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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. Our topic is one aspect of the practice of avoiding the name of a recently deceased person among Aborigines 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 available in reports by Stanner (1937) in the Daly River area, by Hart (1930) for the Tiwi of Bathurst and Melville Islands, and by Thomson (1946, 1972) for the Wik-Mungkan. More recently, there is the work of Silverstein (1980), Sutton (1978, 1979), Myers (1976:168-175) (on place names) and others. See the summary by Dixon (1980:27-28).

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 as 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 ngnke (which signifies water), the whole tribe must use some other word to express water for a considerable time after his death.

Javiland (1979:210) puts the effect on vocabulary another way: "A person's everyday vocabulary thus becomes a repository of social history, carrying the imprint of recent deaths." The length of the taboo can be from a few months to a lifetime, depending on a number of factors too varied to summarize here.

The usual strategy for avoiding a tabooed word is to say another word in its stead. Alpher (1979) and Dixon (1980:99) 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 English), or using a more general term, perhaps even a "whatsaname" 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', 'liquid'),

(d) use of the corresponding term from the auxiliary vocabulary of the "avoidance language" (which, note, has an appropriate index of politeness),

Two other strategies, not mentioned by Dixon or Alpher, are:

(e) perhaps as a special case of (d), the use of a hand-sign, or gesture, to indicate the proscribed term, and the method which is the focus of this paper;

(f) using a particular word reserved just for the purpose of substituting for any tabooed name.

Strategies (a) and (d) were used in the famous history of the root of the free form of the 1st person singular pronoun in the Warburton Ranges area of the Western Desert language (Douglas 1964:3, quoted by Dixon 1980:28-29; Gould 1969:68; Miller 1971:65, 70, 77):

/ngayu-/	then about 1950 a man Ngayunya died; <2>
/nganku-/	from avoidance vocabulary;
	the term in 1958, but no longer in
	1964, when the next two were used:
/mi-/	from English "me"
/ngayu-/	re-established in 1966 <3>

This history also serves to illustrate the general rule, discussed in Alpher & Nash (in prep.) that the proscribed term does not drop forever from the language, but re-surfaces after a few years. Thus a term borrowed from a neighboring language is, true to the term, 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 word in just one function in the given language, namely as replacement for a proscribed name. Such a special word is used in certain 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 WARLPIRI AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

2.1. WARLPIRI

In communities where Warlpiri, Warlmanpa, or Warumungu are spoken, we have frequently encountered the term /kumunjayi/ (sometimes /kumunjari/ and /kumanjayi/) as a replacement for a term homophonous, or nearly so, with a name of a recently deceased person. <4> The term /kumunjayi/ 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 previously:

(a) Meggitt (1962:279) recorded that the name of a deceased person is "referred to, as gumindjari no-name, for a year or so, then resumes the name." <5>

(b) Jagst (1975:32) cites /kumuntji/ (his spelling, for what is now spelled /kumunjayi/) [kumuntje] 'nameless one' in his phonological study of Warlpiri spoken at Hooker Creek, (Lajamanu).

(c) In the context of composing oral essays about various Warlpiri words, Sam Japangardi Johnson explained the term /kumunjayi/ to Ken Hale in 1966 as follows: (Our translation of Hale's Tape 2.30, Side 2; transcription pages 0155-6; for the Warlpiri texts, see the Appendix.)

1. Kumunjayi, we call ourselves kumunjayi, if someone dies -- there are two names -- two, you know -- the first name, the European one, they leave that one aside, and they say kumunjayi. To avoid the dead person. The dead person too they name that way, they call him kumunjayi. Kumunjayi, kumunjayi is an Aboriginal name. They call very many Aboriginal (names) kumunjayi. One person might be kumunjayi, and another one might be kumunjayi too. People.

Later, Hale recorded the following commentary from the late Mick Connell Jupurrula: (Tape 3.3, side 1, no.253; Yuendumu. Original transcription, Folder 3, pp.87-89.)

2. "We call them 'kumunjayi', because of the dead person, after someone dies. Because of that we call them 'kumunjayi'. Poor thing. I couldn't say the name, being really sorry. But we get sad because of the dead person. We avoid speaking about that, as we're sorry, since those people died, with the same name; we avoid speaking about the same name."

