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THARGARI PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY

by

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PREFACE

Thargari/θárgəriy/ is an adaptation of the native name /targaRi/ [t̪əʎgʌɾi]. 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, Tarkarri.

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 Yowadji, 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 Yowadji 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.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THARGARI MATERIALS

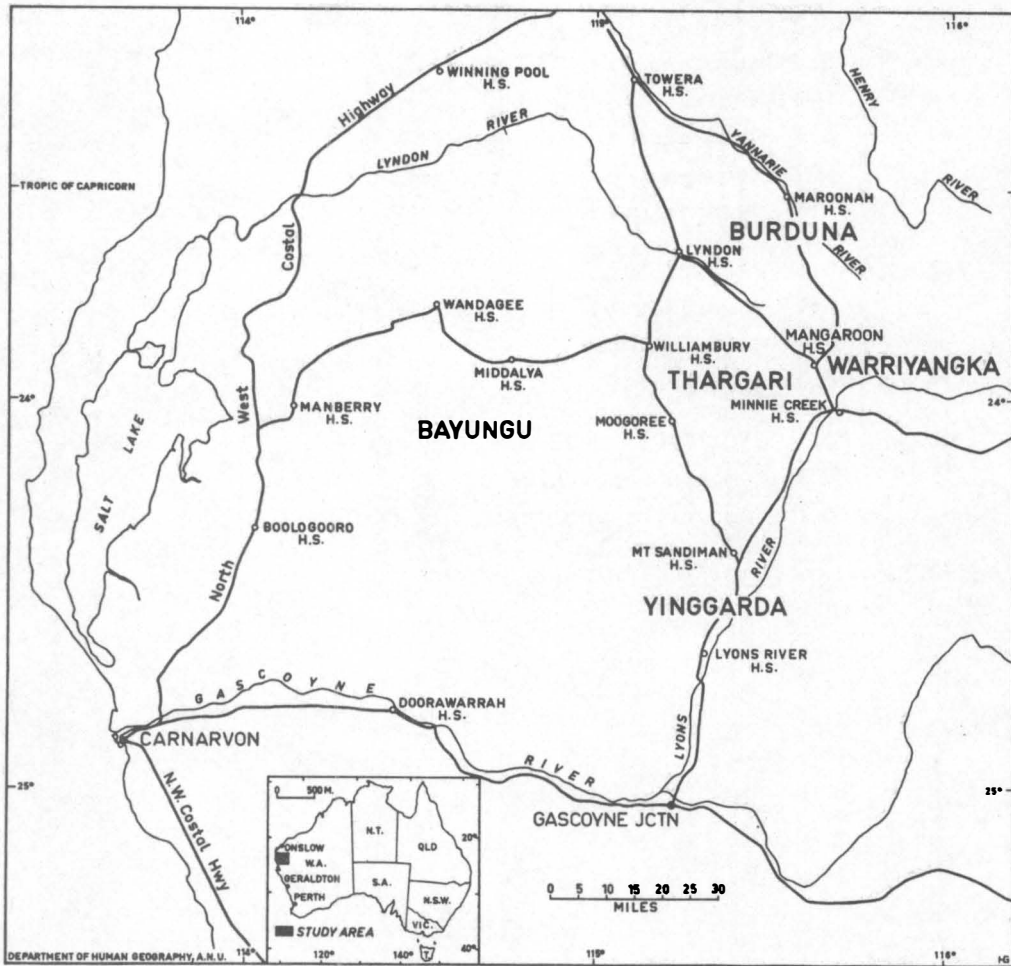
- D.S. DAVIDSON *Comparative vocabularies of 19 Western Australian languages* [ms.].
n.d.
About 270 lexical items are given in phonetic transcription, somewhat underdifferentiated. Thargari is represented by the '1' dialect.
- GEOFFREY
1966
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This volume contains a two page sketch of '1' Thargari by O'Grady.
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1966
'Proto-Ngayarda phonology', *Oceanic Linguistics* 5:2.
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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THARGARI AND NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES



INTRODUCTION

The Thargari tribe used to live in the area roughly comprising present-day Williambury, Moogooree, Mangaroon, 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 [ɿ ɿ̃ ɿ̃̃] where the first dialect has [ɖ d ɖ̃ d̃̃]. Historically, the 'ɿ' dialect is more conservative than the 'd' 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

acc	accusative case	N	noun stem
admon	admonitive mood	nom	nominalizer
agt	agentive	P	particle stem
al	allative case	part	participial tense
assoc	associative	past	past tense
B	see note 1.	pl	plural number
C	see note 1.	pres	present tense
caus	causative	priv	privative
concom	concomitive	prop	propriative
dat	dative case	purp	purposive mood
deriv	derivative	recip	reciprocal
dir	directional deictic	rel	relative enclitic
du	dual number	sg	singular number
dubit	dubitative	subjunct	subjunctive mood
el	elative case	subord	subordinate
emph	emphatic	temp	temporal enclitic
erg	ergative case	usit	usitative aspect
env	environment	V	see note 1.
excl	exclusive	Vb	verb stem
fut	future tense	Vb _{RU} , Vb _{ru} , etc.	verb stem of the specified class
I	see note 1.	W	see note 1.
imper	imperative mood	∅	zero
incl	inclusive	X ₋	in the environment: after X
intentv	intentive mood	<u>X</u>	in the environment: before X
intr	intransitivizer	,	between two morphs, indicates free alternation.
intrans	intransitive verb		
J	see note 1.		
loc	locative case		
M	see note 1.		
.	[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

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar
voiceless						
stops	p	t̪	r	ʈ	c	k
voiced stops	b	d̪	d	ɖ	j	g
nasals	m	ɳ	n	ɳ̠	n ^y	ŋ
laterals			l	ɭ		
glides	w	ɔ̃		R	y	

Vowels

	front	central	back
short	i	a	u
long	i·	a·	u·

Junctures

word	space
pause	,
interruption	:
declarative	.
interrogative	?

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 / t̪ k / are aspirated. / r c / are unreleased when the first member of a consonant cluster.

/ t̪ 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.

/ k / is slightly further front before / i a a· / than before / u u· /.

cupa	<i>child, small</i>	wuṭadbari	<i>razor</i>
kuṭaḍi	<i>tail</i>	kuca	<i>sperm</i>
ḡura	<i>you-sg</i>	puka	<i>bad</i>

1.2.2 The *voiced stops* of Thargari are fully voiced throughout their articulation. The voiced apical stops / d ḍ / are rather tense; / b ḡ j g / are very laxly articulated. It is easy to mishear / j /, a palatal affricated stop, as the glide / ɣ /. When / d ḍ j / occur as first member of a consonant cluster, they are unreleased.

/ ḡ / is invariably an interdental affricate.

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

cabuḍa	<i>beard</i>	muḍu	<i>a little</i>
muḍa	<i>nose</i>	pu·jaḡa	<i>blow present tense</i>
muḍu	<i>vagina</i>	pugaḡa	<i>visit present tense</i>

1.2.3 The *nasals* are fully nasalized throughout their articulation.

kamu	<i>hungry</i>	ṭuṇu	<i>snake, snake track</i>
ḡuḡa	<i>that</i>	n ^Y in ^Y aḡma	<i>chin</i>
puna	<i>go, walk-</i> <i>present</i>	muṇu	<i>a sore, a swelling</i>

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; / ḍ / is an interdental fricative.

cugula	<i>throw-future</i>	yuwadba	<i>the wind</i>
puḷgu	<i>mixture of</i> <i>tobacco and</i> <i>ashes</i>	kuḍara	<i>two</i>
		ṭuRa	<i>fog</i>
		kayanu	<i>one, alone</i>

1.2.5 The *vowels* are in general laxly articulated.

Typically, / i i· / are lower and higher high front unrounded vowels, / a a· / low central and back, and / u u· / lower and higher high back rounded vowels.

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

/ u u· / are higher high front rounded vowels when preceded or followed by either of the alveolars / r d /.

mini <u>ju</u> ga	turn it-present	mi·nma <u>ga</u>	baa- present
mana <u>ga</u>	get, hold-present	pa <u>ga</u> · <u>ga</u>	run-present
muga <u>ra</u>	in front	gu· <u>ga</u> ga	push-present

1.2.6 All *junctions* 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.

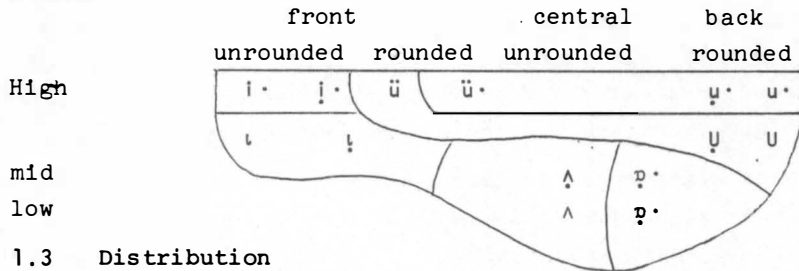
Interrogative juncture / ? / is realized as a continuous rise in pitch. Most questions are bounded by an interrogative juncture.

