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"NO-NAME" IN CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

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1. NAME-AVOIDANCE IN AUSTRALIA <1>

Proper names have long been of interest to the student of
man, as their use reveals something of our view of the world
and of ourselves. One topic is one aspect of the practice of
avoiding the name of a recently deceased person among Aboriginals of
central Australia; the use of a specialised replacement name,
and its spread as a response to the introduction of European
personal names.

Background information on the naming of people (personal names)
is provided in reports by Stanner (1947) in the Daly River
area, by Hart (1930) for the Tiwi of Bathurst and Melville Is-
lands, and by Thomson (1946,1972) for the Wik-Mungkan. More re-
cently, there is the work of Silverstein (1980), Sutton (1975,1979),
Myers (1976:168-175), (on place names and others). See the sum-

The taboo against mentioning the name of a recently
deceased member of a community is reported from every continent by
Frazer (1922:293-9). The taboo affects a word apart from its usage
as a name, as is known beyond Australia (Frazer 1922:297), and
was observed in the early stages of Australian linguistic
studies, e.g., by Meyer (1879:199) about the Encounter Bay tribe
of South Australia.

This may be the reason of there being several names for the same thing. Thus, if a man has the
name of nguke (which signifies 'water'), the whole
tribe must use some other word to designate water
for a considerable time after his death.

1. Wieland (1879:210) puts the effect on vocabulary
another way: A person's everyday vocabulary thus becomes a repository of so-
acial history, carrying the imprint of recent deaths. The length
of the taboo can be from a few months to a lifetime or
depending in a number of factors too varied to summa-
ized here.

The usual strategy for avoiding a tabooed word is to
take another word in its stead. Alpher (1979) and Dixon (1980:199)
report some of the strategies for replacing a word homophonous
with the name of a recently deceased person:

(a) use of a synonym, from any of the languages in the
repertoire of the particular community (thus perhaps from
the same language or perhaps from a neighboring language),
or using a more general term, perhaps even a 'whats-a-name'
word,
(b) compounding or other new formations,
(c) widening the meaning of an existing word, or
employing other semantic shifts such as widening the term for
'blood' to include 'water', 'blood', 'liquid'.
(d) use of the corresponding term from the auxiliary
vocabulary of the 'avoidance language' (which note, has an ap-
propriate index of politeness).

The two other strategies, not mentioned by Dixon or Alpher, are:

(1) using a particular word reserved just for the pur-
pose of substituting for any tabooed name.

Strategies (a) and (d) were used in the famous history
of the name of the free form of the 1st person singular pronoun
in the Warramunga language area of the Western Desert language
(Douglas 1968:25, quoted by Dixon 1980:228-29; Gould 1963:68, Mill-
er 1971:163,70,77)

then about 1950 a manNgayunya died; <2>
from avoidance vocabulary;
the term in 1958, but no longer in
1964, when the next two were used:
From English me
estabished in 1966 <3>
This history also serves to illustrate the general rule, discussed in chapter 4 of this book, namely that the personal term does not drop from the language, but re-surfaces after a few years. Thus a term borrowed from a neighboring language is likely to be "given back" when it has served its purpose.

We turn now to strategy (f), which has not been reported for many areas of Australia, the use of a special form in just one function in the given language, namely as a replacement for a personal term. Such a special form is used in the Word communities in central Australia with which we have some familiarity, and its semantic and distributional properties are the focus of this paper. Other areas with a term with similar function are Cape York Peninsula and western Queensland.

2. NAME-AVOIDANCE AMONG THE WARBIRI AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

2.1. WARLIPIRI

In communities where Warlpiri, Warlamana, or Warumungu are spoken, we have frequently encountered the term /kumunjuyi/ (sometimes /kumunjari/ and /kumunjai/) as a replacement for a term homophonous, or nearly so, with a name of a recently deceased person. The term /kumunjuyi/ is used both for address and in referring to a person whose name is also that of a recently deceased person. This much has been observed for what is generally spelled /kumunjuyi/ in his phonological study of Warlpiri spoken at Hooker Creek (Lajamanu).

