clause, in which the pair of particles expresses the meaning: 'on the one hand ... and on the other hand ...' See examples (16) and (283). This particle is probably cognate to the IM affix -ban, and is possibly used in Djinang as 'now' may be used non-temporally in English discourse (eg. "Now I said to him ...").
yarim(i)	'just' (implies relative insignificance of an event, or simplicity of an action, or that the event was unexpected) (22:199) (32:6) (32:87, 92, 93)
galkngu	'for example' (possibly a fossilization of Yolngu galki 'near' with Djinang DEIC affix -ngu) May also occur before NP.
manymak	'okay' (this is used as a discourse-level particle, indicating the beginning of a new episode; its literal meaning is 'good') (32:6, 29, 54, 74)
girr(i)	'then' (explicitly marks temporal sequence; see the discussion of the COMPL particle in section 3.7) (32:26, 30, 41, 47, 66, 70, 72, 79, 110)
bili	'is it so?' (interrogative particle, occurring clause-finally; and used when the speaker expects an affirmative reply)
ngang(i)	'is that right?' (interrogative particle, occurring clause-finally; and used when the speaker expects either positive or negative reply)

Temporal nouns/adverbs

There is a small closed class of words which are used (as Morphy states, *ibid*:88) to 'provide a temporal framework for the whole clause'. As in Djapu, it is difficult to decide if these are a subset of nouns, or are better treated as temporal adverbs, or even as temporal particles. They do not inflect for the most part. A list of them is given below. Notice that the word for 'now' is formed from the Immediate Proximate deictic stem *djini*- 'this'.

gadjiri 'yesterday'	gudarr 'tomorrow'
gayping 'antiquity'	malip-malir 'tomorrow' (REDUP-night)
djuli 'earlier today'	balnggili 'afternoon'
ngurrwagi 'before' 'long ago'	djamingi 'later today'
bilim 'a while ago'	guyimi 'later on'
biligi 'very long ago'	djini-guyim 'on the verge of'

djini-djining 'now' (REDUP-this) guyimpili 'much later on'
 baman 'long time interval' warrbini 'later today' (Wulaki)
 bilkirr 'long ago' maliri 'night'
 djarribir 'daytime' yaKirri '24 hour period' (lit. a sleep)
 munyi 'night'

3.20 IMMEDIATE CLITIC -Ban 'now' 'then'

The most common allomorph is -ban, although -pan occurs occasionally, and especially after a fortis stop. The IM clitic is one of the most frequently-occurring affixes in Djinang: for example, it occurs 510 times in my shorter database. Its function is to add temporal highlighting to the time of occurrence of an event. It may generally be translated accurately by either one of two meanings: 'now' (when the time being highlighted is the time of the speech event); or 'then' (when the time being highlighted is a contextually determined time - generally the time of the preceding event). I have retained Morphy's term ("IMmediate" *ibid*:49-50), because it is sufficiently accurate not to be misleading.

Morphy analyses the equivalent Djapu clitic as basically indicating a 'sequence' function, which in many instances may be translated as 'now'. Tchekhoff and Zorc (1983) analyse the Djambarrpuynu IM clitic similarly to Morphy; that is, as a SEQUENCE marker. It is certainly true that in Yolngu languages the IM clitic is used in contexts where events are in chronological sequence, and that it has a highlighting function. Nevertheless, I believe it is a mistake to analyse it as marking SEQU *per se*. For instance, to highlight chronological sequence, Djinang uses the linking particle girri COMPL 'then'; and this may or may not occur with the IM clitic in the same clause. An example in which IM and COMPL both occur is (280): in this example I will gloss the SEQU-marking particle (girri) as 'next', and the IM clitic as 'then' - because English uses 'then' for both functions, which would make the gloss confusing.

(280) girr nyan-in.ga djuy-pultji-djin-ban, girr yarim
 COMPL 3sgNOM-3sgDAT ??-tell-RPA-IM COMPL just
 minydji wanngi-dji-pm-ban, girr ngunu inydji
 THITH alive-THEMSR-DELIM-IM COMPL [thatUNM]_{NOM} RECIP
 birrin-djingi-ni-pm-ban
 turn-CAUS-RPA-DELIM-IM

Next He (ie. God) forgave him then, next (the man) just continued living on indefinitely then (ie. he had eternal life), next that (man) repented then {33:120-2}

The above example illustrates how IM and COMPL may combine to explicitly highlight the overt marking of the SEQU function. However, the SEQU marking is indicated by girri, not by -ban. This example is interesting for a further reason. Another function of the IM clitic is, at discourse level, to signal the discourse peak, or denouement, of a story. It is used in (280) in this way. The three clauses of (280) summarize the three principle themes of the story that the narrator had previously discussed in more detail. (280) then constitutes the discourse peak, and immediately after it the narrator begins to draw out for his hearers the teaching points that he considers to be relevant. This is not an isolated instance of the IM clitic being used as a marker of discourse peak: see (253) which comes from the same story, at the point in the story where the cripple's feet are healed. In general, whenever a story reaches a climax, the incidence of the IM clitic rises sharply; because of its highlighting function.

Example (278) of section 3.19 should be examined carefully. It illustrates the IM clitic used in a context in which a SEQU interpretation makes no sense. In that example the IM clitic is used in order to indicate that at the time at which the party were going to the camp to try to meet up with their relatives, the camp was deserted because the relatives had moved off elsewhere. The IM clitic only points to a contextually determined time; and probably the simplest way to understand it is as a temporal equivalent of the LOC case function. For just as LOC marks a definite location in space, IM marks a definite point in time. This is, of course, the sense in which IM is used on first person reduced pronouns in expressions such as lim-ban 1plincNOM-IM "let's go (now)"; ili-ban 1duincNOM-IM "let's go (now)". In such expressions as the last two, the reference time being pointed to is the time of utterance. (Note, these are common elliptical expressions in which the verb giri-Ø go-FUT is elided.)

That -ban does not indicate SEQU may also be inferred from its use on the particle girri COMPL 'finished'; and on the deictic ngunu- 'that'. The form girr(i)-ban means simply 'finished now'; and is used typically at the end of a list, or at the end of a chain of related events, or at the end of a story. These are all contexts where a SEQU interpretation is out of the question. The following example shows several instances of IM; the first highlights the SEQU function, the second indicates that at the time of utterance, the story has reached a state of completion. There is no possibility of girr-ban indicating sequence in such an example.

(281) girr djawar-ban, ngarr nyun-ki ma₁im-dji-gi, girr-ban
 COMPL finished-IM 1sgERG 2sg-DAT finish-THEMSR-FUT COMPL-IM

Then it is completed now, I have finished (the story) for you, (it's) finished now (22:320)

It has been mentioned previously that deictics may have either a spatial or a temporal sense, depending on context. To signal the meaning 'at that time', or the relative pronoun 'when', Djinang uses the Distant deictic *ngunu-* 'that' with the IM clitic. The form *ngunu-ban* always means 'at that time'; where the reference time is the time of whatever event occurs in the immediate context. An example of this is (254) of section 3.15. Similarly in (261), where the time highlighted by the IM clitic is the time of Adam and Eve's looking at each other; that is, at the time when they looked on each other's nakedness, they failed to perceive it. There is no possibility of SEQU here.

It is not hard to see why the IM clitic sometimes seems to indicate a SEQU function. If two events, A and B, occur in sequence, then the clause denoting the B event may contain an instance of *-ban* on one or more of its constituents. (The IM clitic may occur on any or all words in a clause, as in other Yolngu languages.) This context supports a SEQU interpretation of the clitic's function. However, I claim that what is being marked is that the SEQU relation between the two clauses (which is a function of their lexical content) is being highlighted; which is a different thing from saying that the IM clitic signals SEQU. In such a context, event A typically provides the contextual time reference which is highlighted by the occurrence of *-ban* in the next clause. This is the reason why the IM clitic may occur in the non-initial clauses of a clause chain: the first clause is required in order to establish the reference time. This sense of 'temporal highlighting' obtains in all instances of the use of the IM clitic, which is not true of a SEQU function. Highlighting SEQU is only one of the functions of the IM clitic.

There are literally dozens of instances of the IM clitic in the examples cited in previous sections, so there is no need to add more here. The reader is invited to look at them. In sections 3.19 to 3.14 there are fourteen examples. In eight of those there is non-sequential temporal highlighting: (278) (271) (266) (261) (247) (243) (255) and (254). The others either involve highlighted temporal sequence, or may be construed that way: (264) (253) (252) (248) (242) and (241).

The Djinba IM clitic is *-(B)ani*. In nearly all instances, the allomorph used is *-ani*; but in a couple of instances (after vowels), I have the form *-wani* occurring instead. The Yan-nhangu IM clitic is *-ba* (Alpher, 1977). These forms are clearly all cognate; and a tentative proto-form would be *-*BanV*.

4. VERB MORPHOLOGY AND THE FUNCTIONS OF VERBAL INFLECTIONS

In this chapter we shall be concerned with verbal inflections, and the various functions marked by those inflections. Unlike other Yolngu languages, which mark various tense, aspectual, and modal categories with a mixture of verbal inflections and adverbial particles, Djinang and Djinba use verbal inflections almost exclusively. Thus, some categories marked by particles in other Yolngu languages are marked by inflections in the latter languages.

Much of the morphological detail of Djinang verbal inflections has already been adequately documented (see Waters 1980a); and so that material will only be summarized in the present chapter. My understanding of the system of functional contrasts has broadened since writing the 1980 paper, and continues to be broadened as I further study the language. In this chapter I will give an expanded account of the various functional categories that underlie verbal inflectional categories.

I will also present a very brief summary of Djinba conjugation classes. A full account must wait till another time. However, Djinba throws light on Djinang verb morphology, and so a brief account of Djinba verb morphology is required. Extensive paradigmatic data for Djinba verbs occurs in Appendix 3. I shall also compare Djinang with other Yolngu languages, when relevant. To save repeated quoting of sources, the sources I will use are the following: Morphy 1983 for Djapu; Heath 1980a for Ritharrngu; Heath 1980b for Dhuwal (Djambarrpuyngu); Lowe's Gupapuyngu grammar lessons for Gupapuyngu; Schebeck 1967a and 1967b for Golpa; and Alpher 1977 for Yan-nhangu.

The main point of this chapter is that the system of formal contrasts and the system of functional contrasts are not isomorphic. That is to say, that a given inflection may mark differing functions, according to the context in which it occurs. My aim in this chapter is to exemplify the various functions marked by verbal suffixes; and as far as possible to draw it together into a coherent system.

4.1 VERB CONJUGATION CLASSES

There are three conjugation classes in Djinang and Djinba. These classes are classes based on regularities of form in the marking of various functions. A fourth class of verbs is the class of non-thematic verbs which are not inflected, and which comprise a set of mono-morphemic verb root forms synonymous with various inflecting verbs from the three major conjugation classes (see section 2.2). This set of verbs has mainly stylistic and discourse functions. I will not discuss these further here, except to say that Djinba has used this class

of verbs as roots to derive suppletive inflecting verb forms. Thus very few non-inflecting verb forms remain in Djinba; while in Djinang, the class of such forms is much larger, and maintains its integrity with respect to its resistance to inflection.

It will be helpful at this point to briefly review the functional labels used in discussing the various inflectional affixes. There are thirteen in all. In my previous work I used "non-past", and "non-past irrealis". However, FUTure now replaces "non-past", and the former "non-past irrealis" now becomes "PResent Irrealis". And a further category of "Future Irrealis" needs to be defined. (In Djinang, its marking is homophonous with the marking of FUT.) Otherwise, the categories are as in Waters 1980a:143. The list of categories is as follows:

FUT	FUTure	PRI	PResent continuous Irrealis
FI	Future Irrealis	YPI	Yesterday Past Irrealis
PRES	PResent continuous	TPI	Today Past Irrealis
IMP	IMPerative	RPI	Remote Past Irrealis
YPA	Yesterday PAsT	TPC	Today Past Continuous
TPA	Today PAsT	RPC	Remote Past Continuous
RPA	Remote PAsT		

That Djinang verbs have three conjugation classes is most readily apparent by comparing verbs inflected for YPI. There are only three YPI forms: -wi (class 1 verbs), -rri (class 2 verbs), and -yi (class 3 verbs). In my previous work on verb morphology; I used IMP as the label for these forms. The choice is somewhat arbitrary, since the same form marks YPI, IMP, and PRI functions. I am now using YPI as the label for this form because it better facilitates comparison with Djinba. This does not mean that there is some kind of covert priority to YPI over the other functions (IMP and PRI) which are marked by the same form. The choice of a function as a label for a form is merely a convenience for the purpose of simplifying our discussion.

The Djinang classes correspond to the following Djapu classes (which may be taken as representative of Yolngu languages typically): Djinang class 1 = Djapu class NG; Djinang class 2 = Djapu classes L and N; Djinang class 3 = Djapu class Ø. Also to facilitate comparison with Heath's conjugation classes (in both Ritharrngu and Dhuwal) there are the correspondences: Djinang class 1 = Heath's class 6; Djinang class 2 = Heath's classes 3, and 4; Djinang class 3 = Heath's classes 1, 2, and 5. The constancy of the correspondences (not in the stems, but in the inflections) between the Djinang classes and the classes identified in other Yolngu languages is due to independent retention of class distinctions in proto-Yolngu.

Although Djinang has but three major conjugation classes; each class has several subclasses. The details are outlined fully in Waters 1980a; though the main points are summarized now. Also, some subclasses are coextensive with classes defined by Morphy or Heath in other Yolngu languages. Using the YPI forms as indicators of major class divisions would lead to Heath's six classes being reduced to four, the same number as Morphy analyses for Djapu.

Firstly, class 1 verbs. These have FUT inflection -gi, except for some small subclasses having FUT -ngi. The TPA inflection is -ngili, but stems ending with one of the syllables -pi- -bi- -dji- or -tji- (which includes THEMSR -dji- and FACT -dji-) take the shorter form -li for TPA, while some small subclasses preserve TPA inflections -ngini (for three verbs only) and -pini (only one verb - bu- 'hit', and a few stems which have incorporated this root). In all, there are 8 subclasses of class 1.

Secondly, class 2 verbs. In Djapu and other Yolngu languages, the POT inflection is marked by -l or -rr (Heath instead uses IMP in his analysis). Djinang (and Djinba) class 2 verbs have incorporated these consonants into the stem when inflecting for FUT, and sometimes for TPA also; and these consonants are absent from the stem when other inflections obtain. This has led to some Djinang class 2 verbs having two stem forms: an rr-final stem when inflected for FUT and/or TPA (eg. ngagirr-gi cover-FUT, ngagirr-djini cover-TPA); and a vowel-final stem for other inflections (eg. ngagi-nmi cover-YPA, ngagi-rrri cover-YPI, etc.). Similarly, some small subclasses have an l-final stem for FUT inflection (eg. ngalwartjil-gi breathe-FUT), but vowel-final stem for other inflections (eg. ngalwartji-nmi breathe-YPA). It is analytically simpler to treat the stem-final rr (or l) as part of the stem for the small number of class 2 verbs which exhibit these final consonants, than to treat the final rhotic or lateral as part of the inflection. This is because the same stem-final rr (or l) will sometimes occur when the same verb occurs with FUT inflection.

In my previous work on Djinang verb morphology, I tried to handle alternations like these in terms of morphophonemic rules and phonotactic constraints. But the true explanation lies instead in the area of diachronic change. Djinang (and Djinba) once had well-defined subclasses like the Djapu L and N classes; but these have long since merged into a single class 2 in modern Djinang (and Djinba). Furthermore, there has been extensive levelling in this class, so that there is very little remaining to indicate the former situation. For example, the rr-final stems preceding FUT inflection sometimes are articulated without the final rr (eg. yami-gi 'spread X out' and yamirr-gi are alternate FUT forms); and the TPA inflection stem+rr-djini may sometimes be shortened to stem-ni. (Comparison with Djinba cognates reveals that the elision

of the -rr-dji- in forms of this type is a diachronic change still in progress; it is gradually spreading throughout the lexicon.)

The other common indicator of subclass in class 2 verbs is whether the TPA inflection is -djini or -ni. The former allomorph occurs not only after rr-final stems, but also after vowel-final stems (only the i vowel occurs stem-finally). Verbs in class 2 are relatively 'old' forms; the formation of new transitive or intransitive verbs produces verbs of class 1 or 3, respectively. Thus class 2 has had closed membership for a considerable period; and consequently has the smallest membership of the three conjugation classes. There are 5 subclasses in class 2.

Lastly, class 3 verbs. There are four subclasses in this class. One of these subclasses is the class of INCHOative-marked stems; which take YPA inflection -rri, while this inflection is -∅ in the other subclasses. One subclass has but two old verbs: ngurri- 'lie down' 'sleep', and djirri- 'stand'. These are a subclass on the basis of unique TPA inflection: -nyini; while other subclasses have TPA -ni. The -nyini affix is cognate to the -nhan affix (for the two cognate stems) in Djambarrpuyngu and Ritharrngu (Heath 1980b:41, and 1980a:64). Heath states the affix indicates a punctual sense; which is consistent with the Djinang situation. However, Dianne Buchanan (a missionary linguist who speaks Djambarrpuyngu fluently) claims that they may be used as irrealis forms (private communication). These two comments are not in conflict. In discussing the "Past Remote" inflection in Djambarrpuyngu, Heath (1980b:39) states that the same inflection as is used for Past Remote also has irrealis-like functions. (See below for the implications of this fact.) A cognate (-nyan TPA) affix also occurs in Djinba for the verb 'lie down'; and in the Djinba auxiliary verb djarra-nyan stand-TPA, which is not used as a main verb. This affix therefore appears to be a shared retention of a proto-Yolngu irregularity. The other subclasses of class 3 in Djinang are defined by the obtaining (or non-obtaining) of the deletion of a stem final rri syllable preceding the TPA inflection.

In the above discussion, it is clear that the division into subclasses primarily depends on systematic differences in the patterns of marking for the inflections FUT and TPA. Comparison with other Yolngu languages reveals that Djinang and Djinba have innovated in developing FUT inflections. Thus the irregularities with FUT inflections may be viewed as a diachronic levelling processes. This may well apply to the TPA inflections as well, however the diachronic situation is there not so transparent.

In discussing the verb suffixes, it is important to maintain a conceptual difference between the functional labels used for the suffixes, and the functions marked by the suffixes. Usually the two will be in agreement, but not always. For example, IMP can be used pragmatically to signal strong Disapproval. Labels will be written wholly in upper case (eg.

FUT, YPI, TPA, etc.); while functions will be written with only the first letter in upper case (eg. Future, Imperative, Today-past, etc.).

Table 4.1 Major Conjugation Classes (only major allomorphs shown)

	FUT	YPA	YPI	TPI	TPC	TPA
	FI	PRES	PRI	RPI	RPC	RPA
			IMP	NMLSR		
Class 1	-gi -ngi	-mi	-wi	-nyiri	-nyi	-ngili -li
Class 2	-gi	-nmi	-rri	- <u>n</u> iri	- <u>n</u> i	-djini -ni
Class 3	-dji	Ø -rri	-yi	-nyiri	-nyi	-ni

Table 4.1 shows the major conjugation classes. The columns are headed with the set of functional categories which the forms commonly mark. The first label of each set is the one we shall use in discussing the forms, whenever the choice of label is arbitrary for discussion purposes. In each class, the YPI, TPI, and TPC affixes are invariant forms (they do not subcategorize verbs). Similarly for the YPA affixes in classes 1 and 2; and the FUT affixes in classes 2 and 3. (Expanded charts showing the subclasses may be seen in my earlier work, pages 144-5.) The NMLSR inflection for each conjugation is homophonous with TPI and RPI inflections; the same is true for Djinba, and for Yolngu languages generally.

One difference from my earlier work is that I have given the Today-Past-Continuous (TPC) inflection for Class 2 as -ni. Listening carefully to tapes has shown that there is fluctuation in the shape; sometimes it is -ni and sometimes -ni (with the same speaker). However, the most commonly occurring form is the -ni form, and so I have included it in the Table. (Historically, in class 2 the TPI and TPC affixes may be reconstructed as the affix -*nara. In the form -niri, the initial nasal has been regressively assimilated to the following retroflex rhotic; and probably the retroflexion of the nasal in the TPC form -ni is due to analogical pressure.)

One historical observation may be made at this point, since I have indirectly alluded to it in the preceding paragraph. Considering the RPI and RPC inflections in table 4.1 (and remember, the same forms mark TPI and TPC, respectively) shows that the only difference between each, for each conjugation class, is that the RPC inflection lacks a final ri syllable. This suggests the possibility that there has been a split of former allomorphs of one proto-inflection. Evidence for this split would be that in another Yolngu language the one inflection marks both RPI and also a Non-Irrealis Past inflection.

Heath gives such evidence (1980b:39). The Dhuwal 'Past Remote' inflection is also used in counterfactual and conditional clauses (ie. where Djinang uses Irrealis inflections). The forms for this Dhuwal affix are -nha -na and -nya; and for one old speaker of a subdialect, -nhar -nar and -nyar. These forms are cognate to the Djinang forms. Hence the Djinang RPI and RPC categories have developed from a split of earlier forms -*nha(ra) (classes 1 and 3) and -*na(ra) (class 2); thereby adding a formally marked RPC category to the language. The Dhuwal 'Past Remote' is not inherently Continuous; the addition of this extra component of meaning to form a RPC category was a Djinang innovation under the influence of Rembarrnga (and possibly Burarra) as explained below.

The development of a separate RPC inflection would concomitantly have produced a separate TPC function marked homophonously. Heath (ibid) cites the 'Past Remote' inflection, but does not discuss a 'Today-Past' function for the same inflection. It is not clear from Heath's discussion whether or not this duality of function also obtains in Dhuwal; however Lowe's grammar (1960: lesson 16) of Dhuwala makes it quite clear that RPA and TPA are different functions which are marked identically. There is no possibility of the duality of function being present in Dhuwala but not Dhuwal. In fact, this duality is so widespread that it must be assumed to be a proto-Yolngu feature.

Djinang split the -*nha(ra) and -*na(ra) proto-forms into markers of two distinct categories on the basis of analogical pressure from the prefixing languages to the west. For example; Rembarrnga has distinct suffixes for the categories of "past continuous tense" and "past punctiliar tense" (McKay 1975:130). Yolngu languages normally mark the Continuous versus Non-Continuous by means of presence versus absence of the particle ga, respectively. The Djinang innovation enabled Continuous aspect in Remote Past time to be marked by a suffix, rather than by a particle. This must therefore be added to the list of grammatical patterns which have diffused into Djinang from the neighbouring prefixing languages (see Appendix 2 for others).

Before discussing Djinang functional contrasts marked by the inflectional affixes, I will give a brief overview of the Djinba verb conjugation classes, and the major affix forms. Where possible, I will retain the same labels as I use in Djinang, with three exceptions. Firstly, Djinba IMP and YPI inflections are different, and so I will give the IMP inflections as well. Secondly, Djinba does not distinguish TPC from TPA, (nor RPC from RPA). Lastly, Djinba has an extra inflection, which is tentatively identified as a Future Irrealis (FI).

4.2 DJINBA VERB MORPHOLOGY

In this section, the broad outline of Djinba verb conjugation classes will be given. The purpose of this section is merely to provide a comparison with Djinang, and so many interesting aspects of Djinba verb morphology will be ignored at this time. The data upon which this section is based is given as Appendix 3.

Table 4.2 summarizes the inflections which obtain in each conjugation class for each of the functional categories listed at the top of the chart. These categories are the same as the Djinang ones. The FI category is identified only tentatively, mainly on the basis of Schebeck's claim that the equivalent class in the Nhangu language Golpa marks "Eventualis". This appears to be an irrealis category, and so I am using the FI category for it. In Golpa, this category is marked by -Gu(y) (where G = g or ng), on verbs which belong to the class 1 conjugation (in my terminology). In Djinba, the FI category is marked differently, except for less than a dozen verbs (mostly in class 1, but some are in class 2) which take the FI allomorph -Guy, where G = g, k, or ng. In the Table, where more than one allomorph is given the most frequently occurring one is given first, and those below it are of lesser frequency (usually of very much lesser frequency). Very uncommon allomorphs are not shown. Class 3 involves two major subclasses, similar to the Djinang paradigm, and the suffixes for each subclass are given as a single line of the Table.

Table 4.2 Djinba Verb Conjugation Classes

	FUT	FI	IMP	YPI PRI	YPA PRES	TPA RPA	TPI RPI NMLSR
Class 1		-mitj	-ng	-w	-m		-nya
	-mak	-Guy	-ang -ing	-uw	-am -im	-NGal	-inya
Class 2			-ng	-l		-n	
	-nmak	-nmitj	-lk -rrk	-rr	-n	-yin +rr-yin	-na
Class 3	-k	-tj	-y	-y	-β	-n	-nya
	-rrak	-rritj	-y	-y	-rr	-n	-nya

Djinba does not mark TPC and RPC categories by verbal suffixes. Instead, there is a verbal prefix (or possibly a proclitic) *ban-*, which has the same function as DISTributive reduplication in Djinang. The distribution of *ban-* is parallel to the distribution of DIST reduplication in Djinang, so that it occurs with verbs marked not only for the TPA or RPA categories, but also PRES, FUT, and YPA. Its distribution may prove to be even wider than this, given the collection of further Djinba data.

Table 4.2 does not show any of the variations in the form of the stems which obtain with various of the inflections; nor does it show what criteria govern the allomorphy implied in forms such as *-NGal* and *-Guy*. Both will be discussed in the paragraphs which follow. The Djinba stems which exhibit the less common allomorphs will also be cited below; the inflectional paradigms for these stems are in Appendix 3. Note, the stem cited may be different from the actual form of the stem when a given inflection is affixed; the citing of stems is only to enable the reader to find the verbs in the Appendices. To do this, look up the stem in Appendix 4, note the Djinang equivalent verb, and then look up that Djinang verb in Appendix 3. Appendix 3 has all the known paradigmatic details for the Djinba verbs.

Firstly, the FUT inflections. In class 1 it is regularly *-mak*, except for *-k* with the verb *garkara-* 'walk about', and *-ng* with the verb *nyangnya-* 'help'. In class 2 it is mostly *-nmak* (42 out of 46 verbs), the other forms being: *-k* (2 verbs: *birrmirra-* 'sing', *djarra-* EXIST auxiliary); *-lk* (1 verb: *ngarrawan-* 'turn'); and *-mak* (1 verb: *barrpu-* 'rub firesticks'). In class 3 the form depends on whether the verb stem ends in the INCHO affix, which is *-yi* in Ganalbingu dialect and *-dji* in Dabi dialect. Stems which lack the INCHO affix take FUT allomorph *-k*; while INCHO-marked stems take the *-rrak* allomorph.

Secondly, the FI inflections. These are clearly closely related in form to the FUT inflections for each class, and there is a diachronic reason for this as we shall later see. In class 1, two verbs take FI *-nguy*: the verbs are *balngbalng-* 'soften', and *nyangnya-* 'help' (this verb is a reduplicated form of the common Australian root *NHa-* 'see', see Appendix 3). Another (the verb *gar(a)-* 'go') takes *-kuy*. These are archaic affix forms which are no longer productive. They are also clear evidence of the genetic affiliation of Djinba to a Northern Yolngu protolanguage, since these FI affix forms are also found in Golpa, a Nhang language (Schebeck 1967a). In class 2, there are only one certain variant affix form: *-nguy* which occurs with the verb *batja-* In class 3, the *tj* phoneme has diachronically produced regressive assimilation of the preceding vowel, so that always a laminal vowel will precede it. (This is true in all classes.) The same assimilatory process also operates synchronically; so that when the FI allomorph *-tj* obtains, the stem-final vowel changes to the laminal vowel *i* for class 3 stems which lack the INCHO marker.

Thirdly, the IMP inflections. In class 1, the usual IMP affix is -ng; and sometimes a stem-final i vowel changes to an a vowel preceding the IMP affix. Following a stem marked by the CAUS affix (-miy), the IMP allomorph -ing is used. (Historically, the segmentation was once -*miyi-ng, but in the modern language -miy-ing is a better segmentation.) And following a consonant-final stem the allomorph -ang is used. The class 1 IMP allomorph -k is attested with four verbs: ngatjurr- 'ask', djirriti- 'drag' (Dabi dialect), munu- 'carry', and girrili- 'carry' (Dabi dialect). The allomorph -ki is attested with three verbs: gar(a)- 'go', nudjirngu- 'go quickly', and yan.gi- 'send'. And a final vowel is retained with the IMP form -ngi which occurs on the 'old' stem bu- 'hit'.

In class 2, the usual IMP affix is -ng, although nine verbs retain the vowel-final allomorph -ngi. These verbs are: bultji- 'tell', djaga- 'help', wiritji- 'scrape', larr- 'fall down', gadji- 'call out', garrmi- 'dig', garrapi- 'tie up', gatji- 'hold', and gurrupi- 'follow'. Class 2 verbs which take the archaic CAUS affix -djungV (or its alternate forms -ngV or -dju) take the IMP allomorph -lk. These verbs are gadjal-djunga- 'knock down', gupurr-djunga- 'reject', wirani-ngu- 'cause to return', ngarra-nga- 'pull', and the allomorph -lki occurs on ngarrawan-dju- 'turn'. The -lk allomorph also occurs on the Ganalbingu verb nganga- 'cover'. Some other verbs take an allomorph -rrk: galka- 'possess', and gilgi- 'hide'. Some other IMP allomorphs occur: -ni on two old monosyllabic root forms ma- 'get', and ra- 'spear' (Dabi has -ruy with the ra- stem); -lkuy on the Dabi verb yagi- 'insert', and -lng on the cognate Ganalbingu verb ya- 'insert'; and -nkuy on the Dabi verb nganggi- 'cover'.

In class 3, the IMP and YPI categories are not differentiated formally. The IMP allomorph is fairly regularly -y, although -yi is attested on three verbs, at least two of which are old stems: guba- 'leave', nyina- 'sit', and ngurra- 'lie down'. Because the y phoneme is laminal, regressive assimilation of a preceding non-laminal stem-final vowel occurs when class 3 verbs are inflected for IMP, similarly to the situation for the FI inflection. The IMP allomorph -k is attested on nyina- 'sit' (Dabi dialect), and a -ya allomorph on wakalngurra- 'play' 'dance' (Dabi dialect).

Fourthly, the YPI inflections. These are cognate to the Djinang YPI inflections. (In Djinang the IMP and YPI inflections are formally identical in all classes.) In Djinba class 1, the inflection is usually -w, but following the CAUS affix -miy the YPI allomorph -uw occurs. And following a consonant-final stem the allomorph -aw occurs. Seven verbs retain an i vowel in the YPI inflection, using a -wi allomorph. These verbs include some old monosyllabic verb roots. The verbs are: nya- 'see', ga- 'take', bu- 'hit', dawurr-bu- 'peel skin off', gar(a)- 'go', gupurru- 'give', mila- 'wait for' (Dabi dialect), and milka- 'look for'.

In class 2, the predominant allomorph is -l, and preceding this allomorph the stem-final vowel becomes a obligatorily. Just two verbs take the YPI allomorph -rr: *bindjarri-* 'swear', and *gudi-* 'eat' 'spear'. A further two (the stems *ma-* and *ra-* mentioned above) take the allomorph -rri. The Djinba class 2 conjugation is a merger of two proto-classes, one which took YPI inflection -*la, and another taking -*rra. These classes are still differentiated in Djapu, and correspond to Morphy's classes L and N, respectively. The CAUS-marked stem *wirani-ngu-* 'cause to return' takes an allomorph -lk. The class 3 YPI inflections are the same as for the class 3 IMP inflections.

Fifthly, the YPA inflections. The major allomorphs of YPA in each class are cognate to the equivalent Djinang YPA allomorphs. Djinba class 1 verbs usually take the -m allomorph, and stem-final i or u vowels usually change to an a vowel preceding the YPA affix. Following the -miy CAUS affix, the allomorph -im is used; and following a consonant-final stem the -am allomorph is used. In class 2, the -n allomorph is used, with the exception of the Dabi verb *gilgi-* 'hide' which takes an -rr allomorph. In class 3 the -Ø allomorph is used on stems which lack the INCHO affix; while INCHO stems take the -rr allomorph. There is also an archaic allomorph -*P which occurs on just two verbs. On Dabi *guba-* 'leave' it occurs as -p; on Ganalbingu *guwa-* 'leave' it occurs as -w; and on *walma-* 'go up' 'traverse' it occurs as -m.

Sixthly, the TPA inflections. In class 1, these are -NGal, except for some vestigial forms -ngan and -pan which are cognate to similar vestigial forms in Djinang, these occurring on the verbs *bu-* 'hit', *dawurr-bu-* 'peel skin off', and *nya-* 'see'. The allomorphy of the -NGal inflection is approximately as follows: TPA is often -wal after a stem-final u (though a couple of instances of -ngal occur in this environment); it is always -al after a stem-final consonant (and this includes CAU affix -miy); and after a stem final i or a vowel, it is either -ngal or -Kal (the former is the more productive, the latter appears to be associated with 'old' stems). In class 2, the most common allomorph is -n, while -yin (Ganalbingu dialect) or -djin (Dabi dialect) are not infrequent. Seven verbs have variant stem forms which end in rr preceding the -yin or -djin allomorphs; and these are represented by the entry +rr-yin in Table 4.2. These verbs are: *gupurr-djunga-* 'reject', *gadał-djunga-* 'knock down', *mama-* 'put down', *galka-* 'hold', *gila-* (and Dabi *gilgi-*) 'hide', *nganga-* 'cover', and Dabi *yagi-* 'insert'. The old verbs *ma-* 'get' and *ra-* 'spear' take irregular portmanteau combinations of the stem and inflection: *man.gu+rr* and *ran.gu+rr*, respectively. (See also the Djinba forms corresponding to the Djinang verb *birrindjingilgi* in Appendix 3.) In class 3, the TPA inflection is regularly -n, though there are a couple of minor deviations; in particular the irregular TPA allomorph -nyan which occurs with the verb *ngurra-* 'lie down' 'sleep'. See also *bindji-* 'do thus' in Appendix 3.

Lastly, the TPI inflections. In classes 1 and 3 the form is always *-nya*. The laminal nasal always causes regressive assimilation of a preceding non-laminal vowel to the laminal vowel *i*, in both conjugation classes. In class 2 the TPI affix is regularly *-na*, though the verb, *wirani-ngu-* 'cause to return', takes *-nya* instead. The TPI inflections are cognate to the Djinang TPI inflections: Djinba has dropped the **ra* formative from the proto-forms *-*na(ra)* (class 2), and *-*nha(ra)* (classes 1 and 3); while the retroflexion of the nasal in the modern Djinang class 2 cognate affix (*-niri*) is a Djinang innovation.

The CAUS derivational affix derives class 1 stems; the THEM SR derivational affix (*-yu* in Ganalbingu dialect, *-dju* in Dabi dialect) derives class 1 stems; the FACT derivational affix (*-ya* in Ganalbingu dialect, *-dja* in Dabi dialect) derives class 2 stems; the INCHO derivational affix (*-yi* in Ganalbingu dialect, *-dji* in Dabi dialect) derives class 3 stems. The archaic CAUS affix, *-djungV* derives class 2 stems. As in Djinang, the Djinba NMLSR derivational affix is formally identical to the TPI affix. Also, TPA and RPA are marked identically, and so to are TPI and RPI.

Some diachronic observations can be made from the Djinba data. Firstly, the development of FUT and FI inflections in the modern language. Yolngu languages have an UNMarked inflection in each conjugation class. This inflection may be used in Future, Present, or (Definite) Past time contexts. The Future context requires a particle to indicate that future time is being referred to. The Dhuwal/Dhuwala particle is *yurru*, while the Nhangu particle is *Gurrku* (G = w or g). However, for present or past times a particle is often unnecessary, since it is clear from the context whether the reference is to past or present time. Djinba has developed a FUT inflection by suffixing **gV* to the earlier UNM forms of the verbs in each conjugation. The earlier UNM affix forms (which are cognate to the YPA inflections in Djinang and Djinba) were: *-*ma* for class 1; *-*nma* for class 2; and *-*rra* for class 3. (Modern Djinba has lost the **ma* formative from the proto-inflection *-*nma* in class 2 YPA, although it is retained in the Djinang class 2 YPA inflection *-nmi*.) It is highly likely that the Djinba development was a consequence of analogical pressure from the Djinang FUT inflections; which in modern Djinang are *-gi* in classes 1 and 2, and *-dji* in class 3. The least marked Djinang FUT inflection is *-gi*. This suggests that Djinba borrowed a protoform **gV* from Djinang, and dropped the final vowel *V*. The word-final **g* would then obligatorily be articulated as fortis *k*, producing the modern Djinba FUT forms. The development of the modern FI forms would have been similar; although the proto-affix *-*tjV* is obscure. As explained above, affix forms based on the vestigial FI inflection *-Guy* occur in modern Djinba in both the FI and IMP categories. Possibly sound change in pre-Djinba threatened a loss of distinctiveness in the marking of FI and IMP, so that the language innovated a new marking of FI by analogy with the model used to innovate the modern Djinba FUT inflection, as mentioned earlier in this paragraph. The irregular (and infrequent) IMP class 2 allomorphs *-lkuy*, *-nkuy*, *-nuy*, *-lk(i)*, *-ni*, and *-rrk* suggest that the IMP may once

have been marked similarly to the FI category, which makes plausible the preceding explanation for the development of the modern FI forms.

By way of contrast, let us briefly consider the possible origin of the Djinang FUT inflections. Schebeck's Golpa data is helpful here. The Golpa conjugation class equivalent to Djinang class 1 has extensive allomorphy in the IMP inflections. The forms he cites are -ga -ka -nga -~~o~~ and -wa. Comparison with Djinang class 1 FUT and IMP inflections (remembering IMP and YPI are the same form in Djinang) reveals the following: Djinang FUT allomorphs are -gi -ki -ngi -~~o~~; and the IMP affix is regularly -wi. Taking into account the Djinang Vowel Shift, we see that these Djinang inflections are possibly cognate to the Golpa IMP allomorphs. If this is so, then the Djinang FUT inflections can be viewed as resulting from a semantic shift in the IMP allomorphs other than -*wa. To see that this is actually what happened, we must consider the following Dhuwala/Dhuwal information.

Many Yolngu languages have two different Realis inflections for Future tense. (This information comes primarily from Lowe 1960, lessons 7 and 11; but see also Schebeck 1976b:23.) Schebeck states that only Nhangu languages do not have two Realis Future inflections (and we must now add Djinang and Djinba to the list). Lowe states that the verb takes UNM inflection (together with a particle dhu) in order to refer to times which are later on the same day as the time of the speech event, or in the Indefinite (or Remote) Future. For times which are Future, and Definite (whether tomorrow, next week, months, or even years ahead), the same particle is used with the verb inflected as for IMP (which is also homophonous with PRI and YPI). (Notice, IMP is inherently Irrealis, so here we have the one form marking both Irrealis and Realis - the latter obtaining when IMP marking is used to mark Definite Future.) The wide distribution of two Realis Future inflections in Yolngu languages suggests it was a proto-Yolngu feature. This then explains how the Djinang FUT allomorphs developed from earlier IMP allomorphs. Djinang once must have had the three-way time distinction for Future time, and shifted the meaning of all but one of the IMP allomorphs to mark FUT; probably in the period when the three-way Future time distinction was being lost.

The situation is similar for the class 3 FUT affix -d_j. The IMP inflection for this class is -yi; so that for a FUT inflection -d_j to obtain, there must have been allomorphs -*d_{hi}, -*d_{ji}, and -*yi of an IMP inflection -*DH_i in the parent language (the first allomorph would later have been lost when Djinang underwent palatalization of the lamino-dental sounds). The situation with Djinang class 2 FUT affix -gi is unclear. Probably this class 2 affix resulted from the analogical extension of the class 1 FUT affix to that conjugation class.

This analysis assumes that the parent protolanguage for Djinang had the same IMP allomorphy as exemplified in the modern Golpa language; the latter being a Nhangu language.

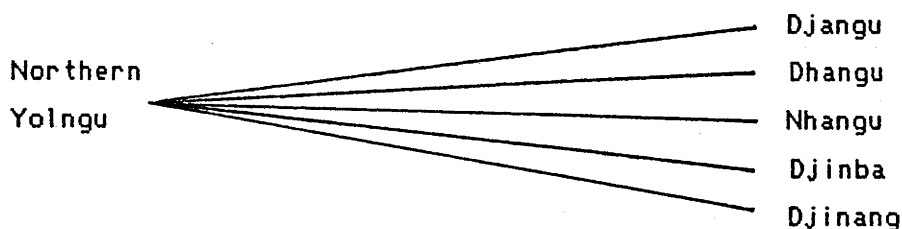
Now we must bring Ritharrngu into the picture (Heath 1980a). It turns out that Ritharrngu has also developed unique FUT allomorphs; and moreover, in precisely the same way as did Djinang (although the resulting allomorphs are different than the Djinang ones). That is, Ritharrngu has FUT allomorphs which are cognate to what Heath calls 'Past Potential' (the forms of which are cognate with Djinang IMP, PRI, and YPI inflections); and Ritharrngu likewise does not have a three-way Future time distinction.

There are three possibilities: (1) that Nhangu languages (which are spread across the coastal islands from the Crocodile islands to the tip of the Wessel islands) lost the three-way Future time distinction early, and then Nhangu languages influenced Djinang, Djinba, and Ritharrngu to likewise lose this distinction; or (2) Djinang, Djinba, and Ritharrngu (which are each geographically contiguous to prefixing languages) lost the three-way Future time distinction due to the influence of the neighbouring prefixing languages, since these do not have two FUT inflections nor the three-way Future time distinction; or (3) a combination of both of the former possibilities. I cannot make any comment at this stage as to which of these is the more likely, but I mention the possibilities so that others may have the stimulus to resolve the issue. One further fact should be mentioned, namely that Nhangu languages lost the three-way Future time distinction, but did not develop a unique FUT affix, as did Djinang, Djinba, and Ritharrngu.

To finish off this section, we shall briefly discuss the genetic relationship of Djinang and Djinba to each other. While it is clear that the affixes used in the different conjugation classes in Djinang are, for the most part, cognate to the equivalent affixes in the equivalent Djinba conjugation classes; there are nevertheless very significant differences between the two languages. The differences include mismatch between the categories marked in each language (eg. Djinang has no FI inflection, Djinba has no TPC inflection); different markings for certain identical categories (eg. IMP and FUT are marked differently); and independent development of categories (eg. Djinang FUT from protoforms cognate to Nhangu IMP, but Djinba FUT by further affixation of pre-Djinba UNM inflections). These differences suggest that Djinang and Djinba have had a very considerable period of separate development.

The facts suggest that Djinang and Djinba developed probably independently from the "Northern Yolngu" protolanguage identified by Heath (1980a), and also by Tchekhoff and Zorc (1983). I am presuming that the "Northern Yolngu" protolanguage and the Nhangu protolanguage would have had many features in common, since the latter would have been a daughter of the former. Djinba shares considerably more features with Golpa and Yan-nhangu (which are Nhangu

languages) than does Djinang, but there are nevertheless considerable and numerous differences between Djinba and the Nhangu languages; especially in the deictic forms and the lexicon. Therefore, as a very tentative hypothesis, we may posit the genetic 'tree' below; and recall that Nhangu, Dhangu, and Djangu are language groups, rather than languages. Lack of data prevents further treatment of Djinba at this time. However, sufficient Djinba data has been given to establish many of its major morphological features, and to arrive at a genetic subgrouping hypothesis.



4.3 FUNCTIONS OF VERB INFLECTIONS

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the various functions which may be marked by verb inflections. The present section concentrates on the semantic features appropriate for characterizing the functional contrasts. Exemplification will be left till the following sections. All verb inflections in Djinang are multifunctional. Moreover, the several functions that a given form may mark do not always have an apparent semantic 'common denominator'; for example, the one form marks an action which occurs in present time and has continuous aspect, and it also marks an action which occurred at a temporally definite time (earlier than the day on which the utterance occurred) - but without any connotation of continuous or non-continuous aspect. The different complexities in the system of verb inflections make it difficult to present an analysis which is both simple, and yet accurate.

My approach in this section will be to try to 'unpack' the system sufficiently so that the reader can see its component parts; and then to combine the parts into a systemic network which typifies the system as a whole. In order to do this we must first define the underlying semantic features which are relevant. Then the systemic network will be presented. My use of a network is not merely for purposes of display. It is theoretically important as well; because each choice of a semantic feature value circumscribes the set of possible subsequent semantic features which may be chosen. Thus, for example, if the category Future is chosen, this fully determines the surface form; however if Present is chosen, the surface form is specified only when a further choice between Continuous and Non-continuous has been made. Relationships of this type may be expressed as a network; or as a set of Boolean conditions such as: IF Present AND Continuous THEN YPA; IF Past AND Yesterday THEN YPA; and so forth. I prefer the

network approach, because not only does it encode the same information as a set of Boolean conditions, but it represents it visually in a way that simplifies the problem of communicating the system to those not familiar with it.

In using semantic features, it will be helpful to use + and - as prefixes, for those dimensions which are binary valued. No prefixes will be used for multi-valued dimensions. Thus, instead of "non-Continuous" I will use "-Continuous", for "Irrealis" I will use "-Realis", for "Realis" I will use "+Realis", and so forth. Yolngu verb inflections are considered to be composites of tense, aspect, and mood categories. I will add a fourth category of "Definiteness" - by which I mean temporal definiteness. At each point in the network where a choice is possible, we may consider the set of possible choices as a "dimension of contrast", and the semantic features which comprise the dimension of contrast we may consider to be "values". For simplicity I will refer to a dimension of contrast as simply a "dimension". There is little point in naming each of the dimensions, and I will not do so. However, each dimension may be characterised by the type of information encoded by its values. Table 4.3 gives the dimensions and their values. There are two dimensions which permit choices within the category of Mood; two more permit choices within the category of Tense; and the final two permit choices within the categories of Aspect, and temporal Definiteness. Only one dimension is multi-valued.

The Definiteness dimension pertains to the referential category of time. The Definiteness dimension is binary valued, with values of +Definite and -Definite. A +Definite value means that the time context of an event is referentially definite with respect to a reference time. Or to put this another way, the speaker is referring to a specific time relative to some reference time. A -Definite value means that the time context of an event is referentially indefinite with respect to some reference time. That is, reference is to a non-specific time relative to some reference time. The reference time is usually the time of utterance; so that events which are occurring at the present time, or occurred earlier on the same day, or on the previous day, would be +Definite. Events in the remote past would be -Definite for the most part. However, since the +Definite and -Definite feature values are defined in relativistic terms (that is, with respect to a reference time), it is possible for +Definite to obtain in a context of remote past time, as we shall see in the next section. There are redundancies in the system: so, for example, events which are denoted by a verb taking YPA inflection will be redundantly +Definite. Redundancies will not be shown on the network diagram to be presented below.

Table 4.3 Semantic Feature Values for Djinang Verb Inflections

Type of Category	Feature Values		
Mood	+Realis	-Realis	
Mood	+Imperative	-Imperative	
Tense	Future	Present	Past
Tense	+Yesterday	-Yesterday	
Aspect	+Continuous	-Continuous	
Definiteness	+Definite	-Definite	

Before proceeding, some of these features need some explanation. Within any one conjugation class, events in past time are not all marked by a single affix. The feature Past is not specific enough. The time context of a past event may be (a) earlier on the same day as the speech act, or (b) at a specific time earlier than the same day as the speech act (usually the previous day, or within the previous few days), or (c) at a non-specific time earlier than the same day as the speech act (which could be anything from a few days before, to thousands of years before). For the time context of situation (b) above, I use the feature +Yesterday. This is the most common time context for a verb marked with YPA inflection; although +Yesterday may obtain for events which have occurred months before the speech act, provided the speaker (and probably the hearer) knows what the specific time is to which he is referring. There is a great degree of relativity permitted in the use of functional categories like YPA, RPA, and so forth. The feature +Yesterday must not be construed too literalistically in terms of the meaning of English "yesterday".

Events which are characterized as -Yesterday may thus belong in either situation (a) or (c). Events which occurred earlier on the same day as the speech act are clearly temporally definite, so the feature +Definite obtains. And -Definite pertains to events in the remote past, which is situation (c). In terms of the functional labels used in the previous sections, the following is an alternate characterization: situation (a) pertains to TPA, TPC, and TPI; situation (b) pertains to YPA, and YPI; and situation (c) pertains to RPA, RPC, and RPI. The use of discrete functional labels such as these permits a certain economy of description, but it is not as insightful as the use of features. To illustrate this, consider the functions RPA and TPA. These are marked not by two different forms, but by one form. The labels given to these functions do not explain why two such apparently diverse tense distinctions should be marked by the one suffix. On the other hand, using features we see that the relevant suffix pertains to the -Yesterday feature value. To distinguish between Remote versus Today categories, an increase in delicacy is called for. Thus a further feature of Definiteness differentiates between +Definite and -Definite temporal contexts (that is, between the Today and Remote

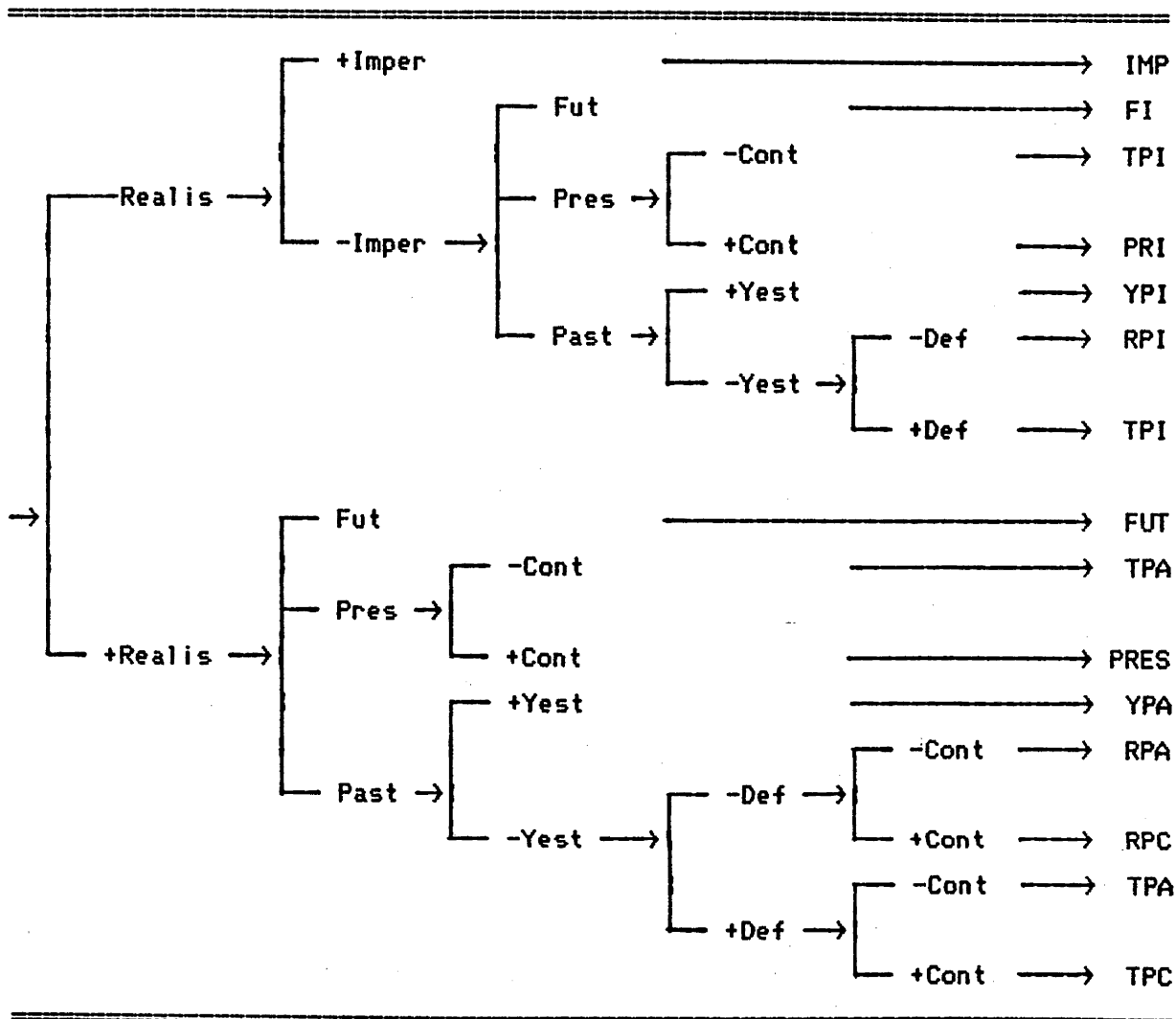
categories). Hence the "Remote" category is equivalent to the feature bundle { -Yesterday -Definite }, while the "Today" category is equivalent to the feature bundle { -Yesterday +Definite }.

It should be understood that the Tense distinctions implied by these categories are mirrored in the lexicon by the distinctions obtaining between members of the set of temporal particles. For instance, the particle *djuli* 'before' (Djinba *djuwali*) refers to times which are earlier on the same day as the speech event. But *biligi* 'a long time before' indicates a time in the indefinite (remote) past. Similarly, the word *gadjiri* 'yesterday' may be used in the context of times which are not just (literally) yesterday, but days previously, or even weeks previously. So the tense distinctions in the inflections of verbs are paralleled by referential distinctions signalled by the choice of a temporal particle. The parallelism goes even further than this. For just as RPA and TPA are marked by the same inflection; the temporal particle *ngurrwagi* (*ngurrwakngi* in some dialects) means either 'before' (on the same day as the speech act) or 'before' (in the indefinite remote past). It may also be used as a noun meaning 'the beginning' or 'the first one'.

The -Continuous feature should not be interpreted as implying that an event so marked is punctiliar. The -Continuous feature really only means that the activity denoted by the verb is unmarked with respect to the feature Continuous. +Continuous is the marked value, and when this feature obtains continuous aspect is indicated for the activity; but it does not follow that when -Continuous obtains that the activity is necessarily punctual, it is simply unspecified for aspect. We have already seen instances of this in the section on DURative marking (section 3.8). If TPA or RPA were necessarily punctual categories, then they would not obtain with DUR lengthening on the same verb. But TPA or RPA do in fact occur quite often with DUR marking, as is exemplified by examples (209) and (212) in section 3.8. One of the reasons why RPA or TPA is used with DUR lengthening in a narrative where we would have expected RPC or TPC to have been more appropriate is because RPC and TPC are often used to signal Backgrounding. The more salient elements of a narrative are Foregrounded, which usually means RPA or TPA inflections are used. Hence DUR lengthening may occur on both the continuous and non-continuous forms.

Another example which illustrates the unmarkedness of the -Continuous feature for the aspectual category is (282). To assert that one is hungry (at the time of utterance), one uses the TPA category. Being hungry is certainly not a punctual activity; it is a state. Nevertheless, to assert the fact of being hungry, TPA is used as in (282). This use of TPA inflection to make an assertion which is true at the time of speaking is the normal pattern. Further examples from my field notes are *nyani galng-walngi-ni* 3sgNOM body-play-TPA 'he is happy'; and as may be expected, a negative assertion uses TPI with a NEG particle, as in *ingki galngi djin*

Table 4.4 Systemic Network for Djinang Verbs



walngirri-nyir NEG body 3plNOM play-TPI 'they are not happy'. (Mismatch between tense categories and referential time occurs in English. The 'historical present', where present tense is used to refer to past time is an example. It is therefore not surprising that an Aboriginal language should exhibit a mismatch of tense and time as well.)

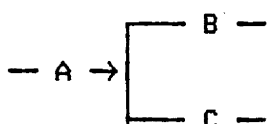
(282) ngarri ngal-but-tji-li
 1sgNOM guts-loose-THEMSR-TPA
 I'm hungry

Table 4.4 presents the systemic network for Djinang verbs. The network illustrates well how the system has been skewed by the diffusion into Djinang of the Continuous versus Non-continuous aspectual distinction in the Today-past and Remote-past categories. The network is divided into two by the choice of Realis value, but the aspectual choice of +Continuous or -Continuous for Past time is relevant only to the +Realis value. The equivalent

Djinba network would be identical to the Djinang one, except for this extra aspectual choice to be made given the choice of +Realis, Past, and -Yesterday, as in the Djinang network.

Table 4.4 not only gives the systemic network, but includes realization statements as well. These are given on the right of the Table; and indicate how each valid path through the network finally is realised as a functional category from the set of categories previously defined.

The Table should be read as follows:



For a choice of value A, then either value B or C may be chosen; that is, the notation represents disjunctive choices. No conjunctive choices are needed in the Djinang systemic network for verbal inflections.

In Table 4.4 the reader will observe that I have not included a YPC (Yesterday-Past-Continuous) function. To do so would be to add a further choice of +Continuous or -Continuous once +Yesterday has been chosen. It is a moot point whether this function is required. In Djapu for example, the equivalent inflection is UNMarked; which means that the verb so inflected may be used in Future, Present, or Past time contexts. Particles are used to specify the time context, and to signal +Continuous when necessary (eg. the particle ga). This implies that in Djapu it is probably best to regard the UNM inflection as unspecified for continuous aspect. The Djinang cognate inflection is YPA. Thus it follows that it would be an imposition on the language to put forward both YPA and YPC functions; there is no formal grounds for it, nor diachronic precedent. To mark +Continuous aspect in the context of Yesterday Past time, Djinang can use an auxiliary verb, or DIST reduplication. Having said the above, I must also say that it would not be categorically wrong to put forward a YPC category. My feeling is that it would be getting just a little too delicate to be an analytically useful category of the genre of FUT, FI, IMP, etc.

