

PRONOMINALISATION IN DJAMINDJUNGAN

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INTRODUCTION

In his paper, 'Pronominalisation in Australian Languages' (Capell 1967) Capell shows that the term 'pronominalisation' is as applicable to Australian languages as it is to those of India. As he uses the term, it encompasses the whole range of pronominal structure and he shows that Australian languages exhibit all stages of pronominal development, from the pronoun as a free form, to abbreviation of the pronoun subject and the abbreviation and fusion of subject and object forms.

The purpose of this paper is to provide a description and classification of the pronominal forms of Djamindjungan, a language group which exhibits a wide range of pronoun forms. While this paper is largely a description of the morphology of the pronoun forms, it is hoped that it will be possible to relate the morphology to more general considerations of pronoun structure. The Djamindjungan group is found in the Victoria River area of the Northern Territory and comprises three languages; Djamindjung (Capell 1963 N.18), Ngaliwuru (N.69) and Nungali (N.78). A fourth language, Jilngali (N.44) has been attributed to the group, but on recent fieldwork in the area no trace of this language was found.

The Djamindjungan languages are prefixing languages which have fused subject-object pronouns prefixed to the verb stem. This is usually referred to as 'incorporation' and this term will be employed here. Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru are non-classifying languages, while Nungali has four classes of nouns whose class is indicated by a class prefix. As a result, the group exhibits an unusually wide range of pronoun forms.

The fieldwork on which this study is based was carried out during 1966 and 1967 and was financed by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. This study forms part of a monograph on the structures and relationships of the Djamindjungan languages which will be published later.

FREE FORM PRONOUNS

Djamindjungan uses free form pronouns. These are the Cardinal Pronouns and, with the appropriate suffixes, the Possessive and Benefactive Pronouns.

The Cardinal Pronouns

TABLE I
CARDINAL PRONOUNS

Person	Djamindjung	Ngaliwuru	Nungali
I	ŋayug	ŋayug	ŋayug
you(sg)	nami	nami	namindʷu
he	dʷi	dʷi	gadʷu
we(dl.in)	mindɪ	mindɪ	bidiyiram
we(dl.ex)	yirinʷi	yirinʷi	yingiram
you(dl)	gurinʷi	gurinʷi	wungiram
they(dl)	burinʷi	burinʷi	dagayiram
we(pl.in)	yuri	yiri	yuru mulu
we(pl.ex)	yiri	yiri	yirimulu
you(pl)	guri	guri	wurumulu
they(pl)	huri	huri	dagamulu

It is clear from the table that Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru have a regular correspondence between phonemes and morphemes in the cardinal pronoun system and that in the main this extends to Nungali.

Initial phonemes indicate person in the singular and non-singular;

Singular: First person ŋ- second person n- third person dʷ
(Nungali -g-)

Non-singular: First person y- second person g- third person b-

Non-final stem vowels discriminate singular and non-singular, and, in

the non-singular, the first person exclusive (Ngaliwuru first person inclusive and exclusive) and other persons;

Singular stem vowel: -a- or zero

Non-singular stem vowel: First person exclusive, -i-; others, -u-

In Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru the suffixes are; first person singular -yug, second person singular -mi, third person singular -i, and -i for all dual and plural forms. Duality is formed by adding -nʸi to the plural form in all cases except the first person dual inclusive *mindɪ* which lies outside the regular pattern of duals and plurals throughout the pronouns and behaves like a singular form. Ngaliwuru does not discriminate between inclusiveness and exclusiveness in the first person plural forms.

The Nungali cardinal pronouns display a number of irregularities which are not found in other Nungali pronoun forms. Even so, they are clearly related to those of Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru. The first person dual inclusive *bidi* uses homorganic stops for the nasals in *mindɪ*; Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru *g-* and *b-* have a corresponding *w-* in Nungali. In the Nungali cardinal pronouns the morpheme indicating duality is, consonant + *-giram* or vowel + *-yiram*; the plural ending is *mulu*, the third person dual and plural is *daga-*. The following class prefixes occur before the third person singular:

- Class 1 *da-gadʸu*
- Class 2 *nʸa-gadʸu*
- Class 3 *na-gadʸu*
- Class 4 *ma-gadʸu*

The functions of the cardinal pronouns is identical in all languages. They are:

- (i) to name the person, e.g., *ɲayug me*
- (ii) to reinforce the noun phrase or subject pronoun, e.g.,
ɲayug ɲanʸuɲam
me I-you -am- leaving
- (iii) subjects of stative and equative sentences, i.e., sentences without verbs, e.g.,
ɲayug manu I bachelor
nami gudʸugu You(sg) big

Possessive and Benefactive Pronouns

The formation of the possessive and benefactive pronouns follows that of the cardinal pronouns except that there are even more regularity

