THARGARI PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

by

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National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN: 0 85883 045 0
Thargari/thargaRi/ is an adaptation of the native name /targaRi/ [targaRi]. O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin, Anthropological Linguistics 8:2, Feb. 1966, p.37 and p.111, list other spellings that have been used: Targari, Dargari, Tarkari.

The material upon which this grammar is based was collected during July and August, 1967, in and around Carnarvon, Western Australia. The written corpus consists of about fifteen hundred translated and spontaneous sentences, more than a thousand words in isolation, and sixty notebook pages of text. About ten hours of tape recordings were made, most of which was also transcribed.

Because so little time was available for the fieldwork, I decided to concentrate most on one segment of the grammar, and chose verb morphology. As a result, verb structure is reasonably well attested, while some other aspects, such as the pronoun system, can only be treated in a preliminary way.

My main informant was Chubby Yowadj, who was living then at the East Carnarvon Reserve. Without his qualities of intelligence, patience, and observation, and his interest in seeing the Thargari language recorded and preserved, this grammar could not have been written.

Among the Aborigines, there is a strong traditional interest in languages; at the East Carnarvon Reserve, the good will of the older people especially toward the work that Dr O'Grady and myself were doing made our visits there most enjoyable.

Other informants were Tommy Dodd, of Middalya Station and Carnarvon, Donald from Lyndon Station, and Alec Eagle of Carnarvon. Data on a rather different dialect of Thargari were obtained from Lucy Yowadji in Carnarvon and Darby Yowadj in Onslow; none of this material is included in the present study.

I am grateful to Dr Geoffrey N. O'Grady for much of my training in linguistics and for my introduction to Australian
languages. Both during my Thargari fieldwork and later writing periods, I have benefitted greatly from discussions with him of the material. Some of the information contained in the Introduction was made available to me by Dr O'Grady.

I would like to thank Dr M. Harry Scargill, faculty advisor at the University of Victoria for my Honours B.A. program, for his interest and encouragement. Mr George Grekoff, at the same institution, gave generously of his time in assisting me to solve many problems of analysis, particularly with respect to the morphophonemics. Needless to say, errors and weaknesses which remain are my responsibility alone.

My work on Thargari was financed by National Science Foundation grant GS-1624 to G.N. O'Grady through the Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute, University of Hawaii. The Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra, and the Computing Centres at the Universities of Hawaii and Victoria provided services for which I am grateful.

Terry J. Klokeid

Victoria,
British Columbia,
Canada.
D.S. DAVIDSON  
n.d.  
Comparative vocabularies of 19 Western Australian languages [ms.].
About 270 lexical items are given in phonetic transcription, somewhat underdifferentiated. Thargari is represented by the '1' dialect.

GEOFFREY  
1966  
'Languages of the world: Indo-Pacific fascicle six', *Anthropological Linguistics* 8:2.
This volume contains a two page sketch of '1' Thargari by O'Grady.

G.N. O'GRADY  
1966  
Some '1' Thargari items are cited in comparisons beyond Ngayarda. Thargari is included in a Western Australian cognate density matrix, p.121.
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INTRODUCTION

The Thargari tribe used to live in the area roughly comprising present-day Williambury, Moogooree, Mangarooon, and Minnie Creek sheep stations in Western Australia. This area lies on the Tropic of Capricorn, about one hundred miles northeast of Carnarvon, as indicated on the map.

The number of Thargari speakers has been sharply reduced in historic times, by diseases such as measles and smallpox, and by conflict with incoming European settlers. It is said that on one occasion sixty to seventy Aborigines, two thirds of them Thargaris, gathered for a meeting and were there massacred by some Europeans, who were seeking revenge for the murder of one of their own number.

Today there are little more than a dozen fluent speakers of Thargari. Three speak the dialect analyzed in the present study:

Tommy Dodd, of Carnarvon and Middalya, approximate age 55-60;

Donald, of Lyndon, about 70 years of age;

Chubby Yowadji, of Carnarvon and Cooralya, 65-70 years old.

Mr Dodd states that his sons also speak Thargari. Their names, residences, and ages are not known by the present writer. Some others speak a phonologically different dialect. One feature is that the latter has [ålũ] where the first dialect has [ål̪ũ]. Historically, the 'ål' dialect is more conservative than the 'ål̪' one.

There is some indication that further sub-dialectal divisions exist; no attempt will be made here to delineate them.

According to comparisons made by G.N. O'Grady and the author in July, 1967, Thargari is a member of the Mantharda subgroup, Nyungic group of the PamaNyungan family. In his earlier classification in 1966, p.37 and p.111, O'Grady had tentatively placed Thargari in the Kanyara subgroup.
### Abbreviations and Symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acc</td>
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<tr>
<td>admon</td>
<td>admonitive mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agt</td>
<td>agentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al</td>
<td>allative case</td>
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<td>associative</td>
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<td>see note 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>see note 1.</td>
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<td>causative</td>
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<td>concom</td>
<td>concomitiveness</td>
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<td>ergative case</td>
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<td>J</td>
<td>see note 1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>loc</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>see note 1.</td>
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<td>nominalizer</td>
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<td>past tense</td>
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<td>present tense</td>
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<td>purposive mood</td>
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<td>rel</td>
<td>relative enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>singular number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunct</td>
<td>subjunctive mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subord</td>
<td>subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temp</td>
<td>temporal enclitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usit</td>
<td>usitative aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vb</td>
<td>verb stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vbru, Vbru</td>
<td>etc. verb stem of the specified class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- \[\text{raised dot}\] indicates lengthening of the preceding vowel
- \[/\] phonemic transcription
- \[/\] morphophonemic transcription
Chapter 1. PHONEMICS

1.1 Phoneme inventory

Thargari phonemes are thirty-five in number, comprising twenty-four consonants, six vowels, and five junctures:

Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless stops</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stops</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ȵ</td>
<td>n̄</td>
<td>n̄</td>
<td>n̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>glides</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>ȵ</td>
<td></td>
<td>l̄</td>
<td>R̄</td>
<td>ȳ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ï</td>
<td>ä</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Junctures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interruption</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declarative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2 Articulation

The remarks in this section apply, unless otherwise stated, both to normal utterances and to the rather slow speech such as informants frequently use when addressing the linguist who is taking notes.

1.2.1 The voiceless stops, when intervocalic, are tense and aspirated. In initial position, /p c/ are unaspirated, while /t k/ are aspirated. /r c/ are unreleased when the first member of a consonant cluster.

/ȵ c/ are interdental and palatal affricates, respectively.

/r/ has voiced flap and trill allophones which are in free alternation in most environments with the voiceless stop allophones, and are in fact more frequently occurring. The flap is used in normal conversation and narration, the trill in slow or emphatic speech; the stopped allophones occur in either type of utterance. In consonant clusters, the unreleased stop allophone is used; before a voiced stop it alternates freely with the flap and trill.
1.2.2 The voiced stops of Thargari are fully voiced throughout their articulation. The voiced apical stops /d ɖ/ are rather tense; /b ɓ j g/ are very laxly articulated. It is easy to mishear /j/ a palatal affricated stop, as the glide /γ/. When /d ɖ j/ occur as first member of a consonant cluster, they are unreleased.

/ɡ/ is invariably an interdental affricate.

/g/ varies freely from a lax stop to a fricative, and is further front before /a aː / than before /u uː /.

1.2.3 The nasals are fully nasalized throughout their articulation.

1.2.4 The glides and laterals exhibit no great variation in articulation. In all cases, voicing continues throughout these consonants. /w R y/ are bilabial, retroflex, and palatal semi-vowels respectively; /δ/ is an interdental fricative.

1.2.5 The vowels are in general laxly articulated. Typically, /i iː/ are lower and higher high front unrounded vowels, /a aː / low central and back, and /u uː / lower and higher high back rounded vowels.

Preceding a retroflexed consonant, the vowels are also retroflexed: /i iː/ most markedly, /a aː / to a slighter degree, and /u uː / the least noticeably.

/u uː / are higher high front rounded vowels when preceded or followed by either of the alveolars /r d/.
1.2.6 All junctures share two characteristics: there is a potential for silence, and the first vowel following any juncture is more strongly stressed than others, in relatively slow speech. In the most rapidly spoken utterances observed, the stress differences were leveled, along with the disappearance of all pauses between words.

This allows for a phonological definition of a word in Thargari: a segment bounded by a juncture and itself containing no juncture. The forms isolated in this way correspond to the word as defined in 3.1 Word structure.

Word juncture has only the minimal features of a juncture as outlined above. A word in an utterance is considered to be bounded by this juncture.

Pause juncture /, / is characterized by a rising-falling pitch on the last few syllables of the contour span which it bounds. This juncture most often occurs at a pause in a long utterance.

The interruption juncture /: / is realized as an abrupt halt to the speech flow, accompanied by sustained pitch. Hesitation or uncertainty is often indicated.

The declarative juncture /. / is realized as a drop in pitch. Statements are usually bounded by this juncture.

