A GRAMMAR OF THE DIYARI LANGUAGE OF NORTH-EAST SOUTH AUSTRALIA

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Unless otherwise acknowledged, this thesis

is the original work of the author.

Peter Austin.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following is a list of abbreviations and cross-references to the section where the abbreviation is defined. Note that most abbreviations for suffixes consist of the first letters of the name of the suffix.

A	transitive subject function	5.1.1
ABS	absolutive case marker	4.2.4.1
ACC	accusative case marker	4.2.4.1
ACT	activity de-transitivizer	4.5.4.1.2
ADD	additional information	5.4.3
Adj	adjective	5.1.1.2
ADMON	admonitive mood	4.5.7.1.1
ALL	allative case marker	4.2.4.2
ALT	altruistic aspect	4.5.4.2
AP	anti-passive de-transitivizer	4.5.4.1.2
AUX	auxiliary verb	4.5.1
BEN	benefactive case marker	4.2.4.2
C	consonant	3.3.1
CAUSE	causative verbalizer	5.1.10.3
CON	consequential aspect	4.5.4.2
CHAR	characteristic	4.2.2
CIT	citation	4.2.2
DET	nominal determiner	5.1.1.2
Dh.	Dhirari	4.5.7.1.1
Di.	Diyari	4.5.7.1.1
DIST	distant	4.4.2
Dl	dual number	4.3.4
DUAL	dual stem	4.2.2
DUR	durative aspect	4.5.4.2

eB	elder brother	
eZ	elder sister	
EMPH	emphatic	4.5.7.1.1
ERG	ergative case marker	4.2.4.1
EXCESS	excessive concern	4.2.2
excl	exclusive	4.3.4
EXCLAM	exclamation	5.4.9
F	feminine gender	4.4.1
FUT	future	4.5.7.1.1
GEN	genitive case marker	4.2.4.2
HABIT	habitual association	4.2.2
IDENT	identified	5.4.4
IMP	imperative mood	4.5.7.1.1
IMPL	implicated clause	5.2.1
$IMPL_{ds}$	implicated clause - different subject	5.2.1
$IMPL_{ss}$	implicated clause - same subject	5.2.1
INCH	inchoative	5.1.10.1
incl	inclusive	4.3.4
INST	instrumental case marker	4.2.4.2
KIN PROP	kinship proprietive	4.2.2
LEST	lest clause	5.2.4
LIKE	like clitic	5.4.2
LOC	locative case marker	4.2.4.2
mo.mo.	mother's mother	
NEAR	near diectic	4.4.2
nF	non-feminine gender	4.4.1
NI	new information	5.4.6
NOM	nominative case marker	4.2.4.1
NOM	nominalizer	5.1.9.1

NM	number marker	4.5.7.1.1
NP	noun phrase	5.1.1.2
NUMBER	number	4.2.2
O	transitive object function	5.1.1
OI	old information	5.4.5
PART	participial	4.5.5
PASS	passive de-transitivizer	4.5.4.1.2
PAST	past tense	4.5.7.1.1
Pl	plural number	4.3.4
PLURAL	plural stem	4.2.2
PRES	present tense	4.5.7.1.1
PROD	product verbalizer	5.1.10.2
PROL	prolative aspect	4.5.4.2
PROP	proprietive	4.2.2
PURP	purposive case marker	4.2.4.2
RECIP	reciprocal	4.5.4.1.2
REDUP	reduplication	3.4.5
REFL	reflexive	4.5.4.1.2
REL	relative clause	5.2.2
REL_{ds}	relative clause - different subject	5.2.2
REL_{ss}	relative clause - same subject	5.2.2
S	intransitive subject function	5.1.1
SCE	source case marker	4.2.4.2
SEQ	sequential clause	5.2.6
SEQ_{ds}	sequential clause - different subject	5.2.6
SEQ_{ss}	sequential clause - same subject	5.2.6
SENSE	sensory evidence	5.4.7
Sg	singular number	4.3.4
STILL	still	5.4.1

TAG	tag question	5.4.8
THERE	there diectic	4.4.2
TOKEN	token of a type diectic	4.4.2
TR	transitivizer	4.5.4.1.1
V	vowel	3.3.1
V_{root}	verb root	4.5
V_{stem}	verb stem	4.5
VC	verb comples	5.1.1.1
VICIN	vicinity	4.4.2
WH	which	4.4.3
yS	younger sibling	
ZH	sister's husband	
1	first person	4.2.2
2	second person	4.2.2
∅	zero form	
+	- morpheme boundary in phonological rules - boundary in compound verb - joining constituents of NP or VC	
-	morpheme boundary in text	
#	word boundary	
$	syllable boundary	
=	nominalization boundary	
*	- unattested word - ungrammatical sentence	
/	pause	

Examples

Examples consist of three parts:

a) Diyari or Dhirari sentence with spaces between words and a dash, - , between morphemes. Material enclosed in parentheses, ( ), is optional and material enclosed in brackets [ ], is either contextual material not directly exemplifying the point in question or unassimilated borrowed words from English. Words contained in { } brackets are alternatives. An oblique strike, / , indicates a clause boundary in complex sentences involving subordination. Sentences preceded by * are ungrammatical. In Chapters Four and Five some examples illustrating both Diyari and Dhirari are combined. Forms different between the two languages are enclosed in square brackets with the top line being Dhirari and the bottom line Diyari.

b) interlinear glosses lined up with the beginning of each word. Free morphemes are in lower case and bound morphemes abbreviated as set out above.

c) a translation, either a free translation enclosed in single inverted commas ' ' or an informant's verbatim translation enclosed in double inverted commas " ". Following translations of examples taken from Diyari or Dhirari texts the source of the text sentence is given in parentheses in the form:

(Text Number;Line Number)

Words in parentheses in the English translations represent material which must be present in English but is not present in the Diyari or Dhirari sentence. Literal translations are given in parentheses as (*lit.*). An oblique stroke, / , separates alternative translations of single words.

PRÉCIS

Diyari is an Australian language spoken by approximately twenty-five people living at various places in the north east of South Australia. It consists of two dialects, Dhirari with one remaining speaker, and Diyari proper. The future of the language is not bright as children are no longer learning to speak it and the youngest fluent speaker is aged about fifty. The language seems to be most closely related to Ngamini and Yarluyandi once spoken to the north of the pre-contact location of the Diyari along Cooper's Creek.

This thesis is a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Diyari, with an emphasis on exemplification of points being explained. Where possible, examples are drawn from texts, especially the two texts included as Appendices. Throughout the description of the morphology and syntax comparative data from other Australian languages, in particular those languages once spoken near Diyari, are included as single spaced comments.

Some areas of the grammar are dealt with in greater detail than others, including:

a) the status of the phonemic voicing contrast in the apical stops,

b) the classification of main verbs,

c) the auxiliary verbs,

d) the functions of the cases, and

e) subordination and the switch-reference systems.

Some points of wider theoretical interest are raised in these sections.

There are three Appendices consisting of two texts, a discussion of Diyari songs and notes on loan words.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

This chapter outlines the socio-cultural background within which the Diyari and Dhirari languages were once spoken. The recent history of the tribes is discussed and the present situation described.

1.1.1 Names

Speakers of the languages being described in this thesis call them ḍiyaṛi, that is, [ɖijʌɕi] (see 3.2)[1] and ṯiraṛi, that is [t̪̂θirʌɕi] (see also 3.2). Throughout the rest of this thesis these names will be spelt Diyari and Dhirari following the usual conventions adopted by Australianists. Note that the names Diyari and Dhirari refer to both the people (or tribes) and their language, unlike some other parts of Australia[2].

---

[1] With regard to the transcription system employed here see footnote at 3.2.1 below.

[2] In other parts of Australia language names may be:
a) based on some word in the language. In much of New South Wales, for example, the language name consists of the word for 'no' plus the comitative (see, for example, the discussion in Austin, Williams and Wurm (forthcoming)) while in Southern N.S.W. and Victoria we find compounds such as Wemba-Wemba ('no-no') (see Hercus (1969) and Donaldson (1977)).
b) based on a description of the language. So, for example, we find Wangganguru (see 1.1.5 for location) meaning literally 'strong language' and Wanggamanha 'bad language' (Blake and Breen (1971 and forthcoming)).
For Diyari and Dhirari, as well as some neighbouring languages (1.1.5) this is not the case (despite Gason's (in Howitt (1890) attempted etymologies) and the names are not analysable. Sometimes tribal names are derived from the language name, as for example, Dyirbal-ŋan or Yidiny-dyi (see Dixon (1976b:210-213), (1977)). In much of South Australia, however, the tribal and language names are identical.

The name of the people we are calling Diyari has been variously spelled over the time they have been known to interested whitemen. Some typical spellings of Diyari are (see 2.1 and 2.2):

"Diererie" - Gason (1874) and reprints

"Diyeri" - Helms (1892-6), Homann (1892) and Gill (1902)

"Diari" - Reuther (1899) and Eylmann (1908)

"Dieri" - Schoknecht (1870), Flierl (1880), Howitt (1890 and 1904), Berndt (1938 and later) and Tindale (1940).

The last spelling is the most commonly found variation in the literature at the present time (see, for example, Capell (1976)). A detailed listing of these and other orthographic representations is provided by Tindale (1974). This work also provides information on Dhirari, commonly misspelled as "Tirari" (op. cit. page 218), but see also 1.1.4 below

1.1.2 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). Most present day Diyari speakers (1.1.7) have only vague ideas concerning traditional (pre-contact) locations of tribal groups[1] so it is necessary to combine the information they can provide with a survey of the relevant literature.

---

[1] Some informants do give specific information about some tribal boundaries and question of what 'country' belonged to particular groups. So, for example, Ben Murray stated that Appollinaire's crossing was a boundary between "Diyari country" and "Biladaba country". Unfortunately, this sort of detail is not available for the whole of the area east of Lake Eyre.

Samuel Gason (1874) gives the following information concerning the Diyari:

> "Their country is about 630 miles north of Adelaide, the capital of the Province of South Australia, and is bounded at the most southerly point by Mount Freeling, at the most northerly point by Pirigundi Lake (on the Cooper River), and the most easterly point by Lake Hope, and at the most westerly point at a part yet unnamed, but about eighty miles from Lake Hope. This country is traversed by Cooper's Creek."

The map on Plate I of Howitt (1890) depicts this information graphically (since Howitt's source was Gason). Similar locations are to be found in Fenner (1936: 46) (whose map was "constructed from information kindly supplied by N.B. Tindale"), Tindale (1940), Capell (1963), Oates and Oates (1970) and Tindale (1974). All these sources agree with the opinions of present day Diyari speakers.

Howitt (1890) provides some information on local group organization among the Diyari but his most extensive and detailed statement is in Howitt (1904: 44-5):

> "The local divisions of the Dieri tribe into hordes is the following:
>
> (1) the Ngadi-ngani or Bukatyiri inhabited the country around Lake Perigundi. The Ngadi-ngani connect the Dieri with the Yaurorka[1] tribe.
> (2) the Pandoetya or Pandola were the inhabitants of the country around Lake Hope.
> (3) the Kunari-kana occupied the country around Kopperamanna and Killalpaninna.
> (4) the Paritiltya-kana were the people in the country from Kopperamanna northwards to the Salt Creek (i.e. the Warburton (see Map 1) - P.A.).
> (5) the Tirari, who lived on the south-east shores of Lake Eyre, between the embounchures of Cooper's Creek and the Clayton River."

Howitt also points out that these "hordes" were further sub-divided locally but, as Morphy (1972:32) argues, it appears that Howitt's "hordes" were the significant level of local group organization.

---

[1] This is the Yawarawarga - see 1.1.5 and Map 1.

Concerning the names given by Howitt here[1], the following comments can be made:

a) according to the late Mrs. Mary Dixon, a Diyari speaker recorded by L.A. Hercus in 1968, the ŋaḍiŋani people spoke a language which was not intelligible to her. Since Hercus did not pursue this comment it is not clear what Mrs. Dixon meant by the remark. None of my informants (1.1.7) recognised the name. The ŋaḍiŋani sentences in Howitt (1904 footnote 1 page 45) are identical to the Diyari described in this thesis (that is, the kunaṟi form (see below), which Mrs. Dixon also spoke) so there is some conflict among the sources.

b) the words pantuyiʈa and pantuɭa mean 'habitually associated with salt lakes' and 'inhabitant of salt lakes' respectively (see 4.2.2). The Diyari name for Lake Hope (see Map 1) is pantu piṇa meaning 'large salt lake'. Vocabularies specifically from Lake Hope (Howitt (1904: 299) and Gason in Taplin (1879)) show no words different from the kunaṟi Diyari of this thesis[2].

c) all present day Diyari speakers know kunaṟi Diyari (where kunaṟi is the name of Cooper's Creek where it flows through Killalpaninna and Kopperamanna (see Map 1)) while some claim to be kunaṟaɭa (4.2.2).

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1 Berndt and Vogelsang (1938-41) repeat Howitt's information giving a "phonetic" rendition of the names, however there are clear errors in their transcription. For example kunaṟi [ˈkudnʌri] is given as [Kuˈna:ri] and ʈiraṛi as [Tirari] (sic).

2 There is only one word in Gason (1886) which is different to the corresponding item in kunaṟi Diyari and that is "yoorana- loving". In kunaṟi Diyari 'to want, like, love' is ŋaɲʈa- while Yandruwandha and Yawarawarga have yuṛa- (but note that Gason also gives "aunchana- caressing" which may be ŋaɲʈa- and cognate with the kunaṟi word).

d) the word "Paritiltya" was not recognised by any informant but it is possible that the first part of the name is cognate with Ngamini paṛi 'creek' c.f. Diyari kaṛiñi[1]. Howitt gives an etymology where "pari" is "a valley" and "tiltya" is "a lowest place or part". Nothing else is known of this group.

e) the ṯiraṛi were not a local group of the Diyari but a separate tribe as Tindale (1974) realized:

> "it was not a horde of the Dieri, as suggested by Howitt... O. Siebert (pers. comm. 1936) vouched that the language spoken was different from Dieri."

The status of the ṯiraṛi language and its differences from Diyari are discussed below (1.1.4, 1.1.5). The original location of the ṯiraṛi was slightly different to that given by Howitt since all modern informants assured me that Muloorina (maṛamuḻuñuṉa) was in "ṯiraṛi country", as well as some places further west. This is indicated on Map 1 below.

Howitt (1904: 47) also speaks of an unnamed:

> "division of the Dieri tribe which lived about Blanchewater, and therefore immediately joined the Mardala[2]."

but in Howitt (1890: 35) he lists one of the "local divisions" as follows:

> "5. Kūramina - Blanchewater".

No present day informants know the name "kūramina" but they do speak of a group who once lived on the land presently owned by

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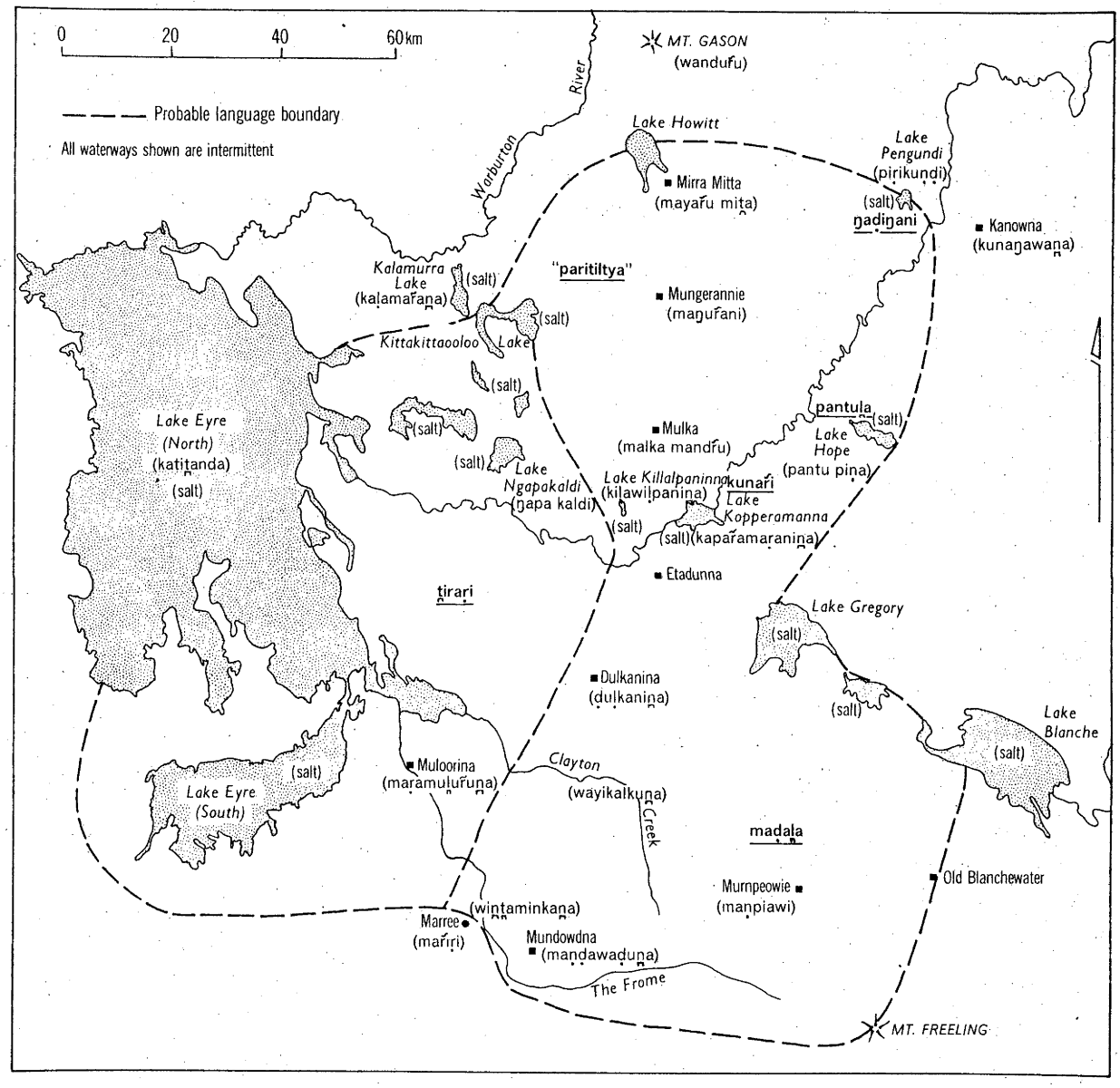
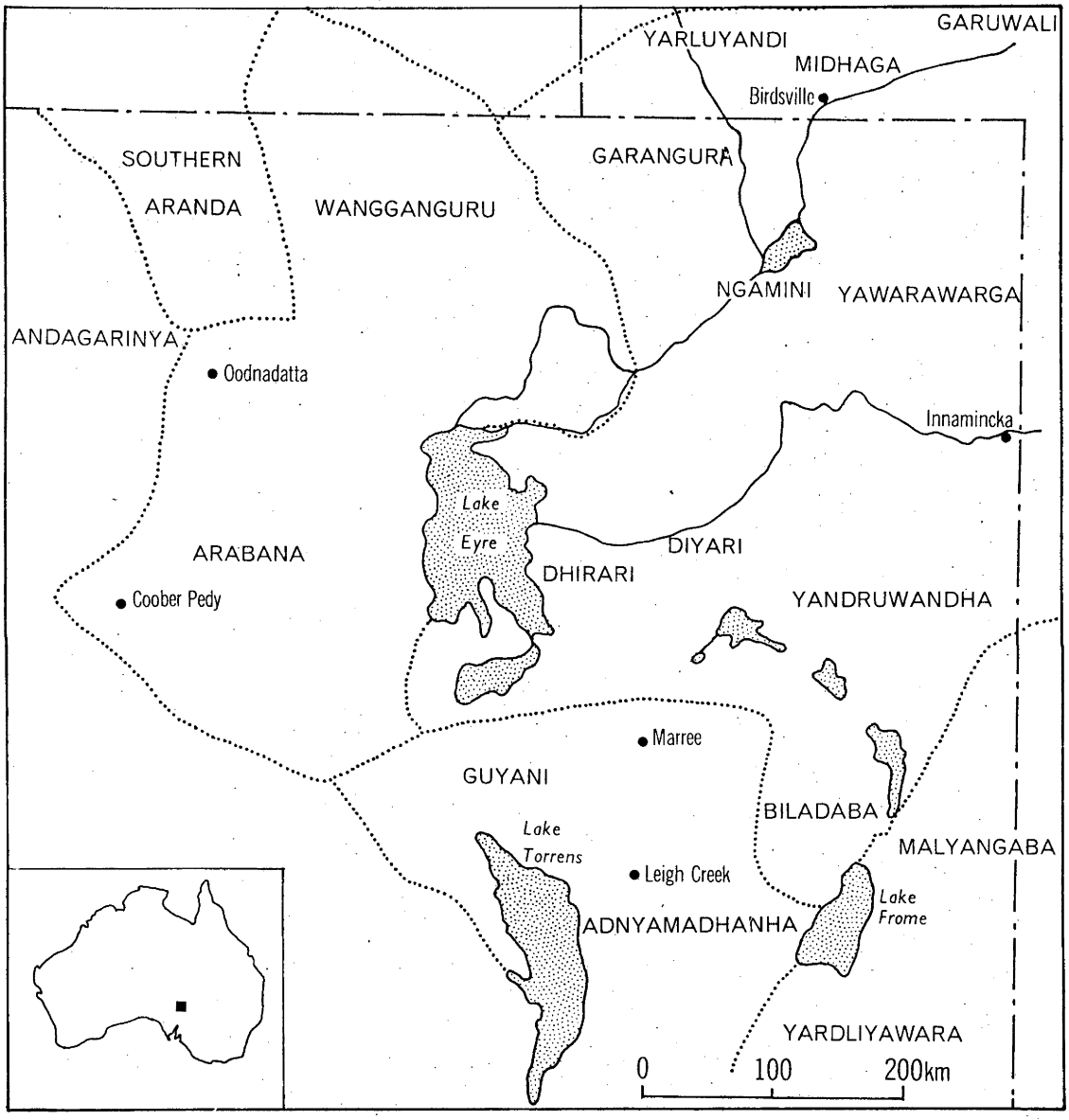
[1] paṛi 'creek' is also found in Guyani (south of Diyari - see 1.1.5) and Malyangaba (western N.S.W.). It occurs as vaṛi in Adnyamathanha.

[2] maḍaḻa in Diyari means 'inhabitants of the hills'. The people Howitt refers to here call themselves Adnyamathanha (see Schebeck (1974)) which means 'hill people'.



Map 1 . Diyari Local Groups and Dhirari - Approximate Locations



..... Probable language group boundaries - see text

Map 2 . Diyari/Dhirari and Neighbouring Languages

Murnpeowie and Mundowdna stations (and including old Blanchewater[1] - see Map 1) called the maḍaḻa ḍiyaṛi. The last members of this group were Mundowdna Billy and Mundowdna Jack (alias Jack McCoy) who died in 1918[2].

Map 1 gives the approximate locations of the Diyari local groups and the names of some places mentioned here and also below.

1.1.3 Dialectal Differentiation

If the conclusions regarding traditional residence patterns drawn by Morphy (1972 and forthcoming) are correct, namely that the local groups for most of the year lived close to permanent water supplies only contacting other local groups and tribes during the winter months for ceremonies and trade (see also 1.2 below), then we might expect some differentiation in the language spoken by members of the local groups. That is, some dialect splitting might be expected due to the relative geographical isolation such residence patterns imply. However, as noted above, no information on anything other than kunaṟi Diyari could be gathered so it is impossible to say whether there were, at one time, different dialects of Diyari.

It is of interest to note concerning local varieties of language that Breen (1976a and personal communication) recorded two varieties of Yandruwandha, the Innamincka and Strezlecki dialects. Wurm (1957) recorded a third variety, the Nhirrpi dialect[3]. All three dialects differ

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1 The station was built on land which formed part of the boundary between "Diyari country" and "Biladaba country" (see footnote on page 2).

2 This information is from Ben Murray who knew both men and worked with them on Mundowdna. Unfortunately, he does not remember anything of the way they spoke, apart from the fact that "it was Diyari".

3 Breen also points out in Hercus and Breen (ms) that the Yandruwandha recorded by Reuther is slightly different again. It may be a fourth dialect known to Breen's informants as 'maʈa'.

slightly in lexicon and morphology whilst being in most respects very similar. The traditional living pattern of the Yandruwandha was probably not too different to that of the Diyari so we might expect that the people of Howitt's local groups also spoke slightly different forms of Diyari (see also the notes on Dhirari below, 1.1.4). Hercus (pers. comm.) also notes that there were once three dialects of Arabana (see Map 2) and local varieties of Wangganguru (comprising an eastern and western dialect division). It may be that similar distinctions once held for Diyari.

1.1.4 Dhirari and Tirari

The people who have in the past been named the "Tirari" (Tindale (1940, 1974), Capell (1963), Oates and Oates (1970)) were thought at one time (Tindale (1940)) to be extinct but in 1972 L.A. Hercus contacted an old man (Mr. Ben Murray) at Farina in the north of South Australia who claimed to be able to speak ṯiraṛi. This, he said, was his kaṉini's[1] language which he had learnt as a child at Muloorina station in Dhirari country (see above and Map 1). He recorded some of this language with Hercus and later I worked with him.

After I began to work with Mr. Murray, Scherer's translation of the Reuther manuscript (see 2.1) began to become available and it seemed that Reuther had recorded words and sentences in a language he called "Tirari" which shared many similarities with those of the ṯiraṛi (which I spell Dhirari (see 1.1.1)) as spoken by Ben Murray. There were, however, a number of differences which pointed to the possibility of some dialect difference.

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[1] kaṉini is, in this case, his mother's mother. Although he remembers the language fairly well, Ben tends to mix it up with Diyari which is not surprising considering how close the two are (see Text Four Appendix A, for example). He was always careful when checking material to keep the two languages apart.

In the following sections I will discuss the similarities and differences between these two records.

1.1.4.1 Similarities

The similarities between Dhirari and "Tirari" are mainly lexical and morphological. Consider the following vocabulary items which are different in both Dhirari and "Tirari" from those found in Diyari (note that Reuther's "Diari" and my Diyari are identical in all respects):

TABLE 1: "TIRARI"-DHIRARI LEXICON

English	Diyari	Dhirari	"Tirari"[1]
armpit	kapuña	kiɻikiɻi	kiljikilji
lips	mimi	pima	pima
child	kupa	waḍu(waka)	wadu
to run	mindñiṇa	kuḍiŋkaḍa	kudingkada
to know	ŋuyamaṇa	ŋuñkaṇḍa	ngurkanda
to hit	ṇandñaṇa	ḍandaḍa	dandada

See also Table 3 below regarding vocabulary differences.

With regard to morphological characteristics in which "Tirari" and Dhirari were the same but differed from Diyari we may cite the following pronouns (see 4.3.2):

	Diyari	Dhirari	"Tirari"
1SgA	ŋaṯu	ŋaṯi	ngati
2SgA	yundñu	yindi	jindi

[1] Reuther's original spelling is retained in all the quoted examples.

and verb affixes (see 4.5.7.1):

	Diyari	Dhirari	"Tirari"
PART	-ṇa	-ṇḍa ~ -ḍa	-nda ~ -da
$IMPL_{ss}$	-ḻa	-ḻali	-lali
$IMPL_{ds}$	-ṇaṇtu	-yani	-jani

In all instances where there was a morphological difference, Dhirari and "Tirari" had the same form while Diyari (or "Diari") had a second (c.f. below).

These various features pointed to Dhirari and "Tirari" being recordings of the same language. There were, however, noticeable differences between the two in other respects.

1.1.4.2 Differences

The differences between Dhirari and "Tirari" are phonological, lexical and syntactic. In most instances Dhirari agrees with Diyari (rather than "Tirari") in having some particular feature.

The main phonological difference between Dhirari and "Tirari" is that the former has (apparently optional) free variation between phonetic [d] and [dr] where Diyari has [dr] and "Tirari" has [d][1] (see 3.2.1.2). It may be that in this respect Dhirari and "Tirari" show different dialect variants. Consider the following examples:

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[1] The differences cannot be due to errors on Reuther's part since it is clear that he recorded all the other languages correctly and his transcriptions agree with information from contemporary sources.

TABLE 2: "TIRARI"-DHIRARI PHONETICS

English	Diyari	Dhirari	"Tirari"
to hit	[ɳʌndrʌ̣ɳʌ]	[ɖʌndʌ̣ɖʌ] ~ [ɖʌndrʌ̣ɖʌ]	dandada
two	[mʌndru]	[mʌndu] ~ [mʌndru]	mandu
salty	[kʌldri]	[kʌldi] ~ [kʌldri]	kaldi

Lexically, Dhirari and "Tirari" differ to some extent and in all cases where there is a difference the Dhirari word is the same as that to be found in Diyari. Some examples are set out in the Table below:

TABLE 3: "TIRARI"-DHIRARI LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

English	Diyari	Dhirari	"Tirari"
hair	para	para	pultji
forehead	ŋuɻu	ŋuɻu	mangu
ear	ʈalpa	ʈalpa	jari
food	puka	puka	warkana
possum	pildr̃a	pilda ~ pildr̃a	wampala
to dig	pakuṇa	pakuṇ̣a	pininda

There are two important features of the words in this table:

a) where Dhirari and "Tirari" differ the former has a word that is cognate with the corresponding Diyari item while the latter has a word that is cognate with the corresponding item in Arabana or Wangganguru (or both).

b) when presented with the "Tirari" words, Ben Murray said that he had heard "some of the old people using them" but that he would not use them himself. It is interesting that 'to dig' (see above) is the only verb which is different between "Tirari" and Dhirari. When asked, Ben Murray said that he had heard piṇiṇḍa 'to dig'. Note that Ngamini (see 1.1.5 and 1.1.6) has piṇi- 'to dig' with PARTicipial form piṇḍa.

The following figures for cognate counts show the differences between verbs and other vocabulary items:

TABLE 4: COGNATE COUNTS

	"Tirari"	Dhirari	
Total Vocabulary	68	95	Diyari
Verbs	81	85	Diyari

These figures, taken with the other data on similarities suggest that "Tirari" and Dhirari were probably dialects of one language.

The main syntactic difference (and one which is of some interest)

between "Tirari" and Dhirari is that the latter has an obligatory AUXiliary verb (4.5.7) to which all verb inflectional affixes must be attached[1]. In "Tirari" these affixes are attached to the stem. The following sentences illustrate the differences:

"Tirari"	ngati	nina	dandada	warai	kudingkalali
	1SgA	SgnFO	hit-PART	AUX-PRES	run-IMPL$_{ss}$

Dhirari	ŋaṯi	ṉiṉa	ḍanda-ḍa	puñi-ṇḍa	wara-yi	/
	1SgA	SgnFO	hit-PART	AUX-PART	AUX-PRES	
	kuḍiŋka-da	puñi-ḻali				
	run-PART	AUX-IMPL$_{ss}$				

'I hit him to run.'

There is no record of this puñi- AUX in Reuther's "Tirari" and it does not occur in Diyari. The Diyari sentence corresponding to that given above is:

Diyari	ŋaṯu	ṉiṉa	ṇandña-ṇa	wara-yi	mindñi-ḻa

It would seem that the puñi- AUX was one of the distinguishing characteristics of Dhirari which made it appear different to both "Tirari" and Diyari.

1.1.4.3 Other Sources

Apart from the Reuther manuscript, there is one other source of information on ṯirariṯ different to Dhirari. All my Diyari informants remembered a set phrase which the curlew wiḻuṛu *(Burhinus magnirostris)* is said to call out. They said that the phrase is in the "ṯirariṯ language" and goes as follows:

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[1] See Austin (1976) for details and also 4.5.7.1 below.

kamariwa! kamariwa! piṇamaraṉa wimpa ŋuřkaḻali

and means "Sister-in-law : Sister-in-law : (Come) to know your brother's track : ". We may analyse this as follows:

kamari-wa	kamari-wa	piṇamaraṉa	wimpa-ø	ŋuřka-ḻali
BrW-DIST	BrW-DIST	?brother	track-ABS	know-IMPL$_{ss}$

Notice that the IMPL$_{ss}$ marker is attached to the verb stem ŋuřka- (recall that Diyari has ŋuyama- 'to know' (see Table 1 above)) and there is no AUX verb. In this respect it resembles "Tirari". When explaining the phrase to me, Ben Murray repeated it as:

kamariwa!	kamariwa!	piṇamaraṉa	wimpa-ø	ŋuřka-ṇda
				know-PART

puři-ḻali
AUX-IMPL$_{ss}$

I would suggest that the set phrase remembered by the Diyari speakers (and most likely learned by them at the Killalpaninna mission (see 1.3 below)) is in "Tirari" and that Ben Murray's version is Dhirari.

1.1.4.4 Conclusions

As we have seen, Reuther's "Tirari" and Ben Murray's Dhirari have many similarities as well as a few differences. Two points must be taken into consideration before a decision about the status of the two recordings can be made:

a) Ben Murray learned the language he calls Dhirari at Muloorina station in the western part of 'ṯirarị' country (see 1.1.2 and Map 1 above).

b) Reuther recorded his "Tirari" at the Killalpaninna mission station on the edge of the eastern part of 'ṯirarị' country and quite some distance from Muloorina (see Map 1).

It seems to me highly likely that "Tirari" and Dhirari are regional variants of one language, and that Dhirari was slightly closer to Diyari while "Tirari" was slightly closer to Wangganguru (as its location would suggest). It is interesting to note that the Wangganguru recorded by Reuther is close to, but slightly different from, the eastern Wangganguru still spoken by a few people in Birdsville (Hercus, pers. comm. - see also Breen's comment mentioned in footnote three, page 8). It is slightly unfortunate, in this context, that no records of any dialects of Diyari other than kunaṟi have been recorded (1.1.3).

1.1.5 Neighbours

Immediately to the south of Diyari country (see 1.1.2 and Map 1) lies the traditional territory of the Guyani (Hercus (1974)) and Adnyamathanha (see Schebeck (1974)) whilst to the south-east the Biladaba once lived. The territory of the Arabana and Wangganguru is located to the west around Lake Eyre whilst to the north were the Ngamini, Garangura, Yarluyandi and Midhaga (Breen (1971))[1]. The Yawarawarga and Yandruwandha lived east of the Diyari further up the Cooper's Creek and along the Strezlecki Creek (Breen

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[1] Some original spellings have been changed here so that they would be consistent with the spelling system adopted throughout this thesis (see 1.1.1).

(1971, 1976) Map 2 (essentially the same as the map in Austin, Ellis and Hercus (1976) q.v.) shows this information.

During the period before white contact (see 1.3) there were close relationships between the Diyari and the other tribes in the area. Trading was an important link (see Howitt (1904), Horne and Aiston (1924), Mulvaney (1976), McConnel (1976) and Austin, Ellis and Hercus (1976)) with red ochre from the mines at Parachilna (in the Northern Flinders Ranges), called pakaṭu in Diyari, being traded north even into western Queensland (see Duncan-Kemp (1934)) and the narcotic plant pitchere (piʈiñi) being traded south in return[1]. Also, according to Horne and Aiston (1924:21):

> "The 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 wiʃaña cicatrization ceremony and the mindaṛi corroboree (see Gason (1874) and Howitt (1904)). Mythological tracks of the ancestors criss-crossed the whole area, crossing tribal boundaries (Elkin (1934), Howitt and 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 and White (1973) and Austin, Ellis and Hercus (1976)).

The following section looks at the linguistic relationships between the languages spoken by these tribes and suggests some tentative conclusions regarding probable genetic links.

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[1] The particular species traded grew only along the Mulligan River in South West Queensland in Wanggamalha country. (See also Bancroft (1878-82)).

1.1.6 Diyari and Neighbouring Languages[1].

The linguistic relationships between Diyari and other Australian languages are discussed in Schmidt (1919), O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966), Wurm (1971, 1972) and Breen (1971). It seems, however, that only the latter is based on primary data gathered by the author.

Breen (1971) gives two lexical figures for Diyari in Table 1 on page 22 as follows[2]:

Yandruwandha					
75	Yawarawarga				
36	36	Garuwali			
47	53	74	Midhaga		
67	67	50	75	Yarluyandi	
49	51	31	56	74	Ngamini
56					73 Diyari

He suggests that these figures show that there are two languages here, each with a number of dialects:

a) Yandruwandha - Yawarawarga

b) Garuwali - Midhaga - Yarluyandi - Ngamini - Diyari

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[1] This is a much abridged summary of what I had hoped would be a (50 page) chapter on areal comparisons. Lack of space has meant that it was not possible to include this material in the final version of the thesis.

[2] Breen (pers. comm.) notes some errors in the table as originally published. They are corrected here.

Using all the available data[1], comparative word lists for Diyari, "Tirari" (see 1.1.4), Ngamini, Yarluyandi, Garuwali, Midhaga, Yandruwandha and Yawarawarga were constructed. Cognate counts for total vocabularies[2] collected gave the following figures:

TABLE 5: COGNATE COUNTS - SHARED %

		Ngamini	Yarluyandi	Midhaga	Garuwali	Yawarawarga	Yandruwandha
	Diyari	71	60	37	24	45	41
"Tirari"	68	57	48	35	22	33	28

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1 The sources of data are as follows:

a) "Tirari" - vocabulary in the Reuther manuscript.

b) Diyari, Ngamini, Yarluyandi - my fieldnotes.

c) Midhaga - my transcriptions of Breen's tapes (held at A.I.A.S.)

d) Garuwali - my phonemicization of word list No. 106 in Curr (1886 Vol II) and "Currungulla tribal dialect by W.H.W." in Australasian Anthropological Journal Vol I part 3 (1897) pp. 16-17 (also reprinted in Science of Man Vol 13 parts 10, 11 and 12 (1912)).

e) Yawarawarga - from Breen (1971) and Breen (ms.a) held at A.I.A.S.. Also vocabulary in Reuther manuscript.

f) Yandruwandha - from Breen (ms.b) held at A.I.A.S., Breen (1976a), and Wurm (1957 ms) for the Nhirrpi dialect. There is also a vocabulary in the Reuther manuscript and a grammar (translated by Hercus and edited by Breen) held at A.I.A.S.

Some secondary source spellings have been altered in the light of information from primary sources.

2 The number of items compared ranged from 288 for Diyari-Yandruwandha to 48 for Yarluyandi-Midhaga with the average being 115.6.

A comparison for cognates of the 'verb' category[1] gives the following figures:

TABLE 6: VERB COGNATE COUNTS - SHARED %

		Ngamini	Yarluyandi	Midhaga	Garruwali	Yawarawarga	Yandruwandha
	Diyari	70	67	35	20	24	41
"Tirari"	81	78	62	35	20	20	30

Lexical figures alone are not proof of genetic relationships[2]. Some of the figures in the tables above are higher than the 'equilibrium level', namely Diyari-Ngamini and Diyari-"Tirari", while a number fall within the 40-60% range. Clearly, grammatical comparison is necessary to resolve the issue.

A survey of morphology for the two major word categories (see 4.1) of 'noun' and 'verb' shows the following results[3]:

a) "Tirari" and Diyari have virtually identical morphology. The only differences are found in some of the verb affixes, for example $IMPL_{ds}$ (see 1.1.4 and 5.2.1) is -ṇaṉtu in Diyari and -yani in "Tirari".

b) Ngamini and Yarluyandi have very similar morphological realizations for most affixes, for example, LOCative case (4.2.4 and 5.1.6.4) is -mu c.f. Diyari and "Tirari" -ṇi.

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1 The number of verbs compared ranged from 73 for Diyari-Yandruwandha to 4 for Yarluyandi-Midhaga, with the average being 25.6.

2 Dixon (1972: 331-7) discusses the use of lexical percentage cognate figures for Australian languages. As he points out, systematic correspondences at all levels are necessary as evidence of genetic links.

3 See Austin (ms) for full details including relevant paradigms.

c) there are some similarities between Diyari-"Tirari" and Ngamini-Yarluyandi as regards morpheme realizations but the greatest similarities are in categorization and paradigmatic organization (which contrasts with, say, Wangganguru to the west (see below)). For example, all have recognizably similar switch reference systems (see 5.2.1.2) for IMPL clauses and REL clauses.

d) there are some paradigmatic similarities between Diyari-"Tirari" and the other languages but it is not yet clear whether these are due to genetic relationship or borrowing. Much more work needs to be done before this issue can be resolved one way or the other.

It would seem that the most likely candidates (of all the languages examined so far) for close genetic relatives to Diyari are "Tirari" and Ngamini (probably plus Yarluyandi) but the question is still open to a certain degree.

Lexical comparisons between Diyari and "Tirari" and the neighbouring languages give figures such as the following[1]:

TABLE 7: COGNATE COUNTS - SHARED %

	Guyani/Adnyamathanha		Arabana/Wangganguru	
	Total	Verbs	Total	Verbs
Diyari	25	10	34	25
"Tirari"	23	15	56	25

The only figure above the 40% level is for "Tirari"-Wangganguru (which were once spoken in contiguous areas - see Map 2) total vocabulary although the verb category shows a low figure. It may be that "Tirari" borrowed heavily

[1] Data from my fieldnotes, Reuther (ms) and Hercus (pers. comm).

from Wangganguru at some point in its recent history.

Comparisons of grammar between these sets of languages reveal very little similarity in both the organization and realization of morphological classes. There are striking differences which set these three groups apart from each other[1].

Breen (1971: 29) gives some figures for more distant comparisons (e.g. with Pitta-Pitta) but all are below 60% and no grammatical comparison is included as a contrast. The picture must remain unclear until further work is undertaken.

My general conclusions then regarding the comparative picture can be summed up in the following points:

a) Diyari is most closely related to "Tirari" both lexically and grammatically.

b) the Diyari-"Tirari" pair may be genetically closer to Ngamini-Yarluyandi than to any other neighbouring languages. The exact nature of the connection is yet to be decided.

c) the situation is too unclear to be able to draw any other definite conclusions in this area, except to say that Arabana-Wangganguru and Guyani-Adnyamathanha both stand apart from Diyari-"Tirari" and its other neighbours.

d) this is a real 'linguistic area' and it is very difficult to separate regional similarities from genetically relevant traits.

1.1.7 Speakers

As we saw above (1.1.4), there is, today, no-one who speaks "Tirari"

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[1] See Austin (ms) for full exemplification.

as recorded by Reuther. The last full blood ṯiraṛi (who spoke the Dhirari dialect (1.1.4)) was kuṛiputaṉa, known to the local white people as "Queen Annie", who died in the 1930's. Even in 1906 there were said to be only five ṯiraṛi (Gregory (1906: 61)) although the Diyari were claimed to number one hundred at that time. Ben Murray is the only person alive who remembers much of the language, although his knowledge is not perfect (see footnote on page 9).

The situation as regards the number of Diyari speakers is much brighter than that of any other language in the area (no doubt due to the influence of the Lutheran mission (see 1.3)). Despite suggestions such as that of Trefry (1974: 207):

> "only five male speakers could be found between Port Augusta and Marree. Two more were said to be living in the Birdsville region."

there are a number of people (although, most of them are women) who speak Diyari with some degree of fluency. I have personally interviewed approximately twenty good speakers living at one or other of Port Augusta, Marree, Farina, and Birdsville. A number of other supposed Diyari speakers living at other places, for example Innamincka and Anna Creek stations, have not been interviewed but their existence has been confirmed by my main informants.

Diyari is still in daily use at Marree, for example between Frieda Merrick and her daughters, but children are no longer learning to speak it. Some of the older children have a passive knowledge of the language but refuse to speak it and use English only. The youngest fluent speaker of Diyari (and also the one who knows least English) is Mrs. Eileen Hannis who is aged about fifty.

Ben Murray - Farina

Frieda Merrick - Marree

Rosa Warren and Eileen Hannis - Marree

Leslie Russel (dec) - Marree

All people who speak Diyari are, to a degree, multi-lingual[1] since all speak either Arabana or Wangganguru as well as Diyari and, with more or less facility, English. All appear to have a good passive knowledge of English but, with the exception of Ben Murray who has lived and worked with whites for some sixty years, none speak English as well as they do Diyari. It was often the case during fieldwork that informants were unable to provide English translations for Diyari words, especially rarer forms, because their knowledge of English vocabulary was less extensive than their knowledge of Diyari.

The following is a list of major informants with whom the most intensive linguistic work was undertaken (see also 1.1.8):

1) Mrs. Frieda Merrick, midḻaŋuṟkukaṯaiwaŋa, (born 1885) - although her mother was Wangganguru and her father a white man Mrs. Merrick learned Diyari as a young woman at Muloorina and Killalpaninna. She was also married to a full blood Diyari (Gottlieb). Her knowledge of vocabulary is probably the most extensive of any of the informants.

2) Mr. Ben Murray, palkuŋuyuṯaŋkaiwaŋa, (born 1891) - his mother was Arabana and father Afghan, but he also learned to speak Dhirari from his "granny" (see footnote on page 9) as a child. He later worked at Killalpaninna and learned to speak Diyari. His knowledge of English together with his high intelligence and understanding made him an extremely valuable

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[1] O'Grady (1964: iv) comments on the Nyangumarda "predeliction for other-language learning (and, concomitantly, other-dialect-learning)".

informant. He also has a very subtle feeling for language and was prepared to work long hours, often at his own inconvenience, providing and checking information without losing patience even when he knew that some questions had been more than fully answered on previous occasions.

3) Mrs. Rosa Warren[1], (born 1917) - her mother was Ararnda and father Arabana but she learned Diyari as a child living among Diyari people on the Cooper after the mission had closed. She has an excellent knowledge of traditional medicines, healing techniques and beliefs and is very proud of her language and identity. She provided much information, especially of a traditional nature, which complemented that supplied by Ben Murray.

4) The late Mr. Leslie Russel, waŋapulaŋa, (born 1910, died 1975) - was of Wangganguru descent but spoke Diyari fluently. He had travelled widely throughout central Australia and was well known as a corroboree singer. His songs (see Appendix B below) are the only indigenous music I was able to record, before his death in 1975.

A number of other people provided minor confirmatory material, among them Mrs. Selma Thompson (ṯaṟipaṇakaḏani), Mrs. Suzy Kennedy, Mr. Jimmy Russel (waŋamiriŋa), Mrs. Eileen Hannis, Mrs. Florrie Parker and the late

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[1] Rosa Warren does not have an Aboriginal name - she was apparently born "too late for a kaṇa ṯaḷa".

Mr. Mick McLean (iriɲili)[1]. Other Diyari speakers spoken to socially but not used as informants were Mrs. Maudie Naylon, Mrs. Clara Reece, Mrs. Ester Flash, Mrs. A. Murray and Mr. Alfie Harris.

1.1.8 Fieldwork

The Australian National University totally supported six trips to the field of three to four weeks' duration between January 1975 and July 1977. In addition, the University paid for Mr. Ben Murray to come to Canberra for two and a half weeks in February 1977.

The Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies provided a grant for a trip to Adelaide in June 1975 to assess bibliographical materials held at the Lutheran Archives and the South Australian Museum. Copies of all materials uncovered have been lodged with the A.I.A.S.

The data upon which this study is based consist of two types of material:

a) sentences and vocabulary items elicited by asking informants to translate English sentences or words into an Australian language.

b) monolingual text material[2], which is of two types:

   i) conversations between two Diyari speakers, primarily between Mrs. Rosa Warren and other informants.

   ii) monologues, mainly of the personal recollection type, where informants were asked to talk about one or more subjects or to tell a story about a particular incident in the Australian

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[1] See Hercus obituary of Mick McLean in A.I.A.S. Newsletter No. 7, January 1977, pp. 27-28.

[2] Each text contains a little unassimilated English vocabulary but informants generally kept Diyari and English separate, especially when correcting texts. Typical examples of texts are to be found in Appendix A below.

language. Some short traditional stories were recorded in this monologue form, as were the songs and their explanations (see Appendix A, B).

Copies of all fieldtapes recorded together with copies of tape transcriptions and fieldnotes have been lodged with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Post Office Box 553, Canberra City, A.C.T. 2601.

1.2 CULTURAL BACKGROUND[1]

The country once occupied by the Diyari (see 1.1.2 and Map 1) is arid desert with an average rainfall annually of about 100 mm (or 4 inches). The landscape ranges from the hilly edge of the northern Flinders Ranges to the flat stony plains near Dulkaninna (ḍuḷkaniṉa), to the high sandhills near Cooper's Creek. The area is traversed by a number of creeks (kaṛiṽi) including the Frome (wiṉṯamiŋkaṉa), Clayton (wayikalkuṉa) and Cooper (kunaṽi) which for the most part of the year are dry watercourses delineated by the trees and shrubs that grow along them. Other prominent features of the landscape are salt lakes (pantu), sandhills (ḍaku), swamps (ḍuḷkuṽu) and a few low hills (maḍa)[2]. All the topographical features have names connected with the travels of the ancestors (muramura) although many are now forgotten.

Summer temperatures range from 45°C during the day to below 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 other-

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[1] These notes are intended as background information on the traditional (pre-contact) society and culture and are not an exhaustive study. For more general ethnographic background see Elkin (1938), Maddock (1972) and Berndt and Berndt (1977).

[2] See also the description in Madigan (1946).

wise used by the Diyari are listed by Gason (1874 and reprints). Johnson and Cleland (1934a, b) identify various plants and animals giving the uses to which they were put. According to my informants, the staple diet consisted of a number of types of vegetables (puka) and especially ground up seeds (for example ŋaḍu, pawa, palkuṛa and others) mixed with water and either cooked or eaten raw. This was supplemented with meat (ŋaṉṯi), for example from kangaroo (ʈukuɽu), wallaby (kantu), emu (waɽukaṯi), birds (paya), fish (paɽu), lizards (various names) or any of the small marsupials. Fish were generally caught in nets (yama) made from beaten bull rushes (kaḷku) or occasionally with lines and hooks (mili). Breen (forthcoming) gives 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 the local groups and tribes met for ceremonies of circumcision (kaɽuwali waŋkaṇa - described in Gason (1874) and Howitt (1890 and 1904)), subincision (kuḷpi (ibid.)) and the wiʈaɽu cicatrisation ceremony. Occasionally, ceremonies (wima) celebrating the myths, such as the mindaṛi (see Horne and Aiston (1924) and Berndt (1953)) for the emu myth, and increase rituals would be held.

The making of the 'medicine man' (kunki)[1] is described in Berndt and Vogelsang (1938-41) while Gason (1874) and Howitt (1890, 1904) describe his activities. Tribal government (Howitt (1904: 297) and Morphy (1972: 52-3)) was carried out by the totem heads (pinaɽu) of each local group meeting in council. The council was responsible for ensuring the maintenance of the

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[1] Elkin (1945) calls them "men of high degree".

moral code and made decisions about the despatch of avenging expeditions (piṇa - see Text 4 in Appendix A). Meetings of the totem leaders also determined when the ceremonies of initiation and increase would take place.

Each member of the Diyari tribe belonged to one of the two exogamous matrilineal moieties (see Elkin (1931-2)) called maṯari and karaṙu. Within each moiety there were about thirteen totems called maḍu, given by Gason (1874) and Howitt (1904) as[1]:

Moiety	Maṯari	Karaṙu
Totem[2]:		
	kaṙawaṛa - eaglehawk	kawalka - crow
	waṙukaṯi - emu	puṙalku - brolga
	maluṙa - cormorant	ṯukuṙu - kangaroo
	kiṉtala - dog	kanuŋka - wallaby type
	?ṯikawaṙa - native cat	?karapana - marsupial mouse
	mayaṙu - marsupial rat	kukula - stick nest rat
	puṉṯa - marsupial mouse	wama - carpet snake
	kapiṙi - goanna	ṯinamaṛa - frog
	kilapara - bony bream fish	kanaŋara - seed of maɲuṛa
	maṙkaṛa - yellow belly fish	malka - mulga tree (seed)
	paḍi - grub type	kuɲṯiṙi - bush type
	maɲuṛa - seed type	kaṙku - red ochre
	piṯiṙi - pitchere (narcotic)	ṯalaṛa - rain

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1 Present day Diyari speakers know their maḍu (and hence their moiety) but none can list all the names of the maḍu for both moieties.

2 the names preceded by ? are uncertain as they are not known to my informants. Some of the totem animals, e.g. the native cat (yikawaṙa in Arabana), are now extinct because of the introduction of rabbits and feral cats by the white man. paḍi is a general name for grubs while kanuŋka is the spectacled hare wallaby (probably *Bettongia lesuerii*).

It is forbidden for a person to eat the animal or plant named by his totem (Elkin (1931-2: 53)).

In addition to these maḍu there are other types of totems (Elkin (1931-2)) inherited by the men:

a) piṉṯara, or "patrilineal ceremonial totem", is inherited from a man's father (ŋapiṛi) and comprises a totem name, a piece of country with which this totem and a dream time 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.

b) maḍuka, or "matrilineal ceremonial totem", which is the inherited piṉṯara of a man's mother's brother (kaka). So, for example, Fry's (1938: 188) informant Sam Dintibana (ṯiṉṯipaɳa) was kawalka maḍu, waṟukaṯi piṉṯara and kaṟku maḍuka.

Elkin also describes a "dream totem" (ŋapiṯa) which is the same as piṉṯara and "sex totems" (ŋampu)[1] which are two plants, one for each sex[2].

The Diyari kinship system has been described by Gason (1874), Howitt (1904) and Elkin (1931, 1928-9). I have elicited some kinship paradigms but have not studied their patterning.

Much useful information concerning Diyari kinship and traditional beliefs and practices is contained in the Reuther manuscript (1899) presently being translated (see 2.1).

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[1] My informants did not recognise this term but Trefry (1974) recorded ŋampu as "a team game with men opposing women".

[2] Apparently action taken against a sex totem was regarded as an action against the sex it represented as a whole. Donaldson (1977: 365) reports that the bat and owlet nightjar were "sex totems" among the Ngiyamba. See also Hercus (1969: 91-3).

1.3 RECENT HISTORY AND THE PRESENT

The early contact history of the Diyari and neighbouring tribes 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 (see Map 1) in 1862. Within two years of this date Mr. (later Sir) Thomas Elder had established a station at the lake. During the severe drought of 1864 the manager of Lake Hope station, Mr. Henry Dean, decided to take his stock to water at Lake Perigundi (piñikuṇḍi - see Map 1) some forty miles north where he was met and resisted by Aborigines who speared and ate some of his cattle (this incident is mentioned by Andrews in Taplin (1879: 82-6) but the main details are to be found in Farwell (1971: 141-2)). Dean had three of the 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 Lake Killalpaninna (kiḷawiḷpaniṉa) and Kopperamanna (kapaña maṛaṉa) (see Map 1) 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 resulted from their efforts (see 2.1). The mission 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 until 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 was also, at this time, camped in the Frome Creek near Marree (see Map 1). With the gradual introduction of motor vehicle transport (see Farwell (1971)) the population of so-called 'Afghans'[1] who lived on the east side of Marree and whose camel trains had carried most of the goods up and down the track between Marree and Birdsville, diminished in size and the Aborigines began to move into the east of Marree formerly occupied by the Afghans and Chinese (the west side, over the railway line, was the sole preserve of the whites; a demographic pattern which began to break down only a few years ago). The last remnants of the tribes now live in the decaying settlement of Marree. There is little work and an empty existence is spent largely waiting for the next pension, child benefit or unemployment cheque to come and then often in 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[2], though all speak nostalgically of the "good old days" spent in or near traditional territory.

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[1] Most were Muslims from north India and, as Farwell (1961: 155) notes:

> "It is something of a mystery how they came to be termed afghans. Some of them did come from Afghanistan; but far more came from India's North-West Frontier Province, they originated in many parts of India."

[2] Mainly because of a lack of transportation. Given the opportunity everyone was very enthusiastic about visiting their "country". L.A. Hercus and recorders from Aboriginal and Historic Relics Preservation (formerly in the South Australian Museum) have conducted a number of successful trips where people were taken back to their traditional land for the mapping of sacred sites.

Much of the old social system and beliefs have broken down through contact with whites and the mixing of different tribal groups. The language remains today but its future is somewhat glim. Unless action is taken to change the present direction of events it will become extinct in the not too distant future.

CHAPTER TWO

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.

2.1 EARLY WORK

This period is characterized by the writings of the Lutheran missionaries (see 1.3) and later by the explorer A.W. Howitt. The culmination 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 thirty years.

1870 - anonymous - this is a Diyari reader produced for the Lutheran mission. It 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 from "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) the use of "x" for the lamino-palatal stop (ʈ see 3.2.1),

b) the confusion over initial velar nasal (ŋ) 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), although 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) its 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) the failure to record word initial velar nasal ŋ. This gives rise (together with (a)) to forms such as "I shall love, athooyoralauni" for /ŋaṯu yuṛaḻa ŋanayi/.

c) the use of symbols for voiced and voiceless consonants for example p and b when there is no phonetic or phonemic contrast.

d) the failure to record the three vowels consistently, for example we have : bird piya (for /paya/)
others pulpa (for /paḻpa/)
hair para (for /para/)

Gason did however record the lamino-dental stop (ṯ) 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 velar 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 in 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 all 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 kiṉṯala and Ngamini ṯiṙṯa). The vocabulary by Jacobs from "West Shore of Lake Eyre" is Ngamini (not Yarluyandi 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 "Wangkurapuna 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 informants 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 relative 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, currently being translated by Scherer, contain much information on the Diyari language and the languages of neighbouring tribes (see 1.1.5). The most valuable materials are the four volume dictionary (approximately 3,000 entries) which has copious entries and parallel translations in Diyari, "Tirari", Arabana, Wangganguru,

Guyani, Ngamini, Yawarawarga and Yandruwandha for some items. There is also scattered information on Biladaba and Yarluyandi. Unfortunately, Reuther's spelling is not always exact but with the help of present day informants, 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. When completed, the translation of this work is going to be 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.

1904 - 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 informants (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.

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's 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 of 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.

2.2 RECENT RESEARCH

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 the 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 Diyari words poorly transcribed.

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 typological mistakes not corrected before publication (for example page 276 has tutiba for tutina (ṭutiṇa 'bury-PART')). 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 VIII text I was able to jog informant'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 initiation 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 and 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 informants 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, ṭ, 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 (ed.) - 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 /c̣̆/, a retroflex palatal stop (sic!) which, as Hercus (1971) realized, should be the combination ñʈ.

b) the 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 t̪ while his d is actually d̪ (see page 65 of the article).

c) the failure to record the palatal lateral ʎ.

d) the analysis of [ndr] and [ldr] as nñ and lñ respectively

rather than /nd/ and /ld/ (see 3.2.1.2).

e) mistakes in the glossing of examples, for example /nalala/ is glossed as "see there" which should be ŋayiɻa see-FUT (see 4.5.7.1.1) and "[wɑdu] broken" for waḍu '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 /ʧ̣/ 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 ṯina 'foot' is written (page 296) as ti(d)na rather than ḏi(d)na, while on page 298 'mother' is given as ŋami (the Adnyamathanha word) rather than the correct form ŋandr̃i. 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 typological errors which obscure the argument, for example page 243 "no words were discovered with [n] (sic - should be [ɲ]) preceding [i]....".

b) the glosses of some words show that Trefry has little knowledge of Diyari grammar, for example page 222 has [kʌnkuʌli] 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 [ṇ]" yet there are subminimal and minimal pairs in Diyari such as the following (see 3.2.1.4):

ṇaŋkani	do¬NOM	'doings'
n̪aŋkaṇi	SgnFGEN	'hers'
t̪ana	P1S	'they'
t̪an̪a	P1O	'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 /ʌi/" (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 /ʌi/ 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 consonant 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 due mainly to these source materials. For a different interpretation of Diyari AUXiliary verbs see 4.5.7.2. My paper on Dhirari 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 thesis corrects the deficiencies of my earlier work.

2.3 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.

2.4 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.S. catalogue:

a) word lists in the journals of N.B. Tindale made on the Diamantina exploring expedition of 1934. This information is not available in Australia.

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 Professor K. Hale (at Alice Springs), Dr. B. Schebeck (Flinders Ranges) and Mr. J.G. Breen (at Birdsville). I have not had access to any of this material.

CHAPTER THREE

PHONOLOGY

3.1 SEGMENTATION

Diyari[1] utterances may be segmented into phonological words on the basis of the following criteria:

a) distribution of segments - each phonological word must begin with one and only one consonant and end in a vowel (see 3.3 and 3.5). Certain phonotactic constraints (3.3.2) are best stated in terms of word boundaries, as is the distribution of phonetic vowels (3.2.2.2).

b) stress placement - the statement of stress placement (3.6) involves the use of word boundaries.

c) phonological processes - certain phonological processes, such as prestopping of nasals and laterals (see 3.2.1.4) take account of word boundaries.

Note that criterion (b) means that the monosyllabic conjunction ya 'and' (5.3.1) is a phonological word whereas inflectional affixes including ya BEN, GEN, PURP cases (4.2.4.2) and ya PAST tense (4.5.7.1.1) must be parts of words.

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[1] In this and following chapters the use of the word 'Diyari' is to be understood to refer to both Diyari and Dhirari (1.1.4) unless statements specifically mentioning Dhirari are made.

In Diyari, grammatical words are defined by:

a) pausing - utterances may be broken up by pauses between (grammatical) words, not (normally) between parts of words. During elicitation and dictation informants often place pauses after every word.

b) isolatability - when talking about language in a meta-linguiatic way informants speak in terms of (grammatical) words not parts of words.

c) permutation - sequences of words may be permuted (see 5.1.7) but the order of parts of words cannot be changed without either:

i) producing a different word; or

ii) producing a nonsense sequence of sounds.

The units defined by phonological criteria co-incide with those defined in grammatical terms.

3.2 SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

The phonological system of Diyari is slightly atypical of Australian languages as a whole. (Dixon (1972: 2-3) discusses the types of systems to be expected.) For stop and nasal consonants six points of articulation are distinguished but there is a phonemic voicing contrast for the two apical positions - apico-dental and apico-domal (3.2.1.2). This is a fairly unusual characteristic for an Australian language. The two laminal stops do not contrast word initially under certain conditions (3.2.1.1) whilst apico-dentals are not found in this position (3.3.2). There are four laterals, two semi-vowels and three rhotics with a contrast between a flap and a trill in some environments (3.2.1.3, 3.2.1.4).

The vowel system is normal for an Australian language, being a, i, u, with a wide range of vowel allophony (3.2.2.2). Phonetic long vowels do occur but they are analysed as underlying Vowel- Semi-Vowel - Vowel sequences (3.2.3, 3.2.3.3) or the result of an optional deletion rule (3.2.3.3, 3.4).

3.2.1 Consonants

Diyari has twenty-three consonant phonemes comprising eight stops, six nasals, four laterals, two semi-vowels, a trill, a flap and a semi-retroflex continuant. The following table shows these consonants[1]:

TABLE 8: DIYARI CONSONANT PHONEMES

	Bilabial		Apico-dental	Apico-domal	Lamino-dental	Lamino-palatal	Dorso-velar
Stops	p	voiceless	t	ṭ	t̪	ʧ	k
		voiced	d	ḍ			
Nasals	m		n	ṇ	n̪	ɲ	ŋ
Laterals			l	ḷ	l̪	ʎ	
Rhotics			ɾ - apico-alveolar flap				
			r̃ - apico-alveolar trill				
			ɾ̣ - apico-post-alveolar continuant				
Semi-vowels			w - bilabio-velar glide				
			y - lamino-palatal glide				

[1] The phonemic symbols used here are those commonly employed by Australianists (see Blake and Dixon (n.d.: 10)). Phonetic transcriptions, wherever possible follow the conventions of the International Phonetics Association (1949: 10).

For stops all but /d/ and /ḍ/ are voiceless fortis. /d/ is realized phonetically as [dr] in Diyari and as [d] or [dr] is Dhirari (in free variation (see 1.1.4.2)). /ḍ/ is voiced lenes. It is phonetically very short, being the shortest of the stops in intervocalic position (Trefry (1974) gives the relevant measurements of duration). It is the only apical stop found word initially (3.3.2).

The two laminal stops are sometimes heard as affricates, that is, /t̪/ is sometimes [t̪͡θ] and /t/ is [c͡ʃ]. The laminal stop contrast is discussed at 3.2.1.1.

The nasals and laterals are all voiced and produced at the same point of articulation as the corresponding stop phonemes (see 3.2.1.4). The phonetic realizations of the other consonants are discussed at 3.2.1.4.

3.2.1.1 Laminal Stop Contrast

The phonemic contrast between the lamino-dental stop t̪ and the lamino-palatal stop ʈ can be illustrated by the following minimal (and two near minimal) pairs showing word initial and intervocalic positions:

Intervocalic contrast		Word initial contrast	
maṯa	'to bite'	t̪aḷa	'name'
maʈa	'already'	ʈaḷa	'piece'
kuṯi	'to disappear'	t̪ika	'to return'
kuʈi	'devil'	ʈika	'mistake'
puṯuṟu	'dust'	t̪uku	'back'
puʈu	'blind'	ʈukuṟu	'kangaroo'

These words clearly establish the phonemic status of both laminals according to the usual criteria. 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 t̪ and ʧ are in free variation. That is, there is no contrast in this environment. The following words showing this variation have been recorded:

t̪aɲu ~ ʧaɲu	'plant type' [? *Enchylaena tomentosa*]
t̪iʎʧa ~ ʧiʎʧa	'sinew, calf (muscle)'
t̪uʧu ~ ʧuʧu	'reptile'
t̪uṛiɲʧi ~ ʧuṛiɲʧi	'marrow'
t̪uwiliʧa ~ ʧuwiliʧa	'bird type'

Notice the variability in the position of the intervocalic lamino-palatal consonant which conditions the word initial fluctuation. It may occur, for t̪uwiliʧa ~ ʧuwiliʧa for example, as distant as the fourth syllable (but notice that in all the examples recorded the conditioning consonant occurs in the last syllable of the root (see 4.2)).

The following words show that it is a lamino-palatal consonant and not simply a laminal which conditions the fluctuation:

t̪aɲa	'them'	(P10)	*ʧaɲa	
t̪iɭiŋa	'to boil'		ʧuɭiʧuɭi	'bird type'
t̪iɲʈa	'to lose'		*ʧiɲʈa	

There are no words beginning with either of the two laminal nasals n̪ or ɲ (3.2.1.4) which also contain a lamino-palatal consonant later in the root.

Thus, there are no words in which n̪ and ɲ alternate word initially.

Partial contrast of laminals is documented by Dixon (1970) who suggests diachronic conclusions for proto-Australian. Donaldson (1977: 69-72) describes word initial laminal stop conditioning in Ngiyamba:. It is interesting that one of the conditioning factors is the presence of intervocalic palatal stop or nasal plus stop clusters in that language.

3.2.1.2 Apical Stop Voicing

The existence of a distinctive opposition between voiced and voiceless stops in Australian languages has been believed to be rather rare (see O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966), Dixon (1972) and Wurm (1972)). There is evidence however that we must establish such a contrast for apical stops in Diyari[1]. Consider the following:

a) there are a number of minimal pairs which show that ḍ and ṭ contrast intervocalically, for example:

waṭa	'butt of tree'
waḍa	'corroboree headdress type'
kaṭi	'raw'
kaḍi	'brother-in-law' (ZH)

[1] Trefry (1970) was the first to argue for a voicing contrast in Diyari. Unfortunately (as noted at 2.2), his arguments are negated by the fact that in the examples he provides he has misheard ṭ as t and ḍ as d. That is, the examples (on page 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 sub-script dots to these examples then the voicing contrast for apico-domal stops is illustrated.

paḍi	'grub type'
paṭipaṭi	'silly, stupid'
wiḍi	'outer (members of set)'
wiṭi	'all through'

The voicing contrast is 'neutralized' (Trubetzkoy (1969)) in word initial position (but see also below). In this position there is no contrast since /ḍ/ only occurs there. The apico-domal stops are very infrequent in consonant clusters (that is following ṇ and ḷ (see 3.3.2)). There is only one example each of ṇṭ and ḷṭ in the material I have collected while ḷḍ is not found at all. It seems that the voicing contrast also may be neutralized in post-lateral position. The relevant near minimal contrasting items are:

puṇṭu	'nose peg'
yuṇḍayuṇḍa	'tadpole'
yamuḷṭa	'worm type'

Other examples of words containing ṇḍ clusters are:

maṇḍikila	'wave'
maṉaṇḍa	'wattle tree type'
ŋunaṇḍula	'crinum lily'
kaḻṭaṇḍara	'lizard type' [*Rhodona bipes*]
kaninuṇḍi	'scorpion'

Unfortunately, the ṭ ~ ḍ contrast in consonant clusters cannot be further evidenced.

b) the voiceless stop [ṭ] occurs intervocalically and in consonant clusters (i.e. following n and l). There is no simple sound [d] in Diyari[1] but we do find a phonetically voiced stop as the medial element in the three member clusters [ndr] and [ldr]. Consider the following examples:

[kʌlṭʌ] 'blue tongue lizard'
[kʌldrʌ] 'necklet type'

[pʌntu] 'salt lake'
[pʌndrʌ] 'cooked, ripe'

The clusters [ndr] and [ldr] are somewhat problematic in that they are the only three member consonant clusters to be found (see 3.3.2). There would seem to be two possible analyses:

i) we can interpret them as phonemic /nr̃/ and /lr̃/ sequences. This is the position adopted by Trefry (1970), Trefry (1974) and Austin (1976)[2]. Trefry ignores the existence of the medial stop completely but Austin has a phonetic rule of "epenthetic stop insertion" to account for the phonetic facts. This approach (with or without the insertion rule) is

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[1] [nd] does occur in two words mindaṛi 'corroboree type' (see 1.2) and wanduṛu 'green tree snake' which are both loan words and recognized as such by my informants. The former is from Wangganguru and the latter from Ngamini.

[2] This was actually in reference to the Dhirari dialect.

unsatisfactory for a number of reasons:

1. it is untidy with respect to the phonotactic constraint that all other consonant clusters have a stop or nasal as their second member (see 3.3.2). When the first member is /ǃ/ this is further restricted to stops only (as the second member).
2. it fails to account for the fact that Dhirari verb roots with phonetic [ndr] word medially select the same allomorph for the PARTicipial inflection (i.e. -d̤a rather than -nd̤a (see 4.5.5)) as all other roots containing a nasal plus stop cluster. The following are some examples illustrating this:

English	Root	Participial Form
to go	[wɔpʌ]	[wɔpʌɳɖʌ]
to wait	[kʌǃkʌ]	[kʌǃkʌɳɖʌ]
to collect	[kʌmpʌ]	[kʌmpʌɖʌ]
to work	[ŋʌnkʌ]	[ŋʌnkʌɖʌ]
to hit	[dʌndrʌ]	[dʌndrʌɖʌ]
to fill	[t̪ʌndrʌ]	[t̪ʌndrʌɖʌ]

3. it fails to account for the comparative (and diachronic) evidence which shows the following correlations (see also Table 2 above):

Diyari	Dhirari	"Tirari"
[ndr]	[ndr] ~ [nd]	[nd]
[ldr]	[ldr] ~ [ld]	[ld]

There is also comparative evidence from Ngamini and Yarluyandi which shows Diyari tri-consonantal clusters corresponding to bi-consonantal clusters with /d/ as the second member in the other two languages.

ii) we can interpret them as phonemic /nd/ and /ld/ sequences and have a regular phonetic rule which introduces the trill release of the voiced stop. That is, we set up a contrastive voicing apposition for the apico-dental stops with:

/t/ realized as [t]

/d/ realized as [dr]

This contrast only holds in post-nasal and post-lateral position and is neutralized intervocalically (with only [t] occurring in that environment). No apico-dental stops occur word initially.

Clearly, neither of these solutions is completely satisfying. The former has a number of problems associated with it (see above) while the latter involves the introduction of a phoneme with a very restricted distribution. I feel that the evidence is slightly in favour of solution (ii) for the synchronic description of Diyari but will continue to write /ldr̃/ and /ndr̃/ throughout the

following discussion.

Notice that the distribution of apical stops in Diyari is skewed and the voicing contrast is found in different environments for the different types of apical stop (apico-dental or apico-domal). Consider Table 9 which shows the distributional pattern:

TABLE 9: DISTRIBUTION OF APICAL STOPS

Environment	Word initial	Intervocalic	After homorganic nasal	After homorganic lateral
	[ɖ]	[ɖ]	[ɖ]	
		[ʈ]	[ʈ]	[ʈ]
		[t]	[t]	[t]
			[dr]	[dr]

Thus, we find in the material collected that:

a) all apicals contrast in clusters of nasal plus stop.

b) only apico-domals contrast in voicing intervocalically. The apico-dental contrast is neutralized in this position.

c) only apico-dentals contrast in clusters of lateral plus stop.

d) there is no apical contrast word initially since [ɖ] is found in that environment. That is, the voicing and

position contrasts are neutralized in word initial position for apical stops[1].

3.2.1.3 The /d/ ~ /r/ contrast

The existence of three rhotic consonants in Diyari was mentioned at 3.2 and 3.2.1 (see Table 8) above. The following minimal sets illustrate this - notice that the contrast only holds for intervocalic position:

paɽ̃u	'bony bream fish'	ʈaɽ̃a	'to fly'
paɾu	'yellow ochre'	ʈara	'thigh'
paɻupaɻu	'everywhere'	ʈaɻa	'to go up'

---

[1] This last fact, namely that the apical contrast is neutralized to [ɖ] word initially, presents some problems for theories of markedness (Chomsky and Halle (1968), Hyman (1975: 145)). The type of neutralization found here is termed by Trubetzkoy (1969: 235) "centrifugal neutralization" and we would expect that the archiphoneme encountered would be the unmarked member of the opposition. Thus, for the apico-dental stops the archiphoneme found in the neutralization environment (i.e. intervocalically) is phonetic [t] which is unmarked for voicing. In addition, as Hyman (1975: 147) points out:

> "voiceless stops, as suggested by the implicational universals of Jakobson (1941) are universally less marked than voiced stops..." (emphasis in original).

That this is correct for the ʈ ~ dɽ̃ neutralization is clear. The problem is why should the archiphoneme of centrifugal neutralization be marked rather than unmarked? (In fact, [ɖ] is marked for both voicing and for 'height' (Chomsky and Halle (1968: 304)) in contrast to [t]).

In pre-consonantal position only r̃ is found (3.3.2). Word initially none of these consonants occur (3.3.2).

Notice that the voiced apico-dental stop, /d/ discussed at 3.2.1.2 does not contrast with the (redundantly voiced) flap since the former occurs only in consonant clusters and the latter only between vowels. Neither is found word initially. Thus, they are in complementary distribution and could be grouped together as allophones of one phoneme (Trubetzkoy (1969: 49)). This would have two positive results:

a) it would reduce the phoneme inventory by one since /ɾ/ would become the [ɾ] allophone of /d/.
b) it would extend the voicing contrast to intervocalic position for apico-dental stops allowing us to generalize the contrast to all (non-initial) apical stops.

There are two reasons which can be presented against such a reduction:

a) the INCHoative verbalizer (5.1.10.1) has two allomorphs:
   (i) -ɽi- i.e. [ɖi] when the root to which it is attached contains an apical consonant
   (ii) -ri- i.e. [ɾi] elsewhere.

This allomorphy shows that [ɾ] patterns with [ɖ]. There are no instances where [ɾ] patterns or alternates with [dr] (or [t]) anywhere in the language.

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[1] Historically these must be traceable to a single form (unless they are suppletive - Marchand (1956), Bloomfield (1933: 215)). Unfortunately, this is the only example of r ~ ɽ alternation in the language so internal reconstruction does not seem possible. Note that Ngamini and Yarluyandi have -ni- for INCH which does not seem to be directly relateable to Diyari -ri- ~ -ɽi-.

b) the three rhotics /r/, /r̃/, and /r̰/ act as one conditioning environment for the [æ] realization of the /a/ phoneme (see 3.2.2). That is,

Word initial	/yar/	is realized as	[jæɾ]
	/yar̃/	as	[jær]
and	/yar̰/	as	[jæɽ]

Other apical consonants condition the [ɛ] realization of /a/ in this environment (3.2.2). There seems to be more phonetic affinity between the rhotics than between [ɾ] and any other consonant.

The two possible alternatives, that is [ɾ] as a separate phoneme /r/, or as an allophone of /d/, seem to be equally plausible, with points in favour of both. In order to reflect the phonetic facts and the rhotic patterning of [ɾ] I will continue to use r and dr̃ in the orthography which can stand irrespective of whether they are one phoneme or two. The question does not seem to be resolvable on the basis of the data presently available.

Notice that the /d/ phoneme also does not contrast with [r] since the two are in complementary distribution (as for [dr] and [ɾ] above). Thus, we could combine [r] and [dr] as one phoneme with [ɾ] distinct. The synchronic and diachronic reasons for not doing so are presented at 3.2.1.2 above (page 56).

3.2.1.4 Other Consonants

The remaining Diyari consonants will be briefly described according to their manner of articulation.

a) Nasals. There are five nasals all of which are voiced and produced at the same point of articulation as their corresponding stop phonemes. The following near minimal sets illustrate the nasal contrasts in intervocalic and word initial positions (note that the apico-dental nasal does not occur word initially (see 3.3.2)):

Intervocalic contrast		Word initial contrast	
ŋama	'milk, breast'	manka	'to find'
ŋana	'to be'	ṇaŋka	'to push'
maṇa	'mouth'	n̪aŋkaṇi	'her's' (SgFGEN)
ŋan̪a	'me' (1SgO)	ɲaṇi	'blunt'
ŋaɲa	'to bugger around'	ŋanka	'beard'
maŋa	'head'		

The two dental nasals /n/ and /n̪/ may be optionally prestopped as [dn] and [d̪n̪] under two conditions[1]:

i) they occur immediately after the first (stressed) vowel of the word and are followed by a vowel.

[1] The first to report that the nasals were optionally prestopped was Hercus (1972). However, she mentions prestopping of /n/ only, not /n̪/. She did note the word initial nasal restriction.

ii) the initial consonant is not a nasal.

Thus, we find the following phonetic realizations:

	Phonemic	Phonetic
'frill necked lizard'	kani	[kʌdni] ~ [kʌni]
'mother's mother'	kaɲini	[kʌɖɲini] ~ [kʌɲini]
'corroboree,song'	wani	[wʌdni] ~ [wʌni]
'you' (2SgO)	yiɲa	[jiɖɲʌ] ~ [jiɲʌ]
'to be'	ŋana	[ŋʌnʌ]
'me' (1SgO)	ŋaɲa	[ŋʌɲʌ]
'she' (SgFS)	ɲani	[ɲʌni]
'her' (SgFO)	ɲaɲa	[ɲʌɲʌ]

b) Laterals. The four Diyari laterals are voiced and produced at the same point of articulation as the corresponding stops and nasals. The following near minimal set illustrates the lateral contrast in intervocalic position (see also 3.3.2):

kaɭumpa	'clover'
kaḷu	'testicles'
kaɻu	'liver'
kaʐu	'Acacia tree type' [?*Acacia victoriae*]

The two front laterals /l/ and /ɭ/ may be optionally prestopped when they occur immediately after the first (stressed) vowel of

a word and are followed immediately by a vowel[1]. Thus, we find the following phonetically:

	Phonemic	Phonetic
'clover'	kaḷumpa	[kʌdḷumpʌ] ~ [kʌḷumpʌ]
'liver'	kaḻu	[kʌdḻu] ~ [kʌḻu]
'you two' (2D1S)	yuḷa	[judḷʌ] ~ [juḷʌ]
'nose'	muḻa	[mudḻʌ] ~ [muḻʌ]
'cheek'	ŋaḻa	[ŋʌdḻʌ] ~ [ŋʌḻʌ]
'he' (SgnFA)	n̪uḷu	[n̪udḷu] ~ [n̪uḷu]

c) Semi-Vowels. The two semi-vowels are:

w - a voiced labio-velar glide similar to English [w]

y - a voiced lamino-palatal glide similar to English [j].

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]

---

[1] Compare this with nasal prestopping where there is a second restriction that the initial consonant be non-nasal (see above - laterals do not occur word initially (3.3.2)). Trefry (1970) noted the fluctuation between [ḷ] and [dḷ] while Hercus (1972) describes and illustrates the conditioning environment. Neither of these works mentions the prestopping of /ḻ/, as well as /ḷ/, although the former is much more common than the latter.