(a) In a context of composing oral essays on various Warlpiri words, Sam Japangardi Johnson explained the term /kumunjuyi/ to Ben Hale in 1966 as follows: "If a person's name is 030, Side 2; transcription pages 015-6; for the Warlpiri texts, see the Appendix."

1. Kumunjuyi, we call ourselves "kumunjuyi" if someone died -- there are two names -- two, you know -- the first name, the European one, they leave that one aside, and they say /kumunjuyi/... We avoid the dead person. The dead person too they name that way, they call it "kumunjuyi" name /kumunjuyi/; /kumunjuyi/ is an Aboriginal name. They call very many Aboriginal (names) /kumunjuyi/. One person might be called /kumunjuyi/, and another one might be called /kumunjuyi/ too. People avoid that term.

Later, Hale recorded the following commentary from the late Mike Jupurrula (Tape 3.3, side 1, no. 223, Warlpiri. Original transcription, Folder 3, pp. 87-89.)

"We call them "kumunjuyi", because of that dead person. After someone dies, we use the term /kumunjuyi/. Poor thing; it can't say the name, being really sorry. But we say that, because of the dead person. We avoid speaking about that, as we're sorry, since those persons died, with the same name; we avoid speaking about the same name."

2. /kumunjuyi/ (1974:36) vocabulary glosses /kumunjuyi/ as "no-name, person whose name cannot be spoken because it is the same as that of a deceased person". So far, we have said nothing about the situation where a person's name is also a common noun. When that person dies, then it must also be avoided, as it is avoided by /kumunjuyi/. Hale was told that it is not (we continue the quotation from the late Mike Jupurrula (Tape 3.3, side 1, no. 223, Warlpiri. Original transcription, Folder 3, pp. 87-89.)

"We call them "kumunjuyi", because of that dead person. After someone dies, we use the term /kumunjuyi/. Poor thing; it can't say the name, being really sorry. But we say that, because of the dead person. We avoid speaking about that, as we're sorry, since those persons died, with the same name; we avoid speaking about the same name."

"kumunjuyi", as if it were human, so they long ago gave the name for it, and we call it Hale (1974:36) misses this.

4. [b] How would I say "The dog bit me" if I goold /mali/>? Hale would say "The dog /jarnji/ bit me." You wouldn't say /kumunjuyi/ as if it were a person. You could say /jarnji/ because someone died with the name /mali/; because someone died. Consistent with /kumunjuyi/, the restriction to being a name-replacement in this term does not occur in the voluminous texts that Hale collected in 1959-60, 1966-77, and 1974, except when it is in the "no-name" context as in the previous case. This fits with the observation just quoted from the Yuendumu men, namely that /kumunjuyi/ replaces just a personal name, not just any word that is similar to that of a recently deceased person for the texts that Hale recorded usually did not involve the address or reference use of personal names. Also, Mary Laughren (p.c.) reports the current practice at Yuendumu, and confirms the restriction just mentioned:

Both Kumunjuyi and Kumunnu are used here to name people who have the name of a dead person, though Kumunjuyi is much more commonly used. In Yuendumu, objects are not called Kumunjuyi, though names (e.g. common nouns) are replaced (with the exception of some things very much associated with Europeans which have only English names). However, should someone call the name of a dead person by mistake, out of forgetfulness, when naming an animal or object, then they might rationalize and then say as a sort of afterthought, "kumunjuyi". Alternatively, a listener might say that as a reminder that the word is the name of a dead person. However, at Warrarbi, people are somewhat more likely to use /kumunjuyi/ rather than replace the taboo name with a new one, as is the practice at Yuendumu...

