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THE DJARU LANGUAGE OF KIMBERLEY,
WESTERN AUSTRALIA

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Abbreviations and Conventions</i>	vii
<i>Preface</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
MAP 1: Language Map of Australia	xiv
MAP 2: Language Map of East Kimberley	xv
MAP 3: Map of Isoglosses	xvi
Photograph 1: Robert Moses	xvii
Photograph 2: Mona Green	xviii
Photograph 3: Archie Singapoo	xix
Photograph 4: Jack Djugajari	xx
Photograph 5: Robert Moses, Kitty, Danba, General Birdwood and writer	xxi
 CHAPTER 1: THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS	 1
1.1. Linguistic Type	1
1.2. Dialects	2
1.3. Territory and Surrounding Languages	5
1.4. Cultural Background	6
1.5. Special Styles of Speech	14
1.5.1. Avoidance Language	14
1.5.2. Sign Language	15
1.5.3. Song Language	15
1.6. Recent History of the Tribe	16
1.7. Present Situation	17
1.8. Previous Works	18

	<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY	23
2.1. Phonemes and Their Realisations	23
2.2. Examples of Phonemic Oppositions	27
2.3. Alternation Between Two Phonemes	31
2.4. Problems in Phonological Analysis	32
2.4.1. Semi-vowels, Long Vowels and Syllable Structures	32
2.4.2. Glottal Catch	36
2.4.3. 'Vowel-like' Nature of Consonant Phonemes	36
2.5. Phonotactics	36
2.5.1. Possibilities at Structural Positions	36
2.5.2. Statistics	41
2.6. Structures of Syllables, Roots and Words	44
2.7. Stress and Pitch	47
2.8. Morphophonology	48
 CHAPTER 3: WORD CLASSES, DECLENSION AND CONJUGATION	 51
3.1. Word Classes	51
3.1.1. Semantic Content of Open Word Classes	52
3.2. Nouns	55
3.2.1. Major Meanings and Functions of Cases	56
3.2.2. Demonstrative Members	61
3.2.3. Interrogative Members	63
3.3. Free Pronouns	64
3.3.1. Interrogative Member	67
3.4. Bound Pronouns	68
3.5. Preverbs	72
3.6. Adverbs	74
3.6.1. Demonstrative Members	75
3.6.2. Interrogative Members	75
3.7. Verbs	76
3.7.1. Transitivity	76
3.7.2. Conjugation	77
3.7.3. Meanings and Functions	82
 CHAPTER 4: SYNTAX	 91
4.1. Noun Phrases	92
4.2. Verb Complexes	95
4.3. Sentence Types	96

	<i>Page</i>
4.3.1. Simple Sentences	96
4.3.2. Expanded Simple Sentences	101
4.4. Sentence Parts	103
4.4.1. Bound Pronouns and Sentence Parts	103
4.4.2. Predicate Verb	105
4.4.3. Subject	106
4.4.4. Direct Object	108
4.4.5. Indirect Object	110
4.4.6. Subjunct	112
4.4.7. Object(s) and/or Subjunct of Three-place Predicate Verbs	115
4.4.8. Circumstance	117
4.4.9. Predicative	119
4.4.10. Independent Word	124
4.5. Bound Pronouns	124
4.5.1. Base for Bound Pronouns	124
4.5.2. Phonological/Morphological Details	127
4.5.3. Number of Bound Pronouns in One Sequence	129
4.5.4. Relative Order of Bound Pronouns	131
4.5.5. Person and Number Replacement	132
4.5.6. Metathesis	135
4.5.7. Three-member and Two-oblique Sequences	137
4.5.8. Grammatical and Semantic Constraints/Tendencies	140
4.5.9. Semi-transitive Sentences	149
4.5.10. Middle-voice ('reflexive/reciprocal') Sentences	152
4.5.11. Bound Pronouns and Nominals in an Integrated System	159
4.6. panga Sentences	163
4.7. guwa/guja Sentences	165
4.8. Purposive and Hortative Sentences	171
4.9. Verbids	172
4.9.1. As Gerunds	172
4.9.2. As Participles	176
4.10. Preverbs	177
4.10.1. Phonology	177
4.10.2. Morphology	179
4.10.3. Independent Use of Preverbs	179
4.10.4. Formation of Verb Complexes	181
4.10.5. Semantics of Verb Complexes	183
4.10.6. Transitivity of Verb Complexes	184
4.10.7. 'Loose' and 'Close' Verb Complexes	185

	<i>Page</i>
4.10.8. Voice	190
4.11. Expression of Possession	194
4.11.1. Dative and Ablative	194
4.11.2. Noun-stem-forming Suffixes	195
4.11.3. The Transitive Verb <i>garun-</i> 'Hold, Keep, Possess, Own'	196
4.11.4. Expression of Inalienable Possession/Whole part Relation	196
4.12. Adverbs of Modality	204
4.13. Clitics	208
4.14. Word Order	211
4.15. Interjections	212
 CHAPTER 5: AVOIDANCE LANGUAGE	 215
 CHAPTER 6: WORD FORMATION	 221
6.1. Verbs	221
6.2. Nouns	221
6.2.1. Stem-forming Suffixes	221
6.2.2. Reduplication	234
6.2.3. Compounding	235
6.3. Adverbs and Preverbs	240
6.3.1. Stem-forming Suffixes	240
6.3.2. Words for Cardinal Directions, 'Up' and 'Down/Inside'	243
6.3.3. Reduplication	247
 Text 1	 251
Text 2	260
Text 3	264
<i>Bibliography</i>	267

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

ABL	ablative
ABS	absolute
Acc	accusative
adv	adverb
A.I.A.S.	Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
ALL	allative
A.N.U.	Australian National University
B	brother or brother's
C	catalyst
C	consonant
CLC	clitic
CONT	continuative
D	daughter or daughter's
Dat	dative of bound pronoun
DAT	dative of noun or free pronoun
DO	direct object
Du	dual
E	elder (of sibling)
ER	extended reflexive
ERG	ergative
F	father or father's
GEN	genitive
H	husband or husband's
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
INST	instrumental
int	intransitive
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis

Loc	locational (of bound pronoun)
LOC	locative (of noun and free pronoun)
M	middle voice
M	mother or mother's
N	Njininj
NARR	narrative
Nom	nominative (of bound pronoun)
NP	noun phrase
Obj	object
Oi	intransitive object
Ot	transitive object
Pl	plural
POT	potential
PRES	present
prev	preverb
PURP	purposive
RDP	reduplication
S	sentence
S	son or son's
Sg	singular
Si	intransitive subject
St	transitive subject
Subj	subject
tr	transitive
V	vowel
VBD	verbid
VC	verb complex
VCint	intransitive verb complex
VCtr	transitive verb complex
Vint	intransitive verb
Vtr	transitive verb
W	Wawarl dialect
W	wife or wife's
Y	younger (of sibling)
Z	sister or sister's
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

Case labels in all capital letters, e.g. DATIVE and DAT, refer to nouns and free pronouns, while case labels whose first letter only is capitalised, e.g. Dative and Dat, refer to bound pronouns.

The absolute case is phonologically zero. It is occasionally indicated by \emptyset and ABS, but in most instances it is not indicated at all.

The writer has avoided using footnotes. Anything in the nature of a footnote has been included in the main text, typed in single spacing. In contrast, the main text is in one and a half spacing.

PREFACE

The present work is a revision of the writer's Ph.D. thesis for Monash University (Tsunoda 1978). It is a synchronic description of the Djaru language, Kimberley, Western Australia. The summary of the content is as follows:

Chapter 1 deals with the linguistic type of Djaru in the Australian perspective; the similarities and differences between Djaru and surrounding languages; and dialectal variations within Djaru. It then deals with cultural background and various styles of speech. And finally, there are accounts of the recent history of the tribe, present situation and previous works done on Djaru.

Chapter 2 is a description of Djaru phonology; in particular, phonemics and phonotactics. It also includes discussions of problems in the phonological analysis of Djaru; for example, a problem concerning phonetically zero sem-vowel phonemes.

Chapter 3 sets up seven word classes for Djaru, and gives a brief account of the semantic contents of open classes. It then has descriptions of the declension of nouns, free and bound pronouns, preverbs and adverbs; and conjugation of verbs. While nouns and free pronouns have an absolutive-ergative declension, bound pronouns have a nominative-accusative declension. Bound pronouns crossreference a noun (or free pronoun), and play a very important role in syntax and discourse. The morpho-syntax of preverbs is quite peculiar; it is in view of this that preverb is set up as a distinct word class.

Chapter 4 is a discussion of syntax. It begins with accounts of noun phrases and verb complexes. It then gives basic sentence types. Chapter 4 then establishes nine sentence parts (or grammatical relations) for Djaru; these are mainly based on the correspondence between the case marking of nouns and free pronouns on the one hand and that of bound pronouns on the other. Morpho-syntax of bound pronouns is discussed in some detail. In particular, restrictions on the occurrence

of bound pronouns are investigated. This chapter also includes discussions of two types of 'subordinate' clauses and constructions involving verbids (non-finite verbs). The syntax of preverbs is then given; preverbs can occur independently, with a case ending (like nouns) and they can also occur in verb complexes together with verbs. Chapter 4 then gives a considerably detailed discussion of the expressions of possession, paying careful attention to the behaviour of bound pronouns. This chapter ends with accounts of adverbs of modality; clitics, word order and interjections. Points from this chapter indicate that the Djaru syntax is primarily nominative-accusative in spite of the absolutive-ergative declension of nouns and free pronouns.

Chapter 5 briefly deals with the avoidance language. The avoidance language is different from the ordinary language in only two respects: the use of a plural instead of a singular pronoun and the use of a special, 'avoidance verb'.

Chapter 6 gives accounts of word formation. Reduplication, compounding and the use of stem-forming suffixes are the three important processes here. The words for cardinal directions, 'up' and 'down' have very complicated and unusual morphologies.

This work also contains three selected Djaru stories, together with grammatical notes and translations.

Aspects of Djaru grammar are also discussed in Tsunoda 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1981, forthcoming-a, forthcoming-b and forthcoming-c. It is planned to compile a dictionary of Djaru, and to write sketchy grammars and vocabularies of the three neighbouring languages, Malngin, Wandjira and Ngardi.

It would have been desirable to rewrite the present work using practical orthography - particularly, in order for it to be accessible to non-linguists. Unfortunately, however, the limited amount of time available did not allow the writer to do this.

Nagoya, March 1980

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The writer would like to express his sincere gratitude to the Djaru people who extended hospitality and taught the writer their language and culture. In particular, Mr Robert Moses (subsection: ḡambijin) patiently taught the writer details of the language. Without his patience and intelligence, this description would not have been possible. Mrs Mona Green (subsection: ḡawana), Mr Archie Singapoo (subsection: ḡambijin, name: miḡujari) and Mr Jack Djugajari (subsection: ḡaḡala, name: ḡugajari) also provided a good deal of valuable information. Other people who taught the writer the language include Mr Andy Dimai (subsection: ḡawali, name: diḡajari), Mr Jack Huddleston (subsection: ḡuḡura, name: jaḡajari), Mr Nobler Minjgai (subsection: ḡawan, name: miḡaji), Mr Daymon Brockman (subsection: ḡaḡala, name: jaḡajari), and Mr Johnny Lannigan (subsection: ḡaḡari).

Dr B.J. Blake supervised the work on the Ph.D. thesis and constantly provided invaluable guidance. His advice and comments on the drafts of the thesis were most helpful. Professor U.G.E. Hammarström and other members of the Department of Linguistics, Monash University provided assistance in various ways.

So far three field trips have been carried out, in and around Hall's Creek, W.A. - from February to August 1975; from June to December 1976; and from November 1978 to January 1979. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies financed the first two field trips and part of the write-up phase of the Ph.D. thesis. In addition, the Institute made available a Landrover for the 1976 field trip and tape recorders for the 1978-1979 field trip; and provided tapes for the three field trips. A research grant from Griffith University fully supported the 1978-1979 field trip and allowed the writer to use a Toyota Landcruiser, made available through the Institute.

Dr Arthur Capell allowed the writer to use his unpublished materials on Djaru and other languages. Dr Patrick McConvell, Mr Peter Taylor and Miss Joyce Hudson provided some information on Guurindji, Mudbura and Biḷinara; on Gidja; and on Walmadjari, respectively.

Professor TAKAHASHI Tarō, Professor G.J. Marvan and Mrs Isobel White each read a portion of an early draft and provided valuable comments.

Professor K.L. Hale gave many valuable comments on the thesis. In addition, he made available his unpublished data on a dialect of Djaru. Professor R.M.W. Dixon contributed comments on the thesis. Professor Bernard Comrie and Professor SHIBATANI Masayoshi each provided comments on a draft of Tsunoda (1980a) (and some of their comments have been incorporated in the present work).

Members of the class 'Australian Aboriginal Linguistics' at the University of Nagoya during 1979/80 contributed helpful suggestions.

The writer has not been able to incorporate in the present work all the comments given by the above-mentioned scholars. But, he hopes to incorporate them all in one way or another in future works.

Unless otherwise specified, information on Djaru, Malngin, Wandjira, Mudbura, Gardangaruru, Ngardi, Gugadja, Wanggadzunga, Yulbaridja, Walmadjari, Gunian and Gidja is from the writer's field data.

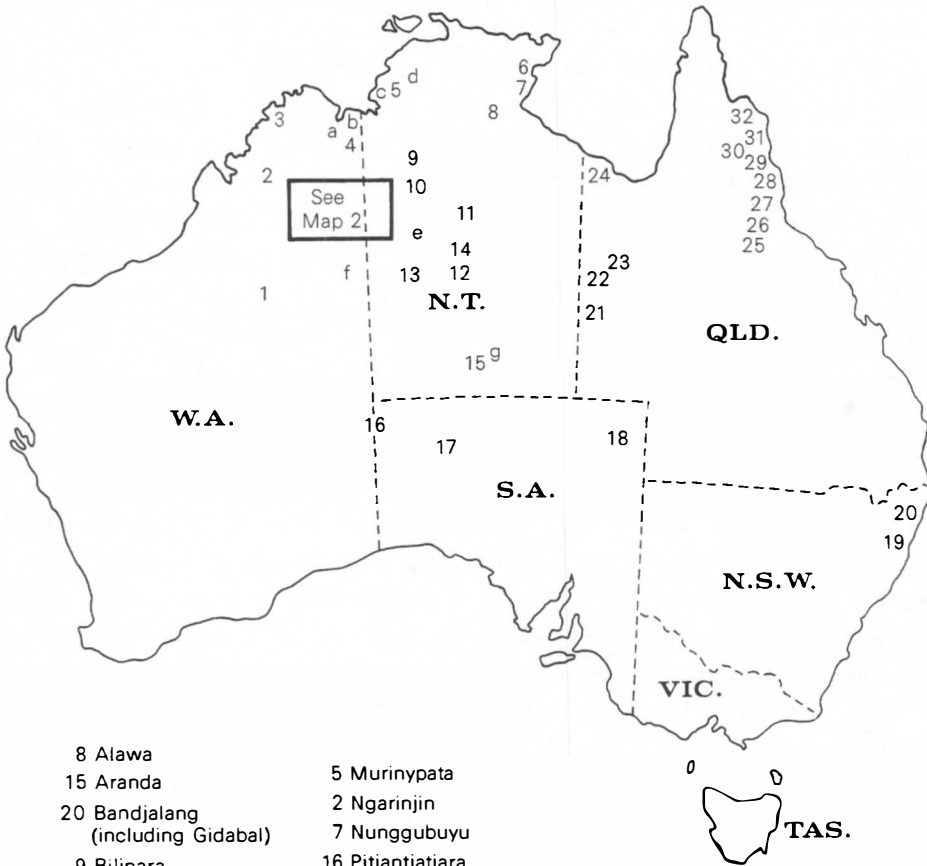
Mr Ernie Bridge and other members of Shire of Hall's Creek, and Rev. Gordon Ewan and other members of Australian Inland Mission helped the writer in many ways. Mr and Mrs Roworth (in 1975), and Fr. W.H. Kriener (in 1976 and in 1978/79) provided accommodation in Hall's Creek. The people at the stations the writer visited extended hospitality and gave great assistance. They are Mr and Mrs Len Hill and other members of Nicholson Station; Mr and Mrs Graham Macarthur and other members of Gordon Downs Station; Mr and Mrs Len Christie and other members of Sturt Creek Station; Mr and Mrs Bill Perry and other member of Kirrkimbie Station; Mr and Mrs Harry Fitzgerald, Mr and Mrs Doug Dixon and other members of Margaret River Station; Mr and Mrs Noel Stanley and other members of Louisa Downs Station; and Mr and Mrs Kevin Norton and other members of Christmas Creek Station.

Mr and Mrs John Clayton of Melbourne have constantly given the writer help and encouragement.

Mrs Jean Hart efficiently typed the Ph.D. thesis from a very difficult draft. Similarly, Mrs Jeanette Coombes efficiently typed the present work.

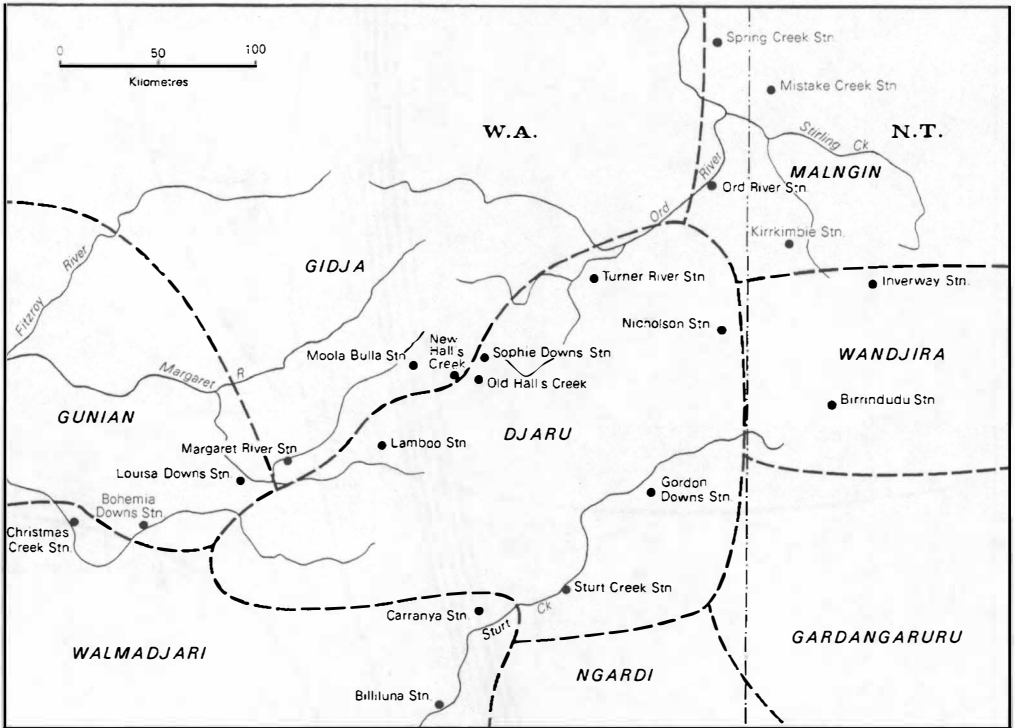
As acknowledged above, numerous people have helped the writer with the present work. The remaining faults are, however, all the writer's.

MAP 1: LANGUAGE MAP OF AUSTRALIA

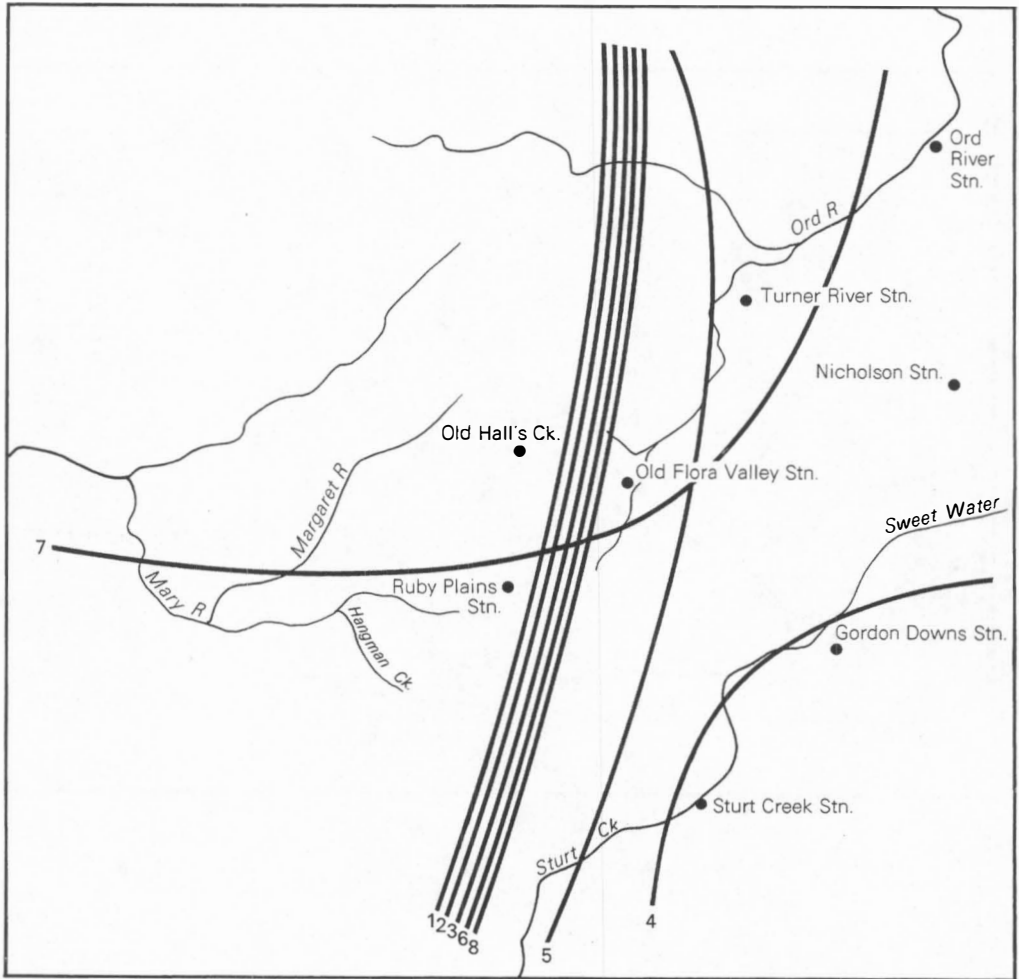


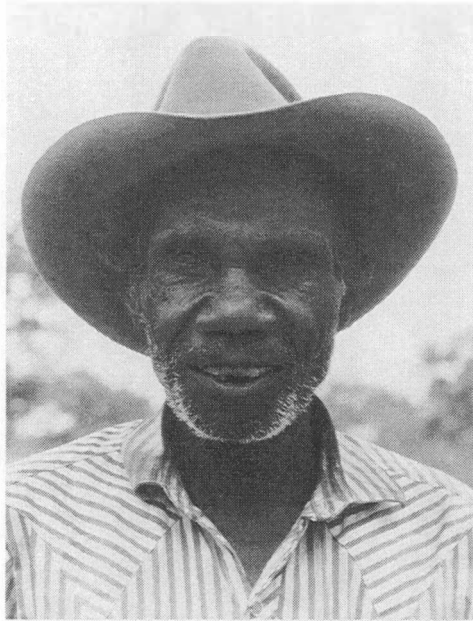
- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 8 Alawa | 5 Murinyata | |
| 15 Aranda | 2 Ngarinjin | |
| 20 Bandjalang
(including Gidabal) | 7 Nunggubuyu | |
| 9 Bilinara | 16 Pitjantjatjara | |
| 29 Djaabugay | 21 Pitta-Pitta | |
| 27 Djirbal | 6 Ritharngu | |
| 17 Gugada | 13 Walbiri | |
| 25 Gugu-Badhun | 14 Walmanpa | |
| 30 Gugu-Yalandji | 22 Waluwara | |
| 19 Gumbaiingar | 1 Wanggadzunga | g Alice Springs |
| 31 Guugu-Yimidhirr | 12 Waramunga | f Balgo Hill |
| 10 Guurindji | 26 Warungu | d Daly River |
| 23 Kalkatungu | 3 Wunambal | e Hooker's Creek |
| 32 Kuku-Thaypan | 18 Yandruwandha | b Kununurra |
| 4 Miriwung | 28 Yidiny | c Port Keats |
| 11 Mudbura | 24 Yukulta | a Wyndham |

MAP 2: LANGUAGE MAP OF EAST KIMBERLEY



MAP 3: MAP OF ISOGLOSSES





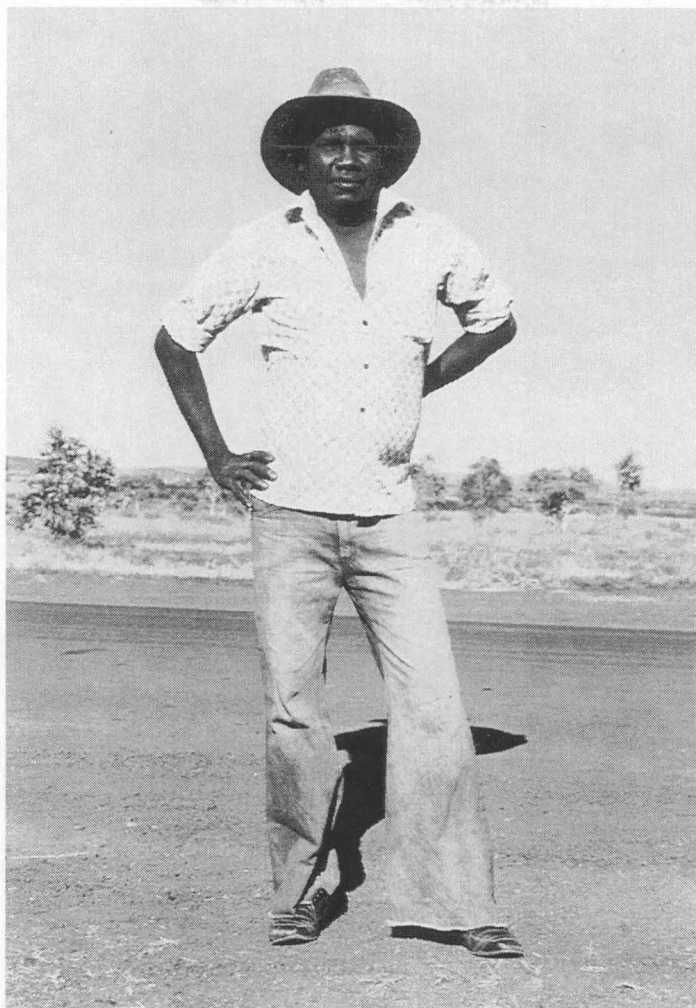
Photograph 1

Robert Moses, from Old Hall's Creek. A speaker of Wawarl dialect and the principal informant for the work. (Hall's Creek, December 1976)



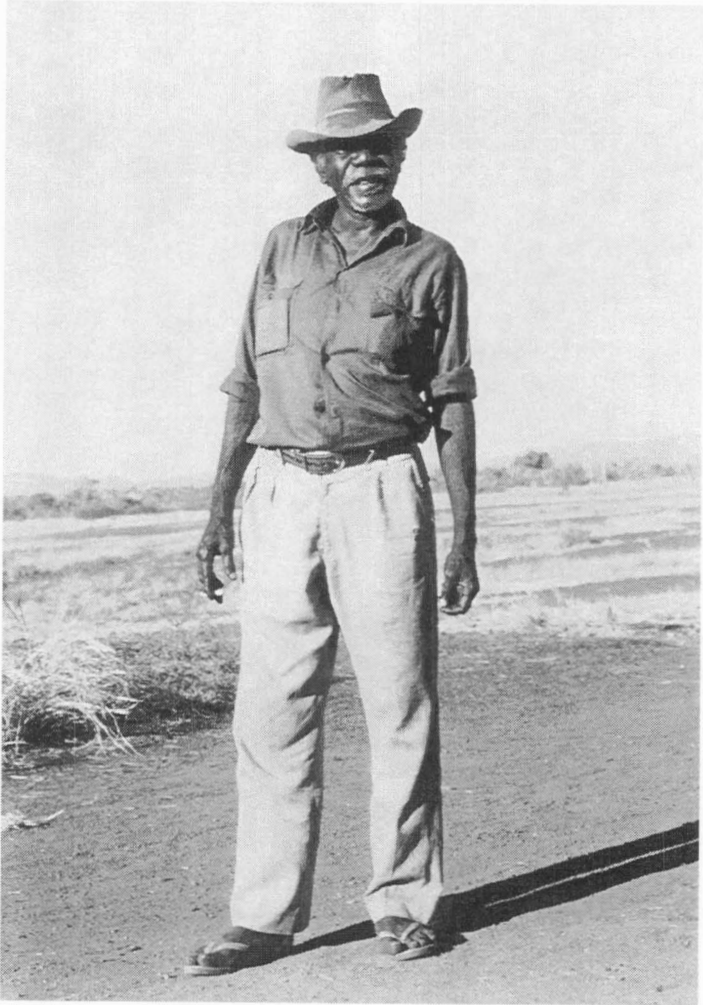
Photograph 2

Mona Green, from Sturt Creek Station. A speaker of Njininj dialect. (Hall's Creek, August 1975)



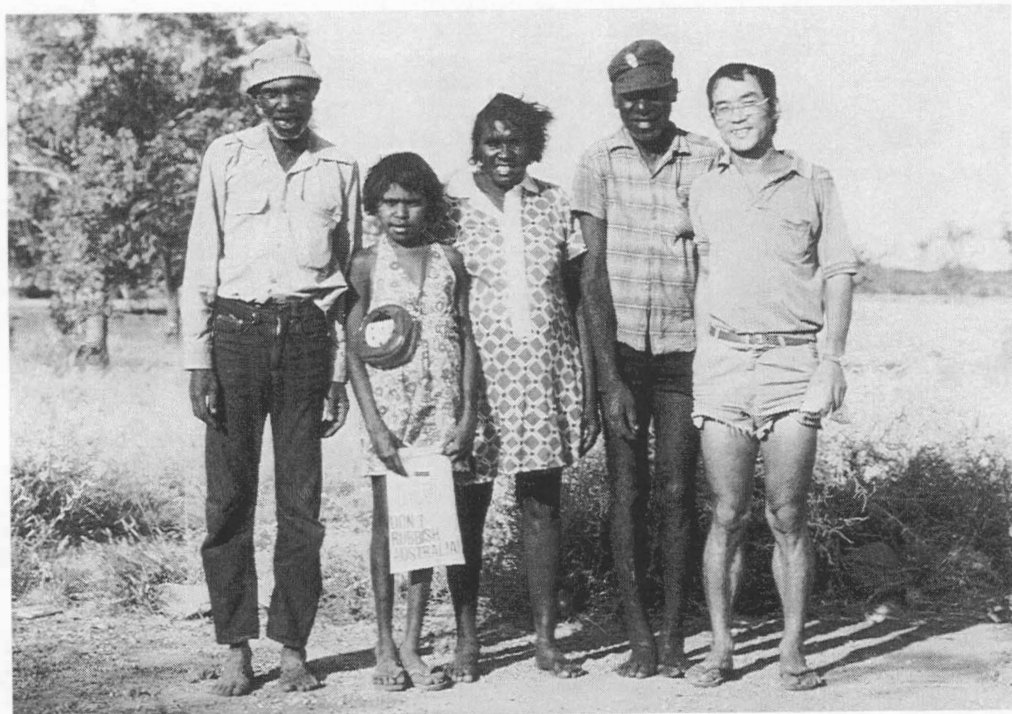
Photograph 3

Archie Singapoo from Old Flora Valley Station. A speaker of Njininj dialect. (Hall's Creek, June (?) 1975)



Photograph 4

Jack Djugajari, from Old Hall's Creek. A speaker of Wawarl dialect. (Hall's Creek, July (?) 1975)



Photograph 5

From left: Robert Moses, Kitty, Danba, General Birdwood and the writer. Danba, from Turner River Station, is Robert's wife. Kitty is Danba's sister's daughter. General Birdwood, from Gordon Downs Station, is the Njininj speaker whom K.L. Hale worked with (see 1.8.). (Hall's Creek, May (?) 1975)

CHAPTER I

THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1. Linguistic Type

Djaru belongs to the Pama-Nyungan family, which comprises the majority of Australian languages. It then belongs to a fairly homogeneous group of languages that occupy most of the central-western part of the continent; these languages are sometimes loosely called 'of the Western Desert type'. Djaru is thus a typically Australian and a typically Pama-Nyungan language. (For general surveys of Australian languages, see Capell 1956, O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966, Oates and Oates 1970, Wurm 1972, Dixon 1972 and Blake 1977.)

The Djaru phoneme inventory contains five stops and corresponding nasals (bilabial, apico-alveolar, laminal, retroflex and dorso-velar); three laterals (apico-alveolar, laminal and retroflex); two rhotics (a flap/trill and a retroflex continuant); two rhotics (a flap/trill and a retroflex continuant); two semi-vowels; and three vowels. Stop voicing, pitch and stress are phonologically nondistinctive. Words begin with a consonant or semi-vowel. Medially there are a large number of diconsonantal and triconsonantal clusters. Words can end in any phoneme except for the semi-vowels. Word-finally there are also some diconsonantal clusters. Most of the words are disyllabic or longer.

Morphological processes are almost entirely agglutinative.

Seven word classes can be set up - noun, free pronoun, adverb, preverb, verb, particle (conjunction and catalyst) and interjection. There are also pronominal clitics (referred to as bound pronouns as against free pronouns), with cross-referencing function (Bloomfield 1935:193) showing person, number and case. They are primarily suffixed to catalysts.

Free and bound pronouns distinguish three persons (first, second and third) and three numbers (singular, dual and plural). Non-singular first person pronouns have an inclusive/exclusive distinction.

Nouns generally do not distinguish number. (But, the dual form can be made, for any noun, using a derivational suffix - 6.2.1.-[19]. Some nouns have a plural form - 6.2.2.) Nouns also have no gender classes. Nor do they specify definiteness/indefiniteness (the English translations given for Djaru sentences are sometimes fairly arbitrary as regards this).

Djaru is 'split-ergative' (Silverstein 1976); while nouns and free pronouns have an absolutive-ergative declension, bound pronouns have a nominative-accusative declension. (We will refer to nouns and free pronouns by nominals - 3.1.) Syntactic organisation is partly based on the nominative-accusative pattern and partly neutral as to the ergative/accusative dichotomy. Another feature of Djaru syntax is the ergative-dative sentence pattern.

Preverbs are quite unique; semantically they are similar to verbs (expressing actions or states) but morphologically and syntactically they are similar to nouns and/or adverbs.

The number of verbs is extremely small - about forty. However, this scarcity of verbs is compensated by the existence of numerous verb complexes that consist of preverb(s) and verb. Six conjugational classes can be recognised. Class membership does not readily coincide with transitivity. There are a few irregular verbs. Verbs each have several finite forms and one non-finite form.

Modality can be expressed through endings of verbs, adverbs of modality and/or clitics.

Djaru discourse largely consists of strings of simple sentences, each with a finite verb; it often lacks such subordination or embedding which employs non-finite verbs although it can involve such subordination/embedding. A string of simple sentences, from two up to five or even more, are often joined together by a (repeated) conjunction. Bound pronouns, with their cross-referencing function, play a major role in discourse. In natural discourse, often only bound pronouns occur and nominals (i.e. nouns and/or free pronouns) do not occur at all.

1.2. DIALECTS

It proved rather difficult to investigate dialectal variations, for the traditional inhabitation of Djaru people has been disturbed since white settlement. However, dialectal variations do exist.

The result shown below was obtained by interviewing a few scores of Djaru speakers. As most of the people interviewed were born and brought up not in 'the bush' but in town or on cattle stations, these places are used to show the distribution of dialects. The following account will reflect the dialect situation of about a half century ago or probably even earlier.

The dialects can be divided into two groups:

Wawarl dialect - including Old Hall's Creek and Ruby Plains dialects;

Njininj dialect - including Turner River, Old Flora Valley, (or Nyininy) Gordon Downs and Sturt Creek dialects.

All these dialects are very similar, and the differences among them are largely lexical. Most of the dialects have over 80% common vocabulary (on the basis of Hale's 104-item list - 50 nouns, 13 adjectives, 10 adverbs, 3 interrogative words, 'this/here', 5 pronouns and 22 verbs).

TABLE 1.1.
LEXICAL COMPARISON OF DIALECTS

Ruby Plains

98	Old Hall's Creek				
77	77	Turner River			
84	82	87	Old Flora Valley		
84	87	86	92	Gorden Downs	
86	82	84	88	95	Sturt Creek

Phonologically (/phonetically), the Njininj dialect (hereafter referred to by the letter N) is the more conservative and the Wawarl dialect (hereafter referred to by the letter W) is the more divergent. Thus, in some (but not all) instances b or g in N corresponds to w in W:

N:	milba	dulbu	buga
W:	milwa	dulwu	buwa
	'eye'	'heart'	'stinking'

As another example, the sequence of bound pronouns lujanu '3PlNom-2PlAcc/Dat' is realised (regularly) as [lojano] in N, but is generally realised (irregularly) as [la:no] in W ([j] is deleted and [o] is changed into [a]). (See 4-5.2.-[4].)

As a final example, *wandiwu* - the purposive form of the intransitive verb '*fall down*' - is realised (regularly) as [wandeo] in N, but is generally realised (irregularly) as [wando:] in W. (See 3.7.2.) For more examples of the phonological/phonetic divergency of W, see 2.4.3., 3.4., 4.4.6.-[1], 4.10.1., 6.2.1., 6.2.2. and 6.3.3.

Some representative dialectal features are shown in Map 3. Isogloss 1 concerns the correspondence of b and w. Isogloss 2 concerns the two variants of the ablative case - -ŋu|u and -ŋu (see 3.2.). Isogloss 3 concerns the two variants for the bound pronoun '3rdDuAcc/Dat' - -bulajanu and -bulan (see 3.4.). Isogloss 4 concerns the two variants of the middle-voice suffix - -punu and -panu (see 4.5.10.). Isogloss 5 concerns the use of the word *ŋajingu* as against the catalyst *ŋa* (see 4.5.1.). Isogloss 6 concerns the existence of continuative present (see 3.7.2.). Isogloss 7 concerns the conjunction *guwa* and *guja* (see 4.7.). Isogloss 8 concerns the existence of the clitic -*q/jali* (see 3.13.-[8]). Note the bundle of isoglosses that run between Old Hall's Creek and Old Flora Valley. There is a clear correlation between the dialectal variations and geographical situation; this bundle of isoglosses coincides with a series of ranges - 1.4.

Old Hall's Creek and Ruby Plains dialects are sometimes called *Wawarl* /wawa|/, particularly by speakers from Gordon Downs. (*Wawa|* is the word for '*nothing else*' in these two dialects - see 4.12.-[9].) Other dialects - in particular, that of Gordon Downs - are often called *Njininj* /*pinip*/.

ɟaru is the only name of this language. (*ɟaru* is also the word for '*language, speech, word, talk*' in this language and some neighbouring 'Western Desert' languages.) Other spellings noted include Charoo, Jaroo, Charrau, Jaru, Jarauo, Jarroo, Jarrau, Jaruru, Tjaru, Tjaru, Djara, Djaro, Djäru, Dyaro and Dyaru. The *Njininj* dialect has also been spelt in various ways - Neening, Nining, Nyinin, Njinin, Njining, Njinin, Niniñ, Nyiniñ and Nyigini. This dialect is also called *punip* by some speakers. The whole *Djaru* language is sometimes called *Njininj*, after one of its dialects, by speakers of languages east of *Djaru*, for instance, *Guurindji*.

The writer has the most extensive material on Old Hall's Creek dialect of *Wawarl* dialect. The present study is basically a description of W, with references to dialectal variations. Examples are in W, but unless otherwise specified they are common to N (to the best of the writer's knowledge).

1.3. TERRITORY AND SURROUNDING LANGUAGES

The approximate extent of the traditional territory of Djaru, together with the territories of surrounding languages, is shown in Map 2. Among the surrounding languages, Gidja and Gunian do not belong to the Pama-Nyungan family, while others, like Djaru, do. Gidja and Gunian are of the '(North) Kimberley type' (Taylor, personal communication and Capell, personal communication), and both lexically and grammatically very different from Djaru. Other surrounding languages are of the 'Western Desert type', and are grammatically very similar to Djaru. Table 1.2. shows a lexical comparison of the languages of the region, on the basis of a 104-item word list.

TABLE 1.2
LEXICAL COMPARISON OF DJARU AND ITS SURROUNDING LANGUAGES

Gunian

39	Gidja						
13	11	Malngin					
23	26	65	Djaru				
14	12	69	91	Wandjira			
12	14	38	92	68	Gardangaruru		
14	10	47	66	50	37	Ngardi	
18	10	36	52	39	33	57	Walmadjari

Gidja and Gunian each have under 30% common vocabulary with Djaru; and have a very complicated verb complex, involving pronominal incorporation through prefixation as well as suffixation (this information on Gidja mainly from Taylor, personal communication). With their nouns, the same (unmarked) case is used for the three syntactic functions - 'transitive subject', 'intransitive subject' and 'transitive object', although there is an (optionally and infrequently used) ergative case. Gidja has two noun classes (Taylor, personal communication), while Gunian has none (Capell, personal communication). Both Gidja and Gunian are totally unintelligible with Djaru.

The living language most similar to Djaru is Wandjira /wɑŋdʲira/, with over 90% common vocabulary. Djaru and Wandjira have almost identical grammars, but there are some minor differences; for instance, in bound pronouns, conjugation endings and noun-stem-forming suffixes. Gardangaruru /gɑdɑŋɑɾuru/, now almost extinct, appears to be very

similar to Djaru, and both lexically and grammatically halfway between Djaru and Wandjira. (The writer obtained only 25 words in Gardangaruru from a very shy, old woman.) Both Wandjira and Gardangaruru are clearly mutually intelligible with Djaru. (They - and possibly Malngin - are similar enough to Djaru to be regarded as 'dialects' of the same 'language'. However, the data obtained on them are not sufficient to be included in the present description.)

Malngin /malŋin/ is both lexically and grammatically less similar to Djaru than is Wandjira. There are some small differences; for instance, its pronouns (at least, first person) have four numbers. Malngin is intelligible to Djaru - at least, to the speakers of eastern dialects. It is halfway between Djaru and Guurindji.

Ngardi /ŋaɖi/ and Walmadjari /walmaɖari/ also show some grammatical differences from Djaru; for instance, in bound pronouns, declension endings and conjugation endings. Perhaps due to the lower percentages of the common vocabularies they do not appear to be readily mutually intelligible with Djaru.

We have above emphasised the genetic difference between 'Western Desert' languages and '(North) Kimberley' languages. There are, however, some features that (perhaps due to diffusion) cut across this linguistic boundary, constituting some kind of Sprachbund. They include preverbs (4.10.) and -g (suffixed to nouns, indicating consequence/result - 4.4.9.-[1]).

1.4. CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The Djaru territory is a huge tract of land, some 250 km across. A series of ranges, running from northeast to southwest, divide the dialects into W and N (see Map 3). Most of the land is covered with spinifex or other grass, with shrubs or trees scattered in some places. There are two distinct seasons: rainy season and dry season.

Although Djaru people have been Europeanised to some extent, basically most of them still observe the traditional pattern of life and culture.

Various kinds of 'bush tucker' were eaten, e.g. bush oranges, bush potatoes, bush tomatoes and bush plums - some of them cooked on hot charcoals. Meat - kangaroo, goanna, emu, plain turkey, etc. - is cooked on hot charcoals or in an earth-oven. Witchetty grubs, fish and honey as well as the above mentioned foods are eaten by Djaru people whenever an opportunity arises (although they usually eat beef and bread nowadays).

Various artifacts were skilfully made, for instance, boomerangs for hunting, fighting and so on; coolamons for carrying water, babies,

food and so on; stone axes; fire drills and saws; spears. (Most of Djaru people no longer use such tools in everyday life. However, some of the Djaru people the writer met produced masterpieces.) Huts were built with sticks, branches and spinifex. (For further accounts of the material culture of Djaru and/or other tribes of the region, see Carnegie 1898:339-47, Elkin 1932:298, and Davidson 1947 and 1951.)

Some men had the status of *ṇaṇuṇaṇu* (for its etymology, see 4.9.1.), *ṇaṇuwaḍi* or *ṇaṇujaṛu* (for their etymologies, see 6.2.1.-[9] and [8], respectively) '*native doctor*' or '*medicine man*'. They had a good knowledge of the surroundings and traditions of the tribe, and a special power and influence over other members of the tribe, for instance, in punishing wrong-doers. Elkin (1930:350) describes how a Djaru man acquired the status of '*medicine man*'. (See also Bramell 1936:116).

Initiation ceremonies are held (nowadays) around Christmas time. Various corroborees are held annually. (Carnegie (1898:330-34) describes corroborees at Old Hall's Creek.) Now and then people have spontaneous, singing corroborees; they sit around the camp fire or in the bush and sing songs, clapping hands and beating music sticks.

Djaru mythology concerns travels by mythical beings; geological formations; transformation of ancestral (half-human and half-animal) beings into animals; the origin of water and social institutions; and so on. (See also Mathews 1901:219 and Elkin 1930.) Mythology is often reflected in songs.

Mythology also concerns child birth (Elkin 1932:305, 328; Kaberry 1936, 1937a:446). At least some people have two names: one given in their babyhood and the other (according to Isobel White, personal communication) given at initiation ceremonies. A word would be tabooed when someone named by this word died, and a word from one of the neighbouring languages would be borrowed to replace it (Capell 1962b:517). An instance of this replacement occurred in (New) Hall's Creek some years ago.

The ear is regarded as the seat of intelligence and memory (cf. Dixon 1972:30); the lung the source of energy and wind (as in '*a long wind*' and '*short-winded*'); the belly the seat of emotion. Thus, the Djaru expression for '*having ears*' means '*wise, sensible*', and '*without ears*' means '*not wise, not sensible*' - see 6.2.1.-[6] and [8] for examples. (See also 4.2.-[3].) Similarly, the Djaru expression '*having a good belly*' often means '*happy*', and the expression '*having a bad belly*' often means '*unhappy*', e.g. (392) in 4.11.4.

The Djaru tribe is divided into (eight) subsections (Carnegie 1898: 357-60; Mathews 1899:112, 1901:217; Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:329; Kaberry 1937a:437). Each subsection has different names for its male and female members. The actual forms of the names show slight dialectal variations. The forms in W are as follows.

Male		Female	
ɖawaɭi	(A1)	nawaɖari	(a1)
ɖaŋaɽi	(A2)	naŋaɽi	(a2)
ɖagara	(B1)	nagara	(b1)
ɖambijin	(B2)	nambijin	(b2)
ɖuwuru	(C1)	nawuru	(c1)
ɖaŋala	(C2)	naŋala	(c2)
ɖawan	(D1)	nawana	(d1)
ɖuŋura	(D2)	naŋɖili	(d2)

Following Radcliffe-Brown (1930-31:39), each subsection is labelled with a numeral and a letter - a capital letter for its male members and a small letter for its female members.

People are generally addressed and referred to by their subsection names (rather than by their personal names). The writer has been assigned to, and is called ɖawaɭi.

The subsection system is distributed in a very large area, from central to northwest Australia - see Map 1 in Radcliff-Brown 1930-31, and Berndt and Berndt 1964:50, 56. The actual forms of subsection names vary only slightly from tribe to tribe. Generally, in each tribe the term for male members and that for female members of the same subsection are almost identical, the only difference being in the first syllable; the former starts with a stop ɖ and the latter with a nasal n or ŋ, each followed by a or u (the vowel of the first syllable is generally identical with that of the second syllable). Thus, in Djaru:

ɖagara nagara; ɖaŋala naŋala

Some tribes, in particular in the centre, retain older forms of subsection names, for instance, Walbiri, Waramungga (Meggitt 1962:166) and Wanggadjunga. Thus:

Walbiri: ɖagamara nagamara; ɖabalɖari nabalɖari

Djaru : ɖagara nagara ; ɖawaɭi nawaɖari

It is obvious that these subsection names were etymologically formed by the affixation of ɖa/u- or n/na/u- to certain forms. In fact, the forms without these prefixes are found, for instance, among Aranda (Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:322):

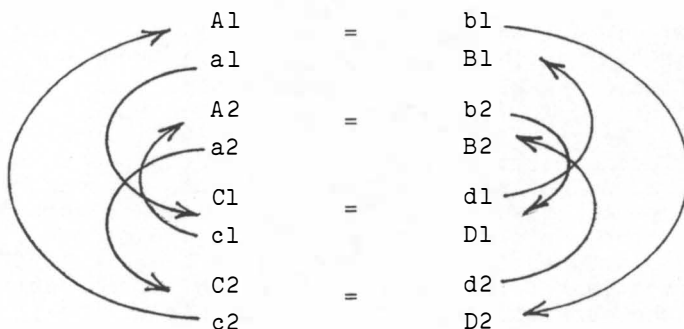
kamara /gamara/, ngala /ŋala/, paltara /balɖari/

(The subsection terms from other tribes have been (tentatively) phonemicised by the writer, taking into consideration other works such as Von Brandenstein (1970).)

Marriage is arranged according to subsection membership. Thus:

a man who is:	marries a woman who is:	and their offspring are:	
		(son)	(daughter)
A1	b1	D2	d2
C2	d2	B2	b2
A2	b2	D1	d1
C1	d1	B1	b1
B1	a1	C1	c1
D1	c1	A2	a2
B2	a2	C2	c2
D2	c2	A1	a1

or, equivalently:

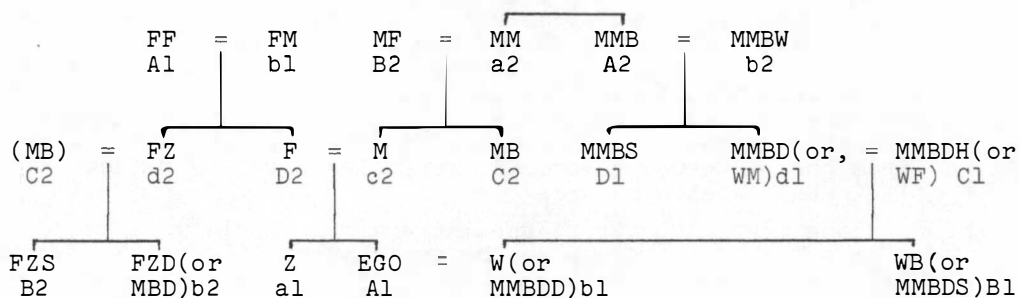


The subsections A1/a1 and B1/b1 constitute an 'intermarrying pair' of subsections; similarly, for A2/a2 and B2/b2, and so on (Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:39). Further, the eight subsections can be divided into two groups: A-B group and C-D group. (We tentatively refer to these two groups by 'intermarrying moieties'.)

On the basis of the above marriage rules, a pedigree can be drawn - here with a ḡawalj man A1 (i.e. the writer) as EGO.

DIAGRAM 1.1.

PEDIGREE (1)



The marital combinations given above are ideal or 'proper' ones; we will refer to them by 'first choice'. In case a man cannot obtain a wife from the ideal or 'proper' subsection, then he will obtain one from another subsection; we will refer to this by 'second choice'. (It is also called 'alternative marriage' (Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:330, Berndt and Berndt 1964:52), 'alternate marriage' (Kaberry 1937a:451) and 'irregular marriage' (Piddington 1970).) Similarly, for 'third choice' and fourth choice'. (But, as will be seen below, there cannot be a 'fifth choice'.) For instance, for a man A1, the first choice is b1; the second or the third is a2 or b2; and the fourth is a1.

A1's first choice b1 is the subsection to which his MMBDD (i.e. second cousin) belongs (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:329); the second-or-third choice a2 is the subsection to which his MMBSB belongs; the second-or-third choice b2 is the one to which his MBD (or FZD) (i.e. cross cousin) belongs; and the fourth choice a1 is the subsection to which his Z belongs. Generally, marriage with an actual close kin is not allowed (Carnegie 1898:359-60, Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:329). Thus, not an actual MMBDD but a classificatory MMBDD, who is genealogically and geographically distant, is (or rather, was) chosen (Elkin 1932:304-5, 307, 328; Meggitt 1962:83; Piddington 1970; Isobel White, personal communication). However, there appears to be one exception: one of the writer's informants stated that a man can marry an actual MBD if it is MB (i.e. the woman's father) who cuts the man's foreskin at his circumcision. (It appears that in Djaru, as in some other tribes (Meggitt 1962:155, Berndt and Berndt 1964:82), it is a man's prospective father-in-law who cuts the man's foreskin at his circumcision - White, personal communication).

Marriage rules can be looked at from different points of view. Firstly, one must marry within one's intramarrying moiety (A-B or C-D); one cannot marry outside it. Thus, it is very illegal for A1 to marry d1. Secondly, one must marry on one's (or on grandparents/grandchildren's) level; one cannot marry a person from an adjoining level (Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:443; the writer owes this observation to White, personal communication). Thus, A1 and d1 belong to adjoining levels.

Radcliffe-Brown (1930-31:329) considers the second choice only and not the third or fourth choice, and indicates that for A1, for instance, b2 (from MBD's subsection) is the only alternative choice in Djaru (cf. also Elkin 1932:323 and Kaberry 1937a:451). He (p.326) thus seems to be puzzled with Mathews (1901:217-18), who gives instances of two alternative choices (in fact, they are the second and third choices in our terminology). The writer's informants stated to the effect that marriage is allowed as long as it is within the same intramarrying moiety (or, equivalently, on the same generation level); an alternative choice does not have to be (from the) MBD('s subsection). Examples given by Mathews fit in this statement.

Wrong marriage, across the intramarrying moiety, appears to have been followed by severe punishment. Carnegie (1898:357) says of wrong marriage (of the Djaru people at Sturt Creek?) 'The laws are strictly adhered to, any offender against them being punished by death'.

In the case of a non-ideal marriage, a child's subsection is decided by its mother's subsection irrespective of its father's subsection (Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:330). However, it appears that in some cases the father's subsection may also determine the child's subsection (cf. Meggitt 1962:186, and also Piddington 1970). Thus, the writer met a few people (born of non-ideal marriages) who claim that they have two subsections, one from the mother and the other from the father. For a discussion of marriage rules and alternative marriages from the demographic point of view, see Yengoyan 1968 (p.198, in particular).

It is not known whether marriages were traditionally exogamous or endogamous with regard to the Djaru tribe. At least there were marriages with other tribes, particularly, around the border even in pre-white days. Marriages appear to have been patrilocal rather than matrilocal (cf. Elkin 1932:329).

The Djaru kinship system is basically of the Aranda type rather than Kariera type (Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:46, 322-24, 329). It is also of the Iroquois type (Ishida et al. 1961:135-36); (the term for) FZD and that for MBD are identical (baŋgiji) but are different from '(female) parallel cousin' (gawulu) and from Z (gawulu).

A few more features of the Djaru kinship system terminology may be mentioned; they are common in Australia (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31). Study Diagrams 1.2. and 1.3. on the following pages (p.12, 13) in this connection. (The kinship terminology for a female ego appears to differ from that for a male ego to the extent shown in the diagrams.)

(a) Some of the kinship terms are reciprocal. Thus, EGO (A1 in Diagram 1.2.) refers to FF (again A1) by gilagi; the latter refers to the former by gilagi. Similarly, male EGO and WM(dl) refer to each other by maliji; male EGO and WB(B1) reciprocally by waɖu.

(b) In most cases, brothers are grouped together, and similarly sisters are grouped together. Thus, ɳawiji can refer to F and all his brothers (FB); ɳamaji to M and all her sisters (MZ); ɖaɖa to MM and all her sisters (MMZ); maliji to WM and all her sisters (WMZ).

(c) In some cases, brothers and sisters are grouped together. Thus, ɖaɖa can refer to not only MM (and MMZ) but also MMB; maliji to WMB as well as WM (and WMZ); a female EGO (and her sisters) and her brothers can refer to her children by ɳalaji.

(There are few factors common to (b) and (c). They are 'primary meaning' (Radcliffe-Brown 1930-21:45), 'link' (Lounsbury 1964:1078), 'standing in a similar relation to' (Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:449) and 'pivot' or 'focus' (Lounsbury 1964:1075). Thus, 'primary meaning' of ɖaɖa is MM. All her sisters (MMZ) and brothers (MMB) are 'linked' with EGO through MM. That is, all MMZ and MMB 'stand in a similar relation to' EGO as does MM. Although there may be many people who are referred to by ɖaɖa, still MM is the 'focus' or 'pivotal' kin among them.)

DIAGRAM 1.2.

PEDIGREE (2) - OF KINSHIP TERMS, WITH A MALE EGO

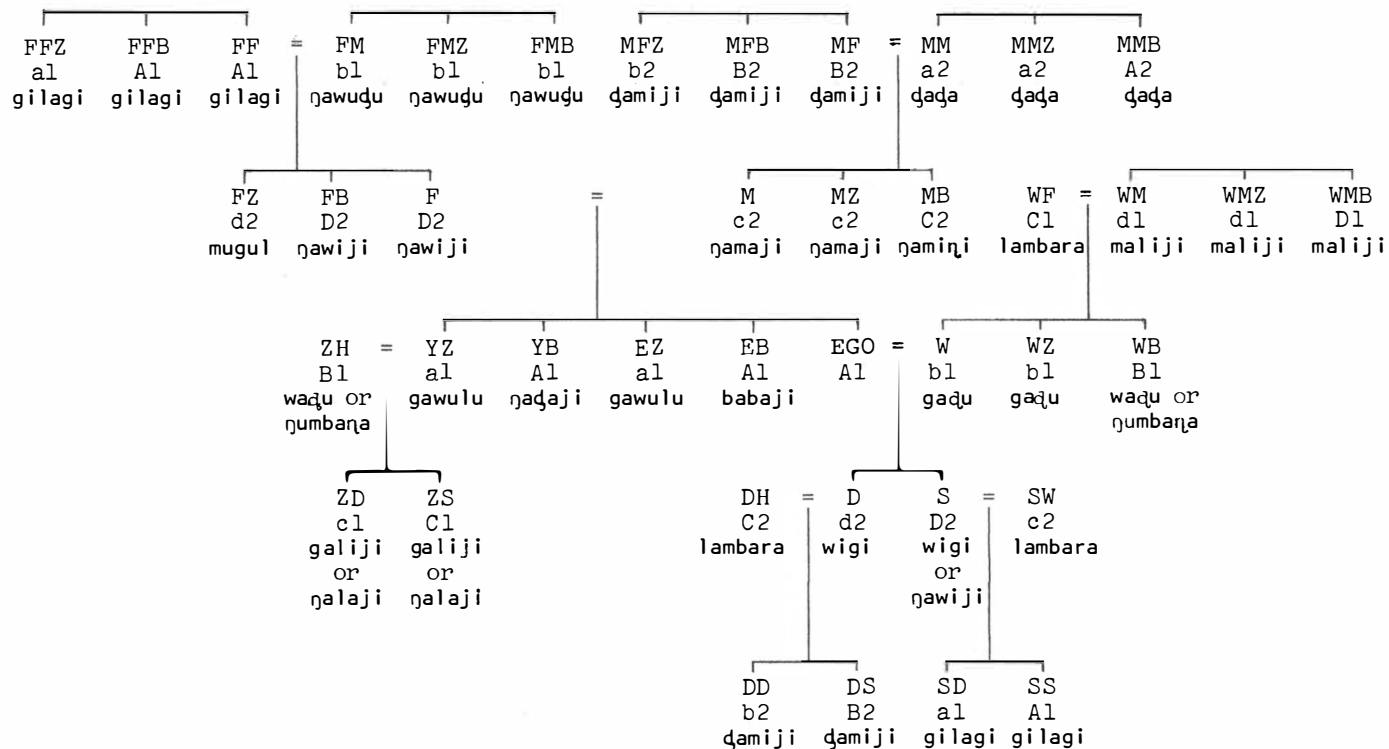
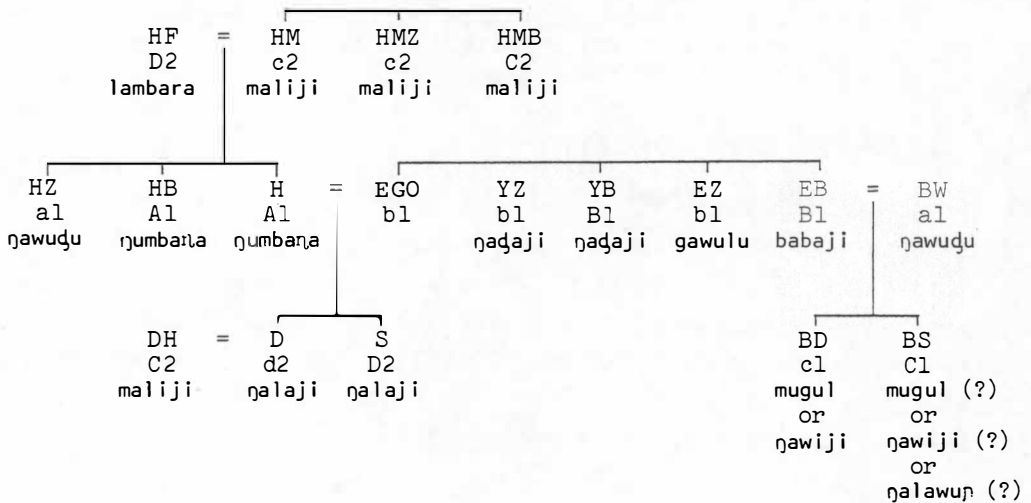


DIAGRAM 1.3.

PEDIGREE (3) - OF KINSHIP TERMS, WITH A FEMALE EGO



(d) Paternal (or patrilateral) and maternal (or matrilateral) relatives are generally distinguished. Thus, while maternal uncle (MB) is *ḡamiḡi*, paternal uncle (FB) is *ḡawiji* (the same as F). Paternal aunt (FZ) is *mugul* but maternal aunt (MZ) is *ḡamaji* (the same as M). Paternal grandfather (FF) is *ḡilagi*, but maternal grandfather (MF) is *ḡamiji*. Paternal grandmother (FM) is *ḡawudu*, but maternal grandmother (MM) is *ḡaḡa*.

(e) A kinship term has a 'classificatory' (as well as 'actual') meaning. Thus, one will refer, by the term *ḡawiji*, not only to the actual F (and FB, both of *ḡuḡura* subsection) but also to all men who are *ḡuḡura*. The latter are 'classificatory' (rather than 'actual') relatives. In this way, all the members of the tribe (and of the surrounding tribes) are related to one another, at least, as classificatory relatives. For instance, as soon as the writer was assigned to *ḡawaḷi* subsection, every Djaru person became automatically related to him as a certain classificatory relative.

Kinship system determines certain behaviours, for instance, avoidance behaviour and language (see 1.5.1.) and joking relationship. Thus, a male EGO will 'swear' at his MB, saying "*ḡuḡu-jambi*" ('*penis-big*'), and the latter will 'swear' back "*ḡuḡa-jambi*" ('*arse-big*') at the former (i.e. ZS). (For the formation of these expressions, see 6.2.3.-[1].)

There are various types of totemism in the Djaru tribe. Thus, each individual, and also each subsection have totems (animals, birds, reptiles, fish, trees, grasses, rocks and so on) - cf. Mathews 1901: 218; Radcliffe-Brown 1930-31:330; Elkin 1932:322, 330-31; and Kaberry 1938. There is no restriction on eating or using a totem (cf. Kaberry 1938:282). (Akerman (1974) gives an account of the avoidance of meat

occasioned by the death of a near relative, among west Kimberley tribes.)

The Djaru people and culture are also discussed in C. Berndt (1965) and R. Berndt (1965). Massive manuscripts by Daisy Bates (n.d.) deal with Gidja in detail but hardly touch on Djaru. Tsunoda (1975/76) briefly discusses the main points of the cultural background.

1.5. SPECIAL STYLES OF SPEECH

1.5.1. AVOIDANCE LANGUAGE

Certain relatives are in taboo relationship to each other, and avoidance behaviour, in varying degrees and of various types, is observed between them. Thus, 'avoidance language' (often called 'mother-in-law language' - Capell 1962b:518-20) is used, between the following two (and no other) types of taboo relatives. Avoidance relationship/terminology is reciprocal.

[1] Prime taboo relatives. For any EGO (male or female) the prime taboo is the maliji of the opposite sex; maliji refers to the spouse's mother (and consequently her sister(s)) and her brother(s) (see Diagrams 1.2. and 1.3.). Thus, for a male ego, his maliji are WM, WMZ and WMB. Therefore, his prime taboo, of the opposite sex, is WM, i.e. mother-in-law (cf. Elkin 1932:302, Kaberry 1937a:444, Meggitt 1962:153, and Berndt and Berndt 1964:82). For a female EGO, her maliji are HM, HMZ and HMB; her prime taboo is HMB.

Avoidance behaviour between prime taboo relatives is strict. Thus, a man (son-in-law) is not allowed to closely approach or look at, or talk to his mother-in-law (cf. Meggitt 1962:153, Berndt and Berndt 1964:132); when he talks in her presence or refers to her (while talking to someone else) he must use the avoidance language and she must use it bakc (cf. Dixon 1972:32).

[2] Secondary taboo relatives. Avoidance behaviour between secondary taboo relatives is less strict. For a male EGO, the secondary taboo relative is maliji of the same sex, i.e. his WMB (cf. Elkin 1932:328); they are allowed to talk to each other but must use the avoidance language. For a female EGO, the secondary taboo relative appears to be her HF lambara ('spouse's father'). Informants' statements do not always agree with one another but appear to indicate that, although a woman must avoid her HF to some extent, she does not have to use the avoidance language here.

It looked puzzling at first that a female EGO (for instance, bl in Diagram 1.3.) must avoid her HMB (C2). But,

this seems understandable, for her son-in-law (DH, maliji) is also C2, like her HMB (maliji). Recall that the term maliji and the associated avoidance behaviour are reciprocal.

The avoidance language is not used under other circumstances than the two given above, although there are other, less strict, types of avoidance behaviour - e.g. between a man and his sister (Kaberry 1937a:443). A man can talk to his father-in-law WF (lambara 'spouse's father') without using the avoidance language. A woman does not have to avoid her HM (maliji).

The situation is different in other tribes. Thus, Walbiri have an avoidance behaviour similar to that of Djaru, but a woman does not have to avoid her HMB (the prime taboo relative in Djaru) or HF (the secondary taboo relative in Djaru) - Meggitt 1962:157, 160. In Djirbal, the prime taboo relative is the parent-in-law of the opposite sex (and, reciprocally, a child-in-law of the opposite sex) among others - Dixon 1972:32.

For a full discussion of the Djaru avoidance language, see Chapter 5.

The writer has not so far heard 'initiation language', 'secret language' or the like (cf. Capell 1962b:515-17, 1963a:154; O'Grady 1956; and Hale 1971).

1.5.2. SIGN LANGUAGE

Various signs by fingers, sometimes accompanied by arm movements, are used. Most of them imitate basic actions (e.g. eating, copulation and spearing), animals, birds, reptiles and so on. Others are signs for questions, negation, 'man', 'woman', 'child' and so on. Sign language is used where verbal communication is not allowed or suitable, for instance, when stalking a kangaroo, or when talking to someone in the distance. The Djaru people also use lips; they protrude lips to indicate direction.

The writer made video-recording of sign language in Djaru, Wandjira, Ngardi and Wanggadzunga. For further information on sign languages in Australia, see Roth 1897:71-90 and Plates II-X; McCarthy 1963; West 1963; Miller 1971; and Judy Kegl et al. 1976. For accounts of kinesics in general, see Key 1970:25, for instance.

1.5.3. SONG LANGUAGE

The language used in songs is very different, and may not be the Djaru language.

The writer recorded a dozen or so songs, and attempted to analyse some of them. However, at least for the attempted songs, although the singers know meaning and significance of the whole songs, they do not know the meaning of each word. Some songs clearly have the same phonology as that of Djaru, and the singers can demarcate each word. Such songs are most probably in one of the Western Desert

languages if not in Djaru. Some other songs appear to have a different phonology, and the singers cannot demarcate words. Some of them, the singers say, come from Port Keats, N.T. (The languages of Port Keats region have very different phonologies from that of Djaru - Walsh 1976.) It is clear that at least some of the songs were brought to Djaru from other tribes (cf. Catherine Berndt 1965:248, 257).

The writer also recorded several other songs, which are possibly in Malngin and in Ngardi. C. Berndt (1965) and Alice Moyle (1968) made recording of songs in the region.

1.6. RECENT HISTORY OF THE TRIBE

There appear to have been at least three places where the Djaru population concentrated: balḡana (now, Old Flora Valley), balḡanabari or guwaraara (now, Sweet Water) and dalap (now, Hangman Creek). (See Map 3.)

On 23rd February 1856, the people at Sweet Water saw the first white men to enter the Djaru Territory. They were A.C. Gregory and his party, who were travelling along Sturt Creek down to Lake Gregory (Gregory and Gregory 1884:134, Feeken and Feeken 1970:152). Another explorer, A. Forrest, had a serious effect on Djaru people, although he did not actually enter their territory. (In mid 1879, he and his party skirted the northern border, travelling from Margaret River to Ord River, passing at about 15 miles north of ḡuḡuwar (now (New) Hall's Creek) - Bolton 1958:32-33, Mary Durack 1959:206, Feeken and Feeken 1970:187.) After the expedition, Forrest favourably reported on the potential of the region; namely, for gold and cattle (Bolton 1953:11, 18, 1958:37). Subsequently, in August 1885 Charles Hall and Jack Slattery found gold at ḡuḡulu (now, Old Hall's Creek), and soon the first gold rush in W.A. followed, causing the influx of several thousands of miners (*Australian Encyclopaedia*, 'Kimberley'; Kerr 1967:94; Shire of Hall's Creek, n.d.). (The local Aborigines had known the 'shining rocks' before that, but had not recognised any commercial value in them.) In the meantime, other white men were bringing cattle from eastern states to east Kimberley. The Djaru territory was then divided among cattle stations. This started with the establishment of (the first) Ord River Station in 1884, followed by Denison Downs Station (now, Sturt Creek Station) in 1887, then (Old) Flora Valley Station in 1888, and so on (Bolton 1953:29, 76, 78, 112; Mary Durack 1959:206, 360-61; Holmes 1963:138-39). For an Aboriginal account of the arrival of the first white men and cattle, see Moses, forthcoming.

There were numerous massacres of Aborigines by white men in the region. 'The Margaret River Djaru were the principle sufferers in the massacre at Hangman Creek' (Tindale 1974:240). (See also Bolton

1953:64-65, 224; Joe Nangan and Hugh Edwards 1976:9.) Consequently, the Aboriginal population in Kimberley drastically declined (see Richard Allen, n.d.). Elkin (1932:297) estimates that the population of Djaru, like those of many other tribes in the region, decreased by over 50%. Aborigines in Kimberley resisted, killing white men and spearing many cattle (*Australian Encyclopaedia*, 'Aborigines, conflict with'; Bolton 1953:46, 47, 123, 223-24, etc.; Holmes 1963:170; Kerr 1967:43). See also Idriess 1952, and Shire of West Kimberley, n.d. For an account of the history of the region in this regard, see Biskup 1973 (in particular, 20-22, 30-34).

By 1901, when Lamboo Station was set up, most of the Djaru territory had been taken up. Nowadays, no Djaru people live in the 'bush'. Many live in (New) Hall's Creek (built in the 1950s in the Gidja territory) or on cattle stations - men work as stockmen and women do domestic work on homesteads (cf. Bolton 1953:278).

Djaru people and culture have been gradually affected since white settlement. Thus, they eat beef and bread; they no longer eat traditional food daily. The avoidance language is not spoken (at least among the writer's informants). There are perhaps more instances of 'non-ideal' marriages than formerly. However, apart from these, Djaru people still now observe their traditions. (The people on stations are far more traditional than those in town.) There is also an indication that Aboriginal renaissance in Kimberley is not far - see Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority 1975, 'Elders Revive Tribal Laws'.

1.7. PRESENT SITUATION

Most of Djaru people now (as in 1976) live in (New) Hall's Creek or on stations in the Djaru territory. Some live outside the territory, for instance, on stations such as Margaret River, Moola Bulla and Kirrkimble.

Almost 200 adults, mostly over 30 years of age, have Djaru as their first language (cf. also Hudson and Richards, n.d.) and are proficient in it (although some who permanently live in town may be more fluent in English than in Djaru). Perhaps over 100 adults, mostly over 30, have Djaru as their second language or at least have hearing knowledge of it. They include Wandjira people and Malngin people, living on Nicholson Station; Ngardi people, living on Gordon Downs Station; Walmadjari people, living on Sturt Creek and Christmas Creek Stations; Gunian people, living on Margaret River Station and in (New) Hall's Creek; and Gidja people, living in (New) Hall's Creek and on Moola Bulla Station.

All the Djaru people the writer met understand English. But, many old people, in their sixties or over, would only speak Djaru, particularly among themselves. Djaru children attend the state school in Hall's Creek or the Catholic school at Balgo Mission (for the location of Balgo Mission, see Map 1). Children who are brought up on stations are learning Djaru (as well as English) and speak it fairly fluently. However, children in town have, at best, hearing knowledge only. Neither bilingual education nor adult literacy classes are conducted as yet.

1.8. PREVIOUS WORKS

N.H. Stretch (1901) collected thirteen phrases in N (around Sturt Creek?), which are published in Mathews (1901:219) and are also reproduced in Bates' (n.d.) manuscripts (XII, 2E, 8). (There was a man by the name of W.H. Stretch, who was one of the three men who established Denison Downs Station (now, Sturt Creek Station) in 1887. The connection between N.H. Stretch and W.H. Stretch is not known.) Stretch's transcription is very inaccurate - case endings are omitted, the initial /ŋ/ is not recognised, and so on - and many words are unrecognisable. Worms includes some Djaru words in his discussion of foreign words (Worms 1938) and of mythological terms (Worms 1957). Most of the Djaru words, which Worms himself collected, are either inaccurately transcribed or unrecognisable. The etymologies he proposes are rather doubtful. Thus, he (1957:755) gives a Djaru word:

ŋana-wari '*unknown*'

and says that this word is etymologically related to the roots:

ŋan-, ŋun- '*dream, power, ghost*'

However, in fact this word consists of the interrogative word ŋana '*who*' (3.3.1.) and the clitic -wari '*it is not known*' (4.13), and the whole word means '*it is not known who it is*'. There does not appear to be any connection between this word and '*dream, power, ghost*'. Gwenyth Harrison worked on Djaru around 1970. She recorded one (short and poor) text; wrote a description of phonology (on the whole very accurately transcribed) and four primers; and attempted to translate two extracts from the Bible (Harrison, n.d.-a,b,c,d). A Peile made some recording (the writer has a copy of one of the tapes), but did not attempt any analysis. Fleming and Fleming (n.d.) collected 113 words around 1973; only half of the words are recognisable.

