DOUBLE CASE-MARKING IN KANYARA AND MANTHARTA LANGUAGES WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Peter Austin

ABSTRACT[1]

This paper is an investigation of the distribution of morphological case markers in two groups of Aboriginal languages spoken in the north-west of Western Australia. They are the Kanyara languages (comprising Payungu, Thalanyji and Purduna) and the Mantharta languages (consisting of Jiwarli, Thiin, Warriyangka and Tharrkari). These languages have split-ergative case morphology and I will show that case assignment is determined by the interaction of four syntactic parameters: grammatical category, grammatical relations, animacy, and clause type. The languages also regularly show what Frans Plank (1990), following Finck (1910:141), has termed "Suffixaufnahme", i.e. double assignment of case marking. I will show that there are three types of such doubling — derivational, adnominal, and referential. Within the two language groups there is some variation in the realisation of Suffixaufnahme, but I present diachronic evidence that it has a long history in both groups.

1. Introduction

The presence of Suffixaufnahme, or double case-marking, in Australian Aboriginal languages has been known for some time (see for example hints in Blake 1977), but it was not until the important work of Dench and Evans (1988) that a solid descriptive foundation was established for discussing the phenomenon. Dench and Evans catalogue the full extent of Suffixaufnahme in Australia, and the ways it is formally expressed.

In this paper I present a description of double case-marking in two groups of Western Australian languages, taking as a starting point the parameters established by Dench and Evans. I will show that a further level of Suffixaufnahme must be recognised: a 'derivational' level where case marking takes place *before* certain word-formation processes apply. Additionally, some instances of double case-marking arise when there are affixal dependencies and certain case forms serve as 'founding forms' for other cases. In some instances there is diachronic evidence for this level, suggesting that Suffixaufnahme has an established history in the language groups.

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[1] This paper is one of a series on case-marking in Mantharta and Kanyara languages (see Austin 1981c, 1 988c, 1989). An earlier version was presented at the Franz Nikolaus Finck Memorial Symposium **Agreement by Suffixaufnahme** at the University of Konstanz, September 1991.

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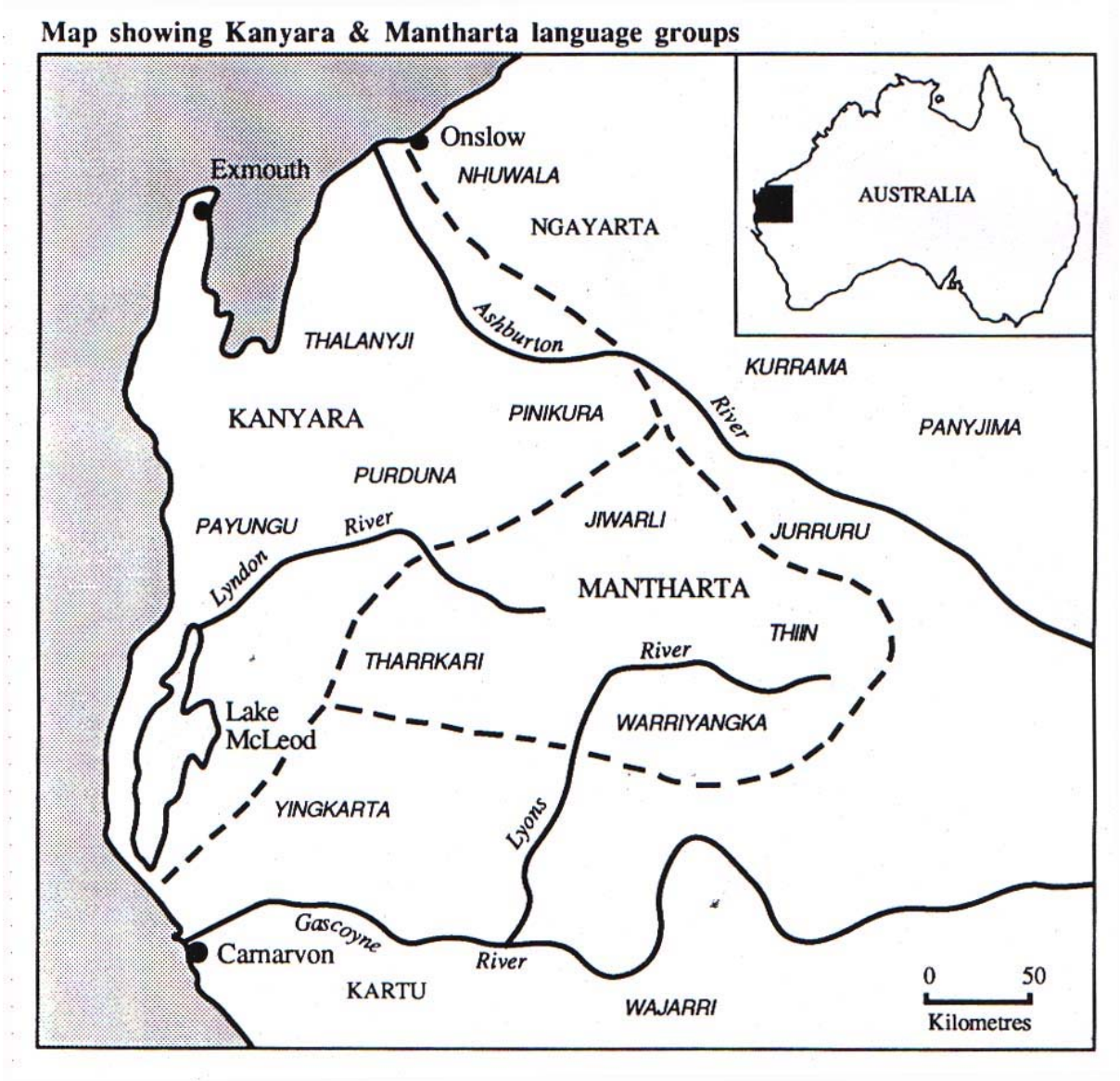
2. Background