/kumunjuyi-jarri-/ would be used about a given word, e.g. (The word) "tang" /kumunjuyi-jarri Jo."
Although our knowledge of Australian sign languages is next to non-existent, we suspect that the sign recorded by Wright is basically an attempt at a translation of /koomunjayi/ into sign language. It is not a term used in sign language in ways corresponding to those in which /koomunjayi/ is used in English. Furthermore, its understanding of that sign becomes crucially involved with the sound of the proscribed name, and thus, there is no proscription of any kind-signal consequent on the proscription of a spoken word. In fact, reference to the proscribed name is tolerated, in that literal Aboriginal signers sometimes communicate a proscribed name by spelling it aloud or writing it down.

### 2.2 TO THE NORTH -- GURINDJI, MUDBURRA, WARMAMPA

The Warlampa, to the Warlpiri's north-east, also have the term /koomunjayi/, but their spelling is different. Gurindji and Mudburra do not. In these two languages, Warlpiri's north, a name of a recently deceased person may be addressed or referred to by the following terms, further to the north-east.

Nash recorded the following commentary on /koomunjayi/ from a Warlampan man: "But you know what that means, /koomunjayi/? They have their name from what you call it—that's why they call them /koomunjayi/. From where the white man put the name on, on boys or girls. That's why they call him /koomunjayi/. When they put it in the bush way, the bush name, they put it in the diary way. You might call it a different way, and the father might get a different dream. But they might have the same name as a white man and the term why they call him /koomunjayi/. For white-fellow names, that's all. Not for bush names..."[1] But in the old days, before they had white-fellow names, they must have used /koomunjayi/ then for bush names. No, no, they never used to call someone /koomunjayi/...

He asserts, then, that the term had no traditional use for the Warlampan (or Mudburra or Warmumpi in his opinion) and that it is in use today among the European names of someone who dies. His practice is also to use /koomunjayi/ as a replacement for an English word (whether name or not) which is sounds the same as a proscribed name. This is a sign that /koomunjayi/ is being borrowed from the Warlpiri (i.e., from the west and south-west) at the time European names were adopted. Among those who use both the European and the Aboriginal name, the place name would be referred to as /koomunjayi/ ("with name-avoided").

### 2.3 TO THE EAST -- WARMAMPU

Donald Graham Jupurrula (quoted in section 2.2) said that Warmumpi and Warmumpi use the terms /koomunjayi-jo-kun wiinjiwayi/- /kimunjayi/- /kimunjayi/ in his opinion. In his opinion, the Warmampi and Warmumpi use the term /koomunjayi/ in any English word name or not. This points to /koomunjayi/ being borrowed from the Warlpiri, etc., at the time European names were adopted. Among those who use both the European and the Aboriginal name, the place name would be referred to as /koomunjayi/ ("with name-avoided").

### 2.4 TO THE WEST -- PITJANTJATJARA, PINTUPI, ETC.

See the discussion in section 1 of the proscription of the 1st person singular pronoun in the Western Desert. The term /koomanjarranya/ is given as the general replacement word among the Pitjantjatjara by Golun (1969:206) as "a name used as a circumscrip-

### 2.5 INSTANCES OF TABOOED NAMES

The following list gives personal names which we have observed to be tabooed while we have been living in central Australia, and includes some tabooed at distant communities and about which we were told by non-Aboriginals.

- **WARRABRI AND TENANT CREEK AREA**
  - Name of deceased (words proscribed) /koomunjajayi/ /koomunjajayi/
  - Replacement /koomanjarranya/ /koomanjarranya/
  - Alice Alice (Springs)
  - Battery George battery
  - Billy, Billy? Bell
  - Larry McGarrigal Larry McGarrigal (Creek)
  - Warrabri Jack Warrabri (Settlement)
  - Ali-Curung,
and Gould (1969:168) records the proscription of 'tjilji' (child) in Warburton Range Pitjantjatjara in 1966. The replacement for it was 'tjilku'! note that 'tjilku' is the current Nganyayatjarra word when used as a p.c., and 'tjitji' (child) Pitjantjatjara word, at least at Ernabella (Paul Eckert, p.c.). Gould (1969:68) further remarks for people having the same name as the deceased the usual practice is to abandon the name in favor of the general appellation (kumunjayi) or else to adopt a new name. This rule applies to "whitefellas" name, too, and during our stay at Warburton Range all the Jumarranga people abandoned their to account for this reason. Also, owing to an earlier death, the name Phillip could not be uttered. Gould (1969:167) reports a Pittunpi man who "called himself Kumunjara" on account of a recent death (see also his photograph, 1969:163).

