A Grammar of Diyari, South Australia

Peter K. Austin

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Contents

Preface to the second edition
Preface
Abbreviations and conventions
Guide to pronunciation

1 THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS
1.1 Linguistic type
1.2 Names and traditional territory
1.3 Dialects
1.4 Neighbours
1.5 Cultural background
1.6 Recent history and the present
1.7 Speakers

2 PHONOLOGY
2.1 Segmentation
2.2 Segmental phonology
2.2.1 Consonants
2.2.2 Vowels
2.2.3 Vowel-semi-vowel-vowel sequences
2.3 Word structure
2.3.1 Syllables
2.3.2 Phonotactics
2.4 Morphophonology
2.4.1 Root vowel replacement
2.4.2 Case forms of polysyllables
2.4.3 Reduplication
2.5 Word stress
2.6 Fast speech phenomena

3 MORPHOLOGY
3.1 Parts of speech
3.1.1 Nominals
3.1.2 Pronouns
3.1.3 Verbs

3.1.4 Predicate determiners
3.1.6 Particles and co-ordinators
3.2 Morphology of nominals
3.2.1 Derivational affixes
3.2.2 The privative
3.2.3 Location nominals
3.2.4 Case inflections - system
3.2.5 Case inflections - form
3.2.6 Other nominal affixes
3.2.7 Interrogative-indefinite nominals
3.2.8 Numerals and quantifiers
3.2.9 Reduplication
3.3 Morphology of pronouns
3.3.1 Special relationship pronouns
3.3.2 Personal pronouns
3.3.3 Interrogative-indefinite pronouns
3.4 Morphology of predicate determiners
3.4.1 *yaru*- and ya*n*i-
3.4.2 Interrogative-indefinite determiner
3.5 Morphology of verbs
3.5.1 Verb types
3.5.2 Transitivity
3.5.3 Reduplicatioin
3.5.4 Compound main verbs
3.5.5 Classification of main verbs
3.5.6 Derivational affixes - syntactic
3.5.7 Derivational affixes - non-syntactic
3.5.8 Affix order
3.5.9 Inflectional affixes
3.5.10 Ausiliary verbs
3.5.11 Interrogative verbs

4 SYNTAX OF SIMPLE SENTENCES
4.1 Phrase types
4.1.1 Noun phrases
4.1.2 Verb phrases
4.2 Sentences without main verbs
4.2.1 Non-verb predicates

4.2.2 Copula construction
4.3 Adverbial modification
4.3.1 Nominals
4.3.2 Predicate determiners
4.4 Functions of cases
4.4.1 Nominative
4.4.2 Accusative
4.4.3 Ergative
4.4.4 Locative
4.4.5 Ablative
4.4.6 Allative
4.4.7 Dative
4.5 Possession
4.5.1 Genitive
4.5.2 Inalienable possession
4.5.3 Proprietive
4.5.4 Kinship proprietive
4.5.5 The verb ‘to have’
4.6 Word order and topicalization
4.6.1 Word order
4.6.2 Topicalization
4.6.3 Questions
4.7 -*tharri*- constructions
4.7.1 Reflexive
4.7.2 Anti-passive
4.7.3 Passive
4.7.4 Aspectual function
4.8 Transitivizers
4.8.1 -*lka*- constructions
4.8.2 -*ipa*- and -*ma*- constructions
4.9 Nominalization
4.9.1 -ni nominalizer
4.9.2 -*yitya* nominalizer
4.10 Verbalization
4.10.1 Inchoative
4.10.2 Product
4.10.3 Causative
4.11 Particles

4.12 Post-inflectional suffixes

5 SYNTAX OF COMPLEX SENTENCES

5.1 Implicated clauses

5.1.1 Semantic functions
5.1.2 Switch-reference
5.1.3 Exceptions and constraints
5.1.4 Multi-clause sentences
5.1.5 implds in main clauses

5.2 Imperfective clauses

5.2.1 Switch-reference
5.2.3 Constraints
5.2.4 Semantic functions
5.2.5 Interrogative-indefinite introducers

5.3 Mixed dependent clauses

5.3.1 Three-clause sentences
5.3.2 Other complex sentences

5.4 Perfective clauses

5.4.1 Switch-reference
5.4.2 Semantic functions

5.5 'Lest' clauses

5.5.1 Switch-reference
5.5.2 Semantic functions
5.5.3 Multi-clause sentences
5.5.4 'Lest' as main clauses

5.6 Co-ordination by conjunction

5.6.1 Phrasal conjunction
5.6.2 Clause and sentence conjunction

5.7 Co-ordination by disjunction

5.7.1 Phrasal disjunction
5.7.2 Sentence disjunction

6 PREVIOUS WORK ON DIYARI

6.1 Early work: 1870-1914

6.2 Recent research: 1930-present

References

Appendix A: Sample Texts

Appendix B: Vocabulary

Appendix C: List of affixes

Preface to the second edition

This document is a revised and updated version of a book of the same title published by Cambridge University Press in 1981 (itself a revision of my PhD thesis of 1978). The original book has been out of print for some time, yet it continues to be used and quoted by scholars (511 citations as at 2020-11-20, according to *Google Scholar*).[1] In addition, a language programme for Diyari (the local community prefers the name Dieri) was established in Port Augusta, South Australia, in 2010, and language lessons in Diyari for the community in northern South Australia have been prepared (see Austin 2014; Wilson 2010, 2013). There is also a *Dieri Language Blog* that contains material about the language and simple lessons and conversations.[2] I have decided to revise the book with corrections and minor amendments in order to make it more readily available. The only major change is revision of the transcription to a practical orthography which has been agreed for revitalisation work on the language; it is similar to one I have been using in my other published work on Diyari for some time. I have also changed the analysis of the morphology of the case system and now make a distinction in the glosses between forms that encode ergative (transitive subject, A), nominative (intransitive subject, S), and accusative (transitive object, P (abbreviated O in the 1981 version)); this means I now treat the split-ergative case system as involving case form syncretism, rather than three separate systems (as in the 1981 book). Examples taken from the two texts in Appendix A are identified by line numbers following the free translation, e.g. [Di-t001s001] for line 1 of Text 1. In addition, I have added a sixth chapter on previous work on Diyari – this appeared in my PhD thesis but was excluded for reasons of space from the 1981 CUP book. I have also added a few more comparative notes on neighbouring and related languages, having had the opportunity to obtain copies of Gavan Breen's recordings of Ngamini and to transcribe and analyse them, as well as access to Breen 2016. At some future date I may do a more extensive revision of the text to take into account research on Diyari and neighbouring languages that has been carried out over the 40 years since the original publication.

For assistance with starting to prepare this revision I am grateful to the University of Melbourne which provided secretarial support to enable the original text to be typed up as Microsoft Word files (the 1981 original was typed on a mechanical typewriter in pre-computer days). A later version was prepared while I was a Humboldt Researcher at the University of Frankfurt from October to December 2010; I am grateful to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, and my sponsors Jost Gippert, Arndt Graf, and Bernd Nothofer for their support. Since that time, I have been revising and correcting the text and adding new materials. I am grateful to colleagues who have accessed earlier revised versions posted on Academia.edu and given useful feedback and comments. This version also benefits from feedback and comments from Greg Wilson

[1] See https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=NNDkJtwAAAAJ&hl=en (accessed 2020-11-20)
[2] See www.dieriyawarra.wordpress.com (accessed 2020-11-20)

and members of the Dieri Aboriginal Corporation with whom I conducted workshops in Adelaide and Port Augusta in 2013.

I am especially grateful to the many speakers of Diyari and neighbouring languages with whom I was able to work in preparing my PhD thesis. Unfortunately, all of these people have now passed away, however there are still a few speakers of Diyari (including the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of people with whom I studied) who are working on developing materials on the language. Many people in the Dieri community retain an interest in the language and history and it is my hope that they will find something of use in this volume.

Peter K. Austin
London
January 2021

Preface to the first edition

Diyari is an Australian Aboriginal language spoken by about a dozen people living at various places in the north-east of South Australia. It consists of two dialects, Thirari with one remaining speaker, and Diyari proper. Although the language is still in use among some families at Marree, its future is not bright as children are no longer learning to speak it and the youngest fluent speaker is aged about fifty.

The present grammar is a revised version of my PhD thesis presented at the Australian National University in 1978. A number of points of my earlier analysis have been changed in this revision, especially the account of the phonemic status of /*d*/ and discussion of the nominal cases. I now distinguish more rigorously between case forms and case functions, describing the complex semantic and syntactic links between them.

Some areas of the grammar are dealt with in greater detail than others. There is a full discussion of the classification of main verbs both in terms of transitivity and in terms of co-occurrence with certain characteristic stem-forming affixes. Attention is also focussed on the system of auxiliary verbs which is unusual in Australia and seems to be a local development in Diyari and its immediate neighbours. Over half of the book deals with the syntax of the language, covering both simple and complex sentences, with an emphasis on exemplification of points to be explained. Wherever possible examples are drawn from texts, especially the two texts included in the Appendix. The syntax chapters are especially concerned with an analysis of the split-ergative nominal case system and with an account of the dependent clause structures. Diyari is a language which shows switch-reference, that is, expression of cross-clausal coreferentiality or non-coreferentiality of subjects through verb marking. The various syntactic and semantic functions of and constraints on this device are examined in detail. Clausal and phrasal co-ordination is also discussed.

Throughout the text comparative notes on other Australian languages have been included in small type. In many cases reference is made to the neighbouring and apparently related languages Ngamini and Yaluyandi, both of which are now almost extinct. Preparation of a full comparative study of these languages is planned.

Diyari was once the vehicle of a vigorous culture which has disintegrated under the impact of over 120 years of forced contact with the outside world. I hope that this record of the language contributes in some small way to our understanding of the culture and heritage of the *karna* who remain.

Cambridge, Mass.
March 1980

Acknowledgements

This study would not have been possible without the interest and help of some of the last fluent speakers of Diyari. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Ben Murray, Rosa Warren, and the late Frieda Merrick, who spent so much time teaching me Diyari and sharing with me their memories of 'the old days'. I hope this book goes some way towards repaying their enthusiasm for their language.

The Australian National University financed my fieldwork on Diyari and neighbouring languages, and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies provided a grant to check bibliographical resources at the Lutheran Archives, Adelaide. The revision of my thesis for publication in 1981 was carried out while I was a post-doctoral fellow in Linguistics at the University of California, Los Angeles and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I wish the thank the Commonwealth Fund of New York for its generous support through the Harkness Fellowships programme and departmental chairmen Peter Ladefoged (UCLA, 1979) and Jay Keyser (MIT, 1980) for enabling me to come and be part of such stimulating departments.

Bob Dixon introduced me to the study of Australian languages in 1971, and supervised my research on Diyari from 1974 to 1978. His criticism, advice and encouragement have been invaluable at all stages of my work. Harold Koch and Luise Hercus discussed and commented on drafts of my thesis, as did a number of students and staff at the Linguistics Department, School of General Studies, Australian National University, in particular Avery Adnrews, Terry Crowley, Tamsin Donaldson, Bill Foley, Howard and Frances Morphy, Michael Walsh, and Anna Wierzbicka. Luise Hercus introduced me to the Aboriginal community in eastern South Australia in 1974, and shared a number of fieldtrips to Marree and points beyond. I am grateful to Bob Ellis and Enid Moore who made my visits to the field much more pleasant than they would have been otherwise. Since 2010, Reg Warren, Michelle Warren and the Dieri Aboriginal Corporation have been unstintingly supportive of my work on Dieri. I am grateful to Greg Wilson for reintroducing me to the Dieri community in 2010 and 2013, and for sharing his materials and co-convening workshops in 2013.

A number of people read and commented on all or part of my PhD thesis, providing data and/or criticism which has greatly improved this revision; my thanks to Barry Alpher, Gavan Breen, Ken Hale, Rodney Huddleston, Mona Lindau-Webb, Pam Munro, David Nash, and Sandra Thompson. Gaven Breen has been extremely helpful in allowing me access to his recordings of neighbouring languages, especially Ngamini, Yaluyandi and Yawarrawarka, and his unpublished draft grammar of Ngamini. All of this material has been very useful in drawing comparisons between Diyari and related languages.

My ex-wife Randy (nee Chow) was unfailing in her interest in and support of my research during our marriage 1975-1996. She gave up her own work to accompany me to the United States in 1979-1981, and spent many months typing and correcting the revised manuscript in 1989-1980. For all this, I say 唔該.

Abbreviations and conventions

- morpheme boundary
, clause boundary
* precedes an ungrammatical sentence
[. . .] enclose material of the previous linguistic context relevant to the sentence under discussion
<. . . > enclose material from pre-scientific (usually missionary) sources
“. . .” enclose consultants’ verbatim English translations of examples, also all direct quotations elsewhere in the book
‘. . .’ enclose all other English translations, except for those in the Texts
[…] following free translations gives the source of text examples, especially those in Appendix A: Sample Texts

Source information has the following formats:

Text	[XX-t###s###] where XX indicates the language, t### gives the text number and s### gives the sentence number
Elicitation	[XX-elic####] where XX indicates the language, and the integers give the sentence number in the Toolbox corpus
Grammar	[Ng-brg###] where Ng indicates Ngamini, brg indicates Breen’s grammar, and the integers give the sentence number in Breen (2016); transcription and analysis are by me in the Toolbox corpus

Syntactic functions are abbreviated as:

S subject of an intransitive verb
A subject of a transitive or ditransitive verb
P object of a transitive verb

Glosses for pronouns involve (see also below):

1	first person	sg	singular
2	second person	dl	dual
3	third person	pl	plural
f	feminine	incl	inclusive reference
nf	non-feminine	excl	exclusive reference

Each Diyari and Thirari example is provided with a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss; the following abbreviations are used for the grammatical suffixes:

abl	ablative case
acc	accusative case
addinf	additional information
allat	allative case
ap	anti-passive
aux	auxiliary verb
ben	benefactive
cause	causative verbalizer
char	characteristic
con	consequential
csl	causal case
dat	dative case
dist	distant
distort	distorted
dual	dual number
dub	dubiative
dur	durative
emph	emphatic
erg	ergative case
excess	excessive concern
fut	future tense
habit	habitual association
ident	identified information
imp	imperative mood
imperfds	imperfective – different subject
imperfs	imperfective – same subject
implds	implicated - different subject
implss	implicated - same subject
inchoat	inchoative
kinprop	kinship proprietive
loc	locative case
newinf	new information
nm	number marker
nom	nominative case
nomin	nominalizer
number	number
oldinf	old information
opt	optative mood
pass	passive
past	past tense
perfds	perfective – different subject
perfss	perfective – same subject
pl	plural number
pres	present tense
prod	product verbalizer
prol	prolative
prop	proprietive
ptcple	participial
recip	reciprocal
redup	reduplicated
refl	reflexive
sense	sensory evidence
still	still
tag	tag question
there	there
token	token
tr	transitivizer
vicin	vicinity
wh	which

Guide to pronunciation

The following notes are intended as a guide to the approximate pronunciation of Diyari for the non-specialist reader. There is a more detailed technical discussion of pronunciation in Chapter 2; see especially section 2.2.

a is like *u* in English *cut*

i is like *i* in English *bit*

u is like *oo* in English *book*

p, t, k, l, m, n, y and *w* can be pronounced as in English

th is like *th* in English *thin*

ty is like *ch* in English *church*

lh and *nh* are pronounced like *l* and *n*, except with the tongue tip in the same position (touching the bottom and top teeth) as for *th*. The *l* in the English word *health* is like *lh* and the *n* in *tenth* is like *nh*

ng is the single sound written an *ng* in English words like *sing*. It occurs at the beginning of words in Diyari and is sometimes difficult for English speakers to hear and say. Practise saying *ngapa* 'water' by adding *apa* to *sing* and then dividing off and dropping the *si-*

ny is like *n* and *y* pronounced simultaneously, similar to *ni* in English *onion*

r is like English (especially American English) *r*, as in *barren*

r is pronounced as a very short *d* sound, similar to *d* between two vowels in English fast speech; Diyari *kirri* 'intelligent' sounds like English *kiddy*

rr is a rolled r, like Scottish English

rd is like English *d* but further back and with the tongue tip turned back slightly

rl, *rn* and *rt* are like *l*, *n* and *t* except pronounced further back in the mouth with the tongue tip turned back slightly

1 The language and its speakers

1.1 Linguistic type

Diyari is an entirely suffixing language with fairly complex nominal and verbal morphology. Its word order, particularly at the phrase level, is somewhat more rigid than other Australian languages. Main clause order is typically subject–object–verb but discourse topicalisation can involve adjustments to this basic word order.

The phonemic system follows the normal Australian pattern. There are six contrasting points of articulation for stops and nasals but Diyari is unusual among Australian languages in contrasting voiced and voiceless stops at the apico-alveolar and apico-domal points. This contrast only applies in certain structural positions and is neutralized word-initially. There are four laterals, two semivowels, a tap and a continuant. The front laterals and their corresponding nasals have prestopped allophones after the first (stressed) vowel of a word; this is an areal feature of eastern South Australian languages. The vowel system is simple, comprising *a*, *i*, *u* with no phonemic length contrast. Word stress is entirely predictable from the shape of phonological words.

Parts of speech which must be recognized are nominal (including nouns, adjectives and locationals), pronoun, verb, predicate determiner, particle, co-ordinator and interjection. The pronouns distinguish three persons (first, second and third) and numbers (singular, dual and plural) and have a contrast in the first person non-singular between inclusive and exclusive reference. The third person pronouns mark gender, either feminine or non-feminine, and may accompany nominals in a noun phrase to function as definite articles. There is a complex set of deictic suffixes used with pronouns, locationals and predicate determiners. The predicate determiners have anaphoric adverbial function helping maintain discourse reference.

Verbs in Diyari have only one conjugation and take suffixes indicating tense or mood. There is a set of auxiliary verbs which interact with these suffixes to express fine tense and modal distinctions. The auxiliaries appear to have developed recently from main verbs. Verbal derivational morphology is fairly rich; the affix *-tharri-* is syntactically and semantically important as a marker of reflexives, passives, anti-passive and semi-transitive lexical derivations. There are a number of other derivational processes which affect verb transitivity.

Nominals are marked for case and have a number of inflectional paradigms. Some nominals follow an ergative-absolutive pattern whilst others have three distinct forms for intransitive subject, transitive subject and transitive object. Pronouns are similarly split between nominative-accusative and three way inflectional systems. The distribution of these systems can be explained by reference to an apparently universal semantic hierarchy.

Particles function as modifiers expressing such meanings as negation, inability, completion and possibility; some particles can have phrasal or sentence scope. There are also eight post-inflectional suffixes added to forms of all word classes and serving

discourse functions such as marking 'old information', 'new information', 'information gained from sensory evidence' and so on.

Diyari has an elaborate system of switch-reference which operates between main and dependent clauses to indicate identity or non-identity of subjects. Multi-clause sentences are a feature of the language and the switch-reference system has a pivotal role in indicating cross-clausal reference. There are two co-ordinators (a conjunction and a disjunction); they do not indicate sameness or difference of subjects and are of less importance in discourse.

1.2 Names and traditional territory

The question of the status of the tribe and tribal territory is an extremely complex one in the Australian context (for discussion of some of the issues involved see Peterson (1976), especially pp.6-10). Present-day Diyari speakers associate Diyari with Cooper Creek (*kunarri*) and particularly the area near the former Lutheran mission at Killalpaninna. As part of the Dieri Aboriginal Corporation land claim the pre-contact locations of local groups was identified and provides a clear picture of the situation at the time of first white contact (around 1860 - see 1.6).

The traditional territory of the Diyari encompasses an area of north-eastern South Australia bounded approximately by a line drawn through the present day township of Marree, Mt. Freeling (in the northern Flinders Ranges) and Lakes Blanche, Gregory, Hope, Perigundi, Howitt, Kittakittaooloo and Killalpaninna. This territory is traversed by Cooper Creek and a number of other minor watercourses such as Clayton Creek and Frome Creek. The Thirari territory was immediately to the west of the Diyari, around the eastern shore of Lake Eyre. See Figure 1, reproduced from Austin (1981).[3]

The Diyari speaking people appear to have been divided into a number of local descent groups, each assigned a particular piece of territory within the general area. According to Howitt (1891, 1904) and modern-day consultants these groups were:

ngardingani or *pukatyiri* who lived in the country around Lake Perigundi (*pi<u>r</u>ikurntinha* in Diyari). The term *puka tyiri* usually refers to an area of scrub.

pantuyitya or *pantulha* (*pantu* 'salt lake'; *-yitya* and *-lha* are nominal stem forming affixes - see 3.2.1) who occupied the land around Lake Hope (*pantupirnanha*).

kunarri who lived along Cooper's Creek around Lake Kopperamanna (*kaparrama<u>r</u>anha*) and Lake Killalpaninna (*kirlawirlpanhinha*).

pa<u>r</u>ithiltya who occupied the country north of the *kunarri* as far as Lake Howitt and the Warburton River.

mardalha (*marda* 'stone, hill'; *-lha* see 3.2.1) who lived on the land south of Cooper's Creek as far as the northern foothills of the Flinders Ranges.

[3] Note that the spelling of names in Figure 1 does not conform with the revised orthography adopted in this document.

There are no named subdivisions of the Thirari mentioned in the literature or by present-day consultants. The Thirari were listed as a local group of the Diyari by Howitt (1904:45); however, this is incorrect (as Tindale (1940:184) realized).

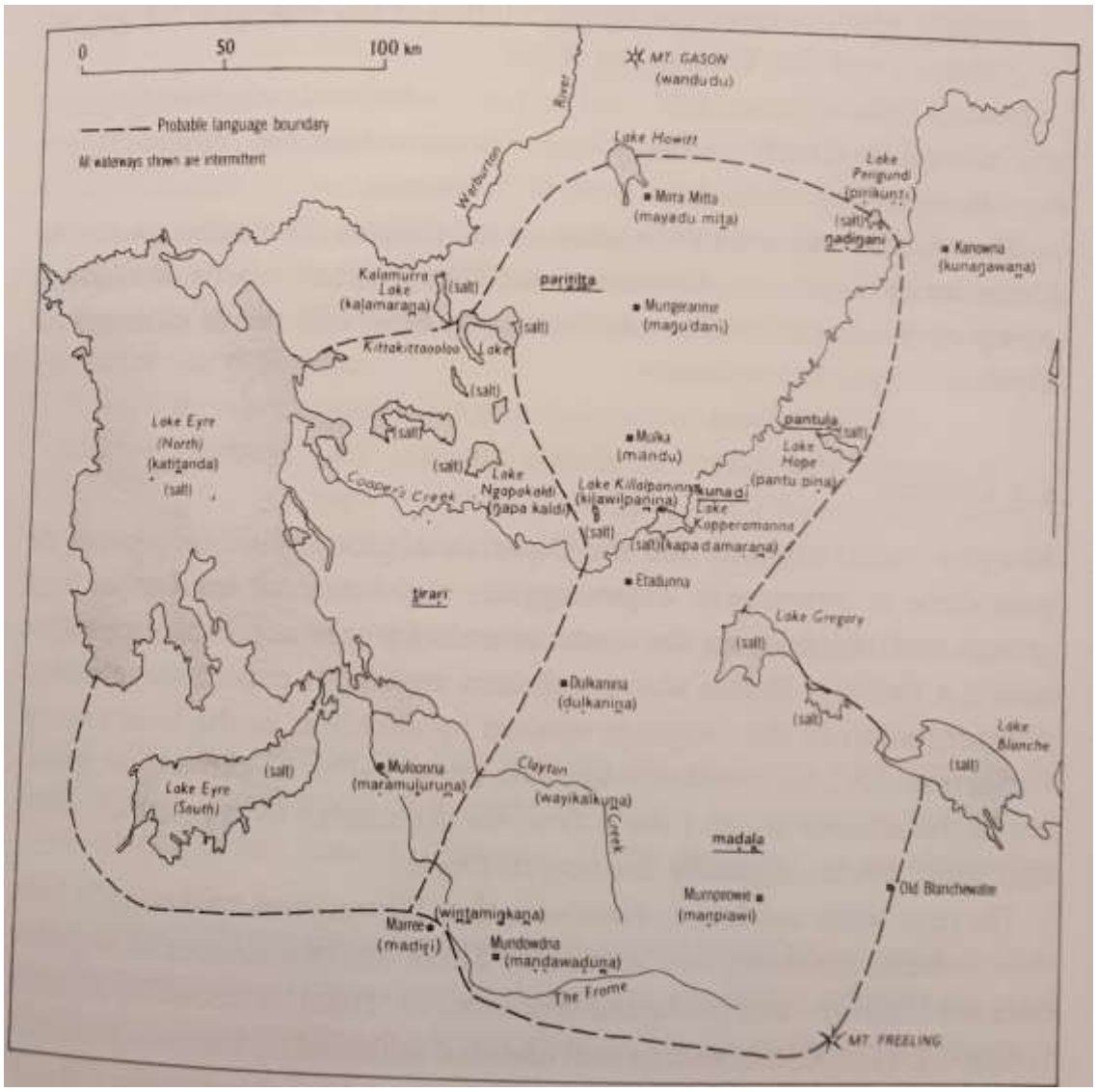


Figure 1. Location of Tharari and Diyari local groups.

1.3 Dialects

Morphy (1972) suggests that the Diyari local groups lived for most of the year close to permanent water supplies and only contacted other local groups and their neighbours during the winter months for ceremonies and trade (see 1.5 below). If this is correct then we might expect some dialect differentiation in the language spoken by members of the local groups. Unfortunately, the only language data recorded for Diyari is from speakers of the *kunarri* group (see 1.2) so we are unable to say with certainty that there were originally dialects of Diyari.

There is some evidence, however, that Thirari was spoken in at least two dialects, northern and southern. There are two sources of linguistic data for Thirari – word lists

and sentences in 'Tirari' collected by Reuther (1899, 1901) at Killalpaninna and material gathered by the present author from Ben Murray (see 1.7), who learnt *thirari* from his maternal grandmother at Muloorina (*maramulhurunha* - see Figure 1). Comparison of these two sources shows that they are very similar lexically and grammatically; a count of apparent cognates on a 150 item basic vocabulary list gives percentage figures of 89% for verbs and 69% for vocabulary in total. Phonologically, the two are identical except that in words where Reuther records a cluster of apico-alveolar lateral or nasal plus voiced stop (see 2.2.1) there is fluctuation between trill release and non-trill release of the stop in Ben Murray's Thirari.[4] The following three examples illustrate this (the Diyari item is included for comparison):

	'Tirari' (Reuther)	Thirari (Murray)	Diyari
'to hit'	dandada	[dʌndʌɖʌ] ~ [dʌndrʌɖʌ]	[nʌndrʌɳʌ]
'two'	mandu	[mʌndu] ~ [mʌndru]	[mʌndru]
'salty'	kaldi	[kʌldi] ~ [kʌldri]	[kʌldri]

In morphology and syntax Reuther's 'Tirari' and Murray's Thirari are identical except for one important feature. In Ben Murray's Thirari all verb inflectional affixes are attached to an obligatory auxiliary verb *purri-* (see 3.5.10) while in Reuther's 'Tirari' (and also in Diyari) these affixes attach to the verb stem. The following example with its Diyari translation illustrates this difference:

'I hit him in order to run away'

'Tirari' (Reuther)

ngati nina dandarda warrai kurdingkalali

ngathi	*nhinha*	*danda-rda*	*wara-yi*	*kurdingka-lhali*
1sgerg	3sgnfacc	hit-ptcple	aux-pres	run-implss

Thirari (Murray)

ngathi	*nhinha*	*dandra-rda*	*purri-rnda*	*wara-yi*	*kurdingka-rda*
1sgerg	3sgnfacc	hit-ptcple	aux-ptcple	aux-pres	run-part

purri-lhali
aux-implss

Diyari

ngathu nhinha nandrarna warayi mindrilha

ngathu	*nhinha*	*nandra-rna*	*wara-yi*	*mindri-lha*
1sgerg	3sgnfacc	hit-ptcple	aux-pres	run-implss

[4] See Austin (1988) on the distribution of trill-released stops in north-eastern South Australia.

Apart from this feature, the two sources are identical and are clearly recordings of two dialects of a single language. It is interesting that the main marker of the dialect difference is the presence of an obligatory auxiliary.

Both these Thirari dialects may be compared with Diyari and it is clear even from superficial inspection that they are all closely related. A count of cognates in a 150 item basic vocabulary list gives the following percentage figures:

	Total vocabulary	Verbs
Diyari-Thirari (Murray)	98%	95%
Diyari-Thirari (Reuther)	68%	84%

In their morphology, Diyari and Thirari are practically identical with only a few minor differences in the form of certain verb suffixes (see example above and 3.5.9). Syntactically they are totally isomorphic and can be described as a single grammatical system. In the following chapters any statements made about the grammar of Diyari hold also for Thirari unless specifically stated otherwise.

1.4 Neighbours

Immediately to the south of Diyari country (Figure 1) lies the traditional territory of the Kuyani (Hercus 1973) and Adnyamathanha (Schebeck 1974) whilst to the south-east we find the Pirlatapa (Austin 1990). The territory of the Arabana and Wangkanguru is located to the west around Lake Eyre; to the north were the Ngamini, Karangura, Yaluyandi, and Mithaka (Breen 1971). The Yawarawarka and Yandruwandha territory was east of the Diyari further up Cooper's Creek and along Strezlecki Creek. Figure 2 (from Breen 2007) shows this information.

During the period before European settlement (see 1.6) there were close relationships between Diyari and the other groups of the area. Trading was an important link (see Howitt 1904, Horne & Aiston 1924, Mulvaney 1976, McConnel 1976, and Austin, Ellis & Hercus 1976) with red ochre from the mines at Parachilna (in the northern Flinders Ranges), called *pukartu* in Diyari, being traded north even into western Queensland (Jones 2019), and the narcotic plant pitchere (*pityirri*) being traded south in return. Also, according to Horne & Aiston (1924: 21): '[t]he chief things brought in from the north are soft wood shields, stone axeheads and pitchere ... in return for these the hardwood fighting poles or digging sticks, and the red ochre would be exchanged.'

There were numerous mythological and ritual links between the tribes such as the *wilyarru* cicatrization ceremony and the *mindar̲i* corroboree (see Gason 1874, Howitt 1904). Mythological tracks of the ancestors criss-crossed the whole area, crossing group boundaries (Elkin 1934, Howitt & Siebert 1904). The whole of the Lake Eyre basin was clearly at one time a large cultural diffusion area. Clear examples of linguistic diffusion are discussed in the literature (Hercus 1972, Hercus & White 1973, Austin, Ellis & Hercus 1976, Austin 1981).

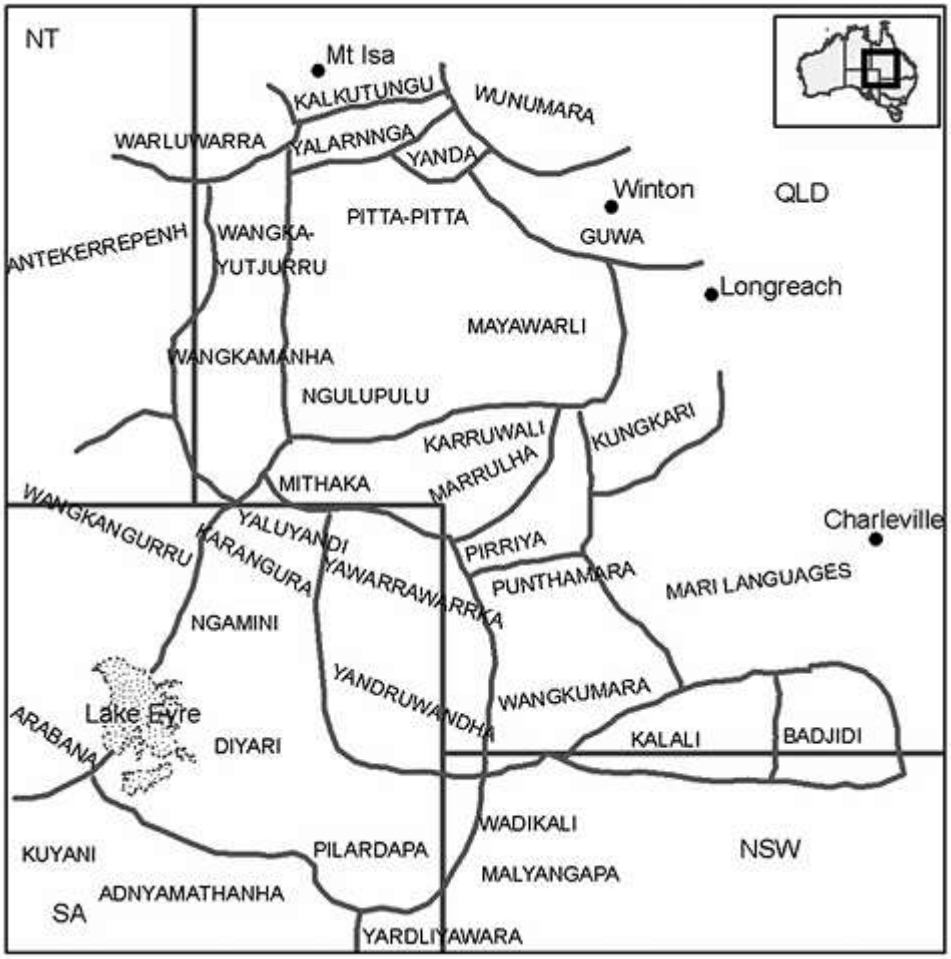


Figure 2. Diyari and neighbouring languages (from Breen 2007)

The linguistic relationships between Diyari and other Australian languages are discussed in Schmidt (1919), O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin (1966), Breen (1971, 2001, 2007, 2011), Austin (1990), Bowern (1998, 2009), and Wurm (1972). These studies all suggest that, on the basis of lexical evidence, Diyari is most closely related to its eastern and northern neighbours. Breen (1971: 24) states that 'both the old and new data justify the grouping of Jandruwanta and Jawarawarka as dialects of the same language, and Dieri, Ngamani and Jelujendi as belonging to a different language'. Austin (1990b) argues that Pilardapa belongs with Diyari, and Austin (1991) proposes that Karangura is closest to Ngamini. Lexical similarities alone are not proof of genetic relationships and systematic comparisons at all levels are necessary. Breen and Bowern have done this for pronouns and case forms in the references mentioned above.

Morphologically, Ngamini and Yaluyandi are practically identical in both the forms and functions of the affixes they employ. Similarly, Yandruwandha and Yawarawarka have almost identical morphology. Comparing these systems with that of Diyari (including Thirari) we can see great similarities in their categorization and paradigmatic organization as well as a large number of formal similarities. Two examples will illustrate this. Firstly, consider Table 1.1 which gives the set of case suffixes attached to common nouns.

The similarities between Ngamini, Yaluyandi, and Diyari are obvious and even more so when we study the paradigms of other nominal classes (see 3.2.5). Diyari has *-ndru* as the ergative suffix for female proper nouns, *-ngundru* as the ablative for non-singular common nouns and *-nhangka* as the dative for female proper nouns. This suggests that all three languages may reflect a single original system which has undergone some realignments. Yandruwandha and Yawarawarka are practically identical and each shows some similarities with the other three languages. Further research demonstrating this in detail is required (e.g. the Yandruwandha-Yawarawarka ablative *-ngura* should be compared to the Diyari perfective different-subject verb inflection *-ningura* (see 5.4), which appears diachronically to consist of a nominaliser plus *-ngura*; the perfective same-subject inflection consists etymologically of the participial/imperfective same-subject *-rna* plus the regular ablative case *-ndru*).

As a second example of formal and categorical similarity Table 1.2 gives the transitive (A) and intransitive (S) subject forms for the first and second person pronouns. Notice that the contrast between transitive and intransitive subject is collapsed in the non-singular in all languages. The only forms in the singular and dual which are not clearly relatable in all languages are Ngamini-Yaluyandi *ngalku* and *yulku*.[5] The first person plural forms are in need of explanation; a full discussion would be out of place here but these two tables do serve to indicate the sorts of comparisons which can be made. Further research on all these languages should result in a more detailed comparative picture.

Lexical comparisons between Diyari and other neighbouring languages (excluding Pilardapa which is extinct and very poorly recorded; see Austin 1990b) give low figures in the 25% to 35% range. Grammatical comparisons reveal relatively little similarity between Diyari and these languages both in the forms and functions of the morpho-syntactic categories, however there is growing evidence for a Karnic group of languages. Breen and Bowern agree that Diyari-Ngamini-Yaluyandi and Yandruwandha-Yawarawarka (Central Karnic) belong to a larger Karnic group that includes Arabana-Wangkanguru and the Pitta-Pitta languages, plus languages east of Yandruwandha, such as Wangkumara and Garlali, though the precise details of subgrouping are not agreed so far. Figure 3 presents the analysis of Bowern (2009: 340).

Table 1.1. Common noun case inflections

Case		Diyari	Ngamini	Yaluyandi	Yawara-warga	Yandru-wandha
Ergative	sing	*-(ya)li*	*-nu*	*-ndu*	*-li*	*-li*
	non-sing	*-li*	*-li*	*-li*		
Locative		*-nhi*	*-mu*	*-mu*	*-nyi*	*-yi*
Ablative		*-ndru*	*-ngundru*	*-ngundru*	*-ngura*	*-ngura*
Dative		*-ya*	*-ngka*	*-ngga*	*-ma*	*-ngari*

[5] I suspect diachronically that these consist of the bases *ngali* and *yula* plus a reduced form of *-kuli*, the noun plural affix in both languages. Loss of root-final and stem-final vowels is a regular process in Ngimini morphology, e.g. in participial forms of stems ending in *i* (see page 92 footnote 6).

Table 1.2. Subject pronouns

	Diyari-Thirari		Ngamini-Yaluyandi		Yandrruwandha-Yawarrawarka	
	S	A	S	A	S	A
1sg	*nganhi*	*ngathu* (Di) *ngathi* (Th)	*nganyi*	*ngathi*	*nganyi*	*ngathu*
2sg	*yini*	*yundru*	*yini*	*yindi*	*yini*	*yundru*
1dlincl	*ngaldra*		*ngali*		*ngaldra*	
1dlexcl	*ngali*		*ngalku*		*ngali*	
2dl	*yula*		*yulku*		*yula*	
1plincl	*ngayani*		*ngayini*		*ngandra*	
1plexcl	*ngayana*		*nganyuru*		*ngani*	
2pl	*yura*		*yura*		*yura*	

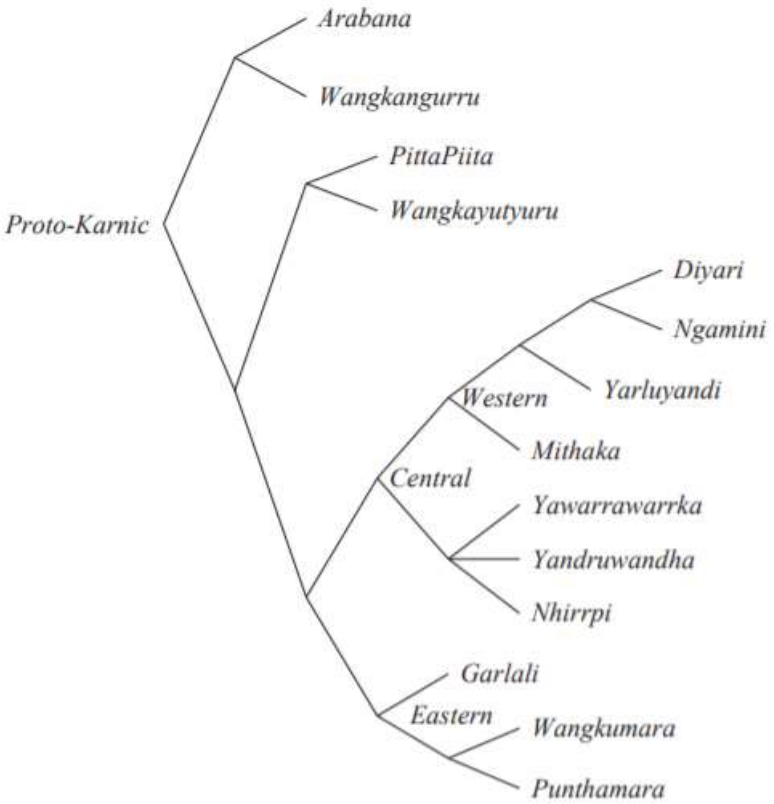


Figure 3. Classification of Karnic languages (from Bowern 2009)

1.5 Cultural background

The country owned by the Diyari (see 1.2 and Figure 1) is arid desert with an average rainfall annually of about 100mm. The landscape ranges from the hilly edge of the northern Flinders Ranges to the flat stony plains near Dulkaninna (*durlkaninha*), to the high sandhills near Cooper's Creek. The area is traversed by a number of creeks (*kar̲irri*) including the Frome (*winthamingkanha*), Clayton (*wayikalkunha*) and Cooper (*kunarri*) which for most of the year are dry watercourses delineated by the trees and shrubs that grow along them. Other prominent features are salt lakes (*pantu*), sandhills (*daku*), swamps (*durlkurru*) and a few low hills (*marda*). All the topographical features have names connected with the travels of the ancestral beings (*muramura*) although many are now forgotten.

Summer temperatures range from 45°C during the day to freezing at night. During the winter months the temperature range is more moderate and the fall of rain prompts the growth of a wide variety of plant and animal life. Some of the various types of food procured and eaten or otherwise used by the Diyari are listed by Gason (1874); Johnston & Cleland (1943a, b) identify various plants and animals giving the uses to which they were put. According to my consultants, the staple diet consisted of a number of types of vegetable (*puka*), and especially ground up seeds for example *ngardu*, *pawa*, *parlkur̲a*) mixed with water and either cooked or eaten raw. This was supplemented with meat (*nganthi*), from kangaroo (*tyukurru*), wallaby (*kantu*), emu (*warrukathi*), birds (*paya*), fish (*parru*), reptiles (*tyutyu*) or a number of small marsupials. Fish were generally caught in nets (*yama*) made from beaten bulrushes (*karlku*) or occasionally with lines and hooks (*mila*). Breen (1986) contains an excellent description of traditional hunting techniques of the neighbouring Yandruwandha. Bird's eggs (*paya kapi*), especially those of the emu and swan (*kuti*) were very popular.

During the winter local groups and tribes met for ceremonies of circumcision (*karruwali wangkarna* - described in Gason 1874, and Howitt 1891, 1904), *kurlpi* subincision and the *wilyarru* cicatrisation ceremony. Occasionally, *wima* ceremonies celebrating the myths, such as the *mindar̲i* (see Horne and Aiston 1924, Berndt 1953) for the emu myth, and increase rituals would be held.

The making of the *kunki* 'native doctor' is described in Berndt and Vogelsang (1938-41) while Gason (1874) and Howitt (1891, 1904) describe his activities. Local group government seems to have been carried out by the totem heads (*pinarru*) of each local group meeting in council. The council was responsible for ensuring maintenance of the moral code and made decisions about the despatch of avenging expeditions (*pinya* - see Text 2). Meetings of the totem leaders also determined when the ceremonies of initiation and increase would take place.

Each member of the Diyari belonged to one of the two exogamous matrilineal moieties called *mathari* and *kar̲arru* (Elkin 1931-2). Within each moiety there were about thirteen totems called *mardu*; these are set out in Table 1.3 which is based on information from present day Diyari speakers and Gason (1874) and Howitt (1891). Entries preceeded by '?' are uncertain as the animals are now extinct and consultants were unsure of the correct pronunciation of their names. It is forbidden for a person to eat the animal or plant named by his totem.

In addition to these *mardu* there are other types of totems inherited by the men (Elkin 1931-2). A *pinthara* or patrilineal ceremonial totem is inherited from a man's father and comprises a totem name, a piece of country with which this totem and an ancestral culture hero (*muramura*) were associated, a myth describing the story of the *muramura* and an increase ceremony to bring about an increase in the totem species. A *marduka* or matrilineal ceremonial totem is the inherited *pinthara* of a man's mother's brother (*kaka*). Present-day Diyari speakers do not know their *pinthara* or *marduka*, but Fry (1937:188) states that his consultant Sam Dintibana (*thinthipanha*) was *kawalka mardu*, *warrukathi pinthara* and *karku marduka*. Elkin also describes a dream totem (*ngapitya*) which is the same as *pinthara* and sex totems (*ngampu*) which are two plants, one for each sex. Sex totems are also reported among tribes in New South Wales (Donaldson 1980:309) and Victoria (Hercus 1969:91-3).

The Diyari kinship system has been described by Gason (1874), Howitt (1904), Elkin (193I, 1938-9) and most recently by Scheffler (1978). I elicited some kinship terms but have not studied their patterning in detail.

Table 1.3. *Totems of Diyari moieties*

Moiety:			
Mathari		Kararru	
karrawara	eaglehawk	*kawalka*	crow
warrukathi	emu	*purralku*	brolga
malurra	cormorant	*tyukurru*	kangaroo
kinthala	dog	*kanungka*	wallaby type
?thikawarra	native cat	*?karapana*	marsupial mouse
mayarru	marsupial rat	*kukula*	stick nest rat
puntha	marsupial mouse	*wama*	carpet snake
kapirri	goanna	*thinamara*	frog
kilapara	black bream fish	*kanangara*	seed of *manyurra*
markara	yellow belly fish	*malka*	mulga tree (seed)
pardi	grub type	*kuntyirri*	bush type
manyura	seed type	*karku*	red ochre
pityirri	pitchere	*thalara*	rain

1.6 Recent history and the present

The early contact history of the Diyari and neighbouring groups has been recorded by Proeve and Proeve (1952), Gale (1964), Farwell (1971) and Jericho (1975). Only a brief outline will be presented here.

The earliest contact between Diyari and white people was probably that of Alfred Howitt who met a group of Lake Hope Diyari in 1862. Within two years Thomas Elder had established a cattle station at the lake. During the severe drought of 1864 the manager of Lake Hope station, Henry Dean, decided to take his stock to water at lake Perigundi some forty miles north where he was met and resisted by Aborigines who

speared and ate some of the cattle. Dean had three Aboriginal camps burned to the ground and sent a mounted party to 'clear the country'.

In 1867 two groups of missionaries from the Moravian and Lutheran churches were sent to minister to the Diyari. They established themselves at Lakes Killalpaninna and Kopperamanna but were forced to leave when the local Aborigines became hostile. The Lutherans returned in 1869 when a police station was established at Kopperamanna and began learning the Diyari language and preaching Christianity. A number of published and unpublished works in and on the language resulted from their efforts, including grammars (Flierl 1879, Reuther 1899 – see also Planert (1908) which is based upon data collected by the missionaries), dictionaries (Reuther 1901), primers, school books, a translation of the New Testament (Reuther & Strehlow 1897) and a manuscript translation of the Old Testament (Riedel (?1914)). These materials are orthographically poor but show a solid understanding of Diyari morphology and syntax on the part of their authors. The mission school and station flourished for a time but by the turn of the century scarcity of water, difficulties with obtaining necessary provisions and many deaths among the Diyari as a result of the introduction of European diseases caused the gradual running down of the enterprise. In 1915 the South Australian government ordered the closure of all German-owned properties. The Diyari left on the mission station went to join other Aboriginal camps on neighbouring stations (some in different tribal areas) such as Wire Yard, Mulka, Finnis Springs, Muloorina, Murnpeowie and Mundowdna which were acting as government ration depots.

A large group of Aborigines were also, at that time, camped in the Frome Creek at Marree. Living in the east side of the town were a few Chinese and the 'Afghans' (most of whom were Muslims from north India - the origin of the name is something of a mystery (see Farwell 1961: 55) whose camel trains carried goods up and down the track between Marree and Birdsville. With the gradual introduction of motor vehicle transport the Afghan population diminished and the Aborigines began to move into the east of Marree - the west side, over the railway line, was the sole preserve of whites; a demographic pattern which began to break down only a few years ago. The last remnants of the groups live in the decaying settlement of Marree. There is little work and an empty existence is spent largely waiting for the next social service cheque followed often by bouts of drunkenness. Some have moved south to Port Augusta to live with younger relatives but periodically return to Marree to visit. No-one now travels to see their own country along the Cooper, though all speak nostalgically of the 'good old days' spent in or near traditional territory.

Much of the old social system and beliefs has broken down through contact with whites and the mixing of different groups. The language was remembered by around 20 older people in 1974-1978 when I carried out my research, and was in regular daily use by some families, and was being learnt by some children.[6] By the end of the 1990s it

[6] In the first edition of this book published in 1981, I erroneously stated that no children were learning Diyari in the 1970s. This is clearly incorrect for the Merrick-Warren family, at least, as Renie Warren (82 years old in 2020) is a fluent speaker and her son Reg Warren (64 years old in 2020) is a competent semi-speaker.

effectively became moribund. For an outline sociolinguistic history of Diyari see Austin (2014).

1.7 Speakers

Today there very few people who speak the languages described in this book. In 1981 only one person was able to speak the Thirari language – Ben Murray of Farina, South Australia. He died in 1998. Diyari was still known by about a dozen people in 1981, all over fifty years of age, living at Birdsville, Marree and Port Augusta. These Diyari speakers were all multi-lingual, speaking either Arabana or Wangkanguru as well as Diyari and, with more or less facility, English. Like other speakers of Australian languages they were careful to keep each language distinct and do not generally switch from one to another in the same utterance.

Four people acted as main language consultants for this study. Ben Murray, *palkunguyuthangkayiwanha*, whose mother was Arabana and father Afghan, was born in 1891 and grew up among Diyari speakers and learned Thirari from his maternal grandmother at Muloorina (Austin, Hercus & Jones 1988). He spent two years at the Killalpaninna mission school before leaving to work in the southern part of the state. He travelled widely and has an excellent command of English, being literate in it and also in Diyari. His interest in the project and dedication made him an extremely valuable language consultant. He spent many hours teaching the intricacies of Diyari as well as telling entertaining and engrossing stories, of which Text 2 is a brief example (see also stories in Hercus & Sutton 1986, Hercus 1977, and Austin, Hercus & Jones 1988).

Rosa Warren, whose mother was Aranda and father Arabana, was born in 1917 and learned Diyari as a child living among people who had been at Killalpaninna. She had a good knowledge of some of the traditional beliefs and practices and was proud of her ability to speak Diyari. She provided much information, especially relating to more traditional areas, which complemented that supplied by Ben Murray.

Frieda Merrick, *midlhangurkukathayiwanha*, (1885-1978) was of Wangkanguru descent and learned Diyari as a young woman at Muloorina and Killalpaninna. Her knowledge of vocabulary was probably the most extensive of any speaker with whom intensive language work was undertaken.

Leslie Russell, *wangapulanha*, (1910-1975) was also of Wangkanguru descent but spoke Diyari fluently. He had travelled widely as a stockman throughout central Australia and was well known as a singer. Before his untimely death shortly after my work on the language began, he recorded twenty Diyari songs, the only indigenous music that could be collected.

A number of other people provided minor confirmatory material, among them Selma Thompson (*tharriparnakardani*), Jimmy Russell (*wangamirinha*), Suzy Kennedy, Eileen Hannis, Florrie Parker, Maudie Naylon, and Mick McLean (*irinyili*).

The data upon which this study is based consist of two types of material. Firstly, sentences and vocabulary were systematically elicited by asking consultants to translate English sentences or words into Diyari and Thirari. Other material is made up of monolingual texts, including monologues (person recollections and narratives dealing

with historical events) and conversations. Only one traditional myth was remembered and it is given as Text 1 in Appendix A as told by Rosa Warren and Leslie Russell.

2 Phonology

2.1 Segmentation

Diyari utterances may be segmented into phonological words on the basis of the following criteria:

1. distribution of segments — each phonological word must begin with one and only one consonant and end in a vowel (2.3). Certain phonotactic constraints (2.3.2) are best stated in terms of word boundaries, as is the distribution of phonetic vowels (2.2.2).
2. stress placement — primary stress falls on the first vowel of a phonological word (see 2.5 and 2.4.3).
3. phonological processes — certain phonological processes, such as the prestopping of nasals and laterals (2.2.1) take account of word boundaries.

Grammatical words are defined by:

1. pausing — utterances may be broken up by pauses between (grammatical) words, not (normally) between parts of words. During elicitation and dictation consultants sometimes place pauses after every word.
2. isolatability — when talking about language in a metalinguistic way consultants speak in terms of (grammatical) words, not parts of words. So, for example, they may discuss the case-inflected noun *ngurandru* 'from the camp' but would not speak about the ablative case suffix *-ndru* as a unit.
3. permutation — sequences of words may be permuted but the order of parts of words cannot be changed without either producing a different word or a nonsense sequence of sounds.

The units defined by phonological criteria coincide with those defined in grammatical terms (cf. Dixon 1977a: 90) except in two instances. The conjunction *ya* 'and' (see 5.6) is clearly a grammatical word but is typically unstressed. It is the only monosyllabic word in the language (2.3.1). Secondly, reduplicated stems consist of two phonological words but are a single grammatical word — see 2.4.3 for discussion of this point.

2.2 Segmental phonology

As noted above (1.1), the phonological system of Diyari is typical of Australian languages but with some unusual features. There are six points of articulation for nasals and stops but at the apico-alveolar and apico-domal (or 'retroflex') positions there is a voicing contrast for the stops. Spectrographic analysis clearly shows the distinctive voicing of these consonants. This is a fairly unusual characteristic for an Australian language; however, languages to the north and east of Diyari, including Yaluyandi and Yandruwandha (see 1.4), also appear to have voicing as a distinctive feature for stops. The contrast seems to apply at more points of articulation; Breen (1976a: 597) reports that Yandruwandha has it for all six positions.

The vowel system is typical for an Australian language and comprises *a*, *i*, *u* with a wide range of allophony (2.2.2). Phonetic long vowels do occur but they are analysed as underlying vowel-semi-vowel-vowel sequences (2.2.3) or the result of optionally deleting *ng* and *y* in fast speech (see 2.6).

2.2.1 Consonants. Diyari has twenty-two consonant phonemes, as set out in Table 2.1. The stops, nasals, and laterals are produced at identical points in the mouth. For the two apical series the active articulator is the tip of the tongue and the passive articulator is the alveolar ridge (apico-alveolar) or pre-palatal region (apico-domal). The laminals are produced with the blade of the tongue contacting the hard palate (lamino-palatal) or upper teeth (lamino-dental). When producing the lamino-dentals the tongue tip normally protrudes slightly between the teeth. The two laminal stops are sometimes heard as affricates, that is, *th* is sometimes [tθ] and *ty* is [cʃ].

All stops except *d* and *rd* are voiceless in all positions. Apico-domal *rd* is voiced and phonetically very short, often being pronounced as a tap in intervocalic position. Apico-alveolar *d* has slightly different realizations in the two dialects: in post-nasal and post-lateral position (see 2.3.2) it is realized as a voiced stop with trill release [dr] in Diyari and as a voiced stop [d] or a voiced stop with trill release [dr] in free variation in Thirari (see 1.3).

Table 2.1 *Consonant phonemes*

	bilabial	apico-alveolar	apico-domal	lamino- dental	lamino-palatal	dorso- velar
Stops	*p*	*t*	*rt*	*th*	*ty*	*k*
		d	*rd*			
Nasals	*m*	*n*	*rn*	*nh*	*ny*	*ng*
Laterals		*l*	*rl*	*lh*	*ly*	
Rhotics		*r*	*ṛ*			
		rr				
Glides	*w*				*y*	

There is no apical contrast word-initially as only *rd* and *rn* occur in that position.[7] The following minimal and sub-minimal pairs illustrate the voicing contrast for apical stops:

[7] Written as plain voiced stops *d* and *n* in the practical orthography.

apico-alveolar:

intervocalic position	**post-consonantal position**
	kantu [kʌntu] ‘wallaby’
	kandru [kʌndru] ‘snore’
	kalta [kʌltʌ] ‘blue tongue lizard’
	kaldra [kʌldrʌ] ‘necklet type’

apico-domal:

intervocalic position	**post-consonantal position**
karti [kʌʈi] ‘raw’	*purntu* [puɳʈu] ‘nose peg’
kardi [kʌɖi] ‘sister’s husband’	*yurndayurnda* [yuɳɖʌyuɳɖʌ] ‘tadpole’
warti [wʌʈi] ‘butt of tree’	
wardi [wʌɖi] ‘corroboree headdress’	

Trefry (1970) was the first to argue for a voicing contrast in Diyari. Unfortunately, his arguments are negated by the fact that in the examples he provides he has misheard *th* as *t* and *rd* as *d*. That is, the examples (Trefry 1970: 65) show a contrast in **point of articulation**, not voicing. There is also a confusing discussion at the bottom of this page over pairs like <wata> and <wada>. If we add retroflection to these examples then the voicing contrast for **apico-domal** stops is illustrated.

The two laminal stops *th* and *ty* contrast intervocalically and word-initially, as shown by pairs such as the following:

intervocalic position		**post-consonantal position**	
matha	‘to bite’	*tharla*	‘name’
matya	‘already’	*tyarla*	‘piece’
kuthi	‘to disappear’	*thika*	‘to return’
kutyi	‘devil’	*tyika*	‘mistake’

However, when a word which begins with a laminal stop contains a lamino-palatal stop, nasal, or lateral (either singly or in a cluster) later in the word, then initial *th* and *ty* are in free variation. That is, there is no contrast in this environment. The following words illustrating this variation have been recorded:

thanyu ~ tyanyu	‘plant type’
thiltya ~ tyiltya	‘sinew, calf (muscle)’
thutyu ~ tyutyu	‘reptile’
thurintyi ~ tyurintyi	‘marrow’

There are no words beginning with either of the two laminal nasals *nh* or *ny* which also contain a lamino-palatal consonant later in the root. Thus, there are no words in which *nh* and *ny* alternate initially.

Partial contrast of laminals is documented for a number of Australian languages by Dixon (1970). Donaldson (1980: 56-57) describes word-initial laminal stop conditioning in Ngiyampaa (western New South Wales); it is interesting to note that one of the conditioning factors is the presence of intervocalic palatal stops or nasal plus stop clusters in that language.

The nasal and lateral consonants are all voiced and (from visual inspection) produced at the same point of articulation as their corresponding stop phonemes. The apico-alveolar and lamino-dental laterals may be optionally prestopped, as [dl] and [d̪l̪], when they occur immediately after the first (primary stressed) vowel of a word and are followed by a vowel. The corresponding nasals can be prestopped in this position as [dn] and [d̪n̪] provided that the word-initial consonant is NOT a nasal (laterals do not occur initially — see 2.3.2). Examples in Table 2.2 illustrate this. The plain and prestopped pronunciations of these consonants are in free variation, but impressionistically the prestopped allophones predominate in actual usage, although both pronunciations are heard.

The first to report the optional prestopping of nasals and laterals in Diyari was Hercus (1972), although she mentions only the apico-alveolar pair. Trefry (1970) noted the fluctuation between [l] and [dl] but failed to describe it. He also did not notice the prestopping of *lh* and the nasals. Prestopping is an areal feature shared by Diyari and its immediate neighbours, including Arabana-Wangkanguru, Kuyani, and Adnyamathanha (see Hercus 1972, Austin, Ellis, & Hercus 1976).

Table 2.2 *Prestopping of laterals and nasals*

	phonemic form	phonetic realization
'you two'	*yula*	[yulʌ] ~ [yudlʌ]
'he'	*nhulu*	[n̪ulu] ~ [n̪udlu]
'liver'	*kalhu*	[kʌl̪u] ~ [kʌd̪l̪u]
'nose'	*mulha*	[mul̪ʌ] ~ [mud̪l̪ʌ]
'jew lizard'	*kani*	[kʌni] ~ [kʌdni]
'yamstick'	*wana*	[wʌnʌ] ~ [wʌdnʌ]
'you'	*yinha*	[jini] ~ [jidni]
'mother's mother'	*kanhini*	[kʌn̪ini] ~ [kʌd̪n̪ini]
'to be'	*ngana*	[ŋʌnʌ]
'her'	*nhanha*	[n̪ʌn̪ʌ]

The apico-alveolar tap *r* is pronounced as a single tap of the tongue tip against the alveolar ridge, [ɾ], and contrasts intervocalically with both the semi-retroflex continuant *ṛ* and the trill *rr* (see above). Examples illustrating this contrast are:

	phonemic	phonetic
'thigh'	*thara*	[t̪ʌɾʌ]
'to go up'	*thaṛa*	[t̪ʌɻʌ]
'to fly'	*tharra*	[t̪ʌrʌ]

In preconsonantal position (2.3.2) only the tap *r* occurs, although often it can be heard freely varying with a trill. None of *r*, *rr*, or *ṛ* occurs word-initially in native Diyari words (see 2.3.2).

The two semi-vowels *w* and *y* are voiced glides similar to English [w] and [j] respectively. Phonetic elision of *w* and *y* optionally takes place in word-initial position preceding a high vowel pronounced at approximately the same position in the mouth. That is:

#*yi* is realized as [ji] or [i]

#*wu* is realized as [wu] or [u]

as in:

'you'	*yini*	[jini] ~ [jidni] ~ [ini] ~ [idni]
'narrow'	*wuldru*	[wuldru] ~ [uldru]

2.2.2 Vowels. There are three vowel phonemes which must be recognized for the description of Diyari, namely *a*, *i*, *u*. Each vowel phoneme has a number of allophones, with widest phonetic range in the realization of *a*. Figure 4, based on the model of Daniel Jones (1956) shows the approximate locations of these allophones in relation to the cardinal vowels. Trefry (1974) gives a number of similar diagrams based upon acoustic analysis of the speech of three Diyari speakers.

Note that the high back vowels tend to be more central and less rounded than cardinal [u]. The vowels in Figure 4 are also matched by a set of retroflexed vowels, that is, vowels pronounced with the tongue tip turned back slightly — one type of vowel rhotacization (Ladefoged 1975:71). The retroflex vowels are allophonic and occur only before *r* and the apico-domal consonants (2.1.1). They will not be included in the listing below as their occurrence is entirely predictable.

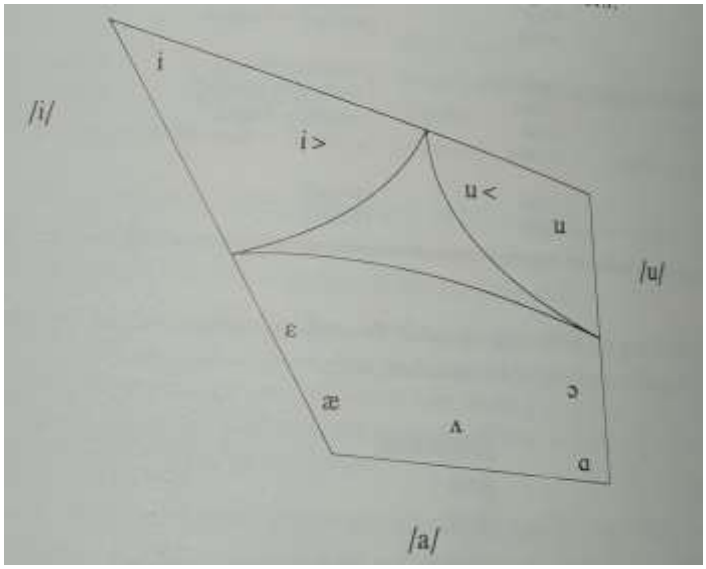


Figure 4. Diyari vowel phonemes

In Figure 4 solid lines enclose the realizations of each vowel phoneme. They are conditioned as follows:

i is realized as

[i$^{>}$] a slightly backed variety of the major allophone occurring in unstressed position before *w* : *nhingkiwa* 'there' [n̪iŋki$^{>}$wʌ]; *thirriwa* 'east' [t̪iri$^{>}$wʌ]

[i] high front unrounded vowel occurring in all other environments

u is realized as

[u$^{>}$] a slightly fronted variety of the major allophone occurring in unstressed position before *ya: yaṟuya* 'like that' [jæʈu$^{>}$jʌ]; *pakuya* 'dig' [pʌku$^{>}$jʌ]

[u] high back vowel slightly more central and less rounded than cardinal vowel 8 [u] (occasionally heard as approaching [ʉ])

a is realized as

[æ] low front unrounded vowel occurring in stressed syllables between *y* and *rr*, *r*, and *ṟ* immediately followed by a vowel: *yarra* 'that way' [jærʌ]; *yara* 'this way [jærʌ]; *yaṟuka* 'like that [jæʈukʌ]; *karnayari* 'like a man' [kʌɳʌjæɾi]

[ɛ] mid open front unrounded vowel occurring in stressed syllables between *y* and a laminal or apical stop or nasal immediately followed by a vowel: *yartu* 'sated' [jɛʈu]; *yardi* 'lie' [jɛɖi]; *yathi* 'to speak' [jɛt̪i]; *yaniya* 'like this' [jɛnijʌ]; *yarni* 'to lean' [jɛɳi]; *nandrayathi* 'might hit' [n̪ʌndrʌjɛt̪i]

[ɒ] mid open back unrounded vowel occurring in stressed syllables between *w* and a bilabial or dorso-velar stop or nasal: *wapa* 'to go' [wɒpʌ]; *waka* 'small' [wɒkʌ]; *wama* 'snake type' [wɒmʌ]; *wangi* 'poor' [wɒŋi]; *wangka* 'to sing' [wɒŋkʌ]

[ɑ] low back unrounded vowel occurring in stressed syllables between *w* and an apico-domal stop, nasal or lateral or *ṟ* immediately followed by a vowel:

wardu ‘short’ [wɑɖu]; *warta* ‘butt’ [wɑʈʌ]; *warni* ‘whose?’ [wɑɳi]; *warli* ‘house’ [wɑɭi]; *waranha* ‘who’ [wɑʈʌnʌ]

[ʌ] low central vowel occurring elsewhere: *wara* ‘to throw’ [wʌɾʌ]; *warru* ‘white’ [wʌru]; *wata* ‘not’ [wʌtʌ]; *wathara* ‘wind’ [waʈʌʈʌ]; *yapa* ‘fear’ [jʌpʌ]; *yakalka* ‘to ask’ [jʌkʌlkʌ]; *yama* ‘net’ [jʌmʌ]; *yarla* ‘together’ [jʌɭʌ]

Notice that there is no consonant cluster restriction on the [ɒ] allophone of *a*, unlike [ɛ] and [æ]. So, for example, we find *wangka* ‘to sing’ [wɒŋkʌ] but *yanku* ‘father’s father’ is [jʌnku] not *[jɛnku]. The sequence *wamp* does not occur in any Diyari words but Yaluyandi *wamba* ‘many’ is [wɒmbʌ]. Reuther also recorded Thirari *wompala* ‘possum’ (cf. Arabana [wɒmpʌɭʌ] i.e. *wamparla* ‘possum’ — Diyari has *pildra*). The sequence *yat* does not occur in any word in the corpus so the allophone of *a* in that environment is unknown.

2.2.3 Vowel-semi-vowel-vowel sequences. Apart from the phonetic short vowels described above, Diyari also has phonetic long high vowels [i:] and [u:], as well as certain sequences of two or three vowels. These will be analysed as manifestations of phonemic vowel-semi-vowel-vowel sequences. Such an analysis has three effects; it simplifies the statement of a number of morpho-phonological rules (2.4) including reduplication (2.4.3) and rules which involve syllable counting (2.4.2); it enables us to account for the fact that regular suffixing of morphemes such as verb affixes gives rise to long vowels or vowel sequences according to the phonological shape of the stem and affix, and it allows us to maintain the strong generalization about Diyari phonotactic structure, namely that no two phonemic vowels occur contiguously (2.3.1). The particular sequences involved and their phonetic realizations fall into three groups:

[1] three-vowel sequences — all occurrences of three phonetic vowels in sequence contain either [i] or [u] as their medial element. These will be analysed as the semi-vowels *y* and *w* respectively, giving sequences of *VyV* and *VwV*. The observed sequences and their phonemicizations are given in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3. *Three-vowel sequences*

phonetic	phonemic	example	gloss
[ʌuʌ]	*awa*	*pawa*	‘seed type’
[ʌui]	*awi*	*pawi*	‘lignum tree’
[iuʌ]	*iwa*	*thirriwa*	‘east’
[iui]	*iwi*	*thiwi*	‘flower’
[ʌiʌ]	*aya*	*paya*	‘bird’
[uiʌ]	*uya*	*muya*	‘dry’
[uiu]	*uyu*	*puyuru*	‘kin term’

The term *puyuru* is the only instance of *uyu* in the corpus. Ngamini has *nhuyu* 'elder brother' (Diyari *nhiyi*) and *wanakuyu* 'spear' (Diyari *katyi*).

All these examples show either a semi-vowel flanked by the low vowel *a* or a semi-vowel preceded or followed by a high vowel differing in frontness to it (where the other vowel in the sequence is *a*). There is logically one further possible sequence of this type, *ayu*, but it does not occur in any words in the corpus.

The examples above show the occurrence of three-vowel sequences in morpheme-internal position. They also occur across morpheme boundaries and the alternations between vowel sequences and single vowels in a paradigm provide evidence for this analysis. Consider the following verb forms:

	participial	present	past
'to go'	[wɒpʌɳʌ]	[wɒpʌi]	[wɒpʌiʌ]
'to dig'	[pʌkuɳʌ]	[pʌkui]	[pʌkuiʌ]

If we set up the bases as *wapa* and *paku* respectively with the participial suffix *rna*, then the past tense affix will be [jʌ] which can be analysed as *ya*. The vowel sequences will then be the realization of *aya* and *uya*. The present tense forms are accounted for by [2].

[2] two-vowel sequences — there are four two vowel sequences in Diyari consisting of all possible permutations of [ʉ] plus one of the high vowels [i] or [u]. These sequences are analysed as *a* preceded or followed by a glide agreeing in frontness with the vowel which begins or ends the sequence. That is, we have the following analysis:

phonetic	phonemic	example	gloss
[ʌi]	*ayi*	*mayi*	'well then'
[ʌu]	*awu*	*kawu*	'yes'
[iʌ]	*iya*	*diyari*	'Diyari'
[uʌ]	*uwa*	*puwa*	'marrow'

Two-vowel sequences also occur across morpheme boundaries and there are alterations between them and single vowels in a paradigm. The verbs given under [1] above plus the following additions illustrate this:

	participial	present	past
'to get'	[mʌnʌɳʌ]	[mʌni:]	[mʌniʌ]
'to fall'	[puɾiɳʌ]	[puɾi:]	[puɾiʌ]

The two roots are *mani* and *puri*. Since we analysed the past tense marker as *ya* the [iʌ] sequence is then the realization of *iya*. The present tense forms of 'to go' and 'to dig' (see [1] above) will be accounted for if the suffix is set up as *yi* (it cannot be simply *y*

because all words end in a vowel (2.3.1)). The present tense forms of 'to get' and 'to fall' are accounted for under [3] below.

Two other two-vowel sequences occur but less frequently; they are only found across instances of morpheme boundaries. They will be analysed along the lines of the sequences above:

phonetic	phonemic	example
[iu]	*iwu*	only occurs when the dual suffix *-wurlu* is added to a stem ending in *i* e.g. *thariwurlu* 'two boys' [ʈʌɽiuɭu]
[ui]	*uyi*	only occurs when the present tense suffix is added to *paku* 'to dig', the only known verb root ending in *u*.

Note that *uyi* does not occur in Thirari, because the tense suffixes are attached to the auxiliary verb *purri-* (3.5.10) and not to the root *paku*. It is interesting that in Ngamini (1.4) the present tense form of verb roots ending in *u* involves no affixation (*-yi* after verbs in *a* or *i*). Ngamini has a number of verbs with final *u* which have cognates in Diyari and/or Thirari ending in *a*, for example *kurru-* (Diyari *kurra-*) 'to place, put'.

