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The Yawuru language of West Kimberley:
a meaning-based description

by K. Hosokawa

a thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated this thesis is my own work.

Komei Hosokawa

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23 April 1991

ABSTRACT

The present study is a descriptive monograph of the language spoken by Yawuru Aborigines of north-west Australia. The Yawuru language is genetically classified as a member of the Nyulnyulan family. Morphologically it is counted among the so-called "prefixing languages" and has a highly complicated inflexional morphology of verbs, whereas word ordering is remarkably flexible. In terms of syntactic typology, Yawuru is an ergative language which, however, reveals an accusative-type verb agreement system.

The practical orthography for the Yawuru language employed in this monograph is allophonic (i.e. slightly over-differentiating) rather than purely phonemic. Reasons for using such a spelling system are stated in Chapter 3.

Throughout the description, considerable weight is laid on elucidating semantic aspects of the morphology and syntax of the language rather than merely presenting forms and their combinations. A meaningwise approach is central to this description, particularly in the treatment of verbal and pronominal morphology (Chapters 4 and 7). Also semantically-oriented are accounts of preverbs (Chapter 5), case marking (Chapter 6), adverbs (Chapter 8), reduplication (Chapter 9) and syntactic construction patterns (Chapter 10). A large number of sentential examples, more often context-bound than not, will be cited in order to substantiate the points of discussion. Unless otherwise noted, all the sample sentences are taken from native speakers' natural spontaneous utterances.

Comparative linguistics is outside the scope of this study, although several important facts are pointed out in footnotes.

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5 years after Chernobyl
Komei Hosokawa
in Tokorosawa, Japan

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(1) Grammatical terms

√	verb root (= √V)
^	(in interlinear gloss) indicates phrasal discontinuity (2.5.3)
1	1st person minimal (= 1MIN = 1SG)
1"	1st person non-minimal, or augmented (= 1AGM, covering 1"DL and 1"PL, always exclusive)
2	2nd person minimal (= 2MIN = 2SG)
2"	2nd person non-minimal, or augmented (= 2AGM, covering 2"DL and 2"PL)
2FUT	(1) future 2MIN prefix; (2) future 2MIN form of a verb
2"FUT	(1) future 2AGM prefix; (2) future 2AGM form of a verb
3	3rd person minimal (= 3MIN = 3SG)
3"	3rd person non-minimal, or augmented (= 3AGM, covering 3"DL, 3"PCL, 3"PL and 3"NPCL)
12	4th person minimal (= 12MIN, referentially dual; see 4.2.1.1)
12"	4th person non-minimal, or augmented (= 12AGM, always inclusive)
1"DL	1st person (exclusive) dual (unit-augmented)
1"PL	1st person (exclusive) non-dual plural
2"DL	2nd person dual (unit-augmented)
2"PL	2nd person non-dual plural
3"DL	3rd person dual (unit-augmented)
3"PL	3rd person non-dual plural
3"PCL	3rd person paucal plural (see 7.1.1.2)
3"NPCL	3rd person non-paucal, or large plural (see 7.1.1.2)
12"TL	4th person (inclusive) trial (unit-augmented)
[...] _N	a compound noun
[...] _{NP}	a noun phrase (in absolutive case)
[...] _{NP(A)}	a noun phrase in A function (transitive subject)
[...] _{NP(O)}	a noun phrase in O function (transitive object)
[...] _{NP(S)}	a noun phrase in S function (intransitive subject)
[...] _{NP-ABL}	a noun phrase assigned the (surface) ablative case
[...] _{NP-ALLAT}	a noun phrase assigned the (surface) allative case
[...] _{NP-ERG}	a noun phrase assigned the (surface) ergative case
[...] _{NP-CAUS}	a noun phrase assigned the (surface) causal case
[...] _{NP-DAT}	a noun phrase assigned the (surface) dative case
[...] _{NP-GEN}	a noun phrase assigned the (surface) genitive case
[...] _{NP-INST}	a noun phrase assigned the (surface) instrumental case
[...] _{NP-LOC}	a noun phrase assigned the (surface) locative case
[...] _{PRED}	a predicate or a predicate phrase
[...] _{NP(PRED)}	a noun phrase functioning as a predicate (in verbless clauses)
[...] _s	a clause
A	transitive subject (2.1)
A-conj	A-conjugation of alternative-prefixing verbs (4.2.2.3)
ABL	ablative (6.7)
ABS	absolutive (2.1.1; 7.1)
ACC	accusative (2.1.1; 7.3)
ADJ	adjective (2.2.1; 8.1.2)
ADV	adverb (8.1)
AdvP	adverb phrase
AGM	augmented number (= non-minimal) (2.4.2)
ALLAT	allative (6.6)
A/P	alternative-prefixing (4.8)
APPROX	approximative locative (7.5)
B-conj	B-conjugation of alternative-prefixing verbs (4.2.2.3)

C	a consonant
CAUS	causal (6.9)
CIRCUM	circumstantial (6.11)
CM	(1) case marking; (2) a case marker
COM	comitative (6.10)
Conj	conjugation class (4.2.2)
CNJ	a conjunction word (10.6.6.3)
CONTR	contrastive locative (7.5.4.2)
DAT	dative (6.1)
DAT _{imp}	imperative/persuasive dative (4.3.3.2)
DAT _{purp}	purposive (subordination) (10.6.3)
DEM	demonstrative (7.5)
DERIV	derivational suffix (6.12)
DET	determiner
DIR	directional allative (8.3.1)
DL	dual (2.4.2.3)
/E	(in interlinear gloss) indicates a lexical item borrowed/derived from English (and/or Kriol)
/EK	(in interlinear gloss) indicates a lexical item borrowed from Kimberley Kriol (and/or creoloid Broome Aboriginal English) with English etymology
ELAT	relative (= locational ablative) (7.5.3.1)
EMPH	emphatic (see VOC/EMPH)
EN	epenthetic nasal (4.2.3)
ERG	ergative (2.1.2; 6.4; 10.7)
ERG-ABS	ergative-absolutive case frame (transitive) (10.1.3)
ERG-DAT	ergative-dative case frame (semi-transitive) (10.1.4)
EXCL	exclusive (not including the hearer)
fig.	figurative meaning
FUT	future(-desiderative) (4.3.2; 4.3.3.1)
(FUT)	future stem of a verb (4.5.6)
FV	finite verb (5.1.2)
GEN	genitive (6.3)
I	class I (<i>wala-</i> class) verb (4.2.2.1)
II	class II verb (either IIa or IIb) (4.2.2.1)
IIa	class IIa (<i>wal-</i> class) verb (4.2.2.1)
IIb	class IIb (<i>nga-</i> class) verb (4.2.2.1)
Imp	imperative (4.1.2)
IMPF	imperfective (4.3.1)
INCL	inclusive (including the hearer)
INDEF	indefinite (7.5.2.2.(4); 7.7.3)
INST	instrumental (6.8)
INT	introspective verbal prefix (4.2.4)
INTENS	intensifier (5.4.2)
INTJ	interjection (cf. 3.7.1.1)
IRR	irrealis (4.3.2)
k/o	a kind of ...
/Kj	(in interlinear gloss) indicates a lexical item borrowed from Karajarri
LAT	lative, or lateral locative (8.3.1; 8.3.5.1)
LIM	limitative (8.4.5.2)
lit.	literally (
LOC	locative (6.5)
MIN	minimal number (as in 1MIN, 2MIN, ...) (2.4.2.1)
N	(1) a common noun; (2) a nominal (word); (3) a nasal consonant
NC	clustering of a nasal and an oral consonant (3.6.3.2)
NN	nasal gemination (3.6.3.3.(4))
NOM	nominative (2.1.1)
NP	noun phrase (either case-assigned or not) (2.5.2)
NPCL	non-paucal plural (7.1.1.2)
NUM	numeral (2.2.3)
O	transitive object (2.1)
ONOM	onomatopoeia, or ideophone

PCL	paucal plural (7.1.1.2)
PF	perfective (4.3.1)
px	prefix(es)
PL	non-dual plural (2.4.2.2; 7.4.1.3)
PRED	predicate (5.1)
Pro ₁	subject-marking pronominal prefix on finite verbs (4.1.2; 7.1.1.3)
Pro ₂	object-marking clitic pronoun on finite verbs (4.1.2; 4.4.3)
PRON	personal pronoun (7.1 to 7.4)
purp	see DAT _{purp}
PV	preverb (5.1.2)
Q	question particle (10.4)
Q/TAG	question tag (3.1.4.2 and 10.4.2)
QUANT	quantifier (8.2.2.1)
QUOTE	quotation marker (10.6.5)
RCP	reciprocal verbal suffix (4.2.4)
R/TAG	reconfirmation tag (3.1.4.2; 10.4.3)
REDUP	root reduplication (9.1)
(REF)	implicit reflexive form of a verb (4.2.4.3)
REF	(1) reflexive enclitic (4.6.5.2); (2) reflexive conjugation of verbs (4.8.3)
Ref ₁	verbal conjugation slot for introspective (INT) marker (4.2.4)
Ref ₂	verbal conjugation slot for reciprocal (RCP) marker (4.2.4)
RES	resolutive (8.5.3.2)
S	(1) intransitive subject; (2) sentence/clause; (3) a sonorant segment
SEMB	semblative (8.4.5.1)
SEQ	sequential (10.6.2)
sfx	suffix(es)
SG	singular
Subord	subordination marker(s) (4.1.2)
TAG	see Q/TAG and R/TAG
TL	TRIAL (number) (7.1.1)
TR	explicit transitive conjugation marker (4.2.2)
V	(1) a vowel; (2) a verb
var.	variant
Vi	intransitive verb (2.1.2; 10.1.2)
Vm	semi-transitive verb (2.1.1; 7.4.2.3; 10.1.4)
VNCV	intervocalic clustering of a nasal and an oral consonant (3.6.3.2)
VOC	vocative (3.8.5)
VOC/EMPH	emphatic vocative (4.4.4)
Vp	quasi-passive (10.2.4)
Vr	reflexive verb (4.6.7)
Vt	transitive verb (2.1.2; 10.1.3)
Vx	alternative-prefixing verb (4.8)
WH	non-polar interrogative (7.6)

(2) Language/dialect/tribe names

AE	Aboriginal English
Br	Bardi (Baarda)
E	English (= Eng)
EK	English and/or Kriol
Jb	Julbaya (see Yw-Jb)
Jbr	Jabirrabirr (Djaberrdjaberr)
Jk	Jukun (see Yw-Jk)
Kj	Karajarri (Karadjarri, Karadyarri, etc)
Mr	Marangan (see Yw-Mr)
Nyk	Nyikina
Nyl	Nyulnyul
Nym	Nyangumarta
PLP	Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin
Yw	Yawuru

Yw-Jb	Julbayi (Southern Coastal dialect of Yawuru)
Yw-Mr	Marangan (Eastern Inland dialect of Yawuru)
Yw-Jk	Jukun (Northern Coastal dialect of Yawuru)

(3) Kinship terms

M	mother
F	father
S	son
D	daughter
D/S	daughter or son
B	brother
Z	sister
C	child (=D/S)
W	wife
H	husband

The above abbreviations may be combined, e.g.

FZ	father's sister
DS	daughter's son
MZS	mother's sister's son
SWMF	son's wife's mother's father
MMBDD	mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter
etc.	

LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS (based on IPA 1989)

˘	falling intonation
˙	rising intonation
ˈ	primary stress (e.g. á)
ˌ	secondary stress (e.g. à)
ː	stylistic/emphatic lengthening of a vowel (e.g. aː)
,	(in example sentences) indicates a pause
ː	lengthening of a vowel (e.g. [aː]) or a consonant (e.g. [ŋː])
ˑ	half lengthening of a vowel (e.g. [aˑ])
ːː	emphatic/stylistic lengthening of a vowel or a sonorant consonant
[ʔ]	glottal stop
[ʔ̰]	pre-glottalisation
[ʔ̠]	pre-epiglottalisation
[p̚]	indicates an unreleased stop (e.g. [p̚])
[ɰ]	ingressive articulation (see 3.1.4.3)
[̚]	(under-ring) devoicing mark (as in [t̚])
[̠]	(under-bar) indicates a retracted variant (e.g. [k̠])
[̟]	(subscript plus) indicates a fronted variant (e.g. [g̟])
[̤]	(subscript bridge) indicates dental articulation (e.g. [ŋ̤])
[̪]	(subscript inverted bridge) indicates an apical articulation (e.g. [ŋ̪])
[̥]	(subscript rectangle) indicates a laminal articulation (e.g. [ç̥])
[ɑ]	low back unrounded vowel
[ɶ]	somewhat fronted variety of [ɑ]
[ɑɪ]	diphthongised sequence of [ɪ] and [ɑ]
[ɑɛ]	diphthongised sequence of [ɛ] and [ɑ]
[ɑɐ]	diphthongised sequence of [ɐ] and [ɑ]
[ɑɔ]	diphthongised sequence of [ɔ] and [ɑ]
[ɑʊ]	diphthongised sequence of [ʊ] and [ɑ]
[a]	low front unrounded vowel
[æ]	front unrounded vowel, not fully open
[ɛ]	central unrounded vowel, not fully open
[ɔ]	low back rounded vowel
[ʌ]	lower-mid back unrounded vowel
[b]	voiced bilabial stop
[bʰ]	aspirated voiced bilabial stop
[ɓ]	bilabial implosive stop (glottalic ingressive)
[b̚]	bilabial ejective (glottalised double articulation)
[β]	rounded voiced bilabial fricative
[β̞]	voiced bilabial fricative

[c]	voiceless palatal stop
[ç]	voiceless lamino-palatal stop
[c̟]	voiceless palatal stop (unreleased)
[² c̟]	preglottalised voiceless palatal stop (unreleased)
[ç̟]	voiceless alveolo-palatal laminal fricative (sibilant)
[ç̟]	voiceless palatal fricative
[d]	voiced alveolar stop
[d ^h]	aspirated voiced alveolar stop
[ɖ]	voiced dental stop
[dʲ]	palatalised voiced alveolar stop (= [ɖ] of IPA 1949)
[ɖ]	voiced retroflex (apico-postalveolar) stop
[ɖ ^h]	aspirated voiced retroflex stop
[ɖ̟]	voiced retroflex stop (unreleased)
[ɗ]	voiced alveolo-palatal laminal stop
[ɗ̟]	voiced alveolo-palatal laminal affricate
[ɗ̟ ^h]	voiced alveolo-palatal laminal affricate (released with aspiration)
[ɗ̟z ^h]	lengthened voiced alveolo-palatal laminal affricate (released with aspiration)
[ɗ̟ʼ]	voiced alveolo-palatal laminal ejective (glottalised plosive)
[² ɗ̟]	prenasalised [ɗ̟]
[e]	upper-mid front unrounded vowel
[eɪ]	diphthongised sequence of [e] and [ɪ]
[ɛ]	lower-mid front unrounded vowel
[ə]	shwa (mid central unrounded vowel)
[ɛ̥]	devoiced shwa
[ɛ̃]	mid central unrounded vowel with rhotacisation (r-colouring)
[g]	voiced velar stop
[g ^h]	aspirated voiced velar stop
[gʲ]	palatalised voiced velar stop
[g ^w]	voiced labio-velar stop
[ɣ]	voiced velar fricative
[ɣ ^w]	voiced velar fricative with rounding
[ɕ]	voiced postvelar (uvular) stop
[^h]	aspiration (e.g. [b ^h], [t ^h], etc.)
[i]	high front unrounded vowel
[ɪɪ]	diphthongised sequence of [ɪ] and [ɪ]
[ɪ]	semi-high retracted front unrounded vowel
[ɨ]	high central unrounded vowel