2.6 NAMING

Note that many of the examples of tabooed names are European names. We have not seen evidence in this respect of Stanner's (1937:299) observation, based on his wide experience in the Northern Territory in 1934-35, that Aboriginals' European names are used completely without the restrictions attached to the aboriginal personal names.

Stanner's observation does hold in other respects. For instance, a European name is selected for a baby at the time of its birth, whereas we are told that an Aboriginal personal name (referred to as "bush names" in Aboriginal English) is not assigned to an infant is about two years old (and often this does not impinge on the usage of names). Also, bush names are recycled from the grandparents' generation (we have seen that the Warlpiri name is the shared in the extended family, with a previous use by the paternal grandparent of the same sex as the source of the name; and the Nganyayatjarra maternal grandparent). a practice which he regards as an innovation to have been adopted on the shared dreaming affiliations. However, we have not been told of any such practice with respect to the choosing of a European name for a child it is done primarily by the mother, sometimes with assistance from hospital staff or missionaries.

While European names are not subject to some of the indigenous naming practices, they are certainly not exempted from proscription upon the death of a name-bearer. The result is that a person with a European name has a higher functional load than it did before the addition of European names.

In the instance of proscription of a Warlpiri word (i.e. the Warlpiri, not the English words entered in the middle column in 2.5), replacement is effected by another word, (typically a Warlpiri synonym) and not by /kunjanyi/, except for ad- dress and reference to a namesake of the deceased. It appears that the term /kunjanyi/ is used more widely in replacing the English loan words: /kunjanyi/ other than as a name of a person (or place) is con-}
name. Two minor related instances of name-avoidance are worth mentioning; one was temporarily played by someone who had recently died was temporarily named, although others are free to rename him in his hearing. The other instance was with Warrabri man, whom the Warra man of Warrabri once referred to his place of initiation as /kunjuniya/.

3. ETYMOLOGY OF /kunjuniya/.

It is of possible significance that the term comprising the communities speaking Warlpiri, Warumungu, Warungkuru, and many others, is not exact in diffusion of the term. The less restricted usage, which is not made clear in the Aboriginal form, point to /kunjuniya/’s diffusion from the west.

We have been unsuccessful in uncovering good etymological information about these two tantalisingly similar forms. For /kunjuniya/’s first note that /ywa/ in Pintupi and Pitjantjatjara is a nominal suffix which applies just to names. Whether it is restricted to individual names is not clear, but it apparently is not used with the suffixation.

Nganjumba (Ngadjumba) of the western Great Australian Bight has the term /kumai/ + /numa/ + /numinu/ ‘own blood relatives’, which seems to have been adopted into Warlpiri as /kunjuniya/” (Douglas 1964:46). Cluey may also reside in the Aboriginal English translation “no name” and “dead name” (the latter from D. Davis Bell p.c.).

4. SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF /kunjuniya/.

4.1 REFERENCE AND ADDRESS USE.

The replacement word such as /kunjuniya/ can always be used to address a person who is a namesake of the deceased, as it is that person’s function as it appears in the Warlpiri grammar. The Pintupi term is also used to refer to such a person, although it has this use throughout the Warlpiri area. Only Reese (for Warlpiri) and Alpher (Yirr’-Yirront) report the semantically wider use, which also has been observed, whereby the common noun replaces the Warlpiri name, which is also homophonous with the proscribed name. The Pintupi terms may also have the wider usage; note the derivational term to be taken as “to be become” and the quoted comment by Myers (1976:172). This wider usage is not available to the Warlpiri, however, except for English names, which are taken as names.