Interrogative juncture /? / is realized as a continuous rise in pitch. Most questions are bounded by an interrogative juncture.

1.2.7 Summary of allophonic variation. Each circled group of phones constitutes one phoneme. The abbreviations asp. and rel. are aspirated and released, respectively.
Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bi-labial</th>
<th>Inter-dental</th>
<th>Apico-alveolar</th>
<th>Retro-palatal</th>
<th>Dorso-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>Flap</td>
<td>Voiceless asp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unasp. stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unrel.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>Tense rel.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lax</td>
<td>unrel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>rounded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3 Distribution

1.3.1 Syllable shapes in Thargari are /CVC CV/ and /CVC/ syllables do not occur at the end of a word, while /CV/ syllables occupy all positions:

- CVC CV  padga  big
- CV CVC CV  yaganma  spouse
- CV CV CV  kuwaŋi  now, today

1.3.2 Some consonants occur word-initially only in a few English loans or not at all. These are the voiced stop series, all alveolars, and all the retroflexes. On the chart below these phonemes are enclosed by a solid line:
1.3.3 All consonants are attested intervocally except / l / which has been found as first member of a cluster only. Examples may be found in 1.2.1 - 1.2.4.

1.3.4 There is a limited number of consonant clusters. The first member of such clusters is an alveolar, retroflex or palatal, as enclosed by a solid line on the chart below. The second member may be one of the consonants enclosed by the broken lines. Not all possible combinations of these consonants are attested; the clusters found in the corpus¹ are listed below.

Clusters with second member / b /:
/ rb / / pawurba / cicatrices
/ jb / / kujba / sick
/ db / / nurudbari / having a head cold
/ gb / / kudbaru / dust

With second member / m /:
/ n'm / / tudan'ma / tongue
/ nm / / kanma / fish
/ n'm / / n'in'anma / chin

With second member / c /:
/ rc / / furcara / already

With second member / j /:
/ dj / / panja'dji / a good runner
/ dj / / kujjada / butt of spear

¹excluding English loanwords.
With second member / k /:
/ rk / / ḡwarkuđa / toward a sleeping person
/ ck / / waRacku / vegetable food (dative)
/ ṣk / / yanaRarińkaRa / might go

With second member / g /:
/ rg / / cargu / three
/ ḅg / / ḡadga / beard
/ ḧg / / kułgi / girl
/ ḫg / / kalguna / waits

Chapter 2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

There are certain phonemes that alternate with each other under statable conditions. In such cases, it is practical to write a single symbol and to give rules for deriving the actually occurring phonemes in any given instance. Such symbols are said to represent morphophonemes; for consistency, additional morphophonemes are posited which stand in a one-to-one relationship to phonemes not accounted for by the first set of morphophonemes.

All morphophonemically transcribed examples will be written with hyphens to indicate morphological analysis. The hyphen is for clarity only; it is not itself a morphophoneme.

2.1 Morphophoneme inventory

There are 42 morphophonemes posited for Thargari. Seven cover symbols are introduced for use in later sections. Note that the definitions of C, V and J differ somewhat from the definitions of the phonemic cover symbols / C V J /.

C: includes B, M, W
B: p t r t c k
M: m n n n n Y n
W: w ą R Y

V: ą a uś
i· a· u· š·
I: · a
J: space , : . ? ą
2.2 Isomorphic morphophonemes

The following morphophonemes stand in a one-to-one relationship with the phonemes represented by the same symbol:

B: p t r ç c k
b d j g
V: i a u
I: none
J: space , : . ?

2.3 Non-isomorphic morphophonemes

The rules below apply only at morpheme boundaries: in a more rigorous analysis, this restriction would not be necessary. These rules, and the morphophoneme inventory, are undoubtedly incomplete due to gaps in the corpus. For example, it is possible that some of the few stem final occurrences of /n/ may alternate with /d/ in a way parallel to the /n d/ and /nY j/ alternations which motivate the use of /ŋ/ and /ŋY/. The present definition of J does not account for all occurrences of the /ba ma/ increments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in env</th>
<th>is / example</th>
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<tr>
<td>.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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<tr>
<td>₁</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>C_</td>
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<tr>
<td>a_</td>
<td>yağı-iranu sand-free / yağıyiranu /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u_</td>
<td>pağ-iranu lacking money / pağuyiranu /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a_</td>
<td>kajba-iba- hurt it / kujbayiba- /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i_</td>
<td>wakari-ibi meat too / wakari-bi /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>C_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a_</td>
<td>pawa-u water[dat] / pawawu /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u_</td>
<td>ḏu-uyu dog[dat] / ḏu'uwu /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i_</td>
<td>kulgi-u girl[dat] / kulgiyu /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á</td>
<td>a_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i_</td>
<td>ya-ája always falling / wañiyaja/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>á</td>
<td>a_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a_</td>
<td>wakan-đu used to talk / waka-đu /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i_</td>
<td>ya-ádu used to fall / wañiya-đu /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l_</td>
<td>wañarbardi-đu used to give each other things / wañarbariya-đu /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>n_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n_</td>
<td>ḏadan-da on a tongue / ḏadaña /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>n_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other C_</td>
<td>kuḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td><em>d</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_u</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A_</td>
<td>u_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_J</td>
<td>n_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elsewhere</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4 Free variation

There is some sporadic alternation among morphophonemes.

2.4.1 The privative and concomitive morphemes have some alternants which vary freely with each other: -iniya, -ini and -iraŋu, -ira respectively: see 4.4.2 and 5.7.9.

2.4.2 In the case of a few stems, w alternates freely with p, b, or g; for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{puŋi}- & \quad \text{wuŋi}- & \quad \text{hang it} \\
\text{paba} & \quad \text{pawa} & \quad \text{water} \\
\text{cuugu} & \quad \text{cuwu} & \quad \text{throw}
\end{align*}
\]

2.4.3 In a large number of stems and suffixes, ŋ and ñ alternate freely, and l and r do so in a smaller number. For suffixes, both alternants are listed in the morphology chapters.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nuna} & \quad \text{nudo} \quad \text{be lying down or sleeping, be} \\
\text{aŋi} & \quad \text{aŋi} \quad \text{elative} \\
\text{kulaŋ} & \quad \text{kulaŋ} \quad \text{hear}
\end{align*}
\]

2.4.4 The alternants of puni- yana- are in free variation with each other with future inflection: see 5.5[1] for further discussion.

Chapter 3. WORD AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE

3.1 Word structure

There are two kinds of morphemes in Thargari, roots and suffixes. A word consists of a root with or without one or more suffixes.
A root is assigned to one of three stem classes: noun, verb, particle. Besides consisting solely of a root, a stem may be a root plus a stem formative. From the new stem so formed, another stem may be made by suffixing a second stem formative.

The stem classes are defined in terms of combinability with suffix classes. In relative order for word formation, the suffix classes are:

1. stem formatives
2. inflectionals
3. deictics
4. temporal enclitics - two orders
5. connective enclitics

Most inflectionals are divisive for the stem classes, i.e. they occur with all, and only, the members of a single stem class.

Thus, nouns are stems which can be inflected for case.

- ṇūra camp
- ṇūraga in the camp: -ga locative case
- ṇūraga toward camp: -da allative case

Verb stems occur with tense-mood-aspect inflection. This inflection is obligatory, unless the verb stem in question is followed by a stem formative, in which case a new stem is formed.

- warga come, comes: warga- come. ṇa present tense
- wargala will come: -la future tense
- wargada·gud used to come: -da·gud usitative

Particles are not combinable with any inflectional suffix.

- mara still
- wuna far

The following diagram summarizes Thargari word structure, showing relative ordering of the suffix classes. The only obligatorily occurring suffix class is tense-mood-aspect inflection; non-combinability is indicated by a dash —.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>INFLECTION</th>
<th>DEICTIC</th>
<th>ENCLITICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>case</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>tense-mood-aspect</td>
<td>directive</td>
<td>temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>particle</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following words attest the relative orders:

<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1]</td>
<td>ħi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2]</td>
<td>This might be him now.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3]</td>
<td>going to come this way now</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[4]</td>
<td>going now [emphatic]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[5]</td>
<td>[we] stopped altogether</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[6]</td>
<td>because I...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Sentence structure

Numerous references to syntactic constructions are contained in the following chapters. A few general comments at this point will be useful.

A noun phrase consists of one or more nouns. The external syntactic relationship of the noun phrase is often indicated by a case inflection, which generally occurs on only one noun in each noun phrase. A verb phrase consists at minimum of a verb and may also contain various noun phrases and particles in direct object, indirect object, adverbial, and other syntactic relationships to the verb.

A clause contains a predicate [noun phrase or verb phrase], and may contain a subject [noun phrase] plus various clause modifiers [particles and enclitics]. Clauses are considered either independent or dependent. In either type, a nominative noun phrase [4.6.1] or purposive verb phrase [5.7.5] may be the predicate; other verb inflections occur only in one of the two clause types [see chart, 5.].