Examples illustrating this are:

'you' (2SgS) /yini/ realized as [yidni] ~ [jini] ~ [idni] ~ [ini]

'narrow' /wuldr̃u/ realized as [wuldru] ~ [uldru]

3.2.2 Vowels

3.2.2.1 Vowel Phonemes

There are three vowel phonemes which must be recognized for the description of Diyari, namely a, i, u. Each vowel phoneme shows a number of allophones with the phonetic range of the realization of /a/ being the greatest (3.2.2.2).

A number of phonetic diphthongs, triphthongs and long vowels are to be found. They are analysed as vowel-glide-vowel sequences (see 3.2.3). One instance of a long vowel [a:] can be shown to derive from a regular rule deleting /ŋ/ at a particular morpheme boundary (see 3.2.3.3, 3.4).

3.2.2.2 Phonetic Realization

The following diagram, based on the IPA model (see anon. (1949) and also O'Connor (1973)) shows the approximate locations of the Diyari short vowels from auditory impressions[1]. Notice that:

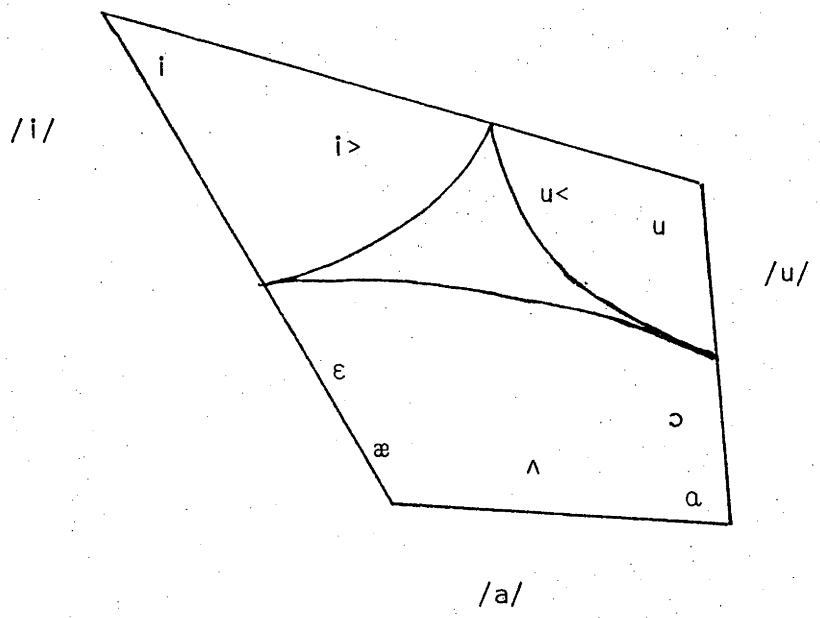
---

[1] Trefry (1974) gives a number of diagrams plotting phonetic and phonemic vowels based upon detailed acoustic machine analysis of the speech of three Diyari speakers.

a) the high back vowels tend to be laxer and less rounded than cardinal [u].

b) the vowels in this diagram are matched by a set of retroflexed vowels, that is, pronounced with the tongue tip turned back slightly – one type of vowel rhotacization (Ladefoged (1975: 71)). The retroflex vowels occur only before apico-domal consonants (3.2.1) and will not be included in the listing below. They are written, where necessary, with a sub-script dot, for example [ʌ̣].

Solid lines enclose the realizations of each vowel phoneme.



The realizations and conditioning of the vowel phonemes are:

/i/ realized as [i˃] a slightly backed variety of the major allophone occurs in unstressed position before /w/ : /n̪iŋkiwa/ 'there' [n̪iŋki˃wʌ]; /t̪iřiwa/ 'east'[t̪̂θiri˃wʌ]

[ɪ] high front unrounded vowel occurs in all other environments : /kɪr̃i/ 'clever' [kiri]

/u/ is realized as [u˂] a slightly fronted variety of the major allophone occurs in unstressed position before /y/: /yaṛuya/ 'like that' [jæʈu˂jʌ]; /pakuya/ 'dig!' [pʌku˂jʌ]

[u] high back vowel slightly lower and laxer than cardinal [u] (occasionally heard as approaching [ɯ]) occurs elsewhere: /muku/ 'bone' [muku]; /puʧu/ 'blind' [puc͡ʃu]

/a/ is realized as [æ] low front unrounded vowel occurs after word initial /y/ and before /r/ /r̃/ /ṛ/ followed by a vowel: /yara/ 'this way' [jærʌ]; /yar̃a/ 'that way' [jærʌ]; /yaṛuka/ 'like that' [jæʈukʌ]

[ɛ] mid open front unrounded vowel occurs after word initial /y/ and preceding a laminal or apical stop a nasal immediately followed by a vowel: /yaṭu/ 'sated' [jɛʈu]; /yaḍi/ 'lie' [jɛɖi]; /yaṯa/ 'to speak' [jɛt͡θʌ]; /yaniya/ 'like this' [jɛnijʌ]; /yaṇi/ 'to lean' [jɛɳi]

[ɔ] mid open back unrounded vowel occurs after word initial /w/ and preceding a bilabial or dorse-velar stop or nasal[1]:

---

[1] Notice that there is no consonant cluster restriction on this allophone unlike [æ] and [ɛ]. So, for example, we find /waŋka/ 'to sing' [wɔŋkʌ] but /yanku/ 'father's father' is [jʌnku] not *[jɛnku]. The sequence /wamp/ does not occur in Diyari but Yarluyandi /wamba/ 'many' is [wɔmbʌ] c.f. also "Tirari" (see 1.1.5) wompaḷa 'possum' (Arabana has [wɔmpʌ̣ɭʌ] i.e. /wampaḷa/).

/wapa/ 'to go' [wɔpʌ]; /waka/ 'small' [wɔkʌ]; /wama/ 'snake type' [wɔmʌ]; /waŋi/ 'poor' [wɔŋi]; /waŋka/ 'to sing' [wɔŋkʌ]

[ɑ] low back unrounded vowel occurs after word initial /w/ and before an apico-domal stop, nasal or lateral followed by a vowel: /waḍu/ 'short' [wɑɖu]; /waṭa/ 'butt' [wɑʈʌ]; /waṇi/ 'whose?' [wɑɳi]; /waḷi/ 'house' [wɑɭi]

[ʌ] low central vowel occurs elsewhere : /wara/ 'to throw' [wʌɾʌ]; /war̃u/ 'white' [wʌru]; /wata/ 'not' [wʌtʌ]; /wat̲ar̤a/ 'wind' [wʌt̲͡θʌɽʌ]; /yapa/ 'fear' [jʌpʌ]; /yakalka/ 'to ask' [jʌkʌlkʌ]; /yama/ 'net' [jʌmʌ]

3.2.3 Vowel - Semi-Vowel - Vowel Sequences

The occurrence of phonetic short vowels in Diyari has been described above (Fig. 1) together with their arrangement as allophones of three vowel phonemes (3.2.2.2). At the phonetic level we also find:

i) two long high vowels [i:] and [u:]
ii) diphthongs
iii) triphthongs

These three phonetic types will be analysed as manifestations of phonemic Vowel Semi-vowel (or Glide) Vowel sequences. Such an analysis has three effects:

a) it allows us to maintain the strong generalization about Diyari

phonotactic structure, namely that no two phonemic vowels occur contiguously (3.3).

b) it simplifies a number of phonological and morphophonological rules (3.4) including reduplication (3.4.4) and rules which involve syllable counting (3.4.3).

c) it enables us to account for the fact that regular suffixing of morphemes (such as verb affixes (see 4.5) gives rise to long vowels or diphthongs or triphthongs according to the phonological shape of the root and affix. That is, there are alternations which provide evidence for a Vowel - Semi-vowel - Vowel analysis for all three types of phonetic occurrence. These are discussed at the appropriate places below.

For these three reasons a Vowel - Semi-vowel - Vowel analysis will be adopted with different phonetic realizations depending upon the sequences of phonemes involved. In the following sections the phonemic analysis of each phonetic type will be examined.

3.2.3.1 Phonetic Triphthongs

All occurrences of three phonetic vocalic segments 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 triphthongs and their phonemic analysis are:

TABLE 10: DIYARI PHONETIC TRIPHTHONGS

Phonetic	Phonemic	Example	Meaning
[ʌuʌ]	/awa/	pawa	'seed type'
[ʌui]	/awi/	pawi	'lignum tree'
[iuʌ]	/iwa/	ṯiṟiwa[1]	'east'
[iui]	/iwi/	ṯiwi	'flower'
[ʌiʌ]	/aya/	paya	'bird'
[uiʌ]	/uya/	muya	'dry'
[uiu]	/uyu/	puyuru[2]	'[kin term]'

Notice that all these examples show one of the following patterns:

a) a semi-vowel flanked by the low vowel /a/

b) a semi-vowel preceded or followed by a high vowel differing in frontness to it. There is, logically speaking, one further possible sequence of this type but it is not found in the corpus, namely:

---

[1] This is the only example in the corpus showing /iwa/ intramorphemically. There are many examples of its occurrence across morpheme boundaries (see, for example, -wa DIST (4.2.6) after nominal stems ending in -i).

[2] This is the only example of /uyu/ in the corpus (but note that Ngamini has ṉuyu 'elder brother' (Diyari ṉiyi) and wanakuyu 'spear' (Diyari kaʈi)).

*/ayu/ realized as [ʌiu]

All the examples in Table 10 show the occurrence of phonetic triphthongs in morpheme internal position. They do, however, occur across morpheme boundaries and the alternations between triphthongs and simple vowels (in a paradigm) provide evidence for the Vowel - Semi-vowel - Vowel analysis. Consider the following verb forms:

	Participial	Present	Past
'to go'	[wɔpʌ̣ɳʌ]	[wɔpʌi]	[wɔpʌiʌ]
'to dig'	[pʌkṵɳʌ]	[pʌkui]	[pʌkuiʌ]

If we set up the bases as /wapa/ and /paku/ respectively with the participial affix as /ṇa/ then the past tense affix will be [iʌ] which may be analysed as /ya/. The triphthongs will then be realizations of /aya/ and /uya/ respectively (see Table 10 above). The diphthongs in the present tense column are accounted for below (3.2.3.2).

3.2.3.2 Phonetic Diphthongs

There are two rising and two falling diphthongs in Diyari where one element, either the first (if a rising diphthong) or the second (if a falling diphthong) segment is the low vowel [ʌ]. The rising diphthongs may be analysed as /a/ followed by a semi-vowel agreeing in frontness with the frontness of the vowel which closes the diphthong. Similarly, the falling diphthongs may be analysed as /a/ preceded by a semi-vowel agreeing in frontness with the vowel which begins the diphthong. That is, we have the situation described in the following table:

TABLE 11: DIYARI PHONETIC DIPHTHONGS

	Phonetic	Phonemic	Example	Meaning
Rising	[ʌi]	/ayi/	mayi	'well then'
	[ʌu]	/awu/	kawu	'yes'
	[iʌ]	/iya/	d̪iyaɾi	'Diyari' (or 'Dieri')
	[uʌ]	/uwa/	puwa	'marrow'

Notice that these are all intramorphemic examples; however diphthongs do occur across morpheme boundaries. There are alternations between diphthongs and simple vowels in a paradigm. Consider the verbs given above (page 72) and the following additions:

	Participial	Present	Past
'to get'	[mʌn̪iɳʌ]	[mʌni:]	[mʌniʌ]
'to fall'	[puɾiɳʌ]	[puɾi:]	[puɾiʌ]

The two roots here are /mani/ and /puri/. Since we analysed the Past tense marker as /ya/ (see above) the [iʌ] diphthong is then the realization of /iya/ across the morpheme boundary (see also Table 11). The present tense forms of 'to go' and 'to dig' above will be accounted for if we analyse the PRES affix as /yi/ (notice that it cannot be simply /y/ because all words in Diyari end in a vowel (see 3.3.2 and 3.5)). The present tense forms of /i/ final roots then present the evidence for a long vowel analysis examined further below (3.2.3.3).

It is interesting to note that Trefry (1974) was forced to set up /ʌi/ as a fourth "vowel" (sic.) because of his failure to take alternations into account (see also 2.2 for mention of Trefry's 'autonomous phonemic' approach).

There are three other phonetic diphthongs in Diyari although they occur only rarely. Only one is found intramorphemically while the other two occur across two types of morpheme boundary. They will be analysed phonemically along the lines of the falling and rising diphthongs (see Table 11) as set out in the following table:

TABLE 12: DIYARI PHONETIC DIPHTHONGS

	Phonetic	Phonemic	Examples
Backing	[iʷu]	/iwu/	only at morpheme boundary i.e. when DUAL -wuḷu is added to a stem ending in -i
Fronting	[uʷi]	/uwi/	one word only ṯuwiliṯa 'bird type'
	[uʲi]	/uyi/	only at morpheme boundary when PRES is added to paku 'to dig' (see above) the only verb stem ending in -u (Diyari dialect only[1]).

There are no examples of *[iʲu], which would be /iyu/, in the corpus. This may be an accidental gap.

---

[1] In Dhirari PRES is added to the AUXiliary verb puñi- (4.5.7.1.1). Note that Ngamini PRES after verb stems ending in -u is zero (-ø).

3.2.3.3 Phonetic Long Vowels

The two phonetic long high vowels [i:] and [u:] may be analysed as sequences of two identical (short) high vowels separated by a semi-vowel agreeing in frontness with them. Three arguments can be presented in favour of such an analysis:

(i) occasionally a phonetic glide is heard between identical vowels in slow deliberate speech[1] where a long vowel is heard in fast speech. That is we sometimes hear [i^{j}i] for [i:] and [u^{w}u] for [u:].

(ii) production of the first consonant plus a short vowel by the investigator of words heard with a long vowel often prompted informants to complete the word with a sequence which sounded identical to an utterance initial semi-vowel plus following vowel of the same frontness. That is, exchanges such as the following were observed:

Investigator: elder brother is [n̪i]...?

Informant : [ji] / [n̪i:]

This suggests that the long vowels are also sequences for informants.

(iii) there are paradigmatic alternations between short and long high vowels as seen in the verb examples given above (page 73). Thus, the addition of PRESent tense affix /yi/ to a verb stem ending in /i/ gives rise to phonetic [i:].

---

[1] This was an especially noticeable characteristic of the speech of the main Ngamini informant (Mrs. Maudie Naylon) who also speaks Diyari fairly well.

The two long vowels will be analysed as in the following table:

TABLE 13: DIYARI PHONETIC LONG VOWELS

Phonetic	Phonemic	Example	Meaning
[i:]	/iyi/	n̪iyi	'elder brother'
[u:]	/uwu/	kuwu	'ignorant'

This concludes the discussion of vowel - semi-vowel - vowel sequences in Diyari. It is interesting to note that of the eighteen[1] (theoretically) possible combinations we find that:

a) 14 actually occur morpheme internally, that is

awa, awi, iwa, iwi, aya, uya, uyu, ayi, awu, iya, uwa, uwi, iyi, uwu

b) of the remaining four:

i) two, namely iwu and uyi occur at morpheme boundaries only and never morpheme internally.

ii) two, namely ayu and iyu never occur in any Diyari words.

---

[1] i.e. 3 vowels x 2 glides x 3 vowels.

3.3 WORD STRUCTURE

The criteria used to isolate the phonological word in Diyari are given at 3.1 above. In this section I will examine the structure of the word, discussing the nature of syllables and phonotactic rules for occurrence of consonant and vowel phonemes.

3.3.1 Syllables

As noted above (3.1), Diyari words must end in a vowel and begin (with the exception of three interjections (4.1.6) which will be excluded from further discussion) with one and only one consonant. In intervocalic position it is possible to have one or two consonants (see 3.3.2 for a discussion of the permitted consonant clusters). With the exception of the conjunction ya 'and' (5.3.1) all words contain two or more vowels.

Clearly we must recognize a Diyari syllable of the CV type i.e. consonant (including semi-vowel) followed by a vowel. Syllables in the following words are of this type (using $ to indicate the syllable boundary):

puka	'vegetable food'	pu $ ka $
maṯari	'man'	ma $ ṯa $ ri $
puluñaniḻa	'in the mud now'	pu $ lu $ ña $ ni $ ḻa $

There are also CVC syllables but these do not occur word finally[1]. The following words show this syllable type (see also 3.3.2):

---

[1] There is some evidence that historically this was not always the case, for example, the place name kiḻaṇṯupuṇa was translated by informants as "cunt smoke" but ṯupu is 'smoke' and kiḻa is 'vagina'. It is possible that kiḻa may have once ended in a nasal.

ŋanka	'beard'	ŋan $ ka $
kalta	'blue tongue lizard'	kal $ ta $
t̪aŋkaldȓi	'sweet millet'	t̪aŋ $ kal $ dȓi

Notice that syllable and morpheme boundaries do not necessarily co-incide (see 3.5) because there are morphemes which begin with a vowel (for example -iŋa PROL (4.5.4.2)) and morphemes which begin with a consonant cluster (for example -lka TR (4.5.4.1.1)). Consider the following examples:

Morphological form		Phonological form	
paḷka-iŋa-yi	'go on-PROL-PRES'	paḷkiŋayi	paḷ $ ki $ ŋa $ yi $
duṇka-lka-ṇa	'emerge-TR-PART'	duṇkalkaṇa	duṇ $ kal $ ka $ ṇa $

3.3.2 Phonotactics

In Diyari all stops and nasals, with the exception of the apico-dental pair and the voiceless apico-domal stop, may occur word initially, as may the semi-vowels /w/ and /y/. The laterals, trill and flap are not found in word initial position, nor in the apico-domal continuant except in some partially assimilated loans from English such as:

[ɹʌpiti] - 'rabbit'

[ɹiŋʌmʌ] - 'to telephone' (from English "ring 'em")

These may be compared with the fully assimilated loan:

/yuṛupa/ - 'rope'

where the addition of /yu/ makes the word fit the Diyari phonotactic structure.

These restrictions mean that of twenty-three consonant phonemes only twelve are found in word initial position. They are:

p k ʈ ʧ ɖ m ŋ ɳ ɲ ɻ w y

A distribution of this type is a feature of Australian languages (Dixon (1972: 3)).

In word final position only vowels are found while all consonants, with the exception of the voiced apico-dental stop (3.2.1.2), occur intervocalically. The combinations of consonants in (intramorphemic) intervocalic clusters are not so varied as in some other Australian languages (such as Dyirbal (Dixon (1972: 272)) but then not so restricted as Capell (1956: 7) suggests:

> "Others such as Dieri, reject all clusters except the combination of plosive with homorganic nasal: mb, nd, ŋg"

In fact, intervocalically the permitted consonant clusters are of five types[1]:

a) a stop preceded by a homorganic nasal

b) a stop preceded by a homorganic lateral (except that ɭɖ does not occur)

c) a peripheral stop (that is, /p/ or /k/) preceded by an apical nasal or lateral

[1] There is one example known of each of ɳʈ and ɭʈ (given below) and two examples each of ɳm and ɳŋ.

d) a peripheral nasal (that is, /m/ or /ŋ/) preceded by the apico-dental nasal /n/

e) a non-apical stop preceded by the trill /r̃/.

The resulting combinations are set out in the following table:

TABLE 14: DIYARI INTERVOCALIC CONSONANT CLUSTERS

1.	Homorganic Nasal-Stop Clusters	mp	ŋk	nt	ndr̃	n̪t̪	nḍ	n̪ṯ	ɲʧ
2.	Homorganic Lateral-Stop Clusters			lt	ldr̃	l̪t̪		l̪ṯ	ʟʧ
3.	Other clusters								

	p	m	k	ŋ	ṯ	ʧ
l	lp		lk			
l̪	l̪p		l̪k			
n	np	nm	nk	nŋ		
n̪	n̪p		n̪k			
r̃	r̃p		r̃k		r̃ṯ	r̃ʧ

Words illustrating these clusters are the following:

a) Homorganic

Nasal-Stop			Lateral-Stop		
mp	kampa	'to collect'	lt	kalta	'blue tongue lizard'
ŋk	paŋki	'rib'	ldř	kaldři	'salty'
nt	pantu	'salt lake'	l̪t̪	yamul̪t̪a	'worm type'
ndř	pandřa	'cooked'	l̲t̲	wal̲t̲a	'to carry'
ɳʈ	puɳʈu	'nose peg'	ɭʈ	ŋaɭʈa	'spittle'
ɳɖ	maɳɖuri	'to meet'			
n̲t̲	kin̲t̲ala	'dog'			
ɲʧ	ŋaɲʧa	'to want'			

b) Non-Homorganic

Nasal-Stop			Lateral-Stop		
np	yinpa	'to send'	lp	pilpa	'eyebrow'
nk	panki	'to be glad'	lk	milki	'eye'
ɳp	maɳpi	'flock pigeon'	l̪p	pal̪pa	'some'
ɳk	ɖuɳka	'to emerge'	l̪k	kal̪ka	'to wait'

Nasal-Nasal

nm	kunmi	'haze'
nŋ	punŋa	'lung'

Trill-Stop

řp	kařpa	'to sew'
řk	kařku	'red ochre'
r̲̃t̲	ŋur̲̃t̲i	'rubbish'
řʧ	miřʧa	'noise'

The phonotactic restrictions described in this section refer to the shapes of all Diyari words. For discussion of morpheme structure constraints see 3.5 below.

3.4 MORPHOPHONOLOGY

In the following sections I discuss some alternations in the phonemic shape of morphemes, especially two (3.4.1, 3.4.2) which affect the morpheme structure constraints (3.5).

3.4.1 PROL, TR, ALT

The PROLative aspectual affix (4.5.4.2) gives rise to an alternation in the shape of the final vowel of the stem to which it is attached. Consider the following:

		PARTICIPIAL	PROL – PARTICIPIAL
1.	'to emerge'	ḍuṇkaṇa	ḍuṇkiŋaṇa
2.	'to get'	maniṇa	maniŋaṇa
3.	'to dig'	pakuṇa	pakiŋaṇa

These examples show that for PROL we:

a) change the root final vowel to /i/ (applying vacuously to roots ending in /i/).

b) add-ŋa.

Notice that PROL contrasts with the PRODuct verbalizer (5.1.10.2) which has the following forms:

		ABSOLUTIVE	PROD – PART
1.	'crack'	kaṭa	kaṭaŋaṇa
2.	'step'	ḍaɽi	ḍaɽiŋaṇa
3.	'boom'	kanpu	kanpuŋaṇa

In order to account for the differences between the behaviour of the stem final vowels before these two affixes I will set up PROL as -iŋa- (and PROD as -ŋa-) with a general rule that morpheme final vowels are deleted before morpheme initial /i/. This could be stated as[1]:

$$V \rightarrow \emptyset \; / \; \underline{\quad} + i$$

Note that we find similar alternations with the TRansitivizer (4.5.4.1.1) and ALTruistic aspect (4.5.4.2) markers which can both be set up as -ipa-. The vowel deletion rule will apply to them also.

3.4.2 IMP, ERG, EXCLAM

The IMPerative verb affix (4.5.7.1.1) in Diyari has two phonemic forms (one in Dhirari (see 4.5.7.1.1 and Austin (1976)) depending upon the shape of the root to which it is attached. The following list shows the alternations:

		PARTICIPIAL	IMPERATIVE
1.	'to run'	mindɽiṇa	mindɽiya
2.	'to play'	piɽkiṇa	piɽkiya
3.	'to dig'	pakuṇa	pakuya
4.	'to go'	wapaṇa	wapa
5.	'to return'	ṯikaṇa	ṯika

[1] In this and following rules morpheme boundaries are signified by + (written as a hyphen).

There are at least three solutions which could be formulated to account for the alternation:

a) set up the underlying form of the IMP affix as -ya and have a rule which deletes morpheme initial /y/ after stem final /a/. We would also need a contraction rule to shorten /aa/ to /a/ after deletion has occurred.

b) set up the underlying form of the IMP affix as -a and have a rule which inserts /y/ between -a and the stem final high vowels. A further rule of contraction (of /aa/ to /a/) would also be needed.

c) have two separate allomorphs for IMP, namely -ya (after /i/ and /u/) and -ø (after /a/).

Solution (a) will be problematic because of the existence of the PAST tense affix with invariable shape -ya (see 4.5.7.1.1). Solution (c) also seems to claim that there is no symmetry to be deserved here and that the allomorphs are unrelated. Solution (b) enables us to set up a single underlying form and have regular phonological rules which apply to it. These rules will be:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow y \quad / \left\{ \begin{matrix} u \\ i \end{matrix} \right\} + \_\_\_\_ \quad a$$

$$a + a \rightarrow a$$

The alternations observed for the singular common noun ERGative case affix (4.2.4.2) and EXCLAMatory clitics (5.4.9) will also be dealt with by these rules if we set the underlying forms up as -aI and -ayI (and -awu) respectively.

3.4.3 Trisyllable Stems and Cases

Singular common nouns in Diyari which have trisyllabic stems show a difference in the final vowel between the ABSolutive (4.2.4.2) and all other case forms. These words have a final high vowel /i/ or /u/ in the ABSolutive but a low vowel /a/ in all other case forms. Consider the following examples:

	ABSolutive	LOCative	SourCE
1. 'father'	ŋapiṛi	ŋapiṛani	ŋapiṛandřu
2. 'mud'	puɻuřu	puɻuřani	puɻuřandřu
3. 'man'	maṯari	maṯarani	maṯarandřu
4. 'old man'	pinařu	pinařani	pinařandřu

These alternations can be accounted for by taking the ABS as the underlying form and having a neutralization rule (Trubetzkoy (1969)) which applies to inflected forms. This rule can be formulated as (note that it only applies to nominal stems):

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ u \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow a \quad / \quad \#[CV(C)CV(C)C\_\_\_\_]_{NOM} +$$

If we allow it to apply vacuously (Chomsky and Halle (1968)) to /a/ then it may be rewritten as:

$$V \rightarrow a \quad / \quad \#[CV(C)CV(C)C\_\_\_\_]_{NOM} +$$

The neutralization rule interacts with the glide insertion rule for ERG (3.4.2) -ali (realized as /li/ after /a/ and /yali/ elsewhere) in two ways:

a) with tri-syllables ending in /u/ the neutralization rule applies before glide insertion as shown by the following forms:

	ABS	ERG	
1. 'mud'	puɻuɽu	puɻuɽali	*puɻuɽuyali
2. 'old man'	pinaɽu	pinaɽali	*pinaɽuyali

b) with tri-syllables ending in /i/ the neutralization rule applies optionally giving rise to two alternants for ERG:

	ABS	ERG
1. 'father'	ŋapiṛi	ŋapiṛali ~ ŋapiṛiyali
2. 'man'	maṯari	maṯarali ~ maṯariyali

3.4.4 CAUSE

The causative verbalizing affix (5.1.10.3) has the basic form -ŋanka-. In fast speech the initial velar nasal of CAUSE may be elided, giving rise to a long low vowel when the stem to which CAUSE is added ends in -a. Consider the following examples:

	Morphemes	Slow Speech	Fast Speech
1. 'sleep-CAUS'	muka-ŋanka	[mukʌŋʌnkʌ]	[mukʌ:nkʌ]
2. 'dead-CAUS'	ɳari-ŋanka	[ɳʌɾiŋʌnkʌ]	[ɳʌɾiʌnkʌ]
3. 'blind-CAUS'	puɻu-ŋanka	[puc͡ʃuŋʌnkʌ]	[puc͡ʃuʌnkʌ]

This is the source of the third long vowel mentioned above (3.2.3.3).

3.4.5 Reduplication

The semantic effects of reduplication are described at 4.2.10 (for nominals) and 4.5.2 (for verbs).

Phonologically, reduplication involves the repetition of the first CV(C)CV element of the unreduplicated form. That is:

$C_1V_1(C_2)C_3V_2(C_4)C_5\ldots$ becomes $C_1V_1(C_2)C_3V_2C_1V_1(C_2)C_3V_2(C_4)C_5\ldots$

Examples illustrating this are:

		Stem	Reduplicated stem
1.	'woman'	wi̲la	wi̲lawi̲la
2.	'boy'	kanku	kankukanku
3.	'old man'	pinaňu	pinapinaňu
4.	'father'	ŋapiṛi	ŋapiŋapiṛi
5.	'bird type'	ʧilpaňku	ʧilpaʧilpaňku
7.	'cat fish'	ŋankan̲t̲i	ŋankaŋankan̲t̲i

Reduplicated stems show that:

a) the final vowel deletion rule set up for i initial morphemes (see 3.4.1) operates before reduplication. So, for example, we find:

		Reduplicated form		
'emerge – PROL'	ḍuṇka-iŋa	ḍuṇkiḍuṇkiŋa	not	*ḍuṇkaḍuṇkiŋa
'save – ALT'	ku|ka-ipa	ku|kiku|kipa	not	*ku|kaku|kipa

b) as far as stress assignment is concerned (see 3.6) there is a word boundary between the stem and its reduplicated element. Thus, reduplicated forms are stressed on both V_1 in the statement above.

3.5 MORPHEME STRUCTURE

The structure of phonological words in Diyari has been examined at 3.3 above. Uninflected root morphemes in Diyari show the same structure as phonological words. Thus, they:

a) must begin with a consonant and one consonant only
b) must end in a vowel
c) may contain intervocalic clusters of at most two consonants (see 3.3.2)

Bound morphemes in Diyari, both stem forming and inflectional affixes (see 4.2.2, 4.2.4, 4.5.4, 4.5.5) may have the following shapes (using V for vowel and C for consonant):

a) V - there is one morpheme of this type -a- IMP (see 3.4.2)
b) VCV - for example -iŋa- PROL and -ipa- ALT (3.4.1), -ali ERG (3.4.2).
c) CV(CV) - the majority of bound morphemes are of this type, for example -ni LOC case (4.2.4.2), -yi PRES tense (4.5.7.1.1), -ŋa- PROD verbalizer (5.1.10.2), -yaṯi LEST (4.5.7.1.2), -maṯa IDENT (5.4.4)

d) CVCCV - there are a few morphemes of this shape, for example -ŋundřu SCE for Proper nouns (4.2.4.2), -ŋaŋka GEN for Female Proper nouns (4.2.4.2), -ṇandřu SEQ_{ss} (5.2.6).

e) CCV(CV) - for example -lka- TR (4.5.4.1.1), -ṉṯi- SEQ (4.5.4.2), -ndřu SCE (4.5.4.2), -ldřa ADD (5.4.3), -nkari TOWARDS (4.2.6).

Phonological rules operate upon (a) and (b) to derive the usual CV(C) syllable types (3.3.1).

3.6 WORD STRESS

Stress in Diyari is not phonologically contrastive and entirely predictable from the underlying shape of stems and suffixal morphemes. Stressed vowels occur as follows:

a) the first vowel of a word or morpheme is stressed provided that:
b) it is not the last vowel of the word or morpheme, that is, it does not occur before a # or + boundary.

Stress may be assigned to underlying representations by a rule such as the following which takes account of word and morpheme boundaries:

$$V \rightarrow [+ \text{ stress}] \; / \; \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#C\_\_\_ \\ +(C)C\_\_\_CV \end{array} \right\}$$

This rule will account for the following examples:

'mud'	puɻuñu	[púɻuru]
'mud-LOC'	puɻuñu-ni	[púɻurʌni]
'mud-LOC IDENT'	puɻuñu-ni-maʈa	[púɻurʌnimáʈ̂θʌ]
'hit-PRES'	ṇandña-yi	[ɳándrʌi]
'hit-REFL-PRES'	ṇandña-ʈañ̃i-yi	[ɳándrʌʈ̂θári:]

Note that the single monosyllabic word (3.3.1) ya 'and' is always stressed, as for example in:

'boy and girl' kanku ya mankaña [kʌ́nku já mʌ́nkʌrʌ]

Stress on the three vowel initial interjections is given at 4.1.6 below.

It is interesting to notice that Trefry's (1970: 73) statements concerning Diyari stress are much more complex than the rule above since he appears in a number of examples to have failed to correctly locate word and morpheme boundaries. So, for example, he states that:

a) "four syllable words will have primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on the third".

and b) "five syllable words will have primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on the fourth".

In two of the examples he gives to illustrate this a word boundary should occur immediately before the syllable with "secondary" stress. In two other cases a morpheme boundary occurs before the stressed syllable. A

statement in terms of these boundaries (such as the rule above) seems to make the assignment of stress less complex.

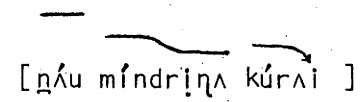
3.7 INTONATION

I have not yet been able to study Diyari intonation in any detail but present here a few tentative preliminary remarks.

The following points concerning intonation have been noted:

1. in statements the general level of the pitch of the voice decreases towards a low at the end of the utterance. Stressed vowels have slightly higher pitch than unstressed vowels so the pitch falls in steps as indicated roughly in the following diagram:

e.g. ṉawu mindřiṇa kuřayi *'He ran away'*



The utterance final vowel or diphthong is often pronounced phonetically voiceless as the voice and pitch fall off at the end of the utterance.

2. questions (see 5.1.7.4) generally have a falling-rising intonation, with the voice pitch rising at the end of the utterance. This characteristic pattern is very noticeable when the utterance consists of a single (interrogative) word, as in:

miŋa? 'what?'

[miŋʌ]

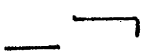
An example of a full sentence is:

miŋa yini yaŧayi? *'What are you saying?'*

[míŋa jíni jɛ́ɪ̂θʌi]

3. imperatives are characterized by a high voice tone and a clipped utterance final (sometimes accompanied segmentally by a glottal stop). An example is:

yara wapa! 'Come here!'



[jǽɾʌ wɔ́pʌ?]

CHAPTER FOUR

MORPHOLOGY

4.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

The following word classes or "parts of speech" (Lyons (1968: 270, 317)) may be set up for the description of Diyari and Dhirari:

nominal

pronoun

determiner

verb

particle

interjection

Each of these categories is recognized by certain defining characteristics (see below) and membership of them is mutually exclusive. Pronoun, determiner and particle are closed word classes which consist of a set of words exhaustively listed in the grammar. All other classes are open.

The following sections describe the defining characteristics and membership of each part of speech.

4.1.1 Nominals

Nominals are defined as the category of words which inflect for case according to their relationship to the verb or to other nominals in the clause (see 4.2.4 and 5.1.5). This category subsumes what are traditionally referred to as 'nouns' and 'adjectives', which can be distinguished as sub-categories in Diyari:

1) adjectives are an open class which is treated morphologically in the same way as (singular common) nouns (see 4.2, 4.2.1). They show different syntactic behaviour from nouns:

   a) adjectives co-occur with the INCHoative verbalizer -ṛi ~ -ri (see 5.1.10.1) whilst nouns do not.

   b) within the noun phrase (5.1.1.2) adjectives always follow the noun they modify.

   c) adjectives may occur with nouns preceded by any of the nominal determiners (4.4.1). That is, while nouns are sub-categorized for gender, adjectives are not.

   d) adjectives are intensified by maḷa whilst nouns occur with piṇa (see 5.1.3.3).

   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)). I have not yet fully investigated these differences but the semantic content of the adjective sub-class appears to include:

   i) value - e.g. ŋumu 'good', maḻaɳʈi 'bad'.

   ii) dimension - e.g. payiři 'long, tall', waḍu 'short'; piṇa 'big', waka 'small'; wuldřu 'narrow', mařu 'wide'.

   iii) most physical properties - e.g. pandřa 'ripe, cooked', kaṭi 'unripe, raw'; maḍi 'heavy', ŋawa 'light'; ʈařkaṛa 'sharp', ɲaṇi 'blunt'; maḍu 'sweet', kaldři 'sour, salty'; ṯipi 'alive', ɳari 'dead'.

   iv) numbers - e.g. kuṇu 'one', mandřu 'two', pařkulu 'three' (see 4.2.9).

(v) colours - there are four basic colour terms (Berlin and Kay (1969)) namely waña 'white', maṛu 'black', mañaɻi 'red' and kuɻakuɻa 'green, yellow'. Some common nouns are occasionally used descriptively (see 5.1.2) as colour specifiers, for example paru 'yellow ochre' for 'yellow'.

(vi) physiological characteristics - e.g. paḷu 'naked', kuŋku 'lame'.

Some concepts which we might expect to be expressed as adjectives (see Dixon (1977b))are in fact common nouns in Diyari (see (2) below). They all (except for 'position') occur with the INST case suffix (5.1.5.4) when used predicatively and include:

(i) human propensity - e.g. ṯiri 'anger', muḷa 'calmness', yapa 'fear', yunka 'sulkiness', walkaña 'sadness'.

(ii) physiological states - e.g. mawa 'hunger', ṯaḍi 'thirst', paḷa 'sexual arousal', muɲʈa 'sickness'.

(iii) some physical properties - e.g. waldña 'heat', kilpa 'cold'.

(iv) position - e.g. ṯati 'middle', ṯuku 'back', wiḍi 'outer'.

It is interesting that for expressions of age maña 'new' is an adjective but waruɻa 'old' is a temporal noun plus the CHARacteristic stem forming affix (see 4.2.2).

2) nouns are an open class which can be further subdivided into Proper and Common nouns:

a) Proper nouns (an open class) are semantically those nominal words which are the name of a place or person. They form a separate morphological sub-class of nouns in Diyari since they occur with strikingly different allomorphs

of the case affixes (see 4.2.4) and also show some differences in the coding of syntactic functions (see 4.2.4.1, 5.1.5). The Proper nouns can be further classified into Place names and Personal names, the former occurring only in LOCative, ALLative and SourCE cases (c.f. spatial location nominals). The Personal names show a difference in morphological behaviour between Female and Male types (see 4.2.4).
No Proper nouns, because of their inherent definiteness (see 5.1.7.3), can co-occur with a nominal determiner (4.4.1). They are only very infrequently found modified by adjectives (see above).

b) Common nouns comprise a large open class of items which occur in the various possible case roles (see 5.1.5). These nouns may be accompanied by a nominal determiner (4.4.1) indicating definiteness and certain deictic categories. Most may be (optionally) marked for number by the DUAL and PLURAL stem forming affixes (4.2.2). Other affixes such as PROPrietive (4.2.2, 5.1.6.4) are found with this nominal sub-class.

Common nouns refer to those concepts listed above (page 95 (i) to iv)) and also:

(i) inaminate natural things, such as the elements, celestial bodies, meteorological phenomena and geographical forms e.g. ŋapa 'water', maḍa 'stone', piṛa 'moon', ḍiʈi 'sun', ʈalaṛa 'rain', puɻuñu 'mud', puŋaɻa 'shade'.

(ii) directions, including cardinal points - e.g. ʈinankara 'north', kunankari 'south', yantakara 'west', ʈiñiwa 'east', wañaŋaɳʈu 'left-hand', ŋuɲaṛi 'right-hand'.

(iii) human beings and socio-cultural relationships - e.g. kaṇa 'Aboriginal person', ṯaṛi 'uninitiated youth', ŋapiṛi 'father', pinaña 'old man, head man'.

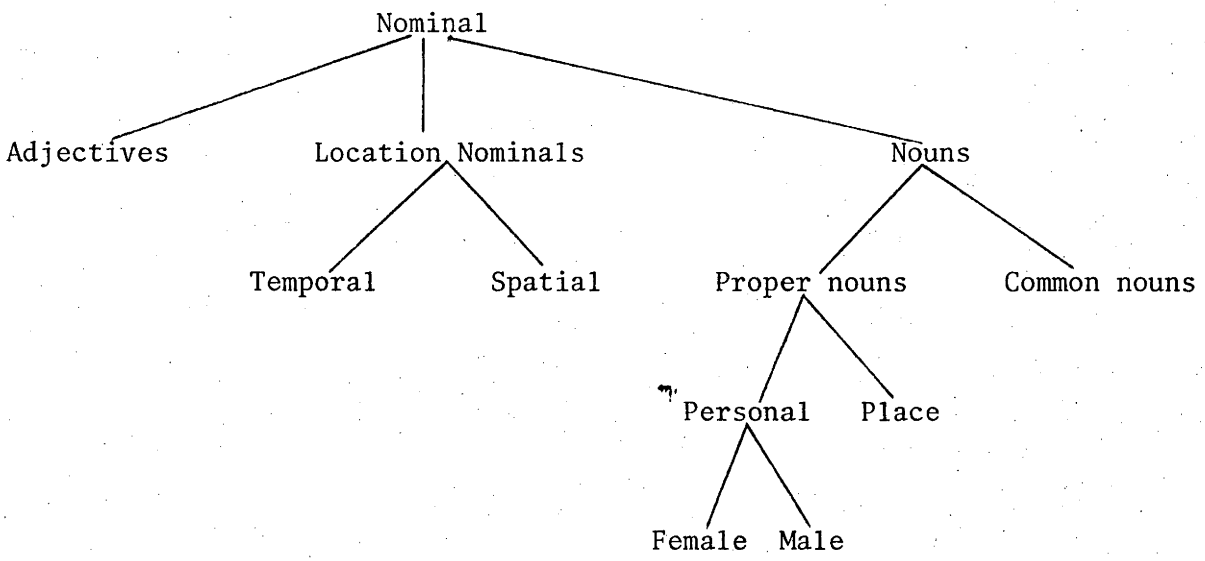
(iv) artefacts and physical evidence of human habitation - e.g. kira 'boomerang', wana 'digging stick', ŋura 'camp', paḻṯu 'path, track'.

(v) language and noises - e.g. yawaña 'word, language, message', wima 'corroboree, song', kanpu 'boom', ŋaṛu 'echo' (see 5.1.10.2).

(vi) supernatural beings and spirits - e.g. muramura 'culture hero', muŋaṛa 'soul', yawula 'spirit' (see 5.1.6.2).

3) location nominals are the third group of nominal words inflecting for case. This class is found only in LOCative, ALLative and SourCE functions (see 5.1.5.5, 5.1.5.6, 5.1.5.7), with the uninflected stem being the LOC case form (see 4.2.4.2). The location nominals can be subdivided on the basis of differences in morphological behaviour (see 4.2.7) into an open class of Temporals, comprising Nominals with time reference, such as waru 'long ago', and Spatials, a closed class with two members n̪iŋki- 'here' and n̪aka 'there' (see 4.2.7).

The following diagram illustrates this sub-categorization of the nominal class in Diyari:



4.1.2 Pronouns

Pronouns 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 distinction between inclusive and exclusive reference (see 4.3.2). There is also a set of special relationship pronouns with a defective paradigm - they are found only in the dual absolutive (see 4.2.1). The other pronouns differ in their declension from common nouns in that they show a 'split case system' (Silverstein (1976)) which is nominative-accusative in the non-singular and has three-way marking (for S, A and O functions (see 4.2.4, 5.1.5)) in the singular (see 4.3.2).

4.1.3 Determiners

These are defined by their ability to co-occur with the diectic suffixes -ka TOKEN and -paña THERE (see 4.4.2). They may be sub-categorized into two types:

a) nominal determiners are a closed class of words occurring as

constituents of noun phrases (see 5.1.1.2) agreeing with the noun with which they are construed in:

(i) case - see 4.4.1 and 5.1.5.

(ii) number - singular, dual or plural (4.4.1).

(iii) gender - feminine or non-feminine, in the singular only (4.4.1).

The case paradigm for nominal determiners is in some respects similar to that of pronouns (4.1.2, 4.3.2) and, in fact, a noun phrase consisting of just a nominal determiner in Diyari is translated into English as a third person pronoun (see 5.1.1.2).

Nominal determiners mark the referent of the noun phrase in which they occur as definite and are employed in the topicalization strategy described at 5.1.7.3 below.

b) predicate determiners - provide adverbial specification of the predicate of the clause in which they occur (5.1.3.3). They are a closed set with two members yaṛu- 'like that' and yani- 'like this' (4.4.2).

4.1.4 Verbs

Verbs are defined as the class of words which obligatorily take one of a set of verb-final inflections (4.5.5, 4.5.7.1.1, 4.5.7.1.2). In main clauses, these inflections mark tense or mood (4.5.7.1.1). The verb class is sub-divided into two groups:

(a) main verbs - these are open lexical class described at 4.5.3 below. Main verbs may occur with one or more of the stem forming (or derivational) affixes (4.5.4). They can be classified into three

groups on the basis of their morphological and syntactic behaviour (see 4.5.3) into Intransitive, Transitive and Di-Transitive types. The former two types are further divided into ten classes using certain morphological and syntactic criteria (see 4.5.3.1, 4.5.3.2).

(b) non-main verbs - these are a closed class of AUXiliary verbs which always follow main verbs in the verb complex (5.1.1.1). In Diyari the occurrence of AUX verbs is optional but in Dhirari a distinction must be drawn between puñi- which is obligatory (4.5.7.1) and other optional AUXiliaries (4.5.7.2).

Non-main verbs do not occur with any of the stem forming affixes (4.5.4), are not found in IMPLicated clauses (4.5.7.1.2, 5.2.1) and are semantically quite different to main verbs (see 4.5.1).

4.1.5 Particles

Particles comprise a closed word class whose members are never inflected (5.5). They occur only with one or more of the clitics (see 5.4). Their syntax and semantics is discussed at 5.5 below.

4.1.6 Interjections

Interjections are a closed class of words which can comprise a whole utterance by themselves. They are never inflected and are not syntactically integrated with other linguistic material, being set off by a pause.

Two interjections are unusual in that they disobey a phonotactic constraint (3.3) on all other Diyari words, namely that words must begin (phonologically) with a consonant. They are:

aňu 'hello!' - a common greeting.

ayi 'hey!' - a call for attention.

There is a third interjection which disobeys this phonotactic constraint and also contains a glottal stop found nowhere else in the language (apart from a marginal occurrence in the indigenous songs - see Appendix B). It is:

a?ayi - 'no, that's not correct!'
(usually said whilst shaking the head).

The assignment of stress (3.6) for these three words is interesting. Both aňu and ayi are stressed on the first vowel, that is [ˈʌɾu] and [ˈʌi] while a?ayi has stress on the vowels either side of the glottal stop, that is [ˈʌ?ˈʌi].

The other interjections which I have recorded are:

kapawu 'Look out!' - an expression of imminent danger.

kapaňawu 'Come here!', 'Hurry up!'

kawu 'Yes!' (examples at (1;72), (1;106) Appendix A)

pani 'No!'

kawuwaṇa 'That's correct!' - an expression of approval for something just said.

puňu 'Hey!' - an expression of surprise or fear.

mayi 'Well then!', 'Alright!' - (see 1;92), (1;105) and (1;134)).

waɻa 'Just a minute!' (see (1;24)).

yakayayi 'Hooray!', 'Oh my goodness' - an expression of excitement (note that an exclamation like yakay(ayi) is found in many Australian languages with this meaning (Dixon (1972: 18)).

ŋaɲʈalu 'Good job!'

ŋuyala 'What a pity!', 'Poor thing' - an expression of pity on hearing bad news, for example, that someone has died.

ŋaŋa or ŋaŋaŋaḷa 'Oh yes!', 'Is that so' - an expression of interest in what someone else is saying.

For extra emphasis an interjection may be repeated a number of times. So, for example, when pressed for an explanation of the corroboree songs (Appendix B) immediately after he had sung them, Leslie Russel would say "waʃa! waʃa! waʃa! just hold on a minute!".

4.2 MORPHOLOGY OF NOMINALS

Nominal words minimally consist of a nominal root plus a case inflection (4.2.4), except where the root occurs in an unmarked form, e.g. the ABSolutive (4.2.4.1). One or more stem affixes may occur between the root and its inflection (4.2.2). Thus, the structure of nominal words in Diyari is given by the following formula:

Nominal word = Root (– Stem Forming Affix ^{n}) – Inflection.

There are two affixes which may occur after the case inflection (4.2.6), indicating relative distance of the referent from the speaker.

The morphology of locational and interrogative nominals is described below (4.2.7, 4.2.8).

4.2.1 Nouns and Adjectives

As noted above (4.1.1), the nominal word class can be sub-divided on the basis of differences in morphological and syntactic behaviour into three

sub-categories:

a) location nominals (see 4.2.7)

b) adjectives

c) nouns.

The reasons for distinguishing nouns and adjectives in Diyari are set out above (4.1.1), as are lists of the semantic content of each word type.

Nouns can be sub-categorized in 'Proper' and 'Common' types (4.1.1) for morphological and syntactic reasons. The Common nouns can be further sub-classified on semantic and syntactic grounds into three types:

a) generic nouns - within the noun phrase (5.1.1.2) these typically precede a specific noun. They refer to (mutually exclusive) general classes of entities and classify this section of Diyari vocabulary into semantic sets. The following generic nouns have been recorded (note that not all specific nouns are covered by these generics - there is no general term for all meteorological phenomena, or all artefacts or all noises, for instance):

1. kaṇa - human beings (not including whites).
2. paya - birds which can fly, i.e. excluding the emu and wild turkey.
3. ʈuʈu - reptiles.
4. ŋanṯi - other edible animates
5. puka - edible vegetable food.
6. piṭa - trees[1] or wood
7. maḍa - stone
8. ʈuñu - fire
9. ŋapa - water

[1] On the basis of informants' explanations it seems that the defining characteristic is whether or not the wood of a certain species could be used (normally) on a fire. Other features, such as height, may also be important, however.

Unfortunately, I have been unable to investigate the semantics of generics in great detail, but these nine are the most commonly occurring. Some examples of possible generic plus specific combinations are the following:

kaṇa wiḻa	'Aboriginal woman'	human	+	married woman
ŋaṉṯi ʧukuřu	'kangaroo'	meat	+	kangaroo
maḍa pukaṭu	'ochre type[1]'	stone	+	ochre type
ŋapa ʧili	'native well'	water	+	well
ṯuřu piḻa	'coals'	fire	+	coals
paya kařawaṛa	'eaglehawk'	bird	+	eaglehawk

b) specific nouns - these refer to a particular type of entity, some of which are covered by the generic nouns listed above. Examples of specific nouns have just been given (see also the list under 4.1.1). The occurrence of specific nouns in apposition is discussed at 5.1.1.2 and 5.1.6.2 below.

4.2.2 Stem Forming Affixes

The following derivational affixes may be suffixed to a nominal root to produce a nominal stem which is then inflected for case (4.2.4) according to its function (5.1.6) in the clause in which it is employed:

---

[1] Specifically, the ochre from a mine near Parachilna in the Northern Flinders Ranges (see 1.1.5). The ochre was mined in large blocks and carried back north (see Mulvaney (1976)). Leslie Russel sang a corroboree song about such an ochre expedition (see also Appendix B).

A) -kaɲʧi - EXCESSive concern - is added a noun root of the set which:

a) refer to an abstract quality, some of which are listed under 4.1.1, page 95 above.

b) are used in attributive constructions with the copula ŋana- 'to be' and the INSTrumental case (see 5.1.5.4 function [D]).

and produces a noun stem where X-kaɲʧi means 'animate being excessively concerned with or possessed of X'. The following are some examples of derived stems:

Stem		Root	
yapakaɲʧi	'fearful, timorous one'	yapa	'fear'
kuṛikaɲʧi	'thief'	kuṛi	'stealth'
paḷakaɲʧi	'sex maniac'	paḷa	'sexual desire'
ŋuñukaɲʧi	'powerful one'	ŋuñu	'power'
mawakaɲʧi	'one who is always hungry	mawa	'hunger;
yaḍikaɲʧi	'liar'	yaḍi	'lie, falsehood'

An example of one of these stems inflected for case is the following sentence (said of a nymphomaniac who turned to prostitution):

(1)	ŋandñu	paḷa-kaɲʧi-ali	maḍa-ø	kampa-yi
	SgFA	sexual desire-EXCESS-ERG	stone-ABS	collect-PRES

'The sex maniac is collecting money [lit. stone][1]*!*

[1] Notice that the generic maḍa 'stone' (see above) is used here to refer to money. This usage is rapidly being replaced by the loan word mani 'money'.

B) -yiʈa - HABITual association - added to a noun or adjective root produces a noun stem where X-yiʈa means 'animate being habitually associated with X'. The reference of the resulting noun stem may be specific or general as the following examples show:

Stem		Root	
pulukayiʈa	'stockman'	puluka	'bullock'
kupulayiʈa	'drunkard'	kupula[1]	'wine, alcohol'
kaldr̃iyiʈa	'surly person'	kaldr̃i	'surly, salty'
ŋumuyiʈa	'good person'	ŋumu	'good'
ŋapayiʈa	'water associated'	ŋapa	'water'

The stem ŋapayiʈa was used in two different contexts by two informants:

(a) said of kuti 'swan' it meant "always lives on the water".

(b) said of kupa 'child' it meant "always wanting to drink or play in water".

Note that -yiʈa also occurs as a nominalizer (5.1.9.2) added to verbs inflected for PARTicipial (see 4.5.5, 4.5.7.1.1).

Examples of noun stems formed by -yiʈa have been elicited with (non-zero) case inflections (see 4.2.4) but they occur only rarely in the text material collected and analysed. There seems to be a preference for the use of HABIT derived stems as predicate nominals

[1] The word kupula means 'wine, beer, alcohol, bottle' in Diyari. A word with a similar phonetic shape occurs in some Victorian languages meaning 'to drink', for example Wemba-Wemba (Hercus (1969: 426)) has "gubila or gubula".

(see 5.1.2) in texts. Examples elicited include:

(2) puluka-yiʈa-ali ŋaɳa ɳayi-yi
bullock-HABIT-ERG 1SgO see-PRES
'The stockman saw me.'

(3) ŋaʈu ɳiɳa-ya maḍa-ø mani-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA 3SgnFO-NEAR stone-ABS get-PART AUX-PRES
puluka-yiʈa-ni
bullock-HABIT-LOC
'I got this money (lit. stone) from the stockman'.

C) -l̻a -CHARacteristic - has two different derivational functions:

a) added a nominal stem which refers to geographical feature or some element of the environment (see 4.1.1 section [2]) CHAR forms a stem where X-l̻a means 'entity inhabiting X'. Notice that, unlike -yiʈa and -kaɳʈi derived stems (see above), stems formed by the addition of -l̻a may have a non-animate referent. For example:

maḍa-l̻a 'hill dweller' maḍa 'hill, stone'

can be used of:

(i) people or animals living in hilly country. So, for example, the local group of Diyari living near Blanchewater and the northern Flinders Ranges were called maḍal̻a ḍiyaṛi (see 1.1.2 and Map 1).

(ii) plants or natural features characteristically found in hilly country, in contrast to those found elsewhere.

Other examples of stems formed by this derivational process are:

Stem		Root	
ḍakuɻa	'sand hill dwellers'	ḍaku	'sand hill'
pantuɻa	'lake dwellers'	pantu	'salt lake'
paʈaraɻa	'box tree dwellers'	paʈara	'box tree'
paɻaṛaɻa	'flat ground dwellers'	paɻaṛa	'flat'
kunaña ɻa	'Cooper's Creek people[1]'	kunaña	'Cooper's Creek'
ɳakaɻa	'those living there'	ɳaka	'there'

Diyari speakers draw a distinction between ɳakaɻa 'those inhabiting that place' (there-CHAR) and ɳakayiʈa 'people habitually associated with that place' (there-HABIT). The former can be used for recent arrivals at a particular location while the latter is reserved for those who have resided there continuously for a long period of time.

Examples of case inflected stems (4.2.4) formed with CHAR include the following:

(4) ŋani yaʈa-yaʈa-ɳa wara-yi maḍa-ɻa-ni
1SgS REDUP-speak-PART AUX-PRES stone-CHAR-LOC
'I spoke to the person from the hills.'

[1] That is the Diyari local group living near Killalpaninna and Kopperamanna (see 1.1.2). Notice that the addition of -ɻa causes roots to undergo the neutralization rule described at 3.4 above.

(5) kunar̃i-l̪a-li wata ŋan̪a yakalka-ṇa

Cooper's Creek-CHAR-ERG not 1SgO ask-PART

wara-yi

AUX-PRES

'The Cooper's Creek person didn't ask me (about it).'

Compare these with -l̪a New Information (5.4.6) which is a post-inflectional clitic.

b) added to a nominal root which refers to temporal location (see 4.1.1, and the use of LOCative case with these roots at 5.1.5.5) CHAR produces a stem which refers to something animate or inanimate characteristic of that particular time. Examples of these stems are:

Stem		Root	
warul̪a	'old one'	waru	'long ago'
karaṛal̪a	'modern, recent one'	karaṛi	'today, now'

We also find -l̪a CHAR used with adjectives in noun phrases such as the following:

(6) ḍit̪i kuṇu-l̪a n̪awu-ya kaɲa t̪ur̃ut̺ur̃u-ø

sun one-CHAR SgnFS-NEAR ash hot-ABS

'These warm ashes are (from) one day (ago)'. (1;119)

All the examples collected of CHAR in this use with temporal reference roots show the stem being used predicatively as in (6). There are no examples of case inflected stems (see 4.2.4) in the corpus.

D) -wuḷu - DUAL - derives a stem of dual number from a nominal root without changing its syntactic status. Dual (and plural - see (E) below) stems in Diyari form a special inflectional class as regards case morphology (see 4.2.4) since they have special case allomorphs and a paradigm different to that of singular nouns[1]. Singular nouns have ABSolutive and ERGative case forms (see 4.2.4, 5.1.6.4) while marked non-singular stems show a three way contrast between Nominative, Ergative and Accusative (4.2.4, 5.1.6.1, 5.1.6.2). Examples of stems formed by the use of dual are:

Stem		Root	
kaṉiniwuḷu	'two mother's mothers'	kaṉini	'mother's mother'
ṯaṛiwuḷu	'two young men'	ṯaṛi	'young man'
kiṉṯalawuḷu	'two dogs'	kiṉṯala	'dog'
kapiwuḷu	'two eggs'[2]	kapi	'egg'
piṯawuḷu	'two trees'	piṯa	'tree'

The following are examples of some case inflected DUAL stems (see also 4.2.4 and (63) below):

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[1] In Ngamini and Yarluyandi the DUAL marker is -kuli (and the PLURAL is -waṛa). In both languages derived non-singular stems have a special case paradigm as in Diyari (see 4.2.4).

[2] kapiwuḷu is also used metaphorically to mean 'testicles'.

(7) ṉani mindři-ṇa kuřa-yi ṯaṛi-wuḷu-ŋundřu
SgFS run-PART go away-PRES young man-DUAL-SCE
'She ran away from the two young men'.

(8) ṉawu-ya ŋura wiḻa-wuḷu-ṇi
SgnFS-NEAR camp woman-DUAL-GEN
'This is the camp of the two women'.

Notice that nominals in Diyari are not obligatorily specified for number by suffixal marking. That is, the referent of an unmarked stem may be singular or non-singular; so wiḻa, for example, can mean 'woman' or 'women' depending upon the context. If necessary or desired number can be indicated by suffixed, DUAL or PLURAL (see (E) below) markers. Number is also (obligatorily) indicated by nominal determiners (see 4.4.1) when they occur with nominals as constituents of noun phrases (see 5.1.1.2).

E) -waṛa - PLURAL - forms a stem of plural number from a nominal root without affecting syntactic status. The declension of PLURAL stems is the same as that of DUAL stems (see above and 4.2.4). Examples of derived PLURAL stems are:

Stem		Root	
ŋapiṛiwaṛa	'fathers'	ŋapiṛi	'father'
kankuwaṛa	'boys'	kanku	'boy'
ʈukuřuwaṛa	'kangaroos'	ʈukuřu	'kangaroo'
piṭawaṛa	'trees'	piṭa	'tree'

Examples of inflected PLURAL stems include the following:

(9) ṉulu ṯanaṉa mankaña-waṛa-ṉa wani-yi
SgnFA P1O girl-PLURAL-ACC follow-PRES
'He is following the girls.'

(10) kanku-waṛa-ø ŋama-yi ṯaṛi-waṛa-ŋu
boy-PLURAL-NOM sit-PRES young man-PLURAL-LOC
'The boys are sitting with the young men'.

F) -ṉṯu - PROPrietive - meaning 'with or having' is suffixed to a noun root converting it to an adjective stem which can then be inflected for case (4.2.4). The following examples briefly illustrate the use of this affix:

(11) kaṇa ŋanka-ṉṯu-ali ŋaṉa ṇandña-yi
man beard-PROP-ERG 1SgO hit-PRES
'The bearded man hit me'.

(12) kaṇa-ø ŋakaŋu yaṯa-yi kaʧi-ṉṯu-ø
man-ABS 1SgLOC speak-PRES spear-PROP-ABS
'A man with a spear spoke to me'.

For a detailed discussion of the syntax of this construction see 5.1.6.3 below.

G) -maṛa - KINship PROPrietive - added to a nominal stem with one of two uses:

a) indicating 'with or having' it derives an adjective stem from a noun root and is identical in function to -ṉṯu PROP (see (F) above). That is, informants said that sentences which differed only in that one had NP-ṉṯu and the other NP-maṛa were identical in meaning. The syntax of KIN PROP as an alternative to PROP is investigated at 5.1.6.4.

b) forming a collective noun when added to kinship terms such that X-maṛa refers to 'a group of people one of whom is called "X" by the others'. Where the relationship between the people involved is not reciprocal and there is no single term to cover it then the lexical item referring to the older member is usually employed. So, for example, ṉuwa 'spouse' has reciprocal reference and ṉuwamaṛa could be used to refer to a husband and his wife (or a wife and her husband). Groups of sisters are usually termed kaku-maṛa i.e. 'elder sister - KIN PROP'. Further discussion and exemplification of this use of KIN PROP may be found at 5.1.6.4. One example of a KIN PROP stem in a case other than absolutive (4.2.4) is:

(13) ŋani pulaŋu yaṯa-yaṯa-ṇa wara-yi
1SgS D1LOC REDUP-speak-PART AUX-PRES
kaku-maṛa-ni
elder sister-KIN PROP-LOC
'I talked to the two sisters'.[1]

[1] A more literal translation of this sentence would be 'I talked to the pair of persons one of whom was an older sister'. Notice that the nominal determiner is dual in number (4.4.1).

H) -ɲʧa - NUMBER - is added to the number adjectives (see 4.2.9) so that X-ɲʧa means 'just X in number'. It occurs with the interrogative waḍaṛu 'how?' (see 4.2.8), waḍaṛuɲʧa meaning 'how many?' (4.2.9). Examples of the use of this stem forming affix accur in the following exchange[1]:

(14) Q: waḍaṛu-ɲʧa kupa-ø yundr̃u ŋama-lka-yi
how-NUMBER child-ABS 2SgA sit-TR-PRES
'How many children do you have?'

A: ŋaṯu paṙkulu-ɲʧa-ø ŋama-lka-yi
1SgA three-NUMBER-ABS sit-TR-PRES
'I have just three'.

This stem forming affix has not been recorded occurring before or after any other stem forming affix (see below).

I) -n̪a - CITation - this suffix is added to Place Names (see 4.1.1) in their citation and predicate nominal (5.1.2) uses. It does not occur when the place name is inflected for case (4.2.4, 5.1.5). Some examples of citation forms are:

kiḷawiḷpanin̪a 'Killalpaninna'
wayikalkun̪a 'Clayton River'
winṯamiŋkan̪a 'Frome Creek'

[1] The syntax of the transitive stem ŋamalka- 'to have' is discussed at 5.1.6.6.

Note that CIT is homophonous with the -ɳa ACCusative marker and -ɳa NOMinative suffix attached to Male Proper Names (see 4.2.4).

Nominal roots may occur with more than one of these stem forming affixes[1]. They are suffixed in the following order:

{-kaɲʧi, -yiʈa, -ɭa} - {-wuɭu, -waɻa, -maɻa, -ɳʈu} - -ɳa

The following are some examples illustrating this affix ordering:

kuɻi-kaɲʧi-wuɭu	'two thieves'	(stealth-EXCESS-DUAL)
puluka-yiʈa-waɻa	'stockmen'	(bullock-HABIT-PLURAL)
puluka-yiʈa-maɻa	'with a stockman'	(bullock-HABIT-KIN PROP)
maɖa-ɭa-ɳʈu	'with a hills person'	(hill-CHAR-PROP)
kiɳʈala-wuɭu-ɳa	'two dogs hill' (Place Name)'	(dog-DUAL-CIT)
mankaña-waɻa-ɳa	'the Pleiades'	(girl-PLURAL-CIT)

There are no examples in the corpus of any stem containing more than two of these derivational suffixes. This is because the

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[1] With the exception of -ɲʧa NUMBER (see above) this affix occurs attached to numbers only and is never preceded or followed by any other stem forming affix.

third order suffix -ṉa CIT (see above) occurs only with institutionalized place names and so informants rejected as impossible such hypothetical combinations as *kuṛikaɲṯiwuḷuṉa 'place (called) two thieves'.

There is one example of -wuḷu preceding -ḻa CHAR, namely kiṉṯala-wuḷu-ḻa 'person from two dogs hill' (dog-DUAL-CHAR). Informants did not accept the use of a further stem forming affix (for example, -maṛa) with this combination, although the ERGative case form (see 4.2.4) kiṉṯalawuḷuḻali was recorded.

4.2.3 The Privative

Many Australian languages have, in addition to a comitative or proprietive affix such as -ṉṯu PROP described above and at 5.1.6.3 (see also Topic A of Dixon (1976)), a derivational affix commonly termed 'the privative'. This affix derives an adjective stem from a noun root where the meaning is 'lacking N'. So, for example Dyirbal (Dixon (1972:223)) has -ŋaŋgay, Bandjalang (Crowley (1977:43)) -ɡam and Yuwaaliyaay (Williams (1976: 56)) and Ngiyamba: (Donaldson (1977: 131)) -ḏalaba:[1] as the privative suffix.

In Diyari the functions of the privative in these other languages are

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[1] The Ngiyamba: form is given morphophonemically as -DHalaba:N by Donaldson. A common realization of this is -ḏalaba: which is identical to the form found in Yuwaaliyaay and Yuwaalaraay.

performed by an independent adjective[1] pani meaning 'none'. So, for example, we find sentences such as the following:

(15)	kupa-ni	ŋani	yaṯa-ṇa	wara-yi	kaṯi
	child-LOC	1SgS	speak-PART	AUX-PRES	clothes
	pani-ni				
	none-LOC				

'I spoke to the child with no clothes (on)'.

The adverbial use of N+pani is described at 5.1.3.2 below. For a special use of the LOCative case with N+pani see 5.1.5.5 (function (C)) below.

It is interesting to note that the Ngamini adjective waŋku 'none' may occur with -maṛa KIN PROP meaning "having none" (Breen (1976d: 295). I have not encountered *panimaṛa in Diyari.

4.2.4 Cases

All noun phrases (5.1.1.2) are inflected for case according to their syntactic function within the clause in which they occur (5.1.5). Some noun phrases (see 4.1.1 for sub-division of the nominal class) because of their semantic content do not occur in all case functions. The two groups:

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[1] There are two reasons why pani must be analysed as an independent word rather than an affix:

a) the nasal in pani may be (optionally) prestopped giving [pʌdni] and prestopping only occurs after the first vowel of a (phonological) word (see 3.2.1.4).

b) in an emphatic context case markers can occur added to both pani and the noun preceding it. That is, N+pani is a Noun Phrase (see (5.1.1.2) and not a single (syntactic) word.

i) Place Names (see 4.1.1)

ii) Locational Nouns, both Temporal and Spatial (see 4.1.1 and 4.2.7)

never occur in the syntactic functions of GENitive (5.1.5.10) or ERGative (5.1.5.3) or INSTrumental (5.1.5.4). The interrogative locational nominals waḍayarị 'where' and wiṉṯa 'when' (4.2.7) come under this group also. These nominals will be said to have defective morphological paradigms. All other nouns occur in the various cases discussed below.

4.2.4.1 Case Marking Systems

Before discussing case marking allomorphy it is necessary to point out that the syntactic functions (see 5.1.5) of intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O) are coded differently according to the inherent lexical content of the noun phrase filling the particular syntactic function (Silverstein (1976)). There is a dichotomy in the non-locational nouns (see 4.1.1) between those having an ERGative-ABSolutive type of case marking system (that is, where S and O are coded the same, as ABSolutive, and A is coded differently, as ERGative) and those showing three distinct morphological markings for each syntactic function. We can term this a NOMinative-ERGative-ACCusative system[1]. The two case marking systems are distributed as follows:

a) a NOM-ERG-ACC system is followed by non-singular (i.e. dual and plural (see above 4.2.2)) common nouns and by Female personal proper nouns (c.f. 4.1.1).

[1] I am using the label 'ERGative' in two different (non-equivalent) senses here - firstly as a member of a two term apposition (versus ABS) and secondly as a member of a three term apposition (versus NOM and ACC). In each case ERG marks A function, however (see 5.1.5.3).

b) an ERG-ABS system is followed by all other nouns.

The following table which lists the case markers for S, A and O functions shows this distribution of case marking systems:

TABLE 15: CASE MARKING SYSTEMS

	A	S	O
1. Female Proper nouns[1]	-ndȓu	-ni	-ṉa
2. Non-singular common nouns	-li	-ø	-ṉa
3. Male Proper nouns[1]	-li	-ṉa	
4. Singular common nouns	-ali	-ø	

Compare this with the pattern of affixation found in Yarluyandi and Ngamini (see 1.1.5) which have:

	A	S	O
1. Non-singular common nouns	-li	-ø	-ṉa
2. Singular common nouns	-nu (Ng) -ndu (Y)	-ø	

Unfortunately, no information on the declension of Proper nouns is available for either of these languages.

4.2.4.2 Case Markers

Given the lexical split described above (4.2.4.1) we have to recognize the following categories for the description of case morphology (c.f. 5.1.5):

[1] These affixes are also added to English personal names when speaking Diyari. An example is (22) below.

1) NOMinative - codes intransitive subject function (S) for group (a) noun phrases. The realizations are:

-ni added to Female proper names

-∅ (zero) added to non-singular common noun stems[1].

2) ACCusative - codes transitive object function (O) for group (a) noun phrases. The realization is:[2]

-ŋa added to Female proper names and non-singular common nouns

3) ABSolutive - codes intransitive subject function (S) and transitive object function (O) (and indirect object for di-transitive verbs see 4.5.1) for (b) noun phrases. The realizations of ABS are:

-ŋa added to Male proper names

-∅ added to all other stems[1]

4) ERGative - codes transitive subject function (A) for all types of nouns. Allomorphy of the ERG case affix is as follows:

-ndr̃u added to Female Proper names

-li added to Male Proper names and non-singular common nouns (with final /u/ of DUAL becoming /a/ (see (3.4)).

-ali added to other nouns. The affix with this canonical shape has two phonological realizations (see 3.4):

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[1] That is, the unmarked stem form is used.

[2] This is a reflex of Dixon's (1970) proto-form *Ña c.f. also Dyirbal -ŋa (Dixon (1972: 221-2)).

a) /yali/ after stems of two or four syllables[1] whose final vowel is /u/ or /i/; also, optionally after trisyllables ending in /i/ (see also below).

b) /li/ after all other stems, that is, stems ending in /a/ and stems of three or five syllables[1] ending in /u/ or /i/ (where the stem final vowel is neutralized to /a/ when the case affix is added (see 3.4)). For trisyllables ending in /i/ this is an alternative to /yali/ above. Both occur in free variation.

The following examples show this allomorphy:

Stem		ERG case form
ʧiṛimiri	'woman's name'	ʧiṛimirindṟu
waŋamiri	'man's name'	waŋamirili
ṯaṛiwuḷu	'young man-DUAL'	ṯaṛiwuḷali
ṯaṛiwaṛa	'young man-PLURAL'	ṯaṛiwaṛali
ṯaṛi	'young man'	ṯaṛiyali
kanku	'boy'	kankuyali
kaṉini	'mother's mother'	kaṉinali or kaṉiniyali

[1] There are no common noun roots of more than four syllables in the material I have collected. The only stems of more than four syllables ending in a high vowel are those derived by the addition of -ṉṯu PROP (note that -wuḷu DUAL takes -li with final /u/ becoming /a/). Five syllable stems derived in this way take the -yali ERG allomorph. There are no examples of six syllable stems ending in /ṉṯu/ although theoretically they should be possible, for example, pulukayiʧaṉṯu 'with a cattleman'. Further checking of this point is necessary.

Stem		ERG case form
puɻuřu	'mud'	puɻuřali
wařukaʈi	'emu'	wařukaʈiyali
wařaŋaɳʈu	'left-hand'	wařaŋaɳʈuyali
kaṇa	'person'	kaṇali
mankařa	'girl'	mankařali
wiʟapina	'old woman'	wiʟapinali
yapakaɳʈinʈu	'fear-EXCESS-PROP'	yapakaɳʈinʈuyali

See also Table 16 below (page 124).

5) INSTrumental - has the same realizations as ERGative case (see above) but is a syntactically distinct case function (see 5.1.5.4).

6) LOCative - has the following realizations (see 5.1.5.5 for the syntactic functions of LOC case):

-ø added to Location nominals[1]

-n̪aŋu added to Female proper names

-ŋu added to Male proper names and to non-singular common nouns (with final /u/ of DUAL becoming /a/ - see 3.4)

-ni added to other nominal stems.

7) ALLative - has the same realizations as LOCative for Female and Male proper names and for non-singular common nouns but is:

-ni added to Spatial Location nominals (see 4.2.7)

-ya added to all other nominal stems.

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[1] That is the bare root is the form used for LOC case function (see 4.2.4, 5.1.5.5).

8) SourCE - has the following realizations (see also 5.1.5.6):

-ŋundr̃u added to all personal proper names (both Male and Female) and to non-singular common nouns

-ndr̃u added to all other nominal stems.

9) PURPosive - has the following realizations (see also 5.1.5.8):

-n̪aŋka added to Female proper names

-n̪i added to Male proper names and to non-singular common nouns

-ya added to all other nominal stems which can be inflected for PURP case (see 5.1.5.8).

10) BENefactive - has the same realizations as PURP case (above) but it must be recognized as a syntactically distinct case function (see 5.1.5.9).

11) GENitive - has the same realizations as PURP and BEN cases but is syntactically distinct (see 5.1.5.10).

Table 16 gives examples of the different types of stems mentioned here and their paradigmatic variations in form. For more detail on ERG case allomorphs see the list above (page 121). All other case allomorphs are listed in this table. Note that the citation form of the Place Name 'Farina' is wir̃awaṭan̪a[1].

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[1] wir̃a is the Diyari name of *Acacia ligulata* and waṭa means 'butt'.

TABLE 16 : DIYARI CASE FORMS

	STEM	ERG	NOM	ACC	LOC	ALL	SCE	PURP/BEN/GEN
1.	person-DUAL	kaṇawuḷali	kaṇawuḷu	kaṇawuḷuṉa	kaṇawuḷaŋu	=LOC	kaṇawuḷaŋundřu	kaṇawuḷaṇi
2.	person-PLURAL	kaṇawaṛali	kaṇawaṛa	kaṇawaṛaṉa	kaṇawaṛaŋu	=LOC	kaṇawaṛaŋundřu	kaṇawaṛaṇi
3.	woman's name	ʈiṛimirindřu	ʈiṛimirini	ʈiṛimiriṉa	ʈiṛimiriṉaŋu	=LOC	ʈiṛimiriŋundřu	ʈiṛimiriṉaŋka
			ABS					
4.	man's name	waṭamaŋkali	waṭamaŋkaṉa		waṭamaŋkaŋu	=LOC	waṭamaŋkaŋundřu	waṭamaŋkaṇi
5.	stick	piṭali	piṭa		piṭani	piṭaya	piṭandřu	=ALL
6.	young man	ṯaṛiyali	ṯaṛi		ṯaṛini	ṯaṛiya	ṯaṛindřu	=ALL
7.	boy	kankuyali	kanku		kankuni	kankuya	kankundřu	=ALL
8.	man	maṯarali	maṯari		maṯarani	maṯaraya	maṯarandřu	=ALL
9.	Place Name 'Farina'				wiřawaṭani	wiřawaṭaya	wiřawaṭandřu	
10.	Temp. Loc. 'today'				karaṛi	karaṛaya	karaṛandřu	
11.	Spatial Loc. 'there'				ṉaka	ṉakani	ṉakandřu	

NOTE: INSTRUMENTAL = A (ERGATIVE)

4.2.5 Declension of Kinship Terms

Most kinship terms encountered during early fieldwork showed a case inflection paradigm identical to that of common nouns described above (see especially Table 16). However, checking of the early sources (see 2.1) showed that the missionary grammarians (including Flierl (?1879) and Reuther (1899)) set up a special declension for some kinship terms[1]. Reuther gives a paradigm such as the following (the original spelling has been corrected and normalized to the phonemicization set out in 3.2):

TABLE 17: DECLENSION OF KINSHIP TERMS (from Reuther (1899))

Case	'mother'	'father'
Nominative	ŋandři	ŋapini
Ergative	ŋandřiyali	ŋapili
Accusative	ŋandřiṉa	ŋapiṉa
Locative	ŋandřiṉaŋu	ŋapiṉaŋu
Genitive	ŋandřiṉaŋka	ŋapiṉaŋka

and states that[2]:

> "the kinship terms mentioned here are only used according to [this] declension when one refers to one's own father, mother and son, but

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[1] Special declensions for kinship terms have also been reported for Garawa in the Northern Territory (Leeding in Dixon (1976: 383) and Yandruwandha (see 1.1.5) for which Breen (in Dixon (1976: 594)) gives "dative [case suffix] ŋi for kinship and proper names".

[2] This is Hercus and Schwarzschild's translation to be found in Hercus and Breen (nd). Notice the similarities between the suffixes of the forms in Table 17 and those added to proper names, especially Female proper names (see 4.2.4 and Table 16).

speaking of father, mother etc. in general, or when there is an adjectival attribute the regular forms are used [i.e. the common noun suffixed forms above - P.A.]; however ŋapini 'father' is replaced by ŋapiṛi".

I checked the details given here with my informants but none used the alternants set out in Table 17. They all preferred to use the regular case suffixes for common nouns (see 4.2.4.2 and Table 16) with words such as ŋandr̃i 'mother' and ŋapiṛi 'father'[1]. However, detailed questioning did turn up the fact that for the GENitive case (see 4.2.4.2 section (10)) there are two realizations:

-ya (the regular singular common noun suffix)

-n̪aŋka (c.f. Female proper names)

which can both be used with the following kinship terms:

ŋandr̃i 'mother'

ŋapiṛi 'father' (with -n̪aŋka the stem is ŋapi[2]).

n̪uwa 'spouse'

kan̪ini 'mother's mother'

ŋat̪ani 'offspring of same moiety'[3]

ŋat̪amuña 'offspring of opposite moiety'[3]

However, when the kinship term is not explicit as to the sex of the person(s) referred to then -n̪aŋka indicates that the referent must be Female. The

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1 The glosses here and in the following discussion are to be understood as only approximate and refer to only one of the persons who could be named by a particular term (Elkin (1931-2)).

2 Note that Ngamini regularly has ŋarpi 'father' and Yarluyandi has ŋapi 'father' (c.f. Yandruwandha ŋapiṛi). This is the only word in Diyari and Dhirari which has a variable stem.

3 Thus 'son(s)' and 'daughter(s)' are referred to as ŋat̪ani by women and ŋat̪amuña by men (since the moieties are matrilineal (see 1.2)).

second GEN suffix -ya is used when either sex is referred to. This gives the following set of genitives:

ŋaṯaṇi 'my child (female speaking)'

ŋaṯaṇiṉaŋka - 'my daughter's...'

ŋaṯaṇaya - 'my son's/daughter's ...'

ŋaṯamuña 'my child (male speaking)'

ŋaṯamuñaṉaŋka - 'my daughter's ...'

ŋaṯamuñaya - 'my son's/daughter's ...'

Similarly, with ṉuwa 'spouse' we find the following contrast:

ṉuwaṉaŋka - 'wife's ...'

ṉuwaya - 'wife's/husband's ...'

Reuther does not mention the disambiguating function of the -ṉaŋka GENitive affix. None of my informants used or accepted other case forms which had two variants such as these, although it is possible that at one time when the language was spoken more actively and the community of speakers larger the forms given by Reuther (as in Table 17 above) were commonly used.

It is interesting that Breen (pers. comm.) did record -ṉa as an accusative case marker for some kinship terms in Ngamini, for example, ṉuyu 'elder brother'. I have not found this in the speech of my Diyari informants.