Hence, there is the following implication in the extent of replacement within the group. There is also for English terms as opposed to vernacular terms: word = reference-name = address-name.

This conforms to the pattern whereby some address names cannot be used for reference, but reference-names can usually be used for address.

4.2 /kunjuniya/ AS A CLASS NAME.

Leaving aside the recent usage, in which /kunjuniya/ is also a common noun, note that the term /kunjuniya/ is a proper name, and that it has no meaning apart from its power to refer to a person or group under the appropriate conditions. Admittedly, the "initial baptismal event" (Kriptide 1972, 1980:96) is associated with this name in a somewhat unusual fashion, the introduction of the practice whereby the proscribed names of death may be replaced by /kunjuniya/; hence it is a "metaphor". One can also recognize as a "proximate baptismal event" a particular death, which activates the /kunjuniya/ principle.

/kunjuniya/ is a class name (i.e., a name of a class, or set) as opposed to an individual name. The class consists of all those people (or things) with the common property of sharing an English word (a person, a place name, a thing, a nickname, or an English first name) with a recently dead person. In this respect it resembles such class names as subsection terms. Like them, it is usually described as a "no name", and the simple gloss is "name which is given to /kunjuniya/ in Aboriginal English, parallel to the "no name" of signature and the "no name" of the Warrumungu (2:3), and the composition of the Warrumungu (2:3), Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979:199) and Emu (Thompson 1946:157) terms. Accordingly, we propose the class-name analysis:

/kunjuniya/ = those who have an individual name which (i) may not be spoken, (ii) names someone recently dead

(The two conditions given in the membership of this class are closely related, and perhaps may be simplified.) As with other class names, the class name may function as a name for any individual in the class.

The class name /kunjuniya/, then, has the additional property that its use is inconsistent with the use of a particular personal name (the "tabooed" name), the one involved in /kunjuniya/’s "baptismal event".

Note that we are now in a position to derive a further property of /kunjuniya/. Class names, whether sociocentric, such as subsection names, European surnames and bereavement terms, or egocentric, such as kinship terms, are not names subject to the death taboo. Similarly, /kunjuniya/ itself, being a class name, is not subject to the death taboo if someone dies without his /kunjuniya/’s death due to some other cause.

It is a shifter in way in which /kunjuniya/ is a shifter. Its presupposing content relates to the cessions of appropriate use following from its "baptismal event". It is used to refer to /kunjuniya/ properly, as a proper name, on a particular occasion, it is not necessary to know the /kunjuniya/; nor is it even necessary to believe that /kunjuniya/ is the name of someone who happened to be ignorant of the word /kunjuniya/ might hear a person being called /kunjuniya/, and adopting the term, call him /kunjuniya/, without knowing what name /kunjuniya/ replaced, or even what kind of baptismal event was involved. On the other hand, the stronger, following "initial baptismal event" of labor (Putnam 1975:15-6), we well believe that someone in the community will have knowledge about the history of the name. Certainly, someone who knows /kunjuniya/ as a proscribed name of death, and not know of a particular use of /kunjuniya/ which name it is replacing, would believe that the other person in the community would know the relevant proscribed term. We have known children to call a person /kunjuniya/ when it is likely that they have no knowledge of the proscribed name, whereas an adult type, who is being avoided (and can communicate it by writing, for example), is able to commit the offense of saying the proscribed name, under the circumstances. Thus it proscribed word was to be forgotten.

There are reasons for reviving a proscribed name. First, in many areas, it is a part of the final stage of mourning, "finishing up", that the proscription be lifted (and be seen to be lifted). Second, in many personal, in many personal, personal names are recognized every second generation. The implications for the rate of vocabulary change are taken up in Alpher & Nash (in prep.).