A large number of anthropological works deal with or touch on the Djaru tribe, and most of them contain Djaru words. (These works are

cited in 1.4.) Most of the Djaru words given are readily recognisable, but are largely inaccurately transcribed. For instance, Kaberry lived in east Kimberley, mainly among Gidja, from 1935 to 1936, and produced very good anthropological work on the region, but linguistically her work is very poor. Compare four of the words she gives with the writer's (phonemic) transcriptions:

dara:gu /darugu/ 'secret' ; djangeri /dʒaŋaɹi/ 'a subsection'
 djoalyi /dʒawaɹi/ 'a subsection'; djaŋa:lin /dʒaŋalan/ 'fire'

Much the same applies to her (1937b) linguistic survey of east Kimberley. Thus, she gives a paradigm of Djaru free pronouns, but the paradigm includes many wrong words or unrecognisable words (e.g. mari is glossed '1st person plural' by Kaberry, but in fact this word is an adverb 'off, away' in N). At that time, the distinction between 'Western Desert' languages and '(North) Kimberley' languages (1.3.) was not known; Kaberry groups Djaru and Gidja together; she also says that Djaru has two noun classes (in fact, Gidja does but Djaru does not). Elkin collected some linguistic material, and this was published in Capell and Elkin 1937. Capell and Elkin's statements on Djaru are largely based on Kaberry (1937b), and are almost entirely wrong.

Schmidt (1972:19, 196, 197, 198, 335, 338) mentions the language of Ruby Creek, Kimberley (see below for its location) and gives seventeen words from it. Some of them are accurately transcribed (and easily recognisable as Djaru words). For example (the writer's phonemic transcriptions are given in parentheses):

gú dara (/guɖara/) 'two'; milwa (/milwa/) 'eye'; lira (/lira/) 'mouth'

Some other words are slightly inaccurately transcribed, and yet readily recognisable. For instance:

mali (/maɹa/) 'hand'; daba (/ɖawu/) 'fire'; nopa (/ŋaba/) 'water';
 yanga (/jaŋi/) 'one'

The rest of the words are unidentifiable as yet. Clearly, these identifiable words are in Djaru. Also, it seems almost certain that most of them are in W rather than in N (in the case of items that show dialectal variations). Thus:

given by Schmidt	W dialect	N dialect	
milwa	milwa	milba	'eye'
daba	ɖawu (or dʒaŋalan)	dʒaŋilan	'fire'
burdro	baɖu	jubaŋ	'foot'

(The material was originally collected by J. Bradshaw, at Ruby Creek, near Ruby Queen Mine, in W territory, and was reproduced in J.M. Mathew (1899), *Eaglehawk and Crow*, London-Melbourne. And, this is further quoted by Schmidt. Ruby Queen is another goldfield (see 1.6.), twenty-three kilometres south of Old Hall's Creek - Kriener, personal communication). Schmidt also attempts to allocate the 'Ruby Creek' language in his classification of Australian languages. At that time the data available on the languages in the region were very scanty, but Schmidt correctly notices, for instance, the phonotactical similarities between 'Ruby Creek' language and Gidja on the one hand (see the note at the end of 2.5.1. in the present work) and the lexical similarities between 'Ruby Creek' language and some southern languages (i.e. southern members of the 'Western Desert group') on the other.

In 1938 and 1939, Capell collected nine short texts in N; and several pages of phrases and perhaps over 300 words in W, with a fair number of Gidja words mixed - Capell, n.d.-a,b,c. Capell (1940) establishes the distinction between 'Western Desert' languages and '(North) Kimberley' languages, Djaru and Gidja being grouped separately; he also gives some examples of Djaru bound pronouns, words, and sentences. Capell (1956:68, 75; 1962a:6-7; 1963b:24; 1967:33-34; 1972:16) uses Djaru examples in his discussions of bound pronouns or free pronouns. Capell (1956:87, 88, 93, 102) gives some Djaru words. Capell's pioneering work is on the whole accurate, but it contains some minor inaccuracies or mistakes in analysis. Thus, Capell (1963b:24) gives (as Djaru free pronouns):

ɲaliara '1st person, dual, inclusive', njila '2nd person, dual'.

In fact, '1st person, dual, inclusive' is ɲali; what Capell gives is really ɲa-lijara 'catalyst-(bound pronoun) 1st person, dual, exclusive' (3.4.), and ɲila is the demonstrative word '*that/there*' (3.2.2.). Also, the Djaru verbal paradigm in Capell (1956:73) is not totally accurate. O'Grady (1959) contains a number of Djaru words, on the whole fairly accurately transcribed. But, some of the words are either unrecognisable or from other languages. Thus, walagu '*dog*' is not Djaru but Guurindji (Jones, n.d.) and Malngin.

Hale recorded a speaker of Gordon Downs dialect for about two hours (around 1960?). The material is very accurately transcribed and has helped the writer greatly, particularly, in recognising retroflex sounds. The material is also useful, as the writer has much less data on Gordon Downs dialect (than on Hall's Creek dialect).

Djaru, together with Njininj - one of its dialects - is also treated in surveys of Australian languages. Oates and Oates (1970:88-89 and the accompanying maps) treat Djaru and Njininj as if they were two separate languages (in fact, Njininj is a dialect of Djaru; speakers of the Njininj dialect say that their language is Djaru). They also mislocate Njininj. Tindale (1940:202, 209, 222) is not necessarily accurate but Tindale (1974:240 and the accompanying map) fairly closely corresponds to the result of our investigation. O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:40) and Wurm (1972:178) group together Djaru, Wandjira, Waringari and Njininj under one single language. The writer's own material indicates that while Wandjira is similar enough to Djaru to be regarded as its dialect, Ngardi is not. See 1.3.

The identity of Waringari is not known. At least, the location of Waringari in Oates and Oates (1970:map) and that of Waringari in Meggitt (1962:6) roughly correspond to that of Ngardi in Map 2 in the present work. But, phonetically Waringari is [waɻiŋari] (Hale, personal communication) and Ngardi is [ŋadi] or [ŋaɻi]. Therefore, -ngari in Waringari cannot be identified with Ngardi (Hale, personal communication). Hale says that 'Waringarri' is very close to Njininj, but that he has very little information on it (Hale, personal communication). There has been very little work done on the languages of the area that is surrounded by Guurindji on the east, by Walbiri on the southeast and by Djaru on the west (see Map 1), and languages such as Ngardi, Waringari and the almost extinct Gardangaruru (see 1.2.) belong in this area. Incidentally - and this may be irrelevant - Djaru has the word /waɻiŋari/ [waɻiŋari] 'very many' (3.1.1.).

CHAPTER 2
PHONOLOGY

2.1. PHONEMES AND THEIR PHONETIC REALISATIONS

The following twenty-one phonemes can be set up for Djaru:

TABLE 2.1.
PHONEMES
CONSONANTS AND SEMI-VOWELS

	bilabial	apico- alveolar	apico-post- alveolar	laminal	dorso- velar
stops	b	d	ɖ	ɗ	g
nasals	m	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ
laterals		l	ɭ	ɮ	
rhotics		r	ɽ		
semi-vowels				j	w

VOWELS

	front	back
high	i	u
low		a, aa

APICO-POST ALVEOLAR (=retroflex) consonants are pronounced with the tip of the tongue slightly behind the alveolar ridge, usually involving the r-colouring of the preceding vowels.

LAMINALS. Djaru has only one (rather than two) series of laminals - /ɖ, ɲ, ʎ/ (cf. Dixon 1970b and Sutton 1976. Here, we do not discuss /j/.) Their allophones are all alveo-palatal (the blade of the tongue touches the back of the lower teeth); they do not have an interdental allophone, even following /a/. However, there are two exceptions: /ɖ/ and /ʎ/. /ʎ/ is sometimes (not always) realised as interdental [ɭ]:

(a) when followed by /a/, in a couple of words, e.g.:

/ŋaɭanu/ [ŋaɭano] and [ŋaɭano] 'tongue' (N);
/buɭa/ [boɭa] and [boɭa] 'calf of leg'

(b) in the particular word /gaɭba/ [kaɭba] and [kaɭba] 'soft'.

/ɖ/ was once realised as the interdental [ɖ̪], by one speaker, in one word:

/ŋaɖu/ [ŋaɖ̪o] (generally [ŋaɖo]) '1st person singular'

BILABIALS, APICO-ALVEOLARS and DORSO-VELARS are pronounced in the usual ways as the labels indicate.

STOPS. Voicing is not phonologically significant for stops. A stop, for instance, /b/ in /ŋaba/ 'water' may be sometimes voiced [b] and sometimes voiceless [p]. However, voiceness/voicelessness, in fact, tends to be fixed for a particular stop in a particular position. Thus, /b/ in /ŋaba/ is far more frequently voiced than voiceless. As another example, in /baga/ 'splinter, spike, "bindi-eye"', /b/ is always voiced [b] and /g/ is always voiceless [k] (to the best of the writer's knowledge). The conditioning factors have proved to be very complicated and have not been worked out yet. At least, we can say that stops:

[1] are always voiceless word-finally, e.g.:

/dirib/ [derep] 'camping out'; /ŋalag/ [ŋalak] 'headache'

[2] tend to be voiceless in stop-clusters, e.g.:

/budgu/ [botko] 'warm (of room or place)';
/widbilip/ [witpiliɲ] 'man's name'

[3] tend to be voiced when following nasals (nasals are as a rule voiced), e.g.:

/gumbu/ [kombo] 'urine'; /munda/ [monda] 'belly'

That is, word-finally only voiceless allophones occur, while in other positions either voiced or voiceless allophones occur. This is reminiscent of the distribution of voiced and voiceless stop phonemes (not allophones) in Russian, Polish, Czech (Trubetzkoy 1969:235) and German. Walsh (1976: 35) notes that Murinykata of Port Keats region, N.T., has an identical distribution of voiced and voiceless stop phonemes with that in German.

Harrison (n.d.-b) gives voicing-conditioning factors for Djaru stops. The factors she gives are clearly over-simplified; as we noted above the situation is not simple. Thus, Harrison says that Djaru stops are voiceless word-initially and normally voiceless intervocalically. As an example, she gives:

/ɖaɖa/ [ɖaɖa] 'mother's mother'

However, both /ɖ/s in this particular word are (to the best of the writer's knowledge) always voiced, i.e. [ɖaɖa] but never [ɖaɖa]. Similar remarks apply to Hudson and Richards' (1969) account of Walmadjari phonetics/phonology.

Stops are as a rule unaspirated. /ɖ/ (when released) involves a fricative-like off-glide; it thus sounds very much like [dʒ] or [tʃ]. At least two stops - /b/ and /ɖ/ - have a fricative allophone (in addition to the usual stop allophones). /b/ is occasionally realised, by some speakers, as [β] intervocalically, at least in one word - /ŋabi/ [ŋaβi] (and [ŋabi]) 'father'. /ɖ/ is sometimes realised as [ʃ] word-finally, e.g.:

/wiɖ/ [wiʃ] [witʃ] 'scraping';
/ɖamarad/ [ɖamaɹaʃ] [ɖamaɹatʃ] 'type of fig'

Word-final stops are often unreleased (and consequently very difficult for non-native speakers like the writer to detect), e.g.:

/gaɖ/ [katʃ] 'O.K., you go';
/waɖ/ [wat] 'back' (adverb) (N)

NASALS and LATERALS are as a rule voiced.

RHOTICS, too, are as a rule voiced. /r/ is an (alveolar) flap or, in an exaggerated speech, a trill. It is occasionally realised, mainly by old speakers, as a frictionless continuant [ɹ]. Word-finally or preceding a voiceless allophone of a stop, it is sometimes voiceless [ɹ̥], accompanied by a slight fricative sound (cf. Hattori 1951:99), e.g.

/dagur/ [takor̥] and /dagurdagur/ [takor̥takor̥] both 'inside' (adv)
/ɹ/ is generally a (semi-)retroflex frictionless continuant [ɹ̥] (the underline indicates a retracted variety - see International Phonetic Association 1949:17). This phoneme is involved in the name of the language /ɖaɹu/. Intervocalically /ɹ/ is occasionally realised,

mainly by speakers from Sturt Creek Station, as a retroflex flap [ɾ], at least in a few words, e.g.:

/maɾa/ [maɾa] [ma_ɾa] 'thirsty'

VOWELS. Djaru has only three vowel phonemes, like many other Australian languages and some languages outside Australia; for instance, Arabic and Tagalog (Hattori 1951:165), Lak of Central Daghestan (Trubetzkoy 1969:105) and Sahaptin of North America (Chomsky and Halle 1968:378). Each vowel has a considerably wide range of phonetic realisations, which largely depend on the immediately preceding (and also, following) phonemes. Thus, /a/ varies from the front [a] (following /p/, for instance) to the back [ʌ] (following /g/, for instance); the phonetic realisations of /i/ include the close [i] and the half-close [e]; those of /u/ include the close [u] (see the comment on /u/ below) and the half-close [o]. (Elsewhere in this chapter, phonetic representations of vowels are written in a very wide notation.)

Generally, /u/ does not involve significant lip-rounding. (/u/ involves lip-rounding in some Australian languages, for example, Djirbal - Dixon 1972:38, 277).

The long vowel /aa/ is realised simply as [a:]. Between two vowels, the semi-vowels /j/ and /w/ are sometimes deleted; in fact, quite often between two /a/s. Here, phonemically we can consistently recognise /j/ and /w/, respectively. Thus:

/pajana/ [pajana] [pa:na] 'how many'
/pawa/ [pawa] [pa:] 'this'

However, in some words [a:] can not involve [j] or [w] in any way. Here, we recognise the long vowel /aa/. Thus:

/ɖaar/ *[ɖajar] *[ɖawar] [ɖa:r] 'in vain'
/gaara/ *[kajara] *[kawara] [ka:ra] '(to) east'
/maaŋ/ *[majaŋ] *[mawaŋ] [ma:ŋ] 'cloud'

(See 2.4.1. for a discussion of a problem that involves /aa/.)

SEMI-VOWELS, /j/ and /w/, are phonetically very similar to the vowels /i/ and /u/, respectively. Phonologically, however, there is a significant difference: while /i/ and /u/ occur as the nuclei of syllables, /j/ and /w/ do not. That is, the former are syllabic, but the latter are non-syllabic. Thus, compare the syllabic /i/ and non-syllabic /j/ in:

/pinan/ 'sit(s)' ; /janan/ 'go(es)'

and the syllabic /u/ and non-syllabic /w/ in:

/gula/ 'cannot' ; /wala/ 'name of a place'

Some phonologists do not set up semi-vowels /j/ and /w/ as separate from vowel phonemes, but instead say that /i/ and /u/ are used non-syllabically as well. Thus, Trubetzkoy (1969:172) says:

In standard German *i* does not occur before vowels; *j* on the other hand occurs exclusively before vowels. Accordingly *i* and *j* are here not two distinct phonemes but only combinatory variants of a single phoneme.

Similar analyses are found in Jakobson, Fant and Halle (1951:20) and Blake and Breen 1971:31. Thus, Jakobson *et al.* phonemicises the English word *wood* as /u'ud/. However, we prefer to set up semi-vowels as separate phonemes. This is in view of a criterion (used in phonemic analysis) called 'the criterion of pattern congruity' by Swadesh (1934:124) (the writer owes this reference on Swadesh to Blake, personal communication). Swadesh says:

Particular formations must be congruous with the general phonemic pattern of the given language. Thus, although Navaho *i* (occurring only after consonants) and *y* (occurring only before vowels) are in complementary distribution, they are nevertheless independent phonemes because of the fact that Navaho is generally characterised by a sharp distinction between vowel and consonant.

In Djaru, generally words do not begin with a vowel. Therefore, word-initially we prefer not to posit vowel phonemes but prefer to posit non-vowel phonemes instead; that is, semi-vowels here. For example, we prefer /janan/ to /ianan/, and /wala/ to /uala/. (Dixon (1977a:20-21) rejects Blake and others' position, and gives the reason for setting up /j/ as separate from /i/ for Yidiny.)

Phonetically, /j/ immediately preceding /i/, and /w/ immediately preceding /u/ are generally not realised. (For a discussion on this problem, see 2.4.1.)

2.2. EXAMPLES OF PHONEMIC OPPOSITIONS

In the following, phonemic oppositions are classified in terms of manners of articulation and then, in terms of points of articulation, with a few oppositions of other types added finally. For each opposition, at least one minimal or near-minimal pair of examples is given. All phonemic oppositions are manifested word-medially, but some phonemes do not occur word-initially or word-finally (see 2.5.1.).

[1] Intervocally (l) - in terms of 'manners':

(a) stops /b, d, ɖ, ɗ, g/:

ɖabaɭi	ɖaɖa	ɖaɖa	ɖaɖa	ɖagara
'a subsection' (N)	'deaf'	'spine'	'mother's mother'	'a subsection'

Three more pairs of examples of the opposition /d/ and /d̥/:

ɖudu ɖudu ; gida gid̥a ; judu juɖu
 'straight' 'dust' 'good' (W) 'old man' 'Margaret River' 'skin'

(b) nasals /m, n, ŋ, ɲ, ɳ, n/:

ŋama manan maŋan maŋan maŋan
 'mother' 'get(s)' 'talk(s)' 'sleeping' 'waving (of hand)'

Two more pairs of examples of the opposition /n/ and /n̥/:

gana gaŋa ; binga biŋga
 'digging stick' 'spear' 'creek' 'hole'

(c) laterals /l, ɭ, ɮ/:

gula guɭara guɮari
 'cannot' '(to) south' 'young boy'

Two more pairs of examples of the opposition /l/ and /l̥/:

gali gaɭi ; ɲalu ɲalu
 'sister's child' (man speaking) 'boomerang' 'shade' 'honey'

(d) rhotics /r, r̥/:

gara gaɾa ; maru maɾu
 'thus' 'salt' 'hut, humpy' 'buttocks' (N)

(e) semi-vowels /j, w/:

wajanan wawaŋan ; ɲajana ɲawana
 'become(s)' 'search(es)' (N) 'how many' 'a subsection' (W)

(Apart from the two rhotics) the writer find it very difficult to distinguish between apico-alveolar and apico-postalveolar consonants. (The two rhotics are fairly easy to distinguish.) (Unfortunately, for the struggling non-native linguist) the functional load of the opposition between the two apical series is not low. In fact, the opposition of /n/ and /n̥/ in particular, has a very high functional load; the two verbs manan 'get(s)' and maŋan 'talk(s)' (among others) are very frequently used. See also the note to 4.10.8.

[2] Intervocally (2) - in terms of 'points':

(a) bilabials /b, m/:

ɲaba ɲama
 'water' 'mother'

(b) alveolars /d, n, l, r/:

gada gana gala gara
 'leaving' (W) 'digging stick' 'Oh!' 'thus'

(c) postalveolars /d, ɳ, l, ʀ/:

gaɖag gaɳa gaɭa gaʀa
'cup' 'spear' '(in) west' 'salt'

(d) laminals /d, ɳ, ʎ, j/:

waɖaɳ waɳa waɭag wajanan
'spinifer resin' 'emu feather' 'lying on the back' 'become(s)'

(e) velars /g, ŋ, w/:

magan maɳa mawara
'in the morning' 'young girl' 'sole of foot'

[3] Word-initially (1) - in terms of 'manners':

(a) stops /b, d, ɖ, g/:

baɖa dadu ɖaɖa gaɖa
'man's name' 'straight' (N) 'mother's mother' 'desert'

(b) nasals /m, n, ɳ, ŋ/:

maran nara ɳara ŋara
'dingo' 'back (of body)' 'how' (W and northern N) 'possibly'

(c) semi-vowels /j, w/:

jala wala
'there' 'name of a place'

[4] Word-initially (2) - in terms of 'points':

(a) bilabials /b, m/:

magan baga
'in the morning' 'splinter'

(b) alveolars /d, n, l/:

darugu narugu lanu
'secret' 'namesake' 'to spear'

(c) laminals /d, ɳ, j/:

ɖawan ɳawana jawaɖa
'a subsection' 'a subsection' (W) 'horse'

(d) velars /g, ŋ, w/:

gara ŋara wara
'thus' 'possibly' 'watching out'

[5] Word-finally (1) - in terms of 'manners':

(a) stops /b, d, ɖ, ɗ, g/:

bib bid dermiɖ wiɖ jaɖig
 'picking up' 'peeping' 'crocodile' 'scraping' 'close' (adv)(N)

Another pair of examples of the opposition /d/ and /ɖ/:

baɖ baɗ
 'touching' 'flying'

(b) nasals /m, n, ŋ, ɲ, ŋ/:

ɲamɲam maɲan / ɖawan ɖawan ɖalan ɖalajalan
 'whispering' 'sleeping'/'a subsection' 'awake' 'tongue' 'new'

(c) laterals /l, ɭ, ʎ/:

mugul guɭ wuɭuɭ
 'father's sister' 'trying' 'secretly' (N)

[6] Word-finally (2) - in terms of 'points':

(a) bilabials /b, m/:

ɲamɲam ɖarab
 'whispering' 'sitting and leaning back with legs crossed'

(b) alveolars /d, n, l, r/:

gud gungun mugul dagur
 'grabbing' 'cooking in earth-oven' 'father's sister' 'inside'

(c) postalveolars /ɖ, ɲ, ɭ, ʎ/:

waɖ ɖawan wawaɭ waɭ
 'back' (adv)(N) 'awake' 'nothing' (W) 'thinking'

(d) laminals /ɖ, ɲ, ʎ/:

giɖ giɲgiɲ giɭgiɭ
 'lifting' 'type of black bird' 'cold (of water)' (N)

(e) velars /g, ŋ/:

jaɖig waɖiŋ
 'close' (adv)(N) 'collar bone' (Turner River dialect of N)

[7] Others:

(a) short vowels /i, a, u/ (1) - word-medially:

gid gad gud
 'being stuck' 'leaving' (W) 'grabbing'

(b) short vowels (2) - word-finally:

gala gali galu
'Oh!' 'sister's child' (man speaking) '(not) yet'

(c) /a/ and /aa/:

janan jaanan ; gara gaara ; ɲa ɲaa
'go(es)' 'put(s)' 'thus' '(to) east' 'catalyst' (3.4.) 'yes'

(d) /l, r, ɾ/:

gala gara gaɾa
'Oh!' 'thus' 'salt'

The opposition of /a/ and /aa/ has only a low functional load; there are not many words that involve the long vowel /aa/. In fact, it might be the case that Djaru does not favour the long vowel; for instance, there is an example of the reduction of the long vowel /aa/ into the short /a/. One of the subsections (1.4.) has (synchronically) two alternative names - ɖaɲaɾi and ɖaaɲaɾi. (These terms are clearly related, through intermediate stages such as *ɖawaɲaɾi, to the Walbiri term ɖabaɲaɾi (cf. Hale 1973a: 308).) Of the two Djaru terms, clearly ɖaaɲaɾi is the older; the new term ɖaɲaɾi has been derived by the reduction of /aa/ into /a/. (See also 2.6.-[2].)

2.3. ALTERNATION BETWEEN TWO PHONEMES

There are just a handful of instances of alternation (some of which occur even within the same idiolect) between two phonemes.

(a) /ɾ/ and /ɖ/:

gaɾu (W only?) gaɖu (all dialects) 'wife';
ɲaɾi ɲaɖi 'a language';
gaɾija (W only?) gaɖija (all dialects) 'white man'

Clearly the form with /ɖ/ is the older in each pair; /ɖ/ has changed into /ɾ/.

(b) /ɖ/ and /ɲ/:

gambiɖ (N only?) gambiɲ 'egg';
baɲɖaɖ baɲɖaɲ 'old woman'

There is some indication that here the forms with /ɲ/ might be the older: a noun-stem-forming suffix ending in /ɖ/ shows a morphophonological alternation /ɖ/ ~ /ɲ/, and the variant ending in /ɲ/ can be regarded as the underlying forms - see 6.2.1.-[11].

(c) /d/ and /n/:

ɖambijid (N only?) ɖambijin 'a subsection'

It might be the case there there is also an alternation of /n/ and /ŋ/, for instance, root-finally in verbs of class 1 - see 3.7.2. (In Walbiri there is a similar alternation of /n/ and /ŋ/ in some verbs - Hale, n.d.-a:4, 6). But, the writer is not certain about this point (he finds it very difficult to distinguish between /n/ and /ŋ/.)

In Japanese, alternation between stops and corresponding nasals is not uncommon, for instance, *sabisii* and *samisii* 'be lonely'.

2.4. PROBLEMS IN PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

2.4.1. SEMI-VOWELS, LONG VOWELS AND SYLLABLE STRUCTURES

Positing the semi-vowel /j/ or /w/ is problematic in certain positions - namely, /j/ preceding /i/ (i.e. /ji/) and /w/ preceding /u/ (i.e. /wu/). This problem will be discussed here; this also involves a discussion of long vowels and syllable structures. The analysis adopted for the present description and two possible alternative analyses are discussed and compared.

[1] The analysis adopted for the present description - Analysis-A.

There are many words in Djaru which begin with the (phonetic) vowel [o]. Here, although phonetically there is no [w] sound, phonologically we have decided to set up /w/. Thus:

[oɪp] /wɪp/ 'jumping'; [ojar] /wujar/ 'little bush'

That is, we have set up a phonetically zero (semi-vowel) phoneme here. The reasons for this are as follows. The writer has found that at least in a few words the word initial [o] is (though very infrequently) also realised as [wo], involving [w]. It is fully justified to posit /w/ for such words, for instance:

[orkaɪ] [workaɪ] /wurgal/ 'green grass'
[oŋa] [woŋa] /wuŋa/ 'away'

On the basis of such words, /w/ could be set up for the words that begin not with [wo] but with [o] (their word-initial [o] might turn out to alternate with [wo]). Now, recall the 'criterion of pattern congruity' discussed in 2.1. Recall also that most of Djaru words do not begin with a vowel; they begin with a consonant or semi-vowel. If we posit a word-initial /w/ for words such as [oɪp] and [ojar], they can be fitted into this canonical syllable pattern.

Similarly for the medial and final [o]. On the basis of the fact that at least in a few words the medial or final [o] alternates with [wo] (though very infrequently), for instance:

[kaon]	[kawon]	/guwun/	'ashes'
[ɖao]	[ɖawo]	/gawu/	'fire' (W)

/w/ could be set up for words such as:

[maon]	--	/mawun/	'man'
[ŋao]	--	/ŋawu/	'bad' (N)

Again, similarly for the long vowel [o:]:

[ɖo:ro]	[ɖoworo]	/ɖuwuru/	'a subsection'
[do:r]	--	/duwur/	'collecting'

In the case of /ji/, the writer has never heard [ji]. But, at least in a few words the initial [i] alternates with [i:] (though very infrequently). This lengthening of the vowel could be taken as a realisation of /j/.

[ipa]	[i:pa]	/jipa/	'gave'
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On the basis of this, an initial /j/ could be set up for other words, with no lengthening of [i], for instance:

[igi]	--	/jigi/	'tea leaf'
-------	----	--------	------------

(The initial [i] might turn out to alternate with the long [i:]).

Similarly for the medial and final [i] and the long [i:], for instance:

[wai]	[wai:]	/waji/	'How is it?' (N)
[waeni]	--	/wajini/	'similar'
[ɖi:ka]	--	/ɖijiga/	'bird'

This analysis has at least one difficulty: in many cases, /j/ and /w/ are posited where there is no such sound; that is, in this respect this analysis lacks phonetic justification (there is no guarantee that [o] in [ojar], for instance, will turn out to alternate with [wo]).

[2] The first alternative analysis - Analysis-B

In this analysis, unless it is ever realised phonetically (however infrequently it may be) we never set up any phonetically zero semi-vowel. At the same time, we appreciate the fact that most Djaru words do not begin with a vowel. Here, we set up a zero consonant /'/ where we set up a phonetically zero semi-vowel in Analysis-A. Thus:

[o!p]	--	/'ulb/	'jumping'
[orkal]	[workal]	/wurgal/	'green grass'
[maon]	--	/ma'un/	'man'
[kaon]	[kawon]	/gawun/	'ashes'
[do:r]	--	/du'ur/	'collecting'
[ɖo:ro]	[ɖoworo]	/ɖuwuru/	'a subsection'

Similarly for [i] and [i:]:

[igi]	--	/'igi/	'tea leaf'
[iɲa]	[i:ɲa]	/jɲa/	'gave'
[waeni]	--	/wa'ini/	'similar'
[wai]	[wai:]	/waji/	'How is it?' (N)
[ɟi:ka]	--	/ɟi'iga/	'bird'

This analysis has two advantages, in the treatment of the long vowel [a:], over Analysis-A (and also over Analysis-C discussed below). Whereas Analysis-A (and also Analysis-C) has to recognise a long vowel phoneme /aa/, in Analysis-B we can decompose it into two separate vowels, using the zero consonant. Thus:

	Analysis-A	Analysis-B	
[ja:nan]	/jaanan/	/ja'anan/	'put(s)'
[ka:ra]	/gaara/	/ga'ara/	'(to) east'

That is, in Analysis-B we do not have to recognise a long vowel /aa/.

Analysis-B has another advantage. The long vowel under consideration is phonologically disyllabic; for instance, for the ergative case, the pronoun [ɲora:] '2P1' takes -lu (the allomorph for vowel-final trisyllabic or longer stems) rather than -ŋgu (the allomorph for vowel-final disyllabic stems) - see 2.6., 3.2., and 3.3. But, the disyllabicity of this long vowel is not clearly shown in Analysis-A (nor in Analysis-C), whereas it is clearly shown - as VCV - in Analysis-B. Thus:

	Analysis-A	Analysis-B	
[ɲora:]	/ɲuraa/	/ɲura'a/	'2P1'

However, Analysis-B has two difficulties. Firstly, the writer does not know where to allocate the zero consonant in the Djaru phonemic system. Secondly, the use of zero consonant slightly complicates morphophonology. Thus:

	Analysis-A	Analysis-B			
[wɲa]	[oŋan]	/wɲa/	/wuŋan/	/wɲa/	/'uŋan/
'past'	'present'				

(For the meaning of this verb, see 4.10.1. and 4.10.5.) Here, under Analysis-B we would have to recognise an alternation of /w/ and /'/, but under Analysis-A we do not have to recognise an alternation; we simply have one phoneme /w/.

The notion of zero phoneme was recognised by Jakobson as early as 1939 (see Jakobson 1939, 1940; and Jakobson, Fant and Halle 1951:39). It was improved and developed fully by Hattori (1951, 1955, 1961, 1967:544, for instance).

[3] The second alternative analysis - Analysis-C.

This analysis is identical with Analysis-A in the treatment of the short [i] and [u] (i.e. /ji/ and /wu/ each with a phonetically zero semi-vowel). But it differs from Analysis-A in that it sets up three long vowel phonemes /ii, aa, uu/, whereas Analysis-A sets up only one long vowel /aa/. The three proposed analyses can be compared:

		Analysis-A	Analysis-B	Analysis-C
long vowels		one	none	three
phonetically zero /j, w/		yes	no	yes
zero consonant		no	yes	no
[olp]	--	/wulb/	/'ulb/	/wulb/
[orkal]	[workal]	/wurgal/	/wurgal/	/wurgal/
[do:r]	--	/duwur/	/du'ur/	/duur/ or /duwur/
[ɔo:ro]	[ɔoworo]	/ɔuwuru/	/ɔuwuru/	/ɔuwuru/
[igi]	--	/jigi/	/'igi/	/jigi/
[ina]	[i:na]	/jina/	/jina/	/jina/
[ɔi:ka]	--	/ɔijiga/	/ɔi'iga/	/ɔiiga/ or /ɔijiga/
[wipa]		/wipa/	/wipa/	/wipa/
[oŋan]	--	/wuŋan/	/'uŋan/	/wuŋan/
[pora:]		/puraa/	/pura'a/	/puraa/

Analysis-C is essentially identical with the analysis given by Hudson (1978) for Walmadjari, immediately southwest of Djaru, and by Hale (1973a) for Walbiri, southeast of Djaru. (From what the writer has observed, Walmadjari and Djaru appear to have identical phonetics.) However, it is unsuitable for Djaru. Firstly, in Djaru it is not clear if /ii/ and /iji/, for instance, are in opposition, and we cannot decide whether [ɔi:ka] is /ɔiiga/ or /ɔijiga/. That is, in the writer's present knowledge of Djaru, this analysis is unworkable for Djaru. Secondly, since we have already set up phonetically zero semi-vowels elsewhere in this analysis, /ii/ and /uu/ can be replaced by /iji/ and /uwu/, respectively. (But /aa/ cannot be replaced by /aja/ or /awa/ - see 2.1.) We do not have to set up extra two long vowels /ii, uu/; this analysis is thus uneconomical. For these two reasons, Analysis-C has to be rejected for Djaru.

Since Analysis-C has been rejected, choice has to be made between Analysis-A and Analysis-B. In terms of economy they are equal; they

employ the same number of phonemes. But, we choose the former on the grounds that the zero consonant, in the latter, cannot be suitably allocated anywhere in the Djaru phonemic system. (It should be noted, however, that positing phonetically zero semi-vowels or zero consonant is problematic in Djaru whatever analysis is chosen.)

2.4.2. GLOTTAL CATCH

A glottal catch is found at least in two words, in some W speakers (other speakers use the forms without a glottal catch); in each case, the glottal catch immediately precedes a stop.

[ko'do_o] [ko'd_o] 'nullanulla'; [bor'k] 'immersing'

Its phonemic status is not clear, but the main informant (from Old Town Hall's Creek, W dialect) insisted that the writer should pronounce a glottal catch in these two words and did not accept any pronunciation of them without a glottal catch.

2.4.3. 'VOWEL-LIKE' NATURE OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

Five of the noun-stem-forming suffixes involve the suffix-initial alternation of g (following a consonant) and w (following a vowel). In W, however, on many occasions the w-allomorphs are used following a liquid (/l/ or /r/) or even a nasal (/n/) (but not a stop). (See 6.2.1.) Similarly for the 'predicative' suffixes - 4.4.9.-[1].

It is worth recalling here that liquids and nasals are, like vowels (but unlike stops), sonorant; and that, in particular, liquids are vocalic, like vowels - Chomsky and Halle 1968:302-03.

The endings of the dative-1 and -2 (3.2.) and purposive and hortative (3.7.2.) each have the same alternation of g and w. But with these endings, w-allomorphs are used following a vowel only and never following a consonant. See also 2.8.-[1] and [2].

2.5. PHONOTACTICS

2.5.1. POSSIBILITIES AT STRUCTURAL POSITIONS

[1] Word-initial positions

A word can begin with any consonant or semi-vowel except for /ɺ, r/, i.e. /b, d, (d), ɖ, g, m, n, (ŋ), ɾ, ɟ, l, (l), ɽ, j, w/. Phonologically, a word does not begin with a vowel. (However, there are exceptions: in mother-baby-talk (cf. Sussex 1976) a word can begin with a vowel (/a/) - see 2.5.2.) Phonetically, postalveolars [ɖ, ɽ] (and presumably [ŋ]) as well as alveolars [d, n, l] occur word-initially,

the latter being far more frequent than the former. But, they are not in opposition; here, their opposition is neutralised. (This is an example of the type of neutralisation which Trubetzkoy (1969:235) calls 'centrifugal neutralization'. Thus, we have:

[tot] [tot] 'breaking off' ; [lowanan] [lowanan] 'shoot(s)'

In the following orthography, these neutralised apical consonants will be written in the symbols for the alveolar series (rather than in the symbols for the postalveolar series), since the alveolar series occurs far more frequently.

[2] Word-final positions

A word can end in any consonant or vowel; i.e. /b, d, ɖ, ɗ, g, m, n, ŋ, ɲ, ɳ, l, ɭ, r, ʀ, i, a, u/; no word can end in a semi-vowel.

Under the present analysis of Djaru phonology, a semi-vowel has to be followed by a vowel. Therefore,

- (a) no semi-vowel can occur word-finally;
- (b) no semi-vowel can be followed by a consonant (or another semi-vowel).

There are words that end in [i] or [o], but they are interpreted as ending in /ji/ and /wu/, rather than /j/ and /w/, respectively. For instance, W has the adverb [paɖai] 'up'. This corresponds to the N [paɖatɕ] /baɖaɖ/, and one might expect the former's phonemic representation to be /baɖaj/. However, we interpret it as /baɖaji/. The reason for this is as follows. The dative ending is -gu following a consonant and -wu following a vowel (see 3.2.), and [paɖai] takes -wu rather than -gu. It must be then ending in a vowel. For a further discussion of point (b), see below.

It may be possible to regard the W word 'up' as /baɖaj/ (rather than /baɖaji/) and its dative as /baɖaj-wu/ (rather than /baɖaji-wu/). This is because some of the stem-forming suffixes have the g ~ w alternation, and in W, in many examples, the w-variants are used following consonants (l, r or n) as well as vowels (see 2.4.3.). It thus may be possible to say that, in the case of the dative too, the w-ending can follow a non-vowel, i.e. j (perhaps in this particular example only).

[3] Intramorphemic clusters (1) - medially:

db	dg	dm	dn		dɾ	dw
ɖb	ɖg			ɖŋ		
					mr	
nb	nɖ	ng	nm		nŋ	
ɳb	ɳɖ	ɳg			ɳŋ	
ɲb			ɲm			
			ŋm	ŋɲ	ŋŋ	
lb	lɖ	lg	lm	lɲ	lŋ	lw
ɭb	ɭɖ	ɭg	ɭm			ɭw
ɮb	ɮɖ	ɮg			ɮŋ	
rb	rɖ	rg	rm		rŋ	rw
	ɾɖ					

and homorganic clusters:

mb nd nɖ ɲɖ ŋg

At least in one pair of words /nɖ/ and /ɲɖ/ appear to be in opposition:

/wandɪ/ 'alive' ; /gandɪ/ 'upper leg'

It is difficult and perhaps not meaningful at this stage to attempt a generalisation about clusters (it is likely, for instance, that there may be many clusters which the writer has failed to recognise). At least we can say about medial intramorphemic clusters that:

- a cluster cannot contain more than two phonemes (i.e. there are no three member clusters);
- generally, clusters whose members have the same or similar manner(s) of articulation are uncommon (cf. (c), (d) and (e));
- double consonants are very uncommon - /ŋŋ/ is the only instance;
- a cluster cannot contain more than one liquid /l, ɭ, ɮ, r, ɾ/; a liquid, when it occurs, tends to be the first member;
- a cluster cannot contain more than one semi-vowel (as it happens, in the examples found, only /w/, but not /j/, occurs here); a semi-vowel, when it occurs, has to be the second member.

This is because, as we noted above, a semi-vowel has to be followed by a vowel. This, [kaɪba] 'soft', which has a doublet [kaɭba] /gaɭba/ in Djaru, is not interpreted as /gajba/, involving a cluster /jb/. Rather, it is interpreted as /gajiba/, with /i/ intervening between /j/ and /b/. (However, Hale (personal communication) points out that its ergative and locative forms are -ŋgu and -ŋga, respectively - the endings for disyllabic stems - rather than -lu and -la (the endings for trisyllabic or longer stems, see 3.2. for details), and he suggests that either the word is /gaɭba/ all the time, with a rule for the alternative pronunciation or /gajba/ in W. In this analysis, we would have an unusual cluster /jb/.

(f) nasal-plus-liquid clusters are extremely uncommon - /mr/ is the only instance (in fact, nasal-plus-lateral clusters appear to be impossible - see below).

The following clusters each have only one example - /dm, dn, dw, dɣ, ɳd, ɳŋ, ɳm, ɳn, ɳŋ, ɳŋ, ɳg, ɳŋ, ɳb, ɳb, ɳd/.

[4] Intramorphemic clusters (2) - finally:

The majority of Djaru morphemes end in a single consonant or vowel. But a number of morphemes end in a diconsonantal cluster:

ɳb ɳg ɳg ɳb ɳg ɳŋ

e.g. wulb 'jumping' (prev); burg 'immersing' (prev);

wilg 'belting' (prev); dɳrb '(onomatopoeia) type of bird';

duburŋ 'hot, humid'

(Another final cluster /ɳg/ is found in Malngin, immediately northeast of Djaru.) In every cluster, the first member is a liquid, while the second member is a stop /b/ or /g/, or a nasal /ŋ/. Most of the morphemes ending in a cluster are preverbs (see 4.10.), although there are a few others, for instance, the suffix -dɳarg 'across water(?)' for adverbs (6.3.1.).

[5] Intermorphemic clusters (1) - bi-phonemic:

bb	bd			bg					bl	bj	bw
db	dd		dɳ	dɳ	dm	dn	dŋ				dw
		dɳ	dɳ	dɳ			dŋ				
ɳb		ɳd	ɳg	ɳm	ɳn	ɳŋ	ɳŋ				
gb		gd	gg	gm	gn	gŋ		gl			gw
mb	md		mg		mn	mŋ					
nb	nd		nd	ng	nm	nn	nn				nw
ɳb	ɳd	ɳd	ɳd	ɳg							ɳw
ɳb		ɳd	ɳg	ɳm	ɳn	ɳŋ		ɳl			ɳw
ŋb		ŋd	ŋg	ŋm	ŋn	ŋŋ	ŋr	ŋr			
ɳb	ɳd	ɳd	ɳg		ɳn	ɳŋ		ɳl	ɳj		ɳw
			ɳg	ɳm		ɳŋ					ɳw
rb	rd	rd	rg	rm	rn	rn	rn	rl	rj		rw

(Homorganic clusters are included in the above table.)

Intermorphemic clusters have a much wider range of possibilities than intramorphemic clusters. As we noted above, in the case of the latter, generally clusters whose members have the same or similar manner(s) of articulation are uncommon. However, this does not

necessarily apply to intermorphemic clusters; clusters consisting of two stops are common, so are double consonants, and so on. (Phonetically, double consonants are often reduced to single consonants. See 3.2. for instance.) However, the statements in [3] still apply to semi-vowels here, exactly as rigidly as in the case of intramorphemic clusters, and to liquids, slightly less rigidly:

- (a) a cluster cannot contain more than one semi-vowel; a semi-vowel, when it occurs, has to be the second member;
- (b) generally, a cluster does not contain more than one liquid (in intramorphemic clusters there is no sequence of two liquids); a liquid, when it occurs, tends to be the first member.

Also, the remark on the nasal-plus-liquid clusters applies here:

- (c) nasal-plus-liquid clusters are uncommon (in fact, nasal-plus-lateral clusters appear to be impossible. For instance, at a certain morpheme boundary, /gu/ has to be inserted between /n/ and /l/ - see 4.5.2.-[3]. This avoidance of the cluster /nl/ appears to be common in some other Australian languages; for example, Djirbal (Dixon 1972:286) and Warungu of North Queensland.)

In this position, the writer has found no clusters involving /l/ although they would be expected. Examples might be found when the corpus is sufficiently expanded (or rather, if the writer's phonetic observation becomes accurate enough).

[6] Intermorphemic clusters (2) - tri-phonemic:

lbg lbw lgb [bg rbɟ rbg

(Another cluster /rbŋ/ is found in Wandjira, immediately east of Djaru.)

A tri-phonemic cluster consists of a final (bi-phonemic) intramorphemic cluster and another phoneme. Thus:

burb-gara	;	wulb-wulb
'fleeing'-derivational affix (6.3.1.-[5])		'jumping'-REDUP

Therefore, the restriction on the first two members is identical with that on the final intramorphemic clusters.

Most of the intermorphemic clusters are word-medial. However, there is an example of (very unusual) word-final intermorphemic cluster - ɟuwal-g 'long-g' (see 4.4.9.-[1]).

Among the 'Western Desert' languages, Djaru and other northern members have much greater phonotactic possibilities than southern members. Thus, in southern members such as Pitjantjatjara (Douglas 1955, and Glass and Hackett 1970), Gugada (Platt 1972) and Walbiri (Capell 1962a:18):

- (a) stops (and sometimes some other consonants as well) do not occur word-finally;

- (b) there are no consonant clusters word-finally;
 (c) consonant clusters are far fewer than in Djaru.

In that they have a wide range of phonotactic possibilities, these northern members are more similar to the (non-Pama-Nyungan) languages to the north(-west) - for instance, Gidja (Taylor 1971) and the languages of Daly River region (Tryon 1970) - than to these southern members. It seems likely that these non-Pama-Nyungan languages influenced these northern members of the 'Western Desert' group.

2.5.2. STATISTICS

In 222 words (hereafter, simply 'by dictionary count') - which include Hale's 104 and Dixon's 221 basic words - frequency of occurrence of vowels in the first syllables is:

a 0.52 i 0.16 u 0.31 aa 0.01

By text count (in a text fragment consisting of 222 words), the figures for the vowels in the first syllables are:

a 0.68 i 0.19 u 0.11 aa 0.02

By dictionary count, frequency of various phonemes in word-initial and -final positions is as follows:

	Word-initial		Word-final		
b	0.14	}	0.00	}	
d	0.03		0.01		
ɖ	--		0.00		0.02
ɗ	0.10		0.01		
g	0.24		--		
m	0.12	}	--	}	
n	0.01		0.12		
ɳ	--		0.02		0.20
ɲ	0.04		0.05		
ŋ	0.08		0.01		
l	0.05	}	0.01	}	
ɭ	--		0.00		
ɮ	--		0.00		0.07
r	--		0.06		
ɽ	0.01		--		
j	0.09	}	--	}	
w	0.09		--		
a	--	}	0.31	}	
i	--		0.19		0.68
u	--		0.18		
aa	--		--		
lb	--		0.00		

(For the above statistics, verbs are used in their present tense forms, ending in -an (3.7.2.) and other words are used in their unmarked forms, with no case endings.)

Similarly, by text count:

Word-initial			Word-final	
b	0.10	}	0.00	}
d	0.01		--	
ɖ	--		--	
ɗ	0.06		--	
g	0.09	}	0.01	}
m	0.14		--	
n	--		0.05	
ɳ	--		--	
ɲ	0.06	}	--	}
ŋ	0.24		--	
l	--		--	
ɭ	--		--	
ɮ	--	}	0.01	}
r	--		--	
ɽ	0.00		--	
j	0.14		--	
w	0.14	}	--	}
a	--		0.27	
i	--		0.22	
u	--		0.43	
aa	--		--	

Either by dictionary count or by text count, word-initially both stops and nasals are common. But, among them, the alveolars /n, d/ are not very common; nor is another alveolar /l/. Also, another nasal /ɲ/ and the rhotic /ɽ/ are uncommon.

Word-finally, vowels are the commonest. The peripheral consonants /b, g, m, ŋ/ are rare. So are the liquids, except for /r/. Stops are not very common, but there are a fair number of words that end in a stop; most of them are preverbs (many examples are given in 4.10.-4.10.8.) although there are some nouns and adverbs ending in a stop. Word-final stops are often unreleased (2.1.) and are difficult (for the writer) to distinguish from one another. But this may not be a serious problem, since the functional load of the opposition of final stops is very low.

Among the vowels, generally /a/ is the commonest. This is understandable, since /a/ is the least marked vowel (cf. Chomsky and Halle 1968:409).

One of the features of Djaru phonology (and perhaps Australian phonology in general) is the prolificity of nasals. In particular, Djaru texts are abundant in nasals (see the texts given below); 44% of the words begin with a nasal - the extremely frequent use of the catalyst *ŋa* (3.4.) is largely responsible for this. About 40% of word-medial consonants (either single consonants or clusters) involve nasals. (This figure is not shown in the above diagram.)

Word-medially, single consonants and semi-vowels occur far more frequently than clusters - almost three times more frequently. Homorganic nasal-plus-stop clusters are much commoner than other clusters. Clusters are very uncommon word-finally.

It is relatively late, it seems, that Djaru children acquire /ŋ/ (among other phonemes). (At least, adult Djaru people appear to believe so.) Thus, the writer heard, on a few occasions, a Djaru woman deliberately drop /ŋ/ when talking to a baby (about 12 months old); she said, for instance, [abolo] instead of [ŋabolo] /ŋabulu/ 'milk' (N) and [alai] instead of [ŋalai] /ŋalaji/ 'offspring' (woman speaking) (1.4.). (The dropped /ŋ/ happens to be word-initial in all the examples found.) She thus appears to believe that children do not possess the /ŋ/ phoneme at the stage by which they have already acquired, for instance, /a, i, u, b, l/.

Now, Jakobson (1968:46) says that:

the relative chronological order of phonological acquisitions remains everywhere and at all times the same.

For instance (1968:53):

The acquisition of back consonants presupposes in the linguistic development of the child the acquisition of front consonants, i.e. labials and dentals; and, in particular, the acquisition of back oral and nasal stops presupposes the acquisition of front oral and nasal consonants.

Jakobson thus correctly predicts the relatively late acquisition of /ŋ/ (by Djaru children). He (1968:58) suggests that there is a parallelism between the relative order of acquisition of phonemes and their frequency of occurrence; this can be paraphrased as follows: 'the earlier a phoneme is acquired, the more frequently it is used'. But, this does not seem to perfectly apply to Djaru. For instance, the back /ŋ/, which is probably acquired relatively late, occurs far more frequently (by text count) than the front /m/, which is probably acquired relatively early.

2.6. STRUCTURES OF SYLLABLES, ROOTS AND WORDS

[1] Syllables

For any position in a word, the following types of syllables are possible (in the examples here, a dot indicates a syllable boundary):

- (a) CV e.g. *ɖa-*, *-ga-* and *-ra* in *ɖa.ga.ra* 'a subsection'
- (b) CVC e.g. *man-*, *-gir-* and *-gir* in *man.gir.gir* 'ear'
- (c) CVCC e.g. *burb-* in *burb.ga.ra* 'fleeing'-gara (6.3.1.),
wulb- and *-wulb* in *wulb-wulb* 'jumping'-REDUP

(The syllables of the type CVCC are rather restricted. See 2.5.1. above and the discussions of roots and syllables below.) In addition, we must recognise two other types of syllables. They all involve the vowel /a/, and can not occur word-initially; they occur only word-medially or -finally.

- (d) -a(-) e.g. *-a-* in *ga.a.ja* 'bush tomato' (N), *ga.a.ra* '(to) east',
ja.a.nan 'put(s)';
-a in *ɲu.ra.a* '2ndPl-ABS (W) (3.3.)', *ɲa.a* 'yes'
- (e) -aC(-) e.g. *-aŋ-* in *ma.aŋ.ɖa* 'cloud-LOC';
-aŋ in *ma.aŋ* 'cloud', *-ar* in *ɖa.ar* 'in vain'.

The last two syllable types are very unusual in Djaru. But they must be recognised, for the following reason:

[2] Mora as the phonological syllable

We could distinguish between phonetic and phonological syllables (Hattori 1951:179 and Robins 1964:137). In Djaru, this distinction concerns the long vowel [a:] /aa/ in particular. This long vowel is phonetically monosyllabic. Also, it consists of two morae. Now, the Djaru ergative endings, for instance, include (see 3.2.):

- ŋgu after a vowel-final disyllabic stem with no nasal-plus-stop cluster;
- lu after a vowel-final trisyllabic or longer stem.

Words such as *ɲuraa* '2ndPl', *gaaja* 'bush tomato' (N) and an ad hoc loan *daadi* 'Daddy' take -lu rather than -ŋgu. (Note that they are phonetically disyllabic, and that they consist of three morae.) This shows that:

- (a) the mora, rather than the phonetic syllable, is the phonological syllable in Djaru;
- (b) phonologically, /aa/ is disyllabic (i.e. the two /a/s here belong to different syllables).

(Elsewhere in the present work, the term 'syllable' is used in the phonological sense unless otherwise indicated.)

However, recall that Djaru appears not to favour the long vowel /aa/ (2.2., cf. the reduction of *ɟaɟaɟi* into *ɟaɟi*). In fact, there is some indication that at least in a couple of instances, phonologically /aa/ functions monosyllabically as well as disyllabically. For example, *gaa* takes, for the ergative, -*ŋgu* (normally, for a disyllabic stem) as well as -*lu* (for a trisyllabic or longer stem). Perhaps, diachronically the /aa/ in this word is in the process of being reduced into a monosyllable.

[3] Roots

There are a fair number of monosyllabic roots - CV(C(C)). There are only three examples of the type CV; they are all catalysts (4.5.1.). The majority of the CVC- and CVCC-type roots are preverbs. Some of the verb roots (see 3.7.2.) are CVC. There is at least one onomatopoeia of the type CVCC. Thus:

CV	<i>ŋa, wa, ba</i> ;
CVC	preverb: <i>jud 'sitting', bib 'picking up'</i> ; verb: <i>jan- 'go', ŋaŋ- 'eat'</i> ;
CVCC	preverb: <i>wilg 'belting', burg 'immersing'</i> ; onomatopoeia: <i>qirb 'description of a type of bird'</i>

However, the majority of Djaru roots are disyllabic - of the type CVC(C)V(C(C)) - although some are even longer. Thus:

CVCV	noun: <i>baga 'splinter', jagu 'fish'</i> ; preverb: <i>ɟara 'waiting', bila 'chasing'</i> ;
CVCVC	noun: <i>burun 'turpentine', ɟawan 'a subsection'</i> ; preverb: <i>dirib 'camping out', budud 'lighting fire'</i> ; verb: <i>luwaŋ- 'shoot', maraŋ- 'tell'</i> ;
CVCCV	noun: <i>munda 'belly', balga 'type of dance/song'</i> ; preverb: <i>baŋɟi 'smelling' (N), biŋɟi 'pointing'</i> ;
CVCCVC	noun: <i>murgun 'three', gungur 'cold sick'</i> ; preverb: <i>baŋɟaɟ 'following', diŋgir 'tearing'</i> ;
CVCCVCC	preverb: <i>buŋɟurg 'coughing'</i> .

A small number of roots involve the long vowel /aa/. The types of roots found so far are:

Caa	interjection: <i>ŋaa 'yes'</i> ; preverb: <i>baa 'shouting'</i> ; adverb: <i>gaa- 'east'</i> ;
-----	--

CaaC	noun: maan 'cloud'; preverb: baal 'rubbing', baar 'shining bright'; adverb: daar 'in vain'; verb: jaan- 'put';
CaaCV	noun: gaaja 'bush tomato' (N);
CVCaaC	noun: badaan 'hard', balaan 'turtle' (W);
CaaCVC	noun-stem-forming suffix: -naanip 'very, indeed'
CaaCVCV	noun: baabadi 'name of a place';
CVCVCaaC	noun: bagabaab 'man's name'.

[4] Words

Much the same comments apply to word structures. There are a fair number of monosyllabic words. They are the three catalysts, one onomatopoeia, and (many) preverbs.

It appears that Djaru does not favour monosyllabic words of the CV type, i.e. open syllables. For example, when suffixed with no overtly marked bound pronouns, the catalyst *na* is phonetically often (but not always) realised disyllabically [na:], involving a long vowel (and resulting in a phonetically disyllabic word - see 4.5.1.). (Monosyllabic words of the CVC and CVCC type, i.e. closed syllables are well tolerated; their vowels are not affected.)

By dictionary count, perhaps more than 50% of words are disyllabic. But in texts, there are many polysyllabic words, involving suffixation (of various affixes), reduplication and/or compounding. Unlike roots, words thus can contain a tri-phonemic cluster.

As can be seen from the foregoing discussions (from 2.5.1. to this section), the structure of preverbs is somewhat unusual:

- (a) there are many preverbs that are monosyllabic (monosyllabic words are not common in Djaru);
- (b) there are many preverbs that end in a stop (relatively a small portion of Djaru words end in a stop);
- (c) several preverbs end in a cluster (word-final clusters are very uncommon in Djaru).

It should also be mentioned that in some instances a preverb and a verb constitute a (phonological) unit (although there is evidence to show that preverbs are fundamentally separate words); to this unit can apply a phonological process (e.g. dissimilation; assimilation; and deletion of a phoneme). Normally such a process can apply to a single word only (and not to two words together). A combination of a preverb can thus constitute a 'phonological word'. See 2.8. For a full discussion of preverbs, see 4.10.-4.10.8.

2.7. STRESS AND PITCH

Phonetically, both stress and pitch occur but they are 'phonologically irrelevant or nondistinctive' (Trubetzkoy 1969:31) in Djaru; they do not differentiate meanings of words (as the English stress or Japanese pitch). A few of their phonetic features may be mentioned.

STRESS generally falls on the first syllable of a word:

ɖáɖi 'kangaroo' (W), máŋari 'vegetable food'

The same applies to bimorphemic or longer words, i.e. compound or reduplicated words, or words with derivational suffix(es) (see Chapter 6):

búja-jani 'subsection' (generic)-one, i.e. 'people of the same section'

máŋa-maŋa 'young girl'-REDUP, i.e. 'young girls'

ŋába-jaŋu 'water-HAVING'

However, the (first syllable of the) second morpheme (as well as the first morpheme) can receive a stress if:

- (a) it is trisyllabic or longer; or,
- (b) (in the case of a disyllabic morpheme) it contains a CVC syllable.

In fact, in such a case the second morpheme receives a prominent stress more frequently than the first morpheme.

Some examples of stress patterns:

búlu-ɖuwal or búlu-ɖúwal or bulu-ɖúwal
'testicles-long', i.e. 'one with long testicles (a joke)'

má|a-jambi or má|a-jámbi or ma|a-jámbi
'hand-big', i.e. 'one with big hands (and, also a man's name)' (W)

má|a-ɖilawaɖa or má|a-ɖílawada or ma|a-ɖílawada
'hand-many', i.e. 'one with many hands, in particular, crab' (W)

jám|ba-jamba or jámb|a-jám|ba or jamba-jám|ba
'child'-REDUP, i.e. 'children' (N)

múrgun-murgun or múrgun-múrgun or murgun-múrgun
'three'-REDUP, i.e. 'six'

ŋába-muluna or ŋába-múluna or ŋaba-múluna
'water-WITHOUT'

A long vowel /aa/ [a:] generally takes a stress even if it is not word-initial. Compare:

/balawaŋ/ (N)	/balaan/ (W)	'turtle'
[bá lawaaŋ]	[balá:ŋ] (rarely, [bá a:ŋ])	

This applies to suffixes as well:

/gida-naaniŋ/ [ketaná:niŋ] 'good-VERY' (W)

PITCH. Pitch and stress tend to be concomitant, and the comments given above on stress generally apply to pitch. The first syllable of a word had the highest pitch; other syllables having increasingly lower level of pitch. Thus:

[ˈma-ŋa_ri] 'vegetable food'

Bimorphemic or longer words can have this pitch pattern. However, if the second morpheme (as well as the first morpheme) has a stress, then the tendency is for the second morpheme to have the pitch pattern described above, with the first morpheme having a flat middle level of pitch. Thus:

[-ma-|aˈjam_bi] 'one with big hands' (W)

[-ma-|aˈdi-la_wa_ɖa] 'one with many hands' i.e. 'crab' (W)

2.8. MORPHOPHONOLOGY

There are three fairly general morphophonological alternations; they are used both in nouns (3.2.) and verbs (3.7.2.). The endings for:

[1] dative-1 case (for nouns) and purposive (for verbs) are:

- gu following a consonant
- wu following a vowel;

[2] dative-2 case (for nouns) and hortative (for verbs) are:

- gura following a consonant
- wura following a vowel;

(See 2.4.3. in conjunction with [1] and [2].)

[3] locative case (for nouns, and also for pronouns (3.3.) and the interrogative word 'who' (3.3.1.)) and imperative (for verbs), in each case, following a nasal, is:

- Da following a nasal.

(D indicates a stop homorganic with the preceding nasal.)

Morphophonological alternations similar to, or, identical with, [1], [2] or [3] occur in Walmadjari, southwest of Djaru (Hudson 1978:11-13).

There is another morphophonological process, which is less general than the above three.

[4] Nasal-plus-stop dissimilation

When a certain suffix (or suffixes) is added to a stem, the resultant form contains two nasal-plus-stop clusters. Then, the nasal of the

second (not first) cluster is deleted (obligatorily in some cases and optionally in other cases). In the examples found, the second cluster involved is *nd*, *ɲd* or *ŋg*.

(a) The case endings for vowel-final disyllabic nouns and pronouns (including interrogative members) are (among others):

erg/inst	loc	allative
-gu	-ga	-gawu if the stem contains a nasal-plus-stop cluster;
-ŋgu	-ŋga	-ŋgawu if the stem contains no such cluster.

e.g. *baga-ŋgu* 'splinter'-ERG/INST; *pamba-gu* 'what'-ERG/INST.

This deletion of *ŋ* is obligatory in all dialects. (See 3.2., 3.2.3., 3.3. and 3.3.1. for details.)

(b) The endings of the relevant cases of the nouns formed by the affixation of the derivational suffix *-g/wuɲ* 'from' (6.2.1.) are:

absolutive	erg/inst	locative	allative
<i>wigi-wuɲ</i> 'offspring (of a male ego)-'	<i>wigi-wuɲ-du</i>	<i>wigi-wuɲ-da</i>	<i>wigi-wuɲ-dawu</i>
<i>mawun-guɲ</i> 'man-'	<i>mawun-guɲ-du</i> <i>mawun-gu-du</i>	<i>mawun-guɲ-da</i> <i>mawun-gu-d^a</i>	<i>mawun-guɲ-dawu</i> <i>mawun-gu-d^awu</i>

Similarly, for the affixation of the derivational suffix *-g/wuɲda* 'lacking' (6.2.1.). This deletion of *ɲ* is optional (and infrequent) in the northern dialects of N (i.e. dialects of Turner River, Nicholson, and Old Flora Valley - see text 3, sentence 1 for an example) and obligatory in all other dialects.

Similarly, for the locative and allative of the interrogative word 'who' (see 3.3.1.). This deletion of *ɲ* is obligatory at least in W.

There are a few more instances of (optional and infrequent) such deletion. Thus:

bound pronoun '2ndPlNom' (3.4.) : *-nda* → *-da*
e.g. *pamba-wu-ji-nda* 'what'-DAT-1SgAcc/Dat-2PlNom → *pamba-wu-ji-da*
bound pronoun '2ndSgAcc/Dat' (3.4.) : *-ŋgu* → *-gu*
e.g. *ŋaŋga-ŋgu* 'if/when' (4.6.)-2SgAcc/Dat → *ŋaŋga-gu*
imperative for class 6 (3.7.2.) : *-ŋga* → *-ga*
(for an example, see 4.10.1.)

Nasal reduction applies only once within a word. If a form contains three (or more) clusters, the nasal of the second cluster only gets deleted. Thus:

**pamba-ŋgu-ŋgu* 'what'-ERG/INST-2SgAcc/Dat → *pamba-gu-ŋgu*
**pamba-wuɲda-nda* 'what-LACKING'-2PlNom → *pamba-wuɲda-nda*

The scope of this nasal reduction is generally within one single word. For the purpose of this reduction, the combination of a preverb and verb functions as one single (phonological) word. See 2.6. and 4.10.1.

There are also other morphonological processes; for instance, alternation between /b/ and /w/. See 3.4., 4.5.1., 4.10.1., 6.2.2. and 6.3.3.

CHAPTER 3

WORD CLASSES, DECLENSION AND CONJUGATION

3.1. WORD CLASSES

The following seven word classes, with mutually exclusive membership, can be set up for Djaru:

noun	}	nominal
free pronoun		
adverb		
preverb		
verb	{	conjunction
particle		
interjection		
		catalyst

Noun, adverb, preverb and verb are open classes (the verb class is small - the whole corpus contains only forty odd verbs).

Nouns and free pronouns have only slightly different paradigms of declension. (They have an absolutive-ergative declension. We will refer to them as nominals, as against bound pronouns, which have a nominative-accusative declension.) Preverbs and some of adverbs decline, but not so fully as nominals. Preverbs are unique phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and semantically - see 2.6., 3.1.1., 3.5. and 4.10.-4.10.8. Particles - conjunctions (4.6. and 4.7.) and catalysts (4.5.1.) - do not decline at all.

'Adjectives' are included in nouns; nouns and adjectives have an identical paradigm, and there is no strong reason for distinguishing between them.

Between nouns and free pronouns there is one important difference as regards their functions: pronouns are what Jespersen (1922:123, 1924:83) calls 'shifters' (cf. also Jakobson (1957)) - that is, 'These words 'shift' their reference depending on who is speaking to whom' (Silverstein 1975:161); on the other hand, nouns are primarily not

shifters. However, compared with this functional difference, the morphological similarities between nouns and free pronouns are overwhelming; both decline in the absolutive-ergative pattern, with almost identical morphological details, with some common derivational possibilities and so on.

3.1.1. SEMANTIC CONTENT OF OPEN WORD CLASSES

NOUNS include terms for concrete objects ('stone', 'boomerang', 'fish' and so on), and names of abstract entities such as 'subsection', 'language', 'song' and 'spirit'. Other abstract notions, such as 'fear', are expressed through preverbs.) Nouns also include adjective-like words such as 'long', 'good' and 'ashamed'. The numerals are jaŋi 'one'; guɖara 'two'; murgun 'three'; ɖilawaɖa (W) and ɲujuɖu (N) 'many (up to twenty or thirty)'; and waɲɲari 'very many (up to 100 or more)'. The colour terms are 'black' and 'white' (and possibly 'red'); other colour terms are expressed by common nouns; for instance, 'green' (covering 'blue' as well) by wurgal 'green grass' (cf. Hale 1975) - e.g. text 1, sentence 27. There are also a few demonstrative members.

There is a word for 'hungry', i.e. nuŋgu, and one for 'satiated', i.e. giŋgi. In fact, they appear to be bound morphemes. nuŋgu 'hungry' appears to be always used suffixed with stem-forming suffix 'LACKING', i.e. nuŋgu-wuɖa 'hungry-LACKING' (6.2.1.-[7]); while giŋgi 'satiated' can be suffixed with a predicative suffix (see 4.4.9.-[1]) as well as the stem-forming suffix 'HAVING', i.e. giŋgi-jaɖu 'satiated-HAVING' (6.2.1.-[8]). There are also (adjective-like) nouns for 'sick', 'cold' and 'thirsty'. There are no nouns for 'heavy' or for 'bright'; they have to be expressed through verb complexes, consisting of a verb and preverb.

ADVERBS include words for time (for instance, 'long ago' and '(not yet)'), for relative order ('first/before', 'later/after/', 'for the first time', 'for the last time'), for place/movement ('out', 'away/off', 'far'), for manner ('thus'), for modality ('not', 'possibly') and for the cardinal directions, 'up' and 'down'.

Manner is also expressed by many preverbs; for instance, buɖa 'moving fast horizontally on the ground'. Two adverbs of time show an interesting semantics: magan covers both 'in the morning' and 'tomorrow' and guluŋulu covers both 'in the afternoon' and 'yesterday'. This may be a reflection of Djaru people's world view. Also in Yidiny, North Queensland, 'The general term 'morning' is related to 'tomorrow' and 'afternoon/evening' is derived from 'yesterday'' (Dixon 1977b:123). It is interesting to note that Kindaichi (1973: 405) suggests in the traditional world view of Japanese, a day began with the sunset (rather than with the sunrise or midnight); in fact, the Japanese word *ashita* (noun, adverb) covers both 'morning (somewhat archaic)' and 'tomorrow'. Cf. also the German *Morgen* and *morgen*; and the English *morn*, *morning* and *tomorrow*.

PREVERBS refer to action (e.g. '*lighting (fire)*'), state/rest ('*lying*', '*sleeping*') change ('*breaking one's leg*'), perception ('*watching*', '*finding*', '*smelling*'), language activity ('*hearing*', '*shouting*'), emotion and other mental processes ('*worried*', '*frightened*', '*loving*', '*thinking*', '*understanding*', '*forgetting*') (there are many preverbs of such meanings), and manner ('*moving fast horizontally on the ground*', '*secretly*'). (Preverbs are semantically similar to, but morphologically and syntactically totally different from verbs. A full discussion of preverbs is in 4.10.-4.10.8.

VERBS refer to action ('*hit*'), motion ('*walk*'), transference ('*send*', '*give*'), state/rest ('*sit*'), inducing state/rest ('*put*'), perception ('*see*'), language activity ('*talk*') and so on. The transitive verb *garun-* can mean '*hold, have, possess*'. (Cf. the noun-stem forming suffix '*having*' - 6.2.1.) The intransitive *jaan-* is solely used as a copula verb '*be*' (but is not frequently used); the intransitive *pin-* or *pinan-* '*sit*' is sometimes used like a copula verb. The intransitive *wajan-* is used solely in the sense of '*become*'. (See 4.4.9.-[4] for 'copula' verbs and the like.) The avoidance-language verb *luwan-* is semantically neutral. See Chapter 5.

The number of verbs is very small - slightly over forty. Some of the basic notions cannot be expressed through single verbs; for instance, '*die*' has to involve the noun *gunga* '*dead*' - *gunga pin-* ('*sit*') or *gunga jan-* ('*go*'). However, there are numerous verb complexes, consisting of preverb(s) and a verb. They express what are expressed through single verbs in other languages. For example, *dawuŋ man-* '*loving get*', i.e. '*love*'. For the semantics of verb complexes, see 4.10.-4.10.8. - in particular, 4.10.5.

As can be seen from the above discussion, what is expressed through a word of a certain word class in Djaru may (or in some cases, has to) be expressed through a word of some other word class in, say, English or Japanese. Other such examples include:

DJARU	ENGLISH	JAPANESE
Adjective-like noun	Past participle of verb	Past/ad-nominal form of verb
<i>bunḍur</i> <i>baŋḍaŋ</i> (N)	' <i>cooked</i> ' ' <i>tired</i> '	<i>nieta</i> <i>tsukareta</i>
Verb complex	Adjective	Adjective
<i>juḍ jaan-</i> (Vtr)	' <i>heavy</i> '	<i>omoi</i>
<i>baral buŋ-</i> (Vtr)	' <i>bright</i> '	<i>akarui</i>
<i>bud bajan-</i> (Vint)	' <i>painful</i> '	<i>itai</i>

TABLE 3.1.
DECLENSION OF NOUNS

	abs	erg/inst	locative	dative-1	dative-2	allative
'water'	ɲaba	ɲabangu	ɲabanga	ɲabawu	ɲabawura	ɲabangawu
'big'	jambi	jambigu	jambiga	jambiwu	jambiwura	jambigawu
'vegetable food'	maɲari	maɲarilu	maɲarila	maɲariwu	maɲariwura	maɲarilawu
'bullock'	wulɖub	wulɖubgulu	wulɖubgula	wulɖubgu	wulɖubgura	wulɖubgulawu
'pannikin'	gaɖag	gaɖaggulu	gaɖaggula	gaɖaggu	gaɖaggura	gaɖaggulawu
'collar bone'	waɖiŋ	waɖiŋgulu	waɖiŋgula	waɖiŋgu	waɖiŋgura	waɖiŋgulawu
'ridge'	mundud	munduddu	mundudda	mundudgu	mundudgura	mundudgulawu
'crocodile'	dirmiɖ	dirmiɖɖu	dirmiɖɖa	dirmiɖgu	dirmiɖgura	dirmiɖɖawu
'carpet snake'	munduɖ	munduɖɖu	munduɖɖa	munduɖgu	munduɖgura	munduɖɖawu
'a subsection'	ɖawan	ɖawandu	ɖawanda	ɖawangu	ɖawangura	ɖawandawu
'wind break'	wiriɲ	wiriɲɖu	wiriɲɖa	wiriɲgu	wiriɲgura	wiriɲɖawu
'country man'	maɖaɲ	maɖaɲɖu	maɖaɲɖa	maɖaɲgu	maɖaɲgura	maɖaɲɖawu
'green grass'	wurgal	wurgalu	wurgala	wurgalgu	wurgalgura	wurgalawu
'cold (of water) '(N)	giɭgiɭ	giɭgiɭu	giɭgiɭa	giɭgiɭgu	giɭgiɭgura	giɭgiɭawu
'stone'	bamar	bamaru	bamara	bamargu	bamargura	bamarawu

3.2. NOUNS

Nouns have eight cases. Except for the absolutive and ablative cases, they all show allomorphic alternations.

The rules for forming cases are as follows:

- [1] ABSOLUTIVE is the stem of a noun;
- [2] ERGATIVE is formed by the addition of:
- (a) -ngu to a vowel-final disyllabic stem with no nasal-plus-stop cluster,
 - (b) -gu to a vowel-final disyllabic stem with a nasal-plus-stop (not necessarily homorganic) cluster,
 - (c) -lu to a vowel-final trisyllabic or longer stem,
 - (d) -gulu to a stem ending in b, g or ŋ,
 - (e) -Du to a stem ending in any stop or nasal other than b, g and ŋ (D indicates a stop homorganic with the preceding consonant),
 - (f) -u to a stem ending in a liquid (lateral or rhotic);
- [3] INSTRUMENTAL is identical with the ergative (there is some syntactic evidence for distinguishing the two cases - see 3.2.1.-[3], 4.5.8.-[3] and 4.11.4.-[5]);
- [4] LOCATIVE has the same allomorphy with the ergative except that it has a in place of u;
- [5] DATIVE-1 is formed by the addition of:
- (a) -gu to a consonant-final stem,
 - (b) -wu to a vowel-final stem;
- [6] DATIVE-2 is formed by the addition of -ra to a dative-1 form;
- [7] ALLATIVE is formed by the addition of -wu to a locative form;
- [8] ABLATIVE does not involve allomorphic alternations. The form is -ŋu|u in N, and -ŋu in W.

Double consonants are generally (phonetically) reduced to single consonants (2.5.1.-[5]). As a result, we have [mondoto] far more frequently than [mondotto] 'ridge'-ERG/INST.

Nouns ending in b, g or ŋ must involve the insertion of -gu in the ergative/instrumental, locative and allative. b, g and ŋ have common (acoustic or articulatory) features; they are grave (Jakobson *et al.* 1951:30), peripheral (Harms 1968: 23; MacKay 1975:30; Walsh 1976:56) and noncoronal (Chomsky and Halle 1968:304). There is another consonant with these features: m. There is no Djaru noun ending in m, but if there were any, they would be likely to involve -ŋu rather than -gu. For the writer has observed words such as windam-ŋu-lawu 'Wyndham'-ALL. (See also 3.5.)

There are nouns whose absolutive forms end in ŋ but in fact, whose underlying forms end in -ŋu. Most of them involve a noun-stem-forming suffix (6.2.1.), and decline regularly

(like any other vowel-final trisyllabic or longer stems). Thus, their ablative forms end in ...ŋu-ŋu|u in N. However, there is one noun ending in ŋ in the absolutive which cannot take -ŋu|u or -ŋu for the ablative; its ablative form is identical with its underlying stem. (Truncation is involved here - Blake, personal communication.) This word is ɖalajalaŋ 'new':

abs	ɖalajalaŋ
erg/inst	ɖalajalaŋulu
locative	ɖalajalaŋula
dative-1	ɖalajalaŋuwu
dative-2	ɖalajalaŋuwura
allative	ɖalajalaŋulawu
ablative	ɖalajalaŋu

Nouns suffixed with the derivational affix -maraɖ occasionally show the ɖ ~ ɲ alternation - 6.2.1.

There is no noun ending in | or ɾ. If there were one, it would probably decline like other liquid-final nouns.