Thus Hale's (1974:36) vocabulary glosses /kumunjayi/ 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, the homophonous noun must also be avoided, but can it be replaced by /kumunjayi/? Hale was told that it is not (we continue the quotation from the late Mick Connell Jupurrula):

3. Because (when) a person Possum died east of here at Yimampi, well we called the name 'possum' kirlpangardi then. But we couldn't call it

"kumunjayi", as if it were human, so they long ago made the name for it, and we call it kirlpangardi.

4. [Q. How would I say 'The dog bit me' if I couldn't say /maliki/ ('dog')?] We would say 'The dog (/jarntu/) bit me.' You wouldn't say /kumunjayi/, as if it were a person. You'd say /jarntu/. Because someone died, with the name /maliki/; because someone died.

Consistent with /kumunjayi/'s restriction to being a name-replacement, the term does not occur in the voluminous texts that Hale collected in 1959-60, 1966-67 and 1974, except when it is the subject of discussion, as in the passages just quoted. This fits with the observation just quoted from the Yuendumu men, namely that /kumunjayi/ 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.

(d) Mary Laughren (p.c.) reports the current practice at Yuendumu, and confirms the restriction just mentioned:

Both Kumunjayi and Kunmarnu are used here to name people who have the name of a dead person, though Kumunjayi is much more commonly used. In Yuendumu, objects are not called Kumunjayi, their names (sc. 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 realize and then say as a sort of afterthought kumunjayi-jala. Alternatively, a listener might say that to them as a reminder that the word is the name of a dead person... However, at Willowra I have noticed that people refer to objects as kumunjayi rather than replace the taboo name with a new one, as is the practice at Yuendumu... The term /kumunjayi-jarri-mi/ would be used about a given word, e.g. (The word) 'turn' kumunjayi-jarrija. 'Turn' became 'kumunjayi'.

As Laughren mentions, other parts of the Warlpiri-speaking area have a less restricted usage than the one prevalent at Yuendumu. Others may use /kumunjayi/ for a non-personal name (as in the example of "Sunday" at Willowra, quoted in section 2.5), or for a common noun. This possibility has been reported once in the literature: Recce, who spent most of his time with the Warlpiri at Warrabri, records (1979:111) both forms of the term that we are acquainted with, and also the spelling, kumuntji, probably taken from Jagst's paper quoted above, since he identifies it as being found at Hooker Creek. He adds: "the name of a deceased is taboo, and is also any near sounding name or word, and instead, the word kumuntjari, alt. kumantja, kumantai, is substituted."

Finally, Jim Wafer (p.c.) reports that, at least at Willowra, /kumunjayi/ is used to refer to male initiates, since they are ritually "dead" for a period during their initiation. Diane Bell (p.c.) reports that mothers, mother-in-law, and sisters do not call the names of initiates from the time of their "capture" until the "finish up" of the ceremony, marked by the exchange of gifts among these female kin.

2.1.1 WARLPIRI SIGN LANGUAGE

Cheryl Wright (1980:93,94,145), who based a lot of her elicitation on Hale (1974) (compiled for use in the bilingual program), and did her work 1973-77, at Warrabri, recorded a hand-sign for /kumunjayi/. The sign is a transparent consecutive compound (1980:v) of two other signs, viz. those of 'name' and 'no, nothing'.

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 /kumunjayi/ into the sign language, and not a term used in sign language in ways corresponding to those in which /kumunjayi/ is used in spoken language. <6> In fact, it is our understanding that name-avoidance crucially involves avoiding the sound of the proscribed name, and thus there is no proscription of any hand-sign consequent on the proscription of a spoken word. In fact, reference to the proscribed name is tolerated, in that literate Aborigines sometimes communicate a proscribed name by spelling it aloud or writing it down.

2.2 TO THE NORTH -- GURINDJI, MUDBURA, WARLMANPA

The Warlmanpa, to the Warlpiri's north-east, also have the term /kumunjayi/, but their mutual neighbors the Gurindji and Mudbura do not. In these two languages to Warlpiri's north, a namesake of a recently deceased person may be addressed or referred to by the following terms: <7>

Gurindji /yini murlung/, cf. /yini/ 'name'

Mudbura /kulu murlung/, /mijingu/

No term is recorded for the Djingili, further to the north-east.