Most independent clauses contain a subject; the dependent ones may or may not, depending on the inflection [5.7]. Within a clause, word order is quite variable:

- subject object verb 5.7.3 [1]
- subject verb object 5.7.1 [1]
- verb object subject 6.3 [2]

Noun phrases of two or more nouns are frequently broken up within a clause: 4.6.2 [1], 5.6.5 [1].
A dependent clause may in turn have another dependent clause subordinated to it: 5.7.13 [2].

Coordination of clauses is shown in three ways:
[1] with a connective enclitic; chapter 7,
[2] with a coordinating particle: 6.2, or
[3] by juxtaposition of the two clauses: 5.7.3 [8], 6.3[1].

A sentence consists of one or more clauses, at least one of which must be independent. There are two types of sentence constructions: stative and non-stative.

The stative type consists of an independent clause with one or more dependent clauses. The verb in the independent clause may be one of the following morphemes, all of which can be glossed as

- [1] puni- yana- Vb a
- [2] kupa- , Vb yi
- [3] ngu- , Vb yi
- [4] yugari- , Vb a

The dependent clauses then specify the activity of the verb in the independent clause:

- wi·Ramuñiŋu yugara cupay! That kid is swearing.
- wi·Ramuñi -ŋu yugari -a cupa -i. swear subord be, exist pres child emph

- yuŋũũŋũ wi·Ramuñiŋu kupiŋa. They're swearing
- yuŋu n'ũŋũ -i wi·Ramuñi -ŋu kupa -iŋa. that from emph swear subord be, exist pres.

In non-stative constructions, the verbs listed above refer to:
- [1] going, walking
- [2] sitting, staying
- [3] lying down, sleeping

These meanings are often included in the translation of a stative construction by an informant.

Dependent clauses are very frequent in non-stative constructions also. In tape-recorded narration, as many as twenty dependent clauses following an independent clause have occurred. Example 5.6.2 [3] is from a narrated story.
Chapter 4. NOUNS

Noun stems show various types of structures, for example:

[1] noun root:  
cupa child

[2] noun root plus noun stem formative:

cupa -ri the one with a child

cupa -ari child prop

[3] verb root plus noun stem formative:

paña -dji a runner

paña -dji run agt

[4] noun root plus noun stem formative plus noun stem formative:

cupa -di -ari the one having children

child pl prop

The general rule is that a noun stem consists of a noun root or of a stem plus a noun stem formative. Noun stems are grouped into three subclasses:

[1] pronouns:  
ηadi you and I

[2] numerals:  
cargu three

[3] substantives:  
kaja -bju emu

These classes are distinguished by morphological criteria which are enumerated below.

4.1 Pronouns

The pronouns constitute a closed class and are listed here. Some allomorphs of the ergative, dative, and locative cases are selected only by certain pronouns. For convenience these cases are included in the paradigms below; the rules of selection are given in the appropriate sections of 4.6. A question mark indicates that no item is attested for that particular category.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nom</th>
<th>erg</th>
<th>dat</th>
<th>loc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>ɗƏɗa</td>
<td>ɗƏɗa</td>
<td>ɗana-ɬi</td>
<td>ɗɗa-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incl</td>
<td>ɗƏdi</td>
<td>ɗƏdi</td>
<td>ɗadi-ɬa</td>
<td>ɗadi-ɬa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>ɗadi-ɬi-Ru</td>
<td>ɗadi-ɬi-ɬu</td>
<td>ɗadi-ɬi-Ra</td>
<td>ɗadi-ɬi-Ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incl</td>
<td>ɗaguru</td>
<td>ɗaguru-ɗu</td>
<td>ɗaguru-ɬa</td>
<td>ɗaguru-ɬa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl excl</td>
<td>ɗaguru-ɬi-Ru</td>
<td>ɗaguru-ɬi-ɬu</td>
<td>ɗaguru-ɬi-Ra</td>
<td>ɗaguru-ɬi-Ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>ɗura</td>
<td>ɗura</td>
<td>ɗura-ɬa</td>
<td>ɗura-ɬa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>ɗuwaɗu</td>
<td>ɗuwaɗu-Ru</td>
<td>ɗuwaɗu-ɬa</td>
<td>ɗuwaɗu-ɬa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ɗuwaɗu-Ra</td>
<td>ɗuwaɗu-Ra</td>
<td>ɗuwaɗu-Ra</td>
<td>ɗuwaɗu-Ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɗuwaɗu-Ra/ etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near sg</td>
<td>ɗika</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near du</td>
<td>nYaɗaRa</td>
<td>nYaɗaRa-ɗu</td>
<td>nYaɗaRa-ɬa</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nYaɗaRa/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near pl</td>
<td>nYaɗa-ɬuRa</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far</td>
<td>yiŋa</td>
<td>yu-ɗu</td>
<td>yu-ɬi</td>
<td>yu-ɗa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remote</td>
<td>ɗuŋa</td>
<td>ɗu-ɗu</td>
<td>ɗu-ɬi</td>
<td>ɗu-ɗa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>ɗana</td>
<td>ɗana-ɗu</td>
<td>ɗana-ɬa</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɗanu/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>waɗa-ɬa</td>
<td>waɗa-ɬa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/waɗu/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thing</td>
<td>ɗa.</td>
<td>ɗa-ɗu</td>
<td>ɗa-ɬi</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɗa-ɬa/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1 The **first person pronouns** obligatorily distinguish number [singular, dual, plural] and for the non-singular numbers, inclusion or exclusion of the person addressed:

- ɗadi-ɓa-ɬu **only for me and you**
- ɗadi-ɓa-ɬu **only**
- ɗadi-ɬi-ɬuWs-ɬu **only for him and me**
- ɗadi-ɬi-ɬu-ɬu **only**
- ɗadi-ɬi-ɬu-ɬu **only**

---
When the dual exclusive is used, the person other than the speaker is specified optionally by juxtaposing another noun, such as a demonstrative or substantive:

n'ítaru kupa: nadi yi kajađu. Kajardu and I stayed here.

n'íta -ru kupa -ja: nadi -yi kajađu.

here now sit, stay past we du excl Kajardu

4.1.2 The second person pronouns distinguish singular, dual, and plural number:

nura kupama.

nura kupa -ma. Stop. i.e. Stay in my camp

you sg stay imper

nuwadu kupa waka'ni. You two stay and talk

you du kupa -ma waka -aŋi.

4.1.3 The demonstratives are divided into near, far and remote categories. These are relative distances; yiŋa the 'far' demonstrative, may refer to something as near as the speaker's own hand. Only the 'near' category seems to distinguish number. Unlike all the other pronouns [except the inanimate indefinite na], which uniformly have the shape pronoun-ŋa for the accusative case, yiŋa and nupa take no suffix.

ŋaŋa yiŋa waŋi-bal. I'm gonna knock him down.

ŋaŋa yiŋa waŋi -iba -la.

I [erg] that[acc] fall caus fut

curuŋa ŋudu yugarĩŋuru. He's pointing as he stands there.

curuŋa -ŋa ŋu -du yugarĩ -ŋu -ru.

point pres that erg stand subord now

4.1.4 The indeterminates distinguish whether a human, non-human, or location is being referred to.

In declarative sentences, the indeterminates have meanings like 'somebody', 'somewhere'. In a question, an indefinite pronoun has an interrogative meaning: 'who?', 'where?'. The occurrence of an indefinite at the beginning of a sentence signals a question; not all interrogative indeterminates occur sentence initially, however.
4.2 Numerals
The numerals form a closed set of three members:
kayanu one, alone, single
ku'ara two
cargu three
[1] quna yugarani ju'u cargu. There are three dogs facing this way.
quna yugar -a -ni ju'u cargu.
that be, stand pres dir dog three

4.3 Substantives
These constitute an open class, and are grouped into animate and inanimate substantives. The accusative suffix -na is divisive here: it occurs only with animates, the inanimates appearing in the nominative case in positions such as direct object where the accusative is used. See 4.6.1 [2] and [3].