4.4 FUTURE AND FUTURE IRREALIS

FUT inflection

FUT is used to refer to Future time in a majority of instances, but it has a variety of other functions as well. We need not cite further instances of FUT marking Future tense, some examples occur in section 3.15, in (243), (247), and (254); and numerous further examples occur in

earlier sections. One of the functions of FUT marking is to express an abilitive modality, as in English "can do X" or "able to do X". An example of this occurred in (180) of section 3.6.

Djinang does not distinguish proximate Future from Remote Future, except by means of particles. One interesting use of the temporal particle *ngurrwagi* 'before' is to indicate Indefinite Remote Future time. An example occurred as (128) in section 2.12. Another example is cited below. These are the only examples I have of this particle being used to express Indefinite Remote Future. This use of *ngurrwagi* is not so hard to understand when the following facts are taken into account. Recall that this particle may be used to refer to times either earlier on the same day as the speech act, or in the indefinite (remote) past. Also, in the previous section it was stated that many Yolngu languages have a three-way time distinction for Future time as well; the UNM verb suffix being used for "Today-Future" (Lowe's 'same-day future', 1960 lesson 11) and for "Indefinite-Future" (*ibid*, lesson 11); while the "Tomorrow-Future" (*ibid*, lesson 7) uses an inflection on the verb which is identical to IMP, PRI, or YPI inflections. Perhaps then *ngurrwagi* may be used in the context of any indefinite time reference, whether future or past. If this is the case, then it may once have merely signalled indefinite time. Nowadays, however, speakers unanimously gloss it as 'before' when used a temporal particle.

In (283), a dead relative watches a live grandchild eating a certain yam. When that person eventually dies, the dead relative will be waiting in the afterlife to tear open the grandchild's 'body' to get at the yams eaten long before. (283) is what the dead relative says when he sees the yams being eaten; and clearly in this context Indefinite Remote Future time is being referred to.

(283) **Dirra-dji-li, migira-ri, manymak, inma-rr marrKa-ng*
 eat-THEMSR-TPA SiDaCh-PROM okay 2sgDAT-1sgNOM wait-FUT
ngurrwakng Ga-l bali-dji ...
 before And-1duincNOM die-FUT ...

"Go ahead and eat, grandchild, I will wait for you indefinitely" And we die ... (42:12-4)

FUT may be used in the context of normative actions, such as explanations of cultural or typical behaviour; or in procedural discourses. However, a procedural discourse may also be set in a Past time context, in which case RPC would be the usual verb inflection. Text 43 is a procedural narrative set in Past time, describing cultural behaviour, where RPC is used with the majority of verbs. The following text fragment is taken from text 44, which is also a procedural narrative describing cultural behaviour - in this case methods of trapping fish in small tidal streams. The narrative of text 44 is not set in Future time, although FUT tense is

used throughout. The focus of text 44 is the methodology of fish trap making; time reference is unimportant.

(284) *lap-miy-gi, bumalng wik-wik-dji-g+a, u*
 open-CAUS-FUT [branchUNM]_{ACC} REDUP-toss-THEMSR-FUT+NF [or
yurrryarr, a gu-kukirr-dji. Yulku-nga..., bintji-Ø
 grassUNM]_{ACC} - DIST-move.about-FUT Come.out-FUT+DIST do.thus-FUT
ngurrguma. Ban, ganda-bi djiningi, gandapini-nyir-bi,
 same On.the.one.hand thigh-OR thisUNM make.trap-NMLSR-OR
ban wurpi, ga djurr.
 on.the.other.hand anotherUNM also woven.trapUNM

(One) opens it, (one) throws away the branches or the grass, and (the fish) can get free. (The fish) escape, it's done that way. On the one hand, this is a fish weir. On the other hand, another (method) also is a woven fish trap. {44:25-30}

FUT inflection may also be used in conjunction with the PERF particle *ngurrumi* 'already'. The meaning expressed is 'already doing X and will continue doing X'. Example (108) illustrates. This occurred during the telling of a story by M. His wife started playing a music tape very loudly. M. tells her to turn it down. Then L. (M.'s sister) tells his wife to wait; M. tells her that we are already talking (into the tape recorder) and will continue doing so, and L. repeats it to M.'s wife.

(285) (M.) *But-nyir-dju-w galbu-w! (L.) Ganinydja!*
 (M.) loose-NMLSR-THEMSR-IMP put.down-IMP (L.) *GaninydjaUNM*
bidak djam-pan. (M.) Djam-pan pirrirr-dji-gi djini
 INCOM later-IM (M.) later-IM twist-THEMSR-FUT thisUNM
ngurrum liny wangi-dji. (L.) Djini ngurrum bil
 PERF 1duexcNOM talk-FUT (L.) thisUNM PERF 3duNOM
wangi-dji.
 talk-FUT

(M.) "Ease off, put (the volume) down!" (L.) "Ganinydja! not yet, later on!" (M.) "Later on turn it (up), at present we are already talking." (L.) "At present they are already talking." {35:108-11}

A further use of FUT inflection is to indicate a polite Imperative pragmatic function. Previous examples of this are (246) of section 3.15, and (197) of section 3.8. FUT can also be used for exhortations. The next two examples illustrate these uses: (286) for a polite Imperative, and (287) for an exhortation.

(286) Ingki! Yirr-yirrp̄i-gi, a school-ili Kiri-Ø
 No REDUP-set-FUT and school-ALL go-FUT
 No! Settle (here) and he can go to school! (34:272-3)

(287) Yaku-mirrp̄m Djesu-mirrp̄mi, ga djirri-dji-ban, ga
 name-PERL Jesus-PERL - stand-FUT-IM and
 giri-Ø-ban
 walk-FUT-IM

In the name of Jesus, stand up and walk! (33:52)

It appears that FUT inflection is the temporally least-marked inflection. This may be illustrated by the following examples. It is not uncommon for FUT tense to be used in a narrative set in a Past time context. Similarly, FUT may sometimes be used in a Present time context. FUT is the only inflection which may be used in lieu of Past or Present inflections, without changing the underlying time reference. It may be used instead of other inflections only when the time context is quite unambiguous. FUT used instead of Past tense inflections may be seen in examples (13), (76), and (139). FUT used in the context of a Present Punctiliar event occurs in (123) and (281); and used in the context of a Present Continuous event occurs in (48). Example (288) is another instance illustrating FUT used in a Past time context; in this case, the context is Remote Past time. This does not happen often, but often enough for it to require an explanation.

(288) gungi libi baltj-ny miri, wali-gi-ban, milgali-gi
 headUNM 1plexcNOM go.up-RPC like, food-DAT-IM cycad.nut-DAT
 djin rar-ki kiri-Ø, djin djaltjibi kiri-Ø, ...
 3plERG knead-FUT PROG-FUT 3plERG lift.up PROG-FUT ...

We expectantly waited for the cycad nut food; they kneaded it, and they lifted it up (from leaching in water), ... (43:38-40)

FUT inflection may occasionally be omitted, so long as it is recoverable from the context. A very common environment for the dropping of FUT inflection is preceding an auxiliary verb. Example (289) illustrates FUT elided from a verb, when it is clear that Future time is being referred to. In this example, two totemic men were about to challenge each other to a duel with spears. One of them then uttered (289). Example (290) illustrates FUT inflection elided from the main verb when an auxiliary verb follows. A further example is (288) above, where the stem *djaltjibi* 'lift up' occurs without FUT inflection. The same example shows that FUT is not always elided in this environment - consider the verb and auxiliary *rar-ki Kiri-Ø knead-FUT PROG-FUT*. Similarly for the two main verbs in (290) below.

(289) ngili nyaliki-dji
 1duincNOM how-INCHO

What will we do? (19:51)

(290) nyuni yili-mirri gu-kurrpi Kiri-Ø,
 2sgERG again-LOC DIST-follow PROG-FUT
 nganaparra nyin nya-ng Kiri-Ø
 [buffaloUNM]_{ERG} 2sgACC see-FUT PROG-FUT

You follow behind (me), the buffalo will concentrate on you (34:796-7)

In subordinate clauses, the subordinate verb may take Future, Present, or Past inflections. However, the least marked of these is the FUT inflection. This inflection obtains whenever temporal or aspectual nuances do not need to be signalled within the subordinate clause. An example occurs in (273); and another in (24). A further example is given below.

(291) nginibi djining ingki djal nibi
 1plexcNOM [thisUNM]_{DAT} NEG desire [1plexcNOM
 marrngirri-dji
 hear-FUT]_{DAT}

We do not like this (which) we hear (32:59)

FI inflection

FI is homophonous with FUT inflection. It is necessary to posit a FI inflection in order not to lose the generalization that Negative clauses require an Irrealis verb inflection. A corroborative argument would be that since the FI category is marked overtly in Djinba, it is reasonable to assume its existence in Djinang. FI is used to express doubt about the Future obtaining of an event, or hypotheticality. It is also used with a NEG particle to express a Future Negative. The latter parallels the use of other irrealis inflections with Negative particles. In the case of the other Irrealis inflections, there is no ambiguity of Realis and Irrealis, since these Irrealis inflections are formally distinguished from Realis inflections. Examples (292) and (293) illustrate FI obtaining in contexts where doubt is clearly being expressed. In (292) the subordinate clause contains an Irrealis inflection (PRI): the whole sentence is expressing doubt, so that this is additional evidence that the verb nya-ng is see-FI rather than *see-FUT.

In the first example, the father tells the son to sit, otherwise the wallaby he is about to stalk may see him as he attempts to climb up the rock on which the wallaby is sitting. In the second example, the wallaby has run away and the son has managed to injure it as it flees. The father has not seen this, but he has heard the noise of a broken spear being dragged along. Example (293) is what he then thinks. (That doubt is involved here is clear from the next sentence of the story, which is not cited here. That sentence reads "Hey come on! Maybe it was nothing, he missed and probably it was a tree that he speared.")

(292) *djili nyini-y, irri-ny nya-ng djirri-dji*
 this_{LOC} sit-IMP 1sg-ACC see-FI EXIST-FUT
rirkkian-ili baltju-wi
 rock-ALL climb-PRI

Sit here, (or) while it stands it may see me climbing the rock {34:615-7}

(293) *Eh'eh walkiri-gir-angi djam irr dirra-dji-gi*
 INTERJ son-OBL-GEN later 1sgERG eat-THEMSR-FI
maypal ran.gi+rri
 [meat_{UNM} spear-TPA]_{ACC}

Ah-ha! Later I may eat my son's speared meat {34:647}

In example (294) the narrator is describing hypothetical events. The narrator was creating a hypothetical situation in order to explain to me how a certain word may be used in a suitable context. In such a circumstance, and especially when the INDEF particle *bilangi* is used, an Irrealis inflection obtains. Three more examples of this kind are (22), (35), and (74).

(294) *mir mitjiyang, ngunung bila bayim-dji-gi*
 like [boat_{UNM}]_{PROM} that_{UNM} INDEF buy-THEMSR-FI
 a yirрпи-gi mani-mirri, ...
 and set-FI river-LOC ...

For example a boat: suppose you buy it and moor it in the river ... {66:37-8}

FI inflection used with NEG particles have already been cited. See examples (68), (133), (219), and (259). Finally, FI may occur within a subordinate clause. See example (48), where FI occurs in the complement of the verb 'see'. In this example, the speaker had doubt as to whether the father is coming or not.

4.5 PRESENT (CONTINUOUS) AND YESTERDAY-PAST

PRES inflection

The same forms mark PRES and YPA inflections. The forms are *-mi*, *-nmi*, and *-Ø* (or *-rri* after INCHO), for classes 1, 2, and 3, respectively. These forms are cognate to the forms for UNM inflection in other Yolngu languages. When these forms mark PRES, then the feature +Continuous redundantly obtains. Several examples have already been cited in which PRES is used to indicate a Continuous action in Present time: some of these are (14), (33), (110), (124), (223), (229), (230), (235), and (268).

PRES is also used in the context of Past time when the speaker is quoting the speech of others. Djinang has no productive means of quoting speech indirectly, and hence quotations are uttered as the original speaker would have spoken. Example (295) gives an instance of this; the actual utterance quoted was made by the narrator about twenty years previously.

(295) "Ama! Malu djini ngurrumi, wini-Ø kiri-mi
 mummyUNM [daddyUNM]_{NOM} thisUNM PERF return-PRES PROG-PRES
 gumbaa, djarak-nyirringi, ..."
 empty.handed spear-PRIV ...

"Mum! Dad is now already on his way back empty handed and without spears ..." {34:366}

A very common function of PRES inflection (and also YPA inflection) is to make a statement which is typical or characteristic of a referent. The referent may be a place, in which case the statement will usually be either a statement of its location, a statement of its name, or a characteristic of that particular place. Or the referent may be human or animate, in which case the statement gives information characteristic of the referent, or typical behaviour of the referent. (Morphy, 1983:70, describes the equivalent function of Djapu UNM inflection.) Some examples which involve an inanimate referent are (170), (175), (213), and (277). Some examples involving animate referents are (20), (33), and (111). Example (296) is a further +HU example, where PRES is used to describe activities characteristic of a sorcerer.

(296) a ragalk ngunungi wurpi, nyan-ngangi mir
 - [sorcererUNM]_{NOM} [thatUNM differentUNM]_{NOM} 3sg-GEN like
 warngarrinyi, bu-m giri-mi yul-ngi-nyi,
 what's.he.doUNM kill-PRES HABIT-PRES person-OBL-ACC

Sorcerers are different; what they do is to kill people {66:22}

PRES inflection may also be used on verbs in subordinate clauses. When this obtains, it is the +Continuous feature which is important. When used in a subordinate clause, PRES indicates a state which obtains as a characteristic of the head NP. An example follows; and further instances may be found in (256) and (268).

(297) ga nyibi-w_ili-dji mir yul-dji dinggi djin
 and other-PL-PROM like man-PROM [dinghyUNM]_{ACC} 3p1ERG
 katji-nmi ga inydji+n karr-karrpi kira-Ø...
 possess-PRES and RECIP+3p1ERG REDUP-search PROG-FUT+DIST

And others, men (who) possess dinghies, they will search thoroughly (66:44)

YPA inflection

Because of the etymology of YPA and PRES, it would be expected that the functions of PRES inflection would be paralleled by the functions of YPA inflection. This is indeed the case, although there is one extra function of YPA that is not shared by PRES, and I do not have an unambiguous instance of YPA in a subordinate clause (the latter is likely to be an accidental gap however). When YPA inflection obtains, the event so marked occurred in a time context which is +Definite with respect to some reference time – usually the time of utterance.

Some previous examples of YPA indicating an event in Past time are (76) and (274). When YPA obtains, the event is unspecified for the Continuous aspect feature; so that YPA can be used in the context of either Punctiliar or Continuous actions. So, for example, the verb 'bring' in (76) is inherently Continuous, while 'tell' in (274) is inherently Punctiliar.

As for PRES inflection, YPA inflection may be used to express typical behaviour of a referent, or characteristic properties of a referent. Example (83) describes a place as the locale where the speaker and hearer sat under a coconut tree (this event occurred about a year earlier than the utterance); and (269) describes a place as one where people would come to pray.

The extra function of YPA not shared by PRES is the following. When a narrative is set in a Remote Indefinite time context (so that RPA and RPC are the usual verb inflections in the story), occasionally the narrator will switch to YPA inflection. Looking carefully at the context, we see that these switches are not random, nor are they mere performance slips. Instead, the switch to YPA inflection indicates that the event occurred at a time which was +Definite with respect to a reference time defined in the context. Thus, while the narrative as a whole occurs at a time which is Indefinite (and often quite Remote) with respect to the time of utterance, a certain event in the narrative may be used as contextual reference point – so that another event may be located in time relative to it. Three excellent examples occur in story 19. That

story is set in the Dreamtime, and Remote Past inflections (RPC and RPA) are used throughout, except for the instances to be described now. PRES is used once, to describe the Present location of a geographical feature. And the other exceptions use YPA. I will cite the YPA examples now, which will simplify the discussion. The use of the IM clitic *-ban* in these examples precludes the possibility that the inflections are PRES rather than YPA.

(298) *biling bil ran.gitrri, manyak, biling budi,*
 3duERG 3duERG spear+RPA okay 3duERG [bloodUNM]_{NOM}
nyani budi, a nyani budi, a ngunu-pan-gim
 3sgNOM [bloodUNM]_{NOM} and 3sgNOM [bloodUNM]_{NOM} - that-IM-EMPH
rirkkian-ban ngu-ngurri-Ø
 [rockUNM]_{NOM}-IM DIST-lie.down-YPA

They speared (each other). Okay, the blood of each of them (fell) and right at that instant became rock. {19:17-9}

(299) *nyani budi galmi-ni, nyani budi galmi-ni,*
 3sgNOM [bloodUNM]_{NOM} fall-RPA 3sgNOM [bloodUNM]_{NOM} fall-RPA
ngunu-pan ngu-ngurri-Ø rirkkian, ngu-ngurri-Ø-ban
 that-IM DIST-lie-YPA [rockUNM]_{NOM} DIST-lie-YPA-IM

The blood of one fell, and the blood of the other fell, (and) at that instant became rock (and stayed that way) then {19:65-6}

(300) *bil ran.gitrri, manyak nyani gapi gir-ali,*
 3duERG pierce-RPA okay 3sgNOM [waterUNM]_{NOM} come-RPA
bi yulgu-ngili gapi, ngunu-pan-gim ngambu
 HITH come.out-RPA [waterUNM]_{NOM} that-IM-EMPH [poolUNM]_{NOM}
dji-tjarri-Ø, minitji gapi
 DIST-stand-YPA [poolUNM waterUNM]_{NOM}

The two (women) pierced (each other). Okay, water came, water came to the (surface and) at that very instant became a pool (or spring) of water. {19:85-7}

It is clear from the use of words like *ngunu-pan(-gima)* (which always refers to the instant of time defined by when a contextual event obtains), that a definite time is being referred to. This is true even though the whole story is set in the Indefinite Remote Past. In examples (298) and (299), two totemic men speared each other with spears - and this act is the temporal reference point for the action of the blood turning into (red) rock at a definite time - the definite time being specified as contemporaneous with the falling of the blood to the ground. In (300), two totemic women pierce each other with their digging sticks; and this act likewise supplies a temporal reference point for the action of water forming a pool or spring. It

is for this reason that the "Definiteness" feature in section 4.3 was defined in relativistic terms, as being Definite or Indefinite relative to some reference time. A further example is given below: notice that the trapping of fish is the reference event, which defines the time of the eating event - the latter naturally taking place a short time after the trapping.

(301) *guyi* *djin* *gandapini-ny* *djin* *dirra-dji-mi*
 [fishUNM]_{ACC} 3p1ERG trap-RPC 3p1ERG eat-THEMSR-YPA

They were trapping fish (and then) eating them (34:1153)

4.6 PAST INFLECTIONS: REMOTE-PAST, TODAY-PAST, REMOTE-PAST-CONTINUOUS AND TODAY-PAST-CONTINUOUS

RPA and TPA inflections

These two inflections are very commonly used Past tense inflections. TPA inflection is not often used in narrative, because few stories are set in the time context of the same day as the speech event. One story in which TPA is frequently used is story 35, which is a description of a fight which occurred earlier on the same day as the telling of the story. Most stories are set in the remote past, and hence RPA is extremely common in narrative. As explained earlier, in each conjugation class TPA and RPA have the same marking. Thus only the time context of a narrative as a whole distinguishes TPA from RPA.

There is no need to cite further examples of RPA inflection here. Some earlier examples which contain this inflection are: (265), (269), (272), (279), (280), (298), (299), and (300).

The following examples illustrate TPA and are taken from story 35. The section of the story which is cited contains a number of sequential actions: the two participants are fighting, but the younger man has the advantage. Notice the high incidence of non-thematic verbs (ie. uninflected stems), which add colour to the narrative. The COMPL particle at the end of the section signals termination of the description of the young man's actions, rather than termination of the fighting. (The following clauses introduce a new participant, who comes to try to break the fight up; and who hits the antagonists with his woomera as they continue to fight.)

(302) bat marr-ngil+a, a bat ngu+li, galmi-ni,
 pick.up pick.up-TPA+NF and throw throw+TPA fall.down-TPA
 a djarri-nyini, djarri-nyin+a, a madjirri, bat
 and stand-TPA stand-TPA+NF and again pick.up
 pirriir-dj-ny, pirriir-dj-ny, pururr pururr,
 twist-THEMSR-TPC twist-THEMSR-TPC twist twist
dubuk, bat ngu+l+a, a girri
 carry throw throw+TPA+NF - COMPL

(The young fellow) picked him up, and threw him, and fell over. He (ie. the young fellow) stood up, he stood and once more picked him up, and was then twisting (his neck). He twisted, and twisted, carried him, and threw him. {35:57-62}

TPA inflection may also be used in the context of Present time. An instance was given in section 4.3, example (282). One uses TPA in this way to make a statement which is true immediately preceding the time of utterance and which is still true at the time of utterance.

TPA inflection and RPA inflection may each be used in subordinate clauses. Instances of this have already been cited. Two examples with RPA in the subordinate clause are (259) and (269); and two with TPA are (130) and (293). TPA or RPA are used in a subordinate clause (rather than FUT) when the speaker wishes to explicitly indicate that the event indicated by the subordinate clause occurred in Past time relative to the time context of the event indicated by the main clause. RPA is used when the subordinate clause event occurred a long time previously, and TPA is used when the event occurred earlier on the same day as the event indicated by the main clause. For both RPA and TPA used in a subordinate clause, aspect is unmarked; so that there is no implication of duration of the activity indicated by the subordinate clause (other than whatever inherent aspect categories obtain in the verb). To indicate duration explicitly in the subordinate clause, TPC or RPC would be used instead.

PRC and TPC inflections

These inflections are the +Continuous counterparts of RPA and TPA inflections. Hence, in any Past time narrative, TPC and TPA will be found throughout the text, according to the speaker's need (or lack of need) to signal temporal continuity. For a narrative set in Remote Past time, RPC and RPA will be found to alternate. As for TPA and RPA, in each conjugation RPC and TPC are marked by the same form. Section 4.1 discusses the etymology of the TPC and RPC inflections, due to the influence of prefixing languages to the west of Djirang.

Example (302) above illustrates TPA alternating with TPC; the latter inflection occurring twice, on the verb *pirrirri-dji-* twist-THEMSR-. Clearly the twisting was an event which took place over a span of time; while the actions of throwing, falling, and picking up were punctiliar. Numerous instances of RPC have already been cited. Some instances from previous sections are: (261), (266), (271), (275), (276), (278), (279), and (288); and example (303) is a further example. Notice that the 3sg pronoun *nyani* is used to refer to a group consisting of a number of members of a -HU species. The 3sg pronoun is commonly used this way; even though the reference is to plural participants. In (304) below, the pronoun is used similarly, but referring to a +HU group.

(303) *nyani gurrumba galbi nyini-ny, gus-gima*
 [3sgNOM gooseUNM lotsUNM]_{NOM} sit-RPC [goose-EMPH
gurrumba
gooseUNM]_{NOM}

Many geese were sitting (there) (22:46)

TPC examples are less numerous in my database, for the same reason as given above for the comparative scarcity of TPA examples. I will give some instances of TPC, again from story 35. At this point in the narrative, the speaker has already briefly mentioned the fight, but states (304) as a digression before continuing to describe the fight in detail (he was not an eyewitness). Notice the use of the third person singular pronoun referring to a group of people standing near the office while watching the fight. This example also illustrates "backgrounding", to be discussed below.

(304) a *nyanta, bilngga djarri-nyi, mala, ngunu-ku*
 - 3sgNOM+NF 3duDAT stand-TPC COL that-DAT
office-mirri, nyunta, marrbi-na nginibi
office-LOC 2sgNOM+VOC not.present-TPC 1plexcNOM
marrbi-ni, nginibi djini-ngir warngarri,
not.present-TPC 1plexcNOM this-ABL [what's.his.nameUNM
Liwangu-r, nyini-ny
Liwangu-ERG] ERG sit-TPC

There was a group from the office standing watching them, you were not present, we were not present; we were sitting on the other side (of the town) with *Liwangu* (35:15-17)

It was stated above that TPA can be used in a Present time context, to make a factual statement about a state which has its inception earlier than the time of the utterance and which still obtains at the time of the utterance. (For example: "I'm hungry." or "I'm cold.") This has occurred so often in my field experience that I know this to be a grammatical use of TPA

inflection. I do have just one example of TPC used in what appears to be a similar way, as cited below. This clause comes from a hypothetical story made up by an informant to explain the meaning of a word. In the story, a man hunts others away when they try to take food which does not belong to them, and (305) is part of what the man says to them as justification for commanding them to go away. Present time is indicated, as the deictic *djining* makes clear. The interpretation of this utterance would therefore be as for TPA in the same context, except that the speaker is overtly marking the state as prolonged.

(305) *djining ngalbirki liny gukirri-nyi*
 thisUNM hungry iduexcNOM walk.about-TPC

We are going about hungry at the present time {66:89}

Discourse functions of RPC and TPC inflections

(a) Backgrounding

A further function of RPC and TPC is to mark information as 'background' information. An example of this using TPC occurred in (304) above; where the cited text portion is a digression in the description of the fight. Backgrounding is a discourse level feature, and to fully validate the claim that TPC and RPC may be used to indicate backgrounding requires more space than is available in this dissertation. One example will have to suffice for the present, as given in the following paragraph.

Most instances of RPC or TPC mark Continuous aspect, as explained earlier in this section. However some instances mark background information: this may be just a clause or two in length, or sometimes quite a lengthy section of a narrative. Some examples of backgrounding occur in the cited portion of text 32. Consider sections 7 and 8 of text 32; where RPC inflection obtains. The section numbered 6 introduces Silas and Paul, while 7 to 11 give background information about them: 7 states that they had accepted (ie. placed their faith in) God; 8 states that he had given them a promise; 9 states that He had not come to them; 10 and 11 state that the Holy Spirit and faith had come to them. The story proper begins at section 12. Sections 7 to 11 are clearly background information. Although RPA inflection occurs in 12, RPC inflection is used in the first two clauses (7 and 8). (Sections 9 and 10 exhibit RPI inflections, which are unspecified for Continuous aspect.) The events involved in sections 7 and 8 are the accepting of God, and the giving of a promise; both of which are inherently punctual. The narrator is not stating that Paul and Silas were continuing to accept God, and that God was continuing to give promises; instead the narrator is merely indicating the beginning of a section of narrative containing background information.

Another instance of RPC used to indicate backgrounding occurs in (32:89-90). (RPC inflection also occurs in the context preceding these two sections, but there it marks +Continuous aspect for events belonging to the main theme.)

(b) Procedural discourse

Procedural discourse may use FUT inflection, as has been stated earlier. However, when a procedural narrative is set in Remote Past time, and therefore deals with cultural or typical behaviour of ancestors or totemic beings, RPC inflection is used. In this context it may be translated as "X used to do Y", or simply as "X did Y". Story 43 is a procedural narrative explaining how women used to process cycad nuts. Several sections of this story have already been cited previously. The story is in two parts: the first 79 sections describe how women used to process the nuts to make flour. With just a couple of exceptions (see examples 264 and 265) all the verbs in this part of the story are inflected with RPC. Taking the examples in order of occurrence, see (136), (11), (185), (99), (288), (265), and (152). The second part of the story contrasts the present state of affairs with that obtaining in the past. This part of the story begins at section 80 and continues to the end. In this part, events are set in the context of Present time, and mostly take FUT inflection. (This use of FUT has been explained earlier, in section 4.4.) Two examples from this part of the story are (16) and (158).

It is unlikely that TPC can be used in a procedural discourse; or in a discourse dealing with normative behaviour or hypothetical events. In the procedural discourses which I have recorded, either FUT or RPC categories obtain. Normative or hypothetical behaviour generally uses FUT inflection; and in one case (where hypothetical events are involved), FI and TPI are used.

4.7 PRESENT AND PAST IRREALIS INFLECTIONS, AND IMPERATIVE

Imperative

In Djinang, the IMP inflection is homophonous with PRI and YPI inflections (in Djinba, IMP is marked differently than the latter two inflections). Hence in Djinang, the form of the IMP suffix indicates the conjugation class of the verb unambiguously. The suffixes are: -wi class 1; -rri class 2; and -yi class 3.

There are three pragmatic functions of IMP inflection: one is to give a strong Command (if addressed to a second person); another function is its use as a Hortative (if addressed to a first person(s)); and the third function is to make an Emphatic Statement expressing extreme Disapproval.

Some examples of IMP used as an imperative are (41), (48), (84), (141), (169), and (292). The following is a Negative Imperative; where IMP functions both as an Irrealis inflection, and as an Imperative. The scope of the initial NEG particle extends to the second clause. (Extension of the scope of NEG marking to subsequent clauses is a feature of Dj̄nang grammar which occurs not infrequently.) (NEG may similarly occur with FUT marking to express a polite Negative Imperative.) The verb in NEG clauses must always take an Irrealis inflection (ie. FI, PRI, YPI, TPI, or RPI). Negative Imperative clauses violate this general rule only apparently, since formally there is no difference between NEG with YPI (or PRI) and NEG with IMP; similarly for NEG with FI and NEG with FUT. Hence, for example, *ingki bini-yi* (65:43) can be glossed NEG do.thus-IMP 'do not do it that way!', or as NEG do.thus-PRI '(he) is not doing it that way', or as NEG do.thus-YPI '(he) did not do it that way'.

(306) *ingki-ban bil-ny-ildji watu-wi a nyaliki-dji-y*
 NEG-IM 3du-ACC-2plERG swear-IMP and however-INCHO-IMP
mari bilng-ildji djama
 [troubleUNM]_{ACC} 3duDAT-2plERG make

Don't swear at them nor by any means make trouble for them (32:155-6)

A previous example of IMP used as a Hortative appeared in (82). Two more examples of IMP used this way are given below. IMP does not occur in subordinate clauses, except that it may occur in direct quotations, such as in (307).

(307) *irra wangi-ni "Il gubi-yi, yuwiridji-ngir-gi*
 1sgDAT say-RPA 1duincERG leave-IMP new-OBL-DAT
il mili-ki
 1duincNOM look.for-FUT

He said to me, "Let's leave it (and) look for a new one". (34:665-7)

(308) *"Ngiy. Yili-mirri lim Kiru-wi."*
 INTERJ again-LOC 1plincNOM walk-IMP

"Yes. Let us follow after (you)". (34:897)

The following example illustrates IMP used to express Disapproval. The example comes from story 35, the description of the fight mentioned previously. At this point in the story, a relative is trying to intervene to stop the fight, and shame the men into submission. The last instance of IMP is the one we are concerned with. The speaker is not commanding the antagonists to shame him, but rather he is making an Emphatic Statement expressing Disapproval, to the effect that their actions are bringing him shame.

In the first clause, the *-yi* suffix is probably PRI rather than IMP. The narrator is expressing doubt as to the existence of feelings of shame in the antagonists, as a means of shaming them (otherwise a Realis inflection would have been used). The last clause contains the form *nyind-* which is, I believe, an abbreviated form of *nyini-y sit-IMP 'be!'* as appears in the preceding clauses; the *d* phoneme is epenthetic, and regularly occurs between a word-final alveolar nasal and a following word-initial *i* vowel. (Also, a statement by a listener has been omitted from the example.) The final word *guni-yi 1sgDAT shame-IMP* also requires further explanation. The root *guni-* shame-, to be strictly grammatical, should have had INCHO *-dji* as a first order suffix (as in the first clause). Its omission here is an instance of a performance error which occasionally obtains.

(309) "Nyali ku*ni*-*dji*-*yi*! Yu1 *nyini-y!* Yu1
 whereUNM shame-INCHO-PRI [manUNM]_{NOM} *sit-IMP* [manUNM]_{NOM}
nyini-y!" ... "Yu1 *nyind-irra guni-yi!"*
sit-IMP ... [manUNM]_{NOM} *sit-1sgDAT shame-IMP*
 "Where is your shame! Be a man! Be a man!" ... "Be a man, (you) shame me!" {35:69-70,73}

Present and Past Irrealis inflections: PRI, YPI, RPI, and TPI

As has been stated above, a NEG particle conditions the occurrence of an Irrealis inflection on the verb (provided there is a verb in the clause). Examples of this nature may be seen in (16), (154), (256), (257), and (261); and further examples need not be cited here.

The essential characteristic of an Irrealis inflection is that the event denoted by the verb did not obtain, (or will not obtain if referring to Future time, etc.). Alternatively, an Irrealis inflection indicates that there is doubt or uncertainty in the speaker's mind that the event did or will obtain. Negative clauses therefore obligatorily take Irrealis inflections. Clauses which express doubt, uncertainty, or hypotheticality will also take Irrealis inflections (but no NEG particle). Irrealis inflections also may obtain when the speaker is talking about normative or cultural actions, which people typically do. (In the latter instance, Irrealis inflections are not obligatory. As discussed in the preceding sections, FUT or RPC may instead

be used.) Irrealis inflections are also used in protasis-apodosis constructions, as in (180) and (181); and also to express Potentiality of an event obtaining, as in (176) and (292).

Irrealis inflections may apparently also obtain in subordinate clauses. I have few examples of this; but two instances occur in (48) and (291). It seems that there are no grammatical constraints involved; but rather that the conditions required for the use of an Irrealis inflection in a subordinate clause obtain only rarely.

Examples (310) and (311) illustrate Irrealis inflections being used to express doubt or uncertainty. And (312) is an example of TPI being used in the context of Future time to express a Potential function. TPI may be used instead of FI when the speaker wishes to signal a punctual nuance, as in this example. Similarly, TPI can be used in the context of Present time, as in (313). The PRI function is +Continuous; so that when -Continuous is required in the context of Present time, TPI is used instead.

Example (310) was uttered while I was sitting talking to my language teacher. He looked up and saw a stranger alighting from the local bus, some two hundred metres away. (310) is what he spontaneously uttered. He was expressing his uncertainty as to which camp the stranger had come to visit. Clearly the time context is Present time (ie. the time of utterance). In fact it was this utterance which first alerted me to the existence of a PRI category in the language. Example (311) is taken from a hypothetical narrative in which the subject is uncertain who it is he is seeing, and so utters (311). And (312) indicates that the reason for Paul and Silas' hands being tied with chains was because they potentially could otherwise escape during the night.

(310) nyali-ng yulgu-w
 where-LOC come.to-PRI

Where might he be coming to? {65:30}

(311) a djining djama-gin-pi_i dji+ny-irr nya-wi
 - [thisUNM work-PROP-PL]_{ACC} 3p1+ACC-1sgERG see-PRI

I may be seeing the/my workers {66:122}

(312) bintji maliri bil yulgu-nyir
 otherwise nightUNM 3p1NOM escape-TPI

Otherwise they may escape in the night {32:90}

5. SYNTAX

This chapter deals with Djinang syntax, including Noun Phrases and the Verb Complex. As for the previous chapters, comparison will occasionally be made with Morphy's analysis of Djapu. The first section will deal with the Noun Phrase; the second will deal with the Verb Complex; the third with the Clause; the fourth with Verbless Clauses; the last with the Sentence and higher levels.

Because of the phenomenon of "free word order", it is not very helpful to characterise syntactic structures in Djinang according to the principles of immediate constituent analysis. For any posited structure, there will always be grammatical exceptions to it; "word order" is only sometimes a helpful concept. It is true that there is considerably more freedom of distribution for constituents of any posited unit than for languages which mark grammatical relations using word order. But it is not true to assume from this that there are no ordering principles in the language; or that ordering principles may be violated without changing meaning, or without producing an ungrammatical sentence. Where order of constituents is variable, it is usually still possible to make useful generalizations in terms of the distribution of types of information, rather than the distribution of word classes. That is, to state structure in functional terms, rather than in formal terms.

5.1 THE NOUN PHRASE

NPs in Djinang are structured very similarly to NPs in other Yolngu languages, including Djapu. Morphy (1983:82-7) gives an account of Djapu NPs which, excepting lexical differences, is almost an account of Djinang NPs. This is hardly surprising considering the close genetic ties between Yolngu languages. Nevertheless, there are some differences between the two languages in terms of the structure of NPs, and the patterns of case marking which obtain.

As we shall see later, it is possible in Djinang (and any Yolngu language for that matter) for very long nominal constructions to be used to refer to participants. These constructions, or expressions, may be discontinuous as well - where the verb complex typically intervenes between the two parts of such expressions. There are two possible ways of analysing these expressions. One way would be to assume that each such expression consists of just one superordinate NP which dominates several subordinate NPs. The other way is to assume that such expressions are appositive NP constructions, with no dominating NP. The facts favour the latter view. For example, there are no markers of subordination of one NP to another. Each appositive NP is a valid and sufficient NP structure in itself. In the context of actual speech events, speakers very obviously build word pictures of discourse participants by juxtaposing an

indefinite number of NPs, each of which refers to the same participant and which adds further descriptive detail to what has gone before. Each appositive NP is characteristically delimited by pause, and other constituents (such as the verb complex) may be interposed between successive NPs which refer to the same participant (or even between parts of a single NP). Case, when it occurs overtly, may occur in any one or more of the NPs which are in juxtaposition - but often it occurs in just one of them, and which one it will occur in is not predictable. If it were predictable, we may have had grounds for assuming that NP to be superordinate, and the others subordinate to it. For reasons such as these, I prefer the second view to the first. Therefore, in order to refer to these appositive NP constructions in some consistent way, I will use the term "complex referential expression". This means a stretch of speech, possibly discontinuous, comprising two or more NPs, each of which refers to the same participant.

In Djinang, a NP may consist of one or more constituents, one of which must function as the head of the NP. One variation from Djapu is that in Djinang it is comparatively rare for more than one nominal of a multi-nominal NP to be marked for the same case. Repetition of the case marker is more likely to occur for local cases (PERL, ALL, ABL, and LOC), and for ERG or INSTR cases; to a much lesser extent for DAT or OR; and rarely for ACC. Djinang strongly prefers to mark case only once for each complex referential expression - no matter how complex the internal structure of that expression is. In fact, the more complex is the referential expression, then the less likely is the same case to be used more than once within it. Most instances of repeated case marking within the one constituent involve just two nominals in a single NP. We shall see examples illustrating these comments later.

Yolngu languages permit discontinuous constituents, and this is especially prevalent in complex referential expressions. Both Djinang and Djapu commonly utilize discontinuous constructions when the complex referential expression has numerous constituents; typically a pronoun, or perhaps a minimal NP, will occur in pre-verbal position, and in post-verbal position there will occur the head, or one or more constituents modifying the pre-verbal constituent - and these modifying constituents may themselves be NPs. For example: (32:18) illustrates a single discontinuous NP. Preceding the verb complex there occurs the pronoun and anaphoric deictic, and after the VC occurs the head. And (32:21) has a similar discontinuous NP (lacking the anaphoric deictic in this instance). In (32:32) there occurs a complex referential expression which is discontinuous. Preceding the VC occurs the NP *ngunung djanguny* 'that story', and following the VC occurs the other NP *ngunung wanngirnyakining* 'the one having saving (power)'.

In Djinang, the basic mechanism for creating complex nominal structures is apposition. Expressions of this type may commonly contain up to about eight (or more) words. For example, consider the following expression, which immediately follows the Verb Complex (VC) and is found in (32:87-8): *ngunung, bala, ngunu wanngarriny, prisoner-bi bala ngunu wana thatUNM*

houseUNM thatUNM what's.it's.nameUNM prisoner-OR house-OR thatUNM bigUNM 'that large building for prisoners'. This particular expression is also covertly marked for ACC case. The expression involves three NPs in apposition; each NP adding descriptive detail to what has gone before. Earlier in this dissertation I have used the term "descriptive appositional NP" for NPs used like this with appositive function.

Morphy (ibid) lists various permitted constituents of a NP. It is worthwhile to repeat her list here, since the same set of constituents may likewise be found in Djinang NPs. Where possible I will direct the reader to examples previously cited which illustrate the various constituents.

(a) head function manifested by two or more nominals having generic - specific relationship: wali-gi-ban, milgali-gi food-DAT-IM cycad.nut-DAT in (288).

(b) pronoun (with or without other nominals): biling bugi 3du bloodUNM in (298).

(c) nominals modifying the head: ngunyili bunggawa-li-ban, wana-li yul-ili ngunung, ngurrdawalangu djina thatALL boss-ALL-IM big-ALL man-ALL thatUNM leaderUNM 3plDAT 'to that boss, to that important man, to their leader' (32:54-5). This complex referential expression has three NPs, the heads being bunggawa, yul, and ngurrdawalangu; and the modifying nominals being deictics, a noun, and a reduced pronoun.

(d) a dual or plural modifier (note: in Djinang these have become suffixes): yul-mirrpili, yul bininggili, girrarrk-mirrpili man-PAUC manUNM twoUNM big.name-PAUC 'two important-named men' (19:2).

(e) a numeral: see above, and also bininggili wagirri twoUNM crowUNM 'two crows' (20:91).

(f) a deictic (either manifesting the head and functioning as a demonstrative pronoun; or modifying the head and functioning as a deictic determiner): ngunu thatUNM in (132) functioning as demonstrative pronoun; djining yul-mirrpili thisUNM man-PAUC 'these two men' in (32:48) functioning as a deictic determiner, and similarly gurrbu-w ngunung place-SPEC thatUNM 'that specific place' in (32:91).

(g) an inalienably possessed part: ngirk irri-ny djin minigi-m bone 1sg-ACC 3plERG carry-PRES 'they are carrying my bones' in (50:333).

(h) a genitive qualifier: *nyan-nga ganydjarr-mirrpm* 3sg-GEN power-PERL 'through his power' in (142).

(i) noun-PROP as a modifying nominal: *ngungung djanguny* VC *ngungung wanngir-nya-kining* thatUNM storyUNM VC thatUNM save-NMLSR-PROP (note, VC = Verb Complex) 'that story' VC 'that one having saving (power)' in (14).

(j) a quantifying nominal: ... *yidjipila, bukmak-ban nibi* ... childrenUNM all-IM 1plinc '... and the children, (in fact) everybody' in (22:170).

(k) an indefinite determiner: *wili ngunu-pilangi-r* whoERG that-INDEF-ERG 'whoever' in (178).

(l) a locational qualifier: *nambidi bala-mirr* insideUNM house-LOC 'inside the house' in (120).

Not only do the same constituents occur as in Djapu, but the same constraints on distribution also obtain, in the majority of cases. Hence, if a pronoun occurs in an NP, then it always is the initial constituent of the NP. Nominals having a modifying function may occur either before or after the head, though there is a strong tendency for GEN-marked nominals to precede the head. Deictic modifiers may precede or follow the head, and there is a preference for pre-head position (except when the head is manifested by a pronoun - the pronoun will then be first). Also, a deictic generally will be contiguous to the head - whether in pre-head position or post-head position. Adjectival nominals may precede or follow the head, though post-head position seems to be slightly preferred.

There is a general ordering principle within the NP: and that is that Generic elements precede Specific elements. The requirement that a pronoun, if present, be the first constituent is an example of this ordering principle. Similarly, the high incidence of the deictic *ngungung* (having demonstrative pronoun function) in NP-initial position is another example of the principle. This ordering principle may extend over clauses, as well as within the NP. Consider (315), where the subject reference is made progressively more definite with each clause. The first and second subject NPs are merely a pronoun; the next involves nouns; and the last NP gives the names - which in this case are animal names, since the story is from the Dreamtime.

(315) biling bil nyini-nyi, biling bil nyini-ny,
 3duNOM 3duNOM sit-RPC 3duNOM 3duNOM sit-RPC
 bunggawa-mirrpili, mir ngurrdawalangu-mirrpili
 [boss-PAUC like leader-PAUC
 biling bil nyini-ny, warngarri, Warpurr,
 3duNOM] NOM 3duNOM sit-RPC [what's.their.nameUNM PossumUNM
 Wagirri, biling bil nyini-ny,
 CrowUNM 3duNOM] NOM 3duNOM sit-RPC

They were sitting, they were sitting, two bosses, that is, two leaders, they were sitting;
 what's their name - Possum and Crow, they were sitting {20:1-4}

It is possible for a deictic marked with the COMPL affix and functioning as an anaphoric determiner, to co-occur in the same complex referential expression as a deictic (lacking the COMPL affix) having a deictic determiner function. An example occurs in (195): nyani ngunu-kirri, ngunung prisoner djaka-gining 3sg that-COMPL thatUNM prisonerUNM help-PROP 'that afore-mentioned prisoner caretaker'. This is best viewed as two NPs in apposition, the first being nyani ngunu-kirri. Another example, almost identical, occurs in (32:100).

As stated above, discontinuous NPs or discontinuous complex referential expressions are quite common. This is especially true when deictics are present, and very often the deictic is manifested in each part of the discontinuous expression. This repetition of the deictic should be considered as having a cohesive function, as well as as functioning as either a deictic determiner or a demonstrative pronoun, as the case may be. For example, consider the following discontinuous expression, where VC represents the position of the verb complex: ngunu VC chain ngunung+a, ga warngarriny+a, nu ga gumbirri gundjirr-mirrpili thatUNM VC chainUNM thatUNM+NF and so.and.soUNM+NF footUNM and handUNM wrist-PAUC 'that one VC the chains, (on) feet and hands, both wrists' in (32:96-7). In this complex referential expression, the pre-verbal instance of ngunu 'that' functions as a demonstrative pronoun, and the post-verbal occurrence of ngununga 'that' in the appositional NPs after the VC has a cohesive function, indicating semantic linkage to the pre-verbal demonstrative pronoun. In the next paragraph, I will present some discontinuous NPs to illustrate the phenomenon. VC represents the position of the Verb Complex. The examples are taken from story 32 and the glosses may be seen there. Note also that ACC case occurs only once in each of the fifth and last examples.

(32:52)	rrupiya	VC	wana
(32:44)	djani ngunu	VC	ngunung miyilk-ang djama-gin-pili
(32:60)	djin-gira-pi djanguny	VC	a wurpa-pi wurpa-pi
(32:95)	djabir	VC	djabir ngunung
(32:33)	ngunung gurrbi	VC	ngirki ga nginmili-ny
(32:52)	djini-wil-tji ...	VC	ngunu wurpa-pi yul-bi
(32:54)	ngunu	VC	Paul-nyi ga Silas

This is just a sample list, and many more examples of discontinuous referential expressions may be seen in the same story. Usually it is the VC which interrupts a referential expression; though it can be other constituents (with or without the VC), as in (32:52). See also (330) in section 5.3, where both the Agent and Object constituents are discontinuous, and which also contains a relative clause. This example illustrates the considerable complexity that can be attained if many coreferential NPs are juxtaposed to form complex referential expressions.

None of the enumerated potential constituents of a NP is obligatory. There must be a constituent manifesting the head for a NP to be present in surface structure; but the head may be filled by any of the enumerated constituents - except for the PL or PAUC affixes of course. If one of PL or PAUC occur, it must be affixed to a noun.

Dj̄inang, like Djapu and a number of other Australian languages (Morphy *ibid*:87) has a NP construction in which a first or second person non-plural pronoun is used, and only a subset of the referents of the pronoun are further specified by one or more nominals (typically names). This is because for first or second person pronouns one of the referents (or a group) are fully delimited by the pronoun. For example: the 1duexc pronoun ngilinyi 'we two' necessarily includes the speaker; while the 2du pronoun nyumi 'you two' necessarily includes the addressee. In such circumstances, further marking is required only to make definite the other participant(s) not unambiguously specified by the pronoun. Example (316) illustrates; the speaker is speaking to Manbarrarra, so that only Wa₁ needs further specification. (This person is dead, and I have refrained from giving his full name.)

(316) damba nyuni marr-gi, nyumi Wa₁.
 [damperUNM]_{ACC} 2sgERG get-FUT [2duERG Wa₁.UNM]_{ERG}

You and Wa₁ get some damper! {22:27}

Inalienable Possession

Alienable and Inalienable possession was discussed in relation to the PROP and ALIEN affixes in section 3.1. Alienable possession may also be expressed using the GEN suffix; where the possessor takes the GEN marking and typically precedes the constituent denoting the possessed item; and it is quite possible for the construction to be discontinuous as in example (293).

The typical means of indicating inalienable possession is juxtaposition of the possessed item to the possessor item. There is no special marker of the possessive relation as there is for alienable possession. Instances of this construction occur in (298) and (299) where *biling budi* is to be interpreted as a possessive construction 'their blood'; and similarly *nyani budi* means 'his blood'. A further example is (288); where *gungi libi* is a possessive construction 'our thoughts' (note: 'thoughts rising up' is an idiom for expectant waiting). Another example is (53) of section 2.8. Body part nominals (including psyche terminology) are prevalent in constructions of this type.

Coordinate Noun Phrases

Multi-head NPs are possible when non-coreferential nominals form coordinate NPs. The particle *ga* 'and' (or the abbreviated form *a* 'and') may optionally be used to overtly indicate the coordination. Examples may be seen in the cited texts as follows: (32:6, 45-6, 53, 89, 96-97, 113) (34:275) A further example occurs in (47) of section 2.8; another in (298) of section 4.5. If more than two nominals are coordinated, then *ga* (or *a*) usually obtains only preceding the last nominal, though it may occur elsewhere instead. An example of the latter follows; another occurs in (150) of section 3.2.

(316a) *djin* *darrarra-miy-gi* *gunydjirri-r+ta* *mar'mingi-r+ta*
3plERG burst-CAUS-FUT father-ERG+NF grandfather-ERG+NF
ga *wuwa-r+ta* *marratja-r+ta* *walkir-li*
and o.brother-ERG+NF grandchild-ERG+NF child-ERG

They would crack it open; the fathers, grandfathers, and brothers, grandsons (and) sons (would do so) (field notes)

It is quite common for a coordinate NP to lack any overt marker of coordination, with merely juxtaposition of the heads as the indicator of coordination; as in a clause such as *nyuni, ngarri, il giri- \emptyset -ban* 2sgNOM 1sgNOM 1duincNOM go-FUT-IM 'You (and) I, let us go now'. Another example is the following.

(316b) bukmak nuli-dji giri-Ø, miyilk, yul
 [allUNM]_{NOM} by.foot-INSTR go-FUT [womanUNM manUNM]_{NOM}
 All went, (both) women (and) men (22:232)

Another common way of indicating coordination is by the use of stem-final *a* vowels having NF function (see section 3.8). These may occur in conjunction with *ga* (or *a*), as in (316a) above; or they may occur without any coordinating particle, as in (22:218).

5.2 THE VERB COMPLEX

The only obligatory constituent of a VC is a non-inflecting verb root, or an inflected verb. There are no compelling grounds for analysing a non-inflecting verb root followed (whether immediately or after other constituents) by an inflected verb as being constituents of a single clause. When a non-inflecting verb occurs, the inflected verb in a following clause may sometimes be synonymous or partly synonymous to the non-inflecting verb. Non-inflecting verbs used in this way give stylistic effect. They do not take reduced pronouns, but merely preview the type of action denoted by the inflected verb which follows. (In fact, non-inflecting verbs never take reduced pronouns, no matter how the former are used.) Occasional synonymy or near-synonymy is not sufficient grounds for treating the non-inflecting verb as part of the clause having the inflected verb. And further reasons are given below. Example (317) illustrates an inflected verb co-occurring with a non-inflecting partly synonymous verb root; in this example, *warrwarr* is regarded as manifesting a minimal clause.

When non-inflecting verbs occur, usually they are not synonymous with the main verb in a contiguous clause. In such circumstances, they are being used suppletively for inflecting verbs, when the events denoted by the non-inflecting verbs are highly predictable. They cannot be regarded as constituents of a serial verb construction within a single clause (Foley and Olson, 1984) for instance, since each of such non-inflecting verbs may be replaced by synonymous inflected verbs (or by clauses containing synonymous inflected verbs) whereby the resulting sentence is a paraphrase of the original sentence. It is best to regard a string of verbs from the class of non-inflecting verb roots as a string of minimal clauses. Examples (318) to (320) illustrate this behaviour.

Example (318) illustrates two minimal clauses, manifested by non-inflecting verb roots; while (319) and (320) illustrate typical uses of non-inflecting verb roots. In the latter two examples, after the action denoted by the inflected verb, the next action is highly predictable - and involves the same participants (and especially the same semantic subject). In these conditions such predictable actions may be expressed by a non-inflecting verb root, provided

such a verb root exists which has the required meaning. Only a small proportion of inflecting verbs actually may be replaced by synonymous non-inflecting verb roots, for while the latter number perhaps many dozens, they certainly do not number hundreds or thousands. The non-inflecting verb roots are completely unrelated to their inflecting counterparts in terms of their phonological shape; and they may not be used to form compound verbs. They have all the characteristics of being loan words, and indeed, many of them are known to be of Macassan origin (see Walker and Zorc, 1981).

(317) warrwarr wini-ny kiri-nya..., Djakalabirri-Ø
 go.quickly return-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR Djakalabirri-LOC

Going quickly we returned all the way to Djakalabirri {22:186}

(318) warrwarr bur
 go.quickly arrive

(We) went quickly (and we) arrived {22:101}

(319) wurp+a dji+ta garrpi-n+a yarim ga-ngil+a rarr,
 once+NF thisLOC+NF tie.up-RPC+NF just take-RPA+NF drop
 a madjirri, garrpi-n+a, a rarr,
 and again tie.up-RPC+NF and drop

(We) tied up (the tools) here once, (then) just took them and dropped them (into the boat), and again we tied up (more) and dropped them (in the boat) {22:135-6}

(320) nginibi wini-n+a djut-pan
 1plexcNDM return-RPA+NF sit-IM

We returned (and) sat down then {22:201}

In the remainder of this section we shall discuss only inflecting verbs. When the VC contains an inflecting verb there are a variety of other potential constituents of the VC which may co-occur with it. None of these additional constituents may occur with a non-inflecting verb root. The NEG particles *ingki* and *wirr* are not analysed as being part of the VC; mainly because they may occur either clause initially, or immediately preceding the VC. Similarly for modal particles; which likewise may occur clause initially, or preceding the VC. Also, as far as I know from the data at hand, non-inflecting verb roots may not co-occur with modal particles nor with NEG particles.

It is within the VC that word order is most tightly constrained in Djinang syntax. For this reason it is possible to write structural formulae which appear to be exceptionless. I give such formulae below. There are two possibilities: if one of the DIRECT particles *bi* HITH 'hither' or *minyɔ̃* THITH 'thither' occurs, then no ACC or DAT reduced pronoun (RED-PRO) may co-occur. Manifestations of a VC will therefore conform to one of the structural descriptions below. In these descriptions, + means "obligatory", while ± means "optional". The restriction that DIRECT particles may not co-occur with DAT or ACC RED-PROs may ultimately turn out to be too strict. There are no exceptions in dozens of instances in the data at hand. However, I believe the following to be the basis for the restriction. Clauses in which two RED-PRO obtain are relatively infrequent; and when an O or IO is being cross-referenced by an ACC or DAT RED-PRO, the clause is highly likely to be manifesting a discourse function of participant tracking. That is, establishing reference to a participant(s) which will thereafter be omitted from surface structure in subsequent clauses. In such a circumstance, it would be a case of information overload to include a DIRECT particle in the same clause - presuming the verb is compatible with the function of the DIRECT particle. At this point I cannot prove these assertions, although they are consistent with the data at hand. If these assertions are correct, it may be possible to elicit single sentence counter-examples to the restriction that DIRECT particles and a DAT or ACC RED-PRO may not co-occur.

VC = ± PERF ± DIRECT ± RECIP ± [RED-PRO]_{ERG/NOM} + VERB ± AUX

VC = ± PERF ± [RED-PRO]_{ACC/DAT} ± RECIP ± [RED-PRO]_{ERG/NOM} + VERB ± AUX

There are thus six potential constituents of a VC. Only the main verb is obligatory. The constituents are therefore: (a) the PERF particle *ngurrumi* 'already'; (b) one of the DIRECT particles *bi* 'hither' or *minyɔ̃* 'thither'; (c) the RECIP particle *inyɔ̃* (see section 3.17); (d) one or two reduced pronouns, the NOM or ERG reduced pronoun always precedes the main verb, and the ACC or DAT reduced pronoun always precedes the RECIP particle (if present) - otherwise it precedes the subject reduced pronoun; (e) the main (inflected) verb; and (f) an auxiliary verb, which must immediately follow the main verb.

The combination of a DIRECT particle and the RECIP particle is uncommon. Situations in which both would be required in the one clause rarely obtain. DIRECT particles occur most commonly with intransitive verbs - such as verbs of motion; while RECIP does not occur often with such verbs. One example is given below. The narrator had just speared a wounded buffalo; and *fat* 'jumped out' of the wound made by the spear. The expression for 'jump' is RECIP (having reflexive function) followed by the verb 'throw'; hence literally it means 'throw oneself'.