[j]	voiced palatal approximant
[j̥]	(between vowels) palatal glide (e.g. [e ^j a]); (after a consonant) indicates palatalisation (e.g. [n ^j], [r ^j], etc.)
[ɟ]	voiced palatal fricative
[k]	voiceless velar stop
[k ^h]	aspirated voiceless velar stop
[k̚]	voiceless velar stop (unreleased)
[² k̚]	preglottalised voiceless velar stop (unreleased)
[k ^j]	palatalised voiceless velar stop
[k ^w]	voiceless labio-velar stop
[k̟]	somewhat fronted variety of [k]
[k̠]	somewhat retracted variety of [k]
[ɕ]	velar implosive
[kʼ]	velar ejective (glottalised plosive)
[l]	voiced alveolar lateral approximant
[l̥]	devoiced alveolar lateral approximant
[ɭ]	voiced dental lateral approximant
[l ^j]	palatalised voiced alveolar lateral approximant (= [ɭ] in IPA 1949)
[l̠]	voiced alveolar lateral approximant with delayed release
[ɭ]	voiced retroflex (apico-postalveolar) lateral approximant
[ɭː]	prolonged [ɭ]
[ɭ̥]	devoiced retroflex lateral approximant
[ɮ]	voiced lamino-prepalatal lateral approximant (a slightly fronted variety of IPA [ɮ])
[ɮ̥]	devoiced lamino-prepalatal lateral approximant
[ɮ̟]	voiced lamino-palatal lateral approximant
[ɮ̠]	voiced apico-palatal lateral approximant
[ɮ̟̠]	voiced alveolo-palatal lateral approximant
[ɮ̥]	voiceless alveolar lateral fricative
[ɮ̥]	voiced alveolar lateral fricative
[m]	voiced bilabial nasal
[m̥]	devoiced bilabial nasal
[mː]	bilabial nasal with delayed release (= [m̠m])
[m̠]	bilabial syllabic nasal
[m̠ː]	bilabial long syllabic nasal
[m̠ ^h]	unreleased tense bilabial nasal
[m ^j]	palatalised bilabial nasal
[ɱ]	labio-dental nasal
[u]	high back unrounded vowel
[ɥ]	unrounded labio-velar median approximant (glide)
[ũ]	nasalised [ɥ]

[n]	voiced alveolar nasal
[ɲ]	devoiced alveolar/dental nasal
[ɳ]	voiced dental nasal
[ɲ̟]	voiced apico-alveolar nasal
[ɲ̠]	somewhat fronted variety of [ɲ]
[ɲ̡]	somewhat retracted variety of [ɲ]
[ɳ̠]	voiced retroflex (apico-postalveolar) nasal
[ɳ̡]	devoiced retroflex nasal
[nʲ]	palatalised voiced alveolar nasal (= [ɲ̟] of IPA 1949)
[ɲ]	voiced palatal nasal
[ɲ̟]	voiced apico-palatal nasal
[ɲ̠]	voiced lamino-palatal nasal
[ɳ̠]	voiced alveolo-palatal laminal nasal
[ɳ̡]	devoiced alveolo-palatal laminal nasal
[ɳ̠ʲ]	(epi-)glottalised [ɳ̠] (see 3.8.2)
[ʔɳ̠]	pre-epiglottalised [ɳ̠]
[ŋ]	voiced velar nasal
[ŋ̠]	somewhat retracted variety of [ŋ]
[ŋʲ]	palatalised velar nasal
[ɴ]	voiced postvelar (uvular) nasal
[o]	upper-mid back rounded vowel
[ɔ]	lower-mid back rounded vowel
[ʌ]	lower-mid back unrounded vowel
[p]	voiceless bilabial stop
[pʰ]	aspirated voiceless bilabial stop
[p̚]	voiceless bilabial stop (unreleased)
[p̚ʔ]	preglottalised voiceless bilabial stop (unreleased)
[ɸ]	voiceless bilabial fricative
[q]	voiceless postvelar (uvular) stop
[q̠]	somewhat fronted variety of [q]
[qʷ]	postvelar ejective (glottalised double articulation)
[r]	voiced trill
[ɾ]	voiced alveolar flap
[ɻ]	devoiced alveolar flap
[ɾʲ]	palatalised [ɾ] (= [ɻ̟] in IPA 1949)
[ɹ]	voiced alveolar frictionless continuant
[ɹ̠]	voiced postalveolar frictionless continuant
[ɹ̠-]	further retracted variety of [ɹ̠] (= IPA [ɹ̠])
[ɹ̠̥]	(between vowels) alveolar glide (as in [aɹ̠̥a])

[ʀ]	voiced strident alveolar fricative (= [ɾ] in IPA 1949/1979)
[ʁ]	devoiced [ʀ]
[ɽ]	voiced retroflex (apico-postalveolar) flap
[ʁ]	voiced postvelar (uvular) fricative
[s]	voiceless alveolar fricative
[ɕ]	voiceless interdental sibilant
[ʂ]	voiced retroflex (apico-postalveolar) fricative
[ʃ]	voiceless postalveolar (palato-alveolar) fricative
[t]	voiceless alveolar stop
[t̚]	voiceless alveolar stop (unreleased)
[t̚̚]	preglottalised voiceless alveolar stop (unreleased)
[t̪]	voiceless dental stop
[t̺]	voiceless retroflex (apico-postalveolar) stop
[t̺ʰ]	aspirated voiceless retroflex stop
[t̚̚]	voiceless retroflex stop (unreleased)
[t̚̚̚]	preglottalised voiceless retroflex (unreleased)
[t̺]	voiceless alveolo-palatal laminal stop
[tʃ]	voiceless postalveolar (palato-alveolar) affricate
[tʃ̺]	voiceless alveolo-palatal laminal affricate (= [tʃ̺] in Hattori 1984)
[u]	high back rounded vowel
[ui]	diphthongised sequence of [u] and [i]
[ʊ]	semi-high back rounded vowel (= IPA [ʊ], equivalent to [ɯ] in IPA 1949/1976)
[u]	high back unrounded vowel
[ɥ]	unrounded labio-velar median approximant (glide)
[ɥ̃]	nasalised [ɥ]
[v]	voiced labio-dental fricative
[w]	voiced labio-velar approximant
[w̠]	(between vowels) velar glide (e.g. [u ^w a]); (after a consonant) indicates rounding (e.g. [β ^w])
[ʌ]	lower-mid back unrounded vowel
[z]	voiced alveolar fricative
[ʒ]	voiced alveolo-palatal laminal fricative (sibilant)
[ʒ̺]	voiced retroflex (apico-postalveolar) fricative

TYPOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

In this study a system of practical notation is used to present Yawuru lexical items. Details of the spelling system are explained in Chapter 3. Pure phonemic and broad phonetic representations will be given where those are necessary for illustration. It will also be necessary to cite Yawuru words written down by other authors whose spelling systems differ from the system employed in this thesis. In order to distinguish the different modes of representation, the notation of Yawuru lexical items conforms to the following typographic convention throughout the thesis:

practical spelling	<i>italics</i>
phonetic symbols (IPA)	[in skwéeə bɪákets]
phonemic representation	/ in slashes /
morphemic representation	{ in braces }
all other spellings of Yawuru words	"in double quotes"
gloss in English	'in single quotes'

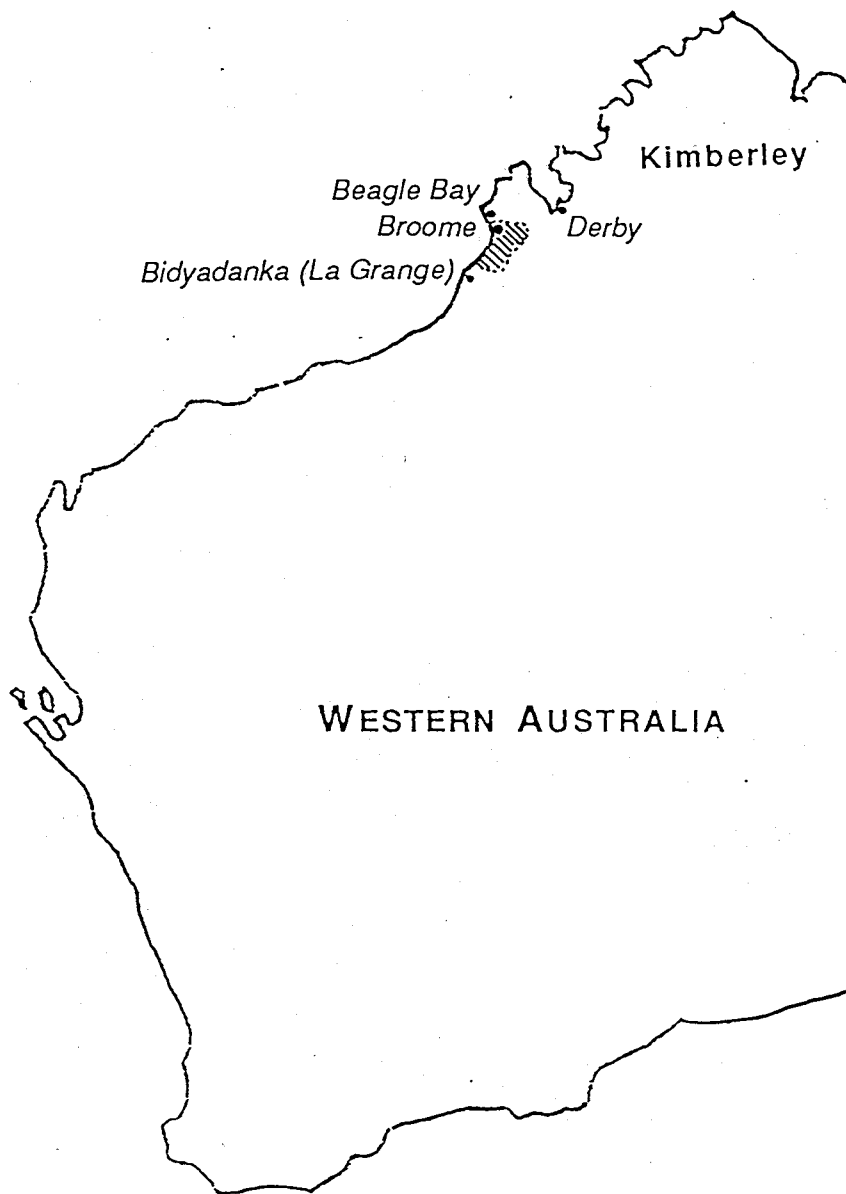
For phonetic notation the 1989 revised version of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) will be employed unless otherwise noted. Scientific names of plants and animals will be given underlined since the use of italics could cause confusion with Yawuru word forms. Forms of other languages will also be cited underlined. Thus, italic typeface is exclusively reserved for Yawuru words (and only those which are spelled in conformity with the spelling system as illustrated in Chapter 3). **Boldface** will be used to draw the reader's attention to a particular lexical item (or a part of the item).

To give an example, the Yawuru word for 'Brown Falcon' (Falco berigora) is *karrkidya* (phonemically /kãkid'a/ with typical pronunciation something like [kárgid̪a]), which was recorded by Capell (n/d:11) as "gargid'a" 'eaglehawk [sic]'. The word is probably a borrowing from Karajarri karrkija, whereas the synonym *kirrkirr* [k'írg'íř] is considered authentic to Yawuru.

Each example sentence has its initial letter of the sentence-initial word capitalised. This does not apply to word or phrase examples. The initial letters of Yawuru proper nouns (personal names and toponyms) are not capitalised unless they occupy the sentence-initial position.

Numbering of examples and footnotes restarts in each chapter; the basic policy is to assign numbers only to sentential and long-phrase examples, although shorter items may occasionally be numbered for the purpose of reference.

MAP 1: Location of the Yawuru language



Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Language and speakers

Yawuru is an Aboriginal language of the west Kimberley region of Western Australia. "Yawuru" [jájɔɪɔ](~[jájɪɪɪ]) is auto-designation both for the people and the language they speak.¹ Yawuru is divided into three major dialect/local groups (1.1.3): Northern, Southern Coastal and Eastern Inland. The present study chiefly concerns the Southern Coastal, or Julbaya (*dyulbaya* [ɖɛúlbɛɛ]) dialect of Yawuru.

1.1.1 Yawuru country

The traditional territory of Yawuru-speaking Aborigines is located to the south, east and north-west of Broome, Western Australia (Map 1).² The Julbaya dialect (Julbaya Yawuru) was originally spoken in the coastal savannah area between the Mararr sandhill west of the present Thangoo homestead and Jibari sandhill (so-called "Yardoogarra Point") near Giblyra or Cape Villaret (S18°10'-20', E122°04'-20'). It is ecologically a subtropical semi-arid area, composed of coastal dunes (*niyamarr* as they are called in Yawuru), savannah-like saline flood plains (*bundu*) and inland Acacia woodland (*burdungan*).³ A large portion of the Julbaya Yawuru country is *bundu* (often called "marsh" in vernacular English), which is subject to annual inundation by "king tide" (*warrangkula*, see 8.2.1.3). The country is rich in marsupials (of small to medium size), birds, reptiles, marine fish and shells. Traditionally Yawuru people lived by gathering wattle (Acacia) seeds, various edible tubers and bush fruits (Lands 1987),⁴ as well as by fishing, gathering shells (mainly in the mangrove swamps), and catching wallabies, sand monitors, flying

¹ Varied spellings appear in linguistic/ethnographic literature and other kinds of documentation referring to this group/language: Jawuru, Yauor, Jauor, Yaoro, Yowera, Gawor, Djauor, Yaora, Yanor [sic], Yauera, Yawur, Yawurru, Yawru, Yawooroo, Yaro, Yarroo, and possibly others (McGregor (1988b), Vinnicombe (p.c.) and unpublished materials lodged with the libraries at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS, Canberra), the Kimberley Language Resource Centre (KLRC, Halls Creek, WA) and the School of Australian Linguistics (SAL, Batchelor, NT)). The regional index in the AIATSIS library card catalogue employs "Jauor". "Yanor", which was on an exhibition board in the Western Australian Museum, Perth, is obviously a scribal error. Phonetically, the name consists of two syllables: [jájɔ] + [ɪɔ]. Phonemically, it is analysable as /yawru/ (see 3.2.6.2). Considering, however, that the three-vowelled spelling "Yawuru" has already been used by recent linguistic researchers (Stokes 1984, Hudson 1987, McGregor 1988b) as well as by the local Aboriginal writers whose works are being circulated in published forms (1.3.3.2), I have chosen to follow them by adopting, in English text, the trivocalic spelling "Yawuru". It should be noted, however, that the name may be articulated in two groups of sounds, something like "Yao-roh", but never into "Yah-woh-roh" or "Yah-woo-roo" even in very slow and careful utterance by native speakers.

² This includes the so-called Jukun area (see the account on "Big Yawuru" later in this section; see also 1.1.3).

³ Yawuru terms are given in italics so long as they are spelled in the orthography as set out in Chapter 3. Otherwise they are in roman typeface. In the English text of the present thesis (including the free translation for example sentences), proper names (toponyms, local group names, personal names, etc) of Yawuru origin are often cited in a non-orthographic, conventional spelling (therefore roman), which may be accompanied by the orthographic spelling in parentheses.