Nash recorded the following commentary on /kumunjayi/ from a Warlmanpa man: <8>

But you know what that means. /kumunjayi/? They have their name from what you call it -- that's why they call them /kumunjayi/. From where the white man put the name, on that boy or girl. That's why they call him /kumunjayi/. When they put it the bush way, the bush name, they put it their own way. You might call a different dream -- the father might get a different dream. But they might have the same name as a white man put -- that's why they call him /kumunjayi/... For white-fellow names, that's all. Not for bush names... [Q: But in the olden days, before people had white-fellow names, they must have used kumunjayi then for bush names?] No, no, they never used to call someone kumunjayi...

He asserts, then, that the term had no traditional use for the Warlmanpa (or Mudbura or Warumungu, in his opinion), and that it is used solely to replace the European name of someone who dies. His practice is also to use /kumunjayi/ as a replacement for an English word (whether name or not) which is sounds the same as a proscribed European name. This points to /kumunjayi/ being borrowed from the Warlpiri (i.e. from the west and south-west) at the time European names were adopted. Among the Warlpiri, at least, that division now living at Yuendumu, /kumunjayi/ has a traditional usage as a replacement name.

2.3 TO THE EAST -- WARUMUNGU

Donald Graham Jupurrula (quoted in section 2.2) said that Warlmanpa and Warumungu use the terms /kumunjayi~kumanjayi/ and /winikipurtu/. The latter term has an analysis in Warumungu: /wini-kipurtu/ 'name-without'.

None of the previous linguistic material on Warumungu, recorded by Capell, Hale, and Heath, mentions any term used as /kumunjayi/ is today among the Warumungu, nor is there any in what we have seen of transcriptions of Chakravarti's material.

Spencer & Gillen (1904:764) list in their glossary the term "Urtumunji -- Word for tabooed. Walpari tribe", though it does not occur in the text of their book. They use "Walpari" for westerly neighbors of the Warumungu, possibly the Warlpiri, but more likely the Warlmanpa. The term may be a corrupt form of the term /kumunjayi/ used among the Warumungu today, though it is hard to see how the reasonably accurate Gillen would have transcribed the initial /ku-/ as "Urtu-" (unless through

misreading his own hand-writing). They did not record any /kumunjayi/-like term for the Warumungu, who were their main informants during their winter in Tennant Creek.

No equivalent term is recorded for the Kaititj, Anmatjirra or other Arandic-speaking peoples to the south and south-east of the Warlpiri. However, Kevin Keefe and Daphne Nash (p.c.) report that /kumunjayi/ is currently used by Alyawarra and Anmatjirra people of all ages in the Utopia district and Jim Wafer (p.c.) reports that /kwemenytaye/ (i.e. /kumunjayi/ in the Arandic orthography) is also used by Eastern Aranda at Santa Teresa, to the east of Alice Springs. We suspect that the term has recently spread into the Arandic-speaking areas, not only because it has not been previously recorded there, but also because it does not exhibit the initial-dropping characteristic of true cognates between the Arandic languages and languages such as Warlpiri.

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 /kunmanarra/ is given as the general replacement word among the Pitjantjatjara by Gould (1969:206 -- "Name used as a circumlocution to avoid addressing someone by a name that sounds like that of a recently deceased person.") and the Ernabella dictionary (n.d.:5 -- "a person whose name is taboo").

The Pintupi/Luritja dictionary gives the terms /kunmanarranya/, /kumanytjayi/, /kunmanu/, and also provides the following information in this entry: <9>

Taboo. A person's name or the name of a place may become taboo through the death of a person who had a similar sounding name. This word can be used as a term of address referring to a person whose name has become taboo. v. -rringu, to become taboo.

Note that these terms do not, strictly speaking, mean 'taboo'. (For that a term is /miilmiilpa/ 'sacred, taboo, out of bounds; Not to be seen by women or children' (Hansen & Hansen 1977); /milymilypa/ 'dangerous (as of secret ritual)' (Myers 1976:499).) Rather, like the Warlpiri term /kumunjayi/, they are used under conditions of a name taboo.