4.4 Noun stem formatives
4.4.1 The proprietive is used productively with noun stems and is in apparently limited productiveness with verb stems. All allomorphic variation is phonologically determined:
The proprietive is used to show possession, when the stem is a noun:

\[ŋa'ça\ kupi'ña\ ŋurudbari.\quad I've\ got\ a\ cold.\]

[1] ŋa'ça\ kupa'\ -i'ña\ ŋuru'n\ -ari.
\[I\ \text{be,sit}\ \text{pres}\ \text{head\ cold}\ \text{prop}\]

[2] \[...\ yaca\ wudi'ña\ yiraRada\ kušara'-ri\ pirimayi'wiari\  yı'na\ yi.\]
\[...\ \text{and another [man] is hanging from the top -he's got two women, that fellow.}\]

\[...\ yaca\ wudi' -ŋu\ yiraRa'-da\ kušara'-ari\ pirimayi'-ari\  yı'na\ -ga\ -yi.\]
\[\text{another\ hang}\ \text{subord}\ \text{top}\ \text{loc}\ \text{two}\ \text{prop}\]

\[\text{womam}\ \text{prop}\ \text{that}\ \text{emph}\ \text{emph}\]

[3] ğu'uwari\ puna\ maçu'.\quad [I'm\ going\ hunting\ with\ dogs.]
\[ğu'u\ -ari\ punu\ -a\ maça\ -ŋu.\]
\[dogs\ \text{prop}\ \text{go, walk}\ \text{pres}\ \text{hunt}\ \text{subord}\]

Two proprietive forms with a verb stem occur in the corpus:

[4] kupa'-ri\ \text{chair, stool}
\[kupa\ -ari\ \text{sit, stay, be}\ \text{prop}\]

[5] Q: ŋa' maçu'?\quad \text{What's that for?}
A: medicine\ kujbamãu, ŋawa'-ri.\ It's\ medicine\ for\ sores,\ for\ rubbing\ on.

\[ŋa'\ -maçu'?\ \text{medicine\ kujba}\ -maçu,\ ŋawa\ -ari.\]
\[\text{what?\ assoc}\ [\text{English}]\ \text{sickness,sores}\ \text{assoc}\ \text{rub, cover}\ \text{prop}\]

4.4.2 The privative forms nouns from nouns.
The meaning of the privative is 'a person or thing lacking or free of so-and-so.'

1. majirjirana ḥadiya kupīra. We've got no matches.
   majir -ira ḥadi -yi kupa -ina.
   matches priv we du excl be,sit pres

2. yanara kupaya ḥuni muḍuga yuwadjirauRa. [Let's] go sit in
   the car, out of the wind.
   go,walk fut sit purp there car the wind priv loc

3. yina yanajani ḥaḍada pugaru, ḥuraga kupiña kayanu yuki-rau.
   He came to my camp for a visit; [I] was there all
   along without someone to copulate with.
   yina yana -ja -ni ḥaḍa -da puga -Ru,
   that go,walk past dir I loc visit purp
   ḥuraga -ga kupa -ina kayanu yuki -rau.
   camp loc be,sit pres one,alone sexual priv

4. ḥaḍa ḥanYa pawayirana.
   I can see the one who has no water.
   ḥaḍa ḥanYa -ina pawa -ira -na.
   I[erg] see pres water priv acc

4.4.3 The suffix -nYunu from occurs only with noun stems and is
most frequently to form a noun stem which refers to people from a
given place.

1. citizenYunukaDa [it] might be from the sky
   citi -nYunu -kaDa [citizenYunu is often used to refer to
sky from perhaps an airplane]
[looking at a photo:] This blackfellow doesn't belong here. He's from there, he's one of the 'north people'. [i.e. from New Guinea].

k'an ɣi·yunu -ŋuŋu.
man, Aborigine not here from
ɣuŋa -aɣi yawuru -ŋuŋu ɣina -ga -yi
that el north from that emph emph

4.4.4 The associative -manu, occurs infrequently in the corpus, each time with a noun stem. The referant is rather vague.

[1] ɣa·manu ɣinaɣi paga? What's this box for?
See also 4.4.1, example [5].

4.4.5 The suffix -nanu one's own is apparently suffixed only to kinship terms, and seems to indicate one's biological kin, as opposed to classificatory relatives:

[1] ɣina yugara muRanaŋuŋa. That must be his son.
ɣina yugari -a muR -nanu -kaɣa.
that be, stand pres son one's own perhaps

[2] ɣuŋa yaca yugarani mayidiŋanu. Another one standing facing this way must be his grandfather.
ɣuŋa yaca yugar -a -ŋi mayidi -nanu.
that another be, stand pres dir grandfather one's own

4.4.6 The agentive forms noun from verb stems.

agt in env is // which in env is /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VbRu-</th>
<th>-dji</th>
<th>-dji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vbru-</td>
<td>-ji</td>
<td>-ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vbyi-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vbgu-</td>
<td>a_</td>
<td>-ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vba-</td>
<td>-aja</td>
<td>-yaja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The agentive is attested with a large number of stems, and forms a noun with the meaning of 'a good doer of so-and-so' or 'a person who often does so-and-so'.
[1] ți-ŋika maŋidji, cupawu maŋiŋu. He's not a good eater, he only eats a little.


4.4.7 The instrumental -dbari is attested with a few verb stems of Ru-class only. The resulting noun stem refers to an instrument.

[1] paru yirgadbari kuriyawa wuŋawuŋa. A chisel is for chiseling a boomerang or shield.

4.4.8 The plural formative occurs with a limited number of noun and verb stems. Its use appears to be optional. Allomorphic alternation is morphologically conditioned:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pl with</th>
<th>is // which is /</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waka- speak, Vbyi</td>
<td>-aŋi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mira- call, Vbyi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ŋura you sg | -agaRa | -gaRa |
| macaŋu woman | -guRa | -guRa |
| ṉY̱i̱ña here | | |
| waŋaŋu young man | | |
| kanY̱ara man, Aborigine | -ɖi | -ɖi |
| cupa child | | |

[1] ŋaŋura kupiRa waka-ŋi kuďukaši kadaŋuru. We're going to have a talk tomorrow just like [today].

[2] ŋuŋa puďiwararu kupiŋa mira-ŋi. They'll be calling out to each other soon.


Those kids hurt my dog.

4.4.9 The nominalizer -ɽi differs from all the above formatives in that it is suffixed to an already inflected word. The new stem so formed may then be inflected for case like any other noun stem:

[1] ŋaŋa ṉY̱i̱ña kupiŋa ŋanayiŋida mayaga. I'm here in my house.

4.4.10 The concomitive, 5.7.9, sometimes functions as a noun stem formative:

[1] ŋana ŋuŋa kupiŋa yaŋaŋu ŋunu ɲana ɲaŋa niyaŋa?

Who's chasing that fellow that's running along?
4.4.1 Reduplication is rare in Thargari. Most apparent instances cannot be matched with any non-reduplicated form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplication Form</th>
<th>Thargari Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>padu</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padubadu</td>
<td>a stony place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no *pudi</td>
<td>white cockatoo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5 Case inflection

There are six cases plus the unmarked nominative. The most important uses of each case are explained below.

4.5.1 For convenience, unmarked nouns are said to be in the

nomina\ tive case.

The subject and predicate in a verbless clause are nominative:

see 4.4.1 [5], 4.4.3 [2], and 4.4.7 [1].

The subject of an intransitive verb is always nominative:

[1] ɳaŋa ɳaka yugari. That one is a mother.

Inanimate substantives and the indefinite pronoun ɳa-

something, what? are nominative in positions where other nouns

would be inflected for the accusative, such as direct object of

most verbs:

[2] ɳaŋa ɳanYaga pawa-ri. I can see the one that's full of water.

I see pres water prop

This may be contrasted with:

[3] ɳaŋa ɳanYaga pawa-riŋa. I can see the fellow who is carrying

water.

4.5.2 The ergative case has the following allomorphs:
The ergative indicates the subject of a transitive verb or the instrument.

[1] ŋaru ŋanayi muyiRa paɗu n'ịa? Who stole my money?
   ŋan -du ŋana -yi muyiRa -n'Ya paɗu n'ịa?
   who? somebod erg I dat steal past money, stone here

   ŋura puśi -nma ŋuŋa ŋuɗu wuŋu -gu.
   you sg [erg] hit imper that dog stick, tree erg

   kanYaRa yu -du wiŋu -ja ŋana -yi ŋuŋu.
   man, Aborigine that erg kill past I dat dog.

4.5.3 The accusative case has a single member morph -ŋa. This inflection has been found in the corpus with pronouns, numerals, and animate substantives only; see 4.5.1, examples [2] and [3]. Most transitive verbs have an accusative direct object, in independent clauses; others require the dative.
[1] ... kuširiya ɲan'agɔ maramaduŋa. [He's] leaving to look for M.
kuširi -ya ɲan'agɔ maramadu -ŋa.
leave go, concom see purp Maramadu acc

The direct object of waša- give, put corresponds to the indirect object of English:

[2] wašara-ɗu ɲaɗaŋa yuɗu kaɗuŋadu. This poor old fellow used to
give me [things].

give, put used I acc that erg poor old fellow erg

4.5.4 The dative case has seven phonemic allomorphs, of which
four are restricted to occurrence with certain pronouns:

| dat with | is // which in env | is /
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɲaɗa I</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲadi-yi</td>
<td>we du excl</td>
<td>-ŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲaŋura-yi</td>
<td>we pl excl</td>
<td>-ŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all other personal pronouns</td>
<td>-ba</td>
<td>-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far and remote demonstrative pronouns</td>
<td>-ŋu</td>
<td>-ŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elsewhere, i.e. near demonstrative and indefinite pronouns, numerals, substantives</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>C_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>u_</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possession may be indicated by dative inflection:

[1] wašada ɲaŋa ɗuɗuwu wakari? Where's that dog's meat?
waša ɲaŋa ɗuɗu -u wakari?
where? someplace that dog dat meat

washa -da ɲura -ba kaɗarigu -u -l ɗaŋi?
where? loc you sg dat grandmother dat emph house
The direct object of a dependent verb is dative:


ŋuŋa puni '-a wišun'y -arariŋu wagaŋu -u.
that go, walk pres kill intentv young man dat


Don't give any food to that fellow who's coming this way quickly.