⁴ During my 1986 fieldwork, over 90 species of edible and/or useful native plants were identified (Hosokawa 1988a).

foxes, and birds (particularly Native Hens, Crested Pigeons and Australian Bustards).⁵

The traditional residents of the Broome area proper (around the township, Cable Beach, Gantheaume Point, Fisherman's Bend and the north-west of Roebuck Plains) were Minyjirr (*minydyirr* ~ *minynyirr*) or "Big Yawuru", whose language is usually referred to as Jukun (cf. 1.1.3.1).⁶ By linguistic criteria (see 1.1.3.2 and 1.2), Jukun and Julbayi Yawuru are considered dialects of one language, which I call Yawuru, although the speakers of these two dialects belong to culturally distinct groups (1.3.2). Jukun is no longer spoken and there are only a limited number of people who can recall words and phrases of the language; very few people identify themselves as Jukun today.⁷

1.1.2 The recent history of Julbayi Yawuru

1.1.2.1 Station days

Until about 30 years ago, the major language centre was Thangoo station (*dyanydyagurdinyngarn*), 30km south-east of (or 120km by road from) Broome (see Map 2), where the Aborigines (mostly of Yawuru, Karajarri, Mangala and Nyikina descent) engaged in cattle droving and other station work.⁸ According to the former Thangoo station Aborigines (both Yawuru and non-Yawuru), the lingua franca among them was Yawuru.⁹ The station is located in the south-west of the traditional Yawuru territory: more specifically, Julbayi (*dyulbayi*) and Garraljunu (*k*arraldyunu*) country, to cite the names of the local groups (1.1.3.1).

It seems that, along with the Yawuru language, some sort of Pidgin English was also in use among the Thangoo Aborigines from the early days of the station camp, at least before 1925. Elders who were born around 1920-35 explain that their fathers spoke both Yawuru and English. In the 1920s, when the Broome pearlshell fishing industry was at its peak of prosperity, pearling luggers often anchored off the coast of the Yawuru country to obtain supplies of fresh water and the Asian

⁵ See Lohe (1984) for the physical make-up of the area. During field research, I relied on the following source books as reference guides to the fauna and flora of the area: Petheram & Kok (1986) for plants; Storr & Johnstone (1985), Wells (1986) for birds; Storr, Smith & Johnstone (1981 and 1983) for lizards; Semeniuk, Kenneally & Wilson (1978) for mangroves; and Strahan (1983) for mammals.

⁶ Other spellings that appear in the literature are: Jugun, Djugan, Djugun, Djukan, Jookoon, Dyugan, Dyugun, Djurgu, Joogan and Jukan. The regional index in the AIATSIS library employs "Djugan".

⁷ Around 260 Jukun (Minyjirr) words were recorded by the author during the fieldwork in 1986 with the help of Joseph Bennet, Marty Gilbert and Sabu Kanagae (deceased).

⁸ The name "Thangoo" is probably derived from the Yawuru toponym *dyanydyakurdinyngarn*, which is the name for a soak located to the north of the present Thangoo homestead. Daisy Bates recorded the place name "Thang-ul-ngun-jil" (= *dyangkurrnganydyal?*; cf. 6.12.5) "twelve miles south of Broome" where the "Kularrabulu" people are found (Bates 1985:60); cf. footnote 43 in this chapter.

⁹ Possibly, the Najanaja dialect of Karajarri may have had a similar status, too. Many of the ex-Thangoo Aborigines speak or understand both Yawuru and Najanaja. It is considered that bilingualism was traditionally the rule among the Aborigines of the area prior to station life (see Brandl & Walsh 1982, Rigsby & Sutton 1982).

crews were then able to communicate with the local Aborigines in a "broken English".¹⁰

Although station work was hard and scarcely rewarded, the people were able to enjoy themselves after hours, practising the traditional corroborees together, both secret and open. During the off season, camping out for fishing and hunting and a limited extent of nomadic life were still practised until as late as the early 1950s. Doubtlessly, such occasions provided opportunities favouring the maintenance of the traditional languages.

1.1.2.2 Relocation to Beagle Bay

During World War II many of the Aborigines of the area around Broome were relocated at Beagle Bay mission.¹¹ Some of the Thangoo Aborigines acquired spouses there and, after the war, some settled down in Beagle Bay and later in Broome. Prior to the war period, large numbers of Aboriginal children had been forcibly taken to the Beagle Bay mission. Such gathering-up of children by Christian missionaries was a general practice in the Kimberley region as well as in other parts of Australia. Thangoo country was no exception. It seems to be widely believed that the activity was intended to "rescue half-white children". Actually, however, it was not always the mixed-blood children who were "picked up" or kidnapped by the missionary agents. From the Thangoo country, many Yawuru and Najanaja (coastal Karajarri) children, both full-blood and part-Aboriginal, and particularly those under the age of full acquisition of their mother (Aboriginal) language, were taken by boat to Beagle Bay and subjected to harsh assimilationistic "education". Those captured thus missed the opportunities of learning traditional languages and acquiring cultural knowledge.¹²

1.1.2.3 Migration to Broome

Today, all the Aborigines have shifted away from Thangoo station and have come to live mostly in Broome (in the township as well as in fringe camps), but also in Derby, Beagle Bay, Djarindjin (Lombadina) and Bidyadanga (La Grange).¹³ The

¹⁰ Based on interviews with the ex-crew Malay, Koepanger, Chinese and Japanese people in Broome; see also Dalton (1964), Lawton & Churnside (1983), Nakano (1986) and Hosokawa (1987a, 1988b). From an observation of the style of English spoken by ex-Thangoo elders today, it would be plausible to suppose that the pidgin spoken in Thangoo was quite different from Kriol (a creolised variety which is now spoken in the wide area of Kimberley and Northern Territory; Sandefur 1981 and 1986, Sandefur & Sandefur 1980) and probably has something to do with the sort of "Adult Pidgin" reported from Fitzroy Valley area by Hudson (1983:8-13; cf. Hudson & McConvell 1984:32-34). The Pidgin English in Thangoo was used not only when the Aboriginal workers talked to white "bosses", but also amongst the Aborigines themselves. It is very likely that this Pidgin English of Thangoo provided the basis for one of the Broome Aboriginal English varieties spoken today.

¹¹ Beagle Bay is now an Aboriginal community independent of the church.

¹² Even so, however, their kinship ties with the Thangoo people were somehow maintained and that was one of the reasons why during the later war-time relocation days the Thangoo people managed to settle down without major trouble in the territory of other tribes.

¹³ For the community names the spellings adopted by each community council are maintained here, although "Bidyadanga" would be *bidyardangka* and "Djarindjin" would be *dyarrinydyin* according to the practical orthography employed elsewhere in this paper.

move out from the station had started in the 1940s but it was accelerated in the postwar period, with one family following another. By the late 1960s, most of the Thangoo Aborigines had left the station.

There are several reasons why they left the station. First of all, the ex-Thangoo Aborigines claim that the chief reason was that the work was too hard and there was no proper "payment". Since the station owner at that time was unwilling to improve the working conditions, a situation of growing conflict developed between the white "boss" and the Aboriginal workers. The best way for the Aborigines to dispel the tension, following the traditional behaviour pattern of the Australian Aborigines, was to quit the place.

Secondly, apart from the conflict mentioned above, the exodus from Thangoo may also have been related to the urbanization of Broome as well as the war-time relocation.¹⁴ It is known that a successive shift of ceremonial sites (from south-west to north-east) took place in the Thangoo Yawuru country. In order to successfully perform the ceremonies such as *yurna*, *kuramirdi*, *dyamunungurru*, *bungana* (all related to circumcision and other stages of male initiation) and *dyulurru* "Fire Dance", the host lawmen needed to invite people of the neighbouring and even far distant groups. As the Aboriginal population of the west Kimberley generally tended to gather in the area around Broome, the ceremonial sites shifted several times, gradually getting closer to the township of Broome. In the 1930s, the main initiation ground was a place called *yarlanbarnan*, south of Mararr Hill, approximately 8 miles west of the present Thangoo homestead. By 1950, it had shifted to *mirda-yirdi* (or Tea Tree Ground) just east of the homestead. The most recent ceremonial site was located in the Fisherman's Bend area (traditionally called *walmanburu* or Walman country), east of Broome, just on the other side of Dampier Creek (*karlkarlgun*).

1.1.3 Local groups and dialects of Yawuru

1.1.3.1 Local groups

Although the distinction between local subgroups of Yawuru is virtually defunct today, the following names of local groups, which were probably based on patrilineal clans, have been elicited:¹⁵ (roughly from north to south — see Map 2)

dyukun (Jukun) — north-west coast of Broome, around Cable Beach area

minydyirr ~ *minynyirr* (Minyjirr) — Broome township area

walman (Walman) — Fisherman's Bend area up to Crab Creek

marangana ~ *marangan* (Marangana) — north-eastern inland (Derby side)

kardarru (Kadarru)¹⁶ — (south-)eastern inland

¹⁴ See Nakano (1980), Horin (1981), Bain (1982), Garwood & Stuart (1983), Lawton & Churnside (1983), Edwards (1983) and Benterrak, Muecke & Roe (1984) for general accounts of the postwar history of and multiethnic situation in Broome.

¹⁵ Information provided by Paddy Roe, Jacky Edgar and Marty Gilbert.

¹⁶ This designation could be related to the demonstrative pronoun *karda* (far-distal) described in 7.5.

- marrmarrmanyurdany* (Marrmarrma)¹⁷ — south of Crab Creek area
burrany (Burrany) — coastal area north of Thangoo
dyulbayi (Julbayi) — area around Thangoo
*k*arraldyunu* (Garrajunu)¹⁸ — south of Thangoo
lankandyunu (Lankanjunu) — southernmost of the Yawuru country
birrmanan (Birrmanan) — south-eastern side (bordering Nyikina country)

and a few others (without designation) in the eastern inland region. Of these local group names only Jukun and Yawuru appear in the linguistic literature.

Although there seems to be some confusion among informants as regards the distinction between Jukun and Minyjirr (or Minynyirr, Minyirr), it is surmised that Jukun is the name for the people originally inhabiting the area around the Cable Beach area (north-west of Broome), while Minyjirr refers to the area around *rubibi* (or Kennedy Hill in the north-east, within the Broome township) and the people in that area.¹⁹

Jukun, Minyjirr and Walman groups and their language are jointly called "Big Yawuru" by Julbayi informants, while the Julbayi people call themselves "Small Yawuru".²⁰ The latter folk category also encompasses Garrajunu and Lankanjunu groups in addition to Julbayi. When Aboriginal people in Broome today (1.3.2) mention the name "Yawuru", it usually refers to the "Small Yawuru" groups. Those may be designated in geographical terms as Southern Coastal Yawuru.²¹

1.1.3.2 Dialects

There seem to be three principal regional dialects of the Yawuru language:

- 1) **Jukun (or Northern)**, spoken by Minyjirr, Jukun and Walman groups;
- 2) **Julbayi (or Southern Coastal)**, spoken by Julbayi and other coastal groups including Burrany, Garrajunu, Lankanjunu and possibly Marrmarrma;
- 3) **Marangan (or Eastern Inland)**, spoken by Marangana, Kardarru and other inland groups.

¹⁷ Also a variant *marrbarrba* (see footnote 26 in this chapter).

¹⁸ See 3.3.1.2.(3) for the use of the asterisked letter *k**. See 6.12.6 for the formative *-dyunu*.

¹⁹ Other versions of the information are as follows: (1) Jukun is the language name and Minyjirr is the name for the people. Such division in language/tribe nomenclature, however, is rather unusual in the region; (2) Jukun refers to the language/people and Minyjirr is a specific place name in the Jukun country (namely, Gantheaume Point); (3) Jukun and Minyjirr are mutually interchangeable synonyms (no explanation provided as to possible differences at connotative level). According to Paddy Roe (p.c. in 1986), the northern boundary of the Jukun country is Willie Creek, north of Cable Beach; from there up to Quondon Point is the Ngumbarl country (1.2.1), although Jukun people often had fishing camps there.

²⁰ The exact connotation of "big" and "small" in the folk nomenclature is unclear, but the adjective "big" seems to have some sort of negative evaluation. Nyikina also distinguishes between "Big Nyikina" and "Small Nyikina" (Stokes 1982, Hudson & McConvell 1984). Interestingly, it is the Small Nyikina (westernside) people who designate themselves as "small" (autonym) and call the eastern group "big" (exonym).

²¹ It seems that the Inland groups are not included in the category of "Small Yawuru", although no folk term has been encountered that covers the north-east (or Marangana), south-east (Kardarru) and other inland groups.

The difference chiefly consists in lexical forms, although there are also a few phonological and morphological traits that characterise each dialect.²² Examples of dialectal variation of Yawuru lexical items are commented on below:

Generally observed is a tendency for the Marangan dialect to maintain medial consonantal clusters:

JUKUN	JULBAYI	MARANGAN	gloss
—	<i>mirdibi</i>	<i>midimbi</i>	'run away' (verb root)
<i>yalban</i>	<i>yanban</i>	<i>yalmбан</i>	'south' ²³
—	<i>mimbi</i>	<i>mimbi</i>	'chest' ²³
		<i>~ milmbi</i>	
<i>-manyān</i> (?)	<i>-manydyan</i>	<i>-manydyal</i>	'only' (limitative enclitic)
—	<i>~ manyā(n)</i>		
—	<i>winini</i>	<i>wirdirdi</i>	'emu chick' ²⁴

Generally the Marangan dialect tends to preserve word-final vowels:

JUKUN	JULBAYI	MARANGAN	gloss
<i>-ngarn</i>	<i>-ngarn</i>	<i>-ngana</i>	'to' (allative case marker)
<i>-gap</i>	<i>-gap</i>	<i>-gabū ~ -gaba</i>	'from' (ablative case marker)
—	<i>lawarr</i>	<i>lawarru</i>	'(toponym)'
—	<i>warwan</i>	<i>warwanu</i>	'(toponym)'
—	<i>durrkarrang</i>	<i>durrkarrangu</i>	'motorcar'
<i>nilabab</i>	<i>nilababa</i>	<i>nilababa</i>	'earlobe'
	<i>~ nilabab</i>		

The dropping of final vowels is particularly notable in the Jukun dialect:

JUKUN	JULBAYI/MARANGAN	gloss
<i>ngay</i> [ŋae]	<i>ngayu</i>	'I/me' (pronoun)
<i>nimarl</i>	<i>nimarla</i>	'hand'
<i>nimirt</i>	<i>nimirdi</i>	'foot'
<i>dyangkal</i>	<i>dyangkala</i>	'calf'
<i>kurrbid</i>	<i>kurbida</i>	'sated'
<i>wul</i> [wol]	<i>wula</i>	'water'
<i>nimany</i>	<i>nimanya</i>	'neck'
<i>kulaman</i>	<i>kulamana</i>	'frilled lizard'
<i>walkwalk</i>	<i>walkawalka</i>	'salmon'

Also observed between Jukun and other dialects are variations concerning word-medial CCV clusters:

²² Differences at syntactic level could not possibly be evaluated since very scarce syntactic information has been obtained from dialects other than Julbayi.

²³ Interestingly, in comparison with the variation of *lmb* ~ *lb/nb* as noted in the forms for 'south', the Yawuru word for 'chest' is recorded by Kerr as "minbi" and the corresponding Nyikina form is *milmbi*.

²⁴ Kerr (n/d: item number 403) recorded *winini* as Karajarri and *wirdirdi* as Nyikina/Yawuru forms

JUKUN	JULBAYI/MARANGAN	gloss
<i>wumbadu</i>	<i>wubardu</i>	'small'
<i>nimbal</i>	<i>niwal</i>	'foot' ²⁵
<i>dyirribi</i>	<i>dyirrimbi</i>	'k/o stingray'
<i>dyabuny</i>	<i>dyamuny</i>	'father's mother/mother's father' ²⁶

Other dialectal variants in lexical forms will be cited as relevant items are dealt with in later parts of this study. The term "**coastal dialects**" will be used to refer jointly to Jukun (Northern) and Julbaya (Southern Coastal); the term "**southern dialects**" will cover Julbaya and Marangan (Eastern Inland) together: e.g. in the following dialectal variations at lexical level, the form *dup* occurs in the southern dialects, while the form *bilyurr* is shared by the coastal dialects.