It is not stated for the Pitjantjatjara or Pintupi terms whether they may also replace non-names that resemble the tabooed name (reading the above references strictly suggests not). An example discussed by Myers (1976:172), on the other hand, does exhibit such replacement in a place-name, viz. /wanari-tjarra-nya/ 'mulga-having-nominaliser':

If the word /wanari/ becomes taboo owing to the death of someone with a similar name, the place would be referred to as /kunmanutjarranya/ ('with name-avoided').

For the Djaru and Nyininy to the north-west of the Warlpiri, in Western Australia, the usual name taboo operates but there is no reported equivalent of /kumunjayi/ (Tsunoda 1978:8). There has been no "no-name" term reported for the well-documented Walmatjari language, a north-western neighbor of Djaru.

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 of by non-Aboriginals.

WARRABRI AND TENNANT CREEK AREA

NAME OF DECEASED	WORDS PROSCRIBED	REPLACEMENT
Alice	Alice (Springs)	Kumunjayi Springs
Battery George	battery, George	kumunjayi
Billy	Billy, billy(?), Bell	?
Larry McClarry	McLaren (Creek)	
Warrabri Jack	Warrabri (Settlement)	Ali-Curung,

{Warlpara}
[Warumungu] takka 'hand' Maliki-jarra (2 dogs)
murnarri

Other names proscribed at various times since 1977 include:
Allan, Bobby (Martin), David, Emily (?), Friday, Helen, John,
Julie, Mona, Peter, Riley (Martin), Roger (?), and Saturday.

LAJAMANU EXAMPLES

NAME OF DECEASED	WORDS PROSCRIBED	REPLACEMENT
Deadwood Lawurra	Lawurra (place name)	Pikilypanji
Fred Herbert	Fred, bread, fridge	kumunjayi
Warlu	warlu 'fire'	warnali

YUENDUMU EXAMPLES

NAME OF DECEASED	WORDS PROSCRIBED	REPLACEMENT
Janganpa	jangarpa 'possum'	kirlpangardi
Lirra-wuurnpa	lirra	jamirrka (1966)
Maliki	maliki 'dog'	jarntu
Micky Jupurrula	miki-ma-ni 'to make'	ngurrju-ma-ni
Milton	milk, Melbourne	
	munga 'night'	yuka
	mingajurru 'dawn'	yukalyurru
	mingajurru 'mouse sp.'	jajina, etc.
	ngapurlu 'milk'	lampurnu
(woman, 1978)	ngarlurru 'emu bush'	lukulyuku, kunaparnta
Ngarlurru Jangala	murtuka 'vehicle'	tiraki
Murtuka-jangka	payipala 'five'	dakapala
Pharlap	smoke	'cigarette'
Smoky	Jody	Angelica
Tony (1979)	warna 'snake'	pilkardi
Walpajirri	walpajirri 'hairy-nosed bandicoot'	ngarlkirri-ngarnu
*Wawirri	wawirri 'kangaroo'	'Acacia sp.-eater', marna-ngarna, jurrkapanji,
Warrabri Jack,	Warrabri (Settlement),	'Ali-Curung'
Warlpara (1978)	Warlpara	Yalikarangu,
		Maliki-kirangu

* -- probably a hypothetical case

WILLOWRA EXAMPLES

NAME OF DECEASED	WORDS PROSCRIBED	REPLACEMENT
George Fry Jangala?	panjarti 'termite sp.'	pama 'delicacy'
	Sunday, Nancy(?)	kumunjayi

The last example is clearly illustrated by the first word of parallel passages of a child's essay in the bilingual newsletter of the Willowra community, Ngurrju Yimi (3.6.1979:9):

STORY

On Sunday some of the men came here from Yuendumu and Hooker Creek. They came here with the Toyota. Some of them went on Tuesday with Sammy Johnson with Toyota and some of them stopped here.