TABLE II
POSSESSIVE AND BENEFACTIVE PRONOUNS

Person	Pronoun Stem			Possessive Suffix			Benefactive Suffix		
	Djam.	Ngal.	Nungali	Djam.	Ngal.	Nungali	Djam.	Ngal.	Nungali
I	ɲar-	ɲar-	-ɲar-	-gina	-gina	-gina	-gu	-gu	-gu
you(sg)	ɲuɲ-	ɲuɲ-	-ɲuɲ-	-gina	-gina	-gina	-gu	-gu	-gu
he	nu-	nu/ni	-n/nu	-wina	-wina	-iyina	∅	∅	-wu
we(dl.in)	mind	mind	-mind	aydgina	-adgina	-adgina	-ag	-ag	-ag
we(dl.ex)	yin ^Y	yin ^Y	-(y)in ^Y	aydgina	-adgina	-adgina	-ag	-ag	-ag
you(dl)	gun ^Y	gun ^Y	-(w)un ^Y	aydgina	-adgina	-adgina	-ag	-ag	-ag
them(dl)	bun ^Y	bun ^Y	-win ^Y	aydgina	-adgina	-adgina	-ag	-ag	-ag
we(pl.in)	yur	yir	-(y)ur	aydgina	-adgina	-adgina	-ag	-ag	-ag
we(pl.ex)	yir	yir	-(y)ir	aydgina	-adgina	-adgina	-ag	-ag	-ag
you(pl)	gur	gur	-(w)ur	aydgina	-adgina	-adgina	-ag	-ag	-ag
them(pl)	bur	bur	-wir	aydgina	-adgina	-adgina	-ag	-ag	-ag

in the morphology and the correspondence between phonemes and morphemes. Ngaliwuru and Djamindjung are identical in formation with the exception of the first person plural inclusive (Djamindjung *yur-* Ngaliwuru *y|r-*). The distinction between Djamindjung *nuwina* and Ngaliwuru *niwina* in the third person singular benefactive is due to the presence of vowel harmony in Ngaliwuru in which the stem vowel is modified to agree with the vowel of the suffix if it is *-i-* or *-u-*.

Initial phonemes indicate person in singular and non-singular;

Singular: First person *ŋ-* second person *ŋ-* third person *n-*

Non-singular: First person *y-* second person *g-* third person *b-*
(Nungali *w-*) (Nungali *w-*).

The stem vowels discriminate between singular and non-singular in the first person only.

Singular: First person *-a-* second and third person *-u-*

Non-singular: First person *-i-* second and third person *-u-*
(Djamindjung first person plural exclusive only)

The first person dual inclusive is *mind-* which is morphologically apart from the dual forms. Duality is indicated by *-nʷ* as stem-final and plurality by *-r* as stem-final. The suffix forms distinguish singular and non-singular. The possessive singular suffix is consonant + *-gina* or vowel + *-wina* (Nungali *-iy|na*). The possessive non-singular suffix is *-adgina/aydgina*. The benefactive singular suffix is *-gu* in the first and second person and zero (Nungali *-wu*) in the third person; the plural suffix is *-ag*.

The Nungali class prefixes to the possessive pronouns are listed in Table III. The bracketted semi-vowels in Table II do not occur after the class prefix. There are no class prefixes to the benefactive pronouns.

TABLE III

NUNGALI CLASS PREFIXES TO THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

Person	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4
1.sg	di-	nYa-	ni-	mi-
2	du-	nYa-	nu-	mu-
3	du-	nYa-	nu-	mu-
1.dl.in	da-	nYa-	na-	ma-
1.dl.ex	d-	nY-	n-	m-
2	d-	nY-	n-	m-
3	da-	nYa-	na-	ma-
1.pl.in	d-	nY-	n-	m-
1.pl.ex	d-	nY-	n-	m-
2	d-	nY-	n-	m-
3	da-	nYa-	na-	ma-

BOUND FORM PRONOUNS

Abbreviated Pronoun Subjects of Intransitive Verbs

The intransitive verb phrase in Djamindjungan consists of a verb nucleus to which is prefixed the pronoun subject and to which is suffixed a tense, or, some other indicator. There are three sets of pronoun subjects which have been called here the Present/Past, the Future and the Negative Pronouns. These terms are open to discussion but they have the advantage of designating one of the main functions of each set of pronoun subjects.

Present/Past Pronominals

In Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru the pronoun subjects of intransitive verbs are the same in the dual and plural as the pronoun stems of the possessives and benefactives. This is also the case in Nungali, except that the first person dual inclusive form is *bidi* as in the cardinal pronoun.

In the singular the initial consonants of Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru are: first person *ŋ-* second person *n-* third person *g-*. The stem vowel for the singular is *-a-*. In Nungali the second person singular has the initial consonant *ŋ-* and the final morpheme *-dʷu* as in the cardinal pronoun. Initial *w-* corresponds to Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru *b-* and *g-* throughout.

TABLE IV
PRONOUN SUBJECTS, OF INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Person	Present/Past Pronominal			Future Pronominal			Negative Future Pronominal		
	Djam.	Ngal.	Nungali	Djam.	Ngal.	Nungali	Djam.	Ngal.	Nungali
I you(sg) he	ŋa- na- ga-	ŋa- na- ga-	ŋa- ŋadʷu wa-	ŋa-w- na-w- ga-w-	ŋa-w- na-w- ga-w	ŋawu- ŋadʷuwu wawu	yan- yang- ya-	yaŋ- yandʷi- ya-	nʷana- nʷadʷu- nʷa-
we(dl.in) we(dl.ex) you(dl) them(dl)	mind(i)- yinʷ- gunʷ- bunʷ-	mind(i)- yinʷ- gunʷ- bunʷ-	bidi- yinʷ- wunʷ- winʷ-	mindiw- yinb- gunb- bunb-	mindiw- yinb- gunb- bunb-	bidiwu yinbu wunbu winbu	yamind- yarindi yawunḡi yawunḡi	yamind- yarinʷ- yawinʷ yawunʷ	nʷamindi nʷinʷ nʷunʷ nʷawinʷ
we(pl.in) we(pl.ex) you(pl) them(pl)	yur- yir- gur- bur-	yir- yir- gur- bur-	yur- yir- wur- wir-	yuruw- yiriw- guruw- buruw-	yiriw- yiriw- guruw- buruw-	yuruwu yiriwu wuruwu wiriwu	yar(i)- yar(i)- yawur(i) yawur(i)	yar yar yawur yawur	nʷuru nʷiri nʷuri nʷawiri

Future Pronominals

In Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru the future pronominal is formed by adding -w, and in Nungali by adding -wu, to the stem of the present/past pronominal if it ends in a vowel; and -iw(u) or -uw(u) if it ends in a non-palatalised consonant. Otherwise the form is -bu and causes depalatalisation of preceding palatalised consonants, e.g.,
 $yin^y + bu \rightarrow yin\ bu$.