JUKUN	JULBAYI	MARANGAN	gloss
<i>bulkarr</i>	<i>dup</i>	<i>dup</i>	'white' ²⁷
<i>bilyurr</i>	<i>bilyurr</i>	<i>dulbu</i>	'heart' (cf. Nyikina <u>dulbu</u>)

1.1.4 Kinship, gender and language²⁸

Like many other Aboriginal groups of the region,²⁹ the Yawuru people have mother-in-law taboo, which is still practised today even by town-dwelling Aborigines. Wife's mother (WM, *darlu*) is the focus of strict avoidance behaviour. The taboo usually involves WM's brother and sister as well. A man, or daughter's husband (DH), seen from the WM's side, is at the same time expected to obey the orders made by his WM (and less obligatorily her brothers/sisters).

No special taboo language or avoidance language was observed or elicited.³⁰ The primary rule in Yawuru is NOT TO SPEAK in the presence of a taboo-relative. If one has to utter something in such a situation, a whispery (devoiced) register is used (3.7.4.1). The whispery register is called *bunydy nganka* "(lit.) slow word" (i.e. low-voiced speech; see 8.4.4.3). The antonym to this is *dyurrungu nganka* 'straight (or direct) speech'.³¹ Another strategy is to communicate via a third person. This manner is called *gilpgilp* 'talking "sideway"',³² in which the whispery style is also preferred. One of our informants summarised the practice as follows:

²⁵ Kerr (n/d, item number 44) has *nimbala* as Jabirrabirri form for 'foot'. The corresponding Nyikina form is *niyambalu*.

²⁶ This *b ~ m* variation is interesting because the fluctuation of *mb ~ b ~ m* is observed within the Julbaya dialect: e.g. *dyamurr ~ dyamburr* 'gathering up'; *kumbudurugan ~ kubudurugan* '(toponym)'; *gumbalnganydyal ~ gumanydyal* (short form; see 2.3.4) '(toponym)', etc.

²⁷ Julbaya dialect has *bulkar* (not *bulkarr*) for '(cold) ashes'.

²⁸ Comprehensive study of Yawuru kinship terminology is outside the scope of the present thesis.

²⁹ See Elkin (1964:144-152), Capell (1962:518ff), Rumsey (1982a:161-162), and McGregor (1989a:631-633); cf. Berndt & Berndt (1988:80-85 et passim) and Sutton (1982:182ff).

³⁰ See Haviland (1979b); Dixon (1980:58ff); Heath, Merlan & Rumsey (1982) and McGregor (1989a) for forms and functions of taboo languages in Australian Aboriginal societies.

³¹ The word *dyurrungu* is the same term as the one referring to a "straight" (i.e. compatible) marriage section in the kinship system: e.g. *karrimba* and *barr'dyarri* are *dyurrungu* (see 8.4.4.4).

³² The predicate form is *gilp + dyu* (complex verb; see Chapter 5, cf. 9.2.6) as exemplified in sentence [1]. Also see example [13] in Chapter 5.

- [1] *Darlu-garra-yi dyanu marlu nga-ny-dyu-n-dyirra dyurrungu,*
 WM-PL-DAT 1(GEN) not 1-EN-say-IMPF-3"DAT "straight"
gilp + nga-na-ga-dyu-yi-dyirra.
 avoid+1-TR-FUT-AUX(say)-DAT_{purp}-3"DAT
 'I don't talk straight to my WMs. I talk "sideway" to them.'

Yawuru people are divided into four marriage sections, or "skins" as they are called in Aboriginal English.

<i>karimba</i>	'Garimba section' (compatible with Barrjarri)
<i>barr'dyarri</i> (~ <i>barr'yarri</i>) ³³	'Barrjarri section' (compatible with Garimba)
<i>burung(u)</i>	'Burungu section' (compatible with Banaga)
<i>banaka</i>	'Banaga section' (compatible with Burungu)

The rule of section assignment at birth goes like this: children of a Garimba mother and a Barrjarri father are Banaga, male or female. A Banaga is supposed to marry a Burungu. Banaga fathers will have Barrjarri children, while Banaga mothers will have Garimba children. No "skin"-sensitive differentiation of speech style has been detectable.³⁴

No strictly gender-specific differentiation of speech style has been established, although some or other gender-sensitive tendencies are discernible at all levels of the grammar and lexicon. These will be footnoted in relevant sections in later chapters.

1.2 Classification

1.2.1 The Nyulnyulan family

In terms of genetic classification, Yawuru is a member of the Nyulnyulan family.³⁵ Other members of the family are: (roughly from south to north) Nyikina (Big Nyikina and Small Nyikina), Warrwa, Ngumbarl, Nimanburru, Jabirrabirr, Nyulnyul, Bardi and Jawi.³⁶ Ngumbarl and Nimanburru are extinct. Warrwa, Nyulnyul and Jabirrabirr are no longer spoken, either, but only remembered by a limited number of people.

Although there is no doubt that Yawuru belongs to this linguistic family, there is still room for debate concerning its place within the family. Stokes (1982:8) divided

³³ See 3.3.4.2.(2) and 3.6.3.3.(2) for the use of apostrophe in *rr'dy* and *rr'y*.

³⁴ It should be pointed out, however, that the principal informants for the present study belong to the Garimba section. It is therefore not impossible that the corpus under study unwittingly reflects a section-specific style, if any.

³⁵ See O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin (1966:35), Wurm (1972:124-125), McGregor (1988a:94-98); cf. Capell (1940).

³⁶ Jukun is often listed, too, as a separate member of the family (cf. 1.3.2). The spelling of the language names is as recommended by the Kimberley Language Resource Centre (McGregor 1988a:91-92). Other spellings occurring in linguistic/ethnographic literature are: Nyigina, Njigina, Nyigena, etc. (for Nyikina); Warwa, Warwar, Warr-wai, etc. (for Warrwa); Ngoombarl, Ngormbal, etc. (for Ngumbarl); Nimanburr, Nimanbur, Namanboro, etc. (for Nimanburru); Dyaberdyaber, Djaberdjaber, Djaber-djaber, Djaberadjabera, Djaba-Djaba, etc. (for Jabirrabirr); Nyoolnyool, Nyul Nyul, Nyol-nyol, Njul-Njul, Ngool-ngool, etc. (for Nyulnyul); Ba:d, Bardi, Baadi, Bard, Barda, etc. (for Bardi); Djawi, Chowie, Djau, Tchaw-i, etc. (for Jawi). See Walsh et al (1981), Tindale (1974), Wurm (1972), O'Grady et al (1966), Oates & Oates (1970), Capell (1956), Capell & Coate (1984), McGregor (1988b), Bates (1985), and anonymous documents lodged with the libraries of AIATSIS, KLRC and SAL (see footnote 1 in this chapter).

the family into two languages, the "Western" language and the "Eastern" language, placing Yawuru as a dialect of the Eastern language, along with Big Nyikina, Small Nyikina, Warrwa and Nimanburru.³⁷ She refused to classify Jukun (her "Jugun") and Ngumbarl but suggests that these possibly belong to the "Western" language. McGregor (1988a:97) claimed, on the basis of a lexicostatistical survey, that the Nyulnyulan family consists of four languages: Bardi-Jawi, Nyulnyul-Jabirrabirr, Nyikina-Warrwa and Yawuru (Nimanburru, Ngumbarl and Jukun were not related to any of the four languages for lack of information).

More recently, Stokes & McGregor (1989) have proposed a revised subgrouping, in which the four-language model of McGregor (1988a) is accommodated into the eastern/western bifurcation of Stokes (1982). Given below is a slightly simplified version of their proposal:

Nyulnyulan	Eastern group	Nyikinic — Nyikina and Warrwa Yawuric — Yawuru (including Jukun)
	Western group	Nyulnyulic — Nyulnyul and Jabirrabirr (possibly Ngumbarl and Nimanburru) Bardic — Bardi and Jawi

Although the four-group model above is justifiable on most grounds, I tend to assume that the distance between Yawuric and Nyikinic is larger than that between Nyulnyulic and Bardic (cf. 1.3.2.2). Further, there may be a possibility of Nimanburru belonging to what Stokes and McGregor call Yawuric, given the high rate of shared lexical items between Yawuru and Jawi, as pointed out in the next section (1.2.2).³⁸

1.2.2 Lexicostatistics

From a grammatical (particularly morphological) point of view, the affiliation of Yawuru to the Nyulnyulan family is obvious, showing a sharp contrast to the Pama-Nyungan neighbours (Karajarri, Mangala, Nyangumarta, etc). In lexicon, however, the non-Pama-Nyungan status of Yawuru is less obvious. A count based on 100 items (out of Hale's core vocabulary — see Sutton & Walsh 1987) shows that Yawuru shares 48% with Nyulnyul, 30% with Bardi, and (rather unexpectedly) 45% with Jawi. In comparison with Pama-Nyungan, Yawuru shares 40% of basic words with Najanaja Karajarri, 31% with Nangunangu Karajarri, 25% with Mangala and 21% with Nyangumarta. By contrast, Nyulnyul shares only 19% of basic words with Karajarri (Najanaja); the proportion of items common to Karajarri is even lower in Bardi (14%) and Jawi (16%). Furthermore, the list of Yawuru basic words includes common items, though to a lesser extent, with other non-neighbouring Pama-Nyungan languages: 15% with Walmajarri, 9% with Pintupi (Papunya Luritja) and

³⁷ Stokes (1982) puts a question mark on Nimanburru (her "Nimanburr").

³⁸ Stokes & McGregor (1989:2, 17) note that Ngumbarl could be closer to Yawuric than to Nyulnyulic. For lack of adequate data, however, it would be impossible to determine the affiliation.

6% with Warlpiri.³⁹ In the general lexicon apart from the "basic" vocabulary, a large numbers of Karajarri (particularly Najanaja dialect) and Nyangumarta words are found in the Yawuru corpus.

Several cases are observed in which common words (probably cognates) with other Nyulnyulan languages suffer semantic narrowing due to borrowing synonymous words from other languages. For example, *gambi* is 'egg' in Nyikina but in Yawuru today the corresponding word *kambi* means 'testicles', while the Pama-Nyungan form *dyimbu* (probably borrowed from Karajarri) has become the usual Yawuru term for 'egg'.

1.3 Current status: sociolinguistic notes

1.3.1 Number of speakers

It is rather hard to present a reliable figure of the original population of the Yawuru Aborigines. However, interviews with surviving elders and genealogical research conducted by the author suggest a figure somewhere between 150-300 before 1870.

The linguistic vitality of Yawuru today falls into the category of what the Kimberley Language Support Programme researchers designated as "sick languages" (Hudson & McConvell 1984:29). Speakers of Yawuru are becoming few and none of the surviving speakers use it as their single everyday language. The language itself has been subject to certain changes due to intense contact with English as well as with Kriol, although it has in turn also affected the English spoken by some groups of Broome Aborigines today.⁴⁰

Stokes (1984) estimated the number of Yawuru speakers at "less than 10" in 1978-79. So far, however, I have found that there are still at least 24 native speakers of Yawuru (17 in Broome, 1 in Beagle Bay, 1 in Lombadina, 1 in Derby, 2 in La Grange and 2 in Carnarvon). A majority of them seem to speak the Julbayi dialect, though a few speak the Eastern Inland dialect. Besides these native speakers, there are about 20 people of Yawuru descent (over 30 years old) who can "hear" the language, though they cannot (or perhaps are not willing to) speak it spontaneously (see discussion in 1.3.3). Some 30 non-Yawuru Aborigines (Karajarri, Mangala and Nyikina; mostly males and over 45 years old) speak Yawuru or understand it fairly well. They used to work in Thangoo and/or have Yawuru affines. Yawuru and non-

³⁹ The count is based on the data taken from the manuscript wordlists deposited at the Kimberley Language Resource Centre, which will hopefully be published as the second volume of the *Handbook of Kimberley Languages* (McGregor 1988b:v).

⁴⁰ In the Aboriginal English varieties as spoken in the area, English words are very often semantically modified so as to embody Aboriginal concepts (see Hosokawa 1988b: section 2). One of the effects of such semantic modification is a minimisation of the cultural discrepancy between speaking English and speaking traditional Aboriginal languages, thus prompting the shift to English (cf. McConvell 1985). Another effect is that the white people, when listening to Aboriginal people speaking in "English", often fail to understand what is being spoken, even though they manage to catch the English words used in the speech. Therefore the Aboriginal people are able to maintain their "own language", even speaking in "English". This also tends to promote a shift from speaking traditional languages to speaking English (see Hosokawa 1988b for further discussion on this issue).

Yawuru altogether, there were (as at November 1986) more than 70 persons who can speak or understand this language, to some extent. Those who can safely be called "good speakers" may total fewer than 20, however, all of whom are estimated to be over the age of fifty.

1.3.2 Languages and social grouping of Broome Aborigines

1.3.2.1 Cultural and sociolinguistic division

The traditional languages spoken by the Aborigines who gather around Broome today include Bardi, Nyulnyul, Jabirrabirr, Yawuru, Nyikina, Mangala, Walmajarri (including Juwaliny or Western Jiwarliny), Karajarri (including Najanaja, Nangunangu and Nawurdu), Nyangumarta and Yulparija (a Western Desert dialect).⁴¹ Of these only Bardi, Walmajarri and Nyangumarta are relatively strong in terms of number of speakers (Hudson & McConvell 1984:29-31). None of the three groups, however, originally belonged to the Broome area, although they have become the major Aboriginal groups of Broome today both in number and in political influence. Karajarri, Mangala, Nyikina and Yawuru are declining, each with only 20 to 40 full speakers at the most. Few people under the age of 30 have a speaking command of these "weak" languages. Nyulnyul and Jabirrabirr are functionally almost dead, each with less than five (semi-)speakers in 1986, although there are quite a few people who still identify themselves (at least partly) as belonging to the Nyulnyul or Jabirrabirr "nation".

From a current sociolinguistic and political viewpoint, Broome Aborigines can be divided into the following three groups:

- i) **Northerners** (mostly the Dampierlanders: Jawi, Bardi, Nyulnyul, Jabirrabirr, etc);
- ii) **Southerners** (mostly Yawuru, Karajarri, Nyangumarta);
- iii) **Easterners** (Walmajarri, Juwaliny, Yulbarija, Mangala, Nyikina, Bunuba, Wangkajunga, etc.) who are relative newcomers to Broome.⁴²

Such division is relevant to that of "cultural blocks" or "major cultural areas" in the Kimberley as outlined in Akerman (1980a:234-235), although both the Easterners and the Southerners belong to the Southern cultural block sketched by Akerman. The major grouping suggested above is partly based on the vernacular ethnic categories:⁴³

⁴¹ Of these the first five languages are Nyulnyulan (which is non-Pama-Nyungan) and all the rest are Pama-Nyungan. Spellings of the tribe/language names in this paper follow the recommendation of the Kimberley Language Resource Centre (McGregor 1988a:97).

⁴² The terms "Northerners", "Southerners" and "Easterners" are not the designations used by the local people themselves. The vernacular designation "Hill mob" and "One Mile mob" roughly correspond to the Northerners and the Easterners, respectively. There seems to be no folk term equivalent for the Southerners. The "Thangoo mob" (i.e. ex-Thangoo Aborigines) and some sectors of the "La Grange mob" may correspond to the Southerners here.