4.2.6 Other Nominal Affixes

There are two affixes in Diyari and Dhirari which may be attached to a noun after it has been marked for case. Unlike case affixes (4.2.4) they show no allomorphic variation. They are not clitics (5.4) because their distribution is limited to nominal words (4.1.1). Usually, the nominal to which they are attached will have spatial locational reference and the case

inflection will be one of the local cases (Lyons (1968: 298) and 5.1.5) such as SCE or LOC. The two affixes marked the relative location of the referent with respect to the speaker:

-wa marks DISTant referent which is a large distance from the speaker (and usually the hearer)

-ya marks NEAR referent which is relatively close to the speaker.

Examples of their use include the following (notice that example (17) is in the Dhirari dialect):

(16) ṯana kupa-ø ŋama-yi ŋura-ni-ya
P1S child-ABS sit-PRES camp-LOC-NEAR
'The children are sitting in the camp (close by)'.

(17) ŋawu ṯika-ṇḍa puři-ya yaḷa-ndřu-wa
SgnFS return-PART AUX-PAST elsewhere-SCE-DIST
'He came back from somewhere else over there'.

These two affixes also occur with nominal determiners (see 4.4.1). Noun phrases in non-local case functions generally take relative distance markings on the nominal determiner rather than after the case suffix (if at all since these affixes are both optional).

There is one further suffix found attached to nominal stems without any indication of case. It has the shape -nkari and indicates 'in the direction of'. I am not sure of its exact status (there are only six examples of it in the corpus) but informants contrasted it with LOC and ALL cases (see 5.1.5.5 and 5.1.6.7) saying that it meant "going towards a place but not (in) to it", as in:

(18) ŋani wapa-ṇa wara-yi puŋa-nkari /
1SgS go-PART AUX-PRES humpy-DIRECT
wata wiɾ̃i-ṇa
not enter-REL$_{ss}$
"I went towards the house, not in".

This affix occurs with pronouns also (see 4.3) but it is attached to the LOC/ALL base ending in -ŋu, as in:

(19) ṯana ŋakaŋu-nkari-ḻa kiḷi-ṇa paḷka-ṇa wara-yi
P1S 1SgLOC-DIRECT-NI dance-PART go on-PART AUX-PRES
'They danced along towards me'.

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

4.2.7 Location Nominals

Location nominals form a special class of nominals (4.1.1) in Diyari because they are used without suffixation (4.2.4) in LOCative case function (5.1.5.5). They also occur in ALL and SCE cases (4.2.4.2, 5.1.5.6, 5.1.5.7). These nominals fall into two sub-classes, those with temporal reference (4.2.2.1) and those with spatial reference (4.2.7.2). Neither type may co-occur in a noun phrase (5.1.1.2) with a nominal determiner (4.4.1) or an adjective.

> Another Australian language in which temporal and spatial locationals are used in root form for LOCative case is Yidiny (Dixon (1977: 157, 164)). These words also occur only in LOC, ALL and SCE (or "ablative") cases.

4.2.7.1 Spatial Location Nominals

There are two spatial location nominal roots (4.1.1) which occur in LOC, ALL and SCE cases (see above). They are ŋiŋki- 'here' and ŋaka- 'there'. The root ŋiŋki- always takes one of the following set of distance markers (see also 4.4.2) before it is inflected for case:

-ḍa VICINity - indicates a position or location close to the speaker[1]

-ya NEAR - indicates a position a medium distance away from the speaker

-paña THERE - indicates a position a medium distance away but further than that indicated by -ya

-wa DIST - indicates a position relatively far from the speaker but not so far away as ŋaka 'there'.

The ŋaka 'there' nominal does not take these affixes but may be marked for relative distance by the -ya and -wa markers described above (4.2.6) after the case inflection is added. This gives the following paradigms:

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[1] Informants explained the relative distances expressed by the contrasts in marking here as follows:

ŋiŋkiḍa "up to three or four feet away"
ŋiŋkiya "from three or four feet to a couple of yards away"
ŋiŋkiwa "a fair distance away"

The exact status of -paña is unclear but it seems to refer to a distance between -ya and -wa.

TABLE 18: SPATIAL LOCATION NOMINALS

	LOCative	ALLative	SourCE
'here'	ŋiŋkiḍa	ŋiŋkiḍani	ŋiŋkiḍandřu
	ŋiŋkiya	ŋiŋkiyani	ŋiŋkiyandřu
	ŋiŋkipařa	ŋiŋkipařani	ŋiŋkipařandřu
	ŋiŋkiwa	ŋiŋkiwani	ŋiŋkiwandřu
'there'	ŋaka	ŋakani	ŋakandřu
	ŋakaya	ŋakaniya	ŋakandřuya
	ŋakawa	ŋakaniwa	ŋakandřuwa

Examples of some of these forms occurring in sentences are:

(20) ŋiŋki-ya-ø-maḍa ŋaṯu ŋayi-ya-ṯa
here-NEAR-LOC-IDENT 1SgA see-PAST-OI
'I saw (them) here'. (1;113)

(21) ŋaka-ni paḍaka-a-ø-mayi
there-ALL carry-IMP-NM-EMPH
'Take (it) over there!'.

(22) [Billy]-ŋa wapa-yi ŋiŋki-ḍa-ndřu
-ABS go-PRES here-VICIN-SCE
'Billy is going (away) from here'.

The four nouns which refer to the cardinal directions, namely:

ṯinankara	north
kunankari	south
yantakara	west
ṯiřiwa	east

are like location nominals in that they are not inflected when in LOCative case function. ALL case inflection is optional with these four words (5.1.5.7). A text example illustrating this is:

(23) ṉiŋki-ya-ø ṉani wapa-ṇa wara-yi [Victorian
here-NEAR-LOC SgFS go-PART AUX-PRES
boundary] / ṯiřiwa wapa-ṇa
east go-REL$_{SS}$

'She went here (on the) Victorian boundary, going east'. (2;38)

4.2.7.2 Temporal Location Nominals

There are six nouns in Diyari which refer to temporal location and are uninflected for LOC case (see above):

waru	'long ago'
waldřawiṭi	'yesterday'
ṯaŋkuṯaŋkupaṇa	'morning'
karaṛi	'today, now'
kalkawařa	'evening'
ṯaŋkupaṇa	'tomorrow'

Both waldřawiṭi and ṯaŋkupaṇa may be followed by the noun ŋuṛu 'one day beyond' (see 5.1.1.2) so that:

waldřawiṭi ŋuṛu is 'the day before yesterday'

ṯaŋkupaṇa ŋuṛu is 'the day after tomorrow'

The root form of these nominals is used for LOC case, as noted above, while ALL means 'until' (see 5.1.5.7) and SCE means 'since' (5.1.5.6). An example of their use is:

(24) ṯaŋkuṯaŋkupaṇa-ø ŋayi-ṇa ṯupu-ø
morning-LOC see-PART smoke-ABS
'In the morning (he) saw the smoke'. (1; 56)

Notice that when one of these nouns is followed by an adjective the adjective takes the case marker of the noun phrase as a whole (5.1.1.2) and for LOC this will be the usual singular common noun marker (4.2.4.2) as in:

(25) ŋani wapa-yi kalkawařa maḻṯi-ni
1SgS go-PRES evening cool-LOC
'I'm going in the cool (of the) evening'.

Examples of temporal location nominals in ALL and SCE cases include (343) and (321) below.

Temporal duration is expressed by the adverbial use of adjectives or noun plus adjective combinations (see 5.1.3). Examples include (195) below.

Some nouns which basically refer to elements or features of the natural environment, for example ḍiṯi 'sun', and piṛa 'moon' can be used in LOCative case (5.1.5.5) as temporal location specifiers. Their use is discussed and

exemplified below (page 287).

4.2.8 Interrogative Nominals

There are four interrogative nominals in Diyari:

(1) the noun miṉa 'what' which covers the set of common nouns (4.1.1) with non-human reference. It takes the usual singular common noun affixes for all cases (4.2.4.2 and see also piṭa in Table 16). The LOCative case form miṉani is used to express 'Why, for what purpose/ reason?' as in:

(26) miṉa-ni yini yindřa-yi
what-LOC 2SgS cry-PRES
'Why are you crying'.

Sentence (26) suggests that the addressee may be crying in order to achieve some desired result. The SourCE case form miṉandřu, in contrast to miṉani, means 'Why, from what cause?' (see 5.1.5.6) and is seen in the following question and its reply:

(27) Q: miṉa-ndřu yundřu ṇaṉa ṇandřa-ṇa wara-yi
what-SCE 2SgA SgFO hit-PART AUX-PRES
'Why did you hit her?'

A: maḍa-ali ŋaŋa ḍiya-ṇa wara-yi
stone-INST 1SgO pelt-PART AUX-PRES
'(Because she had previously) pelted me with stones'.

The questioner in (27) is enquiring after the cause of the action rather than the purpose as in (26). Another good example of this contrast is to be found in Text 1 lines 134 and 138 (Appendix A).

miṉa is also used in its various case forms as an indefinite, meaning 'something' (see also 4.3.4 below). Consider the following example[1]:

(28) miṉa-ali ŋaṉa ṇandřa̤-ṇa wara-yi
what-ERG 1SgO hit-PART AUX-PRES
'Something hit me'.

The indefinite use of miṉa may be distinguished from its interrogative function in two ways:

a) interrogatives obligatorily occur in clause initial position in Diyari (see 5.1.7.4) whereas indefinites occur in their usual positions in the clause (5.1.7.1). So, for example, miṉa in (30) below can only be indefinite and not interrogative.

b) the post-inflectional suffix[2] -ya DUBiative may be used after a case inflected form of miṉa used as an indefinite but not as an interrogative. So, for example, the following sentence is unambiguous:

(29) miṉa-ali-ya ŋaṉa ṇandřa-ṇa wara-yi
what-ERG-DUB 1SgO hit-PART AUX-PRES
'Something or other hit me'.

---

[1] Note that (28) could also mean 'What hit me?' given the appropriate intonation (3.7).

[2] -ya DUB is homophonous with -ya the post-inflectional distance marker (4.2.6).

Compare this with (28) above. A further example is:

(30) ŋani puri-ɻa wiři-yi miŋa-ni-ya
1SgS fall-FUT AUX-PRES what-LOC-DUB
'I fell over something or other (last night)'.

Informants use miŋaya in conversation when the name of a particular thing is temporarily forgotten, much like English "what's-its-name" or similar expressions (see also waṛaŋaya at 4.3.4).

(2) the interrogative spatial location nominal (4.2.7.1) which occurs in two forms:

LOC	waḍayari	'where?'
SCE	waḍayarindřu	'from where?'

There is no separate ALL case form for 'where?' - with verbs of rest waḍayari is interpreted as location and with verbs of motion it is direction or the place towards which motion is directed (see 5.1.5.5), for example:

(31) waḍayari-ø yini ŋama-yi
where-LOC 2SgS sit-PRES
'Where do you live (lit. sit)?'

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[1] In fast speech this is pronounced [wʌḍʌːɾi].

(32) waḍayari-ø yini wapa-yi

where-LOC 2SgS go-PRES

'Where are you going?'

The stem forming affix -l̪a CHAR (see 4.2.2) may be used with waḍayari as in:

(33) waḍayari-l̪a yini pinaṟu-ø-ya

where-CHAR 2SgS old man-ABS-NEAR

'Where are you from old man?' (3;24)

The waḍa part of this interrogative also occurs in the interrogative determiners (4.4.3) (see also (4) below).

In Ngamini the interrogative spatial location nominal is waḍa 'where', which takes the usual singular common noun case suffixes i.e. -mu LOC, -ŋka ALL and -ŋundu SCE. So, for example, Ngamini has the following morphological contrast where Diyari has none:

(31′) waḍa-mu yini ŋama-yi

where-LOC 2SgS sit-PRES

'Where do you live?'

(32′) waḍa-ŋka yini wapa-yi

where-ALL 2SgS go-PRES

'Where are you going?'

(3) the interrogative temporal location nominal (4.2.7.2) has only been recorded in locative case function where its form is wiṉt̪a 'when'. An example of its use is:

(34) winta nawu pali-yi

when SgnFS die-PRES

'When did he die?' (7;28)

I have been unable to elicit allative or source case forms, that is 'until when' and 'since when', despite numerous attempts to do so[1].

There is a further interrogative based on winta, namely wintaranaya 'for how long?', which elicits one of the adverbial adjectives or noun plus adjective combinations (5.1.3). An example of its use is:

(35) wintaranaya yini wapa-la ŋana-yi

how long 2SgS go-FUT AUX-PRES

"How long will you go for?"

(4) the adjective waḍaruɲta 'how many?' is the interrogative eliciting a numerical response (see 4.2.9). Since waḍaruɲta always occurs clause initially (5.1.7.4) it is never case marked when used with a noun (which always follows it and takes the case marking). So, for example, we find:

(36) waḍaruɲta kupa-ali yinaŋa ŋayi-ṇa wara-yi

how many child-ERG 2SgO see-PART AUX-PRES

'How many children saw you?'

---

[1] Attempts to elicit these forms invariably resulted in the informants rephrasing the question so that just winta would be used. So, for example, "since when have you lived in Marree?" would produce a response which translates into English as "when did you come to Marree?".

(see also example (14) above).

If the noun phrase consists of just the adjective (5.1.1.2) then waḍaṟuɳʈa is case marked in the usual way with the singular common noun suffixes (4.2.4.2), as in:

(37) waḍaṟuɳʈa-ali yinaɳa ɳayi-ṇa wara-yi
how many-ERG 2SgO see-PART AUX-PRES
'How many saw you?'

Notice that waḍaṟuɳʈa can be analysed as the interrogative determiner waḍaṟu 'how' plus the stem forming affix -ɳʈa NUMBER (4.2.2 and 4.2.9).

4.2.9 Numerals

There are three basic numeral adjectives in Diyari :

kuṇu	'one'
mandřu	'two'
pařkulu	'three'

Ngamini and Yarluyandi have only two basic numeral adjectives, with 'three' being expressed by a combination of 'two' plus 'one':

	Ngamini	Yarluyandi
one	ŋuɳara	kuɳa
two	pařkuna	pařkulu
three	pařkuna ŋuɳara	pařkulu kuɳa

pařkulu for 'two' also occurs in Yandruwandha, Yawarawarga, and Arabana-Wangganguru (1.1.5).

In Diyari the three basic numerals may be combined for exact enumeration above three. Thus, we have:

4. mandřu mandřu
5. mandřu mandřu kuṇu
6. pařkulu pařkulu

and so on. Informants also described a system of enumeration involving the basic numerals and also:

maṛa	'hand, finger(s)'
ṯina	'foot, toe(s)'
wařa	'half, one side'
pařʈaṇa	'all'

These words are combined to give specification up to twenty with typical examples being:

5. maṛa wařa
6. maṛa wařa ya kuṇu
10. maṛa pařʈaṇa
13. maṛa pařʈaṇa ya pařkulu
15. maṛa pařʈaṇa ya maṛa wařa
20. maṛa (pařʈaṇa) ya ṯina pařʈaṇa

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

20. puṯa mandřu maṛa pařʈaṇa (X 2 10)

Combinations higher than twenty are rarely needed but can be formed along similar lines, thirty, for example, being:

30. puṯa paṟkulu maṛa paṟṯaṇa

The lower numerals were used to specify periods of time between events (such as ceremonies) or the number of human beings, particularly children, in a family or group. They, like the set of Walbiri indefinite determiners described by Hale [nd], do not seem to have been used "as a whole ... in counting". The system of English numbers is now replacing these numerals, especially in the speech of younger people.

There are only two simple ordinal numeral adjectives:

ŋupaṛa 'first'
ŋaḍa 'next'

An example of the adjectival use of ŋupaṛa is (120) below, their adverbial use is described at 5.1.3. The addition of the stem forming affix -yiṯa HABIT (4.2.2) to these adjectives forms the nouns:

ŋupaṛayiṯa 'the first one'
ŋaḍayiṯa 'the next one'

Both these and the ordinals inflect as for singular common nouns (4.2.4.2).

There are four Diyari adjectives which provide quantification of the reference of the head noun with which they occur:

paḷpa 'some'
paṟṯaṇa 'all' (paṟṯaṇḍa in Dhirari)
marapu 'many' (used with count nouns)
piṇa 'much' (used with non-count nouns).

An example of their use is:

(38) ŋani kaṇa paḷpa-ni yaṯa-ṇa wara-yi
1SgS person some-LOC speak-PART AUX-PRES
'I spoke to some of the people'.

Notice that marapu 'many' is used with count nouns, that is, those which can refer to individuals while piṇa is used with non-count or mass nouns such as ŋapa 'water'. This contrast is discussed in more detail at 5.1.3.1 below.

paṟʧaṇa (and paṟʧaṇḍa in Dhirari) is derived from the transitive verb root (class 2D) paṟʧa- meaning (approximately) 'to involve all'. The exact meaning of paṟʧa- is determined by the context so:

(39) ṯanali putu ŋakaṇi-ø paṟʧa-ṇa wara-yi
P1A thing 1SgGEN-ABS involve all-PART AUX-PRES

can mean 'They stole/took/ate all my things', depending upon the situation being described. paṟʧaṇa/paṟʧaṇḍa is formally the PARTicipial of paṟʧa- (see 4.5.5). I have set it up as an independent adjective however because no other PART form of a verb can occur with a case affix. An example of the use of paṟʧaṇa inflected for case is:

(40) kupa paṟʧaṇa-ali ŋaṉa ṉayi-ya
child all-ERG 1SgO see-PAST
'All the children saw me'.

Adverbial degree numerals are expressed in Diyari by the combination puṯa 'number of times' plus a simple number (see above) or a qualifier. An example is:

(41) ŋani puṯa marapu wapa-ṇa wara-yi
1SgS times many go-PART AUX-PRES
'I went many times'.

The syntax of this construction is discussed at 5.1.3.2 below.

4.2.10 Reduplication

Reduplication of nominal (and verbal (4.5.2)) roots involves the repetition of the first CV(C)CV element. Reduplicated roots contain a phonological word boundary after the reduplicated element (see 3.4). Reduplication has two functions with nominal roots:

a) when applied to noun roots it produces a root meaning 'a small or diminutive token' of the thing referred to by the root. Consider the following examples:

Reduplicated Root		Root	
kiṉtakiṉtala	'doggy, puppy, little dog'	kiṉtala	'dog'
mankamankaña	'little girl'	mankaña	'girl'
wiḻawiḻapina	'little old woman'	wiḻapina	'old woman'
maḍamaḍa	'small stone'	maḍa	'stone, rock'
piṭapiṭa	'small tree'	piṭa	'tree'
kalukalumpa	'small clover'	kalumpa	'clover'

b) when applied to adjectives it increases the intensity or degree of the quality expressed by the adjective root. Some examples are the following:

Reduplicated Root		Root	
wakawaka	'tiny'	waka	'small, little'
kuṇḍikuṇḍi	'crooked'	kuṇḍi	'bent'
paṭipaṭi	'mad, stupid'	paṭi	'silly'
ḍuñuḍuñu	'dumpy'	ḍuñu	'hemispherical'

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. Some examples are:

'willy wag tail' [*Rhipidura leucophrys*]	ṯindñiṯindñi	*ṯindñi
'spurwing plover' [*Lobibyx novae-hollandiae*]	ṯañuṯañu	*ṯañu
'galah' [*Cacatua roseicapilla*]	kilankila	*kila(n)
'dotterel type' [sp.?]	mutimuti	*muti
'night hawk' [sp.?]	kuḍakuḍa	*kuḍa
'peewit' [*Grallina cyanoleuca*]	maḽṯimaḽṯi	c.f. maḽṯi 'cool'
'blue long tailed wren' [sp.?]	kuʧikuʧi	c.f. kuʧi 'devil'

There is also one plant name which is reduplicated:

'plant type' [*Euphorbia Drummondii*]	ŋamaŋama	c.f. ŋama 'breast, milk'

4.3 MORPHOLOGY OF PRONOUNS

There are two sets of personal pronouns in Diyari; the personal pronouns proper and a small group of special relationship forms (see 4.1.2, 4.3.1). The latter occur only in the dual absolutive but the former have full paradigms for all case functions (5.1.5). There are also interrogative pronouns covering human referent noun phrases (5.1.1.2).

4.3.1 Special Relationship Pronouns

The set of Diyari special relationship pronouns was first recorded by 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-Wangganguru forms as a prompting mechanism). They never occur in any of the text material I have collected and I have not heard them used by informants in ordinary conversation. The forms of the pronouns are suspicious, especially the vowel initial second person entries[1], suggesting that they may be recent borrowings from Arabana-Wangganguru (which all present day Diyari speakers know as a second language (see 1.1.5, 1.1.7)) c.f. the forms given for these languages in Hercus and White (1973).

The full set of special relationship pronouns is given in the following Table:

TABLE 19: SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP PRONOUNS (DUAL ABSOLUTIVE)

Person	Same Moiety	Different Moiety
First	ŋalanṯa	ŋalilakiya
Second	ampalanṯa	ampalakiya
Third	pulalanṯa	pulalakiya

[1] All other words in Diyari begin with a consonant (see 3.5).

There are also a number of birth order names in Diyari similar in some ways to those recorded by Hercus and White (1973) for Adnyamathanha and Guyani (see 1.1.5). The Diyari terms are morphologically analysable:

first child	ŋaparayiʈa	'first-HABIT'
second child	ʈati mandřu	'middle two'
successive children	ŋaḍayiʈa	'next-HABIT'
last child	ŋama muḍani	'milk finish-NOM'

The existence of these names and the special pronouns provides some evidence that Diyari and Dhirari were on the edge of a large cultural diffusion area (see 1.1.5 and Austin, Ellis and Hercus (1976)).

4.3.2 Other Pronouns

Other Diyari pronouns are specified by person, either first or second, and number, either singular, dual or plural. In singular these pronouns distinguish the three syntactic functions of S, A and O (5.1.5 and see (a) nouns under 4.2.4 above) but in the dual and plural S and A are collapsed as 'subject' versus O 'object'. That is, the non-singulars are morphologically NOMinative-ACCusative. Split case marking systems of this type are described by Silverstein (1976), including the Dhirari set.

In the first person dual and plural a distinction is made between inclusive, that is, including speaker and addressee(s), and exclusive, that is, excluding the addressee(s) as in many Australian languages (see Dixon (1972: 5)).

The pronouns occur in all case functions except that (see also 4.2.4.2):

TABLE 20 : FIRST AND SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

Number	Person	Transitive Subject	Intransitive Subject	Transitive Object	GEN/BEN PURP	ALL/LOC	SCE
SINGULAR	1st	ŋaṯu	ŋani	ŋaṉa	ŋakaṇi	ŋakaŋu	ŋakaŋundřu
	2nd	yundřu	yini	yinaṉa	yiŋkaṇi	yiŋkaŋu	yiŋkaŋundřu
DUAL	1st incl	ŋaldřa		ŋaldřaṉa	ŋaldřaṇi	ŋaldřaŋu	ŋaldřaŋundřu
	1st excl	ŋali		ŋaliṉa	ŋaliṇi	ŋaliŋu	ŋaliŋundřu
	2nd	yula		yulaṉa	yulaṇi	yulaŋu	yulaŋundřu
PLURAL	1st incl.	ŋayana		ŋayanaṉa	ŋayanaṇi	ŋayanaŋu	ŋayanaŋundřu
	1st excl.	ŋayani		ŋayaniṉa	ŋayaniṇi	ŋayaniŋu	ŋayaniŋundřu
	2nd	yura		yuraṉa	yuraṇi	yuraŋu	yuraŋundřu

a) ALLative and LOCative are realized by one form

b) GENitive is the same form as BENefactive and PURPosive

Table 20 lists the various case forms[1]:

In fast speech we find that:

a) 2SgO yinaɳa is often reduced to yiɳa

b) the combination 1SgA ŋaʈu followed by 2SgO is often run together as ŋaʈiɳa.

No other reductions have been observed.

The forms in Table 20 can be analysed into a root followed by a case suffix:

Root	First Person Inclusive	First Person Exclusive	Second Person
Singular	ŋa-(ka)-		yin-(ŋka)-
Dual	ŋaldřa-	ŋali-[2]	yula-
Plural	ŋayana-	ŋayani-	yura-

NOTE: The longer base in the Singular is for SCE, ALL/LOC and GEN/BEN/PURP only. For second singular n does not occur when followed by another nasal.

Case Suffixes

Singular Intransitive Subject	-ni
Singular Transitive Subject	-ʈu ~ dřu (after n)
Transitive object	-ɳa

---

1 There is some comparative evidence that 1SgS may be ŋaɳi. Ngamini, Yarluyandi and Yandruwandha (1.1.5) have ŋaɲi for this form, while Arabana (Hercus (pers. comm.)) has aɳʈa. Unfortunately, these data came to my attention after completing my last fieldtrip so I was unable to cross-check the Diyari and Dhirari forms. I will continue to write it as ŋani.

2 ŋali is usually the form found for first person dual inclusive in Australian languages (Dixon (1972: 6)). The occurrence of ŋali as first person dual exclusive is common throughout the languages of the Lake Eyre basin (1.1.5).

Case Suffixes contd

GEN/BEN/PURP	-ŋi
LOC/ALL	-ŋu
SCE	-ŋundr̃u

Compare the case suffixes given here with those found with Female Proper nouns and non-singular common nouns (4.2.4.2). The Transitive Object marker -n̪a is clearly a reflex of *N̪a (Dixon (1970)) also found with these two types of nominal.

4.3.3 Double Case Marked Pronouns

The Genitive case pronouns of Table 20 above typically follow the possessed head noun[1] in a noun phrase (see 5.1.1.2) and hence are marked for case according to the syntactic function of the NP within the clause (5.1.5). The usual singular common noun suffixes are attached to the GEN pronoun (with concomitant neutralization of the final vowel to /a/ see 3.4) as illustrated in the following examples:

(42) n̪awu-ya ŋama-yi ŋura yiŋkaṇi-ni
SgnFS-NEAR sit-PRES camp 2SgGEN-LOC
'He's sitting in your camp'.

(43) wapa-a-ni-mayi yiŋkaṇi-ya
go-IMP-NM-EMPH 2SgGEN-GOAL
'Go away (you all) to your own (place)'.

[1] Where there is no head noun, as in (43), the GEN pronoun must be case marked.

Dh. (44) ṉuwa ŋakaṇi-ali ŋaṉa waraṛa-ṇda puři-yi
spouse 1SgGEN-ERG 1SgO leave-PART AUX-PRES
'My wife left me'.

4.3.4 Interrogative Pronoun

The interrogative pronoun 'who?' ranging over the class of pronouns and nouns with human reference (for other animates and non-animates see 4.2.8) has an inflectional paradigm similar to that of the pronouns described above (see 4.3.2) but differs in that S and O have one form, ABSolutive, as against A, ERGative. The LOC/ALL and GEN/BEN/PURP forms are similar to the pronouns rather than singular common nouns which have the ABS-ERG paradigm also. The interrogative forms are:

TABLE 21: INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

ABSolutive	waṛaṉa
ERGative	waḷi
LOC/ALL	waṛaŋu
GEN/BEN	waṇi
SCE	waṛaŋundřu

Examples of the use of some of these forms are:

(45) waḷi yiṉa ṇandřa-ṇa wara-yi
who-ERG 2SgO hit-PART AUX-PRES
'Who hit you?'.

(46) waṛaɳa yini

who-ABS 2SgS

'Who are you?'.

(47) waṇi ɳawu-ya puŋa-ø

who-GEN SgnFS-NEAR humpy-ABS

'Whose humpy is this?'.

These interrogatives may also be used as indefinites (see also 4.2.8) in which they need not occur in clause initial position (5.1.7.4). So, for example, we have:

(48) ɳani yaṯa-ṇa wara-yi waṛaŋundr̃u

SgFS speak-PART AUX-PRES who-SCE

'She was talking about someone'.

When used as indefinites the forms in Table 21 above may occur with the post-inflection suffix -ya DUBiative (see also 4.2.8). So, for example, (45) which could also mean 'Someone hit you' can be disambiguated as follows:

(49) waḷi-ya yiɳa ṇandr̃a-ṇa wara-yi

who-ERG-DUB 2SgO hit-PART AUX-PRES

'Someone hit you'.

The form waṛaɳaya is used by informants when the name of some particular person is temporarily forgotten. This usage is similar to English "what's-his-name" and like expressions.

4.4 MORPHOLOGY OF DETERMINERS

There are two types of determiners in Diyari (see 4.1.3), predicate determiners and nominal determiners. The former have an adverbial function (described at 5.1.3.3) while the latter are used ad-nominally and indicate definiteness and gender and number of the head noun with which they occur in a noun phrase (see 5.1.1.2 and 5.1.7.3). If there is no head noun nominal determiners have anaphoric reference and translate as third person pronouns in English. Both sorts of determiner occur with one of the deictic suffixes (see discussion below).

4.4.1 Nominal Determiners

Nominal determiners are specified for the number, either singular, dual or plural and, in the singular, for the gender of the referent of the noun with which they occur or to which they anaphorically refer. Gender is determined by natural sex distinctions into one of two classes:

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

Non-Feminine - all others, that is, all male animates, all non-female animates, all non-sexed animates and all inanimates.

'Feminine' is clearly the marked term of the system[1] as 'Non-Feminine' is

[1] The concept of markedness was first developed by members of the Prague School with respect to phonology, especially Trubetzkoy (1969: Chapter 3). It was introduced into syntax and semantic theory by Jakobson (1939) (see also Comrie (1976: Chapter 6)).

used unless the referent must be explicitly specified as female.

In the dual and plural the gender distinction is not overtly expressed in the form of the determiners.

Nominal determiners agree in case (4.2.4, 5.1.5) with the noun with which they occur or, if used anaphorically, according to their function in the clause in which they occur (5.1.5). There is a full paradigm of forms for each case function. There are separate forms for each of the S, A and O functions (see 4.2.4.1) with typical endings:

-ɨi ERG in non-singular

-ŋa ACC in all numbers.

As we saw with pronouns (4.3.2), the LOC and ALL cases (5.1.5.5, 5.1.5.7) are realized as a single form. Similarly, GEN, BEN and PURP have one realization (5.1.5.8, 5.1.5.9, 5.1.5.10). The common endings together with SCE are:

-ŋu for LOC/ALL

-ŋ̣i for GEN/BEN/PURP

-ŋundr̃u for SCE.

INSTrumental case is expressed by the same form as ERGative (A or Transitive Subject). The full set of nominal determiners is:

TABLE 22 : NOMINAL DETERMINERS

NUMBER	GENDER	TRANSITIVE SUBJECT/INST	INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT	TRANSITIVE OBJECT	GEN/BEN/ PURP	LOC/ALL	SCE
SINGULAR	Feminine	ɳandřu	ɳani	ɳaɳa	ɳaŋkaṇi	ɳaŋkaŋu	ɳaŋkaŋundřu
	Non-Feminine	ɳulu	ɳawu	ɳiɳa	ɳuŋkaṇi	ɳuŋkaŋu	ɳuŋkaŋundřu
DUAL		pulali	pula	pulaɳa	pulaṇi	pulaŋu	pulaŋundřu
PLURAL		ʈanali	ʈana	ʈanaɳa	ʈanaṇi	ʈanaŋu	ʈanaŋundřu

Notice that the Diyari bases:

ɲan- Feminine

ɲu- Non-Feminine

seem also to occur in Yandruwandha, Ngamini and Yarluyandi. Bandjalang (N.S.W.) has (Crowley (1977)) the third person pronouns:

3sgmasc ɲule

fem ɲa:ngan

where -gan is a productive feminine suffix.

The forms given in Table 22 may take one of the deictic suffixes described below (4.4.2). Examples of their use are also given there (examples (53) to (55)).

4.4.2 Predicate Determiners and Deictic Suffixes

There are two predicate determiners in Diyari:

yani- 'like this'

yaṛu- 'like that'

which have adverbial function (5.1.3.3). These two roots are always followed by one of the following suffixes:

-ya, NEAR - indicates some action or event in the immediate context, either linguistic or non-linguistic.

-ka, TOKEN - indicates one of a number of different alternatives is being singled out by the speaker.

-paña, THERE - this seems to be the least marked of the suffixes. I am not sure of its exact semantic effect or its contrast with

the other two.

These suffixes may in turn be (optionally) followed by one of the clitics described at 5.4 below, especially -ldřa ADDitional information and -maṯa IDENTified (5.4.3, 5.4.4).

The suffix -ka, which is one of the morphological characteristics distinguishing determiners as a word class (see 4.1.3), is interesting in that it refers to a particular token of a type of action or event. The following is an example of its use with yaṛu- (the anaphoric function of this determiner are discussed at 5.1.3.3), from Text 1 (Appendix A). The example concerns a young boy who is foiled in his attempts to get something to eat by the actions of his brother-in-law:

(50) [ŋaḍa-ni ṉuŋkaṇi kaḍi-ø maṛa-ø wlři-yi /
then-LOC SgnFGEN ZH-ABS hand-ABS enter-PRES
ḍukaṛa-l̪a ṉuŋkaŋundřu maṇa-ndřu /]
take out-IMPL$_{ss}$ SgnFSCE mouth-SCE
yaṛu-ka ṉawu kanku-ø mawa-ali ŋana-yi
like that-SUBSET SgnFS boy-ABS hunger-INST be-PRES
'[*Then his brother-in-law's hand went in and took out (the food) from his mouth*]. *Thus the boy was hungry*'. (1;39-40).

Other examples of these determiners are:

(51) kanku-ali wata yani-ya ṯayi-ŋaṉṯu ŋaṉṯi
boy-ERG not like this-NEAR eat-IMPL$_{ds}$ meat
waka-ø
small-ABS
'*Boys should not eat small animals like this*'. (1;22)

(52) ŋanɨ yanɨ-paɽa muḍa-yɨ
SgFS like this-THERE finish-PRES
'She finished like this'.

The nominal determiners also occur with -ka TOKEN (indicating a subset of possible referents) and -paɽa (whose status is unclear) but -ya NEAR contrasts with the following suffixes which are not attached to the predicate determiners:

-ḍa , VICIN - indicates a referent in the immediate vicinity of the speaker
[-ya , NEAR - indicates a referent near the speaker]
-wa , DIST - indicates a referent distant from the speaker.

Notice that these three suffixes occur as distance markers attached to the location nominal ŋiŋki- 'here' before the local case suffixes are attached (see 4.2.7). With nominal determiners they indicate the relative distance from the speaker of the referent of the noun cross-referenced or anaphorically referred to by the determiner.

The clitics described at 5.4 may occur after any of these deictic suffixes. Some examples of the use of suffixed determiners are:

(53) ŋandɽu-ka ŋaŋa ŋandɽa-ṇa wara-yi ŋulu-ya
SgFA-TOKEN 1SgO hit-PART AUX-PRES SgnF INST-NEAR
piṭa-ali
stick-INST
'She (one of a group) hit me with this stick (here)'.

(54) ayi! ɳawu-ḍa-maʈa-awu!

Hey SgnFS-VICIN-IDENT-EXCLAM

'Hey, this is him here!'.

(55) ɳuŋkaŋu-wa ŋaʈu ɳayi-ɳayi-yi / ʈuřu-ø

SgnFLOC-DIST 1SgA REDUP-see-PRES fire-ABS

yařki-yařki-ʈaři-ṇani

REDUP-burn-DUR-REL$_{ds}$

'Over that way I watched the fire burning'. (1;109)

4.4.3 Interrogative Determiners

There are two types of interrogative determiners:

a) interrogative predicate determiner, which has one form:

waḍaṛu 'how'

as in the example:

(56) waḍaṛu ŋaldřa ŋanka-yi?

how 1Dlincl A make-PRES

'How shall we do it?'. (7;34)

b) interrogative nominal determiners which have a periphrastic construction consisting of the invariable word waḍa (WH) followed by the appropriate nominal determiner[1]. These are usually translated as "which" in English. When the referent of the head

[1] waḍa occurs in a number of interrogatives including waḍaṛu 'how' and waḍayari 'where' - see also the comparative note under 4.2.8 section (2) above (page 137).

noun is human there is a preference expressed by informants for waḷi+DET in the ERGative case form (c.f. the interrogative pronoun waḷi 4.3.4) as in:

(57) waḷi pulali yinaṉa ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi?
who D1A 2SgO see-PART AUX-PRES
'Which two (people) saw you?'.

In all other cases, waḍa+DET is used, as the following examples show:

(58) waḍa ṉuŋkaŋu kaṇa-ni yini yaṯa-ṇa wara-yi?
WH SgnFLOC person-LOC 2SgS speak-PART AUX-PRES
'Which man did you talk to?'.

(59) waḍa ṉulu piṭa-ali pula ṯiři-mali-yi
WH SgnFINSTstick-INST D1S fight-RECIP-PRES
'Which stick did they fight with?'.

In order to ask 'What?' the interrogative nominal miṉa is employed in one of its case forms (see 4.2.8).

As with all interrogatives of this type (see 5.1.7.4) both waḍaṛu and waḍa+DET (or waḷi+DET) must occur in clause initial position.

4.5 MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS

4.5.1 Verb Types

As noted above (4.1.4), there is a class of words in Diyari and Dhirari which inflect for tense or mood (see 4.5.4.4) and which may be termed 'verbs'. Verbs may be sub-categorized into two groups, 'main verbs' and 'non-main or AUXiliary verbs'. The criteria for making such a division were mentioned in (4.1.4). They are:

a) Main Verbs may be marked for aspect (4.5.4.2) and occur in all clause types containing a non-stative predicate (5.1.2).

b) Non-Main (or AUXiliary) Verbs are homophonous with certain other main verb roots (see 4.5.7.2) but are never marked with any of the stem forming affixes (4.5.4). AUX verbs cannot occur in IMPLicated subordinate clauses (5.2.1). Their morphology is described at 4.5.7 below.

Note that Main Verbs have a lexical (semantic) meaning whereas AUX Verbs have a tense or modal function only (4.5.7). Main Verbs are also sub-categorized for the case roles of the NPs which occur in the clause with them (4.5.3, 5.1.5) whereas AUX Verbs are not.

For purposes of description we will require the following terms defined for both dialects as:

Root - a verb root is the simple, unaffixed form of the verb

entered in the lexicon[1]

Stem - a verb stem consists of a verb root followed by one or more of the (optional) stem forming affixes (4.5.4) to which an inflectional affix will be attached (4.5.5). If no stem forming affixes are selected by the speaker then stem and root will coincide.

Word - a verb word consists of a verb stem plus one of the inflectional affixes (4.5.5).

A verb phrase constituent in the Diyari dialect (see 5.1.1.1) consists of one, two or three main verbs (for sequences of main verbs see 4.5.6) followed (optionally) by one of the non-Main (or AUX) Verbs. The Dhirari dialect is slightly different in that the puṟi- AUX is obligatory (see 1.1.4 and 4.5.7.1) and may itself be followed (optionally) by one of the other AUX verbs (4.5.7.2).

4.5.2 Reduplication

Reduplication involves the repetition of the first CV(C)CV of the element to be reduplicated (see 3.4). The reduplication of a verb root has one of two semantic effects:

a) with 'punctual' verbs it makes the action described iterative, that is, repeated a number of times. Consider the following

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[1] It may be claimed that verb roots, which always occur suffixed in ordinary speech, nevertheless do have some psychological reality for speakers of Diyari. (Sapir (1949: 46) discusses the concept of "psychological reality" in relation to phonology). Any verb which occurs in one of the corroboree songs (see Appendix B) consists of the (uninflected) root only, suggesting that the notion of a verb root has some motivation outside of a descriptive framework.

examples[1]:

Reduplicated Root		Root	
ɳandr̃aɳandr̃a-	'to hit repeatedly, knock about'	ɳandr̃a-	'to hit, strike'
ɖakaɖaka-	'to pierce repeatedly, to peck'	ɖaka-	'to pierce, stab'
kuǀkukuǀkuŋa-	'to jump about repeatedly, jump up and down'	kuǀkuŋa-	'to jump'

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

Reduplicated Root		Root	
ŋamaŋama-	'to be sitting (for some time)'	ŋama-	'to sit'
yaʈayaʈa-	'to converse'	yaʈa-	'to speak'
n̪ayin̪ayi-	'to watch'	n̪ayi-	'to see, look'
ŋaɽaŋaɽa-	'to listen'	ŋaɽa-	'to hear, listen'

These semantic effects of reduplication tie in closely with the aspectual uses of -ʈar̃i- DURative described below (4.5.4.2).

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[1] Roots and uninflected stems are cited with a following hyphen indicating that an inflectional affix is to be added (4.5.5).

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 inherently reduplicated roots (together with corresponding unreduplicated roots) are the following (for 'transitivity' see 4.5.3):

Intransitive			
palipali-	'to drown'	pali-	'to die'
kuṯikuṯi-	'to deny (doing something)'	kuṯi	'to hide'
kuŋkakuŋka-	'to grunt'	kuŋka-	'to limp'

Transitive			
kaña̱kaña̱-	'to feel'	kaña̱-	'to tie (up)'
ḏawaḏawa-	'to prevent[1]'	ḏawa-	'to hunt away'
warawarapa-	'to disparage, run someone down'	warapa-	'to relate (a story)'

There is one pair in the corpus which differ in transitivity:

Transitive		Intransitive	
kaña̱kakaña̱ka-	'to ask (someone), invite (someone)'	kaña̱ka-	'to call out, shout'

The reduplication of nominal roots is described at 4.2.10 above.

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[1] This verb takes an $IMPL_{ds}$ complement (5.2.1.6.2) whose subject (S or A NP) is coreferential with the main clause object (O NP).

4.5.3 Main Verbs

All main verb roots are strictly sub-categorized (Chomsky (1965: 95)) into one of three (mutually exclusive) classes according to their inherent 'transitivity':

a) Intransitive roots which occur in clauses containing an NP in S function (see 5.1) coded as NOMinative or ABSolutive case (4.2.4). Intransitive roots cannot take the stem forming affixes -ʈaɽi- REFLexive, -mali- RECIProcal or -ipa- ALTruistic (see 4.5.4.1.2, 4.5.4.2).

b) Transitive roots which occur in clauses containing an NP in A function (coded as ERGative case (4.2.4)) and one NP marked for O function (coded as ACCusative or ABSolutive (4.2.4)) as described at 5.1 below. Transitive roots may form intransitive stems by the addition of various suffixes (4.5.4.1.2).

c) Di-Transitive roots which occur in clauses containing an NP in A function and two NPs marked for O function (5.1). The two O NPs can, however, be distinguished syntactically as shown at 5.1.9 below. Di-Transitive roots may take the 'de-transitizing' stem forming affixes (4.5.4.1.2). There are four Di-Transitive verbs in the corpus:

yiŋki-	'to give something to someone'
wandɽa-	'to show something to someone'
ŋaɳʈa-	'to call by a kinship term'
ḍika-	'to call by a name, to name'

4.5.3.1 Classification of Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verb roots, as defined above, may be classified into five mutually exclusive groups according to their occurrence with the transitivizing affixes (see 4.5.4.1.1) -lka-, -ipa[1]- and -ma. The five groups (numbered 1 (for intransitive) A to E) have the characteristics set out in Table 23. Notice that no verb root occurs with both the -ma- transitivizer and either of the other two transitivizing suffixes.

This classification is morphological (and syntactic) but we may recognize the following semantic characteristics of each class:

a) Class 1A roots are basically verbs of rest or motion[2] which take an 'actor' as their S NP (see 5.1.5).

b) Class 1B roots are also verbs of rest or motion (see Table 27).

c) Class 1C roots are a mixed group semantically but all seem to take a semantic 'experiencer' (Fillmore (1968), Chafe (1970), Foley (1976)) as their S NP. So, for example, we have pañawaṛa- 'to be drunk', puṇka- 'to grow', ŋampi- 'to wear a belt' and ŋañupaṛa- 'to be surprised'.

d) Class 1D roots are a very heterogeneous group which seem to share little in common semantically. The S NP for this class ranges from 'actor' with yaṯa- 'to speak' to 'experiencer' with wanpi-

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[1] The -ipa- aspectual affix homophonous with this transitivizer cannot be added to intransitive roots as noted above (see also 4.5.4 below).

[2] There are three roots which do not seem to be semantically rest or motion verbs. They are:

kipaṛa-	'to urinate (on)'
kuna-	'to defecate (on)'
yindña-	'to cry (for)'

For other examples see Table 27 below.

TABLE 23 : INTRANSITIVE VERB CLASSES

CLASS	-lka-	-ipa-	-ma-	EXAMPLE	
1A	+	-	-	wapa-	'to go'
1B	+	+	-	ṯarŕka-	'to stand'
1C	-	+	-	puṇka-	'to grow'
1D	-	-	-	yaṯa-	'to speak'
1E	-	-	+	pali-	'to die'

'to have an erection' to 'patient' (Chafe (1970), Foley (1976)) with warlwarl- 'to die of thirst'. Note that 1D roots are defined negatively as those roots not taking any transitivizer. Despite repeated checking over a number of years it may be possible that some roots identified as 1D here should be included in one of the other classes[1].

e) Class 1E roots are a small homogenous set (see Table 29) which take a semantic 'patient' as their S noun phrase. (Foley (1976:158) discusses A- and P- verbs in Fijian). They cannot be inflected for the IMPerative mood (4.5.7.1.1), unless the clause in which they occur also contains the negative particle wata 'not' (5.5.1), and do not take 'aspectual affixes' (see 4.5.4.2).

A survey of the 250 verb roots encountered by November 1977 revealed the following figures and percentages:

TABLE 24: INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Class	Number	% of Intransitives	% of Total Verbs
1A	24	18.3	9.6
1B	4	3.1	1.6
1C	24	18.3	9.6
1D	74	56.5	29.6
1E	5	3.8	2.0
TOTAL	131	100.0	52.4

[1] I found that informants quickly tired of the sort of questioning necessary to define these roots, that is whether the root occurs with one or more of the transitivizers. Some of the less common roots only encountered and (defined as 1D) in elicitation could conceivably take a transitivizer under other circumstances.

The number of intransitive verbs in Diyari is rather high at 131 and 52.4% of the total when compared with other Australian languages. Yidiny (Dixon (1977: 207), for example, has 112 intransitive verbs of a total of 293 or 38.2%, while Dyirbal and Walbiri (Dixon (pers. comm.)) have about 35% intransitive verbs. In Diyari the productivity of the -lka-, -lpa- and -ma- affixes (see 4.5.4.1) means that there are many more transitive stems than there are transitive roots.

4.5.3.2 Classification of Transitive Verbs

Transitive verb roots, as defined at 4.5.3 above, may be classified into five mutually exclusive groups according to their occurrence with the de-transitivizer -ṯaṙi- and the syntactic and semantic effects of the addition of this affix (that is, the syntactic frame of the resulting stem (see 4.5.4.1.2)). The five groups are given in Table 25 (numbered 2 (for transitive) A to E):

TABLE 25 : TRANSITIVE VERB CLASSES

Class	-ṯaṙi-	Semantic/Syntactic Effect	Examples	
2A	+	reflexive	ṇandṙa-	'to hit'
2B	+	A → S, O → LOC	kaḷka-	'to await'
2C	+	A → S, O → O	ṯayi-	'to eat'
2D	+	O → S, A → LOC/INST	ṯiṉṯa-	'to lose'
2E	-	[no -ṯaṙi-]	yuḷka-	'to swallow'

A count of 250 verb roots revealed the following figures and percentages for each transitive class:

TABLE 26 : TRANSITIVE VERBS

Class	Number	% of Transitives	% of Total Verbs
2A	29	25.2	11.6
2B	8	7.0	3.2
2C	5	4.3	2.0
2D	17	14.8	6.8
2E	56	48.7	22.4
TOTAL	115	100.0	46.0

Combining the totals of Tables 24 and 26 with the four di-transitive verbs gives the following:

Class	Number	% of Total
1	131	52.4
2	115	46.0
3	4	1.6
TOTAL	250	100.0

4.5.3.3 Compound Main Verbs

There is one verb root in the corpus which is not a simple monomorphemic root like those discussed above (4.5.3). It is the transitive compound root (of class 2A)[1]:

wa!pa + ḍaka- Vtr 'to roll up'

which we can analyse as:

[1] I will use + to indicate that the root is a compound, continuing to use - at the boundary between the root and any suffix following it.

wa!pa- Vtr (2A) 'to cover over'

ḍaka- Vtr (2A) 'to pierce, stab'

There are nine four syllable verb roots which appear, phonologically (see 3.6 - these roots are stressed on the first and third syllable) to be compounds. None is synchronically analysable. The roots are:

maṛaŋuka- (2E) 'to help' but c.f. maṛa- 'hand'
ŋuka- 'to mix'

ŋuyawaka- (2E) 'to prevent'

ŋandřawa!ka- (2D) 'to stop up, close'

wařkamandřa- (2D) 'to tie up, tangle' c.f. mandřa-'to grasp'

kuruṯařa- (1D) 'to forget'

ŋařaka!i- (1D) 'to become warm in the morning (e.g. standing round a fire)'

ŋunaŋana- (1D) 'to wave goodbye' c.f. ŋuna-'arm'

pařawaṛa- (1C) 'to be intoxicated[1]'

ŋařupaṛa- (1C) 'to be surprised'

All other four syllable roots are inherent reduplications (4.5.2). Other verb roots are of two or three syllables (3.3.1 for 'syllable')[2].

4.5.4 Stem Forming (Derivational) Affixes

There are a number of verb derivational affixes which may (optionally)

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[1] This verb seems to have been used originally only in reference to the narcotic plant piṯiři *(Duboisia Hopwoodii* - see 1.1.5) but has been extended to include intoxication or drunkenness from alcohol (kupula- see footnote page 106).

[2] As pointed out above (footnote page 121) there are no common noun roots in Diyari of more than four syllables. A similar limitation on root length (excluding inherently reduplicated roots) seems to hold for main verbs also.

be suffixed to a verb root to produce a verb stem. These affixes are of two basic types; those which affect transitivity (see 4.5.3 and 5.1.5) and those which do not affect transitivity. These latter are sometimes termed "aspectual affixes" (Blake and Dixon (nd:23), Donaldson (1977: 220)[1]).

4.5.4.1 Affixes affecting Transitivity

There are five bound morphemes which produce a verb stem differing in transitivity from the root to which they are suffixed. These five affixes fall into two separate categories, those which produce a transitive stem from an intransitive root (which we can term 'transitivizers') and those which produce an intransitive stem from a transitive or di-transitive root (which can be termed 'detransitivizers')[2].

4.5.4.1.1 Transitivizers

There are three affixes which derive a transitive verb stem from an intransitive root:

(A) -lka- TRansitivizer may be attached to a class 1A or 1B root (4.5.3.1) producing a stem with the same inflectional possibilities as a 2D root (4.5.3.2)[3].

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[1] As Donaldson points out, this use of "aspectual" is wider than the usual reference to the perfective/imperfective distinction (see also Comrie (1976)).

[2] These five derivational affixes are employed as the morphological criteria for the classification of main verb roots described above (4.5.3).

[3] For simplicity, throughout the following discussion statements of the form "producing a stem with the same inflectional possibilities as a 2D root" will be abbreviated to "producing a 2D stem" (for affix ordering see 4.5.4.3).

The following correlations hold between the clause frames of the root and resulting stem (see 5.1.8.2):

(i) the A noun phrase of the resulting stem corresponds to the S noun phrase of the root.

(ii) the O noun phrase of the stem corresponds to the LOCative of accompaniment (see 5.1.5.5) of the original root.

This may be depicted as follows:

NP_1^{S} NP_2^{LOC} stem : NP_1^{A} NP_2^{O} stem-lka-

The following are some 1A roots and their derived stems:

TABLE 27 : -lka- Derived Stems

Root		Stem	
wapa-	'to go'	wapalka-	'to take, go with'
ṯika-	'to return'	ṯikalka-	'to take back'
ṯaṛa-	'to go up'	ṯaṛalka-	'to take up'
kuḍa-	'to fall (of rain)'	kuḍalka-	'to rain on'
kuna-	'to defecate'	kunalka-	'to defecate on'

Examples of 1B roots and derived stems are:

ṯaña-	'to fly'	ṯañalka-	'to fly off with'
ṯañka-	'to stand'	ṯañkalka-	'to stand with'
yiñʧi-	'to get up'	yiñʧilka-	'to get up with'

Two examples illustrating the use of -lka- derived stems are:

(60) paya-ali ninda kuna-lka-na wara-yi
bird-ERG SgnFO shit-TR-PART AUX-PRES
'Some birds shat on him'. (1;84)

(61) ŋaṯu ninda kupa-ø paña-lka-na wara-yi
1SgA SgnFO child-ABS cross water-TR-PART AUX-PRES
'I took the child across (the creek)'.

The derived stem of the 1A root ŋama- 'to sit', that is ŋamalka- means 'to have'. Its use is exemplified at 5.1.6.6.

Other Australian languages with an affix similar in function to Diyari and Dhirari -lka- are Ngamini and Yarluyandi (1.1.5) with -ka- and -kalka- respectively. Kalkatungu has -ṉṯii-(Blake (1976)), Dyirbal -ma-l (Dixon (1972: 96)) and Yidiny -ŋa-l (with some intransitive verbs - Dixon (1977: 302-5)).

(B) -ipa-[1] TRansitivizer may be attached to a 1B root producing a 2E stem or to a 1C root producing a 2D stem (4.5.3.1, 4.5.3.2). The O noun phrase of the clause in which the stem occurs is equivalent to the S noun phrase of the root. That is, we have:

NP_1^S root : NP_2^A NP_1^O root-ipa-

The following are some roots and their derived stems:

[1] Morpheme initial -i replaces the final vowel of the morpheme to which it is suffixed (see 3.4). Note that -ipa- is homophonous with the ALTruistic aspectual affix (4.5.4.2).

TABLE 28 : -ipa Derived Stems

	Root		Stem	
1B.	ʈaña-	'to fly'	ʈañipa-	'to trip up, make fly'
	ʈañka-	'to stand'	ʈañkipa-	'to stand (something) up'
	yiñʧi-	'to get up'	yiñʧipa-	'to get (someone) up, to rouse (someone)'
1C.	paki-	'to burst'	pakipa-	'to blow up'
	puntʈi-	'to be separate'	puntʈipa-	'to separate'
	waruka-	'to hang'	warukipa-	'to hang (something) up'
	ʈuraṛa-	'to lie, sleep'	ʈuraṛipa-	'to lay (something) down'

Examples illustrating the use of these derived stems are:

(62) piṭa-ali ŋaɳa ʈañ̆a-ipa-ɳa wara-yi
stick-ERG 1SgO fly-TR-PART AUX-PRES
'A stick tripped me up (lit. 'made me fly')'.

(63) ŋaḍa-ni ɳulu pulaɳa mankañ̆a-wuḷu-ɳa kuʈi-ipa-yi
then-LOC SgnFA D1O girl-DUAL-ACC hide-TR-PRES
'Then he hid the two girls'. (3;42)

Stems formed by the addition of -ipa- TR are 'manipulative causatives' (Shibatani (1976: 3)) rather than 'directive causatives', which are expressed by a periphrastic construction in Diyari (see 5.2.1.6.2).

Both Ngamini and Yarluyandi have a TRansitivizer with this function of the form -pa-. A transitivizer (or 'causative') of shape -ma- is found in a number of Australian languages (Capell (1956: 93), Donaldson (1977: 195), Williams (1976:108), Breen (1973: 141), Crowley (1977: 113) c.f. (C) below.

(C) -ma- TRansitivizer may be attached to a 1E root producing a 2E stem (4.5.3.1, 4.5.3.2). The syntactic effect of the addition of -ma- is identical to that of -ipa- TR above. That is,

NP_1^S root : NP_2^A NP_1^O root-ma-

The five 1E verbs and their derived stems are:

TABLE 29: -ma- DERIVED STEMS

Root		Stem	
pali-	'to die'	palima-	'to extinguish (a fire)'
palipali-	'to drown'	palipalima-	'to drown'
paṉṯa-	'to smell, be odorous'	paṉṯama-	'to smell'
paṇi-	'to smell, be odorous'	paṇima-	'to smell'
paṉʈi-	'to happen, become'	paṉʈima-	'to make'

Sentences illustrating some of these are:

(64) ŋaṯu ṯuṽu-∅ pali-ma-ṇa wara-yi

1SgA fire-ABS die-TR-PART AUX-PRES

'I put the fire out'.

(65) pula kiṉṯala-ø paṇi-ma-mali-yi
DIS dog-ERG smell-TR-RECIP-PRES
'The two dogs are smelling each other'.

See also Text 4 line 17 (Appendix A).

There is a second function of -ma- which is not immediately related to its transitivizing use with class 1E roots. This is the attachment of -ma- to verb roots borrowed from English[1]. Such borrowings may be either assimilated or unassimilated. Assimilated loan words (see Appendix C) have their original phonetic shape altered in various ways in order to fit the normal phonological pattern of Diyari words (3.3, 3.5). Some examples are the following:

waʈa-ma-	'to wash something'
ʈuta-ma-	'to shoot something'
paya-ma-	'to buy something'
kapula-ma-	'to hobble something (e.g. horse, camel)'.

Most of these verb stems belong to class 2A, although some, such as payama- and kapulama- which cannot be reflexive, will be 2E stems (see 4.5.3.2 above).

Unassimilated loan words appear in their usual Australian English phonetic form except that those which are originally

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[1] Note that Diyari only borrows English transitive verbs and never intransitive ones.

consonant final take the phonetic segment [ʌ] before -ma- is added (presumably because all other verb roots are vowel final in both dialects). Some examples of this type of verb stem are the following:

[ɻʌbʌ]-ma-	'to rub'
[tʰɻæpʰʌ]-ma-	'to trap'
[fɛnsʌ]-ma-	'to fence'
[ɻipʰo:tʰʌ]-ma-	'to report'

Some of these seem to be ad-hoc loans and will be replaced by an equivalent native verb when material is being checked, for example ḍiŋa- 'to rub' for [ɻʌbʌ]ma-.

> Other languages of this area, for example Arabana-Wangganguru (Hercus, pers. comm.) also use -ma- for borrowed verb words. A number of New South Wales languages also attach -ma- to English loans (Donaldson (1977: 195), Williams (1976:108), Crowley (1977: 240)).

4.5.4.1.2 De-Transitivizers

There are two suffixes which derive an intransitive stem from a transitive or di-transitive root:

(A) -mali- RECIProcal may be attached to any transitive root producing an intransitive stem. It may also be attached to a di-transitive root to derive an intransitive stem (see below).

The intransitive subject noun phrase of a RECIP stem is restricted to non-singular number and the referents are understood to be acting reciprocally. Thus we have:

(66) pula kaṇa-ø yaṯa-mali-ṇa wara-yi
D1S person-ABS scold-RECIP-PART AUX-PRES
'Those two people are having an argument'.

Notice that when the NP in S function refers to more than two (i.e. plural) it does not follow that every member is acting upon every other member of the set of referents.

When added to a class 3 (di-transitive) verb root -mali- produces an intransitive stem which can occur in a clause with a noun phrase in O function (coded as ABSolutive or ACCusative - see 5.1.5.2). This O NP will be the indirect object (this is one of the syntactic tests for distinguishing between the two O NP arguments of a di-transitive verb, see also 5.1.9). An example is the following sentence:

(67) ṯana ṉiṉa ŋaṉṯi-ø yiŋki-mali-yi
P1S SgnFO meat-ABS give-RECIP-PRES
'They gave each other this meat'.

(B) -ṯaɽi- the second detransitivizer has four separate but clearly related syntactic functions depending upon the verb class of the root to which it is attached (4.5.3, 5.1.11.1). These are:

a) -ṯaɽi- REFLexive - when added to a verb root of classes 2A or 3 (di-transitive) -ṯaɽi- derives an intransitive stem with reflexive meaning. For 2A verbs it indicates the fact that the

agent(s) (S NP) performed the action upon himself (or themselves) or some part of himself (or themselves) as in the examples (see 5.1.6.2 regarding the expression of inalienable possession):

(68) ŋani maṛa-ø ḍama-ʈaɽi-ṇa wara-yi
1SgS hand-ABS cut-REFL-PART AUX-PRES
'I cut my hand'.

Dh. (69) n̪awu n̪ayi-ʈaɽi-ṇḍa puɽi-yi ŋapa-ni
SgnFS see-REFL-PART AUX-PRES water-LOC
"He's looking at himself in the water".

With a class 3 root REFL marks the fact that the agent(s) performed the action for his (or their) own benefit. Again, the indirect object (see above) may be expressed as an O NP, as in the following sentences:

(70) n̪ani maḍa-ø yiŋki-ʈaɽi-yi
SgFS stone-ABS gives-REFL-PRES
"She gives money to herself" (said of a prostitute).

(71) ʈana paya-ø ʈaḷa-ø ḍika-ʈaɽi-yi
P1S bird-ABS name-ABS name-REFL-PRES
'Those birds name themselves'[1].

[1] This is said of those birds whose name is similar in phonetic shape to the institutionalized version of their call (in Diyari).

The syntax of REFLexive constructions is discussed at 5.1.8.1.

b) -ʈaɽi- Anti-Passive - when suffixed to a verb root of class 2B -ʈaɽi- produces an intransitive stem. The following syntactic correspondences hold between the clause frames of the root and that of the derived stem (see 5.1.8.1) - note that the subscript numerals indicate referential identity):

NP_1^{A} NP_2^{O} root : NP_1^{S} NP_2^{LOC} root-ʈaɽi-

Thus, we have:

(72) ŋaʈu yinaɳa kaḷka-yi
1SgA 2SgO await-PRES
'I wait for you'.

and:

(73) ŋani kaḷka-ʈaɽi-yi yiŋkaŋu
1SgS await-AP-PRES 2SgLOC
'I wait for you'.

A syntactic correspondence of this type is generally known as the Anti-Passive (Silverstein (1976), Dixon (1977), Blake (1978)) and hence the gloss adopted above (but see 5.1.8.1).

The following table gives the eight verbs identified as occurring with -ṯaña- AP (i.e. the 2B verb roots):

TABLE 30 : 2B VERB ROOTS

Root	Meaning
ḏanka-	'to find, discover'[1]
manka-	'to find, discover'[1]
kaḷka-	'to await'
karipa-	'to follow' (NB. kari- to chase -ipa- ALTruistic)
wanṯi-	'to search for'
mama-	'to take away from'
winpa-	'to ask repetitively for, pester'
ŋuluka-	'to look out for'

There appears to be no semantic difference between stems with or without -ṯaña- and informants insisted that sentences (72) and (73) for example "mean the same". The only pair for which a difference in gloss was offered was:

(74) ŋaṯu yinaṉa ḏanka-ṉa wara-yi
1SgA 2SgO find-PART AUX-PRES
"I found you (when I was looking for you)."

[1] These two verbs are exact synonyms and can be used interchangeably. There is another pair of this sort, namely the 1D verbs miɲʈi- and ḏiɲʈi- 'to shine, glitter'.

(75) ŋani ḍanka-ʈaɽi-ɳa wara-yi yiŋkaŋu
1SgS find-AP-PART AUX-PRES 2SgLOC
"I ran into you (like when I was running along)".

The significance of this contrast is taken up at 5.1.8.1 below.

c) -ʈaɽi- ACTivity - when suffixed to a class 2C verb root (4.5.3.2) -ʈaɽi- produces an intransitive stem, which can however occur in a clause with an O noun phrase. The following syntactic correspondences hold for the clause frames of the root and derived stem (see also 5.1.8.1):

NP_1^A NP_2^O root : NP_1^S NP_2^O root-ʈaɽi

The following examples illustrate this:

(76) ɳulu-ya ɳiɳa ŋanʈi-ø ʈayi-yi
SgnFA-NEAR SgnFO meat-ABS eat-PRES
"He is eating the meat".

(77) ɳawu-ya ɳiɳa ŋanʈi-ø ʈayi-ʈaɽi-yi
SgnFS-NEAR SgnFO meat-ABS eat-ACT-PRES
"He is having a feed of meat".

There is a difference in meaning between the root and stem when -ʈaɽi- ACT is affixed, as shown by the informants' translations of sentences (76) and (77). When discussing

the difference between sentences such as these, informants suggested that (76) would be an appropriate answer to the question (in English):

(78) Who ate this meat?

while (77) would be an answer to:

(79) Where is the man, what is he doing?

That is, -ṯaři- ACT seems to shift the focus from the agent (A NP) to the activity being carried out. There is a strong preference for -ṯaři- ACT stems to be followed by the (adverbial) main verb ŋama- indicating 'action carried out whilst stationary with reference to a point on the ground'[1] (see 4.5.6), as in:

(80) ṉawu-wa wima-ø waŋka-ṯaři-ṇa ŋama-yi
SgnFS-DIST song-ABS sing-ACT-PART sit-PRES
"He's sitting down over there singing away".

Other verb roots of the 2C class are:

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[1] It seems that the preferred locus for extended activities among Diyari speakers (and probably other Aboriginal groups) is sitting down on the ground. This includes acting as a linguistic informant.

TABLE 31 : 2C VERB ROOTS

ʈayi-	'to eat'
ʈapa-	'to drink'
wayi-	'to cook'
waɲʈa-	'to try, test'

For further discussion of this construction see 5.1.8.1.

> Breen (1976: 596), describing a construction analagous to this in Yandruwandha, states that ACT (-yindr̃i- in Y.) indicates "'to do (something) for oneself'". This does not seem to be the case in Diyari.

d) -ʈar̃i- PASSive - when suffixed to a class 2D verb root (4.5.3.2) -ʈar̃i- produces an intransitive stem with a passive process meaning. The patient undergoing the process occurs as the S noun phrase in construction with the derived stem while the force which instigates the process is marked for LOCative or, less frequently, INSTrumental case (see 5.1.5.4 and 5.1.5.5)[1]. That is, we find the following syntactic correspondences:

NP_1^{A} NP_2^{O} root : $NP_1^{LOC/INST}$ NP_2^{S} root-ʈar̃i-

[1] Both LOC and INST seem to be freely interchangeable alternatives, except for pronouns (4.3.2) which have no INST case form.

A pair of sentences illustrating this is:

(81) ŋaɳʈu-ali ŋaŋa ʈuka-yi

horse-ERG 1SgO carry on back-PRES

'A horse carries me on its back'.

(82) ŋani { ŋaɳʈu-ni / horse-LOC / ŋaɳʈu-ali / horse-INST } ʈuka-ʈaři-yi

1SgS carry on back-PASS-PRES

"I ride on a horse".

There seems to be a semantic contrast between sentences such as (81) and (82) along the lines of Chafe's Action/Process versus Process distinction (Chafe (1970: 95) - see also 5.1.8.1 for further discussion). This is illustrated by the following sentence (notice that the 'causer' is often left unexpressed but may be added if the speaker wishes. This is the force of the parentheses in the following example):

(83) ŋaḍa-ni ḍaḷa-ø kiɭʈa-ʈaři-yi (ŋapa ʈuřu-ali)

then-LOC skin-ABS peel-PASS-PRES water fire-INST

'Then the skin peeled off (on account of the boiling water)'.

Notice that unlike (b) AP above (page 180), there is an alternative of either LOC or INST case marking in the clause containing a PASS derived stem (but see footnote page 184). There is a slight preference for LOC among my informants but

both are equally possible in all sentences of this type.

Other verb roots in the 2D class include (see also discussion and examples at 5.1.8.1):

TABLE 32 : 2D VERB ROOTS

ʈandr̃a-	'to fill (with liquid)'
par̃ʈa-	'to consume/involve all'
ʈiɳʈa-	'to lose, spill'
mandr̃a-	'to grasp, trap'
ŋandr̃awalka-	'to stop, close'
wara-	'to throw'
ʈur̃pa-	'to twist, tease, spin'

It seems that Ngamini -ʈar̃i- has a number of functions similar to those of Diyari and Dhirari -ʈar̃i-. The Yarluyandi data are unclear as there seems to be two affixes -pali- and -par̃i- with partially overlapping functions matching the single affix of other languages[1]. Yandruwandha and Yawarawarga (from Breen (ms)) -yindr̃i- functions like Diyari -ʈar̃i- with, apparently, the same sets of verbs under function (a)-(d). There are no such parallels in Arabana-Wangganguru (Hercus (pers. comm.)).

4.5.4.2 Affixes not affecting Transitivity

There are four bound 'aspectual' affixes (4.5.4) which may be added to a verb root of any class (except 1E (4.5.3.1)) producing a stem of the same transitivity as the root. The affixes are (note that only one affix may be selected per stem):

[1] But note that Yarluyandi (and Yandruwandha-Yawarawarga) codes RECIP the same as REFL.

(A) -ṯař- DURative - this affix has the same canonical shape as the -ṯař- de-transitivizer discussed above (4.5.4.1.2) but may be added to both transitive and intransitive roots.

The DUR suffix indicates that the action or event described by the verb extended continuously over a period of time. That is, it indicates duration. The root to which -ṯař- DUR is attached must be reduplicated (4.5.2) producing an iterative or durative effect depending upon the verb type (see above).

The following are some examples of DURative stems derived by the addition of ṯař-:

TABLE 33 : DUR DERIVED STEMS

Root		Stem	
Transitive			
ŋaṛa-	'to hear'	ŋaṛa-ŋaṛa-ṯař-	'to listen'
ḍaka-	'to pierce'	ḍaka-ḍaka-ṯař-	'to bore'
ŋayi-	'to see'	ŋayi-ŋayi-ṯař-	'to watch, stare'
Ditransitive			
ḍika-	'to name'	ḍika-ḍika-ṯař-	'to go on naming'
wandřa-	'to show'	wandřa-wandřa-ṯař-	'to go on showing'
Intransitive			
wapa-	'to go'	wapa-wapa-ṯař-	'to move along'
ṯařka-	'to stand'	ṯařka-ṯařka-ṯař-	'to stand about'
yaṯa-	'to speak'	yaṯa-yaṯa-ṯař-	'to gossip'

A good example of an inflected DUR stem is the following which comes from Text 1 (Appendix A). A younger brother has been left at the top of a tall tree and birds come and defecate on him so that he cannot move:

(84) kaɽawaṛa-ali kawalka-ali ʈuripa-ṇa / waɽu-ʟa
eaglehawk-ERG crow-ERG pour on-PART white-NI
ŋama-ŋama-ʈaɽi-ṇanʈu ṉawu
REDUP-sit-DUR-IMPL$_{ds}$ SgnFS
'The eaglehawk and crow poured (shit on him) so he was sitting all white now'. (1;64)

See also example (55) above.

(B) -ipa- and -yiɽpa- ALTruistic - these two phonologically distinct affixes have the same function as an aspectual marker in Diyari.

Notice that -ipa-, which is homophonous with the TRansitivizer added to 1B and 1C roots (see 4.5.4.1.1) produces a stem which is shorter than that derived by the addition of -yiɽpa- as a result of the operation of the rule which deletes root final vowels before a morpheme beginning with /i/ (see 3.4). Also, the -ipa- stem has a different stress pattern to that which takes -yiɽpa- because the latter morpheme, being disyllabic, itself carries a stress (3.6). Thus, we may contrast the following phonological and phonetic forms:

	Phonological Form	Phonetic Form
'save-ALT-PRES'	/kuˌka-ipa-yi/	[kṵˌkipʌi]
	/kuˌka-yiřpa-yi/	[kṵˌkʌjřrpʌi]

The two affixes are in free variation for all the roots to which they may be suffixed.

Both -ipa- and -yiřpa- may be attached to a class 2 or 3 (i.e. transitive or di-transitive) verb root to produce a stem with the same transitivity, indicating that the action referred to by the verb is done for the benefit of someone other than the agent specified by the A noun phrase (in ERGative case (see 5.1.5.3)). That is, they mark ALTruistic aspect. The beneficiary is not usually expressed when the stem is in ALT aspect but may be by means of a noun phrase in BENefactive case (see 4.2.4.2, 5.1.5.9). This is the only means by which the beneficiary of an intransitive stem may be mentioned (5.1.5.9), since ALT cannot be attached to class 1 roots.

The following are some examples of derived ALT stems:

TABLE 34: ALT DERIVED STEMS

Root		Stem	
ŋayi-	'to see, look'	ŋayi-ipa-	'to look at (something) for someone else'.
		ŋayi-yiřpa-	
kuˌka-	'to save'	kuˌka-ipa-	'to save (something) for someone else'.
		kuˌka-yiřpa-	
yiŋki-	'to give'	yiŋki-ipa-	'to give (something to someone) for someone else'.
		yiŋki-yiřpa-	

Examples of ALT verbs include the following:

(85) ŋaḍa ṉawu wakaṛa-yi / ŋaliṇi puka-ø
then SgnFS come-PRES 1D1exclBEN food-ABS
paḍaka-yiřpa-ṇa
carry-ALT-REL$_{ss}$
'Then he came carrying some food for us two'. (20;5)

(86) ŋaṉṯi-ø ṇandřa-ipa-a-ø-mayi ŋakaṇi
meat-ABS hit-ALT-IMP-NM-EMPH 1SgBEN
'Chop up some meat for me!'.

The ALT affix may occur with a reduplicated verb root. In fact, this is the usual way of expressing the concept 'to look after' for example (see also 4.5.2):

(87) ŋaṯu kupa-kupa-ø ṉayi-ṉayi-ipa-ṇa waṉṯi-yi
1SgA REDUP-child-ABS REDUP-see-ALT-PART AUX-PRES
walpala-ya
white-BEN
'I looked after the children for the white man'.

Notice also that the -ipa- ALT may be attached to a verb which has been transitivized by the addition of -ipa- TR (4.5.4.1.1) as in:

(88) ṉiṉa kupa-ø ṯuraṛa-ipa-ipa-a-lu-mayi
SgnFO child-ABS lie-TR-ALT-IMP-NM-EMPH
'(You two) lay that child down for (me)!'.

For affix ordering see also 4.5.4.3 below.

> Both Ngamini and Yarluyandi have an affix -pa- which functions as ALT and TR. Reuther (1899) also records -paɽpa- as ALT for Ngamini but I have been unable to check this with informants. Yandruwandha -na- also seems to be both TR and ALT from Breen's manuscript data (despite Breen (1976a: 751) which states "the morpheme -na- is often suffixed to a reduplicated form; its function in such cases is not clear.
>
> (2) wawa 'to see, look after' wawawawana 'to look after'")

(C) -iŋa- PROLative - may be added to any verb root except class 1E producing a stem with the same transitivity. The function of the affix is to indicate that there is relative motion between the subject of the verb (i.e. the S or A noun phrase (see 5.2.1.2)) and some other referent.

In the case of transitive verbs, the other referent is usually the object Noun Phrase while for di-transitives it is the direct object (as opposed to the indirect object (see 5.1.10 for reasons for distinguishing the two O case marked NPs)). For intransitive verbs of position (class 1A and 1B) PROL indicates that the subject adopts the position whilst in motion as in (92). The following are some examples:

Dh.	(89)	ŋaɽimaṯa-ali	ṉiṉa	kupa-ø	mani-iŋa-ṉda	puɽi-yi
		flood-ERG	SgnFO	child-ABS	get-PROL-PART	AUX-PRES

'The flood took the child as it went past'.

(90) ŋaɻu ɳiɳa ɳayi-iŋa-ɳa wara-yi
1SgA SgnFO see-PROL-PART AUX-PRES
'I saw him (as I was) going past'.

(91) ŋaḍa-ni kaɳa-ø-ɻa ḍuɳka-iŋa-yi ŋakaŋu
then-LOC person-ABS-NI emerge-PROL-PRES 1SgLOC
'Then a man came out past me'.

(92) ʈukuɽu-ø wakaɽa-yi / kupaɽu-ø piḷi-ni
kangaroo-ABS come-PRES young-ABS pouch-LOC
ŋama-iŋa-ɳani
sit-PROL-REL$_{ds}$
'A kangaroo is coming with a joey sitting in its pouch (as it goes along)'.

See also example (283) below.

Notice that 1E verbs cannot occur with PROL because of their semantic nature, that is, their S noun phrase will be a patient rather than an agent (see 4.5.3.1). Transitivized 1E verbs also cannot take PROL (see 4.5.4.1.1) although an informant offered the following sentence:

(93) ŋaɻu ʈuɽu-ø pali-ma-iŋka-ɳa wara-yi
1SgA fire-ABS die-TR-?-PART AUX-PRES
"I put the fire out going past".

There are no other occurrences of the morpheme -iŋka- in the corpus.

A number of Australian languages have affixes similar in function to PROL in Diyari, for example Wunambal (Vászolyi (1976: 629-646)), Ngiyamba: (Donaldson (1977: 229) and Yandruwandha (Breen (1976a: 752)).

(D) -ṉṯi- CONsequential - may be added to a verb root of any class (4.5.3) without affecting its transitivity. The affix indicates that the action or event described by the verb occurs immediately after another action or event established by the previous context of discourse. It is often translated as "behind".

Most commonly, the clause containing a verb with CON marking also has the temporal connective ŋaḍa- 'and then', typically inflected for LOCative case (5.1.5.5).

The following are some examples of the use of CON:

(94) ṉawu ŋakaŋu wapa-ṉṯi-ṇa wara-yi ŋaḍa-ni-ldřa-maṯa
SgnFS 1SgLOC go-CON-PART AUX-PRES then-LOC-CONT-IDENT
/ pinařu-ø ṉiṉa waraṛa-ṇa kuřa-ṇa
old man-ABS SgnFO leave-PART go away-REL$_{ss}$
'He is coming after me having left the old man behind'.

(95) [ŋandři ṉuŋkaṇi wapa-ṇa kuřa-yi] ṉulu ṉaṉa
mother SgnFGEN go-PART go away-PRES SgnFA SgFO
ṉayi-ṉṯi-yi
see-CON-PRES
'[His mother went away]. He watches her after (e.g. from the camp)'.

4.5.4.3 Affix Order

Although I have attempted to check most combinations of verb affixes described above there are some gaps in the data mainly because of informants responses to this sort of questioning. It is generally the case that Diyari speakers do not use more than two, and at most three stem forming affixes attached to a single root. They will also reject as impossible, affix combinations which appear plausible to a non-native speaker learning the language, for example PROL - RECIP as in 'to see each other going past'. Evidence from both texts and elicitation, however, suggests that the following ordering is the only possible arrangement of stem forming affixes (see above 4.5.4):[1]

Root - Transitivizers - Aspectual Affixes - De-transitivizers

That is, we find combinations of one or more of the following in the linear order indicated:

Root - { -lka- / -ipa- / -ma- } - { -ṯaṙi- / [-ipa- / -yiṙpa-] / -iŋa- / -ṉṯi- } - { -mali- / -ṯaṙi- }

[1] Reuther (1899) gives the ordering -iŋa-lka- as in ḏuṉkiŋalkaṇa "to bring on behind" but my informants rejected these completely. The words given by Reuther may have been made up for Bible translation or other purposes.

There are some restrictions on the range of permissible combinations:

a) the third order suffixes -mali- RECIP and -ṯaɽi- REFL etc. only ever follow -ipa-/-yiɽpa- ALT among the second order suffixes.

b) the combination -ma- + -iŋa- is not permitted, but see the comments on -miŋka- (page 192) and example (93) above.

The following examples show some of the permitted combinations of stem forming affixes. Notice that example (99) is one of the few showing the selection of three suffixes of this type (c.f. (65)).

(96) ṉandɽu wapa-wapa-lka-ṯaɽi-yi-l̪a
SgFA REDUP-go-TR-DUR-PRES-NI
'She is taking (it) away'.

(97) yini ṉayi-ṉayi-ipa-ṯaɽi-a-ø-mayi
2SgS REDUP-see-ALT-REFL-IMP-NM-EMPH
'Look after yourself!'.

(98) ṉawu yaṇi-ipa-ṯaɽi-yi puŋa-ni
SgnFS lean-TR-PASS-PRES humpy-LOC
'It has been leant against the humpy'.

(99) pula-paɽa kiṉṯala-wuḷu-ø paṇi-ma-yiɽpa-mali-yi
D1S-THERE dog-DUAL-NOM smell-TR-ALT-RECIP-PRES
'The two dogs are smelling each other'.

See also examples (88) and (93) above.

4.5.5 Inflectional Affixes

In Dhirari, all verb stems, both simple and derived (by the processes described in 4.5.4 above) take a single inflectional affix when they are used in a clause, obligatorily followed by the puṽi- AUXiliary verb (4.5.7.1). This affix will be termed PARTicipial. It is identical in shape to the inflection attached to puṽi- AUX when:

a) it is followed by an AUX verb of a certain type (see 4.5.7.2).

b) it occurs in a RELative clause whose subject is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause (5.2.2).