Negative Future Pronominals

The negative future pronominals are formed by adding the prefix ya- to the present/past pronominal in Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru and n^ya- in Nungali. The following morphophonemic changes occur:

- (i) $ya- + ga- \rightarrow ya -$
- (ii) $ya- + gu-/bu- \rightarrow yaw -$
- (iii) $ya- + yi/yu- \rightarrow yir- yar-$
- (iv) In Djamindjung $n- \rightarrow n^d-$ as does -n^y. Ngaliwuru $n- \rightarrow -nd^y(i)-$

(v) In Nungali the vowel in the prefix undergoes vowel harmony to agree with that of the stem if it is -i- or -u-. Coalescence takes place when the pronominal begins with a semi-vowel followed by its related vowel (wu- and yi-), or if it is the same as that of the prefix, e.g., $n^y a + wa \rightarrow n^y a-$; $n^y a + yin \rightarrow n^y in$; $n^y u + wur \rightarrow n^y ur$. In the second person singular the prefix $n^y a- + \eta ad^y u \rightarrow n^y ad^y u$.

Incorporated Pronouns Prefixed to Transitive Verb Stems

Full lists of incorporated or fused subject and object pronouns are set out in Tables VI(a,b,c), VII(a,b,c), and VIII(a,b,c). Table V provides the morpheme lists from which these may be produced. The personal pronoun forms are listed and from them the relevant subject and object pronouns may be chosen. The number forms are chosen according to the formation rules for each language at the end of the appropriate table.

TABLE V

ABBREVIATED SUBJECT AND OBJECT INCORPORATED PRONOUNS TO TRANSITIVE VERBS

Subject	Subject Pronouns			Object	Object Pronouns		
	Djam.	Ngal.	Nungali		Djam.	Ngal.	Nungali
I	ŋa-	ŋa-	ŋa-	we	-ŋ	-n	-n/-an
you(sg)	ŋang-	ŋandʏ-	nadʏ-	you(sg)	-nʏ(i)	-nʏ(i)	-nʏ(i)
he	gan-	gan-	ŋan-	he	-ø/-i	ø/-i	ø/-i
we(dl.in)	mind(i)-	mind(i)	bid(i)-	us(dl.in)	-mindag	mindi	mindi
we(dl.ex)	yi-	yi-	yi-	us(dl.ex)	-yinʏag	i/-iri-	-iri
you(dl)	gu-	gu-	wu-	you(dl)	-(w)u	-(w)u	(w)u
they(dl)	bu-	bu-	wi-	them(dl)	-(w)u	-(w)u	(w)i
we(pl.in)	yu-	yi-	yu-	us(pl.in)	-yurag	i/iri	i/iri
we(pl.ex)	yi-	yi-	yi-	us(pl.ex)	-yirag	i/iri	i/iri
you(pl)	gu-	gu-	wu-	you(pl)	-(w)u	-(w)u	(w)u
they(pl)	bu-	bu-	wi-	them(pl)	-(w)u	-(w)u	(w)i
Dual	-nʏ-	-nʏ-	-nʏ-		-nʏ-	-nʏ-	-nʏ-
Plural	-r-	-r-	-r-		-r-	-r-	-r-

Present/Past Incorporated Pronouns

The full list of present/past incorporated pronouns is set out in Tables VI(a,b,c). They may be constructed from the morphemes listed in Table V according to the formula;

Subject (S):pers.pr. ±number (num.);dual/plural+Object (O) pers.pr. ±
number (num.):dual/plural.

In the cases of the number morphemes -nʸ- will become -lnʸ- or unʸ-, and -r- will become -ir| or -uru according to the vowel of the personal pronoun preceding it. Some modifications will occur because of vowel harmony.

There are a number of selection rules which govern the choice of morphemes to fill the positions in the formula above. These rules vary as to whether the subject and object are singular, dual or plural and to some degree they vary according to the language itself. The most regular pattern is that of Ngaliwuru the selection rules of which are;

(i) If Subject is singular or first person dual inclusive and Object is singular, dual or plural; incorporated pronoun is S+O+num; dual/plural.

(ii) If Subject is dual (not first person inclusive) and Object is singular; incorporated pronoun is S+num;dual+O. If Object is third person singular the morpheme is zero.

(iii) If Subject is dual (not first person dual inclusive) or plural, and Object is dual; incorporated pronoun is, S+num;plural+O+num;dual.

(iv) If Subject is dual (not first person dual inclusive) or plural and Object is plural; incorporated pronoun is, S+num;plural+O+num;plural.

(v) If Subject is plural and Object is singular; incorporated pronoun is, S+num;plural (only if O is third person singular)+O.

Vowel harmony of -i- and -u- causes the subject vowel to agree with that of the object.