APPENDIX: WARLPRI TEXTS ABOUT WORD REPLACEMENT.

These works were conducted by Ken Hale in 1966 at Yuendumu. The citations and free translations of texts 1-4 are given in the accompanying paper, section 2.1(c).
1. Kumunjayi, kumunjayi ka-naluy-njano ngarriri-ngay, yapa

Pree-111-Reel tell-NPAST person
ka-li-pa lpa-yara yanka -- yirdi kula-kula nyina -- jotjima
name Kulp-Reel-NPAST person
yanka -- jantagka-jukui yirdi, walypali-kurlangu, ngula kula
that together-sound first European-Possesed that Pree-333
yirrdi-yanka ngarriru ngi kula, ngarriri-yanka, name
leave-NPAST that tell-NPAST Pree-333
--then
Yangka nyurrunu-njana
Yapak-wurlangu yapa, ngurlu-yana kala yanka yirradi-mara,
that dead-Neg Purp dead-also Pree-333 that name-Caus-NPAST
yulla, ngula ka-lu ngarriru nji kumunjayi, Kumunjayi, kumunjayi
that that name-Caus-NPAST
yirdi yapak-yurlangu. Yapak-kurlangu yangka ka-lu-jana ngarriri
m very many personal-other one other
marda Kumunjayi-yi-kula, Yapa.
perhaps -also person

2. Kumunjayi:

"Pree-111-Reel tell-NPAST person
kumunjayi-ji ka-naluy-njana ngarriri-ngay -- yapak-ngarga nyurrunu-ngka,
-- Parl-Pree-333 call-NPAST person-Loc-Dead-Loc
yungka yapa pali-ja. Ngula-ngka nga yara kula-kula yana kumunjayi-ji
-- Parl-NPAST person-Caus-NPAST that Loc-Tep Pree-333
Causal person die-Past that-Loc-Tep Pree-333
yangka ngarga-yi yirdi-mara
-- Parl-NPAST sound first Neg Purp name-yi-lu-irre-realia-yanka
mari-jau-wit-ru. Kala mari-jari yana kula-kula yanka yapajuma
-very-small-Forg but sorry-become Pree-111-333 that person-Loc
kumunjayi-yanka ngurlu-yanka ka-lu-njana jana yirradi-mara
sick-Loc that-Loc-part Pree-333 avoid-speak NPAST
mari-jau yanka yirradi-inyina yapa -- yirdi-jinta -- pali
-also personal-ja name-Caus-Pres-333 person-one-one
ngula-ngka nga yara kula-kula yana kumunjayi-ji
-- Parl-NPAST person-Caus-NPAST that Loc-Tep Pree-333
sick-Loc that-Loc-part Pree-333 avoid-speak NPAST
mari-jau-wit-ru. Kala mari-jari yana kula-kula yanka yapajuma
-very-small-Forg but sorry-become Pree-111-333 that person-Loc
kumunjayi-yanka ngurlu-yanka ka-lu-njana jana yirradi-mara
sick-Loc that-Loc-part Pree-333 avoid-speak NPAST

3. Jampanna yapa yungu paljiya, yirradi-yirradiyaka-karkaroo, yammpirla,
yurlpula-juluna ngarruwuru, janggypaya yirradiyaka
Kirlapangardi-li. Kala kulangarlari ngarkkara kumunjayi
-- yapanom japa, kala kuywamajja yungurlu yirradiyaka
myurru-wit-yunga yirradiyaka
-- Kalaka kilangan

Notes:

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for discussing the topic with us, and for freely making available
his notes, and allowing us to present extracts from them here.
This paper has also benefited from the presentation of a prelimi-
nary version to the Boston Sociolinguistics group on March 19th,
1961, and from comments by Mary Laughren, Jim早就
and Diane Bell. For the orthography, and other information on Warlpiri see

2. Free ller (1971:70) that the death of Nganyu "took
place shortly before the start of work at Warburton in 1953."

3. Could be 1966?

4. By the time my wife and I arrived at the
Warburton Ranges in 1966, this term had again become widely accepted as
normal usage.