(321) yarim gultji bi-nydji ngu+li-ban,
 just [fatUNM]_{NOM} HITH-RECIP throw+RPA-IM

The fat just jumped out towards (me) then {34:428}

Collocations of the various constituents may be seen in earlier chapters, and also in the cited texts. The PERF particle does not occur often; an instance of its occurrence was given in (255) of section 3.15, where it precedes the THITH DIRECT particle. Instances of DAT or ACC reduced pronouns may be seen in section 2.8; and RECIP is discussed in section 3.17. Auxiliary verbs are discussed in section 3.13. The structural descriptions above indicate that only one auxiliary verb may follow the main verb. This is true in literally scores of instances in the database. However, in just one clause. (see example 154 of section 3.3) there occurred two auxiliary verbs following the main verb. The first was the PROG auxiliary, and the second was the HABIT auxiliary. This collocation has occurred only once in several years of collecting Djinang data.

5.3 THE CLAUSE

Most of the resources of Djinang grammar lie at the levels of morphology and the syntax of NPs and the VC. At levels higher than the phrase, there are much fewer generalizations which can be made. The clause is such a level. One way of categorizing clauses is by their inherent transitivity type, which is a function of the transitivity type of the main verb. This schema would generate just five different clause types: (a) verbless clauses, (b) intransitive clauses, (c) semitransitive clauses, (d) transitive clauses, and (e) ditransitive clauses. These clause types then differ only in whether or not they contain a verb, how many arguments the verb takes (that is, its valency), and the case marking of the various arguments which may obtain.

Table 5.1 gives the different clause types, the valency of the main verb, and the arguments (with cases) of verbs belonging to each clause type. The arguments are presented in the order (semantic) Subject, Object, and Indirect Object. In the Table, CRE represents a complex referential expression of any complexity; which may be a NP or a string of NPs, and which may be discontinuous, as discussed in section 5.2. It should also be borne in mind that ACC case is rarely marked with -HU nominals; and that some nominals require a preceding OBL marker when ACC, DAT, or ERG cases obtain (see chapter 2). There is seldom a +HU nominal as the second argument (ie. the O argument) of a ditransitive clause; and hence usually the O argument is UNMarked for case overtly. The VC symbol represents the Verb Complex; and the subscripts indicate the transitivity class of its main verb. Each of the clause types, with the exception of verbless clauses, may take peripheral extensions; such as NPs marked for LOC,

ALL, ABL, or PERL. However, these do not subcategorize clauses, and so are omitted from the Table. No syntactic significance should be attached to the relative order of arguments in the Table. Also, O or IO arguments can sometimes be marked by ALL case in certain circumstances; but this has not been included in the Table. See section 2.8 for details. (The use of ALL does not impose a subcategorization of verbs which is different than the one shown.) For verbless clauses, the Comment is nearly always NOM case. Most apparent counter-examples actually have an underlying verb (usually 'go', 'sit', 'lie.down' or 'stand') which has been deleted from surface structure. Besides NOM case for the Comment, DAT or OR can obtain, though this rarely happens. For example: [dʒini wali] [nyun-ki+nma] thisUNM foodUNM 2sg-DAT+2sgDAT 'this food (is) for you'; and [dʒanim maypal] [mani-bi] thatUNM meatUNM river-OR 'that meat (is) from the river'. In the Table, cases which obtain only with very low frequency will be placed within parentheses.

Table 5.1 Clauses Categorized by Transitivity Type

Transitivity Type	Valency	Verb Complex and Arguments			
Verbless	-	CRE _{NOM}	CRE _{NOM} (/OR/DAT)		
Intransitive	1	CRE _{NOM}	VC _{intrans}		
Semitransitive	2	CRE _{NOM}	CRE _{DAT}	VC _{semitr}	
Transitive	2	CRE _{ERG}	CRE _{ACC}	VC _{trans}	
Ditransitive	3	CRE _{ERG}	CRE _{ACC}	CRE _{ACC}	VC _{ditrans}
	3	CRE _{ERG}	CRE _{ACC}	CRE _{DAT}	VC _{ditrans}

Classification of clauses by transitivity type is somewhat trivial. A more insightful way of describing clauses is by the distribution of types of information within them. There are two basic types of clause in this view: (1) verbless clauses, which have an information structure of Topic - Comment, and (2) clauses which contain a verb, which have an information structure of: Onset Information - Negator Information - Setting Information - Referential Information - Predication Information - Complementary Information - Coda Information, in that order.

Topic and Comment are discussed in more detail in section 5.4. Each is manifested by a NP or string of juxtaposed NPs. The Topic takes NOM case, while the Comment nearly always takes NOM case. It is the second information structure which I will discuss in more detail here. The constituents which manifest each information type are sometimes of diverse kinds, but nevertheless have a well-defined function in the clause. Only Predication information is obligatory in a clause. All other information types are optional. There is some variability of order in the information types, but it is relatively infrequent. The major proportion of clauses

conform to the order suggested above. Random sampling of texts reveals that departures from the above order are in the range of 5 to 7 percent of clauses. Table 5.2 gives a list of types of constituents which commonly manifest each information type. In the Table, "pt" is an abbreviation of "particle", and "interrog" an abbreviation of "interrogative". Also, in the Referential column I have listed separately some of the less common word classes which may obtain as realizations of the NP head.

Table 5.2 Distribution of Information in Verbal Clauses

Onset	Negator	Setting	Referential	Predicate	Complementary	Coda
particle	NEG	temporal pt	interrog pronoun	VC	qualifying NPs	COMPL particle
INTERJ		locational pt	deictic	nominal	local NPs	some particles
ABL deictic		deictic	pronoun		adverb	
			NP		adverbial NP	
			ALLative NP		reported speech	
			NEG wirr		complement clause	
			some verb roots			

Of the 5 to 7 percent of exceptions to the suggested order; the exceptions in the random samples were mostly as follows. (1) Setting information sometimes obtains in post-VC position; (2) an overt Object may occur in post-VC position (apparently when the O is 'old information'); (3) NEG particle, or a non-inflecting verb root may occur immediately preceding the VC.

Table 5.2 is equivalent to a Tagmemic 'function and filler' description of a clause. The main difference is that there is no attempt to subclassify clauses to set up an inventory of 'emic' types by some a priori assumption concerning what constitutes diagnostic differences between types of clauses. While I find a Tagmemic approach less than satisfactory in many respects, I nevertheless believe that it handles the structure of Djinang clauses well; at least for the majority of clauses which comply with the structure posited above. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss aspects of the fillers in Table 5.2; and explain some of the common permutations of order which may obtain.

Firstly, the Onset and Coda. Example (322) illustrates COMPL occurring in the Coda; further examples are (189) to (191) of section 3.7. The two examples below further illustrate the behaviour of non-inflecting verb roots. In (322) and (323), the non-inflecting verb root is synonymous with the inflecting verb which follows, and as outlined in section 5.2. Example

(322) would be analysed as three consecutive clauses. Example (323) illustrates how the non-inflecting verb may sometimes occur preceding the VC. This happens extremely rarely. In such a case, the non-inflecting verb is being used parenthetically; it is only when the non-inflecting verb root and the following inflected verb are synonymous that the former may be used parenthetically preceding the VC as in (323).

(322) libi windi-kilibi-la..., girri,
 1pl_{exc}ERG ant.bed-place.against-RPA+DUR COMPL
 guda, bu-purrtjirri-ny
 roast DIST-roast-RPC

We cooked (it) in an antbed oven till it was done. We roasted (it). {34:388-9}

(323) ninini marri, git, bil ran.gi+rri
 [smallUNM probably]_{ACC} speared 3duERG spear+RPA

They speared a small (buffalo) probably {34:94}

The full set of particles (other than those confined to the VC) may occur in clause initial position. Some of these, such as girri SEQU marker 'then next'; ban 'on the one/other hand'; gima 'because'; and so forth; can only occur in clause initial position. Some however can occur in the Coda as well, and still have the same function. The most common ones of this type are those used for exemplification; such as miri 'like', galkngu 'for example', bilapilang 'its like that', and bitma 'seemingly'. (See section 3.19 for examples.) The COMPL particle (having COMPLETative function) can only occur clause finally, as in (322) above (see also section 3.7). We have also seen how ABL-marked deictic forms such as ngunu-ngir that-ABL can be used to indicate temporal sequence (see examples 18 and 19).

It is also possible for two particles to occur together manifesting the clause Onset; for example, bilapilang miri its.like.that like 'for it's like that' occurs occasionally; and the abbreviated ga 'and' particle quite often occurs before another particle. Linking particles typically occur clause initially; and similarly for modal particles (though marri 'possibly' sometimes occurs in the Coda). Particles also sometimes occur immediately preceding the VC, though this may only be discerned when there is some other information type preceding the modal particle as in (324).

(324) a nguli-pan marrga-ldji gungi-yigili-gi
 and thatLOC-IM therefore-2p1NOM head-swim-FUT

And therefore at that place you now can be baptised {32:143}

Now consider the Negator function. NEG particles occur most frequently in clause initial position; or if a NEG particle occurs in conjunction with another particle, then the NEG particle will usually follow it – and especially if the other particle is a linking particle. An example of NEG co-occurring with *miri* 'like' is given in (325); another example is (32:9); and a further example in the wider database is (33:44) NEG particles will sometimes obtain immediately preceding the VC, as in (326). NEG particles may not conveniently be considered part of the VC, for they most often precede Referential and / or Setting information. A single NEG particle may occasionally have multi-clause scope – the NEG particle occurring in the first clause, and not occurring overtly in one (or perhaps two) following clauses which are also semantically Negative clauses. (This can be treated as deletion of recoverable information.)

(325) *miri ingki bi bil giri-Ø bapili gurrbi-li*
 like NEG HITH 3duNOM come-FUT thisALL place-ALL
 For they will not come to this place (66:72)

(326) *ngarri ingki-ban djina-rr pultji-nir*
 1sgERG NEG-IM 3pIDAT-1sgERG tell-RPI
 I did not tell them then (34:118)

Consider now Setting information. This information can be shifted to post-VC position, but it is quite rare for this to obtain. Setting information usually comes early in the clause because its scope is the whole clause; and usually the scope of Setting information extends to subsequent clauses. Some examples are (16), (17), (18), (19), (82), (83), (92), and (95).

Consider next Referential information. This category includes whatever constituents manifest each of the obligatory arguments of a verb of given transitivity type. In the case of ditransitive verbs, it is rare for three arguments of the verb to each obtain in the one clause; usually only the O argument occurs, since the semantic Subject and the IO are typically cross-referenced by reduced pronouns. When the O argument occurs in such circumstances, it usually precedes the VC as in (89); but if the Subject and / or IO occur overtly, then the O is likely to occur in post-VC position as in (327).

(327) *mir yagaṭay yagaṭay ngirr-a*
 like [tabooUNM tabooUNM]_{ACC} [1sg-GEN
wuw-wili-ngi-m biliny djin bultji-n
 older.brother-PL-OBL-KINPROP]_{ERG} 3duACC 3p1ERG tell-RPA
yagirri
 [nameUNM]_{ACC}

So my older brothers told the two (now dead) persons my name (34:186)

When there is a change of subject participant focus; the Subject pronoun occurs as a full form pronoun and is fronted; typically to clause initial position, though it may occur following a clause initial particle if the latter is present. Examples (13) and (72) illustrate this, and see also (32:8, 16, 21, 29, 35, 44, 74, etc.). This is one instance where Referential information regularly occurs in fronted position. This is a discourse level phenomenon.

It also appears that in the Referential information position we should include ALL-marked NPs, (and probably also ABL-marked NPs) provided there is a motion verb, or verb of transfer (such as *ga-* 'take', or *birru-* 'bring', or *bagili-* 'fetch', etc.) as the main verb in the VC. NPs marked for ALL case would normally be treated as peripheral extensions to the clause; but with verbs of the type mentioned above the goal of the motion, or the terminus of the transfer, are marked by ALL case and more often precede the VC than follow it. This is probably an instance of analogical change; where the goal (or terminus) of such verbs is diachronically coming to be regarded as a core argument because a goal (or terminus) is inherent in the meaning of such verbs. See (34:212, 221, 253, 257, 268, 271, 273, 277) for some examples. The situation with stance verbs and NPs marked for LOC case is more ambivalent: both pre-VC and post-VC positions are common. It is probably best to treat those as peripheral extensions to the clause, which may occur in pre-VC position as an alternative to their normal position as manifesting Complementary information following the VC.

It is not necessary to discuss Predication information further. I will give just one example of the Predication manifested by a nominal. The 'correct' form for the verb would have been *gurrmal-dj-nyi* circumcised-INCHO-RPC in this example. The presence of a reduced pronoun preceding *gurrmal* indicates that the speaker has merely failed to verbalise the nominal in the normal way using INCHO. The INCHO morpheme has merged with the stem-final *tj* of *butjbutj* (and *i* elides between a laminal stop and following *ny*).

(328) *ngarri butjbutj-ny ingki+rr gurrmal*
 1sgNOM uncircumcisedINCHO-RPC NEG+1sgNOM circumcised
 I was uncircumcised, I was not circumcised (34:595-6)

Lastly, consider Complementary information. This is the 'catch all' position. Here are manifested the latter portions of discontinuous complex referential expressions, or NPs. In fact, in this position (ie. after the VC) any modificatory information is placed; such as descriptive appositional NPs, adverbs, adverbial NPs, and peripheral extensions of the clause such as NPs marked by local cases (ALL, ABL, PERL, and LOC). Reported speech is commonly in this position (after such verbs as *bultji-* 'tell', *wangi-* 'say', *bintji-* 'do thus', etc.); though reported speech is sometimes placed preceding the VC (which must be a minimal expression such as 'he said', etc.). An example in which this variation of order obtains is (332) below.

Post-VC is also a common position for complement clauses, as in (24), (48), (256), (259), and (291); and for repetition of old information.

Subordinate Clauses

In section 3.18 the COL noun *mala* was discussed. Constructions using *mala* are NPs in which the head is realized by *mala* and the preceding constituent(s) modify the head. The preceding constituent may be a clause, as is explained in section 3.18. This is one type of subordinate clause; and examples (268) and (269) illustrate the construction. In those examples, the embedded clause modifying *mala* is *maltj-m giri-m separate.part-PRES HABIT-PRES* 'being separate parts' in (268); and *ngurrwakn djin gir-ali before 3plNOM come-RPA* 'they came before' in (269). These are well-formed clauses in their own right. There is no marker of subordination in *mala* constructions.

Another type of subordinate clause previously discussed in section 2.10 is the use of ALL case on a nominalised verb stem which may then take the THEM SR affix to form a Purposive verb. Examples (101) to (103) illustrate the construction, which is apparently also found in Djapu (Morphy 1983:131-2, example 261).

In Djanang, there is no marker of subordination; the subordinate clause is merely juxtaposed to the constituent it qualifies, typically occurring immediately following it (*mala* constructions are a regular exception to this order). This is true of complement clauses, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, reported speech, and constructions corresponding to English participial constructions.

A verb inflected for TPA may be used as a participle to modify a noun. An example was seen in (293), the NP being *maypal ran.gi+rri meatUNM spear+TPA* 'speared meat'. Alternatively, we can analyse this as a relative clause, since *ran.gi+rri* is itself a well-formed clause; so that the gloss could equally well be 'meat (which) he speared'.

Examples of relative clauses have appeared in (130), (269), (291), (297), and the following two examples. In the second example, the relative clause modifies *wali* 'food'. Relative clauses tend to be simple in structure. It is possible to embed a relative clause modifying a NP which is itself a constituent of a relative clause, although such constructions are rare. One instance occurs in (32:59-60), which has the structure:

[We do not like [what we hear [concerning the story you bring]]]

Any NP in the independent clause may potentially be modified by a relative clause. The relative clause is bracketed in the vernacular. (In 330, the form *ngurrakng* is an abbreviation of

ngurrwakng 'before', and similarly for ngurragi. The relative clause is underlined in the free translation.)

(329) djanguny inma-rr bultji-gi Buralang,
 [storyUNM]_{ACC} 2sgDAT-1sgERG tell-FUT [BuralangUNM]_{VOC}
 ngurrwagi-pi, nginibil-a wali [libi
 [before-OR]_{ACC} [1plexc-GEN foodUNM 1plexcERG
 dirra-dj-nyi]
 eat-THEMSR-RPC]_{GEN}

I will tell you a story concerning the past, Buralang, (about) the food we used to eat {43:1}

(330) ngunung ngurrwakngi, wana-pili-mirringi-ri,
 [thatUNM before]_{ACC} big-PL-ARCHE-ERG
 di-dirra-dj nyini-nyi, wana-pili-mirring galkngu
 DIST-eat-THEMSR EXIST-RPC [big-PL-ARCHE for.example
 miyilk-pili, miyilk-pil+a, a wana-pili yul-pili,
 woman-PL woman-PL+NF and big-PL man-PL]_{ERG}
 wali [ngurrakng gingi-nyi miri], bush-bi djining
 [foodUNM before remember-RPC like bush-OR thisUNM
 nginibil-ang, ngurragi-pi
 1plexc-GEN before-OR]_{ACC}

That previous (food) the truly important people used to eat, important people such as for example, women, and important men, (they ate) the food remembered earlier from the bush here, our (food) from the beginning. {43:75-9}

While there is no subordination marker, it is possible for a deictic, or for an interrogative/indefinite pronoun to function similarly to an English relative pronoun. Examples in which ngunu 'that' functions this way are (130) and (132). In the following example, the interrogative/indefinite pronoun nyimi 'what' 'whatever' behaves similarly. These forms are not obligatory, and in fact are not often used in this way.

(331) ngunung wali [nyim nyuni nya-ngini] nyi+rr
 [thatUNM foodUNM whatever 2sgERG see-TPA]_{ACC} 2sgACC+1sgERG
 gu-ngi
 give-FUT

I will give you whatever food you saw

Complement clauses appeared in (24), (48), (256), (259), and (291). A further one is given below. In this example, the complement clause is discontinuous: bilapilak ngurru... mir djining ngiliny liny katjan 'the same as this (which) we possess'. (The complement also contains a relative clause.) As for subordinate clauses in general, complement clauses are juxtaposed to whatever constituent of which they form the complement. Exceptions involve a discontinuous complement. Another discontinuous example is (291): djining 'this' occurs in pre-VC position, and the rest of the complement clause occurs in post-VC position. The literal structure of that example is "We do not like [this we hear]", which translates into English as "We do not like this which we hear".

(332) *ngungung nyuni bintji-Ø-kuma, ga nyuni bilapilak
 [thatUNM]_{ACC} 2sgERG do.thus-FUT-EMPH and 2sgERG like.that
 ngurru marr-gi mir djining ngiliny liny
 PERF get-FUT [like thisUNM 1duexcERG 1duexcERG
 katji-n", bindji-n
 possess-TPA]_{ACC} do.thus-RPA

"You do the same as that, and you will likewise get the same as this (which) we possess" he said.

Finally, (333) contains an example of a temporal adverbial clause, occurring in post-VC position. Once again, there is no marker of subordination; the clause is merely juxtaposed to the preceding VC.

(333) djin rar-ki kiri-Ø, djin djaltjibi kiri-Ø,
 3plERG knead-FUT PROG-FUT 3plERG lift PROG-FUT
 yakirr inydji djingiri-ngili-ban
 [sleepUNM]_{NOM} RECIP complete-RPA-IM

They would knead it, (then) they would lift it (from water) on the next day {43:39-41}

5.4 VERBLESS CLAUSES

There are two sources of verbless clauses in Djinang. Firstly, equational structures having the form of Topic - Comment, where each part of such a bipartite structure takes NOM case. (There is no copula in Djinang or Djinba.) Secondly, the predicate of a verbal clause may be deleted. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

Before we begin, we must first deal with the class of loanwords. There is a small set of words, such as *marnggi* 'knowledgeable', *djal* 'desirous', *djunga* 'ignorant'; which may function either as verbs or as nouns. They can be further inflected by THEM SR or INCHO to form inflecting verbs; or be used in uninflected form. Each of these words may take a NP complement, which is always inflected for DAT case. (This is not true of English loanwords, which are regularly thematised using the THEM SR affix, and then inflected.) Examples (334) and (335) illustrate *marnggi* and *djal* used as predicators: and in such instances these examples are best not regarded as verbless clauses. However, in (336) and (337) the same forms are used as nominals; and are true verbless clauses.

(334) *djani marnggi mutika-gi*
 3p1NOM know motor.car-DAT

They are knowledgeable about motor cars

(335) *ngarri djal gapi-gi*
 1sgNOM want water-DAT

I want (some) water

(336) *djani marnggi-pili yul-pili*
 3p1NOM [knowledgeable-PL man-PL]_{NOM}

They are knowledgeable people

(337) *ngirr-ang djal wirr-ban*
 [1sg-GEN desire_{UNM}]_{NOM} [NEG]_{NOM} -IM

My desire has gone now (lit. my desire is nothing now)

Equational clauses have bipartite structure. Nearly always the Topic occurs first, although occasionally the Comment may be given first. Each of the two parts takes NOM case (a very few instances of the Complement taking OR or DAT case were cited in section 5.3). This means that there is rarely any surface marking of nominals in equational clauses other than adnominal relationships such as GEN marking, or DAT forms (typically DAT pronoun forms), signalling possession; or OR case signalling source. It would in fact be possible to treat the few instances in which the Complement takes OR or DAT case-marked constituents as manifesting a Complement which is covertly NOM case, since the constituents taking OR or DAT case actually are adnominal modifiers of deleted nouns. For instance, the example discussed near the start of the previous section, *djinim maypal mani-bi* 'this meat (is) from the river', can be paraphrased as [*djinim maypal*] [*maypal mani-bi*] *thatUNM meatUNM meatUNM river-OR* 'that meat (is) meat from the river'. In the latter version, both Topic and Comment are in NOM case. Similarly, *wali* 'food_{UNM}' can be supplied overtly in the Comment of the DAT example

discussed in the last section, to form a periphrastic equational clause. It is therefore a moot point as to whether DAT or OR constituents in the Comment actually imply that the Comment must be viewed as taking DAT or OR case. My belief is that equational clauses should be analysed as having covert NOM case for both Topic and Comment constituents. This would involve a greater degree of abstraction due to the assumption that some of these clauses are derived by deletion of a coreferential noun in the Comment; therefore I have refrained from analysing this way, though in my opinion NOM Topic and NOM Comment is the better analysis of the two.

Both the topic and comment may be manifested by complex NP constructions. It is possible, though extremely rare, for an adverb to occur in an equational clause. It is also possible, and not so rare, for a linking particle to occur as an Onset to an equational clause. I do not have any instances of PROM marking of either Topic or Comment in the database. My understanding of Djinang leads me to believe that it could occur with a Topic NP; but would be most unlikely with a Comment NP. (Notice, in (338), that *ragalk* is not part of the equational clause; otherwise the gloss would be '*That sorcerer is different', which is not what the speaker was saying.)

The following examples illustrate these comments. In each example, the Topic and Comment will be bracketed in the vernacular. The first bracket of examples, (338) to (344), illustrate a variety of equational clauses, showing some of the variation possible for both Topics and Comments.

(338) a *ragalk* [*ngunung*] [*wurpi*]
 [and sorcererUNM]_{PROM} [thatUNM]_{NOM} [differentUNM]_{NOM}
 As for a sorcerer, that one is different {66:21}

(339) "Way! [*Djinim*] [*ngilinyil-ang* *guyi* *midji-gir-ang*]"
 INTERJ [thatUNM]_{NOM} [1duexc-GEN fishUNM MoMoBr-OBL-GEN]_{NOM}
 "Hey! That is our granny's fish!" {66:87}

(340) [*a nyani djining djanguny*] [*birral djanguny*
 [and 3sgNOM thisUNM storyUNM]_{NOM} [trueUNM storyUNM
 djini girri
 thisUNM COMPL]_{NOM}
 And this story is a true story also {67:56}

(341) [djining] [miyilk-ang djama]
 [thisUNM] [woman-GEN workUNM]
 NOM NOM

This is woman's work {65:50}

(342) [nyani] [gunyambi-bini]
 3sgNOM [trouble-EXCE]
 NOM

She is an excessive troublemaker {65:54}

(343) [nyani] [gu]mi-angi-m bilngga]
 3sgNOM [younger.brother-OBL-KINPROP 3duDAT]
 NOM

He is their younger brother {34:245}

(344) [djini Yatjilimir] [Yirritjing]
 [thisUNM YatjilimirUNM] [YirritjingUNM]
 NOM NOM

This (place) Yatjilimir is Yirritjing (moiety) {19:45}

In example (345) *birral* 'true' is used adverbially; and in (347) there is a linking particle preceding the equational clause (which is the last clause in the example). Another example like the latter occurs in (159) in section 3.3. Note that in (345) the order of the parts is reversed, being Comment - Topic. This order is rare; occurring only once in dozens of examples of equational clauses. The narrator said the same clause a little later in the same story, this time with normal order, as in (346).

(345) a *birral-gim* [budi] [djiningi]
 - true-EMPH [bloodUNM] [thisUNM]
 NOM NOM

Truly this is blood {34:653}

(346) [djini] [budi], *birral-gima*
 [thisUNM] [bloodUNM] true-EMPH
 NOM NOM

Truly this is blood {34:675}

(347) *ingki bilay libi ngurri-nyir miril-mirri,*
 NEG far 1plexcNOM sleep-RPI clearing-LOC
bil djunggi-mirri ngidjirrkg gim [nganaparra]
 but [tree-LOC nearUNM] LOC because [buffalounM]
 [galbi]
 [manyUNM]
 NOM

We did not sleep far out in a clearing, but close to trees because buffalo were numerous {34:76-8}

The second type of verbless clauses are those which obtain due to ellipsis of the verb. The verb may be omitted when it is fully recoverable from the context. In the verbless clause "nyanyd̥j̥li-pan nyuni muri?" that ALL-IM 2sgNOM daddyUNM, the meaning is clearly "To where are you (going) now daddy?" (24:73). Another example occurs as the second clause of (347) above; where the elided verb is clearly ngurri-nyini sleep-RPA 'slept'. A further example is (348) below. The latter is typical of a class of examples in which an interrogative/indefinite pronoun (typically taking a local case, or OR case), is used in a verbless construction. Examples of this sort have an "understood" predicate. In this instance it would be nyini-Ø sit-PRES 'sitting'. Example (349) is a true equational clause where an interrogative/indefinite pronoun manifests the Topic function. Here there is no possibility of an "understood" predicate (ie. when the case is NOM).

(348) nyali-ng Manbarrarra
 where-LOC [ManbarrarraUNM]_{NOM}
 Where is Manbarrarra? (22:5)

(349) [wari] [ngunungi]
 [whoUNM]_{NOM} [thatUNM]_{NOM}
 Who is that?

5.5 SENTENCE AND HIGHER LEVELS

It is very difficult to define a grammatical unit higher than the clause in Djinang. There is no well-defined unit which we may call a "Sentence", such that by some set of criteria we would be able to unambiguously decide whether any given string of clauses does or does not constitute a "Sentence". Clauses are merely juxtaposed, either with or without an overt linking particle. However, it is possible in some instances to decide where sentence boundaries lie. The following are some criteria. Sentences are best viewed as discourse units rather than syntactic units. Ultimately, what constitutes a sentence (that is to say, where the sentence breaks are to be placed in a discourse) is up to the subjective judgement of the analyst. I can do no more than describe how I define sentences in Djinang.

(1) Intonation. Pitch usually drops slightly towards the end of a clause; and if the clause is the last of a group of clauses having semantic coherence, then the pitch drop on the last word of the last clause of the group will be more marked. If the speaker adds further constituents as 'afterthoughts', each such added constituent also takes the same marked pitch drop on the last word. Example 350 illustrates this; the final two words were uttered as 'afterthoughts', each following pause and having marked falling pitch.

(350) Manyak, a biling gir-ali, yili-ban,
 okay - 3duNOM go-RPA again-IM

yili-ban biling gir-ali, bininggili wulgaman-mirrpili,
 again-IM 3duNOM go-RPA [twoUNM old.person-PAUC

ngunung bilay-pilay bi-pirr, bininggili miyilk,
 thatUNM REDUP-far REDUP-very twoUNM womanUNM

Djangkawu yuu.
 DjangkawuUNM] NOM INTERJ

Okay, they went on again then, they went on again, those two old persons (from) very far (in the past), the two women, Djangkawu (sisters), yes. (19:79-82)

(2) Repeated information. It is common for information to be repeated or paraphrased. Generally a sentence break can be assumed to obtain preceding the repeated or paraphrased information. The following example illustrates this. The repeated information is not necessarily contiguous to the section it paraphrases or repeats.

(351) libi nya-ngini ngunu-ngir-pm tjarri-ny, minydji
 1plexcERG see-RPA that-ABL-DELIM stand-RPC THITH
 nibi djundi-ni. Nibi djundi-ny Kiri-nya...,
 1plexcNOM descend-RPA 1plexcNOM descend-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
 libi mal-gir-ali, biligi ngunu djin rari-ngili.
 1plexcNOM part-go-RPA long.ago [thatUNM] ACC 3p1ERG smooth-RPA
 Minydji nibi mal-gir-ali, ngunu-ngir-pmi,
 THITH 1plexcNOM part-go-RPA that-ABL-DELIM

... we saw (the place) on the other side, (then) we descended. We descended all the way, (and) we crossed over (where) they had smoothed (the river bed) long before. We went across, (and) on the other side ... (34:223-8)

(3) COMPL particle used as a terminator. This has already been discussed in section 3.7. Many instances occur in the texts, for example: (22:200, 208, 214) (24:83, 118), and so forth.

(4) The episode marker manyak 'good' 'okay'. This particle can be used as a terminator similarly to the COMPL particle. For some examples, see (22:226, 230) and (24:119). Other particles may occasionally mark a sentence break, but in general they are unreliable indicators of sentence divisions.

(5) Certain syntactic patterns may signal the beginning of a new sentence. These include (a) complex referential expressions (ie. introducing new participants); (b) a fronted pronoun (signalling a change of participant focus); (c) certain uninflected root verbs, such as *warrwarr* 'go quickly', or *larr* 'set off'; (d) quoted speech (ie. a sentence break immediately before and after the quotation); (e) reported speech (ie. the sentence break will be before or after, depending on whether the verb of locution is uttered after or before the reported speech, respectively).

(6) Semantic coherence of a group of clauses. When a group of clauses are relevant to a single theme, it is reasonable to treat them as manifesting one sentence. Fortunately, changes of theme nearly always correspond with sentence breaks suggested by one of the criteria above.

Various particles and affixes, such as the DEF affix *-tji* (section 3.6), the CONTR affix *-tha* (section 3.7), the particle *ban* 'on the one/other hand', the particle *ga* 'and', etc. indicate relationships which extend beyond the clause. However, such particles and affixes do not by themselves define sentential units. As far as I have been able to determine, there is no formally well-defined unit of structure at a level higher than clause; except perhaps for thematic units defined by the occurrence of the episode marker *manymak*.

Before leaving intonation, a further comment about the use of intonation to signal polar interrogatives is required. Any clause may be turned into a question by merely changing the intonation contour so that pitch fails to fall on the last word. That is, either level pitch or rising pitch on the last word of the clause has the illocutionary force of a polar interrogative. The speaker optionally may include an interrogative particle such as *ngangi* 'is it so?', or *bili* 'that's right?', at the end of the clause (and still with non-falling intonation). Questions using interrogative/indefinite pronouns are articulated with normal falling intonation on the last word of the clause.

I will now discuss briefly some miscellaneous inter-clausal structures of significance. The first is the use of repeated clauses (or phrases) to indicate an action repeated in such a way that at each repeat a new participant is involved (the participant may be any core participant). Two instances of this have been cited already, in examples (298) and (299) of section 4.5. A further one is given below; where a different person receives food corresponding to each repeat of the verbless clause.

(352) *Nyu-ngung wali, nyu-ng inma wali,
 [2sg-GEN] NOM [foodUNM] NOM [2sg-GEN 2sgDAT] NOM [foodUNM] NOM
 nyu-ng inma wali nyu-ng inma
 [2sg-GEN 2sgDAT] NOM [foodUNM] NOM [2sg-GEN 2sgDAT] NOM
 wali"
 [foodUNM] NOM

"(This is) your food, and yours, and yours, and yours" (22:203)

In some situations, it is necessary to indicate that a referent has dual identity in the sense that the referent has a real-world identity X and an 'other-world' identity Y. That is to say, X is what the referent really is, and Y is what the referent appears to be. There is a definite way of signalling such dual identity. Thus far, I have only observed it in relation to discourses involving spirit-world concepts or beings. The construction is as follows: first the speaker will affirm the identity X of the referent; then the speaker will deny X; and then the speaker will affirm Y. Hence the structure may be diagrammed as "X, not X, but Y". At first sight this looks simply like the speaker made a mistake and was correcting himself. However, that is not the case. A structure of this form is a claim that the referent is actually X, though he appears to be Y; and that the "being X" and "appearing to be Y" are concurrent. I will give a couple of examples of this construction. The first is taken from a story (Manbarrarra was the narrator) dealing with a visit of some spirit men from the afterlife. The "(B)" indicates a comment by myself. The second is from a story in which the narrator (Gidarri) was describing the difference between the real world and the spirit world; the narrator at this point in the story had lapsed into a mixture of Djinang and English due to my lack of fluency. The narrator is here affirming that the life of a spirit is as real in the spirit world as is ours here in the 'real' world.

(353) (M) A bilingi, wana-mirrpili bil nyini-ny,
 (M) - [3duPROM big-PAUC] PROM 3duPROM sit-RPC
 mirri-mirrpili, (B) mirri-mirrpili? (M) ngiy,
 [dead.person-PAUC] PROM (B) dead.person-PAUC (M) INTERJ
 ingki mirri-mirrpili bil yul-mirrpili+m
 [NEG dead.person-PAUC but man-PAUC+PROM] PROM

(M) They were two large persons, two disembodied spirits, (B) two disembodied spirits? (M) yes, they appeared to be men (47:58-60)

(354) marri ngunungi, life marri ngunungi,
 [possibly thatUNM]_{LOC} [lifeUNM]_{NOM} [possibly thatUNM]_{LOC}
 another world miri, not another world but djini-gim
 [another world like]_{LOC} [not another world but this-EMPH
 world, marri ngunu wurpitrri nyini-Ø
 world]_{LOC} [possibly thatUNM other+LOC]_{LOC} sit-PRES

Possibly at that (place), maybe life there is like another world, and which appears to be like this world, at that other place (46:307-9)

Discourse

This dissertation has not dealt exhaustively with Discourse features, though various discourse level phenomena have been described briefly when pertinent to the discussion of the function of various forms. Most of the important discourse features have been mentioned at some point or other. The following is a summary of the features which can be found in earlier sections.

(1) Use of manyak 'okay' 'good' as an episode marker (sections 5.5 and 3.19). (2) Use of IM clitic -ban to add colour at a discourse peak (section 3.20). (3) PROM (formally identical to ERG) to highlight a constituent (usually a NP, though it can occur on a predicate also) (sections 2.3 and 2.7). (4) Fronting as an indicator of change of participant focus (section 5.3). (5) Reduced pronouns, together with lack of overt full pronouns, used to track salient participants (such as actor and undergoer) throughout a section of discourse in which participant focus is unchanged. This has not been discussed in detail, though allusions to it may be found in section 3.14 and Appendix 2. (6) Complex NP structures used in establishing reference and supplying descriptive detail, and which typically occur at points in a discourse where new participants are introduced. I have not discussed this previously, but an examination of the database shows that complex referential expressions cluster at points in a narrative where new participants are introduced, or reintroduced. There are some examples of this in the cited texts also. (7) The stylistic use of root verbs to add colour to a narrative, in circumstances where events are highly predictable (sections 5.2 and 5.3). (8) The relationship of verb inflections to Procedural and Narrative discourse types (sections 4.4, 4.6, and 4.7). (9) The use of TPC and RPC to indicate backgrounding of information (section 4.6). (10) The use of YPA inflection to indicate contextual Definiteness of an event at a Remote Indefinite time (section 4.5).

TEXTS

The texts are typed as transcribed from tape. There will be some fluctuation of spelling of some words beginning with stops; for such words are transcribed as spoken. No 'spelling rules' are used; except that the ACC form of the 2pl pronoun ngil(i)dj-nyi 2pl-ACC will always be spelled with lenis dj to distinguish it from the homophonous ACC form of the 1duinc pronoun ngil(i)tj-nyi 1duinc-ACC. Some stems are obviously reduplicated forms; however, I will not hyphenate the stem when the stem does not exist in an unreduplicated form.

The texts are numbered with the story numbers used in the body of texts supplied to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. These numbers are, for the most part, chronologically ordered. (However, 'texts' 65 to 67 are actually selected portions of my field notes, and some short texts contained therein.) The texts are also divided into sections. For the most part, a 'section' is equivalent to a clause - provided the clause is not too long. However, since some clauses contain long strings of noun phrases, I have occasionally split the clause into two numbered sections. The numberings within texts therefore should be regarded as a matter of convenience. The division into sections must not be construed as a claim as to the location of a clause boundary in every instance. For the most part, the section divisions correspond with clause boundaries; and I have divided the texts into sections with some care to ensure that divisions are made as consistently as possible. Nevertheless, occasionally clause divisions and text divisions will not coincide. It will usually be obvious when this is so.

The texts are punctuated with "," representing pause; and with "." representing a pause which also appears to correspond to a semantic closure. In deciding where to place periods, I have been guided solely by my own intuitions; no mother-tongue speaker judgements have been used. Having divided up the database texts in this way, and having subsequently analysed the database, I would now divide the text into sentences differently in just a few instances. However, such instances are few and I believe the sentence divisions are reasonably accurate. Quotation marks are used for reported speech and direct quotations, where appropriate. Occasionally I resort to an exclamation mark when there is phonetic grounds for it. A comment from a listener will be preceded by the name or initial of the listener in parentheses; and (B) indicates myself.

Wherever possible, I try to give an English gloss which mirrors the structure of the text immediately above, and yet is reasonably meaningful as an English free translation. Occasionally it is impossible to keep the English translation adequately in step with the Djanang text; especially when a section is continued to a new line. When this occurs, I may split the English free translation across the line division as well; however there is no way of

ensuring that each such split portion will reflect only the Djinang words immediately above it. Sometimes this will be the case, and sometimes not.

TEXT 22

This is a portion of a text from Manbarrarra, the senior Murrungun clansman at the time of writing. The text concerns part of his earlier life, when he and a party of other Yolngu came to the mainland from Milingimbi mission in order to build an airstrip at the old Arafura homestead site, and to commence the building of what is now the outstation Nangalala. The events in this narrative would have taken place in the early sixties. The text was recorded on 31st. May 1981. European names are as spoken, and are not given with their English spellings unless the latter are known.

Manbarrarra's style is very colloquial; he does not make frequent use of reduced pronouns; he makes more use of onomatopoeia and gesture than do the other recorded speakers; and thus he uses very simple grammatical constructions. The thematic material is not carefully woven together, but rather occurs as a series of discrete units like beads on a string.

We pick up the story at a point where the narrator and his party are proceeding to Murwangi (the old Arafura homestead site), along with some European mission staff, cattle, and the families of the Yolngu in the party. The party has just finished breakfast, and are ready to proceed on the last leg of the journey.

(196) Nginibi gir-ali-ban. (197) Djudju-ga-ny Kiri-nya...,
 1plexcNOM go-RPA-IM ??-take-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
 We then went. (We) drove (the cattle) all the way,

djudju-ga-ny Kiri-nya, Murwan.gi-Ø. (198) Murwan.ga-Ø,
 ??-take-RPC PROG-RPC Murwangi-LOC Murwangi-LOC
 we drove them all the way to Murwangi. At Murwangi,

ingki-ban nginibi nyani yat ngurrigi-nyiri,
 NEG-IM 1plexcERG [3sgUNM yardUNM]_{ACC} throw-RPI
 we did not then erect a yard (for the cattle),

(199) yarim nginibi yan-ali-ban murrurrt-ili-ban.

just 1plexcERG send-RPA-IM bunch-ALL-IM

instead we sent them straight into the bush.

(200) Murrurrt-ili nginibi yan-ali, girri.

bunch-ALL 1plexcNOM send-RPA COMPL

We sent them into the bush, that's all.

(201) Nginibi wini-n+a djut-pan. (202) "Bukmak,

1plexcNOM return-RPA+NF sit-IM [allUNM]_{NOM}

We returned (and we) sat down then.

"Everyone,

bi+ldji giri-Ø-ban, ngarri wali ku-ng kiri-Ø-ban".

HITH+2p1NOM come-FUT-IM 1sgERG [foodUNM]_{ACC} give-FUT PROG-FUT-IM

come here now, I will give you food now."

(203) "Nyu-ngung wali, nyu-ng inma wali, nyu-ng inma
2sg-GEN foodUNM 2sg-GEN 2sgDAT foodUNM 2sg-GEN 2sgDAT

"Your food, and your food, and your

wali, nyu-ng inma wali." (204) Ku-ny Kiri-nya...,
foodUNM 2sg-GEN 2sgDAT foodUNM give-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR

food, and your food." Mr Biyuw was giving (food to each of us).

Mista Biyuw. (205) A girri djining

[MisterUNM BiyuwUNM]_{ERG} and [stuffUNM]_{NOM} thisUNM

And other supplies

nyibi ngu'-ngurri-ny. (206) "A bidak, gubi-y."

[otherUNM]_{NOM} DIST-lie-RPC - not.yet leave-IMP

were lying here. "Not yet, leave them."

(207) Nginibi dutji-la... (208) kukim-dji-la..., girri.

1plexcERG squeeze-RPA+DUR cook-THEMSR-RPA+DUR COMPL

We kneaded (flour dough)

(and) we cooked it till done.

(209) Dirra-dji-l+a. (210) Ngurri-nyini djadaw
 eat-THEMSR-RPA+NF Sleep-RPA morning.lightUNM
 We ate it. (We) slept (and) at daybreak (we said)

(211) "Nyali-ng airstrip?" (212) "Djiningi, a ngunungi."
 where-LOC [airstripUNM]_{NOM} [thisUNM and thatUNM]_{LOC}
 "Where is the airstrip (to be)?" "Here and there."

(213) Bumir wurpm nginibi bi-pinu... (214) a madjirr
 foreheadUNM oneUNM 1plexcERG make-RPA+DUR and again
 We worked on it one time, and again

nginibi bi-pinu..., girr-ban, bilapilang.
 1plexcERG make-RPA+DUR COMPL-IM it's.like.that
 we worked on it till it was finished, that's how we did it.

(215) Djunggi-gi wirr, ngiy, djunggi-gi wirr,
 tree-DAT NEG INTERJ tree-DAT NEG
 As for the trees, they were no more, yes, they did not exist (there)

(216) nginibi bin-nyiri djarri-nyiri. (217) Nginibi yatji-li.
 1plexcERG do.thus-RPI EXIST-RPI 1plexcERG scrape-RPA
 we would have stood doing it thus. We scraped (the ground).

(218) Nginibi wini-ni nyi-li, pinggu-dj+a,
 1plexcNOM return-RPA what-INSTR pick-INSTR+NF
 We returned; (we did it) by whatever means, by pick, (and)

shabul-dj+a, nyi-l+a, bulanggitj. (219) Djimindi nginibi
 shovel-INSTR+NF what-INSTR+NF okay [wireUNM]_{ACC} 1plexcERG
 by shovel, by whatever means, okay (that's the end of that). We erected

maṭa-maṭa-mi-ngil+a..., ngu'-ngurri-ny. (220) Maṭa-mi-ngil+a,
 REDUP-tie-CAUS-RPA+DUR DIST-lie-RPC tie-CAUS-RPA+NF
 barbed wire fencing, (till) it lay (round the airstrip). We tied (the wire)

bu_langgitj. (221) Warrwarr nginibi nyini-n+a, wali-ban
 okay go.fast iplexcNOM sit-RPA+NF [foodUNM]_{ACC}-IM
 okay (that finishes that). Going quickly (back) we sat and (ate) food then

ngilimi. (222) "Nyanydjili?" (223) "Djiti-gi-ban."
 iplexcERG whereALL drag-FUT-IM
 "Where to?" "(You will) drag it now."

(224) Nginibi bindji-ni-pan buyubuyu-dji-li-ban,
 iplexcERG do.thus-RPA-IM smooth-THEMSR-RPA-IM
 That's what we did then, (we) smoothed it then;

(225) gir-al+a ngu_li, bi nunydjirr-ali djili,
 go-RPA+NF thatLOC HITH come.quickly-RPA thisLOC
 (we) went to that (end) and came fast back to this (end),

(226) bi nunydjirr-ali ngu_li, bi nunydjirr-ali djili,
 HITH go.quickly-RPA thatLOC HITH come.quickly-RPA thisLOC
 (we) went fast to that (end again), and came fast back to this (end again),

manymak. (227) "Diwirri-ng-ban djinim?" (228) "Yuw."
 okay [good-NMLSR]_{NOM}-IM [thatUNM]_{NOM} INTERJ
 okay (that finishes that). "Is that good now?" "Yes"
 [Note: the -ng NMLSR morpheme is the vestigial -*ngu nominaliser.]

(229) A madjirri, nibi buyubuyu-dji-li-tja...,
 - next iplexcERG smooth-THEMSR-RPA-CONTR+DUR

Even so, we smoothed it again,

[Note: CONTR -tja here contrasts the fact that one more smoothing operation took place even though the result of the previous operation was pronounced 'good'.]

(230) garrku_luk-dji-l+a, manymak.
 clear-THEMSR-RPA+NF okay
 (and then) it was clear, okay (that finishes that).

TEXT 24

This is portion of a traditional story dealing with the origin of the moon (which is regarded as male). Two children who did not share food with their father are drowned by him. The man's two wives eventually discover what he did, and secretly plan to kill him in revenge. While he sleeps, they set fire to his mosquito-proof (woven) hut, burning him severely. He runs about looking for a tree to climb to escape the fire; eventually he goes up one and keeps rising. He then declares that he will endlessly be renewed, whereas those (humans) who remain will die, and will not return alive.

The story was told to my wife, on the 7th of June, 1979. Sections (1) to (77) are narrated by Ganbada. She did not finish the story, so Malanggi took up the narrative from section (80) onwards. The clan affiliation of Ganbada is unknown at this point, but is almost certainly Balmbi. Dialectically, her speech is virtually identical to Malanggi's speech. Malanggi is the senior Manyarring (Djuwing moiety) clansman; and Ganbada is Malanggi's wife. (Malanggi resides on his mother's country, which is Balmbi territory.) If Ganbada's speech is Balmbi dialect, then that dialect would apparently be similar to the Manyarring dialect.

Section (54) illustrates the verb giri 'go' used as a pro-verb for the verb wangi- speak. Also, in section (110) the first word is unclear on the tape: it is given here as ngunu 'that', but that is almost certainly not what was said. And in section (113) the stem madi- is unknown, though it is probably a verb belonging to the semantic field of construction of dwellings.

We take up the story at the point where the children have been hunting a few times, and each time have told their father that there was nothing left for him because they had finished it all. The father was sitting making a large net-like woven fish trap. He has just told the children to go off once more to get food.

(43) Bil gir-ali (44) bil pu-ny kiri-nya... girri.
 3duNOM go-RPA 3duERG kill-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR COMPL
 They (ie. the two children) went, (and) were busy killing till done.

(45) Mani-ngi bil nyini-nyi, (46) guyi bil pu-nyi,
 river-LOC 3duNOM sit-RPC [fishUNM] ACC 3duERG kill-RPC
 They were at the river killing fish,

(47) gurrbu-wi, Parrparrkingi-Ø, gurrbi.

[place-SPEC Parrparrkingi-LOC placeUNM]_{LOC}

at the specific place (called) Parrparrkingi.

(48) Gurrbu-w ngunung Parrparrking-Ø, bil pu-ny-ban.

[place-SPEC thatUNM Parrparrking-LOC]_{LOC} 3duERG kill-RPC-IM

They were catching (fish) at that specific place (called) Parrparrking.

(49) Nyan+a bil pu-nya... nyani pu-ny, (50) a bil

3sgERG+NF 3duERG kill-RPC+DUR 3sgERG kill-RPC and 3duERG

One repeatedly caught (fish), and so too did the other, and they

ka-ny-ban dji-t-dji. (51) Bil batji-djin,

take-RPC-IM forked.stick-INSTR 3duERG cook-RPA

then took (them) on a forked stick (to the fire). They cooked (them),

(52) in.ga bil wangi-n, (53) "Muri, wirr guyi.

3sgDAT 3duNOM say-RPA daddyUNM [NEG fishUNM]_{NOM}

(and later) they said to him "Dad, there are no fish (for you).

Liny malim-dji-l." (54) "Yuw manymak" gir-ali.

1duexcERG finish-THEMSR-RPA INTERJ okay go-RPA

We finished them off." "Yes all right" he said.

(55) Madjirr ngunu-kirri, bilngga wangi-n-ban,

next [that-COMPL]_{NOM} 3duDAT say-RPA-IM

Next that afore-mentioned (man) said to them then,

(56) bilngga bindji-ni (57) "Nyabin nyum try, nyum

3duDAT do.thus-RPA how.about 2duNOM try 2duNOM

he spoke thus, "How about you try to get into (the fishing net)?"

ra-w-ban" (58) bindji-n. (59) "Nyabin nyum ra-w-ban, try"

enter-IMP-IM do.thus-RPA how.about 2duNOM enter-IMP-IM try

he said. "How about you try enter into it?"

(60) bindji-n. (61) *Nyim manya-ng, nyim manya-ng,
do.thus-RPA 2duERG try-FUT 2duERG try-FUT
he said. "You try it, you try it,

(62) nyim ra-gi" (63) bindji-n. (64) Nyani ngunu-kirri,
2duNOM enter-FUT do.thus-RPA [3sgNOM that-COMPL
you get in" he said. That afore-mentioned fishing net

mir fishing net, wana. (65) *Nyabin nyim ra-gi
like fishing net] _{NOM} [bigUNM] _{NOM} how.about 2duNOM enter-FUT
(was) big. "How about you get in

guyi-gi inmila, (66) nyani guyi ra-gi ngunyili-pan."
fish-DAT 1plincDAT [3sgNOM fishUNM] _{NOM} enter-FUT thatALL-IM
(as) fish (do) for us, (as) fish will enter into it (later) then?"

(67) Bil bindji-n. (68) Bil-um' (false start)
3duNOM do.thus-RPA 3du-??
They did so.

(69) minydji bil ra-gili, (70) ra-gili, nyani ngunu
THITH 3duNOM enter-RPA enter-RPA 3sgNOM [thatUNM] _{ALL}
They got into it, they entered, they entered

ra-gili-ban, bil yitjuwili bininggili. (71) Nyani
enter-RPA-IM [3duNOM childrenUNM twoUNM] _{NOM} 3sgERG
into that (net), the two children (did). He (ie. the father)

ngunu net marr-ngili, (72) girr garrpi-n-ban.
[thatUNM netUNM] _{ACC} pick.up-RPA COMPL wrap-RPA-IM
picked up that net then tied it (closed).

(73) *Nyanydjili-pan nyuni muri?
thatALL-IM 2sgNOM daddyUNM
"To where are you (going) now, Dad?"

(74) Mini-minigi-ny Kiri-ny-ban. (75) Bil-ny minigi-ny
 REDUP-carry-RPC PROG-RPC-IM 3du-ACC carry-RPC
 He carried them away then. He carried them

Kiri-nya... gapi-li (76) bat bili-ny ngu-li,
 PROG-RPC+DUR water-ALL throw 3du-ACC throw-RPA
 all the way to the river (and) threw them in.

(77) ngunu bili-ny bi-pini, ngunu-kima, ran.gu.
 [thatUNM]_{ACC} 3du-ACC kill-RPA [that-EMPH moonUNM]_{ERG}
 That moon killed those two (children).

(78) (Glenys) Girr-ban? (79) (Ganbada) Girr-ban.
 COMPL-IM COMPL-IM
 (Are you) finished now? (I'm) finished now.

(80) (Malanggi) Bil-ngir-ang ngambirri, bininggili,
 [3du-OBL-GEN motherUNM twoUNM
 Their two mothers

(81) biling gir-ali-ban, wali-gi. (82) Wali biling pu-ny
 3duNOM go-RPA-IM food-DAT [foodUNM]_{ACC} 3duERG kill-RPC
 went off for food. They repeatedly killed food

Kiri-nya... bush-bi nginbil-ang. (83) Bil pu-ny Kiri-nya...,
 PROG-RPC+DUR [bush-OR 1plexc-GEN]_{OR} 3duERG kill-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
 from our habitat. They repeatedly killed

girri. (84) Warrwarr ngu_{li} bil batji-djini, (85) ngun-ngiri
 COMPL go.fast thatLOC 3duERG cook-RPA that-ABL
 till done. They went and cooked it there (place unspecified), after that

bil wini-ny Kiri-ny-ban. (86) Bil wini-ny Kiri-ny-ban
 3duNOM return-RPC PROG-RPC-IM 3duNOM return-RPC PROG-RPC-IM
 they came all the way back then. They returned all the way

(87) gurrbi-li-ban bil wini-ny kiri-nya...
 camp-ALL-IM 3duNOM return-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
 to their camp, they were coming back (and)

(88) biling yulgu-ngili, nyan-ki-p+m-ban, bilnga
 3duNOM arrive-RPA [3sg-DAT-p+KINPROP-IM 3duDAT
 they came then to their

[Note: epenthetic p following DAT]

nginipi-ngi-m. (89) Bilnga nginipi-ngi-m, bilnga
 husband-OBL-KINPROP 3duDAT husband-OBL-KINPROP 3duDAT
 husband, to their husband,

nginipi-ngi-m, ngunu-kima, yul. (90) Ah, bilingi,
 husband-OBL-KINPROP that-EMPH manUNM] DAT - 3duPROM
 to that man. Ah, (the children) they

ngurrwakng bili-ny ngu-li, gapi-li, wana
 before 3duACC throw-RPA water-ALL [bigUNM
 earlier had been thrown into the water in the big

giyaw. (91) Bilapilang nginbil-ang, guyi-bi,
 fish.netUNM] ACC it's.like.that [1plexc-GEN fish-OR
 fishing net. Our fish traps are like that.

fish trap. (92) Biling bil nunydjirri-ny Kiri-nya
 fishUNM trapUNM] NOM 3duNOM 3duNOM go.fast-RPC PROG-RPC+NF
 They had come fast (to their camp)

(93) bil nyini-ni, (94) biling bil yanya-ngin, (95) "Way!
 3duNOM sit-RPA 3duERG 3duERG ask-RPC INTERJ
 (and) they sat, (and) they asked (their husband) "Hey!

Yutjuwil+a, nyali biling yutjuwili?"
 [children+NF] NOM [whereUNM] LOC [3duNOM childrenUNM] NOM
 The children, where are the children?"

(96) "Ngunu bilay bil kukirri-Ø bil walngirri-Ø."
 [thatUNM farUNM]_{LOC} 3duNOM walk.about-PRES 3duNOM play-PRES
 "They are walking about and playing at some distant place."

(97) "Ingangi." (98) A bil nyini-na... (99) bil
 INTERJ - 3duNOM sit-RPA+DUR 3duNOM
 "Is that so!" They kept sitting, they

marrKa-ngil+a, wirr. (100) "Kwu! Nya-dji-pan biling
 wait-RPA+NF NEG INTERJ what-TEMP-IM 3duNOM
 waited, (but) nothing (happened). "Hey! When will they

yulku-ng Kiri-Ø?" (101) "A bigak, bigak bil kukirri-Ø
 arrive-FUT PROG-FUT - INCOM INCOM 3duNOM walk.about-PRES
 arrive?" "Not yet, they have not yet finished going about

bil walngirri-Ø." (102) Manymak, marr-dji bil nyini-na...,
 3duNOM play-PRES okay soul-INSTR 3duNOM sit-RPA+DUR
 playing." Okay. They kept sitting expectantly,

wirr. (103) "Gwu! Djining+a biling nguli-gim bina?"
 NEG INTERJ [thisUNM+NF 3duNOM]_{NOM} thatLOC-EMPH is.that.so
 (but) nothing (happened). "Hey, these two are distant, aren't they?"

(104) biling bil bindji-n-pan, biling ngambirri
 3duNOM 3duNOM do.thus-RPA-IM [3duNOM motherUNM
 those two mothers spoke like that then,

ngun bininggili, (105) yurru bil wini-ny
 thatUNM twoUNM]_{NOM} because.seemingly 3duNOM return-RPC
 because it seemed they (ie. the children) were returning from hunting

hunting-ngir, (106) djina bili-ny nguligi-ban-gima.
 hunting-ABL 3p1DAT 3du-ACC throw-IM-EMPH
 (but were not), as for them he had thrown them (in the water).

(107) Larr-ban marr nu-ban bil kurrpi-ni
set.off-IM probably [footprintUNM]_{ACC}-IM 3duERG follow-RPC
Setting off they must have followed (his) footprints then.

Kiri-ny. (108) Nu bil kurrpi-ni Kiri-nya...
PROG-RPC [footprintUNM]_{ACC} 3duERG follow-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
They followed (his) footprints all the way till (they ended up)

(109) gapi-mirri mani-ngi, djiningi, ngui
[water-LOC river-LOC thisUNM]_{LOC} thatLOC
at this river (ie. the Glyde river) at that (place where)

bili-ny ngu-li-gima, (110) nguu bil djapi-n-ban.
3du-ACC throw-RPA-EMPH [thatUNM]_{LOC} 3duNOM be.in.water-RPA-IM
he had thrown them, (where) there they were in the water then.