It will be seen that the selection rules enable the plural number to over-ride the dual in the subject where it can occur only in the case of a dual subject and a singular object, e.g., in Djamindjung the incorporated pronouns are formed largely in the same way as in Ngaliwuru, except that the following rules replace rules (iii) and (iv).

(vi) If Subject is dual (not first person dual inclusive) and Object is dual or plural; incorporated pronoun is S+num;plural+O+num; dual.

(vii) If Subject is plural and Object is dual (not first person dual inclusive); incorporated pronoun is, S+num;plural+O+num;dual.

(viii) If Subject is plural and Object is plural; incorporated pronoun is, S+num;plural+O+num;plural.

TABLE VI(a)

INCORPORATED PRONOUNS PRESENT/PAST, SINGULAR OBJECT

Subject \ Object		Object		
		me	you(sg)	him
I	Dj		ŋanʔl-	ŋa-
	Ng		ŋanʔl-	ŋa-
	Nung		ŋanʔl	ŋa-
you(sg)	Dj	ŋandɪn-		ŋandɪ-
	Ng	ŋandʔɪn-		ŋandʔɪ-
	Nung	ŋadʔan-		ŋadʔɪ-
he	Dj	gan-	ganɪnʔ-	ganɪ-
	Ng	gan-	ganɪnʔ-	ganɪ-
	Nung	ŋanan-	ŋanɪnʔ-	ŋanɪ-
we(dl.in)	Dj			mɪndɪ-
	Ng			mɪndɪ-
	Nung			bɪdɪ-
we(dl.ex)	Dj		ɪnʔɪ-	ɪnʔ-
	Ng		ɪnʔɪ-	ɪnʔ-
	Nung		ɪnʔɪ-	ɪnʔ-
you(dl)	Dj	ɡunʔɪn-		ɡunʔ-
	Ng	ɡunʔɪn-		ɡunʔ-
	Nung	wunʔan-		wunʔ
they(dl)	Dj	bunʔɪn-	bunʔu-	bunʔ-
	Ng	bunʔɪn-	bunʔu-	bunʔ-
	Nung	wɪnʔan-	wunʔu-	wɪnʔ-
we(pl.in)	Dj			yuru-
	Ng			ɪrɪ-
	Nung			yuru-
we(pl.ex)	Dj		ɪnʔɪ-	ɪrɪ-
	Ng		ɪnʔɪ-	ɪrɪ-
	Nung		ɪnʔɪ-	ɪrɪ
you(pl)	Dj	ɡun-		ɡuru-
	Ng	ɡun-		ɡuru-
	Nung	wuran-		wuru
they(pl)	Dj	bun-	bunʔu-	buru-
	Ng	bun-	bunʔu-	buru-
	Nung	wɪran-	wɪnʔɪ-	wɪrɪ-

TABLE VI(b)

INCORPORATED PRONOUNS PRESENT/PAST, DUAL OBJECT

Object Subject		us(dl.in)	us(dl.ex)	you(dl)	them(dl)
I	Dj			ŋawunʸ-	ŋawunʸ-
	Ng			ŋawunʸ-	ŋawunʸ-
	Nung			ŋawunʸ-	ŋawinʸ-
you(sg)	Dj		ŋandʸin-yinʸag		ŋandʸunʸ-
	Ng		ŋandʸinʸ-		ŋandʸunʸ-
	Nung		ŋadʸirinʸ		ŋadʸiwinʸ-
he	Dj	gan mindag-	gan yinʸag	ganunʸ-	ganunʸ-
	Ng	ganimindi-	ganirinʸ-	ganunʸ-	ganunʸ-
	Nung	ŋani mindi-	ŋanirinʸ	ŋanunʸ-	ŋaniwinʸ-
we(dl.in)	Dj				mindunʸ-
	Ng				mundunʸ-
	Nung				bidiwinʸ-
we(dl.ex)	Dj			yirunʸ-	yirunʸ-
	Ng			yurunʸ-	yurunʸ-
	Nung			yururunʸ-	yiriwinʸ-
you(dl)	Dj		gunʸin-yinʸag-		gurunʸ-
	Ng		giririnʸ-		gurinʸ-
	Nung		yiririnʸ-		wiriwinʸ-
they(dl)	Dj	bunʸin mindag	bunʸin-yinʸag	burunʸ-	burunʸ-
	Ng	birimindi-	biririnʸ-	burunʸ-	burunʸ-
	Nung	yiri mindi-	yiririnʸ-	wururunʸ-	wiriwinʸ-
we(pl.in)	Dj				yurunʸ-
	Ng				yurinʸ-
	Nung				yuruwinʸ-
we(pl.ex)	Dj			yirunʸ-	yirunʸ-
	Ng			yurunʸ-	yurunʸ-
	Nung			yururunʸ	yiriwinʸ-
you(pl)	Dj		gunʸinʸag-		gurunʸ-
	Ng		giririnʸ-		gurunʸ-
	Nung		yiririnʸ-		wiriwinʸ-
they(pl)	Dj	bun-mindag-	bunʸinʸag-	burunʸ-	burunʸ
	Ng	biri mindi-	biririnʸ-	burunʸ-	burunʸ-
	Nung	yiri mindi-	yiririnʸ-	wururunʸ	wiriwinʸ-

TABLE VI(c)