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

	bi-labial	inter-dental	apico-alveolar	retro-flex	palatal	dorso-velar
Trill			ṛ			
Flap			ɾ			
Voiceless stops	ph	tʰ	th	tʰ	tʰç	kh kʰ
Voiced stops	p		t		tç	
Voiced stops			t̄		t̄	
Voiced stops			d	d̄		
Voiced stops			d̄	d̄		
Voiced stops	b	ɖ			d̄	ɣ ɣ̄
Voiced stops					d̄	
Fricatives		ð				
Semivowels	ɥ			ɹ	j	
Nasals	m	ɱ	n	ɳ	nj	ŋ
Laterals			l	ɭ		

Vowels

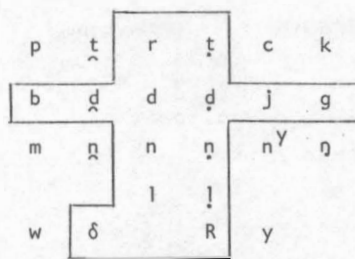


1.3 Distribution

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

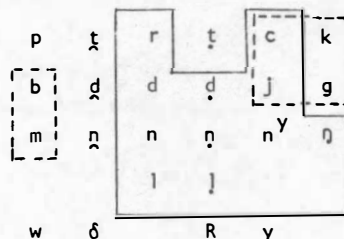
CVC CV	paḍga	big
CV CVC CV	yaganma	spouse
CV CV CV	kuwaḍi	now, today

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 *intervocallically* 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 /	<i>cicatrices</i>
/ jb /	/ kujba /	<i>sick</i>
/ db /	/ ŋurudbari /	<i>having a head cold</i>
/ ɖb /	/ kuɖbaRu /	<i>dust</i>

With second member / m /:

/ nʸm /	/ ɕadanʸma /	<i>tongue</i>
/ nm /	/ kanma /	<i>fish</i>
/ ŋm /	/ nʸinʸaŋma /	<i>chin</i>

With second member / c /:

/ rc /	/ ɕurcara /	<i>already</i>
--------	-------------	----------------

With second member / j /:

/ dj /	/ paŋa·dji /	<i>a good runner</i>
/ ɖj /	/ kuɖjaɖa /	<i>butt of spear</i>

¹excluding English loanwords.

With second member / k /:

/ rk /	/ ŋuwarukuḍa /	toward a sleeping person
/ ck /	/ waRacku /	vegetable food (dative)
/ ŋk /	/ yanaRariŋkaRa /	might go

With second member / g /:

/ rg /	/ cargu /	three
/ ḍg /	/ ḥaḍga /	beard
/ l̥g /	/ kuḷgi /	girl
/ lg /	/ kalguṇa /	waits

Chapter 2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

There are certain phonemes that alternate with each other under stutable 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	t̥	r	ṭ	c	k	M:	m	ṁ	n	ṅ	n ^y	ŋ
	b	ḍ	d	ḍ	j	g	W:	w	ḍ		R	y	
			ṁ		ṁ ^y								
			l	l̥									

V: i a u á
i· a· u· á·

l: l a

J: space , : . ? i

// in env is / example

i	C_	ji	pawur-iraṅu	<i>lacking cicatrices</i>	/ pawurjiraṅu /
	a_ u_ a_	yi	yada-iraṅu paḍu-iraṅu kajba-iba-	<i>sand-free lacking money hurt it</i>	/ yaḍayiraṅu / / paḍuyiraṅu / / kujbayiba- /
	i_	.	wakaRi-ibi	<i>meat too</i>	/ wakaRi·bi /
u	C_	ku	waRaṅ ^Y -u	<i>food[dat]</i>	/ waRaḱku /
	a_ u_	wu	pawa-u ṭuḍu-u	<i>water[dat] dog[dat]</i>	/ pawawu / / ṭuḍuwu /
	i_	yu	kuḷgi-u	<i>girl[dat]</i>	/ kuḷgiyu /
á	a_	.	mana-ája	<i>thing for getting</i>	/mana·ja/
	i_	ya	waṅi-ája	<i>always falling</i>	/ waṅiyaja/
á·	a_ a_	.	mana-á·ḍu waka-a·ḍu	<i>used to get used to talk</i>	/ mana·ḍu / / waka·ḍu /
	i_ l_	ya·	waṅi-á·ḍu waṭa-rbari-á·ḍu	<i>used to fall used to give each other things</i>	/ waṅiya·ḍu / / waṭarbariya·ḍu /
	V	elsewhere	V	waṅi-ja	<i>fell</i>
d	n_	r	ṅuwan-da	<i>at a sleeping person</i>	/ ṅuwara /
	n ^Y _	ṭ	ṭadan ^Y -da	<i>on a tongue</i>	/ ṭadaṭa /
ḍ	n_	r	yagan-ḍa	<i>to a spouse</i>	/ yagara /
	other C_	kuḍ	ṅayiḍaṅ-ḍa	<i>to an island</i>	/ ṅayiḍarkuḍa /
n	_ḍ _u	r		see ḍ in env other C_	
	_J	n	ṅuruṅ	<i>a head cold</i>	/ ṅurunma /
	elsewhere	d	ṅuruṅ-ari	<i>having a cold</i>	/ ṅurudbari /
n ^Y	_u	c	waRaṅ ^Y -u	<i>food[dat]</i>	/ waRaḱku /
	_J	n ^Y	waRaṅ ^Y	<i>food</i>	/ waRaṅ ^Y ma /
	elsewhere	j			

// in env is/ example

n	<u> </u> _d <u> </u> _d	∅	see d and ɖ in env n_
n ^Y	<u> </u> _d	∅	see d in env n ^Y _
C	elsewhere	C	
f	C_ a_ i_ _	yi	yagan-f <i>spouse</i> [emph] / yaganmayi / pura-f <i>before</i> [emph] / purayi /
	<u> </u> _u	wi	piɰi-f <i>buttocks</i> [emph] / piɰiwi /
∅	B_J	ba	kawajar-f / kawajarbayi /
	M_J	ma	yagan <i>spouse</i> / yaganma /

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: -ɰiya, -ɰi 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:

puɰiya-	wuɰiya-	<i>hang it</i>
paba,	pawa	<i>water</i>
cugu-	cuwu-	<i>throw</i>

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

ŋuɰa-	ŋuɖa-	<i>be lying down or sleeping, be</i>
-aɰi,	-aɖi	<i>relative</i>
kuɰgayi-	kuɖgayi-	<i>hear</i>

2.4.4 The alternants of punɰ- 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.

ɲura *camp*
 ɲuraga *in the camp*: -ga locative case
 ɲuraɖa *toward camp*: -ɖa 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.

wargaɲa *come, comes*: warga- *come*. ɲa present tense
 wargala *will come*: -la future tense
 wargada·ɖu *used to come*: -da·ɖu 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 —.

STEM	INFLECTION	DEICTIC	ENCLITICS		
noun	case	emphatic	temporal	temporal	connective
verb	tense-mood -aspect	directive			
particle	—	—			

The following words attest the relative orders:

[1]	ηυ	-ηυ	-ga		
[2]	yina		-ga	-ru	-kaða
[3]	yana	-ιRariηυ	-ηι	-ru	
[4]	yana	-ιRariηυ		-ru	-ι
[5]	kupa	-ja		-ru	-dbu
[6]	ηaða			-dbu	-anma

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------|
| [1] | <i>hi</i> , | [4] | <i>going now</i> [emphatic] |
| [2] | <i>This might be him now.</i> | [5] | <i>[we] stopped altogether</i> |
| [3] | <i>going to come this way</i>
<i>now</i> | [6] | <i>because I...</i> |

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 _y i
[3]	ɲuɬa-	ɲuɬa-	Vb _y i
[4]	yugarɪ-	,	Vb _a

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

wi·Ramunɪŋu yugara cupayi *That kid is swearing.*

wi·Ramunɪ	-ŋu	yugarɪ	-a	cupa	-i.
<i>swear</i>	<i>subord</i>	<i>be, exist</i>	<i>pres</i>	<i>child</i>	<i>emph</i>

yun^Yun^Yuŋuwi wi·Ramunɪŋu kupiŋa. *They're swearing*

yun ^Y u	n ^Y uŋu	-i	wi·ramunɪ	-ŋu	kupa	-iŋa.
<i>that</i>	<i>from</i>	<i>emph</i>	<i>swear</i>	<i>subord</i>	<i>be, exist</i>	<i>pres.</i>

In non-stative constructions, the verbs listed above refer to:

- [1] *going, walking*
 - [2] *sitting, staying*
 - [3] *lying down, sleeping*
- and
- [4] *standing.*