The PART inflection has two conditioned allomorphs in Dhirari:

-ḍa when there is a nasal stop cluster in the final syllable of the verb stem

-ṇḍa elsewhere.

We may contrast the following pair of inflected stems:

Intransitive	ḍuṇka-ḍa	'emerge-PART'
Transitive	ḍuṇka-lka-ṇḍa	'emerge-TR-PART'.

Any verb stem derived by the addition of the stem forming affixes (4.5.4) will take the -ṇḍa allomorph of PART with the exception of stems containing SEQ which has a (homorganic) nasal-stop cluster (recall that SEQ cannot itself be followed by any stem forming affix (4.5.4.3)).

The inflectional affixes of Diyari are described below (4.5.7.1.1, 4.5.7.1.2) together with the affixes attached to puṽi- AUX. This is because the structure of the verb phrase in the Dhirari dialect (5.1.1.1) allows us to draw a clear distinction between stem forming affixes and tense/mood inflections. This distinction is only possible for the description of the

Diyari dialect in terms of relative ordering of morphemes (see 4.5.7).

> The dissimilation described above for PART is common throughout this section of South Australia (see Austin, Ellis and Hercus (1976), Schebeck (1974)) and is also found in (the western Queensland language) Kalkatungu (Blake (1969)).

4.5.6 Sequences of Main Verbs

It is possible, and quite common in texts, in both Diyari and Dhirari for a verb phrase (5.1.1.1) to consist of a sequence of two or three main verb stems. The last stem takes the inflections of the sequence as a whole (4.5.5, 4.5.7.1) while all preceding stems take the PARTicipial inflection (4.5.5).

The second stem in these sequences is restricted to a group of ten verb roots[1] all but one[2] belonging to class 1A or 1B (see 4.5.3.1). Semantically, they are verbs of rest or motion and provide a qualification of the action or event described by the first stem in the sequence. They are what could be termed 'adverbial verbs' but notice that the qualifying stem has all the possibilities of inflection (4.5.7.1) and occurrence with a following AUXiliary verb (4.5.7.1, 4.5.7.2) that it has as a stem not accompanying another verb.

The following table sets out the second elements of these main verb sequences:

---

[1] That is, the root cannot take a stem forming affix (4.5.4) when in sequence and so root and stem must coincide.

[2] The stem kuña- indicating 'motion away' does not occur as a root by itself. It is found only in these sequences (there is a root kuña- but it is a 2E transitive verb meaning 'to put on').

TABLE 35: VERB SEQUENCES

	Stem	Meaning	Qualifying function
1.	ʈaɽa-	'to go up'	action directed upwards
2.	ɳaɽi-	'to go down'	action directed downwards
3.	ʈika-	'to return'	action directed back to a point of origin (proto-typically the camp)
4.	ɳama-	'to sit'	action whilst stationary with reference to a point on the ground
5.	ʈaɽka-	'to stand'	action whilst standing
6.	kaɽʈi-	'to rotate, go round'	action directed around some referent
7.	wiɽaɽi-	'to walk about'	action performed in various directions
8.	wiɽi-	'to enter'	action directed into some referent (typically arrival at a camp).
9.	paɭka-	'to travel'	action performed whilst in motion, typically whilst on a journey
10.	kuɽa-	'to go away'	action directed away from some referent

There is an eleventh element ʈaɽi- which does not occur as a free stem but which may follow a main verb or a sequence of two main verbs. Thus, there are three-verb sequences where the second element is one of the verbs from Table 35 and the final element is ʈaɽi-. Informants were unable to provide any translation difference between sequences with ʈaɽi- and those without. So, for example:

ṇandřaṇa hit-PART

and ṇandřaṇa ṯaři-

were said to be "just the same". I have not been able to find any evidence from text material which would suggest what the exact meaning(s) or function(s) of ṯaři- as a verb stem are.

The following are some examples illustrating the use of these sequences (for verb affixes and AUX verbs not encountered so far see 4.5.7):

(100) n̪awu ṯařka-ṇa ṯaṛa-ṇa wara-yi
SgnFS stand-PART go up-PART AUX-PRES
'He stood up'.

(101) ŋaldřa n̪ayi-ṇa ŋaṛi-yi paya piṇa-ndřu
1D1inc1A see-PART go down-PRES bird big-SCE
'We looked down from the aeroplane (lit. big bird)'.

(102) puluka-ø ṯana ṯuraṛa-ṇa ṯařka-yi
cow-ABS P1S sleep-PART stand-PRES
'Cattle sleep standing up'

(103) kupa-kupa-ø mindři-ṇa kařʧi-ṇa wan̪ṯi-yi
REDUP-child-ABS run-PART go round-PART AUX-PRES
puŋa-ni
humpy-LOC
'The children ran round the humpy'.

(104) ŋani wanṯi-ṯaña-ṇa wiṛaṛi-yi ṉuŋkaŋu
1SgS search-AP-PART go about-PRES SgnFLOC
'I search for him everywhere'.

For some of the verb roots in Table 35 it is semantically plausible to have both sequences of the form V_1V_2, and also V_2V_1. There seems, however, to be a discernable difference in meaning between the two alternatives. For example, we have:

(a) ṯaṛaṇa ṯika- 'to go up returning'
(b) ṯikaṇa ṯaṛa- 'to return going up'

Sequence (b) implies that the place to which one returns is uphill of or above the point of origin whereas (a) does not. The difference with the following pair is more clear cut:

(c) kañʈiṇa ŋama- 'to turn round on the spot'
(d) ŋamaṇa kañʈi- 'to sit round in a circle (typically around a fire)'.

Notice that ŋama- can be used for action carried out whilst sitting, as in example (80) above, but it is also used when there is no relative motion between the subject of the verb sequence (S or A noun phrase, see 5.2.1.2) and the ground. Consider the following examples:

(105) wañiṯa ṉayi-yi / ṯaña-ṇa ŋama-ṇani
distant see-PRES fly-PART sit-REL_{ds}
kañawaṛa-ø
eaglehawk-ABS

'(You) see far away eaglehawks hovering (above a spot on the ground)'.

(106) yundřu wata ŋayi-yi / ŋawu ʈuřu-ø
2SgA not see-PRES SgnFS fire-ABS
ʈupu-ŋa-ɳa ŋama-ɳani
smoke-PROD-PART sit-REL$_{ds}$
'You don't see that fire smoking away [... so there must be no-one home][1]*'.*

As noted above, the status of ʈaři- is unclear. The following example:

(107) ŋani wapa-ʟa ŋana-yi / ʈinka pařkulu ŋaka-ø
1SgS go-FUT AUX-PRES night three there-LOC
ʈuraɽa-ɳa paʟka-ɳa
lie-PART go on-REL$_{ss}$
'I will go sleeping (on a journey) there two nights'.

was also recorded with ʈaři-. The informant said that (60) and the following mean "just the same":

(108) ŋani wapaʟa ŋanayi / ʈinka pařkulu ŋaka
ʈuraɽaɳa paʟkaɳa ʈaři-ɳa

There is, however, some hint of a 'continuing process' type of function in the following examples but the meaning is not at all clear (note that (109) is from Text 1 (Appendix A)):

---

[1] ʈupuŋaɳa ŋama- refers to a steady stream of smoke going straight up into the air. Informants explained that this was a sure sign that a camp was occupied.

(109) ṉawu miri-ʈa ʈaṛa-iɳa-ṇa ʈañi-yi

SgnFS top-OI go up-PROL-PART ?-PRES

'He went on up at the top (as the tree grew up and up)'.

(1;48)

(110) ḍiʈʃi-ø ṉawu wiñi-ṇa ɳaṛi-ṇa ʈañi-yi

sun-ABS SgnFS enter-PART go down-PART ?-PRES

'The sun is just going down'.

Both Ngamini and Yarluyandi have main verb sequences equivalent to those found in Diyari and Dhirari. Notice that Breen's (1976b: 745) analysis of Ngamini AUXiliary verbs includes some of these sequences as well as true AUXiliaries (see 4.5.7.2). The reasons for distinguishing AUX verbs from other verbs, including sequences such as those described here, are set out in 4.5.1 and 4.5.7. In Yandruwandha (Breen 1976a) and Galali (McDonald (1977)) there are compound stem formatives similar in function (and form in some instances) to the second elements of the verb sequences in Diyari.

4.5.7 Non-Main (or AUXiliary) Verbs

There is a class of verbs (4.1.4) in Diyari and Dhirari which show different morphological and syntactic behaviour to that of the main Verbs described above (4.5.3, 4.5.5, 4.5.6). I will term these AUXiliary verbs.

The AUX verbs of Diyari and related languages (see 4.5.7.2) appear to be unique as a category among the languages of Australia as Capell (1976: 617) points out. The topic of AUX verbs in Australian languages comprises Topic E of Dixon (1976: 613-768). The analysis of Diyari and Dhirari presented here differs in some respects to that in the papers of Capell and Austin to be found in this volume (see also comments in Chapter Two above).

The AUX verbs have the following characteristic features not shared with main verbs:

a) they cannot occur with any of the derivational (stem-forming) affixes (4.5.4, 5.1.10).

b) they cannot occur in clauses marked by $IMPL_{ss}$ or $IMPL_{ds}$ affixes (4.5.7.1.2, 5.2.1). Notice that puñi- is an exception to this generalization but its special status is discussed at 4.5.7.1 below (see also 1.1.4).

c) syntactically, they always follow the main verb in a verb phrase (5.1.1.1) and their occurrence restricts the number of possible inflectional affixes attached to the preceding main verb stem (4.5.5).

In the Dhirari dialect the AUX verbs fall into two types, an obligatory puñi- AUX (4.5.7.1) and six other optional AUX (4.5.7.2). For Diyari, all AUX verbs are optional.

In the following sections I will approach the description of AUX verbs from the standpoint of Dhirari. There are two reasons for such a decision:

i) the situation in Dhirari is slightly more complicated than in Diyari owing to the existence of the obligatory AUX verb puñi-.

ii) in Diyari, stem forming affixes (4.5.4) can be distinguished from tense/mood inflections on the basis of their relative suffixal positions. In Dhirari, the puñi- AUX separates these two classes of affix as follows:

	Dhirari dialect	Diyari dialect
Stem-forming affixes	attached to main verb root	attached to main verb root
Tense/Mood inflections	attached to puñi-	attached after stem-forming affixes if occurring, otherwise to root

A similar division holds for the subordinate clause affixes in both dialects (4.5.7.1.2 and 5.2).

4.5.7.1 The puñi-AUX

The AUXiliary verb puñi- is homophonous with two main verb roots:

a) puñi- class 1A meaning 'to sit on eggs (of a bird), hatch'

b) puñi- class 1D meaning 'to stoop, crouch, duck under'.

See also the etymologies at 4.5.7.2 below.

The morphemes which may be attached to puñi- form a thirteen term system with one (and only one) term selected per clause. The thirteen suffixes may be classified into two sub-categories according to their occurrence in main or non-main clauses (5.1, 5.2). Within both of these sub-categories there are two types, depending upon the occurrence of a following AUXiliary verb (4.5.7.2). The following diagram summarises this classification:

Clause Type	Following AUX	No. of affixes	Reference
main	-	4	4.5.7.1.1
	+	2	4.5.7.1.1
non-main	-	7	4.5.7.1.2
	+	1	4.5.7.1.2

4.5.7.1.1 Main Clause Affixes

There are two basic types as noted above, those where there is no following AUX verb and those found where there is.

(1) with no following AUX

The puñi- affixes of this type are four, as follows:

-yi	PRESent tense
-ya	PAST tense
-a-(NM)-(EMPH)	IMPerative mood
-yaṯimayi	ADMONitive mood

The first two morphemes also occur as affixes attached to other AUX verbs (4.5.7.2) whilst the latter two are restricted to this position. The functions and examples of each affix are as follows:

(A) -yi PRESent tense - has a number of functions:

a) indicating that the action or event described by the verb is taking place at the time of utterance of the sentence,

for example[1]:

Dh.	(111)	ŋawu	kupa-ø	muka-ø	ʈuraṛa-ɳda	puñi-yi
		SgnFS	child-ABS	sleep-ABS	lie-PART	AUX-PRES
Di.					ʈuraṛa-yi	

'The child is sleeping'.

Sentences of this form often translate into English with present continuous verb forms.

This function of PRES is made more explicit by suffixing the New Information clitic -ɻa (5.4.6) to the tensed verb form. The resulting verb indicates that the action or event occurs at the moment of speaking or 'right now'. So, for example, we have:

Dh.	(112)	ŋawu	kupa	muka	ʈuraṛa-ɳda	puñi-yi-ɻa
						AUX-PRES-NI
					ʈuraṛa-yi-ɻa	

'The child is sleeping now'.

The following sentence:

Dh.	(113)	ŋani	wapa-ɳda	puñi-yi-ɻa
		1SgS	go-PART	AUX-PRES-NI
Di.			wapayiɻa	

'I'm going now'.

---

[1] In the following examples the top line is Dhirari (Dh.) and the lower line is Diyari (Di.). Identical common material is not repeated.

can be uttered when the speaker is just beginning or in the process of leaving. For further examples see 5.4.6.

b) when there is a temporal nominal (usually in locative case (4.2.4.2, 5.1.5.5)) in the clause PRES has a less immediate and more general present time reference. An example is:

Dh.	(114)	karaṛi-ø	yini	[wapa-ṇda	puñi-yi]
		today-LOC	2SgS	[go-PART	AUX-PRES]
Di.				[wapayi	]

'You are going today'.

A verb inflected for PRES can also be used when the temporal nominal refers to the immediate future (c.f. the use of ŋana- AUX 4.5.7.2) as in:

Dh.	(115)	ṯaŋkuṯaŋkupaṇa-ø	[ŋaṯi	]	n̪i n̪a	[yakalka-ṇda	puñi-yi]
		morning-LOC	[1SgA	]	SgnFO	[ask-PART	AUX-PRES]
Di.			[ŋaṯu	]		[yakalkayi	]

'I will ask him in the morning' (*said in the evening or at night*).

c) when the temporal context of a discourse or text is set by the use of one of the other AUX verbs (4.5.7.2) then following sentences which indicate a sequential progression within this general context will contain verbs marked by PRES. In this usage -yi could be considered "tenseless" (c.f. Capell (1976: 743) and Austin (1976: 759)) but I will gloss it PRES for convenience. The following text example illustrates this

function of the affix. It comprises the first two lines of Text 1 (see Appendix A):

Di. (116) [ṯaṛi-ø ya mankaña-ø pula ŋana-ṇa
young man-ABS and girl-ABS D1S be-PART
wanṯi-yi ŋuwa-maṛa / pula wapa-yi
AUX-PRES spouse-KIN PROP D1S go-PRES
'[*A young man and a girl were married (long ago).*]
They went (walking)'.

d) indicating that a state of affairs is true in general. That is, -yi indicates a generic statement. Examples, from texts, include the following:

Di. (117) paya paṟʧaṇa-ø ṯana ṯaña-yi
bird all-ABS P1S fly-PRES
'*All birds can fly*'.

Dh. (118) kupa-ø wata paku yinda-ḍa puṟi-yi
child-ABS not nothing cry-PART AUX-PRES
'*Children do not cry for nothing*'.

Di. (119) kaṇa-ali pulu ʧukuṟu-ø ṇandña-yi kinṯala
person-ERG cannot kangaroo-ABS hit-PRES dog
pani-ali
none-INST
'*A man cannot kill a kangaroo without a dog*'.

Notice that -yi by itself does not overtly express a habitual meaning since this is the function of the AUXiliary verb wapa- which does, however, co-occur with a suffixed -yi (see 4.5.7.2)

(B) -ya PAST tense - has a single function, which is indicating that the action or event described by the verb took place at some (unspecified) time in the past and was completed or finished at the time of speaking. That is, it indicates both past tense and perfect aspect (Comrie (1976)). This latter meaning is clear when the particle maṯa 'already' (5.5.7) is used in the same clause as the verb marked by -ya PAST.

The following are some examples of the occurrence of this affix:

Di. (120) ŋandṽu ŋuwa ŋupaṛa-ø ṯiŋṯa-ya
SgFA spouse first-ABS lose-PAST
'She lost her first husband'.

Di. (121) ŋakaṇi miḷi paḷpa-ø maṯa pali-ya
1SgGEN relation some-ABS already die-PAST
'Some of my relations have already died'.

Dh. (122) yaṛu-ka ṯana [saddle] ŋana-ṇda puṽi-ya
like that-TOKEN P1S be-PART AUX-PAST
'That's how those (camel) saddles were'.

Example (122) occurred in a text describing the making of camel saddles, which are no longer in existence.

(C) IMPerative mood - this is marked by the addition of -a to the puɽ̃i- AUXiliary (realized phonetically as [jʌ] through the operation of the regular phonological rules, see 3.4) in Dhirari and to the verb stem in Diyari.

The subject noun phrase (either S or A (see 5.2.1.2)) of a clause containing a verb inflected for IMP can only have a second person referent (see 4.3.2). This subject, however, need not be overtly expressed (see examples below).

Notice that a class 1D verb (4.5.3.1) cannot take the IMPerative suffix unless the clause also contains the negative particle wata 'not' (5.5.1).

The IMP affix may be followed (optionally) by either or both of the following two affixes (in strict (a)-(b) order if both occur):

a) number marker (NM) which cross-references the number of the addressee noun phrase[1]. The forms of the marker are:

-ø- for singular and unspecified number

-ɭu- for dual

-ɳi- for plural

[1] These number markers are found only with imperatives. They have no role elsewhere in the language.

The singular is the unmarked term in the set and is used whenever explicit reference to the number of addressees is unnecessary. To make explicit marked singular number reference one of the second person singular pronouns must be used (i.e. either yini 2SgS or yundřu 2SgA (see 4.3.2)).

Number Markers for the IMPerative are also a feature of Ngamini and Yarluyandi. Both these languages have the forms:

-ø- for singular and unspecified number
-li- for dual
-ni- for plural

The IMP affix in both is also -a.

b) EMPHatic marker (EMPH) which indicates the degree of force with which a command is expressed. It is difficult to quantify exactly the force of the EMPH markers but observations of actual usage suggest that:

-ø- indicates a normal, unemphatic command
-mayi- indicates a slightly stronger command, such as would be used on repetition of an order or when the speaker is angry.

The clitic -awu (5.4.9) indicates an EXCLAMation. It may be suffixed to an IMPerative verb (after NM) when the command is shouted. Note that EMPH cannot co-occur with EXCLAM.

The following are some examples of possible combinations of these affixes:

Di. (123) yini ŋama-a-ø-mayi ŋaldr̃aṇi ŋandr̃i-ni
2SgS sit-IMP-NM-EMPH 1DlinclGEN mother-LOC
'You stay with our mother!' (1;5)

Dh. (124) wata n̪in̪a ḍanda-ḍa pur̃i-a-ni-awu
not SgnFO hit-PART AUX-IMP-NM-EXCLAM
'Don't you (all) hit him!'.

Di. (125) waʈa kaḷka-a-lu-mayi
while wait-IMP-NM-EMPH
'You (two) wait a while!' (1;33)

(D) -yat̪imayi ADMONitive - has an admonitive force and indicates that the speaker is expressing an opinion about what he feels a certain state of affairs should be. An ADMON inflected verb phrase takes as its subject (either S or A (5.2.1.2)) a third person referent, usually expressed as a determiner (4.4.1).

An example of the use of ADMON is the following:

Di. (126) n̪ulu puka-ø t̪ayi-yat̪imayi
SgnFA food-ABS eat-ADMON
"Let him eat his dinner; he should eat his dinner".

According to informants, it is possible to paraphrase (126) as follows (see 5.2.1.4 for the use of $IMPL_{ds}$ marking):

Di. (127) waraṛa-a-ø-mayi / ṉulu puka-ø ṯayi-ṇaṉṯu
leave-IMP-NM-EMPH SgnFA food-ABS eat-IMPL$_{ds}$
"Leave him to eat his dinner".

There is some evidence that -yaṯimayi should be analysed as -yaṯi-mayi (where mayi is like EMPH of IMPeratives (see above) perhaps). Consider the following example:

Di. (128) [ṯanali ṯaḷa-ø ŋaṉa ḏika-ṇa] / ṉawu
P1A name-ABS 1SgO name-PART SgnFS
wakaṛa-yaṯi-awu ṉiŋki-ḏa-ni
come-ADMON-EXCLAM here-VICIN-ALL
'[They call my name]. "He should come here!" '.

The occurrence of the EXCLAMatory clitic suggests that ADMON is -yaṯi and that -mayi is an addition. In by far the majority of examples in the corpus these two elements always occur together.

Notice that there is a non-main clause affix -yaṯi LEST with an admonitive function (see 4.5.7.1.2). It does not seem to be synchronically related to the main clause -yaṯi(mayi) affix described here.

Informants pointed out that clauses containing a verb marked by ADMON could never take a second person pronominal subject (see 4.3.2) and that commands addressed to a second person addressee must be in IMPerative mood (see above). That is, we have a contrast such as the following where (130) is ungrammatical:

Di. (129) yini ṯika-a-ø-mayi / muḍa-l̤a
2SgS return-IMP-NM-EMPH finish-IMPL$_{SS}$
'You go back to finish'.

Di. (130) *yini ṯikayaṯimayi muḍal̤a

It is not possible to express a first person imperative in Diyari using either IMP or ADMON above. The only way hortative expressions may be stated is by the use of PRES (and (optionally) the -l̤a New Information clitic). So, for example, we have:

Dh. (131) ŋalda [wapa-n̤da puñi-yi-l̤a
1DlinclS go-PART AUX-PRES-NI
Di. ŋaldña wapa-yi-l̤a]
'Let's go!'.

(2) with a following AUX

There are two affixes which are added to puñi- when it is followed by another AUX verb (4.5.7.2), their selection being determined by the type of AUXiliary. The affixes are:

(A) -n̤da ~ -ḍa PARTicipial suffix (see 4.5.5 for the allomorphy of PART in Dhirari) is added to puñi- when it occurs before all AUX verbs with past tense reference (see 4.5.7.2) with the exception of wiñi- the 'yesterday past' marker (see below).

Notice that PART also occurs suffixed to main verb stems:

a) followed by puñi- itself (see 4.5.5)

b) which occur in a sequence of main verbs (see 4.5.6).

In the Diyari dialect PART has a single form -ṇa. It occurs suffixed to verb stems in the functions (except (a)) described above.

In a sense PART is the least marked of the set of verb affixes in Diyari and Dhirari because verbs in citation will always be inflected with the PART affix. So, for example, informants reply to an enquiry such as "What is the word for X" (where X is a verb) with "Y-PART". When talking about (in a meta-linguistic sense) particular verbs, informants always employ the participial form of the stem.

(B) -ḻa FUTure suffix occurs on puñi- before the future tense AUXiliary ŋana- (4.5.7.2) and also before wiñi- 'yesterday past' (4.5.7.2).

While this may seem a semantically heterogeneous pair I believe that the use of FUT preceding wiñi- can be functionally motivated. There are two homophonous verb roots wiñi- in Diyari[1] which have quite distinct functions:

a) wiñi- as a 1A verb meaning 'to enter'. It is possible to use wiñi- as the second member of a sequence of main verbs, indicating 'action directed into some referent (typically arrival at a camp)' (see 4.5.6 and Table 35). In this case the verb preceding wiñi- in the sequence

[1] The following arguments do not hold for Dhirari because of the existence of the puñi- AUX. It occurs after wiñi- in (a) but before it in (b) so no confusion can arise - see example (133).

will take the PARTicipial suffix.

b) wiñi- as an AUXiliary verb (see 4.5.7.2).

In order to avoid possible ambiguity it is necessary to have a different affix on the main verb stem when wiñi- is functioning as an AUXiliary. The future marker -ḻa (which is only otherwise found on stems preceding ŋana- (but see 4.5.3.1.2 below)) is the only available alternative to PART.

Notice also that it is possible for a single verb phrase to contain both wiñi- roots, each with the appropriate marking on the preceding stem. An example is:

Di. (132) ŋawu ṯika-ṇa wiñi-ḻa wiñi-yi
SgnFS return-PART enter-FUT AUX-PRES
'He came back in yesterday'.

Compare this with Dhirari:

Dh. (133) ŋawu ṯikaṇḍa wiñiṇḍa puñiḻa wiñiyi

Table 37 shows the range of temporal reference of the two affixes.

The discussion above suggests that, historically, the development of AUX verbs (and hence the necessity for a special preceding stem marker) occurred after main verb sequences were established. Some evidence for the recent development of AUX verbs can be found below (4.5.7.3).

4.5.7.1.2 Subordinate Clause Affixes

A description of the syntax of non-main (or subordinate) clauses can be found at 5.2 below. There are basically four types of subordinate clause in both dialects. Three of these clause types - purposives, relatives and sequentials - have markings which indicate whether or not the subject of the subordinate clause is coreferential with the subject of the main clause (this is a much simplified general statement of the conditioning - see 5.2, especially 5.2.1.2, 5.2.1.3, 5.2.1.7, 5.2.2.1, 5.2.6.1 for further details). The fourth clause type - admonitives - shows no such differential marking and fails to indicate 'switch-reference' (see 5.2.1.2).

Table 36 lists the affixes concerned. Note that they are suffixed to puñi- in Dhirari and to the verb stem in Diyari (see 4.5.7.1)[1].

TABLE 36: SUBORDINATE CLAUSE AFFIXES

Clause Type	Coreferential subjects?	Dhirari	Diyari
IMPLicated$_{ss}$	yes	-l̪ali	-l̪a
IMPLicated$_{ds}$	no	-yani	-ṇan̪tu
RELative$_{ss}$	yes	-ṇḍa	-ṇa
RELative$_{ds}$	no	-ṇḍani	-ṇani
SEQuential$_{ss}$	yes	-ṇḍandu	-ṇandña
SEQuential$_{ds}$	no	-ni(ŋura)	-ni(ŋura)
LEST	yes or no	-ya̪ti	-ya̪ti

[1] Past tense AUX verbs can occur in REL and SEQ clauses when they take the appropriate suffix. In such cases the puñi- or (Diyari) stem selects the usual affix for its pre-AUX position (see below).

Some of these forms may be analysed and related to other forms in the language:

Diyari	$IMPL_{ss}$	=	FUT (4.5.7.1.1)
Dhirari/Diyari	REL_{ss}	=	PART (4.5.7.1.1, 4.5.5)
	REL_{ds}	=	PART-LOC (case marker 4.2.4)
	SEQ_{ss}	=	PART-SEQ (case marker 4.2.4)
	SEQ_{ds} -ni	=	NOMinalizer (see 5.1.9.1)
	LEST	=	ADMON (? - see 4.5.7.1.1)

For a table of the subordinate clause affixes in neighbouring languages see Table 41 at 5.2.1.2 below.

The following sentences provide some examples of five of these subordinate clause markers. For more detailed discussion and exemplification see 5.2 below.

Dh.	(134) ŋani	[wapa-ṇda	puři-yi]	/	yinaṉa		
	1SgS	[go-PART	AUX-PRES]		2SgO		
Di.		[wapa-yi]					
Dh.		[ṉayi-ṇda	puři-ḻali]				
		[see-PART	$AUX\text{-}IMPL_{ss}$]				
Di.		[ṉayi-ḻa]					

'I came to see you'.

Dh.	(135) ṉulu	[waraṛa-ṇda	puři-yi]	/	ṯana	muṉṯa	
	SgnFA	[leave-PART	AUX-PRES]		P1S	self	
Di.		[waraṛa-yi]					

Dh. [ḍuṇka-ḍa puři-yani]
emerge-PART AUX-IMPL$_{ds}$
Di. ḍuṇka-ṇaṇṯu

'He left them to come out by themselves'.

Dh. (136) ṉani [kuḍiŋka-ḍa kuřa-ṇḍa puři-yi] /
SgFS run-PART go away-PART AUX-PRES
Di. mindři-ṇa kuřa-yi
Dh. [yinda-ḍa puři-ṇḍa]
cry-PART AUX-REL$_{ss}$
Di. yindřa-ṇa

'She ran away crying'.

Dh. (137) yini muṇṯa [ḍuṇka-ḍa puři-ṇḍani] / wata
2SgS self emerge-PART AUX-REL$_{ds}$ not
Di. ḍuṇka-ṇani
Dh. [ṇaṯi] yinaṉa [ḍanda-ḍa puři-yi]
1SgA 2SgO hit-PART AUX-PRES
Di. ṇaṯu ṇandřa-yi

'If you come out by yourself I won't hit you'.

Dh. (138) yini [wapa-ṇḍa puři-a-ø-mayi] puŋala-ni
2SgS go-PART AUX-IMP-NM-EMPH shade-LOC
Di. wapa-a-ø-mayi
Dh. [muɲṯa-ri-ṇḍa puři-yaṯi]
sick-INCH-PART AUX-LEST
Di. muɲṯa-ri-yaṯi

'Go into the shade lest you get sick'.

There is one inflection which occurs suffixed to puñi- or the (Diyari) stem in subordinate clauses where there is a following (past tense) AUX verb. This is the PART suffix regularly added to puñi- and the stem in this position for main clauses (see 4.5.7.1.1 and footnote on page 217).

4.5.7.2 Other AUX Verbs

Both Diyari and Dhirari have a rich system of specifying time reference and modality by means of AUXiliary verbs which occur as the final constituent of a verb phrase (see 5.1.1.1). Most AUX verbs can be followed by one final affix, usually -yi PRES, in main clauses but wapa- occurs with both -yi PRES and -ya PAST with differences in function (see below). The affixes found on the verb immediately preceding each AUX (either the stem in Diyari or puñi- in Dhirari) are described at 4.5.7.1.1 above.

As noted above, the past tense AUX verbs can occur in some types of subordinate clauses, particularly REL (5.2.2) and SEQ (5.2.6). They cannot occur in LEST and IMPL clauses (5.2.1, 5.2.4).

The various AUX and examples of their use are set out below. The translations and glosses, particularly those of the more distant past group, are not to be taken as exact and precise. There seems to be a certain degree of overlap permitted in the speech of my main informants.

(A) wanti- co-occurs with -yi PRES and indicates 'distant past reference'. The root of this AUX is homophonous with a main verb of class 2B (see 4.5.3) meaning 'to search for'.

The following is an example of its use. Notice that clauses containing wantiyi also often have the time location nominal waru 'long ago' (see 4.2.7.2).

Dh.	(139) waru-ø	ŋaṯi	ṯukuṟu-ø	wayi-ṇḍa	
	long ago-LOC	1SgA	kangaroo-ABS	cook-PART	
Di.		ŋaṯu		wayi-ṇa	
	puṟi-ṇḍa	wanṯi-yi			
	AUX-PART	AUX-PRES			

'I cooked a kangaroo long ago'.

See also example (116) from Text One.

(B) wapa- homophonous with a 1A verb meaning 'to go', has two distinct functions:

a) with a suffixed -ya PAST marker, wapa- specifies past time reference of the order of one to two months previous to the present. Informants usually gloss sentences containing wapa-ya as "... a good while ago"[1]. An example is:

Dh.	(140) pula-ya	ḍanda-mali-ṇḍa	puṟi-ṇḍa	wapa-ya
	DlS-NEAR	hit-RECIP-PART	AUX-PART	AUX-PAST
Di.		ṇandṟa-mali-ṇa		

"Those two had a fight a good while ago".

---

1 Reuther, in his grammar (Hercus and Breen (ms)), and also Gatti (1930: 83) state that the verb stem preceding wapaya in Diyari takes -ḻa FUT rather than -ṇa PART. Reuther gives its function as "Präsens" while Gatti says it is "verbo un concetto di presente" . Planert (1908: 691) gives it as "Präsens definitum" and translates ŋankaḻa wapaya as "(ich) bin machend". Gason (1874) however has -la wopia as a past tense form. My informants use -ṇa wapaya as indicated here. I have once heard -ḻa wapaya used but was offered -ṇa wapaya during elicitation.

b) with a suffixed -yi PRES marker, wapa- specifies the habitual mood. That is, it indicates an action or event which is known to occur habitually (with more or less regularity). An example is:

Dh.	(141) ṯana	⎡ ŋama-ṉḏa	puř i-ṉḏa ⎤	wapa-yi	miṯa	muya-ni
	P1S	⎣ sit-PART	AUX-PART ⎦	AUX-PRES	ground	dry-LOC
Di.		⎡ ŋama-ṉa ⎤				
		⎣	⎦			

"They live in the dry country".

Note that it is possible to use the adverbial noun plus adjective (5.1.3.2) puṯa paḷpa 'sometimes' in a clause containing the habitual AUX. The following is an example from Diyari where the adverb is added, somewhat as an after thought:

Di.	(142) ŋaṯu	kaṯi-ø	kařpa-ṉa	wapa-yi	puṯa	paḷpa
	1SgA	clothes-ABS	sew-PART	AUX-PRES	times	some

"I sew clothes, sometimes".

(C) pařa- homophonous with a main verb root (class 1D) meaning 'to lie (of inanimates)', co-occurs with a suffixed -ya PAST marker. This AUX indicates past time of the order of one to two weeks prior to the present (time of speaking).

An example of its use is:

Dh.	(143)	ṉawu	wata	⎡ wapa-ṇḍa	puři-ṇḍa ⎤		pařa-ya
		SgnFS	not	⎢ go-PART	AUX-PART ⎥		AUX-PAST
Di.				⎣ wapa-ṇa	⎦		

"He didn't go last week".

Note that *-ṇa pařayi does not occur in the corpus in contrast to -ṇa pařaya AUX construction.

(D) wiři- homophonous with the 1A main verb root meaning 'to enter, go in', occurs with the -yi PRES suffix. It indicates that the action or event described by the main verb took place 'yesterday', that is, between yesterday morning and this morning.

The verb occurring before wiřiyi is suffixed with the -l̻a FUT marker (see 4.5.7.1.1). The sequence -ṇa wiřiyi occurs in main verb sequences where wiři- is an instance of the main verb 'to enter' (see 4.5.6).

An example of the use of this AUX is:

Dh.	(144)	waldřawiṭi-ø	ṉulu	kiṉt̻ala-ali	t̻ukuřu-ø	⎡ ḍanda-ḍa	
		yesterday-LOC	SgnFA	dog-ERG	kangaroo-ABS	⎢ hit-PART	
Di.						⎣ ṇandřa-l̻a	
Dh.		puři-l̻a	⎤ wiři-yi				
		AUX-FUT	⎦ AUX-PRES				
Di.							

'Yesterday the dog killed a kangaroo'.

The following two examples occurred during a description one morning of a drunken party which had occurred during the previous night:

Di. (145) yaṛu-ka pula ŋana-ɭa wiñi-yi ṯinka wiṭi-ṯa
like that-TOKEN D1S be-FUT AUX-PRES night long-OI
"That's how they were all night long"

Di. (146) ṯaŋkuṯaŋkupaṇa-ø windñi-ɭa ḍiʈi-ø ḍuṇka-ṇanṯu /
morning-LOC only-NI sun-ABS emerge-IMPL$_{ds}$
ŋani wapa-ṇa kuña-ɭa wiñi-yi
1SgS go-PART go away-FUT AUX-PRES
"I went away as the sun was only just coming up this morning".

It seems that, had the sun been already up (IMPL$_{ds}$ specifies that the sunrise took place after the leaving (see 5.2.1.1)) the use of wara- AUX (see below) would have been preferred.

(E) wara- homophonous with a 2D verb root meaning 'to throw', occurs with the -yi PRES suffix. It indicates that the action or event specified by the main verb occurred in the recent past. Typically, if 'now' is some time during the day -ṇa warayi refers to the period between 'now' and sunrise this morning (see wiñi- above).

Clauses containing warayi AUX may also have the particle maʈa (5.5.7) which informants translate into English as "just..." An example is:

Dh.	(147)	maʈa	[ŋaʈi	ɲiɲa	[ɲayi-ɳda	puři-ɳda]
		already	1SgA	SgnFO	see-PART	AUX-PART
Di.			ŋaʈu]		ɲayi-ɳa]	

wara-yi

AUX-PRES

"I've just seen him".

One further example is:

Di.	(148)	karaɽi-ø	ɲandřu	ʈukuřu-ø	wayi-ɳa	wara-yi
		today-LOC	SgnFA	kangaroo-ABS	cook-PART	AUX-PRES

'She cooked a kangaroo today'.

There is a single AUX verb in both dialects indicating future time specification. This contrasts with the five AUX verbs subdividing past time.

(F) ŋana- homophonous with the copula main verb root meaning 'to be' (see 5.1.2), occurs with a suffixed -yi PRES marker. It refers to actions or events taking place in the near to distant future.

There is some overlap between the uses of ŋanayi and one of the functions of the simple present (see 4.5.7.1.1). Examples of the AUX construction include the following:

Dh.	(149)	ʈaŋkupaɳa-ø	ŋani	yiŋkaŋu	[yaʈa-ɳda	puři-ɭa]
		tomorrow-LOC	1SgS	2SgLOC	[speak-PART	AUX-FUT]
Di.					[yaʈa-ɭa	]

ŋana-yi

AUX-PRES

"I'll tell you tomorrow".

Di.	(150)	maɳpi-ø	yani-ldřa-maʈa	ɳawu	yaʈa-ɭa
		bronzewing-ABS	like this-ADD-IDENT	SgnFS	speak-FUT
		ŋana-yi /	muŋka-ɳa-ldřa-maʈa		
		AUX-PRES	coo-REL$_{ss}$-ADD-IDENT		

'The bronzewing pigeon will talk the same (as the top knot pigeon), cooing too'.

Table 37 gives a schematic picture of the AUX system representing tense specification (that is, the modal wapayi is excluded). As noted above (page 220), the boundaries between the time reference of the various AUX are not totally rigid so the periods given at the bottom of the diagram are to be taken as approximate and relative (particularly on the left-hand side). Items on the vertical axis represent:

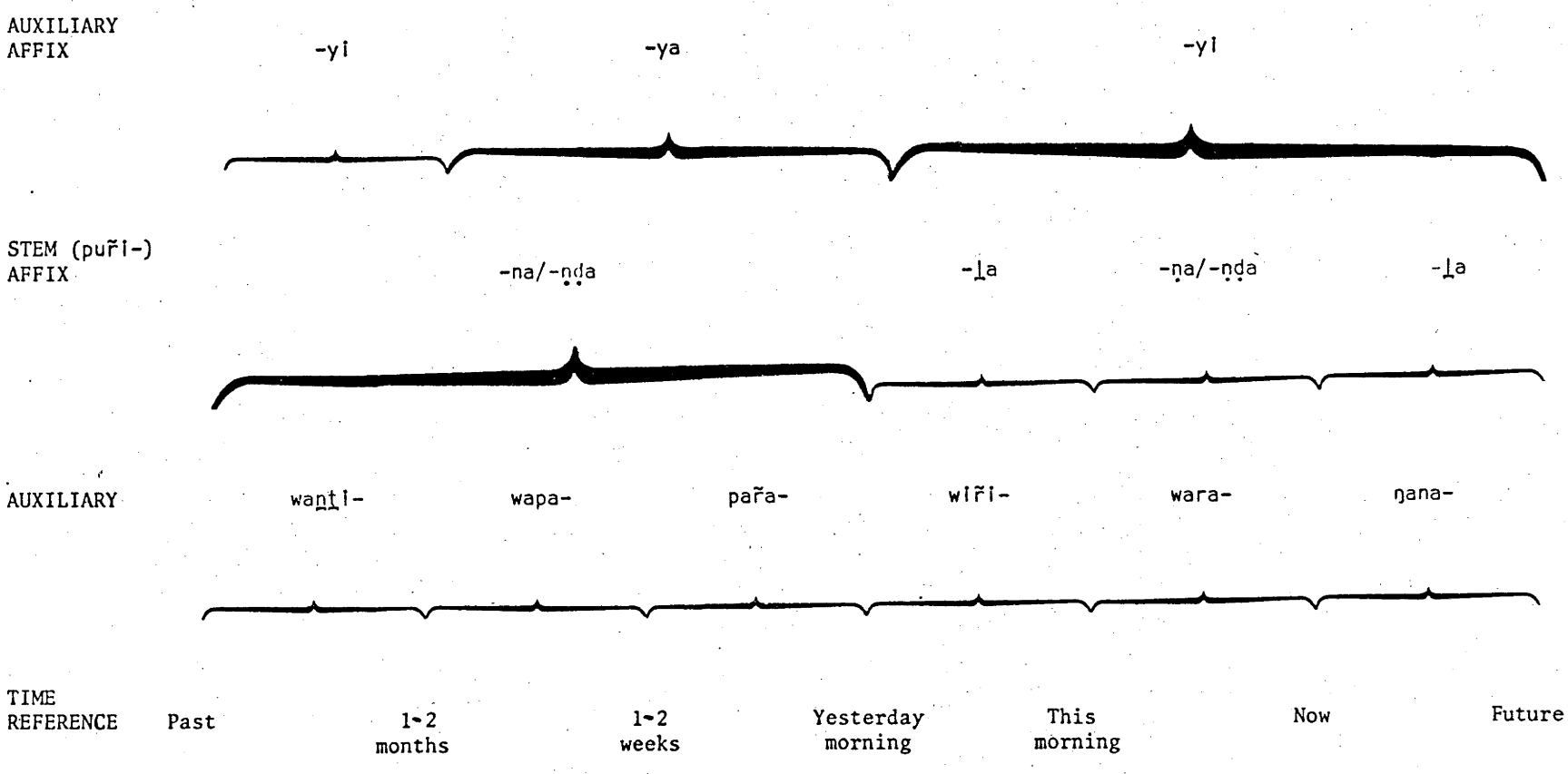
a) the AUX element

b) the affix attached to the preceding stem (or to puři- in Dhirari) i.e. either -ɳda ~-ɖa / -ɳa or -ɭa

c) the affix selected by each AUX, either -yi or -ya.

Notice that an explanation for the apparent intrusion of -ɭa in the middle line is put forward above (see 4.5.7.1.1).

TABLE 37: DIYARI/DHIRARI AUXILIARY VERBS



4.5.7.3 A Comparative Note

Breen (1976b) claims that Ngamini, once spoken adjacent to Diyari (see 1.1.5) had a system of AUX verbs showing some similarities to and also important differences from the Diyari/Dhirari system described above (4.5.7.2). On the basis of my fieldwork on Ngamini, I would disagree with Breen's analysis and sub-divide his "auxiliary verbs" as follows:

a) roots which occur as the second element of a main verb sequence (see 4.5.6 above). These can all occur with IMPL clause marking (see 5.2.1), and comprise[1]:

maɽka-	'to crawl'	-	continuing action in motion
paṛka-	'to run'	-	momentary action in motion
wiɽi-	'to enter'	-	arrival
ṯika-	'to return'	-	action directed back to origin
kuɽu-	?	-	motion away

b) true AUXiliary verbs, which cannot occur in IMPL clauses (see 4.5, 5.2.1). There are three:

---

[1] There are a number of others (c.f. 4.5.6) not recorded by Breen, for example ŋaṛi- 'action downwards' and ṯaṛa- 'action upwards' as in:

ṉiɽkaṇa ŋaṛi- 'to look down on'
ṉiɽkaṇa ṯaṛa- 'to look up at'

Breen gives an example with ŋaṛi- (example (2) page 747) but apparently did not notice that it patterns with these other roots in forming main verb sequences.

ŋana- indicates FUTure

wara- indicates recent past

wapa- indicates distant past and usually habitual (note that the preceding stem takes -ṇa and wapa- takes -ini- NOMinalizer (see Breen (1976b: 748)).

My fieldnotes on Yarluyandi show that that language (see 1.1.5) has both main verb sequences (like Ngamini and Diyari)[1] and also true AUX verbs. There are however, only two of the latter attested:

ŋana- indicating future

wapa- indicating distant past and (usually) habitual (as for Ngamini above).

There is no equivalent to wara- 'recent past' (c.f. Ngamini and Diyari) as an AUX construction since the simple past inflection -ndu is used.

Yandruwandha, according to Breen (1976a: 750):

> "does not make use of auxiliary verbs except that one form of the future tense in the dialect spoken along Strezlecki Creek uses ŋana- 'to do' as an auxiliary.
>
> (1) ŋanyi ṯawaŋa ŋanaḷa OR ŋanyi ṯawaŋa
> I go-fut do-pres
> *'I am going to go'.* "

---

[1] Some examples of these are the following:

ṉikaṇḍa ṯaṛa- 'to look up at' (ṉika- 'to see')
ŋuṉiṇḍa ŋaṛi- 'to sit down' (ŋuṉi- 'to sit')
ŋaŋgiḍa ṯika- 'to give back' (ŋaŋgi- 'to give')

c.f. Table 35.

This language then has but one true AUX verb and it is only infrequently used. There is a system of suffixation which seems to correspond semantically to the main verb sequences of the other languages mentioned above. There are also some phonological similarities, for example, Yandruwandha -ṯika- "action directed back" corresponds to Diyari -ṇa ṯika-. How these comparative data are to be interpreted in a diachronic account of these languages must remain an open question until further work (c.f. 1.1.5) has been completed.

4.5.8 Interrogative Verbs

There are two interrogative verb stems derived by the application of inchoative and causative process described in Sections 5.1.10.1, 5.1.10.3 to the interrogative nominal miṉa (see 4.2.8). They are:

Transitive	miṉaŋanka-
Intransitive	miṉari-

Examples of their use are the following:

(151) miṉa-ri-ṇa wara-yi ṉawu
what-INCH-PART AUX-PRES SgnFS
'What happened to him?'.

(152) miṉa-ŋanka-ḻa ŋana-yi ŋaldȓa ṉiṉa
what-CAUSE-FUT AUX-PRES 1Dlincl A SgnFO
'What shall we do with him?' (1;82)

The transitive interrogative verb may occur with -mali RECIP and -ʈaɽi- REFL stem forming affixes (see 4.5.4.1 - notice that it acts like a 2A root as regards the effects of adding -ʈaɽi-). Examples of the use of the de-transitivized stems are:

(153) miɳa-ŋanka-ʈaɽi-ɳa wara-yi yini ʈaŋkuʈaŋkupaɳa-ø
what-CAUSE-REFL-PART AUX-PRES 2SgS morning-LOC
'What did you do to yourself this morning?'. (25;39)

(154) miɳa-ŋanka-mali-ɳa wara-yi yula? [ŋali
what-CAUSE-RECIP-PART AUX-PRES 2D1S 1D1exc1S
piɽki-ɳa wara-yi windɽi]
play-PART AUX-PRES only
'What did you two do to each other? [We were only playing]'.
(25;38).

CHAPTER FIVE

SYNTAX

5.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

A simple sentence in Diyari consists of a predicate and one or more noun phrase arguments. The noun phrases (5.1.1.2) are all overtly marked for case (4.2.4, 5.1.5). Predicates are of two basic types:

a) verbal, that is, containing a verb marked for tense or mood (see 5.1.1.1)

b) non-verbal, expressing a state or quality and usually not marked for tense (see 5.1.2). These predicates contain a copula under certain circumstances (see below).

Throughout the following discussion of the syntax reference will be made to three syntactic functions, as follows (see also 4.5.3):

S - subject of an intransitive verb

A - subject of a transitive (or di-transitive) verb

O - object of a transitive verb

These three labels are useful for discussing aspects of the grammar (see, for example, 5.1.5 and 5.1.8); however there is no one-to-one relationship between them and semantic categories (see 5.1.5).

5.1.1 Constituent Types

The classes of words which must be distinguished morphologically are outlined in 4.1 above. We may recognize two syntactic constituents which consist of one or more words.

5.1.1.1 Verb Complex

A verb complex consists of one or more main verbs (4.5.3, 4.5.6) followed (optionally) by an AUXiliary verb (4.5.7), the last element taking one of the inflectional affixes (see 4.5.7.1). In the Dhirari dialect the puři- AUXiliary is obligatory and may be followed by a further AUXiliary (4.5.7.2). Main verbs are classified into intransitive, transitive and di-transitive types (see 4.5.3 for the criteria employed). For Diyari we can abbreviate this as follows:

$$\text{V C} \rightarrow \text{main } V^{n} \text{ (+ AUX)} \quad n \geqslant 1$$

$$\text{main V} \rightarrow \begin{cases} V_{int} \\ V_{tr} \\ V_{di\text{-}tr} \end{cases}$$

while the description for Dhirari has a slightly different first expansion:

$$\text{V C} \rightarrow \text{main } V^{n} + \text{AUX (+ AUX)} \quad n \geqslant 1$$

Standard treatments of English grammar in the transformational model (see Chomsky (1957, 1964), Akamajian and Heny (1975)) set up a verb phrase category which can consist of a transitive verb plus a noun phrase. In Diyari there is only weak evidence for linking a particular noun phrase (the O NP) with a transitive verb as a sentential constituent, namely the facts of nominalization (see 5.1.9 for details).

5.1.1.2 Noun Phrase

A noun phrase minimally consists of one of the following (as defined by

4.1):

a) noun

b) adjective

c) pronoun

d) determiner

Thus, a single word noun phrase (NP) will consists of one of these four types of constituent. It is possible to combine one or more of these parts of speech as a noun phrase subject to two constraints:

1) it is not possible to select both a pronoun and a determiner

2) only one occurrence of a pronoun or a determiner per noun phrase.

The relative ordering of constituents within a noun phrase is given by the following formula[1] (where usual abbreviations are employed. Note that at least one constituent must be chosen (as above)):

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Pronoun} \\ \text{Determiner} \end{array} \right\} \right) \quad (\text{N})^{n} \quad (\text{Adj})^{n} \\ \text{N proper} \\ \text{N locational} \end{array} \right\} \qquad n \geq 1$$

The head noun of a noun phrase can be one or both of the following (see also 4.2.1):

a) a generic noun

b) a specific noun

---

[1] This is the 'preferred' ordering (typical of elicited sentences) - it is possible to scramble constituents provided that each carries case marking (see below).

Where both are selected the relative ordering is as follows:

N → N generic + N specific

We also have noun phrases where the head noun consists of two specific nouns in apposition. There are two types:

1) apposition indicating a part-whole relationship. The use of apposition for inalienable possession is discussed in detail at 5.1.6.2 below. Other examples of this type are:

maṇa kira	'jawbone'	mouth + boomerang
paṯara kuku	'hole in box tree'	box tree + hollow
maṛa ŋandĩi	'thumb'	hand + mother
ṯalpa waṭa	'earlobe'	ear + butt

2) apposition where the first noun provides a specification (or narrowing) of the reference of the second noun. Examples include:

kaṇa ṯaḷa	'Aboriginal name'	person + name
ḍiyaṛi yawaña	'Diyari language'	Diyari + language
pukaṭu wima	'corroboree type'	ochre type + corroboree[1]
ṯalaṛa maḍa	'rain stone'	rain + stone
ŋaṯata kanku	'younger brother'	yS + boy
kaṉikaṉini mankaña	'granddaughter'	REDUP-mother's mother + girl[2]

---

[1] See footnote page 104

[2] kaṉini is a reciprocal term for 'mother's mother' and '(female's) daughter's child'. Reduplication (see 4.2.10) indicates 'little or small'.

The following are some examples of the types of noun phrases encountered (for further exemplification see following examples and texts (Appendix A)):

n̪awu	kaṇa	maṯ̪ari	ŋumu	*'the good man'*
SgnFS	person	man	good	

ŋali	kanku	waka	*'we small boys'*
1Dlincl S	boy	small	

ṯ̪ana	ṯ̪alaṛa	maḍa	piṇa	mañ̃a	*'those big new rain stones'*
P1S	rain	stone	big	new	

5.1.2 Non-Verb Predicates

As noted above (5.1), predicates may be verbal (5.1.1.1) or non-verbal. The latter type of predicate consists of a noun phrase which may be followed, under certain circumstances, by the copula ŋana- 'to be' (see below). Simple sentences may thus consist of a noun phrase subject (marked for the same case as an S NP (see 5.1.5.1)) and a noun phrase predicate (again with case marking as for S NPs) with the predicate usually, but not always, clause final (see 5.1.7.1).

The meanings expressed by clauses with non-verbal predicates are:

a) equational, that is 'X is Y'

and

b) attributive, that is 'X has the attribute Y'

For type (b), Y will be a noun phrase consisting of (one or more) adjectives. The following are some examples of these clause types (note that (155) and (156) are type (a) while (157) and (158) are type (b)):

(155) ŋani wañaŋaɲʈu
1SgS left-hand
'I (am) left-handed'. (1;90)

(156) ɳawu-ya-ku ŋura-ʈa
SgnFS-NEAR-SENSE camp-OI
'This (is) the camp'. (1;129)

(157) paʈara-ø marapu
box tree-ABS many
'There (are) many box trees'.

(158) pula-ya kiɳʈala-ø maɭaɲʈi
D1S-NEAR dog-ABS bad
'These dogs (are) bad'.

The following sentence is interesting in that it consists of just two nominal determiners (recall that NPs may be determiners only (5.1.1.2)):

(159) ɳawu-ya ɳawu
SgnFS-NEAR SgnFS
'This (is) it'.

As an alternative to examples (155) to (159) above the copula ŋana- (plus puři- in Dhirari) can be used in clause final position. Thus, the corresponding to (155), and with the same meaning, we have:

Dh.	(160)	ŋani	wařaŋaɲʈu	ŋana-ɳ̣da	puři-yi
		1SgS	left-hand	be-PART	AUX-PRES
Di.				ŋana-yi	

'I am left-handed'.

The copula is only rarely used marked for present tense and there is a decided tendency towards sentences like (155) to (159), especially in text material. (Note however the ŋana- is obligatory in certain types of instrumental construction (see 5.1.5.4) regardless of temporal reference). When the attribute or equation described by a non-verb predicate is not located in the present, ŋana- must be used to carry the tense or imperative mood (in cases where it is semantically plausible) affixes (see 4.5.7.1). So, we find ŋana- marked as PAST in:

(161)	piḍařu-ø	piṇa	ŋana-ya	n̪uŋkaŋu-ka	ḍiʈi-ni
	drought-ABS	big	be-PAST	SgnFLOC-TOKEN	day-LOC

'There was a big drought on that day'.

and followed by one of the AUX verbs (other than puři-) in:

(162)	kun̪ʈi	marapu-ø	n̪iŋki-ḍa-ø	ŋana-ṇa	wara-yi
	mosquito	many-ABS	here-VICIN-LOC	be-PART	AUX-PRES

'There were many mosquitoes here'.

(163) kaṇa-ø ṯana paḷu ŋana-ṇa waṉṯi-yi
person-ABS P1S naked be-PART AUX-PRES
'People were naked (long ago)'.

Notice the contrast between the use of ŋana- in just the first of the following pair of clauses linked by ŋaḷa 'but' (5.3.3):

(164) ṯaŋkuṯaŋkupaṇa-ø ṉawu wata ŋumu ŋana-ṇa
morning-LOC SgnFS not good be-PART
wara-yi ŋaḷa karaṛi-ø ṉawu maṯa ŋumu
AUX-PRES but now-LOC SgnFS alright good
'This morning he was no good but now he is alright'.

We also find ŋana- in RELative clauses (see 5.2.2) because of their inherent past reference ('past' with relation to the main clause) and to carry the subordinate clause affix (see 4.5.7.1.2):

(165) wata ŋaṯu kupuḷa-ø ṯapa-ṇa waṉṯi-yi /
not 1SgA wine-ABS drink-PART AUX-PRES
mankaña ŋani ŋana-ṇa
girl 1SgS be-REL$_{SS}$
"I didn't drink grog when I was a girl".

There are examples in the corpus of positive and negative imperatives containing ŋana-, for example:

(166) ŋumu ŋana-a-ø-mayi
good be-IMP-NM-EMPH
'Be good'.

(167) wata maɻaɳʈi ŋana-a-ni-mayi

not bad be-IMP-NM-EMPH

'Don't be bad'.

A number of languages restrict the occurrence of the copula to non-present time, for example Russian (Ward (1965: 109-110)) and literary Arabic (Cowan (1958: 10, 61)). Most Australian languages appear to lack a verb 'to be' although Ngiyamba: (Donaldson (1977: 281)) and some other N.S.W. languages (Williams (1976)) do have it. In Walmatjari (Dixon (pers. comm.) quoting Hudson) a copula has developed from the verb 'to lie'.

5.1.3 Adverbial Modification

Uninflected adjectives or adjective plus noun combinations may be used in Diyari to provide adverbial modification of a predicate. A number of separate functions can be distinguished including manner, degree and temporal specification (see 5.1.3.1, 5.1.3.2). The predicate determiners (4.4.2) also have adverbial functions (5.1.3.3). These adverbial function elements normally occur immediately before the verb but they may (as in (177) below) appear after it. Predicate determiners are also used clause initially (5.1.3.3).

The Adj and N+Adj combinations cannot be taken as examples of noun phrases (inflected for ABSolutive case, say (see 5.1.5)) or parts of noun phrases for three reasons:

a) they can never occur with nominal determiners (4.4.1, 5.1.1.2) of any number or case

b) there are examples where it is semantically impossible for an Adj adverbial modifier to be interpreted as part of an NP. Consider the example of waɽ̃ku '(a)cross, crosswise' (as in piṭa waɽ̃ku 'a crosswise (piece of) wood') used as follows:

(168) kiṉṯala-ø waṙku mindṙi-yi
dog-ABS crosswise run-PRES

This can only mean 'The dog is running across (the line of sight)' and not *'The crosswise dog is running'. Similarly, an imperative such as:

(169) yini ṯalku yaṯa-a-ø-mayi
2SgS straight speak-IMP-NM-EMPH

means 'You talk correctly!' and not *'You (being) straight, talk!'.

c) the positioning of clause stress differentiates between adjectives as parts of NPs and adjectives as adverbial modifiers. So, for example[1]:

(170) ṉawu-ya ŋaṉṯi ṯuŋka paṇi-yi
SgnFS-NEAR meat rotten smell-PRES

can mean 'This rotten meat is smelling' but with an intonation break between ŋaṉṯi and ṯuŋka and clause stress on ṯuŋka it means 'This meat smells rotten'. Often, where ambiguity could arise, topicalization (5.1.7.3) is employed to split the N and Adj and give the second reading only:

(171) ŋaṉṯi-ø ṉawu-ya ṯuŋka paṇi-yi
meat-ABS SgnFS-NEAR rotten smell-PRES
'This meat smells rotten'.

[1] I have not written -ø ABS here because of the two possible readings.

In the following sections the functions of the modifiers are discussed and illustrated.

5.1.3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives may be used with a verbal predicate in one of three functions (note that it is possible for all three uses to occur in a single clause, see example (190)):

a) manner specification - adjectives may provide information about the way an action, event or process progresses. They include:

kuṇu	'one, alone'	ŋupaṛa	'first'
maṇka	'slow, steady'	ŋapu	'quiet'
parapara	'hard, energetic'	ŋuña	'continuous'
ṯalku	'straight, correct'	waña̋ku	'crosswise'
ṯuŋka	'rotten, stinking'	maŋka	'opposite (direction)'
ŋumu	'good, well'	muɲʈa	'sick'
maḻaɲʈi	'bad, poorly'	kalaḻa	'in return'
ṉari	'dead'	ṯipi	'alive'

Examples of their use include the following (see also (168) to (171) above):

(172) ṉawu kuṇu ŋama-yi
SgnFS one sit-PRES
'He is sitting alone'.

(173) ṉani maŋka wapa-yi

SgnFS opposite go-PRES

'She went the opposite way'. (2;34)

(174) wata parapara piṯi-a / kuna-ø ṯaña-iŋa-yaṯi

not hard fart-IMP shit-ABS fly-PROL-LEST

"Don't fart hard or shit will fly out"[1].

(175) ŋaṯu ṉiṉa ŋaṉṯi-ø kalaḷa yiŋki-ṇa wara-yi

1SgA SgnFO meat-ABS return give-PART AUX-PRES

'I gave him some meat back'.

b) degree specification - there are two adjectives which can be used as degree adverbs:

piṇa - 'big, a lot'[2]

maḷa - 'true, real'

---

[1] This is said as a joke after someone (especially a child) has farted.

[2] There is a contrast between piṇa 'a lot of, much', which is used with mass nouns, as in:

(176´) ŋapa piṇa-ø ṉawu-ya pantu-ni paña-yi

water big-ABS SgnFS-NEAR salt lake-LOC lie-PRES

'There is a lot of water in the salt lake'.

and marapu 'a lot of, many' which is used with count nouns, as in:

(176´´) ŋaṯu kawalka marapu-ø ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi

1SgA crow many-ABS see-PART AUX-PRES

'I saw a lot of crows'.

There are no nouns that can be used with both piṇa and marapu.

We find piṇa used to mean 'really, a lot' as in the following examples:

(176) ŋaṯu yinaṉa piṇa ŋanʈa-yi
1SgA 2SgO big like-PRES
'I like you a lot'.

(177) ṉani yunka-ri-ṇa wara-yi piṇa
SgFS anger-INCH-PART AUX-PRES big
'She got really angry'.

piṇa also occurs with ŋana- 'to be' and the uncontrolled instrumental construction (see 5.1.5.4) as in:

(178) ṯinanipa-ni ṯana yapa-ali piṇa ŋana-yi
kurdaitcha-LOC P1S fear-INST big be-PRES
'They are very afraid of the kurdaitcha man'.

maḷa is used to indicate comparison, where it corresponds to the English degree adverb 'more'. If the thing with which something is being compared (the 'object of comparison') is overtly expressed as an NP it will be inflected for LOCative case (5.1.5.5). Examples include:

(179) ṉandr̃u ŋuyama-yi maḷa ŋakaŋu
SgFA know-PRES more 1SgLOC
'She knows more than I'.

In this comparative function we find maḷa with constructions like (178) above, for example:

(180) ŋawu maḷa mawa-ali ŋana-yi ŋaliŋu
SgnFS more hunger-INST be-PRES 1D1exc1LOC
'He is hungrier than we (are)'.

and also with non-verb predicates, as in:

(181) ŋakaṇi kiṉṯala-ø piṇa maḷa yiŋkaṇi-ni
1SgGEN dog-ABS big more 2SgGEN-LOC
'My dog is bigger than yours'.

Note that maḷa is also used as a degree modifier when the predicate consists of just an adjective as in:

(182) ŋani-ya mankaña-ø ŋumu maḷa
SgFS-NEAR girl-ABS good very
'This girl is very good'.

Sentence (182) is ambiguous because of the two functions of maḷa - without an expressed object of comparison (182) can also mean 'This girl is better (than someone)'[1].

[1] It may be that semantically 'very good' is just like a comparison with some generic or unspecified object. If the context is clear and there is no LOC NP then (182) can be interpreted as 'This girl is better (than someone)' otherwise the reading will be 'This girl is better (than most) i.e. This girl is very good'.

There is one other use of maḷa as an adverb and that is with the particles wata 'not' (5.5.1) and pulu 'cannot' (5.5.2) to indicate that the action, event or process specified by the (verbal) predicate does not or cannot continue any longer (compare this with -ḷu (5.4.1)). Some examples of maḷa with these negatives are:

(183) pulu maḷa n̲ulu-ya pantu-ali paḍa-ṇa
cannot more SgnFA-NEAR salt lake-ERG hold-PART
wan̲t̲i-yi ŋapa-ø
AUX-PRES water-ABS
'This salt lake couldn't hold water any longer'.

(184) kaṇa-ø wata maḷa ŋama-yi n̲iŋki-ḍa-ø
person-ABS not more sit-PRES here-VICIN-LOC
'No-one lives here any more'.

It is interesting that English also uses a comparative with negatives - so we have 'more' and 'no more' as well as 'no longer'. Among other European languages German has 'nicht mehr' (c.f. mehr as comparative) and French 'ne ... plus'.

c) locational specification - there are five adjectives which can be used as locational adverbs:

ṯati	'middle, (in) middle (of)'
miri	'above, (at) top (of)'
wita	'lined up, in row'
waṟiṯa	'distant, far away'
kaṛakaṛa	'near, close'

All these adjectives relate two or more referents spatially - their function is thus different to LOCative case marked NPs (see 5.1.5.5) which refer to absolutive spatial orientation (see example (187)). Examples of their use are the following:

(185) ṯana wita-wita ŋama-yi
P1S REDUP-row sit-PRES
'They are sitting in a row'.

(186) kanku-ø yindṟa-yi / pula waṟiṯa-l̩u wapa-ṇani
boy-ABS cry-PRES D1S distant-STILL go-REL$_{ds}$
'The boy cried as they went further away'. (1;52)

(187) yini ŋama-a-ø-mayi ŋandṟi-ni kaṛakaṛa
2SgS sit-IMP-NM-EMPH mother-LOC close
'You sit close to (your) mother'.

Notice the contrast between the following pair of examples where miri is used as an NP (in (189)) and also adverbially (in (188) - see also (109)):

(188) kanku-ø ŋawu miri kari-yi piṭa-ni
boy-ABS SgnFS above climb-PRES tree-LOC
'The boy is climbing up above in the tree'.

(189) kanku-ø ŋawu kaṛi-yi piṭa miri-ni
boy-ABS SgnFS climb-PRES tree above-LOC
'The boy is climbing in the top of the tree'.

5.1.3.2 Noun plus Adjective

Noun plus adjective combinations may be used adverbially in Diyari as predicate modifiers. Their functions may be classified into three groups:

a) manner specification - these are N + Adj combinations which provide information about the manner in which some action, event or process occurs. They resemble the manner adverbial use of adjectives described above (see 5.1.3.1). Some examples are[1]:

Dh. (190) ŋaḍa-ni ṯina paḷu ŋawu wapa-ŋḍa puñi-yi
then-LOC foot naked SgnFS go-PART AUX-PRES
'Then he walked with naked feet (i.e. without any shoes on)'.

See also (4;5) in Appendix A.

---

[1] It is semantically impossible to regard ŋani milki puʈu in (191) say as a single NP and interpret the sentence as *'My blind eye lay down' (see 5.1.6.2 for indication of possession by apposition). It is also not possible to delete the adjective in either (190) or (191) without producing an ungrammatical sentence.

(191) ŋani milki puʈu ʈuraṛa-ṇa wara-yi
1SgS eye blind lie-PART AUX-PRES
'I lay down with my eyes closed'.

Also in this class are nouns followed by pani 'no, none' (see (4.2.3)) used adverbially as in:

(192) ʈana kaʈi pani wapa-na wiṛaṛi-yi
P1S clothes none go-PART go about-PRES
'They went about without any clothes on'.

(193) yaṛu-ka ṉani ṉiṉʈa pani ŋama-na wara-yi
like that-TOKEN SgFS shame none sit-PART AUX-PRES
'She sat (there) shamelessly like that'.

Notice that Diyari expresses 'shamefully' (in contrast to (193)) with the INSTrumental of ṉiṉʈa as described at 5.1.5.4.

b) temporal specification - here we find the following sets of nouns and adjectives which co-occur as adverbs:

Noun		Adjective	
puʈa	'number of times'	paḷpa	'some'
ḍiʈi	'day'	marapu	'many'
ʈinka	'night'	any number adjective (4.2.9)	
piṛa	'moon, month'	wiṭi	'all through'
kiḷpawaldña	'year'[1]		

[1] kiḷpa means 'cold' and waldña 'hot'. The combination kiḷpawaldña denotes a period of one year. ḍiʈi is both 'day' and 'sun'.

The only combination which is not possible is *puṯa wiṭi. Others with puṯa indicate the number of times a state, action, event or process occurs. Examples include (41) above and:

Dh. (194) puṯa mandřu pulali kuṛi-ali mani-ṇḍa
times two D1A stealth-INST get-PART
puři-yi
AUX-PRES
'They stole (it) twice'. (20;49).

Examples of the adverbial use (including the expression of duration) of some others from the list above include (107) and also:

(195) ḍiṭʃi marapu ŋama-ṇa ṉaka-ø ṉawu
day many sit-PART there-LOC SgnFS
'He sat there many days'. (1;62)

(196) ŋaṇi ṯinka wiṭi wapa-na wara-yi
1SgS night long go-PART AUX-PRES
'I walked all night long'. (2;83)

The interrogative corresponding to these adverbs is wiṉṯaranaya 'for how long?' (4.2.8). An example of its use is (35).

c) locational specification - modifiers falling under this classification are of two types:

i) those which have as their adjective element one of the set discussed as locational specifiers above (5.1.2.1(c)). The N + Adj combinations also provide relative spatial orientation. Some examples of their use are[1]:

(197) puŋa ʈati ʈuñu-ø ɖaña-yi
humpy middle fire-ABS make fire-PRES
'(They) made a fire in the middle of the humpy'.

(198) kuku-ni pildña-ø ʈuraɽa-yi piʈa miri
hollow-LOC possum-ABS lie-PRES tree top
'Possums sleep at the tops of trees in hollows'.

See also (205) below.

Notice that the specific location in (198) is marked for LOCative case but the general location is not. It is not possible to argue that kuku originates inside a noun phrase

[1] Apart from examples such as (198) where we have general and specific locations, there seems to be little difference between these sorts of N + Adj combinations (without case marking) and LOCative NPs. So, for example, for (197) we have:

(197′) puŋa ʈati-ni ʈuñu-ø ɖaña-yi
'(They) made a fire in the middle of the humpy'.

Informants found the difference between sentences such as (197) and (197′) very difficult to explain in English. It may be that LOC case marking indicates a specific location while the adverbal use of N + Adj is more general and approximate. I could find no examples where a clearly discernable difference appeared to be intended.

which also contains piṭa miri because scrambling of NP constituents results in all constituents taking appropriate case marking, not just the last (see 5.1.5).

ii) others - here the adjectives are of various types but the noun refers to some feature of the landscape (see 1.2). Examples include:

(199) ḍaku wiṭi ṉani wapa-ṇa wara-yi
sandhill through 1SgS go-PART AUX-PRES
'I walked along the sandhill (from one end to the other):

(200) ṉani wiṛaṛi-ṇa waṉṯi-yi miṯa mañu-ṛi
1SgS go about-PART AUX-PRES country wide LOC
'I went about all over the place'.

Notice the effect of the use of the LOC case (5.1.5.5) on examples such as (200) by comparing it with:

(201) ṉani wiṛaṛi-ṇa waṉṯi-yi miṯa mañu
country wide
'I went about in (that) wide country'.

5.1.3.3 Predicate Determiners

The morphology of predicate determiners is discussed at 4.4.2 above. The determiners, based on yaṛu- 'like that' and yani- 'like this' give adverbial specification to predicates of all types (5.1.1.1, 5.1.2). An example with a stative predicate is:

(202) puka ṯandřa yani-ka ṉawu
food seed like this-TOKEN SgnFS
'It(is)a seed like this'.

The yani- determiners are used:

a) to refer to something in the immediate extra-linguistic context. So, for example, (207) can be used when pointing at or considering a particular example of a seed.

b) to refer to something in the immediately preceding linguistic context, that is, it has anaphoric reference to something mentioned in the preceding sentence (or clause). Examples of this are:

(203) [ṉulu ŋanka-ni mani-ṇa] yani-ldřa-maṯa
SgnFA work-NOM get-PART like this-ADD-IDENT
ŋali ŋanka-ṇa waṉṯi-yi
1Dlexc1A work-PART AUX-PRES
'[He got a job] We were doing exactly the same' or
'He got a job just like we had been doing'.

(204) [muku-ø kuřa-ṇḍa puři-ṇḍa waṉṯi-yi muḻa-ni]
bone-ABS put-PART AUX-PART AUX-PRES nose-LOC
yani-ka ŋayana ḏika-ṇḍa puři-yi
like this-TOKEN 1P1inc1A name-PART AUX-PRES
ṯinanipa-ø
kurdaitcha-ABS
'They used to put a bone through their noses. Thus we called them ṯinanipa (kurdaitcha)'. (4;1-2)

Note the use of -ka TOKEN described and illustrated at 4.4.2

The yaṛu- determiner is used:

a) to refer to something extra-linguistic which can be understood from the context although not specifically mentioned or physically pointed to. An example is:

(205) [ŋaḍa-ni yundřu n̲ayi-yi / piṛi-ŋanka-ṇani
then-LOC 2SgA see-PRES space-CAUSE-REL$_{ds}$
n̲ulu] yaṛu-ka piṭa ṯati wapa-ṇa
SgnFA like that-TOKEN tree middle go-PART
'Then you could see him making his way. (He was) going through the middle of the plants like that'. (2;17-18)

Dh. (206) ŋaḍa-ni ŋaṯi ḍandřa-ḍa puři-yi yaṛu-wa
then-LOC 1SgA hit-PART AUX-PRES like that-DIST
yařa
that way
'Then I fired (it) off like that over that way'. (4;20)

b) to refer to something in the immediately following linguistic context, that is, it has cataphoric reference to something to be mentioned. Examples include:

(207) yundřu n̲iṇa [torch]-ø paḍa-a-ø-mayi
2SgA SgnFO -ABS hold-IMP-NM-EMPH

yaṛu-ka / maṛa-ali

like that-TOKEN hand-INST

'You hold the torch like that, in your hand'. (2;74)

We also find yaṛu- used in clauses containing verbs of location (of various verb clauses) where the following clause is an example of direct speech. That is, yaṛu- indicates a quotation is about to be given[1]. Examples of this include:

(208) ŋaḍa-ni ṉawu yaṛu-ka yaṯa-yi

then-LOC SgnFS like that-TOKEN speak-PRES

'Then he said the following'. (2;41)

(209) ŋaḍa-ni ṯanali ṉiṉa yakalka-yi yaṛu-ya /

then-LOC P1A SgnFO ask-PRES like-that-TOKEN

[waḍayari-ḻa yini pinaṟu-ø-ya]

where-CHAR 2SgS old man-ABS-NEAR

'Then they asked him the following ["Where are you from old man"].' (2;23-24)

5.1.4 Other Uninflected Nominals

There is one further clause type in which an uninflected noun and/or adjective occurs. These clauses consist of:

a) a noun phrase in S function that is nominative case (see 5.1.5.1)

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[1] In the examples I translate yaṛu- as 'the following' although in more natural English it would probably not be mentioned.

b) the verb paɳʈi- (class 1E) meaning 'to become, happen' (see 4.5.3.1, 4.5.4.1.1)[1]

c) an uninflected noun and/or adjective complement of the verb. This uninflected nominal expresses the final result or state which the S NP becomes.

The following are some examples, firstly of nouns:

(210) ṉawu pinaɽu paɳʈi-yi
SgnFS old man become-PRES
'He has become an old man'.

(211) pulu ṉawu kanku paɳʈi-yi ṉaka-ldɽa
cannot SgnFS boy become-PRES there-ADD
'He can't become a boy again'.

and secondly of adjectives:

(212) ṉani maɲa ṯandɽa-ø maḻaɳʈi maḻa paɳʈi-ṇa
SgFS head-ABS bad true become-PART
wara-yi wiḻapina-yari
AUX-PRES old woman-LIKE
"She got really silly like an old woman".

---

[1] The transitivized form paɳʈima- means 'to make' (see Table 29 page 175)

(213) ŋayani paḍaka-ṇa waɳʈi-yi ɳaɳʈu ŋayaniṇi-ø
1Plexcl A take-PART AUX-PRES horse 1Plexcl GEN-ABS
kaɳʈa-ya / yiraɲa paɲʧi-ṇani
grass-PURP thin become-REL$_{ds}$
"We used to take our horses for grass when they got thin".

The following is an example of a noun + adjective complement:

(214) ɳawu kanku piṇa paɲʧi-yi
SgnFS boy big become-PRES
"He is getting to be a big boy".

The notion of 'becoming' may also be expressed with adjectives by the verbalizing process of INCHoative (see 5.1.10.1) involving the addition of -ri or -ṛi (conditioned allomorphs (see below)). So, for example, we have the following pair of clauses:

(215) ɳawu ŋumu-ri-yi
SgnFS good-INCH-PRES

(216) ɳawu ŋumu paɲʧi-yi
SgnFS good become-PRES

both of which were translated by informants as "He became good". I could find no examples where there was a discernable difference between verbalized adjectives as in (215) and the periphrastic construction of (216). For nouns and noun + adjective complements

only the latter alternative is available.

5.1.5 Functions of Cases

The morphology of case marking is described at 4.2.4 above. In this section I will discuss the syntactic and semantic functions coded by the case marking of noun phrases[1].

In grammatical theory the term 'case' has been employed in at least two different ways:

a) to refer to a category definable in morphological terms. This was the approach adopted by traditional grammarians of languages such as Latin who set up 'case paradigms' and discussed the syntactic function or uses of each case. The paradigms were based upon morphological contrasts (but allowing syncretism) but also, as Lyons (1968: 292) suggests, upon: "the minimum number of syntactically-relevant distinctions within which it is possible to state rules of selection valid for all declensions".

b) to refer to a category definable in semantic terms. This has been the approach of some recent studies, in particular Fillmore (1968, 1970, 1971, 1975), Nilsen (1972), Grimes (1975), Halliday (1970), Foley (1976) and Blake (1978). These studies have focussed on the way semantic categories such as 'agent' or

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[1] The following conventions will be employed throughout this section:
a) upper case names or abbreviations, for example, ERGative and ERG will be used to refer to case forms (4.2.4.2).
b) lower case names will be used to refer to case functions, for example nominative .
The only circumstances under which morphological coding and case functions do not co-incide are for S, A, O functions where there is a hierarchical split (see Table 38).

'patient'[1] are reflected syntactically, and, to a lesser extent, morphologically.

My approach has been close to that of (a) above. I have looked at case functions in terms of syntactically definable distinctions, which has meant that:

(A) I sometimes set up as distinct syntactic cases which are not distinguished morphologically (4.2.4.2). So, for example, ergative and instrumental are syntactically distinct but morphologically identical (for all categories taking case marking - see 4.1) - see 5.1.5.3, 5.1.5.4.

(B) there need be no necessary one-to-one correspondence between syntactic cases and semantic categories. So, for example, although benefactic case codes 'benefactive' semantically, nominative case codes 'actor', and patient' (for 1E verbs), as noted below (5.1.5.1).

The coding of the three core syntactic functions S, A, O (see 4.2.4.1) shows a split conditioned by the inherent lexical content of the noun phrase (Silverstein (1976)). The case marking for Diyari and Dhirari is given for all NPs in Table 38 (see also Table 15 and Silverstein (1976: 126-127)).

Noun phrases in Diyari normally only take a suffixed case marker on the last nominal constituent (see 5.1.1.2) however there are two situations in which more than one constituent of an NP can take a case suffix:

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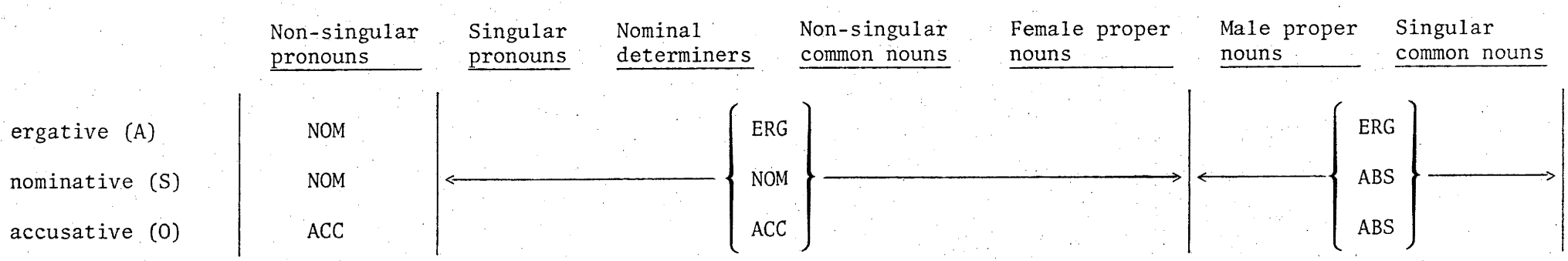
[1] A major problem with these studies has been the question of terminology and the names for the semantic categories (or 'case labels'). So, for example, what is termed "patient" by some (for example Chafe (1970), Grimes (1975), Foley (1976)) is also known as "goal" (Halliday (1969)) and "objective" (Fillmore (1968)).

TABLE 38 : CASE MARKING SYSTEMS



a) when the constituents are separated by other sentential material. Elements of NPs may be scrambled optionally but if they are then all must be case marked. An example is (15) and the following:

(217) mankaña-ali ŋaŋa ŋayi-ṇa wara-yi paḷpa-ali
girl-ERG 1SgO see-PART AUX-PRES some-ERG
'Some girls saw me'.

b) when there is a special emphasis or contrast intended. So, for example, we find sentences such as:

(218) kiṉṯala-ali ŋunkaṇi-ali ŋaŋa maṯa-ṇa wara-yi
dog-ERG SgnFGEN-ERG 1SgO bite-PART AUX-PRES
'His dog bit me'.