ɣi. ŋu -ŋu waša -nma waran'm.
not that dat give, put imper vegetable food
ŋuŋa -ara puni '-a -ŋi ɣadigaŋi.
that rel go, walk pres dir quickly


Similarly, the direct object of a nominalized verb is dative:

see 4.4.6 [3] and 4.4.7 [1].

The dative inflection is used to indicate the benefactor of the action expressed by a verb:

[5] ŋura manama ɣanayi. rum. [I said to him:] You get rum for me.
y. yiŋayi wašan'ya ɣanayi pawa. Well! That fellow gave me water.

ŋura mana -ma ɣana -yi. rum.
you sg [erg] get, grab imper I dat [English]
y. yiŋa -yi waša -n'ya ɣana -yi pawa.
attention-getter that emph give, put past I dat water


He's cutting the meat and he's gonna cook it for him and me.

ŋuŋa kupiŋa -ŋa waŋi -ŋu wakaŋi -u
that be, sit pres out subord meat dat
kap -larinu ɣadi -yi -ŋu
cook, burn it intentv we du excl dat.

The indirect object is dative, as illustrated in [5] above.

4.5.5 The locative case has the following allomorphs:
In view of the gaps in the pronoun chart, 4.1, the above generalizations with respect to the pronouns are highly tentative.

The locative indicates place in space or time:

[1] yiŋaga ŋaŋa kan'y'a yiŋa. *I'm carrying this on my head.*
   yiŋa -ŋa ŋaŋa kan'y'a -ŋa yiŋa -ŋa.
   that emph I [erg] carry, bring pres head loc

   *It's suppertime now; Geoffrey is still talking*
   [with another person]
   capa -ŋa -ru ŋuŋa capurĩ kupə -ŋa waka
   supper loc now that Geoffrey be, sit, stay pres speak
   -ŋi mara.
   pl still


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>loc with</th>
<th>is // which in env</th>
<th>is /</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 morae pronouns</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 morae substantives and numerals not ending in C</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 morae pronouns, ŋura-agara you pl. stems ending in C,</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 morae substantives</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 morae substantives</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
<td>-ŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronouns of 3 or more morae except ŋura-agara, substantives of 4 or more morae</td>
<td>-Ra</td>
<td>-Ra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5.6 The allative has the following alternants:

\[
\text{al is} \ // \text{which in env is} / \\
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{-da} & \text{-ku-da} \\
\hline
\text{v-} & \text{-da}
\end{array}
\]

The allative indicates movement towards a place:

   *I'm gonna crawl up to him while he's asleep and scare him.*

   *I that crawl fut lie, be concom al asleep al ? caus purp

This is the only attestation of puwa-; it presumably means be frightened.

4.5.7 The elative has the following alternants:

\[
\text{el is} \ // \text{which in env is} / \\
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{-a-ti,} & \text{a} & \text{a-ti, a-di} \\
\hline
\text{-a-ti} & \text{i-} & \text{-a-ti, -a-di} \\
\text{u-} & &
\end{array}
\]

The meanings expressed by elative inflection are 'from such-and-such a place', 'after such-and-such an event'.

[1] wija-ba-ri-ati from Williambury Station wija-ba-ri-at-
[2] pi-nji-ati after fencing, i.e. mending pi-nji-at-
   fences
[3] ʒi-\text{wa}-ti after [a drink of] tea ʒi-\text{-a-ti}

4.6 Noun deictic

The suffix -ga emphatic may occur with a nominative or inflected noun. It is most commonly found in the corpus with pronouns.

   piniri-ri-ja, ku-duka-ʃi.

   *We cleared out from this Williambury. In the morning the boss ['the white man'] came after us.*
Some additional examples are 4.4.1[2], 4.4.3[2], 4.5.5[1], 5.7.11[3], 5.7.12[4], 7.2.1[1].

Chapter 5. VERBS

Verb stems may consist of a verb root alone, or of a verb, noun, or particle stem plus a verb stem formative:

[1] puɔi hit with hand or held object, kill
    ɣarba enter

[2] puɔi-dbari- strike, kill each other, quarrel -dbari recip
    ɣarba- iba- cause to enter -iba caus

[3] pagaja-ŋi- make it better  pagaja good, -ŋi vbl
    pagaja-ri- get well, improve -ri- intransitivizer


Verb inflection is obligatory; thus verb stems are bound.

Verb stems are grouped into five classes according to their selection of allomorphs of the tense-mood-aspect inflections and certain stem formatives. This is summarized in the table on the next page. Given the present and purposive forms of any verb, it is possible to place it in the proper class.

It is not known to which class the following stems belong:

/ʃυnˈi-/ squeeze. Present is /ʃυnˈiŋ/. mawunˈma- pat [a dog]. Present is mawunˈma-. mura- leave it, abandon it. Present is mura-.
### Name of verb class:

| Ru | ru | yi | gu | a |

### Independent inflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>past</th>
<th>-nYa</th>
<th>-ja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
<td>-ña</td>
<td>-ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>-nma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>-Ru</td>
<td>-ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usitative</td>
<td>da'gu</td>
<td>ra'gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dubitative</td>
<td>larin'kaRa</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Dependent inflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subordinate</th>
<th>-gu</th>
<th>-nu</th>
<th>-gu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>concomitive</td>
<td>-ni, -niyA</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intensive</td>
<td>-larigu</td>
<td>-rariigu</td>
<td>-lRariigu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>admonitive</td>
<td>-la'gu</td>
<td>-ra'gu</td>
<td>-lRa'gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>-lawu</td>
<td>-rawu</td>
<td>-lRawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participial</td>
<td>-nYadu</td>
<td>-jadu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Verb stem formatives

| reciprocal | -dbari- | -rbari- | -dari- | -yari- | - |
| causative  | ? | ? | -iba | -yada |

### Noun stem formatives

| agentive | -dji | -rji | -ji | -ája |
| instrumental | -dbari | ? | ? | ? | ? |
5.1 Ru class verbs

**Purposive:** -Ru  
**Present:** -inya

This is the largest of the Thargari verb classes, and constitutes an open class. Most, but not all, Ru-verbs are transitive.

In the following list, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs which have a dative direct object in independent clauses are indicated by *intrans* and *dat* respectively. All others in this list are transitive and have an accusative direct object in independent clauses.

[1]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ru-verb</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
<th>Ru-verb</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paca-</td>
<td>leave behind</td>
<td>paka-</td>
<td>copulate with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paña-</td>
<td>run, flow</td>
<td>pan'yi-</td>
<td>referent unknown -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>para-</td>
<td>1. buck, throw off</td>
<td>puka-</td>
<td>scratch, dig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. jump</td>
<td>puca-</td>
<td>suck, lick, kiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puga-</td>
<td>visit</td>
<td>pura-</td>
<td>hit or kill with a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu·ja-</td>
<td>blow, puff</td>
<td></td>
<td>missile, chop, cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purba-</td>
<td>growl, bark</td>
<td>pu'di-</td>
<td>hit or kill with hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or a held object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'ga-</td>
<td>insert</td>
<td>täka-</td>
<td>cough - intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciRa-</td>
<td>sneeze</td>
<td>ca'tawi-</td>
<td>stab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cugu-, cuwu-</td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>curaRa-</td>
<td>point, show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki'nimu-ni-</td>
<td>skin</td>
<td>kildigildi-</td>
<td>tickle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kappa-</td>
<td>oook, burn</td>
<td>kaja-</td>
<td>bite down hard, chomp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karbi-</td>
<td>tie</td>
<td>ka'du-</td>
<td>referent unknown -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>intrans?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalgu-</td>
<td>wait for - dat</td>
<td>ku'da-</td>
<td>climb, get up, stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>up - intrans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku'di-</td>
<td>rain - intrans</td>
<td>ma'jida-</td>
<td>stop, prevent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mañi-</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>mama-</td>
<td>get, grab, catch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mida-</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>mi'nma-</td>
<td>baa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miniju-</td>
<td>turn, rotate</td>
<td>mu'di-</td>
<td>clasp, hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muyiRa</td>
<td>steal</td>
<td>näni-</td>
<td>wipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qara-</td>
<td>bite, sting</td>
<td>nu'du-</td>
<td>push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'ira-</td>
<td>have anal</td>
<td>n'yaji-</td>
<td>turn around, change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>intercourse</td>
<td></td>
<td>course - intrans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
n'aju- turn  nyuga- poke
n'urada- pin down  njaci- get warm - intrans
njabañajba- hurry, rush him  nawa- cover
wicara- sweep  waja- wash it
wara- sing - intrans?  wanji- cut
warga- come - intrans  wajga- take out
waRarga- tear, split  wi·ga- pull, drag
wuṭiwuṭi- stir  wuṭa-, wuḍa- break, chop, shave, etc.
Rinamuni- telephone  yaRa- shine -intrans
yuru- touch, poke  yuduruṇi- load, put on
yiri- pour  yirga- chisel
kariya- lift [a heavy load]  wari- cut with a knife
puḍiya hang it  wariya- finish
wuṭiya-, wuḍiya- hang it