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:
 paṇa·dji *a runner*
 paṇa· -dji
 run agt

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

 cupaḍiwari *the one having children*
 cupa -ḍi -ari
 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: ṇadi *you and I*
 [2] numerals: cargu *three*
 [3] substantives: kajaḍbu *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.

	nom	erg	dat	loc
First person:				
sg	ηaδa	ηaδa	ηana-yi	ηaδa-da
incl	ηadi	ηadi	ηadi-ba	ηadi-da
du				
excl	ηadi-yi	ηadi-yi-Ru	ηadi-yi-ηu	ηadi-yi-Ra
incl	ηaηura	ηaηuru-du	ηaηura-ba	ηaηura-da
pl				
excl	ηaηura-yi	ηaηura-yi-Ru	ηaηura-yi-ηu	ηaηura-yi-Ra

Second person:

sg	ηura	ηura	ηura-ba	ηura-da
du	ηuwadu	ηuwadu-Ru	ηuwadu-ba	ηuwadu-Ra
pl	ηur-agaRa /ηura·gaRa/	ηura-agaRa-du etc.	ηura-agaRa-ba	ηura-agaRa-da

Demonstrative:

near sg	ηika	?	?	?
near du	n ^Y iṭaRa	n ^Y iṭaRa-du	ηuṇiRa-u /ηuṇiRawu/	?
near pl	n ^Y iṭa-guRa	?	?	?
far	yina	yu-du	yu-ηu	yu-ḍa
remote	ηuḡa	ηu-du	ηu-ηu	ηu-ḍa

Indefinite:

person	ηana	ηan-du /ηaru/	ηana-u /ηanawu/	?
place	?	?	waṭa-u /waṭawu/	waṭa-da
thing	ηa·	ηa·-du	ηa·-u /ηa·wu/	?

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:

ηadiba·n ^Y u		<i>only for me and you</i>
ηadi	-ba	-an ^Y u
we du[incl] dat		<i>only</i>
ηadiyiq ^Y uwan ^Y u		<i>only for him and me</i>
ηadi	-yi -ηu	-an ^Y u
we du excl dat		<i>only</i>

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^yiṭaru kupaja: ṅadiyi kajaḍu. *Kajardu and I stayed here.*
 n^yiṭa -ru kupa -ja: ṅadi -yi kajaḍu.
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
 ṅuwadu kupama wakaṅi. *You two stay and talk*
 ṅuwadu kupa -ma waka -aṅi.
you du stay imper say, speak non-sg

4.1.3 The *demonstratives* are divided into near, far and remote categories. These are relative distances; *yīṅa* 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 *ṅa·*], which uniformly have the shape *pronoun-ṅa* for the accusative case, *yīṅa* and *ṅuṅa* take no suffix.

ṅaḍa yīṅa waṅi·bala. *I'm gonna knock him down.*
 ṅaḍa yīṅa waṅi -iba -la.
I [erg] that[acc] fall caus fut
 curuRaṅa ṅudu yugariṅuru. *He's pointing as he stands there.*
 curuRa -iṅa ṅu -du yugari -ṅu -ru.
point pres that erg stand subord now

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

In declarative sentences, the indefinites 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 indefinites occur sentence initially, however.

- [1] ɠuɠiga yanaja ɠanakaɠa. *Somebody perhaps went there.*
 ɠuɠi -ga yana -ja ɠana -kaɠa.
there [loc? emph?] go, walk past somebody perhaps
- [2] ɠana yiɠayi yugara mujuRuriɠu? *Who is getting angry?*
 ɠana yiɠa -i yugari -a mujuRuri -ɠu?
who? that emph be, stand pres get angry subord
- [3] ɠa·wu ɠuɠayi kuɠara yugara n^yiradbariɠu? *macaɠuyiraɠu?*
Why are they having anal intercourse? Haven't they got any women?
 ɠa· -u ɠuɠa -i kuɠara yugari -a n^yira -dbari -ɠu?
what?dat that emph two be,stand pres have a.i. recip subord
macaɠu -iraɠu? woman -priv

4.2 Numerals

The numerals form a closed set of three members:

kayanu	<i>one, alone, single</i>
kuɠara	<i>two</i>
cargu	<i>three</i>

- [1] ɠuɠa yugaraɠi ɠuɠu cargu. *There are three dogs facing this way.*
 ɠuɠa yugari -a -ɠi ɠuɠu 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 -ɠa 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 *propriative* is used productively with noun stems and is in apparently limited productiveness with verb stems. All allomorphic variation is phonologically determined:

prop is // which in env is /

-ari	C_	-bari
	a_	-ri
	o_	
	i_	
	u_	-wari

The proprietive is used to show possession, when the stem is a noun:

- ηαδα kupiηa ηurudbari. *I've got a cold.*
- [1] ηαδα kupa -iηa ηuruη -ari.
I be, sit pres head cold prop
- [2] ..., yaca wuηiηu yiraRa kuδara·ri pirimayi wari yiηagayi.
..., and another [man] is hanging from the top -he's got two women, that fellow.
- ..., yaca wuηi -ηu yiraRa -da kuδara -ari
another hang subord top loc two prop
- pirimayi -ari yiηa -ga -yi.
woman prop that emph emph
- [3] ηuδuwari puna macaηu. [*I'm*] going hunting with dogs.
 ηuδu -ari puni -a maca -ηu.
dogs prop go, walk pres hunt subord

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

- [4] kupa·ri *chair, stool*
 kupa -ari
sit, stay, be prop
- [5] Q: ηa·maηu? *What's that for?*
 A: medicine kujbamaηu, ηawa·ri. *It's medicine for sores, for rubbing on.*
- ηa· -maηu? *medicine kujba -maηu, ηawa -ari.*
what? assoc [English] sickness, sores assoc rub, cover prop

4.4.2 The privative forms nouns from nouns.

priv is // which in env is /

-ira	c_	-jira, -jiraŋu
-iraŋu	i_	-ra, -raŋu
	a_ u_	-yira, -yiraŋu

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

- [1] majirjira ŋadiyi kupiŋa. *We've got no matches.*
 majir -ira ŋadi -yi kupa -iŋa.
 matches priv we du excl be,sit pres
- [2] yanaRa kupayi ŋuŋi muɖuga yuwadjiraŋuRa. [*Let's*] go sit in
 the car, out of the wind.
 yana -iRa kupa -yi ŋuŋi muɖuga yuwaŋ -iraŋu -Ra.
 go,walk fut sit purp there car the wind priv loc
- [3] yiŋa yanajani ŋaɖada pugaRu, ŋuraga kupiŋa kayanu yuki-raŋu.
*He came to my camp for a visit; [I] was there all
 alone without someone to copulate with.*
 yiŋa yana -ja -ŋi ŋaɖa -da puga -Ru,
 that go,walk past dir I loc visit purp
 ŋura -ga kupa -iŋa kayanu yuki -iraŋu.
 camp loc be,sit pres one,alone sexual priv
 inter-
 course
- [4] ŋaɖa ŋan^Ya pawayiraŋa.
I can see the one who has no water.
 ŋaɖa ŋan^Ya -iŋa pawa -ira -ŋa.
 I[erg] see pres water priv acc

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

- [1] ciŋin^Yuŋukaɖa [*it*] might be from the sky
 ciŋi -n^Yuŋu -kaɖa [*ciŋin^Yuŋu is often used to refer to
 sky from perhaps an airplane*]

- [2] kan^YaRa xi· yuⁿu^Yuⁿ. ŋuⁿa·xi, yawurⁿu^Yuⁿ yinⁿagayi.
 [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].*

kí xi· yuⁿu -n^Yuⁿ.
man, Aborigine not here from

ŋuⁿa -aⁿi yawuru -n^Yuⁿu yinⁿa -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] ŋa·maⁿu yinⁿayi paⁿuⁿda? *What's this box for?*
 See also 4.4.1, example [5].

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

- [1] yinⁿa yugara muRaⁿanukaⁿda. *That must be his son.*
 yinⁿa yugar^t -a muRa -ŋanu -kaⁿda.
that be, stand pres son one's own perhaps

- [2] ŋuⁿa yaca yugaraⁿi mayidinⁿanu. *Another one standing facing
 this way must be his grandfather.*

ŋuⁿa yaca yugar^t -a -ŋi mayidi -ŋanu.
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 /

Vb _{Ru-}	-dji		-dji
Vb _{ru-} Vb _{yi-}	-ji		-ji
Vb _{gu-} Vb _{a-}	-aja	a ₋	-·ja
		i ₋	-yaja
		ʌ ₋	

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'.

pl with is // which is /

waka- speak, Vb _{yi} mira- call, Vb _{yi}	-aṅi	-ṅi
ṅura you sg	-agaRa	-ḡaRa
macaṅu woman n ^Y iṭa here waḡaṅu young man	-guRa	-guRa
kan ^Y aRa man, Aborigine cupa child	-ḡi	-ḡi

[1] ṅaṅura kupiRa waka-ṅi kuḡukaḡi kadaḡuru. *We're going to have a talk tomorrow just like [today].*

ṅaṅura kupa -iRa waka -aṅi kuḡukaḡi kada -ḡu -ru.
we pl[incl] be, sit fut speak pl tomorrow same temp now

[2] ṅuṅa puḡiwararu kupiṅa mira-ṅi. *They'll be calling out to each other soon.*

ṅuṅa puḡiwarara -ru kupa -iṅa mira -aṅi.
that soon now be, sit pres call out pl

[3] yuṅun^Yuṅu cupaḡidu ṅanayi tuḡu yṅa kujbayiban^Ya.