5.1.5.1 nominative -ϕ ~ -ni ~ -ŋa'

A nominative case noun phrase occurs in the following syntactic functions:

a) subject of an intransitive verb (that is, S function (see 4.2.4)). Thus, all class 1 verbs (see 4.5.3) take a nominative NP (with ABSolutive case marking for singular common nouns), which may be semantically as 'actor' as in:

(219) ŋawu kaṇa-ϕ wapa-yi
SgnFS person-ABS go-PRES
'The man is going'.

or a semantic 'patient' of an (intransitive) process verb, as in:

(220) ŋawu kaṇa-ø pali-ṇa wara-yi
SgnFS person-ABS die-PART AUX-PRES
'The man died'.

Class 1E verbs (4.5.3.1) take a patient nominative NP.

b) subject of a non-verbal predicate (see 5.1.2). These NP subjects are marked the same as for S function. Examples include (155) to (159) above and:

(221) ṯana-paña ŋaṉṯi-ø yiŋkaṇi kamanali
P1S-THERE meat-ABS 2SgGEN friend
'Those animals are your friends'. (9;37)

The copula ŋana- 'to be' which is optional in the present also has a nominative case subject (see 5.1.2 - examples (160) to (167)).

5.1.5.2 accusative -ṉa ~ -ø

An accusative noun phrase occurs in the following syntactic functions (note that for singular common nouns the ABSolutive case suffix also marks accusative (see 4.2.4)):

(A) object of a transitive verb (that is, O function (see 4.2.4)). Examples of this include the following (see also (229) below):

(222) ṉulu mankaña-wuḷu-ṉa ṉayi-ṉayi-yi
SgnFA girl-DUAL-ACC REDUP-see-PRES
'He watched the two girls'.

(223) ṉiṉa kanku-ø ḏanka-ṇa wara-yi ṉaka-ø
SgnFO boy-ABS find-PART AUX-PRES there-LOC
'The boy was born (lit. found) there'.

(B) object and indirect object of a di-transitive verb. That is, the two non-ergative NPs (5.1.5.3) which occur with a di-transitive verb (4.5.1) are both case marked for accusative function. An example illustrating this is:

(224) ŋaṯu pulaṉa ṉiṉa putu-ø yiŋki-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA DIO SgnFO thing-ABS give-PART AUX-PRES
'I gave them (two) that thing'.

Notice that both determiners here are in O form indicating accusative case. The reasons for distinguishing between these two accusative NP (as 'object' and 'indirect object') are:

a) the reflexive/reciprocal test mentioned at 4.5.4.1.2 (example (67)).

b) the nominalization test described at 5.1.9 below.

(C) the complement of certain intransitive verbs (of various classes - 4.5.3.1). These NPs are so-called 'cognate objects' whose reference shares some semantic content in common with the verb with which they

co-occur[1]. The following verbs and complements have been recorded (the complements are given as simple nouns but see examples below):

Verb		Complement	
yaṯa-	'to speak'	yawaña	'language'
ṯuraṛa-	'to lie, sleep'	muka	'sleep'
kiḷi-	'to dance'	wima	'corroboree'
piñki-	'to play'	kukuṛu	'stick type[2]'
		kira	'boomerang'
		kulawaña	'large boomerang type'
wiri-	'to wear'	kaṯi	'clothes[3]'
		wiñpa	'pubic tassel'
wiñi-	'to be painted[4]'	malka	'stripes'

---

1 Noun phrases in this function present problems for linguists working in the 'case grammar' framework mentioned above. Grimes (1975) for example, sets up a special case 'Range' which is:

> "the role assigned to any surface structure nominal that completes or further specifies the predicate; the product of the activity of a predicate"

(Note that Range can apply to NP in transitive sentences where it corresponds to Fillmore's (1968) "Factitive case".) Syntactically, these NP in Diyari are treated exactly the same way as O NP, for example, in NOMinalization (see 5.1.9).

2 There is no single word for 'game' in Diyari but only names for individual games. kukuṛu is a long stick with rounded ends, thrown so that it travels end-over-end along the ground.

3 kaṯi originally referred to a skin cloak usually made from possum or kangaroo skin. The word is now used for any type of clothing, including dresses and trousers etc.

4 It is important to distinguish between wiri- 'to wear' (class 1D) and wiñi- 'to be painted' (class 1C). wiñipa- is the transitive form meaning 'to paint'.

That noun phrases occurring as complements of these verbs are in accusative case can be shown by the inclusion of a nominal determiner (see 4.4.1) as in[1]:

(225) ŋani ṉiṉa-ya yawaña-ø yaṯa-yi
1SgS SgnFO-NEAR language-ABS speak-PRES
'I speak this language'.

Here the O determiner ṉiṉa shows that yawaña has accusative function.

The following example shows a complement noun followed by an adjective:

(226) ŋani muka ŋumu-ø ṯuraṛa-ṇa wara-yi
1SgS sleep good-ABS lie-PART AUX-PRES
'I had a good sleep'.

whilst apposition (see 5.1.1.2) is employed in[2]:

(227) ṯana pukaṭu wima-ø kiḷi-ṇa waṉṯi-yi
P1S ochre type corroboree-ABS dance-PART AUX-PRES
'They danced the pukaṭu ochre corroboree'.

---

1 The only noun of this set which cannot occur with a nominal determiner (and hence cannot be tested) is muka 'sleep' apparently for semantic reasons (c.f. the ill-formedness of English sentences such as *'I slept the sleep' or even *'I had the sleep' (without a qualifying clause). However, the syntactic behaviour of muka ṯuraṛa-, for example, in nominalization (5.1.9) is analogous to that of all other complements and hence its structure is considered to be identical.

2 As an alternative to (228) yawaña may be left unexpressed and the sentence stated as:

(228') yini ṉiṉaya ḍiyaṛi yaṯayi

(228) yini ṉiṉa-ya ḏiyaṛi yawañ-ø yaṯa-yi
2SgS SgnFO-NEAR Diyari language-ABS speak-PRES
'You speak this Diyari language'.

5.1.5.3 ergative -ali ~ li ~ ndřu

The ergative case has one syntactic function, namely marking the subject (or A) noun phrase of a transitive or di-transitive verb (4.5.1).

The ERG case marked NP of a simple sentence may be of the following semantic types:

a) human, as in (1) and (44) above and also:

(229) ŋaḏu-ø kaṇa-ali ṯayi-ṇa waṉṯi-yi
nardoo-ABS person-ERG eat-PART AUX-PRES
'People ate nardoo (long ago)'.

(230) ṉandřu kupa-kupa-ali ŋaṉa ŋaṉṯi-ø yiŋki-ṇa
SgFA REDUP-child-ERG 1SgO meat-ABS give-PART
wara-yi
AUX-PRES
'The child gave me some meat'.

b) non-human animate, as in (60) and :

(231) ŋaṉa kuṉṯi-ali maṯa-ṇa wara-yi
1SgO mosquito-ERG bite-PART AUX-PRES
'Mosquitoes bit me'.

(232) ṯanali ʈukuřu-ali kaɳṯa-ø ṯayi-ṇa paḷka-yi
P1A kangaroo-ERG grass-ABS eat-PART go on-PRES
'The kangaroos were eating grass going along'.

c) inanimate, as in (62), (89) and (183) above. Two further examples are:

(233) pulu ɳulu-ya pantu-ali ŋapa-ø paḍa-ṇa
cannot SgnFA-NEAR lake-ERG water-ABS hold-PART
waɳṯi-yi
AUX-PRES
'The salt lake here could not hold the water'.

(234) ṯuřu-ali puŋa-ø yapi-ṇa wara-yi
fire-ERG humpy-ABS burn-PART AUX-PRES
'The fire burned the humpy (down)[1]*'.*

Some inanimate nouns in Diyari translate into English as abstract nouns. They can take ERG case marking, as in:

(235) yinaɳa waldřa-ali ŋampu ɳari-ŋanka-ṇa wara-yi
2SgO heaṯ-ERG almost dead-CAUSE-PART AUX-PRES
'You were almost killed by the heat'.

5.1.5.4 instrumental -ali ~ li ~ ndřu

The marker of instrumental case is formally identical in phonological

[1] the verb yapi- 'to burn (down)' can also occur with an A noun phrase with human reference.

shape with the ERG case suffix (4.2.4), which for singular common nouns is -ali. However, instrumental and ergative are syntactically distinct cases. The following are some differences between their distributions:

a) while instrumental case NPs can occur in a clause containing an intransitive verbal complex, an ergative case NP only occurs in clauses where the verb is transitive or di-transitive (5.1.5.3). Examples of instrumental NPs in intransitive clauses include (238).

b) instrumental case NPs can occur in a clause containing a RECIProcal or REFLexive verb stem (4.5.4.1.2) whereas ergative case NPs cannot[1]. Examples illustrating this are (243) and (244).

c) an instrumental NP is unaffected by the de-transitivizing process where -ṯaṟi- is added to the verb stem (see 4.5.4.1.2, 5.1.8.1). Examples illustrating this are (428) to (431) below.

For these reasons ergative and instrumental are considered to be distinct syntactic cases which happen to have the same phonological realization.

The functions of the instrumental case are as follows:

(A) with verbs other than 1E (see 4.5.3.1), indicating a human or animate agent using:

a) an inanimate tool or weapon to perform an action. Examples include (53) above and also:

(236) wiḻa-ali kuḍu-ø paku-yi wama-ali
woman-ERG hole-ABS dig-PRES yamstick-INST
'The woman is digging a hole with a yamstick'.

[1] This is true of other Australian languages as pointed out by Dixon (1972: 94-95). See also Topic B of Dixon (1976).

(237) ŋaɨu paṛaʈi-ali-ɭa ʈina-ø wani-yi
1SgA light-INST-NI foot-ABS follow-PRES
'I followed the tracks with a light'. (2;63)

With verbs of motion the means of movement may be a tool as in:

(238) ɳawu pinaɽu-ø wapa-yi piṭa-ali
SgnFS old man-ABS go-PRES stick-INST
'The old man is going with (i.e. using) a stick'.

or some larger inanimate thing:

(239) ɳuwa ŋakaṇi-ø wakaṛa-yi ʈuɽu wilpara-ali
spouse 1SgGEN-ABS come-PRES train-INST
'My husband is coming by train[1]*'.*

If the means is relatively big, for example a train or motor car, then it is possible to use LOCative (5.1.5.5) instead of INST with no apparent difference in meaning. The following sentence was given by informants as an alternative to (239):

(240) ɳuwa ŋakaṇi-ø wakaṛa-yi ʈuɽu wilpara-ni
spouse 1SgGEN-ABS come-PRES train-LOC
'My husband is coming on the train'.

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[1] The etymology of the word for train is interesting. ʈuɽu is the generic noun 'fire' (see 4.2.1) while wilpara may be from English "wheelbarrow". Donaldson (1977: 118) gives wilba:r as "wheeled vehicle" in Ngiyamba: while Hercus (1969: 49, 417) records wirbar meaning "buggy" in Wemba-Wemba. The word for 'buggy' in Diyari is piṛapiṛamaṛa (REDUP-moon-KIN PROP), literally 'having little moons'.

The following examples show abstract nouns used in instrumental case:

(241) ŋaṯu yiṉa ŋapiṯa-ali ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA 2SgO dream-INST see-PART AUX-PRES
'I saw you in a dream'.

(242) ŋayana ṯaŋkaldři-ø ḏiyaṛi-ali ḏika-yi
1Plincl A plant name-ABS Diyari-INST name-PRES
'We call it ṯaŋkaldři *in Diyari'.*

Examples of this type with REFLexive and RECIProcal verbs are:

(243) ṯana windři wiɻiři-ø waḷpa+ḏaka-ṯařı-yi
P1S only buttocks-ABS cover up-REFL-PRES
kaṯi-ali
clothes-INST
'They only cover their buttocks with clothes'.

(244) pula wiɻa-ø ṇandřa-mali-yi wana-ali
D1S woman-ABS hit-RECIP-PRES digging stick-INST
'The two women fought each other with digging sticks'.

b) a body part to perform an action. Examples of this type are less frequent in the corpus but include (207) above and:

(245) maṯari-ø wapa-ṇa wara-yi ṯina-ali
man-ABS go-PART AUX-PRES foot-INST
'The man went on foot'.

(246) ŋaḍa-ni ṉawu ṯuraṛa-ṇa ŋaṛi-yi ṯuku-ali
then-LOC SgnFS lie-PART go down-PRES back-INST
waḷa miri
nest top
'Then he lies down on his back on top of the nest[1]*'.*

Examples with verbs in REFLexive and RECIProcal include:

(247) ṉawu ŋandr̃a-ṯar̃i-ṇa wara-yi maṛa-ali
SgnFS hit-REFL-PART AUX-PRES hand-INST
'He hit himself with his hand'.

(248) ṯana maṛa muku-ali ḍaka-mali-ṇa wara-yi
P1S hand bone-INST pierce-RECIP-PART AUX-PRES
'They punched each other'.

c) a non-human animate being to perform an action. There are few examples of this type of construction[2], but we do find:

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[1] This sentence is from a text about rain making.

[2] It seems that there is a preference for LOC with animates (see 5.1.5.5) rather than INST.

(249) kaṇa-ali pulu ʈukuřu-ø ṇandřa-yi kiɳʈala
person-ERG cannot kangaroo-ABS hit-PRES dog
pani-ali
none-INST
"A man can't kill a kangaroo without a dog".

(250) ŋani ʈika-la ŋana-yi ɳaɳʈu-ali
1SgS return-FUT AUX-PRES horse-INST
'I'll go back by horse'.

There are no examples of RECIP and REFL clauses with an INST noun phrase of this semantic type, as may be expected from the fact that such situations are unlikely to arise in the real world. Non-human animates marked by INST case do occur in clauses where the verb stem is marked by -ʈaři- (for example, as passive (see 4.5.4.1.2, 5.1.8.1)) but these are not the same syntactically as the instrumentals discussed here.

(B) with transitive verbs of construction (mostly of class 2E) the INSTrumental marks the material out of which something (the O NP) is made or constructed. Verbs of this kind are:

waʈi- 'to build, construct'
ŋanka- 'to make'
kařpa- 'to sew'
ʈuřpa- 'to twist, weave'
ḍaka- 'to plait, pierce'

Examples of their use include the following:

(251) maṯari-ali yinka-ø ṯuřpa-yi kaḷku-ali
man-ERG string-ABS twist-PRES bullrushes-INST
'The man is making string with bullrushes[1]*'*.

(252) pinařu-ali kira-ø ŋanka-yi malka-ali
old man-ERG boomerang-ABS make-PRES mulga-INST
'The old man is making a boomerang with mulga'.

Often in examples of this type of construction the A noun phrase (coded by ERGative case (see 5.1.5.3)) is not expressed and only the O NP and INST (material) occur. An example is (see also 5.1.7.2):

(253) puŋa-ø piṭa-ali waṯi-ṇa wara-yi
humpy-ABS stick-INST build-PART AUX-PRES
'The humpy was made of sticks'.

An alternative to INST for material of construction is SourCE case as illustrated below (5.1.5.6).

(C) instrumental case may be used with a non-animate, typically abstract noun to indicate the reason why something does or does not occur. That is, it is used for non-controlled causers of actions, events or processes.

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[1] When I asked them whether wiḷali 'woman-ERG' could be used in (251) informants told me that it was impossible because "women never did it".

Verbs of this type of clause are typically intransitive, as in:

(254) ŋawu yapa-ali pali-ṇa wara-yi
SgnFS fear-INST die-PART AUX-PRES
'He died of fear'.

(255) yini parawaṛa-yi kupula-ali
2SgS be intoxicated-PRES grog-INST
"You are drunk from grog".

(256) puŋa ŋakaṇi-ø ṯuṟu-ali yaṟki-ṇa wara-yi
humpy 1SgGEN-ABS fire-INST burn-PART AUX-PRES
'My humpy burned down in the fire[1]*'.*

An example of a negative sentence with this type of instrumental is the following:

Dh. (257) ŋapa-ali pulu ṯana paraṛa-ṇḍa puṟi-yi
water-INST cannot P1S cross-PART AUX-PRES
'They couldn't cross because of the water'.

Intransitive clauses which involve INCHoatives (see 5.1.10.1) describing the entry into a physical state may also have INST noun phrases in this function of non-controlled causer, as the following examples show:

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[1] Compare this with example (234) where the verb is transitive and ṯuṟu is in ergative case. In (256) ṯuṟu-ali must be instrumental because yaṟki- is an intransitive verb.

(258) miṯa-miṯa-ø nawu muya-ri-yi ḍiṯi-ali
REDUP-ground-ABS SgnFS dry-INCH-PRES sun-INST
'The ground dried from the sun'.

(259) nawu muɲṯa-ri-ṇa wara-yi ŋanṯi ṯuŋka-ali
SgnFS sick-INCH-PART AUX-PRES meat rotten-INST
'He became sick from rotten meat'.

(260) nani ṯina-ø ŋaʟi ḍapa-ri-yi miṯa-ali
SgnFS foot-ABS a little sore-INCH-PRES ground-INST
'Her feet became a little sore from the dirt (in her shoes)'. (2;67)

An example of a transitive verb used in a clause containing one of these instrumentals is:

(261) ŋaldřa ṯuřu-ø ḍařa-yi kilpa-ali
1Dlincl A fire-ABS build-PRES cold-INST
'Let's build a fire because of the cold'.

For all the examples cited above of INST expressing a non-controlled causer it is possible to use SourCE case (see 5.1.5.6) as an alternative. There seems to be little meaning difference between the two types of expression, except possibly in a subtle way INST seems to express the cause, the thing because of which something does or does not happen where as SCE expresses the source, from which these consequences arise.

Some Australian languages, for example Pitta-Pitta (Blake and Breen (1971: 103)) and Kalkatungu (Blake (1976: 287) have a special case termed "causative" or "causal" for the functions of INST in Diyari listed under (C) above.

(D) INSTrumental case is used with abstract nouns (see list below) in clauses containing the copula ŋana- 'to be' and a S noun phrase (see 5.1.5.1) to indicate a more or less temporary psychological or mental state. This contrasts with stative non-verb predicates (see 5.1.2) where the state described is a more or less permanent (and often physical) one. These are typically adjectives in Diyari (4.1.1).

The following is a list of the abstract nouns which occur as INSTrumental NPs in this type of clause:

Root	English	INST	English
muka	'sleep'	mukali	'sleepy'
mawa	'hunger'	mawali	'hungry'
ṯaḍi	'thirst'	ṯaḍiyali	'thirsty'
ŋalku	'desire'	ŋalkuyali	'desirous (of food)'
yapa	'fear'	yapali	'afraid'
ṯiñi	'anger'	ṯiñiyali	'angry'
kilpa	'cold'	kilpali	'cold'
waldña	'heat'	waldñali	'hot'
paḷa	'sexual arousal'	paḷali	'sexually aroused'
ṉiṉṯa	'shyness, shame'	ṉiṉṯali	'shy, ashamed'
yunka	'sulkiness'	yunkali	'sulky'
maḻṯi	'friendship'	maḻṯiyali	'friendly'

Root	English	INST	English
mu̱a	'quietness'	mu̱ali	'quiet, tame'
walkaña	'sadness'	walkañali	'sad'
ŋuñu	'strength'	ŋuñuyali	'strong'
ka̱ruwa	'jealousy'	ka̱ruwali	'jealous'[1]

An example of this sentence type is (see also (50) above):

(262) ŋani muka-ali ŋana-yi
1SgS sleep-INST be-PRES
'I'm sleepy'.

It is not possible to use SCE case as an alternative to INST in this type of construction. The direct source of the temporary state is expressed by a LOCative case marked noun phrase (see 5.1.5.5). Thus, we have the following:

(263) ṯana kupa-kupa-ø yapa-ali ŋana-yi ṯiṯiñi-ni
P1S REDUP-child-ABS fear-INST be-PRES centipede-LOC
'The children are afraid of the centipede'.

(264) n̪ani wi̱a-ø walkaña-ali ŋana-yi kupa-ni
SgFS woman-ABS sadness-INST be-PRES child-LOC
'The woman is sad for the child'.

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[1] This is usually expressed as mandña ka̱ruwali where mandña is 'stomach'.

For further discussion of the use of LOC in this function see 5.1.5.5 below.

Three of these instrumental abstract nouns, namely mawali 'hungry', ṯaḍiyali 'thirsty' and ŋalkuyali 'desirous (of)', can occur with a noun phrase in purposive case expressing the thing desired, thirsted or hungered after (see 5.1.5.8). Examples include the following:

(265) ŋani mawa-ali ŋana-yi ŋanṯi-ya
1SgS hunger-INST be-PRES meat-PURP
'I am hungry for meat'.

(266) yini ṯaḍi-ali ŋana-yi ŋapa-ya
2SgS thirst-INST be-PRES water-PURP
'You are thirsty for water'.

(267) ŋani ŋalku-ali ŋana-yi ṯanaṇi puka-ya
1SgS desire-INST be-PRES P1PURP fruit-PURP
'I want those fruits'.

None of the other abstract nouns in this group occurs with an NP in PURP case.

(E) INSTrumental case is used with noun phrases (typically abstract nouns but also adjectives) acting as predicate modifiers where the predicate is verbal. These NP are translated into English as adverbs of manner (compare 5.1.3.1, 5.1.3.2 above). Some examples are:

(268) ŋaṯu kuwu-ali ṉiṉa mani-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA ignorant-INST SgnFO get-PART AUX-PRES
'I picked it (up) unwittingly'.

Dh. (269) ṉulu ŋaṉṯi-ø mawa-ali ṯayi-ṇḍa puñi-ṇḍa
SgnFA meat-ABS hunger-INST eat-PART AUX-PART
wara-yi
AUX-PRES
'He ate the meat hungrily'.

(270) yula ŋaṉa mandñu-ali waraṛa-yi
2D1A 1SgO two-INST leave-PRES
'Are you both (lit. as two) leaving me?' (18;7)

Notice the similarity between (269) and (265) above.

(F) INSTrumental case may be used with noun phrases with human reference to indicate group membership. The subject NP of clauses with this type of INST NP must be non-singular and include (in number) the number of persons expressed as the INST noun phrase. The most commonly found examples are those with a dual or plural pronominal subject (see 4.5.3), as in the following text sentences:

(271) ŋali kanku-ali mawa-ali ŋana-yi
1D1exc1S boy-INST hunger-INST be-PRES
'We two are hungry, the boy (and I)'. (1;31)

(272) ŋali-ṯa yaṯa-ṇa wara-yi ŋakaṇi ṉiyi-ali
1D1exc1S-OI say-PART AUX-PRES 1SgGEN eB-INST
'We said, my brother (and I)'. (12;68)

Notice that the INST NP expresses part of the group of persons expressed by the subject NP. Examples with third person subjects include the following:

(273) pula kaku-ali wapa-yi
D1S eZ-INST go-PRES
'The two sisters are going'.

The unmarked interpretation for sentences such as (273) seems to be that the subject refers to a reciprocal kin pair. However, informants pointed out that this is not necessarily the case and we can have examples such as the following which might be said by a child seeing its parents walking away:

(274) pula ŋapiṛi-ali wapa-yi
D1S father-INST go-PRES
'They (2) are going, (one is) father'.

Russian[1] has a construction similar to that found in Diyari. The plural subject pronoun my 'we' is used with the preposition s 'with' and an NP in instrumental case indicating accompaniment. Wagner and Ovsienko (n.d.: 232) give an example:

(274′) my s sjestroj idjot na progulku
we with sister-INST go for walk
'My sister and I are going for a walk'.

[1] This was first pointed out to me by Avery Andrews and Anna Wierzbicka. Stuart Campbell found the relevant example.

We also find this use of INST case when the subject consists of an NP containing a noun stem derived by the addition of -maṛa KIN PROPrietive (see 4.2.2, 5.1.6.5). The INST NP will have a referent included in the kin set specified by N-maṛa. Examples include:

(275) pula ŋaṯata-maṛa-ø wapa-yi kaku-ali
D1S yS-KIN PROP-ABS go-PRES eZ-INST
'Elder sister is going with (her) younger sibling'.

(276) ṯana ŋapiṛi-maṛa-ø wapa-ṇa wara-yi
P1S father-KIN PROP-ABS go-PART AUX-PRES
mankaña-ali ya kanku-ali
girl-INST and boy-INST
'The father is going with his son and daughter'.

For the use of ya 'and' see 5.3.1.

The INSTrumental case is also used with noun phrases in derived intransitive clauses (indicating the agent of a passive) - this is discussed at 5.1.8.1 below.

5.1.5.5 locative -ni ~ ŋu ~ ṉaŋu

Noun phrases in locative case (see 4.2.4) have a number of syntactic functions:

(A) indicating the spatial location of an action, event or process. The

LOC NP specifies the place at which an occurrence takes place. Examples include (42), (69), (103) above and:

(277) ṉawu kaṇa-ø ṉuŋkaŋu paṯara-ni ṯařka-yi
SgnFS person-ABS SgnFLOC box tree-LOC stand-PRES
'That man is standing near/under that box tree'.

(278) ŋaṯu ṯina-ø ṯiṉṯa-yi ṉaṉa ṯaka-ni
1SgA foot-ABS lose-PRES SgFO hard ground-LOC
'I lost her track on the hard ground'. (2;55)

(279) ṉiṉa ṉiŋki-ya-ø paŋki-ni yařa ḍama-yi
SgnFO here-NEAR-LOC side-LOC that way cut-PRES
'(They) cut him that way here in the side'. (11;6)

(B) with verbs of motion or induced motion a LOC NP can be used for:

a) the means by which motion occurs if it is larger than or contains the thing moving, as in:

(280) ŋaldřa wapa-l̪a ŋana-yi mutaka-ni
1D1incl S go-FUT AUX-PRES car-LOC
'We'll go by car'.

(281) ŋaṯu yiṉa ŋaṉṯi-ø yiŋki-yi yakuṯa-ni
1SgA 2SgO meat-ABS give-PRES bag-LOC
'I gave you meat in a bag'.

A further example is (240) above which is contrasted with (239) where INST NP is an alternative. In sentences such as (281) Diyari speakers may regard containers as places of spatial location during the movement event. Some evidence for such an interpretation is provided by the similarity between examples such as (92) above (repeated here for convenience) and (283):

(282) ʈukuɽu-ø wakaɳa-yi / kupaɽu-ø piḷi-ni
kangaroo-ABS come-PRES young-ABS pouch-LOC
ŋama-iŋa-ɳani
sit-PROL-REL$_{ds}$
'A kangaroo is coming with a joey sitting in its pouch'.

(283) pildɽa-ø ɳawu paʈara-ni kaʈi-yi /
possum-ABS SgnFS box tree-LOC climb-PRES
kupaɽu-ø ʈuku-ni puɽi-iŋa-ɳani
young-ABS back-LOC crouch-PROL-REL$_{ds}$
'The possum climbs a box tree with a young one crouching on its back'.

Although the verb stem of the RELative clause in these two examples is a verb of rest (class 1A), the PROL affix (see 4.5.4.2) indicates that the subject is in motion. Notice that containment is the same as location (on the back). A further example of motion on the back of something relatively large is:

(284) ŋaṯu ṉiṉa yinpa-ṇa ṯika-ṇa wara-yi ṉaṉṯu-ni
1SgA SgnFO sent-PART return-PART AUX-PRES horse-LOC
'I sent him back on a horse'.[1]

As an alternative to (284) we could use an INST NP, as in (250) above. The LOC case NP again seems to connote a spatial location during motion whereas INST specifies the means (see 5.1.5.4).

b) the interior of the place towards which or the surface onto which the motion is directed. There is a contrast with verbs of motion or induced motion between the use of ALLative case (5.1.5.7) specifying the place towards which something moves and LOC case specifying the place into or onto which motion occurs. Compare the following two sentences (note the syncretism of LOC and ALL in the nominal determiner morphology (see 4.4.1)):

(285) ŋani wapa-yi ṉuŋkaŋu ŋura-ni
1SgS go-PRES SgnFLOC camp-LOC
'I'm going into the camp'.

---

[1] Animals falling into this category include ṉaṉṯu 'horse', kamuli 'camel', puluka 'bullock' and waṟukaṯi 'emu'. There was a pre-contact game which involved two men (one from each moiety) chasing an emu in an area surrounded by onlookers tending fires. A sentence which occurred during the description of this game was:

(284′) ṉawu maṯari-ø mindṟi-ṇa kuṟa-yi waṟukaṯi-ni
SgnFS moiety name-ABS run-PART go away-PRES emu-LOC
'The maṯari *moiety man ran off on the emu'*.

Notice the use of the LOC NP.

(286) ŋani wapa-yi ɲuŋkaŋu ŋura-ya
1SgS go-PRES SgnFALL camp-ALL
'I'm going to(wards) the camp'.

It is possible to say, after (286), the sentence:

(287) ŋaḷa ŋani wata wiñi-yi
but 1SgS not enter-PRES
'But I'm not going in'.

but not after (285) since LOC specifies interior (c.f. -nkari at 4.2.6).

Unless there is some other specification, a sentence such as the following will be interpreted as motion <u>into</u> a place, rather than location <u>at</u> a place (function (a) above):

(288) ŋaṯu ŋapa-ø ɲaŋa-ṇa wara-yi ṯuñu-ni
1SgA water-ABS pour-PART AUX-PRES fire-LOC
'I poured water on the fire'.

In order to express location it is necessary to add an adverbial adjective (see 5.1.3.1) as in:

(289) ŋaṯu ŋapa-ø karakaṛa ɲaŋa-ṇa wara-yi ṯuñu-ni
1SgA water-ABS close pour-PART AUX-PRES fire-LOC
'I poured the water near the fire'.

or to use a multi-clause sentence (see 5.2) as in:

(290) ṯuřu-ni ṯařka-ṇa / ŋaṯu ŋapa-ø ṉaŋa-ṇa
fire-LOC stand-REL$_{ss}$ 1SgA water-ABS pour-PART
wara-yi
AUX-PRES
'Standing near the fire I poured some water'.

Other examples of this use of LOC case are (note that (291) refers to a surface):

(291) kupa-kupa-ø puri-ṇa wara-yi miṯa-ni
REDUP-child-ABS fall-PART AUX-PRES ground-LOC
'The child fell onto the ground'.

(292) kaṯi-ø ṉulu wara-yi puŋa-ni
clothes-ABS SgnFA throw-PRES humpy-LOC
'He throws the clothes into the humpy'.

(C) a LOC case noun phrase can express the temporal location or setting of an action, event or process. Precise time may be indicated by the use of AUX verbs (see 4.5.7) and LOC NPs. Noun phrases in this function may be:

a) a time word. The morphology of time words is described at 4.1.1 and 4.2.7.2 above. These words are used as stems without any

suffixation in LOC function[1]. Some examples are (24) above and:

(293) [winṯa yini wapa-ḻa ŋana-yi?] karaṛi-ø?
when 2SgS go-FUT AUX-PRES today-LOC
'(When will you go?) Today?'.

b) one of an (open) set of nouns with physical or meteorological reference, some of which are:

ḍiṯi	sun, day	waṯaṛa	wind
ṯinka	night	witikuṛa	whirlwind
piṛa	moon	ṯalaṛa	rain
kilpa	cold, winter	kunmi	haze
waldřa	heat, summer	puru	frost
		piḍařu	drought

Examples of their use as temporal specifiers with LOC case are the following:

(294) piṛa-ø ŋawu ṯařka-yi ṯinka-ni
moon-ABS SgnFS stand-PRES night-LOC
'The moon comes out at night'.

(295) ŋaṇṯi marapu-ø pali-yi piḍařu-ni
meat many-ABS die-PRES drought-LOC
"Many animals died in drought times".

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[1] The paradigmatic contrast is examined at 4.2.7.2. Although time and space are different concepts semantically they seem to be dealt with analogously in Diyari. So, for example, we find:
a) CHAR used with space and time words (4.2.2)
b) location reference nouns can be used temporally (see (b) and examples (294) to (296) below).

(296) yundřu ṉayi-yi / mayařu-ø wiṛaṛi-ṇani
2SgA see-PRES rat-ABS go about-REL$_{ds}$
piṛa-ni
moon-LOC
'You see rats walking about in the moonlight'.

Informants also add the LOC case suffix to English names of the days of the week when they use them in their Diyari. The following is a typical example:

(297) maḍa-ø wata wakaṛa-ṇani [Monday]-ni /
stone-ABS not come-REL$_{ds}$ -LOC
ŋayani puka pani-ø ŋama-ika-l̪a ŋana-yi
1P1exc1A food none-ABS sit-TR-FUT AUX-PRES
'If some money (lit. stone) does not come on Monday, we will have no food'.

c) a phrase consisting of a noun plus the adjective pani 'none'. When inflected for LOC case these phrases mean 'When there were no ...' as in:[1]

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[1] There is one example of a noun + adjective of a different sort inflected for LOC case with a similar meaning but there also appears to be a subject NP:

(298′) ṉawu-ka ṉari paña-yi ŋani kanku waka-ni
SgnFS-TOKEN dead lie-PRES 1SgS boy small-LOC
'He lay there dead when I was a boy'.

The exact status of this sentence and its relationship to examples (298) and (299) is as yet unclear.

(298) puka pani-ni ŋayana yawa-ø ṯayi-ṇa
food none-LOC 1P1inc1A grass onion-ABS eat-PART
waṉṯi-yi
AUX-PRES
'When there was no food we used to eat grass onions'.

(299) kaṯi pani-ni maṯari ya wiḻa-ø
clothes none-LOC man and woman-ABS
wiř̃pa-ø wiri-yi
pubic tassel-ABS wear-PRES
'When there were no clothes men and women wore pubic tassels'.

It is interesting that Wangganguru and Arabana (see 1.1.5) have a construction exactly parallel to that found in Diyari and Dhirari, namely N padni-ŋa where -ŋa is the LOCative case suffix (Hercus (pers. comm.)).

Other temporal specification is handled by the use of RELative clauses (see 5.2.2 especially 5.2.2.1).

(D) to indicate accompaniment. A LOC case marked NP can refer to a person or thing accompanying an 'actor' or 'agent' performing some action (or 'patient' subject of a 1E verb undergoing some process). The following are some examples (see also (10) above):

(300) ṉawu kanku-ø wiṛaṛi-yi mankař̃a-wuḻu-ŋu
SgnFS boy-ABS go about-PRES girl-DUAL-LOC
'The boy is going about with two girls'.

(301) ṉani piřki-yi wana-ni

SgFS play-PRES digging stick-LOC

'She's playing with a digging stick'.

(302) pinařu-ø ṉawu pali-ṇa wara-yi ŋaʈamuřa-ni

old man-ABS SgnFS die-PART AUX-PRES son-LOC

'The old man died with his son'.

There is a certain amount of overlap between this function of the locative case in Diyari and the use of the PROPrietive suffix (see 5.1.6.3.1) although there is a contrast between them discussed below.

(E) to indicate the indirect object of a number of class 1D intransitive verbs (see 4.5.3.1), particularly verbs of locution. The following are some of the stems which occur with a LOC case indirect object:

Stem	
ḍalki-	'to disobey'
ḍaṇi-	'to bid farewell'
ʈampa-	'to be very fond (of)'
kalapa-	'to answer'
kilpari-	'to disbelieve'
muḍa-	'to finish (with)'
kuruʈařa-	'to forget (about)'
yaʈa-	'to speak (to)'
kařka-	'to shout, call out (to)'

Examples of their occurrence with LOC NPs include (38) and (48) above and also:

(303) ŋaḍa-ni ṉawu ḍalki-yi pulaŋu ya ṉuŋkaṇi
then-LOC SgnFS disobey-PRES DlLOC and SgnFGEN
ŋandři-ni
mother-LOC
'Then he disobeyed them and his mother'. (1;8)

(304) yini ṯampa-yi wiḻa-ni
2SgS be fond-PRES woman-LOC
'You're really fond of women'.

The verb yaṯa- 'to speak' occurs with a range of NPs in various cases (with only (a) being obligatory):

a) a nominative NP indicating the animate being speaking
b) an accusative NP indicating the language spoken (see 5.1.5.2)
c) a locative NP indicating the person or thing spoken to
d) a source NP indicating the subject spoken about.

The following sentence shows the full array of possible NPs:

(305) ŋani ḍiyaṛi yawařa-ø yaṯa-ṇa wara-yi ṉuŋkaŋu
1SgS Diyari language-ABS speak-PART AUX-PRES SgnFLOC
yiŋkaŋundřu
2SgSCE
'I spoke to him about you (in) Diyari'.

(F) to indicate a general goal. This is a rather specialized use of LOC case and occurs when:

a) the verb is an intransitive stem referring to rest or motion (not induced motion - c.f. above); and

b) the general goal is ŋaṉṯi 'meat', puka 'vegetable food' or a particular type of edible substance (i.e. a hyponym of one of these two generics).

This type of sentence contrasts with those involving NPs in PURPosive case (see 5.1.5.8). Consider the following pairs of examples and the informants' translations of each:

(306) ŋani wapa-yi ŋaṉṯi-ya
1SgS go-PRES meat-PURP
"I'm going for some meat".

(307) ŋani wapa-yi ŋaṉṯi-ni
1SgS go-PRES meat-LOC
"I'm going hunting (for some meat)".

Sentence (306) expresses an activity directed towards a particular goal (e.g. piece of meat at a place) while in (307) there is no particular meat involved but simply meat in general, hence the informants' use of "hunting". Other examples of this use of LOC case are:

(308) ṯana pařu-ni ŋama-yi

P1S fish-LOC sit-PRES

'They are sitting down fishing (lit. for fish)'.

(309) wiḻapina-ø wapa-yi / yawa-ni ṯařka-ṇa

old woman-ABS go-PRES grass onion-LOC stand-PART

wiṛaṛi-ṇa

go about-REL$_{ss}$

'The old woman is going for grass onions (lit. to stand about for grass onions)'.

Compare these with examples of PURP case below (5.1.5.8).

(G) to indicate the person or thing with which something is being compared. Comparative clauses in Diyari contain the adjective maḻa 'true' used adverbially (see 5.1.3.1) and an object of comparison NP in locative case. The predicate of such clauses may be non-verbal (5.1.2) as in[1]:

(310) ŋani maḻa kiři ṯanaŋu-ya maṯari-ni wiḻa-ni

1SgS more clever P1LOC-NEAR men-LOC woman-LOC

'I'm more clever than those men and women'.

See also (181) above. The predicate may contain the copula ŋana- 'to be' plus an instrumental case NP (5.1.5.4) as in (180) above and:

(311) ṉani maḻa yapa-ali ŋana-yi ŋakaŋu

SgFS more fear-INST be-PRES 1SgLOC

'She is more afraid than I (am)'.

---

[1] For the syntax of conjunction by apposition in (310) see 5.3.1.2.

Where the clause contains a verb predicate (5.1.1.1) LOC case marks the NP with which the activity or event is being compared. These sentences may be derived by a regular reduction rule like[1]:

He eats more meat than I eat meat
→ He eats more meat than I.

Examples include:

(312) ŋulu maḷa ŋaṉṯi marapu-ø ṯayi-yi ŋakaŋu
SgnFA more meat much-ABS eat-PRES 1SgLOC
'He eats more meat than I'.

(313) ŋawu ŋuřu-ali maḷa mindři-yi ŋaŋkaŋu wiḻa-ni
SgnFS quick-INST more run-PRES SgnFLOC woman-LOC
'He runs faster than that woman'.

5.1.5.6 source -ndřu ~ ŋundřu

The source case has a number of syntactic functions which can be divided into 'local' functions (Lyons (1968: 295, 298-302)) including spatial and temporal, and 'non-local' functions. Some of the latter are semantically 'causal' and overlap to some extent with instrumental case

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[1] The reduced form (if reduction is the correct analysis) is the only one available in Diyari. Otherwise comparison can take the form of juxtaposed clauses (possibly linked by ŋaḷa (see 5.3.3)) such as 'He eats a lot of meat (but) I eat little'.

functions (see 5.1.5.4), although there is a difference in focus involved (see below).

a) local functions - source case basically indicates a point of origin or departure from some action, event or process. Within the local functions of source we can distinguish, on semantic grounds between the following uses:

(A) indicating the spatial source or point of origin. The verb of a clause containing a SCE case NP in this function will be one of motion or induced motion. Examples of 1A verbs (4.5.3.1) are:

(314) ŋawu ṯika-ṇa wara-yi ŋura-ndřu
SgnFS return-PART AUX-PRES camp-SCE
'He returned from the camp'.

(315) paya waka-waka-ø ḍuṇka-yi kapi-ndřu
bird REDUP-small-ABS emerge-PRES egg-SCE
'Baby birds come out of eggs'.

(316) ŋawu kuḷkuŋa-ṇa ŋaṛi-yi ŋaṇṯu-ndřu
SgnFS jump-PART go down-PRES horse-SCE
'He jumped down off the horse'. (8;5)

See also (7) and (17) above.

The following examples show verb complexes (5.1.1.1) containing roots from other classes (4.5.3):

(317) ŋaṉṯi-ø ṉandřu ḏama-yi ŋuřa muku-ndřu
meat-ABS SgFA cut-PRES shin bone-SCE
'She cut the meat off the shin bone'.

(318) ŋaṉa yundřu kuḷka-yi ṯuřu-ndřu
1SgO 2SgA save-PRES fire-SCE
'You saved me from the fire'.

(319) ṯanali miṯa-ø mani-yi kaṇa-ndřu
P1A country-ABS take-PRES person-SCE
'They took the country from the (black) people'.

With the experiential verbs ṉayi- 'to see' and ŋaṛa- 'to hear' a SCE NP may be used to indicate the location from which something was heard or seen. Examples of this include (101) above and:

(320) ŋaṯu yiṉa ŋaṛa-yi puŋa-ndřu
1SgS 2SgO hear-PRES humpy-SCE
'I heard you from the humpy (i.e. I being in the humpy and not you)'.

(B) indicating the temporal origin or departure point. As with locatives (see 5.1.5.5) the NP here may be a time word as in:

(321) ṉawu karaṛi-ø ŋama-yi waru-ndřu-ḷu
SgnFS today-LOC sit-PRES long ago-SCE-STILL
'He's still sitting (here) today since long ago'.

(322) ŋani wapa-ḷa ŋana-yi karařì-ndřu
1SgS go-FUT AUX-PRES today-SCE
'I'll go after (finishing here) today'.

or a noun with temporal/locational reference (see list on page 287 above) as in:

(323) waldřa-ndřu maḷṯi-ri-yi
heat-SCE cool-INCH-PRES
'After (being) hot it becomes cool'.

(324) piḍařu-ndřu ṯalaṛa-ø kuḍa-ṇani / ŋaḍa-ni
drought-SCE rain-ABS fall-REL$_{ds}$ then-LOC
kaṉṯa-ø puṇka-yi
grass-ABS grows-PRES
'If it rains after a drought the grass grows'.

or a noun (optionally followed by an adjective), which has human reference. SCE case with these NP indicates 'since being NP...' and is exemplified in:

(325) ŋaṯu ṉiṉa piṇa-ŋanka-ṇa waṉṯi-yi kanku waka-ndřu
1SgA SgnFO big-CAUSE-PART AUX-PRES boy small-SCE
'I reared him (lit. 'made him big') since (he was)/from a small boy'.

(326) ṉani ṉuŋkaŋu ŋama-yi mankařa-ndřu
SgnFS SgnFLOC sit-PRES girl-SCE
'She has lived with him since (she was) a girl'[1].

b) non-local functions - among the non-local functions of source case we can distinguish three semantic and syntactic sub-types:

(A) an NP in source case can specify the thing or materials out of which something is made. Verbs of clauses in which these SCE NP occur are the same verbs of construction listed under function (B) of the instrumental case above (see page 54). There seem to be two differences between source and instrumental cases here:

i) there is a difference of focus[2] - instrumental indicates the things or materials with which something is constructed whereas source indicates that from which it is made. Compare the following examples ((327) is (251) repeated here for convenience):

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[1] This sentence was used in a text about the practice, only recently discontinued, of young girls going to live with their future husbands (typically a much older man) at an early age. Such marriages are often described in terms such as "He grew her up". (c.f. example (325)).

[2] The difference I am attempting to capture here may be related to Fillmore's (1975) use of the term 'perspective', although he is dealing mainly with differences in lexical entries for verbs. Donaldson (1977: 118) uses 'perspective' for the difference between sentences (in Ngiyamba:) like "We blew the ball out of a (kangaroo) pouch" and "We blew up a (kangaroo) pouch into a ball". This is close to the type of difference I perceive in Diyari.

(327) maṯari-ali yinka-ø ṯuřpa-yi kaḷku-ali
man-ERG string-ABS twist-PRES bullrush-INST
'The man is making string with bullrushes'.

(328) maṯari-ali yinka-ø ṯuřpa-yi kaḷku-ndřu
man-ERG string-ABS twist-PRES bullrush-SCE
'The man is making string out of bullrushes'.

One further example is:

(329) ṯanali piḷi-piḷi-ø ŋanka-ṇa waṉṯi-yi para-ndřu
P1A REDUP-bag-ABS make-PART AUX-PRES hair-SCE
'They made a little bag from (human) hair'.

ii) unlike sentences such as (253) above, the ERG case marked NP of a sentence where SCE indicates materials cannot be left unspecified and deleted. An ERG NP must always appear even if only 'they' as in (329). That is, a sentence such as the following is ungrammatical:

(330) *piḷipiḷi ŋankaṇa waṉṯiyi parandřu

The only way a generic sense with no expressed agent can be formulated in Diyari is by means of sentences such as (253) involving an INST NP.

(B) an NP in source case can specify the reason or cause why something happens[1] if:

a) the predicate refers to a state (i.e. is non-verbal (see 5.1.2)) or a process (if verbal); and

b) the process verb is intransitive, including de-transitivized stems (see 4.5.4.1.2).

There is some overlap between this use of source case and function (C) of instrumental described above (see 5.1.5.4 page 273). When the predicate fits the criteria listed above SCE and INST are alternatives with no apparent difference in meaning. Otherwise, INST case NP must be used.

The following are some examples of this function of source case:

(331) pula ṉandřa-mali-yi wiḻa-ya yawařa-ndřu
DIS hit-RECIP-PRES woman-GEN word-SCE
"They were fighting on account of the woman's words".

(332) kaṉa-ø ṉ̈ari-ŋanka-ṯařï-ḻa ŋaɲʈa-yi ṉuwa-ndřu
person-ABS dead-CAUSE-REFL-IMPL$_{ss}$ want-PRES spouse-SCE
'People want to kill themselves on account of their spouses[2]'.

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[1] See also the use of SCE with miṉa 'what' described at 4.2.8 - example (27) in particular.

[2] The somewhat unusual syntax of (332) is described at 5.2.1.1 below.

(333) piṭa-ø wakari-yi ŋunaŋuna-ø n̪uŋkaŋundr̃u
tree-ABS break-PRES branch-ABS SgnFSCE
'The branch of the tree broke from him'.

An example of a non-verbal stative predicate is the following:

(334) punŋa n̪uŋkan̪i-ø maḻanṯi ṯupu-ndr̃u
lung SgnFGEN-ABS bad smoke-SCE
'His lungs (were) bad from smoke (i.e. smoking)'.

An interesting example occurred during a discussion of tribal groups with the late Mr. Leslie Russel, where he was describing the fact that his father was a kunar̃i (Cooper's Creek (see 1.1.3)) person but his mother was not. The sentence he used (which also has a non-verbal predicate) is particularly interesting in illustrating the Aboriginal view that parents can be seen as a source of inheritance. The example is:

(335) ŋani kunar̃i-ḻa ŋapiṛi-ndr̃u / wata
1SgS Cooper's Creek-CHAR father-SCE not
ŋandr̃i-ndr̃u
mother-SCE
'I'm a Cooper's Creek person from (my) father, not from (my) mother'.

(C) with a verb of locution (either transitive or intransitive) a source case NP expresses the thing or person about which the

linguistic act occurs. Some verbs with which these SCE NP co-occur include:

yaṯa-	(1D)	'to speak, say'[1]
yaḍi-	(1C)	'to lie, tell lies'
yakalka-	(2E)	'to ask'
kawukawupa-	(2A)	'to tell a story'
waŋka-	(2C)	'to sing'
ṯalpa ḍaka-	(2A)	'to inform (lit. pierce (one's) ear)'

Some examples of their use are (48) above and:

(336) yaṛu-ka ŋaṯu yiṉa kawukawupa-yi ŋakaṇi
like that-TOKEN 1SgA 2SgO tell story-PRES 1SgGEN
miṯa-ndřu
country-SCE
'I'll tell you about my country like that'.

(337) waŋapula-li wima-ø waŋka-yi kunaři-ndřu
(name)-ERG song-ABS sing-PRES Cooper's Creek-SCE
'Wongapula sang a song about Cooper's Creek'.

5.1.5.7 allative -ya ~ ŋu

The allative case has two 'local' (in the sense that this term is employed in the discussion above) functions, one spatial and the other

[1] The cases of the NPs construed with yaṯa- 'to speak' are listed above (see 5.1.5.5 page 291).

temporal:

(A) with verbs of motion or induced motion (both transitive and intransitive) an allative case noun phrase indicates the thing or place towards which the motion is directed. There is a contrast between locative case (see 5.1.5.5) and allative with these verbs:

a) LOC indicates motion into a place or onto some surface.
b) ALL indicates motion towards some place.

Compare examples (285) and (286) above and the discussion regarding them.

Examples of ALL case marked NPs are the following, firstly with intransitive verbs (see also (43) above):

(338) miri kaṛi-a-ø-mayi waḷa-ya
above climb-IMP-NM-EMPH nest-ALL
'Climb up above to the nest'. (1;43)

(339) yini wapa-yi yiŋkaṇi piṛi-ya
2SgS go-PRES 2SgGEN place-ALL
'You go to your place'.

and also with transitive verbs:

(340) miŋka-ya-l̲a ŋat̲u paḍaka-ṇa wanṯ̲i-yi
hole-ALL-NI 1SgA carry-PART AUX-PRES
'I carried (it) to the hole'. (12;48)

(341) maṇi-ø ŋaṯu wara-ṇa wara-yi ṯuřu-ya
fat-ABS 1SgA throw-PART AUX-PRES fire-ALL
'I threw the fat towards the fire'.

Compare (341) with (288) above. The following is an example of a transitivized 1A verb (see 4.5.3.1, 4.5.4.1.1) with an ALL NP[1]:

(342) [Dora]-ndřu ŋaṛi-lka-yi ŋaṉṯi-ŋaṉṯi-ya
-ERG go down-TR-PRES REDUP-animal-ALL
'Dora took (him) down to the animals'. (9;7)

(B) when used with one of the temporal location nominals (see 4.1.1) ALL case specifies the time until which an action, event or process continues. An example of this function is:

(343) ṉiŋki-ya-ø ŋaldřa ṯuraṛa-ḷa ŋana-yi ṯaŋkupaṇa-ya
here-NEAR-LOC 1D1incl S AUX-PRES tomorrow-ALL
'We'll sleep here until tomorrow'.

Most commonly, we find the -ḷu STILL clitic (see 5.4.1) following the ALL case marker adding to the specification of continuity, as in:

(344) ŋayani ŋama-yi ṉiŋki-ḍa-ø miṯa-ni
1Plexcl S sit-PRES here-VICIN-LOC country-LOC
karaṛi-ya-ḷu
today-ALL-STILL
'We have been living here in this country until today'.

[1] Sentence (342) also illustrates the use of ALL with a NP with animate reference.

(345) ṯaŋkupaṇa-ya-l̤u ṉandr̃u wayi-yi puka-ø
tomorrow-ALL-STILL SgnFA cook-PRES food-ABS
'She will be cooking food until tomorrow'.

In sentences such as (344) and (345) -l̤u seems to be optional but emphasizes 'until'. Note that if -ya is deleted in sentences such as (345) we must interpret the time word as in locative case and the meaning is then quite different (for the two functions of -l̤u, marking 'still' and 'only', see 5.4.1):

(346) ṯaŋkupaṇa-ø-l̤u ṉandr̃u wayi-yi puka-ø
tomorrow-LOC-STILL SgFA cook-PRES food-ABS
'She'll cook food tomorrow only'.

5.1.5.8 purposive

For singular common nouns the expression of allative case is morphologically identical (see 4.2.4) to that of purposive case, namely -ya. However, there are differences between the types of nominal determiners (see 4.4.1) occurring in the two cases, as the following table shows:

TABLE 39 : CASE REALIZATIONS

Case	Singular noun	Determiner (non-feminine)	Determiner (feminine)
ALLATIVE	-ya	ṉuŋkaŋu	ṉaŋkaŋu
PURPOSIVE	-ya	ṉuŋkaṇi	ṉaŋkaṇi

For pronouns (see 4.4.2, 4.3.1) the forms used for PURP are identical to those of BENefactive and GENitive. For the syntactic reasons for distinguishing them see 5.1.5.9 and 5.1.5.10 below.

The purposive case has two functions which we could broadly term 'purpose' and 'result':

(A) a purposive case NP can indicate the (general) purpose or aim for which an action is initiated. Typically, clauses involving this use of PURP NP contain a verb of motion (transitive or intransitive) as in:

(347) n̪awu t̪ika-yi n̪uŋkaṇi-ya t̪ur̃u-ya /
SgnFS return-PRES SgnFPURP-NEAR fire-PURP
mani-ṇa t̪ika-l̪a
get-PART return-IMPL$_{ss}$
'He is coming back for this wood to take (it) back'.

(348) yula wapa-a-lu ɲaṇikuti-ya
2D1S go-IMP-NM goat-PURP
'You two go for the goats'.

although verbs of other types do occur, for example:

Dh. (349) ŋat̪i ŋapa ȶili-Ø paku-ṇḍa pur̃i-yi ŋapa-ya
1SgA water soakage-ABSdig-PART AUX-PRES water-PURP
'I dig a soakage for water'.

(350) ṯana piřki-ṇa wara-yi maḍa-ya
P1S play-PART AUX-PRES stone-PURP
'They were playing (cards) for money'.

When the predicate is stative and involves one of the INST case NP specified on page 278 a PURP NP indicates the thing desired. Examples of this function of PURP are (265) to (267) above. Also in this group seems to be the idiomatic expression kaḻu mařa- literally 'liver turn red' translated by informants as "be hard up for". An example is:

(351) ŋani kaḻu-ø mařa-yi puka-ya
1SgS liver-ABS turn red-PRES food-PURP
"I'm hard up for bread"[1].

Clearly sentences like (351) are semantically similar to (265) to (267) where the INST NP overtly expresses the desire.

(B) a purposive case NP can indicate the result of some action, whether or not the result was intended by the agent initiating the action. Examples of this use of PURP typically involve an adjective as the NP (see 5.1.1.2) as in:

(352) ṉawu puri-ṇa waṉṯi-yi ŋapa ṯuřu-ni ṉari-ya-ḻa
SgnFS fall-PART AUX-PRES water fire-LOC dead-PURP-NI
'He fell to his death in the boiling water[2]*'.*

---

[1] A more standard English translation of kaḻu mařa- would be 'to be really in need of'.

[2] This sentence occurred during a discussion of ŋatuṯakali a Wangganguru man who fell into the boiling waters of Mt. Gason bore (wanduřuṉa).

(353) yundřu ŋaṉa pařuma-yi ṯipi-ya
2SgA 1SgO drag-PRES alive-PURP
"You pulled me out alive".

but examples with nouns do occur, as in:

(354) kumařï-ya yula ṉandřa-mali-yi kupa-kupa-wuḷu-ø
blood-PURP 2D1S hit-RECIP-PRES REDUP-child-DUAL-ABS
'You two children fight till you bleed (lit. to blood)'.

An understanding of some instances of this function of purposive case requires detailed knowledge of Diyari beliefs, especially about case-effect and implication (see also 5.2.1.1). So, for example, when discussing the ring sometimes seen around the moon on summer nights Rosa Warren said:

(355) piṛa-ali puŋa-ø waṯi-yi ṯalaṛa-ya
moon-ERG humpy-ABS build-PRES rain-PURP
"The moon is building a humpy so it will rain".

Notice the connection between moon building a humpy and the resulting rain (expressed as a purposive case noun phrase). Another example of this occurred during a discussion of the phases of the moon:

(356) piṛa-ø kuku ṯařka-yi ṯalaṛa-ya
moon-ABS overturned stand-PRES rain-PURP
"The moon is standing upside down for rain".

When the moon wanes the Diyari believe it stands upside down and will soon release the rain it is known to hold. The rain will result from the moon's standing upside down.

5.1.5.9 benefactive

The marker of benefactive case suffixed to singular common nouns (see 4.2.4.2) has the same phonological shape as that for allative, purposive and genitive cases.

> Some or all of these functions are often marked by the suffix -ku in Australian languages (see Blake in Dixon ed. (1976: 421-4)). I can find no trace of -ku or possible reflexes of it in Diyari or Dhirari. It is interesting that Ngamini and Yarluyandi have -ŋka and -ŋga respectively as markers of all these functions (as for -ya in Diyari).

For nominal determiners and pronouns (4.3.2, 4.4.1) the same forms are used for BEN, PURP and GEN but a different form (which is identical to LOC) for ALL. This still means that for noun phrases benefactive, purposive and genitive cases will have the same realizations. However, we must distinguish them for the following syntactic reasons:

a) with the genitive the possessed noun phrase must be present in the clause or clear from the context (see 5.1.5.10,5.1.6.1). There is no NP to NP relationship expressed by BEN or PURP.

b) GEN case marked NPs may occur in any of the other syntactic functions and with the respective case marking (see 4.2.4). That is, GEN NPs may be double case marked (see 4.2.4, 4.3.3 and 5.1.6.1 below). Only genitive allows this doubling of functions.

c) a benefactive NP can be cross-referenced in the verb, except if it is intransitive, by the stem forming affixes -ipa- and -yirrpa- (see 4.5.4.2 and Table 34). Neither genitive nor purposive case noun phrases may be cross-referenced in this, or any other, way.

d) the noun phrase in benefactive case can only have a referent which is animate. For purposive case NPs the referent(s) may be animate or inanimate (see examples above 5.1.5.8) . GEN case NPs must also have animate referent(s) (see 5.1.5.10).

There are also clear semantic differences between the functions of these three cases which can be brought into consideration. So, for example, an instance of GEN will be interpreted as possession and BEN as a benefactive i.e. an animate being benefiting from some action, event or process. The semantics of the purposive case have been described above. It is clear, then, that there are syntactic and semantic criteria for differentiating three cases, all with the same morphological realization.

A benefactive case NP has but a single function, namely to indicate the animate being for which an action is undertaken or which benefits from some event or process. Examples include (85) to (87) above and:

(357) ŋulu ŋaṇṭi-ø mani-ṇa wara-yi kiṇṭala-ya
SgFA meat-ABS get-PART AUX-PRES dog-BEN
'He got some meat for (his) dog'.

(358) ŋani ŋakaṇi ŋandři-ya wapa-yi / puka-ø
1SgS 1SgGEN mother-BEN go-PRES food-ABS
mani-ḻa
get-IMPL$_{SS}$
'I'm going for my mother to get some food'.

5.1.5.10 genitive

The genitive is not a 'case' in the same syntactic sense as all the other cases mentioned above. Genitive expresses the concept of ownership or possession and hence relates NPs to NPs. All other cases are expressions of syntactic relationships between NPs and predicate(s).

The genitive is usually treated as a 'case' in grammars of Australian languages because (see also Crowley (1977:45)):

a) this is how it is treated in traditional grammars of languages such as Latin; and
b) there are often morphological similarities between its realizations and those of the other syntactic cases for all types of noun phrase.

Alternatively, it can be treated as a stem forming affix (see, for example Dixon (1977: 134)). This option is not available for Diyari because there are GEN nominal determiners (4.4.1) but none for stem forming processes e.g. PROPrietive (4.2.2, 5.1.6.3).

For details on the functions of genitive case and contrasts between it and other expressions of possession see 5.1.6, especially 5.1.6.1.

5.1.6 Possession

There are a number of ways the semantic concept of possession or ownership is expressed syntactically in Diyari. They include the use of stem forming affixes (4.2.2, 5.1.6.3, 5.1.6.4), apposition (5.1.6.2), the genitive case (5.1.6.1, 5.1.5.10) and a verb ('to have' see 5.1.6.5). In this section I discuss each of these expressions and their similarities and differences.

5.1.6.1 Genitive

A noun phrase referring to something which owns or possesses another thing can be marked for GENitive case function (5.1.5.10). The possessed object may have the same reference as the possessor i.e. be a part of it, or have a different reference. With body parts and certain other types of noun (see 5.1.6.2) apposition is an alternative to the overt expression of GEN case.

The syntactic order of possessor and possessed object is determined by the following criteria:

a) if the head of the possessor NP is a noun then it generally precedes the possessed NP. As such the case marking scheme is (where CASE indicates the function in the clause)

possessor NP-GEN possessed NP-CASE

b) if the possessor NP consists of a pronoun or just a nominal determiner (with anaphoric reference - see 5.1.1.2) then it may precede or follow the possessed NP. If the pronoun or determiner follows then it also carries the case of the

possessed NP (depending upon its function in the clause).

The following are some examples of GEN and relative orderings:

(359) ŋulu kuḍu-ø paku-yi wiḻa-ya wana-ali
SgnFA hole-ABS dig-PRES woman-GEN yamstick-INST
'He is digging a hole with a woman's digging stick'.

(360) yini ŋama-a-ø-mayi ŋaldȓaṇi ŋandȓi-ni
2SgS sit-IMP-NM-EMPH 1D1inclGEN mother-LOC
'You stay with our mother'. (1;5)

(361) yini ṯika-a-ø-mayi ŋuwa yiŋkaṇi-ya
2SgS return-IMP-NM-EMPH spouse 2SgGEN-ALL
"You go back to your husband".

Compare (361) with (339) above. The two orderings illustrated by examples such as these appear to be equivalent alternatives (see also (8) above).

5.1.6.2 Apposition

As an alternative to the use of genitive case, a possessed noun phrase which is part of the thing or person which possesses it may occur in apposition with the possessor[1]. Here the possessor is not marked

[1] Apposition in NPs is discussed at 5.1.1.2 above. See also 5.3.1.4 for the use of apposition as an expression of conjunction.

as GENitive case but occurs in a form appropriate to the syntactic role played by the possessed NP in the clause in which it occurs. That is, both NP take the same case marking (see 5.1.5).

The types of noun phrase which occur with a possessor in apposition are those which are inalienably possessed and are:

(A) parts of the body - examples include the following (note that in the majority of examples included in this section the possessor will be a pronoun - these examples have been chosen because pronouns distinguish S, A and O functions clearly (see 5.1.5, 4.3.2)):

(362) yini milki-ø ʈanma-yi-l̪a
2SgS eye-ABS open-PRES-NI
'Your eyes are open now'.

(363) ŋaḍa-ni n̪uŋkaṇi kaḍi maṛa-ø wiři-yi /
then-LOC SgnFGEN ZH hand-ABS enter-PRES
ḍukaṛa-l̪a n̪uŋkaŋundřu maṇa-ndřu
take out-IMPL$_{ss}$ SgnFSCE mouth-SCE
'Then his brother-in-law's hand went in and took (it) out of his mouth'. (1;39)

(364) n̪ulu ŋan̪a maṛa-ø ṇandřa-ṇa wara-yi
SgnFA 1SgO hand-ABS hit-PART AUX-PRES
'He hit my hand'.

(B) bodily excretions such as kuna 'shit', kipaṛa 'piss' and kaŋu 'sweat', found in sentences like:

(365) ŋani kaŋu-ø ŋaka-yi

1SgS sweat-ABS flow-PRES

'I am sweating (lit. my sweat is flowing)'.

See also (1;100) in Appendix A.

(C) spiritual essences such as ṯipi 'life', muŋaṛa 'soul' and puřka 'conscience'[1]. Examples include:

(366) yundřu ŋaṉa ṯipi-ø kuḷka-ṇa wara-yi

2SgA 1SgO life-ABS save-PART AUX-PRES

'You saved my life'.

(367) ŋaṯu ṉiṉa puřka-ø ḏaŋa-ṇa wara-yi

1SgA SgnFO conscience-ABS hunt away-PART AUX-PRES

'I frightened him'.

(D) characteristic noises, that is, one of the following list:

kunŋara - 'the sound of movement in the distance'

kaldřa - 'the sound of human voices in the distance'

ŋayaḷa - 'the sound of human voices in the vicinity'

ŋaṛu - 'the sound of an identifiable human voice; echo'

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[1] Informants translate puřka as 'conscience' but I am not sure of its exact reference. The word occurs as an instrumental (see 5.1.5.4) puřkali ŋana- meaning 'to be grievous, sorry for' and as part of the idiom illustrated in sentence (367) below. The word muŋaṛa refers to the soul which ascends into the sky after death and contrasts with yawula 'spirit' which remains on earth to be questioned by the kunki or 'native doctor' (see Elkin (1932)).

See also 5.1.10.2 below and 5.2.2.

Examples of apposition with these nouns are:

(368) ŋaṯu yiṉa ŋaṟu-ø ŋaṟa-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA 2SgO voice-ABS hear-PART AUX-PRES
'I heard your voice'.

(369) ŋaṯu puluka-ø kunŋara-ø ŋaṟa-yi
1SgA cattle-ABS noise-ABS hear-PRES
'I can hear the sound of cattle moving'.

(E) the noun ṯaḷa 'name'[1], found with an appositional possessor as in:

(370) ṯanali ŋaṉa ṯaḷa-ø ḏika-ṇa wara-yi
P1A 1SgO name-ABS name-PART AUX-PRES
'They said my name'.

(371) waṟaṉa yini ṯaḷa-ø
who-ABS 2SgS name-ABS
'What is your name?'.

Apposition as a means of indicating possession with these categories of nominal is common throughout Australia. It is found in Yidiny (Dixon (1977: 361)) and Ngiyamba: (Donaldson (1977: 278-9)), for example.

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[1] As with all other Aboriginal groups Diyari names are individual and not inherited. They are 'inalienably possessed'.

5.1.6.3 The PROPrietive

The PROPrietive or 'having affix' is a stem forming affix of the shape -ɳʈu added to nominal stems (see 4.2.2 sub section [E][1]). The PROP marker cannot be suffixed to pronouns, determiners or names i.e. NP constituents whose reference is definite (see 5.1.7.2).

PROP may be followed by any of the case suffixes (4.2.4) depending upon the syntactic function of the nominal to which it is attached (5.1.5). Examples include (11) and (12) above as well as those listed below.

A noun suffixed by PROP acts syntactically like an adjective - thus it usually follows the NP which is being modified. A noun with PROP suffix may comprise a stative non-verbal predicate (see 5.1.2) as in:

(372) ɳawu kaɳa-ø ŋanka-ɳʈu
SgnFS person-ABS beard-PROP
'That man (has) a beard/(is) bearded'.

This can also be expressed by using the copula ŋana- 'to be':

(373) ɳawu kaɳa-ø ŋanka-ɳʈu ŋana-yi
SgnFS person-ABS beard-PROP be-PRES
'That man is bearded'.

There seems to be no difference in meaning between sentences such as (372)

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[1] The following discussion is based upon the comparative pattern set out in Topic A of Dixon ed. (1976). Where Diyari uses other means than PROP to express a semantic distinction found by Dixon I will refer to the relevant expression and its exemplification elsewhere.

and (373). Compare these examples with (405) below, however.

The PROPrietive has a number of semantic functions:

(A) describing the characteristics of:

a) a human being - there are two possibilities here:

i) the characteristic may be some physical feature of the person described. Examples of this include alienable things as in (372) and:

(374) pinaɽu-ø pali-ɳa wara-yi wima-ɳʈu-ø
old man-ABS die-PART AUX-PRES song-PROP-ABS
'The old man died with his songs'.

(375) kanku kundɽukundɽu-ɳʈu-ali ŋaɳa yakalka-yi
boy cough-PROP-ERG 1SgO ask-PRES
'The boy with a cough asked me'.

as well as inalienable body parts, as in:

(376) ŋani yaʈa-ɳa wara-yi kanku maɳi-ɳʈu-ni
1SgS speak-PART AUX-PRES boy fat-PROP-LOC
'I spoke to the fat boy'.

ii) the characteristic may be some relationship established between the person described and some other person. An example is:

(377) mayi! yini ŋuwa-ŋṯu
well 2SgS spouse-PROP
'Well, are you married?'.

b) a non-human animate - here only physical characteristics are expressed by PROP, an example being:

(378) kiŋṯala ŋuṛa-ŋṯu-ø yaṯa-yi
dog tail-PROP-ABS speak-PRES
'The dog with a tail is barking[1]*'*.

c) an inanimate thing - again physical characteristics are expressed by PROP, as in:

(379) ŋaṯu ŋaŋṯi maṇi-ŋṯu-ø ṯayi-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA meat fat-PROP-ABS eat-PART AUX-PRES
'I ate the fatty meat'.

Another means of expressing physical attributes of all types of nouns is the use of a non-verbal predicate (5.1.2) plus, optionally, the copula ŋana- 'to be'. These predicates consist of a noun plus the adjective piṇa 'big' and are exemplified by[2]:

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[1] This sentence was used during a discussion of which of two dogs (one with a tail and one without) kept one of the informants awake at night.

[2] This (and the use of KIN PROP - see below) seems to be the only way of expressing characteristics in Ngamini. I could find no evidence of a stem forming affix similar to PROP in the data collected on that language (by Breen and myself).

(380) ṯana-paña maṇi piṇa

P1S-THERE fat big

'Those are fat'.

(381) ṉawu-ya kaṇa-ø ŋanka piṇa

SgnFS-NEAR person-ABS beard big

'This man has a beard/is bearded'.

This is the means by which abstract qualities of human beings are expressed (not by using PROP above). So, for example we find:

Dh. (382) ṉawu kanku-ø ṯiri piṇa ŋana-ṇda puñi-yi

SgnFS boy-ABS cheek(y) big be-PART AUX-PRES

"That boy is cheeky".

(383) pula-ya maṯari-wuḷu-ø paka piṇa

D1S-NEAR man-DUAL-ABS nature big

'Those two men are philanderers'.[1]

The characteristics of a place or location are also expressed in this way, for example:

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[1] paka is translated as 'type, sort' by informants and seems to refer to aspects of human nature. I am unsure of its exact reference but note that it occurs in the following idioms:

paka piṇa 'philanderer, man or woman who chases after someone of the opposite sex'.

paka ŋuñu 'well behaved person' - opposite of paka piṇa (NB. ŋuñu = 'strong')

paka kañʧi- 'to change one's appearance, habits'. (NB. kañʧi- = 'to turn, rotate').

Dh. (384) [dam]-ø-ṯa puḻuñu piṇa ŋana-ṇḏa puñi-yi
-ABS-OI mud big be-PART AUX-PRES
'The dam was muddy'.

or by using a LOCative case marked NP (see 5.1.5.5) as in the following sentences (note the adjective is marapu 'many' in (386)):

(385) waldña piṇa paḻaṛa-ni
heat big outside-LOC
'(It's) hot outside'.

(386) pañu marapu kaṛiñi-ni
fish many creek-LOC
'(There are) many fish in the creek'.

See also examples (155) to (159) above (5.1.2). PROP is occasionally found with descriptions of places as in:

(387) ŋaldña wapa-yi miṯa ṯuñu-ṉṯu-ni
1D1incl S go-PRES country fire-PROP-LOC
'Let's go to a place with firewood'.

(B) describing a human agent at rest with:

a) something inanimate - a noun with PROP marking can occur in this function when the verb of the clause is intransitive (belonging to classes 1A or 1B (see 4.5.3.1)), and describes

an actor at rest (in various orientations). Examples include the following:

(388) ŋaṯu kaṇa-ø ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi / kaṯ̪i-ṉṯu-ø
1SgA person-ABS see-PART AUX-PRES spear-PROP-ABS
ṯařka-ṇani
stand-REL$_{ds}$
'I saw a man standing with a spear'.

(389) kupa waka-waka-ø piřki-ṇa ŋama-yi
child REDUP-SMALL-ABS play-PART sit-PRES
kira-ṉṯu-ø
boomerang-PROP-ABS
'The small child is playing with a boomerang'.

b) a non-human animate - these sentences are similar to (a) above. Examples include:

(390) ṉani mankařa-ø ṯuraṛa-yi kiṉṯala-ṉṯu-ø
SgFS girl-ABS lie-PRES dog-PROP-ABS
'The girl is lying with some dogs'.

c) a human animate - examples include:

(391) ŋani ṉuwa-ṉṯu-ø ŋama-yi
1SgS spouse-PROP-ABS sit-PRES
'I am sitting with (my) wife'.

In all these examples the locative case may be used as an alternative to PROP (see 5.1.5.5 function (D)). LOC must be used:

i) when the referent of the accompanying NP is definite (see 5.1.6.2) and overtly marked, such as by a nominal determiner (4.4.1) or a DUAL or PLURAL stem forming affix (see 4.2.2). So, for example, instead of (390) we find:

(392) ṉani mankaña-ø ṯuraṛa-yi ṯanaŋu kiṉṯala-ni
SgnFS girl-ABS lie-PRES PlLOC dog-LOC
'The girl sleeps with those dogs'.

and note also the following:

(393) kanku-waṛa-ø ŋama-yi ṯaṛi-waṛa-ŋu
boy-PLURAL-ABS sit-PRES youth-PLURAL-LOC
'The boys are sitting with the youths'.

See also examples (300) and (302) above.

ii) when the referents of the subject (S) NP and the accompanying NP are both human and of the same sex then locative case is used instead of PROP. So, for example, informants rejected:

(394) *mankaña-ø ṯuraṛa-yi wiḻa-ṉṯu-ø
girl-ABS lie-PRES woman-PROP-ABS

in favour of:

(395) mankaña-ø ṯuraṛa-yi wiḻa-ni
girl-ABS lie-PRES woman-LOC
'The girl is sleeping with a woman'.

They also drew a distinction between PROP and LOC when the sex of the two referents was different. Rosa Warren offered and translated the following two sentences:

(396) mankaña-ø ṯaṛi-ṉṯu-ø ṯuraṛa-yi
girl-ABS youth-PROP-ABS lie-PRES
"The girl sleeps with a young man".

(397) mankaña-ø ṯaṛi-ni ṯuraṛa-yi
girl-ABS youth-LOC lie-PRES
"The girl camps with a young man".

She said that a girl described by (396) would be a "bad girl" acting immorally[1]. In this context PROP indicates a closer, more intimate relationship between the participants whereas LOC simply specifies accompaniment.

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[1] Since mankaña is a 'young, unmarried girl'. If ṉuwa 'spouse' (unmarked for sex) were used then "that would be alright".

(C) describing a human agent moving with or accompanied by:

a) something inanimate, as in:

(398) kupa-ø mindři-yi makita-ṉṯu-ø
child-ABS run-PRES gun-PROP-ABS
'The child is running with a gun'.

(399) kaṇa-ø ṉawu wakaṛa-yi yawařa-ṉṯu-ø
person-ABS SgnFS come-PRES word-PROP-ABS
'The man is coming with a message'.

If the inanimate thing accompanying the agent is assisting his movement then the INSTrumental case (see 5.1.5.4 function (A)) rather than PROP must be used in Diyari.

b) a non-human animate, as in:

(400) kaṇa-ø ṉawu ṉaṉṯu-ṉṯu-ø ṯika-yi
person-ABS SgnFS horse-PROP-ABS return-PRES
'The man is coming back with a horse'.

The comments on the use of INST with assistive NPs mentioned above (under (a)) hold for this class of referents also. If ṉaṉṯuyali 'horse-INST' is used instead of ṉaṉṯuṉṯu in (400) then it can only be that the man is riding the horse (see 5.1.5.4 examples (249) and (250)).

(401) ŋawu kupa-ŋtu-ø wapa-yi
SgnFS child-PROP-ABS go-PRES
'He is going with a child'.

Sentences such as (401) are rare in the corpus - there seems to be a strong preference for the use of LOC in this sort of context (see 5.1.5.5) or even INSTrumental (see 5.1.5.4 function (F)).

(D) indicating a time or season - when questioned during elicitation, informants accepted sentences such as the following as grammatical:

(402) piṛa-ŋtu-ø ŋayani wapa-yi
moon-PROP-ABS 1Plexc1S go-PRES
'We go in the moonlight'.

but showed a strong preference for the LOC case (see 5.1.5.5 function (C)). I found no examples of sentences like (402) in texts.

Of the other possible semantic functions listed by Dixon the description of a state and of fear are indicated by the use of INST case (see 5.1.5.4 function (D)) and LOC case for the source or cause of the state or fear (see examples such as (263) to (264)).

5.1.6.4 The KINship PROPrietive

The stem forming affix -maṛa KINship PROPrietive (see 4.2.2 section

(F)) is added to a nominal forming an adjective similar, syntactically, to adjectives formed by the addition of -ṉṯu PROP (see 5.1.6.4).

KIN PROP has two semantic functions in Diyari:

a) it forms a collective noun added to a kinship term so that N-maṛa 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-maṛa eZ-KIN PROP but ŋaṯata 'younger sibling' (unmarked for sex) can be used also. Note that ŋaṯata-maṛa is ambiguous between 'a group of sisters' and 'a group of brothers' however.

The nominal determiner which accompanies a KIN PROP noun must be non-singular i.e. dual or plural (see 4.4.1). Examples of this are (13) above and:

(403) pula ŋapiṛi-maṛa-ϕ wapa-yi ŋura-ndřu
D1S father-KIN PROP-ABS go-PRES camp-SCE
'The father and child are going from the camp'.

It is possible to use one of these nouns as a predicate nominal (see 5.1.2) as in:

(404) ṯaṛi ya mankaña-ø pula ŋana-ṇa waṉṯi-yi
young man and girl-ABS DIS be-PART AUX-PRES
ṉuwa-maṛa
spouse-KIN PROP
'The young man and girl were married'. (1;1)

In a sentence such as (403) the other member of the pair referred to by ŋapiṛimaṛa 'father-KIN PROP' can be expressed by the use of the INSTrumental case. This is discussed and exemplified at 5.1.5.4 above (see section (F) especially examples (275) and (276)).

b) it indicates 'with' or 'having' and is virtually identical in function with PROP above. Informants accept either -ṉṯu or maṛa in sentences such as (372). That is, we find two alternatives, as in:

(405) ṉawu kaṇa-ø { ŋanka-ṉṯu / beard-PROP / ŋanka-maṛa / beard-KIN PROP }
SgnFS person-ABS
'That man (is) bearded'.

I could find no situations in which the use of one of these affixes was acceptable whilst the other was not. They seem to be true alternatives.

In Ngamini also we find -maṛa as KIN PROP. That language has no equivalent to PROP in Diyari and uses -maṛa where Diyari has PROP as an alternative. See also Breen (1976c: 295-296).

5.1.6.5 The Verb 'to have'

Both Diyari and Dhirari have a verb which translates into English as 'to have'. It consists of the intransitive (class 1A) root ŋama- 'to sit' plus the transitivizer -lka- (see 4.5.4.1.1, 5.1.8.3), that is, ŋamalka-.

The syntax of -lka- is described below (see 5.1.8.3). Basically, this affix indicates the following correlation:

NP_1^{S} root NP_2^{LOC} : NP_1^{A} NP_2^{O} root-lka-

where NP_2^{LOC} is a LOCative of accompaniment (see 5.1.5.5 section (D)). With ŋama- 'to sit' there is a semantic difference in focus, as shown by the following two sentences (for differences in word order see 5.1.7.1):

(406) ṉawu kaṇa-ø ŋama-yi kiṉṯala-ni
SngFS person-ABS sit-PRES dog-LOC
'The man is sitting with a dog'.

(407) ṉulu kaṇa-ali kiṉṯala-ø ŋama-lka-yi
SgnFA person-ERG dog-ABS sit-TR-PRES
'The man has a dog'.

Sentence (407) indicates ownership while (406) refers only to (more or less temporary) spatial orientation between the man and the dog.