INCORPORATED PRONOUNS PRESENT/PAST, PLURAL OBJECT

Subject \ Object		us(pl.in)	us(pl.ex)	you(pl)	them(pl)
I	Dj Ng Nung			ɲawuru- ɲawuru- ɲawuru-	ɲawuru- ɲawuru- ɲawiri-
you(sg)	Dj Ng Nung		ɲandɪn-yirag ɲandʸiri- ɲadʸiri		ɲanduru- ɲandʸuru- ɲadʸiwiri-
he	Dj Ng Nung	gan yurag- ganiri- ɲaniri-	gan-yirag- ganiri- ɲaniri-	ganuru- ganuru ɲanuru-	ganuru- ganuru- ɲaniwiri-
we(dl.in)	Dj Ng Nung				minduru- munduru- bidiwiri-
we(dl.ex)	Dj Ng Nung			yirunʸ- yururu- yururu-	yirunʸ- yururu- yiriwiri-
you(dl)	Dj Ng Nung		gunʸin yirag- giriri- yiriri-		gurunʸ- gururu- wiriwiri-
they(dl)	Dj Ng Nung	bunʸin yurag- biriri- yiriri-	bunʸin yirag- biriri- yliriri-	burunʸ- bururu- wururu-	burunʸ- bururu- wiri wiri
we(pl.in)	Dj Ng Nung				yururu- yururu- yuru wiri-
we(pl.ex)	Dj Ng Nung			yiruru- yururu- yururu-	yiruru- yururu- yiriwiri-
you(pl)	Dj Ng Nung		gunyirag giriri- yiriri-		gururu- gururu- wiriwiri-
they(pl)	Dj Ng Nung	bun yurag- biriri- yiriri-	bun yirag- biriri- yiriri-	bururu- bururu- wururu-	bururu- bururu- wiriwiri-

In those incorporated pronouns in which the object is first person dual or plural, inclusive or exclusive, the first part consists of an incorporated pronoun in which the object is first person singular and the second, of the benefactive pronoun of the object, e.g., *gan mindag* (*he-us (dl.in)*), *gan yin^yag* (*he-us (pl.ex)*), *bun^yin yurag* (*they (dl)-us (pl.ex)*).

Nungali forms its incorporated pronouns according to the Ngaliwuru selection rules. Irregular forms occur in the incorporated pronouns in which the subject is second or third person dual or plural and the object is first person dual or plural. These forms begin with *y-*, e.g., *yirimindi* where we would normally expect to find *w-*. Vowel harmony of *-i-* and *-u-* causes the stem vowel to agree with that of the object.

The Formation of the Future Incorporated Pronouns

The full list of future incorporated pronouns can be found in Tables VII(a,b,c). It is regularly formed on the present/past incorporated pronouns in all languages with some minor exceptions. The formula for the structure of the future incorporated pronoun is:

Subject(S);pers.prn.±num;dual or plural+Object(O);pers.prn.+Fut;
-bu,-bi/-wu,-wi ±num;dual or plural.

In Ngaliwuru the future is formed as in the formula above. The future morpheme is *-bu/-wu*. If the preceding phoneme is a vowel and the future morpheme appears as the final morpheme in the incorporated pronoun (e.g., in the third person singular) the future morpheme is *-wu*. Otherwise it is *-bu*, e.g., *ga + wu → gawu I-him*; *gan + bu → ganbu he-me*; *yurun^y + bu → yurubun^y we (dl.ex and pl.ex)-you (dl)*; *bun^yu + wu → bun^yuwu they (dl)-you (sg)*.

Vowel harmony occurs with *-i-* and *-u-* the preceding vowels agreeing with that of the future morpheme, e.g., *gani + wu → ganuwu*. *-n^y* becomes *-n* before *-bu*, e.g., *ganin^y + bu → ganinbu*. The first person dual inclusive object pronoun *mind* becomes *bidi* in the future; the third person singular subject form which is *gan* in the present/past incorporated pronoun is *gad* in the future. No *-bu/-wu* form is added in these cases.

In Djamindjung the future incorporated pronoun is formed as in Ngaliwuru in the majority of cases. In those cases where the object is first person dual or plural the future morpheme is added to the first part; the second remains unchanged, e.g., *gan mindag → ganbu mindag* (Future), *gan yurag → ganbu yurag* (Future). There is no vowel harmony and *-n^y* in the present is *-n^ybu* in the future.

TABLE VII(a)

INCORPORATED PRONOUNS - FUTURE, SINGULAR OBJECT

Object Subject		me	you(sg)	him
I	Dj		ŋanʔiwu-	ŋawu-
	Ng		ŋanʔiwu	ŋawu-
	Nung		ŋanʔiwi	ŋawu-
you(sg)	Dj	ŋandɪnbu-		ŋandɪwu-
	Ng	ŋandʔinbu-		ŋandʔiwu-
	Nung	ŋadʔanbi-		ŋadʔiwi-
he	Dj	ganbu-	ganinʔbu-	ganiwu-
	Ng	ganbu-	ganinʔbu-	ganuwu-
	Nung	ŋananbi-	ŋaninbi-	ŋaniwi-
we(dl.in)	Dj			mindiwu-
	Ng			munduwu-
	Nung			bidiwi-
we(dl.ex)	Dj		yinʔiwu-	yinʔbu-
	Ng		yunʔiwu-	yinbu-
	Nung		yinʔiwi-	yinbi-
you(dl)	Dj	gunʔinbu-		gunʔbu-
	Ng	gunʔin bu-		gunbu-
	Nung	wunʔanbi-		wunbi-
they(dl)	Dj	bunʔin bu-	bunʔuwu-	bunʔbu-
	Ng	bunʔinbu-	bunʔuwu-	bunbu-
	Nung	winʔanbi-	winʔiwi-	winbi
we(pl.in)	Dj			yuru wu-
	Ng			yuru wu-
	Nung			yuru wi-
we(pl.ex)	Dj		yinʔiwu-	yiriwu-
	Ng		yunʔuwu-	yuruwu-
	Nung		yinʔiwi-	yiriwi-
you(pl)	Dj	gunbu-		guruwu-
	Ng	gunbu-		guruwu-
	Nung	wuranbi-		wuru(wi)-
they(pl)	Dj	bunbu-	bunʔuwu-	buruwu-
	Ng	bunbu-	bunʔuwu-	buruwu-
	Nung	wiranbi-	winʔiwi-	wiriwi-