Those kids hurt my dog.

yuṅu -n^Yuṅu cupa -ḡi -du ṅana -yi tuḡu kujba -iba -n^Ya.
that from child pl erg I dat dog be sick caus past

4.4.9 The nominalizer -ḡi 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] ṅaḡa n^Yiṭa kupiṅa ṅanayiḡida mayaga. *I'm here in my house.*

ṅaḡa n^Yiṭa kupa -iṅa ṅana -yi -ḡi -da maya -ga.
I here be, sit I dat nom loc house loc

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

[1] ṅana ṅuṅa kupiṅa yaṅaṅu ṅuṅu paṅa niyawu?

Who's chasing that fellow that's running along?

ṅana ṅuṅa kupa -iṅa yaṅa -ṅu ṅu -ṅu paṅa-niya -u?
who that be, sit pres chase subord that dat run concom dat

- [2] ḡaḡa ḡan^Ya ja mamadbariyaḡa. *I saw them embracing.*
 ḡaḡa ḡan^Ya -ja mama -dbari -ya -ḡa.
 I [erg] see past hold recip concom acc

4.4.11 Reduplication is rare in Thargari. Most apparent instances cannot be matched with any non-reduplicated form:

paḡu	stone	paḡubaḡu	a stony place
no *pudi		pudibudi	white cockatoo

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 *nominative 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] ḡuḡa ḡaka yugari. *That one is a mother.*

ḡuḡa	ḡaka	yugari	-a
that	mother	be, stand	pres

Inanimate substantives and the indefinite pronoun ḡa·*something, what?* are nominative in positions where other nouns would be inflected for the accusative, such as direct object of most verbs:

- [2] ḡaḡa ḡan^Yaḡa pawa·ri. *I can see the one that's full of water.*
 ḡaḡa ḡan^Ya -ḡa pawa -ari.
 I see pres water prop

This may be contrasted with:

- [3] ḡaḡa ḡan^Yaḡa pawa·riḡa. *I can see the fellow who is carrying water.*

-ḡa

acc

4.5.2 The *ergative case* has the following allomorphs:

erg with is // which in env is /

ɲaða I ɲadi we du incl ɲura you sg	∅		∅
2 morae stems not ending in C	-gu		-gu
elsewhere, i.e. C_ and with stems of 3 or more morae	-du	n ^y _	-t ^u with loss of n ^y
		n_	-ru with loss of n
		elsewhere	-du

The ergative indicates the subject of a transitive verb or the instrument.

- [1] ɲaru ɲanayi muyiRan^ya paɖu n^yiɕa? *Who stole my money?*
 ɲan -du ɲana -yi muyiRa -n^ya paɖu n^yiɕa?
who?, somebody erg I dat steal past money, stone here
- [2] ɲura puɖinma ɲuɲa ɕuɖu wuRugu. *Hit that dog with a stick.*
 ɲura puɖi -nma ɲuɲa ɕuɖu wuRu -gu.
you sg [erg] hit imper that dog stick, tree erg
- [3] kan^yaRa yudu wiɕu·ja ɲanayi ɕuɖu. *That man killed my dog.*
 kan^yaRa yu -du wiɕu· -ja ɲana -yi ɕuɖu.
man, Aborigine that erg kill past I dat dog.

4.5.3 The accusative case has a single member morph -ɲa. 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] ... kuḍiriya ḡan^yagu maramaduḡa. [He's] leaving to look for M.
 kuḍiri -ya ḡan^ya -gu maramadu -ḡa.
 leave go, concom see purp Maramadu acc

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

- [2] waḡara·ḡu ḡaḡaḡa yudu kaḡujadu. *This poor old fellow used to give me [things].*

waḡa -ra·ḡu ḡaḡa -ḡa yu -du kaḡuja -du.
 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 /

ḡaḡa I	-yi		-yi
ḡadi-yi we du excl ḡaḡura-yi we pl excl	-ḡu		-ḡu
all other personal pronouns	-ba		-ba
far and remote demonstrative pronouns	-ḡu		-ḡu
elsewhere, i.e. near demonstrative and indefinite pronouns, numerals, substantives	-u	C_	-ku
		i_	-yu
		a_ u_	-wu

Possession may be indicated by dative inflection:

- [1] waḡada ḡuḡa ḡuḡuwu wakaRi? *Where's that dog's meat?*
 waḡa ḡuḡa ḡuḡu -u wakaRi?
 where? someplace that dog dat meat
- [2] waḡada ḡuraba kaḡariguwuwi ḡaḡi? *Where's your grandmother's house?*
 waḡa -da ḡura -ba kaḡarigu -u -í ḡaḡi?
 where? loc you sg dat grandmother dat emph house

The direct object of a dependent verb is dative:

- [3] *nuḡa puna wiṭun^YaRariṅu waḡaṅuwu. He's after that young
fellow to kill him.*

*nuḡa puni -a wiṭun^Ya -iRariṅu waḡaṅu -u.
that go, walk pres kill intentv young man dat*

- [4] *ṭi· nuḡu waṭanma ḡura waRan^Yma nuḡa·ra punaṅi ṭaḡiḡaḡi.
Don't give any food to that fellow
who's coming this way quickly.*

*ṭi· ḡu -ḡu waṭa -nma waRan^Y.
not that dat give, put imper vegetable food*

*nuḡa -ara puni -a -ḡi ṭaḡiḡaḡi.
that rel go,walk pres dir quickly*

Examples [3] and [4] may be contrasted with 4.5.2 [3] and 4.5.3 [2]. Another example is [6] below.

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] *ḡura manama ḡanayi. rum. [I said to him:] You get rum for me.
ya. yiṅayi waṭan^Ya ḡanayi paḡa. Well! That fellow gave me
water.*

*ḡura mana -ma ḡana -yi. rum.
you sg [erg] get, grab imper I dat [English]*

*ya. yiṅa -yi waṭa -n^Ya ḡana -yi paḡa.
attention-getter that emph give,put past I dat water*

- [6] *nuḡa kupiṅa waṅiṅuru wakaRiyu kapalarinḡu ḡadiyinḡu.
He's cutting the meat and he's gonna cook it for him and me.*

*nuḡa kupa -iṅa waṅi -ḡu wakaRi -u
that be,sit pres cut subord meat dat*

*kapa -larinḡu ḡadi -yi -ḡu
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:

loc with is // which in env is /

1 morae pronouns	-ḍa		-ḍa
2 morae sustantives and numerals not ending in C	-ga		-ga
2 morae pronouns, ḡura-agaRa you pl. stems ending in C, 3 morae substantives	-da	n_	-ra
		ḡ_	
		n ^y _	-ḡa
		ḡ ^y _	
		elsewhere	-da
pronouns of 3 or more morae except ḡura-agaRa, substantives of 4 or more morae		-Ra	-Ra

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] yinaga ḡaḍa kan^yaḡa yijaga. *I'm carrying this on my head.*

yinaga -ga ḡaḍa kan^ya -ḡa yija -ga.
that emph I [erg] carry,bring pres head loc

[2] capagaru ḡuḡa capuRi kupiḡa wakaḡi mara.

It's supertime now; Geoffrey is still talking
[with another person]

capa -ga -ru ḡuḡa capuRi kupa -ḡa waka
supper loc now that Geoffrey be,sit,stay pres speak
-ḡi mara.

pl still

[3] ḡayiḍara on the islands [New Guinea] ḡayiḍan-da

[4] ʔadaʔa on [your] tongue ʔadan^y-da

[5] makuRuŋuRa at Mangaroon Station makuRuŋu-Ra

4.5.6 The allative has the following alternants:

al is // which in env is /

-ða	C_	-kuða
	V_	-ða

The allative indicates movement towards a place:

[1] ɳaða ɳudu wargadariRa ɳuʔiniyaða ɳuwarkuða pawayibaRu.
I'm gonna crawl up to him while he's asleep and scare him.