[3] long vowels — the long vowels [i:] and [u:] are analysed as sequences of two identical (short) high vowels separated by a semi-vowel agreeing in frontness with them. Occasionally in slow deliberate speech a clear glide can be heard where there is a long vowel in faster speech. In addition, alternations such as those seen in the verb examples above (see [2]) can be accounted for by this analysis. Thus, [i:] arises through the suffixation of present tense *yi* to verbs ending in *i*. Long vowel analysis and examples are:

phonetic	phonemic	example	gloss
[i:]	*iyi*	*nhiyi*	'elder brother'
[u:]	*uwu*	*kuwu*	'ignorant'

It is interesting to note that of the eighteen theoretically possible vowel-semi-vowel-vowel sequences fourteen actually occur morpheme-internally, that is *awa, awi, iwa, iwi, aya, uya, uyu, ayi, awu, iya, uwa, iyi, uwu*; two occur at morpheme boundaries and not morpheme-internally, that is *iwu, uyi*; three never occur, that is *uwi, ayu, iyu*.

2.3 Word Structure

2.3.1 Syllables. As noted above (2.1), word must begin with one and only one consonant (excluding the three interjections discussed at 3.1.6) and end in a vowel. In intervocalic position it is possible to have one or two consonants; the permitted clusters are discussed at 2.3.2. With the exception of *ya* 'and' (2.1 and 5.6) all words contain two or more vowels.

Clearly we must set up a Diyari syllable of the CV type, that it, consonant (including semi-vowel) followed by a vowel. Syllables in the following words are of this type:

puka	*pu.ka.*	'vegetable food'
mathari	*ma.tha.ri.*	'man'
pulyurranhitha	*pu.lyu.rra.nhi.tha.*	'in the mud now'

There are also CVC syllables but these do not occur word-finally. Words showing this syllable type include:

nganka	*ngan.ka.*	'beard'
kalta	*kal.ta.*	'blue tongue lizard'
thangkaldri	*thang.kal.dri.*	'sweet millet'

There is some internal and external evidence that historically this constraint did not always hold. The place name *kirlanthupunha* was translated by consultants as "cunt smoke", but *thupu* is 'smoke' and *kirla* 'vulva'. It is possible that *kirla* may have once ended in a nasal preserved in this place name. Also, there are Diyari words which have cognates with a final consonant in other Australian languages, for example *ngantya* 'saliva' cognate with Ngiyampaa *ngantyar* 'saliva' (Donaldson 1980:47)).

In Diyari, syllable and morpheme boundaries do not necessarily coincide (see 2.3.2) because there are bound morphemes which begin with a vowel, for example *-ipa-*, verb transitivizer (3.5.6, see also 2.4.1), or a consonant cluster, for example *-lka-* transitivizer (3.5.6). Examples illustrating this are:

	morphological form	phonological form
'go on-tr-pres'	*parlka-ipa-yi*	*parl.ki.pa.yi.*
'emerge-tr-ptcple'	*durnka-lka-rna*	*durn.kal.ka.rna.*

2.3.2 Phonotactics. All stops and nasals, with the exception of the apico-alveolar set and the voiceless apico-domal stop, occur word-initially, as do the semi-vowels *w* and *y*. The laterals and tap are not found in word-initial position, nor is the apico-post-alveolar continuant, except in some partially assimilated loans from English such as *rapiti* 'rabbit' and *ringama-* 'to telephone' (from 'ring 'em'). These restrictions mean that of twenty-two consonant phonemes only twelve are found in word-initial position, namely:

p k th ty rd m ng nh ny rn w y

A distribution of this type is a feature of Australian languages (Dixon 1972:3), although in some languages the set is even smaller through the exclusion of initial apico-domals.

In word-final position only vowels occur while all consonants occur intervocalically. The combination of consonants in intervocalic clusters, arising from adjoining syllables, is not so varied as in some Australian languages, such as Dyirbal (see Dixon 1972:272), but there are the five types:

1. stop preceded by a homorganic nasal — *mp, ngk, nt, ndr, rnt, rnd, nth, nty*
2. stop preceded by a homorganic lateral, except that *rld* does not occur — *lt, ldr, rlt, lth, lty*
3. peripheral stop, i.e. *p* or *k*, preceded by an apical nasal or lateral — *np, nk, rnp, rnk, lp, lk, rlp, rlk*
4. peripheral nasal, i.e. *m* or *ng*, preceded by the apico-alveolar nasal — *nm, nng*
5. non-apical stop preceded by the tap — *rp, rk, rth, rty*

Except for type [4], i.e. *nm* and *nng*, these clusters all consist of a sonorant followed by a non-sonorant. Such a pattern is typical among the Pama-Nyungan group of Australian languages, although a few, for example Tharrkari, Western Australia (Klokeid 1969:7) do allow clusters of two non-sonorants.

All words and uninflected root morphemes conform to this phonotactic pattern. Bound morphemes, including stem-forming, inflection and post-inflection suffixes may have the following shapes:

1. VCV — for example -*inga*- prolative, -*ipa*- transitivizer (see 2.4.1, 3.5.6, 3.5.7)
2. CV(CV) — the majority of bound morphemes are of this type, for example, -*ya* past tense (3.5.9) and -*matha* identified information (4.12)
3. CVCCV — for example -*ngundra* ablative case with proper nouns (3.2.5), -*nhangka* genitive case with female proper nouns (3.2.5) and -*rnandru* seqSS(5.4)
4. CCV(CV) — for example, -*lka*- transitivizer (3.4.6) and -*nkari* towards (3.2.6).

There are morphophonemic rules which operate upon VCV morphemes to derive the usual CV(C) syllable types. These are examined at 2.4.1.

2.4 Morpho-phonology

2.4.1 Root vowel replacement. The prolative (PROL) verb derivational affix (indicating relative movement of the subject — see 3.5.7) gives rise to an alternation in the final vowel of the stem to which it is suffixed. Consider the forms:

	root	root-prol
‘to emerge’	*durnka*	*durnkinga*
‘to stand’	*tharka*	*tharkinga*
‘to get’	*mani*	*maninga*
‘to run’	*mindri*	*mindringa*
‘to dig’	*paku*	*pakinga*

The prolative form can be derived in one of two ways:

(a) we can set up the suffix as -*nga* and have a rule which converts final vowels to *i* before it (applying vacuously to roots ending in *i*).

(b) we can set up the suffix as *-inga* and have a rule which deletes morpheme-final vowels before morphemes beginning in a vowel.

If we adopt solution (a) then the vowel conversion rule will have to be morphologically conditioned because there is another derivational suffix, 'product' (which derives verbs from nouns — see 4.10.2) which involves the addition of *-nga* without affecting the root vowel. Consider the examples:

	root	root-prod
'crack'	*karta*	*kartanga*
'step'	*darri*	*darringa*
'boom'	*kanpu*	*kanpunga*

If we adopt solution (b) then the affixes will be *-inga-* PROL and *-nga-* PROD and a morphologically conditioned rule will not be required. Note also that reduplication (see 2.4.3) applies after the root vowel is replaced; this is an additional reason for adopting the purely phonological solution (b).

This rule also operates in the case of the verb transitivizer *-ipa-* (3.5.6) which derives forms like the following:

	root	transitivised stem
'to stand'	*tharka*	*tharkipa*
'to lie'	*thurara*	*thurar̲ipa*
'to arise'	*yirtyi*	*yirtyipa*
'to separate'	*punthi*	*punthipa*

Verb stems can involve two occurrences of this affix (where the second has benefactive function — see 3.5.6) both of which cause replacement of the preceding vowel. Thus, from *tharkipa-* 'to stand (transitive)' we can derive *tharkipipa-* 'to stand (something) for someone' (see also example (59) in 3.5.7).

A root vowel alternation like this is found in neighbouring Ngamini and Yandruwandha. Breen (1976b:746) gives Ngamini examples *-ini* agentive nominalizer, *-iyimu* complement (i.e. relds — see 5.2) and *-ili* immediate consequence (i.e. implds — see 5.1).

2.4.2 Case forms of polysyllables. Singular common nouns which have trisyllabic nominative (uninflected) stems ending in *i* or *u* change this to *a* in all other case forms. Consider the examples:

	nominative	locative	ablative
'father'	*ngapir̲i*	*ngapir̲anhi*	*ngapir̲andru*
'man'	*mathari*	*matharanhi*	*matharandru*
'mud'	*pulyurru*	*pulyurranhi*	*pulyurrandru*

'old man'	*pinarru*	*pinarranhi*	*pinarrandru*

and compare them with the following disyllables:

'youth'	*thari*	*tharinhi*	*tharindru*
'boy'	*kanku*	*kankunhi*	*kankundru*

These examples show that the case inflections are *-nhi* and *-ndrru* and that the final vowel of trisyllables is neutralized to *a* in inflected forms.

Neutralization of final vowels interacts with the allomorphy of the ergative case (realized as *-li* after *a* and *-yali* elsewhere — see 3.2.5) in two ways. For trisyllables ending in *u* the neutralization applies before-*li* is suffixed:

	nominative	ergative	
'mud'	*pulyurru*	*pulyurrali*	not **pulyurruyali*
'old man'	*pinarru*	*pinarrali*	not **pinarruyali*

However, for trisyllables ending in *i* the neutralization rule applies optionally giving rise to two alternative ergative case forms:

	nominative	ergative	
'father'	*ngapiri*	*ngapirali*	or *ngapiriyali*
'man'	*mathari*	*matharali*	or *mathariyali*

Nominal roots consisting of two or four syllables and ending in *i* or *u* are not subject to the neutralization rule and hence take the *-yali* ergative allomorph (see 3.2.5). Examples are:

	nominative	ergative
'youth'	*thari*	*thariyali*
'boy'	*kanku*	*kankuyali*
'emu'	*warrukathi*	*warrukathiyali*
'left hand'	*warrangantyu*	*warrangantyuyali*

Note that resulting ergative case forms all have an even number of syllables, except for the trisyllables ending in *i* which can optionally have ergative forms of five syllables.

All stems derived by the addition of the dual number nominal derivational affix *-wurlu-* (3.2.1) do undergo neutralization of the final *u* regardless of the syllabicity of the root or (derived) stem. Examples include:

	nominative	locative	ergative
‘youth-dual’	*thariwurlu*	*thariwurlangu*	*thariwurlali*
‘boy-dual’	*kankuwurlu*	*kankuwurlangu*	*kankuwurlali*
‘mo-mo-dual’	*kanhiniwurlu*	*kanhiniwurlangu*	*kanhiniwurlali*
‘old man-dual’	*pinarruwurlu*	*pinarruwurlangu*	*pinarruwurlali*
‘emu-dual’	*warrukathiwurlu*	*warrukathiwurlangu*	*warrukathiwurlali*

The nominal stem-forming affix *-lha* ‘characteristic’ (3.2.1) causes final vowel neutralization when added to trisyllabic roots ending in a high vowel. Examples are given at 3.2.1 section [3]. Other derivational suffixes do not cause root vowels to undergo any change.

2.4.3 Reduplication. The semantic effects of reduplication are discussed at 3.2.9 (for nominals) and 3.5.3 (for verbs). Phonologically, reduplication involves the repetition of the first CV(C)CV of the unreduplicated root. That is:

$C_1V_1(C_2)C_3V_2(C_4)C_5$ . . . becomes $C_1V_1(C_2)C_3V_2C_IV_I(C_2)C_3V_2(C_4)C_5$ . . .

Illustrative examples are the following:

	root	reduplicated root
‘woman’	*wilha*	*wilhawilha*
‘boy’	*kanku*	*kankukanku*
‘father’	*ngapiri*	*ngapingapiri*
‘bird type’	*tyilparku*	*tyilpatyilparku*
‘cat fish’	*ngankanthi*	*ngankangankanthi*

The root vowel replacement rule discussed at 2.3.1 operates before reduplication applies, giving forms such as:

	stem	reduplicated stem	
‘emerge-prol’	*durnka-inga*	*durnkirdurnkinga*	not **durnkardurnkinga*
‘stand-tr’	*tharka-ipa*	*tharkitharkipa*	not **tharkatharkipa*

Reduplicated stems contain a phonological word boundary (2.1) between V_2 and the second C_I (in the formula above), that is, they consist of two phonological words. There are three ways in which the boundary is manifested: both V_1 in a reduplicated stem take primary stress (2.5); the allophony (2.2.2) of both V_1 is identical and prestopping of nasals and laterals (2.2.1) occurs at both C_3 positions. Examples illustrating this are:

	stem	reduplicated stem	
'to emerge'	*durnka*	*durnkardurnka*	[ɖuɳkʌɖuɳkʌ]
'to talk'	*yatha*	*yathayatha*	[jɛʈʌjɛʈʌ]
'mother's mother'	*kanhini*	*kanhikanhini*	[kʌn̪ikʌn̪ini]
woman	*wilha*	*wilhawilha*	[wiɖ̪lʌwiɖ̪lʌ]

2.5 Word stress

Stress in Diyari is not phonologically contrastive and is entirely predictable from the shapes of roots and suffix morphemes. Primary stress falls on the first vowel of a root and secondary stress is assigned to the third vowel of a four syllable root (no roots are longer than four syllables). Disyllabic suffix morphemes are assigned (secondary) stress on their first syllable; this can result in sequences of unstressed syllables. Note that word-final syllables are never stress in Diyari. Examples are given in Table 2.4. The stress patterns of the vowel-initial interjections are discussed at 3.1.6.

Word stress in Diyari shows that morphological structure can define the domain for stress assignment – the Diyari data has been the subject of discussion by a number of theoretical phonologists, including Poser.

Table 2.4. *Word Stress*

	phonemic	phonetic
Noun (nominative inflected form)		
1. 'man'	*karna*	['kʌɳʌ]
'old man'	*pinarru*	['pinʌru]
'old woman'	*wilhapina*	['wi̪lʌˌpinʌ]
Verb (imperative inflected form)		
2. 'to hit'	*nandra*	['ɳʌndrʌ]
'to close'	*ngandrawalka*	['ŋʌndrʌˌwɒlkʌ]
Noun root + derivation		
3. 'man-pl'	*karnawa̲ra*	['kʌɳʌˌwɒʈʌ]
'old man-pl'	*pinarruwa̲ra*	['pinʌruˌwɒʈʌ]
'old woman-pl'	*wilhapinawa̲ra*	['wi̪lʌˌpinʌˌwɒʈʌ]
Verb root + derivation + inflection		
4. 'hit-recip-pres'	*nandramaliyi*	['ɳʌndrʌˌmʌli:]
'to close-pass-pres'	*ngandrawalkatharriyi*	['ŋʌndrʌˌwɒlkʌˌt̪ari:]

Noun root + (derivation) + inflection

5. ‘man-loc’	*karnanhi*	[‘kʌɳʌn̪i]
‘man-PL-loc’	*karnawa<u>r</u>angu*	[‘kʌɳʌˌwɒʈʌŋu]
‘man-PL-ablat’	*karnawa<u>r</u>angundru*	[‘kʌɳʌˌwɒʈʌˌŋundru]

Noun root + (derivation) + inflection + post-inflection)

‘man-loc-ident’	*karnanhimatha*	[‘kʌɳʌn̪iˌmʌt̪ʌ]
‘man-PL-loc-ident’	*karnawa<u>r</u>angumatha*	[‘kʌɳʌˌwɒʈʌŋuˌmʌt̪ʌ]

2.6 Fast speech phenomena

In fast fluent speech such as that characteristic of texts a number of assimilations and delections occur which are not heard when Diyari is dictated slowly word for word. Among the most notable is the tendency to pronounce inflected verb stems plus a following auxiliary verb (3.5.10) as a single unit. Auxiliaries beginning with *wa*, that is *wanthi*, *wapa* and *warra*, change this to [u] and contract with the preceding participal form of the stem, as in:

‘saw long ago’	*nhayirna wanthiyi*	becoming	[n̪ʌiɳʌun̪t̪iː]
‘saw recently’	*nhayirna wapaya*	becoming	[n̪ʌiɳʌupʌiʌ]
‘saw just now’	*nhayirna warayi*	becoming	[n̪ʌiɳʌurɛi]

The future auxiliary *ngana-* loses its initial consonant and contracts with the preceding stem giving rise to a phonetic long vowel [ʌː], as in ‘will see’ *nhayilha nganayi* becoming [n̪ʌil̪ʌːnɛi].

Samuel Gason’s 1874 materials on Diyari contain verb forms that he recorded with the auxiliary verb phonetically attached to the participial form, eg. athooyoralauni ‘I will love’ for *ngathu yu<u>r</u>alha nganayi*.

The same long vowel occurs in fast speech arising from two sources. Firstly, in derived causative verbs (4.10.3) the initial velar nasal of *-nganka-* ‘caus’ may be deleted to give a long vowel, if the root ends in *a*, or a vowel sequence, as in:

‘makes sleep’	*mukangankayi*	becoming	[mukʌːnkɛi]
‘makes dead’	*nharingankayi*	becoming	[n̪ʌɾiʌnkɛi]
‘makes blind’	*putyungankayi*	becoming	[puʧuʌnkɛi]

Secondly, the intervocalic *y* of the interrogative nominals based on *wardayarri* ‘where’ can be deleted in fast speech giving phonetic [wɒɖʌːɾi], as in ‘where from’ *wardayarrindru* becoming [wɒɖʌːɾindru].

One final phenomenon of note is that in shouted speech (to attract attention or for exclamatory purposes) the final vowel of the utterance is distorted and heavily stressed to be the sequence [ɛi] or [ʌu]. When the shouted word is disyllable ending in *i* or *u*, [ɛi] or [ʌu] is added after the *i* or *u*. Some examples of this are:

	normal	shouted
'boy'	*kanku*	[kʌnkuɛi] or [kʌnkuʌu]
'mother's mother'	*kanhini*	[kʌn̪inɛi] or [kʌn̪inʌu]
'he'	*nhawurda*	[n̪ʌuɖɛi] or [n̪ʌuɖʌu]
'dig!' (imperative)	*pakuya*	[pʌkujɛi] or [pʌkujʌu]

In examples below these are written as *-yi* and *-wu* respectively and glossed 'distort'.

In his Diyari grammar Reuther (1899) set up nouns with their final vowel distorted in this way as "Vocative Case" forms. The process, however, does not only apply to nouns, as these examples illustrate. Hale (pers. comm.) reports that Warlpiri (Central Australia) has similar final distortion in shouted speech.

3 Morphology

3.1 Parts of Speech

Seven lexeme classes, or 'parts of speech', may be set up for the description of Diyari and Thirari:

1 nominal
2 pronoun
3 verb
4 predicate determiner
5 particle
6 co-ordinator
7 interjection

These categories are defined by a combination of morphosyntactic criteria which place each word into one and only one class. There are a number of processes whereby stems belonging to one part of speech are derived from roots of another; these class-changing processes are described at 4.9 and 4.10.

Pronoun, predicate determiner, particle and co-ordinator are closed word classes which consist of a set of lexemes exhaustively listed in the grammar. All other classes are open.

3.1.1 Nominals. Nominals are defined as the category of words which inflect for case according to their relationship to the predicate or to other nominals in the sentence (see 3.2.3 and 4.4). This category subsumes what are traditionally referred to as 'nouns' and 'adjectives', which can be distinguished as sub-categories in Diyari, and also certain temporal and spatial locational words.

Adjectives have the same inflectional and non-class-changing derivational morphology as singular common nouns but differ from them in their syntactic behaviour. Adjectives co-occur with the inchoative verbalizer *-ri-* ~ *-ṛi-* (4.10.1) whilst all but a small group of nouns (see below and 4.2.2) do not. Within a noun phrase (4.1.1) adjectives always follow the noun they modify and may be preceded by any of the third person pronouns functioning as determiners (3.3.2 and 4.1.1). Nouns in the singular, however, are sub-categorized for gender and occur with only one type of determiner, either feminine or non-feminine; adjectives are not sub-categorized in this way. In addition, adjectives are intensified by *marla*, nouns by *pirna* (4.3.1).

There are also semantic differences to be found between the members of the noun and adjective sub-classes (see Dixon, 1972:39-40 and 1977b). The semantic content of adjectives includes value (e.g. *ngumu* 'good', *malhantyi* 'bad'); dimension (*pirna* 'big', *waka* 'small'); most physical properties (*pandra* 'cooked, ripe', *mardi* 'heavy', *thipi* 'alive'); numbers and quantifiers (*kurnu* 'one', *mandru* 'two', *parkulu* 'three', *parlpa* 'some', *pani* 'none'); colours (there are four basic colour terms — *warru* 'white', *maṛu*

'black', *marralyi* 'red', *kalyakulya* 'green, yellow'); and physiological characteristics (*parlu* 'naked', *putyu* 'blind', *kungku* 'lame'). Some concepts which we might expect to be expressed as adjectives (see Dixon (1977b)) are in fact expressed by a subset of common nouns. Members of this subset all share three morpho-syntactic properties not shared with other common nouns — they occur with *-kantyi* 'excess' (3.2.1), with the inchoative verbalizer (4.10.1), and take an ergative case suffix (in instrumental function) when used predicatively (4.4.3). They express the concepts of human propensity (e.g. *thirri* 'aggressiveness', *yapa* 'fear', *walkarra* 'sadness'), physiological state (*mawa* 'hunger', *thardi* 'thirst', *parla* 'sexual desire') and some physical properties (*waldra* 'heat', *kilpa* 'cold'). In Diyari the semantic notion of position is expressed by common nouns such as *pangki* 'side', *thuku* 'back' and *wirdi* 'outer one of a set'.

Nouns are an open sub-class of nominals and can be further subdivided into proper nouns and common nouns. Proper nouns are semantically those nominal words which are the name of a place or person. In their case morphology they are distinct from other nouns since they occur with different allomorphs of the case suffixes (3.2.4) and show some differences in the coding of syntactic functions (3.2.3, 4.4). Proper nouns, because of their inherent definiteness, cannot co-occur with a pronoun functioning as a nominal determiner (4.1.1). They are only very infrequently found modified adjectives. Common nouns, however, may be accompanied by a pronoun in a noun phrase and can be optionally marked for number by the dual and plural stem-forming affixes (3.2.1). Common nouns and adjectives have the same inflections.

Semantically, common nouns designate the concepts mentioned above and also inanimate natural things such as the elements, celestial bodies, meteorological phenomena and geographical forms (e.g. *ngapa* 'water', *pi<u>r</u>a* 'moon', *mitha* 'earth, countryside'); directions, excluding cardinal points (*ngunya<u>r</u>i* 'right hand', *warrangantyu* 'left hand'); human beings and socio-cultural relationships (*karna* 'Aboriginal person', *ngapi<u>r</u>i* 'father'); artefacts and evidence of human habitation (*kira* 'boomerang', *ngura* 'camp'); supernatural beings and spirits (*muramura* 'culture hero', *mungar<u>r</u>a* 'soul') and language, noises and a few abstract concepts (*yawarra* 'word, language', *wima* 'corroboree, song', *nga<u>r</u>u* 'echo', *ngapitya* 'dream'). In Diyari, as in many other Australian languages (see O'Grady 1960, and Dixon 1977a:124) common nouns are used to refer to both what a thing is and what it potentially could be. So, for example, the common noun *pityi* can be used to refer both to the bark of a tree and to the bowl made from it.

The third type of nominal words comprises location nominals which inflect for allative and ablative cases only and have the uninflected stem as the locative case form (3.2.3). Location nominals can be sub-divided semantically into an open set of temporals, which are nominals with time reference (e.g. *waru* 'long ago', *thangkuparna* 'tomorrow') and spatials. The spatial locationals forma closed set whose members are *nhingki* 'here', *nhaka* 'there', *yara* 'that way', *yarra* 'this way' plus the four cardinal directions *thinankara* 'north', *kunankari* 'south', *yantakara* 'west' and *thirriwa* 'east' (3.2.3). Figure 5 illustrates the sub-divisions of the nominal word class in Diyari.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="6">nominals</td></tr>
<tr><td>adjectives</td><td colspan="2">location nominals</td><td colspan="3">nouns</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>temporal</td><td>spatial</td><td colspan="2">proper</td><td>common</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2">personal</td><td>place</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>female</td><td>male</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Figure 5. Nominal Words

3.1.2 Pronouns. These are a closed class of words which inflect for case and are specified by person and number. In the first person dual and plural there is a contrast between inclusive and exclusive reference (3.3.2). There is also a set of special relationship pronouns with a defective paradigm; they are found only in the dual absolutive (3.3.1).

3.1.3 Verbs. The verb class is defined as those words which obligatorily take one of a set of verb-final inflections (3.5.9). In main clauses these inflections mark tense or mood. The verb class is sub-divided into main verbs, which are an open lexical class, and auxiliary verbs, which are a closed class of items occurring after main verbs in verb phrases (4.1.2). In Diyari the auxiliary verbs are optional but in Thirari the auxiliary *purri-* is obligatory (3.5.10). Auxiliary verbs cannot occur in implicated clauses (5.1) and are semantically quite different from main verbs; they function to specify tense and modal categories (3.5.10).

Main verbs in both Diyari and Thirari may occur with one or more of the (optional) stem-forming affixes (3.5.6, 3.5.7). On morphosyntactic grounds main verbs can be classified into five mutually exclusive groups, namely, simple transitives, object complement intransitives, locative complement intransitives, simple transitives and di-transitives (3.5.2). The intransitive and transitive verbs are further divided into ten sub-classes (3.5.5) according to their occurrence with syntactic derivational affixes (3.5.6). There are two copulative verbs *ngana-* ‘to be’ and *pantyi-* ‘to become’ (see 4.2.2).

3.1.4 Predicate determiners. The closed class of predicate determiners contains two roots *yaṟu-* ‘like that’ and *yani-* ‘like this’ which inflect for certain deictic categories (3.4.1). They provide adverbial specification of predicates (4.3.2).

3.1.5 Particles and co-ordinators. These two closed word classes may be defined negatively as those items which take none of the derivational or inflectional morphology described above. Particles, however, do occur with post-inflectional affixes (4.12) while co-ordinators do not; the latter function as phrasal or clausal conjunctions and disjunctions and are discussed at 5.6 and 5.7. The syntax and semantics of particles is described at 4.11.

3.1.6 Interjections. These are a class of words which can comprise a whole utterance by themselves. They are never inflected and are not syntactically integrated with other linguistic material.

Two interjections are phonotactically unusual in that they begin with a vowel (cf. 2.3.2), namely *arru* 'hello' (a greeting) and *ayi* 'hey' (a call for attention). There is a third interjection which is phonologically deviant, both in that it begins with a vowel and also contains a glottal stop found nowhere else in the language. It is *a'ayi* 'no, that is not correct' (the same form is found in Ngamini, e.g. Ng-elic0067, Ng-elic0078). The stress rules discussed at 2.5 will not apply to these interjections. One must simply learn that stress falls on the first vowel of *arru* i.e. [ˈʌru] and *ayi* [ˈʌi] and on the first two vowels of *a'ayi* [ˈʌʔˈʌi].

Other interjections recorded are:

kapawu	'look out' — an expression of imminent danger
kaparrawu	'come here', 'hurry up'
kawu	'yes' — examples in Text 1, lines 66 and 98. The adjective *pani* is used as an interjection to mean 'no' (cf 3.2.2)
kawuwarna	'that's correct' — an expression of approval for something just said
purru	'hey' — an expression of surprise or fear
mayi	'well then', 'alright' — examples in Text I, lines 86, 91 and 97
walya	'just a minute' — see Text I, line 24
yakayayi	'hooray' — an expression of excitement or delight
ngantyalu	'good job'
nguyala	'what a pity', 'poor thing' — an expression of pity and sorrow on hearing bad news, such as a death
nganha or *nganhangarla*	'oh yes', 'is that so' — an expression of interest in what someone is saying

For extra emphasis an interjection may be repeated a number of times. So, for example, when pressed for an explanation of text material immediately after he had dictated it, Leslie Russell would say "*walya! walya! walya!* Just hold on a minute!".

3.2 Morphology of nominals

Nominal words minimally consist of a nominal root plus a case inflection (3.2.4), except where the root occurs in the unmarked absolutive case. One or more derivational affixes may occur between the root and its inflection (3.2.1). Thus, the structure of nominal words is given by the formula:

nominal word = root (- DERIVATION)^{n} - INFLECTION

There are also affixes which may occur after the case inflection (3.2.5) indicating relative distance from the speaker, and a group of post-inflectional affixes described at 4.12.

As noted above (3.1.1), morphological and syntactic criteria can be used to subdivide the nominal class into location nominals, adjectives and nouns, with further subdivisions of the last type into proper and common. Common nouns may be semantically divided into two sets: generic nouns, which are used to refer to mutually exclusive general classes of entities, and specific nouns. Generic nouns classify Diyari vocabulary into nine semantic sets, namely:

karna	human beings, excluding non-Aboriginal people
paya	birds which fly
thutyu	reptiles and insects
nganthi	other edible animates
puka	edible vegetable food
pirta	trees and wood
marda	stone and minerals (including introduced metallic entities)
thurru	fire
ngapa	water

Some examples of their use are:

karna wilha	‘Aboriginal woman’
nganthi tyukurru	‘kangaroo’
paya kuparru	‘baby bird’ (see Di-t001043)
marda pukartu	‘red ochre type’ (from mines near Parachilna in the northern Flinders Ranges)
ngapa tyili	‘native well’
thurru pirla	‘hot coals’

Not all specific nouns are covered by these generics; there is no general term for all meteorological phenomena or all artefacts, for instance (compare Yidiny from north Queensland as described by Dixon (1977a:480-96)). The generics, however, are used to cover some post-contact terms borrowed from English, for example:

Generic + specific	Gloss	English loan source
nganthi puluka	'cattle'	'bullock'
marda makita	'rifle, gun'	'musket'
ngapa puwa	'artesian bore'	'bore'
thurru wilpara	'train'	'wheelbarrow'

The English word 'wheelbarrow' has been borrowed into a number of Australian languages as a term for vehicles. For example, Donaldson (1980:97) records *wilba:r* meaning 'wheeled vehicle' in Ngiyampaa (New South Wales) and Hercus (1969:49, 417) has wirbar meaning 'buggy' in Wemba-Wemba. Forms like *makita* for 'rifle' occur in a large number of Central Australian Languages.

3.2.1 Derivational affixes. There are eight derivational affixes which may be optionally suffixed to a nominal root to produce a nominal stem which is then inflected for case (3.2.4). These are (derivation of location nominals is discussed at 3.2.3):

[1] *-kantyi* excessive concern (excess) indicates an 'animate being excessively concerned with or possessed of' qualities denoted by the root. *-kantyi* is suffixed to members of the set of common nouns which take the inchoative verbalizer and appear in the ergative case when used predicatively (see 3.1.1, 4.4.3 and 4.10.1). Some examples are:

root		stem	
yapa	'fear'	*yapakantyi*	'fearful, timorous one'
parla	'sexual desire'	*parlakantyi*	'sex maniac'
ngurru	'power'	*ngurrukantyi*	'powerful one'
mawa	'hunger'	*mawakantyi*	'one who is always hungry'

The following example (used in reference to a nymphomaniac who had become a prostitute) contains an instance of a case-inflected stem:

(1)	*nhandru*	*parla-kantyi-yali*	*marda*	*kampa-yi*
	3sgnf.erg	sexual desire-excess-erg	stone.acc	collect-pres

'The sex maniac collects money (*lit*. stones)'

[2] *-yitya*, habitual association (habit). This is added to a spatial location nominal, common noun or adjective root producing a common noun stem meaning 'animate being habitually associated with', for example:

root		stem	
nhaka	'there'	*nhakayitya*	'ones from there'
puluka	'cattle'	*pulukayitya*	'stockman'
kupula	'wine, alcohol'	*kupulayitya*	'drunkard'
ngapa	'water'	*ngapayitya*	'water associated one'
kaldri	'surly, salty'	*kaldriyitya*	'surly one'
ngumu	'good'	*ngumuyitya*	'good one'

Note that *-yitya* also funcitons as a nominalizer added to non-finite verbs inflected for participial see 3.5.9, 4.9.2).

Semantically, the meanings of *-yitya* suffixed stems can be quite general. So, for example, *ngapayitya* was used in reference to swans by one consultant to mean 'things always living near water' while another described children as *ngapayitya* because they "always want to drink or play in water". The following sentence contains an instance of a case affix following *-yitya*:

(2) *puluka-yitya-li* *nganha* *nhayi-yi*
bullock-habit-erg 1sg.acc see-pres
'The stockman sees me'

The root *kupula* seems to be a borrowing from a Victorian language. Hercus (1969:72) records Wemba-Wemba *gubula* 'to drink repeatedly' as the frequentative form of the verb *guba* 'to drink', *puluka* is from English 'bullock'.

[3] *-lha*, characteristic (char) has two derivational functions. Added to a spatial location nominal or a common noun designating a geographical feature or some element of the environment *-lha* forms a stem meaning 'entity which inhabits, grows or is found in' that place. Unlike nouns formed with *-kantyi* and *-yitya*, nouns derived by suffixing *-lha* may be used to refer to non-animates such as trees or stones. Examples are (note that *-lha* causes trisyllable stem vowel neutralization (2.4.2)):

root		stem	
marda	'hill, stone'	*mardalha*	'hill dweller'
pantu	'salt lake'	*pantulha*	'salt lake dweller'
kunarri	'Cooper's Creek'	*kunarralha*	'Cooper's Creek dweller'
nhaka	'there'	*nhakalha*	'those living there'

Diyari speakers draw a contrast between *nhakalha* 'there-char' and *nhakayitya* 'there-habit'; the former can be used to refer to people or things which have recently arrived at a place while the latter is reserved for those with a long association with 'there'.

An example of an inflected form of one of these stems is:

(3) *nganhi* *yatha-yatha-rna* *wara-yi* *marda-lha-nhi*
1sg.nom redup-speak-ptcple aux-pres hill-char-loc
'I spoke to the person from the hills'

The characteristic affix is also used with temporal location nominals (3.1.1) to produce a stem which can refer to something animate or inanimate characteristic of the time designated aby the root. Examples are:

root		stem	
waru	'long ago'	*warulha*	'old'
karari	'today'	*kararalha*	'modern, recent'

All occurrences of these stems in the corpus are in predicative function (4.2.1) so no case-inflected forms were recorded. Text 1, line 108 contains an instance of *warulha*. We also find *-lha* used with adjectives modifying head nouns with temporal reference as in:

(4) *dityi* *kurnu-lha* *nhawu-ya* *kanya* *thurruthurru*
day one-char 3sgnf.nom-near ash hot
'The hot ashes are one day old.'

[4] *-wurlu*, dual (dl) derives a stem of dual number from a common nouon or adjective root. Dual (and plural) stems take case allomorphs different from those suffixed to non-derived stems (3.2.4). The final *u* of *-wurlu* is replaced by *a* when inflected (2.4.2). Examples of dual stems are:

root		stem	
kanhini	'mother's mother'	*kanhiniwurlu*	'two grandmothers'
thari	'youth'	*thariwurlu*	'two youths'
kinthala	'dog'	*kinthalawurlu*	'two dogs'
pirta	'tree'	*pirtawurlu*	'two trees'
kapi	'egg'	*kapiwurlu*	'two eggs' (and metaphorically 'testicles')

A case-inflected form occurs in the example:

(5) *nhawu-ya* *ngura* *wilha-wurla-rni*
3sgnf.nom-near camp woman-dl-dat
'This is the camp of the two women'

Common nouns in Diyari are not obligatorily specified for number by a suffix. That is, an unmarked stem may be used to refer to one or to more than one entity; *wilha*, for example translates 'woman' or 'women'.

[5] *-wara*, plural (pl) forms a stem of plural number from a common noun or adjective root. The inflection of plural stems is the same as that of dual stems (see above). Examples of derived plurals are:

root		stem	
ngapiri	'father'	*ngapiriwara*	'fathers'
kanku	'boy'	*kankuwara*	'boys'
kinthala	'dog'	*kinthalawara*	'dogs'
pirta	'tree'	*pirtawara*	'trees'

Case-inflected forms are illustrated in:

(6) *kanku-wara* *ngama-yi* *thari-wara-ngu*
boy-pl.nom sit-pres youth-pl-loc
'The boys are sitting with the youths'

[6] *-nthu*, proprietive (prop) meaning 'with' or 'having' is suffixed to common noun or adjective roots which then function adnominally and take common noun case inflections. The syntax of proprietives is discussed at 4.5.3 but the following examples briefly illustrate their form:

(7) *karna* *nganka-ntha-li* *nganha* *nandra-yi*
man beard-prop-erg 1sg.acc hit-pres
'The bearded man is hitting me'

(8) *karna* *ngakangu* *yatha-yi* *katyi-nthu*
man.nom 1sg.loc speak-pres spear-prop.nom
'The man with the spear is talking to me'

[7] *-mara*, kinship proprietive (kinprop) can be added to a common noun or adjective root with one of two effects. Firstly, it can be used as an alternative to *-nthu* to mean 'with' or 'having'. There seems to be no semantic difference between the two expressions (see 4.5.4). Secondly, *-mara* can be suffixed to a kinship term to form a collective noun such that *X-mara* means 'a group of people one of whom is called *"X"* by the others'. Where the relationship between the people involved is not described by a reciprocal term, then the lexical item designating the oldest member is usually employed. So, for example, *nhuwa* 'spouse' is reciprocal and *nhuwamara* could be used to refer to a husband and his wife/wives (or a wife and her husband). Groups of sisters, however, are termed *kaku-mara* 'elder sister-kinprop'. Further discussion and exemplification is at 4.5.4. An example of an inflected stem is:

(9) *nganhi* *pulangu* *yatha-yatha-rna* *wara-yi* *kaku-mara-nhi*
1sg.nom 3dl.loc redup-speak-ptcple aux-pres elder sister-kinprop-loc
'I talked to the two sisters'

A more literal translation of (9) would be 'I talked to the pair of persons one of whom is called "elder sister" by the other'. (Note that the pronoun limits the collective noun to dual number.) Sentence (9) in Diyari is actually ambigious, since it could refer to a sister and younger male sibling; the usual interpretation however is that both individuals are female.

Breen (1976c:209-97) illustrates affixes with this latter function of kinprop in a large number of eastern Australian languages, some of which have forms apparently cognate with Diyari *-mara*.

[8] *-ntya*, number (num) is added to numeral adjectives to mean 'just so many in number'. It also occurs with the interrogative *wardaru* 'how?' (3.4.2); *wardaruntya* means 'how many?', as in the exchange (10) and (11):

(10) *wardaru-ntya* *kupa* *yundru* *ngama-lka-yi*
how-num child.nom 2sg.erg sit-tr-pres
'How many children do you have?'

(11) *ngathu* *parkulu-ntya* *ngama-lka-yi*
1sg.erg three-num.nom sit-tr-pres
'I have just three'

Nominal roots may occur with two of these stem-forming affixes (except for *-ntya* which never occurs with other derivational morphemes) in the order:

		-wurlu
-kantyi	+	*-wara*
-yitya		*-mara*
-lha		*-nthu*

Some examples are *pulukayityawara* 'stockmen', *yapakantyimara* 'with a timorous one' and *mardalhanthu* 'with a hills person'.

Attempts to elicit other combinations and sequences of more than two affixes proved to be unproductive; consultants preferred to make sparing use of the derivational morphology (Dixon (1977a:149) mentions similar experiences with Yidiny speakers).

3.2.2 The privative. Many Australian languages have, in addition to a proprietive affix (such as *-nthu* above), a derivational affix commonly termed 'the privative'. This affix derives an adjectival stem from a common noun and has the meaning 'lacking, without'. So, for example, Bandjalang, eastern New South Wales, (Crowley 1978:32) had *-dam*, Ngiyampaa (Donaldson (1980:107)) *-dalaba*: and Tharrkari (Klokeid 1969:20) *-tyirangu ~ -yirangu*.

In Diyari the functions of the privative in these other languages are performed by an adjectival quantifier *pani* 'none'. Evidence for the analysis of *pani* as a separate word rather than a suffix includes the fact that it has a prestopped version [....] (see 4.1.1). It verbalizes as *pani<u>r</u>i-* 'become nothing, disappear' and is emphasized by *marla*, showing that it is an adjective (3.1.1). An example of the use of *pani* is:

(12)	*kupa-nhi*	*nganhi*	*yatha-na*	*wara-yi*	*kathi*	*pani-nhi*
	child-loc	1sg.nom	speak-ptcple	aux-pres	clothes	none-loc

'I spoke to the child with no clothes on'

Breen (1976c:295) reports that in the neighbouring and apparently related Ngamini language (see 1.4) the adjective *wangku* 'none' may occur with *ma<u>r</u>a kinprop* meaning 'having none'. I have not encountered **panima<u>r</u>a* in Diyari.

3.2.3 Location nominals. The location nominals are the sub-class of nominal words (3.1.1) which use th eunmarked stem form in locative case function (3.2.5, 4.4.4). On semantic grounds location nominals can be divided into those with temporal reference and those with spatial reference. The following temporal location nominals have been recorded:

waru	'long ago'
waldrawirti	'yesterday'
thangkuthangkuparna	'morning'
karar<u>i</u>	'today, now'
kalkawarra	'evening'
thangkuparna	'tomorrow'

Both *waldrawirti* and *thangkuparna* may be followed by the noun *nguru* 'one day beyone' to give:

waldrawirti nguru	'the day before yesterday'
thangkuparna nguru	'the day after tomorrow'

Further discussion and exemplification of these forms can be found at 4.4.4.

The spatial location nominals consist of the directional terms (note that *yara* and *yarra* are only used with verbs of motion or induced motion):

thinankara	'north'

kunankari	'south'
yantakara	'west'
thirriwa	'east'
yara	'this way (direction towards speaker)'
yarra	'that way (direction away from speaker)'

and the roots *nhaka* 'there' and *nhingki* 'here'. The root *nhingki* obligatorily selects one of the following relative distance suffixes before it is inflected for case (3.2.5 — compare also the third person pronouns 3.3.2):

[1] *-rda*, 'vicinity' (vicin) indicates a position or location close to the speaker, of the order of up to a metre away.

[2] *-ya*, 'near' (near) indicates a position a medium distance away from the speaker, of the order of a few metres away.

[3] *-parra*, 'there' (there) indicates a position further away than that indicated by *-ya* but not so far as that covered by *-wa*

[4] *-wa*, 'distant' (dist) indicates a position relatively far from the speaker, but not so far away as *nhaka* 'there'.

Table 3.1 *Spatial location nominals*

	locative	allative	ablative
'here'	*nhingkirda*	*nhingkirdanhi*	*nhingkirdandru*
	nhingkiya	*nhingkiyanhi*	*nhingkiyandru*
	nhingkiparra	*nhingkiparranhi*	*nhingkiparrandru*
	nhingkiwa	*nhingkiwanhi*	*nhingkiwandru*
'there'	*nhaka*	*nhakanhi*	*nhakandru*

The case paradigm in Table 3.1 gives the inflected forms of tahe stems based on *nhaka* and *nhingki*. The other location nominals take allative case suffix *-ya* and ablative *-ndru*, just like singular commoln nouns (see 3.2.5). The following examples illustrate their use (see also examples in Text 1 and 2):

(13) *nhaka-nhi* *pardaka-mayi*
there-allat carry.imp-emph
'Take (it) over there!'

(14) Billy-*nha* *wapa-yi* *nhingki-rda-ndru*

Billy.nom go-pres here-vicin-ablat
'Billy is going away from here'

3.2.4 Case inflections — system. All noun phrases are inflected for case according to their syntactic function (4.4). Case marking of the major syntactic functions of transitive subject (A), intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (P) is according to a 'split-ergative' system (Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1979). Male personal proper nouns and singular common nouns have an ergative case form (coding A, transitive subject) but code S, intransitive subject, and P, transitive object, by a single form, the absolutive. Female personal proper nouns and non-singular common nouns (derived by suffixing *-wurlu* and *-wa̲ra* — see 3.2.1) have three separate case forms for each of these functions, that is ergative, nominative and accusative. Pronouns also inflect on a split-ergative system (3.3.2) with first and second person non-singular having one form for P function (accusative) and one for both S and A (nominative), while all other pronouns (first and second person singular and all third person pronouns) have three separate forms for the functions A, S and P. Table 3.2 shows the full case marking schema for Diyari and Thirari. The inflectional systems given here are distributed according to a hierarchy of inherent lexical content which coincides with that described by Silverstein (1976) (see also Moravcsik 1978, Comrie 1978, and Dixon 1979). Noun phrases are ranked on the hierarchy according to their degree of animacy and likelihood of functioning as subjects (left) or objects (right). Two additional factors of 'markedness' (Silverstein 1976:117) are involved in the Diyari hierarchy:

(a) non-singular common nouns are 'marked' (3.2.1) with respect to singular common nouns and are further to the left on hierarchy;

(b) feminine gender is 'marked' (see 3.3.2) and so female personal names occur to the left of male personal names, that is, they occur in the central 'doubly marked' part of the hierarchy.

There are four other morphological case inflections which we set up for the description of Diyari, namely ablative, locative, allative and dative. All nominals have a morphologically distinct ablative case form but there is syncretism of forms for the other three cases. No nominal type distinguishes all three of these cases (locative, allative, dative) formally. For singular common nouns allative and dative fall together as a single form while for all other non-location nominals locative and allative have one form. Comparisons across nominal types allow us to decide in any given instance of syncretism which case is being marked. Case suffix allomorphy is discussed in the following section and the syntactic and semantic functions of the cases are detailed in 4.4.

Table 3.2. *Case-marking syncretism patterns*

	non-singular 1st and 2nd pronouns	singular 1st and 2nd pronouns, 3rd pronouns	non-singular common nouns	female personal names	male personal names	singular common nouns
A	NOM	ERG			ERG	

S		NOM	ABS
P	ACC	ACC	

3.2.5 Case inflections — form. The allomorphy of the cases mentioned above is given in detail here, together with examples. For convenience of description two groups of nominals are set up (see also Table 3.2):

(a) non-singular common nouns and female personal names

(b) singular common nouns and male personal names

When English names are used in Diyari they are inflected like traditional names. Women's names fall into group (a), men's into group (b). Instances of inflected English names can be found in example (14) above, and in example (268) in 4.4.6.

The various functions of the cases are discussed at 4.4; only the main syntactic function of each is mentioned here. Note that the morphophonological rule given at 2.4.2 will affect trisyllabic stems ending in the high vowels /*i*/ and /*u*/, converting them to /*a*/ when a case suffix follows. The Diyari case inflections are:

[1] nominative — codes intransitive subject function (S) for group (a) noun phrases. The realizations are:

-*ni* added to female personal names

the unmarked stem form is used for non-singular common nouns

[2] accusative — codes transitive object function (P) for group (a) nominals. The realization is:

-*nha* added to female personal names and non-singular common nouns (final /*u*/ of dl becomes /*a*/)

[3] absolutive — codes intransitive subject function (S) and transitive object function (P) for (b) nominals and locative function for location nominals (3.2.3). The realizations are:

-*nha* added to male personal names

the unmarked stem form is used for singular common nouns and location nominals

[4] ergative — codes transitive subject (A) and instrumental functions for all types of nominals. Allomorphy of the ergative case suffix is:

-*ndru* added to female personal names

-*li* added to male personal names, non-singluar common nouns (with final /*u*/ of dl becoming /*a*/) and singular common nouns ending in /*u*/ or /*i*/ where the final vowel is neutralized to /*a*/ — see 2.4.2. The rule applies optionally to

stems with final /*i*/.)

-yali added to singular common nouns of two, four or five syllables whose final vowel is /*u*/ or /*i*/; also, optionally after trisyllables ending in /*i*/ (see above).

The following examples illustrate this allomorphy (see also Table 3.3):

gloss	stem	ergative
'woman's name'	*tyirimiri*	*tyirimirindru*
'man's name'	*wangamiri*	*wangamirili*
'youth-dl'	*thariwulu*	*thariwulali*
'youth-pl'	*thariwara*	*thariwarali*
'man'	*karna*	*karnali*
'bandicoot'	*kapitha*	*kapithali*
'ochre type'	*pukarta*	*pukartali*
'mother's mother'	*kanhini*	*kanhinali* or *kanhiniyali*
'youth'	*thari*	*thariyali*
'boy'	*kanku*	*kankuyali*
'emu'	*warrukathi*	*warrukathiyali*
'left hand'	*warrangantyu*	*warrangantyuyali*
'fear-excess-prop'	*yapakantyinthu*	*yapakantyinthuyali*

There are no common noun roots of more than four syllables in the corpus. The only stems of more than four syllables ending in a high vowel are those derived by the addition of *-nthu* prop (see 3.2.1) and these take *-yali* as the ergative case suffix.

[5] locative — codes a number of functions including location in time or space, accompaniment and complement of certain intransitive verbs (see 4.4.4). The realizations are:

-nhangu added to female personal names

-ngu added to male personal names and to non-singular common nouns (final /*u*/ of dl becomes /*a*/)

-nhi added to singular common nouns

[6] allative — codes location towards which motion is directed. It has the same realization as locative for female and male personal names and non-singular common nouns but is:

-nhi added to spatial location nominals

-ya added to singular common nouns and temporal location nominals

[7] dative — codes purposive, benefactive and genitive functions. The realization for singular common nouns is the same as allative but for other nominals is:

-nhangka added to female personal names

-rni added to male personal names and to non-singular common nouns (final /*u*/ of dl becomes /*a*/)

[8] ablative — codes location from which motion proceeds and indirect cause. The realizations are:

-ngundru added to male and female personal names and to non-singular common nouns (final /*u*/ of dual becomes /*a*/)

-ndru added to singular common nouns and location nominals

Table 3.3 gives examples of the different stems and their inflected forms, divided according to nominal type. For more detail on ergative case forms see the list under [4] above.

Table 3.3 *Diyari Case Forms*

(a) dual and plural common nouns, personal names

	person-dl	person-pl	woman's name	man's name
Ergative	*karnawurlali*	*karnawa<u>r</u>ali*	*tyi<u>r</u>imirili*	*wartamangkali*
Nominative	*karnawurlu*	*karnawa<u>r</u>a*	*tyi<u>r</u>imiri*	*wartamangkanha*
Accusative	*karnawurlanha*	*karnawaranha*	*tyi<u>r</u>imirinha*	=Nominative
Locative	*karnawurlangu*	*karnawa<u>r</u>angu*	*tyi<u>r</u>imirinhangu*	*wartamangkangu*
Allative	=Locative	=Locative	=Locative	=Locative
Dative	*karnawurlarni*	*karnawa<u>r</u>arni*	*tyi<u>r</u>imirinhangka*	*wartamangkarni*
Ablative	*karnawurlangundru*	*karnawa<u>r</u>angundru*	*tyi<u>r</u>imiringundru*	*wartamangkangundru*

(b) singular common nouns

	stick, tree	youth	boy	man
Ergative	*pirtali*	*tha<u>r</u>iyali*	*kankuyali*	*matharali*
Nominative	*pirta*	*tha<u>r</u>i*	*kanku*	*mathari*
Accusative	=Nominative	=Nominative	=Nominative	=Nominative
Locative	*pirtanhi*	*tha<u>r</u>inhi*	*kankunhi*	*matharanhi*
Allative	*pirtaya*	*tha<u>r</u>iya*	*kankuya*	*matharaya*
Dative	=Allative	=Allative	=Allative	=Allative
Ablative	*pirtandru*	*tha<u>r</u>indru*	*kankundru*	*matharandru*

(c) place names, location nouns

	place name ('Farina')	temporal location ('today')	spatial location ('there')
Locative	*wirrawartanhi*	*karari*	*nhaka*
Allative	*wirrawartaya*	*kararaya*	*nhakanhi*
Ablative	*wirrawartandru*	*kararandru*	*nhakandru*

In their Diyari grammars, the missionaries Flierl (1879) and Reuther (1899) set up a special case declension for kinship terms. Reuther gives the paradigm in Table 3.4 (the original spelling has been corrected and normalized to the phonemicization set out in 2.2) and states that "the kinship terms mentioned here are only used according to this declension when one refers to one's own father, mother and son, but speaking of father, mother etc. in general, or when there is an adjectival attribute the regular forms are used [i.e. the common noun forms above — P.A.]; however *ngapini* 'father' is replaced by *ngapiri*".

Table 3.4. *Kinship terms (from Reuther (1899))*

case	'mother'	'father'
nominative	*ngandri*	*ngapini*
ergative	*ngandriyali*	*ngapili*
accusative	*ngandrinha*	*ngapinha*
locative	*ngandrinhangu*	*ngapinhangu*
dative	*ngandrinhangka*	*ngapinhangka*

These kinship terms were checked with my language consultants but none of them used the forms given by Reuther. They all preferred the regular common noun suffixes as described above except that for dative case they gave two possible realizations, *-ya* (the common noun suffix) and *-nhangka* (cf. female personal names), used with the kinship terms:

ngandri	'mother'
ngapiri	'father' (with *-nhangka* the stem is *ngapi-*, cf. Ngamini *ngarpi* and Yaluyandi *ngapi*)
nhuwa	'spouse'
kanhini	'mother's mother'
ngathani	'offspring of same moiety' (ie. woman's child)
ngathamurra	'offspring of opposite moiety' (ie. man's child)

When the kinship term is not explicit as to the sex of the person(s) referred to then *-nhangka* indicates that the referent must be FEMALE. The suffix *-ya* can be used when either sex is referred to. This gives datives (in genitive function) such as:

ngathaninhangka	'my daughter's . . .' (woman speaking)
ngathanaya	'my daughter's/son's . . .' (woman speaking)
ngathamurranhangka	'my daughter's . . .' (man speaking)
ngathamurraya	'my daughter's/son's . . .' (man speaking)

Similarly, with *nhuwa* 'spouse' we find the contrast:

nhuwanhangka	'wife's . . .'
nhuwaya	'husband's . . .'

Reuther does not mention the disambiguating function of *-nhangka*. None of my consultants accepted other special forms for kinship terms but it is possible that at one time when the language was spoken more actively the forms given by Reuther (Table 3.4) were commonly used.

Special case paradigms for kinship terms have been reported for Garrwa, Northern Territory (Furby and Furby 1977), Yandruwandha (Breen 1976a:594), Bularnu, Queensland (Breen pc) and Gumbaynggir, New South Wales (Eades 1979:272).

3.2.6 Other nominal affixes. There are two affixes which may be suffixed to a noun after it is marked for case. They are post-inflectional suffixes but differ from the affixes described at 4.12 below because their distribution is limited to nominal words. Usually, the nominal to which they are attached refers to a location and the case inflection they follow will be locative, allative or ablative. The two suffixes mark location relative to the speaker:

[1] *-wa*, distant (dist) indicates that the referent is a large distance from the speaker

[2] *-ya*, near (near) indicates that the referent is relatively close to the speaker

Examples of their use are the following (note that (16) is in Thirari. Other examples may be found in the texts):

(15)

thana	*kupa*	*ngama-yi*	*nhaka-ya*	*ngura-nhi-ya*
3pl.nom	child.nom	sit-pres	there-loc-near	camp-loc-near

'The children are sitting there in the camp'

(16)

nhawu	*thika-rnda*	*purri-ya*	*yarla-ndru-wa*
3sgnf.nom	return-ptcple	aux-past	elsewhere-ablat-dist

'He came back from somewhere else over there'

Distance from the speaker can also be marked on third person pronouns (3.2.2). Noun phrases in non-local functions generally mark distance on the pronoun functioning as a nominal determiner (4.1.1) rather than after the case suffix (but see (25) below).

There is one suffix attached to nominal stems without any indication of case. It has the shape *-nkari* and indicates 'in the direction of'. Its exact status is unclear (there

are only six instances of it in the corpus) but consultants contrasted it with locative and allative case forms saying that it meant "going towards a place but not (in)to it" as in:

(17) *nganhi* *wapa-rna* *wara-yi* *punga-nkari,* *wata* *wirri-rna*
1sg.nom go-ptcple aux-pres hut-dir not enter-relss
'I went towards the hut, not entering it.'

-nkari also occurs with the allative/locative form of pronouns (3.2.2) as in:

(18) *thana* *ngakangu-nkari-lha* *kirli-rna* *parlka-rna* *wara-yi*
3pl.nom 1sg.loc-dir-newinf dance-ptcple go.on-ptcple aux-pres
'They danced along towards me'

There are insufficient examples to ascertain the exact status of this affix.

There is one further suffix, of the shape *-nha*, which is added to place names when they are cited or when they function as predicate nominals (4.2.1). Thus, the name 'Farina' (see Table 3.3) has a citation form *wirrawartanha* (see also the names mentioned in 1.2).

3.2.7 Interrogative-indefinite nominals. There are four nominals in Diyari which have interrogative and indefinite functions (see 4.6.3 for the syntax of interrogatives):

[1] the adjective *minha* 'what?, something' which covers the set of common nouns with non-human reference. It takes the usual singular common noun affixes for all cases (3.2.5 and see also *pirta* in Table 3.3). *minha* is not used attributively with nouns in a noun phrase; *warda* plus a pronoun has this function (see 3.3.3). The locative form *minhanhi* is used to express 'why, for what purpose/reason?' as in Text 1 line 125 and:

(19) *minha-nhi* *yini* *yindra-yi*
what-loc 2sg.nom cry-pres
'Why are you crying?'

Sentence (19) suggests that the addressee may be crying in order to achieve some desired result. The ablative case form *minhandru*, in contrast to *minhanhi*, means 'why, from what cause?' (see 4.4.5) and is seen in the following question and its reply:

(20) Q: *minha-ndru* *yundru* *nhanha* *nandra-nha* *wara-yi*
what-ablat 2sg.erg 3sgf.acc hit-ptcple aux-pres
'Why did you hit her?'

A: *marda-li* *nganha* *diya-rna* *wara-yi*
stone-erg 1sg.acc pelt-ptcple aux-pres
'(Because she had previously) pelted me with stones'

The questioner in (20) is enquiring after the cause of the action, rather than the purpose as in (19). Another good example of the contrast is to be found in Text 1, lines 125 and 127.

The form *minha* is also found as an indefinite, meaning 'something'. Unlike interrogatives, indefinites need not be sentence-initial (4.6.3). Also, the post-inflectional suffix *-ya*, dubiative (dub), may be suffixed to a case-inflected form of *minha* used as an indefinite but not as an interrogative. So, for example, sentence (21) is ambiguous while (22) is not:

(21) *minha-li* *nganha* *nandra-rna* *wara-yi*
what-erg 1sg.acc hit-ptcple aux-pres
'Something hit me' or 'What hit me?'

(22) *minha-li-ya* *nganha* *nandra-rna* *wara-yi*
what-erg-dub 1sg.acc hit-ptcple aux-pres
'Something or other hit me'

Consultants use *minhaya* in conversation when the name of a particular thing is temporarily forgotten, much like English 'what's-it's-name' or similar expressions (see also *wa<u>r</u>anhaya* at 3.3.3). Note that *minhayaya* can also be verbalised using the causative suffix *-nganka-* to give *minha-ya-nganka-* 'to do/make something', as in the following example from Text 1 line 86:

(22-1) *mayi* *ngaldra* *nhinha* *yinka-matha* *minha-ya-nganka-lha*
well 1dlincl.erg 3sgnf.acc string.acc-ident what-dub-caus-fut
"Well, let's make this string something or other."

[2] the interogative-indefinite spatial location nominal which occurs in two forms:

stem	*wardayari*	'where?', 'somewhere'
ablative	*wardayarindru*	'from where?', 'from somewhere'

There is no allative case form — with verbs of rest *wardayari* is interpreted as location and with verbs of motion it is understood as direction or the place towards which motion is directed. Examples are:

(23) *wardayari* *yini* *ngama-yi*
where 2sg.nom sit-pres
'Where do you live (literally 'sit')?'

(24) *wardayari* *yini* *wapa-yi*
where 2sg.nom go-pres
'Where are you going?'

The stem-forming affix *-lha* char (see 3.2.1) may be used with *wardayari*, as in:

(25) *wardayari-lha* *yini* *pinarru-ya*
where-char 2sg.nom old man.nom -exclam
'Where are you from old man?'

In Ngamini the interogative-indefinite for spatial locations is the common noun *warda* 'where, somewhere' which takes the usual case suffixes *-mu* locative, *-ngka* allative and *-ngundru* ablative. Ngamini thus has a morphological contrast, as in the following sentences, where there is none in Diyari.

(26) *warda-mu* *yini* *ngama-yi*
where-loc 2sg.nom sit-pres
'Where do you live?'

(27) *warda-ngka* *yini* *wapa-yi*
where-allat 2sg.nom go-pres
'Where are you going?'

[3] the interrogative-indefinite temporal location nominal has only been recorded in locative function where its form is *wintha* 'when?, sometime'. An example of its use is:

(28) *wintha* *nhawu* *pali-yi*
when 3sgnf.nom die-pres
'When did he die?'

Despite repeated attempts to elicit them, allative and ablative case forms have not been found. Elicitation invariable resulted in the consultants rephrasing the sentence so that just *wintha* would be used. So, for example, 'since when have you lived here?' would be translated as 'when did you come here?'.

There is a further interrogative based on *wintha*, namely, *wintharanaya* 'for how long?', which elicits one of the adjective or noun plus adjective combinations functioning adverbially (see 4.3.1). An example is:

(30) *wintharanaya* *yini* *wapa-lha* *ngana-yi*
how.long 2sg.nom go-fut aux-pres
'How long will you go for?'

[4] the interrogative-indefinite *wardaruntya* 'how many' is used adnominally to elicit a numeral response. When used with a noun it appears sentence-initially (4.6.3) and is not case-marked. Employed alone it takes the usual singular common noun case suffixes (see 3.2.5), as in:

(31) *wardaruntya-li* *yinanha* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi*

how.many-erg 2sg.nom see-ptcple aux-pres
'How many saw you?'

3.2.8 Numerals and quantifiers. There are three basic numeral adjectives in Diyari: *kurnu* 'one', *mandru* 'two', and *parkulu* 'three'. These may be combined for exact enumeration above three: *mandru mandru* 'four', *mandru mandru kurnu* 'five', *parkulu parkulu* 'six', and so on.

Diyari's neighbours Ngamini and Yaluyandi have only two basic numeral adjectives, with 'three' being expressed by a combination of 'two' plus 'one'. Thus, Ngamini has *ngunhara* 'one', *parkuna* 'two', *parkuna ngunhara* 'three' and Yaluyandi has *kunya* 'one', *parkulu* 'two' and *parkulu kunya* 'three'.

Consultants additionally described a system of enumeration involving the basic numerals and also *mara* 'hand, finger(s)', *thina* 'foot, toe(s)', *warra* 'half, one side' and *partyarna* 'all'. These words are combined to give specification up to twenty; some examples are (see 5.6 for the conjunction *ya* 'and'):

'five'	*mara warra*
'six'	*mara warra ya kurnu*
'ten'	*mara partyarna*
'fifteen'	*mara partyarna ya mara warra*
'twenty'	*mara (partyarna) ya thina partyarna*

Alternatively, 'twenty' may be expressed using the noun *putha* 'number of times' which effectively multiplies the numerals following it:

'twenty' *putha mandru mara partyarna* (X 2 10)

This system is open ended and can be used for any number higher than twenty. It is not clear whether this system of enumeration is indigenous to Diyari or whether it was invented after contact with non-Aboriginal settlers. The English numbers have replaced these numbers in the speech of younger people.

There are only two simple ordinal number adjectives: *ngupara* 'first' and *ngarda* 'next'. The derivational affix *-yitya* habit (3.2.1) is added to these adjectives to form the nouns *ngupara-yitya* 'first one' and *ngardayitya* 'next one'. Both these stems and the roots inflect like singular common nouns (3.2.5).

There are four adjectives which quantify the reference of head nouns with which they occur: *parlpa* 'some', *partyarna* (*partyarnda* in Thirari) 'all', *marpu* or *marapu* 'many' (used with count nouns) and *pirna* 'much' (used with non-count nouns). An example of their use is:

(32) *nganhi* *karna* *parlpa-nhi* *yatha-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.nom person some-loc speak-ptcple aux-pres
'I spoke to some of the people'

partyarna (Thirari *partyarnda*) is the participial form (3.5.9) of the transitive verb *partya-* 'to involve all'. The exact meaning of *partya-* is determined by context, so:

(33) *thanali* *putu* *ngakarni* *partya-rna* *wara-yi*
3pl.erg thing 1sgdat.acc involve all-ptcple aux-pres

can mean 'They stole/took/ate all my things', depending upon the situation being described. I have set up *partyarna* (*partyarnda*) as a separate adjective because no other participial form of a verb can occur with a case affix, as it does in examples such as:

(34) *kupa* *partyarna-li* *nganha* *nhayi-ya*
child all-erg 1sg.acc see-past
'All the children saw me'

The noun *putha* plus a quantifier or numeral adjective may be used adverbially to express the number of times something happens. This construction and examples of its use are discussed at 4.3.1.

3.2.9 Reduplication. Nouns and adjectives are reduplicated by repeating the first CVC(C)V of the root (see 2.4.3). Reduplication has two functions:

[1] when applied to noun roots, it produces a root meaning 'a small or diminutive token' of the thing denoted by the root. Some examples are (see also Text 1 line 75):

root		reduplicated root	
kinthala	'dog'	*kinthakinthala*	'doggy, puppy, little dog'
kanku	'boy'	*kankukanku*	'little boy'
wilhapina	'old woman'	*wilhawilhapina*	'little old woman'
marda	'stone, rock'	*mardamarda*	'little stone'
pirta	'tree'	*pirtapirta*	'small tree'

[2] when applied to an adjective, it increases the intensity or degree of the quality expressed by the adjective root, for example:

root		reduplicated root	
waka	'little, small'	*wakawaka*	'tiny'
kurndi	'bent'	*kurndikurndi*	'crooked'
parti	'silly'	*partiparti*	'mad, crazy'
durru	'hemispherical'	*durrurdurru*	'dumpy'

A number of Diyari bird names appear to be reduplicated forms but there is either no corresponding unreduplicated root or an unreduplicated root semantically unconnected with the bird name, for example *thindrithindri* 'willy wagtail' (no form **thindri*), *kilankila* 'galah' (**kila*(*n*)), *kurdakurda* 'night-hawk' (*kurda* is a verb root 'to fall (of rain)) *kutyikutyi* 'blue long-tailed wren' (cf. *kutyi* 'devil'). There is also one reduplicated plant name *ngamangama* 'Euphorbia drummondii' or 'milk weed' (cf. *ngama* 'breast, milk'). These inherently reduplicated forms cannot be further reduplicated.

3.3 Morphology of pronouns

There are two sets of pronouns in Diyari; the personal pronouns (3.3.2) and a small set of special relationship forms (3.3.1). The latter occur only in the dual absolutive but the former have full case paradigms. There are also interrogative-indefinite pronouns covering human referent noun phrases (3.3.3).

3.3.1 Special relationship pronouns. The set of relationship pronouns was first recorded by Luise Hercus from Alec Edwards and published in Hercus and White (1973:64). They are a marginal set and are found only in the dual absolutive, and then only in elicitation using the Arabana-Wangkanguru forms as a prompting mechanism. They never occur in any of the text material I recorded and I have never heard them used spontaneously by consultants. The forms of the pronouns are suspicious, especially the vowel-initial second person entries (recall that all Diyari words begin phonologically in a consonant, as described in 2.3.2), suggesting that they may be borrowings from Arabana-Wangkanguru (which all contemporary Diyari speakers know as a first or second language). Compare the Arabana-Wangkanguru forms given by Hercus and White (1973) with the Diyari forms set out in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5. *Special relationship pronouns (dual absolutive)*

Person	Same moiety	Different moiety
first	*ngalantha*	*ngalilakiya*
second	*ampalantha*	*ampalakiya*
third	*pulalantha*	*pulalakiya*

These forms can be analysed as a root plus the suffixes *-ntha* and *-kiya*, signifying same and different moiety respectively. In Arandic languages (Yallop, 1977:99) *-ntha* and *-ka* occur as pronominal suffixes indicating section membership.

3.3.2 Personal pronouns. Diyari personal pronouns are specified by person, either first, second or third, and number, either singular, dual or plural. The first and second person pronouns formally distinguish the syntactic functions of S, A and P (4.1.1) in the singular but in the dual and plural S and A are realised by one form, 'nominative', versus P 'accusative'. The third person pronouns all keep S, A and P functions formally distinct (see Table 3.2).

In the first person dual and plural a distinction is made between inclusive reference, that is, including speaker and addressee(s), and exclusive reference, that is, excluding the addressee(s). This contrast is drawn in many Australian languages (see Dixon 1972:5) but note that in Diyari (and its neighbours — see Table 1.2) the first person dual exclusive form is *ngali*. In most other Australian languages with a form like *ngali* it has INCLUSIVE reference.

The third person pronouns distinguish two genders in the singular: feminine and non-feminine. Gender is determined by natural sex distinctions and the contrast is drawn as follows:

feminine — all animates whose reference is distinctly female, for example, women, girls, bitches, doe kangaroos etc.

non-feminine — all others, that is, male animates, non-female animates, non-sexed animates and all inanimates.

Feminine is the marked term of the opposition and non-feminine is used unless the referent must be explicitly specified as female. In the dual and plural there is no gender contrast.

The third person singular pronouns are based upon *nhan*- feminine and *nhu*- non-feminine. These bases also occur in Yandruwandha, Ngamini and Yaluyandi as well as in Pitta-Pitta (Western Queensland — see Blake (1979:194)). Bandjalang (Crowley 1978:78) has third person pronouns based on *nyule* 'masculine' and *nya*:*ngan* 'feminine' where -*gan* is a productive feminine gender suffix.

Third person pronouns can occur with one of a set of optional deictic suffixes which indicate relative location in the extra-linguistic context. Some of these suffixes are attached to the location nominal *nhingki*- 'here' (3.2.3) and to the predicate determiners *ya<u>r</u>u*- 'like that' and *yani*- 'thike this' (3.4.1). They are:

[1] -*ka* 'token' (token) indicates that the speaker is referring to a subset of possible referents established by the context;

[2] -*parra* 'there' (there) seems to indicate location away from the speaker. I have not been able to clarify fully the semantics of this affix;

[3] -*rda* 'vicinity' (vicin) indicates that the speaker is referring to some referent located close by;

[4] -*ya* 'near' (near) indicates a referent at a medium distance away from the speaker;

[5] -*wa* 'distant' (dist) indicates a referent far from the speaker, including one which is distant and invisible.

The following are examples of the use of these affixes; for further instances, see Texts 1 and 2:

(35) [*warli* *yinha* *nandra-rna* *wara-yi*] *nhandru-ka* *nganha*
who-erg 2sg.acc hit-ptcple aux-pres 3sgf.erg-token 1sg.acc

nandra-rna *wara-yi*
hit-ptcple aux-pres
'[Who hit you?] She (one of a group) hit me'

(36) *nhawu-ya-ku* *ngura-tha*
3sgnf.nom-near-sense camp-oldinf
'This must be the camp' [Di-t001s121]

The following table sets out the case-inflected forms of the personal pronouns.

Table 3.6. *Pronouns*

	Ergative	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Locative Allative	Ablative
1sg	*ngathu*[1]	*nganhi*	*nganha*	*ngakarni*	*ngakangu*	*ngakangundru*
2sg	*yundru*[1]	*yini*	*yinanha*[2]	*yingkarni*	*yingkangu*	*yingkangundru*
3sgF	*nhandru*	*nhani*	*nhanha*	*nhangkarni*	*nhangkangu*	*nhangkangundru*
3sgnf	*nhulu*	*nhawu*	*nhinha*	*nhungkarni*	*nhungkangu*	*nhungkangundru*
1dlincl	*ngaldra*		*ngaldranha*	*ngaldranha*	*ngaldrangu*	*ngaldrangundru*
1dlexcl	*ngali*		*ngalinha*	*ngalirni*	*ngalingu*	*ngalingundru*
2dl	*yula*		*yulanha*	*yularni*	*yulangu*	*yulangundru*
3dl	*pulali*	*pula*	*pulanha*	*pularni*	*pulangu*	*pulangundru*
1plincl	*ngayana*		*ngayananha*	*ngayanarni*	*ngayanangu*	*ngayanangundru*
1plexcl	*ngayani*		*ngayaninha*	*ngayanirni*	*ngayaningu*	*ngayaningundru*
2pl	*yura*		*yuranha*	*yurarni*	*yurangu*	*yurangundru*
3pl	*thanali*	*thana*	*thananha*	*thanarni*	*thanangu*	*thanangundri*

[1] The Thirari form for lsg.erg (ergative) is *ngathi* and for 2sg.erg (ergative) is *yindi*.