⁴³ A different interpretation is found in the accounts by Daisy Bates in reference to these group names (Kularrabulu, Waiungarri and Bajjibugu in her spelling). She treated these, along with many other tribal names of the area around Broome, as referring to particular "nations", not as generic or classificatory terms (Bates 1985:59-60). Yawuru is not mentioned by Bates (1985 and n/d) but her

- 1) *kularraburru* (often spelled "Gularrabulu") — Jukun and Ngumbarl, and possibly including Jabirrabirri;
- 2) *badyabuga* — often called "saltwater people", namely Southern Coastal Yawuru (1.1.3.1) and Najanaja Karajarri;
- 3) *wayangarri* — generic designation for the Easterners.

By comparative-linguistic criteria, Yawuru belongs to the non-Pama-Nyungan north Kimberley languages together with the Dampierland languages such as Bardi, Nyulnyul, Jabirrabirri, etc (1.2.1). As far as the social grouping and cultural activities are concerned, however, the southern and eastern groups of Yawuru people are integrated into the socio-cultural networks of the south Kimberly region (and further coastal Northwest-Pilbara regions) and therefore have much more in common with the speakers of Pama-Nyungan languages such as Karajarri and Nyangumarta, rather than with the Dampierlanders. Julbayi Yawuru mainly intermarried with the Southerners (and to a lesser extent with the Easterners), while Jukun, linguistically a northern division of Yawuru (1.1.3), mainly intermarried with the Northerners (chiefly Ngumbarl, Jabirrabirri and Nyulnyul).

1.3.2.2 Patterns of multilingualism

Very few of the Yawuru people have any practical command of Northerners' languages such as Bardi and Nyulnyul, while many of them understand (and speak to some extent) Karajarri and/or Mangala. Similarly, very few of the Northerners understand Yawuru or any other languages of the Southerners.

The pattern of traditional multilingualism is in part (but by no means totally) conditioned by the degree of mutual intelligibility. Intelligibility (and unintelligibility) is a sociological function rather than a purely linguistic one, since it is not entirely based on linguistic structures. There is no mutual intelligibility between languages, but only between people. As to Yawuru-Nyikina mutual intelligibility, many of the old Yawuru speakers actually understand Nyikina fairly well. This is, however, not based on the grammatical/lexical similarity between the two languages so much as on the mutual learning resulting from the people contact between these two groups. Although the two languages share 61% of the basic vocabulary, there is a marked difference in the most commonly used verbs: only 5 (or 23%) out of the 22 verbal entries in the 100-item basic wordlist are shared.⁴⁴ There is also a considerable difference in general lexicon. Quite different morphophonemic processes are observed, particularly in verbal conjugations. The effect is that a Yawuru person gets to understand the Nyikina language only after a

accounts of "Kularrabulu" (she also spells "Koolarrabullo") allow us to identify it with Yawuru without doubt. McKelson's Nyangumarta vocabulary has *kularrapulu* as opposed to *watiyapulu*: "La Grange people refer to the northern tribes Yawurru [sic], Nyul Nyul etc. as WATIYAPULU. In their turn the Northerners (from Broome area) regard the Southerners or those more to the west as KULARRAPULU." (McKelson 1989:155). The Yawuru term *kularraburru* should be distinguished from *kularrabulu*, which is the Yawuru word for freshwater turtle (tortoise)

⁴⁴ Based on Kenneth Hale's core vocabulary list for Australian languages, as adopted in Sutton & Walsh (1987).

long and intensive living among speakers of Nyikina (and vice versa). Young part-speakers of Yawuru today, who understand the Yawuru language well when spoken at normal speed, do not usually understand Nyikina at all.

1.3.3 Is Yawuru dying?

1.3.3.1 Young people's Yawuru

Young people of Yawuru descent apparently do not have a full command of the language of their parents. However, this does not necessarily mean that the language will never be spoken by the young generation. At least some of the young Aborigines passively understand the language and, perhaps, they simply do not speak it for sociological reasons, rather than being unable to speak it at all. In this respect, it is intriguing to note that it has repeatedly been reported since the 1930s that the Yawuru language is nearing extinction. As a matter of fact, the situation seems to remain the same after 50 years: Yawuru is still (!) "on the verge of extinction", but somehow continues to survive.⁴⁵ Two factors are relevant to this enigma. First, people tend to deny their ability to speak traditional languages. When asked if they speak the language, they tend to answer "no" in spite of their potential competence in the language in question. Many Aboriginal people say they have lost their language because, as Thies (1987:103) rightly pointed out, it is

"as much a description of the feeling of loss as the fact of incompetence. It should not be taken at face value by a European as an adequate description of the language competency of the speaker."

It must also be pointed out, in this connection, that even older native speakers of Yawuru find it rather cumbersome or clumsy to speak the language in an urban multiracial environment (cf. McConvell 1985:103, 1986b:13-14). This seems to be due to psychological as well as sociological repression. The Yawuru language is spoken more fluently by the same people when they camp out for fishing or gathering bush foods.

The second factor is of a political nature. Broome Aborigines other than Yawuru tend to claim that the Yawuru people are "gone" (i.e. detribalised) and also want non-Aboriginal researchers to regard Yawuru as such. Behind this claim, there is a highly complicated context of local politics, in which various groups of Aborigines are trying to secure their rights as resident Aborigines in the land which Yawuru (and Jukun) people used to occupy.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ A quite similar situation is reported from Hopevale, north-east Queensland (Haviland 1985:173-180, re Guugu-Yimidhirr).

⁴⁶ See Hosokawa (1988b) for a more detailed account of this and other aspects of the sociolinguistic situation surrounding the Yawuru language and people today.

1.3.3.2 Recent moves for language revival

The Dampierland Oral History Project (1986-)⁴⁷ had a certain impact both on the young Aborigines interested in traditional culture and history of the area and on the older people who had much to tell but had not had much opportunity to do so. The project involved several young researchers and writers of Yawuru descent, including Merrilee Lands and Pat Torres(-Rahman), among others.⁴⁸ Although their interviews were mostly conducted in English (and/or in Kriol), the project seems to have triggered a move for language revival.

More recently, a project for the preparation of a Yawuru learning kit (mainly targeted at young people) is in its formative phase (Torres-Rahman, p.c. in 1989). The initiative for the development of this project was taken by the Aboriginal researchers and those who served as informants in the previous oral history project.

Prior to these activities, Broome-based musician Michael Manolis (of Yawuru descent) and the band "Kuckles" had been trying to incorporate Yawuru, Karajarri and Nyulnyul phrases into their songs, which are now distributed on a commercial basis.⁴⁹ These musicians are also interested in and supporting the language learning project.

1.4 Previous research and sources for this study

1.4.1 Previous research on Yawuru

A limited number of Yawuru words and phrases were documented by early researchers and/or missionaries such as P.J. Bischofs, Ernest A. Worms, Hermann Nekes, Daisy M. Bates and A. Peter Elkin (see McGregor 1988b:71, 78-79). Records are scattered in their writings,⁵⁰ although a larger portion of the materials remain unpublished.⁵¹

Arthur Capell left an unpublished "Jauor" (= Yawuru) wordlist of around 800 items as a part of his "Dictionaries of northern Australian languages" (Capell n/d, but circa 1940). A limited number of Yawuru items are also cited in his papers dealing with the classification of north Australian languages.⁵² Nora Kerr (then of the

⁴⁷ The project started under the auspices of Mamabulanjin Aboriginal Corporation and Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre (both in Broome).

⁴⁸ Part of their work appeared from Magabala Books (Lands 1987, Torres 1988, Torres & Williams 1987). Magabala Books is a publishing venture of the Kimberley Aboriginal Law and Culture Centre supported by the Commonwealth Ministry of Education, the Aboriginal Arts Board and the National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Bicentennial Programme.

⁴⁹ One of their successful albums is "Milliya Rumurra — Brand New Day" (1984, distributed by Imparja/CAAMA); the album title reflects the Yawuru phrase *miliya rumarra* 'today' (8.2.1.1).

⁵⁰ Bischofs (1908), Worms (1938a, 1938b, 1942, 1944, 1957, 1968/1986), Nekes (1939;), Nekes & Worms (1953), Elkin (1938/1964) and Bates (1985).

⁵¹ The collection of Daisy Bates' manuscripts held by the National Library of Australia, Canberra, contains wordlists of Yawuru (her "Koolarrabullo" and "Joogan") and near-by languages/dialects (Bates n/d). Bill McGregor (p.c.) suggested that Worms and Nekes manuscripts (in German?) are possessed by the Pallottine Library in Kew, Victoria. Unfortunately, however, I haven't so far had an opportunity to examine them.

⁵² Capell (1940, 1949/50, 1956); also Capell & Elkin (1937).

Summer Institute of Linguistics), who worked mainly in Nyikina in the late 1960s, left a comparative Nyulnyulan wordlist (Kerr n/d, but probably 1967 or 1968), which has over 530 Yawuru entries (including phrases, inflected verb forms as well as single words). Bronwyn Stokes (then of ANU), who also studied Nyikina intensively (Stokes 1982), conducted brief fieldwork in Broome in 1978 and left an unpublished sketch of Yawuru verb systems and a 137-item vocabulary (Stokes 1984). Since 1984 intermittently, Patricia Vinnicombe (of the Department of Aboriginal Sites, Western Australian Museum) has been engaged in site recording fieldwork in Yawuru country.⁵³

My own field research took place during January-November 1986 in Broome and the surrounding area (including Roebuck Plains), occasionally camping out in Yardugarra country (south-west of Thangoo) and partly in Bidyadanga (former La Grange mission). Further data have been obtained through correspondence in subsequent years.

More recently, Merrilee Lands (of the Dampierland Oral History Project) recorded and published Aboriginal names (in Yawuru, Bardi, Nyulnyul, Nyangumarta and Karajarri) and traditional uses of edible/medicinal plants of the Broome area (Lands 1987). Lands is currently undertaking research on the vocabulary of natural environment/meteorological concepts (including names for winds, tides, seasons, weather conditions, etc.) with the assistance of Sarah Yuh (Aboriginal Studies Section, Nulungu Catholic College, Broome).

1.4.2 Sources for this study

The present description is based on materials collected by the author during fieldwork in 1986. The materials comprise over 1400 pages of fieldnotes, a working dictionary of around 5500 words and 45 audio cassettes. The corpus mostly reflects Julbaya dialect.⁵⁴ Names of the native speakers who collaborated in the field research are listed in Table 101 (below). A number of non-native speakers of Yawuru were also consulted during the research (see Table 102), although materials obtained from them are not reflected in the present thesis.

1.5 Aim and organisation of this study

The principal aim of this thesis is to present an original and comprehensive description of the Yawuru language. In pursuing this task, I have attempted to develop a meaningwise approach to grammar writing. Throughout the description, considerable weight is laid on elucidating semantic aspects of the morphology and syntax of the language rather than merely recording forms and their combinations.

⁵³ In September 1986, Pat Vinnicombe and I carried out two weeks of joint field research, with the collaboration of the Edgar family of Broome. Most of the toponymic data included in the current study were collected on that occasion.

⁵⁴ Lexical items recorded by previous researchers will be cited when they are regarded as being reliable and reference to those particular items is necessary and/or helpful for discussion.

Cultural, or what are too often called "extra-linguistic" meanings are not excluded from the analysis. A large number of sample sentences, most of which are heavily context-bound, are provided in order to substantiate the points of discussion.⁵⁵ This study confides in no particular theoretical model, but draws its ideas and concepts eclectically from several models which will be referred to in footnotes; it also accepts much (but not all) of the established terminology of Australian Aboriginal linguistics. There are also notions developed originally by the author. Little comparative-historical reconstruction is attempted, although several important facts which seem to be relevant to reconstruction of proto-forms will be pointed out in footnotes.

As such the thesis consists of ten chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 provides readers with a concise profile of the language and several prerequisites for the understanding of example sentences to be cited later in the study. Chapter 3 deals with topics in segmental and suprasegmental phonology, as well as describing the phonetic details of the language. Chapter 4 describes inflexional morphology of finite verbs and discusses relevant issues in semantics. Chapter 5 deals with complex verb constructions. Semantics and word-class status of the preverb are discussed. Chapter 6 describes case-marking morphology and semantics. Several nominal derivational suffixes are also commented on there. Chapter 7 illustrates four types of pronouns: personal, demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns. Non-pronominal interrogative words are also illustrated there. Chapter 8 discusses the word-class status of Yawuru adverbs and presents a meaning-based classification of adverbial expressions. Chapter 9 briefly delineates the morphosemantics of nominal and verbal reduplications. Finally, in Chapter 10, the syntax and semantics of simple and complex constructions are illustrated and discussed.

⁵⁵ Unless otherwise noted, all the sample sentences are taken from native speakers' natural spontaneous utterances.

TABLE 101: List of native Yawuru speakers consulted

name	age**	skin (1.1.4)	birth place	other languages spoken
Nyidyalya (Elsie Edgar)	65?	Garimba	Yardugarra	English/Kriol, Karajarri
Dyakura (Thelma Saddler)	70+	Garimba	near Thangoo?	English/Kriol, Nyikina, some Mangala
Walkarang (Marty Gilbert)	70+	Banaga	Eastern Inland	English/Kriol, Nyangumarta, Karajarri, some Jukun, some Walmajarri
Gubadyarra (Jacky Edgar)	70?	Garimba	Yardugarra	English/Kriol, some Walmajarri
Kumminy (Felix Edgar)	60+	Garimba	Thangoo	English/Kriol, some Nyulnyul
Karrbungu (Freddy Edgar)	50+	Garimba	near Thangoo	English/Kriol
Tommy Edgar	70+	Banaka	Thangoo	Karajarri, English/Kriol, Malay
Doris Edgar (Roe)		Burungu	Thangoo	Karajarri, English
Dyakuny (Paddy Djiagueen)*	103?	?	Yarlanbarman	English/Kriol, Malay, Karajarri??

* deceased. (Care must be taken not to cite the Aboriginal name of the dead person in the presence of related Aboriginal people. Be aware that if a surviving person shares the name, his/her name must not be called out, either. European names are taboo-free.)

** age (estimated in most cases) as of 1986

TABLE 102: List of non-native speakers of Yawuru consulted

name	age	first language	other lges spoken/understood/remembered
Dyakura (Thelma Dawidiy)*	85?	Karajarri (Naja)	Yawuru, (Nyulnyul), English
Gudbardu (Paddy Sebastian)*	80+	Jabirrabirr	English, (Yawuru)
Ngadyurku (Elsie)	65?	Karajarri (Naja)	Yawuru, English/Kriol
Maningka (Monica Roe)	80+	Karajarri (Naja)	Yawuru, Japanese, English, Malay
Dyakuny (Paddy Roe)	74	Nyikina	Yawuru, Jabirrabirr, Jukun, Ngumbarl, English/Kriol, Malay
Joe Nangan*	80+	Nyikina	Yawuru, Jabirrabirr, Jukun, English/Kriol, Malay
Yardy Joseph	70+	Nyikina	Yawuru, English, Malay
Dyurrkuri (Frank Edgar)	45?	English	Yawuru, Jabirrabirr
Joe Bennett	50?	English	Jukun, Jabirrabirr
Nyanimirdi (Dickie Johnson)	60+	Mangala	Karajarri, Yawuru, English
Henry Walter	50?	Karajarri (Naja)	Yawuru, English
Susy Gilbert	50+	Nyangumarta	Yawuru, Karajarri, English/Kriol
Ngurliba (John Roe)	40?	English	Yawuru, Karajarri, Japanese
Kadyay (Frank Sebastian)	55?	English	Yawuru, Jabirrabirr
Clair Jackamarra	80+	English	(Yawuru)
Stanley Djiagueen	40?	English	Kriol
Cissy Bennet	35?	English	Jabirrabirr, (Yawuru), (Jukun)
Cassy Drummond	72	English	(Yawuru)
Phil Matsumoto	45	English	(Yawuru), (Japanese)

* deceased. (Care must be taken not to cite the Aboriginal name of the dead person in the presence of related Aboriginal people. Be aware that if a surviving person shares the name, his/her name must not be called out, either. European names are taboo-free.)