(111) Manymak. Nyani ngui, djan-nga gurrbi
okay 3sgNOM thatLOC [3pl-GEN placeUNM]_{NOM}
Okay. At that place it is their territory,
[Note: nyani 'it' refers here to the place which is their territory.]

dji'-tjarri-ny, (112) bilapila Gungidami.
DIST-stand-RPC it's.like.that [GungidamiliUNM]_{NOM}
it's (the place) Gungidami.

Bambal, bambil, bambil wana,
[mosquito.hutUNM mosquito.hutUNM mosquito.hutUNM bigUNM
Large mosquito huts (which were)

(113) nginbil-ang mala, nginibi mu'-madi-m
1plexc-GEN COL]_{ACC} 1plexcERG DIST-??-YPA
our things, we used to ??

mutpigi-ny giri-ny, yul-ang.
assemble-RPC HABIT-RPC [aboriginal.person-GEN]_{ACC}
(we) used to assemble (them, they were) Aboriginal people's (huts).

(114) Nguli-kim biling bil ngurri-ny,
thatLOC-EMPH 3duNOM 3duNOM sleep-RPC

In (one of) those they (ie. the two women) slept,

(115) djan-nga gurrbi. (116) Manymak, a maliri-ban,
[3pl-GEN campUNM]LOC okay - night-IM

in their camp.

Okay, when it was night

(117) djan ra-gili-ban ngurri-nyir-gi-ban. (118) Djani ra-ny
3plNOM enter-RPA-IM sleep-NMLSR-DAT-IM 3plNOM enter-RPC

they entered (the hut) in order to sleep.

They entered

Kiri-ny-ban, girri. (119) Rarri djin minibi mala,
PROG-RPC-IM COMPL [mouthUNM]ACC 3plERG close [COL]ACC

right in then. They closed the entrance things (ie. flaps),

manymak. (120) Djunggi nambidi purrtjirri-ny.
okay [fireUNM]NOM [insideUNM]LOC burn-RPC

okay (that's all about that). A fire was burning inside.

(121) Manymak. Biling inydji bil wangi-n,
okay 3duNOM RECIP 3duNOM say-RPA

Okay. They said to each other,

(122) "Ngili, in.ga-l warrdji-gi."
1duincERG 3sgDAT-1duincERG set.fire-FUT

"Let's set fire to him."

(123) "Yuw bu^langgitj gid+a, (124) ngil ingk inydji
INTERJ goodUNM sisterUNM+VOC 1duincERG NEG RECIP

"Yes, all right sister,

we will not

bultji-gi. (125) Ngil in.ga-l warrdji-gi bambu^l
tell-FUT 1duincERG 3sgDAT-1duincERG set.fire-FUT [branchUNM]

tell him.

On account of him we will ignite these branches

djiningi, gurrbi." (126) Nyan ngurri-nyina...,
 thisUNM] ACC [placeUNM] LOC 3sgNOM sleep-RPA+DUR
 (here) at (this) place." He (ie. the man) kept sleeping,

(127) nyani ngurri-nyin mirrpmi, yul, (128) mir wana-ban
 3sgNOM sleep-RPA INTENS [manUNM] NOM like big-IM
 the man was very deeply asleep, he was fast asleep then.

fall asleep-ban. (129) Manymak biling in.ga bil
 fall asleep-IM okay 3duERG 3sgDAT 3duERG
 Okay, they (ie. the two women)

djat-djat-dji-l. (130) *Tji! ngili-ban giri-Ø."
 REDUP-prod-THEMSR-RPA INTERJ 1duincNOM-IM go-FUT
 prodded him (to check he is asleep). "(?)Ugh! Let's go!"
 [The meaning of tji is unknown; it may be an expression of disgust.]

(131) Bil lap-mi-ngil rari, (132) nyani yulngu-ngil,
 3duERG open-CAUS-RPA [mouthUNM] ACC 3sgNOM come.out-RPA
 They opened the entrance (of the hut, and) one came out

a wurpi yulngu-ngil. (133) Madjirr rangan
 and [anotherUNM] NOM come.out-RPA next [paperbarkUNM] ACC
 and the other came out. Next they got

biling wana bil marr-ngil, (134) bil wupwup-dji
 3duERG [bigUNM] ACC 3duERG get-RPA 3duERG blow-THEMSR
 large sheets of paperpark, (and) they blew it (till it

djunggi, (135) bil warrdji-ni kiri-ny-ban...,
 [fireUNM] ACC 3duERG set.fire-RPC PROG-RPC-IM+DUR
 was) aflame; they then ignited (all the undergrowth)

(136) liyuw... dap, (137) bat-pan in.ga bil ngu-li.
 cicle.around+DUR touch throw-IM 3sgDAT 3duERG throw-RPA
 in a circle around (the hut, and) they then threw (the firebrand) at him.

(138) Nyani ngurri-ny Kiri-ny-ban... (139) bindji-ni,
 3sgNOM sleep-RPC PROG-RPC-IM+DUR do.thus-RPA
 He kept on sleeping a while, (then) he did as follows:
 [Notice the use of IM -ban in 138-143, highlighting the discourse peak]

(140) marrngi-n-ban ganydjarr-ban (141) djunggi
 perceive-RPA-IM strong-IM [fireUNM]_{ACC}
 he then strongly perceived (that) a fire

purrtjirri-ny-ban, (142) galngi-li-ban marrngi-n,
 burn-RPC-IM body-INSTR-IM perceive-RPA
 was burning then, he felt his body

(143) burrtjirri-ny Kiri-ny-ban.
 [burn-RPC PROG-RPC]_{INSTR}-IM
 burning up then.
 [Sections 144 to 177 are not cited here.]

TEXT 32

This is a major portion of a text by Richard Milurrurr in which he retells from memory (having read it beforehand in English) the story of the conversion of the Philippian jailer (Acts 16:16-36). The story is of considerable interest, for being culturally 'foreign' material, the narrator has to use more of the morphological and syntactic resources of the language in order to convey the meaning clearly. He also digresses occasionally to draw parallels with Yolngu beliefs.

This story was told to me on the 29th of August, 1979. Milurrurr is a Manyarring clansman, aged about forty at the time of telling the story. The story can be found in the Bible, so I will not summarize it here. Two common features of this story are (1) quite complex participant referencing constructions, and (2) the frequent use of ngunu-kirri that-COMPL (or similar deictic form) as a marker of anaphora. Milurrurr, more than the other recorded speakers, also makes more use of ngunu thatUNM as a deictic determiner, and as a relative pronoun.

(6) Manymak, a yarim ngunu-kirri djini mala
okay - just [that-COMPL 3p1ERG COL

Okay, just that afore-mentioned group,

[Note: ngunu-kirri here refers anaphorically to Paul and Silas who were the topic of the story when read previously in English.]

mir Silas, ga Paul, (7) ngunung inydji bil
like SilasUNM and PaulUNM]ERG [thatUNM]ACC RECIP 3p1ERG
that is, Silas and Paul, they each had

marr-yirrpi-n ngunung God-a_i. (8) A nyani
soul-set-RPC [thatUNM God-ALL]ALL and 3sgERG
accepted God and He

bilangga gu-ny, promise, (9) ga ingki-nyani
3duDAT give-RPC [promiseUNM]ACC and NEG 3sgNOM
had given them a promise, and He had not

bilangga yulgu-nyir, (10) bil Holy Spirit
3duDAT come.to-RPI but [HolyUNM SpiritUNM]NOM
come to them, but the Holy Spirit

bilangga yulgu-nyir [sic] faith, (11) faith
3duDAT come.to-RPI [sic] [faithUNM]NOM [faithUNM]NOM
had come to them, (and) faith

[Note: yulgu-nyir was a performance error, it should have been yulgu-ngil as in (11).]

bilangga yulgu-ngil. (12) Ga larr-ban bil gir-ali
3duDAT come.to-RPA and set.off-IM 3duNOM go-RPA
had come to them. And setting off, they then went

ngunung, gurrbi-li ngunung, (13) gurrbi
[thatUNM place-ALL thatUNM placeUNM
to that place, (to) that place (where)

dji'-tjarri God-ang, bala', ngunung prayer-gi,
 DIST-stand God-GEN houseUNM thatUNM prayer-DAT] ALL
 God's house stands, the one for prayer,

(14) ah, marri ngunu djin gungi-gin-dji-m
 ah possibly [thatUNM] ACC 3p1ERG head-PROP-THEMSR-YPA
 ah, possibly they used to suggest that (place)

giri-m-ban. (15) a yul-pi_i ngurruwakn djin gir-ali
 HABIT-YPA-IM - [person-PL before 3p1NOM come-RPA
 the people who came there in times past (did).

[Note: Manyarring dialect uses Ingurruwakn in preference to ngurruwakng]

mala. (16) Biling bil Kiri-ny nyini-ny ngununga...,
 COL] ERG 3duNOM 3duNOM go-RPC PROG-RPC [thatUNM] ALL +DUR
 They were going along to that (place)

[Note: biling can equally well be glossed as 3duPROM here.]

(17) ga mal-ngiri ngunung, nyani-ban, mal-ngiri
 and part-ABL [thatUNM 3sgNOM] NOM -IM part-ABL
 and part way along those

yul-pi_i ngunu-kum nyini-ni, (18) djani ngunu-kirri
 [man-PL that-EMPH] NOM sit-RPA [3p1NOM that-COMPL] NOM
 men were part way (along to God's house), those afore-mentioned

djin nyini-Ø yul-pi_i, (19) ga ingki djin
 3p1NOM sit-YPA [man-PL] NOM and NEG 3p1NOM
 men were (there), and they did not

marnggi ngunung, God-ang, yan-gi,
 know [thatUNM God-GEN word-DAT] DAT
 know God's word

(20) ga yaku-gi ingk-in.ga djin marnggi.
 and name-DAT NEG-3sgDAT 3p1NOM know
 nor did they know His name.

(21) Ga nyan ngui-kirri nyini-ny miyilk,
 and 3sgNOM thatLOC-COMPL sit-RPC [womanUNM]_{NOM}

And a woman was sitting there behind them,

(22) nyani-ban nambidi+n.ga ra-ny ngunu-kirri
 3sgNOM-IM [insideUNM]_{ALL} +3sgDAT enter-RPC [that-COMPL

(and) then had entered into her that afore-mentioned

minarr, bilapilang galngayngu.
 snakeUNM]_{NOM} [it's.like.that King.Brown.snakeUNM]_{NOM}
 snake, like a King Brown snake.

[Note: the internalized snake is a metaphor for spirit-possession]

(23) Galngayngu-gining ngui-kirri nyini-ny.
 [King.Brown.snake-PROP]_{NOM} thatLOC-COMPL sit-RPC

(The woman) possessed by the snake was sitting there behind.

(24) Bilapilang mir ngilimi, marr lim
 it's.like.that like 1plincNOM [soulUNM]_{NOM} 1plincNOM
 It is like that for us (too): our inner self

dubu-dubu-tji-m giri-m+a, (25) ga lim
 REDUP-twitch-THEMSR-PRES HABIT-PRES+NF and 1plincNOM
 twitches and our hair

gungi-marrayar-dji-m giri-m+a, galngi-ngir
 head-bristle-THEMSR-PRES HABIT-PRES+NF body-ABL
 bristles from our body,

bilapilang. (26) Girr inydji lim bultji-n giri-m-ban
 it's.like.that COMPL RECIP 1plincERG tell-PRES HABIT-PRES-IM
 that's the way it is. Then we tell each other

(27) "Djaming gudarr yulgu-ngi yul-pili,"
 later.on tomorrowUNM arrive-FUT [person-PL]_{NOM}
 "Later tomorrow people will arrive"

(28) ngunu-ngir djanguny-gining bilapilang.

[that-ABL story-PROP]_{ABL} it's.like.that

(we say that) due to that omen, that's how it is (for us).

(29) Manymak, a nyani ngunu-kirr miyilk djarri-nyin

okay - [3sgNOM that-COMPL womanUNM]_{NOM} stand-RPA

Okay, that afore-mentioned woman stood up,

(30) girr bili-ny bultji-djin-ban, (31) *Djining bil

COMPL 3du-ACC report-RPA-IM [thisUNM]_{NOM} 3duNOM

then she reported them "These (two)

Kiri-m nyini-Ø, (32) ngunung djanguny bil katji-nm

come-PRES PROG-PRES [thatUNM storyUNM]_{ACC} 3duERG hold-PRES

come bearing that story,

ngunung wanngir-nya-king, (33) ga djining

[thatUNM save-NMLSR-PROP]_{ACC} and [thisUNM]_{PROM}

the one which saves, and this (one)

[Note: it is not clear what djining refers to here: perhaps it refers to God as the maker of the world and people; or to a further facet of the message that Paul and Silas bear - namely that He (ie. God) made the world and its people. The former is the more likely in the context.]

ngunung gurrbi djama-dji-m ngirki ga nginmili-ny,

[thatUNM placeUNM]_{ACC} work-THEMSR-YPA [boneUNM and 1plinc-ACC]_{ACC}

made the world (lit. earth foundations) and us,

(34) ga djanguny bil ka-m djini wanngir-nya-king."

and [storyUNM]_{ACC} 3duERG bring-PRES [thisUNM save-NMLSR-PROP]_{ACC}

and they bring this story (which) saves."

(35) Ga nyani Silas ngunungi, djarri-nyini,

and [3sgPROM SilasUNM]_{PROM} thatUNM stand-RPA

And Silas stood up then,

[Note: the sense of ngunungi is here interpreted as 'at that time'; although it could possibly be marking anaphora instead. Normally a temporal nominal precedes referential information, except when fronting occurs due to a change of participant focus, as here.]

(36) djarri-nyin in.ga wangi-n, (37) "Wiy!"
 stand-RPA 3sgDAT say-RPA INTERJ
 standing he said to her "Hey!"

in.ga nguy-mur-mur-dji-l, (38) "Nyuni djinim
 3sgDAT guts-REDUP-hot-THEMSR-RPA 2sgNOM [thatUNM
 He was angry with her. "You (snake)

miyilk dji'-tjarri-Ø, (39) ga djinim in.ga
 womanUNM] _{LOC} DIST-stand-PRES [- thatUNM 3sgDAT
 existing in that woman, the King Brown snake pertaining to this (woman),

ngunung galngayngu minarr, yaku-mirrpm
 thatUNM King.BrownUNM snakeUNM] _{NOM} name-PERL
 through the name of

Djesu-mirrpm, (40) a yulgu-w-ban budjirri-ngiri
 Jesus-PERL - come.out-IMP-IM [belly-ABL
 Jesus come out now from

nyan-ngang, wugil in.ga djining." (41) Girri
 3sg-GEN] _{ABL} [spiritUNM 3sgDAT thisUNM] _{NOM} COMPL
 her belly, (you who are) this spirit of hers!" Then

yulgu-ngili-ban. (42) Yulgu-ngili, nyani ngunu miyilk
 come.out-RPA-IM come.out-RPA [3sgNOM thatUNM womanUNM] _{NOM}
 it came out. Having come out, the woman

[Note: 41 and 42 are a discourse peak, and note the increase in the use of
 the IM clitic -ban, and the shorter sentences, which together signal
 a climax in the story.]

galng-lay-dji-li-ban. (43) Galng-lay-dji-li,
 body-healthy-THEMSR-RPA-IM body-healthy-THEMSR-RPA
 was healed. Having been healed,

(44) a djani ngunu djin nya-ngini-ban
 - 3p1ERG [thatUNM] _{ACC} 3p1ERG see-RPA-IM
 they witnessed it -

ngunung, miyilk-ang, djama-gin-pili, (45) ngunu
 [thatUNM woman-GEN work-PROP-PL thatUNM
 the woman's workers that

ngu_i-kum djin nyini-ny, (46) ga bunggawa
 thatLOC-EMPH 3pINOM sit-RPC and bossUNM
 were sitting right there, and the boss

ngun-gira-pi gurrbi-bi. (47) Girr nyim-pi
 that-OBL-OR place-OR] ERG COMPL what-OR
 from that place (witnessed it). Then straight away

djama-gin-pi-ngir djin bultji-djin-ban, (48) "Wiy!,
 work-PROP-PL-ERG 3p1ERG tell-RPA-IM INTERJ
 the workers told the boss what (it was about), "Hey!

djining yul-mirrpili bil gurriyili-ngil+al
 [thisUNM man-PAUC] ERG 3duERG outside-RPA+??
 These two men

[Note: the tape is not clear at this point, so it is not known what the
 al formative is; possibly it is a contracted form of some other
 morpheme. The expected verb form would be
 (gar-)gurriyili-dj-nyir-dji-li groin-outside-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR-RPA]

ngunung, (49) minarr in.ga bil." (50) Marrga
 [thatUNM snakeUNM] ACC 3sgDAT 3duERG therefore
 have made the snake come out from her they (did)" Therefore

nyani ngunu-kirri, (51) "A ngilim djini-wil-tji
 [3sgERG that-COMPL] ERG - 1plincERG [this-PL-DEF] OR
 the afore-mentioned (boss said) "From these other men we

(52) ingki-ban lim rrupiya marr-gi wana
 NEG-IM 1plincERG [moneyUNM] ACC get-FI [bigUNM] ACC
 will not now get lots of money"

ngunu wurpa-pi yul-bi" (53) bindji-n. (54) Manymak,
 [thatUNM other-OR man-OR] OR do.thus-RPA okay
 (he) said. Okay,

nyani ngunu dji-ny ga-ngili, Paul-nyi ga Silas
 3sgERG [thatUNM] ACC 3pl-ACC take-RPA [Paul-ACC and SilasUNM] ACC
 he took Paul and Silas

ngunyili, bunggawa-li-ban, (55) wana-li yul-ili
 [thatALL boss-ALL-IM big-ALL man-ALL
 to the boss then, to the important man,

ngunung, ngurrdawalangu djina. (56) Ka-ny
 thatUNM leaderUNM 3plDAT] ALL take-RPC
 to their leader. He took (them)

kiri-ny nguli, (57) wangi-n, (58) "Nyum djiningi,
 PROG-RPC thatLOC say-RPA 2duERG [thisUNM] PROM
 all the way till there, (and) he said "You (two are doing) this:

rum mirkng nyim djama-dji-m djili
 [way.of.lifeUNM badUNM] ACC 2duERG work-THEMSR-PRES [thisLOC
 you are instigating bad practices here

nginbil-a gurrbu-w. (59) Nginibi djining ingki
 1plexc-GEN place-SPEC] LOC 1plexcNOM [thisUNM] DAT NEG
 in our area. We do not like this (which)

[Note: 59-60 involves a relative clause embedded in a relative clause,
 which is an extremely rare construction. Some of the labelled bracketing
 has been omitted to avoid over-extending our notational conventions.]

djal nibi marrngirri-dji, (60) djin-gira-pi djanguny
 like 1plexcERG hear-FUT [this-OBL-OR storyUNM] ACC
 we hear concerning this story (which)

nyum nyim ka-m, a wurpa-pi wurpa-pi (61) gim
 2duERG 2duERG bring-PRES - [other-OR other-OR] ACC because
 you bring (and which is) quite different; because

nginibi djini law nibi katji-nm, (62) rum
 1plexcERG [thisUNM lawUNM] ACC 1plexcERG hold-PRES [practicesUNM
 we have this law, practices

bilapilang mir, Rome-bi mala yul-pili, (63) nginibi
 like.that like Rome-OR COL person-PL] ACC 1plexcNOM
 like (the practices) of people from Rome, that's the way

bilapilangi-r nibi nyin-Ø." (64) Manymak
 it's.like.that-PROM 1plexcNOM sit-PRES okay
 we are." Okay,

ngunu-ngir-kirri, bili-ny djin yilbir-tji-li-ban.
 that-ABL-COMPL 3du-ACC 3plERG strip-THEMSR-RPA-IM
 after that they stripped them (ie. Paul and Silas).

(65) Bil wirar-tji-li-ban, (66) girri bilngga djin
 3duNOM hang.by.hands-THEMSR-RPA-IM COMPL 3duDAT 3plERG
 They hung by their hand, (and) then they

yilbir-tji-li-ban, (67) biri ngunung, warngarriny
 remove-THEMSR-RPA-IM chestUNM [thatUNM what's.his.nameUNM
 removed (their) shirt, (and) that boss

bunggawa nyini-ny djina, ngurri, (68) djiti-ngil dji-ny
 bossUNM] NOM sit-RPC 3plDAT noseUNM drag-RPA 3pl-ACC
 was sitting before them, (and) he led them in front of
 [Note: ngurri-djiti- nose-drag- is a compound stem meaning 'lead']

djina girri. (69) Ngunu-ngir-kirri bi wini-ni,
 3plDAT COMPL that-ABL-COMPL HITH return-RPA
 them (ie. the audience) also. After (they) came back

(70) girr bili-ny djin ga-ngili-ban. (71) Ka-ny
 COMPL 3du-ACC 3plERG take-RPA-IM take-RPC
 they took them away then. Having taken (them)

kiri-ny+ta nguli, (72) nambidi-ban, girri
PROG-RPC+NF thatLOC [insideUNM] ALL-IM COMPL
all the way there, inside (a prison) they then

prisoner-ban bili-ny djin yagirr-djin.
[prisonerUNM] ACC-IM 3du-ACC 3plERG insert-RPA
put them (as) prisoners.

(73) Bili-ny djin yagirr-djin, (74) manymak, ga nyani
3du-ACC 3plERG insert-RPA okay and [3sgNOM
Having put them (in prison), okay, the afore-mentioned

ngunu-kirri, ngunung prisoner djaka-gining,
that-COMPL thatUNM prisonerUNM care-PROP] NOM
prisoner caretaker

(75) nguli-kum dji'-tjarri-ny. (76) Manyak, nyini-ny
thatLOC-EMPH DIST-stand-RPC okay sit-RPC
was standing right there all the time. Okay, (they) were

kiri-nya..., (77) ngidjirrKng balnggi-dj-ny Kiri-ny-ban,
PROG-RPC+DUR close afternoon-INCHO-RPC PROG-RPC-IM
sitting all the time, (and) it was becoming (late) afternoon then,

(78) walirr mungin-dji yirрпи-ni, (79) girr biling
[sunUNM] ERG lower.back-INSTR set.down-RPC COMPL [3duNOM
the sun was setting, then the

ngunu-kirri, bil ngurr-yirрпи-n-ban prayer-dji-l-ban.
that-COMPL] NOM 3duNOM nose-set.down-RPA-IM prayer-THEMSR-RPA-IM
afore-mentioned (ie. Paul and Silas) bowed their heads to pray.

(80) Bil prayer-dj-ny Kiri-nya... (81) ga nyibi ngunu
3duNOM prayer-THEMSR-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR and [othersUNM thatUNM
They were busy praying and other people that

yul-pili nguli nambidi djin nyini-ny,
 person-PL [thatLOC insideUNM] LOC 3p1NOM sit-RPC
 were sitting there inside

(82) warngarriny-mirr ngunungi, nambidi prison,
 [what's.its.name-LOC thatUNM insideUNM prisonUNM] LOC NOM
 the what's-its-name, inside the prison,

(83) ga marrngirri-ny-ban (84) ga djin djarri-nyin-ban.
 and hear-RPC-IM and 3p1NOM stood-RPA-IM
 and could hear (them), they stood up then.

(85) Bili-ny djin marrngirri-ny-ban, (86) biling ngunu
 3du-ACC 3p1ERG hear-RPC-IM [3duNOM thatUNM] NOM
 They heard them as they were praying.

bil prayer-dj-ny. (87) Yarima... girr wurrwurr-dj-ny
 3duNOM prayer-THEMSR-RPC just+DUR COMPL shake-INCHO-RPC
 (They) were just (praying) and then

Kiri-ny-ban ngunung, bala, (88) ngunu warngarriny,
 PROG-RPC-IM [thatUNM buildingUNM thatUNM what's.its.nameUNM
 it began to shake to and fro, that what's-it-called

prisoner-bi bala ngunu wana. (89) A nu
 prisoner-OR buildingUNM thatUNM bigUNM] NOM and [footUNM] ACC
 that large building concerning prisoners (began to shake). And their feet

bili-ny djin garrpi-n djunggi-l+a, a gundjarr, chain-dji
 3du-ACC 3p1ERG tie-RPC wood-INSTR+NF [and wristUNM] ACC chain-INSTR
 they had wrapped (or tied) with wood, and their wrists with

wana-dji, (90) bintji maliri bil yulgu-nyir.
 big-INSTR otherwise nightUNM 3duNOM escape-RPI
 large chains, otherwise they may have escaped during the night.

(91) Girr wurrwurr-dj-ny Kiri-ny-ban gurrbu-w ngunung,
 COMPL shake-INCHO-RPC PROG-RPC-IM [place-SPEC thatUNM]_{NOM}
 Then that place began to shake to and fro,

(92) yarim+a wati-ban djin marrngi-n, (93) yarim+a
 just+NF [windUNM]_{ACC}-IM 3plERG hear-RPA just+NF
 (and) they could just hear a wind, (and)

window-ban mala pu-ny Kiri-ny (94) lap-miri-ny Kiri-ny+a,
 [window-IM COL]_{ACC} hit-RPC PROG-RPC open-CAUS-RPC PROG-RPC+NF
 just window-like things were then hit, opening (everything) fully;

(95) lap-ban djabir gir-ali djabir ngunung. Girri.
 open-IM [mouthUNM]_{ACC} go-RPA [mouthUNM thatUNM]_{ACC} COMPL
 open then went the openings (of the prison). That's all (about that).

(96) Madjirri nu-dji ngunu lap-miri-ngil chain
 next foot-INSTR [thatUNM]_{ACC} open-CAUS-RPA [chainUNM]
 Next it opened those chains on the feet

ngunung+a, (97) ga warngarrinya, nu ga gumbirri
 thatUNM+NF and what's.their.nameUNM+NF footUNM and handUNM
 and also (the chains on) the feet and hands,

gundjirr-mirrpili lap gir-ali, (98) midnight
 wrist-PAUC]_{ACC} open go-RPA midnightUNM
 (on) both wrists, (the chains) opened up, at the afore-mentioned

ngunu-kirr. (99) Wangi-n-ban, (100) nyani ngunu-kirri,
 that-COMPL say-RPA-IM [3sgNOM that-COMPL
 middle of the night. He then said (false start), the afore-mentioned

ngunu-kum prisoner djaka-gining nunydjirr-ali-ban.
 that-EMPH prisonerUNM care-PROP]_{NOM} run-RPA-IM
 prisoner caretaker ran then.

(101) Nunydjirr-ali ngul*i*, nya-ngin (102) dji-ny
run-RPA thatLOC see-RPA 3pl-ACC

He ran to there and looked,

minimini-ngil ngunu djabiri-gi, (103) nya-ngini ga
look.through.hollow-RPA [thatUNM mouth-DAT]_{DAT} see-RPA and
he looked at them through that door, he looked and
[Note: although the reduced pronoun is an ACC form, it is implied that when
he looked through the door he did not succeed in seeing them.]

dutj ngunyili-pm wini-n. (104) Warrwarr ga wurp+a
return thatALL-DELIM return-RPA go.fast and [anotherUNM+NF]_{DAT}
came straight back. And going quickly to another

wangi-n, (105) "Djunggi bi ga-w bapili,
say-RPA [fireUNM]_{ACC} HITH bring-IMP thisALL
he said "Bring me a firebrand

(106) djini wibi-djingi-rr." (107) Nunydjirr-al djunggi
[thisUNM]_{ACC} illumine-CAUS-IMP run-RPA [fireUNM]_{ACC}
to illuminate this (place)!" He ran (and)

gaypi-l (108) ga nyani-pm nunydjirr-al ngul*i*
deprive-RPA and 3sgNOM-DELIM run-RPA thatLOC
took the firebrand, and he alone ran to there

(109) bili-ny nya-ngin. (110) A nunydjirr-al, girr,
3du-ACC see-RPA - run-RPA COMPL
to see them. He ran, then

warngarriny-ban marr-ngili, (111) Knife-ban marr-ngil.
[so.and.souNM]_{ACC} -IM get-RPA [knifeUNM]_{ACC} -IM get-RPA
and got such-and-such, he got a knife then.

(112) A djini-kuyim inydji ra-nir, (113) a nyani
- this-later.on RECIP stab-RPI and 3sgNOM
He was on the verge of stabbing himself, and

ngunu-ngir, Silas ga Paul, in.ga bil bindji-ni
 that-ABL [SilasUNM and PaulUNM] NOM 3sgDAT 3duNOM do.thus-RPA
 due to that Silas and Paul said to him

(114) "Wiy! Ingk-inydji ra-rr.
 INTERJ NEG-RECIP stab-IMP
 "Hey! Don't stab yourself!

(115) Djini nibi warrpam wanngi-pm nibi
 [thisUNM] LOC [1plexcNOM allUNM] NOM alive-DELIM 1plexcNOM
 We are all here (and) we are still alive.

nyini-Ø. (116) Ingki nibi nunydjirri-nyir."
 sit-PRES NEG 1plexcNOM run-TPI
 We did not run away.

TEXT 34

This is a portion of an hour-long discourse by Gidarri concerning a journey undertaken on foot with some older relatives, just prior to his circumcision. The story focuses around several dramatic incidents, mostly encounters with buffalo, but also some other incidents. The portion cited here deals with the reception the narrator had when he and his party arrived (on foot) at Mainoru cattle station, about 200 kilometres to the south of the Crocodile Islands. He also describes how they outwitted a European there who tried hard to have Gidarri sent to school. At the time, Gidarri would have been in his very early teens; and the events of the story would have taken place in the late fifties, or early sixties. The text was recorded on the 10th of September, 1979.

Gidarri is a Marrangu clansman, and hence his dialect is 'smooth' (the other three texts are spoken in disjunctive dialects - see section 1.3 for an explanation of these terms). We pick up the story at a point where the travelling party have drawn near to Mainoru and come in contact with Aboriginal stockmen from the station. (The station is run by Aboriginal men, with a European employed to give managerial assistance.)

(212) Maynurru-li libi Kiri-ny nyini-ny-ban.
 Mainoru-ALL 1plexcNOM come-RPC PROG-RPC-IM
 We were coming then to Mainoru.

(223) libi nya-ngini ngunu-ngir-pm tjarri-ny,
1plexERG see-RPA that-ABL-DELIM stand-RPC
(and) standing (there) we could see it from there,

(224) minydji nibi djundi-ni. (225) Nibi djundi-ny
THITH 1plexNOM go.down-RPA 1plexNOM go.down-RPC
we went down to it. Going down,

Kiri-nya..., (226) libi mal-gir-ali, (227) biligi
PROG-RPC+DUR 1plexNOM part-go-RPA long.ago
we crossed over (where) long before

ngunu djin rari-ngili. (228) Minydji nibi mal-gir-ali,
[thatUNM] ACC 3plERG grade-RPA THITH 1plexNOM part-go-RPA
they had graded it. We crossed over,

(229) ngunu-ngir-pmi, djin bindji-n+a, (230) libili-ny
that-ABL-DELIM 3plERG do.thus-RPA+NF 1plex-ACC
(and) on the other side they did as follows;

djin nya-ngini. (231) "Ku! Yul-pili eh!
3plERG see-RPA INTERJ man-PL INTERJ
they saw us (and said). "Look, Aboriginal people!

Yalimirring-ngi-mi. Nyali-ngiri djining?"
stranger-OBL-KINPROP where-ABL [thisUNM] NOM
Unknown relatives! From where (do) these (come)?"

(232) "Ngunu-ngiri, rawirrang-ngiri." (233) "Ngiya!"
that-ABL sunrise-ABL INTERJ
"From the east." "Yes indeed!"

(234) djin bindji-n+a. (235) Djin djiri-ngi-n
3plERG do.thus-RPA+NF 3plERG recognise-CAUS-RPA
they said. They recognised

Wingu-ny, ngirr-a wuw-ngi-m, Wingu.
 [Left.Hand-ACC 1sg-GEN o.brother-OBL-KINPROP Left.HandUNM]_{ACC}

Left-Hand, my older brother.

[Note: 'Left-Hand' is a nickname for the narrator's travelling companion.]

(236) Djin nya-ngini Wingu, (237) a ngirri-ny irri-ny
 3p1ERG see-RPA [Left.HandUNM]_{ACC} and 1sg-ACC 1sg-ACC

They saw Left-Hand, and me

[Note: in 237 there is a fronted ACC-marked full pronoun, making the 0 participant prominent.]

djin nya-ngini-ban. (238) Biling ngu_i-gima, nangudu
 3p1ERG see-RPA-IM 3duNOM thatLOC-EMPH [sisterUNM]
 they saw then (too). Right there two sisters (of mine)

ngunu djining, bi djin ngurri-Ø djining
 thatUNM]_{NOM} [thisUNM]_{LOC} HITH 3p1NOM sleep-YPA [thisUNM]
 lived somewhere at this (place)

[Note: the less marked 3p1 pronoun is here used to refer to dual participants. This occurs again later in the story.]

Galutmirri-Ø. (239) Burinyila gungi-marrngirri-Ø.
 Galutmirri-LOC]_{LOC} [BurinyilaUNM]_{NOM} head-hear-PRES
 Galutmirri. Burinyila is (their) father.

[Note: gungi-marrngirri- is an idiom used to assert fatherhood of a participant. The narrator did not name the sisters, since they were dead at the time the story was told.]

(240) A ngu_i-gim djin nyini-ny, biling wawayka.
 - thatLOC-EMPH 3p1NOM sit-RPC [3duNOM pair.of.sistersUNM]_{NOM}
 Right there the pair of sisters were living.

(241) Djin nyini-ny, (242) ngarri irr yulgu-li-ban.
 3p1NOM sit-RPC 1sgNOM 1sgNOM arrive-RPA-IM
 They were sitting (there and) I arrived then.

(243) Yaw, irr yulgu-li-ban. (244) "Djin wari?
 INTERJ 1sgNOM arrive-RPA-IM 3pINOM whoNOM
 Yes, I arrived then. "Who are they?"

ah yagaṭay yagaṭay." (245) "Nyani guḷmi-ṅgi-m
 INTERJ taboo.name taboo.name 3sgNOM [y.brother-OBL-KINPROP
 Oh, so-and-so (and) so-and-so." "He is their younger brother."
 [Note: instead of yagaṭay, actual names would have been uttered when
 the event actually took place.]

biḷṅga." (246) "Nyiya, ṅgirr-a wuw+a," bili-ny djin
 3duDAT] NOM INTERJ 1sg-GEN o.brother+NF 3du-ACC 3p1ERG
 "Yes indeed, (he is) my brother" they told the two
 [Note: (246) seems to be what the two older brothers of the narrator said
 to the narrator's sisters concerning him. If so, then this is an instance
 of the less marked wuwi 'older brother' being used as a term of
 reference for a younger brother. This happens not infrequently.]

bultji-ni. (247) "Djini guḷm-ṅgi-mi."
 tell-RPA [thisUNM] NOM [y.brother-OBL-KINPROP] NOM
 (sisters). "This is our younger brother."

(248) "Ah ṅgiya!" (249) Girri.
 INTERJ INTERJ COMPL
 "Ah yes!" (said the sisters) That's all (concerning that).

(250) Wali ṅṅu-ṅgiri, libila djin ṅgadj-ny
 [foodUNM] ACC that-ABL 1plexDAT 3pINOM cry-RPC
 After that, they cried on account of us
 [Note: wali 'food' is a false start, see section 251.]

Kiri-nyi, (251) wali, diy, libila djin pirr-pirri-ny
 PROG-RPC [foodUNM teaUNM] ACC 1plexDAT 3p1ERG REDUP-bring-RPC
 They kept on bringing food and tea to us,

Kiri-ny, (252) libila djin ku-ny Kiri-ny-ban.
 PROG-RPC 1plexDAT 3p1ERG give-RPC PROG-RPC-IM
 (and) were giving it to us then.

(253) Ngunyili-ban irri-ny djin ga-li, gurrbi-li,
 thatALL-IM 1sg-ACC 3plERG take-RPA camp-ALL

They then took me (their) camp,

(254) nangudu-mirrpilim, irri-ny djin marr-ngili.
 sister-PAUC+ERG 1sg-ACC 3plERG pick.up-RPA

the two sisters picked me up.

(255) Nguji wal-dirr dirra-dji-la..., (256) blanket
 thatLOC [foodUNM] ACC -1sgERG eat-THEMSR-RPA+DUR [blanketUNM]

There I ate more food (and) they gave me a
 blanket

nyim-gunyarri girri irri-ny djin gu-li, girri.
 what-kindUNM goodsUNM] ACC 1sg-ACC 3plERG give-RPA COMPL

and all kinds of things also.

(257) Ngunyili-pm irri-ny djin wini-djingi-n Wingu-li.
 thatALL-DELIM 1sg-ACC 3plERG return-CAUS-RPA Left.Hand-ALL

They returned me to Left-Hand.

(258) Balnggi-dji-n-dirra, (259) libi ngurri-ny-ban,
 afternoon-INCHO-RPA-1sgDAT 1plexcNOM sleep-RPC-IM

It had become late afternoon, we slept then,

[Note: the 1sgDAT reduced pronoun 'for me' is best left untranslated.]

(260) libi walngirri-ny, yidjipil-pili.
 1plexcNOM play-RPC [child-PL] NOM

(and) we children played.

(261) Libi ngurri-ny nyini-ny nyabini?
 1plexcNOM sleep-RPC EXIST-RPC how.many

(For) how many (days) were we sleeping (there)?

(262) marri warranguwili yakirri. (263) A nyani Balanda
 possibly fewUNM sleepUNM - [3sgNOM EuropeanUNM]

possibly (for) three days. The European there

wurpilim djuga, bag-dji ny+irr gu-ngi." (276) A
 onePROM sugarUNM bag-PROM] ACC 2sgACC+1sgERG give-FUT
 one bag of sugar, I will give to you." And

nyani bindji-ni (277) "Wirr! Djini ngunyi_i-pm irr
 3sgNOM do.thus-RPA NEG [thisUNM] ACC thatALL-DELIM 1sgERG
 he spoke thus "No! I am sending this one (away) to there!"
 [Note: the location to which the narrator was to be sent was not specified,
 but understood to be the place from which he came.]

yani-Ø." (278) Yakirri warranguwii-gim liny ngurri-Ø
 send-FUT sleepUNM few-EMPH 1duexcNOM sleep-YPA
 He and I slept for a few days,

nyini-Ø, Wingu, ngirr-a wuw-ngi-mi,
 EXIST-YPA [Left.HandUNM 1sg-GEN o.brother-OBL-KINPROP] NOM
 Left-Hand, my older brother (and I did),

(279) ngunung nguli-girri-ban.
 [thatUNM thatLOC-COMPL] LOC-IM
 at that (place) back there.

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DIALECT VARIATIONS IN DJINANG CLANS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Djinang people number about 250 - 300 speakers, and occupy a narrow strip of land in north-central Arnhem land, to the south and south-east of the Crocodile Islands (Map 1). The western portion of their territory is higher ground (approximately 50 metres elevation), and the eastern portion is the flood plain of the Glyde river. The higher land is savannah woodland, mostly stringybark trees and is unsuitable for dwelling in unless near perennial water. The flood plain is grassland, and supports a large variety of wildlife - especially in the wet season. The northern area near the mouth of the Glyde river is mostly mud plains, which become dried and cracked in the dry season, often with salt deposits as well. The coastal fringes are bordered by dense mangrove thickets. Occasional patches of jungle can be found, and in moist areas, there are usually stands of paperbark trees.

Because of the characteristics of the terrain, people do not usually live for extended periods in one location, nor necessarily in their own clan's territory. Good camping places are located along the treeline to the west of the Glyde river's flood plain; and also in the west beside waterholes in Gattji creek. People now live almost exclusively to the west of the river, since the store and facilities are located on that side of the river. In the past, the eastern side of the river was used for residence and hunting far more frequently. The Manyarring territory to the west of the river is entirely unsuitable for camping, and so Manyarring clansmen live now on "mother's country", which is Balmbi territory. Balmbi clansmen who normally would reside in the eastern Balmbi territory have now all died. In fact, the only living Balmbi male is a boy of about 10 years old. Thus, at any one time, a good camping place is likely to be occupied by people from a number of clans, including people whose father's language is another Yolngu language.

Djinang is the western-most member of a family of languages popularly called (in recent literature) the 'Yolngu' languages, after the word for 'man' used by most of these languages. The western members of this family are not mutually intelligible, and certainly warrant the term 'language'. The eastern members are less diverse linguistically, and 'dialect' may, for them, be a more suitable term (Morphy 1983:3-6). A major linguistic boundary occurs at the western border of Djinang territory, the languages to the west (Burarra), southwest (Rembarrnga), and south (Ngandi), being of the prefixing type, and are genetically far removed from the Yolngu languages (see map 2).

To the south-east there is Djinba (actually Djinba is but one of a number of clans, each of which speaks closely related dialects - the most numerous one at present being Ganalbingu); to the east there are Gupapuyngu and Djambarrpuyngu; and to the north and north-east, Yan-nhangu. These last four are all Yolngu languages, and are not mutually intelligible. Yan-nhangu is spoken by people who are mostly island-dwellers, and varieties of the Nhangu group of dialects (of which Yan-nhangu is one) are spoken from the Crocodile Islands in the west to the extremities of the Wessel Islands in the east. Yan-nhangu is spoken by the land-owners of the Crocodile Islands, and is closely related (genetically) both to Djinang and Djinba.

There are presently seven Djinang clans, three belong to the Djuwing (Dhuwa) moiety, and the other four belong to the Yirritjing (Yirritja) moiety. Map 3 shows the clan territories, which in several cases are discontinuous. The location of boundaries is approximate, but based on careful survey work by Ken Nowland of the Uniting Church, when the latter was resident in the area in the sixties; the precise time of his survey work is unknown. The territories belonging to the Djinba, Walmapuy, Dabi, Manydjarpingu, and Ganalbingu clans (all 'Djinba' language clans) are also shown on the map.

The Djinang clans each have one or more names for their own particular dialect; e.g. Murrungun people speak Wulkabi, some Marrangu families speak Wurrki-ganydjarr (lit. 'flower-power'), others speak Munggurpi, and others Bumiri Binngiligining. Different names within a clan should not be thought of as indicating subdialects. I have not been able to detect any such differences within a clan's dialect. Borsboom (1978:21-23) states that there is also a Murrungun clan which speaks Wulaki. Its territory is in the north west. Murrungun clans can be found in several language groups, and similarly for Marrangu clans - as Borsboom (1978:27-28) indicates. It is not rare for a clan to adopt the dominant language or dialect of the geographical region. The Wulaki-speaking Murrungun clan is an example. And to the south west, Rembarrnga is the dominant language of Malnyanganak, even though it is theoretically Murrungun territory. Geographical proximity, as we shall see, is an important factor in the diffusion of dialect variations.

The people themselves usually give the clan name in lieu of the dialect name, when asked for the latter. So I will retain this convention in what follows. The clans, and hence the dialects, are as follows:

Djuwing moiety

Marrangu
Murrungun
Manyarring

Yirritjing moiety

Wuḷaki
Djadiwitjibi
Mildjingi
Balmbi

It is highly likely that more clans once existed, but have become extinct. For example, Schebeck (1967:103) gives Djawarabing or possibly Djawarrabing (moiety unknown) as a Djinang-speaking clan which was almost extinct in the mid sixties. Other Yolngu languages refer to this group as Dhāwarrawuy; and the suffix change -wuy to -bing, together with the change of dh to dj, would indicate that the name is of Djinang origin. Also, as mentioned above, Balmbi is nearly extinct; Mildjingi has only two male speakers known to me (one a very old man), and Wuḷaki appears to be still viable only in the far west amongst people who traditionally have been bilingual in both Wuḷaki and Burarra (speaking Burarra as a second language). Borsboom (1978:21-22) also names a couple of small clans which are considered as closely allied to larger clans: one to the Marrangu clan, and one to Djadiwitjibi. He gives their names as Gorbmorbmal (possibly Gurrpmurrpmal) and Monjebung (probably Munyibung), respectively.

The most viable Djinang dialects at the present appear to be: Marrangu, Manyarring, Murrungun, Djadiwitjibi, and Wuḷaki. Those in danger of extinction are Mildjingi and Balmbi.

1.2 SOCIAL FACTORS IN DIALECT VARIATIONS

1.2.1 National Pride

It is a feature of Aboriginal society that a 'tribe' will have a well-developed sense of political identity. An important treatment is that of Dixon (1976), who deals with this in some detail for tribes in the Cairns region of north Queensland. A later treatment is that of Merlan (1982), who deals with three different areas of Australia. Her work shows that while there is variation of the relative importance of certain indicators of social unity, nevertheless both land ties (through totems) and linguistic affiliations are of primary significance. This is especially true of the Arnhem land area. I once heard a Manyarring young man refer to his area as the "Djinang Nation" (he spoke in English). His utterance was significant in two ways. Firstly, it reflects the fact that a principal defining characteristic of political unity is linguistic unity; and secondly, that the self identity involved is that of 'nationhood'. This is not easy for a European to grasp, since there is remarkable homogeneity in northeast Arnhem Land in terms of ceremonies, kinship, culture, semantic primitives, world view, and social

organization. Even despite such homogeneity, there is a strongly developed parochial consciousness. This operates between linguistic entities, so that, for example, a woman who could read a little in her father's language (Djambarrpuynu) refused to learn to read Djinang (even though she spoke it fluently), saying "That's not my language!"

1.2.2 Clan Loyalty, Clan Affiliation

The sense of linguistic solidarity extends to the level of the clan, and is almost as strong as that between major languages. The variations between dialects are relatively insignificant when compared with the differences between neighbouring languages, and yet many of the formal realizations of the dialect differences are well known and, for the most part, consistently maintained. This is especially true of differences which involve closed sets of morphemes, regular paradigmatic variations, and pronunciation. It is not quite so strongly maintained in the area of lexical variations in the open classes of morphemes (i.e. verb and noun stems). However lexical variations which signal moiety affiliation seem to be particularly stable. For example: all Djuring people use *maju* 'daddy', while all Yirritjing people use *muri*.

There has been a greater amount of social mixing in recent decades, due to the adoption of fairly stable residence patterns which allow easy and fast access to the supply centre (the local store). However, diffusion of open class morphemes cannot be explained along these lines because the time depth is but a few decades.

There is intense rivalry between clans, and quite callous behaviour can be observed from time to time because of clan loyalties. Some examples can be cited. A vehicle, procured by one clan, will refuse members of another clan permission to ride with them to the store, even though there is room. Fighting between men of different clans is not rare, but within the clan is strongly inhibited. Clans try to get someone from their own group to be represented on the local council, since if not they will always get the worst deal in decisions. The positive side of this is that youngsters are taught to always put their clan first, above all other groups and individuals. There is ample literature on this kind of behaviour, so I need not elaborate further. The important point is that clan affiliation has linguistic realization, just as 'national' identity has.

1.2.3 Marriage

Inter-clan marriage is about as frequent as inter-tribe marriage. Traditionally, Djinang and Djinba exchange women as marriage partners. Recently, some Gupapuyngu men have been marrying Djinang women, which is a source of irritation to Ganalbingu men who normally would have first preference. However, within the Djinang clans there are well known norms for the

distribution of women as marriage partners between clans. For example, Manyarring men may take women from the Balmbi clan, Murrungun men may take women from the Djadiwitjibi and Wulaki clans, Marrangu women go to Mildjingi or Djadiwitjibi men, and so forth. More details of the system, though not a full account, can be found in Borsboom (1978:23-34). Marriage must always be to a woman from the opposite moiety. Children learn first the dialect (or language) of the mother, and around the age of puberty, are expected to begin to master the father's dialect (or language) - which becomes one's "first language" for the rest of one's adult life.

It is not easy to evaluate the influence of the marriage rules on dialect variations. I offer the following as a hypothesis.

Firstly: the circulation of women ought to be an efficient mechanism for the diffusion of morphemes from open classes in the lexicon. The facts would seem to support this hypothesis, because there has been considerable diffusion of stems, but no consistent direction of drift, nor origin, can be deduced for the bulk of the forms which do vary (the variation is typically of a suppletive kind, though not exclusively so).

Secondly: the circulation of women can be expected not to reduce paradigmatic variations, since the forms concerned involve core vocabulary and must be mastered early in learning to speak a given dialect. This stability of paradigmatic variations is also an observed feature of the dialect situation.

The situation with pronunciation variations is not clear to me, in terms of a child's acquisition of language. However, by early adulthood, one's pronunciation conforms to the norms of one's father's dialect, provided the person has been living in the Djinang speech community during early teens and before.

1.2.4 Residence Patterns

As stated earlier, it is usually the case that members of various clans intermix at certain well-established camping areas. For instance, at Mulgarram, a camp in wooded country a few miles west of the Glyde river (see Map 3), in Marrangu country, the people living there were from the following clans: Marrangu, Wulaki, Murrungun, Djadiwitjibi, and possibly from other Djinang clans too. Also, Ganalbingu, Dabi, Walmapuy, and Djinba. This is now a fairly well-established outstation of Ramingining. It is to be expected that if the current trend continues, the intermixing involved in such residence patterns would be an effective means of diffusing morphemes from open classes, resulting in significantly increased levelling of the inter-clan dialect differences.

1.2.5 Ceremonial Exchange & Trade: the Influence of Prefixing Languages

Thompson (1949) has written on the patterns of ritual and non-ritual exchange of goods practiced in former years in the Arnhem Land area. The patterns of exchange involved an influx of certain items (e.g. stone spear heads, boomerangs, etc.) and a reciprocating outflux of locally produced (or acquired) goods. The inflow and outflow was along 'paths' defined by each person's location in a chain of barter partners - defined by certain mutual kinship relations primarily. These 'paths' are also geographic, so that stone spear heads arrived in the Glyde river area from the south (via the Ritharrngu/Wagilak people, and then to the Djinba people, and thence to the Djinang); or from the east along the coast (probably via Yan-nhangu- and Dhuwala-speaking people). Ceremonies were times when ritual obligations of goodwill were at their strongest, and so at such times there was considerable interchange of goods. The 'paths' therefore involved social contact of a religio-economic nature between members of diverse linguistic groups. For example, boomerangs (used in ceremonies and songs only) entered the Djinang area principally from the southwest, via the Rembarrnga.

The question of interest is whether this resulted in significant diffusion of linguistic features? The answer appears to be both 'yes' and 'no'. Let us consider the Rembarrnga - Djinang contact. A cursory inspection of Rembarrnga vocabulary (McKay 1975) yields negligible results in terms of related forms. Of the few found, they were terms for animals, vocabulary related to horses (recent vocabulary), and a few isolatable morphemes such as 'tomorrow', 'far', ceremonially important material such as 'white clay', and just a few items from lexical closed classes (core vocabulary).

Some examples are given below:

<u>Rembarrnga</u>		<u>Djinang</u>	
gandayala	'plains kangaroo'	gandayala	'plains kangaroo'
gudurrku	'broilga'	gudurrki/u	'broilga'
yarraman	'horse'	yarraman	'horse'
bududup	'gallop' (onomat.)	bududup	'gallop'
nganaparra	'buffalo'	nganaparra	'buffalo'
djubuy	'shoo', 'go away'	djibay [djibey]	'shoo' (dogs)
bun-	'smoke' (tobacco)	buny-	'smoke' (tobacco)
(?) bultji-	'roast'	burrtji-	'roast'
ditj-	'return'	gutj	'return'
balay	'far'	bilay	'far'
gudarrtji	'tomorrow'	gudarr	'tomorrow'
gudarr	'near future'	gudarr	'tomorrow'
gamununggu	'white clay'	gamununggu	'white clay'
djimindi	'wire (fish) spear'	djimindi	'wire (fish) spear'

gumurr	'facing direction of' biri	'chest', 'facing direction of'
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Closer examination may reveal more. What is significant is that core vocabulary is not strongly represented. *Dutj* is a common non-inflecting verb root, from a class of non-thematic verbs. Some Yolngu languages have formed thematic (ie. inflecting) verbs using this class as a source of stems (e.g. *Djinba*), while other Yolngu languages have preserved these as a non-inflecting class (e.g. *Djinang*). *Gudarr*, and *balay*, are pan-Yolngu morphemes, and can be presumed to have been diffused into Rembarrnga from Yolngu contact; and these terms certainly fit Heath's criteria of syllabicity, sharpness of boundaries, unfunctionality, and categorical clarity (Heath 1978:105) - being some of the factors he found to be favourable towards diffusibility.

Gumurr is of interest. The *Djinang* term is *biri*, a suppletive form, since the common Yolngu word for 'chest' is *gumurr* (*Djinba*: *gupurr*). And in Yolngu languages it is used metaphorically with the sense 'facing the direction of' (and in other senses). Rembarrnga has borrowed this from Yolngu languages, and Thompson (1949) sheds light on how this came to be. In the ceremonial exchange cycle, the source of goods was identified by a phrase which began with the word *gumurr* (the *Djinang* used *biri*). Thompson (1949: fig 1) gives:

gumurr gatjirrK
gumurr muwadhak (muwadhak 'clothes, things, stuff')
gumurr mewatj (mewatj 'east')
gumurr djalk
gumurr garin

Thus it can be safely asserted that *gumurr* was diffused into Rembarrnga because of its special metaphorical use in these terms; a conclusion which is reinforced by the fact that it was a secondary sense of the morpheme which became the primary sense in Rembarrnga.

Thus it is clear that borrowing has been of a very peripheral nature in terms of lexical items. Nor has it been unidirectional. For example, *djibay* (used when shooing away dogs) has been borrowed from Rembarrnga *djubuy* (probably having the same function). The rest of the vocabulary in the above list is either common animals, ceremonial material, common implements, or recent terminology of either European or Austronesian origin. The obvious conclusion is that economic and ceremonial activities have had minimal effect on the lexicon of either language. The situation is much the same with Burarra. The *Djinang* system of verbal auxiliaries can be shown to have been influenced by Burarra auxiliaries, and some vocabulary has diffused in both directions (i.e. *Djinang* to Burarra, and vice versa); but the effect of this

diffusion has not lead to dialect variations in Djinang with the exception of the strong negative morpheme (see section 2.3.3). Thus the origin of inter-clan lexical dialect differences in Djinang cannot be viewed as the result of contact with prefixing languages of the west. (Macassan influence was lexically far more significant than was contact with Burarra and Rembarrnga).

To illustrate these remarks, let us look briefly at some of the ways that Djinang and Djinba have been influenced by the prefixing languages in the west. Firstly, both Djinang and Djinba have palatalized all lamino-dentals to lamino-palatals. While various Yolngu languages exhibit palatalization of interdentials in some structural positions, only Djinang and Djinba have applied this process in all positions, thereby losing the contrast entirely. Interestingly, the prefixing languages to the immediate west (Burarra in the case of Djinang, Rembarrnga for Djinba) do not have a lamino-dental versus lamino-palatal contrast. Ngandi, to the south-east does have this contrast, and certainly proto-Yolngu had it too (Heath 1978:35). So this western influence has affected all Djinang clans uniformly (probably due to a greater time depth).

Secondly, Rembarrnga and Burarra (to the southwest and west) use bound pronominal prefixes to the verb, marking person and number, and showing concord with case marking on nominals which are co-referential in the same clause. Yolngu languages lack such a system of formally reduced pronouns forming pre-verbal clitic pronominal forms, with the exception that both Djinang and Djinba do have precisely this. Furthermore, the Djinang and Djinba forms are fairly transparent reductions of full form pronouns; usually being derived by dropping the initial consonant (or syllable), final vowel, and in Djinang there is vowel change as well (*a and *u > i). This feature of verbal morphology in both Djinang and Djinba certainly owes its origin to the influence of the prefixing languages to the west (Burarra and Rembarrnga).

Djinang clans exhibit regular paradigmatic dialectic variations in the class of reduced pronouns. However, the variations exactly parallel paradigmatic variations in free form pronouns used in the various dialects. From this we deduce that the variations in the full form pronouns have historical priority, and that the bound pronouns arose by a process of phonological reduction under pressure of the prefixing languages. Pronominal variations are the most visible socio-linguistic markers of clan affiliation. However, while the occurrence of reduced pronominal forms is due to the influence of prefixing languages, dialectal variations within the reduced pronouns cannot have the same origin. This we shall see in section 2.3.1. The implication is that most dialectal variations are relatively recent internal developments within the Djinang language.

1.2.6 Conclusion

It appears that the most significant factors in dialect maintenance, and diffusion of terminology, are those factors which are of significance in interclan relations. This means that moiety, marriage rules, clan loyalty, geographical proximity, and residence patterns, would be the most important factors. Of these, clan loyalty and moiety differences are probably dialect-preserving factors; while marriage rules, geographical proximity, and residence patterns are probably dialect-levelling factors.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF DJINANG DIALECT DIFFERENCES

2.1 Phonological Differences: the "Smoothness Gradient"

While learning to speak Djinang, I had been aware from the first that there were speech variations from clan to clan. I knew that Milurrurr (a Manyarring man) frequently elided vowels at the end of words; that Manbarrarra often used an a vowel at the end of words where i would normally be expected; and that Gidarri did not appear to elide word final vowels very often. Subjective impressions are not sufficient, and so a computer has been used to analyse the speech of various Djinang men, using narrative texts.

The 'native theory' of dialect variation.