[2] In fast speech (2.6) *yinanha* contracts to *yinha*, especially following *ngathu*. The sequence *ngathu yinha* 'I you' tends to be pronounced [ŋʌt̪iɳʌ].

The majority of forms in Table 3.6 can be analysed into a root followed by a case suffix. The roots are:

	first person		second person	third person	
	inclusive	exclusive		feminine	non-feminine
singular	*nga(ka)*		*yin(ngka)*	*nhan(ngka)*	*nhu(ngka*)
dual	*ngaldra*	*ngali*	*yula*	*pula*	
plural	*ngayana*	*ngayani*	*yura*	*thana*	

The longer base in the singular is for ablative, locative/allative and dative. Final *n* deletes when followed by another nasal (thus, *yingka*-). The case suffixes will be nominative *-ni* (but note suppletive *nganhi* and *nhawu*), ergative *-thu* ~ *-dru* (after *n*) ~ *-lu* (after *u*), accusative *-nha* (but note suppletive *nhinha*), dative *-rni*, locative/allative *-ngu* and ablative *-ngundru*. These suffixes resemble the case markers used with female proper nouns (3.2.5) and, except for nominative and ergative, with non-singular common nouns. The accusative case marker *-nha* is clearly a reflex of Dixon's (1970) 'proto-Australian' *-*NHa* suffix.

The dative case pronouns set out in Table 3.6 can be used adnominally to indicate possession (4.5.1). They typically follow the possessed head noun in a noun phrase (4.1.1) and hence take the case marking of the NP as a whole. Where the head noun is understood from context, as in (38) below, the dative pronoun MUST be further case marked. The case suffixes used with dative pronouns are those added to singular common nouns (3.2.5). the final /*i*/ of the pronoun is neutralised to /*a*/ before the case suffix is added, optionally before ergative (see 2.4.2). Table 3.7 sets out these double case marked pronouns.

Table 3.7. *Inflected dative case pronouns*

	dat-erg	dat-dat ~ dat-allat	dat-loc	dat-ablat
1sg	*ngakarnali*	*ngakarnaya*	*ngakarnanhi*	*ngakarnandru*
2sg	*yingkarnali*	*yingkarnaya*	*yingkarnanhi*	*yingkarnandru*
3sgf	*nhangkarnali*	*nhangkarnaya*	*nhangkarnanhi*	*nhangkarnandru*
3sgnf	*nhungkarnali*	*nhungkarnaya*	*nhungkarnanhi*	*nhungkarnandru*
1dlincl	*ngaldrarnali*	*ngaldrarnaya*	*ngaldrarnanhi*	*ngaldrarnandru*
1dlexcl	*ngalirnali*	*ngalirnaya*	*ngalirnanhi*	*ngalirnandru*
2dl	*yularnali*	*yularnaya*	*yularnanhi*	*yularnandru*
3dl	*pularnali*	*pularnaya*	*pularnanhi*	*pularnandru*
1plincl	*ngayanarniyali*	*ngayanarniya*	*ngayanarninhi*	*ngayanarnindru*
1plexcl	*ngayanirniyali*	*ngayanirniya*	*ngayanirninhi*	*ngayanirnindru*
2pl	*yurarnali*	*yurarnaya*	*yurarnanhi*	*yurarnandru*
3pl	*thanarnali*	*thanarnaya*	*thanarnanhi*	*thanarnandru*

Note: If the neutralisation rule does not apply before ergative case is added, then there are alternative forms of all these dative pronouns (except for first person plural) using the ergative allomorph *-yali*, for example, 1sg.dat-erg *ngakarniyali* and 2sg.dat-erg *yingkarniyali*, and so on.

Examples of the use of these pronouns are:

(37) *nhawu-ya* *ngama-yi* *ngura* *ngakarna-nhi*
3sgnf.nom-near sit-pres camp 2sgdat-loc
'He is sitting in my camp'

(38) *wapa-mayi* *yingkarna-ya*
go.imper-emph 2sgdat-allat
'Go to your (place)'

3.3.3 Interrogative-indefinite pronouns. The interrogative-indefinite pronoun 'who?, someone' ranging over the class of pronouns and nouns with human reference (for other animates and non-animates see *minha* (3.2.7)) has the inflectional paradigm set out in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8. *Interrogative-indefinite pronouns*

absolutive	*wardanha*
ergative	*warli*
locative/allative	*war̲angu*
dative	*warni*
ablative	*war̲angundru*

Note that unlike other pronouns, intransitive subject and transitive object functions are realised by a single form, the absolutive. When functioning as interrogtive pronouns these forms must occur in sentence-initial position (4.6.3), but when indefinite 'someone', there is no sentence-initial requirement (see (4.1)). Indefinite pronouns may be suffixed with *-ya* dubiative (dub — see 3.2.7) which indicates that they do not have interrogative function. Compare (39) and (40) below. The form *war̲anhaya* is used when the name of a person is temporarily forgotten, like English 'what's-his-name'. The following are some examples of these forms:

(39) *warli* *yinha* *nandra-rna* *wara-yi*
who-erg 2sg.acc hit-ptcple aux-pres
'Who hit you?' or 'Someone hit you'

(40) *warli-ya* *yinha* *nandra-rna* *wara-yi*
who-erg-dub 2sg.acc hit-ptcple aux-pres
'Someone hit you'

(41) *nhani* *yatha-rna* *wara-yi* *war̲angundru*
3sgf.nom speak-ptcple aux-pres who-ablat
'She was talking about someone'

It may be possible for interrogative-indefinites in dative case where there is an understood head noun to be followed by noun case suffixes (cf. Pronouns above) but there are no examples in the corpus.

The ergative interrogative-indefinite pronoun can be juxtaposed with the non-singular third person pronouns to mean 'which?' as in:

(42) *warli* *pulali* *yinha* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi*
who-erg 3dl.erg 2sg.acc see-ptcple aux-pres
'Which two (people) saw you?'

In order to ask 'which?' for all other cases Diyari speakers use the invariable word *warda* (WH) plus a third person pronoun functioning as a determiner (4.1.1) preceding the head noun. The reference of the head noun need not be to a human being. The following are some examples:

(43) *warda* *nhungkangu* *karna-nhi* *yini* *yatha-rna* *wara-yi*
wh 3sgnf.loc man-loc 2sg.nom speak-ptcple aux-pres
'Which man did you talk to?'

(44) *warda* *nhulu* *pirta-li* *pula* *thirri-mali-yi*
wh 3sgnf.erg stick-erg 3dl.nom fight-recip-pres
'Which stick are they fighting with?'

Note that *warda* occurs in Ngamini meaning 'where?' (see 3.2.7 section [2]). Other Diyari interrogatives seem to be based upon this form, for example *wardayari* 'where?' (3.2.7) and *wardaru* 'how?' (3.4.2).

3.4 Morphology of predicate determiners

3.4.1 *yaru* and *yani*-. The two roots *yaru*- 'like that' and *yani*- 'like this' have adverbial functions in Diyari. These are discussed and exemplified at 4.3.2.

The two predicate determiners occur with the following set of deictic inflectional suffixes:

[1] -*ka*, 'token' (token) indicates that one of a number of alternatives is being singled out by the speaker.

[2] -*ya*, 'near' (near) indicates some action or event in the immediate linguistic or extra-linguistic context.

[3] -*wa*, 'distant' (dist) indicates some action or event removed from the immediate context but in the more general linguistic or extra-linguistic context.

[4] -*parra*, 'there' (there) seems to be the least marked of these suffixes and occurs frequently in examples in the corpus. I am not sure of its exact semantic effect or its contrast with [1] to [3] above.

Note that these deictic suffixes also occur with third person pronouns (3.3.2) and the location nominal *nhingki-* 'here' (3.2.3). The suffix *-rda* does not occur with either *yani-* or *yaru-*.

The suffixes may in turn be followed (optionally) by one of the post-inflectional affixes described at 4.12 below. Especially common is the use of *-ldra*, 'additional information', and *-matha*, 'identified information', where *yarukaldramatha* and *yanildramatha* translate into English as 'identically, in the same way' (see example (173) below).

Examples of the use of these determiners are:

(45)

kanku-yali	*wata*	*yani-ya*	*thayi-rnanthu*	*nganthi*	*waka*
boy-erg	not	like this-near	eat-implds	meat	small.acc

'Boys shouldn't eat small animals like this' [Di-t001s022]

(46)

yaru-ka	*nganhi*	*nhaka*	*murda-ya*	*nhangkangu*
like that-token	1sg.nom	there.loc	finish-past	3sgf.loc

'That's how I finished up with her'

Further examples may be found at 4.3.2 and in Texts 1 and 2.

3.4.2 Interrogative-indefinite determiner. Corresponding to *yaru-* and *yani-* above there is a single interrogative-indefinite predicate determiner of the form *wardaru* 'how'. It is used interrogatively to elicit an adverbial specification of a predicate, and like all interrogatives (4.6.3) occurs sentence-initially. An example is:

(47)

wardaru	*ngaldra*	*nganka-yi*
how	1dlincl.nom	do-pres

'How shall we do it?'

wardaru also occurs in the commonly heard greeting:

(48)

wardaru	*yini*
how	2sg.nom

'How are you?'

The only suffix which may be attached to *wardaru* is *-ntya*, 'number', discussed at 3.2.1. The form *wardrruntya* 'how many' functions adnominally and is discussed and exemplified at 3.2.7, section [4] above.

3.5 Morphology of verbs

3.5.1 Verb types. As noted above (3.1.3), there is a class of words in Diyari and Thirari which inflect for tense or mood and which may be termed 'verbs'. Verbs are sub-categorised into two groups, 'main verbs' and 'non-main or auxiliary verbs', on the basis of the following differences in morphological and syntactic behaviour:

[1] main verbs can optionally occur with derivational affixes (3.5.6, 3.5.7) while auxiliary verbs cannot.

[2] main verbs are sub-categorised for the syntactic roles of the NPs associated with them (3.5.2, 4.4) but auxiliary verbs are not. So, for example, transitive verbs occur in clauses with an NP in A function and an NP in P function while intransitive verbs occur with an S NP. Auxiliary verbs however occur in clauses with any type of case marked noun phrase.

[3] main verbs have a lexical meaning whereas auxiliary verbs have tense or modal functions (3.5.10).

[4] auxiliary verbs are optional and when they occur they always follow the main verb with which they are construed (4.1.2). In Thirari the *purri-* auxiliary is obligatory and carries the inflectional affixes normally attached to the main verb stem in Diyari (see 3.5.9).

[5] auxiliary verbs (except for Thirari *purri-*) cannot occur in implicated clauses (5.1) whereas main verbs function in all clause types.

> The existence of auxiliary verbs is a fairly unusual feature for an Australian language (see Topic E of Dixon (1976)) but it is one which Diyari shares with its neighbours Ngamini and Yaluyandi (see 1.4, 3.5.10). the auxiliary verbs are all homophonous with lexical main verbs and seem to have developed fairly recently. Thirari as spoken by Ben Murray has the obligatory *purri-* auxiliary but in the dialect recorded by Reuther (see 1.3) there is no evidence of *purri-* at all.

Main verbs minimally consist of a root plus an inflectional suffix (with the minor exception of imperatives of verbs ending in /*a*/, where the inflected form consists simply of the root (see 3.5.9)). Unlike the majority of Australian languages (cf. Blake and Dixon (1979:13)) Diyari verbs are not divided into conjugations; there is a single inflectional paradigm for all main verbs. Between the root and inflection it is possible to suffix, optionally, on or more derivational suffixes. That is, verb words have the following structure:

$$\text{verb word} = \text{root} (\text{- DERIVATION})^{n} \text{- INFLECTION}$$

Derivational affixes fall into two classes, those which produce a stem with the same transitivity (3.5.2) as the root ('non-syntactic' affixes — 3.5.6) and those which produce a stem whose transitivity differs from that of the root from which it is derived ('syntactic' affixes — 3.5.7).

3.5.2 Transitivity. All main verb roots are strictly sub-categorised into one of three mutually exclusive classes according to their inherent 'transitivity', that is, according to the number and types of noun phrase with whcih they appeaer in simple clauses. The three transitivity classes further sub-divide into five groups as follows:

[1] **intransitive** verb roots which occur in clauses containing a noun phrase in S function (4.1) coded as nominative or absolutive case (3.2.4, 4.4.1). Intransitive verbs cannot take *-tharri-* or *-mali-* derivational suffixes (3.5.6) and are of three types:

(a) simple intransitive verbs — these are roots simply sub-categorised for an S NP. The majority of lexical intransitive verbs are of this type.

(b) object complement intransitive verbs — these are roots sub-categorised for an S NP which also occur with a complement NP coded as accusative or absolutive case (3.2.4, 4.1), that is, like a transitive object P NP. There are six verbs of this type (discussed further at 4.4.2):

yatha-	'to speak'
thurara-	'to sleep'
kirli-	'to dance'
pirki-	'to play'
wiri-	'to wear'
wirri-	'to be painted'

(c) locative complement intransitive verbs — these are verb roots sub-categorised for an S NP which also occur with a complement noun phrase in locative case (see 4.1). There are seven verb roots of this type (see also 4.4.4):

dalki-	'to disobey'
darni-	'to bid farewell'
tyampa-	'to be very fond of'
kilpari-	'to disbelieve'
murda-	'to finish with'
kurutharra-	'to forget'
kalapa-	'to answer'

[2] transitive verb roots occur in clauses containing a noun phrase in A function (4.1) coded as ergative case (3.2.4, 4.4.3) and an P NP coded as accusative or absolutive case (3.2.4, 4.4.2). Transitive roots may form intransitive stems by the addition of syntactic derivational suffixes (3.5.6).

[3] di-transitive verb roots occur with a noun phrase in A function and two noun phrases coded as accusative case (3.2.4, 4.4.2). One of these noun phrases functions as the direct object (semantically the thing given or shown or the name applied) and one functioning as the indirect object (semantically the recipient). The syntactic reflexes of

this distinction are discussed at 4.4.2 and 4.9. There are four di-transitive verb roots in Diyari:

yingki-	'to give'
wandra-	'to show to'
ngantya-	'to call by a kinship term'
dika-	'to name'

3.5.3 Reduplication. Phonologically reduplication involves the repetition of the first CV(C)CV of the element to be reduplicated (2.4.3). The reduplication of a main verb root has one of two semantic effects:

[1] with 'punctional' or 'momentaneous' verbs it makes the action described iterative, that is, repeated a number of times. The following are some transitive and intransitive examples:

root		reduplicated root	
kurlkunga-	'to jump'	*kurlkukurlkunga-*	'to jump about repeatedly, jump up and down'
wakari-	'to break'	*wakawakari-*	'to smash, break to pieces'
rnandra-	'to strike'	*rnandrarnandra-*	'to hit repeatedly, knock about'
daka-	'to pierce, stab'	*dakardaka-*	'to pierce repeatedly, peck'

[2] with 'process' verbs (Chafe (1970:100), Lyons (1977:483)) it makes the action or event described a durative or continuing process extending over a period of time. Some examples are:

root		reduplicated root	
ngama-	'to sit'	*ngamangama-*	'to be sitting (for some time)
yata-	'to speak'	*yathayatha-*	'to converse'
nhayi-	'to see, look'	*nhayinhayi-*	'to watch'
ngar̲a-	'to hear, listen'	*ngar̲angar̲a-*	'to listen'

These semantic effects of reduplication tie in closely with the durative aspectual function of *-tharri-* which must be suffixed to a reduplicated root (3.5.6).

There are some verb roots which are inherently reduplicated and differ radically in meaning from their unreduplicated counterparts. An inherently reduplicated root cannot be reduplicated by the productive process described above. Some examples of these inherently reduplicated roots, plus their corresponding unreduplicated roots are:

intransitive root		reduplicated root	
pali-	'to die'	*palipali-*	'to drown'
kuthi-	'to hide'	*kuthikuthi-*	'to deny (doing something)'
kungka-	'to limp'	*kungkakungka-*	'to grunt'

transitive root		reduplicated root	
karra-	'to tie'	*karrakarra-*	'to feel'
dawa-	'to hunt away'	*dawardawa-*	'to prevent'
warapa-	'to relate (a story)'	*warawarapa-*	'to disparage, run someone down'

There is one pair which differ in transitivity:

intransitive		transitive	
karka-	'to shout, call out'	*karkakarka-*	'to invite'

3.5.4 Compound main verbs. There is one verb root in the corpus which is not monomorphemic. It is the transitive compound rood *warlpa-rdaka-* 'to roll up, cover over', which consists of the transitive roots *warlpa-* 'to cover' and *rdaka-* 'to pierce'.

The vast majority of verb roots in Diyari are of two or three syllables; however there are nine four syllable roots, some of which may once have been compounds. None is synchronically analysable. The roots are:

ma<u>r</u>anguka-	'to help, assist' but cf. *ma<u>r</u>a* 'hand', *nguka-* 'to mix'
nguyawaka-	'to prevent'
ngandrawalka-	'to close, stop up'
warkamandra-	'to tie up, tangle'
kurutharra-	'to forget'
ngarrakali-	'to become warm in morning (e.g. by standing around a fire)
ngunangana-	'to wave', cf. *nguna* 'arm'
parrawa<u>r</u>a-	'to be intoxicated'
ngarrupa<u>r</u>a-	'to be surprised'

3.5.5 Classification of main verbs. Intransitive verb roots, as defined at 3.5.2, may be classified into five mutually exclusive groups according to their occurrence with the transitivizing affixes *-lka-*, *-ipa-* and *-ma-* (3.5.6). The five groups, which are numbered 1 (for intransitive) A to E, are defined by their occurrence with the transitivizers as follows:

class	*-lka-*	*-ipa-*	*-ma-*	examples	
1A	+	–	–	*wapa-*	'to go'
1B	+	+	–	*tharka-*	'to stand'
1C	–	+	–	*purnka-*	'to grow'
1D	–	–	–	*yatha-*	'to speak'
1E	–	–	+	*pali-*	'to die'

Note that no verb root ever occurs with both *-ma-* and one of the other two transitivizers.

This classification is morphosyntactic but for each class there are some semantic common features:

(a) class 1A roots are mainly verbs of rest or motion which take a semantic 'agent' as their S NP. Non-motion verbs in this class include *kipara-* 'to urinate', *kuna-* 'to defecate', *yindra-* 'to cry' and *kingka-* 'to laugh'.

(b) class 1B roots are verbs of rest or motion (see 3.5.6 section [2]).

(c) class 1C roots are a mixed group semantically but many take a semantic 'experiencer' (Fillmore (1968, 1970), Chafe (1970)) as their S NP. Some examples are *parrawara-* 'to be intoxicated', *ngarrupara-* 'to be surprised', and *panki-* 'to be glad, pleased'.

(d) class 1D roots are a very heterogeneous group which share little in common semantically. The S NP for verbs in this class ranges from 'agent' with, for example, *yatha-* 'to speak', to 'experiencer' with roots like *wanpi-* 'to have an erection', to 'patient' with others such as *wariwari-* 'to die of thirst'. Verb roots in this class are negatively defined as those which do not occure with a transitivizer; it is thus a residue category.

Despite repeated checking over a umber of years it is just possible that some roots identified here as 1D should be included in one of the other classes. I found that consultants quickly tired of the sort of questioning necessary to decide whether a given root occurred with one or more transitivizer. Some of the less common roots only encountered and defined as 1D in elicitation might possibly take a transitivizer in actual usage.

(e) class 1E roots are a small homogeneous set which take a semantic 'patient' as their S noun phrase. They cannot be inflected for imperative mood (3.5.9), unless the clause in which they appear also contains the negative particle *wata* 'not' (4.11). They take no non-syntactic derivational suffixes (3.5.7). These verbs all begin with *pa* so it is possible that-*ma-* is a result of dissimliation.

At the completion of fieldwork in February 1977 a total of 248 verbs roots had been recorded and checked. Of these 130 (52.4%) were intransitive, 114 (46.0%) transitive and 4 (1.6%) di-transitive. A survey of the intransitive verbs revealed the following numbers and percentages:

class	number	% of intransitives	% of total verb roots
1A	25	19.2	10.1
1B	4	3.1	1.6
1C	24	18.4	9.7
1D	72	55.4	29.0
1E	5	3.9	2.0
Total	130	100.0	52.4

The number of intransitive verb roots in Diyari is rather high at 130 and 52.4% of the total when compared with other Australian languages. For example, Dixon (1977a: 207) recorded 293 verb roots for Yidiny of which 112 or 38.2% are intransitive while Haviland (1979: 79) reports that 41% of his corpus of 216 Guugu Yimidhirr (north-east Queensland) verbs are intransitive. Intransitive roots comprise about 35% of the total for Dyirbal and Warlpiri (Dixon (personal communication)). In Diyari the productivity of the transitivizing processes marked by *-lka-*, *-ipa-* and *-ma-* (3.5.6) means that there are a large number of *derived* transitive verbs.

Simple transitive verb roots, as defined at 3.5.2, may be classified into five mutually exclusive groups according to their occurrence with the de-transitivizer *-tharri-* and the syntactic and semantic effects of the de-transitivizing process it marks. That is, the roots can be classified by the semantics and syntactic frame of the stem derived from them (see also 3.5.6 and 4.7). The groups, numbered 2 (for transitive) and A to E, are defined as follows:

class	*-tharri-*	semantic/syntactic effect	examples
2A	+	reflexive	*nandra-* 'to hit'
2B	+	A → S, P → loc	*karlka-* 'to await'
2C	+	A → S, P → P	*thayi-* 'to eat'
2D	+	P → S, A → loc/erg	*thintha-* 'to lose'
2E	–	no *-tharri-*	*yurlka-* 'to swallow'

A count of the 248 verb roots revealed the following figures and percentages for each transitive class:

class	number	% of transitives	% of total verb roots
2A	29	25.5	11.7
2B	8	7.0	3.2
2C	5	4.4	2.0
2D	17	14.9	6.9
2E	55	48.2	22.2
Total	114	100.0	46.0

The remaining four verbs representing 1.6% of the total are the di-transitives (see 3.5.2).

3.5.6 Derivational affixes — syntactic. There are five bound morphemes which can be suffixed to a root producing a stem which differs in transitivity to it. Three of these affixes are 'transitivizers' deriving transitive stems from intransitive roots. The affixes are:

[1] *-lka-*, 'applicative transitivizer' (appl), may be attached to a class 1A or 1B root (3.5.5) producing a class 2D root. Some examples are:

	root		stem	
1A	*wapa-*	'to go'	*wapalka-*	'to take, go with'
	thara-	'to go up'	*tharalka-*	'to take up'
	kurda-	'to rain'	*kurdalka-*	'to rain on'
	kuna-	'to defecate'	*kunalka-*	'to defecate on'
1B	*tharra-*	'to fly'	*tharralka-*	'to fly off with'
	tharka-	'to stand'	*tharkalka-*	'to stand with'
	yirtyi-	'to get up'	*yirtyilka-*	'to get up with'

The derived stem can have a meaning of accompaniment, as in:

(49) *ngathu* *nhinha* *kupa* *wapa-lka-yi*
1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc child.acc go-appl-pres
'I take the child for a walk'

or in a more affective sense:

(50) *paya-li* *nhinha* *kuna-lka-rna* *wara-yi*
bird-erg 3sgnf.acc shit-appl-ptcple aux-pres
'The birds shat on him' [Di-t001s078]

There is discussion of the syntax and semantics of *-lka-* at 4.8.1. Note that the stem derived from *ngama-* 'to sit', that is *ngamalka-*, has become lexicalized and means 'to have'. An example is (10) above (see also 4.5.5).

Ngamini *-ka-* and Yaluyandi *-kalka-* have identical functions to the Diyari applicative, *-lka-*. Other Australian languages with an affix similar in function to this include Kalkatungu, western Queensland (*-nthi*, Blake 1977: 50), Dyirbal (*-ma-l*, Dixon 1972: 96), and Yidiny (*-nga-l*, with some intransitive verbs, Dixon 1977a: 302-5). See Austin 1997 for a discussion of causative and applicative verbs in Australian languages.

[2] *-ipa-*, 'causative transitivizer' (caus) may be added to a 1B root producing a 2E stem or to a 1C root producing a 2D stem (see 3.5.8). Note that the morpheme-initial /i/ replaces the final vowel of the root (2.4.1). Examples of derived stems are:

1B	root		stem	
	tharra-	'to fly'	*tharripa-*	'to trip, make fly'
	tharka-	'to stand'	*tharkipa-*	'to stand (something) up'
	yirtyi-	'to get up'	*yirtyipa-*	'to get (something) up, to rouse'
1C	*paki-*	'to burst'	*pakipa-*	'to blow up, explode'
	punthi-	'to separate'	*punthipa-*	'so separate (something)'
	thura<u>r</u>a-	'to lie'	*thura<u>r</u>ipa-*	'to lay down'

Stems derived by the addition of *-ipa-* are manipulative causatives (Shibatani 1976: 32), that is, causatives involving physical contact between causer (the A NP) and causee (the P NP). This is discussed further at 4.8.2, but the following examples illustrate the use of *-ipa-*:

(51) *pirta-li* *nganha* *tharra-ipa-rna* *wara-yi*
stick-erg 1sg.acc fly-caus-ptcple aux-pres
'A stick tripped me up (*lit*. made me fly)'

(52) *nhulu* *pulanha* *mankarra-wurla-nha* *kuthi-ipa-yi*
3sgnf.erg 3dl.acc girl-dl-acc hide-caus-pres
'He hid the two girls'

The affix *-ipa-* has a further function, discussed and exemplified at 3.5.7 below. When used with simple transitive or di-transitive verb roots, *-ipa-* does not affect transitivity but indicates an action performed for the benefit of an animate being other than the (transitive) subject. In this function it is an alternative to *-yirpa-*. Examples include (58) and (59) below.

Ngamini and Yaluyandi both have a suffix *-pa-* which has causative transitivizing and benefactive functions. Yandruwandha *-na-* similarly has both functions, although formally it appears not to be cognate with *-pa-* or *-ipa-*. Austin 1997 discusses these and related constructions from a typological perspective.

[3] *-ma-*, 'causative transitivizer' (caus) may be attached to a 1E root producing a 2E stem. There are five 1E roots all of which begin with *pa* so it is possible that *-ma-* arises from dissimilation. The derived stems are (note that *pantha-* and *parni-* are synonymous):

root		stem	
pali-	'to die'	*palima-*	'to extinguish (a fire)'
palipali-	'to drown'	*palipalima-*	'to drown (someone)'
pantha-	'to smell, be odorous'	*panthama-*	'to smell, sniff'
parni-	'to smell, be odorous'	*parnima-*	'to smell, sniff'
pantyi-	'to happen, become'	*pantyima-*	'to make'

An example of a derived stem is the following:

(53) *ngathu* *thurru* *pali-ma-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg fire.acc die-caus-ptcple aux-pres
'I put the fire out'

There is an example of *parnima-* in Text 2, line 17. For further discussion of the syntax and semantics of *-ma-* see 4.8.2.

A transitivizer of the shape *-ma-* is found in a large number of Australian languages, especially in those spoken in eastern Australia. For examples see Capell (1956: 93) and grammars such as Donaldson (1980: 163), Williams (1976: 108) and Crowley (1978: 87).

[4] *-mali-* 'reciprocal' (recip) may be attached to a simple transitive root of any class or to a di-transitive root deriving in intransitive stem. The intransitive subject noun phrase of a reciprocal stem is restricted to non-singular number and the referents are understood to be acting reciprocally. Examples of derived reciprocal stems are:

(54) *pula* *karna* *yatha-mali-yi*
3dl.nom person.nom scold-recip-pres
'Those two people are having an argument'

(55) *thana* *wilha* *nandra-mali-rna* *wara-yi* *wana-li*
3pl.nom woman.nom hit-recip-ptcple aux-pres digging stick-erg
'The women hit each other with digging sticks'

When added to a di-transitive root *-mali-* produces an intransitive stem which can occur in a clause with a noun phrase case marked like a transitive object, i.e. marked with accusative or absolutive case (see 4.4.2). The non-subject NP in such clauses will be the DIRECT object of the di-transitive verb (see 4.4.2 section [2] and 4.9 for the distinction between direct and indirect objects of di-transitives). The following example illustrates this:

(56) *thana* *nhinha* *nganthi* *yingki-mali-yi*
3pl.nom 3sgnf.acc meat.acc give-recip-pres
'They give one another this meat'

Ngamini has a reciprocal de-transitivizer of the form *-mali-* but in Yaluyandi and Yandruwandha there is a single affix with both reciprocal and reflexive functions (see below).

[5] *-tharri-*, the second de-transitivizer has a number of functions depending upon the verb class of the root to which it is attached. There is a full discussion at 4.7 but we may briefly summarize the functions here:

(a) added to a transitive root of class 2A or a di-transitive root, *-tharri-* derives an intransitive stem with reflexive meaning. It indicates that the subject was involved in the event as both agent (or experiencer) and patient (or source). Some examples are:

root		stem	
rnandra-	'to hit'	*nandratharri-*	'to hit oneself'
nhayi-	'to see'	*nhayitharri-*	'to see oneself'
dama-	'to cut'	*damatharri-*	'to cut oneself'
yingki-	'to give'	*yingkitharri-*	'to give oneself'
dika-	'to name'	*dikatharri-*	'to name oneself'

(b) added to a class 2B transitive root, *-tharri-* derives an intransitive stem which is syntactically an anti-passive (Silverstein (1976) — see 4.7.2). There are eight 2B verbs, as follows (note that *rdanka-* and *manka-* are synonymous):

danka-	'to find, discover'
manka-	'to find, discover'
karlka-	'to await'
kari-	'to follow, chase'
wanthi-	'to search for'
mama-	'to take away from'
winipa-	'to as repetitively for, pester'
nguluka-	'to look out for'

(c) added to a class 2C transitive verb, *-tharri-* derives an intranstivie stem which can appear with an object complement (see 4.7.2). It indicates that the action is carried out on an unspecified object. There are five class 2C roots, namely:

thayi-	'to eat'
thapa-	'to drink'
wayi-	'to cook'
wantya-	'to try, test'
wangka-	'to sing'

(d) added to a class 2D transitive root, *-tharri-* derives an intansitive stem with passive meaning. The following are the seventeen roots in this class (see 4.7.3 for further discussion and exemplification):

kiltya-	'to peel'	*palka-*	'to split'
mandra-	'to grasp'	*pardaka-*	'to fetch, bring'
ngandrawalka	'to stop, close'	*partya-*	'to involve all'
nhanga-	'to pour'		

pinpa-	'to leave over, fail to consume'	*thurpa-*	'to twist, spin, tease'
		thuti-	'to bury'
thandra-	'to fill (with liquid)'	*waltha-*	'to carry on head'
thintha-	'to lose'	*wara-*	'to throw, drop'
thuka-	'to carry back'	*warkamandra-*	'to tie, tangle'
thuripa-	'to water'		

Ngamini *-tyarri-* has a number of functions similar to those of Diyari *-tharri-* detailed here. Yandruwandha and Yawarawarka (Breen (ms.)) have an affix *-yindri-* with exactly the same functions with the same classes of verbs as Diyari *-tharri-* In addition, *-yindri-* marks reciprocal (see above). The numerous functions of this affix should be compared with Dixon's (1977a) description of Yidiny -:*tyi-n* (see 4.7).

(e) added to a reduplicated verb root (3.5.3) of any transitivity type, *-tharri-* does not affect transitivity but indicates a durative action or event which extends continuously over a period of time. If the root to which *-tharri-* is attached is momentaneous (or punctual) then an iterative durative interpretation results. The following examples illustrate this function of *-tharri-*:

root	gloss	stem	gloss
ngar̲a-	'to hear'	*ngar̲angar̲atharri-*	'to listen'
daka-	'to stab, pierce'	*dakardakatharri-*	'to bore'
nhayi-	'to see'	*nhayinhayitharri-*	'to watch, stare'
dika-	'to name'	*dikardikatharri-*	'to go on naming'
wapa-	'to go'	*wapawapatharri-*	'to move along'
tharka-	'to stand'	*tharkatharkatharri-*	'to stand about'
yatha-	'to speak'	*yathayathatharri-*	'to gossip'

For examples and further discussion see 4.7.4.

The Yidiny affix -:*tyi-n* (Dixon, 1977a: 289) also occurs with transitive and intransitive verbs to indicate 'continuous action'. I do not know if Ngamini *-tyarri-* and Yandruwandha-Yawarawarka *-yindri-* also have this type of function.

3.5.7 Derivational affixes — non-syntactic. There are three affixes which may be added to a root deriving a stem of the same transtivity as the root to which they are suffixed. Such affixes are sometimes termed 'aspectual affixes' in the literature on Australian languages (see, for example, Dixon (1977a:219)); however, they often have functions semantically quite distinct from the meanings usually associated with 'aspects' (see Comrie (1976)). The Diyari non-syntactic derivational affixes are the followign (note that only one affix may be selected per stem):

[1] *-yirpa-*, 'benefactive (ben) may be attached to a transitive or di-transitive root, producing a stem indicating tht the action referred to by the verb is done for the benefit of some animate being other than the agent specified by the A NP. That is, *-yirpa-* marks an altruistic action

performed for another person or for an animal. The beneficiary is not usually expressed in the clause with a benefactive derived stem but can be, if desired, by means of a noun phrase in dative case with benefactive function (see 4.4.7). With intransitive roots the beneficiary must be mentioned in the form of a dative NP because these verbs cannot take the ben suffix.

The following are some examples of benefactive derived stems:

root	gloss	stem	gloss
nhayi-	'to see, look'	*nhayiyirpa-*	'to look at for someone else, look after, tend'
kurlka-	'to save'	*kurlkayirpa-*	'to save for someone else'
yingki-	'to give'	*yingkiyirpa-*	'to give for someone else'

Note that the benefactivemay be suffixed to a reduplicated stem (3.5.3), in fact, 'to look after, tend' is usually expressed as *nhayinhayiyirpa-* (or *nhayinhayipa-* see (58) below). An example of a derived benefactive stem is:

(57)	*ngarda*	*nhawu*	*wakara-y,*	*ngalirni*	*puka*	*pardaka-yirpa-rna*
	then	3sgnf.nom	come-pres	1dlexcldat	food.acc	carry-ben-relss

'Then he comes carrying food for us two'

As an alternative to *-yirpa-* it is possible to use the affix *-ipa-* which transitivizes class 1A and 1B verbs (see 3.5.6) to derive a benefactive stem from a simple transitive or di-transitive root. Thus, we have the following stems identical in meaning to those listed above:

nhayipa-	'to look at for someone else'
kurlkipa-	'to save for someone else'
yingkipa-	'to give for someone else'

An example of their use is:

(58)	*ngathu*	*kupa-kupa*	*nhayi-nhayi-ipa-rna*	*wanthi-yi*	*walpala-ya*
	1sg.erg	redup-child.acc	redup-see-ben-ptcple	aux-pres	white man-dat

'I looked after the children for the white man'

Note that it is possible to suffix *-ipa-* to a transitive verb derived from an intransitive root by the addition of *-ipa-* (3.5.6) as in:

(59)	*nhinha*	*kupa*	*thurara-ipa-ipa-lu-mayi*
	3sgnf.acc	child.acc	lie-tr-ben.imp-nm-emph

'(You two) lay that child down for (me)!'

Both Ngamini and Yaluyandi have an affix *-pa-* which functions as a benefactive marker AND as a transitivizer, i.e. identical to Diyari *-ipa-*. Reuther (1901) also records *-parpa-* as a benefactive in Ngamini, but I have been unable to check this with consultants. Yandruwandha *-na-* also has both benefactive and transitivizing functions cf. Breen's (1976a: 751) comment on *wawawawana-* 'to look after' (from *wawa-* 'to see'). Hale (p.c., 1978) reports that identical facts hold for the Uto-Aztecan languages Hopi and Papago.

[2] *-inga-*, 'prolative' (prol), may be added to any verb root except class 1E producing a stem with the same transitivity. The function of *-inga-* is to indicate that there is relative motion between the subject and some other referent, typically that the subject of the verb (i.e. S or A noun phrase) is moving with respect to some other referent. If the verb is transitive, that other referent will be the transitive object (note that in Text 1 line 122 it is the object which is moving with respect to a stationary subject); if the verb is intransitive, the referent can be expressed as a locative case noun phrase (4.4.4). Note that 1E verbs do not occur with *-inga-* because their S NP is a semantic patient, not an agent capable of motion.

The following are some examples of prolative stems (note that (60) is in Thirari):

(60) *ngarrimatha-li* *nhinha* *kupa* *mani-ing-rnda* *purri-yi*
flood-erg 3sgnf.acc child.acc get-prol-ptcple aux-pres
'The flood took the child as it went past'

(61) *ngarda-nhi* *karna* *durnka-inga-yi* *ngakangu*
then-loc man.nom emerge-prol-pres 1sg.loc
'Then a man came out past me'

(62) *tyukurru* *wakara-yi,* *kuparru* *pirli-nhi* *ngama-inga-rnanhi*
kangaroo.nom come-pres young.nom pouch-loc sit-prol-relds
'A kangaroo is coming with a joey sitting it its pouch (as it goes along)'

A number of Australian languages have affixes similar in function to prolative in Diyari, for example Yandruwandha (Breen (1976a: 752)), Ngiyampaa (Donaldson (1980: 190)) and Wunambal, Western Australia (Vászolyi (1976: 629-646)).

[3] *-nthi-*, 'consequential' (con) may be added to a verb of any class (except 1E) without affecting its transitivity. The affix indicates that the action or event described by the root occurs immediately after another action or event in the previous discourse context. Consultants most often translate V-*nthi-* as "V behind" or "V after". The following are examples of the use of *-nthi-* (the previous linguistic context is included in square brackets):

(63) [*nganhi* *wapa-rna* *kurra-yi*] *nhawu* *ngakangu*
1sg.nom go-ptcple go.away-pres 3sgnf.nom 1sg.loc

wapa-nthi-yi *ngarda-nhi-ldra-matha*
go-con-pres then-loc-addinf-ident
'[I go away.] He comes after me then'

(64) [*ngandri-yali* *nhinha* *wararra-rna* *kurra-yi*] *nhulu*
mother-erg 3sgnf.acc leave-ptcple go away-pres 3sgnf.erg

nhanha *nhayi-nthi-yi* *ngura-ndru*
3sgfacc see-con-pres camp-ablat
'[(His) mother left him behind.] He watches after her from the camp'

There is also an example in Text 1 line 65.

For the expression of sequence by means of *ngarda* 'then' see 4.4.4 section [1].

3.5.8 Affix order. As noted at 3.5.1 verb stems can consist of a root plus one or more of the derivational affixes described above. Sequences of yup to three of these suffixes have been recorded (see [4] below).

The prolative affix *-inga-* and the consequential *-nthi-* have not been found occuring with any other derivational affix. Reuther (1901) has examples such as "*dunkingalkana* 'to bring on behind'" which illustrate the occurrence of *-inga-* before a transitivizer (*-lka-*); however, my consultants rejected these forms outright. It is possible that Reuther made up these examples for Bible translation purposes. Affix combinationns which have been attested consist of any two or three elements selected from the types 'transitivizer', 'benefactive' and 'de-transitivizer' (in that order). Thus we find:

[1] benefactive plus *-mali-* or *-tharri-*

The affix *-yirpa-* and its alternative *-ipa-* may be followed by one of the de-transitivizers *-mali-* or *-tharri-*. That is, there are four possible combinations:

-yirpa-mali- OR *-ipa-mali-*

-yirpa-tharri- OR *-ipa-tharri-*

Examples of two of these are:

(65) *pula* *yakalka-yirpa-mali-rna* *wanthi-yi*
3dl.nom ask-ben-recip-ptcple aux-pres

'They interrogated one another'

(66) *yini* *nhayi-nhayi-ipa-tharri-ya-mayi*
2sg.nom redup-see-ben-refl-imp-emph

'You look after yourself!'

[2] transitivizer plus *-mali-* or *-tharri-*

The transitivizers *-lka-*, *-ipa-* and *-ma-* may be followed by one of the de-transitivizers, that is, we find;

-lka-tharri- *-ipa-tharri-* *-ma-tharri-*

-lka-mali- *-ipa-mali-* *-ma-mali-*

Examples are:

(67) *nhawu* *katyi* *yarni-ipa-tharri-yi* *punga-nhi*
3sgnf.nom spear.nom lean-tr-pass-pres hut-loc

'The spear has been leant against the hut'

(68) *pula* *kinthala-wurlu* *parni-ma-mali-yi*
3dl.nom dog-dl-nom smell-tr-recip-pres

'The dogs are smelling one another'

Note that *-tharri-* can function as a durative marker following one of the transitivizers provided that the (intransitive) root is reduplicated. An example is:

(69) *nhandru* *wapa-wapa-lka-tharri-yi-lha*
3sgferg redup-go-tr-dur-pres-newinf

'She is walking (it) away now'

[3] transitivizer plus benefactive

The transitivizers may precede *-yirpa-* or *-ipa-* benefactives, that is we find:

-lka-ipa-	*ipa-ipa-*	*-ma-ipa-*
-lka-yirpa-	*-ipa-yirpa-*	*-ma-yirpa-*

Examples of these sequences include (59) above and:

(70) *minha-nhi* *ngayani* *ngarnikuti* *thika-lka-ipa-rnanthu* *nhangkarni*
what-loc 1plexcl.erg goat.acc return-tr-ben-implds 3sgfdat

'Why must we bring the goats back for her?'

[4] transitivizer plus benefacitve plus *-mali-* or *-tharri-*

The sequences of this type are the following:

-lka-ipa-tharri-	*-ipa-ipa-tharri-*	*-ma-ipa-tharri-*
-lka-yirpa-tharri-	*-ipa-yirpa-tharri-*	*-ma-yirpa-tharri-*
-lka-ipa-mali-	*-ipa-ipa-mali-*	*-ma-ipa-mali-*
-lka-yirpa-mali-	*ipa-yirpa-mali-*	*-ma-yirpa-mali-*

An example is:

(71) *pula* *kinthala-wurlu* *parni-ma-yirpa-mali-yi*
3dl.nom dog-dl.nom smell-tr-ben-recip-pres

'The two dogs are smelling one another'

3.5.9 Inflectional affixes. Unlike most other Australian languages Diyari and Thirari show no morphologically determined verb conjunctions; all verbs inflect according to a single conjugation. There is, however, a set of six auxiliary verbs (defined at 3.5.1) which optionally follow the main lexical verb and have various tense and modal functions (3.5.10). Thirari has an obligatory auxiliary *purri-* which occurs after the main verb (and before any other auxiliaries if they occur) and carries the inflections affixed to the main verb stem in Diyari. The Thirari main verb always takes the non-finite participial inflection (see below). Thus, we find the following contrast:

Diyari: main verb root (-DERIVATION)-INFLECTION (auxiliary)

Thirari: main verb root (-DERIVATION)–ptcple *purri*-INFLECTION (auxiliary)

The Thirari auxiliary *purri-* is homophonous with two main verb roots, namely *purri-* (class 1A) 'to sit on eggs, hatch' and *purri-* (class 1D) 'to stoop, crouch, duck under'. See 3.5.10 for the etymologies of the other auxiliary verbs.

Table 3.9 sets out the verb inflections for the two dialects. There are slight formal differences in the suffixes each employs, but functionally the morphemes are identical. Note that of the 13 suffixes in Table 3.9 four occur with main clause verbs, marking tense or mood, two occur with non-finite verbs (i.e. those with a following auxiliary) and seven occur in dependent clauses. Six of the dependent clause suffixes are sensitive to whether or not the dependent subject is coreferential with the main clause subject (see 5.1-5.4).

	Diyari	Thirari
TENSE–MOOD		
1. present	*-yi*	*-yi*
2. past	*-ya*	*-ya*
3. imperative[1]	*-ø ~ -ya*	*-ya*
4. optative	*-yathimayi*	*-yathimayi*
NON-FINITE		
5. participial	*-rna*	*-rnda ~ -rda*
6. future	*-lha*	*-lha*
DEPENDENT		
7. implicated — same subject	*-lha*	*-lhali*
8. implicated — different subject	*-rnanthu*	*-yani*
9. imperfective — ss	*-rna*	*-rnda ~ -rda*
10. imperfective — ds	*-rnanhi*	*-rnda ~ -rdanhi*
11. perfective — ss	*-rnandru*	*-rndanhi ~ -rdandru*
12. perfective — ds	*-ni*(*ngura*)	*-ni*(*ngura*)
13. lest	*-yathi*	*-yathi*

[1]The imperative inflection may be followed optionally by a number marker, *-lu* for dual subject and *-ni* for plural, and/or an emphatic *-mayi* (see [3] below).

The forms and functions of these inflections are as follows:

[1] *-yi*, 'present tense' (pres) has the basic function of indicating some situation which is aspectually imperfective, that is, not completed (see Comrie (1976:24-40)) and non-past tense. Most commonly *-yi* marks some non-completed action or event which occurs at the present time of speaking (hence the gloss pres). Such sentences translate into English as present continuous, for example:

(72) *nhawu* *kupa* *muka* *thurara-yi*
3sgnf.nom child.nom sleep.nom lie-pres

'The child is sleeping'

In order to focus on the present relevance of a situation the 'new information' post-inflectional suffix *-lha* (see 4.12) can be used after *-yi*, as in:

(73) *nhawu* *kupa* *muka* *thurara-yi-lha*
3sgnf.nom child.nom sleep.nom lie-pres-newinf

'The child is sleeping now'

This is also the way to indicate that some action is to be undertaken imminently, for example:

(74) *nganhi* *wapa-yi-lha*
1sg.nom go-pres-newinf

'I am going now' or 'I am just about to leave'

If the subject of such a verb is first person non-singular, then the meaning is hortative, translated as 'let us', as in:

(75) *ngaldra* *wapa-yi-lha*
1dlincl.nom go-pres-newinf

'Let's go!'

When there is a temporal location nominal in the clause, then *-yi* can have less immediate and more general present time reference, for example:

(76) *karari* *yini* *wapa-yi*
today-loc 2sg.nom go-pres

'You are going today'

A verb inflected for *-yi* can also be used when the temporal nominal refers to some time in the immediate future. So, for example, the following sentence could be uttered in the evening or night:

(77) *thangkuthangkuparna* *ngathu* *nhinha* *yalkalka-yi*
morning-loc 1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc ask-pres

'I will ask him in the morning'

For the expression of less immediate future tense the auxiliary *ngana-* is used (see 3.5.10).

In a text, especially in a narrative, *-yi* marks verbs which occur in sequential progression within the general context, typically past, of the text as a whole. The context will be set by the use of an auxiliary verb (3.5.10) and all following sentences in sequence will be marked by the present tense suffix. Examples of this include the first two lines of both Text 1 and 2 below and the following, taken from another text:

(78) *Tommy,* *nhawu* *ngama-rna* *wanthi-yi* *nhaka,* *ngarda*
3sgnf.nom sit-ptcple aux-pres there-loc then

nhawu	*wapa-yi*	*mampi-ya,*	*nhungkarni*	*puka*	*mani-lha*
3sgnf.nom	go-pres	Murnpeowie-allat	3sgnfdat	food.acc	get-implss

'Tommy, he used to live there long ago. He would go to Murnpeowie to get his food'

Capell (1976: 743) glossed *-yi* 'tenseless' probably because of this function of the affix; his description of Diyari was based upon text material only. Comrie (1976: 73) notes that a number of languages employ an imperfective as the 'narrative present'.

Finally, *-yi* is used with generic statements, that is, those which assert that some state of affairs is true in general. Examples of this include (note that (80) is in Thirari):

(79)

paya	*partyarna,*	*thana*	*tharra-yi*
bird	all.nom	3pl.nom	fly-pres

'All birds can fly'

(80)

kupa	*wata*	*paku*	*yindra-rda*	*purri-yi*
child.nom	not	purposeless	cry-ptcple	aux-pres

'Children do not cry for nothing'

In order to express habitual mood the auxiliary *wapa-* with *-yi* inflection is used in both Diyari and Thirari (3.5.10). That is, it indicates that an action or event took place at some unspecified time in the past and is seen as a completed whole at the time of speaking. Often the particle *matya* 'already' (4.11) occurs in clauses where the verb is inflected with *-ya*. Some examples of the use of this affix are:

(81)

nhandru	*nhuwa*	*ngupa<u>r</u>a*	*thintha-ya*
3sgF.erg	spouse	first.acc	lose-past

'She lost her first husband'

(82)

nhulu	*nganha*	*yatha-ya*
3sgnF.erg	1sg.acc	scold-past

'He scolded me'

Example (82) occurred in a text about an old man who died on a distant out-station because one of the workers failed to bring him to the main settlement for medical care. When the culprit is asked about his actions he simply says (82), later explaining that he had been accused of a number of different things by the old man. Sentence (82) sums up the scolding as a past completed whole; only later are the individual elements of the event described in detail.

[3] *-ya ~ -ø,* 'imperative' (imp) is used with both positive and negative orders. The allomorphy of this inflection is determined by the fianl vowel of the stem; stems ending in a high vowel, that is, /*u*/ or /*i*/, take *-ya*, and stems ending in the low vowel /*a*/ take no inflection. In Thirari the *purri-* auxiliary occurs with *-ya*. Class 1E verbs (3.5.5) cannot be inflected for imperative mood, unless preceded by *wata* 'not' (4.11).

Imperative may be followed optionally by a number marker (NM) and/or an emphatic suffix (emph). The number marker cross-references the number of the addressee noun phrase and has the forms:

-lu for dual addressee

-ni for plural addressee

There is no number marker to indicate specifically that singular reference is intended; the free subject pronoun must be used in this case.

The emphatic suffix is optional and used to increase the degree of force with which a command is expressed. It is used when an order is repeated or when the speaker is angry. The form of this suffix is *-mayi*; an exanple of its use is (83) below.

Since imperatives are often shouted the final vowel of the verb may be distorted (2.6) to [ʌʊ] or [ʌɪ]. These are written as *-wu* and *-yi* in the examples and glossed as 'distort'.

In Ngamini and Yaluyandi the imperative inflections is *-ya* (after /*i*/, /*u*/) and the simple root (after /*a*/) exactly as in Diyari. These languages also have number markers, namely *-li* for dual and *-ni* for plural. It is interesting that in all these languages it is only in the imperative that the verb may agree in number with the subject noun phrase.

The subject of a positive or negative imperative verb is restricted to the second person; however, such subjects are often understood and not overtly present in the clause. The following examples illustrate the use of imperatives (example (84) is in Thirari):

(83) *walya* *karlka-lu-mayi*
a while wait.imper-nm-emph

'(You two) wait a while!'

(83) *wata* *yura* *nhinha* *danda-rda* *purri-ya-ni-wu*
not 2pl.nom 3sgnf.acc hit-ptcple aux-imp-nm-distort

'Don't you all hit him!'

Further examples may be found in Text 1.

[4] *-yathimayi*, 'optative' (opt) indicates that the speaker is expressing an opinion about what he feels a state of affairs should or ought to be. The subject (S or A) of an optative can only be third person, as in:

(85) *nhulu* *puka* *thayi-yathimayi*
3sgnf.erg food.acc eat-opt

"Let him eat his dinner" or "He should eat his dinner"

Sentences like (85) can be used as a warning or indirect command with the speaker indicating some state of affairs which should be true and suggesting that it be brought about through

some action on the part of others. Another example illustrating this is the following used by Leslie Russell to describe his being called upon to act as songman at a corroboree:

(86) [*thanali* *tharla* *nganha* *dika-yi*] *nhawu*
3pl.erg name.acc 1sg.acc call-pres 3sgnf.nom

wakara-yathimayi-wu *nhingki-rda-nhi*
come-opt-distort here-vicin-allat

"[They call my name.] He should come here (they say)!"

Notice that *-yathimayi* appears to consist of *-mayi*, the imperative emphatic (see [3]) plus *-yathi*, the LEST affix used in dependent clauses to indicate unpleasant consequences of a situation (see 5.5). Synchronically, there seems to be no reason to adopt such an analysis for the grammar of Diyari. Interestingly, the Lutheran missionaries made frequent use of this verb form in prayers translated into Diyari; for example, in The Lord's Prayer we find *tharla yingkarni kurlikirri pantyiyathimayi* 'let Your name become clean'.

[5] *-rna*, 'participial' (ptcple) is suffixed to a non-finite verb stem, that is, one followed by another verb in a verb sequence (see 4.1.2) or by a past tense auxiliary verb (except for *wirri-* 'yesterday past' — see 3.5.10). In Thirari the participial has two allomorphs:

-rda when there is a nasal plus stop cluster in the final syllable of the verb stem
-rnda elsewhere

Some examples are:

'go-ptcple'	*waparnda*		
'see-ptcple'	*nhayirnda*		
'hit-ptcple'	*dandrarda*	BUT 'hit-refl-ptcple'	*dandratharrirnda*
'emerge-ptcple'	*durnkarda*	BUT 'emerge-tr-ptcple'	*durnkalkarnda*

In Thirari all derived stems, except for those with *-nthi-* 'consequential' (3.5.7) will take *-rnda* as the participial. Also, all main verb stems take the participial and precede the auxiliary *purri-* which selects the other inflections listed here.

Ngamini has a participial inflection whose major allomorph is *-rna*,[8] while Yaluyandi has *-rnda* ~ *-rda* exactly like Thirari. This dissimilation in affial clusters (in Thirari and Yaluyandi participial) is found in a large number of languages throughout Australia; for some examples see Austin, Ellis & Hercus (1976) on verb inflections in South Australia, Hercus (1994) on Arabana-Wangkangurru, Blake (1969) on Kalkatungu, McConvell (1988) on Gurindji and related languages, O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin (1966) on case inflections in Ngarluma, Western Australia, and Blevins (2001: 32-34) on Nhanta case and other affixes.

[8] The allomorphy of Ngamini participial is quite complex (see Breen 2006) and a number of portmanteau 'short forms' occur, such as *manda* 'get.ptcple' (root *mani-*) and *pirnda* 'dig.ptcple' (root *pirni-*), as well as *palda* 'die.ptcple' (root *pali-*), and reflexives involving the suffix *-tyarri-*, as in *nhirra-tyanda* 'see-refl.ptcple' (stem *nhirrka-tyarri-*). Hercus (1994: 136) describes 'short verbs' in Wangkangurru that show identical morpho-phonology to the Ngamini forms. Evidence that these participial are original to Ngamini and not borrowings from or influenced by Wangkangurru (which was the first language of the main Ngamini consultant) comes from Reuther's Ngamini vocabulary list. Hercus (1994: 137) says that they are also found in Yaluyandi.

The participial is also used in Diyari and Thirari as the citation form of verbs. Thus, when citing or talking about a verb root or stem consultants use its participal form. Also, in texts, participial forms occur frequently as an apparently equivalent alternative to present tense *-yi* (see above). Examples may be found in Text 1 illustrating this phenomenon.

[6] *-lha*, 'future' (FUT) is sufixed to a verb stem followed by the future tense auxiliary *ngana-* (3.5.10) or the 'yesterday past' auxiliary *wirri-* (see also 3.5.10). In Thirari *-lha* is suffixed to *purri-* when these auxiliaries follow it.

Ngamini has *-lha* (and Yaluyandi *-lhangga*) as the main verb inflection used before the future auxiliary *ngana-*. Neither, however, has an auxiliary like *wirri-* (see comments at 3.5.10).

The dependent clause affixes are listed as lines [7] to [13] in Table 3.9. There is a detailed discussion of the functions marked by these affixes in Chapter 5. Notice that the imperfective and perfective suffixes can also be used with auxiliary verbs (other than Thirari *purri-*) in dependent clauses (5.2, 5.4). Auxiliary verbs do not occur with the implicated or LEST inflections.

Some of the affixes listed in Table 3.9 appear to be analysable historically, although not synchronically. We may note the following connections:

implicated$_{ss}$ in Diyari	= future and in Thirari = future-ergative
implicated$_{ds}$ in Diyari	= ptcple-proprietive
imperfective$_{ss}$	= ptcple
imperfective$_{ds}$	= ptcple-locative
perfective$_{ss}$	= ptcple-ablative
perfective$_{ds}$	= nominaliser (see 4.9.1)

3.5.10 Auxiliary verbs. Both Thirari and Diyari have a set of optional auxiliary verbs which have tense and modal functions. The auxiliaries are homophonous with main verb roots (of various classes) but there seems to be no semantic connection between the meanings of these roots and the functions of the auxiliaries. In main clauses each auxiliary occurs with one inflection, usually *-yi*, except for *wapa-* which occurs with *-yi* and *-ya* in two different functions. Except for *ngana-*, auxiliaries can occur in imperfective and perfective dependent clauses (5.2, 5.4) taking the relevant inflectional suffixes (see Table 3.9 below). Table 3.10 sets out the auxiliaries and their affixation patterns.

Table 3.10. *Auxiliary verbs*

auxiliary	homophonous root	function	non-finite inflection	auxiliary inflection
wanthi-	'to search'	distant past	participial	present
wapa-	'to go'	habitual	participial	present
		intermediate past	participial	past
parra-	'to lie'	recent past	participial	past
wirri-	'to enter'	yesterday past	future	present
wara-	'to throw'	immediate past	participial	present
ngana-	'to be'	future	future	present

Taking each of the auxiliaries in turn:

[1] *wanthi-*, co-occurs with *-yi* and indicates distant past time reference. Sentences containing *wanthiyi* often also have the temporal location nominal *waru* 'long ago'. Examples of this auxiliary include (65) and (78) above, and the following (see also line 1 of Texts 1 and 2):

(87)	*ngathu*	*ngara-rna*	*wanthi-yi,*	*karna-li*	*waru*	*warapa-rnanhi*
	1sg.erg	hear-ptcple	aux-pres	person-erg	long.ago	relate-relDS

'I heard people telling about (it) long ago'

[2] *wapa-*, has two distinct functions. When suffixed by *-ya*, past, *wapa-* specifies past time of the order of one to two months prior to the present. Informants usually gloss sentences containing *wapaya* as ". . . a good while ago." A Thirari example is:

(88)	*pula*	*danda-mali-rnda*	*purri-rnda*	*wapa-ya*
	3dl.nom	hit-recip-ptcple	aux-ptcple	aux-past

"Those two had a fight a good while ago"

In his Diyari grammar Reuther (1899) stated that the stem preceding *wapaya* takes *-lha* rather than *-rna* (Table 3.9). He gives the function of the auxiliary as "Präsens" while Planert (1908: 691), who based his work upon information supplied by the Lutheran missionaries, glosses it "Präsens definitum". Gason (1874) however has "*-lha wopia*" as a past tense verb form. My consultants use *-rna wapaya* with PAST tense function.

When suffixed by *-yi* pres, *wapa-* indicates habitual mood, that is some action or event known to occur habitually (cf. the generic use of *-yi* described at 3.5.9). An example is:

(89)	*thana*	*ngama-rna*	*wapa-yi*	*mitha*	*muya-nhi*
	3pl.nom	sit-ptcple	aux-pres	country	dry-loc

'They live in the dry country'

It is possible to use the adverbial expression *putha parlpa* 'sometimes' (see 4.3.1) with this auxiliary to mean that one is in the habit of doing something from time to time, as in:

(90)	*ngathu*	*kathi*	*karpa-rna*	*wapa-yi*	*putha*	*parlpa*
	1sg.erg	clothing.acc	sew-ptcple	aux-pres	time	some

"I sew clothes sometimes"

[3] *parra-*, co-occurs with *-ya* and indicates past time of the order of one to two weeks prior to the present. An example of its use it:

(91)	*nhawu*	*wata*	*wapa-rna*	*parra-ya*
	3sgnf.nom	not	go-ptcple	aux-past

"He didn't go last week"

[4] *wirri-*, co-occurs with *-yi* and indicates that an action or event occurred 'yesterday', that is, at some time between this morning and yesterday morning. The verb preceding *wirri-* takes the *-lha* inflection, but note that in Diyari, but not Thirari, VERB STEM-*rna wirri-* does occur when *wirri-* functions as the second element in a sequence of verbs indicating motion into a place (see 4.1.2). Contrast the following verb forms:

nandralha wirriyi	'hit yesterday'
nandrarna wirriyi	'hit in'
nandrarna wirrilha wirriyi	'hit in yesterday'

In Thirari *purri-* precedes the auxiliary but follows the verbs in sequence. Thus, we find:

dandrarda purrilha wirriyi	'hit yesterday'
dandrarda wirrirnda purriyi	'hit in'
dandrarda wirrirnda purrilha wirriyi	'hit in yesterday'

Examples of the use of this auxiliary are:

(92)	*waldrawirti*	*nhulu*	*kinthala-li*	*tyukurru*	*nandra-lha*	*wirri-yi*
	yesterday	3sgnf.erg	dog-erg	kangaroo.acc	hit-fut	aux-pres

'Yesterday the dog killed a kangaroo'

(93)	*thangkuthangkuparna*	*windri-lha*	*dityi*	*durnka-rnanthu*,
	morning	only-newinf	sun.nom	emerge-implds

nganhi	*wapa-rna*	*kurra-lha*	*wirri-yi*
1sg.nom	go-ptcple	go.away-fut	aux-pres

"I went away as the sun was only just coming up this morning"

Note that in (93) the sunrise occurs after the leaving (indicated by the impl marking — see 5.1.1) and hence *wirri-* is used. If the sun were already up, the the use of *wara-* would be preferred.

(94)	*karari*	*nhandru*	*tyukurru*	*wayi-rna*	*wara-yi*
	now	3sgf.erg	kangaroo.acc	cook-ptcple	aux-pres

'She cooked a kangaroo today'

Clauses containing this auxiliary and the particle *matya* (4.11) are translated by consultants as "just . . .", for example:

(95)	*matya*	*ngathu*	*nhinha*	*nhayi-rna*	*wara-yi*
	already	1sg.erg	3sgnf.acc	see-ptcple	aux-pres

"I have just seen him"

[6] *ngana-*, co-occurs with *-yi* and indicates near or distant future time reference. Immediate future is typically signalled by the simple present (see 3.5.9 examples (72) and (77)), with *ngana-* being used for future situations which are not impeding. Notice that, unlike the past, the future is not sub-divided and is covered by a single auxiliary. An example of its use is:

(96) *thangkuparna* *nganhi* *yingkangu* *yatha-lha* *ngana-yi*
tomorrow.loc 1sg.nom 2sg.loc speak-fut aux-pres

"I'll tell you tomorrow"

Ngamini and Yaluyandi also have auxiliary verbs but their systems are less well developed than Diyari. Ngamini has three auxiliaries, namely *ngana-* for future tense, *wara* for recent past and *wapa-* for distant past and habitual. *ngana-* and *wara-* take *-yi* present inflection and *wapa-* takes *-ini*, a nominalizer (see 4.9.1 and Breen 1976b: 748)). Yaluyandi has two auxiliaries: *ngana-* for future tense and *wapa-* for distant past and habitual. The recent past is indicated by an inflection *-ndu*, not an auxiliary. Breen (1976a: 750) reports that the Strezlecki Creek dialect of Yandruwandha has a single optional auxiliary, namely *ngana-* which marks future tense. These facts suggest that the system of auxiliaries, which is a distinctive feature of these languages, may have been undergoing change in the recent past, commencing with just a future auxiliary and then adding past forms, and perhaps expanding in the direction of the Diyari system.

3.5.11 Interrogative verbs. There are two interrogative verbs derived from *minha* 'what?, something' (see 3.2.7) by the inchoative and causative syntactic processes described at 4.10.1 and 4.10.3. They are transitive *minhanganka-* and intransitive *minhari-*. Example os their use are the following (note that they occur sentence-initially like all interrogatives — see 4.6.3):

(97) *minha-ri-rna* *wara-yi* *nhawu*
what-inch-ptcple aux-pres 3sgnf.nom

'What happened to him ?'

(98) *minha-nganka-lha* *ngana-yi* *ngaldra* *nhinha*
what-cause-fut aux-pres 1dlincl.erg 3sgnf.acc
'What shall we do with him ?' [Di-t001s076]

The transitive interrogative may be de-transitivized by suffixation of *-mali-* reciprocal or *-tharri-* in its reflexive sense (3.5.6). Examples are:

(99) *minha-nganka-tharri-rna* *wara-yi* *yini*
what-cause-refl-ptcple aux-pres 2sg.nom

'What did you do to yourself ?'

(100) *minha-nganka-mali-yi* *yula*
what-cause-recip-pres 2dl

'What are you two doing to one another?'

4 Syntax of simple sentences

4.1 Phrase types

A simple sentence in Diyari consists of a predicate and one or more noun phrase arguments. The noun phrases (4.1.1) are all marked for case according to their function in the sentence (4.4). Predicates are of two basic types; verbal and non-verbal. Verbal predicates consist of a verb phrase which is marked for tense or mood (4.1.2), and non-verbal predicates consist of a nominal or pronoun and do not indicate tense or mood categories (4.2.1). Under certain circumstances these non-verbal predicates contain a copula (4.2.2).

Verbs in Diyari are of three basic types. Firstly, there are the verbs which require a subject noun phrase in nominative case (in S function – see Comrie (1978), Dixon 1979) and which can be termed 'intransitive'. Secondly, there are verbs which require a subject noun phrase in ergative case (in A function) and an object noun phrase in accusative case (in P function) – these we term 'intransitive'. Finally, there are 'di-transitive' verbs which appear with an A NP and two NPs case-marked like transitive objects (but see 4.4.2). There are also two types of verb which occur with a subject case-marked as an S NP and another complement NP, either case-marked like a transitive object ('object-complement intransitives') or in locative case ('locative complement intransitives' – see 3.5.2 and 4.4.2, 4.4.4). We can summarise this classification informally as follows:

Verb type	Occurs with	Example
intransitive		
1. simple	NP_S	*wapa-* 'to go'
2. object-complement	NP_S NP_P	*kirla-* 'to dance'
3. locative complement	NP_S NP_{loc}	*dalki-* 'to disobey'
transitive	NP_A NP_P	*nandra-* 'to hit'
di-transitive	NP_A NP_P NP_P	*yingki-* 'to give'

The topic of transitivity has not been discussed in detail for Australian languages; it is generally asserted that languages have only (simple) intransitive verbs and (simple) transitive verbs (see, for example, Dixon 1972:13). Blake (1977:35), however, has drawn attention to a third type, namely, verbs sub-categorized for an S NP and a dative case-marked complement (so called 'middle' verbs – see also Topic C of Dixon 1976). Individual grammars occasionally mention other types in passing, for example Haviland (1979:83) notes that in Guugu Yimidhirr the verb *yiragaa* 'to speak' is intransitive but can take an absolutive case-marked complement (usually 'language' or 'story' – cf. Diyari *yatha-* at 4.4.2). Austin (1980b) examines this and other 'cognate object' constructions in a number of languages; however, the whole topic of transitivity needs to be examined in detail (see also Hopper and Thompson 1980).

4.1.1 Noun phrases. A noun phrase in Diyari may consist of a number of nominal or pronominal constituents functioning together in the sentence. Normally, only the last non-pronominal constituent of an NP is marked for the case of the phrase as a whole; however, there are two circumstances under which more than one constituent of an NP can take a case suffix:

(a) when the constituents are separated by other sentential material. Elements of an NP may be optionally split up, but if so all must be case-marked. An example is (12) and the following:

(101)	*mankarra-li*	*nganha*	*nhayi-rna*	*wara-yi*	*parlpa-li*
	girl-erg	1sg.acc	see-ptcple	aux-pres	some-erg
	'Some girls saw me'				

(b) when there is special emphasis or contrast intended, as in:

(102)	*kinthala-li*	*nhungkarni-yali*	*nganha*	*matha-rna*	*wara-yi*
	dog-erg	3sgnf.dat-erg	1sg.acc	bite-ptcple	aux-pres
	'HIS DOG bit me'				

Noun phrases can consist of the following:

[1] a specific noun (see 3.2) such as *kupa* 'child', *thupu* 'smoke', *pathara* 'box tree'.

[2] two specific nouns juxtaposed and forming a phrasal compound. There are two types of such compound NPs:

(a) those where the first noun (N_1) is the head, and the resulting compound denotes a part of the referent of this first noun. Compounds formed with *thandra* 'seed, part', discussed in Austin, Ellis & Hercus (1976), are of this type, as are:

Compound		N_1	N_2
marna kira	'jawbone'	mouth	boomerang
pathara kuku	'hole in box tree'	box tree	hollow
mara ngandri	'thumb'	hand	mother
tharlpa warta	'ear lobe'	ear	butt

That N_1 is the head of these compounds can be shown by including a third person pronoun as a determiner (see below) in the NP. These pronouns agree in gender (and number and case) with the head of the NP. Thus, we find *nhani ngandri* 'the mother' (where *nhani* is feminine) but *nhawu mara ngandri* 'the thumb' (where *nhawu* is non-feminine), cf. (b) below.

(b) those where the second noun is the head and N_1 provides a specification (or narrowing) of the reference of N_2 (roughly, 'an N_2 which is N_1'). Examples are:

Compound		N_1	N_2
karna tharla	'Aboriginal name'	person	name
diyari yawarra	'Diyari language'	Diyari	language
thalara marda	'rain making stone'	rain	stone
ngathata kanku	'younger brother'	younger sibling	boy
nhantu ngandri	'mare'	horse	mother

The pronoun-as-determiner test shows that N_2 is the head of thses compounds; 'the mare' is *nhani nhantu ngandri* (where *nhani* is feminine in agreement with *ngandri*), cf. (a) above.

There is one other phrasal compound which cannot be classified as either of these two types, namely *kilpa waldra* 'year' which consists of the nouns *kilpa* 'cold' and *waldra* 'heat'. Diyari also has two compounds which appear to consist of a noun plus a verb root (verbs are normally inflected – see 3.5.9) functioning as a noun, namely *dityi durnka* 'sunrise, east' (sun emerge) and *dityi wirri* 'sunset, west' (sun enter). There are no other compounds of this type.

[3] a generic noun (see 3.2) such an *nganthi* 'meat', *puka* 'vegetable food' and *karna* 'Aboriginal person'. Generic nouns usually precede one or more specific nouns included within their semantic range. An example in Thirari is:

(103)

ngathi	*nhinha*	*pirta*	*pathara*	*dandra-rda*	*purri-yi*
1sg.erg	3sgnf.acc	tree	box tree.acc	hit-ptcple	aux-pres

'I chop the box tree'

[4] a proper name, including native Diyari names such as *tyirimirini*, *ngaltyapirnanha*, *wartamangkanha* and English names like Billy-*nha*, Tommy-*nha* and Dora-*ni*.

[5] a personal pronoun (3.3.2)

[6] a location nominal (3.2.3)

[7] a genitive noun or pronoun, marked for dative case and functioning as a possessor (4.5.1). Gentitve nouns typically precede or follow the head noun they modify, while genitive pronouns may precede or follow the head. When following the head such pronouns also carry the case marking of the NP as a whole; see for example (37) in 3.3.2. If the head noun is understood from context a fenitive may comprise the whole NP and then MUST take a further case marking. An example is (38).