A number of case endings (and also bound pronouns) include lateral sounds, some of which may be retroflex. And, this has caused the writer great difficulty (see 2.2.-[1]). On the basis of Hale's comment (personal communication), the ablative ending in N has been found to be -ŋu|u, involving the retroflex lateral (rather than -ŋulu, not involving the retroflex sound, as the writer originally thought). It appears - from Hale's material on Njininj dialect of Djaru and also from the writer's observation, assisted by Hale's works on Walbiri (1973a and 1974b among others) and Hudson's works on Walmadjari (1978 among others) - that Djaru has:

(a) involving the retroflex lateral:

case endings of nominals: -|u 'ergative', -|a 'locative',
-|awu 'allative';

bound pronoun : -|a '3SgDat' and also an
element in locational forms;

(b) involving the alveolar lateral:

-lu '3rdPlNom' and also
'nominative plural marker'.

(For bound pronouns, see 3.4. and 4.5.-4.5.11.) Corresponding forms in Walbiri and in Walmadjari show an exactly identical alveolar-versus-retroflex distinction. But, the writer is not absolutely certain of this distinction in Djaru, and in the present work all these forms are written involving the alveolar lateral.

The Djaru case-marking system is also discussed in Tsunoda 1980b, 1980c and forthcoming-c.

3.2.1. MAJOR MEANINGS AND FUNCTIONS OF CASES

For each case, only major meanings and functions are given below:

[1] ABSOLUTIVE marks:

- (a) intransitive subject (referred to by Si) - e.g. (1), and;
- (b) transitive (direct) object (referred to by Ot) - e.g. (2), and;
- (c) intransitive (direct) object (referred to by Oi) - see 4.4.4.-[2].

Semantically, a typical object is 'patient' or 'patients'.

[2] ERGATIVE marks transitive subject (referred to by St) - e.g. (2).

Thus:

- (1) mawun jan-an
 man-ABS go-PRES
 'A man goes'
- (2) mawun-du ɟaɟi lan-an
 man-ERG kangaroo-ABS spear-PRES
 'A man spears a kangaroo'

Semantically, a typical transitive subject is 'agens' or 'agentive' (Fillmore 1968:24). The ergative can also mark inanimate agents (functioning as St), such as 'lightning', 'wind', 'rain', 'cold weather', 'fire', 'smoke', 'splinter' and 'meat'. See (16), (115), (201)-(205), (423), (515), (532), text 1, sentence 48 and:

- (3) бага-ɲɟu mawun lan-an
 splinter-ERG man pierce-PRES
 'A splinter pierces a man'

(The definitions and discussions of grammatical relations (or, sentence parts) - subject, object and so on - will be given in 4.4.-4.4.10.)

[3] INSTRUMENTAL marks instruments (including body parts), e.g. (239), (240), text 1, sentence 3; text 2, sentence 18; text 3, sentence 1 and:

- (4) mawun-du ɟuɲar buɲ-an buɲu-ɲɟu
 man-ERG dog hit-PRES stick-INST
 'A man hits a dog with a stick'
- (5) mawun-du ɟuɲar buɲ-an maɭa-ɲɟu
 man-ERG dog hit-PRES hand-INST
 'A man hits a dog with a hand'

Generally, the instrumental occurs in transitive sentences only. But at least in the main informant's idiolect (Old Hall's Creek dialect of W), it occurs in intransitive sentences, such as:

- (6) ɲila mawun maɭa-ɲɟu maɲ-an
 that man hand-INST talk-PRES
 'That man talks with fingers'

(While the instrumental occurs in intransitive sentences, the ergative does not. This is one of the reasons for distinguishing the ergative and the instrumental.) However, in other idiolects, the word for 'hand' has to be suffixed with a noun-stem-forming affix -ɟ/jaɽu 'HAVING' or -ɲuniɲ 'FROM' (see 6.2.1.-[8], [2]).

Only inanimate nouns have the instrumental case, and animate nouns do not have it. An animate instrument cannot be simply expressed by the instrumental case, and it has to involve the derivational suffix 'HAVING'-plus-ERGATIVE. (Efforts to elicit sentences such as 'I hit a child by means of a dog' or 'I frightened a child by means of a dog' only produced sentences involving 'HAVING'-plus-ERGATIVE. Also, pronouns, which generally refer to humans, lack the instrumental case - 3.3. Also, while the inanimate interrogative word 'what' (3.2.3.) has the instrumental case, the interrogative word 'who' (3.3.1.) has not been attested in the instrumental case.) Similarly, in some idiolects (mainly in N), the expression of any instrument (whether animate or inanimate) generally involves 'HAVING'-plus-ERGATIVE. See 6.2.1.-[8].

[4] LOCATIVE marks:

(a) place: 'in', 'at', 'on', 'near', 'onto', 'into', 'through' and so on, e.g. text 1, sentences 5, 13, 14, 15, 17, 26, 45 and 53.

Destination/direction is generally expressed by the allative. But, it can also be expressed by the locative, in particular referring to humans. See (197), (456)-(ii) and:

(7) ḡaḡu wagura jan-an-i ḡaḡuḡaḡu-la
 1Sg not go-CONT-PAST doctor-LOC
 'I did not go to a doctor'

(b) company, participants and the like (generally human), for instance, '(sit, go, drink) with...', '(talk) to...' , '(show, tell) to...', '(take clothes, etc.) off...'. For examples and discussions, see 4.4.6. and 4.4.7.

(c) means: '(carry) in (a coolamon)', '(go) in (a car)', '(cook) on (a fire)' and so on, e.g. text 1, sentences 59, 60, (61), text 2, sentence 27 and:

(8) ḡumbir-u maḡari ḡambaḡ-an ḡaḡalan-ḡa
 woman-ERG vegetable food cook-PRES fire-LOC
 'A woman cooks food on a fire'

(d) cause: 'because of', 'over' (e.g. 'fight over a woman'), often implying fear - e.g.:

(9) waḡḡa-ra ḡaḡija-la
 leave-IMP white man-LOC
 'Leave (it) for fear of the white man (if you touch it, he might get angry)'

Other examples of the 'cause/fear' locative include 'be afraid of' (94), (182), 'hide..from..' (99) and 'be(come) angry with' (181). (In Australian languages, it is not uncommon for the locative to mark cause/

fear - e.g. Warungu (Tsunoda 1974a:129-31) and Djirbal (Dixon 1972:237-38.) A locative noun of cause/fear often involves the stem-forming suffix -g/wuŋ - see 6.2.1.-[4].

(e) time: 'at', 'in', 'during' - e.g. (65) in 4.3.1., (133);

(f) state - the locative can mark '(see/hear someone) in (a certain state)':

- (10) gaɟija-lu ŋa-ŋgu pundu ŋaŋ-an mipiri-la
 white man-ERG C-2SgAcc 2Sg see-PRES ashamed-LOC
 'A white man sees you (in an) ashamed (state)', or 'A white man sees you feeling ashamed/embarrassed'

(ŋa is a catalyst and the suffix(es) affixed to it is/are bound pronouns. See 3.4.) Along a similar line, there are constructions involving verbids (non-finite verbs - 3.7.2.) in the locative: 'see/hear (someone) ...ing'. See 4.9.1.-[1]. See also (324).

[5] DATIVE-1 marks purpose, belonging, possession, beneficiary, recipient ('(give) to..'), topic ('(talk, tell, teach) about..') and so on. See (64) in 4.3.1. and:

- (11) ɟaɟi ŋaba-wu jan-i
 kangaroo water-DAT1 go-PAST
 'A kangaroo went for (i.e. to get) water'

- (12) ŋawa ɟaŋɟa ŋalibaŋa, wagura waɟbali-wu
 this ground 1PlInc-DAT not white man-DAT1
 'This land is ours (i.e. Aborigines'), not white man's'

For more examples and discussions, see 4.4.5. and 4.4.7. The dative-1 marks inalienable possession in a few instances - 4.11.4.-[1].

While the dative of a pronoun - e.g. ŋalibaŋa in (12) - can further decline, showing case agreement with the noun it modifies (3.3.), the dative of a noun cannot. It has to involve the derivational affix -g/wuŋ (6.2.1.-[4]).

It appears (but it is not certain) that the dative-1 also marks (very rarely) time 'through':

- (13) baranga-wu ŋaba ŋin-an
 dry and hot season-DAT1 water stay-PRES
 '(In that water hole) the water (does not dry up but) remains through the dry and hot season'

[6] DATIVE-2 marks:

(a) purpose (in W), like the dative-1, e.g.:

- (14) mawun jan-an jagu-wura
 man go-PRES fish-DAT2
 'A man goes for (i.e. to get) fish'

The syntactic possibilities of the dative-2 are much smaller than those of the dative-1. See 4.3.2.

(b) intended result or accidental consequence of an action (N only, mainly around Sturt Creek Station), e.g. (40) in 3.7.3., (119) and:

- (15) mawun-du ɲa jambaɟi buɲ-an binari-wura
 man-ERG C child hit-PRES knowing-DAT2
 'A man hits a child to make it knowing'; i.e. 'A man hits a child to teach it a lesson'

- (16) wangi-gu milba luwaɲ-an jaɲɟa-wura
 smoke-ERG eye shoot-PRES tear-DAT2
 'Smoke hits the eye(s), causing tears to be shed'

(c) destination (N only), like the allative, e.g.:

- (17) mawun jan-an ɲura-wura
 man go-PRES camp-DAT2
 'A man goes to the camp'

The dative-2 is similar to the dative-1 or the allative but is much less frequently used.

Wandjira, immediately east of Djaru, has the dative-2 -g/wura (in addition to the dative-1 and allative, all with exactly identical allomorphemes with those of Djaru). This case predominantly marks destination and very infrequently purpose. Ngardi, immediately south of Djaru, has the allative -gura (as well as the dative -gu, each with no morphophonological alternations). The Ngardi -gura, unlike that of Djaru, marks destination only, but not purpose. Walmadjari, southwest of Djaru, has -wura 'consequent' (Hudson 1978:34).

[7] ALLATIVE marks:

(a) (predominantly) destination:

- (18) mawun jan-an ɲura-ɲgawu
 man go-PRES camp-ALL
 'A man goes to the camp'

(The difference between the allative, for instance in (18), and the dative-2 of destination, for instance in (17), is not known well. At least (17) is used in N only, but, even in N, (18) is more frequently used than (17).)

(b) (occasionally) 'until':

- (19) mawun pin-an magan-dawu
 man stay-PRES tomorrow-ALL
 'A man stays until tomorrow'

(In fact, magan is not a noun but an adverb - 3.1.1. and 3.6.)

(c) (occasionally) purpose (mainly in N), e.g. (286)-(ii) and:

- (20) mawun jan-an maŋari-lawu
 man go-PRES food-ALL
 'A man goes for food'

[8] ABLATIVE indicates motion or action from a certain place or direction - '(go) from..', '(call out) from..', '(chase) from (behind)', '(eat a kangaroo) from (the leg)' and so on, e.g. (118), (398), (403), (475), (492) and:

- (21) mawun jan-an ŋura-ŋu
 man go-PRES camp-ABL
 'A man goes from the camp'

- (22) mawun-du ɟaɟi lan-an nara-ŋu
 man-ERG kangaroo spear-PRES back-ABL
 'A man spears a kangaroo from the back (not from the belly)'.

The ablative (among others) is what might be called 'ad-verbal' rather than 'ad-nominal' (cf. 'adnominal' in Poutsma 1928:267ff). That is, it qualifies verbs but not nouns. 'Ad-nominally' (i.e. when qualifying other nouns) the 'from' meaning of nouns is expressed through derivational suffixes (the resultant stems decline like any other nouns, agreeing in the case endings with the nouns they qualify) - for example, -ɾuŋu 'from (a place)' and -guɾ/-wuɾ '(a present) from (someone)' (see 6.2.1.). The causal 'from, because of' is also expressed by -ɾuŋu but never by the ablative.

3.2.2. DEMONSTRATIVE MEMBERS

There are a few irregularities in the formations, meanings and/or functions of demonstratives.

[1] mu|a/u 'here/this' and jala/u 'there/that'.

TABLE 3.2.
 DECLENSION OF mu|a/u 'here/this' AND jala/u 'there/that'

	abs	erg/inst	locative	dative-1	allative	ablative
'here'	mu a	...	mu aŋga mu ala		mu aŋgawu mu awu	mu aŋu(u)
'this'	...	mu uŋgu (mulu)	...	mu uwu		
'there'	jala	...	jalanga		jalangawu jalawu	jalaŋu(u)
'that'	...	jalungu jalulu (jalu)	jalunga* jalula	jaluwu	jalungawu* jalulawu	jalaŋu(u)

(The paradigm obtained is incomplete. Three dots indicate that the expected form does not exist. The forms marked with an asterisk were used at least by one speaker, but were rejected by other speakers.)

The two stems above show the vowel alternation $a \sim u$. The forms ending in a predominantly refer to places, while those ending in u refer to (animate or inanimate) objects. (In view of this, it is understandable that forms such as *jala-ŋgu 'there'-ERG/INST do not exist.) The absolutive mu|a 'here' and jala 'there' are used only like adverbs, but not for Si NP or Ot NP. (pawa 'this' and pila 'that' are used instead - see below.)

These demonstratives are disyllabic, but they can take case endings for trisyllabic or longer stems as well as (regular) case endings for disyllabic stems. Thus, for the ergative/instrumental of jalu 'that', we have jalu-ŋgu (-ŋgu is the regular ending) and jalu-lu (-lu is for trisyllabic or longer stems). (The variation does not appear to be dialectal; even the same speaker uses both forms. Ngardi, immediately south of Djaru, shows an identical irregularity with two of the demonstratives; it has the irregular mipa-la 'here'-LOC and jalu-la 'there'-LOC in place of the regular *mipa-ŋga and *jalu-ŋga.) The interrogative word 'where' shows a similar irregularity - 3.6.2.

Note that while -wu is (regularly) dative-1 with mu|u 'this' and jalu 'that' (as with common nouns), it is (irregularly) allative with mu|a 'here' and jala 'there'.

For the use of mu|u and jalu, with no case ending, see (55) in 4.1.

[2] pawa 'this' and pila 'that' do not decline; they have only one form, used to mark Si or Ot NP. (Their syntactic functions can be indicated by other (nominals) in the same NP or by bound pronouns. See 4.5.11.-[6].)

pawa and pila can be used like adverbs, with local meaning 'here' and 'there' or with time meaning 'now' and 'then' (generally in the past). See text 1, sentence 54.

The semantics of these four demonstratives is not, in fact, so simple as the translations ('here/this' and 'there/that') might suggest. For example, mu|a/u and pawa appear to refer to objects that have an important relevance, irrespective of distance. Thus, in text 1, sentence 52, mu|a refers to a place to which the people finally brought the cattle after the seven-month-long drive. Another factor that appears to be involved is relative distance to the speaker and to the hearer: while mu|a/u and pawa refer to objects that are relatively closer to the speaker, jala/u and pila refer to objects that are relatively closer to the hearer. Thus, a speaker referred to the hearer's body part (the

penis) by *pila* rather than *pawa* although they were only one metre away from each other. Another example is in text 2, sentence 29.

[3] *ɔaŋu*, which declines regularly (like any other disyllabic vowel-final nouns), is used to refer to something/someone about which/whom the speaker and hearer (often, to the exclusion of other people) share certain common knowledge. The referent(s) of *ɔaŋu* might have been mentioned before, or might be talked about everyday. Thus, in one example, *ɔaŋu bamar* 'money' (literally 'stone') referred to 'that money which you promised to give me'. In another example, *ɔaŋu ɔmbir* 'woman' referred to 'that woman whom we talk about everyday'. Other examples include (284) and text 1, sentences 43, 62.

3.2.3. INTERROGATIVE MEMBERS

[1] *pamba* 'what' declines regularly (cf. *jambi* in Table 3.1.). It can also have an 'indefinite' meaning - 'anything', 'something', 'everything', 'all'; here it generally follows two or more nouns in the same NP. See text 1, sentence 45 (involving a locative NP) and:

- (23) *mawun-du ɔaŋ-i ɔaŋɔaali buwura pamba*
man-ERG eat-PAST bush tomato bush yam
 'A man ate a bush tomato, bush yam and something (anything, everything, and so on)'

pamba also has an indefinite meaning when affixed with the clitic *-wari* 'it is not known' (4.13.-[3]). When *pamba* and the adverb *wagura* 'not' (4.12.-[1]) co-occur, they mean 'not anything'; i.e. 'nothing':

- (24) *wagura mawun-du ɔaŋ-i pamba*
not man-ERG eat-PAST
 'The man did not eat anything'

The indefinite word *pambaŋara* always have an indefinite meaning: 'anything'. See text 2, sentence 23.

[2] *pajaŋa* 'how many', 'how much' declines as follows:

absolute	<i>pajaŋa</i>
erg/inst	<i>pajaŋulu</i>
locative	<i>pajaŋula</i>
dative-1	<i>pajaŋuwu</i>
dative-2	<i>pajaŋuwura</i>
allative	<i>pajaŋulawu</i>
ablative	<i>pajaŋuŋu(ɔ)</i>

The absolute ends in *a*, but the underlying stem is **pajaŋu*. (In the same or similar way, underlying stems ending in *u* can be set up for the

noun *ɔalajalaŋ* 'new' (3.2.); for the dative of pronouns (3.3.) and for nouns affixed with certain stem-forming suffixes (6.2.1.).)

[3] 'How much' or 'what sort of' *ɲambaŋaŋɔaji* (W only) and *ɲambamaɔaɔ* (all dialects) decline regularly (like *maŋari* and *munduɔ* in Table 3.1., respectively). (-*ŋaŋɔaji* and -*maɔaɔ* are noun-stem-forming suffixes - 6.2.1.-[11], [12]. Examples include text 1, sentence 11.

3.3. FREE PRONOUNS

Djaru (free) pronouns are very similar to nouns. On the whole, they have an absolutive-ergative paradigm, like nouns, except in Turner River dialect of N - see below. Even certain noun-stem-forming suffixes can be affixed to (the absolutive forms of) pronouns - 6.2.1. However, there is also some difference. For example, the absolutive of a pronoun very often marks St under a certain circumstance (i.e. when its function is indicated by its cross-referencing bound pronoun), whereas the absolutive of a noun does not. See 4.5.11.-[3]. Unlike nouns, pronouns lack the dative-2 and instrumental, but they possess an additional ablative. Pronouns, which generally refer to humans, lack the instrumental case, like human nouns (see 3.2.1.-[3]).

There are a few dialectal variations. The most important among them is that in Turner River dialect of N, the pronouns lack the ergative case; one single case (i.e. the absolutive) marks the three syntactic functions St, Si and Ot. As we saw above, in other dialects the absolutive case can mark St, but they have the ergative case as well. In all dialects, ambiguity can be avoided; even when the absolutive free pronoun marks St, its function is indicated by the cross-referencing bound pronoun. See 4.5.11.-[3].

TABLE 3.3.
DECLENSION OF FREE PRONOUNS

	1stSg	2ndSg	3rdSg	1stDuInc
abs	<i>ŋaɔu</i>	<i>ɲundu</i>	<i>ɲandu</i>	<i>ŋali</i>
erg	<i>ŋaɔungu</i>	<i>ɲundugu</i>	<i>ɲandugu</i>	<i>ŋalingu</i>
dat	<i>ŋaniŋa</i>	<i>ɲunuŋa</i>	<i>ɲanuŋa</i>	<i>ŋaliŋa</i>
abl-1	<i>ŋaniŋiŋ</i>	<i>ɲunuŋiŋ</i>	<i>ɲanuŋiŋ</i>	<i>ŋaliŋiŋ</i>
loc	<i>ŋaniŋiŋɔa</i>	<i>ɲunuŋiŋɔa</i>	<i>ɲanuŋiŋɔa</i>	<i>ŋaliŋiŋɔa</i>
all	<i>ŋaniŋiŋɔawu</i>	<i>ɲunuŋiŋɔawu</i>	<i>ɲanuŋiŋɔawu</i>	<i>ŋaliŋiŋɔawu</i>
abl-2	<i>ŋaniŋiŋŋu(ɔu)</i>	<i>ɲunuŋiŋŋu(ɔu)</i>	<i>ɲanuŋiŋŋu(ɔu)</i>	<i>ŋaliŋiŋŋu(ɔu)</i>

(Table 3.3. cont.)

	1stDuExc	2ndDu	3rdDu
abs	ղաճարա	ըննբւլա	ըննբւլա
erg	ղաճարալս	ըննբւլալս	ըննբւլալս
dat	ղաճարադ	ըննբւլադ	ըննբւլադ
abl-1	ղաճարայր	ըննբւլայր	ըննբւլայր
loc	ղաճարայրճա	ըննբւլայրճա	ըննբւլայրճա
all	ղաճարայրճաւս	ըննբւլայրճաւս	ըննբւլայրճաւս
abl-2	ղաճարայրոցս(լս)	ըննբւլայրոցս(լս)	ըննբւլայրոցս(լս)

	1stPlInc	1stPlExc (W)	1stPlExc(any dialect)
abs	ղալիբա	ղանամբա	ղանինբա
erg	ղալիբալս	ղանամբալս	ղանինբալս
dat	ղալիբադ	ղանամբադ	ղանինբադ
abl-1	ղալիբայր	ղանամբայր	ղանինբայր
loc	ղալիբայրճա	ղանամբայրճա	ղանինբայրճա
all	ղալիբայրճաւս	ղանամբայրճաւս	ղանինբայրճաւս
abl-2	ղալիբայրոցս(լս)	ղանամբայրոցս(լս)	ղանինբայրոցս(լս)

	2ndPl (W)	2ndPl (N)	3rdPl
abs	ընրաա	ընրադ	As 3rdSg
erg	ընրաալս	ընրադալս	
dat	ընրաադ	ընրադադ	
abl-1	ընրաայր	ընրադայր	
loc	ընրաայրճա	ընրադայրճա	
all	ընրաայրճաւս	ընրադայրճաւս	
abl-2	ընրաայրոցս(լս)	ընրադայրոցս(լս)	

The 'first person plural exclusive' զանամբա is used in W only, while զանինբա is used in any dialect (though not frequently in W). (Among the surrounding languages, Ngardi (Capell 1962a:46), Walbiri (Capell 1962a:46, Hale 1973a:315) and Wandjira have only զանինբա, while

Walmadjari has both η animba and η anamba (Joyce Hudson 1978:85).) In the 'second person plural', τ is often (phonetically) deleted in N, while in W synchronically τ no longer exists at all. The ablative-2 ending is, as the ablative ending of nouns, $-\eta$ ulu in N and $-\eta$ u in W.

Note that the 'first person non-singulars' distinguish 'inclusive' (i.e. including the hearer(s)) and 'exclusive' (i.e. excluding the hearer(s)). In the third person, the same form η andu is used for both singular and plural (but not for dual). (Similarly, in Walbiri, η ambu 'this' is used for singular and plural - Hale 1973a:321. In Pashto, an ergative language of Afghanistan, the weak pronoun 3rd person has the same form (η e) for singular and plural, although all other pronouns (both weak and non-weak) have the singular/plural distinction (Shafeev 1964:32-33); cf. also the English *you* 'singular/plural'.) Number-distinction can be, however, achieved through bound pronouns (3.4.). In 'avoidance/deference' use, plural pronouns (2nd and 3rd person; whether free or bound) have singular referents (see Chapter 5 for details). η andu '3rdSg' can have not only human but also animate and (in a few instances) inanimate referents, e.g. 'jam' and '(a) letter'. (it is not certain whether η andu '3rdPl' can have inanimate referents.)

The forms given in Table 3.3. are the most common. Other forms observed include:

1stSg:	η ani η u η da
2ndSg:	η uni η i η , η uni η i η da, η uni η i η da η awu
3rdSg:	η anu η u (dative), η anu η u η , η anu η u η da

The dative of pronouns, unlike that of nouns, can further decline. Thus, with η ani η a '1stSg-DAT' as the representative:

absolute	η ani η a
erg/inst	η ani η ulu
locative	η ani η ula
dative-1	η ani η uwu
dative-2	η ani η uwura
allative	η ani η ulawu
ablative	η ani η u η u(\mathcal{L}u)

See 4.11.1. for a detailed discussion. (Here, the underlying form ends in u - see the comment on η aja η a in 3.2.3. $-\eta$ u is (one of) the genitive and/or dative ending(s), for example, in Warungu (Tsunoda 1974a:93) and Djirbal (Dixon 1972:42).)

The ablative-2 is, like the ablative of nouns, ad-verbal (see 3.2.1.-[8]), while on the other hand the ablative-1 is ad-nominal. The latter can further decline, agreeing in case marking with the noun it modifies.

The ablative-2 marks '(movement or action) from...'; the ablative-1 generally marks origin or source (for instance, of a present), but when it further declines it can also mark a possessor. (See 4.11.1. for a detailed discussion.) With $\eta\text{ani}\eta\text{ip}$ '1stSg-ABL1' as the representative, the declension is:

absolute	$\eta\text{ani}\eta\text{ip}$
erg/inst	$\eta\text{ani}\eta\text{ip}\eta\text{du}$
locative	$\eta\text{ani}\eta\text{ip}\eta\text{da}$
dative-1	$\eta\text{ani}\eta\text{ip}\eta\text{gu}$
dative-2	$\eta\text{ani}\eta\text{ip}\eta\text{gura}$
allative	$\eta\text{ani}\eta\text{ip}\eta\text{dawu}$
ablative	$\eta\text{ani}\eta\text{ip}\eta\text{gu}(\text{lu})$

The morphology of pronouns (see Table 3.3.) is fairly straightforward, and is similar to that of nouns. The formation of the ergative is regular, exactly like that of nouns. The locative, allative and ablative-2 are built on a stem which is in form identical with the ablative-1. This stem behaves regularly, exactly like a η -final noun. The same is true of the further declension of the ablative-1 discussed above. (Consequently, the paradigm of, for instance, ηadu '1stSg' and that of $\eta\text{ani}\eta\text{ip}$ '1stSg-ABL1' are partially identical (in the locative, allative and ablative).) (The ablative-1 ends in ηip . This ηip might be related to the derivational suffix $-\eta\text{ipi}$ 'from' in Malngin, Wandjira and Gardangaruru, from north-east to east of Djaru.)

3.3.1. INTERROGATIVE MEMBER

ηana 'who; what is the name of' declines rather like (free) pronouns:

absolute	ηana
ergative	ηandugu
dative	ηanduwu
ablative-1	$\eta\text{anduwap}$
locative	$\eta\text{anduwap}\eta\text{da}$ ηanduga
allative	$\eta\text{anduwap}\eta\text{dawu}$
ablative-2	$\eta\text{anduwap}\eta\text{gu}(\text{lu})$

The ergative, dative, ablative-1 and one of the two locative forms are based on the stem $\eta\text{andu-}$. The other locative form, allative and ablative-2 are based on the stem $\eta\text{anduwap-}$ (identical with the ablative-1. With nouns, $-\text{wap}$ is a stem-forming suffix - 6.2.1.-[4]). Dissimilation is operative in the formation of the ergative, locative and allative: the nasal in the second nasal-plus-stop cluster is deleted from

*ḡandungu, *ḡanduwunḡa, *ḡandu-ḡga and *ḡanduwunḡawu, respectively. (See 2.8.).

The dative of ḡana, like the dative-1 of nouns but unlike the dative of pronouns, cannot further decline. Its ablative-1 can presumably further decline, like the ablative-1 of pronouns.

ḡana interrogates a name. It can have inanimate, animate (but non-human) as well as human referents. The human referents are the commonest; here, it can be translated '*who*'. Examples include text 1, sentences 18, 20 and 47 and:

(25) (A man (A) who has never seen a buffalo comes across one, and asks his friend (B).)

A: ḡana ḡila
 that

'What is (the name of) that (animal)?'

B. ḡiji, ḡana ḡila
 indeed that

'Indeed, (I wonder) what that is'

ḡana can also have an indefinite meaning, like the interrogative word ḡamba '*what*' (3.2.2.). Its indefinite meaning is overtly expressed when affixed with the clitic -wari '*it is not known...*' (4.13.-[3]). (See also 1.8.)

3.4. BOUND PRONOUNS

The morphosyntax of bound pronouns is very complicated and, in some respects, quite irregular. The accounts of bound pronouns, given in 3.4. and 4.5.-4.5.11., are by no means complete or conclusive.

Bound pronouns have the same number and person distinction as, but a different case system from, those of free pronouns. In 'avoidance/deference' use, plural bound pronouns (and also free pronouns) of 2nd and 3rd person have singular referents. For details, see Chapter 5.

Bound pronouns are suffixed to the catalyst ḡa or some other word in the sentence. They cross-reference nominals and show the latter's number, person and case. Their case system differs from that of nominals. On the whole, while nominals have an absolutive-ergative declension, bound pronouns have a nominative-accusative declension.

TABLE 3.4.
DECLENSION OF BOUND PRONOUNS

	1stSg	2ndSg	1stDuInc	1stDuExc
nom	V-ŋa	V-n V-ni	V-li	V-lijara V-lija (W;F,S)
acc/dat	V-ji V-ŋa (W)	V-ŋgu	C,V-ŋalip V-alip	C-ŋajaran (S) V-jaraŋ (W;S) C-ŋajara (S) C,V-ŋajiraŋ (W) V-jiraŋ(a) (W) C-ɖaaraŋ(u) (F) V-aaraŋ(u) (F) V-ajara (S) V-ara (S)
loc	V-jila V-ŋala (W)	V-ŋgula	C,V-ŋalingula V-alingula V-aligula (S)	C-ŋajaragula (S) V-ajaragula (S) C-ŋajiraŋgula (W) V-ajiraŋgula (W;S) C-ŋajaragula (F) C-ɖaaraŋgula (F) V-aaraŋgula (F)

	2ndDu	3rdDu	1stPlInc
nom	V-nbula	V-bula (N) V-wula	V-liba (S) V-liwa
acc/ dat	V-ŋgubula (S) V-ŋguwula	V-bulaŋ (S) C-bulaŋ (F,G,S) V-wulaŋ (F) C-bulajanu (S) V-wulajanu (S) C-bulaanu (W) V-wulaanu (W;F)	V-ŋaliba (W) V-aliba (W;S) C,V-ŋalimba (W;F,T) V-alimba (F,G) V-alipba (W;F,S) V-aligba (S)
loc	V-ŋgubulala (S) V-ŋguwulala	C-bulaŋgula (S) V-wulaŋgula (S) C-bulaŋgularala (F)	V-alipbala (F) V-alipbagula (W) V-alipbaŋgula (F)

(Cont.)

(Table 3.4. cont.)

2ndDu	3rdDu	1stPlInc
	V-wulangujarala (F)	V-aligbagula (W)
	V-wulaanula (S)	V-aligbagula (S)
	C-bulaanungula (W)	V-alibala (S)
	V-wulaanu(η)gula (W)	
	V-wulajanungula (W;F)	

	1stPlExc	2ndPl	3rdPl
nom	V-ηalu	V-ndalu (W;S) V-n...lu V-nda	V-lu
acc/ dat	C,V-ηanamba (W;F) V-anamba (W) C,V-ηanimba (W;S) V-animba (W;F,G,S) V-anipba (F) V-aniba (W;F) C-đanimba (F) V-đaanamba (W)	V-pura	C-đanu V-janu (S) V-anu (W;F,S)
loc	C-ηanamba...la (W) V-anambagula (W) C-ηanimbala (S) V-ηanimba...la (W) V-animbala (F,S) V-animbagula (W;S) V-animbanula (W;S) V-anipbala (F) V-anipbanula (F) C-ηanigbala (S) C-đanimbala (F) C-đanimbanula (F) C-đanambagula (W)	V-purala V-purangula (W)	C-đanula (F) V-janula (S,T) V-anula (F,S) C-đanungula V-janungula (F,S) V-anungula (W;F)

(Table 3.4. cont.)

3rdSg	
nom/acc	zero (sometimes indicates by \emptyset)
dat	V-la
loc	V-panda (mainly W) V-lapanda (mainly N)

(F, G, S and T respectively indicate Old Flora Valley dialect, Gordon Downs dialect, Sturt Creek dialect and Turner River dialect of N. Those forms with no dialectal specification (appear to) occur in all dialects, both in N and W.)

The middle-voice suffix is -panu (S,G) and -punu. For middle-voice sentences, see 4.5.10. We will refer to the accusative, dative and locational by 'oblique' as against the nominative.

Some forms of bound pronouns show allomorphy, depending on whether they follow a consonant or vowel; e.g. '3rdDuAcc/Dat' -bulajanu following a consonant and -wulajanu following a vowel. Others do not show allomorphy, e.g. -ji '1stSgAcc/Dat'; they (happen to) always follow a vowel.

Except for '3rdSg', the dative and accusative cases are identical in form, but there are reasons for distinguishing between them - 4.5.10. -la '3rdSgDat' - and also an element in locational forms - might be in fact -la, involving the retroflex rather than the alveolar lateral. See note to 3.2.

Benveniste (1946, 1956; both reprinted in 1966; English translation 1971) says that, while first and second person are 'persons', third person is not a 'person' but 'non-person', and he shows that, in many languages from various language families, third person - particularly singular - is treated differently, often lacking in any overt marking (see also Silverstein 1976:121-22). The Djaru third person singular bound pronoun shows exactly such a situation:

(a) in the third person, the nominative and accusative are identical (and the dative is different from them), while on the other hand in other bound pronouns, the accusative and dative are identical (and the nominative is different from them);

(b) the third person nominative and accusative are not overtly marked.

Marvan (personal communication) points out that in the Djaru bound pronouns, the accusative does not have any separate form, being identical with the nominative (in third person singular) or with the dative (in other bound pronouns); and that the paradigm of Djaru bound pronouns is similar to that of Russian masculine nouns (the accusative is identical with the nominative or genitive). He then suggests that in the Djaru bound pronouns, the basic opposition is nominative-versus-dative (the accusative being identical with the nominative or dative).

The correspondence between the (nominative-accusative) paradigm of bound pronouns and the (absolutive-ergative) paradigm of nominals is roughly as follows:

Nominal	Bound Pronoun
ERGATIVE as transitive subject	Nominative
ABSOLUTIVE as intransitive subject	
ABSOLUTIVE as direct object	Accusative
DATIVE (1,2)	Dative
LOCATIVE	Locational
ALLATIVE	
ABLATIVE	

(But, recall that Turner River dialect lacks the ergative case for free pronouns - 3.3.) For a detailed discussion and examples of this correspondence, see 4.4.-4.4.7., 4.5.8. and 4.5.11.

For a further, detailed discussion of the morphosyntax of bound pronouns, see 4.5.-4.5.11.

3.5. PREVERBS

The paradigm of preverbs obtained so far is incomplete, largely due to their semantic nature. (For a full discussion of their semantics and syntax, see 4.10.-4.10.8.) Most of them appear to decline regularly, like nouns. Thus:

	absolutive	erg/inst	locative
'playing'	ɽuju		ɽujungga
'bathing' (N)	daɽugab		daɽugabgula
'sleeping'	mapan	mapandu	mapanda

	dative-1	dative-2	allative
'playing'	ɽujuwu	ɽujuwura	ɽujungawu
'bathing' (N)			daɽugabgulawu
'sleeping'	mapangu	mapangura	mapandawu

We suggested in 3.2. that, if there were a noun ending in *m*, it would involve the insertion of *-ŋu* in the ergative/instrumental, locative and allative. There is at least one *m*-final preverb: *pampam* 'whispering'. As expected, it involves the insertion of *-ŋu*.

absolute	pampam	'whispering'
erg/inst	pampamɣulu*	
locative	pampamɣula	
dative-1	pampamɣu	
dative-2	pampamɣura*	
allative	pampamɣulawu*	
ablative	pampamɣu(lu)*	

(The forms with an asterisk were coined by the writer and accepted by the informant.)

At least two preverbs - jud 'sitting' and ɖad 'standing' - involve the insertion of -ɣu or -ɣu in the ergative/instrumental, locative (and presumably allative):

	absolute	erg/inst	locative	dative-1
'sitting'	jud	judɣulu judɣulu	judɣula	judɣu
'standing'	ɖad	ɖadɣulu	ɖadɣula	ɖadɣu

The difference between -ɣu and -ɣu is not known; even the same speaker uses, for instance, both judɣulu and judɣulu.

Note that here the formation of the ergative/instrumental, locative (and presumably allative) is irregular, in two respects. Firstly, note that nouns (they are all disyllabic or longer) ending in d do not involve the insertion of -ɣu or -ɣu (3.2.). It is perhaps the monosyllabicity of jud and ɖad that is responsible for the insertion; the purpose of the insertion is to turn the (uncommon) monosyllabic stems into (common) disyllabic stems. (Therefore, any monosyllabic preverb ending in d (and also probably some other stop) would involve such an insertion.) Secondly, although the resultant stems are disyllabic (for instance, judɣu-), they behave like trisyllabic (or longer) stems; they take, for instance in the ergative, -lu (normally, for trisyllabic or longer stems) rather than the expected -ɣu (normally, for disyllabic stems).

The formation of the following three preverbs show a few irregularities:

	absolute	erg/inst	locative	dative-1	allative
'running'	buɖɖa	buɖɖalu* buɖɖagu*	buɖɖala*	buɖɖawu	buɖɖalawu* buɖɖangawu
'laughing'	ɖiŋgiɾi	ɖiŋgiɾigu*	ɖiŋgiɾila	ɖiŋgiɾiwu	
'fright'	jiwa	jiwagu* jiwanggu			

The forms marked with an asterisk are irregular. At least for *buṛḍa*, which functions partly disyllabically and partly trisyllabically, there is an historical explanation for some of its irregularities: its older form (still used, mainly in N) is a trisyllabic *buṛuḍa* and the second vowel has been (diachronically) dropped, producing a disyllabic *buṛḍa*. Synchronically, the irregular *buṛḍa-lawu*, for example, retains the ending *-lawu* (normally, for trisyllabic or longer vowel-final stems), but *buṛḍa* also functions disyllabically and takes the regular *-ḡawu* (for disyllabic vowel-final stems).

3.6. ADVERBS

Generally, adverbs do not decline. Some adverbs - in particular, adverbs of place and those of time - decline, but not so fully as nominals. Thus:

	<i>'far'</i>
<i>'in/at'</i>	<i>jungu</i>
locative	<i>junguga</i>
allative	<i>jungugawu</i>
ablative	<i>junguḡu(ḷu)</i>

Adverbs of time can have four different forms. Thus:

	<i>'at/in'</i>	<i>'at/in'</i> (= locative)	<i>'since'</i>	<i>'until'</i> (= allative)
<i>'in the morning'</i>	<i>magan</i> (occasionally used)	<i>maganda</i> (generally used)	<i>maganḡuḡa</i>	<i>magandawu</i>
<i>'in the afternoon/ yesterday'</i>	<i>ḡuluḡulu</i> (generally used)	<i>ḡuluḡulula</i> (occasionally used)	<i>ḡuluḡulupuḡa</i>	<i>ḡuluḡululawu</i>

(*-ḡuḡa* is a derivational suffix - 6.3.1.-[5].) Examples include (19) in 3.2.1. and text 1, sentence 69.

A few adverbs of manner and those of relative order (of events) may (but not always) take an instrumental ending in a transitive sentence. For example, *baraḡiḡ* (unmarked form) and *baraḡiḡ-ḡu* (inst) *'for the first time, first (as against later), start doing'*:

- (26) *ḡaḡu-ḡḡu* *baraḡiḡ-ḡu* *jaji-ru* *ḡa-ḡa-ḡḡula* *mawundi*
 1Sg-ERG put-PURP C-1SgNom-2SgLoc white paint
'I will put white paint on you first'; e.g. *'I will paint you first (and then you will paint me)'*. (An N example)

3.6.1. DEMONSTRATIVE MEMBERS

The demonstratives *muḷa/u* 'here/this', *jala/u* 'there/that', *ṇawa* 'this' and *ṇila* 'that' (3.2.2.) can in effect be used like 'demonstrative adverbs (or pro-adverbs)'. There are also *gara* 'in such a way, thus', and *miṇi* 'here, this way'.

	'at, in'	'to'	'to'
'here, this way'	miṇi	miṇiwu	miṇiwuṇ
		miṇuwu	miṇuwuṇ

Note that -wu (normally dative) here marks 'to' (i.e. allative), as in *muḷawu* and *jalawu* (3.2.2.). The suffix -wuṇ is generally used as a noun-stem-forming suffix 'from', but here it marks 'to'. In Guurinji, east of Djaru, -wuṇ appears to be dative (McConvell 1980).

3.6.2. INTERROGATIVE MEMBERS

wanḍu/i- 'where' declines as follows:

	locative	allative	ablative
'where'	wanḍuga	wanḍugawu	wanḍuṅu (W)
	wanḍula	wanḍulawu	wanḍulaṅu (N,W)
	wanḍila	wanḍilawu	wanḍilaṅu (N)

Note the irregular endings -la and -lawu (normally for trisyllabic or longer stems). For similar irregularities, see 3.2.2.-[1] and 3.5. Note also that nasal-plus-stop dissimilation reduces *wanḍu-ṅga to wanḍu-ga; and *wanḍu-ṅgawu to wanḍu-gawu - 2.8. A phonological change turned wanḍila into wanḍira in a language which is now called by this characteristic word - Wandjira.

ṇaṅula 'when' has:

'at/in'	ṇaṅula
'since'	ṇaṅulawuṇ
'until'	ṇaṅulalawu

Other interrogative adverbs do not appear to decline. They include *ṇarwa* (southern N), *ṇara* (northern N, and W) 'how'; *ṇaramba* 'which way' (W), *ṇarawura* 'which way; how' (W and northern N only?).

Adverbs of modality are discussed in 4.12.

Note that most of these interrogative adverbs begin with *ɲ*. A few other words with an interrogative meaning begin with *w*, e.g. *waŋɖu* 'where'; three adverbs of modality *walima* 'how, any', *waji* 'question', *waŋɖara* 'why not' (see 4.12.) and the catalyst *wa* (4.5.1.). It is common in Australian languages for an interrogative word to begin with *wa*, e.g. *wapu* 'who', *waŋɖa* 'where' and *waji* 'question' in Warungu (Tsunoda 1974a: 303).

3.7. VERBS

There are only forty odd verbs in the whole corpus of over 3,000 words. But this scarcity of verbs is compensated by the existence of numerous verb complexes (1.1.). See 4.10.4.-4.10.8. for a detailed discussion of verb complexes.

Djaru has very few grammatical verbs. The intransitive verb *jaan-* (in all dialects)/ *jajin-* (northern N only?) is solely used as the copula verb 'be'. A few other intransitive verbs, such as *ɲin-* 'stay', can be in effect used like 'be' or 'become'. (See 4.4.9.-[4].) There are no causative verbs, but a few transitive verbs, such as *man-* 'get', can be effectively used as causative verbs. (See 4.4.9., 4.10.5. and 4.10.8.) Djaru also lacks grammatical verbs 'do'; and interrogative verbs 'do how' and 'do what'. At least 'do what' can be expressed by the interrogative adverb *ɲa(w)a* 'how' and the intransitive verb *maŋ-* (generally, 'talk', but here with a somewhat neutralised meaning - see 4.10.5.):

- (27) *ɲa*-n *ɲundu* *maŋ*-an
how-2SgNom 2Sg -PRES
 'What are you doing?'

3.7.1. TRANSITIVITY

There are thirty transitive verbs, and twelve intransitive verbs. Transitive and intransitive verbs can be each divided into two subgroups in terms of sentence structures they take - 4.3.1. The avoidance-language verb is neutral in terms of transitivity - see Chapter 5. The avoidance-language verb and the transitive verb *luwaŋ-* 'shoot' have the same conjugation. The intransitive *jaan-/jajin-* 'be' and the transitive *jaan-/jajin-* 'put' (both verbs with the same dialectal distribution) have the same conjugation. Examples include (26) in 3.6.: and (129) and (130) in 4.4.9. Similarly for the intransitive *buŋ-* 'burn' and transitive *buŋ-* 'hit'. Examples include (4) and (5) in 3.2.1. and:

- (28) *ɖaŋalap* *buŋ*-an
fire (or *firewood*) Vint. *burn*-PRES
 'The *fire*(wood) is *burning*' (W example)

3.7.2. CONJUGATION

Six conjugational classes can be set up for Djaru. Most of the verbs belong to one of these six classes, but a few verbs do not fit in this regular pattern of conjugation.

TABLE 3.5.
REGULAR CONJUGATION

class	1 'hold'	2 'eat'	3 'fall'
root	garun-	ḡaḡ-	wandiḡ-
past	garuni	ḡaḡi	wandiḡa
past narr	garuniḡura	ḡaḡiḡura	wandiḡaḡura
cont past	garunani	ḡaḡani	wandiḡani
present	garunan	ḡaḡan	wandiḡan
cont pres (W)	garuna	ḡaḡa	---
purposive	garulu	ḡalu	wandiwu
	garuwu (N)		
cont purp	garunaḡgu	ḡaḡaḡgu	wandiḡaḡgu
hortative	garulura (W)	ḡalura	wandiwura
	garuwura (N)		
cont hort	garunaḡgura	ḡaḡaḡgura	wandiḡaḡgura
potential	garunḡi	ḡaḡḡi	wandiḡi
cont pot	garunaḡḡi	ḡaḡanaḡḡi	wandiḡanaḡḡi
imperative	garuwa	ḡaḡḡa	wandiwa
cont imp	garunanda	ḡaḡanda	wandiḡanda
verbid	garunu	ḡaḡu	wandiḡu

class	4 'bite'	5 'get'	6 'carry'
root	bajan-	man-	gaḡ-
past	bajani	mani	gaḡa
past narr	bajaniḡura	maniḡura	gaḡaḡura
cont past	bajanani	manani	gaḡani
present	bajanan	manan	gaḡan
cont pres (W)	bajana	mana	---
purposive	bajaru	mangu	gaḡgu
cont purp	bajanaḡgu	manaḡgu	gaḡaḡgu
hortative	bajapura	mangura	gaḡgura
cont hort	bajanaḡgura	manaḡgura	gaḡaḡgura
potential	bajanaḡi	manaḡi	gaḡḡi
cont pot	bajanaḡḡi	manaḡḡi	gaḡanaḡḡi
imperative	bajara	manda	gaḡga
cont imp	bajanda	manaḡanda	gaḡanda
verbid	bajanu	manu	gaḡu

The roots in classes 1, 3 and 4 are disyllabic, while the roots in classes 2, 5 and 6 (with two exceptions) are monosyllabic. The roots end in η in class 2; ρ in class 3; n in classes 4 and 5; and η in class 6. In class 1, it appears that some end in n , while others end in η . (See 2.3.)

There are two aspects: continuative and noncontinuative, for example, continuative past and noncontinuative past. (For convenience, non-continuative past, for instance, is generally referred to simply by 'past', without using the term 'noncontinuative'.) Continuative is a marked aspect, while noncontinuative is an unmarked aspect. Past narrative and verbid lack a continuative counterpart. Only W (but not N) has continuative present.

For each verb, three types of stems can be conveniently set up (in the spirit of Jakobson 1948). They are:

basic stem	root	
derived stem-a	root + an	root + an
derived stem-b	root + a η	root + an
	classes 1 ~ 5	class 6

Continuatives (except for the continuative present) are based on the derived stems, and other forms are based on basic stems. In class 6, -a η in the derived stem-b is changed into -an by dissimilation (the writer owes this observation to McConvell, personal communication and Marvan, personal communication): *ga η a η gu + ga η angu.

The rules for formation are:

[1] PAST involves the addition, to the basic stem, of:

- (a) -a in classes 3 and 6, together with the change of the stem-final η into ρ in class 6,
- (b) -i in other classes;

[2] CONTINUATIVE PAST involves the addition of -i to the derived stem-a;

[3] PAST NARRATIVE involves the addition, to the past form, of:

- (a) - η ura in classes 3 and 6,
- (b) - ρ ura in other classes;

[4] PRESENT involves the addition of -an to the basic stem;

[5] CONTINUATIVE PRESENT (used in W only, and lacking in classes 3 and 6) involves the addition of -a to the basic stem (it is also possible to state that continuative present involves the deletion of the final n from the derived stem-a);

- [6] PURPOSIVE involves the addition, to the basic stem, of:
- (a) -gu in classes 5 and 6,
 - (b) -wu in class 1 of N, and class 3,
-lu in class 1 of W, and class 2,
-ru in class 4,
- together with the deletion of the root-final consonant;
(wandiwu 'fall' (class 3)-PURP is realised (regularly) as [wandeo] in N, but is generally realised (irregularly) as [wando:] in W. Phonetically/phonologically, N is the more conservative and W is the more divergent - 1.2.)
- [7] CONTINUATIVE PURPOSIVE involves the addition of -gu to the derived stem-b;
- [8] HORTATIVE involves the addition of -ra to the purposive form;
- [9] CONTINUATIVE HORTATIVE involves the addition of -ra to the continuative purposive form;
- [10] POTENTIAL involves the addition of -ŋi to the basic stem in all classes, together with the deletion of the stem-final consonant in classes 3 and 6;
- [11] CONTINUATIVE POTENTIAL involves the addition of -ŋi to the derived stem-a (in any class but class 6, the stem-final n can be (and generally is) deleted);
- [12] IMPERATIVE involves the addition, to the basic stem, of:
- (a) -ra, together with the deletion of stem-final n, in class 4,
 - (b) -wa, together with the deletion of the stem-final consonant, in class 3,
 - (c) -wa if the final vowel in the stem is not a (i.e. i or u, e.g. garun- 'hold'),
-a if the the final vowel in the stem is a (e.g. maran- 'tell'), together with the deletion of the stem-final consonant in class 1 (the ending -a is very often deleted, thus we have, for 'tell'-IMP, both maraa and mara);
 - (d) -Da in classes 2, 5 and 6, together with the change of the stem-final ŋ into ɲ in class 2 (D: a stop homorganic with the preceding nasal);
- [13] CONTINUATIVE IMPERATIVE involves the addition of -da to the derived stem-a;
- [14] VERBID involves the addition of -u to the basic stem.

Irregular verbs are each very similar to, but in minor details different from, one of the six classes. wajin- 'tie up' is partly similar

to (the verbs of) classes 1 and 4; note that it involves *r* in the imperative (like class 4) and *l* in the imperative and potential (unlike any other class). *baŋan-* (W only)/*baŋin-* (any dialect) '*scratch*' is on the whole similar to class 1, but differs from class 1 in that, for the imperative, it has the irregular *baŋi/a-la* (like *wajiŋ-* '*tie up*') as well as the regular *baŋi-wa*. (But, neither *baŋa-wa* nor *baŋa-a* has been attested.) *gariŋ-* '*sit*' (used around Turner River, Nicholson and Gordon Downs Stations) is on the whole similar to class 3, but it differs from class 3 in that its imperative ending would be *-ja* (i.e. *gari-ja*) rather than *-wa*. Also, its purposive form *gariwu* is generally realised (irregularly) as [karo:] (its regular realisation is [kareo]). *pin-* '*stay*' is quite irregular; its past and past narrative involve *r*, and its present and imperative are identical - *pina*. (For its imperative, one would expect *pina-wa* (cf. *wandi-wa* '*fall*' (class 3)) or *pina-a* (cf. *mara-a* '*tell*' (class 1). But, the observed (surface) form is *pina*.) *pinaŋ-* '*sit*' (mainly used in W and Old Flora Valley dialect of N; etymologically, the derived stem-*b* of *pin-* ?) is similar to class 6. *pin-* and *pinaŋ-* each have an incomplete paradigm, but together they make up a complete paradigm.

In class 6, some (basic) stems contain *u* (rather than *a*), for example, *buŋ-* '*hit*'. *u* is changed into *i* in the past, past narrative and potential. This change is obligatory except for in the dialects spoken around Gordon Downs, Nicholson and Turner River (and also in Wandjira, immediately east of Nicholson, and Malngin, immediately northeast of Turner River); here at least in the past, both *bupa* and *bipa* '*hit*'-PAST, for example, are used. For an example of *bup-a*, see (537).

TABLE 3.6.
IRREGULAR AND OTHER CONJUGATION

	'tie up'	'hit'	'sit'	'sit'
root	wajiŋ-	buŋ-	ŋin-	ŋinaŋ-
past	wajiŋi	biŋa, buŋa	ŋira	...
past narr	wajiŋipura	biŋaŋura	ŋiraŋura	...
cont past	wajiŋani	buŋani	ŋinani	ŋinaŋani
present	wajiŋan	buŋan	ŋinan	ŋinaŋan
cont pres (W)	wajiŋa	...	ŋina	...
purposive	wajiŋu (W)	buŋu	ŋinawu	(ŋinaŋu)
	wajiŋu (N)			
cont purp	wajiŋaŋu	buŋaŋu	ŋinaŋu	ŋinaŋaŋu
hortative	wajiŋura (W)	buŋura	ŋinawura	(ŋinaŋura)
	wajiŋura (N)			
cont hort	wajiŋaŋura	buŋaŋura	ŋinaŋura	ŋinaŋaŋura
potential	wajiŋŋi	biŋi	ŋinŋi	ŋinaŋi
	wajiŋŋi			
cont pot	wajiŋaŋŋi	buŋaŋŋi	ŋinaŋŋi	ŋinaŋaŋŋi
imperative	wajiŋa	buŋa	ŋina	...
	wajiŋa			
	wajiŋa			
cont imp	wajiŋanda	buŋanda	ŋinanda	ŋinaŋanda
verbid	wajiŋu	buŋu	...	ŋinaŋu

The full list of verbs is:

[1] Class 1:

- (a) transitive: ɔambun- 'kiss', garun- 'hold', maran- 'tell',
 nanan- (?) 'miss (a target)', waɔbaŋ- 'throw', wawaŋ- 'search for'
 (N only), gambaŋ- 'burn', gumaŋ- 'cut', luwaŋ- 'shoot', jingaŋ-
 'smooth', junbaŋ- 'sing', juwaŋ- 'send', wuraŋ- 'stop (a fight)'
 (b) transitivity-neutral: luwaŋ- 'the avoidance-language verb';

[2] Class 2:

- (a) transitive: ŋaŋ- 'eat',
 (b) intransitive: maŋ- 'do, talk';

[3] Class 3:

- (a) intransitive: wandiŋ- 'fall', baŋɔiŋ- 'smell' (N only);

[4] Class 4:

- (a) transitive: bajin- (N only), bajan- (any dialect) 'bite',
gajin- (N only), gajan- (any dialect) 'kick', guḡḡan- 'wet', jajin-
(N only), jaan- (any dialect) 'put', waḡḡan- 'leave' (N only),
(b) intransitive: jajin- (N only), jaan- (any dialect) 'be', wajin-
(N only), wajan- (any dialect) 'become';

[5] Class 5:

- (a) transitive: ḡan- 'fuck', ḡun- 'scold', man- 'get', lan- 'spear',
(b) intransitive: jan- 'go/come';

[6] Class 6:

- (a) transitive: buḡ- 'hit', gaḡ- 'carry', naḡ- 'see', juḡ- 'give',
wawaḡ- (?) 'wipe',
(b) intransitive: buḡ- 'burn', luḡ- 'cry', buḡaḡ- 'call out' (N only),

[7] Irregular verbs:

- (a) transitive: baḡan- (W only), baḡin- (any dialect) 'scratch',
wajiḡ- 'tie up',
(b) intransitive: gaḡiḡ- 'sit' (N only), piḡ- 'sit', piḡaḡ- 'sit'.

At least in some Australian languages, there is a clear correspondence between transitivity and conjugational classes: one class, which is often characterised by l, is predominantly transitive, while another (or, the other) class, which is often characterised by j or zero, is predominantly intransitive (see Dixon 1972:13-14). This is exactly the case in Djirbal (Dixon 1972:54) and Warungu (Tsunoda 1974a:187-88), for example. A similar tendency is found in Djaru verbs. At least in W, the purposives involve l in the verbs of classes 1 and 2, and the two irregular verbs baḡan-, baḡin- 'scratch' and wajiḡ- 'tie up'; and r in the verbs of class 4. (r is a development from l. Compare the cognate baḡalḡu of Warungu and bajaru of Djaru, both 'bite'-PURP.) On the other hand, purposives of verbs of other classes do not involve l or r (i.e. they are characterised by zero). Classes 1, 2 and 4 are predominately transitive. At least in W, out of twenty verbs of the three classes, seventeen are transitive; and out of the total twenty-eight transitive verbs, nineteen involve l or r, while on the other hand out of the total nine intransitive verbs, only three involve l or r.

3.7.3. MEANINGS AND FUNCTIONS

As we saw above there are two aspects: the (marked) continuative and the (unmarked) noncontinuative (past narrative and verbid lack a continuative counterpart). We shall first discuss the conjugational categories (past, present and so on) of the unmarked aspect, together with past narrative and verbid; and then the marked aspect - continuative.

[1] PAST indicates that 'the narrated event is anterior to the speech event' (Jakobson 1957 (reprint 1971:135)). Generally, the narrated event was completed in the past, but in some examples it has continued till the time of speaking. Thus:

- (29) ɲaɖu ɲir-a
1Sg stay-PAST

'I have been staying (in Hall's Creek for two weeks)'

Many more examples are given in the three texts below.

[2] PAST NARRATIVE appears to be used to narrate a past event which the addressee neither participated in (cf. Jakobson 1957 (reprint 1971: 133)) not witnessed. In the attested examples, a second person pronoun or a first person (non-singular) inclusive pronoun does not mark the participant(s) of the narrated event.) For example, one informant remarked to the effect that past narrative was to be used when the writer talked about the Djaru people to his parents after he returned to Japan. The use of past narrative, thus, appears to imply that the addressee did not witness or participate in the narrated event. But, it does not imply necessarily that the speaker witnessed or participated in the narrated event. Past narrative is used to describe events that the speaker did not witness or participate in as well as events that he witnessed or participated in. Past narrative can describe events in the remote past (e.g. the Dream Time) and those in the near past (say, a day or two ago). An example is:

- (30) mawun-du ɲaliɖa ɲaɲ-iɲura
man-ERG tea drink-PAST NARR

'(I narrate to you that) a man drank tea'

Past narrative is used in texts very frequently. See the three texts below.

Turkic languages and Estonian have a verbal category with a similar meaning to that of the Djaru past narrative, except that it is the speaker (rather than the addressee as in Djaru) who did not witness the described event; these languages distinguish two types of past tense, and one of the two past tenses implies that the speaker did not witness the narrated event (the writer owes this information to Shimomiya 1980:207). Thus, in Turkish, while 'the definite past' 'is used when the speaker has personally witnessed the action that he describes', the narrative past 'does not make this claim. It is used, therefore, when the speaker knows of the action only through hearsay' (Underhill 1976:170). Underhill (1976:170) also notes that, like the Djaru past narrative, the Turkish narrative past 'is the tense used for narratives and tales when the speaker has no first hand knowledge of the events described'.

Although past narrative is unmarked for aspect, it often has a continuative, repetitive or habitual meaning. One informant remarked to the effect that past narrative means *'used to'*.

- (31) ɲanimba ɲa-ɲalu ɲir-aɲura ɲura-ɲga
1PlExcl C-1PlExcNom sit-PAST NARR camp-LOC

'(I narrate to you that) we (plural, excluding you) used to sit, or, were sitting, in the camp'

Past narrative is very frequently used in W, but not so in N. Among the surrounding languages, Ngardi and Mudbura (east of Guurindji) have past narrative (-pura and/or -ɲura).

Past narrative ('I narrate to you...') is reminiscent of performative sentences - Ross 1970.

[3] PRESENT describes an event in the 'present' time. It is unmarked for aspect and can have various aspectual meanings - continuative, repetitive, habitual and so on. (In W, but not in N, there is a distinct continuative present, and an event progressing at the time of speaking is more likely to be expressed by continuative present than by present.) Some examples are given in 3.2.1. Present also appears to describe a past event in a story, like historic (or dramatic) present (Jespersen 1924:258) - e.g. text 1, sentence 24 - and an event that is, perhaps, certain to occur, in the near future. Thus:

(32) ɲali jan-an gaarara
 lDuInc go-PRES to east
 'We are going east'

The present tense of verbs denoting 'go' often has a future meaning, for instance, in some European languages (Jespersen 1924:260). However, in Djaru the present forms of not only the verb 'go' but also other verbs such as 'give' and 'cook' appear to be able to have a future meaning.

[4] PURPOSIVE is used:

- (i) as the predicate of a simple sentence;
- (ii) as that of the main clause of a complex sentence, and;
- (iii) as that of the subordinate clause of a complex sentence.

Purposives of the type (iii) can be further divided into two groups:

- (a) those occurring with the conjunction ɲaŋga mark condition in future or time in future, i.e. 'if' or 'when' (4.6.),
- (b) others mark the purpose or consequence of the event described by the main-clause predicate, i.e. 'so that' (4.8.).

The purposive can have various functions and meanings, and it is very difficult to generalise about them. The closest approximation available is as follows: the purposive is what might be called a 'relative tense' (Jakobson 1957 (reprint 1971:133)); it narrates an event posterior to a certain time. (We have, tentatively, characterised the purposive as a type of tense, but this characterisation has a serious defect; it ignores the various modal meanings the purposive has.)

In the following, we first discuss the purposive as a relative tense; here, the purposives can be divided into type (iii)-(b) and other types.

We then discuss the various modal meanings of the purposive; here the purposives can be divided into type (i) and (ii) on the one hand and type (iii) on the other. As *'if/when'* purposives and *'so that'* purposives (of type (iii)) are discussed separately and in some detail - see 4.6. and 4.8., respectively - no examples of them will be given here.

Purposive as a relative tense. As seen above, the purposive narrates an event posterior to a certain time. In the case of type (iii)-(b) *'so that'* purposive (used as the subordinate-clause predicate), this 'certain time' is linguistically overtly expressed - that it, by the main-clause predicate. Here, the 'certain time' can be a time in the future time or in the present time, e.g. (290)-(292) in 4.8. (For example, in (290), *'taking the words'* will only take place after *'teaching the language'* takes place.) It can also be a time in the past time, and the purposive expresses 'future in past' (Jespersen 1924: 256), e.g. (289). (In this example, the dog's death happened after the beating/killing of it took place.) However, in the case of other types of purposives, the 'certain time' is not linguistically overtly expressed (but may be implicit in the discourse). In most instances, the 'certain time' is the time of speaking. In the case of type (i) and (ii) (used as the predicate and as the main-clause predicate, respectively) the 'certain time' can be the time of speaking. Examples of type (i) include (26) in 3.6. and (34)-(37). Examples of type (ii) include *naŋ-gu* in (267), *ma-lu* in (268) and *wuŋ-gu* in (274), in 4.6. With type (i) and (ii), the 'certain time' can also be a time in the past; the purposive expresses 'future in past' generally marking intention), e.g.:

(33) *na-lu garu-wu miqa*
 C-3PlNom hold-PURP shield

'(In a fight) they intended/tried to grab a shield'

In the case of type (iii)-(a), *'if-when'* purposive (used as the subordinate-clause predicate), the 'certain time' cannot be a time in the past (i.e. the purposive cannot mark a condition about the past - see 4.6.). Here, it can be naturally the time of speaking, e.g. *jan-gu* in (267), *man-gu* in (268), *pinaŋ-gu* in (274), and *man-gu* in (292).

What has been stated above can be summarised as follows:

Purposive as the predicate of:		Narrates an event posterior to:
(i) simple sentence	} }	time in the past
(ii) main clause		time of speaking
(iii) subordinate clause		time of the main clause
	{ (a) 'if/when'	
	{ (b) 'so that'	

(In the case of type (i), (ii) and (iii)-(a), the 'certain time' may be implicit in the discourse. But, there are cases in which it is not identifiable. This is another problem of the characterisation of the purposive as a relative tense.)

Modal meanings of the purposive. Purposives of the types (iii)-(a) and (iii)-(b) have constant meanings, - 'future condition/future time' and 'consequence/purpose', respectively. But, type (i) and (ii) can have various modal meanings, such as volition, intention, obligation, future time, hortative 'Let's' (with a first person non-singular subject), request, advice, permission and so on. Many examples are given; particularly in text 3. Other examples include (33), (136), 138), (441) and:

(34) *ɲajingu dagur jan-gu*
he inside go
 'He will have to go inside (the jail)'

(For *ɲajingu*, see 4.5.1.).

(35) *ɲaba wandi-wu*
water fall-PURP
 'It is going to rain'

(36) *ɲaɽinga ɲa-ji-n juŋ-gu*
woman (N) C-1SgDat-2SgNom give-PURP (N example)
 Informant's translation: 'You want to give me a woman' (request?)

(37) *guɽari-lu gaŋ-gu nila*
boy-ERG carry-PURP that
 'The boy can (i.e. is allowed to) carry that (boomerang)'

Future time is generally expressed by purposive; Djaru lacks a future tense.

Also, purposives of the type (i) and (ii) and adverbs of modality together have various modal meanings:

A Purposive and:	mean:
wagura 'not'	'will not (negative intention)', 'cannot (incapability)', 'should not (prohibition or negative advice)';
gula 'cannot'	'cannot (incapability)';
ɲara 'possibility, capability'	'might (possibility)', 'can (capability)'.

Examples are given in 4.12.

[5] HORTATIVE marks hortation or permission, always directed towards the third person (agent/subject): 'Let (him)...' or '(He) may...'. Examples include (137), (425) and:

- (38) jalu-ɲgu mawun-du maɲari man-gura
 that-ERG man-ERG food get-HORT
 Informant's translation: 'That man can take tucker'

Like the purposive, the hortative can be used as the subordinate-clause predicate, marking purpose 'so that'. See 4.8.

The suffix -gu/-wu is involved both in declension (dative-1) and conjugation (purposive). Both can occur in the same sentence. (This is a good example of the bivalency - nominal and verbal - of the suffix. See Capell 1956:77-79. See also Breen 1974 and papers for Topic C 'The bivalent suffix -ku' in Dixon, ed. 1976.) Thus:

- (39) mawun jan-gu ɲaba-wu
 man go-PURP water-DAT1
 'A man will go for water'

Similarly, for -gura/-wura in dative-2 and hortative:

- (40) mawun-du ɲara ɲila guma-wura juɲa-wura
 man-ERG camp that cut-HORT good-DAT2 (N example)
 'Let the man cut (the grass in) that camp so that it
 will be nice'

[6] POTENTIAL narrates an unreal (hypothetic and rather unlikely) event - often, an event that was intended/desired (or, that nearly took place) but was not (or, has not been) realised. Examples include text 1, sentence 73, text 2, sentences 12, 17 and:

- (41) mawun-du maɲari ɲaɲ-ɲi
 man-ERG food eat-POT
 'The man wanted (or, tried) to eat food, but he did (or,
 could) not'

Potential together with the conjunction *paŋga* 'if' marks a hypothetical condition - see 4.6. Potential often occurs with the adverb of modality *wari* 'possibly', implying 'nearly'; it also occurs with another adverb of modality *ŋara* 'possibly' (with an unpleasant consequence), indicating 'might' - see 4.12.-[3] and [5].

Ngardi has the verb ending *-ŋi* 'might'. Ritharngu, northeast Arnhem Land, has the 'potential' suffix *-ŋu* as in *!a-n-ŋu-wa* 'would have speared' (Heath 1978:128).

[7] IMPERATIVE marks command, order, request, advice and so on, always directed towards the second person (and not first or third person). The (second person) free pronoun, marking the agent, is generally deleted.

(42) (*ŋundu*) *jan-da*
 2Sg *go-IMP*
 '(You) go'

(See also 4.5.5.-[1] and 4.5.11.-[3].) The negative version (i.e. 'Don't') is obtained by the addition of the adverb of modality *wagura* 'not' to a 'purposive' sentence with a second person subject, rather than to an imperative sentence, such as (42). Examples include (268) and text 3, sentence 17. See 4.12.-[1]. (In Wandjira, immediately east of Djaru, negative imperative ('Don't') consists of *wagura* 'not' and an imperative verb.) Also, hortation/permission directed to a 3rd person ('Let him...'; 'He may...') has to be expressed by hortative (see [5] above); and hortation to a 1st person inclusive ('Let's...') by purposive (see [4] above).

Hale's data show that, at least in Gordon Downs dialect of N, verb forms which are morphologically identical with imperative forms have an 'irrealis/potential' use (hypothetical condition about the past) when they occur in sentences that involve the conjunction *paŋga* 'if/when'. See 4.6.-[1] for details.

[8] VERBID functions like a participle and like a gerund. See 4.9.-4.9.2. for a full discussion.

[9] CONTINUATIVE narrates an event(/action) which is (regarded by the speaker as) continuous or repetitive; it is a marked aspect. On the other hand, its non-continuative counterpart is an unmarked aspect; it merely narrates an event without reference to its continuity or repetition; in fact, it sometimes implies that the event occurs (only) once. Thus, an informant said that while *maŋ-i* 'talk'-PAST means 'just talked', *maŋ-an-i* 'talk'-CONT-PAST means 'had a conference'. An (N) speaker remarked to the effect that *ɖambu-wu* 'kiss'-PURP means 'want to kiss once' and that *ɖambun-aŋ-gu* 'kiss'-CONT-PURP means 'want to kiss

all the time'. As a further example, a W speaker said that *junba-lu 'sing'-PURP* means '*start a corroboree*', while *jumbaṅ-aṅ-gu 'sing'-CONT-PURP* means '*singing a corroboree, in the middle of a corroboree*'. As a final example, an (N) speaker said that while *luwa-wura 'hit with a missile, shoot-HORT'* means '*let him hit*', *luwaṅ-aṅ-gu 'hit, shoot'-CONT-PURP* means '*let him hit ABOUT*'.

In some languages, tense, aspect, or mood affects the case frames of sentences. (See Dixon 1979 and Tsunoda 1980b, 1980c.) But, in Djaru, aspect (or tense) does not affect case frames.

Continuative aspect is not a matter of the absolute length of the event, but rather is a matter of how the (Djaru) speaker looks at the event. There are many examples of continuative aspect in which the writer, from the Japanese point of view, would not recognise continuity. However, Djaru speakers probably look at the same events from a different point of view and recognise continuity in them. Thus, talking to a person who had come back to Hall's Creek two or three days previously, the main informant said:

(43) *paṅula-n waṛi jan-an-i*
when-2SgNom back come-CONT-PAST
 '*When did you come back?*'

(Here, the bound pronoun *-n* is affixed to an adverb - 4.5.1.) Other examples include (7), (266), (424), and text 1, sentence 55.

The Djaru continuative (marked) and noncontinuative (unmarked) are rather like the Slavonic imperfective and perfective - for instance, in Russian, *Ja čital ètu knigu* (imperfective: '*I was reading this book*') and *Ja pročital ètu knigu* (perfective: '*I completed reading this book*'). Perfective is marked and imperfective is unmarked - Jakobson 1939, 1940 and 1957. Note in particular that the Russian imperfective, like the Djaru continuative, implies continuity or repetition, and perfective, like Djaru noncontinuative, implies that the event occurs only once (see Pulkina, n.d.:213).

CHAPTER 4

SYNTAX

Djaru is a type of 'split-ergative' language (cf. Silverstein 1976); roughly, nominals (nouns and free pronouns) have an absolutive-ergative declension, while bound pronouns have a nominative-accusative declension. They co-occur freely in the same sentence. Bound pronouns have a cross-referencing function and play a very important role in syntax and discourse. At least in a couple of crucial respects, bound pronouns are more fundamental than nominals and the Djaru syntactic organisation is primarily in the nominative-accusative pattern. But, in other respects it is neutral as regards the ergative-accusative dichotomy. (See 4.4.3., 4.5.10., 4.5.11., 4.7.-[1], 4.9.1. and 4.11.4.-[2].)

In terms of nominals (but not bound pronouns) Djaru sentences can be classified as follows. There are two types of sentences: transitive and intransitive. Most transitive sentences consist of an ergative N(oun) P(hrase) and absolutive NP. However, some transitive sentences consist of an ergative NP and a DATIVE (rather than an absolutive) NP - we term the latter 'semi-transitive' sentences. Most of the intransitive sentences consist of a single absolutive NP, but some intransitive sentences contain another absolutive NP. We term this second absolutive NP 'intransitive direct object' and we term such sentences 'semi-intransitive' sentences. (See 4.3.1., 4.4.4. and 4.5.9.)

In many Australian languages, purpose ('*in order to*', '*so that may*') is expressed by purposive forms of verbs. But in Djaru, purpose is generally expressed by dative forms of verbids rather than purposive forms. (See 4.8. and 4.9.1.-[2].)

What we term 'preverbs' in the present description appear superficially similar to so-called 'uninflected verbs (particles or stems)' in some other Australian languages. However, they differ from the latter in a few quite significant ways. (See 4.10.-4.10.8.)

Word order is fairly free, but there are favoured (and statistically frequent) orders. (Most of the examples given in the present work follow a favoured order.) There are a few restrictions on word order. (See 4.1., 4.4.9.-[3], 4.4.9.-[4], 4.10.4., 4.10.7., 4.14. and 6.2.3.)

4.1. NOUN PHRASES

An NP generally consists of nominal(s) and/or a bound pronoun. Here, we mainly consider nominal members of NPs. (For bound pronouns, see 4.4.1. and 4.5.-4.5.11.)

An NP can contain one or more words from each of:

- (a) noun;
- (b) 'adjective-like' noun;
- (c) demonstrative member (of noun);
- (d) pronoun, and;
- (e) interrogative member (of noun or of pronoun).

It is quite normal for an NP to contain only one word, although an NP often contains two or more words. Examples of NPs include:

- (44) *ɲana ɲila mawun jan-an*
who that man walk/go/come-PRES
'Who is that man that is coming?'

Roughly, there are four types of NPs:

- (a) co-ordinative;
- (b) inclusive;
- (c) appositive, and;
- (d) modificatory.

Examples of CO-ORDINATIVE NPs include:

- (45) *ɲama-ji mugul ɲawi-ji ɲa-lu ɲinaɲ-an*
M-KIN FZ F-KIN C-3PlNom sit-PRES
'(His) mother, father's sister and father are sitting'

(-ji is a noun-stem-forming suffix - 6.2.1.-[16].) An NP may contain the (interrogative/)indefinite word *ɲamba* or *ɲambaɲara* 'something/anything' in addition to nouns, indicating '...and some/any/everything (else)'. See (23) in 3.2.3. and text 1, sentence 45.

INCLUSIVE: when an NP contains (one or more) noun(s) in addition to a non-singular free pronoun, the noun(s) can specify the member(s). Thus:

- (46) *ɲaɲara ɲawi-ji ɲa-lijara jan-i*
lDuExc F-KIN C-1DuExclNom go-PAST
'We-two-exclusive, one member of whom is (my) father, went,
i.e. (my) father and I went'

Similarly, for a bound pronoun.