TURIYI

Kumunjayi tami yanurnulu ngarrkapatu
Yurntumungurlu manu Lajamanuwardingkipatu.
Yanurnulu Tuyatakurlu nyampukurra. Juujiyi tami
Jamiyi yanu Tuyatakurlu manu panukariyili
jupukarrija. --Carol Kitson

WESTERN DESERT EXAMPLES

Billycan	billy, billycan	wayatjarra (Moyle 1979:50)
Charlie	tali 'sandhill'	matjarra (Papunya)
Lucky	lucky	(Docker River)
Yayayi	yo-yo	(Papunya)

Douglas (1971:82) records that a compound 'up-become' was coined to replace a name which meant 'arise' (presumably at Warburton).

and Gould (1969:68) records the proscription of /tjitji/ 'child' in Warburton Ranges Pitjantjatjara in 1966. The replacement for it was /tjilku/; note that /tjilku/ is the current Ngaanyatjarra word (A. Glass, p.c.), and /tjitji/ is again the current Pitjantjatjara word, at least at Ernabella (Paul Eckert, p.c.).

Gould (1969:68) further reports:

For people having the same name as the deceased the usual practice is to abandon the name in favor of the general appellation /kunmanara/, or else to adopt a new name. This rule applies to 'whitefella' names, too, and during our stay at Warburton Ranges all the Normans changed to Wally for this reason. Also, owing to an earlier death, the name Phillip could not be uttered.

Gould (1969:147) reports meeting a Pintupi man who "called himself Kunmanarra" 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 (1937:309) observation, based on his wide experience in the Northern Territory in 1934-35, that Aboriginals' European names are used completely without the restraints 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 name' in Aboriginal English) is not assigned until the infant is about two years old (and thus infant mortality does not impinge on the usage of names). <10> Also, 'bush names' are recycled from the grandparents' generation. (We have been told variously that, among the Warlmanpa at least, the paternal grandparent of the same sex is the source of the name; and among the Warumungu the maternal grandparent), a practice which is based on the shared Dreaming affiliations. <11> However, we have not been told of any such practice with respect to the choosing of a European name for a child: it appears to be 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 that nowadays /kumunjayi/ has a higher functional load than it did before the addition of European names.

In every 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 /kumunjayi/, except for address and reference to a namesake of the deceased. It appears that the term /kumunjayi/ is used more widely in replacing proscribed European names of Aboriginals (as opposed to traditional, 'bush names'), and proscribed English words. The use of /kumunjayi/ other than as a name of a person (or place?) is confined to its replacing English loan words: we do not know of /kumunjayi/ replacing a word (other than a personal name) of any Australian language of the Centre. <12> It could well be that the relative lack of synonyms for loan concepts has led to this extension of /kumunjayi/ wider than its original function. The introduction of European names and English (with its own idiosyncratic near homophones between names and common words) has placed a burden on the practice of name-avoidance, to which one response has been the widening of the function of /kumunjayi/. It is further possible to speculate that the origin of this wider range of /kumunjayi/ stems from its traditional usage, mentioned by Laughren (2.1(d)) and also observed by Bell (p.c.) and us, whereby the term is used as a correction following the utterance of a proscribed word, whether or not the instance uttered was a

name.

Two minor related instances of name-avoidance are worth mentioning. First, we once observed that the name of a place owned by someone who had recently died was temporarily down-played. The second example follows from the practice that a man may never say the name of the place where he was initiated, although others are free to say the name to him or in his hearing; accordingly, a Warlpiri man at Warrabri once referred to his place of initiation as /kumunjayi/.

3. ETYMOLOGY OF /kumunjayi/, /kunmanarra(nya)/, /kunmarnu/ It is of possible significance that the term /kumunjayi/ is the same over a large area of central Australia, comprising the communities speaking Warlpiri, Warlmanpa, Warumungu, and Pintupi, and nowadays, Arandic languages. This is consistent with recent diffusion of the term. The less restricted usage at Tennant Creek and Warrabri, and the lack of initial-dropping in the Arandic form, point to /kumunjayi/'s diffusion from the west.

We have been unsuccessful in uncovering good etymological information about these two tantalisingly similar forms. For /kunmanarra(nya)/, first note that /-nya/ in Pintupi and Pitjantjatjara is a nominal suffix which applies just to vowel-final names (Douglas 1964:46). Whether it is restricted to individual names is not clear, but it apparently is not used with the subsection terms.