The O NP used with ŋamalka- may refer to various types of things except body parts. Other inalienably possessed NPs (see 5.1.6.2) can

be used with ŋamalka- as in:

(408) yundṟu kaṇa ṯaḷa-ø ŋama-lka-yi
2SgA person name-ABS sit-TR-PRES
'Do you have an Aboriginal name?'.

as can NP referring to kin relations:

(409) yundṟu kaku-ø ŋama-lka-yi
2SgA eZ-ABS sit-TR-PRES
'Do you have an elder sister?'.

See also (14) above.

In Ngamini the verb 'to have' is ŋamaka- where ŋama- means 'to sit' and -ka- is a transitivizer cognate with Diyari -lka- (see also Breen (1976c: 295)). In both languages 'to have' seems to be quite freely used and is not more marked than any of the other possibilities available.

5.1.7 Word Order and Topicalization

The order of words within noun phrases (5.1.1.2), verb complexes (5.1.1.1) and genitives (5.1.6.1) have been discussed and illustrated above. In this section I discuss the order of words in the clause (5.1.7.1), the minimal structure of clauses (5.1.7.2) and topicalization of constituents (5.1.7.3). Notes on question formation are to be found at 5.1.7.4.

5.1.7.1 Word Order

The preferred ordering of clause constituents is as follows:

a) predicates, both verbal and non-verbal (5.1.1.1, 5.1.2) tend to occur clause finally or close to clause final position.

b) nominals functioning adverbially and predicate determiners usually occur immediately before or immediately after the predicate (5.1.3).

c) some particles always occur clause initially (5.5) while others such as pinti 'rumoured' are found on the margins of the clause i.e. initially or finally (5.5.5).

d) if the predicate contains a transitive verb then the ergative case NP usually occurs before the accusative case NP.

e) NPs in instrumental case occur before the predicate or immediately after it.

f) NPs in local cases i.e. ALL and SCE, and also benefactive and purposive NPs are usually placed after the predicate.

g) interrogatives of all types always occur clause initially - see 5.1.7.4.

These ordering preferences may be disturbed in two ways:

a) the constituents of an NP may be separated (and all case marked 5.1.5) as in examples (15) and (217). This scrambling of constituents is optional.

b) constituents may be topicalized, in which case they appear clause initially - see 5.1.7.3.

Typical examples illustrating possible word orders may be found in the texts (Appendix A).

5.1.7.2 Minimal Sentences

A sentence in Diyari which consists of a single clause must contain a predicate and at least one or more (case marked) noun phrases in construction with it. The requirement for NPs depends upon the predicate type:

a) a non-verbal predicate (5.1.3) or a predicate containing an intransitive verb (4.5.3) must occur with a single NP in S function (nominative case - 5.1.5.1).

b) a predicate containing a transitive verb of class 2B (4.5.3.2) must occur with at least one noun phrase in O function (accusative case). That is, it is not necessary to express the 'agent' (ERGative case marked NP) with a 2B verb but the 'patient' is indespensable. Examples illustrating this are:

(410) mayaṯa-ø ŋaṉa waṉṯi-yi
master-ABS 1SgO search-PRES
'(They) were searching for me, the boss'.

(411) waḍayari yiṉa kupa-ø ḍanka-ṇa wara-yi
where-LOC 2SgO child-ABS find-PART AUX-PRES
'Where were you born (lit. found)?'.

See also example (223) above.

With other class 2 (transitive) verbs usually the 'agent' is expressed - if necessary indefinites may be used:

ṯanali	P1A determiner (4.4.1) - 'they'
miṉali	what-ERG (4.2.8) - 'something'
waḷi	who-ERG (4.3.4) - 'someone'
kaṉali	person-ERG - 'someone'

For strategies for getting round these requirements see 5.1.8.1. Note that cross-clausal deletion can also affect these preferences (see 5.2).

5.1.7.3 Topicalization

The term 'topic' has been used in a number of ways in the linguistic literature (see for example Chafe (1976), Li and Thompson (1976)). For the description of Diyari I will use 'topic' to refer to a sentential constituent consisting of one or more words placed in clause initial position. Any constituent may be topicalized and hence differences from preferred word order may be involved (see 5.1.7.2). Interrogative words are inherently topical and always occur clause initially (5.1.7.4).

Two instances of topicalization will be described and illustrated here, firstly topicalization of predicates and secondly, topicalization of noun phrases:

a) topicalization of predicates occurs in Diyari when the predicate is in focus and has been mentioned in previous discourse. Consider the following example of a non-verbal predicate topic (note the preceding interrogative context):

(412) [miṉa ṯana ṯuñu puṯa maṟu-ø /] ŋakaṇi
what P1S fire ash black-ABS 1SgGEN
puka ṯana-paña maṟu-ø
food P1S-THERE black-ABS
'[*What (are) those black ashes?.*] *My food, those black things (are)*'.

See also (202) above and lines 78 and 79 in Text One (Appendix A).

An example of a verbal predicate topic is the following (preceding clause context included):

(413) [ŋaṯu ṉaṉa wani-yi /] wani-ṇa ŋaṯu /
1SgA SgFO follow-PRES follow-PART 1SgA
ṯina-ø ṉayi-ṇa
foot-ABS see-REL$_{ss}$
'[*I followed her*] *Followed her I (did) looking at the tracks*'.

It seems that verbal complexes as a whole are topicalized as the following example shows. There are no instances in the corpus of a main verb being placed in clause initial position separated from its AUXiliary.

(414) [ŋayani wiṟaṟi-ṇa waṉṯi-yi /] wiṟaṟi-ṇa
1P1exc1S go about-PART AUX-PRES go about-PART
waṉṯi-yi paṟuparu ŋayani ṯukuñu-ni
AUX-PRES everywhere 1P1exc1S kangaroo-LOC
'[*We went about*] *Went about everywhere we (did) for kangaroos*'.

See also lines 134 and 135 of Text One in Appendix A.

b) topicalization of noun phrases occurs when the speaker wishes to establish a particular referent (or referents) and then comment upon it (or them). Topical NPs must be definite, that is, the speaker assumes the hearer "can pick out, from all the referents that might be categorized in this way, the one [he has] in mind" (Chafe (1976: 39)). In Diyari topicalization of NPs has two syntactic correlates:

i) the topic nominal is placed in clause initial position

ii) a nominal determiner (4.4.1) agreeing in number, gender (in the singular) and case occupies the position in the clause that the NP would usually occupy (5.1.7.1).

Examples of this include (171) above and:

(415) [ŋaʈu ʈalaṛa-ø ŋanka-ya / kuḍa-ṇaɳʈu /]
1SgA rain-ABS make-PAST fall-IMPL$_{ds}$
ʈalaṛa maḍa ŋaʈu ɳiɳa maʈa-ya
rain stone 1SgA SgnFO bite-PAST
'[*I made the rain fall*]. *The rain stone I bit (it)*'.[1]

(416) kaṇa-ni ŋani ɳuŋkaŋu yaʈa-ṇa wara-yi
person-LOC 1SgS SgnFLOC speak-PART AUX-PRES
'To the man, I was speaking'.

[1] This sentence is from a text about rain making - see also (246) above.

Note that personal names which cannot usually be preceded by a a determiner (5.1.1.2) can be topicalized and be cross referenced by a nominal determiner, as in:

(417) [Billy]-ṉa ṉawu wapa-yi ṉaka-ø
-ABS SgnFS go-PRES there-LOC
'Billy, he's going there'.

(418) ʈiṛimirini pulali ṉaṉa ṉayi-ya
woman's name D1A SgFO see-PAST
'ʈiṛimiri *they saw her'.*

When the topicalized NP contains the co-ordinating conjunction ya 'and' the nominal determiner will agree in number with the total number of individuals referred to. An example is line 1 of Text One (Appendix A).

Generics may also be topicalized, as in:

(419) paya paɽʈaṇa ṯana ṯaɽa-yi
bird all P1S fly-PRES
'All birds, they can fly'.

Note that old and new information are expressed by clitics in Diyari (see 5.4.5, 5.4.6) as is additional information (5.4.3).

5.1.7.4 Questions

In Diyari, polar questions - requiring a yes/no answer - are marked by a rising intonation (3.6). No affixation or changes from preferred word

order (5.1.7.1) are used.

There are sets of interrogatives (see 4.2.8, 4.3.4, 4.4.3, 4.5.8) which are employed for asking non-polar questions. They are exemplified above at the sections listed. Interrogatives always occur in clause initial position - examples illustrating this include (26)-(28), (31)-(37), (45)-(47) and (56)-(59). Note that for miṉa 'what?' and waḷi 'who?' there is a contrast in word order between their interrogative and indefinite uses. This is illustrated at 4.2.8 and 4.3.4 above, as is the disambiguating use of -ya DUB post-inflectional affix.

The interrogative verbs (4.5.8) always occur clause initially as illustrated by examples (151) to (154) above.

5.1.8 Adjustments to Transitivity

Every verb root in Diyari and Dhirari is either inherently intransitive, transitive or di-transitive (see 4.5.3). Transitivity determines the syntactic functions and cases which the noun phrases construed with a verb in a clause may have (see 5.1.5). The inherent transitivity of a verb root may be changed by processes which involve the addition of stem forming (or derivational) affixes to the root (see 4.5.4 especially 4.5.4.1). These processes fall into two types, those which produce transitive stems from intransitive roots (see 4.5.4.1.1 and 5.1.8.2) and secondly those which produce intransitive stems from transitive roots (4.5.4.1.2, 5.1.8.1). The syntactic effects of these processes are examined and exemplified in the following sections.

5.1.8.1 -ṯaṙi-

The morpheme -ṯaṙi- has two distinct functions:

a) it is an 'aspectual affix' which marks DURative and does not affect transitivity (4.5.4.2).

b) it is a 'de-transitivizer' which produces an intransitive stem from a transitive root.

The (a) function of -ṯaṙi- will not be further considered here. For the (b) function we may recognize four sub-categories determined by the type of verb root to which -ṯaṙi- is added (4.5.3.2):

(A) with class 2A verbs -ṯaṙi- indicates a reflexive action, that is, that the 'agent' NP performs the action upon himself or part of himself. Examples illustrating this are (68) and (69) above and also:

(420) ŋani muṙuwa-ṯaṙi-yi
1SgS scratch-REFL-PRES
'I scratched myself'.

which contrasts with:

(421) ŋaṯu yinaṉa muṙuwa-yi
1SgA 2SgO scratch-PRES
'I scratched you'.

With class 3 verb roots -ṯaři- indicates a reflexive action performed for the benefit of the agent. Here agent and indirect object (or recipient) are the same. Examples include (70) and (71) above.

(B) with class 2B roots -ṯaři- indicates an 'anti-passive' construction. That is, we find the following correlations between the functions of the NPs construed with the root and stem:[1]

a) the A NP becomes an S NP

b) the O NP receives LOCative case marking.

This can be described schematically as:[1]

$$NP_1^{A} \quad NP_2^{O} \quad \text{V root} \quad \rightarrow \quad NP_1^{S} \quad NP_2^{LOC} \quad \text{root-ṯaři-}$$

Examples illustrating this are (72) to (75) above. Note particularly the contrast illustrated in examples (74) and (75).

(C) with class 2C roots -ṯaři- indicates the following changes:

a) the A NP becomes an S NP

b) the O NP is unchanged.

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[1] The following discussion basically follows a transformational treatment of these correlations (see Chomsky (1957, 1965) and Akmajian and Heny (1975)). I take the morphologically unmarked root as basic and the stem as derived with transformational rules linking the clause types. The abbreviations are employed informally with sub-script numerals indicating referential identity.

This can be summarized as:

NP_1^A NP_2^O V root → NP_1^S NP_2^O V root-ṯaṟi-

Illustrative examples are (76), (77) and (80) above and also the following pair:

(422) ṉandṟu wiḻa-ali ṯanaṉa puka-ø wayi-yi
SgFA woman-ERG P1O food-ABS cook-PRES
'The woman is cooking those (vegetable) foods'.

(423) ṉani wiḻa-ø ṯanaṉa puka-ø wayi-ṯaṟi-yi
SgFS woman-ABS P1O food-ABS cook-ACT-PRES
'The woman is cooking those (vegetable) foods'.

Informants drew a contrast between sentences such as (422) and (423), as noted in (78) and (79) above, along the following lines:

a) sentence (422) focuses upon the agent performing an action
b) sentence (423) focuses upon the activity rather than the agent.

There was also a preference for the use of ŋama- 'to sit' in sequence with main verbs marked for ACT (see example (80) and 4.5.6).

(D) with 2D roots -ṯaṟi- marks a 'passive' construction where:

a) the O NP becomes an S NP
b) the A NP is marked by LOCative or INSTrumental case (see footnote

page 184). Often this NP is left unexpressed especially if the speaker wishes the 'causer' to be non-specific. This can be abbreviated as:

NP_1^{A} NP_2^{O} V root → NP_2^{S} ($NP_1^{LOC/INST}$) V root-ṯaṙi-

Examples illustrating 'PASSive' include (81) to (83) and also:

(424) ṉulu kaṇa-ali ŋapa-ø ṯiṉṯa-yi
SgnFA person-ERG water-ABS spill-PRES
'The man spilt the water'.

(425) ŋapa-ø ṯiṉṯa-ṯaṙi-yi (kaṇa-ni)
water-ABS spill-PASS-PRES person-LOC
"The water got spilled (by the man)".

(426) waṯaṛa-ali ṉiṉa maṇa-ø ŋandṙawalka-ṇa wara-yi
wind-ERG SgnFO door-ABS close-PART AUX-PRES
'The wind closed the door'.

(427) ṉawu maṇa-ø ŋandṙawalka-ṯaṙi-ṇa wara-yi { ṯalaṛa-ali / wind-INST / ṯalaṛa-ni / wind-LOC }
SgnFS door-ABS close-PASS-PART AUX-PRES
'The door got closed by/in the wind'.

Sentences such as (425) and (427) have a passive process meaning, often adversative as in (425).

Notice that each of these four syntactic sub-types involves changes to the basic clause functions S, A and O. So, for example, although instrumental case is realized the same way as ergative (4.2.4.2, 5.1.5.3) it is unaffected by the transformations given above. Take for example the following sentence (where the main verb is 2B):

(428) ṉulu kaṇa-ali yinaṉa waṉṯi-ṇa wara-yi
SgnFA person-ERG 2SgO search-PART AUX-PRES
paṛaʈi-ali
light-INST
'The man searched for you with a light'.

This can also be stated as follows:

(429) ṉawu kaṇa-ø yiŋkaŋu waṉṯi-ṯaři-ṇa wara-yi
SgnFS person-ABS 2SgLOC search-AP-PART AUX-PRES
paṛaʈi-ali
light-INST
'The man searched for you with a light'.

The ergative NP becomes nominative in (429) while the instrumental NP is unaffected. A further illustrative instance of this is provided by ACT and a body part instrumental, as in:

(430) ṉandřu wiḻa-ali puka-ø ṯayi-yi maṛa-ali
SgFA woman-ERG food-ABS eat-PRES hand-INST
'The woman is eating food with (her) hands'.

(431) ṉani wiḻa-ø puka-ø ṯayi-ṯaṟi-yi maṛa-ali
SgFS woman-ABS food-ABS eat-ACT-PRES hand-INST
'The woman is eating food with (her) hands'.

In all four transformational relations described above a noun phrase which was originally A or O ends up in derived S function. The changes involved are semantic and not connected with questions of cross-clausal identity or deletion (see 5.2 and descriptions of switch-reference). -ṯaṟi- seems to indicate the following adjustments to the semantics of each verb class:

a) 2A verbs are all verbs of contact and affect which normally have an actor (A NP) acting upon a 'patient' (O NP). For these verbs -ṯaṟi- indicates a deviation from the norm - the 'agent' and 'patient' are one and the same so contact is not as for the usual situation.

b) 2B verbs are listed in Table 30 above. Although the examples are not completely clear it seems that -ṯaṟi- indicates a non-deliberate action not fully under the control of an agent.

c) 2C verbs are listed in Table 31. With these verbs there is a focus off the agent performing the action and onto the activity itself indicated by -ṯaṟi-.

d) 2D verbs are listed in Table 32. They are all action/process verbs (Chafe (1970: 95)) and -ṯaṟi- indicates a focus away from the agent with a (resulting) process interpretation.

5.1.8.2 Transitivizers

There are three morphemes in Diyari and Dhirari which produce a transitive stem from an intransitive root (see 4.5.4.1.1). They are:

(A) -lka- which involves the following syntactic correlations:

a) the A NP of the stem corresponds to the S NP of the root

b) the O NP of the stem corresponds to a locative of accompaniment (5.1.5.5) of the root.

That is, we find:

NP_1^S NP_2^{LOC} V root → NP_1^A NP_2^O V root-lka-

Some stems derived in this way are listed in Table 27. The following examples illustrate the use of the transitivizer:

(432) ṉawu kanku-ø wapa-yi mankaña-ni
SgnFS boy-ABS go-PRES girl-LOC
'The boy goes with a girl'.

(433) ṉulu kanku-ali mankaña-ø wapa-lka-yi
SgnFA boy-ERG girl-ABS go-TR-PRES
'The boy takes (i.e. goes with) the girl'.

See also examples (60) and (61).

(B) -ipa- which indicates:

a) the O NP of the stem corresponds to the S NP of the root

b) an A NP is introduced

Stems of this sort are listed in Table 28. Examples illustrating the use of -ipa- include:

(434) ṉawu kupa-ø ṯaɽka-yi
SgnFS child-ABS stand-PRES
'The child is standing'.

(435) ṉulu kaṇa-ali ṉiṉa kupa-ø ṯaɽka-ipa-yi
SgnFA person-ERG SgnFO child-ABS stand-TR-PRES
'The man stands the child up'.

Sentences such as (435) (and also (62) and (63)) refer to actual physical manipulation of the O NP. Where such manipulation is not involved a periphrastic causative is used (see 5.2.1.6.2).

(C) -ma- used with 1E verbs has the same effect as -ipa- above. A list of the verbs taking -ma- are given in Table 29 while examples of its use are (64) and (65).

5.1.9 Nominalization

There are two means by which nominals (see 4.1.1) may be formed from verbs (4.1.4) in Diyari:

a) by the addition of -ni NOM to the verb stem (see 5.1.9.1)

b) by the addition of -yiʈa HABIT (4.2.2) to the PARTicipial form of the stem (4.5.5, 5.1.9.2). That is, by adding -ṇayiʈa to the stem in Diyari and -ṇḍayiʈa ~ -ḍayiʈa in Dhirari.

For transitive stems (see 4.5.3) a nominal in O function (accusative case - see 5.1.5.2) may be compounded with the nominalized verb stem. So, for example, we find (using NOM for illustration):

kaṇa = ṇandřa-ni	'killing people'	(person = hit-NOM)
puluka = kampa-ni	'collecting cattle'	(cattle = collect-NOM)
kuṇa = ṉayi-ni	'watching children'	(child = see-NOM)

Syntactically, the O nominal and the nominalized stem act as a single word since it is not possible to case mark both elements. Only the nominalized verb is case marked. This is indicated by the use of a = boundary between the elements of the nominalization. An example illustrating this case marking is:

(436) ŋani yaʈa-ṇa wara-yi wiʟa = ṇandřa-ni-ndřu
1SgS speak-PART AUX-PRES woman hit-NOM-SCE
'I spoke about woman beating'.

The following sentence is ungrammatical:

(437) *ŋani yaʈaṇa warayi wiʟandřu ṇandřanandřu

Intransitive verb stems which take accusative case complements (see 5.1.5.2 section (C) and the list on page 264) also show this sort of compounding when nominalized. That is, the accusative complement may precede the nominalized stem as in:

wima = kiḷini	'corroboree dancing'	(corroboree = dance-NOM)
yawaña = yaṯani	'speaking (a) language'	(language = speak-NOM)
kaṯi = wirini	'wearing clothes'	(clothes = wear-NOM)

For di-transitive stems (see 4.5.3) nominalization is one of the two means for distinguishing between the two accusative case NPs construed with the stem (see 5.1.5.2). The other means is the reflexive/reciprocal test mentioned above (4.5.4.1.2, 5.1.8.1). With nominalization the nominal which may be compounded with the nominalized verb stem is the 'direct object' not the 'indirect object'. So, for example, with yiŋki- 'to give' the gift and not the recipient may be compounded, as in:

puka = yiŋki-ni	'giving food'	(food = give-NOM)

An example such as:

kupa = yiŋki-ni	'child giving'	(child = give-NOM)

can only mean 'giving a child (to someone)' and not *'giving (something) to a child'. Similarly, we find the following:

putu = wandr̃ani	'showing thing(s)'	(thing(s) = show-NOM)
ṯaḷa = ḍikani	'naming name(s)'	(name(s) = name-NOM)
kaku = ŋaɲṯani	'calling by the kinship term elder sister'	(elder sister = call-NOM)

Further examples of nominalizations, including HABIT may be found below.

5.1.9.1 -ni NOMinalizer

The NOMinalizer -ni is added directly to the verb stem in Diyari and Dhirari. It produces a noun which:

a) has abstract reference to the action or event specified by the verb stem. Some examples have been given above (5.1.9) but we also have:

Nominal		Analysis	Stem class
wapani	'going, walking'	(go-NOM)	[1A]
ṯar̃kani	'standing'	(stand-NOM)	[1B]
puṇkani	'growing'	(grow-NOM)	[1C]
palini	'dying'	(die-NOM)	[1D]
maṯani	'biting'	(bite-NOM)	[2A]
kaḷkani	'waiting'	(wait-NOM)	[2B]
ṯayini	'eating'	(eat-NOM)	[2C]
warani	'throwing'	(throw-NOM)	[2D]
paḍani	'catching'	(catch-NOM)	[2E]

b) refers to a non-animate instrument typically used for the action or event specified by the verb stem. Examples of this include:

walpa+ḍakaṯaña̱ni	'blanket (lit. cover oneself thing)' (cover up-REFL-NOM)	
ṯina = mandña̱ni	'trap (lit. foot grasper)'	(foot = grasp-NOM)
paña̱u = paḍani	'fishing tackle'	(fish = catch-NOM)
wiḷpaŋankani	'opener (lit. hole maker)'	(hole-CAUSE-NOM)

The occurrence of O function nominals with nominalized transitive and di-transitive stems has been described and illustrated above. The following examples show nominalizations of transitivized or de-transitivized stems (see 4.5.7.1):

wapalkani	'taking'	(go-TR-NOM)
yiña̱ʃipani	'getting (someone) up'	(arise-TR-NOM)
palimani	'putting (a fire) out'	(die-TR-NOM)
ḍiŋaṯaña̱ini	'rubbing oneself'	(rub-REFL-NOM)[1]
ṇandña̱amalini	'fighting (each other)'	(hit-RECIP-NOM)
ṯukaṯaña̱ini	'riding'	(carry on back-PASS-NOM)
waŋkaṯaña̱ini	'singing'	(sing-ACT-NOM)
waṉṯiṯaña̱ini	'searching (for)'	(search-AP-NOM)

[1] This nominalization is also used idiomatically to mean 'masturbation' (of women).

Some illustrations of nominalized verbs used in clauses and inflected for case are:

(438) ṯina = mandr̃a-ni-ali kiṉṯala-ø paḍa-yi
foot grasp-NOM-ERG dog-ABS hold-PRES
'A trap was holding the dingo'. (19;123)

(439) ṉañi ŋama-yi kiṉṯala kuŋka-ni-ni
SgFS sit-PRES dog limp-NOM-LOC
'She is sitting with the lame (lit. limping) dog'.

See also example (203) above.

A nominalizer of the shape -ini- is found in Ngamini, Yarluyandi, Yandruwandha and Yawarawarga. Morpheme initial /i/ in these languages replaces the preceding morpheme final vowel as in Diyari (see 3.4.1).

5.1.9.2 -yiʈa HABIT

The -yiʈa HABITual association stem forming affix described above (4.2.2) is added to the PARTicipial form of a verb stem to form a noun. Thus, we find:

-ṇayiʈa in Diyari
-ṇḍayiʈa ~ -ḍayiʈa in Dhirari

where the Dhirari allomorphy is conditioned as for PART (4.5.5). Nouns formed by the addition of -PART-HABIT refer to animate beings habitually associated as agents with the action or event specified by the verb stem.

Because of the agency meaning IE verbs (see 4.5.3.1) cannot be nominalized in this way. Examples of these nominalizations are:

Di.	kupa = ṇandřaṇayiʈa	'child beater'	(child = hit-PART-HABIT)
Dh.	kupa = ḍandaḍayiʈa		
Di.	yawařa = yiŋkiṇayiʈa	'preacher (lit. language giver)'	(language = give-PART-HABIT)
Dh.	yawařa = yiŋkiḍayiʈa		
Di.	piřkiṇayiʈa	'player'	(play-PART-HABIT)
Dh.	piřkiṇḍayiʈa		
Di.	yindřaṇayiʈa	'one who always cries'	(cry-PART-HABIT)
Dh.	yindaḍayiʈa		

The following sentences illustrate the use of some nominalizations of this type:

(440) yawařa = yiŋki-ṇa-yiʈa-ali ṉiṉa kařʈimalka-ṇa
language give-PART-HABIT-ERG SgnFO turn over-PART
waṉṯi-yi ḍiyaṛi-ni
AUX-PRES Diyari-LOC
'The preachers translated (lit. turned over) it (i.e. the Bible) into Diyari'.

Dh. (441) ṉani kuḍiŋka-ḍa puñi-yi kupa = ḍanda-ḍa-yiṯa-ndřu

SgFS run-PART AUX-PRES child hit-PART-HABIT-SCE

'She ran away from the child beater'.

Bandjalang (Crowley 1977:98)) has an affix -ŋiɲ which is added to nominals to indicate "habitual resident" and also to verbs to indicate "habitual actor". There seems to be no affix cognate to -yiṯa in the other languages once spoken near Diyari and Dhirari (1.1.5).

5.1.10 Verbalization

There are three means by which verbs may be derived from nominals in Diyari. Two of these, namely INCHoative (see 5.1.10.1) and PRODuct (5.1.10.2) derive intransitive verb roots while the third, CAUSE (5.1.10.3) produces transitive roots. The following sections discuss and illustrate these verbalization methods.

5.1.10.1 INCH

The INCHoative verbalizer has two allomorphs (see also 3.2.1.3):

-ṛi- added to a stem containing an intervocalic apical consonant or consonant cluster

-ri- added to all other stems.

The following list gives typical stems and the allomorph they select:

-ri-		-ri-	
waḍu	'short'	ŋumu	'good'
yaṭu	'sated'	muɳʈa	'sick'
kaḷa	'empty'	maḻaɳʈi	'bad'
piṇa	'big'	waka	'small'
maṛu	'black'	ḍapa	'sore'
		maḻṯi	'cool'
pani	'nothing'	ŋuya	'habit, used (to)'
waṟu	'white'	ṯuŋka	'rotten'
kiṟi	'clever'		
pandṟa	'cooked'		
kaldṟi	'salty'		

INCH is added to adjectives (see 4.1.1) producing an intransitive verb root (of class 1D) such that X-INCH means 'to become X'. Note that INCH is not used with nouns in Diyari and that the notion of becoming for nouns is expressed by a periphrastic construction involving the verb paɳʈi- 'to become' (see 5.1.4). The periphrastic construction and INCH are alternatives for adjectives and there seems to be no difference in meaning between them. This is discussed and illustrated at 5.1.4 - see especially examples (215) and (216). Other examples of INCH verbs include (258) to (260), (323) and the following:

(442) yini ŋapu-ri-a-ø-mayi
2SgS quiet-INCH-IMP-NM-EMPH
'You be(come) quiet!' *or* *"Shut up!".*

(443) ʈalaṛa palku-ø pani-ṛi-ɳani / ḍiʈi-ø
rain cloud-ABS none-INCH-REL$_{ds}$ sun-ABS
miɳʈi-yi
shine-PRES
"When the clouds go away the sun shines".

Further examples may be found in Text One (Appendix A) lines 33, 34 and 83. The interrogative nominal miɳa 'what' (4.2.8) is also verbalized by the addition of INCH producing the verb miɳari- (see 4.5.8) exemplified in (151) above and:

(444) miɳa-ri-yi-ku ɳaldr̃aṇi ɳaʈata-ø
what-INCH-PRES-SENSE 1Dlincl GEN yS-ABS
'Something must have happened to our younger brother'. (1;69)

5.1.10.2 PROD

The PRODuct verbalizer -ɳa- is added to a restricted set of nouns in Diyari and Dhirari deriving an intransitive root (class 1C) where X-ɳa means 'to produce X'. The stems to which -ɳa- is added are:

a) nouns which refer to sounds, as in the following list:

Noun		Verb	
kaṭa	'crack'	kaṭaɳa-	'to crack, make cracking sound'
kanpu	'boom'	kanpuɳa-	'to boom, bang'
ḍaɭʈi	'rattle'	ḍaɭʈiɳa-	'to rattle'
kandr̃u	'snore'	kandr̃uɳa-	'to snore'
ḍar̃i	'repetitive, rhythmical sound (e.g. footsteps)'	ḍar̃iɳa-	'make a repetitive, rhythmical sound'

The following are some examples of the use of these verbs:

(445) ṉawu ṯuṟu-ø kaṭa-ŋa-yi
SgnFS fire-ABS crack-PROD-PRES
'The fire is crackling'.

(446) ŋaṯu ŋaṛa-ṇa wara-yi / yini maṛa-ø
1SgA hear-PART AUX-PRES 2SgS hand-ABS
kanpu-ŋa-ṇani
boom-PROD-REL$_{ds}$
"I heard you clapping hands".

b) the noun ṯupu 'smoke' so that ṯupuŋa- means 'to smoke, make smoke', as in (106) above and:

(447) ṯana ṯuṟu-ø ṯupu-ŋa-yi
P1S fire-ABS smoke-PROD-PRES
'Those fires are smoking'.

See also line 57 of Text One (Appendix A). There is also a verb ṯiḻiŋa- 'to boil' which looks (formally) like a PROD verbalized noun but *ṯiḻi does not occur as a free form.

The verbs formed from both these groups may be transitivized by the addition of -ipa- TR (see 4.5.4.1.1). So, for example, we find:

(448) wiḻa-ali ṭara-ø kanpu-ŋa-ipa-yi
woman-ERG thigh-ABS boom-PROD-TR-PRES
'The women were clapping their thighs'.[1]

(449) ɳulu ṭuřu-ø ṭupu-ŋa-ipa-ɳa wara-yi
SgnFA fire-ABS smoke-PROD-TR-PART AUX-PRES
'He made the fire smoke'.

5.1.10.2 CAUSE

In Diyari and Dhirari there is a verbalizer of the shape -ŋanka- (see also 3.4.4) added to nominal stems producing a transitive verb (class 2A) where X-ŋanka- means 'to cause (something) to be X'. The following list gives some examples:

Nominal		Verb	
muka	'sleep'	mukaŋanka-	'to put to sleep'
miri	'top, above'	miriŋanka-	'to lift (up)'
ɳari	'dead'	ɳariŋanka-	'to kill'
payiři	'long'	payiřiŋanka-	'to make long'
kiři	'clever'	kiřiŋanka-	'to teach (lit. make clever)'

Note that -ŋanka- is homophonous with a transitive main verb root (class 2E) ŋanka- 'to make' (see also 5.2.1.6.2). There are three reasons for distinguishing between these two morphemes:

[1] This refers to the usual accompaniment to singing at a corroboree.

a) -ŋanka- CAUSE is a bound morpheme and must always be suffixed to a nominal root.

b) -ŋanka- CAUSE undergoes a phonological rule whereby /ŋ/ is optionally deleted in fast speech. Word initial velar nasals are not normally deleted.

c) verbs formed by the addition of CAUSE may take REFLexive and RECIProcal affixes (4.5.4.1.2) as in:

(450) ṯana ṉari-ŋanka-ṯaña-yi
P1S dead-CAUSE-REFL-PRES
'They killed themselves'.

The main verb ŋanka- is of class 2E and does not occur with the de-transitivizer -ṯaña- (4.5.3.2, 5.1.8.1).

The following are some text examples illustrating the use of CAUSE:

(451) ṯaṛi-ali ŋaṉṯi-ø waḍu-waḍu-ŋanka-ṇa
young man-ERG meat-ABS REDUP-short-CAUSE-PART
'The young man broke up (lit. made very short) the meat'. (1;35)

(452) ṉiṉa payiña-ŋanka-ḻa ŋaldña
SgnFS long-CAUSE-FUT 1D1inc1A
'Let's make it long'. (1;93)

CAUSE is also used with the interrogative nominal miṉa 'what' (4.2.8) producing the transitive verb miṉaŋanka- (see 4.5.8) exemplified in sentences (152) to (154) above (see also lines 82 and 101 of Text One

Appendix A)).

5.2 SUBORDINATION

A simple sentence (5.1) in Diyari and Dhirari consists of a single clause containing, minimally, a predicate (5.1.1.1, 5.1.2) and at least one noun phrase argument (5.1.7.2). A complex sentence consists of two or more simple clauses related by co-ordination (see 5.3 below) or subordination. This section deals with the syntax of subordinate clauses.

The seven verb affixes found in subordinate (or non-main) clauses are set out in Table 36 on page 217 above (4.5.7.1.2). They may be grouped together as markings of four subordinate clause types, which are:

i) IMPLicated clauses - these are subordinate clauses marked by the $IMPL_{ss}$ and $IMPL_{ds}$ affixes given in the table cited above. It is not possible for an AUXiliary verb to co-occur with IMPL marking (4.5.1, 4.5.7) in contrast to all other subordinate clause types. The two IMPL markings are determined by the identity of the subjects (5.2.1.2) in each clause (but see also 5.2.1.3 and 5.2.1.6). Basically, IMPL clause have a time reference which is more or less (immediately) subsequent to that of the main clause (see 5.2.1.1).

ii) RELative clauses - these are subordinate clauses marked by the REL_{ss} and REL_{ds} affixes. Selection of these subordinate clause markings is determined by subjecthood criteria identical to those operating in IMPL clauses (see above and 5.2.1.2). REL clauses provide specification of a noun phrase or information about temporal location or conditions expressed in the main

clause (5.2.2.1).

iii) SEQuential clauses - these are subordinate clauses marked by the SEQ_{ss} and SEQ_{ds} affixes which are again selected on the basis of cross-clausal identity of subjects (5.2.6.1). Basically, SEQ clauses specify a 'before-after' type of sequential relationship of a generally perfect aspectual nature (see 5.2.6.2).

iv) LEST clauses - these are subordinate clauses marked by the single LEST affix, regardless of questions of identity of subjects (5.2.4.1). LEST clauses generally express admonition or threat (5.2.4.2).

The positioning of subordinate clauses with respect to main clauses is of some interest, especially in relation to the current debate about the status of subordination in Australian languages. In Diyari and Dhirari subordinate clauses are always marginal to the main clause and never occur flanked by main clause sentential material[1]. That is, they are never embedded within the main clause. Clause ordering is basically as follows:

a) IMPL clauses almost always follow the main clause and are usually separated from it by a slight intonation break. There are some rather rare examples where an IMPL clause precedes the main (see 5.2.1) but the type of verb found in the main clause in such instances is very restricted. Sequences of two or more IMPL clauses (5.2.1.7) in the one complex sentence always follow the main clause.

[1] For one partial exception see page 363 below.

b) LEST clauses always follow the clause to which they are subordinated and are set off by an intonation break (see 5.2.4).

c) SEQ clauses almost always follow the main clause, although there are rare examples of SEQ_{SS} preceding the main (see 5.2.6). They are intonationally separate from the main clause.

d) REL clauses may occur following or preceding the main clause and set off from it by intonation. Of all the subordinate clause types REL has the most freedom of order with respect to the main clause (see 5.2.2).

These conditions, together with the lack of embedding noted above, seem to fit almost exactly the situation described by Hale (1976: 78):

> "In a large number of Australian languages, the principal responsibility for productive recursion in syntax is shouldered by a structure which I refer to as the adjoined relative clause. It is typically marked as subordinate in some way, but its surface position with respect to the main clause is marginal rather than embedded. Typically, but not invariably it is separated from the main clause by a pause [....] when the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, it is terminated with a characteristic falling-rising intonation and followed almost invariably by a pause; but when the main clause precedes the subordinate clause, the intonation over both clauses is more often falling, and the pause between them, if any, is brief".

Judged on the basis of position, Diyari subordinate clauses would be of Hale's adjoined relative type. As I shall show below, syntactic and semantic features also agree with his suggested proto-types. There are two areas where Diyari seems to differ from the generalized structures described by Hale in this paper, namely:

a) Diyari allows complex sentences with multiple subordination of various types (see 5.2.1.7, 5.2.2.3, 5.2.3, 5.2.5) creating long clause chains. Sentences with as many as six clauses regularly occur in text material. It is unclear from Hale's discussion whether he includes this as a characteristic of adjoined relative clauses. There is one example (number (30) on page 90 of Hale's paper) which illustrates multiple subordination but the topic is not discussed in any detail.

b) Diyari has a switch-reference system which, as we see below (5.2.1.2 and 5.2.1.3), except for LEST clauses, keeps track of cross-clausal identity of subjects. A number of Australian languages show this system (see 5.2.1.2) but it is clear from Hale's paper that it is not a necessary and sufficient condition of the adjoined relative structure.

5.2.1 IMPLicated Clauses

IMPL clauses are marked with the following verb affixes (4.5.3.1) in the two dialects:

TABLE 40: IMPL AFFIXES

Clause Type	Diyari	Dhirari
$IMPL_{ss}$	-ḻa	-ḻali
$IMPL_{ds}$	-ṇaṇṭu	-yani

The abbreviations of clause type are as follows:

$IMPL_{ss}$ - implicated clause whose subject is coreferential with the subject of the main clause.

$IMPL_{ds}$ - implicated clause whose subject is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause.

The concepts 'subject' and 'coreferential' are discussed and defined below (5.2.1.2, 5.2.1.3).

As noted above (page 359) an IMPL clause almost always follows the main clause to which it is subordinated. There are two situations in which there is an optional alternative to this ordering:

a) when the verb of the main clause is ŋaɲʈa- 'to want' an $IMPL_{ss}$ clause whose predicate contains an intransitive verb (see 5.1.1.1, 4.5.3) may precede the main clause. The coreferential A NP subject of ŋaɲʈa- is deleted under identity. Thus, alongside:

(453) ŋaʈu ŋaɲʈa-yi / wapa-ɭa
1SgA want-PRES go-$IMPL_{ss}$
'I want to go'.

we also find:

(454) ŋani wapa-ɭa ŋaɲʈa-yi
1SgS go-$IMPL_{ss}$ want-PRES

with the same meaning. An example of a preposed $IMPL_{ss}$ clause containing a reflexive verb is (332) above, while a reciprocal is found in:

(455) pula ŋandřa-mali-la ŋanʃa-yi
DIS hit-RECIP-$IMPL_{ss}$ want-PRES
'Those two want to fight each other'.

It is interesting that Arabana and Wangganguru have a construction similar to this but not restricted to intransitive verbs in the IMPL clause (see Hercus (1976: 470)).

b) when the verb of the main clause is ŋanka- 'to cause, make' (in a 'periphrastic causative' construction - see 5.2.1.6.2 and Shibatani (1976)) an $IMPL_{ds}$ clause containing an intransitive verb (whose S NP is coreferential with the main clause O NP - see 5.2.1.6.2) may be optionally embedded in the main clause between the verb and the O NP. As with other subordinate clauses (see below) the second occurrence of a coreferential NP is usually deleted. So, for example, we find the following pair of alternatives:

(456) kanta kuʃakuʃa-ali ŋana ŋanka-yi / piti-ŋantu
grass green-ERG 1SgO make-PRES fart-$IMPL_{ds}$
'Green grass makes me fart'.

(457) kanta kuʃakuʃa-ali ŋana piti-ŋantu ŋanka-yi
grass green-ERG 1SgO fart-$IMPL_{ds}$ make-PRES

There is some evidence that the neighbouring Yawarawarga language (1.1.5) has a construction similar to (457) in Diyari. Breen (ms.b) contains the example (note that the original spelling is changed to be consistent with that employed for Diyari):

(457′) miṉa-ma yundřu puḷa-ø yiŋki-lnima ŋana-ḷa
what-PURP 2SgA child-ABS cry-IMPL$_{ds}$ make-PRES
'Why did you make the baby cry'.

5.2.1.1 Semantics of IMPL clauses

IMPL clauses have four closely related sub-functions. They are:

a) expressing purpose or intent. That is an actor (or actors) in the main clause initiates some action to achieve the purpose specified by the IMPL clause. The majority of IMPL clause occurrences in the corpus are of this type. Examples include (347) above and:

(458) ṯana wapa-yi / ŋaṉa mani-ṇa ṯika-ḷa
P1S go-PRES 1SgO get-PART return-IMPL$_{ss}$
'They went to fetch me back'. (2;5)

See also line 5 of Text Four (Appendix A).

b) expressing a cause-effect relationship where no intent is involved. These sentences often express a natural but unplanned consequence of an action. The following is a good example of this function and refers to what happened to a grinding stone (note the preceding context):

(459) [ŋaṯu ṉuŋkaŋu-wa ṯařka-ipa-ṇa wara-yi /]
1SgA SgnFLOC-DIST stand-TR-PART AUX-PRES
ŋaḍa puri-yi / wakari-ḻa
then fall-PRES break-IMPL$_{ss}$
'[I stood it there] and then (it) fell and (as a result) (it) broke'.

A further example is:

(460) ṉawu mindři-ṇa kuřa-yi / puri-ḻa
SgnFS run-PART go away-PRES fall-IMPL$_{ss}$
'He ran away and (as a result) fell over'.

See also (84) above.

c) expressing an implication. That is, the action or event of the IMPL clause may be implied from the action or event expressed in the main clause, without there being an explicit cause-effect relationship expressed. An example is the following which refers to the halo sometimes seen around the moon in summer months:

(461) piṛa-ali puŋa-ø waṯi-yi / ṯalaṛa-ø
moon-ERG humpy-ABS build-PRES rain-ABS
kuḍa-ṇaṉṯu
fall-IMPL$_{ds}$
"The moon is building a humpy and so the rain will fall".

Compare this with examples (355) and (356) above.

d) expressing a temporal relationship. Here there is no causal, intentional or consequential connection between the clauses but rather the expression of the fact that the action or event of the IMPL clause occurs more or less immediately subsequent to the action or event of the main clause. Examples include (146) above and also:

(462) miṉa-ø yundřu wayi-ṇa wara-yi / ṯana
what-ABS 2SgA cook-PART AUX-PRES P1S
kupa-ø wakaṛa-ṉaṉṯu
child-ABS come-IMPL$_{ds}$
'What were you cooking before the children came along?'

The feature which all these examples share is the temporal connection. All four sub-types of IMPL clause refer to events which occur after the main clause event. Whether other semantic connections such as cause and effect are present depends upon the particular sentence and the context. It seems that, out of context, a sentence such as the following could have a number of different interpretations:

(463) puṉṯapuṉṯa-ø kuḍiŋka-ḍa puři-yi / paŋka-ni
mouse-ABS run-PART AUX-PRES bunk-LOC
wiři-ṇḍa puři-ḻali
enter-PART AUX-IMPL$_{ss}$
'A mouse ran to get in the bed' <u>or</u> *'A mouse ran and got in the bed'* <u>or</u> *'A mouse got in the bed after running'.*

Normally context will decide which possible meaning is intended (see examples below).

5.2.1.2 Subjects and Coreferentiality

The marking on an IMPL clause (either $IMPL_{ss}$ or $IMPL_{ds}$) given in Table 40 above (page 361) is determined by a coreferentiality convention which operates across clause boundaries. Basically, this convention states that referential identity of the S (intransitive subject) or A (transitive subject) noun phrase (see 5.1.6) in the main clause to the S or A noun phrase in the subordinate clause is indicated by $IMPL_{ss}$ marking. Otherwise $IMPL_{ds}$ marks the subordinate clause. I will use the term 'subject' to refer to S or A noun phrases throughout the following discussion. The following formula roughly captures the effect of the IMPL markers:

$IMPL_{ss}$ indicates same subjects
$IMPL_{ds}$ indicates different subjects

This will be refined in subsequent discussion (see especially 5.2.1.3).

The unity of S and A status as 'subject' for purposes of subordinate clause marking is illustrated by the following examples. Firstly, S in the main clause and S in the IMPL clause is shown by (note that determiners (4.4.2) are used here because they clearly distinguish S - A - O clearly):

(464) ṉani ṯika-ṇa wara-yi / puŋa-ni wiñi-ḻa
SgFS return-PART AUX-PRES humpy-LOC enter-$IMPL_{ss}$
'She came back to go into the humpy'.

See also (459), (460) and (463) above.

Notice that the semantic role of Agent is not involved here because it is possible to have a 1E verb (4.5.3.1) in the IMPL clause (recall that the S noun phrase of a 1E verb is a 'patient' (see 5.1.5.1)) as in:

(465) ŋani ṯika-ṇa wara-yi / pali-ḻa
SgFS return-PART AUX-PRES die-IMPL$_{ss}$
'She came back to die'.

Secondly, we have S in the main clause and A in the subordinate clause in:

(466) ŋawu ŋaḍa-ni mindři-yi / wakaṛa-ø ŋiŋa
SgnFS behind-LOC run-PRES neck-ABS SgnFO
ṇandřa-ḻa
hit-IMPL$_{ss}$
'He ran behind and hit him in the neck'.[1] (11;3)

See also (458) above.

Combinations of A in the main clause and A in the subordinate clause also show IMPL$_{ss}$ marking:

(467) kira-ø-ḻa mani-ṇa waṉṯi-yi pulali /
boomerang-ABS-NI get-PART AUX-PRES D1A
ṇandřa-ṇandřa-ḻa-ṯa
REDUP-hit-IMPL$_{ss}$-OI
'They got a boomerang then to hit him all over'. (1;99)

[1] This sentence occurred in a text about a revenge killing. Such killings were always carried out by breaking the victim's neck.

Finally, A in the main clause and S in the IMPL clause is illustrated by:

(468) pulali ṉiṉa waraṛa-ṇa kuña-yi /
D1A SgnFO leave-PART go away-PRES
ṯika-ḻa
return-IMPL$_{ss}$
'They left him to go back'.

These examples clearly show that, as far as marking of IMPL clauses is concerned, S and A noun phrases are treated as a single category of 'subject'.

This type of system which has verb markings showing sameness or difference of cross-clausal subjects has been termed 'switch-reference' by Jacobsen (1967) who writes:

> "Switch-reference consists simply in the fact that a switch in subject or agent is obligatorily indicated in certain situations by a morpheme, usually suffixed, which may or may not carry other meanings in addition".

Jacobson then goes on to describe the workings of switch-reference in some American Indian languages (see also Langdon and Munro (1975)). The existence of switch-reference systems has been reported in a number of languages of Papua New Guinea; for a general discussion see Longacre (1972). Reports of switch-reference in individual languages include Fore (Scott (1973)), Barai (Olsen (1976)), Hua (Haiman (1976)), and Angaataha (Huisman (1973)) which is highly unusual in also having switch-locative markers.

Among Australian languages the phenomenon has been reported for the following languages:[1]

a) the Western Desert language (see Trudinger (1943: 214-215), Douglas (1958) and Glass and Hackett (1970))[2] which has switch-reference in purpose and relative clauses. So for example in purpose clauses we find:

-ʧaku	for different subject
-ʧikiʧa(ŋku)	for same subject (with -ŋku selected if the main clause subject has ERGative case marking)

b) Arabana and Wangganguru once spoken to the west of Diyari territory (1.1.5). Hercus (1976: 470-1) gives the following forms for purpose clauses:

-l̪igu ~ -l̪ugu	for same subject
-n̪aŋa	for different subject

Hercus (pers. comm.) reports that these languages have switch-reference for relative clauses also.

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[1] Silverstein (1976) interprets the -ŋura construction of Dyirbal as an instance of switch-reference. This is a wider use of the term than Jacobsen's original definition (which is adopted here - see above) since -ŋura does not mark sameness or difference of subjects but rather A versus S/O syntactic status (Dixon (1972: 77-79)).

[2] See also Wurm (1972: 84) regarding so-called "utterance-medial verb forms" in Western Desert.

TABLE 41: SWITCH-REFERENCE MARKERS

Clause Type	Dhirari	Diyari	Ngamini	Yarluyandi	Yawarawarga	Yandruwandha
$IMPL_{ss}$	-l̪ali	-l̪a	-l̪a	-l̪aŋga	-iya	-ŋa
$IMPL_{ds}$	-yani	-n̪an̪tu	-ili	-li	-nima	-iniŋari
REL_{ss}	-n̪da	-n̪a	-n̪a	-n̪da	-n̪aŋa	-n̪aŋa
REL_{ds}	-n̪dani	-n̪ani	-iyimu	-nimu	-naŋi	-l̪ayi
c.f. LEST	-yat̪i	-yat̪i	-nda	-ndat̪i	-pi	-yi

c) Austin (1976: 760) mentions the fact that Diyari and Dhirari PURPose (or IMPL) clauses show switch-reference markers.

All the languages to the east of Lake Eyre where Diyari was spoken (see 1.1.2) and which may be relatively closely related to it (see 1.1.6) show switch-reference systems which closely resemble that described here for Diyari. Table 41 based on information from my own fieldnotes and Breen (ms., ms.b) shows IMPL and REL (see 5.2.2 below) switch-reference markers in all the languages for which there is reliable data. Unfortunately, there is no information on SEQ (see 5.2.6) clauses in these other languages.

Notice that in all languages (except Dhirari) the $IMPL_{ss}$ marker is identical in phonological shape to the FUTure tense suffix (see 4.5.7.1.1 for Diyari and Dhirari). Also, REL_{ds} in all languages consists of a phonological element followed by a segment identical in shape to the LOCative case suffix (see 4.2.4.2) i.e. -ni or -mu or -ŋi or -yi. No other regularities hold for all other markers in Table 41 . It is interesting to note that LEST (see 5.2.4) shows a single marker in all languages and has no switch-reference.

No other systems of this type have been reported for other Australian languages so it is unclear at present whether it is found elsewhere outside the Diyari area and the other languages mentioned above.

5.2.1.3 Inclusion and Unidirectionality

All the examples we have examined so far show $IMPL_{ss}$ (same subject) marking with strict referential identity of subjects in the main and subordinate clause. There are two conditions under which strict coreferentiality is not met but $IMPL_{ss}$ marking is (obligatorily)

employed. These conditions are:

a) the number of the subject of the IMPL clause is greater than the number of the subject in the main clause. That is, if the main subject is singular the IMPL subject is non-singular; if the main subject is dual the IMPL subject is plural.

b) the person of the subject in the IMPL clause includes the person of the subject in the main clause. That is, the subjects share one or more person features.

The following list gives the possible combinations which will result in $IMPL_{ss}$ marking:

Main Clause	IMPL clause
1. first person singular	1. first person dual or plural exclusive
2. first or second person singular	2. first person dual or plural inclusive
3. second person singular	3. second person dual or plural
4. third person singular	4. third person dual or plural; first person dual or plural exclusive
5. first person dual	5. first person plural exclusive
6. first or second person dual	6. first person plural inclusive
7. second person dual	7. second person plural
8. third person dual	8. third person plural; first person plural exclusive.

The following examples illustrate some of the possible combinations which give rise to inclusion and $IMPL_{ss}$ marking:

a) main clause 1Sg and IMPL clause 1Dlincl

(469) ŋaṯu ŋaɲʈa-yi / ŋaldȓa ḏiyaṛi yawaȓa-ø
1SgA want-PRES 1DlinclS Diyari language-ABS
yaṯa-yaṯa-l̪a
REDUP-speak-IMPL$_{ss}$
'I want us to talk Diyari (to each other)'.

b) main clause 2Sg and IMPL clause 1Dlincl

(470) maḷaḷu yini wapa-ṇa / ŋaldȓa manka-manka-l̪a
truely 2SgS go-PART 1DlinclA REDUP-find-IMPL$_{ss}$
n̪an̪a
SgFO
'You go (on) and we'll find her (together)'. (2;43)

c) main clause 2Dl and IMPL clause 1Plincl (note dual imperative number marker -lu-):

(471) yara wapa-a-lu-ø / ŋayana n̪ayi-l̪a
this way go-IMP-NM-EMPH 1PlinclA see-IMPL$_{ss}$
[Dora]-n̪a
-ACC
'(You two) go this way and we'll (all) watch Dora'. (9;6)

d) main clause third person singular and IMPL clause third person plural.

(472) ṉulu ŋaṉṯi-ø paḍaka-ṇa wara-yi / ṯanali
SgnFA meat-ABS bring-PART AUX-PRES P1A
ṯayi-ɭa
eat-IMPL$_{ss}$
'He brought the meat for them (i.e. he and others) to eat'.

Notice that in (472) 'he' must be one of 'them' who will eat the meat; if not them IMPL$_{ds}$ marking must be used to show the lack of inclusion in the IMPL clause subject.

It is important to note that the two conditions for IMPL$_{ss}$ marking with inclusion given above (page 373) operate in one direction only. That is, same subject marking applies only if the IMPL subject includes (the person feature(s) of) the main subject and <u>not vice versa</u>. This unidirectionality of inclusion across clauses is illustrated by the following examples:

a) main clause first person dual inclusive and IMPL clause first person singular

(473) ŋaldřa wapa-ɭa ŋana-yi / ŋani ṉuŋkaŋu
1D1incl S wa-FUT AUX-PRES 1SgS SgnFLOC
yaṯa-yaṯa-ṇaṉṯu
REDUP-speak-IMPL$_{ds}$
'We (two) will go so I can talk to him'.

b) main clause third person plural and IMPL clause third person singular

(474) ṯana marapu-ø wapa-ṇa wara-yi / ṉulu
P1S may-ABS go-PART AUX-PRES SgnFA
yiṉa ṉayi-ṇanṯu
2SgO see-IMPL$_{ds}$
'They all came so he could see you'.

Note: The context of (474) was such that 'he' must be one of 'them'.

These examples show quite clearly that the semantic inclusion principles in Diyari operate unidirectionally.

Semantic inclusion of this type has been generally recognized as a feature of switch-reference systems in the available literature. Jacobson (1966: 244), speaking of Washo, writes:

> "A change between singular and plural subjects, when a singular referent is included in those referred to by the plural, is ordinarily not signalled as a switch".

That is, inclusion is indicated as for referentially identical subjects. Langdon and Munro (1975: 2) note a similar situation as regards the Yuman family of Amerindian languages:

> "A first case is that of two linked clauses one of which is singular, the other plural, and such that the singular subject is included semantically in the plural subject. In these sentences, there is a marked preference for the 'same subject' marker".

Both these accounts, as well as others such as Longacre (1972), imply or state explicitly that this type of inclusion operates in both directions across the clause boundary. Diyari thus seems to be somewhat of an

exception in restricting inclusion to one direction only (see above). Unfortunately, all treatments of the phenomenon of switch-reference in Australian languages (noted above) fail to mention inclusion of this type and hence give no idea of questions of directionality and symmetry. The question of Diyari's uniqueness in this case must remain unanswered.

5.2.1.4 $IMPL_{ds}$ clauses

In the discussion so far almost all the examples have involved $IMPL_{ss}$ clauses. I will consider $IMPL_{ds}$ clauses here and provide some exemplification.

It is important to note that the coreferentiality marking conventions (including the question of inclusion (5.2.1.3)) described above refer to subjects only and make no mention of the referential identity of other constituents. Thus, $IMPL_{ds}$ marking is specified negatively as "anything else". There are two possibilities when $IMPL_{ds}$ marking is employed:

a) the $IMPL_{ds}$ clause shares a coreferential NP with the main clause but it is not subject in both. So, for example, the intransitive subject of an $IMPL_{ds}$ clause may be coreferential with the O NP of the main clause, as in (84) and:

(475) ŋaṯu ṉiṉa-ya kaḻṯi-ø kuña-yi /
1SgA SgnFO-NEAR spear-ABS put-PRES
ṯaña-ṉanṯu puŋa-ni ṉiŋki-ya-ø
stand-$IMPL_{ds}$ humpy-LOC here-NEAR-LOC
'I put this spear (down) for it to be standing against the humpy here'.

The main clause transitive object NP may be coreferential with the IMPL clause transitive subject as in:

(476) ŋaṯu pulu kaṇa-ø mani-yi mutaka-maṛa-ø /
1SgA cannot person-ABS get-PRES car-KIN PROP-ABS
paḍaka-ṇaṉṯu ŋaṉa
take-IMPL$_{ds}$ 1SgO
'I can't get anyone with a car to take me'.

or with the IMPL clause transitive object as in:

(477) miṉa-ni ŋaṉa waraṛa-ṇa waṉṯi-yi / kawalka-ali ya
what-LOC 1SgO leave-PART AUX-PRES crow-ERG and
kaṟawaṛa-ali kuna-ali ṯuripa-ṇaṉṯu ŋaṉa
eaglehawk-ERG shit-INST pour on-IMPL$_{ds}$ 1SgO
'Why did (you) leave me to be shat on by the crows and eaglehawks?'.

It is also possible for the coreferential NP to be LOCative in the main clause and S or A in the IMPL$_{ds}$ clause. Examples under 5.2.1.6.2 illustrate this.

b) the IMPL$_{ds}$ clause shares no coreferential NP with the main clause. Examples illustrating this include (461) and (462) above and:

(478) ŋaka-ø ŋani wakaṛa-yi / kiṉṯala-ø
there-LOC 1SgS come-PRES dog-ABS
yaṯa-ŋaṉṯu
speak-IMPL$_{ds}$
"I got there and a dog barked".

Sentences such as (478) show that sharing of coreferential noun phrases is not a requirement for the well-formedness of IMPLicated clauses.

5.2.1.5 Until Clauses

The -ḷu STILL clitic (see 5.4.1) may be attached to implicated subordinate clauses after the IMPL$_{ss}$ or IMPL$_{ds}$ marking. These sentences indicate that the action or event specified by the main clause will continue (or continued) up to the time when the action or event of the IMPL clause takes (or took) effect. They translate into English as sentences of the form 'X until Y'. Some examples of -ḷu with IMPL$_{ss}$ are the following:

Dh. (479) ŋaṯi ŋanka-ḍa puñi-yi / ŋani pali-ṇḍa
1SgA work-PART AUX-PRES 1SgS die-PART
puñi-ḻali-ḷu
AUX-IMPL$_{ss}$-STILL
"I'll work until I die".

Di. (480) ŋani yaṯa-yi / muḍa-ḻa-ḷu
1SgS speak-PRES finish-IMPL$_{ss}$-STILL
'I'll talk until I finish'.

Examples of -ḷu following IMPL$_{ds}$ marking include:

Dh. (481) ŋaṯi ṉiṉa piṭa paṯara-ø ḍandřa-ḍa puři-yi /
1SgA SgnFO tree box tree-ABS hit-PART AUX-PRES
ṉawu puri-ṇḍa puři-yani-ḷu
SgnFS fall-PART AUX-IMPL$_{ds}$-STILL
'I chopped the tree until it fell over'.

Di. (482) ŋaldřa ŋama-yi ṉiŋki-ḍa-ø / ṉawu
1Dlincl S sit-PRES here-VICIN-LOC SgnFS
ṯika-ṇaṉṯu-ḷu
return-IMPL$_{ds}$-STILL
'We'll sit here until he comes back'.

Note that these 'until clauses' may have a noun phrase coreferential with some noun phrase in the main clause (for example, see (479), (480) and (481)) although this is not necessarily the case as shown by (482) above and the following example:

Dh. (483) ŋayani ŋama-ṇḍa puři-yi puŋaḻa-ni /
1Plexcl S sit-PART AUX-PRES shade-LOC
maḻṯi-ri-ṇḍa puři-yani-ḷu
cool-INCH-PART AUX-IMPL$_{ds}$-STILL
'We will sit in the shade until it gets cool'.

5.2.1.6 Restrictions on IMPL clause occurrence

As the discussion above (particularly 5.2.1.2 and 5.2.1.3) shows, the occurrence and use of IMPL clauses is largely determined by questions of coreferentiality or non-coreferentiality of subjects in the main and subordinate clause. There are three situations however, when the type of predicate in the main clause determines the type of IMPL clause which may be subordinated to it. That is, we must recognize certain cross-clausal selectional restrictions. The three sub-types involved are:

a) main verbs which only allow $IMPL_{ss}$ clauses (5.2.1.6.1)

b) main verbs which only allow $IMPL_{ds}$ clauses (5.2.1.6.2)

c) where the main clause predicate is non-verbal (see 5.1.2) we find only $IMPL_{ds}$ clauses possible (5.2.1.6.3).

5.2.1.6.1 $IMPL_{ss}$ clause only

There are two main clause verbs which only occur with $IMPL_{ss}$ subordinate clauses. They are:[1]

wani-	Vint	'to begin, start to do'
wanʈa-	Vtr	'to try to do'

Examples of their use are:

---

[1] Note also that muḍa- 'to finish' is restricted to REL_{ss} clauses only - see 5.2.2.3.

(484) ŋawu wani-ṇa wara-yi / wapa-l̪a
SgnFS begin-PART AUX-PRES go-IMPL$_{ss}$
'He began to go'.

(485) ŋandr̃u waɲʃa-ṇa wara-yi / kat̪i-ø
SgFA try-PART AUX-PRES clothes-ABS
wiri-l̪a
wear-IMPL$_{ss}$
'She tried to put some clothes on'.[1]

It is impossible to have sentences like:

(486)*ŋawu wani-ṇa wara-yi / ŋani wapa-ṇaŋt̪u
SgnFS begin-PART AUX-PRES SgFS go-IMPL$_{ds}$
**'He began (for) her to go'.*

since these two verbs require the subjects of main and subordinate clause to be strictly coreferential (and hence inclusion as described at 5.2.1.3 is impossible). That is, they only take IMPL$_{ss}$ clauses.

5.2.1.6.2 IMPL$_{ds}$ clause only

There are two semantically distinct main clause verb types which allow only IMPL$_{ds}$ clauses to be subordinated to the main clause in which they occur. They are:

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[1] See 5.1.5.2 section (C) for the syntax of kat̪i wiri-.

a) the verb ŋanka- 2E 'to make, cause' which forms periphrastic causative sentences (Shibatani (1976)). The transitive object (O) NP of ŋanka- in a periphrastic causative must be coreferential with the $IMPL_{ds}$ subject (S or A) for the sentence to be well formed. Consider the following examples (note that (488) has a transitive IMPL predicate while that in (487) is intransitive):

(487) yundṟu ṉiṉa ŋanka-a-ø-mayi / ṉawu
2SgA SgnFO make-IMP-NM-EMPH SgnFS
waḷi-ndṟu ŋaṛi-ṉaṉṯu
house-SCE go down-$IMPL_{ds}$
'You make him come down from the house'.

(488) ŋaṯu ṉiṉa ŋanka-ṇa wara-yi / ṯuṟu-ø
1SgA SgnFO make-PART AUX-PRES fire-ABS
ṇandṟa-ṉaṉṯu
hit-$IMPL_{ds}$
'I made him chop some fire-wood'.

Notice that the $IMPL_{ds}$ clause subject may be deleted under identity with the main clause object (as in (488)) or retained (as in (487)). Deletion is optional and not correlated with the transitivity of the IMPL clause predicate (see also (490)).

Verbs of clauses 1B and 1C (see 4.5.3.1) show a semantic contrast between the use of a periphrastic causative construction and the addition of the -ipa- TRansitivizer (4.5.4.1.1, 5.1.8.2) along the lines of Shibatani's (1976: 31) "directive versus manipulative causation". Consider the following

examples (see also (434) and (435) above):

(489) ŋaṯu ṉiṉa ṯaɽka-ipa-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA SgnFO stand-TR-PART AUX-PRES
'I stood him up'.

(490) ŋaṯu ṉiṉa ŋanka-ṇa wara-yi / ṯaɽka-ṇaṉṯu
1SgA SgnFO make-PART AUX-PRES stand-IMPL$_{ds}$
'I made/caused him (to) stand up'.

Informants explained the difference between sentences such as these in the following terms. Sentence (489) can only be used when the object being affected by the action is physically manipulated into a standing position while (490) can only be used when that is not the case and the action was accomplished by less direct means; such as poking with a stick or telling (see also below). That is (489) represents manipulative causation while (490) is directive. For verbs other than 1B and 1C, of course, only the latter construction is available.

The rather rare uses of embedding with periphrastic causative sentences is discussed at 5.2.1 - see especially examples (456) and (457).

b) main clause verbs of the semantic set which occur in "jussive complements" (McKay (1975: 326)). In Diyari there are seven verbs of this type:

yaṯa-	'to say, tell'	[1D]
kařka-	'to shout, yell out'	[1D]
pupa-	'to admonish'	[2E]
yiřipa-	'to warn'	[2E]
kurupa-	'to advise'	[2E]
ḏawa-	'to prevent, stop'	[2E]
ŋuyawaka-	'to prevent'[1]	[2E]

For these verbs the subject (S or A) NP of the $IMPL_{ds}$ clause must be coreferential with the transitive object NP (for the last five transitive verbs) or the locative complement NP (for the first two intransitive verbs - see 5.1.5.5) in the main clause. Consider the following examples:

(491) kařka-a-ø-mayi ṉuŋkaŋu / ṉawu waka*ṛ*a-*ṇ*aṉṯu
shout-IMP-NM-EMPH SgnFLOC SgnFS come-$IMPL_{ds}$
'Call out to him to come'.

(492) ṉulu mankařa-ø ṉaṉa pupa-*ṇ*a wara-yi / wata
SgnFA girl-ABS SgFO admonish-PART AUX-PRES
yani-ka ŋanka-*ṇ*aṉṯu
like this-TOKEN make-$IMPL_{ds}$
"He sang out to the girl not to do that".

The verbs pupa-, ŋuyawaka- and ḏawa- always take the negative particle wata (5.5.1) in their $IMPL_{ds}$ clause.

---

[1] I am not sure of any difference in meaning between these last two verbs.

Deletion of the coreferential noun phrase in jussive complement type sentences is optional, as shown by (491), where both appear, and (492) where the $IMPL_{ds}$ subject is deleted under identity with the main clause transitive object. An example of deletion under identity with a main clause LOC noun phrase is:

(493) kaḍi-ø yaṯa-yi kanku-ni / paṯara-ni
ZH-ABS say-PRES boy-LOC box tree-LOC
kaṛi-ṇanṯu
climb-$IMPL_{ds}$
'The brother-in-law told the boy to climb the box tree'. (1;45)

A third alternative is for the $IMPL_{ds}$ clause subject to appear but not the coreferential NP in the matrix clause, as in:

(494) ŋani yaṯa-ṇa wara-yi / wiḻa-ali kupa-ø
1SgS say-PART AUX-PRES woman-ERG child-ABS
yiŋki-ṇanṯu ŋama-ø
give-$IMPL_{ds}$ milk-ABS
'I told the woman to give the child some milk'.

Finally, given the appropriate context, neither subordinate nor matrix clause coreferential NP need occur. An example illustrating this is:

(495) ŋaṯu ḍawa-ḍawa-ṇa wara-yi / wata
1SgA REDUP-prevent-PART AUX-PRES not
ṯiñi-mali-ṇanṯu
fight-RECIP-$IMPL_{ds}$
'I stopped (them) from fighting each other'.

There seems to be no correlation between deletion and case marking but optional deletion of coreferential NPs in all circumstances.

5.2.1.6.3 Main clause predicate non-verbal

When the predicate of a main clause does not contain a verb (5.1.2) it is possible to subordinate an IMPL clause to the main clause under exactly the same conditions of coreferentiality described above for verbal predicates (5.2.1.2). This, however, seems to be a relatively infrequently used strategy, especially in texts. We may differentiate two possible arrangements:

a) an $IMPL_{ds}$ clause with a non-verb predicate main clause. This type of sentence translates into English as 'X is Adj for Y to V'. Most commonly, the subject of the subordinate clause (the Y in this formula) is not expressed but left unspecified (but may be interpreted as 'you' or 'one' if necessary). An example is the following:

(496) ŋawu-ya ṯuřu-ø ŋumu / ṇandřa-ṇaṇṯu
SgnFS-NEAR fire-ABS good hit-$IMPL_{ds}$
'This firewood is good to chop'.

b) an $IMPL_{ss}$ clause with a non-verb predicate main clause. I have not recorded any definite examples of this type. Sentences such as the following would need to be checked for Diyari:

'He is the right man to do the job'

'This is the dog to catch that kangaroo'

My attempts to elicit sentences of this type failed because the informants rephrased the sense to include a verb or simply gave two main clauses not connected by an implication. Further study may resolve the issue.

5.2.1.7 Multi-Clause Sentences

The various principles described above may be applied iteratively to produce sentences consisting of a main clause followed by a number of subordinate implicated clauses. Each IMPL clause will be marked according to referential identity (including strict coreferentiality (5.2.1.2) and inclusion (5.2.1.3)) between its subject and the subject of the clause to which it is subordinated, regardless of the main or subordinate status of that clause. We may set up a clause marking convention (c.f. page 367) which will deal with all sentences having one or more subordinate implicated clauses as follows:

Coreferentiality Marking Convention : if the S or A noun phrase (subject) of an IMPL clause is referentially identical to or includes (the person features of) the S or A noun phrase of the IMPL or main clause to which it is subordinated then that IMPL clause is marked as $IMPL_{ss}$ (same subjects). Otherwise the marking is $IMPL_{ds}$ (different subjects).

The following examples illustrate sentences where we have an IMPL clause subordinated to an IMPL clause subordinated to a main clause. It is

possible also to have two IMPL clauses both subordinated to a main clause but usually they will be linked by the conjunction ya 'and' (see 5.3.1.2). We also commonly find IMPL and REL clauses mixed (5.2.3) in various ways. With multiple IMPL subordination there are four possibilities:

a) $IMPL_{ss}$ clause subordinated to $IMPL_{ss}$ clause subordinated to main, as in:

(497) kaṇa kuṇu-ø wapa-yi / maḍa-ø mani-l̪a
person one-ABS go-PRES stone-ABS get-$IMPL_{ss}$
/ t̪uʈu-ø ṉari-ŋanka-l̪a
snake-ABS dead-CAUSE-$IMPL_{ss}$
'One person went to get a stone to kill the snake'.

See also line 71 of Text One (Appendix A) which also shows inclusion.

b) $IMPL_{ds}$ subordinated to $IMPL_{ss}$ subordinated to main, as in:

(498) yura wapa-a-ni-mayi / ŋapiṛi ŋandȓi-ni
2P1S go-IMP-NM-EMPH father mother-LOC
yaṯa-l̪a / ŋaṉa ṉayi-ṉaṉt̪u
speak-$IMPL_{ss}$ 1SgO see-$IMPL_{ds}$
'You (all) go and tell mother and father to watch me'. (9;3)

c) $IMPL_{ss}$ subordinated to $IMPL_{ds}$ subordinated to main, for example:

(499) ṯanali ṉiṉa mani-ṇa wara-yi / ṉulu
P1A SgnFO get-PART AUX-PRES SgnFA
ṯina-ø wani-ṇanṯu / ṉaṉa waṉṯi-ḷa
foot-ABS follow-$IMPL_{ds}$ SgFO search-$IMPL_{ss}$
'They got him to follow the tracks to search for her'.

d) $IMPL_{ds}$ subordinated to $IMPL_{ds}$ subordinated to main, for example:

(500) maṇu-ŋanka-a-ø-awu yundr̃u / ṉawu ṯika-ṇanṯu
good-CAUSE-IMP-NM-EXCLAM 2SgA SgnFS return-$IMPL_{ds}$
/ ŋapiṛi-ali ṉiṉa maḍa-ø yiŋki-ṇanṯu
father-ERG SgnFO stone-ABS give-$IMPL_{ds}$
'You fix it (the car) up so he can go back and be given the money by his father'.

By far the most usual multi-clause sentences to be found in Diyari texts are those where the subject remains the same in each clause (i.e. main-$IMPL_{ss}$-$IMPL_{ss}$). Sentences such as (500) are very infrequently used, probably because of the introduction of more participants than any of the other types.

5.2.1.8 $IMPL_{ds}$ in main clauses

There is one final use of implicated clauses, namely the use of an $IMPL_{ds}$ marked verb in a clause which has no preceding or following main clause implicating it. That is, $IMPL_{ds}$ marked verbs may occur as main clause verbs in simple sentences. If such a sentence is positive it indicates an action or event which the subject should or must undertake or

suffer (depending upon verb class (see 4.5.3)). Consider the following examples:

(501) mayi! ŋani wapa-ṉaṉṯu-l̪a
well 1SgS go-$IMPL_{ds}$-NI
'Well, I must go now'.

(502) miṉa-ni ŋayani ŋuña ɲaṉikuti-ø mani-ipa-ṉaṉṯu
what-LOC 1PlexclA always goat-ABS get-ALT-$IMPL_{ds}$
'Why do we always have to get the goats (for her)?'. (12;67)

We also commonly find negative sentences of this type containing wata 'not' (5.5.1) indicating something which should not or must not be done. Examples illustrating this include (51) above (which is line 22 of Text One (Appendix A)) and:

(503) wata yini kaṉa-ni yaṯa-ṉaṉṯu
not 2SgS person-LOC speak-$IMPL_{ds}$
'You must not speak to anyone'. (11;32)

It seems that $IMPL_{ds}$ marking here indicates an action or event which cannot be avoided or some thing which must not be done (if wata occurs). Perhaps we can paraphrase these sentences (maintaining the implicational analysis) in terms such as:

'Conditions are such that [ ]$_s$ is implicated'
$_s$

Probably related to this is the following construction where the word waña̠ni occurs sentence initially:

(504) war̃ani ṉawu ṯuraṛa-ṇaṉṯu
SgnFS sleep-$IMPL_{ds}$

Informants translated (504) as "let him sleep" and used it as a command. Unfortunately, I have been unable to obtain a gloss for war̃ani and there are insufficient examples to clarify its status.

Notice that $IMPL_{ss}$ marking (Table 40) does not occur on main clause verbs. In Diyari we do find -ḻa suffixed to clause final main verbs (and also to pur̃i- in Dhirari - see 4.5.7.1.1) but these are instances where the future tense AUXiliary verb ŋana- (see 4.5.7.2) has been optionally deleted because the context is clear. The sequence pur̃i-ḻali (Dhirari: pur̃i-$IMPL_{ss}$) never occurs in a main clause.

5.2.2 RELative clauses

REL subordinate clauses are marked with the following verb affixes (4.5.7.1.2) in the two dialects:

TABLE 42: REL AFFIXES

Clause Type	Diyari	Dhirari
REL_{ss}	-ṇa	-ṇḍa
REL_{ds}	-ṇani	-ṇḍani

The abbreviations for clause type are defined as:

REL_{ss} - relative subordinate clause whose 'subject' (S or A) is

coreferential with the 'subject' (S or A) of the main clause.

REL_{ds} - relative subordinate clause whose 'subject' (S or A) is not coreferential with the 'subject' (S or A) of the main clause.

The use of these two affixes is determined in the same way as for IMPL clauses (5.2.1.2 and 5.2.1.3) and marking is by the same conventions as set out in the Coreferentiality Marking Convention ((page 388) - substituting REL_{ss} and REL_{ds} for $IMPL_{ss}$ and $IMPL_{ds}$ respectively) above. This can be briefly illustrated by some examples. Thus, we find REL_{ss} clauses when there are coreferential NPs which are:[1]

a) S in main clause and S in REL clause - see (107) and (309) and:

(505) waṯaṛa-ø ṉawu ŋaka-ṇa wara-ṇa / ṉawu
wind-ABS SgnFS flow-PART AUX-REL_{ss} SgnFS
waṯaṛa-ø muḍa-yi
wind-ABS stop-PRES
'After the wind had been blowing it stopped'. (12;34)

b) S in main clause and A in REL clause, as in (94) and:

(506) ŋaḍa-ni kanku-kanku-ø ṉawu wapa-yi / ŋapiṛi-ø
then-LOC REDUP-boy-ABS SgnFS go-PRES father-ABS
waṉṯi-waṉṯi-ṇa ṉaka-ø
REDUP-search-REL_{ss} there-LOC

[1] REL clauses have a number of semantic functions (5.2.2.1) and so for most of the examples cited here more than one translation is possible, depending upon the context. So, for example (504) could be either 'After the wind had been blowing it stopped' or 'When the wind had been blowing it stopped' or 'The wind, which had been blowing, stopped'. Only one translation (that applicable for the texts in which these sentences occurred) will be given here and other possibilities examined at 5.2.2.1.

'Then the little boy went looking for his father there'. (2;2)

c) A in main clause and S in REL clause (see also (290) and (165)):

(507) wata ŋandřu piki-ø ḍika-ṇa / windři
not SgFA pig-ABS name-PART only
yaṯa-ṇa ŋaṉṯi-ŋaṉṯi
say-REL$_{ss}$ REDUP-meat
'She didn't call it a pig, only saying "little animal"'.
(9;34)

d) A in main clause and A in REL clause:

(508) ṯanali ṯalaṛa maḍa-Ø kuřa-ṇa ŋaṛi-yi /
P1A rain stone-ABS put-PART go down-PRES
ṉiṉa waḷa-ø ŋanka-ṇa
SgnFO nest-ABS make-REL$_{ss}$
'They put the rain stone down having made the nest'.

In all other situations REL$_{ds}$ marking is employed - see examples below. There are no clear examples in the corpus illustrating the sort of inclusion that we observed for IMPL$_{ss}$ clauses (5.2.1.3) although it may be that REL$_{ss}$ marking could operate along similar lines. There are a number of examples of REL clauses where an NP in the main or subordinate clause is coreferential with the head constituent of an NP in the other clause. Most of these examples involve inalienable possession, usually expressed by apposition (5.1.6.2). Consider the following:

(509) kapiñi-ø ṯana mindñi-yi / ṉuṛa-ø
goanna-ABS P1S run-PRES tail-ABS
ṯañka-iŋa-ṇa
stand-PROL-REL$_{ss}$
'Goannas run with their tails standing up'.

The REL$_{ss}$ clause is derived from:

(510) kapiñi ṉuṛa-ø ṯañki-iŋa-ṇa
goanna tail-ABS stand-PROL-PART
'Goanna's tails stand whilst in motion'.

with deletion of the coreferential nominal kapiñi. An example of a REL$_{ds}$ clause illustrating this is (518) below.

Note that there need be no sharing of coreferential NPs for the REL clause to be well formed. This is discussed and illustrated at 5.2.2.1 (see examples (524) to (526) and (528) below)).

As the examples above illustrate, REL clauses show two main differences from IMPL clauses:

a) A REL clause may have a predicate which contains an AUXiliary verb (other than puñi- in Dhirari - see 4.5.7.2) as in examples (505) and (517) which have the AUX wara-. IMPL clause marking can never be suffixed to AUX verbs (see 5.2.1.1).

b) a REL clause may equally precede or follow the main clause (or to use Andrews' (1975) terminology, they may be both 'anticipatory' and 'trailing'). In fact, informants sometimes repeat a sentence where the order of the clauses is reversed with

no apparent change in meaning. So, the following two sentences were given as alternatives:

(511) ŋawu wapa-yi / kařka-kařka-ṇa
SgnFS go-PRES REDUP-shout-REL$_{ss}$
"He goes along calling out".

(512) kařkakařkaṇa / ŋawu wapayi

If there is any meaning difference here it is too subtle to be understood by a non-native speaker of the language.

REL clauses may form clause chains in the same way as IMPL clauses (see 5.2.1.7 and also 5.2.3 below) with multiple subordination. However, unlike multi-IMPL clause sentences where the main clause occurs sentence initially, REL clauses may precede, follow or 'flank' (on both sides) the main clause. This is discussed and illustrated below (5.2.2.4).

It is important to note that a REL subordinate clause always occurs marginally to the main clause and never embedded within it or surrounded in any way by main clause material (compare IMPL clauses as described in (5.2.1) above).

There is a further slight difference between IMPL and REL clauses but it is a tendency rather than being categorical (c.f. the two points above). As the examples in 5.2.1.3 show, the subject of an IMPL$_{ss}$ clause is almost always deleted under identity with the subject of the main clause (which will be to its left). Similarly, the subject of an IMPL$_{ds}$ jussive complement (5.2.1.6.2 especially page 385) may be deleted under identity with its

coreferential main clause noun phrase. For REL_{ss} clauses in trailing position deletion of the coreferential NP is possible (as shown by (506) and (507)) but we generally find retention of both NP when the REL clause precedes the main as in (505) and the following:

(513) ṉulu puka-ø ṯayi-ṇa / ṉawu pali-ṇa wara-yi
SgnFA food-ABS eat-REL_{ss} SgnFS die-PART AUX-PRES
'He died while eating some food'.