[2]
kupi-ya- urinate - intrans?  kuna-ya- defecate - intrans?
kudga-ya- hear
kuRi-iba awaken
pijija-ṇi- clean, make it clean also: pijija-ṇi-
pagaja-ṇi- make it good, better

5.2 ru-class verbs

Purposive: -ru  Present: -iṇa

This class has two members only:
waja- give [him], put, yika- ignite, burn it place

5.3 yi-class verbs

Purposive: -yi  Present: -iṇa

Most of the nine yi-verbs are intransitive. Note especially that kapa- / kapa- kap- / cook, burn - intrans, belongs to this class, while kapa- cook it, burn it is Ru-class.
puṣa- wash, swim - intrans  ḣarba- enter - intrans
kapa- be hot, burn, cook - intrans
kupa- sit, stay, be - kujba- be sick - intrans
kupa- feel shame - intrans  mira- call out - intrans?
naka- hunt
waka- say, tell

5.4 gu-class verbs

Purposive: -gu Present: -ųŋa

There are fourteen gu-verbs:

pinYą- dig, spear țuŋi- laugh - intrans?
casi- limp - intrans kanya- carry, bring, take
kađurki- call out - intrans? kuŋi- look for - dat
mana- get, hold nanya- see, look at, read
nαcka- breathe, pant - naŋi- cry, weep - intrans

wadi- get up [after sleep] - intrans
wani- fall down - intrans yiri- get off, descend, get out of [car] - intrans

wiłunYą- witu- wiłu- kill

The alternants of kill occur as follows:

witu- with -ja past tense
witu- with -ri- intransitivizer: wituři- die
wiłunYą- elsewhere

5.5 a-class verbs

Purposive: -gu Present: -a / -a /

All a-verbs are intransitive except yarwar- want, desire which may have a dative object.

[1]

pirgar- [fire] spreads piłari- have a spell, rest
padbar- make a noise padiri- come home
pajamar- have a row, quarrel puγuri- collapse
ćuRanuwiri- run away ciridar- be frightened
kuğuRari- have an erection kucidar- get warm
kuRiguriri- turn around, kuširi- go, leave, depart
revolve
miramiRari- pretend maŋanYari- be tired
mucanYiri- dive into water muγuri- smoke tobacco
nYakuri- play [children play, play cards, ...]
qrari- dance
wiriri- leak out wiμurir- swim
wargadarsi- crawl
wargamuri- work
wagaRari- fly
yugariri- stand, be
yaruwari- desire, want -dat
yana- punti- go, walk

The allomorphs of the suppletive verb go, walk occur as
as follows:

punti- with present, future, concomitive
yana- with future, and elsewhere [except
dubitative, causative, and instrumental,
which are not attested]

[2]
paka-dbari- copulate with each other
puuji-dbari- hit each other, quarrel
karbi-dbari- tie each other
wañi-dbari- cut each other
mañi-dbari- argue, quarrel, literally eat each other
wata-rbari- give things to each other
waka-ðari- tell each other
þuñi-yañi- laugh at each other

[3]
picu-rli- sweat
pini-rli- pursue
pawa-rli- melt
pagaja-rli- get better
pa'ba-rli- get wild, angry
muduRari-rli- go ahead of
muðaru-rli- close
nuRañuRa-rli- be silly
wițu-rli- die
wiɗu-rli- become a black-heart tree

5.6 Verb stem formatives

5.6.1 The reciprocal forms a-class verb stems:
Alternant 2. occurs before -a 'present', and 1. elsewhere.

[1] ŋuna kudara 侉 niyarigu yugara. Those two are laughing at each other.

Other examples of the reciprocal may be found in 5.5 [2].

5.6.2 The intransitivizer -ri-, /-ri/ before -a, / -ri/ elsewhere, forms a-class verbs from noun, verb, and particle stems.

[1] ŋada nan’ana muqarariyajana. I see the one who's always taking the lead.


I went out along the fence then, tracking. I circled right around to that corner. I was going to the north corner to have a look at the gate. It was open.
Additional examples may be found in 5.5 [3].

5.6.3 The elements identified here as causative are in general infrequently occurring and unproductive. For the most part their distribution can be stated only by listing the stems with which they occur. All causative morphs except two occur only with noun stems: -iba is found with nouns and yi-and gu-verbs, and -yada with a-class verbs. In all cases, a Ru-verb is formed.

-iba and -yada, at least, can be considered the same morpheme:

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{caus} & \text{is} & \text{with which in env} & \text{is} \\
\hline
\text{-iba} & V_{yi} & i_{-} & \text{-ba} \\
& V_{gu} & a_{-} & \text{-yiba} \\
& & u_{-} & \text{-yada} \\
\text{-yada} & V_{a} & & \text{-yada} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ηυρα} & \quad \text{wuRu} \\
& \quad \text{yiŋa} \\
& \quad \text{yugari} \\
& \quad \text{-yada} \\
& \quad \text{-nma}.
\end{align*}
\]

you post, tree, stick, wood that be, stand caus imper

Examples may be found in 4.4.8 [3], 4.5.6 [1], 5. [2], 5.1 [2], for the morphs: -iba, -ya, -yi, and -ba.

5.6.4 The verbalizer -ŋi is productive and forms Ru-class verbs from nouns.

[1] yiŋa ηαδα muğuruŋiŋya waya. I straightened this wire.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yiŋa} & \quad \text{ŋαδα} \\
& \quad \text{muğuru} \\
& \quad \text{-ŋi} \\
& \quad \text{-n} \\
& \quad \text{ŋya} \\
& \quad \text{waya}.
\end{align*}
\]

that I straight vbl past wire

Other examples may be found in 5.1 [2].
5.6.5 Another verbalizer is -da, forming Ru-class verbs from nouns. It is a productive formative.


Cool this water, so we can have a drink.


5.7 Tense-mood-aspect inflection

These inflections are divisive for all verbs.

5.7.1 The past tense indicates action in the past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VB$_{Ru}$</th>
<th>-n$^{\gamma}a$</th>
<th>-n$^{\gamma}a$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VB$_{ru}$</td>
<td>-ja</td>
<td>-ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VB$_{yi}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VB$_{gu}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VB$_{a}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


5.7.2 The present tense expresses activity at the time of speaking.
[1] ŋuda cupada wakina maṭi. That father is speaking to his son.
ŋuda cupa -da waka -iña maṭi.
? child loc speak, talk pres father

ŋujura-ru -a ŋuwan ŋuḍa -nụ.
snore pres asleep lie, be, sleep subord

5.7.3 The future tense expresses the ideas 'such-and-such will happen', 'somebody will, or wants to, do such-and-such.'

ŋaḍa yiña kildigildi -la.
that tickle fut

[2] ŋaḍa ụtala yiña. I’ll rub it. ụtala- rub

I won't give [you] the [kangaroo] tail, I'm gonna eat it myself.

I  don't temp now give, put fut that tail

I  be, sit fut eat subord one, alone

[4] I  yină ŭaridaru, ŭațî qađa ńutira. I'm starting to get cold, I must have a sleep now.

I  cold loc now soon I sleep fut

5.7.4 A direct command to carry out any activity is indicated with the imperative mood. The subject is almost always specified; those instances where it is omitted are probably cases of interference from English: most occurred in translations.

imper with is // which is /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vb Ru</th>
<th>-nma</th>
<th>-nma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vb ru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vb yi</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vb gu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vb a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1] ńura curu Ra ńuna kupiniyaña. Point at that fellow sitting.

you sg point, show imper that sit, be concom acc


You two have a break, and come [back] on Sunday.

You du be, sit rest, have a subord go, walk intentv dir spell
cari -ga -ru.

Sunday loc now

5.7.5 The purpose has meanings like 'let's do so-and-so', 'he should do so-and-so', 'are you going to do so-and-so?'
Purposives frequently occur as dependent verbs, in which case the meaning is still determination to carry something out.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
VbRu & -Ru & -Ru \\
Vb_{ru} & -ru & -ru \\
Vb_{yi} & -yi & -yi \\
Vb_{gu} & -gu & -gu \\
Vb_{a} & & \\
\end{array}
\]


 nghìn купа -yi ұқу? ұқарық қанға -ja?
you sg stay,sit,be purp now meat bring past


Қақа ұұқұ -Ru.
I rub purp

[3] Қақа ԡұра манагу, ұқык? What are you after, sexual intercourse?