[8] an inalienably possessed part. Inalienable possession may be expressed by the use of dative case-marked genitives but can also be indicated by simply juxtaposing the whole and its part (almost invariably in that order) with both elements taking the case marking appropriate to the NP as a whole. Two instances occur in the following (see further discussion and examples at 4.5.2):

(104) *ngarda-nhi* *nhungkarni* *kardi* *mar̲a* *wirri-yi,*
then-loc 3sgnf.dat sister's.husband.nom hand.nom enter-pres

dukar̲a-lha *nhungkangundru* *marna-ndru*
take-out-implss 3sgnf.ablat mouth-ablat
'His brother-in-law's hand went in and took (it) out of his mouth' [Di-t001s038]

[9] one or more adjectives or adjective-like modifiers. Adjectives, including numerals and quantifiers (3.2.8) follow (uninflected) head nouns and carry the case of the NP. Examples include (4), (32), (34), (45) and (89) above. Examples of two adjectives in a noun phrase are rare but the following is an instance:

(105) *thalar̲a* *marda* *pirna* *marra* *parra-yi* *mitha-nhi*
rain stone big new.nom lie-pres ground-loc
'Big new rain stones are lying on the ground'

Adjectives may also modify pronouns, as in:

(106) *ngayani* *waka-li* *thananha* *nhayi-yi*
1plexcl.nom small-erg 3pl.acc see-pres
'We small (ones) watch them'

Modifiers which function like adjectives include nominals with the proprietive or kinship proprietive suffixes (3.2.1, 4.5.3, 4.5.4), privatives consisting of a noun plus *pani* 'none' (3.2.2) and nominalizations derived by the *-ni* suffix (4.9.1). Examples of these include (7), (8), (9) and (12) plus the following:

(107) *karna-li* *pulu* *tyukurru* *nandra-yi* *kinthala* *pani-yali*
man-erg cannot kangaroo.acc hit-pres dog none-erg
'A man without a dog cannot kill kangaroos'

(108) *nhulu* *ngantya-rna* *wanthi-yi* *marda* *pawa* *daka-ni*
3sgnf.erg want-ptcple aux-pres stone seed grind-nom.acc
'He wanted the seed grinding stone'

[10] two or more noun phrase constituents co-ordinated by the conjuction *ya* 'and' or the disjunction *kar̲a* 'or' (5.6, 5.7). Noun phrases also may be conjoined, forming constituents of a larger noun phrase. This is discussed and exemplified at 5.6.1. With

some kinship terms and nouns with human reference conjunction is expressed by juxtaposition, without any intervening *ya*, for example:

(109) *ngandri* *ngapiṟi* *wakaṟa-yi*
mother.nom father.nom come-pres
'Mother and father are coming'

Further discussion is at 5.6.1 – see especially examples (608) to (610).

Noun phrases may consist of one or more of the ten constituents above in various combinations. The normal order of elements (excluding conjunctions) is:

(a) pronoun
(b) generic noun
(c) specific noun – including juxtaposed nouns in a compound
(d) proper name
(e) inalienably possessed part
(f) adjective or adjective-like qualifier

Genitival qualifiers consisting of a noun typically occur between (a) and (b) above; pronominal genitives occur equally between (a) and (b) and as the last constituent of the noun phrase. Location nominals may precede any of (b) to (e) and have not been found co-occuring with pronouns – it may be that they should be placed as alternatives in (a). Proper names cannot be preceded by a pronoun.

Singular third person pronouns which occur with a head noun must agree in gender, either feminine or non-feminine (see 3.3.2), number and case. There is no gender contrast in the non-singular. Noun phrases in Diyari which ocntain a pronoun, proper name or genitival qualifier ar interpreted as definite, that it, the speaker assumes the hearer can uniquely identify the intended referent(s) of the NP (Chafe, 1976: 39, Givón, 1978: 296). Third person pronouns without deictic or post-inflectional suffixes can be translated into English as 'the' when preceding other NP constituents. Noun phrases which do not contain a pronoun, proper name or genitive can be definite or indefinite depending upon the linguistic or extra-linguistic context. So, for example, *kaṟirri* 'creek' (in Text 2 line 10) must be interpreted as definite because there is only one creek at Farina, where the events narrated in the text occurred. Further examples of definite and indefinite NPs may be found in both Texts 1 and 2.

4.1.2 Verb phrases. In Diyari the verb phrase consists minimally of a main verb and in Thirari of a main verb plus the obligatory auxiliary *purri-*. Following these consituents can be one of the set of optional auxiliary verbs (3.5.10).

Main verbs and auxiliaries form a constituent for purposes of question formation (see 4.6.3). When an interrogative verb is employed in Diyari or Thirari it and any following auxiliaries with which it forms a VP must occur sentence-initially – see examples (97) to (99).

In both dialects it also is possible for a verb phrase to consist of two or three main verb stems optionally (in Thirari, obligatorily) followed by an auxiliary. In such main

verb sequences the last stem takes the inflection of the VP as a whole (3.5.9) while all preceding stems take the participial inflection, *-rna* (Diyari) or *-rnda ~ rda* (Thirari). The expansion of verb phrases is thus:

Diyari: VP –> V (+V) (+V) (+aux)
Thirari: VP –> V (+V) (+V) *purri* (+aux)

When two or more main verbs are in sequence only the FIRST may contain derivational affixes (3.5.6, 3.5.7); all others must be simple roots. That is, we find sequences of the form:

root (+DERIVATION) + participial (ROOT + participial) root + INFLECTION

In a three stem sequence (i.e. maximal expansion of this formula) the last stem may only be the root *tharri-*. This verb does not occur as a main lexical verb by itself; its meaning is discussed below. When the sequence consists of two stems, the second may be *tharri-* or one of a set of intransitive verb roots, displayed in Table 4.1. All but one of these roots, namely *kurra-* which only occurs in sequences and never by itself, are verbs of rest or motion belonging to classes 1A or 1B (see 3.5.5). They provide adverbial type qualification of the situation expressd by the first stem in the sequence. Note, however, that they have all the same inflectional possibilities and potentiality of occurrence with an auxiliary that they would have as a stem not following another main verb.

Table 4.1. *Verb Sequences*

	root	gloss	qualifying function – action/event directed
1.	*thara-*	'to go up'	upwards
2.	*ngari-*	'to go down'	downwards
3.	*thika-*	'to return'	back to a point of origin (prototypically to one's camp)
4.	*ngama-*	'to sit'	whilst stationary with reference to a point on the ground
5.	*tharka-*	'to stand'	whilst stsanding
6.	*kartyi-*	'to rotate, go around'	around some referent (prototypically a fire)
7.	*wirari-*	'to walk about'	in various directions
8.	*wirri-*	'to enter'	into some place (prototypically indicates arrival at a camp)
9.	*parlka-*	'to travel'	whilst in motion, typically whilst on a journey
10.	*kurra-*	'away'	away from some referent

The following are some examples of the use of these verbs in sequence (see also Text 1 lines 56, 70, 90, 94, 112, 124):

(110) *nhawu* *tharka-rna* *thara-rna* *wara-yi*
3sgnf.nom stand-ptcple go up-ptcple aux-pres
'He stood up'

(111) *ngaldra* *nhayi-rna* *ngari-yi* *paya* *pirna-ndru*
1dlincl.erg see-ptcple go.down-pres bird big-ablat
'We look down from the aeroplane (*lit*. big bird)

(112) *puluka* *thana* *thurara-rna* *tharka-yi*
cattle.nom 3pl.nom sleep-ptcple stand-pres
'Cattle sleep standing up'

(113) *kupa-kupa* *mindri-rna* *kartyi-rna* *wanthi-yi* *punga-nhi*
redup-child.nom run-ptcple go round-ptcple aux-pres hut-loc
'The children ran around the hut'

(114) *nganhi* *wanthi-tharri-nha* *wirari-yi* *nhungkangu*
1sg.nom search-ap-ptcple go about-pres 3sgnf.loc
'I search for him everywhere'

(115) *ngathu* *puka* *thayi-rna* *ngama-yi*
1sg.erg food.acc eat-ptcple sit-pres
'I am sitting down eating'

For some of the roots in Table 4.1 it is semantically plausible to have sequences of V_1V_2 and also V_2V_1; however, there seems to be a discernable difference in meaning between the two alternatives. For example, of the pair:

(a) *thararna thika-* 'to go up returning'
(b) *thikarna thara-* 'to return going up'

sequence (b) entails that the destination to which one returns is uphill of the place of origin while (a) does not. The difference is more clear cut with the following pair:

(c) *kartyirna ngama-* 'to turn round on the spot'
(d) *ngamarna kartyi-* 'to sit round in a circle (typically around a fire)'

Notice that *ngama-* can be used for action whilst sitting, as in (115), but it is also used when there is no relative motion between the subject of the verb sequence (where 'subject' is the S or A NP) and the ground. Consider the following examples:

(116) *warritha* *nhayi-yi*, *tharra-rna* *ngama-rnanhi* *karrawara*
distant.acc see-pres fly-ptcple sit-imperfds eaglehawk.nom
'In the distance (you) see eaglehawks hovering'

(117) *yundru* *wata* *nhayi-yi,* *nhawu* *thurru* *thupu-nga-rna*
2sg.erg not see-pres 3sgnf.nom fire.nom smoke-prod-ptcple

ngama-rnanhi
sit-imperfds
'You don't see that fire smoking away'

The meaning of *tharri-*, which functions as a second or third verb in sequences, is somewhat unclear. Consultants were unable to provide any translation difference between sequences with *tharri-* and those without. So, for example, *nandra-yi* 'hit-pres' and *nandrarna tharri-yi* were said to be "just the same". There is some hint, however, in examples from texts that *tharri-* has a 'continuing process' function. So, for example, we have sentences like (see also Text 1, lines 47, 77):

(118) *dityi*, *nhawu* *wirri-rna* *ngari-rna* *tharri-yi*
sun.nom 3sgnf.nom enter-ptcple go down-ptcple cont-pres
'The sun is just going down'

Consultants suggested that (118) would be used as the sun was just slipping below the horizon. Unfortunately, no clearer examples of this verb could be obtained.

Both Ngamini and Yaluyandi have verb sequences equivalent to those found in Diyari and Thirari. Breen (1976: 745) mentions some of these but confuses them with the true Ngamini auxiliaries (see 3.5.10). In Yandruwandha (Breen 1976a) and Galali, south-west Queensland (McDonald 1977) there are derivational affixes similar in function (and form in some instances, e.g. *-thika-* 'to return' occurs in both) to the second elements of the Diyari verb sequences (see Austin 1989).

4.2 Sentences without main verbs

4.2.1 Non-verb predicates. As noted above (4.1), predicates in Diyari may be verbal or non-verbal. The latter type consists of one or more noun phrase constituents (4.1.1) or a predicate determiner, followed, under certain circumstances, by the copula *ngana-* 'to be' (4.2.2). Predicate nominals are employed in their (uninflected) absolutive or nominative form (3.2.4); pronominal predicates are in their nominative form. The subject of a non-verb predicate has the same form as an intransitive subject (S) noun phrase, i.e. absolutive or nominative depending upon the NP type (4.4.1). The subject typically, but not invariably, precedes the predicate.

Non-verb predicates are used to express three meanings (cf. Lyons (1977: 469-75)):

[1] EQUATION – the subject is identified as doing a particular thing or being a token of a type. Adjectives cannot occur as equational predicates. Example of nouns are:

(119) *nhawu-ya-ku* *ngura-tha*
3sgnf.nom-near-sense camp-old.inf
'This is the camp' (Di-t001s121)

(120) *nganhi* *puluka-yitya*
1sg.nom cattle-habit
'I am a stockman'

Equational predicates can consist simply of a pronoun, giving sentences like the following where both subject and predicate are pronominal:

(121) *nhawu-ya* *nhawu*
3sgnf.nom-near 3sgnf
'This is it'

[2] ATTRIBUTION – the subject is identified as having some attribute. Nouns and adjectives can appear in such predicates, for examples:

(122) *pula-ya* *kinthala* *malhantyi*
3dl.nom-near dog.nom bad
'These dogs are bad'

(123) *nganhi* *warrangantyu*
1sg.nom left-hand
'I am left-handed' (Di-t001s083)

Proprietive (4.5.3) and privative expressions may function as attributive predicates in Diyari; examples are (282) below and:

(124) *nhani* *mankarra* *nhintha* *pani*
3sgf.nom girl.nom shame none
'The girl is shameless'

Some Diyari sentences of this attibutive type translate into English as 'It is . . .' or 'There is/are . . .', for example:

(125) *waldra* *pirna*
heat.nom big
'It is very hot'

(126) *pathara* *marapu*
box tree.nom many
'There are many box trees'

Predicate determiners (4.3.2) are occasionally found functioning as non-verbal predicates, as in the following example:

(127) *thana* *yaṟu-ka*
3pl.nom like that-token
'They are like that'

although more common is their use in clauses containing the copula, *ngana-*, (see 4.2.2). Interrogative predicate determiners also have this function, as in (see also (48) in 3.4.2):

(128) *wardaṟu* *nhawu*
how 3sgnf.nom
'How is he?'

Note that sentences (125) and (126) can take a locative case NP identifying a place or time (4.4.4). So, for example, we can have sentences like (see also (132), (133) and (134)):

(129) *pathara* *marapu* *kaṟirri-nhi*
box tree.nom many creek-loc
'There are many box trees in the creek'

[3] POSSESSION – the subject is identified as being possessed by a dative case-marked predicate nominal or pronoun, for example:

(130) *thana-ya* *kinthala* *ngakarni*
3pl.nom-near dog.nom 1sgdat
'These dogs are mine'

(131) *warni* *nhawu* *ngura*
who.dat 3sgnf.nom camp
'Whose is this camp?'

Notice that in (131) *warni* does not qualify *ngura*; if it did, the whole interrogative phrase would occur in sentence-initial position (see 4.6.3) giving *warni ngura nhawu* 'Whose camp is this?'

Locational identification in Diyari must involve an intransitive verb plus a locative case-marked NP (4.4.4). The verbs are:

ngama- 'to sit', used of animates which typically adopt a sitting or crouching position, e.g. humans, insects

tharka- 'to stand', used of animates or inanimates which are typically vertical, e.g. horses, trees, rocks

parra- 'to lie', used of inanimates which are typically horizontal, e.g. water, dust

Some examples are:

(132) *wilha* *marapu* *ngama-yi* *ngura-nhi*
woman many.nom sit-pres camp-loc
'There are many women in the camp'

(133) *ngapa* *pirna* *pantu-nhi* *parra-yi*
water big.nom lake-loc lie-pres
'There is a lot of water in this lake'

4.4.2 Copula constructions. Diyari has two copula verbs, *ngana* 'to be' and *pantyi-* 'to become'. Sentences (119) to (131) above could all include *ngana-*; however, it is only rarely used in the present tense (but note tht in certain instrumental constructions *ngana-* is obligatory in all tenses – see below and 4.4.3). When the attribute, equation or possessive equation is not located in the present, *ngana-* must be used to carry the tense or mood inflection (3.5.9), as in:

(134) *pirdarru* *pirna* *ngana-ya* *nhungkangu-ka* *dityi-nhi*
drought.nom big be-past 3sgnf.loc-token day-loc
'There was a big drought on that day'

Use of an auxiliary verb also requires the copula, as in:

(135) *karna* *parlu* *ngana-rna* *wanthi-yi*
person.nom naked be-ptcple aux-pres
'People were naked long ago'

The copula *ngana-* is homophonous with the future tense auxiliary (3.5.10). the sequence *nganalha nganayi* meaning 'will be' is quite possible in Diyari (Thirari has *nganarnda purrilha nganayi*).

We also find *ngana-* in imperfective dependent clauses (5.2) carrying the dependent inflection, as in:

(136) *wata* *ngathu* *kupula* *thapa-rna* *wanthi-yi,* *mankarra* *nganhi*
not 1sg.erg wine.acc drink-ptcple aux-pres girl 1sg.nom

ngana-rna
aux-imperfss
'I didn't drink grog when I was a girl'

Positive and negative iimperatives must also involve *ngana-*, for example:

(137) *ngumu* *ngana-mayi*
good be.imper-emph
'Be good!'

Diyari also has a predicative construction using *ngana-* and a noun in the ergative case (with instrumental function (4.4.3)). Nouns which enter into this type of construction belong to the sub-class of nouns which can be verbalized with the inchoative (4.10.1). They denote more or less temporary mental or physiological states and include:[9]

muka	'sleep'	*kilpa*	'cold'
mawa	'hunger'	*waldra*	'heat'
thardi	'thirst'	*parla*	'sexual arousal'
yapa	'fear'	*nhintha*	'shyness, shame'
ngalku	'desire'	*yunka*	'sulkiness'
thirri	'danger'	*walkarra*	'sadness'
ngurru	'strength'	*karuwa*	'jealousy'

Examples of the use of these predicatively are:

(138) *nganhi* *mawa-li* *ngana-yi*
1sg.nom hunger-erg be-pres
'I am hungry'

(139) *thana* *kupa-kupa* *yapa-li* *ngana-yi*
3pl.nom redup-child.nom fear-erg be-pres
'The children are afraid'

These predicates can also occur with a locative case noun phrase expressing the cause of the state experienced (see 4.4.4) and, in the case of *mawa*, *thardi*, and *ngalku*, with a dative case noun phrase expressing the goal (4.4.6). Examples are (212) and (213) below.

[9] The identical sentence construction is found in Ngamini and Yaluyandi, but not in other Lake Eyre languages. Thus, in Arabana-Wangkanguru the corresponding meanings are expressed by nouns inflected for causal case (not ergative) with the predicate *waya-* 'to want, feel' (Hercus 1994: 80).

A number of the world's languages restrict the occurrence of the copula to non-present time, for example, Russian and literary Arabic. Most Australian languages lack a copula, although Ngiyambaa (Donaldson, 1980:232) and Bidyara-Gungabula, central Queensland (Breen, 1973: 187) do have one. Walmatjari, Western Australia (Hudson, 1978: 22) *nguni-* is a copula but it derives historically from the verb 'to lie' (Dixon, pers. comm.). Haviland (1979: 117) reports that Guugu Yimidhirr *wunaa-* 'to lie' is used as a copula in 'other than the unmarked tense . . . or aspect' (see also Dixon 1977a: 500).

The verb *pantyi-* 'to become' is used with an uninflected noun and/or adjective complement in sentences describing entry into a state or condition. Some examples are (note the consultant's translation of (141)):

(140) *nhawu* *pinarru* *pantyi-yi*
3sgnf.nom old man become-pres
'He has become an old man'

(141) *nhani* *mangathandra* *malhantyi* *marla* *pantyi-rna* *wara-yi*
3sgf.nom head.nom bad very become-ptcple aux-pres
"She got really silly"

An example of a noun plus adjective complement is:

(142) *nhawu* *kanku* *pirna* *pantyi-yi*
3sgnf.nom boy big become-pres
"He's getting to be a big boy"

The notion of 'becoming' can also be expressed with adjectives by the inchoative verbalizing process which derives intransitive verb roots by the addition of *-ri-* or *-ṛi-* (4.10.1). We have pairs of sentences like:

(143) *nhawu* *ngumu-ri-yi*
3sgnf.nom good-inchoat-pres
'He became good'

(144) *nhawu* *ngumu* *pantyi-yi*
3sgnf.nom good become-pres
'He became good'

Consultants translated both (143) and (144) the same way and I can find no instances where the verbalized adjective and periphrastic construction differ in meaning. For nouns and noun plus adjective coplements only the latter construction is available.

Most Australian languages have an inchoative verbalizer (like Diyari *-ri-* ~ *-ṛi-*). Breen (1973:188) reports that Bidyara-Gungabula has an inchoative VERB *barda* 'to become'; Wangganguru (Hercus (1994: 140) also has a verb *wityi-* 'to become'.

4.3 Adverbial modification

4.3.1 Nominals. Nouns, adjectives or adjective plus noun combinations may be used in Diyari to provide adverbial modification of a predicate. Predicate determiners also have adverbial functions, discussed at 4.3.2. Theses adverbial constituents normally occur immediately before or after the predicate, although predicate determiners are sometimes found in sentence-initial position (see example (173)).

The noun and/or adjective words do not form constituents of a noun phrase; they cannot appear with a pronoun functioning as a determiner (4.1.1). Also, they are not adjectives or adjective-like modifiers which are syntactically part of the subject or object noun phrase (4.1.1 section [9]) for the following reasons;

(a) modifiers within a noun phrase must agree in case with the head when separated from it; except for one instance (see [1] below) adverbial modifiers do not take case inflections. Consider the example:

(145) *nhathu* *nhinha* *daku* *wirti* *parruma-yi*
1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc sandhill through drag-pres
'I drag it along the sandhill'

(b) there are examples where it is semantically impossible for the modifier to be construed with the head of an NP in the clause. For example, the adjective *warku* 'crosswise', which modifies inanimate nouns such as *pirta* 'stick, tree', cannot be part of the subject sentences like:

(146) *kinthala* *warku* *mindri-yi*
dog.nom crosswise run-pres
'A dog runs across (the line of sight)'

(c) there are examples of negated clauses containing *wata* 'not' where the scope of the negation is the predicate plus adverb but not the subject. So, for example, (80) above cannot mean 'Purposeless children do not cry', but only 'Children do not cry purposelessly'.

(d) the positioning of clause stress differentiates between adjectives within NPs and adjectives functioning as adverbial modifiers. So, for example:

(147) *nhawu-ya* *nganthi* *thungka* *parni-yi*
3sgnf.nom-near meat rotten.acc smell-pres

with sentence stress on *nganthi* means 'this rotten meat smells'. However, with a slight intonation break after *nganthi* and stress on *thungka*, the reading is 'This meat smells rotten'. If the subject noun is topicalized (4.6.2) then only the second reading is possible:

(148) *nganthi*, *nhawu-ya* *thungka* *parni-yi*
meat 3sgnf.nom-near rotten smell-pres
'This meat smells rotten'

For these four reasons the adveribal functions of nominals are separated from their adnominal functions. There are five adverbial meanings expressed by these modifiers:

[1] MANNER – adjectives may provide information about the way an action, event or process occurs. Adjectives of this type include:

parapara	'hard, energetic'	*ngurra*	'continuous'
kurukuru	'secret'	*marlarlu*	'true'
thungka	'rotten'	*yarla*	'together'
marnka	'slow'	*ngumu*	'good, well'
mangka	'opposite'	*malhantyi*	'bad, poorly'
thalku	'straight, correct'	*ngapu*	'quiet, silent'

Examples are (148) above and:

(149) *wata* *yini* *parapara* *pithi-ya*
not 2sg.nom energetic fart-imper
'Don't fart loudly!'

When these adjectives occur in a transitive clause as manner adverbs, they must take ergative case inflection; note however that they are not part of the A NP (cf. reasons (a) to (d) above). Thus, compare (149) with the following:

(150) *nhulu* *karna-li* *kira* *parapara-li* *wara-yi*
3sgnf.erg person-erg boomerang.acc energetic-erg throw-pres
'The man throws the boomerang energetically'

A further example is (573) below.

[2] DEGREE – there are three adjectives used to express degree:

pirna	'big, a lot'
ngalyi	'a little'
marla	'true, very'

When it functions adnominally the adjective *pirna* means 'big' (as in (156) below) and also, used with mass nouns (as in (133)), 'much, a lot'. Adverbially, *pirna* indicates great degree, as in:

(151) *ngathu* *yinanha* *pirna* *ngantya-yi*
1sg.erg 2sg.acc a.lot like-pres
'I like you very much'

It is also used with *ngana-* 'to be' and ergative case predicate nominals (4l.2.1) to express degree:

(152) *thinipa-nhi* *thana* *yapa-li* *pirna* *ngana-yi*
kurdaitcha-loc 3pl.nom fear-erg a lot be-pres
'They are very afraid of the kurdaitcha man'

The opposite of *pirna* is *ngalyi* as in (see also (575) and Text 1 line 114):

(153) *nhani* *thina* *ngalyi* *dapa-ri-yi*
3sgf.nom foot.nom a little sore-inchoat-pres
'Her foot became a little sore'

When used with a verb predicate the adjective *marla* indicates comparison and functions like English 'more'. If the object of comparison is overtly expressed as an NP it will be inflected for locative case (4.4.4). Example include:

(154) *nhandru* *nguyama-yi* *marla* *ngakungu*
3sgf.erg know-pres more 1sgloc
'She knows more than me'

In comparative function *marla* also occurs in constructions like (152), for example:

(155) *nhawu* *marla* *mawa-li* *ngana-yi* *ngalingu*
3sgnf.nom more hunger-erg be-pres 1dlexcl.loc
'He is hungrier than we are'

and with non-verb predicates:

(156) *ngakarni* *kinthala* *pirna* *marla* *yingkarna-nhi*
1sgdat dog.nom big more 2sgdat-loc
'My dog is bigger than yours'

With adjective predicates *marla* also functions to mark degree, as in Text 1 line 117 and:

(157) *nhani-ya* *mankarra* *ngumu* *marla*
3sgf.nom-near girl.nom good very
'This girl is very good'

Examples like (157) are actually ambiguous because of the dual function of *marla*; the sentence could also be understood as a comparative (without an object of comparison), that is 'The girl is better'.

There is one other adverbial use of *marla*, and that is with the negative polarity particles *wata* 'not' and *pulu* 'cannot' (4.11) where it indicates that a situation does not or cannot continue any longer. Examples of *marla* with these negatives are:

(158) *pulu* *marla* *nhulu-ya* *pantu-yali* *parda-rna*
cannot more 3sgnf.erg-near salt lake-erg hold-ptcple

wanthi-yi *ngapa*
aux-pres water.nom
'This salt lake could not hold water any longer'

(159) *karna* *wata* *marla* *ngama-yi* *nhingki-rda*
person.nom not more sit-pres here-vicin-loc
'People don't live here any more'

[3] LOCATION – uninflected adjectives or noun plus adjective combinations can provide two types of locational information about a predicate. Firstly, they can provide a general locational orientation of a situation. Adjectives with this function include:

warritha	'distant'
karakara	'near, close'
thati	'middle'
miri	'above, top'
wita	'lined up, in row'

as in (see also Text 1, line 50):

(160) *thana* *wita-wita* *ngama-yi*
3pl.nom redup-lined.up sit-pres
'They are sitting in a row'

(161) *karakara* *pirki-ya-mayi*
close play-imper-emph
'Play close by!'

These unmarked modifiers can also occur in a sentence with a locative case-marked NP (4.4.4); however, their locational orientation is more general than that marked by the locative NP. Compare the following two sentences where *miri* is both in the locative NP (163) and outside it (162):

(162) *kanku*, *nhawu* *miri* *kar̲i-yi* *pirta-nhi*
boy.nom 3sgnf.nom above climb-pres tree-loc
'The boy is climbing up above in the tree'

(163) *kanku*, *nhawu* *kar̲i-yi* *pirta* *miri-nhi*
boy.nom 3sgnf.nom climb-pres tree above-loc
'The boy is climbing in the top of the tree'

The locative case suffix in (163) can be omitted with apparently no change in meaning. Another example of noun plus adjective of the same type is:

(164) *punga* *thati* *thurru* *darra-yi*
hut middle fire.acc kindle-pres
'(They) make a fire in the middle of the hut'

Consultants stated that (164) meant exactly the same as a sentence containing the locative case noun phrase *punga thatinhi*. Other instances of uninflected locatives are in Text 1, lines 48, 58, 79.

Uninflected noun plus adjective modifiers can also be used to express DIRECTION when the predicate consists of a verb of motion or induced motion. Examples are (145) and:

(165) *nganhi* *daku* *wirti* *wapa-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.nom sandhill through go-pres aux-pres
'I went along the sandhill'

(166) *nganhi* *wir̲ar̲i-rna* *wanthi-yi* *mitha* *marru*
1sg.nom go about-ptcple aux-pres country wide
'I went about all over the place'

These directional adverbs contrast with locative NPs; the latter mark location at a place or arrival in a place (see 4.4.4). So, for example replacing mitha marru in (166) by the locative *mitha marrunhi* results in a sentence meaning 'I went about in the wide country'. The noun *palthu* 'way, road' is used with *kurnu* 'one' to indicate direction and is often repeated as in:

(167) *thana* *karna* *mindri-rna* *wanthi-yi* *palthu* *kurnu*
3pl.nom person.nom run-ptcple aux-pres way one

palthu *kurnu*
way one
'The people ran this way and that'

Consultants use the noun *thina* 'foot' plus a numeral to indicate locational extent; and example is (577) below. Such expressions are clearly loan translations from English.

[4] TEMPORAL DURATION – adjectives with the meaning of dimension can be used adverbially to express temporal duration, for example:

(168) *ngathu* *windri* *wardu* *nganka-rna* *wanthi-yi*
1sg.erg only short work-ptcple aux-pres
'I only worked for a short while'

However, more common is the use of a numeral or quantifier adjective (see 3.2.8) with one of the following nouns to express duration:

dityi	'day'
thinka	'night'
pi<u>r</u>a	'moon, months'
kilpa waldra	'year'

An example is the following from Text 1, line 57 (see also lines 70, 104):

(169) *dityi* *marapu* *ngama-rna* *nhaka* *nhawu*
day many sit-ptcple there-loc 3sgnf.nom
'I walked all night long'

The adjective *wirti* 'through' (see example (165) above) is also used with these nouns to specify duration of a situation, as in:

(170) *nganhi* *thinka* *wirti* *wapa-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.nom night through go-ptcple aux-pres
'I walked all night long'

The interrogative corresponding to these adverbs is *wintharanaya* 'how long' (3.2.7), seen in example (30).

[5] REPETITION – the noun *putha* 'number of times' followed by a numeral or quantifier (3.2.8) indicates how many times a situation is repeated. Examples of this type of adverbial modification are (90) and the Thirari sentence:

(171) *putha* *mandru* *pula-li* *kuṟi-yali* *mani-rnda* *purri-yi*
times two 3dl-erg stealth-erg get-ptcple aux-pres
'They steal (it) twice'

4.3.2 Predicate determiners. The morphology of the predicate determiners *yaṟu-* 'like that' and *yani-* 'like this' is discussed at 3.4.1 above. They provide adverbial specification of verbal and non-verbal predicates and have the following functions:

[1] forms based on *yani-* are used to refer to somehting in the immediate extra-linguistic context. So, for example, the following occurred in a discussion of a collection of plants and sees:

(172) *puka* *thandra* *yani-ka* *nhawu*
food seed like this-token 3sgnf.nom
'It is a seed like this'

These determiners also have the anaphoric function of referring back to the immediately preceding linguistic context. They often translate into English as 'thus, so' – an example is found in Text 2, line 2 (referring to line 1) and :

(173) *nhulu* *nganka-ni* *mani-rna* *yani-ldra-matha*
3sgnf.erg work-nom.acc get-ptcple like this-addinf-ident

ngali *nganka-rna* *wanthi-yi*
1dlexcl.erg work-ptcple aux-pres
'He got a job. We had been doing exactly the same'

[2] forms based on *yaṟu-* are used to refer to something extra-linguistic which can ve understood from the context though not specifically mentioned or pointed to. There are example in the texts, such as Text 1, line 39 and Text 2, line 20.

We also find *yaṟu-* forms referring cataphorically to something in the following linguistic context. For example:

(174) *yundru* *nhinha* torch *parra-ø-mayi* *yaṟu-ka*, *maṟa-li*
2sg.erg 3sgnf.acc torch hold-imp-emph like that-token hand-erg
'You hold the torch like that, in your hand'

It is quite common for predicate determiners based on *yaṟu-* to occur with a verb of locution where the following sentence is an instance of direct speech. That is, they introduce direct quotation. An example is:

(175) *ngarda-nhi* *thana-li* *nhinha* *yakalka-yi* *yaṟu-ya*
then-loc 3pl.erg 3sgnf.acc ask-pres like that-near

wardayari-lha *yini* *pinarru*
where-char 2sg.nom old man.nom
'Then they asked him the following: "Where are you from, old man?"'

4.4 Functions of cases

All noun phrases in Diyari are inflected for case, except in the unmarked absolutive, signalling their syntactic function within the sentence. The morphology of case marking is described at 3.2.3, 3.2.5 and 3.3.2 above. Case marking in Diyari follows a 'split-ergative' pattern outlined in 3.2.4 which may be summarized again briefly. The major syntactic functions of transitive subject (A), intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (P) are marked differenlty according to the inherent lexical context of noun phrase constituents. Singular common nouns and male proper names inflect for ergative (marking A) and absolutive (marking S and P); non-singular first and second pronouns inflect for nominative (marking S and A) and accusative (marking P), and all others have three separate inflectional forms: ergative (marking A), nominative (marking S) and accusative (marking P). This is summarized in Table 3.2.

There are four other morphological cases which we recognize: locative, ablative allative and dative. No single noun phrase consitituent type distinguishes all four morphologically, that is, there is some syncretism in all the case paradigms. Singular common nouns have a single form for allative and dative; all other nouns and all pronouns collapse locative and allative as a single form. This is illustrated int Tables 3.3 and 3.6. Comparison across NP types always allows us to decide which particular case is being signalled ina ny instance of syncretism.

The following sections describe the syntactic and semantic functions coded by these case inflections. It is important to note that there is no simple unitary mapping between case functions and case forms. Every case form has a number of syntactic and semantic functions and conversely, some syntactic or semantic functions may be coded by more than one form. For example, derived agents of passives (4.7.3) may be in locative or ergative case (4.4.3 and 4.4.4); non-controlled cause of a situation may be expressed by ergative, locative or ablative (4.4.3, 4.4.4, 4.4.5). Thus, the various cases are all polysemous and there are numerous example of sentences containing NPs inflected for a particular case where each has a different syntactic and/or semantic function.

My use of the term 'case' here follows traditional practice (Lyons (1968:292)) and is not directly translated to the 'semantic case' notions of writers such as Fillmore (1968, 1970, 1975), Grimes (1975) and Halliday (1970). Blake (1977) contains a clear discussion of the differences between morphological, syntactic and semantic notions of 'case' as they apply to Australian languages.

4.4.1 Nominative. The morphological case 'nominative' has the following syntactic functions (functions [1] and [2] are marked by the 'absolutive' for singular comon nouns and male personal names – see 3.2.5):

[1] marking the subject (S) of an intransitive verb (3.5.2), including intransitives (example (176)), object-complement intransitives (177) and locative complement intransitives (178):

(176) *nhawu* *karna* *wapa-yi*
3sgnf.nom man.nom go-pres
'The man is going'

(177) *thana* *wilha* *wima* *kirli-yi*
3pl.nom woman.nom corroboree.acc dance-pres
'The women are dancing a corroboree'

(178) *nhawu* *kanku* *darlki-yi* *ngandri-nhi*
3sgnf.nom boy.nom disobey-pres mother-loc
'The boy disobeyed (his) mother'

The subject of derived intransitive verbs (see 4.7) is also marked by nominative case.

[2] marking the subject of non-verb predicates (discussed at 4.2.1) and copula constructions (see 4.2.2). Examples include (119) to (131) and (134) to (144).

Note that first or second person non-singular pronominal subjects of a transitive or di-transitive verb are in the ergative case and that this has the same form as the nominative. Examples are the following, and (182) and (196) below:

(179) *ngali* *nhinha-ya* *kanku* *mani-yi*
1dlexcl.erg 3sgnf.acc-near boy.acc get-pres
'We get the boy'

4.4.2 Accusative. Noun phrases in accusative case occur in the following functions:
[1] object of a transitive verb, that is, in P function (3.2.4). Examples of this in Chapter 3 above include (35), (39), (40), (50) to (53), (57) to (60). One further instance is:

(180) *nhulu* *wanku-yali* *mankarra-wurla-nha* *nhayi-nhayi-yi*
3sgnf.erg snake-erg girl-dl-acc redup-see-pres
'The snake watched the girls'

[2] object and indirect object of a di-transitive verb (3.5.2), as in:

(181) *nhulu* *pulanha* *nhinha* *putu* *yingki-rna* *wara-yi*
3sgnf.erg 3dl.acc 3sgnf.acc thing.acc give-ptcple aux-pres
'He gave them that thing'

The two non-subject arguments of a di-transitive verb can be distinguished as direct and indirect by two syntactic tests:

(a) when a di-transitive verb is de-transitivized by the addition of *-tharri-*, marking 'reflexive' (4.7.1) or *-mali-*, marking 'reciprocal' (3.5.6), the DIRECT OBJECT can appear in the clause as an NP in accusative (or absolutive) case. An example is (56) and the following:

(182) *pulali* *nhinha* *putu* *yingki-mali-rna* *wara-yi*
3dl.erg 3sgnf.acc thing.acc give-recip-ptcple aux-pres
'They gave one another that thing'

(b) when a di-transitive verb is nominalized the noun which can appear with it is the DIRECT OBJECT, as in (see also 4.9):

(183) *yawarra* *yingki-rna-yitya*
word give-ptcple-nomin
'a preacher, giver of words'

[3] complement of an intransitive object-complement verb (3.5.2). Semantically, NPs in this function are so-called 'cognate objects' whose reference shares some semantic content in common with the verb they complement. The following verbs and complements have been recorded:

Verb		Complement	
yatha-	'to speak'	*yawarra*	'language, word'
thurara-	'to lie, sleep'	*muka*	'sleep'
kirli-	'to dance'	*wima*	'corroboree, ceremony'
pirki-	'to play'	*kuikuru*	'stick type (used in game)'
		kira	'boomerang'
		kurlawarra	'large boomerang type'
wiri-	'to wear'	*kathi*	'clothing'
		wirpa	'pubic tassel'
wirri-	'to be painted'	*malka*	'stripe'

These complements may be accompanied by a third person pronoun functioning as a determiner (4.1.1); the pronoun will be in accusative case form, as in:

(184) *nganhi* *nhinha-ya* *yawarra* *yatha-yi*
1sg.nom 3sgnf.acc-near language.acc speak-pres
'I speak this language'

Complements of object-complement verbs may also be phrasal compounds (4.1.1) where the second element is one of the nouns listed above. Examples are:

(185) *thana* *pukartu* *wima* *kirli-rna* *wanthi-yi*
3pl.nom ochre corroboree.acc dance-ptcple aux-pres
'They danced the *pukartu* ochre corroboree'

(186) *wata* *yini* *diyari* *yawarra* *yatha-yi*
not 2sg.nom Diyari language.acc speak-pres
'You don't speak Diyari'

[4] complement of a derived anti-passive verb consisting of a 2C root plus *-tharri-*. This is discussed and exemplified in 4.7.2.

4.4.3 Ergative. Noun phrases marked for ergative case occur in two major syntactic functions, namely subject (A) of a transitive or di-transitive verb, or instrumental. There are three syntactic tests which distinguish A NPs from instrumental NPs:

(a) instrumental NPs can occur in a clause containing an intransitive verb phrase (see for example (192)) while A NPs only occur in clauses where the verb is transitive or di-transitive.

(b) instrumental NPs can occur in a clause containing a de-transitivezed verb stem, marked by *-mali-* reciprocal or *-tharri-* (4.7). Examples are (194) and (198).

(c) ergative case NPs in A function control switch-reference in dependent clauses and fall together with S NPs as syntactic 'subjects' (see 5.1.1, 5.2.1, 5.3.1 and examples there). Instrumental NPs do not control switch-reference and are not subjects.

Thus, ergative case marks the following syntactic functions:

[1] subject of a transitive or di-transitive verb (A noun phrase). These A NPs can be of a number of semantic types, including human, as in:

(187) *ngardu* *karna-li* *thayi-rna* *wanthi-yi*
nardoo.acc person-erg eat-ptcple aux-pres
'People ate nardoo (seed) long ago'

non-human animate, as in (92), (180) and:

(188) *nganha* *kunthi-yali* *matha-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.acc mosquito-erg bite-ptcple aux-pres
'Mosquitoes bit me'

or inanimate, as in (51), (60), (158) and (see also (358) below):

(189) *thurru-yali* *punga* *yapi-rna* *wara-yi*
fire-erg hut.acc burn-ptcple aux-pres
'The fire burned the hut down'

Diyari nouns referring to absract qualities can also function as transitive subjects; an example is:

(190) *yinanha* *waldra-li* *ngampu* *nhari-nganka-rna* *wara-yi*
2sg.acc heat-erg almost dead-caus-ptcple aux-pres
'The heat almost killed you'

Manner adverbs in transitive clauses also take ergative case – see 4.3.1 section [1].

[2] instrumental – ergative case-marked NPs in instrumental function have a number of distinct semantic functions, namely:

(a) indicating the instrument causally involved in performing an action. Such instruments may be inanimate tools or weapons, as in (20) and (see also Text 1 line 95, Text 2 line 5):

(191) *ngathu* *para̲tyi-yali-lha* *thina* *wani-yi*
1sg.erg light-erg-newinf foot.acc follow-pres
'I follow the tracks with a light'

Verbs of motion may also occur with an instrumental indicating the means, either manipulated directly by the moving subject:

(192) *nhawu* *pinarru* *wapa-yi* *pirta-li*
3sgnf.nom old man.nom go-pres stick-erg
'The old man is going with (i.e. using) a stick'

or used less directly, as in:

(193) *nhuwa* *ngakarni* *waka̲ra-yi* *thurru* *wilpara-li*
spouse 1sgdat.nom come-pres fire vehicle-erg
'My husband is coming by train'

Where the means is relatively large, as in (193), it is possible to use locative case (4.4.4) as an alternative to ergative with no apparent difference in meaning. Thus, a sentence expressing the same meaning as (193) is *nhuwa ngakarni wakarayi thurru wilparanhi* cf. Also (239) below.

Examples of instruments in de-transitivized clauses include (44), (55) and:

(194) *thana* *windri* *wilyirri* *warlpardaka-tharri-yi* *kathi-yali*
3pl.nom only buttock.nom cover.up-refl-pres clothes-erg
'They only cover their buttocks with clothes'

Instruments may also be abstract nouns, as in the following two examples:

(195) *ngathu* *yinha* *ngapitya-li* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg 2sg.acc dream-erg see-ptcple aux-pres
'I saw you in a dream'

(196) *ngayana* *thangkaldri* *diyari-yali* *dika-yi*
1plincl.erg plant.type.acc Diyari-erg call-pres
'We call (it) *thangkaldri* in Diyari'

In Diyari a body part used to perform some action will be in instrumental function. Instances of this in the corpus are less frequent than inanimate instruments but include (174) above and:

(197) *ngarda-nhi* *nhawu* *thurara-rna* *ngari-yi* *thuku-yali*
then-loc 3sgnf.nom lie-ptcple go.down-pres back-erg

warla *miri*
nest top
'Then he lies down on his back on top of the nest'

Reflexive and reciprocal clauses can also include body part instrumentals, for example:

(198) *thana* *mara* *muku-yali* *daka-mali-rna* *wara-yi*
3pl.nom hand bone-erg pierce-recip-ptcple aux-pres
'They punched one another'

Body part nouns can also be used in the instrumental function with motion verbs – an example is Text 1 line 115.

There are a few examples in the corpus of non-human animate NPs functioning as the means used by an agent undertaking some action, for example:

(199) *nganhi* *thika-lha* *ngana-yi* *nhantu-yali*
1sg.nom return-fut aux-pres horse-erg
'I'll go back by horse'

Compare this with (320) below. When the instrumental means in animate, Diyari speakers prefer to use locative rather than ergative although both are possible – see 4.4.4 and example (241).

(b) with transitive verbs of construction an instrumental noun phrase marks the material out of which the object is made or constructed. Verbs of this type include *wathi-* 'to build', *nganka-* 'to make', *karpa-* 'to sew', *thurpa-* 'to twist, weave' and *rdaka-* 'to plait'. Examples are:

(200) *mathari-yali* *yinka* *thurpa-yi* *karlku-yali*
man-erg string.acc twist-pres bulrush-erg
'The man is making string out of bulrushes'

(201) *pinarra-li* *kira* *nganka-yi* *malka-li*
old.man-erg boomerang.acc make-pres mulga-erg
'The old man is making a boomerang from mulga'

The transitive subject with these verbs can be left unexpressed and indefinite so that we find sentences containing just an P and instrumental NP, such as:

(202) *punga* *pitya-li* *wathi-rna* *wara-yi*
hut.acc stick-erg build-ptcple aux-pres
'The hut was made of sticks'

The ablative case (4.4.5) can be used as an alternative to ergative to indicate the material of construction. However, the A NP in such sentences must be specified and cannot be left unexpressed (cf. Example (259) below).

(c) non-animate nouns in instrumental function can indicate the non-controlled causer of a situation, the reason why some state of affairs does or does not obtain. These instrumentals typically occur in intransitive clauses, such as:

(203) *nhawu* *yapa-li* *pali-rna* *wara-yi*
3sgnf.nom fear-erg die-ptcple aux-pres
'He died of fear'

(204) *yini* *parrawa<u>r</u>a-yi* *kupula-li*
2sg.nom be.drunk-pres alcohol-erg
'You are drunk from alcohol'

However, they are equally possible in transitive clauses, such as:

(205) *ngaldra* *thurru* *darra-yi* *kilpa-li*
1dlincl.erg fire.acc kindle-pres cold-erg
'Let's build a fire because of the cold'

A common use of these instrumentals is where the verb is an inchoative derived from an adjective (4.10.1), for example:

(206) *mitha-mitha* *nhawu* *muya-ri-yi* *dityi-yali*
redup-ground.nom 3sgnf.nom dry-inchoat-pres sun-erg
'The ground dried from the sun'

(207) *nhawu* *muntya-ri-rna* *wara-yi* *nganthi* *thungka-li*
3sgnf.nom sick-inchoat-ptcple aux-pres meat rotten-erg
'He became sick from rotten meat'

It is also possible to use the ablative case as an alternative to ergative in this function. There seems to be little meaning difference between the two types of expression, except possibly that ergative seems to express the CAUSE of some situation while ablative expresses the SOURCE from which it arises. Some Australian languages, for example Pitta-Pitta (Blake, 1979: 198) and Kalkatungu (Blake, 1977: 57)) have a separate case inflection termed 'causative' or 'casual' which marks non-controlled cause. Ngamini has such an inflection, *-ngura*, seen in examples such as:

(208) *nganyi* *ngantyi* *thungka-ngura* *dapa-nda* *wara-yi*
1sg.nom meat rotten-causal sick-inchoat.ptcple aux-pres
'I got sick from rotten meat'

Diyari has an element *-ngura* forming part of the perfective dependent clause different-subject marker (see 3.5.9, 5.3). It does not otherwise occur in the language.

(d) abstract nouns functioning predicatively are inflected for ergative case and occur with the copula *ngana-* 'to be' (4.2.2). These are also the sub-class of nouns which can be verbalized by the inchoative (3.1.1, 4.10); they are listed under 4.2.2 above, and illustrated by examples (138) and (139).

Ngamini and Yaluyandi also have this use of ergative with the same group of nouns. Both also have *ngana-* as a copula in this construction; a Ngamini example is (cf. (212) below):

(209) *nganyi* *thardi-nu* *ngana-yi*
1sg.nom thirst-erg be-pres
'I am thirsty'

Breen (ms.) notes that Yandruwandha uses ergative case in exactly this way, although without the copula.

The nouns appearing in this type of predicate construction all refer to a temporary physiological or mental state. The cause of that state can be expressed by a noun phrase inlocative case (4.4.4), as in (see also (152) above):

(210) *thana* *kupa-kupa* *yapa-li* *ngana-yi* *thilthira-nhi*
3pl.nom redup-child.nom fear-erg be-pres centipede-loc
'The children are afraid of the centipede'

(211) *nhani* *wilha* *walkarra-li* *ngana-yi* *kupa-nhi*
3sgnf.nom woman.nom sadness-erg be-pres child-loc
'The woman is sad for the child'

Three of these nouns, namely *mawa* 'hunger', *tharri* 'thirst and *ngalku* 'desire', can occur with a noun phrase in dative case (4.4.7) indicating the stimulus of hunger, thirst or desire. Examples are:

(212) *nganhi* *thardi-yali* *ngana-yi* *ngapa-ya*
1sg.nom thirst-erg be-pres water-dat
'I am thirsty for water'

(213) *nganhi* *ngalku-yali* *ngana-yi* *thanarni* *puka-ya*
1sg.nom desire-erg be-pres 3pldat vegetable-dat
'I want those vegetables'

Exactly parallel constructions to these exist in Ngamini, Yaluyandi and Yandruwandha with ergative marking 'cause' and dative 'goal'.

(e) noun phrases with human reference can occur in instrumental function to indicate group membership. The subject NP (S or A) of clauses containing this type of ergative case-marked NP must be non-singular and include (in number) the number of persons expressd by the instrumental NP. Most commonly the subject is a dual or plural pronoun, as in (see also Text 1, line 31):

(214) *ngali-tha* *yatha-rna* *wara-yi* *ngakarni* *nhiyi-yali*
1dlexcl.nom-old.inf say-ptcple aux-pres 1sgdat older brother-erg
'We said, my brother (and I)'

The instrumental NP expresses part of the group of persons comprising the subject. Third person examples include:

(215) *pula* *kaku-yali* *wapa-yi*
3dl.nom older sister-erg go-pres
'The two sisters are going'

The usual interpretation of sentences like (215) seems to be that the subject refers to a reciprocal kin pair. However, consultants pointed out that this is not necessarily the case and a sentence like the following could be uttered by a child seeing his parents walking away:

(216) *pula* *ngapiṟi-yali* *wapa-yi*
3dl.nom father-erg go-pres
'They (two) are going, (one is) father'

Breen (pc) notes that Yandruwandha has exactly the same construction as this, for example:

(217) *ngali* *nhuliyi* *pirripirri-li* *thawa-nga*
1dlexcl.nom this white man-erg go-pres
'I and the white man are going'

Russian has a similar construction useing the preposition *s* 'with' and an NP in instrumental case indicating accompaniment when the subject is the plural pronoun *my*.

We also find this use of ergative case noun phrases when the subject consists of a noun stem derived by the addition of *-maṟa* kin proprietive (3.2.1, 4.5.4). The instrumental NP singles out memebers of the collective subject, as in:

(218) *thana* *ngapiṟi-maṟa* *wapa-yi* *mankarra-li* *ya* *kanku-yali*
3pl.nom father-kin.prop.nom go-pres girl-erg and boy-erg
'The father is going with (his) son and daughter'

(f) finally, in intransitive clauses derived by the addition of *-tharri-* to 2D verb roots (3.5.6, 4.7.3) the agent of the passive verb can be expressed as an ergative case-marked NP in instrumental function. An example is:

(219) *nhawu* *marna* *ngandrawalka-tharri-rna* *wara-yi* *wathara-li*
3sgnf.nom mouth.nom close-pass-ptcple aux-pres wind-erg
'The door got closed by the wind'

An alternative to ergative in sentences like (219) is locative with, apparently, no difference in meaning – see example (358) and (359) in 4.7.3.

4.4.4 Locative. Noun phrases in locative case have a number of syntactic functions which we can divide into 'local' and 'non-local' functions (Lyons (1968:295, 298-302)). NPs in local locative functions are questioned by *warrayari* 'where?' (if spatial) and *wintha* 'when?' (if temporal) while non-local locative are not; the word *minhanhi* (non-human) and *warangu* (human) question NPs in these functions.

At 3.2.3 it was stated that Diyari locational nominals, both temporal and spatial, use the uninflected stem as the locative case form. When an adjective follows and modifies one of theses nominals it must be inflected for locative case (by suffixing *-nhi*). Thus, compare the following sentences:

(220) *thangkuthangkuparna* *thana* *wapa-yi*
morning-loc 3pl.nom go-pres
'They are going in the morning'

(221) *thana* *thurara-yi* *thangkuthangkuparna* *parlpa-nhi*
3pl.nom sleep-pres morning some-loc
'Some mornings they sleep'

The syntactic and semantic functions marked by locative case are the following:

[1] local functions – NPs in locative case specify the place at which some situation occurs, as in:

(222) *nhawu* *karna* *nhungkangu* *pathara-nhi* *tharka-yi*
3sgnf.nom person.nom 3sgnf.loc bos tree-loc stand-pres
'That man is standing near that box tree'

(223) *ngathu* *thina* *thintha-yi* *nhanha* *thaka-nhi*
1sg.erg foot.acc lose-pres 3sg.acc clay-loc
'I lose her tracks on the hard ground'

General locational orientation can also be expressed by certain uninflected nominals, discussed at 4.3.1 section [3] above. Examples (160) to (164) are relevant.

When the predicate of a clause is a verb of motion or induced motion, locative NPs specify the interior of the place into which or the surface onto which motion is directed. There is a contrast with these verbs between allative case (4.4.6) expressing the place

TOWARDS which something moves and locative case specifying the place INTO or ONTO which motion occurs. Compare the following pair of sentences (noting the syncretism of locative and allative in the pronouns):

(224) *nganhi* *wapa-yi* *nhungkangu* *ngura-nhi*
1sg.nom go-pres 3sgnf.loc camp-allat
'I am going into the camp'

(225) *nganhi* *wapa-yi* *nhungkangu* *ngura-ya*
1sg.nom go-pres 3sgnf.allat camp-allat
'I am going towards the camp'

It is possible to add after (225) the sentence:

(226) *ngarla* *nganhi* *wata* *wirri-yi*
but 1sg.nom not enter-pres
'But I am not going in'

However, (226) cannot be added after (224) because locative indicates interior.

In order to express location at a place with a verb of motion or induced motion it is necessary to use an uninflected adverbial adjective together with the locative NP, as in:

(227) *ngathu* *ngapa* *karakara* *nhanga-rna* *wara-yi* *thurru-nhi*
1sg.erg water.acc near pour-ptcple aux-pres fire-loc
'I poured the water near the fire'

or a multi-clause sentence where the locative co-occurs with a non-motion verb, for example:

(228) *thurru-nhi* *tharka-rna*, *ngathu* *ngapa* *nhanga-rna* *wara-yi*
fire-loc stand-imperfss 1sg.erg water.acc pour-ptcple aux-pres
'Standing near the fire I poured some water'

The normal interpretation of plain locatives with motion verbs is end point of the motion, not position at which the motion occurs.

The temporal location or setting of a situation can be signified by a locative noun phrase. Examples of temporal location nominals in this function include (220) and (221) above. In addition, NPs where the head noun refers to some geographical or meteorological entity can be used to specify temporal setting when inflected for locative case. Nouns of this type include:

dityi	'sun, day'	*wathara*	'wind'
thinka	'night'	*wityikura*	'whirlwind'
pira	'moon'	*thalara*	'rain'
kilpa	'cold, winter'	*kunmi*	'haze'
waldra	'heat, summer'	*pirdarru*	'drought'
puru	'frost'		

Examples of their use are:

(229) *pira*, *nhawu* *tharka-yi* *thinka-nhi*
moon.nom 3sgnf.nom stand-pres night-loc
'The moon comes out at night'

(230) *nganthi* *marapu* *pali-yi* *pirdarra-nhi*
meat many.nom die-pres drought-loc
'Many animals die in drought times'

Diyari speakers also add the locative case suffix to English names for days of the week when they use them in their Diyari, for instance:

(231) *marda* *wata* *wakara-rnanhi* Monday-*nhi*, *ngayani*
stone.nom not come-imperfss Monday-loc 1plexcl.erg

puka *pani* *ngama-lka-lha* *ngana-yi*
food none.acc sit-tr-fut aux-pres
'If some money doesn't come on Monday, we will have no food'

Nouns which refer to human beings at various ages can also specify temporal setting when inflected for locative case. A typical example is:

(232) *nhawu* *ngama-rna* *wanthi-yi* *nhaka* *kanku* *waka-nhi*
3sgnf.nom sit-ptcple aux-pres there-loc boy small-loc
'He lived there when he was a small boy'

Sentences similar to (232) but where the verb is transitive seem to be ambiguous out of context; the locative could be taken to refer to the age of the subject or object noun phrase. Normally context will decide which meaning is intended but an ambiguous example is:

(233) *ngathu* *nhanha* *nhayi-ya* *mankarra-nhi*
1sg.erg 3sgf.acc see-past girl-loc
'I saw her when she was a girl' OR 'I saw her when I was a girl'

It is exactly these three types of nominals, i.e. temporal locational, geographical reference nouns and human age reference nouns, which can occur in ablative case (4.4.5) specifying the time since which a situation has held. See examples (255) to (258) below.

The adjective *ngarda* 'next' (see 3.2.8) is inflected for locative case and means 'next, and then' – it functions as a temporal connector of sentences in texts and has an important 'discourse sequencing' role. Typically, *ngardanhi* occurs in sentence initial position and indicates temporal succession from one sentence to the next. There are a number of examples of its use in Text 1. Occasionally, the locative suffix is deleted in rapid speech so that we sometimes find *ngarda* functioning like *ngardanhi*.

Finally, noun phrases consisting of a noun plus the adjective *pani* 'none' (3.2.2) occur inflected for locative case to mean 'when there were no . . .' the following examples illustrate this construction with both transitive and intransitive verbs:

(234) *puka* *pani-nhi* *ngayana* *yawa* *thayi-rna* *wanthi-yi*
food none-loc 1plincl.erg grass.onion.acc eat-ptcple aux-pres
'When there was no food we used to eat grass onions'

(235) *kathi* *pani-nhi* *mathari* *ya* *wilha* *wirpa* *wiri-yi*
clothes none-loc man.nom and woman.nom tassel.nom wear-pres
'When there were no clothes men and women wore pubic tassels'

Hercus (pc) notes that neighbouring Arabana-Wangganguru (1.4) has a construction exactly parallel to this involving N + *padni-nga* where *-nga* is the locative case suffix. Breen (ms.) contains examples from Yandruwandha of the same type.

[2] non-local functions – here we find a number of syntactically and semantically distinct functions marked by locative NPs, namely:

(a) marking the complement of an intransitive locative complement verb (3.5.2). There are seven verbs in the corpus which take locative case complements, namely:

dalki-	'to disobey'	*kilpari-*	'to disbelieve'
darni-	'to bid farewell to'	*kurutharra-*	'to forget'
tyampa-	'to be very fond of'	*murda-*	'to finish with'
kalapa-	'to answer'		

Examples of their use are (see also Text 1, line 8):

(236) *yini* *tyampa-yi* *wilha-nhi*
2sg.nom be fond-pres woman-loc
'You're really fond of women'

(237) *nganhi* *kurutharra-rna* *wara-yi* *yingkangu*
1sg.nom forget-ptcple aux-pres 2sgloc
'I forgot you'

The verbs of locution *yatha-* 'to speak' and *karka-* 'to call out, shout' take a locative case NP indicating the person or animate spoken or shouted to. An example is:

(238) *nganhi* *nhungkangu* *karna-nhi* *yatha-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.nom 3sgnf.loc person-loc speak-ptcple aux-pres
'I spoke to that man'

The verb *yatha-* also occurs with an object-complement NP (see 4.4.2) marking the language spoken – see examples (184) and (186). The person or thing spoken about can be specified by an ablative case NP (see 4.4.5) – example (265) shows *yatha-* with a full set of complements.

(b) in clauses containing a verb of motion or induced motion locative case can mark the means of movement provided tht it is larger than and/or contains the thing moving. Examples are:

(239) *ngaldra* *wapa-lha* *ngana-yi* *mutaka-nhi*
1dlincl.nom go-fut aux-pres car-loc
'We'll go by car'

(240) *ngathu* *yinha* *nganthi* *yingki-yi* *yakutha-nhi*
1sg.erg 2sg.acc meat.acc give-pres bag-loc
'I give you meat in a bag'

Noun phrases in ergative case (and instrumental function – see 4.4.3 sectioin [2a]) can also be used to express this function of locative. There seems to be only a slight difference in meaning between the two types of case marking; locative focuses on the PLACE and instrumental on the MEANS. Compare the translations of the following Diyari sentences:

(241) *ngathu* *nhinha* *yinpa-rna* *thika-rna* *wara-yi* *nhantu-nhi*
1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc send-ptcple return-ptcple aux-pres horse-loc
'I sent him back on a horse'

(242) *ngathu* *nhinha* *yinpa-rna* *thika-rna* *wara-yi* *nhantu-yali*
1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc send-ptcple return-ptcple aux-pres horse-erg
'I sent him back by horse'

(c) to indicate accompaniment. A locative case-marked NP can refer to a person, animal or thing accompanying an animate agent who is performing some activity (or undergoing a process if the subject of a IE verb – see 3.5.5). Examples are (6) and:

(243) *nhawu* *kanku* *wirari-yi* *mankarra-wurla-ngu*
3sgnf.nom boy.nom go about-pres girl-dl-loc
'The boy is going about with two girls'

(244) *nhani* *pirki-yi* *wana-nhi*
3sgf.nom play-pres digging.stick-loc
'She is playing with a digging stick'

There is a certain amount of semantic overlap between this function of the locative and use of the proprietive suffix *-nthu* (3.2.1). This point and a contrast between them is discussed at 4.5.3.

(d) to indicate a general goal. This use of locative ocurs with the generic nouns *nganthi* 'meat' and *puka* 'vegetable food' or on of their hyponyms in clauses containing an intransitive verb of rest or motion. These locative NPs contrast with the purposive function of dative discussd at 4.4.7 section [1]. Consider the following two sentences and the consultants' English translations of each:

(245) *nganhi* *wapa-yi* *nganthi-ya*
1sg.nom go-pres meat-dat
"I'm going for some meat"

(246) *nganhi* *wapa-yi* *nganthi-nhi*
1sg.nom go-pres meat-loc
"I'm going hunting (for some meat)'

Sentence (245) refers to an activity directed towards a particular goal which the speaker has in mind; it could be said, for example, when going to ask a friend for meat. Sentence (246) on the other hand has 'meat' as a general goal and hence the translation as "hunting", there is no specific meat in mind and no expectatoin tht the going will be successful in procuing some. One further example which illustrates this nicely is:

(247) *thana* *parru-ni* *ngama-yi*
3pl.nom fish-loc sit-pres
'They are sitting down fishing'

The interrogative *minha* 'what?' is inflected for locative case to enquire about a goal; *minhanhi* translates into English as 'why?'. An example is (19) in 3.2.7. *minhanhi* contrasts with the ablative *minhandru* 'why?' – see discussion of example (20).

(d) to indicate an object of comparison. In clauses containing the adverb *marla* 'more' (4.3.1) locative case NPs signify the object with which something is compared. Example include (154) to (156) above.

(f) to indicate the non-controlled cause of a more or less temporary physiological or mental state. Here the predicate consists of the copula *ngana-* 'to be' plus an abstract noun in instrumental function (inflectd for ergative case) – see 4.4.3 section [2D]. Instances of such locatives can be found in (210) and (211).

(g) marking noun phrases in intransitive clauses derived by the addition of *-tharri-* to transitive roots (3.5.6, 4.7). Locative marks the complement of an anti-passive verb derived from a 2B root (see 4.7.2), as in:

(248) *karna* *karlka-tharri-yi* *wilha-nhi*
man.nom wait for-ap-pres woman-loc
'The man is waiting for the woman'

Locative case can also be used to mark the 'agent' of a passive derived from a 2D root (4.7.3), as in:

(249) *kupa* *thintha-tharri-yi* *wilha-nhi*
child.nom lose-pass-pres woman-loc
'The child got lost on the woman'

An alternative to locative in these passive sentences is ergative (in instrumental function) as seen in example (219). There is further discussion of these constructions at 4.7.3.

4.4.5 Ablative. Like locative case NPs, noun phrases in ablative case hve both local and non-local functions; the former are questioned by *wardayarindru* 'from where?' but the latter are not. Some of the non-local functions of ablative are semantically causal and overlap with various intrumental functioins of ergative discussed under 4.4.3.

[1] local functions – ablative case NPs basically specify the point of origin or departure for a situation. This can be a spatially located point, as in the following sentences involving motion verbs:

(250) *paya* *waka-waka* *durnka-yi* *kapi-ndru*
bird redup-small.nom emerge-pres egg.nom
'Baby birds come out of eggs'

(251) *nhawu* *thika-rna* *wara-yi* *ngura-ndru*
3sgnf.nom return-ptcple aux-pres camp-ablat
'He returned from the camp'

or with non-motion verbs the ablative NP can refer to the place of origin of a noun phrase involved in the action, as in:

(252) *nganthi* *nhandru* *dama-yi* *ngurra* *muku-ndru*
meat.acc 3sgf.erg cut-pres shin bone-ablat
'She cuts the meat off the shin bone'

(253) *nganha* *yundru* *kurlka-yi* *thurru-ndru*
1sg.acc 2sg.erg save-pres fire-ablat
'You save me from the fire (by pulling me out of it)'

Ablatives can also specify the place from which an action or event originates, as in the example:

(254) *ngathu* *yinha* *ngara-yi* *punga-ndru*
1sg.erg 2sg.acc hear-pres hut-ablat
'I hear you from the hut'

Sentences like (254) are understood as the subject being inside the hut and the object outside it – the perception originates from the location of the hut. Ablative case noun phrases can also indicate the temporal starting point for a situation. NPs of this type can contain a time word, as in:

(255) *nhawu* *karari* *ngama-yi* *waru-ndru-rlu*
3sgnf.nom today-loc sit-pres long.ago-ablat-still
'He's still living today since long ago'

or a noun with temporal or locational reference (see the list of items under 4.4.4 section [1] above):

(256) *waldra-ndru* *malthi-ri-yi*
heat-ablat cool-inchoat-pres
'After being hot (it) becomes cool'

(257) *pirdarra-ndru* *thalara* *kurda-rnanhi*, *ngarda-nhi* *kantha*
drought-ablat rain.nom fall-imperfds then-loc grass.nom

purnka-yi
grow-pres
'If it rains after a drought the grass grow'

or a noun referring to stages of human life (see also 4.4.4 section [1]), for example:

(258) *ngathu* *nhinha* *pirna-nganka-rna* *wanthi-yi* *kanku* *waka-ndru*
1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc big-caus-ptcple aux-pres boy small-ablat
'I reared him from a small boy'

As noted at 3.2.7 it proved impossible to elicit an interrogative corresponding to these temporal noun phrases. Consultants rephrased the questions so as to use the simple locational *wintha* 'when?'

[2] non-local functions – the non-local semantic functions of ablative (apart from (c) below) partly overlap with instrumental functions of ergative discussed at 4.4.3 section [2]. The full set of ablative non-local functions (and some contrasts with instrumental) are:

(a) specifying the materials out of which something is made. Clauses in which these ablative NPs occur contain a verb of construction (listed in sections [2b] of 4.4.3) and an agent in ergative case. An example is:

(259) *thana-li* *pirli-pirli* *nganka-rna* *wanthi-yi* *para-ndru*
3pl-erg redup-bag.acc make-ptcple aux-pres hair-ablat
'They made a little bag from (human) hair'

The materials of production can also be expressed by an ergative case NP in instrumental function (see 4.4.3). However, there seem to be two differences between the two cases. Firstly, there is a difference in 'focus' or 'perspective' – instrumental indicates the materials WITH which something is constructed whereas ablative indicates that FROM which it is made. Secondly, the transitive subject of a sentence containing an ablative NP cannot be left unspecified as it can when the instrumental is used. Thus, while (202) above is grammatical the following sentence was rejected categorically by Diyari speakers: **pirlipirli ngankarna wanthiyi parandru*.

(b) a noun phrase in ablative case can specify the reason or cause why something happpens if the predicat denotes a state (i.e. is non-verbal – see 4.2) or a process expressed in the form of an intransitive verb. Intransitive process verbs include de-transitivized stems (3.5.6) and inchoatives (4.10.1). Examples of these ablatives are (sentence (262) is from a mythological text):

(260) *punnga* *nhungkarni* *malhantyi* *thupu-ndru*
lung 3sgnf.dat.nom bad smoke-ablat
'His lungs are bad from smoke (i.e. smoking)

(261) *pula* *nandra-mali-yi* *wilha-ya* *yawarra-ndru*
3dl.nom hit-recip-pres woman-dat word-ablat
'They were fighting on account of the woman's words'

(262) *marda* *karku* *pantyi-rna* *wanthi-yi*
stone.nom red ochre.nom become-ptcple aux-pres

kinthala *kumarra-ndru*
dog blood-ablat
'The stones became red ochre from the dog's blood'

As an alternative to ablative here, it is possible to use ergative in instrumental function signalling non-controlled cause. When the predicate fits the criteria listed above both ablative and ergative can mark the reason or cause; in all other instances ergative is used.

The interrogative *minha* 'what?' is inflected for ablative case and means 'why, from what cause?' – see 3.2.7 and example (20). It contrasts with the locative *minhanhi* (see 4.4.4 section [2d]) meaning 'why, for what purpose?'.

(c) with a verb of locution (either transitive or intransitive) an ablative case NP expresses the thing or person about which word are uttered. The following verbs can co-occur with an ablative NP in this function:

kawukawupa-	'to relate (a story)'
kingka-	'to laugh'
thalpa daka-	'to inform (*lit*. 'to pierce one's ear')
wangka-	'to sing'
yakalka-	'to ask'
yardi-	'to lie, tell lies'
yatha-	'to speak'

Some example of their use are:

(263) *ngathu* *yinha* *kawukawupa-yi* *ngakarni* *mitha-ndru*
1sg.erg 2sg.acc relate-pres 1sgdat country-ablat
'I'll tell you a story about my country'

(264) *wangapula-li* *wima* *wangka-yi* *kunarra-ndru*
Wangapula-erg song.acc sing-pres Cooper's Creek-ablat
'Wangapula is singing a son about Cooper's Creek'

The verb *yatha-* 'to speak' occurs with an intransitive subject NP in nominative or absolutive case, an object-complement specifying the languge spoken, a locative complement specifying the one spoken to and an ablative NP specifying the one or thing spoken about. An example of *yatha-* with is full set of NPs is:

(265) *nganhi* *diyari* *yawarra* *yatha-rna* *wara-yi* *nhungkangu*
1sg.nom Diyari language.nom speak-ptcple aux-pres 3sgnf.loc

yingka-ngundru
2sg-ablat
'I spoke to him about you in Diyari'

4.4.6 Allative. Noun phrases in allative case serve two local functions ('local' in the sense introduced above), one spatial and one temporal: [1] with verbs of motion or induced motion (both transitive and intransitive) an allative case NP indicates the person, thin or place towards which the motion is directed. There is a contrast between allative and locative case with these verbs; locative marks motion INTO a place or ONTO a surface, while allative marks motion TOWARDS a place. Compare examples (224) and (225) above. Further examples of allative case NPs are in (38) and (see also Text 1, line 45):

(266) *nhawu* *thika-yi* *nhungkarni* *ngura-ya*
3sgnf.nom return-pres 3sgnf.dat camp-allat
'He is going back to his camp'

(267) *mingka-ya-lha* *ngathu* *pardaka-rna* *wanthi-yi*
hole-allat-newinf 1sg.erg carry-ptcple aux-pres
'I carried (it) to the hole'

(268) *Dora-ndru* *nhinha* *ngari-lka-yi* *nganthi-nganthi-ya*
Dora-erg 3sgnf.acc go.down-tr-pres redup-meat-allat
'Dora takes him down to the animals'

[2] when the head of the NP is a temporal location nominal allative case marks the time until which a situation continues. It specifies the ending point of some action, event or process. An example is:

(269) *nhingki-ya* *ngaldra* *thurara-lha* *ngana-yi* *thangkuparna-ya*
here-near-loc 1dlincl.nom sleep-fut aux-pres tomorrow-allat
'We'll sleep here until tomorrow'

Most commonly, we find the post-inflectional affix *-rlu* (4.12) following the allative case marker in this function adding to the specification of continuity, as in:

(270) *ngayani* *ngama-yi* *nhingki-rda* *mitha-nhi* *kararara-ya-rlu*
1plexcl.nom sit-pres here-vicin-loc country-loc today-allat-still
'We have been living here in this country until today'

(271) *thangkuparna-ya-rlu* *nhandru* *wayi-yi* *puka*
tomorrow-allat-still 3sgf.erg cook-pres food.acc
'She will be cooking food until tomorrow'

Note that deleting the allative case marker in (271) results in a very different translation, namely: 'She will cook food tomorrow only' (see 4.12 for the functions of *-rlu*).