TABLE VII(b)

INCORPORATED PRONOUNS - FUTURE, DUAL OBJECT

Object Subject		us(dl.in)	us(dl.ex)	you(dl)	them(dl)
I	Dj			ŋabunʸ-	ŋabunʸ-
	Ng			ŋabunʸ-	ŋabunʸ-
	Nung			ŋabunʸ-	ŋabinʸ
you(sg)	Dj		ŋanŋinbu yinʸag		ŋanŋibunʸ-
	Ng		nandʸi birinʸ-		ŋandʸi bunʸ-
	Nung		ŋadʸi birinʸ-		ŋadʸi binʸ
he	Dj	ganbumindag	ganbuyinʸag-	ganubunʸ-	ganubunʸ-
	Ng	gadibidi-	gadibirinʸ-	gadubunʸ-	gadubunʸ-
	Nung	ŋani bidi-	ŋani birinʸ-	ŋanubunʸ-	ŋanibinʸ-
we(dl.in)	Dj				mindubunʸ-
	Ng				mundubunʸ-
	Nung				bidiwinʸ
we(dl.ex)	Dj			yiribunʸ-	yiribunʸ-
	Ng			yurubunʸ-	yurubunʸ-
	Nung			yurubinʸ-	yiribinʸ-
you(dl)	Dj		gunʸinbu yinʸag		gurubunʸ-
	Ng		giri binʸ		guru bunʸ-
	Nung		yiri birinʸ		wiri binʸ-
they(dl)	Dj	bunʸinbu mindag	bunʸinbuyinʸag	burubunʸ-	burubunʸ-
	Ng	biribidi-	biri binʸ	burubunʸ-	buru bunʸ
	Nung	yiribidi	yiri birinʸ-	wurubunʸ-	wiribirinʸ
we(pl.in)	Dj				yuru bunʸ-
	Ng				yuru bunʸ-
	Nung				yiribinʸ-
we(pl.ex)	Dj			yiribunʸ-	yiribunʸ-
	Ng			yuru bunʸ-	yurubunʸ
	Nung			yiribinʸ	yiribinʸ
you(pl)	Dj		gunbu yinʸag		gurubunʸ-
	Ng		giribinʸ-		gurubunʸ
	Nung		yiribinʸ-		wiribirinʸ
they(pl)	Dj	bunbumindag	bunbu yinʸag	burubunʸ-	burubunʸ-
	Ng	biribidi-	biribinʸ-	buru bunʸ-	buru bunʸ-
	Nung	yiribidi-	yiribinʸ	wurubunʸ-	wiribinʸ-

TABLE VII(c)

INCORPORATED PRONOUNS - FUTURE, PLURAL OBJECT

Object		us(pl.in)	us(pl.ex)	you(pl)	them(pl)
Subject					
I	Dj			ŋaburu-	ŋaburu-
	Ng			ŋaburu-	ŋaburu-
	Nung			ŋaburu-	ŋabiri-
you(sg)	Dj		ŋanŋinbu-yirag		ŋanŋiburu
	Ng		ŋandʸi biri-		ŋandʸiburu-
	Nung		ŋadʸi biri-		ŋadʸibiri-
he	Dj	ganbu yurag	ganbuyirag-	ganuburu-	ganuburu-
	Ng	gadi biri	gadi biri-	gaduburu-	gaduburu-
	Nung	ŋani biri	ŋani biri-	ŋanu buru-	ŋanibiri-
we(dl.in)	Dj				minduburu-
	Ng				munduburu-
	Nung				bidi wiri-
we(dl.ex)	Dj			yiribunʸ-	yiribunʸ
	Ng			yuru buru-	yuruburu-
	Nung			yuru biri-	yiri biri-
you(dl)	Dj		gunʸinbu-yirag-		guru bunʸ-
	Ng		giri biri-		guruburu-
	Nung		yiribiri-		wiri biri-
they(dl)	Dj	bunʸinbu yurag	bunʸinbu yirag	burubunʸ-	buru bunʸ-
	Ng	biri biri	biri biri	buruburu	buru buru-
	Nung	yiribiri-	yiri biri	wuruburu	wiri biri-
we(pl.in)	Dj				yuru buru-
	Ng				yuru buru-
	Nung				yuru biri-
we(pl.ex)	Dj			yiriburu-	yiriburu-
	Ng			yuru buru-	yuru buru-
	Nung			yiri biri	yiri biri-
you(pl)	Dj		gunbu yirag-		guru buru
	Ng		giri biri-		guru buru-
	Nung		yiri biri-		wiri biri-
they(pl)	Dj	bunbu yurag-	bunbu yirag-	buru buru-	buruburu-
	Ng	biribiri-	biri biri-	buru buru-	buru buru-
	Nung	yiribiri-	yiri biri-	wuru buru-	wiri biri-

In Nungali the future incorporated pronoun is formed as in Ngaliwuru except that the future morpheme is *-wu,-wi/-bu,-bi*. The usual form is *-wi/-bi*, the other forms are the result of vowel harmony.