ңақа ԡұра манагу -gu, ұқык?
what?,something you sg get,hold purp sexual intercourse


ҧңұға -ағи, ӱңа -ғағи купа -yi ҹңа марақұ.
Purdadha el go,walk intentv stay,be purp that Maralinggu

[5] Қақа ҧна мү-ғуриғу. I’m going to have a smoke

Қақа ҧна -a мү-ғуриғу -gu.
I go,walk pres smoke [tobacco] purp

ŋaːda kad'a -n'ya ɲu·ru -da mana ɬu
I send past horse al[?] get, hold purp

[It is not certain whether -da, or -da 'locative' occurred]

5.7.6 The usitative stresses the habitual or repeated nature of an activity in the past.

| vbru | -da·ɬu | -da·ɬu |
| vbru | -ra·ɬu | -ra·ɬu |
| vbga | -a·ɬu | -a·ɬu |
| vbga | a_ | -a·ɬu |
| vbga | -i_ | -ya·ɬu |
| vbga | -i_ | -ya·ɬu |

[1] ɲu·ru da cugu da·ɬu ɡadiyapa. The horse used to buck us off.

ɲu·ru -du cugu -da·ɬu ɡadi -yi -laa.
horse erg throw usit we du excl pres


ɡadi ya kara -ra·ɬu yudu -ga.
I give, put usit that[?] emph

[3] ɡadiyapa kara bari yadu. We used to give each other things.

ɡadi -yi kara -bari -a·ɬu.
we du excl give recip usit

5.7.7. The dubitative has meanings such as 'it seems to me that so-and-so is happening', 'perhaps so-and-so will happen'.
dubit with is // which in env is /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VbRu</th>
<th>-lariŋkaRa</th>
<th>-lariŋkaRa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VbRu</td>
<td>-rariŋkaRa</td>
<td>-rariŋkaRa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vbยิ</td>
<td>a_</td>
<td>-RariŋkaRa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vbぐ</td>
<td>-iRariŋkaRa</td>
<td>-iRariŋkaRa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vb้</td>
<td>a_</td>
<td>-iRariŋkaRa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1] นายนามุนำนุษณำ makawađarı wagaŋu yugariya wakaŋu macañu. pakalarĩŋkaRa. Look at that young fellow with the hat, talking to the women. I think he’s gonna copulate.

นายนำ -ma นุษณำ makawađa -ari wagaŋu
see,look imper you sg that hat prop young man
yugarĩ -ya waka -นำ macañu -Ra. paka
be,stand concom speak subord woman loc copulate
-lariŋkaRa.
dubit

[2] นุษณำ lariŋkaRa? I wonder, is he gonna eat it?

นุษนำ -lariŋkaRa?
eat dubit

[3] นุษณำ kupinga karbidbariRariŋkaRa. The two sitting there are perhaps gonna tie each other up.

นุษณำ kup -นำ karbi -dbari -iRariŋkaRa.
that be,sit pres tie recip dubit

5.7.8 The subordinate is used in independent clauses, to indicate simultaneous or serial actions, when the subjects of the independent and dependent clauses are the same.
The verb in the dependent clause of a stative sentence is most often subordinate:


I be,sit rub subord

[2] ŋaŋa puna mu·güriŋu. *I'm smoking.*

I be,go,walk pres smoke tobacco subord

[3] ŋaŋa yugarija kuŋgayiŋu. *I listened [to them].*

I be,stand past ear caus subord

Some other examples of statives with subordinate verbs are:

4.1.4 [4], 4.4.7 [2], 4.4.10 [1], 4.5.4 [6].

The following are non-statives:


that run pres chase,hunt subord.


not nose get,grab,catch imper sick,sore caus subord

[6] ...ŋu·ra·riŋa ŋuwanma ŋuŋaŋu. *He's snoring, sound asleep.*

snore concom asleep lie,sleep,be subord

Other examples include 5.7.2 [2], 5.7.9 [1], 6.2 [1].
5.7.9 The concomitive has, with all except a-class verb stems, two allomorphs in free variation: -iniya is more commonly used than -ini, the latter being more frequent however in very rapid, excited speech. Only -iniya, and not -ini, is attested with a following suffix.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{V}_{b_{ru}} & \text{V}_r & \text{-ni,} \\
\text{V}_{b_{ru}} & \text{V}_y & \text{-iniya} \\
\text{V}_{b_{yi}} & \text{a} & \text{-ini,} \\
\text{V}_{b_{gu}} & \text{V}_{b_{yi}} & \text{-iniya} \\
\text{V}_{b_{a}} & \text{-ya} & \text{-ya} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Simultaneous or serial action is indicated by the concomitive inflection in the dependent clause when the subject of that clause differs from the subject of the independent clause.

[1] ;qura kalgumna ñanayi, ñaða kuðiriya paðiriðu.  
Wait for me - I'm going and I'll be back soon.  
\(ñura\) \(kalg\) \(u\) \(ñ\) \(a\) \(ð\) \(n\) \(i\) \(y\) \(a\) \(m\) 
\(a\) \(ð\) \(i\) \(y\) \(i\) \(ð\) \(r\) \(ð\) \(u\).

[2] ;qura ñan\(y\)ama mui\(r\)aniya. Look at him stealing.  
\(qura\) \(ñ\) \(a\) \(ð\) \(a\) \(m\) 
\(m\) \(u\) \(y\) \(r\) \(a\) \(ñ\) \(i\) \(y\) \(a\).

[3] ;qura ñan\(y\)ama mui\(r\)alariyu yugarinya. Look at him, he's going to steal.  
\(qura\) \(ñ\) \(a\) \(ð\) \(a\) \(m\) 
\(m\) \(u\) \(y\) \(r\) \(a\) \(r\) \(i\) \(ñ\) \(u\) \(y\) \(a\).

The dependent clause subject may be referentially a part of the independent clause subject:

They're fighting now, and he's knocking the other fellow down.
5.7.10 The **intensive** indicates a plan to do something. Less determination seems to be implied than when the purposive is used. In narration, an intensive verb may often refer simply to past action [i.e. at the time of the story], without any 'intention' implied.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VbRu</th>
<th>-lariŋu</th>
<th>-lariŋu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VbRu</td>
<td>-rariŋu</td>
<td>-rariŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vbį</td>
<td>V_</td>
<td>-Rariŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vbgui</td>
<td>-iRariŋu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vba</td>
<td></td>
<td>-iRariŋu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1] ŋaŋa yugarija paru kudgai lariŋu. *I stood up so I could hear.*

or: *I stood up and listened.*

ŋaŋa yugarija -ja paru kudga -yi -lariŋu.
*I stand past and ear caus intensive*

[2] ŋaŋa miRamiRarija caṭawi·lariŋu. *I pretended I was gonna stab him.*

ŋaŋa miRamiRarija -ja caṭawi· -lariŋu.
*I pretend past stab intensive*

[3] ŋaŋa miRamiRarija pušilariŋu. *I pretended I was gonna hit him.*

puši
*hit, kill*


*I think he's gonna bark.*

tuugu -gu yu -du ᵀana -iŋa purba -lariŋu.
*dog erg that erg see,look pres bark,growl intensive*
yiña wakaja yanaRariŋu. He said he was gonna go.

yiña waka -ja yana -lRariŋu.
that say, speak past go, walk intentv

5.7.11 The subjunctive is used with verbs of telling to indicate what a person is being told to do.

Subjunct with is // which in env is /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VbRu</th>
<th>-lawu</th>
<th>-lawu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VbRu</td>
<td>-rawu</td>
<td>-rawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vbγi</td>
<td>V_</td>
<td>-Rawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vbgu</td>
<td>-iRawu</td>
<td>-iRawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vba</td>
<td>a_</td>
<td>-iRawu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[1] naŋa wakja tuəwu karbilawu. I told him to tie the dog up.
naŋa waka -ja tuə -u karbi -lawu.
I say, tell past dog dat tie up subjunct

[2] naŋa wakaja yanalawu, mamaRu, pucalariŋuru. I told him to chase her, catch her, and kiss her.
naŋa waka -ja yana -lawu, mama -Ru,
tell, say past hunt, subjunct catch, get purp chase, grab
puca -lariŋu
kiss, intentv
lick, suck

Sentence [2] is difficult to render in ordinary English while retaining the distinctions made by the Thargari inflections. The following is perhaps better than the translation at retaining the meaning: I told him to pursue her in order to take hold of her with the intention of kissing her.

naŋa kupa -inŋa waka yina -ga yana -lRAWu.
I be, sit pres say, tell that emph go, walk subjunct
The admonitive indicates what should not be done or what should be avoided

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Vb} & \text{la}u & \text{la}u \\
\text{Vb} & \text{ra}u & \text{ra}u \\
\text{Vb} & \text{V} & \text{Ranu} \\
\text{Vb} & \text{I} & \text{Ranu} \\
\text{Vb} & \text{Q} & \text{I} & \text{Ranu} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

I'll talk to that old man who's approaching with his grandchildren, in case Geoff comes. I.e. Before Geoff comes, I want to talk to the old man.