4.4.7 Dative. Noun phrases in dative case in Diyari serve four functions. These functions can be distinguished semantically and syntactically and are: the specification of purpose (or goal), resultant state, beneficiary and possessor (in both alienable and inalienable possession – see also 4.5). Exemplification of these functions and the reasons for distinguishing them are as follows:

[1] purpose – a dative NP can specify the purpose or goal for which an action is initiated. Some examples are (note that in (272) the form of the noun is ambiguous between allative and dative but the pronoun determines the interpretation):

(272) *yula* *wapa-ø-lu* *thanarni* *nyarnikuti-ya*
2dl.nom go-imp-nm 3pldat goat-dat
'You two go for those goats'

(273) *ngathi* *ngapa* *tyili* *paku-rnda* *purri-yi* *ngapa-ya*
1sg.erg water soakage.acc dig-ptcple aux-pres water-dat
'I am digging a soakage for water'

(274) *thana* *pirka-rna* *wara-yi* *marda-ya*
3pl.nom play-ptcple aux-pres stone-dat
'They were playing for money'

It is always possible to paraphrase clauses containing dative NPs in purposive function using an implicated same-subject clause (5.1) where the dative NP is the object of a dependent verb. So, for example, (272) could be paraphrased as:

(275) *yula* *wapa-ø-lu*, *thananha* *nyarnikuti* *mani-lha*
2dl.nom go-imp-nm 3pl.acc goat.acc get-implss
'You two go get those goats'

Dative NPs in other functions (below) do not have paraphrases such as this.

It is important to contrast dative purposive NPs with locative purposive NPs (4.4.4); the former involve a specific goal while the latter mark a general, non specific goal. Compare examples (245) and (246) above.

We also find purposive dative NPs in clauses containing the nouns *mawa* 'hunger', *thardi* 'thirst' and *ngalku* 'desire' (inflected for ergative case and in predicate function (4.4.3)) indicating the thing desired, thirsted or hungered for. Examples are (212) and (213) above. Also of this type is the idiom *kalhu marra-*, literally 'liver turn red', translated by consultants as "be hard up for", as in:

(276) *nganhi* *kalhu* *marra-yi* *puka-ya*
1sg.nom liver.nom redden-pres vegetable food-dat
"I'm hard up for bread"

A more standard English translation of (276) would be 'I'm really in need of some bread'.

[2] resultant state – dative NPs can indicate the result of some action, whether or not it was the result intended by the agent initiating the activity. Examples are:

(277) *nhawu* *puri-rna* *wanthi-yi* *ngapa* *thurru-nhi* *nhari-ya-lha*
3sgnf.nom fall-ptcple aux-pres water fire-loc dead-dat-newinf
'He fell to his death in the boiling water'

(278) *kumarra-ya* *yula* *nandra-mali-yi* *kupa-kupa-wurlu*
blood-dat 2dl.nom hit-recip-pres redup-child-dl-nomin
'You two children fight till you bleed (*lit*. to blood)'

An interesting example occurred in a discussion of Diyari beliefs about geographical and meteorological phenomena. Rosa Warren explained that on summer nights a ring can sometimes be seen around the moon; this is described by the Diyari as:

(279) *pi<u>r</u>a-li* *punga* *wathi-yi* *thala<u>r</u>a-ya*
moon-erg hut.acc build-pres rain-dat
"The moon is building a hut so it will rain'

Sentences with dative case resultant state NPs can be paraphrased by sentences containing an implicated clause and the copula *pantyi-* 'to become' (4.2.2). So, for example, a paraphrase of (279) is:

(280) *pi<u>r</u>a-li* *punga* *wathi-yi*, *thala<u>r</u>a* *pantyi-rnanthu*
moon-erg hut.acc build-pres rain.nom become-implds
"The moon is building a hut so it will come to rain"

[3] beneficiary – dative case can mark the noun phrase referring to the beneficiary of an action provided that the head of the dative NP is animate. That is, dative case NPs can specify the animate being which benefits from a situation. Examples include (57) to (59) and (70) above plus:

(281) *nhulu* *nganthi* *mani-rna* *wara-yi* *kinthala-ya*
3sgnf.erg meat.acc get-ptcple aux-pres dog-dat
'He got some meat for (his) dog'

(282) *nganhi* *wapa-yi* *ngandri*, *puka* *mani-lha*
1sg.nom go-pres mother-dat food.acc get-implss
'I am going for my mother to get some food'

When the verb with which the dative beneficiary co-occurs is transitive it can be cross-referenced in the verb by the benefactive affix *-yirpa-* (3.5.7) or the transitivizer *-ipa-* (3.5.6). Examples are (58), (59) and (70) above.

[4] possessor – dative case NPs may also function adnominally (see 4.1.1) to indicate the possessor of some alienably or inalienably possessed person or thing. Exmples of this include (37) above – see also 4.5.1 below, where dative is contrasted with other means of indicating possession.

Adnominal datives which are pronouns may be further case-marked when they occur as the last or only constituent of a noun phrase. Table 3.7 sets out the inflected forms; examples are (37) and (38). No other type of NP in Diyari can involve two instances of case marking.

Some or all of these functions are often marked by a suffix of the form *-ku* in Australian languages (Blake in Dixon (1976:241-4), Blake, 1977:35-43). The dative case markers in Diyari, namely *-ya* ~ *-nhangka* ~ *-rni* do not appear to be related in from to this widespread *-ku*. Ngamini and Yaluyandi have dative *-ngka* and *-ngga* respectively marking exactly the same functions as in Diyari above.

4.5 Possession

There are a number of ways in which the semantic concept of possession or ownership is expressed syntactically in Diyari. They include the use of nominal derivational affixes (4.5.3, 4.5.4), juxtaposition (4.5.2), the dative case (4.4.7, 4.5.1) and a derived verb 'to have' (4.5.5). In the following sections each of these will be discussed and compared.

4.5.1 Genitive. A noun phrase referring to a person or thing which owns or possesses another person or thing can occur indative case functioning adnominally (4.4.7). The possessed object may be semantically part of the possessor or distinct from it. Thus,

both alienable and inalienable possession may be marked by dative case, for example, we find alienable possession in (37) and:

(283) *nhulu* *kurdu* *paku-yi* *wilha-ya* *wana-li*
3sgnf.erg hole.acc dig-pres woman-dat digging stick-erg
'He is digging a hole with a woman's digging stick'

but inalienable possession in the following (see also Text 1, line 5):

(284) *yini* *thika-mayi* *nhuwa* *yingkarna-ya*
2sg.nom return.imper-emph spouse 2sgdat-allat
'You go back to your husband'

(285) *nhandru* *nguna* *kurra-yi* *nhungkarni* *yarkarla-nhi*
3sgf.erg arm.acc put-pres 3sgnf.dat neck-loc
'She puts (her) around around his neck' [

With body parts and certain other types of inalienably possessed NPs (see 4.5.2) juxtaposition is an alternative to the use of dative case. In texts there is a decided preference for juxtaposition and relatively few examples like (285) (which is, however, from a narrative text).

The relative order of genitive and head NPs depends upon the category of the possessor phrase; if it is a pronoun then it may precede (as in (285)) or follow (see (284)) the head noun. When following the head the pronoun takes the case marking of the whole noun phrase. Other genitive NPs must **precede** the possessed element - see (283) for example.

4.5.2 Inalienable possession. As a preferred alternative to the use of adnominal datives, a possessed NP which is an inalienable part of the person or thing which possesses it can occur simply juxtaposed to the possessor. The possessor is not marked for dative case but occurs in a form appropriate to the syntactic role played by the possessed part. That is, both possessor and possessed are marked for the same syntactic function.

In 4.4.3 sectioin [2] I argued that body parts can occur in instrumental functions marked for ergative case; example are (197) and (198). In these circumstances possessor and possessed do not agree in case since the former will be in nominative or absolutive case (marking intransitive subject function) while the latter will be in ergative case.

There are five types of inalienably possessed nouns which occur in juxtaposition with the possessor phrase, namely:

[1] parts of the body – examples include the following:

(286) *yini* *milki* *tyanma-yi-lha*
2sg.nom eye.nom be.open-pres-newinf
'Your eyes are open now'

(287) *nhulu* *nganha* *mara* *nandra-rna* *wara-yi*
3sgnf.erg 1sg.acc hand.acc hit-ptcple aux-pres
'He hit my hand'

There is an interesting example, (104) above (from Text 1, line 38), where both means of indicating possession are found in a single noun phrase; dative for a kinship term and juxtaposition for a body part possessed by the person named by that term.

[2] bodily excretions and liquids such as *kuna* 'faeces', *kipara* 'urine', *kumarri* 'blood', *kangu* 'sweat', found in sentences like (262) above and:

(288) *nganhi* *kangu* *ngaka-yi*
1sg.nom sweat.nom flow-pres
'I am sweating (*lit*. my sweat is flowing)'

[3] spiritual essences such as *thipi* 'life', *mangara* 'soul', *yawula* 'spirit' and *purka* 'conscience', as in:

(289) *yundru* *nganha* *thipi* *kurlka-rna* *wara-yi*
2sg.erg 1sg.acc life.acc save-ptcple aux-pres
'You saved my life'

(290) *ngathu* *nhinha* *purka* *danga-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc conscience.acc hunt.away-ptcple aux-pres
"I frightened him"

Consultants translate *purka* as "conscience" but I am not sure of its exact reference.[10] It occurs in ergative case (iinstrumental function) when used predicatively (4.4.3); *purkali ngana-* is translated as "to be sorry for". The word *mungara* refers to the soul which ascends into the sky after death and contrasts with *yawula* which remains on earth to be questioned by the *kunki* 'native doctor'.

[4] characteristic noises such as *kunngara* 'sound of movement in the distance', *kaldra* 'sound of human voices in the distance', *ngayarla* 'sound of human voices in the vicinity' and *ngaru* 'sound of an identifiable human voice, echo'. An example is (see also (546) below):

[10] Reuther defines <burka> in his dictionary as 'attitude; disposition; turn of mind', (not 'conscience', as has always erroneously been assumed hitherto. The conscience is much rather indicated by <ngara> = 'heart').

(291) *ngathu* *puluka* *kunngara* *ngara-yi*
1sg.erg bullock.acc noise.acc hear-pres
'I can hear the sound of cattle moving'

[5] the noun *tharla* 'name', seen in sentences such as:

(292) *thana-li* *nganha* *tharla* *dika-rna* *wara-yi*
3pl-erg 1sg.acc name.acc name-ptcple aux-pres
'They said my name'

For the Diyari, as elsewhere in Australia, names are individual and not inherited. They are inalienably possessed and it is impossible for two Diyari to have the same name. Juxtaposition to indicate possession with exactly these categories of nominals has been reported elsewhere in Australia (see, for example, Dixon, 1977a: 361 and Donaldson, 1980: 230).

4.5.3 Proprietive. The proprietive or 'having' affix is a nominal derivational affix of the form *-nthu* (3.2.1 section [6]). The proprietive is suffixed to nouns and adjectives which function adnominally. When following the other NP constituents they take the case marking of the NP as a whole, as in (7) above and (296) and (297) below. They can be separated from the head of their NP which must then also be marked for case – see example (12).

Nominals derived by the addition of proprietive to a noun or adjective can also function as stative non-verbal predicates (see 4.2.1), as in:

(293) *nhawu* *karna* *nganka-nthu*
3sgnf.nom person.nom beard-prop
'That man has a beard' or 'That man is bearded'

They may also occur with the copula *ngana-* 'to be' (4.2.2):

(294) *nhawu* *karna* *nganka-nthu* *ngana-yi*
3sgnf.nom person.nom beard-prop be-pres
'That man is bearded'

There is no difference in meaning between sentences like (293) and (294).

The proprietive is used in a number of semantic functions:
[1] describing the characteristics of:

(a) a human being – the characteristic may be some physical feature of the person described, including alienable things as in (293) and:

(295) *pinarru* *pali-rni* *wara-yi* *wima-nthu*
old man.nom die-ptcple aux-pres song-prop.nom
'The old man died with his songs'

(296) *kanku* *kundrukundru-nthu-yali* *nganha* *yakalka-yi*
boy cough-prop-erg 1sg.acc ask-pres
'The boy with a cough is asking me'

and inalienable body parts, as in:

(297) *nganhi* *yatha-rna* *wara-yi* *kanku* *marni-ntha-nhi*
1sg.nom speak-ptcple aux-pres boy fat-prop-loc
'I spoke to the fat boy'

Human characteristics also include kinship relationships established between the person described and some other human bieng(s). An example is:

(298) *mayi*, *yini* *nhuwa-nthu*
well 2sg.nom spouse-prop
'Well, are you married?'

(b) a non-human animate – here only physical characteristics are expressed by pproporietive, an example being (note that the dog described in (299) is being contrasted with one whose tail had been docked):

(299) *kinthala* *nhura-nthu* *yatha-yi*
dog tail-prop.nom say-pres
'The dog with a tail is barking'

(c) an inanimate thing – again marking physical characteristics:

(300) *ngathu* *nganthi* *marni-nthu* *thayi-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg meat fat-prop.acc eat-ptcple aux-pres
'I ate the fatty meat'

Another means of expressing physical attributes with all these types of nouns is to use the adjective *pirna* 'big' with the characteristics, instead of *nthu*. Some examples are:

(301) *thana-parra* *marni* *pirna*
3pl.nom-there fat big
'Those are fat'

(302) *nhawu-ya* *karna* *nganka* *pirna*
3sgnf.nom-near man.nom beard big
'This man is bearded'

Abstract nouns which take ergative case when used predicatively (4.4.3) can also occur in this type of construction, for example we have the Thirari sentence:

(303) *nhawu* *kanku* *thirri* *pirna* *ngana-rnda* *purri-yi*
3sgnf.nom boy.nom danger big-ptcple be-ptcple aux-pres
'That boy is dangerous'

An alternative to (303) is the uses of *thirri* in ergative case, i.e. *nhawu kanku thirriyali nganarnda purriyi*. This sentence seems to be equivalent to (303). Characteristics of a place are also usually specified using a noun plus *pirna*, for example:

(304) *dam-tha* *pulyurru* *pirina* *ngana-rnda* *purri-yi*
dam.nom-old.inf mud big be-ptcple aux-pres
'The dam is muddy'

although occasionally proprietive is found with descriptions of places, as in:

(305) *ngaldra* *wapa-yi* *mitha* *thurra-ntha-ni*
1dlincl.nom go-pres country fire-prop-loc
'Let's go to a place with firewood'

Ngamini has no affix cognate with Diyari *–nthu* and uses either *-mara* (cognate with Diyari kin.prop – see 4.5.4) or the adjective *pirna* to express physical characteristics. An example of the latter is:

(306) *nganyi* *wapa-yi* *nhungkarnamu* *nganka* *pirna-ngka*
1sg.nom go-pres 3sgnf.allat beard big-allat
'I am going to the bearded one'

[2] describing a human at rest with:

(a) something inanimate, an example is:

(307) *kupa* *waka-waka* *pirki-rna* *ngama-yi* *kira-nthu*
child redup-small.nom play-ptcple sit-pres boomerang-prop.nom
'The small child is sitting down playing with a boomerang'

(b) a non-human animate:

(308) *nhani* *mankarra* *thurara-yi* *kinthala-nthu*
3sgf.nom girl.nom lie-pres dog-prop.nom
'The girl is lying with some dogs'

(c) a human being, as in:

(309) *nganhi* *nhuwa-nthu* *ngama-yi*
1sg.nom spouse-prop.nom sit-pres
'I sitting with (my) wife'

In examples (307) to (309) it is possible to use locative case instead of the proprietive affix (see 4.4.4 section [2c]). There seems to be a meaning difference between the two expressions, however, epecially when the verb in the sentence is one of rest or position; locative indicates a locational orientation whereas proprietive involves a closer, more intimate relationship (see also below). Thus, consultants gave the following example ans its translation (cf. (309)) showing the orientation reading of locative:

(310) *nganhi* *ngapira-nhi* *ngama-yi*
1sg.nom father-loc sit-pres
"I'm stopping near father"

There are two circumstances under which locataive and not the proprietive MUST be used. Firstly, when the referent of the accompanying NP is definite and marked by a pronoun functioning as a determiner (4.1.1) or contains a dual or plural derivational suffix (3.2.1) then proprietive cannot be used. Thus, we find:

(311) *nhani* *mankarra* *thurara-yi* *thana-ngu-ya* *kinthala-nhi*
3sgf.nom girl.nom lie-pres 3pl-loc-near dog-loc
'The girl is lying with those dogs'

and also the following (see also (6) and (243) above):

(312) *kanku-wurlu* *ngama-yi* *thari-wara-ngu*
boy-dl-nom sit-pres youth-pl-loc
'The two boys are sitting with the youths'

When the referents of the (intransitive) subject NP and the accompanying NP are both human and of the same sex the locative case must be used. So, for example, consultants rejected:

(313)* *mankarra* *thurara-yi* *wilha-nthu*
girl.nom lie-pres woman-prop

in favour of:

(314) *mankarra* *thurara-yi* *wilha-nhi*
girl.nom lie-pres woman-loc
'The girl is lying with a woman'

They also drew a semantic distinction between the use of locative and proprietive when the sex of the two referents was different. Rosa Warren offered and translated the following two sentences:

(315) *mankarra* *thari-nthu* *thurara-yi*
girl.nom youth-prop.nom lie-pres
"The girl sleeps with a young man"

(316) *mankarra* *thari-nhi* *thurara-yi*
girl.nom youth-loc lie-pres
"The girl camps with a young man"

She explained that a girl described by (315) would be a "bad girl" acting immorally. The proprietive indicates a closer, more intimate relationship between the participants than does locative. Interestingly, replacing *thari* in (315) with *nhuwa* 'spouse' removes the illicit connotation because the two would be married and "that would be alright".

I found exactly this contrast in Ngamini for the use of *-mara* proprietive versus the *-mu* locative. Thus, consultants offered the following sentence:

(317) *mankarra* *parra-yi* *warlungku-mu*
girl.nom lie-pres youth-loc
"The girl is camping with a young man"

but accepted both locative and proprietive when *nhiwa* 'spouse' was substituted for *warlungku*, i.e. *nhiwa-mu* and *nhiwa-mara.*

[3] describing a human agent moving with or accompanied by:

(a) something inanimate, as in:

(318) *kupa* *mindri-yi* *makita-nthu*
child.nom run-pres gun-prop.nom
'The child is running with a gun'

(318) *karna*, *nhawu* *wakara-yi* *yawarra-nthu*
person.nom 3sgnf.nom come-pres word-prop.nom
'The man is coming with a message'

If the inanimate thing accompanying the agent is assisting their movement the ergative case (in instrumental function – see 4.4.3) rather than proprietive must be used.

(b) a non-human animate, as in:

(320) *karna*, *nhawu* *nhantu-nthu* *thika-yi*
person.nom 3sgnf.nom horse-prop.nom return-pres
'The man is coming back with a horse'

If the man in (320) is riding the horse then ergative must be used instead of proprietive – see example (199).

(c) a human, for example:

(321) *nhawu* *kupa-nthu* *wapa-yi*
3sgnf.nom child-prop.nom go-pres
'He is going with a child'

Sentences like (321) are rare in the Diyari material collected. There seems to be a strong pregerence for the use of locatie in this context (4.4.4) or even ergative in instrumental function (4.4.3 section [2e]).

[4] indicating a time or season – when questioned during elicitation, consultants accepted sentences such as the following as grammatical:

(322) *pi<u>r</u>a-nthu* *ngayani* *wapa-yi*
moon-prop.nom 1plexcl.nom go-pres
'We go in the moonlight'

but in actual usage preferred locative case to proprietive. I found no examples like (322) in texts so it may be ony marginally acceptable.

Topic A of Dixon (1976) contains a discussion of proprietives in a number of Australian languages. Some languages use proprietive to mark mental state or cause of a state – in Diyari ergative and locative have these semantic functions (see 4.4.3, 4.4.4).

4.5.4 Kinship proprietive. The nominal derivational suffix *-ma<u>r</u>a* (3.2.1) is added to a noun or adjective root deriving a noun which can function adnominally just like proprietive forms. The kinship proprietive has two semantic functions in Diyari:

[1] it forms a collective noun when added to a kinship term so that N-*ma<u>r</u>a* means 'a group of people one of whom is called 'N' by the others'. For non-reciprocal relationships the term for the most senior member is usually employed, although others (including the term for a junior member) can be used depending upon the emphasis

expressed by the speaker. So, for example, a pair of sisters would normally be *kaku-mara (kaku* 'older sister') but *ngathata-mara (ngathata* 'younger sibling') could also be used. However, *ngathatamara* is ambiguous between 'a group of sisters' and 'a group of brothers' (or, of course, 'a group of sisters and brothers') because *ngathata* is unmarked for sex (*kakumara* is also ambiguous, but in a different way; it could also be used to refer to a female and her younger brothers).

Pronouns which accompany or anaphorically refer to a collective noun derived by suffixing *-mara* must be non-singular, i.e. dual or plural. Examples of this are (9) and (218) above and:

(323) *pula* *ngapiri-mara* *wapa-yi* *ngura-ndru*
3dl.nom father-kin.prop.nom go-pres camp-ablat
'The father and another are going from the camp'

Other members of the collective set can be specified by instrumental NPs in ergative case (4.4.3 section [2e]); an example is (218) above.

Collective nouns derived by *-mara* can also function as predicates (with or without the copula *ngana-*) expressing some attribute of the subject. An example is Text 1, line I and:

(324) *pula* *nhuwa-mara* *ngana-yi*
3dl.nom spouse-kin.prop be-pres
'They are a married couple'

[2] it indicates 'with' or 'having' and is identical in function to the proprietive described at 4.5.3 above. Consultants accept either *-nthu* or *-mara* in all the examples given above with no difference in meaning. The two affixes are functionally identical.

Ngamini has an affix *-mara* with both proprietive and kinship collective semantic functions. There is no equivalent to Diyari *-nthu* in this language (see notes in Breen (1976c:295-6)).

4.5.5 The verb 'to have'. Both Diyari and Thirari have a verb which translates into English as 'to have'. It is the stem derived from *ngama-* 'to sit, stay' by the addition of the transitivizer *-lka-* (3.5.6, 4.8.1), that is, *ngamalka-*. Ths affix *-lka-* normally indicates that the transitive object is to be understood as accompanying the subject; however *ngamalka-* has become lexicalized as a verb of possession. Compare the following two sentences:

(325) *nhawu* *karma* *ngama-yi* *kinthala-nhi*
3sgnf.nom person.nom sit-pres dog-loc
'The man is sitting with a dog'

(326) *nhulu* *karna-li* *kinthala* *ngama-lka-yi*
3sgnf.erg person-erg dog.nom sit-tr-pres
'The man has a dog'

Example (326) indicates ownership but (325) refers only to (more or less temporary) spatial orientation between the man and the dog.

The transitive object NP of *ngamalka-* must be indefinite but can refer to any type of entity except a body part. Other inalienably possessed nouns do occur with this verb, for example:

(327) *yundru* *karna* *tharla* *ngama-lka-yi*
2sg.erg person name.acc sit-tr-pres
'Do you have an Aboriginal name?'

We also find instances of kinship terms:

(328) *yundru* *kaku* *ngama-lka-yi*
2sg.erg older sister.acc sit-tr-pres
'Do you have an older sister?'

and nouns referring to human beings, as in (10) above. Noun phrases containing *pani* 'none' (3.2.2) can also occur as the object of *ngamalka-* indicating that the subject does not have a certain thing. Examples include (231) above and:

(329) *ngathu* *marda* *pani* *ngama-lka-yi*
1sg.erg stone none.acc sit-tr-pres
'I have no money'

In Ngamini the verb 'to have' is *ngamaka-* where *ngama-* means 'to sit' and *-ka-* is an applicative transitivizer cognate with Diyari *-lka-*. In both languages 'to have' is quite freely used and is not more marked than any of the other means of expressing possession.

4.6 Word order and topicaliation

The order of words within noun phrases and verb phrases has been discussed and illustrated above (4.1.1, 4.1.2). In the followign sections I discuss the order of words in the clause and a topicalization construction which can disturb usual word order. The placement of interrogative words is also discussed and illustrated (4.6.3).

4.6.1 Word order. The order of sentential constituents in Diyari is not so free as in other Australian languages, such as Dyirbal (Dixon, 1972:59) and Warlpiri (Hale 1979, Austin and Bresnan 1995). In texts and elicitation there are clear word order

preferences to which the great majority of sentences conform; derviations from these preferences are rare and occur in pragmatically marked circumstances. So, for example, in transitive clauses the usual order of words is transitive subject preceding transitive object preceding verb phrase. However, the marked order P A VP does occur in text examples such as the following which is a response to a question focusing on the P noun phrase referent:

(330) [*minha-ri-yi* *yini*] *nganha* *nhandru*
what-inchoat-pres 2sg.nom 1sg.acc 3sgf.erg

pardaka-rna *wara-yi*, *kutyi* *wandra-lha*
take-ptcple aux-pres devil.acc show-implss
"[What's wrong with you?] She took me to show me the devil"

Other sentences with orders deviating from the A P VP pattern occur in similarly marked discourse contexts.

The word order preferences in Diyari for sentences in pragmatically unmarked contexts are the following:

(a) predicates, both those containing a verb and those not, tend to occur in clause-fina or close to clause-final position. Clause-initial position for predicates is found in at least two marked circumstances. Firstly, when a sentence questions a predicate the response to it can have its predicate in clause-initial position. An example is (see also Text 1 lines 72 and 73):

(331) [*minha* *thana* *thurru* *putha* *maṟu*?]
what 3pl.nom fire ash black.nom

ngakarni *puka* *thana-parra* *maṟu*
1sgdat food 3pl.nom-there black.nom
'[What are those black ashes?] Those black (things) are my food'

An instance involving a verbal predicate is in Texts 1, lines 125 and 126. Other examples of sentence-initial predicates occur when speakers repeat part or all of a previous sentence adding further information, as in:

(332) [*ngayani* *wiṟaṟi-rna* *wanthi-yi*] *wiṟaṟi-rna*
1plexcl.nom go about-ptcple aux-pres go about-ptcple

wanthi-yi *paṟupaṟu* *ngayani* *tyukurra-nhi*
aux-pres everywhere 1plexcl.nom kangaroo-loc
'[We went about.] Went about everywhere we did for kangaroos'

(b) transitive subject noun phrases usually precede transitive object noun phrases – examples may be found above and in Texts 1 and 2. Thus, the usual order of word in a simple sentence is A P Verb, although occasionally A Verb P and P A Verb are found (see (330) and Text 1, lines 13, 22, 53 and 94). Intransitive subject noun phrases almost invariably precede the predicate, that is, S Verb order is normal. The only major deviation from this order is found in imperatives; it is sometimes the case that an imperatives; it is sometimes the case that an imperative verb occurs clause-initially followed by the addressee noun phrase (preceded or followed, optionally, by other constituents). A text example is the following:

(333) *pirki-ya-mayi* *ngakangu* *karakara* *yula*
play-imper-emph 1sg.loc near 2dl.nom
'You two play close to me!'

(c) predicate determiners and nominals functioning as adverbial modifiers usually occur immediately before or immediately after the predicate – see (333) above and examples in section 4.3.

(d) some particles always occur clause-initially (4.11), some in second position and others, such as *pinthi* 'rumoured' are found on the clause margins, that is, initially or finally.

(e) instrumental noun phrases (4.4.3) usually occur before the verb phrase or immediately after it – see examples in 4.4.3 section [2].

(f) noun phrases in other cases, i.e. locative, allative, ablative and dative are usually placed after the predicate. Examples are in 4.4.4 to 4.4.7 above.

(g) interrogatives of all types ALWAYS occur sentence-initially – this is discussed and exemplified at 4.6.3.

The interplay of these various preferences can be seen in Texts 1 and 2 in Appendix A. It is important to note that nominal constituents in Diyari can be left unspecified if it is clear from the context what meaning the speaker intends to convey.[11] Thus, subjects and/or objects need not appear with verbs if the context enables interpretation of the intended meaning. The non-occurrence of transitive subjects has been mentioned for verbs of construction (see example (202)) but the same phenomenon occurs with all other types of verbs, for example:

(334) *mayatha* *nganha* *wanthi-yi*
boss.acc 1sg.acc search-pres
'(They) search for me, the boss'

(335) *nganha* *kupa* *danka-rna* *wanthi-yi* *nhaka*
1sg.acc child.acc find-ptcple aux-pres there.loc
'I was born there', literally '(Mother) found me there'

[11] Diyari could thus be described as a 'pro drop' or 'zero anaphora' language.

Neither subject nor object is overt in the following example from a text (the preceding context is also given here):

(336) [*wardayari* *nhawu* *kanku*] *matya* *manka-manka-rna*
where-loc 3sgnf.nom boy.nom already redup-find-ptcple

wara-yi
aux-pres
'[Where is the boy?] Have (you) found (him) already?'

For further examples of this phenomenon see Texts 1 and 2 (see especially Text 1 lines 18, 27, 29, 36, 54, 59 and 64).

4.6.2 Topicalization. Noun phrases in Diyari can be topicalied when a speaker wishes to establish a particular referent (or referents) and then comment upon it (or them). Topicalized NPs must be definite, that is, assumed by the speaker to be uniquely identifiable (see 4.1.1). There are two syntactic correlates of toicalization:

(a) the noun phrase is placed in sentence-initial position set off by a slight pause (indicated in the examples by a comma).

(b) a third person pronoun agreeing in number, gender (in the singular) and case occupies the position in the sentence that the NP would usually occupy. When the topic consists of a conjoined NP (as in Text 1, line 1) then the determiner agrees in number with the total number of participants referred to by the conjuncts.

Examples of topicalized NPs include (148) and the following:

(337) [*ngathu* *thalara* *nganka-ya,* *kurda-rnanthu*] *thalara* *marda*,
1sg.erg rain.nom make-past fall-implds rain stone.nom

ngathu *nhinha* *matha-ya*
1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc bite-past
'[I made the rain fall.] The rain stone, I bit it'

(338) *karni-nhi*, *nganhi* *nhungkangu* *yatha-rna* *wara-yi*
person-loc 1sg.nom 1sg.loc speak-ptcple aux-pres
'The man, I talked to him'

Note that personal names can be topicalized and hence cross-referenced by a thrid person pronoun. Within a noun phrase, names cannot co-occur with pronouns functioning as determiners (4.1.1). An example of a topicalized name is:

(339) *tyirimiri-nha*, *pulali* *nhanha* *nhayi-ya*
name-acc 3dl.erg 3sgf.acc see-past
'Tjirimiri, they saw her'

4.6.3 Questions. In Diyari, polar questions – requiring a yes/no answer – have the same form as statements but are marked by a rising intonation at the end of the sentence. There are no morphological reflexes of the contrast between the two sentence types.

There are a number of interrogative words of various morphosyntactic classes used for asking non-polar questions (see 3.2.7, 3.3.3, 3.4.2, 3.5.11). These interrogatives must occur in sentence-initial position; in non-initial position an indefinite interpretation is required (compare (39) and (41) above, for example). If the interrogative is part of a phrase then it occurs sentence-initially followed by all other phrasal constituents with which it is construed. Clear examples of this are (43) and (44) above (repeated here for convenience) where the interrogative *warda* must be followed by the pronoun and noun of its NP:

(340) *warda* *nhulu* *pirta-li* *pula* *thirri-mali-yi*
wh 3sgnf.erg stick-erg 3dl.nom fight-recip-pres
'Which stick are they fighting with?'

Similarly, in (42) we find *warli* 'who?' followed by a pronoun and in (10) *wardaruntya* 'how many' followed by the noun *kupa* 'children'. When the interrogative verbs (3.5.11) *minhari-* 'become what' and *minhanganka-* 'do what' are used, they are placed in sentence-initial position followed by all other verb phrase constituents (if any), such as auxiliaries. Examples are (97) to (99) above and the following (from Text 1, line 76):

(341) *minha-nganka-lha* *ngana-yi* *ngaldra*
what-caus-fut aux-pres 1dlincl.erg
'What shall we do?' (Text 1 line 80)

The topic of question formation has been little studied by linguists working on Australian languages. Some languages are like Diyari in that they require interrogatives to be sentence-initial, for example Kalkatungu (Western Queensland – see Blake, 1969: 67-68), Warlpiri (Hale, 1979: 65), Garawa (Northern Territory – see Furby & Furby, 1977: 76-78) and Payungu, Thalanyji, and Tharrkari (Western Australia – data from my unpublished fieldnotes). Others do not seem to have this requirement (examples in Dixon (1972, 1977a) suggest that Dyirbal and Yidiny are of this latter type – the syntax of questions is not discussed in either grammar).

4.7 *-tharri-* constructions

Transitive and di-transitive verbs in Diyari the derivational suffixes *-tharri-* and *-mali-* (3.5.6); the latter deriving an intransitive stem with reciprocal meaning (3.5.6 section [4]). The affix *-tharri-* has a number of functions depending upon the verb class of the

stem to which is is suffixed. In the following sections these functions are discussed and exemplified.

4.7.1 Reflexive. When suffixed to a root of class 2A (see 3.5.5) *-tharri-* derives a stem with reflexive meaning. Such stems indicate that the transitive subject performs some action upon themself, as in:

(342) *nganhi* *murruwa-tharri-yi*
1sg.nom scratch-refl-pres
'I scratch myself'

which contrasts with:

(343) *ngathu* *yinanha* *murruwa-yi*
1sg.erg 2sg.acc scratch-pres
'I scratch you'

These reflexive sentences can also include an inalienably possessed body part noun (see 4.5.2) in which case the reflexive verb indicates that the subject is acting upon a part of themself. An example is:

(344) *nganhi* *mara* *dama-tharri-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.nom hand.nom cut-refl-ptcple aux-pres
'I cut my hand'

The verbs of perception *nhayi-* 'to see' and *ngara-* 'to hear' are also in class 2A; in reflexive form they indicate that the subject perceives the image or sound of themself, as in the Thirari example:

(345) *nhawu* *nhayi-tharri-rnda* *purri-yi* *ngapa-nhi*
3sgnf.nom see-refl-ptcple aux-pres water-loc
"He's looking at himself in the water"

An example of *nhayi-* plus benefactive and reflexive (inflected for imperative mood) is (66) in 3.5.8.

In order to emphasize that an action is reflexive the noun *muntha* 'self' can be used in construction with the verb carrying *-tharri-*, as in:

(346) *nhawu* *muntha* *nandra-tharri-yi*
3sgnf.nom self.nom hit-refl-pres
'He's hitting himself'

We also find *muntha* in normal transitive sentences such as the following, where it is ergative case in agreement with the subject. In these sentences *muntha* is an emphatic:

(347) *nhulu* *muntha-li* *thayi-rna* *wara-yi*
3sgnf.erg self-erg eat-ptcple aux-pres
'He ate (it) himself'

Di-transitive verbs can also take *-tharri-* as a reflexive derivation; it indicates that the subject gives, shows or names themself something. The direct object (the thing given or shown or the name applied) can appear with these reflexive verbs (see 4.3.2), as in the following (cf. (182)):

(348) *nhani* *marda* *yingki-tharri-yi*
3sgnf.nom stone.acc give-refl-pres
'She gives herself money'

This is one of the test for distinguishing between the direct and indirect objects of a di-transitive (4.3.2 section [2]). One further example, said of birds whose name is similar in phonetic shape to the Diyari version of their call, is:

(349) *thana* *paya* *tharla* *dika-tharri-yi*
3pl.nom bird.nom name.acc name-refl-pres
'Those birds name themselves'

4.7.2 Anti-passive. The affix *-tharri-* is used in Diyari to mark a syntactic process which relates the following pair of sentences where the verb is of class 2B:

(350) *ngathu* *nhanha* *wilha* *karlka-yi*
1sg.erg 3sgf.acc woman-acc wait.for-pres
'I wait for the woman'

(351) *nganhi* *karlka-tharri-yi* *nhangkangu* *wilha-nhi*
1sg.nom wait.for-ap-pres 3sgf.loc woman-loc
'I wait for the woman'

The noun phrase of the transitive clause corresponds to the S NP of the derived intransitive clause while the P NP corresponds to an NP in locative case. A syntactic correspondence of this type has been termed by Silverstein (1976) the 'anti-passive' (ap) – see also Blake (1977: 20) and Dixon (1979). The eight verb roots in class 2B which take *-tharri-* as an anti-passive marker are listed under 3.5.6 section [5b].

Sentences (350) and (351) were translated in exactly the same way by consultants and I was unable to find any semantic difference between them. However, for one verb the transitive and anti-passive verbs differed in meaning; the examples are:

(352) *ngathu* *yinanha* *danka-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg 2sg.acc find-ptcple aux-pres
'I found you'

(353) *nganhi* *danka-tharri-rna* *wara-yi* *yingkangu*
1sg.nom find-ap-ptcple aux-pres 2sgloc
'I found you'

Sentence (352) can be said when someone is found after a period of purposeful looking for them, while (353) describes a situation where the finding is accidental. Consultants translated (353) as "I ran into you". The anti-passive thus marks non-volitionality on the part of the agent NP.

Hopper & Thompson (1980) have 'volitionality' as one of their 'transitivity components' and describe how languages can correlate decreased volitionality with a decrease in transitivity. In Yidiny (Dixon (1977a: 282)) *-:dji-n*, which normally derives anti-passives, is added to verbs when the A NP is an (non-volitional) intimate noun. In this usage *-:dji-n* does not affect case-marking of NPs in the clause.

Class 2C verbs in Diyari also take *-tharri-* and derive an anti-pasive stem except that the P NP construed with such a stem is case-marked like the P NP of a normal transitive clause. Compare the following two sentences (noting the consultants' translations):

(354) *nhulu* *karna-li* *nhinha* *nganthi* *thayi-yi*
3sgnf.erg person-erg 3sgnf.acc meat.acc eat-pres
"The man is eating this meat"

(355) *nhawu* *karna* *nhinha* *nganthi* *thayi-tharri-yi*
3sgnf.nom person.nom 3sgnf.acc meat.acc eat-ap-pres
"The man is having a feed of this meat"

There is a meaning difference between sentences such as (354) and (355) along the lines suggested by their translations. When discussing the difference consultants stated that (354) would be an appropriate answer to the question (in English) 'Who ate this meat?' while (355) would be an answer to 'What is the man doing?'. That is, the anti-pasive verb focuses on the activity being carried out (predicate focus) while the transitive clause focuses on the agent (agent focus). There is a strong preference for these anti-pasive stems to be followed in the VP by *ngama-* 'to sit' (see 4.1.2) which normally occurs with predicates indicating a prolonged, continuous activity. An example is:

(356) *nhawu-wa* *wima* *wangka-tharri-rna* *ngama-yi*
3sgnf.nom-dist song.acc sing-ap-ptcple sit-pres
"He's sitting down singing away"

The object of these anti-passive verbs is usually non-specific or generic. Thus, (356) could be used to describe someone singing (say, to entertain himself) while the

corresponding transitive clause would be used to refer to the performance of a particular song or song cycle. A further example of this non-specific object reading is:

(357) *ngandri* *puka* *wayi-tharri-rna* *ngama-yi*
mother.nom vegetable.food.acc cook-ap-ptcple sit-pres
'Mother is sitting down cooking food'

In Kalkatungu (Blake, 1977: 17-18) there is a contrast similar to this. When their object is non-specific, verbs can appear with an S NP and the object in dative case (although there is no overt anti-passive marking on the verb). Hopper & Thompson (1980) show that, in a large number of languages, clauses with unspecified objects are typically lower in 'transitivity' (reflected elsewhere in the clause) than those where the object is specific.

4.7.3 Passive. When *-tharri-* is sufixed to a verb root of class 2D it derives a stem with a passive process meaning. The patient undergoing the process ocurs as the S NP while the instigator, if expressed, is marked as locative or, less frequently, ergative (in instrumental function). In the majority of examples of this construction in the corpus the instigator is inanimate or left unexpressed. Compare the following two sentences:

(358) *wathara-li* *nhinha* *marna* *ngandrawalka-rna* *wara-yi*
wind-erg 3sgnf.acc door.acc close-ptcple aux-pres
'The wind closed the door'

(359) *nhawu* *marna* *ngandrawalka-tharri-rna* *wara-yi* *wathara-nhi*
3sgnf.nom door.nom close-pass-ptcple aux-pres wind-loc
'The door got closed by the wind'

Example (359) can also be expressed (as in (219)) with 'wind' in instrumental function:

(360) *nhawu marna ngandrawalka-tharri-rna wara-yi wathara-li*

Passive sentences such as (359) and (360) are used when the situation referred to arises accidentally and not as a direct result of some purposeful action on the part of an agent. They are usually translated as 'got' passives in English; some further examples are:

(361) *thana* *kupa* *thintha-tharri-yi* (*wilha-nhi*)
3pl.nom child.nom lose-pass-pres woman-loc
'The children got lost (on the woman)'

(362) *darla* *kiltya-tharri-yi* *ngapa* *thurru-yali*
skin.nom peel-pass-pres water fire-erg
'The skin peeled off because of the boiling water'

The verb *-thuka-* 'to carry on the back' occurs with *-tharri-* and forms a passive stem meaning 'to ride'. Here, the locative case NP does the action of carrying but it is the S NP which is more or less in control of the situation; the control is total when the locative NP is a non-human anmate as in:

(363) *nganhi* *thuka-tharri-yi* *nhantu-nhi*
1sg.nom carry-pass-pres horse-loc
'I am riding the horse'

but less in sentences like:

(364) *nganhi* *thuka-tharri-yi* *ngandri-nhi*
1sg.nom carry-pass-pres mother-loc
'I am riding on mother('s back)'

It is clear that decreased volitionality is reflected in the passive de-transitivized clauses (see also 4.7.2). Blake (1977: 26) notes that Guugu Yalandji (eastern Queensland) has an affix *-dji* which marks 'passive' with some verbs but anti-passive with others. The exact meaning difference signalled by the 'passive' is not clear from the examples he provides. Ngamini *-tyarri-* and Yandruwandha *-yindri-* (Breen, 2016) also occur in passives with the same meanings as Diyari *-tharri-* forms.

4.7.4 Aspectual Function. The affix *-tharri-* also occurs with reduplicated verb roots of all types, intransitive, transitive, and di-transitive. The resulting stem does not differ in transitivity from the root from which it is derived and *-tharri-* marks durative aspect. That is, it indicates a state of affairs which occurs over an extended period of time. When the root to which *-tharri-* is suffixed is inherently momentaneous or punctual then an iterative durative interpretation results. So, for example, from *daka-* 'to pierce, stab' we derive:

(365) *thanali* *mitha* *daka-rdaka-tharri-rna* *wanthi-yi*
3pl-erg ground.acc redup-pierce-dur-ptcple aux-pres
'They were boring the ground'

which one consultant used to describe the drilling of an artesian bore. When the verb root is not inherently punctual then the interpretation is that the situation begins and then extends continuously over a period of time. An example is:

(366) *thana-li* *thayi-thayi-tharri-rna* *ngama-yi*
3pl-erg redup-eat-dur-ptcple sit-pres
'They are sitting down eating'

Intransitive verbs can occur with *-tharri-* in this function. Examples include Text 1 lines 52, 101, 118 and the following:

(367) *thana* *wilha* *yatha-yatha-tharri-yi*
3pl.nom woman.nom redup-speak-dur-pres
'Those women are chatting'

The *-:dji-n* affix of Yidiny (Dixon, 1977a: 289) also occurs with transitive and intransitive verbs without affecting transitivity and marking 'continuous aspect'. Hopper & Thompson (1980) argue that there is a natural connection between the de-transitivizing and aspectual functions of these affixes – a continuous or durative clause is lower in terms of 'global transitivity' (the action is more dispersed and the object less affected) than a canonical transitive, just as reflexive, anti-passive or passive clauses are.

4.8 Transitivizers

4.8.1 *-lka-* constrctions. The affix *-lka-* may be suffixed to intransitive verbs of class 1A or 1B deriving a transitive verb stem. There is a regular syntactic relationship between the syntactic functions of the NPs construed with the stem and those of the root. The A NP of the stem corresponds to the S NP of the root and the P NP corresponds to a locative case NP. This can be summarised as follows:[12]

intransitive	NP_S	NP_{LOC}	V
	|	|	|
transitive	NP_A	NP_{PL}	V-*lka*-

There are two semantic functions marked by *-lka-*:

[1] with verbs of rest or motion the A NP is understood as adopting a position or moving WITH the P NP. When the object is inanimate then the A NP is interpreted as holding it, as in:

(368) *nhulu* *kanku-yali* *pirta* *thika-lka-yi*
3sgnf.erg boy-erg stick.acc return-tr-pres
'The boy is taking a stick back'

Compare this with the following which has a locative of accompaniment (see 4.4.4):

(369) *nhawu* *kanku* *pirta-nhi* *thika-yi*
3sgnf.nom boy-erg stick-loc return -pres
'The boy is going back with a stick'

[12] This relationship can be called an 'applicative construction'. Note that Diyari has only intransitive-base applicatives and no transitive-base applicatives, unlike, e.g. Bantu languages.

When the object is animate then the A NP is understood as causing and directing the motion or rest and is also moving or at rest. Examples are (44), (70) and (268) above, and the following:

(370) *ngathu* *tyipi-tyipi* *thika-lka-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg redup-sheep.acc return-tr-ptcple aux-pres
'I drove the sheep back'

(371) *nhulu* *kinthala* *tharka-lka-yi*
3sgnf.erg dog.acc stand-tr-pres
'He is standing with (his) dog (holding it)'

Note that the transitivised form of *ngama-* 'to sit', i.e. *ngamalka-*, has become lexicalized and means 'to have' (4.5.5). Examples are (326) to (329).

[2] with other verbs in class 1A the addition of *-lka-* derives a verb with a more affective meaning, that is, the P NP is understood as affected and undergoing the action denoted by the verb. An example is *kunalka-* 'to defecate on' in (50) and Text 1, line 78; this verb indicates that the P NP is totally covered in faeces. Contrast the following two sentences also:

(372) *thalara* *kurda-yi* *ngalingu*
rain.nom fall-pres 1dlexcl.loc
'It is raining on us'

(373) *thalara-li* *ngalinha* *kurda-lka-yi*
rain-erg 1dlexcl.acc fall-tr-pres
'The rain is pouring on us'

In (373) the downpour of rain is heavier and the P NP is soaked by it. The verb *kiparalka-* 'to urinate on' similarly denotes complete saturation of the P NP.

Transitive verbs derived by the adition of *-lka-* can be de-transitivised and suffixed with *-mali-* or *-tharri-* (see 3.5.6, 3.5.8 and 4.7). The affix *-mali-* indicates reciprocal action on the part of the (non-singular) S NP and an example of its use is:

(374) *thana* *thika-lka-mali-yi*
3pl.nom return-tr-recip-pres
'They are taking one another back'

When *-tharri-* is used with one of these derived stems it is understood in its passive function (4.7.3), and occurs in examples like:

(375) *nhawu* *thika-lka-tharri-rna* *wara-yi* *ngandri-nhi*
3sgnf.nom return-tr-pass-ptcple aux-pres mother-loc
'He got taken back by his mother'

Sentence (375) is used like (364) above; it could be said of a child being taken back to his home on his mother's back. No examples of *-tharri-* with derived verbs of type [2] were recorded, so its function with verbs like *kunalka-* is unknown.

Ngamini and Yaluyandi have an affix *-ka-* that functions like Diyari *-lka-* with verbs of motion and rest, e.g. Ngamini *wapa-ka-* 'to go with, take', *tharrka-ka-* 'to stand with'.

4.8.2 *-ipa-* and *-ma-* constructions. The affixes *-ipa-* (used IB and IC roots) and *-ma-* (used with IE roots) derive transitive verbs which are causatives semantically. The following correlation holds between the NP syntactic roles in the clauses in which the stems and roots occur:

intransitive		NP_S	V
		|	|
transitive	NP_A	NP_P	V-*ipa-/-ma-*

The following pair of sentences illustrate this:

(376) *nhawu* *kupa* *tharka-yi*
3sgnf.nom child.nom stand-pres
'The child is standing'

(377) *nhulu* *karna-li* *nhinha* *kupa* *tharka-ipa-yi*
3sgnf.erg person-erg 3sgnf.acc child.acc stand-tr-pres
'The man stands the child up'

Sentence (377) is understood as the man physically placing the child in a standing position. That is, these are manipulative causatives (Shibatani (1976:31)) requiring physical contact between causer (A NP) and causee (P NP). When the object is animate, as in (377) these causatives contrast with periphrastic causatives formed with the verb *nganka-* 'to cause, make' and an implicated clause (see 5.1.3). Thus, we also have:

(378) *nhulu* *karna-li* *nganka-yi*, *nhawu* *kupa*
3sgnf.erg person-erg cause-pres 3sgnf.nom child.nom

tharka-rnanthu
stand-implds
'The man makes the child stand'

This sentence can only be used to refer to a situation where the man tells the child to stand or forces them to do so by, for example, poking them with a stick. It cannot be used when physical manipulation is involved. Other examples of derived causatives are (51), (52) and (59) in 3.5.7.

The transitiviser *-ma-* has a similar semantic and syntactic force as *-ipa-*, except that in one case the meaning of the derived stem has become restricted. The verb *pali-* 'to die' can be used of animates or inanimates, but *palima-* only takes the noun *thurru* 'fire' as its transitive object, that is, *palima-* means 'to extinguish (a fire)' – 'to kill' is expressed as *nharinganka-* 'to cause to be dead' – see 4.10.3.[13] Also, the derived (synonymous) stems *parnima-* 'to smell' and *panthama-* 'to smell' take an experiencer as their A NP, not an agent (that is, they do not mean 'to cause to smell'). Examples are (68) and (71) above, and the following:

(379) *ngathu* *kilthi* *pantha-ma-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg stew.acc smell-tr-ptcple aux-pres
'I smelt the stew'

Stems derived from intransitive roots by adding *-ipa-* or *-ma-* can be de-transitivized and take the suffixes *-mali-* (reciprocal) and *-tharri-* (in its passive sense – see 4.8.1 and 4.7.3). Examples of such forms are (67), (68) and (71) in 3.5.8.

4.9 Nominalization

There are two means by which nominals may be derived from verbs in Diyari – firstly, by suffixing *-ni* to verb stems (of any class) (4.9.1) and secondly, by suffixing *-yitya* to the participial form of verb stems (see 4.9.2).

When transitive verbs are nominalized a noun in transitive object function can occur preceding the verb root. So, for example, we find:

thina mandra-ni trap' (*lit*. 'foot grasper')
foot grasp-nomin

kupa nandra-rna-yitya child beater' (the Thirari form is *kupa dandrardayitya*)
child hit-ptcple-habit

The object noun in these forms is not an NP – it cannot take a determiner or be modified. Also, the object plus nominalied verb function as a syntactic unit (similar to phrasal compounds – see 4.1.1), although they are phonologically two words (see 2.1). The object MUST immediately precede the verb and no other sentence constituent can intervene between them. The nominalized verb can take a case suffix but the object is never case-marked. Thus, ergative case-marking is seen in:

[13] Reuther's dictionary contains examples of other objects of *pali-ma-* when it is used to mean 'stop by means of an invocatory song', e.g. *wathara palima-* 'to calm the wind (by singing)' and *ngapa palima-* 'to dry up the water (by singing)'.

(380) *puluka* *dama-rna-yitya-li* *marda* *mani-yi*
bullock cut-ptcple-habit-erg stone.acc get-pres
'The butcher is getting the money'

but the following sentence is ungrammatical:

(381) **pulukali damarnayityali marda maniyi*

Another way of stating the syntactic relationship here is to say that the object is syntactically 'incorporated' into the nominalized verb. Clearer cases of object incorporation are found in northern Australian prefixing languages such as Tiwi (Osborne, 1974: 46-50) where the incorporated element occurs between stem and prefixes (see also Dixon (1977a: 465-473) on 'compound verbs' in Yidiny).

With di-transitive verbs, the noun which can precede their nominaliation is the DIRECT object theme (the thing given or shown, or the name applied) and not the indirect object. Thus, a nominalization like:

kupa yingki-rna-yitya 'child giver'
child give-ptcple-habit

cannot mean 'giver (or something) to children'. Further discussion of the contrast between direct and indirect objects may be found at 4.4.2 section [2]. Nouns which function as complements of object-complement intransitive verbs (3.5.2, 4.4.2) may also precede their nominalized verb; in this they function syntactically like transitive object nouns. Some examples are:

muka *thurara-ni* 'sleeping'
sleep lie-nomin

wima *kirli-rna-yitya* 'corroboree dancer' (Thirari *wima kirlirndayitya*)
corroboree dance-ptcple-habit

4.9.1 *-ni* nominalizer. The nominalizer *-ni* is suffixed to verb stems in Diyari and Thirari deriving nominals of two semantic types:

[1] it can derive a noun referring to the inanimate instrument typically used to perform the action designated by the stem. These instrumental nominals are usually derived from transitive verb stems, such as (see also *thina mandrani* under 4.9 above):

parru *parda-ni* 'fishing tackle'
fish catch-nomin

pawa *daka-ni* ‘seed grinder’
seed grind-nomin

but there are some examples of *-ni* with derived intransitives, such as:

warlpardaka-tharri-ni ‘blanket’ (*lit.* ‘cover oneself thing’)
cover-refl-nomin

It is possible to form instrument nominalizations from transitive verbs derived from nouns or adjectives by the addition of the *-nganka-* verbalizer (4.10.3). An example is:

wirlpa-nganka-ni ‘opener’ (*lit.* ‘hole maker’)
hole-caus-nomin

Nominalizations derived in this way can function as adnominal modifiers, as in (108) above, or they may comprise a whole NP and be inflected for case, as in (note that the final *i* of *-ni* neutralizes to *a* when the verb stem is disyllabic – see 2.4.2, so the surface form is *mandranali*):

(382) *thina* *mandra-ni-li* *kinthala* *parda-yi*
foot grasp-nomin-erg dog.acc hold-pres
‘The trap is holding the dog’

[2] it can derive an abstract noun denoting the class of situations denoted by the verb stem. Examples of this type are:

nganka-ni ‘work’
do-nomin

kungka-ni ‘limping’
limp-nomin

thuka-tharri-ni ‘riding’
ride-ap-nomin

They may function as the head of a noun phrase, as in (173) above, but, more typically, they occur as adnominal modifiers of a head noun which they may precede (as in (383)) or follow (384). In the latter position they carry the case inflection when the NP is marked for case (as in (384)):

(383) *nhawu-ya* *ngakarni* *thuka-tharri-ni* *nhantu*
3sgnf.nom-near 1sgdat ride-ap-nomin horse
‘This is my riding horse’

(384) *nhani* *ngama-yi* *kinthala* *kungka-na-nhi*
3sgf.nom sit-pres dog limp-nomin-loc
'She is sitting with the limping dog'

A nominalizer of the shape *-ini* is found in Ngamini, Yaluyandi, Yandruwandha and Yawarawarka (morpheme-inital *i* replaces stem vowels, as in Diyari – see 2.4.1). In Diyari the affix marking dependent perfective clauses whose subject is different from that of the main claue has the form *-ni* (see 3.5.9, 5.3), however this *-ni* cannot take case inflections and so differs from the nominalizer *-ni*.

4.9.2 *-yitya* nominalizer. The *suffix -yitya* which occurs as a nominal stem forming affix denoting habitual association (3.2.1) is also added to the participial form of verbs deriving an agentive noun. Thus, we find:

-rnayitya	in Diyari
-rndayitya ~ -rdayitya	in Thirari

where the Thirari allomorphy environment is exactly the same as the participial (see 3.5.9 section [5]). Nouns derived by the addition of these suffixes are used to refer to animate beings who habitually carry out the action specified by the verb stem. The stem may be transitive or intransitive, for example (see also exampes in 4.9):

mindri-rna-yitya 'runner'
run-ptcple-habit

yindra-rna-yitya 'crier'
cry-ptcple-habit

yawarra yingki-rna-yitha 'preacher' (*lit.* 'giver of words')

Examples of the use of these nominalizations in sentences are (380) and the following:

(385) *yawarra* *yingki-rna-yitya-li* *nhinha* *kartyimalka-rna* *wanthi-yi*
word give-ptcple-habit-erg 3sgnf.acc turn over-ptcple aux-pres

diyara-nhi
Diyari-loc
'The preachers translated (*lit*. 'turned over') it (i.e. the Bible) into Diyari'

Note that nouns formed by this nominalizer can take stem-forming affixes, such as the dual or plural, as in *yawarra yingkirnayityawurlu* 'two priests'.

Crowley (1978: 36) reports that Bandjalang has an affix *-nginy* which is added to nominals to indicate 'habitual resident' and to verbs to indicate 'habitual actor'.

4.10 Verbaliation

There are three processes by which verbs may be derived from nominals in Diyari. Two of these, namely 'inchoative' (4.10.1) and 'product' (4.10.2), derive intransitive verb roots while the third, 'causative' (4.10.3), produces transitive roots. These are discussed and exemplified in the following sections.

4.10.1 Inchoative. The inchoative verbalizer derives intransitive verb roots and has the allomorphs:

-ri-	added to a stem containing an intervocalic apical consonant or consonant cluster (see 2.2.1 for a list of apicals and 2.3.2 for the relevant clusters)
-ri-	elsewhere

The following list gives typical stems and the allomorph they select:

-ri-		*-ri-*	
wardu	'short'	*malhantyi*	'bad'
yartu	'sated'	*malthi*	'cool'
karla	'empty'	*muntya*	'sick'
pirna	'big'	*ngapu*	'quiet'
maru	'black'	*ngumu*	'good'
		nguya	'used to'
pani	'none'	*thungka*	'rotten'
miri	'top'	*waka*	'small'
warru	'white'		
pandra	'cooked'		
kaldri	'salty'		

The inchoative is suffixed to adjectives (as in the list above) and to the sub-class of nouns which take the *-kantyi* derivational suffix (3.2.1) and appear in ergative case (instrumental function – see 4.4.3) when used predicatively. Examples involving these nouns are:

thardiri-	'become thirsty'
waldrari-	'become hot'
kilpari-	'become cool'
yapari-	'become afraid'
yunkari-	'become sulky'

Note that clusters of apical consonant plus non-apical, as in *kilpa* 'cold' and *yunka* 'sulkiness' function like non-apicals and hence select the *-ri-* allomorph. Clusters of two apicals, as in *pandra* 'cooked' and *kaldri* 'salty', take *-ṟi-*.

Inchoative verbs denote entry into a state and translate into English as 'become ...' Thus, compare the following two sentences:

(386) *nhawu-ya* *kanku* *pirna*
3sgnf.nom-near boy.nom big
'This boy is big'

(387) *nhawu-ya* *kanku* *pirna-ṟi-yi*
3sgnf.nom-near boy.nom big-inchoat-pres
'This boy has become big'

Sentence (387) implies that the boy was not big before (say, last time the speaker saw him) but has become big since that time. With adjectives and the sub-class of nouns mentioned above, this meaning can also be expressed using the periphrastic construction involving the copula verb *pantyi-* 'to become'. Thus we have the following sentence equivalent to (387) (see also (143) and (144) in 4.2.2):

(388) *nhawu-ya* *kanku* *pirna* *pantyi-yi*
3sgnf.nom-near boy.nom big become-pres
'This boy has become big'

For other nouns or noun plus adjective combinations this is the only way entry into a state can be expressed; inchoative cannot be used. Examples are (140) to (142).

If the entry into a state marked by the inchoative is due to some non-animate cause then the cause may be expressed as an instrumental NP in ergative case (4.4.3), as in examples (206) and (207) above and:

(389) *nhani* *thina* *dapa-ri-yi* *mitha-li*
3sgf.nom foot.nom sore-inchoat-pres earth-erg
'Her feet became sore from the dirt (in her shoes)'

Note that verbalized forms can be inflected for imperative mood if it is semanticaly plausible that the (intransitive) subject NP could control the process of becoming. An example is the folowing commonly heard sentence:

(390) *yini* *ngapu-ri-ya-mayi*
2sg.nom quiet-inchoat-imper-emph
"Shut up!" (*lit*. 'you become quiet!')

Quantifiers and numerals, which are adjectives in Diyari (see 3.2.8), can be verbalized by the inchoative; an example is:

(391)	*thalara*	*parlku*	*pani-ri-rnanhi*,	*dityi*	*mintyi-yi*
	rain	cloud.nom	none-inchoat-imperfds	sun.nom	shine-pres

"When the clouds go away the sun shines"

We also find the interrogative *miinha* 'what' verbalized as *minhari-* 'what happen?' as in (97) and Text 1, line 63. Nominal stems which include derivational affixes (3.2.1) cannot be verbalized, nor can case inflected forms; some Australian languages do verbalize such forms (see, for example, Dixon (1977a:364-8)). Aso, *-ri-* ~ *-ri-* cannot be followed by verbal derivational suffixes (3.5.6, 3.5.7) cf. *-nga-* product (4.10.2) and *-nganka-* causative (4.10.3).

Ngamini and Yaluyandi have an inchoative verbalizer of the form *-ni-* which appears to have exactly the same syntactic distribution as Diyari *-ri-* ~ *-ri-*. Neither language, however, has the periphrastic alternative using a verb like (Diyari) *pantyi-*.

4.10.2 Product. Intransitive verbs may be derived from a restricted class of nouns in Diyari and Thirari by the addition of *-nga-* the product verbalizer; the resulting stem means 'to produce . . .' The nouns to which *-nga-* is added fall into two semantic groups:

[1] nouns which refer to sounds, of which the following are typical:

noun		verb	
karta	'crack'	*kartanga-*	'to crack'
kanpu	'boom'	*kanpunga-*	'to boom, bang'
daltyi	'rattle'	*daltyinga-*	'to rattle'
kandru	'snore'	*kandrunga-*	'to snore'

Some examples of the use of these verbs are:

(392)	*nhawu*	*thurru*	*karta-nga-yi*
	3sgnf.nom	fire.nom	crack-prod-pres

'The fire is crackling'

(393)	*ngathu*	*ngara-rna*	*wara-yi*,	*yini*	*mara*
	1sg.erg	hear-ptcple	aux-pres	2sg.nom	hand.nom

kanpu-nga-rnanhi
boom-prod-imperfds
'I heard you clapping hands'

[2] the noun *thupu* 'smoke', so that *thupunga-* means 'to smoke, give off smoke', as in:

(394) *thana* *thurru* *thupu-nga-rna* *ngama-yi*
3pl.nom fire.nom smoke-prod-ptcple sit-pres
'Those fires are smoking away'

There is also an intransitive verb *thilhinga-* 'to boil' which looks, formally, like a product verbalized form, but **thilhi* does not occur as a free form.

Verbs formed by the addition of *-nga-* to these nouns may be transitivized by the *-ipa-* transitivizer (see 3.5.6, 4.8.2). So, for example, we find:

(395) *wilha-li* *thara* *kanpu-nga-ipa-yi*
woman-erg thigh.acc boom-prod-tr-pres
'The women are clapping their thighs (accompanying singing)'

(396) *nhulu* *thurru* *thupu-nga-ipa-rna* *wara-yi*
3sgnf.erg fire.acc smoke-prod-tr-ptcple aux-pres
'He made the fire smoke'

These transitivized verbs cannot be further de-transitivized by the addition of *-mali-* reciprocal or *-tharri-* in any of its functions (see 4.7).

4.10.3 Causative. In Diyari and Thirari there is a verbalizer of the form *-nganka-* which can be suffixed to noun and adjective roots deriving a transitive verb meaning 'to cause to be . . .' Some examples are:

noun or adjective		verb	
muka	'sleep'	*mukanganka-*	'to put to sleep'
miri	'above'	*miringanka-*	'to lift up'
nhari	'dead'	*nharinganka-*	'to kill'
payirri	'long'	*payirringanka-*	'to lengthen, make long'
kirri	'clever'	*kirringanka-*	'to teach (*lit.* make clever)'

The initial velar nasal of *-nganka-* is often dropped in fast speech, so that forms like *mukangankayi* become [muka:nkei] – see 2.6.

The causative verbalizer is homophonous with a transitive main verb root *ngank-* 'to make, cause'; however, the two are synchronically distinct. Syntactically (and phonologically) derived causative verbs are a single word: nothing can intervene between the root and afix. The main verb *nganka-* on the other hand takes a transitive object NP, which can be separated from the verb by, for instance, a negative particle, as in:

(397) *nhulu* *kira* *wata* *nganka-yi*
3sgnf.erg boomerang.acc not make-pres
'He is not making a boomerang'

Compare this with:

(398) *nhulu* *yinanha* *wata* *nhari-nganka-lha* *ngana-yi*
3sgnf.erg 2sg.acc not dead-caus-fut aux-pres
'He won't kill you'

It is impossible to place *wata* between *nhari* and *-nganka-* in (398). Also, the main verb *nganka-* is in class 2E and cannot occur with *-tharri-* as a de-transitivizer, however, the causative *-nganka-* takes *-tharri-*, marking reflexive, as in:

(399) *thana* *nhari-nganka-tharri-yi*
3pl.nom dead-caus-refl-pres
'They kill themselves'

Further examples of derived causative verbs may be found in Text 1, lines 35 and 87. Note that the interrogative *minha* 'what?' can be verbalized by *-nganka-*, so that *minhanganka-* means 'to do what?'. An example is (98) in 3.5.11; see also (99) where a de-transitivized form of this interrogative verb occurs. There is an example in Text 1, line 86 of *minha-ya-nganka-*, which consists of *minha* followed by the dubiative *-ya* verbalized with *-nganka-*; it seems to have been used by the consultant when the desired adjective to be verbalized was temporarily forgotten (it appears as *payirringanka-* 'make long' in the sentence immediately following *minhayanganka-*).

Ngamini and Yaluyandi have a causative verbalizer of the form *-naka-* and a main verb *nganaka-* 'to cause, make, do'. The fact that these languages have distinct forms provides some comparative support for the claim that Diyari affix *-nganka-* causative and verb *nganka-* 'to cause, make' are synchronically distinct, though probably related diachronically by grammaticisation.

4. 4.11 Particles

In Diyari and Thirari there are eight syntactic words which take no inflectional suffixes and which comprise a distinct word class which can be termed 'particle' (see 3.1.5). The only phonological material which may follow a particle is one or more of the post-inflectional suffixes (4.12).

The co-ordinators *ya* and *kara* (5.6, 5.7) are also uninflected but they never take post-inflectional suffixes – in this they differ from particles.

Particles can occur in a number of positions in the sentence; all may be clause-initial and, except for *pinthi* (see [5]), can also occur as the second word of their clause. The particles *wata*, *pulu*, *kara*, *windri* and *matya* (see below) can occur later in the clause but they are normally found to the left of the element which they have scope over semantically. Note that *kara*, *windri* and *pinthi* are the only particles which may occur clause-finally.

The particles and their semantic functions are as follows:

[1] *wata* 'not' serves to negate a clause or some part of it. *wata* can be used to negate a predicate, either non-verbal (4.2), as in:

(400) *nganhi* *wata* *wanku*
1sg.nom not snake
'I am not a snake'

(401) *nganhi* *wata* *ngumu*
1sg.nom not good
'I am not good'

or one containing a verb phrase, as in:

(402) *minha-ndru* *yura* *wata* *wapa-rna* *wara-yi* *nhingki-wa-nhi*
what-ablat 2pl.nom not go-ptcple aux-pres here-dist-allat
'Why didn't you go there?'

(403) *wata* *ngathu* *yinanha* *ngantya-yi*
not 1sg.erg 2sg.acc like-pres
'I don't like you'

When negating a predicate, *wata* either occurs clause-initially, as in (403) or between the subject NP and the predicate, as in (400) to (402). Clause-initially, *wata* is ambiguous between its predicate negation function and its NP negation function (see below). Thus, while (400) is unambiguous, the following sentence has two possible interpretations:

(404) *wata* *nganhi* *wanku*
not 1sg.nom snake
'I am not a snake' OR 'It is not I who am a snake'

The particle *wata* is also used with verbs inflected for imperative mood (3.5.9) to produce a negative imperative, as in (see also (591), (594), (598)):

(405) *wata* *pirna* *ngundra-tharri-ya-lu-mayi*
not big think-refl-imper-nm-emph
'Don't you two be proud of yourselves!'

(406) *yundru* *wata* *nhinha* *nandra-mayi*
2sg.erg not 3sgnf.acc hit.imper-emph
'Don't hit him!'

A number of languages from eastern Australia have two negative particles, one used in imperative sentences, and one used in other sentence types; for examples see Dixon (1972: 117-118) and (1977a: 372-373), and Crowley (1978: 139). All the languages spoken close to Diyari have only one negative particle, for example Ngamini *wata*, Yaluyandi *walha*, and Yandruwandha *watya*.

The particle *wata* is also used to negate a noun phrase, in which case it occurs immediately before it, as in:

(407) *ngathu* *wata* *nhanha* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg not 3sgf.acc see-ptcple aux-pres
'I didn't see her'

Sentence (407) is actually ambiguous; *wata* could be interpreted as having scope over the following NP, i.e. 'It was not her I saw' or over the NP and the VP, i.e. 'It was not see her that I did'. In order to disambiguate between these two readings it is necessary to add an explanatory clause or sentence, as in:

(408) *ngathu* *wata* *nhanha* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi* [*ngathu* *nhinha*
1sg.erg not 3sg.acc see-ptcple aux-pres 1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc

nhayi-rna *wara-yi*]
see-ptcple aux-pres
'I didn't see her. [I saw him}'

wata is also used to negate adverbial elements – see examples (80) and (159) and the discussion at 4.3.1. The interaction of *wata* with the semantics of the suffix *-rlu* is examined in 4.12 (section [1]).

[2] *pulu* 'cannot' only occurs in clauses containing a verb predicate and indicates an action or event which cannot occur, either because of the nature of the real world, as in:

(409) *pulu* *yini* *nhingki-rda-ndru* *wapa-yi* *kunarra-ya*
cannot 2sg.nom here-vicin-ablat go-pres Cooper's Creek-allat

dityi	*kurnu-nhi*	[*warritha*	*marla*]
day	one-loc	distant	very

'You cannot walk from here to Cooper's Creek in one day. [It is too far]'

or because of the inability of an agent to achieve a desired goal, even after repeated tries:

(410)

[*nganhi*	*malhantyi*]	*pulu*	*ngathu*	*nhinha*	*thurru*	*nandra-yi*
1sg.nom	bad	cannot	1sg.erg	3sgnf.acc	fire.acc	hit-pres

'[I'm no good.] I can't cut this firewood'

Usually *pulu* occurs in sentence-initial position but there are a few examples of it in second position between A and P NPs, as in:

(411)

ngathu	*pulu*	*thananha*	*danga-yi*
1sg.erg	cannot	3pl.acc	hunt away-pres

'I cannot hunt them away'

pulu occurs with the suffix *-rlu* to mean 'cannot yet' – see (446) below. We also find *pulu* preceding the adverb *marla* 'more' to mean 'can no longer' – see example (158) in 4.3.1 section [2].

[3] *kantyi* 'can' has two semantic functions. Firstly, it is used to express the ability of an agent to initiate or undertake some action. In this function *kantyi* only occurs in sentences where the predicate contains a verb phrase; it has the opposite meaning to *pulu*. Examples are (see also (550)):

(412)

ngali	*kantyi*	*yatha-yatha-rna*	*wapa-yi*	*diyari*
1dlexcl.nom	can	redup-speak-ptcple	aux-pres	Diyari.nom

[*ngarla*	*kupa-kupa*	*ngalirni*	*wata*	*ngara-yi*]
but	redup-child	1dlexcldat.erg	not	hear-pres

'We can speak Diyari. [But our children don't understand it]'

(413)

yundru	*kantyi*	*nhinha*	*thurru*	*nandra-yi*
2sg.erg	can	3sgnf.acc-near	fire.acc	hit-pres

'You are able to chop this firewood'

kantyi usually occurs in second position following the subject, as in (412) and (413) however it may also be clause-initial, as in (414), (415) and (550).