Examples of APPOSITIVE NPs include text 1, sentence 56 and:

- (47) $\eta\alpha\delta u$ - $\eta\eta u$ $widbilip$ - δu $\eta\alpha$ - $\eta\alpha$ $\delta\alpha\delta i$ lan - i
 1Sg-ERG 'name'-ERG C-1SgNom kangaroo spear-PAST
 'I, *Widbilinj* (a man's name), speared a kangaroo'

Examples of MODIFICATORY NPs include (44). A pronoun can be modified by an 'adjective-like' noun. Thus:

- (48) $\eta\alpha\delta u$ - $\eta\eta u$ $jambi$ - gu $\eta\alpha$ - $\eta\alpha$ $\delta\alpha\delta i$ lan - i
 1Sg-ERG big-ERG C-1SgNom kangaroo spear-PAST
 'I, who am big, speared a kangaroo'

Generally, an 'adjective-like' noun modifies a 'noun-like' noun; for instance, *jambi* 'big' and *mawun* 'man' in (53). However, in a number of instances, a 'noun-like' (rather than 'adjective-like') noun appears to modify another 'noun-like' noun; here, the former specifies the latter's sort, type, material, origin, location or the like. Examples include *guři* $\delta\alpha\delta i$ 'fat kangaroo', i.e. 'kangaroo fat' in text 2, sentence 31 and:

- (49) $mawun$ $pina\eta$ - an $bi\delta a$ - $\eta\eta a$ $juga$ - $\eta\eta a$
 man sit-PRES bed-LOC spinifex grass-LOC
 'A man is sitting on a grass bed'

- (50) $mawun$ - du $\eta\alpha\eta$ - an $milbun$ $\eta\alpha\delta a$
 man-ERG drink-PRES water hole water
 'A man drinks water from a water hole'

(Such NPs are reminiscent of English phrases such as *paper money* (*paper* specifies material) and *desk work* (*desk* specifies location).) Similar to them are NPs that contain a 'generic noun' and 'specific noun'. For instance, *buņu* *buřuru* 'tree lancewood'; *naři* *řuruluŋgu* 'clothes trousers'; and *gupař* *mařaņ* 'dog dingo' in (445). There are two nouns that are often used as such generic nouns: *mařari* 'vegetable food stuff' and *guju* 'game, meat' (including most birds, reptiles and fishes as well as animals). Examples include (288); (442); *guju* *bulumanu* 'meat bullock' in (287)-(iii) and:

- (51) $mawun$ - du $mařari$ $jumali$ $\eta\alpha\eta$ - an
 man-ERG food bush orange eat-PRES
 'A man eats a bush orange'

- (52) $mawun$ jan - an $guju$ - wu $\delta\alpha\delta i$ - wu
 man go-PRES game-DAT1 kangaroo-DAT1
 'A man goes for a kangaroo'

Within an NP, a 'generic noun' tends to immediately precede a 'specific noun', but this is not always the case. See the examples listed above.

The semantic load of the generic nouns is very low.

In 4.11.4.-[6], we shall compare generic-specific NPs with the expressions of whole-part (or possessor-possessed) relationship.

In Djaru, NPs contain a generic noun less frequently than otherwise. But in some languages NPs often contain a generic noun; for example, in Djaabugay (Hale 1964, 1976a). Djaru has no noun classes, but a number of languages do have noun classes; for instance, Gidja (Taylor and Taylor 1971), immediately northwest of Djaru, and Djirbal (Dixon 1968, 1972: 44, 306-11). The addition of a generic noun to a specific noun may have been the origin of noun classes. See Capell 1956:37-45, Dixon 1968, 1970a and Rigsby 1976.

NPs under consideration in (49)-(52) can be regarded as examples of appositive (rather than modificatory) NPs. For instance, (49) can be translated as '*a man is sitting on a bed, (namely) on spinifex grass*'.

Members of the same NP tend to occur together, for instance:

- (53) jalu-ngu mawun-du jambi-gu ɖaɖi lan-i
 that-ERG man-ERG big-ERG kangaroo spear-PAST
 'That big man speared a kangaroo'

although it is quite acceptable for them to be scattered or 'scrambled' (Hale 1967), for example:

- (54) jalu-ngu lani-i mawun-du ɖaɖi jambi-gu
 As above.

As a rule, each member is declined, showing agreement in the case ending, as shown in the above two examples. Other examples include text 1, sentences 27 and 59. However, (particularly when members occur together) one or more members may lack the case ending - providing at least one member is declined. (Similar situations are found in Walbiri, southeast of Djaru - Hale 1967.) Examples involving the ergative case include (516) and:

- (55) jalu mawun-du jambi-gu ɖaɖi lan-i
 As above.

In (55), jalu does not have the ergative ending -ngu, unlike in (53) and (54).

In 3.2.2. we saw that one of the ergative/instrumental forms of the demonstrative jala/u '*there/that*' in fact does not have any overt ending at all; the form is simply jalu. Similarly, one of the ergative/instrumental forms of mu|a/u '*this/here*' is simply mu|u. These two forms are used exclusively in an NP in which at least one member is declined for the ergative/instrumental, for instance (55). (They are used for the ergative/instrumental only and not for any other case.)

The demonstratives pawa '*this*' and pila '*that*' never decline. But, their function can be indicated by other word(s) of the same NP and/or bound pronoun that cross-references them. A

free pronoun does not have to be declined for the ergative case if its function is indicated by a bound pronoun which cross-references it (this applies to the ergative only and not to any other case). See 4.5.11.-[4] and [6].

It is not easy to generalise about word order within an NP. At least, the following tendencies may be mentioned:

- (a) an interrogative word occurs initially - (44);
- (b) a demonstrative occurs initially unless the NP contains an interrogative word - (53), (55);
- (c) a pronoun precedes noun(s) - (46), (47), (48);
- (d) a generic noun immediately precedes a specific noun - (51), (52);
- (e) 'adjective-like' nouns precede, approximately as frequently as they follow 'noun-like' nouns.

4.2. VERB COMPLEXES

There are three types of V(erb) C(omplexes):

[1] Involving a preverb.

Examples include:

- jud nin(aŋ)- lit. '*sitting*' 'Vint stay', i.e. '*sit (down)*';
 bagu jan- lit. '*lying for sleep*' 'Vint go', i.e. '*sleep*',
 e.g. text 1, sentence 55, 57.

For a full discussion of VCs involving a preverb, see 4.10.4.-4.10.8.

[2] Involving a verbid.

A verbid (the non-finite form of a verb - 3.7.2.) may occur with a finite (form of a) verb. This process is very common in the avoidance language (see Chapter 5) but very uncommon in the ordinary language - see 4.9.2.

[3] Idioms.

There are a few idiomatic VCs. Examples include:

- bina juŋ- lit. '*knowing* (noun)' 'Vtr give', i.e. '*teach*',
 e.g. (290);
 nura nin(aŋ)- lit. '*camp* (noun)' 'Vint stay', i.e. '*camp (out)*';
 nura bagu jan- lit. '*camp* (noun)' '*lying for sleep* (prev)' 'Vint go',
 i.e. '*camp out*'.

The word bina means '*ear*' in many other Australian languages, e.g. Walmadjari (Hudson 1978:97), southwest of Djaru and Yidiny (Dixon 1977b:547), in North Queensland. Djaru has two cognates - bina and binari; by a semantic shift, they mean '*knowing*'. (Recall that the ear is regarded as the seat of intelligence - 1.4.) Examples of binari include (88), (116), (120), (121), (128), (131) and text 3, sentence 1; bina is generally (though not always) used in the expression bina juŋ- '*teach*'.

- (56) mawun ɲura ɲinaŋ-an ɡaŋdura binga-ga
man -PRES down creek-LOC
'A man camps down at the creek'

(Here, ɲura generally precedes, but can also follow, ɲin(aŋ)-.)

Compare this idiomatic use of ɲura with its non-idiomatic use, for instance:

- (57) mawun ɲura-ŋga ɲinaŋ-an
man camp-LOC stay-PRES
'A man stays in the camp'

In (56), a noun with no overt case ending, i.e. ɲura 'camp' is used, in a way, like a noun with a case ending (i.e. locative). This is reminiscent of English expressions such as *go HOME*, *go PLACES*, *stay THE NIGHT* and *fly SECOND CLASS*.

Many VCs appear to constitute one single semantic unit (at least from the Japanese point of view). In the examples given below, instead of giving a gloss to each member of a VC, in most cases we shall simply give one gloss for the whole VC. Thus, we shall give:

bagu ɲan-an instead of bagu ɲan-an
sleep-PRES lying for sleep go-PRES

VCS - particularly, those involving a preverb - are very frequently used, and it is often convenient (or necessary) to treat both verbs and VCS in a similar (or the same) way. In such a case, we shall refer to both simply by V(C)s.

4.3. SENTENCE TYPES

4.3.1. SIMPLE SENTENCES

Most of the Djaru sentences contain a predicate verb (see 4.4.2.) and some do not (i.e. so-called 'verbless sentences'). The former can be classified as follows:

TABLE 4.1.

SIMPLE SENTENCE TYPES (1)

transitive	{	transitive (proper) : ERG ABS V(C) e.g. 'hit', 'eat'
		semi-transitive : ERG DAT V(C) e.g. 'search', 'wait'
intransitive	{	semi-intransitive : ABS ABS V(C) e.g. 'talk', 'play'
		intransitive (proper) : ABS V(C) e.g. 'go', 'sit'

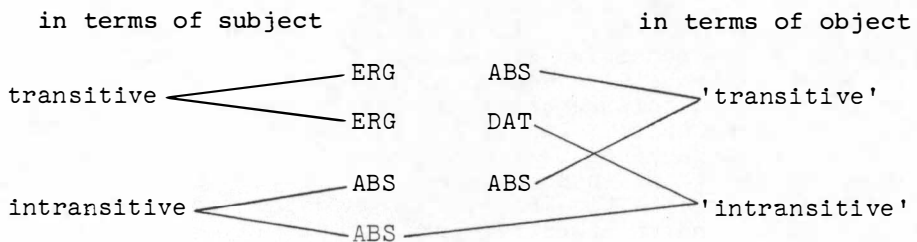
(Note that Table 4.1. concerns the case marking of nominals only; bound pronouns are not considered here. The same applies to the following discussions of Djaru sentence patterns. Note also that Table 4.1. deals with surface case marking only; for definitions and discussions of grammatical relations (or sentence parts), such as 'subject' and 'object' see 4.4.1., 4.4.3. and 4.4.4., in particular.) Examples include:

- (58) mawun-du guṅar buṅ-an
 man-ERG dog hit-PRES
 'A man hits a dog'
- (59) mawun-du ṅa-la ḍaḍi-wu muwu wuṅ-an
 man-ERG C-3SgDat kangaroo-DAT1 search-PRES
 'A man looks for a kangaroo'
- (60) mawun ḍaṛu maṅ-an
 man Djaru talk-PRES
 'A man talks Djaru'
- (61) mawun jan-an
 man-ABS go-PRES
 'A man goes'

In most transitive sentences, the subject is ergative and the object is absolutive. In intransitive sentences, the subject is absolutive. Intransitive sentences can optionally include an object, generally in the dative(1) - e.g. 'think about'. Now, there are several V(C)s that take an ergative subject and dative (rather than absolutive) object; we term such sentences 'semi-transitive' (see 4.5.9. for a full discussion). They are like intransitive sentences in that they take a dative (rather than absolutive) object. There are at least two intransitive V(C)s that can optionally take an absolutive object (naturally, they can freely occur with no object); we term such sentences 'semi-intransitive' (see 4.4.4.). They are like transitive sentences in that they take an absolutive object. The above four sentence types can thus be classified in two different respects:

- (a) in terms of the subject: whether it is ergative or absolutive;
 (b) in terms of the object: whether or not the sentence contains an absolutive object.

TABLE 4.2.
 SIMPLE SENTENCE TYPES (2)



Semi-transitive and semi-intransitive sentences are quite interesting from the view point of universal grammar or syntactic typology. It seems that the dichotomy of sentences

into transitives and intransitives has been widely accepted, whether explicitly or implicitly, for ergative languages (and also for other types of languages - see for instance, Hockett 1958:204). However, this simple dichotomy is not suitable for Djaru and consequently, is not applicable universally. Most proposals for case marking, in particular those concerning ergativity, are based on this simple dichotomy. Most of case marking proposals ignore semi-transitive and semi-intransitive sentences.

It has often been suggested that 'apparently ergative languages are really accusative languages with obligatory passive expression of transitive sentences' (cf. Silverstein 1976:114. See also Fillmore 1968:59; Hohepa 1969; and Hale 1968 and 1970; Catford 1975; and Chung 1978). In this view, case marking would be as follows:

accusative language				→	ergative language		
transitive	NOM	ACC	Vtr		ABS	ERG	Vtr
intransitive	NOM	Vint		passive	ABS	Vint	

Clearly, this scheme cannot account for the case marking of, at least, semi-transitive sentences.

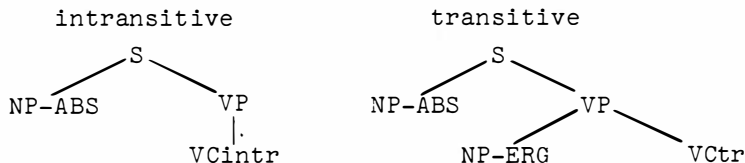
Dixon (1972:137) proposes the following PS rules for Djirbal (the writer's presentation differs from Dixon's in insignificant ways):

- (i) $S \longrightarrow NP + VP$
(ii) $VP \longrightarrow \begin{cases} VCintr \\ NP + VCtr \end{cases}$

from which we obtain intransitive and transitive sentences, as shown below. Dixon (p.152) then proposes the following case marking convention:

- (i) the left most NP immediately dominated by S is in absolutive case;
(ii) all other NPs are in ergative case.

Thus, we obtain:



(Word order is irrelevant to this discussion.) As it stands, this proposal cannot accommodate semi-transitive or semi-intransitive sentences. As it happens, Djirbal appears to have no semi-transitive sentences. However, Djirbal does have semi-intransitive sentence, for instance (610) on p.239 of Dixon 1972; this sentence is exactly analogous to the Djaru sentence (60) above. In our analysis we recognise semi-intransitive sentences, with an absolutive object. But, Dixon does not recognise such a sentence or object, and is forced, in a sentence like his (610), to regard the word referring to the speaker and the word referring to the language as constituting one single NP. However, clearly this view is not applicable to Djaru - see 4.4.4.

An interesting proposal for case marking is Silverstein's (1976). But, Silverstein is essentially concerned with transitive sentences (proper) in terms of absolutive-ergative versus nominative-accusative case marking, and does not consider semi-transitive or semi-intransitive sentences. (But, see 4.4.4. for Silverstein's comment on the Djaru semi-intransitive sentences.)

S. Anderson (1976) essentially takes the same line as Silverstein's. However, unlike Silverstein, Anderson does consider semi-transitive sentences. In order to accommodate them in the Silversteinian scheme, he seems to suggest that semi-transitive sentences are underlain by and derived from transitive sentences (proper) with the transformation of the objects from the absolutive into the dative (p.23). However, this approach is unworkable, at least, for Djaru semi-transitive sentences. See 4.5.9.

Heath (1976) modifies and improves Silverstein's scheme, trying to incorporate not only absolutive-ergative and nominative-accusative patterns, but also active-inactive patterns. (For active-inactive patterns, see Sapir 1917a; Fillmore 1968:53-54; Comrie 1973, 1976; Aronson 1977; Heath 1977.) But, here again, semi-transitive and semi-intransitive sentences are neglected.

Any theory of universal grammar or syntactic typology will have to incorporate and account for both semi-transitive and semi-intransitive sentences. In fact, there is a chance that there may be other types of sentences (in some other ergative languages) that have been neglected so far. See Table 4.3. and the subsequent discussion.

There are certain correlations between the semantic natures of verb (complexes) and the case frame(s) they take. It is interesting to compare Djaru with other ergative languages in this regard. The case frames in seven selected ergative languages can be roughly summarised as follows:

TABLE 4.3.
CASE FRAMES IN SEVEN ERGATIVE LANGUAGES

	'kill'	'see', 'hear'	'possess'	'love'	'search', 'wait'	'go'
Avar	ERG-ABS	LOC-ABS	GEN-ABS	DAT-ABS		ABS*
Dargva	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS		DAT-ABS		ABS*
Eskimo	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ABS
		ALL-ABS(?)				
Basque	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ABS
Warungu	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ABS-DAT	ERG-ABS	ABS
					ABS-DAT	
Djaru	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ERG-ABS	ERG-DAT	ABS
				ABS-DAT	ABS-DAT	

(Word order is ignored in the above list. Information is not available for every verb under examination. An asterisk indicates that the verb concerned will almost certainly take this case frame although there is no actual example of this particular verb in the source. The sources are as follows: Avar: Abdullaev 1976a, Madieva 1967, Meshchaninov 1967:48; Darvga: Abdullaev 1967a,b, 1971:259-65; Eskimo: Jespersen 1924:66, Miyaoka, personal communication, Swadesh 1946; Basque: Heath 1974, Shimomiya 1976 and 1980, personal communication; Warungu: Tsunoda 1974a.)

The table reads as follows. In the case frame for '*kill*', the case label to the left of the hyphen marks '*killer*' and that to the right marks '*killed*'. Similarly, for other case frames; i.e. '*see-er*'-'*seen*' and '*hearer*'-'*heard*'; '*possessor*'-'*possessed*'; '*lover*'-'*loved*'; '*searcher*'-'*searched*'; and '*waiter*'-'*waited*'.

Among the two-place verbs, in the case of verbs such as '*kill*':

- (a) one NP marks an instigator/ergator(/agent);
- (b) the other NP marks an affectum(/patient),

and the former is ergative and the latter is absolutive. In the case of other two-place verbs, not both (a) and (b) are fulfilled; then a verb may take some other case frame. In Avar, for instance, if the NP of (a) does not mark an instigator/ergator, then it is locative ('*see-er*', '*hearer*'), genitive ('*possessor*') or dative ('*lover*'). If the NP of (b) does not mark an affectum, then it may be, for instance, dative, as in the Djaru semi-transitive sentences (ERG-DAT). If neither of (a) and (b) is fulfilled, then naturally the NP of (a) may not be ergative and the NP of (b) not absolutive, for instance, as in ABS-DAT '*wait for*', '*look for*' in Warungu and Djaru. Verbs such as '*go*' are one-place verbs, the only NP being in the absolutive case. (In active-inactive languages, the (only) NP is in the active case if it is semantically 'agent' and in the inactive case if semantically it is not 'agent'.)

It is not known whether or not LOC-ABS, GEN-ABS and DAT-ABS sentences in Avar, for example, are transitive sentences. If they are, they have been neglected in various proposals for case marking. (As was pointed out above, it seems doubtful if the simple dichotomy of sentences into transitives and intransitives is universally applicable. Instead, we may posit a hierarchy or continuum, with verbs such as '*kill*' at one end and verbs such as '*go*' at the other end. Other types of verbs (and sentences) are then scattered between the two extremes.)

See Tsunoda 1980b and 1980c for a discussion of ergativity, agentivity and transitivity in relation to the semantic contents of verbs and tense/aspect/mood distinctions.

'Verbless sentences' may be regarded as a type of intransitive sentences. Examples include (12) in 3.2.1., (25) in 3.3.1. and:

- (62)

<i>ŋaɖu</i>	<i>ŋa-ŋa</i>	<i>mawun</i>	
1Sg	C-1SgNom	<i>Aboriginal man</i>	
<i>'I am an Aboriginal man'</i>			

- (63)

<i>ŋaɖu</i>	<i>muɭa</i>	
1Sg	<i>this/here</i>	
<i>'I am here'</i>		

(64) ḡali ḡa-li-la mu|u-wu ḡanḡa-wu
 1DuInc C-1DuIncNom-3SgDat this-DAT1 ground-DAT1
 'We (Aborigines) belong to this land'

(65) waḡa ḡajingu ḡani-ḡani biḡa-ḡa maliri-la
 snake inside-RDP hole-LOC cold weather-LOC
 'In winter the snake is in a hole'

(For ḡajingu, see 4.5.1.) Other examples include text 1, sentence 21, 44, 62; text 2, sentence 33; and text 3, sentences 5 and 6.

Russian has verbless sentences, in the present tense only - e.g. *eto saša, eto nataša*. Verbless sentences are rather awkward in any grammar that is primarily based on verbs. For case grammar in this connection, see Fillmore 1968:84. Dixon (1972:71) suggests for Djirbal that sentences consisting of absolutive nominals only - analogous to (62) and (63) - consist of just one NP.

4.3.2. EXPANDED SIMPLE SENTENCES

[1] Involving a V(C)

One (or more) NP can be added to the frames discussed above. Thus, possible case frames in Djaru include:

Case Frame	V(C)s, e.g.	Example(s)
(a) ABS	'go', 'talk', 'sit'	(45), (61)
(b) ABS LOC	'talk to', 'be afraid of'	(93), (94)
(c) ABS DAT	'talk about', 'wait for'	(80), (86)
(d) ABS ABS	'talk (a language)', 'play (a corroboree)'	(60), (73) (75)
(e) ERG DAT	'look for', 'wait for'	(59), (209)
(f) ERG ABS	'hit/kill', 'see', 'hear', 'possess', 'love'	(47), (58), (68), (213), (234), (386)
(g) ERG ABS LOC	'show to', 'tell to'	(110), (112)
(h) ERG ABS DAT	'give to', 'ask for'	(104), (109)
(i) ERG ABS ABS	'give to'	(106)

(b), (c) and/or (d) can be collapsed, producing:

Case Frame	V(C)s, e.g.	Example(s)
(j) ABS DAT LOC	'talk about to'	(196)
(k) ABS ABS LOC	'talk (a language) to'	(92)
(l) ABS ABS DAT	'talk/tell (a story) about'	
(m) ABS ABS DAT LOC	'talk/tell (a story) about to'	

(Note again that we are dealing with case marking of nominals. Here, bound pronouns are ignored.)

The dative NPs in the above frames each mark goal of pursuit, topic of language activity, recipient and so on. But, the dative can also mark possessor, beneficiary, purpose (in general) or the like. Some of the above frames do not contain a dative NP, but they can contain one as long as it is semantically compatible. Thus, by adding a dative NP to (a), we obtain:

(n) ABS DAT *'go for'* (52)

(The resultant frame is identical with (c).) Similarly, by adding a dative NP to (f), we obtain:

(o) ERG ABS DAT *'kill (a kangaroo) for (someone)'*

(The resultant frame is identical with (h).) Thus:

(66) ṅaḍu-ṅgu ṅa-ṅa-la maṅari gambaṅ-i ṅama-ji-wu
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-3SgDat food cook-PAST M-KIN-DAT1
 'I cooked food FOR mother, or, I cooked mother'S food.'

In particular, it is notable that we can add a dative NP (marking a beneficiary) to (e), which already has a dative NP (marking goal of pursuit):

(p) ERG DAT DAT *'look for (a kangaroo) for (someone)'*

(See 4.5.9. for details.)

While pronouns have only one dative case, nouns have two: dative-1 and dative-2. The dative-2 marks only purpose in W, and predominantly destination (like the allative) in N - 3.2.1. The dative of pronouns and dative-1 can be used in any of the above frames. However, the dative-2 of W (marking purpose) can only be used in sentences such as *'go for'* - (n) - and *'wait for'*, *'look for'* - (c) and (e). For the dative-2 of N (marking destination) the comment on the allative given below applies.

Expansion of sentences by means of the dative -gu(/-wu), in particular marking purpose, is extremely common in Djaru and other Australian languages. See Capell 1956:77; Dixon 1972:11; Breen 1974; Blake 1976b and other papers for Topic C in Dixon, ed. 1976:419-82.

To the above frames can be added an instrumental, locative (marking time, place and so on), allative, ablative (1 or 2) NP and/or adverb(s) (again so long as it is semantically compatible) - for examples, see 3.2.1.

[2] Involving no V(C)

A 'verbless' sentence, too, can be expanded by adding one or more NPs. Thus, by adding a dative NP to a sentence such as (62), consisting of two absolutive NPs, we obtain, for instance:

- (67) $\eta\alpha\delta u$ $\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta\eta u$ $b\alpha b\alpha j i$ $\eta\eta u\eta\alpha$
 1Sg-ABS C-1SgNom-2SgDat EB-ABS 2Sg-DAT
'I am an elder brother to you, I am your elder brother'

More examples of sentence types, discussed in 4.3. are given below, in particular in 4.4.-4.4.10.

4.4. SENTENCE PARTS

A sentence consists of its 'sentence element(s)' or 'sentence part(s)' (for these terms, see Worth 1968).

4.4.1. BOUND PRONOUNS AND SENTENCE PARTS

The correspondence between the (absolutive-ergative) paradigm of nominals and the (nominative-accusative) paradigm of bound pronouns is (cf. 3.4.):

Nominal	Bound Pronoun	Example(s)
ERG(ATIVE) as St	Nom(inative)	(68), (72)
ABS(OLUTIVE) as Si		(67), (70), (71)
ABS(OLUTIVE) as DO	Acc(usative)	(68)
DAT(IVE) (1,2)	Dat(ive)	(67), (69)
LOC(ATIVE)	Loc(ational)	(70)
ALL(ATIVE)		(71)
ABL(ATIVE) (1,2)		(72)

Turner River dialect lacks the ergative case for pronouns; here the absolutive case marks St (as well as Si and DO) - 3.3. In fact, in other dialects, too, the absolutive case of pronouns can mark St under certain circumstances. See 4.5.11.-[3].

(Note again that case labels in capital letters throughout, e.g. ERGATIVE and ERG, refer to case marking of nominals; and that case labels with the first letter only in a capital letter, e.g. Nominative and Nom, refer to case marking of bound pronouns.)

- (68) $\eta\alpha\delta u\text{'-}\eta\eta u$ $\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta\eta u$ $\eta\eta u\delta u$ $\eta\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta\alpha$
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgAcc 2Sg-ABS see-PRES
'I look at you'
- (69) $\eta\eta\eta\eta\alpha$ $\eta\eta\eta\eta\text{-}\eta\eta\eta$ $\eta\eta\text{-}\eta\eta\eta$ $\eta\eta\eta\text{-}\eta\eta\eta$
 1Sg-DAT father-KIN-ABS C-1SgDat come-PAST
'My father came'
- (70) $\eta\eta\eta\eta\delta u$ $\eta\eta\text{-}\eta\text{-}\delta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta$ $\eta\eta\eta\text{-}\eta\eta\eta$ $\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\text{-}\delta\eta\eta$ $\delta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\text{-}\eta\eta\eta$
 2Sg-ABS C-2SgNom-3PlLoc talk-PAST man-LOC many-LOC
'You talked to a big mob of men'

(71) ḡaḡu ḡa-ḡa-ḡanda jan-i mawun-dawu
 1Sg-ABS C-1SgNom-3SgLoc go-PAST man-ALL
 'I went to a man'

(72) mawun-du ḡa-jila guju ḡan-a ḡaniḡip (or ḡaniḡip-ḡu)
 man-ERG C-1SgLoc meat-ABS carry-PAST 1Sg-ABL1 1Sg-ABL2
 'A man carried/took meat from me'

Dative and ablative-1 (of free pronouns) can further decline (3.3.). For a discussion of their cross-reference, see 4.5.8.-[1].

The correspondence given above is, in fact, somewhat oversimplified; there are certain restrictions/constraints on the occurrence of bound pronouns. For example, among the words in the same case - say, in the locative - some can be cross-referenced by a bound pronoun (although they may not be cross-referenced in every instance), but others can never be cross-referenced. These constraints are discussed in 4.5.8. Some of these constraints appear to be syntactic. Mainly on the basis of:

- (a) these syntactic constraints on bound pronouns, and;
- (b) the correspondence between the case marking of nominals and that of bound pronouns,

we can recognise the following sentence parts (or, grammatical relations) for Djaru. (This is only tentative, and is neither conclusive nor exhaustive. For a further discussion, see 4.5.8.-[2], [3].) A sentence part is realised by free word(s) and/or a bound pronoun.

TABLE 4.4.
SENTENCE PARTS (1)

Sentence Part	Free Word	Bound Pronoun
predicate verb	verb (complex)	
subject	{ transitive { ERGATIVE ABSOLUTIVE of pronoun* } { intransitive ABSOLUTIVE }	Nominative
direct object	ABSOLUTIVE	Accusative
indirect object	{ ABSOLUTIVE (as IO) of 'give')** } { DATIVE (of pronoun) } { DATIVE-1 } { DATIVE-2 (W only) }	Dative
subjunct	{ DATIVE-1*** } { LOCATIVE } { ALLATIVE } { ABLATIVE-1,-2 (of pronoun) } { ABLATIVE (of noun) }	Locational
circumstance	{ INSTRUMENTAL } { DATIVE-1 } { DATIVE-2 (mainly N) } { LOCATIVE } { ALLATIVE } { ABLATIVE (of noun only) } { adverb of time, place and } { so on }	...
predicative	{ ABSOLUTIVE } { noun with -g and so on }	...
independent word	{ interjection } { nominal of 'vocative use' }	...

* See 4.5.11.-[3].

** See 4.4.7.-[1].

***See 4.4.7.-[4].

4.4.2. PREDICATE VERB

A predicate verb consists of a verb or verb complex. The predicate verb is the 'control center of a sentence' (Chafe 1970:97, 165); the structure of a sentence crucially depends on the nature of its predicate verb. Most sentences contain a predicate verb, but some do not - e.g. (62)-(65), (67).

4.4.3. SUBJECT

The notion of 'subject' was developed in the grammars of European languages such as Greek and Latin, of the nominative-accusative type, and it is not necessarily readily applicable to languages of other types.

Thus, Mikami (1960 and others) argues that the notion of 'subject' does not apply to Japanese. In fact, even in European languages we find sentences with no subject. For example:

German : *Mir ist kalt.*

English: *Me thinks...* (archaic)

Russian: *Mne xolodno.* (Kimura 1964:58)

Govorjat, shto on bolen. (Kimura 1964:43)

Dorogu zaneslo snegom. (Shimomiya 1976:84)

Also, in the case of ergative languages, 'we must take the notion of...'subject...as problematic rather than given' (Silverstein 1976:114). For instance, Sommerfelt (1937) says that Georgian has no subject. Fillmore (1968:59) reports:

The difficulty of determining the 'subject' in ergative languages has been described by Martinet (1962b:78ff): Some scholars identify as subject the word which would be the subject in a translation of the sentence into French - that is, the nominative in intransitive sentences and the ergative in transitive sentences. (Note by TT: this 'nominative' corresponds to our absolutive and not nominative.) Others regard the nominative as the subject in all sentences, thus giving transitive sentences a 'passive' interpretation. (Note by TT: see 4.3.1.) Lafon gives up on transitive sentences, saying of transitive sentences that they have no subject.

Guxman (1972) discusses the criteria for determining the subject in various (and not only ergative) types of languages. The criteria discussed include (a) 'given' and 'new' information, (b) word order, (c) semantics of NPs (e.g. 'agent'), (d) case marking, (e) pronominal number in verb endings, and (f) concord between noun classes and verbal suffixes. Guxman concludes, for instance, that (a) Basque and Georgian have no subject and (b) Avar has a subject - in any type of sentence, the subject is the absolutive NP. (For the sentence types in Avar, see 4.3.1. It should be noted that, for Avar, Madieva (1967:266-67) (like Guxman) regards the absolutive NP as the subject in intransitive sentences but (unlike Guxman) the other NP as the subject in other types of sentence - the ergative NP in the first type of sentences, the locative NP in the second type of sentences, and so on.)

For Australian languages, most of which are ergative languages, Blake (1976a) examines the notion of subject, and proposes syntactic as well as morphological criteria for determining the subject. He notes that in some languages it is difficult to determine the subject. Keenan (1976) attempts to posit universal criteria for determining the subject. Anderson (1974, 1976) surveys the notion of subject in ergative languages of various language families (and also gives a convenient summary of the history of the study of subject in ergative languages.)

Djaru is a (type of) ergative language, but here it is in fact easy to decide the subject. In any type of sentence (whether transitive or intransitive) the subject is:

- (a) the nominal(s) that can be cross-referenced by a nominative bound pronoun, and/or;
- (b) the nominative bound pronoun.

We adopt these criteria in spite of the morphological discrepancy (in the case marking of nominals) between transitive subject (in the ergative) and intransitive subject (in the absolutive). There are two reasons for this:

(a) **Case Marking:** case marking of a bound pronoun is sensitive to its grammatical relation, but case marking of a nominal (which it cross-references) is not necessarily so. Thus, the ergative marking of a free pronoun is (redundant and) optional if there is a bound pronoun that cross-references it, showing its grammatical relation. (See 4.4.7.-[1], [4] and 4.5.11.-[3] and [4].) Therefore, in terms of case marking, bound pronouns are more fundamental than nominals, and with bound pronouns, only the nominative can be identified as the subject.

(b) **Syntactic Rules:** Djaru syntax is partly nominative-accusative and partly neutral as regards the ergative-accusative dichotomy. In the rules of the nominative-accusative type, transitive subject and intransitive subject are treated alike whatever their case marking may be.

On the basis of (a) and (b), we can establish the category 'subject' (embracing both transitive and intransitive subject).

There are at least two syntactic rules that are clearly in the nominative-accusative pattern - reflexivisation (4.5.10.) and equi-NP deletion in locative-gerundive constructions (4.9.1.-[1]). There is at most only one syntactic rule that is possibly of the absolutive-ergative type, but its absolutive-ergative status is not certain - 4.11.4.-[2]. Otherwise, Djaru syntax is neutral as regards the ergative-accusative dichotomy, e.g. 'relativisation' (4.7.-[1]). It should be mentioned in connection with (a) above that in reflexivisation it is the nominative of a bound pronoun (rather than the absolutive or ergative of a nominal) that is the controller. Here again, a bound pronoun is more fundamental than a nominal.

In the most favoured and statistically frequent word order, the nominal(s) as the subject occurs sentence-initially, and is separated from other constituent(s) by a catalyst-plus-bound pronoun(s), e.g. (66)-(72).

The criteria adopted above are the only workable ones for Djaru. It has been suggested for some other ergative languages that in any type of sentence the absolutive NP is the

subject, but this does not work for Djaru. Under this proposal, semi-transitive sentences (ERG-DAT) would have no subject.

Ergative languages have been thought to present a problem to relational grammar - see Johnson 1974a,b, and 1977, for instance. This is largely because of the problem of 'subject' in ergative languages. However, in this respect Djaru presents no problem at all (although it is a type of ergative language), due to the nominative-accusative nature of bound pronouns and of its syntactic organisation.

Blake (1976a,b) suggests that while many Australian languages are morphologically absolutive-ergative, they are syntactically nominative-accusative. Anderson (1974, 1976) concludes (on not very ample evidence) that most ergative languages are syntactically nominative-accusative.

4.4.4. DIRECT OBJECT

A D(irect) O(bject) consists of absolutive nominal(s) and/or an accusative bound pronoun.

[1] Transitive direct object - sentences of the type (f) (see 4.3.2.). Examples include (58) and (68).

[2] Intransitive direct object - sentences of the type (d).

There are at least three intransitive V(C)s that can (optionally) take a direct object: *maŋ-* 'talk/speak', *ɽuju maŋ-* 'play' and the avoidance verb *luwaŋ-* (see Chapter 5). Examples include (60) and:

(73) *ŋaɖu* *ŋa-ŋa* *ɖaɽu* *maŋ-an*
1Sg-ABS C-1SgNom *Djaru*-ABS *speak*-PRES
'I speak Djaru'

(74) *ŋa-li* *maŋ-an* *walɖiri*
C-1DuIncNom *talk*-PRES *Dream time*-ABS
'We talk about the Dream time'

(75) *mawun* *ŋa-lu* *ɖunba* *ɽuju maŋ-an*
man-ABS C-3PlNom *corroboree*-ABS *play*-PRES
'Men play a corroboree'

(76) *ŋujuɽu* *ŋa-lu* *ɽuju maŋ-an* *gaad* (or *galb*)
many-(N)-ABS C-3PlNom *play*-PRES *card*-ABS *golf*-ABS
'Many people are playing cards (or golf)' (N example)

The object of *maŋ-* 'speak/talk' generally refers to language or story ('talk a language', 'tell a story') and rarely to dream time, boomerang, shield, and so on ('talk about a boomerang').

There is a noun that appears to take a direct object. See text 1, sentences 42, 43.

'Play a corroboree' can also be expressed involving the transitive verb *buŋ-* 'hit' or the transitive VC *ɽuju wuŋ-* 'play'. Compare (75) with:

(77) *mawun-du* *ŋa-lu* *ɖunba* *buŋ-an* (or *ɽuju wuŋ-an*)
man-ERG C-3PlNom *corroboree* *hit*-PRES *play*-PRES
'Men play a corroboree'

Intransitive DOs are cross-referenced by bound pronouns in some examples, but they are rejected by some other speakers. This point needs to be further checked.

What are similar to the Djaru intransitive DO are found in some other Australian languages as well, for instance, Yandruwandha, in the northeast of South Australia (Breen, personal communication); Djirbal (Dixon 1972:239) and Yidiny (Dixon 1977b:497), North Queensland; Malngin, Wanjira and Ngardi.

Dixon's example (610) on page 239:

ɲinda giramay wurba
2Sg Giramay talk-IMP

'You talk Giramay'

is exactly analogous to our examples (60) and (73). Dixon does not recognise an intransitive DO for Djirbal, and regards (the word referring to) the 'speaker' and (that referring to) the 'language' as constituting one single NP, saying that these two words 'should perhaps be regarded as an instance of inalienable possession' (p.239). (Dixon says (p.61) that in Djirbal inalienable possession is expressed, in one single NP, by apposition of the possessor and the possessed.) Clearly, this does not apply to Djaru. The reasons are as follows:

(a) The 'speaker' and 'language' do not constitute a single NP. When a verb is nominalised (and becomes a verbid) and is turned into an agent noun suffixed with *-waɟi/-gaɟi* (6.2.1.-[9]), the 'language' can be incorporated into the agent noun, but the 'speaker' cannot. Thus, from (73) we can have:

(78) ɲaɟu ɲa-ɲa ɟaɟu-maɲ-u-waɟi
1Sg C-1SgNom Djaru-speak-VBD-AGENT

'I am a Djaru speaker'

but, we cannot have:

*ɲaɟu-ɟaɟu-maɲ-u-waɟi

As another piece of evidence, when a sentence such as (73), for example, is subordinated in a locative gerund construction, equi-NP rule deletes the 'speaker', but the 'language' remains. (See (300)-(302) in 4.9.1.)

These pieces of evidence show that the 'speaker' and 'language' are two separate NPs and not one single NP.

(b) Intransitive DOs are not necessarily inalienably possessed. 'Language', 'dream time' (and possibly 'corroboree') may be inalienably possessed, but certainly 'cards' and 'golf' do not appear to be so.

Silverstein (personal communication) suggests that what we term an intransitive DO may be a 'pseudo' object and really an adverbial phrase. (cf. the English expressions *go HOME*, *stay THE NIGHT*, *go PLACES* and *fly SECOND CLASS*.) But, we regard it as a 'true' object rather than as a 'pseudo' object. This is because an intransitive DO behaves exactly like a 'true' transitive DO (also in the absolute), for instance, in object incorporation into an agent noun of verbid (see (78) and 6.2.3.-[2]) and gerund constructions (4.9.1.-[1]).

Intransitive direct objects are also found, for instance, in English e.g. *die A HEROIC DEATH*.

4.4.5. INDIRECT OBJECT

An I(ndirect) O(bject) consists of dative (1 or 2) nominal(s) and/or dative bound pronoun.

[1] Of semi-transitive V(C)s - sentences of the types (e) and (p).

The IO of the type (e) is the most 'typical' or 'representative' IO. It marks the goal of pursuit (e.g. 'look for' and 'wait for'). Examples include (59).

A semi-transitive sentence can contain an additional dative nominal(s) as another IO; this second IO marks a beneficiary - sentences of the type (p). The two IOs - 'goal' and 'beneficiary' - are cross-referenced DIFFERENTLY, by bound pronouns. For a full discussion of semi-transitive sentences, see 4.5.9.

[2] Of transitive V(C)s - sentences of the types (h) and (o).

IO of three-place V(C)s - sentences of the type (h) (e.g. 'give to', 'ask for/about') - will be discussed in 4.4.7.

Any (ordinary, two-place) transitive V(C) can take an IO (in addition to a DO) - sentences of the type (o). Here, the IO marks purpose in general, beneficiary, possessor or the like. Examples include (66). Now, consider:

(79) ɲaɖu-ɲgu ɲa-ɲa-ɲgu guju man-i ɲunuɲa
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgDat meat take/get-PAST 2Sg-DAT

The sentence can mean, depending on the context, 'I obtained meat for you' (beneficiary) or 'I took your meat, I stole your meat' (possessor). The meaning of 'stealing' will be clearly expressed if a VC such as ɲuru man- 'steal' is used (instead of man-). See 4.4.7.-[3].

[3] Of intransitive V(C) - sentences of the types (c), (l), (m) and (n).

(a) Topic of speech activity, or, of mental activity or state - sentences of the type (c).

Examples:

maɲ- 'talk/speak'; ɲiɲ ɲin-, ɲiɲ jan- 'forget'; waɾ maɲ- 'think';
guni maɲ-, guni jan- 'dream'; maru maɲ- 'be jealous';
ɟirg jan- 'like'; ɲajira ɲin-, ɲajira maɲ- 'worry'

(80) ɲaɖu ɲa-ɲa-la maɲ-an mawun-gu
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgDat talk-PRESS man-DAT1
 'I talk about a man'

(81) ɲaɖu ɲa-ɲa-la waɾ maɲ-an ɲawi-ji-wu
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgDat think-PRES F-KIN-DAT1
 'I think about (my) father'

- (82) $\eta a\dot{d}u$ $\eta a-\eta a-la$ $maru$ $ma\eta an-an$ $\eta umbir-gu$
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgDat *be jealous*-PRESS *woman*-DAT1
'I am jealous of a woman'

(b) Goal of speech activity or the like - sentences of the type (c).

Examples:

$ma\eta-$ 'talk/speak'; $bawu$ $ma\eta-$ (N), baa $ma\eta-$ (W) 'call out';
 $bula\eta-$ 'call out' (N); $\dot{d}ingiri$ $ma\eta-$ 'laugh'

- (83) $\eta a\dot{d}u$ $\eta a-\eta a-la$ $mawun-gu$ $bawu$ $ma\eta-an$
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgDat *man*-DAT1 *call out*-PRES
'I call out to a man'

- (84) $\eta a\dot{d}u$ $\eta a-\eta a-la$ $\dot{d}ingiri$ $ma\eta-an$ $mawun-gu$
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgDat *laugh*-PRES *man*-DAT1
'I laugh at a man'

The object of 'call out (to)' and 'talk (to)' is occasionally dative-1 and generally locative in W; and always dative-1, as shown above, in N. That is, (80) can mean 'talk to' as well as 'talk about' in N. (The object of 'laugh (at)' is always dative-1 in both dialects.)

An IO can be added to a semi-intransitive sentence - of the type (d), (73) - producing a sentence of the type (1):

- (85) $\eta a\dot{d}u$ $\eta a-\eta a-la$ $\dot{d}a\eta u$ $ma\eta-an$ $mawun-gu$
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgDat *Djaru* *talk*-PRES *man*-DAT1
'I talk Djaru to a man'

(This sentence is generally used in N only; a W version is likely to involve a locative (rather than dative-1) nominal.)

(c) Goal of pursuit - sentences of the type (c).

Examples:

$\dot{d}ara$ $pin(a\eta)-$ 'wait'; $warawara$ $jan-$, $\dot{d}a\eta a\dot{d}a\eta a$ $jan-$ 'look around';
 $ma\eta an$ $ma\eta-$ 'look in vain'; $\dot{d}al$ $ma\eta-$ 'sneak up (on)';
 $mija\eta gi$ $wandip-$ 'ask'

- (86) $\eta a\dot{d}u$ $\eta a-\eta a-la$ $\dot{d}ara$ $pin-an$ $jambagina-wu$
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgDat *wait*-PRES *child*-DAT1
'I am waiting for a child'

- (87) $\eta a\dot{d}u$ $\eta a-\eta a-la$ $mija\eta ngi$ $wandip-a$ $ja\eta i-wu$ $maja\eta u-wu$
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgDat *ask*-PAST *one*-DAT1 *house*-DAT1
'I asked for (i.e. to be given) one house'

(d) Any (other) intransitive V(C) can take an IO, which generally marks purpose - sentences of the type (n), e.g. (11), (14) and (52).

[4] Of subject predicative (cf. 4.4.9.-[4]).

(a) Topic of knowledge.

There are two nouns that can take such an IO:

bina and binari 'knowing'. (For their etymology, see 4.2.-[3].)

- (88) nawa mawun ɲa-la binari ɟaɽu-wu
 this man C-3SgDat knowing Djaru-DAT1
 'This man knows Djaru'

Other examples include (206), (207) and text 3, sentence 9.

(b) There is a peculiar noun - miɲan 'having nothing'; rather unexpectedly it takes an IO. Examples include text 1, sentence 64 and:

- (89) ɲaɟu ɲa-ɲa miɲan ɲumbir-gu
 1Sg-ABS CAT-1SgNom having nothing-ABS woman-DAT1
 'I have no woman'

A miɲan-plus-dative-1 nominal is a set phrase. There is a similar set phrase of miɲan involving the noun-stem-forming suffix -muluɲu 'without- - see 6.2.1.-[6].

(c) Any other subject predicative can take an IO, which generally marks purpose in general, beneficiary, possessor or the like. Examples include (67).

'Indirect object' and 'benefactive (and/or possessor and/or purpose in general and/or the like)' are often distinguished (explicitly or implicitly) in various grammars. Thus, in relational grammar they are explicitly distinguished (Johnson 1974b). Hale (1973a:335), in a discussion of Walbiri grammar, implicitly distinguishes between them; he uses the terms 'dative object' and 'benefactive noun phrase'. In Djaru, this distinction is applicable only in one of the types of sentences but does not appear to be so in any other type of sentences.

A Djaru semi-transitive sentence can contain two IOs. Semantically, they are different; one is what might be termed 'true indirect object', marking the goal of pursuit, and the other is 'benefactive', marking a beneficiary. Formally as well, they are clearly different; they are cross-referenced DIFFERENTLY, by bound pronouns. (See 4.5.9. for details.) It is thus fully justified here to distinguish between IO and 'benefactive'. However, in other types of sentences there is no such formal justification for this distinction. It is in view of this that we do not distinguish between IO and 'benefactive' in Djaru in general.

For a discussion of IO in general, see Faltz 1978.

4.4.6. SUBJUNCT

A subjunct consists of locative, dative(-1), allative or ablative nominal(s); and/or a locational bound pronoun.

[1] In the locative case.

Subjuncts in the locative generally mean 'to, at, near, by, with (company)' or the like.

(a) With intransitive V(C)s - sentences of the type (b).

Examples include (7), (70) and:

(90) $\eta\alpha$ - $\eta\alpha$ - ηgula jan-gu $\text{punu}\eta\text{ip-d}\alpha$ $\eta\text{ura-}\eta\text{gawu}$
 C-1SgNom-2SgLoc go-PURP 2Sg-LOC camp-ALL
 'I will go to the camp with you'

(91) $\eta\alpha\text{du}$ $\eta\alpha$ - $\eta\alpha$ - ηpanda $\eta\text{ina}\eta$ -an jambagina-la
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgLoc sit-PRES child-LOC
 'I am sitting near/by/with a child'

$\text{ma}\eta$ - 'talk/speak' can take a locative subjunct in addition to a direct object, producing a sentence of the type (k):

(92) $\eta\alpha\text{du}$ $\eta\alpha$ - $\eta\alpha$ - ηpanda $\text{d}\eta\text{ru}$ $\text{ma}\eta$ -an mawun-da
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgLoc Djaru talk-PRES man-LOC
 'I talk Djaru to a man'

In Djaru, a language name in the locative can not mean '(talk) in a language' (although it can, for instance, in Djirbal - Dixon 1972:239). Thus:

(93) $\eta\alpha\text{du}$ $\eta\alpha$ - $\eta\alpha$ $\text{mal}\eta\text{in-da}$ $\text{ma}\eta$ -an
 1Sg C-1SgNom Malngin-LOC talk-PRES

cannot mean 'I talk in the Malngin language'. It has to mean 'I talk to Malngin person(s)' (and here, the locative noun would be normally cross-referenced by a bound pronoun).

'Talk to' can also be expressed through the dative-1. See above.

The intransitive 'fear' ηiba $\text{ma}\eta$ - (southern dialects of N), ηiwa $\text{ma}\eta$ - (mainly northern dialects of N), ηiwa $\text{ma}\eta$ - (W) and ηuwa $\text{ma}\eta$ - (W) takes a locative subjunct. (Incidentally, notice the phonological change from ηiba to ηuwa . The W dialect is phonologically the more divergent - 1.2.) Examples include (182) and:

(94) jambagina $\eta\alpha$ - ηpanda ηuwa $\text{ma}\eta$ -an gupa-r-a
 child C-3SgLoc be afraid-PRES dog-LOC
 'A child is afraid of a dog'

Similarly, for 'be(come) angry (with)' - e.g. (181).

(b) With subject predicative.

There is at least one subject predicative that takes a locative subjunct: mipiri 'shy, embarrassed'. Thus:

(95) $\eta\alpha\text{li}$ $\eta\alpha$ - $\text{li-}\eta\text{panda}$ mipiri $\eta\text{umbir-a}$
 1DuInc C-1DuIncNom-3SgLoc shy woman-LOC
 'We are shy of a woman'

(c) With transitive V(C)s - sentences of the type (g).

Here, most of the subjuncts mark '(drink grog) with (someone)', '(put) on..., near...', '(throw) at..., through...' and so on. Examples include (26) in 3.6., (396) and:

(96) *naɖu-ŋgu* *ŋa-ŋa-ŋgula* *mawundi* *waɖbaŋ-an* *ɲunuŋiŋ-ɖa*
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgLoc *white paint* *throw-PRES* 2Sg-LOC
 'I throw white paint at you, i.e. I paint you'

(97) *ŋalaguwun-da* *ŋa-ŋa-ɲanda* *ɖad jaan-i* *jubaŋ*
 cat-LOC C-1SgNom-3SgLoc *stand (transitive)-PAST* *foot*

gangulala
on top

'I trod on a cat, I stepped on a cat'

Some others mark 'off' - for instance, '(wipe sweat) off...', '(cut a finger) off...' and '(take clothes) off...'. Examples include (343), text 2, sentence 23 and:

(98) *naɖu- gu* *ŋa-ŋa-ɲanda* *maŋari* *man-i* *mawun-da*
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-3SgLoc *food* *take-PAST* *man-LOC*
 'I took food off a man'

Compare (98) with (79). While IO can imply 'stealing', locative subjuncts do not; they merely mark departure from the body. Therefore, (98) might be used, for instance, when the speaker saw a man carrying a heavy load of food and helped him by taking and carrying some of it.

A locative subjunct can mean '(hide) from...' (cf. the 'fear' sense in (94)):

(99) *naɖu-ŋgu* *ŋa-ŋa-ɲanda* *maŋari* *buɽu jaan-i* *jambagina-la*
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-3SgLoc *food* *hide-PAST* *child-LOC*
 'I hid food from a child'

[2] In the allative case - destination of movement 'to'.

(a) With intransitive V(C)s.

Examples include (71) and:

(100) *ganɖi* *ŋa-lapanda* *wandiŋ-a* *liŋga-gawu*
tree (N) C-3SgLoc *fall-PAST* *snake-ALL*
 'A tree fell on top of a snake' (N example)

(b) With transitive V(C)s, such as 'carry' and 'send'.

(101) *ŋa-ŋa-wulaanu* *juwaŋ-i* *jamba-wujara* *ɲuraaŋiŋ-ɖawu*
 C-1SgNom-3DuAcc *send-PAST* *child-two* 2Pl-ALL
 'I sent two children (say, as messengers) to you'

(c) With subject predicatives.

A subject predicative does not occur with an allative subjunct; a subject predicative is a nominal and does not in itself imply movement.

[3] In the ablative case.

(a) With intransitive V(C)s, e.g.:

- (102) mawun ɲa-ɲɠuwulala wuɲa jan-i ɲunbulanɲiɲ-ɲu
man C-2DuLoc away go-PAST 2Du-ABL2
'A man went away from you'

(b) With transitive V(C)s, e.g. (72) and:

- (103) ɲaɖu-ɲɠu ɲa-ɲa-ɲanda magaɖa man-i jambagina-ɲu
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-3SgLoc hat take-PAST child-ABL
'I took a hat from a child'

This sentence, with an ablative subjunct, implies that possibly I stole it. A similar meaning can be expressed through an indirect object - (79). Also compare them with a locative subjunct, in (98).

4.4.7. OBJECT(S) AND/OR SUBJUNCT OF THREE-PLACE PREDICATE VERBS

In the following we shall examine the case frame(s) of a few 'three-place' (Lyons 1968:350) V(C)s. All the V(C)s examined are transitive.

[1] juɲ- 'give'.

This verb can take two case frames. In one, the gift is absolutive and recipient is dative(-1).

- (104) ɲaɖu-ɲɠu ɲa-ɲa-ɲɠu maɲari ɲununa juɲ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgDat food-ABS 2Sg-DAT give-PRES
'I give food to you'

- (105) ɲumbir-u ɲa-la maɲari jambagina-wu juɲ-an
 woman-ERG C-3SgDat food-ABS child-DAT1 give-PRES
'A woman gives food to a child'

In the other frame, the recipient as well as the gift is absolutive (here, the recipient tends to immediately precede the gift):

- (106) ɲaɖu-ɲɠu ɲa-ɲa-ɲɠu ɲundu maɲari juɲ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgDat 2Sg-ABS food-ABS give-PRES
 As (104)

- (107) ɲumbir-u ɲa-la jambagina maɲari juɲ-an
 woman-ERG C-3SgDat child-ABS food-ABS give-PRES
 As (105)

Other examples of 'give' include (36), (169), (170), (186), (190)-(192), (194), (195), (243) and (291).

There is possibly a third type of frame: in a couple of examples, the gift is instrumental and the recipient, presumably, is absolutive:

- (108) ɲaɖu-ɲɠu ɲa-ɲa-ɲɠu (ɲundu) maɲu-ɲɠu juɲ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgAcc 2Sg-ABS word-INST give-PRES
'I will present you with words, I will give you words'

(As it was given to the writer, the above sentence did not contain the word *pundu*.) But, this use of the instrumental with '*give*' was rejected by other speakers. (The last type of case frame of '*giving*', involving instrumental, is found in other ergative languages such as Warungu (Tsunoda 1974a: 353-54, 1976b:220), Djirbal (Dixon 1972:300), and Chukchee, of East Siberia (Bogoras 1922:781).)

The recipient is dative-1 in (105) but absolutive in (107). Within the framework of relational grammar one might say that (107), with *jambagina* as DO, is derived from (105), with *jambaginawu* as IO. However, this view is not totally adequate. This is because the bound pronoun cross-referencing the recipient (-1a) remains dative, and therefore is not advanced to DO. Similarly for (104) and (106).

This discrepancy in case marking, between a nominal and a bound pronoun can be taken to suggest that:

- (a) the recipient here is IO rather than DO;
- (b) case marking of a bound pronoun is sensitive, not to the case marking (here, absolutive) of, but to the grammatical relation of the nominal which it cross-references;
- (c) a bound pronoun is thus more fundamental than a nominal in this respect also (cf. 4.4.3.).

In particular, (b) and (c) are important. See 4.5.11. for a detailed discussion.

It is not uncommon in Australian languages for both 'recipient' and 'gift' to be marked by the absolutive case, e.g. Kalkatungu (Blake 1969:35), Queensland. In Korean, a nominative-accusative language, the verb 'give' (and also the verb 'teach') can have the following two constructions, rather like the first two types of the Djaru 'giving' constructions:

giver-NOM	recipient-DAT	gift-ACC
giver-NOM	recipient-ACC	gift-ACC

(The data on Korean are from Shibatani 1978:366.)

Djaru has the verb complex *bina juŋ-* 'Vtr *teach*' (4.2.-[3]). One would expect this VC to behave like *juŋ-* '*give*', but the data obtained are complicated, and its syntax is not understood well.

- [2] *mijaŋgi man-* '*ask...for...*', '*ask...(a question) about...*';
ɖawuji man- '*ask...for...*'.

The one asked is in the absolutive and that which (or the one who) is asked for/about is in the dative(-1). Examples include (187), (193), (533) and:

- (109) *jambagina-lu* *ŋa-la* *ŋama-pan* *mijaŋgi man-i* *maŋari-wu*
child-ERG C-3SgDat *mother-HIS* *ask-PAST* *food-DAT1*
'A child asked its mother for food'

(For the noun-stem-forming suffix *-pan*, see 6.2.1.-[17].)

[3] *guru man- 'steal'*.

That which is stolen is absolutive and the one from whom it is stolen is dative(-1). Examples include text 3, sentences 2, 3 and 4.

[4] *qiri jaan- 'show'*.

What is shown is in the absolutive and 'the one shown to' is generally in the locative and sometimes in the dative(-1). Examples include (188) and:

(110) *maluga-maluga-la* *ga-nalu-janula* *qiri jaan-an* *ginimilip*
old man (N)-RDP-LOC *C-1PlExcNom-3PlLoc* *show-PRES* *spear*
'We show a spear to old men' (N example)

(111) *jalu-ngu* *mawun-du* *ga-anula* *qiri jaan-an* *nandawi*
that-ERG *man-ERG* *C-3PlLoc* *show-PRES* *shadow*

jamba-jamba-wu
child-RDP-DAT1

'That man shows a photo (lit. shadow/shade) to children' (N example)

As regards the NP referring to 'one shown to', case marking of the nominals differ - locative in (110) and dative-1 in (111) - but that of the bound pronouns remains identical - locational. This may be another piece of evidence to indicate that the case marking of bound pronouns is sensitive, not to the case marking of, but to the grammatical relations of the nominals they cross-reference (here, 'the one shown to' would then be a subjunct in (111) as well as in (110). See 4.5.11.

[5] *maran- 'tell'*.

The topic is in the absolutive and the audience in the locative:

(112) *jaŋi-ngu* *mawun-du* *ga-wulaanungula* *maran-an* *jaŋi* *waq̄bali*
one-ERG *man-ERG* *C-3DuLoc* *tell-PRES* *one* *white man*

guq̄ara-la *jamba-wujara-la*
two-LOC *child-TWO-LOC*

'One (Aboriginal) man tells (a story about) a white man to two children'

(*maran-* can take a sentence as an object. See 4.7.-[1].)

4.4.8. CIRCUMSTANCE

A circumstance (phrase) can be realised by noun(s) in the instrumental, dative-1, dative-2 (N only), locative, allative or ablative case; or preverbs (all of which mark manners or the like when used as circumstance words - cf. 1.1., 3.1.1., 4.10., 4.10.2.); or adverb(s). (Adverbs generally do not take a case ending, but some do - 3.6.) Representative meanings and the representative ways in which particular meanings are expressed are shown in Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5.
CIRCUMSTANCE

Meaning	Case of Noun	Type of Adverb or Preverb (and case)	Examples
instrument	instrumental	manner (in instrumental)	(4)-(6),(239),(240),(268),(320)
means	locative		(8), text 1, sentences 59,60
place	locative	place (some in locative); cardinal directions, 'up', 'down'	(31),(32),(34),(49),(56),(57)
time ' <i>at, in, during</i> '	locative	time (optionally locative)	(43),(133),(138),(285)-(i), text 1, sentence 69
time ' <i>through</i> '	dative-1		(13)
time ' <i>until</i> '	allative	time (allative)	(19)
destination	allative; dative-2(N)	place (generally allative); cardinal directions, 'up', 'down'	(17),(18),(32),(43),(134),(136), (451),(456)-(i),(ii)
manner		manner (in instrumental, or 'absolutive')	(26),(27), text 1, sentence 16, text 3, sentence 6
purpose	allative		(20),(286)-(ii)
starting point	ablative	place (ablative); cardinal directions, 'up', 'down'	(21),(118),(446),(492)
modality		modality (see 4.12.)	(7),(24)

Some circumstance phrases are similar to some other sentence parts morphologically and/or semantically (for instance, a circumstance in the allative is formally identical with a subjunct in the allative). However, there is one crucial difference: while the latter can be cross-referenced (by bound pronouns), circumstance phrases can be in no way cross-referenced. (A free pronoun cannot be used as a subjunct; a free pronoun with any case ending can be cross-referenced.) See 4.5.8.-[3].

4.4.9. PREDICATIVE

Predicatives (cf. Jespersen 1924:88, 131) (or predicative complements) can be classified into:

- (a) subject predicatives, as in '*I became/was ILL*', and;
- (b) object predicatives, as in '*The food made me ILL*', and '*This jumper keeps me WARM*'.

While some predicatives mark state (as in '*I was ILL*' and '*This jumper keeps me WARM*'), most predicatives mark consequence/result (as in '*I became ILL*' and '*The food made me ILL*'). Djaru lacks 'causative constructions', but transitive sentences with a 'consequence/result' predicative can be in effect used like causative constructions. (So can certain transitive sentences with a preverb. See 4.10.8.)

[1] Predicatives with -g or a similar suffix.

There are a few suffixes that mark 'consequence/result'. Words affixed with one of them always function as predicatives. These suffixes are perhaps historically related; they have the same function and similar forms. Their forms and distributions are as follows:

- gaɾag (no example in Djaru; one example in Wandjira, following a vowel;
- waɾag (W only?) following a vowel or n, e.g. ɖambun-waɾag 'full-';
- gaɾa (W only?) following g, e.g. juɭwag-gaɾa 'vomiting' (prev)-;
- waɾa (W only?) following a vowel, r or n, e.g. ɖambun-waɾa 'full-', and buŋɖur-waɾa 'cooked-' in (114);
- g (all dialects) following a vowel or l, e.g. ɖuwal-g 'long-'.

(The information on the distributions of these suffixes is very incomplete. -g and -waɾa are fairly frequently used, but others are used very seldom. Note that here r and n function like a vowel. See 2.4.3.) In most instances, these suffixes are affixed to a noun root. In one example, -gaɾa is affixed to a preverb (juɭwag-gaɾa 'vomiting-') and in one example, -waɾa is affixed to a verbid (luŋ-u-waɾa 'cry'-VBD-).

(a) Transitive object predicatives.

- (113) mawun-du ɖaɖi ɡuŋɡa-waɾaɡ (or ɡuŋɡa-waɾa or ɡuŋɡa-g)
 man-ERG kangaroo dead-

lan-i
 spear-PAST

'A man speared a kangaroo and caused it to be dead'

- (114) mawun-du ɖaɖi buŋɖur-waɾa ɡambaŋ-i
 man-ERG kangaroo cooked- burn/cook-PAST

'A man burnt/cooked a kangaroo and caused it to be cooked'

There is a set phrase binari-g buŋ- lit. 'knowing-g hit', i.e. 'teach one a lesson by belting'. See text 3, sentence 11.

A small number of transitive verbs - in particular, man- 'get, take' - can be used like 'causative verbs', without their literal meaning.

Thus:

- (115) guju-ŋɡu mawun ɡingi-g (or ɡingi-waɾa) man-i
 meat-ERG man satiated- cause-PAST

'The meat made a man satiated'

- (116) jambi-ɡu waɖbali-lu ŋa-ji ɳaɖu binari-g man-i
 big-ERG white man-ERG C-1SgAcc 1Sg knowing- cause-PAST

'The big white man (i.e. boss) taught me'

binari-g man- often implies 'teach one a lesson'.

In Djaru and many other Australian languages, for instance, Walbiri (Capell 1962a:40), the transitive verb with a causative meaning is used with object predicatives or in verb complexes. Here, man- is a separate, independent word. In many other languages, which do not have verb complexes like those in Djaru, ma- is often involved in verbal suffixes; they are causative or transitivising suffixes, e.g. in Kalkatungu (Blake 1969:30), Bandjalang (Cunningham 1969:88), Gidabal (Geytenbeek and Geytenbeek 1971:23), Djirbal (Dixon 1972:86) and Gugu-Yalandji (R. Hershberger 1964:41).

(b) Subject predicatives.

Examples of transitive subject predicative include (519) and:

- (117) mawun-du guju ɳaŋ-i ɡingi-g
 man-ERG meat eat-PAST satiated-
 'A man ate meat and consequently became satiated' cf. (115)

An example of intransitive subject predicative is:

- (118) buŋu-ŋu jambagina wandiŋ-a ɡuŋulu-waɾaɡ (or ɡuŋulu-waɾa or
 tree-ABL child fall-PAST blood- ɡuŋulu-g)
 'A child fell from a tree and consequently bled'

Among the examples of the predicatives with these suffixes, the great majority are transitive object predicatives (i.e. they refer to Ot) and some are intransitive subject predicatives (i.e. they refer to Si). Here, it looks as if these predicatives behaved in the absolutive/ergative pattern, referring to Ot/Si. However, there is at least one (spontaneously produced) example in which a noun with -g is a transitive subject predicative (i.e. it refers to St. Examples (117) and (519) were made up by the writer on the basis of this example and approved by the informants except that the clitic -paŋin 'very' in (519) was added voluntarily by the informant.)

-g, with the same or similar meaning and function, is found in the region, cutting across a language family border; it is found both in Pama-Nyungan languages - for instance, Guurindji (McConvell, personal communication), Wandjira and Malngin - and in a non-Pama-Nyungan language, Gidja (Taylor, personal communication). Perhaps it has been diffused. (See 1.3.)

In Djaru, there is another suffix -g, which is occasionally affixed to adverbs of place and a few adverbs of time (6.3.1.). It may be related to the nominal suffix -g 'consequence/result'.

[2] Transitive object predicatives in the dative-2 case.

In N (but not W) the dative-2 can mark 'consequence/result'. Examples include (15), (16) in 3.2.1., (40) in 3.7.3. and:

- (119) mawun-du ɟaɟi buŋdur-gura gambaŋ-i
 man-ERG kangaroo cooked-DAT2 burn/cook-PAST
 'A man burned/cooked and cooked a kangaroo'

In W, in such sentences the predicatives generally involve -waɟa (rather than -g, for instance); when the sentences (15), (16) and (119) were read to him, the main informant (W speaker) substituted -waɟa for -g/wura.

[3] Transitive object predicatives with no suffix.

Semantically, there are two types of such predicatives:

- (a) one type marks 'consequence/result', and:
 (b) the other marks 'state', used with V(C) such as 'call' or 'find'.

Examples of 'consequence/result' predicatives include (289), (376), text 3, sentence 8 and:

- (120) ɲaɟu-ŋgu ɲa-ɲa-ŋgu buŋ-gu ɲundu binari
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgAcc hit-PURP 2Sg knowing
 'I will teach you a lesson by hitting you'

Here again, transitive verbs such as man- 'get, take' can be used like causative verbs. Examples include (515), (532) and:

- (121) mawun-du jambagina binari man-i
 man-ERG child knowing cause-PAST
 'A man taught a child'

A transitive object predicative with no suffix (suffixless Ot predicative) always immediately follows a transitive object.

An NP can contain a 'modifier' as well as 'head noun' - 4.1. Superficially, a modifier in an DO NP and a suffixless Ot predicative look similar. But, we have decided to distinguish between them. There are two reasons for this:

(a) Word Order: within NPs, modifying 'adjective-like' nouns precede and follow - approximately as frequently - modified 'noun-like' nouns (4.1.). But, suffixless Ot predicatives always immediately follow transitive objects;

(b) Meaning: modifying 'adjective-like' nouns merely provide the usual adjectival qualification to modified 'noun-like' nouns (as in '*a GOOD man*' and '*a CLEVER child*'). However, suffixless Ot predicatives specifically describe consequence/result (and state, as exemplified below).

Thus, confronted with the following sentences:

(122) mawun-du guṅga ḍaḍi lan-i
man-ERG dead kangaroo spear-PAST

(123) mawun-du ḍaḍi guṅga lan-i

(124) mawun-du ḍaḍi lan-i guṅga

the main informant stated to the effect that while (122) meant '*a man speared a dead kangaroo*', (123) and (124) meant '*a man speared a kangaroo that was alive and caused it to die*'. That is, guṅga is a modifier in (122) but an object predicative in (123) and (124). Similarly, if binari in (121) can function as a modifier (this has not been verified yet), then the sentence would mean '*A man caught a clever child*'. And, in this case binari would be able to precede - as well as follow - jambagina.

Some speakers prefer to overtly mark object predicatives. Thus, the main informant substituted binari-g for binari in (120) (originally given by another speaker); and binari-waṛa for binari in (121).

Examples of the other type of suffixless Ot predicatives, involving V(C)s such as '*call*' and '*find*', include text 1, sentences 20, 47, 70, 75 and:

(125) ('How did you find that woman?')

ṅaḍu-ṅu ṅa-ṅa gul lan-i ṅaṅinga juṛa-paanṅ
1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom try-PAST woman goog-VERY

'I tried the woman (and found her) very good' (N example)

(For the stem-forming suffix -paanṅ, see 6.2.1.-[14].)

[4] Suffixless intransitive subject predicative, and 'copula' verbs.

There are two purely 'grammatical verbs': jajin- (N only)/jaan- (all dialects) '*be/feel*' and wajan- '*become*'; they cannot occur without a (suffixless) predicative. (The copula verb jajin-/jaan- is conjugationally identical with the transitive verb jajin-/jaan- '*put*'; both belong to class 4 - 3.7.1., 3.7.2.) Also, a few other intransitive V(C)s can be used like grammatical verbs - '*be*' (state) or '*become*' (change). They include:

pin(aŋ)- 'remain/stay'; maŋ- 'talk'; jan- 'go'; baŋaŋ- (N),
wup maŋ- (N) and ŋaɖ maŋ- (W and Old Flora Valley dialect of
N) 'smell'.

The copula jain-/jaan- appears to occur only with predicatives that refer to emotion/feeling or bodily state (and therefore is not frequently used). Two examples are given below.

Many intransitive sentences consist of just a subject and predicative (in the absolutive), e.g. (62). They might contain, in addition, an IO or subjunct, e.g. (67), (88), (89) and (95). (These sentences generally mark state.) Such sentences can optionally contain a predicate verb - very often the copula-like verb pin(aŋ)- 'stay' and occasionally the copula jain-/jaan- 'be' (if the predicatives refer to emotion/feeling or bodily state). Examples include (206), (207), (281), (287)-(i), (392), (450), text 3, sentence 12 and:

(126) ŋaɖu ŋa-ŋa pin(aŋ)-an waŋɖiŋaŋa
1Sg C-1SgNom stay-PRES bachelor
'I am a bachelor'

(127) ŋaɖu ŋa-ŋa-ŋgu pin(aŋ)-an baba-ji nunuŋa
1Sg C-1SgNom-2SgDat stay-PRES EB-KIN 2Sg-DAT
'I am your elder brother'

(128) nawa mawun ŋa-la binari pin(aŋ)-an ɖaɖu-wu
this man C-3SgDat knowing stay-PRES Djaru-DAT1
'This man known Djaru'

(Compare (126) with (62); (127) with (67); and (128) with (88).)

(129) jambadi ŋa mɪri jaan-an
child C shy be/feel-PRES
'The child is shy' (N example)

(Compare (129) with (95).)

(130) ŋaɖu ŋa-ŋa maliri jaan-an
1Sg C-1SgNom cold be/feel-PRES
'I feel cold'

Examples of wajan- 'become' include (181), (453) and:

(131) ŋanamba ŋa-ŋalu binari wajan-i
1PlExc C-1PlExcNom knowing become-PAST
'We learned'

There is an idiomatic expression: gaɖaɖ wajan- lit. 'become a body', i.e. 'be born', e.g. (278).

Among the 'semi-grammatical' V(C)s listed previously, the three V(C)s 'smell' mark state only. Thus:

- (132) maŋari nawa baŋdiŋ-an juŋa
food this smell-PRES good (N)
'This food smells nice' (N example)

Others can mark state - e.g. (126)-(129) - or change - e.g. text 1, sentence 29, 30, 32 and:

- (133) ŋaniŋa guŋar guŋga ŋir-a waŋulu-la
 1Sg-DAT dog dead stay-PAST night-LOC
'My dog died last night'

Predicatives referring to change (rather than state) as a rule immediately follow predicate verbs. Thus, *wajani binari was rejected for (131).

For a discussion of bound pronouns in relation to predicatives, see 4.5.8.-[5].

The use of (ordinary) verbs like 'grammatical verbs' is not uncommon. For some examples in English, see Jespersen (1924:131), and Curme (1931:27).

4.4.10. INDEPENDENT WORD

Independent words generally start a sentence, or else make up a complete sentence. There are two types:

- (i) interjections (see 4.15.), and;
- (ii) 'vocative-like' forms of nominals.

The latter can be divided into two sub-types:

- (a) Some kinship term roots can only be used 'vocatively' when they don't involve the kinship suffix -ji (see 6.2.1.-[6]);
- (b) The absolutive forms of any other nominals can be used 'vocatively'.

4.5. BOUND PRONOUNS

4.5.1. BASE FOR BOUND PRONOUNS

Bound pronouns can be attached to:

- (a) catalyst: ŋa, ba/wa. ŋa is used in declarative sentences (including purposives, but excluding hortatives and imperatives). The unmarked position of ŋa-plus-bound pronoun(s) in a sentence appears to be the second position of the sentence. (The same appears to apply to Walbiri, southeast of Djaru - Hale 1967:1-8.) In elicited, non-elliptical sentences, ŋa-plus-bound pronoun(s) almost always occurs as the second constituent of the sentence. Many examples given in the present description follow this pattern. (It is interesting to note that in Tongan and several Samoic-Outlier languages, a clitic pronoun occurs in the second position of the sentence - Chung 1978:31.) ba (following a consonant-

final word)/wa (elsewhere) is used in (yes-no or interrogative-word) questions; they often imply hortation or command/advice.

(134) wa-nda jungu jan-i
C-2PlNom far go-PAST
'Did you go far?'

(135) binga paŋ-an ba-n
hole see-PRES C-2SgNom

Informant's translation: *'You see the big hole'* (with a slightly rising intonation). (*'Be careful; you might fall into it'*)

(b) interrogative word: pamba *'what'*, ŋana *'who'*, waŋdu *'where'*, paŋula *'when'*, pa(w)a *'how'* and so on; e.g. (27), (43), (442), text 2, sentence 29, text 3, sentence 1.

(c) adverbs of modality (see 4.12.): wagura *'not'*, wari and ŋara *'possibly'* and so on, e.g. (268), text 1, sentence 40, text 2, sentences 12, 17 and text 3, sentences 3, 9, 17, 18, 19.

(d) conjunction: paŋga *'if/when'* (see 4.6.) and guwa/guja (see 4.7.).

(e) waŋu (W only. Its meaning and function unknown).

(f) verb: imperative (see 4.5.5.), purposive and hortative, e.g. (547), text 2, sentence 32 and:

(136) gaarara jan-gu-li
east go-PURP-1DuIncNom
'Let's go east'

(137) ŋa-lura-lu lawur
eat-HORT-3PlNom rib bone
'Let them eat rib bone (meat)'

(g) noun: sentence-initially, very few examples, in the southern dialects of N only (in Ngardi, immediately south of Djaru, bound pronouns are often suffixed to sentence-initial words - including nouns).

Bound pronouns cannot be affixed to more than one word in one sentence. Among the types of words listed previously, there appears to be a certain hierarchy of priority: at one end the catalysts are the highest and at the other end the verbs are lowest. (Also, hortative and imperative sentences cannot contain the catalyst ŋa.) For instance, see (206), (421), (422) and:

(138) paŋula ŋa-n jan-gu pundu
when C-2SgNom go-PURP 2Sg
'When will you go?'

This example shows that the catalyst ŋa has priority over the interrogative word paŋula *'when'*.

If the word is already suffixed with a clitic (4.13.), then bound pronoun(s) will follow the clitic, e.g. (443), (446), text 1, sentence 20.