Ngajumaya (Ngadjumaja) of the western Great Australian Bight has the term /kunnu~kunmina~kunminu/ 'own blood relatives', with plural /kunminyarra/ (von Brandenstein 1980:96.14₄). Cluea may also reside in the Aboriginal English translations 'no name and dead name' (the latter from Diane Bell p.c.).

4. SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF /kumunjayi/

4.1 REFERENCE AND ADDRESS USES

The replacement word such as /kumunjayi/ can always be used to address a person who is a namesake of the deceased -- this is its central function. It appears from the written sources quoted above that the Pitjantjatjara (and possibly the Pintupi) equivalent term cannot also be used to refer to such a person, although it has this use throughout the Warlpiri area.

Only Reece (for Warlpiri) and Alpher (Yirr'-Yorront) report the semantically wider use, which we have also observed, whereby the special word replaces a common noun (not a name) which is also homophonous with the proscribed name. The Pintupi terms may also have the wider usage: note the derived term 'to become taboo', and the quoted comment by Myers (1976:172). This wider usage is not available to the Warlpiri, however, except for English words proscribed via a European name.

Hence, there is the following implication in the extent of replacement, both from group to group, and 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 /kumunjayi/ AS A CLASS NAME

Leaving aside the recent usage, in which /kumunjayi/ is also a common noun, note that the term /kumunjayi/ is a proper name, in that it has no meaning apart from its power to refer to or address a person (under the appropriate conditions). Admittedly, the initial baptismal event (Kripke 1972, 1980:96) <13> associated with this name is somewhat unusual -- the introduction of the practice whereby a name proscribed because of death may be replaced by /kumunjayi/; hence it is a 'metanym'. One can also recognise as a 'proximate baptismal event' a particular death, which activates the /kumunjayi/ principle.

/Kumunjayi/ 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 individual name (a personal name of the traditional type, 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 used as a personal name. Note too the simple gloss 'no name' which is given to /kumunjayi/ in Aboriginal English, paralleling the sign-language term (see 2.1.1), and the composition of the Warumungu (2.3), Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979:199) and Umpila (Thompson 1946:157) terms. Accordingly, we propose the class-name analysis:

/kumunjayi/ <=> { those who have an individual name
which (i) may not be spoken, and
(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 /kumunjayi/, 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 /kumunjayi/'s baptismal event.

Note that we are now in a position to derive a further property of /kumunjayi/. 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, /kumunjayi/ itself, being a class name, is not avoided if someone dies while still called /kumunjayi/ because of some other death. <14>

Note the way in which /kumunjayi/ is a shifter <15>. Its "presupposing" content relates to the conditions of appropriate use following from its baptismal event.

In order to use /kumunjayi/ correctly, as a proper name, on a particular occasion, it is not necessary to know what the tabooed name is, nor is it even necessary to believe that someone with the same name died. Someone who happened to be ignorant of the word /kumunjayi/ might hear a person being called /kumunjayi/, and, adopting the term, call them /kumunjayi/, without knowing what name /kumunjayi/ replaced, or even what kind of baptismal event was involved. On the other hand, the stranger, following "linguistic division of labor" (Putnam 1975:145-6), may well believe that someone in the community will have knowledge about the history of the name. Certainly, someone who knows that /kumunjayi/ replaces a name proscribed because of death, but does not know of a particular use of /kumunjayi/ which name it is replacing, would believe that others in the community would know the relevant proscribed term. We have known children to call a person /kumunjayi/ when it is likely that they have no knowledge of the proscribed name, whereas an adult typically knows the name being avoided (and can communicate it by writing, for example, and is able to commit the offense of saying the proscribed name, when drunk for instance). Thus it would be unusual if the proscribed word were 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 areas, personal names are recycled every second generation. The implications for the rate of vocabulary change are taken up in Alpher & Nash (in prep.).