ɳaða ɳudu wargadari -iRa ɳuʔa -iniya -ða ɳuwaŋ -ða puwa -iba -Ru.
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 relative has the following alternants:

el is // which in env is /

-aʔi,	a_	--ʔi, --ði
-aði	i_ u_	-waʔi, -waði

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

[1] wijabariwaʔi from Williambury Station wijabari-aʔi

[2] pi.njiwaʔi after fencing, i.e. mending pi.nji-aʔi
fences

[3] ʔi.waʔi after [a drink of] tea ʔi--aʔi

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.

[1] ɳaɳurayi ʔuRanuwirija n^yiʔa wijabariwaʔi. wajbadaga
pinirijaŋi, kuðukaði.

We cleared out from this Williambury. In the morning
the boss ['the white man'] came after us.

ḡaḡura	-yi	ḡuRanuwiri	-ja	n ^y iṭa	wijabari	-aṭi.
<i>we pl</i>	<i>excl</i>	<i>ran away</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>Williambury</i>	<i>al</i>
wajbada	-ga	pini	-ri	-ja	-ḡi,	kuḡukaḡi.
<i>white man</i>	<i>emph</i>	<i>in pursuit</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>dir</i>	<i>morning, tomorrow,</i>	<i>next day</i>
			<i>intr</i>			

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] puḡi *hit with hand or held object, kill*
ḡarba *enter*
- [2] puḡi-dbari- *strike, kill each other, quarrel* -dbari recip
ḡarba- iba- *cause to enter* - iba caus
- [3] pagaja-ḡi- *make it better* pagaja *good,* -ḡi vbl
pagaja-ri- *get well, improve* -ri- *intransitivizer*
- [4] pini-ri- *pursue* pini *in pursuit*

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:

/ḡun^yi-/ *squeeze*. Present is /ḡun^yiḡa/.

mawun^yma- *pat [a dog]*. Present is mawun^yma-.

mura- *leave it, abandon it*. Present is mura-.

Name of verb class:

Ru	ru	yi	gu	a
----	----	----	----	---

Independent inflections

past	-n ^y a		-ja		
present	-iŋa				-a
future	-la	-ra	-iRa		
imperative	-nma		-ma		
purposive	-Ru	-ru	-yi	-gu	
usitative	-da·ɖu	-ra·ɖu	-á·ɖu		
dubitative	-lariŋkaRa	?	?	-iRariŋkaRa	?

Dependent inflections

subordinate	-ŋu	-ŋu	-ŋu	
concomitive	-lɪni, -lɪniya			-ya
intensive	-lariŋu	-rariŋu	-iRariŋu	
admonitive	-laŋu	-raŋu	-iRaŋu	
subjunctive	-lawu	-rawu	-iRawu	
participial	-n ^y adu		-jadu	

Verb stem formatives

reciprocal	-dbari-	-rbari-	-ɖari-	-yari-	—
causative	?	?	-iba		-yada

Noun stem formatives

agentive	-dji	-rji	-ji	-ája	
instrumental	-dbari	?	?	?	?

5.1 Ru class verbs

Purposive: -Ru Present: -l̥ŋa

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]

paca-	<i>leave behind</i>	paka-	<i>copulate with</i>
paŋa-	<i>run, flow - intrans</i>	pan ^y i-	<i>referant unknown - intrans?</i>
paRa-	1. <i>buck, throw off</i> 2. <i>jump - intrans</i>	puka-	<i>scratch, dig</i>
puga-	<i>visit</i>	puca-	<i>suck, lick, kiss</i>
pu·ja-	<i>blow, puff - intrans</i>	pura-	<i>hit or kill with a missile, chop, cut</i>
purba-	<i>growl, bark</i>	puḍi-	<i>hit or kill with hand or a held object</i>
ṭaḍa-	<i>insert</i>	ṭaka-	<i>cough - intrans</i>
ciRa-	<i>sneeze</i>	caṭawi--	<i>stab</i>
cugu-, cuwu-	<i>throw</i>	curaRa-	<i>point, show</i>
ki·nimuṇi-	<i>skin</i>	kildigildi-	<i>tickle</i>
kapa-	<i>cook, burn</i>	kaja-	<i>bite down hard, chomp</i>
karbi-	<i>tie</i>	kaḍu-	<i>referant unknown - intrans?</i>
kalgu-	<i>wait for - dat</i>	kuḍa-	<i>climb, get up, stand up - intrans</i>
kuḍi-	<i>rain - intrans</i>	maṭida-	<i>stop, prevent</i>
maṇi-	<i>eat</i>	mama-	<i>get, grab, catch</i>
mida-	<i>open</i>	mi·nma-	<i>baa</i>
miniju-	<i>turn, rotate</i>	muḍi-	<i>clasp, hold</i>
muyiRa	<i>steal</i>	ṇaṇi-	<i>wipe</i>
ṇara-	<i>bite, sting</i>	ṇu·du-	<i>push</i>
n ^y iRa-	<i>have anal intercourse</i>	n ^y aji-	<i>turn around, change course - intrans</i>

n ^y aju-	turn	n ^y uga-	poke
n ^y urada-	pin down	ŋaci-	get warm - intrans
ŋajbaŋajba-	hurry, rush him	ŋawa-	cover
wicara-	sweep	waja-	wash it
wara-	sing - intrans?	waŋi-	cut
warga-	come - intrans	waŋga-	take out
waRarga-	tear, split	wi-ga-	pull, drag
wuŋiwuŋi-	stir	wuŋa-, wuŋa-	break, chop, shave, etc.
Riŋamuni-	telephone	yaRa-	shine -intrans
yuru-	touch, poke	yuduruŋi-	load, put on
yiri-	pour	yirga-	chisel
kariya-	lift [a heavy load]	wari-	cut with a knife
puŋiya	hang it	wariya-	finish
wuŋiya-, wuŋiya-	hang it		

[2]

kupi-ya-	urinate - intrans?	kuna-ya-	defecate - intrans?
kuŋga-yi	hear		
kuRi-iba	awaken		
piŋija-ŋi-	clean, make it clean	also: piŋija-ŋi-	
pagaja-ŋi-	make it good, better		

5.2 ru.-class verbs

Purposive: -ru Present: -ŋa

This class has two members only:

waŋa-	give [him], put,	yiŋa-	ignite, burn it
	place		

5.3 yi-class verbs

Purposive: -yi Present: -ŋa

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.

puŋa-	wash, swim - intrans	ŋarba-	enter - intrans
kapa-	be hot, burn, cook - intrans		
kupa-	sit, stay, be -	kujba-	be sick - intrans
	intrans		
kuŋa-	feel shame - intrans	mira-	call out - intrans?

ḡaka-	<i>hunt</i>	ḡuḡa-	<i>be lying down or sleeping, be - intrans</i>
waka-	<i>say, tell</i>		

5.4 gu-class verbs

Purposive: -gu Present: -ḡa

There are fourteen gu-verbs:

pin ^Y a-	<i>dig, spear</i>	ḡuḡi-	<i>laugh - intrans?</i>
caḡi-	<i>limp - intrans</i>	kan ^Y a-	<i>carry, bring, take</i>
kaḡurki-	<i>call out - intrans?</i>	kuḡi-	<i>look for - dat</i>
mana-	<i>get, hold</i>	ḡan ^Y a-	<i>see, look at, read</i>
ḡa·cki-	<i>breathe, pant - intrans</i>	ḡaḡi-	<i>cry, weep - intrans</i>
waḡi-	<i>get up [after sleep] - intrans</i>		
waḡi-	<i>fall down - intrans</i>	yiri-	<i>get off, descend, get out of [car] - intrans</i>
wiḡun ^Y a-	<i>wiḡu·- wiḡu- kill</i>		

The alternants of *kill* occur as follows:

wiḡu·-	with	-ja	past tense
wiḡu-	with	-ri-	intransitivizer : wiḡuri- die
wiḡun ^Y a-	elsewhere		

5.5 a-class verbs

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

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

[1]

pirḡari-	<i>[fire] spreads</i>	pi·lari-	<i>have a spell, rest</i>
padbari-	<i>make a noise</i>	padiri-	<i>come home</i>
pajamari-	<i>have a row, quarrel</i>	puḡuri-	<i>collapse</i>
ḡuranuwiri-	<i>run away</i>	ciridari-	<i>be frightened</i>
kuḡurari-	<i>have an erection</i>	kucidari-	<i>get warm</i>
kuRiguRiri-	<i>turn around, revolve</i>	kuḡiri-	<i>go, leave, depart</i>
miRamiRari-	<i>pretend</i>	maḡan ^Y ari-	<i>be tired</i>
mucan ^Y i·ri-	<i>dive into water</i>	mu·guri-	<i>smoke tobacco</i>
n ^Y akuri-	<i>play [children play, play cards, ...]</i>		
ḡurari-	<i>dance</i>		
wi·ri-	<i>leak out</i>	wi·muri-	<i>swim</i>

wargadari-	<i>crawl</i>	wargamuri-	<i>work</i>
wagaRari-	<i>fly</i>	yugari-	<i>stand, be</i>
yaruwari-	<i>desire, want</i>	-dat	
yana-	puni-	<i>go, walk</i>	