5. "The form 'ngaym' is no longer taboo, since
sufficient time has now passed, but there are still quite a num-
ber of people who used the second form [sc. /ngamu/] all or part
of the time.

6. We are most familiar with communities along the Stuart High-
way, viz. Ali-Curung (Warrabri), Tennant Creek, Banka Banka and
EJ. Not much is known about the relationships of these Warlpiri
communities we have visited: Willowa, Yuendumu, and
Lajamanu (Rooker Creek).

7. Murrinh-Patha (1972) also notes that the name of a deceased per-
sont is sometimes omitted from a song-line when it is 'perform-
end, while Boyles (1979:50) observes that among the Pintupi [ill some-
times people's name occurs in a sgpp text, in which case the whole
song-line is omitted from the series.

8. Murrinh-Patha (1972) also notes that this view for this support
for this view is based on an observation made by Adam Kenden
(p.c.), who is making a deep study of Warlpiri Sign Language.

9. See Warrer and Warrer (1973: 31, 32) They also give a forms
/kumantayi/ and /kumantayi/, which we presume are<br unpaired errors.
Laughren (p. c.) says that /kumantayi/ is also used
by Warlpiri at Yuendumu, but /kumantayi/ is much more common.

10. They grow up first, before the old people. They put the old
people into the house. If they have not been made well, then they
mean that they would not have to put the name. They wait un-
til they grow up. (Donald Graham Jupurrula)

11. My father miss my fellow丝丝, my daddy, well my grandson...
I put my old fellow's name on that young fellow, little
for young. My father find name (become father) very
low, and I put my father's name now... The bush name, that
belongs to the /kangkura/ 'father's father'... All right, if it is
low, put the name of my old auntie, who passed away.
My father and my auntie. (Donald Graham Jupurrula)

12. Two exceptions to this statement show the wider function of
/kumantayi/ in Aboriginal English, and both involve place names:
(i) The Warriabri Settlement was referred to as 'that/kumantayi/
settlement' only when the news of Warriabri Jack's death at
Lajamanu was fresh, and, in fact, as a device to convey it to me
and the other outsider present. Within hours, it became the
place name /Warriabri/ to it and Ali-Curung. (ii) since
Jupurrula (1968) has not heard /kumantayi/ used for 'Warrabi' in his three sub-
sequent years at Lajamanu.

13. The place Warlpirri was occasionally referred to as "that
/kumantayi/ place" when men were giving evidence in English at a
traditional land claim, and apparently were still arriving at a
suitable replacement term.

14. Notice that both these uses of /kumantayi/ were at a stage before
a replacement name had been settled on; this fits with Laughren's
description of the phenomenon that "terminology may be used in situations
of forgetting/g" (1980:25) expresses the view involving this approach
to the semantics of names thus: "name-elements are
shallowly defined as definable of some definite description of the refer-
cent, but of some baptismal event in which reference to
the individual referent was fixed... by historical or statistical asso-
ciations, not by the referent's reference... and the
#epagrammatic content of name-elements".

15. One can imagine this not being the case -- maybe one
place name, itself, reflected a to the death taboo.
of the alternate forms that he lists (all slightly different pronunciations of /kumjunjya/). Then one who is given one of these terms, one of the alternative names in use for others of the same name, hence the word varies in each locality. We have found no evidence for Reece's assertion.

12. The term apparently was coined by Jespersen (1964:123-4), but too loosely defined, ("[those words] whose meaning differs according to the situation") until Jakobson 1957. Silverstein (1976:26) defines shifters as "presupposing, referential indexers." Thus /kumunjya/ like any name, is a "metaphorically shifting" name. (1976:51) instance applied through the examples he gives of metaphorically shifting are rather different, viz. verbs such as 'chrekem, dub. sentence.'

REFERENCES

Abbreviation:

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