Chapter 2: Preliminaries

The aim of this chapter is to preview several topics in Yawuru grammar as well as to introduce a few technical terms. Although many (but not all) of the issues outlined in this chapter will be discussed and illustrated in detail in later chapters, it is necessary to present a preliminary sketch of them for readers to understand example sentences to be given in the first few chapters.

2.1 Alignment and cross-referencing system

2.1.1 Split cross-reference

In terms of alignment Yawuru is an ergative language which, however, has an accusative type verb-agreement (cross-reference) system. Verbs are conjugated by a series of prefixes and suffixes/enclitics added to a verb root (4.1.2). Table 201 gives a synopsis of the cross-reference system in Yawuru. "A" stands for transitive subject; "S" for intransitive subject; and "O" for direct object (Dixon 1987:2-9). As this chart shows, Yawuru case marking (on the core argument NPs) basically follows an ergative-absolutive pattern, whereas the verbal agreement follows a subject-object (nominative-accusative) pattern.¹ The first-order verbal prefix agrees in person and number with the syntactic subject, which is inflected for the ergative case in transitive clauses but remains uninflected (absolutive) in intransitive clauses.

TABLE 201: Yawuru cross-reference system

	A	S	O
verb:	prefix	prefix	enclitic (ACC)
NP:	ERG	ABS	ABS

2.1.2 Case marking on core argument NPs

The operation of the Yawuru cross-reference system may also be formulated as follows:

- [1] transitive: (A-ERG) (O- \emptyset) A-Verb(-O_{ACC})
 [2] intransitive: (S- \emptyset) S-Verb

¹ Such a split in the case marking patterns is not uncommon in Australian Aboriginal languages. See Blake (1987:17); cf. Dixon (1980:328-330, 338ff). The semi-transitive (ERG-DAT) construction type is not considered here (see formula [3] in 2.1.2).

which indicates that **i)** the ergative marker (ERG) is attached to an NP referring to a transitive subject (A), whereas an NP referring to a transitive object (O) or intransitive subject (S) has no (or zero) case marker (i.e. absolutive); and that **ii)** the verbal prefix reveals an agreement with A or S, while the verbal enclitic, if any, agrees with O.²

The subject-object relation is regularly monitored by person/number agreement on the verb, which allows the core NPs to be left out in actual discourse. This is the reason why they are put in parentheses in [1] and [2] above. Both verbal prefixes and enclitics are functionally bound pronominals. If O is to be encoded by a personal pronoun, then an accusative enclitic is the only form for it to take in transitive clauses (see 7.3). In other words, pronominal O is always bound on verbs.³

Yawuru actually has another type of transitive structure, namely "semi-transitive", in which the object NP is assigned a dative marking. The object enclitic on the verb also takes a dative form and is virtually obligatory:⁴

[3] semi-transitive: (A-ERG) (O-DAT) A-Verb-O_{DAT}

Note that formulas [1], [2] and [3] above provide no more than a conceptual schema, only showing the case-marking patterns on core-argument NPs, and not at all prescribing an actual word order. Example sentences corresponding to each formula are as follows:⁵

[1'] *Dyuyu-ni bilirri mi-na-lurra-nda.*
2-ERG bluetongue(ABS) 2-TR-burn-PF
'You cooked a bluetongue lizard.'

[2'] *Dyungku i-miri-nda.*
fire(ABS)_i 3_i-finish-PF
'The fire went out.'

[3'] *Yangki-ni i-murku-rn-dyina wula-yi.*
who_i-ERG 3_i-search-IMPF-3DAT_j water_j-DAT
'Who is looking for water?'

2.13 Further comment

There is basically no NP/pronoun split or animate/inanimate split in the case marking system (cf. Blake 1987:20-23). Ergative forms of a pronoun are formed by attaching the ergative marker *-ni* to the absolutive free-form pronoun, no matter whether it is personal, demonstrative or interrogative.

² See 10.1 for a more refined formulation.

³ The enclitic is zero for a 3rd-person minimal (singular) O. Personal pronouns have accusative enclitic forms. These are, however, identified as abbreviated forms of the absolutive pronouns (7.3.1). Non-personal pronouns (e.g. demonstratives) are always free and may stand independently as an O-function NP in a sentence.

⁴ This construction type is not included in Table 201 above. See 7.4.2.3 and 10.1.4 for details of the semi-transitive construction.

⁵ Major issues relevant to the syntactic construction types, ergativity and transitivity will be discussed in 4.6.6, 4.8.2, 6.4, 7.3.2, 10.1, 10.2 and 10.7.

<i>wamba</i>	'man'	>	<i>wamba-ni</i>	'man (ergative)'
<i>dyurru</i>	'snake'	>	<i>dyurru-ni</i>	'snake (ergative)'
<i>buru</i>	'sand' (cf. 8.2.3)	>	<i>buru-ni</i>	'sand (ergative)'
<i>dyuyu</i>	'you'	>	<i>dyuyu-ni</i>	'you (ergative)'
<i>nyamba</i>	'this'	>	<i>nyamba-ni</i>	'this (ergative)'
<i>yangki</i>	'what/who?'	>	<i>yangki-ni</i>	'what/who? (ergative)'

There is no case-marking split by tense/aspect or by grammatical person of the agent/patient, either.

2.2 Word classes

2.2.1 Independent words

The following word classes and subclasses are distinguished in Yawuru on a formal (i.e. morphological, rather than semantic or syntactic) basis:

Nominals: Common nominals (nouns, adjectives, indefinite pronouns)
 WH-interrogatives (7.6)
 Personal pronouns (7.1 to 7.4)
 Demonstratives (7.5)
 Numerals (2.2.3)
 Adverbs (8.1)
 Ideophones (or onomatopoeia)
 Preverbs (see 5.6)

Verbs

Isolates: Particles (10.4.2 and 10.4.3)
 Interjections (cf. 3.7.1.1)

Nominals inflect for case and verbs for person/number/tense/mood/aspect. Isolates are uninflected words.^{5A}

Verb roots never occur in their bare forms. To be an independent, utterable word, a verb must be conjugated, carrying a series of affixes (see 2.4.1).⁶ The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is not so much a matter of morphology as of syntax.⁷

Nouns and adjectives can be distinguished only on semantic criteria in Yawuru. Both behave in morphologically identical ways, although (1) some adjectives do not combine with certain nominal suffixes and (2) some of the nouns/adjectives never function as attribute adjectives. There are, on the other hand, also a number of words which can function as either a noun or an adjective.⁸ Typical examples include:

^{5A} Yawuru has no "catalyst" or a meaningless dummy stem which merely functions as a carrier of affixes/enclitics (Capell 1976a:618, Tsunoda 1981:124-125, Hudson 1976:657ff, Blake 1987:103, Hale 1981:335-337); cf. discussion in 5.1.3; see also footnote 54 in this chapter.

⁶ In this study, Yawuru verbs are cited in their root forms. Such unconjugated roots are, however, not recognised by native speakers as legitimate words. Most common forms in which informants cite Yawuru verbs are usually 2nd person minimal (singular) future or 3rd person minimal imperfective (cf. 4.9.5).

⁷ See discussion in 4.8 (particularly 4.8.5.2) and 5.3.3.

⁸ The term "adjective" will be used in this thesis solely on the functional basis (e.g. 5.6.2); cf. Dixon (1980:272-275, 1982:8-13) and Yallop (1982:123ff).

<i>bili</i>	'anger/angry' (cf. 5.6.2)
<i>bilyarri</i>	'greed/greedy'
<i>dakidaki</i>	'deaf person/deaf (or of bad hearing)'
<i>dyula</i>	'blind person/blind (or half-blind)'
<i>malybar</i>	'fatigue/tired'
<i>malyku</i>	'jealousy/jealous'
<i>mulyukura</i>	'pregnancy (or pregnant woman)/pregnant'
<i>niyarra</i>	'taste/tasty (or sweet)'
<i>rdardarl</i>	'sickness/sick (or lame)'

and many others.⁹ No concordance in number or gender takes place between an adjective and the noun it modifies. Comparative grades (e.g. bigger, biggest) are not encoded by a morphological declension, but expressed syntactically (see 6.7.2; cf. 8.1.1.3).

Adverbs are also considered as belonging to the general class of nominals so far as their morphological behaviour is concerned. Adverbs take case markers and show other features of derivational morphology common to nominals. Semantically and syntactically, however, adverbs are a distinct class of words. As will be illustrated in 8.1.2, there are words (such as *kadyarri* 'far', *baybirra* 'behind', *dyurrungu* 'straight', etc.) which are used either as an adjective or as an adverb without taking any morphological marker that indicates a difference in function.

WH-interrogative words (whether pronouns or adverbs) are declined like common nouns according to the ergative-absolutive pattern (7.6.1). So are demonstratives, although they behave inflexionally in idiosyncratic ways (7.5.2.2). Conjunctions are derived from nominals, usually a demonstrative or an adverb plus one or more case markers (see 6.7.5 and 7.5.3.1 for instances). Indefinite pronouns inflect exactly like common nouns (7.7).

As a rule, Yawuru roots are exclusively either verbal or non-verbal; very few roots can behave both as a verb and as a nominal (see 4.10.2). There is a group of words, namely preverbs, which can function virtually as verbal expressions but do not carry verbal affixes. They are, in other terms, words which are not morphologically verbs but which perform a verbal function in particular syntactic configurations (see discussion in 5.6).

Strategies of word formation available in Yawuru are as follows:

- 1) compounding (including noun incorporation; see 4.10.1)
- 2) derivation by affixation (5.4.2, 6.12, 7.5.2.2 and 8.2.1.1.(5))
- 3) reduplication (2.3.2; also see Chapter 9)
- 4) lexicalisation
- 5) borrowing from other languages (2.3.4).

⁹ There are also metaphor-based cases such as *wubardu* '(ADJ) small; (N) child', *wirdu* '(ADJ) large, (N) thumb' (Jukun-dialect form is *wurdu*). Probably also in derivational relation are *rdarlu* 'ashamed' and *darlu* 'mother-in-law' (1.1.4).

Nominals show all of these five strategies, while (2) and (5) are not encountered in verb roots.

2.2.2 Bound morphemes

Bound morphemes are classified as follows:

verbal affixes	prefixes
	suffixes
nominal markers	case-marking enclitics
	derivational suffixes
pronominal enclitics	
other enclitics	

Nominal markers include case markers (which are considered enclitics rather than suffixes; see 2.5.2.1) and suffixes which derive stems for case inflexions (see 6.12). Yawuru case markers are as follows (not all of the allomorphic variants are given here):

<i>-yi/dyi</i>	dative (DAT)
<i>-dyina</i>	genitive (GEN)
<i>-ni</i>	ergative (ERG)
<i>-gun</i>	locative (LOC)
<i>-ngarn</i>	allative (ALLAT)
<i>-gap</i>	ablative (ABL)
<i>-barri</i>	instrumental (INST)
<i>-nyurdany</i>	causal (CAUS)
<i>-ngany</i>	comitative (COM)
<i>-gurdany</i>	circumstantial (CIRCUM)

Some of the case markers, namely the dative and the comitative, may occur both on nominals and conjugated verbs (see 10.6.3 and 4.7, respectively). They are called "bivalent" after Capell (1956:77-79; cf. Blake 1976:421ff).

There are a few other enclitics:

<i>-ngarr (~ ngarru)</i>	'like' (semblative; 8.4.5.1)
<i>-manydyan ~ -manyān</i>	'only' (limitative; 8.4.5.2)
<i>-bardu</i>	'still, yet' (aspectual; 8.2.1.2).
<i>-yirr</i>	'and' (conjunctive; 3.8.4.2 and 10.6.6.1)
<i>-marda</i>	'perhaps' (uncertainty; 7.6.7.3 and 8.5.3.3)
<i>-āw</i>	'(vocative/emphatic)' (3.7.5.5 and 4.4.4)
<i>-gardi</i>	'on/to the side of' (8.3.5.1; cf. 7.5.4.2)

and several others (see 6.12.7). These are non-stem-forming clitics and occur only after case inflexion(s), if any; whereas stem-forming suffixes precede case markers (but cf. 10.6.6.1.(2)). In example [4], the suffix *-garra* precedes the case marker *-ni*, which is followed by the clitic *-manydyan*:

- [4] *dyarn'du-garra-ni-manydyan*
 woman-PL-ERG-only
 'only by women'

It is noteworthy that Yawuru, unlike other Australian languages (Blake 1987:8-9, Dixon 1980:323, Yallop 1982:119-120), has no derivational affix that would derive a verb from a nominal stem. The reverse holds as well: no derivational affix nominalising a verb has been recorded in this language.

2.23 Numerals

Yawuru has three numeric words:

<i>waranydyarri</i>	'one' (cf. 7.7.1) ¹⁰
<i>kudyarra</i>	'two'
<i>gurdirdi</i>	'three'

'Four' is expressed as *kudyarra-kudyarra* ("two-two"), 'five' is *kudyarra-kudyarra-waranydyarri* ("two-two-one"); similarly, 'six' is *kudyarra-kudyarra-kudyarra*, and so on. 'Three' may also be expressed as "two-one" (*kudyarra-waranydyarri*).¹¹ The word *gurdirdi*, however, is not used in combination with *kudyarra* or *waranydyarri*. Five is always "two-two-one", not "three-two" or "two-three".

Interestingly Yawuru proper numerals are not used to count money. Although the loan term *dala* 'dollar' may appear in Yawuru discourse, such a phrase as **waranydyarri dala*, **kudyarra dala*, **kudyarra-waranydyarri dala* (or **gurdirdi dala*) are not heard. Instead, the English-derived words *wandala*, *duudala*, *dyirridala* are used to mean 'one dollar', 'two dollars' and 'three dollars', respectively. Other "money words" borrowed from English and frequently used in Yawuru conversation include *dindala* ~ *dyindala* 'ten dollars' and *baybdala* [bʰáɛbdàla] 'five dollars'.¹²

2.24 English words in Yawuru

Lexical borrowings from English/Kriol abound in Yawuru as spoken today, although most of them are phonologically, grammatically and semantically well adapted to the structure of Yawuru.¹³

<i>duwa</i>	'shop, supermarket' (from "store")
<i>durinydya</i>	'stranger'
<i>dyil</i>	'nail' (from "shell")
<i>madya</i>	from "master"; as in <i>madya wamba</i> 'lawman, songman' (used as a hypernym covering the Yawuru terms <i>wararra</i> 'songman' and <i>burruku</i> 'law man')
<i>milimili</i>	'paper, book, letter, etc' (from "mail"; see 9.2.4)
<i>dyandabi</i>	'centipede'
<i>dyawdi</i>	'a seasonal wind from inland desert' (from "south-east"; see 8.2.1.3.(3))
<i>bubalaa</i> (~ <i>buubala</i>)	'oh dear!, what a shame!' (from "poor fellow")
<i>burrurrubala</i>	(same as <i>bubalaa</i>)

¹⁰ Also recorded is a variant *waranynyarri* (in which the *nydy* sequence turned into a geminate nasal *nyny*; see 3.6.3.2). The Jukun dialect form is *wanydyarri*.

