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DJINANG AND DJINBA - A GRAMMATICAL AND
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Bruce E. Waters



Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Department of Linguistics
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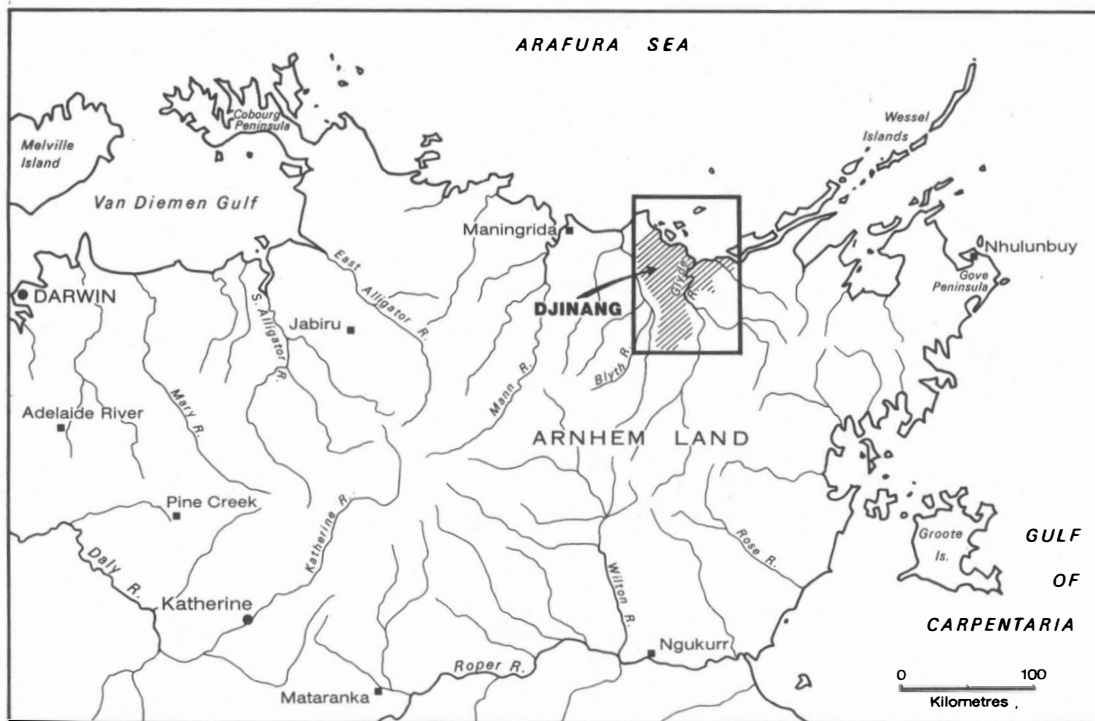
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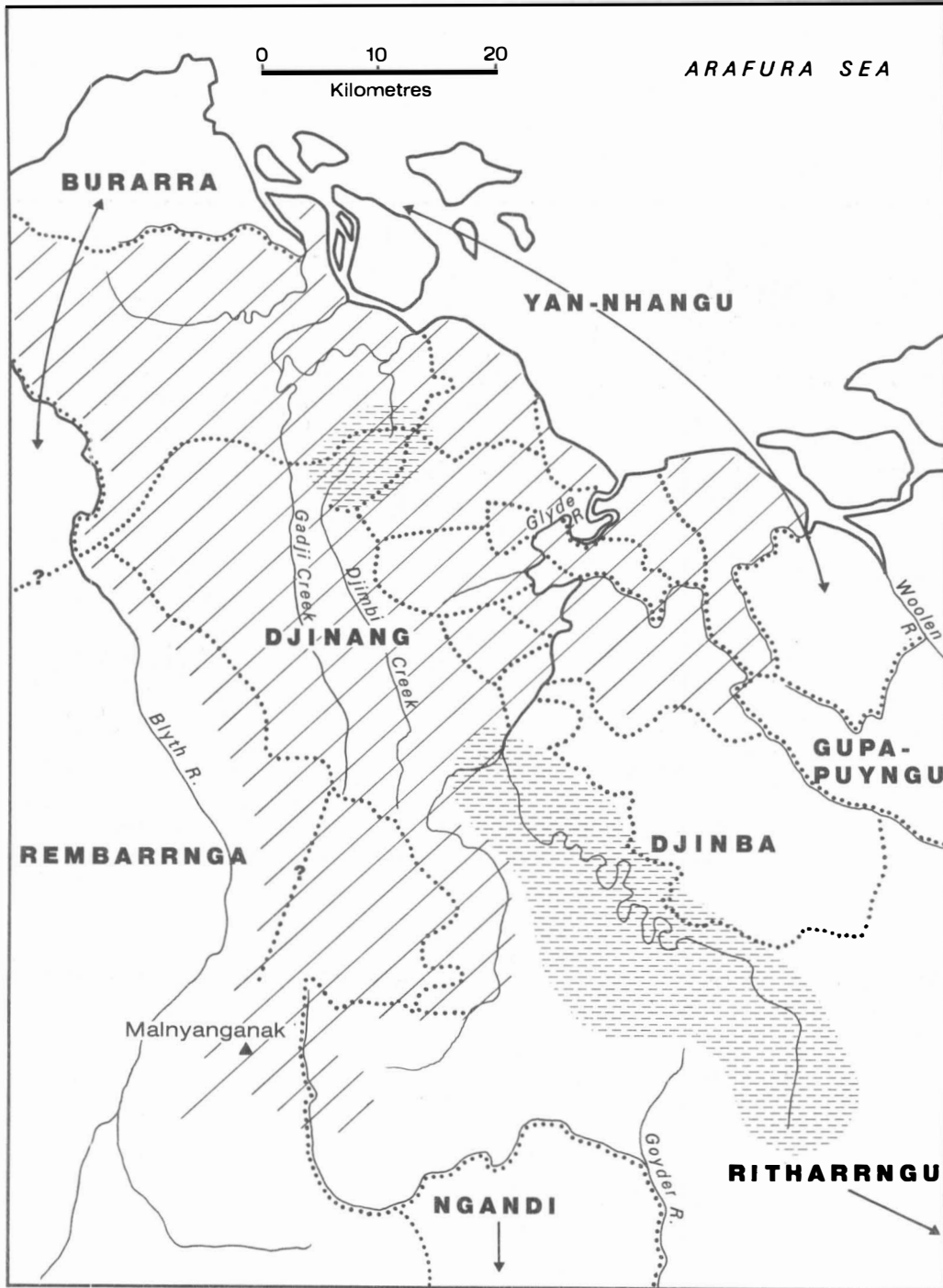
ABBREVIATIONS

A	agent (syntactic context)	Djn	Djinang
ABL	ablative (case)	du	dual number
ABS	absolutive (case)	DUR	durative (final vowel lengthening, indicated by ...)
ACC	accusative (case)	DYAD	kin dyadic (affix)
ALIEN	alienable proprietive (affix)	EMPH	emphasis (affix)
ALL	allative (case)	ERG	ergative (case)
ARCHE	archetypal (affix)	ESS	('essive' in earlier publications, reanalysed now as KINPROP)
ASSOC	associative (case) (does not occur in Djinang or Djinba)	exc	exclusive (of addressee)
AUX	auxiliary (verb)	EXCE	excessive (affix)
BEY	'beyond' (affix)	EXCL	exclusive (affix) (actually, reduplicated OR case)
Bro	brother	EXIST	existential aspect (auxiliary)
C	consonant	Fa	father
CAU	causitive (case)	FACT	factitive (verbal affix)
CAUS	causitive (verbal affix)	FRAME	constituent-framing particle/clitic
Ch	child	FUT	future (inflection)
COL	collective (nominal particle)	GEN	genitive (case)
COMIT	comitative (affix)	G-DIR	goal-directed
COMPL	completative (particle/affix)	G-TERM	goal-terminative
CONTR	contrastive (affix)	HABIT	habitual aspect (auxiliary)
CRE	complex referential expression (series of juxtaposed NPs)	HAST	hastitive aspect (auxiliary)
DAT	dative (case)	HITH	'hither' directional particle
Da	daughter	HU	human
DEF	anaphoric definite (affix)	IMP	imperative (inflection)
DEIC	deictic (affix)	inc	inclusive (of addressee)
DELIM	delimitative function (of THPRO clitic)	INCHO	inchoative (affix)
DIRECT	directional (particle)	INCOM	incompletative (particle)
DIS	distributive (reduplication)	INDEF	indefinite (affix)
dj	Djadiwitjibi clan	INHAB	inhabitant (affix)
Dj	Djuwing (moiety)	INSTR	instrumental (case)
Djb	Djinba		

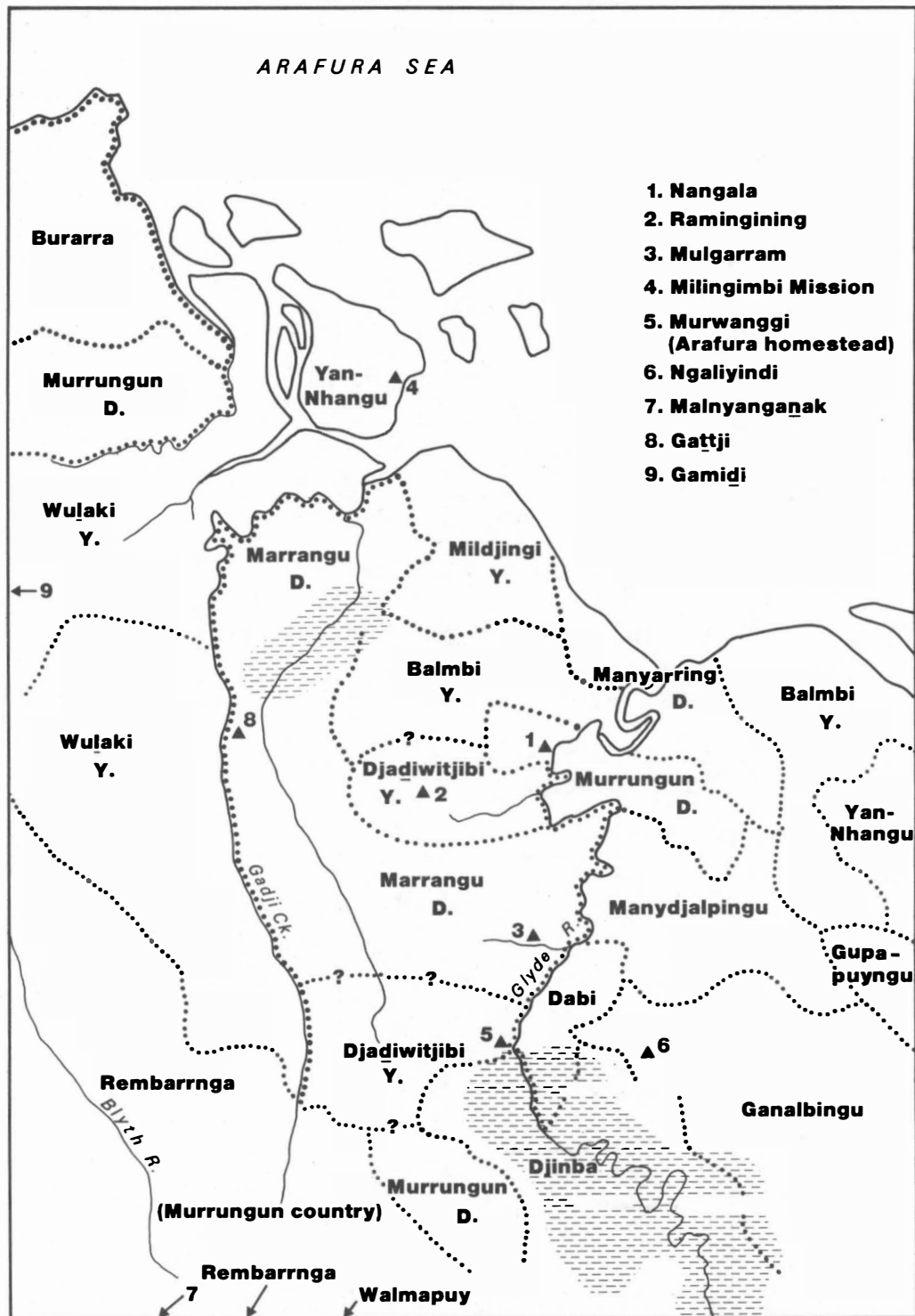
INTENS	intensive (affix/particle)	RPI	remote past irrealis (inflection)
INTERJ	interjection	S	subject (syntactic context)
INTERM	intermittent aspect (auxiliary)	sg	singular number
INTERR	interrogative/indefinite pronoun	Si	sister
IO	indirect object (syntactic context)	So	son
Irreg	irregular (verb)	SPEC	specific (or specific named) locality (affix)
KINGRP	kin group (affix)	TEMP	temporal function; temporal marker (on deictic stem); case in other Yolngu languages
KINPROP	kinship proprietive (affix)	TF	temporal focus (clitic) (what Morphy calls 'IMmediate')
LOC	locative (case)	THEMSR	thematiser (verbal affix)
Mo	mother	THITH	'thither'
NEG	negative (particle)	THPRO	thematic prominence (clitic)
NF	non-final (an <i>i</i> vowel changes to <i>a</i>)	TPA	today past (inflection)
NMLSR	nominaliser	TPC	today past continuous (inflection)
NOM	nominative (case)	TPI	today past irrealis (inflection)
NP	noun phrase	TRVSR	transitiviser
O	object (syntactic context)	UNM	unmarked (used to indicate forms in citation form)
OBL	oblique (affix)	V	vowel
OR	originative (case)	VC	verb complex
OWN	owner (affix)	VOC	vocative (word-final vowel change)
PAUC	paucal number (affix) i.e. 'a few'	Y	Yirritja moiety
PERF	perfective (particle)	YPA	yesterday past (inflection)
PERL	perlative (case)	YPC	yesterday past continuous (inflection)
pl	plural number (semantic category)	YPI	yesterday past irrealis (inflection)
PL	plural number (affix)	.	a separator in character sequences when they could otherwise be interpreted ambiguously
POT	potential (Djinba verb inflection)	+	morpheme boundary (portmanteau or unclear); or the positive value of a feature
PRES	present continuous (inflection)	-	morpheme boundary (unambiguous); or the negative value of a feature
PRI	present irrealis (inflection)	1	first person
PRIV	privative (affix)	2	second person
PROG	progressive aspect (auxiliary)	3	third person
PROM	prominence (affix)		
PROP	proprietive (affix)		
PURP	purposive (morphological construction)		
RAMBL	ramblitive aspect (auxiliary)		
RECIP	reciprocal/reflexive/mutualis/ intransitiviser (particle)		
REDUP	reduplication		
RED-PRO	reduced pronoun		
RPA	remote past (inflection)		
RPC	remote past continuous (inflection)		



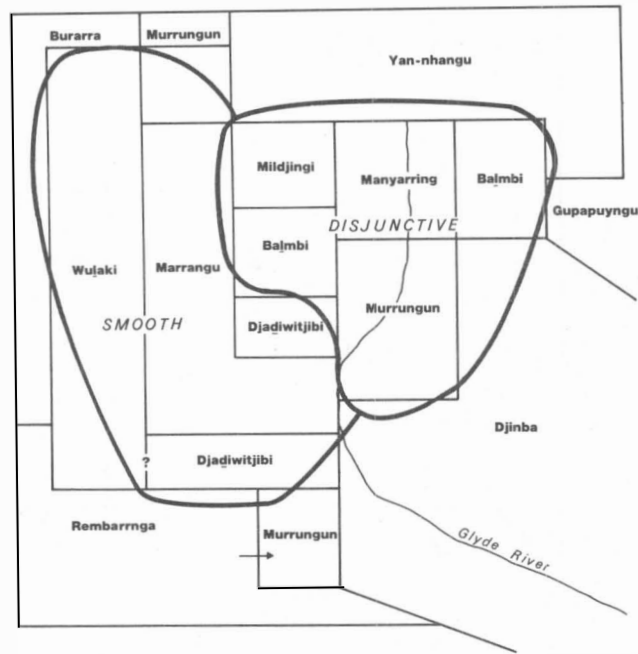
MAP 1: LOCATION OF THE DJINANG PEOPLE OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORY, AUSTRALIA



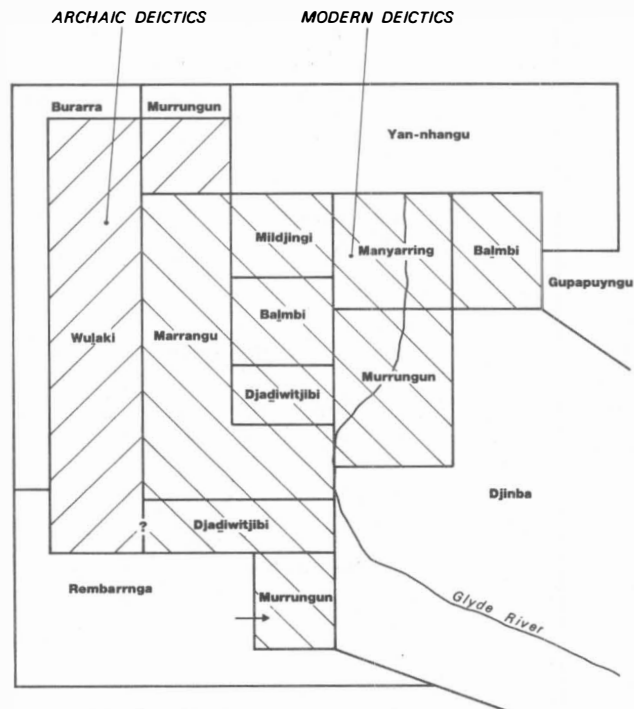
MAP 2: NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGE BOUNDARIES



MAP 3: DJINANG CLAN TERRITORIES

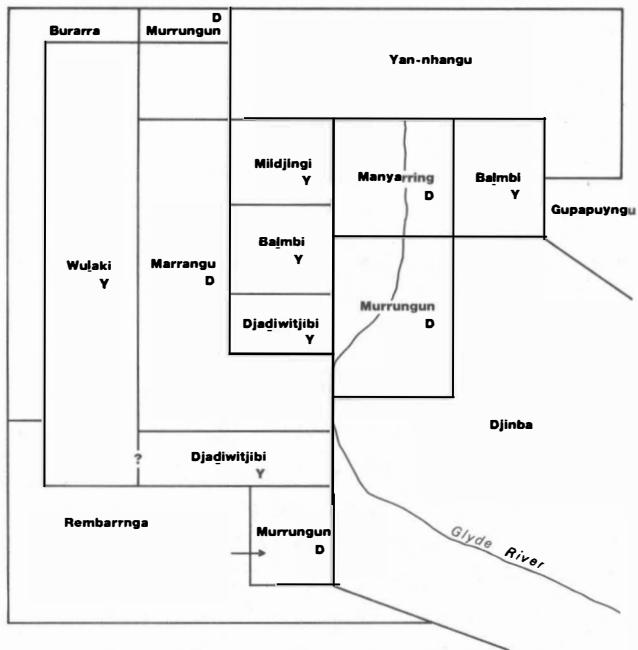


MAP 4: DJINANG SMOOTH AND DISJUNCTIVE DIALECTS



MAP 5: DJINANG DEICTIC FORMS

Y = YIRITJING
D = DJUWING



MAP 6: DJINANG MOIETIES

INTRODUCTION

The Djinang language is the westernmost member of the Yolngu language group. It is spoken by approximately 200 Aboriginal people living in the vicinity of Ramingining (the government spelling – the phonetic spelling is Raman.gining), a settlement on the mainland, about 20 kilometres south of the Crocodile Islands. Most Djinang speakers live either at Ramingining or at one of several outstations, all of which lie within about 30 kilometres of Ramingining. A few Djinang speakers live at Maningrida and at Milingimbi, and a few Djinang women have married Elcho Island men, so live there. Djinang is not mutually intelligible with any of the other Yolngu languages or dialects.

The Yolngu language most similar to Djinang is the Djinba language, situated to the south and east of the Djinang area. It is difficult to place a figure on the number of Djinba speakers, but it is probably between 60 and 90; an unknown number of Djinba and Walmapuy (a dialect) speakers living in the Katherine region makes a reliable figure difficult to obtain.

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

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

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

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

The Djinang people have had mission contact for a period of approximately 40 years; until the mid sixties they were largely to be found living either at Milingimbi (the former Methodist mission station in the Crocodile Islands) or at the Government settlement, Maningrida. Although only a (growing) minority of Djinang and Djinba people are adherents of Christianity, the people have a very high regard for the mission staff of former years (the mission stations are now Government-run settlements), and are grateful for the mission presence in the past. The reason for this is that revenge killings were a common and greatly feared occurrence in the days before the advent of the missions. People have explained how they used to live in fear, particularly at night, because of real or imagined sorcery and revenge parties. There is very little evidence that sorcery is still practised, though people still speak fearfully of it. Revenge killings are now almost unheard of. Both police and missions have contributed to this improved state of affairs. However, there are new problems now, as the white man's values and materialism increasingly penetrate the lives of the people. The present is a time of rapid social change for the Aboriginal community in the Ramingining area.

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

There is very little literature on the Djinang and Djinba languages. Anthropologists such as Warner and Thompson have studied the culture and ritual of the people, but little of substance of the languages themselves can be learnt from their published works. Capell elicited a hundred or so sentences, and collected a few texts, probably in 1941 (he thinks, personal communication). More recently, A. Borsboom has studied one of the song cycles and its ritual, but again there is little of the

language in his published dissertation. I have previously published an account of Djinang verb morphology, and also of Djinang phonology, and hence this book will not deal at length with these topics. I have also published (in the SIL Work Papers B series) an interim dictionary of Djinang, representing the state of my knowledge of the lexicon as at late 1982. That work contains over four thousand forms, with reversals by English keyword, and Roget Thesaurus semantic category number.

Five appendices are included in this book. The first deals with dialect differences in Djinang. The second deals with diffusion in the western Yolngu area. The third is a comparative dictionary of Djinang and Djinba, with extensive verb paradigmatic detail. The fourth is a reversal of the Djinang-Djinba dictionary. The fifth gives some Djinba text and sentence data so that the Djinba suffixes mentioned in the body of the book can be seen in context, and comparison made with Djinang.

The (typed, un glossed) textual database on which this book is based has been lodged with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The stories are numbered and the text lines are numbered. Audio tapes containing the stories have also been lodged with the AIAS. All of the material is fully accessible.

This book is based on eight years of field work when my family and I customarily resided at Ramingining. I and my wife work under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Our address for correspondence is now S.I.L., P.O. Box 103, Ukarumpa via Lae, Papua New Guinea.

CHAPTER 1
PHONOLOGY

1.1 PHONEMES AND FEATURES

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

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

TABLE 1.1
DJINANG AND DJINBA PHONEMES (ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION)

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

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

and is often omitted in normal speech (see Wood 1978 and Morphy 1983:17-18, who indicate that glottal stop may be treated as a prosodic feature of the syllable). A small number of Djinang and Djinba words have been spelt with a glottal stop (?) included, provided the glottal is usually articulated.

While Yolngu languages typically have a lamino-dental order of stops and nasals, both Djinang and Djinba lack such an order. This is an areal feature due to the influence of prefixing languages to the west of these two languages. Both Djinang and Djinba once had a contrastive series of lamino-dental phonemes and their loss is dealt with in Appendix 2, which is a study of the diffusion of some linguistic features between Djinang and Djinba, and the neighbouring prefixing languages. I mention in passing that the Yanhangu language, spoken by landowners of the Crocodile Islands to the immediate north, is closely related (genetically) to Djinba and Djinang, and that Yanhangu has lamino-dental phonemes occurring both word initially and non-initially.

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

Two Djinba words were found to contain a voiced apical retroflex tap, which speakers distinguish from both the alveolar rhotic trill *rr* and the lenis retroflex stop *ḍ*, although it is phonetically similar to both these sounds. The words are: *marrkuḍu* 'hair' and *bakaḍa* 'stone' where the sound in question is the final consonant of each word, written here as *ḍ*.

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

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

This brings Djinang into line with the rest of the Yolngu languages with respect to the neutralisation of the fortis/lenis opposition in word-initial position. In what follows, I often use the terms voiced and voiceless rather than lenis and fortis. This avoids confusing lenis stops with a stop lenition sound change which historically has caused lenis stops to become glides. It must be

remembered, however, that a native speaker of Djinang does not perceive the opposition as a voicing contrast, but probably as a length contrast. I also mention that the Djinang dictionary, the data in the appendices and all vernacular forms in this study are cited with the symbols for voiced and voiceless stops, reflecting the voicing and unvoicing of the cited stops rather than their lenis versus fortis values. This is consistent with the long-established 'Yolngu' orthography used in Education Department bilingual programs in some schools in the Yolngu area.

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

I have also abandoned the feature 'distributed' in favour of Dixon's feature 'laminal' (1980:184). One of the main reasons for this change is to be able to use the features 'laminal' and 'peripheral' for the vowels as well as the consonants, as Dixon suggests (1980:187). In both Djinang and Djinba it commonly occurs that a laminal non-continuant will condition the occurrence of a preceding *i* vowel, and the peripheral glide will condition the occurrence of a preceding *u* vowel, while neither environment seems to strongly influence an *a* vowel. Finally, I retain the feature 'anterior' because it does seem to capture the important generalisation that there exist both front and non-front members in each of the laminal, apical and peripheral series, despite Dixon's claim to the contrary (1980:185).

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

		+peripheral		-peripheral -laminal		+laminal	
		+anterior	-anterior	+anterior	-anterior	(+anterior)	-anterior
	+long	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t̥</i>		<i>tj</i>
-sonorant	-long	<i>b</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d̥</i>		<i>dj</i>
-syllabic	+nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n̥</i>		<i>ny</i>
	+lateral			<i>l</i>	<i>l̥</i>		
+sonorant	+rhotic			<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>		
	-lateral	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>	
	-rhotic						
+syllabic		<i>u</i>		<i>a</i>		<i>i</i>	

1.2 PHONEME FREQUENCIES

Table 1.3 gives a list of phoneme frequencies word initially, medially, and finally, and also the total frequency of each phoneme. The table is based on an analysis of the current Djinang lexicon (Waters 1983). The first four columns of figures give the number of occurrences, the next four columns give the respective percentages. In counting phonemes, the dictionary was edited so that each unique word occurred only once, eliminating homonyms. Words which enter productively into close-knit constructions (these are usually hyphenated forms in the dictionary) will be often cited in the dictionary, and therefore will be counted a number of times. Hence, for example, the word *bumiri* 'forehead' occurs in over fifty compound forms. Body-part terminology, which is highly productive in forming such compound words, causes the figures for word-initial *b*, *g* and *m*, to be relatively high. Word-initial vowels are rare; initial *i* occurs primarily in enclitic reduced pronominal forms.

The table quantifies some interesting features of Djinang phonology. Firstly, consider the vowels (and compare with the frequencies of Djinba vowels in Table 1.4). Word-initial vowels are rare, as mentioned above. For initial *a* and *u* vowels, there are only the words *ama* 'mother' (child speech), *a* 'and' and *u* 'or' (English loanword). Other instances of vowels are either word medial or final. Of interest are the relative frequencies of the three vowels. The *i* is more than twice as frequent as the *a*, and three times as frequent as the *u*. This reflects the diachronic fact that the majority of closed class Djinang morphemes have undergone a sound change in their *a* and/or *u* vowels, as follows: **a > i* and **u > i*, while most open class roots resisted the change – although unstressed and/or root-final *a* or *u* vowels quite often also changed to an *i* vowel. I refer to this historical change as the 'Djinang vowel shift'. How this change came about is discussed in Appendix 2. The synchronic result of this change is that the 'unmarked' vowel in Djinang is the *i*, whereas it is *a* in Djinba, the latter not having undergone this sound change.

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

From the table we also observe that, of the apical consonants, retroflex apicals are more frequent than the equivalent alveolar apicals (except for the class of liquids), and in the case of *ɖ* and *d* the ratio is of the order of 20 to 1. What this represents is a tendency for retroflexion to be the least marked articulation of apical sounds. In word-initial position there is typically neutralisation of the retroflex versus non-retroflex distinction in the class of apicals, but the traditional orthography uses the retroflex symbol in this environment. Word initially, the two rhotics do not contrast, since only *r* occurs. (A few exceptions exist, such as *rrupiya* 'money' which is an Austronesian loan.) One of the clearest examples of this is in Djinba, where the 1sg pronoun *ngarra* 'I' is pronounced *ra* when it occurs in reduced form (the initial syllable is dropped).

TABLE 1.3
DJINANG WORD INITIAL, MEDIAL AND FINAL PHONEME FREQUENCIES

	Number of occurrences				Frequency (per cent)			
	initial	medial	final	total	initial	medial	final	total
<i>p</i>	8	567	15	590	.028	2.00	.053	2.01
<i>t</i>	1	39	11	51	.004	.14	.039	.18
<i>ṭ</i>	0	113	33	146	0	.40	.17	.52
<i>tj</i>	1	391	36	428	.004	1.38	.13	1.51
<i>k</i>	12	569	81	662	.042	2.01	.27	2.34
<i>b</i>	609	645	0	1254	2.15	2.28	0	4.43
<i>d</i>	1	20	0	21	.004	.071	0	.074
<i>ḍ</i>	99	280	0	379	.35	.99	0	1.34
<i>dj</i>	416	1043	0	1459	1.47	3.69	0	5.16
<i>g</i>	544	1236	0	1780	1.92	4.37	0	6.29
<i>m</i>	516	782	130	1428	1.82	2.76	.46	5.05
<i>n</i>	5	356	73	434	.018	1.26	.26	1.53
<i>ṇ</i>	58	639	29	726	.21	2.26	.10	2.57
<i>ny</i>	121	351	43	515	.43	1.24	.15	1.82
<i>ng</i>	350	617	401	1368	1.24	2.18	1.42	4.84
<i>l</i>	19	713	42	774	.067	2.52	.15	2.74
<i>ḷ</i>	52	651	67	770	.18	2.30	.24	2.72
<i>rr</i>	3	1233	155	1391	.011	4.36	.55	4.92
<i>r</i>	115	810	66	991	.41	2.86	.23	3.50
<i>w</i>	294	342	25	661	1.04	1.21	.088	2.34
<i>y</i>	152	340	56	548	.54	1.20	.20	1.94
<i>i</i>	44	4904	1815	6763	.16	17.33	6.42	23.90
<i>a</i>	2	2827	233	3062	.007	9.99	.82	10.82
<i>u</i>	1	1978	112	2091	.004	6.99	.40	7.39
<i>?</i>	0	45	6	51	0	.16	.021	.18
Total words			3423					
Total phonemes			28292		Average word length		8.27	
CC clusters			2886					
CCC clusters			164					
CCCC clusters			11		Ratio of consonant clusters			
Total clusters			3061		to total phonemes		.108	

Clusters of form CCC are possible across a syllable boundary. It is also possible to get a CCCC cluster in certain circumstances. Such clusters always arise from underlying forms with the shape ...VCCNiCV... where N is a nasal. If the *i* vowel is elided, the cluster CCNC will result. In this case, the nasal always becomes syllabic. Two examples are *ngidjirrkngban* 'close now' and *wurmpili* 'one-PL' (i.e. 'ones').

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

<i>rʔ-ra-ny</i>	'kept on entering'
DUR-enter-TPC	
<i>wʔ-wati-ny</i>	'kept on swearing'
DUR-swear-TPC	

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

A point can also be made about rhythmic units. A typical shape for such a unit is CVCV. The first consonant of such a unit is non-apical, and is usually one of the peripheral or laminal stops, or peripheral or laminal nasals. However, the second consonant is typically a liquid or a nasal. This is clearly related to rhythm; the rhythmic unit's stress occurs on the first syllable, making the first syllable more prominent. Syllables which are not prominent typically have a liquid or nasal onset. These tendencies have been dealt with earlier (see Waters 1980b). Nasals are ambivalent in that, being non-continuants, they can function like stops to form the onset of a rhythmic unit; as sonorants they are suitable medial consonants in a rhythmic unit.

Table 1.4 is an equivalent table of frequencies for the Djinba language. This table is based on my field data, as represented by Djinba entries in Appendix 4. The Djinba table should be used with caution, because I have systematically obtained Djinba equivalents only for Djinang words which begin with phonemes *a*, *b*, *d* ...*l*, and *l*; lack of time prevented me from obtaining a similarly large set of equivalents for words which begin with the phonemes *m*, *n* ...*w* and *y*, although I have obtained quite a number of words in this portion of the lexicon. Thus the word-initial figures for Djinba *m*, *n*, *ŋ* ...*w*, and *y* will not be quite as high as would be the case if I had had time to complete the collection of data. The effect will be minimal in so far as no conclusion of any significance hangs upon the system of word collection for the latter part of the lexicon.

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

TABLE 1.4
DJINBA WORD INITIAL, MEDIAL AND FINAL PHONEME FREQUENCIES

	Number of occurrences				Frequency (per cent)			
	initial	medial	final	total	initial	medial	final	total
<i>p</i>	1	171	5	177	.009	1.60	.047	1.66
<i>t</i>	0	4	1	5	0	.038	.009	.047
<i>ʈ</i>	0	24	7	31	0	.23	.066	.29
<i>tʃ</i>	0	93	19	112	0	.87	.18	1.05
<i>k</i>	0	289	462	751	0	2.71	4.33	7.05
<i>b</i>	269	159	0	428	2.52	1.49	0	4.01
<i>d</i>	0	6	0	6	0	.056	0	.056
<i>ɗ</i>	75	150	0	225	.70	1.41	0	2.11
<i>dʒ</i>	229	119	0	348	2.15	1.12	0	3.26
<i>g</i>	284	116	0	400	2.66	1.09	0	3.75
<i>m</i>	126	530	22	678	1.18	4.97	.21	6.36
<i>n</i>	4	295	42	341	.038	2.77	.39	3.20
<i>ɲ</i>	15	165	63	243	.14	1.55	.59	2.28
<i>ny</i>	54	100	45	199	.51	.94	.42	1.87
<i>ng</i>	101	188	71	360	.95	1.76	.67	3.38
<i>l</i>	9	254	18	281	.084	2.38	.17	2.64
<i>ɭ</i>	30	218	36	284	.28	2.04	.34	2.66
<i>rr</i>	0	480	90	570	0	4.50	.84	5.35
<i>r</i>	36	177	21	234	.34	1.66	.20	2.20
<i>w</i>	86	164	7	257	.81	1.54	.066	2.41
<i>y</i>	54	310	62	426	.51	2.91	.58	4.00
<i>i</i>	0	858	183	1041	0	8.05	1.72	9.77
<i>a</i>	0	2000	139	2139	0	18.76	1.30	20.07
<i>u</i>	0	1043	80	1123	0	9.79	.75	10.54
<i>ʔ</i>	0	32	1	33	0	.30	.009	.31
Total words				1373				
Total phonemes				10659	Average word length			7.76
CC clusters				1027				
CCC clusters				28				
CCCC clusters				0	Ratio of consonant clusters			
Total clusters				1055	to total phonemes			.099

We shall now compare the phoneme frequencies of the two languages word initially, finally and medially (Table 1.5). The figures in the different columns give the difference between the Djinang and the equivalent Djinba figures, rounded off to the nearest percentage points. The figures for each position have also been rounded off, so the columns don't necessarily total exactly 100 per cent.

	Initial			Medial			Final			Total		
	Djn %	Djb %	diff.	Djn %	Djb %	diff.	Djn %	Djb %	diff.	Djn %	Djb %	diff.
Peripheral stops	34.22	40.30	+6	14.06	9.29	-5	2.67	34.00	+31	15.07	16.46	+1
Peripheral nasals	25.29	16.54	-9	6.52	9.07	+3	15.54	6.83	-9	9.89	9.74	
Glides	13.06	10.25	-3	3.18	5.99	+3	2.38	5.01	+3	4.28	6.71	+2
Laminal stops	12.18	16.70	+5	6.69	2.68	-4	1.07	1.40		6.67	4.31	-2
Laminal nasal	3.55	3.96		1.64	1.26		1.24	3.26	+2	1.82	1.87	
Rhotics	3.48	2.64	-1	9.52	8.30	-1	6.45	8.08	+2	8.42	7.55	-1
Apical stops	2.95	5.44	+2	2.11	2.33		1.73	0.58	-1	2.11	2.50	
Laterals	2.04	2.83	+1	6.36	5.96		3.22	3.96	+1	5.46	5.30	
Apical nasals	1.88	1.38	-1	4.64	5.82	-1	2.98	7.61	+5	4.10	5.48	+1
Vowels	1.41	0	-1	45.26	49.30	+4	63.15	29.28	-34	42.11	40.38	-2

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

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

The discussion above about rhythmic units is born out by the figures for the frequencies of Djinang word-final phonemes. In this position, sonorant phonemes are expected to predominate, which is indeed the case. Vowels are most frequent (65.15%), then nasals (19.76%), liquids (9.67%), stops (5.47%) and glides (2.38%). The apparently anomalous infrequency of glides is largely due to the fact that they tend to be lost from word-final position with the passage of time. Thus, in word-final position, the ratios are vowels:nasals:liquids:stops 13:4:2:1. In terms of manner of articulation, the percentages of word-final consonants are: peripherals 18.94%, apicals 14.38% and laminals 3.96%. Peripherals are still the most frequent class of consonants, while apicals are nearly as common, due to the high incidence of liquids in this position.

Most of the differences in frequencies in Djinba word-initial position, when comparing with the Djinang frequencies, are due to the fact that elicitation of Djinba equivalents was discontinued when I was halfway through the list of words beginning with 'm'. This has resulted in the word-initial figures for *ng*, *m*, glides, and the *r* rhotic being less than would otherwise be the case. Thus further elicitation would certainly have caused peripheral nasals to be the second most common phoneme class, and rhotics possibly would also then precede laterals, as is the case in Djinang. In view of this,

it appears that the only truly significant difference between the two languages for this word position is that Djinba has a slightly higher percentage of roots which begin with an apical stop.

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

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

Firstly, like Dhuwal (Morphy 1983), Djinba strongly prefers to elide word-final vowels, provided the resultant forms are phonologically well formed and non-ambiguous. This is particularly so in the class of suffixes (both nominal and verbal). In their dictionary citation forms, verbs have future inflection; this applies to both Djinang and Djinba. However, there are formal differences in the future allomorphs for each language which significantly affect the word-final frequencies of the vowel *i* and the consonant *k*. Djinang verbs, in the dictionary citation forms, end either in *-gi*, *-ngi* or *-dji*, while Djinba verbs in their citation forms end either in *-(n)mak* or *-rrak*. Since approximately one third of each dictionary is comprised of verbs, we expect the difference between the two languages in the frequencies of both word-final peripheral stops and word-final vowels to be about 33%. This is indeed the case, the actual differences being 31% and 34%, respectively.

A further consequence of the fact that Djinba elides word-final vowels is that the incidence of word-final apical nasals will be higher than is the case in Djinang where the same elision does not occur as regularly. A number of frequently occurring suffixes in both languages either take the form of an apical nasal followed by a vowel, or end in that sequence of phonemes. Thus, when the final vowel is elided the resulting suffix form will have a final apical nasal. Since this elision is more regular in Djinba, the incidence of word-final apical nasals is greater.

Secondly, Djinba has significantly fewer word-final peripheral nasals. Comparison of Table 1.3 with Table 1.4 shows that it is primarily due to a much lower incidence of word-final velar nasal *ng*. The following historical explanation accounts for perhaps two thirds of the difference. It has been noted by researchers in Yolngu languages (e.g. Heath 1980b:24) that there is an archaic suffix *-ngu* commonly appearing on nominals (e.g. *yol-ngu* 'person', Djinang *yul* 'person', Djinba *yul-ngi* 'person'). In Djinang, the *u* vowel of this suffix has become *i*, and very commonly has been dropped. Djinba, on the other hand, appears never to have *productively* used this archaic suffix. Consequently, many Djinang nominals and suffixes end with a velar nasal, while cognate forms in Djinba end with another consonant (e.g. Djn *-gining* 'having' cf. Djb *-nan* 'having'; Djn *gadjira-pi-ng* 'yesterday's one' cf. Djb *ripurru-birriy* 'yesterday's one'; Djn *djini?-djini-ng* 'now' cf. Djb *djinir-pany* 'now'; Djn *djini-ng* 'this' cf. Djb *djini-ny* 'this'). The other third of the difference may well be accounted for by the fact that a significant number of the Djinang verbs which have *-ngi* FUT are cited in the dictionary with the final *i* elided (because they are commonly pronounced this way). The equivalent Djinba verbs end in the *-mak* FUT suffix, discussed above.

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

word-final position. However, the most interesting comparisons between the two languages can be made from the word-medial frequencies, and it is these we shall now examine.

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

However, although the major classes compare closely with Djinang, there is variation within the classes that needs to be explained. The first thing to consider is the class of apicals. As can be seen, there are no significant variations between the frequencies of medial rhotics, laterals, apical nasals and apical stops. The 1 point increase in Djinba of apical nasals is probably due to the *n* which precedes the *-mak* FUT inflection on a large proportion of Djinba verbs. Also, we must note that while the Djinba and Djinang frequencies of rhotics differ by only 1 point, Djinba has a high ratio of alveolar (*rr*) to retroflex (*r*) rhotics, with a ratio of nearly 3:1. The high frequency of *rr* is due to the *-rrak* FUT suffix in inchoative verb forms, and also to the *-Birriy* OR suffix (*-Bi* in Djinang). Thus far we have been able to account for variations on the basis of frequency of certain morphemic shapes.

However, if we consider the peripheral and laminal classes, we see that there are systematic differences from the Djinang values. Stops are fewer (peripheral stops are down 5%, laminals are down 4%) and glides are more frequent (peripheral *w* is up .86%, laminal *y* is up 2.72%). In the class of nasals, the variation is only in the peripherals which are up 3%. The first thing to be accounted for is this increase in the frequency of peripheral nasals. Turning to Tables 1.3 and 1.4, we see that the increase in Djinba is due to a marked increase in the frequency of medial *m*. There is a partial morphological explanation for this: as explained before, there are a large number of Djinba verbs cited with *-mak* FUT inflection. The *m* in this morpheme accounts for the increase in the frequency of Djinba medial *m* and for much of the decrease in Djinba medial peripheral stops (since the equivalent Djinang verbs have a *-gi* suffix, so that the *g* contributes to the Djinang medial peripheral stops frequency). There is, however, an unexplained residue. Laminal obstruents are down about 4%, laminal glide is up about 3%. *This shows that a historical process of lenition has taken place, and in fact, these figures are a quantification of the extent to which that process has affected the Djinba lexicon.*

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

DJINANG		DJINBA		PROTO-FORM	
<i>-Bi</i>	OR	<i>-Wirriy</i>	OR	*-Buy	ASSOC
<i>-Gi</i>	DAT	<i>-wu</i>	DAT	*-Gu	DAT
<i>-Dji-</i>	FACT	<i>-ya-</i>	FACT	*-DH <i>a-</i>	FACT
		(<i>-dja-</i> often in Dabi)			
<i>-Dji-</i>	THEMSR	<i>-yu-</i>	THEMSR	*-DH <i>u-</i>	THEMSR
		(<i>-dji-</i> often in Dabi)			
<i>-Dji-</i>	INCHO	<i>-yi-</i>	INCHO	*-TH <i>i-</i>	INCHO

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

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

- (1) in Yolngu languages it is the affixal forms which are most susceptible to sound change;
- (2) there is a precedence hierarchy to the diachronic order in which forms are affected: affixes are at the high precedence end of the hierarchy, lexical roots at the low precedence end.

Concerning the frequency of word-medial vowels, the Djinba values are four points higher. In Djinang, the high incidence of *i* permits more elision. For example, the *i* is *always* elided from a /...*djiny*.../ sequence. Thus, from *dirradji-gi* ‘eat-FUT’ the nominalisation is formed as follows:

<i>dirra-dj-nyir-bi</i>	‘the eating’
eat-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR	

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

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

1.3 DJINANG DIALECTS

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

Dialectal variations correlate closely with clan membership, although the computer analysis demonstrated that variation of some dialectal features could be as significant within a clan as it is across clan boundaries. The following are the Djinang clans, with their moiety affiliations: Marrangu (Dj), Murrungun (Dj), Manyarring (Dj), Wulaki (Y), Djadiwitjibi (Y), Mildjingi (Y) and Balmbi (Y).

Wulaki is actually a dialect name rather than a clan name, however Djinang people use it as a cover term for people speaking that variety, and so it serves as a default clan name. This is not uncommon. A leader of the Manyarring clan gave me 'Manyarring' as the name of the clan, and of the dialect spoken by the clan. However, some other clans distinguish dialect names from clan names, for example, Wulkabi is one dialect name for some people of the Murrungun clan.

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

There is a 'native theory' concerning certain perceptual features of the dialect differences. I have coined the terms 'smooth' versus 'disjunctive' to characterise what appears to be a cline. Phonologically, a smooth dialect has less elision of vowels, particularly the *i* vowel, and therefore fewer consonant clusters. In word-final position, *i* is also elided much less frequently, producing fewer clusters across word breaks. This speech style is thought of as being 'slow' by native speakers. Also, a smooth dialect is more likely to use a lenis stop when variation is permitted. (Lenis versus fortis is a sociolinguistic marker in a small set of words, serving to indicate clan affiliation.)

On the other hand, disjunctive dialects elide vowels (especially *i*) more often, particularly in word-final position. In such dialects, stops are more likely to be fortis when free variation is possible, and in some words a fortis stop is always used where a smooth dialect would have a lenis one, for example, the smooth form *ngidjirrgi* 'close' versus the disjunctive form *ngidjirrkngi*. (The latter form is more recent, being a fossilisation of the former form together with the now unproductive nominal marker *-ngu*. In this formation, the stem-final vowel has been lost, resulting in obligatory hardening of the velar stop.)

It is not a simple matter to reduce several co-varying linguistic parameters to variations along a linear gradient. Dialects vary in the individual 'mix' of the various parameters. For example, Murrungun is a disjunctive dialect, similar aurally to Manyarring (which is also disjunctive). However, the Murrungun speech which was analysed statistically was found to be disjunctive primarily because the speaker had a high incidence of fortis stops, while elision of *i* vowels was not of comparable significance. More recently I have had contact with his sister, a woman in her late fifties who has spent much of her adult life in another community (not a Djinang speaking community), and her speech was very clearly much less disjunctive than her brother's, approximating the 'smoothness' of Marrangu speakers. It appears that disjunctiveness versus smoothness is as much an idiolectal variable as a dialectal one.

On the other hand, in comparison with the male Murrungun speaker mentioned above, one Manyarring speaker (Milurrurr) had a much lower incidence of fortis stops, but a very high incidence of elision of *i* vowels. Even so, the computer results do show that there is a valid statistical basis for the 'native theory'. It turned out that Murrungun and Manyarring are of disjunctive type, Marrangu is smooth and Wulaki is also smooth.[†] The little data I have for other dialects indicates that Balmbi and

[†](I have only one recent Wulaki text, which has not been statistically analysed, but it clearly shows Wulaki to be a smooth dialect. The statistical analysis of Wulaki was done before I obtained the text, and I had to rely on reconstructed (by me) texts and elicited sentences recorded by Capell (c. 1941), which made the characterisation of Wulaki more smooth than is actually the case. Wulaki is virtually identical to Marrangu in its phonological properties, though the analytical results would indicate it is ultra-smooth.)

Mildjingi are disjunctive, and Djadiwitjibi is smooth. There is no correlation of smoothness with Djuwing/Yirritja moiety affiliation.

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

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

It also needs to be stated that dialectal differences are extremely important as tokens of political affiliation. Mixing features of different dialects in one's speech is considered to be in poor taste, and marks a person as socially inept in the area of maintaining solidarity with one's father's clan.

1.4 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

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

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

Thirdly, the results show that a claim in my previous work needs elaboration (1980b:27). I had claimed that apical sonorants (*n*, *ɲ*, *l*, *l̥*, *rr* and *r*) may not follow another consonant. Whether this claim is accepted or not depends on one's analytical viewpoint: specifically, whether or not one considers that the morpheme boundary between the body-part noun and following noun or verb stem in certain complex nouns or verbs is a word boundary. A list of such complex nouns and verbs (which includes reduplicated forms) occurs below. The boundary is marked by the hyphen. In all other analyses of Yolngu languages, such boundaries have been treated as morpheme boundaries. However, for Djinang at least I believe the boundary is better viewed as a word boundary. For example, cross-referencing reduced pronouns sometimes may optionally occur between the body-part nominal and the following morpheme, instead of in the more usual position preceding the body-part nominal. Thus the above claim regarding apical sonorants holds true only if the boundary is indeed a

word boundary, the only anomalies being the first three items in the list and the use of allative case allomorph *-li* where otherwise the less common allomorph *-ili* would have been expected. If the boundary is not a word boundary, then the forms below are counter-examples to the above claim concerning the distribution of apical sonorants.

- tn* *bitn* (abbreviation of *bitma* ‘seemingly’; the *n* is syllabic)
rrl *murr**lambirring* ‘pelican’ (this is likely to be a compound of *lambirring* ‘wide’ and *murr* an archaic form meaning ‘stomach’, the compound form having a connotation like the colloquial ‘greedy guts’)
bl *blik* ‘exit, arrive’ (Austronesian origin?)

The following are attested across morpheme boundaries:

- pn* *nump-nump* ‘small mud wasp’ (reduplication)
kl *djarrk-langgarr yirrpigi* ‘wear a septum-bone’
kr *rak-rakng* ‘lightweight’, *rarrak-rarrak* ‘toasted cycad flour cake’ (both are reduplications)
mn *nam-nam* ‘high up’ (reduplication)
nr *rum?-rumdjigi* ‘be apprehensive’ (reduplication)
ngl *ngidjirrkng-li-tji-dji* near-ALL-INCHO-FUT ‘to make it come close’
nn *lurkin-nirrpmygi* ‘goad to do’
nr *mungin-ran.girri* ‘grandchild’ (periphrastic, lit. back-spear)
lr *djal-rani* ‘plant food’
rrl *bundirr-laltjigi* ‘be deep’, *ngurr-langgarrgining* ‘having a septum-hole’, *rarr-lambirrididji* ‘be open-mouthed’, *rarr-lapmygi* ‘open the mouth of something’
rn *budjirr-nirrmmygi* ‘surprise’, ‘scare’, *yagirr-ninini* ‘unimportant’
rr.r *burr-rirrtjigining* ‘pebbly ground surface’, *murr-rani* ‘promise’, *ngurr-rani* ‘insert nose ornament’, *rurr?-rurrdjigi* ‘throw up repeatedly’ (reduplication)
rl *bumir-lilingi* ‘bald’, *bumir-lupdjigi* ‘moon rising’
rn *bir-nami* ‘higher than normal’, *bir-nunydirri* ‘run around busily’
rr *bumir-rirrkian* ‘rocky prominence’, *gar-rirrirr* ‘around the edge’

Table 1.6 displays the intramorphemic consonant clusters, while Table 1.7 gives the intermorphemic clusters, for clusters of two consonants. The tables show that the second consonant of a CC cluster is overwhelmingly likely to be a non-continuant (i.e. a stop or nasal), and moreover that the most likely subclass of non-continuants will be peripherals, the next most likely subclass will be laminals, and finally (rarely) apicals.

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

TABLE 1.6
DJINANG INTRAMORPHEMIC CONSONANT CLUSTERS

	second member																				
first member	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>tj</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>dj</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>p</i>											<i>pm</i>										<i>pw</i>
<i>k</i>								<i>kdj</i>			<i>km</i>	<i>kng</i>									<i>kw</i>
<i>tj</i>	<i>tjp</i>	<i>tjk</i>																			
<i>t</i>								<i>tdj</i>													
<i>ṭ</i>	<i>tp̣</i>		<i>ttj</i>							<i>ṭḍ</i>	<i>ṭm</i>		<i>ṭny</i>		<i>ṭn</i>						
<i>m</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i>mk</i>				<i>mb</i>	<i>mg</i>						<i>mny</i>								
<i>ng</i>		<i>ngk</i>				<i>ngb</i>	<i>ngg</i>														
<i>ny</i>		<i>nyk</i>	<i>nytj</i>			<i>nyb</i>	<i>nyg</i>	<i>nydj</i>			<i>nym</i>	<i>nyng</i>									
<i>n</i>	<i>np</i>		<i>ntj</i>	<i>nt</i>		<i>nb</i>	<i>n.g</i>	<i>ndj</i>	<i>nd</i>		<i>nm</i>	<i>nng</i>									
<i>ṇ</i>	<i>np̣</i>	<i>nḳ</i>				<i>nḅ</i>	<i>ng̣</i>	<i>ndj̣</i>		<i>nḍ</i>	<i>nṃ</i>	<i>nng̣</i>									
<i>l</i>	<i>lp</i>	<i>lk</i>	<i>ltj</i>			<i>lb</i>	<i>lg</i>	<i>ldj</i>	<i>ld</i>		<i>lm</i>	<i>lng</i>	<i>lny</i>								<i>lw</i>
<i>ḷ</i>	<i>lp̣</i>	<i>lḳ</i>	<i>ltj̣</i>			<i>lḅ</i>	<i>lg̣</i>	<i>ldj̣</i>		<i>lḍ</i>	<i>lṃ</i>	<i>lng̣</i>									<i>lẉ</i>
<i>rr</i>	<i>rrp</i>	<i>rrk</i>	<i>rrtj</i>	<i>rrt</i>	<i>rṛṭ</i>	<i>rrb</i>	<i>rrg</i>	<i>rrdj</i>			<i>rrm</i>	<i>rrng</i>						<i>rrḷ</i>			<i>rrw</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>rp</i>	<i>rk</i>	<i>rtj</i>		<i>ṛṭ</i>	<i>rb</i>	<i>rg</i>	<i>rdj</i>		<i>rḍ</i>	<i>rm</i>	<i>rng</i>									<i>rw</i>
<i>w</i>												<i>wng</i>									
<i>y</i>	<i>yp</i>	<i>yk</i>	<i>ytj</i>			<i>yb</i>	<i>yg</i>				<i>ym</i>	<i>yng</i>									<i>yw</i>

TABLE 1.7
DJINANG INTERMORPHEMIC CONSONANT CLUSTERS

		second member																					
		<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>tj</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>dj</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	
first member																							
<i>p</i>	<i>pp</i>								<i>pdj</i>			<i>pm</i>		<i>pny</i>		<i>pṇ</i>						<i>pw</i>	
<i>k</i>	<i>kp</i>	<i>kk</i>	<i>ktj</i>				<i>kb</i>	<i>kg</i>	<i>kdj</i>	<i>kḍ</i>	<i>km</i>	<i>kng</i>	<i>kny</i>				<i>kḷ</i>		<i>kr</i>		<i>kw</i>	<i>ky</i>	
<i>tj</i>	<i>tjp</i>	<i>tjk</i>	<i>tjtj</i>				<i>tjb</i>	<i>tjg</i>	<i>tjdj</i>		<i>tjm</i>	<i>tjng</i>	<i>tjny</i>										
<i>t</i>	<i>tp</i>	<i>tk</i>					<i>tb</i>	<i>tg</i>	<i>tdj</i>		<i>tm</i>												
<i>ṭ</i>	<i>tḥ</i>	<i>tḥk</i>	<i>tḥtj</i>				<i>tḥb</i>	<i>tḥg</i>	<i>tḥdj</i>	<i>tḥḍ</i>	<i>tḥm</i>	<i>tḥng</i>	<i>tḥny</i>										
<i>m</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i>mk</i>	<i>mtj</i>				<i>mb</i>	<i>mg</i>	<i>mdj</i>	<i>mḍ</i>	<i>mm</i>	<i>mng</i>	<i>mny</i>			<i>mḥ</i>				<i>mr</i>		<i>mw</i>	
<i>ng</i>	<i>ngp</i>	<i>ngk</i>	<i>ngtj</i>				<i>ngb</i>	<i>ngg</i>	<i>ngdj</i>	<i>ngḍ</i>	<i>ngm</i>	<i>ngng</i>					<i>ngḷ</i>						
<i>ny</i>		<i>nyk</i>	<i>nytj</i>				<i>nyb</i>	<i>nyg</i>	<i>nydj</i>	<i>nyḍ</i>	<i>nym</i>	<i>nyng</i>	<i>nyny</i>										
<i>n</i>	<i>np</i>	<i>nk</i>					<i>nb</i>	<i>n.g</i>	<i>ndj</i>	<i>nḍ</i>	<i>nm</i>	<i>nng</i>								<i>nr</i>			
<i>ṇ</i>	<i>nḥp</i>	<i>nḥk</i>					<i>nḥb</i>	<i>nḥg</i>	<i>nḥdj</i>		<i>nḥm</i>	<i>nḥng</i>	<i>nḥny</i>			<i>nḥ</i>				<i>nḥr</i>	<i>nḥw</i>	<i>nḥy</i>	
<i>l</i>	<i>lp</i>	<i>lk</i>	<i>ltj</i>		<i>lḥ</i>		<i>lb</i>	<i>lg</i>	<i>ldj</i>	<i>lḍ</i>	<i>lm</i>	<i>lng</i>	<i>lny</i>							<i>lr</i>	<i>lw</i>	<i>ly</i>	
<i>ḷ</i>	<i>lḥp</i>	<i>lḥk</i>	<i>lḥtj</i>		<i>lḥ</i>		<i>lḥb</i>	<i>lḥg</i>	<i>lḥdj</i>	<i>lḥḍ</i>	<i>lḥm</i>	<i>lḥng</i>									<i>lḥw</i>	<i>lḥy</i>	
<i>rr</i>	<i>rrp</i>	<i>rrk</i>	<i>rrtj</i>				<i>rrb</i>	<i>rrg</i>	<i>rrdj</i>	<i>rrḍ</i>	<i>rrm</i>	<i>rrng</i>	<i>rrny</i>			<i>rrḥ</i>	<i>rrḷ</i>		<i>rr.r</i>		<i>rrw</i>	<i>rry</i>	
<i>r</i>	<i>rp</i>	<i>rk</i>	<i>rtj</i>		<i>rḥ</i>		<i>rb</i>	<i>rg</i>	<i>rdj</i>	<i>rḍ</i>	<i>rm</i>	<i>rng</i>	<i>rny</i>			<i>rḥ</i>	<i>rḷ</i>		<i>r.r</i>		<i>rw</i>	<i>ry</i>	
<i>w</i>			<i>wtj</i>				<i>wb</i>	<i>wg</i>	<i>wdj</i>	<i>wḍ</i>	<i>wm</i>	<i>wng</i>					<i>wḷ</i>				<i>ww</i>		
<i>y</i>	<i>yp</i>	<i>yk</i>	<i>ytj</i>				<i>yb</i>	<i>yg</i>	<i>ydj</i>	<i>yḍ</i>	<i>ym</i>	<i>yng</i>	<i>yny</i>			<i>yḥ</i>	<i>yḷ</i>		<i>yḥ</i>		<i>yw</i>	<i>yy</i>	

Two 'status suspect' clusters not shown in the Table 1.6 are *gw* which occurs in *gwu* (an abbreviation of *guwa* 'come here') and *bl* which occurs in *blik* 'exit through an opening'.

The following clusters occur only intramorphemically: *ntj* (*bintji* 'do thus'); *nt* (*birintili* fossilised allative form based on the stem *biri* 'chest' with meaning 'back towards'); *marintili* fossilised allative form based on the stem *mari* 'trouble' with meaning 'towards trouble' – both these forms are probably stem + epenthetic, *n* + *tili*, and therefore may perhaps be better placed in Table 1.7); *nd* (*balngunda* 'yam species', *rindigi* 'cut off' and several other forms); *ɲd* (*baɲdany* 'dry', *baɲdiri* 'lengthwise', *baɲdarr* 'pain in groin area' and several other forms); *ɲn* (*biɲn* 'seemingly' – abbreviation of *biɲma*); *rrt* (*murrurt* 'bunch', 'bush'); *rrt* (*makarrta* 'organised vengeance fight', *ngurrɲatjigi* 'be near the end of the wet season').

The list of CC clusters in the coda of CVCC syllables is almost identical to that previously published (Waters 1980b:26), with the following clusters needing to be added to that list: *ltj* (*ngiltj-nyi* 1du.inc-ACC 'us two') and *lng* (*galngbuy* 'meat prohibition'). CCC clusters arise by the juxtaposition of a CVCC syllable with another syllable, or by elision of an *i* vowel. The latter morphophonemic process has been dealt with in my previous work (1980b:25). Indeed, the elision of the laminal vowel between a laminal stop and laminal nasal is obligatory, irrespective of morpheme boundaries (e.g. *djama-dj-ny(i)* work-THMSR-TPC 'was working', never **djama-dji-ny(i)*) and irrespective of the complexity of the consonant cluster thereby derived.

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

- rknɡ-C* *mirknɡ-djidji* 'be bad', *mirknɡ-pili* 'bad ones'
- rrknɡ-C* *ngidjirrknɡ-litjidji* 'cause to come close'
- rpm-C* *wurpm-djidji* 'be one', *wurpm-pili* 'ones', *wurpm-ban* 'one now'
- rrpm-C* *midjirrpm-djidji* 'be just dust', *mirrpm-ban* 'now very much'

CHAPTER 2

WORD CLASSES AND CASE

2.1 DESCRIPTIVE MODEL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

According to the typical Australianist analyses of such a clause as (1), the deictic would be labelled as taking either NOM case ($-\emptyset$), or ABS, either of which would make it impossible to capture the generalisation that the object complement of the verb *marnggi* must take DAT case. But what of the NP internal adnominal markings? These markings are formally indistinguishable from case markings, although marking grammatical relations with governing nouns, as, for example, DAT in the following rather complex structure.

- (2) *Ga larr-ban bil gir-ali ngunung gurrbi-li ngunung*
 And set.off-TF 3duNOM go-RPA [thatUNM place-ALL thatUNM
gurrbi dji-tjarri God-ang bala? ngunung prayer-gi
 placeUNM DIST-stand God-GEN houseUNM thatUNM prayer-DAT]ALL
 And setting off, they then went to that place, to (where) God's house stands, the
 one for prayer... (32:12,13)

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

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

It becomes especially difficult to formally distinguish a 'pattern of marking' (such as DAT in (2) above) from systemic 'case', because at the level of surface representation they are indistinguishable. The labelled brackets used in this book are an attempt to make the distinction. Within a bracket we have 'patterns of marking', while the labelling of the bracket itself is systemic 'case'. When brackets are not used, the surface pattern is isomorphic with the underlying representation. In this way we make Goddard's analysis generally applicable. Having said this, I will not hereafter try to keep 'case' strictly separated from 'patterns of surface marking', except in cited examples; to do so would lead to much tedious and unnecessary pedantry.

One interesting point can be made before we leave examples (1) and (2). The use of an UNM deictic in examples like these is a strategy for avoiding dual (overt) case marking when the speaker wishes to qualify a case-marked nominal using a descriptive phrase; by making the head an unmarked generic nominal (e.g. the deictic *ngunung* 'that') agreement rules within a NP do not require the

more specific nominals to be overtly marked. If this were not so, we might expect to find forms like **prayer-gi-li* noun-DAT-ALL, which in fact never occur.

Wherever possible, examples used in this book are taken from natural text. Elicited sentences are used as sparingly as possible. The examples above are taken from a text retelling the story of Paul and Silas and the conversion of the Philippian jailer. Examples from texts are given with the text number and line number in parentheses, or alternatively in braces, after the free translation. Since the texts are lodged with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, the text numbers are given as they are found in the copies sent to the Institute. Only four of these texts are reproduced in this book, and only in part, due to their length. Some minor variations of spelling in this book vis-a-vis the texts lodged with AIAS reflect corrections made on the basis of further fieldwork.

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

2.2 WORD CLASSES

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

NOMINALS	PARTICLES
noun, derived noun	adverb
pronoun, reduced pronoun	temporal
interrogative pronoun	locational
deictic	directional
	orientational
	interjection
VERBS	reciprocal/reflexive/mutualis
verb, auxiliary verb	modal
non-thematic verb	link/relator
predicate nominal	negative
	perfective

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

verbs, and adding stylistic nuances. When they occur without an accompanying inflected verb, they describe actions which are highly predictable from either the textual or the situational (real world) contexts. Subject and Object NPs are omitted, being recoverable from the context. Usually non-thematic verbs are suppletive, but in a small number of instances in my textual database a non-thematic verb occurs preceding the thematic (i.e. inflected) verb with which it is synonymous. Thus, expressions such as *dubuk min-ali* carry carry-TPA 'he carried him', *bat ngu-li* throw throw-TPA 'he threw him', *bat marr-ngili* pick.up pick.up-TPA 'he picked him up' and *blik yulgung* come.back come.to/arrive 'come back to' are attested in natural text. At least some of these non-thematic verbs are of Austronesian origin; for example *blik* 'come back', 'arrive', 'return' is probably cognate to Malay *balik* 'return', 'come back' etc. (Alan Walker, personal communication.)

Morphy distinguishes three different classes of non-inflecting verbs (1983:65,92-93,103): firstly, a set of non-inflecting verbs (most of which are Austronesian loans, see Walker and Zorc 1981); secondly, a set of root forms, some of which may sometimes occur in inflected form as thematic verbs; and thirdly, a small set of adjectival nominals which may function as verbs (such as *marnggi* 'know', *djal* 'desire'). Some of the latter set may optionally be inflected.

The Djinang situation is slightly different. Austronesian loans such as *wukirri* 'write', and *djama* 'work' typically occur as thematic verbs (i.e. they are inflected), based on a verb stem formed by the addition of the THEM SR first-order verb suffix to the loan form. This is the normal strategy for deriving thematic verbs from, say, nominal stems, so there is no good reason for treating these loans as a unique word class within Djinang.

The words *marnggi* 'know', *djal* 'desire', 'want' (often pronounced *djalng* in Djinang) and *djunga* 'ignorant', 'silly' may occur within Djinang as nominals or as verbs. As verbs, they govern DAT case for the Object NP. And they may also be used as derived thematic verbs using either the THEM SR or INCHO first-order verb suffixes. These three words are best viewed as a subclass of nominals and, because the behaviour of these forms is identical to the same forms in Djapu, I call them a class of 'predicate nominals'. Only these three are attested in Djinang, though some other Yolngu languages have additional forms in this class.

Morphy's class of root verb forms is comprised of two subclasses: a subclass of non-inflecting mono-morphemic roots and a subclass of root forms which may optionally be inflected. Morphy's first subclass, the class of root verb forms, is to be identified with the class of Djinang non-thematic verb roots and, indeed, many of these forms in the two languages appear to be either identical or related, e.g. Djapu *dhut* 'sit', Djinang *djut* 'sit'; Djapu *dutj* 'return', Djinang *dutj* 'return'.

The other of Morphy's subclasses has a parallel in Djinang also, though within Djinang the relevant group of verb roots is best viewed as a subclass of the category 'verb', because the roots only very infrequently occur in text in uninflected form. What is distinctive about this subclass is that from it transitive verbs are derived using the *-miy-* CAUS verb suffix (*-mir-* in some Djinang dialects), while intransitives are derived by suffixation of *-dji-* THEM SR. The CAUS morpheme is used *only* with this subclass of roots. Some roots in this class are *lap* 'open', *maṭa* 'moor', *gul* 'cease', *muk* 'silent'; there are dozens more in the lexicon. Verbs from this subclass take overt Subject and Object NPs in the normal way, provided they occur as inflected verbs rather than as uninflected root forms.

Djinang has a class of cross-referencing pronouns, which are phonologically reduced forms derived from the corresponding full-form pronouns (see section 3.14, or Appendix 1 section 2.3.1, where the full paradigms of the cross-referencing pronouns are given). Djinba has a similar set of

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

The other major difference from Morphy (1983:31-32) is the large number of types of particles. I have merely chosen to cut up the 'particle' category somewhat more finely – into the divisions which can be justified on distributional and functional grounds. In Table 2.1, labels which are separated by slashes refer to a form or forms having a variety of functions, where none of the functions can be reasonably inferred to have a priority status. Later in this book each of the particle categories will be described in the section appropriate to its function(s), and so I shall not develop the discussion of them here any further.

It remains to give a table of form-function relationships for the various word class categories. Table 2.2 does this, and may be compared with the equivalent table in Morphy (1983:31).

TABLE 2.2	
WORD CLASSES - FORM AND FUNCTION	
FUNCTION	FORM
Head of NP	noun, derived noun pronoun, reduced pronoun interrogative pronoun deictic negative <i>wirr</i> 'nothing'
	predicate nominal
Modifier of NP head	noun, derived noun pronoun, reduced pronoun clause
Determiner within NP	deictic
Predicator	verb non-thematic verb predicate nominal

Table 2.2 continued...

...continued

TABLE 2.2 WORD CLASSES - FORM AND FUNCTION	
FUNCTION	FORM
Modifier of Predicator	adverbial particle noun (functioning as adverb) auxiliary verb non-thematic verb verb used adverbially reciprocal/reflexive/mutualis 'hither' <i>bi</i> 'thither' <i>minyidji</i> / body-part noun
Cross-referencing salient participant	reduced pronoun
Modification having clause-wide scope (defining temporal, locational, directional setting etc.)	deictic temporal particle locational particle directional particle negative perfective link/relator modal
Inter-clausal linkage	link/relator deictic semblative particle <i>miri</i>
Stylistic	interjection non-thematic verb

The occurrence of 'verbs used adverbially' as modifiers of a predicator bears further comment here. It is not known how many thematic verbs can be used as modifiers in this way, and I know of only four at the time of writing. Two of these are the verbs *djirridji* 'stand' and *nyinidji* 'sit', each of which belong to the class of auxiliary verbs as well as to the class of thematic verbs. The other two (neither of which are auxiliary verbs) are the verbs *gurrkungi* 'come together', 'join together', 'add to a group' and *maltjirrdji* 'situate transversely', 'block', 'obstruct'; used adverbially these two mean 'additionally' and 'crossways' (or 'horizontally'), respectively.

Adverbial modification may precede or follow the main verb, while auxiliary verbs always immediately follow the verb. Any of the four verbs mentioned above, when it occurs with the function being discussed, may occur preceding the main verb (though not necessarily so) – if the latter is present. Auxiliary verbs do not have this freedom of distribution. The examples below illustrate this. (Remember that the fortis-lenis stop opposition is neutralised word initially in all but a handful of verbs. So throughout this book I spell an initial stop according to how the speaker uttered

it, as in (4) below, rather than using a ‘spelling rule’ as is common practice for Europeans writing other Yolngu languages.)

- (3) *djining yagirri yul gurrku-ny Djabal*
 [thisUNM nameUNM]NOM [manUNM add.to-TPC DjabalUNM]NOM
 ... (and) this name (is) additionally a man's name, Djabal.
- (4) *nyani tjarri-ny wangi-ny in.ga*
 3sgNOM stand-RPC speak-RPC 3sg+DAT
 He stood talking to him. (34:269) (lit. he standing spoke to him)
- (5) *lim mili-ngili, tjarri-∅ libi nya-ngini,*
 1plincNOM look.around-RPA, stand-PRES 1plexcNOM see-RPA
 We looked around, standing we looked, ... {34:292-293}
- (6) *nyumi nyini-∅ djama-dji-m*
 2duNOM sit-YPA work-THEMSR-YPA
 You two were sitting working.

One further thing worth mentioning here is the occurrence of a body-part noun as a modifier of a predicator. Normally such nouns may be viewed as closely bound to the verb stem (since the reduced pronoun precedes the noun), but occasionally a body-part noun will precede the reduced pronoun. When this happens, very commonly the body part will take INSTR (or ERG) inflection – though not always. INSTR/ERG inflection on nouns is sometimes used to derive adverbs, and body-part nouns occurring within the verb complex before a reduced pronoun may signal adverbial modifications of the activity denoted by the verb, as in (7) below. However this is not true in every instance. A body-part noun followed by a verb stem is a common means of deriving a compound verb (see the end of section 3.10), and the meaning of the compound is typically not the simple semantic sum of each part. (When the body-part noun is part of such a compound verb, inflection of the body-part noun never occurs.) It is possible also for bound pronouns to occur between the body-part noun and the verb stem without affecting the meaning of the clause as a whole; that is, the body part noun occurring before a reduced pronoun does not always signal an adverbial function. And it is often true that an ERG-marked body-part noun occurring pre-verbally is in a part-whole relationship to the Agent, where the latter may or may not be realised overtly in the clause.

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

- (7) *Manymak, marr-dji bil nyini-na.., wirr.*
 Okay, soul-INSTR 3duNOM sit-RPA+DUR NEG
 Well, they sat expectantly for a long time, (but) nothing (happened). (24:102)

2.3 CASE MARKERS

Case marking in Djinang is quite complicated when compared with the comparatively ‘tidy’ marking system of, say, Djapu (Morphy 1983). The Djinang system is more complex for several

reasons, most of them historical. Firstly, the oblique marker has merged with ergative on some nominal classes, and no longer is used as a case in its own right. Secondly, allomorphs of several cases in Djinang are not only conditioned by phonotactic criteria, but also by nominal class. Thirdly, sometimes the conditioning breaks down in 'performance' so that a form may occur when not expected, or be omitted when expected. Lastly, the change to an *i* vowel in many Djinang suffixes has caused loss of some cases due to merger on account of homophony, and some cases have been functionally maintained only by adopting suppletive forms.

Table 2.3 gives the Djinang case markers in a summarised form. It must be remembered that the table is a summary only; there is insufficient room for the many variants to be stated there. A fuller discussion of each case is given in the sections which follow. The table should be compared with the equivalent table (3.2) in Morphy (1983:34). OBL is not listed in the table as a case, although its reflex continues to be used as a 'carrier' of case inflection in certain noun classes. OBL survives as a case only in the paradigm of OBL pronominal forms, these having either a locative or comitative function. And even with these forms the OBL paradigm is formed by morphemes which are formally identical to ERG marking.

OBL has many allomorphs, which derive historically from an earlier *-*Gara* OBL, in contrast to the *-Gala* forms in many Yolngu languages. Here the morphophoneme *G* may be realised as *g*, *k* or *w* in other Yolngu languages; but as *ng* (mostly), *g* (mostly on kin nouns) or *k* (infrequently), in Djinang. The most commonly occurring allomorphs in Djinang are *-gir(i)* and *-ngir(i)*, but reflexes occur with forms as diverse as *-gira*, *-gir*, *-wir*, *-ngira*, *-ngi*, *-ki*, *-kir*, *-ra*, *-ara* and *-ar(i)*, depending on the class of nominal and, to some extent, on the preceding phonotactic environment. Some examples of OBL on DAT-marked kin nouns are: *bapip-wir-ki* FaSi-OBL-DAT, *gaḍi-wir-ki* Si-OBL-DAT, *wuw-gir-ki* OlderBr-OBL-DAT, and *gurrung-ngir-gi* FaSiDaChild-OBL-DAT. OBL will be discussed further in sections 2.4, 2.7 and 2.9, as well as in the current section.

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

Djinba	<i>-nguri</i>	<i>djini-nguri-ny</i> this-OBL-ACC
	<i>-ngir</i>	<i>yul-ngir-ka-ny</i> man-OBL-??-ACC
	<i>-kar</i> , <i>-gar</i> ,	on pronouns
Golpa	<i>-kara</i> , <i>-wara</i> ,	on pronouns; <i>-wara</i> on one kin noun
Wangurri	<i>-wuru</i>	<i>ba:pa-wuru-murru</i> father-OBL-PERL
Yanhangu	<i>-kara</i>	<i>nhung?kara</i> 2sg-OBL 'with you'

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

In Table 2.3, the morphophoneme *G* in DAT case may be realised as either *g* or *k*. Which is used depends on a number of factors, such as the preceding phonotactic environment, the dialect of the speaker (whether smooth or disjunctive), the nominal class to which it is suffixed, and the form of the

preceding OBL (if it occurs). When all these factors are known, the actual form can often be predicted. For example: if OBL is *-gir*, then DAT will be *-ki* for all dialects; if DAT occurs on a pronoun, it will be *-ki*; after OBL *-ngir*, it will be *-gi* for 'smooth' dialects (see Appendix 1) but 'disjunctive' dialects will sometimes use *-ki*. A full statement of all the possibilities would take many paragraphs and be very boring, so suffice here to say that in all morphophonemic variations of suffixal forms, the above four conditioning factors, or a subset of them, will be relevant. The suffixes in the table are cited without any of the final vowels elided. After a rhotic or nasal an *i* vowel is often elided.

Originative case exhibits the morphophoneme *B*, which may be realised as either *b* or *p*. The *-bi* allomorph is the more common of the two, but when the OR suffix is reduplicated (in some contexts this can add an EXCL nuance, translatable by English 'only'), the reduplicated form is usually *-pibi*, although *-bibi* is the usual form on a pronoun which ends in *i*. The EXCL nuance may sometimes obtain even when the OR affix is not reduplicated. It therefore seems best to gloss the reduplicated form as a reduplication, rather than as an independent EXCL affix.

	Type of noun				
	+HU	-HU	Kin names	Personal names	Place names
ERG	<i>-dji/-ri/-li</i>	<i>-dji/-ri/-li</i>	<i>-dji/-ri/-li</i>	-	-
INSTR/CAU	<i>-dji/-ri/-li</i>	<i>-dji/-ri/-li</i>	-	-	-
NOM	∅	∅	∅	∅	-
ACC	-(OBL)- <i>nyi</i>	-(OBL)- <i>nyi</i>	-(OBL)- <i>nyi</i>	<i>-nyi</i>	-
DAT	-(OBL)- <i>Gi</i>	<i>-Gi</i>	-(OBL)- <i>Gi</i>	<i>-Gi</i>	-
OR	<i>-Bi</i>	<i>-Bi</i>	-	<i>-Bi</i>	<i>-Bi</i>
GEN	-(OBL)- <i>angi</i>	-(OBL)- <i>angi</i>	-(OBL)- <i>angi</i>	-(a) <i>ngi</i>	-
LOC ₁	<i>-ri</i>	<i>-mirri</i>	<i>-ri</i>	<i>-ri</i>	∅
LOC ₂	-	<i>-ngi</i>	-	-	-
ALL	<i>-li</i>	<i>-li</i>	-(OBL)- <i>li</i>	<i>-li</i>	<i>-li</i>
ABL	<i>-ngiri</i>	<i>-ngiri</i>	-THPRO- <i>ngiri</i> <i>-ngira-ri-KINPROP</i>	<i>-ngiri</i>	<i>-ngiri</i>
PERL	<i>-mirrpmi</i>	<i>-mirrpmi</i>	-	-	-

ERG case has three main allomorphs, *-dji*, *-ri* and *-li*. The second of these often occurs without the final vowel. Elision of word-final vowels is a stylistic feature in Djinang; different dialects do it to varying extents (see Appendix 1). It is not as rigorous as in Djapu, where 'final' versus 'non-final' forms for suffixes can be posited on the basis of whether a word break or another suffix, respectively, follows the suffix in question (see Morphy 1983). There are a further two allomorphs of ERG which are not shown. They both became reflexes of OBL after the latter merged with ERG in early Djinang, and have quite restricted distribution. The forms are *-ngir(i)*, which is often used after plural marking, and *-ar(i)*, which is common on kin nouns which end in an *i* vowel in their UNM forms. Full details are reserved for the later discussion of ERG marking (section 2.7).

The infrequency of the *-li* allomorph occurring on +HUMAN nouns appears to be an accidental phenomenon, rather than systematic. There are few nouns which take this allomorph; they appear to

be mostly -HU, and end in the vowel *i* or in the sequence *iy*, e.g. *butjiy* 'dog', *guyi* 'fish', *mani* 'river', *djunggi* 'fire', *ngalbirki* 'hunger'. A +HU example is the kin noun *walkiri* 'child of male ego', the ERG form of which is *walkir-li*. The phonetic conditioning of the allomorphs has been historically weakening for a considerable time. The strongest conditioning factor is the noun class, so that kin nouns regularly take the *-ri* allomorph. (The stem-final vowel is realised as the *a* vowel when ERG follows, which suggests that the rhotic-initial allomorph was conditioned by the low vowel before the sound change *a > i* took place.) Furthermore, except for kin nouns, the *-dji* allomorph seems to be establishing itself as the least marked allomorph, for it is the only one that speakers feel can be used as a substitute for either of the other two on a given nominal stem.

Some Yolngu languages have a temporal case, which typically is formally identical to ERG/INSTR marking, but which has the meaning 'at the time of X', where X is the nominal marked by the TEMP case. Djapu has such a case (Morphy 1983:34,39). Djinang lacks TEMP case, but although it does not obtain, the TEMP function still obtains in the language; sometimes it is marked lexically and sometimes it is marked by PROM, as we shall see later (mainly at the beginning of section 2.7, but also section 2.6, section 2.5 after Table 2.6, and (18)). A form such as *walirr-dji* 'sun', 'time', as in (8) below, should be analysed as sun-PROM. However, TEMP case is formally distinguished from ERG case in Djinba, where it is *-djang*. The Djinba TEMP marker is cognate to the Ritharrngu marker *-thang?* (see Heath 1980a:41), and Heath's comments regarding the use of Ritharrngu TEMP are equally apt for Djinba. The equivalent Djinang form is not *-dji* (except on the deictic stem *nya-* 'what' – see section 2.5), but rather the noun *bil(i)djirri* 'at the time of X' where X is the referent of the preceding nominal, as in *wurrki bildjirri* 'flower season'. The equivalent Djinba expression is *wurruki-djang* flower-TEMP 'flower season'. Very probably pre-Djinang lost TEMP case marking at the time of the Djinang vowel shift.

- (8) *girr ngul-i-kima walirr-dji nyan inydji birrin-djingi-n*
 then there-EMPH sun-PROM 3sgNOM RECIP turn-CAUS-RPA
 then right there at that time he repented {33:110}

The prominence marker is not shown on the chart, since PROM is not a case. The PROM marker is *-(ny)dja* in several Yolngu languages (Djapu has *-tja* and *-ny*, Morphy 1983:50). In Djinang (but not in Djinba) the PROM affix has merged with ERG due to the Djinang vowel shift. Subsequent to this merger, Djinang has reanalysed PROM as formally marked the same as ERG, and hence all the allomorphs of ERG marking may be used to signal PROM. Prominence in Djinang, however, pertains to making a participant prominent in a non-contrastive sense. In other Yolngu languages PROM not only has this function, but often has a contrastive function. In Djinang (and Djinba) the latter function is marked by a clitic *-tja*, which is also a reflex of early Yolngu PROM marking. This is discussed further in section 3.7. The following Djinang PROM forms are attested in the database: *-dji* and *-r(i)* on +HU nouns, *-dji -r(i)* and *-li* on -HU nouns, *-r(i)* and *-li* on kin names, but PROM is unattested on personal names and place names.

PROM is easy to distinguish from ERG when the verb is intransitive or semitransitive, but is indistinguishable formally from ERG when the verb is transitive or ditransitive. One of the consequences of PROM being formally identical to the ERG case allomorphs is that portmanteau forms involving ERG case will be homophonous with equivalent portmanteau forms indicating PROM. This will add a further set of PROM pronoun forms homophonous with ERG and NOM pronoun forms. Thus, for example, the pronoun *ngarri* 'I' may be glossed as 1sgNOM, 1sgERG or 1sgPROM, depending on the context in which it is used. This homonymity is a direct consequence of the Goddard theory of case marking discussed in section 2.1.

Another interesting feature of Table 2.3 is the two LOC markers. The second form, *-ngi*, is an archaism; the only forms it regularly occurs on are *nyali* 'which' (in order to form 'where'), *mani* 'river', *gadjigarr* 'road', 'track', and *burri* 'backbone' 'hill', 'ridge'. (Even on some of these the *-mirri* form sometimes occurs instead.) The allomorph *-ing(i)* occurs after consonant-final stems. There is no semantic difference between *-mirri* and *-ngi*. Interestingly, the Dhangu dialect, Wangurri, has the LOC form *-nga* (e.g. *ngirrima-nga* camp-LOC 'in the camp'), which is cognate to the Djinang form. Yanhangu has the same LOC form (e.g. *dhungupal-nga nguy-nga* rock-LOC under-LOC 'under the rock', *gurtja-nga* fire-LOC 'at the fire'). Schebeck (1967b) lists the *-nga* form as LOC in the Dhangu, Djangu and Nhangu dialect (i.e. language) groups. This would suggest retention of an older form from a common proto-language, which appears to be at least co-extensive with 'Northern Yolngu'. The Djinang vowel shift again accounts for the loss of an earlier **-nga* LOC marking, since the archaic nominaliser **-ngu* would have been homophonous with LOC marking, after the shift.

Comparing the occurrence of OBL in Table 2.3 with Morphy's Table 3.2 (1983:34) illustrates how OBL has weakened in modern Djinang. Firstly, it occurs sometimes as a carrier of case in contexts where it would not be expected. Though it is not expected with -HU nouns taking ACC case, it sometimes does occur (examples may be seen in sections 2.9 - 2.15, where each case is described in detail). Also, although Table 2.3 does not show it, OBL sometimes occurs with -HU nouns taking DAT case, particularly if the stem ends in a velar nasal.

Secondly, where it is expected, it sometimes does not occur; for example, +HU nouns (not kin nouns) in ACC case usually take OBL, but not infrequently OBL is omitted.

Thirdly, OBL has been lost in some environments, and its function taken over by a case having a more concrete sense. Thus, on +HU nouns in Djapu, OBL is a marker of ALL, COMIT (i.e. 'with X') and INSTR/CAU, and a carrier of case for ABL and PERL. But on +HU nouns in Djinang, ALL is marked by the ALL marker *-li*, while COMIT is marked by ERG (the *-ri* allomorph) because ERG and OBL have merged (in Djinang). ERG also occurs on nouns in Djinang LOC phrases – agreeing with a LOC-marked noun. (Djapu marks LOC on +HU nouns with OBL case.) Djinang does not use OBL for INSTR/CAU, but uses INSTR marking. Also ABL and PERL on +HU nouns do not take OBL in order to carry the case marking, which is not the case in some Yolngu languages, like Djapu, Dhuwal and Dhuwala.

Fourthly, while Djapu uses OBL to mark ALL on kin nouns, Djinang requires OBL plus ALL marking.

Finally, a speaker may use OBL marking preceding a case marker at any time he feels that its absence would result in awkward phonotactics. For example, *Djinang-ʔang* Djinang-GEN (with a glottal stop) occurs in my data, and so too does the (preferred) form *Djinang-ngir-ang* Djinang-OBL-GEN 'for Djinang'.

The ABL marker is *-ngiri*, which is cognate with Yolngu *-nguru*; the suffix-final *i* is often elided. Only on kin nouns does ABL marking exhibit unusual forms. Examples (44) and (45) in section 2.7 illustrate the two alternatives given in Table 2.3. The thematic prominence (THPRO) morpheme may precede ABL, or ABL may be followed by *-ri-* (possibly an allomorph of OBL or possibly a dummy formative having a disambiguating function) and then by the other KINPROP allomorph *-mi*.

The final comment about Table 2.3 concerns GEN and OR case markers, and the omission of an ASSOC case marker (found in all other Yolngu languages except Djinba). In other Yolngu languages

ASSOC case marking is typically *-Buy* and OR is typically *-Gung(u)*; other Yolngu languages do not have GEN case. The Djinang GEN case marks possession, but it has wider functions than that, and is a reflex of earlier Yolngu DAT marking, as we shall see in section 2.4. OR case is formally quite unrelated to typical Yolngu OR case forms; in fact, OR case in both Djinang and Djinba is a merger of earlier ASSOC case (both its form and function) with the Originative function. See section 2.4 for more details. Finally, while Djinang and Djinba both have lost an ASSOC case, both retain the Associative function as one of the functions that formal OR marking may signal. In Djinba, the Associative function is used to productively derive possessive NPs, whereas Djinang uses GEN case.

The Djinang vowel shift resulted in the earlier **-Buy* ASSOC marker becoming **-Bi*, which for some obscure reason was also merged with the Originative function to obtain the modern marker of OR case (see section 2.13 for corroborative comments); this form merged with the homophonous INTENS morpheme *-Bi* which occurs only on pronouns (see Morphy 1983:54). Nowhere in my data is there a clue as to what the pre-Djinang OR case's formal shape was, so I cannot speculate on how the ASSOC and OR cases merged. So in modern Djinang the *-bi/-pi* suffix marks either OR case, the Intensive function on pronouns or the Associative function.

It remains to briefly give the cases, with their principle allomorphs, for Djinba. ERG and INSTR have the forms *-r* after *i* and *-y* after *u*; after alveolar stop *-di* may occur but *-nyir* is more common. PROM forms are *-ma* (most common), *-amdja*, and occasionally *-andja* or *-imdja*; *-ny* occurs on the COL *mala* 'group'. TEMP is *-djang*. ACC is *-ny* and is sometimes preceded by a 'carrier' formative *-ka-* (which may be a reflex of OBL, but *-ka-* and OBL can co-occur): e.g. *Djilminy-ka-ny* man's name-??-ACC, *yul-ngir-ka-ny* man-OBL-??-ACC. DAT is *-wu*, *-w* following *u*, but *-Guru* on pronouns, and I have one instance of *-nguru* as well. OR is *-wirriy* after a vowel, otherwise *-birriy*, but *-kung* on pronouns. LOC is *-murr*; both Djinang and Djinba derived the LOC form from an earlier **-murru*, which was a PERL marker (e.g. *-murru* is PERL in modern Wangurri). I have not encountered in Djinba a reflex of the **nga* LOC form, up to the time of writing. On place names, LOC is \emptyset , which is typical of Yolngu languages. ALL is nearly always *-ril*, although *-dil* is attested after alveolar *n* and *-dil* after *ŋ*. (Historically, it derives from **Lili*, which is supported by similar allomorphy in Yanhangu.) ABL is *-ngur*. PERL is *-pani*, but not every instance of the suffix *-pani* can be considered to be PERL; there is probably a homophonous suffix to PERL with as yet unknown functions (see Appendices 3 and 5).

Case marking on pronouns and deictics in Djinang is somewhat different from that on nominals, and so a separate treatment of these is given in the next two sections. Section 2.4 deals with pronouns and section 2.5 with deictics. The other sections in Chapter 2 detail the behaviour of each case and the functions marked by each case form.

2.4 PRONOUNS AND CASE

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

Table 2.4 also includes the GEN forms. GEN is used for various functions (see section 2.15), the most common one being to mark possession. In Djinang, possession is typically marked by GEN case on the possessor noun or pronoun, but it can also be marked by DAT reduced pronouns as possessors following the possessed noun. The reason for this will become clear from the discussion to follow. Most other Yolngu languages use DAT marking to indicate possession. Djinba uses OR case.

One of the functions GEN may have when it occurs on a pronoun is to mark a contrastive 'reference switch'. This function is marked by DAT on nouns and deictics, but always by GEN on pronouns. For example, when occurring clause initially and followed by pause, *nyannng-angi* 3sg-GEN means 'as for him/her', and the participant so marked becomes the new topic of discourse. I deal with this later in detail, with examples (see the early part of section 2.15), but I mention it here because of the light it throws on the etymology of the modern GEN pronominal forms – which comprise a paradigm of pronoun forms unique to Djinang amongst Yolngu languages.

In Gupapuyngu (Lowe 1960, lesson 14), possession is marked by DAT pronominal forms, e.g. *ngalitjalangu* 1duinc-DAT, *ngalinyalangu* 1duexc-DAT, *ngalimurrunggu* 1plinc-DAT. The Gupapuyngu DAT forms all end with DAT *-gu*. (Probably the proto-affix was *-*nggu* on the pronominal stems – though Morphy (1983:53) treats the velar nasal as epenthetic – the initial velar nasal subsequently, in pre-Djinang, being reanalysed as part of the stem.) In Djapu the *-gu* suffix is optional in the DAT pronoun paradigm.

The Djinang GEN paradigm was formed (allowing for other changes to vowels) by omitting the *-gu* suffix entirely and reanalysing the preceding phonemes as marking the functions formerly marked by the longer DAT forms. There was no semantic change involved; the GEN and DAT paradigms in modern Djinang are largely synonymous; for example, *nyanki* 3sgDAT and *nyannngangi* 3sgGEN both mean 'for him/her/it', even when the latter form is used in a possessive construction. But the development of the new GEN paradigm allowed some of the functional load of Yolngu DAT case marking to then be taken over by GEN marking – thereby reducing the functional load of DAT marking. Possession was the most common function to shift to the new marker, but there were others as well (see section 2.15). The formal similarity of Djinang GEN pronouns to Djapu and Gupapuyngu DAT pronouns is therefore easily explained.

In pre-Djinang, the GEN form thus derived would have been **-ng(i)* on pronouns, with the position of the morpheme break therefore unchanged. Hence there would have been a paradigm of *a*-final pronominal stems. (In the case of the second person singular pronoun, the stem is *u* final, preserving a vowel harmony with the stem's initial vowel.) After this, in the case of the possessive pronoun forms, the paradigm of *a*-final stems was reanalysed so that the stem-final *a* became the initial segment of the GEN marker in modern Djinang, namely *-ang(i)*. So, for example, **ngarra-ng* 1sgDAT became *ngirr-ang* 1sgGEN. (The modern GEN case marker has an optional final *i* vowel, which would have been an analogical development because with several cases final *i* vowels are optional; the vowel change in the stem is due to the Djinang vowel shift.) Finally, the distribution of the new *-ang(i)* GEN form was extended to nouns and deictics, which gives us the modern situation.

Incidentally, the *a*-final pronominal stems survive as the base forms for pronouns taking OBL, EXCL (i.e. reduplicated OR case), ALL and ABL cases, but without resegmentation to incorporate the final *a* as part of the case marker following.

Interestingly (similarly to Djapu in which the final *-gu* formative may be omitted, and yet the resulting pronominal form is still DAT in function), Djinang also permits the optional elision of the *-ng(i)* portion of the *-ang(i)* marker as a colloquialism, without changing the meaning. Hence, for example, *nyanng-a* 3sg-GEN is a colloquial variant of *nyannga-angi* ‘for him’, ‘for her’, ‘for it’. This optional elision of *-ng(i)* only occurs with pronouns, not with GEN on nouns.

Thus the etymology of modern GEN marking explains the apparent anomaly that contrastive reference switches are marked by DAT on non-pronouns, but by GEN on pronouns.

One further comment before leaving the discussion of DAT versus GEN concerns the etymology of DAT reduced pronoun forms mentioned at the start of this section. These have been diachronically derived by initial consonant dropping, vowel changes and other reshapings, starting not from DAT pronominal forms as we would have expected, but from GEN pronominal forms. This is clear from the fact that the DAT reduced pronouns all end with an *a* vowel. Thus, for example, *irra* 1sgDAT has been derived not from a former **ngarra-ku* 1sgDAT (to which modern Djinang *ngirr-ki* 1sgDAT is cognate) but from **ngarra-ng* 1sgGEN. This permits the observation that the development of the GEN paradigm must have taken place before the development of the paradigm of reduced pronouns. It also explains why *ngirr-ang wali* 1sg-GEN food, is synonymous with *wali irra* (phonetically [*waldirra*]) 1sgDAT food, both meaning ‘my food’ or, more literally, ‘food for me’, and similarly for other persons and numbers.

Turning to the OBL forms, we see these are different from what would have been expected when compared with other Yolngu languages such as Dhuwala, Dhuwal and Gumatj. Comparison with Djinba shows that the OBL marker on pronouns in modern Djinang was derived by loss of the initial *Ga* sequence of a protoform which was **-Gara* in both Djinang and Djinba. Thus, from the pre-Djinang OBL form **ngarra-kara* 1sgOBL was derived **ngarra-ra*, which by the Djinang vowel shift became modern *ngirra-r(i)*. Incidentally, this loss of initial *Ga* (or an initial *G* consonant) is independently attested elsewhere in Djinang, for example in the paradigm of TPA/RPA class 1 verb inflections which have the modern form *-ali*, from an earlier **-Gala* – itself an allomorph of an inflection which in many Yolngu languages is cited as **-NGala*. Also, quite a number of Djinba noun and verb roots have Djinang cognates which differ in that they lack a *k* consonant or *kV* sequence, where *V* is most commonly an *a* vowel. (Some examples can be found in Appendices 3 and 5.)

In Table 2.4 the forms are given with final *i*. However, in normal speech most of these forms are uttered with the final vowel elided, except when this would produce a word-final stop. ACC, GEN and OBL are particularly likely to occur without the final *i*. The NOM forms rarely have the final *i* elided, and never with *ngil(i)dji* 2pl.

The NOM forms are also used for ERG and PROM; that is, according to the Goddard analysis of case, there is homonymy of ERG, NOM and PROM marking for pronouns. The *a*-final stems (note 2sg) discussed earlier (*ngirra-* 1sg, *ngilinyila-* 1duexc, *ngilitja-* 1duinc, *nginibila-* 1plexc, *ngilimila-* 1plinc, *nyungu-* 2sg, *nyumila-* 2du, *ngilidja-* 2pl, *nyannga-* 3sg, *ilinga-* 3du, and *djannga-* 3pl) also function as stems for further suffixation by ALL, ABL, or OR case (the latter always in the reduplicated form *-Bibi*), e.g. *nyannga-ngir* 3sg-ABL ‘from him’, *nyannga-li* 3sg-ALL ‘to him’, *ngirra-pi-bi gingi-nyir-bi* 1sg-OR-OR think-NMLSR-OR ‘from my thoughts’.

TABLE 2.4					
CASE MARKING ON DJINANG PRONOUNS					
	NOM	ACC	DAT	GEN	OBL
1sg	<i>ngarri</i>	<i>ngirrinyi</i>	<i>ngirrki</i>	<i>ngirrangi</i>	<i>ngirrari</i>
1duexc	<i>ngilinyi</i>	<i>ngilinyilinyi</i>	<i>ngilinyiliki</i>	<i>ngilinyilangi</i>	<i>ngilinyilari</i>
1duinc	<i>ngili</i>	<i>ngilitjnyi</i>	<i>ngilitjiki</i>	<i>ngilitjangi</i>	<i>ngilitjari</i>
1plexc	<i>nginibi</i>	<i>nginibilinyi</i>	<i>nginibiliki</i>	<i>nginibilangi</i>	<i>nginibilari</i>
1plinc	<i>ngilimi</i>	<i>ngilimilinyi</i>	<i>ngilimiliki</i>	<i>ngilimilangi</i>	<i>ngilimilari</i>
2sg	<i>nyuni</i>	<i>nyuninyi</i>	<i>nyunki</i>	<i>nyungungi</i>	<i>nyunguri</i>
2du	<i>nyumi</i>	<i>nyumilinyi</i>	<i>nyumiliki</i>	<i>nyumilangi</i>	<i>nyumilari</i>
2pl	<i>ngildji</i>	<i>ngildjnyi</i>	<i>ngildjiki</i>	<i>ngildjangi</i>	<i>ngildjari</i>
3sg	<i>nyani</i>	<i>nyaninyi</i>	<i>nyanki</i>	<i>nyannangi</i>	<i>nyannari</i>
3du	<i>bilang</i>	<i>bilanginyi</i>	<i>bilangki</i>	<i>bilangangi</i>	<i>bilangari</i>
3pl	<i>djani</i>	<i>djaninyi</i>	<i>djanki</i>	<i>djannangi</i>	<i>djannari</i>
Innovative dialects:					
1duexc			<i>nginyiliki</i>	<i>nginyilangi</i>	<i>nginyilari</i>
1duinc		<i>ngiltjnyi</i>	<i>ngiltjiki</i>	<i>ngiltjangi</i>	<i>ngiltjari</i>
1plexc		<i>nginbilinyi</i>	<i>nginbiliki</i>	<i>nginbilangi</i>	<i>nginbilari</i>
1plinc		<i>nginmilinyi</i>	<i>nginmiliki</i>	<i>nginmilangi</i>	<i>nginmilari</i>
2pl	<i>ngildji</i>	<i>ngildjnyi</i>	<i>ngildjiki</i>	<i>ngildjangi</i>	<i>ngildjari</i>
3du				<i>bilangangi</i>	<i>bilangari</i>

One final comment about the pronominal stems. Notice that the ACC and DAT forms use similar stems to those in the OBL paradigm, except that the stem-final vowel is *i*. These stems resulted from the sound changes of the Djinang vowel shift. There is no indication in modern Djinang that proto-Djinang ever had the complex pronominal stem forms involving OBL and a dummy formative *-ngu-* which are used for local cases in many modern Yolngu languages. This argues for the Djinang vowel shift having occurred at a significant time depth. Moreover, the Djinang vowel shift did not affect the GEN or OBL paradigms, presumably because at the time of the shift the final *a* vowel in the *ang* and *ar* formatives of these two paradigms was an important perceptual cue, and therefore resisted the sound shift. If this is the case, then we should place the Djinang sound shift as taking place after the development of the GEN case marker.

The GEN forms may also be used as stems, taking further marking by either DAT or OR case (or EXCL), e.g. *nyannang-ang-pi-bi* 3sg-GEN-OR-OR 'from your own'. The GEN marker always lacks the final *i* if further suffixation follows. If inflected for DAT case, then the OBL marker must precede the DAT case marker. (Some young speakers of Manyarring dialect do not use OBL between GEN and a following DAT suffix.) GEN pronoun forms inflected for DAT typically occur in possessive NPs which are in DAT case (at the systematic level), e.g. *nyannang-ang-ngir-gi djama-gi* 3sg-GEN-OBL-DAT work-DAT 'for his own work'. Quite often the possessor nominal will occur by itself, without a head noun. In these circumstances, the head noun is 'understood' from the context.

Modern Djinang OR case is a merger of Yolngu *-Buy* ASSOC, *-Bi* INTENS (see Heath 1980a:47 and Morphy 1983:54) and the Originative function. Wulaki dialect still occasionally uses the *-pi* form of the INTENS (I have been told), but other dialects use the lenis form *-bi*. The Yolngu

OR case form is *-Gung(u)*, but Djinang has no trace of this form in its modern morphology; it occurs in the Djinba pronoun paradigm however. What the shape of the early Djinang OR case marker was is unknown at present. Modern OR case is marked by *-Bi*, where the allomorphs are *-bi* and *-pi*. Djinba underwent a somewhat similar merger, losing ASSOC case by merger of the Associative function with OR case, but maintaining the INTENS affix as a unique suffix in the morphological system.

In Djinang, OR case has several functions on pronouns. Firstly, it adds a slight emphasis (i.e. the Intensive function). When used this way, *-bi* is added to the UNM pronoun form (i.e. NOM form). An example occurs in {52:42-43}: *ingki ngilimi-bi bil bubalikiṅing nyi[?]nyini yul, bardjininga mulngi* ‘not just we (Aboriginals) but everyone kept living (there), both Whites and Blacks’. Secondly, OR case may be reduplicated (on any nominal, not just pronouns), which strengthens its illocutionary force to give a meaning ‘one’s own’, that is, an EXCL sense as in the example above. (The reduplicated OR suffix often occurs with the initial consonant as fortis *p*; this is a morphophonemically conditioned hardening of the stop, rather than a retention of an earlier *-*pi* form.) Thirdly, OR case is used to mark the referent of the pronoun as the ‘source’ or ‘origin’ of something. Thus it may mean ‘from’ or even ‘due to’ – these two senses are just the Originative function and a figurative extension of this function, respectively. Finally, OR may be used to indicate the Associative function, as in a clause like: *inma-rr bultji-nmi djanguny yidjipili-bi* 2sgDAT-1sgERG tell-YPA storyUNM child-OR ‘I told you a story about a child’. Thus, while Djinang and Djinba have lost ASSOC case marking, both have retained the Associative function – marking it by OR case.

In Djapu (Morphy 1983:144-145) and Gupapuyngu (e.g. see Lowe 1960, lesson 26), OBL-marked pronouns are used to signal the comitative function: X-OBL ‘with X’, where X is a pronominal stem. OBL functions the same way with the Djinang pronouns, recalling that this is one context where OBL marking and INSTR marking are indistinguishable due to merger. However I believe that, in modern Djinang at least, the English ‘with X’ function is seen as a locative function by Djinang speakers; that is, it is seen as ‘at the location of X’, e.g. the expression *ngidjirrknḡ ngilitja-r* near 1duinc-OBL ‘near us’. Further, OBL pronominal forms may occur in noun phrases which are LOC or ERG/INSTR/CAU. Consider (9), (10), (11) and (12), where the OBL pronoun is in covert agreement with the LOC noun which is the head of the NP. In (10), the NP is discontinuous.

- (9) *djina butjalmi-dji God-nyi marrga djani nyangga-r gumbirri-mirri*
 3plDAT ask-FUT God-ACC so.that 3plNOM [3sg-OBL hand-LOC]_{LOC}
 They will pray to God so that they will belong to him (lit. (be) in his hand). {65:5}
- (10) *nyungu-r mutika djarri-∅ giri-mi gumbirri-mirri*
 [2sg-OBL]_{LOC} motor.carNOM stand-PRES HABIT-PRES [hand-LOC]_{LOC}
 The car is always in your control/possession. {65:7}
- (11) *biling bil nyini-ny ngidjirrknḡ nyangga-r gurrbi-wi*
 3duNOM 3duNOM sit-TPC [nearUNM 3sg-OBL camp-SPEC]_{LOC}
 They were sitting near his camp. {66:144}
- (12) *nyani bali-ni-ban nyangga-r-pm gurrbi-wi mutjing-mirri*
 3sgNOM die-RPA-TF [3sg-OBL-THPRO place-SPEC father's.country-LOC]_{LOC}
 He died then at his own place in his father's country.

In (9) to (12), a Comitative interpretation of OBL marking would not make much sense semantically, but a Locative interpretation does make good sense. However, when an OBL-marked pronoun occurs without accompanying LOC-marked nominals, it may alternatively be viewed (at least from an English speaker's perspective) as having a Comitative function. Except for LOC and ERG/INSTR/CAU noun phrases with OBL-marked possessor, the possessor is typically a GEN-marked pronoun or noun.

In (13), there is CAU case (which is marked the same as ERG) on an NP. As in the previous examples, the OBL-marked pronoun has possessive function in this construction, but is in covert agreement with a CAU-marked noun. This is parallel with Djapu and Gupapuyngu, where an OBL-marked pronoun is used in examples such as these.

- (13) *nyangga-r djal-dji giri-Ø*
 [3sg-OBL desire-CAU]CAU go-FUT
 Due to his desire, (he) will go. {65:9}

Space does not permit me to cite here all the forms for the pronoun paradigms in Djinba. I will limit my discussion to the NOM case, and to the 'root' forms to which are added suffixes to produce the DAT, OR and OBL paradigms. Djinba also exhibits dialectal variations, and pronoun forms for Ganalbingu and Dabi clans are given. The Walmapuy clan forms are the same as for Ganalbingu, with the exception that they do not elide the final *i* in the third person singular form *nyani*. Walmapuy is a Djuwing moiety clan. Dabi territory closely adjoins Djinang territory at the upper reaches of the Glyde river, while Ganalbingu territory is to the east of Dabi territory. Walmapuy territory is at the southern extremes of the Djinba area. The differences between Dabi and Ganalbingu NOM pronoun forms are consistent with the geographical proximity of Ganalbingu to lenition influences from the east. The Dabi forms are more similar to Djinang forms, showing the vowel change **a* > *i* in several forms.

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

To the root forms are added *-Guru* DAT, *-Gung* OR, *-Gar* OBL, where the morphophoneme *G* is *g* after *n*, and *k* elsewhere. Dabi lacks the *-gur*, *-gung*, and *-gar* allomorphs. Also, Dabi has an alternative form *ngali-kar* 1duinc-OBL, as well as the more correct *ngilitjil-kar*.

Both Ganalbingu and Dabi mark possession with OR case, presumably utilising the Associative function which that case may be used to mark. There are, however, two sets of allomorphs for OR case in Djinba. One set is *-Gung*, clearly cognate with OR in other Yolngu languages; the other set is *-Birriy*, which is probably cognate to Yolngu *-Buy* ASSOC. The former set is used on pronouns and the latter set is used on nouns. Both sets may occur on a pronoun together, but only in the order stem-*Gung-Birriy*, as in *nyu-kung-birriy* 2sg-OR-OR 'from your own'. Evidently the stem and first-order affix are then equivalent to a noun stem, and hence take further OR suffixation with *-Birriy*. In constructions of this type, the first instance of OR marking signals Possessive function, and the second signals Originative function, analagous to the Djinang equivalent forms *nyung-ung-pi-bi* 2sg-GEN-OR-OR (or 2sg-GEN-EXCL) and *nyungu-pi-bi* 2sg-OR-OR, both of which can mean 'from your own'.

The Djinba Possessive function being marked by OR case rather than by DAT case is difficult to account for. The development of Djinang GEN marking is unlikely to have motivated such a fundamental realignment of the case-marking system. However, the fact that the Associative function of OR case was used for possessives makes good sense semantically. It is not a major semantic jump from 'the food for the child' (i.e. food child-DAT) to 'the food associated with the child' (i.e. food child-ASSOC), where the latter diachronically became food child-OR as unique ASSOC marking was lost. What we don't know is why this kind of realignment occurred in the first place.

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

Djinang is quite aberrant with respect to its second person plural pronoun form, since *ngilidji* has no known cognate in other Yolngu languages nor in suffixing languages to the west. It is phonetically very similar to 'root' form *ngilitji*-1duinc. Therefore the most likely hypothesis is that it developed from this form, or at least from **ngili*-, for these refer to both first and second persons. Dixon has hypothesised (Dixon 1980:329-56) that the modern singular/dual/plural pronoun systems may have arisen from an earlier minimal/augmented system. This may well be the reason for the variation in Yolngu second person non-singular pronouns.

Finally, the difference in the Djinba and Djinang second person plural pronoun forms suggests that these two languages developed from different parent languages in the 'northern Yolngu' group,

because the Djinba forms are clearly a retention of the early Nhangu plural pronoun, while the Djinang form is quite unrelated. This conclusion is also supported by the differences in the DAT paradigms, and between Djinang GEN forms marking possession and Djinba OR form marking the same function.

2.5 DEICTICS AND CASE

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

In discussing Djapu deictics, Morphy (1983:56-62) distinguishes two functions: 'context deixis (pointing to things in the real world) and discourse deixis (pointing to things which are mentioned in a speech act,...)'. While Djinang deictics also signal these two functions, Djinang has a third major function of temporal deixis (either pointing to the time at which an event took place or temporally orienting one event to another). The spatial versus temporal functions of deictics rely on an underlying semantic equation:

the distribution of events in space is the paradigm for the distribution of events in time.

Thus, if a given deictic form is used to mean 'at that place', then the parallelism of time and space means that the same form can be used for 'at that time', or if an ABL deictic form signals the meaning 'from that place', then the same form can be used to mean 'after that time', and so forth. (But note: the ALL deictic form does not have a temporal parallel.)

Motion in space may be either 'to' or 'from' some reference point, but time is constrained in the real world – it only increases. Hence once a reference point on the time line has been established, time only increases from that reference time. Deictics (marked with ABL) may be used to indicate a time which is later than a reference time; that is, 'from some reference time' may be signalled by a deictic. We would expect that deictic forms may be used to express 'up to the time X' (particularly an ALL-marked deictic), but this does not occur. (Particles or auxiliary verbs are used to convey the notion of 'until time X'.)

The discourse deixis mentioned by Morphy may therefore be viewed as an extension of temporal deixis to the universe of discourse, since anaphora implies pointing to a referent previously identified. This becomes even more obvious when the COMPL marker *-Girri* is suffixed to an ABL-marked deictic, but discussion of this is reserved for the discussion of the functions of COMPL (section 3.7).

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

	IMM-PROX	NEAR-PROX	NEAR-DIST	DISTANT
ERG	<i>djini</i>	-	-	<i>nguŋi</i>
INSTR	<i>djini</i>	-	-	<i>nguŋi</i>
NOM	<i>djini(ngi)</i>	<i>djinimi</i>	<i>ngunumi</i>	<i>ngunu(ngi)</i>
(Wulaki:	<i>djinangi</i>	<i>djinami</i>	<i>ngunami</i>	<i>ngunangi</i>
ACC	<i>djini-OBL-nyi</i>	-	-	<i>ngun(u)-OBL-nyi</i>
DAT	<i>djin-OBL-ki</i>	<i>djinim-OBL-ki</i>	<i>ngunum-OBL-ki</i>	<i>ngun(u)-OBL-ki</i>
	<i>djini-ki</i>	<i>djinim-ki</i>	<i>ngunum-ki</i>	<i>ngunu-ki</i>
OR	<i>djin-OBL-pi</i>	<i>djinim-OBL-pi</i>	<i>ngunum-OBL-pi</i>	<i>ngun-OBL-pi</i>
	<i>djin-OBL-pibi</i>	<i>djinim-OBL-pibi</i>	<i>ngunum-OBL-pibi</i>	<i>ngun-OBL-pibi</i>
LOC	<i>djili</i>	<i>djilimi</i>	<i>ngulimi</i>	<i>nguli</i>
ALL	<i>bapili</i>	-	-	<i>ngunyili</i>
ABL	<i>djin(i)-ngiri</i>	<i>djinim-ngiri</i>	<i>ngunum-ngiri</i>	<i>ngun(u)-ngiri</i>
PERL	<i>djini-mirri</i>	-	-	<i>ngunu-mirri</i>
	<i>djini-mirrpmi</i>	-	-	<i>ngunu-mirrpmi</i>
(Wulaki:	<i>djina-tjarri</i>	-	-	<i>nguna-tjarri</i>
GEN	<i>djini-OBL-angi</i>	-	-	<i>ngunu-OBL-angi</i>

Table 2.6 shows the Djinang deictic forms for each case. There is considerable variation in some forms – especially in the OBL marker. Some of the variation is dialectal, while the rest involves performance variables such as vowel or syllable deletion, and regularisation of a paradigm (such as the omission of OBL before DAT which, although it does happen, is rare). The Near-Proximate and Near-Distant forms are clearly based on the Immediate-Proximate and Distant forms, respectively, by the addition of a *mi* formative. (This formative is possibly a reflex of an earlier PROM allomorph – cf. *-ma* PROM allomorph in Djinba. Certainly the *mi* formative cannot be viewed as a morpheme, it has no discernable meaning in modern Djinang.)

I have not been able to find any clear evidence that +HU and -HU categories are marked distinctly. Possibly they once were, but in modern Djinang both categories are marked alike. The Djapu evidence for the distinction relies heavily (see Morphy 1983:57-8) on the distribution of OBL marking, but in Djinang presence versus absence of OBL is governed by case; ACC, DAT, OR and GEN must take OBL preceding the case marker, while ABL and PERL never do so, and ERG, INSTR, LOC and ALL use suppletive forms. These facts are consistent with the historical weakening of OBL as a case marker, as discussed already for nouns. Because of the variation in the OBL forms, such forms are not given in the chart, but rather in a paragraph below.

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

Some of the variation not shown in Table 2.6 follows. I will confine examples to just the Immediate-Proximate and Distant categories. ACC case forms which are common are:

djini-giri-ny(i), *djini-gi-ny(i)* (Marrangu dialect often uses this form), *djini-kiri-ny(i)*; *ngunu-giri-ny(i)*, *ngunu-gi-ny(i)* (Marrangu), *ngun-giri-ny(i)* and *ngunu-kiri-ny(i)*. Common DAT forms are: *djin-gir-ki*, *djin-gira-ki*, *djin-ngir-ki*, *ngun-ngir-ki*, *ngun-gir-ki* and *ngunu-gir-ki*.

The OR forms are *djin-gira-pi* and *ngun-gira-pi* (more commonly as the reduplicated OR forms *djin-gira-pi-bi* and *ngun-gira-pi-bi*, with same meanings), although other forms of OBL may occur – such as on the possessive plural form with reduplicated OR case, *ngunu-wila-ngir-ang-pi-bi* that-PL-OBL-GEN-OR-OR ‘belonging to those ones only’. The second row of OR forms in Table 2.6 are synonymous with the equivalent forms in the row above, but sometimes the *-pibi* forms give an Exclusive sense, e.g. *djin-gira-pi-bi* this-OBL-OR-OR ‘(only) from this one’. In most contexts, however, there is no semantic difference between the form with single OR case and the one with reduplicated OR case.

The variation in ABL forms is confined to the elision of the stem-final vowel (this is frequent in disjunctive dialects) or the suffix-final vowel, but rarely both.

Suppletive forms are common. ERG/INSTR use the forms *djini* and *nguni*, which are of obscure derivation. The same modern ERG/INSTR forms also mark the Prominence and Temporal functions. The *ngi* formative in the NOM forms, which is often deleted (especially preceding a governing noun), is quite likely a reflex of the archaic *-*ngu* nominaliser which occurs within such non-Djinang forms as *yolngu* ‘man’, ‘person’. The deictic stems are therefore likely to be *djini-* and *ngunu-* (compare the Djinba forms given below, which have a final *ny* formative). Possibly the ERG forms may once have been *?*djini-ri* and *?*ngunu-ri*, with retroflexion subsequently being anticipated in the nasal in each form, prior to eventual loss of the suffix. In the ALL paradigm, the similarity of *ngunyili* ‘to there’, ‘to that place’, ‘to that one’ etc. to Djapu LOC form *ngunhili* ‘there’ is too obvious to miss. The **nh > ny* change is well-attested for Djinang. It appears that Djinang borrowed this form, with an appropriate semantic shift, by reanalysing the final *li* syllable as the Djinang ALL case marker *-li*. The Immediate-Proximate ALL form, *bapili* ‘to here’, is etymologically obscure.

The LOC paradigm is of interest for another reason. Considering the deictic stems and the modern LOC marker *-mirri* leads us to expect that the LOC deictics should be *djini-mirri* and *ngunu-mirri* instead of the forms cited. However, these two forms do occur, but not with the expected locative meanings; they mean ‘this way’ and ‘that way’ respectively and, in fact, are just (synchronically) reduced PERL forms (loss of the final syllable of the PERL suffix). Etymologically, these PERL forms are probably retentions of earlier PERL marking (see below).

Wulaki is the only dialect with different forms for these two PERL deictics, using *djina-tjarri* and *nguna-tjarri* instead. This *-tjarri* marker is probably a retention of an old Yolngu PERL marker, since Djambarrupyu, for instance, exhibits a PERL form *dhuwalatjarryin* ‘this way’, in which the first-order *-tjarr* morpheme marks PERL (*-yin* marks anaphoric Definiteness – see section 3.6, while *dhuwala* is the non-final form of the Immediate-Proximate deictic in Djambarrupyu). It is unlikely that the Wulaki *-tjarri* form is cognate to the *-tjarra* ‘having’ affix found, for example, in Pitjantjatjarra. The expected Djinang PERL forms *djini-mirrpmi* and *ngunu-mirrpmi* are very rarely heard, and probably they are the result of regularising the PERL paradigm, as we shall see below.

Consider the PERL forms. Schebeck (1967b:14) gives *-muru* as the modern PERL form in Nhangu, Dhangu and Djangu dialect groups of the Yolngu language family. Thus a form such as

?**djini-murru* probably meant ‘through this (place)’, that is, a Perlative semantic function. Pre-Djinang derived the modern PERL form *-mirrpmi* (used on non-deictic stems) by adding the THPRO morpheme (*-*pma*) as a second-order suffix following the PERL suffix *-*murru*. (The modern THPRO suffix is the reflex of earlier PROM marking – see section 3.3.) We know that at some time in early Djinang the *-*murru* PERL form became the modern Djinang *-mirri* LOC form (Djinba has the LOC form *-murr*), and we assume that, while this change was in progress, *-*murr(u)-pma* was reinterpreted as the PERL affix – leading to the modern Djinang PERL marker. The deictic PERL forms did not change (other than the vowel change due to the Djinang vowel shift) because presumably the deictic LOC forms (*djili* and *nguli*) were already marked uniquely, so that there never was any danger of *djini-mirri* or *ngunu-mirri* being misinterpreted as LOC forms. We may therefore conclude that the Djinang PERL marker *-mirrpmi* is more recent in derivation than the LOC forms *djili* and *nguli*, and that the occasional use of the *-mirrpmi* PERL marker on deictic stems is a sporadic modern regularisation.

Djinba uses the PERL affix *-pani*, e.g. *djiniku-pani* ‘this way’.

Finally, we note that PROM forms (and also NOM forms) may occur in contexts where a different case would have been expected. Typically, a deictic marked for PROM may occur instead of a deictic marked for LOC, and an UNM deictic (which, of course, is formally identical to a NOM deictic) may commonly occur instead of one marked for ACC or LOC, and less frequently for ERG, DAT or ALL. A couple of examples are given below. The first, (14), shows an UNM deictic used in an ERG NP (commas show pauses in examples and texts); (15) shows both UNM and PROM forms used with LOC function. The context of (15) is that two warriors are taunting each other to fight using spears.

- (14) *nyimila-rr galbi-dj-nyir-dji-mi guyi,*
 2cluDAT-1sgERG many-THEMSR-NMLSR-THEMSR-YPA [fishUNM]_{ACC}

ngarri ngunungi, wugili-ri
 [1sgERG thatUNM spirit-ERG]_{ERG}

I, that spirit, caused the fish to become many for you two. {49:58}

- (15) *nyani djini ran+a, nyani djini, a wirr*
 3sgERG [thisUNM]_{LOC} spear+FUT+NF 3sgERG [thisPROM]_{LOC} and NEG
 He₁ speared here, and he₂ (speared) there, and neither (hit the other). {28:31}

	IMM-PROX	NEAR-PROX	NEAR-DIST	DISTANT
Ganalbingu				
ERG	<i>djinirpany</i>	-	-	<i>ngunurpany</i>
NOM	<i>djininy</i>	<i>baliny</i>	<i>nguniny</i>	<i>nguniny</i>
LOC	-	-	-	<i>ngunuku</i>
ALL	<i>guwang</i>	-	-	<i>bini</i>
ABL	-	<i>balipungur</i>	-	<i>ngunungur</i>
Dabi				
ERG	<i>nikanmi</i>	-	-	-
NOM	<i>nikirrmay</i>	-	-	<i>ngunukurrmany</i>
LOC	-	-	-	<i>ngunuki</i>
ALL	<i>guwabi</i>	-	-	<i>banbala</i>

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

The origin of the Dabi *ni-* stem for the Immediate-Proximate deictic forms is unknown. (Manydalpingu also uses the *nikirrmay* and *ngunukurrmay* stems.) Otherwise, all dialects exhibit the *djini-* and *ngunu-* stems, as for Djinang. Dabi uses both the *ngunukurrmay* form and the *nguniny* form, according to my informants. The ALL stem *guwa-* occurs in Djinang as a free form meaning 'come here'. The *ku/ki* formative on the Distant deictic LOC forms may be a relic of the *ku* formative in the same position on NOM Distant deictics in some other Yolngu language groups, including Nhangu, Dhangu and Djangu (see Schebeck 1967b:19). One elderly Djinang man (Wulkabi dialect, Murrungun clan) regularly uses PL deictic forms such as *ngunuku-wili-* that-PL- and *djiniki-wili-* this-PL-. I have only heard this one man use these stems for the plural Immediate-Proximate and Distant deictics.

FUNCTIONS OF DEICTICS

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

As a determiner in an NP:

- (16) *ngunung djanguny bil katji-nm ngunung*
 [thatUNM storyUNM]ACC 3duERG hold-PRES [thatUNM
wanngir-nya-kiɲing
 save-NMLSR-PROP]ACC
 ...they possess that story – the one which saves (32:32)

As head of an NP:

- (17) *djini walkiri-marr-ngili djini-gi-nyi*
 thisERG child-get-TPA this-OBL-ACC
 This one begat this (other) one. {65:1}

Marking Temporal function:

- (18) *ban djini, ingki wari marri dji-tjalng-dji-yi*
 however now NEG whoNOM probably DIST-desire-THEMSR-PRI
 On the other hand, nowadays probably nobody wants (it). {43:80}

The next two examples illustrate the use of ABL to mark temporal sequence 'after that'. The temporal focus clitic is nearly always used to highlight the temporal sense unambiguously, but is not necessarily on the deictic form (though it often is) as the next two examples show. Example (19) was chosen because the sense of *ngunu-ngiri* may only be temporal sequence in this context. On the other hand, (20) was chosen because it illustrates the parallelism of time and space so well – 'from that place' or 'after that time' are equally good translations of the ABL deictic.

- (19) *djini, malkarri-dji ga-ngili, ga ngunu-ngiri*
 thatTEMP [spear]ACC-PROM take-RPA and that-ABL
a wurpm-ban djarak ga-ka-ny kiri-ny+a
 and [oneUNM-TF wood.spearUNM]ACC DIST-take-RPC PROG-RPC+NF
bunduk
 [woomeraUNM]ACC
 At that time (he) bore (several) spears, and after that he kept on bearing one wooden spear
 (and his) woomera. {34:343-344}

The context of (19) is that a man who was bearing several spears expended them all, except for one, in spearing a buffalo. The time reference for the deictic 'that' is the time of his spearing the buffalo, and 'after that' he had just the one spear. Since there was no change in location, only a temporal interpretation will fit the context.

- (20) *Warrwarr ngulji bil batji-djini,*
 move.fast thatLOC 3duERG cook-RPA
ngun-ngiri bil wini-ny kiri-ny-ban
 that-ABL 3duNOM return-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
 Moving off, there (in the bush) they cooked (it), after that they then returned. (24:84-85)

In the next two examples, ABL is used to mark the notion of 'source'. Example (21) illustrates ABL marking logical contingency (i.e. 'because of' or 'due to'), while (22) illustrates how ABL can mark the 'source' in the context of a directed activity.

- (21) *lim dūbu-dūbu-tji-m giri-m+a, gir*
 1plincNOM REDUP-twitch-THEMSR-PRES HABIT-PRES+NF COMPL
inydji lim bultji-n giri-m-ban ... ngunu-ngir
 RECIP 1plincERG tell-PRES HABIT-PRES-TF ... that-ABL
djanguny-giṅing
 story-PROP
 We twitch, then we tell each other '...' because of that omen. (Note: the actual quote is omitted for brevity, it reads 'later tomorrow people will arrive'.) (32:24,26,28)
- (22) *gu-kurri-ny-ban, manymak, nyan ngun-ngir-kim*
 DIST-ride.the.top-RPC-TF okay 3sgNOM that-ABL-EMPH
wangi-n-ban
 speak-RPA-TF
 Okay, while in the tree top, from there he spoke. {24:167-168}

There are a few other functions of deictics that should be explained here to complete the picture. The forms *djin(i)-ngir-pm(i)* this-ABL-THPRO and *ngun(u)-ngir-pm(i)* that-ABL-THPRO do not mean *'just from this place' and *'just from that place', as would be expected, except when used with motion verbs. Instead, with non-motion verbs, they have a locative sense, meaning 'on this side' and 'on that side', respectively. (It is possible that ABL is here really a reflex of OBL, but there is no proof. Compare OBL used to mark LOC on +HU nouns in other Yolngu languages.) The other common use of the deictic stems, particularly *ngunu-*, is as a carrier of the FRAME affix *-bilang(i)*, giving the meaning 'if', as in (23).

- (23) *ngunu-bilang nyani bali-dji in.ga-rr ngadji-dji kiri-∅*
 that-FRAME 3sgNOM die-FUT 3sgDAT-1sgNOM cry-FUT PROG-FUT
 If he dies I will mourn for him. {65:57}

2.6 INTERROGATIVE/INDEFINITE PRONOUNS AND CASE

In this section we examine the paradigms for interrogative/indefinite pronouns inflected for case. These forms, used as interrogatives, express such meanings as 'who' 'what' 'which' 'why' 'when' and 'how', but as indefinites they may be used to express such meanings as 'whoever', 'whatever', 'whichever', 'for whatever reason', 'whenever' and 'however'. There is usually no formal difference between these two functions, and often only the context can give sufficient clues as to which function is being used in a given instance. However, suffixation of *-pila(ng(i))* INDEF is common with deictic stems in order to signal indefiniteness unambiguously, typically in phrasal constructions such as *wili ngunu-pilang* who+ERG that-INDEF 'whoever' (as Agent), *wari-ngunu-pilang* whoNOM that-INDEF 'whoever' (as Subject), *nyabini ngunu-pilang* how.manyUNM that-INDEF 'however many', *nya-dji ngunupilang* what-TEMP that-INDEF 'whatever time' and *nyim ngunu-pilang* whatUNM that-INDEF 'whatever'. The INDEF affix is treated in detail in section 3.6.

There is an alternative way of indicating indefiniteness unambiguously, and that is by reduplication, hence the forms *nyali-nyali* whereUNM-whereUNM 'wherever' {32:124}, *nyim-nyim* whatUNM-whatUNM 'whatever' {33:107,43:72} and *nyibirri-nyibirri* what+LOC-what+LOC 'at whatever place' {32:124}. The +HU indefinite pronouns apparently do not undergo this reduplication, the *ngunupilang* construction being preferred.

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

The question remains as to the origin of the root *nyali*, which is used to express the meanings 'where' or 'which', with an apparent DAT case to express the meaning 'how' (see (25) and (26) below). The 'DAT' form, *nyaliki*, functions as a stem in its own right, and does not have a meaning derivable from the known functions of DAT marking. It is quite possible that the *ki* formative is unrelated to DAT. The Djinba forms which correspond to the *nyali* root also begin with *nya* (see Table 2.9), so it is reasonable to assume that these forms (and Djintang *nyali*) were likewise developed from the Yolngu root *nha:-*. In fact, the form may be a borrowing from Yanhangu. Wood (1973) obtained the Yanhangu word *nhala* 'where', however this form does not appear to

occur in Alpher's 1977 data, where *baypi* occurs instead, while in Wood's data the latter is glossed as 'here'. Both Wood and Alpher worked with the same Yanhangu speaker. Schebeck (1967b:19) also obtained the form *nhala* 'where' in Golpa, another Nhangu language. This *nhala* form probably was derived from an earlier **nha:-la* what-LOC, where the *-la* suffix is an old LOC form common in Pama-Nyungan languages. However, the etymology of the form would have long been opaque at the time it diffused into Djinang, and the Djinang sound changes (see Appendix 2) would have then produced the modern *nyali* 'where' root. The modern Djinang INSTR form, *nyili*, is a reflex of an earlier form **nha-li* what-INSTR. The modern Djinang form, *nyaliki* 'how', is difficult to explain; it may somehow have developed out of a conflict between the earlier forms, **nyala* 'where' and INSTR **nya-li* 'with what', in the period when the vowel change **a > i* was taking place.