Joe Gidarri, a Djinang man from the Marrangu clan, explained the difference between dialects as follows. Waving his hand in an undulating wave motion, he said that some dialects (including his own Marrangu dialect) were 'like that'; and then changing to a vertical chopping motion, he said the other dialects were of that nature, by way of comparison. What he was claiming was that some dialects were perceptually 'smooth', while the others were more 'disjunctive'. Knowing that Djinang people characterize voiceless stops with the same chopping motion of the hand, and from examples supplied by Gidarri, I deduced that the difference he was trying to describe was the following:

Disjunctive dialects have a higher proportion of voiceless stops due to hardening of voiced stops in some environments, and a lower proportion of vowels due to elision processes (particularly the i vowel, which is the most common Djinang vowel); while Smooth dialects do not harden voiced stops as often, and elide vowels less often.

This is not, of course, the only dialectal variable; there are others which are equally significant, such as pronoun paradigm differences, certain lexical differences, and other phenomena (deictics, negatives, etc.); and these shall be dealt with later. However, all of these are quantifiable and correlate with explicit form differences in words and morphemes. The smoothness gradient, on the other hand, is far more vague and not easily quantifiable - being a statistical reality only. Therefore we shall examine the evidence for it at some length, and attempt to make explicit what are the linguistic correlates of 'disjunctiveness' and 'smoothness'.

We are claiming that the dialects can be ordered with respect to each other along a gradient, such as shown below. The placement of some of the dialects on such a gradient is uncertain due to a lack of data. This applies to Mildjīngi, Balmbi, Djadīwitjibi, and to some extent, to Wulaki. However, Murrungun appears to be the most disjunctive, Manyarring slightly less so, Marrangu is smooth, and Wulaki may be even more smooth than Marrangu (see 2.1.2).

Djadīwitjibi appears to be more smooth than disjunctive (from my subjective impressions), and is probably similar to Marrangu. Mildjīngi I have heard from only one old man, and I had no strong impression of either extreme, so possibly it is best to put it near the middle of the gradient, at least for the sake of a hypothesis. I have statements from informants in my field notes that Balmbi is the 'same as Manyarring', but I have no actual data. (I have a tape of a Manyarring man's wife speaking part of a traditional story; and I believe her to be a Balmbi clanswoman, but I need to check this out. Her speech is indistinguishable from Manyarring, except being Yirritjīng she uses *muri* 'daddy', rather than *maļu*.) For comments on Wulaki, see section 2.1.2.

It must be remembered that this gradient is a statistical reality only. It is not universally true throughout the lexicon, for there are forms which violate the pattern. For example, the -bi 'emphatic' suffix on pronouns has the form -pi in Wulaki. Thus we possibly have a situation something like the following:

Disjunctive Smooth

Murrungun Manyarring (Balm.?) (Mildj.?) (Djad.?) Marrangu Wulaki

The above gradient correlates well with paradigmatic differences in the class of pronouns. This will be dealt with in detail later, but an example will illustrate. Djadīwitjibi, Wulaki, and Marrangu each have the 2pl pronoun *ngilidjī*, and the bound pronominal form of the same pronoun is *lidjī*. These are both 'smooth' pronunciations. The other dialects have 2pl *ngildjī* (note the cluster which gives a disjunctive effect), with the bound form being *ildjī*. These

latter two are both disjunctive pronunciations. Furthermore, the territories of these three clans form a solid bloc to the west and south, taking Nangalala as the 'centre' of the Djinang territories. Interestingly, Wulaki and Djadiwitjibi are Yirritjng moiety, while Marrungu is Djuwing - and at the opposite end of the continuum from the other Djuwing clans. So we must conclude that smoothness does not correlate with moiety.

The lack of correlation with the direction of women in the marriage system is also of significance here. Wulaki women go to Marrungu or Murrungun men, but the latter two clans are at opposite ends of the gradient. Murrungun women go to Djadiwitjibi or Wulaki men; but the children of the latter two unions say lidj rather than ildj (the mother's form of the 2pl pronoun). It does seem that geographical proximity may be the significant factor in paradigmatic identity in those paradigms which realize dialectal variations. In support of this, map 3 shows that Manyarring and Murrungun form an eastern and northeastern bloc of Djuwing clans, which correlates with the fact that both are of the disjunctive type.

The following abbreviations will be used for the various clans:

Manyarring	MN	Djadiwitjibi	DJ
Murrungun	MU	Wulaki	WU
Marrungu	MA	Mildjingi	MI
		Balmbi	BA

I give here some examples illustrating the pronunciation variations between smooth and disjunctive dialects. The following list is a sample, and is by no means exhaustive.

	DISJUNCTIVE		SMOOTH
near	ngidjirrkng MN MU		ngidjirrgi WU
			ngidjirrngni MA
before	ngurrwakng MN MU		ngurrwagi MA WU
from before	ngurrwaknipi MN		ngurrwagipi MA WU
	ngurrwakngipi MU		
be time of	bildjirri MN MU		bilidjirri MA DJ
lightweight	rakraKng MN MU		rakiraking WU DJ MI
			rakiraki MA
believe	marr-pirraKkindjidji MN MU		marr-pirralnyakinidjidji MA
for those	ngunwiliki MN MU		ngunuwiliki MA

arrive	yulkung	MU	yulgung	MA	yulngung MN
from that	ngun <u>g</u> irpm	MN MU	ngun <u>u</u> ngirpm	MA	
don't stab yourself	ingkinydji rarr	MN	ingkinydji rarri	MA	
deviated	malkurdjil	MN MU	malkurdjili	MA	

Word final *i* is optionally elided by all dialects provided no ambiguity is introduced by doing so. The difference between disjunctive and smooth dialects in this respect is one of frequency; disjunctive dialects elide often, and even often before pause; smooth dialects elide much less often, and usually do not elide before pause. The difference between the speech styles is most readily perceived by listening to narratives, where the effect is cumulative.

One important point arises. The voicing distinction in Djinang stops necessarily has low functional load. However it is contrastive, even if minimally, as shown by minimal pairs such as:

nginibi	1 plural exclusive	nginipi	husband
giri	habitual aspect	kiri	progressive aspect

2.1.2. The Data.

The text data is taken from speakers who belong to four different clans. A further speaker (Yililpawuy) speaks Djinang as a second language, though fluently. Her father speaks Djambarrpuyngu, and her mother Gupapuyngu. However, I have only one short text from this woman, and the analysis of her speech will therefore be less reliable than for the other narrators, though of considerable interest. The following table gives the speaker's names, their clan affiliations, number of texts used in the analysis, total number of words and phonemes for each speaker, and an indication of my subjective assessment of the reliability of the statistical counts for each data source.

Name	Clan	texts	words	phonemes	reliability
Gid <u>a</u> rri	Marrangu	7	6684	36276	excellent
Manbarrarra	Murrungun	4	3122	16409	high
Malanggi	Manyarring	3	1542	8305	fair
Milurrurr	Manyarring	2	1410	7735	fair
Anonymous	Wu <u>l</u> aki	4	978	5073	very poor
Yililpawuy	(non-Djinang)	1	260	1428	marginal

The Wulaki data is wholly taken from A. Capell's (c. 1941) handwritten field transcriptions (unpublished). He did not record speaker's names. The Wulaki data is about half text, and the other half is elicited sentence data. It is inevitable that the elicited sentences are transcribed with a minimum of vowel elision, and to a slightly lesser extent, so too is the text material. This results in phoneme frequencies which are not typical of natural text; although the direction of the bias is quite predictable. Another feature of Capell's transcription that must be mentioned is the fact that he did not distinguish voiced from voiceless stops. Occasionally he does write a double voiced stop symbol, which is always voiceless, but non-geminate voiceless stops are not distinguished from voiced stops in his transcription. Using comparative dialectal data, I have partly corrected his transcriptions (where the correction is reliable). Unfortunately, it is not possible to adjust the transcription as reliably as one would like; and for this reason the adjusted text contains a much higher proportion of voiced stops than would be expected in natural text. These two effects make the Wulaki dialect appear to be much more 'smooth' than it probably is in reality. (Up to the time of writing, I have not been able to record the speech of any Wulaki people).

As can be seen from the above table, Gidarri has contributed nearly as much data as all the other speakers together (Gidarri, 36,276 phonemes; others, 38,950 phonemes). This makes the statistics drawn from his speech maximally reliable. His dialect is a 'smooth' one, and so I have used his dialect as the standard of reference for measuring disjunctiveness.

At this point I will give the tables of frequencies of phonemes for each speaker. Frequencies are given for word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions. A further column specifies the sum of each of these, being the total number of occurrences of the respective phoneme in the speech of that person. The phonemes are grouped vertically, the first group are voiceless stops, then voiced stops, then nasals, laterals, glides, vowels, and finally glottal stop. (Glottal stop is not a phoneme, but rather a syllable prosody which is a common feature of Yolngu languages; it is of lesser incidence in Djinang than in other Yolngu languages).

It must also be stated that all speakers (except in the Wulaki data) used a small number of English words in their stories; for example, store, airstrip, net, airplane, war-fight, etc. As a result, some phonological constraints can be violated by such borrowings. This accounts for the occasional occurrence of *t* word initially, and for occasional occurrences of voiced stops word finally. The frequency of English words is so low that their effect on phoneme frequencies can be ignored, except as noted above.

Gidarrri (Marrangu clan).

Manbarrarra (Murrungun clan)

	initial	medial	final	total		initial	medial	final	total
p	113	569	11	693	p	55	236	28	319
t	60	78	45	183	t	15	63	33	111
<u>t</u>	0	58	16	74	<u>t</u>	0	27	14	41
tj	19	396	23	438	tj	5	108	29	142
k	239	423	79	741	k	119	144	95	358
b	821	902	1	1724	b	363	345	1	709
d	31	64	15	110	d	26	27	7	60
<u>d</u>	118	161	0	279	<u>d</u>	45	59	0	104
dj	670	686	9	1365	dj	303	265	0	568
g	793	692	3	1488	g	265	253	3	521
m	626	605	271	1502	m	301	274	102	677
n	72	1032	480	1584	n	25	710	235	970
<u>n</u>	68	547	26	641	<u>n</u>	28	166	10	204
ny	377	603	461	1441	ny	283	222	145	650
ng	773	820	271	1864	ng	404	401	140	945
l	446	1050	199	1695	l	44	502	64	610
<u>l</u>	7	553	58	618	<u>l</u>	16	202	14	232
rr	0	1454	260	1714	rr	4	643	119	766
r	103	869	139	1111	r	52	368	36	456
w	408	214	57	679	w	267	166	73	506
y	263	201	107	571	y	142	107	99	348
i	381	6149	2684	9214	i	124	2644	1027	3795
a	202	3028	895	4125	a	190	1473	533	2196
u	50	2190	182	2422	u	14	1030	77	1121
'	0	116	11	127	'	0	31	8	39
CC	clusters	2028			CC	clusters	961		
CCC	clusters	198			CCC	clusters	34		
CCCC	clusters	11			CCCC	clusters	4		
Total	clusters	2237			Total	clusters	999		

Malanggi (Manyarring clan)

Milurrurr (Manyarring clan)

	initial	medial	final	total
p	43	128	4	175
t	14	24	12	50
<u>t</u>	0	19	1	20
tj	7	66	1	74
k	52	60	57	169
b	408	172	0	580
d	4	3	6	13
<u>d</u>	10	34	0	44
dj	96	106	0	202
g	163	152	0	315
m	163	127	42	332
n	7	240	165	412
<u>n</u>	16	87	10	113
ny	99	123	77	299
ng	131	213	151	495
l	9	375	177	561
<u>l</u>	7	109	10	126
rr	1	321	47	369
r	41	152	43	236
w	110	42	17	169
y	67	31	18	116
i	31	1475	476	1982
a	43	759	135	937
u	5	479	32	516
'	0	25	1	26
CC	clusters	533		
CCC	clusters	20		
CCCC	clusters	1		
Total	clusters	554		

	initial	medial	final	total
p	32	141	2	175
t	6	18	3	27
<u>t</u>	0	6	0	6
tj	1	48	1	50
k	41	108	26	175
b	161	167	0	328
d	2	17	2	21
<u>d</u>	8	20	0	28
dj	158	143	0	301
g	209	106	1	316
m	104	124	92	320
n	13	266	185	464
<u>n</u>	23	178	6	207
ny	126	127	125	378
ng	198	198	124	520
l	18	255	68	341
<u>l</u>	13	79	3	95
rr	3	227	60	290
r	23	169	51	243
w	99	25	13	137
y	55	50	9	114
i	56	1331	358	1745
a	41	668	179	888
u	4	520	42	566
'	0	17	1	18
CC	clusters	469		
CCC	clusters	47		
CCCC	clusters	6		
Total	clusters	522		

Capell's 1941 data (Wulaki clan)

Yililpawuy (non-Djinang)

	initial	medial	final	total		initial	medial	final	total
p	2	34	0	36	p	5	9	0	14
t	0	5	0	5	t	0	2	0	2
<u>t</u>	0	5	0	5	<u>t</u>	0	7	2	9
tj	0	34	1	35	tj	0	5	0	5
k	8	52	18	78	k	9	23	8	40
b	101	58	0	159	b	46	25	0	71
d	2	7	0	9	d	0	0	0	0
<u>d</u>	12	12	0	24	<u>d</u>	10	0	0	10
dj	71	123	0	194	dj	14	51	0	65
g	127	100	0	227	g	29	21	0	50
m	70	134	62	266	m	23	15	9	47
n	7	164	15	242	n	0	57	22	79
<u>n</u>	15	33	0	48	<u>n</u>	4	31	1	36
ny	164	62	40	266	ny	31	32	13	76
ng	143	134	42	319	ng	31	41	5	77
l	25	164	32	221	l	0	47	30	77
<u>l</u>	0	52	3	55	<u>l</u>	0	4	1	5
rr	0	216	77	293	rr	0	49	12	61
r	6	121	21	148	r	1	40	4	45
w	81	24	4	109	w	28	3	3	34
y	32	21	14	67	y	5	6	3	14
i	84	835	560	1479	i	20	242	112	374
a	1	513	48	562	a	4	121	17	142
u	0	220	6	226	u	0	84	12	96
'	0	19	1	20	'	0	0	0	0
CC	clusters	227			CC	clusters	94		
CCC	clusters	21			CCC	clusters	8		
CCCC	clusters	1			CCCC	clusters	0		
Total	clusters	249			Total	clusters	102		

2.1.3 Analysis of the phoneme and consonant cluster frequencies.

General Principles.

From the 'native theory' we see that the smoothness gradient should involve variation in (a) elision of vowels, particularly an i vowel in word final position, and (b) hardening of voiced stops. Since vowels in word initial position cannot be elided, we are therefore concerned with the frequencies of vowels in word medial and final position.

A 'disjunctive' dialect ought to have decreased vowel frequencies in word medial and final positions. Also, word medial elisions will create consonant clusters, so that a disjunctive dialect ought to have a higher incidence of consonant clusters.

Concerning hardening of voiced stops, it is not appropriate to compare the relative frequencies of voiceless stops, because the variations in the overall frequencies of voiced and voiceless stops for each speaker are too great. To obtain a measure of the amount of stop hardening, we must instead measure the frequency of voiceless stops compared to the total frequency of both voiced and voiceless stops: that is, a ratio of number of voiceless stops to total number of stops.

Since the number of phonemes for each speaker varies widely, we must normalize our frequencies in order to make them comparable for each speaker. There are two possible ways to do this. One way is to divide by the number of words (for each speaker); the other way is to divide by the number of phonemes (for each speaker). The latter method is used, and preferred, because the number of words depends on the analyst's assessment of where word boundaries lie, which introduces an unknown amount of subjectivity into the results. Thus, if F is the number of occurrences of some linguistic feature for speaker Y, then we convert this to a normalized value by the following formula:

$$\frac{F \times 100}{\text{total number of phonemes for Y}}$$

In this formula, F will be such variables as: number of word final occurrences of i; number of word medial occurrences of a; ratio of voiceless stops to total number of stops; number of consonant clusters; and so forth.

One final methodological point needs to be made. Since Gid_{arri's} speech is to be taken as a standard of reference, we can subtract the normalized value of a feature in Gid_{arri's} dialect from the normalized value of the same feature in another speaker's dialect. In this way we

obtain a table with both positive and negative entries. A negative entry signals that the respective feature is of lower frequency than it is in Gidarrri's dialect, while a positive value indicates that it is more frequent. A further advantage of such a table is that the normalized values of the various features can be added for each speaker, to arrive at an index which is a measure of the disjunctiveness of a dialect with respect to Gidarrri's dialect. This is the method we shall employ.

Randomness

Variations in lexical content of the texts will inevitably introduce a certain amount of randomness into the results. It is therefore desirable to be able to obtain some measure of randomness in the text data. Since the smoothness gradient involves stops and vowels primarily, we are able to use nasals, liquids, and glides, to construct an index of the amount of randomness. There are problems in doing this. For example, Milurrurr uses words based on the deictic stem *ngunu-* 'that' very frequently in his stories. (This is a dialectal feature at discourse level: he uses it for purposes of anaphora more frequently than do the other speakers.) Hence there will be a considerably higher incidence of nasals in his speech. This will have the effect of inflating the randomness index by a non-random factor; or to put it another way, the 'randomness index' will be larger than it should be due to the presence of covert dialectal variations that have not been taken into account. The only way of minimizing such effects, although it does not eliminate them, is to average the randomness indices of the various speakers, and this is what we shall do.

The same formula will be used to arrive at normalized frequencies of each class of sounds (nasals, laterals, rhotics, and glides). Using Gidarrri's speech as the standard, variations from this reference will be computed. Then, for each speaker, a randomness index will be computed as the square root of the sum of the squares of the deviations (from Gidarrri's values). Finally, these are averaged to arrive at a composite index.

How should the index be interpreted? If randomness is significant, we would expect that the randomness index would be significantly greater in magnitude than variations in the linguistic correlates of the smoothness gradient. On the other hand, if the randomness index is significantly smaller than the dialectal variations, we can be confident that the variations are valid indicators of dialectal differences - provided that the data base underlying the frequencies is large enough to minimize variations due to lexical content. For this reason, the Wulaki data, and Yililpawuy's speech, are unreliable: the former is not natural text (see the preceding discussion), and the latter involves only 260 words.

When the randomness index is of about the same magnitude as the variation in a certain linguistic feature, the situation is somewhat ambiguous. Nevertheless, the polarity of the variations (ie. whether positive or negative) usually correlate with my perceptions of the differences between dialects, which suggests that a true index of randomness would be significantly lower than the one that I construct: or to put it another way, that the figures for deviations are more significant than the randomness index would imply.

To complete this section, I will now give a table of frequencies (normalized, and converted to percentages, as per the formula above) of the nasal, lateral, rhotic, and glide, sound classes.

(%)	Gid ^u arri	Manbarrarra	Malanggi	Milurrurr	Wu ^u laki	Yililpawuy
Nasals	19.385	21.001	19.880	24.421	22.492	21.989
Laterals	6.376	5.131	8.272	5.637	5.441	5.742
Rhotics	7.788	7.447	7.285	6.891	8.693	7.423
Glides	3.446	5.204	3.432	3.245	3.469	3.361
R. index	-	.70	.50	1.29	.80	.68

From the values in the table, the averaged randomness index is approximately .8

Lastly, an indication of the ages of the speakers may be helpful, and also their background. Malanggi and Manbarrarra are in their mid fifties; Milurrurr is in his early forties; Gid^uarri is in his mid thirties, and Yililpawuy is in her late forties. Malanggi and Manbarrarra are the most senior men in their clans, and both have had over two decades of close contact with missionaries and government workers at Milingimbi and Ramingining, though neither can speak English. Gid^uarri has had rather more European contact, mainly at Maningrida during his teens. He also speaks elementary English. Milurrurr has had a lot of European contact at Milingimbi. He has a reasonable command of elementary English, and can read English. For all these speakers, the influence of English on their idiolects has been minimal. The most common effect being the very occasional use of an English word, when there is no Djinang equivalent readily available.

Normalized percentage differences from Gid^uarri's dialect.

The following table gives the normalized frequencies in Gid^uarri's speech, for a variety of linguistic features, expressed as percentages. These figures are in the left column. The columns to the right give the relative deviations from the Gid^uarri norms, for each speaker. The last row of the table gives an index of 'disjunctiveness' for each speaker. The more negative

the index, the more disjunctive the idiolect. These indices are computed by summing the first six figures of each column, and then subtracting the sum of the seventh and eighth figures in the column. (The seventh and eighth figures must be subtracted because these figures will be positive for disjunctive dialects.)

Gidarrri	FACTOR	Manbarrarra	Malanggi	Milurrurr	Wulaki	Yililpawuy
7.400	wd-fin i	-1.14	-1.67	-2.77	3.64	0.37
2.467	wd-fin a	0.78	-0.84	-0.15	-1.52	-1.28
0.502	wd-fin u	-0.03	-0.12	0.04	-0.49	0.34
16.95	wd-med i	-0.84	0.83	0.26	-0.49	0
8.35	wd-med a	0.63	0.79	0.29	1.76	0.12
6.03	wd-med u	0.25	-0.26	0.69	-1.69	-0.15
30.01	voiceless stop ratio	3.10	-0.29	0.33	-6.39	-3.79
6.167	C-clusters	-0.08	0.51	0.58	-1.26	0.98
0	Index	-3.12	-1.49	-2.55	8.86	2.21

Two points need to be made now. The first is that the above indices are not the only possible ones that can be constructed. The table shows that word final /u/ vowels are not significant as contributing to the indices; and can be ignored. Also, ignoring the effects of /a/ vowels does change the indices in terms of their absolute values, but does not affect the relative ordering of the idiolects on a linear 'smoothness gradient'.

The second point is that the above indices must not be confused with perceptual cues for dialectal variations. One reason for this is that certain words and affixes carry a high functional load as socio-linguistic markers, but do not contribute markedly to the statistics represented in the above table. For example, soft dialects will say ngunugirri 'that last one', while hard dialects will say ngunukirri; soft dialects will say ngurrwagi 'first', 'before', while hard dialects will say ngurrwakng; and so forth for a relatively small set of words. Such words are not frequent enough to affect the statistics of phoneme occurrences to a marked extent, although they are prominent markers of dialectal affiliation.

Also, to indicate how perceptual cues can differ markedly from the characterization of the smoothness gradient as defined by the above indices can be seen in the following table. The table gives the relative frequencies of occurrence of the indicated vowels in word final position, but expressed as a percentage per word. Expressed this way, my feeling that

Milurrurr's speech is highly disjunctive is readily explained: since words are primary conveyors of meaning, variations in their form are quite obvious, so that the frequent elision of word final *i* is readily perceived. Since nearly all Djinang words end in either a consonant or an *i* vowel, it is the relative differences in the frequencies of occurrence of word final *i* vowels which is most significant. (The very high figure for Wujaki reflects the fact that much of the data is carefully elicited sentences; and that also explains the very low figures for word final /a/ and /u/ in that dialect. The primary source of word final *u* vowels is the elision of a final consonant or syllable in words such as *ngunungi* 'that', *ngurrumi* 'perfective', and so forth. In elicited sentences, such final syllable dropping is uncommon.)

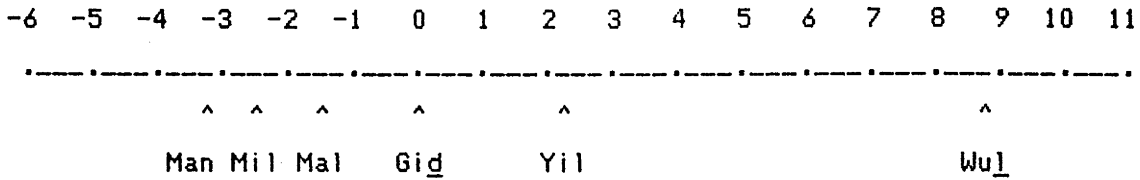
(Percentages)	Gidarrri	Manbarrarra	Malanggi	Milurrurr	Wujaki	Yililpawuy
word-fin <i>i</i>	40.88	32.90	31.09	25.81	57.26	43.36
word-fin <i>a</i>	13.63	17.07	8.82	12.91	4.91	6.64
word-fin <i>u</i>	2.77	2.47	2.09	3.03	0.61	4.69

One other thing which is noteworthy is the following. Consider the relatively high percentage of word final *a* vowels in Manbarrarra's speech. This confirms my impression that he replaces a word final *i* vowel with an *a* vowel far more frequently than the other speakers here represented. The use of word final *a* instead of *i* has semantic content, primarily as a cohesion mechanism. (For example, it can indicate the nominal is a non-final item in a list; or it can be used syntactically to indicate that the current event is non-final in a series of events.) The high incidence of *a* is also represented in the earlier tables, but is not there so obvious.

It should be clear from the above table the index of disjunctiveness which was constructed earlier does not give a measure of the perceptual disjunctiveness of an idiolect or dialect. The index is a statistical construct, which has value only as a quantifiable measure. From it we can obtain two types of information: firstly, the relative scaling of dialects on a linear gradient of 'smoothness'; and secondly, the relative scaling of idiolects within a dialect, on the same gradient.

2.1.4 Conclusions

On a linear scale, the various idiolects are plotted as follows:



As we stated earlier, *u* is of minimal dialectal significance, and ignoring *a* does not change the relative positions. So, for purposes of comparison, we can construct another index using just the four factors: word final *i*, word medial *i*, voiceless stop ratio, and consonant clusters. This gives the following indices for each speaker, expressed as percentage deviations from the Gidarri norms, as before:

Gidarri	Manbarrarra	Malanggi	Milurrurr	Wulaki	Yililpawuy
0	-5.00	-1.06	-3.42	10.8	3.18

Plotted on the same linear scale, we have:



The advantage of this set of indices is that the relative degree of use of *a* in word final position as a stylistic device is excluded. It is a dialectal variation, but it obscures the 'smoothness' variations. The use of word final *a*, and the smoothness gradient are really independent dialectal variables. Smoothness versus disjunctiveness really pertains to the elision of the unmarked vowel *i*, the consonant clusters thereby created, and the hardening of voiced stops. For this reason, I prefer the latter set of indices as a measure of disjunctiveness.

The most disjunctive dialect is Murrungun; and the most significant factor in this is the high proportion of voiceless stops with respect to the total number of stops.

Of lesser disjunctiveness is the Manyarring dialect. Both speakers in this dialect do not have significantly different ratios of voiceless stops when compared to the Marrangu dialect, their disjunctiveness is primarily a function of the elision of word final *i* vowels – especially for Milurrurr, who has a much higher incidence of final *i* elision than all the other speakers.

Yililpawuy's speech is of interest. She has a fairly high value for word final *i* and *u* vowels. Nevertheless, she very often elides the word-final vowel of verbs inflected for 'today past' – a characteristic of Milurrurr's speech (Manyarring). She used *muri* 'daddy', the Yirritjing form. However, her lexical choices seem to follow mostly Djwing (Dhuwa) norms. Her ratio of voiceless stops to total stops is quite low. It therefore appears that she has not learnt any one Djinang dialect, but rather uses dialectal features from each of them. This is to be expected from the fact that for her it is a second language.

Wulaki appears to be a smooth dialect, although the extent to which this is true is exaggerated by the fact that the data is from written text, and elicited sentences.

Finally, we note that the difference in disjunctiveness between two speakers within one dialect can be as great (or maybe greater) as between speakers of different dialects. Data from other speakers is needed in order to judge the extent to which this is a valid generalization.

In conclusion, we can state that a 'smoothness gradient' is one of the dialectically significant linguistic variations between Djinang clans, and even between individual idiolects. The primary linguistic variables which characterize the relative smoothness or disjunctiveness of dialects are the amount of elision of /*i*/ vowels, especially word finally, and the amount of hardening of voiced stops to voiceless stops.

2.2 Phonological Differences: Morpheme Reduction Due To Syllable Deletion

Some dialects are more prone to dropping an entire CV syllable (sometimes CVC) than are other dialects. Murrungun appears least prone to this behaviour, tending more to drop vowels – thereby creating consonant clusters. Similarly for Manyarring. Marrangu appears to be quite prone to syllable loss in certain positions, and there are indications in the Wulaki data that Wulaki follows the Marrangu pattern. In one important case, syllable loss is regular in Marrangu, and the same phenomenon occurs in the Wulaki data from Capell (1941), though apparently not as regularly.

The regular cases I will treat first. Djinang has a 'today-past' verb inflection for events which occur at the time of speaking or at a time before that on the same day. In verbs of class 1, the usual form of the suffix is *-ngili*. However, Marrangu speakers regularly delete the

/ngi/ syllable if the suffix is preceded by a stem ending in a peripheral stop followed by an a or u vowel. They say that this is a 'short way' of saying it. A Marrangu man (Gidarri) claimed that Marrangu, Wulaki, and Djadiwitjibi people speak this way. In Capell's Wulaki data, the elision is evidenced before a stem-final u vowel, but not before a stem-final a vowel. In all dialects, the elision does not occur before a stem-final i vowel.

gave	gu-ngili MN MU	gu-li MA WU
took	ga-ngili MN MU WU	ga-li MA
arrived	yulgu-ngili MN MU	yulgu-li MA WU
	yulngu-ngil (alternate MN form)	
arose	wayku-ngili MN MU	wayku-li MA
pulled	djiti-ngili MN MU MA WU DJ MI and probably BA	
placed down	galwupini MN MU MI BA	galbu-li MA DJ WU

(The stem -bu- 'hit' in a compound verb, usually takes an irregular today-past inflection -pini. MA DJ and WU have suppletively replaced the -pini suffix with -li by way of analogy. All dialects use bi-pini as the form for 'hit', when not a compound verb.)

Another fairly consistent dialect variation involves an irrealis/nominalizer suffix -nyiri / -nyira when followed by the -Kining PROPrietary morpheme ('having'). Murrungun usually retains the full form of the irrealis/nominalizer, while Marrangu normally deletes the final syllable and changes the i to a. Thus we have:

an approver	yitjidj-nyira-kining MU	yitjidj-nya-kining MA
a finisher	malimdj-nyira-kining MU	malimdj-nya-kining MA
long-lived	wanngidj-nyira-kining MU	wanngidj-nya-kining MA
	(also, MA can shorten it further to wanngi-ga-kining)	

It is a feature of Marrangu linguistic competence that -nya- is a diminutive form of -nyira. Manyarring appears to follow the Marrangu pattern: e.g. saving one wannginyakining MN. The elision can be seen in other formatives, such as the OBLique: man-OBL-ACC yul-ngiri-nyi MU MN, yul-ngi-nyi MA.

All dialects appear to shorten the auxiliary verbs giri and kiri by eliding the second syllable when the verb is in an inflected form:

kiri	[kiri]	
kiriny	[kiny]	& similarly for giri, giriny, and girim.
kirim	[kim]	

Djinang (and other Yolngu languages) have a class of non-inflecting verb roots, which Heath calls 'non-thematic' verbs. These root forms can be used as stems, and in particular as transitive verbs, by adding a transitivizing suffix to form a transitive stem. The Marrangu, and Murrungun dialects use the form -miy- (cf. Djinba -miy-), while the Manyarring dialect uses -miri- (cf. -mara- in several other Yolngu languages such as Ritharrngu, Dhuwal-Dhuwala; while Nhangu languages appear to have a form cognate with the MA MU form -miy-.

will cause to open lapmirigi MN lapmiygi MU MA

This probably is due to retention of an archaic morphophonemic alternation, each dialect productively using one of the former alternants.

There are also a large number of apparently sporadic differences involving deletion of a syllable, a consonant, or an unusual alternation of consonants or vowels. Some examples follow:

two	bininggili MN	bin.gili MU MA DJ MI (WU uses both)
light fire	rarrtjalkung MN	rarrtjilkung MU MA
will sit	nyin-dji MN	nyini-dji MA MU DJ MI WU
for this	djin-ki MN	djin-gir-ki MU MA
from before	ngurrwaknipi MN	ngurrwaKngipi MU ngurrwagipi MA WU
this	djinangi WU	djiningi MU MN MA DJ MI BA
wrestle	ngurrbitj MU	wurrbitj MA
child	gurrminang DJ MI BA	wurrming WU (yidjipi _l i MA MU MN)
alone	ngidawirrka WU	ngidawa MU MN MA DJ MI
fresh water	djurrmu _l MN MU	djurrmuk MA
was pregnant	gapal _l -mirrpil _l -djini MA	gapal _l m-gin _l -djini MN
wipe clean	ngalwirrki-djigi MN	ngalwirrgi-djigi MA ngalwirr-djigi MU

Lastly, WU often appear to leave the ng (or ngi) of the -gining(i) PROPrietary suffix when the latter is word final, while MU MN and MA retain it in that position.

married miyilk-ki_lni WU miyilk-ki_lning MU MN MA

There are other sporadic differences. For example, stop lenition is one of these. As a general statement we can say that there is no productive stop lenition in Djinang (i.e. dj, tj > y; p, b, k, g > w). This kind of lenition is evidenced in various other Yolngu languages, Djinba and Gumatj, for example, are two that have undergone a regular lenition process. However, there are a very few examples in Djinang, perhaps a few dozen in all. An example follows, and one occurs in the list above:

immediately d_jayurrkyurrk MN MU d_jayurrkdjurrk MA

An important conclusion can be drawn from this fact, namely, that proto-Djinang must have separated from those branches of the Yolngu language family which exhibit lenition before the process became productive in the latter. This would imply a considerable period of separate development for Djinang. Indeed, lenition of lamino-dental stops was systematic in some positions in the word in Djinba, implying that palatalization was a later development in that language; whereas Djinang must have lost (by palatalization) its lamino-dentals earlier than lenition, thereby bleeding from the language the environments for the latter process. This strongly implies that Djinang has had longer and more intensive contact with the western prefixing languages than has Djinba. (There is a lot of evidence in support of this, but that is beyond the scope of this discussion).

2.3 Paradigmatic Variations in Lexical Closed Classes

2.3.1 Pronouns

There are two basic sets of pronoun paradigms: Marrangu, Wulaki, and Djadiwitjibi use one paradigm set; the other dialects use the other set. Comparison with other Yolngu languages (namely: Ritharrngu, Golpa, Dhuwal, Djapu, Yan-nhangu, and Djinba) indicates that the MA - WU - DJ pattern is historically the older paradigm, and the MN - MU - MI - BA pattern is an innovation. The latter pattern is derived from the former mainly by elision of an *i* vowel, thereby forming a medial cluster. Since clusters have a disjunctive effect, this change can be considered as a further realization of the 'smoothness gradient' discussed earlier.

For BA, I relied on information supplied to me by Marrangu and Murrungun informants. (The same informant's claims about Wulaki were independently confirmed by Capell's 1941 Wulaki data, and so I am confident that the information about BA is also reliable.)

The comments above tend to confirm that MI should be kept apart from the MA - DJ - WU group of 'smooth' dialects; and that possibly BA is a 'disjunctive' dialect along with MN - MU, and probably MI too. Map 4 then shows the distribution of disjunctive versus smooth dialects: the disjunctive ones are found in the north on either side of the river (no smooth dialects are located on the east side of the river). The conclusion is that the areas further from the river mouth were more conservative, particularly in the areas adjacent to prefixing languages. The question arises: did the disjunctive speech style arise as an internal innovation, or was it imported?

This speech style is not a characteristic of the Dhuwala language to the east; and from the small amount of Yan-nhangu data available, it does not appear to be a feature of that language either. E.g. Y-NH miringu 'bad' Djinang mirgi/mirkngi 'bad'; Y-NH mirribulu/mirripulu 'two' Djinang mirrpili 'two'. Eliding a vowel, particularly i, in the environment [rhotic] -- [stop] is common in Djinang in all dialects; and it can hardly be claimed that Yan-nhangu has a disjunctive speech style if vowels are not elided in this environment.

However, turning to the language in the southeast, Djinba, we find that that language often lacks a word final vowel where the Djinang cognate has one. E.g. Djinba gurak 'nape' Djinang guraki 'nape'. The same appears to be true to a lesser extent in morpheme final position. E.g. 2 dual DATive Djinba nyumal-kuru, from an OBLique stem nyumala-, versus Djinang nyumili-ki, from the OBL stem nyumili-. It is therefore highly probable that the disjunctive speech style diffused into the Djinang clans located east of the river, under the influence of Djinba-speaking dialects to the immediate south. On the other hand, if it is an internal innovation in the MN - MU - MI - BA group of dialects, then I cannot offer any suggestion as to its origin.

Let us now consider the pronoun paradigms themselves. The following terminology is used: sg = singular; du = dual; pl = plural; in = inclusive; ex = exclusive; 1, 2, and 3, refer to person. NOM = nominative; OBL = oblique. The OBL forms are may occur without further suffixation, in which case they function as possessive pronouns agreeing with another nominal which is marked either as ERGative or LOCative; they also may take further suffixation - either by ALLative, or by DATive. (When taking DAT, they function as Subject of the clause, and signal the meaning that the activity is taking place during the physical absence of other participants.) The 'root' forms are the forms to which ACCusative, DATive, and ABL suffixes may be appended; sometimes there is elision of the root-final vowel when the DAT suffix follows.

Conservative Dialects

	NOM	(MA WU DJ) 'root-'	OBL
1sg	ngarri	ngirri-	ngirrar
1duex	ngilinyi	ngilinyili-	ngilinyilar
1duin	ngili	ngilitj(a)li-	ngilitjar
1plex	nginibi	nginibili-	nginibilar
1plin	ngilimi	ngilimili-	ngilimilar

2sg	nyuni	nyuni-	nyungur
2du	nyumi	nyumili-	nyumilar
2pl	ngilidji	ngilidji-	ngilidjar
3sg	nyani	nyani-	nyanngar
3du	bilingi	bilng-/bilng-	bilngar
3pl	djani	djani-	djanngar

Innovative Dialects

(MN MU BA MI)

	NOM	'root-'	OBL
1sg	ngarri	ngirri-	ngirrar
1duex	ngilinyi	ngilinyili-	nginyilar
1duin	ngili	ngiltj(al)i-	ngiltjar
1plex	nginibi	nginbili-	nginbilar
1plin	ngilimi	nginmili-	nginmilar
2sg	nyuni	nyuni-	nyungur
2du	nyumi	nyumili-	nyumilar
2pl	ngildji	ngildji-	ngildjar
3sg	nyani	nyani-	nyanngar
3du	bilingi	bilngiri-	bilngar
3pl	djani	djani-	djanngar

The next table of pronouns contains the reduced pronominal forms in each group of dialects, in NOM, ACC, and DAT inflections. It can be seen that they are simple reductions of the free form pronouns, formed primarily by syllable or consonant deletion, and / or vowel change (to the 'unmarked' vowel). Deletions of this type are common in the pronoun paradigms of Yolngu languages.

The 2pl ACC forms are homophonous with the 1duin ACC forms, since a surface devoicing rule obligatorily devoices any voiced stop occurring in syllable final position. I have retained the underlying form in the spelling.

A Marrangu informant claimed that ngilbi (with a reduced form of ilbi) is a rare variant form of the 1plex nginibi. He did not say it was characteristic of any particular dialect, though his own may be assumed because he used it in a narrative (once only). It is probably a back-formation, as will be explained below.

	NOM	ACC	DAT	NOM	ACC	DAT
1sg	irr(i)	irrin	irra	irr(i)	irrin	irra
1duex	lin	liniliny	linyila	lin	iniliny	inyila
1duin	il(i)	litjny	litja	il(i)	iltjny	iltja
1plex	libi/nibi	libiliny	libila	nibi	iniliny	inbila
1plin	lim(i)	limiliny	limila	lim(i)	iniliny	inmila
2sg	-	nyin/nyi-	inma	-	nyin/nyi-	inma
2du	nyim	nyimiliny	nyimila	nyim	nyimiliny	nyimila
2pl	lidji	lidjny(i)	lidja	ildji	ildjny(i)	ildja
3sg	-	-	in.ga	-	-	in.ga
3du	bil	biliny	bilangga	bil	bilny	bilangga
3pl	djin	djiny	djina	djin	djiny	djina

Let us briefly examine the changes that produced the disjunctive paradigms of the free form pronouns. The changes can be most easily discussed by concentrating on the 'root' forms, for this is where the changes started.

Starting from the 'smooth' forms, the disjunctive dialects first elided a medial *i* in some long stems (3 or more underlying syllables):

1duin	*ngilitj(al)i-	>	ngiltj(al)i-
1plex	*nginibili-	>	nginbili-
1plin	*ngilimili-	>	*ngilmili-
2pl	*ngilidji-	>	ngildji-

Notice that in the 1plex form there is an *nb* sequence, while in the 1plin form there is an *lm* sequence. It is at this point that we may infer that subsequent changes were of an analogical nature in both the disjunctive and smooth dialects. The disjunctive dialects analogized on the basis of a NASAL+LABIAL cluster; while the rare variant 1plex ngilbi can be explained as a back-formation on the basis of a LATERAL+LABIAL cluster. Consider the disjunctive dialects first. By analogy we posit the further change:

*ngilmili- > nginmili-

so that in these dialects both 'root' plural forms commence with a *ngin* formative. The reduced pronoun derived from this form becomes *inmili-*. At this point, analogy operated once more: consider that in the disjunctive dialects the 'root' non-singular reduced pronoun forms begin with a vowel, but in the smooth dialects they begin with a lateral (probably *libiliny* and *libila* were analogized from **nibiliny* and **nibila*; since NOM *nibi* is the older form, *libi* occurs only after pause.) Hence the disjunctive dialects on the basis of analogy underwent the following change in the root form for 1duex:

**linyili-* > *inyili-*

thereby regularizing the paradigm, so that initial *i* is followed by NASAL wherever possible. However the smooth dialects retained the initial *l* and used it as the analogical basis for the change in the root *lplex*:

**nibili-* > *libili-*.

In this way, an initial LATERAL became a distinctive trait of smooth dialect's pronominal forms, while initial *i* and following NASAL became the distinguishing trait of disjunctive dialects. Thus, *ngilbi* and *ilbi* as rare variant *lplex* Marrangu forms can be seen as a back-formation: the LATERAL trait has been analogized to the position of the nasal in the form *nginbili-* as if this form occurred in the Marrangu dialect (but it does not), and therefore would be derived from a NOM form: *ngilbi*. Furthermore, comparison of pronoun paradigms in other Yolngu languages uniformly shows an *n* in the *lplex* pronoun forms in those languages.

The 3du root form, *bilngiri-*, in the disjunctive dialects arises from a reduced form of 3du *bil-* to which has been added an allomorph of the OBLIQUE morpheme *-Giri* (cf. *Golpa -Gara*, *Dhuwala -Gala*, *Yan-nhangu -Gara*; where *G* is a morphophoneme having realizations as diverse as *g k w* and *ng*). The reason for the change is probably to maintain rhythm.

2.3.2 Deictics

There are a number of deictics in *Djinang*, as in other Yolngu languages. Four forms in particular are productive in forming derived deictic formatives, and it is these which we will examine as they exhibit dialect variations. The four forms may be arranged from left to right along a gradient of increasing distance:

Immediate Proximity	Near Proximity	Moderately Distant	Distant
<i>djining(i)</i>	<i>djinim(i)</i>	<i>ngunum(i)</i>	<i>ngunung(i)</i>
<i>djinang(i)</i>	<i>djinam(i)</i>	<i>ngunam(i)</i>	<i>ngunang(i)</i>

In the first row are the forms used by all dialects except *Wulaki*; the second row contains the *Wulaki* forms. The *Wulaki* forms are the more archaic. The language name "*Djinang*" is the archaic form for the Immediate-Proximity deictic "this", and this is a well known indigenous system of classification of languages in the Yolngu family (Schebeck 1967). (The equivalent *Djinba* form is *djininy*.) Thus in this paradigm a dialectal feature correlates systematically with an archaic versus modern dichotomy. Of interest is the fact that the archaic forms are preserved in the dialect immediately bordered to the north, west, and south, by prefixing languages (*Burarra* and *Rembarrnga*). This again fits the picture of the area near the Glyde river mouth as having been an area of greater innovation (see map 5).

with a consonant, and often the following vowel was a. Examples are the reduced pronouns given earlier in section 2.3.1; these may all occur at the beginning of a Verb Complex (the group of words which form the predication portion of a clause). Another example is the reciprocal / reflexive morpheme *inydji*, which can be traced back to the *-manydji* 'KINship DYadic' morpheme in many Yolngu languages (Morphy 1983:45). The form *inydji* also often occurs as the first element of the Verb Complex. I know of no other vowel-initial words in Djinang.

What is significant about the class of vowel-initial words is that they each commonly are found as the first element in the Verb Complex; and vowel-initial formatives in Djinang have the phonotactic property of attaching themselves to whatever formative precedes in the same breath group, unless a pause intervenes. For example, *nyanibi* 'he (emphasized)' + *inydji* 'reflexive' becomes *nyanibinydji*. The formation of *ingki* from a former **ngiki* can thus be seen to be an analogical development; because *ingki* is always the first element of any Verb Complex in which it occurs. So again we observe that *Wulaki* uses an older form than the other dialects. The *Wulaki* resistance to the diffusion of the change is undoubtedly due to the fact that very many *Wulaki* people are fully bilingual in both *Wulaki* and *Burarra*, and have important social ties with the *Burarra* people.

All dialects use *wirr* 'nothing', 'empty', 'have none', etc. as the other negative form, and it is used in *Djinba* also. The origin of this form is obscure. In Capell's (undated) comparative word lists, he gives *warrang* 'nothing' for *Yan-nhangu*, and this form is unattested in the other thirteen Yolngu languages he sampled. Probably *Djinang* and *Djinba* *wirr* was derived from the *Yan-nhangu* form by loss of the final syllable, and then **a:* > *i*.

Several dialects have an archaic alternative form which is regarded as characteristic of that dialect. I have never heard these forms used in everyday speech. Capell (1941) has one instance of the *WU* *birpm* 'nothing' being used in a text, and *wirr* occurs elsewhere in his data. The following are the forms known to me:

<i>ru_lapir</i>	MA	(cognate <i>Yan-nhangu</i> <i>ru_lka</i> 'no', <i>ru_lkangu</i> 'nothing')
		(Wood, 1973, is the source of this <i>Yan-nhangu</i> data.)
<i>birpm</i>	WU	(<i>Yirritjing</i> moiety)
<i>manyim(i)</i>	MI DJ BA	(this correlates with moiety, all are <i>Yirritjing</i>)

I have not been successful in obtaining *MU* and *MN* forms other than *wirr*, but this may be an accidental omission. Quite possibly these two dialects have only *wirr*, and that this form has diffused from *MU* - *MN* into the other *Djinang* dialects.

3. VARIATIONS IN LEXICAL OPEN CLASSES

Most of the variations in lexical open classes are of a suppletive kind. While one or more dialects will have a certain form, other dialects will have an unrelated form. I will give a sample list below. Most of the items are extremely hard or impossible to find in other Yolngu languages, but this may be due to insufficient documentation. For example, *djunggi* 'wood', 'tree', 'firewood', 'fire' does not occur in Gupapuyngu (except GUP *djunggalin* 'hair', 'leaves', may be a reflex), nor in Yan-nhangu; nor in Ritharrngu. Each of these use *gurtha* 'fire', 'firewood'. Ritharrngu has several words for lighting a fire, one of which has a stem *dhunggu-*, which is probably related to Djinang *djunggi*, since *dh > dj was a sound change in pre-Djinang. The other common Djinang word for 'fire', 'wood', etc. is *mirwilgi* (apparently a Yirritjing word); and this word is even more opaque - I cannot trace it anywhere with certainty (Djapu *marwat* 'hair', 'leaf' may be a reflex). The situation is much the same when other words are examined.

To give another example; 'place down', 'put', in some Djinang dialects is *galbung*, and in others it is *manpung*. There is nearly full correlation with moiety, Djadiwitjibi using *galbung* while the other Yirritjing dialects use *manpung*. The fact that both forms have irregular today-past forms, *galwupin(i)* and *manwupin(i)*, respectively (cf. the irregular today-past form of the archaic verb *bu-* 'hit' which is *bipini* in Djinang, *bipan* in Djinba), shows that these verb forms were formed by compounding with *-bu*: *gal+bu- and *man+bu-. Capell's (undated) comparative wordlist gives the forms: *rulwangdhun*, *rulanggun*, *rubanggun*, *gurrunhan* (or possibly *gurrunan*), *gundawunmarama*, *gunhan* (or possibly *gunan*), *gunyan*, and *gurrunhan* (Yan-nhangu). Clearly the Djinang forms are unrelated to the other Yolngu forms. The Djinba stem is *mam(irri)-*, which is probably not cognate to Djinang *manpu-*.

Another example is the forms for 'short'. Capell's comparative wordlist gives *gurriri* and *dhumbu* for many languages (Lowe's Gupapuyngu dictionary lists both), and other cognate forms (such as *gudi*, *guti*, *gudingu*). The Djinang words are *djubirri* WU (which may be cognate to *dhumbu*), and *dambing* (all other dialects). The latter form does not seem to be cognate to *dhumbu*. However, comparison with Djinba yields some interesting information: Djinba has *dambi* 'short'; while the Djinang and Djinba verb forms 'shorten' are *dampiling-djigi* and *dampulung-yun*, respectively. The problem in claiming that *dambing* is cognate with *dhumbu* is the *d* - *dh* correspondence, which although rare is not otherwise unattested (e.g. Djinang *dirra-* 'bite' Yan-nhangu *dharra-* 'bite'). An *a* - *u* vowel correspondence is also attested sporadically. Thus it is quite possible that the Djinang and Djinba forms are cognate to the form *dhumbu*; though a considerable time depth can be inferred for the changes which produced the Djinang and Djinba forms.

We could go on in this vein for some time, but the above should be sufficient to illustrate the following point. The forms which vary widely in Djinang are (a) often 'core' vocabulary, and (b) indicate a very long period of separate development of Djinang (and probably Djinba too) vis-a-vis the other Yolngu languages.

The following is a list of variant forms. It is not exhaustive, many more items could be added. Occasionally it can be observed that a formal difference correlates with moiety, and Wulaki often has a unique form. Undoubtedly moiety difference was a significant factor in dialect variations in the past; subsequent diffusion has partly obscured the systemicity of the variations.

- 'lots' galbi (all dialects), wikng DJ MI BA, gulukng MU MN,
wilirritja MU (claimed by Murrungun man to be an archaic form)
- 'daddy' malu MU MN MA muri DJ MI BA WU (correlates with moiety)
- 'under' djatimirri WU nguyimirri (other dialects)
- 'again' girr-gima MU MA girr-ban MN
- 'father's country' mutjing MN djawalkitj (other dialects)
- 'hard' manbing MA matit MN MU WU
- 'call out' witjigi MA MU MN bugiligi WU
- 'break' dapilidjigi MA MN wubir(i)djigi MU
- 'fire', 'tree', 'wood' djunggi MA MN MU WU mirwilgi MI DJ BA
- 'light fire' rarrtjilkung MA MU rarrtjalkung MN bandjili(gi) WU
- 'visit' balparigi MA MU gurultjigi MN
- 'short' djubirri WU dambing (other dialects)
- 'brackish' diwili djalkng MU muyki MA WU
- 'rainwater', 'fresh water' djurrmuk MA MI djurrmul MN MU
- 'place down' galbung(i) MA MN MU DJ manpung(i) WU MI BA
- 'child' gurrminang MA wurruming WU yidjipili (all dialects)
- 'ironbark tree' giditjirri MU MN ngaditjali MA
- 'father' gunydjirri (all dialects) nyunyi WU (diffused from Burarra)

4. CONCLUSIONS

Djinang is a Yolngu language which has undergone a long period of separate development from the Yolngu languages to the east. It's lexicon has been only minimally affected by prefixing languages to the west and south, and the influence of these languages has not been a significant cause of dialect variation within Djinang clans. The area near the mouth of the Glyde river appears to be the kernel area for the diffusion of innovative change; the area in the west (bordering the prefixing languages) being the most conservative. A good number of dialect

differences have their origin in moiety differences, but the picture is complicated by diffusion. Geographical proximity is an important factor in the diffusion of innovation. The Kernel area has developed a disjunctive speech style which contrasts with an older and smoother speech style spoken by dialects to the west of the Kernel area. The disjunctive speech style is characterized primarily by the elision of *i* vowels, particularly in word-final position, and by a greater proportion of voiceless stops when compared to the total incidence of stops.

DIFFUSION IN THE WESTERN YOLNGU AREA

In his article 'India as a linguistic area', Emeneau (1964) gives an illuminating account of the diffusion of morphological and syntactic features between the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Munda language families of the Indian subcontinent. Jeffrey Heath (1978a, etc.) has recently embarked on a long term study of linguistic diffusion in Arnhem Land. His work has resulted in the publication of several significant monographs outlining the grammar of various languages of the area. Each such monograph incorporates a lexicon and many texts (with interlinear glosses). Geographically his work centred on languages to the east and south of Arnhem Land.

A major linguistic boundary runs through Arnhem Land, beginning in the north (roughly) at Cape Stewart and running in a semi-circle to Blue Mud Bay in the Gulf of Carpentaria just north of Groote Eylandt. Languages to the north and east of this boundary are popularly called the Yolngu languages (Schebeck 1967). They are a subgroup of the common Pama-Nyungan typological group, and are genetically descended from a common parent which we may call proto-Yolngu. To the west and south of the boundary are found prefixing languages (Yolngu languages are suffixing) which are genetically unrelated to the Yolngu languages (except perhaps via proto-Australian, if the latter once existed). These two families of languages lend themselves to a study of diffusion because they are almost totally divorced from each other in lexicon, morphology, and syntax, (although they are similar in phonology and semantics - which is true of Australian languages generally). Consequently it is possible to isolate linguistic features in one language which are aberrant in the family of languages to which that language belongs. It then becomes possible to examine the languages of the other family to see if the aberrant features could have diffused from that source.

It is unfortunate that Heath was not able to study the languages in the west of Arnhem Land. For information on them he has been restricted to what has been available in the literature, which is not very much. Several linguists are currently working in that area. The goal of this present discussion is twofold. Firstly, to look at Arnhem Land as a linguistic area, showing how various linguistic traits have diffused across the major linguistic boundary separating prefixing from Yolngu languages. Secondly, to add further examples of diffusion from my own field notes in Dj̄inang and Dj̄inba: since Heath had no opportunity of collecting data from these two western Yolngu languages. Dj̄inang is bounded on the west by Burarra, which is certainly of prefixing stock; and Dj̄inba is bounded in the west by Rembarrnga (another of the prefixing languages). A number of traits have diffused across this linguistic boundary (Map 7).

The discussion will be arranged as follows. I will discuss a number of characteristic linguistic features, contrasting their realization (or lack thereof) within the Prefixing group and the Yolngu group. This gives an indication of the vast genetic distance between the two groups. Also, where relevant, I will discuss how certain traits, which are related to these linguistic features, have diffused. Any data or claims which are based on my own field notes will not be acknowledged; data or claims based on languages other than Djinang and Djinba will be based on the works of the authors cited in the list of references. Some of the best of this material is unpublished; such as that from Capell, Schebeck, and Lowe.

A methodological point needs to be made here. In giving what I claim is a 'typical Yolngu' linguistic feature, I am explicitly excluding the features which, on statistical grounds, may be assumed to be aberrant within that family of languages. There is some subjectivity in this, and also some danger; but this methodology is indispensable to this study.

Djinang is named from an archaic form of the 'Immediate Proximate' deictic: *djining* 'this'. The older form is still used by the Wujaki dialect of Djinang. Djinba, like Ritharrngu (see Heath 1978a:2) is named (probably only by Europeans, I have not heard Djinba speakers refer to their group of dialects by this term) after one dialect of a number of closely related dialects: Djinba, Ganalbingu, Walmapuy, Dabi, and Manydjalpingu. The name 'Djinba' is not derived from the Immediate Proximate deictic, which in this group of dialects is *djininy* 'this'. In the Djinba dialect, *djinba* means 'later on', and is equivalent to Ganalbingu *bidapi* and Djinang *djaming(i)* 'later on'. With these qualifications in mind, I will continue to use the name Djinba to refer to these dialects, since it is well established in the literature. For the sake of consistency, I will use the standard Yolngu orthography in all forms cited, irrespective of their source. Lamino-dentals are *dh*, *th*, and *nh*; lamino-palatals are *dj*, *tj* and *ny*; velar nasal is *ng*; an *n+g* sequence is written as *n.g*; retroflexion is indicated by an underline; the rhotic trill is *rr*; Rembarrnga schwa will be signalled by *ə*. Vowel length is non-contrastive in Djinang and Djinba.

Before I begin, it is worth quoting from Heath concerning the prefixing and Yolngu languages. In commenting on the available data from various Yolngu languages, Heath (1978a:2) states:

"Comparison of the paradigms shows that most of the morphology is identical except for internal phonological developments in each language, minor analogical reshaping, and minor semantic shifts. The sharings are clearly due to common retention of a proto-system, rather than to recent diffusion."

And in commenting on the prefixing languages and their relation to Yolngu, he writes:

"The prefixing languages are much less homogeneous than are the Yolngu languages." (1978a:4)

"It should also be noted that whereas Proto-Yuulngu was a relatively recent proto-language, Proto-Prefixing was quite ancient." (1978a:10)

"Within the overall Australian linguistic picture, the prefixing languages of Arnhem Land and the Yuulngu languages are not closely related. Indeed, the two subgroups are as remote from each other genetically as any two subgroups in the continent. ... By the time they came together, the two groups had diverged structurally and lexically to the point where only a handful of cognate affixes and lexical items could be found, and where even some of these had been obscured by various internal phonological, analogical, and semantic developments." (1978a:12)

1. Noun Classes

Prefixing Languages:

Nouns characteristically occur with noun-class prefixes, especially in text. The number of classes varies from language to language, but normally ranges from 4 to 9. There is some correlation with semantic categories such as gender, humanness, animateness, number, neuter (ie. unmarked), and so forth; but such categorization is not rigorous and class marking is necessarily included in the lexical citation form for each noun.