In N (except Old Flora Valley dialect) the catalyst *na* suffixed with no overtly marked bound pronoun (optionally and as a rule) occurs. Examples include (15), (129), (437), (455) and:

- (139) *mawun-du na-∅-∅ gupar buŋ-an*
man-ERG C-3SgNom-3SgAcc dog hit-PRES
'A man hits a dog'

It is also occasionally deleted, e.g.:

- (140) *mawun-du gupar buŋ-an*
man-ERG dog hit-PRES
 As above.

However, in W and Old Flora Valley dialect of N, the catalyst *na* with no overtly marked bound pronoun cannot occur; sentences such as (139) are ungrammatical. Here, either it does not occur at all, e.g. (140), or it is replaced by *ŋajingu*. (The word-class membership of *ŋajingu* is not known.) Thus:

- (141) *mawun-du ŋajingu gupar buŋ-an*
man-ERG dog hit-PRES
 As above.

When asked on this point, the main informant (a W speaker) remarked to the effect that *ŋajingu* in W and Old Flora Valley dialect is equivalent to the catalyst *na* with no overt bound pronouns in other dialects. *ŋajingu* is very often used in these two dialects. Other examples of *ŋajingu* include (34), (65), (432), (456)-(i), (506), text 1, sentences 10, 14, 68, text 2, sentences 14, 15.

Unlike *na*, the catalyst *wa* has been attested to occur without any overt bound pronoun suffixed to it, even in W (and presumably in Old Flora Valley dialect as well). When suffixed with no overt pronoun, *na* and *wa* generally do not occur sentence-initially. Also, when suffixed with no overt bound pronoun, at least *na* is phonetically often realized disyllabically [*na:*], involving a long vowel. See 2.6.-[4].

'Western Desert' languages, south/east of Djaru, have similar bound pronouns. Hale (1973a) gives a detailed account of bound pronouns in Walbiri. Walbiri bound pronouns and Djaru bound pronouns are very similar, but there are some important differences. The differences (as well as similarities) will be mentioned in the following.

4.5.2. PHONOLOGICAL/MORPHOLOGICAL DETAILS

[1] Number and person.

Consider the following nominatives:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	-ŋa		-ŋalu (exclusive)
Second	-n	-nbula, -n..wula	-n..lu
Third	ZERO	-bula, -wula	-lu

They can be regarded as each consisting of a person marker and number marker. That is:

person: -ŋa '1st', -n '2nd' and ZERO '3rd';
 number: ZERO 'Sg', -b/wula 'Du' and -lu 'Pl'.

(Cf. Hale 1973a:325.) Note that 'number markers' are formally identical with 3rd person nominatives. For the functions of these person and number markers, see 4.5.5. and 4.5.6.

-b/wula is also involved in the oblique (acc/dat or loc) forms of 2nd and 3rd person duals, e.g. -ŋguwula '2DuAcc/Dat'. All the 1st person plurals except -ŋalu '1stPlExcNom' involve -ba (or its phonological development -wa); in particular, the inclusives are formed, roughly, by the addition of -ba (or -wa) to the corresponding duals. Thus:

	Nominative	Acc/Dat	Locational
'1stDuInc'	-li	-alip	-alipgula
'1stPlInc'	-liba, -liwa	-alipba	-alipbagula

For further details, see Table 3.4. For the inserted gu, see below.

[2] Case.

All the locationals except for the two '3rdSgLoc's are formed by the addition of -la to the corresponding acc/dat forms. For example:

	Acc/Dat	Locational
'1stSg'	-ji	-jila
'2ndSg'	-ŋgu	-ŋgula

For more examples, see Table 3.4. (This -la is formally identical with -la '3rdSgDat'.) -la is separated from the acc/dat forms by metathesis - 4.5.6. -la is also involved in the locational of the middle voice suffix, i.e. -ŋunula and -panula (4.5.10.).

[3] Insertion of -gu and ŋu.

-gu or ŋu is (obligatorily or otherwise) inserted in several instances; all of which involve l. Generally, the insertion of -gu or ŋu occurs immediately before l.

(a) -gu is obligatorily inserted between a nasal (n, ŋ or ŋ) and l (a nasal-plus-lateral cluster appears to be impossible in Djaru - 2.5.1.). Thus, with one bound pronoun:

-wulaŋgula '3DuLoc' (N) cf. -wulaŋ '3DuAcc/Dat' (N)

and, between two bound pronouns:

-n-gu-la	-alip-gu-lu	-jiraŋ-gu-lu
2SgNom-gu-3SgDat	1DuIncAcc/Dat-gu-3PlNom	1DuExcAcc/Dat-gu-3PlNom

(b) -gu is obligatorily inserted when -ŋguwula '2ndDuAcc/Dat' is followed by -lu '3PlNom': -ŋguwula-gu-lu. But, this does not happen otherwise - even when -ŋguwula is followed by -l. Thus, -ŋguwulala '2DuLoc' and *-ŋguwula-gu-la '*2DuLoc'. This insertion appears to apply in W only.

(c) Some locationals consisting of a vowel-final suffix and -la involve -ŋgu (a prenasalisation of -gu?). In W, this appears to be obligatory for '3rdDu' and '3rdPl', and is almost always applied to the locational of the middle voice -ŋunu. Thus:

N	N, W
*-wulaanula (not used)	-wulaanungula '3DuLoc'
-(j)anula	-(j)anungula '3PlLoc'
-ŋunula	-ŋunungula 'M-Loc'

Similarly, when the middle voice suffix -ŋunu is followed by -la '3SgDat' - -ŋunu-ŋgu-la 'M-ŋgu-3SgLoc'. (This should not be confused with the above locational -ŋunungula. See 4.5.9.)

Similar insertion of -gu or -ŋgu ((a), (b) or (c)) is found in three-member and two-oblique sentences. See Tables 4.6. and 4.7.

(d) '1stPl's': their locationals obligatorily involve -gu. Thus:

	Acc/Dat	Locational
Inclusive	-alipba	-alipbagula
Exclusive	-animba	-animbagula

Similarly, -gu is inserted when their acc/dat forms are followed by -lu '3PlNom'. Thus:

-alipba-gu-lu	-animba-gu-lu
1PlIncAcc/Dat-gu-3PlNom	1PlExcAcc/Dat-gu-3PlNom

While some speakers consistently use -gu, others consistently use -ŋu. Thus:

-aliba-gu-lu	-animba-gu-lu	(Robert Moses, a W speaker)
-aliba-ŋu-lu	-animba-ŋu-lu	(Jack Djugajari, a W speaker)
1PlIncAcc/Dat- -3PlNom	1PlExcAcc/Dat- -3PlNom	

Described above is the situation in W. In N, -gu or ŋu does not appear to be obligatory although they are very frequently used. Thus, an N speaker (Archie Singapoo) uses all of:

-alipbala	-alipbaŋula	'1PlIncLoc'
-animbala	-animbaŋula	'1PlExcLoc'

[4] There are a few low-level, phonetic/phonological changes. Thus, j between two a's is generally deleted - e.g. -wula-janu and -wula-anu '3DuNom-3PlAcc/Dat'. As another example, -lu-janu '3PlNom-3PlAcc/Dat' is, in W, generally realised as [la:no], e.g. text 1, sentence 22. Phonetically/phonologically, N is the more conservative and W is the more divergent - 1.2.

Bound pronouns show a striking similarity (partial or total) to free pronouns of Djaru and/or of some other Australian languages. Thus:

Djaru Bound Pronouns		Djaru Free Pronouns		Warungu Free Pronouns	
-li	'1DuIncNom'	ŋali	'1DuInc-ABS'	ŋali	'1Du-NOM'
-ŋanamba	'1PlExcAcc/Dat'	ŋanamba	'1PlExc-ABS'	ŋana	'1Pl-NOM'
-b/wula	'3DuNom'	panbula	'3Du-ABS'	bula	'3Du-NOM'
		punbula	'2Du-ABS'		

(Warungu pronouns have a nominative-accusative paradigm - Tsunoda 1974a:180-81.) Etymologically, bound pronouns (of Djaru and other languages) are perhaps cliticised pronouns that were once free - Hale 1973a:340.

4.5.3. NUMBER OF BOUND PRONOUNS IN ONE SEQUENCE

Not every combination of bound pronouns is possible. There are certain constraints: phonological, grammatical and semantic. (Also, change in number or person occurs in some instances - 4.5.5.) In many instances, two (or more) constraints operate jointly. In the following, we shall discuss a few constraints that are largely phonological. A few grammatical/semantic constraints are discussed in 4.5.8. As for terminology, we distinguish (wherever possible) between 'constraint' and 'tendency': a constraint applies rigidly, with no exception (at least in the corpus), while a tendency does not. We also distinguish 'global' and 'local': a local constraint/tendency applies to certain types/patterns only, while a global constraint/tendency applies irrespective of types/patterns (cf. Perlmutter 1971:61).

Global Constraint (a):

One sequence of bound pronouns (hereafter referred to by 'BP sequence') cannot contain more than three phonologically constituted bound pronouns (i.e. non-zero bound pronouns).

There are some sequences that consist of three non-zero bound pronouns, (hereafter, three-member sequences), but:

Global Tendency (b):

A BP sequence generally does not contain more than two non-zero bound pronouns.

Some two-member sequences contain (a zero nominative and) two non-zero obliques (acc/dat or loc) (hereafter, two-oblique sequences), but:

Global Tendency (c):

Generally, a (two-member) sequence does not contain more than one non-zero oblique. That is:

Global Tendency (d):

A sequence of the standard pattern consists of

(one or no) Nominative and (one or no) Oblique.

That is, the standard pattern is a two-member sequence. It contains at most one nominative, and the nominative may not occur (see 4.5.8.) or it may be zero (i.e. '3rdSgNom'). Similarly, the standard pattern contains at most one oblique, and the oblique may not occur (see 4.5.8.) or it may be zero (i.e. '3rdSgAcc/Dat'). Examples of the standard pattern are given in 4.5.1. and 4.5.4. among others.

Three-member sequences and two-oblique sequences are uncommon. Three-member sequences violate the global tendency (b) (and (c) and (d)).

There are three major types:

- (i) Nominative, Dative and Dative - in semi-transitive sentences (4.5.9.);
- (ii) Nominative-*nunu/nanu-ngu-la* - in middle-voice sentences (4.5.10);
- (iii) Nom, Acc and Dat; Nom, Acc and Loc - 4.5.7.

Two oblique sequences violate the global tendency (c) (and (d)). There are three types (see 4.5.7.):

- (iv) Acc and Dat; Acc and Loc; Dat and Dat.

(The relative order of bound pronouns in (d), (i), (iii) and (iv) is subject to certain constraints - 4.5.4.)

Global Constraint (e):

A repetition of two identical bound pronouns is prohibited, e.g. *-*la-la* '3SgDat-3SgDat'. See 4.5.9. Similarly, when one of the two bound pronouns contains a 'morpheme' that is identical to the other, e.g. **nguwula-wula* '2DuAcc/Dat-3DuNom'. See 4.5.5.-[2]. (But, this does not apply, for instance, in *-jila-wula* '1SgLoc-3DuNom'; here, the formal identity of *la* is insignificant.) See 4.5.2.

- (148) *na-lu-purala* *jud pinaŋ-an*
 C-3PlNom-2PlLoc *sit*-PRES
 'They sit with you'

(iii) Between two 3rd person forms, the nominative precedes the other.
 Thus:

- (149) *na-lu-janu* *naŋ-an*
 C-3PlNom-3PlAcc *see*-PRES
 'They see them'
- (150) *na-lu-janula* *jud pinaŋ-an*
 C-3PlNom-3PlLoc *sit*-PRES
 'They sit with them' (N example)

In Walbiri, generally a nominative precedes an oblique (case hierarchy) (Hale 1973a:337, Capell 1962a:35). However, Capell (1962a:35-36) gives the following two variants of the same BP combination:

person hierarchy: *juŋu-dji-lu* 'gave'-lSgDat-3PlNom, 'They gave (it) to me'
 case hierarchy : *juŋu-lu-dju* 'gave'-3PlNom-lSgDat, 'They gave (it) to me'
 and implies that the use of the reversed order (i.e. person hierarchy) is optional, but says that it is not common.

4.5.5. PERSON AND NUMBER REPLACEMENT

[1] Person replacement

In imperative sentences (see 3.7.3.-[7]), the (nominative) bound pronoun marking the subject is not 2nd person but is formally identical with a 3rd person form (see Table 3.4. and 4.5.2.). Examples include (264), (291), (424), (487), text 1, sentences 55, 57 and:

- (151) *jan-da-∅* ; *jan-da-wula* ; *jan-da-lu*
go-IMP-SgNom ; *go*-IMP-DuNom ; *go*-IMP-PlNom
 'You (Sg) go' 'You (Du) go' 'You (pl) go'

The same is true when a free pronoun subject co-occurs. Thus:

- (152) *nundu jan-da-∅*; *nunbula jan-da-wula*; *nuraa jan-da-lu*
 2Sg *go*-IMP-SgNom 2Du *go*-IMP-DuNom 3Pl *go*-IMP-PlNom
 As (151).
- (153) *maŋari man-da-wula*
food *get*-IMP-Du
 'You (Du) get the food'
- (154) *naŋ-ga-lu-janu* *jida-jida*
see-IMP-Pl-3PlAcc *child*-RDP
 'You (Pl) look at the children' (N example)

In bound pronoun subjects of imperative sentences, the opposition between 2nd and 3rd persons is neutralised. This may be explained as follows:

Benveniste (1946, 1956) says that, while 1st and 2nd persons are 'person', 3rd person is not really a 'person' but non-person (see 3.4.). That is, in terms of markedness theory, the former two are marked, while the latter is unmarked. Since the subjects in imperative sentences are obviously 2nd person (at least in Djaru), it is not necessary to specify them as 2nd person. Accordingly, unmarked subjects - i.e. 3rd person subjects - are used. However, Hale (personal communication and also cf. 1973a:327) provides a different explanation. First recall that 3rd person nominals are formally identical with 'number markers' (4.5.2.-[1]). Hale (personal communication) says:

...the 2nd person element is deleted, leaving the number marker behind. This is the Djaru, and Walbiri, reflection of the nearly universal rule of 2nd person deletion in imperatives.

That is, this phenomenon is person deletion rather than person replacement. Perhaps this analysis is superior to ours. See also Hale's comment on metathesis (4.5.6.).

Identical person replacement, in imperative sentences, is also found in Walbiri (Capell 1962a:30, Hale 1973a:326-27), Pitjantatjara (Glass and Hackett 1970:30-40), Malngin and Wandjira.

[2] Number replacement

Two duals do not co-occur, and one of them is replaced by the corresponding plural. Thus, instead of:

(155) *ḡaḡara-lu ḡa-lijara-ḡuwula nunbula naḡ-an
1DuExcNom C-1DuExc-Nom-2DuAcc 2Du see-PRES

(156) *ḡaḡara ḡa-lijara-ḡuwulala pinaḡ-an nunbulaḡip-ḡa'
1DuExc C-1DuExcNom-2DuLoc sit-PRES 2Du-LOC

we have:

(157) ḡaḡara-lu ḡa-lijara-pura nunbula naḡ-an
1DuExc-ERG C-1DuExcNom-2PlAcc 2Du see-PRES
'We two (Exc) see you two'

(158) ḡaḡara ḡa-lijara-purala pinaḡ-an nunbulaḡip-ḡa'
1DuExc C-1DuExcNom-2PlLoc sit-PRES 2Du-LOC
'We two (Exc) sit with you two'

Here, the dual -ḡuwula and -ḡuwulala are replaced by the plural -pura '2PlAcc' and -purala '2PlLoc', respectively. Two more examples:

(159) nanbula-lu ḡa-aḡip-gu-lu ḡali naḡ-an
3Du-ERG C-1DuIncAcc-gu-3PlNom 1DuInc see-PRES
'They two see us two (Inc)' (*-aḡip-bula '1DuIncAcc-3DuNom')

(160) nanbula-lu ḡa-aḡiraḡ-gu-lu ḡaḡara naḡ-an
3Du-ERG C-1DuExcAcc-gu-3PlNom 1DuExc see-PRES
'They two see us two (Exc)' (*-aḡiraḡ-bula '1DuExcAcc-3DuNom')

Here, -lu '3PlNom' is substituted for -b/wula '3DuNom' in each example.

The principle of person hierarchy (see 4.5.4.) operates here: it is the bound pronoun lower in the hierarchy that is replaced. But, in a

sequence of two 3rd person duals, both are equal on the hierarchy. Here, the principle of case/grammatical relations (4.5.4.) operates: it is the oblique (marking a non-subject) rather than the nominative (marking the subject) that is replaced. Thus, in N, in place of *-wula-wulan '3DuNom-3DuAcc' we have -wula-anu '3DuNom-3PlAcc':

(161) guḍara-lu mawun-du ḡa-wula-anu guḍara ḡaṙinga ḡaṙ-an
 two-ERG man-ERG C-3DuNom-3PlAcc two woman (N) see-PRES
 'Two men see two women' (N example)

Similarly, in W, in place of *-wula-wulaanu '3DuNom-3DuAcc' we have -wula-anu '3DuNom-3PlAcc':

(162) guḍara-lu mawun-du ḡa-wula-anu guḍara ḡumbir ḡaṙ-an
 two-ERG man-ERG C-3DuNom-3PlAcc two woman (W) see-PRES
 As above. (W example)

Here, -wulan '3DuAcc' and -wulaanu '3DuAcc' are replaced by -anu '3PlAcc'. (The W form -wulaanu '3DuAcc' is formally identical with the sequence -wula-anu '3DuNom-3PlAcc'. One might argue that in (162), the W example, -wulaanu is not replaced by -anu '3PlAcc' but that -wula '3DuNom' is deleted (or replaced by zero '3SgNom'). However, the replacement of -wulan '3SgAcc' by -anu '3PlAcc' in (161), the N example, indicates that, in W too, -wulaanu '3DuAcc' is replaced by -anu '3PlAcc'.)

There are at least two possible interpretations of this number replacement. One applies to only some of the instances and the other applies to the Djaru number replacement in general.

First interpretation. Some dual forms of bound pronouns are partially identical with one another, involving the element -b/wula (4.5.2.-[1]). When a sequence contains two such forms, one of them is replaced, by a corresponding plural form. The purpose of this is to avoid a repetition of the same form - 4.5.3., (e). Thus:

*wula-wulan	-wula-anu
3DuNom-3DuAcc/Dat (N)	3DuNom-3PlAcc/Dat
*-wula-wulaanu	-wula-anu
3DuNom-3DuAcc/Dat (W)	3DuNom-3PlAcc/Dat
*-ḡuwula-wula	-ḡuwula-gu-lu
2DuAcc/Dat-3DuNom	2DuAcc/Dat-gu-3PlNom

But, this interpretation does not apply to instances such as (155)-(160); they do not involve a repetition of identical forms.

Second interpretation. Perhaps in Djaru and also universally, among the three numbers, singular is the least marked, dual is the most marked and plural is halfway between singular and dual. (cf. the disappearance of dual in Indo-European languages. See also Fillmore 1968:2.) In the Djaru number replacement, when a sequence contains two duals - of the most marked number category - one of them is replaced by a less marked form (here, the corresponding plural). This reduces the marked nature of this sequence. (See also the note to Chapter 5, [1].)

(At least in the corpus) there is no example of person replacement in three-member and two-oblique sequences. Number replacement appears to show idiolectal and dialectal variations. The above account is mainly of the main informant's idiolect (W dialect).

Similar number replacement is found, for example, in Walbiri, Walmanpa, Waramunga (Hale 1973a:330-32); Guurindji, Mudbura (McConvell 1980); Walmadjari (Hudson, personal communication) and Wandjira. It is interesting to note in passing that in Nunggubuyu of Arnhem Land (which is not genetically close to Djaru) 'dual and plural are merged in non-human object markers' (Heath 1975:93).

In the avoidance language of Djaru, a plural (free or bound) pronoun is used when referring to a certain taboo relative - although the referent is singular. See Chapter 5.

4.5.6. METATHESIS

Some bound pronouns have a discontinuous distribution in a number of sequences. We assume that here metathesis (see Hale 1973a:328-29) has taken place (although other analyses may be possible). There are two types of metatheses:

- (a) those involving a 'number marker' in nominatives, and;
- (b) those involving *-la* in locationals.

(a) The nominatives *-nalu* '1PlExc', *-nbula* '2Du' and *-n(da)lu* '2Pl' can be regarded as each consisting of a 'person marker' (*-na* '1st' or *-n* '2nd') and a 'number marker' (*-b/-wula* 'dual' or *-lu* 'plural') - 4.5.2.-[1]. When one of these nominatives is followed by a 1st or 2nd person accusative or dative, the 'number marker' is shifted to the right of the latter. Thus:

(163) *nanamba-lu na-na-ngu-lu nundu nan-an*
 1PlExc-ERG 2Sg see-PRES
 'We see you' (*-nalu-ngu '1PlExcNom-2SgAcc')

(164) *nunbula-lu na-n-nanamba-wula nanamba nan-an*
 2Du-ERG 1PlExc see-PRES
 'You see us' (*-nbula-nanamba '2DuNom-1PlExcAcc')

Metathesis does not apply if such a nominative is preceded (rather than followed) by such an acc/dat. Thus, *-ji-nbula* '1SgAcc/Dat-2SgNom' but **-n-gu-ji-wula* (for *gu*, see 4.5.2.). Similarly, metathesis does not apply if the acc/dat is 3rd (rather than 1st or 2nd) person. Thus, *-nalu-janu* '1PlExcNom-3PlAcc/Dat' and **-na-janu-lu*.

(b) Locationals except for '3rdSg' are formed by the addition of *-la* to acc/dat forms (4.5.2.-[2]). If any bound pronoun at all follows a locational (except for '3rdSgLoc'), then *-la* is shifted to its right. There are three subtypes:

(i) a locational followed by a nominative:

(165) *nundu* *ŋa-ji-n-gu-la* *ŋaniŋiŋ-ɖa* *piŋaŋ-an*
 2Sg 1Sg-LOC sit-PRES
 'You sit with me' (*-jila-n '1SgLoc-2SgNom')

(166) *nanbula* *ŋa-ŋgu-wula-la* *puŋuŋiŋ-ɖa* *piŋaŋ-an*
 3Du 2Sg-LOC sit-PRES
 'They (two) sit with you' (*-ŋgula-wula '2SgLoc-3DuNom')

Text 2, sentence 28 contains another example: *-ji-lu-la* (*-jila-lu '1SgLoc-3PlNom').

(ii) a locational followed by a 'number marker' which has been separated due to the type-(a) metathesis. Compare (163) with (167); and (164) with (168):

(167) *ŋanamba* *ŋa-ŋa-ŋgu-lu-la* *piŋaŋ-an* *puŋuŋiŋ-ɖa*
 1Pl sit-PRES 2Sg-Loc
 'We sit with you' (*-ŋalu-ŋgula '1PlExcNom-2SgLoc')

(168) *puŋbula* *ŋa-n-ŋanamba-wula-la* *piŋaŋ-an* *ŋanambaŋiŋ-ɖa*
 2Du-ABS sit-PRES 1PlExc-LOC
 'You sit with us' (*-nbula-ŋanambala '2DuNom-1PlExcLoc')

(The type-(ii) metathesis is, in fact, a subtype of the type-(i); a 'number marker' is formally identical with a 3rd person nominative, and the operations involved in type-(i) and (ii) are identical. Thus, see the behaviour of *-wula* in (166) and (168).)

(iii) a locational followed by an accusative or dative in three-member or two-oblique sequences - see 4.5.7.

Both metathesis and number replacement can apply to the same sequence. Thus, we have:

-n-ŋajiraŋ-gu-lu instead of **-nbula-ajiraŋ* '2DuNom-1DuExcAcc/Dat'
-n-ŋajiraŋ-gu-lu-la instead of **-nbula-ajiraŋgula* '2DuNom-1DuExcLoc'

Here, *-nbula* '2DuNom' is replaced by *-n..lu* '2PlNom'.

There are two exceptions to the metathesis rules; both involve '1PlExcNom-2PlObl':

-ŋalu-pura '1PlExcNom-2PlAcc/Dat' (*-ŋa-pura-lu)
-ŋalu-purala '1PlExcNom-2PlLoc' (*-ŋa-pura-lu-la)

There are two important differences between Djaru and Walbiri metathesis. First, Walbiri lacks the type-(b) metathesis (Walbiri bound pronouns have no locationals). Second, the type-(a) metathesis applies to only 'Sg' of '1st' and '2nd' in Walbiri, but applies to any '1st' or '2nd' (irrespective of its number) in Djaru. See Hale 1973a:328-29.

Hale (personal communication) says that 3rd person nominative is always zero and that *-bula*(/*-wula*) and *-lu* are number markers, i.e.:

	singular	dual	plural
3rd person nominative	zero-zero	zero-bula (zero-wula)	zero-lu

This analysis is perhaps superior to ours. Hale points out that in his analysis it is unnecessary to have two separate rules of metathesis; one involving 'number markers' ((a) and (b)-(ii)) and the other involving nominatives ((b)-(i)); they are handled by just one metathesis rule. (Recall that, for example, the operation involved in the rule (b)-(i) and in the rule (b)-(ii) are identical.) See also Hale's comment on imperatives (4.5.5.-[1]).

Hale (personal communication) also suggests that the two rules of (b) in fact do not involve metathesis. He says that there is no evidence whatsoever that -la moves to the final position - it is always final. It registers the fact that the oblique bound pronoun is construed with a spatial case rather than with a direct or indirect object (except where it registers '3rd person singular dative'). (Hudson (1978:62-63) gives a similar analysis for Walmadjari.) Hale also suggests the possibility to generate -la in its surface position within the bound pronoun sequence. This is an attractive analysis, and deserves a further, careful study.

4.5.7. THREE-MEMBER AND TWO-OBLIQUE SEQUENCES

Three-member sequences of the type (iii) and two-oblique sequences are very uncommon (4.5.3.). In each type, the relative order of members strictly follows the principle of person hierarchy:

1st preceding 2nd preceding 3rd preceding (4.5.4.).

Some of these sequences involve metathesis. All the examples of three-member sequences are listed in Table 4.6.

TABLE 4.6.
THREE-MEMBER SEQUENCES

-na-ŋgu-janu 1SgNom-2SgAcc-3PlDat	-na-ŋgu-janu 1SgNom-2SgDat-3PlAcc
-na-ŋgu-janungula 1SgNom-2SgAcc-3PlLoc	-na-ŋgu-janu-ŋgu-la* 1SgNom-2Sg-3PlAcc-ŋgu-Loc
-ji-n-danu 1SgAcc-2SgNom-3PlDat	-ji-n-danu 1SgDat-2SgNom-3PlAcc
-ji-n-danungula 1SgAcc-2SgNom-3PlLoc	-ji-n-danu-ŋgu-la* 1Sg-2SgNom-3PlAcc-ŋgu-Loc
-ji-ŋgu-lu 1SgAcc-2SgDat-3PlNom	-ji-ŋgu-lu 1SgDat-2SgAcc-3PlNom

(For the insertion of -ŋgu, see 4.5.2. The forms with an asterisk involve metathesis. Similarly, for Table 4.7.) Each sequence consists

of one member from each of 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons, and the 1st and 2nd person members are singular and the 3rd person member is plural. Thus, their pattern is:

1sgSg-2ndSg-3rdPl

In terms of case, there are two types:

(a) Nom, Acc, Dat (b) Nom, Acc, Loc

Note that each sequence has two different interpretations. Thus:

-nangujanu '1SgNom-2SgAcc-3PlDat' and '1SgNom-2SgDat-3PlAcc'

-nangujanugula '1SgNom-2SgAcc-3PlLoc' and '1SgNom-2SgLoc-3PlAcc'

(Recall that except for '3Sg', the accusative and dative forms are identical - 3.4., and that again except for '3Sg', the locational forms are formed by the addition of -la to the corresponding accusative/dative forms - 4.5.2.-[2].) Examples of three-member sequences include:

(169) nāḍu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa-ḡḡu-janu juḡ-gu ḡundu murgun-gu
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgAcc-3PlDat give-PURP 2Sg three-DAT1
 'I will give you to the three (people)'

(170) ḡa-ḡa-ḡḡu-janu juḡ-an murgun jamba-aba
 C-1SgNom-2SgDat-3PlAcc give-PRES three child-RDP
 'I give three children to you'

(171) ḡa-ḡa-ḡḡu-janu-ḡḡu-la ḡaḡ-gu murgun jamba-aba
 C-1SgNom-2Sg-3PlAcc-ḡḡu-Loc take-PURP three child-RDP
 'I will take three children away from you'

Three-member sequences violate global tendencies (a), (b) and (c). The forms in which one of the two obliques is deleted - resulting in the standard pattern of 'one nominative and one oblique' and thus conforming with the three tendencies - appear to be favoured. Thus, -ḡa-ḡḡu is preferred to -ḡa-ḡḡu-janu.

All the examples of two-oblique sequences are listed in Table 4.7.

TABLE 4.7.
TWO-OBLIQUE SEQUENCES

-ji-ŋgu 1SgDat-2SgAcc	-ji-ŋgula 1SgAcc-2SgLoc	-ji-ŋgu-la* 1Sg-2SgAcc-Loc	-ji-la 1SgDat-3SgDat
-ji-ŋanda 1SgAcc-3SgLoc	-ji-ŋguwula 1SgAcc-2DuDat	-ji-ŋguwulala 1SgAcc-2DuLoc	-ji-wulaanu 1SgDat-3DuAcc
-ji-wulaanu 1SgDat-3DuDat	-ji-wulaanungula 1SgAcc-3DuLoc	-ji-ŋura 1SgDat-2PlAcc	-ji-ŋurala 1SgAcc-2PlLoc
-ji-janu 1SgDat-3PlAcc	-ji-janu 1SgDat-3PlDat	-ji-janu-ŋgu-la* 1Sg-3PlAcc-ŋgu-Loc	-ŋgu-wula** 2SgDat-3DuAcc
-ŋgu-janu 2SgDat-3PlAcc	-ŋgu-janugula 2SgAcc-3PlLoc	-ŋgu-janu-gu-la* 2Sg-3PlAcc-gu-Loc	-ŋalip-gu-wula-la*,** 1DuInc-gu-3DuAcc-Loc
-alip-ɖanu 1DuIncAcc-3PlDat	-alip-ɖanu 1DuIncDat-3PlAcc	-ŋalip-ɖanungula 1DuIncAcc-3PlLoc	-alipba-wula** 1PlIncDat-3DuAcc

(For forms marked with one asterisk involve metathesis.)

There are two unusual instances here. In the forms marked with two asterisks, the 3rd person dual *-wula*, which normally marks the nominative, marks the accusative. The form *-ŋalip-gu-wula-la*, with two duals, is an exception to the number of replacement rule (4.5.5.).

The two-oblique sequences can be classified into three types:

(a) Acc, Dat (b) Acc, Loc (c) Dat, Dat.

In every sequence, the nominative is '3rdSg', and consequently is not marked overtly. (Note that the three-member sequences discussed above will become two-oblique sequences of the type (a) or (b), if the nominatives are deleted.) Examples include:

(172) *jalu-ŋgu mawun-du ŋa-ŋgu-janu ɣaŋ-a murgun*
that-ERG man-ERG C-2SgDat-3PlAcc carry-PAST three

jamba-aba ɲununa
child-RDP 2Sg-DAT

'That man took away your three children'

(173) *jalu-ŋgu mawun-du ŋa-ji-ŋgula jaan-i ɲununip-ɖa*
that-ERG man-ERG C-1SgAcc-2SgLoc put-PAST 2Sg-LOC

'That man put me alongside you'

(174) *ɲila ŋa-ji-la ɣunar-gu guju ɲaniŋu-wu*
that C-1SgDat-3SgDat dog-DAT1 meat 1Sg-DAT-DAT1

'That meat is for my dog (or that meat is my dog's)'

(Here, *ɲaniŋa* '1Sg-DAT' is further declined for the dative-1 (see 3.3.).
-ji '1SgDat' cross-references *ɲaniŋu-* '1Sg-DAT' and *-la* '3SgDat' cross-

references -gu/-wu 'DAT-1' (of 'meat', which is 3rd person singular). See 4.5.8.-[1] and 4.11.1.)

- (175) *jalu-ngu mawun-du ɲa-ji-pura jip-a waɟir*
that-ERG man-ERG C-1SgAcc-2PlDat give-PAST back
'That man gave me back to you'

Three-member and two-oblique sequences violate the global tendency (c) (among others). There are no three-member or two-oblique sequences involving both a dative and a locational; this can be explained in terms of case hierarchy. See 4.5.8.-[6].

4.5.8. GRAMMATICAL AND SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS/TENDENCIES

In 4.5.3. we discussed a few constraints/tendencies - largely phonological - concerning the occurrence of bound pronouns. There are perhaps many other constraints/tendencies. In the following, we shall discuss a few more constraints/tendencies - largely grammatical and/or semantic.

[1] Case of further declined free pronouns.

Dative and ablative-1 of free pronouns can further decline (here, the ablative-1 can mark possessor as well as origin/source) - 3.3. When they decline (at least) for the ergative, they are never cross-referenced, e.g. (190), (285)-(ii), (377), (378). But, when they decline (at least) for the dative-1, locative or allative, they can be cross-referenced. The case, person and number of the cross-referencing bound pronoun appear to be as follows (but this point needs to be further checked):

- (a) CASE: the final case (rather than the original dative or ablative-1) is cross-referenced, and;
 (b) PERSON and NUMBER: the person and number of the original dative or ablative-1 (rather than the cross-referenced noun) are cross-referenced.

Thus:

- (176) *ɲaɖu ɲa-ɲa-ɲgula pinan-an ɲura-ɲga punuɲu-la*
1Sg C-1SgNom-2SgLoc sit-PRES camp-LOC 2Sg-DAT-LOC
 (or *punuɲip-ɖa*)
2Sg-ABL1-LOC
'I sit in your camp'

In (176), the case of -ɲgula, i.e. locational, cross-references the final case, i.e. the locative, of *punuɲu-la* or *punuɲip-ɖa* (rather than the dative of the original *punuɲu-* '2Sg-DAT' or the ablative-1 of the original *punuɲip-* '2Sg-ABL1'. If the original *punuɲu-* were cross-referenced, we would have -ɲa-ɲgu '1SgNom-2SgDat' instead of -ɲa-ɲgula '1SgNom-2SgLoc'.) The person and number of -ɲgula, i.e. 2nd and singular, cross-reference those of the original *punuɲu-* or *punuɲip-*, both 2nd

and singular. (If the person and the number of the cross-referenced noun 'camp', i.e. '3rd person and singular' were cross-referenced, we would have (in W) -*na-panda* '1SgNom-3SgLoc'. But normally inanimate NPs in the locational are not cross-referenced (see below), and this BP sequence would be ungrammatical for (176).) Another example is (174); the final case, i.e. dative-1, of *paniqū-wu* '1Sg-DAT-DAT1' is cross-referenced, by -*la* '3Sg-Dat'. (However, the number and person (and also the case) of the original *paniqū-* '1Sg-DAT' are cross-referenced separately, by -*ji* '1Sg'. This is contradictory to the statement (b) above. Cross-reference of further declined pronouns is complicated, and needs to be further checked.)

[2] Semantics of NPs

In many instances, free NPs with inanimate referents are not cross-referenced although those with human or animate referents are. Thus:

(177) *naḍu na-na-panda jan-an panuḡip-dawu* (or *gupaḡ-awu*)
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgLoc *go*-PRES 3Sg-ALL *dog*-ALL
 'I go to him (or to a dog)'

(178) *naḍu na-na jan-an nura-ḡgawu*
 1Sg C-1SgNom *go*-PRES *camp*-ALL
 'I go to the camp'

(179) *naḍu na-na-panda jambagina-la pinaḡ-an*
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgLoc *child*-LOC *sit*-PRES
 'I sit with a child'

(180) *naḍu na-na pinaḡ-an nura-ḡga* (or *majawun-da*)
 1Sg C-1SgNom *sit*-PRES *camp*-LOC *wind*-LOC
 'I sit in the camp (or in the wind)'

[3] Grammatical relations.

It is incorrect to say, however, that inanimate NPs can never be cross-referenced. Thus, compare (180) with:

(181) *mawun nila na-panda guli wajan-i majawun-da jambi-ga*
man that C-3SgLoc angry become-PAST *wind*-LOC *big*-LOC
 'That man got angry with the big wind'

(182) *jambagina na-panda juwa maḡ-i gaḡḡinaḡa-la*
child C-3SgLoc fear-PAST *lightning*-LOC
 'A child was afraid of the lightning'

Also, inanimate datives can be cross-referenced. Examples include (64), (87), (88), (109), (128), (309) and:

(183) *mani-wu na-lu-la jan-i bamar-gu*
money-DAT1 C-3PlNom-3SgDat *go*-PAST *stone*-DAT1
 'They went for stone (i.e. money)'

(More examples are given in 4.5.9. and 4.9.1.-[2].)

As final examples:

- (184) murgun buŋu ŋa-lu ɖad ɖin-a
three tree C-3PlNom stand-CONT PRES
'Three trees are standing' (W example)

(Here, ɖina has been assimilated, by d, from pina. See 4.10.1.-[2]-(a).)

- (185) jaŋi-ŋgu mawun-du ŋa-anu murgun buŋu bajan-a
one-ERG man-ERG C-3PlAcc three tree cut-CONT PRES
'One man is cutting three trees' (W example)

It appears that whether or not a free NP can be cross-referenced depends not only on its semantic nature but also its syntactic nature. The data available suggest the following constraints/tendencies:

- (a) human/animate nominals (in any case inflection; whether pronouns or human/animate nouns) can be cross-referenced (a global constraint)
- (b) inanimate SUBJECT (both St and Si) can be cross-referenced - (184), (202);
- (c) inanimate DO can be cross-referenced - (185), (203)-(205);
- (d) inanimate IO can be cross-referenced - (183) and others;
- (e) inanimate LOCATIVE can only be cross-referenced in certain constructions (a local constraint) - those involving, probably, intransitive predicate verbs of emotion - (181), (182); otherwise, inanimate locative (marking time, place, means, etc.) cannot be cross-referenced - (8), (133), (180) and so on;
- (f) inanimate ALLATIVE and ABLATIVE are never cross-referenced, at least in the corpus (no construction has been found in which an inanimate allative or ablative NP can be cross-referenced) - (18)-(21), and so on;
- (g) INSTRUMENTAL. Inanimate nouns have the instrumental case, but (human or) animate nouns and pronouns lack it (3.2.1.-[3] and 3.3.). And, the instrumental case - all of inanimate referents - can never be cross-referenced.

In (a)-(e) above we said that certain nominals can be cross-referenced by bound pronouns. But, we only talked about cross-reference possibilities. Bound pronouns do not always occur at the surface. They may be suppressed by certain constraints(/tendencies), discussed below. Also, there are instances in which bound pronouns do not occur when they would be expected. (See (206) and (207.)) Note also that '3SgNom' and '3SgAcc' are phonologically zero.

The criteria for recognising sentence parts (or grammatical relations) (Table 4.4.) are largely based on the constraints (/tendencies) given above. Table 4.4. does not show the distribution of pronouns, animate nouns and inanimate nouns

among the various sentence parts. Incorporating this distribution, we can show the interrelationship of:

- (i) distribution of pronouns, animate nouns and inanimate nouns;
- (ii) case marking of the above nominals;
- (iii) case marking of bound pronouns;
- (iv) cross-reference possibilities - 'yes can be cross-referenced' or 'never can be cross-referenced';
- (v) sentence parts (or grammatical relations).

TABLE 4.8.
SENTENCE PARTS (2)

Sentence part	Case marking of nominal	Pronoun	Animate noun	Inanimate noun	Case marking of bound pronoun
subject (St,Si)	ERGATIVE	yes	yes	yes	Nominative
	ABSOLUTIVE	yes	yes	yes	
DO*	ABSOLUTIVE	yes	yes	yes	Accusative
IO	ABSOLUTIVE	yes	yes	/	Dative
	DATIVE	yes	/	/	
	DATIVE-1	/	yes	/	
	DATIVE-2	/	yes	/	
subjunct	DATIVE-1	/	yes	/	Locational
	LOCATIVE	yes	yes	yes	
	ALLATIVE	yes	yes	?	
	ABLATIVE	/	yes	?	
	ABLATIVE-1,2	yes	/	/	
circumstance	INSTRUMENTAL	/	/	never	...
	DATIVE-1	/	/	never	
	DATIVE-2	/	/	never	
	LOCATIVE**	/	/	never	
	ALLATIVE	/	/	never	
	ABLATIVE	/	/	never	

(The slant line indicates that, for example, the absolutive case of inanimate noun is not used as IO; or that, for example, pronoun lacks the dative-1 case.)

*Transitive inanimate DOs can be certainly cross-referenced, e.g. (185), (203)-(205) (in Djaru, and also in Walbiri, e.g. 'boomerang' - Hale n.d.-b:49). But, cross-reference of intransitive inanimate DOs, e.g. 'language' and 'corroboree', is not understood well (see 4.4.4.).

**But, see 4.5.8.-[1].

In relational grammar, NPs are divided into terms (subject, DO and IO) and non-terms (benefactive, locative, allative, elative, instrumental, etc.) and only terms can, it is claimed, trigger syntactic processes such as reflexivization (Hale 1974a, Johnson 1977). However, this does not apply to Djaru. Here, it is more adequate to include subjunct (generally, locative, allative or ablative) in terms. This is because subjunct can be cross-referenced (like subject, DO and IO, but unlike circumstance) and also can be the victim in reflexivization (like DO and IO but unlike circumstance - 4.5.10.).

(Thus, locative, allative and ablative will be each divided into term and non-term.) This shows that while the dichotomy of terms and non-terms may (possibly) be universal, the dividing line between them is language-specific.

The most standard pattern of a BP sequence is:

(one or no) nominative and (one or no) oblique and, therefore a BP sequence does not contain more than one oblique (4.5.3.). If there is more than one candidate for the oblique slot, the following constraints/tendencies operate in selection:

- (a) nominal hierarchy;
- (b) NP identity;
- (c) case hierarchy.

They will be discussed in the following.

[4] Nominal hierarchy:

- (a) human > non-human
- (b) $\overbrace{1\text{sg} > 2\text{nd} > 3\text{rd}}$
- (c) $\overbrace{\text{Pl} > \text{Du} > \text{Sg}}$

(a) Human > non-human.

This is perhaps a global constraint (but there is one possible exception out of 35 examples examined). Thus:

- (186) *jaŋi-ŋgu mawun-du ŋa-la jip-a jaŋi-wu jambagina-wu*
one-ERG man-ERG C-3SgDat give-PAST one-DAT1 child-DAT1

guɖara guɖar
two dog

'One man gave two dogs to one child' ('child' > 'dog')

(If 'two dogs' were cross-referenced, we would have **ŋa-wulaanu* 'C-3DuAcc'. But, this sequence was rejected.)

- (187) *ŋa-ŋa-ŋgu mijan̄gi man-i guɖara-wu ɖaɖi-wu*
C-1SgNom-2SgAcc ask-PAST two-DAT1 kangaroo-DAT1
 'I asked you for two kangaroos' ('you' > 'kangaroo')

- (188) *jaŋi-ŋgu mawun-du murgun ga|i ŋa-anungula*
one-ERG man-ERG three boomerang C-3PlLoc
ɖiri jaan-a murgun-da jamba-aba-la
show-CONT PRES three-LOC child-RDP-LOC
 'One man shows three boomerangs to three children' (W example)
 ('child' > 'boomerang')

(189) ḡaḡara ḡa-lijara-ḡgu jan-i punuḡa ḡaru-wu
 1DuExc C-1DuExcNom-2SgDat come-PAST 2Sg-DAT Djaru-DAT1

maḡ-u-wu
 talk-VBD-DAT1

'I came to/for you in order to talk Djaru' ('you' > 'to talk Djaru')

(For a discussion of verbid constructions, see 4.9.1.)

Possibly animate is higher than inanimate although there is no example.

(b) 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person.

In the case of the verb 'give', this hierarchy is strictly observed (a local constraint); there is no exception in some 30 examples examined. Thus:

(190) punuḡu-lu lambara-lu ḡa-ji jip-a ḡaḡu
 2Sg-DAT-ERG father-in-law-ERG C-1SgAcc give-PAST 1Sg

ḡumbir punuḡa
 woman/wife 2Sg-DAT

'Your father-in-law gave me (your promised wife) to you'
 (1sg > 2nd)

(191) lambara-lu ḡa-ji jip-a guḡara ḡumbir ḡaniḡa
 father-in-law-ERG C-1SgDat give-PAST two wife 1Sg-DAT

'Father-in-law gave two wives to me' (1st > 3rd)

(192) ḡa-ḡa-ḡgu juḡ-an murgun jamba-aba punuḡa
 C-1SgNom-2SgDat give-PRES three child-RDP 2Sg-DAT

'I give three children to you' (2nd > 3rd)

(For the formation of the word jamba-aba, see 6.2.2.)

In the case of other verbs, this hierarchy is generally (but not strictly) observed. Thus:

(193) ḡa-ḡa-ḡgu miḡangi man-i ḡumbir-gujara-wu guḡara-wu
 C-1SgNom-2SgAcc ask-PAST woman-TWO-DAT1 two-DAT1

'I asked you for two women' (2nd > 3rd ('woman'))

(For the noun-stem-forming suffix -gujara, see 6.2.1.-[19].)

(c) Plural > Dual > Singular.

Between two 3rd persons, the larger number outranks the smaller number. At least with the verb 'give', this hierarchy is fairly strictly observed (there is one possible exception in about 15 examples examined). Thus:

- (194) *jaŋi-ŋgu mawun-du ŋa-anu juŋ-an jamba-wujara guɖara*
one-ERG man-ERG C-3PlDat give-PRES child-TWO two
murgun-gu ŋumbir-gu
three-DAT1 woman-DAT1
 'One man gives two children to three women' (Pl > Du)

- (195) *jaŋi-ŋgu mawun-du murgun jamba-aba ŋa-anu juŋ-an*
one-ERG man-ERG three child-RDP C-3PlAcc give-PRES
guɖara-wu ŋumbir-gu
two-DAT1 woman-DAT1
 'One man gives three children to two woman' (Pl > Du)

In Walbiri, in a sentence with both DO and IO, only IO can be cross-referenced (Hale 1973a:334-35). In Walmadjari, in the case of 'give', only IO can be cross-referenced (Hudson 1978:26). However, this does not apply to Djaru. Thus, DO of 'give' can be cross-referenced if it outranks IO, e.g. (190) and (195).

[5] NP identity

(a) Whole > part.

When a sentence contains a whole/possessor NP and a part/inalienable possession NP, only the former can be cross-referenced - 4.11.4.-[3]. In the case where the whole/possessor is the subject and part/inalienable possession is DO, IO or subjunct, generally the sentence is turned into a middle-voice sentence. See 4.5.10.

(b) Predicatives.

A subject predicative and subject have the same referent, and they can be cross-referenced jointly only once. Similarly, for an object predicative and object. For examples, see 4.4.9.

[6] Case hierarchy: locational > dative.

A locational always outranks a dative, irrespective of their numbers or persons. This is a global constraint; it applies irrespective of construction types - there is no exception in the corpus. Thus:

- (196) *ŋila mawun ŋa-ŋgula maŋ-an-i ŋaniŋa puŋuŋiŋ-ɖa*
that man C-2SgLoc talk-CONT-PAST 1Sg-DAT 2Sg-LOC
 'That man was talking to you about me' (*-ji '1SgDat')

- (197) *ŋaɖu ŋa-ŋa-ŋgula jan-i puŋuŋiŋ-ɖa guɖara-wu*
1Sg C-1SgNom-2SgLoc come-PAST 2Sg-LOC two-DAT1
ɖaɖi-wu
kangaroo-DAT1

'I came to you for two kangaroos' (*-ŋa-wulaanu '1SgNom-3DuDat')

- (198) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa-anuḡḡula ḡaḡu mara-an ḡunuḡa
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-3PlLoc story tell-PRES 2Sg-DAT
 'I will tell them a story about you' (*-ḡa-ḡḡu '1SgNom-2SgDat')

Generally, dative bound pronouns are 'weak'. Thus, they are outranked by locationals; often, they do not occur where they would be expected (see below); reflexivisation with datives as the victims is optional and often does not apply (4.5.10.).

Among the three-member and two-oblique sequences, there is no instance that involves a dative and locational - 4.5.7. This is because a locational always outranks a dative and only the locational occurs.

In all the examples considered above, the locational is human and the dative is human, animate or inanimate. There is no instance in which the locational is lower than the dative on the hierarchy; it would be interesting to know whether the locational outranks the dative here.

In relational grammar, locative is assigned a far lower place than IO on the hierarchy. But, this does not apply to Djaru; the locational (cross-referencing the locative, allative or ablative) outranks the dative (cross-referencing the dative - IO).

The last constraint/tendency to be discussed is semantic:

[7] Two inanimate NPs.

Generally, a non-zero bound pronoun with inanimate referent(s) does not occur if there is another non-zero bound pronoun.

(a) If the other bound pronoun has animate or human referent(s), the bound pronoun with inanimate referent(s) simply does not occur. Thus, consider:

- (199) ḡuḡara-lu mawun-du ḡa-wula-anu waḡbaḡ-i murgun ḡuḡar
 two-ERG man-ERG C-3DuNom-3PlAcc throw-PAST three dog
 'Two men threw three dogs'

Here, -wula refers to humans ('two men') and -anu refers to animates ('three dogs'), and both occur at the surface. But, consider:

- (200) ḡuḡara-lu mawun-du ḡa-wula waḡbaḡ-i murgun bamar
 two-ERG man-ERG C-3DuNom throw-PAST three stone
 'Two men threw three stones' (*-wula-anu '3DuNom-3PlAcc')

- (201) ḡuḡara-lu ḡaḡḡiḡaḡa-lu ḡa-anu murgun mawun biḡ-a
 two-ERG lightning-ERG C-3PlAcc three man hit-PAST
 'Two lightnings hit three men' (*-wula-anu '3DuNom-3PlAcc')

For each of (200) and (201), -wula-anu '3DuNom-3PlAcc' was rejected. In (200), -anu '3PlAcc', referring to inanimates ('three stones') is suppressed; the other bound pronoun -wula '3DuNom' has human referents ('two men') and occur at the surface. The reverse is true for (201).

This - (a) - is a global tendency (for exceptions, see [3] above).

(b) Two non-zero bound pronouns with inanimate referents do not co-occur (this appears to be a global constraint). Thus, consider:

(202) guḍara-lu majawun-du ḡa-wula-∅ buṅu jaṅi bajan-i
two-ERG wind-ERG C-3DuNom-3SgAcc tree one bite-PAST
 'Two winds bit (i.e. hit) one tree'

(203) jaṅi-ḡgu majawun-du ḡa-∅-anu murgun buṅu bajan-i
one-ERG wind-ERG C-3SgNom-3PlAcc three tree bite-PAST
 'One wind hit three trees'

In (202) both of the bound pronouns have inanimate referents ('two winds' and 'one tree'), but -wula can occur, since the other bound pronoun is phonologically zero. Similarly, for (203). However, consider:

(204) guḍara-lu majawun-du ḡa-anu murgun buṅu bajan-i
two-ERG wind-ERG C-3PlAcc three tree bite-PAST
 'Two winds hit three trees' (*-wula-anu '3DuNom-3PlAcc')

(205) murgun-du ḡaṅḡiṅḡa-lu ḡa-wulaanu guḍara buṅu biṅ-a
three-ERG lightning-ERG C-3DuAcc two tree hit-PAST
 'Three lightnings hit two trees' (Probably *-lu-wulaanu
 '3PlNom-3DuAcc')

At least for (204), -wula-anu '3DuNom-3PlAcc' was rejected. In (204), both bound pronouns -wula '3DuNom' and -anu '3PlAcc' have inanimate referents, and one of them (i.e. -wula) is suppressed. Similarly for (205). In all the examples at hand, it is the accusative (marking DO) rather than the nominative (marking subject) that occurs at the surface - irrespective of the numbers of the bound pronouns concerned. Here, neither the case/grammatical relation hierarchy (see 4.5.4.) nor the 'number hierarchy' (see [4]-(c) above) is operative.

In relational grammar, subject is assigned a higher place than DO on the hierarchy. But, this does not apply to Djaru; in the instances discussed above, the accusative (marking DO) outranks the nominative (marking subject).

In many instances, bound pronouns do not occur where they would be expected. Thus, consider the following two examples from texts: in one, -la '3SgDat' occurs, while in the other it does not.

(206) wagura ḡa-lu-la binari piṅaṅ-an-i waḡbali-wu
not C-3PlNom-3SgDat knowing sit-CONT-PAST white man-DATl
 'They (Aboriginal people) did not know a white man'

(207) wagura ḡa-lu binari piṅaṅ-an-i waḡbali-wu
 As above.

Some of them may be simply optional; or perhaps discourse-dependent or other factors are involved.

Some points from 4.5.3., 4.5.4. and 4.5.8. are discussed (more lucidly) in Tsunoda 1981, forthcoming-a and forthcoming-b.

4.5.9. SEMI-TRANSITIVE SENTENCES

The following V(C)s only occur in semi-transitive sentences - ERG-DAT (type (e) in 4.3.2.):

muwu wuŋ- 'search' (W); wawaŋ- 'search' (N);
 girid buŋ- 'look around for'; maŋaŋ man- 'look in vain';
 baŋdaŋ gaŋ- 'stalk' (W); ɖal man- 'stalk' (at least W);
 wuru gaŋ- 'stalk' (N); jar gaŋ- 'go after/follow, trying to catch
 up' (at least W); ɖara ŋaŋ- 'await' (W); guŋ buŋ- 'await' (N).

Examples include (59), (426), (535) and:

(208) mawun-du ŋa-la ŋaba-wu girid buŋ-an
 man-ERG C-3SgDat water-DAT1 look around for-PRES
 'A man looks (or is looking for) water'

(209) ŋaɖu-ŋgu ŋa-ŋa-ŋgu ŋunuŋa ɖara ŋaŋ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgDat 2Sg-DAT await-PRES
 'I wait for you'

(210) mawun-du ŋa-la ɖaɖi-wu baŋdaŋ gaŋ-an
 man-ERG C-3SgDat kangaroo-DAT1 stalk-PRES
 'A man stalks a kangaroo'

(The dative-2, as IO, occurs only in a couple of examples, in particular with wawaŋ- 'search' (N). See 4.3.2.)

The V(C)s listed above take ERG-DAT frame only. There are a handful of V(C)s that take ERG-ABS frame (generally) and ERG-DAT frame (occasionally). They all mark perception. The two frames show a semantic differentiation:

	ERG-ABS	ERG-DAT
ŋaŋ-	'see, look at'	'search'
buɖa ŋaŋ-	'hear, listen to'	'try to listen to'
wara gaŋ-	'watch'	'watch out for (hoping to get)'
bad man-, bad-bad man-	'touch'	'try to touch, feel for'

(A similar semantic differentiation is found between ERG-ABS and ABS-DAT frames in Kalkatungu (Blake 1977:17) and Alawa (Sharpe 1970:48, 1972:102-3).) Examples include:

(211) mawun-du (ŋa) ŋaŋ-an ɖaɖi
 man-ERG C see-PRES kangaroo
 'A man sees a kangaroo'

(212) mawun-du ŋa-la ŋaŋ-an ɖaɖi-wu
 man-ERG C-3SgDat see-PRES kangaroo-DAT1
 'A man looks for a kangaroo'

- (213) mawun-du (ŋa) jambagina buɕa ɲaŋ-an
 man-ERG C child hear-PRES
 'A man hears a child'

- (214) mawun-du ŋa-la jambagina-wu buɕa ɲaŋ-an
 man-ERG C-3SgDat child-DAT hear-PRES
 'A man tries to listen to a child'

We will refer to sentences such as (208)-(210) by 'true semi-transitives' and sentences such as (212) and (214) by 'derived semi-transitives'.

In the examples above, IO marks a goal of pursuit. A semi-transitive sentence can contain an additional IO, marking a beneficiary. Thus:

- (215) ŋaɖu-ŋgu ŋa-ŋa-ŋgu-la girid buŋ-an ŋaba-wu
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgDat-3SgDat look-PRES water-DAT1
 ɲunuŋa
 2Sg-DAT
 'I look for water for you'

- (216) ɲundu-gu ŋa-ji-n-gu-la muwu wuŋ-an ɖaɖi-wu
 2Sg-ERG C-1SgDat-2SgNom-gu-3SgDat search-PRES kangaroo-DAT1
 ŋaniŋa
 1Sg-DAT
 'You look for a kangaroo for me'

Both IOs are cross-referenced, resulting in a sequence of type (i) in 4.5.3.:

-Nom-Dat-la or -Dat-Nom-la

Between the nominative and the dative, the one higher on the person hierarchy precedes the other - 4.5.4. -la always occurs sequence-finally, and it appears to always mark the goal of pursuit rather than the beneficiary. The dative in such a sequence can be realised by the middle-voice suffix. See 4.5.10.

-la in (215) and (216) has a singular referent, but -la in such a sequence can also have a dual or plural referent. (This applies, it appears, even when the referents are animate or human. But, in Walbiri the equivalent for -la in such a sequence can only have a dual or plural referent if the referent is inanimate - Hale 1973a:335). Thus:

- (217) ŋa-ŋa-ŋgu-la muwu wuŋ-an murgun-gu ga|i-wu
 C-1SgNom-2SgDat-3Dat search-PRES three-DAT1 boomerang-DAT1
 (or ɖaɖi-wu guɖara-wu, or murgun-gu jamba-aba-wu)
 kangaroo-DAT1 two-DAT1 three-DAT1 child-RDP-DAT1
 ɲunuŋa
 2Sg-DAT
 'I look for three boomerangs (or two kangaroos, or three children)
 for you'

The sequence of two *-la* (i.e. **-la-la*) is not allowed (4.5.3.); instead we have *-la-panda*. Thus:

- (218) *na-na-la-panda* *muwu wuŋ-an* *ɖaɖi-wu* *mawun-gu*
 C-1SgNom-3SgDat-3SgDat *search-PRES* *kangaroo-DAT1* *man-DAT1*
'I look for a kangaroo for the man'

(This *-la-panda* should not be confused with '3SgLoc' *-lapanda* (mainly N) and *-panda* (mainly W). See 3.4.) Here, the second occurrence of *-la* is replaced by *-panda*. (This replacement, involving 3rd person, is reminiscent of the replacement in the Spanish 3rd person clitics, e.g. **le lo* is replaced by *se lo*. See Perlmutter 1971:22.)

All semi-transitive sentences have a common semantic property; they mark purpose or pursuit '*for*'. In particular, derived semi-transitives mark potential or attempted (perhaps continuing but as yet to be fully realised) activities, while on the other hand, their transitive (ERG-ABS) counterparts mark actual or realised activities. (See also Hale 1973a: 336 and Anderson 1976:23.)

Semi-transitive sentences are found in a few surrounding languages, e.g. Walbiri (Hale 1973a:335-36), Guurindji (McConvell, personal communication), Wandjira and Ngardi and also outside Australia - Punjabi (Comrie 1973:248-49). In Walbiri, transitive verbs, such as '*shoot*' and '*spear*', (which normally take the ERG-ABS frame and mark actual/realised activities), can take ERG-DAT frame and mark potential/attempted activities. However, in Djaru, only those transitive V(C)s which mark perception can take ERG-DAT frame. Thus, sentences such as:

- (219) **mawun-du na-la* *ɖaɖi-wu* *lan-i*
man-ERG C-3SgDat *kangaroo-DAT1* *spear-PAST*
**'A man tried to spear a kangaroo'*

is ungrammatical in Djaru, but their equivalents are grammatical in Walbiri.

Comrie (1973:248-49) and Anderson (1976:23) appear to explain the derivation of semi-transitive sentences as follows: semi-transitive sentences are derived from transitive sentences by changing DO into IO. But, this is not totally applicable to Djaru: certainly, derived semi-transitive can be regarded as derived from transitive sentences, but true semi-transitives cannot - they have no transitive counterparts. (See also 4.3.1.)

Tsunoda (1980a) discusses the problem of derived semi-transitive sentences in the framework of relational grammar.

4.5.10. MIDDLE-VOICE ('REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL') SENTENCES

The middle-voice ('reflexive/reciprocal') suffix is:

	All Dialects	Sturt Creek and Gordon Downs Dialects of N
Acc or Dat as the victim	-punu	-panu
Locational as the victim	-punula (rarely used) -punungula	-panula -panungula (rarely used)

(In Sturt Creek and Gordon Downs dialects, some speakers use both -punu series and -panu series.)

The middle-voice (hereafter M) suffix can be used in intransitive, semi-transitive as well as transitive sentences. 'Reflexivisation/reciprocalisation' does not affect the transitivity of a sentence. The controller is always the nominative (marking subject - whether St or Si) and the victim is the accusative (marking DO), dative (marking IO) or locational (marking subjunct). An M-suffix immediately follows the nominative. For the purpose of reflexivisation/reciprocalisation, St (ERG) and Si (ABS) are grouped together. The Djaru syntax is in the nominative-accusative pattern in this respect.

On formal and/or semantic grounds, M-sentences can be classified into:

- (a) reflexives, (b) reciprocals, (c) extended reflexives.

As the representative, reflexives will be discussed in detail, followed by a few examples of reciprocals. Finally, extended reflexives will be compared with the former two types.

[1] Reflexives.

A pair of examples involving DO: - instead of:

- (220) *ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa-ji ḡaḡu bar wuḡ-an
1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-1SgAcc 1Sg paint-PRES

we have:

- (221) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa-punu (ḡaḡu) bar wuḡ-an
1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-M 1Sg paint-PRES
'I paint myself'

Other examples involving Acc/DO include:

- (222) paḡ-ga-ḡ-punu ; paḡ-ga-wula-punu
see-IMP-SgNom-M see-IMP-DuNom-M
'Look at yourself' 'Look at yourselves'

(Person replacement has taken place here - 4.5.5.) An example involving IO, marking a possessor/beneficiary:

- (223) ስገሩ-ገገ ስ-ስ-ሥሥ (ስስስ) ስገሩ ገገ-ገገ
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-M 1Sg-DAT food cook-PRES
 'I cook my food (or I cook food for myself)'

Examples involving subjunct in the locative, allative and ablative, respectively:

- (224) ስገሩ-ገገ ስ-ስ-ሥሥ ስገሩ ገገ-ገገ ስገሩ-ገገ (ስስስ-ስ)
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-M-Loc hat put-PRES 1Sg-LOC
 'I put a hat on myself'
- (225) ስገሩ-ገገ ስ-ስ-ሥሥ ስገሩ ገገ-ገገ ስገሩ-ገገ (ስስስ-ገገ)
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-M-Loc clothes pull-PRES 1Sg-ALL
 'I pull clothes to myself'
- (226) ስገሩ-ገገ ስ-ስ-ሥሥ ስገሩ ገገ-ገገ ስገሩ-ገገ (ስስስ-ስ)
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-M-Loc dog hunt away-PRES 1Sg-ABL2
 'I hunt away a dog from myself'

The words in parentheses (i.e. nominals cross-referenced by the victim bound pronouns) are generally deleted when they are recoverable, e.g. in (221), (223). But, they are often retained when they are not necessarily unambiguously recoverable, for instance, in sentences such as (224)-(226); here, three cases of nominals (i.e. locative, allative and ablative) correspond to one single case of bound pronouns (i.e. locational).

Words referring to body parts or the like are often retained, showing which body parts are affected. Thus, examples involving DO and subjunct (in the locative), respectively:

- (227) ስገሩ-ገገ ስ-ስ-ሥሥ ስገሩ ገገ-ገገ ስገሩ-ገገ
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-M head hair comb-PRES
 'I comb my hair'
- (228) ስገሩ-ገገ ስ-ስ-ሥሥ ስገሩ ገገ-ገገ ስገሩ-ገገ ስገሩ-ገገ
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-M-Loc hat put-PRES head-LOC
 'I put a hat on my head'

The use of the locational form is not obligatory; in many examples - in particular, where the meaning is obvious - the unmarked form is used. Thus, in W (at least), (229) is used far more frequently than (224):

- (229) ስገሩ-ገገ ስ-ስ-ሥሥ ስገሩ ገገ-ገገ ስገሩ-ገገ (ስስስ-ስ)
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-M hat put-PRES 1Sg-LOC
 As (224)

Reflexivisation is obligatory in the case of accusative and locational victims. Thus, compare (221) with:

- (230) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa bar wuḡ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom paint-PRES
 'I paint someone else' (*'I paint myself')

However, there is (at least) one exception: if the sentence describes inalienable possession, reflexivisation does not apply (see 4.11.3.). Thus, compare (227) with:

- (231) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa milwa jambi ḡarun-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom eye big keep-PRES
 'I have big eyes'

Similarly, compare (224) with:

- (232) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa maḡaḡa jaan-an ḡaniḡiḡ-ḡa
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom hat put-PRES 1Sg-ABL1-LOC
 'I put a hat in my camp or something'

Here, ḡaniḡiḡ '1Sg-ABL1' marks possessor - see 3.3., (176) and 4.11.1. Since (232) does not involve the M-suffix, ḡaniḡiḡ-ḡa cannot be '1Sg-LOC', coreferential with the subject.

An accusative victim always outranks other bound pronouns. Thus:

- (233) ma-wun-du ḡa-ḡunu bar wuḡ-an ḡunuḡa
 man-ERG C-M paint-PRES 2Sg-DAT
 'The man paints himself for your sake' (*-ḡḡu '2SgDat',
 *-ḡunu-ḡḡu 'M-2SgDat')

Here, -ḡunu 'M-Acc' outranks -ḡḡu '2Sg-Dat', and -ḡḡu is suppressed. However, in the case of dative victims, reflexivisation is optional. Thus, a dative victim does not necessarily outrank other bound pronouns. Compare:

- (234) ḡa-ḡa-ḡunu murgun jamba-aba ḡarun-an ḡaniḡa
 C-1SgNom-M three child-RDP keep-PRES 1Sg-DAT
 'I have three children of my own'

- (235) ḡa-ḡa-anu murgun jamba-aba ḡarun-an ḡaniḡa
 C-1SgNom-3PlAcc three child-RDP keep-PRES 1Sg-DAT
 As above.

In (234), -anu '3PlAcc', referring to 'three children', is suppressed, whereas in (235), -ḡunu 'M-Dat', cross-referencing ḡaniḡa '1Sg-DAT', is suppressed. The informant says that (234) rather than (235) is used when talking to someone else - i.e. 'my own' is emphasised or contrasted with 'other people's'. Generally, dative bound pronouns are 'weak' (see 4.5.8.-[6]), and reflexivisation is optional even when no other bound pronouns outrank a dative victim. Thus, (236) as well as (223) is quite common:

- (236) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa ḡaniḡa maḡari ḡambaḡ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom 1Sg-DAT food cook-PRES
 'I cook my food, or I cook food for myself'

We can have a three-member sequence involving the M-suffix (type (ii) in 4.5.3.) - -Nom-punu-ngu-la or -Nom-panu-ngu-la. Thus:

- (237) ḡaḡu-nggu ḡa-ḡa-punu-ngu-la ḡaniḡa jambagina juwaḡ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-M-ngu-3SgDat 1Sg-DAT child send-PRES
 guju-wu
 meat-DAT1

Informants translation: *'I send this little boy for meat for myself'*

Here, -punu 'M-Dat' cross-references ḡaniḡa '1Sg-Dat' and -la '3Sg-Dat' cross-references guju-wu 'meat'-DAT1. (This sequence should not be confused with the middle-voice locational -punuḡgula and -panuḡgula.)

An example of intransitive M-sentence:

- (238) ḡaḡu ḡa-ḡa-punu ḡaniḡa-lu ḡaḡu maḡ-an
 1Sg C-2SgNom-M 1Sg-DAT-CLC language talk-PRES
'I talk my own language'

The clitic -lu is often used in M-sentences. See (243), (244), (252) and 4.13.-[7].

Most instances of M-sentences involving DO describe intentional actions. But, a few describe fairly 'accidental' actions; their meanings are close to 'passive'. Thus:

- (239) (*'I was melting fat on the fire'*)
 guḡi-nggu ḡa-ḡa-punu ḡambaḡ-an-i ḡaḡilaḡ-ḡa
 fat-INST C-1SgNom-M burn-CONT-PAST fire-LOC
'I got burnt by fat on the fire'

- (240) (*'My horse bucked'*)
 gid man-i ḡa-ḡa-punu ḡaḡḡi-gu-jali
 catch/stick-PAST C-1SgNom-M leg-INST-CLC
'I was caught/got stuck by my legs'

(For the clitic -jali, see 4.13.-[8].) The reflexive of buḡa ḡaḡ-an Vtr 'hear/listen to' can have an idiomatic meaning 'think about' (locative or dative(-l)) (N only?). Thus:

- (241) ḡaḡu-nggu ḡa-ḡa-punu buḡa ḡaḡ-an ḡama-ji-wuḡ-ḡa
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-M hear-PRES mother-KIN-wuḡ-LOC
 (or ḡama-ji-wu)
 mother-KIN-DAT1
'I think about (my) mother'

(For the stem-forming suffixes -ji and -wuḡ, see 6.2.1.-[6], and [4], respectively.) Djaru also has the regular VC waḡ maḡ Vint 'think about' (dative(-l)). (See (81).) The reflexive of 'hear/listen to' also means 'think' in Warungu (Tsunoda 1974a:515) and Djirbal (Dixon 1972:92).

[2] Reciprocals.

Examples of transitive reciprocals include (322), (497), (504), text 3, sentence 1 and:

(242) ḡali-ḡḡu ḡa-li-punu buḡ-an
 1DuInc-ERG C-1DuIncNom-M hit-PRES
'We hit each other'

(243) ḡali-ḡḡu ḡa-li-punu ḡaliḡa-lu ḡuju juḡ-an
 1DuInc-ERG C-1DuIncNom-M 1DuInc-DAT-CLC meat give-PRES
'We give meat to each other'

(244) ḡali-ḡḡu ḡa-li-punu (or ḡa-li-punungula) maḡu juwaḡ-an
 1DuInc-ERG C-1DuIncNom-M C-1DuIncNom-M-Loc word send-PRES
 (ḡalinḡip-ḡawu) wajinimiḡimiḡi-lu
 1DuInc-ALL likewise-CLC
'We send words to each other likewise'

Recall that the use of the locational form of M-suffix is not obligatory; the unmarked form can be used instead.

An example of three-member sequence of the type (ii) in 4.5.3.:

(245) murgun-du mawun-du ḡa-lu-punu-ḡḡu-la paḡ-u-paḡ-u man-an
 three-ERG man-ERG C-3PlNom-M-ḡḡu-3SgDat watch-PRES
 jaḡi-wu ja-lu-wu ḡumbir-gu
 one-DAT1 that-DAT1 woman-DAT1
'Three men watch each other over/about that one/same woman'

(This is a common expression used to describe rivalry in love.) Here -punu 'M-Acc' marks the (reciprocalised) DO and -la '3Sg-Dat' refers to 'that one woman'-DAT1.

When the subject is non-singular, both a reflexive and reciprocal readings are possible. Inclusion of adverbs such as wajinimiḡimiḡi 'in the same way (in return)' selects reciprocal readings.

Examples of semi-transitive reciprocals include:

(246) ḡuḡara-lu ḡa-wula-punu muwu wuḡ-an
 two-ERG C-3DuNom-M search-PRES
'Two people look for each other (or look for themselves)'

(247) ḡaliba-lu ḡa-liwa-punu-ḡḡu-la ḡaḡi-wu
 1PlInc-ERG C-1PlIncNom-M-ḡḡu-3SgDat kangaroo-DAT1
 muwu wuḡ-an ḡalibaḡa
 search-PRES 1PlInc-DAT
'We look for a kangaroo for each other/ourselves'

(247) is another example of three-member sequence of the type (ii) in 4.5.3.; here, -punu 'M-Dat' cross-references ḡalibaḡa '1PlInc-DAT' and -la '3Sg-Dat' cross-references ḡaḡi-wu 'kangaroo'-DAT1.

Examples of intransitives include text 1, sentence 9 and:

- (248) *ɲali ɲa-li-punungula (or ɲa-li-punu) maŋ-an*
 1DuInc C-DuIncNom-M-Loc *talk-PRES*
'We talk to each other/ourselves'
- (249) *guɖara ɲa-wula-punungula (or ɲa-wula-punu) warɲaara jan-an*
two C-3DuNom-M-Loc separately go-PRES
'Two people go away from each other'

[3] Extended reflexives.

Sentences such as the following are ungrammatical:

- (250) **ɲaɖu-ɲgu ɲa-ɲa-alip ɲali bar wip-a*
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-1DuIncAcc 1DuInc *paint-PAST*
 **'I painted us'*
- (251) **ɲali-ɲgu ɲa-li-ji ɲaɖu bar wip-a*
 1DuInc-ERG C-1DuIncNom-1SgAcc 1Sg *paint-PAST*
 **'We painted me'*

Instead of them, the informant gave:

- (252) *ɲali-ɲgu ɲa-li-punu ɲali-lu bar wip-a*
 1DuInc-ERG C-1DuIncNom-M 1DuInc-CLC *paint-PAST*
'I painted us; we painted me; and so on'

Similarly, instead of:

- (253) **ɲa-liwa-ji bar wip-a*
 C-1PlIncNom-1SgAcc *paint-PAST*
 **'We painted me'*

we have:

- (254) *ɲa-liwa-punu bar wip-a*
 C-1PlIncNom-M *paint-PAST*
'We painted me; and so on'

The difference among extended reflexives (e.g. (252), (254)), reflexives and reciprocals can be shown as follows:

	Extended Reflexives				
	(242) as REF	(242) as REC	(250) (252)	(251) (252)	
	\curvearrowright <i>I</i>	\curvearrowright <i>you</i>	$I \longleftrightarrow you$	\curvearrowright <i>I</i> \rightarrow <i>you</i>	\curvearrowright <i>I</i> \leftarrow <i>you</i>
Agent(s)	<i>two</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>two</i>	
Patient(s)	<i>two</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>two</i>	

In the case of E(extended)-R(efexive) sentences, the number of agent(s) and that of patient(s) are different. Here, the nominative bound pronoun shows the total number of participants (i.e. agent(s) and patient(s)). Similarly for the free pronouns marking the subject and the object. See the examples above. But, a free pronoun can mark the actual number of agent(s) or patient(s). Thus, for (252) corresponding to (251), the informant also gave *ḡaḡu* '1Sg' in place of *ḡali* '1DuInc'.