	+HU 'who'	-HU 'where/how/which'	-HU 'what'
ERG	<i>wiji</i>	-	-
INSTR	-	<i>nyi-li</i>	-
TEMP	-	<i>nya-dji</i>	-
OBL	<i>wira-r</i>	-	-
NOM	<i>wari</i>	-	<i>nyim(i)</i>
ACC	<i>wiri-ny(i)</i>	-	<i>nyim(i)</i>
DAT	<i>wir(a)-ki</i>	<i>nyaliki</i>	<i>nyim-ki</i>
OR	<i>wira-pibi</i>	<i>nyaling-OBL-pi</i>	<i>nyim-pi</i>
LOC	(OBL used)	<i>nyali-ngi</i>	<i>nyibirri</i>
		(Wulaki:	<i>nyimbirri</i>)
ALL	<i>wira-li</i>	<i>nyanydjili</i>	<i>nyimi-li</i>
ABL	<i>wira-ngiri</i>	<i>nyali-ngiri</i>	<i>nyim-ngiri</i>
PERL	<i>wira-mirrpmi</i>	<i>nyali-mirri</i>	<i>nyim-mirrpmi</i>
GEN	<i>wir+ang(i)</i>	-	<i>nyim-OBL-ang(i)</i>
Other forms:		<i>nyabini</i>	
		<i>nyaliki-dji-dji</i>	
	<i>war+ngarri(ny)</i>	<i>nyali-bilang</i>	<i>nyim(b)irr(a)+ngarri</i>
			<i>nyimi-ni</i>
			<i>nyimay</i>
			<i>nyim-giŋingi</i>
			<i>nyim-nyirringi</i>

In Table 2.8, points in each paradigm for which no form is known and which would not be expected to occur for semantic reasons, are marked by -. In each column there are some additional derived forms, which are given at the bottom of the table – these are discussed later in this section. The PROM form is identical to the ERG form. PROM is rare; I have only one clear instance of it – see (24) below, where it occurs with a semitransitive verb (such verbs do not take ERG-marked semantic Subjects). A similar effect to PROM may be obtained using the suffix *-Gima* EMPH, as in

wari-gima whoUNM-EMPH 'who' and *nyim-gima* whatUNM-EMPH 'what'. TEMP marking is included in the table; the form *nya-dji* what-TEMP 'when' is a reflex of former TEMP case marking.

- (24) *wili* *nginmili-ki* *wangi-dji*
 who+PROM 1plinc-DAT talk-FUT
 Who will talk to us? {22:252}

The root form *wira-* (NOM *wari*) is evidently a reflex of an earlier root **wara* 'who' (see below). Djinba lacks this root in Ganalbingu, Djinba and Manydjalpingu clans; Dabi has it (probably as a retention, rather than a borrowing) and the Walmapuy form is unknown. The Ganalbingu, Manydjalpingu and Djinba form, *nyalung*, was probably historically derived from the Yolngu root *nha:-* 'what'. Yanhangu (Alpher 1977) has the forms *wara* whoNOM, *wuri-li* who-ERG, *wara-nyi* who-ACC and *wara-wala* who-PAUC. The Ritharrngu forms are *wara* and *wara-li* in the NOM and ERG cases respectively (Heath 1980a:57). Schebeck (1967b:19) gives *yolngu* as the Nhangu form for 'who', which suggests that Yanhangu may have borrowed the root **wara*. However I think this is less likely than the possibility that the root **wara-* is the original Yolngu +HU relative pronoun form, with that root being lost as *dirramu* 'man' became the normal form marking 'man', allowing *yol* and *yolngu* to shift in meaning to become the modern +HU relative pronoun forms in Yolngu languages to the east. The root **wara* is found in Djinang, Ritharrngu and Yanhangu, with Djinba having it in at least one dialect. The modern Djinang ERG form *wili* is clearly a contraction of either **wuri-li* or **wara-li*, the former being more likely.

The OBL form *wira-r* 'with whom' (i.e. Comitative function) is the only instance in modern Djinang where OBL functions as a case marker; in all other instances it functions only as a carrier of case or of other suffixes. The *wira-r* form is historically derived from **wara-kara* who-OBL, by loss of the syllable *ka*. This *ka* syllable loss is attested in a number of Djinang forms, when compared with their Djinba cognates. Good examples are the Djinang and Djinba words for 'dance', which are compounds of *wakal* 'fun', 'gambol about', and the verb meaning 'lie down' (Djinang *ngurridji*, Djinba *ngurrak*). In Djinang we have *walngirridji* 'dance' and in Djinba *wakalngurrak*; it is evident that Djinang has lost the *ka* syllable. A similar loss occurred regularly in the paradigm of Djinang verbs which take today past inflection, *-ali* in modern Djinang. The Djinba cognate inflection is *-gal(i)/-kal(i)*, e.g. Djinang *gir-ali* 'went', Djinba *gar(a)-kal(i)* 'went' (see also the comments on OBL pronoun forms in section 2.4.). With respect to this loss of *ka* in some environments, no evidence for a series of gradual changes has survived in either of the modern languages; diachronically this syllable loss appears to have been fairly abrupt.

The OR form based on the root *nyali-* is *nyaling-gira-pi*, which obligatorily includes the OBL marker preceding the OR case marker. A more common form, with the same meaning, is *nyaling-gira-pi-bi* 'from where', in which the OR case occurs in reduplicated form. Otherwise OBL does not occur with interrogative/indefinite pronouns except when marked for PL or preceding GEN. With PL marking, OBL often occurs, though not always. Notice also that the preferred +HU OR form is *wira-pibi* rather than *wira-pi*, although the latter does occur, but very infrequently.

There is also some variation in the PL forms in the DAT case, including double DAT marking in one form. The PL forms recorded up to the time of writing are *wira-pil-ngir* who-PL-ERG, *wira-pili* whoUNM-PL (i.e. NOM form), *wira-pil-ngiri-ny* who-PL-OBL-ACC, *wira-pil-ngir-gi* who-PL-OBL-DAT, *wir-wil(i)-ki* who-PL-DAT, *wir-ki-wili-ki* who-DAT-PL-DAT and *wira-pil-ngir-ang* who-PL-OBL-GEN. Notice that the ERG allomorph after PL is

-*ngir(i)*, which is formally identical to the OBL allomorph in the same environment. OBL and ERG have merged, after PL marking, as we saw also in the discussion of deictics in section 2.5.

The OR and LOC forms for the root *nyali-* are based on a stem *nyali-(ng(i))*, in which the formative *ngi* is the archaic LOC suffix discussed in section 2.3 (see Table 2.3). The LOC forms *nyibirri* and *nyimbirri* (the latter is Wulaki) are derived historically from **nyim-mirri* 'what-LOC', where **m > b* following *m*, and all dialects except Wulaki subsequently lost the *m*. The Marrangu dialect retains the *nyimbirri* form as a stem in the form *nyimbirr(a)+ngarri* 'so-and-so place', 'what-is-its-(place)-name?', while Murrungun dialect uses *nyimirr+ngarri*, a contracted form. The +HU equivalent of *nyim(b)irr(a)+ngarri* is, for all dialects, *war+ngarri(ny(i))* 'so-and-so person', 'what-is-his/her-name?' (cf. *nhawi* in other Yolngu languages). These Djinang forms are clearly based on the roots *wari* and *nyimi*. The formative *ngarri* is homophonous with the first person singular pronoun, but apparently is not cognate. Djinang speakers regard these words as unanalysable morphemes.

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

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

The remaining forms to discuss are *nyalikidjidji*, *nyalibilang(i)* and *nyabini*. The first is a verb based on the form *nyaliki* which means 'how', as in (25). The verb form *nyaliki-dji-dji* 'how-INCHO-FUT' (formally inchoative, but not semantically so) means 'do how?' or 'do however'; (26) illustrates the former meaning. (Note in this example that the full pronoun and synonymous reduced pronoun co-occur.) The form *nyali-bilang(i)* 'where-FRAME' is used to ask if someone has something, and is functionally equivalent to the English 'have you any...?'.

- (25) *djulam irri-ny ku-ny kiri-nyi maypil-gi*
dense.bushUNM 1sg-ACC give-RPC PROG-RPC animal-DAT

nyaliki djudap-dji-g+a, a ran+a...
how sneak.up-THEMSR-FUT+NF and spearFUT+NF

In the dense bush he was giving me (instruction) on how to sneak up on animals and spear them... {34:593}

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

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

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

	+HU 'who'		-HU 'where/how'		-HU 'what'	
	Ganal.	Dabi	Ganal.	Dabi	Ganal.	Dabi
ERG	<i>nyalung</i>	<i>warinyun</i>	-	-	-	-
INSTR	-	-	<i>nya-yi</i>	-	<i>nya-yin</i>	<i>nyagi-dji</i>
TEMP	-	-	<i>nyi-nuk</i>	<i>nya-dji-nuk</i>	-	-
NOM	<i>nyalung</i>	<i>wari</i>	-	-	<i>nyami</i>	<i>nyagi</i>
ACC	<i>nyal-nguru-ny</i>	-	-	-	<i>nyami</i>	-
DAT	<i>nyal-ngur-ku</i>	-	-	-	<i>nyamu-wu</i>	<i>nya-kuru</i>
OR	<i>nyal-ngur-kung-birriy</i>	-	-	-	<i>nyami-wirriy</i>	-
OR	<i>nyal-ngur-kung</i>	-	-	-	-	-
OBL	<i>nyal-ngur-ka</i>	-	-	-	-	-
LOC	-	-	<i>nyirri</i>	<i>nyirri</i>	<i>nyarrka</i>	<i>nyibirrik</i>
ALL	<i>nyal-ngur-ka</i>	-	-	-	<i>nyiyin</i>	-
ABL	<i>nyalu-ku-ngur</i>	-	-	-	<i>nyamu-ngur</i>	-
PERL	<i>nyal-ngur-ka-pani</i>	-	<i>nyarrpani</i>	<i>nyarrpan</i>	<i>nyarr-panani</i>	-

These Djinba forms (mostly from Ganalbingu dialect) are quite different from the equivalent Djinang ones, for example an OBL marker occurs in many of them, particularly the +HU forms. The OBL is mostly *-ngur(u)*, but seems to be *-ku* in the +HU ABL form *nyalu-ku-ngur* 'from whom'. Djinang interrogative/indefinite +HU forms do not use OBL, except after a suffix like PL. Also, Djinba has a special PERL form *-panani* occurring on the root form *nyarr-* 'what'. (Possibly *-panani* is a reflex of a former **-pani-pani* reduplication.) Also, while Djinang has distinct +HU ALL and +HU OBL forms (the latter with Comitative function), Djinba uses the same form for both functions, which is the pattern in other Yolngu languages.

Also of interest is the Djinba form which corresponds to Djinang *wira-pi-bi* who-OR-OR 'from whom' in which modern *-pi-bi* is analysed as a reduplication of OR case. The Ganalbingu

equivalent is *nyalu-ngur-kung-birriy*, which is analysed as who-OBL-OR-OR, since *-kung* is OR case on pronouns, and *-birriy* is OR case on nouns. However, comparison between the two languages (e.g. place names) shows that the morpheme *-Birriy* is to be identified with (and is probably cognate with) the Yolngu ASSOC morpheme *-Buy*. It is known that *-kung* is the common Yolngu OR case form. The second OR row gives the normal marking for Possessive function (corresponding to Djinang GEN).

The Djinba form corresponding to Djinang *nyaliki* 'how' (treated as formally DAT) is *nyarrpan(i)* 'how'. In Table 2.9 the latter must be placed in the PERL paradigm, since it is apparently PERL in both form and function and can be glossed as 'which way' (i.e. perlative), which is clearly synonymous with 'how'.

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

2.7 ERGATIVE MARKING

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

FREQUENCY

First we shall consider the frequency of ERG marking on Subject nouns or deictics in clauses having transitive or ditransitive verbs. A check of a narrative of over a thousand clauses reveals the following facts. Firstly, Agent nouns and deictics in transitive clauses are quite infrequent. (I am using transitive to include ditransitive also, unless specific note is made to the contrary.) This is due to the system of cohesion, where nouns and full pronouns are absent from surface structure when reference is unambiguous. When an Agent noun does occur, it is nearly always marked for ERG case, though very occasionally the ERG marker is omitted – as in (27) below.

- (27) *nyani djulam irri-ny ku-ny kiri-ny,*
 3sgERG [dense.bushUNM]_{LOC} 1sg-ACC give-RPC PROG-RPC

ma|u,

[daddyUNM]_{ERG}

He was giving me (instruction) in the dense bush, daddy (was). {34:592}

Omission of ERG, as in (27), may occur when the noun is in an 'afterthought' construction, that is, an NP juxtaposed to the end of a clause, after pause, in which the head noun further specifies a

participant previously referenced in the clause – in this case an Agent referenced by the third person pronoun.

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

- (28) *biling batji-djini-ban, bininggili marrngu, wagirri-r*
 3duERG cook-RPA-TF [twoUNM possumUNM]ACC crow-ERG
 They cooked the two possums, the (two) crows (did). {20:94}

TEMPORAL

TEMP marking was mentioned in sections 2.3, 2.5 and 2.6. TEMP marking (it is not a case in modern Djinang) occurs only on the deictic stem *nya-* ‘what’ (see section 2.5). Also the deictic stems *nguṇi* and *djini* can have a temporal function. Otherwise, the temporal function is marked lexically by the noun *bil(i)djirri* ‘the time of’. There are additional ways of expressing temporal categories such as ‘now’, ‘then’, ‘today’. For example, to express the meaning ‘now’, ‘today’, ‘here’ or ‘this one’, very often the reduplicated Proximate deictic form *djini’djining* is used in preference to *djini*. Another way of expressing ‘now’ or a contextually defined time ‘then’ is by the Temporal Focus (TF) clitic *-ban* (see section 3.20).

PROMINENCE

Prominence is basically a discourse level function and pertains to the system of interclausal cohesion, especially participant tracking. There are two basic mechanisms in Djinang for making a constituent prominent: (1) fronting of the constituent, and (2) marking the constituent by the PROM affix (which is formally identical to ERG marking). (There are other ‘prominence’ affixes, such as THPRO and EMPH, which likewise are involved in interclausal cohesion, but not in participant tracking. They are discussed in sections 3.3 and 3.5 respectively.) One of the most common uses of prominence is to indicate a change of participant focus, such as a new actor. Fronting is the more commonly employed strategy for indicating prominence. Indicating prominence by means of the PROM suffix is less frequent, but this method does not require the prominent constituent to be fronted – as in (29). However, both fronting and affixation by PROM may occur together. In the case of fronted full pronouns, which is the normal construction for switching reference, there is no possibility of formal marking of prominence since NOM, ERG and PROM forms of pronouns are homophonous. Fronting alone marks prominence in the case of pronouns. It would therefore be reasonable to indicate covert PROM marking of such fronted pronouns, but in general I have not done so because of the problem of validating such an analysis. PROM marking may be used in contexts other than switching reference. PROM marking has the effect of drawing the hearer’s attention to the word so marked. PROM marking most often occurs on nouns and deictics, but in the database I have at least one instance each of PROM marking (using the *-dji* form) on a reduced pronoun and on a verb.

One example of PROM was given in section 2.6, example (24). Another example is (29) below, this time on a proper noun in an afterthought construction. That it is PROM rather than ERG is clear from the verb, which is intransitive. The underlying case of a noun marked by PROM is not necessarily NOM as in (29), but could be one of a number of cases. Example (19) shows PROM on a noun which is covertly ACC, and (15) shows PROM on a deictic which is covertly LOC. Thus it

certainly can occur on nominals which are covertly ERG, NOM, ACC and LOC; further research may indicate an even wider distribution.

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

CAUSATIVE

CAU marking occurs on -HU nouns (I have no deictic examples). I also have some +HU instances, but only for deictics, as in (30). As described by Morphy (1983:38), 'CAU (marks) the cause of a state'. Another example occurs in (13) of section 2.4, and some -HU examples follow; a further one occurs in (37).

- (30) *ngarri irr marnggi-dji-dji ngunu-wila-r nguḷi*
 1sgNOM 1sgNOM know-INCHO-FUT that-PL-CAU thatLOC
 I will learn from those (people) there. {67:73}
- (31) *yarim nguḷpirri-dji irri-ny pu-nyi, heavy one*
 just egg.white-CAU 1sg-ACC hit-RPC heavy one
 Just (eating) one (emu egg) finished me off. {34:1138}
- (32) *nguy-djunggi-li-pm linyili-ny bari-mi*
 internal-fire-CAU-THPRO 1duexc-ACC be.upon-YPA
 We were just consumed with anger. {66:90}

However, the most common means of expressing a Causative function is to use OR case (especially in reduplicated form, as *-pibi*); this is very common with pronouns. Semantically, the use of OR as a causative expresses the notion of indirect causation – the person or thing to which an event may be causally linked, though not necessarily the actual Agent.

INSTRUMENT

INSTR marking has two functions. The most common function is to mark the instrument used to accomplish an action, such as in (33). Example (34) shows that INSTR may sometimes be required where English might lead us to expect another case, such as ABL.

- (33) *galmi-ni, nginibi-tja galiyirr-djini lipalipa-dji*
 land-RPA 1plexcNOM-CONTR paddle-RPA dugout.canoe-INSTR
 He landed (the plane), but we paddled (there) by dugout canoe. {22:249}
- (34) *bina buḷal gapi irr ḍirra-dji-gi*
 INTERR good [waterUNM]ACC 1sgERG drink-THEMSR-FUT
nyungu-r dandanga-dji
 [2sg-OBL container-INSTR]_{INSTR}
 May I have a drink from your container?

The other major function of INSTR is to form adverbial clause modifications. Typically, though not exclusively, body-part nouns and nouns expressing emotional states are used to derive such adverbial words. However, nouns such as *gapi* 'water', *munatja* 'ground', *ḡami* 'above', 'sky'

are also used to form adverbial modifications. Often the resulting adverbial forms assume metaphorical senses. Thus, for example, *gumbirr-dji* hand-INSTR can be used to mean either ‘by hand’ or ‘gently’; and in (35) the latter meaning obtains. Example (36) illustrates a metaphorical sense of the form *galngi-li* body-INSTR, meaning ‘as a human being’ (rather than the literal meaning ‘bodily’), since the speaker is contrasting life as a spirit being with life as a human being in the physical world.

- (35) *girr ngunu gumbirr-dji-pm bili-ny ka-ny*
 COMPL [thatUNM]ACC hand-INSTR-THPRO 3du-ACC take-RPC
 Then (a soldier) took those two away gently. {32:160}
- (36) *galngi-li il gukirri-∅*
 body-INSTR 1duincNOM walk.about-PRES
 As humans we (Yolngu and Balanda) live. {67:61}

Other forms include the following – notice that some are quite figurative, while others are transparently instrumental: *ṅuli-dji* ‘on foot’ (*ṅu-li* is a fossilised INSTR form itself, from *ṅu* ‘foot’ and *-li* INSTR) {22:232,34:196}; *galngi-li marrngi-n* body-INSTR perceive-RPA ‘felt’ (note this is a standard metaphor for ‘feel’, the verb *marrngirrdji* in other contexts is used to mean ‘hear’) {24:143}; *gaṅḍa-li* thigh-INSTR meaning ‘striding quickly’ {34:994}; *marr-dji* soul/power-INSTR meaning ‘expectantly’ (see (7) in section 2.2); *ganydjirr-dji* strength-INSTR meaning ‘powerfully’ {32:117}; *guṅi-r* shame-INSTR meaning ‘shamefully’ {65:8}.

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

ERGATIVE ALLOMORPH *-ngir(i)*

Now we shall consider the *-ngir(i)* allomorph of ERG. This is formally identical to the most common allomorph of OBL and also to the ABL case marker, but is nevertheless used to mark ERG case, as in (37) and (38). This allomorph is used if the PL marker precedes.

- (37) *girr nyim-pi djama-giṅ-pil-ngir djin bultji-djin-ban*
 COMPL what-OR work-PROP-PL-ERG 3plERG tell-RPA-TF
 Then straight away the workers told (the boss) what (it was) about. (32:47)
- (38) *yidjipil-pili-ngir u gapi-li inma rindi-gi*
 child-PL-ERG or water-CAU 2sgDAT sever-FUT
u wana-pili-mirringi+ri
 or big-PL-ARCHE+ERG
 Children or water may sever (the mooring rope), or adults. {66:39}

Example (38) is of further interest. Consider the segmentation of the last word. We could just as easily have segmented it as follows: *wana-pili-mirring-ngiri* big-PL-ARCHE-ERG. A *ng-ng* sequence becomes phonetically just a lengthened *ng*, making it hard to decide what the correct segmentation should be. Thus, ERG after a stem-final *ng* or *ngi* will always be *-ir(i)* or *-r(i)*, respectively, never *-dji* or *-li*. For this reason it is highly likely that the alternative segmentation

posited above is correct, so that we should extend the statement of the distribution of the ERG allomorph *-ngir(i)* to include the latter environments. Another common example is the word for 'each', when inflected for ERG: *bubali-kiṅing-ngiri* random-PROP-ERG and *bubali-kiṅingi-ri* random-PROP-ERG being equally viable segmentations.

The only other occurrence in my data of this *-ngir(i)* allomorph is with the word *nyibi* 'some' 'other'. Example (39) illustrates its use.

- (39) *djani nyibi-ngiri, yarraman djin ga-ngil+a*
 3plERG some-ERG [horseUNM]ACC 3plERG take-RPA+NF
 Some took the horses. {34:197}

Etymologically, this allomorph of ERG is a reflex of OBL case. As the latter's function as a case marker weakened, OBL was reinterpreted as a new allomorph of ERG marking. The PROM marker (itself a merger of an earlier PROM form with ERG) also exhibits the *-ngir(i)* allomorph after PL, as shown by (40).

- (40) *djani butjiy-pili-ngiri, djin ṅunydjirr-ali*
 3plNOM dog-PL-PROM 3plNOM run-RPA
 The dogs ran off. {34:905}

KIN NOUNS

When the KINPROP marker (KINPROP is dealt with in more detail in section 3.4) is suffixed to kin nouns, there are two forms: *-ngim(i)* is used when the underlying case is NOM: and *-ngirim(i)* is used when the underlying case is ERG, the ERG allomorph *-ri* occurring with the KINPROP marker. The second form is glossed as KINPROP+ERG in examples. This treatment of *-ngirim(i)* as a portmanteau form of KINPROP and ERG marking allows us not to have to posit a discontinuous morpheme for KINPROP (i.e. **-ngi+mi*), or to suggest that the *-ngi* formative is in fact a realisation of OBL marking. The latter possibility is entertainable because there is a (rare) allomorph of KINPROP of the form *-mi* (see (45)); but the argument that the *-ngi* formative is OBL is very weak because then kin nouns would be the only nominal class which takes OBL marking and ERG case marking at the same time. Some examples illustrating these forms are given next.

- (41) *ngarri dji-ny-rr nya-ngiṅi wuw-wili-ngimi-pm*
 1sgERG 3pl-ACC-1sgNOM see-TPA [o.brother-PL-KINPROP-THPRO]ACC
 I saw (my) older brothers. {66:119}
- (42) *wuw-ngirim dji-ny djaga-dji-gi*
 o.brother-KINPROP+ERG 3pl-ACC help-THEMSR-FUT
 Older brother will help them. {66:126}

ABL and ALL case on kin nouns are equally complicated. In the case of ALL marking, the word structure is kin.noun-OBL-ALL. In the case of ABL marking, one potential word structure is to use the *-pm(i)* THPRO marker preceding the ABL case to give kin.noun-THPRO-ABL; the other potential structure uses the *-mi* KINPROP allomorph to give the structure kin.noun-ABL-*ri*-KINPROP. Example (43) illustrates the ALL structure, (44) the first ABL structure, and (45) the second ABL structure. In (45), the infix *-ri-* is formally the same as ERG, but cannot possibly be ERG in this context. It is probably a transition syllable having zero meaning.

- (43) *ga-wi ngambirri-gira-li*
take-IMP mother-OBL-ALL
Take it to mother! {66:127}
- (44) *nyan inydji birrin-djingi-ni gunydjirri-pm-ngiri*
3sgNOM RECIP turn-CAUS-TPA father-THPRO-ABL
He turned himself away from (his) father. {66:132}
- (45) *nyan inydji birrin-djingi-ni gunydjirri-ngira-ri-mi*
3sgNOM RECIP turn-CAUS-TPA father-ABL-ri-KINPROP
He turned himself away from (his) father. {66:133}

Further research is needed into the complexities of kin noun inflections. Forms of the kind and complexity illustrated in this discussion of kin nouns are quite rare in natural text, in fact examples (41) to (45) were elicited. We shall meet forms of a similar nature and complexity when I later discuss DAT marking. Fortunately, this complexity is limited to the class of kin nouns, and to a lesser extent to the noun *yul* 'man', 'person'.

ERGATIVE FORMS WITH FINAL *-m(i)*

The noun *wurpi* (cf. Yolngu *wiripu*) 'another', 'different' takes ERG *-li* in preference to *-dji*, although the latter obtains occasionally. The word *wurpm(i)* 'one' is etymologically related to the *wurpi* stem, possibly as a fossilisation involving this stem and the **-ma* allomorph of the earlier PROM marker. However, the ERG form is *wurpi-li+m* one-ERG, the ERG marker being an infix (though young adult Manyarring speakers prefer *wurpm-dji* one-ERG instead). Also, while *wurpm-ipm* one-THPRO is the NOM or ACC form meaning 'just one', the ERG form with the same meaning is *wurpi-li-pm(i)* one-ERG-THPRO; again the ERG marker is an infix. (The latter form may also be used as an adverb with the meaning 'together'.) The *m(i)* which occurs in the forms with the meaning 'one' is a reflex of the early PROM allomorph mentioned above.

Another unusual ERG form, again with final *m(i)*, is the paucal marker. The PAUC marker is *-mirrpili* 'a few' (cf. Yanhangu *mirribulu* PAUC, Alpher 1977:7) with NOM and ACC cases. However, the ERG form of this suffix is *-mirrpili+m(i)*. No other Djinang suffix has a suppletive ERG form, except perhaps KINPROP – providing we treat *-ngirimi* in (42) as a portmanteau KINPROP+ERG suffix. Again, the final *-m(i)* syllable in the ERG form of the PAUC affix is a reflex of the earlier PROM affix mentioned before.

What is significant here, and also in the discussion of kin nouns, is that the unusual forms and complex patterns of marking occur when word-final *-m(i)* is present. (Even the THPRO marker, *-pm(i)*, occurs in similar quite complex patterns of marking, and is probably also a reflex of the earlier PROM allomorph **-ma*; *-ma* is one of the PROM allomorphs in Djinba, for example). Apparently, when **-ma* ceased to be a productive marker of PROM in Djinang it became associated with whatever stem or affix preceded it in certain common formations, such as *wurpi-li+m* and *-mirrpili+m*, and in the latter suffix form it became the carrier of ERG marking. Therefore *wurpmi* oneNOM is probably a backformation. The following examples illustrate some of the forms discussed.

- (46) *nanguḍu-mirrpili+m irri-ny djin marr-ngili*
sister-PAUC+ERG 1sg-ACC 3plERG get-RPA
A few sisters picked me up. (34:254)

(*nanguḍu* literally means 'useless' and can be used for unmarried women, especially nursing sisters or nuns.)

- (47) *wurpi-li+m yul-dji bu?-butjalmi-ny bumiri-manbi*
 one-ERG man-ERG DIST-ask-TPC forehead-hard
 One man kept on asking relentlessly. {67:76}
- (48) *yili litja-nydji bil gurrpi-n wurpi-li-tja*
 again lduincDAT-RECIP 3duERG chase-RPC different-ERG-CONTR
 Once again we were chased, (but) by each of (two) different (buffalo). {34:955}

2.8 TRANSITIVITY AND SEMANTIC ROLE

In this section we shall consider patterns of ACC marking, and especially how ACC marking interacts with DAT or ALL marking. The only ALL marking to be considered in detail in this section is when ALL marks a noun which would have been expected to have been marked by ACC or DAT; we shall delay a discussion of ALL in its capacity as a peripheral case till later (section 2.10). Other aspects of ACC and DAT marking will be treated in section 2.9.

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

There is a fundamental dimension of 'choice' (in Halliday's sense, see Kress 1976): whether an event is goal-directed (G-DIR) or goal-terminative (G-TERM). This dimension has been mentioned by others. Consider the following quote from Blake (1977:36): 'If a predicator refers to an activity that actually affects or impinges on a patient, this will normally be expressed by a transitive verb. In other cases the predicator may appear with a complement in the DATIVE or in some instances the LOCATIVE or CAUSAL.' Blake recognised that there is some semantic content to the patient marking (ACC in Goddard's terminology) and that DAT or other cases are used when the patient is not impinged or affected. Likewise, Morphy (1983:94-96,114-116) recognises a semantic contrast when, say, DAT is used in a context where otherwise another core case would be expected, such as marking an indirect object.

Djinang occasionally uses ALL marking on a core participant within a clause. When this happens, it is a highly marked marking pattern, and as we shall see, it signals the G-TERM grammatical relation. That is, it is functionally a highly marked variant of the G-TERM relation in a suppletive relationship to ACC marking.

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

GOAL-TERMINATIVE VERSUS GOAL-DIRECTED

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

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

One of the telling arguments for the G-TERM versus G-DIR distinction is the pattern of marking on indirect objects of some ditransitive verbs. Very often the indirect object will have ACC case, indicating a G-TERM semantic relation to the verb. In terms of our analogy, it is immediately apparent why ACC may mark an indirect object; such verbs typically involve the transfer of something to or from the indirect object as termination point of the activity locus. Verbs such as 'give', 'deprive of' (as in X-ERG deprives person Y-ACC of thing Z-UNM) and 'show' (as in X-ERG shows Y-UNM to Z-ACC) are of this type. It is possible for a ditransitive verb to be inherently G-DIR, so that the verb normally takes a non-ACC case (typically DAT) on the indirect object. Two such verbs are 'tell' and 'send'. All examples of 'send' in my database, except for three, exhibit a DAT indirect object. (The exceptions took an ALL IO, which will be explained later, and a couple of elicited examples had ACC indicating G-TERM.) The use of DAT on the indirect object is again consistent with the above analogy; the goal of an act of sending is typically remote from the subject, so that the activity of 'sending' is a directed one. Termination of the transfer may (or may not) later take place, but the act of sending is not inherently terminative in itself. This allows a case other than ACC to be used as the goal of the transfer, thereby adding an extra nuance. In the case of DAT used in such a context, the nuance is typically Benefactive. That is, X-ERG sends Y-UNM for Z-DAT. (ACC is less marked in this context and is used on the IO if the speaker wishes to merely indicate that the object reached the intended destination without any extra nuance obtaining.)

Each verb, therefore, has a set of case frames which characterise the verb's potential for expressing various nuances as a function of differences of semantic roles for its arguments, according as surface case markings may be varied within the limits defined by the set of case frames. Each verb

has a semantically ‘least marked’ case frame, and the variations of case marking permitted for each argument mark different nuances of the unmarked meaning that speakers may choose to express. Thus, for example, the verb ‘give’ usually takes an ACC indirect object as goal, but a Benefactive nuance obtains if the goal is marked instead by DAT. Or the verb ‘talk to’ or ‘speak’ in hundreds of occurrences takes a DAT-marked object as goal, but in a few clauses the object is marked by ACC – highlighting the object as the person who specifically received the speech directed to him. Or the verb ‘hit’, which takes ACC objects, may take a DAT object to express the nuance ‘hit at’ (but not succeed in making contact). Similarly ‘see’ normally takes an ACC object, but DAT is used instead when one is looking directly at something without actually ‘seeing’ it (e.g. when looking at a well-camouflaged animal).

Now we shall consider examples which illustrate some of the points made in the discussion up to this point. Since examples are taken from text, nouns are often omitted from surface structure. In fact, there is not one instance in the natural texts of a noun overtly marked by ACC as IO, and only a handful of examples of a noun marked by DAT or ALL as IO. Such constituents in O context are much more frequent; many examples of nouns marked by ACC or DAT in O context can be found, though ALL is rare in O context. However, even though overt nominals are often lacking, the cross-referencing pronouns reveal the case that would obtain if the nouns were present on the surface. Examples (49) to (55) illustrate ACC marking the G-TERM role with transitive verbs.

- (49) *bili-ny yaŋi-nya-nyi-pm-ban Peter-nyi ga John-nyi-ban*
 3du-ACC leg-see-RPC-THPRO-TF Peter-ACC and John-ACC-TF
 He then just followed after Peter and John. {33:112}
- (50) *nyabin mi-mili-wi maŋu-ny nya-ngi*
 how.about DIST-look.around-IMP daddy-ACC see-FUT
bilang bi wiŋi-dji kiri-Ø
 FRAME towards return-FUT PROG-FUT
 How about you look around to see if daddy is returning to (us)? {34:358-360}
- (51) *nyani djini-mirr ngurr-gim bi-piŋi nganaparra-dj+a*
 3sgERG this-PERL PERF-EMPH struck-RPA buffalo-ERG+NF
gurrŋi-ŋi-ny+a yul-ŋi-nyi
 tree-OBL-ACC+NF man-OBL-ACC
 The buffalo struck the tree and the man in this same way. {34:840-841}
- (52) *ili, bili-nyi-rr bagili-ban*
 1duincNOM 3du-ACC-1sgERG fetch-TF
 Let's (go), I will fetch them (two women) now. {34:876}
- (53) *ngunyili-ban irri-ny djin ga-li, gurrbi-li*
 thatALL-TF 1sg-ACC 3plERG take-RPA camp-ALL
 They took me then to (their) camp. {34:253}
- (54) *ngunyili-pm irri-ny djin wiŋi-djŋi-n Wingu-li*
 thatALL-THPRO 1sg-ACC 3plERG return-CAUS-RPA Lefthand-ALL
 They returned me straight to Left-Hand (a nickname). (34:257)

The next example shows covert ACC on a -HU noun; the verb is transitive. Notice how the word for ‘sweat’ is treated as inalienably possessed, hence the use of GEN case would be incorrect here.

- (55) *girr bunggan libili-ny nyumirr-djini*
 COMPL [sweatUNM]ACC 1plexc-ACC smell-RPA
 Then (he) smelled our sweat. {46:73}

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

- (56) *bil bultji-djini Buralang-ili bunggawa-nyi*
 3duERG report-TPA section.name-ALL boss-ACC
 They reported Buralang to the boss. {66:3} (lit. They told on Buralang to the boss.)

Example (56) should be compared to (75) below, where the case marking is reversed. The difference between the two examples is to be explained in terms of markedness. In (75) the use of ALL for the goal of 'take' is the least marked case in this context, and similarly ACC for the object taken. However, in (56) ACC is appropriate for both O and IO; the act of reporting is G-TERM and so IO should be marked by ACC. And O would be marked by ACC if there was no explicit IO in the clause. (It is the ACC-marked O function for the verb *bultjigi* which gives it the sense of 'report on', – if DAT was used the verb would mean 'tell'.) But marking O and IO both with ACC case leads to ambiguity as to who is being reported. Therefore, a more marked case (i.e. ALL) may be used for the O function, to unambiguously mark who is being reported. ALL is used because it is a case in which the relation of G-TERM is more semantically concrete. Our English speaker's intuitions are violated here; English speakers would mark IO with ALL and O with ACC in order to avoid the ambiguity.

Example (57) needs to be given because it illustrates how information may be divided between clauses to avoid overloading the semantic content of a clause. It also shows how the verb *bultjigi* can mean either 'tell' or 'report', depending on whether the O context takes DAT or ACC marking, respectively. The cross-referencing reduced pronouns repeated after the verb indicate that there is an adjoined clause, with the same verb obligatorily deleted from the surface structure, but taking the extra argument *nyuni-ny* 2sg-ACC 'you' as direct object. Thus this sentence means 'I am going to tell something to my father, for him I will report you'. I had asked Manbarrarra how I would say 'I will tell my father about you'. The first time he gave his reply, he used just one clause (i.e. *in.ga-rrri* not articulated after the verb), but then immediately changed it to the form in (57).

- (57) *gunydjirr-gir-ki in.ga-rr bultji-gi in.ga-rrri nyuni-ny*
 father-OBL-DAT 3sgDAT-1sgNOM tell-FUT 3sgDAT-1sgERG 2sg-ACC
 I will tell my father about you.
- (58) *ngarri irr yani-∅ wali gaḍi-giri-nyi*
 1sgERG 1sgERG send-FUT [foodUNM]ACC sister-OBL-ACC
 I will send food to (my) sister. {66:118}
- (59) *nganaparra-ban-dirri-ny bil millirrpni-ki kiri-ny*
 [buffaloUNM]ACC-TF-1sg-ACC 3duERG show-RPC PROG-RPC
yarraman
 [horseUNM]ACC
 They were then showing buffalo and horses to me. {34:47}
- (60) *djambaku bili-ny djin gu-li*
 [tobaccoUNM]ACC 3du-ACC 3plERG give-RPA
 They gave tobacco to them. {34:162}

Of thirteen clauses similar to (60), each with the verb 'give' and +HU IO, ten take ACC marking for the pronoun cross-referencing IO, and the other three take DAT marking for the equivalent pronoun. The ACC marking is the least marked semantically. The use of DAT gives a Benefactive nuance. (DAT has other functions, such as Malefactive and Aversitive, but when marking IO with the verb 'give', only the Benefactive nuance obtains in the data to hand.)

- (61) *djini-gi-nyi biri+ntili-pm irri-ny gaypi-li*
 this-OBL-ACC chest+ALL-THPRO 1sg-ACC take.from-TPA
 He snatched this from me. {65:6}

Examples (49) to (61) help validate the norms for ACC marking the G-TERM role. Now we shall consider a number of examples in which DAT forms are used to indicate a G-DIR role. Some of the verbs are inherently G-DIR (e.g. 'call out', 'hope for', 'search for') and so must take DAT when the semantically least marked meaning obtains. One example has already been given in (48), for the verb 'chase', 'run after' which normally takes ACC for the thing chased, but which takes DAT in (48) obligatorily, since the RECIP particle there signals Mutualis function (see 3.17 for details of the latter).

- (62) *bat-pan in.ga djin ngu-li*
 throw-TF 3sgDAT 3plERG throw-RPA
 They then threw (the firebrand) towards him. {24:137}
- (63) *in.ga yarrarra-miy-ngili, dul?*
 3sgDAT aim-CAUS-RPA pow!
 (He) aimed (the spear) towards him, pow! (he hit him). {34:322-323}
- (64) *maļu djundi-n in.ga*
 daddyNOM descend-RPA 3sgDAT
 Daddy walked down towards him (the wounded buffalo). {34:447}
- (65) *ganḍa-li lidja nibi djugadjuga-mi-ny kiri-ny*
 thigh-INSTR 2plDAT 1plexcNOM try.catch.up-CAU-RPC PROG-RPC
 Striding out we tried to catch up to you. {34:994}
- (66) *wurrpaṅ limila minigi-m kiri-m*
 [emuUNM]ACC 1plincDAT carry-PRES PROG-PRES
 (He) is carrying the emu to us. {34:1100}
- (67) *gunḡi libi baltj-ny miri, wali-gi-ban*
 [headUNM]NOM 1plexcNOM climb.up-RPC like food-DAT-TF
 We confidently anticipated/hoped.for the food then. {43:38} (lit. We raised our heads for/towards the food then.)

Note the use of semblative *miri* 'like' in example (67). Its function here is to draw attention to the fact that the predicate is to be interpreted in a figurative rather than literal sense. They did not literally 'raise their heads', but rather 'confidently anticipated'. Raising of the head towards a G-DIR referent is a way of expressing trust in that referent with the expectation of receiving something (when the referent is +HU) or of expressing confident expectation of receiving the -HU referent itself, as in (67). *miri* is quite often used this way, to make a figurative interpretation unambiguous.

- (68) *libila witji-l+a*
 1plexcDAT call.out-RPA+NF
 (He) called out to us. {34:912}
- (69) *Maningrida-li-ban djina-nydji nibi garrkarrpi-ni kiri-ny*
 Maningrida-ALL-TF 3plDAT-RECIP 1plexcNOM search.for-RPC PROG-RPC
 We searched for them on the way to Maningrida. {34:747}

The verb in (69) may take ACC on the object, to express a G-TERM role under the following circumstances: if the subject must move his head from side to side to look past someone in order to see someone else, then the latter person is marked with ACC case, as in (70). Consider how hard this would be for us to understand without perceiving the difference between G-TERM role and G-DIR role.

- (70) *inydji-rr garrkarrpi-ni nyuni-ny*
 RECIP-1sgNOM search.for-TPA 2sg-ACC
 I looked around (him) (to catch sight of) you. (lit. I searched to you.)

Examples (71) to (73) show DAT on IO with a ditransitive verb. Many examples could be given of this type, but three will suffice. In (72) the DAT adds a Benefactive nuance to the G-DIR role; compare (72) with ACC marking for IO in (60). Also compare (71) with ACC marking for IO in (59); in this latter comparison, the use of DAT in (71) follows from the fact that the RECIP particle reduces the verb's valency by one, and in this context DAT is the least marked case for the IO function (i.e. no Benefactive nuance obtains).

- (71) *ingki limila-nydji+n millirrp-gi*
 NEG 1plincDAT-RECIP+3plERG show-FUT
 They (totemic spirits) will not show themselves to us. {66:26}
- (72) *wali, diy, ... libila djin ku-ny kiri-ny-ban*
 [foodUNM teaUNM]ACC ... 1plexcDAT 3plERG give-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
 They were giving food and tea to us. (34:251)
- (73) *girr bilingga yan-il-ban mir warngarriny*
 then 3duDAT send-RPA-TF like what's.its.name
dirritirri bili-ny parrtji-ni kiri-ny
 [thornsUNM]CAU 3du-ACC pierce-RPC PROG-RPC
 Then (he) sent to/against them thorns which would pierce (them). {53:40-41}

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

ALLATIVE USED AS A CORE CASE

A few clauses in the database exhibit an ALL-marked noun or ALL deictic (or both) in either O or IO context. This is a context where we normally expect either ACC (which may be realised as UNM

in many instances) or DAT. The meaning being conveyed by ALL marking in these circumstances is simply a more marked way of indicating the G-TERM function. Because of this it is also useful to disambiguate between +HU O and IO referents of a single verb, as we have already seen in (56).

In normal circumstances Djinang uses ALL in peripheral local extensions of the clause and it is also used instead of locative when the referent marked by ALL is distant from the subject referent (compare Morphy's example 150, 1983:100). Example (74) is of this kind.

- (74) *gurrpuɭu-li-ban libili-ny djin nya-ngini, munuymunuy-li*
 open.plain-ALL-TF 1plexc-ACC 3pdERG see-RPA paperbark.tree-ALL
 They saw us among the paperbark trees across the plain {34:1180} (lit. They saw us to the paperbarks on the plain.)

Example (75) is a further example of ALL as a peripheral extension of the clause. Here the destination is +HU. The verb 'take' is transitive and always uses ALL marking for the destination. Another example was (53). Example (76) is interesting; is ALL being used here to mark a core O function (as our English intuitions might suggest), or is it being used as a peripheral extension of the clause? I believe the latter is the case, since 'climb' always takes ALL on the object climbed. That is, ACC is grammatically incorrect in this case frame, so that ALL cannot here be viewed as being in a suppletive relationship to a less marked ACC marking.

- (75) *nyani ngunu dji-ny ga-ngili, Paul-nyi ga*
 3sgERG [thatUNM]ACC 3pl-ACC take-RPA [Paul-ACC and
Silas ngunyili, bunggawa-li-ban
 SilasUNM]ACC thatALL boss-ALL-TF
 He took those ones, Paul and Silas, to the boss then. (32:54)
- (76) *ngarri djunggi-l-dirr baltji-li*
 1sgNOM tree-ALL-1sgNOM climb.up-RPA
 I climbed up a tree. {34:65}

Now let us consider clear instances of ALL marking core arguments of the clause. The next two examples exhibit ALL marking O. The verb 'accept/place one's faith in' is semitransitive, normally taking DAT for the O nominal, while 'praise' is transitive, taking ACC for the O nominal. The first example literally reads 'If you set your soul on the Lord', where the underlining is the emphasised G-TERM function signalled by the use of ALL instead of DAT in this context. The ALL in the second example emphasises Heaven as the recipient of the praises. I emphasise that these are not elicited sentences; they occurred in the retelling of a Bible story. A third example is in (56); two more occur in (32:7) and {33:66}.

- (77) *ngunu-bila nyuni marr inydji yirrp-gi, Garray-ili*
 that-FRAME 2sgNOM soul/powerUNM RECIP set-FUT Lord-ALL
 If you place (your) faith in the Lord. {32:122}
- (78) *a Djesu-ng-ban nami-li-ban wuk-ny kiri-ny-ban*
 - Jesus-GEN-TF above-ALL-TF praise-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
 (He) was praising then to Heaven for Jesus. {33:67}

The next examples give ALL marking on a noun in (80) and on a pronoun in (79), as IO for clauses having ditransitive verbs. Notice that if the IO is +HU, usually it will be cross-referenced by the DAT reduced pronoun, even though the case on the IO is ALL. This does not mean that ALL is

an allomorph of DAT marking; it is just that there is no ALL paradigm of reduced pronouns - the DAT paradigm is used suppletively instead. Such examples are the only ones I know of in which the case on the reduced pronoun does not agree with the case on the cross-referenced nominal. In fact, I suspect that this apparent anomaly is really a strategy for increasing the semantic content of the clause without adding much in grammatical complexity. Here, I believe, the DAT cross-referencing pronouns may be viewed as signalling a Benefactive nuance, while the ALL-marked noun (or full pronoun) emphasises the Goal-Terminative function. This is brought out in the glosses for each of these examples.

The verb 'bring' in (79) takes an overt nominal IO only when the referent of the IO is other than the semantic subject. In (80), the equivalent Gupapuyngu clause has OBL on IO *yagaṭay*. The use of OBL in other Yolngu languages obscures our perception of the underlying G-TERM function in those languages, for, while OBL is the surface marking, the underlying function is G-TERM, which will appear on the surface as ALL case only when the IO is -HU. With the weakening of OBL case, Djinang has normalised the surface marking of +HU to conform to the underlying pattern. Some further examples may be found in {66:141} 'send', {66:143} 'bring', {34:268} 'send' with -HU IO, {32:151} 'pray to'(loanword), {43:25} 'insert'.

(79) *djina wangi-dji djining nyumil-a pirru-ma wali nyumila-li*
 3plDAT say-FUT [thisUNM]ACC 2du-DAT bring-YPA [food]ACC 2du-ALL
 (He) said to them, "For you she brought this food to you two". {66:139}

(80) *ngarri in.ga-rr yan-ili djurra yagaṭay-ili*
 1sgERG 3sgDAT-1sgERG send-TPA [bookUNM]ACC name-ALL
 For him I sent the book to so-and-so. {66:140}

It should be clear now how the system operates. Each verb has a semantically least marked case frame for core cases. However, the O or IO contexts may have more-marked cases occurring, in which instance a nuance of meaning obtains. When ALL is used instead of ACC, it is to emphasise the G-TERM relation in an O context or in an IO context. When DAT is used in the context of verbs of motion or transfer (where ALL or ACC might otherwise have been expected), a nuance such as Benefactive usually obtains. When ACC is used where DAT is normally expected, the sense of the verb shifts from an O context with G-DIR function to an O context with G-TERM function (e.g. the verb *bultjigi* 'tell', 'report'). However, it is only possible to perceive the various nuances against the background of the underlying distinction of G-TERM versus G-DIR semantic roles, and the least marked case frame for each verb. Without the G-DIR versus G-TERM dichotomy it is impossible to explain why DAT marking is a core function for some verbs but a peripheral function for others, nor to explain why Allative-like functions may be marked by DAT forms, nor why ALL marking on core participants in O or IO contexts may be grammatically correct (where otherwise ACC or DAT would have been expected). Nor would we have a semantic framework for understanding the meaning shifts signalled by varying the case marking of O or IO referents.

2.9 ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE CASES

In this section we consider further the behaviour of ACC and DAT case marking, and also the functions of ACC or DAT reduced pronouns. First we deal with ACC, then with DAT.

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

Firstly we consider the frequency of the OBL marker before ACC case marker. Table 2.10 gives the frequencies for various classes of nominals.

In other Yolngu languages (such as Djapu, Djambarrpuynu and Gupapuyngu), OBL occurs just with peripheral cases; in particular, ACC case does not occur with OBL. In fact, ACC case is typical only with +HU nouns and comparatively rare with -HU nouns. Deictics do not take ACC (though they do take OBL), and the ACC form of deictics is homonymous with NOM forms (i.e. UNM).

The Djinang situation is somewhat different. Firstly, OBL has a wider distribution: obligatory with ACC-marked kin nouns, nearly always on other ACC-marked +HU nouns, never on ACC-marked +HU proper names, and may even occur on ACC-marked -HU nouns. Secondly, ACC has a slightly wider distribution: being able to occur on deictics – although the UNM deictic forms are by far the most common ACC forms (paralleling the situation in other Yolngu languages). Table 2.10 shows only the percentages of OBL marking when ACC is overtly marked. Thus it would be incorrect, for example, to assume from the percentage for deictics that in O context deictics always take the form stem-OBL-ACC; rather, what is meant is that if ACC occurs overtly on a deictic, then OBL will precede it in all instances. Similarly with -HU nouns, which are common in text in UNM form; of the few which do occur with ACC marking, OBL also occurs in 75% of those instances. These facts are entirely consistent with the loss of OBL as a case in Djinang. The category of +HU proper nouns includes the words *maļu* 'daddy' (Djuwing moiety) and *muri* 'daddy' (Yirritjing moiety), which we otherwise would have expected to belong to the class of kin nouns.

Body parts (including secretions and emotional or psychic states) are inalienably possessed. When a possessed body part occurs in, say, O context a typical Australian construction is used – the possessor and the body part are marked alike since they are in a part-whole relationship. Instead of a possessive pronoun form (GEN) together with an ACC-marked noun, the possessed noun is UNM (covertly ACC) and the possessor is indicated by an ACC reduced pronoun in normal pre-verbal position. The possessed noun usually precedes the reduced pronoun, though not necessarily so. Some examples of this construction are given below. Some further examples are found in (55), {46:65,73}, and {50:333}. A similar construction is used in Subject or Agent contexts, as in (67), and in other contexts – such as with concrete cases like ALL, ABL, LOC or PERL – as in (145).

- (81) *gapi* ...*biri-gaļmirr* *linyili-ny* *katji-ni* *kiri-ny*
 [waterUNM]CAU ...[chest-cicatriceUNM]ACC lduexc-ACC reach-RPC PROG-PRC
 The water reached the level of our chest-scars. {34:1018}

- (82) *ngunu-ngir libili-ny nyumirr-djin bunggan*
 that-ABL 1plexc-ACC smell-RPA [sweatUNM]ACC
 After that he smelled our sweat. {46:87}

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

Now we shall go on to consider DAT case. Table 2.11 gives frequencies of OBL marking preceding overt DAT marking on some nominal classes. The classes of 'other +HU nouns' and '+HU interrogative/indefinite pronouns', are not given with numerical figures, due to a lack of sufficient occurrences to make figures indicative of the actual situation. In the database, neither category of nominal has DAT occurring with OBL, but only four forms are represented. I do know from experience in the language that OBL can occur with DAT on both these classes, though infrequently; the most commonly occurring examples are when other suffixes (such as PL or GEN) obtain on the DAT-marked form.

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

Comparing Table 2.11 with Table 2.10 suggests that OBL marking before DAT has not widened its distribution as much as has OBL marking before ACC. Of the few forms in which OBL occurred with DAT on a -HU noun, the noun had a stem-final *ng* phoneme, which strongly conditions the occurrence of OBL.

Consider now the pronoun forms (see Table 2.11) which take OBL with following apparent DAT marker. These are special forms, and their functions are quite different from the functions of DAT in all other contexts and on all other nominal classes. On these pronouns, OBL takes the form *-r-* and DAT *-ki* then follows. The resulting DAT forms are generally functionally similar to an English reflexive pronoun. The apparent DAT form may be used in phrases which are NOM, ERG or ACC at the systematic level. A reflexive gloss does not always accurately indicate the semantics of the use of these forms; the sense is sometimes 'by itself' or 'he only' or 'just himself' rather than simply 'itself' (in the case of a 3sg pronoun). Examples (83) and (84) below illustrate this. These are further examples of DAT being used as Agent (or Subject) in an Australian language (see also Blake 1977:35, in which he cites an example from Djingili). It should be noted that the actual frequency of

occurrence of these forms in text is far lower than Table 2.11 suggests. By accident it happened that my shorter database[†] included nearly every instance of these forms in my total database.

- (83) *ili, bili-nyi-rr bagili-ban, djini djam*
 1duincNOM 3du-ACC-1sgERG fetch-TF [thisUNM]NOM later.today
nyangga-r-ki bali-dji yili-mirri
 3sg-OBL-DAT die-FUT again-PERL
 Let's (go), I will fetch them (2 women) now, later this (buffalo) will die afterwards by itself. {34:876-877}
- (84) *bilay-pilay lim gubi-yi, nyangga-r-ki duḷi-tji-dji*
 far-far 1plincERG leave-IMP 3sg-OBL-DAT rotten-INCHO-FUT
 Let's leave it (the buffalo) far away, it can get rotten all by itself. (or Let's leave it far away, he himself will become rotten.) {34:974-975}

Further examples may be found in text 22: in a verbless clause {22:278}, and in a transitive clause {22:279}. Djinba has this function but uses a free form *gana* 'just' (equivalent to Djinang *yarimi* 'just', Dhuwala *yana* and Dhuwal *yan*). The form *gana* in Djinba is used following pronoun forms inflected for OR case, e.g. *ngarra-kung gana* 1sg-OR 'just' meaning 'I alone' or 'I myself'. I am unaware of pronominal forms with a DAT-like inflection having this function in any other Yolngu language besides Djinang.

The next topic we shall consider is 'switching reference'. Djinang usually uses the overt occurrence of a full pronoun (sometimes with a co-referential noun) having ERG or NOM case to signal a switch of reference to a new semantic subject. However, there is another means of switching reference using DAT marking on a nominal (except that GEN is used instead on a pronoun – see the beginning of section 2.4 where this is explained to be the result of historical change; formerly the pronominal form would have been DAT). This should be glossed 'As for X...' where X is a participant previously identified in the discourse. (This gloss was suggested to me by a Djinang speaker with some command of English.) Some instances of it could better be thought of as topicalising something or someone referred to in the preceding context; (86) is such an example.

- (85) *djin-gira-ki gurrbi, Manguw, kukunat mir ngili nyini-/o*
 this-OBL-DAT place Manguw coconut like 1duinc sat-YPA
 As for this place Manguw, we sat (there at) the coconut (palms). {22:180}
- (86) *ingki djinim dirra-dji-w, djining+a mirkng*
 NEG [thatUNM]ACC eat-THEMSR-IMP [thisUNM+NF]NOM [badUNM
wali, djinim-ki ngunung-ngu biligi nyimila-rr
 foodUNM]NOM that-DAT [thatUNM-DEIC]DAT long.ago 2duDAT-1sgNOM
bultji-djini
 tell-RPA
 Don't eat that, this is bad food. As for this (food) I told you both about it long ago.
 {53:28-30}

[†]This book has been based primarily on a computerised database comprising thirteen Djinang texts, a large number of sentences (some elicited), an extensive dictionary and my Djinba field notes (including two texts). Apart from this, I used as backup resources a number of other Djinang texts, Capell's field notes and my own Djinang field notes, to check my claims against further data and to supply additional examples when the shorter database proved inadequate. The sum of all this material was the total database.

- (87) *djunggi-gi wirr*
tree-DAT NEG
As for the trees, there weren't any. (22:215)

DAT-marked reduced pronouns also occur in verbless clauses. The most common function of DAT-marked pronouns in verbless clauses is to mark Possession. However, other functions are possible. Of the 17 examples of a DAT reduced pronoun in a verbless clause, 13 mark Possession (76%), 2 mark Beneficiary, 1 marks Purposive and 1 marks Topicalisation.

- (88) *nyani gulmi-ngim bilngga*
3sgNOM [younger.brotherUNM-KINPROP 3duDAT]NOM
He is their younger brother. (34:245)

- (89) *nginibi lidja wuw-wili-ngim*
1plexcNOM [2plDAT older.brother-PL-KINPROP]NOM
We are your older brothers. {67:12}

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

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

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

Functions of DAT reduced pronouns:

1. marking goal of G-DIR activity section 2.8
2. marking Benefactive or Malefactive function (14), (38), (92)
3. marking O of semitransitive verb (93)
4. marking IO of ditransitive verb (72), (73), section 2.8
5. marking Possessive function (93)
6. marking Aversive function (95)
7. marking 'on account of...', 'with respect to...' when a participant has only an indirect relationship to the activity (23), (91), (96)
8. maintaining salience of a participant (97), (34:258)

- (91) *a ngarri djining, wali nyi-rr gu-ng*
and 1sgPROM [thisUNM]PROM [food]ACC 2sgACC-1sgERG give-FUT
in.ga, mundjarr
3sgDAT [presentUNM]ACC
and I (will do) this: food I will give to you for him (as) a present (34:274)

- (92) *gadjigarr in.ga minibi-li*
[pathUNM]ACC 3sgDAT close-RPA
He (the buffalo) closed/blocked the path to him (the man). {34:809}

- (93) *ir.ga-rr yawngi-nyi*
3sgDAT-1sgNOM afraid-RPC
I was afraid of it (the buffalo). {34:317}
- (94) *nguli-pan gapi-mirr-ban bil nyini-ny, gurrbi bilngga*
thatLOC-TF water-LOC-TF 3duNOM sit-RPC [areaUNM 3duDAT]LOC
There in the water they lived then, in their country. {19:96}
- (95) *djunggi-mirr in.ga pirrgili-nyi*
tree-LOC 3sgDAT take.cover-RPC
(He) took cover in the trees for fear of it (the buffalo). {34:851}
- (96) *galng ngunungi litja gubi-ni*
[bodyUNM thatUNM]ACC 1duincDAT leave-RPA
gim bilay-pilay, gapi-nyirring
because far-far water-PRIV
He left that carcass on account of us, because (it was) far away in dry country. {34:964}
- (97) *nguli-ban-gima libila balnggi-dji-ni*
thatLOC-TF-EMPH 1plexcDAT afternoon-INCHO-RPA
When we (got) there it was the afternoon. {34:1085}

A count reveals there are at least 17 examples in the database of the type illustrated by (96). In such instances, all that the DAT marking indicates is that there is a participant implicated in the activity in some respect. The ways that participant is implicated may vary widely and are not signalled in any way by the morphemes obtaining in surface structure. The hearer must supply the additional components of meaning to make proper sense of the clause. In examples such as (97) the semantic role is still that of an 'implicated participant', but the implication is so vague that an English gloss for *libila* 1plexcDAT is not possible. The DAT reduced pronoun in (97) seems only to indicate that the participants in the story are still salient in the viewpoint of the narrator. In Possessive examples like (88), (89) and (94) the DAT form is used adnominally within an NP to express a head–possessive qualifier relation. Examples of this nature are numerous.

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

The NMLSR affix derives a noun from a verb, and the affix is homophonous with the TPI/RPI inflection – from which it derives historically. The PURP takes the form stem-NMLSR-DAT; some examples follow. Notice that in (98) the word *bunggul* is a dependent of the PURP-marked verb, from which we observe that the Purposive constituent is an embedded clause rather than just a nominalised verb.

- (98) *ngarri giri-∅ bunggul nya-nyir-gi ga dutj*
1sgNOM go-FUT [[corroboreeUNM]ACC see-NMLSR-DAT]DAT and return
I will go to see the corroboree and return (afterwards). {65:32}

- (99) *djan ra-gili-ban ngurri-nyir-gi-ban*
 3plNOM enter-RPA-TF lie.down-NMLSR-DAT-TF
 They entered (the hut) then in order to sleep. (24:117)

A historical note is of interest here. In Dhuwal/Dhuwala, some verbs form PURP as *stem-nha-raw*. This is a resegmentation of an earlier form **stem-nhara-wu*, where *-nhara* is an old NMLSR form (see Heath 1980b:41 and Morphy 1983:77), and *-wu* is an allomorph of DAT *-*Gu*. The Djinang segmentation in (98) and (99) corroborates this.

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

2.10 ALLATIVE CASE

This section will review the functions of ALL case marking. ALL typically marks the goal of motion, but it has other functions as well. The use of ALL to mark O or IO in certain circumstances has been dealt with at length in section 2.8. Those uses of ALL relied on the fact that the function of ALL (as 'goal of motion') is semantically similar to the Goal-Terminative function for ACC case, allowing ALL to be used suppletively for ACC case when a more marked G-TERM function was desired. And in section 2.3 ALL marking on different classes of nominal was discussed.

The following examples illustrate ALL in its normal function of marking 'goal of motion'. A Possessive NP is illustrated in (102) where the 'place' is viewed as inalienably possessed. ALL marking a +HU noun can be found in (75), marking a +HU proper noun in (54), and with the verb 'climb' in (76). With verbs of placement (e.g. *yirrpigi* 'set in a definite place', *galbung* 'put down') ALL case expresses the meaning 'on'.

- (100) *ngunung ngunyili-pm-ban liny gurrpi-gi gurrbi-li-ban*
 [thatUNM]_{ACC} thatALL-THPRO-TF 1duexcERG chase-FUT place-ALL-TF
 We will chase that (buffalo) now to the place. {34:792}
- (101) *djin yagi-ni giri-ny djirrk-il+a garrung-il+a,*
 3plERG insert-RPC HABIT-RPC string.bag-ALL+NF flour.bag-ALL+NF
batjparra-l+a
 large.string.bag-ALL+NF
 They used to put it into string bags or into flour bags. {43:25}
- (102) *mir gurrbi-li ngilitja-li il wini-dji*
 like place-ALL 1duinc-ALL 1duincNOM return-FUT
 And so we will return to our own place. {49:13}

ALL case marking may be used to derive purposive verbs. In Yolngu languages, DAT marking the nominalised verb form is the normal purposive construction. Djinang still occasionally uses this construction (see (98) and (99) of section 2.9), but also has an alternative Purposive form. (Djapu seems to have the same construction; see Morphy 1983:131-2, example 261.) The construction involves adding ALL to the nominalised form of the verb; the resulting form may (or may not) itself be used as a stem in a further verbal derivation. An example in which the purposive is derived from a locative particle 'near' is *ngidjirrkng-li-tji-dji* near-ALL-INCHO-FUT 'to make it become close' (Locational sense), 'to make it happen soon' (Temporal sense). Further examples are given below in

which the stem is derived from a verb. Example (104) has a reduced pronoun cross-referencing the O participant and preceding the purposive predicate, which shows that the verb is being used as a purposive predicate ‘to show me’ rather than as a derived nominal ‘*to the showing’.

- (103) *lim giri-∅ yigili-nyir-li*
 1plincNOM go-FUT swim-NMLSR-ALL
 We will go for a swim. (lit. We will go to the swim.)
- (104) *irri-ny gundjirr-pirru-ngili malu-r*
 1sg-ACC arm-bring-RPA daddy-ERG
irri-ny millirripi-nir-li
 1sg-ACC show-NMLSR-ALL
 Daddy led me by the arm to show me (the wounded buffalo). {34:422-423}
- (105) *a djini-ngiri yigili-gi guyi gurripi-gi*
 and this-ABL swim-FUT [fishUNM]ACC chase-FUT
gar-gurriyili-dj-nyir-li-dji-gi
 groin-to.outside-INCHO-NMLSR-ALL-THEMSR-FUT
 Swimming from this side, he chased the fish to cause them to come into the open.
 {34:554-555}

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

- (106) *irr nyini-∅ biri-tjalatjang-ili*
 1sgNOM sit-PRES chest-south.wind-ALL
 I am sitting facing the south. {66:7}
- (107) *ngambu-l-barra-li irr giri-∅*
 eye-north.west.monsoon-ALL 1sgNOM go-FUT
 I will go in a north-westerly direction. {66:9}
- (108) *gungi bukil in.ga-rr bar-ngili,*
 [headUNM embankmentUNM]LOC 3sgDAT-1sgNOM lie.flat-RPA
ngurri-djirridjirri-li gapi-li
 nose-downwards-ALL water-ALL
 I spread myself on the edge of the embankment for fear of it (the buffalo), headfirst towards the water. {34:424-425}

2.11 ABLATIVE CASE

This section will discuss the various functions of ABL case marking. ABL typically marks the point away from which motion occurs, but like ALL case it has a variety of other functions. The idea of ‘motion from a spatial point’, which characterises ABL in its normal local function, has been extended to the idea of ‘source’ of a directed activity, and in logical space to the notion of ‘logical contingency’ – where a subsequent event is viewed as being logically contingent on the prior occurrence of a preceding event, from which it arises as a logical consequence. Motion is, of course,

a directed activity, and so it is not difficult to see how the local function of ABL marking was generalised to events which do not involve motion. Time changes are also inherently directional, so that ABL is used to indicate temporal sequence, translatable in English as ‘after that’, ‘afterwards’, and so forth.

Several of these functions have already been dealt with in the previous discussion of deictics in section 2.5. Temporal sequence was illustrated by (20) and (21); (23) illustrated ABL as ‘source’ of a directed activity (alternatively, in that context it could have a Temporal interpretation, namely ‘after that’) and (22) illustrated ‘logical contingency’.

At the end of section 2.5 the use of ABL followed (nearly always) by THPRO on deictics, to indicate ‘on this side’ and ‘on that side’, was discussed. If the stem is not a deictic, then the THPRO morpheme is often omitted. Example (109) illustrates this sense of ABL marking on the words ‘left’ and ‘right’. The only other words which may take ABL with this sense are *wurpi* ‘other’, as in *wurpi-ngir-pmi* one-ABL-THPRO ‘on the one (hand)’, ‘on the other (hand)’ or even ‘on the other side’ (this form is often used in counting expressions such as *gumbirri wurpi-ngir-pmi* hand one-ABL ‘on one hand’ ‘five’) and the root *mal* ‘part’ (which otherwise occurs only in compound stems) as the form *mal-ngiri* part-ABL ‘part way’, ‘half way’.

- (109) *wingu-ngir nu-nunydjirri-nyi ban djunupa-ngiri,*
left-ABL DIST-go.fast-RPC on.the.other.hand right-ABL
irr rindi-ngil in-gi-rrri
1sgERG sever-RPA 3sgDAT-1sgERG
On his left side he (the wallaby) kept running, but on his right side – I had severed it for him. {34:640-641}

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

- (110) “*Wiy! Nyim nyaliki-dj-nyi?*” “*Ngil inydji-l*
hey! 2duNOM how-INCHO-TPC 1duincERG RECIP-1duincERG
parrti-ni “*Nyim-ngiri?*” “*Miyilk-ngiri*”
spear-TPA what-ABL woman-ABL
“Hey! What did you do?” “We speared each other.” “Because of what?” “Because of a woman.” {19:70-73}

The next example is from a text in which the narrator had just speared his first wallaby. He had hit it in the leg, severing the main tendon. The wallaby escaped temporarily, dragging its disabled leg from which the broken spear protruded (also see (109) above).

- (111) *maļu marrngi-ni ngunu-ngir, dapiḷi-dj-nyir-bi*
[daddyUNM]NOM hear-RPA that-ABL, [break-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR
ngunung djarak
thatUNM spearUNM]ABL
Daddy could hear it due to that broken spear shaft. {34:645}

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

- (112) *Wamut djining gi?-kiri-mi Walanggat-ngiri*
 [WamutUNM]_{NOM} thisUNM DIST-come-PRES Walanggat-ABL
 Wamut is now coming from Walanggat. {34:1187}

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

- (113) *ga lim gunji-marrayar-dji-m giri-m+a, galngi-ngir*
 and 1plincNOM head-bristle-THEMSR-PRES HABIT-PRES+NF body-ABL
 And our hair bristles (with fright) from our body. (32:25)

- (114) *a nyani ngunu-ngiri nam-ngiri Gunydjirr in.ga*
 and 3sgNOM that-ABL above-ABL [FatherUNM]_{NOM} 3sgDAT
wangi-n-ban
 speak-RPA-TF
 And the Father then spoke to her from on high. {53:27}

If ABL marking ‘source’ of a directed activity occurs on a noun which is inherently temporal, then the resulting form indicates an event which is ‘temporally directed’ (i.e. from a past time towards a future time) and may be translated by English ‘since’ or ‘ever since’. An example follows – an NP with an embedded temporal clause – where the temporal noun is ‘dreamtime’, that distant past time when totemic beings walked the earth.

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

Similarly, ABL marking on the Distant deictic stem *ngunu-* often takes the temporal sense of ‘after that’ (cn *djini-* it can mean ‘after this’). This use of ABL is quite common. This is not different in principle from the ‘temporally directed’ sense discussed above; however, in this case, the nominal to which DAT is affixed is always a deictic, and often the deictic is preceded by *rirri-ngir* mouth-ABL or *djabiri-ngir* mouth-ABL, meaning ‘after’. Very commonly the ABL-marked deictic will take the COMPL affix – which reinforces the temporal sequence of the two events involved. Example (20) in section 2.5 illustrates this function of ABL marking, with only the deictic form occurring; with either or both *rirri-ngir* and COMPL, it is extremely common in text as a marker of temporal sequence.

However, temporal sequence is only one of its possible senses. The form *ngunu-ngiri* that-ABL can mean ‘from that place’, ‘from that person’, ‘as a consequence of that’ or ‘after that time’. As mentioned above, a related word is formed by adding the COMPL affix *-Girri*, where *G* is realised as either *k* (in disjunctive dialects) or *g* (in smooth dialects), hence *ngunu-ngir-kirri* that-ABL-COMPL, for example. When this word takes a temporal sense, the COMPL morpheme indicates that the preceding event has concluded and a new event now follows in temporal sequence. This form therefore explicitly excludes any temporal overlap of the successive events. The ABL+COMPL word also has non-temporal functions for example, it may take a local sense, meaning ‘from the person(s) back there behind’ or even be used to mark anaphora (i.e. something which is ‘behind’ in the sense of ‘previously mentioned’). A full discussion is left till the discussion of COMPL in section 3.7. Corresponding to *ngunu-ngiri* and *ngunu-ngir-girri*, are the forms based on the Proximate deictic *djini-* ‘this’, *djini-ngiri* and *djini-ngir-girri*. These two forms are used similarly to the forms based on *ngunu-* ‘that’, though they are not used as frequently.

The following rather lengthy example illustrates the use of *ngunu-ngir-kirri* having the local sense, ‘from back there’, or ‘left behind’.

- (116) *manymak, biling ngunu-ngir bil gir-ali, bininggili,*
 okay 3duNOM that-ABL 3duNOM come-RPA [twoUNM

yul-mirrpili girri, Mininyili, a warngarriny Rurri,
 man-PAUC COMPL Mininyili - what's.his.name Rurri

ngunu-ngir-kirri djani mala
 that-ABL-COMPL 3plNOM COL]NOM

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

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

- (117) *girr ngunu-ngir-kirri, inydji bil ... guni-dji-n-ban*
 COMPL that-ABL-COMPL RECIP 3duNOM ... shame-INCHO-RPA-TF

Then after that, they each became ashamed. {53:59} (or, Then after that they became (sexually) shy of each other.)

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

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

I will go towards the south-east. {66:11}

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

1. local function: (motion) ‘away from’ (105), (112)
2. source of a directed activity: ‘from’ (113), (114), (44), (45), (23)
3. logical contingency: ‘due to’, ‘because of’ (110), (111), (22)

4. source of a temporally directed activity: 'since',
'ever since' (115)
5. temporal sequence: 'after that', 'after this' (20)
6. anaphora, using COMPL affix: 'the previously
mentioned' (116)
7. expressing the local sense 'left behind', using
COMPL affix
8. temporal sequence, without temporal overlap, using
COMPL affix (117)
9. with a Locative sense on some words: 'on that side',
'on the left' etc. (109)
10. spatial deixis: 'pointing away from' (118)

2.12 LOCATIVE CASE

This section reviews the functions of LOC case marking, and also deals with suppletive LOC forms encountered in our previous discussion. The archaic LOC form *-ngi* deriving historically from an earlier *-*nga* LOC was discussed in section 2.3 and will not be discussed further in the present section, except to give an example of its use in (119) and also (123). Examples (119) to (121) illustrate LOC used in its local sense, meaning 'at', 'on', 'in', 'within' and so forth. Example (121) illustrates that LOC marking is $-\emptyset$ for place names. Notice also that in the English free translation of (121) the LOC is given an ALL-like interpretation – this will be explained later in this section. Although place names do not take LOC marking as a rule, very occasionally the speaker will include the *-mirri* LOC suffix (in 6% of instances in the shorter database).

- (119) *mani-ng-ban libi yulgu-li*
river-LOC₂-TF 1plexcNOM arrive-RPA
We then arrived at the river. {34:543}
- (120) *minimbirri-mirri bi tjarri- \emptyset*
jungle-LOC HITH stand-PRES
(He) is standing over there in the jungle. {34:785}
- (121) *djudju-ga-ny kiri-nya., djudju-ga-ny kiri-ny+a,*
drove-take-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR drove-take-RPC PROG-RPC+NF
Murwan.gi- \emptyset
Murwan.giUNM-LOC
(We) were driving (the cattle) along, driving (them) to Murwangi. (22:197)

In section 2.8 we discussed the semantic contrast of Goal-Directed activity versus Goal-Terminative activity, describing how, amongst other things, the former is typically marked by DAT, and the latter by ACC. We also discussed how these categories interacted with the transitivity class of verbs. In section 2.11 we briefly discussed how the contrast of directed versus non-directed activity accounted for the distributional differences in ABL versus OR marking having the function of 'source'. In the present section, we discuss how the G-DIR versus G-TERM distinction emerges once more in patterns of surface marking. In the present instance, we are concerned with the use of ALL marking versus LOC marking of a nominal functioning as 'destination of motion'. Example

(121) is one such instance, where the destination of motion is marked as LOC rather than, as we would have expected, by ALL case.

The destination of motion may be marked by either ALL case or LOC case, but the choice is certainly not random. The choice of marking depends on what is salient to the speaker. If he is interested only in stating the destination of the motion he will use ALL case. On the other hand, if he is interested rather in events which are to occur once the destination is reached, he will use LOC marking. In the latter instance, the LOC-marked nominal functions as the 'termination point' of the motion, and as the 'locational setting' of events which occur after having reached the destination. The semantic parallelism of 'termination point' with the G-TERM category is obvious. Examination of the sentences following (121) in text 22 reveals that the following context deals only with events at Murwan.gi. Example (121), however, does not include an overt LOC marker, so some examples are now given illustrating LOC marking the termination point of motion towards a destination.

- (122) *"Guwa nyumili-nyi-rr ga-ng-ban"*
 come.here 2du-ACC-1sgERG take-FUT-TF
Bili-ny ga-ngili-ban.. nambidi bala?-mirr
 3du-ACC take-RPA-TF+DUR [insideUNM house-LOC]LOC
girr bili-ny rurrjirrm-n-ban
 COMPL 3du-ACC wash-RPA-TF
 "Come here, I'll take you both (home)." (He) took them then to the inside of his house,
 (and there) he washed them then. {32:134-136}
- (123) *larr-ban libi kiri-ny nyini-ny*
 set.off-TF 1plexcNOM walk-RPC PROG-RPC
kiri-ny nyini-ny+a mani-ng djut
 walk-RPC PROG-RPC+NF river-LOC₂ sit.down
 We set off, walking all the way to the river (and there we) sat down. {34:73-74}
- (124) *djari-ngili, biling minigi-ny kiri-ny+a, gurrbi-w*
 chop-RPA 3duERG carry-RPC PROG-RPC+NF [place-SPEC]LOC
 (They) chopped (the log, then) they carried (it) to (their) camp. {20:8}

Now we must consider the SPEC suffix *-wi*, which occurs in (123). This affix is only used with the words *gurrbi* 'place', 'camp' and *ganba* 'deserted camp', 'empty place' (see section 3.19, example (296) for an instance of the latter). When this affix occurs with the noun *gurrbi*, the stem-final *i* is always phonetically assimilated to the following *w*, and thus is pronounced as [u], i.e. [gurrbuwi]. When the *-wi* SPEC form is used, the speaker has either a specific locality in mind or a specifically named locality (cf. Djapu *-ngumi* which has the same function, Morphy 1983:33). If the SPEC affix occurs, no other LOC form may occur with it. This would be grounds for treating it as an allomorph of LOC case, but I prefer to treat it as a separate morpheme, since neither the Djinang or Djapu forms appear to be cognate with any Yolngu LOC affix. Thus *gurrbi-wi* appears to belong to the paradigm of place names, which also do not take LOC marking. To corroborate this analysis, we note that just as place names may take ABL case marking, so too may *gurrbi-wi*, as in (125). Of sixteen instances of *gurrbi-wi* in the database, six (38%) occur in conjunction with a place name. Another example occurs in (32:91).

The Djinba affix having the same function is *-li*, e.g. *ngirri-li* place-SPEC 'camp'. In my data, the form only occurs on the word *ngirri* 'place', 'camp'. In view of the wide variation of forms

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

- (125) *a ngunu-ngir yagaṭay-ngir gurrbi-w-ngiri giri-∅*
 and that-ABL name-ABL place-SPEC-ABL go-FUT
 and from so-and-so's camp (I) come {46:198}

In Table 2.6 (section 2.5) the LOC deictic forms were shown to be based on two suppletive forms: *djili* thisLOC and *nguli* thatLOC. These are rarely, if ever, used with a Temporal function (at least I know of no unambiguous examples of such use); instead they always have the local sense of 'here' and 'there', respectively. The Near-Proximate and Near-Distant forms are *djilimi* and *ngulimi*, respectively, where the final syllable of each is probably a reflex of the earlier **-ma* PROM allomorph.

The apparently LOC-marked forms *djini-mirri* and *ngunu-mirri*, based on the deictic stems *djini-* 'this' and *ngunu-* 'that', are in reality PERL forms 'this way' and 'that way', respectively. The etymology of these forms was discussed in section 2.5. These forms can also be used in a non-local sense to mean 'this way of doing it' and 'that way of doing it'; the former meaning occurs in (51) in section 2.8. The interrogative/indefinite pronoun corresponding to these two forms is *nyali-mirri* where-PERL 'which way?', 'whichever way' rather than the expected **nyali-mirrpmi*.

The following examples illustrate the preceding comments. Example (127) not only illustrates *nguli*, but also another instance of *gurrbi-wi* and a further instance of a LOC form marking the termination point of motion towards a destination.

- (126) *nyum djiningi, rum mirkng nyim*
 2duERG [thisUNM]ACC [way.of.lifeUNM badUNM]ACC 2duERG
djama-dji-m djili nginbil-a gurrbi-w
 work-THEMSR-PRES [thisLOC 1plexc-GEN place-SPEC]LOC
 "You (are doing) this: you are instigating bad practices here in our area." (32:58)
- (127) *warrwarr nguli, biling nyini-ny gurrbi-wi*
 move.fast thatLOC 3duNOM sit-RPC [place-SPEC]LOC
 They went quickly there, (and) sat at the place. {20:87}
- (128) *djini-mirri minydji lim walmi-dji*
 this-PERL THITH 1plincNOM ascend-FUT
 We will go up from here this way. {34:507}
- (129) *biling bil gir-ali, bininggili wulgaman,*
 3duNOM 3duNOM go-RPA [twoUNM old.personUNM]NOM
ngunu-mirr-pan-gima
 that-PERL-TF-EMPH
 The two old men went that way then. {19:35-36}

The adverbial particle *yili* 'again', 'once more' is used to indicate succession of similar events. This particle may also take apparent LOC marking, *yili-mirri*, which in fact is a reflex of earlier PERL marker **-murru* (as for the deictic stems and the *nyali-* stem discussed above). The *yili-mirri* form may be used in either a Temporal sense or a local sense. The Temporal sense may be translated by English 'afterwards'. The local sense is 'coming/following behind' when motion is

involved, or ‘occurring behind’ (see (83) in section 2.9) when no motion is involved. Thus this word is used when a sequence of events is involved, and it points to the event which ‘follows’. These facts suggest that the original suffix was probably PERL *-*murru*, since the meaning would have been ‘again-PERL’, with PERL signalling traversal of a locus through time or space (see section 2.14); such a collocation of meanings is consistent with the senses ‘afterwards’ and ‘following behind’.

Note that *ngurwakng* ‘before’ in (130) is used to indicate remote future time. (This probably is due to a retention of an earlier division of the time line in which there was symmetry of categories in both past and future times: ‘earlier today’ versus ‘later today’, ‘recent past’ versus ‘recent future’ and ‘remote past’ versus ‘remote future’. Some Yolngu languages (e.g. Gupapuyngu) retain this system of categories in their modern grammars, but it is absent from Djinang and Djinba.)

(130) *ngurwakng yili-mirri djin yulgu-ng*
 before again-PERL 3plNOM arrive-FUT
 They will arrive a long time after (the present). {66:13}

(131) *djani yili-mirri-ban buluki djin ka-ny kiri-ny*
 3plERG again-PERL-TF [cattleUNM]ACC 3plERG take-RPC PROG-RPC
 Following after (us) they were taking the cattle. (34:214)

In (120) and (128) the DIRECT particles *bi* HITH ‘towards’, ‘hither’ and *minydji* THITH ‘away from’, ‘thither’, ‘from here’ occurred. (The former is cognate to Djapu *be*, see Morphy 1983:62.) As may be expected from our discussion thus far in Chapter 2, these two particles actually may be used in a variety of functions; furthermore, these functions involve directed versus non-directed activity and also local senses, and, in the case of *minydji*, temporal senses also. However, a full discussion of these particles is beyond the scope of this section, and is reserved till the next chapter.

The particle *bi* can be used in three ways (see section 3.15 for details):

1. marking indefinite (non-remote) location: ‘over there’,
2. marking motion towards a salient participant or place,
3. marking directed activity (non-motional) towards a salient participant or place.

In this section, we shall consider only the first of these. An example of this usage already occurred in (120).

I shall give just one more example, (132), in which *bi* occurs three times – each instance marking indefinite non-remote location, where a suitable gloss is ‘over there’. The context of this example is as follows: the speaker’s companions had earlier speared a buffalo on the other side of a creek and left it to rot. The speaker has just climbed a tree, but all he can see from there is live buffalo. Example (132) continues the narrative (note the relative clause):

(132) *bil duḷing ngunu bi+nydji bil parrti-ni,*
 but [rottenUNM thatUNM HITH+RECIP 3duERG spear-TPA]NOM
ngunu ngunu-ngir-pm, ngunu-ngir-pm bi nyini-nyi,
 [thatUNM that-ABL-THPRO that-ABL-THPRO]NOM HITH sit-RPC
bi ngurri-nyi
 HITH lie-RPC

But the rotten one that they had each speared over there, that one was on the other side, over there on the other side it was sitting [sic], it was lying over there. {34:353-355}

Further instances of *bi* are common in the texts. Examples having various functions may be found in (22:202,225), (32:69,105) and (34:238).

In this section we have discussed LOC case, forms of PERL case marking that are formally identical to LOC marking, and two ways of signalling locative functions by morphemes other than LOC, namely the SPEC affix and the particle *bi*. The functions of LOC discussed in this section were:

1. locative function: 'at', 'in', 'on', 'within' etc. (119)-(121)
2. marking termination point of motion: (122)-(124).

2.13 ORIGINATIVE CASE

While all Yolngu languages appear to have an OR case, the Djinang form for this case is unrelated to the typical Yolngu form, *-Gung(u)*. The Djinang form for OR is *-Bi*. The modern form of OR case marking resulted from a merger of the Yolngu **-Buy* ASSOC case marker with the OR case marker, at the time of the Djinang vowel shift when the change **-Buy > -Bi* took place. We do not know what the form of the early Djinang OR case marker was; there is nothing in the modern language to suggest what it may have been. It may well have been different from the typical Yolngu OR case's form cited above, as would be expected since ASSOC and OR have merged in modern Djinang. Djinang retains an Associative function, however, though it is now marked by OR case.

Because the modern form of OR case resulted from merger of the Yolngu ASSOC affix with early Djinang OR marking, merging with the INTENS affix *-Bi* as well, it follows that, in modern Djinang, OR case marking is used to mark semantic roles which in other Yolngu languages are marked by other affixes. For example, Yolngu languages may suffix the NMLSR-marked form of a verb (itself a nominal form) with ASSOC marker *-Buy*, forming a further nominal stem. However Djinang regularly nominalises verbs by suffixing the OR marker *-bi* to the NMLSR-marked form of the verb. See the discussion preceding (9) in section 2.4 for more details of functions marked by OR case.

Like the local case markers, temporal and non-temporal senses obtain for OR marking, depending on the semantic features of the word marked by OR case. The most common temporal example is the word *ngurrwagi/ngurrwakngi* 'before', 'long ago', 'the beginning', which when it takes OR marking means 'from the beginning', 'since the beginning', 'since before' and related meanings. That is, OR used in a temporal sense marks a state which originates existentially from an event or state at an earlier time.

However, used non-temporally it marks a referent (which may be a person or place) as the point of origin for an item. This sense permits OR case to be used in verb nominalisations in which an item or state comes into existence by means of the activity expressed by the verb. And since modern OR marking is a reflex of earlier ASSOC marking, the use of OR marking for verb nominalisations whereby the referent of the derived noun is something 'associated with' the activity expressed by the verb makes perfectly good sense, e.g. *nyini-nyir-bi* sit-NMLSR-OR 'a seat', *baltj-nyir-bi* climb-NMLSR-OR 'a step' (as in a flight of stairs). Hence nominalisations involving earlier ASSOC marking maintained their general form during the merger of ASSOC case with OR case.

In fact, with a large class of nouns OR may be used with a clear Associative function, e.g. *gunggi-bi* head-OR 'hat'; *ngawirrka-bi* tobacco-OR 'ashtray'; *gandi-bi* thigh-OR 'shorts' or 'a part of'; *bir-bi* chest-OR 'shirt' or 'front', 'before'; *mil-bi* eye-OR 'one's sight'. Nouns like this can be

coined at need, showing that this is still a productive derivational strategy. In these cases, the earlier function was retained while the form of the marker underwent change.

In section 2.11 the difference between ABL marking 'source' of a directed activity and OR marking 'source' of a non-directed activity was discussed. I now give a number of examples illustrating OR case used in this sense. The first group of examples illustrates OR used to denote a (non-temporal) source in the context of a non-directed activity. The examples include both +HU nouns, and -HU nouns (usually places) as the 'source'. Words marked by OR may be used adjectivally, as in (133), still with the sense of a non-directed 'source'. However, in the latter instance whether the main verb involves directed or non-directed activity is irrelevant, since here OR marks an adnominal relation to the noun 'resin'. Example (134) is a coordinate NP in which there is embedded a relative clause: 'that were sitting right there'. The final constituents of the coordinate NP illustrate OR case used to indicate 'source' in the context of a non-directed activity (i.e. of existing).

- (133) *nyani bunyin-balpi-gi djidji-li ngaḍitjali-bi galanyan*
 3sgERG buttock-pound-FUT crack-ALL [ironbark.tree-OR resinUNM]ACC
 He will press resin from the ironbark tree into the crack. {66:2}

- (134) *...ngunung, miyilk-ang, djama-gin-pili,*
 ...[thatUNM woman-GEN work-PROP-PL
ngunu nguli-kim djin nyini-ny,
 thatUNM thatLOC-EMPH 3plNOM sit-RPC
ga bunggawa ngun-gira-pi gurrbi-bi
 and bossUNM that-OBL-OR place-OR]ERG
 ...the woman's workers that were sitting right there and the boss from that place
 (32:44-46)

- (135) *a ngilim djini-wil-tji ingki-ban lim rrupiya*
 and 1plincERG [this-PL-DEF]OR NEG-TF 1plincERG [moneyUNM]ACC
marr-gi wana ngunu wurpa-pi yul-bi
 get-FUT [bigUNM]ACC [thatUNM other-OR man-OR]OR
 and we won't now get lots of money from those other men (32:51-52)

- (136) *wali libi ka-ny mitjin-bi*
 [food]ACC 1plexcERG bear-PRC [Mission-OR]ACC
 We were bearing food originating from the Mission. {34:22}

The next three examples illustrate OR used to denote temporal source in the context a non-directed activity. Incidentally, the reduplicated OR case on the final word of (137) could, in this environment, be viewed as functionally Associative, which fits the context here better than Originative. This follows from the fact that the second OR case in such -OR-OR case reduplications is a reflex of earlier *-Buy ASSOC marking.

- (137) *nyani ngurrwagi-pi ngunung, Murrumbitj,*
 [3sgUNM beginning-OR thatUNM MurrumbitjUNM]NOM
yul-ang-pi-bi
 [Aboriginal-GEN-OR-OR]NOM
 It, that (place) Murrumbitj, from the beginning has been Aboriginal's only. (34:218)

(138) *milgali libi dirra-dj-nyi ngurrwagi-pi*
 [cycad.nut]ACC 1plexcERG eat-THEMSR-RPC beginning-OR
 We have been eating cycad nuts since long ago. {43:2}

(139) *yil-dirr bultji-gi djanguny, ngurragi-pi girri*
 once.more-1sgERG tell-FUT [storyUNM beginning-OR COMPL

mirrkun.galingi-bi, bultji-nir-bi djanguny
 dreamtime-OR tell-NMLSR-OR storyUNM]ACC

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

Example (139) also contains a nominalisation of the verb 'to tell', which means literally 'a telling' and is used adjectivally to mean 'traditional' (i.e. canonised by repeated tellings over a long period of time). Further examples of this nature are: *gingi-nyir-bi* 'thoughts' from *gingi-* 'think'; *manya-nyir-bi* 'fictitious' from *manya-* 'find', 'try out'; *wukirri-dj-nyir-bi* 'written', 'a writing' from *wukirri-dji-* 'write'; *bunduk-patji-nir-bi* 'semicooked (meat)' from *bunduk-patji-* 'half-cook'; *djama-dj-nyir-bi* 'a fabricated object' from *djama-dji-* 'work', 'fabricate'. We saw other examples of this nature earlier in this section. An older way of nominalising, now no longer productive, was to add the archaic nominaliser suffix *-ng(i)* to the nominalised form of the verb, e.g., *bali-nyiri-ng* 'dead one' from *bali-* 'die'.

A further sense of OR marking is to convey the meaning 'about' in constructions of the type: 'a story about X', where X will be marked by OR case. This, of course, is the Associative function mentioned above. Example (140) is an example of this type.

(140) *...djanguny, mir Yalurr-bi, yuw, bilapila djanguny*
 ...storyUNM like Yalurr-OR yes its.like.that storyUNM
 ...the story about Yalurr, yes, (it's) such a story as that {20:37}

Finally, OR case (often in reduplicated form) may also be used to indicate the Causative agent for a situation that has come into being, when the situation arises as an indirect consequence of the agent's actions, or when a non-agentive nominal is the indirect cause of an event, such as in (135), (141) and (142). OR case used this way may usually be glossed 'due to' or 'because of'; such constructions are the productive way of marking indirect causation. In (141) *miri* is used to indicate that the OR function is not here marking Originative function, but rather the more semantically marked function of Causative. Note that in (142) there is also suffixation with ABL indicating logical consequence, thereby stating the proposition that not only have their actions resulted in them all becoming bad, but that this was also a logical consequence of those actions.

(141) *munatja inma mirgi-dji-dji-ban gima*
 [soilUNM]NOM 2sgDAT bad-INCHO-FUT-TF because

mir nyungu-pi-bi
 like 2sg-OR-OR

The soil will become bad for you because of you.

(142) *gima djangga-pi-bi-ngir djin mirgi-dji-ni-ban*
 because 3pl-OR-OR-ABL 3plNOM bad-INCHO-RPA-TF

bukmak mala
 [allUNM COL]NOM
 ...because due to them(selves) they have all become bad now

2.14 PERLATIVE CASE

The etymology of PERL *-mirrpm* was discussed towards the end of section 2.5. In what follows we are concerned just with its functions. PERL case, in its local sense, indicates that an activity occurs through a locus in physical space. It is typically used to express motion 'through X', where X is an extended medium such as the sky, bush, water, or 'along X', where X is a long thin entity, such as a road, beach or river (bank). Example (143) illustrates PERL used locally.

- (143) *mawurrk-mirrpm, minydji nibi djundi-dji,*
 casuarina.tree-PERL THITH 1plexcNOM descend-FUT

Gugatjirri
 [GugatjirriUNM]LOC

We went away down to Gugatjirri through the Casuarina trees. {34:1148}

A figurative extension of the function of PERL marking is Instrument-like. It conveys the sense of 'through the medium of' or 'enabled by', with nominals representing non-manipulable or non-wieldable entities. Such entities are language, persons and attributes. It can even be used on a noun representing a wieldable entity, but when so used the speaker has in mind its enabling function. Examples (144) to (146) illustrate the sense 'through the medium of', used with non-manipulable nouns. In (144) *yan-mirrpm* language-PERL 'through language' is understood, though not expressed overtly; a similar example occurs in (27).

- (144) *Balanda-mirrpm in.ga wangi-∅*
 European-PERL 3sgDAT speak-YPA
 (He) spoke to him in English. {22:167}

- (145) *yaku-mirrpm Djesu-mirrpm, a yulgu-w-ban budjirri-ngiri*
 name-PERL Jesus-PERL - come.out-IMP-TF belly-ABL
 ...through the name of Jesus, come out now from her belly. (32:39-40)

- (146) *nyuni wanngi-pm gi?-kiri-∅ nyanng-a ganydjarr-mirrpm*
 2sgNOM alive-THPRO DIST-go-FUT 3sg-GEN power-PERL
 You will continue still living (i.e. live eternally) through his power. {32:125}

A further figurative function of PERL marking is to indicate a span of similar activities, which in English would be expressed as 'from one to another', 'throughout' or 'in one after another'. The span can be either temporal or spatial. Because the intention of PERL marking is to indicate a span of activity, it can be used to express a single participant doing a span of activity (i.e. the same activity in a variety of places) or, alternatively, to express one activity done by a number of participants within an extended area. The examples below illustrate both these possibilities: (147) illustrates one activity repeated over an extended time; (148) illustrates one activity done by many people at the same time but over an extended area.

- (147) *nyani ngurri-dji galbi-mirrpm yul-mirrpm*
 3sgNOM lie.down-FUT many-PERL man-PERL
 She will sleep with many men.

- (148) *a lim ngurri-dji garray-mirrpm bala?-mirrpm*
 and 1plincNOM sleep-FUT good-PERL house-PERL
 And we shall sleep in many fine houses. {52:20}

The similarity of PERL marking in (147) and (148) to the DIST reduplication of the initial syllable of a verb stem is worthy of comment here. DIST reduplication will be discussed in detail in section 3.10. Some examples of DIST reduplication may be found in (112), (109), (23) and (18) above. Briefly, DIST signals that the activity represented by the verb is 'distributed' across a span of time or across a group of participants (who are each doing the activity at the same time). The similarity to the last-discussed function of PERL marking is apparent. The difference between them is minimal, as far as I can discern, when the 'span' encompasses a number of different participants acting simultaneously.

However, there is a difference between them when the activity spans an extent of time or space:

PERL indicates a discrete activity repeated across a span of time or space;

DIST indicates a non-discrete activity which continues uninterrupted across a span of time or space.

There is also DUR vowel lengthening, which has similar meaning to DIST. It signals continuity or repetition of action through a span of time until an end point is reached. If motion is involved, then it has the added component of meaning that the participant is changing his physical location as a result of performing the activity. It is clear from these facts that temporal and spatial spans are a basic category in the Djinang semantic system. PERL case is but one point in the semantic system where the category of 'span' is realised morphologically.

Finally, the Djinba PERL case marker is *-pani*, e.g. *djunggu-pani* tree-PERL 'through the trees' and *yulngi-pani* man-PERL 'by means of a man'.

2.15 GENITIVE CASE

Formally, GEN case is marked by *-ang(i)* on nouns and pronouns. The etymology of Djinang GEN case marking was dealt with in section 2.4. Some dialects (e.g. Manyarring) often elide the *-ng(i)* formative of the GEN marker, so that GEN often occurs merely as an *-a* allomorph. Actually all dialects exhibit this elision, though disjunctive dialects do so more frequently. An example occurs in (146).

In Djinang, GEN may be used in one of three different contexts. The most common context is to mark Possessive adnominal relations, a number of which have already occurred in (1), (2), (115), (126), (134), (137) and (146), so just two more will suffice here. Note that GEN marking, when used adnominally in a Possessive context, may take further case suffixation, as in (150).

- (149) *ngambirri, nyanng-ang ngambirri, ... ngiy,*
 [motherUNM 3sg-GEN motherUNM]PROM yes
ngu.nu-kir-angi mirr-angi, ...
 [that-OBL-GEN devil-GEN]PROM
 A mother, his mother...yes, that devil's (mother)... {50:26,30}

- (150) *nu-nunydjirri-Ø-ban gurrbi-ngir ngirr-ang-ngir*
 DIST-run-FUT-TF camp-ABL 1sg-GEN-ABL
 He will keep running away from my place. {66:82}

A second context for GEN marking has been discussed already at the beginning of section 2.4. On pronouns GEN may occur with the function of signalling a contrastive reference shift, but other word classes use DAT marking for this function. When used this way the pronoun is fronted in the clause, and usually a pause separates the fronted element(s) from the main body of the clause, as in the following examples.

- (151) *nyannng-angi mir warngarrinyi, bu-m giri-mi yul-ngi-nyi,*
 3sg-GEN like so-and-soUNM, kill-YPA HABIT-YPA man-OBL-ACC
 As for him, whatever his name was, he used to kill men.
- (152) *ngilitj-ang, ngurri-nyin ngurri-nyin+a, djadaw,*
 1duinc-GEN lie-RPA lie-RPA+NF morning.light
nginibi gir-ali-ban, Yurrwi-li-ban
 1plexcNOM go-RPA-TF Milingimbi-ALL-TF
 As for us two, we slept. (Having) slept, at first light we all went to Milingimbi then.
 {22:83-84}

Lastly, GEN case may be used to mark those clause participants which stand in a semantically and grammatically peripheral relation to the event encoded by the core grammatical relations. The most typical of such relations is a Benefactive one, as in *nyani buṭal ngirr-angi* 3sgUNM goodUNM 1sg-GEN ‘He (Jesus) is good for me’ (taken from a local Christian song). Besides such Benefactive contexts, other semantically peripheral functions may obtain, such as ‘with respect to’ or ‘concerning’. There can sometimes be some overlap with the Associative function, as in (291) in section 3.19, where the word for woman would normally be marked with OR case (having Associative function). See also (78) in section 2.8. Clause-peripheral occurrences of GEN marking may also be Aversitive, as in *ildji bir-maṅbi-dji-ni-ban nginbil-angi* 2plNOM chest-hard-INCHO-TPA-TF 1plexc-GEN ‘you have become too strong/problematical for us’.

The latter uses of GEN marking occur in the clause’s grammatical periphery; GEN marked nouns do not normally occur suppletively where DAT-marked nouns realise a core grammatical relation such as G-DIR with a semitransitive verb. Nevertheless, there are exceptions to this generalisation. For example, the clause *ngarri djalng-dji-rrri nyannng-ang* 1sgNOM want-INCHO-PRES 3sg-GEN can mean either ‘I want it for her/him’ or ‘I want her/his one’ or ‘I want/desire her/him’. The last of these, but not the other two, is synonymous with the clause *ngarri djalng-dji-rrri nyan-ki* 1sgNOM want-INCHO-PRES 3sg-DAT, in which the *nyan-ki* 3sg-DAT realises a core grammatical relation.

Finally I give two more examples. These are slightly problematical because there is potential for ambiguity. The GEN-marked noun (‘Lord (Jesus)’ in both examples) may be in a semantically peripheral relationship, probably Benefactive, admitting a gloss something like ‘for the Lord’, which in the context would be meant to be understood in the sense of ‘because that’s what the Lord would want’ or a similar idea. Alternatively, the GEN-marked noun may be in an adnominal relationship to the head of the Object NP, realising a Possessive function. I consider the second alternative to be better, and gloss them accordingly, but I think the question is somewhat open.

- (153) *djin* *prayer-dj-ny-ban,* *wurpmi-li* *ngunyili*
 3plNOM pray-THEMSR-RPC-TF one-ALL thatALL
ɲami-li-ban, *Garray-ang-ban*
 above-ALL-TF Lord-GEN-TF
 They were then praying to the One above, the Lord's (One). {32:151}
- (154) *inydji* *liny* *marr-yirrp̄i-gi* *ngunung* *Garray-ang*
 RECIP 1duexcNOM soul-set-FUT [thatUNM]DAT Lord-GEN
 We can put our trust in that (One), the Lord's (One). {33:87}

This completes our discussion of case and the functions which may be signalled by case marking. In Chapter 3 we shall consider the form and functions of non-case suffixes. Djinba forms will be given as well, where known.

CHAPTER 3

NON-CASE MORPHOLOGY AND MINOR WORD CLASSES

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

3.1 PROPRIETIVE, ALIENABLE AND PRIVATIVE AFFIXES

(1) Proprietary *-giṅingi*, *-kiṅingi*

The PROP affix derives nominal stems with the meaning 'having X', where X is the referent of the form to which PROP is affixed. PROP therefore indicates possession, and is used in the context of inalienable possession. (The related affix, ALIEN, is used for alienable possession of the type 'having X'.) PROP is very commonly affixed to nominalised verb stems to signal meanings of the type 'one who does the action X', where X is the meaning of the verb stem.

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

The unshortened form of the PROP affix is *-Giṅ(i)*, where *G* is *g* or *k*. Which phoneme occurs in any one instance will depend on several factors: the preceding phoneme (whether vowel or consonant – *k* is more common after a consonant), the dialect of the speaker (*g* is slightly more common in smooth dialects), the word class to which the stem belongs (*k* is more common with adverbial particles and nominalised verbs) and the length of the stem (*k* is more likely if the stem is long).

The shortened form of the PROP affix is *-Giṅ(i)*, with the archiphoneme *G* realised as above. The short PROP form typically occurs when further suffixation follows, and if the suffix which follows begins with a stop consonant, then the form *-Giṅ* will be used more frequently than the *-Giṅi* form. I have only one example of *-Giṅ* occurring in word-final position. There is one possible exception to

the rule 'if suffixation follows the PROP affix then PROP takes the short form': the unshortened form of PROP is used when the allomorph *-r(i)* of ERG, PROM, CAU or INSTR follows, or when OBL *-ngir(i)* follows, for example *laykiṅ-giṅing-i-ri* healing-PROP-ERG and *djama-giṅing-ngimi* work-PROP-KINPROP, where the *ng-ng* sequence is phonetically a lengthened *ng*. However, these apparent exceptions may be re-analysed as *laykiṅ-giṅi-ngiri* healing-PROP-ERG, and *djama-giṅi-ngimi* work-PROP-KINPROP, since *-ngiri* is known to be an allomorph of ERG marking – see section 2.7. Either analysis is viable, though the lengthening of *ng* makes the former more appealing.

Examples (16) and (22) include *wanngir-nya-kiṅing* save-NMLSR-PROP 'saving one'; (37) includes *djama-giṅ-pil-ngir* work-PROP-PL-ERG 'the workers'. Further instances of PROP can be found in the cited texts in the following places: fossilised PROP (22:178); on a noun stem (32:23,28,74,100); on a noun stem and followed by PL (32:44,47).

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

The Djinba PROP affix is *-naṅ*. The etymology of the Djinang *-Giṅing* PROP marker is difficult to trace. PROP in other Yolngu languages is usually *-mirri* or forms related to *-mirri*, such as *-mirr* or *-mi*. However we are not without some clues as to the origin of the Djinang PROP marker. Consider the Gupapuyngu word *nyumukuṅiny* 'small (singular)' (plural forms *nyumukiny* or *nyumikiny*). The Djinba clan of the Djinba language uses *nyumugiṅiny* 'small', which is clearly cognate to the Gupapuyngu form. Also, some Djinang and Ganalbingu (dialect of Djinba) cognates differ in that Ganalbingu has word-final *ny* where Djinang has word-final *ng(i)*, e.g. Djinang *ngunu+ng(i)* 'that' versus Ganalbingu *nguni+ny* 'that'; Djinang *djini+ng(i)* 'this' versus Ganalbingu *djini+ny* 'this'. This suggests that Djinang PROP marker *-Giṅing(i)* is cognate to the Djinba formative *+giṅiny* in the word for 'small', which in turn suggests that, historically, *-Giṅing(i)* < **-Guṅiny*, assuming that the Dhuwal/Djuwala form *nyumukuṅiny* was once segmentable as **nyumu+Guṅiny*. Possibly **-Guṅiny* was a very early PROP marker. Further research in other Yolngu languages is needed to see if such a formative is preserved in other words of the modern languages.

(2) Alienable *-giṅimi*, *-kiṅimi*

The ALIEN affix appears to be derived from the short form of the PROP affix, to which is added the formative *-mi*. ALIEN expresses 'having X', except that in many contexts it contrasts with PROP in that the ALIEN affix indicates alienable possession. A Djinang man explained the difference for me as follows: (155) expresses inalienable possession – the food intrinsically belongs to the area – while (156) expresses alienable possession – the food does not intrinsically belong to the plate.

(155) *djining gurrbi, wali-giṅing*
 [thisUNM placeUNM]NOM [food-PROP]NOM
 This place is a food-bearing (place).

(156) *djining plate, wali-giṅim*
 [thisUNM plateUNM]NOM [food-ALIEN]NOM
 This plate has food on it.

In (157), ALIEN occurs with noun stem *yuwiridja*- meaning 'new'. The ALIEN form means 'a new experience', and ALIEN is appropriate here because the same experience will cease to be 'new' for the rest of the narrator's life, its 'newness' is not a characteristic of the experience itself.

- (157) *gundjirr inydji-rr manya-ngi miri,*
 [armUNM]ACC RECIP-1sgERG try-FUT like
yuwiridja-kinimi, nganaparra
 new-ALIEN [buffaloUNM]PROM
 I will try my ability with a buffalo, (it will be) a new experience (for me). {34:399}

However, some instances of ALIEN are hard to account for if we assume this meaning in every instance. For example, *bubali-kinim(i)* indiscriminate-ALIEN has a range of meanings: 'anyone', 'anything', 'next time', 'anytime' and 'anywhere'. With the exception of 'next time', these meanings seem to be like the meanings with PROP. Moreover, (158) illustrates ALIEN used where PROP would have been expected: as a buffalo chased the narrator and his father, they climbed into a tree having a forked branch (*djit-ginim* instead of the expected **djit-gining*) rather than spear it so far away from their destination. It is probable that the *-m(i)* formative in the ALIEN marker is a reflex of Northern Yolngu PROM clitic *-*ma*, which has subsequently been shifted in meaning to mark alienable possession when contiguous to the *-gini-* formative.

- (158) *wirr ngiliny djit-ginim liny baltji-li*
 NEG 1duexcNOM forked.branch-ALIEN 1duexcNOM climb-RPA
 (We did) nothing, we climbed up to a forked branch. {34:787}

(3) Privative *-nyirring(i)*

The PRIV affix means 'lacking X', where X is the referent of the stem to which PRIV is affixed. Like PROP, it forms nominals which function either as the head of a NP or as modifiers of a head e.g. *miyilk-nyirring* woman-PRIV 'unmarried', *gunggi-nyirring* head-PRIV 'thoughtless', 'inconsiderate', *mayali-nyirring* idea-PRIV 'impolite'. For an example of its use with modifying function see (315) in section 4.5. It may also be used in negative existential constructions to indicate 'there is not X'. Several instances of its use with this function occur in (159). The narrator's party had just been asked 'How many cattle did you see somewhere over there?' and (159) was the reply.

- (159) *wirr, ngununga.. buluki-nyirring+a, nyim-nyirring+a,*
 NEG [thatUNM+DUR]LOC cattle-PRIV+NF whatever-PRIV+NF
yarraman-nyirring, nganaparra-pm libi
 horse-PRIV [buffalo-THPRO]ACC 1plexcERG
kurr-kurrpi-ni kiri-ny
 REDUP-chase-RPC PROG-RPC
 None, (while) moving through that place, there were no cattle, no horses, nothing at all;
 we were busy chasing just buffaloes. {34:141-142}

Like PROP, PRIV may take further suffixation (e.g. by case), as in *bupini-nyirringi-li* mosquito-PRIV-ALL 'to a place lacking mosquitoes' {34:1047}. In my database, this occurs only on nouns or verbs. However, on verbs it usually acts as a strong Prohibitive, e.g. *baltj-nyirring* climb-PRIV 'don't climb!'. PRIV in other Yolngu languages is used in this way also. It can also be used on verbs to derive the antonym of the PROP-marked verb, to give the sense 'one who does not do the action X', where X is the meaning of the verb stem. The affix is not used a great deal, and I

believe that a wider sample of data would reveal that it may occur on stems from the same word classes as PROP occurs on.

The Djinba PROP affix is *-nan*; it is uncertain whether or not it is cognate with Djinang *-Gining(i)* – probably not. The Djinba PRIV affix is *-nyarrang*, which is cognate to the Djinang form. I believe Djinba does not have an ALIEN affix; I have not yet found evidence of one. The Yanhangu PROP affix is *-way* (e.g. *ngarr-way* camp-PROP ‘married man’).

3.2 PLURAL, PAUCAL, EXCESSIVE AND DYADIC AFFIXES

(1) Plural *-pii*, *-wili*

The Djinang productive PL affix is *-Pil(i)*, where the archiphoneme *P* is usually realised as *p*, but with some nominals is obligatorily *w*. The occurrence of the *w* phoneme may also be conditioned by a preceding peripheral glide or vowel (*w* or *u*), but only for certain nominal stems: *wuw*- ‘older brother’ and deictic *ngunu*- ‘that’. The *-wili* allomorph always marks the function PL; however the *-pili* allomorph marks PL everywhere except on the deictic stems *djini*- ‘this’ and *ngunu*- ‘that’ – on these stems it marks PAUC (or DU when the reference is to two participants). Examples containing the *-pili* allomorph are (37) and (38); examples having the *-wili* allomorph are (41), (89) and (135). The former allomorph, having DU reference, occurs in {22:3}: *ngunu-pili-ngu* that-PAUC-DEIC ‘there they(du) are!’.

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

PL is typically used on nominals (but not on pronouns), although occasionally it is found on other parts of speech. For example, the particle *guyumi* ‘later on’ can take PL affixation as *guyum-pili* ‘much later on’; similarly *djaming* ‘later today’ can occur as *djam-pili* ‘much later (in the future)’. Also the deictic form *nyim-pili* what-PL ‘which things’ is attested.

The use of *-Pili* to signal PL compares with the COL noun *mala* ‘group’, which is also used to signal plurality. The difference between them is only a nuance. *-Pili* is used when a relatively large number is involved – these being but a portion of those who could be involved. On the other hand *mala* is used when one wishes to indicate that all participants of a definable group are involved. The *-Pili* morpheme is therefore semantically closer to PAUC, which gives us an important clue as to its etymology. Other Yolngu languages use *mala* as the productive PL marker, even though some have alternative suffixal PL forms available, but Djinang prefers the *-Pili* form as the least marked plural marker. Djinang allows both COL and PL marking in the one phrase, but PL may not be suffixed to the COL noun itself.

Historically, the Djinang PL is cognate to the PAUC or DU marker found in Djinba. The productive Djinba PAUC affix is *-yarr* (Dabi dialect apparently uses *-barr*), but a few forms in my Djinba data have an obscure affix *-pul*. Considering the fact that the cognate form in Djinang marks PAUC on the deictic stems, it is most likely that the Djinba form is a relic of an earlier PAUC affix *-*pulV*. Corroborating this is the fact that Liyagalawumirr clan's dialect of Dhuwal uses *-pulu* PL as a productive plural suffix (e.g. *yindi-pulu* big-PL ‘big ones’) and the rarely used Gupapuyngu plural suffix *-wurru* (Lowe 1960, lesson 83) is cognate to it. Both are of course cognate to Djinang

-Pili, the Djinang forms being due to the Djinang vowel shift. It is therefore very likely that the proto-Yolngu PAUC suffix was either *-*pulu* or *-*Bulu*, and from such a form the *-*pulu* PL suffix was derived, which underwent subsequent changes independently in some of the daughters of proto-Yolngu.

The proto-Yolngu PAUC morpheme may have been *-*Bulu* (rather than *-*pulu*) for the following reasons. The *+bulu* formative in the Yanhangu PAUC marker *mirri+bulu* 'few', 'two' may be cognate. Also, Ritharrngu (Heath 1980a:181) has a morpheme *-bulal* which is used to convey the sense 'having two of X', and Dixon (1980:356) cites the same form as a third person dual pronoun of wide distribution in non-prefixing languages. This may perhaps then be explained as common retention. (Incidentally, the Yanhangu *mirri+bulu* form may have been derived from the Yolngu PROP form *-mirri* 'having' and an early third person dual pronoun form as mentioned above, giving the sense 'having them two', which later became fossilised as the above PAUC marker.)

As stated above, many Yolngu languages use *mala* COL 'group' as a PL marker. Yanhangu is one of these. Djinba uses *mala* similarly to Djinang and, corresponding to the Djinang use of *-Pili*, it uses an affix *-mirring* PL.

The Djinba *-mirring* PL suffix is cognate to the Yanhangu *-mirringu* KINPROP affix (see Morphy 1983:45). Djinang also has a *-mirringi* formative, but it is unproductive and therefore probably is just a relic of Yolngu KINPROP marking (see section 3.3). This cognate Djinang form is difficult to gloss, and seems to have a meaning shifted from that of the Kinship Propriative function; it certainly is unrelated to PL. Thus of Djinang and Djinba only Djinba has productively retained the *-*mirringu* form, but with shifted meaning, preferring to mark the Kinship Propriative function differently; Djinang also marks the Kinship Propriative function differently (see section 3.4).

The formal identification of Djinba *-mirring* PL with Yanhangu *-mirringu* KINPROP is quite certain, for example Djinba takes ERG allomorph *-y* after *u*. Now when ERG and PL occur together on a noun stem in Djinba the form of the PL suffix is different, and thus we observe *noun-mirringu-y* noun-PL-ERG to be the Djinba noun form.

PL may occur with a number of other nominal affixes. The relative positions of the affixes generally conform to one of the structural descriptions given below. The KINGRP affix is slightly fluid in its distribution. A few speakers will use it as a first-order suffix. All affixes are optional, and nearly all are mutually independent. If KINGRP occurs, then the nominal stem must be a kin noun and PL will not occur with it; if KINPROP occurs, then the nominal must be either a kin noun or a +HU noun such as *yalimirring* 'stranger', *djama-gining* work-PROP 'worker' etc. In the third structural description, observe that KINPROP may occur as a portmanteau combination with case. In the structural descriptions, the nominal stem may be a noun, derived noun, deictic or interrogative/indefinite pronoun. The braces { } indicate a disjunctive choice. Each of these forms may also take enclitics such as THPRO, TF and/or EMPH. If all three occur on the one nominal, then the typical order will be THPRO + TF + EMPH, and similarly if any two of these three occur together.

<stem> + PL + *mirring* + {Case, KINPROP}

<stem> + PROP + PL + OBL + Case + KINGRP

<stem> + PROP + PL + OBL + {Case, KINPROP, Case+KINPROP}

The first structure is illustrated in examples (161) and (162) in section 3.4. Some examples of the second are *djama-giṅ-pil-ngir-gi* work-PROP-PL-OBL-DAT ‘for the workers’, *wuw-gir-k-uw* older.brother-OBL-DAT-KINGRP ‘for the group of my older brothers’ and *wuw-uw-gira-li* older.brother-KINGRP-OBL-ALL ‘to my group of older brothers’. Some examples of the last structure are *ngambirr-ngira-li* mother-OBL-ALL ‘to mother’, *djama-giṅing-ngimi* work-PROP-KINPROP ‘one’s workers’, *wuw-wili-ngimi-pm* older.brother-PL-KINPROP-THPRO ‘just my older brothers’, *wuw-ngirimi-pm* older.brother-KINPROP+ERG-THPRO ‘older brother’ and *gulmi-wila-ngir-angi-m* younger.brother-PL-OBL-GEN-KINPROP ‘of my younger brothers’.

Since clitics may also occur, as in some of the above examples, theoretically it is possible for some quite complex nominal forms to occur, such as *djama-giṅ-pil-ngir-gi-mi-pm-ban-kima* work-PROP-PL-OBL-DAT-KINPROP-THPRO-TF-EMPH ‘just for my workers now’ – a form which I have never actually heard uttered spontaneously, but which is perfectly well formed and quite meaningful in an appropriate context. Fortunately such complex nouns are infrequent; if one were to load consecutive clauses with a smattering of such complex forms, then one would not be speaking in good Djinang style – the information load would be too great.

(2) Paucal number *-mirrpili*

The PAUC affix is used to express either a true paucal number ‘a few’ or a dual number ‘two’. Example (160) illustrates PAUC used with DU reference. As was stated in section 2.7, there is a suppletive PAUC+ERG form *-mirrpili+m(i)*. Example (46) illustrates its use.

- (160) *balanda-mirrpili, nyabin-wili bin.gili, a miyilk-mirrpili*
 [European-PAUC how.many-PL twoUNM - woman-PAUC

bin.gili, a nyun+a, Ngarritjan, ngilim nyini-ny
 twoUNM and 2sgUNM+VOC section.name]NOM 1plincNOM sit-RPC

How many Europeans? Two men, two women, you and Ngarritjan, we were sitting.
 {22:174-176}

(3) Excessive *-biṅi*

The EXCE affix is similar to the PROP affix, except that the referent is deemed to have the indicated quality or item to excess, meaning ‘having X excessively’ (where X is the referent of the nominal) or ‘very much of X’ etc. The connotation is not necessarily a bad one, e.g. *wakal-biṅi* fun-EXCE ‘a funny fellow’, ‘happy’. Some other examples are *djarrma-biṅi* lies-EXCE ‘vicious liar’, ‘nasty rumour-monger’, *guṅi-biṅi* shy-EXCE ‘very shy person’, *guṅgi-biṅi* head-EXCE ‘person with over-large head’ and *mapal-biṅi* hair-EXCE ‘bushy-haired person’.

Djinba does not have this affix, nor any other affixal form with this function. Instead, Djinba uses the adjectival free form *gaḍung* ‘big’ in post-nominal position. I do not know what the Yanhangu form is, nor have I been able to trace the *-biṅi* form in any other Yolngu language.

(4) Dyadic (kin dyadic) *-manydji*

This is not a very commonly used affix, but I do have instances of it in my data. It marks reciprocal kinship relationships, such as MoMoBr-SiDaSo which is the form *midji-manydji* MoMo/MoMoBr-DYAD. I have also heard the forms *wuwi-manydji* ‘mutual brothers’ and *gaḍiṅi-manydji* ‘mutual sisters’. When the relationship of each person to the other is not identical, the senior of the two referents is the term which takes the DYAD suffix, in so far as my data shows.

It can also be used in an extended sense, when reciprocal relationship is involved without such relationship being a kinship one, e.g. *mil-manydji* eye-DYAD ‘lovers’ (*mil* is being used here itself figuratively with the sense ‘object of desire’). I do not know the Djinba DYAD form, if any exists.

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

Yolngu languages mark the Reciprocal, Reflexive and Mutualis functions by a verbal suffix *-mi-* (Yanhang uses a suffix *-ma-*, e.g. *nyina-ma-na* ‘sit together’, which is the Mutualis function of RECIP). However, both Djinang and Djinba have developed a pre-verbal particle having this function, and have entirely lost the suffixal form. The Djinang particle form is *inydji*. The Djinba form corresponding to Djinang *inydji* is *niy*. The Djinang and Djinba forms occur preceding the NOM or ERG reduced pronoun; if there is a DAT reduced pronoun, it will precede the RECIP form. RECIP may thus function as a carrier for the reduced pronouns, and often occurs as a portmanteau form with the latter, in either language.

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

The other form potentially cognate with the DYAD affix, *minydji* HITH ‘hither’, is so similar to the DYAD affix that the Djinang vowel shift would account for the derivation of the HITH particle from a proto-particle **manydji* – at least in so far as its form is concerned. Also, both RECIP and HITH particles have mutually exclusive distribution, both occur pre-verbally, and both precede any NOM or ERG reduced pronoun (but DAT reduced pronouns and *minydji* rarely co-occur). The problem with the etymology of the HITH particle is that there is no apparent semantic connection between the Dyadic function and any of the functions of *minydji* (see section 3.15 for details). Because of this I would not wish to claim that the HITH particle is cognate with the DYAD affix without having further supporting evidence. At this time the issue must be left open. (In some other Yolngu languages, a particle *bala* is used to indicate ‘motion away from’. Djinba has neither a suffix nor a particle for such a function.)

3.3 ARCHETYPAL, INHABITANT AND THEMATIC PROMINENCE AFFIXES

(1) Archetypal *-mirring(i)*

This affix is unproductive in Djinang. It occurs regularly as a fossilisation in the form *wana-pili-mirring* big-PL-ARCHE ‘the truly important people’. It is clearly cognate to the Yolngu *-mirringu* KINPROP affix and, indeed, I have an instance of it occurring on a kin noun – but KINPROP also occurred with it. It is therefore not appropriate to call it KINPROP. I have decided

to call it Archetypal, suggesting a gloss along the line of ‘a true or proper representative of’ the class of real-word objects denoted by the nominal. Thus, it may be glossed as an English adjective with a meaning such as ‘proper’, ‘actual’ or ‘truly’. The Djinba equivalent of *wana-pili-mirring* was given as *gilarr-pul-nguy*, which is an ERG PL form. In all my time in the language I heard this Djinang *-mirring* affix so rarely that I am inclined to believe it is merely a non-productive fossilisation.

However, there may be some substance to the gloss given it above. In the previous section we saw that the form of this affix is cognate with the Yolngu KINPROP affix *-mirringu*, that the latter occurs in Yanhangu marking KINPROP, and that Djinba uses the form to indicate PL rather than KINPROP. The claim was made there that Djinang and Djinba have retained the form of the Yolngu KINPROP affix, but shifted the meaning; Djinba shifted it to mark PL, while Djinang may have shifted it to indicate something like ‘actual’. Heath (1980a:28) states that *-mirringu* is used in Ritharrngu specifically in the sense ‘actual’, and it appears to be used in a similar way to Djinang’s ARCHE affix. The shift in meaning from KINPROP to ARCHE is not a great one if the noun stem on which it occurred was a kin noun; ‘one’s brother’ (Kinship Proprietary function) is not semantically very distant from ‘actual brother’.

- (161) *ban nyan+a, warngarri Binalany,*
 on.other.hand 3sgPROM+NF [so.and.soUNM Binalany]ERG
gurrpi-n+a wup!, gurrpi-n+a wup!, nyanng-a
 chase-TPC+NF whack! chase-TPC+NF whack! [3sg-GEN
wuw-mirring-ngim pu-ny kiri-nyi
 older.brother-ARCHE-KINPROP]ACC hit-TPC PROG-TPC
 On the other hand, Binalany was chasing his actual brother about, (and when he caught him) Whack! he would hit him. {22:103-105}
- (162) *wana-pili-mirringi-ri di?-dirra-dj nyini-nyi*
 big-PL-ARCHE-ERG DIST-eat-THEMSR EXIST-RPC
wana-pili-mirring galkngu miyilk-pili
 [big-PL-ARCHE such.as woman-PL]ERG
 The truly important people used to eat (it), truly important ones such as women.
 {43:75-76}

(2) Inhabitant *-mimigi*

This affix may be added to a place name, or to any nominal which refers to a place (e.g. *wana* ‘big’, referring to a big place or town), to give the meaning ‘person(s) from X’ or ‘inhabitant of X’. The usual Yolngu affix for this function is *-puyngu* (see Morphy 1983:45), based on the Yolngu ASSOC affix *-Buy*. Both Djinang and Djinba have lost the *-Buy* form (see 2.3, 2.4 and 2.13). Both Djinang and Djinba have developed (or borrowed) quite different forms to express this function. I cannot trace the Djinang INHAB form *-mimigi* in other Yolngu languages. The Djinba form, which tentatively is *-pulung*, appears to be based on the old Djinba PAUC morpheme *-*BuIV*. In (163), notice the use of epenthetic *p* preceding the INHAB affix in a context where other Yolngu languages would use a glottal stop. (Homorganic unreleased stops are used in this way in Djinang in preference to glottal stop, although the latter does occasionally occur.)

- (163) *nyini-ny nginib+a, nyali-ng ngunu, Yurrwip-mimigi*
 sit-RPC 1plexcNOM+NF [where-LOC thatUNM]LOC Yurrwi-INHAB

Murwan.gip-mimigi

Murwangi-INHAB

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

(3) Thematic Prominence *-pm(i)*, *-ipm(i)*

This affix functions similarly to word stress in English. For example, 'I saw the **man**' emphasises the word man and implies a contrast such as 'the man (rather than something else)'. That is, what was seen is delimited to just the referent of the noun in this example. Word stress in English may occur on many different parts of speech. The Djinang THPRO affix behaves similarly.

It is called Thematic Prominence for several reasons. Firstly, its function in the most general sense is to make prominent some word or phrase that the speaker wishes to draw specifically to the attention of the hearer. Such items are typically thematically important in the speech event. Secondly, it often has a slightly contrastive nuance in a Delimitative sense (which may be glossed as either 'still' or 'just' according to context – this will be explained further below). Thirdly, it is a reflex of the earlier PROM allomorph **-ma* occurring in several Yolngu languages (including Djinba).

PROM in most other Yolngu languages is marked by *-ma*, or *-(ny)dja* and its allomorphs, and such forms are used for reference switching as well as the other Thematic Prominence functions which are marked by the Djinang THPRO morpheme. But in Djinang, the reference switching functions are now carried entirely by the PROM affix, fronting, and pronominalisation strategies (e.g. full versus reduced pronouns), so that THPRO is never used for switching reference. The same comments apply to Djinba. The Djinba THPRO affix is *-pim*, which is cognate to the Djinang form, and we may safely assume it diffused into Djinba from Djinang.

Thus earlier PROM marking has been split into several different kinds of prominence, two of which are modern PROM (which has merged with ERG) and THPRO which is typically Delimitative in function. (Further elements of the Prominence system in Djinang are the EMPH marker discussed in 3.5 and the CONTR marker discussed in 3.7.) It would be a misleading oversimplification to treat modern Djinang PROM and THPRO affixes as allomorphs of one affix; PROM is used mainly in the system of interclausal cohesion (see section 2.7), while THPRO is used mostly to emphasise a word or NP in a Delimitative sense. While PROM is comparatively rare, THPRO occurs very often.

In the majority of contexts, THPRO can be characterised accurately by an English gloss. Its basic function is to limit the scope of reference to just the item(s) or person(s) it marks, to limit the activity to just the one signalled by the verb, or to limit the goal of motion to just the location specified, and so forth. Hence it can be glossed by English 'just' or 'only' in many contexts where it occurs on a participant-referencing expression (typically a nominal). Often with nominals the best gloss is given by English contrastive stress. On nonparticipant-referencing expressions (typically verbs, particles, adverbs and nominals used attributively) it takes the sense 'still'. That is, there is existential limitation of some event to the one marked with THPRO, rather than some other obtaining. For example, a woman who saw a former European inhabitant of Ramingining after an absence of many years said *nyani butal-ipm* 3sgNOM good-THPRO 'He is still good (healthwise)'. We shall now consider THPRO marking in some detail.

A. Thematic Prominence on verbs.

The functions of THPRO when affixed to a verb may be reduced to the following: it may express the meanings 'just do X', 'do X only' or, more commonly, 'still do X', where 'do X' is lexicalised

as a Djinang verb. The idea is that there is an implied contrast of potential activities (the potentialities are contextually defined), and the THPRO affix limits the activity to the marked one as the only one obtaining at the time. The contrasting potentiality may, or may not, be expressed; if expressed it will typically be expressed by the next clause(s).

When THPRO expresses the meaning 'still doing X', the inflection of the verb must be compatible with the feature [+continuous]; this means that the inflection must be one of FUT, PRES, YPC, TPC or RPC. All instances in my database conform to this. When THPRO is affixed to a NEG particle, meanings such as 'still not doing X', 'still did not do X', 'still had not done X' obtain.

THPRO is affixed to verbs (and to non-verbs) following any inflectional affixes, and only the TF clitic *-ban* may follow the THPRO affix and/or the EMPH affix. The only exception to this so far appears to be that ABL may follow THPRO when the stem is a kin noun (see Table 2.3). The next two examples illustrate THPRO used with a verb to indicate 'do just X' or 'do X only'. The first comes from the Bible story of the healing of a crippled man. In this example the implied contrast is explicitly given in the following clause; note that this clause contains a double auxiliary verb construction. The second example is taken from a story in which the narrator's party had come to a clear pool full of fish, but to avoid supernatural sanctions they did not spear any straight away for fear of repercussions (this was expressed in the text's preceding context).

(164) *nyabini ngunu-pila mayurrk, nyini-n+a ran.gu*
how.many that-INDEF rain.seasonUNM sit-RPA+NF moonUNM

bini-ny ngurrum nyini-nyi-pm, ingki giri-nyir
do.thus-RPC PERF sit-RPC-THPRO NEG walk-RPI

nyini-nyir giri-nyir
PROG-RPI HABIT-RPI

For an indefinite number of months and years he had always just sat, not walking around.
{33:20-22}

(165) *bil ngunung yarim libi nya-nyi-pm+a, libi*
but [thatUNM]ACC just 1plexcERG see-RPC-THPRO+NF 1plexcERG

giyka-ny mulitji-r
net-RPC fish.net-INSTR

But we just only watched those (fish), we caught them with a net. {34:525-526}

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

(166) *djarak-dji ran.gi-rri, yarim minydji*
spear-INSTR spear-YPA just away.from

galmi-ni-pm-ban, ngu?-ngurri-nyi
fall.down-RPA-THPRO-TF DIST-lie-RPC

(He) speared (the buffalo) with a spear, (and it) just fell down then and kept lying still.
{34:326-328}

In the next group of examples, THPRO is used to express ‘still doing X’. This use of THPRO is consistent with the notion of Delimitation, for the meaning being expressed is that event X still continues existentially in a context where event Y is possible or expected. Example (167) is taken from the story of the Philippian jailer, at the point where he is about to take his own life – thinking that the prisoners had escaped in the earthquake; (167) is what Paul then said to him. Example (168) comes from a story in which the narrator states that many of the present generation have lost the knowledge of how to prepare cycad nuts for eating. Clearly, in these examples the only possible meaning for THPRO is ‘still’. Example (169) illustrates THPRO, still with the meaning ‘still’, occurring on the locative particle *bilay* ‘far away’ used predicatively. A fourth example occurs in (146), where ‘still living’ expresses the idea of eternal life.

(167) *djini nibi warrpam wanngi-pm*
[thisUNM]LOC 1plexcNOM [allUNM]NOM alive-THPRO

nibi nyini-Ø
1plexcNOM sit-PRES

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

(168) *bil marri djin gingi-Ø-pm miyilk-pili*
but possibly 3plNOM remember-PRES-THPRO [woman-PL]NOM

galkngu
such.as

But possibly they remember, some of the women for example. {43:103}

(169) *bit ngunung ngidjirrkng-ban libi yulku-ny*
seemingly [thatUNM]DAT close-TF 1plexcNOM come.to-RPC

kiri-ny, bil nyani marri bilay-pm
PROG-RPC but 3sgNOM somewhat far.away-THPRO

Seemingly we were getting close then to that (place), but we were still somewhat far way. {34:51-52}

B. Thematic Prominence on nouns and other non-verbal parts of speech

Several examples of THPRO have already been illustrated in previous sections. Example (159) in section 3.1 illustrates the affix on the noun *nganaparra* ‘buffalo’. In that example, THPRO expresses the meaning that ‘only buffalo’ were chased, rather than cattle, horses or anything else. This is perhaps the most common sense of THPRO on nominals: to express ‘X only’ or ‘just X’ where X is the referent of the noun marked by the affix. Another instance occurs in (35) in section 2.7.

The THPRO affix can sometimes best be translated by English contrastive stress, or left untranslated. Example (170) is a case in point. It does not make much sense to say that the two women came *‘just to their husband’ or *‘to their husband only’. Rather, they came to the husband specifically, and did not just return to the general camp area where their husband was. In English, no contrastive stress is needed here for the sentence to make good sense, but in Djinang THPRO keeps attention on the tension between the women (who were looking for their children) and the husband (who had murdered them). It is clearly a discourse-level function being marked and so does not always translate neatly into English categories.