The region between the Gascoyne and Ashburton Rivers in the north-west of Western Australia, north and inland from the coastal town of Carnarvon (see map below), was traditionally occupied by speakers of two groups of Aboriginal languages: the Kanyara and Mantharta groups. The Kanyara languages, spoken along the coast, comprise Payungu, Thalanyji and Purduna — they show a high degree of structural similarity and have 60-70% common vocabulary. Their relationships and reconstructed ancestor have been described in Austin 1981 a, 1 988a. The Mantharta languages were spoken inland of the Kanyara group and comprise Jiwarli, Thiin, Warriyangka and Tharrkari. They are even closer to one another than the Kanyara languages and share approximately 80 per cent common vocabulary.[2] In this paper, most examples will be drawn from Thalanyji and Jiwarli as representatives of each group, but in all relevant respects, claims I make about them can be supported by data from the other five languages. The more distant relatives of the Kanyara and Mantharta languages include the well-known Warlpiri and Pitjantjatjarra (O'Grady et al 1966, Wurm 1972).



[2] Data on Warriyangka and Thiin were collected by G.N. O'Grady, and on Tharrkari by T.J. Kiokeid; I am grateful to them for kindly making their unpublished fieldnotes and tape-recordings available. Errors of transcription or analysis of these materials are solely my responsibility.

Data on Jiwarli was collected between 1978 and 1985 from the late Jack Butler of Onslow, Western Australia. Jack spoke several Australian languages, but Jiwarli was his mother tongue learned while he was living a semi-traditional life early this century (see Butler and Austin 1986a,b). The Jiwarli data consists of some seventy texts (of various genres and on various topics), several hundred pages of fieldnotes and about fifteen hours of tape recordings. Thalanyji materials were collected by myself in 1978-87 from Helen Hayes of Carnarvon, Western Australia, and by G.N. O'Grady in 1967 from a number of Thalanyji speakers. The data comprises elicited (translated) sentences and a few brief texts. All this data is held at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Tones Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, and copies are available from the Institute or from the author.

Structurally, Thalanyji and Jiwarli show a number of morpho-syntactic characteristics that are typical of languages in the immediate area, including:

(a) agglutinative and highly productive suffixal morphology; sequences of (easily segmentable) morphemes up to four or five per word are common;

(b) a rich case-marking system (with eight overtly distinguished cases) of the split-ergative type, i.e. partly ergative-absolutive, partly nominative-accusative, and partly a mixture of both. Case is marked by suffix or by suppletion (for some pronouns). All elements of what might be thought of as 'NP constituents' receive case. That is, these are word marking (Blake 1987) or complete concord languages (Dench and Evans 1988:4); compare Warlpiri where case is coded on the last of a sequence of adjacent elements — see Hale 1979, Nash 1980:169ff, Simpson 1983:97, 1991:128ff);

(c) no arguments can be adduced for phrasal categories (there are no second-position auxiliaries as found in Warlpiri for example), and the language has a flat syntactic structure. Word order is unusually free, especially in texts. To the extent that the term is well-defined (see Nathan 1986) Jiwarli seems to be a proto-typical 'non-configurational' language (Hale 1979, 1983, 1985, Laughren 1989). Word order is even freer than Warlpiri (as described in Hale 1979, Nash 1980, Simpson 1983, 1991) because for some clause types elements from different clauses may be freely mixed within a single sentence (see Austin 1987, 1988d for some examples);

(d) there are no voice mechanisms of the familiar sort, no passive, antipassive, nor is there a morphologically marked reflexive;

(e) the absence of any agreement other than case agreement (such as agreement for number or gender), and the lack of cross-referencing bound pronominals (unlike Warlpiri, for example).

There are two major word classes and three minor ones in Kanyara and Mantharta languages (see Austin 1989 for further details):

(i) MAJOR

(a) NOMINAL — can be marked for number and case but not for tense/mood. This category includes substantives (nouns and adjectives, not morphologically or syntactically distinguishable), names, pronouns, demonstratives, and locationals (cardinal directionals).