Yolngu Languages:

There is no formal class marking of nouns or any other non-verbal parts of speech.

Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:73-76) has a greatly reduced system of nominal prefixing when compared to other prefixing languages (including Burarra). McKay writes:

"While verbal prefixing in Rembarrnga is extensive and complex, nominal prefixing is very limited and, in the main, restricted to small groups of nominals including kinship terms and clan ... names." (p.73)

He cites *da-*, which derives feminine kinship terms from their masculine counterparts; *nayig-* (masculine) and *ngalig-* (feminine) (or diminutive forms *na-* and *ngal-*, respectively) are prefixed to names of clans to indicate 'a man of ...', 'a woman of..'; *ba-* 'on' used with body parts to indicate point of contact or point affected. He gives two other prefixes, but they do not subcategorize nouns, and so are not class markers. Interestingly, McKay points out that the

diminutive forms *na-* and *ngal-* are identical in form and function with two Gunwinggu (Oates 1964:24) noun class prefixes.

Presuming that the *nayig-* and *ngalig-* forms are borrowings from Gunwinggu, it seems that Rembarrnga has simply never developed noun class marking as a productive morphological subcategorization of nouns; in contrast to other members of the prefixing languages which surround it (Burarra to the north, Gunwinggu to the west, Ngandi to the south-east). The most likely reason for this is contact with Yolngu languages to the east (i.e. Djinba and Djinang), which entirely lack noun class marking. That there has been a long history of social contact is made clear in Thomson's study of the ceremonial exchange cycle in this region (Thomson 1949). Lack of development of noun class marking in Rembarrnga appears to be the most significant example of Yolngu influence on that language; the only other influence that I have been able to detect is the diffusion of a very small amount of lexical material.

2. Pronouns (free forms)

Prefixing Languages:

These languages characteristically have an extra number category, which is semantically a first person dual inclusive ('you and me') but is better analysed as an autonomous category in the person dimension. This type of system is often called 'minimal' versus 'augmented' (McKay 1975). Using 1, 2, and 3 for first, second, and third person, the person dimension can be given as 1, 1/2, 2, and 3. The first analysis of pronouns along these lines was that of Glasgow (1964); although the terminology differed from the above. Similar analyses have subsequently been given by McKay (1975) for Rembarrnga pronouns, and Carroll (1976) for Gunwinggu. Heath (1978b) lines up the chart of Ngandi pronouns in the same way as the previous authors, but does not depart from the canonical dual versus trial categories.

Thus the Prefixing group have a pronominal system in which the principal contrasts are person (1, 1/2, 2, 3) and number (singular, dual plural). There is considerable variation of forms for a given person and number combination when prefixing languages are compared with each other, although there are also some similarities which indicate genetic subgroupings. The most common vowels in cardinal pronouns are *a* and *u*, while *i* is common only in morpheme (or word) final position.

Yolngu Languages:

In contrast with prefixing languages, the Yolngu pronominal paradigm is engagingly simple. There are three person categories (1, 2, 3) and three number categories (singular, dual,

plural). Several of the cardinal pronominal forms are clearly cognate to pronoun forms which have wide distribution throughout the continent. There is very little variation from language to language; most of the variation being characteristic of internal Yolngu phonological processes such as syllable dropping, some vowel fluctuations, and fluctuation within the voiceless versus voiced stop contrast, (which is a quite minimal contrast in Yolngu in terms of functional load; and can perhaps be analysed better as fortis versus lenis). The most common vowels in cardinal pronouns are a and u, while i is less common, except word finally.

There is tremendous difference between the pronominal systems of the two groups of languages. Formal realization bears almost no similarity between languages of the two groups. The only real similarities are in the semantic categories, which is a truism by nature of the case. I can find no evidence of any diffusion of form or category from Yolngu to Prefixing, or vice versa. However, there is some evidence, admittedly speculative, that the vowel qualities in Dj̄inang pronouns have been influenced by Rembarrnga. In Dj̄inang, an i vowel occurs systematically in positions where, in other Yolngu languages, an a vowel occurs. Indeed, this neutralization of vowel quality occurs not only in Dj̄inang pronouns, but also regularly in nominal and verbal suffixes, on incorporated verbs stems within verbs, word finally in all parts of speech, and often within stems as well. The only systematically 'resistive' position within a word is the initial syllable, which is the stressed syllable in Yolngu languages. Such a phonological pattern is entirely lacking in other Yolngu languages (including the closely related D̄inba), and is lacking in the surrounding prefixing languages! But, in Rembarrnga there is such a neutralizing and vowel-height raising process which operates in one specific area of Rembarrnga morphology. It is that which we must now look at in more detail.

Rembarrnga has a distinctive way of marking an adjoined clause (e.g. a relative clause, and other types as well). Two rules are involved, and they operate on the pronominal prefixes to the verb in the adjoined clause (McKay 1975:147-148). The first rule states, roughly, that a CVC- pronominal prefix has an i vowel added, forming an CVCi- form. The second states that any non-i vowel is neutralized and raised to i. This simplifies the paradigm of pronominal verb prefixes slightly, as well as providing a means of marking an adjoined (subordinate) clause. There is some grounds for presuming that this phonological process was adopted into Dj̄inang when the latter developed its own set of pronominal clitics.

Firstly, it derives the correct vowel qualities in Dj̄inang. Secondly, it is restricted to one paradigm in Rembarrnga, but was generalized in Dj̄inang, which is consistent with what often happens in a diffusion situation. Thirdly, it started in the right class of formatives, namely the reduced pronouns, which can be shown to have been a Dj̄inang innovation under the influence of Rembarrnga (and probably Burarra too). Fourthly, it occurred in Dj̄inang, but not in D̄inba: which seems to argue against the proposal unless D̄inba developed its pronominal clitics later

than Djinang - and due to Djinang influence primarily. There is independent evidence that this is what in fact happened (to be discussed in a later section). Fifthly, for this process to diffuse into Djinang, granted the enormous genetic differences between Djinang and Rembarrnga, it must have involved bilingual speakers of these languages.

Interestingly, the camp called Malnyanganak, on the eastern fringe of Rembarrnga territory and the western fringe of Djinang territory, is owned by a Murrungun clan which speaks Rembarrnga as its first language, and (if the information given me by a former community worker at Ramingining is correct) who also speak Djinang as a second language. I believe the latter piece of information to be reliable, the person concerned could himself converse in Gupapuyngu, and could recognize Djinang when he heard it. Murrungun is one of the larger Djinang clans, and their main territory is close to the Glyde river mouth, on both sides of the river. Another Murrungun clan in the northwest of Djinang territory is now a Wulaki-speaking clan; since their territory adjoins that of Wulaki speakers and is geographically isolated from the main Murrungun territory. Hence it appears that the south-western Murrungun clan may once have identified with Djinang linguistically, but now with Rembarrnga, since its territory is also isolated from the main Murrungun territory. This change in affiliation is not unknown in Arnhem Land, and Heath mentions it in his writings.

Thus, while the evidence is somewhat circumstantial, all the necessary conditions are in evidence, and the change itself is phonologically reasonable - and particularly so in respect to its distribution. If it was simply a sound change, how could we explain its restriction to just closed-class paradigms? Besides, I know of no internal evidence in Djinang which would motivate the necessary changes. I am therefore inclined to think that the change started in the class of reduced pronouns, as Djinang speakers developed them under Rembarrnga influence, and that it spread to the free form pronouns as a back-formation, and from there to the full inflectional resources of the language (although there are a couple of exceptions where a functional contrast would be otherwise lost).

3. Pronominal Verb Prefixes

Prefixing languages:

These languages have a very complicated verb morphology. The verb stem takes an initial pronominal prefixal form which, for di-referential verbs, is usually an unanalysable portmanteau form showing concord in person and number with the person and number categories of the subject and non-subject referents. (Note: the contrast between agent and subject is neutralized in the realization of this concord.) Partial analysis of the fused pronominal prefix forms is possible only in certain subject and non-subject combinations. There is other

complexity too: pronominal prefixes may be followed by one (sometimes more) non-initial prefix to express various modal or adverbial nuances; or a nominal may be incorporated preceding the verb stem; and tense/aspect is marked by suffixes to the stem.

Yolngu Languages:

Yolngu languages characteristically do not have a separate paradigm of clitic pronouns (being phonologically reduced forms of full form pronouns) for each paradigm of full form pronouns (i.e. for a NOMinative paradigm, for an ACCusative paradigm, etc.). In the Yolngu languages, free form pronouns are normally present in a clause, but may be dropped if reference is unambiguous. Switching reference requires the pronoun (or corresponding nominal, or both) to be present, and there is also a PROMinence marker (often formally similar to ERGative in one of its allomorphs) which may be used on a free form pronoun to provide additional emphasis or to highlight switch reference.

There are three Yolngu languages which depart from these norms, each of them is adjacent to, and has had close social ties with, a prefixing language. These Yolngu languages are Djinang (to the immediate east of Burarra, and north-east of Rembarrnga); Djinba (to the immediate east of Rembarrnga); and Ritharrngu (to the immediate north of Ngandi). Each of these languages has modified the pronominal system in a non-Yolngu way, according to the pattern of the neighbouring prefixing languages. The Djinang modifications have been the most extensive (see 2. above); Djinba follows the Djinang pattern except for the vowel change phenomenon; and Ritharrngu (Heath 1980a) has an intermediate pattern, being the least-changed of the three with respect to Yolngu norms.

Djinang and Djinba are alike in that both can have a free form pronoun and a co-referential clitic pronoun in the same clause. This is typical, in both languages, when a reference switch is required. Ritharrngu has only the former of these features: it cannot have a full form pronoun and a co-referential clitic pronoun co-occurring in the same clause (Heath 1980a:102-103, and texts); but it does use a clause initial free form pronoun typically when marking switch reference. The behaviour of the PROMinence morpheme is also of interest. In Dhuwal, which appears to be a fairly 'typical' Yolngu language, it has the allomorphs -ny and -tja (Morphy 1983). In Djinang, the -ny allomorph has been lost, and lenition together with vowel change (see 2. above) have caused merger with the principal allomorph of the ERGative, -dji. In Ritharrngu, the nasal allomorph has also been lost, and the other one appears in the form ya (lenition of a proto-form -*tha possibly?). In Djinba, there appears to be mainly a suppletive form -ma (which also occurs in the Nhangu languages Golpa, and Yan-nhangu), and a form -(a)mdja which appears to occur much less often. The distribution of these morphemes is significant:

- Djinang: -dji PRO occurs only on nominals, never on pronouns
 (deictics+PRO are portmanteau forms in Djinang)
- Djinba: -ma PRO occurs on nominals and pronouns (& possibly
 elsewhere) (-(a)mdja seems to be phonologically
 conditioned)
- Ritharrngu: -ya PRO occurs on nominals, deictics, and pronouns

The distributional restriction in Djinang reflects the regularity with which a full form pronoun is used as an indication of switch reference, and also in a highlighting (or prominence) function when there is no reference switch. The important point is that the dropping of suffixal switch-reference marking in Djinang would not have been possible without a parallel development of an alternative means to maintain the function.

Djinba, on the other hand, probably developed clitic pronouns later than Djinang, merely borrowing the Djinang patterns; although it cannot be ruled out that there was parallel development of clitic pronouns in both languages under influence of the prefixing languages to the west. However, it can be shown (see the discussion of lamin-dentals below) that Djinba came under western influence later than Djinang, and therefore it is likely that Djinang was the source of the Djinba development. Ritharrngu only went 'part way' in developing clitic pronouns. The Ritharrngu clitic pronominal forms are formed merely by dropping an initial syllable; and this is a Yolngu feature (e.g. Gupapuyngu limurru from a proto-form which must have been something like *ngalimV...). Ritharrngu just extended the domain of a phonological process already available within the Yolngu language family.

Interestingly, in all three languages, the clitic pronouns are enclitic to whatever constituent immediately precedes in the same breath group. In Djinang, enclitic pronouns beginning with a vowel are closely bound to the preceding formative; while the consonant-initial enclitics are more able to stand as free forms, and quite often do. Djinba appears to behave the same way. This is in contrast to the prefixing languages. In these languages, the reduced pronouns are proclitics to whatever follows in the Verb Complex, often it is the stem, but it can also be an incorporated nominal or another morpheme.

Finally, we must note that the development of Djinang clitic pronouns involved three phonological processes, and probably two distinct periods of development. The Ritharrngu pattern is probably the end point of the first period of development, and the modern Djinang pattern the end point of the second period. Two of the phonological processes are internal to the Yolngu family; and one is not (see 2. above). The NOMinative paradigm will be sufficient to illustrate the changes.

Djinang	pronouns	(reconstructed)	reduced form pronouns
1sg	ngarri	(*ngarra)	irr
1duex	ngilinyi	(*ngalinyu)	liny
1duin	ngili	(*ngali)	il
1plex	nginibi	(*nganapu)	nibi (libi in some dialects)
1plin	ngilimi	(*ngalima)	lim
2sg	nyuni	(*nhunu)	-
2du	nyumi	(*nhuma)	nyim
2pl	ngilidji	(suppletive)	lidji (ildji in some dialects)
3sg	nyani	(*nhani)	-
3du	bilingi	(*bala)	bil
3pl	djani	(*dhana)	djin

The putative Djinang proto-forms are based mostly on pan-Yolngu evidence and especially on Yan-nhangu (Wood 1973, Alpher 1977), Golpa (Zorc 1981), and Djinba. We will not be concerned here with the palatalization of the lamino-dentals. Dropping a pronoun-initial nga sequence is evidenced in various Yolngu languages; but usually only 1pl forms were involved. The Djinang innovation was to extend this process to all forms with initial *nga. This is one of the processes mentioned above.

Another process was the dropping of a final vowel. This is also a Yolngu feature (e.g. it is the major difference between the Dhuwal and Dhuwala 'languages' (Morphy 1983:29); and Djinba also follows the Dhuwal pattern in this respect).

The third process is non-Yolngu in origin, and was discussed in section 2. above. All vowels were changed to i. This derives the modern clitic pronoun forms. Djinba underwent only the first two processes. As stated in section 2., the most likely origin for this non-Yolngu vowel neutralizing and raising process is the identical process in Rembarrnga which derived pronominal clitic forms marking a subordinate (appositional) clause.

The first period of development probably only entailed the above changes, so that whenever a pronoun was not simultaneously marking a reference switch, the reduced form was used - as is the case in the modern Ritharrngu system. However, this meant that reduced pronouns occurred in a majority of clauses; which allowed a further period of semantic development in which full form pronouns became sufficient markers of a switch in reference (unless, of course, a nominal was used); and the 'becoming-redundant' PROMinence clitic was no longer required on the full form pronouns - hence the modern distributional restriction.

But in order for these changes to occur, some explicit means was needed for making the full form pronoun (marking switch reference) prominent; and the means used was to make reduced pronouns obligatory in every clause, so that the full form pronouns contrasted with their own absence rather than contrasting with a reduced form (as in Ritharrngu). In this way the presence or absence of a full form pronoun became functionally equivalent to the presence or absence of the PROM clitic, allowing the latter to be dropped (except on nominals).

4. Verbal Auxiliary Constructions

Prefixing Languages:

McKay (1975:165) summarizes the general behaviour as follows, when discussing the Rembarrnga situation:

"A verb used in an auxiliary capacity ... is fully inflected for person, number, tense/aspect and so on, and is used in conjunction with an uninflected verb stem."

The verbs which may function as auxiliaries are only a few; the common ones in Rembarrnga are many 'went', ga 'take' (Yolngu has the same stem), ma 'get' (Yolngu has the same stem), and a few other stems which are used only rarely. Monosyllabic verb roots are found in all parts of the continent, and are the main evidence for linking prefixing and non-prefixing languages together as one Australian family (Dixon 1980:403). Semantically, the addition of an auxiliary verb often changes the meaning sufficiently that the original meaning of the auxiliary stem is lost. For example, ga can signal a causative sense. The Ngandi situation is similar, but more auxiliary verbs are attested: bu 'hit' (also in Yolngu), dhu 'stand', ya 'sleep', na 'burn', etc. Gunwinggu (Carroll 1976:112) has a similar set of forms, but these have become suffixes to the preceding main verb.

Yolngu Languages:

There is evidence for auxiliary incorporation into the preceding stem in some Yolngu verbs, similar to the Gunwinggu situation. However, it is free form auxiliaries that we shall be concerned with in the present discussion. Yolngu allows at least one verb, the form for 'sleep' as an auxiliary marking temporal duration (Morphy 1983). The latter author also mentions that Djapu (a Dhuwal dialect) can also use the forms for 'sit', 'stand', and 'go', as auxiliaries - although they are used almost synonymously with the form for 'sleep'. In Yolngu, contrasting with the prefixing languages, both the main verb and the auxiliary verb take normal inflection for tense/aspect/mood.

It is possible that the auxiliary construction diffused into Yolngu from the south: for example, Heath's statement (1978b:89):

"...in the Mara-Alawic family to the south (including Warndarang), auxiliary constructions are extremely productive and only a few verbs can be directly inflected."

Although Heath is here speaking more about auxiliary incorporation, his remarks do indicate from where auxiliary constructions may have originated. Alternatively, this could be an example of convergent development, for it occurs also in other distant Pama Nyungan languages.

Dj̄inang has a relatively rich set of auxiliary verbs; they are drawn from the class of behavioural/motion verbs, and are etymologically 'old' forms, although sound change has resulted in some phonological reshaping. Dj̄inba has some too, but I do not as yet know what the full set of auxiliaries is for that language. In Dj̄inang, the semantic contribution of the auxiliaries is to provide various aspectual nuances. In this respect Dj̄inang seems to have a richer system than the other Yolngu languages. In the other languages, there are fewer auxiliaries, and more semantic levelling. For example, Morphy (1983) writes:

"... (auxiliaries) may be used in conjunction with a main verb to denote durative aspect. ... 'sit' ... and ... 'stand' tend to be used only when the participants are sitting or standing respectively to perform the activity."

In Dj̄inang, it is true that 'sit' and 'stand' can be used as Morphy indicates; but their function is wider than that. For example, 'sit' most often is used to indicate an existential state which applies to humans, while 'stand' is used to indicate an existential state which applies to inanimates (I am not sure which would be used in the case of animates). 'Sit' is also used suppletively after the main verb 'go' when the latter takes 'go' as an auxiliary. The set of Dj̄inang auxiliaries is as follows (citation form is FUTURE tense):

- kiri 'progressive aspect' (Dj̄inang speakers gloss it as 'all the way' indicating progression towards a contextual goal - the latter is typically the next main event of the story or speech act)
- giri 'habitual aspect' (same main verb as kiri, note the voicing contrast when used as an auxiliary)
- nnydjirri 'rapid activity aspect' (i.e. frenzied or hurried activity)
- nyinidji 'existential aspect (+human)'
- djirridji 'existential aspect (-animate)'
- waliki 'random motion aspect'
- ngurridji 'intermittent aspect'

The meanings of these seven auxiliaries, when used as main verbs, are as follows: 'go' (giri & Kiri), 'move fast', 'sit', 'crawl', and 'sleep'. In each case it is not hard to see how the aspectual nuance could have been derived by metaphorical extension of the primary sense of each verb; although giri 'go' marking habitual aspect possibly developed as a split from the progressive Kiri, or vice versa.

Rembarrnga does not have a similar set of auxiliaries, but Burarra has a very extensive set (Glasgow & Garner 1980:47) - more so than the Djinang set. Furthermore, the Djinang aspectual contrasts mirror (as far as can be seen from the examples given by the authors) the Burarra contrasts. Burarra also permits two successive auxiliaries to occur. The paradigms given by the authors are:

Aux 1		Aux 2	
dji	'be (standing)'	bamba	'go steadily'
ni	'be (sitting)'	workiya	'do habitually'
yu	'be (lying)'		
boy	'go'		
yurtja	'run'		
gomarrya	'circle'		
rrigirnga	'walk about'		
djal	'hasten'		
rrika	'crawl'		

The question is, did Djinang derive its variety of aspectual auxiliaries by diffusion from Burarra (via speakers of the Wulaki dialect, whose territory adjoins Burarra territory, and who are traditionally bilingual in both languages); or does the Djinang paradigm merely reflect a proto-Yolngu pattern which has been levelled out within the Yolngu languages not adjacent to prefixing languages? I am inclined to think that there is truth in both alternatives. The Djapu pattern mentioned before does seem to closely follow the Djinang pattern, even though Djapu is remote from both the prefixing languages and from Djinang. This suggests some antiquity for the auxiliaries in Yolngu. Even so, there are some indications that the Burarra paradigms have influenced the Djinang ones (besides the semantic evidence already cited). Two things need to be mentioned.

Firstly, Burarra can take two auxiliaries in the one clause. This does not happen in Yolngu generally, but in one text I have an example of a double-auxiliary construction. The forms were:

ingki giri-nyir nyini-nyir giri-nyir
not go-IRREAL sit-IRREAL go-IRREAL
'he could not habitually walk around'

In this example, the first auxiliary marks (human) existential aspect, and the second marks habitual aspect. Notice, in the Burarra paradigms given above, the habitual always occurs in the second positional class - although this is obvious in surface structure only when an auxiliary from the first positional class is also present. So in this respect at least, Djinang behaves like Burarra and unlike Yolngu languages.

Secondly, Djinang has two auxiliaries derived from the one main verb; Kiri 'progressive aspect' and giri 'habitual aspect'. They decline identically, and the only contrast between them is the voicing distinction in the initial stop. The K is never articulated as a long stop (i.e. geminate). This is the only place in the total lexical resources of Djinang that a voicing distinction is consistently maintained in word-initial position. Both roots derive from the proto-Nhangu word *gara 'go' (cf. Golpa gara-, 'go'; Yan-nhangu gara- 'go'; Djinba gar(a)- 'go'). There are no grounds for assuming that the K versus g contrast is anything but an internal development within Djinang.

It is, I feel, unwarranted to say that proto-Djinang had a stop voicing contrast on the basis of one modern contrast. We could analyse, in Djinang, that "main verb + Kiri" is a compound form; while "main verb + giri" is an auxiliary construction. The problem is that such an analysis is completely unsupported by morphological and phonetic criteria. Furthermore, such an analysis would require us to treat Djinang giri as the only true auxiliary, the rest being treated as compounding suffixes (in order to follow the Burarra pattern). The only positive factor in favour of such an analysis is that a lenis stop can be phonetically hardened in word medial position if it is the initial consonant of a suffix; whereas a free form beginning in a stop will usually begin with a lenis stop. I do not believe the above proposal can be synchronically justified, but I mention it because of the voicing contrast anomaly. It certainly appears to be true that the double auxiliary construction diffused from Burarra. What is not clear is whether this fact bears any historical relationship to the voicing contrast in Kiri versus giri.

5. Verb Compounding by Nominal Incorporation

Prefixing Languages:

This is a productive process in some of the prefixing languages. The incorporated nominal occurs before the stem of the main verb and after any word-initial prefixes (such as pronominal

clitics). Semantically, the nominal is often just a direct object; but in the case of body-part terminology, the semantics of the compound form may be more metaphorical (e.g. the body-part may be the locus of the activity of the main verb). Nominal incorporation is easy to discern because of the prior pronominal proclitic.

Yolngu Languages:

Yolngu languages do not productively incorporate nominals prior to the main stem, with the exception of the lexical class of body-parts. However, there are literally hundreds of verbs formed in the latter way, and typically their primary sense is a metaphorical extension of the sense of the main verb's stem, although the semantic connection between the simple verb and the compound verb can often be quite obscure. However, the body-part nominal is closely bound to the stem, and does not have the property of being able to be dissociated from the stem as is the case with the incorporated nominals in prefixing languages.

Djinang, (and probably Djinba too - more data is needed in order to be certain), often permit the body-part nominal to be removed from the verb, and to be placed in preposed position to the preceding clitic pronouns (in which case the clitic pronouns will be bound to the preposed nominal). This does not happen in a majority of cases, but it does happen often enough for it to cause problems in making decisions about whether a given body-part + verb is a compound (and therefore to be hyphenated in the dictionary) or just a close-knit constituent. In making such decisions, other criteria can sometimes help; such as the semantic opacity of the compound vis-a-vis the semantic sum of the two parts. But there are plenty of cases when the situation is simply ambivalent. An example may help at this point.

in.ga-djin marr-yirrpi-ni 'they accepted him'
3sgDAT-3pINOM soul-set-T.PST

This can also be expressed as:

marr-in.ga-djin yirrpi-ni 'they accepted him'
soul-3sgDAT-3pINOM set-T.PST

I am not sure if this metathesis of incorporated nominal and pronominal element would be permitted in Yolngu languages which lack pronominal clitics. I have not come across a statement to that effect in my reading thus far. If Yolngu languages do not permit such metathesis, then we can legitimately suppose that Djinang permitted the weakening of the juncture between the incorporated body-part nominal and the verb stem in imitation of the optionality of nominal incorporation in the prefixing neighbours.

6. Lamino-dental Series

Prefixing Languages:

As a general rule, prefixing languages lack a lamino-dental series of phonemes. This is certainly true of the prefixing languages to the west of Arnhem Land (Rembarrnga and Burarra in particular); but not necessarily true of eastern prefixing languages (e.g. Nunggubuyu, Ngandi). Heath's work indicates that the prefixing languages which have lamino-dentals probably developed them due to a contact situation, but the diachronic details are not simple in many cases.

Yolngu Languages:

I agree with the statement by Heath, quoted earlier, that lamino-dentals must have been firmly established in proto-Yolngu. Some Yolngu languages have palatalized lamino-dentals in some structural positions (e.g. word- initially). And throughout the language family there is a certain amount of sporadic palatalization as well. However, as a general rule, Yolngu languages have a lamino-dental (or interdental) series of phonemes.

Djinang, and Djinba, are the only two Yolngu languages which have fully lost the lamino-dental series. Most such sounds have been diachronically changed to the corresponding lamino-palatal phoneme. So, for example, a Liyagalawumirr man whose name is DhVCthVCV (I have used V and C so that in the event of his death this discussion will not become taboo) is often called DjVCTjVCV. This is the normal diachronic change. Also, a number of lamino-dentals have changed into Djinang apicals. E.g. The verb root gudhal 'roast', in Djinang is gudal. This change characteristically occurs when the lamino-dental was the initial consonant of the second (open) syllable of a di-syllabic rhythmic unit.

The problem is not what phonemes the original lamino-dentals are merged with in modern Djinang (and Djinba); but rather, why were they systematically lost, in contrast with their viability elsewhere in Yolngu? While Djinang and Djinba are both closely related to Yan-nhangu, spoken in the Crocodile Islands to the immediate north of Djinang territory, the latter language has the lamino-dental series. But Yan-nhangu is separated from the Burarra on the mainland by a crocodile infested channel, and similarly from the Djinang. It therefore looks like a clear case of loss due to contact with the Burarra and Rembarrnga to the west of Djinang and Djinba: the former two languages have only one laminal series.

However, we can go further than this. There is evidence, to be presented below, that Djinang came under western influence first, but that Djinba did so later (or possibly there was a chain of influence from the prefixing languages to Djinang, and then from Djinang to Djinba).

There are two diachronic changes to be considered. Firstly, palatalization, as mentioned above; and secondly, stop lenition (in the class of peripherals and laminals). Both processes are well known in Yolngu languages, and all linguists who have worked on Yolngu languages have commented on the latter. A well known example is Gumatj, in the north-east, which has systematically lenited the voiced stop series to the appropriate glides: *dh, *dj > y, *b, *g > w. This occurs as either a diachronic process, or as a synchronic process producing allomorphy, in various Yolngu languages.

There is no evidence that lenition ever occurred in the pre-history of Djinang. Voiced stops are common, more so than voiceless stops. For example: Yolngu ERGative allomorph -dhu, Djinang -dj̥i; proto-Yolngu DATive allomorph -*gu, Djinang -gi; Ritharrngu -ya 'contrastive emphasis', Djinang -tja (probably < -*tha); Yolngu -thi 'INCHOative', Djinang -dj̥i; and so on.

However, cognate forms in Djinba very often have a glide where Djinang has a voiced stop (or voiceless). This is most evident in the thematizer -dhu (this is the form in most Yolngu languages). In Djinang it is regularly -dj̥i; in Djinba it is regularly -yu. (There is one exception: the Dabi clan, contiguous to Djinang territory, often has -dja instead of -ya; which strongly supports the analysis presented below. See Appendix 3 for examples.)

Djinang		Djinba
manymak-dji-mi	'fixed'	manymak-yu-m
wukirri-dji-gi	'will write'	wukirri-yu-mak

What is most significant is that the sound correspondence is dh - y, and not dj - y. Heath (1980b:8) states "... we deal with alternations involving fortis stops like k, lenis stops like g, and continuants like w. The relevant continuants are w (related morphophonemically to g/k) and y (related to dh/th, not to c/j)." I agree with Heath, having observed in Djinang and Djinba that when cognate forms have a tj/dj (Heath's c/j) - y correspondence, that comparison with other Yolngu dialects shows cognate forms which have th/dh. That is, the correspondence is th/dh - tj/dj - y; and not tj/dj - y. Or, to put it another way, lamino-dentals may be lenited to the palatal glide y; but lamino-palatals cannot be similarly lenited. (I have noticed a rare surface phonetic lenition of dj to y in Djinang.)

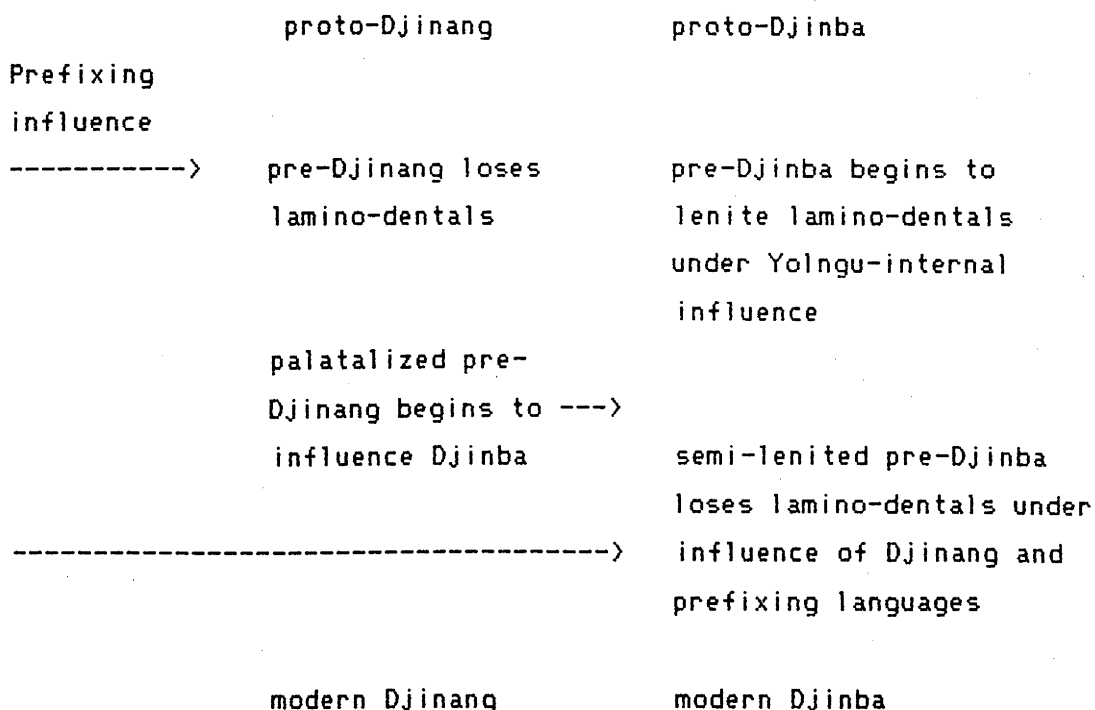
For example:

Djapu	buwayak-thi-	'become faint' (Morphy 1983)
Djinba	buwayak-yu-	ditto
Djinang	buwayak-dji-	ditto

Djinba has plenty of lamino-palatal stops, so that the lenition process has not been systematic. However, where it has been regular is in closed-class morphemes, such as DATIVE (-wu cf. Djinang -gi, from -*gu), temporals (e.g. Dhuwal-Dhuwala ngãthili cf. Djinba ngayil 'long ago'), and so forth. The probable explanation of these facts is that proto-Djinba partially underwent a lenition process, as outlined above, but that the process was blocked when, in a later period, the palatalization of lamino-dentals bled off all remaining candidates for lenition. In Djinang, the palatalization sound change must have been historically antecedent to the lenition process, so that Djinang had lost its lamino-dentals before lenition had a chance to operate.

The most likely explanation for Djinang losing its lamino-dentals before Djinba is that it had earlier ties with prefixing languages to the west. This is consistent with the geography of the area: the main Djinba territories are to the east of the Glyde river, and it is more than a ten mile hike from the river westwards, over a range of hills, before one nears Rembarrnga territory. The Burarra however, and to a lesser extent the Rembarrnga, were right on the western doorstep of Djinang territory.

Diagrammatically, we can represent the situation as follows:



7. Lexicon

There has been some diffusion of lexical items, probably in both directions, between Djinang/Djinba and the prefixing languages. I have not systematically studied the extent of this, but it does appear to be relatively minimal. The kind of vocabulary that has diffused is that which would be desirable to have in common in order to be able to satisfactorily interact in a socially functional manner: such as for trade, ceremonial items, kinship terminology, animal names, and a few common non-thematic verb roots such as *baḷ* 'get, pick up', *ḍutj* 'return', etc. (The latter are actually of Macassan origin; and would have diffused into Rembarrnga from both Djinang and Burarra.) Since I do not know very much prefixing language vocabulary, I cannot say very much here about diffusion into Yolngu. However, in Glasgow and Garner's article (1980) I note such Yolngu items as: *Djuwina* 'moiety name', *Yirritjina* 'moiety name', *gurruta* 'kin', *yawirriny* 'unmarried man', *djanguny* 'story', *munya* 'night' (Yolngu *munha*, Djinang *munyi*), *bulay* 'far' (Yolngu *balay*), *munguy* 'continue on', etc.

Two of the more significant borrowings, by Djinang and Djinba, are the words used by the latter two languages for the strong negative 'no'. The usual Yolngu word is *yaka*. However, both Djinang and Djinba have a different form: Djinang *ingki* (Wulaki use cognate *ngiki*); and Djinba *waba*. We find that the Burarra word for 'no' is *ngika*; and the Rembarrnga word is *waba*. The latter indicates some significant Rembarrnga past influence on Djinba. In the case of Djinang, *ingki* is a later development from *Wulaki ngiki* by metathesis in the first syllable. The reason for the change is dealt with in the discussion of Djinang dialect differences in Appendix 1.

CONCLUSIONS

I have not included in this discussion the various linguistic features which Heath has found to have diffused between Yolngu and prefixing languages. My aim has been rather to complement his work by examining the western Yolngu area, with a view to adding further possible instances of diffusion. Some of the things we have tentatively identified are (a) lack of development of noun class marking in Rembarrnga (Yolngu influence); (b) vowel neutralizing and raising in closed classes of morphemes in Djinang (Rembarrnga influence); (c) development of reduced pronouns enclitic to verbs in Djinang and Djinba (Rembarrnga influence at least); (d) enhancing of the Yolngu paradigm of auxiliary verbs (Burarra influence); (e) possible weakening of the juncture between incorporated body-part nominals and the following verb stem in Djinang (and probably Djinba) - permitting metathesis with the clitic pronouns; (f) loss of lamino-dentals, first in Djinang, and then in Djinba; and (g) a small amount of lexical diffusion.

APPENDIX 3 Djinang - Djinba Comparative Dictionary

-ang
-wirriy G, -birriy D, (on nouns);
-kung G,D (on pronouns)

-aw
-kay

babakin-dji-dji
babananyi-rrak (stem
babanan-yi-)

babakining
babanan

babulu
babulu

badatj
badatj

badayala-dji-dji
badayalayi-rrak (stem
badayala-yi-)

badayala
badayala
garkambarr

baday
baday

badiri-dji-gi
bu-mak

badurru
badurru

badji-djirridji
dawurr-djarra-k

badji-wangidji
marrarraKa-n-mak (stem marrarra-ka-
probably)

bagapaga-dji-gi
bagapagayu-n (t.pst.)

bagili-gi
balu-mak (stem balu-) G
FI -mitj
IMP -ng
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA bal-al
TPI bali-nya

bakala
bakala

bala-ngurri
bala-wanbu-mak (stem bala-wanbu-)
(see wanbumak 'throw')
FI -mitj
IMP -ng
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA -ngal
TPI -nya

bala
bala (eg. bala djiwirr'ya-n-mak)

bala'
bala'

balayili
mirkaril

balay ngurru
balayani

balaypalay
mirkawani
marri mirka

balbaw-miy-gi
balbal-mak (stem balbal-miy-)

balibi-gi
dalpami-mak (stem dalpa-miyu-)
Note: -miyu- transitivizer
IMP -ng
YPI -w
YPA dalpa-mi-m
TPA -wal
TPI dalpa-mi-nya

balidji
burrpilyi-rrak (stem burrpil-yi-) G
FI -rritj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA -rr
TPA -n
TPI burrpil-dji-nya
banyin-mak D

bali-nyir-bi
burrpil-dji-nya-wirriy

balnggi-dji-dji
djinygurrurri-rnak (stem
djinygurrurr-yi-)
FI -rritj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA -rr
TPA -n
TPI djinygurrurr-dji-nya

balnggili
djinygurrurr

balpari-gi
balwar-mak (stem balwar-)
FI -mitj
IMP -ang
YPI -aw
YPA -am
TPA -al
TPI -inya

balpari-nya-kining
balwar-inya-nan

balpirginging
guliyirrinan

balpir
guliyirri

baltji-gi
wanal-mak (stem wanal-)
FI -mitj
IMP -ang
YPI -aw
YPA -am
TPA -al
TPI -nya

baltj-nyir-bi
wanal-nya-wirriy

balangaw-dji-gi
balangawya-nmak (stem
balangaw-ya-)

balarra
balarra

baldji
djaya

baldjurr-dji-gi
baldjurriya-nmak (stem
baldjurri-ya-)
FI -nmitj
IMP -ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA baldjurri-yi-n
TPI -na

balkup-dji-gi
balkup-ya-ng (IMP)

balkup
balkup

balpardittjigi
balmartji-ya-ng (IMP)

balmarrk
balmarrk
walkitj

balngunda
buyurmarr

balpal
balpal

balpi-gi
balpu-mak D,G (stem balpu-)
FI -mitj
IMP -ng
YPI balpa-w
YPA balpa-m
TPA -ngal
TPI -nya

bamanpi
bamanwirriy G
gayawirriy G

baman pirr bilkirr
baman pirr ngayil

baman pirr
ngayil pirr

baman
baman

bamatuka
bamatuka

bamaw-dji-dji
wudiya-nmak

bambal
ngu_lurr

bambarr
bambarr

bambay
bampay

bambu_li
ngadan G
badan G
naki D

bamburr
muny_djurrrng

Banambarridji
Banambarrmurr

bananydjarr
gindi-ra-na-wirriy (equiv. to
Djinang gindi-ra-nyir-bi)

bandayama
bandayama
milawuy

banimbirr
banimbirr

-ban
-banmi D (on some forms)
-ani ~ -pani ~ -wani G,D,M;
(NB: -*bani + ngarr 'I' = -barra)

bandany-dji-dji
bandanyyi-rrak (stem
bandany-yi-)
FI -rritj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA -rr
TPA -n
TPI bandany-dji-nya

bandany
bandany

banda
guwaynan

bandarr
gari-bandarrk

banditj
banditj

banim inydji yulgu-ngi
rarrpu_l niy wapira-k

banimngiri
rarrpu_lngur

banim
rarrpu_l

bangari-gi
bangara-mak (stem bangara-)
FI -mitj
IMP -ng
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA -l
TPI bangari-nya
dju_lka-n-mak

banggamatj
banggamatj

banggul
bararrk

bapi+nydji nya-ngi
niy giliny-nya-ngi (see nya-ngi)

bapi djunupangir
biri djunupangur

bapili-ngu
guwang-ngu

bapilipm
guwangpim G

bapili
guwang G
guwabi D

bapipi
muku_lk

bapi
biri G
gurruwili G
milipi D

bapi wingungir
biri wingungur

bapurrrurr
bapurrrurr

bararrk
bararrk

bardjining
bariyana

bar-gi
bari-mak (stem bari-) G,D
FI -mitj
IMP bara-ngi D, baru-ng G
YPI bara-w
YPA bara-m
TPA -ngal D,G
TPI -nya D,G

bart
dungurru

barra
barra

barrara
bararra

barrawan
barrawan

barrkirri-dji-dji
bulwarriya-nmak (stem bulwarri-ya-)
FI -nmitj
IMP -ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA bulwarri-yi-n
TPI -na

barrpi-gi
barrpu-mak (stem barrpu-)
FI -mitj
IMP -ng
YPI barrpa-l
YPA barrpa-n
TPA barrpa-n
TPI parrpa-na

barrtji
buyumarr

bat
wanbu-mak (see ngurri 'throw') G,D

batbat-tji-gi
dawurrbu-mak (stem dawurr-bu-)
FI -mitj
IMP -ngi
YPI -wi
YPA -mi
TPA dawurr-bi-pan (see bu-ngi hit)
TPI -nya

bat
rirritji

bat
manda-nmak G, 'pick up'
mandi-nmak D, 'pick up'
gatja-nmak G, 'grab'
djakirrdji-nmak D, 'grab'

batjbatj
darriyin

batji-gi
batja-nmak G, batji-nmak D, (stem batja-)
FI batju-nguy (also batja-nmitj G, batji-nmitj D)
IMP batju-ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA batji-yin G, batji-n D
TPI -na G, batji-na D

batjikali
bamatuka

batji
batji

batjirr-giri
burrku_l-ma-k (stem burrku_l-ma-)
FI burrku_l-mi-tj
IMP burrku_l-mi-y
YPI burrku_l-mi-y
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI burrku_l-mi-nya

batjparra
batjparra

bawang
bawang

bawu_l
bawu_l

bawupar
muku_lkung

bawupi
muku_lk

bayarra-dji-gi
bayarra'yu-mak (stem bayarra-yu-)

bay'
guwiy (imp.) (see gubi-dji)

-bibi
-wi (eg. ngarri-wi, nyunu-wi)

bidal
buwirri
burrudil

bidaga
djirrpada

bidak
badak

bidakwa
badakway

bidaykang
mindirryi-nmak
FI mindirr-yi-nmitj

bidilmi
birkarr

bidipiding
burrumbi

bil (3du reduced pronoun)
bala

bilang
bila (also bilak-)
bilkang D (see also nyabini)

-bilang
-pilak (eg. ngunu-pilak)

bilapilak ngurru
bilakmaral ngalkamdja

bilapilang
bilakmaral

bilawili
lurrkunbu

bilay
balay
mirka

bildjirri
-djang (eg. bunggu_{ng}-djang;
barra-djang)

bili (interrog)
bul

biligi
gaya
ngayil

bilimi
ripurru
ngayil

biliny
balany G,D

biliny-tji-gi
biying-mak

bilingang
balikung G,D

bilingga
baliyi G

bilinginyi
balany G,D

bilingki
balikuru G,D

biling
bala G,D,W

bilitj-bilitj
bilitj-bilitj

bilnyirri
balnyarra

bilngarr-dji-gi
bilngarr'ya-nmak (stem bilngarr-ya-)
IMP -ng

bilandji
gumburr bilanydji

bila
bila

bilbal-dji-gi
balngbalngyu-mak (stem
balngbalng-yu-)
FI -nguy (or -mitj)
IMP -ng
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA -wal
TPI -nya

bilbaldj-nyir-dji-gi
balngbalng-yu-mak (stem
balngbalng-yu-)

bilbaling
balngbalng (or balngpaing)

bilibiligili-dji-gi
bilibilingyu-mak (stem
bilibiling-yu-)
FI -mitj

bilwurrwarr
rilwurr (also rilwurrwurr)
djamurr 'rib cage'

bilkirrbi
bamanwirriy G

bilkirr
ngayil

bilwurtjigi (from bilwarr 'slap')
bilwarr-mak (stem bilwarr-miy-)
FI bilwarr-mitj
IMP -ing
YPI -uw
YPA -im
TPA -al
TPI bilwarr-mi-nya

bimbinyirring
wagaynyarrang

bimbi
wagay

bimbugi
birkarr

bindjirr Kirim ngurruguma
bindjirr garmi ngalkamdja

bininggili
maltjana

bintji
bintji-rrak (stem bintji-) D
bindji-rrak (stem bindji-) G
FI -rritj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA -rr
TPA -yin
TPI -nya

bindalngu
bundalngu

bindirrk
bindirrk

bindjarra
bindjarra

bindjarr-dji-gi
bindjarri-ya-nmak (stem
bindjarri-ya-)
FI bindjarri-yi-nmitj
IMP -ng
YPI -rr
YPA -n
TPA bindjarri-yi-n
TPI -na

bininggini
bininyan

-bini
-gadung

binyga-dji-gi
niy biringgiyu-mak (stem
biringgi-yu-)

bi
ba

-bi
-wirriy G, -birriy D, -wi (rarely,
eg. nyuni-wi)

biradagarr
birarrirr
wumbar 'inside'

birapira-dji-gi
bira'biraya-nmak (stem
bira'biraya-)
TPA bira'biraya-yi-n

birarrgirri-dji-dji
birarriyi-rrak (stem birarri-yi-)
FI -rritj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA -rr
TPA -n
TPI birarri-dji-nya

bir-djararrk
gupurr-djararrk

bir-djunga
gupurr-djunga

bir-gadaman
gupurr-gadaman

bir gattji-gi
gupurr gatja-nmak (see gattji-gi)

bir-gatji-gi
gupurr-gatja-nmak (see gatji-gi)

biri-bilba
gupurr-balngpang

biri-galmarr katji-gi
gupurr-galmarran (TPA ?)

biri-kiri
gupurriya-nmak (stem gupurri-ya-)
IMP -ng

biringgi-dji-gi
niy biringgiyu-mak (stem
biringgi-yu-)

biri
gupurr G,M,J
mirriki D

birirritjirring
birirri-ya-nyarrang

bir-manbi
gupurr-bindirrk

bir-matit
gupurr-bindirrk

bir-mirrpilipm
gupurr-yarrpani

bir-nami
gupurr-nakam

birny
gumburr

birngarr
birungurr

bir-warrarra
gupurr-warrarra

bir-yabulu
gupurr-yabulu

bir-yirrpi-gi
gupurrdjunga-nmak (stem
gupurr-djunga-)
FI -nmitj
IMP gupurr-djungu-l-k
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA gupurr-djungu-rr-yin
TPI -na

bir-yulgung
gupurr-wapira-k (see yulgungi)

birrakung
birraku-mak

birral-dj-nyir-dji-gi
birralyu-mak (stem birral-yu-)

birral-gima (true-EMPH)
burr-al-amdja (true-PROM)

birral ingki
burr-al marri wirr

birralku
burralkungi

birral
burr-al

birrangany-dji-gi
birranganyyu-mak (stem
birrangany-yu-)

birrangany
birrangany

birrang
birrang

birrarri
galiwurr

birrbirr-dji-gi
birrbirrya-nmak (stem birrbirr-ya-)

birrgili
rurrang'nga-nmak (stem rurrang'nga-)
G
IMP rurrang'nga-ng
gilgi-nmak (see gilgirr-gi) D

birrin-djingi-l-gi
bulut-mak (stem bulut-miy-) G
FI bulut-mitj
IMP -ing
YPI -uw
YPA -im
TPA -al
TPI bulut-mi-nya
ngarrawan-djul-k (irreg. archaic) D
FI unknown, (but probably
ngarrawan-djul-kuy)
IMP ngarrawan-djil-ki
YPI ngarrawan-dja-l
YPA ngarrawan-djinga-n
TPA ngarrawan-djil-k
TPA birrin-djingil-kal
(suppletive)
TPI ngarrawan-djingi-na

birrip-pirrip
birrip-pirrip

birriiri-dji-gi
birriiriya-nmak (stem birriiri-ya-)
IMP -ng
TPA birriiri-yi-n

birrk
birrk

birrmirridji
birrmirra-k (stem birrmirra-) D
dar'dariya-nmak (stem
dar'dari-ya-)
FI -nmitj
IMP -ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI -na

birrpirru-gi
gurrkurrma-nmak (stem gurrkurr-ma-)
FI -nmitj
IMP gurrkurr-mu-ng
YPI -w (irreg.)
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI -na

birru-gi
ganga-k (see ga-ngi) D,G

bitma
bunbala

biyalngi
dada
blik
wurrunimiy (?)

bubalikinim
birrkanaan

bubalikinging
birrkanaan

bubali-kin-mirri
birrka-nan-murr

bubali-kin-ngir-gi DAT
birrka-nan-wu

bubali-kin-ngir ERG or ABL
birrka-nan-uy ERG
birrka-nan-ngur ABL

bubali
birrka

budibudigili
gulangnan

budi
gulang G,M,J
gawiy D

bududup
bududup-bududup

buduyurr
buduyurr

budjirr butil-dji-dji
gulun manyakyi-rrak (see
manyak-dji-dji)

budjirr gatji-gi
gulun gatja-nmak (see gatji-gi)

budjirrgi ngadji-dji
gulununi ngaya-k (see ngadji-dji)

budjirr inydji par-gi
gulun niy bari-mak (see bar-gi)

budjirri
gulun G,D,M,J
mulkurr D,G

budjirr marrkap-dji-dji
gulun bulanggitji-rrak (stem
gulun bulanggitj-yi-)

budjirrminy
mulkurryun

budjirr-muning
gulun-munungu

budjirr-nirrp-miy-gi
gulun-nirrp-mak (also
gulun-nirrp'mak) (stem
gulun-nirrp-miy-)

budjirr-nguymin
gulun-ngulbitj

budjirr-pili
gulun-mirring

budjirr-pm
gulun-pim

budjirr-wayirri-gining
gulun-wayirra-nan

budjirr-wayirri
gulun-wayirra

bugabuga
bugaga

bugili-gi
gaya-nmak G, gadji-nmak D, (see
witji-gi)

bugin-dji-dji
dadayi-rrak (stem dada-yi-)

bugining
dada

bugirri
nimburr
bulungun

bukaling
buku

buka
buku

buka
buka

bukmak
bukmak

buku-imbak
buku-imbak

bukuk-tji-gi
buku_kya-n-mak (stem bukuk-ya-)

bukuul
bukuul

buku
nipirri

bukurr-gi
bukurr-mak
IMP bukurr-ung

buliya
buliya

bulmuru
djunggu

bultji-gi
bultja-nmak (stem bultja-) G
FI bultji-nmitj
IMP bultju-ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA bultji-yin
TPI -na
bultjinmak (stem bultja-) D
FI bultji-n-mitj
IMP bultji-ngi
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA bultji-n
TPI bultji-na

bultji-na-kining
bultja-nan

bultji-nir-bi
bultja-n-wirriy

bulubul-dji-dji
bulubul'ya-nmak (stem bulubul-ya-)
IMP -ng

buluki
bulugi

bul'warr-miy-gi
bul'warr-mak (stem bul'warr-miy-)

bulakitj-pi
bulakitj-wirriy
gayawirriy

bulanggitj
bulanggitj

bulgabulga
bulgabulga

buli
bulki

bulkidji
mawayi-rrak (stem maway-yi-) (y+y
contracts)
FI -rritj
TPI maway-dji-nya

bulkinyirbi
mawaydjinyawirriy

bulkitj
bulkitj

bul'manydji
bul'manytji

bulping
djiyanan (see djidji)

bulul
bulul

bulunbul
bulunbul

bulu-ngurrigi-nyir-bi
bulu-wanbi-nyara

bulu-ngurri
bulu-wanbu-mak (see ngurri)

bulwarr
yali

bumang
wungul

buming
djunga

bumir-bilbaling
buku-balngbalng

bumir-diy
buku-diy

bumir-duwat nyinidji
buku-duwattjang nyiniy
(imper. form)

bumir-galbi
buku-wutji

bumir-gin-dji-dji
buku-nan-yu-mak (stem
bukunan-yu-)

bumiri
buki G,D,M,J

bumir-kalikali-gi
buku-yalwitji-rrak (stem
buku-yalwitj-yi-) (variant
buku-yalwi'yirrak)

bumir-kirrbi-gi
buku-wunda-namak

bumirlili
bukulili

bumir-manbi
buku-bindirrck

bumir-pangari-gi
buku-bangari-mak

bumir-par-gi
buku-bari-mak (see bar-gi)

bumir-rirrkiyan
buki-bakada

bumir-tiy-dji-gi
buku-diya-namak (stem buku-diy-ya-)
(y+y contracts)

bumir-tjami-gi
buku-gurrma-namak

bumir-yabulu
buku-yabulu

bunapi
bunapi

bunarrmidji
bangya-namak

bunaba
bunaba

bunbarr
bunbarr

bundi-gi
butjuwak

bundirri
yitjirr

bunduk
bunduk G,D

bundurr
bundurr

bunyan-djal
djuri-djakal

bunyan
djuri G,D

bu
bungun G
bugun D
nguwuli G (rarely used)

bunyi+nydji yirri Kiri
djuri niy djip-mak gar-mak

bunyin-balpi-gi
djuri-balpalpu-mak (see balpi-gi)
IMP djuri-balpalpu-ng

bunyin-dji-pm
djuri-djuru+ngur

bunyin djiti-gi
garraywurumi-mak (?)

buny-tji-gi
buny-ya-nmak (stem buny-ya-)
IMP -ng

bungbul-dji-gi
bungbulnga-nmak

bunggawa
bunggawa

bu-ngi
bu-mak (stem bu- archaic) G,D
FI -mitj
IMP -ngi
YPI -wi
YPA -mi
TPA bi-pan
TPI -nya

bungtji-gi
djawal-ginga-K (see gingi-dji)

bupini-nyirring
mamin-nyarrang (PRIV)

bupini
mamin

bura*l*i
wakin

burbur-dji-gi
burbura-nmak (stem burbur-ya-)

bur
bur'-ya-nmak (stem bur'-ya-)
wapira-K G
milkalyi-nmak D

burtjal
munyurr

burtjil-dji-dji
munyurri-rrak (stem munyurr-yi-)

burtjil-dji-gi
munyurru-mak (stem munyurr-yu-)
IMP -ng

burralku
yakarr

burrdji gung
diltji-gupurru-mak (see gu-ngi)

burrdjing-dji-gi
burriyiu-mak (stem burriyi-yu-) G

burrdjing
burryi G
burrdjing D

burri lambirring
diltji-lawarr

burri*l*i
bulki

burring
diltjimurr

burri
diltji G,M,D

burrkurrk-gining
ricrkminy-nan

burrkburrk-katji-gi
rirrkminy ban gatja-nmak.