- (170) *gurrbi-li-ban bil wini-ny kiri-nya.. biling*
 camp-ALL-TF 3duNOM return-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR 3duNOM
yulgu-ngili, nyan-ki-pm-ban, bilnga nginipi-ngim
 come.to-RPA [3sg-DAT-THPRO-TF 3duDAT husband-KINPROP]DAT
 They returned all the way to camp, (and) came to their husband. (24:87-88)

In some instances THPRO is untranslatable, as in (32) where ‘internal-fire’ is marked with THPRO, which appears to not readily admit an English translation. This example is typical of a class of examples where THPRO is used to mark an adverbial constituent – often a body-part nominal used figuratively – in which the function of Delimitation is not readily apparent (if indeed it is there at all). In this context its function seems to be to mark the fact that the word is to be interpreted figuratively or adverbially. Another example of this nature is (171), where the body part *gari* ‘groin’ is used figuratively to express ‘low down’. Other similar uses of THPRO are on *budjirri* ‘stomach’ to give a figurative sense ‘in the middle’, ‘amongst’ (66:31 22:118) and on *gumbirri* ‘hand’ to express the figurative meaning ‘gently’ (32:159).

- (171) *gar-pm liny kiri-ny nyini-ny*
 groin-THPRO 1duexcNOM go-RPC PROG-RPC
 We went along (bending) low (so as not to be seen). {34:611}

The next example is a further instance where THPRO is not easily translated. There is DUR vowel lengthening, which indicates that the event of telling was taking place while they were going along the road. But THPRO on the word ‘road’ here seems to have no function other than drawing attention to the fact that the event occurred while ‘on the road’.

- (172) *gadjigirr-pma.. irra bil bultji-n "Djini-ban*
 road-THPRO+DUR 1sgDAT 3duERG tell-RPC [this-TF]LOC
eh? Murrumbitj, Maynuru dji?-tjarri-Ø"
 INTERJ [MurrumbitjUNM]NOM [MaynuruUNM]NOM DIST-stand-PRES
 While on the way, they were telling me, “Here now, eh, is Murrumbitj, (where) Mainoru is.” (34:216-217)

On deictics, THPRO usually has a clear Delimitative meaning. Firstly, on the ALL deictic forms *bapili* ‘to here’ and *ngunyili* ‘to there’ THPRO limits the activity expressed by the verb to the terminal goal, rather than there being the possibility of intermediate goals obtaining during the course of the activity. To take a concrete example, if the verb ‘come’ occurs with *bapili-pm* to.here-THPRO, the meaning is that the subject will come straight here, rather than via one or more different places along the route. (This was how mother-tongue speakers described it to me.) Similarly, *ngunyili-pm* to.there-THPRO means ‘straight to there’. Examples we have already encountered are (54) and (100). On a LOC deictic, such as *djili* ‘here’ or *nguli* ‘there’, the meaning expressed by THPRO is ‘just here’, ‘right here’ (and not anywhere else) or even ‘still here’, or ‘just there’, ‘right there’ (and not anywhere else) or ‘still there’, respectively. Example (173) illustrates the latter; the narrator had just arrived at a deserted camp near a large inland lake, and was being attacked viciously by mosquitoes – at other places there were comparatively few mosquitoes.

- (173) *ganangarra, litja nguli-pm ngurr-wangi-ni*
 [mosquito.speciesUNM]NOM 1duincDAT thatLOC-THPRO nose-speak-RPA
 Mosquitoes buzzed at us just there (but not elsewhere). {34:1037}

Finally, we mention that several instances of the occurrence of THPRO seem to be fossilisations, and that the Delimitative sense in these examples has simply been lost. Two common examples are the ABL-marked deictics *djini-ngir-pm* this-ABL-THPRO 'on this side' and *ngunu-ngir-pm* that-ABL-THPRO 'on that side', discussed at the end of section 2.5. What is unusual here is that there is ABL marking rather than LOC. (ABL used to indicate relative location occurs in other languages, such as Latin, (Koch personal communication).) One tentative solution is that these are relic forms, and that *-ngiri* is a reflex, not of ABL *-*nguru* but of LOC *-*ngura*, which is the modern LOC case in many Yolngu languages. A similar word, to which the same explanation would apply, is *wurpi-ngir-pm* other-ABL-THPRO 'on the other side'. Instances of these forms occur in (132), (34:202), (34:221,229), (34:381,460,610,639). However, I think it is more likely that the *-ngir* is ABL case. For example, expressions like *djunupa-ngir* right-ABL 'on the right', and *wingu-ngir* left-ABL 'on the left', which speakers believe to be instances of ABL marking, argue for *-ngir* being ABL.

A further unusual example is *yarimi-pm* just-THPRO 'until', where the stem is a marker of collateral information. Collateral information specifies further details about propositions already uttered; the particle *yarim(i)* typically introduces such information. (The particle with the same function in some other Yolngu languages is *yan(a)*.) With THPRO affixed, however, the collateral particle usually means 'until', as in (174). This use of THPRO on the *yarimi* particle is perhaps not as semantically opaque as it first appears, provided we understand THPRO in its Delimitative sense here. That is, the clause 'the sun sets' is collateral information, and *-pmi* limits the span of time of the event of sitting to the time at which the sun sets. (Some other Yolngu languages express 'until' using *yan(a)* followed by a COMPL particle, showing that delimitation of a span of time is the underlying idea.)

- (174) *ngarri nyini-dji djiji walirr bunyin-dji*
 1sgNOM sit-FUT thisLOC [SunUNM]NOM buttock-INSTR
yirrpigi yarimi-pmi
 set-FUT just-THPRO
 I will sit here until the Sun sets. {65:29}

3.4 KINSHIP PROPRIETIVE, KIN GROUP AFFIXES AND PARTICLE *gudjuw*

(1) Kinship Proprietary *-ngimi, -ngirimi, -mi*

In this section we shall consider affixes which are used with kinship nouns, and other forms which are used in the context of kinship. In the Djinang dictionary (Waters 1983) I called the KINPROP affix 'ESSive case', because at the time of compilation of the dictionary the function of the KINPROP affix was not clear (mainly because it could occur on some non-kin nouns). However, an analysis of all instances of the relevant affix showed that the affix always occurred on nouns which denoted relationship to the speaker, or to a second or third person. Comparison with Djapu then showed its function to be identical to KINPROP. One difference from Djapu is that there appears to be only the one basic form *-ngimi* for first, second and third persons, whereas Djapu has a unique second person form (Morphy 1983:45).

There are three forms of KINPROP: the NOM or UNM form *-ngim(i)*; a related ERG form in which the ERG allomorph *-ri* is embedded, that is *-ngirim(i)*; and an allomorph *-mi* encountered following GEN case, on ABL-marked kin nouns as in *wuw-ngira-ri-mi* older.brother-ABL-*ri*-

KINPROP where the *-ri* formative has unknown meaning (if any), or on DAT forms (which may also contain the *-ngimi* KINPROP allomorph as first order suffix) as in (175) below.

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

A number of examples including the KINPROP affix have already been given: (41), (42), (45), (88), (89), (161), (170). These examples do not have both KINPROP and overt case on the same constituent, though it is possible for overt case marking and KINPROP to co-occur, as in the next two examples.

- (175) *bulki-dji mir ngunungi, in.ga yulgu-ng miri*
 dream-FUT like thatUNM 3sgDAT come.to-FUT like
mum-ngim-ngir-gi-m+a u nyunynyuny-ngir-gi-mi
 mother-KINPROP-OBL-DAT-KINPROP+NF or father-OBL-DAT-KINPROP
 (She) will dream so that (the spirit-child) will come to either his mother or to his father.
 {49:51-52}

- (176) *nginipi-ngir-gi-m in.ga wangi-dji*
 husband-OBL-DAT-KINPROP 3sgDAT say-FUT
 (She) will say to her husband... {49:62}

(2) Kingroup *-uw(i),-aw(i)*

The KINGRP affix is added to a kin noun (normally following any case affixation, but some speakers use it as a first order suffix) to indicate a group of people who have the nominated kinship relationship to ego, where ego could be either speaker, addressee or a third person – as for KINPROP. The group so delineated is regarded as plural. Examples (177) and (178) illustrate its use. The affix-final *i* vowel rarely occurs. The *-aw* allomorph is used when the noun stem immediately precedes the KINGRP affix; the noun stem ended in **a* before the Djinang vowel shift took effect. The *-uw* allomorph is used if a case suffix immediately precedes the affix – as in (178). Further examples are *wuw-gir-k-uw* older.brother-OBL-DAT-KINGRP {66:115} and *wuwa-r-uw* older.brother-ERG-KINGRP {65:41}, *gunydjirr-aw* fatherUNM-KINGRP in {65:55}; and *wuw-aw* older.brotherUNM-KINGRP {67:10, 14}. The KINGRP affix does not occur very often in the texts I have collected; the examples here have been elicited.

- (177) *ngarri dji-ny+irr nya-ngini wuw-aw*
 1sgERG 3pl-ACC+1sgERG see-TPA [older.brother-KINGRP]ACC
 I saw the group who are my older brothers. {67:5}
- (178) *ngarri bi-pini wuw-giri-ny-uw*
 1sgERG hit-TPA older.brother-OBL-ACC-KINGRP
 I hit each of my older brothers. {67:17}

(3) *gudjuw*

If one wishes to speak of a group of people who all have the same kinship section membership, one may use the particle *gudjuw* 'group of'. Both Djinang and Djinba have this particle, and it may only be used with section names, such as Burrealang, Balang and Ngarritjan. It occurs pre-nominally, in expressions such as *gudjuw* Burrealang 'a group of people who are each Burrealang'. I do not have any instances of this particle occurring in text, and I have heard it used spontaneously by Djinang speakers only a couple of times. Probably the circumstances appropriate for its use rarely obtain.

3.5 DEICTIC AND EMPHASIS AFFIXES

(1) Deictic *-ngu*

The DEIC affix is used to add extra deictic force. Probably the affix is historically related to the modern Distant deictic *ngunung(i)*. In my data, the affix is found on deictics, nouns and verbs; the next three examples illustrate each of these occurrences. The most frequent use of DEIC is when a speaker wishes to point to an object or place to which he is referring, which is usually either in the field of vision of the hearer or in a certain direction. The speaker will often use DEIC in such circumstances with a pronounced rounding of the lips, which is a typical deictic gesture, in the direction of the item or place. The gesture is simultaneous with the articulation of the *-ngu* morpheme. Further examples can be seen in (86) and (90).

- (179) *Djambaku djini-pilang-ngu?*
 [tobaccoUNM]NOM [this-INDEF-DEIC]LOC
Batjikali, djayina bi lidji marri-wi
 [pipeUNM pipe.cleanerUNM]ACC HITH 2plERG pick.up-IMP
 "Is there tobacco somewhere here? Go pick up (any) pipes and pipe cleaners around here!" {34:1155-1156}
- (180) *a mir ngunu gadjigarr-ngu ngurri-Ø kiri-mi,*
 and like thatUNM [road-DEIC]NOM lie-PRES PROG-PRES
gadjigarr, nguḷi-gima
 [roadUNM thatLOC-EMPH]NOM
 Like that road situated there, the one right there. {34:350}
- (181) *Djining ngu?-ngurri-Ø-ngu*
 [thisUNM]LOC DIST-lie.down-PRES-DEIC
 (He) is sleeping right here. {22:259}

(2) Emphasis *-gim(a),-kim(a)*

The EMPH clitic adds emphatic force to the word it marks. It is similar to PROM marking, except that EMPH is quite independent of the system of interclause cohesion (PROM is used in interclause cohesion), and while PROM is usually added to a noun, EMPH may be added to any part of speech, and may occur with case marking. It differs from THPRO in that the emphasis it gives is non-contrastive. In my data, there are instances of EMPH occurring with nominals marked for ALL, ABL, OR, LOC and NOM. EMPH is always last on any form it marks; it even follows the TF clitic, which indicates that EMPH should be analysed as a clitic. Indeed, it must properly be viewed as an element of the discourse level functions of prominence/emphasis/focus of one kind or another. It is

quite possibly etymologically related to earlier Yolngu PROM marking, and it is used in some of the contexts where, say, Gupapuyngu or Djambarrpuyngu would use the *-(ny)dja* PROM clitic. Also, speakers feel there is no clear difference in meaning (considering the words in isolation) between forms such as *birral-pmi* true-THPRO and *birral-kima* true-EMPH. The meaning of EMPH definitely falls within the prominence area.

There is some variation in the phonetic shape of the medial vowel. The medial vowel, because it occurs between two peripheral consonants, is often phonetically indeterminate, being articulated as a high central unrounded vowel quite often, and therefore often heard incorrectly by English speakers as [u].

The clitic occurs mostly on deictic forms (60% of instances), less frequently on verbs (18%); infrequently on nouns (7%) and occasionally on adverbs, interrogative/indefinite pronouns, interjections, temporal nouns and on the COMPL and PERF particles. On the particles, *girri-gima* COMPL-EMPH is a stronger way of indicating either 'finished' or 'also' (the form *girri* COMPL may have either meaning – providing it is not clause initial). However, on the PERF particle *ngurru(m)*, the resultant form *ngurrigim(a)* PERF-EMPH has a quite different meaning, namely 'the same', 'similarly' etc., and occurs often in the phrases such as *ngunu ngurrigima* 'the same as that', 'similarly' and *binji ngurrigima* 'do thus always', 'for ever'. The former phrase is used to form a semblative NP, often in conjunction with the particle *miri* 'like'. The Semblative function is an affix in some Yolngu languages (e.g. Ritharrngu -*?wanydji*, Heath 1980a:42). There is no semblative affix in Djinang or Djinba, a particle is used instead.

The Djinba EMPH form is marked by the PROM marker *-amdja*. This then suggests that the Djinang *-Gima* EMPH clitic may be etymologically related to the *-ma* PROM marker in Djinba and Yanhangu. In fact, corresponding to the Djinang form *nguli-kima* thatLOC-EMPH is the Djinba form *ngunuki-mdja* thatLOC-PROM (phonetically heard as [ngunuku-mdja]). This raises the possibility that a form such as Djinang *ngunu-kima* that-EMPH may have arisen by borrowing and resegmenting a Djinba form such as *ngunuki-PROM* where, perhaps, the PROM marker was the *-ma* allomorph rather than the *-mdja* allomorph (both occurring in modern Djinba). Thus, tentatively, we may say that Djinang innovated a separate EMPH suffix to bleed off some of the functions of PROM marking to a unique marker, since PROM marking in Yolngu languages has a large number of distinct functions leading to diachronic pressure to simplify the system – reducing the number of functions signalled by each of the prominence markers by increasing the number of unique markers.

Some examples of EMPH have already occurred in (8), (129), (134) and (180). These involve the emphatic form *nguli-gima* thatLOC-EMPH 'right there', except for (129) which has the form *ngunu-mirr-pan-gima* that-PERL-TF-EMPH 'right that way then'. Three more examples are given below: (182) to (184) illustrate EMPH occurring on a verb, an adverb and a noun (actually, on the final noun in an NP). Further examples can be found in the cited texts in the following locations: (24:77,89,103,106,109,114); (32:17,45,75,100); and (34:238,240).

(182) *wira-r* *bilidjirr-gim* *ngunu*
 [who-OBL]_{LOC} the.time.of-EMPH [thatUNM]_{NOM}
 In whose era was that? {34:1196}

(183) *a* *birral-gim* *buḍi* *djiningi*
 and truly-EMPH [bloodUNM]_{NOM} [thisUNM]_{LOC}
 Truly here (is) blood./Truly this (is) blood. {34:653}

- (184) *yakirri warrngguwili-gim liny ngurri-nyini*
 sleepUNM few-EMPH 1duexcNOM lie.down-RPA
Wingu, ngirr-a wuw-ngimi
 [Left.handUNM 1sg-GEN older.brother-KINPROP]NOM
 For a few days we slept (there, me and) Left-hand, my older brother. (34:278)

3.6 DEFINITE AFFIX, INDEFINITE AFFIX AND FRAME PARTICLE/CLITIC

(1) Definite *-tji, -tjini*

The DEF affix marks anaphoric definiteness. The most common form of the affix is *-tji*, while *-tjini* occurs usually as a first-order suffix on a unique Distant deictic stem, *nguni-* ‘that’. If another case or PL suffixation occurs preceding the DEF suffix, then the short form of the suffix normally occurs instead, and if the stem also happens to be the Distant deictic stem then the canonical form, *ngunu-*, is used. Hence we have *nguni-tjini* that-DEF, but with PL we get *ngunu-wili-tji* that-PL-DEF. Also, the *-tjini* affix, but not the *-tji* affix, is inherently Plural in function, and is therefore inappropriate in contexts where the referent is singular.

DEF is used typically with deictic, noun or pronoun stems, and it indicates that the referent (which may be a person, thing, place or time) is to be identified with a previously mentioned referent. The affix is used somewhat infrequently. The Djinba DEF affix is identified tentatively as *-yirri*. The Djinang form is cognate with the Ritharrngu form *-dhi*, which has the same function (Heath 1980a:54-5). Dhuwal uses *-yin* (e.g. *nguringi-yin* thatERG-DEF) for this function (see below). Both of these forms are cognate with the Djinang allomorphs. The proto-form may possibly have been **-DhinV*.

We must note that not every instance of *-tji* is an occurrence of DEF marking. The morpheme *-tji* occurs on the words *madjirri* ‘again’ and *yili* ‘again’, but only with Emphasis function (equivalent to the EMPH affix *-Gima*). Thus Djinang *madjirr-tji* and *yili-tji* both mean ‘again’ or ‘once more’ – a stronger form than the uninflected form. Here the *-tji* morpheme is really a fossilisation of an earlier *-*thu* suffix having the same function; consider Liyagalawumirr *bulu-thu* again-DEF, which has the same meanings as the Djinang equivalents (*bulu* is the common Yolngu word for ‘again’).

An example of the use of *-tji* DEF occurred in (135). Notice that in (185) it is used cataphorically. The definite location marked by the affix is not made explicit until the following clause. For this reason, I call the affix DEF (rather than anaphoric), since it always indicates definiteness, but may or may not be anaphoric. Most instances of its use, however, will be anaphoric.

- (185) *nginibi mir djili gurrbi-li libila djin-ngir-pmi,*
 1plexcNOM like thisLOC camp-ALL 1plexcDAT this-ABL-THPRO
ga nyani rarri-ngunu-ngir-tji galmi-n, mir gadjigarr
 and 3sgNOM mouth-that-ABL-DEF fall.down-RPA like [roadUNM]NOM
bi tjarri-∅
 HITH stand-PRES
 It was like this; we were here, on this side towards the camp, while it (i.e. the buffalo) collapsed there on the other bank, (a distance away) like (where) the road is over there.
 {34:381-383}

A common phrase is the expression *nguni-tjini mala* that-DEF COL 'that group' or 'those ones'. This is the correct way to say 'that group' when reference is anaphoric definite. Comparison with Djambarrpuyngu (e.g. translated Scripture portions) reveals forms such as *nguringi-yin* thatERG-DEF 'that one', for which Djinang *nguni-tjini* is a translation equivalent. The *-tjini* formative therefore appears to be a fossilisation of an earlier DEF affix *-*thinV* or *-*DHinV* which may have been a proto-Yolngu form. A similar Djinang expression occurs in (32:6): *ngunu-kirri-tjini mala* thatUNM-COMPL-DEF COL 'that aforementioned group' or 'that group back there'.

- (186) *nguni-tjini mala irri-ny djin bi-piŋi*
 [thatERG-DEF COL]ERG 1sg-ACC 3plERG hit-RPA
 That group hit me. {65:10}

(2) Indefinite *-Bila(ng(i))*

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

Probably the most common use of the INDEF affix is to form the INDEF word *ngunu-pilang*, which is most often used following an interrogative/indefinite pronoun. Thus, corresponding to *wiŋi* whoERG, *wari* whoNOM, *nyabini* 'how many', 'how much', 'how about', *nyimi* 'what' etc. are the INDEF expressions *wiŋi ngunu-pilangi-r* whoERG that-INDEF-ERG 'whoever', *wari ngunu-pilang* whoNOM that-INDEF 'whoever', *nyabini ngunu-pilang* 'however many', 'however much', 'how about maybe', *nyim ngunu-pilang* 'whatever'. The second last of these expressions occurred in (164); examples (179) and (187) illustrate others of these expressions. Example (188) illustrates the *-bila(ng(i))* allomorph, this time on the interrogative pronoun *nyi-li* what-INSTR 'by what means' or 'how'. (It is possible to analyse *-bila* with the latter meaning as the FRAME clitic. If we do this (188) would either have the same sense or it could be glossed 'How then can we do likewise?'.) Another form of this kind is *nyali-bilang* where/which-INDEF used to ask for something, as in *nyali-bilang miŋim wali ngurri-∅* where-INDEF small.amountUNM foodUNM lie-PRES which literally means 'where somewhere does a little bit of food lie?' but is functionally equivalent to the English 'Do you have a little bit of food at hand?'.

- (187) *miri wiŋi ngunu-pilangi-r irri-ny manya-ngi*
 like whoERG that-INDEF-ERG 1sg-ACC find-FUT
irri-ny bu-ngi
 1sg-ACC kill-FUT
 So whoever finds me will kill me. {66:103}

- (188) *nyi-li-bila ngunu pintji-∅-kim ili*
 what-INSTR-INDEF [thatUNM]ACC do.thus-FUT-EMPH 1duincERG
 Somehow we can do that too. {33:129}

Example (189) illustrates the reduplicated form *bila-pilang* FRAME-INDEF used to express the meaning ‘it is like that’ or ‘such a one’, or with a list to express ‘and so forth’. It is also used with the semblative particle *miri* to signal a comparison. The *bila-pilangi* particle is typically used when the speaker wishes to make an example of behaviour or an event. It is highly likely that the first morpheme is the FRAME particle/clitic, and clearly the meaning is similar to both Frame and Indefinite functions (see below). For this reason it is fairly certain that the INDEF affix and the FRAME particle have split from a single proto-form.

- (189) *ga bila-pilang djinim-kirri djanguny bila-ldji*
 and FRAME-INDEF [that-COMPL storyUNM]ACC FRAME-2plERG
nya-ngin, ngurum ildji marrngi-n wukirri-dj-nyir-bi,
 see-TPA PERF 2plNOM hear-RPA write-THMSR-NMLSR-OR
 And it's such a story as that (which) you should have seen (already), you have already
 heard the Scripture. {33:131}

The Djinba INDEF affix is *-bilak*; I do not have sufficient data to know if Djinba also has a *-pilak* allomorph. The Djinang *-Bilangi* affix, and also the *bilangi* FRAME particle, are cognate with the Dhuwala *balang(u)* particle which has a Frame function also.

(3) Frame *bila(ng(i))* particle, *-bila(ng(i))* clitic

This particle can be glossed in a wide variety of ways in English, seemingly with little or no common thread of meaning running through the various glosses. Various meanings it may take are ‘if’, ‘suppose’, ‘while’, ‘with respect to’, ‘should (have)’ and ‘then’. With great insight Morphy writes about ‘Framing Clauses’ thus: ‘The function of this type of clause is to provide a frame for the activity, state, or event described by the main clause’ (1983:128). In Djapu however, one of three different particles (*bala*, *yuru* or *nguli*) may be used in conjunction with framing clauses, each particle being used in a unique way. Djinang is different in that there is only one particle (sometimes realised as an enclitic), and its function is to delimit the word, phrase or clause that the speaker wishes to ‘frame’. Therefore it is appropriate in Djinang to speak of a FRAME particle and, for the suffixal form, a FRAME clitic. The Djinba FRAME particle is *bilak*.

The FRAME particle may occur in the main clause as well as in the subordinate clause. When this happens, the FRAME particle in the main clause typically takes a modal interpretation, either ‘should’ or ‘then...should’ (as in (286) of section 3.19).

At clause level, the FRAME particle usually occurs first in the clause being framed, as in (190) and (191). Alternatively, it may occur suffixed to the deictic stem *ngunu-* ‘that’, which usually occurs first in the clause (or possibly following a clause-linking particle). Two examples of the *ngunu-bilang* form meaning ‘if’ or ‘suppose’ are in (23) and (77). In such constructions, the *ngunu-* ‘that’ morpheme refers generically to the propositional content of the clause being framed. Thus at clause level the FRAME particle sets up a propositional frame, with respect to which another clause makes a statement. The framing clause usually occurs first, but not necessarily so. Protasis-apodosis constructions of this type commonly involve conditionality or hypotheticality, as in (190) and (191) below. Thus the FRAME particle at clause level typically expresses meanings such as ‘if’, ‘suppose’, or temporal senses such as ‘while’ in (192) or ‘when’ (193). (Note that the usual way to express the meaning ‘while’ or ‘when’ in the sense of a simultaneous event is with the PROP suffix on the FRAME particle, that is, *bila-kijang* FRAME-PROP ‘while’.) In (193) the verb is inflected for irrealis because there is doubt that the subject actually saw any cattle.

- (190) *bilang lim gul-miyi-wi nyi+rr millirrpri-rrri*
 FRAME 1plincNOM stop-CAUS-YPI 2sgACC+1sgERG show-YPI
 If/suppose we had stopped, I would/could have shown (it) to you. {67:35}
- (191) *galngbuy, bilang galbi-wili nyumili-nyi-rr gaypi-nyir,*
 meat.taboo FRAME [lots-PL]NOM 2du-ACC-1sgERG take.from-TPI
bil djining ngidawa nyimi, marri-ban
 but thisUNM aloneUNM 2duNOM must.be-TF
nyim dirra-dji-gi
 2duERG eat-THEMSR-FUT
 (It's) taboo meat; if there were lots (of people) I would deprive you of it (i.e. the meat),
 but here you are alone, (so) never mind, you can eat it. {34:715-716}
- (192) *ngunum bilang nyim ngildji nya-ngini*
 over.thereLOC FRAME what 2plERG see-TPA
 While (you were) over there, what did you see?
- (193) *ngunum bila nyabini buluki lidji nya-nyiri*
 over.there FRAME [how.manyUNM cattleUNM]ACC 2plERG see-RPI
 When (you were) over there, how many cattle did you see? {34:140}

At the phrase level, the FRAME particle sets up a referential frame and typically occurs post-positionally with respect to the word or phrase it is framing. A suitable English gloss would be 'with respect to X', where X is the element being framed. This function is rather similar in behaviour to the function that a comma (or pause) has in English clefted constructions. For example, we could treat the instances of FRAME in (192) and (193) as phrase-level occurrences and gloss these examples as 'Over there, what did you see?' and 'Over there, how many cattle did you see?'. Alternatively, we could gloss them using 'then' in the main clause, in a construction of the type: 'X obtains, then Y (is its result)', hence '(You were) over there, then what did you see?' and so forth.

Example (194) is a clear example of *bilang* used at phrase level. The context of this example comes from the first chapter of John's gospel; a party of religious leaders had been sent to John the Baptist to ask him if he was one of several special persons they were expecting on account of prophecies written down hundreds of years previously. John replied in the negative to all their questions, so they then asked (194). Clearly they were asking him to define himself, asking what his intrinsic or defining characteristic was (this is what *nyim-kiɲing* means in this context), though this is not easy to bring out with an English gloss. A good gloss for *bilang* in this example is 'then'.

- (194) *nyim-kiɲing bilang, nyuni-bi+nydji bultji-rrri*
 what-PROP FRAME 2sgNOM-INTENS+RECIP tell-IMP
inbila-nydji
 1plexDAT-RECIP
 What kind of person are you then? You yourself confess it to us!
 (lit. You report on yourself for our benefit.)

Finally, there is one function of the FRAME particle which is not a Framing function, but rather expresses a mood contrast, which I alluded to earlier, e.g. *nyuni bilang giri-∅* 2sgNOM FRAME go-FUT 'You should go'. Used this way *bilang* occurs just preceding the verb complex. In such a

context *bilang* expresses the meanings ‘should do’ or ‘should have done’. Another example occurs in (189) above.

Clearly, if we were to try to characterise this particle without perceiving its Framing function, we would not only have extreme difficulty doing so but we would also miss out entirely on seeing the generalisation which gives unity to the diversity of functions of the particle within the Djinang semantic system.

3.7 CONTRASTIVE CLITIC AND COMPLETATIVE AFFIX/PARTICLE

(1) Contrastive *-tja*

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

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

The most common use of the CONTR clitic is to contrast participants in events. We have seen two examples already of this nature: in (33) there is a contrast between Shepherdson (the missionary pilot) and the Yolngu party – the former travelled back to Milingimbi by plane, the latter by canoe; in (48) the buffalo is contrasted with another buffalo which had chased them earlier. Three more examples of this type are given below: (195) has CONTR on a pronoun; (196) and (197) have it on a noun. Notice that it is not possible to give a single consistent English gloss for CONTR. In (195) the appropriate gloss is ‘your turn’; in (196) ‘old’ meat is contrasted with ‘fresh’ meat – the only English gloss suitable here is ‘and’ with contrastive stress. In (197) no English gloss is suitable except perhaps contrastive stress, though it is clear that a contrast obtains between the two clauses.

- (195) *a ngunung nyi+rr ka-ng kira-∅, ngidjirrkng-ngir*
 and [thatUNM]_{LOC} 2sgACC+1sgERG take-FUT PROG-FUT near-ABL
rani-∅, nyuni-tja
 spear-FUT 2sgERG-CONTR
 And there I will take you to it, and from close proximity it will be your turn to spear it.
 {34:406-407}

- (196) *a wanim ngunung djanggu minydji nibi*
 and [oldUNM thatUNM fleshUNM]ACC THITH 1plexERG
kali-ni-pm, a yuwiridjini-tja
 have-RPC-THPRO [and new-CONTR]ACC
 And we still were from then on keeping that old meat, **and** the new (meat). {34:967}
- (197) *nyibi-wili djin yulgu-li, djina lim*
 [some-PL]NOM 3plNOM arrive-TPA 3plDAT 1plincNOM
marrka-ng nyibi-wili-ki-tja
 wait-FUT other-PL-DAT-CONTR
 Some have arrived, (and) for the **others** we shall wait. {65:183}

CONTR on a verb, to contrast the action with another action, is illustrated in example (198). Here the pounding and pulverising of cycad nuts is contrasted with the nuts having been immersed to soften the shells (which was stated in the preceding context). It is very hard to come up with an adequate gloss for CONTR in this context; probably contrastive word stress (indicated here by bold type) conveys the intent correctly. (Note that, while CONTR occurs on the auxiliary, the English gloss requires the stress on the main verb.)

- (198) *djin wipi-ny djin balpi-ny giri-nyi-tja*
 3plNOM return-RPC 3plERG pound-RPC HABIT-RPC-CONTR
burtjil-dj-ny ngambu! ngunungi
 soft-THEMSR-RPC [nutUNM thatUNM]ACC
 They returned (to camp). They used to **pound** (them) – pulverising those nuts.
 {43:21-23}

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

- (199) *gar-gurriyili-tja il ngurri-dji*
 groin-outside-CONTR 1duincNOM lie.down-FUT
 It's better we sleep outside. {65:14} (or We'll sleep **outside**.)
- (200) *malipmalir-tja il giri-Ø*
 tomorrow-CONTR 1duincNOM go-FUT
 It's better we go tomorrow. {65:15} (or We'll go **tomorrow**.)
- (201) *nyibi-wili-tja djin djama-dji-gi*
 [other-PL-CONTR]ERG 3plERG work-THEMSR-FUT
 It's better that others do the work. {65:16} (or **Others** can do the work.)

When CONTR occurs on a full-form pronoun which is being used to mark a change of participants, it can be glossed as 'But...'. The CONTR clitic may also be used to indicate 'contrary to expectation'. For example, my family and some Djinang children were about to climb into our vehicle to go off for a swim. Everyone was climbing in when my daughter suddenly turned and went into the house to get something. One of the children then said *nyani-tja ra-gili* 3sg-CONTR enter-TPA 'But she entered (the house)!'. These then are two contexts in which the clitic may be suitably

glossed as ‘But...’. And it should be remembered that while the clitic necessarily is bound to a single word of a clause, it quite often obtains that the contrast pertains to the clause as a whole rather than just to the word carrying the *-tja* clitic, as some of the preceding examples illustrate.

(2) Completative affix *-girri*, *-kirri* and COMPL particle *girri*

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

The functions of the COMPL particle may be reduced to just two: Sequence and Completative (in the sense ‘finished’). These functions are distinguished syntactically: Sequence obtains when COMPL occurs clause initially (or at least pre-verbally); for post-verbal occurrences (mostly clause final) Completative has the sense ‘finished’. How COMPL came to mark SEQU is easy to explain. Consider a sentential structure of the kind [X, *girri*]. Y, where X and Y are consecutive clauses, and comma and period mark pauses. This type of structure occurs quite often in Djinang; the function of *girri* here is to indicate that the event X has terminated and event Y occurred later (or it may indicate that the speaker has terminated his discussion of a topic, so that the Y clause will be the first clause of a new topic). In such a structure, the COMPL particle is considered part of the X clause, and Y begins a new sentence (as the bracketing indicates).

Consider proto-Djinang. This pattern certainly would have occurred in the proto-language. From this basic pattern a new pattern emerged whereby the pause after *girri* was shifted to precede it, so that COMPL became the first element of the second clause. That is, the structure became X, [*girri* Y]. Because event Y followed event X, this new structure was used to mark temporal Sequence overtly. This is the modern situation, whenever *girri* occurs clause initially. In such a construction *girri(i) always* is to be translated ‘then’.

It is not obligatory to use COMPL having the Sequence function whenever there is temporal sequence between two consecutive clauses; it is used only when the Sequence function obtaining between the two clauses is to be made prominent – and therefore needs to be marked explicitly.

The next two examples illustrate these comments. The [X, *girri*]. Y structure is illustrated in (202). Notice that COMPL functions as a terminator of a set of related events (the provision of food and various goods to the narrator), and Y occurred later on. In such a situation, the COMPL particle is best glossed ‘later’ and included in the translation of the following clause. Example (203) illustrates the X, [*girri* Y] structure. Further examples of the former structure may be observed in the texts as follows: (22:200,208,214); (24:83,118); (32:68,95). Further examples of the latter structure may be observed in (24:72) and (32:26,30,41,47,79).

- (202) *nguḷi wal-dirr dirra-dji-la.. blanket*
 thatLOC [foodUNM]ACC-1sgERG eat-THEMSR-RPA+DUR [blanketUNM
nyim-gunyirri girri irri-ny djin gu-li,
 what-kindUNM goodsUNM]ACC 1sg-ACC 3plERG give-RPA
girri. Ngunyili-pm irri-ny djin wiṇi-djingi-n
 COMPL thatALL-THPRO 1sg-ACC 3plERG return-CAUS-RPA

Wingu-li.

Left.hand-ALL

There I kept eating food, (and) they gave me blankets and all kinds of goods. Later they returned me directly to Left-hand. (34:255-257)

- (203) *nyani ngunu net marr-ngil, girr garrpi-n-ban.*
 3sgERG [thatUNM netUNM]ACC pick.up-RPA COMPL tie.around-RPA-TF
 He picked up that net, then tied it (closed). (24:71-72)

There is one further function which the COMPL particle may mark, and that is to indicate the sense ‘also’. This is a subcase of the structure [X, *girri*]. Y above. When COMPL is used at the end of a list of items or a series of events, often without a pause preceding the *girri* particle (that is, in a structure X...Y *girri*), then *girri* acts as a terminator of the list. Usually this occurrence of COMPL can be translated as ‘also’ or ‘too’, but sometimes it is best just left untranslated. This construction is typically used when the speaker adds a clause as an afterthought, having the sense ‘Y also’, where Y is the afterthought clause. In example (204), Paul and Silas have just been stripped and lashed, to please the managers of the girl who was possessed, and as an afterthought the narrator adds (204), indicating that Paul and Silas were led before the assembled audience. (Note that he paused in the middle of the compound verb *ngurri-djiti-* nose-drag ‘lead forcibly’. Pause in such a position is quite uncommon.)

- (204) *ngurri-, djiti-ngil dji+ny djina girri.*
 nose- drag-RPA 3pl+ACC 3plDAT COMPL
 He forcibly dragged/led them in front of them (i.e. the audience) also. (32:68)

COMPL, with the sense ‘also’ or ‘too’, can also occur within a clause. Also, the COMPL particle often takes the EMPH affix *-gim(a)*. Thus the form *girr-gim(a)* COMPL-EMPH signals a slightly more emphatic sense of ‘finished’ or ‘also’. The EMPH affix *never* occurs with COMPL when the latter occurs clause initially marking SEQU. Some dialects (e.g. Marrangu) seem to prefer the *girr-gima* form to the *girri* form to signal ‘finished’ or ‘also’. Another common pattern for *girri* occurring clause internally is when it is used to express ‘also’ or ‘too’ with a phrasal constituent of the clause, e.g. *nyuni girri pu-wi* 2sgERG COMPL hit-IMP ‘You too hit (it)’. In such instances it is best to analyse *girri* as being the final constituent of the NP, thereby paralleling the syntax of *girri*, when it means ‘also’, at the level of the clause.

- (205) *bil girr-gima djini-gima il wiṇi-djingil kiri-∅*
 but COMPL-EMPH [this-EMPH]ACC 1duincERG return-CAUS PROG-FUT
marrga, djibu
 so.that be.okay
 But also this (dead wallaby) we will take back so that all will be well. {34:693}

Djinba appears not to have developed a clause-initial equivalent of Djinang *girri* 'next'; when transliterating a Djinang story into Djinba, the Djinang COMPL particle was consistently translated by \emptyset . Nor have I yet found any trace of a COMPL affix in Djinba; however there is a COMPL particle form, *banbim*, which is never used clause initially. The closest equivalent to Djinang *girri* in other Yolngu languages appears to be *bili* (see Lowe 1960, lesson 89). In Dhuwala/Dhuwal the *bili* particle is used not only as COMPL but also as PERF. Djinang, on the other hand, uses a distinct form for PERF, namely *ngurru(m(i))*.

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

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

The COMPL affix is added only to deictic stems. The deictic stems usually occur in their unmarked forms, but they can also occur with overt case marking. The COMPL marker is generally the final affix, whether other affixes occur or not, a common exception being that the TF clitic may occur following COMPL affixation. Example (209) exhibits COMPL followed by both PROP and PL affixes, which rarely happens.

Table 3.1 summarises the various functions of the COMPL affix that are attested in the shorter database. Some combinations of case and COMPL are unattested: those which I expect would actually occur in a wider sample of data are marked as 'unattested', while those I doubt would ever occur are marked with a hyphen. Referent, time, place and event are each specified by the textual context, and correlate with NPs in the clause which defines the referent, time or place; the event is defined by a previous clause. In general, the UNM deictic stems (i.e. *ngunu-*, *djini-*, *djinim-* and *ngunum-* if it occurs) require a coreferential NP in the clause to make the reference unambiguous; the case-marked deictic forms do not require a coreferential NP in the clause. This, however, is not a rigid rule, but rather the general pattern.

TABLE 3.1
FUNCTIONS OF THE COMPLETATIVE AFFIX

‘referring back -’				
Case	Deictic Stem	- in text	- in space	- in time
ERG	<i>ngunu-</i>	‘that previously mentioned referent’	-	-
PROM	<i>ngunu-</i>	‘that previously mentioned referent’	-	-
	<i>djinim-</i>	‘that previously mentioned referent’		
NOM	<i>ngunu-</i>	‘that previously mentioned referent’	‘that referent there behind’	
	<i>djinim-</i>	‘that previously mentioned referent’	unattested	-
	<i>djini-</i>	‘this previously mentioned referent’	‘this referent there behind’	
	<i>ngunu-</i>	‘that previously mentioned referent’	unattested	
ACC	<i>djinim-</i>	‘that previously mentioned referent’	‘that referent there behind’	-
	<i>djini-</i>	‘this previously mentioned referent’	unattested	
OR	<i>ngunu-OBL-OR</i>	unattested	unattested	‘originating from that previous time’
LOC	<i>ngunu-</i>	‘at that previously mentioned referent’	unattested	‘at that previous time of the event’
	<i>nguḷi</i>	‘at that previously mentioned place’	‘there behind the referent’	‘at that previous time’
ALL	<i>ngunu-</i>	unattested	‘back to that referent’	-
	<i>bapiḷi</i>	unattested	‘back to this place’	
ABL	<i>ngunu-ABL</i>	unattested	‘from that referent back there’	‘after that event’

When a COMPL-marked deictic having a discourse anaphoric function occurs, it occurs contiguous to its coreferential NP. Sometimes it precedes the NP; usually it follows it. If the NP is realised as a pronoun (not a reduced pronoun), it follows the pronoun, and very often one or more coreferential NPs are juxtaposed following the COMPL-marked deictic – as in (206) and (207) below. The ABL deictic form marked by COMPL usually is first in its clause, though a linking

particle or episode-marking particle (*manymak*) can precede it. It can occur post-verbally, although this is rare (an example occurs in {19:25}). The LOC and ALL instances display a greater distributional freedom, consistent with their peripheral case status, so that wherever a LOC or ALL NP occurs it is possible for a COMPL-marked deictic to occur as well.

The cases listed in Table 3.1 are the cases (either covert or overt) which occur on the NPs which are coreferential with the COMPL-marked deictic form. Generally, no case occurs on the deictic form, the exceptions to this being ABL, OR, and the suppletive ALL and LOC forms *bapili* 'to here', 'to this locale', and *nguli* 'there', 'at that locale'. The ALL form *?*ngunyili-girri* thatALL-COMPL did not occur in the data; it is probably an illegal semantic collocation. The column of deictic stems lists only those stems in the data sample. A wider sample might yield more: for example, there is no semantic reason for the Near Distant deictic stem *ngunum-* being absent (since I have heard it uttered from time to time), other than that the appropriate conditions for its use did not obtain in any of the texts.

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

I will now give a series of examples to illustrate the functions of COMPL marking on deictics. I have only one ERG example, (206), and ERG marking is covert in this particular instance. One point that needs to be explained is the use of *nyani* 3sg pronoun in a context of plurality of reference. Whenever the referent is a group, (e.g. a group of people or a number of members of a species), the third person singular pronoun may be used. This always obtains when referring to fish and animals. In (206) *ngunu-kirri* refers anaphorically to the Jews, last mentioned sixty clauses previously.

- (206) *nyani ngunu-kirri ngunung, Jew mala, ga wurpi*
 [3sgERG that-COMPL thatUNM JewUNM COL and anotherUNM
mala bapurrurr, djin nya-ngin-ban
 COL lineageUNM]ERG 3plERG saw-RPA-TF
 Those aforementioned Jews and people of a different race looked at (him) then.
 {33:69-70}

In the next example, *djinim-kirri* 'that aforementioned...' occurs between the pronoun and the NP with which it is coreferential. There is covert PROM marking here, which later appears on the surface in the deictic form *nguni* thatPROM. Notice that this is PROM rather than ERG, since the referent is in a Patient relationship to the action of the verb. Notice, too, that THPRO on the verb does not here take the sense 'still' as would normally be the case, but rather is used similarly to the EMPH marker to emphasise the act of saving which took place (see sections 3.3 and 3.5), since that is what is thematic at this point in the story.

- (207) *manymak, nyani djinim-kirri lapitji-giṅing yul,*
 okay [3sgPROM that.near-COMPL leprosy-PROP manUNM]PROM
ngunung, balnggili ngunungi, nguni bil
 thatUNM afternoonUNM thatUNM [thatPROM]ACC 3duERG
wanngir-ngili-pm
 save-RPA-THPRO
 Okay, this leprous man, it was on that afternoon that they saved that (man).
 {33:108-109}

The next two examples illustrate NOM case. The first is similar to (207) and needs no further comment; however, the context of (209) needs explaining. The narrator's party was trying to catch up with another group travelling to Maningrida. When they began to get close, a member of the other group looked back, saw the narrator's party back where they had just come from, and then said (209). Here the COMPL affix can only have a spatial interpretation, in the sense of 'back there behind P' where P is the speaker's locale. *djini-girri-giṅ-pili* this-COMPL-PROP-PL literally means 'these ones having the property of being back behind'. Further instances of the COMPL affix together with NOM case may be found in the cited texts: (32:18,29,79,100).

- (208) *manymak, ga nyani ngunu-kirri, ngunung prisoner*
 okay and [3sgNOM that-COMPL thatUNM prisoner
djaka-giṅing, nguḷi-kim dji?-tjarri-ny
 care-PROP]NOM thatLOC-EMPH DIST-stand-RPC
 Okay, that prisoner supervisor was standing right there. (32:74-75)
- (209) *djini-girri-giṅ-pili wira-pili*
 [this-COMPL-PROP-PL]NOM [who-PL]NOM
 Who (are) these people back there behind (us)? {34:1182}

An ACC example follows, where COMPL has the Spatial sense 'back behind'. Discourse anaphoric ACC examples do not occur in the cited text portions, but can be found in: {24:42}, {32:162,163}, {33:3,131}, {34:600,1137} and {53:45,46,49,51-52}.

- (210) *nyuni djinim-kirri, bilny Silas ga Paul,*
 2sgERG [this.near-COMPL 3duACC SilasUNM and PaulUNM]ACC
biṅny-ildji ga-ng-ban
 3duACC-2plERG take-FUT-TF
 You now go take away (from here) Paul and Silas who are close back here. {32:154}

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

- (211) *nyani nyurrwakng mirrkun.galing-ngir ngurrwak litja*
 [3sgERG firstUNM]ERG dreamtime-ABL before 1duDAT
giyka-nyi, ngun-gira-pi-bi-girri
 net-RPC that-OBL-OR-OR-COMPL
 The first (people) have been netting (fish) from the very beginning, from back there in the dreamtime. {34:562-563}

I will now deal briefly with the local cases. ABL deictic *ngunu-ngir* occurs with COMPL sufficiently often with the Temporal sense ‘after that (event)’ that another example is unnecessary. Instances can be observed in the cited text portions: (32:64,69), and further examples can be found in the wider database in: {19:25}, {53:9,59} and {34:474,538,625,993}. In (116), section 2.11, I gave the one instance I have of COMPL on an ABL deictic and having probably a Spatial sense ‘from R back there’, where R is a group of people contextually identified.

The ALL examples which I have involve the stems *ngunu-* thatUNM and *bapili* thatALL ‘to here’. Taking COMPL affixation, in each case a spatial sense obtains, either ‘back to referent R’ (in the case of the former form) or ‘back to this place P’ (in the case of the latter form) where P is the locale of the speaker. Additional examples may be found in {34:88,766,1147}.

- (212) *bapili-ban bi nibi kiri-ny ngunu-girri,*
thatALL-TF HITH 1plexcNOM come-RPC [that-COMPL

Maningrida-li-ban djina-nydji nibi garrkarrpi-ni
Maningrida-ALL-TF]ALL 3plDAT-RECIP 1plincNOM search.for-RPC

kiri-ny

PROG-RPC

Back towards here we then came, back towards Maningrida in order to look for them.

{34:746-747}

- (213) *ngunung inydji nibi wayku-li-ban bapili-girri-ban,*
thatUNM RECIP 1plincNOM get.up-RPA-TF thatALL-COMPL-TF

nyimbirringarri-li, Bunyinbaḍay-ili
what's.the.place-ALL Bunyinbaḍay-ALL

At that time (or, There) we awoke (and went) back to this locale, to what's-it's-name, to Bunyinbaḍay. {34:983-984}

The final three examples are for LOC case. For this case I have instances of COMPL marking which exhibit all three senses: discourse anaphoric, Spatial and Temporal. I will give one example of each. In (214), *nguḷi-girri* refers anaphorically to the location of the trunk of the cycad palm, from which the cycad nuts sprout. In (215), the woman is ‘there behind R’, where R is the group of men identified in the immediately preceding clauses. In (216), the COMPL-marked deictic refers back to a previous time, which is made explicit in the clause which follows. Further anaphora examples may be found in {32:278-279}, {32:144}, {33:32-34} and {34:504,971}. Further spatial examples are found in (32:23) and {53:12}.

- (214) *ga djakirr in.ga djiningi, wali ngunu-girri*
and [trunkUNM 3sgDAT]NOM [thisUNM]NOM [foodUNM that-COMPL]NOM

minyidji giri-ny+a, nguḷi-girri milgali-dj-ny-ban
THITH come-TPC+NF thatLOC-COMPL cycad.nut-INCHO-TPC-TF

And this (is) its trunk, the aforementioned food comes out from there, at that aforementioned place it then becomes cycad nuts. {43:9-10}

- (215) *ga nyan nguḷi-kirri nyini-ny miyilk,*
and 3sgNOM thatLOC-COMPL sit-RPC [womanUNM]NOM
and a woman was sitting back there (behind them) (32:21)

(216) *Mr Draysil* *bi* *gir-ali* *ngunu-girri*,
 [Mr DraysilUNM]NOM HITH come-RPA [that-COMPL]LOC

settlement *miri* *yirрпи-ni-ban*
 [settlement]ACC like set-RPC-TF

Mr Draysil (i.e. Drysdale) came here at that previous time, when he founded the settlement (Maningrida). {34:1198-1199}

3.8 WORD-FINAL *a*; DURATIVE AND VOCATIVE

In this section we discuss the functions of a word-final change of vowel from an underlying *i* to a surface *a*. There is no change in stress pattern and often no change of intonation. If intonation changes, it simply involves word-final falling pitch becoming steady (i.e. not falling). The vowel change nearly always occurs word finally, and in many instances it has semantic content. The change can occur other than word finally only in certain circumstances, and even then it is limited to the vowel of the final syllable. See the discussion below.

(1) Vocative

When a relationship nominal, such as a kin term ending in a vowel (in Djinang such a vowel is always *i*), is used as a term of address, the final vowel is changed to *a*. In some cases there are phonetic reductions in the stem as well. The following are some VOC forms of kin terminology, in which final *i* becomes *a*: *gunydjirra* 'father' and its abbreviated form *djirra* 'father'; *ngambirra* 'mother'; *wuwa* 'older brother', 'brother'; *migira* 'grandchild' (DaCh); *ngatjitja* 'grandparent' (opposite moiety, Fa is linking relative); *midja* 'grandparent' (same moiety, Mo is linking relative). The following are some VOC forms which not only have word-final *a*, but other changes as well (the non-VOC forms are given in parentheses): *gida* (*gaditi*) 'sister'; *mina* (*minini*) 'wife' and MoBrSo; and an exception to the rule that the vowel change occurs only word finally, *gimnyarr* (*gimnyirri*) 'grandchild' (SiDaCh). Personal names, and familiar forms such as *muri* 'daddy' (Yirritjing) and *malu* 'daddy' (Djuwing), do not change their final vowel; the above change is limited to kin terms.

When kin terms take ERG or PROM marking *-r(i)*, the stem form ending in *a* is used, e.g. *gunydjirra-r* father-ERG and *wuwa-r* brother-ERG. The *a*-final forms are, in many instances, identical or similar to the non-VOC kin forms in other Yolngu languages, e.g. Djinba *gunydjarra* 'father' and *ngambarra* 'mother'. Presumably, at the time of the Djinang vowel shift, the historical change of word-final **a* to *i* on kin nouns permitted word-final *a* to be used to mark another function. VOC was one such function. For nominals other than kin terms, verbs and other parts of speech, other functions came to be marked by word-final *a* where an *i* otherwise would occur (or be elided). We consider these functions below.

(2) The synchronic change *i* --> *a* word finally

One of the functions of this change is to enable DUR marking, which will be discussed next. In what follows in this subsection, I am concerned with those instances of the change to a word-final *a* vowel which are manifestations of neither VOC nor DUR marking. For the sake of economy of discussion, I will speak of 'final *a*'; it should be borne in mind that I do not mean all instances of word-final *a* vowels, but only those in which there has been a change from an underlying *i*.

Final *a* is a fairly frequent phenomenon. Of the thirteen texts used in my shorter database, there were almost 300 instances of the change. All speakers do it. Analysis reveals that in some circumstances it has very clear semantic content, but in many cases (probably about half the total instances) there is little or no semantic content, and the change becomes a performance-related stylistic device. I will deal with the instances which have semantic content first, and then with the rest. Final *a* seems to be a purely Djinang phenomenon; there is no evidence of VOC, DUR or final *a* in Djinba, in so far as my collection of Djinba materials reveals. This is entirely expected, since Djinba did not undergo the Djinang vowel shift.

Final *a* is used in lists to mark the non-final constituents of the list – at least on those which may end in *i* in their citation form. It combines with intonation: the pitch falls on the last member of the list and remains level on the preceding members of the list. The last member reverts to *i* word-finally, provided the word has a final *i* in its citation form. This sometimes does not happen, as in (219) below. The members of the list do not have to be nouns but can be other parts of speech, such as deictics or verbs; only very rarely do other parts of speech undergo this vowel change. On nouns, the change commonly indicates a list of items or a list of participants of an event. On verbs, it indicates a list of events which, taken together, have semantic coherence (such as would be involved in verb chaining in Papuan languages). On deictics, it may be used to mark members of a list; on a list of deictics marked with ALL, ABL or LOC case it indicates a multitude of directions, sources or locations, respectively. On other parts of speech I have only two examples, so I cannot ascertain if there is any definite nuance of meaning being signalled. (I suspect not.)

It will be apparent from the following examples that final *a* is independent of any nominal or verbal inflection. It is the word-final vowel which is lengthened, irrespective of inflection. Because it often has semantic content, it is treated as a morpheme as far as illustrative examples are concerned. It is marked by a plus (+) preceding the *a* vowel, with an NF (Non-Final vowel change) gloss. Example (217) illustrates final *a* on a list of nouns inflected for ERG case; (218) illustrates it with a list of PERL-marked nouns (the repeated nouns indicate that the action took place over a large spatial span, as is indicated also by DUR marking on the verb). Example (219) illustrates final *a* on a list of ALL deictic forms (the repeated deictics indicate that the action was taking place in a multitude of directions – implying a multitude of participants). Example (220) illustrates it on a list of verbs which comprise a coherent set – the word *bukil-mirri-ban* cliff-LOC-TF terminates the sequence of coherent actions.

- (217) *bil ngambirra-r+a gunydjirra-r+a mar?mingi-r+a,*
but mother-ERG+NF father-ERG+NF grandfather-ERG+NF

gada-r+a, galiykaliy, wuwa-r, gayka-r,
sister-ERG+NF [husbandUNM]ERG brother-ERG uncle-ERG

djanguny djin bultji-ni, ngurrwagi-pi
[storyUNM]ACC 3plERG tell-RPA the.beginning-OR

But (my) mothers, fathers, grandparents, sisters, uncles, husbands, brothers, and uncles told me (this) story which comes from the beginning times. {42:38-39}

- (218) *Warrwarr.., minimiṇi-mirrpm+a, minimiṇi-mirrpm+a*
go.quickly+DUR paperbark-PERL+NF paperbark-PERL+NF

minimiṇi-mirrpm+a,
paperbark-PERL+NF

(We) went quickly along, through an endless forest of paperbark trees. {34:1177}

- (219) *ga butjiyi-li ngunu gu?-kurrpi-ni, ngunyii+a*
and dog-ERG [thatUNM]ACC DIST-chase-RPC thatALL+NF

ngunyii+a ngunyii+a ngunyii+a
thatALL+NF thatALL+NF thatALL+NF

And the dogs were chasing those (buffalo) in all directions. {34:318}

- (220) *libi kiri-ny nyini-ny+a, nibi baltji-l+a,*
1plexcNOM go-RPC PROG-RPC+NF 1plexcNOM climb.up-RPA+NF

libi djundi-n+a, buki-l-mirri-ban...
1plexcNOM descend-RPA+NF cliff-LOC-TF

We went along, we climbed up, then we climbed down at the cliff... {34:30-33}

Termination is important for lists. As noted above, intonation is one signal of termination, reversion to word-final *i* is another and use of *girri* COMPL particle is another. One of the ways of terminating a list of semantically coherent verbal actions is the use of non-thematic verbs. This verb class occurs in all Yolngu languages (though some Yolngu languages, for example Djinba, have used these verbs extensively as stems to form canonical verb forms). However, typically this class of verbs is not inflected, usually occurring alone (i.e. without an accompanying synonymous inflected verb in the same clause) or occasionally with a synonymous inflected verb (see section 2.2).

Some verbs of this class are:

<i>larr</i>	set off	<i>djut</i>	sit	<i>djip</i>	stand still
<i>rarr</i>	spill	<i>bur</i>	arrive	<i>bat</i>	throw
<i>baɭ</i>	get, pick up	<i>blik</i>	come back	<i>bay?</i>	leave, ignore
<i>but</i>	stand up	<i>dak</i>	snap	<i>dap</i>	touch, join
<i>gap</i>	chop, cut	<i>git</i>	spear	<i>darrk</i>	eat, bite

Example (221) illustrates the use of a non-thematic verb to terminate a set of coherent actions. In this example, a party of people had just arrived by canoe at the river bank. DUR marking signals a length of time during which they moved the stores to the top of the bank; the loan verb *larr* 'set off' signifies the termination of the implied sequence of actions.

- (221) *nginiba.., nginib+a, walmi-n+a, larr-ban*
1plexcNOM+DUR 1plexcNOM+NF go.up-RPA+NF set.off-TF
We repeatedly went up (the river bank), then we set off. {22:250}

We must now consider the large number of instances where final *a* occurs, but there is no apparent list either of nominals or verbs. Inspection shows that final *a* is very common preceding pause. Of 288 instances, 184 (64%) occurred immediately before pause. Those instances not occurring before pause were mostly semantically coherent groupings, such as a list of nouns or deictics, or a set of coherent actions, as discussed above. If we ignore these, then the frequency of final *a* occurring immediately before pause, with apparently no semantic function, would rise markedly.

Pause is very much a performance variable, since a large proportion of pauses in any speech event represent breaks for purposes of encoding the next section of speech. Final *a* here apparently is used to indicate *non-finality in a string of encodings*. That is, final *a* indicates to the hearer that the speaker has more to say on this topic. This is clearly parallel to the use of final *a* in lists and coherent action sequences. To support this contention, I cite the following facts: the COMPL particle *girri* 'finished', which acts as an event terminator, never occurs with a final *a*; final *a* never occurs at the

end of quoted speech; and final *a* never occurs at the end of a logically complete set of events. All of these contexts have in common that there is a semantic termination of an event (or events); as can be seen from the discussion above, semantic termination is incompatible with the function of final *a*. Hence, we can summarise these instances of final *a* as marking a non-terminal point in the speech event. Some examples in the texts are (22:197,198,201,209,220 and 24:49,92,95,99,103).

(3) Durative vowel lengthening *a*..

DUR has consistent semantic content, and must be regarded as a morpheme. It involves the change *i* --> *a* in the word-final vowel of a verb (usually the main verb, but if an auxiliary verb follows, it occurs only on the auxiliary verb); the *a* vowel then has temporally extended articulation, for up to two seconds. It may occur on a non-verb (see 221 above), but still signify duration of the activity. As a descriptive device, I use two periods following the *a* vowel in order to indicate length of articulation. If the final syllable of a word contains an *a* in its citation form, and the word ends in a sonorant consonant, then the final syllable's *a* can be lengthened. Sometimes, when this obtains, the word-final consonant is lost. I use two periods following the final consonant to indicate length of the preceding vowel. Thus, *warrwarr*.. is phonetically [warrwaaaaaaaarr].

Semantically, DUR indicates duration of the activity represented by the clause. The duration is always temporal (as in (7) in section 2.2 and (202) in section 3.7), but it may also involve an added component of meaning; namely, that the semantic subject is changing its location as a function of doing the action which is signified by the verb (as in (121) in section 2.12, (157) in section 3.1 and (170) of section 3.3).

Like non-final *a*, termination is important for DUR marking. In fact, in approximately 80% of instances of DUR marking, there is some means of explicit termination of the event so marked. Of the remaining 20%, the termination is implicit. DUR cannot be used to mark an event of indefinite duration, either in space or in time. (The THITH particle *minyɗji*, DIST marking, verbal inflection or verbal auxiliaries are used for indicating indefinite duration.) There are five ways of explicitly indicating the termination of an event marked by DUR, as below, (method 5 is comparatively rare):

1. by the COMPL particle *girri*;
2. by another event which is either semantically incompatible with the continuance of the DUR-marked event, or which involves an expectation of its termination;
3. like 2, except that the terminating event is implied but not stated;
4. by an interjection 'good' (indicating successful completion of the event), or by the negative particle 'nothing';
5. by restating the DUR-marked constituent, but without DUR or final *-a* marking.

I shall give an example of each of these. The first illustrates termination using the COMPL particle, which is a very common means of termination (dozens of instances in the database). The COMPL particle does not necessarily occur immediately after the DUR morpheme, but further amplificatory information (sometimes involving another instance of DUR, as in (222)) may occur between the DUR morpheme and the terminating COMPL particle – as in (202). DUR is not easy to translate into English; often it must be left untranslated, though sometimes it can be represented by an expression such as 'till done', as in (222).

- (222) *nginibi dutji-la.. cookim-dji-la.. girri.*
 1plexERG squeeze-RPA+DUR cook-THEMSR-RPA+DUR COMPL
 We kneaded (damper), and cooked it till done. (22:207-208)

The next example illustrates how a DUR-marked event may be terminated by a following clause. Semantic incompatibility follows from the fact that it is not possible to continue coming after one has arrived at one's destination.

- (223) *bil kiri-ny nyini-nya.. muri in.ga bil*
 3duNOM walk-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR [daddyUNM]DAT 3sgDAT 2duNOM
yulgu-ngili
 come.to-RPA
 They walked all the way to (the boy's) father. {24:16-17}

The next example illustrates implicit termination of the DUR-marked event. There are numerous instances of this type, where a terminating event has occurred but is not represented by a verb in the surface structure. In (224), 'arrival' is assumed, though not stated. It can be inferred from the LOC marking of the place name. That is, X-LOC is all that remains of an underlying clause 'we arrived at X-LOC', the pronoun and verb having been deleted because in the context they are both redundant.

- (224) *nginibi ga-ngili-ban, ka-ny kiri-nya..*
 1plexERG take-RPA-TF take-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
djiningi, Nginggilali-Ø, bat-pan nguli
 [thisUNM Nginggilali-LOC]LOC throw-TF thatLOC
 We then took (the tools) all the way to Nangalala and threw them down there.
 {22:141-143}

The next example illustrates *manymak* 'good' used as a terminator of DUR marking. The narrator's party was making an airstrip at Murwan.gi. Example (7) in section 2.2 has *wirr* 'nothing' used as a terminator.

- (225) *a madjirri, nibi buyubuyu-dji-li-tja..*
 and next 1plexERG smooth-THEMSR-RPA-CONTR+DUR
garrkuluk-dji-l+a, manymak
 clear-THEMSR-RPA+NF good
 And next, we completely smoothed and cleared (the airstrip) till satisfactory.
 (22:229-230)

Example (226) illustrates termination by means of restating the DUR-marked constituent – in this case, a deictic. In this example, the narrator is describing how one may stand at the edge of a certain clear waterhole and see a very long way through the water. The DUR marker here indicates the long span through which one's vision may penetrate the water.

- (226) *mir djini-ngira.. mir djini-ngir+a,*
 like this-ABL+DUR like this-ABL+NF
djay-wuywuy-dji-m+a
 below-to.and.fro-THEMSR-PRES+NF
 So from this (bank) for a long way (one) sees to and fro below (the water). {34:550}

Finally, DUR marking temporal duration is synonymous with DIST marking temporal continuity, with the exception that DIST does not require termination. DIST is vague as to the time of termination of an event, whereas DUR requires either explicit or implicit termination. The following example comes from a story where a boat is being loaded with tools and provisions. The two clauses are synonymous.

- (227) *ngunyili mitjiyang-ili r?-ra-ny kiri-ny-ban,*
 thatALL boat-ALL DIST-enter-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
mitjiyang-ili ra-ny kiri-nya., girri
 boat-ALL enter-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR COMPL
 (He) kept on entering the boat then, he entered repeatedly till done. {22:137-138}

3.9 OWNER, BEYOND, *-miny* AND *-ping(i)* AFFIXES

This section deals with the nominal inflections not dealt with up to this time. Some of these affixes are rare, and appear to be no longer productive, but not the Owner affix.

(1) Owner *-waṭangu*

The OWN affix is used to indicate possession by inherited right, or to indicate rightful possession for some reason. It is most commonly used with the noun *gurrbi* ‘land’, ‘camp’, ‘place’ etc. to indicate the rightful owner of an area of land (by inheritance patrilineally). This affix occurs in several Yolngu languages (Zorc 1979). I do not yet know if it occurs in Djinba.

- (228) *biling ngunu-kirri gurrbi-waṭangu-mirrpili, biling...*
 3duNOM [that-COMPL place-OWN-PAUC]NOM 3duNOM
 Those two aforementioned land owners... {19:92}

(2) Beyond *-atjuj*

This affix appears, as far as I know, on only one form – the Distant deictic ALL form *ngunyili* thatALL ‘to there’, deriving *ngunyil-atjuj* that-BEY ‘go further on’. Historically, this affix was derived from a particle **gatjuj* ‘go on’ (not found in modern Djinang, which uses *djibuy* ‘shoo’ instead) by loss of the initial consonant, which resulted in the form being bound to the preceding constituent. Dhuwal/Dhuwala has the form *gatjuj* ‘go on’ (Morphy 1983:141 and also in Lowe’s Gupapuyngu dictionary). The BEY affix means ‘beyond X’, where the reference point X is contextually defined. As we may expect, it can be used in either a Spatial sense or a Temporal sense. Used spatially, it means that something is ‘further beyond’ some reference point, or with motion verbs, that the motion continues ‘further beyond’ some stated goal. Used temporally, it indicates that something occurs at some time ‘beyond’ with respect to a time defined in the context. I have heard it used in two ways: for a time earlier than the reference time, and for a time after the reference time – as in (230) below. In (229), the Spatial sense is illustrated, and the Temporal sense in (230). In the latter example, the narrator is describing how people are born and later die only to ‘cycle around’ for rebirth, and so on continuously. An irrealis tense is used because the narrator is exemplifying normative behaviour, rather than actual events. It is clear from the context that *ngunyil-atjuj* in (230) can only have a Temporal sense.

- (229) *libi kiri-ny nyini-nya., Bulman-∅, ngunyil-atjuj,*
 1plexcNOM walk-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR Bulman-LOC thatALL-BEY

banim-ban, djina nibi yulgu-li
 midway-TF 3plDAT 1plexcNOM come.to-RPA
 We walked all the way to Bulman, and further on still, till midway we came to them.
 {34:89-90}

- (230) *ga bi?-pali-nyiri, ngurrwakng pal+a-∅, a*
 and DIST-die-RPI [the.beginningUNM]LOC die+NF-YPA and
ngunyil-atjuj pal+a-∅, u djini?-djining minydji
 thatALL-BEY die+NF-YPA or this-this THITH

pa!+a-∅, a ngunu-ngir...
 die+NF-PRES and that-ABL

And (people) would keep on dying, in the beginning they died, and after that they died, or these days they continue to die, and after that... {50:340-343}

(3) Affixes *-miny* and *-ping(i)*

These are two very rare affixes. The *-miny* affix appears to mean ‘in the middle of’. It occurs, for example, on the body-part noun *budjirri* ‘stomach’, which may be used figuratively to indicate centrality; the form *budjirr(i)-miny* is a way of saying ‘midstream’ or ‘in the middle’ (of something), as in *budjirr-miny djunggi-mirri* stomach-*miny* wood-LOC ‘in the middle of the trees’.

The *-ping(i)* affix is actually a frozen combination of two affixes: Yolngu ASSOC affix **-Buy* and the archaic Yolngu nominalising affix **-ngu*. (The cognate suffix combination *-puyngu* is still found in other Yolngu languages but not Djinba.) The only examples I have of this form are on the temporal noun *gadji* ‘yesterday’, ‘recent definite past’; the adverb *ngurrwagi* ‘before’, ‘first’; and the adverb *yili* ‘next’. Thus *gadji-ping* means ‘yesterday’s one’, *ngurrwagi-ping* means ‘the first one’, while *yila-ping* means ‘the next one’, ‘the last one (in sequence)’. The affix is evidently now unproductive.

3.10 DERIVED VERBS AND DISTRIBUTIVE REDUPLICATION

In the remaining sections of Chapter 3 we shall consider various small word classes, as well as nominal and verbal derivations. The present section is devoted to the topic of verbal derivations and DIST reduplication.

(1) Inchoative *-dji-*, Factitive *-dji-*, Thematizer *-dji-*

Before we proceed further, a historical digression is necessary in order to explain the difference between INCHO, FACT and THEM SR morphemes, since they are formally identical in Djinang. INCHO forms a verb having the meaning ‘become X’. Often INCHO can be glossed as ‘be X’, though sometimes another way of expressing such a meaning is available, using the verb *nyini-* ‘sit’ in a construction *X nyini-*. Whether the INCHO marker is to be glossed as INCHO ‘become’ or EXIST ‘be’ depends on context; Djinang does not distinguish these categories morphologically.

In pre-Djinang, FACT formed a verb having the meaning ‘cause to become X’ or ‘to make X’. In modern Djinang, FACT and THEM SR have almost completely merged, with THEM SR now marking both the Factitive and Thematization functions. THEM SR has minimal semantic content – it is just a verb argument which derives an inflecting verb stem (usually transitive) of class 1.

In Djinba, these three morphemes are formally distinct, and each is cognate with the Djinang form *-dji-*. For example, the following are three Djinba verbs, each illustrating one of the morphemes of which the most common allomorphs are *-yi-* INCHO, *-ya-* FACT and *-yu-* THEMSR; the verbs are ‘believe’, ‘inundate’ and ‘work’.

Djinba		Djinang	
<i>marr-burral-ṅaṅ-yi-rrak</i>	...-INCHO-FUT	<i>marr-pirral-kiṅ-dji-dji</i>	...-INCHO-FUT
<i>baḷangaw-ya-nmak</i>	...-FACT-FUT	<i>baḷangaw-dji-gi</i>	...-THEMSR-FUT
<i>djama-yu-mak</i>	...-THEMSR-FUT	<i>djama-dji-gi</i>	...-THEMSR-FUT

There are numerous examples of each Djinba morpheme in Appendix 4, for the interested reader. Comparison of Ḍabi and Ganalbingu THEMSR, FACT and INCHO morphemes, together with the cognate Djinang forms and the cognate Ritharrngu forms (Heath 1980a:60-1, 73), reveals that the proto-forms were *-*DH_i* INCHO, *-*DH_a* FACT and *-*DH_u* THEMSR. (I have borrowed Heath's terminology in using THEMSR for what he called a ‘Thematizing Increment’ – although he uses the latter terminology for any segmentable verbal formative having the shape *-Cu-*, rather than just for those cognate with *-*DH_u*.) Where Ganalbingu has *-yi-*, *-ya-* and *-yu-*, Ḍabi often has *-dji-*, *-dja-* and *-dju-*, respectively; to be correct we should characterise the modern Djinba morphemes as *-DJ_i*-INCHO, *-DJ_a*-FACT and *-DJ_u*-THEMSR. (The explanation of the Ḍabi *dj*-initial forms is simple: due to early contact with Djinang, Ḍabi palatalised **DH* earlier than the time of the stop lenition historical change which caused **DH > y* in Ganalbingu. Details are in Appendix 2.) However Ganalbingu usually retains the *dj*-initial allomorphs *-dji-*, *-dja-* and *-dju-* when a lamino-palatal consonant immediately precedes them.

The Djinang vowel shift regularly changed *a* and *u* vowels in these morphemes to *i* (see Chapter 1). Consequently, only the functions THEMSR and INCHO can now be separated by morphological criteria (with just a few exceptions): firstly, by the conjugation class of the verb; and to a lesser extent, by the word class of the verbal stem.

There are two allomorphs, *-dji-* and, less frequently, *-tji-*, for each of these morphemes. The *-tji-* allomorph occurs after stops; for example, from *munitj* ‘secret’ is derived the verb *munitj-tji-gi* secret-THEMSR-FUT ‘do secretly’. Sometimes it occurs after a vowel, as in *gungga-tji-gi* help-THEMSR-FUT ‘help’. Instances such as the latter appear to be related to rhythm; for example, the pronunciation of the latter is [*gung + gatj + tjigi*], having three pulses, while if the *-dji-* allomorph were used we would have only two pulses [*gungga + djigi*] which changes the aural shape quite significantly. Similarly, from *mutitj* ‘smooth’, ‘calm’ we have inchoative *mutitj-tji-dji* calm-INCHO-FUT ‘become calm (weather)’. There are instances, however, where the *-tji-* allomorph does not occur after a stop, and where rhythm is not affected by the choice of one allomorph over another. Such an example is *milwar-tji-dji* ?dawn-INCHO-FUT ‘become dawn’; this is always pronounced with [tj] rather than [dj]. The reasons for this probably are diachronic and not accessible to us unless we know the etymology of the verb roots in question; all we can say at present is that there are a number of verbs which have a received pronunciation using allomorph *-tji-* in the absence of any clear conditioning factor.

Djinang has three major verb classes (as does Djinba): class 1 has mostly transitive verbs, and verbs formed by THEMSR all fall into this class; class 3 has mostly intransitive verbs, and verbs formed by INCHO all fall into this class. Class 2 is more complicated; this class has a mixture of transitive and intransitive verbs, and the equivalent class in Djinba is similar. Djinba verbs formed

with the FACT morpheme fall into Djinba's class 2 conjugation, which is a conjugation class equivalent to Djinang's class 2. But the cognate Djinang verbs formed with FACT fall not in Djinang's class 2 but in Djinang's class 1. Also, the Ritharrngu FACT paradigm (Heath 1980a:72) shows that, in that language, FACT verbs also belong to the verb class which in Djinang is labelled as class 1. Therefore, it is appropriate to assume that the earlier Djinang FACT morpheme was conjugated as a class 1 verb, rather than that it switched conjugation class at the time of the Djinang vowel shift. This is fairly conclusive evidence that Djinang and Djinba are descended historically from different branches of a 'Northern Yolngu' proto-language.

In Djinba, FACT may possibly be still viable semantically; certainly it is quite 'visible' phonetically. In Djinang, however, FACT appears to have almost lost its semantic viability. There are only a handful of instances where Djinang FACT, forming a transitive verb, contrasts with CAUS or THEMSR. One example is the verb stem *gu* 'cease', 'stop'. This stem forms intransitive and transitive inflecting forms in two different ways. The common way is:

Intransitive	<i>gu</i> - <i>dji-gi</i>	cease-THEMSR-FUT	(conjugation class 1);
Transitive	<i>gu</i> - <i>miy-gi</i>	cease-CAUS-FUT	(conjugation class 1).

However, there is a less common way:

Intransitive	<i>gu</i> - <i>dji-dji</i>	cease-INCHO-FUT	(conjugation class 3);
Transitive	<i>gu</i> - <i>dji-gi</i>	cease-FACT-FUT	(conjugation class 1).

That the latter way uses INCHO and FACT is revealed by the Djinba cognate verbs, which are *gu*-*yi-rrak* cease-INCHO-FUT (class 3) and *gu*-*ya-nmak* cease-FACT-FUT (class 2). Thus, in Djinang, there is ambiguity in the form *gu*-*dji-gi*, which could be either transitive, or intransitive. The other forms, *gu*-*dji-dji* and *gu*-*miy-gi*, are unambiguously intransitive and transitive, respectively.

In the last pair of examples immediately above, it can be seen that the transitive form may be derived from the intransitive form by replacing the underlying INCHO morpheme with an underlying FACT morpheme – thereby changing the conjugation class for the inflectible stem. This is no longer a productive schema for deriving transitives from intransitives in Djinang. Apparently it is still productive in Ritharrngu (see Heath 1980a:60), and possibly also in Djinba, although this has yet to be investigated systematically. The Djinang vowel shift has caused the FACT morpheme to weaken vis-a-vis the THEMSR morpheme, so that the former no longer enters into productive strategies for the formation of transitive verbs from intransitive verbs. Hence, modern Djinang speakers have almost merged FACT with THEMSR, and only a few isolated instances such as discussed above have resisted the merger.

There is some evidence that FACT has similarly weakened in Djinba as well. For example, nouns such as *ga**du**ng* 'big' form transitives using the THEMSR morpheme rather than the FACT morpheme, hence *ga**du**ng*-*yu-mak* big-THEMSR-FUT 'cause to become big'. This would be due to diffusion of the Djinang pattern into Djinba.

(2) Semantic Contrasts Between Use of Thematizer and Inchoative

Although there are a few intransitive verbs having THEMSR and therefore belonging to class 1, the great majority of intransitive verbs take INCHO and thus belong to class 3. The label INCHO is a 'convenience', in that a semantic function of Inchoative commonly occurs in Australian languages, so that it makes good sense typologically to use this label. And certainly, very often the function marked

by INCHO is just Inchoative, so that an appropriate translation is obtained using the English verb 'become'.

Nevertheless, the distinction of THEMSR versus INCHO misses a very important functional contrast made consistently by Djinang speakers, particularly when coining new words or verbalising nominals. The distinction is between 'Agentive' and 'Experiential' functions. When one wishes to coin a verb in which the semantic Subject is the doer (in an Agentive sense) of the action, THEMSR is used (hence class 1 inflections follow it); on the other hand, if one wishes to coin a verb in which the semantic Subject is undergoing or experiencing a state or action, then INCHO is used (hence class 3 inflections follow it).

An example which is unambiguous is the following. The noun *butjbutj* means 'uncircumcised boy'. The verb meaning 'be an uncircumcised boy' uses INCHO *butjbutj-dji-dji* uncircumcised-INCHO-FUT. Clearly it is semantic nonsense to try to view INCHO here as signalling Inchoative, since one cannot 'become' uncircumcised; one is born that way, and only the possibility of becoming circumcised obtains. In fact, a circumcised man or boy is called *gurrmal* (literally 'mid penis'), and the transitive verb 'make a man', 'circumcise' uses THEMSR, being the form *gurrmil-dji-gi* circumcised.person-THEMSR-FUT. Thus what INCHO signals, at a more general level, is an Experiential or Existential function; this is best translated by the English verb 'be', except in contexts where an Inchoative function obtains.

The THEMSR morpheme therefore functions, by way of contrast, to signal the Agentive meaning. However, this breaks down at one point as discussed earlier. Root verb forms typically form Agentive versus Experiential senses with CAUS *-miy-* versus THEMSR *-dji-* (with class 1 inflections), respectively. Such root verb forms number perhaps several dozen, and so are a relatively small closed class. The more productive Agentive versus Experiential contrast is as above, using THEMSR versus INCHO, respectively.

(3) Verbs Derived From Non-Verbs

There are three productive means of deriving a verb from a non-verb: the first is by means of INCHO – deriving an intransitive verb of class 3; the second way is by means of CAUS *-miy-*, which derives a transitive (never a ditransitive) verb of class 1; the third way is by means of THEMSR, which usually derives a transitive verb of class 1, but may occasionally derive an intransitive verb of class 1 (*gul-dji-gi* cease-THEMSR-FUT discussed above is an example). I shall briefly discuss each in turn.

INCHO always derives an intransitive verb. The affix is added to a stem which may be a nominal stem (adjectival nominals are the most common class of nominals which behave like this), a loan noun or loan verb, or a NEG word such as *wirr* 'nothing', 'no'. Some examples are *wana-dji-dji* big-INCHO-FUT 'become big'; *yul-dji-dji* man-INCHO-FUT 'become a man'; *marnggi-dji-dji* knowledge-INCHO-FUT 'become knowledgeable', 'learn'; *wirr-dji-dji* nothing-INCHO-FUT 'become nothing', 'die'; *ingki-dji-dji* not-INCHO-FUT 'be nothing'; and *mirgi-dji-dji* bad-INCHO-FUT 'become bad'.

THEMSR usually derives a transitive verb and, irrespective of the transitivity value, the resulting form will belong to the class 1 conjugation. (It is not possible to derive a verb belonging in conjugation class 2 from either nominal or verbal base forms. All derived verbs belong to either class 1 or class 3. Class 2 is therefore the smallest of the three verb classes.) The THEMSR affix is added to a stem, which is usually a noun, but can also be an adverb, NEG word or a loan noun or verb.

Examples of derived intransitive verbs using THEM SR are first, with the adjective *bumir-wurpm* forehead-one 'one time', 'once', where *bumir-wurpm-dji-gi* forehead-one-THEMSR-FUT means 'do once'; and second, with the noun *wukirri-dji-gi* write-THEMSR-FUT 'write'. However, intransitives derived by THEM SR are not common. Some transitive examples are *wana-dji-gi* big-THEMSR-FUT 'make big'; *yul-dji-gi* man-THEMSR-FUT 'cause to become a man'; *marnggi-dji-gi* knowledge-THEMSR-FUT 'cause to become knowledgeable', 'teach'; *mirgi-dji-gi* bad-THEMSR-FUT 'make bad'; and *butjurru-dji-gi* count-THEMSR-FUT 'count'. The last example and the verb 'write' above involve well-known Macassan loan verbs *wukirri* 'write' and *butjurru* (cf. GUP *bothurru*) 'write'.

CAUS always derives a transitive verb of class 1. It is added directly to a root form. This follows the Gupapuyngu pattern (see the comment in Morphy 1983:76) and Djinba behaves similarly. Whereas Djapu and Ritharrngu add the CAUS to the UNM inflection of verbs in a certain conjugation class, Djinang, Djinba and Gupapuyngu add CAUS directly to the stem. However, CAUS cannot be used indiscriminately in either Djinang or Djinba. It occurs only on stems which appear to be root forms (that is, not internally segmentable), or on certain reduplicated root forms. Hence, *lap* 'open' forms the transitive inflecting stem *lap-miy-* open-CAUS. (See section 2.2 for more details about root verb forms.) Note, root forms taking CAUS, deriving thereby a transitive verb stem, always derive the corresponding intransitive using THEM SR, for example *lap-dji-gi* open-THEMSR-FUT 'become open'.

There is one clear example of a noun being used to derive a transitive verb using CAUS. The noun *bul^hwarr* means 'nest'; the CAUS-derived verb is *bul^hwarr-miy-gi* nest-CAUS-FUT 'cause to take shelter'. More research is needed in order to ascertain exactly what the conditioning factor is for the use of CAUS, since there are certainly many instances where an indivisible root form (such as *wana* 'big') takes THEM SR rather than CAUS. At present, CAUS appears to be lexically conditioned. Loans from English always use THEM SR, never CAUS. The class of root verbs is a closed class, and the members of it appear to have the same form (allowing for some sound changes) in each Yolngu language. They are possibly very old forms.

One further point while on the topic of loans. While in Canberra I met a student from Indonesia (Hamzah Machmoed) who had no knowledge of Yolngu languages. While discussing Austronesian loans, I asked if he knew the word *marnggi*. He did know it, and said it means 'shaman' or 'knowledgeable person'. Unfortunately he did not tell me the source language. This raises the possibility that *marnggi* may be an Austronesian loan; the other possibility is that it is a pure coincidence. The latter is perhaps unlikely because of the rather unusual phonetic shape of the word. The possibility of it being a loanword needs further investigation.

A digression is apt here before leaving the CAUS morpheme. Firstly, the form *-miy-* in Djinang often becomes *-mi-* when a nasal-initial suffix follows; it is *-miyi-* (phonetically [-miyu-]) before IMP suffix *-wi*. Secondly, the CAUS morpheme in other Yolngu languages yields some interesting facts. Schebeck (1967a) gives *-miyana-* CAUS in the Nhangu language group, on the basis of Golpa data (the only Nhangu language he sampled). Capell's 1941 wordlist gives the Yanhangu CAUS morpheme as *-miya-* (e.g. *dhawar^h-miya-ma* finished.up-CAUS-UNM 'cause to be finished up', 'tire out'). In most Yolngu languages, it appears to be *-mara* (e.g. Dhuwala/Dhuwal, Ritharrngu, Dhay^hyi). The Dhangu form appears to be *-ma-*. The Djinang Manyarring clan uses CAUS *-miri-* (see text 32:94,96), which is cognate to the common Yolngu form *-mara-*, while other Djinang clans use *-miy-* which is cognate with the Nhangu forms. Also, the Djinba form is *-miy-*,

with allomorphs *-miyi-* and *-miyu-* occasionally attested. These facts would support the contention that Djinang and Djinba are both descended from a ‘Northern Yolngu’ proto-language.

There is an archaic CAUS morpheme in both Djinang and Djinba. It is no longer productive. (For purposes of genetic groupings, it would be very helpful to know the distribution of this morpheme in Nhangu, Dhangu and Djangu languages – if it occurs in any of these. Unfortunately, these languages are as yet insufficiently documented.) The Djinang morpheme is *-djingi(l)-* CAUS; where the final *l* is retained only before FUT *-gi*. Verbs inflected with this CAUS morpheme belong to conjugation class 2. A common example is *wini-djingil-gi* return-CAUS-FUT ‘cause to return’, compared with *wini-dji* return-FUT ‘return’ – which belongs to class 3. The Djinba morpheme, which is cognate with the Djinang morpheme, is *-djunga-* in one instance, either *-djungul-* or *-djungurr-* in some other instances and either *-nga-* or *-ngul-* in still other instances. Verbs which take this morpheme belong to conjugation class 2 in Djinba. These archaic CAUS morphemes do not, in general, occur on the same Djinang and Djinba stems, showing that these languages have independently retained an earlier CAUS morpheme. Variations of the morpheme in Djinang and Djinba imply that the proto-form may have been segmentable as *-*DHu-ngVL*. (Western Desert has a verb form *DHu* ‘put’ which is also used in compounds – Koch personal communication) There are probably less than a dozen instances of the use of the morpheme in each modern language.

A few verbs exhibit the formative *-pini-* (occasionally *-bini-*) which appears to have been a causative derivational affix. It is cognate with the archaic causative affix *-punu-* in Dhuwal/Dhuwala (Morphy 1983:46). Four Djinang verbs of this type are *mutjpini-gi* ‘build’; *mutpini-gi* ‘assemble’, ‘muster’ (note, the latter two are definitely distinct verbs); *gandapini-gi* ‘make fish-trap weir’; and *mungbini-gi* ‘not reciprocate’ (i.e. not give a gift in return), ‘for good’ (i.e. an event resulting in a state which obtains permanently). These verbs belong to conjugation class 1. The formative is no longer productive in Djinang and must be treated as part of the modern stem.

(4) Verbs Derived from Verbs: transitives from intransitives

Yolngu languages uniformly use the NMLSR affix to derive a nominal stem from a verb. Djinang and Djinba are not exceptions. Also, in both languages a transitive verb is typically derived by adding the THEM SR morpheme to a nominal stem. It follows, then, by combining these two facts, that intransitive verbs can productively be used to derive transitive verbs by first nominalising the intransitive stem, and then thematising the resulting nominal stem. This schema has been described in every grammar of a Yolngu language written thus far. The structure of such derived transitive verbs is stem-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR-.

Not all intransitive verbs have an INCHO morpheme; for example, *nyini-dji* sit-FUT, *djirri-dji* stand-FUT, *walma-dji* go.up-FUT, *giri-∅* go-FUT and many other inherently intransitive stems lack INCHO. At the time of writing, while these verbs may certainly be nominalised using the NMLSR affix, I have not yet observed these verbs transitivised. Forms such as **nyini-nyir-dji-gi* *sit-NMLSR-THEMSR-FUT ‘*cause to sit’ are grammatically deviant. All attempts to elicit grammatical instances of such forms have been unfruitful.

Some examples of transitive verbs derived from intransitives having INCHO are: *wana-dj-nyir-dji-gi* big-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR-FUT ‘cause to become big’; *mirgi-dj-nyir-dji-gi* bad-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR-FUT ‘cause to become bad’; and *birraldj-nyir-dji-gi* true-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR-FUT ‘find’, ‘discover’, ‘bring to light’, ‘expose’, ‘cause to become true’.

At the beginning of this section I stated that meanings such as ‘be X’ could be expressed by using the verb ‘sit’. Another method, less productive, is to use THEMSR with an adjectival nominal, forming a class 1 verb. However these verb forms are potentially ambiguous. For example, the forms *wana-dji-gi* big-THEMSR-FUT and *mirgi-dji-gi* bad-THEMSR-FUT can mean either ‘be big’ or ‘make big’, and ‘be bad’ or ‘make bad’, respectively. This ambiguity has arisen from the merger of FACT with THEMSR.

The other ways of deriving transitive verbs from intransitives have been dealt with above. That is, with some verb roots, INCHO may be replaced by THEMSR, changing the conjugation class to class 1 and the transitivity value to ‘transitive’. And some other intransitive verbs having THEMSR may replace THEMSR with CAUS, to derive a transitive verb of conjugation class 1, provided the stem is a root verb form.

(5) Verbs Derived From Verbs: intransitives from transitives

In Yolngu languages, the productive way to derive intransitive verbs from transitive ones is to use the RECIP affix. This affix has the effect, when used either with the ‘reciprocal’, ‘reflexive’ or ‘intransitiver’ functions, of reducing a verb’s valency by a value of one. Thus, a three-place verb (i.e. ditransitive) becomes a two-place verb, or a transitive verb becomes intransitive. All Yolngu grammars describe this process. In Djinang and Djinba the RECIP form is a pre-verbal particle, not an affix as in other Yolngu languages.

In the case of three-place verbs (i.e. those involving an Agent, Object and Indirect Object) with RECIP, the ‘place’ which is lost may be either O or IO. Which one is lost in any one instance depends both on the meaning which is to be conveyed and on grammatical factors (see section 3.17). In example (231), RECIP with the verb *bultji-* ‘tell’ results in loss of DAT-marked IO. In example (232), RECIP indicates reflexivity, but of the Agent and Object, the Agent and Object being coreferential. The same verb can be used with RECIP indicating a reciprocal relationship between two participants, in which case there is loss of an explicit IO, as in example (233).

(231) *djanguny inydji-rr bultji-gi ngarri-bi-bi*
 [storyUNM]ACC RECIP-1sgERG tell-FUT 1sgERG-OR-OR
 I myself will report/confess the/my story. {65:26}

(232) *miligidji-pili-ngir ingki limila-nydji+n millirrpigi*
 totem.hero-PL-ERG NEG 1plincDAT-RECIP+3plERG show-FUT
 Toæmic spirits will not show themselves to us. {66:27}

(233) *bambuḷi inydji bil millirrpini-nmi*
 [bark.paintingUNM]ACC RECIP 3duERG show-YPA
 They showed each other (their) bark paintings.

The RECIP particle may sometimes be used to derive an intransitive verb phrase from a transitive verb. Thus, for example, corresponding to transitive *malim-dji-gi* finish.off-THEMSR-FUT ‘finish off’ is the intransitive phrase *inydji malim-dji-gi* RECIP finish.off-THEMSR-FUT ‘be finished off’. Although there are dozens of examples like this in the Djinang lexicon (Waters 1983), only a small subset of verbs permit this construction.

It is not possible to form an intransitive verb by first nominalising a transitive verb and then adding INCHO. This is true in all Yolngu languages.

The other means of deriving intransitives has been discussed above, that is, the interchange of THEM SR with INCHO on some roots and of CAUS with THEM SR on other roots.

TABLE 3.2
SUMMARY OF VERB DERIVATIONS

INTRANSITIVE		TRANSITIVE	
stem/root-INCHO-	(class 3)	<-->	stem/root-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR (class 1)
stem/root-THEMSR-	(class 1)	<-->	stem/root-CAUS- (class 1)
root-INCHO-	(class 3)	<-->	root-THEMSR- (class 1)
root-INCHO-	(class 3)	<-->	root-FACT- (non-productive) (class 1)
RECIP + transitive verb		<-->	transitive verb (any class)

(6) Verbal reduplication and Distributive reduplication CV?-

The properties of verbal reduplication discussed by Morphy (1983:78-80) for Djapu, are equally apt for Djinang. For this reason, I do not intend to devote much space to a discussion of reduplication. The essential effect of reduplication is to quantitatively increase the activity signalled by the non-reduplicated verb form; to put it a different way, it indicates 'lots of the action'.

This increase of activity is realised in various ways, according to the semantics of the non-reduplicated verb. For inherently punctiliar verbs, the reduplicated form indicates repetition of the action or distribution of the action over a number of participants, e.g. *djarribi-dji-gi* quieten-THEMSR-FUT 'quieten someone' and *djarribi-djarribi-dji-gi* REDUP-quieten-THEMSR-FUT 'repeatedly quieten someone'; and *gilgirr-gi* hide-FUT and *gil-gilgirr-gi* REDUP-hide-FUT 'many (people) hide'. Another example is *galbi-gima w[?]walngirri-ny* many-EMPH DIST-dance-RPC 'very many people were dancing'. Further instances of repeated activity occur in (159), (227) and (230). For inherently durative verbs, reduplication can signal distribution of the action over a number of participants, or continuance over time. For examples, see the next paragraph.

There is one major difference between Morphy's account and the Djinang pattern. In Dhuwal/Dhuwala, reduplication of the full stem is quite common. In Djinang, reduplication of the full stem is comparatively rare (though if the stem is a closed syllable the reduplication is likely to be of the whole of the closed syllable); usually merely the first consonant and vowel of the stem are reduplicated (and the vowel is usually centralised to schwa or fronted/raised to *i*, while following *w* or *r* it may be omitted entirely – see above). Following the reduplicated initial consonant and vowel, a glottal stop regularly occurs in order to mark the boundary between the reduplication and the stem. This initial-syllable type of reduplication I have called distributive reduplication. It has been mentioned briefly in sections 2.14 and 3.8.

When more than the first open syllable of a verb root occurs as the reduplication, I use the label REDUP rather than DIST. There is sometimes a semantic difference between the two kinds of reduplication (see the next two paragraphs), but usually not. Examples of DIST indicating temporal distribution of an inherently durative event can be found in (18), (22), (109), (112), (166), (172), (181) and (208). Example (219) illustrates distribution over a number of participants for an inherently durative event. Example (112) could also be considered as duration over space as well as time; however, since an inherently durative action continued across space will also necessarily be continued across time, it is not necessary to set up a spatial category in this instance.

As in Dhuwal/Dhuwala, there is sometimes a shift of lexical meaning between the reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms, rather than one of the distributive functions obtaining. Forms exhibiting lexical shifts all appear to involve REDUP and never DIST, e.g. *inydji garrpi-gi* RECIP tie.up-FUT ‘be tied up’, ‘tangle’ versus *inydji garr-karrpi-gi* RECIP REDUP-search.for-FUT ‘search for’; *girrbi-gi* be.named-FUT ‘be named X’ versus *girr-girrbi-gi* REDUP-twist-FUT ‘twist’, ‘rotate’; and *liw-miy-gi* turn.round-CAUS-FUT ‘turn a corner’ versus *liw-liw-miy-gi* REDUP-turn.round-CAUS-FUT ‘encircle’, ‘enclose’.

Finally, as in Dhuwal/Dhuwala, reduplicated forms (verbs and other parts of speech) for which there are no corresponding non-reduplicated forms are quite common. These likewise seem to be restricted only to REDUP forms, never occurring with DIST, e.g. *bit-bit-dji-gi* REDUP-twist-THEMSR-FUT ‘twist hair string’; *bur-bur-dji-gi* REDUP-ascend-THEMSR-FUT ‘rise straight up’; *buyu-buyu-dji-gi* REDUP-smooth-THEMSR-FUT ‘smooth over’; and *galng-galng-dji-gi* REDUP-hunt-THEMSR-FUT ‘go hunting’.

(7) Verb compounding by means of body-part nouns

All Yolngu languages productively expand their lexical inventories of verbs by forming compound verb stems of the form [body.part]-[verb.stem]-. Body-part nouns are certainly the most productive word class in forming compounds of this nature (both verbal compounds and nominal compounds); but other word classes may also be used. For example, the NEG word *wirr* ‘nothing’ forms a compound with *bultji*- ‘tell’, so that *wirr-pultji-gi* NEG-tell-FUT means ‘to say nothing’; another involves an unknown formative *bulu*- ‘??’ with the root *ngurri*- ‘throw’, forming *bulu-ngurri*- ??-throw- ‘banish’. Compounds involving *djay*- and *djuj*- are similar, and the meaning of these formatives is somewhat obscure: the former seems to mean ‘below’ or ‘within’, the latter as a free form means ‘that’s it!’ (it occurs in a compound *djuj-pultji-gi* ??-tell-FUT ‘forgive’, ‘overlook’, ‘say never mind’).

The reason for the prevalence of body-part nouns in forming (noun and) verb compounds lies in the Whorfian concept of a cryptotype. In Yolngu world view, the human body (including psyche terminology) is the paradigm for the expression of figurative meanings. That Yolngu people, independently of the language spoken, all have the same cryptotypes is illustrated by the following facts. Body-part nouns are not, in general, formally identical (nor even cognate) across many Yolngu internal language divisions, e.g. Gupapuyngu *liya* ‘head’ and Djinang *gungi* ‘head’; and Gupapuyngu *diltji* ‘backbone’ and Djinang *burri* ‘backbone’. Nevertheless, a compound in one language is not borrowed intact by speakers of another language; instead, the body-part noun is replaced by the form for the same body part in the borrowing language. Furthermore, speakers of Yolngu languages productively coin new compound forms as the need arises. These facts show that the body provides a semantic paradigm which functions to generate compound words having figurative meanings.

The generation of figurative meanings is the most common function of compounding with body-part nouns, but occasionally a compound may be used with its literal meaning, e.g. *gungi-balpi-gi* head-pound-FUT ‘hit on the head’. More commonly, a compound will have a literal or semiliteral meaning, and one or more figurative meanings as well. For example, *guraki* ‘nape of neck’ is used figuratively with the sense ‘back’ or ‘rear’, and the compound *guraki-wini-djingil-gi* nape-return-CAUS-FUT may have the semiliteral meaning ‘cause to return back’ or figurative meanings such as ‘reciprocate in kind’, ‘change one’s mind’, ‘rewind’, ‘have a ceremony in memory of someone’.

A full study of figurative meanings must wait until I have a deeper understanding of Djinang world view, and further discussions about figurative meanings associated with body parts. However, I can illustrate some of the figurative senses which obtain for the noun *bumiri* 'forehead'. The list of figurative senses for this noun is not exhaustive, it is merely a selection of those which I know of at the time of writing. It can be used to express 'number of times': *bumir-wurpm-dji-gi* forehead-one-THEMSR-FUT 'do once'. It may express direction of orientation: *bumir-ngunyil-atjuy* forehead-thatALL-BEY 'facing further on'. It may express mutuality of interaction: *bumir-pangari-gi* forehead-pass.by-FUT 'pass by each other', 'exchange something (e.g. words)'. It may express the state of the will: *bumir-manbi-dji-gi* forehead-hard-THEMSR-FUT 'be stubborn', 'be resolute'; *bumir-bilba-dji-dji* forehead-soft-INCHO-FUT 'be weak-willed', 'be irresolute'. It may express remoteness, either of perception or of an action: *bumir-nya-gi* forehead-see-FUT 'observe part of something in the distance' 'be uninterested' (i.e. keeping oneself at a distance because of disinterestedness); *bumir-witjigi* forehead-call.out-FUT 'call out over a long distance', 'make a telephone call'. Inflected by PROP it expresses focusing of one's mind or thought on something: *bumir-giṅ-dji-gi* forehead-PROP-THEMSR-FUT 'concentrate on', 'pray to'. It can indicate approach of participants with implied escalation or climax: *bumir-mirrpili-dji-dji* forehead-PAUC-INCHO-FUT 'come together in an argument', 'come to blows'; *bumir-balpi-gi* forehead-pound-FUT 'crash together', 'hit head-on'. And it can express the edge of something: *bumir-par-gi* forehead-be.on-FUT 'stand on the edge of', 'stand on the end (e.g. of a pier)'. There are other senses too, but this list should be sufficient to illustrate not just that the phenomenon occurs, but something of its complexity as well. It is certainly not the case that each such compound must be learnt holistically by mother-tongue speakers, for then there would be no possibility for speakers to productively coin new compounds.

Finally, there is evidence that certain monosyllabic verb roots have, in the past, been used as stem-forming suffixes. This is no longer a productive process, and is of no significance for a synchronic grammar of Djinang. One example is the verb *galbu-ngi* place.down-FUT 'place down'. This verb, and the synonymous *manbu-ngi*, are fossilised compounds of the unknown formatives **gal-* and **man-* with the common Pama-Nyungan verb *bu-* 'hit'. The evidence for this is that the Djinang and Djinba TPA or RPA inflection for the verb 'hit' is unique; in Djinang it is *bi-piṅi* hit-TPA/RPA, while in Djinba it is the cognate form *bi-paṅ* hit-TPA/RPA. In both languages the stem is *bu-* for other inflections. For both of the above Djinang words, the *-piṅ(i)* allomorph for TPA/RPA obtains: *galwu-piṅ* place.down-TPA/RPA 'placed down', and *manwu-piṅ* place.down-TPA/RPA 'placed down'. There are other verbs where **bu-* can be tentatively identified as a stem-forming suffix – mainly on comparative grounds using Djinba cognates; however, the TPA and RPA inflections have been levelled to the modern *-(ngi)li* allomorphs, thereby making their identification difficult to validate.

3.11 DERIVED NOUNS AND NOMINALISER

There are two common ways of deriving nouns. The first way is to derive compound nouns using body-part nouns as prefixes. This method forms nouns which have mostly figurative meanings, or which refer to abstract entities such as emotions, although this method also derives nouns which refer to concrete entities – provided there is a semblative link between the concrete entity and the body part. The other way is to derive nouns from verbs using the NMLSR suffix appropriate to the conjugation class of the verb.

(1) Derived nouns

Some examples of nouns derived from body-part nouns are given in the next paragraph. The list is not exhaustive and contains a mixture of abstract and concrete derived nouns. Many more can be found in the Djinang lexicon (Waters 1983), especially in the sections where the following body-part nouns may be found: *bumiri* 'forehead'; *bunyan* 'buttocks'; *burri* 'backbone'; *butjiri* 'ear'; *djabiri* 'mouth' and *rarri* 'mouth'; *galngi* 'body'; *gundjarr* 'arm'; *gumbirri* 'hand'; *gun̄gi* 'head'; *lurrkan* 'waist'; *mani* 'oesophagus', 'neck'; *marr* 'soul'; *mil* 'eye'; *mungan* 'lower back'; *ray* 'temple'; *yaṯi* 'lower leg'; *way* 'upper limb'. All Yolngu languages use body-part nouns in this way; it is certainly a proto-Yolngu feature.

Examples are *bumir-rirkiyan* forehead-rock 'rocky prominence'; *bumir-mala-giṅing* forehead-COL-PROP 'group having mixed social affiliations'; *bumir-manḅing* forehead-hard 'stubborn person'; *bumir-yabuḷu* forehead-serene 'kind', 'self-controlled', 'impartial'; *bunyin-djanguny-giṅing* buttocks-story-PROP 'newsmonger'; *bunyin-garrpi-na-kiṅing* buttocks-wrap-NMLSR-PROP 'ceremonially dressed person'; *burri-ngirki* backbone-bone 'mainland' (i.e. *burri* in sense 'high ground' and *ngirki* in the sense 'foundation'); *butjir-baḍatj* ear-fail 'disobedient'; *butjir-balpiri-giṅing* ear-visit-PROP 'companion'; *butjir-bilbaḷ* ear-soft 'easily persuadable'; *butjir-djumiling* ear-blunt 'deaf', 'hard of hearing', 'disobedient'; *butjir-marnggi* ear-knowledge 'overheard'; *djabir-mar-giṅing* mouth-trouble-PROP 'estranged friend', 'enemy'; *djabir-murrurt* mouth-bunch 'mutually cooperative group of people'; *galngi-wakal-giṅing* body-fun-PROP 'healthy'; *gumbirr-ngangi-giṅing* hand-spear-PROP 'male'; *gumbirr-gaṅi-giṅing* hand-digging.stick-PROP 'female'; *gun̄gi-bilbaling* head-soft 'weak headed', 'kind', 'compliant person'; *gun̄gi-bukil* head-cliff 'cliff-top'; and *gun̄gi-djarrkuṯ* head-sharp 'person with pointed head', 'clever thinker'. This list should be sufficient to illustrate the point.

(2) Nominaliser *-nyir(i)*, *-nir(i)*

To nominalise a verb, the NMLSR verbal suffix is used. The actual form of the suffix varies with the conjugation class of the verb: verbs of class 1 or class 3 take the allomorphs *-nyir(i)-* or *-nyira-* and verbs of class 2 take the allomorphs *-nir(i)-* or *-nira-*. The first allomorph in each pair of NMLSR inflections is identical in form to the today-past-irrealis and remote-past-irrealis verbal inflections (Morphy calls the equivalent Djapu inflection 'past non-indicative'). The second allomorph in each pair is a cognate older form, as the next paragraph indicates. All Yolngu languages nominalise verbs using the NMLSR suffix.

The Djinba NMLSR forms are *-nya* for Djinba classes 1 and 3, and *-na* for Djinba class 2. It would also be helpful here to indicate the relationship between the Djapu conjugation classes given by Morphy (1983:63-69) and the Djinang/Djinba conjugation classes. Djinang class 1 inflections correspond to Djapu class NG inflections; Djinang class 3 inflections correspond to Djapu class Ø inflections; and Djinang class 2 inflections correspond to Djapu classes N and L (these two classes have merged in Djinang and Djinba). (Djinang classes 1-3 correspond to Djinba classes 1-3.) Consideration of the Djapu forms and Schebeck's data (1979b) indicates that the proto-Yolngu NMLSR forms were *-*nhara* and *-*nara*, corresponding to Djinang classes 1 and 3, and class 2, respectively. Thus, the allomorphs *-nyira-* and *-nira-* (which some dialects of Djinang, such as Marrangu, shorten to *-nya-* and *-na-* before the PROP affix) are older forms which have partially resisted the Djinang vowel shift. These forms typically occur before the PROP affix.

In Djinang, nouns formed from verbs using the NMLSR affix require further affixation following the NMLSR affix. A form such as **gingi-nyir* *think-NMLSR is deviant (as a noun). Two

common ways of forming a noun using NMLSR are to further add the OR case following NMLSR, or to further add the PROP affix following NMLSR. (Recall that earlier ASSOC case *-*Buy* underwent a vowel change, and the new form was merged with OR case to become modern OR case. Thus while some Yolngu languages may affix the ASSOC marker following NMLSR, Djinang affixes OR following NMLSR.)

Of these two constructions, OR is used when the derived noun refers to an entity which arises existentially out of the action denoted by the verb, thus *wukirri-dj-nyir-bi* write-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR ‘a writing’; *gingi-nyir-bi* think-NMLSR-OR ‘a thought’; *marr-pirral-kiṅ-dj-nyir-bi* soul-true-PROP-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR ‘a belief’; and *mil-gultji-giṅ-dj-nyir-bi* eye-fat-PROP-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR ‘a lust’, ‘greed’. Because of the etymology of modern OR case in Djinang, it is also used when the derived nominal has an associative relationship to the action denoted by the verb, thus *nyini-nyir-bi* sit-NMLSR-OR ‘a seat’; *baltj-nyir-bi* climb.up-NMLSR-OR ‘a step’; and *midjirr-dj-nyir-bi* dust-THEMSR-NMLSR-OR ‘a duster’.

On the other hand, PROP is used when the derived nominal represents an action or property possessable by a referent. Thus *wanngir-nyira-kiṅing* save-NMLSR-PROP means ‘one who saves’, and *mil-gultji-giṅ-dj-nya-kiṅing* eye-fat-PROP-THEMSR-NMLSR-PROP means ‘lustful person’, ‘greedy person’ and *rum-ḍapili-dj-nya-kiṅing* law-break-THEMSR-NMLSR-PROP means ‘a lawbreaker’.

If a noun takes a case suffix, then the case suffix may occur immediately following NMLSR, as in *rirkkiyan bari-nyir-mirri* rock be.on-NMLSR-LOC ‘at the place where rocks form a ford’. However, although nominalised verbs may potentially be inflected for case or other affixation, they seldom are inflected. Instead, speakers prefer to use them in descriptive appositional NPs. In such NPs, case is unmarked (except for adnominal NP-internal functions). (ERG may occur after PROP on a nominalised verb, since such nouns usually refer to +HU referents and thus may be Agents. However, nouns derived using OR case are seldom +HU, and therefore usually occur as Objects, so that overt ACC case marking is unnecessary. In these ways, excessive complexity is avoided.)

A further post-NMLSR affix which was once productively used in the formation of nominalised verbs is the archaic nominaliser affix *-*ngu*, for which the Djinang reflex is *-ng(i)*. It is no longer productive in Djinang. There are few nominalisations which prefer this form rather than the more usual *-bi* OR marker. The verb *wil-dji-gi* crooked-THEMSR-FUT (*-dji* here was probably once FACT) ‘make crooked’ forms the nominal *wil-tj-nyiri-ng* crooked-THEMSR-NMLSR-*ng* ‘crooked’, which occurs in (249), section 3.13. Other forms are *bali-nyiri-ng* die-NMLSR-*ng* ‘dead’ and *ḍapili-dj-nyiri-ng* break-THEMSR-NMLSR-*ng* ‘broken’ (the equivalent form *ḍapili-dj-nyir-bi* is also used).

3.12 ADVERBS

There is a relatively small closed class of true adverbs. True adverbs do not take case suffixation, although one particular adverb, *yili* ‘again’, ‘next’, can occur with PERL case. This however generates an idiomatic adverbial form *yili-mirri* next-PERL ‘next in succession’, ‘following after’; it is not a productive process. Other than this one example, true adverbs do not take case suffixation.

Some of the true adverbs identified thus far are *wawu* ‘unsuspectingly’; *munguy* ‘continually’; *ngiḍawa* ‘singly’, ‘alone’ (and variant form *ngiḍawirrka*); *balḍji* ‘slowly’, ‘less’; *djayaḷ* ‘slowly’, ‘less’; *giḍa-giḍa* REDUP-quick ‘quickly’; *baḍatj* ‘fail to’; *madjirri* ‘again’, ‘next’ (this

form does not take PERL suffixation like *yili*); *rungili* 'while on the run'; *bubali* 'indiscriminately'; *djuditj* 'following after' (cognate to GUP *dhudi* 'buttocks'); *yalkuy* 'for a while', 'temporarily'; *munitj* 'silently', 'hidden'; *gididjirrimi* 'together'; *giliwilimi* 'together'; *yungan* 'secretly', 'unobserved'; *baman* 'a long time interval'; *gididjirringi* 'huge', 'enormous'; *gumbala* 'empty-handed'; *yipi* 'in one direction'. There are undoubtedly others, but certainly the class of true adverbs is not large. Some of these can be used as stems to form verbs using THEM SR and/or INCHC.

Two Intensifiers are commonly used adverbially. One is the word *pirr* 'very', which usually occurs in the expression *baman pirr* long.time.interval INTENS 'a very long interval of time'; it can occur by itself, though rarely. A more common adverbial INTENS morpheme is the particle *mirrpm(i)*, which is formally identical to the PERL case affix, though *mirrpm(i)* 'very', 'at the height of', is a free form having no connotations related to the PERL function. This particle intensifies the activity, and may also be used adjectivally to intensify a noun, e.g. *wana mirrpm* 'very big'. Though *mirrpm(i)* often may be translated 'very', this is not adequate in all instances, for example with the season noun *rarranydjarr* 'south wind', 'cold weather season'; the expression *rarranydjarr mirrpm* means 'at the height of the cold season' (i.e. at the very coldest time of the year). Another example is (234) below, where the particle indicates deepness of sleep.

- (234) *nyan ngurri-nyina.. nyani ngurri-nyin mirrpmi, yul*
 3sgNOM sleep-RPA+DUR 3sgNOM sleep-RPA INTENS [manUNM]NOM
 The man fell into a very deep sleep. (24:126-127)

Certain nouns and certain verbs may be used adverbially. Of the class of nouns which may be used adverbially, most are body-part nouns. Only a couple of verbs have been observed with adverbial functions. The stem of the verb *balpar-gi* come.to-FUT 'come to', 'visit', may be used as an adverb meaning 'in company', as in (235). The verb *ngurri-dji* lie.down-FUT can be used adverbially (see 236) with ABL to express the meaning 'from a lying position' (do an action), and the locative particle *ngidjirrkngi* 'near' can similarly be used with ABL to express 'from close at hand' (do an action). Thus this use of ABL is probably quite productive, although I have only a couple of examples in the collected texts. The most common adverbial verb is *djirri-dji* stand-FUT, which, when used adverbially, has meanings such as 'erectly', 'standing', 'with head raised' and 'straight-legged', depending on the verb which it modifies. Examples (4) and (5) illustrate the first two meanings: in (4) the meaning is 'standing', in (5) it is 'standing erect' (i.e. to get one's head as high as possible).

- (235) *balpiri lim ka-ng kiri-Ø*
 in.company 1plincERG take-FUT PROG-FUT
 We will take him in company with us. {65:44}
- (236) *ngurri-nyi-ngir dji?-tjaltji-bi-n tjarrri-Ø*
 lie.down-TPC-ABL DIST-ground-OR-PRES EXIST-PRES
 From a lying position he keeps on lifting it. {67:71}

Body-part nouns may be used to derive adverbs. They usually take either the THPRO affix *-(i)pm(i)* or the INSTR case marker *-dji*, though occasionally a marker is lacking. Adverbial phrases are possible, using body parts. A common adverbial phrase is *bumiri X* forehead X, where X is a number such as *wurpm(i)* 'one' or *bininggili* 'two'. Such a phrase means 'one time', 'two times' etc. according to the number which X represents. Reduplicated body parts may be used adverbially; for example, *biri-biri* chest-chest means 'face-to-face' or 'facing each other' or even 'side by side'.

Example (237) illustrates *gumbirri* ‘hand’ used with both INSTR and THPRO marking, to express the meaning ‘(by the hand) gently’. Further examples may be observed in (171) and (61). In the latter, the body part *biri* ‘chest’ is fused with what may have been an allomorph of ALL case; in any case, the form *birintili-* is now used as an adverb indicating ‘springing forth from a person’.

- (237) *girr ngunu gumbirr-dji-pm bili-ny ka-ny,*
 SEQU [thatUNM]ERG hand-INSTR-THPRO 3du-ACC take-RPC
 Then those (people) took them gently (away). {32:159}

The following nouns, none of which are body parts, have been observed as adverbs: *wurpm* ‘once’, ‘only’; *djunupa* ‘straight’ – used in the sense ‘straight away’ or ‘directly’; *wurpi* ‘other’, ‘different’ – used in the sense ‘differently’; *mirgi* ‘bad’ – used in the sense ‘badly’; *warrarri* ‘red clouds (at sunset)’ – used in the sense ‘(set) redly’. Example (238) illustrates *birral* ‘true’ used in the sense ‘truly’ and (239) illustrates the noun *garray* ‘good’, ‘excellent one’ used with INSTR marking as the adverb ‘well’ or ‘excellently’.

- (238) *yarim nyani, marr-yirrim-kiŋ-dji-n birral,*
 just 3sgNOM soul-true-PROP-THEMSR-RPA trueUNM
 He just truly believed. {33:115} (or He believed it to be true.)

- (239) *nyuni garray-dji giri-∅*
 2sgNOM good-INSTR go-FUT
 You will do/live really well. {53:20}

The adverbial item, irrespective of its word class, may occur either before or after the verb complex. Clause-initial position seems to be slightly favoured. Adverbs formed from body-part nouns most commonly occur preceding the verb complex.

3.13 AUXILIARY VERBS

Yolngu languages use a closed set of motion and stance verbs as auxiliary verbs in order to express durative aspect, with varying nuances according to the actual auxiliary verb used. Morphy (1983:89-90) lists four such verbs in Djapu: *yukurra* ‘lie down’; *dhärra* ‘stand’; *nhina* ‘sit’; and *marrtji* ‘go’. In Djapu, *yukurra* is the most commonly used. Djinang likewise has a set of auxiliaries, except that the Djinang inventory includes a few verbs not in Morphy’s set. The Djinang set is, exhaustively, and in order of frequency, *kiri-∅* go-FUT ‘go’; *nyini-dji* sit-FUT ‘sit’, ‘be’; *giri-∅* go-FUT ‘go’ (note the word-initial voicing contrast); (the following occur infrequently) *djirri-dji* stand-FUT ‘stand’; *ngurri-dji* lie.down-FUT ‘lie down’; *nynydjirri-∅* go.quickly-FUT ‘go quickly’, ‘run’; *wali-ki* crawl-FUT ‘crawl about’; and *gukirr-dji* walk.about-FUT ‘walk about’. The Djinang inventory thus numbers eight auxiliary verbs.

The full number of auxiliary verbs in Djinba is unknown, but is unlikely to be greater than the number of Djinang auxiliaries. The following auxiliary verbs are attested in my Djinba data: *gar(a)-mak* go-FUT used as either a PROG or HABIT auxiliary; *djarra-k* stand-FUT, the archaic form of the verb ‘stand’, used as an EXIST auxiliary (this form is not used as a main verb); and *nyina-k* sit-FUT used as an auxiliary with Durative function, though the precise nuance is as yet unknown.

Auxiliary verbs, in Djinang and Djinba, always immediately follow the main verb and always agree in inflection with the inflection of the main verb. Auxiliary verbs are of frequent occurrence. In

my shorter database, there are 315 auxiliary verbs, with the following frequencies of occurrence: *kiri-Ø* 63.5%, *nyini-dji* 18%, *giri-Ø* 12%, *djirri-dji* 2%, *ngurri-dji* 2%, *ṇunydjirri-Ø* 1.5%, *wali-ki* 1%, and *gukirrdji* 0% (the last does occur in my total database).

While the basic function of each auxiliary is to denote DUR aspect, various different nuances are obtained by varying the auxiliary used in the construction. The actual nuance depends on the unmarked lexical meaning of each auxiliary when used as a main verb, at least for the less frequently used auxiliary verbs. On the other hand, the frequently used auxiliaries have very precise meanings, and the meaning relationship of each to the same verb used as a main verb is not so direct. For example, the only example I know of where *gukirrdji* is used as an auxiliary is *dirra-dji-m gukirri-Ø* eat-THEMSR-PRES walk.about-PRES 'are walking about eating' – which was used to describe the behaviour of a couple of local pigs.

The PROG auxiliary *kiri-Ø* is glossed by speakers who have some facility in English as 'all the way' (i.e. continuative). This is to be interpreted either spatially or temporally (i.e. 'all the time till done'), according to context. With motion verbs, this auxiliary indicates that the motion is taking place along a locus in space, typically until a goal is attained. The goal of the motion is defined by the context, usually overtly but not necessarily so. (This auxiliary is very commonly used in conjunction with DUR vowel lengthening, being synonymous in such a context.) With non-motion verbs, it indicates that the event is taking place over a span of time, until some contextually determined completion obtains. Example (240) illustrates a common phrase in which the PROG auxiliary is used temporally in this way.

- (240) *djin ngurri-ny kiri-ny djaḍaw*
 3plNOM sleep-RPC PROG-RPC [daybreakUNM]LOC
 They slept till daylight. {34:149}

From the preceding paragraph, it is clear that termination of the activity is compatible with the use of this auxiliary. The termination of the activity is very often the next clause in the stream of speech, so that the PROG auxiliary may be used in a context of sequential action – where the departure point of the later action is the former action (i.e. the one which involves the PROG auxiliary). A good example of this kind of construction is example (241), in which the Sequence function is emphasised by the TF clitic *-ban*. Notice that *kiri* is not used in this example. This is because the same verb cannot be both a main verb and an auxiliary verb in the same clause. For this reason, whenever the main verb is *giri* 'go', the PROG auxiliary is suppletively *nyini-* 'sit' (there are 35 examples of this in my shorter database). As a result, the proportion of actual instances of the Progressive function in the shorter database is 74.5%, and the proportion of instances of auxiliary *nyini-dji* sit-FUT with non-PROG function drops to 7%. Djapu likewise suppletively changes the auxiliary form, when otherwise the auxiliary and main verbs would be identical (Morphy 1983:90). There is one exception in Djinaṅg: the main verb *giri-* with auxiliary *giri-* is permitted (it occurs once in my data).

- (241) *libi kiri-ny nyini-ny nganaparra-ban-dirri-ny bil*
 1plexcNOM walk-RPC PROG-RPC [buffalo-TF]ACC-1sg-ACC 3duERG
milḷiripi-ni kiri-ny yarraman
 show-RPC PROG-RPC [horseUNM]ACC
 We were walking along (and) then they showed me buffalo and horses. {34:46-47}

Not all instances of PROG *kiri-* imply sequence, nor even completion. Very often the auxiliary is used to merely mark duration, and the termination or completion of the activity is vague. An example of this occurs in the second clause of (241) above: the context does not indicate when the action of

pointing out buffalo and horses ceased – it is left vague. In such a context, the PROG auxiliary merely indicates that the subject is preoccupied in or busy doing an activity over a length of time. A Djinang speaker explained this to me using the following example:

- (242) *bambuli nyani ngami-n kiri-m*
 [bark.paintingUNM]_{ACC} 3sgERG paint-PRES PROG-PRES
 He is busy painting the bark. {67:53}

The nuance here is that he is painting ‘all the way’ till he finishes and so is unavailable for any other activity. The activity is done until completion or till the purpose for which it is done is satisfied. In English, we would simply say he is ‘busy doing’ as in the gloss above. However, quite often PROG is best left untranslated, provided it is clear from the context that the event is non-punctual.

The HABIT auxiliary *giri-* denotes events which are habitually or customarily done. A good translation in English is ‘used to do X’ or ‘always does X’. Examples of HABIT have occurred previously in (10), (21), (101) and (164); a further one is found in (32:25).

The two auxiliaries *nyini-* ‘sit’ and *djirri-* ‘stand’ mark EXIST aspect. They are used in the context of an event which is a durative state. There is sometimes a difference in meaning between the two, mainly when these forms are used to indicate an event done either ‘while sitting’ or ‘while standing’, respectively. Thus, (243) illustrates an event in PRES tense, where this meaning of ‘standing cutting’ obtains. However, the verb suffix *-m* also may indicate yesterday-past tense, in which case EXIST aspect would mean ‘was standing cutting’, or it could be used to mean ‘used to cut’. The FUT form (*djirri-dji*) of the *djirri-* EXIST auxiliary indicates ‘will begin to do X’, that is, the inception of an existential state of ‘doing X’.

- (243) *djunggi ngarr-irr djari-m tjarri-∅*
 [woodUNM]_{ACC} 1sgERG-1sgERG cut-PRES EXIST-PRES
 I am standing cutting wood.

The *djirri-* ‘stand’ EXIST auxiliary does not always indicate ‘standing doing’ when used with PRES tense. For example, (236) in section 3.12 illustrates an action done from a lying position, and the *djirri-* EXIST ‘stand’ auxiliary is used. (Needless to say, the *ngurri-* ‘lie down’ INTERM auxiliary can be used instead in (236), in which case the meaning of that auxiliary will be ‘lying doing’.) When either EXIST auxiliary is used in a purely existential sense, there is a preference for the *nyini-* ‘sit’ form to be used with states involving +HU referents, while *djirri-* is likely to be used with -HU referents – especially with places and towns. Example (244) illustrates the *nyini-* EXIST auxiliary used to indicate a state of observing. In this story, a dead relative (MoMoBr) watches ego (a living human) whenever the latter eats a certain type of yam. (Later, when ego dies, the watcher will tear out his backbone in the afterlife to get at the yam food, then heal the wound.) It is clear that in this example, the act of watching is a state which obtains over a long time (in fact, over ego's whole life).

- (244) *nyani ngilitj-angi, ngilitj-angi midji, a litj-ny*
 3sgERG 1duinc-GEN 1duinc-GEN [MoMoBrUNM]_{ERG} - 1duinc-ACC
nya-ng nyini-dji, midja-r, djirritjirr inydji ga-ngi
 see-FUT EXIST-FUT MoMoBr-ERG [yamUNM]_{NOM} RECIP take-FUT
 And our (male) granny will be watching us: yams being taken... (for ourselves).
 {42:6-7}

By way of summary then: these two EXIST auxiliaries may be used to indicate a durative event in which the action is done either 'sitting' or 'standing' according to the auxiliary verb used. Alternatively, they may signal an existential state of doing an action, with no connotations of either sitting or standing. When *djirri-* 'stand' EXIST aspect is used with FUT tense, it indicates that at a future time an existential durative state is about to begin. The *nyini-* 'sit' EXIST auxiliary is the one typically used with +HU nominal referents; -HU nominal referents are more likely to occur with the *djirri-* 'stand' EXIST auxiliary. Which function of the various functions that may be marked by these auxiliaries actually obtains in any one clause, is conditioned by semantic rather than grammatical factors. Some examples of these auxiliaries occur in the cited texts as follows: *djirri-* EXIST in (22:216); and *nyini-* EXIST in (34:261).

We now come to the three remaining auxiliaries: *ngurri-* 'lie down' Intermittent aspect; *nunydjirri* 'run', 'go fast' Hastitive aspect; and *wali-* 'crawl' Ramblitive aspect. Each of these auxiliaries may probably also be used to indicate a durative action done 'while lying', 'while running' and 'while crawling', respectively. I have one example of *ngurri-* INTERM auxiliary being used to indicate duration of an action done while lying (see the comments on (236) immediately above). I do not have clear examples of the other two being used this way, though I am quite certain that they can be used similarly. The *nunydjirri* 'run' HAST auxiliary, not used as a hastitive but used in a sense akin to its lexical meaning of 'run', is illustrated in (245). The semantic subject is a 'road' and, as in English, Djinang speakers say that a road 'lies' at a certain location. In English, we can say that a road 'runs' to a certain place. It appears that this sense also obtains in the use of *nunydjirri* as an auxiliary, when used in such a context. (This example was not elicited, but is taken from a story where the cited clause is synonymous with a previous clause in which the PROG auxiliary *kiri-* is used, with DUR marking as well, and with the same main verb and subject.)

- (245) *a nyani gadjigarr ngurri-∅ nunydjirri-ma.*
and 3sgNOM [roadUNM]NOM lie-PRES HAST-PRES+DUR
And the road there runs on and on. {50:48}

However, the usual meaning of *nunydjirri* 'run', 'go fast' when used as an auxiliary is to indicate HAST aspect: that is, an action done with haste or a repeated action done with rapidity or a state which comes into being very quickly. Example (246) illustrates HAST aspect indicating a state which obtains rapidly; the context is that of a husband and wife energetically procreating, and (246) refers to the state of affairs which will obtain with respect to the numbers of their children. Example (247) illustrates the same auxiliary used to indicate a punctual action repeated with extreme haste. The context is that of a very overworked bank employee on payday. Notice that FUT inflection on the main verb may optionally be omitted when an auxiliary verb follows, as in (246) and (247). (The omission of FUT inflection on the main verb is obligatory with class 1 and 2 verbs, which take FUT *-gi*; but is optional with class 3 verbs, which take FUT *-dji*. In the latter case, one Marrangu speaker preferred to retain the FUT marker, while one Murrungun speaker preferred to omit it. The omission of FUT *-gi* is consistent with the fact that these inflections are comparatively recent developments – see Chapter 4.)

- (246) *ga yili bi[?]-pung-tji-gi girri, a galbi-dji nunydjirri-∅*
and again DIST-born-THEMSR-FUT COMPL and many-INCHO HAST-FUT
And again (children) will keep being born, and will quickly become many. {49:142-143}
- (247) *nyani wukirri-dji nunydjirri-∅ rrupiya gu-ng*
1sgNOM write-THEMSR HAST-FUT [moneyUNM]ACC give-FUT

nunydjirri-∅ ganydjirr-dji
HAST-FUT power-INSTR

He will rapidly write, quickly giving out money with great haste. {65:37}

The verb *ngurri-dji* lie.down-FUT may be used as an auxiliary, as noted above where we saw it can be used to indicate ‘lying doing X’. It is not often used with this sense however. It normally indicates one of two other functions: firstly, INTERM (durative) aspect; that is, an action which takes place for a while, stops for a while, takes place for a while once more, then stops once more, and so on. Secondly, it may indicate an action done with concentration on the part of the doer, so that he is oblivious to events taking place around him. The latter function may be translated as ‘busy doing X’ or possibly ‘single-mindedly doing X’. The sense ‘busy doing X’ is illustrated in (248), where the man is oblivious to everything except his painting activity. This example can also mean ‘he painted intermittently’. The example is truly ambiguous, and only the context can indicate which meaning is intended: either ‘busy painting’ or ‘intermittently painting’. In (249), the only interpretation possible is ‘intermittently raining’, since raining is not a volitional act.

The semantic connection between the main verb meanings ‘lie down’, ‘sleep’ and the auxiliary verb meaning ‘do X oblivious to events around oneself’ is not hard to perceive, but the connection with the meaning ‘intermittently do X’ is not so easily seen. Possibly the latter obtains because sleep is an activity done intermittently throughout the day, according to need, so that sleep is viewed as an intermittent punctuator of other human activities. Finally, notice in (248) that the normal *-nmi* PRES inflection for class 2 verbs is shortened to *-n* before an auxiliary verb. This shortening always obtains in such an environment. (This could be evidence that the Djinang and Djinba *-nmV* sequence in class 2 verb inflections historically developed from an earlier **-n-mV* sequence; this is supported by the fact that in other Yolngu languages the equivalent morpheme is *-n(V)* whether or not an auxiliary verb follows.)

(248) *bambuji nyani ngami-n ngurri-∅*
[bark.paintingUNM]ACC 3sgERG paint-PRES INTERM-PRES
He is busy painting a bark painting. {67:50}

(249) *nyani riki-∅ ngurri-∅*
3sgNOM rain-PRES INTERM-PRES
It is raining intermittently.

The final auxiliary verb is *wali-ki* crawl-FUT which may be used to indicate RAMBL durative aspect; that is, a motion which involves no specific direction or goal, but just rambles about from place to place. It may be used with non-motion verbs to indicate an action done at various different and arbitrary places, such as in (250). With a motion verb such as ‘float’, it indicates an aimless floating activity, as when a canoe is set adrift. A similar example is given below in (251), where the mother and father of a dead boy have not properly disposed of the dead son’s bones, but continue to carry them about with them from place to place. All examples of this auxiliary in my database involve only this function of ramblitive activity.

(250) *ngambirra-r gunydjirra-r bil ka-ny wali-ny ngirki*
mother-ERG father-ERG 3duERG take-RPC RAMBL-RPC [boneUNM]ACC

bil minigi-nyi, wiltjnyi-wil-tj-nyiri-ng
3duERG carry-RPC REDUP-crooked-THEMSR-NMLSR-NMLSR(archaic)

(His) mother and father were taking the bones about with them, they were carrying them from place to place. {50:75-76}

- (251) *giliwilim bil ngurri-ny wali-ny*
 together 3duNOM sleep-RPC RAMBL-RPC
 They slept together in various places. {66:102}

<i>kiri</i>	PROG	'do X all the way/time till done' 'preoccupied doing X', 'busy doing X'
<i>giri</i>	HABIT	'always doing X', 'used to do X'
<i>nyini-</i>	EXIST	'be existential state of doing X' (mostly +HU) 'sitting doing X'
<i>djirri-</i>	EXIST	'be existential state of doing X', 'begin to do X' 'used to do X', 'standing doing X'
<i>nunydjirri</i>	HAST	'hastily doing X', 'quickly becoming X' 'repeat X rapidly'
<i>ngurri-</i>	INTERM	'intermittently do X', 'single-mindedly do X' 'lying doing X'
<i>wali-</i>	RAMBL	'do X from place to place arbitrarily'
<i>gukirri-</i>	-	'do while walking about'

3.14 REDUCED PRONOUNS

Reduced pronouns have already been mentioned in sections 2.2, and 2.8. This present section will give the reduced pronoun paradigms, their syntax within the verb complex (VC) and their function in the VC. The etymology of reduced pronouns is discussed in Appendix 2.