The Negative Future Incorporated Pronouns

The full list of negative future incorporated pronouns occurs in Tables VIII(a,b,c). The negative future incorporated pronoun prefixed to the verb nucleus, functions as a kind of negative future subjunctive and, with the negative particle, as a simple negative future. In both cases the action is unrealisable, i.e., it will not take place. The following examples from Djamindjung will show the way the future negative forms are used in the three Djamindjungan languages;

- (i) as a simple negative,

guran^y yanin^yma
not not-he-you kill
He will not kill you.

- (ii) as a negative future subjunctive,

baydga yanin^yma
go not-he-you-kill
Go lest he kill you.

In Ngaliwuru and Djamindjung the negative future incorporated pronoun is formed by adding the prefix *ya-* to the present/past incorporated pronoun forms with the morphophonemic rules which apply to the formation of the negative future pronouns which are the subjects of intransitive verbs.

There are some irregular forms, e.g., the first person exclusive dual and plural forms in the subject with the second person singular in the object are *yawun^y* where we would expect **yarin^y*. In Ngaliwuru where there is a first person singular subject and a second person dual or plural object the forms are *yaṅun^y* and *yaṅuru* where we have *yanun^y* and *yanuru* in Djamindjung. In both cases the expected form would be **yawun^y* and **yawuru*. In Nungali the negative future incorporated pronoun is formed in the same manner as in Djamindjung and Ngaliwuru except that, as with the formation of the negative future pronouns which are the subjects of intransitive verbs, the negative future prefix is *-n^ya/-n^y-*. The morphophonemic rules are as in the formation of the negative future pronoun subjects to intransitive verbs.

TABLE VIII(a)

INCORPORATED PRONOUNS - NEGATIVE FUTURE, SINGULAR OBJECT

Object Subject		me	you(sg)	him
I	Dj		yan ^ɣ l-	yaŋi-
	Ng		yan ^ɣ i-	yaŋi-
	Nung		n ^ɣ an ^ɣ i-	n ^ɣ aga-
you(sg)	Dj	yaŋi-		yaŋi-
	Ng	yand ^ɣ in-		yand ^ɣ i-
	Nung	n ^ɣ ad ^ɣ an-		n ^ɣ ad ^ɣ i-
he	Dj	yan-	yanin ^ɣ -	yani-
	Ng	yan-	yanin ^ɣ -	yani-
	Nung	n ^ɣ anan-	n ^ɣ anin ^ɣ -	n ^ɣ ani-
we(dl.in)	Dj			yamindi-
	Ng			yamindi-
	Nung			n ^ɣ amindi-
we(dl.ex)	Dj		yawun ^ɣ -	yarin ^ɣ -
	Ng		yawun ^ɣ u-	yarin ^ɣ -
	Nung		n ^ɣ in ^ɣ i-	n ^ɣ in ^ɣ -
you(dl)	Dj	yawun in ^ɣ -		yawun ^ɣ -
	Ng	yawun in ^ɣ -		yawun ^ɣ -
	Nung	n ^ɣ un ^ɣ an-		n ^ɣ un ^ɣ -
they(dl)	Dj	yawun ^ɣ in-	yawun ^ɣ u-	yawun ^ɣ -
	Ng	yawun ^ɣ in-	yawun ^ɣ u-	yawun ^ɣ -
	Nung	n ^ɣ awin ^ɣ an-	n ^ɣ un ^ɣ u-	n ^ɣ awin ^ɣ -
we(pl.in)	Dj			yari-
	Ng			yari-
	Nung			n ^ɣ iri-
we(pl.ex)	Dj		yawun ^ɣ -	yari-
	Ng		yawun ^ɣ u-	yari-
	Nung		n ^ɣ in ^ɣ i-	n ^ɣ iri-
you(pl)	Dj	yawun-		yawuru-
	Ng	yawun-		yawuru-
	Nung	n ^ɣ uran-		n ^ɣ uru-
they(pl)	Dj	yawun-	yawun ^ɣ u-	yawuru-
	Ng	yawun-	yawun ^ɣ u-	yawuru-
	Nung	n ^ɣ awiran-	n ^ɣ awin ^ɣ i-	n ^ɣ awiri-

TABLE VIII(b)