¹¹ The compound numerals, such as *kudyarra-kudyarra* 'four' and *kudyarra-waranydyarri* 'three', comprise single words both phonologically and grammatically (see 2.5.2.2).

¹² I once heard an expression *kudyarra dindala* 'twenty dollars' (lit. "two ten-dollars"). The phrase, however, referred to the two ten-dollar notes which one of the participants in the conversation was holding in her hand. This suggests that the English phrase "ten dollar(s)" has been introduced into Yawuru as a monolexemic common nominal, not as a separable phrase of [Numeral + Noun].

¹³ English-derived items will be marked "/E" in interlinear glosses.

Among these borrowings are the quite frequently used English-derived preverbs. Examples given below are 2nd-person future forms, which are functionally imperative (4.3.3.1) and marked by the prefix complex *wal-a-* (4.3.1.1). English-derived preverbs are in boldface. The combined verbs are *ma* 'put', *nya* 'catch, seize' and *ka* 'carry':¹⁴

<i>ginim</i> <i>wal-a-ma</i>	'Peel it' ("skin him")
<i>dyiikan</i> <i>wal-a-ma</i>	'Make it up (with him)' ("shake hand")
<i>ridi</i> <i>wal-a-nya</i>	'Prepare it' ("ready")
<i>darayim</i> <i>wal-a-ka</i>	'Try it on' ("try him")

2.3 Phonology

2.3.1 Profiles in segmental phonology

Although full details of the Yawuru sound system are to be described in Chapter 3, a few elementary features are pointed out here for the reader's convenience.

There are three short vowels with long vowel counterparts (3.2). The apical contrast of alveolar and retroflex is distinctive; but not so is the laminal contrast of dental and palatal (cf. Dixon 1980:139-142). In the practical orthography employed in this study, *y*-digraphs (*dy*, *ty*, *ny*, *ly*) represent alveolo-palatal (i.e. lamino-prepalatal) consonants (3.4.4), while *r*-digraphs (*rd*, *rt*, *rn*, *rl*) stand for retroflexed (or apico-postalveolar) ones (3.4.3). The velar nasal is also represented by a digraph (*ng*). Two rhotics are to be distinguished: continuant *r* and non-continuant *rr* (usually a flap).¹⁵ The letters *w* and *y* represent semi-vocalic glides.¹⁶ (See Table 306 in Chapter 3 for a full inventory of segmental phonemes).

Yawuru phonological structure is, on the whole, not very divergent from the general Australian pattern (Blake & Dixon 1979:18-22, Dixon 1980:127-146, Yallop 1982:57-69). There are, however, several unusual features for an Australian language. These include (i) word-final tense/lax contrast and (ii) voicing contrast of three types of dorsals (*k*, *g* and *k**). The tense consonants are represented by *p*, *t*, *rt*, *ty* and *q*; contrasts such as *bab* 'forgetting' vs *bap* 'moth' are observed (cf. 3.3.2.3). The voicing contrast of *k/g/k** (3.3.1.2) plays certain morphological roles: for example, the verb *ka* 'carry' has the voiced future stem *ga* and never-voiced irrealis stem *k*a* (4.5.6.2).

¹⁴ As these closely resemble the verb forms used in Kriol one may suspect that they are borrowings from Kriol rather than directly from English. It is unlikely, however, that the speakers of Yawuru in Thangoo had been exposed to Kriol speech before they left the station (1.1.2), as the spread of Kriol into the west Kimberley area is considered to be a relatively recent phenomenon (Sandefur 1986, Hudson 1983). These English-derived preverbs are considered to be borrowings from a pidginised English spoken in Thangoo which developed independently of east and south Kimberley Kriol (Hosokawa 1988b). The attachment of the transitive marker *-im*, derived from "him" or "them (~'em)", is a fairly widespread development and is observable not only in Kriol but also in the Aboriginal English varieties which have no contact with Kriol (Kaldor & Malcolm 1980, 1982 and 1985).

¹⁵ A third kind of rhotic *rry* also occurs in the spelling. This indicates a palatalised flap but this is regarded as an allophone of *rr*. It is distinguished in the spelling since it conveys important morphological information in certain cases (see 3.3.4.2 and 4.3.1.1.(3)).

¹⁶ These and the rhotic continuant *r* are grouped together as approximants (3.2), since these three phonemes share certain morphophonological processes; see 3.7.1.4.(2).

Consonantal clusters occur word-medially and word-finally (3.6.1). There is also a word-initial cluster *gw*, which is probably a reduced form of **guw-*. No other type of initial consonantal cluster is encountered. Medial clusters are either homorganic or heterorganic (3.6.3.1). Some unusual distinction such as the one between homorganic *rry + dy* and heterorganic *rr + dy* are found (see footnote 15 above). Word-final clusters consist of a liquid plus a stop (e.g. *-rrp*, *-lt*, etc; 3.6.1.1). Non-homorganic (or heterorganic) clusters (including nasal clustering such as *nm*, *nym*, *nyng*) are quite common in stems (both nominal and verbal), but not in affixes — with the unique exception of the verbal suffix *-ndyi* (4.2.4).

2.3.2 Reduplication

Full and partial reduplications are encountered in a large number of nominal as well as verbal stems in Yawuru. It is not, however, a fully productive device in Yawuru morphology in the sense that not all of the stems, either verbal or nominal, are reduplicable. There seem to be no significant phonological or semantic criteria to distinguish between reduplicable and unreduplicable items.

<i>buru</i>	'sand, earth' > <i>buruburu</i> 'dust'
<i>balu</i>	'tree, stick', but <i>*balubalu</i> ¹⁷
<i>dyundururu</i>	'urine' > <i>dyundurudyundururu</i> 'desire to urinate' (9.2.1.4)
<i>kunbulu</i>	'blood', but <i>*kumbulukumbulu</i>
<i>karda</i>	'that over there, yonder' > <i>kardakarda</i> (7.5.2.2)
<i>kamba</i>	'that (not so far away)', but <i>*kambakamba</i>

Nominal roots show rightwards reduplication (AB → ABB or ABAB), while verbal roots leftwards (AB → AAB or ABAB).

nominal:	<i>wubardu</i>	>	<i>wubardubardu</i>
	<i>lanydyi</i>	>	<i>lanydyilanydyi</i>
verbal:	<i>wunduma</i>	>	<i>wunduwunduma</i>
	<i>lurra</i>	>	<i>lurralurra</i>

There is a limited number of cases in which triplication takes place:

<i>murdmurdmurd</i> (~ <i>murdburdburd</i>)	'shimmering (in hot ashes) ¹⁸
<i>burdburdburd</i> (+ <i>dyu</i>)	'bubbling up (of water)'
<i>rdirdirdi</i>	'squeezing'
<i>barrbarrbarr</i> (- <i>gadya</i>)	'blazing (of sun)'

The semantic effects of reduplication are sometimes highly idiosyncratic, although there are several types of semantic modification common to both verbal and nominal reduplication (such as intensification, attenuation, indication of

¹⁷ The derived form *balu-garra* 'woods, forest' is acceptable (-*garra* is the nominal plural marker; see 2.4.2.2).

¹⁸ This is basically an onomatopoeia for the sound heard when food (block of meat, pieces of bush fruit, etc) is being cooked in hot ashes. The consonantal fluctuation *m ~ b* is occasionally encountered in Yawuru lexicon (see 1.1.3.1, re: *marrbarrba ~ marmarrma*; also see 4.6.7 for the variation of *ma ~ mba ~ ba* observed in the reflexive form of the verb 'give'); cf. footnote 23 in Chapter 1.

collectivity, etc). These and other semantic effects will be examined further in Chapter 9.

2.3.3 Sound symbolism

Semantically motivated alternation of particular vowels or consonants is rare in Yawuru. The case below, however, can be considered an instance of such sound symbolism: namely, the alternation of *rd* with the laminal *dy* indicates smallness.

<i>wubardu</i>	'(N) child, (ADJ) small'
<i>wubardubar<u>du</u></i>	'(N) fingers'
<i>wubadyuwubadyu</i>	'(ADJ) very little' (cf. 3.7.1.4.(2))

At least two similar instances of the sound symbolism (*rnd* ~ *rndy*, *nd* ~ *nydy*) are known:¹⁹

<i>rdirndurdirndu</i>	'(ADJ) curled, tangled' (cf. 9.2.3.1)
<i>rdirndyurdirndyu</i>	'(N) curly hair'
<i>bindabinda</i>	'(N) butterfly'
<i>binydyabinydya</i>	'(N) murex, or butterfly shell'

2.3.4 Short forms

Some Yawuru words (especially lengthy ones) have "short forms", which are more commonly used than their corresponding full forms. The shortening takes the form of lenition of an intervocalic consonant and/or dropping of suffix elements. Such elements subject to dropping are usually unproductive and fossilised formatives, whose meaning is often unclear. Typical instances are given below:

<i>mayirrwarli</i> [máerwàle]	=	<i>mayi-yirr warli</i> [máejíçwàle]	'food in general' (lit. "fruit and meat"; see 10.6.6.1 for <i>-yirr</i> 'and')
<i>nilirr</i> [néleç] ~ [níleç]	=	<i>niliyirr</i> [níl'eç] ~ [níli'eç]	'mouth'
<i>dyindirrdyindirr</i>	=	<i>dyindiyirrdyindiyirr</i>	'Jabiru (Black-necked Stork)'
<i>dyuurrdyuurr</i>	=	<i>dyiyurrdyiyurr</i> = <i>dyiwilyurrwilyurr</i>	'(an unidentified bird)'
<i>walabaling</i>	=	<i>walabalingngurru</i>	'mother and daughter; family' (see 6.12.3)
<i>madyil</i>	=	<i>madyilnyarrá</i>	'yesterday' (see 8.2.1.1.(5))
<i>karrawayny</i>	=	<i>karrawaynykara</i>	'(toponym)'
<i>dyanydyagurdiny</i>	=	<i>dyanydyagurdinyngarn</i>	'(toponym) Thangoo' (cf. 6.6.5)

In some cases (but not in many), the full form and the short form are semantically differentiated (see 8.2.3 for the case of *walkanya* and *walkanyagarraburu*; see 8.2.1.1.(5) for *miliya* and *miliyanyarrá*, etc).

¹⁹ It should be noted that *rnd* represents a homorganic cluster (*rn* + *rd*), while *rndy* indicates a heterorganic sequence (*rn* + *dy*). See 3.6.3.3 for conventions of spelling medial consonant clusters.

24 Morphology

24.1 Typological profile

Yawuru is a highly agglutinative language. Nominal derivations are entirely by suffixation. Case marking is by enclitics (2.5.2). Yawuru nominals have no declension class. Verbs are conjugated both by prefixation and suffixation (plus enclitics). Minimally, a verb takes only one prefix, as in [5a] below. Maximally a verb may carry up to four prefixes and five suffixes/enclitics, as in [5b]. The following examples are taken from the inflexional paradigm of the verb *bula* 'come':²⁰

- [5] a. *nga-bula*
 2FUT-come
 'you will come'
- b. *yang-ga-rr-ma-bula-ndyi-ngany-dyi-dyirra-yirr*
 1"-FUT-AGM-TR-INT-**come**-RCP-PF-COM-DAT_{purp}-3"DAT-PL
 'we (EXCL) might bring [it] together for them'

Complicated inflexional morphology of verbs seems to result in relatively simple clause structure (cf. 10.6) and loose word-order regulations (cf. 10.8).

There are three conjugation classes of verbs, which show some correlation with transitivity (4.2.2.2). The number of inflecting verb roots (i.e. roots that can be inflected to form a finite verb) is not very large. Instead, a large number of complex verbs (preverb + finite verb) are encountered (5.1.1). As in other Nyulnyulan languages (Stokes 1982:248-265, Metcalf 1975:85-90) alternative-prefixing plays an important role in the verb system (4.8).

In most cases, both in verbs and nominals, the affixation is fairly straightforward and transparent; few phonological fusions take place and few cases of sandhi are observed when morphemes combine with each other (3.8).²¹

24.2 Person/number system

24.2.1 Four-person system

Yawuru has four person categories as defined in Table 202. The 4th category (which includes both the speaker and the hearer — in traditional terminology the 1st person dual inclusive) behaves grammatically as a singular category. This category has its own plural forms, which are distinct from the 1st person (exclusive) non-singular (dual and plural) forms. This means that, in the grammar of Yawuru, the inclusive category in question is not a category of

²⁰ See 4.1.2 for the canonical formula of verbal conjugations.

²¹ This is quite in contrast to Nyikina, where linear sequence of morphemes regularly triggers such changes as portmanteaux (amalgamation of morphemes), fusion of consonant clusters, lenition of certain consonants, dropping of segments, etc. (Stokes 1982:xxvii-xxviii, 206ff).

number, but strictly a category of person. We refer to this unit, i.e. [+Speaker +Hearer], as "4th person".²²

TABLE 202: Person system in Yawuru grammar

	Speaker	Hearer	
1	+	-	(1st person exclusive)
2	-	+	(2nd person)
3	-	-	(3rd person)
4	+	+	(1st person inclusive) = the 4th person

The point here is that Yawuru has "you-and-me" (two people) as a grammatical unit and treats it as such systematically in its grammar. For example, a 4th-person reciprocal action (e.g. you and me hitting each other) is encoded in the reflexive (rather than reciprocal) verb form as if the action is performed by a single actor hitting him/herself. By contrast, a non-inclusive 1st-person reciprocal action (e.g. he and I hitting each other) is encoded in the reciprocal verb form (see 4.6.6.2 for instances). The four-person distinction is observed throughout the Yawuru pronominal system: verbal prefixing (subject-marking), verbal enclitics (object-marking) and free-form pronouns (see 7.1. to 7.4.).²³

The four-person system is shared by the Nyulnyulan languages and a similar system has been reported as occurring in some other north Australian languages (Dixon 1980:351-353). The system has been called the "minimal/augmented system" by McKay (1975, 1978, 1979) with reference to Rembarrnga. McKay introduced the new term "minimal" because the 4th category in question actually involves two people (you and me) and is not "singular" in the sense of traditional grammar. Consequently, the term "plural" was considered to be inadequate to cover the non-minimal categories, to which McKay applied another new term "augmented". The minimal/augmented terminology is adopted in this thesis, although the conventional terms singular, dual and plural will also be used with the following provisos: the term "singular" (SG) is reserved for the non-4th-person minimal categories (i.e. 1SG, 2SG and 3SG altogether); the term "dual" (DL) excludes the 4th person minimal (which is referentially dual); and the term "plural" (PL) is applied only to the non-dual augmented categories. The term

²² In this thesis, I use the term "1st person" only in reference to the exclusive person category (i.e. [+Speaker, -Hearer]). The term "fourth (4th) person" for the inclusive person category (i.e. [+Speaker, +Hearer]) is used according to the terminology employed by researchers of South Amerindian languages (e.g. Jaqaru and Aymara) which happen to have the four-person system too (Hardman 1978:150-153; Hosokawa 1988c:98, also Hosokawa 1991c; cf. Manheim 1982:454). The notion is different from the "fourth person" as encountered in Navajo, Algonquian, or in some languages of the Pacific (Anderson 1985:197).

²³ The inclusive/exclusive distinction, however, is partly neutralised in future and in irrealis conjugations (4.2.1.3).