Examples involving locational victims include:

(252) *pundu-gu ḡa-li-punungula jaan-i ḡaḡi*
 2Sg-ERG C-1DuIncNom-M-Loc put-PAST kangaroo
 'You put a kangaroo alongside us'

(256) 'I put a kangaroo alongside you and me' was translated:

ḡali-ḡgu ḡa-li-punu ḡaḡi jaan-i ḡalinip-ḡa
 1DuInc-ERG C-1DuIncNom-M kangaroo put-PAST 1DuInc-LOC

In the case of dative victims, if the victim is '1st person inclusive' i.e. -(ḡ)alip '1DuIncDat' or -(ḡ)alipba '1PlIncDat', then reflexivisation does not apply. Thus:

(257) *ḡaḡu-ḡgu ḡa-ḡa-alip maḡari gambaḡ-an ḡaliḡa*
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-1DuIncDat food cook-PRES 1DuInc-DAT
 'I cook food for us'

(258) *pundu-gu ḡa-n-ḡalipba maḡari gambaḡ-an ḡalibaḡa*
 2Sg-ERG C-2SgNom-1PlIncDat food cook-PRES 1PlInc-DAT
 'You cook food for us'

Note that here reflexivisation does not apply if the victim is dative, but it applies if the victim is accusative. Compare (250) and (257). On the basis of this, the dative and accusative can be distinguished in spite of their formal identity.

If the victim is some other dative, reflexivisation applies. (This means that, in fact, the dative and the accusative can be distinguished, in terms of reflexivisation, only in the case of the two '1st person inclusives' - '1DuInc' and '1PlInc'.) Examples of the dative E(extended)-R(efexivisation) include:

*-li-ji	'1DuIncNom-1SgDat'	→	-li-punu	'1DuIncNom-M'
*lijara-ji	'1DuExcNom-1SgDat'	→	-lijara-punu	'1DuExcNom-M'
*-n-ḡguwula	'2SgNom-2DuDat'	→	-nbulu-punu	'2DuNom-M'
*-n-pura	'2SgNom-2PlDat'	→	-nda-punu	'2PlNom-M'

There are other, more complicated E-R sentences. It appears that at least some of them do not have a grammatical surface realisation. Thus, confronted with 'you-two and I (i.e. '1PlIncNom') painted him and me'

(i.e. 'lDuExcAcc') (i.e. *-liwa-ajiraŋ 'lPlIncNom-lDuExcAcc') the informant could give no other sentence than an expected:

(259) ŋaliba-iu ŋa-liwa-ŋunu bar wiŋ-a ŋaɟara
 lPlInc-ERG C-lPlIncNom-M paint-PAST lDuExc

However, he said that sentence 'is off' (i.e. ill-formed) immediately after he gave it. Similarly, for *-nda-a'ip '2PlNom-lDuIncAcc', *-li-ŋguwula 'lDuIncNom-2DuAcc', and so on.

Similar M-suffixes are found in languages east/south of Djaru, for instance, -ŋunu in Guurundji (McConvell 1980), Malngin, Wandjira; -ŋanu in Walbiri (Hale 1973a), Walmadjari (Hudson 1978:56-76), Ngardi; and -ŋanun in Mudbura (Capell 1956:75, McConvell 1980). They differ from Djaru M-suffixes as follows:

- (a) Walbiri and Walmadjari lack locational forms;
- (b) in Walbiri and Mudbura, the equivalent for -ŋa-ji 'lSgNom-lSgAcc' is grammatical and remains unreflexivised, cf. (220)-(221);
- (c) in Walbiri, the imperative -Ø-ŋgu 'SgNom-2SgAcc' is grammatical and remains unreflexivised, cf. (222);
- (d) in Walmadjari, M-sentences do not describe unintentional and accidental actions, cf. (239), (240).

4.5.11. BOUND PRONOUNS AND NOMINALS IN AN INTEGRATED SYSTEM

From the beginning of Chapter 3 to 4.4.11., we discussed Djaru grammar mainly in terms of nominals (i.e. nouns and free pronouns, of the absolutive-ergative type) - as if bound pronouns (of the nominative-accusative type) were secondary. Certainly, nominals are primary in certain respects. For instance, certain nominals lack corresponding bound pronouns; there are no bound pronouns that can cross-reference these nominals (4.5.8.). Also, the locational of bound pronouns corresponds to four different cases (i.e. locative, dative, allative and ablative) of nominals (see Table 4.4.); here, nominals are more differentiated than bound pronouns. And, so on. However, bound pronouns are not totally secondary. They play a very important role in syntax/discourse and in certain crucial respects they are more fundamental than nominals. (It is interesting to note here that it has been suggested for certain (non-Australian) languages that bound-pronominal sentences are more fundamental than nominal sentences - Keenan (1976: 308), and Laycock, personal communication (on Buin of South Bougainville) and also cf. Sommerfelt 1937.) This will be discussed in [1], [2], [3] and [4].

[1] Bound pronouns in discourse.

In natural discourse it is very common for an NP to consist of a bound pronoun only, with no free pronoun or noun (see the texts). Such

an NP, for instance, -nalu in text 1, sentence 2, is in itself 'complete'. A free pronoun nanamba-lu '1PlExc-ERG' can be included, but this is redundant.

[2] Reflexivisation/reciprocalisation is based on bound pronouns but not on nominals; the controller is the nominative bound pronoun (marking subject, whether Si or St) and the victim is the accusative, dative or locational - 4.5.10.

[3] Case marking of free pronouns as St.

A free pronoun (of any person or number) as St often does not decline for the ergative but occurs in the absolutive. Thus, we can have both:

(260) ṅaḍu-ṅgu ṅa-ṅa-ṅgu ṅundu buṅ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgAcc 2Sg hit-PRES
 'I hit you'

(261) ṅaḍu ṅa-ṅa-ṅgu ṅundu buṅ-an
 1Sg C-1SgNom-2SgAcc 2Sg hit-PRES
 As above.

Similarly, we can have both:

(262) ṅanbula-lu ṅa-ji-wula ṅaḍu ṅaṅ-an
 3Du-ERG C-1SgAcc-3DuNom 1Sg see-PRES
 'They two see me'

(263) ṅanbula ṅa-ji-wula ṅaḍu ṅaṅ-an
 As above.

Here, the ergative marking is redundant; the function of the free pronoun is shown by the cross-referencing bound pronoun. (Other examples include 426, (509), text 2, sentence 19, 25, text 3, sentences 4, 14, 15, 16, 18.) In effect, an absolutive free pronoun can have three syntactic functions - St, Si and Ot - and here the opposition between the ergative and the absolutive is neutralised.

Turner River dialect of N lacks the ergative case for free pronouns (3.3.). In this dialect, sentences such as (261) and (263) are grammatical, but those like (260) and (262) are ungrammatical. (This has been thoroughly verified at least with one speaker of this dialect.) The same probably applies to the dialect spoken around Nicholson Station (see below), but the writer has very little information on it.

Similar situations are found in the near-by languages. In Walbiri, southeast of Djaru, free pronouns have the ergative case, but '1stSg' and '2ndSg' can occur as St without taking the ergative ending (Hale 1974b:8). In Guurindji (McConvell, personal communication), Malngin (immediately northeast of Turner River dialect) and Wandjira (immediately east of Nicholson Station), which all have bound pronouns, this

opposition is totally lost; a free pronoun has only one form (absolutive) for the three functions. Similarly, in Lak - an ergative language of east Daghestan, with verbal prefixes showing noun classes and verbal suffixes showing persons - 1st and 2nd pronouns lack (but 3rd person pronouns possess) an ergative form, and similarly in Tabasaran - Abdullaev 1967a:195-96.

Similarly, in transitive imperative sentences:

(264) punbula paŋ-ga-ji-wula
 2Du see-IMP-1SgAcc-DuNom
 'You (two) look at me'

Here, there is another reason why the ergative marking is redundant: - in imperative sentences, the subject can be only '2nd person'. (It will thus be seen that the case marking of free pronouns as St operates on a functional bases. Comrie (1975) gives a functional account of case marking in Finnish.)

[4] Case marking of bound pronouns.

The case marking of a bound pronoun is sensitive, not to the case of the nominal it cross-references, but to the grammatical relation of the bound pronoun and nominal (at least in some instances). This is another piece of evidence to show that bound pronouns are not secondary to nominals. Thus:

(a) a bound pronoun marking a subject is constantly in the nominative irrespective of the case marking of the nominal subject - whether ERG for St, ABS for St or ABS for Si - see [3] above;

(b) a bound pronoun marking IO of 'give' is constantly in the dative irrespective of the case marking of the nominal IO - whether dative(-1) or absolutive, see (104)-(107);

(c) a bound pronoun marking the subjunct of 'show' (and probably a few other predicate verbs) is constantly in the locational irrespective of the case marking of the nominal subjunct - (110)-(111);

(d) a nominal in the absolutive is cross-referenced differently depending on its syntactic function: as Si and St, it is cross-referenced by the nominatives; as DO, by the accusative; and as IO of 'give' by the dative.

What has been discussed above shows that:

- (i) while nominals are primary in certain respects, bound pronouns are primary in certain other respects, and;
- (ii) nominals and bound pronouns complement and interact with each other, functioning in one integrated system (see Table 4.8., for instance).

In [5] and [6] below, we will attempt to account for them in one overall scheme. (Here, essentially we are taking a functional view. For discussions of functional syntax, see Heath 1974, 1975 and 1979.)

[5] Derivational of bound pronouns (and nominals).

Hale (1973a) suggests for Walbiri that bound pronouns are copies - in terms of person and number - of nominals; bound pronouns are merely given a secondary status. In view of what has been discussed previously, this is not adequate for Djaru. We shall attempt to propose an alternative account of the derivation of bound pronouns and nominals. That is:

- (i) grammatical relations exist (probably as primitives);
- (ii) bound pronouns are generated;
- (iii) nominals are generated;
- (iv) bound pronouns are assigned case marking, sensitive to their grammatical relations;
- (v) nominals are assigned case marking, taking into consideration their grammatical relations and, if any, bound pronouns which cross-reference them;
- (vi) certain bound pronouns are deleted, due to surface constraints (4.5.3., 4.5.8.);
- (vii) some nominals are deleted, due to discourse ellipsis and so on.

(i) must precede (iv). (iv) must precede (v). Between (ii) and (iii), either can precede the other. (In the scheme above, certain details are omitted. For instance, in (v) subjunct nominals are divided into locative, dative, allative and ablative.) Note that bound pronouns are not regarded as copies of nominals.

[6] Hierarchy of nominals and bound pronouns.

The foregoing discussions show that Djaru has the following hierarchy, in terms of Silverstein 1976:

Bound Pronoun			pawa 'this'	Free Pronoun		Other Nominal
Others	'3Sg'	pila 'that'		Turner River	Other dialects	
St	Nom	zero	(ABS)	ABS	ERG or ABS	ERG
Si	Nom	zero	ABS	ABS	ABS	ABS
Ot	Acc	zero	ABS	ABS	ABS	ABS

→
accusative case marking

←
ergative case marking

The demonstrative pawa 'this' and pila 'that' do not decline, and they each have only form (absolute). They generally mark Si or Ot/Oi, e.g. (6). But, they can mark St if they occur with an ergative nominal or if their function is indicated by a bound pronoun. Thus:

(265) *nila mawun-du dimana bilaga gaŋ-an*
that man-ERG horse ride-PRES

'That man rides a horse'

(Sentences like (265) are often used, and also accepted by many speakers. But, in a formal session, at least the main informant insisted that, in sentences such as (265), *nila*, for example, referred to 'horse' (i.e. Ot), but not 'man' (i.e. St). The grammatical status of such sentences is not totally clear.)

The table above shows that Djaru is a type of 'split-ergative' language, with a ternary, 2-1-2 system (cf. Silverstein 1976). Silverstein discusses various types of 'split-ergative' systems, and says (p.124) that no example has been found of a system in which accusative marking and ergative marking do not overlap - of the type *(3). It appears that the Djaru system is of the missing type.

4.6. 'nanga SENTENCES

nanga is generally used like a conjunction, and, in some instances, like an adverb. It can be suffixed with bound pronouns.

[1] *nanga* as a conjunction.

nanga joins two (or occasionally more) sentences. The *nanga* sentence generally precedes the other sentence. *nanga* generally occurs sentence-initially. A *nanga* sentence describes an event which is preliminary to the event described in another sentence; there is always a consequential connection between the two events; without the event in the *nanga* sentence, the event in the other sentence is not possible. (The meaning of *nanga* sentence is thus in a complementary distribution with that of an implicated VC of Djirbal, see Dixon 1972:68.)

Generally, the verbs in *nanga* sentences are in the purposive. Here, their meaning is roughly 'future condition' and/or 'future time'. Examples include:

(266) *nanga-n ruju maŋ-aŋ-gu jan-an-da gaŋdura binga-gawu*
 -2SgNom play-CONT-PURP go-CONT-IMP down creek-ALL

'If you want to play, go down to the creek'

(267) (The speaker is expecting visitors at any moment)

ŋa-ŋa-anu naŋ-gu nanga-lu biri jan-gu
 C-1SgNom-3PlAcc see-PURP -3PlNom out come-PURP

'I will see them when they arrive'

(268) *wagura-n guli ma-lu nanga-ŋa-ŋgu dingiri-gu*
 not-2SgNom angry talk-PURP -1SgNom-2SgAcc laughter-INST

man-gu
 take-PURP

'Don't talk wild (even) if I make you laugh' (lit. 'catch with laughter')

(Negative imperative 'Don't' is expressed by the combination of the adverb *wagura* 'not' and a purposive form of a verb. See 3.7.3.-[4] and 4.12.-[1].)

In very few instances, the verbs in *paŋga* sentences are in the past, past narrative or present. Thus:

(269) *ŋa-lu galu-wali bali wiŋ-a paŋga-janungula jaɟi-wali*
 C-3PlNom yet-CLC find-PAST -3PlLoc close-CLC

jan-i
come-PAST

'They found (the big bush fire) only when (it) came close to them; they did not find it until it came close to them'

(N example)

(For the clitic *-wali*, see 4.13.-[6].)

In a few instances, the verbs in both sentences are in the potential, marking a hypothetical condition about the past. Thus:

(270) (*'When white men came out here, we showed them where the water was'*)

waɟbali-lu wagura ŋa-lu ŋaba bali wi-ŋi paŋga-lu
white man-ERG not C-3PlNom water find-POT -3PlNom

biri jan-ŋi paŋdu-waɟiŋ
out come-POT 3Pl-ALONE

'If white men had come out here by themselves, they would not have found water'

(For the noun-stem forming suffix *-waɟiŋ*, see 6.2.1.-[13].)

(271) *paŋga-ji-n-gu-la jan-ŋi ŋa-ŋa-ŋgu guju ji-ŋi*
-1Sg-2SgNom-gu-Loc come-POT C-1SgNom-2SgDat meat give-POT

'If you had come to me (yesterday), I would have given you meat'

(In *paŋga-ji-n-gu-la*, *-gu* is inserted to avoid the unacceptable consonant cluster *-nɪ-*. See 2.5.1.-[5] and 4.5.2.-[3].)

Hale's data show that, at least in Gordon Downs dialect of N, verb forms which are morphologically identical with imperative forms have an 'irrealis/potential' use, marking a hypothetical condition about the past when they occur in sentences involving *paŋga* (3.7.3.-[7]). Examples include (448) and:

(272) *paŋga-ji lan-da ŋa-ŋa lan-da gaŋa-ŋgu-ra*
-SgAcc spear-IRREALIS C-1SgNom spear-IRR spear-INST-AGAIN

'If he had speared me, I would have speared him back'

(Gordon Downs dialect example, provided by Hale)

(273) *paŋga-ŋa guduɽu gaɽun-ŋi ŋa-ŋa buŋ-ga*
-1SgNom club hold-POT C-1SgNom hit-IRR

'If I had had a nullah, I would have hit him'

(Gordon Downs dialect example, provided by Hale)

(In (273) the verb in the *paŋga* clause is potential and the other verb is 'irrealis'. In (272) and (448), both verbs are 'irrealis'.) This use of imperative forms as 'irrealis' appears to be limited to Gordon Downs dialect (and possibly Nicholson dialect, on either of which the writer does not have much information). In Gordon Downs dialect, a hypothetical condition about the past can also be expressed using potentials, as in other dialects.

In Walmadjari, verb forms of '*should have/would have*' are morphologically identical with imperative forms (Hudson 1978: 79-81). In Walbiri, the irrealis consists of an imperative form and *-la* (Hale, personal communication).

Unlike hypothetical conditions about the past, hypothetical conditions about the present/future do not appear to involve potential forms (or in Gordon Downs dialect, 'irrealis' (/imperative) forms). Thus, sentences such as '*If I had wings, I would fly to Japan*' or '*If the sun rose in the west, I would be surprised*' are translated using just purposives, exactly as (266)-(268).

The clitic *-muwa* 'only' (4.13.-[2]) (normally modifying a noun), when used with *paŋga*, appears to provide a sentential modification '*if only*'. Thus:

(274) ('*I am an able hunter*')
 naḍu-ŋgu ḡara-ḡa bali wu-ŋgu guju paŋga langa-muwa
 1Sg-ERG can-1SgNom find-PURP game head-ONLY

bid pin-aḡ-gu
 stick-CONT-PURP

'*I can find game (e.g. a kangaroo) if only a head is sticking out (of grass)*'

(For *ḡara* 'ability', see 4.12.-[3].)

[2] *paŋga* as an adverb.

Here, the meaning of *paŋga* is not understood well. At least, in a few of the instances, *ḡaŋga* appears to mark indefinite time, co-occurring with an interrogative word. Thus:

(275) paḡaḡa baḡa paŋga-liwa pina-wu
 how many-ABS week-ABS -1PlIncNom stay-PURP
 '*I don't know how many weeks we will have to stay*'

(The etymology of *baḡa* is not known.)

4.7. *guwa/guja* SENTENCES

guwa is used in W and in Turner River and Old Flora Valley dialects of N, and *guja* is used in N and in Ruby Plains dialect of W. (In Turner River dialect, only *guwa* is used, while in Old Flora Valley and Ruby

Plains dialects, both *guwa* and *guja* are used, but *guja* appears to be used more frequently.) *guwa/guja* can be suffixed with bound pronouns. *guwa/guja* sentences are very uncommon in elicited sentences but are very common in natural discourse (see the texts below). *guwa/guja* often joins two (or more) sentences together although it can occur in separate sentences. There are many strings of sentences in which each sentence contains *guwa/guja*. It is very difficult to generalise the meaning of *guwa/guja* sentences although they are, in many instances, used like adverbial clauses (of time, reason, place, and so on). It seems, at least, that *guwa/guja* sentences and *paŋga* sentences semantically complement each other. (Thus, unlike *paŋga* sentences, *guwa/guja* sentences do not mark future condition ('*if*'), future time ('*when*') or hypothetical condition ('*if*').) It also seems that the use of *guwa/guja* sentences involves discourse-oriented factors such as '*theme/rheme*' or '*given/new*' (cf. Firbas 1966, Garvin 1968 and Kuno 1972, 1973). (The following account is highly tentative.)

[1] Two sentences joined by one *guwa/guja*.

(a) A *guwa/guja* sentence marks a concurrent/simultaneous event ('*when*'); 'contrast'; a preceding event ('*after*'); reason/cause; and so on. Here, the *guwa/guja* sentence can either precede or follow the other sentence. Examples include text 1, sentence 76 and:

(276) *jambađi-lu mawun paŋ-an guwa buŋu bajan-an*
child-ERG man see-PRES tree cut-PRES
 'A child sees a man when/while he cuts a tree'

(277) *gałara walur guja dagur jan-an gaara wařir jan-an*
in west sun inside go-PRES in east back come-PRES
gaarijin
from east
 'While the sun sets in the west, it rises in the east'

(278) *ŋađu ŋa-ŋa gařađ wajan-i jaŋgani-wara guli-ŋga*
1Sg C-1SgNom body become-PAST behind- fighting-LOC
guwa-lu-punu wuřug biŋ-a
-3PlNom-M finishing hit-PAST
 'I became a body (i.e. I was born) after they finished fighting (i.e. after the war)'

(*guli* and *wuřug* are preverbs - see 4.10.3. and 4.10.4. *gařađ wajan-* 'be born' is an idiom - 4.4.9.-[4]. For the derivational suffix *-wara*, see 6.3.1.-[5].)

- (279) *ŋa-lu jan-iŋura jala-wu guwa-lu ŋuru man-iŋura*
 C-3PlNom go-PAST NARR there-ALL -3PlNom steal-PAST NARR
'They went there (i.e. jail) because they stole (something)'

The combination of *damun* 'immediately' and *guwa/guja* means 'as soon as'. Thus:

- (280) *damun guwa-ŋa baɖaji jan-i ŋa-ŋa bali wiŋ-a*
 soon -1SgNom up go-PAST C-1SgNom find-PAST
'As soon as I went up (to the ridge) I found (a buffalo)'

'Preliminary events' - in particular, future time 'if/when' and hypothetical condition - are marked by *ŋaŋga* rather than *guwa/guja*.

(b) A *guwa/guja* sentence can also mean 'until', 'so that' (consequence/result), 'and then' and so on. Here, the *guwa/guja* sentence follows the other sentence. Thus:

- (281) Myth about the reason why the crow is black:
gaŋdura ŋa-lu waɖbaŋ-i ŋuŋɖal-a ŋila-jali guɖu-guɖu
 down C-3PlNom throw-PAST ashes-LOC there-CLC black-RDP
guwa ŋin-an wanguɖa-jali
 remain-PRES crow-CLC
'They threw (the crow) onto the black ashes, so that the crow is black'

A *guwa/guja* sentence is often added, like an afterthought; it provides some explanation or additional information about the preceding sentence. It may be translated '...for instance', 'This is because', 'To be more specific/exact...' and so on. This is reminiscent of English clauses preceded by a semicolon. A good example is in text 3, sentence 6, which is repeated here for convenience:

- (282) *gara-ŋuŋ-balu ŋa-n ŋaɖiŋga-waɖi bila-bila-manu-waɖi*
 thus-ŋuŋ-CLC C-2SgNom woman-AGENT chase-VBD-AGENT
guwa-ji-n ŋaniŋa ŋaɖiŋga bila-bila man-an
 -1SgDat-2SgNom 1Sg-DAT woman chase-PRES
wuɖuɖ-u ŋundu-gu
 secretly-INST 2Sg-ERG
'You are always like that, a woman chaser; you secretly chase my woman (i.e. wife)'

(For the morphological details of the sentence, see the actual text.)

A *guwa/guja* sentence is often used as the 'object' of V(C)s of speech: *maŋ-* Vint 'talk', *maran-* Vtr 'tell' and *gad buŋ-* Vtr 'tell' (N only?). Many texts begin with such sentences. See the first sentence of text 1 and of text 2.

(c) Many guwa/guja sentences can be translated like relative clauses (restrictive or non-restrictive) as long as there are co-referential NPs. Thus:

(276) *'A child sees a man who cuts a tree'*. ('Man' DO is co-referential with the understood St 'man')

(277) *'The sun, which sets in the west, rises in the east'*. ('Sun' Si and 'sun' Si are co-referential)

(279) *'They, who stole (something), went there'*. ('They' St and 'they' Si are co-referential)

If we regard such guwa/guja sentences as relative clauses, then the examples show that this 'relativisation' is neutral as regards the ergative-accusative dichotomy.

Other examples of 'relative-like' guwa/guja sentences include text 1, sentences 43, 74 and:

(283) η a-lu waɖbali-lu gaŋ-aŋura muɭa-ŋgawu guwa-lu
C-3PlNom white man-ERG take-PAST NARR here-ALL -3PlNom

buɾɖa maŋ-an dimana
run-PRES horse

'White men brought (the horse) here (to the race course) where (or in which) horses run'

(284) When asked to give the word for 'grinding stone', the informant could not recollect it instantly and asked his wife:

pamba ɖaŋu η a-lu maran-an-i ɖaŋu bamar guwa-lu
what that C-3PlNom call-CONT-PAST stone -3PlNom

ŋulu luwaŋ-ipura
flour grind-PAST NARR

'What did they call that stone WITH WHICH they ground flour?'

(d) The meaning of guwa/guja sentences appear diversified. However, it seems that there is one semantic factor common to sentences of the type (b).

In (282), for instance, a guwa/guja sentence follows (rather than precedes) the other sentence and provides additional information about it. This applies to other examples. Thus, in ((281), an event in the past is first stated, and then the guwa sentence provides additional information - on the present state of affairs resultant from the event.

That is, a guwa/guja sentence provides 'new' information. By contrast, the preceding sentence, it appears, contains 'old/given' information. This is clearly seen in sentences such as text 1, sentence 1 *'I will tell you...'* (beginning of a text). The content of a story (marked by a

guwa/guja sentence) is 'new', while '*I will tell you*' is 'given' (in a recording session. Note that '*I*' is generally presupposed or implicitly given - Kuno 1976:311.)

The same perhaps applies to some of the sentences of the type (a) or (c); in some of them, a guwa/guja sentence follows another sentence and provides new information. Thus, in (284), in this context the first sentence is 'old/given'. (The demonstrative *ḡaṅu* clearly marks 'old' given' information. It means '*that one under discussion*' or '*that one we talked about before*', referring to something/someone that is shared by the speaker and the hearer as common knowledge - 3.2.2.-[3].) Then, the guwa sentence provides new information on '*that stone*'.

It would seem then that there are two features common to these sentences:

- (i) a guwa/guja sentence follows another sentence and;
- (ii) the guwa/guja sentence provides 'new' /additional information, and by contrast the preceding sentence contains 'given/old' information.

These two features will also be seen in the sentences discussed in [2].

[2] A string of sentences.

(e) A text often starts with one or two guwa/guja sentences. It appears that the guwa/guja sentences mark/introduce 'new' information (or 'new' topic of the discourse), with no preceding sentences marking old/given information. Examples include:

(285) (i) *ḡamu guwa-lu waḡbali biri jan-i*
long ago -3PlNom white man out come-PAST
 'Long ago white men came here'

(ii) *ḡaniḡu-lu ḡawi-ji-lu ḡa-lu bali wiḡ-a waḡbali*
1Sg-DAT-ERG father-KIN-ERG C-3PlNom find-PAST white man
 'My fathers (i.e. ancestors) found the white men'

(f) It is quite common, particularly in W, for a string of sentences to consist (almost) entirely of guwa/guja sentences. It seems, at least in some instances, that in each sentence the word(s) preceding guwa/guja is 'given/old', while the word(s) following guwa/guja is 'new'. (Nominals and adverbs can precede guwa/guja but, it appears, V(C)s do not.) Thus:

(286) (There is a pub on a hill, in the south of Hall's Creek. The story-teller criticizes people who go and get drunk there.)

(i) *wagura-ḡa ḡaḡu-ḡḡu garun-an ḡila langga*
not-1SgNom 1Sg-ERG have-PRES that/there head
 'I don't have that sort of head (i.e. idea)'

- (ii) nila-jiri guwa-nda gułani ɲaba-ɲgawu jan-a
that-CLC -2PlNom south water-ALL go-CONT PRES
'You (with) that (sort of head) go south for water (i.e. for grog)'
- (iii) nila gułani guwa-nda ɲaba-ɲga ɲaba ɲaɲ-an
there south -2PlNom water-LOC water drink-PRES
'There in the south you drink water in water (for instance, rum with water)'
- (iv) gangani ɖaɲu gajira gułara guwa-nda gajira gułara
up that north south -2PlNom north south
 guwa-nda wandiɲ-an guɲar-maraɖ
-2PlNom fall-PRES dog-LIKE
'Up (at the pub) you, those (people under discussion) fall over here and there like a dog'

(gajira gułara is a set phrase - 6.3.2. For the stem-forming suffix -maraɖ, see 6.2.1.-[11].)

(g) In some sentences, the word(s) preceding guwa/guja appears to be topicalised, focalised, emphasised, foregrounded and so on. (Unlike in (f), what follows guwa/guja does not necessarily mark new information.) Here, a guwa/guja sentence may occur with other guwa/guja sentences; or with sentences without guwa/guja (i.e. generally with the catalyst ɲa); or by itself. Thus, (with very tentative translations):

- (287) (i) ɲaɖu guwa-ɲa gani ɲir-aɲura jambaɖi ɲir-aɲura
1Sg -1SgNom down stay-PAST NARR child stay-PAST NARR
 balɲana-la
Old Flora Valley-LOC
'I was a child, down at Old Flora Valley'
 (This guwa sentence begins a text, and introduces a new discourse)
- (ii) balɲana-la guwa-ɲa ɲir-aɲura ɲaɖu jambaɖi
Old Flora Valley-LOC -1SgNom stay-PAST NARR 1Sg child
'At Old Flora Valley, I was a child'
- (iii) nila ɲaniɲa jambi ɲa-ji guju-waliɲa
that/there 1Sg-DAT big C-1SgDat meat-EXPERT
 ɲir-aɲura bulumanu-waliɲa
stay-PAST NARR bullock-EXPERT
'That big (white man, i.e. boss) of mine was an expert stockman'

(guju bulumanu is a 'generic-specific' phrase - 4.1. For the stem-forming suffix -waliɲu, see 6.2.1.-[15].)

- (iv) ɲaɖu-jali guwa-ji bina jɲ-a
 1Sg-CLC -1SgAcc teach-PAST
'Me, he taught (how to ride a horse)'

As another example:

- (288) (i) jala-puɲa ɲa-ɲa ɲaɲ-i maɲari giɲɖiji
 that-AFTER C-1SgNom eat-PAST food plum
'Then I ate a bush plum'

- (ii) giɲɖiji guwa-ɲa ɲaɲ-i
 plum -1SgNom eat-PAST
'It was a bush plum that I ate'

(maɲari giɲɖiji is a 'generic-specific' NP - 4.1.) For more examples, see text 1, sentences 50 and 70.

Words (and sentences) similar to the Djaru guwa/guja (sentences) are found in neighbouring languages; for instance, guda in Walbiri (Hale 1976b) and guja in Malngin, and guwa in Wandjira.

4.8. PURPOSIVE AND HORTATIVE SENTENCES

A sentence involving a purposive verb can be used like a subordinate clause, marking 'consequence' or 'purpose'. Thus:

- (289) mawun-du bip-a nila guɲar guɲga bip-a ɖumba-jumba-lu
 man-ERG hit-PAST that dog dead hit-PAST ever-RDP-CLC
 wagura maja-ra baɖaji jan-gu
 not again-CLC up go-PURP
'The man hit and killed the dog for good, so that it never got up again'

(Here, guɲga is an object predicative, marking consequence - 4.4.9.-[3]. For the clitics -lu and -ra, see 4.13.-[7] and [4], respectively.)

- (290) ɲa-ɲa-ɲgu bina juɲ-an ɲa-n-ɖanu gaɲ-gu maɲu
 C-1SgNom-2SgAcc teach-PRES C-2SgNom-3PlDat carry-PURP word
'I teach you (the Djaru language) so that you can take (Djaru) words for them (your countrymen)'

(291) A white man brought cattle to Kimberley. He said to Aborigines, who were catching fish in a river:

- wuɲa jan-da-lu ɲaba-ɲu ɲa-ɲa-anu bulumanu ɲaba
 off go-IMP-PlNom water-ABL C-1SgNom-3PlDat bullock water
 juɲ-gu
 give-PURP
'Get out of the water so that I can give water to the cattle'

(292) *naḍu-nḡu* *ḡa-nḡa* *mijaḡgi man-gu* *nila* *mawun* *ḡa-jila*
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom ask-PURP that man C-1SgLoc

jaa-ru *jiri* *mawun-nḡa*
 put-PURP name Aboriginal man-FROM

'I will ask that man so that he will put an Aboriginal name
 alongside me (i.e. I will ask that man to give me an Aboriginal
 name)'

(For the derivational suffix *-nḡu/a*, see 6.2.1.-[5].)

Similarly, a sentence involving a hortative verb can be used like a
 subordinate clause. Thus:

(293) *mawun-du* *bulumanu* *wiḡ buḡ-an* *ḡuḡi-muwa* *pinaḡ-gura*
 man-ERG bullock scrape-PRES bone-ONLY stay-HORT
 'A man scrapes a bullock, so that only the bone remains'

(For the clitic *-muwa*, see 4.13.-[2].)

However, in order to express purpose 'in order to', verbids in the
 dative-1 are used far more frequently - 4.9.1.-[2].

4.9. VERBIDS

A verbid (formed by the addition of *-u* to a verb root, see 3.7.2.)
 can be used:

- (a) as a gerund (i.e. like a noun), and;
- (b) as a participle, generally co-occurring with a finite verb.

(For the term 'verbid', see Jespersen 1924:87.)

4.9.1. AS GERUNDS

A gerund can be used like any other noun; it can be modified by an
 'adjective-like' noun; it can take a case ending; it can be suffixed
 with a noun-stem-forming suffix (6.2.1.); and it can be suffixed with
 the predicative-forming suffix *-waḡa* (4.4.9.). A particularly fre-
 quently used gerund is *maḡ-u* 'talking', 'to talk', 'speech', 'talk',
 'language', 'word', 'yarn', 'news', 'story', 'message', etc. (from
maḡ- Vint 'talk'), e.g. (290). There is an idiomatic noun *paḡ-u-paḡ-u*
 'doctor man' (from *paḡ- Vtr* 'see'), e.g. (7).

There are two important constructions involving gerunds:

- (a) gerund in the locative - '(see, hear, etc.) doing', and;
- (b) gerund in the dative-1 - 'in order to'.

[1] Gerunds in the locative.

Here, a gerund phrase functions as circumstance; a locative gerund
 phrase cannot be cross-referenced by a bound pronoun (see 4.5.8.-[3]).

Corresponding to:

(294) ɲumbir-u mawun ɲaŋ-an
 woman-ERG man see-PRES
 'A woman sees a man'

(295) mawun jan-an
 man go/walk-PRES
 'A man walks'

we have:

(296) ɲumbir-u mawun ɲaŋ-an jan-u-ŋga
 woman-ERG man see-PRES walk-VBD-LOC
 'A woman sees a man walking'

(296) is roughly equivalent to (297), involving *guwa/guja* (4.7.):

(297) ɲumbir-u mawun ɲaŋ-an guwa jan-a
 woman-ERG man see-PRES walk-CONT PRES
 As above.

(In W, a description of an action in progress is likely to involve the continuative present rather than the present.) As another set of examples, corresponding to (294) and (298), we have (299):

(298) mawun-du ɲaba ɲaŋ-an
 man-ERG water drink-PRES
 'A man drinks water'

(299) ɲumbir-u mawun ɲaŋ-an ɲaba-ŋga ɲaŋ-u-ŋga
 woman-ERG man see-PRES water-LOC drink-VBD-LOC
 'A woman sees a man drinking water'

A locative gerund can be reduced from any sentence (whether transitive, semi-transitive or intransitive) but the 'matrix sentence' is always a transitive sentence. The agent (St/Si) of the gerund phrase is identical with DO (rather than St) of the matrix sentence whether the gerund phrase is reduced from a transitive sentence or an intransitive sentence. Locative gerund constructions thus operate in the nominative-accusative pattern.

DO of the reduced clause, too, is changed into the locative, e.g.

(299). A set of examples involving an intransitive DO:

(300) ɲumbir-u mawun buɟa ɲaŋ-an
 woman-ERG man hear-PRES
 'A woman hears a man'

(301) mawun ɟaɟu maŋ-an
 man Djaru talk-PRES
 'A man talks Djaru'

- (302) ɲumbir-u mawun buɾa ɲaŋ-an daɾu-ŋga maŋ-u-ŋga
 woman-ERG man hear-PRES Djaru-LOC talk-VBD-LOC
 'A woman hears a man talking Djaru'

In (302), under equi-NP rule, mawun 'man' (referring to the speaker) gets deleted, but daɾu 'Djaru' (referring to the language) remains. This shows that the 'speaker' and 'language' are two separate NPs and not one single NP. (See 4.4.4.)

In Djaru, we recognise intransitive DO as well as transitive DO. One of the reasons is that an intransitive DO, for example, daɾu 'Djaru' in (301)-(302) behaves exactly like a transitive DO, for example, ɲaba 'water' in (298)-(299). The same applies to dative-1 gerund constructions, discussed below. (See 4.4.4.)

IO, in the dative, generally remains unchanged. Thus, corresponding to (294) and:

- (303) mawun-du ɲa-la maŋari jambagina-wu juŋ-an
 man-ERG C-3SgDat food child-DAT1 give-PRES
 'A man gives food to a child'

we have:

- (304) ɲumbir-u mawun ɲaŋ-an juŋ-u-ŋga maŋari-la jambagina-wu
 woman-ERG man see-PRES give-VBD-LOC food-LOC child-DAT1
 'A woman sees a man giving food to a child'

However, IO in a semi-transitive sentence (4.5.9.) is occasionally turned into the locative (at least in a few idiolects). Thus, corresponding to (294) and:

- (305) mawun-du ɲa-la ɖaɖi-wu muwu wuŋ-an
 man-ERG C-3SgDat kangaroo-DAT1 search-PRES
 'A man looks for a kangaroo'

we have:

- (306) ɲumbir-u mawun ɲaŋ-an ɖaɖi-wu (or ɖaɖi-ŋga)
 woman-ERG man see-PRES kangaroo-DAT1 kangaroo-LOC
 muwu wuŋ-u-ŋga
 search-VBD-LOC
 'A woman sees a man looking for a kangaroo'

In a few instances, a gerund phrase is allative rather than locative:

- (307) mawun-du ɲa-ji luwaŋ-i jan-u-ŋgawu
 man-ERG C-1SgAcc shoot-PAST walk-VBD-ALL
 'A man shot me when I was walking'

- (308) (The first white man came to Nicholson River, where Aboriginal people were rolling spinifex grass to catch fish)

ŋa-anuŋgula dilgur jaan-i gaŋdura wana gaŋ-u-ŋgawu
C-3PlLoc shoot-PAST down roll-VBD-ALL

'He shot (the rifle) down at them as/when they were rolling (spinifex grass)'

It appears that, in the examples of allative gerund constructions, the agents of the gerunds are moving rather than stationary.

A few trisyllabic gerunds take an irregular locative ending -ŋga (normally for disyllabic stems) as well as the regular ending -la, for example, *bajan-u-ŋga* and *bajan-u-la* Vtr 'bite'-LOC.

The complementiser in the construction 'see someone doing' involves the locative in some other Australian languages, too, e.g. Walbiri, southeast of Djaru (Hale 1976b:82), Gugada, Central Australia (Platt 1972a:51,61), and Yukluta, north-west Queensland (Keen 1972:262). It may not be irrelevant to mention here that in Japanese such a complementiser involves the noun *tokoro* 'place'.

[2] Gerunds in the dative-1.

Here, a gerund phrase functions as IO; a dative-1 gerund can be cross-referenced by a noun pronoun (see 4.5.8.-[3], [4]).

Corresponding (295) and (298), we have:

- (309) mawun ŋa-la jan-an ŋaba-wu ŋaŋ-u-wu
man C-3SgDat go-PRES water-DAT1 drink-VBD-DAT1
'A man goes to drink water'

Another set of examples (in N):

- (310) mawun-du gaŋdi man-an
man-ERG stick (N) get-PRES
'A man gets a stick'

- (311) mawun-du guŋar buŋ-an
man-ERG dog hit-PRES
'A man hits a dog'

- (312) mawun-du ŋa-la gaŋdi man-an guŋar-gu buŋ-u-wu
man-ERG C-3SgDat stick get-PRES dog-DAT1 hit-VBD-DAT1
'A man gets a stick to hit a dog'

Other examples include text 2, sentence 1 and:

- (313) duŋaŋi ŋuŋu-wu luwaŋ-u-wu
flour-DAT1 grind-VBD-DAT1
'A duŋaŋi (a type of grinding stone) is for grinding flour'

DO, in the absolutive (whether transitive or intransitive), is turned into the dative-1, e.g. (309), while IO, in the dative, remains unchanged, e.g. (315).

The agent of a dative-1 gerund, unlike that of a locative-gerund, cannot be determined syntactically; dative-1 gerund constructions are thus neutral as to the ergative-accusative dichotomy. The agent may be indicated by the context in some instances but is simply unspecified in others. In fact, in (312) it may be someone other than the man who hits the dog.

V(C)s such as *mijaŋgi man-* 'ask' and *bina juŋ-* 'teach' can take a dative-1 gerund phrase as IO:

(314) *ŋumbir-u mawun mijan̄gi man-an ŋaba-wu man-u-wu*
woman-ERG man ask-PRES water-DAT1 get-VBD-DAT1
'A woman asks a man to get water'

(315) *mawun-du ŋa-la jambagina bina juŋ-an ɖaɖi-wu*
man-ERG C-3SgDat child teach-PRES kangaroo-DAT1
muwu wuŋ-u-wu
search-VBD-DAT1
'A man teaches a child how to look for a kangaroo'

A few transitive V(C)s, which normally take DO, can take instead a dative-1 gerund, as IO. They include *ŋara man-* 'know, understand', *piŋ man-* 'forget', *guɭ lan-* 'try' and *bila-bila man-* 'chase'. Thus, compare (395) with:

(316) *mawun-du ŋara man-a ŋaɖag man-u-wu gaɭi-wu*
man-ERG know-CONT PRES make-VBD-DAT1 boomerang-DAT1
'The man knows how to make a boomerang'

4.9.2. AS PARTICIPLES

Within one VC, a verbid can occur with a finite verb. This process is very common in the avoidance language (see Chapter 5) but is very uncommon in the ordinary language. Two of the very few examples:

(317) *jambagina luŋ-u-luŋ-u-wara jan-i*
child cry-VBD-RDP-wara come-PAST
'A child came, crying'

(for *-wara*, see 6.3.1.-[5].)

(318) *jambagina luŋ-u bulg-gara jan-i*
child cry-VBD bursting-gara go-PAST
'A child burst out crying'

(*bulg* is a preverb - 4.10. For *-gara*, see 6.3.1.-[5].) There is an idiom involving a participle-like verbid: *ŋaŋ-u-ŋaŋ-u man-* lit. 'see'-VBD-RDP 'get', i.e. 'watch, keep an eye on', e.g. (245).

On a few occasions (particularly in natural conversations of which the writer did not make a tape recording) a participle-like verbid was observed to occur without a finite verb. Its function and meaning are not understood well.

Verb forms identical to the Djaru verbids (i.e. root-plus-u) are found, for instance, in Walbiri (Capell 1962a: 29, Hale 1967:11, 1973a:309), Walmadjari (Joyce Hudson 1976b), Guurindji (McConvell, personal communication), Wandjira and Ngardi. But, their functions differ somewhat. They are used, in Walbiri, as past tense forms and also used in compound agentive nouns (except in the first conjugation, where the past forms (involving -ḍa) are different from the 'verbid/gerund' forms (-ḡu) - Hale, personal communication); as predicates of subordinate clauses and as gerunds in Walmadjari; as gerunds in Guurindji, Wandjira and Ngardi.

4.10. PREVERBS

Preverbs are a quite unique word class. Morphologically, like nouns, they can take a noun-stem-forming suffix and/or case ending. Some of them show an irregular declension. Preverbs can also take a stem-forming suffix that is generally affixed to adverbs. Syntactically, they can be used (a) like adverbs, modifying verbs (a preverb and verb together constitute a VC - 4.2.) or (b) like nouns (with a case ending), independently of verbs. Semantically, like verbs they describe action or state - 3.1.1. (In the present work, they are often translated involving *-ing.*) Phonologically, some of them show very uncommon phonotactics and word structure. A preverb and verb (as a VC) often constitute one single phonological word (otherwise a phonological word consisting of two grammatical words is very uncommon) and involve phonological processes that are otherwise uncommon or non-existent. It is in view of these unique properties that we set up preverbs as a separate word class.

4.10.1. PHONOLOGY

[1] Phonotactics and word structure.

See 2.5.1. and 2.6.

[2] Phonological processes.

The phonological processes that occur between a preverb and verb (in a VC) are mostly in the nature of Sandhi.

(a) Denasalisation. In W, following a stop-final preverb, the word-initial nasal of a verb (maṅ- Vtr 'get', maṅ- Vint 'talk' or piṅ(aṅ)- Vint 'sit') is often (but not always) denasalised and becomes a homorganic stop. Thus:

bib man- → bib ban-
'picking'

gud man- → gud ban- e.g. text 2, sentences 11, 17, 25;
'grabbing'

ḡaḡag man- → ḡaḡag ban-
'making'

ḡad nin(aḡ)- → ḡad ḡin(aḡ)- e.g. (184), (452).
'standing'

(b) Hardening of w. Mainly in W, following a preverb ending in a stop (at least d or g) the verb initial w (of wandip- Vint 'fall') is sometimes (but not always) hardened into b. Thus:

gud wandip- → gud bandip-
'grabbing'

wuḡug wandip- → wuḡug bandip-
'finishing'

(c) Lenition of b. In a number of VCs, the initial b of buḡ- Vtr 'hit' becomes lenited into w. The conditioning factors are not understood. At least the tendency is for the lenition to take place when the preceding preverb starts with b and ends in a vowel. Dialectal factors, too, are involved. This lenition is more common in W than in N. Thus:

bali buḡ- ; bali wuḡ- e.g. (274)
'finding' (N only) e.g. (441)

(d) Initial-semivowel dropping. Mainly in W, following a preverb ending in a stop (at least d or g), the initial semivowel of a verb (at least wandip- Vint 'fall' and jan- Vint 'go') is sometimes dropped and the whole VC is pronounced like a single word. Thus:

burg wandip- → burgandip-
'immersing'

nag jan- → nagan-
'dying'

ḡad wandip- → ḡadandip- e.g. text 2, sentence 16
'standing'

Note that wandip-, when following a stop-final preverb, can also undergo hardening. The conditioning factors are not understood.

(e) Haplogy. In W, when the preverb-final consonant or syllable and the verb-initial consonant or syllable are identical or similar, one of them is often deleted and the whole VC is pronounced like a single word. Thus:

	guḷ lan- 'trying'	gulan-	
bib man- 'picking' (denasalisation)	bib ban-	biban-	e.g. text 1, sentences 3,36
*muwu buḡ- (never used) (lenition)	muwu wuḡ- 'searching'	muwuḡ-	

(f) Nasal-plus-stop reduction. For the purpose of this reduction, which generally operates within one word (see 2.8.), a VC functions as a single word. This reduction is quite common (but not obligatory) in N (particularly in northern dialects, and also in Wandjira and Malngin). Thus:

guḡ buḡ-ga → guḡ bu-ga
waiting hit-IMP

It appears (though it is not understood well) that at least two or three VCs are either in the process of becoming or have become one single verb. For example, the VC gada ḡan-Vtr 'leave (a place or person)' (W) consists of the preverb gada 'leaving' and the verb ḡan-Vtr 'copulate with', of class 5 (with monosyllabic roots only). This VC appears to have two different purposive forms. One is (the expected) gada ḡan-gu, and the other is (an unexpected) gada ḡar-u (or perhaps already gadaḡar-u), exactly as that of class 4 (predominantly disyllabic). Perhaps, in the latter form of its purposive, gada and ḡan- have fused and conjugate like a class-4 verb. For the conjugation paradigm, see 3.7.2.

Note that most of the phonological processes discussed above occur (only or mainly) in W. Phonologically, W is divergent and N is conservative - 1.2.

4.10.2. MORPHOLOGY

The paradigms of preverbs are given in 3.5. Preverbs can be suffixed with a noun-stem-forming suffix (see 6.2.1.); with the predicative-forming suffix -gaḡa (see 4.4.9.); and also with the stem-forming suffix -gara, which is generally affixed to adverbs (see 6.2.1.).

Preverbs can be affixed with clitics (4.13.). Thus:

jud-balu sitting-	buḡḡa-jali running-	jiwa-jali fright-	bila-lu chasing-
e.g. (341)	e.g. (322)	e.g. (332)	e.g. (335)

In the following we shall discuss the syntax and semantics of preverbs.

4.10.3. INDEPENDENT USE OF PREVERBS

As stated in 4.10., preverbs can be used:

- like adverbs, modifying verbs - a preverb (or preverbs) and a verb constitute a V(erb) C(omplex), and;
- like nouns (with an appropriate case ending), independently of verbs.

VCs are discussed in 4.10.4-4.10.8. This present section discusses the independent use of preverbs.

Examples of preverbs in the ergative case include *jud-gu-lu* 'sitting'-*gu-ERG* in (374) and:

- (319) *mapan-du* *ŋa-ji* *bajan-a*
sleeping-ERG *C-1SgAcc* *bite-CONT* *PRES*
'Sleeping is biting me, i.e. I am sleepy'

An example of the instrumental case is:

- (320) *jalu-ŋgu* *mawun-du* *ŋa-ji* *jiwa-gu* *man-an*
that-ERG *man-ERG* *C-1SgAcc* *fear/fright-INST* *get-PRES*

gumar-ɖawu-lu
dog-HAVING-ERG
'That man frightens me with a dog' cf. (182), (332).

(The expression of an animate instrument has to involve the derivational suffix 'HAVING' - 3.2.1.-[3], 6.2.1.-[8].) Other examples include *ɖiŋgiɾi-gu* 'laughter'-*INST* in (268) and *wuɾu-lu* 'secretly'-*INST* in (282).

Two examples of preverbs with no case ending (i.e. in the absolutive) - *wuɾug* as a subject predicative in (321) and *buɾɖa* as DO in (322):

- (321) *ŋaɖu* *wuɾug*
1Sg *finishing*
'I'm finished, I have finished (the work)' cf. (278)
- (322) *ŋa-lija-punu* *jiŋ-aŋura* *buɾɖa-jali*
C-1DuExcNom-M *give-PAST* *NARR* *running-CLC*
'We gave each other running, we raced'

Another example is *guli* as a subject predicative in (181) and text 2, sentence 15. As a final example, an informant described the way a bird flies as follows, with arms showing the movement of wings:

- (323) *baɖ baɖ baɖ* cf. *baɖ gaŋ- Vint* 'fly' in (338).

(In Wandjira texts, it is very common for a preverb to make up a complete sentence. Thus, *bali* 'I found it' - cf. *bali wuŋ- Vtr* 'find' in (274).)

Examples of preverbs in the locative include *guli-ŋga* 'fighting'-*LOC* in (278) and:

- (324) *numbir-u* *jambagina* *ŋaŋ-an* *mapan-da*
woman-ERG *child* *see-PRES* *sleeping-LOC*
'A woman sees a child sleeping'

Examples of preverbs in the dative-1 or -2 include:

- (325) *jambagina* *jan-an* *ɾuju-wu* (or *ɾuju-wura*)
child *go-PRES* *playing-DAT1* -*DAT2*
'A child goes for play'

- (326) guli-wu-lu ḡa-la wawaḡ-an
fighting-DAT1-CLC C-3SgDat *search-PRES*
 'He looks for a fight' cf. (497)

The allative, marking purpose (rather than destination):

- (327) ḡa-liwa jan-an maḡan-dawu (or duḡuga-lawu,
 C-1PlIncNom *go-PRES* *sleeping-ALL* *bathing-ALL*
 or ḡuju-ḡawu, or buḡḡa-lawu)
 playing-ALL *running-ALL*
 'We go for sleeping (or for bathing, or for playing (i.e. cards),
 or for running (e.g. horse races))

(The case ending -lawu 'ALL' for the disyllabic buḡḡa 'running' is irregular. See 3.5.)

Thus, maḡan 'sleeping' is used in the ergative in (319), in the locative in (324), in the allative in (327), and also in a VC in (333). buḡḡa 'running' is used in the absolutive in (322), in the allative in (327), and also in VCs in (283), (329), (334) and (342), and so on.

At least some of these preverbs - particularly those in the dative-1 and those in the locative - can be regarded as transformationally derived from preverbs within VCs. See 4.10.7.

4.10.4. FORMATION OF VERB COMPLEXES

Within in VC, a preverb generally immediately precedes a verb, although some preverbs occasionally follow a verb. (Hence, the term 'preverb'. It was suggested by McConvell, personal communication. At least the term is used by Hale (1973b:453) and by Van Schooneveld (1968:29).)

The same preverb may be combined with various verbs (as long as they are semantically compatible) - irrespective of the transitivity of verbs. Conversely, the same verb may be combined with various preverbs. The following table shows some attested examples of the combinations of the listed preverbs and verbs (naturally, some other combinations not listed in the table are possible).

	jud <i>sitting</i>	dirib <i>camping out</i>	buṛḍa <i>running</i>	wuṛug <i>finishing</i>
Vint				
nin(aṅ)- <i>sit</i>	jud nin(aṅ)- <i>sit (down)</i>	dirib nin(aṅ)- <i>camp out</i>		wuṛug nin(aṅ)- <i>finish</i>
wandiṅ- <i>fall</i>	jud wandiṅ- <i>sit down</i>	dirib wandiṅ- <i>camp out</i>		wuṛug wandiṅ- <i>stop (of rain)</i>
maṅ- <i>talk</i>	jud maṅ- <i>talk while sitting</i>			wuṛug maṅ- <i>finish talking</i>
jan- <i>go</i>			buṛḍa jan- <i>run</i>	wuṛug jan- <i>finish (work)</i>
Avoidance verb				
luwaṅ-	jud luwaṅ-	dirib luwaṅ-	buṛḍa luwaṅ-	wuṛug luwaṅ-
Vtr				
jaan- <i>put</i>	jud jaan- <i>put down</i>			wuṛug jaan- <i>finish putting</i>
gambaṅ- <i>cook</i>		dirib gambaṅ- <i>cook while camping out</i>		wuṛug gambaṅ- <i>finish cooking</i>
ḍambun- <i>kiss</i>		dirib ḍambun- <i>kiss while camping out</i>		wuṛug ḍambun- <i>finish kissing</i>
gaṅ- <i>carry</i>			buṛḍa gaṅ- <i>drive (a car)</i>	
man- <i>get</i>			buṛḍa man- <i>go by car and get</i>	
wanḍan- <i>leave (N)</i>			buṛḍa wanḍan-i <i>leave and run away</i>	

(The avoidance verb *luwaṅ-* is neutral in terms of semantics and transitivity. See Chapter 5.) Examples include (341), (342), (346), text 1, sentence 51, text 2, sentence 16 and:

- (328) ṅa-liwa jud maṅ-an
 C-1PlIncNom *talk while sitting-PRES*
 'We talk while sitting'

- (329) mawun-du ḡaba buṛḡa man-i
 man-ERG water go by car and get-PAST
 'A man went by car and got water'
- (330) ḡa-ḡalu dirib piṛ-aḡura
 C-1PlExcNom camp out-PAST NARR
 'We camped out'
- (331) ḡa-ḡalu ḡaḡi dirib gambaḡ-i
 C-1PlExcNom kangaroo cook while camping out-PAST
 'We cooked a kangaroo when camping out'

One VC can contain two (or even more) preverbs. This process is common. Examples include text 2, sentence 6 and:

- (332) ('White man fired guns at Aborigines')
 ḡa-lu jiwa-jali wulb wandiṛ-a
 C-3PlNom fear/fright-CLC jumping fall-PAST
 'They jumped with fright'
- (333) jambagina maṇan baḡu piṇaḡ-an
 child sleeping lying stay-PRES
 'A child is sleeping'
- (334) buṇu-ḡawu ḡa-ḡa daḡ buṛḡa ḡaḡ-gu
 tree-ALL C-1SgNom hanging running carry-PURP
 Informant's translation: 'I might run (understood: a car)
 into a tree'

4.10.5. SEMANTICS OF VERB COMPLEXES

In a large number of VCs, only the preverb carries the semantic load. Here, the verb is more or less neutralised semantically (and its main function appears to be the carrying of a conjugational (tense/aspect/mood) ending). Thus, from the preverb buṛḡa 'running' and maḡ- Vint 'talk', we get buṛḡa maḡ- Vint 'run', e.g. (283). Similarly, from the preverb bila 'chasing/following' and man- Vtr 'get', we get bila man- 'chase/follow'. Examples include text 2, sentence 9 and:

- (335) jiraḡa-lu ḡa-lu bila-lu man-an-i niḡa mawun
 some-ERG C-3PlNom -CLC -CONT-PAST that man
 'Some (of them) were following that man'

(In such a case, we give one single gloss to the whole VC instead of giving a gloss to each of the preverb and the verb.) The following verbs (among others) are often used with a 'neutralised' meaning:

Vint: maḡ- 'talk', piṇ(aḡ)- 'stay/rest', jaṇ- 'go/come',
 wandiṛ- 'fall';

Vtr: maṇ- 'get', ḡaḡ- 'carry', juḡ- 'give', buḡ- (or wuḡ-) 'hit'.

(These verbs can also be used like grammatical verbs - intransitives like 'be' or 'become' and transitives like 'cause' - 4.4.9. See also 3.7.) Thus:

- Vint: jiwa/juwa maṅ- 'fear'; waṅ maṅ- 'think'; ruju maṅ- 'play';
 piṅ piṅ(aṅ)- 'forget/do not remember'; bagu jan- 'sleep';
 nag jan- 'die'; mijangi wandip- 'ask';
- Vtr: mijangi man- 'ask'; gara man- 'know/understand'; gaṅag man-
 'make'; wara gaṅ- 'watch out'; jinbijinbi juṅ- 'shake';
 bali buṅ-, bali wuṅ-, balu wuṅ- (W only?) 'find'; duṅ buṅ-
 'bury'.

Examples include (76), (81), (87), (94), (314), (316), (444), (503), (507) and:

- (336) guṅar-u guju duṅ buṅ-an
 dog-ERG meat bury-PRES
 'A dog buries meat'

When semantically neutralised, verbs appear to have much the same meaning although at least wandip- tends to describe change. Thus, involving the preverb piṅ- 'forgetting', we have:

- piṅ maṅ-, piṅ piṅ-, piṅ jan- Vint 'forget' (cf. 4.4.5.-[3])

Similarly, involving the preverb buduḍ 'lighting a fire', we have:

- buduḍ man-, buduḍ buṅ-, buduḍ juṅ- Vtr 'light (a fire)'

Djaru has very few verbs - only about 40 (3.7.). Note that Djirbal, for instance, has more than 700 verbs (Dixon 1972: 294). But, Djaru has more than 290 preverbs and in many cases what is expressed by a single verb in Djirbal is expressed by a VC of a preverb and verb in Djaru, even basic notions such as 'hear/listen to' - buṅa paṅ- Vtr 'hear/listen to' (buṅa prev 'listening', paṅ- Vtr 'see/look at') e.g. (300). (But, at least in the imperative, i.e. paṅ-ga, this verb alone (without the preverb buṅa 'listening') can mean 'listen'. The writer heard this on many occasions. Thus:

- (337) paṅ-ga or paṅ-ga paṅ-ga
 see-IMP
 'Listen' 'Listen, listen'

It appears that when paṅ-ga 'see'-IMP is used in the sense of 'listen', the sentence consists of just this word and no other words (e.g. subject, object) at all. This 'marked' use of the verb 'see' is syntactically extremely limited.

It is interesting to note that in Lesghian, N.E. Caucasus, the root akun means 'see; look at', and the verb complex van akun, involving akun, means 'hear; listen to' (Dixon 1979:105).

4.10.6. TRANSITIVITY OF VERB COMPLEXES

Some VCs involve a transitive verb but function intransitively. They are:

- involving buᅇ- Vtr 'hit' : dũᅇᅇuᅇ 'buᅇ- Vint 'walk away',
 dulᅇ buᅇ- Vint 'get up' (N);
- involving gaᅇ- Vtr 'carry' : baᅇ gaᅇ- Vint 'fly', giᅇ gaᅇ- Vint
 'stop (of rain, wind)';
- involving baᅇan- Vtr 'bite': buᅇ baᅇan- Vint 'hurt'.

Examples include (422) and:

- (338) dũᅇᅇa baᅇ gaᅇ-an
 bird fly-PRES
 'A bird flies'
- (339) mawun ᅇa dũᅇᅇuᅇ biᅇ-a
 man C walk away-PAST
 'A man walked away' (N example)

Some VCs involve a transitive verb but function semi-transitively - see 4.5.9.

There is one VC which involves an intransitive verb but functions transitively: widiᅇ maᅇ- Vtr 'throw (a spear with a spear-thrower)', involving maᅇ- Vint 'talk':

- (340) mawun-du widiᅇ ma-lu gaᅇa
 man-ERG throw-PURP spear
 'A man will throw a spear'

4.10.7. 'LOOSE' AND 'CLOSE' VERB COMPLEXES

Some combinations of a preverb and verb are 'loose', while others are 'close'. But, this dichotomy is by no means clear-cut; the situation is more in the nature of continuum. There are a few criteria (syntactic or semantic) for this dichotomy, and there is a certain correlation among them but they do not necessarily exactly correspond with one another.

Criterion (a): semantics.

In some VCs, the preverb and verb each have a (more or less) independent meaning. See 4.10.4. for examples. These combinations are loose. On the other hand, in other VCs, only the preverb carries most (if not the whole) semantic load and the verb has little (if any) meaning. See 4.10.5. and 4.10.6. for examples. They are close combinations.

Criterion (b): possibilities of combination.

Some preverbs can be combined with any verb (as long as it is semantically compatible), for example, wuᅇᅇ 'finishing' and dirib 'camping out'. See 4.10.4. Two more examples: wuᅇᅇ juᅇ- Vtr 'finish giving' and wuᅇᅇ buᅇ- Vtr 'finish hitting/fighting', e.g. (278). These combinations are loose. On the other hand, other preverbs can be combined with one particular verb only - except for the avoidance verb luwaᅇ-.

Examples include all the preverbs discussed in 4.10.6. and some from 4.10.5., e.g. *bila* 'chasing', *bali* 'finding' and *ɲara* 'knowing'. These combinations are close.

Criterion (c): word order.

Generally, a preverb immediately precedes a verb. But, in some instances, a preverb and verb are permuted – permutation. Thus:

(341) ('I fell from a horse, but I did not fall over')

ɲa-ɲa wandɪŋ-a jud-balu
C-1SgNom fall-PAST sitting-CLC
'I stood on foot'

(342) ɲa-lu jan-an-i buɾɟa
C-3PlNom go-CONT-PAST running
'They were running'

(343) ('In a myth, a child had a tail')

ɲa-lu-ɲanda ɲɪŋɟi junbaŋ-i duɟ
C-3PlNom-3SgLoc tail sing-PAST breaking off
'They took the tail off (him) by singing (magical songs)'

And, in some instances, a word (or words) is inserted between a preverb and verb. Thus:

(344) ninid ɲa-ɲa maŋ-an
shivering C-1SgNom lit. talk-PRES
'I am shivering (from cold)'

These combinations are loose. On the other hand, in other combinations permutation of insertion is not allowed. Thus:

bali wuŋ-an 'find'-PRES, *wuŋ-an bali

These combinations are close. (In Waldjira and Malngin, permutation and insertion are very common.)

Criterion (d): behaviour in gerund(/verbid) constructions (4.9.1.).

Corresponding to:

(345) mawun jan-an
man go-PRES
'A man goes'

(346) mawun jud ɲinaŋ-an
man sitting stay/sit-PRES
'A man sits (down)'

we can have both:

(347) mawun jan-an jud-gu ɲinaŋ-u-wu
man go-PRES sitting-DAT1 sit-VBD-DAT1
'A man goes to sit down'

(348) mawun jan-an jud pinaŋ-u-wu
 man go-PRES sitting sit-VBD-DAT1

As above.

Note that the preverb jud 'sitting' has the dative-1 ending in (347), but it does not in (348). The gerund pinaŋuwu can be deleted from (347), producing:

(349) mawun jan-an jud-gu
 man go-PRES sitting-DAT1

As (347)

The preverb jud 'sitting' can (though it does not always) occur independently (of a verb), with a case ending. The combination jud pinaŋ- 'sitting, sit' is loose.

Now, corresponding to (345) and:

(350) mawun-du ɖaɖi bali wuŋ-an
 man kangaroo find-PRES

'A man finds a kangaroo'

we can have:

(351) mawun jan-an ɖaɖi-wu bali wuŋ-u-wu
 man go-PRES kangaroo-DAT1 find-VBD-DAT1

'A man goes to find a kangaroo'

But, unlike jud pinaŋ- 'sitting sit', we cannot have:

*(352) mawun jan-an (ɖaɖi-wu) bali-wu wuŋ-u-wu
 man go-PRES kangaroo-DAT1 finding-DAT1 -VBD-DAT1

*'A man goes to find (a kangaroo)'

*(353) mawun jan-an bali-wu
 man go-PRES finding-DAT1

*'A man goes to find (something)'

The preverb bali 'finding' cannot occur independently (of a verb), with a case ending. The combination bali wuŋ- 'find' is close.

Similarly in the locative. First, an example of a loose combination. Corresponding to:

(354) mawun jud pinaŋ-an
 man sitting sit-PRES

'A man sits (down)'

(355) ŋumbir-u mawun ŋaŋ-an
 woman-ERG man see-PRES

'A woman sees a man'

we can have both:

- (356) *gumbir-u mawun naŋ-an jud-gu-la pinaŋ-u-la*
woman-ERG man see-PRES sitting-gu-LOC sit-VBD-LOC
'A woman sees a man sitting'

- (357) *gumbir-u mawun naŋ-an jud pinaŋ-u-la*
woman-ERG man see-PRES sitting sit-VBD-LOC
 As above.

And, the gerund *pinaŋula* can be deleted from (356), producing:

- (358) *gumbir-u mawun naŋ-an jud-gu-la*
woman-ERG man see-PRES sitting-gu-LOC
 As (356).

An example of a close combination. Corresponding to (355) and:

- (359) *mawun-du ŋa-la dʒaɖi-wu muwu wuŋ-an*
man-ERG C-3SgDat kangaroo-DAT1 search-PRES
'A man looks for a kangaroo'

we can have:

- (360) *gumbir-u mawun naŋ-an dʒaɖi-wu muwu wun-u-ŋga*
woman-ERG man see-PRES kangaroo-DAT1 search-VBD-LOC
'A woman sees a man looking for a kangaroo'

But, we cannot have:

- *(361) *gumbir-u mawun naŋ-an (dʒaɖi-wu) muwu-ŋga*
woman-ERG man see-PRES kangaroo-DAT1 searching-LOC
wuŋ-u-ŋga
-VBD-LOC
**'A woman sees a man looking (for a kangaroo)'*

- *(362) *gumbir-u mawun naŋ-an muwu-ŋga*
woman-ERG man see-PRES searching-LOC
'A woman sees a man searching'

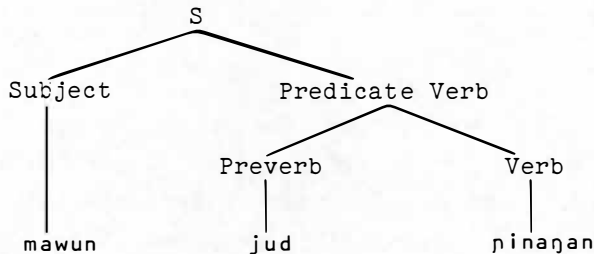
What has been discussed above can be tabulated as follows:

Loose Combination		Close Combination	
<i>jud-gu</i>	<i>pinaŋu-wu</i>	<i>*bali-wu</i>	<i>wuŋu-wu</i>
<i>jud</i>	<i>pinaŋu-wu</i>	<i>bali</i>	<i>wuŋu-wu</i>
<i>jud-gu</i>		<i>*bali-wu</i>	
<i>jud-gu-la</i>	<i>pinaŋu-la</i>	<i>*muwu-ŋga</i>	<i>wuŋu-ŋga</i>
<i>jud</i>	<i>pinaŋu-la</i>	<i>muwu</i>	<i>wuŋu-ŋga</i>
<i>jud-gu-la</i>		<i>*muwu-ŋga</i>	

That is, in a loose combination, a preverb can take a case ending, and a verbid can be deleted; the preverb can be used independently. (Among the preverbs discussed in 4.10.3., i.e. independently-used preverbs, at least some of them, e.g. (324), (325), can thus be regarded as transformationally derived from VCs.) On the other hand, in a close combination, a preverb can not take a case ending, and can not be used independently.

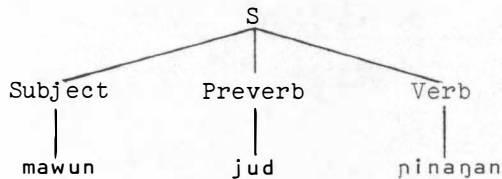
This difference may be explained as follows. (346), for instance, has as its underlying structure something like:

(363)



Then, an operation similar to Hale's (1967:5) R-Node-Erasure applies to (363), producing:

(364)



(The R-Node-Erasure rule 'operates on nodes intermediate between S and the lowest order category nodes (N, V, etc.), erases them, and reattaches their former subconstituents to the next node up' (S in our examples) - Hale 1967:5). The crucial point is that, when gerund-transformation applies, only those constituents immediately dominated by S can take a case ending. Thus, if verbid-transformation applies to (363), we obtain (348) or (357). And, if verbid-transformation applies to (364), we obtain (347) or (356). (The gerund can then be deleted.) On the other hand, a close combination can only have a structure such as shown in (363); it cannot have a structure such as shown in (364). That is, 'R-Node-Erasure' cannot apply to a close combination, and consequently here a preverb cannot occur independently, with a case ending.

On the basis of the above four criteria, the differences between loose and close combinations - the two extremes, in terms of each criterion, of a continuum - can be shown as follows:

	Loose Combination	Close Combination
Semantic load	preverb and verb	preverb only
Combination of a preverb	with any verb	with one particular verb, except <i>luwaŋ-</i>
Permutation or insertion	yes	no
Independant use of preverb, with case ending	yes	no

4.10.8. VOICE

A set of VCs involving the same preverb share a very similar semantic content but differ in transitivity (cf. Dixon 1972:296). In some sets, Si corresponds to St (Si=St type) or semitransitive subject (Si=Ssemitt type), and in many others, Si corresponds to a transitive DO (Si=Ot type). Some examples are given below:

Si = St TYPE

Intransitive VC		Transitive VC	Meaning	Examples
<i>nin</i> <i>forgetting</i>	<i>maŋ-</i> Vint <i>talk</i>	<i>nin man-</i> Vtr <i>get</i>	'forget'	
<i>nin</i> <i>forgetting</i>	<i>nin(aŋ)-</i> Vint <i>sit</i>		'forget'	
<i>nin</i> <i>forgetting</i>	<i>jan-</i> Vint <i>go</i>		'forget'	
<i>guni</i> <i>dreaming</i>	<i>maŋ-</i> Vint <i>talk</i>	<i>guni man-</i> Vtr <i>get</i>	'dream'	(366)
<i>guni</i> <i>dreaming</i>	<i>jan-</i> Vint <i>go</i>		'dream'	(365)
<i>mijaŋgi</i> <i>asking</i>	<i>wandiŋ-</i> Vint <i>fall</i>	<i>mijaŋgi man-</i> Vtr <i>get</i>	'ask'	(87),(292),(314)
<i>ɽuju</i> <i>playing</i>	<i>maŋ-</i> Vint <i>talk</i>	<i>ɽuju wuŋ-*</i>	'play'	(75),(77)
<i>bilaga</i> <i>riding</i>	<i>wandiŋ-</i> Vint <i>fall</i>	<i>bilaga gaŋ-</i> Vtr <i>carry</i>	'ride'	(265)

(* *wuŋ-* is a phonological development of *buŋ-* Vtr 'hit' (4.10.1-[1]-(c)). The form *wuŋ-* is used in a VC only, in combination with a preverb.)

(365) *ŋaɖu ŋa-ŋa-la ŋama-ji-wu guni jan-i*
 1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgDat mother-KIN-DAT1 dream-PAST
 'I dreamed about (my) mother'

(366) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa ḡama-ji ḡuni man-i
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom mother-KIN dream-PAST

As (365).

Si = Ssemit TYPE

Intransitive VC		Semitransitive VC	Meaning	Examples
ḡara <i>waiting</i>	ḡin(aḡ)- Vint <i>stay</i>	ḡa'ra ḡaḡ- Vtr <i>see</i>	'wait'	(86), (209)
ḡal <i>stalking</i>	man- Vint <i>talk</i>	ḡal man- Vtr <i>get</i>	'stalk'	

Si = Ot TYPE

Intransitive VC		Meaning	Transitive VC	Meaning	Examples
jud <i>sitting</i>	ḡin(aḡ)- Vint <i>stay</i>	'sit (down)'	jud jaan- Vtr <i>put</i>	'put down'	(354)
jud <i>sitting</i>	wandip- Vint <i>fall</i>	'sit down'			(341)
ḡad <i>standing</i>	ḡin(aḡ)- Vint <i>stay</i>	'stand (up)'	ḡad jaan- Vtr <i>put</i>	'stand up'	(184)
ḡad <i>standing</i>	wandip- Vint <i>fall</i>	'stand up'			text 2, sentence 16
daḡ <i>hanging</i>	ḡin(aḡ)- Vint <i>stay</i>	'hang'	daḡ jaan- Vtr <i>put</i>	'hang'	(541), (542)
buḡu <i>hiding</i>	wandip- Vint <i>fall</i>	'hide'	buḡu jaan- Vtr <i>put</i>	'hide'	(99), (367), (368)
			buḡu waḡbaḡ- Vtr <i>throw</i>	'hide'	
birib <i>locking</i>	wandip- Vint <i>fall</i>	'be locked up'	birib jaan- Vtr <i>put</i>	'lock up'	
birib <i>locking</i>	ḡin(aḡ)- Vint <i>sit</i>	'be locked up'	birib buḡ- Vtr <i>hit</i>	'lock up'	
ḡilmuḡ <i>breaking</i>	ḡin(aḡ)- Vint <i>stay</i>	'break'	ḡilmuḡ buḡ- Vtr <i>hit</i>	'break'	(369)
ḡilmuḡ <i>breaking</i>	wandip- Vint <i>fall</i>	'break'	ḡilmuḡ man- Vtr <i>get</i>	'break'	(370)
dingir <i>tearing</i>	jan- Vint <i>go</i>	'tear up'	dingir buḡ- Vtr <i>hit</i>	'tear up'	
			dingir man- Vtr <i>get</i>	'tear up'	

Cont.

Intransitive VC	Meaning	Transitive VC	Meaning	Example	
		dingir luwaŋ- Vtr shoot	'tear up'		
ŋaɖ smelling	man- Vint talk	'(Something) smells'	ŋaɖ man- Vtr get	'(Someone) smells (something)'	(427)

- (367) jambagina buɖu wandiɖ-a
child hide-PAST
'A child hid'
- (368) mawun-du jambagina buɖu jaan-i
man-ERG child hide-PAST
'A man hid a child'
- (369) gaŋɖi ɖilmup ɖir-a
tree (N) break-PAST
'A tree broke' (N example)
- (370) mawun-du gaŋɖi ɖilmup man-i
man-ERG tree (N) break-PAST
'A man broke a tree' (N example)

Some preverbs can clearly show functional differences by means of case endings. Thus:

- (371) jambagina jud ɖinaŋ-an
child sit-PRES
'A child sits (down)'
- (372) mawun-du jambagina jud jaan-an
man-ERG child put-PRES
'A man puts down a child'
- (373) mawun-du jambagina ɖaŋ-an jud-gu-la
man-ERG child see-PRES sitting-gu-LOC
'A man sees a child sitting'
- (374) mawun-du jambagina ɖaŋ-an jud-gu-lu
man-ERG child see-PRES sitting-gu-ERG
'A man, while sitting, sees a child'

The three types of correspondence - Si=St type, Si=Ssemit type and Si=Ot type - show a semantic differentiation. Dixon (1979:117), in a discussion of causatives in general, says:

Lexical pairs of type S = O (TT: our Si=Ot type) are mostly found among verbs of rest or motion ('stand' vs. 'make stand', 'come out' vs. 'take out'; Dixon 1972:297), with S = A pairs (TT: our Si=St type) being predominantly found in other semantic areas - 'eat (transitive)' vs. 'eat (intransitive)', etc.