(b) VERB — can be marked for tense/mood but not number (some dependent verb inflections may be followed by case suffixes, but verb stems may not take cases directly). We can distinguish between MAIN verbs that code tense/mood and DEPENDENT verbs that cannot carry tense/mood and take a series of inflections coding dependency and coreference type (through a switch-reference system).

(ii) MINOR

(a) ADVERB — verb predicate modifiers;

(b) PARTICLE — these are generally uninflected and have semantic scope over the whole sentence. Examples from Jiwarli are warn ‘not’, pampa ‘cannot’, and kaji ‘try’;

(c) INTERJECTION — these form separate utterances and show no morphology.

3. Morphological Case

There are eight morphologically coded case forms distinguished for most nominals. The various inflectional paradigms of Jiwarli nominals are set out in Table 1. The paradigms for Thalanyji and the other languages are similar, except that only Jiwarli makes the distinction between two ablative cases (see below).

Cases may be divided into two groups:

(i) grammatical, i.e. those borne by nominals subcategorised by the predicate (and their modifiers), and

(ii) non-grammatical (also called ‘local’).

TABLE 1: **Jiwarli morphological cases**

	‘boy’	‘tree’	‘hill kangaroo’
ergative	**wirtangku**	**wurungku**	**mathantu**
absolutive	**wirta**	**wuru**	**mathanma**
accusative	**wirtanha**	**wuru**	**mathannha**
dative	**wirtawu**	**wuruwu**	**mathanku**
locative	**wirtangka**	**wurungka**	**mathanta**
aliative	**wirtanla**	**wururla**	**mathankurla**
ablativel	**wirtangkanguru**	**wunungkanguru**	**mathantanguru**
ablative2	**wirtaparnti**	**wuruparnti**	**mathanparnti**
	‘man’	‘you’	‘I’
ergative	**manthartalu**	**nhurralu**	**ngatha**
absolutive	**mantharta**	**nhurra**	**ngatha**
accusative	**manthartanha**	**nhurranha**	**ngathanha**
dative	**manthartawu**	**nhurrampa**	**nganaju**
locative	**manthartala**	**nhurrala**	**ngathala**
allative	**manthantarla**	**nhurnarla**	**ngathanla**
ablativel	**manthartalanguru**	**nhurralanguru**	**ngathalanguru**
ablative2	**manthartapannti**	**nhunraparnti**	**ngathaparnti**

The grammatical cases are:

(a) ERGATIVE — codes transitive subject function (abbreviated, following Dixon 1979, as A) and instrument;

(b) ABSOLUTIVE — codes intransitive subject (S) function. This is the unmarked root.[3] Note that the first person pronoun alone has no separate ergative form distinguished from the absolutive;[4]

(c) ACCUSATIVE — codes transitive object (0) function for all nominals with animate reference (inanimates use absolutive forms for 0). In Thalanyji all nominals take accusative, regardless of animacy;

(d) DATIVE — marks predicate complement, purposive, benefactive, and (alienable) possessor (inalienable possession is coded syntactically by apposition of the possessor and possessed. Depending upon animacy, possessor and possessed may have the same case form - see below). The first person singular has a suppletive dative case form in all Mantharra languages and in Thalanyji.

The non-grammatical cases are:

(a) LOCATIVE — codes location in place or time;

(b) ALLATIVE — marks direction towards a place;

(c) ABLATIVE1 — marks direction from a location in place or time;

(d) ABALATIVE2 — marks direction from a location (synonymous with ABLATIVE1), temporal sequence ('after'), and cause. In all the languages apart from Jiwarli there is just one ablative covering all these functions.

There are two predicate types in Kanyara and Mantharta languages corresponding to the two major categories. These are as follows (examples from Jiwarli are given in Table 2):

(i) NOMINAL. Nominal predicates occur in construction with a (nominal) subject inflected in the same case as the subject of an intransitive verb. There are two types of nominal predicates: SIMPLENOMINALS which occur with just a subject, and EXTENDED NOMINALS which require both a subject and a dative case-marked nominal complement. These (and the corresponding extended intransitive verb predicates described below) have been referred to as 'middle constructions' in the Australianist literature, however this term is easily confused with the middle construction of Indo-European languages (which is a particular voice form) and hence I prefer the term 'extended';

(ii) VERB Verbs fall into four classes according to their subcategorisation frames. These are:

(a) INTRANSITIVE VERB (Vi) — takes a single subject argument inflected for absolutive case;

(b) EXTENDED INTRANSITIVE VERB (Ve) — takes a subject argument inflected like an intransitive verb subject and also a second argument inflected for dative case (Blake 1987:36 somewhat confusingly refers to the grammatical relation borne by the complement of an extended intransitive verb as "indirect object");

(c) TRANSITIVE VERB (Vtr) — takes two arguments, a transitive subject, inflected for ergative case and a transitive object, inflected for accusative case;

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[3] Note phonotactic constraints against word-final stops.

[4] In Tharrkari and Warriyangka the second person singular pronoun **nhurra** also does not distinguish ergative and absolutive formally.