APPENDIX: WARLPIRI TEXTS ABOUT WORD REPLACEMENT

These remarks were recorded 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-rnalu-nyanu ngarri-ni, yapa
 Pres-111-Ref1 tell-NPast person
 kaji-lpa pali-yarla yangka -- yirdi kuja-ka-pala nyina -- jirrima
 if-Imperf die-Irr that name Rel-Pres-33 sit two
 yangka -- jintangka-ju-wiyi yirdi, walypali-kirlangu, ngula ka-lu
 that together-Part-first name European-Possess that Pres-333
 yirdi yampi-mi yangka, ngarri-ni ka-lu kumunjayi-lki.
 name leave-NPast that tell-NPast Pres-333 -then
 Yangka nyurnu-kujaku. Nyurnu-yijala ka-lu yangka yirdi-ma-ni
 that dead-Neg Purp dead-also Pres-333 that name-Caus-NPast
 yali, ngula ka-lu ngarri-ni kumunjayi. Kumunjayi, kumunjayi
 that that Pres-333 tell-NPast
 yirdi yapa-kurlangu. Yapa-kurlangu yangka ka-lu-jana ngarri-ni
 name person-Possess person-Possess that Pres-333-333 tell-NPast
 panu-jala kumunjayi. Yapa-kari jinta-kari kumunjayi, jinta-kari
 many-very person-other one-other
 marda kumunjayi-yijala. Yapa.
 perhaps -also person

2. Kumunjayi:

Kumunjayi-ji ka-rnalu-jana ngarri-ni -- yapa-ngka nyurnu-ngka.
 -Part Pres-111-333 call-NPast person-Loc dead-Loc
 yungu yapa pali-ja. Ngula-ngka-nya ka-rnalu-jana kumunjayi-ji
 Causal person die-Past that-Loc-Top Pres-111-333 -Part
 ngarri-ni. Wiyarpa. Kula-lpa-rna yirdi-ma-ntarla --
 call-NPast poor thing Neg-Imperf-1 name-say(?) -Irrealis
 mari-nji-wita-rlu. Kala mari-jarri ka-rnalu-jana yangka yapa-ngka
 sorry- -small-Erg but sorry-become Pres-111-333 that person-Loc
 nyurnu-ngka. Ngula-ngka-ju ka-rnalu-jana juul-(w)angka --
 sick-Loc that-Loc-Part Pres-111-333 avoid-speak(NPast)
 mari-lki -- yangka yi-ka-lu yapa -- yirdi-jinta -- pali-mi;
 sorry-then that Caus-Pres-333 person name-one die-NPast
 ngula-ngka-nya ka-rnalu-jana juul-(w)angka yirdi-jinta-rla.
 that-Loc-Top Pres-111-333 avoid-speak name-one Loc

3. Janganpa yapa yungu pali-ja, yinyarla kakarrara, Yimampirla,
 ngulajuparnalu ngarrurnu, janganpa yirdiji kuyuju --
 kirlpangardi-lki. Kala kularnalu ngarrikarla kumunjayiji --
 yapawana japa, kala kuyuwana japa yungulurla yirrarnu yirdiji
 nyurruwiyiwiji witakuwiyiji -- karnalu ngarrirni
 kirlpangardi-lki.

4. [Q. ... kajilpaju malikirli pungkarla, like palkangu
 maliki, nyarrpa kajikarna wangka, kulalparna -- kulalparna
 wangkayarla maliki | yungu yapa pali-ja yirdi maliki. Kala
 nyarrpa kajikarna wangka -- kajilpaju malikirli pungkarla?] Kala
 kajikarnalu ngarrini | jarntungkuju pungu. Yalumpurluju,
 kulapanpa kumunjayiji ngarrikarla, yapa japa. Kalaka nyampu --
 kajikanpa ngarrini jarntu. Kala yungu pali-ja yapa | malikiji
 yirdiji || yirdi yungu pali-ja yapa.

NOTES

1. Research for this paper has been funded by National Science Foundation grant number BNS-7913950. We are grateful to Ken Hale for discussing the topic with us, and for freely making available his notes, and allowing us to present extracts from them here. The paper has also benefited from the presentation of a preliminary version to the Boston Sociolinguistics group on March 19th, 1981, and from comments by Mary Laughren, Jim Wafer and Diane Bell. For the orthography, and other information on Warlpiri see Hale (1974), Nash (1980).
2. Douglas told Miller (1971:70) that the death of Ngayunya "took place shortly before he started work at Warburton in 1953".
3. Gould (1969:68) -- "By the time my wife and I arrived at the Warburton Ranges, in 1966, this stem had again been fully accepted as normal usage."
- Miller (1971:70) -- "The form 'ngayu' 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. /nganku/] all or part of the time."