Roughly, this applies to Djaru VC pairs. But, infact, Djaru makes a little finer semantic differentiation. Thus:

(a) Si=Ot type: either rest or motion (as predicted by Dixon), e.g. 'sit down' (VCint) vs. 'put down' (VCtr); and 'hide' (VCint) vs. 'hide' (VCtr); or change of state, e.g. 'break' (VCint) vs. 'break' (VCtr); and 'tear up' (VCint) vs. 'tear up' (VCtr). There is one pair that does not belong to rest/motion or change - 'smell' (VCint) vs. 'smell' (VCtr).

(b) Si=Ssemit type: pursuit, e.g. 'wait' (VCint) vs. 'wait' (VCsemit); and 'stalk' (VCint) vs. 'stalk' (VCsemit);

(c) Si=St type: other semantic areas, in particular, psychological or mental process, e.g. 'forget' (VCint) vs. 'forget' (VCtr); and 'dream' (VCint) vs. 'dream' (VCtr).

Djaru lacks causative and passive constructions. But, as can be seen from the examples given above, transitive VCs of Si=Ot type can in effect have a causative meaning. And, some of intransitive VCs of Si=Ot type can have a 'passive' meaning (or, at least, a meaning similar to passive), e.g. birib wandij- VCint 'be locked up'. Similarly, a transitive sentence involving an Ot predicative - e.g. gunga 'dead' in (375) - can have a causative meaning (see 4.4.9.-[1]-[3]). Compare the following two sentences (gunga in (376) is a Si predicative - 4.4.9.-[4]):

(375) mawun-du gupar gunga bip-a
man-ERG dog dead hit-PAST
'A man hit a dog and killed it (or caused it to be dead)'

(376) gupar gunga pin-a
dog dead stay-PAST
'A dog died'

(In (376), pin- Vint 'stay' is used like a grammatical verb 'become' - 4.4.9.-[4]).

As can be seen from the examples above, there are many VC pairs that each involve man- Vint 'talk' and man- Vtr 'get', and the functional load of the phonemic opposition /n/ and /n/ is very high - 2.2.-[1].

Segments similar to the Djaru preverbs are very common in languages from central to far northwestern Australia - including non-Pama-Nyungan languages, e.g. Gidja, Miriwung and Wunambal. Djaru shares common items not only with Pama-Nyungan languages (e.g. Malngin, Wandjira and Walmadjarai) but also non-Pama-Nyungan languages (e.g. Gidja and Miriwung). In some descriptions, these segments are regarded as something in the nature of prefixes (e.g. Hale 1973b:453 on Walbiri, and Hudson 1976a,b on Walmadjarai). In some others they are regarded as 'un-inflected verbs' (not prefixes but independent words) (e.g. Taylor n.d.-a,b on Gidja, Coate and Oates 1970 on Ngarinjin and Vaszolyi 1976 on Wunambal), and as 'verb particles' (Kofod

1976 on Miriwung). However, as can be seen from the foregoing discussions, the Djaru preverbs are neither prefixes nor verbs. (They are independent words; they can be affixed with a clitic - 4.10.2.)

Preverbs are semantically reminiscent of German Vorsilben (Miyajima, privately communicated through Takahashi). Thus, an 'approach, contact, inception, duration of state' in *anfangen* Vtr 'start' (e.g. 'work') - cf. *fangen* Vtr 'catch'. (See Hattori 1950 (reprint 1960:478).)

4.11. EXPRESSION OF POSSESSION

An important point here is the distinction between:

- (a) alienable possession - including language and kinsmen, and;
- (b) inalienable possession/whole part relationship - including body parts (and the trunk of a tree, for instance), body secretion, footprint, shadow, name (and possibly dream).

This distinction is reflected in syntax. (For discussions of inalienable possession in non-Australian languages, see Sapir 1917b, Fillmore 1968: 61-81, Ivič 1970, and Takahashi 1975, for instance.)

4.11.1. DATIVE AND ABLATIVE

The dative of pronouns and dative-1 of nouns can mark possession/belonging - generally, alienable possession, e.g. (12), (64), (66), (67), (127), (133). In some instances, a dative marks inalienable possession, but this is not very common - see 4.11.4.

The dative of pronouns (but not that of nouns) can further decline, agreeing in case ending with the noun it modifies (3.3.), e.g. (174), (176), (190), (285)-(ii), (381) and text 1, sentence 53. (This is mainly in W.) Similarly, the ablative-1 of pronouns can further decline, marking a possessor (mainly in N) or source/origin (both in N and W) - 3.3. (Without a further case ending it marks source/origin, both in W and N). Examples include (176), (232) and:

(377) *punuŋip-du guju-ŋgu ŋa-ji gingi-waŋa man-i*
 2Sg-ABLL-ERG meat-ERG C-1SgAcc full- make-PAST
 'The meat from you made me full' (W example)

(For -waŋa, see 4.4.9.-[1].)

(378) *punuŋip-du jambi-gu guŋar-u ŋa-ji bajan-i*
 2Sg-ABLL-ERG big-ERG dog-ERG C-1SgAcc bite-PAST
 'Your big dog bit me' (N example)

(379) *mu*lu-wu *ŋa*-n-gu-la *gaŋ*-an-gu *gu*ŋdu
this-DAT1 C-2SgNom-gu-3SgDat *carry*-CONT-PURP *lolly*

ŋama-ji-wu *ŋunuŋi*ŋ-gu
mother-KIN-DAT1 2Sg-ABL1-DAT1

'You will bring a lolly to this mother of yours'

A dative or ablative-1 further declined for the dative-1 can mark a possessor's possessor, e.g. (174), (379) and (381).

4.11.2. NOUN-STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

(a) -*gu*ŋ/-*wu*ŋ '*from*'. Unlike the dative of pronouns, the dative-1 of nouns can not further decline. Instead, a noun affixed with the derivational suffix -*gu*ŋ/-*wu*ŋ, marking possessor (6.2.1.-[4]), can be used. The few examples include (382) and:

(380) *ŋa*-lija^{ra} *jan*-i *bijilma*ŋ-gu-*ɔ*awu-*ja*li *ŋu*ra-*ŋ*gawu
C-1DuExcNom *go*-PAST *Belmont*-*gu*ŋ-ALL-CLC *camp*-ALL

'We went to Belmont's camp'

(Belmont is a man's name. Here, *ŋ* in -*gu*ŋ is deleted from the second nasal-plus-stop cluster - see 2.8.-[4].)

(b) -*ŋan* 'kinship possessor' - kinsmen or friend of someone else's (other than the speaker's or hearer's) (2.6.1.-[17]), e.g. (109). A noun suffixed with -*ŋan*, when further declined for the dative-1, can mark a possessor's possessor. Thus:

(381) *ŋawa* *ŋaja* *ŋa*-la *ɔ*aliɔi-wu *mu*lu-wu *ŋawu*-*ŋan*-gu
this *cat* C-3SgDat *friend*-DAT1 *this*-DAT1 *father*-*ŋan*-DAT1

ŋanuŋu-wu
3Sg-DAT-DAT1

'This cat belongs to his father's this friend'

(Here, a dative pronoun further declined for the dative-1, too, marks a possessor's possession.) Another example of 'possessor's possessor' involves a combination of -*ŋan* and -*g/wu*ŋ. *'The child's father's dog bit me'* was translated:

(382) *mu*lu-*ŋ*gu *mu*lu-wu *gu*ŋar-u *ŋawu*-*ŋan*-*gu*ŋ-*ɔ*u *ŋa*-*ji*
this-ERG *this*-DAT1 *dog*-ERG *father*-*ŋan*-*gu*ŋ-ERG C-1SgAcc

bajan-i
bite-PAST

Here, -*ŋan* indicates *'the child's father'*, and -*gu*ŋ indicates *'the child's father's dog'*. (It is not clear which possession relationship the dative-1 *mu*lu-wu marks.)

(c) -*ɟaɾu/-jaɾu* 'having, with' (6.2.1.-[8]). This suffix can mark alienable or inalienable possession. Thus:

(383) *nila ɟaɾiŋga jambara-jaɾu*
that woman long hair-HAVING
 'That woman has long hair' (N example)

(384) *jambaɟi nila ɟunda-jaɾu*
child that sore-HAVING
 'That child has a sore'

(385) *nila mawun ɟuɲar-daɾu*
that man dog-HAVING
 'That man has (or is with) a dog'

When marking inalienable possession, e.g. (383) and (384), the suffix marks a 'marked' (i.e. not common, normal or presupposed) state - cf. Tsunoda 1976a:220. (It is presupposed (Chvany 1973:71) and unmarked to own inalienable possessions, such as body parts and the like.) See 6.2.1.-[8].

4.11.3. THE TRANSITIVE VERB *garun-* 'HOLD, KEEP, POSSESS, OWN'

garun- can mark inalienable as well as alienable possession. Examples include (231), (286)-(i), (387) and:

(386) *nundu-gu ɟa-n ɟarun-an ɟuɲar*
 2Sg-ERG C-2SgNom possess-PRES dog
 'You have a dog'

Generally, in a transitive sentence, if St and DO are co-referential, reflexivisation applies. But, if the predicate verb is *garun-*, describing inalienable possession, then reflexivisation is blocked. Compare (227) and (231).

While the noun-stem-forming suffix -*ɟaɾu/-jaɾu* (4.11.2.) predominately means 'together with', the verb *garun-* 'have' does not necessarily do so. Thus, the informant's comment on (385) is 'You might see him with a dog', whereas (386) was used to refer to the addressee's dog, which was away from him at the time of speaking.

4.11.4. EXPRESSION OF INALIENABLE POSSESSION/WHOLE-PART RELATION

[1] Dative.

A dative marks inalienable possession/whole-part relation in a few instances. Thus:

(387) *ɟa-lu ɲanuga-lu ɟarun-an-i miɭiɭi*
 C-3P1Nom 3P1-DAT-CLC have-CONT-PAST brain
 '(Aborigines were not stupid.) They had their brain'

(388) duru-wu muna
bird-DAT1 wing
 'A bird's wing' (N example)

(389) In a conversation, a speaker said that the writer's Djaru name was Dimṅajari (this name had already been given to him previously). But, the writer did not understand it immediately, and inquired about it. Another speaker said to the writer:

nunuṅa jiṛi, dimṅajari
 2Sg-DAT name Dimṅajari
 'Dimṅajari is YOUR NAME'

(The word dimṅajari was separated from the preceding words by a very brief break.)

[2] So-called apposition and non-apposition.

However, in the majority of instances no particular case marks inalienable possession (/whole-part relation). There are two types:

- (a) the possessor and possessed take the same case ending:
- (b) the possessor is absolutive and the possessed is locative or ablative.

In the case of type (b), the possessor and possessed clearly constitute two separate NPs (their case endings are different), but in the case of type (a), it is not totally clear whether they constitute two separate NPs or one single NP.

- (a) The possessor and possessed with the same case ending.

For example:

ABSOLUTIVE in intransitive sentences. Examples include (399), (404), (520), (521) and:

(390) ṅaḍu ṅa-ṅa milṅali jan-an
 1Sg C-1SgNom tear go-PRES
 'My tears are running'

(391) ṅila mawun maḷa jambi
 that man hand big
 'That man has big hands'

(392) ṅaḍu ṅa-ṅa munda gida ṅinaṅ-an
 1Sg C-1SgNom belly good stay-PRES
 'I feel good in the belly'

((392) often means 'I am happy'; the belly is regarded as the seats of emotion - 1.4. Incidentally, sentences such as (391) and (392) are reminiscent of *Sylvie est jolie des yeux* (Frei 1939) and *Zoo-wa hana-ga nagai* 'As for an elephant, the trunk is long' (Mikami 1960) - Fillmore 1968:64-65.)

- (393) *ɲana ɲawa baɖu jan-an-i*
who this foot(print) walk-CONT-PAST
 Informant's translation: *'Who this track bin walking?'*

- (394) *ɲaɖu ɲa-ɲa jiɾi jagajari*
1Sg C-1SgNom name Jagajari
'I am Jagajari by name'

ABSOLUTIVE as DO. Examples include (400), (402), (407), text 3 sentence 13 and:

- (395) *ɲaɖu-ɲgu ɲa-ɲa ɲila mawun jiɾi ɲara man-an*
1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom that man name know-PRES
'I know that man's name'

LOCATIVE:

- (396) *ɲaɖu-ɲgu ɲa-ɲa-ɲanda magaɖa jaan-an mawun-da langa-ga*
1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-3SgLoc hat put-PRES man-LOC head-LOC
'I put a hat on a man's head'

- (397) *ɲa-ɲalu lan-ipura ɲaba-ɲga jiɾi-ɲga wimirin-ɖa*
C-1PlExcNom spear-PAST NARR water-LOC name-LOC 'name'-LOC
'We speared it near a waterhole by the name of Wimirinj.'

(This place, about 5 kilometres east of (New) Hall's Creek, is called Caroline Pool in English.)

ABLATIVE:

- (398) *ɲuɲulu jan-an ɲaɲuɲiɲ-ɲu langa-ɲu*
blood go-PRES 3Sg-ABL2 head-ABL
'Blood is running from his head'

What was once inalienably possessed but is now separated from the possessor, is still expressed by such constructions, without involving the dative. Thus, when asked to describe a hypothetical situation in which an addressee's hand were cut off from the body, the informant gave:

- (399) *ɲawa ɲundu maɭa*
this 3Sg hand
'This is your hand'

(The dative *ɲunuɲa* '2Sg-DAT' was accepted, but clearly *ɲundu* is preferred.)

(b) The possessor in the absolutive (as Si or DO) and possessed in the locative or ablative.

Compare the following pairs of examples:

(400) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa mawun langa buḡ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom man head hit-PRES
'I hit a man's head'

(401) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa mawun buḡ-an langa-ga
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom man hit-PRES head-LOC
'I hit a man on the head'

(For another example, see text 2, sentence 19.)

(402) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa ḡaḡi nara lan-i
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom kangaroo back spear-PAST
'I speared a kangaroo's back'

(403) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa ḡaḡi lan-i nara-ḡu
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom kangaroo spear-PAST back-ABL
'I speared a kangaroo from the back'

(404) ḡaḡu ḡa-ḡa nara baḡḡan
 1Sg C-1SgNom back tired
'My back is tired'

(405) ḡaḡu ḡa-ḡa baḡḡan nara-ḡga
 1Sg C-1SgNom tired back-LOC
'I am tired in the back'

In the framework of relational grammar, probably (400) and (404) would be regarded as derived from (401) and (405), respectively, by locative movement. (Otherwise, an obvious generalisation - parallelism between (400)-(401) and (404)-(405) - would be lost.) If we regard langa 'head' in (400) as Ot and nara 'back' in (404) as Si, then this locative movement would be an instance of absolutive-ergative syntax - the only syntactic process in Djaru that behaved in the absolutive-ergative pattern (see Chapter 4, first page and 4.4.3.). (This point is also discussed in Tsunoda 1980a). However, Shibatani (personal communication) points out that this analysis has difficult problems. First, we would need independent evidence to show that langa 'head' in (400) is Ot and that nara 'back' in (404) is Si. (As we will see in [4] and [5] below, there is no strong evidence to regard them as Ot and Si, respectively.) And secondly, even if we regarded them as Ot and Si, respectively, they are not syntactically treated alike here; they are merely the targets for this locative movement and do not trigger or undergo a common syntactic process.

[3] Bound pronouns in inalienable possession.

When a sentence contains a possessor and (one or more) possessed, only the former can be cross-referenced and the latter cannot (see 4.5.8.-[5]). Thus, in (401) only the possessor mawun 'man' is cross-referenced (by ZERO) and the possessed langa-ga 'head'-LOC is not cross-referenced (by -ḡanda '3SgLoc'). Compare (401) with:

- (406) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa-ḡanda mawun langa-ga buḡ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-3SgLoc man head-LOC hit-PRES
'I hit a man near someone else's head'

Here, -ḡanda '3SgLoc' cross-references langa-ga 'head'-LOC, and they are not co-referential with mawun 'man'. Similarly for (403) and (405).

The same is true when the possessor and possessed agree in case marking. Thus, consider:

- (407) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa-ḡḡu ḡundu milwa ḡaḡ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-2SgAcc 2Sg eye see-PRES
'I see your eyes'

The possessor ḡundu '2Sg' can be deleted from (407), but -ḡḡu '2Sg-Acc' still remains and milwa '(two) eyes' cannot be cross-referenced (by -wulaanu '3DuAcc'). Compare (407) with:

- (408) ḡaḡu-ḡḡu ḡa-ḡa-wulaanu milwa ḡaḡ-an
 1Sg-ERG C-1SgNom-3DuAcc eye see-PRES
'I see two people's eyes'

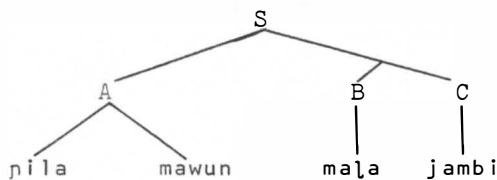
[4] Structure of some intransitive sentences.

The structure of sentences such as (391) and:

- (409) ḡawa ḡuda mawun muna ḡuwal
 this short man arm long/tall
'This short man has long arms'

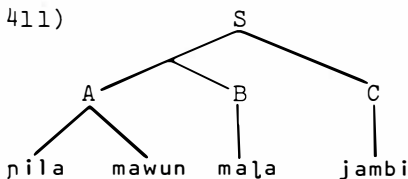
appears to be (with (391) as the representative);

(410)=(391)

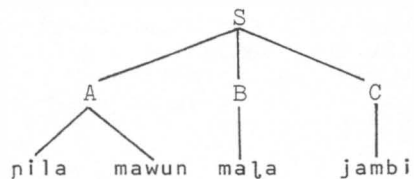


rather than:

(411)



or



(A: possessor, B: possessed body part, C: descriptive word) That is, B and C make up one single unit, separate from A. There are two reasons for this.

Firstly, corresponding to sentences such as (391) and (409), we have compound nouns of the type B-plus-C, e.g.

maḷa-jambi 'hand-big', i.e. 'one with big hands', also a man's name;
muna-ḡuwal 'arm-long', i.e. 'one with long arms'.

(For more examples, see 6.2.3.-[1].) This shows that when compounding applies at a certain stage of the derivation, B and C are a single unit.

Secondly, at least in some instances, when B 'body part' is deleted, the sentence has a very different meaning or no meaning at all. Thus, compare (409) with:

- (412) ḡawa ḡuda mawun ḡuwal
this short man long/tall
?'This short man is tall'

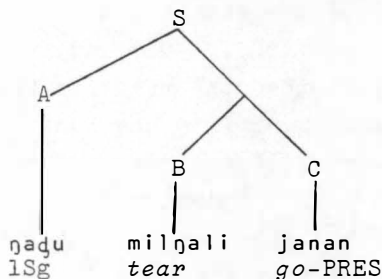
(This sentence was rejected by the informant.) This shows that here B and C constitute one single unit.

Similarly for sentences involving a copula-like verb, e.g. (392).

(Ivič (1970:284-85) points out that 'he has a big nose does not mean he is big, but he knocked me on the head does mean he knocked me'. Also, compare (400) and (401).)

Similarly, some of the sentences which have an intransitive V(C) in the position C, e.g. (390), appear to have the following structure:

(413)=(390)



(The bound pronoun and catalyst are ignored.) As in the case of (409) and (412), if B 'body part' is deleted from (390), the sentence has a different meaning:

- (414) ḡaḡu ḡa-ḡa jan-an
1Sg C-1SgNom go-PRES
'I go'

The structures of sentences of other types - e.g. (393), (394), (399), (404) - are not understood well.

The sentence (412), with the word for B 'body part' deleted, was rejected - when it was produced in isolation. However, it appears that, in some instances, B can be deleted in natural discourse. Thus, talking about someone's body part, a speaker said:

- (415) (i) ḡila mawun ḡunḡu ḡuwal wajan-i
that man penis long/tall become-PAST
'That man's penis became long (i.e. it became erect)'

- (ii) *pila mawun duwal wajan-i*
that man long/tall become-PAST
'That man('s penis) became long'

In any case, the syntax and semantics of the 'possessor' and 'possessed' with the same case ending (or 'in apposition') are not understood well.

[5] Possessor and possessed: one or two NPs?

It has been suggested (implicitly or explicitly) for many Australian languages that inalienable possession is expressed by the apposition of the possessor and possessed, with the two constituting one single NP - for instance, Smythe 1952:26 on Gumbáingar, Douglas 1964:74, 1968:61 on Pitjantjatjara, Reece 1970:85 on Walbiri, Dixon 1969:35-36, 1972:61 on Djirbal, Blake and Breen 1971:135 on Pitta-Pitta, Breen 1971:167 on Waḷuwara, Keen 1972:129-30 on Yukulta and Rigsby 1976 on Kuku-Thaypan. However, this does not necessarily apply to Djaru.

In sentences such as (390), (391), (392) and (409), the possessor and possessed do not constitute one single NP although superficially it looks as though they were in apposition. In sentences such as (401), (403) and (405), the possessor is absolutive and possessed locative or ablative; they are not in apposition and they do not constitute one single NP. In sentences such as (400), (402) and (404), the situation is not understood well. But, if the possessed (in the absolutive) is to be regarded as derived by advancement from the locative or ablative, then the possessor and possessed will constitute two separate NPs. In other sentences the situation is not understood well, but at least there is no strong evidence to indicate that the possessor and possessed constitute one single NP (rather than otherwise).

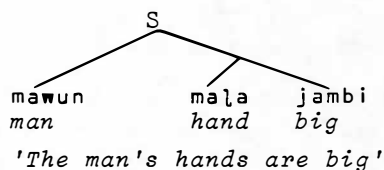
In transitive sentences, a possessor/agent (ergative) and body part/instrument (instrumental) appear to constitute two separate NPs, in spite of their formal identity: a body part in the instrumental occurs both in transitive and intransitive sentences (at least in the main informant's idiolect), while on the other hand, a possessor/agent is ergative in transitive sentences but absolutive in intransitive sentences. Compare (5) and (6), in 3.2.1.

It has been suggested for some other Australian languages that 'language' is inalienably possessed and that 'speaker' and 'language' constitute one single NP. But, this does not apply to Djaru. Firstly, in agentive compound formation (6.2.3.-[2]), the 'language' can be incorporated, but the 'speaker' cannot. Secondly, in gerund(/verbid) constructions, under the equi-NP rule, the 'speaker' has to be deleted, but the 'language' can remain - 4.9.1. These pieces of evidence show that the 'speaker' and 'language' are two separate NPs and not one single NP. See also 4.4.4.-[2]. In Pitjantjatjara, Central Australia, the 'speaker' can occur in the ergative, with the 'language' in the absolutive (Platt 1972b:196). Here, the 'speaker' and the 'language' are clearly two separate NPs.

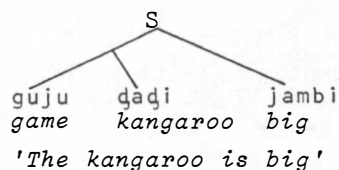
[6] Possessor-possessed and generic-specific.

Rigsby (1976) suggests for Kuku-Thaypan that the expression of (in-alienable) possessor-possessed and that of generic-specific have the same structure. This does not apply to Djaru. Semantically, possessor-possessed and generic-specific (4.1.) are similar in that they each have the same referent; and consequently, cannot be cross-referenced by more than one bound pronoun ([3] above and 4.5.8.-[5]-(a)). But, syntactically they are different; while a 'generic' and 'specific' always agree in case marking and constitute one single NP (there is no evidence to the contrary), a possessor and possessed do not necessarily do so. Thus, compare (416), involving a possessor *mawun* 'man' and a possession *maɭa* 'hand', with (417), involving a generic *guju* 'meat, game' and a specific *ɖaɖi* 'kangaroo':

(416)



(417)



Also, in the case of possessor-possessed, we have correspondences such as (400)-(401) and (404)-(405) (locative movement?); and (402)-(403) (ablative movement?). But, generic-specific phrases do not have such correspondences. Thus, compare:

(418) *mawun-du guju ɖaɖi lan-i*
man-ERG game kangaroo spear-PAST
 'A man speared a kangaroo'

(419) *mawun-du guju lan-i ɖaɖi-nga*
man-ERG game spear-PAST kangaroo-LOC
 ?'A man speared meat/game near a kangaroo'

(420) *mawun-du guju lan-i ɖaɖi-ŋu*
man-ERG game spear-PAST kangaroo-ABL
 ?'A man speared meat/game from a kangaroo'

This shows that a generic and specific noun constitute one single NP.

4.12. ADVERBS OF MODALITY

Adverbs of modality do not decline. Most of them can be affixed with bound pronoun(s). They include:

[1] *wagura* 'no, not'. This can occur in a sentence with no predicate verb, e.g. (12), text 1, sentence 7; and in a sentence with a predicate verb, e.g. (24), (270), (286)-(i), text 1, sentence 66. In particular, with purposives, *wagura* can have various meanings: 'do not intend to', 'will not (of a habit)', 'let's not' (with a 1st person non-singular subject), 'shall not', 'be not allowed to', 'cannot', 'Don't' (negative imperative) (with a 2nd person subject), and so on, e.g. (268), text 3, sentence 17 and:

(421) *wagura* *ŋa-ŋa* *waŋir* *jan-gu*
 not C-1SgNom *back* *go-PURP*
 'I cannot go back(; I don't have a car)'

wagura can make up a complete sentence. It can also be used rather like an interjection 'Oh'. In these two uses, it is often affixed with a clitic (-*wu*, -*ji* or -*ja* - see 4.13, (d)), e.g. text 1, sentences 10, 25.

[2] *gula* 'incapable', 'cannot', generally with purposives:

(422) In myth, a brolga broke an emu's wings and said:
 gula-n *baɖ gaŋ-gu*
 cannot-2SgNom *fly-PURP*
 'You cannot fly'

[3] *ŋara* 'possible' and 'capable', generally occurring with purposive, indicates that an event may happen, often (but not always) implying that the event will have an unpleasant consequence, e.g. (503), text 3, sentences 18, 19 and:

(423) *ɖawu-ŋgu* *ŋara-ŋgu* *buŋ-gu*
 fire-ERG *possibly-2SgAcc* *hit-PURP*
 'Fire might hit (i.e. burn) you'

A *ŋara* sentence with a purposive often modifies another sentence (imperative (3.7.3.-[7]); hortative (3.7.3.-[5]); or 'Don't/Let's not' (see [1] *wagura* 'not' above)), expressing apprehension 'Lest should'. Thus:

(424) *jan-an-da* *waŋir* *ŋara-ŋgu* *linga-gu* *baja-ru*
 come-CONT-IMP *back* *possibly-2SgAcc* *snake-ERG* *bite-PURP*
 'Come back lest a snake bite you'

- (425) *ɲaja ɲina-wura ɲawa ɲara-ɲgu baja-ru*
cat stay-HORT bad possibly-2SgAcc bite-PURP
'Leave the bad cat alone; it might bite you' (N example)

ɲara can occur with a potential. In a very few instances, *ɲara* with a purposive appears to indicate ability/capability, e.g. (274).

[4] *ɲaar, ɲaarɲaar* '(try) in vain, unsuccessfully', e.g. text 2, sentence 13 and:

- (426) *ɲaɖu ɲa-ɲa-la ɲaar guɲ bip-a*
1Sg C-1SgNom-3SgDat in vain wait-PAST
'I waited for her in vain' (N example)

ɲaar and *ɲaarɲaar* do not appear to be suffixes with bound pronouns.

[5] *wari* 'possibly', 'probably', 'surely' - often translated 'may', 'might' or 'must' by informants.

- (427) ('My horse started bucking out of fear')
dimana-lu wari ɲaɖ man-ipura
horse-ERG possibly smell-PAST NARR
'The horse must have smelt (the buffalo)' (W example)

- (428) *wari gaɖija jan-an ɲaɲinga-wu*
possibly white man go-PRES woman-DAT1
'The white man might be going for an (Aboriginal) woman'
 (N example)

wari can occur in a sentence with no predicate verb:

- (429) ('What sort of meat will you give me?')
wari walambu wari miɲanda
maybe rib bone maybe hip bone
'Maybe rib bone meat, maybe hip bone meat'

With a potential, *wari* means 'almost/nearly did, but did not', 'tried/intended to, but did not', 'might' and so on, e.g. text 2, sentences 12, 17.

wari can occur with another adverb of modality *balajinjala* 'truly' - see below for an example.

Both *ɲara* and *wari* can mark possibility. The difference between them (though not understood well) appears to be as follows:

- (a) while *ɲara* generally implies apprehension, *wari* does not do so often, and;
 (b) *ɲara*, generally occurring with a purposive, tends to concern an event in the future; while on the other hand, *wari*, generally occurring with a past, past narrative or present (and only occasionally with a purposive), tends to concern an event in the past or present.

[6] *balajinala* 'truly' (W only?) is always used with a potential, and often (but not always) occurs with *wari* 'possibly':

- (430) *gumar-u wari-na balajinala bajaran-ŋi*
dog-ERG nearly-1SgAcc truly bite-POT
'Truly the dog nearly bit me'

It is not known whether *balajinala* can be suffixed with bound pronouns.

[7] *gulaŋa* 'It looks(/looked) as though...(but in fact)' can occur in a sentence with or without a predicate verb:

- (431) *gulaŋa guŋga ŋinaŋ-an-i*
as though dead stay-CONT-PAST
'It looked as if (or I thought) it was dead (but in fact it was alive)'

- (432) *ŋajingu gulaŋa diŋdi-ɖuwal*
he as though nose-long
'He is like a pig' (lit. 'one with a long nose' - see 6.2.3.-[1]).

A sentence with *gulaŋa* sometimes involves the clitic *-ra*, e.g. (449). *gulaŋa* often occurs with another adverb of modality *ŋandu* 'but, in fact', discussed below. Rather unexpectedly, a sentence involving *gulaŋa* 'as though' cannot, it appears, contain a potential form of a verb (3.7.3.-[6]); there are no such examples in the corpus and such a sentence was rejected by the informant.

There are no examples of suffixation of bound pronouns to *gulaŋa*.

[8] *ŋandu* 'indeed, certainly' and 'but in fact'. This appears to add some sort of emphasis to a sentence - 'indeed, certainly':

- (433) ('Although Aborigines did not have a European knife, they could cut things')
ŋandu ŋamu-ŋamu ŋa-lu garun-ipura di'mbila
certainly long ago-RDP C-3PlNom have-PAST NARR stone knife
'Certainly they had a stone knife long ago'

Occurring with *gulaŋa* 'as though', *ŋandu* means 'but, in fact':

- (434) ('I was stabbing a crocodile')
gaɾaɖ' gulaŋa-ŋa lan-i ŋandu gaŋdi'
body as though-1SgNom stab-PAST in fact leg
'I thought I was stabbing the body, but in fact I was stabbing the leg'

[9] *wawaɭ* 'at least, nothing else' (W) appears to indicate that the actor (manages to) do at least a certain thing, sometimes implying that he does nothing else. It is often translated 'nothing', 'only' or 'just' by informants.

- (435) wawaḷ ɳa-ɳalu jud ɳin-an
just C-1PlExcNom sit-PRES
'We are just sitting'

- (436) ɳa-ɳalu guju wawaḷ gambaɳ-an-i ɳundi-juɳu
C-1PlExcNom meat just cook-CONT-PAST flame-ON
'At least we cooked the meat on the fire (but we did not cook it well)'

(For the derivational suffix *-juɳu*, see 6.3.1.-[1].)

This word is used in Old Hall's Creek and Ruby Plains dialects. These two dialects are referred to by *wawaḷ* by speakers of eastern dialects - 1.2.

There are no examples of suffixation of bound pronouns to *wawaḷ*.

[10] *guja* 'just, with no particular purpose/intention, doing nothing else' (N).

- (437) *guja ɳa ɳinaɳ-an*
just C sit-PRES
'He is just sitting, doing nothing else'

- (438) ('Why did you hit me?')
ɳa-ɳa-ɳgu guja biɳ-a
C-1SgNom-2SgAcc just hit-PAST
'I just hit you'

guja 'just' does not appear to be suffixed with bound pronouns. (The conjunction *guja* (4.7.) can be suffixed with bound pronouns.)

[11] *walima* 'How is it?', 'any', used in yes-no questions. This can make a complete sentence 'How is it?', 'How are you feeling?', etc. It can also be used in a sentence with or without a predicate verb, indicating 'any?'.

- (439) *walima-n guju garun-an*
any-2SgNom meat have-PRES
'Do you have any meat?'

- (440) *walima ɳuɳɳu'*
any tobacco
'Is there (or do you have) any tobacco?'

[12] *waji* 'question' (mainly in N), used in WH-questions.

- (441) *waji wapu-la bali buɳ-gu ɳaba*
question where-LOC find-PURP water
'Where will he find water?' (Gordon Downs dialect example, N)

The question adverb *waji* is also found in Waluwara (Breen 1971:259), Gugu-Badhun (Sutton 1973:223) and Warungu (Tsunoda 1974a:300-01).

[13] *wanḡa, wanḡara* 'Why...not?'

(442) *wanḡara-nda guju lan-an-i ḡaḡi*
why not-2PlNom meat spear-CONT-PAST kangaroo
 'Why didn't you mob spear a kangaroo?'

(*guju* is generic and *ḡaḡi* is specific - 4.1.)

4.13. CLITICS

A clitic is suffixed to the case or conjugational ending (if any) of a word. There are four types:

- (a) pronominal (i.e. bound pronouns - see 3.4.);
- (b) directional - *-ni* 'hither';
- (c) modal;
- (d) others (with no meaning?) - see *wagura* in 4.12.-[1].

Bound pronouns follow a directional or modal clitic (4.5.1.), e.g. (443) and text 1, sentences 20, 47.

[1] *-ni* 'to the speaker' (N) is suffixed to verbs - purposive and imperative only (?). Thus:

(443) *jan-da-ni-lu*
come-IMP-HITHER-PlNom
 'Come here/to me'

Walbiri has a clitic *-ni* 'hither', with the retroflex nasal rather than the alveolar nasal (Hale n.d.-b:3).

There are a large number of clitics which appear to have a modal or similar meaning. But, their meanings are not understood well. They include:

[2] *-muwa* 'only' (following a vowel or consonant) is suffixed to nouns, demonstratives, free pronouns and verbs. Examples include (274), (293), (534) and:

(444) *wiḡin-ḡa-muwa ḡa-ḡalu bagu jan-ipura*
wind break-LOC-ONLY C-1PlExcNom sleep-PAST NARR
 'We used to sleep in wind breaks only(; we had no blankets)'

(445) *ḡa-lu piḡ maḡ-ipura-muwa ḡunar maraḡ*
C-3PlNom blow nose-PAST NARR-ONLY dog dingo
 'Dingoes only blew their nose(; they did not bark)'

(*ḡunar* 'dog' is generic and *maraga* 'dingo' is specific - 4.1.)

[3] *-wari* 'indefiniteness' (following a vowel only). This is generally suffixed to interrogative(/indefinite) words; and also occasionally to nouns (absolute only?) and *ḡandu* 'in fact' (4.12.-[8]). Examples include text 1, sentences 11, 18, 20, 39 and:

- (446) *paḡula-wari-la* *jan-gu* *gaḡajin* *panuḡa* *ḡaḡi*
when-INDEFINITE-3SgDat *come-PURP* *from west* *3Sg-DAT* *thing*
'When will his thing come from west?'

[4] *-ra* 'again' (following a vowel only) is suffixed to nouns, the adverb *maja* 'again' and verbs (in the 'irrealis/potential' use of the imperative - 3.7.3.-[7], 4.6.-[1]). Examples include (272), (289), text 1, sentence 61, text 2, sentence 19 and:

- (447) *ḡa-lu* *juḡa-ra* *ḡin-an-i*
C-3PlNom *good (N)-AGAIN* *stay-CONT-PAST*
'They felt all right again' (N example)

- (448) *paḡa-ji-n* *buḡ-ga* *ḡa-ḡa-ḡu* *buḡ-ga-ra*
IF-1SgAcc-2SgNom *hit-IRREALIS* *C-1SgNom-2SgAcc* *hit-IRR-AGAIN*
'If you had hit me, I would have hit you, too' (Gordon Downs dialect example, provided by Hale, personal communication)

When affixed to *maja* 'again', *-ra* is often (but not always) followed by another clitic *-lu* (see [7] below). There are two suffixes - *C-bara* and *C-wara* - that may be the variants of this suffix used when following a consonant. See 6.3.1.[5]. (Djirbal has a clitic *-ru* 'again' - Dixon 1972:266.)

[5] *-ra* 'as if (?)' (following a vowel only) is suffixed to *ḡulaḡa* 'as if' (4.12.-[7]) or to a word in a sentence that contains *ḡulaḡa*:

- (449) *ḡulaḡa ḡaḡiḡa-ra* *baḡu jan-an-i*
as if woman (N)-AS IF (?) *sleep-CONT-PAST*
'It looked as if(/you thought) it was a woman who was sleeping
(but in fact it was a dog)' (N example)

[6] *-wali* 'well, indeed, fairly, sufficiently, enough' (following a vowel only) (mainly in N) is suffixed to nouns (absolute only?) and adverbs. Examples include (269) and:

- (450) *ḡa-lijara* *jambi-wali* *ḡin-an-i* *skuwul-gu*
C-1DuExcNom *big-ENOUGH* *stay-CONT-PAST* *school-DAT1*
'We were big enough to go to school'

- (451) *ḡulaḡanira* *ḡa-lu* *jan-an-i* *juḡu-wali*
south *C-3PlNom* *go-CONT-PAST* *far-INDEED*
'They went south very far'

[7] C-balu/V-lu 'emphasis, prominence (?)' is suffixed to nouns, demonstratives, free pronouns, adverbs, preverbs and verbs. Examples include (326), (335), (341), (387), (456)-(ii), (546), text 1, sentence 41, text 3, sentence 6 and:

(452) mawun-balu dād dīn-an
 man- stand-PRES
 Informant's translation: 'That is man standing all right'

(453) ḡa-ḡa jambi wajan-i jala-ḡga-lu
 C-1SgNom big become-PAST there-LOC-
 Informant's translation: 'I grew up right there'

(454) galu-lu galu-lu
 (not, as) yet-
 'Wait yet, wait yet'

When affixed to verbs, this suffix appears to indicate 'keep...ing' or 'still now'. Thus:

(455) (Myth relating why a wild onion has patterns. In a fight, the wild onion was cut all over the body.)
 juḡuḡuḡu-lu ḡa garun-an-balu ḡila baduḡu gumaḡ-u-ḡuḡa
 wild onion-ERG C have-PRES- that scar cut-VBD-FROM
 'The wild onion still now has those scars from the cutting'
 (N example)

(For the etymology of juḡuḡuḡu, see 6.2.1.-[5].) See also text 1, sentence 41.

-lu is often used in middle-voice (reflexive/reciprocal) sentences, e.g. (238), (243), (244) and (252). (Djirbal has an 'intensifier' clitic -ḡilu, which sometimes carries a reflexive meaning - Dixon 1972:231.)

[8] C-ḡali/V-jali 'rheme/new information (?)' (W only) is suffixed to nouns, demonstratives, free pronouns, adverbs, preverbs, and verbs. It is extremely frequently used, but its meaning is not understood well. Examples include (240), (322), (332), (380), text 1, sentences 3, 5, 12, 16, 26, 29, 30, 38, 48, 55, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76. However, at least in the following fragment of text (a story about a mythical character's trip), the clitic appears to involve rheme (or new information); the clitic is suffixed, it appears, to that word in the rheme which conveys the most important information:

(456) (i) ḡajira lung-ga ḡajingu ḡirmin jan-i
 north Lungga-LOC he through go-PAST
 'He went north through the Lungga (a dialect of Gidja) people'

- (ii) gaara gara-lu ŋa-anungula biri jan-i
east thus-CLC C-3PlLoc out come-PAST
- malŋin-da-jali mawun-da malŋin-da gaarijin-ŋuŋu-la
Malŋin-LOC- man-LOC from east-FROM-LOC
'Then he arrived east at the Malŋin, people of the east'
- (iii) jalu-ŋgu-jali ŋa-lu balu wiŋ-a
that-ERG- c-3PlNom find-PAST
'He was found by those people'
- (iv) ŋila ŋa-lu bila man-an-ɖali
that C-3PlNom follow-PRES-
'They follow that ('law' given by the mythical character)'
- (v) ŋawa-jali (name of the law)-ɖali ŋa-lu bila man-an
this- C-3PlNom follow-PRES
'They follow this (name of the law)'
- (In view of the mythological and religious significance of the 'law', the actual word for its name has been deleted from the above sentence.)
- (vi) jambi-jali limbal darugu
big- own secret/sacred
'(That is) their own big sacred (law)'

There is another clitic -ɖal/-jal. Again, its meaning is not understood well.

4.14. WORD ORDER

[1] Standard surface order.

At the surface level, the most standard word orders (e.g. used in elicitation) include:

- (a) intransitive: Subj (C-bound pronoun) Pred verb;
 (b) transitive, semitransitive, semi-intransitive:
 Subj (C-bound pronoun) Obj Pred verb,
 or about equally common,
 Subj (C-bound pronoun) Pred verb Obj.

Within a predicate verb (4.4.2.), a preverb generally (but not always) precedes a verb (4.10.4., 4.10.7.). Within an NP, a 'generic noun' tends to (but not always) precede a 'specific noun' (4.1.). As for predicatives, a suffixless Si predicative that marks change, as in '*I became ill*', (rather than state, as in '*I was ill*') immediately precedes the predicate verb; and a suffixless Ot predicative, as in '*The food made me ill*', follows Ot. See 4.4.9.-[3], [4].

[2] Word order in discourse.

Not much investigation has been done into Djaru discourse, but at least it seems that words marking '*theme/topic/given/old/definite*' or the like tend to occur sentence initially (cf. Firbas 1966). See (285), (286), (287) and (456), for instance.

[3] Underlying word order.

Two types of compound nouns (see 6.2.3.) show that there are certain word orders at a certain underlying level at which compounding applies. Thus:

- (a) DO preverb verb;
- (b) transitive object predicative verb;
- (c) B(possessed/part) C(adjective or Vint) - in sentences of the type (410) and (413).

4.15. INTERJECTIONS

Interjections generally start a sentence or else make up a complete sentence. They include:

- (a) baɽa '*exclamation of unexpectedness (?)*';
 - (b) baji used for calling someone's attention:
- (457) baji, waŋɖu-gawu nɪla mawun jan-a
 where-ALL that man go-CONT PRES
 '*Hi, where is that man going?*'
- (c) gaɖ '*Yes; That's right; O.K. you go; Well*' (W only?);
 - (d) gaji '*All right; You go on*';
 - (e) margi '*Wait*' (W only), often used with galu-lu '*yet*' (see 454)).

Thus:

- (458) galu-lu margi
 yet-CLC wait
 '*Wait yet*'

- (f) ŋiji '*Indeed*', e.g. (25);
- (g) jiji '*All right, O.K.*';
- (h) juwu '*Yes, All right, O.K.*' (indicating agreement or consent), e.g. text 2, sentence 32.
- (i) wali '*All right, Good*' (indicating approval or satisfaction). This, when suffixed with the clitic -lu '*emphasis (?)*' (4.13.-[7]), i.e. wali-lu, is generally used as a greeting word '*Hello; How are you?; Good-bye*' etc.

The interjection *wali* 'all right, good' may possibly be related to the modal adverb of question *walima* 'any; how' (4.12.-[11]). Note that *-ma* functions as an interrogative clitic in some Australian languages (Dixon 1972:18), e.g. Djirbal (Dixon 1972:122-23). The clitic *-ma* has been sometimes heard in Gordon Downs dialect and Wandjira, and it appears to have an interrogative function, but this has not been confirmed yet.

The interjection *juwu* 'all right' is very common in Australian languages (Dixon 1972:18), e.g. Warungu (Tsunoda 1974a:307).

CHAPTER 5

AVOIDANCE LANGUAGE

Between two taboo relatives, the avoidance language (AL) is used in conjunction with avoidance behaviour. Thus, a male ego is not allowed to closely approach or talk to his mother-in-law (i.e. WM), and he must use AL when referring to her. He is allowed to talk to his mother-in-law's brother (i.e. WMB), but again he must use AL when referring or talking to him. Both WM and WMB are referred to by *maliji*. This behaviour and terminology are reciprocal. (For the details, see 1.5.1.).

AL is phonologically identical with, and lexically and grammatically different (in one respect each) from the ordinary language (OL):

- (a) VC: every VC must involve the avoidance verb *luwaŋ-*:
- (b) pronoun: a 2nd or 3rd person pronoun (whether free or bound) referring to a *maliji* is plural rather than singular - whether or not it marks the subject.

[1] The avoidance verb.

This verb is in form identical with the OL verb *luwaŋ-* Vtr '*shoot*' (class 1), and belongs to class 1. Semantically, this verb is neutral, and corresponds to any verb in OL. Thus, compare:

(459) *ŋawi-ji* (*ŋa-∅*) *jan-i* *muɭa-ŋgawu*
father-KIN *C-3SgNom* *come-PAST* *here-ALL*
'Father came here'

(The catalyst *ŋa* alone, with no bound pronouns, cannot occur at the surface in W and Old Flora Valley dialect of N - 4.5.1. For the kinship-stem-forming suffix *-ji*, see 6.2.1.-[16].)

(460) *mali-ji* *ŋa-lu* *luwaŋ-i* *muɭa-ŋgawu*
 C-3PlNom *-PAST* *here-ALL*
'Maliji came here'

As another pair of examples:

(461) *ŋawi-ji* (ŋa-∅) *ŋin-an* *muɭa-ŋga*
father-KIN C-3SgNom *sit-PRES* *here-LOC*
 'Father sits here'

(462) *mali-ji* *ŋa-lu* *luwaŋ-an* *muɭa-ŋga*
 C-3PlNom -PRES *here-LOC*
 'Maliji sits here'

As it is semantically neutral, the AL verb *luwaŋ-* can be combined with any preverb (4.10.4.). Thus:

(463) *ŋawi-ji* (ŋa-∅) *buɽɖa' maŋ-i*
father-KIN C-3SgNom *run-PAST*
 'Father ran'

(464) *mali-ji* *ŋa-lu* *buɽɖa' luwaŋ-i*
 C-3PlNom *run-PAST*
 'Maliji ran'

Another pair of examples:

(465) *ŋawi-ji* (ŋa-∅) *wulb wandiŋ-a*
father-KIN C-3SgNom *jump-PAST*
 'Father jumped'

(466) *mali-ji* *ŋa-lu* *wulb luwaŋ-i*
 C-3PlNom *jump-PAST*
 'Maliji jumped'

In terms of transitivity as well, the AL verb is neutral; it can function intransitively - e.g. (460), (462), (464), (466), semitransitively and transitively. Examples of semitransitives:

(467) *ŋawi-ji-lu* *ŋa-la* *jambagina-wu* *ɖara ŋaŋ-an*
father-KIN-ERG C-3SgDat *child-DAT1* *wait-PRES*
 'Father waits for a child'

(468) *mali-ji-lu* *ŋa-lu-la* *jambagina-wu* *ɖara luwaŋ-an*
 -ERG C-3PlNom-3SgDat *child-DAT1* *wait-PRES*
 'Maliji waits for a child'

(469) *ŋawi-ji-lu* *ŋa-la* *ɖaɖi'-wu* *muwu wuŋ-an*
father-KIN-ERG C-3SgDat *kangaroo-DAT1* *search-PRES*
 'Father looks for a kangaroo'

(470) *mali-ji-lu* *ŋa-lu-la* *ɖaɖi'-wu* *muwu luwaŋ-an*
 -ERG C-3PlNom-3SgDat *kangaroo-DAT1* *search-PRES*
 'Maliji looks for a kangaroo'

Examples of transitives:

(471) *ŋawi-ji-lu* (ŋa) *ɖaɖi* *bali wip-a*
father-KIN-ERG C *kangaroo* *find-PAST*
 'Father found a kangaroo'

(472) *mali-ji-lu* *ŋa-lu* *ɖaɖi* *bali luwaŋ-i*
 -ERG C-3PlNom *kangaroo* *find-PAST*
 'Maliji found a kangaroo'

(473) *ŋawi-ji-lu* (ŋa) *magada* *wadbaŋ-i*
father-KIN-ERG C *hat* *throw-PAST*
 'Father threw a hat'

(474) *mali-ji-lu* *ŋa-lu* *magada* *luwaŋ-i*
 -ERG C-3PlNom *hat* -PAST
 'Maliji threw a hat'

There is at least one preverb that appears to occur in AL only. Corresponding to the OL verbs of language activity (*maŋ-* 'vint talk' and *maran-* 'Vtr tell', and possibly a couple of others), there is the AL VC *gamal luwaŋ-* 'AL, Vtr/Vint talk, tell'. The preverb *gamal* 'talking, telling (?)' is not involved in the corresponding OL verbs (or in any other VC at all).

Since the AL verb is both semantically and transitivity-wise neutral, ambiguity is bound to occur. Disambiguation can be achieved through the inclusion of an OL verb. This inclusion is very common. The included OL verb, which immediately precedes the AL verb, can be a finite form (involving the same conjugational ending with that of the AL verb) or a verbid -here, used like a participle (see 4.9.2.). Thus:

(475) *mali-ji* *ŋa-lu* *wandip-a* *luwaŋ-i* *buŋu-ŋu*
 C-3PlNom *fall-PAST* -PAST *tree-ABL*
 'Maliji fell from a tree'

(476) *mali-ji-lu* *ŋa-lu* *jambagina* *ŋaŋ-an* *luwaŋ-an*
 C-3PlNom *child* *see-PRES* -PRES
 'Maliji sees a child'

(477) *mali-ji-lu* *ŋa-lu* *guju* *gumaŋ-i* *luwaŋ-i*
 C-3PlNom *meat* *cut-PAST* -PAST
 'Maliji cut meat'

(478) *mali-ji-lu* *ŋa-lu* *guju* *gumaŋ-u* *luwaŋ-an*
 C-3PlNom *meat* *cut-VBD* -PRES
 'Maliji cuts meat'

(479) *mali-ji* *ŋa-lu* *luŋ-u* *luwaŋ-an*
 C-3PlNom *cry-VBD* -PRES
 'Maliji cries'

Generally, the vocabulary of a special (i.e. marked) style of speech is smaller than that of an ordinary (i.e. unmarked) style of speech; one word in the former corresponding to more than one in the latter. Therefore, in Djirbal, the (only one, generic) noun for 'grub' in AL corresponds to six or more nouns for types of grub in OL (Dixon 1972:32-33; see also Dixon 1971). In Japanese, the respect-style verb *irassharu* corresponds to the ordinary-style verbs *iru* 'be, exist', *iku* 'go' and *kuru* 'come' among others. (That is, 'marked values will, in general, be less differentiated than unmarked ones' (Silverstein 1976:121). Here a word in a special style is marked for style and unmarked/less differentiated semantically; through this, 'balancing' of markedness is maintained - Marvan, personal communication.) The Djaru AL verb is an extreme instance; it corresponds to all of some forty OL verbs. Cf. the English verb *do* (Marvan, personal communication).

[2] Pronouns.

More examples of '3rdPl' pronouns referring to a *maliji*:

- (480) *ŋa-anu buɾa luwaŋ-an*
C-3PlAcc hear-PRES
'(S)he listens to (my) *maliji*'
- (481) *pawa guju ŋa-anu mali-ji-wu*
this meat C-3PlDat -DAT1
'This meat is for (my) *maliji*'
- (482) *jambagina ŋa-anuŋgula jud luwaŋ-an mali-ji-la*
child C-3PlLoc sit-PRES -LOC
'A child is sitting with (my) *maliji*'

(The main informant maintains that in the case of a male ego, the word *maliji* should not be included in a sentence when referring to his WM (rather than WMB). But, this has not been verified.)

Examples of '2ndPl' referring to a *maliji* include:

- (483) *puraa-lu ŋa-nda ɖaɖi' luwaŋ-i*
2Pl-ERG C-2PlNom kangaroo -PAST
'You (my *maliji*) speared (or did something to) a kangaroo'
- (484) *ŋa-ŋa-pura buɾa luwaŋ-an*
C-1SgNom-2PlAcc hear-PRES
'I listen to you (my *maliji*)'
- (485) *pawa guju ŋa-pura puraana mali-ji-wu*
this meat C-2PlDat 2Pl-DAT -DAT1
'This meat is for you (my *maliji*)'
- (486) *jambagina ŋa-purala puraaniŋ-ɖa' jud luwaŋ-an*
child C-2PlLoc 2Pl-LOC sit-PRES
'A child is sitting with you (my *maliji*)'

Avoidance language is not uncommon in Australia (see Capell 1962b). Some languages have an extensive AL vocabulary, while others have a limited AL vocabulary (Dixon 1972:10-20). The Djaru AL is an extreme instance; there is only one word that exclusively belongs to AL: *luwan-*

AL similar to the Djaru AL - that is, with a very limited AL vocabulary, and involving the use of one (and only one) AL verb and (generally) a plural rather than a singular pronoun - is found in Mudbura, Guurindji, Malngin (McConvell, personal communication), Wandjira (and probably Walmadjari (Hudson, personal communication)). The Walbiri AL has a larger stock of special lexical or grammatical items - a few verbs, two 2nd person (free) pronouns and a number of verbs (Hale, personal communication). (In the '*brother-in-law*' language of Gugada, a plural rather than a singular pronoun is used both in 2nd and 3rd person - Elkin 1938-40:345-46.)

The use of a plural instead of singular pronoun is paralleled by, for instance, *tu* and *vous* in French, *ty* and *vy* in Russian and *du* and *sie* in German - Elkin 1938-40:348, Brown and Gilman 1960. For accounts of pronoun systems that reflect a kinship system, see Schebeck 1973 and Hercus and White 1973.

There appears to be no name for the Djaru avoidance behaviour/language. Walbiri has a word for the avoidance and respect behaviour - *jigirindi*' (Hale, personal communication), but the Djaru informants said that Djaru has no equivalent word for the Walbiri word *jigirindi*'.

The use of AL in Djaru and other Australian languages is based on a certain kinship relationship, e.g. male ego vs. mother-in-law; and male ego vs. brother-in-law. Apart from AL, Djaru has another 'avoidance/deference' use of (free and bound) pronouns. Interestingly, this use is not based on any kinship relationship. It is based on (not necessarily permanent but perhaps just temporary) antagonism, hostility, hatred or the like. Thus, an example from a text:

(487) A man (A) intends to kill another man (B), on a hunting expedition, and tries to trick him, saying '*There is a kangaroo out there*':

buɽɽa' maŋ-ɽa-lu-la
run-IMP-PlNom-3SgDat

'*Run for it (i.e. go and catch it)*'

(In an imperative sentence, the bound pronoun for the subject is formally identical with a corresponding 3rd person form - 4.5.5.-[1]). Commenting on the use of the plural form *-lu* 'PlNom' (in place of the singular *-Ø* 'SgNom'), the story-teller said that the man-A was '*crook*' on the man-B, and, he suggested that the man-A did not want to talk to the man-B directly. He also gave the following sentences (in each of them, the subject has a plural form, but has a singular referent) and said that they are used in a similar way as (487) is used:

- (488) nuraa jan-da-lu
 2Pl go-IMP-P1Nom
 'You go'
- (489) nuraa na-nda jan-i
 2Pl C-2PlNom go-PAST
 'You went'
- (490) na-lu jan-a
 C-3PlNom go-CONT PRES
 'He is going'

This '*quarrel/hatred*' use of plural pronouns was checked with and approved by other speakers. Note that it does not involve AL verb.

A similar, '*quarrel*' use of plural pronouns is found in Tartar (Hattori, personal communication) and Turkish (Shibata, personal communication). The Djaru and other '*quarrel*' use of plural pronouns is, of course, reminiscent of the European distinction of singular and plural, mentioned above.

CHAPTER 6

WORD FORMATION

6.1. VERBS

The structure of verbs is very simple. There are three types of stems (3.7.2.):

- (a) basic stem: root;
- (b) derived stem-a: root + an, and;
- (c) derived stem-b: root + aŋ, or root + an.

Apart from -aŋ and -an, there is no stem-forming suffix. Nor is there a compound or reduplicated stem. A verbid, i.e. root + u (but not a stem itself) can be reduplicated (see 4.9.1., 4.9.2.), e.g. (7), (245), (317).

6.2. NOUNS

6.2.1. STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

There are over twenty noun-stem-forming suffixes. Five of them involve the suffix-initial alternation of g (after a consonant) and w (after a vowel). (For the g/w alternation, see 2.8.-[1], [2].) But, in W, w-variants are used in many instances following a consonant as well as a vowel (2.4.3.). Phonetically/phonologically, W is divergent and N is conservative - 1.2.

[1] -dʒəŋu 'from' of (time)' occurs with at least three adverbs of time, i.e. gambari 'first; in front', jaŋgani 'after; behind' and ŋaraŋgani 'in the dreamtime, in old days'. Nouns involving -dʒəŋu show a dialectal variation in the absolutive: -dʒəŋu (mainly in N except for Sturt Creek dialect), -dʒəŋ (mainly in Sturt Creek dialect) and -dʒəŋa (mainly in W); otherwise, they decline regularly. Thus:

TABLE 6.1.
DECLENSION OF -*ɖaŋu* 'from (of time)'

	abs	erg/inst	loc	dat-1	dat-2	all	abl
St. Ck.	- <i>ɖaŋ</i>						- <i>ɖaŋuŋulu</i>
other N	- <i>ɖaŋu</i>	- <i>ɖaŋulu</i>	- <i>ɖaŋula</i>	- <i>ɖaŋuwu</i>	- <i>ɖaŋuwura</i>	- <i>ɖaŋulawu</i>	- <i>ɖaŋuŋulu</i>
W	- <i>ɖaŋa</i>						- <i>ɖaŋuŋu</i>

In any dialects, the -*ɖaŋu* form is regarded as the underlying form. Similarly for other stem-forming suffixes -*ŋuŋu*, -*muluŋu*, -*waliŋu*, -*laŋu* - see below (and also *ŋaŋa* 'how many' (3.2.3.-[2]) and dative pronouns (3.3.)).

Examples include: *jaŋgani-ɖaŋu* 'behind-FROM', e.g. 'younger brother' and:

- (491) *jaŋu-lu* *gambari-ɖaŋu-lu* *waɖbali-lu* *ŋa-lu*
that-ERG *first-FROM-ERG* *white man-ERG* C-3PlNom
- ŋara man-an-i* *ŋila ɖaŋu* *maŋ-u* *maŋa-ŋga* *maŋ-u*
understand-CONT-PAST *that language talk-VBD* *finger-LOC*
- 'The first white men (to arrive in the region) understood
(Aborigines') 'finger talk' (i.e. sign language)'

Suffixes with a similar form and meaning are found in neighbouring languages, e.g. -*ɖaŋga* 'from (of time only?)' in Walmadjari (Joyce Hudson 1976b:662), -*ɖaŋga* 'from (of place)' in Ngardi and -*ɖaŋ* 'from (of place)' in Malgin.

[2] -*ŋunin* 'from', 'by', 'close to' (?) occurs (at least) with noun roots, verbids and adverb *baɖaji* 'up'. The resultant stems decline regularly. The meaning of this suffix is not understood well. Examples include:

- gijirgijir-ŋunin* 'red- ', i.e. 'chestnut colour (e.g. of horse)';
gaɖija-ŋunin 'white man- ', i.e. '(name, etc.) from white man;
 English (name, etc.)';
dumal-ŋunin 'middle- ', i.e. 'middle finger';
jambi-ŋunin 'big- ', i.e. 'eldest brother (?)';
wiŋgi-ŋunin 'tail- ', i.e. '(throw a kangaroo) by the tail',
 e.g. text 2, sentence 12;

and:

- (492) *buŋu-ŋu* *baɖaji-ŋunin-ɖu* *jambaɖi-lu* *ŋa-ji* *buda ŋaŋ-an*
tree-ABL *up-FROM-ERG* *child-ERG* C-1SgAcc *watch-PRES*
- 'A child, from above, is watching me from a tree'

- (493) *nila mawun ɲa-ɲgula mildan-ɲunin maɲ-a*
that man C-2SgLoc finger- talk-CONT PRES
'That man is talking to you with fingers (i.e. with a sign language)'

Malngin, Wandjira and Gardangaruru have *-ɲipi* 'from (of place)' or 'after (of time)'. Note that the ablative-1 of Djaru pronouns ends in *-ɲin* or *-ɲun* (3.3.). They all may be related to the Djaru *-ɲunin*.

[3] *-ɲana* 'from, of (of place)' is suffixed to noun roots, demonstratives (*muɭa* 'here' and *jala* 'there') and adverbs (the locative of 'where'; and those words of cardinal directions which end in *-jin* 'from' - 6.3.2.). The resultant stems decline regularly. The suffix indicates 'person(s) or animal(s) who/which live(s) at, or, come(s) from...'. It is also involved in the names of men, fauna and flora.

Examples include:

- gaɖa'-ɲana* 'desert-OF', i.e. 'desert people, in particular Walbiri or Ngardi people';
bili-ɲana 'stone-OF', i.e. as above;
ɲaba-ɲana 'water-OF', i.e. 'mussel shell' or 'people in a river country, for instance, Malngin people, who used to live along Ord River';
maɲɖa'-ɲana 'scrub-OF', 'a man's name';
jala-ɲana 'there-OF', 'person(s) who live(s) there', e.g. text 1, sentences 20, 56;
wandu-ga-ɲana }
wandu-la-ɲana } 'where-LOC-OF', 'stranger'.
wandi-la-ɲana }

[4] *C-gun/V-wun* 'from', 'of' and 'linking suffix'. (In W, *-wun* also occurs after a rhotic *r*, e.g. *gunar-wun* 'dog-FROM'.) This suffix is affixed to noun roots, demonstratives (*muɭu* 'this' and *jalu* 'that') and the interrogative word *ɲamba* 'what'. It can follow another stem-forming suffix *-nan* 'kinship possessor', e.g. (382) and *-ji* 'kinship' - see below. The resultant stems can involve a nasal-plus-stop reduction (2.8.), e.g. (380), (495).

This suffix generally indicates source/origin (of present, law/tradition, material, and so on). Examples include *ɖaɖi'-wun* 'kangaroo-FROM', i.e. '(fur, etc.) from a kangaroo' and:

- (494) *ɲawa gali ɖambijin-gun*
this boomerang Djambijin-FROM
'This boomerang is (a present) from a Djambijin'

(See 1.4. for the subsection name *qambijin.*) The suffix can also mark a possessor, e.g. (380) and (382). It is involved in a few place names. Thus:

giwiḷi-wup 'mosquito-FROM', 'Hooker's Creek, N.T.';
mawun-gup 'man-FROM', 'Gordon Downs Station'

The suffix is also used as a linking suffix, intervening between a root and case ending and without indicating 'from'. The case ending involved is always the locative, and it often (but not always) means '(fight, argue, etc.) over, because of'. This suffix with the linking function appears to be used in N only. Examples include (241), text 3, sentence 1 and:

(495) puraḡa ḡa-nda-lapanda maḡ-an jaḡi-wup-ḡa jalu-wup-ḡa
2Pl C-2PlNom-3SgLoc talk-PRES one-wup-LOC that-wup-LOC

mawun-gu-ḡa
man-gup-LOC

'You talk to that one man' (N example)

The ablative of the interrogative word 'who' involves -wup: ḡanduwup 'who'-ABL (3.3.1.). Three languages east of N - Guurindji (McConvell, personal communication), Malḡin and Wandjira - have a similar stem-forming suffix -wup.

[5] -puḡu 'from', 'after', 'since', 'of', etc. - of place, time, source, cause.

This suffix is affixed to noun roots, demonstratives (muḷa/u 'here/this', jala/u 'there/that'), the interrogative word pamba 'what', adverbs (of time; of place; words for cardinal directions and 'up' ending in -jin 'from' - 6.3.2.), and preverbs. In three instances, it is suffixed to locative forms - e.g. text 1, sentence 65.) The resultant stems decline as shown in Table 6.1. All the stem-forming suffixes discussed above indicate 'from' (among others), but -puḡu has a much wider range of meanings. Examples include (292), (456)-(ii), text 1, sentences 1, 2: text 2, sentences 33, 34 and:

(496) ḡa-ḡalu baḡaji jan-i manan-puḡ
C-1PlExcNom up go-PAST sleeping (prev)-FROM
'We got up after sleeping' (Sturt Creek dialect example)

(497) ḡa-wula-puḡu guli buḡ-an ḡaba-puḡu-lu waḡala-lu
C-3DuNom-M angrily hit-PRES water-FROM-ERG mad/drunken-ERG
'The two, drunk from water (i.e. grog), are fighting'

In instances such as the following, -puḡu 'from' is in effect equivalent to the ablative or locative:

- (498) ḡaḡu ḡa-ḡa wuḡa jan-gu ḡura-ḡuḡu (= ḡura-ḡu(ḡu))
 1Sg C-1SgNom away go-PURP camp-FROM camp-ABL
 'I will go away from the camp'
- (499) gungu-ḡuḡ (= gungu-ga) man-da guju
 bag-FROM -LOC get-IMP meat
 'Take the meat out of the bag' (N example)

This suffix is involved in the name of a bird and of a plant:

- gangulijin-ḡuḡu/a 'from above-FROM', 'eagle hawk' (cf. the way an eagle hawk attacks its prey);
 juḡu-ḡuḡ 'skin-FROM', 'wild onion' (Sturt Creek dialect of N) (it grows around Sturt Creek Station) e.g. (455).

-ḡuḡu is also used to form adverbs of time 'from' - 6.3.1.-[2].

This suffix may be related to the ablative -ḡu(ḡu) (3.2.) and the stem-forming suffix -ḡunip 'from', discussed above.

[6] -muluḡu 'without' is suffixed to noun roots, demonstratives, the interrogative word ḡamba 'what', preverbs and verbids. The resultant stems decline as shown in Table 6.1. Examples include:

- binga-muluḡu- 'creek-WITHOUT', e.g. text 1, sentence 17;
 gaḡa-muluḡ 'spear-WITHOUT', i.e. 'woman' (N only ?), cf. gaḡa-jaḡu 'spear-HAVING', i.e. 'man' in [8] below (note: while a man uses a spear (for hunting), a woman does not; a woman uses a digging stick (for collecting plant roots, etc.);

and:

- (500) jambagina-lu ḡaḡi-muluḡu-lu ḡaba ḡaḡ-an
 child-ERG clothes-WITHOUT-ERG water drink-PRES
 'A child with no clothes on is drinking water'
- (501) ḡa-ḡalu ḡir-aḡura jan-u-muluḡa
 C-1PlExcNom sit-PAST NARR walk-VBD-WITHOUT
 'We sat without walking'

A noun involving -muluḡu often occurs with the noun miḡan 'having nothing', both in the absolutive. Examples include:

- (502) ḡaḡu ḡa-ḡa miḡan ḡaba-muluḡa
 1Sg C-1SgNom having nothing water-WITHOUT
 'I have no water'

(The noun miḡan 'having nothing' can have IO (in the dative-1) in place of a noun suffixed with -muluḡu 'WITHOUT'. See (89) and text 1, sentence 64.)

Words involving this suffix - in particular, those referring to body parts - sometimes have a figurative meaning. Thus:

milwa-muluṅu	'eye-WITHOUT', 'blind';
ḡalan-muluṅu	'tongue-WITHOUT', 'not talking; dumb';
mangirgir-muluṅu	'ear-WITHOUT', 'deaf; silly, unwise'.

(The ear is regarded as the seat of intelligence - 1.4.).

Malngin has -muluṅ 'without'. Guugu Yimidhirr, North Queensland, has a privative suffix -mul 'without'; it is not clear whether this is a stem-forming suffix or case ending (Haviland 1979:59).

[7] C-guṅḡa/V-wuṅḡa 'lacking in' and 'something is wrong with'. This is suffixed to noun roots, preverbs, verbids and, in one instance, a noun root which is never used as a free morpheme. The resultant stems can involve a nasal-plus-stop reduction (2.8.). The difference between -muluṅu 'without' and -g/wuṅḡa 'lacking' appears to be as follows: -muluṅu merely indicates the lack of something; on the other hand, -g/wuṅḡa implies that the lack of something physically affects someone or someone suffers from the lack of something. Thus, involving ḡaba 'water', while ḡaba-muluṅu 'water-WITHOUT' merely means 'having no water', ḡaba-wuṅḡa means 'thirsty'. Other examples include maṅaṅ-guḡa 'sleeping (prev)-LACKING', i.e. 'sleepy' (W) and:

(503) ḡara nag jan-gu ḡaba-wuṅḡa maṅari-wuṅḡa
possibly die-PURP water-LACKING food-LACKING
'He might die suffering from the lack of water and food (or from thirst and from hunger)'

(504) ḡa-lu-punu maran-an-i guju-wuṅḡa-lu
C-3PlNom-M argue-CONT-PAST meat-LACKING-ERG
'They, suffering from the lack of meat (and being hungry), were arguing'

This suffix can also mean 'something is wrong with a body part'. Thus:

milba-wuṅḡa (N)	'eye-WRONG', 'blind', e.g. text 3, sentence 5;
milwa-wuṅḡa (W)	'eye-WRONG', 'blind';
ḡaḡa-wuṅḡa	'back-WRONG', 'having a stiff neck';
luḡu-wuṅḡa	'heel-WRONG', nickname of a man who has a fractured heel'.

The example in which the suffix is affixed to a root that is not used as a free morpheme is:

nunḡu-wuḡa 'hunger-LACKING', 'hunger'.

Etymologically, this suffix may have been -g/wuṅ-plus-locative.

[8] C-*q̄aɾu*/V-*jaɾu* 'having, with'. This is suffixed to noun roots, demonstratives (*muɭa* 'here/this' and *jala* 'there/that'), the indefinite word *pambaɳara* 'anything' (3.2.3.), dative pronouns, ablative-1 pronouns (marking possession), adverbs (of manner), preverbs and verbids. It can also follow another stem-forming suffix. *j* is often dropped from *-jaɾu* when following *a* (mainly in W); *ɾ* is generally changed into *w* when followed by a case ending (particularly in some N speakers, e.g. (320), (509), and text 3, sentences 7, 13, 17, 18, 19).

Generally, this suffix means 'having', 'holding', '(go, sit) with', 'accompanied by' and so on. Examples include (384), text 1, sentence 3, text 3, sentence 13 and:

(505) *buɳu-jaɾu* *jan-a* *bulga*
stick-HAVING *walk-CONT* *PRES* *old man*
 'An old man is walking with a walking stock' (W example)

(506) *jambaɳi* *ɳajingu* *jan-an* *ɳama-ji-jaɾu* *ɳura-ɳgawu*
child *he* *go-PRES* *mother-KIN-HAVING* *camp-ALL*
 'A child goes to the camp with its mother'

Company - (sit, go, etc.) with - can also be expressed by the locative. See (90) and (91).

The suffix can also mark means or material; e.g. text 2, sentence 6 ('on horseback') and:

(507) *jalu-ɳgu* *mawun-du* *ɳaɳaɳaɳag* *man-a* *buɳu-jaɾu* *majaɾu*
that-ERG *man-ERG* *make-CONT* *PRES* *wood-HAVING* *house*
 'That man is building a house with wood'

The suffix can mark an intransitive instrument. Thus:

(508) *ɳila* *mawun* *maɳ-an* *mildan-ɳaɾu*
that man *talk-PRES* *finger-HAVING*
 'That man talks with fingers (i.e. with sign language)'

For other expressions of 'intransitive instruments', see (6), (493) and (545).

Transitive instruments (including body parts) are generally marked by the instrumental case, e.g. (4), (5) and text 1, sentence 3. However, animate (including human) nouns lack the instrumental case (see 3.2.1.-[3] and 4.5.8.-[3]). The expression of a transitive animate/human instrument has to involve the pattern: noun-HAVING-ERG. That is, instead of:

**A man(-ERG) frightens a child with a dog(-INST)'*

we have to have:

'A man(-ERG), with a dog(-HAVING-ERG), frightens a child'

For an example, see (320). In some N speakers, the pattern 'noun-HAVING-ERG' is generally used to mark any instrument - even an inanimate or sometimes, body-part instrument. Examples include text 3, sentences 7, 17, 18, 19 and:

- (509) $\eta\alpha\delta u$ $\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta\alpha$ $\eta\alpha\text{-}lu$ $ga\delta ag\text{-}\delta a'wu\text{-}lu$ $\eta\alpha\beta a$ $wagura$
 1Sg C-1SgNom *drink*-PURP *pannikin*-HAVING-ERG *water* *not*
- $li\alpha\text{-}jawu\text{-}lu$
mouth-HAVING-ERG
- 'I will drink water with a pannikin, not (directly) with the mouth'*

(In Walmadjari (J. Hudson 1978:20) and Yukulta (Keen 1972:123) an instrument is expressed by the pattern 'noun-HAVING-ERG'.)

When suffixed to preverbs or adverbs of manner, the suffix can mark manner (in intransitive sentences). This is very common. Thus, compare the following sentences involving the preverb *wangur* 'carrying on the shoulder':

- (510) $mawun\text{-}du$ $\eta\alpha\zeta i$ $wangur$ $ga\eta\text{-}an$
man-ERG *swag* *carry*-PRES
- 'A man carries a swag on the shoulder'*
- (511) $mawun$ $jan\text{-}an$ $\eta\alpha\zeta i\text{-}ja\zeta u$ $wangur\text{-}\delta a'\zeta u$
man *go*-PRES *swag*-HAVING *-HAVING*
- 'A man goes with/carrying a swag on the shoulder'*
- (512) $mawun$ $jan\text{-}an$ $wangur\text{-}\delta a'\zeta u$
man *go*-PRES *-HAVING*
- 'A man goes with/carrying something on the shoulder'*

The suffix can also mark possession of abstract entities such as language, corroboree and dreaming; or human relations such as a friend, spouse and lover. Thus:

- (513) $\eta\alpha\delta u$ $\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta\alpha$ $\delta a'\zeta u\text{-}ja\zeta u$ $\delta a'\zeta u$ $ma\eta\text{-}an$
 1Sg C-1SgNom *Djaru*-HAVING *Djaru* *talk*-PRES
- 'I have and speak the Djaru language'*
- (514) $\eta\alpha\delta u$ $\eta\alpha\text{-}\eta\alpha$ $\eta\alpha\zeta i\eta ga\text{-}ja\zeta u$
 1Sg C-1SgNom *woman*-HAVING
- 'I am married'* (not necessarily accompanied by the wife at the time of speaking). (N example)

When marking inalienable possession (e.g. a body part), the suffix marks a 'marked state'. Examples include (383), (384) and:

- bunbulu-jaɾu 'hair-HAVING', 'hairy (with more hair than average)'
(N);
munda-jaɾu 'belly-HAVING', 'pregnant';
mangir-ɖaɾu 'ear-HAVING', 'wise, sensible'.