Reduced pronouns are used primarily in the system of interclause cohesion, to cross-reference a (semantic) subject or non-subject referent. Reduced pronouns may occur in the same clause as a coreferential full pronoun. When this obtains, the full pronoun typically marks a switch in participant focus (i.e. a switch in reference, usually subject reference). They may also occur with a coreferential NP in the same clause. Usually, however, once reference has been established in a given clause, overt subject and non-subject NPs are omitted from surface structure, and the coreferential reduced pronouns function as sufficient referencing forms for the deleted NPs. This function of reduced pronouns is typical of bound pronoun forms which occur in very many Australian languages, and needs no elaboration here. As in other languages, the Djinang and Djinba reduced pronouns agree in person and number with the referent of the NP with which they are coreferential. Reduced pronoun inflections may only be NOM, ERG, ACC or DAT, the NOM and ERG forms being homonymous.

DAT reduced pronouns may also be used as possessive pronouns within an NP. Examples (58), (88), (89) and (94) demonstrate DAT reduced pronouns used this way. Further instances of DAT reduced pronouns may be seen in the cited texts as follows: (22:203), (24:152), (32:39, 40, 49) and (34:245). Used as a possessive pronoun in a NP, the DAT reduced pronoun usually is last in the NP. When such a NP precedes the verb, the DAT reduced pronoun has a high probability of occurring immediately preceding the subject reduced pronoun. In this circumstance it is difficult to tell whether the DAT reduced pronoun is part of the NP or part of the VC. An example illustrating this ambiguity follows. The reduced pronoun *in.ga* 3sgDAT could be a possessive indicating 'his

various camps' or a constituent of the VC indicating directionality, as 'we will go to him at (his) various camps'. I think the former possibility is the more likely in this example.

- (252) *gurrbi-gurrbi in.ga lim giri-∅*
 [camp-campUNM 3sgDAT]ALL 1plincNOM go-FUT
 We will go to his various resting places. {34:375}

In the rest of this section, we shall consider only reduced pronouns within the VC. Reduced pronouns immediately precede the main verb. A maximum of two reduced pronouns may occur in this position; in certain circumstances only one is permitted (see below).

The order of reduced pronouns in pre-verbal position is governed by the overt or covert case of the coreferential NP: the semantic subject always immediately precedes the main verb, and if another reduced pronoun occurs, it will precede the subject reduced pronoun and cross-reference a non-subject participant. Usually the non-subject reduced pronoun will immediately precede the subject one, but if the RECIP particle occurs, then the non-subject reduced pronoun will precede the RECIP particle – and it must be a DAT reduced pronoun. Also, if one of the DIRECT particles *bi* HITH 'towards', 'to here' or *minydjji* THITH 'away from', 'from here' occurs in the clause, a non-subject reduced pronoun rarely occurs as well, though it does happen. For instance, a clause like *bi in.ga nibi giri-∅* (phonetically [bin.ga nibi giri] HITH 3sgDAT 1plincNOM go-FUT 'we will come to him here' has two reduced pronouns occurring with the *bi* HITH particle.

The following diagram illustrates the syntax of reduced pronouns in the VC, where X is an ERG or NOM reduced pronoun, and Y is an ACC or DAT reduced pronoun. Parentheses indicate optionality.

1. ([Y]non-subject) [X]subject main verb...
2. ([Y]non-subject) RECIP [X]subject main verb...
3. DIRECT ([Y]non-subject) [X]subject main verb...

A third reduced pronoun may occur post-verbally. However this may obtain only provided the following conditions all obtain: firstly, if a pre-verbal non-subject reduced pronoun occurs then it must be ACC; secondly, the post-verbal reduced pronoun must be DAT; and thirdly, the DAT reduced pronoun must indicate a peripheral function, such as Benefactive, Malefactive, Aversitive or Possessive.

An example of a post-verbal reduced pronoun occurring with two pre-verbal reduced pronouns was given previously in (91), section 2.9. Example (253) illustrates a DAT reduced pronoun occurring post-verbally with Benefactive function, and possibly no pre-verbal reduced pronoun. (It is not clear from the context whether two persons were carrying the flesh, so that the subject reduced pronoun was omitted here, or whether the narrator's companion carried it – in which case the reduced pronoun would be ∅ 1sgERG. I think the former possibility is more likely.)

The subject reduced pronoun is not often omitted, though it does happen sporadically, and with slightly increased frequency, when a DIRECT particle occurs in the VC. Sometimes the omission of a subject reduced pronoun occurs when the speaker wishes to keep the subject referent vague, so that an appropriate English translation is by a passive construction; however, most omissions of this sort are just performance slips.

- (253) *wurpm birrangany mi[?]-minigi-ny kiri-ny libila,*
 [oneUNM carcass.sideUNM]_{ACC} DIST-carry-RPC PROG-RPC 1plexDAT
djangu
 [fleshUNM]_{ACC}
 (We/he) carried one side of the carcass for ourselves. {34:291}

Another context in which reduced pronouns may also occur following the main verb is when RECIP is used with either a Reciprocal or a Reflexive function. Typically the RECIP particle, and whatever reduced pronouns occur with it in pre-verbal position, are repeated following the verb. This unambiguously signals either the Reciprocal or the Reflexive sense; most commonly this construction is used for drawing attention to Reciprocity of the action between subject referents. For example, *biling inydji bil wati-ngili inydji bili* 3duNOM RECIP 3duNOM swear-TPA RECIP 3duNOM ‘they swore at each other’. This is the one and only environment where subject reduced pronouns regularly occur with a final *i* vowel – hence we get *bili* in the above example, whereas before the verb the same reduced pronoun must always have the form *bil*; similarly for *irri* versus *irr* 1sgNOM or 1sgERG and *liny* versus *liny* 1duexcNOM or 1duexcERG etc.

It is not necessary to cite examples of the use of reduced pronouns in this section; the interested reader may turn to the cited texts instead, where instances of reduced pronouns occur in nearly every line. Instead, I will briefly discuss the use of the non-subject reduced pronouns in relation to the underlying NPs with which they are coreferential.

Firstly, in the case of ditransitive verbs, either the referent of the O or IO noun phrase may be cross-referenced, depending on which is more salient to the speaker. In the vast majority of clauses, an IO will be +HU, so that it is typically the IO NP which is cross-referenced. However, when the O is +HU, O can receive the cross-referencing, as in (195), section 3.7. Example (202) in section 3.7 illustrates both types of behaviour: in the second clause, +HU IO is cross-referenced; in the next clause, +HU O is cross-referenced. The same referent (the narrator) is involved in each instance, being salient because the narrator is describing events which he underwent. This example clearly shows that it is the salient participant which is cross-referenced, and +HU referents are usually more salient than -HU referents.

An example where +HU O is cross-referenced by an ACC reduced pronoun, while IO is also +HU is (75) of section 2.8. In the total database there are only two instances (in {50:333-4}) where a cross-referencing pronoun refers to a -HU participant. In each case the participant is the bones of a dead person. However, since a person's bones are closely identified with the person's identity, it is possible that human bones may be regarded as inherently +HU to Djinang speakers. Given this possible exception, we may state that -HU referents are not cross-referenced by reduced pronouns, this being a semantic constraint rather than a grammatical one.

Secondly, when a non-subject reduced pronoun cross-references a core participant, the reduced pronoun will be either ACC or DAT, as indicated above. However, a DAT reduced pronoun may cross-reference a core NP taking ALL case. In section 2.8 we saw instances of this type of behaviour in (79) and (80). The explanation of this lies in the fact that ALL case may be used with core participants as a more highly marked Goal-Terminative function which otherwise would be marked by ACC case – see section 2.8. Except for such examples, the case of the reduced pronoun will agree with the case of the coreferential NP.

Lastly, the only peripheral NPs which may be cross-referenced are those which are DAT-marked, usually with Benefactive function, and the referent of the DAT-marked NP is +HU, as in (254) where the referents of the DAT reduced pronoun are Adam and Eve, with Benefactive function.

- (254) *bilngga djama-dji-li-ban warngarrinyi, maypal*
 3duDAT work-THEMSR-RPA-TF [what's.its.nameUNM meatUNM
gilingkal, Gunydjirra-ri
 skinUNM]ACC Father-ERG
 The Father made animal skins for them. {53:56}

TABLE 3.4			
REDUCED PRONOUN PARADIGMS			
	ERG/NOM	ACC	DAT
1sg	<i>irr</i>	<i>irri-ny</i>	<i>irra</i>
1duexc	<i>liny</i>	<i>linyili-ny</i>	<i>linyila</i>
1duinc	<i>il</i>	<i>iltj-ny(i)</i>	<i>iltja</i>
1plexc	<i>nibi/libi</i>	<i>nibili-ny</i>	<i>nibila</i>
1plinc	<i>lim</i>	<i>limili-ny</i>	<i>limila</i>
2sg	\emptyset	<i>nyin</i>	<i>inma</i>
2du	<i>nyim</i>	<i>nyimili-ny</i>	<i>nyimila</i>
2pl	<i>ldji</i>	<i>ldj-ny(i)</i>	<i>ldja</i>
3sg	\emptyset	\emptyset	<i>in.ga</i>
3du	<i>bil</i>	<i>bili-ny</i>	<i>bilngga</i>
3pl	<i>djin</i>	<i>dji-ny</i>	<i>djina</i>

Table 3.4 gives the reduced pronoun paradigms for NOM, ACC and DAT reduced pronoun forms. The ERG paradigm is the same as the NOM one. These forms are those for the smooth dialects, which are the older and more conservative forms. Variant forms which obtain in the disjunctive dialects are given in the next paragraphs.

Some Marrangu speakers use first person plural exclusive non-subject forms *libili-ny* ACC and *libila* DAT (for example, Joe Gidarri uses these forms regularly). Otherwise, the variant forms *nibi/libi* have the following distribution. ERG or NOM *libi* occurs only initially in the VC (whether or not there is a constituent preceding the VC in the same clause). If, in the VC, another reduced pronoun or RECIP or one of the DIRECT particles precedes the first person plural inclusive ERG or NOM reduced pronoun, then that pronoun occurs as the *nibi* allomorph. The *nibi* allomorph is the older form. Examples of *nibi* in non-initial position in the VC, from a smooth dialect speaker, are found in (69), (196) and (213). In the cited texts, text 34 is from a smooth dialect speaker. Examples of *libi* in VC-initial position are found in (34:212,215,222,223,226,259,260,261), and *nibi* in non-VC-initial position is found in (34:221,224,228). The apparent counter-example in (34:225) is really a repeat of (34:224), but with the *minyldji* constituent not restated.

The following are the variant forms used by disjunctive dialects: for first person dual exclusive, *inyili-ny* ACC and *inyila* DAT; for first person dual inclusive, *iltj-ny(i)* ACC and *iltja* DAT; for first person plural exclusive, *nibi* NOM (in all contexts), *inbili-ny* ACC and *inbila* DAT; for first person plural inclusive, *inmili-ny* ACC and *inmila* DAT; for second person plural, *ildji* NOM, *ildj-ny(i)* ACC and *ildja* DAT; for third person dual, *bili-ny* ACC (a rare variant, *bil-ny* may sometimes occur) and *bilngga* DAT.

While in many Australian languages reduced pronouns are clitics, in Djinang the reduced pronouns may stand as free forms, and often do. If a reduced pronoun form begins with a vowel and there is a preceding constituent in the clause, the reduced pronoun will be bound to that constituent. Sometimes this involves epenthesis of a homorganic transition consonant. A common example of this is NOM and ERG reduced pronoun *irr* 1sg, which after word-final *n* or *l* (or *ɺ*) receive epenthetic *d* (or *ɺ*), as in (202). Reduced pronouns which begin with a consonant are rarely bound to a preceding constituent, and usually take normal word stress. When a subject reduced pronoun occurs following a non-subject reduced pronoun, sometimes there results a portmanteau combination of the two. This is also true when the RECIP particle is present. For example, *bilingga* 3duDAT plus *ildji* 2plNOM becomes *bilingga+ldji*; *in.ga* 3sgDAT plus *irr* 1sgNOM becomes *in.g+irr* in some dialects, *in.ga+r* in others; *nyin* 2sgACC plus *nibi* 1plexcERG becomes *nyi+nibi*; *inydji* RECIP plus *djin* 3plERG becomes *inydji+n*; RECIP plus *nyim* 2duERG becomes *inydji+m*.

3.15 DIRECTIONALS *bi* HITHER AND *minydji* THITHER

The DIRECT particles *bi* HITH and *minydji* THITH are of considerable interest. Like the deictics, which can have spatial or temporal interpretations depending on context, the DIRECT particles also have developed Temporal functions in parallel with their Spatial ones, although the system is not completely symmetrical. The particle *bi* occurs in Djapu (Morphy 1983:62,86) and Djinba, so it is probably not a recent innovation. The Djapu form is *be* where *e* represents long [i:] and the Djinba form is *ba*. The *bi* particle was mentioned briefly at the end of section 2.12, where one of its functions was discussed. The Djapu particle *bala* (Morphy 1983:89) has functions equivalent to some of the functions of Djinang THITH particle *minydji*. The etymological obscurity of the latter was mentioned at the end of section 3.2, in the discussion of the (kinship) DYAD affix. The *minydji* form is a purely Djinang innovation. There is no equivalent Djinba form.

Three dimensions of semantic contrast are pertinent to an analysis of the DIRECT particles. These dimensions are the following: *non-motion* versus *motion*, *temporal* versus *spatial* and *non-directed* versus *directed*. Also, the concept of markedness is involved as well, as we shall see. The preceding dimensions of contrast exhibit a partial semantic hierarchy: the non-motion versus motion contrast is the primary dimension, and then the non-motion category is further intersected by the other two dimensions. Systemic (semantic) networks (Kress 1976) are an excellent formal device for displaying the intersecting dimensions of choice implied by these categories, and a display is given below in Table 3.5. The analysis is based on 60 instances of *bi* and 42 instances of *minydji*. Some categories obtain only rarely, and thus there are only a few examples of some combinations of the above categories.

For each dimension of contrast enumerated above, the first value in each dimension is the marked value, and the second is the unmarked value. (This will be justified later.) Thus, the categories non-motion, temporal and non-directed are the marked categories. This follows from the fact that additional information is required in the clause in order to signal these categories, vis-a-vis the unmarked categories.

Motion (unmarked)	—	<i>bi</i>	towards X, back to X
		<i>minydjji</i>	away from X
Non-motion (marked)	Temporal (marked)	Non-directed (marked)	<i>minydjji</i> indefinite later time
		Directed (unmarked)	<i>minydjji</i> from time X onwards, 'after then'
	Spatial (unmarked)	Non-directed (marked)	<i>bi</i> indefinite non-remote location, 'over there'
			<i>minydjji</i> indefinite remote location, 'away from here'
	Directed (unmarked)	<i>bi</i> back to, towards	
		<i>minydjji</i> away from, from here	

I have called these particles DIRECT particles, not because they always mark a Directional function, but rather because this is how they are used in a majority of clauses (63% directional usage, 37% non-directional) in my shorter database. The labels HITH and THITH are used to distinguish between them. The label DIRECT must not be confused with the category 'Directed' in Table 3.5; they are not the same thing, though they are closely related concepts. The DIRECT label relates only to the meanings HITH 'back to' or THITH 'away from', which happen to obtain in a majority of instances; 'Directed' implies an activity directed towards or away from a goal, or temporally extended to indefinite times later than a reference time.

The primary choice to be made is whether the verb is a motion verb or a non-motion verb. A motion verb is one whereby a salient participant (usually the semantic subject and usually +HU) necessarily must change spatial location as the activity takes place. Without exception, *bi* and *minydjji* indicate motion 'towards X' or 'back to X', and motion 'away from X', respectively, when used with a motion verb. This is the unmarked case. Verbs like 'spear' involve motion, but only of a non-salient instrument (the spear). The subject does not change his location as a function of performing the action of spearing. The reference location 'X' is situationally or contextually determined. Usually it is the location of the speaker or the location of the semantic subject.

Alternatively it can be some place defined in the context. There were 50 instances of DIRECT particles used with motion verbs. The verbs were 'go/come', 'return', 'run', 'take/bring', 'assemble', 'traverse', 'carry', 'descend' and the verb 'send' which involved motion of a +HU direct object participant.

The following examples illustrate these comments. Example (255) illustrates that the referent location may be other than the speaker's location. In this example, the reference location for the *bi* particle is the place *Madjararrk*, defined in the preceding context. In (256), the reference location is determined by the speech situation, being the location of the speaker. In (257), the reference location is the location of the semantic subject (recalling that the speaker is referring to an event which occurred many years previously, so that the speaker's location is not the location from which Mr. Biyuw was sent ahead), and in (258) the reference location is contextually defined.

(255) *ngunu-ngiri, maļu-ban, Madjararrk bi liny*
that-ABL [daddy-TF]NOM [MadjararrkUNM]ALL HITH 1duexcNOM

wiņi-ni, maļu Madjararrk
return-RPA [daddyUNM]NOM [MadjararrkUNM]ALL

From that place Dad and I came back to Madjararrk. {34:280}

(256) “*Bukmak, bi+ldji giri-θ-ban, ngarri wali*
[allUNM]NOM HITH+2plNOM come-FUT-TF 1sgERG [foodUNM]ACC

ku-ng kiri-θ-ban”
give-FUT PROG-FUT-TF

“Everybody come here now, I am going to distribute the food now!” (22:202)

(257) *ngarri Mista Biyuw minydji-rr yan-ili ngurrowakng*
1sgERG [Mr BiyuwUNM]ACC THITH-1sgERG send-RPA first
I sent Mr Biyuw on ahead. {22:233} (lit. I sent Mr Biyuw away from (me) first.)

(258) *biling burri-ngir djini-ngir minydji bil milarr-dji-li*
3duNOM backbone-ABL this-ABL THITH 3duNOM go.down-THEMSR-RPA
From the earth's surface they sank down into (the ground). {19:95}

Next let us consider instances of the Directed category, when the Spatial category obtains. The Directed category is the unmarked category vis-a-vis the Non-directed category. The Directed category obtains when the following conditions obtain: the verb is Non-motional; and the verb represents an action which may be directed towards or away from some goal. Sometimes the clause will contain additional marking indicating a directed activity and the direction in which the activity is oriented, such as the ABL-marked deictic in (261).

My shorter database has six examples of the type Spatial + Directed. Example (260) needs further comment. It illustrates both *bi* and *minydji*, each used in different ways. At present we are concerned only with the use of *bi* in that example. The final clause ends the quote with the phrase *bi gir-ali* which literally means ‘he came to me’. However, *giri* ‘go’ is often used as a dummy verb, meaning ‘do’ or ‘say’; in the present example it means ‘say’. Thus *bi* here indicates a Non-motional action which is directed towards a participant in the story. In (259), an action of thinking is directed towards two women participants who had been left behind while the narrator and his father engaged on the dangerous task of approaching a wounded buffalo. The father instructs the boy to think about the women as a means of diverting his attention from his personal danger. In (261) an action of speaking is directed away from the tree in which the subject sits, and in (262) an action of spearing is

directed away from the thrower of the spear. A further example not cited here is *minydjji* with the verb *gu-* ‘give’, meaning ‘give it away’.

- (259) *a nyuni butjpu bi bilingga gingi-dji kiri-∅*
 and 2sgNOM [ladUNM]_{NOM} HITH 3duDAT think-FUT
 And you lad, (you) keep your thoughts on them (the women). {34:899}
- (260) “*Nyabini butjpu? Djiningi, djalk il garrpi-g+a,*
 how.about ladUNM thisUNM paperbark 1duincERG wrap-FUT+NF
girr il warrdji kiri-∅-ban.. ngulji
 COMPL 1duincERG ignite PROG-FUT-TF+DUR thatLOC
minydjji-l ngurri-dji?” bi gir-ali.
 THITH-1duincNOM sleep-FUT HITH go-RPA
 “How about it lad? Shall we now tie paperbark, and then set it alight – moving off while it burns, (and) at that (place) away from here we will sleep?” he said to me.
- (261) *a nyani ngunu-ngiri minarr minydji wangi-n-ban,*
 and 3sgNOM that-ABL [snakeUNM]_{NOM} THITH speak-RPA-TF
 And the snake spoke then from that (tree). {53:16}
- (262) *ngunu minydji ran.gi-rrri*
 [thatUNM]_{NOM} THITH spear-RPA
 That one (i.e. the man) speared from (there). {34:829}

Secondly, we shall consider instances of the Non-directed category, when the Spatial category obtains. For this combination of categories, the verb must be non-motional, and there will often be some indication that the event represented by the verb takes place at a definite locale. This extra information implies that the Non-directed category is the more marked value in the Directed-Nondirected dimension. Usually the locale is indicated overtly by a deictic such as *ngulji* thatLOC ‘there’, or similar form; or the verb *djirri-* ‘stand’, ‘be’ is used to indicate the location of a place. Even so, verbs which involve inherently directed activities can occur, such as ‘look for’ and ‘spear’. However, in the latter instances, there is marking in the clause to indicate indefiniteness of location within a definite locale (see (179) for an example).

When the Spatial + Non-directed categories obtain, *bi* and *minydjji* both indicate *indefiniteness of location within a specific locale*. The *bi* particle is the least marked of the two, and indicates indefinite non-remote location; while the *minydjji* particle is more marked, indicating indefinite remote location, each within a specific locale (which is usually defined contextually). Thus, in such a context, *bi* can often be glossed as ‘over there’ or ‘around here’ or similar. Similarly, *minydjji* can be glossed ‘away from here’ or ‘away from location X’ where location X is defined by the context. The *bi* particle is used far more often than *minydjji* to signal indefiniteness of location: in my shorter database there are about 25 instances of the former, but only two or three of the latter, with this function.

Example (263) shows how a deictic and a place name may be used to define the specific locale, with *bi* indicating an indefinite location within that locale. (The narrator was at that locale, and so the participants were not remote from his location – hence *bi* was used rather than *minydjji*.) (Example (263) also illustrates how the less marked plural pronoun may be used instead of a dual pronoun, once reference to two participants has been established.)

Example (264) clearly shows that the only possible sense that *bi* can have in the context is ‘over there’. This follows from the function of the DEIC affix *-ngu*, which is uttered with a pointing of the lip whereby the speaker indicates the specific location of the activity. In this case, the region so defined is to be the place in which the searching is to occur, so that *bi* ‘over there’ fits the context perfectly. Similarly, in my database, phrases such as *bi tjarrri-∅* HITH stand-PRES ‘standing over there’ occur with considerable frequency – referring to some item which the speaker can see as he speaks. Also, see (132) in section 2.12 which involves three instances of *bi*, each indicating indefinite non-remote location within a locale defined in the context as ‘the other side’ (of a stream); here again, the meaning ‘over there’ obtains.

- (263) *biiling nguli-gima, nangudu ngunu djining,*
 3duNOM thatLOC-EMPH [sisterUNM thatUNM]NOM [thisUNM]LOC
bi djin ngurri-∅ djining Galutmirri-∅
 HITH 3plNOM sleep-YPA [thisUNM Galutmirri-LOC]LOC
 Right there, two sisters (of mine) lived over there at this place Galutmirri. (34:238)

- (264) “*Lidji nyini-y djili, bil nyan+a, djining*
 2plNOM sit-IMP thisLOC but 3sgPROM+NF [thisUNM
maypil bi-rr mili-k-ngu.”
 animalUNM]DAT HITH-1sgNOM look.for-FUT-DEIC
Minydji nunydjirr-ali...
 THITH run-RPA
 “You sit here, but (as for) him (i.e. the animal), I will look for this animal over there in that (area).” He went quickly away... {34:1089-1091}

Example (260) above illustrates *minydji* used to indicate indefinite remote location. Although the specific locale is not made explicit, the context indicates that the specific locale was any place distant from where the participants were, since they were being troubled by mosquitoes and could not sleep at the place where they were standing. The next two examples show *minydji* used to indicate indefinite remote location. This function of *minydji* does not obtain very often, I know of only two or three clear instances. In (265) the subject is diving into water to chase fish to where they can be speared, and he surfaces at a place which is relatively remote from the place at which he dives in, so *minydji* can here be glossed as ‘away from (reference location X)’, where the reference location is defined from the context as ‘this side’ of the water. In (266), the narrator and his father are trying to track a trail of blood from a wounded wallaby, and the trail is getting hard to follow because the wound has almost ceased bleeding. In this example a suitable gloss is ‘away from here’ since there was no point in following the current trail of blood unless further blood was to be seen later on, permitting them to continue tracking the animal until they caught up with it and killed it. Also, I have heard the following uttered in camp: *minydji batji-rr* THITH cook-IMP ‘cook it away from here’ or, perhaps, ‘cook it somewhere else (away from where we are sitting)’.

- (265) *djini-ngiri wulkwulk-dji-g+a nguli minydji bunarrmi-dji*
 this-ABL swim-THEMSR-FUT+NF thatLOC THITH surface-FUT
a ngunu-ngir bi yigili-g+a djili bunarrmi-dji
 and that-ABL HITH immerse-FUT+NF thisLOC surface-FUT
 He swam under water from this side, surfacing away from (this side), and from there he swam back, surfacing here (again). {34:556-559}

- (266) *Ingki, djini-gim bambarr gurrpi-gi, a ngunu-ban*
 NEG [this-EMPH trackUNM]ACC follow-FUT and thatUNM-TF

buđi minydji-l nya-ng
 [bloodUNM]ACC THITH-1duincERG see-FUT

No. Let us follow this track, that's the one now (on which) away from here we shall see (more) blood. {34:669-670}

Now we shall consider the Temporal value in the Temporal-Spatial dimension. This is assumed to be slightly more marked than the Spatial value, and is reflected by a relatively high incidence of the TF clitic in clauses where this value obtains. Also, I am presuming that Spatial functions would be historically older, and the parallel Temporal functions were a development from them. Note the asymmetry which occurs here. The *bi*HITH particle can have no Temporal functions.

Firstly, we shall examine the category combination of Temporal + Directed. When the category of Temporal obtains, the category Directed is the least marked value in the Directed-Nondirected dimension. This is suggested partly by the fact that the Directed category obtains far more often than the Non-directed category (when Temporal also obtains).

For the categories of Temporal + Directed to obtain, the verb must be non-motional, and there needs to be some indication in the clause, or in the context, that time is in focus. The latter condition is typically indicated by the presence of the TF clitic *-ban* 'now', 'then' in the clause (it occurred in 12 of the 13 examples of this combination of categories). The one example lacking the TF clitic was cited as (196), and there is no explicit indication of temporal focus in the clause (although it is hardly necessary because the context and the meaning of the verb imply that the possession of the meat was a state which continued into the indefinite future). The fact that time is in focus rules out a Spatial interpretation of the function of *minydji*.

When Temporal + Directed categories obtain, *minydji* indicates that from some reference time the action continues indefinitely into the future, or that a state defined by the action continues indefinitely into the future. That is, the directionality which is involved here is that of increasing time. In English, it may be translated 'from now on' (if the time reference is present time) or 'from then on' (if the time reference is contextually determined) or similar meanings. Thus *minydji* may signal an event directed forwards along the temporal axis from some reference point on that axis. The following two examples illustrate this.

- (267) *ngiy, yul-ban minydji nyini-ny,*
 yes [Aboriginal.man-TF]NOM THITH sit-RPC

Murwan.gi-pm, Murwan.gi-p munguy
 [Murwangi-THPRO Murwangi-THPRO]LOC continually

Yes, from that time on Aboriginal people lived at Murwangi only, (they lived) just at Murwangi continually. {22:310-311}

- (268) *girr minydji manbi-dj-ny kiri-ny-ban*
 COMPL THITH firm-INCHO-RPC PROG-RPC-TF

yarim minydji wana-dj-ny kiri-ny-ban
 just THITH big-INCHO-RPC PROG-RPC-TF

Then (his feet) became firm from then on, they were just enlarged from then on. {33:57-58}

Lastly, we must consider the category combination of Temporal + Non-directed. I have only one instance, given as (269) below, of this combination of categories, and so the identification of this function must be regarded as tentative. The verb must be non-motional and incompatible with the sense 'from then on', and of course time must be in focus. Then *minydji* signals an indefinite later time which is relatively remote compared to the reference time. Notice that *minydji* together with INCHO indicates a time well advanced from the time that the event began. It would not make sense to gloss this *'It already had from then on become night as well...' or, alternatively, *'It was already from then on night-time as well...' – the PERF particle makes these interpretations nonsensical.

- (269) *nyani ngurru minydji maliri-dji-n-ban girri,*
 3sgNOM PERF THITH night-INCHO-RPA-TF COMPL

gar-maliri-dji-ni-ban
 groin-night-INCHO-RPA-TF

It was already well advanced into the night as well; it had become pitch dark.

{34:1016-1017}

3.16 NEGATIVES

There are two common negative particles in Djinang: *ingki* 'no', 'not'; and *wirr* 'no', 'not', 'nothing'. The former is used in denials, and as the most common sentential negative. The latter is not often used as a sentential negative, but is commonly used with the sense 'nothing', to indicate absence of a person or quality, or the non-obtaining of an event. The Wulaki dialect sometimes uses the negative *ngiki*, which is cognate with the *ingki* form, as well as using the *ingki* form.

The comparable Djinba negatives are *waba* (borrowed from Rembarrnga) and *wirr*. The Djinang form *ingki* is derived historically from *ngiki*, and the latter was borrowed from Burarra by the Wulaki dialect, from whence it diffused throughout the other Djinang clans. I do not know the origin of the form *wirr*, since the usual Yolngu form with equivalent meaning is *bäyngu* (which probably was formed from *bay* 'leave it!' and nominaliser **-ngu*), and corresponding to Djinang *ingki* is the form *yaka* 'no', 'not' used by many Yolngu languages. The Yanhangu equivalent of Djinang *ingki* is *rulka*. A relic form cognate with Yanhangu *rulka* is preserved by the Marrangu clan, the form being *rulapir* (see section 2.3.3 of Appendix 1) – a form no longer in use. It would appear that both Djinang and Djinba have borrowed their modern negative particles. Koch (personal communication) offers an interesting hypothesis: that the final kV syllable in these NEG forms may perhaps be a vestigial IMP morpheme (perhaps the NEG particles were once imperative verb forms of the type 'leave it!'). This is a distinct possibility, for example, from Schebeck's (1967a) Golpa data, one verb class (equivalent to Djinang class 1 – the largest class of verbs) has IMP suffix *-Ka*, the allomorphs being *-ka*, *-ga*, *-wa*, *-nga* and \emptyset .

In Djinang, both NEG particles may take suffixation by the TF clitic *-ban* 'now', 'then', or by the THPRO affix. When the latter obtains, *ingki-pm* NEG-THPRO means 'still not', 'still has not' or 'just didn't'; *wirr-(i)pm* NEG-THPRO means 'still dead' or 'just nothing'. Both particles may be verbalised, for example, I have instances of *ingki-dji-gi* NEG-THEMSR-FUT 'not do', 'say no', and *wirr-dji-dji* NEG-INCHO-FUT 'become nothing', 'be nothing', 'be dead'.

Both particles may be used as interjections. *ingki* 'No!' is used for denials and prohibitions. *wirr* 'none', 'nothing', 'no' is used to affirm non-possession of something, non-obtaining of an event or a gentle denial.

Both particles may be used as negative qualifiers in a NP, though *ingki* is by far the more common of the two used this way. Some examples are *wirr guyi* 'no fish' (24:53), *ingki ngirr-ang-pi-bi manya-nyir-bi* NEG 1sg-GEN-OR-OR find-NMLSR-OR (a story) 'not invented by me' and *ingki birral* not trueUNM 'untrue'. The NEG particles may also qualify other particles, for example *ingki bilay* 'not far away'. The particle *ingki*, but not *wirr*, may be used with the +HU interrogative/indefinite pronouns *wari* whoNOM 'who', and *wili* whoERG 'who' in the sense 'nobody'. When used this way, there is ambiguity of structure. Semantically, the NEG particle modifies the interrogative/indefinite pronoun as if the NEG was a nominal qualifier in a NP; at the same time it functions as a sentential qualifier, negating the verb (which takes an irrealis tense). An example of this occurred in (18): whereas in English we would say 'nobody wants it', the Djinang appears to be 'somebody not wants it'. Another example of this kind is given below.

- (270) *ingki wili ngunu-pilang inma bultji-nir*
 NEG [whoERG that-INDEF]ERG 2sgDAT tell-RPI
nyuni gar-gurriyili giri-m nyini-∅
 2sgNOM groin-outside go-PRES EXIST-PRES
 Nobody told you (that) you are going naked. {67:4}

Syntactically, each negative particle occurs most often immediately preceding the constituent it negates. Occasionally it may occur following the negated constituent instead, especially in negative existential statements such as *guyi wirr* fishUNM NEG 'there were no fish'. As a sentential negative, *ingki* shows a slight preference for clause-initial occurrence; otherwise it occurs immediately preceding the VC. As a sentential negative, *wirr* occurs immediately preceding the VC. Examples of both particles may be found in the cited texts in the following places: (22:198,215) (24:53,99,102,124) (32:9,20,52,59,114,116) and (34:270,272,277).

3.17 RECIPROCAL/REFLEXIVE/MUTUALIS/INTRANSITIVISER PARTICLE *inydji*

The RECIP particle has four functions. Firstly it may be used to indicate that two participants, or two groups of participants, have a reciprocal relationship with respect to the action denoted by the verb; for example, if X is hitting Y, then Y is simultaneously hitting X. Secondly, it may be used to indicate a reflexive relationship to the verb; for example, X is hitting X. Thirdly, it may be used to indicate a mutual activity in which a number of participants take part simultaneously in the action (i.e. each participant separately performs the action); for example, X Y and Z each hit W. Lastly, it may be used with a restricted set of verbs to intransitivise a transitive verb; for example, for transitive X finished Y, using the RECIP particle produces Y is finished, and X ties Y with RECIP becomes Y is tied/tangled. The intransitivising function was briefly mentioned at the end of section 3.10.

The first and third functions (reciprocal and mutualis) are quite similar. In both, a plural (or dual) number of referents are performing an activity. Thus if X and Y are each performing an action, there are two possibilities which may obtain: firstly, X and Y perform the action and each affects the other; secondly, X and Y perform the action and each affects a third party, Z. The latter situation is the mutualis function; the former situation is the reciprocal function. (The mutualis function is not limited to two participants, it applies equally well to plural participants.) It is clear from this discussion that when the mutualis function obtains, the valency of the verb is not decreased. However, each of the other functions of the RECIP particle results in a decrease by one of the valency of the verb.

A good discussion of the functions of the RECIP affix in Djapu is found in Morphy's grammar (1983:117-21). Morphy is the first, I believe, to identify in print the mutualis function of the RECIP affix in a Yolngu language, though she does so only tentatively. She analyses RECIP constructions which involve an ACC-marked constituent as a combination of two clauses: one with reduced valency (the one containing the RECIP affix), and its transitive counterpart, of which only the ACC-marked constituent appears in the surface structure. Apparently the warrant for this analysis is a prior assumption that the RECIP affix necessarily involves a decrease of valency.

The analysis I prefer is that there is not necessarily a decrease in a verb's valency when the RECIP particle occurs (or affix in the case of Djapu), but only when certain conditions are imposed, such as coreferentiality of core participants, or when an undergoer is raised to subject position – as when the morpheme is used to form an intransitive verb. There is then no need to view the occurrence of ACC-marked constituents in the clause as implying an underlying combination of two clauses when the valency remains unchanged. Instead, the RECIP particle (or affix in Djapu) merely signals the mutualis function, which semantically implies coparticipation of more than one subject participant without affecting the non-subject reference possibilities for the verb.

In this analysis, what triggers RECIP is not coreferentiality of participants in the action, but rather the obtaining of a category which I will call 'skewed subject reference' (suggested by Bill Foley, personal communication). By this term I mean that for a predication of a given transitivity type, the subject reference is skewed in some way beyond whatever constitutes unmarked subject reference for a predication of that type. Using this category it is possible to explain not only the mutualis function, but also the use of the RECIP particle with the function of an intransitiviser, all within one coherent framework and without recourse to two underlying clauses (one intransitive and one transitive) for the one surface clause.

There are two ways that subject reference can be skewed. Before I explain these ways, consider the following example. If I were to say (in English) "They told me the story", I would not be making a false claim about the event even though only one of the referents denoted by 'they' did the actual telling. If I want to indicate that each of the referents performed an act of telling, extra marking would be required. I would say "They each told me the story". Precisely the same is true in Djinang. The least marked way of skewing subject reference is to distribute it across all subject denotata as illustrated by the English example. We can then consider an additional feature of 'distributed across actors' which obtains only when the referents within the scope of the subject each perform the action.

A second way in which subject reference may be skewed is when a subject referent(s) is an undergoer of the action. This is a more highly marked situation and it is common to the reciprocal, reflexive and intransitiviser functions of the RECIP particle. This feature can be called 'undergoer(s) as subject'. Of course, the 'distributed across actors' feature will be positive for the Reciprocal function, since each of the subject referents is performing the action, as well as being an undergoer of the action. For the Reflexive and Intransitive functions, the 'distributed across actors' feature is irrelevant, for what is important with these two functions is that the subject referent be an undergoer of the action.

A final feature we need is 'coreferentiality of undergoer(s) and actor(s)'; with the understanding that coreferentiality of actors and undergoers is the only possibility which makes sense semantically, this can be shortened to 'coreferentiality'. It is this feature which distinguishes between the Reflexive and Intransitiviser functions of RECIP marking.

We are now in a position to understand the ambiguity of a sentence such as *inydji+n bu-mi* RECIP+3pIERG hit-PRES, which can be interpreted as the Reciprocal ‘they are hitting each other’ or, alternatively, as the Reflexive ‘they are hitting themselves’. Consider Table 3.6, where the system is laid out in diagrammatic form. The Reciprocal and Reflexive functions for transitive verbs differ essentially only in the coreferentiality feature. However, if there is no overt indication of coreferentiality, then only the context can disambiguate between Reciprocal and Reflexive interpretations. A better example may be (232), which is Reflexive in the textual context in which it occurred, meaning ‘Totemic spirits will not show themselves to us’. However, in another context, this could equally well mean ‘Totemic spirits will not point each other out to us’, that being a Reciprocal interpretation.

The one feature that has a positive value for all instances where RECIP obtains in the clause is the feature ‘skewed subject reference’. This feature is thus the trigger for a RECIP construction. The various functions of RECIP obtain as the other three features are taken into account.

With intransitive verbs, often the features are irrelevant (for intransitive verbs are one-place predicates). A positive value is represented by ‘yes’, negative by ‘no’; X indicates infelicity of the feature with verbs of the relevant transitivity type, and ‘yes/no’ indicates that the feature value is irrelevant for that function. The rows of the Table give feature values for transitive (including ditransitive) verbs, and for intransitive verbs. Each row of the table thus represents a feature bundle which defines which of the functions, ‘mutualis’, ‘reciprocal’, ‘reflexive’ or ‘intransitiviser’, obtains when the RECIP particle is used in a predication. A ‘no’ value for the ‘distributed across actors’ feature means that RECIP cannot have the indicated function when used with that type of verb.

		Skewed subject reference	Distributed across actors	Undergoer(s) as subject	Corefer- entiality
Reciprocal	trans	yes	yes	yes	no
	intrans	no	yes/no	X	X
Reflexive	trans	yes	yes/no	yes	yes
	intrans	no	yes/no	X	X
Mutualis	trans	yes	yes	no	no
	intrans	yes	yes	X	X
Intransitiviser	trans	yes	no	yes	no
	intrans				

I call the particle ‘reciprocal’ because this was probably the proto-function. Certainly, considering the etymology of the Djinang particle (from the kinship dyadic affix – see section 3.2), the Reciprocal function is the semantic link between the particle and the DYAD affix. However, the Reciprocal function obtains less often than the Reflexive or Mutualis functions. In my shorter database, the frequencies of occurrence of the various functions are reflexive 36%, mutualis 33%, reciprocal 16% and intransitiviser 15%.

(1) Reciprocal function

An instance of the Reciprocal function occurred previously in (110), section 2.11. Two more examples are given below. The first involves three instances of the function in three consecutive clauses; the example comes from the story of Adam and Eve, and the narrator explains that they were not aware of each other's nakedness. In the second example, a charging buffalo dodges a thrown spear; the participants are the buffalo and the spear. A further example is (233), section 3.10.

- (271) *ingk-inydji bil nya-nyiri, inydji bil nya-ngin,*
 NEG-RECIP 3duERG see-RPI RECIP 3duERG see-RPA
manymak, yarim-ban-nydji bil pumir-marrbi-ni
 all.right just-TF-RECIP 3duERG forehead-lose.possession.of-RPC
 They didn't see each other, they really did see each other, it's just that when they did they failed to perceive (their nakedness). {53:3-5}

- (272) *inydji bil bangiri-ngili ngunu-ngiri djini-ngiri*
 RECIP 3duERG pass-RPA that-ABL this-ABL
 They passed each other, (the buffalo) from there (and the spear) from here. {34:833}

(2) Reflexive function

Several instances of RECIP having Reflexive function have already been given in (8), (44), (45), (71), (157), (231) and (232), so just one more will suffice here. Example (273) illustrates a couple of points concerning RECIP used with Reflexive function. Firstly, quite often there is some extra marking in the clause in order to make the Reflexive function unambiguous. The verb *wangi-* 'speak' usually takes DAT object. With singular subject, the phrase *inydji wangi-* could be interpreted either as reflexive or as intransitive. Thus *-bi* OR case (having Intensive function) is added to the subject pronoun in order to signal the Reflexive interpretation of RECIP; similarly in (230). Secondly, a singular +HU subject referent is often sufficient to indicate a reflexive meaning (but Mutualis is possible instead), excluding the possibility of an Intransitiver function for RECIP; a -HU O referent is usually sufficient to indicate an Intransitiver function for RECIP. Thus, for example, 'The man finished off the food.' can occur with RECIP to mean 'The food was finished off.' (an Intransitiver function for RECIP). The -HU O and implied +HU subject preclude coreferentiality.

- (273) *nyani-bi-nydji wangi-ni*
 3sgNOM-OR-RECIP speak-TPA
 He spoke to himself. {67:64}

(3) Mutualis function

Consider first intransitive verbs. These verbs have no undergoers, and hence only the first two features are relevant. When we find RECIP used with intransitive verbs, it always indicates the Mutualis function. It is not possible to use the RECIP particle with an intransitive verb (such as 'cry') to express 'we cried for ourselves' (reflexive) or 'we cried for each other' (reciprocal); a DAT reduced pronoun occurring post-verbally is the normal way of expressing such meanings. (Morphy (1983:118) also observed that RECIP may not be used in this way in Djapu.)

The verb *wayku-* is an intransitive verb meaning 'to arise', 'to go up'; it can be used in the context of vertical motion or arising from sleep. This verb is commonly used with RECIP to indicate a Mutualis function; that is, each of the subject referents arises (from sleep). An example occurred in

(213) of section 3.7. Another intransitive example occurred in (117) of section 2.11, where the verb is *guni-dji*-shame-INCHO- 'become ashamed'.

Next consider transitive verbs. A transitive verb has an undergoer, but there is no possibility of subject-undergoer coreferentiality if there is an explicit non-coreferential object participant in the clause. Some examples from text are given below. (Recall that these were not elicited.) The first example is the transitive verb 'to spear', and two men each did the spearing.

The next two examples involve the ditransitive verb 'to tell', which takes ERG subject, ACC object, and DAT indirect object. In the first the IO is covert – but from the context the IO participant is the man that the two sisters are planning to burn to death. The second illustrates Mutualis with a singular subject referent. This would appear to be a clash of categories, but Djinang speakers have extended Mutualis to such situations. With non-singular subject referents, the Mutualis signals that each did the action. This has been extended to singular subjects as a kind of emphasis – something akin to 'you yourself' for second person, 'he himself' for third person and 'I myself' for first person. (There are other strategies also for expressing such meanings, such as using *ngirra-r-ki* 1sg-OBL-DAT 'myself'.) In the case of the verb *bultji*- 'tell', the phrase *inydji bultji*-RECIP tell- has come to mean 'confess' or 'explain' – both of which are forms of telling, where the focus of attention is on the subject. Clearly this is not the Reciprocal function, but an extension of Mutualis, since what Mutualis does is to focus the hearer's attention on the subject referent(s) as the doer(s) of the action. In this example there has been no reduction of valency, there being explicit +HU referents of S and IO, and an embedded clause in O context. (Incidentally, other Yolngu languages, such as Gumatj, Djambarrupuyngu and Gupapuyngu, also use the RECIP affix with the verb root meaning 'tell' to convey the meanings 'confess' or 'explain'. This is not confined to Djinang.) Another example of this type, in which the subject is singular, occurred in (76), section 2.8, where the subject referent is urged to put his trust in the Lord. The literal translation is something like 'If you yourself put (your) trust in the Lord'. A further example of this type is given in (277), in which the subject is the storm totem (singular).

In the last of these examples, Peter and John took the healed cripple to a corner of the Temple building (i.e. Mutualis), rather than taking themselves there (*Reflexive) or taking each other there (*Reciprocal). Clearly then, the only possibility for skewing of subject reference in examples such as these is with respect to the feature of 'distributed across actors', because there is no possibility of coreferentiality of the subject and non-subject referents. Hence the Mutualis function obtains.

- (274) *ingki bilay inydji bil parrtji-nir, nganaparra-ngi-nyi*
 NEG far RECIP 3duERG spear-RPI buffalo-OBL-ACC
 It was not far away they both speared the buffalo. {34:869}

- (275) *ngil ingk-inydji bultji-gi*
 1duincERG NEG-RECIP tell-FUT
 We will each not tell (him). (24:124) (or We will not confess it to him.)

- (276) *balanda-g+a, u yidjipili-pil-ngir-gi ingki*
 European-DAT+NF or child-PL-OBL-DAT NEG
djina-nydji bultji-gi, buluki lim ran.gi-rrri
 3plDAT-RECIP tell-FUT [cattleUNM]ACC 1plincERG spear-TPA
 Don't (you sg) confess to Europeans or children (that) we speared cattle. {34:114-115}

- (277) *...gima gurrbi-ngir inydji wayku-ngi nami-li-ban*
 because ground-ABL RECIP get.up-FUT high-ALL-TF
 ...because (the storm totem) will get himself up into the sky then {66:18}
- (278) *ga mun.gurr-li inydji bil ga-ngil*
 and corner-ALL RECIP 3duERG take-RPA
 And they together took him to a corner (of the building). {33:81}

(4) Intransitiviser function

The essential characteristic of RECIP functioning as an Intransitiviser is that an undergoer is the subject referent. The actor is left unspecified (but is recoverable from the context), which permits the undergoer to be made the grammatical subject of a predication. The construction is almost exclusively used with -HU undergoers when something must be predicated about a -HU referent. Thus, RECIP here shares some of the functions of RECIP marking a Reflexive or Reciprocal function, without any possibility of coreferentiality, or of plural -HU referents being able to perform the action (which leads to a 'no' value for the 'distributed across actors' feature). Example (244) involves RECIP used to intransitivise the verb *ga-ngi* take-FUT; compare it with (278) where the same verb obtains but with RECIP indicating Mutualis. Finally, (279) illustrates a -HU noun in subject context, thereby requiring an intransitivised form of the verb 'to finish' 'to complete'. (A better translation of (279) would be 'on the next day'.)

- (279) *yakirr inydji djingiri-ngili-ban*
 [sleepUNM]_{NOM} RECIP complete-RPA-TF
 A night's sleep was completed. {43:41}

3.18 COLLECTIVE NOUN *mala*

This is a pan-Yolngu noun meaning 'group'. Some Yolngu languages use it as the productive plural morpheme (e.g. Dhuwal/Dhuwala, see Lowe, lesson 83, and Morphy 1983:47). (Dhuwal/Dhuwala has an apparently archaic PL affix *-wurr(u)*, which is possibly cognate with Djinang PL *-pili*, but while the Djinang PL affix is productive, the Dhuwal/Dhuwala affix is not.) Djinang also uses the COL noun as a productive pluralising morpheme, especially when the referents of the noun are items of a well-defined set. Hence COL is used for a Plural function in which all potential referents are included, while the PL affix is more likely to be used for a Plural function in which a subset of all potential referents are included.

For example, a number of dogs were described in the following way: *mala mala galbi* COL COL lots 'a very large group (of dogs)'. Thus *mala* is used in contexts where set membership, or group membership, is in focus, rather than merely plural number. The COL noun may be inflected, but this occurs only rarely, and then only with ERG, ACC, GEN, ALL, ABL or DAT case (as far as data shows). Probably other cases could be used, but syntactic strategies which avoid marking the COL noun for case are preferred.

When COL is used, there is typically some overt indication of the defining characteristics of the set or group being referred to. When overt marking of the set is not given, nor may be implied from context, then the COL noun means 'things'; when this obtains the idea is still that they are things belonging to a set due to some shared characteristics. In (280) the narrator is talking about various types of cake made with cycad nut flour; after naming a few types, he names certain ones as 'long things' or 'long ones'. In (281) the narrator is talking about the things hit by the wind gusts where

Paul and Silas were imprisoned; it is not that a large number of the windows were hit, but all the windows, so that *mala* is more appropriate here than the PL morpheme.

- (280) *giliwiling mala, djin batji-ni*
 [longUNM COL]ACC 3plERG cook-RPA
 They cooked long things. {43:58}
- (281) ...*yarim+a window-ban mala pu-ny kiri-ny*
 just+NF [window-TF COL]ACC hit-RPC PROG-RPC
 ...at the same time all the windows were then hit (32:93)

The most common type of expression involving *mala* is that in which *mala* is the head noun of an NP, and is modified by a preceding constituent. Usually this preceding constituent is a pronoun or another NP. Sometimes it is a clause. However, regardless of what type of constituent precedes the COL noun, the function of the preceding constituent is always to specify the set of objects being referred to by the COL noun. Descriptive appositional NPs may occur following the COL noun to make the set more definite, and the COL noun may, or may not, be repeated at the end of such appositional NPs. Example (282) illustrates a set of appositional descriptive NPs with repeated COL nouns, while (283) illustrates appositional descriptive NPs without repeating the COL noun.

Although *mala* most commonly is used with +HU reference, it may be used with -HU reference also: (283) and (284) illustrate the latter. In (284) and (285) *mala* is modified by the clause constituent which immediately precedes. Brackets are included in the vernacular to make the constituent structure more clear. In (284) the verb is used with the sense of 'separate parts of a whole'. The context of (285) is that Paul and Silas went to a place where they thought people who were worshippers of God would be found at prayer; the second line of (285) was uttered as an NP referring to the people who had gone to the place in earlier times. Two previously cited instances of *mala* are found in (116) in section 2.11 and (206) in section 3.7.

- (282) *girr gu_lukng-ban mirrpm-ban yul-pili*
 COMPL [crowd-TF INTENS-TF person-PL]ERG
ngunu wana-dji mala ngun-gira-pi-gima,
 [thatUNM big-ERG COL that-OBL-OR-EMPH]ERG
warrngarriny mala, wana-pili ngurr_dawalangu mala,
 [what's.their.nameUNM COL]ERG [big-PL leaderUNM COL]ERG
 Then a very big crowd of people, the important people of the place, the important leaders... {33:98-99}
- (283) *djani mala, baman, pirr, history-dji djanguny,*
 [3plPROM COL long.time INTENS history-PROM storyUNM
gayping
 ancientUNM]PROM
 These are ancient history stories, from a very long time ago. {20:34}
- (284) *djani [[[maltji-m giri-m] mala] djanguny]*
 3plNOM [separate.part-PRES HABIT-PRES COL storyUNM]NOM
 They (are) separate parts of the story. {67:32}

- (285) *marri ngunu djiny gungi-gin-dji-m*
 possibly [thatUNM]ERG 3plACC head-PROP-THEMSR-YPA
giri-m-ban, [a yul-pili [ngurrwakn djin gir-ali] mala]
 HABIT-YPA-TF a [person-PL before 3plNOM come-RPA COL]ACC
 Possibly that (place) used cause them to think/meditate then, and (it did the same) to the
 people who came (there) in times past. (32:14-15)

3.19 PARTICLES AND LINKS

In this section we shall be concerned with the class of particles and links (or relators). Links are a subclass of particles which function as clause-linking morphemes. Links occur clause initially. Particles have wider distribution, and may occur initially, medially and finally in a clause; by far the most common position is clause initial. I will not attempt to give Djinba equivalents for the particles discussed in this section; for the most part I do not yet know what the equivalent forms are.

(1) Particle *biḍak* ‘not yet’, ‘wait’

The particle *biḍak* is sometimes pronounced *baḍak*; both forms mean ‘not yet’ or ‘wait’. It may be used to indicate INCOM aspect; that is, indicating that the event denoted by the clause has not yet been completed at the time of uttering the clause. Used this way, the particle occurs preceding the verb complex. Two other forms of the particle occasionally occur: *biḍakwa* and *biḍakma*, each having similar meaning to the *biḍak* form, namely, ‘wait a moment’. The *-ma* formative on the second form is probably the Djinba PROM affix, and possibly the *-wa* formative is related to it also. Further instances can be found in texts (22:206) and (24:101).

- (286) *ngarri biḍak irr giri-∅*
 1sgNOM INCOM 1sgNOM go-FUT
 I am not yet ready to go.

(2) Particle *yipi* ‘in a single direction’, ‘for good’

The particle *yipi* indicates that in an event in which motion is taking place, the motion is taking place in an unchanging direction. It may also occur with a temporal sense, indicating that an event is obtaining irreversibly into the future (i.e. with expectation that the new situation will be ‘for good’). The parallelism of the spatial and temporal meanings is evident. The examples below illustrate the particle used with the spatial and temporal senses; (287) illustrates the spatial sense and (288) and (289) illustrate the temporal sense. In (288) the use of *ngunyili yipi* that ALL one.direction ‘for good’ is entirely temporal. The buffalo had been wounded so often that it had only strength left to stand and fight; it could no longer run away from the hunters.

When *yipi* is used in the sense ‘for good’, it does not preclude the possibility that things may turn out to be different from what is expected – so that the event in question may not in fact have consequences which are of permanent duration. It only expresses that the consequences of an event are expected to be of permanent duration, or that for some indefinitely long time they will not change.

- (287) *yipi bilang irri-ny nya-w, bilang irri-ny gurrpi-rrri*
 one.direction FRAME 1sg-ACC see-IMP FRAME 1sg-ACC follow-IMP
 Suppose you observe the direction (which I take), (then) you should follow me.

(288) *nyani ngunyili yipi-pm-ban dji?-tjarri-ny*
 3sgNOM thatALL one.direction-THPRO-TF DIST-stand-RPC
 It (the buffalo) was standing (in one place) from then on. {34:819}

(289) *nyuni yulgu-ng yipi Darwin-∅*
 2sgNOM come.to-FUT one.direction Darwin-LOC
 You will come to Darwin for good. (i.e. not return to Raman.giŋing)

(3) Perfective particle *ngurru(m(i))* ‘already’, ‘have done’

The perfective particle is used to signal PERF aspect. Sometimes it may be translated by the English modal verb ‘have’; often it is best translated as ‘already’. For example if one is asked to do something, and one goes and does it and is subsequently asked ‘Have you done it?’, a sufficient reply is *ngurrumi* ‘it’s done’. Typically, however, it is used in a clause. It occurs as the first constituent in the VC. An instance where it may be translated as ‘already’ occurs in (269) in section 3.15. A further example of its use follows.

(290) *bidak ngurru inmila wangi-ni, nginibi bindji-rri*
 INCOM PERF 1plincDAT speak-RPA 1plexERG do.thus-YPI
 Wait, he had said to us (that) we would do so-and-so. {22:120}

The PERF particle is the base form for the word *ngurr-gima* PERF-EMPH ‘same’. This word occurs very often in the phrase *ngunu(ng) ngurr-gima* thatUNM PERF-EMPH ‘the same as that’, ‘likewise’, and in some disjunctive dialects as *ngunu(k) ngurru* (with the same meaning) – note how the underlying *ng* has hardened to *k* (some Murrungun speakers say it this way).

(291) *mir ngunu ngurr-gima wanimi-pm djanguny*
 like [thatUNM PERF-EMPH old-THPRO storyUNM]ACC
inydji-l bultji-gi
 RECIP-1duincERG tell-FUT
 Just the same as the old story we would tell/explain. {67:1}

(4) Semblative *miri/midi* ‘like’ and Exemplificatory particle *bilapilang*

The particle *miri (midi)* in Djaḍiwitjibi dialect) is extremely common. Its basic function is to indicate a semblative ‘like’, ‘similar to’. It can be used to signal a metaphorical interpretation of a word having multiple senses, some of which are figurative and some not. But probably its most common use is to signal exemplification; that is, it may be used in any context where the speaker wishes to utter a nominal or verbal phrase which adds exemplificatory information to a predication.

Thus, in some contexts it can be translated as ‘for’ (see 294 below) or as ‘so’ or as ‘that is...’. Quite often it can be left untranslated. For example, in (291) above, *miri* has semblative meaning, but in (187) of section 3.6, it has an exemplificatory sense and may be translated as ‘so’ or ‘for’ or even as ‘that is’. In (292) below it can be left untranslated, although either ‘so’ or ‘for’ are also acceptable translations. In example (73) it is best left untranslated (although the nuance it signals is still exemplification), and in (32:6) it can similarly be left untranslated.

Somewhat rare use of the particle is as a relative pronoun, translatable as ‘that’, as in (294).

Another commonly used exemplificatory particle is *bilapilang(i)* FRAME-INDEF ‘it is like that’, ‘such a one’, ‘et cetera’, and (293) gives an instance of its use. It was discussed briefly earlier,

in section 3.6. Further instances can be found in the cited texts (22:214) (24:91,112) and (32:24,25,28,62,63). The Dhuwal/Dhuwala equivalent particle is *balanya*.

- (292) *ngarri miri djanguny nyi+rr pultji-nmi miyilk-ang*
 1sgERG like [storyUNM]ACC 2sgACC+1sgERG tell-YPA woman-GEN
 (S_o) I told you a story about a woman. {66:148} (or I told you a woman's story.)
- (293) *nyani-ban nambidi+n.ga ra-ny ngunu-kirri*
 3sgNOM-TF [insideUNM]ALL+3sgDAT enter-RPC [that-COMPL
minarr, bilapilang galngayngu
 snakeUNM]NOM [such.as.a King.brown.snakeUNM]NOM
 Then that snake entered into her, a snake such as a King Brown snake. (32:22)
- (294) *ga nyani maḷng-miy-gi-pm burri-bi mir litja*
 and 3sgERG appear-CAUS-FUT-THPRO backbone-OR that 1duincDAT
baḷ, ga ḍarr kiri-∅.
 get and eat go-FUT
 And from (our) back he will bring forth (the yam food) that he got from us, and he will eat it. {42:30-31}

(5) Probability modal and diminutive qualifier *marri*

The particle *marri* is used in two different ways: as a modal particle expressing meanings such as 'probably', 'possibly' and 'must have'; and adnominally as a diminutive qualifier with meanings such as 'little bit', 'somewhat' and 'slightly'. Some examples of the latter use are *marri djayaḷ* little.bit slow 'slightly', *marri wana* slightly big 'fairly big' and *marri gadjiri* somewhat yesterday 'recently'. It is a productive qualifier when used this way, and (295) exemplifies this function; it also further illustrates the use of *miri* and *bilapilang* having the function of exemplification.

When the particle *marri* takes the TF clitic, an idiomatic sense obtains: *marri-ban* must.be-TF 'never mind'. That is, it signals inevitability of some event which was not the event wanted, and so is how speakers express 'never mind'. It is possible that this form is cognate with Djinba *marrap* 'like' (the semblative particle in Djinba which is equivalent to Djinang semblative *miri*). An example occurs in (191) in section 3.6.

Then (296) illustrates *marri* used twice in the one clause with the sense 'must be'. Further examples occur in (18), (168) and (169).

- (295) *nyi-nya-ny+a bay?, miri yidjipili marri*
 DIST-see-RPC+NF leave.it like [childUNM somewhat
yuwirdjing-ngu bilapilangi, yuwirdji
 new-DEIC it's.like.that newUNM]ACC
 (He) had a look and left it, for it must have been a fairly young one. {34:329}
- (296) *nyimbirrangarri, marri djin bultji-n giri-m*
 [what's.the.placeUNM]ACC probably 3plERG call-PRES HABIT-PRES
marri Ḍugiladitjngu
 must.be [Ḍugiladitjngu]ACC
 What's the name of that place? It must be Ḍugiladitjngu; that's probably what they call it. {34:285}

(6) Contrafactual *biṭma* ‘seemingly’, ‘mistaken as’

The particle *biṭma* is similar in meaning to *miri* ‘like’. However, there is an additional component of meaning: the implication is that whatever is being talked about does not in fact actually obtain, but only appears to obtain. The particle is used in contexts where a lexicalised presupposition does not obtain; hence it indicates a mistaken thought, translatable often as ‘mistaken as’ or similar idea. Alternatively, it may indicate apparent similitude when the reality is otherwise.

Two allomorphs of *biṭma* are *biṭn* (where the final *n* is syllabic), and *biṭ*; these are performance-governed, being more likely to occur as the tempo of speech quickens.

(297) *biṭn yul-pili nguli bi nyini-nyi,*
seemingly [person-PL]_{NOM} that_{LOC} HITH sit-RPC

bil wari-ban ganba-w
but [whoever_{UNM}]_{NOM-TF} [deserted.camp-SPEC]_{LOC}

Presumably people were living over there – but not so, but whoever (used to live there, the place was) deserted at that time. {34:995-996}

(7) Semblative *galkngu* ‘such as’, ‘for example’

This particle is rather like *miri* discussed above, but does not occur with anything like the same frequency as *miri*. *galkngu* appears to be used only with nominals, whereas *miri* may be used to express a semblative proposition as well similarity between referents of nominals. Two instances of *galkngu* occurred in section 3.3, in (162) and (168). A further one is given below. Incidentally, it is quite grammatical for *miri* and *galkngu* to occur together, in either order, though *mir galkngu* ‘like for example’ is the more common order.

(298) *Wari ngunu-pilang ngunyili giri-Ø, ngarri galkngu*
[who_{UNM} that-INDEF]_{NOM} that_{ALL} go-FUT 1sg_{NOM} for.example_{UNM}
Someone will go there; me for example.

(8) Coordination particles *ga*, *a* ‘and’

The particle *ga* is used for both nominal coordination and clause coordination. However, the most commonly used allomorph is the form *a*. The *g*-initial form is a recent borrowing from Dhuwal/Dhuwala, though it is steadily gaining ground in modern Djinang. Older Djinang speakers use the shorter form exclusively.

When used to coordinate clauses, any temporal relations of sequence or overlap between the coordinated clauses are not in focus. Example (49) in section 2.8 illustrates *ga* used both as a nominal coordinator and a clausal coordinator.

While the short form is used to indicate coordination, and therefore may be translated as ‘and’, nevertheless, in many instances it has little or no meaning – functioning rather as a phonological marker of the onset of the next breath group. Numerous instances of it can be found in the cited texts, for example (32:6,8,15,29,40,44,51,60,89,110,112,113).

(9) Other common particles

I will merely mention the other common particles. Their function and use is as would be expected from the gloss supplied with each. If an instance occurs in one of the cited text portions, I will also supply the cross-reference. Unless indicated otherwise, these particles occur clause initially and most may be regarded as links though *u* and *galkngu* are particles.

- bintji* 'in case', 'otherwise', 'lest' is an invariant form of the pro-verb *bintji-∅* do.thus-FUT 'do thus' – see (32:90).
- gam?* indicates that exemplificatory information is to follow. It is commonly used following either *bilapilang* 'like so' or *miri bintji* 'do like so', where it forces them to have cataphoric reference. When *gam?* is absent these two expressions may have either anaphoric or cataphoric reference. This particle is found in other Yolngu languages and is used in the same way.
- bil* 'but' – see (32:10), (34:268) and (297) above.
- gim(a)* 'because' – see (32:61).
- u* 'or' (English loan) may also occur before NP. It is rarely used by older speakers.
- marrga* 'therefore', 'thus', 'hence', 'so that' (expresses logical consequence) – see (32:50). It occurs in other Yolngu languages, with the same function, but is usually written as *mārr ga* in the written forms of those languages.
- ban* 'now', 'on the other hand' expresses contrast between events. Alternatively it may be used as a semantically neutral episode onset, equivalent to 'now' in such an English paragraph as 'Now at that time there was...'. If the particle recurs on a later clause, then the pair of particles expresses the meaning 'on the one hand... and on the other hand...' – see (18), and (306) in section 4.4. This particle is probably derived from the TF affix *-ban* 'now', 'then'.
- yarim(i)* 'just', 'just for a while' is used clause or phrase initially, primarily to indicate that the information in the clause is collateral: that is, extra information about the same topic is being given, or an action is taking place simultaneously with the previously mentioned action. Thus it signals a halt in the progression of the story while the speaker supplies additional information about a participant or event previously mentioned. Therefore mostly it functions at discourse level; however it can be used at clause level with the sense 'just', in expressions such as *yarim ngarri* just 1sgNOM 'just me'. Also the THPRO-marked form *yarimi-pm* just-THPRO is the way to express English 'until'. Some younger Manyarring and Murrungun speakers usually affix *-ban* TF to the *yarim* form, but the TF clitic has little semantic content in this instance other than reinforcing the simultaneity of the collateral events, or that the two propositions are true at one and the same time. That is, *yarimi* and *yarimban* appear to have the same meaning. For examples see (22:199), (32:6), (32:87,92 and 93). Note: this use of TF is completely incompatible with the view expressed by some Australianists that TF marks sequence – see section 3.20 for more details.
- manymak* 'okay' is used as a discourse-level particle, indicating the beginning of a new episode. Its literal meaning is 'good', but it is very evidently being used to mean the equivalent of English 'okay'. Even at clause level it can have this function, as in *ngarri manymak irr giri-∅* 1sgNOM okay 1sgNOM go-FUT 'Okay I'll go'. See (32:6,29,54 and 74) for its use at discourse level. The same discourse function occurs in other Yolngu languages, while some will use *Yo* 'yes' in the same way (e.g. Gumatj).

<i>girr(i)</i>	‘then’ explicitly marks temporal sequence; see the discussion of the COMPL particle in section 3.7. See also (32:26,30,41,47,66,70,72,79 and 110).
<i>bina</i>	an interrogative marker, turns a statement into a polar interrogative. Usually it occurs clause initially, but clause final is also attested quite frequently.
<i>bili</i>	‘what then?’ interrogative particle, occurring clause finally, is used when a proposition has been rejected, and one wishes to ask what the correct situation actually is.
<i>ngang(i)</i>	‘is that right?’ interrogative particle, occurring clause finally, is used when the speaker expects either positive or negative reply and is rhetorically asking for confirmation of his presupposition. It is equivalent to the Dhuwal/Dhuwala <i>muka</i> interrogative.
<i>ingang(i)</i>	‘is that so!’ is probably a variant of the <i>ngangi</i> particle, used to express surprise on learning an interesting new fact.
<i>bilang(i)</i>	the FRAME particle – see section 3.6 for a detailed discussion.
<i>djuy</i>	‘that is the one!’, ‘that is correct!’ is used typically as a single word utterance to affirm that something is the correct thing or the correct topic under discussion or the correct inference, and so forth. The form <i>djuy-ban</i> that’s.it-TF means ‘that is enough!’ (literally ‘that’s it now’).
<i>maʔ</i>	‘get on with it’, ‘go ahead’ is used to encourage a person to get busy doing the event referred to in a proposition just put forward.
<i>yaw</i>	‘yes!’ is an emphatic way of saying ‘yes’. The vowel is often quite long, sometimes receiving two distinct pulses with intervening glottal stop <i>yaʔaw!</i>

(10) Temporal nouns/adverbs

There is a small closed class of words which are used (as Morphy states, 1983:88) to ‘provide a temporal framework for the whole clause’. As in Djapu, it is difficult to decide if these are a subset of nouns, or are better treated as temporal adverbs, or even as temporal particles. They do not inflect for the most part. A list of them is given below. Notice that the word for ‘now’ is formed from the Immediate Proximate deictic stem *djini-* ‘this’.

<i>gadjiri</i>	‘yesterday’	<i>guḍarr</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>gayping</i>	‘antiquity’	<i>malip-malir</i>	‘tomorrow’ (REDUP-night)
<i>djuli</i>	‘earlier today’	<i>balnggili</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>ngurrwagi</i>	‘before’ ‘long ago’	<i>djamingi</i>	‘later today’
<i>bilimi</i>	‘a while ago’	<i>guyumi</i>	‘later on’
<i>biligi</i>	‘very long ago’	<i>djini-guyumi</i>	‘on the verge of’ ‘recently’
<i>djiniʔdjining</i>	‘now’ (REDUP-this)	<i>guyum-pili</i>	‘much later on’
<i>baman</i>	‘long time interval’	<i>warrbini</i>	‘later today’ (Wulaki)
<i>bilkirr</i>	‘long ago’	<i>maliri</i>	‘night’
<i>djarribiri</i>	‘daytime’	<i>yakirri</i>	‘24 hours’ (lit. asleep)

<i>munyi</i>	'night'	<i>djayurrkdjurrk</i>	'immediately'
<i>yili</i>	'again'	<i>madjirri</i>	'again'
<i>djamingi</i>	'later'		

3.20 TEMPORAL FOCUS CLITIC *-ban* 'now', 'then'

The most common allomorph is *-ban*, although *-pan* occurs fairly frequently also, especially after a fortis stop. The TF clitic is one of the most frequently occurring affixes in Djinang; for example, it occurs 510 times in my shorter database. Its basic function is to indicate a temporal frame with respect to which another event occurs. It may generally be translated accurately by either of two meanings: 'now' (when the time being framed and highlighted is the time of the speech event) or 'then' (when the time being framed and highlighted is a contextually determined time – generally the time of the preceding event).

This clitic has various allomorphs in other Yolngu languages, such as *-n(a)*, *-a* or *-nha*. I have not been satisfied with earlier attempts by other analysts to characterise the function of this clitic. Part of the reason for earlier inadequacies in its characterisation must surely be that it has been difficult to analyse in languages other than Djinang and Djinba. This is because in other major Yolngu languages it is homophonous with ACC case inflections, and also with certain verbal inflections.

The situation for Djinang and Djinba is different. In both languages, and especially in Djinang, the TF clitic is not homophonous with other inflections, and therefore it is recognised easily. This has made the analysis of its function a much simpler matter than the same task has been for analysts of other Yolngu languages. I say this to be fair to others, who have had to try to analyse the function of TF in the context of having had only a brief exposure to such languages, and therefore have lacked the insights that only long exposure and a reasonable degree of fluency can give. In what follows I will try to explain the functions of TF as clearly as possible, and also to show it is not a marker of sequence. And I point out that all Yolngu languages use the TF clitic in identical ways.

I have not retained Morphy's term 'IMmediate' (1983:49-50), because it is somewhat misleading. She uses 'IMmediate' in either an Imminent or an Inceptive sense. Morphy analyses the equivalent Djapu clitic as basically indicating a Sequence function, which in many instances may be translated as 'now'. Tchekhoff and Zorc (1983) analyse the Djambarrpuyngu IM clitic similarly to Morphy, that is, as a SEQU marker. Thus, I call the clitic 'Temporal Focus', Morphy calls it 'IMmediate' and Tchekhoff and Zorc call it 'SEQUence'.

It is certainly true that in Yolngu languages the TF clitic may be used in contexts where events are in chronological sequence, and that it is significant at discourse level. Nevertheless, to label it as marking SEQU is misleading, obscuring its basic function. In fact, Tchekhoff and Zorc admit that while the morpheme marks 'SEQUence', this characterisation does not always work in practice. For those instances where it does not work they claim it is marking 'logical events' (p.865) by which they mean a *-nha-* marked unit in a causal-consequential chain of development' (p.872). To illustrate my claim that this is a misleading characterisation I quote one of their own examples (p.860, example 30), retaining their labellings.

dirramu-y-nydja *nha-ngal* *garrtjambal-nha* *ga*
 boy-ERG-OPP see-P1(2) kangaroo-ACC and

bäyngu-n miyalk-thu-nydja

not-SEQ woman-ERG-OPP

(It was) the boy (who) saw the kangaroo, and not the woman.

In such a sentence, the events encoded by the two clauses are contemporaneous, so there is no possibility of chronological sequence obtaining here. But then, neither does the SEQU-marked second clause follow from the first necessarily as a logical consequence. Sentences of this type are a problem for a SEQU interpretation of TF marking, whether one takes a temporal characterisation or a logical characterisation of the Sequence function.

What the TF clitic is actually doing in this sentence is highlighting that at the time of occurrence of the first event the predication encoded as the second clause took place contemporaneously. A better translation, though more clumsy in English, would be *'The boy saw the kangaroo but not THEN did the woman see it'*, where the function of TF is the capitalised section, and the italics indicate contrastive word stress as an English gloss of the OPP (opposition) clitic in this context.

Now let us turn our attention to Djinang, and consider how TF is used. We need to remember that Djinang has diachronically developed a marker for the Sequence function between clauses in which there is temporal sequence of events. The SEQU marker is *girri* and it developed from the COMPL particle by syntactic reanalysis (see section 3.7 for full details).

For argument's sake let us suppose that TF actually *is* a marker of a Sequence function. Then, given that Djinang developed a particle *girri* to indicate a sequence relationship between events, we must ask what was the motivation for this development – if there already existed sufficient morphological resources to mark the Sequence function by the TF clitic? All the more odd is the fact that these two supposedly synonymous morphemes are both very much alive and well in the modern language, and both very commonly used – even in the same clause. Could they then be both doing the same work? Languages may occasionally behave in this way, but two unrelated morphemes, both with the same function, must surely warrant a closer look.

To mark chronological Sequence, Djinang uses the linking particle *girri* COMPL 'then', and this may or may not occur with the TF clitic in the same clause. An example in which TF and COMPL both occur is (299), in this example I gloss the SEQU-marking particle (*girri*) as 'then' and the TF clitic as 'at that time' (English uses 'then' for both functions, which would make the gloss confusing).

(299) *girr nyan-in.ga djuj-pultji-djin-ban, girr yarim*
 COMPL 3sgNOM-3sgDAT ?never.mind-tell-RPA-TF COMPL just

miny dji wanngi-dji-pm-ban, girr ngunu inydji
 THITH alive-THEMSR-THPRO-TF COMPL [thatUNM]NOM RECIP

birrin-djingi-ni-pm-ban
 turn-CAUS-RPA-THPRO-TF

Then He (i.e. God) forgave him at that time, then (the man) just continued living on indefinitely (i.e. he had eternal life) at that time, then that (man) repented at that time.
 {33:120-122}

The above example illustrates how TF and COMPL may co-occur. The TF clitic is here highlighting the time frame in which these events occurred (they are in temporal sequence, though this is irrelevant to the TF clitic per se). However, the SEQU marking is indicated by *girri*, not by *-ban*,

for whenever a Djinang speaker wishes to highlight temporal sequence, he or she will use *girri* COMPL (see section 3.7).

This example is interesting for a further reason. Another function of the TF clitic is, at discourse level, to signal the discourse peak, or denouement, of a story. It is used in (299) in this way. If TF signalled a sequence relation between clauses per se, then the reasons for the following facts would be quite obscure:

- (1) many clauses where SEQU relations obtain do not have TF marking in either clause;
- (2) the frequency of TF marking rises dramatically at the denouement of a story – whether or not the clauses in the denouement are in sequential or contemporary relationship; and
- (3) it quite often happens that TF occurs more than once within a single clause.

Considering (299), the three clauses summarise the three principle themes of the story that the narrator had previously discussed in more detail. Example (299) then constitutes the discourse peak, and immediately after it the narrator begins to draw out for his hearers the teaching points that he considers to be relevant. This is not an isolated instance of the TF clitic being used as a marker of discourse peak: see (266) which comes from the same story, at the point in the story where the cripple's feet are healed. In general, whenever a story reaches a climax, the incidence of the TF clitic rises sharply, because of its temporal highlighting function. When several instances of TF occur in the one clause, it signals an explicit extra highlighting of discourse peak for the event so marked.

This observation about TF occurring with increased frequency in the denouement of a story was first made by Joyce Ross in an unpublished and undated typescript written possibly about 1971. In it she explored some aspects of discourse structure in Gumatj. A lot of her analysis was devoted to the TF clitic's functions at word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph and discourse levels. Her basic view was that the suffix signalled emphasis or termination, especially at lower levels in the grammatical hierarchy. However she did not succeed in defining for the clitic a coherent function pertinent to all its manifestations. Moreover, I believe it is misleading to consider the clitic as marking termination.

Example (297) in section 3.19 should be examined carefully. It illustrates the TF clitic used in a context in which a Sequence interpretation again makes no sense. In that example the TF clitic is used to indicate that at the time at which the party were going to the camp to try to meet up with their relatives, the camp was deserted because the relatives had already moved off elsewhere. Clearly a Sequence function is out of the question here; the camp was deserted before the narrator arrived. And if we try a characterisation in terms of a 'logical' function along the lines of Tchekhoff and Zorc's 'causal-consequential chain of development', we have no less of a problem, since the camp being deserted can hardly be viewed as a consequential development from the narrator's act of mistakenly thinking it was not deserted.

How then should we characterise the Yolngu TF clitic? The TF clitic is part of the generalised 'Prominence' marking resources of Yolngu languages. In the case of TF, it is *making the time frame of an event prominent*. The time frame it highlights is contextually or situationally determined. In a story, it will be typically the time frame of the previous clause or clauses – which act as a temporal frame for the event encoded by the next clause (which may be either in temporal sequence, or contemporaneous with the first clause). Example (297) illustrates the latter possibility.

It is thus irrelevant to the function of TF that the temporal relationship between two clauses involving TF marking may in one instance be that of temporal sequence, and in another instance be

that of two contemporaneous events. Such temporal relations are functions of the lexical content of the two clauses (excluding TF marking itself) and also of syntactic considerations such as the order of the clauses. This is a single and coherent explanation of the function of TF marking which covers all situations in all Yolngu languages.

The TF clitic therefore acts something like a temporal equivalent of the FRAME particle discussed in 3.6. Recall that the FRAME particle sets up an event frame with respect to which a further clause makes an assertion or asks a question or so forth. In a similar way, TF indicates that the clause in which it occurs is to be viewed as temporally highlighted in a temporal frame – and the temporal frame is typically the time frame of the event(s) of the preceding clause(s). If there is no preceding clause, then generally it is the time frame of the speech event itself (that is why TF can often be glossed as ‘now’, particularly in short utterances as in conversational exchanges). The idea of a temporal frame is also the reason why the TF clitic may occur in the non-initial clauses of a clause chain, but not in the first clause of the chain: the first clause is required in order to establish the time frame. (Such non-initial occurrence was cited by Tchekhoff and Zorc as one of the warrants for treating the clitic as a marker of SEQU.)

Quite short utterances can manifest instances of TF marking; for example, it is used on first person reduced pronouns in expressions such as *lim-ban* 1plincNOM-TF ‘let’s (go) now’, *ili-ban* 1duincNOM-TF ‘let’s (go) now’ and *girri-ban* COMPL-TF ‘(it’s) finished now’. In such expressions as these, the time frame is situationally determined, and will be the time of the utterance because there was no prior utterance to supply a temporal frame. (Note, the first two expressions above are common elliptical ones in which the verb *giri-Ø* go-FUT is elided.) Another common expression using TF is *nyim-ban walirr* what-TF sun ‘What is the time now?’.

Viewing the clitic as having a Sequence-marking function is quite misleading for examples such as these – even more so if one tries to see it as marking a causal-consequential development, for there is no sequence of clauses to be tied together in such single clause utterances. Similarly, Ross’s idea that it may mark termination does not hold up very well either; though her idea that it might mark emphasis is a good one – provided we see the emphasis as temporal highlighting. Single word utterances such as *djini-pan* this-TF are glossed by Djinang speakers as ‘(it’s) here now’ or ‘(he’s) here now’, and similarly *ngunu-pan* that-TF ‘(it’s) there now’ etc. There is nothing to do with termination or sequence here; TF is merely serving to mark the time frame for the proposition lexicalised by the remainder of the utterance. In these short utterances the time frame necessarily will be the time of speaking.

The form *girri(i)-ban* given above means simply ‘finished now’. Not only is it used as a single word utterance, but also in extended sections of speech it is used in such contexts as the end of a list or the end of a chain of related events or the end of a story. These are all contexts where a characterisation in terms of sequence or logical development is not apt. (It is contexts such as these that led Ross to postulate that TF was a marker of termination.) The next example shows two instances of TF at the end of a story: the first highlights the time of utterance as the time of finishing the telling of the story, which is then explicitly lexicalised in the next clause (redundantly); and the second instance reiterates that at the time of utterance the story has reached a state of completion. (This example also illustrates FUT marking being used as a dummy tense marker when the time of the event is past time.)

- (300) *girr djawar-ban, ngarr nyun-ki malim-dji-gi, girr-ban*
 COMPL finished-TF 1sgERG 2sg-DAT finish-THEMSR-FUT COMPL-TF
 And so it is completed now, I have finished (the story) for you, (it's) finished now.
 {22:320}

This sense of 'highlighting in a temporal frame' obtains in all instances of the use of the TF clitic. It is quite independent of the relations of either temporal sequence or contemporaneity between clauses. The latter functional relations in Yolngu languages are marked either lexically or syntactically (or both) using different morphemes than the TF clitic.

There are literally dozens of instances of the TF clitic in the examples cited in previous sections. In sections 3.14 to 3.19 there are fourteen examples. The following examples illustrate the use of TF when there is non-sequential temporal relationship between clauses: (256), (266), (268), (276), (282) and (297). Others either involve the relation of temporal sequence between clauses, or may be construed that way: (254), (255), (260), (261), (265) and (286). And from earlier sections consider the following examples: in (241) the clauses have temporal sequence relationship, similarly (213), (215), (216), (220), (221), (224), (227) and (229), while in (212) the second clause is contemporaneous with the one which precedes it. Clearly TF occurs more frequently on clauses in which there is temporal sequence of events obtaining, but this is a truism about what is typical of events in stories, rather than a claim about the properties of the TF clitic.

To finish off this discussion I will give a number of selected text fragments in which TF occurs in the context of contemporaneous events. In (301) there are two sets of participants. The two fathers had earlier speared each other over an argument about women. The two respective sons arrive later on, finding them each in a bloody mess. The second clause is clearly contemporaneous with the event of arrival expressed in the first clause. Note the full pronouns used to signal change of participant reference. This also is the denouement of the story.

- (301) *biling bil yulgu-ngili ngunu-ngir-kirri djuditj-pan.*
 3duNOM 3duNOM arrive-RPA that-ABL-COMPL afterwards-TF
biling nguḷi bil nyini-ny buḍi-gining-ban.
 3duNOM thatLOC 3duNOM sit-RPC blood-PROP-TF
 They (the sons) afterwards arrived from back there. They (the fathers) were sitting there bloodied then. {19:25-26}

Example (302) is even more revealing. Two totemic creatures took up their clapsticks and didgeridoo (first clause) and then began to sing (second clause). But the third and fourth clauses also contain TF marking. In the third clause it is stated that they made a corroboree (a contemporaneous event to the second clause), and in the fourth clause that they sang (a contemporaneous event with the previous two clauses).

- (302) *biling bil marr-ngil biḷmi, wuyimbaḷ,*
 3duERG 3duERG pick.up-RPA [clapsticksUNM didgeridooUNM]ACC
biling bil birrmi-n-ban,
 3duNOM 3duNOM sing-RPA-TF
bunggul-ban biling djama,
 corroboreeUNM-TF 3duERG make

pirrmirri-ny kiri-ny-ban.
sing-RPC PROG-RPC-TF

They picked up clapsticks and didgeridoo, and they then sang, they then made a corroboree, (they) were singing then. {20:16-19}

A Sequence interpretation of TF simply makes no sense here; the last two clauses are recapitulations of the second clause. And if, following Tcekhoff and Zorc, we postulate that the ‘making of a corroboree’ is a consequential development of the earlier singing (second clause), does it then follow that the singing (fourth clause) is a logical consequence of the ‘making of a corroboree’ (third clause)? Obviously we are missing something significant if we view the function of TF in this way. Here TF where it first occurs in the second clause highlights the event of singing in the time frame expressed by the preceding clause, and each subsequent clause also has TF marking because the same temporal frame is valid for each of the clauses. In fact, this is a denouement of the story, for it was the act of making this particular corroboree by these two totemic beings that defines the modern mortuary rites.

One final example is (303), in which the second clause has TF on the word ‘afterwards’. The time frame is the first clause, which has DUR vowel change indicating a span of time over which the event took place. Within that time frame, the stockmen were taking the cattle after the speaker’s party (second clause), while the speaker’s party took the lead (third clause). Both the second and third clauses are contemporaneous with the first clause; they supply extra information about the spatial arrangements of the various participants at that point in the story. None of termination, temporal sequence or causal-consequential development make sense here.

(303) *libi kiri-ny nyini-ny+a, djani yili-mirri-ban*
1plexNOM walk-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR 3plERG again-PERL-TF

buluki djin ka-ny kiri-ny nginibi
[cattleUNM]ACC 3plERG take-RPC PROG-RPC 1plexNOM

ngurrwakng-ban libi gir-ali maṅdirri-dji
first-TF 1plexNOM walk-RPA foot-INSTR

We were walking along, they (the stockmen) were at that time taking the cattle after (us and) we were walking in front (of the cattle). (34:213-215)

The Djinba TF clitic is *-(B)ani*. In nearly all instances, the allomorph most commonly used is *-ani*, but in a couple of instances (after vowels), I have the form *-wani* occurring instead. The Yanhangu TF clitic is *-ba* (Alpher 1977). These forms are clearly all cognate, and are quite different from the Dhuwal/Dhuwala forms based on *-nha/-na*.

The Ganabingu text at the end of Appendix 5 should be consulted in order to observe how Djinba speakers use the clitic in that language. The data strongly confirms the analysis given above. Although the text is ideal for the frequent use of a SEQU clitic (if that were the true function of TF), it is conspicuous by its infrequency of occurrence – even in long strings of clauses where the events are in temporal sequence. However, it is used for events which are significant in some particular time frame defined by the events in preceding clauses, and especially in the discourse peaks. That is, it is used identically to the use of *-ban* in Djinang.

CHAPTER 4

VERB MORPHOLOGY AND THE FUNCTIONS OF VERBAL INFLECTIONS

In this chapter we shall be concerned with verbal inflections, and the various functions marked by those inflections. Unlike other Yolngu languages, which mark various tense, aspectual and modal categories with a mixture of verbal inflections and adverbial particles, Djinang and Djinba use verbal inflections almost exclusively. Thus, some categories marked by particles in other Yolngu languages are marked by inflections in the latter languages.

Much of the morphological detail of Djinang verbal inflections has already been adequately documented (see Waters 1980a), and so that material will only be summarised here. My understanding of the system of functional contrasts has broadened since writing the 1980 paper, and continues to be broadened as I further study the language. In this chapter I will give an expanded account of the various functional categories that underlie verbal inflectional categories.

I will also present a summary of Djinba conjugation classes. A full account must wait till another time. However, Djinba throws light on Djinang verb morphology, and so a brief account of Djinba verb morphology is required. Extensive paradigmatic data for Djinba verbs occurs in Appendix 3. I shall also compare Djinang with other Yolngu languages when relevant. To save repeated quoting of sources, I list them here: Morphy 1983 for Djapu; Heath 1980a for Ritharrngu; Heath 1980b for Dhuwal (Djambarrpuyngu); Lowe's (1960) Gupapuyngu grammar lessons for Gupapuyngu; Schebeck 1967a and 1967b for Golpa; and Alpher 1977 for Yanhangu.

In reading this chapter it is important to keep in mind that the system of formal contrasts and the system of functional contrasts are not isomorphic. That is to say, a given inflection may mark differing functions, according to the context in which it occurs. My aim in this chapter is to exemplify the various functions marked by verbal suffixes, and as far as possible to draw them together into a coherent system.

I have retained many of Beulah Lowe's category names for various of the verbal inflections. I do this deliberately, for in my opinion some though not all of her categories are hard to improve upon. More recent authors employ some labels which are particularly apt for the categories they mark in the languages those authors studied. For example, Morphy's (1983:65-73) labels POTential and UNMarked are eminently suitable for Djapu (and many other Yolngu languages). On the other hand, her category of PERFect fails to bring out that this inflection is used with either of two quite different time references: 'earlier today' or 'remote (indefinite) past'. In fact, as far as I could see, Morphy does not even mention this contrast, which nevertheless seems to obtain in all Yolngu languages. Attempts to use her categories for Djinang lead to loss of insight, so I have retained the Lowe categories.

The system of tense/mood/aspect oppositions in Djinang has historically undergone some significant reshaping. As a consequence, some categories which are suitable for Djapu, Dhuwal/Dhawala and Ritharrngu are not well suited to a synchronic description of Djinang verb morphology. For example, Djinang retains the Potential function (though rarely used), but no longer has a POT affix; the functions of earlier POT are now marked by FUT, IMP or the Irrealis categories. Hence the Potential function is now just one of several different functions which are marked either by FUT or by an Irrealis marker. Similarly, UNM (tense) is unsuitable in Djinang, since the Future-referencing function which this category helped to signal has been shifted to Djinang's FUT inflection, and so the reflex of the earlier UNM tense marker is now no longer 'unmarked'.

My approach therefore has been to label all the different functions uniquely, even though this leads to some homonymy. The advantage of doing so is twofold: firstly, it leads to a greater isomorphy between form and function; and secondly, it permits comparative analysis with other Yolngu languages more easily.

4.1 VERB CONJUGATION CLASSES

There are three conjugation classes in Djinang and Djinba. These classes are classes based on regularities of form in the marking of various functions. A fourth class of verbs is the class of non-thematic verbs which are not inflected, and which comprise a set of mono-morphemic verb root forms synonymous with various inflecting verbs from the three major conjugation classes (see section 2.2). This set of verbs has mainly stylistic and discourse functions. I will not discuss these further here, except to say that Djinba has used many roots from this class of verbs to derive suppletive inflecting verb forms. Thus fewer non-inflecting verb forms remain in Djinba; while in Djinang, the class of such forms is much larger, and maintains its integrity with respect to its resistance to inflection.

It will be helpful at this point to briefly review the functional labels used in discussing the various inflectional affixes. There are twelve in all. In my previous work I used 'non-past' and 'non-past irrealis'. However, 'future' now replaces 'non-past', and the former 'non-past irrealis' now becomes 'present irrealis' (PRI). Otherwise, the categories are as in Waters 1980a:143. The list of categories is as follows:

FUT	Future	PRI	Present continuous irrealis
PRES	Present continuous	YPI	Yesterday past irrealis
IMP	Imperative	TPI	Today past irrealis
YPA	Yesterday past	RPI	Remote past irrealis
TPA	Today past	TPC	Today past continuous
RPA	Remote past	RPC	Remote past continuous

That Djinang verbs have three conjugation classes is most readily apparent by comparing verbs inflected for YPI. There are only three YPI forms: *-wi* (class 1 verbs), *-rri* (class 2 verbs) and *-yi* (class 3 verbs). In my previous work on verb morphology, I used IMP as the label for these forms. The choice is somewhat arbitrary, since the same form marks YPI, IMP and PRI functions. I am now using YPI as the label for this form because it better facilitates comparison with Djinba. This does not mean that there is some kind of covert priority to YPI over the other functions (IMP and

PRI) which are marked by the same form. The choice of a function as a label for a form is merely a convenience for the purpose of simplifying our discussion.

The Djinang classes correspond to the following Djapu classes – the latter may be taken as representative of Yolngu languages typically: Djinang class 1 = Djapu class NG; Djinang class 2 = Djapu classes L and N together; Djinang class 3 = Djapu class \emptyset . Also to facilitate comparison with Heath's conjugation classes (in both Ritharrngu and Dhuwal) there are the following correspondences: Djinang class 1 = Heath's class 6; Djinang class 2 = Heath's classes 3 and 4 together; Djinang class 3 = Heath's classes 1, 2 and 5 together. The constancy of the correspondences (not in the stems, but in the inflections) between the Djinang classes and the classes identified in other Yolngu languages is due to independent retention of class distinctions in proto-Yolngu.

Although Djinang has but three major conjugation classes, each class has several subclasses. The details are outlined fully in Waters 1980a, though the main points are summarised here. Also, some subclasses are coextensive with classes defined by Morphy or Heath in other Yolngu languages. Using the YPI forms as indicators of major class divisions would lead to Heath's six classes being reduced to four, the same number as Morphy analyses for Djapu. Indeed, we can say that proto-Yolngu had four major conjugation classes of inflecting verbs.

Firstly, class 1 verbs. These have FUT inflection *-gi*, except for some small subclasses having FUT *ngi*. The TPA inflection is *-ngili*, but stems ending with one of the syllables *-pi-*, *-bi-*, *-dji-* or *-tji-* (which includes THEM SR *-dji-*) take the shorter form *-li* for TPA, while some small subclasses preserve older TPA inflections *-ngini* (for three verbs only) and *-pini* (only one verb, *bu-* 'hit', and a few stems which have incorporated this root). In all, there are eight subclasses of class 1.

Secondly, class 2 verbs. In Djapu and other Yolngu languages, the POT inflection (marking the function 'about to do X', where X is the meaning of the verb) is marked by *-l* or *-rr* for those classes which correspond to Djinang's class 2 (Heath instead uses IMP in his analysis). Djinang (and Djinba) class 2 verbs have incorporated these consonants into the stem when inflecting for FUT, and sometimes for TPA also, and these consonants are absent from the stem when other inflections obtain. This has led to some Djinang class 2 verbs having two stem forms: an *rr*-final stem when inflected for FUT and/or TPA (e.g. *ngagirr-gi* cover-FUT, *ngagirr-djini* cover-TPA); and a vowel-final stem for other inflections (e.g. *ngagi-nmi* cover-YPA, *ngagi-rrri* cover-YPI). Similarly, some small subclasses have an *l*-final stem for FUT inflection (e.g. *ngalwartjil-gi* breathe-FUT), but vowel-final stem for other inflections (e.g. *ngalwartji-nmi* breathe-YPA). It is analytically simpler to treat the stem-final *rr* (or *l*) as part of the stem for the small number of class 2 verbs which exhibit these final consonants, than to treat the final rhotic or lateral as part of the inflection. This is because the same stem-final *rr* (or *l*) will sometimes occur when the same verb occurs with FUT inflection.

In my previous work on Djinang verb morphology, I tried to handle alternations like these in terms of morphophonemic rules and phonotactic constraints. But the true explanation lies instead in the area of diachronic change. Djinang (and Djinba) once had well-defined subclasses like the Djapu L and N classes, but these have long since merged into a single class 2 in modern Djinang (and Djinba). Furthermore, there has been extensive levelling in this class, so that there is very little remaining to indicate the former situation. For example, the *rr*-final stems preceding FUT inflection sometimes are articulated without the final *rr* (e.g. *yami-gi* 'spread X out' and *yamirr-gi* are alternate FUT forms), and the TPA inflection stem+*rr-djini* may sometimes be shortened to stem-*ni*. (Comparison

with Djinba cognates reveals that the elision of the *-rr-dji-* in forms of this type is a diachronic change still in progress; it is gradually spreading throughout the lexicon.)

The other common indicator of subclass in class 2 verbs is whether the TPA inflection is *-djini* or *-ni*. The former allomorph occurs not only after *rr*-final stems, but also after vowel-final stems (only the *i* vowel occurs stem finally). Verbs in class 2 are relatively ‘old’ forms; the formation of new transitive and intransitive verbs produces verbs of class 1 and 3, respectively. Thus class 2 has had closed membership for a considerable period, and consequently has the smallest membership of the three conjugation classes. There are five subclasses in class 2.

Lastly, class 3 verbs. There are four subclasses in this class. One of these subclasses is the class of INCHO-marked stems, which take YPA inflection *-rri*; this inflection is \emptyset in the other subclasses. One subclass has but two old verbs: *ngurri* ‘lie down’, ‘sleep’; and *djirri-* ‘stand’. These are a subclass on the basis of unique TPA inflection *-nyini*, while other subclasses have TPA *-ni*. The *-nyini* affix is cognate to the *-nhan* affix (for the two cognate stems) in Djambarrpuyngu and Ritharrngu (Heath 1980b:41 and 1980a:64). Heath states that the affix indicates a punctual sense, which is consistent with the Djinang situation. However, Dianne Buchanan (a missionary linguist who speaks Djambarrpuyngu fluently) claims that they may be used as irrealis forms (private communication). These two comments are not in conflict. In discussing the ‘Past Remote’ inflection in Djambarrpuyngu, Heath (1980b:39) states that the same inflection as is used for Past Remote also has Irrealis-like functions. (See below for the implications of this.) A cognate (*-nyan* TPA) affix also occurs in Djinba for the verb ‘lie down’, and in the Djinba auxiliary verb *djarra-nyan* stand-TPA, which is not used as a main verb. This affix therefore appears to be a shared retention of a proto-Yolngu irregularity. The other subclasses of class 3 in Djinang are defined by the obtaining (or non-obtaining) of the deletion of a stem-final *rri* syllable preceding the TPA inflection.

In the above discussion, it is clear that the division into subclasses primarily depends on systematic differences in the patterns of marking for the inflections FUT and TPA. Comparison with other Yolngu languages reveals that Djinang and Djinba have innovated in developing FUT inflections. Thus the irregularities with FUT inflections may be viewed as diachronic levelling processes. This may well apply to the TPA inflections as well, however the diachronic situation there is not so transparent.

In discussing the verb suffixes, it is important to maintain a conceptual difference between the functional labels used for the suffixes, and the functions marked by the suffixes. Usually the two will be in agreement, but not always. For example, IMP can be used pragmatically to signal strong Disapproval. Labels will be written wholly in upper case (FUT, IMP, TPA etc.), while functions will be written with only the first letter in upper case (Future, Imperative, Today past etc.).

	FUT	YPA PRES	YPI PRI IMP	TPI RPI NMLSR	TPC RPC	TPA RPA
Class 1	<i>-gi, -ngi</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-wi</i>	<i>-nyiri</i>	<i>-nyi</i>	<i>-ngili, -li</i>
Class 2	<i>-gi</i>	<i>-nmi</i>	<i>-rri</i>	<i>-niri</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>-djini, -ni</i>
Class 3	<i>-dji</i>	\emptyset , <i>-rri</i>	<i>-yi</i>	<i>-nyiri</i>	<i>-nyi</i>	<i>-ni</i>

Table 4.1 shows the major conjugation classes. The columns are headed with the set of functional categories which the forms commonly mark. The first label of each set is the one we shall use in discussing the forms whenever the choice of label is arbitrary for discussion purposes. In each class, the YPI, TPI and TPC affixes are invariant forms (they do not subcategorise verbs). Similarly for the YPA affixes in classes 1 and 2, and the FUT affixes in classes 2 and 3. (Expanded charts showing the subclasses may be seen in my earlier work (1980a:144-145).) The NMLSR inflection for each conjugation is homophonous with TPI and RPI inflections; the same is true for Djinba, and for Yolngu languages generally.

One minor point concerning today past continuous (TPC) inflection for class 2 verbs needs to be made. Listening carefully to tapes has shown that there is fluctuation in the shape; sometimes it is *-ŋi* and sometimes *-ni* (with the same speaker). Both variants are about equally common. However, on questioning speakers as to the precise quality of the nasal, they opt for the non-retroflex articulation as the 'correct' way of speaking. Note also that I give the class 2 NMLSR/TPI/RPI form as *-niri* (often pronounced just as *-nir*) instead of the incorrect **-niri* in my earlier work.

One historical observation may be made at this point concerning the etymology of the TPC and RPC allomorphs. Considering the RPI and RPC inflections in Table 4.1 (and remember, the same forms mark TPI and TPC, respectively) shows that the only difference between each, for each conjugation class, is that the RPC inflection lacks a final *ri* syllable. This suggests the possibility that there has been a split of former allomorphs of one proto-inflection. Evidence for this split would be that in another Yolngu language the one inflection marks both RPI and a non-irrealis past inflection.

Heath gives such evidence (1980b:39). The Dhuwal 'Past Remote' inflection is also used in counterfactual and conditional clauses (i.e. where Djinang uses irrealis inflections). The forms for this Dhuwal affix are *-nha*, *-na* and *-nya*, and for one old speaker of a subdialect, *-nhar*, *-nar* and *-nyar*. These forms are cognate to the Djinang forms. Hence the Djinang RPI and RPC categories have developed from a split of earlier forms **-nha(ra)* (classes 1 and 3) and **-na(ra)* (class 2), thereby adding a formally marked RPC category to the language. The Dhuwal 'Past Remote' is not inherently continuous; the addition of this extra component of meaning to form an RPC category was a Djinang innovation under the influence of Rembarrnga (and possibly Burarra) as explained below.

The development of a separate RPC inflection would concomitantly have produced a separate TPC function marked homophonously. Heath cites the 'Past Remote' inflection, but does not discuss a 'Today past' function for the same inflection. It is not clear from Heath's discussion whether or not this duality of function also obtains in Dhuwal; however Lowe's grammar (lesson 16) of Dhuwala makes it quite clear that RPA and TPA are different functions which are marked identically. There is no possibility of the duality of function being present in Dhuwala but not Dhuwal. In fact, this duality is so widespread that it must be assumed to be a proto-Yolngu feature.

Djinang split the **-nha(ra)* and **-na(ra)* proto-forms into markers of two distinct categories on the basis of analogical pressure from the prefixing languages to the west. For example, Rembarrnga has distinct suffixes for the categories of 'past continuous tense' and 'past punctiliar tense' (McKay 1975:130). Yolngu languages normally mark the continuous versus non-continuous by means of presence or absence, respectively of a particle such as *ga*. The Djinang innovation enabled continuous aspect in remote past time to be marked by a suffix rather than by a particle. This must therefore be added to the list of grammatical patterns which have diffused into Djinang from the neighbouring prefixing languages (see Appendix 2 for others).

Before discussing Djinang functional contrasts marked by the inflectional affixes, I will give a brief overview of the Djinba verb conjugation classes and the major affix forms. Where possible, I will retain the same labels as I use in Djinang, with three exceptions. Firstly, Djinba IMP and YPI inflections are different, and so I will give the IMP inflections as well. Secondly, Djinba does not distinguish TPC from TPA (nor RPC from RPA). Lastly, Djinba retains the proto-Yolngu Potential function, but has innovated a unique marker for it in the modern language, the form of which is closer to Djinba's FUT inflections (themselves an innovation) than to the shapes of POT markers in other Yolngu languages.

4.2 DJINBA VERB MORPHOLOGY

In this section, the broad outline of Djinba verb conjugation classes will be given. The purpose of this section is mainly to provide a comparison with Djinang, and so many interesting aspects of Djinba verb morphology will be ignored at this time. The data upon which this section is based is given in Appendix 3. Djinba text and sentence data can be found in Appendix 5.

Table 4.2 summarises the inflections which obtain in each conjugation class for each of the functional categories listed at the top of the chart. These categories are the same as the Djinang ones, except for Potential. (Schebeck claims the equivalent class in Golpa marks 'Eventualis', which is just the Potential function by another name.) In Golpa, this category is marked by *-Gu(y)* (where *G = g* or *ng*) on verbs which belong to the class 1 conjugation (in my terminology). In Djinba, the POT category is marked differently, except for less than a dozen verbs (mostly in class 1, but some are in class 2) which take the POT allomorph *-Guy*, where *G = g, k* or *ng*. In the table, where more than one allomorph is given the most frequently occurring one is given first, and those below it are of lesser frequency (usually of very much lesser frequency). Very uncommon allomorphs are not shown. Class 3 involves two major subclasses, similar to the Djinang paradigm, and the suffixes for each subclass are given on the same line in the table.

The identification of the POT category is quite certain. For example, a POT form may be used as an Imperative; it may be used to express potentiality – something is 'about to occur, but has not'; it does not occur with a negative particle except to express a negative command (i.e. it can be used to express 'don't go!' but not *'you did not go'). Comparison with POT in other Yolngu languages shows these to be typical properties of POT marking (e.g. Morphy 1983:72-3). The only exception is that while in other Yolngu languages a particle such as *yurru* can combine with POT marking to express a Future predication, in Djinba FUT is used instead (with no particle).

Djinba does not mark TPC and RPC categories by verbal suffixes. Instead, there is a verbal particle *ban*, which has the same function as DIST reduplication in Djinang. The distribution of *ban* is parallel to the distribution of DIST reduplication in Djinang, so that it occurs with verbs marked not only for the TPA or RPA categories, but also for PRES, FUT and YPA. Its distribution may prove to be even wider than this, given the collection of further Djinba data.

Table 4.2 does not show any of the variations in the form of the stems which obtain with various of the inflections; nor does it show what criteria govern the allomorphy implied in forms such as *-NGal* and *-Guy*. Both will be discussed in the paragraphs which follow. The Djinba stems which exhibit the less common allomorphs will also be cited below; the inflectional paradigms for these stems are in Appendix 3. Note, the stem cited may be different from the actual form of the stem when a given inflection is affixed; the citing of stems is only to enable the reader to find the verbs in the appendices. To do this, look up the stem in Appendix 4, note the Djinang equivalent verb, and then

look up that Djinang verb in Appendix 3. Appendix 3 has all the known paradigmatic details for the Djinba verbs. The sample of Djinba verbs on which the analysis is based numbers only a few hundred; a wider sample would be likely to turn up many more irregular forms.

	FUT	POT	IMP	YPI PRI	YPA PRES	TPA RPA	TPI RPI NMLSR
Class 1	<i>-mak</i>	<i>-mitj</i> <i>-Guy</i>	<i>-ng</i> <i>-ang</i> <i>-ing</i>	<i>-w</i> <i>-uw</i>	<i>-m</i> <i>-am</i> <i>-im</i>	<i>-NGal</i>	<i>-nya</i> <i>-inya</i>
Class 2	<i>-nmak</i>	<i>-nmitj</i>	<i>-ng</i> <i>-lk</i> <i>-rrk</i>	<i>-l</i> <i>-rr</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i> <i>-yin</i> <i>+rr-yin</i>	<i>-na</i>
Class 3	<i>-k</i> <i>-rrak</i>	<i>-tj</i> <i>-rritj</i>	<i>-y</i> <i>-y</i>	<i>-y</i> <i>-y</i>	\emptyset <i>-rr</i>	<i>-n</i> <i>-n</i>	<i>-nya</i> <i>-nya</i>

Firstly, the FUT inflections. Class 1 regularly takes *-mak*, except for *-k* with the verb *garkara*- ‘walk about’ and *-ng* with the verb *nyangnya*- ‘help’. Class 2 mostly takes *-nmak* (42 out of 46 verbs), the other forms being *-k* (2 verbs: *birrmirra*- ‘sing’, *djarra*- EXIST auxiliary), *-lk* (1 verb: *ngarrawan*- ‘turn’) and *-mak* (1 verb: *barrpu*- ‘rub firesticks’). In class 3 the form depends on whether the verb stem ends in the INCHO affix, which is *-yi* in Ganalbingu dialect and *-dji* in Dabi dialect. Stems which lack the INCHO affix take FUT allomorph *-k*, while INCHO-marked stems take the *-rrak* allomorph.

Secondly, the POT inflections. These are clearly closely related in form to the FUT inflections for each class, and there is a diachronic reason for this as we shall later see. In class 1, two verbs take POT *-nguy*. The verbs are *baḷngbaḷng*- ‘soften’ and *nyangnya*- ‘help’ (this verb is a reduplicated form of the common Australian root *NHa*- ‘see’, see Appendix 3). Another, the verb *gar(a)*- ‘go’, takes *-kuy*. These are archaic affix forms which are no longer productive. They are also clear evidence of the genetic affiliation of Djinba to a Northern Yolngu proto-language, since these POT affix forms are also found in Golpa, a Nhangu language (Schebeck 1967a). In class 2, there is only one certain variant affix form, *-nguy*, which occurs with the verb *batja*-. In class 3, the *tj* phoneme has diachronically produced regressive assimilation of the preceding vowel, so that always a laminal vowel will precede it. (This is true in all classes.) The same assimilatory process also operates synchronically, so that when the FUT allomorph *-tj* obtains, the stem-final vowel changes to the laminal vowel *i* for class 3 stems which lack the INCHO marker.

Thirdly, the IMP inflections. In class 1, the usual IMP affix is *-ng*, and sometimes a stem-final *i* vowel changes to *a* preceding the IMP affix. Following a stem marked by the CAUS affix (*-miy*), the IMP allomorph *-ing* is used. (Historically, the segmentation was once *-*miyi-ng*, but in the modern language *-miy-ing* is a better segmentation.) And following a consonant-final stem the allomorph *-ang* is used. The class 1 IMP allomorph *-k* is attested with four verbs: *ngatjurr*- ‘ask’, *djirriti*- ‘drag’ (Dabi dialect), *munu*- ‘carry’ and *girrii*- ‘carry’ (Dabi dialect). The allomorph *-ki*

is attested with three verbs: *gar(a)*- 'go', *ṅudjirrgu*- 'run' and *yan-/yan.ga*- 'send'. And a final vowel is retained with the IMP form *-ngi* which occurs on the 'old' stem *bu*- 'hit'.

In class 2, the usual IMP affix is *-ng*, although nine verbs retain the allomorph *-ngi*, having a final vowel. These verbs are *bultji*- 'tell', *djaga*- 'help', *wiritji*- 'scrape', *ḷarr*- 'fall down', *gadji*- 'call out', *garrmi*- 'dig', *garrapi*- 'tie up', *gatji*- 'hold' and *gurrupi*- 'follow'. Class 2 verbs which take the archaic CAUS affix *-djungV* (or its alternate forms *-ngV* or *-dju*) take the IMP allomorph *-lk*. These verbs are *gaḍal-djunga*- 'knock down', *gupurr-djunga*- 'reject', 'resist', *wirani-ngu*- 'cause to return', *ngarra-nga*- 'pull' and the allomorph *-lki* occurs on *ngarrawan-dju*- 'turn'. The *-lk* allomorph also occurs on the Ganalbingu verb *nganga*- 'cover'. Some other verbs take an allomorph *-rrk*: *galka*- 'possess' and *gilgi*- 'hide'. Some other IMP allomorphs occur: *-ni* on two old monosyllabic root forms *ma*- 'get' and *ra*- 'spear' (Ḍabi has *-nuy* with the *ra*- stem); *-lkuy* on the Ḍabi verb *yagi*- 'insert' and *-Ing* on the cognate Ganalbingu verb *ya*- 'insert'; and *-nkuy* on the Ḍabi verb *ngangi*- 'cover'.

In class 3, the IMP and YPI categories are not differentiated formally. The IMP allomorph is fairly regularly *-y*, although *-yi* is attested on three verbs, at least two of which are old stems: *guba*- 'leave', *nyina*- 'sit' and *ngurra*- 'lie down'. Because the *y* phoneme is laminal, regressive assimilation of a preceding non-laminal stem-final vowel occurs when class 3 verbs are inflected for IMP, similarly to the situation for the POT inflection. The IMP allomorph *-k* is attested on *nyina*- 'sit' (Ḍabi dialect), and a *-ya* allomorph on *wakalngurra*- 'play', 'dance' (Ḍabi dialect).

Fourthly, the YPI inflections. These are cognate with the Djinang YPI inflections. (In Djinang the IMP and YPI inflections are formally identical in all classes.) In Djinba class 1, the inflection is usually *-w*, but following the CAUS affix *-miy* the YPI allomorph *-uw* occurs. And following a consonant-final stem the allomorph *-aw* occurs. Seven verbs retain an *i* vowel in the YPI inflection, using a *-wi* allomorph; these verbs include some old monosyllabic verb roots. The verbs are *nya*- 'see', *ga*- 'take', *bu*- 'hit', *ḍawurr-bu*- 'peel skin off', *gar(a)*- 'go', *gupurru*- 'give', *mila*- 'wait for' (Ḍabi dialect) and *milka*- 'look for'.

In class 2, the predominant allomorph is *-l*, and preceding this allomorph the stem-final vowel becomes *a* obligatorily. Just two verbs take the YPI allomorph *-rr*: *biṅḍjarri*- 'swear' and *guḍi*- 'eat', 'spear'. A further two (the stems *ma*- and *ra*- mentioned above) take the allomorph *-rri*. The Djinba class 2 conjugation is a merger of two proto-classes, one which took YPI inflection *-*la*, and another taking YPI *-*rra*. These classes are still differentiated in Djapu, and correspond to Morphy's classes L and N, respectively. The CAUS-marked stem *wirani-ngu*- 'cause to return' takes an allomorph *-lk*. The class 3 YPI inflections are the same as for the class 3 IMP inflections.

Fifthly, the YPA inflections. The major allomorphs of YPA in each class are cognate with the equivalent Djinang YPA allomorphs. Djinba class 1 verbs usually take the *-m* allomorph, and stem-final *i* or *u* vowels usually change to *a* preceding the YPA affix. Following the *-miy* CAUS affix, the allomorph *-im* is used, and following a consonant-final stem the *-am* allomorph is used. In class 2, the *-n* allomorph is used, with the exception of the Ḍabi verb *gilgi*- 'hide' which takes an *-rr* allomorph. In class 3 the \emptyset allomorph is used on stems which lack the INCHO affix, while INCHO stems take the *-rr* allomorph. There is also an archaic allomorph *-*P* which occurs on just two verbs. On Ḍabi *guba*- 'leave' it occurs as *-p*, on Ganalbingu *guwa*- 'leave' it occurs as *-w*, and on *walma*- 'go up', 'traverse' it occurs as *-m*.

Sixthly, the TPA inflections. In class 1, these are *-NGal*, except for vestigial forms, *-ngan* and *-paṅ*, which are cognate with similar vestigial forms in Djinang, these occurring on the verbs *bu*-

'hit', *dawurr-bu-* 'peel skin off' and *nya-* 'see'. The allomorphy of the *-NGal* inflection is approximately as follows: TPA is often *-wal* after a stem-final *u* (though a couple of instances of *-ngal* occur in this environment); it is always *-al* after a stem-final consonant (and this includes CAU affix *-miy*); and after a stem-final *i* or a vowel, it is either *-ngal* or *-kal* (the former is the more productive, the latter appears to be associated with 'old' stems).

In class 2, the most common allomorph is *-n*, while *-yin* (Ganalbingu dialect) or *-djin* (Dabi dialect) are not infrequent. Seven verbs have variant stem forms which end in *rr* preceding the *-yin* or *-djin* allomorphs, and these are represented by the entry *+rr-yin* in Table 4.2. These verbs are *gupurr-djunga-* 'reject', 'resist'; *gaḍal-djunga-* 'knock down'; *mama-* 'put down'; *galka-* 'hold'; *gila-* (Dabi *gilgi-*) 'hide'; *nganga-* 'cover'; and Dabi *yagi-* 'insert'. The old verbs *ma-* 'get' and *ra-* 'spear' take irregular portmanteau combinations of the stem and inflection, *man.gu+rr* and *ran.gu+rr*, respectively. (See also the Djinba forms corresponding to the Djinang verb *birrindjingilgi* in Appendix 3.) In class 3, the TPA inflection is regularly *-n*, though there are a couple of minor deviations, in particular the irregular TPA allomorph *-nyan* which occurs with the verb *ngurra-* 'lie down', 'sleep'. See also *bindji-* 'do thus' in Appendix 3.

Lastly, the TPI inflections. In classes 1 and 3 the form is always *-nya*. The laminal nasal always causes regressive assimilation of a preceding non-laminal vowel to the laminal vowel *i*, in both conjugation classes. In class 2 the TPI affix is regularly *-na*, except for the verb *wirani-ngu-* 'cause to return' which takes *-nya* instead. The TPI inflections are cognate with the Djinang TPI inflections; Djinba has dropped the **ra* formative from the proto-forms **na(ra)* (class 2) and **nha(ra)* (classes 1 and 3), a change which has independently taken place in other Yolngu languages.

The CAUS derivational affix derives class 1 stems; the THEM SR derivational affix (*-yu* in Ganalbingu dialect, *-dju* in Dabi dialect) derives class 1 stems; the FACT derivational affix (*-ya* in Ganalbingu dialect, *-dja* in Dabi dialect) derives class 2 stems; the INCHO derivational affix (*-yi* in Ganalbingu dialect, *-dji* in Dabi dialect) derives class 3 stems. The archaic CAUS affix, *-djungV* derives class 2 stems. As in Djinang, the Djinba NMLSR derivational affix is formally identical to the TPI affix. Also, TPA and RPA are marked identically, and so too are TPI and RPI.

Some diachronic observations can be made from the Djinba data. Firstly, the development of FUT and POT inflections in the modern language. Yolngu languages have an UNM inflection in each conjugation class. This inflection may be used in future, present or (definite) past time contexts. The future context requires a particle to indicate that future time is being referred to. The Dhuwal/Dhuwala particle is *yurru*, while the Nhangu particle is *Gurrku* (*G = w* or *g*). However, for present or past times a particle is often unnecessary, since it is clear from the context whether the reference is to past or present. Djinba has developed a FUT inflection by suffixing **gV* to the earlier UNM forms of the verbs in each conjugation. The earlier UNM affix forms (which are cognate with the YPA inflections in Djinang and Djinba) were: **ma* for class 1; **nma* for class 2; and **rra* for class 3. (Modern Djinba has lost the **ma* formative from the proto-inflection **nma* in class 2 YPA, although it is retained in the Djinang class 2 YPA inflection *-nmi*.) It is highly likely that the Djinba development was a consequence of analogical pressure from the Djinang FUT allomorphs, which in modern Djinang are *-gi* in classes 1 and 2, and *-dji* in class 3. This suggests that Djinba borrowed a protoform **gV* from Djinang, and dropped the final *V* (Djinba prefers consonant-final word shapes). The word-final **g* would then obligatorily be articulated as fortis *k*, producing the modern Djinba FUT allomorphs.

The development of the modern POT allomorphs must be seen as an innovation to prevent merger of the Potential function with Irrealis functions, in the face of pressure from Djinang which had previously merged non-future Potential functions with Irrealis categories. The origin of the possible proto-affix *-*tj(V)* used to form the new Djinba POT forms is obscure.

Previously we explained that POT inflections in Yolngu languages may be used to indicate Future and Imperative, as well as Potential functions. (In Djinba, the irregular (and infrequent) IMP class 2 allomorphs *-lkuy*, *-nkuy*, *-nuy*, *-lk(i)*, *-ni* and *-rrk* suggest that the IMP was once formally related to POT marking, when compared with Golpa *-Gu(y)* POT. Comparison with POT in Golpa and other Yolngu languages shows that Djinang formed its class 1 FUT affix (*-gi* and *-ngi*), and possibly its class 2 FUT affix (*-gi*), from some of the allomorphs of POT inflection. And the *-*wV* allomorph of POT became the class 1 marker of IMP. The remaining Potential functions merged with Irrealis categories – Potential is a form of Irrealis semantically – and in Golpa the *-Gu(y)* forms mark both Potential and some Irrealis functions. These changes were early in pre-Djinang, and probably took place around the time of the Djinang vowel shift. We may surmise that Djinba speakers not only developed a FUT allomorph because of pressure from Djinang, but that POT marking (formerly marking both Potential and Imperative functions) shifted in meaning to become a marker of IMP only – as for Djinang. This would have necessitated either that the Potential functions of POT marking be shifted to Irrealis markers (as in Djinang) or the independent development of a unique POT marker. Djinba did the latter.

To substantiate the above comments about Djinang FUT and IMP inflections, consider Schebeck's Golpa data. The Golpa conjugation class equivalent to Djinang class 1 has extensive allomorphy in the IMP inflections. The forms he cites are *-ga*, *-ka*, *-nga*, \emptyset and *-wa*; note the *-Gu(y)* POT and Irrealis forms noted above. Comparison with Djinang class 1 FUT and IMP inflections (remembering that IMP and YPI are the same form in Djinang) reveals the following: Djinang FUT allomorphs are *-gi*, *-ki*, *-ngi* and \emptyset ; and the IMP affix is regularly *-wi*. If pre-Djinang had marking similar to the Golpa pattern, then the Djinang vowel shift would have obscured the distinctiveness of marking for FUT, IMP, POT and some Irrealis functions. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the earlier allomorphy was lost so that the functional contrasts could be maintained.

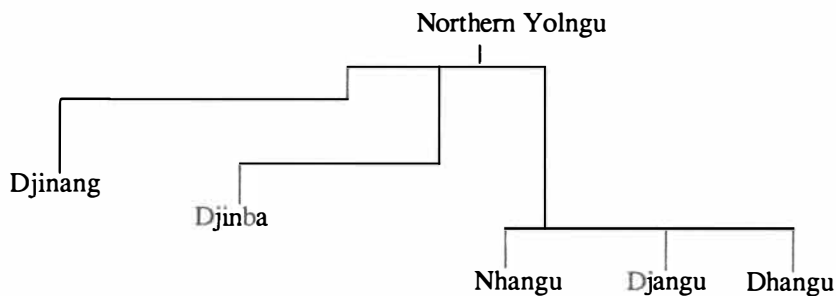
That Djinang (and Djinba) should be grouped with Nhangu languages (of which Golpa is one) is corroborated by the following. Many Yolngu languages have two different realis inflections for future tense. (This information comes primarily from Lowe 1960, lessons 7 and 11, but see also Schebeck 1976b:23.) Schebeck states that only Nhangu languages do not have two realis future inflections (and we must now add Djinang and Djinba to that list). Lowe states that the verb takes UNM inflection (together with a particle *dhu*) in order to refer to times which are later on the same day as the time of the speech event, or in the indefinite (or remote) future. For times which are future and definite (whether tomorrow, next week, months or even years ahead), the same particle is used with the verb inflected as for POT (in our terminology). The wide distribution of two realis future inflections in Yolngu languages suggests it was a proto-Yolngu feature, with Nhangu languages (or perhaps more correctly 'Northern Yolngu' languages) losing the distinction relatively early. (An alternative possibility is that proto-Yolngu did not have this distinction, but that a daughter branch developed the distinction by analogy with past tense category contrasts. Either way, Djinang and Djinba end up on the same branch to which Nhangu belongs.) If Djinang had had the two realis future marking patterns at the time of the Djinang vowel shift, it is unlikely that FUT, POT and IMP would have been threatened with merger, and the subsequent development of the modern Djinang system would have been difficult to explain.

The above analysis also works for class 3 verbs. The Golpa data shows that IMP allomorphs (mostly *-iya/-aya*) for this class are minimally distinguished from POT forms (mostly *-i(ya)/-a(y)*, respectively) in the same class. The Djinang vowel shift would likewise have threatened merger of IMP with POT – which apparently took place as Tables 4.1 and 4.2 show (recalling that it is modern Djinba's YPI and PRI allomorphs which are cognate with the proto-Djinba POT allomorphs, rather than the modern POT allomorphs). This explains in particular why Djinba does not distinguish IMP from PRI or YPI in class 3.

Bringing Ritharrngu into the picture (Heath 1980a), it turns out that Ritharrngu has also developed unique FUT allomorphs and, moreover, in precisely the same way as did Djinang (although the resulting allomorphs are different from the Djinang ones). That is, Ritharrngu has FUT allomorphs which are cognate with what Heath calls 'Past Potential' (the forms of which are cognate with Djinang IMP, PRI, and YPI inflections); Ritharrngu likewise does not have a three-way future time distinction, similarly to Djinang, Djinba and Nhangu languages.

To finish off this section, we shall briefly discuss the genetic relationship of Djinang and Djinba to each other. While it is clear that the affixes used in the different conjugation classes in Djinang are, for the most part, cognate with the equivalent affixes in the equivalent Djinba conjugation classes, there are nevertheless very significant differences between the two languages, indicating an extensive period of separate development. The differences include mismatch between the categories marked in each language (e.g. Djinang has no POT inflection, Djinba has no TPC inflection), different markings for certain identical categories (e.g. IMP and FUT are marked differently), and independent development of categories as discussed above.

The facts suggest that Djinang and Djinba developed probably independently from the 'Northern Yolngu' proto-language identified by Heath (1980a) and also by Tchekhoff and Zorc (1983). I am presuming that the 'Northern Yolngu' proto-language and the Nhangu proto-language would have had many features in common, since the latter would have been a daughter of the former. Djinba shares more features with Golpa and Yanhangu (which are Nhangu languages) than does Djinang, but there are nevertheless considerable and numerous differences between Djinba and the Nhangu languages, especially in the deictic forms and the lexicon. Therefore, as a very tentative hypothesis, we may posit the genetic 'tree' below; recall that Nhangu, Dhangu and Djangu are language groups, rather than languages. Lack of data prevents further treatment of Djinba at this time. However, sufficient data has been given to establish many of its major morphological features, and to arrive at a genetic subgrouping hypothesis.



4.3 FUNCTIONS OF VERB INFLECTIONS

The remainder of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the various functions which may be marked by verb inflections. The present section concentrates on the semantic features appropriate for characterising the functional contrasts. Exemplification will be left till the following sections. All verb inflections in Djinang are multifunctional. Moreover, the several functions that a given form may mark do not always have an apparent semantic 'common denominator'; for example, the one form marks an action which occurs in present time and has continuous aspect, and it also marks an action which occurred at a temporally definite time (earlier than the day on which the utterance occurred), but without any connotation of continuous or non-continuous aspect. The different complexities in the system of verb inflections make it difficult to present an analysis which is elegant, and yet accurate.

My approach in this section is to try to 'unpack' the system sufficiently so that the reader can see its component parts, and then to combine the parts into a systemic network which typifies the system as a whole. In order to do this we must first define the underlying semantic features which are relevant. Then the systemic network will be presented. My use of a network is not merely for purposes of display. It is theoretically important as well, because each choice of a semantic feature value circumscribes the set of possible subsequent semantic features which may be chosen. Thus, for example, if the category Future is chosen, this fully determines the surface form; however if Present is chosen, the surface form is specified only when a further choice between Continuous and Non-continuous has been made. Relationships of this type may be expressed as a network, or as a set of Boolean conditions such as: IF Present AND Continuous THEN PRES; IF Past AND Recent THEN YPA. I prefer the network approach, because it not only encodes the same information as a set of Boolean conditions, but it represents it visually in a way that simplifies the problem of communicating the system to those not familiar with it.

In using semantic features, it is helpful to use + and – as prefixes for those dimensions which are binary valued. No prefixes are used for multi-valued dimensions. Thus, instead of 'non-Continuous' I use '-Continuous', for 'Irrealis' I use '-Realis', for 'Realis' I use '+Realis' and so forth. Yolngu verb inflections are considered to be composites of tense, aspect and mood categories. I add a fourth category of 'Definiteness' – by which I mean *temporal* definiteness. At each point in the network where a choice is possible, we may consider the set of possible choices as a 'dimension of contrast', and the semantic features which comprise the dimension of contrast we may consider to be 'values'. For simplicity I refer to a dimension of contrast simply as a 'dimension'. There is little point in naming each of the dimensions, and I do not do so. However, each dimension may be characterised by the type of information encoded by its values. Table 4.3 gives the dimensions and their values. There are two dimensions which permit choices within the category of Mood; two more permit choices within the category of Tense; and the final two permit choices within the categories of Aspect and temporal Definiteness. Only one dimension is multi-valued.

The Definiteness dimension pertains to the referential category of time, rather than the semantic category of tense. The Definiteness dimension is binary valued, with values of +Definite and -Definite. A +Definite value means that the time context of an event is *referentially definite with respect to a reference time*. Or to put this another way, the speaker is referring to a specific time relative to some reference time. A -Definite value means that the time context of an event is *referentially indefinite with respect to some reference time*. That is, reference is to a non-specific time relative to some reference time. The reference time is usually the time of utterance, so that events which are occurring at the present time, or which occurred earlier on the same day or on the previous

day, would be +Definite. Events in the remote past would be -Definite for the most part. There are redundancies in the system; for example, events which are denoted by a verb taking YPA inflection will be redundantly +Definite. Redundancies are not shown on the network diagram presented below.

The features +Recent and -Recent need explaining. The +Recent category refers to events occurring at a time in the recent past, but excluding the same day as the speech event. Such events will be redundantly +Definite, for the +Recent feature value obtains for events which are regarded as having occurred in a time context known to the participants in the speech act. Typically this will be within the last day or two, but it could be weeks, months or even years before. Because +Recent is used most commonly for events which took place yesterday, I have retained the label YPA (Yesterday PAsT) that Beulah Lowe coined (Lowe 1960) in her pedagogical grammar. But it must be borne in mind that 'yesterday' is to be interpreted in the sense of 'recent known time before today'. The -Recent feature value then pertains to an event occurring either at a time in the -Definite past, or on the same day as the speech act (i.e. immediate past rather than recent past).

Type of Category	Feature Values		
Mood	+Realis		-Realis
Mood	+Imperative		-Imperative
Tense	Future	Present	Past
Tense	+Recent		-Recent
Aspect	+Continuous		-Continuous
Definiteness	+Definite		-Definite

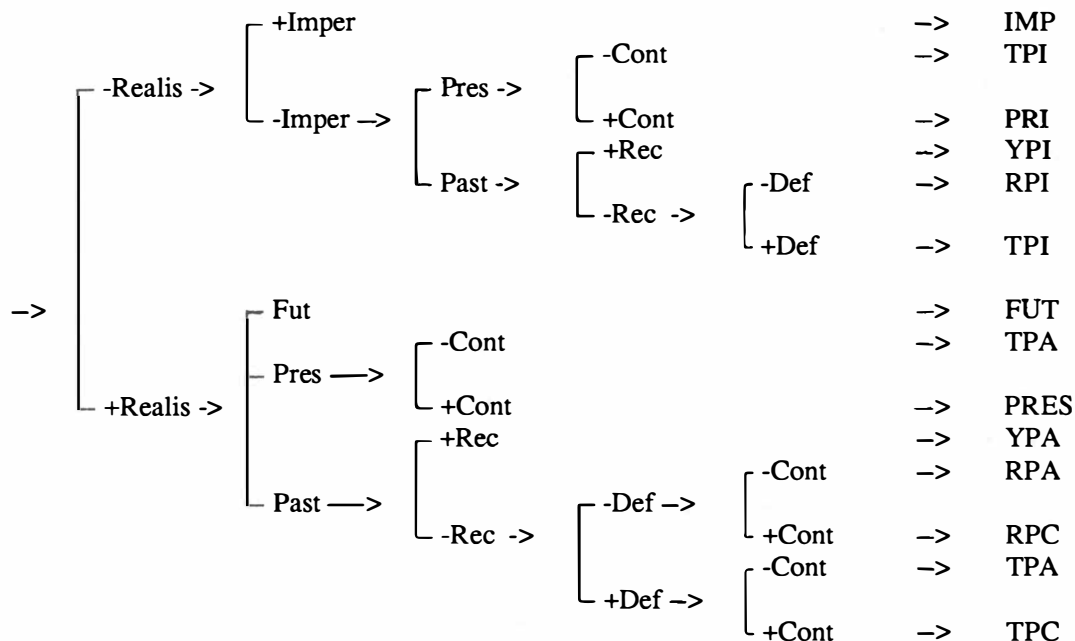
Within any one conjugation class, events in past time are not all marked by a single affix. The feature Past is not specific enough. In the preceding discussion we saw that Djinang speakers (and Yolngu people generally) have several categories of choice for events which occurred earlier than the time of utterance. The time context of a past event may be (a) earlier on the same day as the speech act, (b) at a specific known time earlier than the same day as the speech act (usually the previous day or within the previous few days, though it may be at a considerably earlier time) or (c) at a non-specific or unknown time earlier than the same day as the speech act (which could be anything from a few days before, to thousands of years before). For the time context of situation (b) I use the feature +Recent. Thus the features Recent and Definite divide the past time line into three sections: {-Recent +Definite} refers to events on the same day as the speech act; {-Recent -Definite} refers to events in the remote past or at an unknown time in the recent past; and {+Recent} refers to events at a known time in the recent past. As far as I know, all Yolngu languages split the past time line in precisely this way.