burrkburrk
rirrkminy

burrmalila
burrmalala

burrming
bimulu

burrngunda
buyurmarr

burrjtjirri-dji
nata-k (stem nati-)
FI -tj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA -Ø
TPA nata-n
TPI -nya

burr-tjuttjutdji-gi
djarrbu-nmak

burruburru-par-gi
burrupurru-bari-mak (see bar-gi)

burrugu
burrngu

burruku-burruku
burruku-burruku

burrunga
burrunga

burru-par-gi
mani-bari-mak (see bar-gi)

burrupurru
burrupurru

burru
burrupurru

burruruki
diltji-gatjawudu

burrurru
burrurru

butal
garray

buti-gi
badjarwu-mak

but 'lacking spears'
but

but-nyir-dji-gi
darrk-mak (stem darrk-miy-) (see
rindi-gi)

but 'stand up'
djiwirr'-ya-nmak (see djirri-dji)
djarridjarri-ya-ngu (IMP)

but-tji-gi
darrka-nmak

butjalak
butjalak

butjalatjamirring
butjalatjamirring

butjalmi-dji
ngatjurr-mak (stem ngatjurr-) G,D
FI -mitj
IMP -k
YPI -uw
YPA -um
TPA -al
TPI -inya

butjbutj-dji-dji
butjputjyi-rrak (stem butjputj-yi-)

butjbutj
butjputj

butj-inydji kung
ginydji niy balpu-mak (see
balpi-gi)

butjir-balpir-gining
ginydji-guliyirr-nan

butjir-djanguny-gining
ginydji-djanguny-nan

butjir-djarrkut
ginydji-djarrkut

butjir-djumili-dji-dji
ginydji-midixi-rrak (stem
ginydji-midi-yi-)

butjir-djumiling
ginydji-midi

butjir-gin-dji-gi
ginydji-nan-yu-mak (stem
ginydjinan-yu-)

butjir-gurrugurru
ginydji-gatjawudu

butjiri
ginydji

butjir-karri
raypirrya-nmak (stem raypirr-ya-)
IMP -ng

butjir-marnggi
ginydji-marnggi

butjiy
djanyarr G,D

butjpu
butjpu

buwalbuwal-dji-gi
buwalbuwal-ya-nmak (stem
buwalbuwal-ya-)

buwata
buwata

buwayak-dji-dji
buwayakdji-rrak (stem buwayak-dji-)

buwayak-dji-gi
buwayak-yu-mak (stem buwayak-yu-)

buygung
garrarrka-mak

buyi-gi
banydja-nmak

buyiri
buyar

buyir-kiri
burraku-mak

buypuru
buypuru

buyubuyu-dji-gi
buyubuyu-yu-mak (stem buyubuyu-yu-)

buyubuyu
buyubuyu

dabadaba-dji-gi
dabadaba-ya-nmak (stem
dabadaba-ya-)

dada-dji-dji & dadaw-dji-dji
dadaw-yi-rrak (stem dadaw-yi-)

dadaw-dji-gi & dada'-dji-gi
dadaw-ya-nmak (stem dadaw-ya-)

dadiy
bumbuwiy

dagadaga
dagadagaya-nmak (stem
dagadaga-ya-)

dak
dawuka-mak (stem dawuka-miy-) (see
dapili-dji-gi)

daldal-dji-gi
daldalya-nmak (stem daldal-ya-)
IMP -ng

dalnggirr
bu-mak (see bu-ngi)

dal
bu-mak (see bu-ngi)

dalwur-dji-dji
dalwuryi-rrak (stem dalwur-yi-)

dalwur
dalwur

damarran
djanabu

damarr-miy-gi
damarr-mak (stem damarr-miy-)
damarr-ya-nmak

dambidji ERG
dambuy

dambing
dambi G
dambingu D

damili
damal

dampiling-dji-gi
dampulung-yu-mak (stem dampulung-yu-)
IMP -ng
dambiyu-mak (stem dambi-yu-)

dandanga
dandanga

danydany
danydany

dapalal
lirri

dap-dji-gi
dapi-ya-nmak (stem dapi-ya-)

dapili-dji-gi & dapiling-dji-gi
dawuka-mak (stem dawuka-miy-)
IMP -ing
TPI dawuka-mi-nya

dapili-dj-nyir-bi
dawuka-mi-nya-wirriy

dapi
dapi

darrarra-miy-gi
darrarra-mak (stem darrarra-miy-)
IMP -ing

darrarra
darrarra

darrk
bingiy (imp) (see dirra-dji-gi)

dawdaw-dj-nya-king
dadaw-ya-nan

dawdaw-miy-gi
dawdaw-mak (stem dawdaw-miy-)

daw'-dji-gi
daw'ya-nmak (stem daw-ya-)
IMP -ng

dibarr
marra dibarr

diduyngu
mirawuy

digidigi-dji-gi
digidigi-yi-n (TPA)

dimbi-dj-nyir-dji-gi
dimbi-yu-mak (stem dimbi-yu-)

dindimi-gi
dup-mak

dir
wungul

dirra-dji-gi
wurrk-mak (stem wurrk-miy-) G
TPA -al
dal-miy-al (t.pst) G
bi-nmak (stem bi- irreg.) G,D (? also
biyangi)
IMP bingiy
YPA -nmi
TPA birri-tjan

dirrka
ngadan

dirrpal
rirrpal

ditdiy
ditdiy

ditji-gi
diydiya-nmak

diydiy-dji-gi
diydiya-nmak (stem diydiy-ya-)
(y+y contracts)

dubitji-gi
dubitja-nmak

dubudubuk
dubudubuk

dubudubutji-gi
dubudubitja-nmak

dubuk
dubuk

dugudugu-dji-gi
dugudugu-ya-nmak (stem
dugudugu-ya-)
IMP -ng

dugu
dugu

dulbirr
dulbirr

duling
nurrku

duli
lurrku

duli-tji-dji
lurrku-yi-rrak (stem lurrku-yi-)

dulpi-dji-dji
dulpiyi-rrak (stem dulpi-yi-)
TPA -n

dulpi
dulpi

dul
dul

dulul
dululya-n (TPA)

dunbarr
nganybak

dungdung-dji-gi
dungdunya-nmak (stem
dungdung-ya-) G
dungdungdji-nmak (stem
dungdung-dji-) D
dungdung-miy-ing (IMP) (? FUT
dungdung-mak)

dupan
dupun

durkdurk
durkdurk G,M,D,J
ngurumburr G
ngir G

dutji-gi
du'duma-ng (IMP) G

dutji-gi
du'tuma-nmak (stem du'tu-ma-)
IMP -ng

dutj
dutj

duwarr
duwarr

djabarrk-dji-gi
djabarrka-nmak

djabarrkginging
djabarrknan

djabarrk-wangi-dji
djabarrk-wanga-k (see wangi-dji)

djabatjkinging
bulumnan

djabir-gurrkung
rarri-gurriyukurriyu-mak

djabiri
rarri
rarri-yi ERG

djabir-mar
rarriyi-mari

djabir-ngaw-tji-gi
rarri-ngawkiya-nmak (stem
rarri-ngawki-ya-)

djabirrmarr
dadiy

djadarrk
wurridjarra

djadaw-dji-gi
biraya-nmak

djadaw
djadaw'ya-nmak

djadjiri
ban djurram yuta

djadjuditj
djadjuditj

djaga-dji-gi
djadadji-nmak (stem djaga-dja-) D
FI -nmitj
IMP djaga-dji-ngi
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA djaga-dji-n
TPI djaga-dji-na
nyangnya-ng (stem nya- 'see'
reduplicated) (see nya-ngi) G
FI nya-ng-nya-nguy
IMP nya-ngi
YPI nya-w-nya-w
YPA nya-m-nya-m
TPA nya-mi
TPI nya-ny-nya-nya

djaga-djingi-l-gi
djaga-djap-mak

djagaging
djakanan

djagal
djagar

djaganda
djaganda

djagil-ngurri
djagar-wanbu-mak (see ngurri)

djagilwari
djara

djagulpa
djagulpa
djawulpa

Djakalabirri
Djakalawirrka

djaka
djaka

djakirri
djakalangarr

djakiy
djakay

djakmarrarra
djakmarrarra

djalatjang
djalatjang

djal 'cheek'
djakal

djal 'desire'
djalng

djal-dambing
djakal-dambi

djal-dampiling
djakal-dampulung

djaldjal 'plains grass'
djaldjalyang (? IMP verb)

djalgi-dji-dji
gundjalnyi-rrak

djalgi-dj-nyir-dji-gi
gundjal-yu-mak (stem gundjal-yu-)

djalgi
gundjalng

djalim-dji-gi
djalim-yu-mak (stem djalim-yu-)
IMP -ng

Djalinyirri
Djalnginyirringa

djalir-gi (< *djalkara-)
djalkar-mak (stem djalkar-)
IMP -ang

djalkngi
gundjalng

djalng-dji-dji
djalngi-rrak (stem djalng-) (ng+y
contracts to ng) G
djalngdji-rrak (stem djalng-dji-) D

djalng
djalng

djalngurri
djalngarri

djal-rani
djakal-rani

djaltjibi-gi
wamiy-ing (IMP) (< *ba-miy- ?)

djaltji
munatja

djalwali
djakalwali

djalarrurr
djalkarang

djalbini-gi
djalbun-mak
IMP djalbunu-ng

djalak
djaraw

djalkuldirring
burumu

djalwirrirr-dji-gi
djalwirrirriya-nmak (stem
djalwirrirri-ya-)

djama-dji-gi
djamayu-mak (stem djama-yu-) G
djamadju-mak (stem djama-dju-) D

djama
djama

djambaku
djambaku

djabatj
djabatj

djambi-dji-gi
djambi-yu-mak (stem djambi-yu-)
IMP -ng

djambirr-gi
gunmul

djami-gi
djawuku-mak (stem djawuku-miy-) D
FI djawuku-mitj
IMP -ing
YPI -uw
YPA -im
TPA -al
TPI djawuku-mi-nya
gurrma-nmak (stem gurrma-) G
FI -nmitj
IMP gurrmu-ng
YPI -i
YPA -n
TPA gurrmi-n
TPI -na

djamili
midi

djaming
bidapi G,M
djinba J
djnipuy G
midipi D

djam-pili-gi
birapi-ril

djamunumun
djamunumun
muri

djanambal
ratjuk (or raytjuk)

djan.gi-tji-gi
djan.gi'-ya-nmak (stem djan.gi'-ya-)
IMP -ng

djani-nyi
djana-ny G
djani-ny D

djani
djani G,M,D
djinyin J

djan-ki
djani-kuru G,D

djan-ngang
djanu-kung G
djani-kung D

djan-ngar
djani-kar G,D

djanbul-djanbul
djanbul-djanbul
ganangarra

Djanyirrbirri
Djanyarrbirrik

djanggu
djanggu G,D,J,M

djanguny
djanguny

djapidi
djapidi

djapi-mungan
djaki-mungan

djapinying
djapany

djapi
djaki

djarak
djarak

djarbirrgili-dji-gi
djarwirringyu-mak (stem
djarwirring-yu-)

djar-gi
djari-mak (stem djari-) G,D
FI -mitj
IMP djaru-ng
YPI djara-w
YPA djara-m
TPA djara-ngal
TPI -nya

djarngurri
wanbuma munatja

djarwarri
guringin (-ril ALL, -wu DAT)

djarrangutji-gi
djaranggul_k-yu-mak

djarratjarra
djarratjarra

djarrbarbar
djarrbarbar
yinbulngu

djarribi-dji-dji
mukya-nmak (stem muk-ya-)

djarribir
djarribir

djarridjarri-dji-gi
djarridjarriya-nmak (stem
djarridjarri-ya-)

djarritjirr
yalki wanbu-mak

djarrka
djarrka

djarrkdjarrk
djarrkdjarrk

djarrk
djarrk

djarrkut
djarrkut G,M,D

djarrma-bini
djarrma-gadung

djarrma
djarrma

djarr nya-ngi
djarr nya-mak (see nya-ngi)

djat
ra-ni (IMP)

djatdjat-dji-gi
wama-mak (stem wama-miy-)
IMP -ing

djatja
djatja

djawalkitj
djawalkitj

djawal
djawal

djavar-dji-dji
djavar-yi-nmak (stem djavar-yi-)
FI -n-mitj
YPA -n

djavar
djavar-yi-n (TPA ?)

djayal-gima
djayal-amdja

djayal
djayal

djayarr ngirgi
gultja ngambul

djayarr
gultja

djaydjaying
djaymurr

djay djul_kim
djay djul_kyan

djay-gatji-gi
djay gatja-nmak (see gatji-gi)
gutjarr gatja-nmak

djayi-gi
djaru-ng (IMP)

djayurrkyurrk
djayurrkyurrk

djay-wuywuy-dji-gi
djay-wurtja-nmak

djibu
djibu

djibuy
djibuy

djidi-dji-dji
yanydjayi-rrak (stem yanydja-yi-)

djiding
mudu

djidji
djiyi

djikada
djikada

djilaku
djilaku

djilang-manbing
gurrngul bindirrk

djilang
djalangan

djil-dji-gi
djil-ya-nmak (stem djil-ya-)

djilidjil
balpu-mak

djilikirri
bilak ngalkamdja

djilimkima
balinyimdja

djilim
balipa

djilinydjal
djalinydjal

djili ngurrigima
bilak ngalkamdja

djili
bilak

djil-tji-gi
djil-tja-nmak

djimindi
djimindi G,D

djimuku
djimuku

djimurru
djimurru

djin (3pl reduced pronoun)
djan

-dji (ERG) (other Djinang allomorphs
are -ri, -li)

-ri (unmarked form)

-di (after t, eg. gayit-di)

-uy, sometimes -nguy, -yi on rari
-nyir, sometimes -ir

-dji (PROM)

-ma (on nouns, eg. gayit-ma; on
pronouns, eg. nyan-ma) G

-amdja, -imdja (after palatal,
eg. baliny-imdja 'djili-kima') G

djindjalma
djindjalma
nyinga

djinidjining
djinirpany

djini kuyim
milappan

djinimi
baliny G
nguniny-amdja D

djinimirri
djiniakupani

djinimkirri
balipanyawu

djining
djini G
nikirmany D,M

djini ngurrigima
djini ngalkamdja

djini-pan-gima
djinaKal-imdja

djinipan
djinaKani

djini-pilang-mirri
bilak-murr-ngu

djini-pilang-ngu
bilak-murr-ngu

djinipilang
bilakmurr

djini-pili
djinakal-yarr

djini-pm
djinirpany-pim

djini-wil-ang
djinyin-mala-k

djini-wili-pm
djinakal-yarr-pim

djini-wili
djinyin-mala

djini-wili-tji
djinyin-mala+ny

djin-ngir-pm
djini-ngur-pani

djin-ngir yipi
djini-ngur yipi

djini
djinirpany G
nikanmi D

djin
djin

djinytirri
djannytarr

djinyinydjarrak
djinyinydjarrak

-djingi-l-gi
-djunga-nmak (& -djunga-l- for some
tenses)

djingiri-gi
djap-mak (stem djap-miy-)
IMP -ing
YPI -uw
YPA djap-mi-m
TPA -al
TPI djap-mi-nya

djip
djip-mak (stem djip-miy-)
IMP -ing

djiri-ngil-gi
djara-nga-nmak G,D (cf. DHUWALA
dharangan)

djir'mak-dji-gi
djir'maka-nmak
YPA djir'maka-n
TPA djir'maka-n

djirribal
gupay

djirridjarring
djirang'djirang-nan

djirri-dji
djiwirr'ya-nmak (stem djiwirr-ya-) G
FI -nmitj
IMP -ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA djiwirr-yi-n
TPI -na

djiwirrdji-nmak (stem djiwirr-dja-)
D
FI djiwirr-dji-nmitj
IMP -ng
YPI -l
YPA djarri (suppletive;
cf. Djinang djarri)
TPA djarri-nyan (suppletive;
cf. Djinang djarri-nyini)
TPI djiwirr-tji-na
djarra-k (stem djarra-) (Used as
EXIST auxiliary) G,D
TPA djirri-nyan G
TPA djarri-nyan D

djirribi-gi
gadal-djunga-nmak (stem
gadal-djunga-) G
FI -nmitj
IMP gadal-djunga-l-k
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA -rr-yin
TPI -na
djarra_lbu-mak (stem djarra_lbu-) D
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPI djarra_lbi-nya
larrdji-nmak D, larriya-nmak G (see
galmi-dji)

djirrimiri
wukutj G,D
bidjay G
djaragi D

djirritjirri
djirritjirrinydja (note -nydja
fossilization)
ngatnyin

djirrk
madjirr

djirrtjarr
yalman

djitdjin-dji-gi
djunupa-yu-mak (stem djunupa-yu-)
FI -mitj

djiti-gi
ngarranga-nmak (stem ngarra-nga-)
G,M
FI -nmitj
IMP ngarra-ngu-l-k
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI -na

djirriti-mak (stem djirriti-) D
IMP djirritu-k
YPI djirrita-w
YPA djirrita-m
TPA -kal
TPI ngarra-nga-na (suppletive)

djit
djit

djiwarr
nakam

djuburr djunupa
djuburr djunupa

djuburrgining
djuburr_{an} (< *n_{an} > -an)

djuburr mayali-gining
djuburr marali_{an}

djuburr-pultji-gi
djuburr-bultja-nmak (see bultji-gi)

djuburr
djuburr

djudap-dji-gi
djudapya-nmak (stem djudap-ya-)

djuditj-ping
djuditj-wirriy

djuditj
djuditj

djudup ra-gi
djudap durrkuwa-k (stem durrkuwa-,
irreg. see ra-gi)

djudju-ga-ng
djudju-gar-mak (see giri)
djudju-war-mak (alternate form)
IMP djudju-war-ang

djuka_l
djuka_l

djukmarr-gi
djubaya-nmak
guyuka-nmak

djuli
djuwali G
djali D

djul_{djul}-dji-gi
djul_{djul}-yu-mak (stem
djul_{djul}-yu-)

djul_k-dji-gi
djul_{ka}-nmak

djul_{kim}
buwal_{G,M}
djul_{kumi} D

djul_k-miy-gi
bangari-mak

djul_{udu}
djul_{udu}

djul_{udjulu}-dji-gi
djul_{udjulu}-ya-nmak (stem
djul_{udjulu}-ya-)
TPA djul_{udjulu}-yi-n

djul_{uk}
rul

djul_{urr} ?? (possible Djinang form)
djul_{urra}-nmak 'make/build' (cf. GUP
dhu_l'yun 'build')

djumala
djumala

djumbal-tji-gi
djumbalya-nmak (stem djumbal-ya-)

djumiling
midi G,M

djumili-tjatji-gi
djawaldjana-mak

djundjarr
djundjarr

djun-dji-gi
djumbal-ya-nmak (stem djumbal-ya-)

djunungguyangu
djunungguyangu

djunupa-dji-gi
djunupa-yu-mak (stem djunupa-yu-)

djunupa
djunupa

djunga-dji-dji
djunga-yi-rrak (stem djunga-yi-)

djunga-pm bidak
djungany-pim badak

djunga-pm
djunga-pim

djunga
djunga

djunga yigili-nyir-gi
djunga wudapa-naruw

djunggay-pili
djunggay-puli (PAUC)
djunggay-mirring (PL)

djunggay
djunggay

djunggi mak
djunggi mak

djunggi
djunggi G,M,D ('tree', 'fire',
'wood')
gurrmun 'fire' D

djungulu
djungulu

djurumul
gapi

djurra
djurra

djurr-gi, also djurri
djurru-mak (stem djurra-) G
YPA -m
gadungudji-rrak (stem gadungu-dji-)
D

djurrkudu-miy-gi
djurrkudu-mak (stem
djurrkudu-miy-)
YPI -ing (irreg. same inflection
as IMP)
TPI djurrkudu-mi-nya

djurr
djurr-amdja (-amdja PROM)

djutidjutu
djutidjiti
djutidjitingi

djuwayka
djuwayka

djuy-pultji-gi
bay-bultja-nmak (stem bay-bultja-)
FI bay-bultji-nmitj

djuy
djutjtjutj

gabirring
djulkumu

gadaman
gadaman

gada-ngimi
yapak-pani

gadi t-aw
yapaka-yarr

gadi ti
gadak D
yapak G,M

gaduwgaduw
gaduwgaduw

gadjigarr
djukurr

gadjigirri-ng LOC
djukarra+m (LOC ?)

gadjira-ping
ripurru-m-birriy

gadjiri
ripurru-m

gaka
ri_lmi

gakawarr
gakawarr

galadjarr ?? (unelicited)
galadjarr G

galanyin
galanyan

galbi-dambing
djakal-dambi

galbi-dji-dji
wutji-yi-rrak (stem wutji-yi-)

galbi-dji-gi
wutji-yu-mak (stem wutji-yu-)
IMP -ng

galbi
wutji
burr_{nun}

galbi-wi_li
wutji-pu_l

galbu-ngi
mama-nmak G, mami-nmak D, (stem mama-
irreg.)
FI -nmitj G, mami-nmitj D
IMP mamu-ng G, mami-ng D
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA mami-rr-yin G, mami-n D
TPI -na G, mami-na D

galgal
lurridja

galikali
galyarra

gali-ki
galka-nmak G, galki-nmak D, (stem
galka-, irreg.)
FI -nmitj G
IMP galku-rr-k G
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA galki-rr-yin G, galki-rr-djin
D
TPI -na G, galki-na D

gali
gali

galiyi-gi
garrany-dja-nmak (stem garrany-dja-)
(note: dj after ny) G

galk
galka

galmi-dji
larriya-nmak (stem larri-ya-) G
FI larri-yi-nmitj
IMP larri-yu-ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA larri-yi-n
TPI -na

larrdji-nmak (stem larr-dja- ?) D
TPA larr-dji-n

galngarrarra-dji-gi
galngarrarra-ya-nmak (stem
galmarrarra-ya-)

galngayngu
galngan_n

galng-galng-dji-gi (see minggu-ngi)
mingu-mak

galngibira
galngibiraya-nmak (stem
galngibira-ya-)

galngi bu_langgitj-dji-dji
galngi bu_langgitjyi-rrak (stem
bu_langgitj-yi-)

galngi-di_y'di_y
galngi-di_y'di_y

galngi-man_{bi}
galngi-bin_{dirrk}

galngi
galngi

gamurr
gamurr

galaka-ngi
binbu-mak

ganba
wirrpim

galal-tji-gi
luwal-mak (< *galu-galu- ?)

gandji
gandji

gal'gal-miy-gi
gal'gal-mak (stem gal'gal-miy-)

galingalkngalk
ganangalkngalk

galigali
galigali

ganal
ganay

galitjirring
galitjirringu

ganangarra
ganangarra

galiwarr
galiwarr

ganbalatj
dawurr

galkngu
gal'ngu (*k > glottal)

gandalpurru
gandalpurru

galmarr
galmarr

gandarr
lurrukun

galngbuy
galngbuy

gandayala
gandayala

galpang
galpang

ganda yirрпи-gi
djarrpal-djunga-nmak (stem
djarrpal-djunga-)

galtjining
garkman

gandi
gindi D,M,G,J
djarrpal G

galut
galut

gani
gani

galwun
yukuda

ganydjarr
ganydjarr

gami-gi
garrma-nmak G, garrmi-nmak D, (stem
garrma-)

ganydjirr-bini
ganydjarr-gadung

FI garrmi-nmitj G
IMP garrmu-ng G, garrmi-ngi D
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI -na G, garrmi-na D

ga-ngi
ga-mak (stem ga-) G,D
FI -mitj
IMP -ngi
YPI -wi
YPA -mi
TPA -ngal
TPI -nya

gamununggu
gamununggu
guliny

gapal-mirrpili
djarrpal-mudul G

gapi djagal
gapi djagar

gapi djalgi
gapi gundjalng

gapi-gu-ngi
gapiri-mak

gapi-mugu
gapi-mugu

gapining (< *gapi-gining)
gapi-nan G
giybaluw D

gapi-nyirring
gapi-nyarrang

gapi-nguy
gapi-nguy

gapi
gapi G,D
wuydji (or possibly wudji) D

gapiri-gi
gapir-mak (stem gapir-)
IMP -ang

gapirri
gaparra

gap
djari-mak D,G (see djar-gi)

gapula
gapula

garak-nya-ng
djawal-nya-mak (see nya-ngi)

garak
djawal

garapa
garapa

gar-bandarrk
gar-bandarrk

gar-dji-gi
gar-ya-nmak (stem gar-ya-)

gar-garlut
gar-garlut

gar-gining
guway-nan

gar-gi
gari-mak

gar-gurriyili
gar-gurriyala

gari-pm
gari-pani

gari
gari

gar-maliri
gar-maluk

garngarri
gulun-dambi

garpan
garpan

garpi-gi
giykiny-dja-nmak (stem giykiny-dja-)
(note: dj after ny)

garpi-nyirring
giykinydja-n-nyarrang

gar-wali-ki
gari-wakal-mak (see waliki)

garrayarr
garrayarr

garrbit
garrpu-ng (IMP) (see garrpi-gi)

garri
bingi (IMP), bi-nmi (YPA) (see
dirra-dji-gi)

garriyuwa
garriyuwa

garrkatdji
garrkatdji

garrkuluk
garrkuluk

garrpi-gi	djakirrdji-nmak (stem djakirr-dji-)
garrpa-nmak (stem garrpa-) G	D
FI garrpi-nmitj	IMP gatji-ngi (suppletive)
IMP garrpu-ng	YPI gatja-l (suppletive)
YPI -l	YPA gatja-n (suppletive)
YPA -n	TPA -n
TPA -n	TPI gatji-na (suppletive)
TPI -na	
garrapi-nmak (stem garrapa-) D	gawarrKa
IMP garrapi-ngi	gawarrKa
YPI -l	
YPA -n	gawirarr
TPA garrapi-na (note: final a retained)	gawirarr
TPI -na	
	gayinggarr
	gayinggarr
garr	
garr	gayit
	gayit
garrung	
garrung	gaykiy
	watak
garrurrurr	
garrurrurr	gaypi-gi
	gaypu-mak (stem gaypu-) G,D
garrwur-dji-gi	FI -mitj G
malgarrama-nmak (stem malgarrama-)	IMP -ng G, -ngi D
TPA -n	YPI gaypa-w G, -w D
	YPA gaypa-m
gata	TPA -ngal
girrilik	TPI gaypi-nya
gatpurr	gay-ping
gatpurr	gaya-wirriy
gattji-gi	gibidipi
gatja-nmak (stem gatja-) G (see gatji-gi)	gibidipi
FI gatji-nmitj	
IMP gatju-ng	gibilbal
YPI -l	galitjarr G,M,D
YPA -n	
TPA gatji-yin, also gatja-n	gidagida
TPI -na	banda-ngi (IMP, see nunydjirri)
djakirrdji-nmak (stem djakirr-dji-) D	
(see gatji-gi)	gididjirring
	gadung-pim
gatji-gi	gidjirri-ngi-l-gi
gatja-nmak (stem gatja-) G	giyngarranya-ng (IMP)
FI gatji-nmitj	
IMP gatju-ng	gikanggi
YPI -l	gikanggi
YPA -n	
TPA -n, also gatji-yin	gikuwa
TPI -na	gikuwa

gilgilngirri-dji-dji
lilawka-nmak

gilgi-rr-gi
gilgi-nmak (stem gilgi-, irreg.) D
IMP gilgu-rr-k
YPI gilga-l
YPA gilga-rr
TPA -rr-djin
TPI -rr-na (cf. Djinang
gilgi-ni)

gila-nmak (stem gili- < *gilgi-) G
FI gilgi-nmitj
IMP gilv-rr-k
YPI gila-l
YPA gila-n
TPA -rr-yin
TPI gila-na

gilitjili-gi
dulbaya-nmak (also
dulba'ya-nmak)

gilang-tj-nya-kining
wandja-nan

gilibi-gi
galuwu-mak (stem galu-wu- <
*galu-bu-) G
FI -mitj
IMP -ng
YPI galu-wa-w
YPA galu-wa-m
TPA galu-wa-l
TPI -nya
runggulbu-mak (stem runggul-bu-) D
IMP -ng
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA runggul-ba-l
TPI runggul-bi-nya

giligili-tji-gi
djikdjikkal-mak

gilingkal
ngalan G,D,M

giliwila-pi
djulal-wirriy

giliwilim
djulal

giliwiling
djulal

giliwurrwarr
rilmur
rilmurrmurr
djamurr (side of rib cage)

gilkal
ngulurr G

gima
gam

-gima (EMPH)
-amdja (PROM)
-imdja (PROM)

gimirpi
bawang

gimnyarr
gimnyarr

gimnyirri
gimnyarra

gindi-bi
djarrpal-wirriy

gindili
gindiril-mak (stem gindiril-)
G,D

gingin
gingin

ginimbi
ganambi

ginimbirri
wukut
ngudungut

ginimini
miku

-ginim ALIEN
-nan PROP

-gingin PROP
-nan PROP

-gin- PROP
-nan- PROP

ginyipirr-dji-gi
ngatjirriyu-mak (stem ngatjirri-yu-)

gingi-dji

ginga-k (stem gingi-, archaic) G

FI -tj

IMP -y

YPI -y

YPA -Ø

TPA ginga-n

TPI -nya

giyinga-k (stem giyingi- ?) D

girarrk

rarrk

-gi DAT

-kuru (on pronouns) G,D

-wu (elsewhere) G, -nguru (elsewhere)

D

giri

gara-mak (stem gara-, archaic) D

FI -kuy

IMP -kiy

YPI garu-wi

YPA -mi

TPA -kal

TPI gari-nya

gar-mak (stem gar- < *gara-) G

FI -kuy

IMP -ki

YPI garu-wi

YPA -mi

TPA -kal

TPI gari-nya

marrtji (stem marrtji-) Walmapuy

girrabili

galitjarr

girrala

galamun

girr-ban

banbim

girrbi-gi

wunda-nmak

girrgili

birrukuwa

girrgima

banbim

girri-dji-gi

girri-ya-nmak (stem girri-ya-)

girriny-tji-gi

girriny-dja-nmak (stem girriny-dja-)

(note: dj after ny)

girri-pili

girri-mirring

girri 'goods'

girri

girri SEQU

ga SEQU

girriwal

miku

girrkiling

raypiny G,J

girrkirrkunu D

girrkirmirring

gundjalng

gitkit-dji-gi

birarri-yi-rrak (stem birarri-yi-)

YPA -rr

giyany

guykuy

giyaw

batji

giy-gin-dji-gi

mapu-nan-yi-rrak (stem

mapunan-yi-)

giyi

mapu G

giyi D

giyKa-ngi

djarratj-mak

gubi-dji

guba-k (stem gubi-, archaic) D

IMP -yi

YPI -yi

YPA guba-p (note: archaic form)

TPA guba-n

TPI -nya

guwa-k (stem guwi- < *gubi-) G
FI -tj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA guwa-w (note: archaic form <
-*p)
TPA guwa-n
TPI -nya

gubudu
gubudu
gubudu+mdja (PROM)

gudal
djalkar-mak

gudarr
gudarr

guditjimarr
girrilik

guditjirri
guditjinirri

gudi-tj-nyir-dji-gi
gudi'yi-nmak (stem gudi-yi-)
FI -nmitj
IMP gudi'ya-ng
YPI gudi'ya-rr
YPA -n
TPI -na

gudurri
girirri

gudurrki
gudurrjuk

gudjirri-dji-dji
guyirr'-yi-n (TPA)
nguyilkiyi-n (TPA)

gudjuw
gudjuw

gukirri-dji
garkara-k (irreg. stem garingara-,
by reduplication of gara- 'go') G
FI gar-kuy (suppletive, see
giri)
IMP gar-kuy (suppletive, also
gukirri-yi)
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA -n (also, gaya-r < *gara-r
used for RPA but not TPA)
TPI garingari-nya

gu'-kurr-gi (DIST reduplication)
gurru-kurru-ng (IMP) (REDUP)

gulgul-miy-gi
burrpurr-mak

gul
gul-mak (see gul-miy-gi)

guladi
gurubuk

gulawurr
gulawurr

guldidji
gulyi-rrak (stem gul-yi-)

gulddji-gi
gulya-nmak (stem gul-ya-)

gulinjdjarr
gulinj

gulkmin
gulkmin
maliyi

gulk
djari-mak (see djar-gi)

gulku
gulku

gulmaw
gulmanguyarr

gulmigi
gulmangu G,D,M

gulmi-gir-ki
gulmangu-ru-w

gulmig-uw
gulmangu-yarr

gulmi-ngi-m
gulmangu-pani

gulmi-wili-ngi
gulmangu-yarr

gul-miy-gi
gul-mak (stem gul-miy-)
IMP -ing

gultji
yarawi G,M
yarwi G
yarabi D

gulukulung
gudurr-guk

guluku-ng
gurrpa-nmak (stem gurrpa-)
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI -na

guluminy
guluminya

gulungurr
butjalak

gulupan
nitgi

gulu
gulu

gulurwi
gulki

gulwirri
balanggul

gumbala
wakin

gumbirri
gumburr G,D,M,J

gumbirr-mungan
gumburr-mungun

gumirdjidji
ngulbitji-rrak (stem
ngulbitj-yi-)

gumiring
gumir

gundurudji-gi
gundurya-nmak (stem gundur-ya-)

gunarr
gunir

gunbulurru
wuyi

gunburrk
gunburrk

gundjarr dapili-dj-nyira-king
yangal di-dawka-na

gundjarr
yangal

gundjirr-mil
yangal-mil

gundjirr-muning
yangal-munungu

gundjirr-wayirri
yangal-wayarra

gundjirr-yirri-gi
yangal-djip-mak (stem
yangal-djip-miy-)

gungan
gungun

gungi balpi-gi
gungi-balpu-mak (can contract to
gungi-balp-mak)

gungi batji-gi
guya-nmak

gungi bildji-gi
gungi bilya-nmak (stem bil-ya-)
YPI gungi bil-tju-w
TPA gungi bil-yi-n
TPI -na

gungi but-nyir-dji-gi
gungi darrka-nmak

gungi dambing
gungi dambi

gungi djarrkut
gungi djarrkut

gungi galbi
gungi wutji

gungi-gin-dji-gi
gungi-nan-yu-mak (stem
gungi-nan-yu-)

gungi-liling
gungi-rawa

gungi-li
gungi-rilyu-mak (stem gungi-ril-yu-)
TPA -m

gungi marrrayar-dji-gi
gungi marrrayar-ya-nmak (stem
marrrayar-ya-)

gungi
gungi G,D,M,J

gungi yaku
gungi yaku

gungi yirrpi-gi
gungi djip-mak (stem djip-miy-)

guni-bini
guni-gadung

guni-dji-dji
guni-yi-rrak

guni
guni

gunkurtji-gi
gungi-djupunma-nmak

gunmal
gunmul

gunyambi
mari

gunydjirri
gunydjarra G,M
gunydjarra D (or possibly
gunydjirrak)

gunyirri
baliny

gunggadji-gi
gupurru-mak (stem gupurru-) G
gunggayu-mak (stem gungga-yu-) D

gu-gi
gupurru-mak (stem gupurru-)
IMP -ng
YPI -wi
YPA -m
TPA gupurra-l
TPI gupurri-nya

gupidjidji
mungbu-mak

gupwugaling
walawun

guraki gurrpi-gi
gurak gurrpa-nmak (see gurrpi-gi)

guraki
gurak G,M,D,J

guraki ra-gi
gurak durkuwa-k (see ra-gi)

guraki wangidji
gurak wanga-k (see wangidji)

gurapala
mukuluk

guridji
gultja

gurkirr-gi
djan.gi'ya-nmak (see djan.gitjigi)
IMP djan.gi'ya-ng

gurtji-gi
gunguyu-mak (stem gungu-yu-) G
FI -mitj
IMP -ng
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA -wal
TPI -nya

manda-nmak G, mandi-nmak D, (see
marr-gi)

gurultji-gi
balwar-mak (see balpari-gi)

gurraygu- <u>ngi</u> gupurru-mak (see gu- <u>ngi</u>)	gurrubily gurruwiling
gurrbi- <u>bi</u> ngirri-wirriy	gurrubirbir gumang
gurrbi ngirri G,M,D,J	gurrugurru gatjawudu
gurrbu- <u>w</u> ngirri- <u>li</u>	gurrulk <u>mungi</u> gurrulk <u>miyalk</u>
gurriyili garu-gurriyal	gurrulk gurrulk
gurriykurriy gundjalng	gurrumba gumang
gurrkanangarr gurrkanangarr	gurrumu gurrumu
gurrkarr gurrkurr G,D	gurrung gurrung
gurrkining gurrkining	gurrupudu madjika
gurrkung gurriyu-kurriyu-mak	gurrurruk gurrurruk
gurrkurrpi-gi gurrupa-nmak (see gurppi-gi)	gurruti-gining gurrutu- <u>nan</u> G gurruti- <u>nan</u> D
gurrmal gurrmul	gurruti gurrutu G gurruti D
gurrmil-dji-gi gurrulya-nmak (stem gurrmul-ya-)	gutidjidji dulpiyi-rrak (stem <u>dulpi-ya-</u>)
gurрпи-gi gurrupa-nmak G, gurрпи-nmak D, (stem gurрпи-) FI -nmitj IMP gurрпи-ng G, -ngi D YPI gurrupa-l YPA gurrupa-n TPA gurrupa-n G, -na D TPI gurrupa-na G, -na D	guwaguwa-dji-gi yanga <u>ya</u> -nmak (stem <u>yanga-ya-</u>) guwa gaga guwaynirr-dji-gi <u>nirr</u> 'ya-nmak (stem <u>nirr-ya-</u>)
gurrpulu gurrpulu	guwu guwu garray-mak (?)
gurr <i>t</i> ji djunggi	guyili <u>dawurr</u>
gurr <i>t</i> jirtjir gurini	

guyimban
bidapani

guyimi
bidapi

guying
diltji

guyi
guya G,M,J
guyi D
maygi D (archaic, 'meat')

iltja
litj

in.ga
ngan

in.ga-rr
ngan-garr

inma
nyu

inydji bangari-gi
niy bangari-mak

inydji birrin-djingil-gi
niy bulut-mak (stem bulut-miy-)

inydji bultji-gi
niy bultja-nmak

inydji
niy

inydji yuli
burrut-mak (stem burrut-miy-)
TPA -al

ingki
waba

irra-djin
ra-yan (from ra + djan)

irra
ra

irri-ny
ra-ny

irr
ngarr

ka! ('give it!')
ka!

libila
nawala
banuwala (ban + nawala, durative
preverb + pronoun)

libili-ny
nawala-ny
banuwala-ny (see libila)

libi
naw

lidja
ngiyi

lidji
ngi

lidj-ny
nyula-ny G

limala
limila

limiliny
limalany

lim
lim

linyila
linyala

linyili-ny
linyala-ny
balinyalany (see libila)

liny
liny

lipalipa
lipalipa

litj-ny
litj

labut
ngarrku

lakaganda
dak

lambirring
lawarr

lamu-dji-gi
lamu-djunga-nmak (stem lamu-djunga-
archaic)
IMP lamu-djunga-l-k

langgarr
langgarr

lang-tji-gi
langya-nmak (stem lang-ya-)

laparr
laparr

lap giri
lapy-nmak (stem lap-ya-)

lapitji-gining
lapitji-nan

lap-miy-gi
lap-mak (stem lap-miy-) G,D
IMP -ing

larradjidja
dupun

larr
gar-mak G (see giri)

lay-dji-gi
laya-nmak (stem lay-ya-)

laykin-gining
galang-nan

laylay-dji-gi
laylaya-nmak (stem laylay-ya-)

laylay
laylay

laytjin
laytjin

laytjuw
manymak

limbik
limbik

lipini-gi
randa-nmak (see rani)

-li
-ril
-dil (after t)

liyuw-miy-gi
liwliw-mak (stem liwliw-miy-)

liyuw
liwliw-mak (see liyuw-miy-gi)

lulatjidji
lulatji-rrak (stem lula-tji-)
YPI -y
YPA -rr
TPA -n
TPI -nya

lunbu
djamurr

lunggurrma
lunggurrma

lurrkan
lurrkun G,D

mabudal
mabudal

madakarritj
madakarritj

madakarritjtjidji
madakarritji-rrak (stem
madakarritj-i-) G
FI -rritj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA -rr
TPA -n
TPI -nya

madakarritjdji-rrak (stem
madakarritj-dji-) D
IMP -y (dj elides)
YPI -y (dj elides)
YPA -rr (dj elides)
TPA -n
TPI -nya

madayin
madayin

madim
maram

madjawurr
gubudu

madjirri
bulu

magaya
magaya

makarrta
makarrta

mala
mala

malgapi
lurrkungapi
malgapi

mal-giri
lurrkun-gar-mak (see giri) G
burrkulmiyal-mak G,J

malipmalir
gudarr

maliri
maluk
gudarr

maliya
maliya

malkana
malkana

malk
malk

malkur-dji-gi
malkurya-nmak (stem malkur-ya-)

malma
raytjuk

mal-mayurk
mal-waltjan

malngiri
malnga

maltjatji-gi
lurrkun-djana-mak

maltji-gi
mal'ya-nmak
maltja-nmak

malupu-ngi
minyirranyu-mak

malawurru
djarratjarra

malimdji-gi
djap-mak (stem djap-miy-)
YPI -uw
YPA djap-mi-m
TPA -al
TPI djap-mi-nya

mani
mani
djarngulk

manbi-dj-nyir-dji-gi
bindirrk-ma-nmak (stem
bindirrk-ma-)
IMP -ng

manbing
bindirrk

mandigining
bari G,M

manngibirri
djarribir'-djang TEMP (see
bilidjirri)

manya-ng
djapurru-mak (stem djapurru-yu-) G
FI -mitj
IMP -ng
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA -wal
TPI -nya
djapurrdju-mak (stem djapurru-dju-) D
IMP -ng
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA -wal
TPI djapurru-dji-nya

manydjidji
wudiya-nmak (stem wudi-ya-)

manyigani
djamandarr

manymak-dji-dji
manymak-yi-rrak (stem manymak-yi-)

manymak-dji-gi
manymak-yu-mak (stem manymak-yu-) G
manymak-dju-mak (stem manymak-dju-)
D

manymak
manymak

mapalgining
marrKudan

mapal
marrKudu G (also marrakudu) (d is
a flap, *rr > d recently)
marrKurr G,D
marrakidi D
marrkarrday D

ma'
ma'

maralkur
mari

marnggi
marnggi

marr baltji-gi
marr wanal-mak (see baltji-gi)

marrbi-gi
milka-mak (stem milka-) (see mili-ki)
G

FI -mitj
IMP -ngi
YPI -wi
YPA -mi
TPA -ngal
TPI -nya

marrbi-nmak (stem marrbi-) D
IMP -ngi
YPI marrba-l
YPA marrba-n
TPA -n
TPI -na

marrga
marrga

marr-gi
manda-nmak G, mandi-nmak D, (stem
irreg. archaic)

FI mandi-nmitj G
IMP ma-ni
YPI ma-rri
YPA man+dan
TPA man+gurr G, man+garr D
TPI ma-na

dap-mak (stem dap-miy-)
IMP -im
TPA -al

marriyang
marriyang

marrKang
wandja-nmak (stem wandja-) G

FI wandji-nmitj
IMP wandju-ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA wandji-yin
TPI -na

mila-mak (stem mila-) D

FI -mitj
IMP -ngi
YPI -wi
YPA -mi
TPA -ngal
TPI -nya

marrgaka-ng (IMP ?) D

marrngirridji
giyngurra-k (stem giy-ngurri-) G

FI -tj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA giyngurr
TPA giyngurr-al
TPI -nya

marrngirra-k D

marr-pirral-kin-dji-dji
marr-burrallnan-yi-rrak (stem
marr-burrallnan-yi-)

marr
marr

matit
bindirrk

matjal
djalnginy

mayali
marali

maypal
warran G,M
warragan D
warrangun D
mayngi D
maygi D

mayurrk
waltjan G,M
mayurrk D

midipili
maduwi G,D
wirrkul D,M

midji-gir-ki
mininik D

midji
mununu G
minini D

midjirri
djul

mildirrpi-gi
milkarrwa-nmak (stem milkarr-wa-) G
FI milkarr-wi-n-mitj
IMP -ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI -na

milkirrbi-nmak (stem milkarr-ba-) D
IMP -ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI milkirr-bi-na

mil-ga-ngi
mil-ga-mak (stem mil-ga-) (see
ga-ngi)

mili-ki
mila-mak (stem mila-) D
FI -mitj
IMP -ngi
YPI -wi
YPA -mi
TPA -ngal
TPI -nya
wandja-nmak G

mil
mil G,J,D,M

mil-wartjidji
biray'yi-nmak
TPA biray'yi-n

minarr
manarr D
malixi G,D,M,J

minini
munuk (?)

mininggali
ngalparr

mini
munu-mak (stem munu-) G

FI -mitj
IMP -k
YPI muna-w
YPA muna-m
TPA -kal
TPI muni-nya

girrili-mak (stem girrili-) D
FI -mitj
IMP girrilu-k
YPI girrila-w
YPA girrila-m
TPA -kal
TPI -nya

li-mak (from girrili-mak, realis
forms only) D
IMP lu-k
YPA la-m
TPA li-kal

mindirrpi-gi
ngulbitji-rrak (stem ngulbitj-yi-)
TPA -n

min-dj-nyir-dji-gi
ngulbitju-mak (stem ngulbitj-yu-)
IMP -ng

mingu-ngi
mingu-mak (see gu-ngi)

minibi-gi
midiyu-mak (stem midi-yu-) G
FI -mitj
IMP -ng
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA -wal
TPI -nya

mididju-mak (stem midi-dju-) D
IMP -w (note: not -ng)
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA -wal
TPI midi-dji-nya

min
ngulbitj

mirgidjidji
djal_iyi-rrak (stem djal_i-yi-) G
FI -rritj
IMP -yi
YPI Ø
YPA -rr
TPA -n
TPI djal_i-tji-nya
djal_gudju-rrak (stem djal_gu-dju-)
D

mirgi
djal_i G
djal_gu D

miri
marrap

mirkng
djal_i G
djal_gu D

mirrdjing
madiwi

mirring
marringi

-mirri
-murr

-mirrpili
-pul
-yarr (see -aw)
-maltjani J

mirrpmi
murruka

miwini
raytjarr G,D

miyilk
miyalk

-miy-
-miy- (& -miyu- once)

mukdjigi
mukdjiya-nmak (stem mukdji-ya-)
IMP -ng
YPI -l
YPA -n

mukul
mukul

mulngi
multjalnya

mu'-murtji-mi DIST-stem-PRES
ban-darriyi-n DIST-stem-PRES
ban-darriyi-nmi (alternate form)

munatja
munatja

munibi
mungunbirriy G
yarginbirriy D
wuyuwirriy G
gawarrkawirriy G
rarranyabirriy D
wiyawin G,M

mun_i
mun_{mi}

munydjal
djanggu G,D
warrangun D

munyi
maluk

mungan
mungun

murmurdjigi
mur'murya-nmak (stem mur'mur-ya- ?)
TPA mur'mur-yi-n

murmurdjnyiring
murmuran

murrbin
mudul

murrurrt
nilim

mutitj
laparra'yu-n (TPA ?)

nibi
naw

nami
nakam G
djiwarr
bakadi D

ninini
ninini G,D,J,M
nyumugininy J (note -gininy
cf. Djinang -gining PROP)

-nir-bi
-na-wirriy

-nir-gi
-naru-w (< -*nara-gu)

nu djarritjirri ngurridji
nuki yalkuwanbu-mak (stem
yalkuwan-bu-)
TPA nuki yalkuwan-bu-ngal

nukidji
binmi (YPA) (see djirradjigi)

numpnum
nududi

nunydjirri
bandanga-k (stem bandangi-,
irreg.) (cf. GUP wandirri) G
FI -tj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA -Ø
TPA -Ø, also bandanga-n
TPI -nya

nudjirrgu-mak (stem irreg.) D
IMP nudjirr-ki
YPI nudjirr-ku-w
YPA nudjirr-ga-m
TPA nudjirr-kal
TPI nudjurr-ki-nya

nu
nuki G,D,J,M

nyabini ngunupilang
nyakalng ngunupilak

nyabini
nyakalng G
nyabilkang D

nyadji
nyadjunuk D
nyinuk G

nyalingi
nyirri G,D,J

nyani-bi
nyan-bi G

nyani-ny
nyan-ny

nyani
nyani D
nyan G
nguniny W

nyan-ki
nyan-guru G
nyan-kuru D

nyan-ngang
nyan-gung G
nyan-kung D

nya-ngi
nya-mak (stem nya-, archaic) G,D
FI -mitj
IMP -ngi
YPI -wi
YPA -mi
TPA -ngan (cf. Djinang -ngini)
TPI -nya

nyi+rr 2sgACC+1sgERG
nyu+rr

nyibirri
nyibirrik D
nyarrka G

nyiknyik
djirrkiny G,J,M

nyili
nyagidji D
nyayi G

nyimila
nyumala

nyimili-ny
nyumala-ny

nyimi
nyami G,J
nyagi D

nyim-ki
nyamu-wu G
nya-kuru D

nyim-pi
nyami-wirriy G

nyini-dji
nyina-K (stem nyini-, archaic) G,D
FI -tj
IMP -y G, nyina-K D
YPI -y G, -yi D
YPA -g
TPA nyina-n
TPI -nya

nyini-nyir-bi
nyinakbanmi D

nyin
nyun

nyinga
nyinga

-nyi
-kany (eg. yulngir-kany)
-ny on pronouns

-nyir-bi
-nya-wirriy G
-banmi (?) (see nyini-nyir-bi) D

-nyir
-nya

-nyirring PRIV
-nyarrang

nyumigi
yummyuma-nmak (stem yummyuma-)
YPA -n

nyumil-ang
nyumal-kung G
nyumil-kung D

nyumili-ki
nyumal-kuru G
nyumil-kuru D

nyumi
nyumi G,D,W,J,M

nyuni-bi
nyuni-wi G

nyuni-ny
nyuna-ny G,D

nyuni
nyuni G,D,W,J,M

nyun-ki
nyu-kuru G,D

nyu-ngung
nyu-kung G,D

ngadji-dji
nyaya-K (stem ngayi-, archaic)

FI -tj
YPA -Ø
TPA nyaya-n
TPI -nya

ngagirr-gi
nganga-nmak (stem nganga-, archaic)

G
FI -mitj
IMP ngangu-l-k
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA ngangir-rr-yin
TPI -na

ngangi-nmak (stem nganga-) (see
yagirrgi) D

IMP ngangu-n-kuy
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA ngangir-rr-djin
TPI ngangir-na

ngamangamadjigi
ngamangamaya-nmak (stem
ngamangama-ya-)
ngamangamayu-mak (stem
ngamangama-yu-)
TPA -wal

ngambirri
ngambarra G,M
ngambarrak D

ngambulginin
djakalan

ngami-gi
ngama-nmak (stem ngama-) G

FI ngami-nmitj
IMP ngamu-ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI -na

ngami-nmak (stem ngama-) D

IMP ngami-ngi

YPI -l

YPA -n

TPA -n (cf. Djinang
ngami-rr-djini)

TPI ngami-na

nganaparra

nganaparra

ngangi

ngangi

ngarimbiy

ma_lki

ngarngartjigi

ngar'ya-n (TPA) (FUT probably
ngar'ya-nmak)

ngarri

ngarri

ngarrku

ngarrku

ngatnyin

ngatnyin

ngatjirrdjigi

ngatjirr'yi-n (YPA)

ngidawa

ngadawa

ngidjirrigi-li

galki-ril

ngidjirrkng

galki G,D

ngiki

waba

ngilidji-ki

nyulu-kuru G

nyurrul-kuru D

ngilidji

nyuli G

nyurruli D

ngilidj-nyi

nyula-ny G

nyurrula-ny D

ngilimili-ny

ngalimala-ny G

ngilimili-ny D

ngilimi

ngalimi G

ngilimi D

ngilinyil-ang

ngalinyal-kung G

ngilinyil-kung D

ngilinyili-ny

ngalinyala-ny G

ngilinyala-ny D

ngilinyi

ngalinyi G

ngilinyi D

ngili

ngali G,D,W

ngilitj-ang

ngalitjal-kung G

ngilitjil-kung D

ngilitji-ki

ngalitjal-kuru G

ngilitjil-kuru D

ngilitj-nyi

ngalitjala-ny G

-ngimi (KINPRROP or OBL+KINPROP)

-pani

nginibil-ang

nganiwal-kung G

nganabal-kung D

nginibili-ny

nganiwala-ny G

nginibi

nganuwi G

nganabi D

-ngi-nyi (OBL-ACC)

-kany

ngirimbiy

ma_lki G,D,M,J

ngirimngimi

ngariyim G

-ngiri-nyi (OBL-ACC)
-ka+ny

ngirki
ngaraka G,M,J
ngaragarr D
djarrmar D

-ngir (ABL)
-ngur

-ngir (ERG after PL, after PROP)
-nguy
-kir (after K)

-ngir- (OBL) (also -gir-)
-kar (on pronouns) G,D (< -*Gara-,
Northern Yolngu)

ngirr-ang
ngarr-kung G
ngarra-kung D

ngirra-r (< *ngarr-kar)
ngarr-kar G
ngarra-kar D

ngirri-nyi
ngarri-nyi G
ngarra-ny D

ngirr-ki
ngarr-kuru G
ngarra-kuru D

ngirrtjnyakining
gurrmun D

ngiy
ngiy

ngududi
ngududi

nguli
ngunuku G
ngunuki D

nguni
ngunuripany (ERG form) G
ngunupany (NOM form ?)

ngunumi
nguniny G
nikirmany D

ngunu-mirri
ngunbapani

ngunu-ngiri
ngunu-ngur

ngunung
nguniny G,D
ngunukurrmany D,M

ngunu-pilang
ngunu-pilak G
bilkang D

ngunu-wili
nguniny mala
ngunuku**l**barr D

ngunyi**l**-atjuy
buku bini G,D

ngunyi**l**i
bini G
banbala D

ngurri-dji
ngurra-k (stem ngurri-, archaic) G,D
FI -tj
IMP -y G, -ya D
YPI -y G, -yi D
YPA -Ø G,D
TPA -nyan (cf. Djinang
ngurri-nyini)
TPI -nya

ngurri 'nose'
ngurri

ngurri 'throw'
wanbu-mak (stem wanbu-) G,D
FI -mitj
IMP -ng
YPI wanba-w
YPA wanba-m
TPA -ngal
TPI wan-bi-nya

ngurrum
ngalpim

ngurrwagi
ngayil (cf. Yolngu ngathili)

nguy-mar-gining
nguy-mari-nan

nguy-mirri
nguy-murr

nguy
nguy

-pili
-mirring

-ping
-wirriy (-birriy after m)

pirr
pirr

ra-gi
durrkuwa-k (stem durrkuwi-) G,D
FI -tj
IMP -y G, durrku-y D
YPI -y G, durrku-y D
YPA durrkaw-Ø
TPA durrkawa-n
TPI -nya

rakiraking
burwalng

ran.gu
gulkiy

rani
randa-nmak (stem ra-, irreg. archaic)
G,D
FI randi-nmitj
IMP -ni G, -nuy D
YPI -rri
YPA ran+dan
TPA ran+gurr
TPI -na

rangan
biki

rar-ki
bulwar-mak (stem bulwar-) G
FI -mitj
IMP -ang
YPI -aw
YPA -am
TPA -al
TPI -inya
watin-mak D

rarri
rarri G,M,J,D

rarritjal
rarritjal G,M
rarrngadjin D

rarrtjilkung
ngata-k (see burrtjirridji)

raybalngi
raybalngki

riki-dji
diltja-nmak (stem diltja-) G,D
IMP diltju-ng G
YPI -l G
YPA -n G
TPA diltji-yin G
TPI -na G

rindi-gi
darrk-mak (stem darrk-miy-) G,D
FI darrk-mitj G
IMP -ing
YPI -uw
YPA -im G
TPA -al(i)
TPI darrk-mi-nya

-ri (ERG)
-uy, -nguy, -yi
-ri, -di, -ir, -nyir

rirrkiyan
bakada (d is a flap)

rirrtji-gi
djalkar-mak (stem djalkar-) G
FI -mitj
IMP -ang
YPI -aw
YPA -am
TPA -al
TPI -inya
djalkiri-mak D

rurrtjirri-gi
ru'warriya-nmak (stem ru'warri-ya-)
IMP -ng

-tja
-tja

-tji
-ny (?) (see djini-wili-tji)

wagirri
wakiya

wakal
wakal

wali-ki
wakal-mak (stem wakal-) G
FI -mitj
IMP -ang
YPI -aw
YPA -am
TPA -al
TPI -nya

wakili-mak (stem wakal-) D
IMP -ang
YPI wakil-aw
YPA -am
TPA wakil-al
TPI -inya

wali
wali

walkiri
walkur G,D

walmi-dji
wal-mak (stem wal-ma-) G,D
FI wal-mitj
IMP walmi-y G, walmi-yi D
YPI walmi-y
YPA -m
TPA -n
TPI walmi-nya

walngirri-dji
wakulngurra-k (stem wakulngurri-)
G,D
FI -tj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA wakulngurr-Ø
TPA -nyan (see ngurridji)
TPI -nya

walwaldjigi
bulyi-n (YPA)

walirr
djarribir

wanadjidji
gadungyi-rrak (stem gadung-yi-) G
gadungdji-rrak (stem gadung-dji-)
D

wanadjigi
gadungyu-mak (stem gadung-yu-) G
gadungdju-mak (stem gadung-dju-) D

wana-pili-mirring ARCHE
gilarrpulguy (ERG form?)

wana
gadung

wanngi-dj-nyir-dji-gi
walngu-yu-mak (stem walngu-yu-)

wanngi
walnga

wanngir-nya-kinng
walnga-yu-nya-nan

wangurra
wangurra

wangi-dji
wanga-k (stem wangi-) G,D
FI -tj
IMP -y
YPI -y
YPA -Ø
TPA wanga-n
TPI -nya

wari
nyalung G,M,J
wari D

warngarriny
nyaliyukany G

warrpam
warrpam

wati
walkitj

wawayka-mirrpili PAUC
wawayka-pul

wawayka
wawayka

wawutjigi
bulyi-n (YPA)

waykinng
yangalan
wakinan

wayku-ng

galkalu-mak (stem galkal-,
irreg.)