(The ear is regarded as the seat of intelligence - 1.4. Cf. mangirgir-muluɲu 'ear-WITHOUT', i.e. 'unwise' in [6], above.) Similarly, English adjectives of the pattern 'noun-ed' appear to describe marked states (see Hirtle 1970 and R.A. Hudson 1975). Cf. *a bearded man, a long-haired man, and *a haired man.*

The suffix can also mark characteristics of a person, animal, place, and so on. Some of such words are institutionalized. Examples include:

- gaɲa-jaɾu 'spear-HAVING', 'man', cf. gaɲa-muluɲu 'spear-WITHOUT',
'woman' in [6], above;
baga-jaɾu 'spike-HAVING', 'echidna';
wapa-jaɾu 'emu feather-HAVING', 'emu';
paɲ-u-jaɾu 'see-VBD-HAVING', 'native doctor', cf. paɲ-u-paɲ-u
'native doctor' (4.9.1.).

- (515) mundud-du ɲa-ji maɲaɲ man-a ɖuɖu-jaɾu-lu
ridge-ERG C-1SgAcc bad make-CONT PRES dust-HAVING-ERG
'The dusty ridge makes me feel no-good' (W example)

In two instances, the suffix marks state:

- guli-jaɾu 'angry (prev)-HAVING', 'angry';
gingi-jaɾu 'satiated-HAVING', 'satiated' (the root *gingi* appears
to be never used as a free morpheme - 3.1.).

-ɖ/jaɾu is also used in forming adverb stems - 6.3.1.-[1].

Suffixes with a very similar form, function and meaning are found in neighbouring languages, e.g. V-jaɾu in Mudbura, V-jawuɲ in Biłınara and Guurindji (McConvell 1980); C,V-ɖaɖi, -ɖaɖu in Walmadjari (Joyce Hudson 1976a); C-ɖaɾuɲ, V-jaɾuɲ in Malngin, and C-ɖaɾu, V-jaɾu in Wandjira. In fact, the forms of 'HAVING' suffix is quite similar in many languages throughout the continent, e.g. C-ɖi(r), V-ji(r) in Warungu (Tsunoda 1976a). See Dixon 1976 and papers for Topic A in Dixon, ed. 1976.

[9] C-gaɖi, V-waɖi 'agent', 'instrument' is suffixed to noun roots, demonstratives (*muɭa* 'this'), adverb (*gara* 'thus'), preverbs and verbids. The resultant stems decline regularly. The suffix generally marks agent - often implying 'always, habitually', 'a lot, to an excess', or 'well, good at'. It also marks (less frequently) instrument. Some of such words are institutionalized. Thus:

ɲaɾiŋga-waɟi	'woman-AGENT', 'ladies' man' (N), e.g. (282);
wiɾin-gaɟi	'tying up (prev)-AGENT', particularly 'policeman';
buŋ-u-waɟi	'hit-VBD-AGENT', 'someone who hits' or 'instrument for hitting'
paŋ-u-waɟi	'see-VBD-AGENT', 'one who looks a lot' or 'native doctor' (1.4.). Cf. paŋ-u-jaɾu 'see-VBD-HAVING', 'native doctor' above.

In W and among some speakers of Old Flora Valley dialect of N, -waɟi' rather than -gaɟi is used following a liquid (l or r) (but not a nasal). Thus:

ɲumbir-waɟi	'woman-AGENT', 'ladies' man' (W);
bulbul-gaɟi	'covering up (prev)-INSTRUMENT', 'blanket';
bulbul-waɟi	as above, e.g. (546);
bur-gaɟi	'spinning (prev)-AGENT', 'car';
bur-waɟi	as above.

Some of the nouns involving this suffix are compound. See 6.2.3.-[2].

The same suffix is found in Guurindji, Malngin, Wandjira and Gidja. Note that Pitjantjatjara has a verbal suffix -baji 'always' (Glass and Hackett 1970:100).

[10] C,V-widi 'for' (purpose) is suffixed to noun roots, demonstratives (muɭa 'here', pila 'that'), dative pronoun, adverb (gara 'thus') and preverbs. It shows no allomorphic alternation. The resultant stems decline regularly. Examples include:

laŋga-widi	'head-FOR', 'hat';
miɭba-widi	'eye-FOR', 'glasses, spectacles' (N);
mawun-widi	'Aboriginal man-FOR', e.g. 'government officer in charge of Aborigines' (W);
biɭaga-widi	'riding (prev)-FOR', 'saddle'.

The difference between -g/waɟi' AGENT' and -widi 'FOR' can be seen in the following two examples involving ɲaɾiŋga 'woman' (N):

ɲaɾiŋga-waɟi	'a man who always chases women', 'ladies' man';
ɲaɾiŋga-widi	'something used for women'; particularly 'long distance aphrodisiac'.

[11] -maraɟ 'like' (in all dialects) is suffixed to noun roots, absolutive pronouns, interrogative word pamba 'what', demonstrative (pila 'that') and adverb (gara 'thus'). pamba-maraɟ 'what-LIKE' can mean 'how much' (3.2.3.) as well as 'like what, what sort of'. Examples include:

- (516) *jalu mawun-du maṅari ṅaṅ-an dimana-maraḍ-ḍu*
that man-ERG food eat-PRES horse-LIKE-ERG
'That man eats food like a horse'

(Note that, in (516), the demonstrative *jalu* 'that' (3.2.2.-[1]) does not have an overt case ending for the ergative. See (55) and the discussion in 4.1.)

In a few instances, *ḍ* is (optionally) changed into *ṅ* when followed by the ergative *-ḍu* or the clitic *-ḍali*:

- ḡṅar-maraṅ-ḍu* 'dog-LIKE-ERG'
mawun-maraṅ-ḍu 'man-LIKE-ERG'

[12] *-ṅaṅḍaji* 'like' (W only) is suffixed to noun roots and the interrogative word *ṅamba* 'what'. The resultant stems decline regularly. *ṅamba-ṅaṅḍaji* 'what-LIKE' can mean 'how much' (3.2.3.) as well as 'like what, what sort of'. Examples include text 1, sentence 11.

[13] *C-ḡaṅṅ*, *V-waṅṅ* 'another, other, different', 'by oneself'. This suffix is affixed to:

- (a) noun roots, indicating 'another, other, different', e.g. (517) and text 1, sentence 26, and;
 (b) pronouns in the absolutive forms (i.e. with no case ending), indicating 'by oneself', e.g. (270).

- (517) ('My family live in the east')
ṅa-ṅa mawun-ḡaṅṅ-ḍa ṅinaṅ-an
C-1SgNom man-OTHER-LOC stay-PRES
'I live (here) with other people'

Particularly in W, *w* is often deleted following *a*, and also *-waṅṅ* rather than *-ḡaṅṅ* is used following a liquid (*l* or *r*). Thus:

- limbal-waṅṅ* 'one's own-OTHER'
ḡṅar-waṅṅ 'dog-OTHER'.

-ḡ/waṅṅ is also used for forming adverb stems - 6.3.1.-[3].

Suffixes with an almost identical form, meaning and function are found, e.g. *-ḡaṅṅ* in Guurindji (Jones, n.d.); *C,V-ḡaṅṅ* in Malngin and Wandjira; and *C,V-ḡaṅṅ* in Ngardi.

[14] *-ṅaaṅṅ* 'very, indeed' is affixed to noun roots, absolutive pronouns, and adverbs (*ḡaṅṅani* 'up', *ḡuṅḡ* 'far'). The resultant stems decline regularly. Examples include (125) and:

- (518) *ḡida-ṅaaṅṅ-ḍu ḡumbir-u ṅa-ḡi ṅaṅ-an*
good-VERY-ERG woman-ERG C-1SgAcc see-PRES
'A very good-looking woman is looking at me' (W example)

The suffix can also be affixed to the predicative suffix -g (4.4.9.-[1]). The resultant stems do not appear to decline. Examples include:

- (519) *ɲaba* *ɲa-li* *gingi-g-ɲaɲɪp* *ɲa-lu*
water C-1DuIncNom *full-g-VERY* *drink-PURP*
'We will drink water to become full'

Walbiri has a clitic (not a stem-forming suffix) -*ɲajɪɲi* 'very' (Hale 1968:12).

[15] -*waliɲu* 'expert, good at' is suffixed to noun roots, preverbs and verbids. The resultant stems decline as shown in Table 6.1. Examples include:

- bulumanu-waliɲu* 'bullock, cattle-EXPERT', 'good stockman', e.g. (287)-(iii);
guju-waliɲu 'meat, game-EXPERT', 'good hunter, good hunting dog', etc.;
buɽɖa-waliɲu 'running (prev)-EXPERT', 'good runner, motor car', etc.;
junbaɲ-u-waliɲu 'sing-VBD-EXPERT', 'good singer'.

[16] -*ji* 'kinship'. The majority of kinship term roots are vowel-final and disyllabic (see 1.4.). Most (but not all) of them can neither occur independently (in the absolutive) nor take a case ending directly; -*ji* (or some other stem-forming suffix) has to be added. (The roots can be used 'vocatively'.) Thus, for *mali* 'wife's mother', we have:

voc	abs	erg	loc	...
<i>mali</i>	<i>maliji</i>	<i>malijilu</i>	<i>malijila</i>	...

(See Chapter 5 for examples.) However, *ɖaɖa* 'mother's mother' never takes -*ji*. Thus, its ergative is *ɖaɖa-ɲgu*. In W and Old Flora Valley dialect of N, *baɲgu* 'cross cousin' does not take -*ji*. Thus (not also the phonological change from *u* to *i*):

	voc	abs	erg	...
W and O.F.V.	<i>baɲgu</i>	<i>baɲgu</i>	<i>baɲgugu</i>	...
N	<i>baɲgu</i>	<i>baɲgiji</i>	<i>baɲgijilu</i>	...

Similarly, various forms of the word 'father' show a process of phonological change:

voc	abs	erg	...
<i>ɲabu</i> (N only?)	<i>ɲabiji</i> (N only?)	?	
<i>ɲawu</i> (W only?)	<i>ɲawuju</i> (N only?)	?	
<i>ɲawiji</i>	<i>ɲawiji</i>	<i>ɲawijilu</i>	... (all dialects)

Note that we also have *ŋabu-pan* and *ŋawu-pan*. (For *-pan*, see [17] below.)

There are two suffixes in other languages which may be related to the Djaru suffix *-ji*; i.e. *ɖi* and *ɖi*. Thus:

	Elder Brother	Mother	Mother's Father
Djaru	<i>babaji</i>	<i>ŋamaji</i>	<i>ɖamiji</i>
Walmadjari	<i>babaɖi</i>	<i>ŋamaɖi</i>	<i>ɖamiɖi</i> (J. Hudson 1978:99)
Walbiri	<i>babaɖi</i>	<i>ŋamaɖi</i>	<i>ɖamiɖi</i> (Capell 1953:300; Hale, personal communication)

[17] *-pan* 'one's own' (kinship owner) is suffixed to disyllabic kinship-term roots (i.e. without *-ji*); two other kinship terms, *ŋumbaŋa* 'husband; wife's brother' and *gilagi* 'father's father'; and a non-kinship term *ɖaliɖi* 'friend'. (*ŋumbaŋa* 'husband; etc.' and *gilagi* 'father's father' cannot be suffixed with *-ji* in any way. For the details of kinship terms, see 1.4.) It appears to refer to a third person's own (not the speakers' or hearer's) relative/friend. The resultant stems decline regularly. Examples include:

ŋama-pan 'mother-OWN', 'his/her own mother', e.g. (109);
ŋawu-pan 'father-OWN', 'his/her own father', e.g. (381), (382).

Walbiri has a similar suffix *-panu* 'own', e.g. *giɖa-panu* 'father-OWN'. Unlike the Djaru *-pan*, it can refer to the speaker's or the hearer's relative - Hale 1967:13, 1976b:83. See also Breen 1976.

[18] *-laŋu* 'kinship dual' is suffixed to kinship-term roots. The resultant stems decline as shown in Table 6.1. All the examples obtained are given:

gawulu-laŋ(a) 'two sisters' (*gawulu* 'sister (younger or older)');
baŋgu-laŋa 'two cross cousins' (*baŋgu* 'cross cousin');
bawa-laŋu-lu 'two brothers-ERG' (*baba* 'elder brother');
ŋawu-laŋu 'father and child (son?)' (*ŋawu* 'father'; or 'son'
 (man talking)).

[19] *C-gujara*, *V-wujara* 'two' is very productive, and is suffixed to noun roots; kinship roots-plus-*ji*; and demonstrative (*jalu* 'that'). It is cognate with the numeral *guɖara* 'two'. A noun involving the suffix can be (redundantly) modified by the numeral. Examples include (101), (112), (193) and (194).

[20] Ordering of suffixes

At least, the following ordering is observed in the examples. (In some cases, a different ordering may be possible.) Working from backwards:

- (i) -marađ 'like' can follow -ruŋu 'from', -d/jaŋu 'with' and -g/wađi 'agent/instrument';
- (ii) -ruŋu 'from' can follow -g/wuŋ 'from' and -g/wađi 'agent/instrument';
- (iii) -g/wuŋ 'from' can follow -ji 'kinship' and -ŋan 'own';
- (iv) -d/jaŋu 'with' can follow -g/waŋiŋ 'another', -g/wađi 'agent/instrument', -ŋana 'of, from', -g/wujara 'two', -ji 'kinship' and -g/wuŋ 'from';
- (v) -g/wujara 'two' can follow -ji 'kinship'.

6.2.2. REDUPLICATION

Some noun roots - mostly with human referents and disyllabic or at most trisyllabic - have a reduplicated form. Any (?) 'adjective-like' noun - again mostly disyllabic - can have, it appears, a reduplicated form even if it does not have a human referent. While a non-reduplicated form is neutral as regards number (the number can be expressed by the cross-referencing bound pronoun), the reduplicated form generally indicates plurality (often 'many'), 'repeatedly' or (infrequently) 'much'. Examples include:

maluga	'an old man' or 'old men'	maluga-maluga	'many old men' (N), e.g. (110);
maŋa	'a girl' or 'girls'	maŋa-maŋa	'many girls', e.g. (530);
jambi	'big'	jambi-jambi	'very big', e.g. (534);
guŋga	'dead'	guŋga-guŋga	'dead repeatedly or in a large number', e.g. text 1, sentences 29, 30.

In other cases, the function of reduplication is not known, e.g. guŋu-guŋu 'black-RDP' in text 1, sentence 7.

There are many words that exist in a reduplicated form only. They do not necessarily indicate plurality or the like, e.g. mugmug 'frog-mouth owl', landilandi 'moth', bujunbujun 'Blue Hill (north of Hall's Creek)' and gijirgijir 'red', e.g. text 1, sentence 7.

Morpheme-initial alternation of bŋw; gŋw; or ŋj is found in some reduplicated forms. Thus:

bulga	'old man'	bulga-wulga	'old men'
guda	'short'	guda-guda	'short ones'
		guda-wuda	'short ones'
...		ŋiŋda-jinđa	'a type of shell ornament'

we have compound nouns such as:

muna-ḍuwal	'arm-long', 'one with long arms';
guṇḍu-jambi	'penis-long', 'one who has a big penis' (this is also used as a 'swearword' - 1.4.);
wirgil-ḍuwal	'head hair - long', 'one who has long head hair'.

Thus, these compound nouns consist of a word referring to a body part and 'adjective-like' noun describing it. Some of them have a figurative, and often institutionalized meaning. A few personal names (mainly men's) are formed in this way. Thus:

mangirgir-ḍuwal	'ear-long', i.e. 'donkey';
ḡirdi-ḍuwal	'nose-long', i.e. 'pig', e.g. (432);
wiri-ḍuwal	'neck-long', i.e. 'bottle';
mala-ḡilawaḡa	'hand-many', i.e. 'crab' (W);
maḷa-jambi	'hand-big', 'man's name (Old Toby)'.

The existence of such compound nouns indicates that at a certain stage of their derivation, when compounding applies:

- (a) the 'body part' noun and 'adjective-like' noun constitute one single unit; the 'possessor' being separate - see 4.11.4.-[4];
- (b) the 'body part' noun immediately precedes the 'adjective-like' noun. See 4.14.-[3].

This type of compound nouns are reminiscent of the Sanskrit Bahuvrīhi (possessive compound, or attributive compound); e.g. dīrgha-bāhu 'long-arm', i.e. '(one) who has long arms', cf. Iwamoto 1966:93-94.

[2] Involving verbids.

This type of compound nouns correspond to sentences that have a predicate verb. Generally, a derivational suffix (for instance, -g/waḡi' 'agent/instrument', -puṇu 'after' or -muluṇu 'without') is involved in compounding. Examples will be given mostly involving -waḡi'. The relative order of elements in such compound nouns indicates that the corresponding sentences have the following (underlying) word order (4.14.-[3]):

- (a) a preverb precedes a verb;
- (b) a DO precedes a preverb;
- (c) a transitive predicative precedes a verb.

(A verbid is formed by the addition of -u to a verb root - 3.7.2.)

(i) Preverb and verb

Examples of intransitive VCs: - corresponding to:

- (522) *qijiga baq gaŋ-an*
bird fly-PRES
 'A bird flies'
- (523) *mawun jud pinaŋ-an*
man sit-PRES
 'A man sits (down)'
- (524) *ŋaɖu ŋa-ŋa buɖa maŋ-an*
1Sg C-1SgNom run-PRES
 'I run'

we have:

- baq-gaŋ-u-waɖi* 'fly-VBD-AGENT', 'that which flies', e.g. 'aero-
 plane', e.g. text 1, sentence 72;
- jud-pinaŋ-u-waɖi* 'sit-VBD-AGENT', 'one who sits around a lot', e.g.
 'unemployed person';
- buɖa-maŋ-u-waɖi* 'run-VBD-AGENT', 'runner, car'.

Similarly for transitive VCs:

- (525) *mawun-du ŋumbir bila man-an*
man-ERG woman chase-PRES
 'A man chases a woman'
- (526) *mawun-du magaɖa ɖud gaŋ-an*
man-ERG hat wear-PRES
 'A man wears a hat'

- bila-man-u-waɖi* 'chase-VBD-AGENT', 'one who chases (someone)',
 see text 3, sentence 6;
- ɖud-gaŋ-u-waɖi* 'wear-VBD-AGENT', 'one who wears (something) often'.

(ii) DO and verb

An example of a transitive DO and verb: - corresponding to:

- (527) *mawun-du ŋaba ŋaŋ-an*
man-ERG water drink-PRES
 'A man drinks water'

we have:

- ŋaba-ŋaŋ-u-waɖi* 'water-drink-VBD-AGENT', 'one who drinks water
 (/grog) a lot'.

Other examples include:

- jagu-ŋaŋ-u-waɖi* 'fish-eat-VBD-AGENT', 'one who (or that which) eats
 fish a lot or often', particularly 'cormorant';
- ŋandu-man-w-waɖi* 'shade/shadow-take-VBD-INSTRUMENT', 'that which
 takes a shade/shadow', i.e. 'camera' (N).

Similarly for an intransitive DO and verb:

- (528) *naɖu na-na ɖaɖu (or malŋin) maŋ-an*
 1Sg C-1SgNom *Djaru Malngin talk-PRES*
 'I speak *Djaru* (or *Malngin*)'

ɖaɖu-maŋ-u-waɖi 'Djaru-talk-VBD-AGENT', 'one who speaks *Djaru*';
malŋin-maŋ-u-waɖi 'Malngin-talk-VBD-AGENT', 'one who speaks *Malngin*'.

It appears that generally DOs incorporated in such compound agent nouns are indefinite (see Hale 1967:12). But, in at least two examples, DOs are definite - names of languages, *Djaru* and *Malngin*.

We recognise, for *Djaru* grammar, intransitive DO as well as transitive DO. One of the reasons for this is that DO_{int}, e.g. *ɖaɖu* '*Djaru*' in (528), behaves exactly as DO_{tr}, e.g. *ŋaba* '*water*' in (527), in incorporation into compound agent nouns. See 4.4.4.

It has been suggested for some other Australian languages that 'language' is possessed inalienably and that 'speaker' and 'language' constitute one single NP. But, this does not apply to *Djaru*. One of the reasons for this is that the 'language' can be incorporated into compound agent nouns, but the 'speaker' cannot - see the examples above. This shows that the 'speaker' and 'language' are two separate NPs. Again, see 4.4.4.

It appears to be cross-linguistically common for there to be the OV order (rather than VO) in compound nouns. Thus, even in English, which has the surface SVO order, compounds have the OV order, e.g. '*wife beater*'.

(iii) DO, preverb and verb

- (529) *mawun-du ŋawulu bad man-an*
 man-ERG breast (W) touch-PRES
 'A man touches (a woman's) breast' (W example)

- (530) *pundu-gu na-n-ɖaŋu maŋa-maŋa bila-bila man-an*
 2Sg-ERG C-2SgNom-3PlAcc girl-RDP chase-PRES
 'You chase girls'

ŋawulu-bad-man-u-waɖi 'breast-touch-VBD-AGENT', 'one who touches (women's) breasts a lot';
maŋa-maŋa-bila-bila-man-u-waɖi 'girl-RDP-chase-VBD-AGENT', 'one who often chases girls'.

(For the reduplication of the preverb *bila* 'chasing', see 6.3.3.)

(iv) Transitive object predicative and verb

Predicatives can take -g, -waɖa, etc. 'consequence/result' (4.4.9.-[1]). Corresponding to:

- (531) mawun-du d̥aɖi' guŋga-waɟa lan-i
 man-ERG kangaroo dead-waɟa spear-PAST
 'A man speared a kangaroo and killed it'

- (532) ŋaba-ŋgu mawun waŋala man-an
 water-ERG man mad make-PAST
 'Water (i.e. grog) makes a man mad (i.e. drunk)'

we have:

- guŋga-waɟa-lan-u-waɖi' 'dead-waɟa-spear-VBD-AGENT/INSTRUMENT', 'one who (or that which) spears and kills (someone or something)';
 waŋala-man-u-waɖi' 'mad-make-VBD-AGENT/INSTRUMENT', 'one who (or that which) makes (someone) mad', e.g. text 1, sentence 62.

As another example:

- gida-g-man-u-waɖi' 'good-g-make-VBD-AGENT', 'one who (or that which) makes (someone or something) good', e.g. 'doctor'.

In Walbiri, IO (in the dative) can be incorporated in an agent compound noun (Hale 1967:13), but in Djaru, IO cannot be incorporated. Thus, corresponding to:

- (533) mawun-du ŋumbir mijan̄gi-wara man-an bamar-gu
 man-ERG woman ask-PRES stone-DAT1
 'A man asks a woman for a stone (i.e. money)'

we have:

- mijan̄gi-wara-man-u-waɖi' bamar-gu
 ask-VBD-AGENT stone-DAT1
 'One who always ask for a stone (i.e. money)'

(mijan̄gi 'asking' is a preverb (see 4.10.5.). For -wara, see 6.3.1.-[5].)

While we have compounds such as:

- ŋaba-ŋaŋ-w-waɖi' 'water-drink-VBD-AGENT', 'grog drinker'

there is no example of a compound noun such as:

- ŋaba-ŋaŋ-u 'water-drink-VBD', 'grog drinking'.

That is, compound nouns that include DO appear to be always suffixed with a noun-stem-forming suffix. It is not certain whether we can have compound nouns that include DO but that do not involve a noun-stem-forming suffix, i.e. compounds like 'elephant shooting' and 'wife beating'. (A verbid (gerund) can freely occur without any noun-stem-forming suffix if it does not incorporate DO. See 4.9.1.)

6.3. ADVERBS AND PREVERBS

6.3.1. STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

Here, there are two types of suffixes:

- (a) those affixed to nouns, and;
- (b) those affixed to adverbs and/or preverbs.

[1] C-ɟaɾu, V-jaɾu; C-ɟuɾu, V-juɾu 'place' or 'time'. These are suffixed to:

- (a) a few nouns, a word for a cardinal direction and the word 'up', indicating place, and;
- (b) two adverbs of time, indicating time.

Examples include (436), text 1, sentence 54 and:

(534) (*'White men had never seen water in bottle trees'*)

ɟaba	jambi-jambi-muwa	ɟa-lu	paɾ-aɟura	binga-juɾu
water	big-RDP-ONLY	C-3PlNom	see-PAST NARR	river-PLACE

'They had seen only big water in a river'

(535) pundu-gu wawaɳ-an ɟaɾiŋga-wu muɳaɳɟa'-jaɾu
 2Sg-ERG search-PRES woman-DAT1 at night-TIME
'You look for a woman at night' (N example)

-d/jaɾu is also used as a noun-stem-forming suffix - 6.2.1.-
 [8]. Malngin has -d/jaɾu 'time', e.g. gabud-ɟaɾu 'in the morning-TIME'.

[2] -puɳu (generally N), -puɳa (generally W), -puɳ (generally Sturt Creek dialect of N) 'after, since'. These are generally suffixed to adverbs of time. See 3.6. for examples. Another (and extremely frequently used) example involves the demonstrative jala 'that, there': jala-puɳ(u/a) 'there/that-AFTER', 'after that; and then' or 'from there'. This is generally used sentence-initially. Examples include (543); text 1, sentences 12, 36, 72; text 2, sentences 20, 26. -puɳ(u/a) is also used as a noun-stem-forming suffix - 6.2.1.-[5].

[3] C-gaɾiɾ, V-waɾiɾ 'again, more' is suffixed to adverbs, a preverb and a noun. Part of its meaning is 'again, more'. Examples include:

ɟamu 'long ago', ɟamu-waɾiɾ 'some time ago, the other day';
 magan 'in the morning, tomorrow, on the next day', magan-gaɾiɾ
 'again on the next day', magan-gaɾiɾ magan-gaɾiɾ 'every day';
 ɟuluɳulu 'in the afternoon, yesterday', ɟuluɳulu-waɾiɾ 'the day
 before yesterday';
 gaani 'to east', gaani-waɾiɾ 'further east';
 gani 'down', gani-waɾiɾ 'further down';

dirib 'camping out' (prev), dirib-gaṛiṇ dirib-gaṛiṇ 'day and night';
wajini 'similar, alike' (noun), wajini-waṛiṇ 'in return, in revenge'.

- (536) ṅa-ṅa ḡaḡi lan-i ṅuluṅulu-waṛiṇ
C-1SgNom kangaroo spear-PAST yesterday-AGAIN
'I speared a kangaroo the other day' (from Capell's data)

-g/waṛiṇ is also used as a noun-stem-forming suffix - 6.2.1.-[3].

[4] C-guḡ/V-wuḡ, C-gu/V-wu 'time(s), occasion(s)'. There appear to be two variants corresponding to each numeral.

jaṅi 'one' : jaṅi-wuḡ, jaṅi-wu 'once'
guḡara 'two' : guḡara-wuḡ, guḡara-wu 'twice'
murgun 'three' : murgun-guḡ, murgun-gu 'three times'.

- (537) guḡara-wuḡ ṅa-ji buṛ-a
two-TIME C-1SgAcc hit-PAST
'He hit me twice' (Gordon Downs dialect example, from
Hale's data)

Hale (personal communication) pointed out to the writer that this suffix involves the retroflex stop ḡ rather than the alveolar d. Hale's data indicate that there is another word marking 'time' - ɲaɲaṅu-wuḡ 'how many-TIME', 'how many times' (or ɲaɲaṅu-wuḡ?).

[5] -gara, -wara, -bara and -ara 'aspectual (?)'. The meaning of these suffixes is not understood well, but in some instances they appear to describe a certain manner, perhaps with an aspectual meaning; see (538). (There is an adverb of manner gara 'thus, in such a way'.) They are affixed to adverbs, preverbs, verbids (two instances only) and two demonstratives. Their distributions are roughly as follows (with a few exceptions, see below):

{ -gara following a consonant except a liquid;
-wara following a vowel (but w is as a rule deleted following a);
-ara following a liquid;
-bara following r (N, one example only);
-wara following r (W, one example only).

(It thus seems that the first three derive from *-gara, while the other two derive from *-bara.) Examples include:

-gara : bulg-gara 'bursting' (prev)-, e.g. (318); gud-gara 'grabbing' (prev)-, e.g. (540); wulb-gara 'jumping' (prev)-, e.g. (539); gangunun-gara 'on top-', e.g. text 1, sentence 15;

- wara : mijangi-wara 'asking' (prev)-, e.g. (533); jangani-wara 'behind-', e.g. (278); luṅ-u-luṅ-u-wara 'cry-VBD-RDP-', e.g. (317); bila-ara 'chasing' (prev)-, e.g. text 2, sentence 24;
- ara : lul-ara 'biting off' (prev)-; diḷ-ara 'singing' (prev)-; diḷgur-ara 'thundering' (prev)-;
- bara : waṛir-bara 'back' (generally of direction; adv)- (N)
- wara : waṛir-wara 'back' (generally of direction; adv)- (W)

(538) wulb-gara wandiṅ-aṅura ṅaniṅa dimana
 jump-PAST NARR 1Sg-DAT horse
 'My horse was jumping about'

(539) ṅawi-ji-lu jambagina ṅaṅ-an wulb-gara-la
 father-KIN-ERG child see-PRES jumping-gara-LOC
 'A father sees a child jumping'

(540) muṅaṅḍa ṅa-n-ḍanu gud-gara man-aṅ-gu
 at night C-2SgNom-3PlAcc grab-CONT-PURP
 'You will grab them (women) at night'

These suffixes can be followed by the noun-stem-forming suffix -g/waḍi 'agent, instrument'. Examples include:

diḷ-ara-waḍi 'singing-ara-AGENT', 'someone who sings', particularly 'stockman'. (Note that stockman singe/brand cattle.)

Similarly, these suffixes can be included in compound agent nouns that involve a verbid and the suffix -g/waḍi 'agent', e.g.:

mijangi-wara-man-u-waḍi 'asking-wara-get-VBD-AGENT', 'one who always asks', cf. (533).

Two of the exceptions to the distributions shown above (both involving a demonstrative) are muḷa-gara 'here-' (3.2.2.-[1]) and miṅi-gara 'here-' (3.6.1.).

-gara, with a similar function, is found in Guurindji (Jones, n.d.), Walmadjari (Joyce Hudson 1978:35) and Malngin. Hudson says that the Walmadjari -gara is a case ending, but the Djaru and Malngin -gara/-wara is clearly not a case ending but a stem-forming suffix; it can be followed by a case ending. See, for instance (539) and:

wulb-gara-wu 'jumping (prev)-gara-DAT1';
 jangani-wara-ṅulu 'behind-wara-ABL'.

-bara in waṛir-bara 'back-' (N) and -wara in waṛir-wara 'back-' (W) may possibly be in fact clitics rather than adverb-stem-forming suffixes. See 4.13.-[4]. (The writer owes this observation to Hale, personal communication.)

[6] -g 'to(wards)' (?) is suffixed to three adverbs of place 'close (at or to)':

'close at, close to'		'close to, close towards'	
jalawara		jalawara-g	(W)
wunupɟara		wunupɟara-g	(W)
jaɟi		jaɟi-g	(N)

(This -g may possibly be related to -g that marks result/consequence - 4.4.9.-[1].) -g with a similar meaning and function is found in Guurindji (Jones, n.d.) and Malngin.

-g is also suffixed to two adverbs of time, both of which mean 'all the time; for good'. It does not seem to affect the meaning of the adverbs.

ɟimirawu	ɟimirawu-g	'all the time; for good' (mainly N);
ɟumba-juba	ɟumba-juba-g	'all the time; for good' (W).

(Note the alternation of ɟ 'and j. See 6.3.3.)

[7] -ɟarg 'across water' (e.g. 'creek') (?) is found in three instances:

gułani	'to south'	gułani-ɟarg	'to south across water' (?)
gajini	'to north'	gajini-ɟarg	'to north across water' (?)
gajinijin	'from north'	gajinijin-ɟarg	'from north across water' (?)

This suffix involves a word-final consonant cluster rg. Word-final consonant clusters are very uncommon in Djaru - 2.5.1.-[4].

-ɟarg is also found in Malngin. The Malngin -ɟarg is used as a free form as well.

6.3.2. WORDS FOR CARDINAL DIRECTIONS, 'UP' AND 'DOWN'

The formation of these words is very unusual synchronically in Djaru. Also, it is not always regular. The differences among various forms are not understood well.

TABLE 6.2.
WORDS FOR CARDINAL DIRECTIONS

Meaning	North	South	West	East
'to, at'			gaḷa (W)	gaara
'to, at'	gajira	guḷara	gaḷara	gaarara
'to' (?)				gaaraṭa (N?)
?				gaaraa (W?)
'to'	gajirawuṭa	guḷarawuṭa	gaḷarawuṭa	gaarawuṭa
'to (short distance)'				gaaraba
'at'				gaarala
'to (across sight)'				gaarajara (W?)
'to, at'	gajina	guḷana	gaḷana	gaana
'to, at'	gajini	guḷani	gaḷani	gaani
'to (short distance?)'	gajiniba (W?)			
'to (further?)'	gajinira	guḷanira	gaḷanira	gaanira
'to (across water?)'	gajiniḍa'rg	guḷaniḍa'rg		
'from'	gajinijin	guḷanijin	gaḷanijin	gaanijin
'down at' (?)				gaanimba (W?)
'down at' (?)	gajinimbara (W?)			
'down at' (?)				gaanibara (W?)
'down at' (?)		guḷanimbara	gaḷanimbara	gaanimbara
'on...side'	gajinimbala	guḷanimbala	gaḷanimbala	gaanimbala
???	gajinibagula (N?)			
'on...side'	gajinimbalaara	guḷanimbalaara	gaḷanimbalaara	gaanimbalara
+DAT-1 (?)				gaanirawu

Cont...

TABLE 6.2. (Continued)

Meaning	North	South	West	East
'to (across sight)'				gaarija (W?)
'to (across sight)'				gaarijara
'from'	gajirijin			gaarijin
+gara	gajirijingara			gaarijingara
'(down?) at, to'		guḷila		
'to (short distance)'		guḷilaba		
'to (short distance)'		guḷaba (N?)		
'to (across sight)'			gaḷajara	
'from'			gaḷajin	
+gara			gaḷajingara	
'at' (?)		guḷagula		
'to, at'	gajili			
'to (short distance)'	gajiliba	guḷaliba		
as above		guḷiliba		
'to (across sight)'	gajilija	guḷilija		
as above	gajilijara	gaḷilijara		
'from'	gajilijin	guḷilijin		
+gara	gajilijingara	guḷilijingara		
'at'		guḷira (W?)		
'at'			gaḷagula (N?)	
'to' (?)			gaḷagalajaṛu	
'on the other side'			gaḷagala	
+DATIVE-2 (?)			gaḷawura	
+DATIVE-1 (?)			gaḷarawu	

Examples include (136), (277) and (456). For more examples, see the texts.

A pair of words for 'north' and 'south' are often used as a set phrase (the former always immediately precedes the latter). Thus:

gajira gułara	'north and south', 'here and there, (look) this way and that way', e.g. (286)-(iv);
gajilijin gułilijin	'from north and from south', 'from both sides; from side to side; side by side', e.g. text 2, sentence 24.

Words for cardinal directions are used very frequently. They are used in a very different way from, say, in Japanese. For instance: specification of the location of a person (or a thing) generally involves the words for cardinal directions rather than adverbs such as 'near', 'beside', 'behind' or the like. That is, one would say 'He is sitting north of you', for example, rather than, say, 'He is sitting behind you'. As another example, when going to Old Hall's Creek (about 15 kilometres east of New Hall's Creek), a sentence such as (136) 'Let's go east' is generally used, without mentioning the place name (even if it has a Djaru name or English name).

TABLE 6.3.
'UP' AND 'DOWN/INSIDE'

Meaning	'Up'	'Down/Inside'	'Down/Inside'
'to, at'	ganga	gani	ganigani
'to, at'		ganđura	
'along creek' (?)	gangara	ganimbara	
'from'	gangajin	ganijin	
'to' (?)	gangani		
'to'	gangula	ganimbala	
'to' (?)		ganđaa (W?)	
'on (moving)'	gangulubala		
'vertically' (?)	gangulura		
as above	gangulurala		
'from'	gangulijin		
'to' (?)	gangulubalajaɽu		
'to'	ganguralu		
+gara	gangunungara		

Examples include (56), (286)-(iv), gangulijin-ḡuḡu 'eagle hawk' in 6.2.1.[5] and (543). For more examples, see the texts.

We do not attempt a morphological analysis of the words given in Tables 6.2. and 6.3., but we could easily recognise elements such as -jin 'from' and -jara 'across sight'. They are not case endings but stem-forming suffixes; they can be followed by a case ending. Thus:

gaḷajin-da	'from west-LOC', 'in the afternoon';
gangulubala-ḡu	'above-ABL';
gani-ḡga	'down/inside-LOC';
ganijin-ḡu	'from down/inside-ABL'.

Malngin and Wandjira have words for cardinal directions, 'up' and 'down/inside' almost identical with those in Djaru.

6.3.3. REDUPLICATION

There are many instances of reduplicated adverbs and preverbs. In some (but not all) instances, particularly in W, initial-consonant alternations are observed (see also 6.2.2.). (Phonologically, W is divergent and N is conservative - 1.2.) Thus:

buṛḡa	'running' (prev) (N,W)	buṛḡa-buṛḡa (N), 'running' (prev), also buṛḡa-wuṛḡa (W)	used like a noun 'races';
bila	'chasing' (prev) (N,W)	bila-bila	'chasing' (prev) (N, W), e.g. (530), text 3, sentence 13.

See also examples involving buduḡ 'lighting' and ḡumba 'all the time', given below. There are also instances of partial reduplication. Thus (all the examples given below are preverbs):

buduḡ (N,W)	budu-wuduḡ (W)	'lighting (a fire)';
ḡaṛaḡ (W)	ḡaṛa-ḡaṛaḡ (W)	'making', e.g. (316), (507);
daṛaḡ	daṛa-daṛaḡ	'drinking', e.g. text 1, sentence 63;
	daṛa-ṛaḡ	'drinking';
wirin	wirin-wirin	'tying up' (N);
duwur	duwu-duwur	'rounding up'.

In the case of preverbs and some of adverbs, reduplication appears to intensify the meaning or indicate continuity/repetition. Thus, examples of adverbs:

jungu	'far'	jungu-jungu	'very far';
wilaji	'(go) round'	wilaji-wilaji	'round and round' (W?);
waman	'(go) round'	waman-waman	'round and round' (N?).

Two more pairs of examples, involving preverbs. An informant gave the following two sentences, with translations, for contrast:

(541) *ɲumbir-u ɲa ɟinaɟina dan jaan-an*
woman-ERG C dress hang-PRES
 'A woman hangs ONE dress'

(542) *ɲumbir-u ɟinaɟina dan-dan jaan-i*
woman-ERG dress hang-PAST
 'A woman hung MORE THAN ONE dress'

Another informant gave the following and translated:

ɲaɾag man-an ; ɲaɾa-ɲaɾag man-an
 'make' 'making'

However, in the case of other adverbs, reduplication does not seem to create any semantic difference. For example:

<i>gani</i>	<i>gani-gani</i>	'down/inside' (6.3.2.)
<i>dagur</i>	<i>dagur-dagur</i>	'inside'
<i>ɟāar</i>	<i>ɟāar-ɟāar</i>	'in vain', e.g. (426), text 2, sentence 13;
<i>ɲamu</i>	<i>ɲamu-ɲamu</i>	'long ago', e.g. (433)
<i>ɟumba (N,W)</i>	<i>ɟumba-jumba (N),</i>	'all the time; for good', e.g. (289),
	<i>ɟumba-juba (W),</i>	as above
	<i>ɟumba-jiba (W)</i>	as above

There are some adverbs (of place or of manner) that are formed by reduplicating a noun. Thus:

<i>binga</i>	'creek'	<i>binga-binga</i>	'along a creek';
<i>dumal</i>	'middle'	<i>dumal-dumal</i>	'in the middle',
		<i>duma-dumal</i>	as above;
<i>nara</i>	'back'	<i>nara-nara</i>	'(feel tired, for instance) in the back';
<i>maɭa</i>	'finger'	<i>maɭa-maɭa</i>	'(talk) with fingers' (W);
<i>jaɲi</i>	'one'	<i>jaɲi-jaɲi</i>	'one by one';
<i>jambaɟi</i>	'small'	<i>jambaɟi-jambaɟi</i>	'little by little';
<i>limbal</i>	'one's own'	<i>limbal-limbal</i>	'separately, by oneself; each'.

(543) *jala-ɲuɲu ganimbara guja-ɲalu jan-an binga-binga*
that-AFTER down -1PlExcNom go-PRES along a creek
 'Then we go down (along) a creek' (N example)

(For the conjunction *guja*, see 4.7.)

(544) *ɲa-liwa-anu gaɲ-gu limbal-limbal*
C-1PlIncNom-3PlAcc take-PURP separately
 'We will take (a woman) each (separately; by ourselves)'

- (545) *pila mawun mala-mala maŋ-an*
that man with fingers talk-PRES
'That man talks with fingers'

In the case of a few words that describe manner, in transitive sentences their non-reduplicated forms (obligatorily?) take the ergative(/instrumental) ending but their reduplicated forms do not. Thus, involving *ɾaŋgu* 'slowly' (N):

- (546) *bulbul-waɟi' ɲa-n ɾaŋgu-gu-lu biɾa man-an-i*
blanket C-2SgNom slowly-ERG-CLC take off-CONT-PAST
'You were taking a blanket off (a woman) slowly'

(For the etymology of *bulbul-waɟi* 'blanket', see 6.2.1.-[9].)

- (547) *ɾaŋgu-ɾaŋgu gaŋ-gu-li*
slowly-RDP carry-PURP-1DuIncNom
'We will carry it slowly'

Other words that appear to function in the same way include:

- jaɾu-ŋgu jaɾu-jaɾu 'gently' (W);*
banba-gu banba-banba 'slowly' (W).

It may be the case that non-reduplicated forms are nouns and reduplicated forms are adverbs.

T E X T S

The following three texts have been selected from some seventy texts. Another story is now in press - Moses, forthcoming.

In the texts below, the words in brackets were given by the storyteller during the playback, either as replacement of or as addition to the words given first. The three dots ... indicate a pause within one sentence.

Text 1

A story told by Mr Robert Moses, in the Old Hall's Creek dialect of W. It concerns a seven-month long cattle drove, through a semi-desertland, from Kimberley to Alice Springs (see Maps 1 and 2), carried out by the storyteller and some other stockmen. (The storyteller is a very able stockman.) It describes the hardship encountered during the drove and relief enjoyed on its completion.

1. *na-na-ngula* *mara-lu* *muḷa-puḡ* (also *muḷa-puḡa*)
 C-1SgNom-2SgLoc *tell-PURP* *here-FROM* *here-FROM*
- guwa-ḡalu* *bulumanu* *gaḷani* *ḡaruwaḡḡi'-puḡa* *gaḡ-an-i*
 -1PlExcNom *bullock* *west* *Moola Bulla-FROM* *carry-CONT-PAST*
- 'I will tell (to) you (a story of how) we took cattle in the west, from Moola Bulla Station'*

(In W, generally -puḡa (rather than -puḡ or -puḡu) is used - 6.2.1.-[5]. Bulumanu is a loan from English. It is very common for a story to begin with a sentence that contains maran- Vt. 'tell' and guwa; here guwa appears to mark new information. See 4.7.)

2. *ḡaruwaḡḡi'-puḡa* *guwa-ḡalu* *gaḡ-an-i* *ganimbara*
 Moola Bulla-FROM -1PlExcNom *carry-CONT-PAST* *down creek*
- ḡurip-ḡawu*
 Carranya-ALL
- 'We took cattle from Moola Bulla Station down (Wolf) Creek to Carranya Station'*

3. gani ḡurir-ḡu ḡa-ḡalu biban-i baḡu-ḡgu-jali
 down Carranya-ABL C-1PlExcNom pick up-PAST foot-INST-CLC
 bulumanu guḡu-wuḡu-jaḡu jamba-aba-jaḡu
 bullock calf-RDP-WITH little-RDP-WITH
 'Down, from Carranya Station we picked up cattle together with
 (little) calves (and drove them) on foot'

(This use of the instrumental baḡu-ḡgu is rather unusual. bibani (also in sentence 36) is a fusion of the preverb bib 'picking' and verb man-Vtr 'get' - 4.10.1.-[2]-(a), (e).)

4. ḡa-ḡalu ḡar-a ḡani ... ḡuḡani balgu-ḡgawu. (bandar-awu)
 C-1PlExcNom carry-PAST down south Balgo-ALL Balgo-ALL
 'We drove (the cattle) down south to Balgo Hill'

(Probably, Balgo is not an Aboriginal word.)

5. balgu-ḡga (bandar-a) ḡa-ḡalu balu wip-a ḡaba limbal-ḡali
 Balgo-LOC Balgo-LOC C-1PlExcNom find-PAST water different-CLC
 'At Balgo Hill we find water (that was) different (from ordinary
 water'

6. ḡaba ḡa-ḡalu balu wip-a ḡijirḡijir
 water C-1PlExcNom find-PAST red
 'We found red water'

7. wagura ḡuḡu-ḡuḡu, ḡaba limbal ḡijirḡijir
 not black-RDP water different red
 'The water was not black but was different and red'

8. guḡa'ra ḡa-lijara jan-ipura
 two C-1DuExcNom go-PAST NARR
 'We two (Long Paddy and I) were going (on horseback side by side)'

9. ḡa-lija-ḡunu maḡ-ipura
 C-1DuExcNom-M talk-PAST NARR
 'We said to each other'

10. wagura-ji, ḡawa ḡaba ḡajingu ḡijirḡijir
 not-CLC this water red
 'Oh no, this water is red'

(For ḡajingu, see 4.5.1.)

11. ḡamba-ḡanḡaji-jugali (ḡamba-ḡanḡaji-wari)
 what-LIKE-? what-LIKE-I wonder
 '(I wonder, I don't know) what sort (of water this is)'

12. jala-puŋa (jala-puŋa-jali) ŋa-lija jan-i gaaraba
that/there-FROM-CLC C-1DuExcNom go-PAST east (short
distance) gaani mindibuŋu-lawu
east Duck Lagoon-ALL
'And then/from there, we went east to Duck Lagoon'
13. ŋaba ... ŋaba muŋa-ŋga nin-an-i juga-ŋga, wagura
water here-LOC stay-CONT-PAST grass-LOC not
binga-ga
creek-LOC
'Here, there was water among grass, but not in a creek. (That is
it was spring water)'
14. buwuɖ-ɖa' ŋajingu gangunun-gara nin-an (ninan-an) ɖilɖi'-ŋga
bush-LOC on top-gara stay-PRES stay-PRES sand-LOC
'The water is on top of a sandy ridge, in the bush'
- (The writer suspects that buwuɖ-ɖa is a loan from English (*bush*), but it is quite commonly used by many speakers.)
15. ɖilɖi'-ŋga ŋajingu ninan-an ŋaba gangunun-gara mindibuŋu-la
sand-LOC stay-PRES water on top-gara Duck Lagoon-LOC
'The water was on top of a sandy ridge, at Duck Lagoon'
16. ŋa-lija (ŋa-lijara) gara-jali maŋ-i
C-1DuExcNom C-1DuExcNom thus-CLC talk-PAST
'We said thus:'
17. wagura, ŋawa ŋaba binga-muluŋu-la nin-an
not this water creek-WITHOUT-LOC stay-PRES
'Oh, this water lies in (a place) with no creek'
18. ŋana-wari
what-I wonder
'I wonder/I don't know what is the name (of this)'
- (ŋana, generally 'who', can refer to inanimate beings when asking their names - 3.3.1.)
19. jala-puŋa ŋa-lijara jan-i gaana gaana gaana
that/there-FROM C-1DuExcNom go-PAST east
gaanimba muŋa-wu
east here-ALL
'From there/and then we went east, east, east (and came) here'

20. *ɲana-wari-lu maran-an-i walgir jambi jala-ɲana-lu*
what-I-wonder-3PlNom call-CONT-PAST lagoon big there-OF-ERG
 mawun-du
 man-ERG
 'I wonder what the people of that region called that big lagoon'
 (For -ɲana 'OF', see 6.2.1.-[3].)
21. *ɲaba ...ɲaba ... wurgal-wurgal wurgal-wurgal*
water green grass-RDP
 'The water was blue (lit. green)'
22. *ɲa-ɲala-anu jala-ɲga ɲa-ɲa ɲa-ɲura*
 C-1PlExcNom-3PlAcc there-LOC carry-PAST down
 'We drove them (the cattle) there down'
 (-ɲala is a phonetic variant of -ɲalu '1PlExcNom' - 4.5.2.-[4].)
23. *ɲirmin ɲa-ɲala-anu ɲa-ɲa barig-gu-la*
through C-1PlExcNom-3PlAcc carry-PAST paddock-gu-LOC
 'We drove them through a paddock'
 (barig is a loan from English (paddock).)
24. *ɲa-lu ma-ɲa (ma-ɲan)*
 C-3PlNom talk-CONT PRES talk-
 '(Standing on the eastern side of the border between W.A. and N.T.)
 they (other stockmen) say:'
 (This may be an instance of historical present. See 3.7.3.-[3].)
25. *wagura-wu ɲawa-la ɲa-ɲarawu (ɲa-ɲarawura) ɲa-ɲingu ɲina-ɲan*
not-CLC this/here-? west west stay-PRES
 ɲura-ɲa
 2Pl-DAT
 'Oh, in the west (on the western side of the border) lies your
 (country) (i.e. W.A.)'
26. *ɲa-ɲarawura-ɲali ɲa-ɲalu ɲa-ɲi ɲa-ɲi-wa-ɲi-ɲa*
east-CLC C-1PlExcNom go-PAST another-DIFFERENT-LOC
 ɲa-ɲa-ɲa
 ground-LOC
 'We had entered another, different ground (i.e. N.T.)'
27. *ɲa-ɲa ɲa-ɲalu ɲa-ɲi ɲa-ɲi ɲa-ɲa-ɲawu ɲa-ɲawu*
east C-1PlExcNom go-PAST down water-ALL there-ALL
 wurgal-wurgal-awu ɲa-ɲa-ɲawu wurgal-awu
 green-RDP-ALL water-ALL green-ALL
 'We went east down there to the blue water'

28. wurgal-wurgal ḡaba
green-RDP water
'(It was) blue water (lit. green)'

29. jala-ḡa ḡa-lu ḡuḡa-ḡuḡa nir-a-jali bulumanu
there-LOC C-3PlNom dead-RDP stay-PAST-CLC bullock
'There many cattle died'

(Here, reduplication indicates 'many' or 'repeatedly' - 6.2.2.)

30. ḡa-lu ḡuḡa-ḡuḡa nir-a-jali ḡuḡu-wuḡu-jaḡu jamba-aba
C-3PlNom dead-RDP stay-PAST-CLC calf-RDP-WITH little-RDP
'They (the bullocks) together with calves died'

(Here, jamba-aba would be expected to be suffixed with -jaḡu.)

31. wagura, waḡiḡari waḡiḡari waḡiḡari
not very many
'Oh no, a big mob (of cattle died)'

32. wagura, ḡulu ḡuḡa ḡa-lu nir-a
not all(?) dead C-3PlNom stay-PAST
'Oh no, all (?) died'

(The meaning of the word ḡulu is not understood well.)

33. murgun murgun maḡa (sic), ḡuḡara ḡuḡara maḡa
three three hand two two hand
'Six hundred (but, in fact this is a mistake) four hundred (cattle died)'

(This particular way of counting is probably not traditional.)

34. garaḡala waḡiḡari
to that extent very many
'That many (cattle died)'

35. (gaḡa ḡa-lu ḡaḡ-i wurgal)
salt C-3PlNom eat-PAST green grass
'They had eaten salty grass'

36. nila ḡa-ḡalu biban-i jala-nuḡa
there C-1PlExcNom pick up-PAST there-FROM
'There we picked up (cattle again)'

37. gaara ḡa-ḡalu jan-i
east C-1PlExcNom go-PAST
'We went east'

38. gaani ḡa-ḡalu ḡuḡu-ḡuḡu-jali ḡaba balu wiḡ-a
east C-1PlExcNom black-RDP-CLC water find-PAST
'In the east we found black water (i.e. ordinary water)'

39. waŋɖu'-ga-wari ɲura-ŋga
 where-LOC-I wonder camp-LOC
 'I wonder/I don't know in what camp; i.e. I don't know what place
 the camp was'

40. wagura-lija (wagura-lijara) ɲara man-ipura ɲura gaaraɟa
 not-1DuExcNom not-1DuExcNom know-PAST NARR camp east
 ganimbara
 down creek
 'We did not know the camp east down the creek'

41. gara-lu ɲa-lija (ɲa-lijara) jan-i wuɲa buwuɖ-da'
 thus-CLC C-1DuExcNom C-1DuExcNom go-PAST off/away bush-LOC
 'We went on in the bush'

(The combination of gara and lu appears to mean 'continue to' or '(keep)
 on ... ing' or 'finally'.)

42. ɲawa wagura wajini ɲawa
 this not alike this
 'This place (where we went on) is not like this place (i.e. Hall's
 Creek)'

(It appears that the noun wajini 'alike, similar' takes a direct object
 (in the absolutive case). See 4.4.4. Similarly for sentence 43.)

43. ɖaŋu wagura wajini ɲawa guwa ɲaliba pin-an (pinan-an)
 that not alike this 1PlInc sit-PRES sit-PRES
 'That (place under discussion) is not like this (place, i.e. Hall's
 Creek) where we are sitting'

(Here, guwa clause is used like a relative clause. See 4.7.-[1]-[c].)

44. ɲura gida
 camp good
 '(This) camp (i.e. Hall's Creek) is good (i.e. this ground is not
 rough like the place where we drove the cattle)'

45. waŋu ɲawa gani-gani ɲa-ɲalu jan-ipura
 this/here down-RDP C-1PlExcNom go-PAST NARR
 muɭa-ŋga burun-da ɲamba-ga jala-ŋga
 this/here-LOC turpentine-LOC anything/what-LOC there/that-LOC
 buɲu-ŋga maɲɖa-ga maɲɖa-ga
 tree-LOC scrub-LOC
 'We went through this turpentine bush, trees, scrub and anything'

(The meaning and function of waŋu are not understood - 4.5.1.)

46. gara-lu gara-lu ḡa-ḡalu jan-i:..... gaara gaarija
 thus-CLC C-1PlExcNom go-PAST east east, across
 gaarijara jambi-gawu binga-gawu
 sight east, across sight big-ALL river/creek-ALL
 'We went east, across sight (perhaps, as seen from Hall's Creek,
 Kimberley) to a big river'
47. ḡana-wari-lu maran-an binga jambi
 what-I wonder-3PlNom call-PRES creek big
 'I don't know what they call the big river'
48. guḡani ḡa-animba ḡaba-ḡgu-jali ḡaba-ḡgu-jali ḡa-animba
 south C-1PlExcAcc rain-ERG-CLC C-1PlExcAcc
 bajan-iḡura
 bite-PAST NARR
 '(There) in the south rain bit (i.e. hit hard) us'
49. bajan-i ḡa-animba bajan-i
 bite-PAST C-1PlExcAcc bite-PAST
 'It hit us hard'
50. nila ḡaba guwa wandiḡ-a (wandiḡ-an-i)
 that/there rain fall-PAST fall-CONT-PAST
 'That rain fell (hard on us)'
- (Here, guwa appears to mark focus, emphasis, foregrounding or the like
 - 4.7.-[2]-(g).)
51. gara-lu ḡa-ḡalu guḡani wuḡug ḡir-a
 thus-CLC C-1PlExcNom south finish-PAST
 'There in the south we finally finished (the work)'
52. ḡa-ḡalu gara-lu juwaḡ-i gani muḡa-ḡgawu
 C-1PlExcNom thus-CLC send-PAST down this/here-ALL
 'We finally sent (the cattle) to this (place)'
53. panuḡu-la ḡura-ḡga barig-gu-la panuḡu-la ḡa-ḡalu
 3Sg-DAT-LOC camp-LOC paddock-gu-LOC 3Sg-DAT-LOC C-1PlExcNom
 juwaḡ-i
 send-PAST
 'We sent (the cattle) into his (i.e. the boss's) camp, the paddock'
- (Here, '3rdSg-DAT' panuḡu- is further declined for the locative. See
 3.3.)
54. nila ḡuluḡulu-jaḡu ḡajingu maḡ-i
 there/then in the afternoon-TIME talk-PAST
 'Then in the afternoon he (i.e. the boss) said (to us):'
- (Here, nila appears to have time reference 'then'. -jaḡu marks time -
 6.3.1.-[1].)

55. wuṅa-jali bagu jan-an-da-lu
away/off-CLC sleep-CONT-IMP-PlNom
'Go and have a sleep'
56. jambi ḡa-anamba maṅ-i waḡbali jala-ḡana
big C-1PlExcDat talk-PAST white man there-OF
'Our boss, white man of that place, said'
57. bagu jan-an-da-lu
sleep-CONT-IMP-PlNom
'Have a sleep'
58. ḡawa-la ḡa-pura ḡaba
this-CLC C-2PlDat water
'This is water (i.e. beer) for you'
- (The meaning of the clitic -la is not understood.)
59. murgun-da garagi-la ḡa-animba jir-a
three-LOC bag-LOC C-1PlExcDat give-PAST
'He gave us (beer) in three bags'
60. murgun-da garagi-la ḡaniḡa ḡa-ji ḡaṅ-a
three-LOC bag-LOC 1Sg-DAT C-1SgDat carry-PAST
'He brought me (beer) in three bags'
61. ḡanuḡa ḡa-la ḡaṅ-a murgun-da-ra garagi-la
3Sg-DAT C-3SgDat carry-PAST three-LOC-AGAIN bag-LOC
'He (the boss) brought (beer) again in three bags for him (another stockman)'
62. ḡaba ḡaṅu waḡala-man-u-waḡi
water that mad,drunk-make-VBD-AGENT/INSTRUMENT
'That type of water under discussion makes one drunk/mad'
- (For the formation of the word waḡala-man-u-waḡi, see 6.2.3.-[2].)
63. ḡila ḡa-ḡalu daḡaḡ ḡaṅ-i
there C-1PlExcNom drink-PAST
'There we drank (beer)'
64. miṅan miṅan ḡariḡ piṅaṅ-u-wu
having nothing resting-VBD-DAT1
'We did not have rest(; we kept drinking)'
- (The noun miṅan can take IO, in the dative(-1). See 4.4.5.-[4]-(b).)
65. ḡilan-da-puḡa jambi-puḡa
daytime-LOC-FROM big-FROM
'(We kept drinking) all day'

(The meaning and function of -puṅu (6.2.1.-[5]) here is not understood. Normally, it is suffixed to a noun root, but here very unusually it is suffixed to a locative form.)

66. (ṅila wagura ṅa-ṅalu ṅariḍ ṅir-a)
there not C-1PlExcNom rest-PAST
 'There/then we did not rest'
67. gaḷa gara-lu walur dagur jan-i
west thus-CLC sun inside go-PAST
 'Finally the sun set in the west'
68. gaara gara-lu ṅajingu walur biri jan-i
east thus-CLC sun out come-PAST
 'Finally the sun rose in the east'
69. ṅila alibala (magan-da) ṅa-ṅalu wurṅa-jali
there early in the morning-LOC C-1PlExcNom away/off-CLC
 jan-i gaana magan-da gaani jambi-gawu-jali
go-PAST east in the morning-LOC east big-ALL-CLC
 majaṛu-lawu jambi-gawu-jali majaṛu-lawu jambi-gawu
hut-ALL big-ALL-CLC hut-ALL big-ALL
 ḍilḍimindi-lawu
 (spinifer) house-ALL
 'On the next morning we went off east to big houses'

(alibala, from the English *early*, is very often used in the local Aboriginal English. Here, both majaṛu and ḍilḍimindi refer to European type of houses.)

70. ḍilawaḍa guwa-lu maran-an ṅawa guḷani alisṛiṅ
many -3PlNom call-PRES this south Alice Springs
 'This (camp of) many houses in the south, they call it Alice Springs'

(Here, guwa appears to mark focus or the like - 4.7.-[2]-(g).)

71. jala-ṅgawu-jali ṅa-ṅalu jan-i
there-ALL-CLC C-1PlExcNom go-PAST
 'There, we went'
72. ṅa-lija jala-ṅuṅa baḍ-ṅaṅ-u-waḍi-jali man-i
C-1DuExcNom there-FROM fly-VBD-AGENT-CLC take-PAST
 'We took an airplane from there'
73. bilwilḍi-jali man-ṅi
grasshopper-CLC take-POT
 '(The boss suggested) we should take a helicopter (lit. grasshopper) (but in fact we did not)'

74. η a-jira η a gap-a wa η ir mu λ a-wu gani mu λ a- η gawu-jali
 C-1DuExcAcc carry-PAST back here-ALL down here-ALL-CLC
- gani ... gani mu λ a-wu-jali jambi-gawu guwa pina η -an
 down here-ALL-CLC big-ALL stay-PRES
- η aba jambi
 water big
- '(The airplane) brought us (the storyteller and Paddy) back here
 down (as seen from Hall's Creek) to the big (water), where a big
 water lies'

(Here, 'big water' refers to Ord River.)

75. η a- η alu maran-an η ura gana η a η a
 C-1PlExcNom call-PRES camp Kununurra
- 'We call the camp 'Kununurra''

(Kununurra is probably not an Aboriginal word.)

76. jala- η ga-jali η a-lija wandip-a guwa-lija bilwil η i
 there-LOC-CLC C-1DuExcNom fall-PAST -1DuExcNom grasshopper
- bilaga gap-a η ura gu λ ilijin
 ride-PAST NARR from south
- 'There we landed after we had been riding a grasshopper (here
 referring to the airplane) from south'

Text 2

Another story by Mr Robert Moses concerns an episode that occurred when the storyteller and other stockmen were mustering cattle. The storyteller finds a kangaroo running on a range. With other stockmen mustering the cattle, he fights with the kangaroo by himself. After a long struggle, he finally kills it. He then takes out some fat from the kangaroo and takes the fat to other stockmen. (Fat is eaten after being grilled on hot coals. With the introduction of European type of cooking utensils, it is nowadays also used for cooking.)

1. η a- η a- η gula maral-u η a- η a- η gula maral-u pawa
 C-1SgNom-2SgLoc tell-PURP this
- guwa- η alu jan-ipura bulumanu-wu man-u-wu
 -1PlExcNom go-PAST NARR bullock-DAT1 get-VBD-DAT1
- bamar-a-li (sic) bamar-a
 hill-LOC
- 'I will tell you this (story of how) we went to get (i.e. muster)
 cattle on hills'

2. ḡa-ḡalu jan-ipura
C-1PlExcNom go-PAST NARR
'We (stockmen) went'
3. ḡa-ḡa jan-i
C-1SgNom go-PAST
'I went'
4. ḡa-ḡa balu wip-a ḡija gangulubala buṛḡa maṅ-ipura
C-1SgNom find-PAST kangaroo on top run-PAST NARR

muḷa-ḡga bindiri-la gangulubala
here-LOC red ground-LOC on top
'I found a kangaroo running up (on a ridge) on the red ground'
- (The word for kangaroo is ḡaḡi in W, and ḡija in N. Here, ḡaḡi would be expected; the storyteller is a W speaker.)
5. buṛḡa maṅ-ipura
run-PAST NARR
'It was running'
6. ḡa-ḡa-la ... ḡa-ḡa-la wid buṛḡa maṅ-ipura gambari-jali
C-1SgNom-3Dat running by short cut-PAST NARR ahead-CLC

dimana-jaṛu
horse-HAVING
'I, on horseback, ran shortcut for it (the kangaroo) to take the lead of it'
7. ḡa-ḡa-la buṛḡa maṅ-i jalawara
C-1SgNom-3SgDat run-PAST close
'I galloped close for it (i.e. to catch it)'
8. ḡa-ḡa ḡuraḡ buṅ-an-i-jali
C-1SgNom start chasing (?) -CONT-PAST-CLC
'I started chasing (?) it'
9. ḡa-ḡa bila man-i mundud-da baḡaji
C-1SgNom chase/follow-PAST ridge-LOC up
'I chased it, up the ridge'
10. ḡa-ḡa duwur wandiṅ-a
C-1SgNom dismount-PAST
'I got off (from the horse)'
11. ḡa-ḡa wiṅgi gud ban-i gangula
C-1SgNom tail grab-PAST up
'I grabbed the tail (when the kangaroo jumped) up'

(ban- is a assimilation, by the preceding stop d, from man-. See 4.10.1-[2]-(a). Similarly for gud ban- in sentence 17 and 25.)

12. wari-*na* waqba*n*-*ni* mu*la* wingi-*nunin*
possibly-1SgNom throw-POT this/here tail-FROM
'I wanted/tried to throw this kangaroo by the tail'
13. na-*na* da*ar*-da*ar* waqba*n*-*i* waqba*n*-*i* waqba*n*-*i*
C-1SgNom in vain-RDP throw-PAST
'I tried to throw it over and over, in vain'
14. najing*u* gud garun-*ipura*
hold-PAST NARR
'It held (me)'
15. najing*u* guli-*jali*
angry-CLC
'It was angry/wild'
16. na-*jila* wa*ri*r da*dandin*-*a* pandu
C-1SgLoc back stand up-PAST 3Sg
'It stood up (and fought) back (to me)'
(da*dandina* is a fusion of da*d* and wand*ina*. See 4.10.1.-[2]-(d).)
17. wari-*ji* gud ban-*ni*
possibly-1SgAcc grab-POT
'The kangaroo tried to grab me (but, it did not)'
18. na-*na* lira-*jali* bi*n*-*a* mu*la*-*nggu* ma*la*-*nggu*
C-1SgNom mouth-CLC hit-PAST this-INST hand-INST
'I hit its mouth with this hand (of mine)'
19. pandu maja-*ra* na-*ji* ba*nan*-*i* muna-*nga-jali*
3Sg again-CLC C-1SgAcc scratch-PAST arm-LOC-CLC
'It scratched me on the arm'
(pandu does not have the ergative ending here. See 4.5.11.-[3].)
20. jala-*nuna* na-*na-la* bama*r* ma*n*-*ipura*
that-FROM C-1SgNom-3SgDat stone get-PAST NARR
'Then I got a stone (to hit him)'
21. baja*n*-*i* da*bi*-*jali*
bite-PAST neck-CLC
'(I) bit (i.e. hit hard) its neck'
22. gu*nga* gani najing*u* wa*ndin*-*a*
dead down fall-PAST
'It fell over dead'
23. na-*na* ... na-*na-panda* gu*ri* ma*n*-*i* lubu pama*ngara*
C-1SgNom-3SgLoc fat get-PAST guts anything
'I took fat, guts and everything/anything from it (the kangaroo)'

24. nawa bulumanu na-ṅalu bila-ara man-iṅura gajilijin
this bullock C-1PlExcNom chase-PAST NARR from north

guḷilijin
from south

'(Before I found the kangaroo) we were chasing these cattle from both sides'

(gajilijin guḷilijin is a set phrase - 6.3.2.)

25. ṅaḍi ṅa-ṅa dumal-a gud ban-i
1Sg C-1SgNom middle-LOC grab-PAST

'I grabbed (the kangaroo) in the middle (of cattle)'

26. jala-ṅuṅa ṅa-ṅa-anuṅgula gaṅ-a guṛi-jali
that-FROM C-1SgNom-3PlLoc carry-PAST fat-CLC

'Then I took the fat to them (other stockmen)'

27. ṅa-ṅa bagid-da gaṅ-aṅura
C-1SgNom pocket-LOC carry-PAST NARR

'I carried (the fat) in the pocket'

(bagid is an ad hoc loan from English (pocket).)

28. ṅa-ji-lu-la maṅ-i
C-1Sg-3PlNom-Loc talk-PAST

'They said to me:'

29. ṅamba-n ṅila gaṅ-an
what-2SgNom that carry-PRES

'What is that you are carrying?'

30. guṛi
fat
 'Fat'

31. guṛi ḍaḍi
fat kangaroo
 'Kangaroo fat'

(Here, ḍaḍi 'kangaroo' specifies the type of guṛi 'fat' - 4.1.)

32. juwu ṅura-ṅgawu gaṅ-an-gu-liwa gani gajili
yes camp-ALL carry-CONT-PURP-1PlIncNom down north

giḷin-dawu
Mountain Creek Yard-ALL

'Yes, let's take (the fat) down north to Mountain Creek Yard (about nine miles north of New Flora Valley)'

33. giḷin mawun-ṅuṅa jiṛi
Aboriginal man-FROM name

'Giḷin is a name from Aborigines; i.e. Giḷin is an Aboriginal name'

34. gungur guwa pin-an walḡiri-puna ḡamu-puna
cold sick stay-PRES dream time-FROM long ago-FROM
*'Cold sick' (a mythical character) has been staying (there) since
 long ago, since the Dream Time'*

Text 3

This is a story told by Mr Archie Singpoo (milḡujari), in the Old Flora Valley dialect of N. The storyteller, one of the most entertaining informants the writer has ever worked with, made up the following humorous story about a conflict over a woman.

1. ḡali-ḡgu paḡula-li-punu luwa-wu ḡali-ḡgu
 1DuInc-ERG when-1DuIncNom-M shoot-PURP boomerang-INST
 jal-u-wuḡ-ḡa ḡaḡiḡga-wuḡ-ḡa
 that-wuḡ-LOC woman-wuḡ-LOC
'When shall we shoot each other with boomerangs over that woman?'

(-wuḡ is a linking suffix - 6.2.1.-[4].)

2. ḡa-ji-n pundu-gu ḡuru man-i ḡaḡiḡga
 C-1SgDat-2SgNom 2Sg-ERG steal-PAST woman
'You stole my woman'
3. wagura-ḡa-ḡgu punuḡa ḡaḡiḡga ḡuru man-i
 not-1SgNom-2SgDat 2Sg-DAT woman steal-PAST
'I did not steal your woman'
4. pundu ḡa-ji-n ḡaḡiḡga ḡuru man-i
 2Sg C-1SgDat-2SgNom woman steal-PAST
'You stole my woman'

(Here, pundu, crossreferenced by -n, is not declined for the ergative; compare it with sentence 2. Similarly for sentences 14, 15, 16 and 18. See 4.5.11.-[3].)

5. pundu ḡa-n milba-wuḡḡa
 2Sg C-2SgNom eye-LACKING
'You are blind(; you steal any woman)'
6. ḡara-ḡuḡ-bal-u ḡa-n ḡaḡiḡga-waḡi' bila-bila-man-u-waḡi'
 thus-ḡuḡ-CLC C-2SgNom woman-AGENT chase-VBD-AGENT
 ḡuwa-ji-n ḡaniḡa ḡaḡiḡga bila-bila man-an
 -1SgDat-2SgNom 1Sg-DAT woman chase-PRES
 wuḡuḡ-u pundu-gu
 secretly-INST 2Sg-ERG
*'You are always like that, a woman chaser; you (secretly) chase
 my woman (i.e. wife).*

(The function and meaning of -ḡuḡ is not understood. It may be related to -ḡuḡ discussed in 6.2.1.-[2]. ḡaḡiḡa-waḡi bila-bila-man-u-waḡi can be expressed (and normally is) by one word ḡaḡiḡa-bila-bila-man-u-waḡi. See 6.2.3.-[2]. For an unknown reason, the storyteller deleted the word wuḡuḡ-u. This word is an example of preverbs in the ergative/instrumental case. See 4.10.3.)

7. ḡa-ḡa-ḡu ḡul buḡ-gu ḡali-jawu-lu
C-1SgNom-2SgAcc teach a lesson-PURP boomerang-HAVING-ERG

malmur-ḡawu-lu ḡiḡimilip-ḡawu-lu
short spear-HAVING-ERG bottle spear-HAVING-ERG

'I will teach you a lesson by (hitting you with) a boomerang and (by spearing you with) a short spear and bottle spear'

(In N, expression of an instrument often involves the suffix 'HAVING'. See 3.2.1.-[3] and 6.2.1.-[8]. Compare the expressions of instruments of sentence 7 with ḡali-ḡu 'boomerang'-INST in sentence 1. -ḡawu-lu is a phonetic variant of -ḡaḡu-lu. Similarly for sentences 13, 17, 18 and 19. See 2.6.1.-[8].)

8. ḡa-ḡa-ḡu lan-gu binari
C-1SgNom-2SgAcc spear-PURP knowing

'I will make you knowing by spearing (you), i.e. I will teach you a lesson by spearing you'

(Here, binari (as well as binari-g in a sentence 11) is an object predicative - 4.4.9. Spearing is a common method of punishment.)

9. wagura-ji-n ḡaniḡa binari buḡ-u-wu mawun-gu
not-1SgDat-2SgNom 1Sg-DAT knowing hit-VBD-DAT1 man-DAT1

'You do not know/understand me, a man who (might) hit (you)(i.e. you do not understand my warning yet)'

10. ḡa-ḡa-ḡu ḡul buḡ-gu
C-1SgNom-2SgAcc teach a lesson-PURP

'I will teach you a lesson'

11. ḡa-ḡa-ḡu binari-g buḡ-gu
C-1SgNom-2SgAcc knowing-g hit-PURP

'I will teach you a lesson by hitting you'

12. ḡa-li juḡa pinaḡ-an-gu, ḡalidiḡi
C-1DuIncNom good stay-CONT-PURP friend

'We will be good (friends), mate, or, let's be good (friends), mate'

(Here, pinaḡ- is used like a copula verb, and juḡa is the subject predicative - 4.4.9.-[4]. ḡa-li can also be ḡali '1DuInc-ABS'.)

13. *na-li* *di'ja* (sic) *ɖarambaji* *bila-bila man-aŋ-gu* *jubaŋ*
 C-1DuIncNom kangaroo goanna follow-CONT-PURP foot

naŋiŋga-jawu-lu *guɖara-jawu-lu*
woman-HAVING-ERG *two-HAVING-ERG*
 'We, with two women, will follow a goanna track, or, let's follow
 a goanna track with two women'
- (Here, *jubaŋ* 'foot, footprint' is 'inalienably possessed' by *ɖarambaji*
 'goanna'. See 4.11.4.-[2].)
14. *ɲundu* *na-n* *jani* *gaŋ-gu*
 2Sg C-2SgNom one carry-PURP
 'You will take one (woman)'
15. *naɖu* *na-ŋa* *gaŋ-gu* *bilali*
 1Sg C-1SgNom carry-PURP young girl
 'I will take a young girl'
16. *ɲundu* *na-n* *gaŋ-gu* *baŋɖaŋ*
 2Sg C-2SgNom carry-PURP old woman
 'You will take an old woman'
17. *wagura-ji-n* *lan-gu* *giŋimilip-ɖawu-lu*
 not-1SgAcc-2SgNom spear-PURP bottle spear-HAVING-ERG
 'Don't spear me with a bottle spear'
18. *naɖu* *ɲara-ŋa-ŋgu* *lan-gu* *malmur-ɖawu-lu*
 1Sg possibly-1SgNom-2SgAcc spear-PURP short spear-HAVING-ERG
 '(Or else) I might spear you with a (short) spear'
19. *ɲara-ŋa-ŋgu* *luwa-wu* *wirilur* *gali-jawu-lu*
 possibly-1SgNom-2SgAcc shoot-PURP breaking boomerang-HAVING-ERG
 'I might break (your neck) with a boomerang'

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