In terms of the functional labels used in the previous sections, events in time context (a) are marked by TPA, TPC or TPI, in time context (b) they are marked by YPA or YPI, and in time context (c) they are marked by RPA, RPC or RPI. The use of discrete functional labels such as these permits a certain economy of description, but it is not as insightful as the use of features. To illustrate this, consider the functions RPA and TPA. These are marked, not by two different forms, but by one form. The labels given to these functions do not explain why two such apparently diverse tense distinctions should be marked by the one suffix. On the other hand, using features we see that the

relevant suffix pertains to the -Recent feature value. To distinguish Remote versus Today categories, an increase in delicacy is called for. Thus a further feature of Definiteness differentiates between +Definite and -Definite temporal contexts as illustrated in the previous paragraph.

It should be understood that the tense distinctions implied by these categories are mirrored in the lexicon by the distinctions obtaining between members of the set of temporal particles. For instance, the particle *djuli* 'before' (Djinba *djuwali*) refers to times which are earlier on the same day as the speech event. But *biligi* 'a long time before' indicates a time in the indefinite (remote) past, while *bilimi* 'a while ago' indicates a definite time in the recent past. Similarly, the word *gadjiri* 'yesterday' may be used in the context of times which are not just (literally) yesterday, but days or even weeks previously; in fact *marri gadjiri* little.bit yesterday 'recently' is a phrase used for events which have happened in recent (definite) past time. So the tense distinctions in the inflections of verbs are paralleled by temporal category distinctions implicit in the choice of a temporal particle. The parallelism goes even further than this; for just as RPA and TPA are marked by the same inflection, the temporal particle *ngurrwagi* (*ngurrwakngi* in some dialects) means either 'before' (on the same day as the speech act) or 'before' (in the indefinite remote past). It may also be used as a noun meaning 'the beginning' or 'the first one'. (Interestingly, it can also be used in the context of indefinite remote future time – a use which may be a relic of a three-way cutting up of the future time line, as occurs in several other Yolngu languages.)

TABLE 4.4
SYSTEMIC NETWORK FOR DJINANG VERBS



The -Continuous feature should not be interpreted as implying that an event so marked is punctiliar. The -Continuous feature really only means that the activity denoted by the verb is unmarked with respect to the feature Continuous. +Continuous is the marked value, and when this

feature obtains continuous aspect is indicated for the activity. But it does not follow that when -Continuous obtains the activity is necessarily punctual; it is simply unspecified for aspect. We have already seen instances of this in the section on DUR marking (section 3.8). If TPA or RPA were necessarily punctual categories, then they would not obtain with DUR lengthening on the same verb. But TPA or RPA do in fact occur quite often with DUR marking, as exemplified by (222) and (225) in section 3.8. One of the reasons why RPA or TPA is used with DUR lengthening in a narrative where we would have expected RPC or TPC to have been more appropriate is because RPC and TPC are often used to signal backgrounding of information.

The more salient elements of a narrative are foregrounded, which usually means RPA or TPA inflections are used. Hence DUR lengthening may occur on both the continuous and non-continuous forms. Strategies for backgrounding in Yolngu languages need attention from Australianists. From the Djinang evidence it is possible that backgrounding correlates fairly closely with switches to continuous aspect within the backgrounded clause in other Yolngu languages. It is an important point. Indeed, discourse studies in Yolngu languages are called for because there are aspects of Yolngu grammars which are not yet satisfactorily explained. For example, in Heath's analysis of Dhuwal (1980b:39) he states (retaining his categories):

There is a tendency for the PastRem to occur in contexts involving prolonged or habitual activities at a distant time in the past; however, there is a great deal of shifting back and forth within the same passage from Past to PastRem and vice versa and no sharp semantic distinction can be made.

Category shifts of this particular type occur in Djinang narrative, where the shift to what Heath calls Past signals an event which has the characteristic of obtaining over an extended period of time, (e.g. an habitual action or an existential reality), while the narrative itself is set in the remote past – which accounts for the use of PastRem. I discuss this kind of thing for Djinang narrative in section 4.5.

In Djinang, alternations between +Continuous and -Continuous inflections correlate to some extent with backgrounding and foregrounding, the former category being associated with backgrounded information. I am quite convinced that Yolngu languages do have strategies for foregrounding and backgrounding; it is certainly there in Djinang. (And not just by verb inflection changes; consider the discussion of the particles *miri* and *yarimi* in section 3.19 and of *bilapilangi* in section 3.6.) A deeper study is certainly called for, especially in the light of Tcekhoff and Zorc's statement (1983:872):

From our analysis of the three discourse strategies, it does not look as if there were special means of foregrounding or backgrounding...parts of discourse as opposed to other parts. This is contrary to what obtains in many other languages.

That is a fairly strong statement, and possibly not appropriate – since I suspect that the backgrounding strategies they would have liked to have found probably occur only in a more comprehensive set of data than they examined for their study.

Returning now to the discussion of the -Continuous feature, another example which illustrates its unmarkedness for the aspectual category is (304). To assert that one is hungry (at the time of utterance), one uses the TPA category. Being hungry is certainly not a punctual activity; it is a state. Nevertheless, to assert the fact of being hungry, TPA is used as in (304). This use of TPA inflection to make an assertion which is true at the time of speaking is the normal pattern. An example from my field notes is *nyani galng-walngi-ni* 3sgNOM body-play-TPA 'he is happy'. As may be expected,

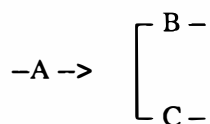
a negative assertion uses TPI with a NEG particle, as in *ingki galngi djin walngirri-nyir* NEG body 3plNOM play-TPI ‘they are not happy’. (Mismatch between tense categories and referential time occurs in English. The ‘historical present’, where present tense is used to refer to past time is an example. It is therefore not surprising that an Aboriginal language should exhibit a mismatch of tense and time as well.)

- (304) *ngarri ngal-but-tji-li*
 1sgNOM guts-loose-THEMSR-TPA
 I’m hungry.

Table 4.4 presents the systemic network for Djinang verbs. The network illustrates well how the system has been skewed by the diffusion into Djinang of the Continuous versus Non-continuous aspectual distinction in the Today Past and Remote Past categories. The network is divided into two by the choice of realis value, but the aspectual choice of +Continuous or -Continuous for past time is relevant only to the +Realis value.

Table 4.4 not only gives the systemic network, but includes realisation statements as well. These are given on the right of the table, and indicate how each valid path through the network finally is realised as a functional category from the set of categories previously defined.

The Table should be read as follows:



For a choice of value A, either value B or C may be chosen; that is, the notation represents disjunctive choices. No conjunctive choices are needed in the Djinang systemic network for verbal inflections.

In Table 4.4 the reader will observe that I have not included a YPC (Yesterday Past Continuous) function. There are no synchronic grounds necessitating the establishment of such a category formally. To mark +Continuous aspect in the context of +Recent past time, Djinang can use an auxiliary verb or DIST reduplication. An auxiliary verb is also used to indicate +Continuous aspect with the irrealis categories YPI, RPI and TPI.

Finally note that the Potential function, which in other Yolngu languages has a unique set of allomorphs, in Djinang is expressed using either FUT (for future time) or irrealis inflections (for non-future time). See sections 4.1 and 4.2 for details, and section 4.7 for some examples.

4.4 FUTURE

FUT is used to refer to future time in a majority of instances, but it has a variety of other functions as well. We need not cite further instances of FUT marking future tense; some examples occur in section 3.15, in (256), (260) and (267), and numerous further examples occur in earlier sections. One of the functions of FUT marking is to express a facilitative modality, as in English ‘can do X’ or ‘able to do X’. An example of this occurred in (191) in section 3.6.

Djinang does not distinguish proximate future from remote future, except by means of particles. One interesting use of the temporal particle *ngurrwagi* ‘before’ is to indicate indefinite remote future time. An example occurred as (130) in section 2.12. Another example is (305) below. These are the

only examples I have of this particle being used to express indefinite remote future. This use of *ngurrwagi* may be less hard to understand when the following facts are taken into account. Recall that this particle may be used to refer to times either earlier on the same day as the speech act or in the indefinite (remote) past. Also, in section 4.3 it was stated that many Yolngu languages have a three-way time distinction for future time as well; the UNM verb suffix is used for ‘Today-Future’ (Lowe’s ‘same-day future’, 1960, lesson 11) and for ‘Indefinite-Future’ (lesson 11); while the ‘Tomorrow-Future’ (lesson 7) uses POT inflection. Perhaps then *ngurrwagi* may be used in the context of any indefinite time reference, whether future or past.

In (305), a dead relative watches a live grandchild eating a certain yam. When that person eventually dies, the dead relative will be waiting in the afterlife to tear open the grandchild’s ‘body’ to get at the yams eaten long before. Example (305) is what the dead relative says when he sees the yams being eaten; clearly in this context indefinite remote future time is being referred to.

- (305) *“Dirra-dji-li, migira-ri, manymak, inma-rr marrka-ng*
 eat-THEMSR-TPA SiDaCh-PROM okay 2sgDAT-1sgNOM wait-FUT
ngurrwakng” Ga-l bali-dji...
 before And-1duincNOM die-FUT
 “Go ahead and eat, grandchild, I will wait for you indefinitely.” And we die...
 {42:12-14}

FUT may be used in the context of normative actions, such as explanations of cultural or typical behaviour, or in procedural discourses. However, a procedural discourse may also be set in a past time context, in which case RPC would be the usual verb inflection. Text 43 is a procedural narrative set in past time, describing cultural behaviour, where RPC is used with the majority of verbs. The following text fragment is taken from text 44, which is also a procedural narrative describing cultural behaviour – in this case methods of trapping fish in small tidal streams. The narrative of text 44 is not set in future time, although future tense is used throughout. The focus of text 44 is the methodology of fish trap making, an activity no longer practised by Djinang people. In this text, time reference is unimportant.

- (306) *lap-miy-gi, bumalng wik-wik-dji-g+a,*
 open-CAUS-FUT [branchUNM]ACC REDUP-toss-THEMSR-FUT+NF
u yurryarr, a gu?-kukirr-dji. Yulku-nga.,
 [or grassUNM]ACC - DIST-move.about-FUT Come.out-FUT+DIST
bintji-∅ ngurrigima. Ban, ganḁa-bi djiningi,
 do.thus-FUT same On.the.one.hand thigh-OR thisUNM
ganḁapini-nyir-bi, ban wurpi, ga djurr.
 make.trap-NMLSR-OR on.other.hand anotherUNM also woven.trapUNM
 (One) opens it, (one) throws away the branches or the grass, and (the fish) can get free.
 (The fish) escape, it’s done that way. On the one side this is a fish weir. On the other
 side is the other (part of the weir) and a woven fish trap (in the middle). {44:25-30}

A further use of future inflection is to indicate a polite Imperative pragmatic function. Previous examples of this are (259) in section 3.15, and (210) in section 3.8. FUT can also be used for exhortations. The next two examples illustrate these uses: (307) for a polite imperative and (308) for an exhortation.

- (307) *Ingki! Yirr-yirrp-gi, a school-ili kiri-Ø*
 No REDUP-set-FUT and school-ALL go-FUT
 No! Settle (here) and he can go to school! {34:272-273}
- (308) *Yaku-mirrpm Djesu-mirrpm, ga djirri-dji-ban, ga*
 name-PERL Jesus-PERL and stand-FUT-TF and
giri-Ø-ban
 walk-FUT-TF
 In the name of Jesus, stand up and walk! {33:52}

It appears that FUT is the temporally least marked inflection. This may be illustrated by the following observations. It is not uncommon for FUT to be used in a narrative set in a past time context. Similarly, FUT may sometimes be used in a present time context. FUT is the only inflection which may be used in lieu of past or present inflections, without changing the underlying time reference. It may be used instead of other inflections only when the time context is quite unambiguous. FUT used instead of past tense inflections may be seen in examples (15), (79) and (143). FUT used in the context of a present punctiliar event occurs in (125) and (300), and used in the context of a present continuous event occurs in (50). Example (309) is another instance illustrating FUT used in a past time context; in this case, the context is remote past time, and the text genre is again procedural. Use of future tense in lieu of past or present inflections does not happen often, but often enough for it to warrant some attention, and it is important for procedural discourse.

- (309) *gungi libi baltj-ny miri, wali-gi-ban,*
 [headUNM]NOM 1plexcNOM go.up-RPC like, food-DAT-TF
milgali-gi djin rar-ki kiri-Ø, djin
 cycad.nut-DAT 3plERG knead-FUT PROG-FUT 3plERG
djaltjibi kiri-Ø...
 lift.up PROG-FUT
 We expectantly waited for the cycad nut food; they kneaded it, and they lifted it up (from leaching in water)... {43:38-40} (lit. We raised our heads for....)

FUT inflection may occasionally be omitted, so long as it is recoverable from the context. A very common environment for the dropping of FUT inflection is preceding an auxiliary verb. Example (310) illustrates FUT elided from a verb, when it is clear that future time is being referred to. In this example, two totemic men were about to challenge each other to a duel with spears. One of them then uttered (310). Example (311) illustrates FUT inflection elided from the main verb when an auxiliary verb follows. A further example is (309) above, where the stem *djaltjibi* ‘lift up’ occurs without FUT inflection. The same example shows that FUT is not always elided in this environment – consider the verb and auxiliary *rar-ki kiri-Ø* knead-FUT PROG-FUT. Similarly for the two main verbs in (311) below. It is the FUT allomorph *-gi* of class 1 verbs that is regularly elided before a FUT-marked auxiliary verb; other allomorphs such as *-ngi* or *-ki* resist the elision. FUT *-dji* of class 3 verbs is almost never elided in this context.

- (310) *ngili nyaliki-dji*
 1duincNOM how-INCHO
 What will we do? {19:51} (or How will we go about it?)

- (311) *nyuni yili-mirri gu?-kurrpi kiri-∅,*
 2sgERG again-PERL DIST-follow PROG-FUT
nganaparra nyin nya-ng kiri-∅
 [buffaloUNM]ERG 2sgACC see-FUT PROG-FUT
 You follow behind (me), the buffalo will concentrate on you. {34:796-797}

In subordinate clauses, the subordinate verb may take future, present or past inflections. However, the least marked of these is the FUT inflection. This inflection obtains whenever temporal or aspectual nuances do not need to be signalled within the subordinate clause; examples occur in (25), (291) and (312). Purposive subordinate clauses regularly take FUT inflection, though the event is not necessarily set in future time, for example *ngarri inma yulgu-mi nyin nya-ngi* 1sgNOM 2sgDAT come.to-YPA 2sgACC see-FUT ‘I came in order to see you’.

- (312) *nginibi djining ingki djal nibi*
 1plexcNOM [thisUNM]DAT NEG desire [1plexcNOM
marrngirr-dji
 hear-FUT]DAT
 We do not like this (which) we hear. (32:59)

There is no future irrealis marker in Djinang. With past time, irrealis forms may be used to express doubt or uncertainty as to whether an event obtained or not; or may be used to express hypotheticality; or may occur with a NEG particle in the clause to assert the non-obtaining of an event. All these functions are possible for events in future time; but the FUT marker is used with Irrealis function in such a context. Example (313) illustrates FUT obtaining in contexts where doubt is clearly being expressed. In (313) the subordinate clause contains an irrealis inflection (PRI): the whole sentence is expressing doubt. Also, FUT may be used to express the Potential function, as in example (314). However it cannot be ruled out that in (314) the actor is making a simple prediction ‘I will eat’ rather than the potential ‘I am about to eat’. Both readings are perfectly correct.

In the first example, the father tells the son to sit, otherwise the wallaby he is about to stalk may see him as he attempts to climb up the rock on which the wallaby is sitting. In the second example, the wallaby has run away and the son has managed to injure it as it flees. The father has not seen this, but he has heard the noise of a broken spear being dragged along. Example (314) is what he then thinks.

- (313) *djili nyini-y, irri-ny nya-ng djirri-dji*
 thisLOC sit-IMP 1sg-ACC see-FUT EXIST-FUT
rirkriyan-ili baltji-wi
 rock-ALL climb-PRI
 Sit here, while it stands it may see me climbing the rock. {34:615-617}
- (314) *Eh?eh walkiri-gir-angi djam irr dirra-dji-gi*
 INTERJ son-OBL-GEN later 1sgERG eat-THEMSR-FUT
maypal ran.gi+rri
 [meatUNM spear-TPA]ACC
 Ah-ha! Later I am about to eat my son's speared meat. {34:647}

In example (315) the narrator was describing hypothetical events – creating a hypothetical situation in order to explain to me how a certain word may be used in a suitable context. In such a

circumstance, and especially when the FRAME particle *bilang* is used, an Irrealis function obtains for the FUT inflection. Three more examples of this kind are (23), (38) and (77).

- (315) *mir mitjiyang, ngunung bila bayim-dji-gi*
 like [boatUNM]PROM thatUNM FRAME buy-THEMSR-FUT
a yirrp-gi mani-mirri...
 and set-FUT river-LOC
 For example a boat: suppose (you) buy it and moor it in the river... {66:37-38}

FUT inflection used with NEG particles has already been cited – see examples (71), (135), (232) and (273).

Finally, FUT inflection with Irrealis function may occur within a subordinate clause. See example (50), where FUT occurs in the complement of the verb ‘see’; in this example, the speaker had doubt as to whether the father was coming or not.

4.5 PRESENT CONTINUOUS AND YESTERDAY PAST

(1) Present continuous inflection

The same forms mark present continuous (PRES) and yesterday past (YPA) inflections. The forms are *-mi*, *-nmi* and *-∅* (or *-rri* after INCHO), for classes 1, 2 and 3, respectively. These forms are cognate with the forms for UNM inflection in other Yolngu languages. When these forms mark PRES, then the feature +Continuous redundantly obtains. Several examples have already been cited in which PRES is used to indicate a continuous action in present time: some of these are (16), (36), (112), (126), (236), (242), (243), (248) and (284).

PRES is also used in the context of past time when the speaker is quoting the speech of others. Djinang (along with other Yolngu languages) has no productive means of quoting speech indirectly, and hence quotations are uttered as the original speaker would have spoken. Example (316) gives an instance of this; the actual utterance quoted was made by the narrator about twenty years previously.

- (316) “*Ama! Malu djini ngurrumi, wini-∅*
 mummyUNM [daddyUNM]NOM thisUNM PERF return-PRES
kiri-mi gumbala, djarak-nyirringi...”
 PROG-PRES empty.handed spear-PRIV
 “Mum! Dad is now already on his way back empty handed and without spears...”
 {34:366}

A very common function of PRES inflection (and also YPA inflection) is to make a statement which indicates what is typical or characteristic of the referent. The referent may be a place, in which case the statement will usually be a statement of its location, a statement of its name or a characteristic of that particular place. Or the referent may be human or animate, in which case the statement gives information about a characteristic of the referent, or about the typical behaviour of the referent. (Morphy (1983:70) describes the equivalent function of Djapu UNM inflection.) Some examples which involve an inanimate referent are (180), (185), (226) and (296). Some examples involving animate referents are (21), (37) and (113). Example (317) is a further +HU example, where PRES is used to describe activities characteristic of a sorcerer.

- (317) *a ragalk ngunungi wurpi, nyannng-angi mir*
 and [sorcererUNM]NOM [thatUNM differentUNM]NOM 3sg-GEN like
wargarrinyi, bu-m giri-mi yul-ngi-nyi,
 what's.he.doUNM kill-PRES HABIT-PRES person-OBL-ACC
 Sorcerers are different; as for them, what they do is to kill people. {66:22}

PRES inflection may also be used on verbs in subordinate clauses. When this obtains, it is the +Continuous feature which is important. When used in a subordinate clause, PRES indicates a state which obtains as a characteristic of the head NP, as in (318). Further instances may be found in (270) and (284).

- (318) *ga nyibi-wili-dji mir yul-dji dinggi djin*
 and other-PL-PROM like man-PROM [dinghyUNM]ACC 3plERG
katji-nmi ga inydji+n karr-karrpi kira-Ø.
 possess-PRES and RECIP+3plERG REDUP-search PROG-FUT+DIST
 And others, men (who) possess dinghies, they will search thoroughly. {66:44}

(2) Yesterday past inflection

Because of the etymology of YPA and PRES, it would be expected that the functions of PRES inflection would be paralleled by the functions of YPA inflection. This is indeed the case, although I do not have an unambiguous instance of YPA in a subordinate clause (this is likely to be an accidental gap however). When YPA inflection obtains, the event so marked occurred in a time context which is +Definite with respect to some reference time – usually the time of utterance.

Some previous examples of YPA indicating an event in past time are (79) and (292). When YPA obtains, typically the event is unspecified for the continuous aspect feature, so that YPA can be used in the context of either punctiliar or continuous actions, when the time setting of the narrative is +Definite. So, for example, the verb ‘bring’ in (79) is inherently continuous, while ‘tell’ in (292) is inherently punctiliar.

As with PRES inflection, YPA inflection may be used to express the typical behaviour or characteristic properties of a referent. Example (85) describes a place as the locale where the speaker and hearer sat under a coconut tree (this event occurred about a year earlier than the utterance); (285) describes a place as one which used to cause people to meditate. These are instances where the story as a whole is set in remote past time, and within that time context YPA is used. When this happens, what is in focus is that the event denoted by the verb is non-punctiliar, typically a habitual activity or continuing property of a referent.

This brings us to a facet of Djinang grammar which is of some importance. When a narrative is set in a remote indefinite time context (so that RPA and RPC are the usual verb inflections in the story), occasionally the narrator will switch to YPA inflection. (This kind of tense shifting occurs in all Yolngu languages, not just Djinang.)

Looking carefully at the context, we see that these switches are not random, nor are they mere performance slips. Instead, the switch to YPA inflection indicates that the event is being explicitly signalled as +Continuous. Thus, this shift to YPA is a common way of indicating an event which, when it obtains, has the characteristic of being an existential reality for an extended period of time. Three excellent examples occur in story 19. That story is set in the Dreamtime, and remote past inflections (RPC and RPA) are used throughout, except for the instances to be described now. PRES

is used once, to describe the present location of a geographical feature. The other exceptions use YPA. The use of the TF clitic *-ban* in these examples precludes the possibility that the inflections are PRES rather than YPA.

- (319) *biling bil ran.gi+rri, manymak, biling buđi,*
 3duERG 3duERG spear+RPA okay 3duNOM [bloodUNM]NOM
nyani buđi, a nyani buđi, a
 3sgNOM [bloodUNM]NOM and 3sgNOM [bloodUNM]NOM and
ngunu-pan-gim rirrkijan-ban ngu?-ngurri-∅
 that-TF-EMPH [rockUNM]NOM-TF DIST-lie.down-YPA
 They speared (each other). Okay, their blood, his₁ blood and his₂ blood (fell) and right then and there (their blood) kept on existing as rock. {19:17-19}
- (320) *nyani buđi galmi-ni, nyani buđi galmi-ni,*
 3sgNOM [bloodUNM]NOM fall-RPA 3sgNOM [bloodUNM]NOM fall-RPA
ngunu-pan ngu?-ngurri-∅ rirrkijan, ngu?-ngurri-∅-ban
 that-TF DIST-lie-YPA [rockUNM]NOM DIST-lie-YPA-TF
 The blood of one fell, and the blood of the other fell, (and) right then and there it became rock (and) stayed that way then. {19:65-66}
- (321) *bil ran.gi+rri, manymak nyani gapi gir-ali,*
 3duERG pierce-RPA okay 3sgNOM [waterUNM]NOM come-RPA
bi yulgu-ngili gapi, ngunu-pan-gim ngambul
 HITH come.out-RPA [waterUNM]NOM that-TF-EMPH [poolUNM]NOM
dji?-tjarri-∅, miñitji gapi
 DIST-stand-YPA [poolUNM waterUNM]NOM
 The two (women) pierced (each other). Okay, water came, water came to the (surface and) at that very instant it there became a pool (or spring) of water. {19:85-87}

It is clear from the use of words like *ngunu-pan(-gima)* ‘right then and there’ (or similar meanings) that a definite time is being referred to, and that at that time an event takes place which thereafter continues as an existential reality. In (319) and (320), two totemic men speared each other with spears – and this act is the temporal reference point for the action of the blood turning into (red) rock – and continuing to stay that way. In (321), two totemic women pierce each other with their digging sticks; this act likewise brings about the creation of a real world feature – a pool of water. A further example is (322): again the context is remote past time, and within that context the events of trapping and eating are being viewed as habitual activities, hence YPA (or RPC) is appropriate.

- (322) *guyi djin gaṅdapini-ny djin dirra-dji-mi*
 [fishUNM]ACC 3plERG trap-RPC 3plERG eat-THEMSR-YPA
 They were trapping fish (and then) eating them. {34:1153}

4.6 PAST INFLECTIONS: REMOTE PAST, TODAY PAST, REMOTE PAST CONTINUOUS AND TODAY PAST CONTINUOUS

(1) Remote past and today past inflections

These two homophonous inflections are very commonly used past tense inflections. TPA inflection is not often used in narrative, because few stories are set in the time context of the same day as the speech event. One story in which TPA is frequently used is story 35, which is a description of a fight which occurred earlier on the same day as the telling of the story. Most stories are set in the remote past, and hence RPA is extremely common in narrative. As explained earlier, in each conjugation class TPA and RPA have the same marking. Thus only the time context of a narrative as a whole distinguishes TPA from RPA.

There is no need to give further examples of RPA inflection here. Some earlier examples which contain this inflection are (276), (280), (285), (290), (299), (319), (320) and (321).

The following examples illustrate TPA and are taken from story 35. The section of the story which is cited contains a number of sequential actions; the two participants are fighting, but the younger man has the advantage. Notice the high incidence of non-thematic verbs (i.e. uninflected stems), which add colour to the narrative. The COMPL particle at the end of the section signals termination of the description of the young man's actions, rather than termination of the fighting. (The following clauses introduce a new participant, who comes to try to break the fight up, and who hits the antagonists with his woomera as they continue to fight.)

(323) *bat marr-ngil+a, a bat ngu+li, galmi-ni,*
pick.up pick.up-TPA+NF and throw throw+TPA fall.down-TPA

a djarri-nyini, djarri-nyin+a, a madjirri, bat
and stand-TPA stand-TPA+NF and again pick.up

pirrirr-dj-ny, pirrirr-dj-ny, pururr pururr,
twist-THEMSR-TPC twist-THEMSR-TPC twist twist

ɖubuk, bat ngu+l+a, a girri
carry throw throw+TPA+NF and COMPL

(The young fellow) picked him up, and threw him, and fell over. He (i.e. the young fellow) stood up, he stood and once more picked him up, and was then twisting (his neck). He twisted, and twisted, carried him, and threw him. {35:57-62}

TPA inflection may also be used in the context of present time. An instance was given in section 4.3, example (304). One uses TPA in this way to make a statement which is true immediately preceding the time of utterance and which is still true at the time of utterance. It is very commonly used for making experiential statements such as 'I'm tired' or 'I'm hungry' or 'I'm sick' or 'I'm sad', for example *irr yarr-kin-dji-ni* 1sgNOM ??-PROP-INCHO-TPA 'I'm tired' and *irr wargugu-dji-ni* 1sgNOM sad-INCHO-TPA 'I'm sad'.

TPA inflection and RPA inflection may each be used in subordinate clauses. Instances of this have already been given. Two examples with RPA in the subordinate clause are (273) and (285); two with TPA are (132) and (314). TPA or RPA (rather than FUT) are used in a subordinate clause when the speaker wishes merely to view the event as completed – rather like the function of Greek aorist tense. RPA used in the same context likewise indicates just that the event is completed, though in past remote time. For both RPA and TPA used in a subordinate clause, aspect is unmarked, so that there

is no implication of duration of the activity indicated by the subordinate clause (other than whatever inherent aspect categories obtain in the verb). To indicate duration explicitly in the subordinate clause, TPC or RPC would be used instead.

(2) Remote past continuous and today past continuous inflections

These homophonous inflections are the +Continuous counterparts of RPA and TPA inflections. Hence, in any past time narrative, TPC and TPA will be found throughout the text, according to the speaker's need (or lack of need) to signal temporal continuity of an action. For a narrative set in remote past time, RPC and RPA will be found to alternate in this way. Similarly to TPA and RPA, in each conjugation RPC and TPC are marked by the same form. Section 4.1 discusses the etymology of the TPC and RPC inflections, which are Djinang innovations due to the influence of prefixing languages to the west of Djinang.

Example (323) above illustrates TPA alternating with TPC, the latter inflection occurring twice, on the verb *pirrirri-dji-* twist-THEMSR-. Clearly the twisting was an event which took place over a span of time; while the actions of throwing, falling and picking up were punctiliar. Numerous instances of RPC have already been given. Some instances from previous sections are (276), (282), (288), (293), (295), (297), (298) and (309); example (324) is a further example. Notice that the pronoun *nyani* 3 sg is used to refer to a group consisting of a number of members of a -HU species. The third person singular pronoun is commonly used this way, even though the reference is to plural participants. In (325) the pronoun is used similarly, but referring to a +HU group.

- (324) *nyani gurrumba galbi nyini-ny, gus-gima*
 [3sgNOM gooseUNM lotsUNM]NOM sit-RPC [goose-EMPH
gurrumba
 gooseUNM]NOM
 Many geese were sitting (there). {22:46}

TPC examples are less numerous in my database, for the same reason as given above for the comparative scarcity of TPA examples. I will give some instances of TPC, again from story 35. At this point in the narrative, the speaker has already briefly mentioned the fight, but states (325) as a digression before continuing to describe the fight in detail (he was not an eyewitness). Notice the use of the third person singular pronoun referring to a group of people standing near the office while watching the fight. This example also illustrates backgrounding (already mentioned in 4.3), to be discussed next.

- (325) *a nyan+a, bilngga djarri-nyi, mala, ngunu-ku*
 and 3sgNOM+NF 3duDAT stand-TPC COL that-DAT
office-mirri, nyun+a, marrbi-na nginibi
 office-LOC 2sgNOM+VOC not.present-TPC 1plexcNOM
marrbi-ni, nginibi djini-ngir warngarri,
 not.present-TPC 1plexcNOM this-ABL [what's.his.nameUNM
Liwangu-r, nyini-ny
 Liwangu-ERG]ERG sit-TPC

There was a group from the office standing watching them, you were not present, we were not present; we were sitting on this side (of the town) with Liwangu. {35:15-17}

It was stated above that TPA can be used in a present time context, to make a factual statement about a state which has its inception earlier than the time of the utterance and which still obtains at the time of the utterance, for example 'I'm hungry' or 'I'm cold'. I have just one example, (326), of TPC used in what appears to be a similar way. This clause comes from a hypothetical story made up by an informant to explain the meaning of a word. In the story, a man hunts others away when they try to take food which does not belong to them, and (326) is part of what the man says to them as justification for commanding them to go away. Contextual present time is indicated, as the deictic *djining* makes clear. The interpretation of this utterance would therefore be as for TPA in the same context, except that the speaker is overtly marking the state as prolonged.

(326) *djining ngalbirki liny gukirri-nyi*
 thisUNM hungry IduexcNOM walk.about-TPC
 Now we are going about hungry. {66:89}

(3) Discourse functions of RPC and TPC inflections

(a) Backgrounding

A further function of RPC and TPC is to mark information as 'background' information. An example of this using TPC occurred in (325) above, where the cited text portion is a digression in the description of the fight. Backgrounding is a discourse level feature, and to fully validate the claim that TPC and RPC may be used to indicate backgrounding requires more space than is available in this book. One example will have to suffice for the present, as given in the following paragraph.

Most instances of RPC or TPC mark continuous aspect, as explained earlier in this section. However some instances mark background information; this may be just a clause or two in length, or quite a lengthy section of a narrative. Some examples of backgrounding occur in the cited portion of text 32. Consider sections (7) and (8) of text 32, where RPC inflection obtains. The section numbered (6) introduces Silas and Paul, while (7) to (11) give background information about them: (7) states that they had accepted (i.e. placed their faith in) God; (8) states that he had given them a promise; (9) states that He had not come to them; (10) and (11) state that the Holy Spirit and faith had come to them. The story proper begins at section (12). Sections (7) to (11) are clearly background information. Although RPA inflection occurs in (12), RPC inflection is used in clauses (7) and (8). (Sections (9) and (10) exhibit RPI inflections, which are unspecified for continuous aspect.) The events involved in sections (7) and (8) are the accepting of God and the giving of a promise, both of which are inherently punctual. The narrator is not stating that Paul and Silas were continuing to accept God and that God was continuing to give promises; instead the narrator is merely indicating the beginning of a section of narrative containing background information.

Another instance of RPC used to indicate backgrounding occurs in (32:89-90). (RPC inflection also occurs in the context preceding these two sections, but there it marks +Continuous aspect for events belonging to the main theme.)

(b) Procedural discourse

Procedural discourse may use FUT inflection, as has been stated earlier. However, when a procedural narrative is set in remote past time, and therefore deals with cultural or typical behaviour of ancestors or totemic beings, RPC inflection is used. In this context it may be translated as 'X used to do Y' or simply as 'X did Y'. Story 43 is a procedural narrative explaining how women used to process cycad nuts. Several sections of this story have already been cited. The story is in two parts: the first 79 sections describe how women used to process the nuts to make flour. With just a couple

of exceptions – see (279) and (280) – all the verbs in this part of the story are inflected with RPC. Taking the examples in order of occurrence in the text, see (138), (13), (198), (101), (309), (280) and (162). The second part of the story contrasts the present state of affairs with that obtaining in the past. This part of the story begins at section (80) and continues to the end. In this part, events are set in the context of present time and mostly take FUT inflection. (This use of FUT has been explained earlier, in section 4.4.) Two examples from this part of the story are (18) and (168).

It is unlikely that TPC can be used in a procedural discourse or in a discourse dealing with normative behaviour or hypothetical events. In the procedural discourses which I have recorded, either FUT or RPC categories obtain. Normative or hypothetical behaviour generally uses FUT inflection; and in one case (where hypothetical events are involved), TPI is used.

4.7 IMPERATIVE AND PRESENT AND PAST IRREALIS INFLECTIONS

(1) Imperative

In Djinang, the IMP inflection is homophonous with PRI and YPI inflections (in Djinba, IMP is marked differently than the latter two inflections). Hence in Djinang, the form of the IMP suffix indicates the conjugation class of the verb unambiguously. The suffixes are *-wi*, class 1; *-rri*, class 2; and *-yi*, class 3.

There are three pragmatic functions of IMP inflection: one is to give a strong command (if addressed to a second person); another is its use as a hortative (if addressed to a first person(s)); and the third is to make an emphatic statement expressing strong disapproval.

Some examples of IMP used as an imperative are (43), (50), (86), (145), (179) and (313). Example (327) is a negative imperative, where IMP functions both as an irrealis inflection, and as an imperative. (In Djinba, this would be expressed by a NEG particle and POT inflection.) The scope of the initial NEG particle extends to the second clause. (Extension of the scope of NEG marking to subsequent clauses is a feature of Djinang grammar which occurs not infrequently.) NEG may similarly occur with FUT marking to express a polite negative imperative. The verb in non-future NEG clauses must always take an irrealis inflection (i.e. PRI, YPI, TPI or RPI). Negative imperative clauses are an exception to the latter. Note that there is ambiguity between IMP and PRI or YPI so that, for example, *ingki bini-yi* {65:43} can be glossed NEG do.thus-IMP ‘do not do it that way!’ or ‘do not say that!’ NEG do.thus-PRI ‘(he) is not doing it that way’ or ‘(he) is not saying that’, or NEG do.thus-YPI ‘(he) did not do it that way’ or ‘(he) did not say that’.

- (327) *ingki-ban bil-ny-ildji wātu-wi a nyaliki-dji-y*
 NEG-TF 3du-ACC-2plERG swear-IMP and however-INCHO-IMP
mari bilng-ildji djama
 [troubleUNM]ACC 3duDAT-2plERG make
 Don't swear at them nor by any means make trouble for them. (32:155-156)

A previous example of IMP used as a hortative appeared in (84). Two more examples of IMP used this way are given below. IMP does not occur in subordinate clauses, except that it may occur in direct quotations, such as in (328).

- (328) *irra wangi-ni "Il gubi-yi, yuwirdji-ngir-gi*
 1sgDAT say-RPA 1duincERG leave-IMP new-OBL-DAT
il mili-ki"
 1duincNOM look.for-FUT
 He said to me, "Let's leave it (and) look for a new one". {34:665-667}
- (329) *"ngiy, yili-mirri lim kiri-wi"*
 INTERJ again-PERL 1plincNOM walk-IMP
 "Yes. Let us follow after (you)." {34:897}

Example (330) illustrates IMP used to express disapproval. The example comes from story 35, the description of the fight mentioned previously. At this point in the story, a relative is trying to intervene to stop the fight and shame the men into submission. The last instance of IMP is the one we are concerned with. The speaker is not commanding the antagonists to shame him, but rather he is making an emphatic statement expressing disapproval, to the effect that their actions are bringing him shame.

In the first clause the *-yi* suffix is probably PRI rather than IMP. The narrator is expressing doubt as to the existence of feelings of shame in the antagonists, as a means of shaming them (otherwise a realis inflection would have been used). The last clause contains the form *nyin-* which is a rare reduced form of the pronoun *nyuni* 2sgNOM. (A reduced pronoun as semantic subject is commonly used in clause-final position in equational (verbless) clauses of the type 'X (is) Y'.) The following *d* phoneme is epenthetic and regularly occurs between a word-final alveolar nasal and a following word-initial *i* vowel. Note that after the reduced pronoun the following pronoun *irra* 3sgDAT is phonologically bound to it, even though grammatically there is a clause break between these two pronouns. The final word *guṇi-yi* 1sgDAT shame-IMP also requires further explanation. The root *guṇi-* shame-, to be strictly grammatical, should have had INCHO *-dji* as a first order suffix (as in the first clause). Its omission here is an instance of a performance error which occasionally obtains.

- (330) *"nyali kuṇi-dji-yi! yul nyini-y! yul*
 whereUNM shame-INCHO-PRI [manUNM]NOM sit-IMP [manUNM]NOM
nyini-y! ... "yul nyin-dirra guṇi-yi!"
 sit-IMP [manUNM]NOM 2sgNOM-1sgDAT shame-IMP
 "Where's your shame! Be a man! Be a man!"... "You're a man, (you) shame me!"
 {35:69-70,73}

(2) Present and past irrealis inflections

As has been stated above, a NEG particle conditions the occurrence of an irrealis inflection on the verb (provided there is a verb in the clause); in the case of FUT inflection, an Irrealis function obtains even though not marked on the surface. Examples of NEG conditioning irrealis may be seen in (18), (164), (270), (271) and (276); further examples need not be cited here.

The essential characteristic of an irrealis inflection is that the event denoted by the verb did not obtain. Alternatively, an irrealis inflection indicates that there is doubt or uncertainty in the speaker's mind that the event did or will obtain (see (193), for example). Negative clauses therefore obligatorily take irrealis inflections. Clauses which express doubt, uncertainty or hypotheticality will also take irrealis inflections (but no NEG particle). Irrealis inflections also may obtain when the speaker is talking about normative or cultural actions, which people typically do. (In the latter instance, irrealis inflections are not obligatory. As discussed in the preceding sections, FUT or RPC

may be used instead.) Irrealis inflections are also used in protasis-apodosis constructions, as in (190) and (191).

Irrealis inflections may also be used to express potentiality of an event obtaining, as in (314). Potentiality is somewhat problematical: it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between irrealis being used to express doubt and irrealis used to express potentiality (i.e. 'about to do X'). Recalling that earlier POT marking was lost and the Potential function was merged with the irrealis categories (see sections 4.1 and 4.2), the interpretation of irrealis inflections is therefore sometimes ambiguous when no NEG particle is present. (One may unambiguously signal the Potential function by a particle such as *djini-guyum* this-later 'on the verge of', 'about to do'.) Three fairly clear examples of Potential function being marked by an irrealis inflection alone are (331) (332) and (333). The first was uttered while I was sitting talking to my language teacher. He looked up and saw a stranger alighting from the local bus, some two hundred metres away. The second is one in which clearly only a Potential interpretation fits the context. It can hardly mean *"Whom will I see? I may be seeing (at the present moment) the workers." The FUT inflection of the first clause implies the event of seeing is imminent, hence a Potential function obtains. Similarly with (335), only a Potential function makes sense there.

(331) *wari yulgu-w*
 whoNOM come.to-PRI
 Who is about to arrive? {65:30}

(332) *wiri-nyi-rr nya-ngi?*
 who-ACC-1sgERG see-FUT
a djining djama-gin-pili dji+ny-irr nya-wi
 and [thisUNM work-PROP-PL]ACC 3pl+ACC-1sgERG see-PRI
 Whom will I see? I am about to see the workers. {66:121-122}

In (333) the contextual time reference is future time, and RPI is being used to express hypotheticality. Similarly, TPI can be used in the context of present time, as in (334). The Present function is +Continuous, so that when -Continuous is required in the context of present time, TPI is used instead.

(333) (...) *bintji maliri bil yulgu-nyir*
 otherwise nightUNM 3duNOM escape-RPI
 (...) otherwise they may escape in the night (32:90)

(334) *nyani min-dj-nyiri*
 3sgNOM cold-INCHO-TPI
 He may become cold.

Irrealis inflections may apparently also obtain in subordinate clauses. I have few examples of this, but two instances occur in (50) and (312). It seems that there are no grammatical constraints involved; rather, the conditions required for the use of an irrealis inflection in a subordinate clause obtain only rarely.

In section 4.5 it was explained that YPA may obtain in the context of remote indefinite time, provided the event denoted by the YPA-marked verb is contextually definite. That is, provided events in the narrative define a +Definite time reference for the obtaining of the event marked by YPA. The same is true of YPI. The following example illustrates YPI used in the context of remote indefinite past time. In this example also, YPI is used with Potential function. The narrator has just explained how he had searched for his listener (many years before) at a camp which turned out to be deserted.

He states that perhaps the people had gone to Maningrida. Then he states (335). He is telling his listener that if at that time the people had been in the immediate area, then he and those with him would immediately have come to them.

- (335) *inma liny ɲunydjirri-w kiri-w+a, liny*
 2sgDAT 1duexcNOM go.quickly-YPI PROG-YPI+NF 1duexcNOM
mili-ny kiri-ny+a, liny mili-ny kiri-ny+a,
 look.for-RPC PROG-RPC+NF 1duexcNOM look.for-RPC PROG-RPC+NF
Gattji-∅ ngunung gurrbi
 [Gattji-LOC thatUNM placeUNM]LOC
 We were about to run after you – we were looking and looking (for you); at Gattji, at that place. {34:998-1001}

Lastly, as is mentioned in sections 3.11 and 4.1, the NMLSR inflection is homophonous with the TPI and RPI inflections. This is true in Yolngu languages generally.

CHAPTER 5

SYNTAX

This chapter deals with Djinang syntax, including noun phrases and the verb complex. As for the previous chapters, comparison will occasionally be made with Morphy's analysis of Djapu. The first section will deal with noun phrases, the second will deal with the verb complex, the third with clauses, the fourth with verbless clauses and the last with sentences and higher levels.

Because of the phenomenon of 'free word order', it is not very helpful to characterise syntactic structures in Djinang according to the principles of immediate constituent analysis. For any posited structure, there will always be grammatical exceptions to it; 'word order' is only sometimes a helpful concept. It is true that there is considerably more freedom of distribution for constituents of any posited unit than for languages which mark grammatical relations using word order. But it is not true to assume from this that there are no ordering principles in the language or that ordering principles may be violated without changing meaning or without producing an ungrammatical sentence. Where order of constituents is variable, it is usually still possible to make useful generalisations in terms of the distribution of types of information, rather than the distribution of word classes; that is, to state structure in functional rather than formal terms.

5.1 NOUN PHRASES

NPs in Djinang are structured very similarly to NPs in other Yolngu languages, including Djapu. Morphy (1983:82-87) gives an account of Djapu NPs which, excepting lexical differences, is almost an account of Djinang NPs. This is hardly surprising considering the close genetic ties between Yolngu languages. Nevertheless, there are some differences between the two languages in terms of the structure of NPs and the patterns of case marking which obtain.

As we shall see later, it is possible in Djinang (and in any Yolngu language for that matter) for very long nominal constructions to be used to refer to participants. These constructions, or expressions, may be discontinuous, the verb complex typically intervening between the two parts. There are two possible ways of analysing these nominal constructions: one way assumes that each such expression consists of one superordinate NP which dominates several subordinate NPs; the other way assumes that such expressions are appositive NP constructions, with no dominating NP. The facts favour the latter view. For example, there are no markers of subordination of one NP to another; each appositive NP is a valid and sufficient NP structure in itself. In the context of actual speech events, speakers very obviously build word pictures of discourse participants by juxtaposing an indefinite

number of NPs, each of which refers to the same participant and adds further descriptive detail to what has gone before. Each appositive NP is characteristically delimited by pause, and other constituents (such as the verb complex) may be interposed between successive NPs which refer to the same participant (or even between parts of a single NP). Case, when it occurs overtly, may occur in any one or more of the NPs which are in juxtaposition; often it occurs in just one of them, and which one it will occur in is not predictable. If it were predictable, we may have grounds for assuming that NP to be superordinate and the others subordinate to it. For reasons such as these, I prefer the second view to the first. Therefore, in order to refer to these appositive NP constructions in some consistent way, I use the term ‘complex referential expression’ (CRE). This means a stretch of speech, possibly discontinuous, comprising two or more NPs, each of which refers to the same participant.

In Djinang, an NP may consist of one or more constituents, one of which must function as the head of the NP. One variation from Djapu is that in Djinang it is comparatively rare for more than one nominal of a multinominal NP to be marked for the same case. Repetition of the case marker is more likely to occur for local cases (PERL, ALL, ABL and LOC), to a lesser extent for ERG, INSTR and GEN cases, to a much lesser extent for DAT or OR and rarely for ACC. Djinang frequently marks case only once for each complex referential expression – no matter how complex the internal structure of that expression is. In fact, the more complex the referential expression, the less likely is the same case to be used more than once within it. Most instances of repeated case marking within the one constituent involve just two nominals in a single NP. We shall see examples illustrating these comments later.

Yolngu languages permit discontinuous constituents and this is especially prevalent in complex referential expressions. Both Djinang and Djapu commonly utilise discontinuous constructions when the complex referential expression has numerous constituents; typically a pronoun, or perhaps a minimal NP, will occur in pre-verbal position, and in post-verbal position there will occur the head, or one or more constituents modifying the pre-verbal constituent – these modifying constituents may themselves be NPs. For example, (32:18) illustrates a single discontinuous NP. Preceding the verb complex there occurs the pronoun and anaphoric deictic, and after the VC occurs the head. And (32:21) has a similar discontinuous NP (lacking the anaphoric deictic in this instance). In (32:32) there occurs a complex referential expression which is discontinuous. Preceding the VC occurs the NP *ngunung djanguny* ‘that story’, and following the VC occurs the other NP *ngunung wanngirnyakiṅing* ‘the one having saving (power)’.

In Djinang, the basic mechanism for creating complex nominal structures is apposition. Expressions of this type typically contain up to eight words, occasionally more. For example, consider the following expression, which immediately follows the verb complex (VC) and is found in (32:87-88): *ngunung, bala, ngunu warngarriny, prisoner-bi bala ngunu wana* thatUNM houseUNM thatUNM what’s.its.nameUNM prisoner-OR house-OR thatUNM bigUNM ‘that large building for prisoners’. This particular expression is also covertly marked for ACC case. The expression involves three NPs in apposition, each NP adding descriptive detail to what has gone before. Earlier in this book I used the term ‘descriptive appositional NP’ for NPs used like this.

Morphy (1983) lists various permitted constituents of an NP. It is worthwhile to repeat her list here, since the same set of constituents can be found in Djinang NPs. Where possible I direct the reader to examples previously cited which illustrate the various constituents.

(a) head function manifested by two or more nominals having generic-specific relationship: *wali-gi-ban, milgali-gi* food-DAT-TF cycad.nut-DAT in (309).

(b) pronoun (with or without other nominals): *biling buđi* 3du bloodUNM 'their blood' in (319).

(c) nominals modifying the head: *ngunyili bunggawa-li-ban, wana-li yul-ili ngunung, ngurrđawalangu djina* thatALL boss-ALL-TF big-ALL man-ALL thatUNM leaderUNM 3plDAT 'to that boss, to that important man, to their leader' (32:54-5). This complex referential expression has three NPs, the heads being *bunggawa, yul* and *ngurrđawalangu*, and the modifying nominals being deictics, a noun and a reduced pronoun.

(d) a dual or plural modifier (note that in Djinang these have become suffixes): *yul-mirrpili, yulbininggili, girrarrk-mirrpili* man-PAUC manUNM twoUNM big.name-PAUC 'two important-named men' {19:2}.

(e) a numeral: see above and also *bininggili wagirri* twoUNM crowUNM 'two crows' {20:91}.

(f) a deictic (either manifesting the head and functioning as a demonstrative pronoun or modifying the head and functioning as a deictic determiner): *ngunu* thatUNM in (134) functioning as demonstrative pronoun; *djining yul-mirrpili* thisUNM man-PAUC 'these two men' in (32:48) functioning as a deictic determiner, and similarly *gurrbi-w ngunung* place-SPEC thatUNM 'that specific place' in (32:91).

(g) an inalienably possessed part: *ngirk-irri-ny djin minigi-m* boneUNM-1sg-ACC 3plERG carry-PRES 'they are carrying my bones' (lit. 'bone me they are carrying') in {50:333}.

(h) a genitive qualifier: *nyanng-a ganydjarr-mirrpm* 3sg-GEN power-PERL 'through his power' in (146).

(i) noun-PROP as a modifying nominal: *ngunung djanguny VC ngunung wanngir-nyakinjing* thatUNM storyUNM VC thatUNM save-NMLSR-PROP (VC = Verb Complex) 'that story' VC 'that one having saving (power)' in (16).

(j) a quantifying nominal: *...yidjipila, bukmak-ban nibi...* childrenUNM all-TF 1plinc '...and the children, (in fact) everybody...' in {22:170}.

(k) an indefinite determiner: *...wili ngunu-pilangi-r...* whoERG that-INDEF-ERG '...whoever...' in (187).

(l) a locational qualifier: *nambidi bala-mirr* insideUNM house-LOC 'inside the house' in (122).

Not only do the same constituents occur as in Djapu, but the same constraints on distribution also obtain in the majority of cases. Hence, if a pronoun occurs in an NP, then it is always the initial constituent of the NP. Nominals having a modifying function may occur either before or after the head, though there is a strong tendency for GEN-marked nominals to precede the head. Deictic modifiers may precede or follow the head, but there is a preference for pre-head position except when the head is manifested by a pronoun. Also, a deictic generally will be contiguous to the head, whether in pre-head position or post-head position. Adjectival nominals may precede or follow the head, though post-head position seems to be slightly preferred.

There is a general ordering principle within the NP: that generic elements precede specific elements. The requirement that a pronoun, if present, be the first constituent is an example of this ordering principle. Similarly, the high incidence of the deictic *ngunung* (having demonstrative

pronoun function) in NP-initial position is another example of the principle. This ordering principle may extend over clauses, as well as within the NP. Consider (336), where the subject reference is made progressively more definite with each clause. The first and second subject NPs are pronouns, the next involves nouns and the last NP gives the names – which in this case are animal names, since the story is from the Dreamtime.

- (336) *biling bil nyini-nyi, biling bil nyini-ny,*
 3duNOM 3duNOM sit-RPC 3duNOM 3duNOM sit-RPC
bunggawa-mirrpili, mir ngurrḍawalangu-mirrpili
 [boss-PAUC like leader-PAUC
biling bil nyini-ny, warngarri, Warpurr,
 3duNOM]NOM 3duNOM sit-RPC [what's.their.nameUNM PossumUNM
Wagirri, biling bil nyini-ny,
 CrowUNM 3duNOM]NOM 3duNOM sit-RPC
 They were sitting, they were sitting, two bosses, that is, two leaders, they were sitting;
 what's their name – Possum and Crow, they were sitting. {20:1-4}

It is possible for a deictic marked with the COMPL affix and functioning as an anaphoric determiner to occur in the same complex referential expression as a deictic (lacking the COMPL affix) having a Deictic Determiner function. An example occurs in (208): *nyani ngunu-kirri, ngunung prisoner djaka-gining* 3sg that-COMPL thatUNM prisonerUNM help-PROP 'that aforementioned prisoner caretaker'. This is best viewed as two NPs in apposition, the first being *nyani ngunu-kirri*. Another example, almost identical, occurs in (32:100).

As stated above, discontinuous NPs or discontinuous complex referential expressions are quite common. This is especially true when deictics are present, and very often the deictic is manifested in each part of the discontinuous expression. This repetition of the deictic should be considered as having a cohesive function, as well as functioning as either a deictic determiner or a demonstrative pronoun, as the case may be. For example, consider the following discontinuous expression, where VC represents the position of the verb complex:

- (337) *...ngunu VC chain ngunung+a, ga warngarriny+a,*
 thatUNM VC chainUNM thatUNM+NF and so.and.soUNM+NF
nu ga gumbirri guḍjirr-mirrpili...
 footUNM and handUNM wrist-PAUC
 ...that one VC the chains, (on) feet and hands, both wrists... (32:96-97)

In this complex referential expression, the pre-verbal instance of *ngunu* 'that' functions as a demonstrative pronoun, and the post-verbal occurrence of *ngununga* 'that' in the appositional NP after the VC has a cohesive function, indicating semantic linkage to the pre-verbal demonstrative pronoun. Below I present some discontinuous NPs to illustrate the phenomenon. VC represents the position of the Verb Complex. The examples are taken from story 32 and the glosses may be seen there. Note also that ACC case occurs only once in the fifth and the last examples.

(32:33)	<i>ngunung gurrbi</i>	VC	<i>ngirki ga nginmili-ny</i>
(32:44)	<i>djani ngunu</i>	VC	<i>ngunung miyilk-ang djama-gin-pili</i>
(32:51-52)	<i>djini-wil-tji...</i>	VC	<i>ngunu wurpa-pi yul-bi</i>
(32:52)	<i>rrupiya</i>	VC	<i>wana</i>
(32:54)	<i>ngunu</i>	VC	<i>Paul-nyi ga Silas</i>
(32:60)	<i>djin-gira-pi djanguny</i>	VC	<i>a wurpa-pi wurpa-pi</i>
(32:95)	<i>djabir</i>	VC	<i>djabir ngunung</i>

This is just a sample list; many more examples of discontinuous referential expressions may be seen in the same story. Usually it is the VC which interrupts a referential expression, though it can be other constituents (with or without the VC), as in (32:52). See also (354) in section 5.3, where both the Agent and Object constituents are discontinuous, and which also contains a relative clause. This example illustrates the considerable complexity that can be attained if many coreferential NPs are juxtaposed to form complex referential expressions.

None of the enumerated potential constituents of an NP is obligatory. There must be a constituent manifesting the head for an NP to be present in surface structure; but the head may be filled by any of the enumerated constituents – except for the PL or PAUC affixes of course. If either PL or PAUC occurs, it is affixed to a noun or deictic.

Djinang, like Djapu and a number of other Australian languages (Morphy 1983:87), has an NP construction in which a first or second person non-plural pronoun is used, and only a subset of the referents of the pronoun is further specified by one or more nominals (typically names). This is because for first or second person pronouns one of the referents (or a group) is fully delimited by the pronoun. For example, the pronoun *ngilinyi* 1duexc ‘we two’ necessarily includes the speaker, while the pronoun *nyumi* 2du ‘you two’ necessarily includes the addressee. In such circumstances, further marking is required only to make definite the other participant(s) not unambiguously specified by the pronoun. Example (338) illustrates; the speaker is speaking to Manbarrarra, so that only *Wa* needs further specification. (This person is dead, and I have refrained from giving his full name.)

- (338) *damba nyuni marr-gi, nyumi Wa*.
 [damperUNM]ACC 2sgERG get-FUT [2duERG Wa].UNM]ERG
 You and *Wa* get some damper! {22:27}

(1) Inalienable possession

Alienable and inalienable possession was discussed in relation to the PROP and ALIEN affixes in section 3.1. Alienable possession may also be expressed using the GEN suffix, where the possessor takes the GEN marking and typically precedes the constituent denoting the possessed item; it is quite possible for the construction to be discontinuous, as in (314).

The typical means of indicating inalienable possession is juxtaposition of the possessed item to the possessor item. There is no special marker of the possessive relation as there is for alienable possession. Instances of this construction occur in (319) and (320) where *biling buđi* 3duNOM bloodUNM is to be interpreted as a possessive construction ‘their blood’; similarly *nyani buđi* 3sgNOM bloodUNM means ‘his blood’. A further example is (309), where *gungi libi* headUNM 1plexcNOM is a possessive construction ‘our thoughts’. (Note that ‘thoughts rising up’ is an idiom for expectant waiting.) Another example is (55) in section 2.8, where the possessed item occurs in a Patient relation to the verb and so is ACC (covertly) in this instance. Body-part nominals (including psyche terminology) are prevalent in constructions of this type, and most often are either semantic

subjects or to a lesser extent, semantic objects and hence may be marked by NOM, ERG, ACC or DAT.

(2) Coordinate noun phrases

Multi-head NPs are possible when non-coreferential nominals form coordinate NPs. The particle *a* 'and' (or the borrowed form *ga* 'and') may optionally be used to overtly indicate the coordination. Examples may be seen in the cited texts (32:6,45-46,53,89,96,97,113) and (34:275). Further examples occur in (49) in section 2.8 and (319) in section 4.5. If more than two nominals are coordinated, then *a* (or *ga*) usually obtains only preceding the last nominal, though it may occur elsewhere instead. An example of this is in (339); another occurs in (160) in section 3.2.

- (339) *djin darrarra-miy-gi gunydjirri-r+a mar'mingi-r+a*
 3plERG rip.open-CAUS-FUT father-ERG+NF grandfather-ERG+NF
ga wuwa-r+a marratja-r+a walkir-li
 and o.brother-ERG+NF grandchild-ERG+NF child-ERG
 They would crack/tear it open; the fathers, grandfathers and brothers, grandsons (and) sons (would do so). (field notes)

It is quite common for a coordinate NP to lack any overt marker of coordination, with merely juxtaposition of the heads as the indicator of coordination, as in a clause such as *nyuni, ngarri, il giri-Ø-ban* 2sgNOM 1sgNOM 1duincNOM go-FUT-TF 'You (and) I, let us go now'. Another example is the following:

- (340) *bukmak nuli-dji giri-Ø, miyilk, yul*
 [allUNM]NOM by.foot-INSTR go-FUT [womanUNM manUNM]NOM
 All went, (both) women (and) men. {22:232}

Another common way of indicating coordination is by the use of stem-final *a* vowels having NF function (see section 3.8). These may occur in conjunction with *a* (or *ga*), as in (339) above, or they may occur without any coordinating particle, as in (22:218).

5.2 THE VERE COMPLEX

The only obligatory constituent of a VC is a non-inflecting verb root or an inflected verb. There are no compelling grounds for analysing a non-inflecting verb root followed by an inflected verb (whether immediately followed by or after other constituents) as being constituents of a single clause. When a non-inflecting verb occurs, the inflected verb in a following clause may sometimes be synonymous or partly synonymous with the non-inflecting verb. Non-inflecting verbs used in this way give stylistic effect. They rarely take reduced pronouns, but merely preview the type of action denoted by the inflected verb which follows. Occasional synonymy or near-synonymy is not sufficient grounds for treating the non-inflecting verb as part of the clause having the inflected verb; further reasons are given below. Example (341) illustrates an inflected verb and a non-inflecting partly synonymous verb root co-occurring; in this example, *warrwarr* is regarded as manifesting a minimal clause.

When non-inflecting verbs occur, usually they are not synonymous with the main verb in a contiguous clause. In such circumstances, they are being used suppletively for inflecting verbs when the events denoted by the non-inflecting verbs are highly predictable. They cannot be regarded as constituents of a serial verb construction within a single clause (Foley and Olson, 1984), for instance,

since such non-inflecting verbs may be replaced by synonymous inflected verbs (or by clauses containing synonymous inflected verbs) whereby the resulting sentence is a paraphrase of the original sentence. It is best to regard a string of verbs from the class of non-inflecting verb roots as a string of minimal clauses. Examples (342) to (344) illustrate this behaviour.

Example (342) illustrates two minimal clauses manifested by non-inflecting verb roots, while (343) and (344) illustrate typical uses of non-inflecting verb roots. In the latter two examples, after the action denoted by the inflected verb, the next action is highly predictable – and involves the same participants (and especially the same semantic subject). In this condition such predictable action may be expressed by a non-inflecting verb root, provided such a verb root exists which has the required meaning. Only a small proportion of inflecting verbs actually may be replaced by synonymous non-inflecting verb roots, for while the latter number perhaps many dozens, they certainly do not number hundreds or thousands. The non-inflecting verb roots are completely unrelated to their inflecting counterparts in terms of their phonological shape, and they may not be used to form compound verbs. Despite the fact that some of these root forms are of Austronesian origin (see Walker and Zorc, 1981), I believe the class of such verbs is a relic of a much larger class of monomorphemic (and often monosyllabic) root verbs which probably pre-dates proto-Yolngu itself.

- (341) *warrwarr wini-ny kiri-nya., Djakalabirri-∅*
 go.quickly return-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR Djakalabirri-LOC
 Going quickly we returned all the way to Djakalabirri. {22:186}
- (342) *warrwarr bur*
 go.quickly arrive
 (We) went quickly (and we) arrived. {22:101}
- (343) *wurp+a dji!+a garrpi-n+a yarim ga-ngil+a rarr,*
 once+NF thisLOC+NF tie.up-RPC+NF just take-RPA+NF drop
a madjirri, garrpi-n+a, a rarr,
 and again tie.up-RPC+NF and drop
 (We) tied up (the tools) here once, (then) just took them and dropped them (into the boat),
 and again we tied up (more) and dropped them (in the boat). {22:135-136}
- (344) *nginibi wini-n+a djut-pan*
 1plexcNOM return-RPA+NF sit-TF
 We returned (and) sat down then. (22:201)

In the remainder of this section we discuss only inflecting verbs. When the VC contains an inflecting verb there are a variety of other potential constituents of the VC which may occur with it. None of these additional constituents may occur with a non-inflecting verb root. The NEG particles *ingki* and *wirr* are not analysed as being part of the VC, mainly because they may occur either clause initially or immediately preceding the VC. Similarly for modal particles, which likewise may occur clause initially or preceding the VC. Also, as far as I know from the data at hand, non-inflecting verb roots may not occur with modal particles or with NEG particles.

It is within the VC that word order is most tightly constrained in Djinang syntax. For this reason it is possible to write structural formulae which appear to be exceptionless – allowing of course for occasional performance slips. I give the formulae below. There are two possibilities. If the DIRECT particle *minydji* THITH ‘thither’ occurs, then it appears that only in very rare circumstances will a non-subject reduced pronoun occur with it; all the examples of such co-occurrence so far encountered

have involved an ACC reduced pronoun, for example *minydj+nyl+rr*, which is a portmanteau combination of *minydj*, *djiny* 3plACC and *irr* 1sgERG. The other structural possibility is that when the DIRECT particle *bi* ‘hither’ occurs, the non-subject reduced pronoun may be from either the DAT or ACC paradigm.

I doubt that there is any semantic constraint prohibiting a DAT reduced pronoun occurring with *minydj*; it's just that the circumstances have not obtained for such a collocation to be uttered. If this is so, then the two formulae may be conflated into one, the second element being an optional DIRECT particle.

In these descriptions, + means obligatory, ± means optional and / indicates a disjunctive option. PERF is the PERF particle *ngurrumi*, PRO is a reduced pronoun, RECIP is the particle *inydji* (see section 3.17), VERB is the main verb and its inflection, and AUX is an auxiliary verb having the same inflection as the main verb.

VC = ± PERF ± *minydj* ± PRO_{ACC} + PRO_{ERG/NOM} + VERB ± AUX

VC = ± PERF ± *bi* ± PRO_{ACC/DAT} ± RECIP + PRO_{ERG/NOM} + VERB ± AUX

There are thus seven potential constituents of a VC. Only the main verb and subject reduced pronoun are obligatory. The combination of THITH particle *bi* and the RECIP particle is uncommon, though it does occur – see (269), also (345) below. Situations in which both are required in the one clause rarely obtain. DIRECT particles *bi* and *minydj* occur most commonly with intransitive verbs – such as verbs of motion. (RECIP does not often occur with the latter verb class. One example where it does so occur is in (344). The narrator had just speared a wounded buffalo, and fat ‘jumped out’ of the wound made by the spear. The expression for ‘jump’ is RECIP (having Reflexive function) followed by the verb ‘throw’; hence literally it means ‘throw oneself’.)

(345) *yarim gultji bi+nydji ngu+li-ban,*
 just [fatUNM]_{NOM} HITH+RECIP throw+RPA-TF
 The fat just jumped out towards (me) then. {34:428}

Collocations of the various constituents may be seen in earlier chapters, and also in the cited texts. The PERF particle does not occur often; an instance of its occurrence preceding the DIRECT particle *minydj* ‘thither’ is in (269), section 3.15. Instances of DAT and ACC reduced pronouns may be seen in sections 2.8 and 2.9, and RECIP is discussed in section 3.17. Auxiliary verbs are discussed in section 3.13.

The structural descriptions above indicate that only one auxiliary verb may follow the main verb. This is true in literally scores of instances in the total database. However, see (164), section 3.3, where two auxiliary verbs followed the main verb. The first was the PROG auxiliary and the second was the HABIT auxiliary. This collocation has occurred only a few times in several years of collecting Djinang data.

5.3 THE CLAUSE

Most of the complexities of Djinang grammar lie in its morphology and in the syntax of NPs and the VC. At levels higher than the phrase, there are much fewer generalisations which can be made. Now I will deal with clauses. One way of categorising clauses is by their inherent transitivity type, which is a function of the transitivity type of the main verb. This schema generates five different clause types: verbless, intransitive, semitransitive, transitive and ditransitive. These clause types

differ only in whether or not they contain a verb, how many arguments the verb takes (that is, its valency) and the case marking of the various arguments which may obtain.

Table 5.1 gives the different clause types, the valency of the main verb, and the arguments (with cases) of verbs belonging to each clause type. The arguments are presented in the order: (semantic) Subject, Object, Indirect Object. In the table, CRE represents a complex referential expression of any complexity, which may be an NP or a string of NPs, and which may be discontinuous, as discussed in section 5.2. It should also be borne in mind that ACC case is rarely marked with -HU nominals, and that some nominals require a preceding OBL marker when ACC, DAT or ERG cases obtain (see Chapter 2). There is seldom a +HU nominal as the second argument (i.e. the O argument) of a ditransitive clause, and hence usually the O argument is UNM for case overtly. VC represents the verb complex, and the subscripts indicate the transitivity class of its main verb.

Each of the clause types, with the exception of the verbless clause, may take peripheral extensions, such as NPs marked for LOC, ALL, ABL or PERL. However, these do not subcategorise clauses, and so are omitted from the table. No syntactic significance should be attached to the relative order of arguments in the table. Also, O or IO arguments can be marked by ALL case in certain circumstances, but this has not been included in the table – see section 2.8 for details. (The use of ALL does not impose a subcategorisation of verbs which is different from the one shown.) For verbless clauses, the Comment is nearly always NOM case. Most apparent counter-examples actually have an underlying verb (usually ‘go’, ‘sit’, ‘lie down’ or ‘stand’) which has been deleted from surface structure. Besides NOM case for the Comment, DAT or OR can obtain (though this rarely happens), for example, [*djini wali*] [*nyung-ki+nma*] thisUNM foodUNM 2sg-DAT+2sgDAT ‘this food (is) for you’ and [*djinim maypal*] [*mani-bi*] thatUNM meatUNM river-OR ‘that meat (is) from the river’. In the table, cases which obtain very infrequently are placed within parentheses.

Transitivity Type	Valency	Verb Complex and Arguments			
Verbless	-	CRE _{NOM}	CRE _{NOM} (OR/DAT)		
Intransitive	1	CRE _{NOM}	VC _{intrans}		
Semitransitive	2	CRE _{NOM}	CRE _{DAT}	VC _{semitr}	
Transitive	2	CRE _{ERG}	CRE _{ACC}	VC _{trans}	
Ditransitive	3	CRE _{ERG}	CRE _{ACC}	CRE _{ACC}	VC _{ditrans}
	3	CRE _{ERG}	CRE _{ACC}	CRE _{DAT}	VC _{ditrans}

(1) Independent Clauses

Classification of clauses by transitivity type is somewhat trivial. A more insightful way of describing clauses is by the distribution of types of information within them. There are two basic types of clause in this view:

(1) verbless clauses, which have an information structure of Topic-Comment; and

(2) verbal clauses which have an information structure of: Onset information – Negator information – Setting information – Referential information – Predication information – Complementary information – Coda information, in that order.

Topic and Comment are discussed in more detail in section 5.4. Each is manifested by an NP or string of juxtaposed NPs. The Topic always takes NOM case, while the Comment nearly always does. It is the verbal clause structure which I discuss in more detail in this section.

The constituents which manifest each information type are sometimes of diverse kinds, but nevertheless have a well-defined function in the clause. Only Predication information is obligatory in a clause. All other information types are optional. There is sometimes variability of order in the information types, but it is relatively infrequent. The major proportion of clauses conform to the order suggested above. Random sampling of texts reveals that departures from the above order are in the range of five to seven percent of clauses. Table 5.2 gives a list of types of constituents which commonly manifest each information type. In the table, 'pt' is an abbreviation of particle, and 'interrog' an abbreviation of interrogative. Also, in the Referential column I have listed separately some of the less common word classes which may obtain as realisations of the NP head.

Onset	Negator	Setting	Referential	Predicate	Complementary	Coda
particle	NEG	temporal pt	interrog pronoun	VC	qualifying NPs	COMPL particle
INTERJ		locational pt	deictic	nominal	local NPs	some particles
ABL deictic		deictic	pronoun		adverb	
			NP		adverbial NP	
			ALL NP		reported speech	
			NEG <i>wirr</i>		complement clause	
			some verb roots			

The five to seven percent exceptions to the above order in the random samples were mostly as follows: setting information sometimes obtained in post-VC position; an overt Object occurred in post-VC position (apparently when the O was 'old' information); NEG particle, or a non-inflecting verb root, occurred immediately preceding the VC; local NPs occurred in the Setting position; and an adverb occurred immediately preceding the VC.

Table 5.2 is equivalent to a Tagmemic 'function and filler' description of a clause. The main difference is that there is no attempt to subclassify clauses to set up an inventory of 'emic' types by some a priori assumption concerning what constitutes diagnostic differences between types of clauses. While I find a Tagmemic approach less than satisfactory in many respects, I nevertheless believe that it handles the structure of Djinang clauses well, provided the categories are set up on functional grounds. In the following paragraphs, I discuss aspects of the fillers in Table 5.2 and explain some of the permutations of order which may obtain.

Firstly, the Onset and the Coda. Example (346) illustrates COMPL occurring in the Coda; other examples are (202) to (204) in section 3.7. Examples (346) and (347) below further illustrate the behaviour of non-inflecting verb roots, where the non-inflecting verb root is synonymous with the inflecting verb which follows, as discussed in section 5.2. Example (346) would be analysed as three consecutive clauses. Example (347) illustrates how the non-inflecting verb may sometimes occur preceding the VC. This happens extremely rarely. In such a case, the non-inflecting verb is being used parenthetically; it is only when the non-inflecting verb root and the following inflected verb are synonymous that the former may be used parenthetically preceding the VC as in (347).

- (346) *libi winḍi-kilibi-la., girri,*
 1plexcERG ant.bed-place.on-RPA+DUR COMPL
guḍaḷ, bu-purrtjirri-ny
 roast DIST-roast-RPC
 We cooked (it) in an antbed oven till it was done. We roasted (it). {34:388-389}
- (347) *ninini marri, giṭ, bil ran.gi+rri*
 [smallUNM little.bit]ACC speared 3duERG spear+RPA
 They speared a smallish (buffalo). {34:94}

The full set of particles (other than those confined to the VC) may occur in clause-initial position. Some of these, such as *girri* COMPL marking the Sequence function ‘then next’, *ban* ‘on the one/other hand’ and *gima* ‘because’, can only occur in clause-initial position. Some however can occur in the Coda and still have the same function. The most common ones of this type are those used for exemplification, such as *miri/midi* ‘like’, *galkngu* ‘for example’, *bilapilang* ‘it’s like that’ and *biṭma* ‘seemingly’. (See section 3.19 for examples.) The COMPL particle (having Completative function) can only occur clause finally, as in (346) above (see also section 3.7). We have also seen how ABL-marked deictic forms such as *ngunu-ngir* that-ABL can be used to indicate temporal sequence (see examples (19) and (20)).

It is also possible for two particles to occur together manifesting the clause Onset, for example *bilapilang miri* it’s.like.that like ‘for it’s like that’ occurs occasionally (quite often in the reverse order, *mir bilapilang*), and the *ga/a* ‘and’ particle quite often occurs before another particle; *yarim* ‘just’ and *bil* ‘but’ also commonly occur with other particles. Particle collocations are constrained only by the semantic felicity of the resulting collocations.

Linking particles typically occur clause initially, and similarly for modal particles (though *marri* ‘possibly’ sometimes occurs in the Coda and also may occur within the clause, modifying an NP when it occurs with its Diminutive qualifier function). Particles also sometimes occur immediately preceding the VC, though this may only be discerned when there is some other information type preceding the modal particle, as in (348).

- (348) *a nguḷi-pan marrga-ldji guṅgi-yigili-gi*
 and thatLOC-TF therefore-2plNOM head-swim-FUT
 And at that place therefore you now can be baptised. {32:143}

Now consider the Negator function. NEG particles occur most frequently in clause-initial position; or if a NEG particle occurs in conjunction with another particle, then the NEG particle will usually follow it – and especially if the other particle is a linking particle. An example of NEG occurring with *miri* ‘like’ is given in (349); another example is (32:9), and a further example in the wider database is {33:44} NEG particles will sometimes obtain immediately preceding the VC, as in (350). NEG particles may not conveniently be considered part of the VC, for they most often precede Referential and/or Setting information. A single NEG particle may occasionally have multi-clause scope – the NEG particle occurring in the first clause, and not occurring overtly in one or perhaps two following clauses which are also semantically Negative clauses. (This can be treated as deletion of recoverable information.)

- (349) *miri ingki bi bil giri-Ø bapili gurribi-li*
 like NEG HITH 3duNOM come-FUT thisALL place-ALL
 For they will not come to this place. {66:72}

- (350) *ngarri ingki-ban djina-rr pultji-nir*
 1sgERG NEG-TF 3plDAT-1sgERG tell-RPI
 I did not tell them then. {34:118}

Consider now Setting information. This information can be shifted to post-VC position, but it is quite rare for this to obtain if the Setting information is ‘new’; if it is ‘old’ information, it is more likely to occur after the VC. Setting information usually comes early in the clause because its scope is the whole clause, and it usually extends to subsequent clauses. Some examples are (18), (19), (20), (84), (85), (94) and (97).

Consider next Referential information. This category includes whatever constituents manifest each of the obligatory arguments of a verb of given transitivity type. In the case of ditransitive verbs, it is rare for three arguments of the verb to obtain in the one clause; usually only the O argument occurs, since the semantic S and the IO are typically cross-referenced by reduced pronouns. When the O argument occurs in such circumstances, it usually precedes the VC, as in (91), because such O items are typically incidental elements in a narrative (and therefore ‘new’ information), while S and IO are likely to be main participants and therefore appear as pronouns. But if the S and/or the IO occur overtly, then the O is likely to occur in post-VC position, as in (351).

- (351) *mir “yagaṭay yagaṭay” ngirr-a wuw-wili-ngim*
 like nameUNM nameUNM [1sg-GEN o.brother-PL-KINPROP]ERG
biliny djin bultji-n yagirri
 3duACC 3plERG tell-RPA [nameUNM]ACC
 That is, “so-and-so so-and-so” – my older brothers were telling them my name.
 {34:186}

When there is a change of subject participant focus, the subject pronoun occurs as a full-form pronoun and is fronted. Sometimes this happens without change of participant focus, as when the speaker redundantly reiterates the full pronoun when he feels there may otherwise be potential for ambiguity. The fronting is typically to clause-initial position, though it may occur following a clause-initial particle if the latter is present. (Examples (15) and (75) illustrate this – and see also (32:8,16,21,29,35,44,74, etc.)) This is one instance where Referential information regularly occurs in fronted position. This is a discourse level phenomenon, part of the system of interclause cohesion.

It also appears that in the Referential information position we should include ALL-marked NPs (and probably also ABL-marked NPs), provided there is a motion verb or verb of transfer (such as *ga-* ‘take’, *birru-* ‘bring’ or *bagili-* ‘fetch’) in the VC. NPs marked for ALL case would normally be treated as peripheral extensions to the clause, but with verbs of the type mentioned above, the goal of the motion or the terminus of the transfer are marked by ALL case and more often precede the VC than follow it. This is probably an instance of analogical change; the goal (or terminus) of such verbs is diachronically coming to be regarded as a core argument because a goal (or terminus) is inherent in the meaning of such verbs. See (34:212,221,253,257,268,271,273,277) for some examples. The situation with stance verbs and NPs marked for LOC case is more ambivalent: both pre-VC and post-VC positions are common. It is probably best to treat those as peripheral extensions to the clause, which may occur in pre-VC position as an alternative to their normal position as manifesting Complementary information following the VC.

It is not necessary to discuss Predication information further. I will give just one example of the Predication manifested by a nominal – the last word of (352). The ‘correct’ form for the verb would have been *gurrmal-dj-nyir* circumcised-THEMSR-RPI in this example; the presence of a reduced

pronoun preceding *gurrmal* indicates that the speaker has merely failed to verbalise the nominal in the normal way using THEM SR. The INCHO morpheme has merged with the stem-final *tj* of *butjbutj* (*i* elides between a laminal stop and following *ny*).

(352) *ngarri butjbutj-ny ingki+rr gurrmal*
 1sgNOM uncircumcisedINCHO-RPC NEG+1sgNOM circumcised
 I was uncircumcised, I was not circumcised. {34:595-596}

Lastly, consider Complementary information. This is the 'catch all' position. Here are manifested the latter portions of discontinuous complex referential expressions or NPs. In fact, in this position (i.e. after the VC) any modificatory or exemplificatory information is placed, such as descriptive appositional NPs, adverbs, adverbial NPs and peripheral extensions of the clause such as NPs marked by local cases (ALL, ABL, PERL and LOC). Reported speech is commonly in this position (after such verbs as *bultji-* 'tell', *wangi-* 'say' and *bintji-* 'do thus'), though reported speech is sometimes placed preceding the VC (which must be a minimal expression such as 'he said'). An example in which this variation of order obtains is (356) below. Post-VC is also a common position for complement clauses, as in (25), (50), (270), (273) and (312), and for repetition of 'old' information.

(2) Subordinate Clauses

In section 3.18 the COL noun *mala* was discussed. Constructions using *mala* are NPs in which the head is realised by *mala* and the preceding constituent(s) modify the head. (When *mala* is being used as a plural marker, then it is not the head of the NP.) The constituent preceding *mala* may be a clause, as is explained in section 3.18. This is one type of subordinate clause. Examples (284) and (285) illustrate the construction: the embedded clause modifying *mala* is *maltji-m giri-m* joined.with-PRES HABIT-PRES 'being separate parts' in (284), and *a yul-pili ngurrwakn djin gir-ali* and person-PL before 3plNOM come-RPA 'and the people came before' in (285). These are well-formed clauses in their own right. There is no marker of subordination in *mala* constructions.

Another type of subordinate clause, discussed in section 2.10, occurs when ALL case is used on a nominalised verb stem which may then take the THEM SR affix to form a purposive verb. Examples (103) to (105) illustrate the construction, which is apparently also found in Djapu (Morphy 1983:131-132, example 261).

In Djinang, there is no obligatory marker of subordination; the subordinate clause is merely juxtaposed to the constituent it qualifies, typically occurring immediately following it (*mala* constructions are a regular exception to this order). This is true of complement clauses, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, reported speech, and constructions corresponding to English participial constructions. However, the exemplificatory particle *miri/midi* 'like' is sometimes used as a relative pronoun onset to a relative clause, and may be glossed 'that' in such an environment.

A verb inflected for TPA may be used as a participle to modify a noun. An example is in (314), the NP being *maypal ran.gi+rrri* meatUNM spear+TPA 'speared meat'. Alternatively, we can analyse this as a relative clause – *ran.gi+rrri* is itself a well-formed clause – so that the gloss could equally well be 'meat (which) he speared'.

Examples of relative clauses appear in (132), (285), (312), (318) and the next two examples below. Relative clauses tend to be simple in structure. It is possible to embed a relative clause

modifying an NP which is itself a constituent of a relative clause, although such constructions are rare. One instance occurs in (32:59-60), which has the structure:

[We do not like [what we hear [concerning the story you bring]]]

Any NP in the independent clause may potentially be modified by a relative clause. The relative clause (or clauses if more than one) is bracketed in the next three examples. In (354), the forms *ngurrakng* and *ngurragi* are abbreviations of *ngurrwakngi* 'before'. There are two relative clauses here, each modifying *wali* 'food'.

(353) *djanguny inma-rr bultji-gi Buralang,*
[storyUNM]ACC 2sgDAT-1sgERG tell-FUT [BuralangUNM]VOC

ngurrwagi-pi, nginibil-a wali [libi
[before-OR]ACC [1plexc-GEN foodUNM 1plexcERG

dirra-dj-nyi

eat-THEMSR-RPC]ACC

I will tell you a story concerning the past, Buralang, (about) the food we used to eat.
{43:1}

(354) *ngunung ngurrwakngi, wana-pili-mirringi-ri,*
[thatUNM before]ACC big-PL-ARCHE-ERG

di?-dirra-dj nyini-nyi, wana-pili-mirring galkngu
DIST-eat-THEMSR EXIST-RPC [big-PL-ARCHE such.as

miyilk-pili, miyilk-pil+a, a wana-pili yul-pili,
woman-PL woman-PL+NF and big-PL man-PL]ERG

wali [ngurrakng gingi-nyi miri], [bush-bi djining
[foodUNM before remember-RPC like bush-OR thisUNM

nginibil-ang, ngurragi-pi]

1plexc-GEN before-OR]ACC

That previous (food) the truly important people used to eat, important people such as, for example, women and important men, (they ate) the food [remembered earlier] [from the bush here, our (food) from the beginning]. {43:75-79}

While there is no subordination marker, not only can *miri* be used as a relative pronoun, but it is possible (though uncommon) for a deictic, or for an interrogative/indefinite pronoun, to function similarly to an English relative pronoun. Examples in which *ngunu* 'that' functions this way are (132) and (134). In the following example, the interrogative/indefinite pronoun *nyimi* 'what', 'whatever' behaves similarly. These forms are not obligatory, and in fact are not often used in this way. The interrogative/indefinite pronoun *wari* whoNOM is also sometimes used like the English relative pronoun 'who', and is probably the most commonly used of the interrogatives for this kind of function.

(355) *ngunung wali [nyim nyuni nya-ngini] nyi+rr*
[thatUNM foodUNM whatever 2sgERG see-TPA]ACC 2sgACC+1sgERG

gu-ngi

give-FUT

I will give you whatever food you saw.

Complement clauses appear in (25), (50), (270), (273) and (312). A further one is given below. In this example, the complement clause is discontinuous: *bilapilak ngurrum...mir djining ngiliny liny katjin* ‘the same...like this (which) we possess’. (The complement also contains a relative clause.) As for subordinate clauses in general, complement clauses are juxtaposed to whatever constituent of which they form the complement. Exceptions involve a discontinuous complement. Another discontinuous example is (312): *djining* ‘this’ occurs in pre-VC position, and the rest of the complement clause occurs in post-VC position. The literal structure of that example is ‘We do not like [this we hear]’, which translates into English as ‘We do not like this which we hear’.

- (356) *“ngunung nyuni bintji-Ø-kima, ga nyuni bilapilak*
 [thatUNM]ACC 2sgERG do.thus-FUT-EMPH and 2sgERG like.that
ngurrum marr-gi mir djining ngiliny liny
 PERF get-FUT [like thisUNM 1duexcERG 1duexcERG
katji-n”, bindji-n
 possess-TPA]ACC do.thus-RPA
 “You do the same as that, and you will likewise get the same as this (which) we possess”,
 he said.

Finally, (357) contains an example of a temporal adverbial clause, occurring in post-VC position. Once again, there is no marker of subordination; the clause is merely juxtaposed to the preceding VC.

- (357) *djin rar-ki kiri-Ø, djin djaltjibi kiri-Ø,*
 3plERG knead-FUT PROG-FUT 3plERG lift PROG-FUT
yakirr inydji djingiri-ngili-ban
 [sleepUNM]NOM RECIP complete-RPA-TF
 They would knead it, (then) they would lift it (from water) (when) a sleep had been
 finished (i.e. on the next day). {43:39-41}

5.4 VERBLESS CLAUSES

There are two sources of verbless clauses in Djinang: firstly, equational structures having the form of Topic – Comment, where each part of such a bipartite structure takes NOM case (there is no copula in Djinang or Djinba, nor in Yolngu languages generally); and secondly, verbal clauses where the predicate is deleted. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

Before we begin, we must first deal with the class of loanwords. There is a small set of words, such as *marnggi* ‘knowledgeable’, *djal(ng)* ‘desirous’, *djunga* ‘ignorant’, which may function either as verbs or as nouns. They can be inflected by THEM SR or INCHO to form inflecting verbs, or be used in uninflected form. Each of these words may take an NP complement, which is always inflected for DAT case. (This is not true of English loanwords, which are regularly thematised using the THEM SR affix, and then inflected.) Examples (358) and (359) illustrate *marnggi* and *djal(ng)* used as predicators; in such instances these examples are best not regarded as verbless clauses. However, in (360) and (361) the same forms are used as nominals and are part of true verbless clauses.

- (358) *djani marnggi mutika-gi*
 3plNOM know motor.car-DAT
 They are knowledgeable about motor cars.

- (359) *ngarri djal gapi-gi*
 1sgNOM want water-DAT
 I want (some) water.
- (360) *djani marnggi-pili yul-pili*
 3plNOM [knowledgeable-PL man-PL]NOM
 They are knowledgeable people.
- (361) *ngirr-ang djal wirr-ban*
 [1sg-GEN desireUNM]NOM [NEG]NOM-TF
 My desire has gone now. (lit. My desire is nothing now.)

Examples like (360) in which the Topic is a pronoun, are much more likely to occur with the Comment first, followed by the Topic manifested by the reduced form of the pronoun. This structure is very common. Thus *gaḍaman djini* cleverUNM 3plNOM 'they are clever' is much more likely to occur than *djani gaḍaman* 3plNOM cleverUNM, which is consistent with the fact that it is the Comment which is thematic in such clauses.

Equational clauses have bipartite structure. Often the Topic occurs first, although the Comment may be given first – especially if the topic is realised by a pronoun. Each of the two parts takes NOM case (a very few instances of the Complement taking OR or DAT case are cited in section 5.3). This means that there is rarely any surface marking of nominals in equational clauses other than adnominal relationships such as GEN marking or DAT forms (typically DAT pronoun forms) signalling possession, or OR case signalling source. It would in fact be possible to treat the few instances in which the Complement takes OR or DAT case-marked constituents as manifesting a Complement which is covertly NOM case, since the constituents taking OR or DAT case actually are adnominal modifiers of deleted nouns. For instance, the example discussed near the start of section 5.3, *djinim maypal mani-bi* 'this meat (is) from the river', can be paraphrased as [*djinim maypal*] [*maypal mani-bi*] thisUNM meatUNM meatUNM river-OR 'this meat (is) meat from the river'. In the latter version, both Topic and Comment are in NOM case. Similarly, *wali* 'foodUNM' can be supplied overtly in the Comment of the DAT example discussed at the same time, to form a periphrastic equational clause. It is therefore a moot point whether DAT or OR constituents in the Comment actually imply that the Comment must be viewed as taking DAT or OR case. My belief is that equational clauses should be analysed as having covert NOM case for both Topic and Comment constituents. This would involve a greater degree of abstraction due to the assumption that some of these clauses are derived by deletion of a coreferential noun in the Comment, therefore I have refrained from analysing this way, though in my opinion NOM Topic and NOM Comment is the better analysis of the two.

Both the topic and comment may be manifested by complex NP constructions. It is possible, though extremely rare, for an adverb to occur in an equational clause. It is also possible, and not so rare, for a linking particle to occur as an Onset to an equational clause. I do not have any instances of overt PROM marking of either Topic or Comment in the database. My understanding of Djinang leads me to believe that it could occur with a Topic NP, but would be most unlikely with a Comment NP. (Notice, in (362), that *ragalk* is not part of the equational clause, otherwise the gloss would be *'That sorcerer is different', which is not what the speaker was saying.)

The following examples illustrate these comments. In each example, the Topic and the Comment are in square brackets in the vernacular. The first examples, (362) to (368), illustrate a variety of equational clauses, showing some of the variation possible for both Topics and Comments.

- (362) *a ragalk [ngunung] [wurpi]*
 [and sorcererUNM]PROM [thatUNM]NOM [differentUNM]NOM
 As for a sorcerer, that one is different. {66:21}
- (363) “*Way! [Djinim] [ngilinyil-ang guyi midji-gir-ang]”*
 INTERJ [thatUNM]NOM [1duexc-GEN fishUNM MoMoBr-OBL-GEN]NOM
 “Hey! That is our granny’s fish!” {66:87}
- (364) *[a nyani djining djanguny] [birral djanguny]*
 [and 3sgNOM thisUNM storyUNM]NOM [trueUNM storyUNM
djini-girri
 thisUNM-COMPL]NOM
 And this story is a true story, this last one. {67:56}
- (365) *[djining] [miyilk-ang djama]*
 [thisUNM]NOM [woman-GEN workUNM]NOM
 This is woman’s work. {65:50}
- (366) *[nyani] [gunyambi-bini]*
 3sgNOM [trouble-EXCE]NOM
 She is an excessive troublemaker. {65:54}
- (367) *[nyani] [gulmi-ngim bilingga]*
 3sgNOM [younger.brother-KINPROP 3duDAT]NOM
 He is their younger brother. {34:245}
- (368) *[djini Yatjilimir] [Yirritjing]*
 [thisUNM YatjilimirUNM]NOM [YirritjingUNM]NOM
 This (place) Yatjilimir is Yirritjing (moiety). {19:45}

In example (369) *birral* ‘true’ is used adverbially. Note too that the order of the parts is reversed, being Comment – Topic. This order is much less common, occurring only once in dozens of examples of equational clauses in the database. (But equational clauses with Topic realised as a pronoun prefer the order Comment – Topic. I have few of these in the database, but have observed many in speech situations.) The narrator said the same clause a little later in the same story, this time with normal order, (370). In (371) there is a linking particle preceding the equational clause (the last clause in the example); a similar example occurs in (169) in section 3.3.

- (369) *a birral-gim [buḍi] [djiningi]*
 and true-EMPH [bloodUNM]NOM [thisUNM]NOM
 And truly this is blood. {34:653}
- (370) *[djini] [buḍi], birral-gima*
 [thisUNM]NOM [bloodUNM]NOM true-EMPH
 This is blood, really. {34:675}

- (371) *ingki bilay libi ngurri-nyir miri-mirri,*
 NEG far 1plexcNOM sleep-RPI clearing-LOC
bi' djunggi-mirri ngidjirrkg gim [nganaparra] [galbi]
 but [tree-LOC nearUNM]LOC because [buffaloUNM]NOM [manyUNM]NOM
 We did not sleep far out in a clearing, but close to trees because buffalo were numerous.
 {34:76-78}

The second type of verbless clause is that which obtains due to ellipsis of the verb. The verb may be omitted when it is fully recoverable from the context.

- (372) “*nyanydjili-pan nyuni muri?*”
 thatALL-TF 2sgNOM daddyUNM
 To where are you (going) now daddy? (24:73)

Example (372) is a verbless clause in which it is obvious that the verb *giri-mi* go-PRES ‘going’ has been deleted from surface structure.

Another example occurs as the second clause of (371) above, where the elided verb is clearly *ngurri-nyini* sleep-RPA ‘slept’. A further example is (373) below. The latter is typical of a class of examples in which an interrogative/indefinite pronoun (typically taking a local case or OR case) is used in a verbless construction. Examples of this sort have an ‘understood’ predicate. In this instance it would be *nyini-Ø* sit-PRES ‘sitting’. Example (374) is a true equational clause where an interrogative/indefinite pronoun manifests the Topic function. Here there is no possibility of an ‘understood’ predicate (i.e. when the case is NOM).

- (373) *nyali-ng Manbarrarra*
 where-LOC [ManbarrarraUNM]NOM
 Where is Manbarrarra? {22:5}
- (374) [*wari*] [ngunungi]
 [whoUNM]NOM [thatUNM]NOM
 Who is that?

5.5 SENTENCE AND HIGHER LEVELS

(1) Sentence

It is very difficult to define a grammatical unit higher than the clause in Djinang. There is no well-defined unit which we may call a ‘sentence’, such that by some set of criteria we would be able to unambiguously decide whether any given string of clauses does or does not constitute a ‘sentence’. Clauses are merely juxtaposed, either with or without an overt linking particle. However, it is possible in some instances to decide where sentence boundaries lie and some criteria follow. Sentences are best viewed as discourse units rather than syntactic units. Ultimately, what constitutes a sentence (that is to say, where the sentence breaks are to be placed in a discourse) is up to the subjective judgement of the analyst. I can do no more than describe how I define sentences in Djinang.

(a) Intonation

Pitch usually drops slightly towards the end of a clause; if the clause is the last of a group of clauses having semantic coherence, then the pitch drop on the last word of the last clause of the group

will be more marked. If the speaker adds further constituents as ‘afterthoughts’, each such added constituent also takes the same marked pitch drop on the last word. Example (375) illustrates this; the final two words were uttered as ‘afterthoughts’, each following pause and having marked falling pitch. Such afterthoughts would be included within the sentence.

- (375) *Manymak, a biling gir-ali, yili-ban,*
 okay and 3duNOM go-RPA again-TF
yili-ban biling gir-ali, bininggili wulgaman-mirrpili,
 again-TF 3duNOM go-RPA [twoUNM old.woman-PAUC
ngunung bilay-pilay bi-pirr, bininggili miyilk,
 thatUNM REDUP-far REDUP-very twoUNM womanUNM
Djangkawu, yuw.
 DjangkawuUNM]NOM INTERJ
 Okay, they went on again then, they went on again, those two old persons (from) very far
 (in the past), the two women, Djangkawu (sisters), yes. {19:79-82}

(b) Repeated information

It is common for information to be repeated or paraphrased. Generally a sentence break can be assumed to obtain preceding the repeated or paraphrased information. The following example illustrates this. The repeated information is not necessarily contiguous to the section it paraphrases or repeats. Repeating earlier information in identical or paraphrased form is a common strategy for signalling a return to the main story progression after a digression. The episode marker *manymak* ‘okay’, ‘good’ may alternatively be used to do this.

- (376) *libi nya-ngini ngunu-ngir-pm tjarri-ny, minydji*
 1plexcERG see-RPA that-ABL-THPRO stand-RPC THITH
nibi djundi-ni. Nibi djundi-ny kiri-nya.,
 1plexcNOM descend-RPA 1plexcNOM descend-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
libi mal-gir-ali, biligi ngunu djin rari-ngili.
 1plexcNOM part-go-RPA long.ago [thatUNM]ACC 3plERG smooth-RPA
Minydji nibi mal-gir-ali, ngunu-ngir-pmi,
 THITH 1plexcNOM part-go-RPA that-ABL-THPRO
 ...we saw (the place) on the other side, (then) we descended. We descended all the way,
 (and) we crossed over (where) they had smoothed (the river bed) long before. We went
 across, (and) on the other side... (34:223-228)

(c) COMPL particle used as a terminator

This has already been discussed in section 3.7. Many instances occur in the texts, for example (22:200,208,214) and (24:83,118).

(d) The episode marker *manymak* ‘good’, ‘okay’

This particle can be used as a terminator similarly to the COMPL particle. For some examples, see (22:226, 230) and (24:119). Other particles may occasionally mark a sentence break, but in general they are unreliable indicators of sentence divisions.

(e) Certain syntactic patterns may signal the beginning of a new sentence

These include complex referential expressions (i.e. introducing new participants); a fronted pronoun (signalling a change of participant focus); certain uninflected root verbs, such as *warrwarr* 'go quickly' and *larr* 'set off'; quoted speech (i.e. a sentence break immediately before and after the quotation); reported speech (i.e. the sentence break will be before or after, depending on whether the verb of locution is uttered after or before the reported speech, respectively).

(f) Semantic coherence of a group of clauses

When a group of clauses is relevant to a single theme, it is reasonable to treat them as manifesting one sentence. Fortunately, changes of theme nearly always correspond with sentence breaks suggested by one of the criteria above.

Various particles and affixes, such as the DEF affix *-tji* or *-tjini* (section 3.6), the CONTR affix *-tja* (section 3.7), the particle *ban* 'on the one/other hand', and the particle *a* 'and', indicate relationships which extend beyond the clause. However, such particles and affixes do not by themselves define sentential units. As far as I have been able to determine, there is no formally well-defined unit of structure at a level higher than clause, except perhaps for thematic units defined by the occurrence of the episode marker *manymak*.

A comment about the use of intonation to signal polar interrogatives is required. Any clause may be turned into a question by merely changing the intonation contour so that pitch fails to fall on the last word. That is, either level pitch or rising pitch on the last word of the clause has the illocutionary force of a polar interrogative. The speaker optionally may include an interrogative particle such as *ngangi* 'is it so' at the end of the clause (still with non-falling intonation), or *bina* the 'polar interrogative' question particle which, if it occurs, more usually occurs clause initially. Questions using interrogative/indefinite pronouns are articulated with normal falling intonation on the last word of the clause.

I now discuss briefly some miscellaneous interclausal structures of significance. The first is the use of repeated clauses (or phrases) to indicate an action repeated in such a way that at each repeat a new participant is involved (the participant may be any core participant). Two instances of this have been cited already, in (319) and (320) in section 4.5. A further one is given below, where a different person receives food corresponding to each repeat of the verbless clause.

- (377) "Nyung-ung wali, nyung inma wali,
 [2sg-GEN]NOM [foodUNM]NOM [2sgGEN 2sgDAT]NOM [foodUNM]NOM
 nyung inma wali nyung inma
 [2sgGEN 2sgDAT]NOM [foodUNM]NOM [2sgGEN 2sgDAT]NOM
 wali"
 [foodUNM]NOM
 "(This is) your food, and yours, and yours, and yours." (22:203)

In some situations it is necessary to indicate that a referent has dual identity in the sense that the referent has another-world identity X and a real-world identity Y. That is to say, X is what the referent really is and Y is what the referent appears to be. There is a definite way of signalling such dual identity. Thus far, I have only observed it in relation to discourses involving spirit-world concepts or beings. The construction is as follows: first the speaker will affirm the identity X of the referent; then the speaker will deny X; and then the speaker will affirm Y. Hence the structure may be

diagrammed as ‘X, not X, but Y’. At first sight this looks simply like the speaker made a mistake and was correcting himself; however, that is not the case. A structure of this form is a claim that the referent is actually X, though he appears to be Y, and that the ‘being X’ and ‘appearing to be Y’ are concurrent. I give a couple of examples, (378) and (379), of this construction. The first is taken from a story (Manbarrarra was the narrator) dealing with a visit of some spirit men from the afterlife. (B) indicates a comment by myself. The second is from a story in which the narrator (Gidarra) was describing the difference between the real world and the spirit world; the narrator at this point in the story had lapsed into a mixture of Djinang and English due to my lack of fluency at the time. The narrator is here affirming that the life of a spirit is as real in the spirit world as is ours here in the ‘real’ world.

- (378) (M) *A bilingi, wana-mirrpili bil nyini-ny,*
 (M) - [3duPROM big-PAUC]PROM 3duPROM sit-RPC
mirri-mirrpili, (B) *mirri-mirrpili?* (M) *ngiy,*
 [dead.person-PAUC]PROM (B) dead.person-PAUC (M) INTERJ
ingki mirri-mirrpili bil yul-mirrpili+m
 [NEG dead.person-PAUC but man-PAUC+PROM]PROM
 (M) They were two large persons, two disembodied spirits. (B) Two disembodied spirits? (M) Yes, they appeared to be men. {47:58-60}
- (379) *marri ngunungi, life marri ngunungi,*
 [possibly thatUNM]LOC [lifeUNM]NOM [possibly thatUNM]LOC
another world miri, not another world but djini-gim
 [another world like]LOC [not another world but this-EMPH
world, marri ngunu wurpi+rri nyini-∅
 world]LOC [possibly thatUNM other+LOC]LOC sit-PRES
 Possibly at that (place), maybe life there is like another world, and which appears to be like this world, living at that other place. {46:307-309}

(2) Discourse

This book has not dealt systematically with discourse features, though discourse level phenomena have been described briefly when pertinent to the discussion of the function of various forms. Most of the important discourse features have been mentioned at some point or other. The following is a summary of some of the features which can be found in earlier sections.

- (a) Use of *manymak* ‘okay’, ‘good’ as an episode marker – sections 3.19 and 5.5(1). (Other synonyms for *manymak* can be used this way, for example *butal* ‘good’ and *diwirring* ‘good’.)
- (b) An increase in the use of TF clitic *-ban* to highlight a discourse peak – section 3.20.
- (c) PROM (formally identical to ERG) to highlight a constituent (usually an NP, though it can occur on a predicate also) – sections 2.3 and 2.7. Especially relevant to changes of participant, and introduction of new participants.
- (d) Fronting as an indicator of change of participant focus (section 5.3) or of Topicality.
- (e) Reduced pronouns, together with lack of overt full pronouns, used to track salient participants (such as actor and patient or goal) throughout a section of discourse in which participant focus is

unchanged. This has not been discussed in detail, though allusions to it may be found in section 3.14 and Appendix 2.

(f) Complex NP structures used in establishing reference and supplying descriptive detail, and which typically occur at points in a discourse where new participants are introduced. I have earlier only mentioned this briefly. An examination of the database shows that complex referential expressions cluster at points in a narrative where new participants are introduced or reintroduced. There are some examples of this in the cited texts.

(g) The stylistic use of root verbs to add colour to a narrative, in circumstances where events are highly predictable – sections 5.2 and 5.3.

(h) The relationship of verb inflections to Procedural and Narrative discourse types – sections 4.4, 4.6 and 4.7.

(i) The use of TPC and RPC to indicate backgrounding of information – section 4.6.

(j) The use of YPA inflection to indicate the obtaining of the feature +Continuous with respect to an event which occurs within the context of remote indefinite time – section 4.5. Such an event is typically a habitual activity, a characteristic of a referent, or an existential reality which obtains over an extended period of time.

(k) The THPRO marker, typically with a ‘contrastive’ Delimitative sense, and which is used to highlight thematically important referents, actions or adverbial modifications within a clause – section 3.3. (The PRO marker of other Yolngu languages carries these functions in those languages.)

(l) The EMPH marker which adds non-contrastive emphasis to a word – section 3.5.

(m) Repeated information used to signal a return to the main story line – section 5.5 (1).

To finish off I would like to make a typological observation about Djinang and Yolngu languages generally (and no doubt it applies more widely). The preceding chapters have concentrated on describing the morphemes which are functionally important for realising various kinds of grammatical and semantic relationships. One may therefore get the impression that building meaning in discourse may be reduced to appropriate choices within the set of morphemes available to the speaker. This, however, is only half of the picture.

It should be evident from the cited examples, and especially from the texts, that very often expected morphemes (such as case markers) are absent from surface structure, but the grammatical and semantic relationships which they realise do nevertheless obtain. Why is this so? Because languages generally, and Yolngu languages in particular, use *inference* based on the collocation of units of information to build meaning. That is, the relationship between two adjacent units of information (often grammatical phrases) is suggested by (1) the information they contain, and (2) their close proximity in the stream of speech. Thus, for example, a speaker might build quite a complex word picture about a referent by adding phrase after phrase of descriptive detail without bothering to maintain correct case marking for each such added unit of structure. It is the fact that each unit is juxtaposed to the preceding, and that each piece of added information is felicitous with what has already been supplied, that makes elision of grammatical morphemes possible in such a situation. The Goddard case system tends to obscure this, because covert markings are made explicit, giving the impression that formal marking is what counts. However, the true picture is that meaning is built by two basic mechanisms – the formal grammatical apparatus is one and inference is the other. One may get some ‘feel’ for the relative importance of inference by examining the language examples

given throughout the book and comparing the free translation supplied with the actual forms in the vernacular.

TEXTS

The texts are typed as transcribed from tape. There is some fluctuation in the spelling of some words beginning with stops, for such words are transcribed as spoken. No 'spelling rules' are used, except that the ACC form of the pronoun *ngil(i)dj-nyi* 2pl-ACC is always spelled with lenis *dj* to distinguish it from the homophonous ACC form of the pronoun *ngil(i)tj-nyi* 1duinc-ACC. Some stems are obviously reduplicated forms, however, I do not hyphenate the stem when the stem does not exist in an unreduplicated form.

The texts are numbered with the story numbers used in the body of texts supplied to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. These numbers are, for the most part, chronologically ordered. (However, 'texts' 65 to 67 are actually selected portions of my field notes, and some short texts contained therein.) The texts are also divided into sections. For the most part, a 'section' is equivalent to a clause – provided the clause is not too long. However, since some clauses contain long strings of noun phrases, I have occasionally split the clause into two numbered sections. The numberings within texts therefore should be regarded as a matter of convenience. The division into sections must not be construed as a claim as to the location of a clause boundary in every instance, though for the most part, the section divisions correspond with clause boundaries. I have divided the texts into sections with some care to ensure that divisions are made as consistently as possible; nevertheless, occasionally clause divisions and text divisions will not coincide. It will usually be obvious when this is so.

The texts are punctuated with ',' representing pause and with '.' representing a pause which also appears to correspond to a semantic closure. In deciding where to place full stops I have been guided solely by my own intuitions; no mother-tongue speaker judgements have been used. Although I divided up the database texts in this way, having subsequently analysed the database I would now divide the text into sentences differently in just a few instances. However, such instances are few and I believe the sentence divisions are reasonably accurate. Quotation marks are used for reported speech and direct quotations, where appropriate. I resort to an exclamation mark only when there is phonetic grounds for it. A comment from a listener will be preceded by the name or initial of the listener in parentheses; (B) indicates myself.

Wherever possible, I try to give an English gloss which mirrors the structure of the text immediately above, and yet is reasonably meaningful as an English free translation. Occasionally it is impossible to keep the English translation adequately in step with the Djinang text, especially when a section is continued to a new line. When this occurs, I may split the English free translation across the line division as well; however there is no way of ensuring that each such split portion will reflect

only the Djinang words immediately above it. Sometimes this will be the case, and sometimes not. Thus occasionally the vernacular corresponding to a given portion of free translation will be found in the following line or the previous line, rather than in the current line.

TEXT 22

This is a portion of a text from Manbarrarra, the senior Murrungun clansman at the time of writing. The text concerns part of his earlier life, when he and a party of other Yolngu came to the mainland from Milingimbi mission in order to build an airstrip at the old Arafura homestead site, and to commence the building of what is now the outstation Nangalala. The events in this narrative would have taken place in the early sixties. The text was recorded on 31 May 1981. European names are as spoken and are not given with their English spellings unless the latter are known.

Manbarrarra's style is very colloquial; he does not make frequent use of reduced pronouns; he makes more use of onomatopoeia and gesture than do the other recorded speakers, and thus he uses very simple grammatical constructions. The thematic material is not carefully woven together, but rather occurs as a series of discrete units like beads on a string.

We pick up the story at a point where the narrator and his party are proceeding to Murwangi (the old Arafura homestead site), along with some European mission staff, cattle and the families of the Yolngu in the party. The party has just finished breakfast and is ready to proceed on the last leg of the journey.

- (196) *Nginibi gir-ali-ban.*
1plexcNOM go-RPA-TF
We then went.
- (197) *Djudju-ga-ny kiri-nya., djudju-ga-ny kiri-ny+a,*
drove-take-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR drove-take-RPC PROG-RPC+NF
Murwan.gi-Ø.
MurwangiUNM-LOC
(We) were driving (the cattle) along, driving them along to Murwangi.
- (198) *Murwan.g+a-Ø, ingki-ban nginibi nyani yat*
Murwangi+NF-LOC NEG-TF 1plexcERG [3sgUNM yardUNM]ACC
ngurrgi-nyiri,
throw-RPI
At Murwangi, we did not then erect a yard (for the cattle),
- (199) *yarim nginibi yan-ili-ban murrurt-ili-ban.*
just 1plexcERG send-RPA-TF bunch-ALL-TF
(instead) we just sent (them) straight into the bush.
- (200) *Murrurt-ili nginibi yan-ili, girri.*
bunch-ALL 1plexcNOM send-RPA COMPL
We sent them into the bush, that's all.
- (201) *Nginibi wiñi-n+a djut-pan.*
1plexcNOM return-RPA+NF sit-TF
We returned (and we) sat down then.

- (202) *Bukmak, bi+ldji giri-Ø-ban, ngarri wali*
 [allUNM]NOM HITH+2pINOM come-FUT-TF 1sgERG [foodUNM]ACC
ku-ng kiri-Ø-ban.
 give-FUT PROG-FUT-TF
 "Everyone, come here now; I will give you food now."
- (203) *Nyung-ung wali, nyung inma wali, nyung inma*
 2sg-GEN foodUNM 2sgGEN 2sgDAT foodUNM 2sgGEN 2sgDAT
 "Your food, and your food, and your
wali, nyung inma wali."
 foodUNM 2sgGEN 2sgDAT foodUNM
 food, and your food."
 [Note: each of the NPs of (203) is underlyingly NOM case.]
- (204) *Ku-ny kiri-nya., Mista Biyuw.*
 give-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR [MisterUNM BiyuwUNM]ERG
 Mr Biyuw was giving (food to each of us).
- (205) *A girri djining nyibi ngu?-ngurri-ny.*
 and [stuffUNM]NOM [thisUNM]LOC [otherUNM]NOM DIST-lie-RPC
 And other supplies were lying here.
- (206) *A bidak, gubi-y.*
 And not.yet leave-IMP
 "Not yet, leave them."
- (207) *Nginibi dutji-la.*
 1plexcERG squeeze-RPA+DUR
 We kneaded (flour dough)
- (208) *kukim-dji-la., girri.*
 cook-THEMSR-RPA+DUR COMPL
 (and) we cooked it till done.
- (209) *Dirra-dji-la.*
 eat-THEMSR-RPA+NF
 We ate it.
- (210) *Ngurri-nyini djaḍaw*
 sleep-RPA morning.lightUNM
 (We) slept (and) at daybreak (we said)
- (211) *"Nyali-ng airstrip?"*
 where-LOC [airstripUNM]NOM
 "Where is the airstrip (to be)?"
- (212) *"Djiningi, a ngunungi."*
 [thisUNM and thatUNM]LOC
 "(From) here and (to) there."

- (213) *Bumir wurpm nginibi bi-piṇu..*
foreheadUNM oneUNM 1plexcERG make-RPA+DUR
We worked on it one time,
- (214) *a madjirr nginibi bi-piṇu., girr-ban, bilapilang.*
and again 1plexcERG make-RPA+DUR COMPL-TF it's.like.that
and again we worked on it till it was finished; that's how we did it.
- (215) *Djunggi-gi wirr, ngiy, djunggi-gi wirr.*
tree-DAT NEG INTERJ tree-DAT NEG
As for the trees, they were no more; yes, they did not exist (there).
- (216) *Nginibi bin-nyiri djarri-nyiri,*
1plexcERG do.thus-RPI EXIST-RPI
We would be doing it thus,
- (217) *nginibi yak-tji-li.*
1plexcERG scrape-THEMSR-RPA
(the ground) we scraped.
- (218) *Nginibi wini-ni nyi-li, pinggul-dj+a,*
1plexcNOM return-RPA what-INSTR hoe-INSTR+NF
shabul-dj+a, nyi-l+a, bulanggitj.
shovel-INSTR+NF what-INSTR+NF okay
We returned; (we did it) by what thing, by hoe, (and) by shovel, by whatever means;
okay (that's the end of that).
[Note: *pinggul* is a loan from Malay *bing?kul* 'hoe'
(A.Walker, personal.communication)]
- (219) *Djimiṇdi nginibi mata-mata-miy-ngil+a., ngu?-ngurri-ny.*
[wireUNM]ACC 1plexcERG REDUP-tie-CAUS-RPA+DUR DIST-lie-RPC
We erected barbed wire fencing, (till) it lay (round the airstrip).
- (220) *Mata-miy-ngil+a, bulanggitj.*
tie-CAUS-RPA+NF okay
We tied (the wire); okay (that finishes that).
- (221) *Warrwarr nginibi nyini-n+a, wali-ban ngilimi.*
go.fast 1plexcNOM sit-RPA+NF [foodUNM]ACC-TF 1plincERG [Sic]
Going quickly (back) we sat and (ate) food then
- (222) "Nyanydjili?"
whereALL
"Where to?"
- (223) "Djiti-gi-ban."
drag-FUT-TF
"(You will) drag it now."
- (224) *Nginibi bindji-ni-pan buyubuyu-dji-li-ban,*
1plexcERG do.thus-RPA-TF smooth-THEMSR-RPA-TF
That's what we did then, (we) smoothed it then;

- (225) *gir-al+a nguḷi, bi nunydjirr-ali djili,*
 go-RPA+NF thatLOC HITH come.quickly-RPA thisLOC
 (we) went to that (end) and came fast back to this (end),
- (226) *bi nunydjirr-ali nguḷi, bi nunydjirr-ali djili, manymak.*
 HITH go.quickly-RPA thatLOC HITH come.quickly-RPA thisLOC okay
 (we) went fast to that (end again), and came fast back to this (end again); okay (that finishes that).
- (227) “*Diwirri-ng-ban djinim?*”
 [good-NMLSR]_{NOM}-TF [thatUNM]_{NOM}
 “Is that good now?”
 [Note: the *-ng* NMLSR morpheme is a reflex of the vestigial *-*ngu* nominaliser.]
- (228) “Yuw.”
 INTERJ
 “Yes.”
- (229) *A madjirri, nibi buyubuyu-dji-li-tja..,*
 and next 1plexERG smooth-THEMSR-RPA-CONTR+DUR
 And nevertheless we smoothed it again.
 [Note: CONTR *-tja* here contrasts the fact that one more smoothing operation took place even though the result of the previous operation was pronounced ‘good’.]
- (230) *garrkuḷuk-dji-l+a, manymak.*
 clear-THEMSR-RPA+NF okay
 (And then) it was cleared, okay (that finishes that).

TEXT 24

This is a portion of a traditional story dealing with the origin of the moon (which is regarded as male). Two children who did not share food with their father are drowned by him. The man's two wives eventually discover what he did and secretly plan to kill him in revenge. While he sleeps, they set fire to his mosquito-proof (woven) hut, burning him severely. He runs about looking for a tree to climb to escape the fire; eventually he goes up one and keeps rising. He then declares that he will endlessly be renewed, whereas those (humans) who remain will die and will not return alive.

The story was told to my wife, on 7 June 1979. Sections (1) to (77) were narrated by Gaṅbaḍa. She did not finish the story, so Malan.gi took up the narrative from section (80) onwards. The clan affiliation of Gaṅbaḍa is Balmbi. Dialectically, her speech is virtually identical to Malan.gi's speech, so clearly Balmbi dialect is of the disjunctive type. Malan.gi is the senior Manyarring (Djuwing moiety) clansman; and Gaṅbaḍa is one of Malan.gi's wives. (He resides on his mother's country, which is Balmbi territory.)

Section (54) illustrates the verb *giri* ‘go’ used as a pro-verb for the verb *wangi-* speak. Also, in section (110) the first word is unclear on the tape: it is given here as *ngunu* ‘that’, but that is almost certainly not what was said. And in section (113) the stem *maḍi-* is unknown, though it is probably a verb belonging to the semantic field ‘construction of dwellings’.

We take up the story at the point where the children have been hunting a few times, and each time have told their father that there was nothing left for him because they had finished it all. The father was sitting making a large net-like woven fish trap. He has just told the children to go off once more to get food.

- (43) *Bil gir-ali*
3duNOM go-RPA
They (i.e. the two children) went,
- (44) *bil pu-ny kiri-nya.. girri.*
3duERG kill-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR COMPL
(and) were busy killing till done.
- (45) *Mani-ngi bil nyini-nyi,*
river-LOC 3duNOM sit-RPC
They were at the river
- (46) *guyi bil pu-nyi,*
[fishUNM]ACC 3duERG kill-RPC
killing fish,
- (47) *gurrbi-wi, Parrparrkiniŋi-Ø, gurrbi.*
[place-SPEC Parrparrkiniŋi-LOC placeUNM]LOC
at the specific place (called) Parrparrkiniŋi.
- (48) *Gurrbi-w ngunung Parrparrkiniŋ-Ø, bil pu-ny-ban.*
[place-SPEC thatUNM Parrparrkiniŋ-LOC]LOC 3duERG kill-RPC-TF
They were catching (fish) at that specific place (called) Parrparrkiniŋi.
- (49) *Nyan+a bil pu-nya.. nyani pu-ny,*
3sgERG+NF 3duERG kill-RPC+DUR 3sgERG kill-RPC
One repeatedly caught (fish), and so too did the other,
- (50) *a bil ka-ny-ban djiŋ-dji.*
and 3duERG take-RPC-TF forked.stick-INSTR
and they then took (them) on a forked stick (to the fire).
- (51) *Bil batji-djin,*
3duERG cook-RPA
They cooked (them),
- (52) *in.ga bil wangi-n,*
3sgDAT 3duNOM say-RPA
(and later) they said to him,
- (53) “*Muri, wirr guyi. Liny malim-dji-l.*”
daddyUNM [NEG fishUNM]NOM 1duexcERG finish-THEMSR-RPA
“Dad, there are no fish (for you). We finished them off.”
- (54) “*Yuw manymak*” *gir-ali.*
INTERJ okay go-RPA
“Yes, all right,” he said.

- (55) *Madjirr ngunu-kirri, bilngga wangi-n-ban,*
 next [that-COMPL]_{NOM} 3duDAT say-RPA-TF
 Next that aforementioned (man) said to them then,
- (56) *bilngga bindji-ni*
 3duDAT do.thus-RPA
 he spoke thus,
- (57) *“Nyabin nyum try, nyum ra-w-ban”*
 how.about 2duNOM try 2duNOM enter-IMP-TF
 “How about you try to get into (the fishing net)?”
- (58) *bindji-n.*
 do.thus-RPA
 he said.
- (59) *“Nyabin nyum ra-w-ban, try”*
 how.about 2duNOM enter-IMP-TF try
 “How about you try enter into it?”
- (60) *bindji-n.*
 do.thus-RPA
 he said.
- (61) *“Nyim manya-ng, nyim manya-ng,*
 2duERG try-FUT 2duERG try-FUT
 “You try it, you try it;
- (62) *nyim ra-gi”*
 2duNOM enter-FUT
 you get in,”
- (63) *bindji-n.*
 do.thus-RPA
 he said.
- (64) *Nyani ngunu-kirri, mir fishing net, wana.*
 [3sgNOM that-COMPL like fishing net]_{NOM} [bigUNM]_{NOM}
 That aforementioned fishing net (was) big.
- (65) *“Nyabin nyim ra-gi guyi-gi inmila,*
 how.about 2duNOM enter-FUT fish-DAT 1plincDAT
 “How about you get in (as) fish (do) for us,
- (66) *nyani guyi ra-gi ngunyili-pan.”*
 [3sgNOM fishUNM]_{NOM} enter-FUT thatALL-TF
 (as) fish will enter into it (later) then?”
- (67) *Bil bindji-n.*
 3duNOM do.thus-RPA
 They did so.
- (68) *Bil-um?* (false start)
 3du-??

- (69) *minyджи бил ра-гили,*
THITH 3duNOM enter-RPA
They got into it, they entered,
- (70) *ра-гили, ныани нгуну ра-гили-бан, бил*
enter-RPA 3sgNOM [thatUNM]ALL enter-RPA-TF [3duNOM
йитжувили бинггили.
childrenUNM twoUNM]NOM
they entered into that (net), the two children (did).
- (71) *Ныани нгуну нет мар-нгил,*
3sgERG [thatUNM netUNM]ACC pick.up-RPA
He (i.e. the father) picked up that net
- (72) *гирр гарпи-н-бан.*
COMPL tie.around-RPA-TF
then tied it (closed).
- (73) “*Ныанджили-пан ныуни мурит?*”
thatALL-TF 2sgNOM daddyUNM
“To where are you (going) now, Dad?”
- (74) *Мини-миниги-ны кирит-ны-бан.*
REDUP-carry-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
He was carrying them away then.
- (75) *Бил-ны миниги-ны кирит-ныа.. гавит-лит*
3du-ACC carry-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR water-ALL
He carried them all the way to the river
- (76) *бат билит-ны нгу-лит,*
throw 3du-ACC throw-RPA
(and) threw them in.
- (77) *нгуну билит-ны бит-питит, нгуну-кима, рангу.*
[thatUNM]ACC 3du-ACC kill-RPA [that-EMPH moonUNM]ERG
That moon killed those two (children).
- (78) (Glenys) *Гирр-бан?*
COMPL-TF
(Are you) finished now?
- (79) (Gaṅbaḍa) *Гирр-бан.*
COMPL-TF
(I'm) finished now.
- (80) (Malan.gi) *Бил-нгир-анг нгамбиррит, бинггили,*
[3du-OBL-GEN motherUNM twoUNM]NOM
Their two mothers
- (81) *билит гир-алит-бан, вали-гит.*
3duNOM go-RPA-TF food-DAT
went off for food.

- (82) *Wali biling pu-ny kiri-nya.. bush-bi nginbil-ang.*
 [foodUNM]ACC 3duERG kill-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR [bush-OR 1plexc-GEN]OR
 They repeatedly killed/obtained food from our habitat.
- (83) *Bil pu-ny kiri-nya.., girri.*
 3duERG kill-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR COMPL
 They repeatedly killed/obtained till done.
- (84) *Warrwarr nguji bil batji-djini,*
 go.fast thatLOC 3duERG cook-RPA
 They went and cooked it there (place unspecified),
- (85) *ngun-ngiri bil wiŋi-ny kiri-ny-ban.*
 that-ABL 3duNOM return-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
 after that they came all the way back then.
- (86) *Bil wiŋi-ny kiri-ny-ban*
 3duNOM return-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
 They returned all the way,
- (87) *gurrbi-li-ban bil wiŋi-ny kiri-nya..*
 camp-ALL-TF 3duNOM return-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
 they returned all the way to camp
- (88) *biling yulgu-ngili, nyan-ki-pm-ban, bilnga nginipi-ngim,*
 3duNOM come.to-RPA [3sg-DAT-THPRO-TF 3duDAT husband-KINPROP
 (and) came to their husband,
- (89) *bilnga nginipi-ngim, bilnga nginipi-ngim,*
 3duDAT husband-KINPROP 3duDAT husband-KINPROP
ngunu-kima, yul.
 that-EMPH manUNM]DAT
 to their husband, to that man.
- (90) *Ah, bilingi, ngurwakng bili-ny ngu-li, gapi-li,*
 - 3duPROM before 3duACC throw-RPA water-ALL
wana giyaw.
 [bigUNM fish.netUNM]ACC
 Ah, (the children) they earlier had been thrown into the water in the big fishing net.
- (91) *Bilapilang nginbil-ang, guyi-bi, fish trap.*
 it's.like.that [1plexc-GEN fish-OR fishUNM trapUNM]NOM
 It's like that for us concerning fish (and) fish traps.
- (92) *Biling bil nunydjirri-ny kiri-ny+a*
 3duNOM 3duNOM go.fast-RPC PROG-RPC+NF
 They had come fast (to their camp)
- (93) *bil nyini-ni,*
 3duNOM sit-RPA
 (and) they sat,

- (94) *biling bil yanya-ngin,*
3duERG 3duERG ask-RPA
(and) they asked (their husband),
- (95) “*Way! Yutjuwil+a, nyali biling yutjuwili?*”
INTERJ [children+NF]NOM [whereUNM]LOC [3duNOM childrenUNM]NOM
“Hey! The children, where are the children?”
- (96) “*Ngunu bilay bil kukirri-Ø bil walngirri-Ø.*”
[thatUNM farUNM]LOC 3duNOM walk.about-PRES 3duNOM play-PRES
“They are walking about and playing there at that distant place.”
- (97) “*Ingangi.*”
INTERJ
“Is that so!”
- (98) *A bil nyini-na..*
And 3duNOM sit-RPA+DUR
And they kept sitting,
- (99) *bil marrka-ngil+a, wirr.*
3duNOM wait-RPA+NF NEG
they waited, (but) nothing (happened).
- (100) “*Kwu! Nya-dji-pan biling yulku-ng kiri-Ø?*”
INTERJ what-TEMP-TF 3duNOM arrive-FUT PROG-FUT
“Hey! When will they be arriving?”
- (101) “*A bidak, bidak bil kukirri-Ø bil walngirri-Ø.*”
- INCOM INCOM 3duNOM walk.about-PRES 3duNOM play-PRES
“Not yet, they have not yet finished going about playing.”
- (102) *Manymak, marr-dji bil nyini-na.., wirr.*
okay soul-INSTR 3duNOM sit-RPA+DUR NEG
Well, they sat expectantly for a long time, (but) nothing (happened).
- (103) “*Gwu! Djining+a biling nguji-gim bina?*”
INTERJ [thisUNM+NF 3duNOM]NOM thatLOC-EMPH is.that.so
“Hey, currently the two are distant, are they?”
- (104) *biling bil bindji-n-pan, biling ngambirri*
3duNOM 3duNOM do.thus-RPA-TF [3duNOM motherUNM
ngun bininggili,
thatUNM twoUNM]NOM
those two mothers spoke like that then,
- (105) *yurru bil wini-ny hunting-ngir,*
because 3duNOM return-RPC hunting-ABL
because they (i.e. the children) were returning from hunting (but were not),
[Note: *yurru* ‘because’ is Dhuwal/Dhuwala, but sometimes is used instead of Djinang
gima ‘because’. It is an instance of code mixing.]

- (106) *djina bili-ny nguligi-ban-gima.*
 3plDAT 3du-ACC throw-TF-EMPH [Sic]
 as for them he had thrown them (in the water).
- (107) *Larr-ban marr nu-ban bil kurrpi-ni kiri-ny.*
 set.off-TF probably [footprintUNM]ACC-TF 3duERG follow-RPC PROG-RPC
 Setting off they must have followed (his) footprints then.
- (108) *Nu bil kurrpi-ni kiri-nya..*
 [footprintUNM]ACC 3duERG follow-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
 They followed (his) footprints all the way till (they ended up)
- (109) *gapi-mirri mani-ngi, djiningi, nguli bili-ny ngu-li-gima,*
 [water-LOC river-LOC thisUNM]LOC thatLOC 3du-ACC throw-RPA-EMPH
 here at the water, at the river (i.e. the Glyde river) at that (place where) he had thrown them,
- (110) *ngunu bil djapi-n-ban.*
 [thatUNM]LOC 3duNOM be.in.water-RPA-TF
 (w/here) there they were underwater then.
- (111) *Manymak. Nyani nguli, djannng-a gurrbi dji?-tjarri-ny,*
 okay 3sgNOM thatLOC [3pl-GEN placeUNM]NOM DIST-stand-RPC
 Okay. At that place it is their territory,
 [Note: *nyani* 'it' refers here to the place which is their territory.]
- (112) *bilapila Gungidamili.*
 it's.like.that [GungidamiliUNM]NOM
Bamba], bambi], bambi] wana,
 [mosquito.hutUNM mosquito.hutUNM mosquito.hutUNM bigUNM
 it's (the place) Gungidamili. Large mosquito huts (which were)
- (113) *nginbil-ang mala, nginibi mi?-madi-m*
 1plexc-GEN COL]ACC 1plexcERG DIST-??-YPA
mutjpini-ny giri-ny, yul-ang.
 assemble-RPC HABIT-RPC [aboriginal.person-GEN]ACC
 our things, we used to ?? (we) used to assemble (them, they were) Aboriginal people's (huts).
- (114) *Nguli-kim biling bil ngurri-ny,*
 thatLOC-EMPH 3duNOM 3duNOM sleep-RPC
 In (one of) those they (i.e. the two women) slept,
- (115) *djannng-a gurrbi.*
 [3pl-GEN campUNM]LOC
 in their camp.
- (116) *Manymak, a maliri-ban,*
 okay and night-TF
 Okay, and when it was night

- (117) *djan ra-gili-ban ngurri-nyir-gi-ban.*
3plNOM enter-RPA-TF sleep-NMLSR-DAT-TF
they entered (the hut) in order to sleep.
- (118) *Djani ra-ny kiri-ny-ban, girri.*
3plNOM enter-RPC PROG-RPC-TF COMPL
They entered right in then.
- (119) *Rarri djin minibi mala, manymak.*
[mouthUNM]ACC 3plERG close [COL]ACC okay
They closed the entrance things (i.e. flaps); okay (that's all about that).
- (120) *Djunggi nambidi purrtjirri-ny.*
[fireUNM]NOM [insideUNM]LOC burn-RPC
A fire was burning inside.
- (121) *Manymak. Biling inydji bil wangi-n,*
okay 3duNOM RECIP 3duNOM say-RPA
Okay. They said to each other,
- (122) *“Ngili, in.ga-l warrdji-gi.”*
1duincERG 3sgDAT-1duincERG set.fire-FUT
“Let's set fire to him.”
- (123) *“Yuw bulanggitj gid+a,*
INTERJ goodUNM sisterUNM+VOC
“Yes, all right sister,
- (124) *ngil ingk inydji bultji-gi.*
1duincERG NEG RECIP tell-FUT
we each will not tell (him).
- (125) *Ngil in.ga-l warrdji-gi bambu!*
1duincERG 3sgDAT-1duincERG set.fire-FUT [branchUNM
djiningi, gurrbi.”
thisUNM]ACC [placeUNM]LOC
On account of him we will ignite these branches (here) at (this) place.”
- (126) *Nyan ngurri-nyina.,*
3sgNOM sleep-RPA+DUR
He (i.e. the man) kept sleeping,
- (127) *nyani ngurri-nyin mirrpmi, yul,*
3sgNOM sleep-RPA INTENS [manUNM]NOM
the man was very deeply asleep,
- (128) *mir wana-ban fall asleep-ban.*
like big-TF fall asleep-TF
he was fast asleep then.
- (129) *Manymak biling in.ga bil djat-djat-dji-l.*
okay 3duERG 3sgDAT 3duERG REDUP-prod-THEMSR-RPA
Okay, they (i.e. the two women) prodded him (to check he is asleep).