FI -u-mitj

TPA -wal

djiwirrtji-nmak D

wili

nyalung G

warinyun D

wil-tj-nyiri-ng

wili-ya-na (from *wili-dha-nhara)

G

wil-yi-na G

wil-dji-na D

wini-djingil-gi

wirani-ngu-nmak (stem wirani-ngu-,
archaic) G

FI -nmitj

IMP -l-k

YPI -l-k

YPA -n

TPA -n

TPI -nya

wirangu-nmak (stem wirani-ngu-) D

IMP -l-k

YPI -l

YPA -n

TPA -l-ka

TPI -nya

wini-dji

wirandi-rrak (stem wirani-,
irreg. see winidjingilgi) G,D

FI wirandi-rritj G

IMP -y G

YPI -y G

YPA wirandi-rr G

TPA wirana-n G

TPI -nya G

wira-pil-ngir (ERG)

nyalung-mirring+uy

wira-wili

nyalung-nyarr G

wariyu-barr D

wirrdjidji

wabayi-nmak

TPA wabayi-n

wirr

wirr G

ngirr D

witji-gi

gaya-nmak (stem gaya-) G

FI gayi-nmitj

IMP gayu-ng

YPI -l

YPA -n

TPA gayi-n

TPI -na

gadji-nmak (stem gadji-) D

IMP -ngi

YPI gadja-l

YPA gadja-n

TPA -n

TPI -na

wugili

nguwili

wukirri-dji-gi

wukirri-yu-mak (stem wukirri-yu-) G

FI -mitj

IMP wukirri-ya-ng

YPI -w

YPA -m

TPA -wal

TPI -nya

wukirridji-nmak (stem wukirri-dji-)

D

IMP wukirri-dja-ng

YPI wukirri-dju-w

YPA wukirri-dja-n

TPA -n

TPI -nya

wukutj

wukutj

wulgaman

wulgaman

wulma

wulma

wurgi

manyi

wurpi-li (ALL)

wixpi-ri-l

wurpili (ERG)

wixpu+ny

wurpili-tja ERG-DEF

wixpu+ny-tja

wurpi-li-wurpi-li

wixpi-ri-l-wixpi-ri-l

wurpi
wiypi G,D

wurpi-tja
wiypi-tja

wurpmi
wiypani

wuruki
wurruki G,D,M

wuwa
wuwa

wuwi
wuwak G,D,M

wuyimbal
garabak G
garambak D
yidaki G

yagirr-gi
ya-nmak (stem ya-) G
FI -nmitj
IMP -l-ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI -na

yagi-nmak (stem yagi-) D
IMP yagu-l-kuy
YPI yaga-l
YPA yaga-n
TPA -rr-djin (cf. Djinang
yagi-rr-djini)
TPI -na

yagirri
garrarr G
yagatay D

yak-dji-gi
yatja-nmak (stem yatja-) G
FI yatji-nmitj
IMP -ng
YPI yatji-yal
YPA -n
TPA -n
TPI -na
yakya-nmak (stem yak-ya-) G
YPA -n

wiritji-nmak (stem wiritji-) D
IMP -ngi
YPI wiritja-l
YPA wiritja-n
TPA -n
TPI -na

yakirri
yakarr

yani
yan.gi-mak (stem yan.ga-, archaic) D
IMP yan-ki
YPI -w
YPA -m
TPA yan-kal
TPI yan.gi-nya
djaywar-mak (stem djaywar-) G
FI -mitj
IMP -ang
YPI -aw
YPA -am
TPA -al
TPI -inya

yan
yan

yanya-ng
yanyu-mak (stem yanya- probably <
*yan-nya-) D
YPI -nyaw (irreg.)
YPA -m
TPI -nya

rarr-birrkaya-nmak (stem
rarr-birrkaya-) G
FI rarr-birrkaya-yi-nmitj
IMP -ng
YPI -l
YPA -n
TPA rarr-birrkaya-yi-n
TPI -na

yarim
gana
yarim

yartj
yalki

yarraramiygi
yarrarra-mak (stem yarrarra-miy-)
TPA -al

yawirrin
yawirrin

yawngi-dji

yuwdji-nmak D

durriya-nmak (stem durri-ya-) G

FI durri-yi-nmitj

IMP durri-yu-ng

YPI -l

YPA -n

TPA durri-yi-n

TPI -na

yidjipili

yuyung G,M

yudji D

yigili-gi

wudapa-nmak (stem wudapa-) (also
wurrapanmak) G

TPA wudapi-rr-yin

wudapiyi-nmak D

yiki

yiki

yilbirtjigi

yibuk-mak (stem yibuk-miy-)

TPA -al

yilimirri

djuditj

yili

bulu

yilitjigi

yarrka-n (TPA)

yilitjirridji (also yiltjirridji)

yarraka-nmak (stem yarraka-) G

FI -mitj

IMP -ng

YPI -l

YPA -n

TPA -n

TPI -na

yarrkidji-nmak D

yingarraydjigi

yingarrayu-mak (stem yingarray-u- <
*yingarray-yu-)

IMP -ng

YPA -m

TPA -wal

yingarray djar-mak (see djargi)

yirrpi-gi

djip-mak (stem djip-miy-) G

FI -mitj

IMP -ing

YPI -uw

YPA -im

TPA -al

TPI djip-mi-nya

yalpurbu-mak (stem yalpurbur-) D

IMP -ung

YPI -uw

YPA -um

TPA -al

TPI yalpurbi-nya

yitjidjidji

bunggu'ya-nmak (stem bunggu-ya-) G

FI -mitj

IMP -ng

YPI -l

YPA -n

TPA bunggu-yi-n

TPI -na

bunggu'yi-nmak D

yulgu-ng

wapira-K (stem wapiri-) G

FI -tj

YPI -Ø

YPA wapir-Ø

TPA -n

TPI -nya

mil-kaldji-nmak (stem mil-kal-dji-)

D

YPI -y

YPA -n (also wapi)

TPA -n

TPI -nya

yul

yulngi G,D,M,J,W

yurru

yurr

yurryarr

wuyi

yuwirdji-dji-gi

yuta-yu-mak (stem yuta-yu-)

yuwirdjing

yuta

APPENDIX 4 Djinba - Djinang Reversed Comparative Dictionary
(In Appendices 3 and 4, the Djinang data is in boldface.)

-amdja -gima	bakadi <u>nami</u>	balinyimdja <u>djilinkima</u>	balngbalng-yu-mak <u>bilbaldj-nyir-dji-gi</u>
-amdja, -imdja -dji	bakala bakala	balipa <u>djilim</u>	balpa <u>balpa </u>
-ani ~ -pani ~ -wani -ban	bala biling	balipanyawu djinimkirri	balpu-mak balpi-gi
ba bi	bala bala	baliyi bilingga	balpu-mak <u>djilidji </u>
<u>babanan</u> <u>babakining</u>	bala' bala'	balnyarra bilnyirri	baman baman
<u>babananyi-rrak</u> <u>babakin-dji-dji</u>	bala bil	balu-mak bagili-gi	baman pirr ngayil baman pirr bilkirri
<u>babulu</u> <u>babulu</u>	balany biliny	balwar-inya-nan balpari-nya-kining	bamanwirriy bamanpi
<u>badak</u> <u>badak</u>	balany bilinginyi	balwar-mak gurultji-gi	bamanwirriy bilkirrbi
<u>badakway</u> <u>badakwa</u>	balanggul gulwirri	balwar-mak balpari-gi	bamatuka bamatuka
<u>badan</u> <u>bambuli</u>	bala-wanbu-mak bala-ngurri	balangawya-nmak balangaw-dji-gi	bamatuka batjikali
<u>badatj</u> <u>badatj</u>	balay bilay	balarra balarra	bambarr bambarr
<u>baday</u> <u>baday</u>	balayani balay ngurru	baldjurriya-nmak baldjurr-dji-gi	bampay bambay
<u>badayala</u> <u>badayala</u>	balbal-mak balbaw-miy-gi	balkup balkup	Banambarrmurr Banambarridji
<u>badayalayi-rrak</u> <u>badayala-dji-dji</u>	balikung bilingang	balkup-ya-ng balkup-dji-gi	banbala ngunyili
<u>badurru</u> <u>badurru</u>	balikuru bilingki	balmartji-ya-ng balmardittjigi	banbim girr-ban
<u>badjarrwu-mak</u> <u>buti-gi</u>	baliny djinimi	balmarrk balmarrk	banbim girrgima
<u>bagapagayu-n</u> <u>bagapaga-dji-gi</u>	baliny gunyirri	balngbalng bilbaling	bandayama bandayama
<u>bakada</u> <u>rirrkiyan</u>	balinyalany linyili-ny	balngbalngyu-mak bilbal-dji-gi	ban djurram yuta djadjiri

ban-darriyi-n mu'-murtji-mi	bararra barrara	bidapani guyinban	bi warr-mak bi wirtjigi
ban-darriyi-nmi mu'-murtji-mi	bararrk bararrk	bidapi guyimi	bimulu burming
banimbirr banimbirr	bararrk banggu	bidapi djaming	binbu-mak galaka-ngi
-banmi -nyir-bi	bari mandigining	biki rangan	bindji-rrak bintji
-banmi D -ban	bari-mak bar-gi	bila bilang	bindjirr garmi ngalkamdja bindjirr Kirim ngurruguma
banuwala libila	bariyana bardjining	bilak djili	bini ngunyili
banuwala-ny libili-ny	barra barra	bilakmaral bilapilang	bi-nmak dirra-dji-gi
bandany bandany	barrawan barrawan	bilakmaral ngalkamdja bilapilak ngurrum	binmi nukidji
bandanyyi-rrak bandany-dji-dji	barrpu-mak barrpi-gi	bilakmurr djini-pilang	bintji-rrak bintji
bandanga-k nunydjirri	batja-nmak batji-gi	bilak-murr-ngu djini-pilang-mirri	bindjarra bindjarra
banda-ngi gidagida	batji giyaw	bilak-murr-ngu djini-pilang-ngu	bindjarri-ya-nmak bindjarr-dji-gi
banditj banditj	batji batji	bilak ngalkamdja djili ngurrgima	bindirrk bindirrk
banydja-nmak buyi-gi	batjparra batjparra	bilak ngalkamdja djilikirri	bindirrk natit
banyin-mak balidji	bawang gimirpi	bilitj-bilitj bilitj-bilitj	bindirrk manbing
bangara-mak bangari-gi	bawang bawang	bilkang bilang	bindirrk-ma-nmak manbi-dj-nyir-dji-gi
bangari-mak dju k-miy-gi	bawu bawu	bilkang ngunu-pilang	bininyan bininggini
banggamatj banggamatj	bayarra'yu-mak bayarra-dji-gi	bilngarr'ya-nmak bilngarr-dji-gi	bingi garri
bangya-nmak bungarmidji	bay-bultja-nmak djuy-pultji-gi	bila bila	bingiy darrk
bapururr bapururr	bidjay djirrimiri	bilibilingyu-mak bilibiligili-dji-gi	

birapira-dji-gi	birrip-pirrip birrip-pirrip	buki bumiri	bukurr-mak bukurr-gi
birapi-ril djam-pili-gi	birririya-nmak birriiri-dji-gi	buki-bakada bumir-rirrikiyan	buku-wunda-nmak bumir-kirri-gi
birarirr biradagarr	birriiri-ya-nyarrang biriritjirring	bukmak bukmak	buku-wutji bumir-galbi
birarriyi-rrak birarrgirri-dji-dji	birrk birrk	buku-balngbalng bumir-bilbalng	buku-yabulu bumir-yabulu
birarri-yi-rrak gitkit-dji-gi	birrka bubali	buku-bangari-mak bumir-pangari-gi	buku-yalwitji-rrak bumir-kalikali-gi
biraya-nmak djadaw-dji-gi	birrkanaan bubalikingim	buku-bari-mak bumir-par-gi	bul bili
biray'yi-nmak mil-wartjidji	birrkanaan bubalikinging	buku bini ngunyi-atjuj	buliya buliya
biri bapi	birrka-nan-murr bubali-kin-mirri	buku-bindirrk bumir-manbi	bulki burriji
biri djunupangur bapi djunupangir	birrka-nan-ngur bubali-kin-ngir	buku-diy bumir-diy	bultja-nmak bultji-gi
biri wingungur bapi wingungir	birrka-nan-uy bubali-kin-ngir	buku-diya-nmak bumir-tiy-dji-gi	bultja-n-wirriy bultji-nir-bi
birkarr bimbudi	birrka-nan-wu bubali-kin-ngir-gi	buku-duwattjang nyiniy bumir-duwat nyinidji	bultja-nan bultji-na-kinging
birkarr bidilmi	birrmirra-k birrmirridji	buku-gurrma-nmak bumir-tjami-gi	bultjinmak bultji-gi
birungurr birngarr	birrukuwa girrgili	buku_l bukaling	bulu yili
birraku-mak birrakung	biying-mak biliny-tji-gi	buku_l bukal	bulu madjirri
birralyu-mak birral-dj-nyir-dji-gi	bududup-bududup bududup	bukulili bumirilili	bulubul'ya-nmak bulubul-dji-dji
birrang birrang	buduyurr buduyurr	buku_limbak buku_limbak	bulugi buluki
birrangany birrangany	bugaga bugabuga	bukul_kya-n-mak bukul_k-tji-gi	bulwarriya-nmak barrkirri-dji-dji
birranganyyu-mak birrangany-dji-gi	bugun bu	bukulu_l bukulu_l	bul'warr-mak bul'warr-miy-gi
birrbirrya-nmak birrbirr-dji-gi	buka buka	buku_nan-yu-mak bumir-gin-dji-dji	bulalakitj-wirriy bulalakitj-pi

buyar buyiri	djaKa djal	djalDjalyang djalDjal	djaliyi-rrak mirgidjidji
buyuru buyuru	DjaKaLawirra DjaKalabirri	djali djuli	djalKarang djalurur
buyubuyu buyubuyu	djaKaL-dambi djal-dambing	djalim-yu-mak djalim-dji-gi	djalKar-mak rirrtji-gi
buyubuyu-yu-mak buyubuyu-dji-gi	djaKaL-dambi galbi-dambing	djalKar-mak guda	djalKiri-mak rirrtji-gi
buyumarr barrtji	djaKaL-dampulung djal-dampiling	djalKar-mak djalir-gi	djalwirrirriya-nmak djalwirrirr-dji-gi
buyumarr burrngunda	djaKaL-rani djal-rani	djalng djal	djama djama
buyumarr balngunda	djaKalwali djalwali	djalng djalng	djamadju-mak djama-dji-gi
djabarrKa-nmak djabarrK-dji-gi	djaKaLan ngambuLgining	djalngarri djalngurri	djamandarr manyigani
djabarrKnan djabarrKgining	djaKaLanggarr djalKirri	djalngdji-rrak djalng-dji-dji	djamayu-mak djama-dji-gi
djabarrK-wanga-k djabarrK-wangi-dji	djaKanan djagagining	djalnginy matjal	djambaku djambaku
djadjuditj djadjuditj	djaKay djaKiy	Djalnginymirringa Djalinymirri	djabatj djabatj
djadaw'ya-nmak djadaw	djaki djapi	djalngi-rrak djalng-dji-dji	djambi-yu-mak djambi-dji-gi
djaga-djap-mak djaga-djingi-l-gi	djaki-mungun djapi-mungan	djalbun-mak djalbini-gi	djanunumun djanunumun
djagadji-nmak djaga-dji-gi	djaKirrdji-nmak bat	djalgu mirgi	djanurr bilwurwarr
djaganda djaganda	djaKirrdji-nmak gattji-gi	djalgu mirKng	djanurr giliwurwarr
djagar djaga	djaKirrdji-nmak gatji-gi	djalgudju-rrak mirgidjidji	djanurr lunbu
djagar-wanbu-mak djagil-ngurri	djaKmarrarra djaKmarrarra	djali mirgi	djan djin
djagupa djagupa	djalangan djilang	djali mirKng	djanabu danarran
djaka djaka	djalatjang djalatjang	djalinydjal djilinydjal	djana-ny djani-nyi

djan.gi'-ya-nmak djan.gi-tji-gi	djap-nak malimdji-gi	djarratj-mak giyKa-angi	djarrpal-wirriy gindi-bi
djan.gi'-ya-nmak gurkirr-gi	djapurrdju-mak manya-ng	djarrbarbar djarrbarbar	djatja djatja
djani djani	djapurryu-mak manya-ng	djarrbu-nmak burr-tjuttjutdji-gi	djawal garak
djani-kar djan-ngar	djara djagi_lwari	djarribir walirr	djawal djawal
djani-kung djan-ngang	djaragi djirrimiri	djarribir djarribir	djawaldjana-mak djumili-tjatji-gi
djani-kuru djan-ki	djarak djarak	djarribir'-djang mangibirri	djawal-ginga-k bungtji-gi
djani-ny djani-nyi	djara-nga-nmak djiri-ngil-gi	djarri-djarriya-nmak djarri-djarri-dji-gi	djawalkitj djawalkitj
djanny+arr djiny+irri	djarangguk-yu-mak djarrangutji-gi	djarri-djarri-ya-ngu but	djawal-nya-mak garak-nya-ng
djanu-kung djan-ngang	djaraw djal_k	djarrk djarrk	djawaar-yi-n djawaar
djanbu_l-djanbu_l djanbu_l-djanbu_l	djari-mak gap	djarrka djarrka	djawaar-yi-nmak djawaar-dji-dji
djanyarr butjiy	djari-mak djar-gi	djarrkdjarrk djarrkdjarrk	djawuku-mak djami-gi
Djanyarrbirrik Djanyirrbirri	djari-mak guk	djarrkut djarrkut	djawalpa djagulpa
-djang bildjirri	djarnguk mani	djarrma djarrma	djaya_l bal_dji
djangu djangu	djaru-ng djayi-gi	djarrma-gadung djarrma-bini	djaya_l djaya_l
djangu munydjal	djarwirringyu-mak djarbirrgili-dji-gi	djarrmar ngirki	djaya_l-andja djaya_l-gima
djanguny djanguny	djarra-k djirri-dji	djarr nya-mak djarr nya-angi	djay djul_kyan djay djul_kim
djapany djapinying	djarra_lbu-mak djirri_lbi-gi	djarrpal gandi	djay gatja-nmak djay-gatji-gi
djapidi djapidi	djarratjarra djarratjarra	djarrpal-djunga-nmak ganda yirrpil-gi	djaymurr djaydjaying
djap-mak djingiri-gi	djarratjarra malawurru	djarrpal-mudu_l gapal-mirrpili	djayurrkyurrk djayurrkyurrk

djaywar-mak yani	djindjalma djindjalma	djip-mak djip	djuburr djunupa djuburr djunupa
djay-wurtja-nmak djay-wuywuy-dji-gi	djinikupani djinimirri	djirang'djirang-nan djirridjarring	djuburr marali-nan djuburr mayali-gining
-di -dji	djininy djani	djir'maka-nmak djir'mak-dji-gi	djudju-gar-mak djudju-ga-ng
djibu djibu	djininy djining	djirriti-mak djiti-gi	djudju-war-mak djudju-ga-ng
djibuy djibuy	djininy-mala djini-wili	djirritjirinydja djirritjirri	djudap durrkuwa-k djudap ra-gi
djikada djikada	djininy-mala+ny djini-wili-tji	djirrkiny nyiknyik	djudapya-nmak djudap-dji-gi
djkdjikkal-mak giligili-tji-gi	djininy-mala-k djini-wil-ang	djirrpada bidaga	djuditj djuditj
-dil -li	djininy ngalkamdja djini ngurrgima	djit djit	djuditj yilimirri
djilaku djilaku	djini-ngur-pani djini-ngir-pm	djiwarr nami	djuditj-wirriy djuditj-ping
djil-ya-nmak djil-dji-gi	djini-ngur yipi djini-ngir yipi	djiwirrdji-nmak djirri-dji	djukal djukal
djil-tja-nmak djil-tji-gi	djinipuy djamng	djiwirrtji-nmak wayku-ng	djukarra+n gadjigirri-ng
djimindi djimindi	djinirpany djini-djining	djiwirr'ya-nmak djirri-dji	djukurr gadjigarr
djinuku djimuku	djinirpany djini	djiwirr'-ya-nmak but	djul midjirri
djinurru djimurru	djinirpany-pin djini-pm	djiyanan bulping	djulal giliwiling
djinakal-imdja djini-pan-gima	djin djin	djiyi djidji	djulal giliwiling
djinakal-yarr djini-pili	djinygurrurr balnggili	djubaya-nmak djukmarr-gi	djulal-wirriy giliwila-pi
djinakal-yarr-pin djini-wili-pm	djinygurrurri-rrak balnggi-dji-dji	djuburr djuburr	djudjul-yu-mak djudjul-dji-gi
djinakani djini-pan	djinyinydjarrak djinyinydjarrak	djuburr djuburr	djulka-n-mak bangari-gi
djinba djamng	djip-mak yirppi-gi	djuburr-bultja-nmak djuburr-pultji-gi	djulka-nmak djulk-dji-gi

dju <u>k</u> umi dju <u>k</u> im	djunga-yi-rrak djunga-dji-dji	dju <u>t</u> idji <u>t</u> i dju <u>t</u> idju <u>t</u> u	dam <u>a</u> dam <u>i</u> l <u>i</u>
dju <u>k</u> umu gabirring	djunggay djunggay	dju <u>t</u> idji <u>t</u> ingi dju <u>t</u> idju <u>t</u> u	damarr-mak damarr-miy-gi
dju <u>l</u> udju <u>l</u> u-ya-nmak dju <u>l</u> udju <u>l</u> u-dji-gi	djunggay-mirring djunggay-pil <u>i</u>	dju <u>w</u> ali dju <u>l</u> i	damarr-ya-nmak damarr-miy-gi
dju <u>l</u> udu dju <u>l</u> udu	djunggay-pu <u>l</u> i djunggay-pil <u>i</u>	dju <u>w</u> ayka dju <u>w</u> ayka	damb <u>i</u> dambing
dju <u>l</u> urruya-nmak dju <u>l</u> urr	djunggi gurrtj <u>i</u>	dab <u>a</u> daba-ya-nmak dab <u>a</u> daba-dji-gi	dambing <u>u</u> dambing
dju <u>m</u> ala dju <u>m</u> ala	djunggi djunggi	dada biya <u>l</u> ngi	dambiyu-mak dampiling-dji-gi
dju <u>m</u> balya-nmak dju <u>m</u> bal-tji-gi	djunggi mak djunggi mak	dada bugin <u>ing</u>	dambuy dambidji
dju <u>m</u> bal-ya-nmak dju <u>n</u> -dji-gi	djunggu bulmu <u>u</u>	dadaw-ya-nmak dadaw-dji-gi	dampulung-yu-mak dampiling-dji-gi
dju <u>n</u> djarr dju <u>n</u> djarr	djungu <u>l</u> u djungu <u>l</u> u	dadaw-ya-nan dadaw-dj-nya-kin <u>ing</u>	dand <u>a</u> nga dand <u>a</u> nga
dju <u>n</u> unggyangu dju <u>n</u> unggyangu	dju <u>r</u> i bunyan	dadaw-yi-rrak dadaw-dji-dji	dany <u>d</u> any dany <u>d</u> any
dju <u>n</u> upa dju <u>n</u> upa	dju <u>r</u> i-bal <u>p</u> alpu-mak bunyin-bal <u>p</u> i-gi	daday <u>i</u> -rrak bugin-dji-dji	dapi dapi
dju <u>n</u> upa-yu-mak dju <u>t</u> djin-dji-gi	dju <u>r</u> i-djakal bunyan-djal	dadiy djabirr <u>m</u> arr	dapi-ya-nmak dap-dji-gi
dju <u>n</u> upa-yu-mak dju <u>n</u> upa-dji-gi	dju <u>r</u> i-dju <u>r</u> u+ngur bunyin-dji-p <u>m</u>	dagadagaya-nmak dagadaga	dap-mak marr-gi
djunga buming	dju <u>r</u> i niy djip-mak gar-mak bunyi+nydji yirrpi kiri	dak lakag <u>a</u> nda	dar'dariya-nmak birr <u>m</u> irridji
djunga djunga	dju <u>r</u> ra dju <u>r</u> ra	dald <u>a</u> lya-nmak dald <u>a</u> l-dji-gi	darrarra darrarra
-djunga-nmak -djingi-l-gi	dju <u>r</u> r-andja dju <u>r</u> r	dal-miy-al dirra-dji-gi	darrarra-mak darrarra-miy-gi
djungany-pim badak djunga-p <u>m</u> bidak	dju <u>r</u> r <u>k</u> udu-mak dju <u>r</u> r <u>k</u> udu-miy-gi	dalpami-mak balibi-gi	darriyin batjbatj
djunga-pim djunga-p <u>m</u>	dju <u>r</u> ru-mak dju <u>r</u> r-gi	dalu <u>r</u> dalu <u>r</u>	darrka-nmak bu <u>t</u> -tji-gi
djunga wudapa-natruw djunga yigili-nyir-gi	dju <u>t</u> itju <u>t</u> i dju <u>y</u>	dalu <u>w</u> ryi-rrak dalu <u>w</u> r-dji-dji	darrk-mak bu <u>t</u> -nyir-dji-gi

<u>darrk</u> -mak rindi-gi	<u>di</u> t <u>di</u> y <u>di</u> t <u>di</u> y	<u>dung</u> <u>dung</u> ya-nmak <u>dung</u> <u>dung</u> -dji-gi	<u>ga</u> <u>dung</u> dju-mak wanadjigi
<u>daw</u> daw-mak <u>daw</u> daw-miy-gi	<u>di</u> y <u>di</u> ya-nmak <u>di</u> t <u>ji</u> -gi	<u>dung</u> urru bart	<u>ga</u> <u>dung</u> -pim gididjirring
<u>daw</u> uka-mak <u>dap</u> ili-dji-gi	<u>di</u> y <u>di</u> ya-nmak <u>di</u> y <u>di</u> y-dji-gi	<u>dup</u> -mak <u>din</u> dimi-gi	<u>ga</u> <u>dung</u> dji-rrak djurr-gi
<u>daw</u> uka-mak <u>da</u> k	<u>dub</u> i t <u>ja</u> -nmak <u>dub</u> i t <u>ji</u> -gi	<u>dup</u> un <u>la</u> rradjidja	<u>ga</u> <u>dung</u> yi-rrak wanadjidji
<u>daw</u> uka-mi-nya-wirriy <u>dap</u> ili-dj-nyir-bi	<u>dub</u> u <u>dub</u> i t <u>ja</u> -nmak <u>dub</u> u <u>dub</u> ut <u>ji</u> -gi	<u>dup</u> un <u>dup</u> an	<u>ga</u> <u>dung</u> yu-mak wanadjigi
<u>daw</u> urr guyili	<u>dub</u> u <u>dub</u> uk <u>dub</u> u <u>dub</u> uk	<u>dur</u> k <u>dur</u> k <u>dur</u> k <u>dur</u> k	<u>ga</u> duw <u>ga</u> duw <u>ga</u> duw <u>ga</u> duw
<u>daw</u> urr gan <u>ba</u> latj	<u>dub</u> uk <u>dub</u> uk	<u>dur</u> riya-nmak yawgi-dji	gaga guwa
<u>daw</u> urrbu-mak bat <u>ba</u> t-tji-gi	<u>du</u> ' <u>du</u> ma-ng <u>du</u> t <u>ji</u> -gi	<u>dur</u> rkuwa-k ra-gi	gakawarr gakawarr
<u>daw</u> urr-djarra-k badji-djirridji	<u>dug</u> u <u>dug</u> u	<u>du</u> tj <u>du</u> tj	galadjarr galadjarr
<u>daw</u> 'ya-nmak <u>daw</u> '-dji-gi	<u>dug</u> u <u>dug</u> u-ya-nmak <u>dug</u> u <u>dug</u> u-dji-gi	<u>du</u> t <u>ma</u> -nmak <u>du</u> t <u>ji</u> -gi	galanyan galanyin
<u>digi</u> digi-yi-n <u>digi</u> digi-dji-gi	<u>du</u> l <u>du</u> l	<u>du</u> warr <u>du</u> warr	gali gali
<u>dilt</u> ji guying	<u>du</u> l <u>ba</u> ya-nmak gilitjili-gi	ga girri	galitjarr gibilbal
<u>dilt</u> ji burri	<u>du</u> l <u>bir</u> r <u>du</u> l <u>bir</u> r	gadak gaditi	galitjarr girrabili
<u>dilt</u> ji-gatjawudu burrurruki	<u>du</u> l <u>pi</u> <u>du</u> l <u>pi</u>	<u>ga</u> da <u>l</u> -djunga-nmak djirri <u>l</u> bi-gi	galiwurr birrarrri
<u>dilt</u> ji-gupurru-mak burrdji gung	<u>du</u> l <u>pi</u> yi-rrak gutidjidji	<u>ga</u> daman <u>ga</u> daman	galka galk
<u>dilt</u> ji-lawarr burri lambirring	<u>du</u> l <u>pi</u> yi-rrak <u>du</u> l <u>pi</u> -dji-dji	<u>ga</u> dji-nmak witji-gi	galka-nmak gali-ki
<u>dilt</u> jimurr burring	<u>du</u> l <u>u</u> lya-n <u>du</u> l <u>u</u> l	- <u>ga</u> <u>dung</u> - <u>bi</u> ni	galki ngidjirrng
<u>dilt</u> ja-nmak riki-dji	<u>dung</u> <u>dung</u> dji-nmak <u>dung</u> <u>dung</u> -dji-gi	<u>ga</u> <u>dung</u> wana	galki-ril ngidjirrigi- <u>li</u>
<u>dim</u> bi-yu-mak <u>dim</u> bi-dj-nyir-dji-gi	<u>dung</u> <u>dung</u> -miy-ing <u>dung</u> <u>dung</u> -dji-gi	<u>ga</u> <u>dung</u> dji-rrak wanadjidji	galnganan galngayngu

galngarrarra-ya-nmak galngarrarra-dji-gi	gal <u>u</u> t gal <u>u</u> t	gaparra gapirri	gari gari
galngi galngi	gal <u>u</u> wu-mak gil <u>i</u> bi-gi	gapi gapi	gari-bandarrk bandarr
galngi-bindirrk galngi-manbi	gam gima	gapi djurumu <u>l</u>	gari-mak gar-gi
galngibiraya-nmak galngibira	ga-mak ga-ngi	gapi djagar gapi djagal	gari-pani gari-pa
galngi bulanggitji-rrak galngi bulanggitj-dji-dji	gamununggu gamununggu	gapi gundjalng gapi djalgi	gari-wakal-mak gar-wali-ki
galngi-diy'diy galngi-diy'diy	gamurr gamurr	gapi-mugu gapi-mugu	garkambarr badayala
galngi-diy'diy galngi-diy'diy	gana yarim	gapi-nan gapining	garkara-k gukirri-dji
galyarra galikali	ganangalkngalk ganingalkngalk	gapi-nyarrang gapi-nyirring	garkman galtjining
galamun girrala	gandji gandji	gapi-nguy gapi-nguy	gar-mak larr
galang-nan laykin-gining	ganambi ginimbi	gapiri-mak gapi-gu-ngi	gar-mak giri
gal'gal-mak gal'gal-miy-gi	ganangarra djanbul-djanbul	gapir-mak gapiri-gi	gar-maluk gar-maliri
galigali galigali	ganangarra ganangarra	gapula gapula	garpan garpan
galitjirringu galitjirring	ganay ganal	garabak wuyinbal	garu-gurriyal gurriyili
galiwarr galiwarr	gandalpurru gandalpurru	gara-mak giri	gar-ya-nmak gar-dji-gi
galkalu-mak wayku-ng	gandayala gandayala	garambak wuyinbal	garr garr
galmarr galmarr	gani gani	garapa garapa	garrany-dja-nmak galiyi-gi
galngbuy galngbuy	ganydjarr ganydjarr	gar-bandarrk gar-bandarrk	garrapi-nmak garrpi-gi
gal'ngu gal'kngu	ganydjarr-gadung ganydjirr-bini	gar-garlut gar-garlut	garrarr yagirri
galpang galpang	ganga-k birru-gi	gar-gurriyala gar-gurriyili	garrarrka-mak buygung

garray butal	gawirarr gawirarr	gimnyarra gimnyirri	girrilik guditjimarr
garrayarr garrayarr	gawiy budi	gindi gandi	girrilik gata
garray-mak guwu	gaya biligi	gindi-ra-na-wirriy bananydjarr	girri-mirring girri-pili
garraywurumi-mak bunyin djiti-gi	gaya-nmak bugili-gi	gindiril-mak gindili	girriny-dja-nmak girriny-tji-gi
garriyuwa garriyuwa	gaya-nmak witji-gi	gingin gingin	girri-ya-nmak girri-dji-gi
garrkatdji garrkatdji	gaya-wirriy gay-ping	ginydji butjiri	girrkirkkuru girrkiling
garrkuluk garrkuluk	gayawirriy bamanpi	ginydji-djanguny-nan butjir-djanguny-gining	giybaluw gaping
garrma-nmak gami-gi	gayawirriy bula ^l kitj-pi	ginydji-djarrkut butjir-djarrkut	giyi giyi
garrpa-nmak garrpi-gi	gayinggarr gayinggarr	ginydji-gatjawudu butjir-gurrugurru	giyinga-k gingi-dji
garrpu-ng garrbit	gayit gayit	ginydji-guliyirr-nan butjir-balpir-gining	giykiny-dja-nmak garpi-gi
garrung garrung	gaypu-mak gaypi-gi	ginydji-marnggi butjir-marnggi	giykinydja-n-nyarrang garpi-nyirring
garrurrurr garrurrurr	gibidipi gibidipi	ginydji-midi butjir-djumiling	giygarranya-ng gidjirri-ngi-l-gi
gatja-nmak gatji-gi	gikanggi gikanggi	ginydji-midiyi-rrak butjir-djumili-dji-dji	giyngurra-k marrngirridji
gatja-nmak gattji-gi	gikuwa gikuwa	ginydji niy balpu-mak butj-inydji kung	guba-k gubi-dji
gatja-nmak bat	gila-nmak gilgi-rr-gi	ginydji-nan-yu-mak butjir-gin-dji-gi	gubudu madjawurr
gatjawudu gurrugurru	gilgi-nmak birrgili	ginga-k gingi-dji	gubudu gubudu
gatpurr gatpurr	gilgi-nmak gilgi-rr-gi	girirri gudurri	gubudu+mdja gubudu
gawarrka gawarrka	gilarrpu ^l nguy wana-pili-mirring	girri girri	gudjuw gudjuw
gawarrkawirriy munibi	gimnyarr gimnyarr	girrili-mak mini	gudarr malipmalir

gudarr maliri	gulmangu gulmigi	gulun-nirrp-mak budjirr-nirrp-miy-gi	gundjalng djalgi
gudarr gudarr	gulmangu-pani gulmi-ngi-m	gulun-ngulbitj budjirr-nguymin	gundjalng djalkngi
gudittjinirri gudittjirri	gulmangu-ru-w gulmi-gir-ki	gulun-pim budjirr-pm	gundjal-yu-mak djalgi-dj-nyir-dji-gi
gudi'yi-nmak gudi-tj-nyir-dji-gi	gulmanguyarr gulmaw	gulununi ngaya-k budjirrgi ngadji-dji	gundurya-nmak gundurudji-gi
gudurrnguk gudurrki	gulmangu-yarr gulmig-uw	gulun-wayirra budjirr-wayirri	gungi gungi
gudurrnguk gulukulung	gulmangu-yarr gulmi-wili-ngi	gulun-wayirra-nan budjirr-wayirri-gining	gungi-balpu-mak gungi balpi-gi
gulang budi	gultja djayarr	gulya-nmak gulddji-gi	gungi bilya-nmak gungi bildji-gi
gulangnan budibudigili	gultja guridji	gulyi-rrak gulddjidji	gungi djarrkut gungi djarrkut
gulawurr gulawurr	gultja ngambul djayarr ngirgi	gumang gurrubirbir	gungi djip-mak gungi yirppi-gi
guliny gamununggu	gulu gulu	gumang gurrumba	gungi-djupunma-nmak gunkurtji-gi
guliny gulinydjarr	guluminya guluminy	gumburr gumbirri	gungi dambi gungi dambing
guliyirri balpir	gulun-dambi garngarri	gumburr birniny	gungi darrka-nmak gungi but-nyir-dji-gi
guliyirrinan balpirgining	gulun budjirri	gumburr bilanydji bilandji	gungi marrayar-ya-nmak gungi marrayar-dji-gi
gulki gulurwi	gulun bulanggitjyi-rrak budjirr marrkap-dji-dji	gumburr-mungun gumbirr-mungan	gungi-nan-yu-mak gungi-gin-dji-gi
gulkiy ran.gu	gulun gatja-nmak budjirr gatji-gi	gumir gumiring	gungirawa gungililing
gulkmim gulkmim	gulun manyakyi-rrak budjirr butil-dji-dji	gundjalng gurriykurriy	gungirilyu-mak gungili
gulku gulku	gulun-mirring budjirr-pili	gunburrk gunburrk	gungi wutji gungi galbi
gul-mak gul	gulun-munungu budjirr-muning	gundjalnyi-rrak djalgi-dji-dji	gungi yaku gungi yaku
gul-mak gul-miy-gi	gulun niy bari-mak budjirr inydji par-gi	gundjalng girrkirring	gungun gungan

gunguyu-mak gurtji-gi	gupurr-gadaman bir-gadaman	gurriyu-Kurriyu-mak gurrKung	gurrupa-nmak gurrpi-gi
guni guni	gupurr-galmarran biri-galmarr katji-gi	gurrkanangarr gurrkanangarr	gurrurruk gurrurruk
guni-gadung guni-bini	gupurr gatja-nmak bir gattji-gi	gurrkinin gurrkining	gurruti gurruti
gunir gunarr	gupurr-gatja-nmak bir-gatji-gi	gurrkurr gurrkarr	gurruti-nan gurruti-gining
guni-yi-rrak guni-dji-dji	gupurriya-nmak biri-kiri	gurrkurma-nmak birpirru-gi	gurrutu gurruti
gunmul gunmal	gupurr-nakam bir-nami	gurrma-nmak djami-gi	gurrutu-nan gurruti-gining
gunmul djambirr-gi	gupurru-mak gunggadji-gi	gurrmul gurrmal	gurruwiling gurrubilyn
gunydjarra gunydjirri	gupurru-mak gu-ngi	gurrmulya-nmak gurrmil-dji-gi	gurruwili bapi
gunydjarrak gunydjirri	gupurru-mak gurraygu-ngi	gurrmun ngirrtjnyaking	gutjarr gatja-nmak djay-gatji-gi
gunggayu-mak gunggadji-gi	gupurr-wapira-k bir-yulgung	gurrmun djunggi	guwabi bapili
gupay djirribal	gupurr-warrarra bir-warrarra	gurrngul bindirrk djilang-manbing	guwa-k gubi-dji
gupirr-yabulu bir-yabulu	gupurr-yarrpani bir-mirrpilipm	gurrpa-nmak guluku-ng	guwang bapili
gupurr biri	gurak guraki	gurrpulu gurrpulu	guwang-ngu bapili-ngu
gupurr-balngpalng biri-bilbal	gurak durkkuwa-k guraki ra-gi	gurrku-kurru-ng gu'-kurru-gi	guwangpin bapilipm
gupurr-bindirrk bir-manbi	gurak gurrpa-nmak guraki gurrpi-gi	gurrulk gurrulk	guway-nan gar-gining
gupurr-bindirrk bir-matit	gurak wanga-k guraki wangidji	gurrulk miyalk gurrulk mungi	guwaynan banda
gupurr-djararrk bir-djararrk	gurini gurrjtirtjir	gurrumu gurrumu	guwiy bay'
gupurr-djunga bir-djunga	guringin djarwarri	gurrung gurrung	guwu guwu
gupurrdjunga-nmak bir-yirrpigi	gurubuk guladi	gurrupa-nmak gurrkurrpi-gi	guya guyi

guya-nmak gungi batji-gi	linyala linyila	laylaya-nmak laylay-dji-gi	ma' ma'
guyi guyi	linyala-ny linyili-ny	laytjin laytjin	-ma -dji
guyirr'-yi-n gudjirri-dji-dji	lipalipa lipalipa	lilawka-nmak gilgilingirri-dji-dji	mabudal mabudal
guykuy giyany	litj litj-nyi	limbik limbik	madjika gurrupudu
guyuka-nmak djukmarr-gi	litj iltja	lirri dapalal	madjirr djirrk
-indja -gina	lamu-djunga-nmak lamu-dji-gi	liwliw-mak liyuw-miy-gi	madakarritj madakarritj
ka! ka!	langgarr langgarr	liwliw-mak liyuw	madakarritjdji-rrak madakarritjtjidji
-katny -ngiri-nyi	langya-nmak lang-tji-gi	lulatji-rrak lulatjidji	madakarritji-rrak madakarritjtjidji
-kany -ngi-nyi	laparr laparr	lunggurra lunggurra	madayin madayin
-kany -nyi	laparra'yu-n mutitj	lurridja galgal	madiji mirrdjing
-kar -ngir-	lapitji-nan lapitji-gining	lurru duli	maduwiy midipili
-kay -aw	lap-mak lap-miy-gi	lurrukun lurrukan	magaya magaya
-kir -ngir	lapy-a-nmak lap giri	lurrukun gandarr	makarrta makarrta
-kuru -gi	larrdji-nmak galmi-dji	lurrukunbul bilawili	mala mala
lin lim	larriya-nmak galmi-dji	lurrukun-djana-nmak maltjatji-gi	malgapi malgapi
li-mak mini	larriya-nmak djirribi-gi	lurrukungapi malgapi	malgarrama-nmak garrwur-dji-gi
linalany limiliny	lawarr lambirring	lurrukun-gar-mak mal-giri	maliya maliya
limila limala	laya-nmak lay-dji-gi	lurruku-yi-rrak duli-tji-dji	maliyi gulmin
liny liny	laylay laylay	luwal-mak galal-tji-gi	malk malk

malkana malkana	manda-nmak gurtji-gi	marrakidi mapal	maygi maypal
malkurya-nmak malkur-dji-gi	mandi-nmak bat	marrap miri	maygi guyi
malnga malngiri	mani mani	marrarraka-n-mak badji-wangidji	mayngi maypal
-maltjani -mirrpili	mani-bari-mak burru-par-gi	marrbi-nmak marrbi-gi	mayurrk mayurrk
maltja-nmak maltji-gi	manyi wurgi	marr-burr-al-nan-yi-rrak marr-pirral-kin-dji-dji	midji djamili
maltjana bininggili	manymak manymak	marrga marrga	midji djumiling
maluk maliri	manymak laytjuw	marrgaka-ng marrkang	mididju-mak minibi-gi
maluk munyi	manymak-dju-mak manymak-dji-gi	marr mirka balaypalay	midipi djaming
mal-waltjan mal-mayurrk	manymak-yi-rrak manymak-dji-dji	marringi mirring	midiyu-mak minibi-gi
mal'ya-nmak maltji-gi	manymak-yu-mak manymak-dji-gi	marriyang marriyang	miku girriwal
maljiyi minarr	mapu giyi	marrkarrday mapal	miku ginimini
maliki ngirimbiy	mapu-nan-yi-rrak giy-gin-dji-gi	marrkudan mapalgining	mil mil
maliki ngarimbiy	marali mayali	marrkudu mapal	mila-nak marrkang
mana-nmak galbu-ngi	maram madim	marrkurr mapal	mila-nak mili-ki
mamin bupini	mari gunyambi	marrngirra-k marrngirridji	milawuy bandayama
mamin-nyarrang bupini-nyirring	mari maralkur	marrtji giri	mil-ga-mak mil-ga-ngi
manarr minarr	marnggi marnggi	marr wanal-mak marr baltji-gi	milipi bapi
manda-nmak bat	marr marr	mawaydjinyawirriy bulkinirbi	mil-kaldji-nmak yulgu-ng
manda-nmak marr-gi	marra dibarr dibarr	mawayi-rrak bulkidji	milkalyi-nmak bur

milka-mak marrbi-gi	mudu murrbin	nunyurri-rrak burtjil-dji-dji	niy biringgiyu-mak binyga-dji-gi
milkarwa-nmak mildirpi-gi	mukdjija-nmak mukdjigi	nunyurru-mak burtjil-dji-gi	niy bultja-nmak inydji bultji-gi
milkirbi-nmak mildirpi-gi	muku muku	nungbu-mak gupidjidi	niy bulut-mak inydji birrin-djingil-gi
milapnan djini kuyim	muku bawupi	nungan mungan	niy giliny-nya-nga bapi+nydji nya-nga
minini midji	muku bapipi	nunganbirriy munibi	nakan djiwarr
mininik midji-gir-ki	muku kung bawupar	nuri djamunumun	nakan nami
mindirryi-nmak bidaykang	muku gurapala	nurmuran nurmurdjnyiring	naki bambuli
mingu-mak galng-galng-dji-gi	mukya-nmak djarribi-dji-dji	mur'nurya-nmak murmurdjigi	-nan -ginim
mingu-mak mingu-nga	multjalnya mulngi	-nurr -mirri	-nan -gining
minyirranyu-mak malupu-nga	mukurr budjirri	nurruka mirrpa	-nan- -gin-
nirawuy diduyngu	mukurryun budjirminy	-naru-w -nir-gi	nata-k burrtjirri-dji
nirka bilay	munatja djaltji	naw libi	nikanmi djini
nirkaril balayili	munatja munatja	naw nibi	nikirmany djining
nirkawani balaypalay	munuk minini	nawala libila	nikirmany ngunumi
nirriki biri	munu-mak mini	nawala-ny libili-ny	nilim murrurrt
-nirring -pili	mununu midji	-na-wirriy -nir-bi	nimburr bugirri
-niy- -niy-	munmi muni	niy inydji	ninini ninini
niyalk niyilk	nunydjurrng bamburr	niy bangari-mak inydji bangari-gi	nipirri buku
mudu djiding	nunyurr burtjal	niy biringgiyu-mak biringgi-dji-gi	nirr'ya-nmak guwaynirr-dji-gi

<u>nitgi</u> <u>gulupan</u>	nyalung-mirringtuy wira-pil-ngir	nyayi nyili	nyumal-kung nyumil-ang
<u>nudjirngu-mak</u> <u>nunydjirri</u>	nyalung-nyarr wira-wili	nyibirrik nyibirri	nyumal-kuru nyumili-ki
<u>nududi</u> <u>numpna</u>	nya-mak nya-ngi	nyina-k nyini-dji	nyumi nyumi
<u>nuki</u> <u>nu</u>	nyami nyimi	nyinakbanmi nyini-nyir-bi	nyumil-kung nyumil-ang
<u>nuki yalkuwanbu-mak</u> <u>nu djarritjirri</u> <u>ngurridji</u>	nyami-wirriy nyim-pi	nyinuk nyadji	nyumil-kuru nyumili-ki
<u>nurrku</u> <u>duling</u>	nyamu-wu nyim-ki	nyinga djindjalma	nyumugininy ninini
-ny -tji	nyan nyani	nyinga nyinga	nyun nyin
-ny -nyi	nyan-bi nyani-bi	-nyir, -ir -dji	nyuna-ny nyuni-ny
-nya -nyir	nyan-gung nyan-ngang	nyirri nyalingi	nyuni nyuni
nyabilkang nyabini	nyan-guru nyan-ki	nyu inma	nyuni-wi nyuni-bi
nyadjunuk nyadji	nyani nyani	nyutrr nyitrr	nyurrula-ny ngilidj-nyi
nyagi nyimi	nyan-kung nyan-ngang	nyu-kung nyu-ngung	nyurruli ngilidji
nyagidji nyili	nyan-kuru nyan-ki	nyu-kuru nyun-ki	nyurrul-kuru ngilidji-ki
nyakalng nyabini	nyan-nyi nyani-nyi	nyula-ny lidj-nyi	ngadan banbuli
nyakalng ngunupilak nyabini ngunupilang	nyangnya-ng djaga-dji-gi	nyula-ny ngilidj-nyi	ngadan dirrka
nya-kuru nyim-ki	-nyarrang -nyirring	nyuli ngilidji	ngadawa ngidawa
nyaliyukany warngarriny	nyarrka nyibirri	nyulu-kuru ngilidji-ki	ngali ngili
nyalung wari	-nya-wirriy -nyir-bi	nyumala nyimila	ngalimala-ny ngilimili-ny
nyalung wili	nyaya-k ngadji-dji	nyumala-ny nyimili-ny	ngalimi ngilimi

ngalinyala-ny ngilinyili-ny	ngan-garr in.ga-rr	ngarri ngarri	ngilimi ngilimi
ngalinyal-kung ngilinyil-ang	nganiwala-ny nginibili-ny	ngarri-nyi ngirri-nyi	ngilimili-ny ngilimili-ny
ngalinyi ngilinyi	nganiwal-kung nginibil-ang	ngarr-Kar ngirra-r	ngalinyala-ny ngilinyili-ny
ngalitjala-ny ngilitj-nyi	nganuwi nginibi	ngarrku <u>labu</u> t	ngilinyi ngilinyi
ngalitjal-kung ngilitj-ang	nganybak <u>dun</u> barr	ngarrku ngarrku	ngilinyil-kung ngilinyil-ang
ngalitjal-kuru ngilitji-ki	nganga-nmak ngagirr-gi	ngarr-kung ngirr-ang	ngilitjil-kung ngilitj-ang
ngalpin ngurru	ngangi ngangi	ngarr-kuru ngirr-ki	ngilitjil-kuru ngilitji-ki
ngalan gilingka	ngangi-nmak ngagirr-gi	ngatjirriyu-mak ginyipirr-dji-gi	ngir <u>durk</u> durk
ngalparr mininggali	ngaragarr ngirki	ngatjirr'yi-n ngatjirrdjigi	ngirr wirr
ngama-nmak ngami-gi	ngaraka ngirki	ngatjurr-mak butjalmi-dji	ngirri gurrbi
ngamangamaya-nmak ngamanganadjigi	ngariyim ngirinngimi	ngata-k rarrtjilkung	ngirri-li gurrbu-w
ngamangamayu-mak ngamanganadjigi	ngar'ya-n ngarngartjigi	ngatnyin djirritjirri	ngirri-wirriy gurrbi-bi
ngambarra ngambirri	ngarr irr	ngatnyin ngatnyin	ngiy ngiy
ngambarrak ngambirri	ngarra-Kar ngirra-r	ngayil biligi	ngiyi lidja
ngami-nmak ngami-gi	ngarra-kung ngirr-ang	ngayil bilimi	ngududi ngududi
ngan in.ga	ngarra-kuru ngirr-ki	ngayil bilKirr	ngudungut ginimbirri
nganabal-kung nginibil-ang	ngarra-ny ngirri-nyi	ngayil ngurrwagi	ngulbitj <u>min</u>
nganabi nginibi	ngarranga-nmak djiti-gi	ngayil pirr baman pirr	ngulbitji-rrak <u>mindir</u> pi-gi
nganaparra nganaparra	ngarrawan-djul-k birrin-djingi-l-gi	ngi lidji	ngulbitju-mak <u>min</u> -dj-nyir-dji-gi

ngulbitji-rrak gumirdjidji	ngurra-k ngurri-dji	rarr-birrkaya-nmak yanya-ng	raytjuk malma
ngulurr bamba	ngurri ngurri	rarri rarri	-ri -dji
ngulurr gilka	nguwili wugili	rarri djabiri	-ri, -di, -ir, -nyir -ri
ngunbapani ngunu-mirri	nguwili G bu	rarri-gurriyukurriyu-mak djabir-gurrukung	-ril -li
nguniny nyani	nguy nguy	rarri-ngawkiya-nmak djabir-ngaw-tji-gi	riimi gaka
nguniny ngunumi	-nguy -ngir	rarritjal rarritjal	riimurr biliwurrwarr
nguniny ngunung	nguyilkiyi-n gudjirri-dji-dji	rarri-yi djabiri	riimurr giliwurrwarr
nguniny-amdja djinimi	nguy-mari-nan nguy-mar-gining	rarriyi-mari djabir-mar	riimurrmurr giliwurrwarr
nguniny mala ngunu-wili	nguy-murr nguy-mirri	rarrk girarrk	ripurru bilimi
ngunuki nguli	-pani -ngimi	rarrngadjin rarritjal	ripurru gadjiri
ngunuku nguli	-pilak -bilang	rarrpul banim	ripurru-birriy gadjira-ping
ngunuku barr ngunu-wili	pirr pirr	rarrpul niy wapira-k banim inydji yulgu-ngi	rirritji bati
ngunukurrmany ngunung	-pul -mirrpili	rarrpulngur banimngiri	rirrkminy burrkburk
ngunu-ngur ngunu-ngiri	ra irra	ratjuk djanambal	rirrkminy ban gatja-nmak burrkburk-katji-gi
ngunupany nguni	randa-nmak lipini-gi	ra-yan irra-djin	rirrkminy-nan burrkburk-gining
ngunu-pilak ngunu-pilang	randa-nmak rani	raybalngki raybalngi	rirrpal dirrpal
ngunuripany nguni	ra-ni djat	raypiny girrkiling	ru djujuk
-ngur -ngir	ra-ny irri-ny	raypirrya-nmak butjir-karri	runggulbu-mak gilibi-gi
ngurumburr durkdurk	rarranyabirriy munibi	raytjarr miwini	rurrang'nga-nmak birrgili

ru'warriya-nmak rurrtjirri-mi-gi	walkitj w <u>ati</u>	wanga-k wangi-dji	wirandi-rrak w <u>ini</u> -dji
-tja -tja	walkur walkiri	wapira-k bur	wirani-ngu-nmak w <u>ini</u> -djingil-gi
-uy, -nguy, -yi -ri	wal-mak walmi-dji	wapira-k yulgu-ng	wiraningu-nmak w <u>ini</u> -djingil-gi
-uy, -nguy, -yi -dji	walnga wanngi	wari wari	wiritji-nmak yak-dji-gi
waba ingki	walnga-yu-nya-n <u>an</u> wanngir-nya-ki <u>ning</u>	warinyun w <u>ili</u>	wirr wirr
waba ngiki	walngu-yu-mak wanngi-dj-nyir-dji-gi	wariyu-barr wira-w <u>ili</u>	-wirriy -ping
wabayi-nmak wirrdjidji	waltjan mayurrk	warragan maypal	-wirriy -birriy -bi
wagay bimbi	walawun gupwuga <u>ling</u>	warran maypal	-wirriy G, -birriy D, -ang
wagaynyarrang bimbinyirring	wama-mak djatd <u>jat</u> -dji-gi	warrangun munydjal	wirrkul midip <u>ili</u>
wakal wakal	waniy-ing djal <u>tj</u> ibi-gi	warrangun maypal	wirrpim ganba
wakal-mak wali-ki	wan <u>al</u> -mak baltji-gi	warrpam warrpam	wiyawin mun <u>ibi</u>
wakili-mak wali-ki	wan <u>al</u> -nya-wirriy baltj-nyir-bi	watak gaykiy	wiypani wurp <u>mi</u>
wakin bur <u>ali</u>	wan <u>bu</u> -mak ngurri	wat <u>in</u> -mak rar-ki	wiypi wurp <u>i</u>
wakin gumb <u>ala</u>	wan <u>bu</u> -mak bat	wawayka wawayka	wiypi-ril wurp <u>i</u> - <u>li</u>
wakinan wayki <u>ning</u>	wan <u>bu</u> ma munatja djarngurri	wawayka-pu <u>l</u> wawayka-mirrp <u>ili</u>	wiypi-ril-wiypi-ril wurp <u>i</u> - <u>li</u> -wurp <u>i</u> - <u>li</u>
wakiya wagirri	wan <u>dja</u> -nmak marrkang	-wi -bibi	wiypi-tja wurp <u>i</u> -tja
wakulngurra-k walngirri-dji	wan <u>dja</u> -nmak mili-ki	wil-dji-na wil-tj-nyiri-ng	wiypu+ny wurp <u>ili</u>
wali wali	wan <u>dja</u> -n <u>an</u> gil <u>ang</u> -tj-nya-ki <u>ning</u>	wil <u>i</u> -ya-na wil-tj-nyiri-ng	wiypu+ny-tja wurp <u>ili</u> -tja
walkitj bal <u>marrk</u>	wan <u>g</u> urra wan <u>g</u> urra	wil <u>i</u> -yi-na wil-tj-nyiri-ng	-wu -gi

wudapa-nmak yigili-gi	wutji galbi	yalman djirrtjarr	yarginbirriy munibi
wudapiyi-nmak yigili-gi	wutji-pu galbi-wili	yan yan	yarim yarim
wudiya-nmak bamaw-dji-dji	wutji-yi-rrak galbi-dji-dji	yan.gi-mak yani	yarwi gultji
wudiya-nmak manydjidji	wutji-yu-mak galbi-dji-gi	ya-nmak yagirr-gi	-yarr -mirrpili
wukirridji-nmak wukirri-dji-gi	wuwa wuwa	yanydjayi-rrak djidi-dji-dji	yarraka-nmak yilitjirridji
wukirri-yu-mak wukirri-dji-gi	wuwak wuwi	yanyu-mak yanya-ng	yarrarra-nmak yarrarramiyi
wukutj djirrimiri	wuydji gapi	yangal gundjarr	yarrka-n yilitjigi
wukutj wukutj	wuyi yurryarr	yangalan waykining	yarrkidji-nmak yilitjirridji
wukutj ginibirri	wuyi gunbulurru	yangal-djip-mak gundjirr-yirrpigi-gi	yatja-nmak yak-dji-gi
wulgaman wulgaman	wuyuwirriy munibi	yangal di-dawka-na gundjarr dapili-dj-nyira-kinning	yawirriy yawirriy
wulma wulma	yagatay yagirri	yangal-mil gundjirr-mil	yibuk-mak yilbirtjigi
wumbar biradagarr	yagi-nmak yagirr-gi	yangal-munungu gundjirr-muning	yidaki wuyinbal
wunda-nmak girrbi-gi	yakarr yakirri	yangal-wayarra gundjirr-wayirri	yiki yiki
wungul dir	yakarr burralku	yangalya-nmak guwaguwa-dji-gi	yinbulngu djarrbarbar
wungul bumalng	yakya-nmak yak-dji-gi	yapak gaditi	yingarray djar-mak yingarraydjigi
wurridjarra djadarrk	yalki wanbu-mak djarritjirr	yapaka-yarr gadit-aw	yingarrayu-mak yingarraydjigi
wurruk-mak dirra-dji-gi	yalpurbu-mak yirrpigi-gi	yapak-pani gada-ngimi	yitjirr bundirri
wurruki wurruki	yali bulwarr	yarabi gultji	yudji yidjipili
wurrunimiy blik	yalki yarti	yarawi gultji	yukuda galwun