INCORPORATED PRONOUNS - NEGATIVE FUTURE, DUAL OBJECT

Object		us(dl.in)	us(dl.ex)	you(dl)	them(dl)
Subject					
I	Dj			yanun ^Y -	yanun ^Y -
	Ng			yanun ^Y -	yanun ^Y -
	Nung			n ^Y an ^{awun} ^Y	n ^Y an ^{awin} ^Y
you(sg)	Dj		yan ^g in-yinyag-		yan ^g un ^Y -
	Ng		yand ^Y irin ^Y -		yand ^Y un ^Y -
	Nung		n ^Y ad ^Y irin ^Y		n ^Y ad ^Y iwin ^Y
he	Dj	yan mindag-	yan yinyag-	yanun ^Y -	yanun ^Y -
	Ng	yanimindi-	yanirin ^Y -	yanun ^Y -	yanun ^Y -
	Nung	n ^Y animindi	n ^Y anirin ^Y -	n ^Y anun ^Y -	n ^Y aniwin ^Y -
we(dl.in)	Dj				yamindun ^Y -
	Ng				yamundun ^Y -
	Nung				n ^Y amindiwin ^Y
we(dl.ex)	Dj			yarun ^Y -	yarun ^Y -
	Ng			yarun ^Y -	yarun ^Y -
	Nung			n ^Y ururun ^Y	n ^Y iriwin ^Y -
you(dl)	Dj		yawun ^Y in yinyag		yawurun ^Y -
	Ng		yawurin ^Y -		yawurun ^Y -
	Nung		n ^Y iririn ^Y -		n ^Y iriwin ^Y -
they(dl)	Dj	yawun ^Y in yinyag	yawun ^Y in yinyag	yawururu ^Y -	yawurur ^Y -
	Ng	yawurimindi-	yawiririn ^Y -	yawurun ^Y -	yawurun ^Y -
	Nung	n ^Y awirimindi	n ^Y iririn ^Y -	n ^Y ururun ^Y -	n ^Y iriwin ^Y -
we(pl.in)	Dj				yarun ^Y -
	Ng				yarurun ^Y -
	Nung				n ^Y iriwin ^Y -
we(pl.ex)	Dj			yarun ^Y -	yarun ^Y -
	Ng			yarun ^Y -	yarun ^Y -
	Nung			n ^Y ururun ^Y -	n ^Y iribin ^Y
you(pl)	Dj		yawun yinyag		yawurun ^Y -
	Ng		yawiririn ^Y -		yawurun ^Y -
	Nung		n ^Y iririn ^Y -		n ^Y iwiriwin ^Y
they(pl)	Dj	yawun mindag	yawun yinyag	yawurur ^Y -	yawur un ^Y -
	Ng	yawun mindi	yawiririn ^Y -	yawurun ^Y -	yawurun ^Y -
	Nung	n ^Y awirimindi	n ^Y iririn ^Y -	n ^Y ururun ^Y	n ^Y jiriwin ^Y -

TABLE VIII(c)

INCORPORATED PRONOUNS - NEGATIVE FUTURE, PLURAL OBJECT

Subject \ Object		us(pl.in)	us(pl.ex)	you(pl)	them(pl)
I	Dj			yanuru-	yanuru-
	Ng			yaṅuru-	yaṅuru-
	Nung			nʸaṅawuru	nʸaṅawiri-
you(sg)	Dj		yaṅin-yirag		yaṅuru-
	Ng		yandʸiri-		yandʸuru-
	Nung		nʸadʸiri-		nʸadʸi wuru-
he	Dj	yan yurag-	yan yirag-	yanuru-	yanuru-
	Ng	yaniri-	yaniri-	yanuru-	yanuru-
	Nung	nʸaniri-	nʸaniri-	nʸanuru-	nʸaniwiri-
we(dl.in)	Dj				yaminduru-
	Ng				yamunduru-
	Nung				nʸamindiwiri-
we(dl.ex)	Dj			yarunʸ-	yarunʸ-
	Ng			yaruru-	yaruru-
	Nung			nʸururu-	nʸiriwiri-
you(dl)	Dj		yawunʸin yirag		yawurunʸ-
	Ng		yawiriri-		yawururu-
	Nung		nʸiriri-		nʸiriwiri-
they(dl)	Dj	yawunʸin yurag	yawunʸin yirag	yawurunʸ-	yawurunʸ-
	Ng	yawiriri-	yawiriri-	yawururu-	yawururu-
	Nung	nʸiriri-	nʸiriri-	nʸururu-	nʸiriwiri-
we(pl.in)	Dj				yaruru-
	Ng				yaruru-
	Nung				nʸiriwiri-
we(pl.ex)	Dj			yaruru-	yaruru-
	Ng			yaruru-	yaruru-
	Nung			nʸururu-	nʸiribiri-
you(pl)	Dj		yawun yirag		yawururu-
	Ng		yawiriri-		yawururu-
	Nung		nʸiriri-		nʸiriwiri-
they(pl)	Dj	yawun yurag	yawun yirag-	yawururu-	yawururu-
	Ng	yawiriri-	yawiriri-	yawururu-	yawururu-
	Nung	nʸiriri-	nʸiriri-	nʸururu-	nʸiriwiri-

CONCLUSION

It will be seen that there are clear correspondances between phonemes and morphemes in the pronoun systems in Djamindjungan. This correspondance is almost identical with that described by Chadwick with regard to Djingili (Chadwick 1968). The main distinctions drawn are between singular and non-singular. Among the non-singular forms, the first person dual inclusive behaves morphologically like a singular. The dual forms are distinguished by the *-nʷ-* phoneme and the plural by *-r-*. In the cardinal pronouns the dual is formed by adding *nʷi* to the plural. The plural takes precedence over the dual in the formation rules for the incorporated pronoun with the result that there is no distinction in the resultant forms.

The inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person dual and plural is preserved in Djamindjung and Nungali but, morphologically, only in the dual form in Ngaliwuru. In the incorporated pronoun this distinction is frequently obliterated. This is also the case in the second and third person dual and plural objects of incorporated pronouns.

Capell (1957) has suggested that the notions of duality and inclusiveness versus exclusiveness may have developed in Australian languages and were not in them originally. This study of the morphology of the pronominal forms of Djamindjungan indicates that these notions are often indistinctly expressed by the morphemic structure of the languages which comprise it.

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