- (130) “*Tji! ngili-ban giri-Ø.*”
 INTERJ 1duincNOM-TF go-FUT
 “(?)Ugh! Let’s go!”
 [Note: the meaning of *tji* is unknown; it may be an expression of disgust.]
- (131) *Bil lap-miy-ngil rarri,*
 3duERG open-CAUS-RPA [mouthUNM]ACC
 They opened the entrance (of the hut, and)
- (132) *nyani yulngu-ngil, a wurpi yulngu-ngil.*
 3sgNOM come.out-RPA and [anotherUNM]NOM come.out-RPA
 one came out and the other came out.
- (133) *Madjirr rangan biling wana bil marr-ngil,*
 next [paperbarkUNM]ACC 3duERG [bigUNM]ACC 3duERG get-RPA
 Next they got large sheets of paperbark,
- (134) *bil wupwup-dji djunggi,*
 3duERG blow-THEMSR [fireUNM]ACC
 (and) they blew it (till it was) aflame;
- (135) *bil warrdji-ni kiri-ny-ban.,*
 3duERG set.fire-RPC PROG-RPC-TF+DUR
 they then were igniting (the hut)
- (136) *liyuw.. dap,*
 cicle.around+DUR touch
 in a circle right around,
- (137) *bat-pan in.ga bil ngu-li.*
 throw-TF 3sgDAT 3duERG throw-RPA
 (and) they then threw (the firebrand) at him.
- (138) *Nyani ngurri-ny kiri-ny-ban..*
 3sgNOM sleep-RPC PROG-RPC-TF+DUR
 He kept on sleeping a while,
 [Notice the increased use of TF *-ban* in 138-143, highlighting the discourse peak.]
- (139) *bindji-ni,*
 do.thus-RPA
 (then) he did as follows:
- (140) *marrngi-n-ban ganydjarr-ban*
 perceive-RPA-TF strong-TF
 he then quickly perceived (that)
- (141) *djunggi purrtjirri-ny-ban,*
 [fireUNM]NOM burn-RPC-TF
 a fire was burning then,
- (142) *galngi-li-ban marrngi-n,*
 body-ERG-TF perceive-RPA
 he felt (that) his body

- (143) *burrjtjirri-ny kiri-ny-ban.*
burn-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
was burning up then.

[Sections 144 to 177 are not cited here.]

TEXT 32

This is a major portion of a text by Richard Milurrurr in which he retells from memory (having read it beforehand in English) the story of the conversion of the Philippian jailer (Acts 16:16-36). The story is of considerable interest, for being culturally 'foreign' material, the narrator has to use more of the morphological and syntactic resources of the language in order to convey the meaning clearly. He also digresses occasionally to draw parallels with Yolngu beliefs.

This story was told to me on 29 August 1979. Milurrurr is a Manyarring clansman, aged about forty at the time of telling the story. The story can be found in the Bible, so I will not summarise it here. Two common features of this story are (1) quite complex participant referencing constructions, and (2) the frequent use of *ngunu-kirri* that-COMPL (or similar deictic form) as a marker of anaphora. Milurrurr, more than the other recorded speakers, also makes use of *ngunu* thatUNM as a deictic determiner and as a relative pronoun.

- (6) *Manymak, a yarim ngunu-kirri-tjini mala*
okay and just [thatUNM-COMPL-DEF COL
mir Silas, ga Paul,
like SilasUNM and PaulUNM]ERG
Okay, just that aforementioned group, that is, Silas and Paul,

[Note: *ngunu-kirri-tjini* here refers anaphorically to Paul and Silas who were the topic of the story when read previously in English.]

- (7) *ngunung inydji bil marr-yirrp-i ngunung God-ali.*
[thatUNM]ACC RECI 3plERG soul-set-RPC [thatUNM God-ALL]ALL
they each had set their trust on God
- (8) *A nyani bilngga gu-ny, promise,*
and 3sgERG 3duDAT give-RPC [promiseUNM]ACC
and He had given them a promise,
- (9) *ga ingki nyani bilngga yulgu-nyir,*
and NEG 3sgNOM 3duDAT come.to-RPI
but He had not come to them,
- (10) *bil Holy Spirit bilngga yulgu-nyir [sic] faith,*
but [HolyUNM SpiritUNM]NOM 3duDAT come.to-RPI [faithUNM]NOM
but the Holy Spirit had come to them,

[Note: *yulgu-nyir* was a performance error, it should have been *yulgu-ngil* as in (11).]

- (11) *faith bilngga yulgu-ngil.*
[faithUNM]NOM 3duDAT come.to-RPA
(and) faith had come to them.

- (12) *Ga larr-ban bil gir-ali ngunung, gurrbi-li ngunung,*
and set.off-TF 3duNOM go-RPA [thatUNM place-ALL thatUNM
And setting off, they then went to that place,
- (13) *gurrbi dji?-tjarri-∅ God-ang, bala?, ngunung prayer-gi,*
placeUNM DIST-stand-YPA God-GEN houseUNM thatUNM prayer-DAT]ALL
(to) that place (where) God's house stands, the one for prayer,
- (14) *ah, marri ngunu djiny gungi-gin-dji-m giri-m-ban,*
ah possibly [thatUNM]ERG 3plACC head-PROP-THEMSR-YPA HABIT-YPA-TF
ah, probably that (place) used to cause them to think/meditate
- (15) *a yul-pili ngurruwakn djin gir-ali mala.*
and [person-PL before 3plNOM come-RPA COL]ACC
and (it did the same) to the people who came (there) in times past.
[Note: Milurrurr uses *ngurruwakn* in preference to *ngurruwakng*.]
- (16) *Biling bil kiri-ny nyini-ny ngununga..,*
3duNOM 3duNOM go-RPC PROG-RPC [thatUNM]ALL+DUR
They were going along to that (place)
- (17) *ga mal-ngiri ngunung, nyani-ban, mal-ngiri*
and part-ABL [thatUNM 3sgNOM]NOM-TF part-ABL
yul-pil ngunu-kim nyini-ni,
[man-PL that-EMPH]NOM sit-RPA
and part way along those men were part way (along to God's house),
- (18) *djani ngunu-kirri djin nyini-∅ yul-pili,*
[3plNOM that-COMPL]NOM 3plNOM sit-YPA [man-PL]NOM
those aforementioned men were living (there),
- (19) *ga ingki djin marnggi ngunung, God-ang, yan-gi,*
and NEG 3plNOM know [thatUNM God-GEN word-DAT]DAT
and they did not know God's word
- (20) *ga yaku-gi ingk-in.ga djin marnggi.*
and name-DAT NEG-3sgDAT 3plNOM know
nor did they know His name.
- (21) *Ga nyan nguji-kirri nyini-ny miyilk,*
and 3sgNOM thatLOC-COMPL sit-RPC [womanUNM]NOM
And a woman was sitting there behind them,
- (22) *nyani-ban nambidi+n.ga ra-ny ngunu-kirri*
3sgNOM-TF [insideUNM]ALL+3sgDAT enter-RPC [that-COMPL
minarr, bilapilang galngayngu.
snakeUNM]NOM [it's.like.that King.Brown.snakeUNM]NOM
(and) then had entered into her that aforementioned snake, such as like a King Brown
snake.

[Note: the internalised snake is a metaphor for spirit-possession.]

- (23) *Galngayngu-giṅing ngulj-kirri nyini-ny.*
 [King.Brown.snake-PROP]_{NOM} that_{LOC-COMPL} sit-RPC
 (The woman) possessed by the snake was sitting there behind.
- (24) *Bilapilang mir ngilimi, marr lim*
 it's.like.that like 1plinc_{NOM} [soulUNM]_{NOM} 1plinc_{NOM}
dubu-dubu-tji-m giri-m+a,
 REDUP-twitch-THEMSR-PRES HABIT-PRES+NF
 It is like that for us (too): our inner self twitches
- (25) *ga lim guṅgi-marrayar-dji-m giri-m+a,*
 and 1plinc_{NOM} head-bristle-THEMSR-PRES HABIT-PRES+NF
galngi-ngir bilapilang.
 body-ABL it's.like.that
 and our hair bristles from our body, that's the way it is.
- (26) *Girr inydji lim bultji-n giri-m-ban*
 COMPL RECIP 1plinc_{ERG} tell-PRES HABIT-PRES-TF
 Then we tell each other
- (27) *“Djaming guḍarr yulgu-ṅgi yul-pili,”*
 later.on tomorrowUNM arrive-FUT [person-PL]_{NOM}
 “Later tomorrow people will arrive”
- (28) *ngunu-ngir djanguny-giṅing bilapilang.*
 [that-ABL story-PROP]_{ABL} it's.like.that
 (we say that) after (or, due to) that omen, that's how it is (for us).
- (29) *Manymak, a nyani ngunu-kirr miyilk djarri-nyin*
 okay and [3sg_{NOM} that-COMPL womanUNM]_{NOM} stand-RPA
 Okay, that aforementioned woman stood up,
- (30) *girr bili-ny bultji-djin-ban,*
 COMPL 3du-ACC report-RPA-TF
 then she reported them
- (31) *“Djining bil kiri-m nyini-∅,*
 [thisUNM]_{NOM} 3du_{NOM} come-PRES PROG-PRES
 “These (two) come
- (32) *ngunung djanguny bil katji-nm*
 [thatUNM storyUNM]_{ACC} 3du_{ERG} hold-PRES
ngunung wanngir-nya-kiṅing,
 [thatUNM save-NMLSR-PROP]_{ACC}
 bearing that story, the one which saves,
- (33) *ga djining ngunung gurrbi djama-dji-m*
 and [thisUNM]_{PROM} [thatUNM placeUNM]_{ACC} work-THEMSR-YPA
ngirki ga nginmili-ny,
 [boneUNM and 1plinc-ACC]_{ACC}
 and this (one) made the world (lit. earth foundations) and us,

[Note: it is not clear what *djining* refers to here. Perhaps it refers to God as the maker of the world and people, or to a further facet of the message that Paul and Silas bear – namely that He (i.e. God) made the world and its people. The former is the more likely in the context.]

- (34) *ga djanguny bil ka-m djini wanngir-nya-kiṅing.*
and [storyUNM]ACC 3duERG bring-PRES [thisUNM save-NMLSR-PROP]ACC
and they bring this story (which) saves.”

- (35) *Ga nyani Silas ngunungi, djarri-nyini,*
and [3sgPROM SilasUNM]PROM thatUNM stand-RPA
And Silas stood up then,

[Note: the sense of *ngunungi* is here interpreted as ‘at that time’, although it could possibly be marking anaphora instead. Normally a temporal nominal precedes referential information, except when fronting occurs due to a change of participant focus, as here.]

- (36) *djarri-nyin in.ga wangi-n,*
stand-RPA 3sgDAT say-RPA
standing he said to her,

- (37) “*Wiy!*” *in.ga nguy-mur-mur-dji-l,*
INTERJ 3sgDAT guts-REDUP-hot-THEMSR-RPA
“Hey!” He was angry with her.

- (38) “*Nyuni djinim miyilk dji?-tjarri-θ,*
2sgNOM [thatUNM womanUNM]LOC DIST-stand-PRES
“You (snake) existing (in) that woman,

- (39) *ga djinim in.ga ngunung galngayngu*
[and thatUNM 3sgDAT thatUNM King.BrownUNM
minarr, yaku-mirrpm Djesu-mirrpm,
snakeUNM]NOM name-PERL Jesus-PERL
the King Brown snake pertaining to this (woman), through the name of Jesus

- (40) *a yulgu-w-ban budjirri-ngiri nyannng-ang, wugi!*
- come.out-IMP-TF [belly-ABL 3sg-GEN]ABL [spiritUNM
in.ga djining.”
3sgDAT thisUNM]NOM
come out now from her belly, (you who are) this spirit of hers!”

- (41) *Girri yulgu-ngili-ban.*
COMPL come.out-RPA-TF
Then it came out.

- (42) *Yulgu-ngili, nyani ngunu miyilk*
come.out-RPA [3sgNOM thatUNM womanUNM]NOM
galng-lay-dji-li-ban.
body-relief-THEMSR-RPA-TF
Having come out, the woman was healed.

[Note: 41 and 42 are a discourse peak. Also note the increase in the use of the TF clitic *-ban*, and the shorter sentences, which together signal a climax in the story.]

- (43) *Galng-lay-dji-li*,
body-relief-THEMSR-RPA
Having been healed,
- (44) *a djani ngunu djin nya-ngini-ban*
and 3plERG [thatUNM]ACC 3plERG see-RPA-TF
ngunung, miyilk-ang, djama-gin-pili,
thatUNM woman-GEN work-PROP-PL
and they witnessed it – the woman's workers
- (45) *ngunu nguḷi-kim djin nyini-ny*,
thatUNM thatLOC-EMPH 3plNOM sit-RPC
that were sitting right there,
- (46) *ga bunggawa ngun-gira-pi gurrbi-bi*.
and bossUNM that-OBL-OR place-OR]ERG
and the boss from that place (witnessed it).
- (47) *Girr nyim-pi djama-gin-pil-ngir djin bultji-djin-ban*,
COMPL what-OR work-PROP-PL-ERG 3plERG tell-RPA-TF
Then the workers told the boss what (it was about),
- (48) “*Wiy!, djining yul-mirrpili bil gurriyilingil-al ngunung*,
INTERJ [thisUNM man-PAUC]ERG 3duERG cause.to.go.outside-RPA [thatUNM
“Hey! These two men exorcised
- (49) *minarr in.ga bil*.”
snakeUNM]ACC 3sgDAT 3duERG
the snake from out of her, they (did).”
- (50) *Marrga nyani ngunu-kirri*,
therefore [3sgERG that-COMPL]ERG
Therefore the aforementioned (boss said),
- (51) “*A ngilim djini-wil-tji*
and 1plincERG [this-PL-DEF]ERG
“And we people (here) at this (place)
- (52) *ingki-ban lim rrupiya marr-gi wana*
NEG-TF 1plincERG [moneyUNM]ACC get-FUT [bigUNM]ACC
ngunu wurpa-pi yul-bi”
[thatUNM other-OR man-OR]OR
will not now get lots of money from these other men”,
- (53) *bindji-n*.
do.thus-RPA
(he) said.
- (54) *Manymak, nyani ngunu dji-ny ga-ngili, Paul-nyi*
okay 3sgERG [thatUNM]ACC 3pl-ACC take-RPA [Paul-ACC

- ga Silas ngunyili, bungawa-li-ban,*
and SilasUNM]ACC [thatALL boss-ALL-TF
Okay, he took Paul and Silas to the boss then,
- (55) *wana-li yul-ili ngunung, ngurrɔawalangu djina.*
big-ALL man-ALL thatUNM leaderUNM 3plDAT]ALL
to the important man, to their leader.
- (56) *Ka-ny kiri-ny nguli,*
take-RPC PROG-RPC thatLOC
He took (them) all the way there,
- (57) *wangi-n,*
sa.y-RPA
(and) he said,
- (58) *“Nyum djiningi, rum mirkng nyim*
2duERG [thisUNM]ACC [way.of.lifeUNM badUNM]ACC 2duERG
djama-dji-m djili nginbil-a gurrbi-w.
work-THEMSR-PRES [thisLOC 1plexc-GEN place-SPEC]LOC
“You (two are doing) this: you are instigating bad practices here in our own area.
- (59) *Nginibi djining ingki djal nibi marrngirri-dji,*
1plexcNOM [thisUNM]DAT NEG like 1plexcERG hear-FUT
We do not like this (which) we hear
- (60) *djin-gira-pi djanguny nyum nyim ka-m,*
[this-OBL-OR storyUNM]ACC 2duERG 2duERG bring-PRES
a wurpa-pi wurpa-pi
[and other-OR other-OR]ACC
concerning this story (which) you bring (and which is) from other different places,
[Note: 59-60 involves a relative clause embedded in a relative clause, which is an extremely rare construction. Some of the labelled bracketing has been omitted to avoid over-extending our notational conventions.]
- (61) *gim nginibi djini law nibi katji-nm,*
because 1plexcERG [thisUNM lawUNM]ACC 1plexcERG hold-PRES
because we have this law,
- (62) *rum bilapilang mir, Rome-bi mala yul-pili,*
[practicesUNM such.as like Rome-OR COL person-PL]ACC
practices such as (what) people from Rome (have),
- (63) *nginibi bilapilangi-r nibi nyin-∅.”*
1plexcNOM it's.like.that-INSTR 1plexcNOM sit-PRES
that's the kind of (way) by which we live.”
- (64) *Manymak ngunu-ngir-kirri, bili-ny djin yilbir-tji-li-ban.*
okay that-ABL-COMPL 3du-ACC 3plERG strip-THEMSR-RPA-TF
Okay, after that they stripped them (i.e. Paul and Silas).

- (65) *Bil wirar-tji-li-ban,*
3duNOM hang.by.hands-THEMSR-RPA-TF
They hung by their hand,
- (66) *girri bilngga djin yilbir-tji-li-ban,*
COMPL 3duDAT 3plERG remove-THEMSR-RPA-TF
(and) then they removed (their) shirt,
- (67) *biri ngunung, warngarriny bunggawa nyini-ny djina,*
chestUNM [thatUNM what's.his.nameUNM bossUNM]NOM sit-RPC 3plDAT
(and) that boss was sitting before them,
- (68) *ngurri-, djiti-ngil dji-ny djina girri.*
nose-drag-RPA 3pl+ACC 3plDAT COMPL
(and) he forcibly dragged/led them in front of them (i.e. the audience) also.
- (69) *Ngunu-ngir-kirri bi wiñi-ni,*
that-ABL-COMPL HITH return-RPA
After (they) came back
- (70) *girr bili-ny djin ga-ngili-ban.*
COMPL 3du-ACC 3plERG take-RPA-TF
they took them away then.
- (71) *Ka-ny kiri-ny+a nguli,*
take-RPC PROG-RPC+NF thatLOC
Having taken (them) all the way there,
- (72) *nambidi-ban, girri prisoner-ban bili-ny*
[insideUNM]ALL-TF COMPL [prisonerUNM]ACC-TF 3du-ACC
djin yagirr-djin.
3plERG insert-RPA
inside (a prison) they then imprisoned them (as) prisoners.
- (73) *Bili-ny djin yagirr-djin,*
3du-ACC 3plERG insert-RPA
Having put them (in prison),
- (74) *manymak, ga nyani ngunu-kirri, ngunung*
okay and [3sgNOM that-COMPL thatUNM
prisoner djaka-giñing,
prisonerUNM care-PROP]NOM
okay, the aforementioned prisoner caretaker
- (75) *nguli-kim dji?-tjarri-ny.*
thatLOC-EMPH DIST-stand-RPC
was standing right there (guarding them).
- (76) *Manymak, nyini-ny kiri-nya.,*
okay sit-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
Okay, (they) were sitting on and on,

- (77) *ngidjirrkng balnggi-dj-ny kiri-ny-ban,*
close afternoon-INCHO-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
(and) it was becoming (late) afternoon then,
- (78) *walirr mungin-dji yirrpini,*
[sunUNM lower.back-ERG]ERG set.down-RPC
the sun was setting,
- (79) *girr biling ngunu-kirri, bil*
COMPL [3duNOM that-COMPL]_{NOM} 3duNOM
ngurr-yirrpini-ban prayer-dji-l-ban.
nose-set.down-RPA-TF prayer-THEMSR-RPA-TF
then the aforementioned (i.e. Paul and Silas) began then to pray.
- (80) *Bil prayer-dj-ny kiri-nya..*
3duNOM prayer-THEMSR-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
They were busy praying
- (81) *ga nyibi ngunu yul-pili nguli*
and [otherUNM thatUNM personUNM-PL]_{NOM} [thatLOC
narbidi djin nyini-ny,
insideUNM]_{LOC} 3plNOM sit-RPC
and other people that were sitting there inside
- (82) *warngarriny-mirr ngunungi, narbidi prison,*
[what's.its.name-LOC thatUNM insideUNM prisonUNM]_{LOC}
the what's-its-name, inside the prison,
- (83) *ga marrngirri-ny-ban*
and hear-RPC-TF
and could hear (them),
- (84) *ga djin djarri-nyin-ban.*
and 3plNOM stood-RPA-TF
they stood up then.
- (85) *Bili-ny djin marrngirri-ny-ban,*
3du-ACC 3plERG hear-RPC-TF
They were listening to them
- (86) *biling ngunu bil prayer-dj-ny.*
3duNOM [thatUNM]_{LOC} 3duNOM prayer-THEMSR-RPC
as they were praying there.
- (87) *Yarima.. girr wurrwurr-dj-ny kiri-ny-ban ngunung, bala?,*
just+DUR COMPL shake-INCHO-RPC PROG-RPC-TF [thatUNM buildingUNM
Just (while they were praying) then it began to shake to and fro,
- (88) *ngunu warngarriny, prisoner-bi bala? ngunu wana.*
thatUNM what's.its.nameUNM prisoner-OR buildingUNM thatUNM bigUNM]_{NOM}
that what's-it-called that large building concerning prisoners (began to shake).

- (89) *A nu bili-ny djin garrpi-n djunggi-l+a,*
 and [footUNM]_{ACC} 3du-ACC 3plERG tie-RPC wood-INSTR+NF
a gundjarr, chain-dji wana-dji,
 [and wristUNM]_{ACC} chain-INSTR big-INSTR
 And their feet they had wrapped (or tied) with wood, and their wrists with large chains,
- (90) *bintji maliri bil yulgu-nyir.*
 otherwise nightUNM 3duNOM escape-RPI
 otherwise they may have escaped during the night.
- (91) *Girr wurrwurr-dj-ny kiri-ny-ban gurrbi-w ngunung,*
 COMPL shake-INCHO-RPC PROG-RPC-TF [place-SPEC thatUNM]_{NOM}
 Then that place began to shake to and fro,
- (92) *yarim+a waŋi-ban djin marrngi-n,*
 just+NF [windUNM]_{ACC}-TF 3plERG hear-RPA
 (and) they could just hear a wind,
- (93) *yarim+a window-ban mala pu-ny kiri-ny*
 just+NF [window-TF COL]_{ACC} hit-RPC PROG-RPC
 and (at the same time) just all the windows were being hit (by the wind),
- (94) *lap-miri-ny kiri-ny+a,*
 open-CAUS-RPC PROG-RPC+NF
 (and) were opening up;
- (95) *lap-ban djabir gir-ali djabir ngunung girri.*
 open-TF [mouthUNM]_{ACC} go-RPA [mouthUNM thatUNM]_{ACC} COMPL
 open then went the doors (of the prison). That's all (about that).
- (96) *Madjirri nu-dji ngunu lap-miri-ngil chain ngunung+a,*
 next foot-PROM [thatUNM]_{ACC} open-CAUS-RPA [chainUNM thatUNM+NF]
 Next it opened those chains on the feet
- (97) *ga warngarriny+a, nu ga gumbirri*
 and so.and.soUNM+NF footUNM and handUNM
gundjirr-mirrpili lap gir-ali,
 wrist-PAUC]_{ACC} open go-RPA
 and also (the chains on) the feet and hands, (on) both wrists, (they) went open,
- (98) *midnight ngunu-kirr.*
 midnightUNM that-COMPL
 at the aforementioned middle of the night.
- (99) *Wangi-n-ban,*
 say-RPA-TF
 He then said (false start),
- (100) *nyani ngunu-kirri, ngunu-kim prisoner*
 [3sgNOM that-COMPL that-EMPH prisonerUNM]

- djaka-giṅing nunydjirr-ali-ban.*
 care-PROP]NOM run-RPA-TF
 the aforementioned prisoner caretaker ran then.
- (101) *Nunydjirr-ali nguli, nya-ngiṅ*
 run-RPA thatLOC see-RPA
 He ran (and) there he looked,
- (102) *dji-ny minimini-ngil ngunu djabiri-gi,*
 3pl-ACC look.through-RPA [thatUNM mouth-DAT]DAT
 he peeped at them through that door,
 [Note: although the reduced pronoun is an ACC form, it is implied that when he looked through the door he did not succeed in seeing them.]
- (103) *nya-ngiṅi ga dutj ngunyili-pm wiṅi-n.*
 see-RPA and return thatALL-THPRO return-RPA
 he looked and came straight back.
- (104) *Warrwarr ga wurp+a wangi-n,*
 go.fast and [anotherUNM+NF]DAT say-RPA
 And going quickly to another he said,
- (105) *“Djunggi bi ga-w bapili,*
 [fireUNM]ACC HITH bring-IMP thisALL
 “Bring me here a firebrand,
- (106) *djini wibi-djingi-rr.”*
 [thisUNM]ACC illumine-CAUS-IMP
 illuminate this (place)!”
- (107) *Nunydjirr-al djunggi gaypi-l*
 run-RPA [fireUNM]ACC take.from-RPA
 He ran (and) took the firebrand off him,
- (108) *ga nyani-pm nunydjirr-al nguli*
 and 3sgNOM-THPRO run-RPA thatLOC
 and just he himself ran
- (109) *bili-ny nya-ngiṅ.*
 3du-ACC see-RPA
 to see them there.
- (110) *A nunydjirr-al, girr, warngarriny-ban marr-ngili,*
 and run-RPA COMPL [so.and.soUNM]ACC-TF get-RPA
 He ran, then and got such-and-such,
- (111) *knife-ban marr-ngil.*
 [knifeUNM]ACC-TF get-RPA
 he got a knife then.
- (112) *A djini-kuyim inydji ra-nir,*
 and this-later.on RECIP stab-RPI
 And he was on the verge of stabbing himself,

- (113) *a nyani ngunu-ngir, Silas ga Paul,*
 and 3sgNOM that-ABL [SilasUNM and PaulUNM]NOM
in.ga bil bindji-ni
 3sgDAT 3duNOM do.thus-RPA
 and he from within Silas and Paul said to him
 [Note: The narrator made a performance error when he used *nyani* 3sg ‘he’; he should have used *biling* 3du ‘they’.]
- (114) “*Wiy! Inkg-inydji ra-rr.*
 INTERJ NEG-RECIP stab-IMP
 “Hey! Don’t stab yourself!”
- (115) *Djini nibi warrpam wanngi-pm nibi nyini-∅.*
 [thisUNM]LOC [1plexcNOM allUNM]NOM alive-THPRO 1plexcNOM sit-PRES
 We are all here (and) we are still alive.
- (116) *Ingki nibi nunydjirri-nyir.”*
 NEG 1plexcNOM run-TPI
 We did not run away.”

TEXT 34

This is a portion of an hour-long discourse by Giḍarri concerning a journey undertaken on foot with some older relatives, just prior to his circumcision. The story focuses around several dramatic incidents, mostly encounters with buffalo but also some other incidents. The portion cited here deals with the reception the narrator had when he and his party arrived (on foot) at Mainoru cattle station, about 200 kilometres to the south of the Crocodile Islands. He also describes how they outwitted a European there who tried hard to have Giḍarri sent to school. At the time, Giḍarri would have been in his very early teens; the events of the story would have taken place in the late fifties. The text was recorded on 10 September 1979.

Giḍarri is a Marrangu clansman, and hence his dialect is ‘smooth’ (the other three texts are spoken in disjunctive dialects – see section 1.3 for an explanation of these terms). We pick up the story at a point where the travelling party have drawn near to Mainoru and come in contact with Aboriginal stockmen from the station. (The station was run by Aboriginal men, with a European employed to give managerial assistance.)

- (212) *Maynurru-li libi kiri-ny nyini-ny-ban.*
 Mainoru-ALL 1plexcNOM come-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
 We were coming then to Mainoru.
- (213) *Libi kiri-ny nyini-ny+a,*
 1plexcNOM come-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
 We were walking along,
- (214) *djani yili-mirri-ban buluki djin ka-ny kiri-ny*
 3plERG again-PERL-TF [cattleUNM]ACC 3plERG take-RPC PROG-RPC
 (and) they (i.e. the stockmen) following after (us) were bringing the cattle at the same time,

- (215) *nginibi ngurrwakng-ban libi gir-ali, maṅdirri-dji.*
 1plexcNOM first-TF 1plexcNOM go-RPA foot-INSTR
 we went in front of (them) on foot.
- (216) *Gadjjigirr-pma., irra bil bultji-n*
 road-THPRO+DUR 1sgDAT 3duERG tell-RPC
 While on the way, they were telling me,
- (217) “*Djini-ban eh? Murrumbitj,*
 [thisUNM]LOC-TF INTERJ [MurrumbitjUNM]NOM
Maynuru dji?-tjarri-Ø.”
 [MainoruUNM]NOM DIST-stand-PRES
 “Here now (is) the area Murrumbitj, (where) Mainoru is”.
- (218) *Nyani ngurrwagi-pi ngunung,*
 [3sgNOM beginning-OR thatUNM
Murrumbitj, yul-ang-pi-bi.
 MurrumbitjUNM]NOM [person-GEN-OR-OR]NOM
 Murrumbitj has, from the beginning, belonged only to Aboriginal people.
 [Note: reduplicated OR case indicates Exclusive function here.]
- (219) “*Djining Murrumbitj dji?-tjarri-Ø-ban.”*
 [thisUNM]LOC [MurrumbitjUNM]NOM DIST-stand-PRES-TF
 “Here is Murrumbitj now.”
- (220) “*Ngiya!*”
 INTERJ
 “Yes indeed!”
- (221) *Ngunu-ngir-pmi bukiḷ-ngiri minydji nibi mani-yulgu-li,*
 that-ABL-THPRO cliff-ABL THITH 1plexcNOM throat-arrive-RPA
 On the other side from the cliff from there we arrived at the river,
- (222) *libi baltji-li,*
 1plexcNOM climb.up-RPA
 we climbed (the bank)
- (223) *libi nya-ngiṇi ngunu-ngir-pm tjarri-ny,*
 1plexcERG see-RPA that-ABL-THPRO stand-RPC
 (and) we could see (the place) standing on the other side;
- (224) *minydji nibi djundi-ni.*
 THITH 1plexcNOM go.down-RPA
 we went down to it.
- (225) *Nibi djundi-ny kiri-nya.,*
 1plexcNOM go.down-RPC PROG-RPC+DUR
 Going down,
- (226) *libi mal-gir-ali,*
 1plexcNOM part-go-RPA
 we crossed over

- (227) *biligi ngunu djin rari-ngili.*
long.ago [thatUNM]ACC 3plERG grade-RPA
(where) long before they had graded it.
- (228) *Minydji nibi mal-gir-ali,*
THITH 1plexcNOM part-go-RPA
From there we crossed over,
- (229) *ngunu-ngir-pmi, djin bindji-n+a,*
that-ABL-THPRO 3plERG do.thus-RPA+NF
(and) on the other side they did as follows;
- (230) *libili-ny djin nya-ngini.*
1plexc-ACC 3plERG see-RPA
they saw us (and said).
- (231) “*Ku! Yul-pili eh! Yalimirring-ngimi. Nyali-ngiri djining?*”
INTERJ man-PL INTERJ stranger-KINPROP where-ABL [thisUNM]NOM
“Look, Aboriginal people! Unknown relatives! From where (do) this (group come)?”
- (232) “*Ngunu-ngiri, rawirrang-ngiri.*”
that-ABL sunrise-ABL
“From there, from the east.”
- (233) “*Ngiya!*”
INTERJ
“Yes indeed!”
- (234) *djin bindji-n+a.*
3plERG do.thus-RPA+NF
they said.
- (235) *Djin djiri-ngi-n Wingu-ny, ngirr-a*
3plERG recognise-CAUS-RPA [Left.Hand-ACC 1sg-GEN
wuw-ngim, Wingu.
o.brother-KINPROP Left.HandUNM]ACC
They recognised Left-Hand, my older brother.
[Note: ‘Left-Hand’ is a nickname for the narrator’s travelling companion.]
- (236) *Djin nya-ngini Wingu,*
3plERG see-RPA [Left.HandUNM]ACC
They saw Left-Hand,
- (237) *a ngirri-ny irri-ny djin nya-ngini-ban.*
and 1sg-ACC 1sg-ACC 3plERG see-RPA-TF
and me they saw then (too).

[Note: in 237 there is a fronted ACC-marked full pronoun, making the O participant prominent.]

- (238) *Biling nguli-gima, nangudu ngunu djining,*
3duNOM thatLOC-EMPH [sisterUNM thatUNM]NOM [thisUNM]LOC

bi djin ngurri-Ø djining Galuṭmirri-Ø.

HITH 3plNOM sleep-YPA [thisUNM Galuṭmirri-LOC]LOC

Right there two sisters (of mine) lived somewhere at this (place) Galuṭmirri.

[Note: *nangudu* literally means ‘worthless’; probably the women were long past the age for marriage. Note also: the less marked 3pl pronoun is here used to refer to dual participants. This occurs again later in the story.]

- (239) *Burinyila gungi-marrngirri-Ø.*

[BurinyilaUNM]NOM head-hear-PRES

Burinyila is (their) father.

[Note: *gungi-marrngirri-* is an idiom used to assert fatherhood of a participant.]

- (240) *A nguli-gim djin nyini-ny, biling wawayka.*
and thatLOC-EMPH 3plNOM sit-RPC [3duNOM pair.of.sistersUNM]NOM

Right there the pair of sisters were living.

- (241) *Djin nyini-ny,*

3plNOM sit-RPC

They were living (there and)

- (242) *ngarri irr yulgu-li-ban.*

1sgNOM 1sgNOM arrive-RPA-TF

I arrived then.

- (243) *Yaw, irr yulgu-li-ban.*

INTERJ 1sgNOM arrive-RPA-TF

Yes, I arrived then.

- (244) “*Djin wari?*” “*Ah yagaṭay yagaṭay.*”

3plNOM whoNOM INTERJ so.and.so so.and.so

“Who are they?” “Ah, so-and-so (and) so-and-so.”

[Note: instead of *yagaṭay*, actual names would have been uttered when the event actually took place.]

- (245) “*Nyani gulmi-ngim bilingga.*”

3sgNOM [y.brother-KINPROP 3duDAT]NOM

“He is their younger brother.”

- (246) “*Nyiya, ngirr-a wuw+a,*” *bili-ny djin bultji-ni.*

INTERJ 1sg-GEN o.brother+NF 3du-ACC 3plERG tell-RPA

“Yes indeed, (he is) my brother” they told the two (sisters).

[Note: (246) seems to be what the two older brothers of the narrator said to the narrator’s sisters concerning him. If so, then this is an instance of the less marked *wuwi* ‘older brother’ being used as a term of reference for a younger brother. This happens not infrequently.]

- (247) *Djini gulm-ngimi.*
 [thisUNM]NOM [y.brother-KINPROP]NOM
 “This is our younger brother.”
- (248) *Ah ngiya!*
 INTERJ INTERJ
 “Ah yes!” (said the sisters).
- (249) *Girri.*
 COMPL
 That's all (concerning that).
- (250) *Wali ngunu-ngiri, libila djin ngadj-ny kiri-ny,*
 [foodUNM]ACC that-ABL 1plexDAT 3plNOM cry-RPC PROG-RPC
 After that, they cried on account of us.
 [Note: *wali* ‘food’ is a false start, see section 251.]
- (251) *wali, diy, libila djin pirr-pirri-ny kiri-ny,*
 [foodUNM teaUNM]ACC 1plexDAT 3plERG REDUP-bring-RPC PROG-RPC
 They kept on bringing food and tea to/for us,
- (252) *libila djin ku-ny kiri-ny-ban.*
 1plexDAT 3plERG give-RPC PROG-RPC-TF
 (and) were giving it to us then.
- (253) *Ngunyili-ban irri-ny djin ga-li, gurrbi-li,*
 thatALL-TF 1sg-ACC 3plERG take-RPA camp-ALL
 They then took me to (their) camp,
- (254) *ṅanguḍu-mirrpilim, irri-ny djin marr-ngili.*
 sister-PAUC+ERG 1sg-ACC 3plERG pick.up-RPA
 the two sisters (did), they picked me up.
- (255) *Ngulji wal-dirr dirra-dji-la.,*
 thatLOC [foodUNM]ACC-1sgERG eat-THEMSR-RPA+DUR
 There I kept eating food,
- (256) *blanket nyim-gunyirri girri irri-ny*
 [blanketUNM what-kindUNM goodsUNM]ACC 1sg-ACC
djin gu-li, girri.
 3plERG give-RPA COMPL
 (and) they gave me blankets and all kinds of goods.
- (257) *Ngunyili-pm irri-ny djin wiṅi-djingi-n Wingu-li.*
 thatALL-THPRO 1sg-ACC 3plERG return-CAUS-RPA Left.Hand-ALL
 Later they returned me directly to Left-Hand.
- (258) *Balnggi-dji-n-dirra,*
 afternoon-INCHO-RPA-1sgDAT
 It had become late afternoon,
 [Note: the first person singular DAT reduced pronoun ‘for me’ is best left untranslated.]

- (259) *libi ngurri-ny-ban,*
1plexcNOM sleep-RPC-TF
we slept then,
- (260) *libi walngirri-ny, yidjipil-pili.*
1plexcNOM play-RPC [child-PL]NOM
(and) we children played.
- (261) *Libi ngurri-ny nyini-ny nyabini?*
1plexcNOM sleep-RPC EXIST-RPC how.many
(For) how many (days) were we sleeping (there)?
- (262) *marri warrngguwili yakirri.*
possibly fewUNM sleepUNM
Possibly (for) three days.
- (263) *A nyani Balanda ngunungi nunydjirr-ali,*
and [3sgNOM EuropeanUNM]NOM thatUNM]LOC go.fast-RPA
The European at that (place) came quickly
- (264) *wangi-ni*
say-RPA
(and) said,
- (265) *Wingu-ny yanya-ngini,*
Left.Hand-ACC ask-RPA
asking Left-Hand,
- (266) *“Way! Djining nyung-ung gulm-ngimi?”*
INTERJ [thisUNM]NOM [2sg-GEN y.brother-KINPROP]NOM
“Hey! Is this your younger brother?”
- (267) *“Ngiy, ngirr-a gulm-ngimi.”*
INTERJ 1sg-GEN y.brother-KINPROP
“Yes, (he is) my younger brother.”
- (268) *“Bil nyabini bila school-ili yani-Ø?”*
but how.about FRAME school-ALL send-FUT
“Well how about it if (you) send him to school?”
- (269) *Nyani tjarri-ny wangi-n in.ga,*
3sgNOM stand-RPC speak-RPA 3sgDAT
He (i.e. Left-Hand) was standing talking to him.
- (270) *“Wirr!*
NEG
“No!
- (271) *Djini yalkuy ngunyili-pm wini-dji.”*
[thisUNM]LOC briefly thatALL-THPRO return-FUT
(He is) here (only) briefly (and) will go straight back there.”

- (272) *“Ingki! Yirr-yirрпи-gi,*
 NEG REDUP-set-FUT
“No! Choose (to settle) here
- (273) *a schooli-li kiri-θ.*
 and school-ALL go-FUT
 and (he) can go to school!
- (274) *A ngarri djining, wali ny+irr gu-ng*
 and 1sgPROM [thisUNM]PROM [foodUNM]ACC 2sgACC+1sgERG give-FUT
in.ga, mundjarr,
 3sgDAT [presentUNM]
 And I (will do) this: food I will give to you for him (as) a present;
- (275) *a dampa, wurpilim bag-dji ga*
 and flourUNM onePROM bag-PROM and
wurpilim djuga, bag-dji ny+irr gu-ngi.”
 onePROM sugarUNM bag-PROM]ACC 2sgACC+1sgERG give-FUT
 one bag of flour and one bag of sugar, I will give to you.”
- (276) *A nyani bindji-ni*
 and 3sgNOM do.thus-RPA
 And he spoke thus,
- (277) *“Wirr! Djini ngunyili-pm irr yani-θ.”*
 NEG [thisUNM]ACC thatALL-THPRO 1sgERG send-FUT
“No! I am sending this one (away) to there!”
 [Note: the location to which the narrator was to be sent was not specified, but understood to be the place from which he came.]
- (278) *Yakirri warrngguwili-gim liny ngurri-nyini*
 sleepUNM few-EMPH 1duexcNOM lie.down-RPA
Wingu, ngirr-a wuw-ngimi,
 [Left.HandUNM 1sg-GEN o.brother-KINPROP]NOM
 For a few days we slept (there, me and) Left-Hand, my older brother,
- (279) *ngunung ngu|i-girri-ban.*
 [thatUNM thatLOC-COMPL]LOC-TF
 at that (place) back there.

APPENDIX 1

DIALECT VARIATIONS BETWEEN DJINANG CLANS

1. INTRODUCTION

The Djinang people of Australia number about 180-200 (based on 1986 Census figures) and occupy a narrow strip of land in north-central Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, to the south and south-east of the Crocodile Islands (Map 1). The western portion of their territory is higher ground (approximately 50 metres elevation), the eastern portion is the flood plain of the Glyde river, and the northern portion has numerous shallow depressions or swamps which contain muddy water for all or part of the year. The higher land is savannah woodland, mostly stringybark, ironbark and woolly butt trees, and is unsuitable for dwelling in unless near perennial water. The flood plain is grassland, and supports a large variety of wildlife – especially in the wet season. The northern area near the mouth of the Glyde river is mostly mud plains, which become dried and cracked in the dry season, often with salt deposits. The coastal fringes are bordered by dense mangrove thickets. Occasional patches of jungle can be found, and in moist areas there are usually stands of paperbark trees.

Because of the characteristics of the terrain, people do not usually live for extended periods in one location, nor necessarily in their own clan's territory. Good camping places are located along the treeline to the west of the Glyde river flood plain, and also in the west beside waterholes in Gatji creek and similar places. People now live almost exclusively to the west of the river, since the store and facilities are located on that side. In the past, the eastern side of the river was used for residence and hunting far more frequently. The Manyarring territory to the west of the river is entirely unsuitable for camping, and so Manyarring clansmen live now on 'mother's country', which is Balmbi territory. Balmbi clansmen who would have resided in the eastern Balmbi territory have now all died. In fact, the only living Balmbi male is a boy of about 16 years old. Thus, at any one time, a good camping place is likely to be occupied by people from a number of clans, including people whose father's language is another Yolngu language. These days, however, a large proportion of Djinang people are becoming town dwellers, and live at Ramingining.

Djinang is the western-most member of a family of languages popularly called (in recent literature) the 'Yolngu' languages, after the word for 'man' or 'person' used by most of these languages. The western languages of this family are not mutually intelligible, and certainly warrant the term 'language'. The eastern members are less diverse linguistically and 'dialect' may, for them, be a more suitable term (Morphy 1983:3-6). A major linguistic boundary occurs at the western border of Djinang territory, the languages to the west (Burarra), southwest (Rembarrnga) and south (Ngandi) being of the prefixing type, and genetically far removed from the Yolngu languages (see Map 2).

To the south-east there is Djinba (actually one of a number of clans, each of which speaks closely related dialects – the most numerous one at present being Ganalbingu); to the east there are Dhuwala (Gupapuyngu) and Dhuwal (Liyagalawumirr), and to the north and north-east, Yanhangu. Djinang, Djinba, Dhuwal/Dhuwala and Yanhangu are all Yolngu languages, and are not mutually intelligible. Yanhangu is spoken by people who are mostly island dwellers, and varieties of the Nhangu group of dialects (of which Yanhangu is one) are spoken from the Crocodile Islands in the west to the extremities of the Wessel Islands in the east. Yanhangu is spoken by the landowners of the Crocodile Islands, and is related (genetically) to both Djinang and Djinba. Very few Yanhangu speakers remain.

There are presently seven Djinang clans: three belong to the Djuwing (Dhuwa) moiety, and the other four belong to the Yirritjing (Yirritja) moiety. Map 3 shows the clan territories, which in several cases are discontinuous. The location of boundaries is approximate, but based on careful survey work by Ken Nowland of the Uniting Church, when the latter was resident in the area in the sixties; the precise year of his survey work is unknown. The territories belonging to the Djinba, Dabi, Manydjalpingu, Walmapuy and Ganalbingu clans (all 'Djinba' language clans) are also shown on the map.

The Djinang clans each have one or more names for their own particular dialect, for example Murrungun people speak Wulkabi, some Marrangu families speak Wurrki-ganydjarr (lit. 'flower-power'), others speak Munggurpi, and others Bumiri-binngiligijing. Different names within a clan should not be thought of as indicating subdialects. I have not been able to detect any such differences within a clan's dialect. Borsboom (1978:21-23) states that there is also a Murrungun clan which speaks Wulaki. Its territory is in the north-west. Murrungun clans can be found in several language groups, and similarly for Marrangu clans – as Borsboom (1978:27-28) indicates. It is not rare for a clan to adopt the dominant language or dialect of the geographical region. The Wulaki-speaking Murrungun clan is an example. And to the south-west, Rembarrnga is the dominant language of Malnyanganak, even though it was possibly once Murrungun territory. Geographical proximity, as we shall see, is an important factor in the diffusion of dialect variations.

The people themselves usually give the clan name in lieu of the dialect name when asked for the latter, so I will retain this convention in what follows. The clans, and hence the dialects, are as follows:

DJUWING MOIETY	YIRRITJING MOIETY
Marrangu	Wulaki
Murrungun	Djaḍiwitjibi
Manyarring	Mildjingi
	Balmbi

It is highly likely that more clans once existed, but have become extinct. For example, Schebeck (1967:103) gives Djawarabing or possibly Djawarrabing (moiety unknown) as a Djinang-speaking clan which was almost extinct in the mid sixties. Other Yolngu languages refer to this group as Dha:warrawuy; the suffix change *-wuy* to *-bi-ng(i)*, together with the change of *dh* to *dj*, would indicate that the name is definitely of Djinang origin. Also, as mentioned above, Balmbi is nearly extinct, and Mildjingi has only one (unmarried) male speaker left. Wulaki appears to be still viable; it is spoken in the west amongst Wulaki clansmen who traditionally have been bilingual in Wulaki and Burarra (speaking Burarra as a second language). Borsboom (1978:21-22) also names a couple of small clans which are considered to be closely allied to larger clans: one to the Marrangu clan and one

to Djaḍiwitjibi. He gives their names as Gorbmbmal (possibly Gurrpmurrpmal) and Monjebung (probably Munyibung or Munyibing), respectively.

The most viable Djinang dialects at the present appear to be Marrangu, Manyarring, Murrungun, Djaḍiwitjibi and Wulaki. Those in danger of extinction are Mildjingi and Balmbi.

1.1 SOCIAL FACTORS IN DIALECT VARIATIONS

1.1.1 NATIONAL PRIDE

It is a feature of Aboriginal society that a 'tribe' will have a well-developed sense of political identity. An important treatment is that of Dixon (1976), who deals with this in some detail for tribes in the Cairns region of north Queensland. A later treatment is that of Merlan (1982), who deals with three different areas of Australia. Her work shows that while there is variation of the relative importance of certain indicators of social unity, nevertheless both land ties (through totems) and linguistic affiliations are of primary significance. This is especially true of the Arnhem Land area. I once heard a Manyarring young man refer to his area as the 'Djinang nation' (he spoke in English). His utterance is significant in two ways: it reflects, firstly, the fact that a principal defining characteristic of political unity is linguistic unity; and, secondly, the fact that the self identity involved is that of 'nationhood'. This is not easy for a European to grasp, since there is remarkable homogeneity in north-east Arnhem Land in terms of ceremonies, kinship, culture, semantic primitives, world view and social organisation. To a naïve outsider the Yolngu peoples would seem to be a single political unit. But that is not the case. Even despite such homogeneity, there is a strongly developed parochial consciousness. This operates between linguistic entities, so that, for example, a woman who could read a little in her father's language (Djambarrpuynḡu) refused to learn to read Djinang (even though she spoke it fluently), saying "That's not my language!".

1.1.2 CLAN LOYALTY, CLAN AFFILIATION

The sense of linguistic solidarity extends down to the level of the clan, and is almost as strong there as between major languages. The variations between dialects are relatively insignificant when compared with the differences between neighbouring languages, and yet many of the formal realisations of the dialect differences are well known, highly visible and, for the most part, consistently maintained. This is especially true of differences which involve closed sets of morphemes, regular paradigmatic variations, and pronunciation. It is not quite so strongly maintained in the area of lexical variations in the open classes of morphemes (i.e. verb and noun stems). However lexical variations which signal moiety affiliation seem to be particularly stable. For example, all Djuwung people use *maḷu* 'daddy', while all Yirritjḡing people use *muri*.

There has been a greater amount of social mixing in recent decades, due to the adoption of fairly stable residence patterns which allow easy and fast access to the supply centre (the local store). However, diffusion of open class morphemes cannot be explained along these lines, because the time depth is but a few decades.

There is intense rivalry between clans, and quite callous behaviour can be observed from time to time because of clan loyalties. Some examples can be cited. A vehicle, procured by one clan, will refuse members of another clan permission to ride with them to the store, even though there is room. Fighting between men of different clans is not rare, but within the clan is strongly inhibited. Clans

try to get someone from their own group to be represented on the local council, otherwise they will always get the worst deal in decisions. The positive side of this is that youngsters are taught to always put their clan first, above all other groups and individuals. There is ample literature on this kind of behaviour, so I need not elaborate further. The important point is that clan affiliation has linguistic realisation, just as 'national' identity has.

1.1.3 MARRIAGE

Interclan marriage is about as frequent as intertribe marriage. Traditionally, Djinang and Djinba exchange women as marriage partners. Recently, some Gupapuyngu men have been marrying Djinang women, which is a source of irritation to Ganalbingu men who normally would have first preference. However, within the Djinang clans there are well-known norms for the distribution of women as marriage partners between clans. So Manyarring men may take women from the Balmbi clan, Murrungun men may take women from the Djaḍiwitjibi and Wulaki clans, Marrangu women go to Mildjingi or Djaḍiwitjibi men and so forth. More details of the system, though not a full account, can be found in Borsboom 1978 (pp.23-34). Marriage must always be to a woman from the opposite moiety. Children learn first the dialect (or language) of the mother, and around the age of puberty, are expected to begin to master the father's dialect (or language), which becomes one's 'first language' for the rest of one's adult life.

It is not easy to evaluate the influence of the marriage rules on dialect variations. I offer the following two hypotheses.

Firstly: the circulation of women ought to be an efficient mechanism for the diffusion of morphemes from open classes in the lexicon. The facts would seem to support this hypothesis, because there has been considerable diffusion of stems, but no consistent direction of drift, nor origin, can be deduced for the bulk of the forms which vary (the variation is typically of a suppletive kind, though not exclusively so).

Secondly: the circulation of women can be expected not to reduce paradigmatic variations, since the forms concerned involve core vocabulary and must be mastered early in learning to speak a given dialect. This stability of paradigmatic variations is also an observed feature of the dialect situation.

The situation with pronunciation variations is not clear to me, in terms of a child's acquisition of language. However, by early adulthood, one's pronunciation conforms to the norms of one's father's dialect, provided the person has been living in the Djinang speech community during early teens and before.

1.1.4 RESIDENCE PATTERNS

As stated earlier, it is usually the case that members of various clans intermix at certain well-established camping areas. For instance, in 1981 at Mulgurram, a camp in wooded country a few miles west of the Glyde river (see Map 3) in Marrangu country, the people were from the following clans: Marrangu, Wulaki, Murrungun, Djaḍiwitjibi and possibly other Djinang clans too, and also Ganalbingu, Ḍabi, Walmapuy and Djinba. By 1985 this had become a fairly well established outstation of Ramingining, but in 1987 it appeared to be in decline as more people moved closer to or into Ramingining. It is to be expected that, if the current trend continues, the intermixing involved in

such residence patterns would be an effective means of diffusing morphemes from open classes, resulting in significantly increased levelling of the interclan dialect differences.

1.1.5 CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE AND TRADE: THE INFLUENCE OF PREFIXING LANGUAGES

Thomson (1949) has written on the patterns of ritual and non-ritual exchange of goods practised in former years in the Arnhem Land area. The patterns of exchange involved an influx of certain items (stone spear heads, boomerangs etc.) and a reciprocating outflow of locally produced (or acquired) goods. The inflow and outflow was along 'paths' defined by each person's location in a chain of barter partners – defined by certain mutual kinship relations primarily. These 'paths' are also geographic, so that stone spear heads arrived in the Glyde river area from the south (via the Ritharrngu/Wagilak people, then to the Djinba people and thence to the Djinang), or from the east along the coast (probably via Yanhangu and Dhuwala-speaking people). When people were gathered for ceremonies, ritual obligations of goodwill were at their strongest; at such times there was considerable interchange of goods. The 'paths' therefore involved social contact of a religio-economic nature between members of diverse linguistic groups. For example, boomerangs (used in ceremonies and songs only) entered the Djinang area principally from the south-west, via the Rembarrnga.

The question of interest is whether this resulted in significant diffusion of linguistic features? The answer appears to be both 'yes' and 'no'. Let us consider the Rembarrnga-Djinang contact. A cursory inspection of Rembarrnga vocabulary (McKay 1975) yields negligible results in terms of related forms. Of the few found, there were terms for animals; vocabulary related to horses (recent vocabulary); a few isolable morphemes such as 'tomorrow', 'far'; ceremonially important material such as 'white clay'; and just a few items from lexical closed classes (core vocabulary).

Examples are given below.

REMBARRNGA		DJINANG	
<i>gandayala</i>	plains kangaroo	<i>gandayala</i>	plains kangaroo
<i>guḍurrku</i>	brolga	<i>guḍurrki/u</i>	brolga
<i>yarraman</i>	horse	<i>yarraman</i>	horse
<i>buḍuḍup</i>	gallop (onomat.)	<i>buḍuḍup</i>	gallop
<i>nganaparra</i>	buffalo	<i>nganaparra</i>	buffalo
<i>djubuy</i>	shoo, go away	<i>djibay [djibey]</i>	shoo (dogs)
<i>bun-</i>	smoke (tobacco)	<i>buny-</i>	smoke (tobacco)
? <i>bultji-</i>	roast	<i>burrjtj-</i>	roast
<i>ḍitj-</i>	return	<i>ḍutj</i>	return
<i>balay</i>	far	<i>bilay</i>	far
<i>guḍarrtji</i>	tomorrow	<i>guḍarr</i>	tomorrow
<i>guḍarr</i>	near future	<i>guḍarr</i>	tomorrow
<i>gamununggu</i>	white clay	<i>gamununggu</i>	white clay
<i>djimiṅḍi</i>	wire (fish) spear	<i>djimiṅḍi</i>	wire (fish) spear
<i>gumurr</i>	facing direction of	<i>biri</i>	chest, facing direction of

Closer examination may reveal more. What is significant is that core vocabulary is not strongly represented. *ḍutj* is a common non-inflecting verb root from a class of non-thematic verbs. Some

Yolngu languages (e.g. Djinba) have formed thematic (i.e. inflecting) verbs using this class as a source of stems, while other Yolngu languages (e.g. Djinang) have preserved these as a non-inflecting class. *gudarr* and *balay* are pan-Yolngu morphemes, and can be presumed to have been diffused into Rembarrnga from Yolngu contact; these terms certainly fit Heath's criteria of syllabicity, sharpness of boundaries, unifunctionality and categorical clarity (Heath 1978:105) – being some of the factors he found to be favourable towards diffusibility.

gumurr is of interest. The Djinang term is *biri*, a suppletive form, since the common Yolngu word for 'chest' is *gumurr* (Djinba: *gupurr*). And in Yolngu languages it is used metaphorically with the sense 'facing the direction of' (and in other senses). Rembarrnga has borrowed this from Yolngu languages, and Thomson (1949) sheds light on how this came to be. In the ceremonial exchange cycle, the source of goods was identified by a phrase which began with the word *gumurr* (the Djinang used *biri*). Thomson (fig 1) gives:

<i>gumurr</i>	<i>gatjirrk</i>		
<i>gumurr</i>	<i>muwadhak</i>	(<i>muwadhak</i>	clothes, things, stuff)
<i>gumurr</i>	<i>mewatj</i>	(<i>mewatj</i>	east)
<i>gumurr</i>	<i>djalk</i>		
<i>gumurr</i>	<i>garin</i>		

Thus it can be safely asserted that *gumurr* was diffused into Rembarrnga because of its special metaphorical use in these terms; a conclusion which is reinforced by the fact that it was a secondary sense of the morpheme which became the primary sense in Rembarrnga.

Thus it is clear that borrowing has been very much of a peripheral nature in terms of lexical items. Nor has it been unidirectional. For example, *djibay* (used when shooing away dogs) has been borrowed from Rembarrnga *djubuy* (probably having the same function). The rest of the vocabulary in the above list is common animals, ceremonial material, common implements or recent terminology of either European or Austronesian origin. The obvious conclusion is that economic and ceremonial activities have had minimal effect on the lexicon of either language. The situation is much the same with Burarra. The Djinang system of verbal auxiliaries can be shown to have some similarities to Burarra auxiliaries and may have been influenced by the latter, and some vocabulary has diffused in both directions (i.e. Djinang to Burarra and vice versa); but the effect of this diffusion has not lead to dialect variations in Djinang with the exception of the negative morpheme *ingki* (see section 2.3.3 below). Thus the origin of interclan lexical dialect differences in Djinang cannot be viewed as the result of contact with prefixing languages of the west. (Macassan influence was lexically far more significant than was contact with Burarra and Rembarrnga).

To illustrate these remarks, let us look briefly at some of the ways that Djinang and Djinba have been influenced by the prefixing languages in the west. Firstly, both Djinang and Djinba have palatalised all lamino-dentals to lamino-palatals. While various Yolngu languages exhibit palatalisation of interdental in some structural positions, only Djinang and Djinba have applied this process in all positions, thereby losing the contrast entirely. Interestingly, the prefixing languages to the immediate west (Burarra in the case of Djinang, Rembarrnga for Djinba) do not have a lamino-dental versus lamino-palatal contrast. Ngandi, to the south-east does have this contrast, and certainly proto-Yolngu had it too (Heath 1978:35). So this western influence has affected all Djinang clans uniformly (probably due to a greater time depth).

Secondly, Rembarrnga and Burarra (to the south-west and west) use bound pronominal prefixes to the verb, marking person and number, and showing concord with case marking on nominals which

are co-referential in the same clause. Yolngu languages lack such a system of formally reduced pronouns forming preverbal clitic pronominal forms, with the exception of Djinang and Djinba which do have precisely this. Furthermore, the Djinang and Djinba forms are fairly transparent reductions of full form pronouns, usually being derived by dropping the initial consonant (or syllable) and the final vowel, and in Djinang there is vowel change as well (**a* and **u > i*). This feature of verbal morphology in both Djinang and Djinba certainly owes its origin to the influence of the prefixing languages to the west (Burarra and Rembarrnga).

Djinang clans exhibit regular paradigmatic dialectic variations in the class of reduced pronouns. However, the variations exactly parallel paradigmatic variations in free-form pronouns used in the various dialects. From this we deduce that the variations in the full-form pronouns have historical priority, and that the bound pronouns arose by a process of phonological reduction under pressure of the prefixing languages. Pronominal variations are the most visible sociolinguistic markers of clan affiliation. However, while the occurrence of reduced pronominal forms is due to the influence of prefixing languages, dialectal variations within the reduced pronouns cannot have the same origin. This we shall see in section 2.3.1. The implication is that most dialectal variations are relatively recent internal developments within the Djinang language. (The same is true of dialectal variations in Djinba.)

1.2 CONCLUSION

It appears that the most significant factors in dialect maintenance and diffusion of terminology, are those factors which are of significance in interclan relations. This means that moiety, marriage rules, clan loyalty, geographical proximity and residence patterns would be the most important factors. Of these, clan loyalty and moiety differences are dialect-preserving factors; marriage rules, geographical proximity and residence patterns are dialect-levelling factors.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF DJINANG DIALECT DIFFERENCES

2.1 PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES: THE 'SMOOTHNESS GRADIENT'

While learning to speak Djinang, I had been aware from the first that there were speech variations from clan to clan. I knew that Milurrurr (a Manyarring man) frequently elided vowels at the end of words; that Manbarrarra often used an *a* vowel at the end of words where *i* would normally be expected; and that Giḍarri did not appear to elide word-final vowels very often. Subjective impressions are not sufficient, and so a computer has been used to statistically analyse the speech of various Djinang men, using tape-recorded narrative texts.

2.1.1 THE 'NATIVE THEORY' OF DIALECT VARIATION

Joe Giḍarri, a Djinang man from the Marrangu clan, explained the difference between dialects. Waving his hand in an undulating wave motion, he said that some dialects (including his own Marrangu dialect) were 'like that'; changing to a vertical chopping motion, he said the other dialects were of that nature, by way of comparison. What he was claiming was that some dialects were perceptually 'smooth', while the others were more 'disjunctive'. Knowing that Djinang people characterise voiceless stops with the same chopping motion of the hand, and from examples supplied by Giḍarri, I deduced that the difference he was trying to describe was as follows:

Disjunctive dialects have a higher proportion of voiceless stops due to hardening of voiced stops in some environments, and a lower proportion of vowels due to elision processes (particularly *i*, which is the most common Djinang vowel); smooth dialects do not harden voiced stops as often, and elide vowels less often.

That is not, of course, the only dialectal variable; there are others which are equally significant, such as pronoun paradigm differences, certain lexical differences, and other phenomena (deictics, negatives etc.), and these shall be dealt with later. However all of these are quantifiable and correlate with explicit form differences in words and morphemes. The smoothness gradient, on the other hand, is far more vague and not easily quantifiable – being a statistical reality only. Therefore we shall examine the evidence for it at some length, and attempt to make explicit what are the linguistic correlates of ‘disjunctiveness’ and ‘smoothness’.

We are claiming that the dialects can be ordered with respect to each other along a gradient, such as shown below. The precise placement of some of the dialects on such a gradient is tentative due to a lack of sufficient data. This applies to Mildjingi, Balmbi, Djaḍiwitjibi and, to a lesser extent, to Wulaki. However, Murrungun appears to be the most disjunctive, Manyarring slightly less so; Marrangu is smooth and Wulaki is approximately as smooth as Marrangu (but see 2.1.2 below).

Djaḍiwitjibi appears to be smooth (from my subjective impressions and the small amount of data at hand), and is probably similar to Marrangu. Mildjingi I have heard from only two old men, and it is of the disjunctive type (e.g. *ngildji ildji giri* 2plNOM 2plNOM goFUT ‘you will go’, where the disjunctive pronoun forms *ngildji* and *ildji* are used), so it is reasonable to put it near the disjunctive end of the gradient. I have statements from informants in my field notes that Balmbi is the ‘same as Manyarring’, and clauses 43 to 79 in text 24 are from a Balmbi speaker. The dialect evidenced there shows it is indeed indistinguishable from Manyarring. Recent Wulaki texts (which postdate the statistical analysis on which this study is based) also verify that Wulaki and Marrangu are equivalent in terms of smoothness. For comments on the Wulaki data used in this study, see section 2.1.2 below.

It must be remembered that this gradient is a statistical reality only. It is not universally true throughout the lexicon, for there are forms which violate the pattern. For example, the *-bi* ‘emphatic’ suffix on pronouns has an allomorph *-pi* as well as the *-bi* form only in Wulaki. Thus we have a situation something like the following:

Disjunctive	<.....>	Smooth
Murrungun		Marrangu
Manyarring		Wulaki
Balmbi		?Djaḍiwitjibi
?Mildjingi		

The above gradient correlates with paradigmatic differences in the class of pronouns. These will be dealt with in detail later, but an example will illustrate. Djaḍiwitjibi, Wulaki and Marrangu each have the second person plural pronoun *ngilidji* and the reduced form of the same pronoun, *lidji*. These are both ‘smooth’ pronunciations. The other dialects have *ngildji* (note the cluster which gives a disjunctive effect), with the reduced form being *ildji*. These latter are both disjunctive pronunciations. Furthermore, the territories of the former three clans form a solid bloc to the west and south, taking Nangalala as the ‘centre’ of the Djinang territories. Interestingly, Wulaki and

Djaḍiwitjibi are Yirritjing moiety, while Marrangu is Djuwing – at the opposite end of the continuum from the other Djuwing clans. So we must conclude that smoothness does not correlate with moiety (compare Maps 4 and 6).

The lack of correlation with the direction of women in the marriage system is also of significance here. Wulaki women go to Marrangu or Murrungun men, whose two clans are at opposite ends of the gradient. Murrungun women go to Djaḍiwitjibi or Wulaki men, but their children grow up to say *lidji* rather than *ildji* (the mother's form of the second person plural pronoun). It does seem that geographical proximity may be the significant factor in paradigmatic identity in those paradigms which realise dialectal variations. In support of this, Map 3 shows that Manyarring and Murrungun form an eastern and north-eastern bloc of Djuwing clans, which correlates with the fact that both are of the disjunctive type.

In this appendix the following abbreviations will be used for the various clans:

Manyarring	MN	Djaḍiwitjibi	DJ
Murrungun	MU	Wulaki	WU
Marrangu	MA	Mildjingi	MI
		Balmbi	BA

I give here some examples illustrating the pronunciation variations between smooth and disjunctive dialects. The following list is a sample; it is by no means exhaustive.

	DISJUNCTIVE		SMOOTH	
near	<i>ngidjirrkng</i>	MN MU	<i>ngidjirrgi</i> <i>ngidjirrgngi</i>	WU MA
before	<i>ngurrwakng</i>	MN MU	<i>ngurrwagi</i>	MA WU
from before	<i>ngurrwaknipi</i> <i>ngurrwakngipi</i>	MN MU	<i>ngurrwagipi</i>	MA WU
be time of	<i>bidjirri</i>	MN MU	<i>bidjirri</i>	MA DJ
lightweight	<i>rakrakng</i>	MN MU	<i>rakiraking</i> <i>rakiraki</i>	WU DJ MI MA
believe	<i>marr-pirralkindjidji</i>	MN MU	<i>marr-pirralnyakinidjidji</i>	MA
for those	<i>ngunwiliki</i> <i>ngunukuwiliki</i>	MN MU	<i>ngunuwiliki</i>	MA
arrive	<i>yulkung</i>	MU MN	<i>yulgung</i>	MA
from that	<i>ngunungirpm</i>	MN MU	<i>ngunungirpm</i>	MA
stab(IMP)	<i>rarr</i>	MN	<i>rarri</i>	MA
deviated	<i>malkurdjil</i>	MN	<i>malkurdjili</i>	MA

Word-final *i* is optionally elided by all dialects provided no ambiguity is introduced by doing so. The difference between disjunctive and smooth dialects in this respect is one of frequency; disjunctive dialects elide often, and even often before pause; smooth dialects elide much less often, and are less likely to elide before pause. The difference between the speech styles is most readily perceived by listening to narratives, where the aural effect is cumulative.

One important point arises. The voicing distinction in Djinang stops necessarily has low functional load in terms of meaning contrasts. However it is contrastive, even if minimally, as shown by minimal pairs such as:

<i>nginibi</i>	1 plural exclusive	<i>nginipi</i>	husband
<i>giri</i>	habitual aspect	<i>kiri</i>	progressive aspect
<i>ngunu-bilang</i>	that-FRAME	<i>ngunu-pilang</i>	that-INDEF
<i>ngurr-bargi</i>	fill in	<i>ngurrgargi</i>	rush up to, attack

2.1.2. THE DATA

The text data is taken from speakers who belong to four different clans. A further speaker (Yililpawuy) speaks Djinang as a second language, though fluently. Her father speaks Djambarrpuyngu, and her mother Gupapuyngu; however, I have only one short text from this woman, and the analysis of her speech will therefore be less reliable than for the other narrators, though of interest. The following table gives the speakers' names, their clan affiliations, number of texts used in the analysis and total number of words and phonemes for each speaker. The greater the number of words, the more useful the statistics are.

NAME	CLAN	TEXTS	WORDS	PHONEMES	USEFULNESS
Giḍarri	Marrangu	7	6684	36276	excellent
Manbarrarra	Murrungun	4	3122	16409	high
Malan.gi	Manyarring	3	1542	8305	fair
Milurrurr	Manyarring	2	1410	7735	fair
Anonymous	Wulaki	4	978	5073	very poor
Yililpawuy	(non-Djinang)	1	260	1428	marginal

The Wulaki data used for the statistics is wholly taken from A. Capell's unpublished c. 1941 handwritten field transcriptions, which he kindly made available to me. He did not record speakers' names. The Wulaki data is about half text; the other half is elicited sentence data. It is inevitable that the elicited sentences are transcribed with a minimum of vowel elision, and to a slightly lesser extent, so too is the text material. This results in phoneme frequencies which are not typical of natural text, although the direction of the bias is quite predictable.

Another feature of Capell's transcription that must be mentioned is the fact that he did not distinguish voiced from voiceless stops, because he was working under the assumption that in Australian languages such oppositions are sub-phonemic. Occasionally he does write a double voiced stop symbol, which is always voiceless in the spoken language, but non-geminate voiceless stops are not distinguished from voiced stops in his transcription. Using comparative dialectal data, I have partly corrected his transcriptions (where the correction is reliable). Unfortunately, it is not possible to adjust the transcription as reliably as one would like, and for this reason the adjusted text contains a much higher proportion of voiced stops than would be expected in natural text. These two effects make the Wulaki dialect appear to be much more 'smooth' than it is in reality. (Recently collected Wulaki data confirms this claim.)

As can be seen from the above table, Giḍarri has contributed nearly as much data as all the other speakers together (Giḍarri 36,276 phonemes; others 38,950 phonemes). This makes the statistics drawn from his speech maximally reliable. His dialect is a 'smooth' one, and so I have used his dialect as the standard of reference for measuring disjunctiveness.

Next I give tables showing the phonemes used by each speaker. Counts are given for word-initial, word-medial and word-final positions, as well as the total number of occurrences of the respective phonemes in the speech of that person. The phonemes are grouped vertically; the first group are

voiceless stops, then come voiced stops, nasals, laterals, glides, vowels and, finally, glottal stop. (Glottal stop is not a phoneme, but rather a syllable prosody which is a common feature of Yolngu languages; it occurs less in Djinang than in other Yolngu languages).

It must also be stated that all speakers (except in the Wulaki data) used a small number of English words in their stories, for example, store, airstrip, net, aeroplane and war-fight. Some phonological constraints can be violated by such borrowings. This accounts for the occasional occurrence of *t* word initially, and for occasional occurrences of voiced stops word finally. The frequency of English words is so low that their effect on phoneme frequencies can be ignored, except as noted above.

Gidarrri (Marrangu clan)					Manbarrarra (Murrungun clan)				
	initial	medial	final	total		initial	medial	final	total
<i>p</i>	113	569	11	693	<i>p</i>	55	236	28	319
<i>t</i>	60	78	45	183	<i>t</i>	15	63	33	111
<i>t̥</i>	0	58	16	74	<i>t̥</i>	0	27	14	41
<i>tj</i>	19	396	23	438	<i>tj</i>	5	108	29	142
<i>k</i>	239	423	79	741	<i>k</i>	119	144	95	358
<i>b</i>	821	902	1	1724	<i>b</i>	363	345	1	709
<i>d</i>	31	64	15	110	<i>d</i>	26	27	7	60
<i>d̥</i>	118	161	0	279	<i>d̥</i>	45	59	0	104
<i>dj</i>	670	686	9	1365	<i>dj</i>	303	265	0	568
<i>g</i>	793	692	3	1488	<i>g</i>	265	253	3	521
<i>m</i>	626	605	271	1502	<i>m</i>	301	274	102	677
<i>n</i>	72	1032	480	1584	<i>n</i>	25	710	235	970
<i>n̥</i>	68	547	26	641	<i>n̥</i>	28	166	10	204
<i>ny</i>	377	603	461	1441	<i>ny</i>	283	222	145	650
<i>ng</i>	773	820	271	1864	<i>ng</i>	404	401	140	945
<i>l</i>	446	1050	199	1695	<i>l</i>	44	502	64	610
<i>l̥</i>	7	553	58	618	<i>l̥</i>	16	202	14	232
<i>rr</i>	0	1454	260	1714	<i>rr</i>	4	643	119	766
<i>r</i>	103	869	139	1111	<i>r</i>	52	368	36	456
<i>w</i>	408	214	57	679	<i>w</i>	267	166	73	506
<i>y</i>	263	201	107	571	<i>y</i>	142	107	99	348
<i>i</i>	381	6149	2684	9214	<i>i</i>	124	2644	1027	3795
<i>a</i>	202	3028	895	4125	<i>a</i>	190	1473	533	2196
<i>u</i>	50	2190	182	2422	<i>u</i>	14	1030	77	1121
?	0	116	11	127	?	0	31	8	39
CC	clusters		2028		CC	clusters		961	
CCC	clusters		198		CCC	clusters		34	
CCCC	clusters		11		CCCC	clusters		4	
Total	clusters		2237		Total	clusters		999	

Malan.gi (Manyarring clan)

	initial	medial	final	total
<i>p</i>	43	128	4	175
<i>t</i>	14	24	12	50
<i>t̥</i>	0	19	1	20
<i>tj</i>	7	66	1	74
<i>k</i>	52	60	57	169
<i>b</i>	408	172	0	580
<i>d</i>	4	3	6	13
<i>d̥</i>	10	34	0	44
<i>dj</i>	96	106	0	202
<i>g</i>	163	152	0	315
<i>m</i>	163	127	42	332
<i>n</i>	7	240	165	412
<i>n̥</i>	16	87	10	113
<i>ny</i>	99	123	77	299
<i>ng</i>	131	213	151	495
<i>l</i>	9	375	177	561
<i>l̥</i>	7	109	10	126
<i>rr</i>	1	321	47	369
<i>r</i>	41	152	43	236
<i>w</i>	110	42	17	169
<i>y</i>	67	31	18	116
<i>i</i>	31	1475	476	1982
<i>a</i>	43	759	135	937
<i>u</i>	5	479	32	516
<i>?</i>	0	25	1	26
CC		clusters	533	
CCC		clusters	20	
CCCC		clusters	1	
Total		clusters	554	

Milurrurr (Manyarring clan)

	initial	medial	final	total
<i>p</i>	32	141	2	175
<i>t</i>	6	18	3	27
<i>t̥</i>	0	6	0	6
<i>tj</i>	1	48	1	50
<i>k</i>	41	108	26	175
<i>b</i>	161	167	0	328
<i>d</i>	2	17	2	21
<i>d̥</i>	8	20	0	28
<i>dj</i>	158	143	0	301
<i>g</i>	209	106	1	316
<i>m</i>	104	124	92	320
<i>n</i>	13	266	185	464
<i>n̥</i>	23	178	6	207
<i>ny</i>	126	127	125	378
<i>ng</i>	198	198	124	520
<i>l</i>	18	255	68	341
<i>l̥</i>	13	79	3	95
<i>rr</i>	3	227	60	290
<i>r</i>	23	169	51	243
<i>w</i>	99	25	13	137
<i>y</i>	55	50	9	114
<i>i</i>	56	1331	358	1745
<i>a</i>	41	668	179	888
<i>u</i>	4	520	42	566
<i>?</i>	0	17	1	18
CC		clusters	469	
CCC		clusters	47	
CCCC		clusters	6	
Total		clusters	522	

Capell's 1941 data (Wulaki clan)

	initial	medial	final	total
<i>p</i>	2	34	0	36
<i>t</i>	0	5	0	5
<i>t̥</i>	0	5	0	5
<i>tj</i>	0	34	1	35
<i>k</i>	8	52	18	78
<i>b</i>	101	58	0	159
<i>d</i>	2	7	0	9
<i>d̥</i>	12	12	0	24
<i>dj</i>	71	123	0	194
<i>g</i>	127	100	0	227

Yililpawuy (non-Djinang)

	initial	medial	final	total
<i>p</i>	5	9	0	14
<i>t</i>	0	2	0	2
<i>t̥</i>	0	7	2	9
<i>tj</i>	0	5	0	5
<i>k</i>	9	23	8	40
<i>b</i>	46	25	0	71
<i>d</i>	0	0	0	0
<i>d̥</i>	10	0	0	10
<i>dj</i>	14	51	0	65
<i>g</i>	29	21	0	50

<i>m</i>	70	134	62	266	<i>m</i>	23	15	9	47
<i>n</i>	7	164	15	242	<i>n</i>	0	57	22	79
<i>ŋ</i>	15	33	0	48	<i>ŋ</i>	4	31	1	36
<i>ny</i>	164	62	40	266	<i>ny</i>	31	32	13	76
<i>ng</i>	143	134	42	319	<i>ng</i>	31	41	5	77
<i>l</i>	25	164	32	221	<i>l</i>	0	47	30	77
<i>ɭ</i>	0	52	3	55	<i>ɭ</i>	0	4	1	5
<i>rr</i>	0	216	77	293	<i>rr</i>	0	49	12	61
<i>r</i>	6	121	21	148	<i>r</i>	1	40	4	45
<i>w</i>	81	24	4	109	<i>w</i>	28	3	3	34
<i>y</i>	32	21	14	67	<i>y</i>	5	6	3	14
<i>i</i>	84	835	560	1479	<i>i</i>	20	242	112	374
<i>a</i>	1	513	48	562	<i>a</i>	4	121	17	142
<i>u</i>	0	220	6	226	<i>u</i>	0	84	12	96
<i>ʔ</i>	0	19	1	20	<i>ʔ</i>	0	0	0	0
CC	clusters		227	CC	clusters		94		
CCC	clusters		21	CCC	clusters		8		
CCCC	clusters		1	CCCC	clusters		0		
Total	clusters		249	Total	clusters		102		

An indication of the ages of the speakers may be helpful, and also their background. Malan.gi and Manbarrarra are in their mid to late fifties; Milurrurr is in his mid forties; Giḍarri is about 40, and Yililpawuy is about 50. Malan.gi and Manbarrarra are the most senior men in their clans, and both have had over two decades of close contact with missionaries and government workers at Milingimbi and Ramingining, though neither can speak English. (Malan.gi can speak a little Kriol.) Giḍarri has had rather more European contact, mainly at Maningrida during his teens. He also speaks elementary English. Milurrurr has had a lot of European contact at Milingimbi, and has recently had some training at Nungalinya College. He has a good command of elementary English, and can read English with difficulty. For all these speakers, the influence of English on their idiolects has been minimal, except for Milurrurr who is using a greater proportion of English loans in his speech as he gets older.

2.1.3 ANALYSIS OF THE PHONEME AND CONSONANT CLUSTER FREQUENCIES.

(1) General principles.

From the 'native theory' (section 2.1.1 above) we see that the smoothness gradient should involve variation in (a) elision of vowels, particularly *i* in word-final position, and (b) hardening of voiced stops. Since vowels in word-initial position cannot be elided, we are therefore concerned with the frequencies of vowels in word-medial and final positions.

A disjunctive dialect ought to have decreased vowel frequencies in word-medial and final positions. Also, word-medial elisions will create consonant clusters, so that a disjunctive dialect ought to have a higher incidence of consonant clusters.

To obtain a measure of the amount of stop hardening, we must compare the number of voiceless stops with the total number of both voiced and voiceless stops; that is, we need a ratio of the number of voiceless stops as opposed to the total number of stops, for each speaker.

Because the tables reflect different total amounts of speech from each speaker, they are not directly comparable. We must first perform a normalisation process to convert the number of occurrences of each phoneme into comparable frequencies. There are two possible ways to do this. One way is to divide phoneme occurrence values by the number of words (for each speaker); the other way is to divide by the number of phonemes (for each speaker). The latter method is used, and preferred, because the number of words depends on the analyst's assessment of where word boundaries lie, which introduces a slight but unknown amount of subjectivity into the results. Thus, if F is the number of occurrences of some linguistic feature for speaker Y , then we convert this to a normalised value by the following formula:

$$\frac{F \times 100}{\text{total number of phonemes for } Y}$$

In this formula, F is such variables as number of word-final occurrences of i ; number of word medial occurrences of a ; ratio of voiceless stops to total number of stops; and number of consonant clusters.

One final methodological point needs to be made. Since Giḍarri's speech is to be taken as a standard of reference, we can subtract the normalised value of a feature in Giḍarri's dialect from the normalised value of the same feature in another speaker's dialect. In this way we obtain a table with both positive and negative entries. A negative entry signals that the respective feature is of lower frequency than it is in Giḍarri's dialect, while a positive value indicates that it is more frequent. A further advantage of such a table is that the normalised values of the various features can be added for each speaker, to arrive at an index which is a measure of the disjunctiveness of a dialect with respect to Giḍarri's dialect. This is the method we shall employ.

(2) Randomness

Variations in lexical content of the texts will inevitably introduce a certain amount of randomness into the results. It is therefore desirable to be able to obtain some measure of randomness in the text data. Since the smoothness gradient involves stops and vowels primarily, we are able to use nasals, liquids and glides to construct an index of the amount of randomness. There are problems in doing this. For example, Milurrurr uses words based on the deictic stem *ngunu-* 'that' very frequently in his stories. (This is a dialectal feature at discourse level – he uses it for purposes of anaphora more frequently than do the other speakers.) Hence there will be a considerably higher incidence of nasals in his speech. This will have the effect of inflating the randomness index by a non-random factor; to put it another way, the 'randomness index' will be larger than it should be due to the presence of covert dialectal variations that have not been taken into account. The only way of minimising such effects, although it does not eliminate them, is to average the randomness indices of the various speakers, and this is what we shall do.

Using the normalised frequencies of each class of sounds (nasals, laterals, rhotics and glides) and taking Giḍarri's speech as the standard of reference, variations from this reference will be computed. Then, for each speaker, a randomness index will be computed as the square root of the sum of the squares of the deviations from Giḍarri's values. Finally, these are averaged to arrive at a composite index.

I now give the table of frequencies (normalised and converted to percentages, as per the formula above) of the nasal, lateral, rhotic and glide sound classes. The randomness indices for each speaker

are given in the bottom line of the table; Giḍarri's speech, being the standard of reference, must by definition have a randomness index of zero.

	Giḍarri	Manbarrarra	Malan.gi	Milurrurr	Wulaki	Yililpawuy
Nasals	19.385	21.001	19.880	24.421	22.492	21.989
Laterals	6.376	5.131	8.272	5.637	5.441	5.742
Rhotics	7.788	7.447	7.285	6.891	8.693	7.423
Glides	3.446	5.204	3.432	3.245	3.469	3.361
R. index	-	.70	.50	1.29	.80	.68

From the values in the table, the averaged randomness index is approximately .8.

How should the index be interpreted? If randomness is significant, we would expect that the randomness index would be significantly greater in magnitude than variations in the linguistic correlates of the smoothness gradient. On the other hand, if the randomness index is significantly smaller than the dialectal variations, we can be confident that the variations are valid indicators of dialectal differences – provided that the database underlying the frequencies is large enough to minimise variations due to lexical content. For this reason, the Wulaki data and Yililpawuy's speech are unreliable: the former is not natural text (see the preceding discussion), and the latter involves only 260 words.

When the randomness index is of about the same magnitude as the variation in a certain linguistic feature, the situation is somewhat ambiguous. Nevertheless, the polarity of the variations (i.e. whether positive or negative) correlates with my perceptions of the differences between dialects, which suggests that a true index of randomness would be significantly lower than the one that I construct; to put it another way, it suggests that the figures for deviations are more significant than the randomness index would imply.

Percentage differences from Giḍarri's dialect.

The following table gives the normalised frequencies in Giḍarri's speech for a variety of linguistic features, expressed as percentages. These figures are in the left column. The columns to the right give the deviations from the Giḍarri norms, expressed as percentage point differences, for each speaker. The last row of the table gives an index of disjunctiveness for each speaker. The more negative the index, the more disjunctive the idiolect. These indices are computed by summing the first six figures of each column, and then subtracting the sum of the seventh and eighth figures in the column. (The seventh and eighth figures must be subtracted because these figures will be positive for disjunctive dialects.)

Giḍarri	FACTOR	Manbarrarra	Malan.gi	Milurrurr	Wulaki	Yililpawuy
7.400	wd-fin <i>i</i>	-1.14	-1.67	-2.77	3.64	0.37
2.467	wd-fin <i>a</i>	0.78	-0.84	-0.15	-1.52	-1.28
0.502	wd-fin <i>u</i>	-0.03	-0.12	0.04	-0.49	0.34
16.95	wd-med <i>i</i>	-0.84	0.83	0.26	-0.49	0.
8.35	wd-med <i>a</i>	0.63	0.79	0.29	1.76	0.12
6.03	wd-med <i>u</i>	0.25	-0.26	0.69	-1.69	-0.15
30.01	voiceless stop ratio	3.10	-0.29	0.33	-6.39	-3.79
6.167	C-clusters	-0.08	0.51	0.58	-1.26	0.98
0	Index	-3.12	-1.49	-2.55	8.86	2.21

Two points need to be made now. The first is that the above indices are not the only possible ones that can be constructed. The table shows that word-final *u* vowels are not significant as contributing to the indices, and can be ignored. Also, ignoring the effects of *a* vowels does change the indices in terms of their absolute values, but does not affect the relative ordering of the idiolects on a smoothness gradient.

The second point is that the above indices must not be confused with perceptual cues for dialectal variations. One reason for this is that certain words and affixes carry a high functional load as sociolinguistic markers, but do not contribute markedly to the statistics represented in the above table. For example, soft dialects will say *ngunugirri* 'that last one' while hard dialects will say *ngunukirri*, and soft dialects will say *ngurrwagi* 'first', 'before' while hard dialects will say *ngurrwakng(i)*, and so forth for a relatively small set of words. Such words are not frequent enough to affect the statistics of phoneme occurrences to a marked extent, although they are prominent markers of dialectal affiliation.

Also, how perceptual cues can differ markedly from the characterisation of the smoothness gradient as defined by the above indices can be seen in the following table. The table gives the relative frequencies of occurrence of each vowel in word-final position expressed as a percentage. The figures were computed as follows: the number of occurrences of a given word-final vowel was divided by the total number of words uttered by the speaker, and the resulting figure was converted to a percentage. Expressed this way, my feeling that Milurrurr's speech is highly disjunctive is readily explained: since words are primary conveyors of meaning, variations in their form are quite obvious, so that the frequent elision of word-final *i* is readily perceived. Since nearly all Djinang words end in either a consonant or an *i* vowel, it is the relative differences in the frequencies of occurrence of word-final *i* vowels which are most significant. (The very high figure for Wulaki reflects the fact that much of the data is carefully elicited sentences; that also explains the very low figures for word-final *a* and *u* in that dialect. The primary source of word-final *u* is the elision of a final consonant or syllable in words such as *ngunungi* 'that' and *ngurrumi* 'perfective'. In elicited sentences, such final syllable dropping is uncommon.)

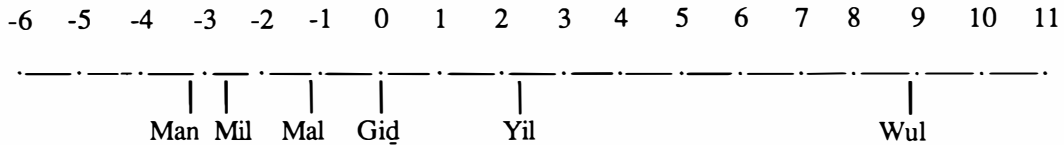
	Gidarrri	Manbarrarra	Malan.gi	Milurrurr	Wulaki	Yililpawuy
word-fin <i>i</i>	40.88	32.90	31.09	25.81	57.26	43.36
word-fin <i>a</i>	13.63	17.07	8.82	12.91	4.91	6.64
word-fin <i>u</i>	2.77	2.47	2.09	3.03	0.61	4.69

One other thing which is noteworthy is the following. Consider the relatively high percentage of word-final *a* vowels in Manbarrarra's speech. This confirms my impression that he replaces a word-final *i* with an *a* far more frequently than the other speakers here represented. The use of word-final *a* instead of *i* has semantic content, primarily as a cohesion mechanism. For example, it can indicate that the nominal is a non-final item in a list; or it can be used syntactically to indicate that the current event is non-final in a series of events or even just to indicate that the speaker has not yet finished speaking (see Chapter 3 section 8 for details). The high incidence of *a* is also represented in the earlier tables, but is not so obvious there.

It should be clear from the above table that the index of disjunctiveness which was constructed earlier does not give a measure of the perceptual disjunctiveness of an idiolect or dialect. The index is a statistical construct, which has value only as a quantifiable measure. From it we can obtain two types of information: firstly, the relative scaling of dialects on a linear gradient of 'smoothness'; and secondly, the relative scaling of idiolects within a dialect, on the same gradient.

2.1.4 CONCLUSIONS

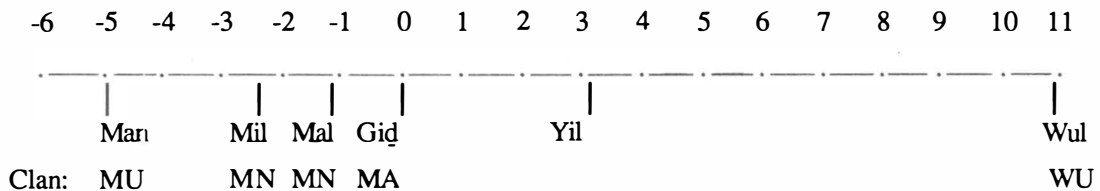
On a linear scale, the various idiolects are plotted as follows:



As we stated earlier, *u* is of minimal dialectal significance, and ignoring *a* does not change the relative positions. So, for purposes of comparison, we can construct another index using just the four factors: word-final *i*, word-medial *i*, voiceless stop ratio, and consonant clusters. This gives the following indices for each speaker, expressed as percentage deviations from the Gid̄arri norms, as before:

Gid̄arri	Manbarrarra	Malan.gi	Milurrurr	Wulaki	Yililpawuy
0	-5.00	-1.06	-3.42	10.8	3.18

Plotted on the same linear scale, we have:



The advantage of this set of indices is that the relative degree of use of *a* in word-final position as a stylistic device is excluded. It is a dialectal variation, but it obscures the 'smoothness' variations. The use of word-final *a* and the smoothness gradient are really independent dialectal variables. Smoothness versus disjunctiveness really pertains to the elision of the unmarked vowel *i*, the consonant clusters thereby created, and the hardening of voiced stops. For this reason, I prefer the latter set of indices as a measure of disjunctiveness.

The most disjunctive dialect is Murrungun; the most significant factor in this is the high proportion of voiceless stops with respect to the total number of stops.

Of lesser disjunctiveness is the Manyarring dialect. The two speakers in this dialect do not have significantly different ratios of voiceless stops when compared to the Marrangu dialect; their disjunctiveness is primarily a function of the elision of word-final *i* vowels – especially for Milurrurr, who has a much higher incidence of final *i* elision than all the other speakers.

Yililpawuy's speech is of interest. She has a fairly high value for word-final *i* and *u* vowels. Nevertheless, she very often elides the word-final vowel of verbs inflected for 'today past' – a characteristic of Milurrurr's speech (Manyarring). She used *muri* 'daddy', the Yirritjing form. However, her lexical choices seem to follow mostly Djuwing (Dhuwa) norms. Her ratio of voiceless stops to total stops is quite low. It therefore appears that she has not learnt any one Djinang dialect, but rather uses dialectal features from each of them. This is to be expected from the fact that Djinang is a second language for her.

Wulaki is a smooth dialect, although the extent to which this is true is greatly exaggerated by the fact that the data is from written text and elicited sentences. The statistics therefore seem to be a good indicator of 'idealised' utterances where performance effects have been edited out. Further fieldwork has now revealed that except for a few minor lexical differences, Wulaki and Marrangu are very similar dialects. Both are smooth, and except for an occasional lexical difference, it is very difficult to tell Wulaki apart from Marrangu. Also, Djinang and non-Djinang people group both these dialects together.

Finally, we note that the difference in disjunctiveness between two speakers within one dialect can be as great (or maybe greater) as between speakers of different dialects. Data from other speakers is needed in order to judge the extent to which this is a valid generalisation. For example, Manbarrarra's true sister, Giḷarr, who is also in her late fifties, speaks less disjunctively than her brother. She hardens stops less frequently than him, and elides final *i* vowels less often. She also uses the smooth second person plural pronoun forms *ngilidji* and *lidji*. She married a man from one of the eastern Yolngu languages and has spent most of her life away from the Djinang area, which may account for the smoothness of her idiolect, but not for her choice of pronoun forms. In her case the probable explanation is that she speaks her mother's dialect, and never actually lived with her parents long enough for her to have switched to her father's dialect. (Girls traditionally marry about the age of puberty, give or take a year or two.)

In conclusion, we can state that a 'smoothness gradient' is one of the dialectically significant linguistic variations between Djinang clans, and even between individual idiolects. The primary linguistic variables which characterise the relative smoothness or disjunctiveness of dialects are the amount of elision of *i* vowels, especially word finally, and the amount of hardening of voiced stops to voiceless stops.

2.2 PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES: MORPHEME REDUCTION DUE TO SYLLABLE DELETION

Some dialects are more prone to dropping an entire CV syllable (sometimes CVC) than are other dialects. Murrungun appears least prone to this behaviour, tending more to drop vowels – thereby creating consonant clusters. Similarly for Manyarring. Marrangu appears to be quite prone to syllable loss in certain positions, and Wulaki follows the Marrangu pattern. In one important case, syllable loss is regular in Marrangu, and the same phenomenon occurs in the Wulaki data from Capell (1941), though apparently not quite as regularly.

The regular cases I will treat first. Djinang has a today past (TPA) verb inflection for events which occur at the time of speaking or at a time before that on the same day. In verbs of class 1, the usual form of the suffix is *-ngili*. However, Marrangu speakers regularly delete the *ngi* syllable if the suffix is preceded by a stem ending in a peripheral stop followed by an *a* or *u* vowel. They say that this is a 'short way' of saying it. A Marrangu man (Giḍarri) claimed that Marrangu, Wulaki and Djadiwitjibi people speak this way. In Capell's Wulaki data, the elision is evidenced before a stem final *u* vowel, but not before stem final *a*. In all dialects, the elision does not occur before stem final *i*.

gave	<i>gu-ngili</i>	MN MU	<i>gu-li</i>	MA WU
took	<i>ga-ngili</i>	MN MU WU	<i>ga-li</i>	MA
arrived	<i>yulgu-ngili</i>	MN MU	<i>yulgu-li</i>	MA WU

arose	<i>wayku-ngili</i>	MN MU	<i>wayku-li</i>	MA
pulled	<i>djiti-ngili</i>	all dialects		
placed down	<i>galwupini</i>	MN MU MI BA	<i>galbu-li</i>	MA DJ WU

The stem *-bu-* 'hit' in a compound verb usually takes an irregular TPA inflection *-pini*. MA, DJ and WU have suppletively replaced the *-pini* suffix with *-li* by way of analogy. All dialects use *bi-pini* as the TPA form for 'hit' when the verb is not part of a compound verb.

Another fairly consistent dialect variation involves an irrealis/nominaliser suffix *-nyiri/-nyira* when followed by the *-kining* PROP morpheme ('having'). Murrungun usually retains the full form of the irrealis/nominaliser, while Marrangu normally deletes the *ir* sequence to form the allomorph *-nga*. Thus we have:

an approver	<i>yitjidj-nyira-kining</i>	MU	<i>yitjidj-nya-kining</i>	MA
a finisher	<i>malimdj-nyira-kining</i>	MU	<i>malimdj-nya-kining</i>	MA
long-lived	<i>wanngidj-nyira-kining</i>	MU	<i>wanngidj-nya-kining</i>	MA

(also, MA can shorten it further to *wanngi-ga-kining*)

It is a feature of Marrangu linguistic competence that *-nya-* is a reduced form of *-nyira*. Manyarring appears to follow the Marrangu pattern, e.g. *wanngi-nya-kining* MN 'saving one'. A similar elision can be seen in other formatives, such as the OBL *yul-ngiri-nyi* MU MN, *yul-ngi-nyi* MA man-OBL-ACC.

All dialects appear to shorten the auxiliary verbs *giri* and *kiri* by eliding the second syllable when the verb is in an inflected form:

<i>kiri</i>	[kiri]	
<i>kiriny</i>	[kiny]	and similarly for <i>giri</i> , <i>giriny</i> and <i>girim</i> .
<i>kim</i>	[kim]	

Djinang (and other Yolngu languages) have a class of non-inflecting verb roots, which Heath calls 'non-thematic' verbs. These root forms can be used as stems, and in particular as transitive verbs, by adding a transitivising suffix to form a transitive stem. The Marrangu and Murrungun dialects use the form *-miy-* (cf. Djinba *-miy-*), while the Manyarring dialect uses *-mir(i)-* (cf. *-mara-* in several other Yolngu languages such as Ritharrngu and Dhuwal/Dhuwala; Nhangu languages appear to have a form cognate with the MA MU form *-miy-*), for example:

will cause to open	<i>lap-mir-gi</i>	MN	<i>lap-miy-gi</i>	MU MA
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This probably is due to retention of an archaic morphophonemic alternation, each dialect productively using one of the former alternants.

There are also a large number of apparently sporadic differences involving deletion of a syllable or a consonant, or an unusual alternation of consonants or vowels.

two	<i>bininggili</i>	MN	<i>bingili</i>	MU MA DJ MI (WU uses both)
light fire	<i>rarrtjalkung</i>	MN	<i>rarrtjilkung</i>	MU MA
will sit	<i>nyin-dji</i>	MN	<i>nyini-dji</i>	MA MU DJ MI WU
for this	<i>djin-ki</i>	MN	<i>djin-gir-ki</i>	MU MA
from before	<i>ngurrwaknipi</i>	MN	<i>ngurrwakngipi</i>	MU ngurrwagipi MA WU
this	<i>djinangi</i>	WU	<i>djiningi</i>	MU MN MA DJ MI BA
wrestle	<i>ngurrbitj</i>	MU	<i>wurrbitj</i>	MA

child	<i>gurrminang</i>	DJ MI BA	<i>wurrming</i>	WU	<i>(yidjipili</i>	MA MU MN)
alone	<i>ngidawirrka</i>	WU	<i>ngidawa</i>		MU MN MA	DJ MI
fresh water	<i>djurrmul</i>	MN MU	<i>djurrmuk</i>			MA
was pregnant	<i>gapal-mirrpil-djini</i>	MA	<i>gapal-m-gin-djin</i>			MN
make clean	<i>ngalwirrki-djigi</i>	MN	<i>ngalwirrgi-djigi</i>	MA	<i>ngalwirr-djigi</i>	MU

Lastly, WU sometimes appears to leave off the *ng* (or *ngi*) of the *-gining(i)* PROP suffix when the latter is word final, while MU, MN and MA retain it in that position.

married	<i>miyilk-kiṇi</i>	WU	<i>miyilk-kiṇing</i>		MU MN MA
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There are other sporadic differences. Stop lenition is one of these. As a general statement we can say that there is no productive stop lenition in Djinang (i.e. *dj* > *y*, and/or *b*, *g* > *w* are not productive). This kind of lenition is evidenced in various other Yolngu languages; Djinba and Gumatj, for example, are two that have undergone a regular lenition process. However, there are just a few examples in Djinang, perhaps a few dozen in all. An example follows, and one occurs in the list above:

immediately	<i>djayurrkyurrk</i>	MN MU	<i>djayurrdjurrk</i>		MA
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An important conclusion can be drawn from this fact, namely, that proto-Djinang must have separated from those branches of the Yolngu language family which exhibit lenition before the process became productive in the latter. This would imply a considerable period of separate development for Djinang. Indeed, lenition of lamino-dental stops was systematic in some positions in the word in Djinba, implying that palatalisation was a later development in that language, whereas Djinang must have lost (by palatalisation) its lamino-dentals earlier than lenition, thereby bleeding from the language those sounds on which the latter process operates. This strongly implies that Djinang has had longer and more intensive contact with the western prefixing languages than has Djinba. (There is a lot of evidence in support of this, but that is beyond the scope of this discussion – see Appendix 2).

2.3 PARADIGMATIC VARIATIONS IN LEXICAL CLOSED CLASSES

2.3.1 PRONOUNS

There are two basic sets of pronoun paradigms: Marrangu, Wulaki and Djaḍiwitjibi use one paradigm set; the other dialects use the other set. Comparison with other Yolngu languages (Ritharrngu, Golpa, Dhuwal, Djapu, Yanhangu and Djinba) indicates that the MA-WU-DJ pattern is historically the older paradigm and the MN-MU-MI-BA pattern is an innovation. The latter pattern is derived from the former mainly by elision of an *i* vowel, thereby forming a medial cluster. Since clusters have a disjunctive effect, this change can be considered as a further realisation of the ‘smoothness gradient’ discussed earlier.

Map 4 shows the distribution of disjunctive versus smooth dialects; the disjunctive ones are found in the north on either side of the river (no smooth dialects are located on the east side of the river). The conclusion is that the areas further from the river mouth were more conservative, particularly in the areas adjacent to prefixing languages. The question arises: did the disjunctive speech style arise as an internal innovation, or was it imported?

This speech style is not a characteristic of the Dhuwala language to the east, and from the small amount of Yanhangu data available it does not appear to be a feature of that language either, e.g.

Yanhangu *miringu* 'bad', Djinang *mirgi/mirkngi* 'bad', Yanhangu *mirribulu/mirripulu* 'two', Djinang *mirrpili* 'two'. Eliding a vowel, particularly *i*, in the environment [rhotic] — [stop] is common in Djinang in all dialects, and it can hardly be claimed that Yanhangu has a disjunctive speech style if vowels are not elided in this environment.

However, turning to the language in the south-east, Djinba, we find that that language often lacks a word-final vowel where the Djinang cognate has one, e.g. Djinba *gurak* 'nape', Djinang *guraki* 'nape'. The same appears to be true to a lesser extent in morpheme-final position, e.g. Djinba *nyumal-kuru* from stem *nyumala-* versus Djinang *nyumili-ki* from stem *nyumili-* 2du DAT. It is therefore highly probable that the disjunctive speech style diffused into the Djinang clans located east of the river, under the influence of Djinba-speaking dialects to the immediate south. On the other hand, if it is an internal innovation in the MN-MU-MI-BA group of dialects, then I cannot offer any suggestion as to its origin.

Let us now consider the pronoun paradigms themselves. The following terminology is used: sg = singular; du = dual; pl = plural; inc = inclusive; exc = exclusive; 1, 2 and 3 refer to person; NOM = nominative; GEN = genitive. The set of *a*-final stems are used when pronouns are inflected for OBL (always with the form *-r(i)*), OR (usually in the reduplicated form *-pibi*), ALL (*-li*) or ABL (*-ngir(i)*). That is, the stems are forms such as *ngirra-* 1sg, *ngilinyila-* 1duexc and *ngilitja-* 1duinc. But in the GEN paradigm, the *a* should be considered as part of the suffix, so that the stem suffix morpheme break is made one phoneme earlier than for the OBL, OR, ALL and ABL paradigms. GEN on pronouns is the form *-ang(i)* (*-ung(i)* on 2sg pronoun). The etymology of the *a*-final stems is discussed in the main part of this book in section 2.4. The 'root' forms are the forms to which ACC *-ny(i)* and DAT – regularly *-ki* on pronouns – may be appended; sometimes there is elision of the root-final vowel when the DAT suffix follows. The 'root' forms are older than the *a*-final stem forms.

CONSERVATIVE DIALECTS
(MA, WU, DJ)

	NOM	'root-'	GEN
1sg	<i>ngarri</i>	<i>ngirri-</i>	<i>ngirr-ang</i>
1duexc	<i>ngilinyi</i>	<i>ngilinyili-</i>	<i>ngilinyil-ang</i>
1duinc	<i>ngili</i>	<i>ngilitj(al)i-</i>	<i>ngilitj-ang</i>
1plexc	<i>nginibi</i>	<i>nginibili-</i>	<i>nginibil-ang</i>
1plinc	<i>ngilimi</i>	<i>ngilimili-</i>	<i>ngilimil-ang</i>
2sg	<i>nyuni</i>	<i>nyuni-</i>	<i>nyung-ung</i>
2du	<i>nyumi</i>	<i>nyumili-</i>	<i>nyumil-ang</i>
2pl	<i>ngilidji</i>	<i>ngilidji-</i>	<i>ngilidj-ang</i>
3sg	<i>nyani</i>	<i>nyani-</i>	<i>nyann-ang</i>
3du	<i>bilingi</i>	<i>bilingi-</i>	<i>biling-ang</i>
3pl	<i>djani</i>	<i>djani-</i>	<i>djann-ang</i>

INNOVATIVE DIALECTS
(MN, MU, BA, MI)

	NOM	'root-'	GEN
1sg	<i>ngarri</i>	<i>ngirri-</i>	<i>ngirr-ang</i>
1duexc	<i>ngilinyi</i>	<i>ngilinyili-</i>	<i>nginyil-ang</i>
1duinc	<i>ngili</i>	<i>ngiltj(al)i-</i>	<i>ngiltj-ang</i>
1plexc	<i>nginibi</i>	<i>nginbili-</i>	<i>nginbil-ang</i>
1plinc	<i>ngilimi</i>	<i>nginmili-</i>	<i>nginmil-ang</i>
2sg	<i>nyuni</i>	<i>nyuni-</i>	<i>nyung-ung</i>
2du	<i>nyumi</i>	<i>nyumili-</i>	<i>nyumil-ang</i>
2pl	<i>ngildji</i>	<i>ngildji-</i>	<i>ngildj-ang</i>
3sg	<i>nyani</i>	<i>nyani-</i>	<i>nyang-ang</i>
3du	<i>bilingi</i>	<i>bilngiri-</i>	<i>bilng-ang</i>
3pl	<i>djani</i>	<i>djani-</i>	<i>djang-ang</i>

The next table of pronouns contains the reduced pronominal forms in each group of dialects, in NOM, ACC and DAT inflections. It can be seen that they are simple reductions of the free form pronouns, formed primarily by syllable or consonant deletion and/or vowel change (to the 'unmarked' vowel). Deletions of this type are common in the pronoun paradigms of Yolngu languages, though the vowel changes are characteristically Djinang. Note that in the 1plexc forms some Marrangu speakers use *l*-initial forms.

	CONSERVATIVE DIALECTS			INNOVATIVE DIALECTS		
	NOM	ACC	DAT	NOM	ACC	DAT
1sg	<i>irr(i)</i>	<i>irriny</i>	<i>irra</i>	<i>irr(i)</i>	<i>irriny</i>	<i>irra</i>
1duexc	<i>liny</i>	<i>linyiliny</i>	<i>linyila</i>	<i>liny</i>	<i>inyiliny</i>	<i>inyila</i>
1duinc	<i>il(i)</i>	<i>iltjny(i)</i>	<i>iltja</i>	<i>il(i)</i>	<i>iltjny(i)</i>	<i>iltja</i>
1plexc	<i>nibi</i>	<i>nibiliny</i>	<i>nibila</i>	<i>nibi</i>	<i>inbiliny</i>	<i>inbila</i>
(MA)	<i>nibi/libi</i>	<i>libiliny</i>	<i>libila</i>			
1plinc	<i>lim(i)</i>	<i>limiliny</i>	<i>limila</i>	<i>lim(i)</i>	<i>inmiliny</i>	<i>inmila</i>
2sg	-	<i>nyin/nyi-</i>	<i>inma</i>	-	<i>nyin/nyi-</i>	<i>inma</i>
2du	<i>nyim</i>	<i>nyimiliny</i>	<i>nyimila</i>	<i>nyim</i>	<i>nyimiliny</i>	<i>nyimila</i>
2pl	<i>lidji</i>	<i>lidjny(i)</i>	<i>lidja</i>	<i>ildji</i>	<i>ildjny(i)</i>	<i>ildja</i>
3sg	-	-	<i>in.ga</i>	-	-	<i>in.ga</i>
3du	<i>bil</i>	<i>biliny</i>	<i>bilangga</i>	<i>bil</i>	<i>bilny</i>	<i>bilangga</i>
3pl	<i>djin</i>	<i>djiny</i>	<i>djina</i>	<i>djin</i>	<i>djiny</i>	<i>djina</i>

The 2pl ACC forms are homophonous with the 1duinc ACC forms, since a surface devoicing rule obligatorily devoices any voiced stop occurring in syllable-final position. I have retained the underlying *dj* form in the spelling however.

A Marrangu informant claimed that *ngilbi* (with a reduced form of *ilbi*) is a rare variant form of the 1plexc *nginibi*. He did not say it belonged to any particular dialect, though his own may be assumed because he used it in a narrative (once only). It is probably a back-formation, as will be explained below.

Let us briefly examine the changes that produced the disjunctive paradigms of the free form pronouns. The changes can be most easily discussed by concentrating on the 'root' forms, for this is where the changes started.

Starting from the 'smooth' forms, the disjunctive dialects first elided a medial *i* in some long stems (i.e. with 3 or more underlying syllables):

1duinc	*ngilitj(al)i-	>	ngiltj(al)i-
1plexc	*nginibili-	>	nginbili-
1plinc	*ngilimili-	>	*ngilmili-
2pl	*ngilidji-	>	ngildji-

Notice that in the 1plexc form there is an *nb* sequence, and in the 1plinc form there is an **lm* sequence. It is at this point that we may infer that subsequent changes were of an analogical nature in both the disjunctive and smooth dialects. The disjunctive dialects analogised on the basis of a NASAL+LABIAL cluster; the rare variant 1plexc *ngilbi* can be explained as a back-formation on the basis of a LATERAL+LABIAL cluster. Consider the disjunctive dialects first. By analogy we posit the further change:

*ngilmili- > nginmili-

so that in these dialects both 'root' plural forms commence with a *ngin* formative. The reduced pronoun derived from this form becomes *inmili-*. At this point, analogy operated once more: consider that in the disjunctive dialects the 'root' non-singular reduced pronoun forms begin with a vowel, but in the smooth dialects they mostly begin with a lateral. (Probably *libiliny* and *libila* were analogised from *nibiliny* and *nibila*; since NOM *nibi* is the older form, *libi* occurs only after pause.) Hence the disjunctive dialects on the basis of analogy underwent the following change in the root form for 1duexc:

*linyili- > inyili-

thereby regularising the paradigm, so that initial *i* is followed by NASAL wherever possible. However the smooth dialects retained the initial *l* and some Marrangu speakers used it as the analogical basis for the change in the root 1plexc:

nibili- > *libili-*

In this way, an initial LATERAL became a distinctive trait of the smooth dialect pronominal forms, while initial *i* and following nasal became the distinguishing trait of disjunctive dialects. Thus, *ngilbi* and *ilbi* as rare variant 1plexc Marrangu forms can be seen as a back-formation: the LATERAL trait has been analogised to the position of the nasal in the form *nginbili-* as if this form occurred in the Marrangu dialect (but it does not), and therefore would be derived from a NOM form *ngilbi*. Furthermore, comparison of pronoun paradigms in other Yolngu languages uniformly shows an *n* in the 1plexc pronoun forms in those languages.

The 3du root form, *bilngiri-*, in the disjunctive dialects arises probably by loss of the *i* vowel following the lateral, which makes the root rhythmically deviant, so that adding the *ri* formative makes the resulting stem-final *ngiri* formative homophonous with the OBL marker (having zero meaning), and solves the rhythm problem at the same time. This then would have been an analogical change.

2.3.2 DEICTICS

There are a number of deictics in Djinang, as in other Yolngu languages. Four forms in particular are productive in forming derived deictic formatives, and it is these which we will examine as they exhibit dialect variations. The four forms may be arranged from left to right along a gradient of increasing distance:

Immediate proximity	Near proximity	Moderately distant	Distant
<i>djining(i)</i>	<i>djinim(i)</i>	<i>ngunum(i)</i>	<i>ngunung(i)</i>
<i>djinang(i)</i>	<i>djinam(i)</i>	<i>ngunam(i)</i>	<i>ngunang(i)</i>

In the first row are the forms used by all dialects. The second row contains older Wulaki forms which are losing ground to the forms in the first row. The Wulaki forms are the more archaic, and are seldom heard these days. The language name Djinang is the archaic form for the Immediate-Proximity deictic 'this', and this is a well-known indigenous system of classification of languages in the Yolngu family (Schebeck 1967). (The equivalent Djinba form is *djininy*.) Thus in this paradigm a dialectal feature correlates systematically with an archaic versus modern dichotomy. Of interest is the fact that the archaic forms were preserved in the Wulaki dialect – which is immediately bordered to the north, west and south by prefixing languages (Burarra and Rembarrnga). This again fits the picture of the area to the east near the Glyde river mouth as having been an area of greater innovation (see Map 5).

Using the deictics given above, particularly the Distant deictic in its stem form, *ngunu-* (*nguna-* WU), we can observe the same kind of smooth versus disjunctive pronunciation styles.

<i>nguna-ngir-girri</i>	WU	<i>ngunu-ngir-girri</i>	MA
<i>ngun(u)-ngir-kirri</i>	MI, MU	<i>ngun-ngir-kirri</i>	MN, MU

In the above forms, MU speakers usually elide the *u* as shown, but not always. In MN the *u* is always elided. The above forms mean 'after that', 'the one left behind' and various other meanings.

The next forms are significant:

<i>ngunu-wili-tji</i>	MA	<i>ngunu-wil-tji</i>	MU, MN
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MU and MN elide *i* before the anaphoric definite suffix *-tji*, but they do not elide *u* before the plural allomorph *-wili*. Thus we see that MU and MN are not using a deictic stem form **ngun-*, but the underlying stem is *ngunu-* and the elision of *u* is a rhythm-related feature manifesting the disjunctive speech style. The implication is that all dialects use the same deictic base forms, and dialect variations in pronunciation (i.e. disjunctive versus smooth pronunciation) are a surface phonetic feature. Exceptions to this would be the Wulaki deictic stems.

2.3.3 NEGATIVES

Djinang and other Yolngu languages have two types of negative. The stronger one is used when denying the truth value of a proposition, and the other is used to affirm 'nothingness' or 'emptiness'. (These are only approximate characterisations). As might be expected, Wulaki has a form for one of these which differs from that used by the other dialects.

not	<i>ngiki</i>	WU	<i>ingki</i>	(other dialects)
nothing	<i>wirr</i>	(all dialects)		

Which is the older form, *ingki* or *ngiki*? From our previous discussion we could presume that the Wulaki form is older, and that the other dialects metathesised the *ngi* sequence. That this is what actually happened can be seen from the fact that *ngiki* clearly has been borrowed from Burarra, which has the strong negative *ngika* 'no', (Glasgow and Garner 1980:65). Similarly, Djinba borrowed *waba* 'no' from Rembarrnga (McKay 1975). No other Yolngu languages have these negative forms.

It is easy to see the reason for the change **ngiki* > *ingki* in the other Djinang dialects. Djinang has only a few words which may begin with a vowel and, except for the *a* 'and' morpheme, all such vowel-initial words begin with an *i*. Furthermore, these words are etymologically derived from words or morphemes which began with a consonant, and often the following vowel was *a*. Examples are the reduced pronouns given earlier in section 2.3.1; these may all occur at the beginning of a Verb Complex (the group of words which form the predication portion of a clause). Another example is the RECIP morpheme *inydji*, which can be traced back to the *-manydji* 'kinship DYADic' morpheme in many Yolngu languages (Morphy 1983:45). The form *inydji* also often occurs as the first element of the Verb Complex. I know of no other vowel-initial words in Djinang.

What is significant about the class of vowel-initial words is that they each commonly are found as the first element in the Verb Complex, and vowel-initial formatives in Djinang have the phonotactic property of attaching themselves to whatever formative precedes in the same breath group, unless a pause intervenes, for example *nyanibi* 'he (emphasised)' + *inydji* 'reflexive' becomes *nyanibinydji*. The formation of *ingki* from a former **ngiki* can thus be seen to be an analogical development, because *ingki* typically immediately precedes any Verb Complex with which it occurs. So again we observe that Wulaki uses an older form than the other dialects. The Wulaki resistance to the diffusion of the change is undoubtedly due to the fact that very many Wulaki people are fully bilingual in both Wulaki and Burarra, and have important social ties with the Burarra people.

All dialects use *wirr* 'nothing', 'empty', 'have none' etc. as the other negative form, and it is used in Djinba also. The origin of this form is obscure. In Capell's (undated) comparative word list, he gives *wa:rrang* 'nothing' for Yanhangu, and this form is unattested in the other 13 Yolngu languages he sampled. Probably Djinang and Djinba *wirr* was derived from the Yanhangu form by loss of the final syllable, and then **a*: > *i*.

Several dialects have an archaic alternative form which is regarded as characteristic of that dialect. I have never heard these forms used in everyday speech. Capell (1941) has one instance of the WU *birpm* 'nothing' being used in a text, and *wirr* occurs elsewhere in his data. The following are the forms known to me:

<i>rulapir</i>	MA	(cognate with Yanhangu <i>rulka</i> 'no', <i>rulkangu</i> 'nothing') (Wood, 1973, is the source of this Yanhangu data.)
<i>birpm</i>	WU	(Yirritjing moiety)
<i>manyim(i)</i>	MI, DJ, BA	(this correlates with moiety, all are Yirritjing)

I have not been successful in obtaining MU and MN forms other than *wirr*, but this may be an accidental omission. Quite possibly these two dialects have only *wirr* and this form has diffused from MU-MN into the other Djinang dialects.

3. VARIATIONS IN LEXICAL OPEN CLASSES

Most of the variations in lexical open classes are of a suppletive kind. While one or more dialects will have a certain form, other dialects will have an unrelated form. I give a sample list below. Most of the items are extremely hard or impossible to find in other Yolngu languages, but this may be due to insufficient documentation; for example, *djunggi* 'wood', 'tree', 'firewood', 'fire' does not occur in Gupapuyngu (though GUP *djunggalin* 'hair', 'leaves' may be a reflex), nor in Yanhangu, nor in Ritharrngu. Each of these use *gurtha* 'fire', 'firewood'. Ritharrngu has several words for lighting a fire, one of which has a stem *dhunggul-*, which is probably related to Djinang *djunggi*, since **dh > dj* was a sound change in pre-Djinang. The other common Djinang word for 'fire', 'wood' etc. is *mirwilgi* (apparently a Yirritjing word); this word is even more opaque – I cannot trace it anywhere with certainty (Djapu *marwat* 'hair', 'leaf' may be a reflex). The situation is much the same when other words are examined.

To give another example, 'place down', 'put' in some Djinang dialects is *galbung(i)* and in others it is *manpung(i)*. There is nearly full correlation with moiety, Djuwing dialects and Djaḍiwitjibi using *galbung* while the other Yirritjing dialects use *manpung*. The fact that both forms have irregular TPA forms, *galwupin(i)* and *manwupin(i)* respectively (cf. the irregular TPA form of the archaic verb *bu-* 'hit' which is *bi-pini* in Djinang, *bi-paṅ* in Djinba), shows that these verb forms were formed by compounding with the *bu* stem: **gal+bu-* and **man+bu-*. Now Capell's (undated) comparative wordlist gives the forms *rulwangdhun*, *rulanggun*, *rubanggun*, *gurrunhan* (or possibly *gurrunan*), *gundawunmarama*, *gunhan* (or possibly *gunan*), *gunyan* and *gurrunhan* (Yanhangu) for the words having the meaning 'place down' or 'put'. Clearly the Djinang forms are unrelated to the other Yolngu forms. The Djinba stem is *mam(irri)-*, which is probably not cognate with Djinang *manpu-*.

Another example is the forms in various Yolngu dialects/languages for 'short'. Capell's comparative wordlist gives *gurriri* and *dhumbuḷ* for many languages (Lowe's Gupapuyngu dictionary lists both), and other cognate forms (such as *gudi*, *guṭi* and *gudingu*). The Djinang words are *djubirri* WU (which may be cognate with *dhumbuḷ*), and *ḍambing(i)* (all other dialects). The latter form does not seem to be cognate with *dhumbuḷ*. However, comparison with Djinba yields some interesting information; Djinba has *ḍambi* 'short', while the Djinang and Djinba verb forms 'shorten' are *ḍampiling-djigi* and *ḍampulung-yun*, respectively. The problem in claiming that *ḍambing* is cognate with *dhumbuḷ* is the *ḍ - dh* correspondence, which although rare is not otherwise unattested (e.g. Djinang *ḍirra-* 'bite', Yanhangu *dharra-* 'bite'). An *a - u* vowel correspondence is also attested sporadically. Thus it is quite possible that the Djinang and Djinba forms are cognate with the form *dhumbuḷ*, though a considerable time depth can be inferred for the changes which produced the Djinang and Djinba forms.

We could go on in this vein for some time, but the above should be sufficient to illustrate the following point. The forms which vary widely in Djinang are (a) often 'core' vocabulary, and (b) indicate a very long period of separate development of Djinang (and probably Djinba too) vis-a-vis the other Yolngu languages.

The following is a list of variant forms. It is not exhaustive, many more items could be added. Occasionally it can be observed that a formal difference correlates with moiety, and Wulaki often has a unique form. Undoubtedly moiety difference was a significant factor in dialect variations in the past; subsequent diffusion has partly obscured the systemicity of the variations.

lots	<i>galbi</i> (all dialects) <i>wiliritja</i> MU (claimed by a Murrungun man to be archaic)	<i>wikng</i> DJ MI BA	<i>gulukng</i> MU MN
daddy	<i>maļu</i> MU MN MA	<i>muri</i> DJ MI BA WU (correlates with moiety)	
under	<i>djatimirri</i> WU	<i>nguyimirri</i> (other dialects)	
again	<i>girr-gima</i> MU MA	<i>girr-ban</i> MN	
hard	<i>maṅbingi</i> MA	<i>maṭiṭ</i> MN MU WU	
call out	<i>witjigi</i> MA MU MN	<i>bugiligi</i> WU	
break	<i>dapilidjigi</i> MA WU DJ	<i>wubirdjigi</i> MU MN BA MI	
fire, tree	<i>djunggi</i> MA MN MU WU	<i>mirwilgi</i> MI DJ BA	
light fire	<i>rarrtjilkung</i> MA MU	<i>rarrtjalkung</i> MN	<i>bandjili(gi)</i> WU
visit	<i>balpargi</i> MA MU	<i>gurultjigi</i> MN	
short	<i>djubirri</i> WU	<i>ḍambingi</i> (other dialects)	
salty	<i>djalkngi</i> MU MN	<i>djalgi</i> MA WU	
rainwater	<i>djurrmuk</i> MI	<i>djurrmul</i> MN MU	<i>muyki</i> MA
place down	<i>maṅpung(i)</i> WU MI BA	<i>galbung(i)</i> MA MN MU DJ	
child	<i>gurrminang</i> MA	<i>wurruming</i> WU	
		cf. <i>yidjipili</i> (all dialects)	
ironbark tree	<i>giditjirri</i> MU MN	<i>ngaditjali</i> MA	
father	<i>gunydjirri</i> <i>nyunyi</i> WU (the latter forms diffused from Burarra)	(all dialects) (cognate with Yolngu <i>gunhu</i> 'father') <i>nyunyang</i> MA MU MN	
heavy	<i>murrbiṇi</i> MU MN WU	<i>gungan</i> MA	
err	<i>murgungi</i> MA	<i>murkungi</i> MU MN	
sister	<i>muginyinyimigi</i> MU	<i>gaḍiṭi</i> (all dialects)	
illuminate	<i>wibidjingilgi</i> MN	<i>miluwmiygi</i> MU	<i>miṅngmiygi</i> MA
small	<i>ṇinini</i> (all dialects) <i>miliyirring</i> MA	<i>yinbilngi</i> MU	
enclosed area	<i>miliny</i> MN	<i>gulmung</i> MA	
dry up	<i>bingtjidji</i> MA	<i>wirrpildjidji</i> (other dialects)	

4. CONCLUSIONS

Djinang is a Yolngu language which has undergone a long period of separate development from the Yolngu languages to the east. Its lexicon has been only minimally affected by prefixing languages to the west and south, and the influence of these languages has not been a significant cause of dialect variation within Djinang clans. The area near the mouth of the Glyde river appears to be the kernel area for the diffusion of innovative change, the area in the west (bordering the prefixing languages) being the most conservative. A good number of dialect differences have their origin in moiety differences, but the picture is complicated by diffusion. Geographical proximity is an important factor in the diffusion of innovation. The innovative dialects have developed a set of pronoun forms which conform to the disjunctive speech style. The kernel area has developed this disjunctive speech style which contrasts with an older and smoother speech style spoken by dialects to the west of the kernel area. The disjunctive speech style is characterised primarily by the elision of *i* vowels, particularly in word-final position, and by a greater proportion of voiceless stops compared to the total incidence of stops.

APPENDIX 2

DIFFUSION IN THE WESTERN YOLNGU AREA

Jeffrey Heath (1978a etc.) has recently embarked on a long term study of linguistic diffusion in Arnhem Land. His work has resulted in the publication of several significant monographs outlining the grammar of various languages of the area. Each such monograph incorporates a lexicon and many texts (with interlinear glosses). Geographically his work centred on languages to the east and south of Arnhem Land.

A major linguistic boundary runs through Arnhem Land, beginning in the north (roughly) at Cape Stewart and running in a semi-circle to Blue Mud Bay in the Gulf of Carpentaria just north of Groote Eylandt. Languages to the north and east of this boundary are popularly called the Yolngu languages (Schebeck 1967). They are a subgroup of the common Pama-Nyungan typological group, and are genetically descended from a common parent which we may call proto-Yolngu. To the west and south of the boundary are found prefixing languages (Yolngu languages are entirely suffixing) which are genetically unrelated to the Yolngu languages (except perhaps via proto-Australian, if the latter once existed). These two families of languages lend themselves to a study of diffusion because they are almost totally divorced from each other in lexicon, morphology and syntax (although they are similar in phonology and semantics – which is true of Australian languages generally). Consequently it is possible to isolate linguistic features in one language which are aberrant in the family of languages to which that language belongs. It then becomes possible to examine the languages of the other family to see if the aberrant features could have diffused from that source.

It is unfortunate that Heath was not able to study the languages in the west of Arnhem Land. For information on them he has been restricted to what has been available in the literature, which is not very much, though several linguists are currently working in that area. The goal of this present discussion is twofold. Firstly, to look at Arnhem Land as a linguistic area, showing how various linguistic traits have diffused across the major linguistic boundary separating prefixing from Yolngu languages. Secondly, to add further examples of diffusion from my own field notes in Djinang and Djinba, since Heath had no opportunity of collecting data from these two geographically western Yolngu languages. Djinang is bounded on the west by Burarra, which is certainly of prefixing stock, and Djinba is bounded in the west by Rembarrnga (another of the prefixing languages). A number of traits have diffused across this linguistic boundary (Map 2).

The discussion is arranged as follows: I discuss a number of characteristic linguistic features, contrasting their realisation (or lack thereof) within the prefixing group and the Yolngu group. This gives an indication of the vast genetic distance between the two groups. Also, where relevant, I

discuss how certain traits which are related to these linguistic features have diffused. Any data or claims which are based on my own field notes are not acknowledged; data or claims based on languages other than Djinang and Djinba are based on the works of the authors cited in the list of references. Some of the best of this material is unpublished, such as that from Capell, Schebeck and Lowe.

A methodological point needs to be made here. In giving what I claim is a 'typical Yolngu' linguistic feature, I am explicitly excluding the features which, on statistical grounds, may be assumed to be aberrant within that family of languages. There is some subjectivity in this, and also some danger, but this methodology is indispensable to this study.

Djinang is named from an archaic form of the 'Immediate Proximate' deictic: *djining* 'this'. The older form is still occasionally used by the Wulaki dialect of Djinang. Djinba, like Ritharrngu (see Heath 1978a:2), is named (probably only by Europeans, I have not heard Djinba speakers refer to their group of dialects by this term) after one dialect of a number of closely related dialects: Djinba, Ganalbingu, Dabi, Walmapuy and Manydjalingu. The name 'Djinba' is perhaps derived from an older form of the Immediate Proximate deictic in the Djinba dialect. The *ba* formative in *djinba* is unusual. However, the Djinba clan has a form *ngunba-pani* that-Perl 'that way', in which the otherwise unattested deictic stem *ngunba-* occurs, so it is not unreasonable to assume that a stem **djinba-* once existed. It appears that deictic forms have undergone extensive adjustments in this group of dialects. I have continued to use the name Djinba to refer to these dialects, since it is well established in the literature.

For the sake of consistency, I use the standard Yolngu orthography in all forms cited, irrespective of their source, with the exception that *ng* is the velar nasal symbol. Lamino-dentals are *dh*, *th* and *nh*; lamino-palatals are *dj*, *tj* and *ny*; velar nasal is *ng*; an *n+g* sequence is written as *n.g*; retroflexion is indicated by an underline diacritic; the rhotic trill is *rr*. Vowel length is non-contrastive in Djinang and Djinba.

Before I begin, it is worth quoting from Heath concerning the prefixing and Yolngu languages. In commenting on the available data from various Yolngu languages, Heath (1978a:2) states:

Comparison of the paradigms shows that most of the morphology is identical except for internal phonological developments in each language, minor analogical reshapings, and minor semantic shifts. The sharings are clearly due to common retention of a proto-system, rather than to recent diffusion.

And in commenting on the prefixing languages and their relation to Yolngu, he writes:

The prefixing languages are much less homogeneous than are the Yolngu languages. (1978a:4)

It should also be noted that whereas Proto-Yuulngu was a relatively recent proto-language, Proto-Prefixing was quite ancient. (1978a:10)

Within the overall Australian linguistic picture, the prefixing languages of Arnhem Land and the Yuulngu languages are not closely related. Indeed, the two subgroups are as remote from each other genetically as any two subgroups in the continent.... By the time they came together, the two groups had diverged structurally and lexically to the point where only a handful of cognate affixes and lexical items could be found, and where even some of these had been obscured by various internal phonological, analogical, and semantic developments. (1978a:12)

1. NOUN CLASSES

Prefixing Languages:

Nouns characteristically occur with noun class prefixes, especially in text. The number of classes varies from language to language, but normally ranges from four to nine. There is some correlation with semantic categories gender, humanness, animateness, number, neuter (i.e. unmarked), and so forth, but such categorisation is not rigorous in terms of European categories, and so class marking is necessarily included in the lexical citation form for each noun.

Yolngu Languages:

There is no formal class marking of nouns or any other non-verbal parts of speech.

Rembarrnga (McKay 1975:73-76) has a greatly reduced system of nominal prefixing when compared to other prefixing languages (including Burarra). McKay writes:

While verbal prefixing in Rembarrnga is extensive and complex, nominal prefixing is very limited and, in the main, restricted to small groups of nominals including kinship terms and clan...names. (p.73)

He cites *da-*, which derives feminine kinship terms from their masculine counterparts; *nayig-* (masculine) and *ngalig-* (feminine) (or reduced forms *na-* and *ngal-*, respectively), prefixed to names of clans to indicate 'a man of...', 'a woman of...'; *ba-* 'on' used with body parts to indicate point of contact or point affected. He gives two other prefixes, but they do not subcategorise nouns and so are not class markers. Interestingly, McKay points out that the reduced forms *na-* and *ngal-* are identical in form and function with two Gunwinggu (Oates 1964:24) noun class prefixes.