(d) DITRANSITIVE VERB (Vdi) — takes three arguments, one inflected like a transitive subject and two inflected like transitive objects. The two transitive object-like nominals can however be differentiated syntactically (see Austin 1989).

TABLE 2: **Predicate Types**

i.	Nominals	(a) plain	S			e.g.	**wirta** 'boy'	
		(b) extended	S	DAT		e.g.	**jirril** 'afraid'	
ii.	Verbs	(a) Vi	S			e.g.	**puni-** 'to go'	
		(b) Ve	S	DAT		e.g.	**yarrukarri-**	'to want'
		(c) Vtr	A	O		e.g.	**nhanya-** 'to see'	
		(d) Vdi	A	O	O	e.g.	**wantha-** 'to give'	

The following Jiwarli examples illustrate the various predicate types and the case coding. The first example shows a simple nominal used as a predicate with a demonstrative as subject:[5]

(1) **Mantharta ngunha-pa.**
man that:abs-spec
'He is a man.' [T53s16]

An example of an extended nominal predicate is:

(2) **Yakara paju ngunha-pa pirrpilyangkura-wu.**
brave truly that:abs-spec rock python-dat
'He was truly brave about rock pythons.' [

Intransitive verbs axe illustrated by:

(3) **Ngatha parlirri-nyja-rni warlpara-nguru.**
I:abs return-past-hence south-ablat1
'I came back from the south.' [

Example (4) illustrates an extended intransitive with a dative case-marked complement:

(4) **Ngurru-nyjarri mangkapurturri-nyja pirru-wu.**
old man-pl:abs be glad-past meat-dat
'The old men were glad for the meat.' [

Example (5) shows a transitive clause, note the three instances of the accusative case on the 0 nominals:

[5]The transcription adopted for Kanyara and Mantharta languages is a practical orthography that follows usual Australianist conventions: **th/nh/lh** represent lamino-dental stop, nasal and lateral respectively, **j/ny/ly** are lamino-palatal, **rt/rnrl** are apico-domal (retrollex). The velar nasal is **ng**. In homorganic nasal-stop clusters the digraph for place of articulation is written once only: thus **nth** (not **nhth**) and **rnt** (not **rnrt**). Note however that **nyj** is phonologically distinct from **nj**. The alveolar tap is written **rr,** and the post-alveolar continuant as **r**. The three vowels are **a, i, u**; length is indicated by doubling the vowel symbol.
Abbreviations employed in the interlinear glosses are: ablat - ablative, abs - absolutive, acc - accusative, caus - causative, coll - collective, comit - comitative ('having'), colU - continuous, dat - dative, def - definite, dl - dual, erg ergative, exci - exclusive, fat - future, imper - imperative, imperfDS - imperfective different-subject, imperfSS - imperfective same-subject, inchaot - inchoative, intent - intentive, bc - locative, perfDS - perfective different-subject, perfSS - perfective same-subject, p1 - plural, pres - present, priv - privative ('lacking'), purpDS - purposive different-subject, purpSS - purposive same-subject, spec - specific, usit - usitative ('past habitual'). Colons separate morpheme glosses where the language form is not segmentable. Abbreviations in square brackets following the free English translations are references to the source data.

(5) **Ngatha mana-nyja yanyja-nha mantharta-nha ngurtirti-nha.**
I:erg get-past another-acc man-acc [name]-acc
'I got another man Ngurtirti.' [

Transitive clauses are also illustrated by (6); notable features here are the word order (the possessor and possessed nominals are not adjacent) and inalienable possession with first person singular accusative (notice that morphological case is coded 'locally' (Silverstein 1976) on nominals; the body part O **parna** is treated as inanimate and is in absolutive case form, but the possessor **ngatha** is treated as animate and bears an accusative case suffix.[6] Compare this example with (8) below which shows alienable possession):

(6) **Juru-ngku ngatha-nha kulypa-jipa-rninyja parna**.
sun-erg I-acc be sore-caus-past head:acc
'The sun made my head sore.' [

Finally, example (7) illustrates a ditransitive verb:

(7) **Ngatha wantha-rninyja-rru pirru kamu.**
I:erg give-past-now meat:acc hunger:acc
'I gave the meat to the hungry one.' [18s7]

A Thalanyji example showing both non-subject arguments in the accusative case is:

(8) **Ngulu murla-nha wantha-rrkin wartirra-nha**.
that:erg meat-acc give-pres woman-acc
'He gives meat to the woman.' [

In both Kanyara and Mantharta languages there are certain non-finite dependent clauses that also take case markers following the dependent verb inflection. It is not possible to describe the full system here (see also Austin 1988c), but I will provide some examples of imperfective dependent clauses (these function like NP-relative clauses or adverbial temporal/logical clauses). In all languages the subject of such a clause is missing, and the verb bears an affix marking switch-reference, i.e. whether the (missing) subject is to be understood as having the same reference (SS - same subject) or different reference (DS - different subject) from the subject of the clause on which it is dependent. If it is a different-subject clause (imperfDS) then the verb bears a case-marker appropriate to the grammatical function of the matrix clause non- subject. The following are two examples from Jiwarli (showing accusative and locative cases respectively on the dependent clause verb):

(9) **Payalpa-nthu-rru ngatha nhanya-nyja wirntu ngurnta-iniya-nha**.
at last-again-now I:erg see-past dead:abs lie-imperfDS-acc
'At last I saw (him) lying dead.' [

(10) **Wuru ngunha tharrpa-rninyja ngarti-ngka kajalpu-la**
stick:acc thatacc insert-past inside-bc emu-loc
ngarri-ngka ngurnta-iniya-la.
ashes-bc lie-imperfDS-loc
'He inserted the stick inside the emu lying in the ashes.' [

and two from Thalanyji (showing locative and dative cases respectively):

[6] See also example (22) below for another instance.