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

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

[2]

paka-dbari-	<i>copulate with each other</i>
puḍi-dbari-	<i>hit each other, quarrel</i>
karbi-dbari-	<i>tie each other</i>
waṅi-dbari-	<i>cut each other</i>
maṅi-dbari-	<i>argue, quarrel, literally eat each other</i>
wata-rbari-	<i>give things to each other</i>
waka-ḡari-	<i>tell each other</i>
ṭuṅi-yari-	<i>laugh at each other</i>

[3]

picu-ri-	<i>sweat</i>	picu	<i>perspiration</i>
pini-ri-	<i>pursue</i>	pini	<i>in pursuit</i>
pawa-ri-	<i>melt</i>	pawa	<i>water</i>
pagaja-ri-	<i>get better</i>	pagaja	<i>good</i>
pa·ba·-ri-	<i>get wild, angry</i>	pa·ba·	<i>angry</i>
mudura-ri-	<i>go ahead of</i>	mudara	<i>in front, ahead</i>
muḍu-ri-	<i>close</i>	muḍu	<i>a little</i>
ṅuraṅura-ri-	<i>be silly</i>	ṅuraṅura	<i>a silly person</i>
wiṭu-ri-	<i>die</i>	wiṭu-	<i>kill</i>
wiḍu-ri-	<i>become a black-heart tree</i>	wiḍu	<i>blackheart tree</i>

5.6 Verb stem formatives

5.6.1 The reciprocal forms a-class verb stems:

recip with is // which is /

		1.	2.
V _{Ru}	-dbarı-	-dbarı-	-dbar-
V _{ru}	-rbarı-	-rbarı-	-rbar-
V _{yi}	-đar -	-đari-	-đar-
V _{gu}	-yarı-	-yari-	-yar-

Alternant 2. occurs before -a 'present', and 1. elsewhere.

- [1] ɲuɲa kuðara ʃuɲiyariɲu yugara. *Those two are laughing at each other.*

ɲuɲa kuðara ʃuɲi -yarı -ɲu yugarı -a
that two laugh recip subord be, stand pres

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

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

- [1] ɲaða ɲan^yaɲa muðarariyaɲa. *I see the one who's always taking the lead.*

ɲaða ɲan^ya -ıɲa muðara -rı -ája -ɲa.
I [erg] see pres in front intrans agt acc

- [2] Q: ɲa·riɲu ɲura·gaRayi kupiɲa? *What are you fellows doing?*
 A: n^yakuriɲu ka·ðu. *Playing cards.*

ɲa· -rı -ɲu ɲura -agaRa -i kupa -ıɲa?
what? intrans subord you pl emph be,sit pres
 n^yakuri -ɲu ka·ðu.
play subord cards

- [3] ɲaðadbu kuðiriya, parlıgıda. ʃınawu wajan^yɲu. miniɲuriɲu ɲudu kunaða. kuðiriRariɲu ɲudu yawuru kunaða, ɲan^yagu gi·ðu. wiðga ɲuðiniya.
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.

ḡaḡa	-dbu	kuḡiri	-ja,	parigi	-da.	ḡina	-u
<i>I</i>		<i>temp</i>	<i>go, leave</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>fence</i>	<i>loc</i>	<i>track, foot</i>
wajan ^Y a	-ḡu.	miniju		-ri		-ḡu	ḡudu
<i>to track</i>	<i>subord</i>	<i>turn, rotate it</i>		<i>intrans</i>		<i>subord</i>	<i>that</i>
kunaḡa.	kuḡiri	-iRariḡu	ḡudu	yawuru	kunaḡa,		
<i>corner</i>	<i>go, leave</i>	<i>intentv</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>north</i>	<i>corner</i>		
ḡan ^Y a	-ḡu	giḡu.	wiḡḡa	ḡuḡa	-iḡiya.		
<i>see, look</i>	<i>purp</i>	<i>gate</i>	<i>open</i>	<i>be, lie</i>	<i>concom</i>		

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:

caus is // with which in env is /

-iba	V _{yi}	i_	--ba
	V _{gu}	a_ u_	-yiba
-yada	V _a		-yada

[1] ḡura wuRu yiḡa yugariyadanma. *Stand that post upright.*

ḡura wuRu yiḡa yugari -yada -nma.
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* -ḡi is productive and forms rRu-class verbs from nouns.

[1] yiḡa ḡaḡa muḡuruḡin^Ya waya. *I straightened this wire.*

yiḡa ḡaḡa muḡuru -ḡi -n^Ya waya.
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.

[1] yina ʒaRidanma ɳadiba pawa, makadbu ɳadi pajalariɳu.

Cool this water, so we can have a drink.

yina ʒaRi -da -nma ɳadi pawa, makadbu ɳadi paja -lariɳu.
that cold vbl imper we du water so we du drink intentv

[2] ɳura kaɳadanma. *Light a fire.*

ɳura kaɳa -da -nma.
you sg fire, firewood, firestick vbl imper

5.7 Tense-mood-aspect inflection

These inflections are divisive for all verbs.

5.7.1 The *past tense* indicates action in the past.

past with is // which is /

Vb _{Ru} Vb _{ru}	-n ^y a	-n ^y a
Vb _{yi} Vb _{gu} Vb _a	-ja	-ja

[1] ɳaɳa kiligildin^ya yina. *I tickled him.*

ɳaɳa kildigildi -n^ya yina.
I tickle past that

[2] yuduga ɳanayi ɳan^yaja muduga. *He saw my car.*

yu -du -ga ɳana -yi ɳan^ya -ja muduga.
that erg emph I dat see past car

5.7.2 The *present tense* expresses activity at the time of speaking.

pres with is // which in env is /

Vb _{RU}		C ₋	
Vb _{ru}	-i ^h na	V ₋	-na
Vb _{yi}		a ₋	-i ^h na
Vb _{gu}			
Vb _a	-a	i ₋	-a

[1] nuda cupada waki^hna ma^hi. *That father is speaking to his son.*

nuda cupa -da waka -i^hna ma^hi.
? child loc speak,talk pres father

[2] nujura^hra nuwanma nu^hanu. *He's snoring, sound asleep.*

nujura^hri -a nuwan nu^ha -nu.
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.'

fut with is// which in env is /

Vb _{RU}	-la		-la
Vb _{ru}	-ra		-ra
Vb _{yi}			
Vb _{gu}	-iRa	V ₋	-Ra
Vb _a		i ₋	-iRa

[1] na^hda yi^hna kildigildila. *I'll tickle him.*

na^hda yi^hna kildigildi -la.
I that tickle fut

[2] na^hda tu^hala yi^hna. *I'll rub it.* tu^ha- rub

[3] na^hda xi^hdu^hru wa^htara yi^hna ku^hta^hdi, na^hda kupiRa ma^hni^hnu kayanu.

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

ḡaḡa ḡi· -ḡu -ru waḡa -ra yiḡa kuḡaḡi,
I not temp now give,put fut that tail

ḡaḡa kupa -iRa maḡi -ḡu kayanu.
I be,sit fut eat subord one, alone

[4] ḡaḡa yiḡa ḡaRidaru, ḡaḡi ḡaḡa ḡuḡira. *I'm starting to get cold, I must have a sleep now.*

ḡaḡa ḡaRi -da -ru, ḡaḡi ḡaḡa ḡuḡa -iRa.
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 /

Vb _{Ru} Vb _{ru}	-nma	-nma
Vb _{yi} Vb _{gu} Vb _a	-ma	-ma

[1] ḡura curuRaḡa ḡuḡa kupiniyaḡa. *Point at that fellow sitting.*

ḡura curuRa -nma ḡuḡa kupa -iḡiya -ḡa.
you sg point,show imper that sit,be concom acc

[2] ḡuwadu kupa pi·lariḡu, yanaRariḡuḡi cariḡaru.

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

ḡuwadu kupa pi·lari -ḡu yana -iRariḡu -ḡi
you du be,sit rest,have a subord go,walk intentv dir
spell

cari -ga -ru.
Sunday loc now

5.7.5 The *purposive* 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.

purp with is // which is /

Vb _{Ru}	-Ru	-Ru
Vb _{ru}	-ru	-ru
Vb _{yi}	-yi	-yi
Vb _{gu} Vb _a	-gu	-gu

Examples [1] to [3] are of independent clauses, and [4] to [6] of dependent clauses, containing a purposive verb.

- [1] nura kupayiru? wakaRi kan^Yaja? *Are you gonna stay [here] now? Bring any meat?*

nura kupa -yi ru? wakaRi kan^Ya -ja?
you sg stay,sit,be purp now meat bring past

- [2] naða tuṭaRu. *I intend to rub it.*

naða tuṭa -Ru.
I rub purp

- [3] na·da nura managu, yuki? *What are you after, sexual intercourse?*

na· nura mana -gu, yuki?
what?,something you sg get,hold purp sexual intercourse

- [4] puḍaḍa·ḍi, yanaRariṅu kupayi ṅuṅa maradiku.