Presuming that the *nayig-* and *ngalig-* forms are borrowings from Gunwinggu, it seems that Rembarrnga has simply never developed noun class marking as a productive morphological subcategorisation of nouns, in contrast to other members of the prefixing languages which surround it (Burarra to the north, Gunwinggu to the west, Ngandi to the south-east). The most likely reason for this is contact with Yolngu languages to the east (i.e. Djinba and Djinang), which entirely lack noun class marking. That there has been a long history of social contact is made clear in Thomson's study of the ceremonial exchange cycle in this region (Thomson 1949). Lack of development of noun class marking in Rembarrnga appears to be the most significant example of Yolngu influence on that language; the only other influence that I have been able to detect is the diffusion of a very small amount of lexical material.

2. PRONOUNS (FREE FORMS)

Prefixing Languages:

These languages characteristically have an extra number category, which is semantically a first person dual inclusive ('you and me') but is better analysed as an autonomous category in the person dimension. This type of system is often called 'minimal' versus 'augmented' (McKay 1975). Using 1, 2 and 3 for first, second and third person, the person dimension can be given as 1, 1/2, 2, and 3. The first analysis of pronouns along these lines was that of Glasgow (1964), although the terminology differed from the above. Similar analyses have subsequently been given by McKay (1975) for Rembarrnga pronouns, and Carroll (1976) for Gunwinggu. Heath (1978b) lines up the

chart of Ngandi pronouns in the same way as the previous authors, but does not depart from the canonical dual versus trial categories.

Thus the prefixing group has a pronominal system in which the principal contrasts are person (1, 1/2, 2, 3) and number (singular, dual, plural). There are considerable variations in form for a given person and number combination when prefixing languages are compared with each other, although there are also some similarities which indicate genetic subgroupings. The most common vowels in cardinal pronouns are *a* and *u*, while *i* is common only in morpheme-final (or word-final) position.

Yolngu Languages:

In contrast with prefixing languages, the Yolngu pronominal paradigm is engagingly simple. There are three person categories (1, 2, 3) and three number categories (singular, dual, plural). Several of the cardinal pronominal forms are clearly cognate with pronoun forms which have wide distribution throughout the continent. There is very little variation from language to language, most of the variation being characteristic of internal Yolngu phonological processes such as syllable dropping, some vowel fluctuations, and fluctuation within the voiceless versus voiced stop contrast, (which is a quite minimal contrast in Yolngu in terms of functional load, and can be analysed better as fortis versus lenis). The most common vowels in cardinal pronouns are *a* and *u*, while *i* is less common, except word finally.

There are tremendous differences between the pronominal systems of the two groups of languages. Formal realisation bears almost no similarity between languages of the two groups. The only real similarities are in the semantic categories, which is a truism by nature of the case. I can find no evidence of any diffusion of form or category from Yolngu to prefixing, or vice versa.

However, there is some evidence, admittedly speculative, that the vowel qualities in Djinang pronouns have been influenced by Rembarrnga. In Djinang, an *i* vowel occurs systematically in positions where, in other Yolngu languages, an *a* occurs. Indeed, this neutralisation of vowel quality occurs not only in Djinang pronouns, but also regularly in nominal and verbal suffixes, on incorporated verbs stems within verbs, word finally in all parts of speech, and often within stems as well. The only systematically 'resistive' position within a word is the initial syllable, which is the stressed syllable in Yolngu languages. Such a distribution of the *i* vowel is entirely lacking in other Yolngu languages (including Djinba), and is lacking in the surrounding prefixing languages! But in Rembarrnga there is such a neutralising and vowel-height raising process which operates in one specific area of Rembarrnga morphology. It is that which we must now look at in more detail.

Rembarrnga has a distinctive way of marking an adjoined clause (e.g. a relative clause, and other types as well). Two rules are involved, and they operate on the pronominal prefixes to the verb in the adjoined clause (McKay 1975:147-148). The first rule states, roughly, that a CVC- pronominal prefix has an *i* vowel added, forming a CVCi- form. The second states that any non-*i* vowel is neutralised and raised to *i*. This simplifies the paradigm of pronominal verb prefixes slightly, as well as providing a means of marking an adjoined (subordinate) clause. There is some grounds for presuming that this phonological process was adopted into Djinang when the latter developed its own set of pronominal clitics.

Firstly, it derives the correct vowel qualities in Djinang. Secondly, it is restricted to one paradigm in Rembarrnga, but was generalised in Djinang, which is consistent with what often happens in a diffusion situation. Thirdly, it started in the right class of formatives, namely the reduced pronouns, which can be shown to have been a Djinang innovation under the influence of Rembarrnga (and probably Burarra too). Fourthly, it occurred in Djinang but not in Djinba, which seems to argue

against the proposal unless Djinba developed its pronominal clitics later than Djinang – and due to Djinang influence primarily. There is independent evidence that this is what in fact happened (to be discussed in a later section). Fifthly, for this process to diffuse into Djinang, granted the enormous genetic differences between Djinang and Rembarnga, it must have involved bilingual speakers of these languages.

Interestingly, the camp called Malnyanganak, on the eastern fringe of Rembarnga territory and the western fringe of Djinang territory, was once either owned by a Murrungun clan or adjacent to an area owned by a Murrungun clan. Those living there speak Rembarnga as their first language, and some can speak limited Djinang as a second language. It is possible that ownership of this area has changed hands in non-recent times, possibly formerly being a Djinang-speaking area. Murrungun is one of the larger Djinang clans, and their main territory is close to the Glyde river mouth, on both sides of the river. Another Murrungun clan in the north-west of Djinang territory is now a Wulaki-speaking clan, since their territory adjoins that of Wulaki speakers and is geographically isolated from the main Murrungun territory. Hence it appears that the former south-western Murrungun area may once have identified with Djinang linguistically, but is now with Rembarnga, since its territory is also isolated from the main Murrungun territory. Change in affiliation is not unknown in Arnhem Land; Heath mentions it in his writings.

Thus, while the evidence is somewhat circumstantial, all the necessary conditions are in evidence, and the change itself is phonologically reasonable – particularly so in respect to its distribution. If it was simply a sound change, how could we explain its restriction to just closed-class paradigms? Besides, I know of no internal evidence in Djinang which would motivate the necessary changes. I am therefore inclined to think that the change started in the class of reduced pronouns, as Djinang speakers developed them under Rembarnga (or Burarra/Rembarnga) influence, and that it spread to the free form pronouns as a back-formation, and from there to the full inflectional resources of the language (although there are a couple of exceptions where a functional contrast would be otherwise lost).

3. PRONOMINAL VERB PREFIXES

Prefixing languages:

These languages have a very complicated verb morphology. The verb stem takes an initial pronominal prefixal form which, for bi-referential verbs, is usually an unanalysable portmanteau form showing concord in person and number with the person and number categories of the subject and non-subject referents. (Note: the contrast between agent and subject is neutralised in the realisation of this concord.) Partial analysis of the fused pronominal prefix forms is possible only in certain subject and non-subject combinations. There is other complexity too: pronominal prefixes may be followed by one (sometimes more) non-initial prefix to express various modal or adverbial nuances; or a nominal may be incorporated preceding the verb stem; and tense/aspect is marked by suffixes to the stem.

Yolngu Languages:

Yolngu languages characteristically do not have a separate paradigm of clitic pronouns (phonologically reduced forms of full form pronouns) for each paradigm (NOM, ACC etc.) of full form pronouns. In the Yolngu languages, free form pronouns are normally present in a clause, but may be dropped if reference is unambiguous. Switching reference requires the pronoun (or

corresponding nominal or both) to be present, and there is also a PROM marker (often formally similar to ERG in one of its allomorphs) which may be used on a free form pronoun to provide various contrastive nuances (such as emphasis) or to signal switch reference.

There are three Yolngu languages which depart from these norms; each of them is adjacent to, and has had close social ties with, a prefixing language. These Yolngu languages are Djinang (to the immediate east of Burarra and north-east of Rembarrnga), Djinba (to the immediate east of Rembarrnga) and Ritharrngu (to the immediate north of Ngandi). Each of these languages has modified the pronominal system in a non-Yolngu way, according to the pattern of the neighbouring prefixing languages. The Djinang modifications have been the most extensive (see 2. above), Djinba follows the Djinang pattern except for the vowel change phenomenon, and Ritharrngu (Heath 1980a) has an intermediate pattern, being the least changed of the three with respect to Yolngu norms.

Djinang and Djinba are alike in that both can have a free form pronoun and a coreferential clitic pronoun in the same clause. This is typical, in both languages, when a reference switch is required. However Ritharrngu cannot have a full form pronoun and a coreferential clitic pronoun occurring in the same clause (Heath 1980a:102-103 and texts), but it does use a clause-initial free form pronoun typically when marking switch reference.

The behaviour of the PROM morpheme is also of interest. In Dhuwal, which appears to be a fairly 'typical' Yolngu language, it has the allomorphs *-ny* and *-tja* (Morphy 1983). In Djinang, the *-ny* allomorph has been lost, and lenition together with vowel change (see 2. above) have caused merger with the principal allomorph of the ERG, *-dji*. In Ritharrngu, the nasal allomorph has also been lost, and the other one appears in the form *-ya*. In Djinba, there appears to be mainly a suppletive form *-ma* (which also occurs in the Nhangu languages Golpa and Yanhangu) and a form *-(a)mdja*. The distribution of these morphemes is significant:

- Djinang: *-dji* PROM occurs only on nominals, never on pronouns (deictics+PROM are portmanteau forms in Djinang)
- Djinba: *-ma* PROM occurs on nominals and pronouns (and possibly elsewhere) – *-(a)mdja* seems to be phonologically conditioned)
- Ritharrngu: *-ya* PROM occurs on nominals, deictics and pronouns

The distributional restriction in Djinang reflects the regularity with which a full form pronoun is used as an indication of switch reference, and also in a highlighting (or prominence) function when there is no reference switch. The important point is that the dropping of suffixal switch-reference marking in Djinang would not have been possible without a parallel development of an alternative means to maintain the function.

Djinba, on the other hand, probably developed clitic pronouns later than Djinang, merely borrowing the Djinang patterns, although it cannot be ruled out that there was parallel development of clitic pronouns in both languages under the influence of the prefixing languages to the west. However, it can be shown (see the discussion of lamino-dentals below) that Djinba came under western influence later than Djinang, and therefore it is likely that Djinang was the source of the Djinba development. Ritharrngu only went 'part way' in developing clitic pronouns. The Ritharrngu clitic pronominal forms are formed merely by dropping an initial syllable, and this is a Yolngu feature (e.g. Gupapuyngu *limurru* from a proto-form which must have been something like **ngalimV...*). Ritharrngu therefore just extended the domain of a phonological process already available within the Yolngu language family.

Interestingly, in all three languages, the clitic pronouns are enclitic to whatever constituent immediately precedes in the same breath group. In Djinang, enclitic pronouns beginning with a vowel are closely bound to the preceding formative, while the consonant-initial enclitics are more able to stand as free forms, and quite often do. Djinba appears to behave the same way. This is in contrast to the prefixing languages. In these languages, the reduced pronouns are proclitics to whatever follows in the Verb Complex; often it is the stem, but it can also be an incorporated nominal or another morpheme.

Finally, we must note that the development of Djinang clitic pronouns involved three phonological processes and probably two distinct periods of development. The Ritharrngu pattern is probably the end point of the first period of development, and the modern Djinang pattern the end point of the second period. Two of the phonological processes are internal to the Yolngu family, and one is not (see 2. above). The NOM paradigm will be sufficient to illustrate the changes.

Djinang	pronouns	(reconstructed)	reduced form pronouns
1sg	<i>ngarri</i>	* <i>ngarra</i>	<i>irr</i>
1duexc	<i>ngilinyi</i>	* <i>ngalinyu</i>	<i>liny</i>
1duinc	<i>ngili</i>	* <i>ngali</i>	<i>il</i>
1plexc	<i>nginibi</i>	* <i>nganapu</i>	<i>nibi</i> (<i>libi</i> in some dialects)
1plinc	<i>ngilimi</i>	* <i>ngalima</i>	<i>lim</i>
2sg	<i>nyuni</i>	* <i>nhunu</i>	-
2du	<i>nyumi</i>	* <i>nhuma</i>	<i>nyim</i>
2pl	<i>ngilidji</i>	?* <i>nyurrula</i>	<i>lidji</i> (<i>ildji</i> in some dialects)
3sg	<i>nyani</i>	* <i>nhani</i>	-
3du	<i>bilingi</i>	* <i>bala</i>	<i>bi</i>
3pl	<i>djani</i>	* <i>dhana</i>	<i>djin</i>

The putative Djinang proto-forms are based mostly on pan-Yolngu evidence and especially on Yanhangu (Wood 1973, Alpher 1977), Golpa (Zorc 1981) and Djinba. We will not be concerned here with the palatalisation of the lamino-dentals. The dropping of a pronoun-initial *nga* sequence is evidenced in various Yolngu languages, but usually only first person plural forms were involved. The Djinang innovation was to extend this process to all forms with initial **nga*. This is one of the processes mentioned above.

Another process was the dropping of a final vowel. This is also a Yolngu feature (e.g. it is the major difference between the Dhuwal and Dhuwala dialects (Morphy 1983:29); Djinba also follows the Dhuwal pattern in this respect).

The third process is non-Yolngu in origin and was discussed in section 2. above. All vowels were changed to *i*. This derives the modern clitic pronoun forms. Djinba underwent only the first two processes. As stated in section 2., the most likely origin for this non-Yolngu vowel neutralising and raising process is the identical process in Rembarrnga which derived pronominal clitic forms marking subordinate (appositional) clauses.

The first period of development probably only entailed the above changes, so that whenever a pronoun was not simultaneously marking a reference switch, the reduced form was used – as is the case in the modern Ritharrngu system. However, this meant that reduced pronouns occurred in a majority of clauses, which allowed a further period of semantic development in which full form pronouns became sufficient markers of a switch in reference (unless, of course, a nominal was used),

and the 'becoming redundant' PROM clitic was no longer required on the full form pronouns – hence the modern distributional restriction.

But in order for these changes to occur, some explicit means was needed for making the full form pronoun (marking switch reference) prominent. The means used was to make reduced pronouns *obligatory* in every clause, so that the full form pronouns contrasted with their own absence rather than with a reduced form (as in Ritharrngu). In this way the presence or absence of a full form pronoun became functionally equivalent to the presence or absence of the PROM clitic, allowing the latter to be dropped (except on nominals).

4. VERBAL AUXILIARY CONSTRUCTIONS

Prefixing Languages:

McKay (1975:165) summarises the general behaviour as follows, when discussing the Rembarrnga situation:

A verb used in an auxiliary capacity...is fully inflected for person, number, tense/aspect and so on, and is used in conjunction with an uninflected verb stem.

The verbs which may function as auxiliaries are only a few; the common ones in Rembarrnga are *many* 'went', *ga* 'take' (Yolngu has the same stem), *ma* 'get' (Yolngu has the same stem) and a few other stems which are used only rarely. Monosyllabic verb roots are found in all parts of the continent, and are the main evidence for linking prefixing and non-prefixing languages together as one Australian family (Dixon 1980:403). Semantically, the addition of an auxiliary verb often changes the meaning sufficiently that the original meaning of the auxiliary stem is lost, for example *ga* can signal a causative sense. The Ngandi situation is similar, but more auxiliary verbs are attested: *bu* 'hit' (also in Yolngu), *dhu* 'stand', *ya* 'sleep', *na* 'burn' etc. Gunwinggu (Carroll 1976:112) has a similar set of forms, but these have become suffixes to the preceding main verb.

Yolngu Languages:

There is evidence for auxiliary incorporation into the preceding stem in some Yolngu verbs, similar to the Gunwinggu situation. However, it is free form auxiliaries that we shall be concerned with in the present discussion. Yolngu allows at least one verb, the form for 'sleep', as an auxiliary marking temporal duration (Morphy 1983). Morphy mentions that Djapu (a Dhuwal dialect) can also use the forms for 'sit', 'stand' and 'go' as auxiliaries – although they are used almost synonymously with the form for 'sleep'. In Yolngu, in contrast to the prefixing languages, both the main verb and the auxiliary verb take normal inflection for tense/aspect/mood.

It is possible that the auxiliary construction diffused into Yolngu from the south; note, for example, Heath's statement (1978b:89):

...in the Mara-Alawic family to the south (including Warndarang), auxiliary constructions are extremely productive and only a few verbs can be directly inflected.

Although Heath is here speaking more about auxiliary incorporation, his remarks do indicate from where auxiliary constructions may have originated. Alternatively, this could be an example of convergent development, for it occurs also in other distant Pama Nyungan languages.

Djinang has a relatively rich set of auxiliary verbs; they are drawn from the class of behavioural/motion verbs and are etymologically 'old' forms, although sound change has resulted in some phonological reshaping. Djinba has some too, but I do not as yet know what the full set of auxiliaries is for that language. In Djinang, the semantic contribution of the auxiliaries is to provide various aspectual nuances of a non-punctual kind. In this respect Djinang seems to have a richer system than the other Yolngu languages. In the other languages, there are fewer auxiliaries and more semantic levelling. For example, Morphy (1983) deals with auxiliaries in her account of Djapu. She claims that they may be used in conjunction with a main verb to denote durative aspect. She also states that 'sit' and 'stand' tend to be used only when the participants are sitting or standing (respectively) to perform the activity.

In Djinang, it is true that 'sit' and 'stand' can be used as Morphy indicates, but their function is wider than that. For example, 'sit' most often is used to indicate an existential state which applies to the category of higher animates (which includes humans), while 'stand' is used to indicate an existential state which applies to inanimates. 'Sit' is also used suppletively after the main verb 'go' when the latter takes 'go' as an auxiliary. The set of Djinang auxiliaries is as follows (citation form is future tense):

<i>kiri</i>	progressive aspect (Djinang speakers gloss it 'all the way' indicating progression towards a contextual goal – the latter is typically the next main event of the story or speech act)
<i>giri</i>	habitual aspect (same main verb as <i>kiri</i> ; note the voicing contrast when used as an auxiliary)
<i>nunydjirri</i>	rapid activity aspect (i.e. frenzied or hurried activity)
<i>nyinidji</i>	existential aspect (usually +animate), or action done 'while sitting'
<i>djirridji</i>	existential aspect (usually -animate), or action done 'while standing'
<i>waliki</i>	random motion aspect, or action done 'while crawling'
<i>ngurridji</i>	intermittent aspect, or action done 'while lying down'
<i>gukirridji</i>	an action done 'while walking about'

The meanings of these eight auxiliaries, when used as main verbs, are as follows: 'go' (*giri* and *kiri*), 'move fast', 'sit', 'stand', 'crawl', 'lie down' and 'walk about'. In each case it is not hard to see how the aspectual nuance could have been derived by metaphorical extension of the primary sense of each verb, although *giri* 'go' marking habitual aspect possibly developed as a split from the progressive *kiri*, or vice versa.

Rembarrnga does not have a similar set of auxiliaries, but Burarra has a very extensive set (Glasgow and Garner 1980:47) – more so than the Djinang set. Furthermore, the Djinang aspectual contrasts mirror (as far as can be seen from the examples given by the authors) the Burarra contrasts. Burarra also permits two successive auxiliaries to occur. The paradigms given by the authors are:

Aux 1		Aux 2	
<i>dji</i>	be (standing)	<i>bamba</i>	go steadily
<i>ni</i>	be (sitting)	<i>workiya</i>	do habitually
<i>yu</i>	be (lying)		
<i>boy</i>	go		

<i>yurtja</i>	run
<i>gomarrya</i>	circle
<i>rrigirrga</i>	walk about
<i>dja</i>	hasten
<i>rrika</i>	crawl

The question is, did Djinang derive its variety of aspectual auxiliaries by diffusion from Burarra (via speakers of the Wulaki dialect, whose territory adjoins Burarra territory, and who are traditionally bilingual in both languages), or does the Djinang paradigm reflect a proto-Yolngu pattern which has been levelled out within the Yolngu languages not adjacent to prefixing languages? I am inclined to think that there is truth in both alternatives. The Djapu pattern mentioned before does seem to closely follow the Djinang pattern, even though Djapu is remote from both the prefixing languages and from Djinang. Djinba also appears to have a fairly extensive set of auxiliaries, though it remains to be seen if the set is coextensive with the Djinang set. This suggests some antiquity for the auxiliaries in Yolngu. Even so, there are some indications that the Burarra paradigm has influenced the Djinang one (besides the semantic evidence already cited). Two things need to be mentioned.

Firstly, Burarra can take two auxiliaries in the one clause. This does not happen in Yolngu generally, but in one Djinang text I have an example of a double-auxiliary construction. The forms are:

<i>ingki</i>	<i>giri-nyir</i>	<i>nyini-nyir</i>	<i>giri-nyir</i>
nct	go-RPI	sit-RPI	go-RPI
he could not habitually walk around			

In this example, the first auxiliary marks progressive aspect and the second marks habitual aspect. Notice, in the Burarra paradigms given above, that the habitual always occurs in the second positional class – although this is obvious in surface structure only when an auxiliary from the first positional class is also present. So in this respect at least, Djinang behaves like Burarra and unlike Yolngu languages.

Secondly, Djinang has two auxiliaries derived from the one main verb: *kiri* PROG and *giri* HABIT. They decline identically, and the only contrast between them is the voicing distinction in the initial stop. The *k* is never articulated as a long stop (i.e. geminate). This is the only place in the total lexical resources of Djinang that a voicing distinction is consistently maintained in word-initial position. Both roots derive from the proto-Nhangu (or proto-Yolngu) word **gara* ‘go’ (cf. Golpa *gara*- ‘go’; Yanhangu *gara*- ‘go’; Djinba *gar(a)*- ‘go’). There are no grounds for assuming that the *k* versus *g* contrast is anything but an internal development within Djinang.

It is, I feel, unwarranted to say that proto-Djinang had a stop voicing contrast on the basis of one modern contrast. We could analyse, in Djinang, ‘main verb + *kiri*’ as a compound form, and ‘main verb + *giri*’ as an auxiliary construction. The problem is that such an analysis is completely unsupported by morphological and phonetic criteria. It certainly appears to be true that the double auxiliary construction diffused from Burarra. What is not clear is whether this fact bears any historical relationship to the voicing contrast, *kiri* versus *giri*.

5. VERB COMPOUNDING BY NOMINAL INCORPORATION

Prefixing Languages:

This is a productive process in some of the prefixing languages. The incorporated nominal occurs before the stem of the main verb and after any word-initial prefixes (such as pronominal clitics). Semantically, the nominal is often just a direct object; but in the case of body-part terminology, the semantics of the compound form may be more metaphorical (e.g. the body part may be the locus of the activity of the main verb). Nominal incorporation is easy to discern because of the prior pronominal proclitic.

Yolngu Languages:

Yolngu languages do not productively incorporate nominals prior to the main stem, with the exception of the lexical class of body-part nouns, which form literally hundreds of compound verbs when incorporated preceding the main stem. The primary sense of a Yolngu compound verb formed in this way is typically a metaphorical extension of the sense of the main verb's stem, although the semantic connection between the simple verb and the compound verb can often be quite obscure. However, the body-part nominal is usually analysed as being closely bound to the stem, and does not generally have the property of being able to be dissociated from the stem as is the case with the incorporated nominals in prefixing languages.

Djinang (and Djinba too it appears – more data is needed in order to be certain) often permits the body-part nominal to be removed from the verb and to be placed in preposed position to the preceding reduced pronoun (in which case the reduced pronoun is bound to the preposed nominal if it begins with a vowel). This does not happen in a majority of cases, but it does happen often enough for it to cause problems in making decisions about whether a given body part plus verb is a compound (and therefore to be hyphenated in the dictionary) or just a close-knit constituent. In making such decisions, other criteria can sometimes help, such as the semantic opacity of the compound vis-a-vis the semantic sum of the two parts. But there are plenty of cases when the situation is simply ambivalent. The most economical analysis is to treat all such compounds as close-knit constructions. An example may help at this point.

in.ga-djin *marr-yirrp-i-ni*
 3sgDAT-3plNOM soul-set-TPA
 they accepted him

This can also be expressed as:

marr-in.ga-djin *yirrp-i-ni*
 soul-3sgDAT-3plNOM set-TPA
 they accepted him

I am not sure if this metathesis of incorporated nominal and pronominal elements would be permitted in Yolngu languages which lack reduced pronouns; I have not come across a statement to that effect in my reading thus far. If Yolngu languages do not permit such metathesis, then we can legitimately suppose that Djinang permitted the weakening of the juncture between the incorporated body-part nominal and the verb stem in imitation of the optionality of nominal incorporation in the prefixing neighbours.

6. LAMINO-DENTAL SERIES

Prefixing Languages:

As a general rule, prefixing languages lack a lamino-dental series of phonemes. This is certainly true of the prefixing languages to the west of Arnhem Land (Rembarrnga and Burarra in particular), but not necessarily true of eastern prefixing languages (e.g. Nunggubuyu and Ngandi). Heath's work indicates that the prefixing languages which have lamino-dentals probably developed them due to a contact situation, but the diachronic details are not simple in many cases.

Yolngu Languages:

I agree with the statement by Heath, quoted earlier, that lamino-dentals must have been firmly established in proto-Yolngu. Some Yolngu languages have palatalised lamino-dentals in some structural positions (e.g. word initially), and throughout the language family there is a certain amount of sporadic palatalisation as well. However, as a general rule, Yolngu languages have a lamino-dental (or interdental) series of phonemes.

Djinang and Djinba are the only two Yolngu languages which have fully lost the lamino-dental series. Most such sounds have been diachronically changed to the corresponding lamino-palatal phoneme. So, for example, a Liyagalawumirr man whose name is Dhathangu is often called Djatjangu by Djinang people. This is the normal diachronic change. Also, a number of lamino-dentals have changed into Djinang apicals (e.g. the verb root *gudhal* 'roast' in Djinang is *gudal*). This change characteristically occurs when the lamino-dental was the initial consonant of the second (open) syllable of a disyllabic rhythmic unit.

The problem is not what phonemes the original lamino-dentals are merged with in modern Djinang (and Djinba) but, rather, why were they systematically lost, in contrast with their viability elsewhere in Yolngu? While Djinang and Djinba are both closely related to Yanhangu, spoken in the Crocodile Islands to the immediate north of Djinang territory, Yanhangu has the lamino-dental series. The prefixing language Burarra is situated to the immediate west of Yanhangu, and if language contact were the explanation for the loss we might expect Yanhangu to have undergone the loss of lamino-dentals as well. But Yanhangu is separated from the Burarra on the mainland by a crocodile infested channel, and similarly from the Djinang. In such circumstances we would expect Yanhangu to have been highly resistant to the influences which led to changes in Djinang and Djinba. The loss of lamino-dentals in Djinang and Djinba therefore looks like a clear case of loss due to contact with the Burarra and Rembarrnga to the west: the latter two languages have only one laminal series.

However, we can go further than this. There is evidence, to be presented below, that Djinang came under western influence first, and Djinba later (or possibly there was a chain of influence from the prefixing languages to Djinang, and from there to Djinba).

There are two diachronic changes to be considered: firstly, palatalisation, as mentioned above; and secondly, stop lenition (in the class of peripherals and laminals). Both processes are well known in Yolngu languages, and all linguists who have worked on Yolngu languages have commented on the latter. A well-known example is Gumatj, in the north-east, which has systematically lenited non-apical stops of the voiced stop series to the appropriate glides: **dh*, **dj* > *y*; **b*, **g* > *w*. This occurs either as a diachronic process, or as a synchronic process producing allomorphy, in various Yolngu languages.

There is no evidence that systematic lenition ever occurred in the pre-history of Djinang. Voiced stops are common, more so than voiceless stops, for example Yolngu ERG allomorph *-dhu*, Djinang

-dji; proto-Yolngu DAT allomorph *-*gu*, Djinang *-gi*; Ritharrngu *-ya* ‘contrastive emphasis’, Djinang *-tja*; and Yolngu *-thi* INCHO, Djinang *-dji*.

However, cognate forms in Djinba very often have a glide where Djinang has a voiced (or voiceless) stop. This is most evident in the THEM SR *-dhu* (the form in most Yolngu languages). In Djinang it is regularly *-dji*; in Djinba it is regularly *-yu*, except after laminal consonants, where it is *-dji*. (Note that the Dabi clan, contiguous to Djinang territory, often has *-dja* instead of *-ya*, and *-dju* instead of *-yu* etc. which strongly supports the analysis presented below. See Appendix 3 for examples.)

	Djinang	Djinba
fixed	<i>manymak-dji-mi</i>	<i>manymak-yu-m</i>
will write	<i>wukirri-dji-gi</i>	<i>wukirri-yu-mak</i>

What is most significant is that the sound correspondence is *dh - y*, not *dj - y*. Heath (1980b:8) states:

...we deal with alternations involving fortis stops like *k*, lenis stops like *g*, and continuants like *w*. The relevant continuants are *w* (related morphophonemically to *g/k*) and *y* (related to *dh/th*, not to *c/f*).

I agree with Heath, having observed in Djinang and Djinba that when cognate forms have a *tj/dj* (Heath's *c/f*) - *y* correspondence, comparison with other Yolngu dialects shows cognate forms which have *th/dh*. That is, the correspondence is *th/dh - tj/dj - y*, not *tj/dj - y*. Or, to put it another way, lamino-dentals may be lenited to the palatal glide *y*, but lamino-palatals cannot be similarly lenited. (I have noticed a rare surface phonetic lenition of *dj* to *y* in Djinang.)

For example:

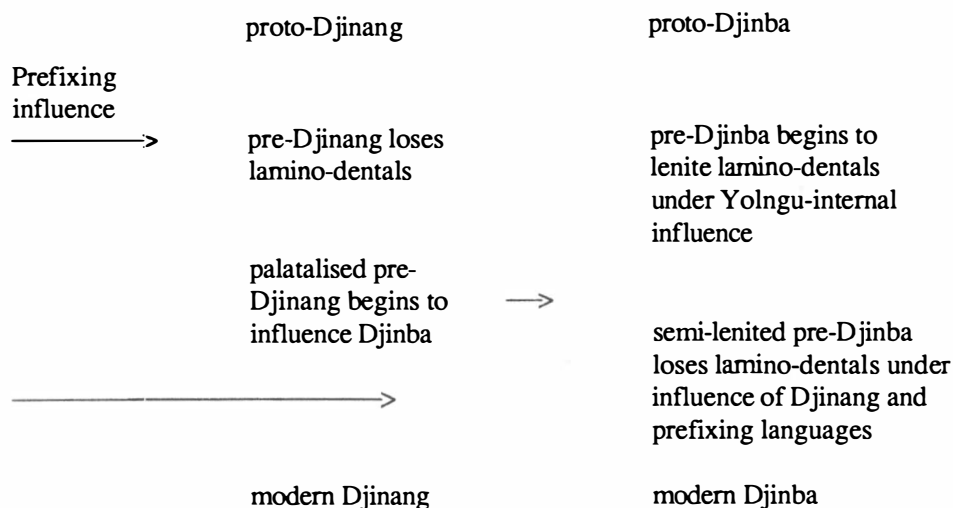
Djapu	<i>buwayak-thi-</i>	become faint (Morphy 1983)
Djinba	<i>buwayak-yu-</i>	ditto
Djinang	<i>buwayak-dji-</i>	ditto

Djinba has plenty of lamino-palatal stops, so that the lenition process has not been systematic. However, where it has been regular is in closed class morphemes – dative (*-wu*, cf. Djinang *-gi*, from *-*gu*), temporals (e.g. Dhuwal-Dhuwala *ngãthili*, cf. Djinba *ngayil* ‘long ago’), and so forth.

The probable explanation of these facts is that proto-Djinba partially underwent a lenition process, as outlined above, but that the process was blocked when, in a later period, the palatalisation of lamino-dentals bled off all remaining candidates for lenition. In Djinang, the palatalisation sound change must have been historically antecedent to the lenition process, so that Djinang had lost its lamino-dentals before lenition had a chance to operate.

The most likely explanation for Djinang losing its lamino-dentals before Djinba is that it had earlier ties with prefixing languages to the west. This is consistent with the geography of the area: the main Djinba territories are to the east of the Glyde river, and it is more than a ten-mile hike from the river westwards, over a range of hills, before one nears Rembarnga territory. The Burarra however, and to a lesser extent the Rembarnga, were right on the western doorstep of Djinang territory.

Diagrammatically, we can represent the situation as follows:



7. LEXICON

There has been some diffusion of lexical items, probably in both directions, between Djinang/Djinba and the prefixing languages. I have not systematically studied the extent of this, but it does appear to be relatively minimal. The kind of vocabulary that has diffused is that which would be desirable to have in common in order to be able to satisfactorily interact in a socially functional manner: for trade, ceremonial items, kinship terminology, animal names, and a few common non-thematic verb roots such as *bat* 'get', 'pick up', *duj* 'return' etc. Since I do not know very much prefixing language vocabulary, I cannot say very much here about diffusion into Yolngu. However, in Glasgow and Garner's article (1980) I note such Yolngu items as: *Djuwinga* 'moiety name', *Yirritjinga* 'moiety name', *gurruta* 'kin', *yawirriny* 'unmarried man', *djanguny* 'story', *munya* 'night' (Yolngu *munha*, Djinang *munyi*), *bulay* 'far' (Yolngu *balay*, Djinang *bilay*), *munguy* 'continue on'.

Two of the more significant borrowings by Djinang and Djinba are the words used for the strong negative 'no'. The usual Yolngu word is *yaka*; however, both Djinang and Djinba have a different form: Djinang *ingki* (Wulaki sometimes uses cognate *ngiki*); and Djinba *waba*. We find that the Burarra word for 'no' is *ngika*, and the Rembarnga word is *waba*. The latter indicates some significant Rembarnga past influence on Djinba. In the case of Djinang, *ingki* is a later development from Wulaki *ngiki* by metathesis in the first syllable. The reason for the change is dealt with in the discussion of Djinang dialect differences in Appendix 1.

8. DEVELOPMENT OF TPC AND RPC VERB INFLECTIONS IN DJINANG

Rembarnga has a unique verbal suffix for marking past continuous tense, while Yolngu languages do not have continuous aspect as an inherent category of their past tense markers. Djinang is the exception, in that Djinang has a unique marker of Today Past Continuous, and of Remote Past Continuous, these being homophonous forms in each verb class. This is a Djinang innovation which diffused from Rembarnga. See the main body of the book, at the end of section 4.2, for a detailed discussion.

CONCLUSIONS

I have not included in this discussion the various linguistic features which Heath has found to have diffused between Yolngu and prefixing languages. My aim has been rather to complement his work by examining the western Yolngu area, with a view to adding further possible instances of diffusion. Some of the things I have tentatively identified are (a) lack of development of noun class marking in Rembarrnga (Yolngu influence); (b) vowel neutralising and raising in closed classes of morphemes in Djinang (Rembarrnga influence); (c) development of reduced pronouns (sometimes enclitic to a preceding constituent) in Djinang and Djinba (Rembarrnga influence at least); (d) enhancing of the Yolngu paradigm of auxiliary verbs (Burarra influence); (e) possible weakening of the juncture between incorporated body-part nominals and the following verb stem in Djinang (and probably Djinba) – permitting metathesis with the reduced pronouns; (f) loss of lamino-dentals, first in Djinang and then in Djinba; (g) a small amount of lexical diffusion; and (h) development of RPC and TPC verb inflections in Djinang, but not in Djinba (Rembarrnga influence at least).

APPENDIX 3

DJINANG-DJINBA (GANALBINGU) COMPARATIVE DICTIONARY

This appendix is based on data collected in 1981 from George Milpururr of the Ganalbingu clan, and from a group of ladies who remembered how the Dabi dialect (now effectively extinct) was spoken. The language I refer to as 'Djinba' could be called 'Djininy' equally well. (Although the latter name has never appeared in the literature, it would be the 'correct' name, given the convention amongst the Yolngu people themselves to name a language by its form for the proximate deictic.)

The English glosses, added in 1986, apply to the Djinang forms only. This is because Djinba has not yet been analysed reliably enough to permit accurate morpheme identification and labelling in every instance, and because there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between morphemes in corresponding word forms in the two languages. Information about Djinba inflections and stems that is not found in the body of the text of this book is given in parentheses.

When there is more than one form after the Djinang (given bold), the forms are either allomorphs or synonyms, in the one dialect (unless otherwise noted).

Differences in the order of clan variants have no significance, and if a form has no following initial, it will be a Ganalbingu form. Examples, lists of suffixes and glosses (given where the forms are complex) apply to the Djinba forms, not the Djinang.

Abbreviations of grammatical terms are the same as those given in the list at the beginning of the book. The following ones are used only in this appendix.

D	Dabi	+	tentative morpheme break
G	Ganalbingu		(uncertain position)
M	Manydjalpingu	?	uncertain
J	Djinba	??	unknown
W	Walmapuy	(<*...)	proto-form from which the modern word came

D, G, M, J and W each represent one of the clans which together comprise the Djinba language.

-ang**-wirriy** G, **-birriy** D (on nouns);**-kung** G,D (on pronouns)

-GEN

-aw**-kay**

-KINGRP

babakin-dji-dji*babaṇanyi-rrak* (stem *babaṇaṇ-yi-*)

become crazy

babakining*babaṇaṇ*

crazy

babulu*babulu*

carrying stick

baḍatj*baḍatj*

unsuccessfully

baḍay*baḍay*

banyan tree

baḍayala*baḍayala**garkambarr*

bright

baḍayala-dji-dji*baḍayalayi-rrak* (stem*baḍayala-yi-*)

become bright

baḍiri-dji-gi*bu-mak*

hit, kill, make

baḍurru*baḍurru*

milky way

badji-djirridji*ḍawurr-djarra-k*

be protector of

badji-wangidji*marrarraka-n-mak* (stem*marrarra-ka-* probably)

hunt away

bagapaga-dji-gi*bagapagayu-n* (TPA)

stagger

bagili-gi*balu-mak* G (stem *balu-*)POT *-mitj* IMP *-ng*YPI *-w* YPA *-m*TPA *bal-al* TPI *bali-nya*

fetch

bakala*bakala*

harpoon hook

bala*bala* (e.g. *bala djiwirr?ya-n-mak*)

astride

bala?*bala?*

house

bala-ngurri*bala-waṇbu-mak* (stem *bala-waṇbu-*)(see *waṇbumak* 'throw')POT *-mitj* IMP *-ng*YPI *-w* YPA *-m*TPA *-ngal* TPI *-nya*

stride

balay-ili*mirka-ril*

to far away

balay ngurrum*balay-ani*

already gone

balaypalay*mirka-wani**marri mirka*

far away

balbaw-miy-gi*balbal-mak* (stem *balbal-miy-*)

split along

balibi-gi*dalpami-mak* (stem *dalpa-miyu-*)Note: *-miyu-* TRVSRIMP *-ng*YPI *-w* YPA *dalpa-mi-m*TPA *-wal* TPI *dalpa-mi-nya*
extinguish**balidji***burrpilyi-rrak* G (stem *burrpil-yi-*)POT *-rritj* IMP *-y*YPI *-y* YPA *-rr*TPA *-n* TPI *burrpil-dji-nya**banyin-mak* D

die

bali-nyir-bi*burrpil-dji-nya-wirriy*

death

balnggi-dji-dji*djinygurruryi-rrak* (stem
djinygurrurr-yi-)POT *-rritj* IMP *-y*YPI *-y* YPA *-rr*TPA *-n* TPI *djinygurrurr-dji-nya*

become afternoon

balnggili*djinygurrurr*

afternoon

balpar-gi*balwar-mak* (stem *balwar-*)POT *-mitj* IMP *-ang*YPI *-aw* YPA *-am*TPA *-al* TPI *-inya*

come to, visit

balpar-nya-kining*balwar-inya-nan*

visitor

baltji-gi*wanal-mak* (stem *wanal-*)POT *-mitj* IMP *-ang*YPI *-aw* YPA *-am*TPA *-al* TPI *-nya*

climb

baltj-nyir-bi*wanal-nya-wirriy*

step

balangaw-dji-gi*balangawya-nmak* (stem*balangaw-ya-*)

inundate

balarra*balarra*

pubic covering

balldji*djayał*

slowly

baldjurr-dji-gi*baldjurriya-nmak* (stem*baldjurri-ya-*)POT *-nmitj* IMP *-ng*YPI *-l* YPA *-n*TPA *baldjurri-yi-n* TPI *-na*

kick

balakup*balakup*

lower head

balakup-dji-gi*balakup-ya-ng* (IMP)

lower one's head

balmarđittjigi*balmartji-ya-ng* (IMP)

fart

balmarrk*balmarrk**walkitj*

storm

balngunda*buyurmarr*

yam type

balpal*balpal*

feather fan

ba_lpi-gi*ba_lpu-mak* D,G (stem *ba_lpu-*)POT *-mitj* IMP *-ng*YPI *ba_lpa-w* YPA *ba_lpa-m*TPA *-ngal* TPI *-nya*

pound, bash

ba_lpir*guli_{yirri}*

in company with

ba_lpirgining*guli_{yirrinan}*

companion

baman*baman*

long duration

bamanpi*bamanwirri_y* G*gayawirri_y* G

from long ago

baman p_{irr}*ngayil p_{irr}*

long time

baman p_{irr} bil_{kirr}*baman p_{irr} ngayil*

very long time ago

bama_{tuka}*bama_{tuka}*

pipe

bamaw-d_{ji}-d_{ji}*wu_diya-nmak*

become invisible

bamba_l*ngu_{lurr}*

hut

bambarr*bambarr*

track, footprints

bambay*bampay*

old woman

bambu_li*nga_{dan}* G*ba_{dan}* G*na_{ki}* D

bark

bamburr*muny_{djurrng}*

gift

-ban*-banmi* D (on some forms)*-ani* ~ *-pani* ~ *-wani* G,D,M

-TF (temporal focus)

Banambarrid_{ji}*Banambarrmurr*

place name

bananydjarr*gindi-ra-na-wirri_y*

sorcery bone

bandayama*bandayama**milawuy*

lightning

banimbirr*banimbirr*

morning star

ba_{nda}na*guway_{nan}*

copulation

ba_{nda}ny*ba_{nda}ny*

dry

ba_{nda}ny-d_{ji}-d_{ji}*ba_{nda}nyyi-rrak* (stem *ba_{nda}ny-yi-*)POT *-rritj* IMP *-y*YPI *-y* YPA *-rr*TPA *-n* TPI *ba_{nda}ny-d_{ji}-nya*

become dry

ba_{nda}r*gari-ba_{nda}r_{rk}*

pain in groin

baṇditj

baṇditj
kidney

baṇim

rarrpuḷ
middle

baṇim inyɟji yulgu-ŋgi

rarrpuḷ niy wapira-k
meet in middle

baṇimngiri

rarrpuḷngur
in the middle

bangari-gi

bangara-mak (stem bangara-)
POT -mitj IMP -ng
YPI -w YPA -m
TPA -l TPI bangari-nya
djulka-n-mak
pass by, ignore

bangamatj

bangamatj
spear type

banggul

bararrk
stone-axe handle

bapi

biri G
gurruwili G
milipi D
shoulder

bapi+nyɟji nya-ŋgi

niy giliny-nya-ŋgi (see *nya-ŋgi*)
look over shoulder

bapi djunupangir

biri djunupangur
right shoulder

bapiḷi

guwang G
guwabi D
to here

bapiḷi-ŋgu

guwang-ŋgu
to here

bapilipm

guwangpim G
straight here

bapiḷi

mukul
aunt (FaSi)

bapi wingungir

biri wingungur
left shoulder

bapururr

bapururr
tribe

bararrk

bararrk
stone-axe handle

bardjining

bariyana
white

bar-gi

bari-mak G,D (stem bari-)
POT -mitj IMP bara-ŋgi D
baru-ŋg G
YPI bara-w YPA bara-m
TPA -ngal D,G TPI -nya D,G
be on, incubate

barḷ

ḷungurru
tendon

barra

barra
monsoon wind

barrara

bararra
club

barrbilpiling-dji-gi

barrwalpulung-yu-mak
TPA -wal
split lengthwise

barrkirri-dji-dji

bulwarriya-nmak (stem
bulwarri-ya-)

POT *-nmitj* IMP *-ng*
YPI *-l* YPA *-n*
TPA *bulwarri-yi-n* TPI *-na*
spread, disperse

barrpi-gi

barrpu-mak (stem *barrpu-*)

POT *-mitj* IMP *-ng*
YPI *barrpa-l* YPA *barrpa-n*
TPA *barrpa-n* TPI *parrpa-na*
rub firesticks

barrtji

buyumarr
yam type

barrwan

barrwan
badly wounded

bat

wanbu-mak G,D (see *ngurri* 'throw')
throw

baṭ

manda-nmak G
mandi-nmak D
gatja-nmak G
djakirrdji-nmak D
get, pick up, grab

baṭbaṭ-tji-gi

ḍawurrbu-mak (stem *ḍawurr-bu-*)
POT *-mitj* IMP *-ngi*
YPI *-wi* YPA *-mi*
TPA *ḍawurr-bi-paṅ* (see *bu-ngi* 'hit')
 TPI *-nya*

pluck (lit. get-get)

baṭi

riritji
stone

batjbatj

ḍarriyin
disease

batji

batji
dilly bag

batji-gi

batja-nmak G, *batji-nmak* D (stem
batja-)

POT *batju-nguy* (also *batja-nmitj* G,
batji-nmitj D) IMP *batju-ng*
YPI *-l* YPA *-n*
TPA *batji-yin* G, *batji-n* D
 TPI *-na* G, *batji-na* D

cook

batjikali

bamatuka
pipe

batjirr-giri

burrkuḷ-ma-k (stem *burrkuḷ-ma-*)
POT *burrkuḷ-mi-tj* IMP *burrkuḷ-mi-y*
YPI *burrkuḷ-mi-y* YPA *-n*
TPA *-n* TPI *burrkuḷ-mi-nya*
cross over

batjparra

batjparra
string bag

bawang

bawang
potato

bawuḷ

bawuḷ
bush fowl

bawupa-r

mukuḷk-ung
aunt (ERG)

bawupi

mukuḷk
aunt (FaSi)

bay?

guwiy (IMP) (see *gubi-dji*)
leave, leave alone

bayarra-dji-gi

bayarra?yu-mak (stem *bayarra-yu-*)
reward

bi*ba*

HITH

-bi*-wirriy G, -birriy D, -wi (rarely**e.g. nyuni-wi)*

-OR

-bibi*-wi (e.g. ngarri-wi, nyunu-wi)*

-EXCL (-OR-OR)

bidal*buwirri**burrudil*

lily fruit

bidaga*djirrpada*

plant type

bidak*baḍak*

wait, not yet

bidakwa*baḍakway*

just a moment

bidaykang*minḍirryi-nmak*POT *minḍirr-yi-nmitj*

carry hanging

bidilmi*birkarr*

herring, silverfish

bidipiding*burrumbi*

undeviating

bil*bul*

but

bil*bala*

3duNOM

bilang*bila (also bilak-)**bil kang D (see also nyabini)*

if, then etc.

-bilang*-pilak (e.g. ngunu-pilak)*

-INDEF

bilapilak ngurru*bilakmaraḷ ngalkamdja*

always the same

bilapilang*bilakmaraḷ*

it's like that

bilawili*ḷurrukunbul*

few

bilay*balay**mirka*

far

bildjirri*-djang (e.g. bungguḷng-djang;**barra-djang)*

time, times

bili (interrog)*bul*

then what?

biligi*gaya**ngayil*

very long ago

bilimi*ripurru**ngayil*

long ago

bili-ny*bala-ny G,D*

3du-ACC

biliny-tji-gi*biying-mak*

bend

biling

bala G,D
3duNOM/ERG

bilinga-li

baliki-ril
3du-ALL to them

bilinga-ng

bali-kung G,D
3du-GEN

bilingga

baliyi G
3duDAT for them

bilingi-nyi

bala-ny G,D
3du-ACC

biling-ki

bali-kuru G,D
3du-DAT

bilitj-bilitj

bilitj-bilitj
lorikeet

bilnyi-rr

balnya-rra
3duACC-1sgERG

bilngarr-dji-gi

bilngarr[?]ya-nmak (stem
bilngarr-ya-) IMP -ng
spear, eat

bi_la

bi_la
place, one's position

bi_landji

gumburr bi_lanydji
fingernail

bi_lbal-dji-gi

ba_lngba_lngyu-mak (stem
ba_lngba_lng-yu-)

POT -nguy (or -mitj) IMP -ng

YPI -w YPA -m

TPA -wal TPI -nya

be soft

bi_lbal_dj-nyir-dji-gi

ba_lngba_lng-yu-mak (stem
ba_lngba_lng-yu-)

soften

bi_lba_lng

ba_lngba_lng (or *ba_lngpa_lng*)
soft

bi_lbi_li_gili-dji-gi

bi_lbi_li_{ng}yu-mak (stem
bi_lbi_li_{ng}-yu-)

POT -mitj

flatten, smooth

bi_li_wurrwarr

ri_lmurr (also *ri_lmurrmurr*)

djamurr 'rib cage'

ribs

bi_lkirr

ngayil

long ago

bi_lkirr-bi

baman-wirriy G

from long ago

bi_lwir-tji-gi

bi_lwarr-mak (stem *bi_lwarr-miy-*)

POT *bi_lwarr-mitj* IMP -ing

YPI -uw YPA -im

TPA -al TPI *bi_lwarr-mi-nya*

slap, whip

bimbi

wagay

voice, echo

bimbi-nyirring

wagay-nyarrang

voiceless

bimbu_di

birkarr

tarpin fish

bindjirr kirim ngurrgima

bindjirr garmi ngalkamdja

always doing thus

bininggili*maltjana*

two

bintji*bintji-rrak* D (stem *bintji-*)*bindji-rrak* G (stem *bindji-*)POT *-rritj* IMP *-y*YPI *-y* YPA *-rr*TPA *-yin* TPI *-nya*

do thus, say

bindalngu*bundalngu*

middle of back

biṅdirrk*biṅdirrk*

hard

bindjarra*biṅjarra*

stone-axe

bindjarr-dji-gi*bindjarri-ya-nmak* (stem*bindjarri-ya-*)POT *bindjarri-yi-nmitj* IMP *-ng*YPI *-rr* YPA *-n*TPA *biṅjarri-yi-n* TPI *-na*

abuse

-biṅi*-gaḍung*

-EXCE

biṅiny*gumburr*

finger

bininggini*biṅinyan*

water goanna

binyga-dji-gi*niy biringgiyu-mak* (stem*biringgi-yu-*)

awaken

biradagarr*birarrirr**wumbar* 'inside'

lung

birapira-dji-gi*bira?biraya-nmak* (stem*bira?bira-ya-*)TPA *bira?bira-yi-n*

be twilight

birarrgirri-dji-dji*birariyi-rrak* (stem *birarri-yi-*)POT *-rritj* IMP *-y*YPI *-y* YPA *-rr*TPA *-n* TPI *birarri-dji-nya*

laugh

bir-bilbaling*gupurr-balngpaṅg*

agreeable, friendly

bir-djararrk*gupurr-djararrk*

pitiable, helpless

bir-djunga*gupurr-djunga*

ignorant person

bir-gaḍaman*gupurr-gaḍaman*

clever

bir-galmarr katji-gi*gupurr-galmarran* (? TPA)

reach to chest level

bir gattji-gi*gupurr gatja-nmak* (see *gattji-gi*)

stuck at chest

bir-gatji-gi*gupurr-gatja-nmak* (see *gatji-gi*)

clasp, hold to

biri*gupurr* G,M,J*mirriki* D

chest

biringgi-dji-gi

niy biringgiyu-mak (stem

biringgi-yu-)

clear a path

birirritjirring

birirri-ya-nyarrang

pandanus fan

bir-kiri

gupurriya-nmak (stem gupurri-ya-)

IMP -ng

go to meet

bir-manbi

gupurr-biṅdirrk

difficult

bir-maṭiṭ

gupurr-biṅdirrk

difficult

bir-mirrpili-pm

gupurr-yarr-pani

met together

bir-ṅami

gupurr-ṅakam

higher than normal

birngarr

birungurr

testicles

bir-warrarra

gupurr-warrarra

red sunset

bir-yabuḷu

gupurr-yabuḷu

temperate

bir-yirрпи-gi

gupurrdjunga-nmak (stem

gupurr-djunga-)

POT -nmitj IMP gupurr-djunga-l-k

YPI -l YPA -n

TPA gupurr-djunga-rr-yin

TPI -na

reject, knock back

bir-yulgungi

gupurr-wapira-k (see *yulgungi*)

come to meet

birraku-ngi

birraku-mak

vow to kill

birral

burrall

true

birral-dj-nyir-dji-gi

birralyu-mak (stem birral-yu-)

find, discover, make come true

birral-gima

burrall-amdja (PROM)

truly (EMPH)

birral ingki

burrall marri wirr

not true

birralku

burrakungi

deep sleep

birrang

birrang

knife

birrangany

birrangany

side of carcass

birrangany-dji-gi

birranganyyu-mak (stem

birrangany-yu-)

halve a carcass

birrarri

galiwurr

waterlily flower

birrbirr-dji-gi

birrbirrya-nmak (stem

birrbirr-ya-)

disperse quickly

birrgili

rurrang'nga-nmak G (stem

rurrang'nga-)

IMP *rurrang'nga-ng*

gilgi-nmak D (see *gilgirr-gi*)

take cover

birrin-djingi-l-gi

bulut-mak G (stem *bulut-miy-*)

POT *bulut-mitj* IMP *-ing*

YPI *-uw* YPA *-im*

TPA *-al* TPI *bulut-mi-nya*

ngarrawan-djul-k D (irreg. archaic)

POT unknown (probably

ngarrawan-djul-kuy)

IMP *ngarrawan-djil-ki*

YPI *ngarrawan-dja-l*

YPA *ngarrawan-djinga-n*

TPA *ngarrawan-djil-k* (suppletive)

TPA *birrin-djingil-kal*

TPI *ngarrawan-djingi-na*

turn, change

birrip-pirrip

birrip-pirrip

bustard

birrirri-dji-gi

birrirriya-nmak (stem

birrirri-ya-) IMP *-ng*

TPA *birrirri-yi-n*

twist, wring

birrk

birrk

crescent moon

birrmirrdji

birrmirra-k D (stem *birrmirra-*)

dar'dariya-nmak (stem

dar'dari-ya-)

POT *-nmitj* IMP *-ng*

YPI *-l* YPA *-n*

TPA *-n* TPI *-na*

sing

birrpirru-gi

gurrkurrma-nmak (stem

gurrkurr-ma-)

POT *-nmitj* IMP *gurrkurr-mu-ng*

YPI *-w* (irreg.) YPA *-n*

TPA *-n* TPI *-na*

bring repeatedly

birru-gi

ganga-k D,G (see *ga-ngi*)

bring

bitma

bunbala

seemingly

biyalngi

dada

weak, coward

blik

wurrunimiy (?)

come back, return

bu

bungun G

bugun D

nguwuŋi G (rare)

faeces

bubali

birrka

randomly, wrong

bubalikinim

birrkaŋan

any, any time

bubalikinŋing

birrkaŋan

every, everyone

bubali-kiŋ-mirri

birrka-ŋan-murr

at any time, random-PROP-LOC

bubali-kiŋ-ngir

birrka-ŋan-uy ERG

birrka-ŋan-ngur ABL

everyone (OBL + ERG or ABL)

bubali-kiŋ-ngir-gi

birrka-ŋan-wu

for any, random-PROP-OBL-DAT

budi*gulang* G,M,J*gawiy* D

blood

budibudigili*gulangnan*

bright red

bududup*bududup-bududup*

gallop

buduyurr*buduyurr*

whirlwind

budjirr buṭil-dji-dji*gulun manyakyi-rrak* (see*manyak-dji-dji*)

become glad

budjirr gatji-gi*gulun gatja-nmak* (see *gatji-gi*)

feel emotion

budjirrgi ngadji-dji*gulununi ngaya-k* (see *ngadji-dji*)

cry distressfully

budjirri*gulun* G,D,M,J*mulkurr* D,G

stomach

budjirr inydji par-gi*gulun niy bar-mak* (see *bar-gi*)

lie flat

budjirr marrkap-dji-dji*gulun bulanggitji-rrak* (stem*gulun bulanggitji-yi-*)

become very pleased

budjirrminy*mulkurryun*

midstream

budjirr-muning*gulun-munungu*

murderer

budjirr-nirrp-miy-gi*gulun-nirrp-mak* (also*gulun-nirrp'mak*) (stem*gulun-nirrp-miy-*)

suddenly surprise

budjirr-nguymin*gulun-ngulbitj*

calm, controlled

budjirr-pili*gulun-mirring*

intestines

budjirr-pm*gulun-pim*

stomach-THPRO

budjirr-wayirri*gulun-wayirra*

cruel and ruthless

budjirr-wayirri-gining*gulun-wayirra-nan*

having devil-guts (i.e. ruthless)

bugabuga*bugaga*

very many

bugili-gi*gaya-nmak* G, *gadji-nmak* D (see*witji-gi*)

shout, call to

bugin-dji-dji*ḍaḍayi-rrak* (stem *ḍaḍa-yi-*)

become cowardly

bugining*ḍada*

quiet person, coward

bugirri*ṅimburr**bulungun*

yam type

buka*buka*

meat taboo

bukaḷ*bukuḷ*

sheer, steep

bukaḷing*bukuḷ*

cliff

bukmak*bukmak*

all

buku*nipirri*

barbed spear

buku-ḷimbak*buku-ḷimbak*

blunt-ended

bukuḷk-tji-gi*bukuḷkya-n-mak* (stem *bukuḷk-ya-*)

signal the wet season

bukuḷuḷ*bukuḷuḷ*

moonrise

bukurr-gi*bukurr-mak* IMP *bukurr-ung*

pillow (verb)

bulanggitj*bulanggitj*

good, well

buliya*buliya*

small catfish

bulmuṇu*djunggu*

hat

bultji-gi*bultja-nmak* G (stem *bultja-*)POT *bultji-nmitj* IMP *bultju-ng*

YPI -l YPA -n

TPA *bultji-yin* TPI -na*bultjinmak* D (stem *bultja-*)POT *bultji-n-mitj* IMP *bultji-ngi*

YPI -l

TPA *bultji-n*

tell, report

YPA -n

TPI *bultji-na***bultji-na-kiṅing***bultja-naṅ*

storyteller

bultji-nir-bi*bultja-n-wirriy*

traditional

bulubul-dji-dji*bulubul?ya-nmak* (stem *bulubul-ya-*)

IMP -ng

abate, die down

buluki*bulugi*

cattle

bulu-ngurri*bulu-waṅbu-mak* (see *ngurri*)

banish

bulu-ngurrigi-nyir-bi*bulu-waṅbi-nyara*

banishment

bul?warr-miy-gi*bul?warr-mak* (stem *bul?warr-miy-*)

scatter, spread

bulalakitj-pi*bulalakitj-wirriy**gayawirriy*

ancient

bulgabulga*bulgabulga*

lily

buli*bulki*

fly (insect)

bulkidji*mawayi-rrak* (stem *maway-yi-*)

(y+y contracts)

POT -*rritj* TPI *maway-dji-nya*

dream

bulki-nyir-bi

maway-dji-nya-wirriy
a dream

bulkitj

bulkitj
destroyed, broken

bul?manydji

bul?manytji
shark

bulping

djiyanan (see *djidji*)
wounded, injured

bulul

bulul
roof purlins

bulunbul

bulunbul
greyed beard

bulwarr

yali
nest

bumalng

wungul
leaves

buming

djunga
stupid

bumir-bilbalng

buku-balngbalng
willing, weak-willed

bumir-diy

buku-diy
avoid, turn away

bumir-ḍuwaṭ nyinidji

buku-tuwattjang nyiniy (IMP form)
persistently sit, live stubbornly

bumir-galbi

buku-wutji
many times

bumir-gin-dji-dji

buku-nan-yu-mak (stem *bukunan-yu-*)
pray, concentrate on

bumiri

buki G,D,M,J
forehead

bumir-kalikali-gi

buku-yalwitjyi-rrak (stem
buku-yalwitj-yi-)
(variant *buku-yalwi?yirrak*)
approve of

bumir-kirrbi-gi

buku-wunḍa-nmak
please, give thanks to

bumirliḷi

bukuliḷi
bald

bumir-manbi

buku-binḍirrk
stubborn, relentless

bumir-pangari-gi

buku-bangari-mak
pass by, exchange

bumir-par-gi

buku-bar-mak (see *bar-gi*)
stand on edge

bumir-rirrkiiyan

buki-bakaḍa
rocky prominence

bumir-tiy-dji-gi

buku-diy-nmak (stem *buku-diy-ya-*)
(y+y contracts)
jealously turn away

bumir-tjami-gi

buku-gurrma-nmak
trade

bumir-yabuḷu

buku-yabuḷu
serene

bunapi

bunapi
trepan

bunarrmidji

bangya-nmak
surface (verb)

bunba

bunba
butterfly

bunbarr

bunbarr
grass type

bunḍi-gi

butjuwak
excrete

bunḍirri

yitjirr
kneecap

bunḍuk

bunḍuk G,D
woomera

bunḍurr

bunḍurr
surname

bunyan

djuri G,D
buttocks

bunyan-djal

djuri-djakal
cheek of buttocks

bunyi+nydji yirrpī kiri

djuri niy djip-mak gar-mak
setting rear end down

bunyin-balpi-gi

djuri-balpalpu-mak (see *balpi-gi*)
IMP *djuri-balpalpu-ng*

press from behind

bunyin-dji-pm

djuri-djuru+ngur
backwards

bunyin djiti-gi

garraywurumi-mak (?)
push from behind

buny-tji-gi

buny-ya-nmak (stem *buny-ya-*)
IMP -ng

smoke tobacco

bungbul-dji-gi

bungbulnga-nmak
give off smoke

bunggawa

bunggawa
boss

bu-ṅgi

bu-mak G,D (stem *bu-* archaic)

POT -*mitj* IMP -*ṅgi*

YPI -*wi* YPA -*mi*

TPA *bi-paṅ* TPI -*nya*

hit, kill, make

bungtji-gi

djawal-ginga-k (see *gingi-dji*)
be born

bupini

mamin
mosquito

bupini-nyirring

mamin-nyarrang (PRIV)
lacking mosquitoes

bur

bur[?]ya-nmak (stem *bur[?]ya-*)

wapira-k G

milkalyi-nmak D

arrive

burali

wakin
unmarried

burbur-dji-gi

burburya-nmak (stem *burbur-ya-*)
ascend, rise (smoke)

burtjal
munyurr
soft

burtjil-dji-dji
munyurri-rrak (stem *munyurr-yi-*)
become mashed

burtjil-dji-gi
munyurru-mak (stem *munyurr-yu-*)
IMP -ng

pulverise

burralku
yakarr
abode of dead

burrdji gung
diltji-gupurru-mak (see *gu-ngi*)
face away from

burrdjing
burryi G
burrdjing D
dry

burrdjing-dji-gi
burriyiu-mak G (stem *burriyi-yu-*)
make dry

burr-djutjdjutj-dji-gi
djarrbu-nmak
incite from behind, tempt

burri
diltji G,M,D
backbone, hill

burri lambirring
diltji-lawarr
tableland

burriḷi
bulki
to the rear

burring
diltjimurr
high ground

burri-par-gi
mani-bar-mak (see *bar-gi*)
fill in, cover over

burrkburrk
rirrkminy
fever, disease

burrkburrk-gining
rirrkminy-naṅ
sick, feverish

burrkburrk-katji-gi
rirrkminy ban gatja-nmak
singe fur off, have fever

burrmalila
burrmalala
cyclone

burrming
bimuḷu
countryman

burrngunḍa
buyurmarr
yam type

burrjtjirr-dji
naṭa-k (stem *naṭi-*)
POT -tj IMP -y
YPI -y YPA -ḷ
TPA *naṭa-n* TPI -nya
burn, scald

burru
burrupurru
ringworm, rust

burruburru-par-gi
burrupurru-bar-mak (see *bar-gi*)
spread it out

burrugu
burrngu
shark type

burruku-burruku
burruku-burruku
??

burrunga
burrunga
while in progress

burrupurru

burrupurru
flea

burrurru

burrurru
log coffin

burrurruki

ḍiltji-gatjawuḍu
wooden joist

buṭ

buṭ
lacking spears

buṭ

djiwirr?-ya-nmak (see *djirri-dji*)
djarridjarri-ya-ngu (IMP)
stand up

buṭal

garray
good

buṭi-gi

badjarrwu-mak
fill up

buṭ-nyir-dji-gi

ḍarrk-mak (stem *ḍarrk-miy-*) (see
rindi-gi)
release, break off

buṭ-tji-gi

ḍarrka-nmak
get loose, unsnare

butjalak

butjalak
yellow ochre

butjalatjamirring

butjalatjamirring
eel

butjalmi-dji

ngatjurr-mak G,D (stem *ngatjurr-*)

POT *-mitj* IMP *-k*

YPI *-uw* YPA *-um*

TPA *-al* TPI *-inya*

ask

butjbutj

butjputj
uncircumcised lad

butjbutj-dji-dji

butjputjyi-rrak (stem
butjputj-yi-)
be uncircumcised

butjir-balpir-giṅing

ginydji-guliyirr-ṅaṅ
companion

butjir-djanguny-giṅing

ginydji-djanguny-ṅaṅ
one who already knows

butjir-djarrkuṭ

ginydji-djarrkuṭ
sharp hearing

butjir-djumili-dji-dji

ginydji-miḍiyi-rrak (stem
ginydji-miḍi-yi-)
become deaf, disobey

butjir-djumiling

ginydji-miḍi
deaf, disobedient

butjir-giṅ-dji-gi

ginydji-ṅaṅ-yu-mak (stem
ginydjiṅaṅ-yu-)
inform, let know

butjir-gurrugurru

ginydji-gatjawuḍu
forked pole

butjiri

ginydji
ear

butjir inydji kungi

ginydji niy balpu-mak (see
balpi-gi)

listen, pay attention

butjir-karri

raypirrya-nmak (stem *raypirr-ya-*)
IMP *-ng*

warn, teach law

butjir-marnggi*ginydji-marnggi*

overhear

butjiy*djanyarr G,D*

dog

butjpu*butjpu*

uncircumcised boy

buwalbuwal-dji-gi*buwalbuwal-ya-nmak* (stem*buwalbuwal-ya-*)

well up (fluid), gush

buwaṭa*buwaṭa*

bustard

buwayak-dji-dji*buwayakdji-rrak* (stem*buwayak-dji-*)

vanish, become faint

buwayak-dji-gi*buwayak-yu-mak* (stem *buwayak-yu-*)

obliterate, erase

buygung*garrarrka-mak*

sing totem's songs

buyi-gi*banydja-nmak*

blow with mouth

buyiri*buyar*

pimple

buyir-kiri*burraku-mak*

gossip

buypuru*buypuru*

flat grinder rock

buyubuyu*buyubuyu*

smooth, flat

buyubuyu-dji-gi*buyubuyu-yu-mak* (stem*buyubuyu-yu-*)

make smooth

ḍabaḍaba-dji-gi*ḍabaḍaba-ya-nmak* (stem*ḍabaḍaba-ya-*)

shake head, deny

ḍada-dji-dji, ḍadaḍaw-dji-dji*ḍadaḍaw-yi-rrak* (stem *ḍadaḍaw-yi-*)

worn out, fed up, cease

ḍadaḍaw-dji-gi, ḍadaḍaʔ-dji-gi*ḍadaḍaw-ya-nmak* (stem *ḍadaḍaw-ya-*)

make clear, cause to stop

ḍadiy*bumbuwiy*

stick

ḍagaḍaga*ḍagaḍagaya-nmak* (stem*ḍagaḍaga-ya-*)

snap off twigs

ḍak*ḍawka-mak* (stem *ḍawka-miy-*) (see*ḍapili-dji-gi*)

snap

ḍalʔ*bu-mak* (see *bu-ngi*)

hit

ḍaldal-dji-gi*ḍaldalya-nmak* (stem *ḍaldal-ya-*)

IMP -ng

cut up, fragmentise

ḍalnggirr*bu-mak* (see *bu-ngi*)

hit

ḍalwur*ḍalwur*

dull-witted, stupid

ḍalwur-dji-dji*ḍalwuryi-rrak* (stem *ḍalwur-yi-*)

become stupid

ḍamarran*djanabu*

bamboo

ḍamarr-miy-gi*ḍamarr-mak* (stem *ḍamarr-miy-*)*ḍamarr-ya-nmak*

get something caught

ḍambidji*ḍambuy*

short one (ERG)

ḍambing*ḍambi G**ḍambingu D*

short, short time

ḍamili*ḍamaḷ*

sea eagle

ḍampiling-dji-gi*ḍampuḷung-yu-mak* (stem*ḍampuḷung-yu-*)

IMP -ng

ḍambiyu-mak (stem *ḍambi-yu-*)

shorten

ḍandanga*ḍaḅḅanga*

tin container

ḍanyḍany*ḍanyḍany*

midday

ḍapalaḷ*ḷirri*

blue-tongue lizard

ḍap-dji-gi*ḍapi-ya-nmak* (stem *ḍapi-ya-*)

immobilise, cramp, clench

ḍapi*ḍapi*

thorny plant

ḍapili-dji-gi, ḍapiling-dji-gi*ḍawka-mak* (stem *ḍawka-miy-*)

IMP -ing

TPI *ḍawka-mi-nya*

break, snap off

ḍapili-dj-nyir-bi*ḍawka-mi-nya-wirriy*

broken one

ḍarrarra*ḍarrarra*

stone lizard

ḍarrarr-miy-gi*ḍarrarr-mak* (stem *ḍarrarr-miy-*)

IMP -ing

tear open, burst

ḍarrk*bingiy* (IMP) (see *ḍirra-dji-gi*)

bite, eat

ḍawḍaw-dj-nya-kiḅing*ḍaḅaw-ya-ḅaḅ*

something broken up

ḍawḍaw-miy-gi*ḍawḍaw-mak* (stem *ḍawḍaw-miy-*)

break in pieces

ḍaw?-dji-gi*ḍaw?ya-nmak* (stem *ḍaw-ya-*)

IMP -ng

break in pieces

ḍibarr*marra ḍibarr*

kill by spear

ḍiduḅngu*mirawuy*

rainbow snake

ḍigiḍigi-dji-gi*ḍigiḍigi-yi-n* (TPA)

shake loose

ḍimbi-dj-nyir-dji-gi

ḍimbi-yu-mak (stem *ḍimbi-yu-*)
subdue, overpower

ḍiṇḍimi-gi

ḍup-mak
pinch

ḍir

wunguḷ
sacred bough shelter

ḍirra-dji-gi

wurrk-mak G (stem *wurrk-miy-*)
TPA *-al*

ḍal-miy-al (TPA) G

bi-nmak G,D (stem *bi-* irreg.) (?
also *biyangi*) IMP *bingi-y*

TPA *birr-tjan* YPA *-nmi*
eat, bite, drink

ḍirrka

ngadaṇ
stringy-bark tree

ḍirrpal

rirrpal
tooth

ḍitḍiy

ḍitḍiy
native almond tree

ḍitji-gi

ḍiyḍiya-nmak
scratch an itch

ḍiyḍiy-dji-gi

ḍiyḍiya-nmak (stem *ḍiyḍiy-ya-*)
(y+y contracts)
delouse, scratch

ḍubitji-gi

ḍubitja-nmak
twitch a muscle

ḍubuḍubuk

ḍubuḍubuk
carry on head

ḍubuḍubu-tji-gi

ḍubuḍubi-tja-nmak
repeatedly twitching

ḍubuk

ḍubuk
carry, pick up

ḍugu

ḍugu
waves

ḍuguḍugu-dji-gi

ḍuguḍugu-ya-nmak (stem
ḍuguḍugu-ya-) IMP *-ng*
shake loose

ḍuḷ?

ḍuḷ?
spear

ḍuḷbirr

ḍuḷbirr
kindle, ignite

ḍuḷi

ḷurrku
rotten

ḍuḷing

ḷurrku
rotten, spoiled

ḍuḷi-tji-dji

ḷurrku-yi-rrak (stem *ḷurrku-yi-*)
become putrid

ḍuḷpi

ḍuḷpi
sated, full up

ḍuḷpi-dji-dji

ḍuḷpiyi-rrak (stem *ḍuḷpi-yi-*)
TPA *-n*
become sated

ḍuḷuḷ

ḍuḷuḷya-n (TPA)
swell up

ḍuṇbarr

nganybak
armband

ḍungḍung-dji-gi**ḍungḍungya-nmak** G (stem**ḍungḍung-ya-**)**ḍungḍungdji-nmak** D (stem**ḍungḍung-dji-**)**ḍungḍung-miy-ing** (IMP) (? FUT**ḍungḍung-mak**)

suck, drink

ḍupaḅ**ḍupaḅ**

hollow log

ḍurkḍurk**ḍurkḍurk** G,M,D,J**ngurumburr** G**ngir** G (? lung)

heart

ḍutj**ḍutj**

return

ḍutji-gi**ḍu?ḍuma-ng** G (IMP)

squeeze, caress

ḍutji-gi**ḍuṭuma-nmak** (stem **ḍuṭu-ma-**)

IMP -ng

squeeze, caress

ḍuwarr**ḍuwarr**

bushfire

ḍjabarrk-dji-gi**ḍjabarrka-nmak**

orate, preach

ḍjabarrkḅiḅing**ḍjabarrkḅaḅ**

preacher, orator

ḍjabarrk-wangi-dji**ḍjabarrk-wanga-k** (see **wangi-dji**)

make a speech

ḍjabatjkiḅing**buḅumḅaḅ**

fresh track

ḍjabir-gurrkung**rarri-gurriyukurriyu-mak**

mix together, join

ḍjabiri**rarri****rarri-yi** ERG

mouth, entrance, end

ḍjabir-mari**rarriyi-mari**

troublemaking mouth

ḍjabir-ngaw-tji-gi**rarri-ngawkiya-nmak** (stem**rarri-ngawki-ya-**)

yawn

ḍjabirrmarr**ḍaḍiy**

beard

ḍjaḍarrk**wurridjarra**

cabbage palm

ḍjaḍaw**ḍjaḍaw?ya-nmak**

daybreak

ḍjaḍaw-dji-gi**biraya-nmak**

become dawn

ḍjadjiri**ban djurram yuṭa**

plant shoot (growing new)

ḍjadjuḍitj**ḍjadjuḅitj**

lastly, following

ḍjaga-dji-gi, ḍjaka-dji-gi**ḍjagadji-nmak** D (stem **ḍjaga-dja-**)

POT -nmitj

IMP **ḍjaga-dji-ngi**

YPI -l

YPA -n

TPA **ḍjaga-dji-n**TPI **ḍjaga-dji-na**

nyangnya-ng G (stem *nya-* 'see'
reduplicated) (see *nya-ngi*)

POT *nya-ng-nya-nguy*

IMP *nya-ngi*

YPI *nya-w-nya-w*

YPA *nya-m-nya-m*

TPA *nya-mi*

TPI *nya-ny-nya-nya*

look after, take care of

djaga-djingi-l-gi

djaga-djap-mak

cause to be taken care of

djagaging

djakaṅaṅ

caretaker, keeper

djaga!

djagar

saliva

djaganda

djaganda

young kangaroo

djagi-ngurri

djagar-waṅbu-mak (see *ngurri*)

spit, curse

djagiwari

djara

cycad nut cakes

djagupa

djagupa

djawupa

old man

djaka

djaka

height

Djakalabirri

Djakalawirra

place name

djakirri

djakalangarr

cycad palm trunk

djakiy

djakay

taste, experience, kind

djakmarrarra

djakmarrarra

brown frog

djal

djakal

cheek

djal

djalng

desire, want

djalatjang

djalatjang

south-east wind

djalbini-gi

djalbun-mak

IMP *djalbunu-ng*

join together

djal-dambing

djakal-dambi

island

djal-dampiling

djakal-dampulung

islands, archipelago

djaldjal

djaldjal yang

high grass

djalgi

gundjalng

salty, angry

djalgi-dji-dji

gundjalnyi-rrak

be hurting, become angry

djalgi-dj-nyir-dji-gi

gundjal-yu-mak (stem *gundjal-yu-*)

make wild, hurt

djalim-dji-gi

djalim-yu-mak (stem *djalim-yu-*)

IMP -ng

sell (loanword)

Djalinymirri

Djalnginymirringa

place name

djalir-gi (< *djalkara-)
djalkar-mak (stem *djalkar-*)
 IMP -ang

bury

djalkngi
gundjalng
 salty, angry

djalng
djalng
 want, desire

djalng-dji-dji
djalngi-rrak G (stem *djalng-*) (*ng+y*
 contracts to *ng*)
djalngdji-rrak D (stem *djalng-dji-*)
 want, desire

djal-ngurri
djal+ngarri
 leave an island

djal-rani
djakal-rani
 plant food

djaltji
munatja
 earth

djaltjibi-gi
wa-mak (?) (stem *wa-miy-*)
 TPA -al IMP -ing
 lift up, raise

djal-wali
djakal-wali
 fruit

djalrurr
djalrarr
 ground oven

djalk
djaraw
 paperbark sheet

djal_kuldirring
burumu
 bush apple

djalwirrirr-dji-gi
djalwirrirriya-nmak (stem
djalwirrirri-ya-)
 slip, slide

djama
djama
 work

djama-dji-gi
djamayu-mak G (stem *djama-yu-*)
djamadju-mak D (stem *djama-dju-*)
 work, do

djama-giṅing-mirrpili-gi
djama-ṅaṅ-yarr-nguru
 work-PROP-PAUC-DAT
 for the two workers

djambaku
djambaku
 tobacco

djambatj
djambatj
 outstanding, top class

djambi-dji-gi
djambi-yu-mak (stem *djambi-yu-*)
 IMP -ng

change

djambirrgi
gunmul
 growing season

djami-gi
djawuku-mak D (stem *djawuku-miy-*)
 POT *djawuku-mitj* IMP -ing
 YPI -uw YPA -im
 TPA -al TPI *djawuku-mi-nya*
gurrma-nmak G (stem *gurrma-*)
 POT -nmitj IMP *gurrmu-ng*
 YPI -l YPA -n
 TPA *gurrmi-yin* TPI -na
gurrmi-n
 take, steal

djamili
midj
 blunt

djaming

bidapi G,M

djimba J (possibly incorrect)

djiniipuy G

midipi D

later

djam-pili-gi

birapi-ril

much later on, for later

djamunumun

djamunumun

muri

chin, jaw

djanambal

ratjuk (or raytjuk)

barramundi

djan.gi-tji-gi

djan.gi?-ya-nmak (stem

djan.gi?-ya-) IMP -ng

embrace, cuddle

djani

djani G,M,D,J

3plNOM

djani-nyi

djana-ny G

djani-ny D

3pl-ACC

djan-ki

djani-kuru G,D

3pl-DAT

djanng-ang

djanu-kung G

djani-kung D

3pl-GEN

djanng-ar

djani-kar G,D

3pl-OBL

djanbu!-djanbu!

djanbu!-djanbu!

ganangarra

mosquitoes

Djanyirrbirri

Djanyarbirrik

place name

djanggu

djanggu G,D,J,M

flesh, meat

djanguny

djanguny

story, news

djapi

djaki

vulva

djapidi

djapidi

coolamon

djapi-mungan

djaki-mungun

groin, sunset

djapinying

djapany

generous, kind-hearted

djarak

djarak

wood spear

djarbirrgili-dji-gi

djarwirringyu-mak (stem

djarwirring-yu-)

(?) death-dealing blow

djar-gi

djar-mak G,D (stem djara-)

POT djari-mitj IMP djaru-ng

YPI -w

YPA -m

TPA -ngal

TPI djari-nya

cut, chop

djarngurri

wanbuma munatja

grow many

djarwarri

guringin (takes -ril ALL, -wu DAT)

honey

djarratjarra

djarratjarra
south wind

djarrbarbar

djarrbarbar
yinbulngu
thin

djarrdjarr-dji-gi

djarrdjarr-ya-nmak
poke around to find

djarribi-dji-dji

mukya-nmak (stem *muk-ya-*)
become silent

djarrk

djarrk
spear, pierce

djarrka

djarrka
water goanna

djarrkdjarrk

djarrkdjarrk
dust, dirt

djarrkuṭ

djarrkuṭ G,M,D
sharp

djarrma

djarrma
gossip, slander

djarrma-biṅi

djarrma-gaḍung
gossip monger

djarr nya-ngi

djarr nya-mak (see *nya-ngi*)
keep eyes on, gaze

djarrngu-tji-gi

djaranggulḱ-yu-mak
throw a tantrum

djarrtjirr

yalki wanbu-mak
straight-limbed

djat

ra-ni (IMP)
spear, stab

djatdjat-dji-gi

wama-mak (stem *wama-miy-*)
IMP -ing

poke awake

djatja

djatja
spring of water

djawal

djawal
area, country

djawalkitj

djawalkitj
birthplace

djawar

djawar-yi-n (? TPA)
exhausted, fed up

djawar-dji-dji

djawar-yi-nmak (stem *djawar-yi-*)
POT -*n-mitj* YPA -*n*
become expended

djayaḷ

djayaḷ
slowly, less

djayaḷ-gima

djayaḷ-amdja
very slowly

djayarr

gulṭja
pandanus palm

djayarr ngirgi

gulṭja ngambuḷ
pandanus fruit

djaydjaying

djay-murr (LOC)
extending down, below

djay djulkim

djay djulkyan
umbilical cord

djay-gatji-gi

djay gatja-nmak (see *gatji-gi*)
gutjarr gatja-nmak
hold under, be undecided

djayi-gi

djaru-ng (IMP)
submerge, dip

djayurrkdjurrk

djayurrkyurrk
immediately

djay-wuywuy-dji-gi

djay-wurtja-nmak
move to-and-fro below

-dji

-*ri* (unmarked form)
-*di* (after *t*, e.g. *gayit-di*)
-*uy*, sometimes -*nguy*
-*yi* on *rarri*
-*nyir*, sometimes -*ir*
-ERG

-dji

-*ma* G (on nouns, e.g. *gayit-ma*, on
pronouns, e.g. *nyan-ma*)
-*amdja*,
-*imdja* G (after palatal, e.g.
baliny-imdja ?*djili-kima*?)
-PROM

djibu

djibu
it's good!

djibuy

djibuy
shoo!

djidi-dji-dji

yanydjayi-rrak (stem *yanydja-yi*-)
collapse

djiding

muḍuḷ
steady, unchanging

djidji

djiyi
crack, split, sore

djikada

djikada
large catfish

djilaku

djilaku
black wallaby

djilang

djalangan
tongue

djilang-manbing

gurrnguḷ biḅdirrk
hard talk

djil-dji-gi

djil-ya-nmak (stem *djil-ya*-)
embrace, cuddle

djili

bilak
here

djilidjiḷ

balpu-mak
tap together

djili-kirri

bilak ngalkamdja
back here behind

djilim

balipa
near here

djilim-kima

baliny-imdja (PROM)
right near here

djilinydjaḷ

djalinydjaḷ
flood debris

djili ngurr-gima

bilak ngalkamdja
the same as here

djil-tji-gi
djil-tja-nmak
 leak, bleed, drip

djiminđi
djiminđi G,D
 wire

djimuku
djimuku
 steel or iron

djimurru
djimurru
 east wind

djin
djan
 3plNOM reduced form

djindjalma
djindjalma
nyinga
 mud crab

djini?djining
djinirpa-ny (note stem)
 now, today

djini guyumi
miłapnan
 about to do

djinimi
baliny G
nguniny-amdja D
 this (near)

djini-mirri
djiniku-pani (note stem)
 this way, this-PERL

djinim-kirri
balipa-nya-wu (note stem)
 this last one (nearby)

djining
djininy G
nikirrmay D,M
 this

djini ngurgima
djininy ngalkamdja
 same as this

djinipan
djinak+ani
 this now, here now

djini-pan-gima
djina+kal-imdja (OBL stem?)
 it's right here now

djini-pilang
bilak-murr (LOC form?)
 this (indefinite)

djini-pilang-mirri
bilak-murr-ngu
 at somewhere here

djini-pilang-ngu
bilak-murr-ngu
 somewhere there

djini-pili
djina+kal-yarr (OBL stem?)
 these two

djini-pm
djinirpa-ny-pim
 just this

djini-wil-angi
djininy-mala-k (-k DAT)
 these ones

djini-wili
djininy-mala (*mala* as PLUR)
 these ones

djini-wili-pm
djina+kal-yarr-pim
 just these ones

djini-wili-tji
djininy-mala+ny
 these ones (DEF)

djin-ngir-pm
djini-ngur-pani
 this side

djin-ngir yipi
djini-ngur yipi
 straight on from here

djin
djin
 lump, wart

djini
djinirpa-ny G
nikanmi D
 this (ERG)

djinyi+rr
djany+arr
 3plACC+1sgERG

djinyinydjarrak
djinyinydjarrak
 thorny plant

-djingi-l-gi
-djunga-nmak (also *-djunga-l-* for some tenses)
 -CAUS-I-FUT

djingiri-gi
djap-mak (stem *djap-miy-*)
 IMP -ing
 YPI -uw YPA *djap-mi-m*
 TPA -al TPI *djap-mi-nya*
 finish off

djip
djip-mak (stem *djip-miy-*)
 IMP -ing
 stop moving

djiri-ngil-gi
djara-nga-nmak G,D (cf. *Dhuwala dharangan*)
 recognise, realise

djir?mak-dji-gi
djir?maka-nmak YPA *djir?maka-n*
 TPA *djir?maka-n*
 make rainbow

djirrbal
gupay
 tuber food

djirrdjarring
djirang?djirang-ṅan
 rough ground, bumpy

djirri-dji
djiwirr?ya-nmak G (stem *djiwirr-ya-*)
 POT -nmitj IMP -ng
 YPI -l YPA -n
 TPA *djiwirr-yi-n* TPI -na
djiwirrdji-nmak D (stem *djiwirr-dja-*)
 POT *djiwirr-dji-nmitj*
 YPI -l IMP -ng
 YPA *djarri* (suppletive, cf. *Djinang jarri*)

TPA *djarri-nyan* (suppletive, cf. *Djinang jarri-nyini*)
 TPI *djiwirr-tji-na*
djarra-k G,D (stem *djarra-*) (used as EXIST auxiliary)
 TPA *djirri-nyan G*
djarri-nyan D
 stand up

djirriḷbi-gi
gaḍal-djunga-nmak G (stem *gaḍal-djunga-*)
 POT -nmitj IMP *gaḍal-djungu-l-k*
 YPI -l YPA -n
 TPA -rr-yin TPI -na
djarraḷbu-mak D (stem *djarraḷ-bu-*)
 YPI -w YPA -m
 TPI *djarraḷ-bi-nya*

ḷarrdji-nmak D, ḷarriya-nmak G
 (see *galmi-dji*)
 knock down, drop

djirrimiri
wukutj G,D
bidjay G
djaragi D
 goanna

djirritjirri
djirritjirrinydja (note -nydja fossilisation)
ngaṭnyin
 pubic covering

djirr^k
madjirr
 net bag

djirrtjarr
ya|man
 waterlily root

djitdjin-dji-gi
djunupa-yu-mak (stem *djunupa-yu-*)
 POT -*mitj*
 make straight, vertical

djiti-gi
ngarranga-nmak G,M (stem *ngarra-nga-*)
 POT -*nmitj* IMP *ngarra-ngu-l-k*
 YPI -*l* YPA -*n*
 TPA -*n* TPI -*na*
djirriti-mak D (stem *djirriti-*)
 IMP *djirritu-k*
 YPI *djirrita-w* YPA *djirrita-m*
 TPA -*kal* TPI *ngarra-nga-na*
 (suppletive)

drag, push

djiṯ
djitt
 forked carrying stick

djuburr
djuburr
 behaviour

djuburr djunupa
djuburr djunupa
 correct behaviour

djuburr giṅing
djuburraṅ (-*ṅaṅ > -aṅ)
 well-behaved

djuburr mayali-giṅing
djuburr marali-ṅaṅ
 polite behaviour

djuburr-pultji-gi
djuburr-bultja-nmak (see
bultji-gi)
 discuss behaviour, criticise

djudap-dji-gi
djudapya-nmak (stem *djudap-ya-*)
 creep up, sneak up

djuditj
djuditj
 last, next

djuditj-ping
djuditj-wirriy
 the last one

djudup ra-gi
djudap durrkuwa-k (stem *durrkuwa-*,
 irregular, see **ra-gi**)
 approach and merge with

djudju-ga-ng
djudju-gar-mak (see **giri**)
djudju-war-mak (alternate form)
 IMP *djudju-war-ang*

muster

djuka|
djuka|
 garfish

djuk-marr-gi
djubaya-nmak
guyuka-nmak
 spit, curse

djuli
djuwali G
djali D
 before

dju|dju|-dji-gi
dju|dju|-yu-mak (stem *dju|dju|-yu-*)
 dig up

dju|kim
buwa| G,M
dju|kumi D
 navel

dju|ng-dji-gi
dju|ka-nmak
 pass by, disbelieve

djulng-miy-gi*bangari-mak*

make go past, overtake

djuluḍu*djuluḍu*

cool season

djuludjulu-dji-gi*djuludjulu-ya-nmak* (stem*djuludjulu-ya-*)TPA *djuludjulu-yi-n*

strike, club

djuluk*ruḷ*

fresh water, flood

djumala*djumala*

mast

djumbal-tji-gi*djumbalya-nmak* (stem *djumbal-ya-*)

lose track, doubt

djumiling*midḷ* G,M

blunt, lacking facility

djumili-tjatji-gi*djawaldjana-mak*

butt against

djundjarr*djundjarr*

barramundi

djun-dji-gi*djumbal-ya-nmak* (stem *djumbal-ya-*)

disabled, confused

djunungguyangu*djunungguyangu*

dugong

djunupa*djunupa*

straight, correct

djunupa-dji-gi*djunupa-yu-mak* (stem *djunupa-yu-*)

straighten

djunga*djunga*

ignorant, unknowing

djunga-dji-dji*djunga-yi-rrak* (stem *djunga-yi-*)

become ignorant

djunga-pm*djunga-pim*

still ignorant

djunga-pm bidak*djungany-pim badak*

wait – (I) still don't know

djunga yigili-nyir-gi*djunga wuḍapa-na+ruw*

unable to swim

djunggay*djunggay*

advocate for mother's moiety

djunggay-pili*djunggay-puli* (PAUC)*djunggay-mirring* (PL)

advocates for mother's moiety

djunggi*djunggi* G,M,D 'tree', 'fire', 'wood'*gurrmun* D 'fire'

log, wood

djunggi mak*djunggi mak*

message stick

djungulu*djungulu*

daydreamer, insane

djurumuḷ*gapi*

water

djurr*djurr-amdja* (-amdja PROM)

woven fish-trap

djurra

djurra

paper, book

djurr-gi, also **djurri**

djurru-mak G (stem djurra-)

YPA -m

gaḍungudji-rrak D (stem

gaḍungu-dji-)

grow

djurrkuḍu-miy-gi

djurrkuḍu-mak (stem djurrkuḍu-miy-)

YPI -ing (irreg. same inflection as

IMP) TPI djurrkuḍu-mi-nya

dive

djuṭidjuṭu

djuṭidjiti

djuṭidjiṭingi

hair paintbrush

djuwayka

djuwayka

mutual brothers-in-law

djujy

djuṭjtjutj

that's it!

djujy-pultji-gi

bay-bultja-nmak (stem bay-bultja-)

POT bay-bultji-nmitj

forgive, say 'never mind'

gabirring

djuḷkumu

scallop

gaḍaman

gaḍaman

clever

gaḍa-ngimi

yapak-pani

sister (KINPROP)

gaḍiṭ-aw

yapaka-yarr

group of sisters

gaḍiṭi

gaḍak D

yapak G,M

sister

gaḍuwgaḍuw

gaḍuwgaḍuw

bumpy

gadjiḡarr

djukurr (cf. Dhuwal dhukurr)

road, way

gadjiḡirri-ng(i)

djukarra+m (LOC ?)

on the road (LOC)

gadjiḡira-pi-ng

ripurru-m-birriy

yesterday's one (OR + NMLSR)

gadjiḡiri

ripurru-m

yesterday

gaka

riḷmi

bush snail

gakawarr

gakawarr

ceremony initiates

galadjarr

galadjarr G

??

galal-tji-gi

ḷuwal-mak

root up, open up

galbi

wutji

burr-ḡaḡ

many, lots

galbi-ḡambing

djakal-ḡambi

islands

galbi-dji-dji

wutji-yi-rrak (stem wutji-yi-)

become many

galbi-dji-gi

wutji-yu-mak (stem wutji-yu-)

IMP -ng

make many

galbi-wili

wutji-pul

very many

galbu-ngi

mama-nmak G, mami-nmak D (stem

mama- irregular)

POT -nmitj G

IMP mamu-ng G

mami-nmitj D

mami-ng D

YPI -l

YPA -n

TPA mami-rr-yin G

TPI -na G

mami-n D

mami-na D

put down, replace

galgal

lurridja

vomit

galikali

galyarra

classificatory husband

gali-ki

galka-nmak G, galki-nmak D (stem

galka-, irregular)

POT -nmitj G

IMP galku-rr-k G

YPI -l

YPA -n

TPA galki-rr-yin G

TPI -na G

galki-rr-djin D,

galki-na D

keep, store up

galiy

galiy

side

galiyi-gi

garrany-dja-nmak G (stem

garrany-dja-) (note *dj* after *ny*)

paddle, pedal

galk

galka

shaman killer

galkngugal[?]ngu

really like

galmi-dji

larriya-nmak G (stem larri-ya-)

POT larri-yi-nmitj

IMP larri-yu-ng

YPI -l

YPA -n

TPA larri-yi-n

TPI -na

larrdji-nmak D (stem larr-dja- ?)

TPA larr-dji-n

fall down, blow (wind)

galngarrarra-dji-gi

galngarrarra-ya-nmak (stem

galngarrarra-ya-)

make ready

galngayngu

galnganḁ

king brown snake

galng-galng-dji-gi

mingu-mak

go hunting

galngi

galngi

body, human

galngibira

galngibiraya-nmak (stem

galngibira-ya-)

happy, feeling well

galngi bulanggitj-dji-dji

galngi bulanggitjyi-rrak (stem

bulanggitj-yi-)

feel well

galngi-diy[?]diygalngi-diy[?]diy

bad tempered

galngi-manbi

galngi-binḁirrk

tough, got stamina

galaka-ngi

binbu-mak

uncover, sweep aside

galanyan

galanyan

ironbark resin

galʔgal-miy-gi

galʔgal-mak (stem *galʔgal-miy-*)
make drift about, creep across

galigali

galigali
boomerang

galitjirringi

galitjirringu
firstborn female

galiwarr

galiwarr
goose spear

galmarr

galmarr
chest scar

galngbuy

galngbuy
meat taboo

galpang

galpang
honey

galtjining

garkman
green frog

galut

galut
high water

galwun

yukuḍa
sweet potato

gami-gi

garrma-nmak G, *garrmi-nmak* D
(stem *garrma-*)

POT *garrmi-nmitj* G IMP *garrmu-ng* G
garrmi-ngi D

YPI -l

TPA -n

garrmi-na D
dig

YPA -n

TPI -na G,

gamununggu

gamununggu
guliny
white ochre, warrior

gamurr

gamurr
tooth decay

ganba

wirrpim
absent, deserted

gandarr

lurrkun
width, size, waist

gandayala

gandayala
male kangaroo

gandji

gandji
jabiru

ganingalkngalk

ganangalkngalk
bee type

ganal

ganay
yam type

ganangarra

ganangarra
mosquito

ganbalatj

dawurr
red-breasted lorikeet

gandalpurru

gandalpurru
female kangaroo

gandi

gindi D,M,G,J
djarrpaḷ G
thigh

gandi yirрпи-gi
djarrpaḷ-djunga-nmak (stem
djarrpaḷ-djunga-)
 set poles into ground, start to rain

gani
gani
 digging stick

ganydjarr
ganydjarr
 power, ability

ganydjirr-biṇi
ganydjarr gaḍung
 too powerful

ga-ngi
ga-mak G,D (stem *ga-*)
 POT *-mitj* IMP *-ngi*
 YPI *-wi* YPA *-mi*
 TPA *-ngal* TPI *-nya*
 take, bear, bring

gap
djari-mak D,G (see *djar-gi*)
 cut, chop, slit

gapal-mirrpili
djarrpaḷ-muḍullG
 pregnant

gapi
gapi G,D
wuydji (or possibly *wudji*) D
 water

gapi djagal
gapi djagar
 foaming water

gapi djalgi
gapi gundjalng
 salt water

gapi-gu-ngi
gapiri-mak
 get into water, launch

gapi-mugu
gapi-mugu
 dry country

gapining (< **gapi-gining*)
gapi-naṇ G
giybaluw D
 wet

gapi-nyirring
gapi-nyarrang
 waterless

gapi-nguy
gapi-nguy
 overseas, within water

gapir-gi
gapir-mak (stem *gapir-*)
 IMP *-ang*
 irrigate, wet

gapirri
gaparra
 nephew (SiSo)

gapula
gapula
 old woman, blind

garak
djawal
 gap, open space

garak-nya-ng
djawal-nya-mak (see *nya-ngi*)
 see far through a gap

garapa
garapa
 wire

gar-baṇḍarrk
gar-baṇḍarrk
 front thigh muscle

gar-dji-gi
gar-ya-nmak (stem *gar-ya-*)
 lower, whisper, cool

gar-garḷuṭ
gar-garḷutt
 puddle, depression

gar-gi
gari-mak
 pluck from fire

gar-giṅing

guway-ṅaṅ
long-necked turtle

gar-gurriyili

gar-gurriyala
outside, naked

gari

gari
groin, low part, dark

gari-pm

gari-pani
lowlands

gar-maliri

gar-maluk
darkness

garngarri

gulun-dambi
billabong

garpan

garpan
eucalyptus tree

garpi-gi

giykiny-dja-nmak (stem
giykiny-dja-) (note *dj* after *ny*)
cool, alleviate

garpi-nyirring

giykinydja-n-nyarrang
unrelieved, hot, uncooled

gar-wali-ki

gari-wakal-mak (see *waliki*)
scavenge, salvage

garr

garr
spider

garrayarr

garrayarr
cluster, many wives

garrbiṭ

garrpu-ng (IMP) (see *garrpi-gi*)
tie around

garri

bingi (IMP), bi-nmi (YPA) (see
dirra-dji-gi)
ingest, copulate

gariyuwa

gariyuwa
sea turtle

garrkatdji

garrkatdji
cross-cut saw

garrkuluk

garrkuluk
pure, clean, open area

garrpi-gi

garrpa-nmak G (stem *garrpa-*)
POT *garrpi-nmitj* IMP *garrpu-ng*
YPI -*l* YPA -*n*
TPA -*n* TPI -*na*
garrapi-nmak D (stem *garrapa-*)
IMP *garrapi-ngi*
YPI -*l* YPA -*n*
TPA *garrapi-na* (note final *a* retained)
TPI -*na*

tie, roll up, coil

garrung

garrung
sack

garrurrurr

garrurrurr
sail mat

garrwur-dji-gi

malgarrama-nmak
(stem *malgarrama-*)
TPA -*n*
share out, disperse, scatter

gata

girriḷik
star

gatpurr

gatpurr
wounded

gattji-gi

gattja-nmak G (stem *gattja-*)
 POT *gattji-nmitj* IMP *gattju-ng*
 YPI -*l* YPA -*n*
 TPA *gattji-yin*
gattja-n TPI -*na*
djakirrdji-nmak D (stem *djakirr-dji-*)
 get stuck, bogged

gatji-gi

gatja-nmak G (stem *gatja-*)
 POT *gatji-nmitj* IMP *gatju-ng*
 YPI -*l* YPA -*n*
 TPA -*n*
gatji-yin TPI -*na*
djakirrdji-nmak D (stem
djakirr-dji-) IMP *gatji-ngi*
 (suppletive)
 YPI *gatja-l* YPA *gatja-n*
 (suppletive) (suppletive)
 TPA -*n* TPI *gatji-na*
 (suppletive)

hold, have, reach

gawarrka

gawarrka
 distant place

gawirarr

gawirarr
 darkness

gayit

gayit
 shovel-nosed spear

gaykiy

watak
 uncle (MoBr)

gaynggarr

gaynggarr
 vengeance fight

gaypi-gi

gaypu-mak G,D (stem *gaypu-*)
 POT -*mitj* G IMP -*ng* G
 YPI *gaypa-w* G -*ngi* D
 -*w* D YPA *gaypa-m*
 TPA -*ngal* TPI *gaypi-nya*
 deprive of, snatch

gay-ping

gaya-wirriy
 old, ancient

-gi

-*kuru* G,D (on pronouns)
 -*wu* G (elsewhere)
 -*nguru* D (elsewhere)
 -DAT

gibidipi

gibidipi
 freshwater eel

gibilbal

galitjarr G,M,D
 coals, embers, ashes

gidagida

banda-ngi (IMP) (see *nunydjirri*)
 hurriedly

gididjirring

gadung-pim
 huge, enormous, great quantity

gidjirri-ngi-l-gi

giyngarranya-ng (IMP)
 spread out to dry

gikanggi

gikanggi
 bowerbird

gikuwa

gikuwa
 ??

gilgilngirri-dji-dji

lilawka-nmak
 peel off, scratch off

gilgi-rr-gi

gilgi-nmak D (stem *gilgi-*, irreg.)
 IMP *gilgu-rr-k*
 YPI *gilga-l* YPA *gilga-rr*
 TPA -*rr-djin* TPI -*rr-na* (cf.
 Djinang *gilgi-ni*)
gila-nmak G (stem *gili-* < **gilgi-*)
 POT *gilgi-nmitj* IMP *gilu-rr-k*

YPI <i>gila-l</i>	YPA <i>gila-n</i>	<i>gilkaḷ</i>
TPA <i>-rr-yin</i>	TPI <i>gila-na</i>	<i>nguḷurr</i> G
hide		hut, platform shelter
<i>gilitjili-gi</i>		<i>gima</i>
<i>ḍulbaya-nmak</i> (also <i>ḍulba[?]ya-nmak</i>)		<i>gam</i>
float, balance		because
<i>gilang-tj-nya-kiṅing</i>		<i>-gima</i>
<i>wandja-ṅaṅ</i>		<i>-amdja</i> (PROM)
spy, scout		<i>-imdja</i> (PROM)
<i>gilibi-gi</i>		<i>-EMPH</i> or <i>-PROM</i>
<i>gaḷuwu-mak</i> G		<i>gimirrpi</i>
(stem <i>gaḷu-wu-</i> <* <i>gaḷu-bu-</i>)		<i>bawang</i>
POT <i>-mitj</i>	IMP <i>-ng</i>	sweet potato
YPI <i>gaḷu-wa-w</i>	YPA <i>gaḷu-wa-m</i>	<i>gimnyarr</i>
TPA <i>gaḷu-wa-l</i>	TPI <i>-nya</i>	<i>gimnyarr</i>
<i>runggulbu-mak</i> D (stem <i>runggul-bu-</i>)	IMP <i>-ng</i>	grandchild (VOC)
YPI <i>-w</i>	YPA <i>-m</i>	<i>gimnyirri</i>
TPA <i>runggul-ba-l</i>	TPI <i>runggul-bi-nya</i>	<i>gimnyarra</i>
put on top, hang from		grandchild (DaCh, SiDaCh)
<i>giligili-tji-gi</i>		<i>-giṅ-</i>
<i>djikdjikkal-mak</i>		<i>-ṅaṅ-</i> PROP
tickle		<i>-PROP</i>
<i>gilingkaḷ</i>		<i>giṅdi-bi</i>
<i>ngalaṅ</i> G,D,M		<i>djarrpaḷ-wirriy</i>
skin, shell, roof		shorts
<i>giliwila-pi</i>		<i>giṅdili</i>
<i>djuḷaḷ-wirriy</i>		<i>giṅdiril-mak</i> G,D (stem <i>giṅdiril-</i>)
from a long way		bring to land
<i>giliwilim</i>		<i>gingiṅ</i>
<i>djuḷaḷ</i>		<i>gingiṅ</i>
together		yam type
<i>giliwiling</i>		<i>-giṅimi</i>
<i>djuḷaḷ</i>		<i>-ṅaṅ</i> PROP
long, long time		<i>-ALIEN</i>
<i>giliwurrwarr</i>		<i>giṅimbi</i>
<i>riḷmurr</i>		<i>gaṅambi</i>
<i>riḷmurrmurr</i>		dew, fog
<i>djamurr</i> (side of rib cage)		<i>giṅibirri</i>
ribs		<i>wukuṭ</i>
		<i>nguḍunguṭ</i>
		cloud

giṇimiṇi

miku
red ochre

-giṇingi

-*ṇaṇ* PROP
-PROP

ginyipirr-dji-gi

ngatjirriyu-mak (stem *ngatjirri-yu-*)
sneeze

gingi-dji

ginga-k G (stem *gingi-*, archaic)
POT -*tj* IMP -*y*
YPI -*y* YPA -*∅*
TPA *ginga-n* TPI -*nya*
giyinga-k D (stem *giyingi-* ?)
think, remember

giri

gara-mak D (stem *gara-*, archaic)
POT -*kuy* IMP -*kiy*
YPI *garu-wi* YPA -*mi*
TPA -*kal* TPI *gari-nya*
gar-mak G (stem *gar-* < **gara-*)
POT -*kuy* IMP -*ki*
YPI *garu-wi* YPA -*mi*
TPA -*kal* TPI *gari-nya*
marrtji W (stem *marrtji-*)
go, walk, come

girrabili

galitjarr
ashes

girraḷa

gaḷamuṇ
ibis

girr-ban

banbim
finished now

girrbi-gi

wuṇḍa-nmak
be called, named

girrgili

birrukuwa
paperbark canoe

girrgima

banbim
also, only, okay

girri

girri
goods

girri

ga (SEQU marker)
SEQU marker

girri-dji-gi

girri-ya-nmak (stem *girri-ya-*)
many arrive

girriny-tji-gi

girriny-dja-nmak (stem
girriny-dja-) (note *dj* after *ny*)
bloodsucking

girri-pili

girri-mirring
goods, merchandise

girriwal

miku
red ochre

girrkiling

raypiny G,J
girrkirkunu D
sweet, fresh water

girrkirmirring

guṇḍjalng
Burdekin duck

gitkit-dji-gi

birarri-yi-rrak (stem *birarri-yi-*)
YPA -*rr*

laugh

giyany

guykuy
ant

giyaw

batji
net bag

giy-giṅ-dji-gi*mapu-ṅaṅ-yi-rrak* (stem *mapuṅaṅ-yi-*)

lay an egg

giyi*mapu* G*giyi* D

egg

giyka-ṅgi*djarratj-mak*

net (verb)

gubi-dji*guba-k* D (stem *gubi-*, archaic)IMP -*yi*YPI -*yi*YPA *guba-p* (note archaic form)TPA *guba-n*TPI -*nya**guwa-k* G (stem *guwi-* < **gubi-*)POT -*tj*IMP -*y*YPI -*y*YPA *guwa-w* (note archaic form < -**p*)TPA *guwa-n*TPI -*nya*

leave, abstain

gubuḍu*gubuḍu**gubuḍu+mdja* (PROM)

spear type

gudaḷ*djalkar-mak*

roast

guḍarr*guḍarr*

tomorrow, near future

guḍitjimarr*girriḷik*

star

guḍitjirri*guḍitjinirri*

ironbark tree

guḍi-tj-nyir-dji-gi*guḍi?yi-nmak* (stem *guḍi-yi-*)POT -*nmitj*IMP *guḍi?ya-ng*YPI *guḍi?ya-rr*YPA -*n*TPI -*na*

cut, chop, eat

guḍurri*girirri*

woolly butt (tree)

guḍurrki*guḍurrjuk*

brolga

guḍjirr-dji-dji*guyirr?-yi-n* (TPA)*nguyilkiyi-n* (TPA)

become worn out, tired

guḍjuw*guḍjuw*

group of (followed by subsection)

gukirri-dji*garkara-k* G (irreg. stem *garingara-* by reduplication of *gara-* 'go')POT *gar-kuy* (suppletive) (see *giri*)IMP *gar-kuy*(suppletive, also *gukirri-yi*)YPI -*w*YPA -*m*TPA -*n**(gaya-r* < **gara-r* used for RPA but not TPA)TPI *garingari-nya*

wander, be free

gu?-kurr-gi*gurru-kurru-ng* (REDUP,IMP)

be on top, ride

gulgul-miy-gi*burrpurr-mak*

make drown

gulk*djari-mak* (see *djar-gi*)

cut, chop

gulm-aw*gulmangu-yarr*

group of younger brothers

gulmigi*gulmangu* G,D,M

younger brother

gulmi-gir-ki
gulmangu-ru-w
 younger brother-OBL-DAT

gulmig-uw
gulmangu-yarr
 younger brother-KINGRP

gulmi-ngim
gulmangu-pani
 younger brother-KINPROP

gulmi-wili-ngi
gulmangu-yarr
 younger brother-PL-NMLSR

gul
gul-mak (see *gul-miy-gi*)
 halt, stop, cease

gula-wurr
gula-wurr
 bush fowl

guldjidji
gulyi-rrak (stem *gul-yi-*)
 become stopped

guldji-gi
gulya-nmak (stem *gul-ya-*)
 be stopped

gulinydjarr
guliny
 white clay, warrior

gulkmin
gulkmin
maliyi
 python

gulku
gulku
 mullet

gul-miy-gi
gul-mak (stem *gul-miy-*)
 IMP -ing
 stop, make cease

gultji
yarawi G,M
yarwi G

yarabi D
 body fat

gulu
gulu
 tree species

guludi
gurubuk
 bar-shouldered dove

gulukulung
gudurruguk
 one's dreaming

guluku-ng
gurrpa-nmak (stem *gurrpa-*)
 YPI -l YPA -n
 TPA -n TPI -na
 affect, bother, frighten

guluminy
guluminya
 poisonous type of leaf

gulungurr
butjalak
 bright yellow ochre

gulupan
nitgi
 paperbark tree

gulurwi
gulki
 crescent moon

gulwirri
balanggul
 cabbage palm

gumbala
wakin
 empty-handed

gumbirri
gumburr G,D,M,J
 hand, forearm

gumbirr-mungan
gumburr-mungun
 wrist

gumirdjidji

ngulbitjyi-rrak (stem
ngulbitj-yi-)

be unripe, uncooked

gumiring

gumir

unripe, green, uncooked

gunarr

gunir

mudfish

gunbulurru

wuyi

grass species

gunburrk

gunburrk

a dance

gunddir-dji-gi

gundur-ya-nmak (stem *gundur-ya-*)
thunder, growl

gundjarr

yangal

arm, tributary

gundjarr dapi-li-dj-nyira-kiṅing

yangal di-dawka-na
broken-armed

gundjirr-mil

yangal-mil

elbow

gundjirr-muṅing

yangal-muṅungu

a murder

gundjirr-wayirri

yangal-wayarra

devil arm (i.e. ruthless fighter)

gundjirr-yirrp-gi

yangal-djip-mak (stem
yangal-djip-miy-)

appoint as

gunḡan

gunḡun

heavy

gunḡi

gunḡi G,D,M,J

head, top, thoughts

gunḡi balpi-gi

gunḡi-balpu-mak (can contract to
gunḡi-balp-mak)

hit on head

gunḡi batji-gi

guya-nmak

cook from above

gunḡi bilḡji-gi

gunḡi bilya-nmak (stem *bil-ya-*)

YPI *gunḡi bil-tju-w*

TPA *gunḡi bil-yi-n* TPI *-na*

be inattentive, turn head

gunḡi buṭ-nyir-dji-gi

gunḡi darrka-nmak

divide up, remove top

gunḡi dambingi

gunḡi dambi

short-headed

gunḡi djarrkuṭ

gunḡi djarrkuṭ

sharp-witted

gunḡi galbi

gunḡi wutji

many thoughts, schemer

gunḡi-giṅ-dji-gi

gunḡi-ṅaṅ-yu-mak (stem

gunḡiṅaṅ-yu-)

make remember, remind

gunḡili

gunḡirilyu-mak (stem *gunḡiril-yu-*)

TPA *-m*

memorise

gunḡililḡing

gunḡirawa

bald

gunḡi marrayar-dji-gi

gunḡi marrayar-ya-nmak (stem

marrayar-ya-)

bristling hair

gunḡi yaku*gunḡi yaku*

top name

gunḡi yirrpī-gi*gunḡi djip-mak* (stem *djip-miy-*)

memorise

guni*guni*

shy, shame

guni-biḡi*guni gaḡung*

very shy

guni-dji-dji*guni-yi-rrak*

become shy, ashamed

gunḡurtji-gi*gunḡi-djupunma-nmak*

heap up, collect

gunmal*gunmul*

monsoon, wet season

gunyambi*mari*

trouble

gunydjirri*gunydjarra* G, M*gunydjarrak* D (or possibly *gunydjirrak*)

father

gunyirri*baliny*

indefinite semblative like 'a sort of'

gunggatji-gi*gupurru-mak* G (stem *gupurru-*)*gunggayu-mak* D (stem *gungga-yu-*)

help, get involved

gu-ḡi*gupurru-mak* (stem *gupurru-*)

IMP -ḡ

YPI -wi

YPA -m

TPA *gupurra-l*TPI *gupurri-nya*

give

gupidjidji*mungbu-mak*

be on the way, be still coming

gupirr-gu-ḡi*gupurru-mak* (see *gu-ḡi*)

give away, give

gupwugaḡing*walawuḡ*

spiral pointed shell

guraki*gurak* G, M, D, J

nape of neck

guraki gurrpī-gi*gurak gurrpa-nmak* (see *gurrpī-gi*)

follow behind, come next

guraki ra-gi*gurak durrkuwa-k* (see *ra-gi*)

enter the narrows of

guraki wangidji*gurak wanga-k* (see *wangidji*)

talk about, discuss

gurapala*mukuluk*

spear grass

guridji*gulḡja*

pandanus

gurkirr-gi*djan.gi?ya-nmak* (see *djan.gitjigi*)IMP *djan.gi?ya-ng*

embrace, cradle

gurtji-gi*gunḡuyu-mak* G (stem *gunḡu-yu-*)

POT -mitj IMP -ḡ

YPI -w YPA -m

TPA -wal TPI -nya

manda-nmak G, *mandi-nmak* D(see *marr-gi*)

gather, collect

gurulḡtji-gi*balwar-mak* (see *balpari-gi*)

come to, visit

gurrbi*ngirri* G,M,D,J

camp, place

gurrbi-bi*ngirri-wirriy*

from camp

gurrbi-gu-ngili*ngulgurrkurrmirri-yin*

stack up, heap up

gurrbi-wi*ngirri-li*

the place (SPEC)

gurriykurriy*gundjalng*

overseas

gurrkanangarr*gurrkanangarr*

catfish

gurrkarr*gurrkurr* G,D

root, vein, sinew

gurrkininḡ*gurrkininḡ*

little boy

gurrku-ngi*gurriyu-kurriyu-mak*

join, put together, add to

gurrkurppi-gi*gurrupa-nmak* (see *gurrpi-gi*)

repeatedly follow

gurrmal*gurrmul*

circumcised

gurrmil-dji-gi*gurrmulya-nmak* (stem *gurrmul-ya-*)

be circumcised

gurrpi-gi*gurrupa-nmak* G, *gurrupi-nmak* D,(stem *gurrupi-*)POT *-nmitj* IMP *gurrpi-ng* G*-ngi* DYPI *gurrupa-l* YPA *gurrupa-n*TPA *gurrupa-n* G*-na* DTPI *gurrupa-na* G*-na* D

follow, chase, continue

gurrpuḍu*madjika*

darter (bird)

gurrpuḷu*gurrpuḷu*

plain, treeless country

gurrṯji*djunggi*

tree (generic)

gurrṯjirtjir*gurini*

hawk, kite

gurrubiliny*gurruwiling*

swamp

gurrubirbir*gumang*

magpie goose

gurrugurru*gatjawuḍu*

forked branch

gurrulk*gurrulk*

baby, infant

gurrulk mungi*gurrulk miyalk*

baby girl

gurrumba*gumang*

magpie goose

gurrumu*gurrumu*

rope fibres

gurrung*gurrung*

cousin (FaSiDaCh)

gurrurruk
gurrurruk
 abnormal behaviour

gurruṭi
gurruṭu G
gurruṭi D
 kinsperson

gurruṭi-gining
gurruṭu-naṅ G
gurruṭi-naṅ D
 a relative

gurryili, gar-gurryili
garu-gurriyal
 outside, naked

guṭidjidji, guṭumdjidji
duḷpiyi-rrak (stem *duḷpi-yi-*)
 become sated, be full of

guwa
gaga
 come here!

guwaguwa-dji-gi
yangalya-nmak (stem *yangal-ya-*)
 call to come

guway nirr-dji-gi
nirr[?]ya-nmak (stem *nirr-ya-*)
 get a surprise

guwu
guwu
garray-mak (?)
 off you go!

guyi
guya G,M,J
guyi D
maygi D (archaic, 'meat')
fish (generic)

guyili
dawurr
 body hair

guying
diltji
 backbone, hill

guyum-ban
biḍap-ani
 later on

guyumi
biḍapi
 later on

iltja
litj
 1duincDAT

in.ga
ngan
 3sgDAT

in.ga-rr
ngan+garr
 3sgDAT-1sgNOM

inma
nyu
banyu
 2sgDAT

inydji
niy
 RECIP etc.

inydji bangari-gi
niy bangari-mak
 pass each other

inydji birrin-djingil-gi
niy buḷuṭ-mak (stem *buḷuṭ-miy-*)
 turn oneself, repent

inydji bultji-gi
niy bultja-nmak
 confess, explain, discuss

inydji yuli
burruṭ-mak (stem *burruṭ-miy-*)
 TPA -al
 miss, lie

ingki
waba
 NEG

irr*ngarr**barra**-rr*

1sgNOM

irra*ra*

1sgDAT

irra-djin*ra-yan* (from *ra* + *djan*)

1sgDAT-3plNOM

irri-ny*ra-ny*

1sg-ACC

ka!*ka!*

give it here!