4. We are most familiar with communities along the Stuart Highway, viz. Ali-Curung (Warrabri), Tennant Creek, Banka Banka and Elliott. We are also aware that the term is used at the other Warlpiri communities we have visited: Willowra, Yuendumu, and Lajamanu (Hooker Creek).

5. Meggitt (1962:222) also notes that the name of a deceased person is simply omitted from a song-line when it is performed, while Moyle (1979:50) observes that among the Pintupi "it sometimes happens that a person's name occurs in a song text, in which case the whole song is omitted from the series."

6. Note the further support for this view from an observation made by Adam Kendon (p.c.), who is making a depth study of Warlpiri Sign Language. When Kendon asked Warlpiri women for a sign translation of /kumunjayi/, none was forthcoming, and one woman denied that there was an equivalent sign.

7. We are grateful to Patrick McConvell for informing us of these Gurindji (Kuurrinyji) term and the first of the Mudbura (Mutpurra) terms. The second Mudbura term was provided to Nash by Donald Graham Jupurrula.

8. Donald Graham Jupurrula, (who also speaks Mudbura, Warumungu and, as a second language, Warlpiri) recorded on Nash's tape 14 at Morphet Creek, March 30th, 1978. We have somewhat standardised his Aboriginal English in the interests of intelligibility.

9. See Hansen & Hansen (1977:31,32). They also give the forms /kumuntayi/ and /kumanytayi/, which we presume are typographical errors. Mary Laughren (p.c.) says that /kumarnu/ is also used by Warlpiri at Yuendumu, but /kumunjayi/ is much more common.

10. They grow up first, before the boy gets his name, and they put the name then. If they have bad luck (sc. if the child dies), well, it means they wouldn't have to put the name. They wait until he grows up. (Donald Graham Jupurrula)

11. "(If) my old fellow pass away, my daddy, well my grandson... I might put my old fellow's name on that young fellow, little fellow. My son might find (sc. become father of) a little fellow, and I put my father's name now... The bush name, that belongs to the /kangkuya/ 'father's father'... All right, if it's a girl, I'll 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 /kumunjayi/ in Aboriginal English, and both involve place names: (i) The Warrabri Settlement was referred to as that /kumunjayi/ settlement only when the news of Warrabri 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 practice to refer to it as 'Ali-Curung', and Steve Swartz (p.c.) has not heard /kumunjayi/ used for 'Warrabri' in his three subsequent years at Lajamanu.

(ii) The place Lawurra was occasionally referred to as 'that /kumunjayi/ place' when men were giving evidence in English at a traditional land claim, and apparently were still arriving at a suitable replacement term.

Notice that both these uses of /kumunjayi/ were at a stage before a replacement name had been settled on; this fits with Laughren's observation (2.1(d)) that /kumunjayi/ may be used in situations of forgetfulness.

13. Silverstein (1980:25) expresses the view involving this approach to the semantics of names thus: "[name-elements] are shorthand devices not of some definite description of the referent, but of some baptismal event in which reference to the individual referent was fixed... by historical or statistical association with the referent." Silverstein describes this as the metapragmatic content of name-elements.

14. One can imagine this not being the case -- say, several /kumunjayi/-like terms, each themselves subject to the death taboo. In fact, this apparently is Reece's (1979:123) understand-

ing of the alternate forms that he lists (all slightly different pronunciations of /kumunjayi/). "When one who is given one of these names dies, one of the alternate names is used for others of the same name, hence the word varies in each locality". We have found no evidence for Reece's assertion.

15. This 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 (1976:24) defines shifters as "presupposing, referential indexes". Thus /kumunjayi/, like any name, is a metapragmatic shifter. Silverstein's (1976:51) definition applies, though the examples he gives of metapragmatic shifters are rather different, viz. verbs such as "christen, dub, sentence".

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