(11) **Ngatha marrkarri-n nyinta-ma parnakarri-yitha-ku.**
I:abs wait for-pres you-dat come-imperfDS-dat
'I wait for you to come.' [

(12) **Ngatha wangka-yin ngunhi-la kanyara-la nhikirntarri-yitha-la.**
I:abs speak-pres there-bc man-bcdance-imperfDs-boc
'I am talking to the man there who is dancing.' [

4. Double case marking

In the examples above, nominals serving as arguments of predicates are inflected for case according to their grammatical function. There are also instances in these languages of nominals carrying two case affixes. We can identify three situations where this occurs:

1. **derivational** — this is the addition of a case marker before a nominal derivation suffix is attached, or before a further case marker is attached. The locative and dative cases participate in this;
2. **adnominal** — dative case-marked nominals serving as adnominal (genitive) modifiers take a second case affix in agreement with the modified head nominal (with some exceptions to be considered below);
3. **referential** — nominals serving as adverbial modifiers or secondary predicates can be assigned (subcategorised) ergative, accusative or dative case following their allative, or ablative suffixes;

We will exemplify each of these patterns in turn.

4. 1 Derivational double case

We can identify two situations where case markers are used not to code predicate-argument or nominal-nominal syntactic relations, but in a derivational way. The first of these is where certain affixes (both case and non-case) require that the nominal to which they are attached is already inflected for case *before* affixation takes place — additional grammatical and non-grammatical cases may then be added after this affix. Locative and dative cases participate in this phenomenon serving as base forms. The second situation is where word formation processes may be applied to nominals already bearing a case affix — an example involving the locative is found here. I will discuss each of these in turn.

4.1.1 Case-marked bases

The locative case form in Jiwarli serves as the basis (the 'founding form') for the ablative1 affix -**nguru**, i.e. it is appended to inflected locative nominals, as in:

jurla-ngka-nguru 'from the tree'
tree-loc-ablat1

purrarti-la-nguru 'from the woman'
woman-loc-ablat1

ngatha-la-nguru 'from me'
I-loc-ablat1

ngula-nguru 'from there'
that:loc-ablat1

The dative serves as a founding form for demonstratives in Kanyara and Mantharta languages: all demonstratives must be inflected for dative case before any non-case affixes

(such as number marking, or any of a group of derivational affixes) are added. Thus, consider the following examples of the distal demonstrative **ngunha** from Thalanyji and Jiwarli:

that	**ngunha**	
that erg	**ngulu**	
that dat	**ngurnu**	
that loc	**ngula**	
that-pl	**ngurnu-nyjarri**	(in Jiwarli **ngurnu-malu**)
that-assoc	**ngurnu-nyungu**	
that-side	**ngurnu-kuji**	

When the suffixed demonstrative is used in a sentence, a further case affix may follow, as in the Jiwarli sentence:

(13) **Ngatha nhanya-nyja kumpa-iniya ngurnu-malu-la mantharta-la**.
I:erg see-past sit-imperfDS that:dat-pl-loc man-bc
'I saw (him) sitting with those men.' [

and the Thalanyji sentence:

(14) **Ngurnu-kuji-la tharrpa-yin.**
that:dat-side-loc enter-pres
'(He) goes in that side.' [

This requirement also applies to ablative case forms of demonstratives: the suffix -parnti must be added to the dative inflected demonstrative, as in Jiwarli:

(15) **Purrarti yana-nyja-rni ngurnu-parnti**.
woman:abs go-past-hence that:dat-ab
'The woman came from there.'

In the Kanyara languages **all pronoun** ablative case forms are built upon the dative. That is, any ablative pronoun will carry two case affixes: the derivational dative and the ablative, as in the Thalanyji example:

(16) **Ngunha yarrkarni-nha pirungka ngali-ya-ma-parnti**.
that:abs run-past fear we dl-excl-dat-ablat
'He ran away from us in fear.' [1 1s6]

4.1.2 Case-marking and word formation

Jiwarli and Thalanyji both have a nominal derivational suffix **-ji** which forms agentive nouns from other nominals or from verbs. The affix **-ji** has all the hallmarks of a derivational (word forming) suffix: it is lexically restricted (not all nominals can take **-ji**), it is sententially irregular (see the second example below), and it changes category (turning verb roots into nominal stems). Jiwarli examples are:

kari-ji	'drunkard'	**kari**	'alcohol'
mara-ji	'destitute'	**mara**	'hand'
parnaa-ji	'runner'	**parnaa-**	'to run'
wiingka-l-ji	'puller'	**wiingka-**	'to pull'
wantha-rr-ji	'giver'	**wantha-**	'to give'

Now, these derived stems may then be followed by a case suffix, as in:

(17) **Juma** **kumpa-inha** **kari-ji-la.**
child:abs sit-pres grog-agent-bc
'The child is sitting with the drunkard.'