When the REL clause is anticipatory, however, it is also possible for the main clause subject to be deleted under identity with the subject of the REL clause (to its left). This is shown by a sentence such as (an alternative to (508)):

(514) ṯanali ṉiṉa waḷa-ø ŋanka-ṇa / ṯalaṛa
P1A SgnFO nest-ABS make-REL_{ss} rain
maḍa-ø kuña-ṇa ŋaṛi-yi waḷa-ni
stone-ABS put-PART go down-PRES nest-LOC
'Having made the nest they put the rainstone down in it'.

We can draw two conclusions from these data:

a) deletion of subjects under identity is an optional rule but generally applies when the REL_{ss} clause is in trailing (rather than anticipatory) position.

b) there is a strong tendency for the first occurrence of a coreferential NP to be retained and the second occurrence deleted, independently of which clause (main or subordinate)

they occur in. Apparent counter-examples such as (512) can be accounted for by allowing the order of clauses to be (optionally) switched after deletion.

5.2.2.1 Semantics of REL clauses

The relative subordinate clause in Diyari has two distinct functions (as noted at 5.2) which are:

(A) providing specification of, or information about, a noun phrase in the main clause. We may distinguish two different situations within this classification:

a) where there is a noun phrase in the REL clause which is coreferential with the main clause NP. Here the REL clause functions like a (restrictive or non-restrictive) relative clause and corresponds to Hale's (1976) NP-relative interpretation. The switch-reference system (5.2.2) keys on the function of each NP within its clause (i.e. subject or not) and there is no case concord (5.2). The following examples illustrate various possible alternatives. Firstly, we have a REL_{ss} clause with this function:

(515) ŋani puṙi-ṇa wara-yi / kapi-ø maṛa-ni
1SgS fall-PART AUX-PRES egg-ABS hand-LOC
paḍa-ṇa
hold-REL_{ss}
'I fell holding an egg in (my) hand'.

Notice that some sentences are ambiguous between this function and that of (B) below (see page 404 and also footnote page 393 above). Thus, example (514) above could be translated:

'They put the rain stone in the nest which they had made'.

and (506) could be:

'The little boy, who was looking for his father there, went'.

Examples of REL_{ds} clauses as restrictive and non-restrictive relatives include the following:

(516) ṯanali ṇandřa-ya ṯiraṛi kaṇa-ø / ṉawu
P1A hit-PAST Dhirari person-ABS SgnFS
ṯiři-ṇani marapu maḷa-ni
fight-REL_{ds} many true-LOC
'They killed a Dhirari man who had fought with the whole lot (of them)'. (11;1)

(517) paṉṯa-ma-a-ø-mayi kiḻṯi ŋakaṇi-ø / ŋaṯu
smell-TR-IMP-NM-EMPH stew 1SgGEN-ABS 1SgA
wayi-ṇa wara-ṇani
cook-PART AUX-REL_{ds}
'Smell my stew, that I cooked'.

There are a number of examples in the corpus of this type where the head noun of the main or subordinate clause NP is

coreferential with an NP in the other clause. There are two sub-types:

i) one clause contains an inalienably possessed nominal (see 5.1.6.2) while the other clause contains a nominal referring to the possessor. An example of a REL_{ss} clause containing a body part NP is (509) above which can be translated as:

'Goannas, whose tails stand up in motion, run'.

Here the REL_{ss} clause contains the body part and the main clause the possessor. Examples of this type involving REL_{ds} clauses are (282) and (283) above. Note the deletion of the coreferential (head) noun in all these examples. We also find the following examples where the main clause contains a nominal referring to a sound while the REL_{ds} clause contains a nominal referring to the (inalienable) possessor of that sound (see 5.1.6.2):[1]

(518) ŋaṯu ŋaṛa-ṇa wara-yi kunŋara-ø / puluka-ø
1SgA hear-PART AUX-PRES sound-ABS cattle-ABS
mindr̃i-ṇani
run-REL_{ds}
'He heard the sound of cattle running'.

---

[1] Nouns falling under this semantic class are listed under 5.1.6.2 (section D) and 5.1.10. (section (a)). Note that kunŋara refers to 'the sound of movement in the distance'.

(519) ŋulu kanpu-ø ŋaṛa-ṇa wara-yi / yini
SgnFA sound-ABS hear-ABS AUX-PRES 2SgS
maṛa-ø kanpu-ŋa-ṇani
hand-ABS sound-PROD-REL$_{ds}$
'He heard the sound of you clapping hands'.

For (518) the main clause derives from:

(520) ŋaṯu ŋaṛa-ṇa wara-yi puluka kunŋara-ø
1SgA hear-PART AUX-PRES cattle sound-ABS
'I heard the sound of cattle (moving)'.

with deletion of the coreferential head nominal (see also above).

ii) the main clause contains a specific noun while the REL clause contains a generic noun referring to the class which the specific noun would be placed under (see 4.2.1). A text example of this is:

(521) ṯinka-ni ŋulu ŋayi-yi paṛaṯi-ø / ṯuřu-ø
night-LOC SgnFA see-PRES light-ABS fire-ABS
yařki-yařki-ṯaři-ṇani
REDUP-burn-DUR-REL$_{ds}$
'In the night he saw the light of the fire burning'. (1;55)

The main clause in (521) derives from:

(522) ʈinkani ɳulu ɳayiyi ʈuñu paṛaʈi

with deletion of the coreferential nominal ʈuñu.

In REL clauses of this type the coreferential NP (or nominal) may be affected in one of five ways (see also 5.2.2.1 above):

1. unchanged as in (505), (513) and (514)
2. deleted in the REL clause under identity with the main clause coreferential NP (or nominal) as in (515), (517) and (521)
3. replaced in the REL clause by a nominal determiner (4.4.1) agreeing with it in gender (in the singular only), number and case, as in (516) and:

(523) ŋalpuñu-ni ŋaʈu ḍiya-yi paya-ø /
dark-LOC 1SgA strike-PRES bird-ABS
ɳawu piṭa-ni ŋama-ṇani
SgnFS tree-LOC sit-REL$_{ds}$
'In the dark I strike a bird sitting in a tree'.

4. replaced in the main clause by a nominal determiner agreeing with it in gender (in singular), number and case, as in:

(523) wařaŋaɲʈu-ni ŋaʈu ɳaka-ø ɳiɳa ɳayi-ɳayi-yi /
left hand-LOC 1SgA there-LOC SgnFO REDUP-see-PRES
ʈuřu-ø-ʈa yařki-ŋani
fire-ABS-OI burn-REL$_{ds}$
'On the left over there I saw the fire burning'. (1;111)

5. retained in the REL clause and deleted in the main clause as in (446), (518) and (519).

b) where there is no coreferential NP in the REL clause but the subordinate clause provides information about an NP in the main clause. The following main clause nouns:

yawařa 'word, story'
wima 'song, corroboree'
yaḍi 'lie, falsehood'
kuma 'news'
ŋapiʈa 'dream'

may be qualified by a REL clause not sharing a coreferential NP but which provides information about the action referred to by these nominals. Some examples are the following:

(524) kawalka-ali kuma-ø paḍaka-ŋa wara-yi /
crow-ERG news-ABS bring-PART AUX-PRES
ɳawu-ka pali-ŋani
SgnFS-TOKEN die-REL$_{ds}$
'The crow brought the news that he (i.e. someone else) had died'.

(525) waŋapula-li wima-ø waŋka-yi / kaṇa-ø
-ERG song-ABS sing-PRES person-ABS
piŋa-ali ṇandřa-ṇani
revenge party-ERG hit-REL$_{ds}$
'Wongapula sang a song about someone being killed by a revenge party'.

(526) ŋaṯu ŋapiṯa-ø paḍa-ṇa wara-yi / wima
1SgA dream-ABS hold-PART AUX-PRES song
pařṯaṇa-ø ṯika-ṇani ŋakaŋu
all-ABS return-REL$_{ds}$ 1SgLOC
'I had a dream in which all the songs came back to me'.

Descriptive REL clauses of this type are not mentioned by Hale (1976) as possible uses of "adjoined relative clauses". It would be of some interest to see whether other Australian languages (such as Walbiri for which Hale makes a strong case for an adjoined clause structure) have sentences similar to these in Diyari.

(B) providing information about the temporal or logical conditions expressed in the main clause. That is, a REL clause may function as a time or reason clause subordinated to the main clause. Since no coreferential NP need be shared by the two clauses this corresponds to Hale's (1976) "T-relative interpretation".

The semantic relationship between the subordinate and main clause varies to some extent and there are examples where more than one interpretation is possible, context determining the intended meaning. So, we have REL$_{ss}$ clauses expressing the reason why some action or event occurs, as in:

(527) ŋaḍa-ni ṉani kaṟʈi-yi yaḷa-wa /
then-LOC SgFS turn-PRES distant-DIST
paṛaʈi-ø ṉayi-ṇa
light-ABS see-PART
'Then she turned round over there having seen/because she saw the light'.

Similarly, (513) above could be translated as:

'Because/after he ate some food he died'.

Examples of REL_{ds} clauses of reason are:

(528) ŋaḍa ṉulu pulu-ḻu ṉayi-yi ʈuṟu-ø /
then SgnFA cannot-STILL see-PRES fire-ABS
waṟiʈa-ḻa pula wapa-ṉani
distant-NI DIS go-REL_{ds}
'Then he couldn't see the fire any more because the (other) two had walked far away'. (1;61)

Note that (516) above could also be translated in this function as:

'They killed a Dhirari man because he had fought with the lot (of them)'.

A second sub-function of these REL clause is to express a conditional or 'if X then Y' relationship. Examples of both REL_{ss} and REL_{ds} clause in this function include the following:

(529) ŋawu ṯika-ṇa / ŋawu yaṯa-ḻa ŋana-yi
SgnFS return-REL$_{ss}$ SgnFS speak-FUT AUX-PRES
yiŋkaŋu
2SgLOC
'If he comes back he will talk to you'.

(530) kaɳʈi mindři-ya ŋani / ŋaka-ø-ldřa ŋawu
can run-PAST SgFS there-LOC-ADD SgnFS
wakaṛa-ṇani
come-REL$_{ds}$
'She could have run (the distance) if he had come again'.
(8;27)

REL clauses in this function typically (but not always as shown by (530)) precede the main clause which often contains the future tense AUX ŋana- (4.5.7.2) as in (529). If necessary, the particle kaṛa 'maybe' (5.5.4) can be used in the REL clause to restrict the possible meanings to conditional only.

A third sub-function of these REL clauses is to express a temporal conditional 'when X then Y' relationship. This can be generic, as in:

(531) ŋaṯu kaɳṯa kuʃakuʃa-ø ṯayi-ṇa / ŋani piṭi-yi
1SgS grass green-ABS eat-REL$_{ss}$ 1SgS fart-PRES
"When I eat green feed I fart".

Dh. (532) niɳa yundřu kařakařa-ṇda puři-ṇdani / ŋawu
SgnFO 2SgA touch-PART AUX-REL$_{ds}$ SgnFS

maṟʈi-ṇda puṟi-yi

scream-PART AUX-PRES

"When you touch him he screams out".

or limited to a specific instance. So, for example, (513) could be translated as:

'He died when he ate some food'.

and (527) as:

'She turned round over there when she saw the light'.

If there is a possibility of a problem arising from this ambiguity of interpretations, Diyari speakers will use the interrogative wiṉʈa 'When?' (4.2.8) to introduce these 'when X (then Y)' clauses (see 5.2.2.3).

A fourth use of these types of REL clauses is to express simultaneity. That is, sentences of this type can be used when two actions or events are perceived as occurring at the same time, giving translations of the form 'X while Y'. An example is (513) above and the following:

(533) ŋani ṉiŋki-ya-ø ʈaṟka-yi / yini mindṟi-ṇani

1SgS here-NEAR-LOC stand-PRES 2SgS run-REL_{ds}

'I'll stand here while you run'. (12;94)

See also line 47 of Text One (Appendix A).

Simultaneity is also a possible reading for some of the examples above, including (527), (531) and (532). Compare this function of REL clauses

with the temporal specification function ('before') of IMPL clauses (see 5.2.1.1).

The final use of REL clauses as temporal specification is to indicate a sequential relationship between two clauses. The REL clause specifies that an action or event took place (or takes place) before the action or event described by the main clause. That is, we have sentences which translate as 'after X then Y'.

It seems that some sentences are ambiguous between 'after' and 'while' meanings, so (533) above, for example, could mean either 'I'll stand here while you run' or 'I'll stand here after you run' depending upon appropriate context. In order to restrict the meaning (and hence resolve the ambiguity) to just the 'after' semantic relationship three strategies may be followed by Diyari speakers. Firstly, the particle maṯa 'already' (5.5.7) may be used in the REL clause, as in:

(534) ŋaḍa-ni maṯa ŋalpuřu ŋana-ṇani-l̪a / ŋaṯu
then-LOC already dark be-REL_{ds}-NI 1SgA
[torch]-ali-l̪a wani-yi
-INST-NI follow-PRES
'Then after it was dark I followed (her) with a torch'. (2;62)

Alternatively, one of the past tense AUXiliary verbs (4.5.7.2) can be used in the REL clause, as in (505) above and the following:

(535) ṯanali ṉiṉa ṉayi-yi / ṉiṉa waraṛa-ṇa
P1A SgnFO see-PRES SgnFO leave-PART
waṉṯi-ṇani
AUX-REL$_{ds}$
'They saw him after he had been left (for a long time)'.

Both these devices may be employed in a single subordinate clause, as the following sentence shows:

(536) puła wiɬa-wuɬu-ø ṇandřa-mali-yi / ṉandřu
D1S woman-DUAL-ABS hit-RECIP-PRES SgFA
maʧa yiŋki-ṇa wara-ṇani piṭa-ø
already give-PART AUX-REL$_{ds}$ sticks-ABS
'The two women fought after she had given the sticks (to them)'.

Compare these sentences with the use of SEQuential clauses described and illustrated below (5.2.6).

5.2.2.2 Interrogative Introducers of REL clauses

There are some examples of REL clauses in the corpus (both in texts and elicited) of certain interrogative words being used to introduce the subordinate clause. The interrogatives, which all appear clause initially, are:

waḍaṛu - 'how?' (see 4.4.3)
wiṉṯa - 'when?' (see 4.2.8)
waḍayari - 'where?' (see 4.2.8)

The interrogative wiṉṯa 'when?' may be used to resolve a possible ambiguity (see 5.2.2.1 (b) above for discussion) which could arise from the use of REL clauses as temporal specifiers. Consider the following examples:

(537) wiṉṯa ŋani pali-ṇa / ŋaṯu kaṇa ŋakaṇi-ø
when 1SgS die-REL$_{ss}$ 1SgA person 1SgGEN-ABS
ŋama-lka-yi ṉaka-ø
sit-TR-PRES there-LOC
'When I die, I will have my people there'.

The interrogative predicate determiner waḍaṛu (4.4.3) is used in sentences such as the following with something of an indefinite meaning (see 4.2.8 and 4.3.4 for the indefinite use of interrogatives):

(538) ŋaṯu ŋaṛa-ṇa waṛa-yi / waḍaṛu ṉawu
1SgA hear-PART AUX-PRES how SgnFS
yaṯa-ṇani
speak-REL$_{ds}$
'I heard what (lit. how) he said'.

It may be that the correct analysis of sentences such as this has the clause boundary after waḍaṛu and the REL$_{ds}$ clause as a content modifier of an indefinite head noun (see above page 403). Note that waḍaṛu may be used with IMPL clauses (see 5.2.1) such as the following where it does seem to belong to the subordinate rather than main clause:

(539) ŋaṯu ŋuyama-yi / waḍaṛu waŋka-ḻa
1SgA know-PRES how sing-IMPL$_{ss}$
'I know how to sing'.

The evidence seems to be in favour of analysing (538) as I have given it above, that is, with waḍaṛu introducing the REL clause.

Finally, waḍayari 'where?' may introduce a subordinate REL clause as in the following example :

(540) ṉawu warapa-ṯaři-ṇa wara-yi ŋakaŋu /
SgnFS relate-REFL-PART AUX-PRES 1SgLOC
waḍayari ṉawu ŋana-ṇa wara-ṇa
where SgnFS be-PART AUX-REL$_{ss}$
'He told me about (himself) where he had been (earlier today)'.

See also line 59 of Text One (Appendix A).

Only these three interrogatives can be used in Diyari to introduce relative clauses.

5.2.2.3 Restrictions on REL clause occurrence

In sections 5.2.1.6.1 and 5.2.1.6.2 above I discussed the fact that certain main clause verbs select one and only one type of IMPL clause. There is only one Diyari verb which places a restriction on the occurrence of a REL clause subordinated to the main clause in which it appears. That verb is muḍa- Vint 'to stop, finish (doing)' which only occurs with a

following REL_{ss} clause. Consider an example:

(541) yaṛu-ka ṉani muḍa-yi / yaṯa-ṉa
like that-TOKEN SgFS finish-PRES talk-REL_{ss}
ṉuŋkaŋu
SgnFLOC
'That is how she finished talking to him'. (8;28)

I know of no verbs which take REL_{ds} clauses only (with, say, the REL clause subject coreferential with some main clause non-subject NP - c.f. 5.2.1.6.2 above).

5.2.2.4 Multiple REL clause sentences

The principles of relative subordinate clause formation described above may be applied recursively to produce sentences with more than one REL clause. The switch-reference system refers to the clause to which the REL clause is subordinated, regardless of the main or subordinate status of that clause (see also 5.2.3). The system works in the same way as described for IMPL clauses (5.2.1.7 above) except that multiple IMPL clauses always follow the main while multiple REL clauses may precede, follow or flank the main clause.

For a clause consisting of a main plus two REL clauses (by far the most common type in the material collected) there are two alternatives:

a) both REL clauses can be subordinated to the main clause.

Usually the two clauses will flank the main clause as in:[1]

(542) ṯuṛara-ŋanka-ṇa / ŋaḍa-ni wara-yi /
powder-CAUSE-REL$_{ss}$ then-LOC throw-PRES
ŋapa-ø ḍaḷku-ŋanka-ṇa
water-ABS clear-CAUSE-REL$_{ss}$
'Having made (the gypsum) into a powder (you) throw (it) and make the water clear'.

(543) ŋani ṉiŋki-ya-ø wakaṛa-ṇa / ŋaṯu ṉaṉa
1SgS here-VICIN-LOC come-REL$_{ss}$ 1SgA SgFO
wiḻa-ø ṉayi-yi / yindřa-ŋani
woman-ABS see-PRES cry-REL$_{ds}$
'When I came here I saw that woman crying'.
or *'I, who came here, saw that woman crying'.*

Notice that in (543) one possible reading has the two REL clauses modifying two main clause NPs. When both clauses are subordinated to the main they may both appear in trailing position, as in:

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[1] Because of considerations of space not all possible combinations of REL$_{ss}$ and REL$_{ds}$ clauses can be illustrated here. Examples of all possible types have been collected and the following can be taken as typical instances of multiple subordination.

(544) ṉandřu ŋaṛi-lka-yi / muŋka-muŋka-ṇa
SgFA go down-TR-PRES REDUP-embrace-REL$_{ss}$
ṉiṉa / yaṛu-ka ŋuna-ø kuřa-ṇa
SgnFO like that-TOKEN arm-ABS put-REL$_{ss}$
ṉuŋkaŋu yařkaḷa-ni
SgnFLOC neck-LOC
'She took (him) down embracing him putting her arm around his neck like that'. (9;8)

(545) ŋaṯu ṉayi-ya / pinařu-waṛa-li ŋanka-ṇani /
1SgA see-PAST old man-PLURAL-ERG make-REL$_{ds}$
ŋani ŋama-ṇani ṉaka-ø
1SgS sit-REL$_{ds}$ there-LOC
'I saw the old men making (rain) when I was living there'.

If both clauses are subordinated to the main they cannot both be in anticipatory position (c.f. (b) below).

b) a REL clause subordinated to a REL clause subordinated to a main clause. Usually, we find both clauses trailing the main, as in:

(546) ṉawu yaṛu-ka ṯařka-yi / maṇi-ø
SgnFS like that-TOKEN stand-PRES fat-ABS
paḍa-ṇa / yuḷka-ṇa
hold-REL$_{ss}$ swallow-REL$_{ss}$
'Then he stood like that holding the fat that he (was about to) swallow'. (11;7)

(547) ṉawu waṟpa-ṇa kuṟa-yi / ŋaṉa
SgnFS canter-PART go away-PRES 1SgO
waraṛa-ṇa / ṯaṟka-ṇani
leave-REL$_{ss}$ stand-REL$_{ds}$
'He cantered away leaving me standing (there)'.
or *'He, who had left me who was standing (there), cantered away'.*

but there are (rarer) instances of both clauses being in anticipatory position preceding the main. An example is:

(548) wata yundṟu muḍa-ṇani / wiḻapina-ø
not 2SgA stop-REL$_{ds}$ old woman-ABS
yupa-ṇa / ŋaṯu piṭa-ø mani-ḻa ŋana-yi
tease-REL$_{ss}$ 1SgA stick-ABS get-FUT AUX-PRES
'If you don't stop teasing the old woman I'll get a stick (to hit you with)'.

When there is a chain of subordination as in these examples the two REL clauses cannot flank the main clause - they must appear together either preceding or following it. For instances of mixed REL and IMPL subordination see 5.2.3.

5.2.2.5 Other REL clauses

There is one final complex sentence type containing a main and a REL clause which has not yet been discussed. This is the use of REL$_{ds}$ marking

on a subordinate clause where the main clause predicate is non-verbal (5.1.2). As the following examples show, both "T-relative" and "NP-relative" functions of REL_{ds} clauses may be exhibited in this sort of construction:

(549) miṯa-ø ŋapaʈaŋka / ṯalaṛa-ø kuḍa-ṇani
ground-ABS wet rain-ABS fall-REL_{ds}
'The ground is wet from the rain falling '.

(Compare this with the use of $IMPL_{ds}$ described above (5.2.1.6.3)).

(550) ŋaṯata n̪awu-maṯa / kaḍi-ali kaku-ali
yS SgnFS-IDENT ZH-ERG eZ-ERG
waraṛa-ṇa wan̪ṯi-ṇani
leave-PART AUX-REL_{ds}
'That is the younger brother who was left (behind) by the brother-in-law and elder sister'.

Note that REL_{ss} clauses are not used in this type of sentence because of the necessary sharing of subjects. That is, an English sentence such as 'He is the man who hit me' will be expressed in Diyari as a single main clause, such as by the equivalent of 'This man hit me'.

5.2.3 Sentences with IMPL and REL clauses

Up to this point the discussion of subordination has separated implicated and relative clauses as different, but related, phenomena. However, it is possible to combine both subordinate clause types with a main clause in a single complex sentence. Complex sentences with three

different clause types, that is, main, REL and IMPL can be formed in a way analogous to the constructions described above with the coreferentiality marking conventions (5.2.1.1, 5.2.1.2, 5.2.2) looking at the subordinate clause and the clause to which it is immediately subordinated regardless of the status of that clause. That is, the switch-reference systems operate across all clause boundaries in subordination.

In the following discussion I will differentiate between sentences with three constituent clauses and those with more than three. This is simply for convenience of discussion and reflects nothing of the Diyari language.

5.2.3.1 Three clause sentences

Complex sentences consisting of three constituent clauses are most numerous in the corpus and can be used to illustrate almost all (logically) possible combinations and orders of component clauses. We may distinguish three different sentence types:

a) sentences where both REL and IMPL clauses are subordinated to the main clause. That is, the semantic relationships are between main and REL and main and IMPL. The subordinate clauses occupy flanking positions with REL anticipatory and IMPL trailing (see 5.2.1 for preferred positions of IMPL clauses) as the following examples illustrate:

(551) yini ṉaka-ø-ldȓa ṉiŋki-ḍa-ø wakaṛa-ṇani /
2SgS there-LOC-ADD here-VICIN-LOC come-REL$_{ds}$
ŋani maȓi-ya mindȓi-l̪a ŋana-yi / yuʃa-ø
1SgS Marree-ALL run-FUT AUX-PRES police-ABS
mani-l̪a
get-IMPL$_{ss}$
'If you come here again I'll run to Marree to get the police'. (8;25)

(552) puṯuȓu-ni kaṛi-ṇani kanku-ø kaṛa mankaȓa-ø kaṛa
dust-LOC climb-REL$_{ds}$ boy-ABS or girl-ABS or
/ ŋaḍa-ni yini yaṯa-yi / ŋaṛi-ṇaṉṯu
then-LOC 2SgS speak-PRES go down-IMPL$_{ds}$
'When a boy or girl climbs (a tree) in a dust storm then you should tell them to come down'. (16;4)

Notice that the marking on the subordinate clauses is determined by checking for referential identity against the main clause for both IMPL and REL.

b) the IMPL clause may be subordinated to the REL clause which in turn is subordinated to the main clause. Both clauses may be in trailing position as the following examples illustrate.[1] Firstly, IMPL$_{ss}$ subordinated to REL$_{ss}$, as in:

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[1] For this and following sections there are four logical possibilities of combinations of REL and IMPL clauses. All have been found in the corpus, but for reasons of space only two instances of each type are included as examples.

(553) ṯanali piṭa paṙʧaṇa-ø ḍukaṛa-yi /
PlA tree all-ABS take off-PRES
puŋa-ø ṉiṉa piṛi-ŋanka-ṇa / ṉayi-ḷa
humpy-ABS SgnFO space-CAUSE-REL$_{ss}$ see-IMPL$_{ss}$
'They take all the sticks off, clearing away the humpy, to look'.

and secondly, IMPL$_{ds}$ subordinated to REL$_{ds}$, as in:

(554) ŋani ṉuŋkaŋu yaṯa-ḷa ŋana-yi / ṉawu
1SgS SgnFLOC speak-FUT AUX-PRES SgnFS
kaḷka-ṯaṙi-ṇani / ŋani wapa-ṇaṉṯu
wait-AP-REL$_{ds}$ 1SgS go-IMPL$_{ds}$
'I will talk to the one who is waiting for me to come'.

It is also possible to have both clauses in anticipatory position before the main clause. Two examples of this will be provided[1], firstly, showing REL$_{ss}$-IMPL$_{ss}$-main:

(555) wata ṉulu ŋaɲʧa-ṇa / ŋaṉa ṉayi-ḷa /
not SgnFA want-REL$_{ss}$ 1SgO see-IMPL$_{ss}$
ṉawu yapa-ali mindṙi-ṇa kuṙa-yi
SgnFS fear-INST run-PART go away-PRES
'Because he didn't want to see me he ran away frightened'.

[1] See footnote above - page 418.

and secondly, REL_{ds}-$IMPL_{ds}$-main:

(556) winṯa ŋani ṉuŋkaŋu yaṯa-ṇani / ṉaka-ndřu
when 1SgS SgnFLOC speak-REL_{ds} there-SCE
ŋaṛi-ṇaṉṯu / ṉawu yindřa-yi
go down-$IMPL_{ds}$ SgnFS cry-PRES
'When I told him to come down from there he cried'.

c) the REL clause may be subordinated to the IMPL clause which in turn is subordinated to the main clause. Generally, both clauses will be trailing (because of the preferred position of IMPL (see above)). Examples[1] illustrating this are the following. Firstly, REL_{ss} subordinated to $IMPL_{ss}$ subordinated to main:

(557) wata ŋayani ŋaɲʧa-ṇa / ŋaṇikuti-ø
not 1Plexcl A want-PART goat-ABS
mani-ipa-l̪a / ŋuřa-ali ṉayi-ṉayi-ipa-ṇa
get-ALT-$IMPL_{ss}$ continuous-INST REDUP-see-ALT-REL_{ss}
ṉaŋkaṇi
SgnFBEN
'We didn't want to get the goats that we always had to look after for her'. (12;72).

and secondly, REL_{ss} subordinated to $IMPL_{ds}$:

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[1] See footnote above - page 418 .

(558) ŋani kaḷka-ʈaɽi-yi / ɳawu muḍa-ṇaɳʈu /
1SgS wait-AP-PRES SgnFS stop-IMPL$_{ds}$
ʈuɽu-ø ṇandɽa-ṇa
fire-ABS hit-REL$_{ss}$
'I wait for him to stop chopping the firewood'.

I have found no examples of main-IMPL$_{ds}$-REL$_{ds}$ sentences but translations of sentences such as 'I am waiting for the man you saw to come' or 'I will take the meat for the dog you gave me to eat' should theoretically fit this gap in my data.

This is one example in the corpus of this type of subordination where the REL clause precedes the main rather than trailing the IMPL it is subordinated to, namely:

(559) ɳawu ʈuraṛa-ṇani / ŋaʈu ŋaɲʧa-yi /
SgnFS sleep-REL$_{ds}$ 1SgA want-PRES
yaʈa-yaʈa-ḷa ɳuŋkaŋu
REDUP-talk-IMPL$_{ss}$ SgnFLOC
'I want to talk to him who is asleep'.

Although (559) appears to follow the order typical of an (a) construction (i.e. both clauses subordinate to the main) it only makes sense if the REL clause is a modifier of the LOC case NP in the IMPL clause. Compare this with *'If he is asleep I want to talk to him' or *'When he is asleep I want to talk to him'. The only temporal interpretation which would not be semantically anomalous would be 'After he has slept I want to talk to him' but this normally requires maʧa or one of the past

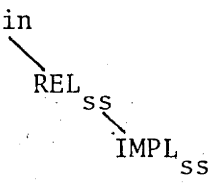
tense AUXiliaries (see 5.2.2.1).

5.2.3.2 Other complex sentences

In this section I will provide some text examples of mixed multiple subordination of more than two REL or IMPL clauses. That is, examples of complex sentences containing four or more clauses will be provided. Unlike previous sections (especially 5.2.3) I will not examine and illustrate most possible alternatives but simply present these text examples as evidence for multi-clause complex sentences in Diyari.

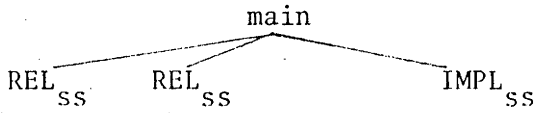
I will introduce here a simple abbreviatory device to make the discussion clearer and less wordy. I will employ a diagram such as the following where left to right arrangement indicates surface linear orders of the clauses and vertical arrangement indicates subordination:

(560)



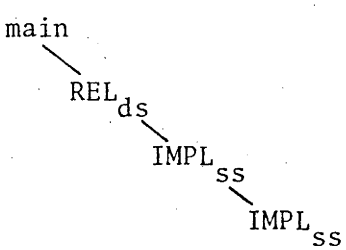
We may describe (560) as a main clause followed by a REL_{ss} clause (subordinated to it) followed by an $IMPL_{ss}$ clause (subordinated to the REL_{ss} clause). A sentence of this type is (553) above. Note that the diagram is an abbreviation only and makes no claims about the structure of Diyari complex sentences.

The text examples are the following. Firstly, a sentence of the shape:

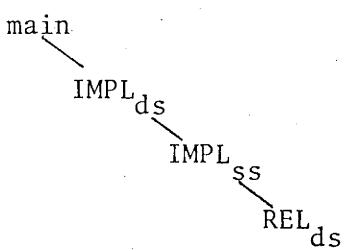


(561) wata ṉandřu ḍukaṛa-ṇa / windři
not SgFA take off-REL ss only
yaṛu-ka-ḷu wapa-ṇa / ṉani ṯina-ø
like that-TOKEN-STILL go-REL ss SgFS foot-ABS
ŋaʲi ḍapa-ri-yi miṯa-ali /
a little sore-INCH-PRES ground-INST
kuŋka-kuŋka-ḻa
REDUP-limp-IMPL ss
'Because she didn't take (them) off (and) only went on like that her feet were a little sore from the dirt so (she) limped'. (2;67)

Secondly, we have a sentence like:

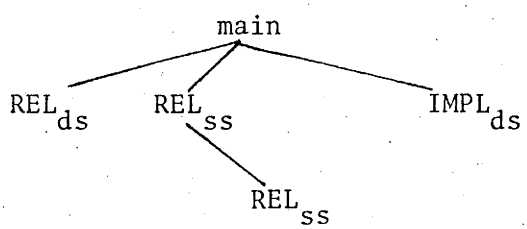


Line 132 of Text One (Appendix A) is of this type. The third example is:



(562) ŋaʈu ŋaɲʈa-yi / yula wapa-ṇaɳʈu /
1SgA want-PRES 2D1S go-IMPL$_{ds}$
ɳiŋki-wa-ø ɳayi-ɭa / ʈukiʈuki-ø ʈanali
here-DIST-LOC see-IMPL$_{ss}$ fowl-ABS P1A
kuṛi-ali mani-ṇa wara-ṇani
stealth-INST get-PART AUX-REL$_{ds}$
'I want you two to go and see if those chickens have been stolen'. (13;139)

Finally, we have an example of a five clause complex sentence of the following shape:



(563) ʈina mandr̃u kiɭʈi ɳuŋkaṇi-ø ŋaka-ṇani /
foot two juice SgnFGEN-ABS flow-REL$_{ds}$
windr̃i waḍu ŋanka-ṇa / kuḍu-ø paku-ṇa /
only short work-REL$_{ss}$ hole-ABS dig-REL$_{ss}$
ŋaḍa-ni ɳaka-ldr̃a ḍuṇka-yi / ɳawu-ɭa
then-LOC there-ADD emerge-PRES SgnFS-NI
wiñi-ṇaɳʈu
enter-IMPL$_{ds}$

'Because his juice had seeped down two feet[1] *(you) had to get out, having worked only a short while digging the hole, so the other fellow could get in'.* (7;33)

These examples show the range and complexity of complex sentences produced by combining main, REL and IMPL clauses.

5.2.4 LEST clauses

The third type of subordinate clause found in Dhirari and Diyari is the LEST clause marked in both by a single affix -yaṯi?[2] That is, unlike REL and IMPL clauses there is no differentiation between sharing and non-sharing of coreferential subjects (see 5.2.4.1). Basically, LEST clauses express an admonition although their function as more general warnings is discussed below (see 5.2.4.2). The interaction between this subordinate clause type and the REL and IMPL clauses examined above is investigated and illustrated at 5.2.5 below.

5.2.4.1 Lack of Switch-Reference

That LEST clauses, unlike IMPL (see 5.2.1.2) and REL (see 5.2.2) clauses, do not have a system of switch-reference controlling their verb marking is easily demonstrated. Consider the following examples which show sharing of coreferential noun phrases in various functions in both main and subordinate clauses and note that all have the single -yaṯi marker.

---

[1] This is clearly a loan translation from English.

[2] For the shape of LEST in the languages once spoken near Diyari see Table 41.

Firstly, the coreferential NP may be S function in both clauses:

(564) ŋama-a-ni-mayi / yura puri-yaṯi
sit-IMP-NM-EMPH 2P1S fall-LEST
'Sit down or you'll fall'.

or in A function in both clauses:

(565) makita-ø paḍaka-a-ø-mayi / wanku-ø yundṟu
gun-ABS carry-IMP-NM-EMPH snake-ABS 2SgA
waɻa n̪ayi-yaṯi
soon see-LEST
'Carry a gun lest you see a snake'.

We may also have S in the main clause and A in the subordinate, as in:

(566) maṇka wapa-a-ø-mayi / ŋaṯata yiŋkaṇi-ø yundṟu
slow go-IMP-NM-EMPH yS 2SgGEN-ABS 2SgA
ŋaŋka-yaṯi
push-LEST
'Walk slowly lest you step on your younger brother'.

and the reverse, that is A in the main clause and S in the subordinate:

(567) yundṟu ŋapa-ø paḍaka-a-ø-mayi / yini
2SgA water-ABS carry-IMP-NM-EMPH 2SgS
waɻa ṯiṉṯa-ṯaṟi-yaṯi
soon lose-PASS-LEST
'Carry some water lest you get lost'.

Examples show -yaṯi also when the coreferential NP is A in the main and O in the LEST clause:

(568) wata ṉiṉa ṇandřa-ṇa / ŋapiṛi-ali yiṉa
not SgnFO hit-PART father-ERG 2SgO
ṉayi-yaṯi
hit-LEST
'You had better not hit him lest his father see you'.

or S in the main and O in the LEST clause:

(569) yapa-ali ŋana-yi / ŋaṉa waɭa ʈuʈu-ali
fear-INST be-PRES 1SgO soon reptile-ERG
maṯa-maṯa-ṯaři-yaṯi
REDUP-bite-DUR-LEST
'I am afraid lest some reptile bite me'.

When both NP are in O function, as in:

(570) miŋka-ni kuṯi-ipa-ṇa / ṯanali ṉayi-yaṯi paɭpa-ali
hole-LOC hide-TR-PART P1A see-LEST some-ERG
'(He) hid (them) in a hole lest some of them see (the two girls that he kidnapped)'. (3;45)

or when there is no NP common to both clauses, as in:

(571) maṇa-ø ŋuñu-ŋanka-a-ø-mayi / muɲʈu-ø
door-ABS firm-CAUSE-IMP-NM-EMPH fly-ABS
wiñi-yaʈi
enter-LEST
'Close the door or the flies will come in'.

the marking on the subordinate clause is always -yaʈi. There is thus no indication of sameness or difference of subjects for LEST clauses.

5.2.4.2 Semantics of LEST clauses

LEST clauses have a single function, namely to describe the possible consequences of an action or event where these consequences would be unpleasant or harmful. Typically, the main clause to which LEST is subordinated will contain a verb inflected for IMPerative mood (4.5.7.1.1). It may be positive, as in (564) to (566) and (571) or negative as in (174) and:

(572) wata yaña wapa-a-ø-mayi / kuʈi-ali
not that way go-IMP-NM-EMPH devil-ERG
yiṉa waʟʈa-ṇa kuña-yaʈi
2SgO carry-PART go away-LEST
'Don't go that way lest the devil carry you off'.

These sentences are used as warnings or threats. The main clause verb may also be indicative and the clause positive, as in (569) and (570) or negative as in:

(573) wata ŋani wapa-yi / kaṇa-ali ŋaṉa ṉayi-yaṯi
not 1SgS go-PRES person-ERG 1SgO see-LEST
'I'm not going lest someone see me'.

5.2.4.3 LEST in main clauses

There are examples in the corpus of the occurrence of LEST clauses without an immediately preceding or following main clause linked to them. That is, -yaṯi appears to function as a marker attached to a main clause verb. However, in all the examples of this type of construction it is clear from the context that an 'understood' imperative, suggestion or condition is assumed. That is, the LEST clause expresses an (infelicitous) consequence whose antecedent or cause is clear and need not be expressed. Consider the following example :

(574) ṉulu-ka kiṉṯala-ali ŋaṉa maṯa-yaṯi
SgnFA-TOKEN dog-ERG 1SgO bite-LEST
'This dog might bite me'.

Sentence (574) could be said, for example, standing outside someone's camp when one is approached by a ferocious looking dog. The context would then make it clear that '[I should not go any further] lest this dog bite me' or '[Look out] this dog might bite me'. Clearly, the context here is such that the LEST clause is sufficient and it is not necessary to spell out the main clause (condition or imperative). These sentences may be regarded as particular instances of subordination in line with the functions of LEST clauses described above (5.2.4.2).

5.2.5 LEST and other Subordinate Clauses

The LEST clauses examined so far have occurred with a single main clause preceding them. However, LEST clauses are not restricted to complex sentences containing only two clauses but may occur in multi-clause sentences with other subordinate clauses in various combinations (see 5.2.3 above). Some of the possibilities evidenced in the corpus are examined and described below.

5.2.5.1 LEST and IMPL

There are three different sorts of complex sentence which can be formed from three simple clauses - one main, one IMPL and one LEST. (c.f. 5.2.3 above). They are:

a) sentences in which the LEST clause is subordinated to (and follows) the IMPL clause which is subordinated to (and follows) the main clause. An example of LEST subordinated to $IMPL_{ds}$ is:[1]

(575) wata ŋaṯu ŋaṇṯayi / ṯalaṛa piṇa-ø kuḍa-ṇaṇṯu
hot 1SgA want-PRES rain big-ABS fall-$IMPL_{ds}$
/ kuṇṯi-ø wakaṛa-yaṯi
mosquito-ABS come-LEST
'I don't want it to rain heavily or the mosquitoes will come'.

b) sentences in which the IMPL clause is subordinated to (and follows) the LEST clause which is subordinated to (and follows) the main clause. An example of $IMPL_{ss}$ subordinated to LEST is:

[1] the following examples show one each of the three possible arrangements of LEST and $IMPL_{ss}$ and $IMPL_{ds}$ clauses. Other examples have been collected but are not included here.

(576) wata mindři-a / ŋulu kaɲʒi ŋayaniŋa ţina-ø
not run-IMP SgnFA can 1P1exc1O foot-ABS
kari-yaţi / ţayi-ṇa paļka-ļa ŋayaniŋa
follow-LEST eat-PART go on-IMPL$_{ss}$ 1P1exc1O
'Don't run or he could follow our tracks and eat us as he goes along'. (12;113)

c) both IMPL and LEST clauses may be subordinated to the main clause. In this instance the subordinate clauses will trail the main as in the example:

(577) ŋani wakaṛa-ṇa / yinaŋa yakalka-ļa / ŋaţu
1SgS come-PART 2SgO ask-IMPL$_{ss}$ 1SgA
waʃa wata ŋaŋa ŋayi-yaţi
soon not SgFO see-LEST
'I came to ask you (where she is) lest I not see her'.

These examples illustrate the interaction of IMPL and LEST clauses. In all the examples in the corpus both subordinate clauses occur in trailing position.

5.2.5.2 LEST and REL

A complex sentence may be formed by combining one of each of a main, REL and IMPL clause. There are, as we noted for LEST and IMPL above (5.2.5.1) three possibilities:

a) sentences with the LEST clause subordinated to (and following) the REL clause which is subordinated to (and follows) the main clause. An example is the following (from a text about the mythical serpent kaḍimaṟkaṛa):

(578) ŋaḍa wata yaṯa-yi ṯinka-ni / yani-paña
then not say-PRES night-LOC like this-THERE
warapa-ṇa / waḻa ṉawu wakaṛa-yaṯi puṯuñu
inform-REL$_{ss}$ soon SgnFS come-LEST dust
kurukuru
secretly
'Then (we) didn't say a thing at night telling (them) about this (beast) lest he come along secretly in the dust storm'.
(12;123)

b) sentences with the REL clause subordinated to (and following) the LEST clauses which is subordinated to (and follows) the main clause. Consider the following examples:

(579) wata yaña wapa-a-ø-mayi / ṉulu yiṉa
not that way go-IMP-NM-EMPH SgnFA 2SgO
paḍa-yaṯi / ṉulu yiṉa ṉayi-ṇa
catch-LEST SgnFA 2SgO see-REL$_{ss}$
'Don't go that way or he'll catch you when he sees you'.

It is interesting that the order of subordinate clauses in (579) may be reversed with no meaning difference. That is, we also find:

(580) wata yaña wapamayi / yiṉa ṉulu ṉayiṇa / paḍayaṯi

Sentence (580) means the same as (579) because the REL_{ss} clause must refer to the LEST clause and not the main clause which has a different subject to it (and which should then be indicated by REL_{ds}). That is, the switch-reference system removes any possibility of ambiguity. It is interesting to notice the differences in deletion and retention of NPs between (579) and (580).

c) sentences with both the LEST and REL clauses subordinated to the main clause. It seems that in this case the subordinate clauses will flank the main clause with LEST trailing and REL anticipatory. An example of this construction is the following:

(581) ṉawu wakaṛa-ṇani / wata yawaña kuṇu-ø ṉuŋkaŋu
SgnFS come-REL_{ds} not word one-ABS SgnFLOC
yaṯa-a-ø-mayi / ṉulu yiṉa ṇandña-yaṯi
speak-IMP-NM-EMPH SgnFA 2SgO hit-LEST
'When he comes don't say a word or he'll belt you'.

There is one final complex sentence type which I have not yet come across; namely a sentence with one of each of the three subordinate clause types discussed so far. Such sentences are logically possible but it seems that the Diyari prefer shorter utterances (c.f. 5.2.3) especially when a warning (LEST clause) is to be expressed. That is, two complex sentences may be preferred over a longer more complicated single sentence.

5.2.6 SEQuential Clauses

The fourth and final type of subordinate clause in Diyari are the SEQuential clauses. Unfortunately, this type of construction was discovered late in my research and cannot be exemplified or described in as much detail as was possible for the three other subordinate clause types discussed above (5.2.1 to 5.2.4). Some examples and directions for further study will be presented.

SEQ clauses almost always occur in the trailing position after the main clause to which they are subordinated. Unlike IMPL clauses (but like REL clauses), the SEQ affixes can be attached to a predicate containing an AUXiliary verb (other than puñi- - see 4.5.7.2). There is a semantic contrast between REL_{ss}/REL_{ds} and SEQ_{ds} which is examined below (5.2.6.3).

5.2.6.1 Switch-reference System

As noted above, there are fewer examples of SEQ clauses in the corpus than other sorts of subordination[1]. However, the data clearly show that SEQ clauses are marked two ways depending upon identity or lack of identity of the main and subordinate clause subjects (as for IMPL and REL clauses - see above). The markings are (see also Table 36 above):

TABLE 43: SEQ AFFIXES

	Dhirari	Diyari
SEQ_{ss} - coreferential subjects	-ṉḏandu ~ -ḏandu	-ṉandñu
SEQ_{ds} - non-coreferential subjects	-ni(ŋura)	-ni(ŋura)

[1] In terms of total numbers there are approximately a tenth as many occurrences of SEQ clauses as other types in the material collected.

Notice that:

a) SEQ_{ss} has the form of ṉḍa ~ ḍa / -ṉa (identical to PART and REL_{ss}) followed by -ndu / -ndr̃u SourCE case marker (5.1.5.6).

b) SEQ_{ds} includes the form -ni NOMinalizer (5.1.9.1). This -ni may be optionally followed by -ŋura which occurs nowhere else in Diyari (or Dhirari) but is most likely cognate with the SourCE case marker of Yandr̃uwandha and Yawarawarga (Breen (ms, ms.b) - see also 1.1.5).

The following examples show SEQ_{ss} marking, firstly where the coreferential NP is S in main and S in SEQ:

(582) ṉawu pali-ṉa wara-yi / muɲʈa ŋama-ṉandr̃u
SgnFS die-PART AUX-PRES sick sit-SEQ_{ss}
'He died after being sick'.

and secondly S in main and A in SEQ:

(583) yini ʈipi-ø muḍa-yi / ŋanka-ṉandr̃u windr̃i
2SgS life-ABS finish-PRES work-SEQ_{ss} only
'Your life ends after having done nothing but work'.

Examples showing SEQ_{ds} marking include the following (notice that (584) shows a coreferential NP in both clauses while (585) shows no sharing of NPs):

(584) ŋali ṉiṉa manka-manka-yi / maʈa
1D1exc1A SgnFO REDUP-find-PRES already
ṉawu pali-niŋura
SgnFS die-SEQ$_{ds}$
'We found him after he had already died'.

(585) ŋani wakaṛa-ṇa / yundṽu maʈa ŋaṉʈi-ø
1SgS come-PART 2SgA already meat-ABS
wayi-ṇa wara-ni
cook-PART AUX-SEQ$_{ds}$
'I came after you had already cooked the meat (earlier on today)'.

Note the use of the AUX verb in (585). Informants said that wayini(ŋura) could be used as an alternative to wayiṇa warani in this sentence, however. I suspect that the AUX verb introduces a slight meaning difference (suggested in the parenthesis of the gloss above).

I have not found any examples which illustrate the semantic inclusion found in IMPL clauses (5.2.1.3).

5.2.6.2 Semantics of SEQ clauses

As we saw above (5.2.2.1) REL clauses have two separate functions captured, by Hale's (1976) labels "T-relative" and "NP-relative", depending upon the presence or absence of a modified NP. The functions of SEQ clauses are also split along these lines but there are important differences between them and REL clauses (see 5.2.6.3).

SEQ clauses have two basic uses:

a) to provide information about the temporal or conditional setting of the action or event specified by the main clause. SEQ clauses specify that the action or event described by their predicate occurs before and is completed at the time of the occurrence of the action or event of the main clause. That is, we have complex sentences of the form 'after X is over then Y'. Examples illustrating this are (582) to (585) above.

Sometimes the SEQ clause has an additional meaning to this concept of completion. This is providing the reason why the action or event of the main clause comes about or is undertaken. Thus, sentence (583) is said by informants to also mean "You die from working". Two clearer examples are the following:

(586) paḷpa-ali mutaka-ø ŋama-lka-yi / ŋanka-ṇandřu
some-ERG car-ABS sit-TR-PRES work-SEQ$_{ss}$
'Some have motor cars from working'.

(587) yaṛu-ka ṉulu ṉiṉa wata mani-ya /
like that-TOKEN SgnFA SgnFO not get-PAST
ṉulu ṉiṉa yaṯa-niŋura
SgnFA SgnFO scold-SEQ$_{ds}$
'That's why he didn't get him, because he had roused on (i.e. scolded) him". (7;45)

The SEQ clauses in (586) and (587) specify the reason why the activity of the main clause occurs. Compare these with the functions of REL clauses (5.2.2.1).

b) to provide information about a noun phrase in the main clause. Within this category fall a number of relative clause examples similar to REL clauses (5.2.2.1) except that the SEQ clause action or event must be completed at the time of occurrence of the main clause action or event (5.2.6.3). Consider the example:

(588) ŋaḍa ŋaṯu ṉayi-yi paŋki-ni [then] ṯina-ø /
then 1SgA see-PRES side-LOC foot-ABS
ṉuŋkaŋu wapa-ni
SgnFLOC go-SEQ_{ds}
'Then I saw on the side the track (where) he had gone there'. (12;43)

Informants suggest that sentences like (588) can be paraphrased with a REL_{ds} having an AUX verb instead of the SEQ_{ds} marker (but see below).

It seems that this "NP-relative" interpretation is also a possible reading of some sentences given above. So, for example (584) could also mean 'We found the one which was already dead' given appropriate context.

5.2.6.3 REL and SEQ_{ds}

As we noted above (5.2.6.2), REL and SEQ clauses share a number of features in common, both syntactic and semantic. The point at which they are dissimilar is the difference in temporal reference. This is that REL clauses allow the time reference of the main and subordinate clause to overlap (see 5.2.2.1 'while') whereas for SEQ clauses the action or event in the subordinate clause must be completed before the time of commencement of the action of the main clause. This difference can be most clearly demonstrated by the following pair of sentences:

(589) ŋaṯu ṉaṉa wiḻa-ø ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi /
1SgA SgFO woman-ABS see-PART AUX-PRES
yindr̃a-ṇani
cry-REL_{ds}
'I saw the woman crying'.

(590) ŋaṯu ṉaṉa wiḻa-ø ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi /
1SgA SgFO woman-ABS see-PART AUX-PRES
yindr̃a-ni
cry-SEQ_{ds}
'I saw the woman had been crying'.

Informants said of yindr̃ani in (590) that "you can use that word if she been crying before and if she's sitting down not crying".

As an alternative to SEQ_{ds} it is possible in some instances to use REL_{ds} after an AUX verb (other than puṟi-) referring to action done or events occurring previous to those of the main clause. There is, however,

not an exact correspondence because:

a) SEQ clauses can also contain AUX verbs as noted above (5.2.6)

b) a SEQ clause is not specific to the time of occurrence of the events but indicates that the subordinate clause action or event concludes before that of the main clause. Use of an AUX verb (see 4.5.7.2) involves specific temporal reference (see Table 37).

Unfortunately, no information is available on the interaction between SEQ clauses and other subordinate clause types.

5.3 CO-ORDINATION

There are three ways complex sentences may be formed in Diyari by means other than subordination (see 5.2). The three are sub-types of a single process by which simple clauses or complex sentences (involving subordination (see above)) are linked by a particle. The verbs of co-ordinated clauses are not marked any differently to the marking they receive in simple sentences or main clauses (see 4.5.7.1.1). That is, there is no special verb marking indicating co-ordination, although there is for subordinate clauses (4.5.7.1.2, 5.2). The constituents linked by a co-ordinating particle are, in a sense, equal (c.f. subordination where we must distinguish between main and subordinate clauses) in that neither implicates or assumes the other (see 5.2.1, 5.2.2, 5.2.6). The three co-ordination strategies are as follows:

5.3.1 Conjunction

The particle which functions as a conjunction in Diyari is ya which

corresponds roughly to the sentential co-ordinating use of English 'and' in that X ya Y is equivalent to 'X and Y', apart from the difference noted below (5.3.1.1). Notice that ya is the only monosyllabic syntactic word in the language (see 3.3.1, 3.5).

5.3.1.1 Symmetry

One difference between Diyari ya and English 'and' is that ya implies no temporal or causal sequence between the actions or events it conjoins. It has more of the effect of a simple listing. The following two English sentences:

(591) He was run over by a car and died

and

(592) He died and was run over by a car

differ in that they describe two different sequences of events. In Diyari, the adjective ŋaḍa 'next' (also ŋaḍani 'next-LOC') has an adverbial sequencing (or 'staging', to use Grimes' (1975) term) function of linking events in temporal sequence. The use of ŋaḍa in Diyari texts is extremely common (see Appendix A for example). The consequential notion expressed by 'and' in English is expressed in Diyari by means of IMPL clauses (see 5.2.1 and especially 5.2.1.1) and the optional use of ŋaḍa(ni) in the subordinate clause.

Diyari ya is more symmetrical than English 'and'. That is, X ya Y seems to mean the same as Y ya X in all the examples examined, both from

elicited material and texts[1]. Examples below illustrate this (see also texts in Appendix A).

5.3.1.2 Clausal Conjunction

The particle ya is commonly used to conjoin simple clauses, typically where the two clauses have identical predicates, as in:[2]

(593) ṉulu yinka-ø ḍukaṛa-yi ya ṯina puta
SgnfA string-ABS take off-PRES and foot boot
ṉuŋkaṇi-ø ḍukaṛa-yi
SgnFGEN-ABS take off-PRES
'He took off the string and took off the (kurdaitcha) shoes'.

(594) ŋaṉa kuṉṯi-ali maṯa-ṇa ya muṇʈu-ali
1SgO mosquito-ERG bite-PART and fly-ERG
maṯa-ṇa
bite-PART
'I was bitten by mosquitoes and bitten by flies'.

These examples show that the second occurrence of a coreferential noun phrase is deleted. This deletion is optional however as shown by examples such as (597) below where the common NP is retained in both clauses (compare this with deletion in subordinate clauses (see 5.2) which operates along very similar lines).

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1 Clearly, there could be subtle differences here not noticeable to a non-native speaker and not demonstrated by my informants. An examination of the text material collected suggests however that the difference, if any, must be very fine.

2 This sentence occurred in a description of a kurdaitcha man.

Note that in sentences such as (593) and (594) the identical predicate must be repeated in the second clause. It cannot be deleted or 'gapped' (Ross (1970)).

It is also possible for ya to link clauses which do not share a similar predicate, in fact, the predicates may be of completely different types (verbal versus non-verbal (see 5.1.1.1 and 5.1.2) and there be no word shared by both clauses. An example of this is:

(595) ṉulu ṉaṉṯu-ø-ṯa ŋama-lka-yi [buggy]-ni ya
SgnFA horse-ABS-OI sit-TR-PRES -LOC and
ŋapa pani
water none
'He had horses in the buggy and there was no water'.

There are also examples where the predicate types are different but the two clauses contain coreferential NPs (with the second occurrence typically deleted) as in:

(596) ŋayani waḻṯa-yi ṉiṉa ya maḍi maḷa
1Plexc1A carry-PRES SgnFO and heavy true
'We carried him and (he) was very heavy'.

Conjunction of clauses where both have non-verbal predicates (5.1.2) usually involves sharing of a coreferential subject, as in:[1]

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[1] This sentence occurred in a description of windipilpaṉa, the mythological (Dhirari) man who lives on an island in Lake Eyre. He is reputed to have red skin.

(597) ŋawu kaṇa ya mañaɻi ŋawu
SgnFS person and red SgnFS
'He is a person and he is red'.

Where both predicates are verbal, but lexically different, there are four possibilities shown by examples in the corpus:

a) the subjects (S or A noun phrases - see 5.2.1.2) of the two clauses may be the same, as in:

(598) yini pakaṇa muɲʧa-ri-ɻa ŋana-yi ya pali-ɻa
2SgS also sick-INCH-FUT AUX-PRES and die-FUT
ŋana-yi
AUX-PRES
'You too will become sick and die'.

b) the objects (O NP) of the two (transitive) verbs may have the same reference, for example:[1]

(599) pulu ŋiŋa paḍa-yi marapu-ali ya maɻaɻu
cannot SgnFO catch-PRES many-ERG and truely
ŋaldña ŋiŋa ŋari-ŋanka-ṇa wara-yi
1Dlincl A SgnFO dead-CAUSE-PART AUX-PRES
'The lot (of them) couldn't catch him (a dingo) and we two did really kill him'.

[1] In most of the examples in the corpus the tense marking of the verbs (see 4.5.7.1.1) in the two clauses is the same. Verbs of different mood, say indicative and IMPerative, cannot be conjoined.

c) the subject of one verb may be identical in reference to the object of the other, as shown by:

(600) yini pakaṇa muɲʈa-ri-ɭa ŋana-yi ya kaṇa-ali
2SgS also sick-INCH-FUT AUX-PRES and person-ERG
yiɳa maɲu-ali ʈuti-ɭa ŋana-yi
2SgO good-INST bury-FUT AUX-PRES
'You too will become sick and someone will bury you properly'.

d) there may be no noun phrase common to both conjoined clauses, as in:

(601) ŋani yaña wapa-yi ya yini ɳiŋki-ḍa-ø
1SgS that way go-PRES and 2SgS here-VICIN-LOC
ŋama-yi
sit-PRES
'I go that way and you sit here'.

These examples illustrate possibilities for conjoining simple sentences by means of ya. It is also possible to have complex sentences consisting of both co-ordinated and subordinated clauses. There are a number of alternatives illustrated in that data, for example co-ordination of IMPL clauses (where both are $IMPL_{ss}$ or $IMPL_{ds}$ - c.f. 5.2.1.7) subordinated to a single main clause, as in:

(602) yundřu wařkamandřa-ya ṉiŋki-wa-ø piṭa-ni /
2SgA tie up-PAST here-DIST-LOC tree-LOC
wata kaṉṯa-ø ṯayi-ṉaṉṯu ya wata ŋapa-ø
not grass-ABS eat-IMPL$_{ds}$ and not water-ABS
ṯapa-ṉaṉṯu
drink-IMPL$_{ds}$
'You tie them (horses) up over there by the tree so they don't eat grass and don't drink water'. (7;48)

We also find co-ordination of a complex sentence (consisting of a main clause with a subordinate clause (5.2)) with a simple sentence consisting of a single (main) clause. So, for example, we have the following (which contains an IMPL clause):

(603) yundřu ṉaṉṯu-ø ṯanaṉa kařa-yi / mawa
2SgA horse-ABS P1O tie-PRES hunger
ŋama-ṉaṉṯu ya wata yundřu ṯanaṉa ŋapa-ø
sit-IMPL$_{ds}$ and not 2SgA P1O water-ABS
yiŋki-yi
give-PRES
'You tie up the horses so they'll be hungry and you don't give them any water'.

A sentence illustrating this option where there is a REL subordinate clause is:

(604) winṯa yini munʈa-ri-ṇani / kaṇa-ali
when 2SgS sick-INCH-REL$_{ds}$ person-ERG
yiṉa maṟaŋuka-ḻa ŋana-yi ya yini pakaṇa
2SgO help-FUT AUX-PRES and 2SgS also
pali-ḻa ŋana-yi yaṟu-ka
die-FUT AUX-PRES like that-TOKEN
'When you become sick someone will help you and you will die like that too (i.e. comfortably)'.

5.3.1.2 Noun Phrase Conjunction

The particle ya which is used to conjoin clauses (5.3.1.1) also functions in noun phrase conjunction. There are two distinct alternatives:

a) ya may be used to conjoin constituents within a single noun phrase (see 5.1.1.2). Examples of this include the following sentence where conjoined specific nouns follow a non-specific head noun:

(605) ṉaṉṯu ŋandr̃i ya kupar̃u-ø ŋaṯu puḻaṉa
horse mother and young-ABS 1SgA D1O
kari-ṇa ṯika-yi
chase-PART return-PRES
'I chased the mare and foal back'.

b) ya may be used to conjoin two noun phrases. An example of this is the following:

(606) ṉulu ŋaṉṯi kaṭi-ø ya ŋapa maña-ø
SgnFA meat raw-ABS and water new-ABS
mani-ṇa wara-yi
get-PART AUX-PRES
'He got (some) raw meat and fresh water'.

The conjunction of noun phrases with ya produces a unit which functions syntactically as a noun phrase. This can be abbreviated, using labelled bracketing, as follows:

$$\left[[X]_{NP} \quad ya \quad [Y]_{NP} \right]_{NP}$$

A single nominal determiner accompanies conjoined NPs and agrees in number with the sum of the numbers of the conjuncts. An example is (404) above (which is line 1 of Text One (Appendix A)) and:

(607) ṯana ʈukuña-ø ya kanṭu-ø maḍa-ni ŋama-yi
P1S kangaroo-ABS and wallaby-ABS stone-LOC sit-PRES
'The kangaroos and wallabies live in the hills'.

As regards case marking (4.2.4, 5.1.5) there are two alternatives, as for all NP with more than one constituent word (see 5.1.1.2), namely:

a) both elements of the conjoined noun phrase may be marked for case. This can be illustrated by a non-zero case marking such as ERGative:

Dh. (608) wata kanku-ali ya wiḻa-ali ṉayi-ṇda puři-ya
not boy-ERG and woman-ERG see-PART AUX-PAST
'Boys and women didn't see (the corroboree)'.

b) only the last element of the conjoined noun phrase is marked for case. Examples include ERG marking, as in:

(609) kanku ya mankařa-ali wima-ø waŋka-yi
boy and girl-ERG song-ABS sing-PRES
'Boys and girls sang a song'.

and GENitive, as in:

(610) ŋaṯu ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi wiḻapina ya pinařu-ya
1SgA see-PART AUX-PRES old woman and old man-GEN
puŋa-ø
humpy-ABS
'I saw the house of the old man and old woman'.

Some conjunction of noun phrases does not employ the particle ya. This is examined in section 5.3.1.3.

5.3.1.3 Conjunction by Apposition

Some instances of conjunction of noun phrases do not use ya but simply have two nouns in apposition, that is, immediately adjacent with no intervening sentence constituents. There are two 'natural classes' of nouns which show conjunction by apposition, namely:

a) kinship terms - with two limitations:

i) the kin terms refer to people of the same generation level. Differences in generation level are usually expressed as a single lexical item, either by a reciprocal term or a -maṛa KIN PROP derived stem (4.2.2, 5.1.6.4).

ii) the terms refer to people of the opposite sex. There is a tendency (which is not quantifiable) for ya conjunction (see above) to be used in preference to apposition when the sex of the persons referred to is the same.

Some examples are:[1]

Apposition	ya Conjunction
mother and father	mother and father's sister
brother and sister	father and daughter
mother's mother and father's father	

b) human common nouns, that is common nouns with a human referent. In the data collected there are two observable tendencies (which

[1] The order of constituents is not significant - compare (498) above with (611).

cannot, however, be stated as hard and fast rules):

(i) the age levels of the people referred to tend to be the same

(ii) the sexes tend to be opposite. There seems to be a preference for conjunction with ya (see above) for items with same sex reference rather than apposition.

Pairs recorded include:

Apposition	ya Conjunction
boy and girl	woman and girl
man and woman	youth and boy
old man and old woman	

Examples of most of these appositional conjoined NP, from both sets, can be found below.

Case marking (4.2.4, 5.1.6) of nouns in apposition works exactly the same way as for nouns conjoined by ya (see above). That is, either both constituents are case marked as in:[1]

(611) [miŋka-ni kuṯi-ipa-ṇa] / maṯari-ali wiḻa-ali
hole-LOC hide-TR-PART man-ERG woman-ERG
ṉayi-yaṯi
see-LEST
'[*(He) hid (them) in a hole*] *lest the man and woman see (them)*'. (3;45)

[1] In the following examples ya could be used between the nouns if desired but apposition is far more usual.

and:

(612) ṉuŋkaṇi ŋandr̃i-ali ŋapiṛa-ali ŋuyama-yi ŋaṉa
SgGEN mother-ERG father-ERG know-PRES 1SgO
'His mother and father know me'.

or, alternatively, only the second noun of the pair will be marked for the case of the whole NP. Examples include (498) above and:

(613) pinaṟu wiḻapina-ali ṉayi-ṉayi-ipa-ṇa waṉṯi-yi
old man old woman-ERG REDUP-see-ALT-PART AUX-PRES
paṟṯaṇa-ø
all-ABS
'The old man and old woman used to watch (us) all'.

For absolutive case marking (5.1.5.1) these two alternatives give identical results and cannot be distinguished.

5.3.2 Disjunction

Two sentences may be co-ordinated in Diyari by means of the particle kaṛa 'maybe' (5.5.4) which, in this function, translates into English as 'or' (see also 5.3.2.1). Complex sentences of the form X kaṛa Y mean 'X or Y' where the X and Y elements are alternatives. Simple sentences co-ordinated in this way take no verb marking which is different to that found in single (main clause) sentences (4.5.7.1.1).

5.3.2.1 Exclusive and Open

The disjunction 'or' in English can be either exclusive (that is, 'X or Y but not X and Y') or inclusive (that is, 'X or Y and both X and Y') as shown by examples (614) and (615) respectively (see also McCawley (nd)):

(614) Tea or coffee may be ordered free of charge

(615) Men who are short sighted or left handed will not be drafted.

In Diyari, kaṛa functions only as an exclusive disjunction - X kaṛa Y cannot mean *'both X or Y and X and Y', regardless of the syntactic status of the co-ordinated elements. Examples below illustrate this. The only example which might appear to be an instance of inclusive disjunction is (620) but it is clear from the context (which is the exchange of Aboriginal artefacts for food or money, not both, at old Mulga station) that only an exclusive interpretation is intended.

Disjunctions may be closed, that is, all the alternatives are listed exhaustively, or open (see Dixon (1972: 363)). In Diyari, disjunctions of the form X kaṛa Y are mostly open - it is usually possible to add an indefinite plus kaṛa to a disjunction, for example:

X kaṛa Y

waḷi kaṛa who	'X or Y or someone'
miṉa kaṛa what	'X or Y or something'

In order to close a disjunction it is necessary to add a negative involving wata 'not' (5.5.1) as in:

X kaṛa Y wata paḷpa 'X or Y (but) not some others'
not some

5.2.3.2 Clausal Disjunction

Examples of kaṛa functioning as a disjunction between clauses are not numerous in the data collected. It seems to be much less frequently used than ya for example (see above). The following examples show simple sentences co-ordinated by kaṛa[1]:

(616) ŋuña yundṟu ŋama-lka-yi kaṛa yundṟu mani-ḻa
continuous 2SgA sit-TR-PRES or 2SgA get-FUT
wiṟi-yi
AUX-PRES
'Have you always had (them) or did you get (them) yesterday?'

(617) ŋani wapa-ḻa ŋana-yi kaṛa ṉiŋki-ḍa-ø ŋama-ḻa
1SgS go-FUT AUX-PRES or here-VICIN-LOC sit-FUT
ŋana-yi
AUX-PRES
'I'll go or else (I'll) sit here'.

Slightly more common then this is the use of kaṛa in both clauses, usually in clause final position but not always (as shown by (619)).

[1] Notice that, as for ya (above), there are no observable restrictions on tense combinations across clauses as these examples show. It is not possible to use kaṛa where the verbs have different mood marking c.f. LEST clauses (5.2.4) for sentences like 'Sit down or you'll fall over!'. The syntax of ŋamalka- 'to have' is discussed at 5.1.6.5.

Examples include:

(618) pani kaṛa ṉani kaṛakaṛa-l̪a kaṛa
none or SgFS near-NI or
'Either she is close now or she is not (here)'. (2;60)

(619) maḷaḷu kaṛa ṉani yaṯa-yi / yaḍi-ṇa kaṛa
truly or SgFS speak-PRES lie-PART or
'Either she is telling the truth or (she) is lying'.

There are no examples in the corpus of complex sentences (involving subordination (5.2)) linked by kaṛa. Their occurrence seems unlikely because informants tended to dislike sequences of subordination when alternatives were to be expressed.

5.3.2.3 Noun Phrase Disjunction

The particle kaṛa is also used, like ya (above), to co-ordinate noun phrases, as the following example shows:

(620) [tini] ŋaṉṯi-ø kaṛa yani-ka mani-ø
meat-ABS or like this-TOKEN money-ABS
yiŋki-ṉani / paku-ali wara-ṇa waṉṯi-yi
give-REL_{ds} silly-INST throw-PART 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 kaṛa NP_2 kaṛa (c.f. 5.2.3.2 above) as an expression of noun phrase disjunction. Examples include:

(621) [waṛaɳa ʈika ɳana-yi?] yini kaṛa ɳani kaṛa?
who-ABS mistake be-PRES 2SgS or 1SgS or
'Who is mistaken? You or I?'

(622) ʈana ʈaŋkupaɳa-ø kaṛa karaṛi-ø kaṛa ʈika-la
P1S tomorrow-LOC or today-LOC or return-FUT
ɳana-yi
AUX-PRES
'They will return today or tomorrow'.

The lack of sufficient contrastive examples means that two points remain unclear:

a) there are no examples of nouns co-ordinated with kaṛa within a single noun phrase.
b) there are no examples with non-zero case marking so it is not clear if the two options noted for ya (see 5.3.1.2) also apply for NP_1 kaṛa NP_2 and NP_1 kaṛa NP_2 kaṛa, that is, case marking on all constituents or only on the last.

5.3.3 Contrast

The third means by which clauses are co-ordinated in Diyari is by use of the particle ɳaḷa 'but... now...'. This particle indicates that there is a contrast between some previous situation and a current or future state of affairs. There are two points to be noted about ɳaḷa:

a) it is only used for clausal co-ordination and is never found

between nouns or noun phrases (c.f. 5.3.1, 5.3.2).

b) the main verbs of the co-ordinated clauses (or sentences) must be indicative and the first past (see 4.5.7.1.1) and the second non-past (i.e. present or future (see 4.5.7.2)). The particle occurs between the two clauses, or immediately after the first word of the second.

Examples illustrating this are (164) above and:

(623) ŋali ŋuña yaṯa-ṇa waṉṯi-yi ṉuŋkaŋu-ka
1D1exc1S continuous speak-PART AUX-PRES SgnfLOC-TOKEN
/ ŋani ŋaḷa kuṇu yaṯa-ḻa ŋana-yi
1SgS but one speak-FUT AUX-PRES
'We used to talk all the time with him but (now) I will be talking alone'.

5.4 CLITICS

I use the term 'clitic' for elements of one or two syllables[1] which may be suffixed to a word of any morphological class (4.1) following all other affixes including inflections (4.2.4, 4.5.7.1). Up to three clitics may be attached to a single word but the range of possible combinations is limited (see 5.4.10).

[1] Two syllable clitics carry stress on the first syllable (see the rule under 3.6) but monosyllabic clitics are unstressed. Clitics are affixes and not (phonological or grammatical) words by the criteria set out in 3.1.

For an understanding of the functions of Diyari clitics it is necessary to examine the context in which they occur, especially the preceding clause in the discourse. Sentence material which is part of this context is enclosed in [ ] brackets in the examples below.

5.4.1 -ḷu STILL

The clitic -ḷu has three functions depending upon the syntactic status of the (inflected) word to which it is suffixed. These are:

(A) suffixed to a predicate, either verbal (5.1.1.1) or non-verbal (5.1.2) -ḷu indicates that the action, event or state specified by the predicate has been in effect in the past and continues at the time of speaking. I will gloss it with the English adverb 'still'. Some examples of -ḷu with different sorts of predicates are the following:

a) verbs - -ḷu follows indicative main verbs whose final inflection is -yi PRESent (see 4.5.7.1.1), as in:

Di. (624) muramura-ø ŋama-yi-ḷu ḍiʈimiŋka-ni
mythical being-ABS sit-PRES-STILL -LOC
'The muramura (mythical beings) still live at Ditchiminka'.

Dh. (625) ṉawu ʈuraṛa-ṇḍa puñi-yi-ḷu
SgnFS sleep-PART AUX-PRES-STILL
'He is still asleep'.

-ɭu is also used with IMPL marked verb complexes to mean 'X until Y' (see 5.2.1.5). Examples include (479) to (483).

b) non-verbal predicates - again -ɭu means 'still', as in:

(626) ʈipi-ɭu ɳawu-paña
alive-STILL SgnFS-THERE
'He is still alive'.

When the predicate is a noun it is usual for ŋana- 'to be' (see 5.1.2) to be used and for -ɭu to follow the -yi inflection added to it. Such an example is:

(627) ɳani mankaña ŋana-yi-ɭu
SgFS girl be-PRES-STILL
'She is still a girl'.

(B) suffixed to the negative polarity particles wata not (5.5.1) and pulu cannot (5.5.2) -ɭu indicates that the action, event or state specified by the predicate is uninstantiated. Translations of the form '(can) not yet' are appropriate for these sentences, for example:

(628) wata-ɭu ɳawu yiñʈi-yi
not-STILL SgnFS arise-PRES
'He is not up yet'.

(629) pulu-ḷu nani kupa-kupa-ø wapa-yi
cannot-STILL SgFS REDUP-child-ABS go-PRES
'The baby can't walk yet'.

It is interesting to compare (628) with the following where -ḷu is suffixed to the predicate but the sentence is negative (c.f. (625) above):

(630) wata ṉawu ṯuraṛa-yi-ḷu
not SgnFS sleep-PRES-STILL
'He is not still asleep'.

(C) suffixed to other parts of speech (4.1), -ḷu translates as English 'only' or 'just'. It serves as a contrast, something like 'this thing (or person etc.) and not some other'. Consider the following example:

(631) kaʈi-ø-ḷu ṉulu-paña waḻṯa-ṇa wiṛaṛi-yi
spear-ABS-STILL SgnFS-THERE carry-PART go about-PRES
'He carries only spears about'.

The effect of (631) is along the lines of 'He carries only spears about - not something else (e.g. boomerangs) which he could have carried about'. Examples showing other parts of speech are:

(632) ŋaṯu ṉiṉa-l̥u ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA SgnFO-STILL see-PART AUX-PRES
'I saw only him (not anyone else)'.

(633) ṉani yaṛu-ka-l̥u wapa-l̥a wiñi-yi
SgFS like that-TOKEN-STILL go-FUT AUX-PRES
'She was walking just like that (not otherwise)'.

For NPs with ALLative (5.1.5.7) and SourCE (5.1.5.6) case marking the addition of -l̥u must be translated as 'until, as far as' or 'from (a point) continuing (to here)' respectively. Examples illustrating this with temporal nominals are (321), (344) and (345) above. Other nominals are found in:

(634) ŋuña muku-ø kima-ri-ṇa wara-yi
shin bone-ABS swelling-INCH-PART AUX-PRES
paɲʈa-ya-l̥u
knee-ALL-STILL
'The shin swelled up as far as the knee'.

(635) ṉawu ṯika-ṇa wara-yi maḍa-ndña-l̥u
SgnFS return-PART AUX-PRES stone-SCE-STILL
'He came back (all the way) from the hills'.

It is possible to combine the use of -l̥u added to noun phrases with the particle windña 'only' (5.5.6) in order to disambiguate certain situations. The following sentence:

(636) ŋaṯu windři ṉiṉa ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA only SgnFO see-PART AUX-PRES

is multiply ambiguous and can mean any of the following:

(637) *'I only saw him [I didn't speak to him]'.*

(638) *'I saw only him [no-one else]'.*

(639) *'Only I saw him [no-one else did]'.*

By using both windři and -ḷu unambiguous readings for the last two can be obtained. So, for example, (640) can mean only (638) and (641) mean (639):

(640) ŋaṯu windři ṉiṉa-ḷu ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA only SgnFO-STILL see-PART AUX-PRES
'I saw only him'.

(641) ŋaṯu-ḷu windři ṉiṉa ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA-STILL only SgnFO see-PART AUX-PRES
'Only I saw him'.

It is not possible to disambiguate reading (637) in this way because of the different function of -ḷu attached to predicates (see above). It is necessary to use a separate contrastive clause to unambiguously specify the context of (637).

5.4.2 -yari LIKE

The clitic -yari indicates that a thing or event (or action) 'is like'

or 'resembles' the thing or event (action) referred to by the word form to which -yari is suffixed.

The following examples show -yari attached to predicates, both non-verbal (5.1.2):

(642) ŋani-yari ṉawu kaṇa
1SgS-LIKE SgnFS person
'That man is like me'.

(643) mankaña-ø ṉani-paña ṯaṛi-yari / [ŋama pani]
girl-ABS SgnFS-THERE young man-LIKE breast none
'That girl is like a young man [(she has) no breasts]'.

and verbal:

(644) kaɲaŋañi ṉuŋkaṇi-ø ʈilpi-ʈilpi-ri-ṇa wara-yi /
chain SgnFGEN-ABS REDUP-knot-INCH-PART AUX-PRES
ṯuña-ṯañi-ṇa-yari
twist-PASS-REL$_{ss}$-LIKE
"His (i.e. the dog's) chain was knotted up like it had got twisted".

(645) ṯalaṛa palku-ø ṉaka-ldña ṯaṛa-yi /
rain cloud-ABS there-CONT go up-PRES
kuḍa-ḻa-yari
fall-IMPL$_{ss}$-LIKE
'The rain clouds are coming up again like (it is going) to rain'.

We also find -yari attached to nominals, typically acting as adverbial modifiers (5.1.3). Examples include (212) above and:

(646) ŋaṯu ṉiṉa-yari ŋaṟu-ø ŋaṟa-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA SgnFO-LIKE voice-ABS hear-PART AUX-PRES
'I heard a voice like his'.

There are no examples in the corpus of particles followed by -yari.

5.4.3 -ldřa ADDitional Information

The clitic -ldřa can be translated into English by a phrase such 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. Suffixed to predicates it indicates that ADDitional actions, events or states are being added to the discourse. The following examples briefly illustrate these uses (see also (203) above):

(647) [ṉawu kanku-ø mawa piṇa] / ṉani-ya
SgnFS boy-ABS hunger big SgFS-NEAR
mankařa-ø mawa piṇa-ldřa-maṯa
girl-ABS hunger big-ADD-IDENT
'[The boy is hungry] (and) this girl is hungry as well'.

(648) [ŋani ʈuřu wilpara-ni wapa-ɳa wara-yi] ŋaḍa-ni
1SgS train-LOC go-PART AUX-PRES then-LOC
ʈika-yi-ldřa ɳiŋki-ḍa-ni
return-PRES-ADD here-VICIN-ALL
'[*I went in the train*] *and then (I) came back here as well*'.

(649) [paya paḷpa-ø ʈaḷa-ø ḍika-ʈařa-yi] kuřkuřku
birds some-ABS name-ABS name-REFL-PRES bird type
paya-ø ɳawu ḍika-ʈařa-yi ʈaḷa-ø-ldřa
bird-ABS SgnFS name-REFL-PRES name-ABS-ADD
'[*Some birds name themselves*]. *The* kuřkuřku *bird says his name as well*'.

5.4.4 -maʈa IDENTified

The clitic -maʈa indicates that the speaker is asserting that he is able to identify or has identified the referent of the word to which it is suffixed. This clitic is not directly attached to inflected verbs but must follow -ldřa ADD (5.4.3) clitic.

Typically, -maʈa occurs in clauses where the context involves some discussion of the identity of a particular object. So, for example when discussing plants the following sentence occurred (note that -maʈa is attached to a predicate noun):

(650) winkařa-ø puraʃa-maʈa
yam type -ABS bush type -IDENT
'*The* winkařa *(yam type) is a* puraʃa *(bush type)*'.

Another example of -maṯa with a predicate nominal is to be found in line 106 of Text One (Appendix A). An example of -ldřa-maṯa attached to a verb is:

(651) maṇpi-ø yani-ldřa-maṯa ṉawu yaṯa-l̪a
pigeon type-ABS like this-ADD-IDENT SgnFS speak-FUT
ŋana-yi / muŋka-ṇa-ldřa-maṯa
AUX-PRES coo-REL$_{ss}$-ADD-IDENT
'The bronzewing pigeons will speak the same way - cooing'.