From Purdadha, [I] went to stay at Maralinggu.

puḍaḍa -ḍi, yana -Rariṅu kupa -yi ṅuṅa maradiku.
Purdadha el go,walk intentv stay,be purp that Maralinggu

- [5] naða puna mu·gurigu. *I'm going to have a smoke*

naða puni -a mu·guri -gu.
I go,walk pres smoke [tobacco] purp

[6] $\eta\alpha\delta\alpha$ $k\alpha\delta\alpha n^Y\alpha$ $\eta u \cdot r\delta\alpha$ $managu$. *I sent [them] to get horses.*

$\eta\alpha\delta\alpha$ $k\alpha\delta\alpha$ $-n^Y\alpha$ $\eta u \cdot ru$ $-d\alpha$ $mana$ $-gu$
I send past horse al[?] get,hold purp

[It is not certain whether $-d\alpha$, or $-da$ 'locative' occurred]

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

usit with *is //* which in env *is /*

Vb _{Ru}	-da·đu		-da·đu
Vb _{ru}	-ra·đu		-ra·đu
Vb _{yi}	-á·đu	a ₋	-·đu
Vb _{gu}		a ₋	
Vb _a		i ₋	-ya·đu
		t ₋	

[1] $\eta u \cdot r\delta\alpha$ $cuguda \cdot \delta\alpha$ $\eta\alpha di y\eta\alpha$. *The horse used to buck us off.*

$\eta u \cdot ru$ $-du$ $cugu$ $-da \cdot \delta\alpha$ $\eta\alpha di$ $-yi$ $-i\eta\alpha$.
horse erg throw usit we du excl pres

[2] $\eta\alpha\delta\alpha$ $w\alpha\tau\alpha ra \cdot \delta\alpha$ $yuduga$. *I used to give him things.*

$\eta\alpha\delta\alpha$ $w\alpha\tau\alpha$ $-ra \cdot \delta\alpha$ $yudu$ $-ga$.
I give,put usit that[?] emph

[3] $\eta\alpha di yi$ $w\alpha\tau\alpha r\bar{b}ari ya \cdot \delta\alpha$. *We used to give each other things.*

$\eta\alpha di$ $-yi$ $w\alpha\tau\alpha$ $-r\bar{b}ar\iota$ $-á \cdot \delta\alpha$.
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 /

Vb _{Ru}	-lariŋkaRa		-lariŋkaRa
Vb _{ru}	-rariŋkaRa		-rariŋkaRa
Vb _{yi}	-iRariŋkaRa	a_	-RariŋkaRa
Vb _{gu}		i_	
Vb _a		a_	-iRariŋkaRa
		i_	

- [1] ŋan^yama ŋura ŋuŋa makawaɗari waɗaŋu yugariya wakaŋu
macaŋuRa. pakalariŋkaRa. *Look at that young fellow with
the hat, talking to the women. I think he's gonna copulate.*

ŋan^ya -ma ŋura ŋuŋa makawaɗa -ari waɗaŋu
see, look imper you sg that hat prop young man
yugarı -ya waka -ŋu macaŋu -Ra. paka
be, stand cōncom speak subord woman loc copulate
-lariŋkaRa.
dubit

- [2] maŋilariŋkaRa? *I wonder, is he gonna eat it?*

maŋi -lariŋkaRa?
eat dubit

- [3] ŋuŋa kupiŋa karbiɗbariRariŋkaRa. *The two sitting there are
perhaps gonna tie each other up.*

ŋuŋa kupa -iŋa karbi -ɗbarı -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.

subord with is // which is /

Vb _{Ru}	- <u>ru</u>	- <u>ru</u>
Vb _{ru} Vb _{yi}	- <u>ru</u>	- <u>ru</u>
Vb _{gu} Vb _a	- <u>ru</u>	- <u>ru</u>

The verb in the dependent clause of a stative sentence is most often subordinate:

- [1] *ḡaḡa kupaja tuṭaṅu. I rubbed it.*

ḡaḡa kupa tuṭa -ru
I be,sit rub subord

- [2] *ḡaḡa puna muḡuriṅu. I'm smoking.*

ḡaḡa puni -a muḡuri -ru.
I be,go,walk pres smoke tobacco subord

- [3] *ḡaḡa yugarija kuḡgayiṅu. I listened [to them].*

ḡaḡa yugari -ja kuḡga -yi -ru.
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:

- [4] *ḡuḡa paḡaḡa yaḡaṅu. He's running, chasing [somebody].*

ḡuḡa paḡaḡa -ṭṭa yaḡa -ru.
that run pres chase,hunt subord.

- [5] *ḡiḡ muḡa mamaṅu kujbayibaṅu. Don't grab [my] nose and hurt it.*

ḡiḡ muḡa mama -nma kujba -iba -ru.
not nose get,grab,catch imper sick,sore caus subord

- [6] *...ḡujuraḡriya ḡuwanma ḡuḡaṅu. He's snoring, sound asleep.*

ḡujuraḡri -ya ḡuwan ḡuḡa -ru.
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: *-ɫniya* is more commonly used than *-ɫni*, the latter being more frequent however in very rapid, excited speech. Only *-ɫniya*, and not *-ɫni*, is attested with a following suffix.

concom with *is* // which in env *is* /

Vb _{RU}	-ɫni, -ɫniya	V_	-ni,
Vb _{ru}			
Vb _{yi}			-niya
Vb _{gu}		a_	-ini, -iniya
Vb _a	-ya		-ya

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] ɣura kalgunma ɣanayi, ɣaɖa kuɖiriya paɖiriɣuɣi.
Wait for me - I'm going and I'll be back soon.

ɣura kalgu -nma ɣana -yi ɣaɖa kuɖiri -ya
you wait for imper I dat I go,leave concom
paɖiri -ɣu -ɣi.
return subord dir

- [2] ɣuɣa ɣan^Yama muyiRaniya. *Look at him stealing.*

ɣuɣa ɣan^Ya -ma muyiRa -ɫniya.
that see,look imper steal concom

- [3] ɣuɣa ɣan^Yama muyiRariɣu yugariya. *Look at him, he's going to steal.*

ɣuɣa ɣan^Ya-ma muyiRa -lariɣu yugari -ya.
[see [2]] intentv *be,stand* concom

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

- [4] ɣuɣa puɖidbararu, ɣuɣa yacaɣayi waɣi·baniyaru.
They're fighting now, and he's knocking the other fellow down.

ḡuḡa puḡi -dbari -a -ru yaca -ḡa -i waḡi -iba
that hit recip pres now other acc emph fall caus
 -ḡiya -ru.
concom now

5.7.10 The *intenty* indicates a plan to do something.

Less determination seems to be implied than when the purposive is used. In narration, an intenty verb may often refer simply to past action [i.e. at the time of the story], without any 'intention' implied.

intenty with is // which in env is /

Vb _{Ru}	-lariḡu		-lariḡu
Vb _{ru}	-rariḡu		-rariḡu
Vb _{yi}	-ḡRariḡu	v ₋	-Rariḡu
Vb _{gu}			
Vb _a		l ₋	-iRariḡu

- [1] ḡaḡa yuḡarija paru kuḡḡayilariḡu. *I stood up so I could hear.*
 or: *I stood up and listened.*

ḡaḡa yuḡari -ja paru kuḡḡa -yi -lariḡu.
I stand past and ear caus intenty

- [2] ḡaḡa miRamiRarija caḡawi·lariḡu. *I pretended I was gonna stab him.*

ḡaḡa miRamiRari -ja caḡawi· -lariḡu.
I pretend past stab intenty

- [3] ḡaḡa miRamiRarija puḡilariḡu. *I pretended I was gonna hit him.*

puḡi
hit, kill

- [4] ḡuḡu yudu ḡan^yaḡa purbalariḡu. *The dog's looking this way,*
I think he's gonna bark.