-li*-ril**-dil* (after *t*)

-ALL 'to'

libi, nibi*naw*

1plexcNOM

libila, inbila*nawala*

1plexcDAT

libili-ny, inbili-ny*nawala-ny*

1plexc-ACC

lidja, ildja*ngiyi*

2plDAT

lidji, ildji*ngi*

2plNOM

lidj-nyi*nyula-ny* G

2pl-ACC

lim*lim*

1plincNOM

limala, inmila*limila*

1plincDAT

limili-ny, inmili-ny*limala-ny*

1plinc-ACC

liny*liny*

1duexcNOM

linyila, inyila*linyala*

1duexcDAT

linyili-ny, inyili-ny*linyala-ny*

1duexc-ACC

lipalipa*lipalipa*

dugout canoe

litj-nyi, iltj-nyi*litj*

1duinc-ACC

labuŋ*ngarrku*

wallaby

lakagaŋda*ɖak*

hip joint

lambirring*lawarr*

wide

lamu-dji-gi*lamu-djunga-nmak* (stem*lamu-djunga-* archaic)IMP *lamu-djunga-l-k*

plant (crops)

langgarr*langgarr*

septum bone

lang-tji-gi

langya-nmak (stem *lang-ya-*)
be limp, disabled, slack

laparr

laparr
pigeon

lap giri

lapy-nmak (stem *lap-ya-*)
open

lapitji-gining

lapitji-ṅaṅ
leper (English loan)

lap-miy-gi

lap-mak G,D (stem *lap-miy-*)
IMP *-ing*
open

larr

gar-mak G (see *giri*)
set off (going)

larradjidja

dupuṅ
hollow burial log

latju

manymak
latju
nice, pretty

lay-dji-gi

laya-nmak (stem *lay-ya-*)
feel relief, comforted

laykiṅ-gining

gaḷang-ṅaṅ
shaman healer

laylay

laylay
yam leaf

laylay-dji-gi

laylaya-nmak (stem *laylay-ya-*)
be busy

laytjin

laytjin
mangrove worm

limbik

limbik
two-edged barbed spear

lipini-gi

randa-nmak (see *rani*)
harass, torment

liw

liwliw-mak (see *liw-miy-gi*)
circle around

liw-miy-gi

liwliw-mak (stem *liwliw-miy-*)
encircle, corner

luḷatjidji

luḷatji-rrak (stem *luḷa-tji-*)
YPI *-y* YPA *-rr*
TPA *-n* TPI *-nya*
unconcerned, at ease, satisfied

luṅbu

djamurr
girth, waist

lunggurrma

lunggurrma
north wind

lurrkan

lurrkun G,D
waist, middle

ma?

ma?
do as you said

mabuḍaḷ

mabuḍaḷ
pubic covering

maḍakarritj

maḍakarritj
angry, dangerous

maḍakarritjtjidji

maḍakarritji-rrak G (stem
maḍakarritji-i-)
POT *-rritj* IMP *-y*
YPI *-y* YPA *-rr*

TPA -n	TPI -nya	YPI -uw	YPA <i>djap-mi-m</i>
<i>maḍakarritjdji-rrak</i>	D (stem	TPA -al	TPI <i>djap-mi-nya</i>
<i>maḍakarritj-dji-</i>)		finish off	
YPI -y (<i>dj</i> elides)	IMP -y (<i>dj</i> elides)	<i>malipmalir</i>	
TPA -n	YPA -rr (<i>dj</i> elides)	<i>guḍarr</i>	
become angry	TPI -nya	tomorrow	
<i>maḍayin</i>		<i>maliri</i>	
<i>maḍayin</i>		<i>maluk</i>	
sacred object, a god		<i>guḍarr</i>	
<i>maḍim</i>		night, 24 hours	
<i>maram</i>		<i>maliya</i>	
swim bladder		<i>maliya</i>	
<i>madjawurr</i>		catfish	
<i>gubuḍu</i>		<i>malk</i>	
bamboo spear		<i>malk</i>	
<i>madjirri</i>		subsection	
<i>bulu</i>		<i>malkaṇa</i>	
again		<i>malkaḍa</i>	
<i>magaya</i>		incisor tooth	
<i>magaya</i>		<i>malkur-dji-gi</i>	
peaceful, peace		<i>malkurya-nmak</i> (stem <i>malkur-ya-</i>)	
<i>makarrṭa</i>		cut across to	
<i>makarrṭa</i>		<i>malmal</i>	
big vengeance fight		<i>raytjuk</i>	
<i>mala</i>		barramundi	
<i>mala</i>		<i>mal-mayurrk</i>	
group, plural		<i>mal-waltjan</i>	
<i>mal-djattji-gi</i>		near end of wet season	
<i>ḷurrkun-djaṇa-mak</i>		<i>malngiri</i>	
prod in side, touch		<i>malnga</i>	
<i>mal-gapi</i>		part way	
<i>ḷurrkun-gapi</i>		<i>maltji-gi</i>	
<i>mal-gapi</i>		<i>mal'ya-nmak</i>	
fleshy part of animal's flank		<i>maltja-nmak</i>	
<i>mal-giri</i>		join in with, separate the parts of	
<i>ḷurrkun-gar-mak</i> G (see <i>giri</i>)		<i>malupu-ngi</i>	
<i>burrkuḷmiyal-mak</i> G,J		<i>minyirranu-mak</i>	
cross over		fail to recognise	
<i>malimdji-gi</i>		<i>malawurru</i>	
<i>djap-mak</i> (stem <i>djap-miy-</i>)		<i>djarratjarra</i>	
		south-east wind	

mani

mani

djarngul̩k (or possibly *djarngul̩k*)
river, neck

maṅbi-dj-nyir-dji-gi

biṅdirrk-ma-nmak (stem
biṅdirrk-ma-) IMP -ng
make hard

maṅbingi

biṅdirrk
hard, strong

maṅdiginingi

bari G,M
crocodile

maṅngibirri

djarribir?-djang (TEMP suffix)
daylight, daytime

manya-ng

djapurru-mak G (stem *djapurru-yu-*)
POT -mitj IMP -ng
YPI -w YPA -m
TPA -wal TPI -nya
djapurrdju-mak D (stem *djapurru-dju-*)
IMP -ng
YPI -w YPA -m
TPA -wal TPI *djapurru-dji-nya*
find, test, try

manydjidji

wuḍiya-nmak (stem *wuṅi-ya-*)
vanish, be gone

manyigani

djamaṅdarr
lotus plant

manymak

manymak
good, fitting, well

manymak-dji-dji

manymak-yi-rrak (stem *manymak-yi-*)
become good, well

manymak-dji-gi

manymak-yu-mak G (stem *manymak-yu-*)
manymak-dju-mak D (stem

manymak-dju-)

be well, be good

mapal

marrkuḍu G (also *marrakuḍu*)
(*d* is a flap)

marrkurr G,D

marrakiḍi D

marrkarrḍay D

hair, feathers

mapalgining

marrkuḍaṅ
hairy, feathery

maral̩kur

mari
cousin (MoMoBrSo)

marnggi

marnggi
know, understand

marr

marr
soul, intellect

marr baltji-gi

marr waṅal-mak (see **baltji-gi**)
hope in, trust, worship, admire

marrbi-gi

milka-mak G (stem *milka-*)
(see **mili-ki**)

POT -mitj IMP -ngi

YPI -wi YPA -mi

TPA -ngal TPI -nya

marrbi-nmak D (stem *marrbi-*)
IMP -ngi

YPI *marrba-l* YPA *marrba-n*

TPA -n TPI -na

forget, lose, omit

marr-bulanggitj-dji-yi

marr-bulanggitj-yi-rriy
loved (YPI form)

marr-bulanggitj-nyir-bi

marr-bulanggitj-dji-nya-wirriy
love, respect

marrga

marrga
therefore, and so

marr-gi

manda-nmak G, *mandi-nmak* D

(stem irregular, archaic)

POT *mandi-nmitj* G

IMP *ma-niy*,

ma-nuy (before *-ani* TF)

YPI *ma-rrri* YPA *man+dan*

TPA *man+gurr* G, *man+garr* D

TPI *ma-na*

dap-mak (stem *dap-miy-*)

TPA *-al* IMP *-im*

get, pick up, receive

marriyang

marriyang

gun

marrka-ngi

wandja-nmak G (stem *wandja-*)

POT *wandji-nmitj* IMP *wandju-ng*

YPI *-l* YPA *-n*

TPA *wandji-yin* TPI *-na*

mila-mak D (stem *mila-*)

POT *-mitj* IMP *-ngi*

YPI *-wi* YPA *-mi*

TPA *-ngal* TPI *-nya*

marrgaka-ng D (IMP ?)

wait

marrngirrdji

giyngurra-k G (stem *giy-ngurri-*)

POT *-tj* IMP *-y*

YPI *-y* YPA *giyngurr*

TPA *giyngurr-al* TPI *-nya*

marrngirra-k D

hear, feel

marr-pirral-kin-dji-dji

marr-burr-al-ṅaṅ-yi-rrak (stem

marr-burr-al-ṅaṅ-yi-)

believe

maṭit

biṅdirrk

hard, strong

matjal

djalnginy

leech

mayali

marali

meaning, idea

maypal

warraṅ G,M

warragan D

warrangun D

mayngi D

maygi D

meat, animal

mayurrk

waltjaṅ G,M

mayurrk D

storm, rain

midipili

maḍuwiy G,D

wirrkul D,M

unmarried girl

midji

mununu G

minini D

grandperson (MoMo, MoMoBr)

midji-gir-ki

mininik D

MoMo-OBL-DAT (or MoMoBr-)

midjirri

djul

dust, dirt

mil

mil G,J,D,M

eye, sweetheart, seed, waterhole

mil-bilbal-dji-dji

mil-balṅbalṅ-nyi-rrak

kind, indulgent, soft-eyed

mil-ga-ngi

mil-ga-mak (stem *mil-ga-*)

(see *ga-ngi*)

catch one's attention, steal off with

mili-ki*mila-mak* D (stem *mila-*)POT *-mitj* IMP *-ngi*YPI *-wi* YPA *-mi*TPA *-ngal* TPI *-nya**wandja-nmak* G

look around for

mil-lirрпи-gi*mil-karrwa-nmak* G (stem *mil-karr-wa-*)POT *mil-karr-wi-n-mitj*IMP *-ng*YPI *-l* YPA *-n*TPA *-n* TPI *-na**mil-kirрbi-nmak* D (stem *mil-karr-ba-*)IMP *-ng*YPI *-l* YPA *-n*TPA *-n* TPI *mil-kirр-bi-na*show, reveal (cf. Dhuwal *mel-gurrupan*)***milwartjidji****biray?yi-nmak*TPA *biray?yi-n*

become morning

minarr*manarr* D*maliyi* G,D,M,J

snake

mini*munu-mak* G (stem *munu-*)POT *-mitj* IMP *-k*YPI *muna-w* YPA *muna-m*TPA *-kal* TPI *muni-nya**girrili-mak* D (stem *girrili-*)POT *-mitj* IMP *girrilu-k*YPI *girila-w* YPA *girrila-m*TPA *-kal* TPI *-nya**li-mak* D (from *girrili-mak*, realis forms only)IMP *lu-k*TPA *li-kal* YPA *la-m*

carry, wear, be with child

minini*munuk* (?)

classificatory wife

mininggal*ngalparr* (actually 'phlegm')

saliva, mucus

min*ngu|bitj*

cold

mindirрпи-gi*ngu|bitji-rrak* (stem *ngu|bitj-yi-*)TPA *-n*

eat

min-dj-nyir-dji-gi*ngu|bitju-mak* (stem *ngu|bitj-yu-*)IMP *-ng*

make cold

mingu-ngi*mingu-mak* (see *gu-ngi*)

go camping

minibi-gi*midiyu-mak* G (stem *midj-yu-*)POT *-mitj* IMP *-ng*YPI *-w* YPA *-m*TPA *-wal* TPI *-nya**mididju-mak* D (stem *midj-dju-*)IMP *-w* (note not *-ng*)YPI *-w* YPA *-m*TPA *-wal* TPI *midj-dji-nya*

close, block off

mirgi*djali* G*djalgu* D

bad

mirgidjidji*djaliji-rrak* G (stem *djali-yi-*)POT *-rritj* IMP *-yi*YPI \emptyset YPA *-rr*TPA *-n* TPI *djali-tji-nya**djalgudju-rrak* D (stem *djalgu-dju-*)

become bad

miri*marrap*

like

mirknɡ

djali G

djalgu D

bad

mirrbili

mirril-mak (stem mirril-)

POT -mitj

YPI -aw YPA -mi

TPA -kal TPI -nyiri

withhold

mirrdjing

mađiwi

non-firstborn girl

-mirri

-murr

-LOC 'at' 'on'

mirringi

marringi

ripe, cooked

-mirrpili

-pul

-yarr (see -aw)

-maltjani J

-PAUC or dual number

mirrpmi

murruka

very (intensifier)

miwini

raytjarr G,D

net bag

-miy-, -mir-

-miy- (also -miyu- occurs once)

-CAUS

miyilk

miyalk

woman, wife

mukdjigi

mukđjiya-nmak (stem mukđji-ya-)

IMP -ng

YPI -l YPA -n

be unspeaking, not operating

mukul

mukul

(taboo relative ?)

mulngi

multjalnya

black

mu?-murtji-mi

ban đarriyi-n

ban đarriyi-nmi (alternate form)

keeping on being unwell

munatja

munatja

ground, soil

munı

munımi

tuber food

munıbi

mungunbirriy G

yarginbirriy D

wuyuwirriy G

gawarrkawirriy G

rarranyabirriy D

wiyawin G,M

dingo

munydjal

djanggu G,D

warrangun D

flesh, meat

munyi

maluk

night, 24 hours

mungan

mungun

lower back, base

murmur-dji-gi

mur?mur-ya-nmak (stem mur?mur-ya-)

TPA mur?mur-yi-n

make hot

murmur-dj-nyiri-ng

murmuraŋ (< *murmur-ŋaŋ)

hot

murrbini*mudul*

heavy

murr-randi-nir-bi*mulkurr-ra-na-wirriy*

a promise (lit. stomach pierce)

murrurrt*nilim*

bunch, bush

muṭitj*laparra?yu-n* (TPA ?)

smoothly, calmly

nibi, libi*naw*

1plexcNOM

-nir-bi*-na-wirriy*

-NMLSR-OR

-nir-gi*-naru-w* (< *-*nara-gu*)

-NMLSR-DAT

ṅami*ṅakam* G*djiwarr**bakaḍi* D

above, high, top

ṅinini*ṅinini* G,D,J,M*nyumugininy* J

small

ṅu*ṅuki* G,D,J,M

foot, foundation

ṅu djarrtjirr ngurridji*ṅuki yalkuwaṅbu-mak* (stem*yalkuwaṅ-bu-*)TPA *ṅuki yalkuwaṅ-bu-ngal*

lying with legs straight

ṅukidjibinmi (YPA) (see *ḍirradjigi*)

swallow, copulate

ṅumppum*ṅuduḍi*

small mud wasp

ṅunydjirri*baṅdanga-k* G (stem *baṅdangi-*, irreg.)(cf. Gupapuyngu *waṅdirri*)POT *-tj* IMP *-y*YPI *-y* YPA *-∅*TPA *-∅**baṅdanga-n*TPI *-nya**ṅudjirrgu-mak* D (stem irreg.)IMP *ṅudjirr-ki*YPI *ṅudjirr-ku-w*YPA *ṅudjirr-ga-m*TPA *ṅudjirr-kal*TPI *ṅudjurr-ki-nya*

run, go quickly, fly

nyabini*nyakalng* G*nyabilkang* D

how about, how many

nyabini ṅunupilang*nyakalng ṅunupilak*

however many

nyadji*nyadjunuk* D*nyinuk* G

when

nyali-ṅi*nyirri* G,D,J

where

nyani*nyani* D*nyan* G*ṅuniny* W

3sg he, she, it

nyani-bi*nyan-bi* G

3sgNOM-INTENS

nyani-ny

nyan-ny
3sg-ACC

nyan-ki

nyan-guru G
nyan-kuru D
3sg-DAT

nyanng-angi

nyan-gung G
nyan-kung D
3sg-GEN

nya-ngi

nya-mak G,D (stem *nya-*, archaic)
POT *-mitj* IMP *-ngi*
YPI *-wi* YPA *-mi*
TPA *-ngan* (cf. Djinang *-ngin*)
TPI *-nya*

see, inspect, look at

-nyi

-kany (e.g. *yulngir-kany*)
-ny on pronouns
-ACC

nyi+rr

nyu+rr
2sgACC+1sgERG

nyibirri

nyibirrik D
nyarrka G
where (LOC)

nyiknyik

djirrkinny G,J,M
rat, pygmy possum

nyili

nyagidji D
nyayi G
how (INSTR), with what

nyimi

nyami G,J
nyagi D
what

nyimila

nyumala
2duDAT

nyimili-ny

nyumala-ny
2du-ACC

nyim-ki

nyamu-wu G
nya-kuru D
what for, why

nyim-pi

nyami-wirriy G
from what (OR), about what (ASSOC)

nyin

nyun
2sgACC

nyini-dji

nyina-k G,D (stem *nyini-*, archaic)
POT *-tj* IMP *-y* G, *nyina-k* D
YPI *-y* G, *-yi* D YPA \emptyset
TPA *nyina-n* TPI *-nya*
sit, be, live

nyini-nyir-bi

nyinakbanmi D
a seat

nyinga

nyinga
mud crab

-nyir

-nya
-TPI (class 1 or 3)

-nyir-bi

-nya-wirriy G
-banmi (?) D (see *nyini-nyir-bi*)
-NMLSR-OR

-nyirring

-nyarrang
-PRIV

nyumi

nyumi G,D,W,J,M
2duNOM

nyumigi

yumyuma-nmak (stem yumyuma-)

YPA -n

smell, stink

nyumil-ang

nyumal-kung G

nyumil-kung D

2du-GEN

nyumili-ki

nyumal-kuru G

nyumil-kuru D

2du-DAT

nyuni

nyuni G,D,W,J,M

2sgNOM

nyuni-bi

nyuni-wi G

2sg-INTENS

nyuni-ny

nyuna-ny G,D

2sg-ACC

nyun-ki

nyu-kuru G,D

2sg-DAT

nyung-ung

nyu-kung G,D

2sg-GEN

ngadji-dji

nyaya-k (stem ngayi-, archaic)

POT -tj YPA -∅

TPA nyaya-n TPI -nya

cry, wail, grieve

ngagirr-gi

nganga-nmak G (stem nganga-, archaic)

POT -mitj IMP ngangu-l-k

YPI -l YPA -n

TPA ngangi-rr-yin TPI -na

ngangi-nmak D (stem nganga-) (see

yagirrgi) IMP ngangu-n-kuy

YPI -l YPA -n

TPA ngangi-rr-djin TPI ngangi-na

cover over, obscure

ngamangamadjigi

ngamangamaya-nmak (stem

ngamangama-ya-)

ngamangamayu-mak (stem

ngamangama-yu-)

TPA -wal

create, make

ngambirri

ngambarra G,M

ngambarrak D

mother

ngambulginingdjaka^lan

having seeds

ngami-gi

ngama-nmak G (stem ngama-)

POT ngami-nmitj IMP ngamu-ng

YPI -l YPA -n

TPA -n TPI -na

ngami-nmak D (stem ngama-)

TPI ngami-na IMP ngami-ngi

YPI -l YPA -n

TPA -n (cf. Djinang ngami+rr-djini)

paint (verb)

nganaparra

nganaparra

buffalo

ngangi

ngangi

is it so?

ngarngartjigingar[?]ya-n (TPA) (FUT probablyngar[?]ya-nmak)

pant, be breathless

ngarri

ngarri

1sgNOM

ngarri-ban

ngarri-wani

1sgNOM-TF

ngarrku

ngarrku

wallaby

ngaṭnyin
 ngaṭnyin
 grass pubic covering

ngatjirrdjigi
 ngatjirr?yi-n (YPA)
 bark (dog), cough

ngidawa
 ngadawa
 alone, singly

ngidjirrigi-li
 galki-ril
 near-ALL

ngidjirrkngi
 galki G,D
 near, close, soon

ngiki
 waba
 no, not

ngili
 ngali G,D,W
 1duincNOM

ngilidji
 nyuli G
 nyurruli D
 2plNOM

ngilidji-ki, ngildji-ki
 nyulu-kuru G
 nyurrul-kuru D
 2pl-DAT

ngilidj-nyi, ngildj-nyi
 nyula-ny G
 nyurrula-ny D
 2pl-ACC

ngilimi
 ngalimi G
 ngilimi D
 1plincNOM

ngilimili-nyi, nginmili-nyi
 ngalimala-ny G
 ngilimili-ny D
 1plinc-ACC

ngilinyi
 ngalinyi G
 ngilinyi D
 1duexcNOM

ngilinyil-angi, nginyil-angi
 ngalinyal-kung G
 ngilinyil-kung D
 1duexc-GEN

ngilinyili-nyi, nginyili-nyi
 ngalinyala-ny G
 ngilinyala-ny D
 1duexc-ACC

ngilitj-angi, ngiltj-angi
 ngalitjal-kung G
 ngilitjil-kung D
 1duinc-GEN

ngilitji-ki, ngiltji-ki
 ngalitjal-kuru G
 ngilitjil-kuru D
 1duinc-DAT

ngilitj-nyi, ngiltj-nyi
 ngalitjala-ny G
 1duinc-ACC

-ngimi
 -pani
 -KINPROP

nginibi
 nganuwi G
 nganabi D
 1plexcNOM

nginibil-angi, nginbil-angi
 nganiwal-kung G
 nganabal-kung D
 1plexc-GEN

nginibili-nyi, nginbili-nyi
 nganiwala-ny G
 1plexc-ACC

-ngi-nyi
 -kany
 -OBL-ACC

-ngir- (also **-gir-**)

-kar G,D (on pronouns) (< **-*Gara-**,
Northern Yolngu)

-OBL

-ngir

-nguy

-kir (after *k*)

-ERG after PL or PROP

-ngiri

-ngur

-ABL 'from'

ngirimbiy

*mal*ki G,D,M,J

smoke

ngirim-ngimi

ngariyim G

mother (KINPROP)

-ngiri-nyi

-ka+ny

-OBL-ACC

ngirki

ngaraka G,M,J

ngaragarr D

djarrmar D

bone, bullet

ngirr-angi

ngarr-kung G

ngarra-kung D

1sg-GEN

ngirra-r

ngarr-kar G

ngarra-kar D

1sg-OBL

ngirri-nyi

ngarri-nyi G

ngarra-ny D

1sg-ACC

ngirr-ki

ngarr-kuru G

ngarra-kuru D

1sg-DAT

ngirrjtjnyakiŋing

gurrmuŋ D

burnt log

ngiy

ngiy

yes

nguduŋi

nguduŋi

bee (stinging type)

nguli

ngunuku G

ngunuki D

thatLOC, there

nguli-pmi

ngunuŋ-pani

(perhaps *ngunu-SPEC-pani*)

just there

ngunu-gir-ki

ngunurpa-k

that-OBL-DAT 'for that'

ngunumi

nguniny G

nikirrmany D

thatNOM (near)

ngunu-mirri

ngunba-pani (note stem)

that-PERL

ngunung

nguniny G,D

ngunukurrmany D,M

thatNOM

ngunu-ngiri

ngunu-ngur

that-ABL 'from that'

ngunu-ngir-pmi

ngunu-ngur-pani

the other side

ngunu-pilang

ngunu-pilak G

bilkang D

that-INDEF

ngunu-wili
nguniny mala
ngunuku|barr D
 that-PL

nguni
ngunurpany G (ERG form)
 thatERG

ngunuil-atjuy
buku bini G,D
 thatALL-BEY

ngunyili
bini G
banbala D
 thatALL, to there

ngunyili-pm-ban
bini-pim-ani
 thatALL-THPRO-TF, just to there then

ngurri
ngurri
 nose

ngurri
wanbu-mak G,D (stem *wanbu-*)
 POT *-mitj* IMP *-ng*
 YPI *wanba-w* YPA *wanba-m*
 TPA *-ngal* TPI *wan-bi-nya*
 throw, toss, impel

ngurri-dji
ngurra-k G,D (stem *ngurri-*, archaic)
 POT *-tj* IMP *-y* G, *-ya* D
 YPI *-y* G YPA *-∅* G,D
-yi D
 TPA *-nyan* (cf. Djinang *ngurri-nyini*)
 TPI *-nya*

lie, sleep

ngurrum
ngalpim
 PERF already, had

ngurrwagi, ngurrwakngi
ngayil (cf. Yolngu *ngāthili*)
 before, the first

nguy
nguy
 below, under, within

nguy-mar-gining
nguy-mari-nan
 hater, enemy

nguy-mirri
nguy-murr
 beneath, within

-pili
-mirring
 -PL

-pi-ng
-wirriy (*-birriy* after *m*)
 -OR-NMLSR

pirr
pirr
 very

ra-gi
durrkuwa-k G,D (stem *durrkuwi-*)
 POT *-tj* IMP *-y* G
durrku-y D
 YPI *-y* G, YPA *durrkaw-∅*
durrku-y D
 TPA *durrkawa-n* TPI *-nya*
 enter

rakiraking
burwalng
 light (weight), frail

ran.gu
gulkiy
 moon

rani
randa-nmak G,D (stem *ra-*, irregular
 archaic)
 POT *randi-nmitj* IMP *-ni* G,
-nuy D
 YPI *-rri* YPA *ran+dan*
 TPA *ran+gurr* TPI *-na*

witj-miy-al (TPA) G
spear (verb), pierce

rangan

biki
paperbark

rar-ki

bulwar-mak G (stem *bulwar-*)

POT *-mitj* IMP *-ang*

YPI *-aw* YPA *-am*

TPA *-al* TPI *-inya*

waṯin-mak D

knead (with heel of hand), grade

rarri

rarri G,M,J,D

mouth, entrance, end

rarrtjal

rarrtjal G,M

rarrngadjin D

full

rarrtjilkung

ngata-k (see *burrtjirridji*)

milgu-mak

ignite a fire

raybalngi

raybalngki

whistling duck

-ri

-uy, -nguy, -yi

-ri, -di, -ir, -nyir

-ERG

riki-dji

diltja-nmak G,D (stem *diltja-*)

IMP *diltju-ng* G

YPI *-IG*

YPA *-n* G

TPA *diltji-yin* G

TPI *-na* G

rain (verb)

rindi-gi

darrk-mak G,D (stem *darrk-miy-*)

POT *darrk-mitj* G

IMP *-ing*

YPI *-uw*

YPA *-im* G

TPA *-al(i)*

TPI *darrk-mi-nya*

sever, partition, divide, cut off

rirrkiyan

bakada (*d* is a flap)

bakarr G

rock

rirttji-gi

djalḵar-mak G (stem *djalḵar-*)

POT *-mitj* IMP *-ang*

YPI *-aw* YPA *-am*

TPA *-al* TPI *-inya*

djalḵiri-mak D

roast

rurrtjirrimi-gi

ru[?]warriya-nmak (stem

ru[?]warri-ya-) IMP *-ng*

wash, rub

-tja

-tja

-CONTR (cognate with Yolngu (*ny*)*dja*)

-tji

-ny (?) (see *djini-wili-tji*)

-DEF

wagirri

wakiya

crow

wakal

wakal

fun, game

wali

wali

food (vegetable)

wali-ki

wakal-mak G (stem *wakal-*)

POT *-mitj* IMP *-ang*

YPI *-aw* YPA *-am*

TPA *-al* TPI *-nya*

wakili-mak D (stem *wakal-*)

IMP *-ang*

YPI *wakil-aw*

YPA *-am*

TPA *wakil-al*

TPI *-inya*

crawl

walkiri

walkur G,D
child (of male ego)

walmi-dji

wal-mak G,D (stem wal-ma-)
POT wal-mitj IMP walmi-y G
walmi-yi D
YPI walmi-y YPA -m
TPA -n TPI walmi-nya
go up, advance, cross to

walngirri-dji

wakulngurra-k G,D (stem
wakulngurri-)
POT -tj IMP -y
YPI -y YPA wakulngurr-∅
TPA -nyan (see ngurridji)
TPI -nya

dance, play

walwaldjigi

bulyi-n (YPA)
swell, enlarge

walirr

djarribir
sun, time

wana

gaḍung
big, important

wanadjidji

gaḍungyi-rrak G (stem gaḍung-yi-)
gaḍungdji-rrak D (stem gaḍung-dji-)
become big

wanadjigi

gaḍungyu-mak G (stem gaḍung-yu-)
gaḍungdju-mak D (stem gaḍung-dju-)
make big

wana-pili-mirring

gilarrpulnguy (ERG form)
big-PL-ARCHE, truly great ones

wanngi

walnga
alive, living

wanngi-dj-nyir-dji-gi

walngu-yu-mak (stem walngu-yu-)
alive-INCHO-NMLSR-THEMSR-FUT
make alive, cause to live

wanngir-nya-kiningi

walnga-yu-nya-ṇaṇ
saviour, rescuer

wangurra

wangurra
bandicoot

wangi-dji

wanga-k G,D (stem wangi-)
POT -tj IMP -y
YPI -y YPA -∅
TPA wanga-n TPI -nya
say, talk to, speak

wari

nyalung G,M,J
wari D
whoNOM

warngarriny

nyaliyukany G
so-and-so, what's-it

warrpam

warrpam
all

waṭi

walkitj
wind, breeze

wawayka

wawayka
pair of brothers

wawayka-mirrpili

wawayka-pul
two pairs of brothers

wawtjigi

bulyi-n (YPA)
swell, bruise, enlarge

waykining

yangalaṇ (< *yangal-ṇaṇ)
wakinaṇ
bird (generic), having arms

wayku-ngi*gakalu-mak* (stem *gakal-*, irreg.)POT *-u-mitj*TPA *-wal**djiwirrtji-nmak* D

get up, arise

wiji*nyalung* G*warinyun* D

whoERG

wil-tj-nyiri-ng*wil-ya-na* G*wil-yi-na* G*wil-dji-na* D

crooked, meandering

wini-dji*wirandi-rrak* G,D (stem *wirani-*, irreg.)(see *winidjingilgi*)IMP *-yG* POT *wirandi-rritj* GYPI *-yG* YPA *wirandi-rr* GTPA *wirana-n* G TPI *-nya* G

return

wini-djingil-gi*wirani-ngu-nmak* G (stem*wirani-ngu-*, archaic)POT *-nmitj* IMP *-l-k*YPI *-l-k* YPA *-n*TPA *-n* TPI *-nya**wirangu-nmak* D (stem*wirani-ngu-*) IMP *-l-k*YPI *-l* YPA *-n*TPA *-l-ka* TPI *-nya*

cause to return

wira-pil-ngir*nyalung-mirring+uy*

who-PL-ERG

wira-wili*nyalung-nyarr* G*wariyu-barr* D

who-PL

wirr*wirr* G*ngirr* D

nothing, no

wirrdjidji*wabayi-nmak*TPA *wabayi-n*

become nothing, die

witji-gi*gaya-nmak* G (stem *gaya-*)POT *gayi-nmitj* IMP *gayu-ng*YPI *-l* YPA *-n*TPA *gayi-n* TPI *-na**gadji-nmak* D (stem *gadji-*)IMP *-ngi*YPI *gadja-l* YPA *gadja-n*TPA *-n* TPI *-na*

call out, shout

wugili*nguwili*

shadow, spirit

wukirri-dji-gi*wukirri-yu-mak* G (stem*wukirri-yu-*)POT *-mitj* IMP *wukirri-ya-ng*YPI *-w* YPA *-m*TPA *-wal* TPI *-nya**wukirridji-nmak* D (stem*wukirri-dji-*)IMP *wukirri-dja-ng*YPI *wukirri-dju-w*YPA *wukirri-dja-n*TPA *-n* TPI *-nya*

write

wukutj*wukutj*

goanna

wulgaman*wulgaman*

old woman (English loan)

wulma*wulma*

thunder

wurg*manyi*

wood swallow, bird (generic)

wurpi

wiypi G,D
other, different

wurpi-li

wiypu+ny
other-ERG

wurpi-li

wiypi-ril
other-ALL

wurpi-li-tja

wiypu+ny-tja
other-ERG-CONTR

wurpi-li-wurpi-li

wiypi-ril-wiypi-ril
other-ALL-other-ALL, to various others

wurpi-tja

wiypi-tja
other-CONTR

wurpmi

wiypani
oneNOM

wuruki

wurruki G,D,M
flower

wuwa

wuwa
older brother (VOC)

wuwi

wuwak G,D,M
older brother (NOM)

wuyimbaḷ

garabak G
garambak D
yidaki G
didgeridoo

yagirr-gi

ya-nmak G (stem ya-)
POT -nmitj IMP -l-ng
YPI -l YPA -n
TPA -n TPI -na

yagi-nmak D(stem yagi-)

IMP yagu-l-kuy
YPI yaga-l YPA yaga-n
TPA -rr-djin (cf. Djinang
yagi-rr-djini) TPI -na
insert

yagirri

garrarrk G
yagaṭay D
name

yak-dji-gi

yatja-nmak G (stem yatja-)
POT yatji-nmitj IMP -ng
YPI yatji-yal YPA -n
TPA -n TPI -na
yakya-nmak G (stem yak-ya-)
YPA -n
wiritji-nmak D (stem wiritji-)
IMP -ngi
YPI wiritja-l YPA wiritja-n
TPA -n TPI -na
scrape, shave, polish smooth

yakirri

yakarr
sleep (noun)

yan

yan
word, language

yani

yan.gi-mak D (stem yan.ga-, archaic)
IMP yan-ki
YPI -w YPA -m
TPA yan-kal TPI yan.gi-nya
djaywar-mak G (stem djaywar-)
POT -mitj IMP -ang
YPI -aw YPA -am
TPA -al TPI -inya
send

yanya-ngi

yanyu-mak D (stem yanya-
probably < *yan-nya-)
YPI -nyaw (irreg.) YPA -m
TPI -nya

rarr-birrkaya-nmak G (stem

rarr-birrkaya-)

POT *rarr-birrkaya-yi-nmitj* IMP -ng

YPI -l YPA -n

TPA *rarr-birrkaya-yi-n* TPI -na

ask

yarimi

gana

yarim

just, marks collateral information

yarraramiygi

yarrarra-mak (stem *yarrarra-miy-*)

TPA -al

aim, point at

yaŋi

yaŋki

lower leg

yawirrinny

yawirrinny

a youth

yawngi-dji

yuwdji-nmak D

durriya-nmak G (stem *durri-ya-*)

POT *durri-yi-nmitj* IMP *durri-yu-ng*

YPI -l YPA -n

TPA *durri-yi-n* TPI -na

be afraid

yidjipili

yuyung G,M

yudji D

child

yigili-gi

wuɟapa-nmak G (stem *wuɟapa-*) (also

wurrapanmak)

TPA *wuɟapi-rr-yin*

wuɟapiyi-nmak D

djulurrya-nmak G

swim, burrow, submerge

yiki

yiki

sharp metal object, knife

yilbirtjigi

yibuk-mak (stem *yibuk-miy-*)

TPA -al

remove, undress

yili

bulu

again

yilimirri

djuditj

following, next

yilitjigi

yarrka-n (TPA)

move something

yilitjirrdji

yarrka-nmak G (stem *yarrka-*)

POT -mitj IMP -ng

YPI -l YPA -n

TPA -n TPI -na

yarrkidji-nmak D

move (intransitive)

yingarraydjigi

yingarrayu-mak (stem

yingarray-u- < **yingarray-yu-*)

IMP -ng

TPA -wal YPA -m

yingarray djar-mak (see ***djargi***)

mark out, label

yirрпи-gi

djip-mak G (stem *djip-miy-*)

POT -mitj IMP -ing

YPI -uw YPA -im

TPA -al TPI *djip-mi-nya*

yalpurbu-mak D (stem *yalpurbur-*)

IMP -ung

YPI -uw YPA -um

TPA -al TPI *yalpurbi-nya*

set, place in definite position

yitjidjidji

bunggu?ya-nmak G (stem *bunggu-ya-*)

POT -mitj IMP -ng

YPI -l YPA -n

TPA *bunggu-yi-n* TPI -na

bunggu?yi-nmak D

give assent, say 'yes'

yul*yulngi* G,D,M,J,W

man, person

yulgu-*ngi**wapira-k* G (stem *wapiri-*)POT *-tj*YPI *-∅* YPA *wapir-∅*TPA *-n* TPI *-nya**mil-kaldji-nmak* D (stem *mil-kal-dji-*)YPI *-y* YPA *-n* (also *wapi*)TPA *-n* TPI *-nya*

come to, arrive, come out, escape

yurryarr*wuyi*

grass (generic)

yuwirdji-*dji-gi**yuṭayu-mak* (stem *yuṭa-yu-*)

renew

yuwirdjing*yuṭa*

new, fresh, newborn

APPENDIX 4

DJINBA-DJINANG REVERSED COMPARATIVE DICTIONARY

This appendix is a reversal of the dictionary in Appendix 3. The Djinba word (usually Ganalbingu dialect) is given first, followed by the Djinang equivalent. English glosses are not included.

-amdja	baɖay	balaʔ
-gima	baɖay	balaʔ
-amdja, -imdja	baɖayala	bala-ny
-dji	baɖayala	bilingi-nyi
-ani ~ -pani ~ -wani	baɖayalayi-rrak	bili-ny
-ban	baɖayala-dji-dji	balanggul
	baɖurru	gulwirri
ba	baɖurru	bala-waŋbu-mak
bi	badjarrwu-mak	bala-ngurri
babaŋaŋ	buti-gi	balay
babakiŋing	bagapagayu-n	bilay
babaŋanyi-rrak	bagapaga-dji-gi	balay-ani
babakiŋ-dji-dji	bakaɖa	balay ngurru
babulu	rirrkiyan	balbal-mak
babulu	bakaɖi	balbaw-miy-gi
baɖak	ŋami	baliki-ril
biɖak	bakala	bilinga-li
baɖakway	bakala	bali-kung
biɖakwa	bakarr	biling-ang
baɖan	rirrkiyan	bali-kuru
bambuŋi	bala	biling-ki
baɖatj	bala	baliny
baɖatj	bil	djinimi
	biling	gunyirri

baliny-imdja
dji_lim-kima

balipa
dji_lim

balipa-nya-wu
djinim-kirri

baliyi
bilingga

balnya-rra
bilnyi-rr

balu-mak
bagili-gi

balwar-inya-nan
balpar-nya-ki_ning

balwar-mak
balpar-gi
guru_tj_i-gi

balangawya-nmak
balangaw-dji-gi

balarra
balarra

bal_djurriya-nmak
bal_djur_r-dji-gi

bal_kup
bal_kup

bal_kup-ya-ng
bal_kup-dji-gi

bal_martji-ya-ng
bal_mard_it_tj_igi

bal_marrk
bal_marrk

bal_ngbal_ng
bil_bal_ing

bal_ngbal_ngyu-mak
bil_bal_d-dji-gi
bil_bal_dnyir-dji-gi

bal_pal
bal_pal

bal_pu-mak
bal_pi-gi
dji_lidji_l

baman
baman

baman pirr ngayil
baman pirr bil_kirr

baman-wirriy
bil_kirr-bi

bamanwirriy
bamanpi

bama_tuka
bama_tuka
bat_jika_li

bambarr
bambarr

bampay
bambay

Banambarrmurr
Banambarridji

banbala
ngunyili

banbim
girr-ban
girrgima

bandayama
bandayama

ban _darriyi-n
mu?-murt_ji-mi

ban _darriyi-nmi
mu?-murt_ji-mi

ban _djurram yu_ta
djad_jiri

banimbirr
banimbirr

-banmi (?)
-nyir-bi

-banmi D
-ban

bandany
bandany

bandanyyi-rrak
bandany-dji-dji

bandanga-k
nuny_dirri

banda-_ngi
gidagida

banditj
banditj

banydja-nmak
buyi-gi

banyin-mak
balidji

banyu
inma

bangara-mak
bangari-gi

bangari-mak
dju_lng-miy-gi

bangamatj
bangamatj

bangya-nmak
bu_narrmidji

bapururr
bapururr

bararra
barrara

bararrk
banggu_l
bararrk

bari
mandigining

bari-mak
bar-gi

bariyana
bardjining

barra	bilakmaral	bi-nmak
barra	bilapilang	dirra-dji-gi
irr	bilakmaral ngalkamdja	binmi (YPA)
barrpu-mak	bilapilak ngurrum	ɲukidji
barrpi-gi	bilak-murr	bintji-rrak
barrwalpulung-yu-mak	djini-pilang	bintji
barrbilpiling-dji-gi	bilak-murr-ngu	bindirrk
barrwan	djini-pilang-mirri	bindirrk
barrwan	djini-pilang-ngu	maɲbing
batja-nmak, batji-nmak	bilak ngalkamdja	maɲit
batji-gi	djili-kirri	bindirrk-ma-nmak
batji	djili ngurr-gima	maɲbi-dj-nyir-dji-gi
batji	bilitj-bilitj	bindjarra
giyaw	bilitj-bilitj	bindjarra
batjparra	bil kang	bindjarri-ya-nmak
batjparra	bilang	bindjarr-dji-gi
bawang	ngunu-pilang	bininyan
bawang	bilngarr?ya-nmak	bininggini
gimirpi	bilngarr-dji-gi	bingi (IMP),
bawul	bila	bi-nmi (YPA)
bawul	bila	garri
bayarra?yu-mak	bilibilingyu-mak	bingiy (IMP)
bayarra-dji-gi	bilibiligili-dji-gi	ɟarrk
bay-bultja-nmak	bilwarr-mak	birar?biraya-nmak
djuj-pultji-gi	bilwir-tji-gi	birapira-dji-gi
bidap-ani	bimulu	birapi-ril
guyum-ban	burrming	djam-pili-gi
bidapi	binbu-mak	birarrirr
djaming	galaka-ngi	biradagarr
guyumi	bindji-rrak	birarri-yi-rrak
bidjay	bintji	gitkit-dji-gi
djirrimiri	bindjirr garmi	birarriyi-rrak
biki	ngalkamdja	birarrgirri-dji-dji
rangan	bindjirr kirim ngurrgima	biraya-nmak
bila	bini	djadaw-dji-gi
bilang	ngunyili	biray?yi-nmak
bilak	bini-pim-ani	milwartjidji
djili	ngunyili-pm-ban	biri
		bapi

<i>biri djunupangur</i> <i>bapi djunupangir</i>	<i>birrka-ṅaṅ-uy</i> ERG <i>bubali-kiṅ-ngir</i>	<i>buku-ḍiya-nmak</i> <i>bumir-tiy-dji-gi</i>
<i>biri wingungur</i> <i>bapi wingungir</i>	<i>birrka-ṅaṅ-wu</i> <i>bubali-kiṅ-ngir-gi</i>	<i>buku-ḍuwattjang</i> <i>nyiniy</i> <i>bumir-ḍuwat nyinidji</i>
<i>birkarr</i> <i>biḍilmi</i> <i>bimbudi</i>	<i>birrmirra-k</i> <i>birrmirrdji</i>	<i>buku-gurrma-nmak</i> <i>bumir-tjami-gi</i>
<i>birungurr</i> <i>birngarr</i>	<i>birrukuwa</i> <i>girrgili</i>	<i>bukuḷ</i> <i>bukaḷ</i> <i>bukaḷing</i>
<i>birraku-mak</i> <i>birraku-ngi</i>	<i>biying-mak</i> <i>biliny-tji-gi</i>	<i>bukuḷili</i> <i>bumirḷili</i>
<i>birralyu-mak</i> <i>birral-dj-nyir-dji-gi</i>	<i>buḍuḍup-buḍuḍup</i> <i>buḍuḍup</i>	<i>buku-ḷimbak</i> <i>buku-ḷimbak</i>
<i>birrang</i> <i>birrang</i>	<i>buḍuyurr</i> <i>buḍuyurr</i>	<i>bukuḷkya-n-mak</i> <i>bukuḷk-tji-gi</i>
<i>birrangany</i> <i>birrangany</i>	<i>bugaga</i> <i>bugabuga</i>	<i>bukuḷuḷ</i> <i>bukuḷuḷ</i>
<i>birranganyyu-mak</i> <i>birrangany-dji-gi</i>	<i>buguṅ</i> <i>bu</i>	<i>buku-ṅaṅ-yu-mak</i> <i>bumir-giṅ-dji-dji</i>
<i>birrbirrya-nmak</i> <i>birrbirr-dji-gi</i>	<i>buka</i> <i>buka</i>	<i>bukurr-mak</i> <i>bukurr-gi</i>
<i>birrip-pirrip</i> <i>birrip-pirrip</i>	<i>buki</i> <i>bumiri</i>	<i>buku-wuṅḍa-nmak</i> <i>bumir-kirrbi-gi</i>
<i>birrirriya-nmak</i> <i>birrirri-dji-gi</i>	<i>buki-bakaḍa</i> <i>bumir-rirrkian</i>	<i>buku-wutji</i> <i>bumir-galbi</i>
<i>birrirri-ya-nyarrang</i> <i>biriritjirring</i>	<i>bukmak</i> <i>bukmak</i>	<i>buku-yabuḷu</i> <i>bumir-yabuḷu</i>
<i>birrk</i> <i>birrk</i>	<i>buku-baḷngbaḷng</i> <i>bumir-biḷbaḷing</i>	<i>buku-yalwitji-rrak</i> <i>bumir-kalikali-gi</i>
<i>birrka</i> <i>bubali</i>	<i>buku-bangari-mak</i> <i>bumir-pangari-gi</i>	<i>bul</i> <i>bil</i> <i>bili</i> (interrog)
<i>birrkaṅaṅ</i> <i>bubalikiṅim</i> <i>bubalikiṅing</i>	<i>buku-bar-mak</i> <i>bumir-par-gi</i>	<i>bulanggitj</i> <i>bulanggitj</i>
<i>birrka-ṅaṅ-murr</i> <i>bubali-kiṅ-mirri</i>	<i>buku bini</i> <i>ngunyil-atjuy</i>	<i>buliya</i> <i>buliya</i>
<i>birrka-ṅaṅ-ngur</i> ABL <i>bubali-kiṅ-ngir</i>	<i>buku-binḍirrk</i> <i>bumir-maṅbi</i>	<i>bulki</i> <i>burriḷi</i>
	<i>buku-ḍiy</i> <i>bumir-ḍiy</i>	

bultja-nmak
bultji-gi

bultja-n-wirriy
bultji-nir-bi

bultja-naṅ
bultji-na-kiṅing

bultjinmak
bultji-gi

bulu
madjirri
yili

bulubul?ya-nmak
bulubul-dji-dji

bulugi
buluki

bulu-waṅbi-nyara
bulu-ngurrigi-nyir-bi

bulu-waṅbu-mak
bulu-ngurri

bulwarriya-nmak
barrkirri-dji-dji

bul?warr-mak
bul?warr-miy-gi

bulalakitj-wirriy
bulalakitj-pi

bulgabulga
bulgabulga

bulki
buli

bulkitj
bulkitj

bul?manytji
bul?manydji

bulul
bulul

bulumṅaṅ
djabatjkiṅing

bulunbul
bulunbul

bulungun
bugirri

buluṭ-mak
birrin-djingi-l-gi

bulwar-mak
rar-ki

bulyi-n
walwaldjigi
wawtjigi

bu-mak
baḍiri-dji-gi

bu-ṅgi
ḍal?
ḍalnggirr

bumbuwiy
ḍadiy

bunbala
biṭma

bunapi
bunapi

bunba
bunba

bunbarr
bunbarr

bunḍalṅu
biṅḍalṅu

bunḍuk
bunḍuk

bunḍurr
bunḍurr

buny-ya-nmak
buny-tji-gi

bungbulṅa-nmak
bungbul-dji-gi

bunggawa
bunggawa

bunggu?ya-nmak
yitjidjidji

bunggu?yi-nmak
yitjidjidji

bungun
bu

burburya-nmak
burbur-dji-gi

burumu
djalkulḍirring

burwalṅ
rakiraking

bur?ya-nmak
bur

burraku-mak
buyir-kiri

burrakungi
birralku

burral
birral

burral-amdja
birral-gima

burral marri wirr
birral ingki

burrdjing
burrdjing

burriyiyu-mak
burrdjing-dji-gi

burrkul-ma-k
batjirr-giri

burrkulmiyal-mak
mal-giri

burrmalala
burrmalila

burr-naṅ
galbi

burrṅu
burrugu

burrpil-dji-nya-wirriy
bali-nyir-bi

burrpilyi-rrak balidji	buwalbuwal-ya-nmak buwalbuwal-dji-gi	ḍaḍaw-yi-rrak ḍaḍaw-dji-dji
burrpurr-mak gulgul-miy-gi	buwal djuḷkim	ḍaḍayi-rrak bugiṅ-dji-dji
burrudil bidal	buwaṭa buwaṭa	ḍadiy ḍjabirrmarr
burruku-burruku burruku-burruku	buwayakdji-rrak buwayak-dji-dji	ḍagaḍagaya-nmak ḍagaḍaga
burrumbi biḍipiḍiṅ	buwayak-yu-mak buwayak-dji-gi	ḍak ḷakagaṅḍa
burrunga burrunga	buwirri bidal	ḍalḍalya-nmak ḍalḍal-dji-gi
burrupurru burru burrupurru	buyar buyiri	ḍal-miy-al ḍirra-dji-gi
burrupurru-bar-mak burruburru-par-gi	buypuru buypuru	ḍalpami-mak balibi-gi
burrurru burrurru	buyubuyu buyubuyu	ḍalwur ḍalwur
burrurṭ-mak inydji yuli	buyubuyu-yu-mak buyubuyu-dji-gi	ḍalwuryi-rrak ḍalwur-dji-dji
burryi burrdjing	buyumarr barrtji	ḍamal ḍamili
buṭ buṭ	buyurmarr baḷngunda burrngunḍa	ḍamarr-mak ḍamarr-miy-gi
butjalak butjalak	-di -dji	ḍamarr-ya-nmak ḍamarr-miy-gi
butjalatjamirring butjalatjamirring	-dil -li	ḍambi ḍambing
butjalak gulungurr	ḍabaḍaba-ya-nmak ḍabaḍaba-dji-gi	ḍambingu ḍambing
butjpu butjpu	ḍada biyalṅgi bugiṅiṅ	ḍambiyu-mak ḍampiḷiṅ-dji-gi
butjputj butjbutj	ḍada biyalṅgi bugiṅiṅ	ḍambuy ḍambidji
butjputjyi-rrak butjbutj-dji-dji	ḍaḍaw-ya-nmak ḍaḍaw-dji-gi	ḍampuḷung-yu-mak ḍampiḷiṅ-dji-gi
butjuwak bunḍi-gi	ḍaḍaw-ya-ṅaṅ ḍawḍaw-dj-nya-kiṅiṅ	ḍaṅḍanga ḍaṅḍanga

danydany
danydany

dapi
dapi

dapi-ya-nmak
dap-dji-gi

dap-mak
marr-gi

dar?dariya-nmak
birrmirrdji

darrarra
darrarra

darrarr-mak
darrarr-miy-gi

darriyin
batjbatj

darrka-nmak
but-tji-gi

darrk-mak
but-nyir-dji-gi
rindi-gi

dawdaw-mak
dawdaw-miy-gi

dawka-mak
dak
dapi-li-dji-gi

dawka-mi-nya-wirriy
dapi-li-dj-nyir-bi

dawurr
ganbalatj
guyili

dawurrbu-mak
batbat-tji-gi

dawurr-djarra-k
badji-djirridji

daw?ya-nmak
daw?-dji-gi

digidigi-yi-n
digidigi-dji-gi

diltji
burri
guying

diltji-gatjawudu
burrurruki

diltji-gupurru-mak
burrdji gung

diltji-lawarr
burri lambirring

diltjimurr
burring

diltja-nmak
riki-dji

dimbi-yu-mak
dimbi-dj-nyir-dji-gi

ditdiy
ditdiy

diydiya-nmak
ditji-gi
diydiy-dji-gi

dubitja-nmak
dubitji-gi

dubudubi-tja-nmak
dubudubu-tji-gi

dubudubuk
dubudubuk

dubuk
dubuk

du?duma-ng
dutji-gi

dugu
dugu

dugudugu-ya-nmak
dugudugu-dji-gi

dul?
dul?

dunbaya-nmak
gilitjili-gi

dulbirr
dulbirr

dulpi
dulpi

dulpiyi-rrak
dulpi-dji-dji
gutidjidji, gutumdjidji

dululya-n
dulul

dungdungdji-nmak
dungdung-dji-gi

dungdung-miy-ing
(IMP)
dungdung-dji-gi

dungdungya-nmak
dungdung-dji-gi

dungurru
bart

dup-mak
din-dimi-gi

dupun
dupan
larradjidja

durkdurk
durkdurk

durriya-nmak
yawngi-dji

durkuwa-k
ra-gi

du?tuma-nmak
dutji-gi

dutj
dutj

duwarr
duwarr

djabarrka-nmak
djabarrk-dji-gi

djabarrknan
djabarrkginging

djabarrk-wanga-k
djabarrk-wangi-dji

djadaw[?]ya-nmak
djadaw

djadjuditj
djadjuditj

djaga-djap-mak
djaga-djingi-l-gi

djagadji-nmak
djaga-dji-gi, djaka-dji-gi

djaganda
djaganda

djagar
djaga!

djagar-wanbu-mak
djagil-ngurri

djagulpa
djagulpa

djaka
djaka

djakal
djal

Djakalawirra
Djakalabirri

djakal-dambi
djal-dambing
galbi-dambing

djakal-dampulung
djal-dampiling

djakal-rani
djal-rani

djakal-wali
djal-wali

djakalan
ngambulginging

djakalangarr
djakirri

djakaan
djagaginging

djakay
djakiy

djaki
djapi

djaki-mungun
djapi-mungan

djakirrdji-nmak
bat

gatji-gi
gattji-gi

djakmarrarra
djakmarrarra

djalangan
djilang

djalatjang
djalatjang

djalbun-mak
djalbini-gi

djaldjalyang
djaldjal

djalgu
mirgi
mirkng

djalgudju-rrak
mirgidjidji

djali
djuli

mirgi
mirkng

djalim-yu-mak
djalim-dji-gi

djaliyi-rrak
mirgidjidji

djalkar-mak
djagir-gi
guda!

djalng
djal
djalng

djal+ngarri
djal-ngurri

djalngdji-rrak
djalng-dji-dji

djalnginy
matjal!

Djalnginymirringa
Djalinymirri

djalngi-rrak
djalng-dji-dji

djalinydjal
djilinydjal!

djal Karang
djalrurr

djal Kar-mak
rirrtji-gi

djal Kiri-mak
rirrtji-gi

djalwirrirriya-nmak
djalwirrirr-dji-gi

djama
djama

djamadju-mak
djama-dji-gi

djama-nan-yarr-nguru
djama-gining-mirrpili-gi

djamaṅdarr
manyigani

djamayu-mak
djama-dji-gi

djambaku
djambaku

djambatj
djambatj

djambi-yu-mak
djambi-dji-gi

djamunumun
djamunumun

djamurr
giliwurrwarr
lunbu

djamurr 'rib cage'
biliwurrwarr

djan
djin

djanabu
damarran

djana-ny
djani-nyi

djan.gi?ya-nmak
gurkirr-gi

djan.gi?-ya-nmak
djan.gi-tji-gi

djani
djani

djani-kar
djanng-ar

djani-kung
djanng-ang

djani-kuru
djan-ki

djani-ny
djani-nyi

djanu-kung
djanng-ang

djanbul-djanbul
djanbul-djanbul

djany+arr
djinyi+rr

djanyarr
butjiy

Djanyarrbirrik
Djanyirbirri

-djang
bildjirri

djanggu
djanggu

munydjal
djanguny
djanguny

djapany
djapinying

djapiḍi
djapiḍi

djap-mak
djingiri-gi
malimdji-gi

djapurrdju-mak
manya-ng

djapurru-mak
manya-ng

djara
djagiḷwari

djaragi
djirrimiri

djarak
djarak

djara-nga-nmak
djiri-ngil-gi

djaranggulḷk-yu-mak
djarrngu-tji-gi

djaraw
djalḷk

djari-mak
gap
gulḷk

djar-mak
djar-gi

djarnggulḷk
mani

djaru-ng
djayi-gi

djarwirrlingyu-mak
djarbirrgili-dji-gi

djarra-k
djirri-dji

djarraḷbu-mak
djirriḷbi-gi

djarratjarra
djarratjarra
maḷawurru

djarratj-mak
giyka-ngi

djarrrabar
djarrrabar

djarrrbu-nmak
burr-djutjdjutj-dji-gi

djarrrdjarr-ya-nmak
djarrrdjarr-dji-gi

djarribir
walir

djarribir?-djang
maṅngibirri

djarridjarri-ya-ngu
buḷ

djarrrk
djarrrk

djarrrka
djarrrka

djarrrkdjarrrk
djarrrkdjarrrk

djarrrkuḷ
djarrrkuḷ

djarrrma
djarrrma

djarrrma-gaḷung
djarrrma-biṅi

djarrrmar
ngirki

djarrr nya-mak
djarrr nya-ngi

djarrrpaḷ
gaṅḍi

djarrrpaḷ-djunga-nmak
gaṅḍi yirrpigi

djarrpaḷ-muḍuḷ
gapal-mirrpili

djarrpaḷ-wirriy
gindi-bi

djatja
djatja

djawal
djawal
garak

djawaldjana-mak
djumili-tjatji-gi

djawal-ginga-k
bungtji-gi

djawalkitj
djawalkitj

djawal-nya-mak
garak-nya-ng

djavar-yi-n
djavar

djavar-yi-nmak
djavar-dji-dji

djawuku-mak
djami-gi

djawuḷpa
djagulpa

djayaḷ
baḷdji
djayaḷ

djayaḷ-amdja
djayaḷ-gima

djay djuḷkyan
djay djuḷkim

djay gatja-nmak
djay-gatji-gi

djay-murr
djaydjaying

djayurrkyurrk
djayurrdjurrk

djaywar-mak
yani

djay-wurtja-nmak
djay-wuywuy-dji-gi

djibu
djibu

djibuy
djibuy

djikaḍa
djikaḍa

djikdjikkal-mak
giligili-tji-gi

djilaku
djilaku

djil-ya-nmak
djil-dji-gi

djiḷ-tja-nmak
djiḷ-tji-gi

djimiḍi
djimiḍi

djimuku
djimuku

djimurru
djimurru

djina+kakal-imdja
djini-pan-gima

djina+kakal-yarr
djini-pili

djina+kakal-yarr-pim
djini-wili-pm

djinak+ani
djiniapan

djinba
djaming

djindjalma
djindjalma

djiniku-pani
djini-mirri

djininy
djining

djininy-mala
djini-wili

djininy-mala-k
djini-wil-angi

djininy-mala+ny
djini-wili-tji

djininy ngalkamdja
djini ngurrgima

djini-ngur-pani
djini-ngir-pm

djini-ngur yipi
djini-ngir yipi

djinipuy
djaming

djinirpa-ny
djini?djining

djinirpa-ny
djini

djinirpa-ny-pim
djini-pm

djin
djini

djinygurrurr
balnggiḷi

djinygurrurri-rrak
balnggi-dji-dji

djinyinydjarrak
djinyinydjarrak

djip-mak
djip
yirrpigi

djirang?djirang-naḷ
djirrdjarring

djir?maka-nmak
djir?mak-dji-gi

djirriti-mak
djiti-gi

djirritjirrinydja
djirritjirri

djirrkiny
nyiknyik

djirrapa
bidaga

djiṯ
djiṯ

djiwarr
ṇami

djiwirrdji-nmak
djirri-dji

djiwirrtji-nmak
wayku-ngi

djiwirr?ya-nmak
djirri-dji

djiwirr?-ya-nmak
buṯ

djiyaṇaṇ
bulping

djiyi
djidji

djubaya-nmak
djuk-marr-gi

djuburr
djuburr

djuburraṇ
djuburrgiṇing

djuburr-bultja-nmak
djuburr-pultji-gi

djuburr djunupa
djuburr djunupa

djuburr marali-ṇaṇ
djuburr mayali-giṇing

djudap durrkuwa-k
djudup ra-gi

djudapya-nmak
djudap-dji-gi

djuditj
djuditj
yilimirri

djuditj-wirriy
djuditj-ping

djudju-gar-mak
djudju-ga-ng

djudju-war-mak
djudju-ga-ng

djukaḷ
djukaḷ

djukarra+m
gadjigirri-ng(i)

djukurr
gadjigarr

djuḷ
midjirri

djuḷaḷ
giliwilim, giliwiling

djuḷaḷ-wirriy
giliwila-pi

djuḷdjuḷ-yu-mak
djuḷdjuḷ-dji-gi

djuḷka-n-mak
bangari-gi

djuḷka-nmak
djuḷng-dji-gi

djuḷkumi
djuḷkim

djuḷkumu
gabirring

djuḷuḷu
djuḷuḷu

djuḷudjuḷu-ya-nmak
djuḷudjuḷu-dji-gi

djuḷurruya-nmak
yigili-gi

djumala
djumala

djumbalya-nmak
djumbal-tji-gi

djumbal-ya-nmak
djun-dji-gi

djundjarr
djundjarr

djunungguyangu
djunungguyangu

djunupa
djunupa

djunupa-yu-mak
djitdjin-dji-gi
djunupa-dji-gi

djunga
buming
djunga

-djunga-nmak
-djingi-l-gi

djungany-pim badak
djunga-pm bidak

djunga-pim
djunga-pm

djunga wudapa-na
+ruw
djunga yigili-nyir-gi

djunga-yi-rrak
djunga-dji-dji

djunggay
djunggay

djunggay-mirring
djunggay-pili

djunggay-puli
djunggay-pili

djunggi
djunggi
gurrtdji

djunggi mak
djunggi mak

djunggu bulmuṇu	gadaḷ-djunga-nmak djirriḷbi-gi	galka-nmak, galki-nmak gali-ki
djungulu djungulu	gaḍaman gaḍaman	galki ngidjirrkngi
djuri bunyan	-gaḍung -bini	galki-ril ngidjirrigi-li
djuri-balpaḷpu-mak bunyin-banpi-gi	gaḍung wana	galnganaṇ galngayngu
djuri-djakal bunyan-djal	gaḍungdji-rrak wanadjidji	galngarrarra-ya-nmak galngarrarra-dji-gi
djuri-djuru+ngur bunyin-dji-pm	gaḍungdju-mak wanadjigi	galngi galngi
djuri niy djip-mak gar-mak bunyi+nydji yirrpī kiri	gaḍung-pim gididjirring	galngi-binḍirrk galngi-manḅi
djurra djurra	gaḍungudji-rrak djurr-gi, djurri	galngibiraya-nmak galngibira
djurr-amdja djurr	gaḍungyi-rrak wanadjidji	galngi bulanggitjyi -rrak galngi bulanggitj-dji-dji
djurrkuḍu-mak djurrkuḍu-miy-gi	gaḍungyu-mak wanadjigi	galngi-diy?diy galngi-diy?diy
djurru-mak djurr-gi, djurri	gaḍuwgaḍuw gaḍuwgaḍuw	gal?ngu galkngu
djuṭidjiti djuṭidjuṭu	gadji-nmak witji-gi	galyarra galikali
djuṭidjitiṅgi djuṭidjuṭu	gaga guwa	galamun girraḷa
djutjtjutj djuy	gakawarr gakawarr	galanyan galanyan
djuwali djuli	galadjarr galadjarr	galang-ṇaṇ laykin-giṇiṅ
djuwayka djuwayka	galitjarr gibilbal girrabili	gal?gal-mak gal?gal-miy-gi
ga girri	galiwurr birrari	galigali galigali
gaḍak gaḍiti	galiy galiy	galitjirringu galitjirring
	galka galk	

<i>galiwarr</i>	<i>gaṇi</i>	<i>gar-baṇḍarrk</i>
<i>galiwarr</i>	<i>gaṇi</i>	<i>gar-baṇḍarrk</i>
<i>galkalu-mak</i>	<i>ganydjarr</i>	<i>gar-garluṭ</i>
<i>wayku-ngi</i>	<i>ganydjarr</i>	<i>gar-garluṭ</i>
<i>galṁarr</i>	<i>ganydjarr gaḍung</i>	<i>gar-gurriyala</i>
<i>galṁarr</i>	<i>ganydjirr-biṇi</i>	<i>gar-gurriyili</i>
<i>galṁgbuy</i>	<i>ganga-k</i>	<i>gari</i>
<i>galṁgbuy</i>	<i>birru-gi</i>	<i>gari</i>
<i>galṁpang</i>	<i>gaparra</i>	<i>gari-baṇḍarrk</i>
<i>galṁpang</i>	<i>gapirri</i>	<i>baṇḍarr</i>
<i>galuṭ</i>	<i>gapi</i>	<i>gari-mak</i>
<i>galuṭ</i>	<i>djurumuḷ</i>	<i>gar-gi</i>
<i>galuwu-mak</i>	<i>gapi</i>	<i>gari-pani</i>
<i>giḷibi-gi</i>	<i>gapi djagar</i>	<i>gari-pm</i>
<i>gam</i>	<i>gapi djagaḷ</i>	<i>gari-wakal-mak</i>
<i>gima</i>	<i>gapi gundjalng</i>	<i>gar-wali-ki</i>
<i>ga-mak</i>	<i>gapi djalgi</i>	<i>garkambarr</i>
<i>ga-ngi</i>	<i>gapi-mugu</i>	<i>baḍayala</i>
<i>gamuṇunggu</i>	<i>gapi-mugu</i>	<i>garkara-k</i>
<i>gamuṇunggu</i>	<i>gapi-ṁaṇ</i>	<i>gukirri-dji</i>
<i>gamurr</i>	<i>gapiṇing</i>	<i>garkman</i>
<i>gamurr</i>	<i>gapi-nyarrang</i>	<i>galtjining</i>
<i>gana</i>	<i>gapi-nyirring</i>	<i>gar-mak</i>
<i>yarim</i>	<i>gapi-nguy</i>	<i>giri</i>
<i>ganangalkngalk</i>	<i>gapi-nguy</i>	<i>ḷarr</i>
<i>ganingalkngalk</i>	<i>gapiri-mak</i>	<i>gar-maluk</i>
<i>gandayala</i>	<i>gapi-gu-ngi</i>	<i>gar-maliri</i>
<i>gandayala</i>	<i>gapir-mak</i>	<i>garpaṇ</i>
<i>gandji</i>	<i>gapir-gi</i>	<i>garpaṇ</i>
<i>gandji</i>	<i>gapula</i>	<i>garu-gurriyal</i>
<i>gaṇambi</i>	<i>gapula</i>	<i>gar-gurryili</i>
<i>giṇimbi</i>	<i>garabak</i>	<i>gar-ya-nmak</i>
<i>gaṇangarra</i>	<i>wuyimbaḷ</i>	<i>gar-dji-gi</i>
<i>djaṇbuḷ-djaṇbuḷ</i>	<i>gara-mak</i>	<i>garr</i>
<i>gaṇangarra</i>	<i>giri</i>	<i>garr</i>
<i>gaṇay</i>	<i>garambak</i>	<i>garrany-dja-nmak</i>
<i>gaṇal</i>	<i>wuyimbaḷ</i>	<i>galiyi-gi</i>
<i>gaṇḍalpurru</i>	<i>garapa</i>	
<i>gaṇḍalpurru</i>	<i>garapa</i>	

garrapi-nmak
garrpi-gi

garrarrk
yagirri

garrarrka-mak
buygung

garray
buṭal

garrayarr
garrayarr

garray-mak
guwu

garraywurumi-mak
bunyin djiti-gi

gariyuwa
gariyuwa

garrkatdji
garrkatdji

garrkuḷuk
garrkuḷuk

garrma-nmak,
garrmi-nmak
gami-gi

garrpa-nmak
garrpi-gi

garrpu-ng (IMP)
garrbiṭ

garrung
garrung

garrurrurr
garrurrurr

gaṭpurr
gaṭpurr

gattja-nmak
gattji-gi

gatja-nmak
baṭ
gatji-gi

gatjawuḍu
gurrugurru

gawarrka
gawarrka

gawarrkawirriy
muṇibi

gawirarr
gawirarr

gawiy
buḍi

gaya
biligi

gaya-nmak
witji-gi

gaya-nmak,
gadji-nmak
bugiḷi-gi

gayawirriy
bamanpi
bulaḷkitj-pi

gaya-wirriy
gay-ping

gayit
gayit

gaynggarr
gaynggarr

gaypu-mak
gaypi-gi

gibidipi
gibidipi

gikanggi
gikanggi

gikuwa
gikuwa

gila-nmak
gilgi-rr-gi

gilgi-nmak
birrgili
gilgi-rr-gi

giḷarrpulnguy
wana-pili-mirring

gimnyarr
gimnyarr

gimnyarra
gimnyirri

giṇḍi
gaṇḍi

giṇḍi-ra-na-wirriy
bananydjarr

giṇḍiril-mak
giṇḍili

gingin
gingin

ginydji
butjiri

ginydji-djanguny-naṇ
butjir-djanguny-gining

ginydji-djarrkuṭ
butjir-djarrkuṭ

ginydji-gatjawuḍu
butjir-gurrugurru

ginydji-guḷiyirr-naṇ
butjir-balpir-gining

ginydji-marnggi
butjir-marnggi

ginydji-midi
butjir-djumiling

ginydji-midiyi-rrak
butjir-djumili-dji-dji

ginydji niy balpu-mak
butjir inydji kungi

ginydji-naṇ-yu-mak
butjir-giṇ-dji-gi

ginga-k
gingi-dji

girirri
gudurri

girri
girri

girrili-mak
mini

girriḷik
gata

girriḷik
guditjimarr

girri-mirring
girri-pili

girriny-dja-nmak
girriny-tji-gi

girri-ya-nmak
girri-dji-gi

girrkirrkunḷu
girrkilḷing

giybaluw
gapiḷing

giyi
giyi

giyinga-k
gingi-dji

giykiny-dja-nmak
garpi-gi

giykinydja-n-nyarrang
garpi-nyirring

giyngarranya-ng
gidjirri-ngi-l-gi

giyngurra-k
marrngirrdji

guba-k
gubi-dji

gubuḷu
gubuḷu
madjawurr

gubuḷu+mdja
gubuḷu

gudarr
gudarr

malipmalir
maliri

guditjinirri
guditjirri

gudi?yi-nmak
gudi-tj-nyir-dji-gi

gudurrḷuk
gudurrki
gulukulung

gudjuw
gudjuw

gulmangu
gulmigi

gulmangu-pani
gulmi-ngim

gulmangu-ru-w
gulmi-gir-ki

gulmangu-yarr
gulm-aw
gulmig-uw
gulmi-wili-ngi

gulang
budi

gulangnan
budibudigili

gulawurr
gulawurr

guliny
gamununggu
gulinydjarr

guliyirri
balpir

guliyirrinan
balpirgḷing

gulki
gulurwi

gulkiy
ran.gu

gulkmḷin
gulkmḷin

gulku
gulku

gul-mak
gul
gul-miy-gi

gultja
djayarr
guridji

gultja ngambuḷ
djayarr ngirgi

gulu
gulu

guluminya
guluminy

gulun-ḷambi
garngarri

gulun
budjirri

gulun bulanggitjyi
-rrak
budjirr marrkap-dji-dji

gulun gatja-nmak
budjirr gatji-gi

gulun manymakyi-rrak
budjirr buḷil-dji-dji

gulun-mirring
budjirr-pili

gulun-munungu
budjirr-munḷing

gulun niy bar-mak
budjirr inyḷdji par-gi

gulun-ḷirrp-mak
budjirr-ḷirrp-miy-gi

gulun-nguḷbitj
budjirr-nguyminḷ

gulun-pim
budjirr-pm

guluṅuṅi *ngaya-k*
budjirrgi ngadji-dji

guluṅ-wayirra
budjirr-wayirri

guluṅ-wayirra-ṅaṅ
budjirr-wayirri-giṅing

gulya-nmak
gulḍji-gi

gulyi-rrak
gulḍjidji

gumang
gurrubirbir
gurrumba

gumburr
biṅiny
gumbirri

gumburr bilanydji
bilandji

gumburr-mungun
gumbirr-mungan

gumir
gumiring

gundjalng
gurriykurriy

guṅburrk
guṅburrk

gundur-ya-nmak
gundir-dji-gi

gundjalnyi-rrak
djalgi-dji-dji

gundjalng
djalgi
djalkngi
girrkirrmirring

gundjal-yu-mak
djalgi-dj-nyir-dji-gi

gunḡi
gunḡi

gunḡi-balpu-mak
gunḡi balpi-gi

gunḡi bilya-nmak
gunḡi bilḍji-gi

gunḡi ḍambi
gunḡi ḍambing

gunḡi darrka-nmak
gunḡi but-nyir-dji-gi

gunḡi djarrkuḡ
gunḡi djarrkuḡ

gunḡi djip-mak
gunḡi yirri-gi

gunḡi-djupunma-nmak
gunḡkurtji-gi

gunḡi marrayar-ya
-nmak

gunḡi marrayar-dji-gi

gunḡi-ṅaṅ-yu-mak
gunḡi-giṅ-dji-gi

gunḡirawa
gunḡililḡing

gunḡirilyu-mak
gunḡili

gunḡi wutji
gunḡi galbi

gunḡi yaku
gunḡi yaku

gunḡun
gunḡan

gunḡuyu-mak
gurtji-gi

gunḡi
gunḡi

gunḡi gaḍung
gunḡi-biṅi

gunḡir
gunḡarr

gunḡi-yi-rrak
gunḡi-dji-dji

gunmul
djambirrgi
gunmal

gunydjarra
gunydjirri

gunydjarrak D
gunydjirri

gunggayu-mak
gunggadji-gi

gupay
djirrbal

gupurr
biri

gupurr-balngpaḡng
bir-bilbaḡing

gupurr-binḍirrk
bir-manbi
bir-maḡit

gupurr-djararrk
bir-djararrk

gupurr-djunga
bir-djunga

gupurrdjunga-nmak
bir-yirri-gi

gupurr-gaḍaman
bir-gaḍaman

gupurr-galḡmarran
bir-galḡmarr katji-gi

gupurr gatja-nmak
bir gattji-gi

gupurr-gatja-nmak
bir-gatji-gi

gupurriya-nmak
bir-kiri

gupurr-ṅakam
bir-ṅami

gupurru-mak

gunggatji-gi

gu-ngi

gupirr-gu-ngi

gupurr-wapira-k

bir-yulgungi

gupurr-warrarra

bir-warrarra

gupurr-yabulu

bir-yabulu

gupurr-yarr-pani

bir-mirrpili-pm

gurak

guraki

gurak durrkuwa-k

guraki ra-gi

gurak gurrrpa-nmak

guraki gurrrpi-gi

gurak wanga-k

guraki wangidji

gurini

gurrtjirtjir

guringin

djarwarri

gurubuk

gulaḍi

gurriyu-kurriyu-mak

gurrrku-ngi

gurrrkaṅangarr

gurrrkaṅangarr

gurrrkiṅin

gurrrkiṅing

gurrrkurr

gurrrkarr

gurrrkurrma-nmak

birrpirru-gi

gurrrma-nmak

djami-gi

gurrrmul

gurrrmal

gurrrmulya-nmak

gurrrmil-dji-gi

gurrrmun

ngirrtjnyakiṅing

gurrrmun 'fire'

djunggi

gurrrngul biṅdirrk

djilang-manṅbing

gurrrpa-nmak

guluku-ng

gurrrpuḷu

gurrrpuḷu

gurrru-kurrru-ng

gu?-kurrr-gi

gurrrulk

gurrrulk

gurrrulk miyalk

gurrrulk mungi

gurrrumu

gurrrumu

gurrrung

gurrrung

gurrrupa-nmak

gurrrkurrrpi-gi

gurrrupa-nmak,**gurrrupi-nmak**

gurrrpi-gi

gurrrurruk

gurrrurruk

gurrruṭi

gurrruṭi

gurrruṭi-ṅaṅ

gurrruṭi-giṅing

gurrruṭu

gurrruṭi

gurrruṭu-ṅaṅ

gurrruṭi-giṅing

gurruwiling

gurrubiliny

gurruwiḷi

bapi

gutjarr gatja-nmak

djay-gatji-gi

guwabi

bapiḷi

guwa-k

gubi-dji

guwang

bapiḷi

guwang-ngu

bapiḷi-ngu

guwangpim

bapilipm

guwayṅaṅ

baṅḍa

guway-ṅaṅ

gar-giṅing

guwiy (IMP)

bay?

guwu

guwu

guya

guyi

guya-nmak

gunggi batji-gi

guyi

guyi

guyirr?-yi-n

gudjirr-dji-dji

guykuy

giyany

guyuka-nmak

djuk-marr-gi

-imdja
-gima

ka!
ka!

-ka+ny
-ngiri-ny

-kany
-ngi-ny
-ny

-kar (on pronouns)
-ngir-

-kay
-aw

-kir
-ngir

-kuru
-gi

lim
lim

li-mak
mini

limala-ny
limili-ny, inmili-ny

limila
limala, inmila

liny
liny

linyala
linyala, inyila

linyala-ny
linyili-ny, inyili-ny

lipalipa
lipalipa

litj
iltja
litj-ny, iltj-ny

lamu-djunga-nmak
lamu-dji-gi

langgarr
langgarr

langya-nmak
lang-tji-gi

laparr
laparr

laparra?yu-n
mutitj

lapitji-nan
lapitji-gining

lap-mak
lap-miy-gi

lapy-a-nmak
lap giri

larrdji-nmak
galmi-dji

larrdji-nmak,
larriya-nmak
djirri|bi-gi

larriya-nmak
galmi-dji

latju
latju

lawarr
lambirring

laya-nmak
lay-dji-gi

laylay
laylay

laylaya-nmak
laylay-dji-gi

laytjin
laytjin

lilawka-nmak
gilgilngirri-dji-dji

limbik
limbik

lirri
dapala|

liwliw-mak
liw

liw-miy-gi

lu|atji-rrak
lu|atjidji

lunggurrma
lunggurrma

lurridja
galgal

lurru
duli
duling

lurrukun
gandarr
lurrukan

lurrukun-djana-mak
mal-djattji-gi

lurrukun-gapi
mal-gapi

lurrukun-gar-mak
mal-giri

lurrukunbul
bilawili

lurru-yi-rrak
duli-tji-dji

luwal-mak
galal-tji-gi

ma?
ma?

-ma
-dji

mabuda|
mabuda|

madakarritj
madakarritj

maḍakarritjdji-rrak
maḍakarritjtjidji

maḍakarritji-rrak
maḍakarritjtjidji

maḍayin
maḍayin

maḍiwi
mirrdjing

maḍuwiy
midipili

madjika
gurrpuḍu

madjirr
djirrk

magaya
magaya

makarrṯa
makarrṯa

mala
mala

mal-gapi
mal-gapi

malgarrama-nmak
garrwur-dji-gi

maliya
maliya

maliyi
guḷkmiṅ

malk
malk

malkaṅa
malkaṅa

malkurya-nmak
malkur-dji-gi

malnga
malngiri

-maltjani
-mirrpili

maltja-nmak
maltji-gi

maltjaṅa
bininggili

maluk
maliri
munyi

mal-waltjan
mal-mayurrk

mal'ya-nmak
maltji-gi

maliyi
minarr

mal'ki
ngirimbiy

mama-nmak,
mami-nmak
galbu-ngi

mamin
bupini

mamin-nyarrang
bupini-nyirring

manarr
minarr

manda-nmak
baṯ

manda-nmak,
mandi-nmak
gurtji-gi, marrgi

mandi-nmak
baṯ

mani
mani

mani-bar-mak
burri-par-gi

manyi
wurgi

manymak
ḷaytjuw
manymak

manymak-dju-mak
manymak-dji-gi

manymak-yi-rrak
manymak-dji-dji

manymak-yu-mak
manymak-dji-gi

mapu
giyi

mapu-ṅaṅ-yi-rrak
giy-giṅ-dji-gi

marali
mayali

maram
maḍim

mari
gunyambi
maraḷkur

marnggi
marnggi

marr
marr

marra ḍibarr
ḍibarr

marrakiḍi
mapaḷ

marrap
miri

marrarraka-n-mak
badji-wangidji

marrbi-nmak
marrbi-gi

marr-bulanggitj-dji
-nya-wirriy
marr-bulanggitj-nyir-bi

marr-bulanggitj-yi
 -rriy
marr-bulanggitj-dji-yi
marr-burral-ṇaṇ-yi
 -rrak
marr-pirral-kiṇ-dji-dji
marrga
 marrga
marrgaka-ng
 marrka-ngi
marrri mirka
 balaypalay
marringi
 mirringi
marriyang
 marriyang
marrkarrḍay
 mapaḷ
marrkuḍan
 mapaḷgiṇiṅ
marrkuḍu
 mapaḷ
marrkurr
 mapaḷ
marrngirra-k
 marrngirrdji
marrtji
 giri
marr waṇal-mak
 marr baltji-gi
maway-dji-nya
 -wirriy
 buḷki-nyir-bi
mawayi-rrak
 buḷkidji
maygi
 guyi
 maypal

mayngi
 maypal
mayurrk
 mayurrk
miḍi
 djamiḷi
 djumiḷiṅ
miḍidju-mak
 miṇibi-gi
miḍipi
 djaming
miḍiyu-mak
 miṇibi-gi
miku
 giṇimiṇi
 girriwal
mil
 mil
mila-mak
 marrka-ngi
 mili-ki
milawuy
 bandayama
mil-balṅbaṅg-nyi
 -rrak
 mil-biḷbaḷ-dji-dji
mil-ga-mak
 mil-ga-ngi
milgu-mak
 rarrtjilkung
milipi
 bapi
mil-kaldji-nmak
 yulgu-ngi
milkalyi-nmak
 bur

milka-mak
 marrbi-gi
mil-karrwa-nmak
 mil-ḷirpi-gi
mil-kirrb-i-nmak
 mil-ḷirpi-gi
milapṇaṇ
 djini guyimi
minini
 midji
mininik
 midji-gir-ki
miṇḍirryi-nmak
 biḍaykang
miṅgu-mak
 galng-galng-dji-gi
 miṅgu-ngi
minyirranyu-mak
 malupu-ngi
mirawuy
 ḍiḍuyngu
mirka
 bilay
mirka-ril
 balay-ili
mirka-wani
 balaypalay
mirriki
 biri
mirril-mak
 mirrbili
 -mirring
 -pili
 -miy-
 -miy-, -mir-
miyalk
 miyilk

mu<u>du</u> djiding murrbiṅi	munyurryi-rrak burtjil-dji-dji	niy bultja-nmak inydji bultji-gi
muk<u>djiya-nmak</u> mukdjigi	munyurryu-mak burtjil-dji-gi	niy bu<u>lu</u>ṭ-mak inydji birrin-djingil-gi
muk<u>u</u> muku!	mungbu-mak gupidjidji	niy giliny-nya-<u>ngi</u> bapi+nydji nya- <u>ngi</u>
muk<u>u</u>k bapipi bawupi	mungun mungan	ṅakam djiwarr ṅami
muk<u>u</u>k-ung bawupa-r	mungunbirriy munibi	ṅaki bambuḷi
muk<u>u</u>luk gurapala	muri djamunumun	-ṅaṅ- PROP -giṅ-, -giṅimi, -giṅingi
muk<u>ya-nmak</u> djarribi-dji-dji	mur<u>muraṅ</u> murmur-dj-nyiri- <u>ng</u>	ṅa<u>ṭa-k</u> burrtjirr-dji
mul<u>kurr-ra-na-wirriy</u> murr-randi-nir-bi	mur<u>mur-ya-nmak</u> murmur-dji-gi	ṅikanmi djiṅi
mul<u>kurryun</u> budjirrminy	-murr -mirri	ṅikirrmany ngunumi, djiningi
mul<u>tjalnya</u> mulngi	murr<u>uka</u> mirrpmi	ṅilim murrurrt
mul<u>kurr</u> budjirri	-naru-w -nir-gi	ṅimburr bugirri
munatja djaltji munatja	naw nibi, libi	ṅinini ṅinini
munuk minini	nawala nibila, libila, inbila	ṅipirri buku
munu-mak mini	nawala-ny nibili-ny, inbili-ny, libili-ny	ṅirr<u>ya-nmak</u> guway ṅirr-dji-gi
mununu midji	-na-wirriy -nir-bi	ṅitgi gulupaṅ
muṅmi muṅi	niy inydji	ṅudu<u>ḍi</u> ṅumpṅum
muny<u>djurrng</u> bamburr	niy bangari-mak inydji bangari-gi	ṅudjirr<u>gu-mak</u> ṅunydjirri
munyurr burtjal	niy biringgiyu-mak binyga-dji-gi biringgi-dji-gi	ṅuki ṅu
		ṅuki yalkuwaṅbu-mak ṅu djarrtjirr ngurridji

-ny (?)**-tji****-nya****-nyir****nyabilkang**

nyabini

nyadjunuk

nyadji

nyagi

nyimi

nyagidji

nyili

nyakalng

nyabini

nyakalng ngunupilak

nyabini ngunupilang

nya-kuru

nyim-ki

nyaliyukany

warngarriny

nyalung

wari

nyalung

wili

nyalung-mirring+uy

wira-pil-ngir

nyalung-nyarr

wira-wili

nya-mak

nya-ngi

nyami

nyimi

nyami-wirriy

nyim-pi

nyamu-wu

nyim-ki

nyan

nyani

nyan-bi

nyani-bi

nyan-gung

nyanng-angi

nyan-guru

nyan-ki

nyani

nyani

nyan-kung

nyanng-angi

nyan-kuru

nyan-ki

nyan-ny

nyani-ny

nyangnya-ng

djaga-dji-gi, djaka-dji-gi

-nyarrang

-nyirring

nyarrka

nyibirri

-nya-wirriy

-nyir-bi

nyaya-k

ngadji-dji

nyayi

nyili

nyibirrik

nyibirri

nyina-k

nyini-dji

nyinakbanmi

nyini-nyir-bi

nyinuk

nyadji

nyinga

djindjalma

nyinga

-nyir, -ir

-dji

nyirri

nyali-ngi

-ny (on pronouns)**-nyi****nyu**

inma

nyu-kung

nyung-ung

nyu-kuru

nyun-ki

nyula-ny

lidj-nyi

ngilidj-nyi, ngildj-nyi

nyuli

ngilidji

nyulu-kuru

ngilidji-ki, ngildji-ki

nyumala

nyimila

nyumala-ny

nyimili-ny

nyumal-kung

nyumil-ang

nyumal-kuru

nyumili-ki

nyumi

nyumi

nyumil-kung

nyumil-ang

nyumil-kuru

nyumili-ki

nyumugininy

ninini

nyun

nyin

nyuna-ny

nyuni-ny

nyuni

nyuni

nyuni-wi nyuni-bi	ngalan gilingkal	ngangi ngangi
nyu+rr nyi+rr	ngalparr mininggal	ngangi-nmak ngagirr-gi
nyurrula-ny ngilidj-nyi, ngildj-nyi	ngama-nmak ngami-gi	ngaragarr ngirki
nyurruli ngilidji	ngamangamaya-nmak ngamangamadjigi	ngaraka ngirki
nyurrul-kuru ngilidji-ki, ngildji-ki	ngamangamayu-mak ngamangamadjigi	ngariyim ngirim-ngimi
ngadan bambuḷi	ngambarra ngambirri	ngar?ya-n (TPA) ngarngartjigi
ngadan ḍirrka	ngambarrak ngambirri	ngarr irr
ngadawa nginawa	ngami-nmak ngami-gi	ngarra-kar ngirra-r
ngali ngili	ngan in.ga	ngarra-kung ngirr-angi
ngalimala-ny ngilimili-nyi, nginmili-nyi	nganabal-kung nginibil-angi, nginbil-angi	ngarra-kuru ngirr-ki
ngalimi ngilimi	nganabi nginibi	ngarra-ny ngirri-nyi
ngalinyala-ny ngilinyili-nyi, nginyili-nyi	nganaparra nganaparra	ngarranga-nmak djiti-gi
ngalinyal-kung ngilinyil-angi, nginyil-angi	ngan-garr in.ga-rr	ngarrawan-djul-k birrin-djingi-l-gi
ngalinyi ngilinyi	nganiwala-ny nginibili-nyi, nginbili-nyi	ngarri ngarri
ngalitjala-ny ngilitj-nyi, ngiltj-nyi	nganiwal-kung nginibil-angi, nginbil-angi	ngarri-nyi ngirri-nyi
ngalitjal-kung ngilitj-angi, ngiltj-angi	nganuwi nginibi	ngarri-wani ngarri-ban
ngalitjal-kuru ngilitji-ki, ngiltji-ki	nganybak ḍunbarr	ngarr-kar ngirra-r
ngalpim ngurrum	nganga-nmak ngagirr-gi	ngarrku ḷabuḷ ngarrku
		ngarr-kung ngirr-angi

ngarr-kuru ngirr-ki	ngirr wirr	ngunuki nguḷi
ngaṭa-k rarrtjilkung	ngirri gurrbi	ngunuku nguḷi
ngaṭnyin djirritjirri ngaṭnyin	ngirri-li gurrbi-wi	ngunukuḷbarr ngunu-wili
ngatjirriyu-mak ginyipirr-dji-gi	ngirri-wirriy gurrbi-bi	ngunukurrmany ngunung
ngatjirr'yi-n ngatjirrdjigi	ngiy ngiy	ngunuḷ-pani nguḷi-pmi
ngatjurr-mak butjalmi-dji	ngiyi lidja, ildja	ngunu-ngur ngunu-ngiri
ngayil biligi, bilimi, bilkirr ngurrwagi, ngurrwakngi	nguduḍi nguduḍi	ngunu-ngur-pani ngunu-ngir-pmi
ngayil pirr baman pirr	ngudunguṭ giṇimbirri	ngunu-pilak ngunu-pilang
ngi lidji, ildji	ngulgurrkurrmirri-yin gurrbi-gu-ngili	ngunurpa-k ngunu-gir-ki
ngilimi ngilimi	nguḷbitj min	ngunurpany nguṇi
ngilimili-ny ngilimili-nyi, nginmili-nyi	nguḷbitji-rrak minḍirrpig-i	-ngur -ngiri
ngilinyala-ny ngilinyili-nyi, nginyili-nyi	nguḷbitju-mak minḍ-dj-nyir-dji-gi	ngurumburr ḍurkḍurk
ngilinyi ngilinyi	nguḷbitjyi-rrak gumirdjidji	ngurra-k ngurri-dji
ngilinyil-kung ngilinyil-angi, nginyil-angi	nguḷurr bambaḷ gilkaḷ	ngurri ngurri
ngilitjil-kung ngilitj-angi, ngiltj-angi	ngunba-pani ngunu-mirri	nguwili wugili
ngilitjil-kuru ngilitji-ki, ngiltji-ki	nguniny ngunumi, ngunung nyani	nguwuḷi bu
ngir ḍurkḍurk	nguniny-amdja djinimi	-nguy -ngir
	nguniny mala ngunu-wili	nguy nguy
		nguyilkiyi-n gudjirr-dji-dji

nguy-mari-ṅaṅ
nguy-mar-giṅing

nguy-murr
nguy-mirri

-pani
-ngimi

-pilak
-bilang

pirr
pirr

-pul
-mirrpili

ra
irra

randa-nmak
lipiṅi-gi
rani

ra-ni
djat

ra-ny
irri-ny

rarranyabirriy
muṅibi

rarr-birrkaya-nmak
yanya-ng

rarri
djabiri
rarri

rarri-gurriyukurriyu
-mak
djabir-gurrukung

rarri-ngawkiya-nmak
djabir-ngaw-tji-gi

rarri-yi ERG
djabiri

rarriyi-mari
djabir-mari

rarrngadjin
rarrtjaḷ

rarrpuḷ
baṅim

rarrpuḷ niy wapira-k
baṅim inydji yulgu-ngi

rarrpuḷngur
baṅimngiri

rarrtjaḷ
rarrtjaḷ

ratjuk
djanambal

ra-yan
irra-djin

raybalngki
raybalngi

raypiny
girrkiling

raypirrya-nmak
butjir-karri

raytjarr
miwini

raytjuk
malmal

-ri
-dji

-ri, -di, -ir, -nyir
-ri

-ril
-li

rilmi
gaka

rilmurr
biliwurrwarr
giliwurrwarr

rilmurrmurr
giliwurrwarr

ripurrum
bilimi
gadjiri

ripurrum-birriy
gadjira-pi-ng

riritji
baṅi

rirkminy
burrkburrk

rirkminy ban gatja
-nmak
burrkburrk-katji-gi

rirkminy-ṅaṅ
burrkburrk-giṅing

rirrpalaḷ
dirrpalaḷ

ruḷ
djuḷuk

rungguḷbu-mak
giliḷibi-gi

rurrang'nga-nmak
birrgili

ru'warriya-nmak
rurrjtjirri-gi

-rr
irr

-tja
-tja

-uy, -nguy, -yi
-dji
-ri

waba
ngiki, ingki

wabayi-nmak
wirrdjidji

wagay <i>bimbi</i>	wa-mak (?) <i>djaltjibi-gi</i>	warrpam <i>warrpam</i>
wagay-nyarrang <i>bimbi-nyirring</i>	wama-mak <i>djatdjat-dji-gi</i>	watak <i>gaykiy</i>
wakal <i>wakal</i>	wanal-mak <i>baltji-gi</i>	waṭin-mak <i>rar-ki</i>
wakal-mak <i>wali-ki</i>	wandja-nmak <i>marrka-ngi</i> <i>mili-ki</i>	wawayka <i>wawayka</i>
wakili-mak <i>wali-ki</i>	wan̄al-nya-wirriy <i>baltj-nyir-bi</i>	wawayka-pul <i>wawayka-mirrpili</i>
wakin <i>buraji</i> <i>gumbala</i>	wan̄bu-mak <i>bat</i> <i>ngurri</i>	-wi <i>-bib</i>
wakinan̄ <i>waykining</i>	wan̄buma munatja <i>djarngurri</i>	wil-dji-na <i>wil-tj-nyiri-ng</i>
wakiya <i>wagirri</i>	wandja-nan̄ <i>gilang-tj-nya-kiṅing</i>	wili-ya-na <i>wil-tj-nyiri-ng</i>
wakulngurra-k <i>walngirri-dji</i>	wan̄gurra <i>wan̄gurra</i>	wil-yi-na <i>wil-tj-nyiri-ng</i>
wali <i>wali</i>	wan̄gura <i>wan̄gura</i>	wirandi-rrak <i>wiṅi-dji</i>
walkitj <i>bal̄marrk</i> <i>waṭi</i>	wanga-k <i>wangi-dji</i>	wirani-ngu-nmak <i>wiṅi-djingil-gi</i>
walkur <i>walkiri</i>	wapira-k <i>bur</i> <i>yulgu-ngi</i>	wirangu-nmak <i>wiṅi-djingil-gi</i>
wal-mak <i>walmi-dji</i>	wari <i>wari</i>	wiritji-nmak <i>yak-dji-gi</i>
walnga <i>wanngi</i>	warinyun <i>wili</i>	wirr <i>wirr</i>
walnga-yu-nya-nan̄ <i>wanngir-nya-kiṅing</i>	wariyu-barr <i>wira-wili</i>	-wirriy <i>-pi-ng</i>
walngu-yu-mak <i>wanngi-dj-nyir-dji-gi</i>	warragan <i>maypal</i>	-wirriy, -birriy, -kung <i>-ang</i>
waltjan̄ <i>mayurrk</i>	warran̄ <i>maypal</i>	-wirriy, -birriy, -wi <i>-bi</i>
walawun̄ <i>gupwugaling</i>	warrangun <i>maypal</i> <i>munydjal</i>	wirrkul̄ <i>midipili</i>
		wirrpim <i>ganba</i>

witj-miy-al rani	wulma wulma	yagi-nmak yagirr-gi
wiyawin munibi	wumbar 'inside' biradagarr	yakarr burralku yakirri
wiypani wurpmi	wunḍa-nmak girrbi-gi	yakya-nmak yak-dji-gi
wiypi wurpi	wunguḷ bumalng ḍir	yalki wanbu-mak djarrtjirr
wiypi-ril wurpi-li	wurridjarra djadarrk	yalpurbu-mak yirрпи-gi
wiypi-ril-wiypi-ril wurpi-li-wurpi-li	wurrk-mak ḍirra-dji-gi	yaḷi bulwarr
wiypi-tja wurpi-tja	wurruki wuruki	yaḷki yaḷi
wiypu+ny wurpi-li	wurrunimiy blik	yaḷman djirrtjarr
wiypu+ny-tja wurpi-li-tja	wutji galbi	yan yan
-wu, -nguru -gi	wutji-pul galbi-wili	yan.gi-mak yani
wuḍapa-nmak yigili-gi	wutji-yi-rrak galbi-dji-dji	ya-nmak yagirr-gi
wuḍapiyi-nmak yigili-gi	wutji-yu-mak galbi-dji-gi	yanydjayi-rrak djidi-dji-dji
wuḍiya-nmak bamaw-dji-dji manydjidji	wuwa wuwa	yanyu-mak yanya-ng
wukirridji-nmak wukirri-dji-gi	wuwak wuwi	yangal guḍjarr
wukirri-yu-mak wukirri-dji-gi	wuydji gapi	yangalan waykiḅing
wukut giḅimbirri	wuyi guḅbulurru yurryarr	yangal ḍi-dawka-na guḅjarr ḍapili-dj-nyira-kiḅing
wukutj djirrimiri wukutj	wuyuwirriy munibi	yangal-djip-mak guḅdjirr-yirрпи-gi
wulgaman wulgaman	yagaḷay yagirri	yangal-mil guḅdjirr-mil

yangal-muṅungu
gundjirr-muṅing

yangal-wayarra
gundjirr-wayirri

yangalya-nmak
guwaguwa-dji-gi

yapak
gaḍiṭi

yapaka-yarr
gaḍiṭ-aw

yapak-pani
gaḍa-ngimi

yarabi
gultji

yarawi
gultji

yarginbirriy
muṅibi

yarim
yarim

yarwi
gultji

-yarr
-mirrpili

yarrarra-mak
yarrarramiygi

yarrka-n
yilitjigi

yarrka-nmak
yilitjirrdji

yarrkidji-nmak
yilitjirrdji

yatja-nmak
yak-dji-gi

yawirrinny
yawirrinny

yibuk-mak
yilbirtjigi

yidaki
wuyimbal

yiki
yiki

yinbulngu
djarrbarbar

yingarray djar-mak
yingarraydjigi

yingarrayu-mak
yingarraydjigi

yitjirr
buṅdirri

yudji
yidjipili

yukuḍa
galwuṅ

yulngi
yul

yumyuma-nmak
nyumigi

yuṭa
yuwirdjing

yuṭayu-mak
yuwirdji-dji-gi

yuwdji-nmak
yawngi-dji

yuyung
yidjipili

APPENDIX 5

SOME DJINBA SENTENCE DATA AND TEXT

This appendix gives selected Djinba data, mostly comprised of elicited sentences. Most of this data was collected in 1981-2, and a little more in 1985. The primary source was George Milpururr (Ganalbingu clan), and the text is from him also. All the data in this appendix is Ganalbingu dialect.

The text is an account of the killing of a buffalo which was seen in the vicinity of the old Arafura homestead (Murwan.gi). The text is given with glosses where known, and a free translation. While every attempt has been made to identify the morphemes, there will be some words where the segmentation is tentative (marked by +), and a few where no segmentation is given but which presumably could, if my knowledge of the language was better, have been segmented.

The first thirty-eight examples are 1985 data, and are simple sentences as might be useful for someone starting to learn the language. After them comes some further 1985 data dealing with functions of POT marking on verbs. Then follows 1982 data which is from a survey I conducted and gives sets of examples illustrating various non-verbal affixes; then lastly comes the text. A Djinang transliteration (with morphemes marked but not glossed) is also given, following the free translation.

- (1) *nya-ngur nyuni gar-kali*
what-ABL 2sgNOM go/come-TPA
From where did you come?
- (2) *ngarri ngarr gar-kal ngirri-ngur*
1sgNOM 1sgNOM come-TPA camp/place-ABL
I came from camp.
- (3) *ngarri ngarr gar-kal store-ril*
1sgNOM 1sgNOM go-TPA store-ALL
I went to the store.
- (4) *ngarri ngarr gar-kal ngunu-ngur ngirri-ngur*
1sgNOM 1sgNOM come-TPA that-ABL place/camp-ABL
I came from that place.
- (5) *nyuni nyayan gar-kali*
2sgNOM thatALL go-TPA
Where did you go to?

- (6) *ngarri ngarr gar-kal wali-ril*
1sgNOM 1sgNOM go-TPA (vegetable)food-ALL
I went to the food.
- (7) *ngarri ngarr gar-kal ngirri-ril ngarrki-ril*
1sgNOM 1sgNOM go-TPA camp-ALL 1sgOBL-ALL
I went to my camp.
- (8) *ngarri ngarr gar-kal ga wali ngarr batji-yin*
1sgNOM 1sgNOM go-TPA then foodUNM 1sgNOM cook-TPA
I went and then I cooked (some) food.

In the following example *nya-kalng* is equivalent to Djinang *nyabini* ‘how many’, ‘how much’, ‘how about’. The *-kalng* (tentative) morpheme is obscure (as also is the *+bini* formative in the Djinang word *nya+bini*). The stem *nya-* is the -HU root form ‘what’.

- (9) *nya-kalng nyuni*
what-?? 2sgNOM
How are you?
- (10) *ngarri manymak*
1sgNOM good/okay
I'm fine.
- (11) *ngarri marri djayaḷ ngarr ḍarri-yi+n*
1sgNOM little.bit slowly 1sgNOM sick-FACT+TPA
I am not feeling well. (lit. I am a little bit sick.)
- (12) *ngarri djayaḷ marri ngarr manymak-dji-n*
1sgNOM slowly little.bit 1sgNOM good-INCHO-TPA
I am feeling a little bit better.
- (13) *barra ḍarri-ya-n*
1sgNOM sick-FACT-PRES
I am sick.
- (14) *ngarri djawar-yi-n*
1sgNOM expended/fed.up-INCHO-TPA
I have become tired. / I have become fed up with it.
- (15) *nyami ngan.gi malk*
whatNOM 3sgDAT skin.groupNOM
What subsection is he/she?
- (16) *nyami nyu malk*
whatNOM 2sgDAT skin.groupNOM
What is your subsection?
- (17) *nyami nyu mala*
whatNOM 2sgDAT groupNOM
What is your clan/group?

- (18) *nyuni nyami gurruṭu-ṅaṅ ngarr-kuru*
 2sgNOM whatNOM kin-PROP 1sg-DAT
 What kinship relation have you to me?
- (19) *nyami djininy*
 whatNOM thisNOM
 What is this? (immediate proximate)
- (20) *nyami baliny*
 whatNOM thatNOM
 What is that? (near proximate)
- (21) *nyami ṅguniny*
 whatNOM thatNOM
 What is that? (remote, or remote-proximate)
- (22) *nyami nyuni ban djama-yu-mi*
 whatNOM 2sgNOM DIST work-THEMSR-PRES
 What are you doing? / What are you making?
- (23) *nyarrka ban wakulṅurri-∅*
 whatLOC DIST play-PRES
 Where is he/she playing?
- (24) *nyami-wani djarribir*
 whatNOM-TF sunNOM
 What time is it?
- (25) *nyalung ṅguniny garrarrk*
 whoNOM thatNOM nameNOM
 What is that (person's) name?
- (26) *nyamu-wu*
 what-DAT
 Why? / What for?
- (27) *ngarri nyu-rr gupurru-mak ga biḍap-ani*
 1sgNOM 2sgACC-1sgERG give-FUT then later-TF
nyuwa-rr wirani-ṅgun-mak
 2sgDAT-1sgERG return-CAUS-FUT
 I will give it to you and then later on I will return it to you.

Note that the reduced pronoun *ngarr* can occur as *barra* 1sgNOM or 1sgERG. This change of initial consonant is not restricted to the 1sg pronoun nor to pronouns beginning with *ng*. There are two possibilities. One is that *b*-initial forms occur when a reduced pronoun commences the verb complex. In this view, the *b* or possibly *ba* formative acts something like a catalyst, as in desert languages to the south-west. The other possibility is that *b*-initial forms are portmanteau combinations of *ban*, the DIST marker, and a following reduced pronoun. There is evidence both for and against both of these possibilities; it may even be that both have part of the truth. For example, in (29) the Djinba clause translates an equivalent Djinang clause having DIST reduplication. I have analysed data according to the first of these two possibilities. Whichever is the case, this behaviour is an internal development in Djinba alone as far as I know. There does not seem to be anything

equivalent to it in other Yolngu languages. It is certainly not a retention of a proto-pattern. (Some instances of initial *ba* may actually be the HITH particle, see the comments preceding (92).) See also (13) above, where HITH would lead to a nonsensical interpretation *‘Over there I am sick.’

- (28) *barra lay-lay-ya-n djininy ga bidap-ani*
 1sgNOM REDUP-busy-FACT-PRES thisNOM then later-TF
rany balwar-mitj
 1sgACC come.to-POT
 I am busy right now, so visit me later on.
- (29) *gana barra gukirr*
 just 1sgNOM walk.aboutPRES
 I'm just walking around (that's all).
- (30) *gana barra djapur-r-yu-m Ganalbingu gurrngu-wu*
 just 1sgERG try-THEMSR-PRES Ganalbingu tongue-DAT
 I am just trying (to speak) Ganalbingu dialect.
- (31) *djama banbim-ani*
 workNOM COMPL-TF
 The work is finished now.
- (32) *ngarri yakarra-n ngarr ngurra-k*
 1sgNOM sleep-TF 1sgNOM lie-FUT
 I will sleep now. / I will lie down now.
- (33) *nyami-nan bilak gudarr-ani ngal djama-yu-mak*
 whatNOM-PROP FRAME tomorrow-TF 1duincERG work-THEMSR-FUT
 Then how about tomorrow we will work (together)?
- (34) *djutj-djutj-ani*
 REDUP-continue-TF
 Goodbye now. / Keep on (with it) now.

The next example includes *bay-amdja* leave.it-PROM, which is cognate with the common Yolngu word *bäydhi* expressing ‘never mind’. The Ganalbingu word shows clearly that the *dhi* formative on the latter is a reflex of earlier PROM marking.

- (35) *bay-amdja ngal guwa-k-ani*
 leave.it-PROM 1duincERG leave-FUT-TF
 Never mind, we will forget about it for now.
- (36) *ngarri ngarr milarra-yi-n*
 1sgNOM 1sgNOM hungry-INCHO-TPA
 I have become hungry. / I am hungry.
- (37) *bin-ani ngarr wirandi-rrak Raman.gining-ril*
 thatALL-TF 1sgNOM return-FUT Raman.gining-ALL
 I returned there to Ramingining.

- (38) *ngarri nyu-rr gupurru-mak ga*
 1sgNOM 2sgACC-1sgERG give-FUT then
biḍap-ani nguniny ra wirani-ngun-mitj
 later-TF thatACC 1sgDAT return-CAUS-POT
 I will give (it) to you, and then later (you) return it to me.

The following is a negative statement, which uses FUT inflection having Irrealis function. However, Irrealis must be distinguished from the Potential function, since (40) is deviant with the sense *'he didn't go'. It is possible to combine NEG and POT only to form a negative imperative.

- (39) *waba gar-mak*
 NEG go/come-FUT
 He/she will not go/come.
- (40) *waba gar-mitj*
 NEG go/come-POT
 (*He/she did not come.) Don't go! / Don't come!
- (41) *nyun gar-mitj-ani*
 2sgNOM go-POT-TF
 Are you about to go?

Since POT can be used for an Imperative function, and since there is also a separate IMP inflection, there is therefore a contrast of meaning which may obtain: IMP is preferred for imperatives in which the action is immediate, while POT is preferred for imperatives in which an action (not necessarily the action of the cited verb) is imminent.

- (42) *wandju-ng*
 wait-IMP
 Wait!
- (43) *baḍak wandji-nmitj*
 not.yet wait-POT
 (I'm) not yet (ready), wait!

The FUT inflection is preferred in (44) when the subject is plural, but if the subject is singular, or is a group of people treated as a unit, then (45) is the preferred syntax.

- (44) *nyinuk djan gar-mak*
 whatTEMP 3sgNOM go-FUT
 When will they go?
- (45) *nyinuk nyuni gar-mitj*
 whatTEMP 2sgNOM go-POT
 When will you go? / When are you about to go?

In the portmanteau reduced pronoun form *nyuwarr* in (46), the *w* is probably epenthetic. Example (46) was offered to me, rather than being elicited. Notice how the FRAME particle, PRES (or it could be YPA) inflection with DIST, and also *ngayil* conspire to indicate a future perfect (continuous aspect) sense.

- (46) *nyuni balipu-ngur nyinuk gar-mitj guwang,*
 2sgNOM this(near)-ABL whatTEMP go-POT thisALL
ngarr ban nyuw+arr wandja-n bilak ngayil
 1sgNOM DIST 2sgDAT+1sgNOM wait-PRES FRAME first/before
 Whenever you might be about to come here to this place, I will have been waiting for you beforehand.
- (47) *ripurru yulngu-y bu-mi miyalk*
 yesterday man-ERG hit-YPA womanUNM
 Yesterday a man hit a woman.
- (48) *nyan bu-mi bunḍuk-ir*
 3sgERG hit-YPA woomera-INSTR
 He hit her with a woomera.
- (49) *birrka-ṇaṇ-uy djan bi-nmi warran*
 random-PROP-ERG 3plERG eat-YPA meatUNM
 Everyone ate meat.

In the next example, the *k* in *miyilkir* is phonetically long, therefore can be written as a geminate. Notice also the *ka* formative which carries ACC case on the word for 'man'; this may be related to OBL -*Gar*.

- (50) *miyalk-kir bu-mi yulngi-r+ka-ny*
 woman-ERG hit-YPA man-??+OBL?-ACC
 A woman hit a man.
- (51) *nyan ban+nyu wandja-n* (note: phonetically *banyu*)
 3sgNOM DIST+2sgDAT look.for/wait-PRES
 He/she is waiting for you. / He/she is looking for you.
- (52) *nyan ban wandja-n djarak-wu*
 3sgNOM DIST look.for-PRES spear-DAT
 He is looking for a spear.

In the next example *banbim* COMPL is apparently used having a Sequence function (like Djinang *girri* in clause-initial position). This is very rare in Djinba. Alternatively we could translate this as 'Yesterday he went for fish, (and) he also went for (vegetable) food'.

- (53) *ripurru nyan gar-mi guya-wu, banbim gar-mi wali-wu*
 yesterday 3sgNOM go-YPA fish-DAT COMPL go-YPA food-DAT
 Yesterday he hunted fish, then he went for vegetable food.
- (54) *ngan.ga-rr bultja-nmak mununu-w*
 3sgDAT-1sgERG tell-FUT MoMoBr-DAT
 I will tell it to (my) classificatory 'granny' (MoMo or MoMoBr).
- (55) *djininy miyalk-wirriy djama*
 thisNOM woman-OR workUNM
 This is woman's work.

- (56) *nguniny yuyung-wirriy djarak*
thatNOM child-OR spearUNM
That is a child's spear.
- (57) *nguniny bambay-wirriy ngirri*
thatNOM old.woman-OR campUNM
That is the old woman's camp.
- (58) *djininy djanyarr-wirriy ngaraka*
thisNOM dog-OR boneUNM
This is the dog's bone.
- (59) *ngarri ngarr gar-mak Marrpi-ril*
1sgNOM 1sgNOM go-FUT Marrpi-ALL
I will go to Marrpi.
- (60) *ngalimi lim gar-mak guya-ril*
1plincNOM 1plincNOM go-FUT fish-ALL
We will go fishing.
- (61) *nganuwi naw nyina-k Marrpi-∅*
1plexcNOM 1plexcNOM sit-FUT Marrpi-LOC
We will stay at Marrpi.
- (62) *bala ban bala nyini-∅ djarnggul-k-murr*
3duNOM DIST 3duNOM sit-PRES stream-LOC
They are sitting at the river (lit. neck).
- (63) *ngarri ngarr ngurra-k djunggu-murr*
1sgNOM 1sgNOM lie-FUT fire-LOC
I will lie beside the fire.
- (64) *wali ngarri mama-n ngirri-li*
foodUNM 1sgERG put.down-YPA camp-SPEC
I place the food down in (my) camp.
- (65) *badan ban ngurri-∅ munatja-murr*
barkUNM DIST lie-PRES ground-LOC
The bark is lying on the ground

Note the form *guwang* thisALL 'to here'. This appears to be an innovation based on the Djinang non-inflecting verb root *guwa* 'come here!'.

- (66) *nyan guwang-pim gar-kal*
3sgNOM thisALL-THPRO come-TPA
He came straight here.
- (67) *nguniny ngarra-kung-pim wali*
thatNOM 1sg-OR-THPRO foodUNM
That's my food only!
- (68) *badak, ban nyini-pim*
wait, DIST sit-THPRO
Wait on, he's still sitting down.

- (69) *ngunu-ngur ngarri wirandi-rr guwang-pim*
 that-ABL 1sgNOM return-YPA thisALL-THPRO
 From that place I returned straight here.
- (70) *Marrpi-ngur ngarri bandanga-n ngirri-ril*
 Marrpi-ABL 1sgNOM run-YPA camp-ALL
 From Marrpi I ran to (my) camp.
- (71) *yulngu-y niy bulut-miy-al miyalk-ngur*
 man-ERG RECIP turn-CAUS-TPA woman-ABL
 The man turned himself away from the woman.
- (72) *nyami baliny marali*
 whatUNM thatNOM meaningUNM
 What does that mean?
- (73) *nguniny miyalk gudungul gadung*
 thatNOM womanUNM tongue big
 That woman talks too much!
- (74) *nguniny milkuru yirral gadung nyini-∅ gari-mi*
 thatNOM strangerUNM slanderUNM bigUNM sit-PRES HABIT-PRES
 That stranger is (habitually) a big slanderer.
- (75) *nyan mari gadung*
 3sgNOM troubleUNM bigUNM
 He/she is a big problem.

Note in (78) that when the final *y* of the KINGRP affix is followed by an affix-initial *y*, then the *y-y* combination is phonetically just a slightly lengthened *y* sound. This applies in general throughout Djinba grammar, hence I shall unpack such reductions wherever I know them to obtain.

- (76) *djani ngarra-kung wuwa-kay*
 3plNOM 1sg-OR older.brother-KINGRP
 They are my group of older brothers.
- (77) *djani nyu-kung gunydjarr-kay*
 3plNOM 2sg-OR father-KINGRP
 They are your fathers.
- (78) *bala nyu-kung gunydjarr-kay-yarr*
 3duNOM 2sg-OR father-KINGRP-PAUC
 They are your two fathers.
- (79) *gilarr-pulu+ng djan wapira-k Darwin-ngur*
 important?-PAUC?+?? 3plNOM arrive-FUT Darwin-ABL
 Some important people will arrive from Darwin.
- (80) *gilarr-pul-nguy ray-yan bultja-n*
 important?-PAUC?-ERG 1sgDAT-3plERG tell-YPA
 Some important people talked to me.

- (81) *nyan yulngi rrupiya-ṅaṅ*
3sgNOM manUNM money-PROP
The man is rich (lit. has money).
- (82) *ngarra-kung ngambarra yuyung-ṅaṅ*
1sg-OR motherUNM child-PROP
My mother is pregnant. / My mother has children.
- (83) *ngarri ngarr bi-nmak-ani ngarr-kung-birriy*
1sgERG 1sgERG eat-FUT-TF 1sg-OR-OR
I will now eat my own (food). (lit. I will now eat of my (food).)

In (83) note how the OR affix *-kung* occurs in the first order position to form a nominal stem which then takes the *-birriy* OR allomorph. The two OR labels have different functions, however, since ASSOC and OR cases have merged in Djinba. The first instance of OR realises Associative function (signalling a Possessive construction) and the second realises Originative function. In (84) note the *gana* 'just' occurring post-positionally to *ngarrakung*. The synonymous Djinang expression is just a single pronoun form, *ngirra-r-ki* 1sg-OBL-?DAT, where the *-ki* formative is homophonous with DAT marking and may in fact be DAT. The Djinang form means 'myself' or 'by myself'.

- (84) *ngarri barra bi-nmak-ani ngarra-kung gana*
1sgERG 1sgERG eat-FUT-TF 1sg-OR just
I will now keep eating just by myself.
- (85) *maliyi bu-ṅgi nyunu-wi*
snakeUNM kill-IMP 2sgERG-INTENS
You yourself kill the snake! (I won't.)
- (86) *lim gar-mak-ani*
1plincNOM go-FUT-TF
Let's go now.
- (87) *nguniny bilak nyan burrpil-yi-rrak, ngan.ga-rr ngaya-k*
thatUNM FRAME 3sgNOM die-INCHO-FUT 3sgDAT-1sgNOM cry-FUT
If he dies I will mourn for him.
- (88) *gayit nyan balpa-m gari-mi*
shovel.noseUNM 3sgERG pound-PRES HABIT-PRES
He is always fashioning shovel-nosed blades.
- (89) *naw gukirr-∅ gari-mi naw*
1plexcNOM walk.about-YPA PROG-YPA 1plexcERG
nya-mi gari-m-ani nganaparra
see-YPA PROG-YPA-TF buffaloUNM
We were walking about and seeing buffalo (while we walked).
- (90) *nyan djildja-n gari-m-ani*
3sgNOM leak/rain-PRES HABIT-PRES-TF
It always rains (at the present season) now.

- (91) *nyan ban djildja-n-pim*
 3sgNOM DIST leak/rain-PRES-THPRO
 It's still raining.

In (92) note the ACC pronoun form *baliman* with initial *ba*. Similar examples occur in the text below, where we can find: *balinyala-ny* 1duexc-ACC, *banuwala* 1plexcdAT and *banuwala-ny* 1plexc-ACC. Also *banyu* 2sgDAT, or perhaps *ban-nyu* DIST-2sgDAT, occurs in (51) above, and *barra* 1sgNOM in (84), (28) etc. It should be borne in mind that some of these forms may be portmanteau combinations of DIST *ban* and reduced pronoun forms.

An alternative analysis is possible as follows. The particle *ba* is the Djinba form of the HITH particle 'to here' (*bi* in Djinang), so that some or all of these *ba*-initial forms may in fact be just close-knit phrases comprised of the HITH particle followed by a reduced pronoun. Milpurrurr himself transliterated such *ba*-initial forms using HITH in two places at the end of the text given below. However he did not do so elsewhere, and in some places such an interpretation would not be suitable semantically.

- (92) *mil-biṅdirrk-ngung baliman+djan nya-mi gari-mi*
 eye-hard-KINPROP? 1plincACC+3plERG see-PRES PROG-PRES
 People are staring (offensively) at us.
- (93) *ngali ngirri-ril ngal gar-mak*
 1duincNOM camp-ALL 1duincNOM go-FUT
 Let's go to the camp.
- (94) *ngalinyi ngirri-ril liny gar-mak*
 1duexcNOM camp-ALL 1duexcNOM go-FUT
 We (but not you) will go to the camp.
- (95) *nyumi ngirri-ril nyum gar-ki*
 2duNOM camp-ALL 2duNOM go-IMP
 You two go to the camp!
- (96) *nyuli ngirri-ril ngiy gar-mak*
 2plNOM camp-ALL 2plNOM go-FUT
 You all go to the camp. / You can all go to the camp.

The next example can be treated as a syntactic frame for the DAT reduced pronoun forms. Where *ra* 1sgDAT occurs, the full paradigm of DAT reduced pronouns can be substituted, the forms being *nyu* 2sgDAT, *ngan* 3sgDAT (variant *ngan.ga* before another reduced pronoun), *litj* 1duincDAT, *linyala* 1duexcDAT, *limala* 1plincDAT (possibly *liman* before another reduced pronoun – see (92) above), *nawala* 1plexcdAT, *nyumala* 2duDAT, *ngiyi* 2plDAT, *baliyi* 3duDAT and *djana* 3plDAT.

- (97) *nguniny yulngi ra wanda-nmak*
 thatNOM manUNM 1sgDAT look.for-FUT
 The man will look for me.

Similarly, the next example is a frame for ACC reduced pronoun forms. These are *nyun* 2sgACC, \emptyset 3sgACC, *litj* 1duincACC, *linyala-ny* 1duexc-ACC, *limala-ny* 1plinc-ACC, *nawala-ny* 1plexc-ACC, *nyumala-ny* 2du-ACC, *nyula-ny* 2pl-ACC (*nyurrula-ny* Dabi dialect), *bala-ny* 3du-ACC and *djana-ny* 3pl-ACC.

- (98) *nyan ra-ny bi-pan*
3sgNOM 1sg-ACC hit-TPA
He/she hit me.
- (99) *ngalpim lim birr-tjan*
PERF 1plincERG eat-TPA
We have already eaten.
- (100) *nyuni manymak-yu-mitj, ga ngarri wiypi-tja*
2sgERG good-THEMSR-POT then 1sgERG another-CONTR
djama-yu-mak ngarr bindji-rrak ngalka-mdja
work-THEMSR-FUT 1sgERG do.thus-FUT PERF-PROM
You fix it up, and then I will make another the same (as the first).
- (101) *ngarri ngarr bi-pan, ga nyan burrpil-yi-n-ani*
1sgERG 1sgERG hit-TPA then/and 3sgNOM die-INCHO-TPA-TF
I hit him and then he died (right away).
- (102) *Yurrwi galki ban djiwirr?-ya-n ga Darwin*
MilingimbiUNM near DIST stand-FACT-PRES and DarwinUNM
mirka ban djiwirr?-ya-n
far DIST stand-FACT-PRES
Milingimbi is close by but Darwin is far away.
- (103) *ngarri ngarr nyina-k ga nyuni djiwirr?-yi-nmitj*
1sgNOM 1sgNOM sit-FUT and 2sgNOM stand-FACT-POT
I will sit but you are about to stand. I will sit but you can stand.
- (104) *nyan gari-mi ripurru gam guya-wu milara-yi-rr*
3sgNOM go-YPA yesterday because fish-DAT hungry-INCHO-YPA
He went yesterday because he become hungry for fish.
- (105) *baliny marrap nyu-kung djurra*
thatNOM like 2sg-OR bookUNM
That one, it's similar to your book.
- (106) *waba djiniku-pani gambatj mari nyu gar-mak*
NEG this-PERL lest troubleNOM 2sgDAT come-FUT
Don't do this in case you get into trouble.
- (107) *yulngi miyalk bala gar-kal guya-wu, walu-wu*
manNOM womanNOM 3duNOM go-TPA fish-DAT food-DAT
garrimirring+pani
separate+PERL?
The man and the woman went for fish and vegetables, each going separately.
- (108) *warran ngarr birr-tjan lurru?, ngunung-ngur*
meatUNM 1sgERG eat-TPA rotten, that-ABL
banbim gulun ngarr darri-yi-n
COMPL bellyUNM 1sgNOM sick-INCHO-TPA
I ate putrid meat (and) after that got a pain in the belly.

- (109) *nyuni gar-mitj, ngarri ngirri-li ngarr nyin-nyini-Ø bilak*
 2sgNOM go-POT 1sgNOM camp-SPEC 1sgNOM REDUP-sit-PRES FRAME
 Off you go, I will just keep sitting in the camp now.
- (110) *ngarri nya-mi wayarra, bunbala yulngi bul wayarra-pim*
 1sgERG see-YPA devilUNM mistaken.thought manUNM but devil-THPRO
 I saw a devil which I mistook for a man but it was really a devil.
- (111) *bulu nyuni ra bultji-nmitj djanguny*
 again 2sgERG 1sgDAT tell-POT storyUNM
 You tell me the story again.
- (112) *nyuni gar-mitj ngayil ga ngarri djuditj*
 2sgNOM go-POT before and 1sgERG after
nyu-rr gurrupa-nmak
 2sgDAT-1sgERG follow-FUT
 You go first and I will follow after you.
- (113) *gunmil-djang nyan gar-mak Darwin-dil*
 wet.season-TEMP 3sgNOM go-FUT Darwin-ALL
 He will go to Darwin in the wet season.
- (114) *ngarr marrkap-ya-nmak bay nyan wirandi-rrak guwang-pim*
 1sgNOM happy-FACT-FUT later.on 3sgNOM return-FUT thisALL-THPRO
 I will be happy (when) later on he returns here.
- (115) *wirr bala-ny gupurri-nya guya-mirring*
 nothing 3du-ACC give-TPI fish-PL
 He gave them none of the fish. / He didn't give them some fish.
- (116) *wirr ngarr djapurru-nya*
 nothing 1sgERG find-TPI
 I found nothing. / I didn't find anything.

In (117) the segmentation shown for *baniyala* is very tentative. It is possible that this form is a surface reshaping of an underlying *niy-bala* RECIP-3duERG, or it could be as shown, or else it is another of the *ba*-initial forms discussed earlier.

- (117) *djanguny ba+niy+ala bultja-n*
 storyUNM DIST+RECIP+3duERG tell-PRES
 They are discussing the news with each other.
- (118) *nyan limini+niy milkarrwa-n nguwiļi*
 3sgERG 1plincACC+RECIP show/reveal-TPA spirit/shadowUNM
 The spirit showed himself to us.

Now follows the text, which was recorded in July 1981. It was recorded on the afternoon of the same day as the events took place, hence referential time is +Definite throughout. Then using the recorder, Milpururr transliterated the text into the Djinang text given following the English free translation.

- (1) *ngarri ngarr djapurri-yu-wal nganaparra,*
1sgERG 1sgERG find-THEMSR-TPA buffaloUNM
I found a buffalo,
ngarri irr manya-ngini nganaparra, nganaparra
- (2) *nganaparra ngarr djapurri-yu-wal,*
buffaloUNM 1sgERG find-THEMSR-TPA
I found a buffalo,
- (3) *ngarr nya-ngan ban djarri-Ø.*
1sgERG see-TPA DIST stand-PRES
I saw it standing still.
irr manya-ngini, irr nya-ngini dji?-tjarri-Ø.
- (4) *ngarr gar-kal*
1sgNOM go-TPA
I went
- (5) *ngarr man-gurr, marriyang ngaraka,*
1sgERG get-TPA gunUNM boneUNM
and got a bullet,
irr gir-ali irr marr-ngili marriyang ngirki,
- (6) *ngarr gar-kal*
1sgNOM go-TPA
I went
- (7) *ngarr bi-paṅ nganaparra.*
1sgERG shot-TPA buffaloUNM
and shot the buffalo.
irr gir-ali irr bi-piṅi nganaparra.
- (8) *wiypu-ny ngalpim marriyang-ir ngarr bi-paṅ*
another-INSTR PERF gun-INSTR 1sgERG shoot-TPA
three-oh-nyir ngaraka
303-INSTR boneUNM
With another gun I had shot it with a .303 rifle bullet
wurpi-li ngurrumi marriyang-ir irr bi-piṅi 303-dji ngirki
- (9) *ngarr mamarr-yin three-oh,*
1sgERG put.down-TPA 303UNM
I put him down (on the ground) (with) a .303 rifle,
irr galbu-li 303,

- (10) *a wiypi-tja ngarr man-gurr*
 and another-CONTR 1sgERG get-TPA
nyaliyukany marriyang banbim,
 what's.itUNM gunUNM COMPL
 and I got yet another the what's-it-called rifle also,
a wurpi-tja irr marr-ngili warngarriny marriyang girr-gima,
- (11) *nyami nguniny djan bultja-n gari-mi.*
 whatUNM thatUNM 3plERG tell-PRES HABIT-PRES
 whatever they call it.
nyim ngunung djin bulti-n giri-mi.
- (12) *ngarr man-gurr wiypu-ny-tja*
 1sgERG get-TPA another-PROM-CONTR
 I had gotten another (gun)
Irr marr-ngili wurpi-li-tja
- (13) *ngarr bi-paṅ,*
 1sgERG shoot-TPA
 (and) had shot it,
- (14) *ngarr bi-paṅ*
 1sgERG shoot-TPA
 I shot it
- (15) *larri-yi-n,*
 fall.down-FACT-TPA
 (and it) fell down,
irr bi-piṅi, irr bi-piṅi galmi-ni,
- (16) *ga naw guwa-n,*
 and 1plexcERG leave-TPA
 and then we left it lying (there)
- (17) *ban ngurri-∅ djuditj walnga-pim*
 DIST lie-PRES behind alive-THPRO
 behind (us) still living.
ga nibi gubi-ni ngu?-ngurri-∅ djuditj wanngi-pm
- (18) *nganuwi naw gar-kal bilak*
 1plexcNOM 1plexcNOM go-TPA FRAME
 Having set off,
- (19) *naw wapiri-n ngirri-li Murwan.gi-∅,*
 1plexcNOM arrive-TPA place-SPEC Murwan.gi-LOC
 we arrived at the place (called) Murwan.gi,
nginibi nibi gir-ali bilang nibi yulgu-li gurrbi-w Murwan.gi-∅,

- (20) *naw man-gurr bulu gayit-mirring ga buḍduk-mirring,*
 1plexcERG pick.up-TPA again shovel.nose-PL and woomera-PL
 we picked up once more some shovel-nosed spears and woomeras,
nibi marr-ngili yili gayit-pili ga buḍduk-pili,
- (21) *ga bulu liny gar-kal ngunuku,*
 and again 1duexcNOM go-TPA thatLOC
 and once more we (two) went (and duly arrived) there,
ga yili liny gir-ali nguli,
- (22) *ga nyan Malcolm picture-ny balinyala-ny*
 and 3sgERG MalcolmUNM picture-ACC 1duexc-ACC
 and Malcolm (station manager) was taking pictures
ga nyani Malcolm picture-ny linyili-ny
- (23) *ḍap-miy-im,*
 immobilise-CAUS-PRES
 of us
ḍap-ny,
- (24) *ga balinyala-ny man-dan, ngarri-ny a Djilminy-ka-ny balinyala-ny.*
 and 1duexc-ACC get-PRES 1sg-ACC and Djilminy-OBL?-ACC 1duexc-ACC
 and was getting (pictures) of us, of myself and of Djilminy.
ga linyili-ny marri-ny, ngirri-ny a Djilminy-giri-ny linyili-ny.
- (25) *Djilminy ngalpim ngan djuḷudjuḷu-yi-n gayit-di,*
 DjilminyUNM PERF 3sgDAT poised.to.strike-FACT-TPA shovel.nose-INSTR
 Djilminy had been poised to strike with his shovel-nosed spear
Djilminy ngurum in.ga djuḷudjuḷu-dji-li gayit-dji,
- (26) *burrut-miy-al.*
 miss-CAUS-TPA 1sgERG-CONTR
 (but) he missed it.
- (27) *ngarri-tja ngan.ga-rr djuḷudjuḷu-yi-n galki,*
 3sgDAT-1sgERG poised.to.strike-FACT-TPA near
 However nearby I was poised to strike,
inydji yulili. ngarri-tja in.ga-rr djuḷudjuḷu-dji-li ngidjirrng,
- (28) *ga munatja-pim ngan.ga-rr ran-gurr.*
 and ground-THPRO 3sgDAT-1sgERG spear-TPA
 and then I speared it on the ground.
girr munatja-pm in.gi-rr ran.girri.
- (29) *ga bulu ngunu-ngur, Djilminy galki-ril baḍdanga-n*
 and again that-ABL DjilminyUNM near-ALL run-TPA
 Then once again after that, Djilminy ran close to it
ga yili ngunu-ngir, Djilminy ngidjirrgi-li nunydjirr-ali

- (30) *nyan nganaparra-nyir gurrupa-n,*
3sgERG 3sgERG buffalo-ERG chase-TPA
(and) the buffalo chased him,
nyani nganaparra-dji gurrpi-ni,
- (31) *gurrupa-n,*
chase-TPA
and chased him,
- (32) *ga nyan-ma nuki ngan yalku-wanbu-ngal,*
and 3sgERG-PROM foot 3sgDAT leg-throw-TPA
and he (i.e. Djilminy) extended his limbs (along a tree trunk) for fear of it,
gurrpi-ni, ga nyani nu in.ga djarrtjirr ngurri-nyini,
- (33) *ga baɖatj balpu-ngal*
and failed.to strike-TPA
and the buffalo failed to make contact,
ga baɖatj balpi-li
- (34) *nganaparra-nyir, baɖanga-n*
buffalo-ERG, run-TPA
it charged
- (35) *djarri-nyan.*
stand-TPA
(and then) it stood still.
nganaparra-dji, nunydjirr-ali djarrri-nyini.
- (36) *yurr yangal nguniny dawuka-n marriyang-ir djuwali*
because arm thatUNM break-TPA gun-INSTR earlier
Because its foreleg had been broken earlier by the gun.
yurru guɖjarr ngunung ɖapili-dji-li marriyangdji djuli
- (37) *yangal ɖi-ɖawka-na-wani*
armUNM REDUP-break-NMLSR-TF
(Being) a foreleg-broken one,
- (38) *bini nyan banuwala djumbal?-ya-n-ani,*
thatALL 3sgNOM 1plexcDAT cripple-FACT-TPA-TF
its foreleg was crippled then due to us,
guɖdirr ɖapili-dj-nyira-kiɖing-ban ngunyili nyani nibila djun-dji-m-ban,
- (39) *banuwala-ny gurrupa-n*
1plexc-ACC chase-TPA
(but) it chased us

- (40) *ban djumbal?-ya-n-ani.*
DIST cripple-FACT-TPA-TF
even though crippled.
nibili-ny gurrpi-ni dji?-djun-dji-m-ban.
- (41) *bulu nguniny bi-pan,*
again thatUNM strike-TPA
Again that (buffalo) struck,
- (42) *ngarri-tja ngarr banḍanga-n*
1sgNOM-CONTR 1sgNOM run-TPA
but I ran
yili ngunung bi-piṇi, ngarri-tja irr nunydjirr-ali
- (43) *ngarr man-gurr,*
1sgERG get-TPA
and picked up (a spear)
- (44) *ngarr witj-miy-al bulu djarak-ir,*
1sgERG spear-CAUS-TPA again spear-INSTR
and speared it again with a spear,
irr marr-ngili, irr ran-girri yili djarak-dji,
- (45) *yarrka-n wiypi-ril djarri-nyan,*
move-TPA another-ALL stand-TPA
moving to another (spear) sticking out of the ground,
- (46) *ngarr banḍanga-n*
1sgNOM run-TPA
I ran
yilitji-ni wurpi-li djarri-nyini, irr nunydjirr-ali
- (47) *ngarr digidigi-yi-n gayit,*
1sgERG pull.to.and.fro-FACT-TPA shovel.noseUNM
(and) I pulled the spear to and fro (to loosen it),
- (48) *munatja-ngur ngarr yibuk-miy-al gayit*
ground-ABL 1sgERG extract-CAUS-TPA shovel.noseUNM
and from the ground I pulled it out,
irr diginigi-dji-li gayit, munatja-ngir irr yilbir-tji-li gayit
- (49) *ngarr yarrarra-miy-al,*
1sgERG aim-CAUS-TPA
(and then) I aimed it,
irr yarrarra-miy-ngili,

- (50) *lurrkun malgapi ngarr ran-gurr.*
waistUNM fleshy.partUNM 1sgERG spear-TPA
(and) speared the waist area.
lurrkun malgapi irr ran-girri.
- (51) *ga gayit-ma nguninyi mungun-ma dawka-n-ani,*
and shovel.nose-PROM thatUNM rear-PROM snap-TPA-TF
And the rear of that blade then snapped off,
ga gayit-dji ngunung mungan-dji inydji dapiling-dji-li,
- (52) *gayit mungun dawka-n,*
shovel.noseUNM rearUNM snap-TPA,
the shovel-nosed blade broke at its base,
gayit mungan inydji dapiling-dji-li,
- (53) *ga but-ani ban ngurri-Ø.*
and bladeless-TF DIST lie-PRES
and then was lying bladeless.
ga but-pan ngu?-ngurri-Ø.
- (54) *ga wiypani bulu bandanga-n,*
and one again run-TPA
And once more running
- (55) *ngayil witj-miy-al Djilminy,*
before/first spear-CAUS-TPA DjilminyUNM
Djilminy first speared it,
ga wurpmi yili nunydjirr-ali, ngurrwagi ran-girri Djilminy,
- (56) *ngarr bandanga-n*
1sgNOM run-TPA
(and) I ran
- (57) *ngan.ga-rr mil-ga-ngal*
3sgDAT-1sgERG eye-take-TPA
(to) take its attention off him
- (58) *nyan bandanga-n*
3sgNOM run-TPA
(and) he (i.e. Djilminy) ran
irr nunydjirr-ali in.gi-rr mil-ga-ngili nyani nunydjirr-ali
- (59) *djarak man-gurr,*
spear get-TPA
and got a spear,

- (60) *ga bandanga-n galki*
and.then run-TPA near
and then he ran close to it
djarak marr-ngili, girr nunydjirr-ali ngidjirrgi
- (61) *bunbala ma-na*
seemingly get-TPI
as if to grab it
- (62) *ngan durri-yi-n*
3sgDAT afraid-FACT-TPA
(and it) was afraid of him
- (63) *bini-pim bandanga-n.*
thatALL-THPRO run-TPA
(and) ran away.
bitma marri-nyir in.ga yawngi-ni ngunyili-pm nunydjirr-ali.
- (64) *ngan durri-yi-n*
3sgDAT afraid-FACT-TPA
It was afraid of him
- (65) *bini-pim bandanga-n,*
thatALL-THPRO run-TPA
and ran away,
in.ga yawngi-ni ngunyili-pm nunydjirr-ali,
- (66) *ga ngarri-tja ngarr bandanga-n*
and 1sgNOM-CONTR 1sgNOM run-TPA
but then I ran
- (67) *ga djarak ngarr man-gurr.*
and spearUNM 1sgERG get-TPA
and picked up the spear.
girr ngarri-tja irr nunydjirr-ali ga djarak irr marr-ngili.
- (68) *nyan ra wanga-n*
3sgNOM 1sgDAT say-TPA
He said to me,
nyan-dirra wangi-n
- (69) *ga? wuwa ngarri-nyi ra-ny gupurru-ngi,*
give.it.here brother 1sg-ACC 1sg-ACC give-IMP
“Give it here brother! Give it to me,
ga? wuwa ngirri-ny irri-ny gu-wi,
- (70) *ngarri-tja ngarr randa-nmak.*
1sgERG-CONTR 1sgERG spear-FUT
it's my turn to spear it!”

- (71) *ngarr dambi-yu-wal,*
1sgERG short-THEMSR-TPA
I shortened it,
ngarri-tja irr rani-∅. irr dambi-dji-li
- (72) *yal̥ki ɲirrgi-yi-n*
legUNM cut.off-FACT-TPA
broke off the protrusions,
- (73) *garrpa-n,*
wind-TPA
wound it up,
- (74) *ga dambu-y ran-gurr,*
and short-INSTR spear-TPA
and with the shortened one I speared it,
yati rindi-ngili garrpi-ni ga dambi-dji ran-girri,
- (75) *baṅdanga-n ngunuku.*
run-TPA thatLOC
(and I) ran there (to it).
- (76) *ga bulu baṅdanga-n*
and again run-TPA
Then again I ran
- (77) *yibuk-miy-al*
extract-CAUS-TPA
(and) removed it,
nunydjirr-ali nguli. ga yili nunydjirr-ali yilbir-tji-li
- (78) *gaṯ bulu ran-gurr,*
and again spear-TPA
and again speared it (the buffalo),
- (79) *gaṯ bulu baṅdanga-n,*
and again run-TPA
and again ran
- (80) *yibuk-miy-al*
extract-CAUS-TPA
(and) retrieved it,
ga yili ran-girri, ga yili nunydjirr-ali, yilbir-tji-li
- (81) *ga bulu ran-gurr.*
and again spear-TPA
and speared it again.
- (82) *bulu baṅdanga-n*
again run-TPA
Having again run,

- (83) *yibuk-miy-al*
extract-CAUS-TPA
retrieved,
- (84) *ran-gurr,*
spear-TPA
and speared,
ga yili ran-girri. yili nunydjirr-ali yilbir-tji-li ran-girri,
- (85) *ga ngan.ga-rr wanga-n*
and 3sgDAT-1sgNOM say-TPA
I said to him.
- (86) *ngarri-nyi-tja ra-ny gupurru-ngi,*
1sg-ACC-CONTR 1sg-ACC give-IMP
“Give it to me,
ga in.gi-rr wangi-ni ngirri-nyi-tja irri-ny gu-wi,
- (87) *ngarri-tja ngarr ran-gurr.*
1sgERG-CONTR 1sgERG spear-TPA
it's my turn to spear!”.
- (88) *ga bulu ngarr ran-gurr,*
and again 1sgERG spear-TPA
And again I speared it;
ngarri-tja irr ran-girri. ga yili irr ran-girri,
- (89) *bulu nguniny liny ran-gurr*
again thatUNM 1duexcERG spear-TPA
we speared that (buffalo) again
- (90) *nyan-ma djarri-nyan-ani,*
3sgNOM stand.still-TPA-TF
(and) it then stood still,
yili ngunung liny ran-girri nyani djarri-nyini-ban,
- (91) *djiyi burr-nan-ani, wutji djiyi.*
cutUNM many-PROP-TF lots cutUNM
having very many wounds.
- (92) *djiwirr?-yi-n*
stand-FACT-TPA
Standing
djidji galbi, galbi djidji. djarri-nyini
- (93) *ngan.ga-rr wanga-n-ani,*
3sgDAT-1sgNOM say-TPA-TF
I spoke to Djilminy

- (94) *ga ra wanga-n Djilminy*
and 1sgDAT say-TPA DjilminyUNM
and he said to me,
in.gi-rr wangi-ni ga irra wangi-ni Djilminy
- (95) *ngay?yi ngay?yi knife*
knifeUNM knifeUNM knifeUNM
“A knife, a knife, a knife!”.
- (96) *knife ra-ny gupurr-al,*
knifeUNM 1sg-ACC give-TPA
He gave me a knife,
knife knife knife. knife irri-ny gu-ngili,
- (97) *nguniny larri-yi-n bini-pim*
thatUNM fall.down-FACT-TPA thatALL-THPRO
(and) that (buffalo) fell down just there.
- (98) *ngarri-ma walnga barra djara-m gar-m-ani*
1sgERG-PROM living.oneUNM 1sgERG cut-PRES PROG-PRES-TF
The buffalo) was still alive (and) I was cutting it
ngunung galmi-ni ngunyili-pm ngarri wanngiban irr djari-ny kiri-ny-ban
- (99) *walnga-pim nyan-ma ban ngar?-ya-n-pim,*
alive-THPRO 3sgNOM-PROM DIST breathe-FACT-TPA-THPRO
while it still lived, (and) it still kept on breathing,
wanggi-pmi nyani ngar-ngar-tji-mi-pm,
- (100) *ban ngar?-ya-n-pim*
DIST breathe-FACT-TPA-THPRO
it still kept on breathing,
- (101) *djanggu ngarr man-gurr,*
fleshUNM 1sgERG get-TPA
(and) I got (some of its) flesh,
ngar-ngar-tji-mi-pm munydjal irr marr-ngili,
- (102) *ga nyani-tja bandanga-n*
and 3sgNOM-CONTR run-TPA
however it flailed its legs (but I)
ga nyani-tja nunydjirr-ali
- (103) *ban djara-m gar-m-ani*
DIST cut-PRES PROG-PRES-TF
kept on cutting

- (104) *djanggu man-gurr,*
 fleshUNM get-TPA
 to get flesh,
dji?-djari-ny kiri-ny-ban munydjal marr-ngili,
- (105) *ga djuḍitj nyani ngunu-pilak burrpil-yi-n.*
 and afterwards 3sgNOM that-INDEF die-INCHO-TPA
 and sometime afterwards it died.
ga yilimirri nyani ngunu-pilang bali-ni.
- (106) *nganuwi-ma mutika naw man-gurr*
 1plexcERG-PROM vehicleUNM 1plexcERG get-TPA
 We got a car
nginibi mutika nibi marr-ngili
- (107) *naw birrirri-yi-n*
 1plexcERG twist-FACT-TPA
 (and) we started it up
- (108) *ba naw gar-mu-wani,*
 HITH 1plexcNOM go-PRES-TF
 (and) we went hither (to the buffalo),
nibi birrirri-dji-li bi nibi giri-ny-ban,
- (109) *ba naw wirandi-rr-ani guwang-pim.*
 HITH 1plexcNOM return-PRES-TF thisALL-THPRO
 and then we returned here.
bi nibi wiṇi-ny-ban bapili-pmi.

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