The second function of *kantyi* is an epistemic one to express the speaker's opinion that some situation could arise (or could have risen). It is used when making statements about possibilities, as in:

(414) *kantyi* *nhani* *ngarda-nhi* *wapa-rna* *wara-yi*
can 3sgnf.nom behind-loc go-ptcple aux-pres
'She could have gone behind (us)!'

When the sentence describes a situation which is not under the control of an agent then *kantyi* can only be understood in this second function, for example:

(415) *kantyi* *nhawu* *parli-rna* *wara-yi*
can 3sgnf.nom die-ptcple aux-pres
'He could have died'

The force of *kantyi* as an expression of the speaker's opinion seems to be slightly stronger than that of the next particle, *kara*.

[4] *kara* 'maybe' expresses the speaker's opinion that a situation may occur or may have occurred. It is used with non-verbal predicates:

(416) *parru* *pakarna* *kara* *marapu*
fish.nom also maybe many
'There may be lots of fish too'

or in sentences containing a verb:

(417) *nganhi* *kara* *wapa-lha* *ngana-yi*
1sg.nom maybe go-fut aux-pres
'I may go (in the future)'

(418) *pinarru*, *nhawu* *pali-ya* *kara*
old man.nom 3sgnf.nom die-past maybe
'The old man might have died'

Both *kara* and *kantyi* occur as expressions of the speaker's opinions about the likelihood of something happening: the difference between them seems to be that *kantyi* is slightly stronger than *kara*. Both these epistemic 'opinion particles' contrast with *pinthi* discussed in [5] below.

kara has an important function in imperfective dependent clauses (5.2); it can be used to differentiate the conditional 'if X then Y' function of these clauses from their other semantic readings – see example (551) in 5.2.3. Also, *kara* occurs between NPs and sentences functioning as a disjunction 'or' – see 5.7. Ngamini has a cognate particle *kara* with the same functions (see Breen 2006, example (30) in section 8.4).

[5] *pinthi* 'rumoured' indicates that the speaker is not expressing their own opinions or beliefs about a situation but is merely reporting something that they have heard some (unidentified) person(s) say. The English expressions 'it is rumoured/said that . . .' or 'they say that . . .' translate Diyari *pinthi*.

Unlike other particles (see above), *pinthi* always occurs on the clause periphery, that is, it is always the first or last word of its clause. Semantically *pinthi* contrasts with *kara* and *kantyi* (above) as in the following pair of sentences:

(419) *pinthi* *nhawu* *wakara-yi*
rumoured 3sgnf.nom come-pres
'They say he is coming'

(420) *nhawu* *kara* *wakara-yi*
3sgnf.nom maybe come-pres
'He might be coming'

In sentence (419) the speaker does not commit themself to the truth of the utterance; (420), on the other hand, is an expression of a personal opinion. Similarly, *kantyi* is an expression of the speaker's opinion and thus similar in meaning to *kara*. All these particles can be contrasted with the evidential post-inflectional suffix *-ku* (4.12) indicating that the speaker has sensory evidence to back up their stated opinion.

A further example illustrating *pinthi* is:

(421) *thana-li* *waru* *mama-rna* *wanthi-yi* *kupa* *pinthi*
3pl-erg long.ago.loc steal-ptcple aux-pres child.acc rumoured
'It is said that they used to steal children long ago'

Donaldson (1980: 276) describes a post-inflectional suffix in Ngiyampaa which has functions similar to *pinthi*; it indicates that the speaker has linguistic evidence for making a statement. Ngiyampaa also has a suffix which functions just like Diyari *-ku* (4.12 section [7]).

[6] *windri* 'only' has the function of restricting the semantic range of a noun phrase or a predicate. When it has scope over a predicate *windri* indicates that the subject does only certain of a number of possible things; the things not done can be specified by a separate sentence, as in:

(422) *ngathu* *windri* *nhinha* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi* [*wata* *nganhi*
1sg.erg only 3sgnf.acc see-ptcple aux-pres not 1sg.nom

nhungkangu *yatha-rna* *wara-yi*]
3sgnf.loc speak-ptcple aux-pres
'I only saw him. [I didn't talk to him]'

windri can also have scope over a noun phrase, restricting the range of possibilities to its referent(s) only. It can be used with specific NPs; as in Text 1, line 13 and:

(423) *ngathu* *yinha* *kawu-kawupa-yi* *ngapa-ndru* *windri*
1sg.erg 2sg.acc redup-inform-pres water-ablat only
'I'll tell you only about the (flood) water'

or it may delimit a class of referents, as in:

(424) *windri* *mathari-yali* *nhayi-rnda* *purri-yi*
only man-erg see-ptcple aux-pres
'Only initiated men can see (the corroboree)'

(425) *windri* *karna-li* *wama* *thayi-yi*
only person-erg carpet.snake.acc eat-pres
'Only Aboriginal people eat carpet snake'

The first sentence of (422) above could also be understood as an instance of *windri* with scope over a noun phrase, given appropriate context, as in:

(426) *ngathu* *windri* *nhinha* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg only 3sgnf.acc see-ptcple aux-pres

[*wata* *karna* *parlpa*]
not person some
'I only saw him [not someone else]'

(426) *ngathu* *windri* *nhinha* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg only 3sgnf.acc see-ptcple aux-pres

[*wata* *karna* *parlpa-li*]
not person some-erg
'Only I saw him [no-one else did]'

If ambiguity were to arise because of the different scope possibilities of *windri* , then the post-inflectional suffix *-rlu* 'still' (4.12 section [1]) can be attached to the constituent over which *windri* has scope. Thus, the following sentences are unambiguous:

(428) *ngathu* *windri* *nhinha-rlu* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg only 3sgnf.acc-still see-ptcple aux-pres
'I saw only him'

(429) *ngathu-rlu* *windri* *nhinha* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg-still only 3sgnf.acc see-ptcple aux-pres
'Only I saw him'

It is possible to use the particle *wata* 'not' before *windri* to mean 'not ony' as in:

(430) *wata* *windri* *nganhi* *diyari*
not only 1sg.nom Diyari
'I am not the only Diyari' OR 'Not only I am Diyari'

Ngamini has a cognate particle *windi* 'only' – see Breen (2006, examples (10) and (12) in section 8.2.1). There is a Lake Eyre culture hero called *Windipilpanha* 'only eyebrows' who travels on a whirlwind with only his eyebrows showing.

[7] *matya* 'already' indicates that the situation described by the clause in which it occurs took place in the past and is completed at the time of speaking. *matya* thus seems to have a perfective aspect function (Comrie 1976: 52), especially when the verb is inflected for past tense or followed by a past tense auxiliary (3.5.9, 3.5.10). Some examples of its use are:

(431) *matya* *manka-manka-rna* *wara-yi*
already redup-find-ptcple aux-pres
'(1) have found (her) already'

(432) *nhawu* *matya* *purnka-yi* *kanku*
3sgnf.nom already grow-pres boy
'That boy is already grown up'

In this function *matya* occurs quite commonly in imperfective dependent clauses (where it results in an 'after' sequential interpretation – 5.2.3) and perfective dependent clauses (5.4) – examples (555), (557), (580) and (581) below illustrate its use. Because of the semantic conflict in their functions *matya* does not occur in implicated clauses (5.1). In clauses containing the future tense auxiliary it is interpreted not as a marker of completion but as a weak emphatic, as in:

(433) *matya* *ngathu* *nhinha* *yakalka-lha* *ngana-yi*
already 1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc ask-fut aux-pres
"I'll ask him, alright"

These two different functions are seen in consecutive lines of narrative in Text 1, lines 118 and 119.

Unlike other particles *matya* can also function as a predicate, meaning 'alright, OK' as in Text 1, line 97 and the following example from another text:

(434) *matya* *yini* [*thana-ya* *mankarra* *marapu*]
alright 2sg.nom 3pl.nom-near girl.nom many
'You're alright. [There are lots of girls (for you to choose from)]'

It seems that only a first or second person pronoun can be the subject of *matya*. A Diyari sentence commonly used as a greeting is *matya yini*? 'How are you?', to which the usual reply is (*kawu*) *matya nganhi* '(Yes), I'm alright.'

Ngamini has a cognate particle *matya* 'already' – see Breen (2006, examples (6) to (9) in section 8.2.1). The corresponding particle in Yandruwandha is *kali* (note that Yandruwandha *matya* is a temporal adverb meaning 'long ago').

[8] *ngampu* 'almost, about to' only occurs in clauses containing a verb and indicates that the action or event depicted in the clause almost occurs (or occurred); it is not used in sentences denoting some future situation. Examples of its use are (199) above and:

(435) [*nganhi* *thinka* *wirti* *wapa-rna* *wara-yi*] *ngampu* *dityi*
1sg.nom night through go-ptcple aux-pres almost sun.nom

durnka-yi-lha
rise-pres-newinf
'[I've walked all night long.] The sun is almost about to rise'

(436) *nganhi* *ngampu* *muka* *thurara-rna* *wara-yi* [*yundru* *nganha*
sg.nom almost sleep.nom lie-ptcple aux-pres 2sg.erg 1sg.acc

yirtyi-pa-rna *parlka-rna* *wara-yi*
arise-tr-ptcple go on-ptcple aux-pres
'I was just about to go to sleep. [You came along and woke me up]'

ngampu can also be used in imperfective dependent clauses:

(437) *dityi* *nhawu* *ngampu* *wirri-rnanhi-lha*,
sun.nom 3sgnf.nom almost set-imperfds-newinf

nhani *wapa-rna* *kurra-yi* *punga-ndru*
3sgf.nom go-ptcple go away-pres hut-ablat
'As the sun was just about to set she left the hut'

Ngamini has a cognate particle *ngampu* 'almost' – see Breen (2006, examples (13) and (14) in section 8.2.1)

[9] *ngarla* 'but' indicates that the clause in which it occurs describes a situation which is new and which contrasts with some other state of affairs described by a preceding

sentence or clause. It translates into English as 'but, on the other hand'. *ngarla* usually occurs in first position in the clause, or in second position, typically immediately following the subject NP, if there is one. An example is the following, said by Rosa Warren after Leslie Russell had died:

(438) [*ngali* *ngurra* *yatha-rna* *wanthi-yi* *nhungkangu-ka*]
1dlexcl.nom continuous speak-ptcple aux-pres 3sgnf.loc-token

nganhi *ngarla* *kurnu* *yatha-lha* *ngana-yi*
1sg.nom but one speak-fut aux-pres
'[We always used to talk to him (in Diyari).] But (now) I will be talking alone'

Other examples are (226) and (411) above and (462) and (468) below; see also Text 1 lines 13 and 84. An example of *ngarla* in a dependent clause is the following (from Text 1, line 46):

(439) *nhawu* *kanku* *kathi-yi,* *pirta* *ngarla*
3sgnf.nom boy.nom climb-pres tree.nom but

miri-ri-rna *thara-rnanhi*
above-inchoat-ptcple go up-imperfds
'The boy climbed but the tree went up and up (at the same time)'

4.12 Post-inflectional suffixes

There are eight suffixes which may be added to words of any morphological class (except co-ordinators – see 3.1) following any and all other affixes including inflections (3.2.5, 3.5.9). I term these 'post-infectional suffixes'.

The post-inflection suffixes have a number of different semantic functions, mainly relating to the information structure of discourse. It is possible for a single (inflected) word to be followed by up to three of these suffixes; the observed sequences are described by the positional formula:

1	2	3
-rlu	*-tha*	*-yina*
-yari	*-lha*(*-ku*)	
	-ldra(*-matha*)	

No examples of the use of four suffixes in succession have been recorded. An instance of a single word taking three of these suffixes is:

(440) *thana* *pirta-yari-tha-yina*
3pl.nom stick-like-old.inf-tag
'They're like sticks, aren't they?'

The functions of the suffixes are as follows:

[1] *-rlu* 'still' has three semantic functions depending upon the syntactic status of the word to which it is suffixed. Firstly, when suffixed to elements functioning as predicates *-rlu* has an aspectual meaning: it indicates that the situation described is continuing at the same time indicated by the predicate, having begun at a previous point in time. We find *-rlu* with verbs, following tense inflections, as in the following (example (442) is in Thirari):

(441) *muramura* *ngama-yi-rlu* *dityimingka-nhi*
mythical.being.nom sit-pres-still Ditjimingka-loc
'The muramura mythical beings still live at Ditchiminka'

(442) *nhawu* *kupa* *thurara-rnda* *purri-yi-rlu*
3sgnf.nom child.nom sleep-ptcple aux-pres
'The child is still sleeping'

Compare (442) with (72) and (73) in 3.5.9. We also find *-rlu* after implicated clause suffixes (5.1.1, 3.5.9) where it results in an 'until' translation – see examples (488) to (490) below. *-rlu* also occurs with non-verb predicates (4.2.1), as in:

(443) *thipi-rlu* *nhawu-parra*
alive-still 3sgnf.nom-there
'He is still alve'

Equally common is the use of *-rlu* with the copula *ngana-* (4.4.2) in this type of construction:

(444) *nhani* *mankarra* *ngana-yi-rlu*
3sgf.nom girl be-pres-still
'She is still a girl'

When affixed to the negative polarity particles *wata* 'not' and *pulu* 'cannot' (4.11), *-rlu* indicates that the situation described by the clause has not or cannot happen yet, although it may at some future time. Two examples are:

(445) *wata-rlu* *nhawu* *yirtyi-yi*
not-still 3sgnf.nom arise-pres
'He is not up yet'

(446) *pulu-rlu* *nhani* *kupa-kupa* *wapa-yi*
cannot-still 3sgf.nom redup-child.nom go-pres
'The baby cannot walk yet'

Note that there is a semantic contrast of scope in negative sentences depending upon the placement of the suffix; compare the following pair of sentences:

(447) *wata* *nhawu* *thurara-yi-rlu*
not 3sgnf.nom sleep-pres-still
'He is not still sleeping'

(448) *wata-rlu* *nhawu* *thurara-yi*
not -still 3sgnf.nom sleep-pres
'He is not sleeping yet'

Finally, when suffixed to other parts of speech *-rlu* serves a contrastive function, narrowing the range of possible referents of a word and excluding some possiblilities. It can be translated into English as 'only', as in:

(449) *katyi-rlu* *nhulu-parra* *waltha-rna* *wirari-yi*
spear.acc-still 3sgnf.erg-there carry-ptcple go about-pres
'He carries only spears about'

The function of *-rlu* in (449) is to single our 'spears', in contrast to, say, boomerangs or other weapons which could be carried about. Examples with other parts of speech are:

(450) *yundru* *nhanha-rlu* *mani-rna* *wara-yi*
2sg.erg 3sgf.acc-still get-ptcple aux-pres
'Did you get only her?'

(451) *nhani* *yaru-ka-rlu* *wapa-lha* *wirri-yi*
3sgf.nom like.that-token-still go-fut aux-pres
'She was walking just like that'

In this function *-rlu* is similar to the particle *windri* 'only' (see 4.11 section [6]) except that the scope of *windri* can be interpreted variably. The post-inflectional suffix is used in the same clause with *windri* as a means of disambiguating the scope of the particle – examples (428) and (429) illustrate this.

When *-rlu* is suffixed to noun phrases inflected for ablative or allative case (4.4.5, 4.4.6) it indicates continuation (usually of motion) as far as the place marked as allative or ablative. The following examples illustrate this meaning (see also (255), (270) and (271) above for *-rlu* with temporal location nominals marking 'since' and 'until'):

(452) *ngurra* *muku* *kima-ri-rna* *wara-yi* *pantya-ya-rlu*
shin bone.nom swelling-inchoat-ptcple aux-pres knee-allat-still
'The shin swelled up as far as the knee'

(453) *nhawu* *thika-rna* *wara-yi* *marda-ndru-rlu*
3sgnf.nom return-ptcple aux-pres stone-ablat-still
'He came back all the way from the hills'

[2] *-yari* 'like' indicates that a thing or situation is similar to or resembles the thing or situation denoted by the word to which it is suffixed. It can be used with predicates:

(454) *mankarra* *nhani-parra* *thar̲i-yari* [*ngama* *pani*]
girl.nom 3sgf.nom-there youth-like breast none
'That girl is like a young man. [(She has) no breasts]'

(455) *thalar̲a* *parlku* *nhaka-ldra* *thar̲a-yi*,
rain cloud.nom there-loc-addinf go up-pres

kurda-lha-yari
fall-implss-like
'The rain clouds are coming up again like it will rain'

(456) *ngathu* *nhinha-yari* *ngar̲u* *ngar̲a-rna* *wara-yi*
1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc-like voice.nom hear-ptcple aux-pres
'I heard a voice like his'

and with words in other syntactic functions, for example:

(457) *kupa-kupa-wurlu* *pirki-rna* *wir̲ar̲i-yi* *nhungkangu*
redup-child-dl-nom play-ptcple go about-pres 3sgnf.loc

kar̲akar̲a *wanku* *pani-nhi-yari*
near snake none-loc-like
'The two children play about close to him (the mythical serpent) as if there were no snake'

[3] *-ldra* 'additional information' (addinf) can be translated into English as 'in addition' or 'as well'. With non-predicates it indicates that the referent of the word to which it is suffixed has been established by prior discourse as a topic of conversation and the speaker is providing further comment upon this topic, mentioning it again for this reason. An example from a discussion of birds whose names sound like the Diyari version of their call is:

(458) [*paya* *parlpa* *tharla* *dika-tharri-yi*] *kurkurku*
bird some.nom name.acc name-refl-pres kurkurku

paya,	*nhawu*	*dika-tharri-yi*	*tharla-ldra*
bird.nom	3sgnf.nom	name-refl-pres	name.acc-addinf

'[Some birds name themselves.] The *kurkurku* bird, he names himself too'

With predicates, *-ldra* is added to states of affairs which are new to the discourse and which provide additional explanation of the previous context:

(459)

[*nganhi*	*thurru*	*wilpara-nhi*	*wapa-rna*	*wara-yi*]	*ngarda-nhi*
1sg.nom	fire	train-loc	go-ptcple	aux-pres	then-loc

thika-yi-ldra	*nhingki-rda-nhi*
return-pres-addinf	here-vicin-allat

'[I went in the train.] Then I came back here as well'

The word *nhakaldra* based on the locative form of the location nominal *nhaka* 'there' (3.3.3) occurs quite commonly in texts and is translated by consultants as 'again'. An example of its use is (455) above.

Yandruwandha has a post-inflectional suffix *-ldra* which Breen (2004: 200) translates as 'on the other hand'

[4] *-matha* 'identified information' indicates that the speaker is asserting that he can identify the situation(s) or referent(s) denoted by the word to which it is suffixed. *-matha* very commonly follows the *-ldra* suffix (described above) and in fact, has never been found directly suffixed to inflected verbs, although it can immediately follow other parts of speech.

Most commonly, *-matha* occurs in clauses where the previous discourse context involves some discussion of the identity of a particular entity. Clear examples occur in Text 1 lines 73, 105 and the following from a text about bird calls (cf. (458)):

(460)

marnpi,	*yani-ldra-matha*	*nhawu*	*yatha-lha*
pigeon.nom	like this-addinf-ident	3sgnf.nom	speak-fut

ngana-yi,	*mungka-rna-ldra-matha*
aux-pres	coo-imperfss-addinf-ident

'The bronzewing pigeon, it will call like this too, cooing as well'

An example of *-matha* suffixed to an NP whose referent the speaker has identified is seen in the Thirari sentence:

(461)

nhinha-parra-matha	*ngaldra*	*parda-rnda*	*purri-yi*
3sgnf.acc-there-ident	1dlincl.erg	catch-ptcple	aux-pres

"That is the one we caught"

[5] *-tha* 'old information' is suffixed to words which denote a situation or referent(s) mentioned in previous context and which the speaker assumes the hearer can immediately call to mind (cf. Chafe's (1976:30) definition of 'given (or old) information'). In conversation, parts of one speaker's utterance are commonly repeated by their interlocutor with *-tha* suffixed to the identical constituent(s); the effect seems to be that the hearer acknowledges the utterance and encourages the speaker to continue. Consider the following brief exchange:

(462) Speaker A: *karari* *ngarla* *pilki-lha*
today-loc but different-newinf
'But these days (it's) different'

Speaker B: *karari-tha*
today-loc-old.inf
'These days'

In narratives, *-tha* may be suffixed to an element which has not been mentioned previously but which the speaker assumes the addressee(s) can identify. An example is:

(463) [*kinthala* *mandru* *pula-ya*] *nhawu-ya* *kurnu-tha*
dog two 3dl.nom-near 3sgnf.nom-near one.nom-old.inf

nhurru *pirna* *marla*
speed big very
'[These are two dogs.] This one is very fast'

In Text 1, line 128 we find another example of this: *-tha* is suffixed to the nouns in the dependent clause which refer to two of the main protagonists in the story. Another example from this Text is the following (line 107) where it is clear that the story-teller assumes the audience will know what should be done upon finding the empty camp:

(464) [*pani* *nhawu-ya*] *paku-rna-tha* *nhinha* *mitha*
none 3sgnf.nom-near dig-ptcple-old.inf 3sgnf.acc ground.acc
'[There's nothing here.] (They) dug the ground (where the fire had been)'

The affix *-thu* in Ngamini appears to have the same function as Diyari *-tha*

[6] *-lha* 'new information' is used to mark a new participant or situation which a speaker is introducing into the discourse for the first time (cf. Chafe's (1976:30) definition of 'new information'). When used with noun phrases *-lha* introduces new referents, as in (465) and (466). Example (465) is from a text about men returning from an ochre expedition to the Flinders Ranges; they catch a train as far as the Nine Mile siding near Marree and:

(465) [*ngarda-nhi* *than* *nhaka* *ngar<u>i</u>-yi* *partyarna* *karna*]
then-loc 3pl.nom there-loc go down-pres all person.nom

ngarda-nhi *thina-li-lha* *waltha-rna* *thika-yi*
then-loc foot-erg-newinf carry-ptcple return-pres

nhingki-rda-nhi *Frome-nhi*
here-vicin-allat Frome-loc
'[Then all the men get down there (from the train).] Then (they) carry (the ochre) back on foot to here in the Frome Creek'

(466) [*nganhi* *ngampu* *wapa-rna* *wara-yi*] *yini-lha*
1sg.nom almost go-ptcple aux-pres 2sg.nom-newinf

ngarda-nhi *waka<u>r</u>a-yi*
then-loc come-pres
'[I almost went.] Then YOU came along'

Another clear example is to be found in (277) in 4.4.7.

When it is used with predicates, *-lha* signals a new state of affairs being added to the discourse context by the speaker. This usage is discussed briefly at 3.5.9 – see examples (73) to (75). Other instances of *-lha* with predicates are (435), (437), (462) and:

(467) [*ngathu* *nhinha* *yinpa-rna* *wara-yi* *rapiti* *nandra-lha*]
1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc send-ptcple aux-pres rabbit.acc kill-implss

nhawu *thika-yi-lha* *rapiti-nthu*
3sgnf.nom return-pres-newinf rabbit-prop.nom
'[I sent him to kill a rabbit.] He's coming back now with a rabbit'

It is also possible to use *-lha* with a particle (4.11) when some new modal element, for example, is added to the discourse, as in:

(468) [*ngardu* *karna-li* *thayi-rna* *wanthi-yi*] *karar<u>i</u>*
nardoo.acc person-erg eat-ptcple aux-pres today-loc

ngarla *wata-lha* *thayi-yi*
but not-newinf eat-pres
'[Long ago people used to eat nardoo seeds.] But now (we) don't eat them'

Ngamini and Yaluyandi also have *-lha* affixes with apparently the same functions as the cognate Diyari post-inflectional suffixes. Donaldson (1980: 244ff.) reports that Ngiyampaa too has segmental means for indicating topical information; it seems that in most other languages of the world word order and intonation contours are the main means of expressing these discourse concepts (See Halliday 1967, Lyons (1977: 500-511) and references therein).

[7] *-ku* 'sensory evidence' is suffixed to words indicating a new participant or situation which the speaker is adding to the discourse and for which they believe there is sensory evidence confirming what they say. Typically, *-ku* indicates belief based on sight or hearing, as in (see also Text 1 line 52):

(469) [*warrukathi* [*tʰuktʰuk*] *kanpu-nga-rna* *parlka-rna* *tharri-rnanhi*
emu.nom boom-prod-ptcple go_on-ptcple cont-imperfds

ngarda-nhi *karna* *yirtyi-yi*] *warrukathi-ku*, *nhawu*
then-loc person.nom arise-pres emu.nom-sense 3sgnf.nom

kanpu-nga-rna *ngama-yi*
boom-prod-ptcple sit-pres
'[If an emu comes along booming [tʰuktʰuk] someone gets up (and says).] "There's an emu making a sound"'

(470) [*ngathu* *nhinha* *nhayi-ya*] *nhawu* *wakara-yi-ku*
1sg.erg 3sgnf.acc see-past 3sgnf.nom come-pres-sense
'[I saw him.] He's coming'

There are examples where more than one sense could be involved, as in:

(471) *ngapa* *thalara* *wakara-lha* *ngana-yi-ku*
water rain.nom come-fut aux-pres-sense
'It looks/feels/smells like rain will come'

(471-1) *minha-ri-yi-ku* *ngaldra-rni* *ngathata*
what-inchoat-pres-sense 1dlincl-dat younger.sibling.nom
"Something must have happened to our younger brother?" [Di-t001s063]

Some examples of the use of *-ku* involve assertions based on sensory evidence and also on cultural knowledge; a clear example is Text 1, line 113. Another instance is the following, from a discussion of a species of bird:

(472) [*yundru* *nhayi-rna*, *tharra-rnanhi*, *yundru* *ngarda-nhi*
2sg.erg see-imperfss fly-imperfds 2sg.erg then-loc

nguyama-yi]	*ngapa-ku*	*yarla-ya*	*parra-yi*
know-pres	water.nom-sense	elsewhere-near	lie-pres

'[If you see (the birds) flying you know then.] There is water lying near by'

It is possible to use both *-lha* 'new information' and *-ku* together, as in Text 1 line 118 and line 119, and the following example from a text about the medicinal plant *paralka*:

(473)	[*ngarda*	*yundru*	*nhayi-yi*,	*thirti-yari*	*ngapa*	*nhawu*
	then	2sg.erg	see-pres	tea-like	water.nom	3sgnf.nom

kartyi-rnanhi]	*matya-ku*	*nhawu*,	*pandra-lha-ku*
turn-imperfds	alright-sense	3sgnf.nom	cooked-newinf-sense

'[Then you see the water change like tea.] It's ready, (it's) cooked now'

Ngiyampaa, according to Donaldson (1980: 275), also has a post-inflectional suffix marking assertions based on sensory evidence. The Diyari sentence (470) should be compared with (419) and (420) where the 'belief' particles *pinthi* and *kara* are employed.

[8] *-yina* 'tag' is an emphatic added to utterances to call for the addressee's reaction. In English translations it corresponds to a combination of heavy stress and a tag question, such as 'It was X, . . . don't you agree?'. An example of its use is:

(474)	*nhawu-ya*	*tyuka*	*maru-yina*
	3sgnf.nom-near	sugar	black-tag

'This is BROWN sugar, isn't it?'

-yina can be added to any constituent of an NP, not just the last (case-inflected) element:

(475)	*marni-yina*	*thungka-li*	*wirri-rna*	*thana*
	fat-tag	rotten-erg	be.painted-ptcple	3pl.nom

'It was rotten FAT they were painted with, wasn't it?'

An example where *-yina* is added to an inflected verb is:

(475-1)	*yaru-ka*	*nganhi*	*wapa-rnda*	*purri-rnda*	*wanthi-yi*
	like.that-spec	1sg.nom	go-ptcple	aux-ptcple	aux-pres

wirari-rnda-yina	*nhayi-rnda*	*purri-lhali*	*mitha*
wander-imperfss-tag	see-ptcple	aux-implss	place.acc

'I went like that going about looking.' [Di-t010s011]

There are also examples of *-yina* following the old information suffix, as (440) and:

(476) *darla-tha-yina* *nhungkarni* *marralyi*
skin-old.inf-tag 3sgnf.dat.nom red
'His skin was red, wasn't it?'

There is one other suffix, *-kayi*, which occurs in a handful of text examples following inflected verbs – see Text 1, line 126. It may be that these examples should be analysed as instances of *-ku* with the final vowel distorted to *ayi* through the process described in 2.6. There are insufficient examples to be sure if this is correct.

5 Syntax of complex sentences

A simple sentence in Diyari and Thirari consists of a single clause containing, minimally, a predicate and one or more noun phrase arguments (4.1, 4.2). Complex sentences consist of two or more simple clauses related by co-ordination, including conjunction (5.6) and disjunction (5.7), or inter-clausal dependency. Sections 5.1 to 5.5 deal with the syntax and semantics of dependent clause structures.

Dependent clauses must contain a predicate consisting of a verb phrase; the dependent status of the clause is marked by a suffix on the verb. There are seven verb inflections marking dependent clauses (but see 5.1.5, 5.5.4). the inflections mark four syntactically and semantically distinct types of dependent clauses; in three of these types cross-clausal coreferentiality of subjects decides which of a pair of morphological markers is employed:

1. **implicated clauses** – these are clauses marked by implss and implds inflections. In contrast to other dependent clause types, auxiliary verbs (other than *purri-*, 3.5.10) cannot appear in implicated clauses. The basic semantic function of implicated cluses is to indicate some situation more or less immediately subsequent to the situation described by the main clause and 'implicated' by it (see 5.1.1).
2. **imperfective clauses** – these are clauses marked by imperfss and imperfds affixes; they can contain a (non-future) auxiliary verb and provide specification of a noun phrase in the main clause or information about the temporal setting of or conditions on the situation expressed by the main clause.
3. **perfective clauses** – are marked by perfss and perfds affixes. They also clause NP or information about temporal or logical conditions on the main perfective, ie. completed, in relation to the main clause situation.
4. **'lest' clauses** – these are dependent clauses marked by a single affix *-yathi* 'lest', regardless of whether the dependent subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause or not (see 5.5.1). 'Lest' clauses express undesirable consequences(s) to be avoided and are typically used in warnings or admonitions.

Dependent clauses of all four types are always on the margins of the main clause, ie. preceding or following it (there is a single exception – see 5.1). They never appear within the main clause and do not form a constituent with any main cluse elements. Typically, dependent clauses follow the main clause, although imperfective clauses can fairly freely precede the main clause. Somewhat more rarely we find perfective clauses preceding the main clause, and, under certain conditions (see 5.1), implicated clauses preceding main clause elements. When preceding the main clause, dependent clauses are clearly set off intonationally; when following it the intonation break is slight. The boundary between clauses is marked in the examples by a comma, where necessary. It is possible to apply the principles of dependent clause formation iteratively to create long sentences containing clauses related to one another in complex ways (see 5.5).

In an important paper on interclausal syntax in Australian languages Hale (1976) shows that a number of Australian languages have an 'adjoined relative' type of

dependent structure which differs from the 'embedded' type posited for languages such as English. He presents three criteria which distinguish the two clause types:

1. POSITION – embedded clauses occur next to (or replace) the qualified head NP within the main clause; adjoined clauses precede or follow the main clause.
2. COREFERENTIALITY – embedded clauses must contain an NP coreferential with one in the main clause; adjoined clauses need not.
3. SEMANTICS – embedded clauses normally function to restrict or elucidate the reference of a main cluse head NP (Hale terms this an 'NP-relative' interpretation) while adjoined clauses may have NP-relative functions and/or provide information about temporal or logical conditions holding at the time specified by the main clause ('T-relative' interpretation).

Judged on the basis of these three criteria all of the dependent clauses in Diyari are of the 'adjoined relative' type.

Hale's use of the term 'adjoined relative' is somewhat unfortunate since there are languages, such as Diyari, which have clauses meeting the criteria he proposes which do not have semantic functions like the meanings typically associated with 'relative' clauses in better known languages like English (Diyari implicated and 'lest' clauses, for example). I prefer to term these adjoined dependent clauses and I avoid using 'relative'.

Apart from using interclausal dependency, Diyari also links clauses (and sentences) into more complex structures by means of co-ordinating particles: the conjunction *ya* 'and' (5.6) and the disjunction *kara* 'or'. The versb in clauses linked by these particles are not marked any differently than they would be if functioning independently. Both *ya* and *kara* have a second function, that is, co-ordination of noun phrases and parts of noun phrases (see 5.6.1, 5.7.1).

5.1 Implicated clauses

Implicated clauses are marked by the following verb suffixes in the different Karnic languages (see also 3.5.9):

clause type	Diyari	Thirari	Ngamini	Yaluyandi	Yandruwandha
implss	*-lha*	*-lhali*	*-lha*	*-lhangga*	*-nga*
implds	*-rnanthu*	*-yani*	*-ili*	*-li*	*-iningari*

where 'SS' stands for 'same subject' and 'DS' for 'different subject' (see 5.1.2).

As noted above, implicated clauses almost always follow the main clause to which they are dependent. There are three situations in which alternative orders are possible:

1. implicated clauses which do not have an NP coreferential with some NP in the main clause and which specify a strictly temporal relationship (see 5.1.1) may, optionally, precede the main clause. An example is (93) in 3.5.10 (cf. (487)).

2. when the verb of the main clause is *ngantya-* 'to want' an implicated same-subject clause whose verb phrase contains an intransitive stem may, optionally, precede the main verb. The coreferential transitive subject of *ngantya-* is not expressed and understood as anaphoric to the dependent clause intransitive subject. Thus, alongside:

(477) *ngathu* *ngantya-yi,* *wapa-lha*
1sg.erg want-pres go-implss
'I want to go'

we also find (with the same meaning);

(478) *nganhi* *wapa-lha,* *ngantya-yi*
1sg.nom go-implss want-pres
'I want to go'

Intransitive stems derived by reflexive (4.7.1) or reciprocal (3.5.6) can similarly appear preceding *ngantya-*, as in the example:

(479) *pula* *nandra-mali -lha* *ngantya-yi*
3dl.nom hit-recip-implss want-pres
'They want to fight one another'

In Arabana-Wangganguru (see 1.4) 'purpose' clauses typically follow the main clause but with the verb *waya-* 'to want' they my precede, as in Diyari, except that both transitive AND intransitive dependent clauses can occur before *waya-* (see Hercus 1976:470).

3. when the main clause verb is *nganka-* (Ng. *nganaka-*) 'to make, cause' (in a periphrastic causative construction – see 5.1.3) the intransitive verb of an implicated different-subject clause (whose (unexpressed) subject must be coreferential with the transitive object of *nganka–*) may be embedded, optionally, between the main verb and the P NP. So, for example, we find the following pair of alternatives:

(480) *kantha* *kulyakulya-li* *nhinha* *nganka-yi,* *pithi-rnanthu*
grass green-erg 3sgnf.acc make-pres fart-implds
'Green grass makes him fart'

(481) *kantha* *kulyakulya-li* *nhinha* *pithi-rnanthu* *nganka-yi*
grass green-erg 3sgnf.acc fart-implds make-pres
'Green grass makes him fart'

There is some evidence that neighbouring Yawarrawarka (see 1.4) has a construction similar to (481) for periphrastic causatives under the same conditions as specified for Diyari above. Breen (ms.) contains the example:

(482) *minha-ma* *yundru* *purla* *yingki-inima* *ngana-rla*
what-dat 2sg.erg child.acc cry-implds make-pres
'Why are you making the baby cry?'

5.1.1 Semantic functions. Implicated clauses have four closely related semantic functions, namely, to express:

1. purpose or intent – an animate agent specified in the main clause initiates some action with the intent of achieving the purpose indicated by the situation denoted by the implicated clause. The majority of implicated clause occurrences in the corpus are of this type; examples include (275) in 4.4.7 and:

(483) *thana* *wapa-yi,* *nganha* *mani-rna* *thika-lha*
3plnom go-pres 1sg.acc get-ptcple return-implss
'They go to fetch me back'

2. a cause–effect relationship where no intent is involved. These sentences often express a natural but unplanned consequence of an action; the following example describing what happened to a seed grinding stone illustrates this clearly (note the preceding context given in square brackets):

(484) [*ngathu* *nhungkangu-wa* *tharka-ipa-rna* *wara-yi*] *ngarda*
1sg.erg 3sgnf.loc-dist stand-tr-ptcple aux-pres then

puri-yi, *wakari-lha*
fall-pres break-implss
'[I stood (it) there] and then (it) fell and (as a result) broke'

One further example is (see also Text 1, line 58 for an implds marked instance):

(485) *nhawu* *mindri-rna* *kurra-yi,* *puri-lha*
3sgnf.nom run-ptcple go away-pres fall-implss
'He runs away and (as a result) falls over'

3. an implication – the situation described by the implicated clause is understood as implied by the situation expressed in the main clause, without there being an explicit cause–effect relationship expressed. An example is the following used to describe the waning of the moon (expressed as 'standing upside down' in Diyari):

(486) *pi<u>r</u>a* *kuku* *tharka-yi,* *thala<u>r</u>a* *kurda-rnanthu*
moon.nom overturned stand-pres rain.nom fall-implds
'The moon is waning so some rain will fall'

Compare this with the resultant state function of dative case discussed at 4.4.7 section [2] – note especially example (279). clearly, a relatively intimate knowledge of Diyari customs and beliefs is necessary to make sense of sentences like (486) (and (279)).

4. a temporal relationship – here there is no causal, intentional or consequential connection between the situations expressed in the two clauses but rather the expression of the fact that the implicated clause situation is more or less immediately subsequent to the main clause situation. A clear example of this is (93) in 3.5.10; another instance is seen in:

(487)

minha	*yundru*	*wayi-rna*	*wara-yi,*	*thana*	*kupa*
what.acc	2sg.erg	cook-ptcple	aux-pres	3pl.nom	child.nom

wakara-rnanthu
come-implds

'What were you cooking before the children came along?'

The implicated clause in (487) gives the temporal background to the question asked in the main clause. The post-inflectional suffix *-rlu*, 'still' (see 4.12), is suffixed to main clause verbs to indicate that a situation began in the past and continues at the time referenced by the tense marked in the verb phrase – see examples (441) and (442). *-rlu* can also be suffixed to the verb of implicated clauses and specifies a temporal connection. The situation described in the main clause continues up to the time the situation specified in the implicated clause takes effect. Such sentences translate into English as 'do X and Y', for instance (example (489) is in Diyari):

(488)

nganhi	*yatha-yi,*	*murda-lha-rlu*
1sg.erg	talk-pres	finish-implss-still

'I'll talk until I finish'

(489)

ngathi	*nhinha*	*pirta*	*pathara*	*dandra-rda*	*purri-yi,*
1sg.erg	3sgnf.acc	tree	box tree.acc	hit-ptcple	aux-pres

nhawu	*puri-rnda*	*purri-yani-rlu*
3sgnf.nom	fall-ptcple	aux-implds-still

'I'll chop the box tree until it falls over'

Implicated clauses with this type of temporal connection may have a noun phrase coreferential with an NP in the main clause (as do (488) and (489)); however, this is not necessary, as the following sentence shows (see also 5.1.2):

(490)

ngaldra	*ngama-yi*	*nhingki-rda,*	*nhawu*	*thika-rnanthu-rlu*
1dlincl.nom	sit-pres	here-vicin-loc	3sgnf.nom	return-implds-still

'Let's sit here until he comes back'

The semantic feature which examples (483) to (490) have in common is a temporal one. All implicated clauses, of whatever semantic subtype, describe situations which occur (more or less immediately) AFTER the main clause situation. Whether other semantic connections such as cause–effect, natural result or intention are present depends upon the lexical items in the sentence and on the context. It seems that, out of context, a sentence such as the following could have a number of different interpretations – context normally decided which is/are appropriate:

(491) *puntha-puntha* *kurdingka-rda* *purri-yi,* *pangka-nhi* *wirri-hali*
redup-mouse.nom run-ptcple aux-pres bed-loc enter-implss
'A mouse runs to get in the bed' or 'A mouse runs and (as a result) gets in the bed' or 'A mouse runs and then gets in the bed'

This point is discussed further below and also in 5.2 in relation to the semantic functions of imperfective clauses.

5.1.2 Switch-reference. The marking of implicated clauses with the verb suffixes implss and implds (see 3.5.9, 5.1) is determined by whether or not the 'subjects' (either intransitive S or transitive and di-transitive A) of the main and dependent clause are coreferential or not.

That S and A act as a unitary syntactic category 'subject' for the purpose of dependent clause marking is illustrated in the following examples. Firstly, we have two clauses containing intransitive verbs where the coreferential NP is in S function in both:

(492) *nhawu* *thika-rna* *wara-yi,* *ngama-lha*
3sgnf.nom return-ptcple aux-pres sit-implss
'He came back to sit down'

Other instances are (484), (485), (488) and (491). Note that the semantic role of 'agent' is not involved here because it is possible to have a IE verb like *pali-* 'to die' in the implicated clause, as in:

(493) *nhani* *thika-rna* *wara-yi,* *pali-lha*
3sgf.nom return-ptcple aux-pres die-implss
'She came back to die'

Secondly, there are implss marked clauses whose (unexpressed) A NP is coreferential to the S NP of the main clause, for example (483) above and:

(494) *nhawu* *ngarda-nhi* *mindri-yi,* *wakarra* *nhinha*
3sgnf.nom behind-loc run-pres neck.acc 3sgnf.acc

nandra-lha
hit-implss
'He ran behind and hit him on the neck'

Combinations of A in the main clause and A in the dependent clause also show implss marking:

(495) *kira-lha* *mani-rna* *wanthi-yi* *pulali,*
boomerang.acc-newinf get-ptcple aux-pres 3dl.erg

nandra-rnandra-lha *nhinha*
redup-hit-implss 3sgnf.acc
'They got a boomerang to hit him all over'

Finally, coreferential NPs in A function in the main clause and S function in the dependent clause count as same subject, as in (477) and:

(496) *pulali* *nhinha* *warara-rna* *kurra-yi,* *thika-lha*
3dl.erg 3sgnf.acc leave-ptcple aux-pres return-implss
'They left him (in order) to go back'

It is important to note that it is the syntactic function of NPs with (simple or derived) verb STEMS which determines whether they are 'subjects' or not. So, for example, if we take a transitive clause, such as:

(497) *wilha-li* *kupa-wara-nha* *thintha-rna* *wara-yi*
woman-erg child-pl-acc lose-ptcple aux-pres
'The woman lost the children'

and passivize it as (see 4.7.3):

(498) *kupa-wara* *thintha-tharri-rna* *wara-yi* *wilha-nhi*
child-pl.nom lose-pass-ptcple aux-pres woman-loc
'The children got lost on the woman'

then the DERIVED S function of *kupawara* counts as subject if the clause is dependent on another in which *kupawara* is in S or A function (cf. (497) where *wilha* is subject in A function). So, for example, we find:

(499) *kupa-wara* *wirari-rna* *wara-yi,*
child-pl.nom go about-ptcple aux-pres

thintha-tharri-lha *wilha-nhi*
lose-pass-implss woman-loc
'The children went wandering about and got lost on the woman'

These examples clearly show that, as far as marking verbs of implicated clauses is concerned, the syntactic functions S and A are treated as a single syntactic category, 'subject'.

In 5.2.1 and 5.3.1 I show that marking of imperfective and perfective clauses is also controlled by the syntactic category subject. Notice that the syntax heer operates entirely in terms of syntactic relations and disregards the particular case-marked form of the NPs involved (be it nominative or ergative – see 3.2.4). The syntax operates on a nominative–accusative principle (treating S and A as a category) while the nominal case morphology is split-ergative. Anderson (1976) and Dixon (1979) discuss and exemplify this 'conflict' between morphology and syntax in a number of morphologically ergative languages.

Note that it is not necessary in Diyari for implicated different-subject clauses to contain a noun phrase coreferential with some (non-subject) NP in the main clause. Often there will be corferential NPs but they are not subject in both clauses, for example, S in implicated clause and P in main clause as in (480), and (489) or A in implicated clause and P in main clause, as in:

(500) *ngathu* *pulu* *karna* *mani-yi* *mutaka-mara,*
1sg.erg cannot person.acc get-pres car-kinprop.acc

pardaka-rnanthu *nhanha*
take-implds 3sgf.acc
'I can't get anyone with a car to take her'

There are also instances of the coreferential NP being in transitive object function in both clauses:

(501) *minha-nhi* *nganha* *wararа-rna* *wanthi-yi,* *kawalka-li* *ya*
what-loc 1sg.acc leave-ptcple aux-pres crow-erg and

karrawara-li *kuna-li* *thuripa-rnanthu* *nganha*
eaglehawk-erg faeces-erg pour on-implds 1sg.acc
'Why did (you) leave me to be shat on by the crows and eaglehawks?'

Numerous examples of sentences where implicated and main clause share no coreferential NP can be found in the corpus – examples (486), (487) and (490) illustrate this as does:

(502) *nhaka* *nganhi* *wakara-yi,* *kinthala* *yatha-nhantu*
there.loc 1sg.nom come-pres dog:nom speak-implds
'I got there and a dog barked'

A syntactic system which is reflected by morphological markings determined by sameness or difference of subjects has been termed 'switch-reference' by Jacobsen (1967) who defines the concept as: 'Switch-reference consists simply in the fact that a switch in subject or agent is *obligatorily* indicated in certain situations by morpheme, usually suffixed, which may or may not carry other meanings in addition' (emphasis in original). Jacobsen describes the workings of switch-reference in a number of Native

American languages; subsequent studies have shown it to be a very widespread phenomenon (see, for example, Hale (1969), Heath (1975), Winter (1976), Munro (1976), Oswalt (1976) and Langdon & Munro (1980)). Switch-reference has also been reported as a clause-linking device in a number of languages spoken in Papua New Guinea; there is a general discussion in Longacre (1972). Reports of switch-reference systems in the grammars of individual languages include Young (1971), Scott (1973, 1978), Olsen (1978), and Haiman (1979). In all these languages switch-reference is controlled by the syntactic relation 'subject' (see also Keenan (1976a: 83-85, 1976b)).

Among Australian languages the phenomenon has been noted in a number of descriptions of individual languages, including Douglas (1958), Glass & Hackett (1970), Platt (1972) and Hansen & Hansen (1978) on dialects of the Western Desert language; Hercus (1976: 470-471) on Arabana-Wangganguru; Hale (1976, 1978) on Warlpiri; Strehlow (1944) and Yallop (1977) on Aranda and Alyawarra; Breen (1976d: 592-593) on Wagaya, and Furby & Furby (1977: 87-93) on Garawa. In addition, notes in Breen (ms.) and my fieldwork on the languages north and east of Diyari (see 1.4) show that Ngamini, Yaluyandi, Yawarawarga and Yandruwandha all have switch-reference systems which operate in almost identical fashion to that demonstrated for Diyari and Thirari above. Table 5.1 sets out the relevant affixes – note that 'lest' clauses do not show switch-reference.

Fieldwork I conducted on languages spoken near Carnarvon, Western Australia, including Tharrkari, Jiwarli, Payungu, Thalanji, and Purduna has also shown that these languages code, in their dependent clause verb morphology, a distinction between sameness or difference of subjects. Austin (1980a, 1981) gives examples from all these languages and draws a number of conclusions about the occurrence of switch-reference in Australia, including the following:

(a) all languages which have switch-reference in Australia are spoken in a geographically continuous area from the Indian Ocean into Western Queensland (see Figure 5 from Austin 1981). Languages in this area are not all closely related genetically and switch-reference is an areal feature they share in common.

(b) switch-reference always operates in terms of 'subjects' (the conflation of S and A) and is realized as a suffix attached to the verb of the dependent clause.

(c) in all languages except Warlpiri, systems are binary and imply mark identity or no-identity of subjects. In Warlpiri there is a multi-term system which relates the syntactic function of main clause noun phrases coreferential with dependent clause subjects.

(d) the distribution of switch-reference in implicated/purposive and imperfective type clauses (see also 5.2) shows a geographical pattern which suggests areal similarities and the diffusion of a syntactic mechanism across genetic groupings.

Oswalt (1976) notes that switch-reference is an areal feature of Amerindian languages spoken in California. Areal features and linguistic diffusion in Australia are described in Hercus (1976) and Heath (1978).

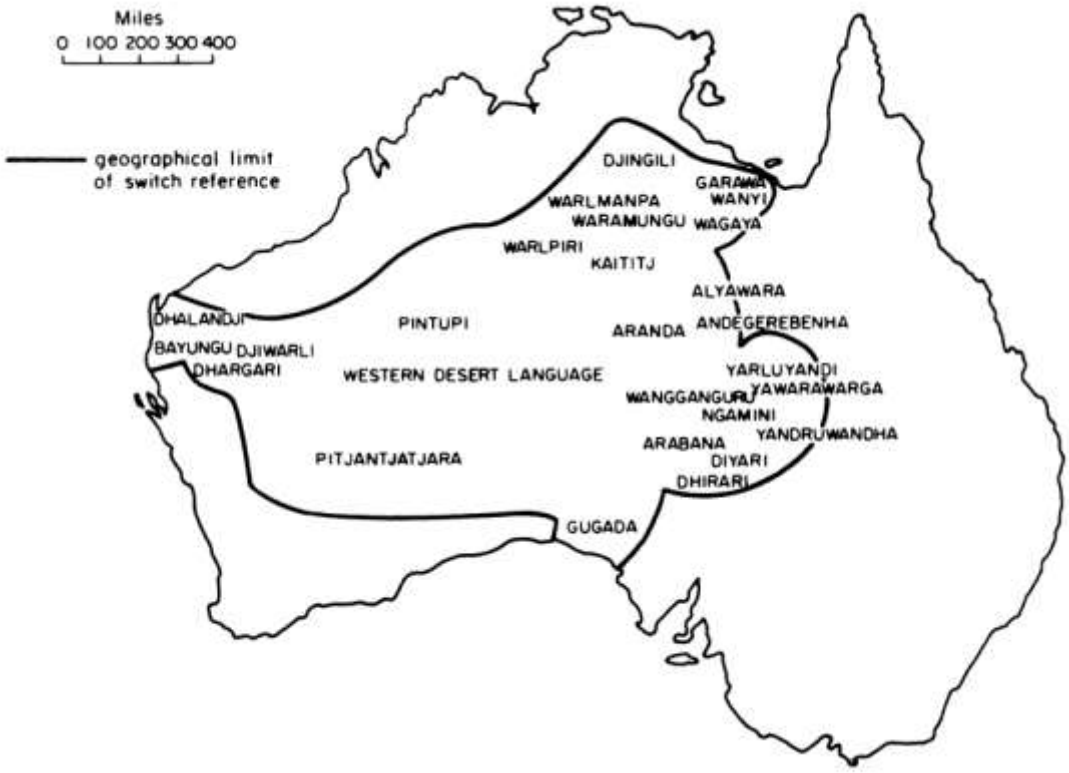


Figure 5. Geographical limit of switch-reference in Australia (from Austin 1981: 312)

Table 5.1. *Dependent clause markers*

Clause type	Ngamini	Yaluyandi	Yawarawarka	Yandruwandha
implicated – ss	*-lha*	*-lhangga*	*-iya*	*-nga*
implicated – ds	*-ili*	*-li*	*-nima*	*-iningari*
imperfective – ss	*-rna*	*-rnda ~ -rda*	*-rnanga*	*-rnanga*
imperfective – ds	*-iyimu*	*-nimu*	*-nanyi*	*-rlayi*
'lest'	*-ndra*	*-ndrathi*	*-pi*	*-yi*

5.1.3 Exceptions and constraints. All the examples of implicated same-subject clauses examined so far have ben interpreted as having a subject strictly coreferential with the subject of the main clause. There are two conditions under which strict coreferentiality is not met yet implss marking of the dependent clause verb is oligatory. These conditions (both of which must be met) are:

(a) the number of the implicated clause subject is greater than the number of the main clause subject, i.e. if the main subject is singular the implicated clause subject is non-singular (dual or plural); if the main subject is dual the implicated clause subject is plural.

(b) the subject of the implicated clause refers to the individual(s) referred to by the main clause subject i.e. the two subject NPs share one or more person features.

Table 5.2 sets out the possible person and number combinations which do not meet strict coreferentiality yet require implss marking. I shall refer to the instances covered by (a) and (b) above and the entries in Tble 5.2 as instances of 'inclusion'.

Table 5.2. *Inclusion of subjects*

main clause	implicated clause
1. first person singular	first person dual OR plural exclusive
2. first OR second person singular	first person dual OR plural inclusive
3. second person singular	second persn dual OR plural
4. third person singular	third person dual OR plural; first person dual OR plural exclusive
5. first person dual	first person plural exclusive
6. first OR second person dual	first person plural inclusive
7. second person dual	second person plural
8. third person dual	third person plural; first person plural exclusive

Some examples of inclusion are:

(503) *ngathu* *ngantya-yi,* *ngaldra* *diyari* *yawarra*
1sg.erg want-pres 1dlincl.nom Diyari language.acc

yatha-yatha-lha
redup-speak-implss
'I want us to talk Diyari (to each other)'

(504) *yara* *wapa-lu,* *ngayana* *nhayi-lha* *nhanha*
this way go.imper-dl 1plincl.erg see-implss 3sgf.acc
'You two go this way and we'll all see her'

The syntactic device of inclusion effectively extends the semantic inclusive/exclusive contrast overtly marked in the first person non-singular pronouns (see 3.1.2, 3.3.2) to the second and third persons. So, for example, a sentence like:

(505) *nhulu* *nganthi* *pardaka-rna* *wara-yi,* *thanali* *thayi-lha*
3sgnf.erg meat.acc bring-ptcple aux-pres 3lPerg eat-implss
'He brought some meat for them to eat'

can only mean that 'he' is one of 'them' who will eat the meat (inclusive reference). The following sentence, on the other hand, indicates that 'he' cannot be one of 'them' (exclusive reference):

(506)	*nhulu*	*nganthi*	*pardaka-rna*	*wara-yi,*	*thanali*	*thayi-rnanthu*
	3sgnf.erg	meat.acc	bring-ptcple	aux-pres	3pl.erg	eat-implds

'He brought some meat for them (others) to eat'

The two conditions giving rise to inclusion and implss marking operate in one direction only in Diyari. That is, same subject marking applies if the dependent clause subject includes (the referents of) the main clause subject but NOT VICE VERSA. The unidirectionality of inclusion is demonstrated by examples such as:

(507)	*ngaldra*	*wapa-lha*	*ngana-yi,*	*nganhi*	*nhungkangu*
	1dlincl.nom	go-fut	aux-pres	1sg.nom	3sgnf.loc

yatha-yatha-rnanthu
redup-speak-implds
'We two will go so I can talk to him'

(508)	*thana*	*marapu*	*wapa-rna*	*wara-yi,*	*nhulu*	*yinha*
	3plnom	many.nom	go-ptcple	aux-pres	3sgnf.erg	2sg.acc

nhayi-rnanthu
see-implds
'They all came so he could see you'

The contex of (508) was such that 'he' was one of 'them'. In examples like (507) and (508) it is ungrammatical to use implss marking.

Semantic inclusion of this type has been recognised by a number of writers as a feature of switch-reference systems (see, for example, Jacobsen (1967: 244) and Longacre (1972: 14)) although, as Langdon & Munro (1980) point out, speakers can vary in their application of the principle. All published accounts of the phenomenon either imply or state explicitly that inclusion operates in both directions between clauses. Diyari seems to be somewhat unusual in restricting it to one direction only. Unfortunately, reports of switch-reference in other Australian languages do not mention inclusion, although one example in Glass & Hackett (1970: 100) suggests that at least the Western Desert language allows dependent subject including main subject to count as 'same' (there are no examples of the converse, so it is impossible to know if inclusion is symmetrical or not).

There is one further type of constraint on implicated clause marking, namely restrictions determined by the lexical nature of the main clause predicate. There are three sub-types:

1. main verbs which only allow implicated same-subject clauses (where strict coreferentiality is met) dependent on the main clause in which they occur. Two verbs are of this type:

wani-	Vint	'to begin, start to do'
wantya-	Vtr	'to try to do'

exemplified in the following pair of sentences:

(509)

nhawu	*wani-rna*	*wara-yi,*	*wapa-lha*
3sgnf.nom	begin-ptcple	aux-pres	go-implss

'He began to go'

(510)

nhandru	*wantya-rna*	*wara-yi,*	*kathi*	*wiri-lha*
3sgf.erg	try-ptcple	aux-pres	clothing.acc	wear-implss

'She tried to put some clothes on'

It is impossible to have implds marked clauses dependent on clauses containing either of these verbs.

2. main verbs which only allow implicated different-subject clauses dependent on the main clause in which they occur. In addition, the subject of the implicated clause must be coreferential with a non-subject NP in the main clause (the P NP where the verb is transitive, the locative complement of (intransitive) *yatha-* 'to say, tell' and *karka-* 'to shout'). There are two semantically distinct groups of these verbs:

(a) the transitive verb *nganka-* (Ng. *nganaka-*) 'to make, cause' (class 2E – see 3.5.5) which forms periphrastic causative constructions. The transitive object of *nganka-* must be coreferential with the implds subject (S or A) noun phrase; typically the dependent subject is not expressed though it can be (cf. (511) and (512)). The following examples illustrate the construction:

(511)

yundru	*nhinha*	*nganka-mayi,*	*nhawu*	*warli-ndru*
2sg.erg	3sgnf.acc	make.imper-emph	3sgnf.nom	house-ablat

ngari-rnanthu
go down-implds

'You make him come down from the house'

(512)

ngathu	*nhinha*	*nganka-rna*	*wara-yi,*	*thurru*	*nandra-rnanthu*
1sg.erg	3sgnf.acc	make-ptcple	aux-pres	fire.acc	hit-implds

'I made him chop some firewood'

(512')

ngathi	*nhinha-ka-thu*	*nganaka-rna*	*wara-yi*	*kingka-ili*
1sg.erg	3sgnf.acc-spec-old.inf	make-ptcple	aux-pres	laugh-implds

'I made him laugh' [Ng-0126]

The root *nganka-* is in class 2E and does not occur with *tharri-* in any of its non-aspectual functions (see 4.7). It is not possible in Diyari to say sentences like English 'I made myself go' or 'He made himself chop wood'.

Intransitive verbs of classes 1B and 1C (3.5.5) show a semantic contrast between their use in the implicated clause of a periphrastic causative construction and the addition of the *-ipa-* transitiviser (4.8.2). the contrast is along the lines of Shibatani's (1976:31) 'directive versus manipulative causation' – see 4.8.2 and examples (377) and (378).

(b) main clause verbs which take 'jussive complements', that is, the seven roots:

yatha-	'to say, tell'
karka-	'to shout, yell out'
pupa-	'to admonish'
yirripa-	'to warn'
kurupa-	'to advise'
dawardawa-	'to prevent, stop'
nguyawaka-	'to prevent'

The first three roots are intransitive and in class 1D, the last four are transitive and classified as 2E (i.e. they do not occur with *-tharri-*). The verbs *dawardawa-* and *nguyawaka-* appear to be synonymous; they and *pupa-* always take the negative particle *wata* 'not' (4.11) in the implicated clause dependent on their main clause.

The subject of the implicated clause must be coreferential with the P NP of the main clause (when one of the transitive verbs is selected) or a locative case NP (when *yatha-* or *karka-* is selected – cf. 4.4.4). Either or both occurrences of the coreferential NP can be optionally unexpressed. Examples of this type of construction are (see also Text 1, line 44):

(513)

karka-mayi	*nhungkangu,*	*nhawu*	*wakara-rnanthu*
call.imper-emph	3sgnf.loc	3sgnf.nom	come-implds

'Call out to him to come!'

(514)

nhulu	*mankarra*	*nhanha*	*pupa-rna*	*wara-yi,*
3sgnf.erg	girl.acc	3sgf.acc	admonish-ptcple	aux-pres

wata	*yani-ka*	*nganka-rnanthu*
not	like this-token	make-implds

"He sang out to the girl not to do that"

(515)

ngathu	*dawardawa-rda*	*wara-yi,*	*wata*	*thiri-mali-rnanthu*
1sg.erg	prevent-ptcple	aux-pres	not	fight-recip-implds

'I stopped (them) from fighting'

3. when the predicate of the main clause does not contain verb (4.2.1) or consists of a predicate nominal plus the copula *ngana-* (4.2.2) then it may only have an

implicated different-subject clause dependent on it. These types of sentences are fairly uncommon, especially in texts, and the majority of examples involve an adjective as the main predicate. Most commonly, the subject of the dependent verb is not expressed and left unspecified, although it is possible to state the subject explicitly if required (say, 'you' or *karna* 'person, someone'). An example is the following:

(516) *nhawu-ya* *thurru* *ngumu,* *nandra-rnanthu*
3sgnf.nom-near fire.acc good hit-implds
'This firewood is easy (*lit*. good) to chop'

Attempts to elicit sentences where it might be expected that the subject of the non-verb predicate and of the 'purposive' verb would be coreferential (for example 'This dog is good at catching kangaroos') resulted in Diyari translations consisting of two sentences: 'This dog is good. He catches (many) kangaroos.'

5.1.4 Multi-clause sentences. The clause-linking principles described above may be applied iteratively to create complex sentences consisting of a main clause followed by a number of dependent clauses. In three-clause structures (by far the most common type of multi-clause sentence – see also 5.3.1) there are two possible arangements:

1. both implicated clauses follow the main clause and each is dependent on it separately – the switch-reference system codes sameness of difference (or inclusion, see 5.1.3) of subjects in main and dependent clause independently for each. Usually, in this type of structure the implicated clauses will both be of the same type (i.e. same-subject or different-subject) and coordinated by the conjunction *ya* 'and' (5.6). An example (from a text) is:

(517) *yundru* *warkamandra-ya* *nhingki-wa* *pirta-nhi,* *wata*
2sg.erg tie up-past here.loc-dist tree-loc not

kantha *thayi-rnanthu* *ya* *wata* *ngapa* *thapa-rnanthu*
grass.acc eat-implds and not water.acc drink-implds
'You tie (the horse) up over there by the tree so they don't eat grass and don't drink water'

2. an implicated clause is dependent on an implicated clause which is dependent on the main clause (in a recursive dependency relationship). The implss or implds marking of the dependent verbs sameness (or inclusion) of subjects between clauses, regadless of whether the next clause to the left is a main clause itself dependent on a main clause. There are four logically possible arrangements and all are attested in texts. Firstly, both dependent clauses may have the same subject, as in Text 1, line 65 (which also illustrates inclusion) and:

(518) *karna* *kurnu* *wapa-yi,* *marda* *mani-lha,*
person one.nom go-pres stone:acc get-implss

thutyu *nhari-nganka-lha*
snake.acc dead-cause-implss
'One person goes to get a stone to kill the snake'

Secondly, we find a different-subject clause dependent on a same-subject clause (in turn dependent on a main clause) as in:

(519) *yura* *wapa-ni-mayi,* *ngapiri* *ngandri-nhi* *yatha-lha,*
2pl.nom go.imper-pl-emph father mother-loc speak-implss

nganha *nhayi-rnanthu*
1sg.acc see-implds
'You all go to tell mother and father to watch me'

The opposite arrangement of clauses is found in examples like:

(520) *thanali* *nhinha* *mani-rna* *wara-yi,* *nhulu* *thina*
3pl.erg 3sgnf.acc get-ptcple aux-pres 3sgnf.erg foot.acc

wani-rnanthu, *nhanha* *wanthi-lha*
follow-implds 3sgf.acc search-implss
'They got him to follow the tracks to search for her'

Notice that in (520) the final clause must be dependent on the second clause, and not the first (and main) clause, because the dependent clauses have coreferential subjects while the main clause has a different subject. The final possibility, namely that all three clauses have different subjects, is much less common in texts because it involves the introduction of more participants than other types illustrated above and hence occurs in more marked discourse contexts. Examples however have been recorded and include:

(521) *manyu-nganka-wu* *yundru,* *nhawu* *thika-rnanthu,*
good-cause.imper-distort 2sg.erg 3sgnf.nom return-implds

ngapiri-yali *nhinha* *marda* *yingki-rnanthu*
father-erg 3sgf.acc stone.acc give-implds
'You fix up (the car) so he can go back and be given the money by his father'

Implicated clauses can be combined with the dependent clause types (see 5.2, 5.4, 5.5) in various ways – these are discussed and exemplified in 5.3 and 5.5.3 below.

5.1.5 implds in main clauses. There are some occurences of implds marked clauses where there is no preceding or following main clause to which the clause is dependent, that is, it appears that implds marked clauses can function as simple sentences. If such a sentence is positive, it indicates an action or event which the speaker feels the subject should or must undertake; examples include (70) and:

(522) *mayi,* *nganhi* *wapa-rnanthu-lha*
well 1sg.nom go-implds-newinf
'Well, I must go now'

(523) *minha-nhi* *ngayani* *ngurra-li* *ngarnikuti* *mani-ipa-rnanthu*
what-loc 1plexcl.erg continuous-erg goat.acc get-ben-implds
'Why do we always have to get the goats for (her)?'

More commonly the negtaive particle *wata* 'not' (4.11) is found in initial position and the sentence is used to state something which should not or must not be done. Examples illustrating this are Text 1, line 22 and:

(524) *wata* *yini* *karna-nhi* *yatha-rnanthu*
not 2sg.nom person-loc speak-implds
'You must not speak to anyone'

There are also a few examples in the corpus of implds marked main clauses where the word *warrani* occurs in initial position. I have been unable to obtain a gloss for this word but consultants' translations of sentences containing it (such as the following) suggest that it may correspond to English 'let' or 'leave it', for example:

(525) *warrani* *nhawu* *thurara-rnanthu*
3sgnf.nom sleep-implds
"Let him sleep"

Sentences like (525) are used as commands or admonitions stating what the speaker prefers to happen.

implds marking does not occur on main clause verbs. In Diyari we do occasionally find *-lha* suffixed to clause-final main verbs (and *purri-* in Thirari) but these are instances where the future auxiliary *ngana-* has been left unexpressed because the context makes future time reference unambiguous. The Thirari sequence *purri-lhali* (aux-implss) never occurs in main clauses.

5.2 Imperfective clauses

Imperfective dependent clauses are marked by the following verb suffixes in the two dialects (see also 3.5.9):

clause type	Diyari	Thirari
imperfss	*-rna*	*-rnda ~ -rda*
imperfds	*-rnanhi*	*-rndanhi ~ -rdanhi*

where 'SS' stand for 'same subject and 'DS' for 'different subject'. The allomorphy in Thirari is conditioned by the same phonological environment as for the participial suffix (homophonous with imperfss – see 3.5.9), that is, *-rda* and *-rdanhi* are selected when the last syllable of the stem contains a nasal plus stop cluster, *-rnda* and *-rndanhi* are selected otherwise. Since the imperfective suffixes are attached to *purri-* or another auxiliary verb, if there is one, *-rda* and *-rdanhi* are only found suffixed to the distant past auxiliary *wanthi-* (see 3.5.10). No other auxiliary contained a nasal-stop cluster.

The imperfds marker in Thirari and Diyari appears to consist of imperfss (or ptcple) plus *-nhi*, the singular common noun locative case marker (3.2.5, 4.4.4). In all the languages spoken near Diyari (see Table 5.1) imperfds consists of some element plus the locative suffix (Ngamini and Yaluyandi *-mu*, Yawarawarga *-nyi*, Yandruwandha *-yi*). Austin (1980a) shows that languages north of Diyari and its neighbours correlate locative case and imperfective SAME-SUBJECT; the reasons for this difference in geographical distribution are unknown.

Imperfective clauses may precede or follow the main clause to which they are dependent (cf. implicated clauses – see 5.1) with no apparent difference in meaning. In fact, consultants sometimes repeat a sentence and reverse the order of clauses quite freely. So, for example, we find:

(526) *nhawu* *wapa-yi,* *karka-karka-rna*
3sgnf.nom go-pres redup-shout-imperfss
"He goes along calling out"

which can be expressed as:

(527) *karkakarkarna, nhawu wapayi*

Imperfective clauses, like implicated clauses (and other dependent clause types – see 5.4, 5.5) always occur on the main clause margins and are never embedded within it forming a constituent with some main clause constituent. Imperfective clauses may be iteratively dependent on main clauses or other imperfective clauses (see 5.2.5).

Unlike implicated clauses, imperfective clauses can contain a non-future tense auxiliary verb (see 3.5.10) which will be marked with the imperfss or imperfds affix. An example is:

(528) *watha<u>r</u>a,* *nhawu* *ngaka-rna* *wara-rna,*
wind.nom 3sgnf.nom flow-ptcple aux-imperfss

nhawu *watha<u>r</u>a* *murda-yi*
3sgnf.nom wind.nom stop-pres
'After the wind had been blowing it stopped'

The future auxiliary *ngana-* cannot appear in these clauses (but note that the copula *ngana-* does – see examples (136) above and (555) below).

Imperfective clauses have a switch-reference system which operates in a manner analagous to that described above for implicated clauses (see 5.1.2) – this is discussed and exemplified in the following section.

5.2.1 Switch-reference. Imperfective clause marking is controlled by a system of 'switch-reference' which operates in terms of a syntactic notion of 'subject' (the conflation of S and A – see also 5.1.2). So, for example, we find imperfss marked clauses whose intransitive subject (S) NP is coreferential with an S NP in the main clause, as in (526) and (528), or with an A NP in the main clause, as in (I36) and (228) and:

(529) *wata* *nhandru* *piki* *dika-yi,* *windri*
not 3sgnf.erg pig.acc name-pres only
yatha-rna *nganthi-nganthi*
say-imperfss redup-meat
'She doesn't call (it) a pig, only saying "little animal"' [Di-t003s034]

Alternatively, the transitive (A) subject of the dependent clause can be coreferential with the S NP in the main clause:

(530) *kanku-kanku,* *nhawu* *wapa-yi,* *ngapiri* *wanthi-wanthi-rna*
redup-boy.acc 3sgnf.nom go-pres father.acc redup-search-imperfss
'The boy goes looking for (his) father'

or with the A NP in the main clause:

(531) *thanali* *thalara* *marda* *kurra-rna* *ngari-yi,* *nhinha*
3pl.erg rain stone.acc put-ptcple go down-pres 3sgnf.acc
warla *nganka-rna*
nest.acc make-imperfss
'They put the rain stone down after making the nest'

These examples show that the syntactic category 'subject' controls switch-reference in imperfective clauses. Notice that the second occurrence of the coreferential NP (i.e. the subject of the rightmost clause) is normally unexpressed, regardless of whether it is in the imperfective clause, as in (526), (529), (530) and (531) or the main clause, as in (cf. (531) above):

(532) *thanali* *nhinha* *warla* *nganka-rna,* *thalara* *marda*
3pl.erg 3sgnf.acc nest.acc make-imperfss rain stone.acc
kurra-rna *ngari-yi* *warla-nhi*
put-ptcple down-pres nest-loc
'Having made the nest they put the rainstone down in it'

It is also possible when the imperfective clause precedes the main for the first subject to be missing – see, for instance (527) and (228). Slightly more common though in this type of stucture is for both subjects to be overtly expressed; example (528) above and the following illustrate this:

(533)

nhulu	*puka*	*thayi-rna,*	*nhawu*	*pali-rna*	*wara-yi*
3sgnf.erg	food.acc	eat-imperfss	3sgnf.nom	die-ptcple	aux-pres

'While eating some food he died'

It appears that there is a strong tendency either to retain both coreferential subject noun phrases or to not express the second, regardless of the type of clause it appears in. We find similar facts for non-subject coreferential NPs, discussed under 5.2.2.