In addition to this pattern, **-ji** may also be suffixed to (body part) nouns already inflected for locative case to produce a stem denoting a person who has something or someone **in or on** the thing denoted by the root. The locative case here clearly carries the same *semantic* force as its regular inflectional use with locative modifiers. Examples are:

parna	'head'	**parna-ngka-ji**	'one with something on the head'
mara	'hand'	**mara-ngka-ji**	'one with something in the hands'
purra	'lap'	**purra-ngka-ji**	'one with someone in the lap'

An example of such a form used in a sentence is:

(18) **Purrarti** **ngarlpurri-a** **parna-ngka-ji.**
woman:abs run-pres head-loc-agent
'A woman is running along with something on her head.'

Words such as these can of course take further derivational affixes or be inflected for case, as in:

(19) **Mantharta** **yana-nyja-rni** **purrarti-jaka** **parna-ngka-ji-jaka.**
man :abs go-past-hence woman-comit head-boc-agent-comit
'A man is coming with a woman with something on her head.'

(20) **Purrarti-lu** **thuthu-nha** **panyi-rninyja** **purra-ngka-ji-lu**.
woman-erg dog-acc kick-past lap-bc-agent-erg
'The woman with (a child) in her lap kicked the dog.'

These examples clearly show the use of case marking *preceding* a derivational level of morphology, and hence the possibility of double case affixation (though not of the classic Suffixaufnahme type).

4.1.3 Derivational double case — diachronic evidence

The third person singular pronoun paradigm in Jiwarli shows evidence of several historical layers of case marking. Consider the relevant forms:

Nominative	**panhalu**
Ergative	**panhaluru**
Accusative	**panhalunha**
Locative	**panhalura**
Dative	**parnumpa**

It is clear that the non-dative root **panhalu** is an old ergative form containing the ergative suffix **-lu** (widespread in Pama-Nyungan languages). A third person pronoun **panha** is found in other Western Australian languages, including Thalanyji. Similarly, the dative **parnumpa** consists of **parnu,** an old dative form, plus the pronominal dative case affix -mpa. Interestingly, when this pronoun functions adnominally (see below) as a possessor, it can be further suffixed with an argument dative case, this time of the form **-wu,** as in:

(21) **Ngatha** **jirrilarri-a** **thuthu-wu** **parnumpa-wu.**
I:abs be afraid-pres dog-dat he:dat:dax
'I am afraid of his dog.'

Here there are three layers of dative case forms: **parnu, mpa**, and **wu!**

4.2 Adnominal double case-marking

In addition to serving as arguments of predicates, nominals may also function adnominally, modifying the meaning of another nominal. The dative case may be followed by an additional case marker when it codes a genitive relationship of inalienable possession. The possessor takes dative case plus the case appropriate to the syntactic role filled by the possessed nominal. It is important to realise that the case of the possessed nominal is not COPIED to the possessor nominal to follow the dative, rather case is assigned to the possessor independently. For instance, if the possessor is an animate nominal and the possessed in inanimate, then in Jiwarli the possessor will take accusative case to mark 0 function even though the possessed will be in absolutive case form. Examples (22) from Jiwarli and (23) from Thalanyji show dative plus accusative:

(22) **Warn nganaju-nha ugurra panyi-ma**.
not I:dat-acc camp:acc disturb-imper
'Don't disturb my camp!' [

(23) **Kupuju-lu kaparla-nha yanga-lkin wartirra-ku-nha**.
child-erg dog-acc chase-pres woman-dat-acc
'The child chases the woman's dog.' [N12p3]

The case marking patterns described here are those which apply in simple main clauses in Kanyara and Mantharta languages. These languages also have sets of dependent clauses marked by non-finite verb suffixes. Depending on the clause type (see Austin 1988c), regular marking of transitive object (as accusative or absolutive) is suspended and dative or allative case assigned. Essentially, imperfective and perfective modifying clauses (the functional equivalent of English relative clauses and adverbial clauses) assign DATIVE to their 0, while purpose-same subject clauses assign ALLATIVE to their 0 (purpose-different subject clauses take main clause case-marking). Dench and Evans (1988) have called this the ASSOCIATING FUNTION of case. Consider the following Thalanyji example where **murla** 'meat', the transitive object of **kuthuwa-** 'to cook' is marked with an associating dative case:

(24) **Kupuj u-lu kaparla-nha yanga-lkin wartirra-ku-nha**
child-erg dog-acc chase-pres woman-dat-acc
nyina-yitha-ku-nha kuthuwa-lkarra murla-ku.
sit-imperfDS-dat-acc cook-imperfSS meat-dat
'The child is chasing the dog of the woman who is sitting down cooking meat.'
[HHPAN11p3s8]