Examples of -maṯa with a noun phrase whose referent can be (or has been) identified include the following:

Dh. (652) ṉiṉa-pařa-maṯa ŋaldřa paḍa-ṇḍa puři-yi
SgnFO-THERE-IDENT 1Dlincl A catch-PART AUX-PRES
"That's the one we caught".

A good example is the exchange to be found in Text One (Appendix A):

(653) miṉa ṉawu-pařa-awu / ŋaṯata ṉawu-maṯa
what SgnFS-THERE-EXCLAM yS SgnFS-IDENT
'What's that? That's (our) younger brother!'. (1;78-79).

5.4.5 -ṯa Old Information

The clitic -ṯa indicates that the reference of the word to which it is attached has been mentioned in, or established by, previous context and the speaker assumes that the hearer knows what is intended. This function of -ṯa seems to correspond to Chafe's (1976) definition of

"given (or old) information":[1]

> "Given (or old) information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance".

and so I have glossed -ṯa OI for 'old information'. We may differentiate two occasions when Diyari speakers use -ṯa OI:

a) in conversation part of a previous utterance may be repeated with -ṯa. Sometimes, as in the following exchange, the effect seems to be along the lines of 'yes, I'm listening, please go on':

(654) A: karaṛi ŋaḷa pilki-ṯa
today but different-NI
"But these days (its) different".

B: karaṛi-ṯa
today-OI
"These days".

---

[1] What I am calling Old Information and New Information (see 5.4.6 below) has been discussed in the literature under a number of different names, including "theme-rheme", "topic-comment", "given-new" (see for example Firbas (1964), Halliday (1967), Chafe (1972, Chapter 15), Grimes (1976) and Kuno (1972)). Fillmore (1968) distinguishes between primary and secondary topicalization - the former being the process of determining grammatical subject (see Lyons (1977: 500-511)).

It is interesting that Diyari and at least one other Australian language (Ngiyamba: - see Donaldson (1977)) have segmental means of expressing the contrastive opposition. In most other languages, it seems, word order and intonation contours carry the burden of expression (Halliday (1967 and 1970)).

b) -ṯa may be added to an element not previously mentioned in the discourse (c.f. (a)) but which the speaker assumes the addressee can identify, as in:

Dh. (655) [kiṉṯala mandr̃u pula-ya] / ṉawu-ya kuṇu-ø-ṯa
dog two D1S-NEAR SgnFS-NEAR one-ABS-OI
ṉur̃u piṇa maḷa / [ṉawu ṉur̃u kuḍiŋka-ḍa
quick big very SgnFS quick run-PART
pur̃i-yi]
AUX-PRES
'[*There (are) these two dogs.*] *This one is very fast.* [*He runs quickly*].'

(656) [ṉaka-ø pulaṉa ṇandr̃a-yi] / ṉiyi mandr̃u-ali
there-LOC D1O hit-PRES eB two-ERG
kaku-ø-ṯa ŋaṯaṯa-ø-ṯa ṇandr̃a-ṇa ṉaka-ø
eZ-ABS-OI yS-ABS-OI hit-PART there-LOC
'[*(They) struck them there*] *The two brothers struck the elder sister and younger brother there*'.

An example of -ṯa with a verb is the following (from Text One). It is clear that the story teller assumes that his audience will know what action would follow from the context (of finding an unoccupied camp):

(657) [pani ṉawu-ya /] paku-ṇa-ṯa niṉa miṯa-ø
none SgnFS-NEAR dig-PART-OI SgnFO ground-ABS
'[*There's nothing here*] *(They) dug the ground (where the fire had been)*'.

OI is also used with miṉa 'what?' (4.2.8) in questions where the speaker has not heard all (or part of) the previous discourse. An example is (notice the use of -ṯa on the verb of the third speaker's utterance):

(658) Speaker A: miṉa kapukapu-ø
what box tree nut-ABS
'*What (is) kapukapu (box tree nut)?*'

Speaker B: miṉa-ṯa
what-OI
'*What (is that you said)?*'

Speaker C: ṉulu ḏika-ṇa-ṯa kapukapu-ø
SgnFA name-PART-OI box tree nut-ABS
'*He (just) said (lit. named) box tree nut*'.

5.4.6 -ḻa New Information

The clitic -ḻa is used when a new (that is, not previously mentioned or established by context (c.f. 5.4.5)) participant or event is to be introduced to the context of a discourse. This function of -ḻa is captured

by Chafe's (1976) definition of the New Information (NI)[1]:

> "So-called new information is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he says".

When used with noun phrases -l̪a introduces new participants to the context. The following are some good illustrations of this function of the clitic. The first concerns the men returning from an ochre expedition who ride by train to "Nine Mile" and:

(659) [ŋaḍa-ni t̪ana n̪aka-ø ŋaṛi-yi paṟt̪aṇa
then-LOC P1S there-LOC go down-PRES all
kaṇa-ø] / ŋaḍa-ni t̪ina-ali-l̪a waɭt̪a-ṇa
person-ABS then-LOC foot-INST-NI carry-PART
t̪ika-yi ṉiŋki-ḍa-ni [Frome]-ni
return-PRES here-VICIN-ALL -LOC
'[*Then all the men got down (from the train)*] *Then (they) carried (it) back on foot to here in the Frome (Creek)*'.

(660) [ŋani ŋampu wapa-ṇa wara-yi] yini-l̪a ŋaḍa-ni
1SgS almost go-PART AUX-PRES 2SgS-NI then-LOC
wakaṛa-yi
come-PRES
'[*I was just about to go*] *and then you came along*'.

When used with predicates, -l̪a indicates a new state, action or event

[1] See footnote above (page 467).

is being added by the speaker. Examples illustrating this include:

(661) waṯaṛa-ø ṉawu maʈa muḍa-yi / ḍalpuṛa
wind-ABS SgnFS already stop-PRES calm
ŋana-ḻa-ḻa
be-IMPL$_{ss}$-NI
'The wind has stopped so it will be calm now'.

(662) [ŋaṯu ṉiṉa yinpa-ṇa wara-yi / ṛapiti-ø
1SgA SgnFO send-PART AUX-PRES rabbit-ABS
ṇandr̃a-ṇaṉṯu] / ṉawu ṯika-yi-ḻa ṛapiti-ṉṯu-ø
hit-IMPL$_{ds}$ SgnFS return-PRES-NI rabbit-PROP-ABS
'[I sent him to kill a rabbit] He's coming back now with a rabbit'.

See also the discussion at 4.5.7.1.1 above and examples (112) and (113).

5.4.7 -ku SENSE evidence

The clitic -ku indicates that a new action, event or state or a new participant is being added to the discourse and that the speaker identifies the referent of the word suffixed by -ku on the basis of sensory evidence.

Typically, -ku indicates identification on the basis of sight or hearing as in:

(663) [waɽukaṯi-ø [tʰuktʰuk] kanpu-ŋa-ṇa
emu-ABS SgnFS boom-PROD-PART
paḷka-ṇa ṯaɽi-ṇani / ŋaḍa-ni kaṇa-ø
go on-PART ? -REL$_{ds}$ then-LOC person-ABS
yiɽʈi-yi] waɽukaṯi-ø-ku ṉawu kanpu-ŋa-ṇa ŋama-yi
get up-PRES emu-ABS-SENSE SgnFS boom-PROD-PART sit-PRES
'[*If an emu came along booming* [tʰuktʰuk] *someone would get up (and say)*] *There is an emu making a sound*'.

(664) [ŋaṯu ṉiṉa ṉayi-ya] ṉawu wakaṛa-yi-ku
1SgA SgnFO see-PAST SgnFS come-PRES-SENSE
'[*I saw him*]. *He's coming*'.

Although often more than one sense may be involved, as in:

(665) ŋapa ṯalaṛa-ø wakaṛa-ḻa ŋana-yi-ku
water rain-ABS come-FUT AUX-PRES-SENSE
'*(It looks/feels/smells like) rain will be coming*'.

Some examples of the use of -ku involve assertions on the basis of both sensory evidence and cultural knowledge. An excellent example is in lines 67 to 69 of Text One (Appendix A). We also have:

(666) [yundɽu ṉayi-ṇa / ṯaɽa-ṇani / yundɽu
2SgA see-REL$_{ss}$ fly-REL$_{ds}$ 2SgA
ŋaḍa-ni ŋuyama-yi] ŋapa-ø-ku yaḷa-ya
then-LOC know-PRES water-ABS-SENSE elsewhere-NEAR

paña-yi

lie-PRES

'[*When you see (them (i.e. birds)) flying you know then*]

There is water lying over there.'

SENSE may be used with NI (above) to express more forcefully that the speaker is adding new information based on sensory evidence. The following example describing the boiling of the plant paṛalka for medicinal purposes illustrates this:

(667) [ŋaḍa yundña ṉayi-yi / ṯiṭi-yari ŋapa-ø

then 2SgA see-PRES tea-LIKE water-ABS

ṉawu kañʈi-ṇani] maʃa-ku ṉawu /

SgnFS turn-REL$_{ds}$ alright-SENSE SgnFS

pandña-ḻa-ku

cook-NI-SENSE

'[*Then you see the water change like tea*] *It's ready, cooked now*'.

5.4.8 -yina TAG

The clitic -yina is an emphatic often used to call for the addressee's reaction. In English translations it corresponds to a combination of heavy stress and a tag question, something like 'It was X́, ... don't you agree?'. Examples of its use include the following:

(668) ŋani wapa-ṇa paña-ya / waru-yina
1SgS go-PART AUX-PAST long ago-TAG
'I went (there); long ago, wasn't it?'.

(669) ṉawu-ya ʈuka maṛu-yina
SgnFS-NEAR sugar black-TAG
'This (is) black sugar, isn't it?'

Notice that -yina can be added to any constituent of an NP as in:

(670) maṇi-yina ʈuŋka-ali wiñi-ṇa ʈana
fat-TAG rotten-INST paint-PART P1S
'It was rotten fat they were painted with, wasn't it?'

-yina can be used after -ʈa OI (see above) as in:

(671) ḍaḷa-ʈa-yina ṉuŋkaṇi-ø mañaɻi
skin-OI-TAG SgnFGEN-ABS red
'His skin was red, wasn't it?'.

5.4.9 -ayi, -awu EXCLAMation

These two clitics, both of which will be glossed EXCLAM, appear to be virtually identical in function. Although I included these as clitics here their distribution is different to that of all the clitics discussed above:

a) -ayi only occurs on nominals and determiners

b) -awu occurs only on nominals and determiners and also following the

number marker (NM) of verb stems inflected for the IMPerative (4.5.7.1.1). No other (inflected) forms of verbs have been found with -awu or -ayi.

c) both -ayi and -awu may follow any of the other clitics (except -yina) - they always occur last in a clitic sequence (see 5.4.10).

These two are also the only clitics to begin with a vowel and hence affected by a phonological rule - the rule of epenthetic glide insertion (see 3.4.2), which can be illustrated by the following:

kaṇa-ayi	[kʌ̣ɳʌi]
person-EXCLAM	
ṯaṛi-ayi	[ṯ̂θʌ̣ɽijʌi]
young man-EXCLAM	
kanku-ayi	[kʌnkujʌi]
boy-EXCLAM	

Both -ayi and -awu can be suffixed when the speaker is shouting a word or clause and wishing to attract the attention of one or more addressees. When suffixed to nouns (and typically kin terms) these two correspond partly to the 'vocative' of descriptions of languages such as Latin[1].

[1] Reuther (1899) sets up nouns with suffixed -ayi as "Vocative Case" in his declensional paradigms.

Consider the following examples:

(672) kaɲi-kaɲini-ayi! [yara wapa-a-ø-mayi]
REDUP-mo.mo.-EXCLAM this way go-IMP-NM-EMPH
"Little granny! [Come this way!]".

(673) ŋanka-a-ni-awu ɲuřu-ali
do-IMP-NM-EXCLAM quick-INST
'You (all) do it quickly!'.

The following sentence occurred in a text when the narrator had just located a lost child. Note the use of -yina after -maṯa IDENT (5.4.4):

(674) ɲawu-ḍa-awu! ɲawu-ḍa-maṯa-awu
SgnFS-VICIN-EXCLAM SgnFS-VICIN-IDENT-EXCLAM
'This is him! This is him here!'.

One further text example is:

(675) [ŋaḍa-ni ɲani kařka-yi] / kanku-wařa-ø-ayi! /
them-LOC SgFS call-PRES boy-PLURAL-ABS-EXCLAM
ɲawu-ya paḷa-ali ŋana-yi ŋakaŋu
SgnFS-NEAR arousal-INST be-PRES 1SgLOC
'[Then she called out] Hey boys! He is randy for me!'. (8;18)

There is a further exclamatory affix -kayi which occurs in six text examples but I am unsure of its exact status. This clitic always occurs after verbs inflected for other than IMPerative mood (c.f. -awu) as, for example, in:

(676) kaɲʃi ŋiyi-ali ŋayi-ŋayi-ya ŋakaṇi-ali ŋiŋa /
can eB-ERG REDUP-see-PAST 1SgGEN-ERG SgnFO
ʈuraṛa-ṇani-kayi ŋawu
lie-REL$_{ds}$-?EXCLAM SgnFS
'My elder brother could have seen him lying (there)'.
(12;122)

It may be, from their contrastive distribution, that -ayi and -kayi are allomorphs. There are insufficient examples to be able to decide the issue.

5.4.10 Clitic Ordering

The examples given above illustrate the possible suffixal order of clitics attached to a single word. The relative orders are as follows but note that there are no examples in the corpus of sequences of more than three clitics following one word:

$$\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{-yari}\\ \text{-ḷu}\end{array}\right\} - \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{-ʈa}\\ \text{-ɭa-ku}\\ \text{-ldr̃a-maʈa}\end{array}\right\} - \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{-yina}\\ \text{-awu}\\ \text{-ayi}\\ \text{?-kayi}\end{array}\right\}$$

The following are examples of the selection of three clitics from this list:

(677) ṯana pilki-ldr̃a-maṯa-awu
P1S different-ADD-IDENT-EXCLAM
'They (are all) different!'.

(678) yini piṭa-yari-ṯa-yina
2SgS stick-LIKE-OI-TAG
'You're like a stick, aren't you?'

5.5 PARTICLES

In Diyari and Dhirari there are ten syntactic words (as defined in 3.1) which take no inflectional affixes and hence comprise a distinct word class (4.1.5). I will term them 'particles'.

The only phonological material which can be attached to particles are clitics (see 5.4). Examples illustrating this are to be found below.

The permitted sentence positions in which particles may occur are rather variable, but in most cases they occur before the element(s) for which they provide semantic modification. That is, particles are generally found immediately before the modified element or in clause initial position, although occurrence after the modified element is also possible. The examples below illustrate the range of observed variation.

5.5.1 wata not

The basic function of wata is to negate an utterance or some part of an utterance. It corresponds in many respects to English 'not',

and may be used as follows:

(A) to negate a predicate, either non-verbal (5.1.2) as in:

(679) ŋani wata wanku
1SgS not snake
'I (am) not a snake' (3;9)

(680) ŋani wata ŋumu
1SgS not good
'I (am) not good'.

or containing a verbal complex (5.1.1.1) as in:

(681) miṉa-ndr̃u yura wata wapa-ṉa wara-yi ṉiŋki-wa-ni
what-SCE 2P1S not go-PART AUX-PRES here-DIST-ALL
'Why didn't you go there?'. (2;80)

wata may be placed immediately before the predicate as in (579) to (681), or in clause initial position as in (507), (573), (575) and (609) above. Clause initially however it is ambiguous between this function and its (B) function of negating a noun phrase. So, for example, the following sentence has two interpretations (see also below) while (679) is unambiguous:

(682) wata ŋani wanku
not 1SgS snake
'I (am) not a snake' or *'(It is) not I (who am) a snake'.*

wata also occurs in subordinate clauses, including IMPLicated clauses (see 5.2.1 - examples (491), (494) and (602), RELative clauses (5.2.2 - examples (548), (555) and (561)) and LEST clauses (5.2.6 - example (577)). As these examples illustrate wata typically occurs in initial position in the subordinate clause (but see example (577)).

The occurrence of wata with the clitic -l̪u STILL (5.4.1) is illustrated above (example (628)). Notice the contrast exemplified in (630) between the use of wata-l̪u and wata VC-l̪u. An example of wata with another of the clitics is (see also 5.4.6):

(683) karaṛi-ø ŋayana wata-l̪a ṯayi-yi
today-LOC 1Plincl A not-NI eat-PRES
'These days we don't eat [goannas]'.

The particle wata is also used when the verb is inflected for IMPerative (see 4.5.7.1.1) to produce a negative imperative[1]. Examples of this include (572), (576), (579) and (582) above and also:

(684) wata piṇa ŋundřa-ṯaři-a-lu-mayi
not big think-REFL-IMP-NM-EMPH
"Don't you two be proud of yourselves!".

---

[1] Many Australian languages have two particles, one for negative indicatives and one for negative imperatives. An example is Gamilaraay from northern New South Wales (see Austin, Williams and Wurm (forthcoming)) which has gamil and gaṛiya for these respective functions.

In imperatives wata typically occurs in clause initial position but if the second person pronoun is included wata follows it as in:

(685) yini wata ṉiŋki-ḍa-ø ŋama-a-ø-mayi
2SgS not here-VICIN-LOC sit-IMP-NM-EMPH
'Don't you sit here!'.

(B) to negate a noun phrase - in this function wata precedes the NP to be negated, as in:

(686) ŋaṯu wata ṉaṉa ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi
1SgA not SgFO see-PART AUX-PRES
'I didn't see her' or *'It wasn't her I saw'*.

Notice however that (686) could also mean 'I didn't see her' with wata negating the predicate (function (A) above). This ambiguity was mentioned above (example (682)) and is impossible to resolve when the subject (S or A NP) is negated as in:

(687) wata ŋaṯu ṉaṉa ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi
not 1SgA SgnFO see-PART AUX-PRES
'I didn't see her (i.e. It was not I who saw her)'.
or *'I didn't see her (i.e. see her I didn't)'*.

Usually context or the addition of an explanatory clause will decide which of these two functions is intended in a particular instance.

5.5.2 pulu cannot

The particle pulu only occurs in clauses containing a verbal predicate and indicates that an action cannot be done, either because of the nature of the real world as in (233) and :

(688) pulu yini ṉiŋki-ḍa-ndřu wapa-yi kunařa-ya
cannot 2SgS here-VICIN-SCE go-PRES Cooper-ALL
ḍiṯi kuṉu-ni / [waři̱ṯa maḷa]
day one-LOC distant true
'You cannot walk from here to Cooper's Creek in one day [it's too far]'.

or because of the inability of the actor, even after repeated tries, as in example (629) and:

(689) [ŋani maḷaɲʧi] pulu ŋaṯu ṉiṉa ṯuřu ṉandřa-yi
1SgS bad cannot 1SgA SgnFO fire hit-PRES
'[I'm no good] I can't cut this wood'.

This particle is usually found clause initially (see above) but it also occurs in other positions before the (modified) predicate. An example of its use between an A and an O NP is:

(690) ŋaṯu pulu ṯanaṉa ḍaŋa-yi
1SgA cannot P1O hunt away-PRES
'I cannot hunt them away'.

There are no examples in the corpus of pulu in a non-main clause. Its use with the -ḻu STILL clitic (5.4.1) has been described and exemplified above (see example (528)).

5.5.3 kaɲʒi can

The particle kaɲʒi has two functions:

(A) to express ability of an actor to undertake some action. In this use kaɲʒi only occurs with verbal predicates and is the opposite of pulu. Examples of its use are (530) above and:

(691) ŋali kaɲʒi yaṯa-yaṯa-ṉa wapa-yi ḏiyaṛi-ø /
1DlexclS can REDUP-speak-PART AUX-PRES Diyari-ABS
ŋaḻa kupa-kupa ŋaliṉi-ø wata ŋaṛa-yi
but REDUP-child 1DlexclGEN-ABS not hear-PRES
'We can speak Diyari but our children don't understand (lit. hear) it'.

(692) yundr̃u kaɲʒi ṉiṉa-ya ṯur̃u-ø ṇandr̃a-yi
2SgA can SgnFO-NEAR fire-ABS hit-PRES
'You are able to chop this firewood'.

Note that kaɲʒi typically follows the subject NP (as above) or is clause initial (as in (530)). Its use may be compared with that of the generic PRESent tense (4.5.7.1.1).

(B) to express the speaker's opinion that some action or event could happen (or could have happened). So, for example, (692) above could be used in the context 'This wood is soft, not hard and so...'. See also (676) above. A further example is the following (from Text Two):

(693) kaɲʧi ɲani ŋaḍa-ni wapa-ṇa wara-yi
can SgFS behind-LOC go-PART AUX-PRES
'She might have gone behind (us)'. (2;31)

When a sentence describes an event which is not under the control of an agent then kaɲʧi can only be used in this function, as in:

(694) kaɲʧi ɲawu pali-ṇa wara-yi
can SgnFS die-PART AUX-PRES
'He could/might have died'.

It is not possible for kaɲʧi to have its ability ((A)) function in sentences like (694). The force of kaɲʧi seems to be slightly stronger than that of the following particle, kaṛa.

5.5.4 kaṛa may

The particle kaṛa expresses the speaker's opinion that an action, event or state may occur or may have occurred. It may be also used singly, or twice as a disjunction - this is described above (5.3.2).

An example of kaṛa with a stative (non-verbal (see 5.1.2)) predicate is:

(695) paṟu-ø pakaṇa kaṛa marapu
fish-ABS also may many
'There may (be) lots of fish too'.

Examples of kaṛa with non-stative predicates include:

(696) ŋani kaṛa wapa-l̪a ŋana-yi
1SgS may go-FUT AUX-PRES
'I may go (in the future)'.

(697) n̪awu yaṯa-yi / maḷaḷu kaṛa n̪awu pali-ya
SgnFS say-PRES truly may SgnFS die-PAST
'He said "Truly, he may have died"'. (7;23)

Interestingly, the sentence two lines before (697) in Text Seven has kaṛa clause finally:

(698) pinaṟu-ø n̪awu pali-ya kaṛa
old man-ABS SgnFS die-PAST may
'The old man may have died'.

In the majority of examples in the corpus kaṛa occurs before the predicate. Its use after NPs and predicates as a disjunction has been described above (5.3.2).

As noted at 5.5.3 kaṛa and kaɳʈi are both expressions of the speaker's opinion about the likelihood of the occurrence of some state of affairs. The difference between them seems to be that kaɳʈi is slightly stronger and more categorical than kaṛa. Both contrast with pin̪ʈi below (5.5.5).

5.5.5 pinti rumoured

The particle pinti indicates that the speaker is not expressing his own opinion about an action, event or state but is merely reporting something that he has heard some other (unidentified) person(s) say. The English expressions 'it is rumoured that...' or 'they say that...' seem to correspond to pinti in Diyari.

Unlike other particles, pinti always occurs at the clause periphery, that is, clause initially or clause finally. In this it contrasts with kaṛa (above) for instance. Compare the following examples:

(699) pinti ṉawu wakaṛa-yi
rumoured SgnFS come-PRES
'They say he will come'.

(700) ṉawu kaṛa wakaṛa-yi
SgnFS may come-PRES
'He might come'.

In (699) the speaker does not commit himself to the truth of the utterance while (700) is the expression of a personal opinion. Both of these may be compared with the use of the -ku clitic (5.4.7) which indicates that the statement is based on sensory evidence, as in example (664) above.

Some other examples of pinti from text material in the corpus include:

(701) ṯanali waru-ø mama-ṇa wanti-yi
P1A long ago-LOC take from-ABS AUX-PRES

kupa-ø pi̱ṉṯi

child-ABS rumoured

'(People say) they used to take children away long ago'.

(702) pula puṉṯi-n̪a wara-yi pi̱ṉṯi

DIS separate-PART AUX-PRES rumoured

'They are rumoured to have separated'.

Notice the clause final position of pi̱ṉṯi in both these examples (see also 5.1.7.1).

5.5.6 windři only

The particle windři has the function of restricting the range of possible referents of a noun phrase or predicate. It corresponds to the English word 'only'. The examples below illustrate its use.

The position of windři within the clause is rather free but it tends to occur before the element which it qualifies; although there are examples of it after (for example (583) and (706) below).

An example of windři qualifying a verb complex is the following (the contrastive context is provided by the previous clause given in brackets here):

(703) [wata ŋani n̪uŋkaŋu ya̱ṯa-ya̱ṯa-n̪a wara-yi] /

not 1SgS SgnFLOC REDUP-speak-PART AUX-PRES

ŋa̱ṯu windři n̪i n̪a n̪ayi-n̪a wara-yi

1SgA only SgnFO see-PART AUX-PRES

'[I didn't talk to him] I only saw him'.

A variant word order with no apparent meaning difference is:

(704) windři ŋaṯu ṉiṉa ṉayiṇa warayi

The second clause in (703) above could also be taken as an example of windři qualifying the reference of a noun phrase (in this case a pronoun), given the appropriate context. An example illustrating this is:

(705) ŋaṯu windři ṉiṉa ṉayi-ṇa wara-yi / [wata
1SgA only SgnFO see-PART AUX-PRES not
kaṇa paḷpa-ali]
person same-ERG
'Only I saw him [no-one else did]'.

Again, the word order of (704) is an alternative with no difference in meaning.

If ambiguity were to arise because of the different interpretations of the scope of windři the clitic -ḷu can be used (see 5.4.1). Examples (640) and (641) illustrate the disambiguating function of -ḷu with NPs. An instance of windři with -ḷa NI (5.4.3) occurs in (146) above.

windři can be used with specific NPs, as in (705) and:

(706) yaṛu-ka ŋaṯu yiṉa kawu-kawupa-yi
like that-TOKEN 1SgA 2SgO REDUP-inform-PRES
ŋapa-ndřu windři
water-SCE only
'I'll tell you only about the water'.

(See also the example in line 13 of Text One (Appendix A)).

or to delimit a class of referents, as in:

Dh. (707) windr̃i maṯari-ali ṉayi-ṇḍa pur̃i-yi
only man-ERG see-PART AUX-PRES
"Only (initiated) men could see (it)".

(708) windr̃i kaṇa-ali wama-ø ṯayi-yi
only person-ERG snake-ABS eat-PRES
'Only (black) people ate snakes'.

The particle wata 'not' can be used preceding windr̃i as in the example (see also 5.5.8).

(709) wata windr̃i ŋani ḍiyaṛi
not only 1SgS Diyari
'I (am) not the only Diyari' or *'Not only I (am) Diyari'*.

5.5.7 maṯa already

The particle maṯa indicates a degree of completeness of the action or event described by the verb of the clause in which it occurs. It often has the sense of 'perfect aspect' of some other languages (Comrie (1976: 52) - but see (4.5.7.1.1) above) especially when the time reference of the verb is to the past. Some examples are (121) and (661) above and:

(710) maʧa manka-manka-ṇa wara-yi
already REDUP-find-PART AUX-PRES
'Have (you) found (her) yet/already?' (2;9)

(711) ṉawu maʧa puṇka-yi kanku-ø
SgnFS already grow-PRES boy-ABS
'That boy is already grown up'.

In this function maʧa occurs in RELative clauses (5.2.2.1) and SEQuential clauses (5.2.6.2) as illustrated by examples (534), (536), (584) and (585) above. Because of the conflict in semantics maʧa cannot be used in IMPLicated clauses (5.2.1.1) or clauses containing the future AUXiliary ŋana- (4.5.7.2) since these refer to events which have yet to occur.

There are examples where maʧa does, however, occur in clauses with the future AUX but there it has the meaning of a weak emphatic, translated by informants as 'alright'. An example is:

(712) maʧa ŋaṯu ṉiṉa yakalka-ḻa ŋana-yi
already 1SgA SgnFO ask-FUT AUX-PRES
"I'll ask him, alright".

These two uses of maʧa can be illustrated in consecutive clauses from Text One (Appendix A), as follows:

(713) piḻa-ø ṉawu-ya maʧa maña-maña-ṯaña-yi-ḻa-ku
coal-ABS SgnFS-NEAR already REDUP-glow-DUR-PRES-NI-SENSE
'These coals are glowing alright'. (1;126)

(714) maʈa-ʈa yaɽki-yi-ɭa-ku ŋawu ʈuɽu-ø-ʈa
already-OI burn-PRES-NI-SENSE SgnFO fire-ABS-OI
'This fire has just been burning!'. (1;127)

maʈa may also be used as a predicate meaning 'alright' but only if the nominative case NP (5.1.5.1) is a first or second person pronoun. So, for example, we find the following text examples:

(715) maʈa yini / [ʈana-ya mankaɽa-ø marapu]
alright 2SgS P1S-NEAR girl-ABS many
'You're alright! [There (are) lots of girls (here)].
(3;29-30)

(716) kawu maʈa ŋani / [ŋuɽuŋuɽu-ɭa]
yes alright 1SgS strong-NI
'Yes, I'm alright [(I'm) strong now]"'. (1;106-7)

A common Diyari greeting is maʈa yini? (with the rising question intonation (see 3.6).) meaning 'Are you alright?' or 'How are you?' and the reply is typically the first clause of example (716) with the falling, statement intonation (3.6).

5.5.8 ŋampu almost

The particle ŋampu occurs only in clauses with a verb complex predicate (5.1.1.1). It indicates that the action or event described by the verb almost occurs or was about to occur at some particular time. It is positioned immediately before the verb complex (as in (718) and (719))

or in clause initial position (without any apparent difference in meaning), as in (717).

The following are some examples of the use of ŋampu in main clauses:

(717) [ŋani ṯinka wiṭi wapa-ṇa wara-yi] / ŋampu
1SgS night long go-PART AUX-PRES almost
ḍiʧi-ø ḍuṇka-yi-ḻa
sun-ABS emerge-PRES-NI
'[*I've walked all night long*]. *The sun is almost about to rise*'. (2;83-84)

(718) ŋani ŋampu muka ṯuraṛa-ṇa wara-yi / [yundřu
1SgS almost sleep lie-PART AUX-PRES 2SgA
ŋaṉa yiřʧi-ipa-ṇa paḷka-ṇa wara-yi]
1SgO get up-TR-PART go on-PART AUX-PRES
'*I was just about to go to sleep. [You came along and woke me up]*'.

See also example (660) above.

We also find ŋampu in subordinate clauses such as in (235) and the following REL_{ds} clause:

(719) ḍiʧi-ø ṉawu ŋampu wiři-ṇani-ḻa / ṉaṇi
sun-ABS SgnFS almost enter-REL_{ds}-NI SgFS
wapa-ṇa kuřa-yi puŋa-ndřu
go-PART go away-PRES humpy-SCE
'*As the sun was just about to set she left the humpy*'.

Notice the interaction between ŋampu almost and -l̲a NI (5.4.6) on the verb, to mean 'just about to'.

There are two further particles which differ from all those discussed about in that they seem to freely occur in clauses which also contain one of the other particles c.f. wata windr̃i 'not only' as shown above (example (709)). Examples below illustrate some of the co-occurrence possibilities of the particles above plus yara (5.5.9) and yar̃a (5.5.10).

5.5.9 yara this way

The particle yara occurs in clauses where the predicate is a verb belonging to the semantic class of motion or induced motion (independent of transitivity). It indicates that the action is directed towards the speaker. It contrasts with yar̃a described below (5.5.10).

Examples of yara with simple motion verbs include:

(720) yara t̲ika-a-ø-mayi ŋakaŋu
this way return-IMP-NM-EMPH 1SgLOC
'Come back this way to me!'.

(721) ŋayani maʃa t̲iri̇wa yara wapa-yi
1PlexclS already east this way go-PRES
'We have already gone this way east'. (2;81)

Note the occurrence of yara with maʃa in (721) (and with ŋampu in (722)).

Sentences illustrating the use of yara with derived motion verbs are:

(722) ŋampu ɳandřu ɳiɳa maḍa-ø yara
almost SgnFA SgnFO stone-ABS this way
wara-ṇa wara-yi
throw-PART AUX-PRES
'She almost threw that stone (towards me)'.

(723) wata ṯanaɳa yara ḍaŋa-ḍaŋa-a-ø-awu
not P1O this way REDUP-hunt-IMP-NM-EXCLAM
'Don't hunt them this way (towards me)!'.

Example (723) shows yara occurring in a clause with wata (5.5.1).

5.5.10 yařa that way

The particle yařa is (like yara (5.5.9)) used with verbs of motion or induced motion of all transitivity classes (4.5.3). It indicates that the motion is directed away from the speaker, the opposite of yara (5.5.9).

Examples of yařa with motion verbs include (579) and (601) above and:

(724) ɳawu yařa-l̪a ḍařpi-ṇa ṯika-yi
SgnFS that way-NI turn-PART return-PRES
'He turned back that way (away from me)'.

Examples of yařa with verbs of induced motion include line 20 of Text Four (Appendix A) and also:

(725) ŋaṉṯi-ø kaṛa ŋaṯu yaña ḍama-yi
meat-ABS may 1SgA that way cut-PRES
'I might cut the meat that way (away from me)'.

A final example shows yaña co-occurring with the particle maʈa (5.5.7) qualifying the verb (c.f. also (718) above):

(726) maʈa ŋaṯu ṉiṉa yaña yinpa-ṇa ṯika-yi
already 1SgA SgnFO that way send-PART return-PRES
'I have already sent it back that way'.

It is interesting that both yaña and yara (5.5.9) always occur immediately before or immediately after the verb they qualify. They are only ever found clause initially in imperatives such as (579) and (720).

APPENDIX A - TEXTS

TEXT ONE - DIYARI

The following text was recorded by Rosa Warren and Leslie Russel in 1974 and later retold (in a slightly different form) by Rosa Warren. It is the only complete mythological story I have been able to collect. Fragments of others are remembered (for example Text Three), but none in any detail.

At first none of my informants admitted to knowing any traditional stories and I was told that they had all "died with the old people". I read a number of Fry's (1937) texts (see 2.2) to the informants with little success but part way through one session with Rosa Warren and Leslie Russel their memories of having heard one of the stories returned (see line 45 and footnote below). They went on to tell the story at high speed and with great gusto. Later checking with Rosa Warren reconstructed the beginning and added some details (see footnote, page 504). The ending of the text as given here differs from Fry's text so it seems likely that more than one "version" may have existed at one time.

The text stands, then, as the only complete example of a mythological story in Diyari recorded (and analysed) in recent years.

TEXT ONE DIYARI LESLIE RUSSEL AND ROSA WARREN

1. ṯaṛi-ø ya mankaña-ø pula ŋana-ṇa waṉṯi-yi
young man-ABS and girl-ABS DlS be-PART AUX-PRES
ṉuwa-maṛa
spouse-KINPROP
A young man and a girl were married long ago[1].

2. pula wapa-yi
DlS go-PRES
They went (walking).

3. ya kanku-ali pakaṇa ŋaɲʤa-yi / wapa-ḻa kaku-ni
and boy-ERG also went-PRES go-IMPL$_{ss}$ eZ-LOC
yaḷa / kaku-ni kaḍi-ni
together eZ-LOC ZH-LOC
And a boy also wanted to go together with his elder sister, with his elder sister and brother-in-law.[2]

4. kaku-ø yaṯa-yi
eZ-ABS say-PRES
The sister said:

---

1 I have not used single inverted commas in the translations of these text sentences (see Abbreviations). Double inverted commas are used for direct speech.

2 The following abbreviations of kinship terms will be used: eB 'elder brother', eZ 'elder sister', ZH 'sister's husband' and yS 'younger sibling'.

5. yini ŋama-a-ø-mayi ŋaldřaṇi ŋandři-ni

2SgS sit-IMP-NM-EMPH 1Dlincl GEN mother-LOC

"You stay with our mother!".

6. yaṛu-ya pakaṇa ṉuŋkaṇi kaḍi-ø yaṯa-yi

like that-NEAR also SgnFGEN ZH-ABS say-PRES

His brother-in-law also said the same thing.

7. ṉulu kanku-ali wata ŋaɲʧa-yi / ŋama-l̪a

SgnFA boy-ERG not want-PRES sit-IMPL$_{ss}$

The boy did not want to stay.

8. ṉawu ḍalki-yi pulaŋu ya ṉuŋkaṇi ŋandři-ni

SgnFS disobey-PRES DlLOC and SgnFGEN mother-LOC

He disobeyed them and his mother.

9. ṉawu kanku-ø ŋupaṛa mindři-ṇa

SgnFS boy-ABS first run-PART

He ran ahead (of the sister and brother-in-law).

10. ya wapa-ṇa ŋupaṛa

and go-PART first

And went on ahead.

11. ŋaḍa-ni t̪ana yaḷa wapa-yi

then-LOC P1S together go-PRES

Then they (all) went together.

12. ya kaḍi-ali wama-ø ya kapiři-ø ya kani-ø
and ZH-ERG snake-ABS and goanna-ABS and lizard-ABS
ṇandřa-yi
hit-PRES
And the brother-in-law killed carpet snake and goanna and frill necked lizard[1].

13. ṇaḷa kanku-ali windři ṇandřa-yi kaṭiwařu-ø
but boy-ERG only hit-PRES small lizard-ABS
But the boy only killed kaṭiwařu[2].

14. kaḍi-ali pařʈaṇa ṇaṉṯi-ø wayi-yi
ZH-ERG all meat-ABS cook-PRES
The brother-in-law cooked all the meat.

15. ya pakaṇa kanku-ali wayi-yi kaṭiwařu-ø
and also boy-ERG cook-PRES small lizard-ABS
And the boy cooked the kaṭiwařu *also.*

16. kanku-ali kaṭiwařu-ø ṯayi-yi
boy-ERG small lizard-ABS eat-PRES
The boy ate the kaṭiwařu.

---

[1] These are *Aspidites ramsayi, Varanus gouldi* and *Emphibolurus barbatus* respectively. Notice that the numbers of each reptile caught is not specified here and we can only tell that it is indefinite (due to the lack of determiners (see 5.1.8)).

[2] kaṭiwařu is a small lizard (species unknown). This line aroused much laughter among Diyari speakers who heard the text replayed because of the contrast between the catch of the boy and that of the brother-in-law (line 12).

17. ya kaḍi-ø yaṯa-yi

and ZH-ABS say-PRES

And the brother-in-law said:

18. wata ṯayi-a-ø-mayi

not eat-IMP-NM-EMPH

"Don't eat (that)!".

19. maḻanʈi

bad

"(It's) bad".

20. kaḍi maṛa-ø wiři-ṇa kanku-ya maṇa-ni

ZH hand-ABS enter-PART boy-GEN mouth-LOC

The brother-in-law's hand went into the boy's mouth[1].

21. ya kaṯiwařu pařʈaṇa-ø mandřa-ndřu ḍukaṛa-ṇa

and small lizard all-ABS stomach-SCE take out-PART

And took all the kaṯiwařu *out of his stomach.*

22. kanku-ali wata yani-ya ṯayi-ṇanṯu ŋanṯi waka-ø

boy-ERG not like this-NEAR eat-IMPL$_{ds}$ meat small-ABS

"Boys should not eat small animals like this".

---

[1] Notice the use of both apposition and genitive to express possession of a body part in this sentence (c.f. 5.1.6). The verb wiři- is intransitive (1A). It is interesting that it, rather than, say, winma- 'to insert' is used here.

23. kaḍi-ø yaṯa-yi

ZH-ABS say-PRES

The brother-in-law said:

24. waȷa kaḷka-a-ø-mayi / karaṛi-ø wama-ø ṯayi-ḷa

while wait-IMP-NM-EMPH today-LOC snake-ABS eat-IMPL$_{ss}$

"Wait a while, today (you) eat carpet snake".

25. kanku-ali wata ŋaɲȷa-yi

boy-ERG not want-PRES

The boy did not want to.

26. kanku-ø yindřa-yi

boy-ABS cry-PRES

The boy cried.

27. ya mawa-ali ŋana-yi

and hunger-INST be-PRES

And was hungry.

28. kaḍi-ali wama-ø ḍukaṛa-yi

ZH-ERG snake-ABS take out-PRES

The brother-in-law took out some carpet snake[1].

---

1 From the fire where it had been cooking.

29. ya malṯi-ŋanka-ṇa
and cool-CAUSE-PART
And made it cool.

30. ṉuŋkaṇi ṉuwa-ø yaṯa-yi
SgnFGEN spouse-ABS say-PRES
His wife said:

31. ŋali kanku-ali mawa-ali ŋana-yi
1D1exc1S boy-INST hunger-INST be-PRES
"We two are hungry, the boy and I".

32. ṯaṛi-ali kalapa-yi
young man-ERG answer-PRES
The young man answered (them):

33. waḻa kaḷka-a-lu-mayi / ŋaṉṯi-ø malṯi-ri-ṇaṉṯu
while wait-IMP-NM-EMPH meat-ABS cool-INCH-IMPL$_{ds}$
"You two wait a while for the meat to cool down".

34. pula kuṯa-ri-yi
D1S angry-INCH-PRES
The two of them became angry.

35. ṯaṛi-ali ŋaṉṯi-ø waḍu-waḍu-ŋanka-ṇa
young man-ERG meat-ABS REDUP-short-CAUSE-PART
The young man broke up the meat.

36. ṯaṛi-ali wani-yi / ṯayi-ḻa
young man-ERG begin-PRES eat-IMPL$_{ss}$
The young man began to eat (the meat).

37. ŋaḍa-ni yiŋki-yi / ṉuwa ṉuŋkaṇi-ali ṯayi-ṇaṉṯu
then-LOC give-PRES spouse SgnFGEN-ERG eat-IMPL$_{ds}$
Then he gave (some meat) for his wife to eat.

38. kaku-ali kanku-ø yiŋki-yi ŋaṉṯi-ø / ṉiṉa ṯayi-ṇaṉṯu
eZ-ERG boy-ABS give-PRES meat-ABS SgnFO eat-IMPL$_{ds}$
The elder sister gave the boy some meat to eat.

39. ŋaḍa-ni ṉuŋkaṇi kaḍi-ø maṛa-ø wiři-yi /
then-LOC SgnFGEN ZH-ABS hand-ABS enter-PRES
ḍukaṛa-ḻa ṉuŋkaŋundřu maṇa-ndřu
take out-IMPL$_{ss}$ SgnFSCE mouth-SCE
Then his brother-in-law's hand went in and took it out from his mouth.

40. yaṛu-ka ṉawu kanku-ø mawa-ali ŋana-yi
like that-TOKEN SgnFS boy-ABS hunger-INST be-PRES
Thus the boy was hungry.

41. kaku-ali ŋaḍa-ni kurukuru yiŋki-yi ṉiṉa /
eZ-ERG then-LOC secretly give-PRES SgnFO
ṉaŋkaṇi ŋaṯata kanku-ø
SgFGEN yS boy-ABS

Then the elder sister secretly gave (some meat) to him, her younger brother[1].

42. kaḍi-ali maḷa ḍukaṛa-yi
ZH-ERG more take out-PRES
The brother-in-law took more out[2].

43. ŋaḍa-ni ṯana yiřṯi-yi / wapa-ḻa
then-LOC P1S get up-PRES go-IMPL$_{ss}$
Then they got up to go.

44. ŋaḍa-ni ṯanali paya kupařu-ø ṉayi-yi
then-LOC P1A bird young-ABS see-PRES
Then they saw some young birds[3].

45. kaḍi-ø yaṯa-yi kanku-ni / paṯara-ni kaṛi-ŋaṉṯu
ZH-ABS say-PRES boy-LOC box tree-LOC climb-IMPL$_{ds}$
The brother-in-law told the boy to climb the box tree[4].

46. miri kaṛi-a-ø-mayi waḷa-ya / kapi-ø mani-ḻa
above climb-IMP-NM-EMPH nest-ALL egg-ABS get-IMPL$_{ss}$
"Climb up top to the nest to get the eggs".

---

1 Notice that ŋaṯata is unmarked for sex but in apposition with kanku it can only mean 'younger brother' (5.1.1.2).

2 That is, he took the rest of the food from the boy and prevented him from eating anything.

3 At the top of a box tree. This is not stated in the text but is clear from the later sentences.

4 At this point when I first read this text to them, Rosa Warren and Leslie remembered the story and proceeded to tell it with rapidity and great gusto.

47. ŋaḍa ṉawu kanku-ø kaṯi-yi / piṭa-ø ŋaḷa
then SgnFS boy-ABS climb-PRES tree-ABS but
miri-ṛi-ṇa ṯaṛa-ṇani
above-INCH-PART go up-REL$_{ds}$
Then the boy climbed but the tree went up and up (at the same time)[1].

48. ṉawu miri-ṯa ṯaṛa-iŋa-ṇa ṯaṟi-yi
SgnFS above-OI go up-PROL-PART ?-PRES
He went up and up at the top (of the tree).

49. ŋaḍa-ni pulali ṉiṉa waraṛa-yi paṯara miri
then-LOC DlA SgnFO leave-PRES box tree above
Then the two of them left him at the top of the box tree.

50. waraṛa-ṇa kuṟa-yi / ṯika-ḷa
leave-PART go away-PRES return-IMPL$_{ss}$
(They) left him and went back.

51. ŋaḍa pula wapa-ṇa kuṟa-yi
then D1S go-PART go away-PRES
Then they went away.

52. kanku-ø yindṟa-yi / pula waṟiṯa-ḷu wapa-ṇani /
boy-ABS cry-PRES D1S distant-STILL go-REL$_{ds}$

---

[1] Apparently the brother-in-law 'sang' the tree magically making it grow higher and higher as the boy climbed.

ɲayi-ɲa ɲulu pulaɲa piṭa miri-ndřu wařiṯa-ø

see-REL$_{ss}$ SgnFA D1O tree above-SCE distant-ABS

The boy cried as they went further and further, watching them in the distance from the top of the tree.

53. ŋaḍa-ni ɲulu ɲayi-yi

then-LOC SgnFA see-PRES

Then he saw

54. [a:] ɲawu-wa-ku ṯuřu-ø yařki-yařki-ṯaři-yi wařiṯa

oh SgnFS-DIST-SENSE fire-ABS REDUP-burn-DUR-PRES distant

"Oh, that must be the fire burning far off".

55. ṯinka-ni ɲulu ɲayi-yi paṛaʧi-ø / ṯuřu-ø

night-LOC SgnFA see-PRES light-ABS fire-ABS

yařki-yařki-ṯaři-ɲani

REDUP-burn-DUR-REL$_{ds}$

At night he saw the light of the fire burning.

56. ṯaŋkuṯaŋkupaɲa-ø ɲayi-ɲa ṯupu-ø

morning-LOC see-PART smoke-ABS

In the morning (he) saw the smoke.

57. ṯupa-ŋa-ɲa / ṯuřu paṛaʧi-ø ḍařa-ɲani

smoke-PROD-PART fire light-ABS light-REL$_{ds}$

It was smoking since (they) had lit the fire.

58. kaku-ya kaḍi-ya ṯuřu-ø yařki-yi ṉawu-ka waři̱ṯa
eZ-GEN ZH-GEN fire-ABS burn-PRES SgnFS-SUBSET distant
"That is the sister and brother-in-law's fire burning far off".

59. ṉayi-ṇa karakaṛa [first] ṯuřu-ø ṉulu pulaṇi-ø /
see-PART close fire-ABS SgnFA D1GEN-ABS
waḍayari pula ṯuraṛa-ṇa paḷka-ṇani
where D1S lie-PART go on-REL$_{ds}$
At first he saw their fire close where they were sleeping as they went along (on their journey).

60. ṯupu-ø ṉayi-ṇa ṯaŋkuṯaŋkupaṇa-ø
smoke-ABS see-PART morning-LOC
He saw the smoke in the morning.

61. ŋaḍa ṉulu pulu-ḷu ṉayi-yi [then] ṯuřu-ø /
then SgnFA cannot-STILL see-PRES fire-ABS
waři̱ṯa-ḻa pula wapa-ṇani
distant-NI D1S go-REL$_{ds}$
Then he could not see the fire any more because they had gone too far away.

62. ḍiṯi marapu ŋama-ṇa ṉaka-ø ṉawu
sun many sit-PART there-LOC SgnFS
He sat there many days.

63. ŋaḍa-ni paya-ali ṉiṉa kuna-ali ṯuripa-yi piṭa miri
then-LOC bird-ERG SgnFO shit-ERG pour over-PRES tree above
Then some birds poured shit all over him at the top of the tree.

64. kaɽawaṛa-ali kawalka-ali ṯuripa-ŋa / waɽu-l̻a
eaglehawk-ERG crow-ERG pour on-PART white-NI
ŋama-ŋama-ṯaɽi-ŋaṉṯu ṉawu
REDUP-sit-DUR-IMPL$_{ds}$ SgnFS
The eaglehawk and crow poured (it on him) so he was sitting all white now[1].

65. ŋaḍa-ni pulu ṉayi-yi
then-LOC cannot see-PRES
Then he could not see.

66. ŋaḍa-ni kanku-ya ṉiyi mandɽu-ø pula wapa-yi
then-LOC boy-GEN eB two-ABS DlS go-PRES
Then the boy's two brothers were walking about.

67. mandɽa-ø ma l̻anʈi ŋana-yi
stomach-ABS bad be-PRES
"My stomach is upset".

68. kuŋu-ø yaṯa-yi
one-ABS say-PRES
One said:

---

[1] Eaglehawk and crow recur as partners in the myths of many Australian groups. See Mathew (1899) for example (also Blows (1975)).

69. miṉa-ri-yi-ku ŋaldřaṇi ŋaṯata-ø
what-INCH-PRES-SENSE 1D1inclGEN yS-ABS
"Something must have happened to our younger brother.[1]

70. ŋaldřa mayi wapa-yi ṯaŋkupaṇa-ø / ṉayi-ḻa
1D1inclS well go-PRES tomorrow-LOC see-IMPL$_{ss}$
Let's go tomorrow to see (him)".

71. yundřu ŋaɲṯa-yi / wapa-ḻa / wani-ṉṯi-ḻa
2SgA want-PRES go-IMPL$_{ss}$ follow-SEQ-IMPL$_{ss}$
ŋaldřa
1D1inclA
"Do you want to go so we can follow after (him)?".

72. kawu
yes
"Yes"

73. yaṯa-yi pula
say-PRES D1S
They said.

74. ṯuraṛa-ṇa / ṯaŋkuṯaŋkupaṇa-ø wapa-ḻa / ḏiʈi-ø-ṯa
sleep-PART morning-LOC go-IMPL$_{ss}$ sun-ABS-DI

---

[1] Physical discomfort is taken by Aborigines of this area as an indication that something untoward has happened to their relatives. Notice the use of the -ku clitic indicating that the statement is based on sensory evidence (see 5.4.7).

yaḷa-wa ṉawu ḍuṇka-ṇaṉṯu / wapa-ṇani-ḻa

elsewhere-DIST SgnFS emerge-IMPL$_{ds}$ go-REL$_{ds}$-NI

(They) slept to go in the morning. As the sun was coming up over there, they were going[1].

75. pula wapa-yi

DlS go-PRES

They went.

76. ḍiṯi paḷpa ṯuraṛa-ṇa paḷka-yi

sun some lie-PART go on-PRES

They slept on their journey for some days.

77. ɳaḍa-ni ṉayi-yi

then-LOC see-PRES

Then they saw (something)

78. miṉa ṉawu-paña-awu?

what SgnFS-THAT-EXCLAM

"What is that?"

79. ɳaṯata ṉawu-maṯa

yS SgnFS-IDENT

"That's (our) younger brother"

---

[1] I have translated this as two sentences in English. In Diyari these four clauses comprise one complex sentence with multiple subordination (see 5.2).

80. kaḍi-ali kaku-ali waraṛa-ṇa waṉṯi-ṇa
ZH-ERG eZ-ERG leave-PART AUX-PART
"The brother-in-law and elder sister have left (him behind).

81. ṉawu-wa ŋaṯa-ŋaṯata ŋaldr̃aṇi-ayi
SgnFS-DIST REDUP-yS 1Dlincl GEN-EXCLAM
He is our little younger brother!"

82. miṉa-ŋanka-l̪a ŋana-yi ŋaldr̃a ṉiṉa
what-CAUSE-FUT AUX-PRES 1Dlincl A SgnFO
"What shall we do with him?"

83. waṟu-ri-ṇa ṯaṟi-yi ṉawu
white-INCH-PART ?-PRES SgnFS
"He is all white.

84. paya-ali ṉiṉa kuna-lka-ṇa wara-yi
bird-ERG SgnFO shit on-TR-PART AUX-PRES
The birds have shat on him."

85. waṟu-l̪a ṉawu ŋama-ŋama-yi piṭa miri
white-NI SgnFS REDUP-sit-PRES tree above
"He's sitting (there) white at the top of the tree.

86. miṉa-ŋanka-l̪a ŋana-yi ŋaldr̃a
what-CAUSE-FUT AUX-PRES 1Dlincl A
What shall we do?"

87. miri-miri maḷa ŋawu-paña

REDUP-above truely SgnFS-THAT

"He's right at the very top".

88. miŋa yini ?

what 2SgS

"What are you?"

89. ŋani waña ŋaɲaɲṭu

1SgS left-hand

"I'm left-handed[1]*".*

90. ŋani ŋaḷa ŋuɲaṛi

1SgS but right-hand

"But I'm right-handed"

91. kuṇu-ø-ṯa yaṯa-ṇa waṉṯi-yi

one-ABS-OI say-PART AUX-PRES

One said.

92. mayi ŋaldña ṉiŋa yinka-ø-maṯa miŋa-ya-ŋanka-ḻa

well 1Dlincl A SgnFO string-ABS-IDENT what-DUB-CAUSE-FUT

"Well, let's make this string into something or other.

---

[1] I do not know what significance attaches to one brother being left-handed and the other being right-handed.

93. ṉiṉa payiři-ŋanka-l̪a ŋaldřa
SgnFO long-CAUSE-FUT 1Dlincl S
Let's make it long".

94. ŋaḍa-ni pulali wara-yi yinka-ø
then-LOC D1A throw-PRES string-ABS
Then they threw the string.

95. wara-ṇa ṉuŋkaŋu kanku-ya
throw-PART SgnF-ALL boy-ALL
(They) threw (it) to the boy.

96. ṉulu ŋaḍa-ni paḍa-yi yinka-ø
SgnFA then-LOC catch-PRES string-ABS
Then he caught the string[1].

97. ŋaḍa-ni ṉawu ŋaṛi-yi yinka-ni
then-LOC SgnFS go down-PRES string-LOC
Then he came down on the string.

98. wařu-l̪a / wařu-l̪a ŋaṛi-ṇa / pulali pařuma-ṇa
white-NI white-NI go down-PART D1A pull-PART

---

[1] Notice that in line 65 the boy was blinded by the shit covering him all over. In another version of this story which I recorded from Rosa Warren two years later the elder of the two brothers stands at the bottom of the tree while the younger one climbs up and gets the younger brother.

ŋaṛi-ṇani

go down-REL$_{ds}$

White, (he) came down white as the two of them pulled him down.

99. mayi kira-ø-l̪a mani-ṇa wan̪t̪i-yi pulali /

well boomerang-ABS-NI get-PART AUX-PRES D1A

ṇandřa-ṇandřa-l̪a-t̪a n̪iṇa

REDUP-hit-IMPL$_{ss}$-OI SgnFO

Well, they got a boomerang and hit him all over.

100. wařu / kuna / paya kuna

white shit bird shit

White, shit, bird shit.

101. miṇa-ŋanka-ṇa wan̪t̪i-yi kaku-ali kaḍi-ali yiṇa

what-CAUSE-PART AUX-PRES eZ-ERG ZH-ERG 2SgO

"What did elder sister and brother-in-law do to you?"

102. kuna-ali t̪uripa-ṇa wan̪t̪i-yi yinaṇa / paḍaka-ṇa

shit-INST pour over-PART AUX-PRES 2SgO bring-PART

wan̪t̪i-ṇa yinaṇa / waraṛa-ṇa t̪ika-l̪a

AUX-REL$_{ss}$ 2SgO leave-PART return-IMPL$_{ss}$

(They) poured shit all over you, having brought you (here) to leave you as they went back."

103. ŋaḍa-ni maṇi-ali wiři-ipa-yi pulali

then-LOC fat-INST paint-TR-PRES D1A

Then they painted (him) with fat[1].

104. ŋaḍa-ni ṯuraṛa-yi / ṯaŋkuṯaŋkupaṇa-ø wapa-l̪a
then-LOC lie-PRES morning-LOC go-IMPL$_{ss}$
Then they slept in order to go in the morning.

105. mayi / yini maʈa-maʈa yini
well 2SgS alright-IDENT 2SgS
"Well, are you alright?".

106. kawu / maʈa ŋani
yes alright 1SgS
"Yes, I'm alright".

107. ŋuñuŋuñu-l̪a
strong-NI
"(I'm) strong now".

108. waḍayari-ø yundñu n̪ayi-ṇa wara-yi
where-LOC 2SgA see-PART AUX-PRES
"Where did you see (them)?".

109. n̪uŋkaŋu-wa ŋaṯu n̪ayi-n̪ayi-yi / ṯuñu-ø
SgnFLOC-DIST 1SgA REDUP-see-PRES fire-ABS

---

[1] Informants explained that they rubbed the younger brother down with the fat of goanna and frill necked lizard.

yařki-yařki-ʈaři-ɳani

REDUP-burn-DUR-REL$_{ds}$

"Over that way I watched the fire burning".

110. ŋayana wapa-yi ɳuŋkaŋu

1P1inc1S go-PRES SgnF-ALL

"Let's go over there".

111. wařaŋaɲʈu-ni ŋaʈu ɳaka-ø ɳiɳa ɳayi-ɳayi-yi /

left-hand-LOC 1SgA there-LOC SgnFO REDUP-see-PRES

ʈuřu-ø-ʈa yařki-ɳani

fire-ABS-OI burn-REL$_{ds}$

"I saw the fire burning over there on the left".

112. ŋaḍa-ni ʈana wapa-yi / ḍiʈi paḷpa ʈuraṛa-ʟa

then-LOC P1S go-PRES day some lie-IMPL$_{ss}$

Then they went and slept some days.

113. ɳiŋki-ya-ø-maʈa ŋaʈu ɳayi-ya-ʈa

here-NEAR-LOC-IDENT 1SgA see-PAST-OI

"I saw (them) here".

114. pani ɳawu-ya

nothing SgnFS-NEAR

"There's nothing here".

115. paku-ṇa-ṯa ṉiṉa miṯa-ø

dig-PART-OI SgnFO ground-ABS

(They) dug the ground (where the fire had been).

116. waru-ḻa ṉawu-ya

long ago-CHAR SgnFS-NEAR

"This one is old".

117. ṯuraṛa-ṇa / yiřʈi-ḻa

lie-PART get up-IMPL$_{ss}$

(They) slept and got up.

118. ŋaḍa-ni... miṯa ṯuřuṯuřu-ku ṉawu-ya

then-LOC ground hot-SENSE SgnFS-NEAR

Then... "The ground here is hot".

119. ḍiʈi kuṇu-ḻa ṉawu-ya kaɲa ṯuřutuřu-ø

sun one-CHAR SgnFS-NEAR ash hot-ABS

"These warm ashes are (from) one day (ago)".

120. wapa-ṇa [again] / ṯuraṛa-ṇa paḷka-ṇa

go-PART lie-PART go on-REL$_{ss}$

They went again, sleeping as they went along.

121. maʈa-ku ṉawu-ya

OK-SENSE SgnFS-NEAR

"This is it here!".

122. ʈuřuʈuřu ŋaʃi / kaŋa ʈuřuʈuřu-ø
hot a little ash hot-ABS
"(It's) a little hot, hot ashes".

123. ʈina-ali wapa-ɳa [again]
foot-INST go-PART
(They) went again on foot.

124. maʃa-ku ɳawu-ya
alright-SENSE SgnFS-NEAR
"This is it here!.

125. ʈuřuʈuřu maɻa
hot truely
It's really hot.

126. piɻa-ø ɳawu-ya maʃa mařa-mařa-ʈaři-yi-ɭa-ku
coal-ABS SgnFS-NEAR already REDUP-glow-DUR-PRES-NI-SENSE
These coals are glowing alright.

127. maʃa-ʈa yařki-yi-ɭa-ku ɳawu ʈuřu-ʈa
already-OI burn-PRES-NI-SENSE SgnFS fire-OI
The fire has just been burning!"

128. maʃa ʈana wapa-ɳa
already P1S go-PART
Then they went.

129. ɲawu-ya-ku ŋura-ʈa

SgnFS-NEAR-SENSE camp-OI

"This is the camp!

130. ɲawu-ya-ku ŋura-ø-ʈa wařiʈa-ndřu ɲayi-iŋa-ɲa

SgnFS-NEAR-SENSE camp-ABS-OI distant-SCE see-PROL-PART

This is the camp I saw from far away[1]*".*

131. wapa-ɲa-ļu

go-PART-STILL

They went on.

132. ŋura-ya wapa-ɲa-ļu / ʈuřu-ø mani-ɲani kaku-ali

camp-ALL go-PART-STILL fire-ABS get-REL_{ds} eZ-ERG

kaɖi-ali / ŋura-ø kuřa-ļa / ʈuraɽa-ļa

ZH-ERG camp-ABS put-$IMPL_{ss}$ sleep-$IMPL_{ss}$

They went on to the camp where the elder sister and brother-in-law were getting wood to make a camp to sleep.

133. maʧa ʈana wakaɽa-ɲa paļka-yi ŋura-ni /

already P1S come-PART go on-PRES camp-LOC

kaɖi-ali-ʈa ʈuřu-ø-ļa ŋanka-ɲani / katu-ø-ļa

ZH-ERG-OI fire-ABS-NI make-REL_{ds} windbreak-ABS-NI

---

[1] Notice that -iŋa- PROL (see 4.5.4.2) indicates relative motion but in this case it was the object (the camp) which was moving rather than the agent (since each camp was getting further away from the boy as he stood at the top of the tree).

ŋanka-ŋani

make-REL$_{ds}$

Just as they came to the camp the brother-in-law was making a fire (and) making a windbreak.

134. mayi / miŋa-ni wakaṛa-yi

well what-LOC come-PRES

"Hey, why have you come?".

135. waraṛa-ŋa-kayi yula ŋiŋa-ya kanku-ø

leave-PART-EXCLAM 2D1A SgnFO-NEAR boy-ABS

"You two left this boy, didn't you".

136. maḷa yula paḍaka-ŋa ŋiŋa

truely 2D1A bring-PART SgnFO

"You took him

137. yula waraṛa-ŋa

2D1A leave-PART

(And) you left him.

138. miŋa-ndr̃u-ḷa ?

what-SCE-NI

Why?"

139. ŋaka-ø pulaŋa ŋandr̃a-yi [then]

there-LOC D1O hit-PRES

(They) hit them (two) there then.

140. ṉiyi mandřu-ali kaku-ø-ṯa ŋaṯata-ø-ṯa ṇandřa-ṇa ṉaka-ø

eB two-ERG eZ-ABS-OI yS-ABS-OI hit-PART there-LOC

/ ŋaṯata-ṯa kaḍi-ṯa

yS-OI ZH-OI

The two brothers hit the elder sister and brother-in-law there, the younger brother-in-law[1].

141. ṉari-ŋanka-ṇa kuřa-yi

dead-CAUSE-PART go away-PRES

(They) killed (them) going away.

142. maʧa muḍa-yi

already finish-PRES

That's the finish[2].

---

[1] Notice that ŋaṯata kaḍi is added as an after thought in order to explain that the brother-in-law was younger than (ŋaṯata is younger sibling) the two elder brothers who did the killing (see 5.1.1.2).

[2] Informants did not know what happened after the brother-in-law and sister had been dispatched. They said "we didn't hear about that from the old people".

TEXT FOUR

DHIRARI

The following short Dhirari text was recorded by Ben Murray. It was the story of an encounter between Ben and a ṯinanipa or kurdaitcha man (man on a revenge expedition (piṇa)), at Farina (wiřawaṭaṉa) when the latter came up to Ben's house looking for food. Ben fired a shot at him with a .22 rifle and he ran away losing his kurdaitcha shoe (maḻṯara). He returned the next morning to retrieve it.

Two other Dhirari texts are to be published in Hercus and Sutton (forthcoming).

TEXT FOUR ENCOUNTER WITH A KURDAITCHA MAN

DHIRARI BEN MURRAY

1. muku-ø kuña-ṇḍa puñi-ṇḍa waṉṯi-yi muḻa-ni
bone-ABS put-PART AUX-PART AUX-PRES nose-LOC
They used to put a bone in their noses[1].

2. yani-ka ŋayana ḍika-ṇḍa puñi-yi ṯinanipa-ø
like this-TOKEN 1P1inclA name-PART AUX-PRES kurdaitcha-ABS
So we call them kurdaitcha.

3. kaṇa maḻa / kaṇa
person true person
(They were) real people, people.

4. kaṯi-ø ṯana wiñi-ṇḍa puñi-yi
clothes-ABS P1A wear-PART AUX-PRES
They used to wear clothes.

5. ŋaḍa-ni kaṯi-ø ḍukaṛa-ṇḍa puñi-yi / paḻu
then-LOC clothes-ABS take off-PART AUX-PRES naked

---

[1] The kurdaitcha men used to put a bone through the nasal septum. String (yinka) was tied to each end of the bone, placed along the forehead and top of the head and tied at the back of the neck. This pulled up the nose and upper lip exposing the upper teeth, creating a distinctive and frightening appearance.

wapa-ṇḍa puři-l̪ali / ŋan̪t̪i t̪uŋka-ali wiři-ṇḍa
go-PART AUX-IMPL$_{ss}$ meat rotten-INST paint-PART

puři-ṇḍa
AUX-REL$_{ss}$

Then (they) took off (their) clothes to walk around naked painted with some rotten meat[1].

6. n̪awu t̪ařka-ṇḍa puři-ṇḍa / ŋan̪a n̪ayi-ṇḍa
SgnFS stand-PART AUX-PART 1SgO see-PART

puři-l̪ali / mawa-ali ŋana-ṇḍa puři-ṇḍa
AUX-IMPL$_{ss}$ hunger-INST be-PART AUX-REL$_{ss}$

He stood (there) hungry and watched me.

7. ŋat̪u maḍa-ø mani-ṇḍa puři-yi
1SgA stone-ABS get-PART AUX-PRES

I got a stone[2].

8. n̪iŋki-wa-ø yařa ŋat̪u ḍandřa-ḍa puři-yi
here-DIST-LOC THAT WAY 1SgA hit-PART AUX-PRES

I fired (it) that way, over there.

---

[1] The kurdaitcha men rubbed their bodies with the rotten fat of a dead animal. This gave them a strong smell, as line 17 indicates.

[2] It is interesting that maḍa 'stone' is used here as a generic (see 4.2.1) to refer to a rifle.

Notice that 1SgA is given as ŋat̪u here. This is the Diyari pronoun (see 4.3.2). The correct Dhirari form is ŋat̪i which appears in lines 19 and 20. The use of ŋat̪u was a slip.

9. ṉawu kuḍiŋka-ḍa puři-ṇḍa / ṉulu ṯina
SgnFS run-PART AUX-REL$_{ss}$ SgnFA foot
maḻṯara ṉuŋkaṇi-ø ṯiṉṯa-ḍa puři-yi
shoe type SgnFGEN-ABS lose-PART AUX-PRES
When he ran off he lost his kurdaitcha shoe.

10. ṉawu ŋaṛi-ṇḍa puři-yi / kaṛiři-ni ŋama-ṇḍa
SgnFS go down-PART AUX-PRES creek-LOC sit-PART
puři-ḻali / ṯuraṛa-ṇḍa puři-ḻali
AUX-IMPL$_{ss}$ lie-PART AUX-IMPL$_{ss}$
He went down to camp in the creek and sleep.

11. ṯaŋkupaṇa-ø ṉawu ṯika-ṇḍa puři-yi / ṉuŋkaṇi
tomorrow-LOC SgnFS return-PART AUX-PRES SgnFGEN
maḻṯara-ø mani-ṇḍa puři-ḻali
shoe type-ABS get-PART AUX-IMPL$_{ss}$
Next morning he came back to get his shoe.

12. ŋakaŋu yaṯa-ṇḍa puři-yi
1SgLOC speak-PART AUX-PRES
(He) said to me[1].

13. ŋani mawa-ali ŋana-ṇḍa puři-yi
1SGS hunger-INST be-PART AUX-PRES
"I am hungry".

---

[1] He actually spoke in Ararnda (Arunta) of which Ben knows a little. For this text he translated what the ṯinanipa said into Dhirari.

14. ŋaṯu ṉiṉa puka-ø yiŋki-ḍa puři-yi / ṉawu
1SgA SgnFO food-ABS give-PART AUX-PRES SgnFS
ṯika-ṇḍa puři-yani
return-PRES AUX-IMPL$_{ds}$

I gave him some food so he could go back.

15. ṉawu ṯika-ṇḍa puři-yi puka-ṉṯu-ø-ḻa /
SgnFS return-PART AUX-PRES food-PROP-ABS-NI
kaṯi-ṉṯu-ø-ḻa ṉawu wapa-nda puři-ṇḍa
clothes-PROP-ABS-NI SgnFS go-PART AUX-REL$_{ss}$

He went back with the bread, going with clothes on now.

16. ṉiŋki-ḍa-ø ṉawu ṯařka-ṇḍa puři-yi ṉiṉta paḷu
here-VICIN-LOC SgnFS stand-PART AUX-PRES shame naked
kaṯi pani / kaḷṯi-ø ṉiṉa yaṛu-ka paḍa-ṇḍa
clothes none spear-ABS SgnFO like that-TOKEN hold-PART
puři-ṇḍa
AUX-REL$_{ss}$

Here he stood shamelessly naked with no clothes on holding a spear like that.

17. ŋaṯu ṉiṉa ṉayi-ṇḍa puři-ṇḍa / paṇi-ma-ṇḍa puři-ṇḍa
1SgA SgnFO see-PART AUX-PART smell-TR-PART AUX-PART
wara-ṇḍa / ṉawu wapa-ṇḍa puři-ṇḍani
AUX-REL$_{ss}$ SgnFS go-PART AUX-REL$_{ds}$

I saw him having smelled him coming.

18. ɲiŋki-paña-ø ʈaña-ɳɖa puñi-yi

here-THERE-LOC stand-PART AUX-PRES

He stood here.

19. ŋaʈi makita-ø mani-ɳɖa puñi-yi

1SgA gun-ABS get-PART AUX-PRES

I got a gun.

20. ŋaɖa ŋaʈi ɖandña-ɖa puñi-yi yaɽu-ya yaña

then 1SgA hit-PART AUX-PRES like that-NEAR that way

Then I fired (it) that way like that.

APPENDIX B - SONGS

I have been able to record approximately fifty Diyari songs, from two informants. Unfortunately, no-one recalled any Dhirari songs.

The Diyari songs can be sub-divided into two categories:

a) non-indigenous songs

These are a score or so Christian hymns sung by Mrs. Selma Thompson (ṯaṟipaṇakaḏani). They are all translations into Diyari of German hymns done by the Lutheran missionaries last century (see 1.3) and are sung to their original tunes. A representative is:

HYMN - sung to the tune of "Silent Night"

1.	ṯinkani ŋumuni	night-LOC good-LOC
	[Bethlehem] ŋurani	Bethlehem camp-LOC
	maṛiyandṟu ḏankaṇa waṉṯiyi	Mary-ERG find-PART AUX-PRES
	ŋaṉṯi puŋa maḻaɳṭani	meat humpy bad-LOC
	ŋaṯani kuḷikiṟi	child clean
	ŋaṯani kuḷikiṟi	child clean

Free translation:

'On a good night in Bethlehem camp a holy (lit. clean) child was born to Mary in a bad animal house'.

2.	ṯinkani ŋumuni	night-LOC good-LOC
	aŋilawaṛali	angel-PL-ERG
	kawukawupayi	REDUP-announce-PRES
	[Jesus] ḏankaṇa warayi	Jesus find-PART AUX-PRES

Free translation:

'On a good night the angels announce that Jesus is born'.

There are a few features of these hymns which are not found in the other Diyari I have recorded, mainly the innovation of vocabulary for post-contact terms e.g. kuḷikiñi 'clean' for 'holy'.

b) indigenous songs

The late Mr. Leslie Russel[1] (waŋapulaṇa) sang me twenty-three songs which he had composed and which he called kunañi wima, that is, 'Cooper's Creek songs' (see 1.1.2).

The songs consist of two to four lines or verses, each of four syllables (see 3.3.1). Between each group of two syllables a nonsense syllable [ŋɛ:] is inserted. A song may begin at any line and is repeated as often as is desired. When the singer wishes to breathe he sings the first three syllables of a line and adds a glottal stop (i.e. the glottal stop replaces the last syllable of that line). So, for example, song 6 (see over) could be ended:

[1] He and his "cousin" Mr. Jimmy Russel (waŋamiriṇa) sang some of these to Dr. L.A. Hercus in 1968. Hercus and my recordings form the basis for part of Donaldson (ms.).

malṯa [ŋɛ:] ña̠ña [ŋɛ:]

paru [ŋɛ:] pa [ʔ]

All the verses of each song are sung exactly the same. The tune has been described in Moyle (1977) which also contains musical transcriptions.

Each song describes a particular event which happened when Mr. Russel was a young man, for example, the return of an ochre expedition from Parachilna (see 1.2 above) or the drilling of Mt. Gason bore on the Birdsville track. Some features of the songs are of linguistic interest:

a) the songs provide evidence for the existence of uninflected verb roots. All verbs occur with an inflection in the normal spoken language (see 4.5.5 and 4.5.7.1.1) however in the songs no tense or mood inflections are attached to the verbs (probably because of the four syllables per line restriction). So, for example, we find:

kari- 'to chase' (song 1)

ḍiya- 'to strike' (song 2)

walki- 'to move to and fro' (song 4)

kuña- 'to put' (song 5)

b) words of four syllables are broken into two sets of two syllables. This means that consonant clusters, which are not possible word initially (3.3.1), are possible syllable-set initially. For example, ŋunaṇḍula 'Crinum lily' becomes:

ŋuna [ŋɛ:] ŋ̣ḍula [ŋɛ:]

c) words of three syllables must have a syllable added to make them fit a full line. This generally involves simple repetition of the final syllable as in song 6 where maḷṭaña 'pinya shoes' becomes:

maḷṭa [ŋɛ:] ñaña [ŋɛ:]

We also find kapiñi 'goanna' becoming (in song 3):

kapi [ŋɛ:] ñiñi [ŋɛ:]

Occasionally the New Information clitic -ḷa (5.4.6) is added to tri-syllables to make up the number of syllables. An example is the first line of song 2 below.

The following are six representative kunañi wima. It is hoped that the full set of songs can be transcribed and explained in the near future.

1.	kunmi yali	haze-ERG
	ŋaŋa kari	1SgO chase
	kuru kuru	secretly
2.	piŋa liḷa	revenge party-ERG-NI
	ŋaŋa ḍiya	1SgO strike
	ṭaḷi ṭaḷi	tongue tongue

3.	miṉa ʈuʈu	what reptile
	malka	mark
	kapi ɾiɾi	goanna
4.	piḷi piḷi	REDUP-bag
	malka kuɾa	mark-ABS put
	ʈapu ʈapu	REDUP-bag
	ṉawu walki	SgnFS move to and fro
5.	paḍi malka	grub mulga-ABS
	wiḍi kuɾa	row put down
6.	maḻṯa ɾaɾa	piṉa shoes
	paru paru	yellow ochre yellow ochre

Translations and Explanations[1]

In this section free translations of the songs and an explanation of their contexts will be given.

1. *'The haze chases me, sneaking up'* - this song is about a time when Leslie Russel was out by himself and saw the heat haze in the distance. He pictures it as a group of men stealing up on him.

[1] Donaldson (ms.) discusses the difficulties involved in translating and interpreting these songs.

2. *'The revenge party hits me (and) my tongue (sticks out)'* - Leslie Russel's uncle (mother's brother) was killed by a piṇa revenge party and in this song he takes the uncle's part describing the event. The last line refers to the victim's tongue protruding after he is killed "just like a bullock".

3. *'What reptile is that with a mark? (It's) a goanna'* - this song is about hunting for goannas and the sighting of the quarry.

4. *'The little bag has a mark drawn on it. The little bag moves to and fro'* - this describes a scene at a corroboree where people are dancing. The performers have little bags with marks drawn on them and as they dance the bags move to and fro.

5. *'The mulga grubs are put down in a row'* - this describes the results of a successful day's food gathering. The results of the day's efforts are laid down near the fire to be cooked in the ashes.

6. *'(I see) the* piṇa *revenge party shoes and the yellow ochre'* - this song also describes a revenge party, about to set out on its journey. Leslie Russel focuses on the maḻṯaña

'kurdaitcha shoes' and the yellow ochre each man is painted with.

As these translations and explanations show the songs are highly elliptical and require detailed expositions to be fully understood.

APPENDIX C - LOAN WORDS

Speakers of Diyari regularly use a number of words which are borrowings from other languages. We can discern two sources for these borrowed words:

a) other Australian languages - there are two clear loans of this type:

kupula 'alcohol, beer, wine; bottle' - borrowed from one of the Victorian languages (see footnote page 106)

ṉaṉṭu 'horse' - borrowed from the Adelaide language where it means 'kangaroo' (Teichelmann and Schurmann (1840: 27)).

b) English - I have recorded approximately forty English loan words regularly used by all Diyari speakers. The words have had their phonetic form reshaped to meet Diyari phonotactic and word structure constraints (see 3.3.2, 3.5) in the following ways:

i) if the English word ends in a consonant a vowel is added to meet the word final open syllable constraint (3.3.1, 3.5). The vowel may be /i/ as in :

piki	'pig'
pulaŋkiti	'blanket'
ʧapuli	'shovel'
ʧipi	'sheep'
ʧukiʧuki	'chicken (from 'chook')'
kamuli	'camel'
kiki	'cake'
ɲili	'needle'
wiki	'week'

or /a/ as in:

puṭa	'boot'
puluka	'bullock'
patika	'paddock'
ʧata	'shirt'
kapula	'hobble'
makita	'gun (from 'musket')'
n̲ayipa	'knife'
waʧa	'wash'
yur̤upa	'rope'

ii) English fricatives are reflected as stops in the Diyari loans. Thus we have [ʃ] and [tʃ] rephonologized as /ʧ/ as in:

[ʃ]	ʧuka	'sugar'
	ʧipi	'sheep'
	waʧa	'wash'
[tʃ]	ʧukiʧuki	'chicken (chook)'
	ʧaṛuña	'trousers'

and [f] and [v] are rephonologized as /p/, as in:

paḷawa	'flour'
ṉayipa	'knife'
wayipala	'white man (from 'white fella')'
ʧapuli	'shovel'

iii) English voiced stops are usually reflected as (phonetic) voiceless stops, both word initially, as in:

paka	'tobacco (from 'bacca')'
paŋka	'bunk'
puluka	'bullock'
puṭa	'boot'

and intervocalically, for example:

patika	'paddock'
piki	'pig'
ʧuka	'sugar'
kapula	'hobble'
naṇikuti	'nanny goat'
yakayita	'gate'

The only exceptions to this are word initial [d] which is reflected as /ḍ/:

ḍaŋki 'donkey'

ḍampa 'damper'

Note that word ititial English [t] becomes /ṯ/ in Diyari because of the restriction on apico-dentals in this environment (see 3.3.2), as in:

ṯiṯi 'tea'

ṯina 'tin'

iv) word initial [ɹ] in English is reflected in two ways. Either, as /ṛ/ which breaks a phonological constraint (see 3.3.2) as in:

ṛapiti 'rabbit'

ṛiŋama 'to telephone' (from 'ring 'em')

or by the addition of /yu/ as in:

yuṛupa 'rope'

There is also one partially assimilated loan where [ɹ] is rephonologized as /l/, again breaking phonotactic constraints (3.3.2). It is:

liŋiliŋi 'bell' (from 'ring ring')

vi) English words with initial vowels also begin with a vowel in their Diyari form. This breaks the consonant initial constraint on all other words (3.3.2, 3.5). Examples are:

aŋkiʈa 'handkerchief' (NB. h elided)

aŋila 'angel'

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