ḡuḡu -gu yu -du ḡan^ya -ḡa purba -lariḡu.
dog erg that erg see,look pres bark,growl intenty

[5] yina wakaja yanaRariṅu. *He said he was gonna go.*

yina waka -ja yana -iRariṅu.
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 /

Vb _{Ru}	-lawu		-lawu
Vb _{ru}	-rawu		-rawu
Vb _{yi} Vb _{gu}	-iRawu	V __	-Rawu
Vb _a		a __	-iRawu

[1] ṅaḁa wakja tuḁuwu karbilawu. *I told him to tie the dog up.*

ṅaḁa waka -ja tuḁu -u karbi -lawu.
I say,tell past dog dat tie up subjunct

[2] ṅaḁa wakaja yaṅalawu, mamaRu, pucalarinuru. *I told him to chase her, catch her, and kiss her.*

ṅaḁa waka -ja yaṅa -lawu, mama -Ru,
I tell,say past hunt, subjunct catch,get purp
chase grab

puca -larinṅu
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.*

[3] ṅaḁa kupiṅa wakaṅu yinaga yanaRawu. *I'm telling him to go.*

ṅaḁa kupa -iṅa waka yina -ga yana -iRawu.
I be,sit pres say,tell that emph go,walk subjunct

5.7.12 The *admonitive* indicates what should not be done or what should be avoided

admon with is // which in env is /

Vb _{Ru}	-laŋu		-laŋu
Vb _{ru}	-raŋu		-raŋu
Vb _{yi}	-iRaŋu	V ₋	-Raŋu
Vb _{gu} Vb _a		a ₋	-iRaŋu

- [1] ŋaɖa wakiRa ŋuŋidu, wicaga ŋuŋa·ra warganŋi mayidiŋanuwari,
ŋuŋa wargalaŋuŋi Geoff.

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.

ŋaɖa waka -iRa ŋuŋi -du, wica ŋuŋa -áa
I say,tell,speak fut there [?] old man that rel
warga -iŋa -ŋi mayidi -ŋanu -ari,
come pres dir grandchild one's own prop
ŋuŋa warga -laŋu -ŋi Geoff.
that come admon dir [English]

- [2] ŋadiyiRu ŋawaŋa kuɖaradu ŋuɖujba paŋiRaŋuŋi.
We're covering up this smelly thing so it won't stink.

ŋadi -yi -Ru ŋawa -ina kuɖara -du
we du excl erg cover pres two erg
ŋuɖuj paŋi -iRaŋu -ŋi.
smelly,a smell stink admon dir

- [3] mananma ŋika waŋiRaŋu. *Hold him so he won't fall.*

mana -nma ŋika waŋi -iRaŋu.
hold,get imper this fall admon

[4] maṭidanma waralaṅu yuduga. *Stop that fellow singing.*

maṭida -nma wara -laṅu yudu -ga.
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 /*

Vb _{Ru} Vb _{ru}	-n ^y adu	-n ^y adu
Vb _{yi} Vb _{gu} Vb _a	-jadu	-jadu

[1] ya. yiṅayi yanaja, ṭanuḍba yanajaṅi kuḷgayin^yadu ṅuwaduRa wakiniya n^yiṭa taperecorder.

Well. He came, Donald came here when he heard your voices on the taperecorder.

ya. yiṅa -i yana -ja, ṭanuḍ yana -ja
interjection that emph go,walk past Donald

-ṅi kuḷgayi -n^yadu ṅuwadu -Ra waka -ṅiya
dir hear part you du loc say,speak concom

n^yiṭa t.r.

here [English]

[2] ṅaḍa kuRurijaṅi ṅuṭajadu kupayi ṅan^yaṅu. *I got up from sleeping to have a look.*

ṅaḍa kuRu -ru -ja -ṅi ṅuṭa -jadu kupa -yi
I eye intr past dir sleep part be,sit purp

ṅan^ya -ṅu.

see,look subord

5.8 Verb deictic

The *directional* -ṅi occurs frequently, with the meanings *this way, toward me.*

[1] an' nura wargalaŋi kuḍukaḍiŋada. ŋadi kupiRa waka.ŋi
n^yiṭayi. wanaraŋiŋuruḍu.

*And you come again tomorrow. We'll be talking here.
We'll make it long then [i.e. have a lengthy informant
session].*

an'	nura	warga	-la	-ŋi	kuḍukaḍi	ŋada	ŋadi
[English]	you sg	come	fut	dir	tomorrow	also	we du[incl]
kupa	-iRa	waka	-aŋi	n ^y iṭa	-i.	wanara	-ŋi -ŋu
be,sit	fut	say,speak	pl	here	emph long	vbl	subord
-ru	-ḍu.						
now	temp						

Other examples are 4.4.2 [3], 4.4.5 [2], 4.5.4 [4], 5.7.12 [1].

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	ŋawu	yes indeed
yi	yes!	ŋaŋa	no
wu	well...	ya	hey! [an attention- getter]

puḍi hey! wait! [often said to retain the floor in conversation]
puḍibuḍi wait!

[1] Q: wakiŋa mara? Still talking?
A: ŋa· Yeah.
waka -iŋa mara? ŋa·
speak,talk pres still yes

- [3] *ḡaḡa kupaja ciridariḡu purayi. I was afraid before.*
ḡaḡa kupa ciridari -ḡu 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*:

Temporal	Temporal	Connective	Connective
----------	----------	------------	------------

7.1 Temporal enclitics

The four temporal morphs are:

- ḡu -ḡu *on the other hand, also, again*
 -dbu *also, then*
 -ru *now, German doch*

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

- [1] *puḡidbaraḡuru ḡanayi cupa. puḡi ḡaḡa kuḡiriRa wakayi*
ḡanayiḡida yagara, ḡuna kaḡurkiRaru ḡuḡun^YuḡuRa, yacadu
kuḡgayila.

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:

- ḡurayiyara ḡan^Yaḡa ḡura curuRalarḡu. You have a look [at an object*
puzzling the speaker] and you can show [me what it is]

ḡura -i -ara ḡan^Ya -ḡa ḡura curuRa -larḡu.
you sg emph rel see,look pres you sg show,point intentv

puði -dbari -a -ðu -ru ḡana -yi cupa
hit, strike, kill recip pres temp now I dat *child, small*

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.

[1] yuḡuga yḡa cupa maḡiwu, yḡaga·ra kupḡa.

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

yu -ḡu -ga yḡa cupa maḡi -u,
that dat emph *that* *child* *father* dat

yḡa -ga -á·ra kupḡa -ḡa.
that emph rel *sit, be* pres

rel is // which in env is /

-á·ra	a_	-·ra
	i_	-yara

[2] ḡaḡa kalḡuḡa ḡanayiḡi caḡiyu. ḡi·yara wargala, ḡaḡa paḡira ḡuraḡaru.

I'm waiting for my mate. If he doesn't come, I'm going back to camp.

ḡaḡa kalgu -ṡḡa ḡana -yi -ḡi caḡi -u
 I wait for pres I dat nom friend,mate dat

ti· -ára wargá -la, ḡaḡa paḡiri -a ḡura -ḡa -ru.
 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 /

-anma	a_	-nma
	i_ u_	-wanma

[1] yina nura maḡinma yadayiraḡuwanma. piḡḡija
 Eat this [food], there's no sand in it - it's clean.

yina nura maḡi -nma yaḡa -iraḡu -anma. piḡḡija.
 that you sg eat imper sand priv because clean

[2] nura muḡara yirima, ḡaḡadbuwanma yiriRa.
 You get down first because I want to get down.

nura muḡara yiri -ma, ḡaḡa -dbu -anma yiri -ṡRa.
 you sg in front descend imper I temp because fut

7.2.3 The connective -ḡaḡa means also

[1] ḡadiyi ḡuḡa: Dingo. yinaḡaḡa: kuyunḡaḡi.
 Me and Dingo, also Kuyungardi.

ḡadi -yi ḡuḡa: Dingo. yina -ḡaḡa: kuyunḡaḡi.
 we du excl that [English] that also Kuyungardi.

7.2.4 The connective -ibi means also.

also is // which in env is /

-ibi	i_	-bi
	a_ u_	-yibi

- [1] ɲaRu wanara, muRuyibi. [He has] a long scrotum, and [a long] penis also.

ɲaRu wanara, muRu -ibi.
scrotum long penis also

- 7.2.5 The connective -an^Yu means *only*.

only is // which in env is /

-an ^Y u	a_	-n ^Y u
	i_ u_	-wan ^Y u

- [1] yinaga·n^Yu wakanu kupina ɲuɲun^YuɲuRa.
He's the *only* one talking to them.

yina -ga -an^Yu waka -nu kupa -ina
that emph *only* speak subord be,sit pres

ɲuɲu -n^Yuɲu -Ra.
that from loc

- 7.2.6 The *emphatic* connective is used for stress

emph is // which in env is /

-i	u_	-wi
	i_ a_	-yi

- [1] ɲaɖa yanaRariɲu: wariyan^Yaduwi. kupayi n^Yiɲaɖuru.
I left - after finishing [a job] - to stay here again.

ɲaɖa yana -iRariɲu: wariya -n^Yadu -i.
I go,walk intentv finish part emph

kupa -yi n^Yiɲa -ɖu -ru.
stay,sit purp here temp now

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

- [1] puɖinmara yinagaɲayi. Keep on hitting him.

puɖi -nma -ra yina -ga -na -i.
hit,kill imper continuative that emph [?] emph

N O T E S

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:

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

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:

<i>phonemic:</i>	ŋaða punaru	<i>I'm going now.</i>
<i>morphophonemic:</i>	ŋaða pɪni	-a -ru.
<i>morphemic:</i>	I	go, walk pres now