Now, Kanyara and Mantharta languages any adnominal modifying nominal that is semantically connected to the 0 will take dative or allative case after its own (adnominal) dative case. This is not different in principle from main clauses but is included here for sake of completeness. Examples from Thalanyji are:

(25) **Mara-lkarra nyina-yin kupuju kaparla-ku wartirra-ku-ku**.
hold-imperfSs sit-pres child:abs dog-dat woman-dat-dat
'The child is sitting holding the woman's dog.' [1p3s4]

(26) **Ngatha puni-ra-ya thaka-ru kapala-rla jurti-rla.**
I:abs go-hort-emph get-purpSS dog-allat I:dat-allat
'I'm going to get my dog.' [

Note that adnominal dative case may be followed by any other case, that is adnominal datives may modify any nominal in (subcategorised) argument or non-argument function. There is no ban on identical case suffixation, as the following Thalanyji example shows:

(27) **Kupuju** **pirungkarri-n** **kaparla-ku** **wartirra-ku-ku** **nyuja-ngka**
child:abs be afraid-pres dog-dat woman-dat-dat whiteman-loc
wangka-yitha-ku-ku.
talk-imperfDS-dat-dat
'The child is afraid of the dog of the woman talking to the whiteman.'

However, in Jiwarli double datives only occur when the case morphemes have different phonological shapes (thus apparently being subject to haplology). The dative case added to nouns has the form **-ku** after consonants, **-yi** after **i**, and **-wu** after **a** and **u.** Phonetically, **iyi** is realised as a long [i:] and **uwu** as long [u:]. Addition of a further **-yi** or **-wu** after these would produce an extra-long vowel and hence is excluded. Thus, contrast the following:

(28) Juma jirrilarri-a thuthu-wu purrarti-yi (*purrarti-yi-yi)
child:abs be afraid-pres dog-dat woman-dat
'The child is afraid of the woman's dog.'

(29) Juma jirrilarri-a thuthu-wu nganaju-wu yakan-ku-wu.
child:abs be afraid-pres dog-dat I:dat-dat spouse-dat-dat
'The child is afraid of my wife's dog.'

Interestingly, in Tharrkari, it seems that the dative form of pronouns (e.g. **nganayi** 'I:dat') must be followed by a ligature suffix **-dhi-** before a further case affix is added (see Dench and Evans 1988 for other examples of this type), as in:

(30) **Ngunha** **kupa-inha** **nganayi-dhi-da** **ngurra-ka.**
that:abs sit-pres I:dat-lig-loc camp-bc
'He is sitting in my camp.'

Adnominal genitive case agreement is limited to a maximum of two, i.e. dative plus head case. The genitive of a genitive does not bear two dative cases followed by the head nominal's case. The following Thalanyji example illustrates this:

(31) **Nhani-karta** **nhurra** **parnakarri-n** **jurti-karta** **papu-ku-karta**
what-allat you:abs go-pres I:dat-allat father-dat-allat
ngarrari-karta.
camp-allat
'Why did you come to my father's camp.' [

Note that **jurti** the (suppletive) first person possessive is a dependent of **papu** 'father' but it does not bear a further dative case in agreement (i.e. **jurti-ku**), merely carrying the additional allative of the head noun **ngarrari** 'camp'.

4.3 Referential double case-marking

Nominals marked for ablative or ablative case (both ablativel and ablative2 in Jiwarli) can function as adverbial modifiers in Kanyara and Mantharta languages, giving spatial or temporal information about the event. In their locational usage these cases must be followed by an ergative case suffix when the clause is transitive. The temporal use of the ablative ('time from ...') can be followed by any subcategorised argument case (ergative, accusative or dative).

1. ALLATIVE CASE. Allative case marks the place or thing towards which an action or motion is directed. A Jiwarli example is:

(32) **Ngatha** **parlirri-a** **ngurra-rla-rru.**
I:abs return-pres camp-allat-now
'I am going back to the camp'. [

Nominals in allative case have an adverbal function, they provide information about the orientation of the predicate. When an ablative occurs in a transitive clause providing information about the directional orientation of the (transitive) subject, then the allative case is followed by the ergative, as in:

(33) **Thuthu-ngku** **juma-rti-nha** **yanga-rninyja** **warlpari-lu.**
dog-erg child-pl-acc chase-past south:allat-erg
'The dog chased the children south.' [Nl3pl8sl]

The same is found in many central and western Australian languages, including Warlpiri (see Dench and Evans 1988 for examples).

2. ABLATIVE CASE. There are two ablatives in Jiwarli, one (ABLAT1) has primarily local functions and the other (ABLAT2) has both local and causal uses (see above). Ablative 1 takes ergative case when modifying directional orientation of a transitive clause, as in:[7]

(34) **Juma.ngku** **ngatha-nha** **nhanya-nyja** **maya-ngka-nguru-lu.**
child-erg I-acc see-past house-loc-ablatl-erg
'The child watched me from the house.' [

No additional case is required in intransitive clauses. The ablative2 inflection similarly requires ergative when serving as a synonym of ablativel.