All the examples examined so far have involved absolute coreferentiality of subjects. There are some instances in the corpus where absolute coeferentiality does not hold yet the imperfective clause is marked by imperfss. All the examples involve inalienable possession where the dependent subject is a part of the main subject, as in:

(534)

kapirri,	*thana*	*mindri-yi,*	*nhur̲a*	*tharka-inga-rna*
goanna.nom	3pl.nom	run-pres	tail.nom	stand-prol-imperfss

'Goannas run with their tails standing up'

Compare the imperfective clause in (534) with the following sentence where the inalienable body part possession is expressed by juxtposition (see 4.5.2):

(535)

kapirri	*nhur̲a*	*tharka-inga-yi*
goanna	tail.nom	stand-prol-pres

'Goannas' tails stand up as they move'

A possible analysis of (534) is to say that the HEAD of the dependent subject NP is coreferential with the main subject and that this controls imperfss marking (with the unexpressed anaphoric subject being corefential with *kapirri*).

Unfortunately, there are no clear examples in the data on imperfective clauses which bear on the question of person and number inclusion such as gives rise to implss marking (see 5.1.3). It would be of some interest to see whether sentences like 'When you come we two (inclusive) will talk' require imperfss or imperfds marking (on 'come'); the point needs further checking with Diyari speakers. There is one example in the texts which shows inclusion of dependent subject in main subject yet the imperfective clause is marked as imperfds:

(536)

ngayani-matha	*ngama-yi*	*Eileen-ndru,*	*nhani-ya*
1plexcl.nom-ident	sit-pres	Eileen-erg	3sgf.nom-near

pakarna	*purka-rnanhi*	*ngapa-nhi*
also	wade-imperfds	water-loc

'We were all (there) including Eileen who was also wading in the water'

This is consistent with the pattern observed for implicated clauses (recall that inclusion operates in one direction only, from main to dependent clause) but examples of the opposite person and number arrangement are lacking.

5.2.2 Constraints. In 5.1.3 above we discussed the fact that cerain main clause verbs allow only one type of implicated clause dependent on their main clause (subject to some other constraints discussed above). This type of restriction must be marked in the lexical enty for these verbs.

There is one verb which places a restriction on the dependent linking of imperfective clauses to its main clause, namely the intransitive root *murda-* 'to stop, finish' (class ID). When it has the meaning 'stop/finish V-ing' *murda-* only occurs with a imperfss marked clause, typically following its main clause. An example is (see also (569) and (574) below):

(537)	*yaṟu-ka*	*nhani*	*murda-yi,*	*yatha-rna*	*nhungkangu*
	like that-token	3sgf.nom	finish-pres	speak-imperfss	3sgnf.loc

'That is how she finishes talking to him'

Both imperfds and imperfss marked clauses can be dependent on a clause containing *murda-* if they have temporal or logical functions (T-relative – see 5.2.3), i.e. it is possible to have examples such as 'If he comes I will stop'. No main verb takes only imperfective different-subject clauses dependent on its clause (compare 5.1.3).

5.2.3 Semantic functions. Imperfective clauses have two basic semantic functions:

1. providing specification of or information about some noun phrase argument in the main clause (Hale's (1976) 'NP-relative' interpretation).
2. providing information about the temporal or logical conditions pertaining at the same time as or before the situation described by the main clause (the 'T-relative' interpretation).

It is important to emphasise, however, that these functions are NOT mutually exclusive; for some sentences a number of interpretations may be possible. Usually, it is the case that context, including the discourse context and the semantics of the particular lexical items in the clauses, will decide which particular reading is intended, but, out of context, sentences can be simply vague and be translated into English in various ways. Thus, example (532), repeated here for convenience, could be translated as above (appropriate to the textual context from which it is taken) or by the following English sentences:

(538)	*thanali*	*nhinha*	*warla*	*nganka-rna,*	*thalaṟa*	*marda*
	3pl.erg	3sgnf.acc	nest.acc	make-imperfss	rain	stone.acc

kurra-rna	*ngaṟi-yi*	*warla-nhi*
put-ptcple	go down-pres	nest-loc

'If/when/after they make/made the nest, they put the rain stone in it'
'Having made the nest, they put the rain stone in it'
'They who make/made the nest put the rain stone in it'
'They put the rain stone in the nest they make/made'

It is important to note that the Diyari sentence is simply VAGUE as to the semantic connection between the clauses; the imperfective clause describes something which occurs at the same time as or before the main clause event. Examples (526) to (536) have been given a single translation (appropriate to the context in which they occur); however, for at least some of them, alternative translations are possible. There are resources in the language for ensuring particular readings of imperfective clauses; these are detailed further below.

The first semantic function of imperfective clauses, that is, providing information about some NP in the main clause, is expressed when:

(a) there is a noun phrase in the dependent clause coreferential with the main clause NP. The dependent clause marks whether or not its subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause – usually the second occurrence (from left to right) of the NP is omitted (as in (540) and (541)) but it may be replaced by a pronoun (as in (539)) or else retained in both clauses (see (528), a possible translation of which is 'The wind, which had been blowing, stopped.') These imperfective clauses may have a restrictive relative interpretation (cf. (538)):

(539)	*thanali*	*nandra-ya*	*thirari*	*karna,*	*nhawu*	*thiri-rnanhi*
	3pl.erg	hit-past	Thirari	person.acc	3sgnf.nom	fight-imperfds
	marapu	*marla-nhi*				
	many	true-loc				

'They killed a Thirari man who had fought with the whole lot (of them)'

(540)	*nganhi*	*wilha-nhi*	*yatha-lha*	*ngana-yi,*	*yindra-rnanhi*
	1sg.nom	woman-loc	speak-fut	aux-pres	cry-imperfds

'I'll talk to the woman who is crying'

or be understood as non-restrictive, as in:

(541)	*nganhi*	*puri-rna*	*wara-yi,*	*kapi*	*mara-nhi*	*parda-rna*
	1sg.nom	fall-ptcple	aux-pres	egg:acc	hand-loc	hold-imperfss

'I, who was holding an egg in my hand, fell over'

(542)	*pantha-ma-mayi*	*kilthi*	*ngakarni,*	*ngathu*
	smell-tr.imper-emph	stew.acc	1sgdat.acc	1sg.erg
	wayi-rna	*wara-rnanhi*		
	cook-ptcple	aux-imperfds		

'Smell my stew, that I cooked'

Note the occurrence of the auxiliary verb in (542).

In a number of Australian languages when dependent clauses have this NP-relative function the dependent verb takes a case suffix in agreement with the noun phrase whose reference is qualified. Examples from Thalanyji (Western Australia) in Austin (1980a) illustrate this. Diyari has no such case agreement rule.

(b) the imperfective clause contains a noun phrase which denotes an inalienably possessed part of some noun phrase in the main clause (see 4.5.2 for the expression of inalienable possession). Consider example (534) above, another possible translation of which is: 'Goannas, whose tails stand up in motion, run', and:

(543) *tyukurru* *waka<u>r</u>a-yi,* *kuparru* *pirli-nhi*
kangaroo.acc come-pres young.acc pouch-loc

ngama-inga-rnanhi
sit-prol-imperfds
'A kangaroo is coming which has a joey sitting in its pouch'

(c) the main clause contains a specific noun and the dependent clause has a generic noun whose semantic range includes that of the specific noun. An example is:

(544) *thinka-nhi* *nhulu* *nhayi-yi* *pa<u>r</u>atyi,* *thurru*
night-loc 3sgnf.erg see-pres light.acc fire.nom

yarki-yarki-tharri-rnanhi
redup-burn-dur-imperfds
'In the night he sees the light which is the fire burning'

The main clause in (544) may be derived from:

(545) *thinka-nhi* *nhulu* *nhayi-yi* *thurru* *pa<u>r</u>atyi*
night-loc 3sgnf.erg see-pres fire light.acc
'In the night he sees fire light'

with deletion of the generic under identity with the subject of the dependent clause.

(d) the main clause contains a noun phrase denoting a type of sound (see 4.5.2 section [4] for a full list), or having as its head one of the following nouns:

yawarra	'story, word'
wima	'song, corroboree'
yardi	'lie, falsehood'
kuma	'news'
ngapitya	'dream'

and the dependent clause provides information about that NP. There need not be a coreferential noun phrase in the imperfective clause (see (547)). Some examples are:

(546) *nhulu* *kanpu* *ngaṟa-rna* *wara-yi,* *yini* *maṟa*
3sgnf.erg boom.acc hear-ptcple aux-pres 2sg.nom hand.acc

kanpu-nga-rnanhi
boom-prod-imperfds
'He heard the sound of you clapping hands'

(547) *kawalka-li* *kuma* *pardaka-yi,* *karna* *pali-rnanhi*
crow-erg news.acc bring-pres person.acc die-imperfds
'The crow brings the news that someone has died'

(548) *ngathu* *ngapitya* *parda-rna* *wara-yi,* *wima* *partyarna*
1sg.erg dream.acc hold-ptcple aux-pres song all.nom

thika-rnanhi *ngakangu*
return-imperfds 1sgloc
'I had a dream in which all the songs came back to me'

Descriptive imperfective clauses of this type re not mentioned by Hale (1976) who suggests that coreferential NPs ARE necessary for an 'NP-relative' interpretation to be possible. Hale (personal communication) notes however that these sentences "translate effortlessly into Warlpiri".

As noted above, imperfective clauses can have a second semantic function, namely, providing information about the temporal or logical conditions holding at the same time as or before the situation expressed in the main clause. It is not necessary that there by any noun phrase in the dependent clause coreferential with one in the main clause, although there can be. The exact semantic function of these clauses depends upon the context but can include one or more of the following possibilities:

1. **condition** – the dependent clause expresses a logical conditional meaning, 'if X then Y'. An example is:

(549) *nhawu* *thika-rna,* *nhawu* *yatha-lha* *ngana-yi* *yingkangu*
3sgnf.nom return-imperfss 3sgnf.nom speak-fut aux-pres 2sgloc
'If he comes back he'll talk to you'

It is also possible to exprss negative conditionals (as in (231) above) and counterfactuals with this type of structure. A text example with a counterfactual reading is:

(550) *kantyi* *mindri-ya* *nhani,* *nhaka-ldra*
can run-past 3sgf.nom there.loc-addinf

nhawu *wakaṟa-rnanhi*
3sgnf.nom come-imperfds
'She could have run (the distance) if he had come back again'

In order to express unambiguously a conditional meaning, the epistemic modal particle *kara* 'maybe' (4.11) is used in the dependent clause. Thus, the following Diyari sentence must be interpreted as a conditional:

(551) *nhawu* *kara* *thika-rna,* *nhawu* *yatha-lha* *ngana-yi*
3sgnf.nom maybe return-imperfss 3sgnf.nom speak-fut aux-pres

yingkangu
2sgloc
'If he comes back he'll talk to you'

Compare (549) and (551) – given appropriate context, the former could also be translated 'When/after he comes back he'll talk to you' (see below) while the latter is unambiguously a conditional.

2. **time** – the dependent clause expresses a situation which occurs at the same time as, or before the situation in the main clause; English translations are 'when X then Y', while X,Y' and 'after X,Y'. An example is:

(552) *ngathu* *kantha* *kulyakulya* *thayi-rna,* *nganhi* *pithi-yi*
1sg.erg grass green.acc eat-imperfss 1sg.nom fart-pres
'When/while/after I eat green food I fart'

Notice that the temporal relationship can be generic; i.e. stated to hold for all possible occurrences of the event expressed by the complex sentence, as in (552) and the following Thirari example:

(553) *nhinha* *yundru* *karrakarra-rnda* *purri-rndanhi,* *nhawu*
3sgnf.acc 2sg.erg touch-ptcple aux-pres 3sgnf.nom

martyi-rnda *purri-yi*
scream-ptcple aux-pres
"When you touch him he screams out"

or it may relate to a specific instance, as in (533) and (from a text about searching for a lost child):

(554) *nhani* *kartyi-yi* *yarla-wa,* *paratyi* *nhayi-rna*
3sgf.nom turn-pres elsewhere-dist light.acc see-imperfss
'She turned round over there when she saw the light'

It is possible to specify unambiguously the sequential ('after') temporal reading of these clauses in two ways. Firstly, if the aspectual particle *matya* 'already' (4.11) is included in the dependent clause then only the 'after' reading is possible, as in:

(555) *ngarda-nhi* *matya* *ngalpurru* *ngana-rnanhi-lha,* *ngathu*
then-loc already dark be-imperfds-newinf 1sg.erg

torch-*li-lha* *wana-yi*
torch-erg-newinf follow-pres
'Then after it is dark I follow (her) with a torch'

It is also possible to use a past tense auxiliary verb (3.5.10) in the dependent clause to distance its time reference from that of the main clause. An instance is (528) above and:

(556) *thanali* *nhinha* *nhayi-yi,* *nhinha*
3pl.erg 3sgnf.acc see-pres 3sgnf.acc

wararra-rna *wanthi-rnanhi*
leave-ptcple aux-imperfds
'They see him after he had been left (for a long time)'

Sentence (556) could, of course, have an NP-relative interpretation because of the coreferential NPs, i.e. it could also mean 'They see him who had been left long ago'.

These two strategies can be combined so that we find both particle and auxiliary verb in the imperfective clause in sentences such as:

(557) *pula* *wilha-wurlu* *nandra-mali-yi,* *nhandru* *matya*
3dl.nom woman-dl.nom hit-recip-pres 3sgf.erg already

yingki-rna *wara-rnanhi* *pirta*
give-ptcple aux-imperfds stick.acc
'The two women fight after she has given them sticks'

Compare these examples with the perfective clauses discussed at 5.3 below, noting especially the aspectual difference between them.

There is also a means of differentiating the 'when' reading of these clauses from their 'while' and 'after' functions – the interrogative–indefinite *wintha* 'when' (see 3.2.7) can be placed in initial position introducing the imperfective clause. An example is:

(558) *wintha* *nganhi* *pali-rna,* *ngathu* *karna* *ngakarni*
when 1sg.nom die-imperfss 1sg.erg person.acc 1sgdat.acc

ngama-lka-yi *nhaka*
sit-tr-pres there-loc
'When I die I will have my people there'

For the use of other interrogative–indefinites in imperfective clauses see 5.2.4 below.

3. **reason** – the dependent clause expresses the reason why the main clause situation does or does not hold; it provides an explanation of the events depicted in the main clause. A clear example of this is (from Text 1, line 57):

(559)

ngarda	*nhulu*	*pulu-rlu*	*nhayi-yi*	*thurru,*
then	3sgnf.nom	cannot-still	see-pres	fire.acc

warritha-lha	*pula*	*wapa-rnanhi*
distant-newinf	3dlnom	go-imperfds

'Then he could not see the fire any more becaue the (other) two had walked far way'

There does not seem to be any means of clearly differentiating the 'reason' reading of imperfective dependent clauses from the other possible interpretations, it is necessary to rely on context.

When telling a narrative text Diyari speakers often repeat clauses to reiterate and emphasise events which are occurring in the story. Clauses which are repeated take the imperfss inflection on the verb and can then be followed by further dependent clauses giving additional details. The following is an example from Text 1, line 90 (see also lines 58, 88 and 123):

(560)

ngarda-nhi	*nhawu*	*ngar̲i-yi*	*yinka-nhi,*	*warru-lha,*
then-loc	3sgnf.nom	go down-pres	string-loc	white-newinf

warru-lha	*ngar̲i-rna,*	*pulali*	*parruma-rna*	*ngar̲i-rnanhi*
white-newinf	go.down-imperfss	3dl.erg	pull-ptcple	go.down-imperfds

'Then he came down on the string all white coming down as they pulled him down' [Di-t001s090]

5.2.4 Interrogative–indefinite introducers. There are a number of examples in both elicited and textual material of imperfective clauses introduced by an interrogative–indefinite word. The three words involved are:

wardar̲u	'how'
wintha	'when'
wardayari	'where'

The use of *wintha* has been discusssed in 5.2.3, see especially example (558). We find the predicate determiner *wardar̲u* clause-initially in sentences like:

(561)

ngathu	*ngar̲a-rna*	*wara-yi,*	*wardar̲u*	*nhawu*	*yatha-rnanhi*
1sg.erg	hear-ptcple	aux-pres	how	3sgnf.nom	speak-imperfds

'I hear what (*lit.* how) he said'

It seems that in sentences like (561) *wardaṟu* is serving an indefinite function, intoducing the complement of *ngaṟa-*. There are also examples of implicated clauses similarly introduced by *wardaṟu*, an instance is:

(562) *ngathu* *nguyama-yi,* *wardaṟu* *wangka-lha*
1sg.erg know-pres how sing-implss
'I know how to sing'

Finally, *wardayari* occurs clause-initially in imperfective clauses such as the following (see also Text 1, line 56):

(563) *nhawu* *warapa-tharri-rna* *wara-yi* *ngakangu,* *wardayari*
3sgnf.nom relate-antipass-ptcple aux-pres 1sgloc where

nhawu *ngana-rna* *wara-rna*
3sgnf.nom be-ptcple aux-imperfss
'He told me where he had been (earlier today)'

There are also a handful of examples of *wardayari* introducing perfective clauses (see 5.4) where its function seems to be the same as in sentences like (563). A example of a perfds marked clause is:

(564) *ngathu* *thina* *nhayi-yi,* *wardayari* *nhani*
1sg.erg track.acc see-pres where 3sgf.nom

malthi-ri-ni
cool-inchoat-perfds
'I see the track where she had urinated'

The idiom *malthiri-* 'to become cool' is a euphemism for *kipaṟa-* 'to urinate'. I do not know of a euphemistic expression for *kuna-* 'to defecate'.

5.2.5 Multi-clause sentences. The principles of dependent clause formation described above can be applied recursively to produce sentences containing more than one imperfective clause. In a three-clause sentence (by far the most common encountered in texts), consisting of a main clause and two imperfective clauses, there are two possible syntactic arrangements:

1. both imperfective clauses are dependent on the main clause and the switch-reference marking on the dependent verbs operates independently for each imperfective clause. Typically, the two imperfective clauses will appear on either side of (or 'flank') the main clause, as in:

(565) *thuraṟa-nganka-rna,* *ngarda-nhi* *wara-yi,* *ngapa*
powder-cause-imperfss then-loc throw-pres water.acc

darlku-nganka-rna
clear-cause-imperfss

'Having made (the gypsum) into a powder (you) throw (it) making the water clear'

(566)

nganhi	*nhingki-ya*	*wakara-rna,*	*ngathu*	*nhanha*
1sg.nom	here-near-loc	come-imperfss	1sg.erg	3sgf.acc

wilha	*nhayi-yi,*	*yindra-rnanhi*
woman.acc	see-pres	cry-imperfds

'When I come here I see that woman crying'

It is also possible for both imperfective clauses to follow the main clause – examples include the following from Text 1, line 50 (see also line 124):

(567)

kanku	*yindra-yi,*	*pula*	*warritha-lha*	*wapa-rnanhi,*
boy.nom	cry-pres	3dl.nom	distant-still	go-imperfds

nhayi-rna	*nhulu*	*pulunha*	*pirta*	*miri-ndru*	*warritha*
see-imperfss	3sgnf.erg	3dl.acc	tree	top-ablat	distant.acc

'The boy cried as they went further away (he was) watching them in the distance from the top of the tree' [Di-t001s050]

Notice that the third and imperfss marked clause has as its subject an NP coreferential with the subject of the main clause – this shows that both imperfective clauses are dependent on the main (and also that the third is not dependent on the second – see [2] below). When both clauses are dependent in this way they cannot both precede the main clause; they must either follow or flank it.

2. an imperfective clause dependent on a imperfective clause which is in turn dependent on a main clause. The switch-reference system marks sameness or difference of next highest clause, regardless of whether or not that clause is itself main or dependent (cf. 5.1.4). Usually both clauses will follow the main when in this type of configuration (see (568)) although there are some rarer instances of both preceding the main clause (as in (569)). It is not possible for them to be flanking the main clause.

(568)

nhawu	*warpa-rna*	*kurra-yi,*	*nganha*	*warara-rna,*
3sgnf.nom	canter-ptcple	go away-pres	1sg.acc	leave-imperfss

tharka-rnanhi
stand-imperfds

'He canters off leaving me standing (there)'

(569)

wata	*yundru*	*murda-rnanhi,*	*wilhapina*	*yupa-rna,*
not	2sg.erg	stop-imperfds	old woman.acc	tease-imperfss

ngathu	*pirta*	*mani-lha*	*ngana-yi*
1sg.erg	stick.acc	get-fut	aux-pres

'If you don't stop teasing the old woman I'll get a stick (to hit you with)'

Imperfective clauses can be mixed with other types of dependent clauses in complex sentences – the syntax of these constuctions is discussed in 5.3 and 5.5.3.

5.3 Mixed dependent clauses

Up to this point the discussion of dependent clauses has separated implicated and imperfective clauses as different, but related, syntactic types. It is, of course, possible to combine both clause types with a main clause in a single complex sentence; in the following sections the syntactic and semantic possibilities found in such sentences are discussed and exemplified. We begin first with three-clause sentences, the simplest and most commonly encountered (5.3.1), and then illustrate other longer and more complex possibilities using exmples taken from texts. This division is made simply for expository purposes and reflects nothing in the structure of Diyari and Thirari. %%

5.3.1 Three-clause sentences. Complex sentences maqy be formed by the combination of a main clause plus an implicated clause and a imperfective clause in one of three ways (cf. 5.1.4, 5.2.5):

(a) both implicated and imperfective clauses are (separately) dependent on the main clause; the switch-reference marking will code coreferentiality or non-coreferentiality of main and dependent subject separately for each clause. The two clauses will flank the main with imperfective preceding and implicated following, as in:

(570)

yini	*nhaka-ldra*	*nhingki-rda*	*wakara-rnanhi,*	*nganhi*
2sg.nom	there-loc-addinf	here-vicin-loc	come-imperfds	1sg.nom

marri-ya	*mindri-lha*	*ngana-yi,*	*yulya*	*mani-lha*
Marree-allat	run-fut	aux-pres	police.acc	get-implss

'If you come here again I'll run to Marree to get the police'

(b) the implicated clause is dependent on and follows the imperfective clause which is dependent on the main clause; the switch-reference system operates between clauses regardless of their type. Usually, the two dependent clauses will follow the main in this type of construction, as in:

(571)

nganhi	*nhungkangu*	*yatha-lha*	*ngana-yi,*
1sg.nom	3sgnf.loc	speak-fut	aux-pres

nhawu	*karlka-tharri-rnanhi,*	*nganhi*	*wakara-rnanthu*
3sgnf.nom	wait-antipass-imperfds	1sg.nom	come-implds

'I will talk to him who is waiting for me to come'

Notice that the implds clause in (571) must be dependent on the imperfective clause and not the main clause – the main and implicated clauses have coreferential subjects.

It is also possible for both dependent clauses to precede the main, so long as the implicated clause follows the imperfective clause:

(572) *wintha* *nganhi* *nhungkangu* *yatha-rnanhi,*
when 1sg.nom 3sgnf.loc speak-imperfds

nhaka-ndru *ngarri-rnanthu,* *nhawu* *yindra-yi*
there-ablat go down-implds 3sgnf.nom cry-pres
'When I tell him to come down from there he cries'

(c) the imperfective clause is dependent on the implicated clause which is dependent on the main clause. Because of the preference for having implicated clauses immediately following the clause they are dependent on, the usual word order for these sentences is main–implicated-imperfective. Two examples are:

(573) *wata* *ngayani* *ngantya-rna* *wanthi-yi,* *nyarnikuti*
not 1plexcl.erg want-ptcple aux-pres goat.acc

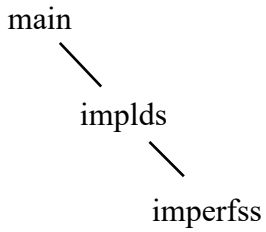
mani-ipa-lha, *ngurra-li* *nhayi-nhayi-ipa-rna* *nhangkarni*
get-ben-implss continuous-erg redup-see-ben-imperfss 3sgfdat
'We did not want to get the goats that we always looked after for her'

(574) *nganhi* *karlka-tharri-yi,* *nhawu* *murda-rnanthu,*
1sg.nom wait-antipass-pres 3sgnf.nom stop-implds

thurru *nandra-rna*
fire.acc hit-imperfss
'I'll wait for him to stop chopping the firewood'

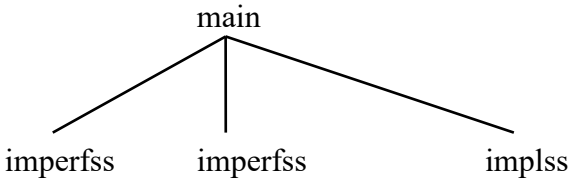
These examples are a few of the large number found in both texts and elicited material – all the logically possible combinations of same-subject and different-subject clauses are found in the data (see also Texts 1 and 2 in Appendix A for further examples).

5.3.2 Other complex sentences. In this section I present some text examples which illustrate longer and more complex clause chains. In order to make the discussion clearer and more concise, a simple abbreviatory device will be introduced. Diagrams such as the following will be employed to show the structure of complex sentences – left to right arrangement indicates linear order of the clauses and vertical arrangement indicates dependency:



This diagram can be described in words as depicting a main clause followed by an implicated different-subject clause (dependent on it) followed by a imperfective same-subject clause (dependent on the implicated clause). A sentence of this type is (574) in 5.3.1.

The text examples are following. Firstly, a sentence in the form:



(575)

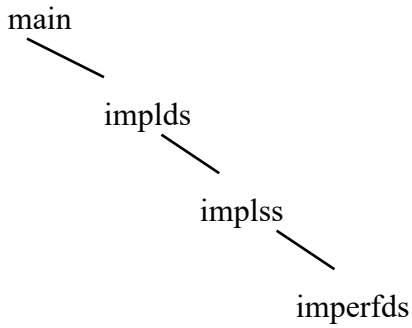
wata	*nhandru*	*dukara-rna,*	*windri*	*yaru-ka-rlu*
not	3sgf.erg	take off-imperfss	only	like that-token-still

wapa-rna,	*nhani*	*thina*	*ngalyi*	*dapa-ri-yi*
go-imperfss	3sgf.nom	foot.acc	a little	sore-inchoat-pres

mitha-li,	*kungka-kungka-lha*
ground-erg	redup-limp-implss

'Because she didn't take (her shoes) off and only went on like that, her feet became a little sore from the dirt (in her shoes) and she limped'

The second example is:



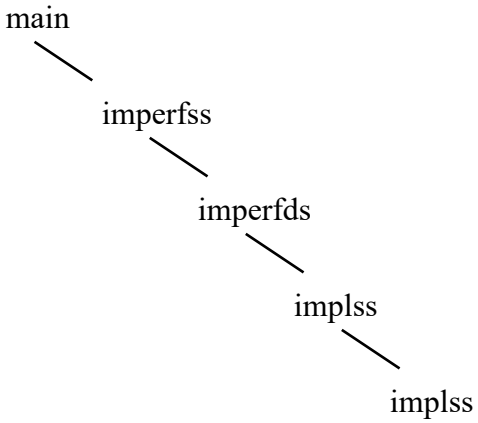
(576)

ngathu	*ngantya-yi,*	*yula*	*wapa-rnanthu,*	*nhingki-wa*
1sg.erg	want-pres	2dl.nom	go-implds	here-dist-loc

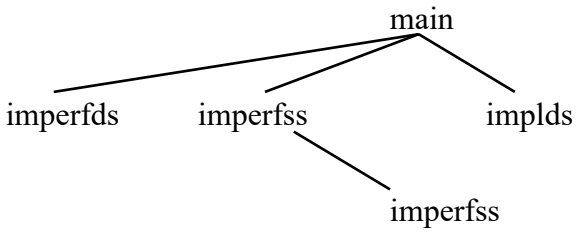
nhayi-lha,	*tyukityuki*	*thanali*	*kuri-yali*	*mani-rna*	*wara-rnanhi*
see-implss	fowl.acc	3pl.erg	stealth-erg	take-ptcple	aux-pres

'I want you to go and see there if those chickens have been stolen'

Line 123 of Text 1 is a five clause sentence which has the structure:



Finally, we have a five clause complex sentence (from a text about burying an old man who had died a week before he was found) of the form:



(577)

thina	*mandru*	*kilthi*	*nhungkarni*	*ngaka-rnanhi,*	*windri*
foot	two	juice	3sgnfdat.acc	flow-imperfds	only

wardu	*nganka-rna,*	*kurdu*	*paku-rna,*	*ngarda-nhi*
short	work-imperfss	hole.acc	dig-imperfss	then-loc

nhaka-ldra	*durnka-yi,*	*nhawu-lha*	*wirri-rnanthu*
there-loc-addinf	emerge-pres	3sgnf.nom-newinf	enter-implds

'Because his juice had seeped down two feet (you) had to get out, having worked only a short time digging the hole, so the other fellow could get in'

Example (577) and line 123 of Text I are the longest complex sentences encoutered in unelicited text material – there are no sentences involving more than five clauses. The expression *thina mandru* 'two feet' in (577) is a loan translation from English.

5.4 Perfective clauses

The third type of dependent clause in Diyari and Thirari is marked by the following affixes (see also 3.5.9 and Table 3.9):

Clause type	Diyari	Thirari
perfss	*-rnandru*	*-rndandru ~ rdandru*
perfds	*-ni(ngura)*	*-ni(ngura)*

where SS stands for 'same subject' and DS for 'different subject'. The allomorphy of perfss in Thirari is conditioned by the same phonological environment as the participial suffix and the imperfective clause suffixes (see 5.2, 3.5.9), that is, *-rdandru* is selected when the last syllable of the stem contains a nasal-stop cluster (effectively only after the distant past auxiliary *wanthi-*) and *-rndandru* otherwise.

The perfss suffixes appear to consist etymologically of the participial plus the ablative case suffix *-ndru* (see 3.2.5, 4.4.5) – syntactically there seem to be no strong reasons for analysing them this way. The perfds form *-ni* is homophonous with the nominaliser *-ni* (4.9.1). The optional suffix *ngura* does not occur elsewhere in Diyari or Thirari, but Ngamini has a causal case suffix (see 4.4.3 section [2c]) of this shape. Also, the usual common noun ablative case suffix in Yandruwandha and Yawarawarga is *-ngura*. Dixon (1977a: 339) discusses the connection in Yidiny between the ablative case and dependent clauses with semantic functions similar to perfective clauses in Diyari.

Perfective clauses almost always occur following the main clause to which they are dependent and, like imperfective clauses, they may contain a past tense reference auxiliary (see example (581) below). In comparison to the other types of dependent clauses, perfective clauses seem to be rather infrequently used – there are about a tenth as many occurrences of them in the texts and elicited data collected. This fact is most likely connected to the narrower semantics of this clause type (see 5.4.2). Unfortunately, the lack of examples also means that the interaction between perfective and other dependent clauses in multi-clause structures could not be investigated.

5.4.1 Switch-reference. Although there are fewer examples of perfective clauses in the corpus it is clear that a switch-reference system identical to that seen in implicated and imperfective clauses is signalled by the dependent clause verb suffixes. So, for example, we find main clauses whose intransitive subject (S) NP is coreferential with the S NP of the perfss clause:

(578)

nhawu	*pali-rna*	*wara-yi,*	*muntya*	*ngama-rnandru*
3sgnf.nom	die-ptcple	aux-pres	sick.nom	sit-perfss

'He died after being sick'

or with the A NP of the perfss clause:

(579)

yini	*thipi*	*murda-yi,*	*nganka-rnandru*	*windri*
2sg.nom	life.acc	finish-pres	work-perfss	only

'Your life ends after having done nothing but work'

An instance where the doreferential NPs are both in A function is (584) below. Note that the second occurrence of the coreferential NP is usually unexpressed, although it need not be.

Perfective different-subject clauses can have a noun phrase coreferential with some (non-subject) NP in the main clause:

(580) *ngali* *nhinha* *manka-manka-yi,* *matya* *nhawu* *pali-ni*
1dlexcl.erg 3sgnf.acc redup-find-pres already 3sgnf.nom die-perfds
'We find him after he had already died'

but they may also have no NP coreferential with one in the matrix clause, as in:

(581) *nganhi* *wakara-rna* *wara-yi,* *yundru* *matya*
1sg.nom come-ptcple aux-pres 2sg.erg already

nganthi *wayi-rna* *wara-ni*
meat.acc cook-ptcple aux-perfds
'I came after you had already cooked the meat'

There are no examples illustrating the sort of semantic inclusion described above for implicated clauses (see 5.1.3). Also, there appear to be no verbs which require either only perfss or perfds marked clauses to be dependent on the main clause in which they occur.

5.4.2 Semantic functions. Perfective clauses have exactly the same range of semantic functions as imperfective clauses, that is:

a. providing information about the reference of a noun phrase in the main clause ('NP-relative' interpretation)
b. providing information about the temporal or logical setting of the situation described by the main clause ('T-relative interpretation)

For function (a) a coreferential NP in both clauses is required, but for function (b) it is not. The difference between imperfective and perfective clauses is aspectual; imperfective clauses are imperfective while perfective clauses are (past) perfective, that is, they describe a situation which begins before, and is completed at the time of the situation described by the main clause (cf. Comrie 1976: Chapter 1). Consider the following pair of sentences:

(582) *ngathu* *nhanha* *wilha* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi,* *yindra-rnanhi*
1sg.erg 3sgf.acc woman.acc see-ptcple aux-pres cry-imperfds
'I saw the woman who was crying'

(583) *ngathu* *nhanha* *wilha* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi,* *yindra-ningura*
1sg.erg 3sgf.acc woman.acc see-ptcple aux-pres cry-perfds
'I saw the woman who had been crying'

Consultants explained that (583) would be used to refer to a woman who had been crying in the past but had stopped and was not crying when 'I' saw her. If the woman is crying when seen sentence (582) must be used.

Example (583) illustrates the NP-relative interpretation of perfective clauses; it is also possible for (580) above to be understood in this way and translated as 'We find him who had already died'. Temporal interpretations are illustrated by (578) to (581), the translations of which all involve 'after'. Sequential clauses can also be used to express the reason why some action or event does or does not take place. Clear examples from texts are the following:

(584) *parlpa-li* *mutaka* *ngama-lka-yi,* *nganka-rnandru*
some-erg car.acc sit-tr-pres work-perfss
'Some have motor cars from having worked'

(585) *yaṟu-ka* *nhulu* *nhinha* *wata* *mani-ya,*
like that-token 3sgnf.erg 3sgnf.acc not get-past

nhulu *nhinha* *yatha-ningura*
3sgnf.erg 3sgnf.acc scold-perfds
'That's why he didn't get him, because he had scolded him'

Note that in (585) the referents of the two third person pronouns are switched from one clause to the next – the perfds marker specifies that the two *nhulu* CANNOT be coreferential.

The interrogative *wardayari* can be used to introduce perfective clauses – see example (564) in 5.2.4.

5.5 'Lest' clauses

The fourth and final type of dependent clause found in Diyari and Thirari is the 'lest' clause, marked in both dialects by the single affix *-yathi*. That is, unlike implicated, imperfective and perfective clauses (see 5.1-5.4) 'lest' clauses do not mark sameness or difference of subjects (see 5.5.1). These clauses always follow the main clause to which they are dependent and there can only ever be one instance of a *-yathi* marked clause per complex sentence. It is possible to combine 'lest' clauses with other dependent clause types, however (see 5.5.3).

'Lest' clauses basically serve to indicate some situation which the speaker considers to be unpleasant and which should be avoided. They are most commonly used as admonitions or threats but they are also used in giving warnings (see 5.5.2). Occasionally, 'lest' clauses are found where there appears to be no main clause to which they are dependent; this is discussed and exemplified at 5.5.4.

Many Australian languages have a separate dependent clause type with the semantic functions of 'lest' clauses in Diyari and Thirari. All the languages east and north of Diyari (1.4) have 'lest' clauses; the verb inflections are set out in Table 5.1.

Although switch-reference is a widespread areal feature of Central Australian languages (see 5.1.2 and Austin (1980a)) no Australian language has switch-reference in 'lest' clauses (see also Dixon (1977a: 350ff) for a discussion of the syntactic differences between 'lest' and other types of dependent clauses in Yidiny).

5.5.1 Switch-reference. It is easy to demonstrate that 'lest' clauses differ from all other dependent clause types in not having a system of switch-reference coding referential identity of subjects between main and dependent clauses. We find *-yathi* marked clauses where there are coreferential NPs which are subjects in both clauses, for example (586) shows NPs in S function in both clauses and (587) in A function in both:

(586) *ngama-mayi, yura puri-yathi*
sit.imper-emph 2pl.nom fall-lest
'Sit down or you'll fall'

(587) *makita pardaka-mayi, wanku yundru walya nhayi-yathi*
gun.acc take.imper-emph snake.acc 2sg.erg soon see-lest
'Carry a gun in case you see a snake'

However, *-yathi* also marks clauses where there is a coreferential NP but it is not subject in both; example (588) shows S in main and P in dependent while (589) has the coreferential NP in P function in both clauses (the second occurrence being unexpressed):

(588) *ngapu-ri-ya-mayi, ngathu yinha nandra-yathi*
quiet-inchoat-imper-emph 1sg.erg 2sg.acc hit-lest
'Be quiet or I'll hit you'

(589) *pulanha mingka-nhi kuthi-ipa-yi, thanali nhayi-yathi parlpa-li*
3dl.acc hole-loc hide-tr-pres 3pl.acc see-lest some-erg
'(He) hides them in a hole lest some of the others see (them)'

There are also examples where there are no coreferential NPs and yet the lest clause is marked with *-yathi*:

(590) *marna ngurru-nganka-mayi, muntyu wirri-yathi*
door.acc firm-cause.imper-emph fly.nom enter-lest
'Close the door or the flies will come in'

These examples show that 'lest' clauses do not participate in the system of switch-reference which is an integral part of the syntax of other Diyari dependent clauses.

5.5.2 Semantic functions. 'Lest' clauses describe a situation which is unpleasant or harmful; the main clause may refer to some precautions which could be taken in case

that situation arises or which should be taken to try to avoid it. Examples (587) and (590) illustrate this. The main clause may also refer to some action or event which, if it were (or were not) to occur, would give rise to the harmful consequences expressed by the 'lest' clause; examples (586), (588) and (589) are of this type. In both these functions the complex sentence is used as a warning or threat.

Most commonly the main clause verb will be inflected for imperative mood (3.5.9). The sentence may be positive (as in (586), (587), (588) and (590)) or negative, containing the particle *wata* 'not' (4.11), as in:

(591) *wata* *yarra* *wapa-mayi,* *kutyi-yali* *yinha*
not that way go.imper-emph devil-erg 2sg.acc

waltha-rna *kurra-yathi*
carry-ptcple go away-lest
'Don't go that way (into the darkness) or the devil will carry you off'

It is also possible for the main clause verb to be inflected for tense, as in (589) above and:

(592) *wata* *nganhi* *wapa-yi,* *karna-li* *nganha* *nhayi-yathi*
not 1sg.nom go-pres person-erg 1sg.acc see-lest
'I'm not going in case someone sees me'

The 'lest' clause can also be used with a main clause containing the predicate 'be afraid' to express the reason for one's fear:

(593) *nganhi* *yapa-li* *ngana-yi,* *nganha* *thutyu-yali*
1sg.nom fear-erg be-pres 1sg.acc reptile-erg

matha-matha-tharri-yathi
redup-bite-dur-lest
'I'm afraid that some reptile might bite me'

The animate or inanimate object of one's fear can be expressed as an NP in locative case (see 4.4.3 section [2d]) – to express fear of some action or event occurring a 'lest' clause is used.

5.5.3 Multi-clause sentences. As noted above, it is not possible to have more than one 'lest' clause in a single complex sentence. However, 'lest' clauses can be combined in various ways with implicated and imperfective clauses – in a three clause sentence consisting of a main, 'lest' and another dependent clause, there are three logically possible syntactic structures:

- both the 'lest' clause and implicated or imperfective clause are independently dependent on the main clause.

- the 'lest' clause is dependent on the implicated or imperfective clause which is dependent on the main clause.
- the implicated or imperfective clause is dependent on the 'lest' clause which is dependent on the main clause.

Since the 'lest' clause must follow the main clause and does not mark switch-reference, it is often difficult to differentiate structures (a) and (b), especially where the third clause is of the implicated type (which must follow the main clause). Imperfective clauses may precede the main, so a sentence such as the following is semantically and structurally unambiguous:

(594)

nhawu	*wakara-rnanhi,*	*wata*	*yawarra*	*kurnu*	*nhungkangu*
3sgnf.nom	come-imperfds	not	word	one.acc	3sgnf.loc

yatha-mayi,	*nhulu*	*yinha*	*nandra-yathi*
speak.imper-emph	3sgnf.erg	2sg.acc	hit-lest

'When he comes don't say a word to him or he'll hit you'

When the imperfective clause follows the main it is often not clear whether the 'lest' clause is to be understood as dependent to it, or to the main clause. Consider the following sentence (from a text about the mythical serpent *kardimarkara*):

(595)

ngarda	*wata*	*yatha-yi*	*thinka-nhi,*	*yani-parra*	*warapa-rna,*
then	not	say-pres	night-loc	like this-there	relate-imperfss

nhawu	*wakara-yathi*	*puthurru*	*kurkuru*
3sgnf.nom	come-lest	dust	secret

'Then (we) didn't say a thing at night telling about this (which we'd seen) in case he came along secretly in the dust storm'

Similarly, sentences with implicated and 'lest' clauses are semantically and structurally unclear when they occur in that order. An example from a text is:

(596)

yundru	*nhinha-ya*	*pinarru*	*pardaka-mayi,*	*nhingki-wa*
2sg.erg	3sgnf.acc-near	old man.acc	take.imper-emph	here.loc-dist

ngama-lka-lha,	*nhawu*	*kara*	*murda-yathi*	*nhingki-rda*
sit-tr-implss	3sgnf.nom	maybe	finish-lest	here.loc-vicin

'You take the old man to have him there in case he finishes (i.e. dies) here'

When the implicated clause is dependent on the 'lest' clause it must follow and hence the resulting sentence is unambiguous:

(597)

wata	*mindri-ya,*	*nhulu*	*kantyi*	*ngayani-nha*	*thina*
not	run-imper	3sgnf.erg	can	1plexcl-acc	track.acc

kari-yathi,	*thayi-rna*	*parlka-lha*	*ngayani-nha*
follow-lest	eat-ptcple	go along-implss	1plexcl-acc

'Don't run or he could follow our tracks and eat us as he goes along'

Imperfective clauses dependent on 'lest' clauses also typically follow them, as in:

(598)	*wata*	*yarra*	*wapa-mayi,*	*nhulu*	*yinha*	*parda-yathi,*
	not	that way	go.imper-emph	3sgnf.erg	2sg.acc	catch-lest

nhulu	*yinha*	*nhayi-rna*
3sgnf.erg	2sg.acc	see-imperfss

'Don't go that way or he'll catch you when he sees you'

Consultants noted that it is possible to reverse the order of the last two clauses in (598) without affecting the meaning, i.e. we can also have:

(599) *wata yarra wapamayi, nhulu yinha nhayirna, pardayathi*

The imperfss marked clause must be dependent on the 'lest' clause because the main clause has a different subject from it.

5.5.4 'Lest' as main clauses. There are a number of examples in the texts and elicited material in both Diyari and Thirari of clauses where a verb is inflected for lest and yet there appears to be no main clause to which it is dependent. That is, *-yathi* appears to function as a main clause verb suffix. Nevertheless, in all the examples of this type of construction it is clear from the context that an 'understood' imperative, warning or suggestion is implicit; the 'lest' clause simply expresses an unhappy or harmful consequence and the cause of it or precautions necessary to avoid it are clear and need not be expressed. Consider the following example:

(600)	*nhulu-ka*	*kinthala-li*	*yinanha*	*matha-yathi*
	3sgnf.erg-token	dog-erg	2sg.acc	bite-lest

'This dog might bite you'

Sentence (600) could be said to a visitor entering one's camp as a warning that a particular dog approaching him is ferocious and should be avoided – the context would be clear and make it unnecessary to say 'Look out!' or 'Be careful!' and so on. These sentences may be regarded as structurally dependent because it is always POSSIBLE to add a main clause before them, although context may make it unnecessary.

5.6 Co-ordination by conjunction

The particle *ya* functions as a co-ordinating conjunction in Diyari and Thirari; it corresponds fairly closely to English 'and', in both its sentential and NP conjoining functions. However, there seems to be an important semantic difference between *ya*

and English 'and' as sentential conjunctions. In English 'and' is not symmetrical; compare the following pair of sentences:

(601) He was run over by a car and died.

(602) He died and was run over by a car.

Sentences (601) and (602) describe different situations – the conjoined events are understood to occur in different sequential order. The meaning of 'S_1 and S_2' differs from the meaning of 'S_2 and S_1'. In Diyari *ya* is symmetrical and connects situations as a list, the order of which could be changed without affecting the meaning as a whole. Examples in 5.6.2 illustrate this. There are two ways event-sequencing can be expressed in Diyari:

(a) using an implicated clause (5.1) where the dependent clause expresses the consequences or result of the situation expressed in the main clause.

(b) using the adjective *ngarda* 'next, then' (3.2.8) inflected for locative case (see 4.4.4 section [1]) in the second of two sentences in sequence. There are a number of examples of its use in Text 1.

Note that *ya* is the only monosylabic word in Diyari – it is usually unstressed (see 2.1, 2.5). Ngamini and Yaluyandi also have a conjunction *ya*.

5.6.1 Phrasal conjunction. There are two ways that *ya* is used as a noun phrase conjunction:

(a) it may conjoin constituents within a single noun phrase. Examples illustrating this include the following where the second parts of the phrasal compounds *nhantu ngandri* 'mare' and *nhantu kuparru* 'foal' are conjoined:

(603)

nhantu	*ngandri*	*ya*	*kuparru,*	*ngathu*	*pulanha*
horse	mother	and	young.acc	1sg.erg	3dl.acc

kari-rna	*thika-yi*
chase-ptcple	return-pres

'I chase the mare and foal back'

(b) it may conjoin noun phrases, as in:

(604)

nhulu	*nganthi*	*karti*	*ya*	*ngapa*	*marra*
3sgnf.erg	meat	raw.acc	and	water	new.acc

mani-rna	*wara-yi*
get-ptcple	aux-pres

'He got some raw meat and fresh water'

The majority of examples in the corpus have *ya* conjoining just two noun phrases, however multiple conjunction is possible as Text 1, line 12 illustrates.

The conjunction of noun phrases with *ya* produces a unit which functions syntactically as a noun phrase. That is, in terms of labelled bracketing, we find:

$$[\quad [X]_{NP} \quad ya \quad [Y]_{NP} \;]_{NP}$$

When such a conjoined NP is definite a single third person pronoun agreeing in number with the total number of the conjuncts occurs in first position in the larger noun phrase. An example is:

(605)	*pula*	*mathari*	*ya*	*wilha*	*ngura-nhi*	*ngama-yi*
	3dlnom	man	and	woman.nom	camp-loc	sit-pres

'The man and woman are sitting in the camp'

An example of a topicalized conjoined NP cross-referenced by a pronoun of this type is to be found in Text 1, line 1.

As regards case marking in these conjoined constructions we find two possibilities, either both conjuncts are case marked (as in (606)) or else only the second is (see (607)). It is NOT possible to case-mark the first conjunct and leave the second unmarked. Thus, the case marking pattern is the same as for other noun phrases in Diyari.

(606)	*wata*	*kanku-yali*	*ya*	*wilha-li*	*nhayi-rnda*	*purri-ya*
	not	boy-erg	and	woman-erg	see-ptcple	aux-past

'The boys and women didn't see (the corroboree)'

(607)	*kanku*	*ya*	*mankarra-li*	*wima*	*wangka-yi*
	boy	and	girl-erg	song.acc	sing-pres

'The boys and girls are singing a song'

There are some instances of NP conjunction in Diyari which need not involve *ya*. The NPs to be conjoined may be simply juxtaposed with no other constituents separating them. The juxtaposed NPs form a larger NP constituent; they take a single pronoun if definite (see above) and are case marked like conjoined NPs, that is either both take a suffix (as in (608)) or else ony the last does (as in (609)). There are two semantically distinct types of NPs which can be conjoined by juxtaposition:

(a) *kinship terms*, provided that the terms to be conjoined refer to people of the same generation. Groups of people of different generations are usually denoted by a single lexical item or a *-mar̲a* 'kinship proprietive' derived stem (see 4.5.4). Also, there seems to be a tendency not to use juxtaposition (but rather *ya*) when the kin terms refer to individuals of the SAME sex; this is not a categorical rule but the great majority of examples of conjunctions by juxtaposition involve terms referring to different sex individuals. An example is (109) in 4.11, Text 1 line 93, and:

(608) *nhungkarni* *ngandri-yali* *ngapira-li* *nguyama-yi* *nganha*
3sgnfdat mother-erg father-erg know-pres 1sg.acc
'His mother and father know me'

(b) *common nouns used to refer to human beings*. Again the tendency is for juxtaposition to be used where the nouns refer to individuals of the same age but different sex and for *ya* to be used when the sexes are the same. Examples are:

(609) *pinarru* *wilhapina-li* *nhayi-nhayi-ipa-rna* *wanthi-yi* *partyarna*
old man old woman-erg redup-see-ben-ptcple aux-pres all.acc
'The old men and old women used to watch (us) all'

(610) *nhulu* *mingka-nhi* *kuthi-ipa-yi,* *mathari-yali* *wilha-li*
3sgnf.erg hole-loc hide-tr-pres man-erg woman-erg

nhayi-yathi
see-lest
'He hides (them) in a hole lest the men and women see (them)'

It is always possible to use *ya* for conjoining NPs of this type. Thus consultants gave, as an alternative to (610), the sentence:

(611) *nhulu mingka-nhi kuthi-ipa-yi , mathari-yali ya wilha-li nhayi-yathi*

There is simply a preference for using juxtaposition to express conjunction with these types of noun phrase.

5.6.2 Clause and sentence conjunction. The particle *ya* is commonly used to conjoin simple sentences; typically the subjects (S or A NP) of the two sentences are coreferential and the second is left unexpressed (cf. 5.1, 5.2 above). Two examples are (these and all following examples are taken from texts):

(612) *nhulu* *yinka* *dukara-yi* *ya* *thina* *puta* *nhungkarni*
3sgnf.erg string.acc take off-pres and foot boot 3sgnfdat.acc

dukara-yi
take off-pres
'He takes off the string and takes off his boots'

(613) *yini* *pakarna* *muntya-ri-lha* *ngana-yi*
2sg.nom also sick-inchoat-fut aux-pres

ya *pali-lha* *ngana-yi*
and die-fut aux-pres
'You too will become sick and die'

It is not necessary that the subjects of the two sentences be coreferential; there are numerous text examples where the subjects are different. Often there is an NP in one of the sentences coreferential with a non-subject in the other.

(614) *yini* *pakarna* *muntya-ri-lha* *ngana-yi* *ya*
2sg.nom also sick-inchoat-fut aux-pres and

karna-li *yinanha* *manyu-yali* *thuti-lha* *ngana-yi*
person-erg 2sg.acc good-erg bury-fut aux-pres
'You too will become sick and people will bury you properly'

but it is also possible for there to be no coreferential NPs in either conjunct:

(615) *nganhi* *yarra* *wapa-yi* *ya* *yini* *nhingki-rda*
1sg.nom that way go-pres and 2sg.nom here.loc-vicin

ngama-yi
sit-pres
'I go that way and you sit here'

In Pitjantjatjara (Western Desert) there are two conjunctions: *munu* 'and' used when the conjuncts have coreferential subjects and *ka* 'and' used with different subjects. That is, this language has 'switch-reference' in conjoined structures (as well as in dependent clauses – see 5.1.2).

Sentences whose predicates do not contain a verb may also be conjoined with *ya*:

(616) *nhawu* *karna* *ya* *marralyi* *nhawu*
3sgnf.nom person and red 3sgnf.nom
'He is a person and he is red'

It is also possible to conjoin sentences where the predicates are of different types, one verbal and one non-verbal:

(617) *nhulu* *nhantu* *ngama-lka-yi* buggy-*nhi* *ya* *ngapa* *pani*
3sgnf.erg horse.acc sit-tr-pres buggy-loc and water none
'He has horses in the buggy and no water'

(618) *ngayani* *waltha-yi* *nhinha* *ya* *mardi* *marla*
1plexcl.erg carry-pres 3sgnf.acc and heavy very
'We carry him and (he) is very heavy'

Examples (612) to (618) all show conjunction of two simple sentences with *ya*. It is also possible to conjoin (dependent) clauses with *ya*, example (517) in 5.1.4 shows two implicated clauses both dependent on a main clause and linked by the conjunction. Co-

ordination of complex sentences, where either or both of the conjuncts contains dependent clause(s), is also found using *ya*. Two examples are:

(619) *yundru* *nhantu* *thananha* *karra-yi,* *mawa* *ngama-rnanthu*
2sg.erg horse.acc 3pl.acc tie-pres hunger sit-implds

ya *wata* *yundru* *thananha* *ngapa* *yingki-yi*
and not 2sg.erg 3pl.acc water.acc give-pres

'You tie up the horses so they'll be hungry and you don't give them any water'

(620) *nhani* *kartyi-yi* *yarla-wa,* *pa<u>r</u>atyi* *nhayi-rna*
3sgnom turn-pres elsewhere-dist light.acc see-imperfss

ya *thina* *nhani* *dapa-lha* *mitha-nhi*
and foot.nom 3sgf.nom sore-newinf soil-loc

'She turned round over there having seen the light and her feet were sore from the soil (in her shoes)'

Further examples of clause and sentece conjunction may be found in Text 1, lines 3, 10, 12, 15, 17, 21, 27 and 29.

5.7 Co-ordination by disjunction

Sentences and noun phrases can be co-ordinated in Diyari by the particle *ka<u>r</u>a* which translated into English as 'or'. *ka<u>r</u>a* also occurs as an epistemic modal particle meaning 'maybe' – this usage is discussed and exemplified at 4.11.

In English, 'or' may be 'exclusive', that is, X or Y but not X and Y, or 'inclusive', that is, X or Y and both X and Y (see Lyons (1977:144)). In Diyari *ka<u>r</u>a* functions only as an exclusive disjunction; X *ka<u>r</u>a* Y cannot mean 'both X or Y and X and Y' – examples below illustrate this. The only example which might appear to be an instance of inclusive disjunction is (621) but it is clear from the narrative context from which the example is taken (namely, a description of the exchange of Aboriginal artefacts for food or money, not both, at Aiston's store on old Mulka station) that only an exclusive interpretation is intended.

5.7.1 Phrasal disjunction. The particle *ka<u>r</u>a* is used to co-ordinate noun phrases, as in:

(621) tin *nganthi* *ka<u>r</u>a* *yani-ka* *mani* *yingki-rnanhi,*
tin meat.acc or like this-token money.acc give-imperfds

paku-yali *wara-rna* *wanthi-yi*
silly-erg throw-ptcple aux-pres

'If (we) had been given a tin of meat or money like this (we) would have thrown it away stupidly'

We also find NP_1 *kara* NP_2 *kara* as an expression of noun phrase disjunction – two examples are:

(622) *waranha* *tyika* *ngana-yi,* *yini* *kara* *nganhi* *kara*
who.nom mistake be-pres 2sg.nom or 1sg.nom or
'Who is mistaken? You or I?'

(623) *thana* *thangkuparna* *kara* *karari* *kara*
3pl.nom tomorrow.loc or today.loc or

thika-lha *ngana-yi*
return-fut aux-pres
'They will return today or tomorrow'

Unfortunately, there are no examples in the corpus of NPs co-ordinated by *kara* marked with non-zero case suffixes. Thus, it is not clear if the two case marking possiblities seen for *ya* conjoined NPs above (5.6.1) also apply when the co-ordinator is *kara*.

5.7.2 Sentence disjunction. There are a few examples in the texts and elicited data of simple sentences co-ordinated by *kara*, the number of examples is much less than for *ya* (see 5.6.2) and there are none at all of *kara* between one or more complex sentences. Among the examples occuring in texts are:

(624) *ngurra* *yundru* *ngama-lka-yi* *kara* *yundru*
continuous 2sg.erg sit-tr-pres or 2sg.erg

mani-lha *wirri-yi*
get-fut aux-pres
'Have you always had (them) or did you get (them) yesterday?'

(625) *nganhi* *wapa-lha* *ngana-yi* *kara* *nhingki-rda*
1sg.nom go-fut aux-pres or here.loc-vicin

ngama-lha *ngana-yi*
sit-fut aux-pres
'I'll go or else (I'll) sit here'

We also find examples of *kara* occurring in both of the co-ordinated sentences, typically in final position, as in:

(626) *pani* *kara* *nhani* *karakara-lha* *kara*
nothing or 3sgf.nom near-newinf or
'Either she is close now or she is not here at all'

Dixon (1972: 363) notes that Dyirbal has a modal particle *yamba* ‘perhaps’ which can be used with NPs as a disjunction. He does not mention if this language co-ordinates sentences using the particle as a disjunction.

6 *Previous work on Diyari*

In this chapter I survey the published and unpublished sources and records of previous work in the Diyari language. We can recognize two periods of activity in the recording of Diyari, firstly 1870-1910, which could be termed the early work, and secondly 1930-present. This latter period is characterized by anthropological and professional linguistic work.

In the following discussion the sources are arranged chronologically and by author's name. In the main, only primary linguistic sources are included and not works which contain, incidentally, a few Diyari words. Each item is accompanied by a note on its contents and, where applicable, an evaluation of its contribution.

6.1 Early work: 1870-1914

This period is characterized by the writings of the Lutheran missionaries (see 1.3) and later by the explorer A. W. Howitt. The culminations of missionary work is undoubtedly the Reuther manuscript (1899), although, as we shall see, there was a tradition of study of Diyari leading up to that work for a period of approximately 30 years.

1870 – anonymous – this is a Diyari reader produced for the Lutheran mission. 1t contains a list of symbols, syllables, words, sentences and short texts in "Dieri". The spelling system, especially the use of "x" for the lamino-palatal stop (see 3.2.1) is the same as that used in Schoknecht (1871-3 below) suggesting that he may have been the author.

1871 – Taplin (ed.) – a fifty-five word vocabulary frmo "Lake Kopperamanna" supplied by missionary Rev. G. Meissel. Taplin also added words from Howitt's "Expedition" but not all of these are Diyari.

1871-3 – Schoknecht – a thirty-seven page German-Dieri and Dieri-German vocabulary compiled by one of the Lutheran missionaries. The vocabulary is notable for two features:

a) use of "x" for the lamino-palatal stop (*ty* see 3.2.1),

b) confusion over initial velar nasal (*ng*) which is sometimes missed and sometimes recorded as one of the other nasals, for example as <m> or <n>.

The manuscript was translated into English by Schoknecht's son in 1947 and deposited with the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide.

1871-3(b) – Schoknecht – a grammar of Diyari (again translated by Schoknecht's son in 1947) organized along the lines of traditional Latin grammars. It is almost identical

to Flierl (?1879) and Reuther (1899); these later grammars were probably refinements of Schoknecht's earlier work.

1874 – Gason – was police trooper at Lake Hope (see 1.1.2) and published a pamphlet on "The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie tribe". Of linguistic interest are Part III which contains a list of bird and animal names, weapons and utensils and Part IV with its key to pronunciation, some paradigms and a large vocabulary. This section is notable for:

a) failure to place word boundaries correctly. So, for example, pronouns, verb roots and following auxiliary verbs (4.5.7.2) are written together as one word. (See example under (b) below.)
b) failure to record word-initial velar nasal [ŋ]. This gives rise (together with (a)) to forms such as "I shall love, athooyoralauni" for *ngathu yuRalha nganayi*.
c) use of symbols for voiced and voiceless consonants for example p and b when there is no phonetic or phonemic contrast.
d) failure to record the three vowels consistently, for example we have: 'bird' <piya> (for *paya*), 'others' <pulpa> (for *parlpa*), 'hair' <parra> (for *para*)

Gason did however record the lamino-dental stop (th) as "th" even though later workers, such as Trefry (1970) failed to note it (as Hercus 1971 comments). If the Lutheran missionaries had not collected language material (such as Reuther 1899) and the language had died before more recent research could be done, Gason's materials would have proved invaluable.

1879 – Taplin – this work contains some material on Diyari including language notes:

a) Gason's answers to Taplin's questionnaire contain some material. This is mainly reprints from his earlier article (Gason 1874 above). There is also vocabulary in the comparative table ("Dieyerie Tribe, Lake Hope S.A.") taken from Gason (1874).

b) Homann, a Lutheran missionary, supplied Taplin with a word list ("Dieyerie Tribe, Cooper's Creek S.A.") and a pronoun paradigm. An interesting error in this material is the use of 'n' for the initial nelar nasal, while Schoknecht (1871-3) tended to miss it completely. Flierl (1880) has this sound recorded as "*ng*" however (q.v.).

?1879 – Flierl – a grammar of Diyari essentially the same as that of Schoknecht (above) together with parallel entries for Wangganguru. Both grammars are similar to that of Reuther (1899) and have been translated into English by L. A. Hercus and T. Schwarzschild (included in Hercus and Breen (ms)).

1880 – Flierl – a translation of the catechism into Diyari. This material shows that Flierl had a good command of the language although the transcription is poor and under-differentiated. The spelling system however remained the standard for all missionary works (till the close of the mission in 1915, see 1.3).

1884 – anonymous – a manuscript translation of the Epistles and Gospels from German into Diyari by an unknown author (probably Flierl who left to go to New Guinea this year).

1886 – Curr – contains some Diyari vocabulary most of which is extremely poorly transcribed. Among lists which are identifiably Diyari are:

a) Gason – this is a reprint of Gason (1874) and suffers al the failings of that earlier work.

b) Howitt – a short vocabulary from "Cooper's Creek" – this is clearly Diyari though the spelling is very poor.

c) Paull – vocabulary from "The Warburton River". Breen (1971) identified this list as Ngamini (repeated in Oates 1975) because Curr titles it "vocabulary of the language of the Ominee tribe". The vocabulary is clearly Diyari however (having, for example, "kinthalla" for 'dog' c.f. Diyari *kinthala* and Ngamini *thirrtha*). The vocabulary by Jacobs from "West Shore of Lake Eyre" is Ngamini (not Yaluyandi as Oates 1975 claims).

d) Jacobs – vocabulary from "Kopperamana" – it is notable for recording initial velar nasal as <ng>.

1887-8 – Gason – a note sent to the Royal Anthropological Institute repeating information published in Gason (1874).

1889 – Mathew – a pronoun paradigm copied from Gason (1874).

1890 – Howitt – the first of many papers on Diyari and neighbouring tribes based on his own observations and information from Gason, Vogelsang, Meier and Flierl (Lutheran missionaries). Notes on tribal locations are interesting (see 1.1.5) as is the map (plate I) which badly mislocates the "Wangkurapana tribe". Much of the information in this paper appears in Howitt (1904) (q.v.).

1890 – Howitt – notes on sign (or "gesture") language read before ANZAAS. This is a repeat of part 10 of Howitt (1890) above. I have been unable to check the accuracy of the information presented here as no consultants remember any details of the sign language which once existed.

1892 – Fraser – the appendices to Fraser (1892) contain some Diyari material:

a) Homann – a list of pronouns the same as Homann in Taplin (1879).

b) Gason – pronouns and verb forms copied from Gason (1874) or possibly later reprints (such as Curr (1886)) with all the errors of the original.

1897 – Reuther and C. Strehlow – translation of the New Testament into Diyari. The spelling is that of Flierl (1880) which came to be the standard and although largely correct it is still under-differentiated. There are few morphological errors in the translation but syntactically it is clearly not typical of Diyari especially in the

dependent clause structure (see 5.2.2). Stylistically, this is clearly a translation and little attempt was made to produce 'natural' Diyari. (c.f. Texts in Appendix A).

1899 – Mathew – contains some grammatical notes and vocabulary items (in the comparative vocabulary table pp.208-272) taken from Gason (1874).

1899 – Reuther – these extensive manuscript materials, translated by Scherer, contain much information on the Diyari language and the languages of neighbouring groups (see 1.1.5). The most valuable materials are the four volume dictionary (approximately 4,000 entries) which has detailed entries, and parallel translations in Diyari, "Tirari", Arabana, Wangkanguru, Kuyani, Ngamini, Yawarawarka and Yandruwandha for some items. There is also scattered information on Biladaba and Yaluyandi. Unfortunately, Reuther's spelling is not always exact but with the help of present day consultants, where they still exist, much of the material could be rechecked. There is also a parallel word list in the eight languages (mentioned above) which should prove to be a mine of valuable comparative information. The translation of this work is the single most important source for Diyari of this period.

1900 – Siebert – these are Diyari legends in the mission spelling with German translations and commentary. They are valuable records of material now no longer remembered and can be used with Reuther and Howitt's (see below) information to reconstruct something of the traditional literature.

1902 – M. Howitt – some short Diyari legends probably provided by her father (and also probably collected by Rev. Siebert).

1902 – Howitt – a number of publications by Howitt and also with Siebert of Diyari legends in English translation. These provide some useful data on traditional literature. There are notes and Diyari words added by Siebert who also probably collected the original material.

1902 – Howitt – in his major work on the tribes of South-Eastern Australia Howitt provides some information on Diyari and also a little vocabulary, mostly poorly transcribed and unanalysed. Some material had appeared earlier, for example in Howitt (1890) and texts from Howitt and Siebert (1902). The material has proved valuable when checked with the statements of present day consultants (see 1.1.2).

1904 – Howitt and Siebert – another set of legends in English translation. This completes the information on traditional literature published in this period (see also Fry 1937).

1908 – Eylmann – contains some Diyari words with German glosses probably derived from one of the Lutheran mission sources. David Nash (p.c.) reports that Eylmann visited Bethesda for 1 1/2 months in 1900.

1908 – Planert – although based on the Diyari missionary grammars such as that of Flierl (?1879) and Reuther (1899) this grammar of Planert's shows a much keener awareness of linguistics and an insight into the workings of the Diyari language. The section on morphology, especially "Wortbildung" contains some very useful information although there are one or two errors due to incorrect recording of the primary sources. The arrangement of the noun paradigms as "Deklination" follows that of the sources but Planert has added morpheme boundaries to give a clearer picture. There are also three Biblical texts (the first being "the Prodigal son") which are given word for word German glosses. This work of Planert shows some excellent features limited only by his primary sources.

?1914 – Riedel – a translation of the Old Testament into "Diari". The manuscript is in four parts and totals 381 pages, but was never published apparently because of the decline in the Lutheran mission (see 1.3). Ben Murray described a meeting called just before World War I where Riedel said that the translation was completed but the church could not fund its publication.

6.2 Recent research 1930-present.

1930 – Gatti – an Italian grammar and vocabulary on Diyari based upon Gason (1874) and Reuther and Strehlow (1897). It suffers from the deficiencies of the primary sources, especially in phonology.

1931-2 – Elkin – a number of papers by Elkin on kinship and social organisation in the Diyari area. These contain some words, almost all of which are poorly transcribed.

1933-5 – A. Meier – a vocabulary (probably collected in the nineteenth century) sent to South Australian Museum by an ex-missionary. This is similar to Reuther's (1899) vocabulary except that it is far less complete and has, for example, no words beginning with 'm'.

1934-7 – Elkin – further anthropological data on totems and beliefs connected with death. These contain some poorly transcribed Diyari words.

1937 – Fry – this is a collection of traditional Diyari stories with glosses by Vogelsang. There is no running translation of the texts and very little in the way of explanatory notes. The spelling system is that used on the Lutheran mission but it is very inconsistent especially in the later sections which were not checked by Vogelsang. There are a large number of errors which can only be due to typograpical mistakes not corrected before publication (for example page 276 has tutiba for tutina (*thutirna* 'bury-ptcple')). The texts are very valuable however in that they are the only record surviving of these stories in Diyari (c.f Howitt and Siebert (1902-4) which are in English and Reuther (1899) in German). By reading aloud Fry's text VIII I was able to jog consultant's memories and record Text One (see Appendix A) which is the only complete traditional story that was remembered (notice that the ending differs in detail from that of Fry's text).

1938-41 – Berndt and Vogelsang – there are three items published in this period:

a) a text about the initiations of *kunki* the native doctors – this is written in the mission spelling (except in having ŋ for *ng*) with a word-by-word gloss provided by Vogelsang (a son of one of the early missionaries). No attempt at a grammatical analysis was made;

b) ethnographic notes which contain a few words provided by Vogelsang;

c) a vocabulary list with parallel items in Ngadjuri. Unfortunately the spelling is under-differentiated and less reliable than it claims to be.

1943 – Johnston & Cleland – these articles contain lists of plant and animal names in various Australian languages (including Diyari) together with their zoological identification. The transcription is poor but by checking with consultants a large number of names have been corrected and their referents identified.

1953 – Berndt – an ethnographic text which purports to describe a pre-contact day in the life of a Diyari man. The transcription in this text is interesting in that the voiced symbols i.e. b, d, g are used for Diyari stops which are basically voiceless (but see footnote 10 on page 174 which refers to Capell's article on transcribing Australian languages). In the earlier Berndt and Vogelsang text (1938) the symbols p, t, k had been used. This text is accompanied by word for word glosses (probably provided by Vogelsang) and a running translation at the end. While no attempt is made to analyse individual words, the glosses are basically correct and there are numerous footnote explanations. This text provides some valuable information if the reader has some knowledge of Diyari.

1964 – Reuther – a vocabulary list recorded by J. G. Reuther's son from a helper at the mission. It is of only minor significance but is interesting in that the interdental stop is recorded as "th" (in mission spelling it is simply t).

1970 – Laycock – this collection contains Trefry's article on Diyari phonology which is an early version of Trefry (1974). There are a number of errors in this article, some of which are:

a) the setting up of a phoneme /?/, a retroflex palatal stop (sic!) which, as Hercus (1971) realized, should be the combination *rty*.

b) failure to record any interdental laminal phonemes. (See 3.2.1). This fact negates Trefry's claim about a voicing distinction for the apico-dental stops because his t is *th* while his d is actually *rd* (see page 65 of the article).

c) failure to record palatal lateral ly.

d) analysis of [ndr] and [ldr] as nr and lr respectively rather than /ndrr/ and /ldrr/ (see 3.2.1.2).

e) mistakes in the glossing of examples, for example /naiala/ is glossed at "see there" which should be *nhayilha* see-FUT (see 4.5.7.1.1) and "[w?d?u] broken" for *wardu* 'short'.

f) mistakes in the rules for stress assignments because of the failure to recognize word and morpheme boundaries (see 3.6).

Apart from these obvious errors there are a number of observations and conclusions which are correct including a useful discussion of the vowel allophony (but see Trefry (1974)) and phonotactics.

1971 – Hercus – a review of Laycock (1970) including some comments on Trefry's article particularly concerning the /?/ and the failure to identify lamino-dental consonants (see above).

1972 – Hercus – although primarily about prestopping in Arabana and Wangganguru this article does contain some valuable information on Diyari and the phonetic rule by which prestopped nasals and laterals are found. Since the Diyari materials were collected only incidentally there are some errors in the transcription, for example *thina* 'foot' is written (page 296) as ti(d)na rather than di(d)na, while on page 298 'mother' is given as ngami (the Adnyamathanha word) rather than the correct form *ngandrri*. Despite these errors, however, the conclusions of this paper are essentially correct in as far as they refer to Diyari.