[2] ṇadiyiRu ṇawana kudaradu ṇudujba paṭiRaṇu. We're covering up this smelly thing so it won't stink.

[3] mananma ṇika waṇiRaṇu. Hold him so he won't fall.
Stop that fellow singing.

prevent, stop imper sing admon that[erg?] emph

5.7.13 The participial is used primarily to indicate action completed prior to the event referred to in the independent clause.

part with is // which is /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VbRu</th>
<th>-nYadu</th>
<th>-nYadu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VbRu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vb(\ ante )</td>
<td>-jadu</td>
<td>-jadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vb(\ ante )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8 Verb deictic
The directional -\(\ ante \) occurs frequently, with the meanings this way, toward me.
Chapter 6. PARTICLES

There are three kinds of particles, according to syntactic use:

Interjections generally occur sentence initially, in construction with all the rest of the sentence.

Coordinators occur at the beginning of the second of two coordinate clauses [both either independent or dependent].

Adverbials occur in a variety of positions, some of which are similar to positions that may be occupied by noun phrases. It is possible that a few of the forms listed below may actually be nouns, but since they are all of frequent occurrence in the corpus, and never with a divisive suffix, they are here regarded as particles.

6.1 Interjections

ŋa· yes
yi yes!
wu well...
ŋawu yes indeed
ŋaŋa no
ya hey! [an attention-getter]
puði hey! wait! [often said to retain the floor in conversation]
puðibiŋu wait!

A: ŋa· Yeah.
waka -ŋa mara? ŋa·
speak, talk pres still yes
puði ñàða pajala ŋi-. Wait, I'm gonna have a drink of tea.

wañi ñàða paja -la ŋi-.
wait! I drink fut tea

6.2 Coordinators
paru and makadbu so that...
in order that
I stood and listened, and I sat and listened again.
ñàða yugarì -ja kuðgayì -ŋu paru ñàða kupà -ja
I stand,be past listen subord and I sit,be past
kuðgayì -ŋu -ðu -ru.
listen subord temp now

Rub my arm hard [not gently], so it'll get better quickly.
ũuñama ñura ŋi- kaðujbaya makadbu ɡàdi pagaja
rub imper you not gentle, -du so that quick good
-slow erg

-rù -ya
intr concon

6.3 Adverbials
piñi in pursuit kaða perhaps
purà before mara, ma'ra, ma'ru still
puðiwarà soon, by-and-by ñawayi reciprocally, in return
ɡàti, ɡàdi soon, right away wayi first
ti- not wuna distant, far
ículara already

My horse is a good runner, it's not slow.
ñana -yi ñu-ru paña- -dji, ŋi- kaðujba.
I dat horse run agt not slow, gentle

kaðà -ŋàða.
perhaps also
[3] ŋaŋa kupaŋa ciридārinug puray. I was afraid before.

ŋaŋa kupa ciри dar -ŋu pura -i
I be, sit be afraid subord before emph.

Chapter 7 ENCLITICS

Enclitics occur with nouns, verbs, and particles. They follow deictics in word formation, and are themselves divided into four relative orders*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
<th>Connective</th>
<th>Connective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

7.1 Temporal enclitics

The four temporal morphs are:

- ʂu - du on the other hand, also, again
- ḍbu also, then
- ru now, German doch

It is not clear whether -ʂu, -du, and -dbe constitute one, two, or three morphemes. -ʂu occurs only in the first of the relative orders for temporals and -dbe only in the second; -du may occur in either, as may -ru.

[1] puṣidbarāṣu ŋanayi cupa. puḍi ŋaŋa kuḍiriRa wakayi ŋanayiōida yagara, ŋuṇa kaḍurkiRa ru ṇuṇyũn'ũnuRa, yacada kuḷgayila.

My kids are having a fight again. Wait a minute, I'll go tell my wife to call out to them. The other [children] will hear [and stop fighting too].

*The existence of two orders among the connectives came to light after Chapter 3 was completed, and the statements in 3.1 should be revised. The following sentence attests the two orders:

ŋurayiyara ṱaŋ'yaŋa pura curaRa larinu. You have a look [at an object puzzling the speaker] and you can show [me what it is]

ŋura -i -ara ṱaŋ'ya -iŋa pura curuRa -larinu. you sg emph rel see, look pres you sg show, point intentv
Further examples include 4.1.3 [2], 4.4.8 [1], 4.5.5 [2], 6.2 [1], 5.7.7 [3], 7.2.1 [2], 7.2.2 [2].

7.2 Connective enclitics

The use of connectives depends on syntactic, rather than morphological conditions. They are analyzed as suffixes rather than as particles for two reasons:

1. Connectives never begin an utterance or follow a juncture in a sentence, as particles do.
2. Certain connectives exhibit phonemic alternation which is consistent with the morphophonemic rules governing other suffix classes.

7.2.1 The relative connective occurs on the first word of one of two independent clauses which it joins. It indicates that the subject of the clause containing the connective refers to the same person as one of the noun clauses in the other clause.


This little fellow belongs to this father who's sitting
down here.

yu -ŋu -ga yîna cupa maḍî -u,
that dat emph that child father dat
yîna -ga -ára kûpâ -îga.
that emph rel sit,be pres
rel is // which in env is /

[2] nàda kalguŋa nanayîsî caŋiyu. ū-yara wargala, nàda paḍîra
nûraḍaru.

I'm waiting for my mate. If he doesn't come, I'm going
back to camp.
I wait for pres I dat nom friend, mate dat not rel come fut I return pres camp al now

7.2.2 The connective meaning 'because' occurs on the first word in one of the two clauses it connects.

because is // which in env is /

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-anma</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>-'nma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>-wanma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

[1] yina nura maninma yadayirauawanma. pilgiija
Eat this [food], there's no sand in it - it's clean.

yina nura ma ni -nma ya da -iranu -anma. pilgiija.
that you sg eat imper sand priv because clean

You get down first because I want to get down.

nu ra mugara yiri -ma, qada -dbu -anma yiri -iRa.
you sg in front descend imper I temp because fut

7.2.3 The connective -qada means also

Me and Dingo, also Kuyungardi.

qada -yi quna: Dingo. yina -qada: kuyuqadi.
we du excl that [English] that also Kuyungardi.

7.2.4 The connective -ibi means also.

also is // which in env is /

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ibi</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>-ibi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>-yibi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```
[1] ọaru wanara, muRuyibi. [He has] a long scrotum, and [a long] penis also.

Ọaru wanara, muRu -ibi.

scrotum long penis also

7.2.5 The connective -anyu means only.

only is // which in env is /

+---+---+
| -anyu | a | -nyu |
|      | i | -\wu |
+---+---+


He's the only one talking to them.
yiŋa -ga -anyu waka -nu kupa -iŋa

that emph only speak subord be, sit pres

n'ụnụ -nyu -Ra.

that from loc

7.2.6 The emphatic connective is used for stress

emph is // which in env is /

+---+---+
| -i | u | -wi |
|    | i | -yi |
|    | a | -yi |
+---+---+


I left - after finishing [a job] - to stay here again.

ọϣa yana -iRariŋu: wariya n'udu -i.

I go, walk intentv finish part emph

kupa -yi n'ọta -gu -ru.

stay, sit purp here temp now

7.2.7 The continuative connective -ra indicates 'someone keeps on doing so-and-so.'

pu -nma -ra yiŋa -ga -na -i.

hit, kill imper continuous that emph [?] emph
1. When referring to phonemes, the symbols $C$, $J$, $V$ are the sets: consonants, junctures, and vowels, as these terms are defined in 1.1. For definitions of the morphophonemic distributional sets $B$, $C$, $I$, $J$, $M$, $V$, $W$, see 2.

2. When allomorphs of suffixes are presented, a standard format is used. The allomorph chart in 5.7.9, for example, may be read as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column 1:</th>
<th>Column 2:</th>
<th>Column 3:</th>
<th>Column 4:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'The concomitive suffix'</td>
<td>with [or: 'in the morphological environment:'] Ru-, ru-, yi-, and gu-class verb stems</td>
<td>which in turn becomes, after any member of the set // V // ['vowels']</td>
<td>The concomitive with an a-class verb is // -ya // which becomes / -ya /.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is represented by [or: 'becomes'] the sequence of morphophonemes // -ini // freely alternating with // -iniya //</td>
<td>after // a //</td>
<td>becomes / -ini / or / -iniya /</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ -ni / or / -niya / and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The charts in chapter 2 may be read in a similar fashion.

All examples in 3.-7. are given in phonemic transcription with a situational equivalent in English, followed by morphophonemic and morphemic analyses:

phonemic: ɲaːa punaru  I'm going now.
morphophonemic: ɲaːa pun -a -ru.
morphemic: I go, walk pres now