The phenomenon of ergative case assignment to non-subjects in transitive clauses is not restricted to allative and ablative nominals in Kanyara and Mantharta languages, but applies to members of three other categories:

(i) MANNER ADVERBS semantically qualifying a transitive predicate take ergative case, as in the Jiwarli example:[8]

(35) **Wurnta-nma** **nhapa** **pirru** **tharti-ngku**.
cut-imper this:acc meat:acc quickly-erg
Cut this meat quickly!' [

and the Thalanyji example:

(36) **Jankarra-n** **yaparru-lu** **ngali** **puni-kurrara**.
tie-imper quick-erg we dl:abs go-intent
'Tie it up quickly so we can go.' [

In intransitive clauses the adverb takes no case suffix.

(ii) In Jiwarli the ROOT MODAL particle **pampa** 'cannot' takes ergative case when it has scope over a transitive clause, as in:

(37) **Pampa-ngku-nthi** **ngatha** **mama-lkurni-a.**
cannot-erg-just I:erg get-cont-pres
'I just can't get them.' [

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7 Recall that ablative1 is attached to the locative inflected form of a nominal (see 4.1.1 above).

8 Adverbs differ from nominals in that they cannot be marked for number and cannot take certain derivational suffixes that attach only to nominals (see Austin 1989 — for more general discussion of adverbs in Australian languages see Bowe 1991). The use of ergative case with manner adverb modifiers is found in other central and western Australian languages — see Simpson (1991:123) on Warlpiri and Bowe (1990:56ff, 1991) on Pitjantjatjara.

When the particle is used in intransitive clauses it takes no suffix. Notice that the ergative in (37) is not an instance of 'case copying' with the transitive subject because the first person singular subject does not bear a separate ergative case. Also, no other particles (such as the negative), adverbs, or locatives take an additional case.

(iii)Dependent clauses that are adjoined to transitive main clauses take an ergative case suffix following their non-finite verb inflection, even if that inflection can NEVER take any other case affix. This applies in all languages to imperfective same-subject clauses, and a type of intentive clause (note, however, that is does not apply to purpose clauses). Examples from Jiwarli and Thalanyji respectively are the following:

(38) **Kuwarti** **kurriya** **purra-rninyja** **patha-rrkarringu-ru** **jiriparri-yi.**
now boomerang toss-past hit-intent-erg echidna-dat
'Next (he) threw a boomerang to hit echidna.' [

(39) **Ngatha** **paja-rna** **mantu-nha** **ngulha-rla-lkarra-lu-ya**.
I:erg eat-past meat-acc nothing-fact-imperfss-erg-emph
'I ate the meat finishing it.' [1]

Note that in (39) the main clause transitive subject does not bear an overt ergative case affix since it is a first person pronoun — the dependent clause however must take ergative case.

3. TEMPORAL ABLATIVE. The ablative case (ablative2 in Jiwarli) has a further function which is to serve as a temporal modifier, making a kind of secondary predication meaning something like "from the time when ...". It is often followed by the temporal post inflectional suffixes (Thalanyji **-nyji**, Jiwarli -**purra**). In this usage the ablative case- marked nominal must be followed by a second case suffix in accordance with the syntactic function of the nominal it is predicated of. The following example illustrates this for an extended nominal predicate. Here the ablative is adnominally modifying the subcategorised dative nominal:

(40) **Ngatha** **nhukura** **juma-parnti-yi.**
I:abs knowing child-ablat2-dat
'I have known (him) from a child (i.e. since he was a child).' [N1lp24s11]

The corresponding Thalanyji sentence is:

(41) **Ngatha** **nhukura** **kupuju-parnti-ku.**
I:abs knowing child-ablat-dat
'I have known him from a child (i.e. since he was a child).' [

Contrast this with:

(42) **Ngatha** **nhukura** **kupuju-parnti-nyji**.
I:abs knowing child-ablat-time
'I have known (him) from a child (i.e. since I was a child).' [N12p5s1]

An example with an accusative is:

(43) **Ngatha** **ngarnka-nyja-rna** **kupuju-parnti-nha.**
I:erg big-caus-past child-ablat-acc
'I raised (him) from a child.' [

Such ablatives may be followed by any subcategorised case, that is, ergative, dative and accusative.[9]

[9] Dench (1987) shows that in the nearby Martuthunira language temporal ablative may also modify local case marked nominals (as in, for example, the equivalent of 'I went to town-allative small-ablative-allative

5. Conclusion

The Kanyara and Mantharta languages of Western Australia show widespread double case marking (Suffixaufnahme) in their case morphology. We can discern three types: derivational, adnominal, and referential. Synchronically a maximum of two levels of case marking is permitted in all languages, although evidence from Jiwarli third person pronouns shows that diachronic reanalysis has taken place so that reflexes of three separate dative case markers can be found.

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meaning 'I have been going to town since it was small'). There are no examples of this type in my Kanyar and Mantharta data.

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