1974 – Trefry – this is Trefry's PhD thesis on the theory of segmental phonology, part II of which is concerned with Diyari. The conclusions Trefry draws about Diyari phonology are basically correct but there are a number of errors of fact and interpretation:

a) there are some typographical errors which obscure the argument, for example page 243 "no words were discovered with [n] (sic – should be [?]) preceding [?]. . . .".

b) the glosses of some words show that Trefry has little knowledge of Diyari grammar, for example page 222 has [???] which is /*kankuyali*/ 'boy-erg' glossed as "boyish" (sic). This failure to investigate the grammar leads to an interesting consequence for the vowel phonemes (see (d) below).

c) on page 293 Trefry claims that "[nh] (sic!) is in complementary distribution to [n] and [*rn*]" yet there are minimal and sub-minimal pairs in Diyari such as the following (see 3.2.1.4): *ngankani* do-nom 'doings', *nhangkarni* 3sgnf.dat 'her's', *thana* 3pl.nom 'they', *thananha* 3pl.acc 'them'

d) because of his autonomous phonemic approach (Postal 1968) Trefry is forced to ignore grammatical considerations and their interaction with phonology. This means that he is compelled to set up a "vowel phoneme /??/" (sic) which contrasts with the other three vowels /i/, /u/, and /a/. It is interesting that all the examples showing the "phonemic contrast" are present tense forms of verbs whose stem ends in /a/. That is, the /?/ is actually /ayi/ where -yi is pres (see 3.2.3.2 and 4.5.7.1.1). If he had considered morphology Trefry would probably have realized that there was an alternation to be accounted for here.

e) Trefry fails to mention the three element consonants clusters [ndr] and [ldr] (see 3.2.1.2) which can be interpreted as evidence for the apico-dental voicing contrast and the skewed distribution of the apical stops (Table 9).

Apart from these criticisms Trefry's thesis does provide some useful information on Diyari acoustics which is unlikely to be bettered in the near future.

1976 – Dixon (ed.) – contains a paper on Diyari by Capell (number 91) and on Dhirari by Austin (number 94). Capell's paper is based upon Reuther and Strehlow (1897) and Berndt (1953) and shows a number of errors mainly due to these source materials. For a different interpretation of Diyari auxiliary verbs see 4.5.7.2. My paper on Thirari in this volume also has a number of errors mainly as a result of having only worked on the language for less than a year when the paper was written. The analysis presented in this book corrects the deficiencies of my earlier work.

6.3 Conclusions

As I have shown, there has been a long history of research into the Diyari language and much has been produced. Some of the material remains valuable today, especially that dealing with aspects of the culture which have since disappeared, while other information has been superseded. Unless otherwise stated, all the information and analysis in this thesis is the result of my own work and not that of previous researchers.

6.4 Addendum – unseen material

In addition to the materials listed above the following records are said to exist. I have not had access to any of them, but they are listed in the A.I.A.T.S.I.S. catalogue:

a) wordlists in the journals of N. B. Tindale made on the Diamantina exploring expedition of 1934.

b) a grammar and vocabulary compiled by the late Professor Fitzherbert apparently based upon Reuther (1899). I have searched for this material in Adelaide but was unable to find it.

There are in addition tape recordings of Diyari made by the late Kenneth Hale (at Alice Springs), Bernard Schebeck (Flinders Ranges), and Gavan Breen (at Birdsville).

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Appendix A. Sample Texts

The following are two texts, in Diyari (Text 1) and Thirari (Text 2). The texts are set out in the same format as the example sentences in the chapters above, except that single inverted commas have been omitted from the translations. Numbered lines are each a single sentence (co-ordinated sentences are written as separate lines).

Text 1

This Diyari text was recorded from Rosa Warren and Leslie Russell in 1974; it was retold (in a slightly different form) by Rosa Warren in 1976 and is the only complete text dealing with mythological subject matter that I was able to collect from Diyari speakers. Initially, none of my consultants recalled any traditional stories, so I began reading to them texts from Fry's (1937) collection. Part-way through text VIII,[14] at line 44, Rosa Warren and Leslie Russell recalled having heard the story before and went on to tell it to me. Later checking with Rosa Warren I reconstructed the beginning and added some details (see line 89). The ending of the text as given here differs from that recorded by Fry, so it seems likely that more than one version may have once existed. Unfortunately, no-one remembered any of the other stories in Fry's collection.

Di-t001s001

thar̲i	*ya*	*mankarra*	*pula*	*ngana-rna*	*wanthi-yi*	*nhuwa-mar̲a*
youth.nom	and	girl.nom	3dl.nom	be-ptcple	aux-pres	spouse-kinprop

A young man and a girl were married long ago.

Di-t001s002

pula	*wapa-yi*
3dl.nom	go-pres

They went.[15]

Di-t001s003

ya	*kanku-yali*	*pakarna*	*ngantya-yi*	*wapa-lha*	*kaku-nhi*	*yarla*
and	boy-erg	also	want-pres	go-implss	older.sister-loc	together

kaku-nhi	*kardi-nhi*
older.sister-loc	brother-in-law-loc

And a boy also wanted to go together with his elder sister and brother-in-law.

Di-t001s004

kaku	*yatha-yi*
older.sister,nom	speak-pres

The elder sister said.

[14] reproduced below, from Fry (1937: 284-287)

[15] Note that sentence 1 contains the distant past auxiliary *wanthi-* and that sentence 2 and others following in the same time line are marked as 'present' (see 3.5.9). This is a typical characteristic of texts told in Diyari.

Di-t001s005
yini *ngama-mayi* *ngaldra-rni* *ngandri-nhi*
2sg.nom sit-emph 1dlincl-dat mother-loc
"You stay with our mother!"

Di-t001s006
yaṟu-ya *pakarna* *nhungkarni* *kardi* *yatha-yi*
like.that-near also 3sgnf.dat brother-in-law.nom speak-pres
His brother-in-law said the same thing.

Di-t001s007
nhulu *kanku-yali* *wata* *ngantya-yi* *ngama-lha*
3sgnf.erg boy-erg not want-pres sit-implss
The boy didn't want to stay.

Di-t001s008
nhawu *dalki-yi* *pula-ngu* *ya* *nhungkarni* *ngandri-nhi*
3sgnf.nom disobey-pres 3dl-loc and 3sgnf.dat mother-loc
His disobeyed them and his mother.

Di-t001s009
nhawu *kanku* *ngupaṟa* *mindri-rna*
3sgnf.nom boy.nom ahead run-ptcple
The boy ran ahead.

Di-t001s010
ya *wapa-rna* *ngupaṟa*
and go-ptcple ahead
And went ahead.[16]

Di-t001s011
ngarda-nhi *thana* *yarla* *wapa-yi*
then-loc 3pl.nom together go-pres
Then they all went together.

Di-t001s012
ya *kardi-yali* *wama* *ya* *kapirri* *ya* *kani* *nandra-yi*
and brother-in-law-erg snake.acc and goanna.acc and lizard.acc hit-pres
And the brother-in-law killed carpet snake, and goanna, and jew lizard.

Di-t001s013
ngarla *kanku-yali* *windri* *nandra-yi* *kartiwarru*
but boy-erg only hit-pres lizard.type.acc
But the boy only killed a *kartiwarru* lizard.[17]

Di-t001s014
kardi-yali *partyarna* *nganthi* *wayi-yi*
brother-in-law-erg all meat.acc cook-pres
The brother-in-law cooked all the meat.

---

[16] It is not clear why the participial inflection *-rna* rather than the present tense *-yi* is used in lines 9 and 10. Intonation suggests that these are separate sentences rather than imperfective same-subject clauses (marked by *-rna*) dependent on line 8.

[17] The *kartiwarru* is a small edible lizard. This line aroused much laughter among Diyari speakers who heard the text replayed because of the contrast between the boy's catch and that of the brother-in-law.

Di-t001s015
ya *pakarna* *kanku-yali* *wayi-yi* *kartiwarru*
and also boy-erg cook-pres lizard.type.acc
And the boy cooked the *kartiwarru* lizard also.

Di-t001s016
kanku-yali *kartiwarru* *thayi-yi*
boy-erg lizard.type.acc eat-pres
The boy ate the *kartiwarru* lizard.

Di-t001s017
ya *kardi* *yatha-yi*
and brother-in-law.nom speak-pres
And the brother-in-law said.

Di-t001s018
wata *thayi-ya-mayi*
not eat-imper-emph
"Don't eat (that)!"

Di-t001s019
malhantyi
bad
"(It's) bad."

Di-t001s020
kardi *mar̲a* *wirri-rna* *kanku-ya* *marna-nhi*
brother-in-law.nom hand.nom enter-ptcple boy-dat mouth-loc
The brother-in-law's hand went into the boy's mouth.

Di-t001s021
ya *kartiwarru* *partyarna* *mandra-ndru* *dukar̲a-rna*
and lizard.type.acc all.acc stomach-ablat take.out-ptcple
And took all the *kartiwarru* lizard out of (his) stomach.

Di-t001s022
kanku-yali *wata* *yani-ya* *thayi-rnanthu* *nganthi* *waka*
boy-erg not like.this-near eat-implds meat small
"Boys shouldn't eat small animals like this."

Di-t001s023
kardi *yatha-yi*
brother-in-law.nom speak-pres
The brother-in-law said.

Di-t001s024
walya *karlka-mayi* *karar̲i* *wama* *thayi-lha*
a.while wait.imper-emph today snake.acc eat-implss
"Wait a while to eat carpet snake (later) today."

Di-t001s025
kanku-yali *wata* *ngantya-yi*
boy-erg not want-pres
The boy didn't want (to wait).

Di-t001s026
kanku *yindra-yi*
boy cry-pres
The boy cried.

Di-t001s027
ya *mawa-li* *ngana-yi*
and hunger-erg be-pres
And (he) was hungry.

Di-t001s028
kardi-yali *wama* *dukara-yi*
brother-in-law-erg snake.acc take.out-pres
The brother-in-law took out some carpet snake (from the fire).

Di-t001s029
ya *malthi-nganka-rna*
and cool-caus-ptcple
And cooled (it).

Di-t001s030
nhungkarni *nhuwa* *yatha-yi*
3sgnf.dat spouse.nom speak-pres
His wife said.

Di-t001s031
ngali *kanku-yali* *mawa-li* *ngana-yi*
1dlexcl.erg boy-erg hunger-erg be-pres
"We two are hungry, the boy and I."

Di-t001s032
thari-yali *kalapa-yi*
youth-erg answer-pres
The young man answered (her).

Di-t001s033
walya *karlka-lu-mayi* *nganthi* *malthi-ri-rnanthu*
a.while wait.imper-dl-emph meat.nom cool-inchoat-implds
"You two wait a while for the meat to cool down!"

Di-t001s034
pula *kutha-ri-yi*
3dl.nom angry-inchoat-pres
The two of them became angry.

Di-t001s035
thari-yali *nganthi* *wardu-nganka-rna,* *thari-yali* *wani-yi* *thayi-lha*
youth-erg meat.acc short-caus-imperfss youth-erg begin-pres eat-implss
Breaking up the meat, the young man began to eat (it).

Di-t001s036
ngarda-nhi *yingki-yi* *nhuwa* *nhungkarni-li* *thayi-rnanthu*
then-loc give-pres spouse 3sgnf.dat-erg eat-implds
Then (he) gave (some meat) for his wife to eat.

Di-t001s037
kaku-yali *kanku* *yingki-yi* *nganthi* *nhinha* *thayi-rnanthu*
older.sister-erg boy.acc give-pres meat.acc 3sgnf.acc eat-implds
The elder sister gave the boy meat to eat.

Di-t001s038
ngarda-nhi *nhungkarni* *kardi* *mara* *wirri-yi*
then-loc 3sgnf.dat brother-in-law hand.nom enter-pres

dukara-lha *nhungkangu-ndru* *marna-ndru*
take.out-implss 3sgnf.loc-ablat mouth-ablat
Then his brother-in-law's hand went in and took (it) out of his mouth.

Di-t001s039
yaru-ya *nhawu* *kanku* *mawa-li* *ngana-yi*
like.that-near 3sgnf.nom boy.nom hunger-erg be-pres
Thus the boy was hungry.

Di-t001s040
kaku-yali *ngarda-nhi* *kurukuru* *yingki-yi* *nhinha*
older.sister-erg then-loc secret give-pres 3sgnf.acc

nhangkarni *ngathata* *kanku*
3sgf.dat.acc younger.sibling boy.acc
Then the elder sister secretly gave (some meat) to her younger brother.

Di-t001s041
kardi-yali *marla* *dukara-yi*
brother-in-law-erg more take.out-pres
The brother-in-law took more (meat) out (of the boy's mouth).

Di-t001s042
ngarda-nhi *thana* *yirtyi-yi* *wapa-lha*
then-loc 3pl.nom get.up-pres go-implss
Then they got up to go.

Di-t001s043
ngarda-nhi *thana* *paya* *kuparru* *nhayi-yi*
then-loc 3pl.nom bird young.acc see-pres
Then they saw some young birds (in a nest in a box tree).

Di-t001s044
kardi *yatha-yi* *kanku-nhi* *pathara-nhi* *kari-rnanthu*
brother-in-law.nom speak-pres boy-loc box.tree-loc climb-implds
The brother-in-law told the boy to climb the box tree.[18]

Di-t001s045
miri *kari-ya-mayi* *warla-ya* *kapi* *mani-lha*
above climb-imper-emph nest-allat egg.acc get-implss
"Climb up above to the nest to get the eggs!"

Di-t001s046
ngarda *nhawu* *kanku* *kathi-yi* *pirta* *ngarla*
then 3sgnf.nom boy.nom climb-pres tree.nom but

[18] At this point, when I first read Fry's text to them, Rosa Warren and Leslie Russell remembered the story and began to relate it. The first 44 lines were later rechecked with Rosa Warren.

miri-ri-rna *thara-rnanhi*
above-inchoat-ptcple rise-imperfds
Then the boy climbed but the tree went up and up (at the same time).[19]

Di-t001s047
nhawu *miri-tha* *thara-inga-rna* *tharri-yi*
3sgnf.nom above-old.inf rise-prol-ptcple cont-pres
He went up and up at the top (of the tree).

Di-t001s048
ngarda-nhi *pula-li* *nhinha* *warara-yi* *pathara* *miri*
then-loc 3dl-erg 3sgnf.acc leave-pres box.tree above
Then the two of them left him at the top of the box tree

Di-t001s049
ngarda *pula* *wapa-rna* *kurra-yi*
then 3dl.nom go-ptcple go.away-pres
Then they went away.

Di-t001s050
kanku *yindra-yi* *pula* *warritha-rlu* *wapa-rnanhi*
boy cry-pres 3dl far-still go-imperfds

nhayi-rna *nhulu* *pula-nha* *pirta* *miri-ndru* *warritha*
see-imperfss 3sgnf.erg 3dl-acc tree above-ablat far
The boy cried as they went further and further, watching them in the distance from the top of the tree.

Di-t001s051
ngarda-nhi *nhulu* *nhayi-yi*
then-loc 3sgnf.erg see-pres
Then he saw.

Di-t001s052
aa *nhawu-wa-ku* *thurru* *yarki-yarki-tharri-yi* *warritha*
oh 3sgnf.nom-dist-sense fire.nom redup-burn-cont-pres far
"Oh, that must be the fire burning far off."

Di-t001s053
thinka-nhi *nhulu* *nhayi-yi* *paratyi* *thurru* *yarki-yarki-tharri-rnanhi*
night-loc 3sgnf.erg see-pres light fire.nom redup-burn-cont-imperfds
In the night he saw the light of the fire burning.

Di-t001s054
thangkuthangkuparna *nhayi-rna* *thupu*
morning see-ptcple smoke.acc
In the morning (he) saw the smoke.

Di-t001s055
kaku-ya *kardi-ya* *thurru* *yarki-yi* *nhawu-ka* *warritha*
older.sister-dat brother-in-law-dat fire.nom burn-pres 3sgnf.nom-spec far
"That is my sister and brother-in-law's fire burning far off."[20]

---

[19] Apparently, the brother-in-law magically 'sang' the tree, making it grow higher and higher as the boy climbed. The verb roots *kathi-* and *kari-* are synonymous and mean 'to climb'.
[20] Note the use of juxtaposition to express conjunction of noun phrases here (see 4.1.1 section [10]), and also case-marking of both conjuncts.

Di-t001s056

nhayi-rna	*karakara*	*first*	*thurru*	*nhulu*	*pula-rni*
see-ptcple	close	first	fire	3sgnf.erg	3dl-dat

wardayari	*pula*	*thurara-rna*	*parlka-rnanhi*	*thupu*	*nhayi-rna*	*thangkuthangkuparna*
where	3dl.nom	lie-ptcple	travel-imperfds	smoke	see-imperfss	morning

At first (he) saw their fire close by where they were sleeping as they went along, watching the smoke in the morning.

Di-t001s057

ngarda	*nhulu*	*pulu-rlu*	*nhayi-yi*	*then*	*thurru*
then	3sgnf.erg	cannot-still	see-pres	then	fire.acc

warritha-lha	*pula*	*wapa-rnanhi*	*dityi*	*marapu*	*ngama-rna*	*nhaka*	*nhawu*
far-new.inf	3dl.nom	go-imperfds	day	many	sit-imperfss	there.loc	3sgnf.nom

Then he could not see the fire any longer, because they had gone too far away as he sat there for many days.

Di-t001s058

ngarda-nhi	*paya-li*	*nhinha*	*kuna-li*	*thuripa-yi*	*pirta*	*miri*
then-loc	bird-erg	3sgnf.acc	faeces-erg	pour.on-pres	tree	above

karrawara-li	*kawalka-li*	*thuripa-rna*	*warru-lha*
eaglehawk-erg	crow-erg	pour.on-imperfss	white-new.inf

ngama-ngama-tharri-rnanthu	*nhawu*
redup-sit-cont-implds	3sgnf.nom

Then the birds poured shit all over him at the top of the tree, the eaglehawk and crow pouring it over him, so that he sat all white now.[21]

Di-t001s059

ngarda-nhi	*pulu-rlu*	*nhayi-yi*
then-loc	cannot-still	see-pres

The (he) couldn't see any more.

Di-t001s060

ngarda-nhi	*kanku-ya*	*nhiyi*	*mandru*	*pula*	*wapa-yi*
then-loc	boy-dat	older.brother	two.nom	3dl.nom	go-pres

Then the boy's two elder brothers were walking about.

Di-t001s061

mandra	*malhantyi*	*ngana-yi*
stomach	bad	aux-pres

"(My) stomach is upset"

Di-t001s062

kurnu	*yatha-yi*
one.nom	speak-pres

One said.

[21] The eaglehawk and crow recur as paired characters in myths over a large part of Australia (see Matthew 1899, and subsequent research).

Di-t001s063
minha-ri-yi-ku *ngaldra-rni* *ngathata*
what-inchoat-pres-sense 1dlincl-dat younger.sibling.nom
"Something must have happened to our younger brother?"[22]

Di-t001s064
ngaldra *mayi* *wapa-yi* *thangkuparna* *nhayi-lha*
1dlincl well go-pres tomorrow see-implss
"Let's go tomorrow to see (him)."

Di-t001s065
yundru *ngantya-yi* *wapa-lha* *wani-nthi-lha* *ngaldra*
2sg.erg like-pres go-implss follow-cons-implss 1dlincl.nom
"Do you want to go so we can follow after (him)?"

Di-t001s066
kawu
yes
"Yes"

Di-t001s067
yatha-yi *pula*
speak-pres 3dl.nom
They said.

Di-t001s068
thura̲a-rna *thangkuthangkuparna* *wapa-lha*
lie-ptcple morning go-implss

dityi-tha *yarla-wa* *nhawu* *durnka-rnanthu* *wapa-rnanhi-lha*
sun-old.inf together-dist 3sgnf.nom emerge-implds go-imperfds-new.inf
(They) slept to go in the morning, going before the sun had come up over there

Di-t001s069
pula *wapa-yi*
3dl go-pres
They went.

Di-t001s070
dityi *parlpa* *thura̲a-rna* *parlka-yi*
day some lie-ptcple travel-pres
(They) slept on their journey for some days.[23]

Di-t001s071
ngarda-nhi *nhayi-yi*
then-loc see-pres
Then (they) saw (something).

Di-t001s072
minha *nhawu-parra-wu*
what 3sgnf.nom-spec-exclam
"What's that?"

---

[22] The Diyari and other Aboriginal groups believe there is a connection between feelings in parts of the body and certain kin relations. Note the use of the *-ku* affix indicating sensory evidence in line 63 (see 4.12).
[23] Note the use of a bare noun phrase in this example to express temporal duration.

Di-t001s073
ngathata *nhawu-matha*
younger.sibling 3sgnf.nom-ident
"That's (our) younger brother"

Di-t001s074
kardi-yali *kaku-yali* *wara<u>r</u>a-rna* *wanthi-yi*
brother-in-law-erg older.sister-erg leave-ptcple aux-pres
"(Our) brother-in-law and sister left (him) long ago."

Di-t001s075
nhawu-wa *ngatha-ngathata* *ngaldra-rni-yi*
3sgnf.nom-dist redup-younger.sibling 1dlincl-dat-exclam
"He's our little younger brother!"

Di-t001s076
minha-nganka-lha *ngana-yi* *ngaldra* *nhinha*
what-caus-fut aux-pres 1dlincl.erg 3sgnf.acc
"What shall we do with him?"

Di-t001s077
warru-<u>r</u>i-rna *tharri-yi* *nhawu*
white-inchoat-ptcple cont-pres 3sgnf.nom
"He has become all white."

Di-t001s078
paya-li *nhinha* *kuna-lka-rna* *warra-yi*
bird-erg 3sgnf.acc faeces-tr-ptcple half-exclam
"The birds have shat on him."

Di-t001s079
warru-lha *nhawu* *ngama-ngama-yi* *pirta* *miri*
white-new.inf 3sgnf.nom redup-sit-pres tree above
"He is sitting all white at the top of the tree."

Di-t001s080
minha-nganka-lha *ngana-yi* *ngaldra*
what-caus-fut aux-pres 1dlincl.erg
"What shall we do?"

Di-t001s081
miri-miri *marla* *nhawu-parra*
redup-above true 3sgnf.nom-spec
"He is right at the very top."

Di-t001s082
minha *yini*
what 2sg.nom
"What are you?"

Di-t001s083
nganhi *warrangantyu*
1sg.nom left-hand
"I am left-handed."

Di-t001s084
nganhi *ngarla* *ngunyar̲i*
1sg.nom but right-hand
"But I am right-handed."[24]

Di-t001s085
kurnu-tha *yatha-rna* *wanthi-yi*
one.nom-old.inf tell.off-ptcple aux-pres
One of them said.

Di-t001s086
mayi *ngaldra* *nhinha* *yinka-matha* *minha-ya-nganka-lha*
well 1dlincl.erg 3sgnf.acc string.acc-ident what-dub-caus-fut
"Well, let's make this string something or other."

Di-t001s087
nhinha *payirri-nganka-lha* *ngaldra*
3sgnf.acc long-caus-fut 1dlincl.erg
"Let's make it long."[25]

Di-t001s088
ngarda-nhi *pula-li* *wara-yi* *yinka* *wara-rna* *nhungkangu* *kanku-nhi*
then-loc 3dl-erg throw-pres string.acc throw-imperfss 3sgnf.loc boy-loc
Then the two of them threw the string, throwing (it) to the boy.

Di-t001s089
nhulu *ngarda-nhi* *parda-yi* *yinka*
3sgnf.erg then-loc catch-pres string.acc
Then he caught the string.[26]

Di-t001s090
ngarda-nhi *nhawu* *ngar̲i-yi* *yinka-nhi* *warru-lha* *warru-lha*
then-loc 3sgnf.nom go.down-pres string-loc white.nom-new.inf white-new.inf

ngar̲i-rna *pula-li* *parruma-rna* *ngar̲i-rnanhi*
go.down-imperfss 3dl-erg pull-ptcple go.down-imperfds
Then he came down on the string, all white, white coming down as the two of them pulled (him) down.

Di-t001s091
mayi, *kira-lha* *mani-rna* *wanthi-yi* *pula-li*
well boomerang.acc-new.inf get-ptcple aux-pres 3dl-erg

nandra-nandra-lha-tha *nhinha*
redup-hit-implss-old.inf 3sgnf.acc
Well, the two of them got a boomerang and hit him all over.

Di-t001s092
warru *kuna* *paya* *kuna*
white faeces bird faeces
White, faeces, bird faeces (came flying off).

---

[24] I do not know what significance attaches to the fact that one brother is left-handed and the other is right-handed. In another of the texts recorded by Fry (1937: 204) there are also two characters, one of whom is left-handed and the other right-handed.
[25] In lines 86 and 87 the future tense auxiliary *nganayi* is left unexpressed as the time reference is clear.
[26] In another version of this story recoded in 1976 from Rosa Warren, the elder of the two brothers stands at the bottom of the tree while the younger one climbs up with the string and rescues the boy.

Di-t001s093
minha-nganka-rna *wanthi-yi* *kaku-yali* *kardi-yali* *yinha*
what-caus-ptcple aux-pres older.sister-erg brother-in-law-erg 2sg.acc
"What did (our) elder sister and brother-in-law do to you?"[27]

Di-t001s094
kuna-li *thuripa-rna* *wanthi-yi* *yinanha* *pardaka-rna* *wanthi-rna*
faeces-erg pour.on-ptcple aux-pres 2sg.acc take-ptcple aux-imperfss

yinanha *wararra-rna* *thika-lha*
2sg.acc leave-ptcple return-implss
"(They) poured shit all over you, having brought you (here) to leave you as they went back."

Di-t001s095
ngarda-nhi *marni-yali* *wirri-pa-yi* *pula-li*
then-loc fat-erg be.painted-caus-pres 3dl-erg
Then they painted (him) with fat.[28]

Di-t001s096
ngarda-nhi *thurarra-yi* *thangkuthangkuparna* *wapa-lha*
then-loc lie-pres morning go-implss
Then (they) slept to go in the morning.

Di-t001s097
mayi *yini* *matya-matha* *yini*
well 2sg.nom already-ident 2sg.nom
"Well, are you alright?"

Di-t001s098
kawu *matya* *nganhi*
yes already 1sg.nom
"Yes, I am alright."

Di-t001s099
ngurru-ngurru-lha
redup-strong-new.inf
"(I'm) strong now."

Di-t001s100
wardayari *yundru* *nhayi-rna* *wara-yi*
where 2sg.erg see-ptcple aux-pres
"Where did you see (them)?"

Di-t001s101
nhungkangu-wa *ngathu* *nhayi-nhayi-yi* *thurru* *yarki-yarki-tharri-rnanhi*
3sgnf.loc-dist 1sg.erg redup-see-pres fire.nom redup-burn-cont-imperfds
"Over that way I watched the fire burning."

---

[27] Notice the word order in this sentence: the interrogative verb phrase *minhangankarna wanthiyi* is in sentence initial position, followed by the conjoined transitive subject NPs and the object NP.
[28] Consultants explained the the two older brothers rubbed the boy down with the fat of *kapirri* 'goanna' (*Varanus* species) and *kani* jew lizard (*Pogona barbata*). In the version of the story recorded by Fry (1938) the older brothers also paint him with red ochre, paint stripes on him, and put feathers in his hair (see reproduction below).

Di-t001s102
ngayana *wapa-yi* *nhungkangu*
1plincl.nom go-pres 3sgnf.loc
"Let's all go over there."

Di-t001s103
warrangantyu-nhi *ngathu* *nhaka* *nhinha* *nhayi-nhayi-yi* *thurru-tha* *yarki-rnanhi*
left-hand-loc 1sg.erg there 3sgnf.acc redup-see-pres fire-old.inf burn-imperfds
"On the left there I saw the fire burning."

Di-t001s104
ngarda-nhi *thana* *wapa-yi* *dityi* *parlpa* *thura̲a-lha*
then-loc 3pl.nom go-pres day some lie-implss
Then they went (along) and slept for some days.

Di-t001s105
nhingki-ya-matha *ngathu* *nhayi-ya-tha*
here-near-ident 1sg.erg see-past-old.inf
"It's here that I saw (them)."

Di-t001s106
pani *nhawu-ya*
no 3sgnf.nom-near
"There is nothing here."

Di-t001s107
paku-rna-tha *nhinha* *mitha*
dig-ptcple-old.inf 3sgnf.acc ground.acc
(They) dug the ground (where the fire had been).

Di-t001s108
waru-lha *nhawu-ya*
long.ago-char 3sgnf.nom-near
"This (campsite) is old."

Di-t001s109
thura̲a-rna *yirtyi-lha*
lie-ptcple get.up-implss
(They) slept and got up.[29]

Di-t001s110
ngarda-nhi *mitha* *thurruthurru-ku* *nhawu-ya*
then-loc ground.nom hot-sense 3sgnf.nom-near
Then, "This is hot ground" (they said)

Di-t001s111
dityi *kurnu-lha* *nhawu-ya* *kanya* *thurruthurru*
day one-char 3sgnf.nom-near ash hot.nom
"These hot ashes are one day old."

Di-t001s112
wapa-rna *again* *thura̲a-rna* *parlka-rna*
go-ptcple again lie-ptcple travel-imperfss
(They) went on again, sleeping as they went along.

[29] The brothers tracked the sister and brother-in-law, checking each campfire as they drew closer and closer.

Di-t001s113
matya-ku *nhawu-ya*
already-sense 3sgnf.nom-near
"This is it here!"

Di-t001s114
thurruthurru *ngalyi* *kanya* *thurruthurru*
hot a.little ash hot.nom
"These hot ashes are a little hotter."

Di-t001s115
thina-li *wapa-rna* *again*
foot-erg go-ptcple again
(They) went on foot again.

Di-t001s116
matya-ku *nhawu-ya*
already-sense 3sgnf.nom-near
"This is it here!"

Di-t001s117
thurruthurru *marla*
hot true
"(It's) very hot."

Di-t001s118
pirla *nhawu-ya* *matya* *marra-marra-tharri-yi-lha-ku*
coal 3sgnf.nom-near already redup-glow-cont-pres-new.inf-sense
"These coals are glowing alright."

Di-t001s119
matya-tha *yarki-yi-lha-ku* *nhawu* *thurru*
already-old.inf burn-pres-new.inf-sense 3sgnf.nom fire.nom
This fire has just been burning.

Di-t001s120
matya *thana* *wapa-rna*
already 3pl.nom go-ptcple
So they went on.

Di-t001s121
nhawu-ya-ku *ngura-tha*
3sgnf.nom-near-sense camp-old.inf
"This is the camp!"
Di-t001s122
nhawu-ya-ku *ngura-tha* *warritha-ndru* *nhayi-inga-rna*
3sgnf.nom-near-sense camp.acc-old.inf far-ablat see-prol-ptcple
"(I) saw this camp from far away."[30]

Di-t001s123
wapa-rna-rlu *ngura-ya* *wapa-rna-rlu* *thurru* *mani-rnanhi*
go-ptcple-still camp-allat go-ptcple-still firewood.acc get-imperfds

[30] Notice the use of *-inga-* in this line indicating relative motion of the subject and the object (see 3.5.7); in this case the object (the camp of the sister and brother-in-law) was moving away from the subject (the boy watching from the top of the tree). Most other instances involve motion of the subject.

kaku-yali	*kardi-yali*	*ngura*	*kurra-lha*	*thurara-lha*
older.sister-erg	brother-in-law-erg	camp.acc	put-implss	lie-implss

(They) kept going, going to the camp where the sister and brother-in-law were getting wood to make a camp to sleep.

Di-t001s124

matya	*thana*	*wakara-rna*	*parlka-yi*	*ngura-nhi*	*kardi-yali-tha*
already	3pl.nom	come-ptcple	travel-pres	camp-loc	brother-in-law-erg-old.inf

thurru-tha	*nganka-rnanha*	*katu-lha*	*nganka-rnanhi*
fire.acc-old.inf	make-imperfds	windbreak.acc-new.inf	make-imperfds

So they came to the camp as the brother-in-law was making a fire (and) making a windbreak.

Di-t001s125

Mayi,	*minha-nhi*	*wakara-yi*
well	what-loc	come-pres

"Well, why have (you) come?"

Di-t001s126

wararа-rna-ku-yi	*yula*	*nhinha-ya*	*kanku*	*marla-rlu*	*yula*	*pardaka-rna*
leave-ptcple-sense-exclam	2dl.erg	3sgnf.acc-near	boy.acc	true-still	2dl.erg	hold-imperfss

nhinha	*yula*	*wararа-rna*
3sgnf.acc	2dl.erg	leave-imperfss

"You left this boy, bringing him along (and) leaving him."

Di-t001s127

minha-ndru-lha
what-ablat-new.inf

"Why?"

Di-t001s128

nhaka	*pula-nha*	*nandra-yi*	*then*	*nhiyi*	*mandru-yali*	*kaku-tha*
there	3dl-acc	hit-pres	then	older.brother	two-erg	older.sister.acc-old.inf

ngathata-tha	*nandra-rna*	*nhaka*	*ngathata-tha*	*kardi-tha*
younger.sibling.acc-old.inf	hit-imperfss	there	younger.sibling-old.inf	brother-in-law.acc-old.inf

Then (they) hit them two there, the two elder brothers hit the sister and the young one, young brother-in-law.[31]

Di-t001s129

nhari-nganka-rna	*kurra-yi*
dead-caus-ptcple	go.away-pres

(They) killed (both of them).[32]

Di-t001s130

matya	*murda-yi*
already	stop-pres

That's the finish.

[31] The use of *ngathata kardi* in this line means that the brother-in-law is younger than the two older brothers and hence younger than his wife (whom they call *kaku* 'older sister').

[32] Note that in the version of the text recorded by Fry (1938) the older brothers kill the brother-in-law by means of thunder and lightning (see reproduction below).

Text VIII from Fry (1937)

mandru. Tari tiririna wanti . Pulali niji marali
two. Young men angered. The two brothers with their hands
pirnaru kirali dijana wanti ja nina nari ngankana wanti, ja
old man boomerangs threw at and him dead made and
tutina wanti.
buried.

VIII

Muramura dunkana wanti ja tari ja mankara pula nganai noa
Muramura came out and young man and girls both were
mara. Ja pula wapana wanti ja kankujali pakana ngantjana
married. And both went and the boy also wanted
wanti wapala, kakuni jala. Ja kaku jatana wanti
to go elder-sister-with together. And elder sister said,
" Jindni wata ngamai ngaldrani ngandrini." Jaruja pakana
" *You better stay with our mother.*" *The same also*
nukani kadi jatana wanti. Ja kankujali wata ngantjana wanti
his brother-in-law said. And boy not wanted
ngamala. Nau dalkina wanti pulangu ja nukani ngandrini
to stay. He disobeyed the two and his mother
Ngala nau kanku ngupara mindrina ja wapana wanti. Ngadani
that he the boy ahead ran and went .Then
tana jala wapana wanti ja kadijali wama ja
they together went and brother-in-law carpet snake and
kapiri ja kani nandrana wanti. Ngala kankujali nandrana wanti
goanna and lizard killed. But boy killed
windri kadiwaru. Ja kadijali parantjana nganti wajina wanti.
only small-lizards. And b.-in-law all meat cooked
Ja pakano kankujali wajina wanti kadiwaru. Kankujali
And also the boy cooked small lizards. Boy
kadiwaru taijina wanti. Ja kadi jatana wanti, " Wata
small lizards ate. And b.-in.-law said, " Not
taijijamai." Kadi mara wirina wanti kankuja manani ja
eat." B.-in-law hand put-in boy's mouth in and
parantjana kadiwaru mandraru dukarana wanti. " Kankujali
all small lizards stomach-from took out. " Boy

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wata janija tajinanto nganti waka" kadi jatanani. "Walla
not such out animal small" b.-in-law said. "Awhile
kalkamai karari wama tajila." Kankujali wata ngantjana wanti.
wait soon carpet snake to eat." Boy not wanted.
Kanku jindrana wanti, nau mawali nganana wanti. Kadieli
Boy cried, he hungry was. B.-in-law
wama dukarana wonti ja malti ngankana wonti. Ja nunkani
snake took out and cool made And his
noa jatana wonti, "Ngani mawali nganai, ngali kankueli."
wife said, "I hungry am, we-two the boy."
Ngala terieli kallapana wonti, "Wallia kalkalumai." Pulla
But young man answered, "Awhile wait." The two
kutarina wonti. Nankani noeali terieli waduwadu ngankana
were annoyed. Her husband the young man small pieces made
wonti. Terieli wanina wonti tajila ja jinkina wonti nunkani moa
Young man started to eat and gave his wife
tajinanto Kakueli bakana kanku jinkina wonti, kankueli tajina
to eat Elder sister also boy gave to, boy ate
wonti. Ja kadi nunkani mara wirina wonti kankuja manani ja
And b.-in-law his hand put-in boy's mouth-in and
nulu paratjana dukarana wonti kankuja mandrandru. Jeruja
he all took out boy's stomach from. This-way
kanku mawali nganana wonti, ja kankueli kurukuru jinkina
boy hungry became, and elder sister secretly gave to
wonti nankani ngatata kanku. Ja kadieli marla dukarana wonti.
her brother boy. And b.-in-law again took (it) out.
Ngadani tana jiritjina wonti ja wapana wonti. Ngadani tanali
Then they got up and went. Then they
paia kuparu najina wonti, kadi jatana wonti kankuna kanku
birds young saw, b.-in-law said (told) boy-to boy
miri pitani katina wonti ja pita bakana miririna wonti. Ja pita
high-up tree climbed and tree also grew-higher. And tree
marla ja marla miririna wonti. Ja pulali nina wararana wonti
more and more grew-higher. And the two him left
ja wapana wonti, ja kanku jindrana wonti ja karkana wonti
and departed, and boy cried and called

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nunkani kakuni. Teri jatana wonti wata waninanto. Nau ditji
to his sister. Young-man said nor to get (him). He suns (days)
marapu ja pira marapu nganana wonti ja paiaeli nina hunanl-
many and moons many remained and birds on him defae-
kana wonti. Ja kankuja niji mandru ngadani tinnani wapantina
cated. And the boy's elder- two then tracks followed
brothers
wanti. Ja pulali tarijali ngatata najina wanti pitani
And these two young men younger brother saw in-tree
miri ngamanani ja jindranani ja marintjinani. Tari tiririna
high-up sitting and crying and screaming. Young men were angry
wanti pulangu noa mara. Ja pulali ngankana wanti wadaru
with the two married. And the two deliberated how
kanku manila. Kankuja niji wakali ngundrana wonti manila.
boy to get. The boy Elder-brother small-one thought to fetch.
Nau pitani kalina wonti ngala kanku miri mala ngamanani paia
He tree climbed but boy high very sat birds
ja kuntjilani Paiali nina kunalkana wonti. Niji wakali hunas
and nest-in Birds on him defaecated. Elder-brother little-one faeces.
mada palandrana wonti nulu ngadani ngarilkana wonti.
stone (?) he then got down
Ngadani pudlali nina manieli wiribana wonti ja karkueli bakana
Then the two him fat-with rubbed and ochre-with also
wiribana wonti ja nina malkamalka ngankana wonti ja kutja
rubbed and on him stripes made and feathers
nunkangu kurana wonti mangatandrani. Ngadani naji
on him . put on his head. Then elder-brothers
mandru jatana wonti nunkangu ja nina kirra jinkina wonti.
two told him and him boomerang gave
Naji jatana wonti nina jirijiribana wonti nulu patara kulno
Elder brothers told him commanded he tree one to
dijananto. ja nulu dijana wonti kirrali woderu nulu dijala
throw at, and he threw at (it) boomerang with how he threw
nganai kadi nunkani ja kaku nunkani. Ngadani tana nijimara
will at b.-in-law his and sister his. Then those elder-brothers

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wapana wonti ngapu ditji wirini karakara. Tana dakuni
went near sun set near. They hill-on
ngulukaterina. Tanali kanali ngundrana wonti talara palku jeri
looked about. Then persons thought rain-cloud-like
ngulukaterinani, ngala tana neji mara ngulukaterinani. Ngadani
looking out, but they the brothers loboed out. Then
kanali ngundrana wonti punga watila. Ngadani talara malala
persons thought huts to make. Then rain for sure
pantjina wonti ja pudlana noa-mara neji-marali nari ngankana
poured and the two married the brothers dead made
wonti talara kinmieli pildripildriel. Matja mudai.
rain lightning with thunder with. This ends.

Text 2

This short Thirari text was told by Ben Murray; it tells of his encounter with an Aranda *thinanipa* or 'kurdaitcha man' (man on a revenge expedition) at Farina, northern South Australia. The *thinanipa* came looking for food but was frightened off when Ben fired his 0.22 calibre rifle in his direction.

Di-t002s001
muku *kurra-rnda* *purri-rnda* *wanthi-yi* *mulha-nhi*
bone.acc put-ptcple aux-ptcple aux-pres nose-loc
(They) used to put a bone in (their) noses long ago.

Di-t002s002
yani-ka *ngayana* *dika-rnda* *purri-yi* *thinanipa*
like.this-spec 1plincl.erg call-ptcple aux-pres avenger.acc
So we called them *thinanipa*.[33]

Di-t002s003
karna *marla* *karna*
person true person
(They) were really people, people.

Di-t002s004
kathi *thana* *wirri-rnda* *purri-yi*
clothing.acc 3pl.nom wear-ptcple aux-pres
They used to wear clothes.

Di-t002s005
ngarda-nhi *kathi* *dukara-rnda* *purri-yi* *parlu* *wapa-rnda* *purri-lhali*
then-loc clothing take.out-ptcple aux-pres naked go-ptcple aux-implss

nganthi *thungka-li* *wirri-rnda* *purri-rnda*
meat rotten-erg be.painted-ptcple aux-imperfss
Then they would take off their clothes and walk about naked painted with rotten meat.[34]

Di-t002s006
nhawu *tharka-rnda* *purri-yi* *nganha* *nhayi-rnda* *purri-lhali*
3sgnf.nom stand-ptcple aux-pres 1sg.acc see-ptcple aux-implss

mawa-li *ngana-rnda* *purri-rnda*
hunger-erg aux-ptcple aux-imperfss
He stood (near my house) and watched me, as he was hungry.

Di-t002s007
ngathu *marda* *mani-rnda* *purri-yi*
1sg.erg stone.acc get-ptcple aux-pres
I got a gun.[35]

---

[33] A *thinanipa* is a man on an expedition (called a *pinya*) to revenge the death of a person of his group who is believed to have been killed by members of another group. The colloquial Australian English translation is 'kurdaitcha man' (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurdaitcha#:~:text=Kurdaitcha%20(or%20kurdaitcha%20man%2C%20and,a%20guilty%20party%20by%20death (accessed 2021-01-13)).

[34] The *thinanipa* rubbed their bodies with the rancid fat of a dead animal and hence gave off a strong smell (see also line 17).

Di-t002s008

nhingki-wa	*yarra*	*ngathu*	*dandra-rda*	*purri-yi*
here-dist	thence	1sg.erg	hit-ptcple	aux-pres

I fired (it) off that way over there.

Di-t002s009

nhawu	*kurdingka-rda*	*purri-rnda*	*nhulu*	*thina*	*malthara*	*nhungkarni*
3sgnf.nom	run-ptcple	aux-imperfss	3sgnf.erg	foot	shoe.type.acc	3sgnf.dat.acc

thintha-rda	*purri-yi*
lose-ptcple	aux-pres

As he ran away he lost his *mathara* emu feather shoe.[36]

Di-t002s010

nhawu	*ngar̲i-rnda*	*purri-yi*	*kar̲irri-nhi*	*ngama-rnda*	*purri-lhali*
3sgnf.nom	go.down-ptcple	aux-pres	creek-loc	sit-ptcple	aux-implss

thurar̲a-rnda	*purri-lhali*
sleep-ptcple	aux-implss

He went down to camp in the (Farina) creek and sleep (there).

Di-t002s011

thangkuthangkuparna	*nhawu*	*thika-rnda*	*purri-yi*	*nhungkarni*	*malthara*
morning	3sgnf.nom	return-ptcple	aux-pres	3sgnf.dat	shoe.type.acc

mani-rnda	*purri-lhali*
get-ptcple	aux-implss

In the morning he came back to get his *malthara* emu feather shoe.

Di-t002s012

ngakangu	*yatha-rnda*	*purri-yi*
1sg.loc	speak-ptcple	aux-pres

(He) said to me.

Di-t002s013

nganhi	*mawa-li*	*ngana-rnda*	*purri-yi*
1sg.nom	hunger-erg	aux-ptcple	aux-pres

"I am hungry."[37]

Di-t002s014

ngathu	*nhinha*	*puka*	*yingki-rda*	*purri-yi*	*nhawu*	*thika-rnda*	*purri-yani*
1sg.erg	3sgnf.acc	veg.food	give-ptcple	aux-pres	3sgnf.nom	return-ptcple	aux-implds

I gave him some food so he could go back (home in the north).

---

[35] Note the use of the generic *marda* 'stone, rock' to cover the concept of gun here. Also, the first person singular transitive subject pronoun in Thirari is *ngathi* (see lines 19, 20); the use of Diyari *ngathu* appears to be a slip.

[36] The soles of the *malthara* shoes worn by the *thinanipa* are made of emu feathers, and the tops are made of human hair; the shoes help to disguise their tracks. There is a picture of such Aranda shoes at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Australian_indigenous_shoes_for_Kurdaicha,_Arunta_area,_undated,_emu_feather_and_human_hair_-_Bata_Shoe_Museum_-_DSC00178.JPG (accessed 2021-01-13)

[37] The *thinanipa* spoke in Aranda (which Ben understood) asking for food and water. Ben translated the gist of this into Thirari for the purposes of this text.

Di-t002s015

nhawu	*thika-rnda*	*purri-yi*	*puka-nthu-tha*	*kathi-nthu-tha*
3sgnf.nom	return-ptcple	aux-pres	vegetable.food-comit-old.inf	clothing-comit-old.inf

nhawu	*wapa-rnda*	*purri-rnda*
3sgnf.nom	go-ptcple	aux-imperfss

He went back with the food, going along clothed now.

Di-t002s016

nhingki-rda	*nhawu*	*tharka-rnda*	*purri-yi*	*nhintha*	*parlu*	*kathi*	*pani*
here-vicin	3sgnf.nom	stand-ptcple	aux-pres	shame	naked	clothing	no

kalthi	*nhinha*	*yaṟu-ka*	*parda-rnda*	*purri-rnda*
spear	3sgnf.acc	like.that-spec	hold-ptcple	aux-imperfss

He stood there shamefully naked with no clothes on, holding his spear like this.[38]

Di-t002s017

ngathu	*nhinha*	*nhayi-rnda*	*purri-yi*	*parni-ma-rnda*	*purri-rnda*	*wara-rnda*
1sg.erg	3sgnf.acc	see-ptcple	aux-pres	smell-causat-ptcple	aux-ptcple	aux-imperfss

nhawu	*wapa-rnda*	*purri-rndanhi*
3sgnf.nom	go-ptcple	aux-imperfss

I saw him, having smelt him coming.[39]

Di-t002s018

nhingki-parra	*tharka-rnda*	*purri-yi*
here.loc-spec	stand-ptcple	aux-pres

(He) stood right here.

Di-t002s019

ngathi	*makita*	*mani-rnda*	*purri-yi*
1sg.erg	gun.acc	get-ptcple	aux-pres

I got a gun.

Di-t002s020

ngarda	*ngathi*	*dandra-rda*	*purri-yi*	*yaṟu-ya*	*yarra*
then	1sg.erg	hit-vicin	aux-pres	like.that-indef	thence

I fired (it) off that way like that.

[38] The last four lines of the text recapitulate the main action described previously.

[39] Note the use of the recent past auxiliary *wara-* within the imperfective dependent clause in this line.

Appendix B. List of Affixes

All allomorphs of grammatical affixes are listed here, together with the section(s) containing major discussion of their form and function. Th. indicates an affix which occurs in Thirari only, and Di. an affix found only in Diyari; forms thus marked are followed by a cross-reference to the corresponding form in the other dialect.

-inga	prolative - 2.4.1, 3.5.7
-ipa	benefactive - 2.4.1, 3.5.7
-ipa	transitivizer - 2.4.1, 3.5.6, 4.8.2
-ka	token - 3.3.2, 3.4.1
-kantyi	excessive concern - 3.2.1
-ku	sensory evidence - 4.12
-lha	characteristic - 3.2.1
-lha	future tense - 3.5.9
-lha	Di. implicated - same subject - 3.5.9, 5.1 (Th. *-lhali*)
-lha	new information - 4.12
-lhali	Th. implicated - same subject - 3.5.9, 5.1 (Di. *-lha*)
-li	ergative - 2.4.2, 3.2.5, 4.4.1
-lka	transitivizer - 3.5.6, 4.8.1
-lrrha	additional information - 4.12
-lu	number marker - 3.5.9
-ma	transitivizer - 3.5.6, 4.8.2
-mali	reciprocal - 3.5.6
-mara	kinship proprietive - 3.2.1, 4.5.4
-matha	identified information - 4.12
-mayi	emphatic - 3.5.9
-ndru	ablative - 3.2.5, 4.4.5
-ndru	ergative - 3.2.5, 4.4.3
-nga	product - 2.4.1, 4.10.2
-nganka	causative - 4.10.3
-ngu	locative - 3.2.5, 4.4.4
-ngundru	ablative - 3.2.5, 4.4.5
-nha	absolutive - 3.2.5, 4.4.1, 4.4.2
-nha	accusative - 3.2.5, 4.4.2
-nha	citation - 3.2.6
-nhangka	dative - 3.2.5, 4.4.7, 4.5.1

-nhangu	locative - 3.2.5, 4.4.4
-nhi	allative - 3.2.5, 4.4.6
-nhi	locative - 3.2.5, 4.4.4
-nthi	consequential - 3.5.7
-nthu	proprietive - 3.2.1, 4.5.3
-ni	nominative - 3.2.5, 4.4.1
-ni	nominalizer - 4.9.1
-ni	number marker - 3.5.9
-ni(*ngurra*)	perfective - different subject - 3.5.9, 5.4
-ntya	number - 3.2.1
-nkarri	towards - 3.2.6
-parra	there - 3.2.3, 3.3.2, 3.4.1
-rda	Th. participial - 3.5.9 (Di. -rna)
-rda	Th. imperfective - same subject - 3.5.9, 5.2 (Di. -rna)
-rda	vicinity - 3.2.3, 3.3.2
-rdandru	Th. perfective - same subject - 3.5.9, 5.4 (Di. *-rnandru*)
-rdanhi	Th. perfective - different subject - 3.5.9, 5.2 (Di. *-rnanhi*)
-ri	inchoative - 4.10.1
-rlu	still - 4.12
-rna	Di. participial - 3.5.9 (Th. *-rda*, *-rnda*)
-rna	Di. imperfective - same subject - 3.5.9, 5.2 (Th. *-rda*, *-rnda*)
-rnandru	Di. perfective - same subject - 3.5.9, 5.4 (Th. *-rdandru*, *-rndandru*)
-rnanhi	Di. imperfective - different subject - 3.5.9, 5.2 (Th. *-rdanhi*, *-rndanhi*)
-rnanthu	Di. implicated - different subject - 3.5.9, 5.1 (Th. *-yani*)
-rnda	Th. participial - 3.5.9 (Di. *-rna*)
-rnda	Th. imperfective - same subject - 3.5.9, 5.2 (Di. *-rna*)
-rndandru	Th. perfective - same subject - 3.5.9, 5.4 (Di. *-rnandru*)
-rndanhi	Th. imperfective - different subject - 3.5.9, 5.2 (Di. *-rnanhi*)
-rni	dative - 3.2.5, 4.4.7, 4.5.1
-rri	inchoative - 4.10.1
-tha	old information - 4.12
-tharri	anti-passive, durative, passive, reflexive - 3.5.6, 4.7.1-4
-wa	distant - 3.2.3, 3.2.6, 3.3.2, 3.4.1
-wara	plural - 3.2.1
-wu	distortion - 2.6
-wurlu	dual - 2.4.2, 3.2.1
-ya	allative - 3.2.5, 4.4.6
-ya	dative - 3.2.5, 4.4.7, 4.5.1

-ya	dubiative - 3.2.7, 3.3.3
-ya	imperative - 3.5.9
-ya	near - 3.2.3, 3.2.6, 3.3.2, 3.4.1
-ya	past tense - 3.5.9
-yali	ergative - 2.4.2, 3.2.5, 4.4.3
-yani	Th. implicated - different subject - 3.5.9, 5.1 (Di. *-rnanthu*)
-yari	like - 4.12
-yathi	lest - 3.5.9, 5.5
-yathimayi	optative - 3.5.9
-yi	distortion - 2.6
-yi	present tense - 3.5.9
-yitya	habitual association - 3.2.1, 4.9.2
-yina	tag - 4.12
-yirpa	benefactive - 3.5.7

Appendix C. Vocabulary

This vocabulary lists words occurring in the examples and texts above, except for proper names, pronouns, auxiliary verbs, predicate determiners and interjections. Each root is specified for part of speech and, for verbs, transitivity and verb class (as determined by the parameters set out in 3.5.5). The following abbreviations are used:

Adj	adjective	Vi	intransitive verb
N	noun	Vtr	transitive verb
Part	particle	Vdi	ditransitive verb

Roots known to occur in only Diyari or Thirari are identified by the abbreviations Di (Diyari) and Th (Thirari). Words borrowed from English are marked as LOAN.

The vocabulary is intended primarily to facilitate understanding of the examples and texts and so the translations are not full statements of the meaning of each item but only list one or two English words that give some indication of the semantics of the Diyari and Thirari entries.

The alphabetical order followed is usual English order.

daka-, Vtr (2A): stab, stick, pierce, grind, plait

daku, N: sandhill

dalki-, Vi (1D): disobey

daltyi, N: rattle

dama-, Vtr (2A): cut

dandra-, Vtr (2A), Th: hit, strike, kill

danga-, Vtr (2E): hunt away

danka-, Vtr (2B): find

dapa, Adj: sore

darla, N: skin

darlku, Adj: clear

darni-, Vi (1D): bid farewell to

darra-, Vtr (2E): kindle

darri-, N: step (noise)

dawa-, Vtr (2E): hunt away

dawardawa-, Vtr (2E): prevent

dika-, Vdi : name, call

dityi, N: sun, day

dukara-, Vtr (2A): take off

durlkurru, N: swamp

durnka-, Vi (1A): emerge, come out, rise (of sun or moon)

durru, Adj: hemispherical

kani, N: jew lizard

kaka, N: mother's brother

kaku, N: elder sister

kalapa-, Vi (1D): answer

kaldra, N: necklet type

kaldra, N: sound of human voices in distance

kaldri, Adj: salty

kalhu, N: liver

kalkawarra, N: evening

kalta, N: blue-tongue lizard

kalthi, N: spear

kanangarra, N: seed of *manyurra*

kandru, N: snore

kangu, N: sweat

kanhini, N: mother's mother

kanku, N: boy

kanpu, N: boom

kantha, N: grass

kantu, N: wallaby

kantyi, Part: can

kanungka, N: spectacled hare wallaby

kanya, N: ash

kapi, N: egg

kapirri, N: goanna

kapitha, N: bandicoot

kara, Part: maybe, or

karakara, Adj: close, near

kararri, N: today, now

kararru, N: moiety name

kardi, N: sister's husband

kari-, Vi (1A): climb

karirri, N: creek

karka-, Vi (1D): shout, call out

karkakarka-, Vtr (2E): invite

karku, N: red ochre

karla, Adj: empty

karlka-, Vtr (2B): wait for

karlku, N: bulrush

karna, N: Aboriginal person

karpa-, Vtr (2E): sew

karra-, Vtr (2E): tie

karrakarra-, Vtr (2E): touch, feel

karrapana, N: marsupial mouse (pronunciation uncertain)

karrawara, N: eaglehawk

karri-, Vtr (2B): chase, follow

karta, N: crack (noise)

karti, Adj: raw, unripe

kartiwarru, N: lizard type

kartyi-, Vi (1A): turn, go round

kartyimalka-, Vtr (2E): turn over

karuwa, N: jealousy

kata, N: louse

kathi, N: skin rug, clothing

katu, N: windbreak

katyi, N: spear

kawalka, N: crow

kawupa-, Vtr (2A): inform

kilankila, N: galah

kilaparra, N: black bream fish

kilpa, N: cold, winter

kilparri-, Vi (1D): disbelieve

kilthi, N: juice, stew

kiltya-, Vtr (2D): peel

kima, Adj: swollen

kingka-, Vi (1A): laugh

kinthala, N: dog

kipara, N: urine

kipara-, Vi (1A): urinate

kirli-, Vi (1D): dance

kirra, N: boomerang

kirri, Adj: clever, intelligent

kuku, Adj: overturned

kuku, N: hollow

kukula, N: stick nest rat

kukuru, N: stick type

kulyakulya, Adj: green, yellow

kuma, N: news

kumarri, N: blood

kuna, N: faeces

kuna-, Vi (1A): defecate

kunankarri, N: south

kundrukundru, N: cough, cold

kungka-, Vi (1D): limp

kungkakungka-, Vi (1D): grunt

kungku, Adj: lame

kunki, N: native doctor

kunmi, N: haze

kunngarra, N: sound of movement in distance

kunthi, N: mosquito

kuntyirri, N: bush type

kupa, N: child
kuparru, N: young of animal
kupula, N: alcohol, wine, bottle
kurda-, Vi (1A): fall (of rain)
kurdakurda, N: night hawk
kurdingka-, Vi (1A), Th: run
kurdu, N: hole in ground
kuri, N: stealth
kurkurku, N: bird type
kurlawarra, N: large boomerang type
kurlikirri, Adj: clean
kurlka-, Vtr (2A): save
kurlkunga-, Vi (1A): jump
kurlpi, N: subincision
kurndi, Adj: bent
kurnu, Adj: one
kurra-, Vtr (2E): put in or on
kurrukurru, Adj: secret
kurrupa-, Vi (2E): advise
kurrutharra-, Vi (1D): forget
kutha, Adj: angry
kuthi-, Vi (1C): hide, disappear
kuthikuthi-, Vi (1D): deny (doing something)
kutyi, N: devil
kutyikutyi, N: blue long-tailed wren
kuwu, Adj: ignorant
makita, LOAN, N: gun, rifle
malhantyi, Adj: bad
malka, N: mulga tree
malka, N: stripe, mark
maltharra, N: emu feather shoes worn by *thinanipa*
malthi, Adj: cool
malyuda, N: cormorant
mama-, Vtr (2B): steal
mandra, N: stomach
mandra-, Vtr (2D): grasp
mandru, Adj: two
mangathandra, N: head
mangka, Adj: opposite direction
mani, LOAN, N: money
mani-, Vtr (2E): get
manka-, Vtr (2B): find
mankarra, N: girl
manyu, Adj: good
manyurra, N: seed type
mara, N: hand
maranguka-, Vtr (2E): help, assist
marda, N: stone, hill
mardi, Adj: heavy
mardu, N: totem
marduka, N: matrilineal ceremonial totem
markarra, N: yellow belly fish
marla, Adj: true, real, very
marlarlu, Adj: true, correct
marna, N: mouth, door
marni, N: fat
marnka, Adj: slow
marnpi, N: bronzewing pigeon
marra, Adj: new, fresh
marra-, Vi (1D): glow red
marralyi, Adj: red
marrapu, Adj: many
marru, Adj: wide
martyi-, Vi (1E): scream
maru, Adj: black
matha-, Vtr (2A): bite
matharri, N: initiated man
matharri, N: moeity name
matya, Part: already, OK
mawa, N: hunger
mayarru, N: marsupial rat
mayatha,l LOAN, N: boss, master
mila, N: hook
mindrari, N: corroboree type
mindri-, Vi (1A); Di: run
mingka, N: hole

minha, Adj: what, something
mintyi-, Vi (1D): shine
mirri, Adj: above, top
mitha, N: ground, soil, countryside
muka, N: sleep
muku, N: bone
mulha, N: nose, face
mungara, N: soul
mungka-, Vi (1D): coo
muntya, Adj: sick, ill
muntyu, N: fly
murda-, Vi (1D): end, finish
murramurra, N: mythical being, culture hero
murruwa-, Vtr (2A): scratch
mutaka, LOAN, N: car
muya, Adj: dry
nandra- Vtr (2A), Di: hit, strike, kill
ngaka-, Vi (1D): flow, blow (of wind)
ngalku, N: desire
ngalpurru, N: darkness
ngaltya, N: saliva
ngalyi, Adj: a little
ngama, N: breast, milk
ngama-, Vi (1A): sit, live, stay
ngamangama, N: milkweed (*Euphorbia drummondii*)
ngampu, N: sex totems
ngampu, Part: almost
ngana-, Vi (1D): be
ngandrawalka-, Vtr (2D): close, stop
ngandri, N: mother
nganka, N: beard
nganka-, Vtr (2E): work, make, do
ngankanthi, N: catfish
nganthi, N: meat, edible animal
ngantya-, Vdi: call by a kinship term
ngantya-, Vtr (2A): want, like, love
ngapa, N: water
ngapiri, N: father
ngapitya, N: dream, dream totem
ngapu, Adj: quiet, silent
ngarda, N: then, next behind
ngardu, N: nardoo seed
ngari-, Vi (1A): go down
ngarla, Part: but
ngarnikuri, LOAN, N: goat
ngarrakali-, Vi (1D): become warm in the morning
ngarrimatha, N: flood
ngarrupara-, Vi (1C): be surprised
ngaru, N: voice, echo
ngathamurra, N: offspring of opposite moiety
ngathani, N: offspring of same moiety
ngathata, N: younger sibling
ngayarla, N: sound of human voices in vicinity
nguka-, Vtr (2E): mix
nguluka-, Vtr (2B): look out for
ngumu, Adj: good
nguna, N: arm
ngunangana-, Vi (1D): wave
ngundra-, Vtr (2A): think
ngunyardi, N: right hand
ngupara, Adj: first
ngurra, Adj: continuous
ngurra, N: camp
ngurra, N: shin
ngurru, N: strength, firmness
nguru, N: one day beyond
nguya, Adj: used to
nguyama-, Vtr (2E): know, recognize
nguyawaka-, Vtr (2E): prevent
nhaka, N: there
nhanga-, Vtr (2D): pour
nhanthu, N: horse
nhari, Adj: dead
nhayi-, Vtr (2A): see, look
nhingki, N: here

nhintha, N: shame, shyness
nhiyi, N: elder brother
nhuṟa, N: tail
nhurru, N: speed
nhuwa, N: spouse
pakarna, Adj: same, also
paki-, Vi (1C): burst
paku, Adj: silly, stupid, purposeless
paku-, Vtr (2A): dig
pali-, Vi (1E): die
palipali-, Vi (1E): drown
palka-, Vtr (2D): split
palthu, N: road, way
pandra, Adj: cooked, ripe
pangka, LOAN, N: bed
pangki, N: side
pani, Adj: none, no
panki-, Vi (1C): be glad, pleased
pantha-, Vi (1E): smell, be odorous
pantya, N: knee
pantyi-, Vi (1E): become
paṟalka, N: medicinal plant
paṟatyi, N: light
parda-, Vtr (2E): hold, catch
pardaka-, Vtr (2D): bring, take
pardi, N: grub type
parkulu, Adj: three
parla, N: sexual arousal
parlka-, Vi (1A): go on a journey
parlku, N: body, flesh, cloud
parlkura, N: seed type
parlpa, Adj: some
parlu, Adj: naked
parni-, Vi (1E): smell, be odorous
parra, N: hair
parra-, Vi (1D): lie down (of inanimates)
parraparra, Adj: energetic, hard
parrawaṟa-, Vi (1C): be drunk, intoxicated
parru, N: fish
parruma-, Vtr (2A): pull
parti, Adj: silly
partya, Vtr (2D): involve all
partyana, Adj, Di: all
partyarnda, Adj, Th: all
paruparu, N: everywhere
patharra, N: box tree
pawa, N: seed
pawi, N: lignum tree
paya, N: bird
payirri, Adj: long
piki, LOAN, N: pig
pildra, N: possum
pilki, Adj: different
pinarru, N: old man, totem head
pinpa-, Vtr (2D): leave over, fail to consume
pintharra, N: patrilineal ceremonial totem
pinthi, Part: rumoured
pinya, N: revenge expedition
pira, N: moon, moonlight, month
pirdarru, N: drought
pirki-, Vi (1A): play
pirla, N: coal, charcoal
pirli, N: bag, puch of marsupial
pirna, Adj: big, large
pirri, N: groove
pirta, N: tree, stick
pithi-, Vi (1D): fart, break wind
piti, N: anus
pityi, N: bark, dish
pityirri, N: pitchere (native tobacco)
puka, N: vegetable food
pukartu, N: ochre type
pulu, Part: cannot
puluka, LOAN, N: cattle
pulyurru, N: mud
punga, N: hut

punnga, N: lungs
puntha, N: marsupial mouse
punthi-, Vi (1C): separate
pupa-, Vi (1D): admonish
purka, N: conscience
purka-, Vi (1A): wade
purnka-, Vi (1C): grow
purntu, N: nose peg
purralku, N: brolga
purri-, Vi (1C): fall
purru, N: frost
puta, LOAN, N: boot, shoe
putha, N: ash
puthurru, N: dust
putu, N: thing
putyu, Adj: blind
puwa, LOAN, N: bore
puwa, N: marrow
puyurru, N: mother's sister's child
rapiti, LOAN, N: rabbit
thalara, N: rain
thalku, Adj: straight, correct
thandra, N: seed clitoris
thandra-, Vtr (2D): fill (with liquid)
thangkaldri, N: plant type (sweet millet)
thangkuparna, N: tomorrow
thangkuthangkuparna, N: morning
thanyu, N: plant type
thapa-, Vtr (2C): drink
tharda-, Vi (1A): go up
thardi, N: thirst
thardi, N: youth
tharka-, Vi (1B): stand
tharla, N: name
tharra, N: thigh
tharra-, Vi (1B): fly
thati, Adj: middle
thayi-, Vtr (2C): eat
thika-, Vi (1A): return
thikawarra, N: native cat (pronunciation uncertain)
thilhinga-, Vi (1D): boil
thilthirri, N: centipede
thiltya, N: sinew, calf (muscle)
thina, N: foot, track
thinamara, N: frog
thinanipa, N: man on revenge expedition (kurrrraitcha)
thinankarra, N: north
thindrithindri, N: willy wag tail
thinka, N: night
thintha-, Vtr (2D): lose, spill
thipi, N: life
thirri, N: danger, aggressiveness
thirri-, Vtr (2E): fight
thirriwa, N: east
thirti, N: tea
thiwi, N: flower
thuka-, Vtr (2D): carry on back
thuku, N: back
thungka, Adj: rotten stinking
thupu, N: smoke
thurarra, N: powder
thurintyi, N: marrow
thurara-, Vi (1C): lie down, sleep
thurpa, Vtr (2D): twist, spin, tease
thurripa-, Vtr (2D): pour liquid on, water
thurru, N: fire, firewood
thurruthurru, Adj: hot
thuti-, Vtr (2D): bury
thutyu, N: reptile
tyampa-, Vi (1D): be fond of
tyanhyu, N: plant type
tyanma, Vi (1D): open one's eyes
tyarla, N: piece
tyika, N: mistake
tyili, N: soakage, native well

tyilparku, N: bird type
tyiltya, N: sinew, calf (muscle)
tyipi, LOAN, N: sheep
tyuka, LOAN, N: sugar
tyukityuki, LOAN, N: fowl, chicken
tyukurru, N: kangaroo
tyurintyi, N: marrow
tyutyu, N: reptile
waka, Adj: small, little
waka<u>r</u>a-, Vi (1D): come
wakarra, N: neck
wakarri-, Vi (1C): break
waldra, N: heat, summer
waldrawirti, N: yesterday
walkarra, N:" sadness
walpala, LOAN, N: white man
waltha-, Vtr (2D): carry on head
wama, N: carpet snake
wana, N: digging stick
wandra-, Vdi: show
wangi, Adj: poor
wangka-, Vtr (2C): sing
wani-, Vi (1D): begin
wani-, Vtr (2A): follow
wanku, N: snake
wanpi-, Vi (1D): have an erection
wanthi-, Vtr (2B): search
wantya-, Vtr (2C): try
wapa-, Vi (1A): go, walk
warda, N: corroboree headdress
wardayarri, N: where
wardu, Adj: short
warkamandra-, Vtr (2D): tie, tangle
warku, Adj: crosswise
warla, N: nest
warli, N: house
warlpardaka-, Vtr (2A): cover
warpa-, Vi (1A): canter
warra-, Vtr (2D): throw, drop
warrangantyu, N: left hand
warrapa-, Vtr (2A): relate a story to
warra<u>r</u>a-, Vtr (2E): leave (behind)
warrawarrapa-, Vtr (2E): disparage, run someone down
warritha, Adj: distant
warriwarri-, Vi (1D): die of thirst
warru, Adj: white
warru, N: long ago
warta, N: butt of tree
wata, Part: not
watha<u>r</u>a, N: wind
wathi-, Vtr (2E): build, construct
wayi-, Vtr (2C): cook
wilha, N: woman
wilhapina, N: old woman
wilparra, LOAN, N: train
wilyarru, N: cicatrization
wilyirri, N: buttocks
wima, N: song, corroboree, ceremony
windri, Part: only
winpa-, Vtr (2B): ask repetitively for, pester
wintha, N: when
wintharranaya, N: how long
wirari-, Vi (1A): go about
wirdi, N: outer one of a set
wirlpa, N: hole
wirpa, N: pubic tassel
wirri-, Vi (1A): enter
wirri-, Vi (1C): be painted
wirri-, Vi (1D): wear (clothing)
wirti, Adj: through
wita, Adj: lined up, in a row
wityikura, N: whirlwind
wuldru, Adj: narrow
yakalka-, Vtr (2E): ask
yakutha, N: bag

yama, N: net

yanku, N: father's father

yantakarra, N: west

yapa, N: fear

yapi-, Vtr (2E): burn

yardi, N: lie, falsehood

yarkarla, N: neck, throat

yarki-, Vi (1D): burn

yarla, Adj: elsewhere

yarla, Adj: together

yarni-, Vi (1C): lean

yarra, N: that way (away from speaker

yarra, N: this way (towards speaker)

yatha-, Vi (1D): speak, say

yatha-, Vtr (2E): scold

yathu, Adj: sated

yawa, N: grass onion

yawarra, N: word, story, language, message

yawula, N: soul

yindra-, Vi (1A): cry

yingki-, Vdi: give

yinka, N: string

yinpa-, Vtr (2E): send

yirripa-, Vtr (2E): warn

yirtyi-, Vi (1B): arise, get up

yulya, N: police

yunka, N: sulkiness

yupa-, Vtr (2E): tease

yurndayurnda, N: tadpole

Appendix D. Index of languages

Adnyamathanha, 16, 27
Alyawarra, 198
Arabana, 16, 27, 29
Arabana-Wangganguru, 198
Aranda, 198
Bandjalang, 49
Bularnu, 57
Dyirbal, 33, 75, 155
Garawa, 155, 198
Gumbaynggir, 57
Guugu Yimidhirr, 75
Jiwarli, 198
Kalkatungu, 77, 91, 155
Karangura, 16
Kuyani, 16, 27
Mithaka, 16
Ngamini, 16, 50, 60, 61, 68, 70, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 89, 90, 91, 94, 167
Ngarluma, 91
Ngiyampaa, 27, 45, 49, 83, 177
Payungu, 198
Pirlatapa, 16
Purduna, 198
Thalanji, 198
Tharrkari, 49, 155, 198
Wagaya, 198
Wangkanguru, 16, 27
Warlpiri, 75, 198
Wemba-Wemba, 45, 46
Wunambal, 83
Yandruwandha, 16, 57, 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 94, 167
Yaluyandi, 16, 29, 61, 70, 77, 79, 82, 89, 90, 91, 94, 167
Yawarawarka, 16, 80, 81, 167
Yidiny, 49, 75, 77, 80, 81, 155