"augmented" (= non-minimal) covers both dual and plural (and, in the case of the 4th person, trial and plural).²⁴

In the Yawuru verbal conjugation system, number distinctions within the non-minimal categories (i.e. dual, trial, paucal, non-paucal, which are distinguished in pronominal morphology) are not morphologically marked on verbs.

In interlinear glosses, the four person categories are indicated by digits: 1, 2, 3 and 12, respectively; augmented categories by 1", 2", 3" and 12".

2.4.2.2 Plural marker *-garra*

Nominals may be marked for plurality (PL) by the suffix *-garra*. It is important to note that the suffix is optional and, when it is applied, typically connotes non-paucalness or collectiveness of the referent (see also 4.2.1.5).

<i>wamba-garra</i>	'many people' (not two or three)
<i>ngarrung-garra</i>	'many people' (< <i>ngarrungu</i> 'human being') ^{24A}
<i>yila-garra</i>	'many (a pack of) dogs'
<i>wirrkín-garra</i>	'(a mass of) fallen leaves'
<i>birlari-garra</i>	'flock of pelicans'
<i>bukarri-garra</i>	'Dreamtime' (lit. "many dreams")

When the noun is modified by a lexical item explicitly referring to the plurality (such as *manydya* 'many' in the paraphrase below), the *-garra* suffix tends to be omitted:

<i>wamba-garra</i>	=	<i>manydya</i>	<i>wamba(-garra)</i>
man-PL		many	man(-PL)

What is marked by *-garra* is not always countable, but may be a mass:

<i>narnngula-garra</i>	'lots of honey'
<i>niyarra-garra</i>	'very good taste' (lit. "many tastes")
<i>walkanya-garra</i>	'long time ago' (<i>walkanya</i> 'some time ago'; cf. 8.2.3)

A plant name + *-garra* may either be a common noun referring to a certain ecological feature of location, as in the following:²⁵

²⁴ In other words, the term "augmented" is used here as a cover term for both "unit-augmented" and "augmented" (cf. Stokes 1984, Stokes & McGregor 1989). In some of the earlier writings on the Yawuru language (Hosokawa 1987b, 1987c, 1990) I preferred to maintain the conventional terminology of "singular/plural" and referred to the minimal unit of "you and me" as "singular". It should be understood that the traditional terminology refers to number as a grammatical category rather than to the actual number of entities. For instance, the following was heard on the ABC news (11/7/89): "... The PNG minister singled out the Australian and the New Zealand media as deliberately damaging the image of the country" [my emphasis]. Here the two countries (i.e. plural entities) are treated idiomatically as a "single" entity. It is not surprising that the ways of number categorisation slightly vary from language to language (even among European languages) and we cannot afford to introduce new terminology (such as "minimal/augmented") to deal with each variety. Also see discussion by Laycock (1977), Greenberg (1988, 1989) and McGregor (1989b).

^{24A} See 9.2.1.1 for the reduplicated form *ngarrung-ngarrung*.

²⁵ These derived words have generic reference, although *kundurung* and *milydyida* are names for particular species of mangrove (*Avicennia marina*) and paperbark (*Melaleuca* sp.), respectively.

kundurung-garra 'mangrove bush' (lit. "many White Mangroves")
balu-garra 'bush, forest' (lit. "many trees")
milydyida-garra 'paperbark scrub' (lit. "many *milydyida* trees")

or a proper noun referring to a particular place, as in:²⁶

*k*artkugarra* '(a place name in Roebuck Plains)' (*k*artku* is 'Bloodwood')
murrkagarra 'No.10 Bore' (*murrka* is a k/o paperbark, *Melaleuca acacioides*)

A personal name + *-garra* indicates a group of people represented by that person.²⁷ The referent may be either paucal or non-paucal:

ana-garra 'Ana's "mob", i.e. Ana and (a few/many) others'

The suffix *-garra* can also be used conjunctively: [*N₁-garra* + *N₂*]_{NP} meaning 'many *N₁* and *N₂*'. For example:

[6] *bulyimanu-garra yawarda*
 cattle(ABS)-PL horse(ABS)
 'cattle and horses'²⁸

2.4.2.3 Dual marker *-milidyarri*

The suffix *-milidyarri* indicates duality (DL). Nominals inflected for the dual can be paraphrased by applying the numeral *kudyarra* 'two'. Notice in the paraphrase below that *-garra* does not occur on the head nouns (dual is too paucal to be marked with *-garra*):

wubardu-milidyarri = *kudyarra wubardu(-*garra)* 'two children'
 child-DL two child(-*PL)

The dual marker may co-occur with the numeral *kudyarra*.

[7] *Nurlu nga-nga-ny-ngany lani-milidyarri*²⁹ *kudyarra*.
 song(ABS) 1-be-IMPF-COM close-DL two
 'I own two corroboree songs of a similar kind.'

When *-milidyarri* is attached to body-part nouns, reference is only to the limbs of that person (or animal):

[7A] *Yalku + i-nga-rn kamba wamba nimarla-milidyarri dyamurr*.
 stand + 3AUX(be)-IMPF that man(ABS) arm-DL crossed
 'That man is standing with his arms crossed.'

[7B] *Dyaal + inga-rr-a-dyu-n niwal-milidyarri*.
 straight+3"-AGM-TR-AUX(say)-IMPF foot-DL
 'The baby was delivered legs first.' (describing a reverse birth; lit. "the feet (of the baby) came out straight")³⁰

Significantly, the numeric paraphrase is no longer appropriate for the duality of body-part nouns. Compare [8a/b]:

²⁶ Derived toponyms (proper nouns) are presented unhyphenated; see also 3.4.5.1.(5).

²⁷ This is parallel to the use of the Dyirbal suffix *-garra* 'some other (unspecified) person involved' (Dixon 1980:323-4); cf. the connective use of dual forms of personal pronouns illustrated in 7.1.3.2. See also Yallop (1982:127).

²⁸ An informant paraphrased this as *bulyimanu-yirr yawarda* (see 10.6.6.1 for the use of the conjunctive clitic *-yirr*).

²⁹ The term *lani-milidyarri* was also used between me and my key informants as a technical term for (phonemic) "minimal pairs". One of the informants invented a folk term for "synonyms" by applying the dual suffix to an English-derived word: *wuldyim-milidyarri* ('all-same' + *-milidyarri*) '(two words) of the same meaning'.

³⁰ The preverb *dyaal* usually describes an action of throwing a spear straight.

- [8] a. *nimirdi-milidyarri*
 leg-DL
 'both legs'
- b. *kudyarra nimirdi*
 two leg
 'two (pieces of) legs'

The numeric phrase of [8b] can only mean two pieces of cut-off legs (e.g. in the butcher shop). This case concisely suggests that the essential point in the meaning encoded in *-milidyarri* is a close connection of some kind or other between the two entities referred to, rather than simply indicating that there are two entities. It should be pointed out, in this respect, that the dual form *wubardu-milidyarri* 'two children' (child-DL) is typically used when referring to two children of close kinship, or those who are very intimate friends.

Demonstrative pronouns have dual forms featured by the suffix *-rri* (7.5.2.2), which is presumably related to *-milidyarri* illustrated above (and to Nyikina dual marker *-rri*).

- [9] *Kamba-rri wamba-milidyarri inga-rr-a-bilka-ndyi-n.*
 that-DL man_i-DL 3["]_i-AGM-TR-hit-RCP-IMPF
 'The two men are hitting each other.'

2.4.2.4 Case inflexion

Nouns that are already carrying number markers may be inflected further for case. For example:

- [9A] *nungu-milidyarri-ni*
 sister-DL-ERG
 '(by) the two sisters'
- [9B] *wamba-garra-yi*
 man-PL-DAT
 'to/for those men/people'

2.4.3 Nominal prefixation

Unlike many of the Kimberley languages, Yawuru has no noun class (Capell 1940, Wurm 1972). Encountered, however, are remnants of nominal prefixing on body-part nouns and related items, which can be considered as a partial noun classification system.

Although prefixing no longer forms a productive part of the Yawuru nominal morphology, fossilised prefix *ni-* (~ *n-* ~ *nyi-*) is encountered. The prefixes in question typically occur with body-part nouns, especially those referring to "inalienable" body parts, such as eye(s), mouth, hand(s), etc.³¹ All the known items with *ni-* prefixing element are listed in Table 203 (below).

³¹ The notion of inalienability is subject to critical examination later in this thesis (10.2.7).

Table 203: Yawuru body-term nouns having the *ni-* prefix

<i>nilirr</i>	'mouth'
<i>niminy</i>	'eye, face'
<i>nimira</i>	'temple' (cf. <i>mira</i> 'mangrove worm')
<i>nimalul</i>	'nose'
<i>nilabab(a)</i>	'ear, earlobe'
<i>nimanya</i>	'neck, throat'
<i>nimarrangka</i>	'upper arm'
<i>nimarla</i>	'hand' (also 'lower arm')
<i>niyakan</i>	'back (of body)'
<i>nimirdi</i>	'shin' (cf. the preverb <i>mirdimirdi</i> 'running away') ³²
<i>niwal</i>	'foot'
<i>nilany</i>	'flesh'
<i>nimarndarl</i>	'shadow' (see 10.2.7.2)
<i>nilawal</i>	'name' (see 10.2.7.2)

In addition, there are two body-part nouns with initial *nu-*:

<i>nungu</i>	'belly, stomach, womb; palm (of hand), sole (of foot)'
<i>nura</i>	'buttocks' (baby talk)

There are also two items (also referring to body parts) recorded with *nyi-* rather than *ni-*:

<i>nyidya</i>	'navel'
<i>nyiru</i>	'anus'

The nasal element (*ni-*, *nu-* or *nyi-*) is synchronically an integral part of each lexical item; de-prefixed roots, such as **marla* (for *nimarla* 'hand'), do not occur as independent words, only excepting the cases of *nimirdi* and *nimira* (as noted in Table 203).

Not all of the body-part names, however, carry the fossilised prefix. Listed in Table 204 (below) are body-part or body-related nouns without the nasal element in question. These include internal organs, genital organs, peripheral parts, bodily exuviae and loan words.

The *ni-* ~ *n-* prefixing is considered to be a relic of the possessive person-marker (probably the 3rd-person form), which is considered to have functioned productively in an earlier stage of the history of the Yawuru language. The possessive pronominal prefixes perform productive or semi-productive functions in other Nyulnyulan languages (McGregor 1991).

³² *Mirdimirdi* is also the word for 'full moon'. I tend to assume these are homophones. The root **mirdi* also occurs as an element in the verb root *mirdibi* 'run away, escape' (cf. 4.10.1). Also see 8.2.1.2 (e.g. example [29] given there) for the use of *-mirdi* as a lexical formative.

TABLE 204: Yawuru body-part nouns without the nasal prefix

<i>kungkulu</i>	'hair'
<i>marru</i>	'head'
<i>mibarr</i>	'face' ³³
<i>ngurndi</i>	'eyebrow'
<i>dyirri</i>	'eyelash' (Inland dialect form: <i>dyili</i>)
<i>rirra</i>	'tooth'
<i>dyalany</i>	'tongue'
<i>dyibi</i>	'lips' ³⁴
<i>kurndidyina</i>	'shoulder'
<i>garlnguny</i>	'armpit'
<i>mimbi</i>	'chest'
<i>k*arnba</i>	'thigh'
<i>dyangkala</i>	'calf'

Possibly, the following items which have the initial *ni-* element could be understood to have had the same origin, since the possessive interpretation makes sense in each case ('his woman', 'its taste' and 'his/her knowledge'):

<i>nilbandyunu</i>	'promised woman'
<i>niyarra</i>	'taste, good flavour'
<i>nila(-ngany)</i>	'knowledge(able)' (cf. 5.6.1, 6.10)

In the case of *nila* above, it is likely that the supposed root **la* is related to the verb root *laka* (~ *langka*) 'know' (4.5.4.2).

2.4.4 Generic nouns

Although it does not form a morpho-syntactic noun class, there are several generic nouns which are hypernyms in Yawuru folk taxonomy and sometimes reveal a classifier-like function.

<i>mayi</i>	'fruit' (generic term for edible plants including seeds, nuts, berries, fruits, vegetables, tubers and "sugarbag")
<i>warli</i>	'meat' (generic term for edible animals, including reptiles, fish and seashells)
<i>dyurru</i>	'snake' (hypernym for snakes, lizards, turtles and insects; not necessarily edible)
<i>balu</i>	'trees' (hypernym for varieties of trees including shrubs)
<i>kurldyu</i>	'grass' (hypernym covering varieties of grasses, weeds, mosses and also seaweeds, but excluding creepers)

In the following sentence, the generic noun *warli* 'meat' (covering insects as well) functions as a classifier-like modifier to the specific noun *dyimbarlka* 'grasshopper'.

³³ This is probably a borrowing from Karajarri *mibarra* 'face'; the Yawuru word *niminy* 'eye' may also refer to 'face'.

³⁴ Kerr (n/d: item number 11) recorded the word as "dyabi".

- [10] *Wirdu-ni wangkarangkara i-na-rli-rn warli dyimbarlka.*
 big-ERG spider(ERG) 3-TR-eat-IMPF meat grasshopper(ABS)
 'The big spider is eating the grasshopper.'³⁵

As in [10], generic nouns often constitute an integrated NP in combination with a noun referring to a specific plant, animal, etc. In such NPs, the generic noun functioning as modifier always precedes the specific noun. Compare a/b in each of the following pairs:

- [11] a. *balu yirkili* 'Hakea tree'
 b. *yirkili-balu* 'stick of Hakea' (a compound noun)³⁶
- [12] a. *warli dyalangardi* 'sand monitor'
 b. *dyalangardi warli* 'meat of sand monitor'

25 Word order and the marking convention

25.1 Flexibility of word ordering

Word order in Yawuru is highly flexible, although it is not completely free (see 8.1.2.3 and 10.8). Obviously the cross-referencing system (2.1) contributes much to the flexibility. Also contributing is the convention of initial-constituent marking (or "initial marking" in short), which is illustrated in 2.5.2.

In isolated sentences, such as those elicited during desk-work sessions, normal patterns are SVO and OVS for transitive and VS for intransitive. In intransitive, VS and SV are mutually interchangeable, though VS seems more common. OSV is rare in spontaneous utterances, but it is nonetheless acceptable.³⁷ The word order of sentence [13] can be scrambled in all possible ways, as in [13'a-f].³⁸

- [13] *I-na-rba-nda yawarda yila-ni.*
 3_i-TR-follow-PF horse(ABS) dog_i-ERG
 'A dog chased a horse.'
- [13'] a. *Inarbanda yawarda yilani.* (VOS)
 b. *Inarbanda yilani yawarda.* (VSO)
 c. *Yilani yawarda inarbanda.* (SOV)
 d. *Yilani inarbanda yawarda.* (SVO)
 e. *Yawarda inarbanda yilani.* (OVS)
 f. *Yawarda yilani inarbanda.* (OSV)

The flexibility is also observed at phrase level, e.g. *nungu nimarla ~ nimarla nungu* 'palm of hand' (*nimarla* 'hand', *nungu* 'belly'). Ordering of an adjective (modifier) and a noun (modified) may be either [ADJ + N]_{NP} or [N + [ADJ]_{NP} although the former is more common (cf. 2.4.4):³⁹

³⁵ This utterance was recorded when I showed my informant a picture of a spider preying on a grasshopper. The construction is not interpreted as "double-object" (see 10.2.3 for the double-object transitive construction).

³⁶ See 2.5.2.4 for the different morphological behaviour of compounds and noun phrases.

³⁷ In coherent texts, such as those of story telling, the order of constituent NPs, verbs and adverbials is relevant to the focus of narrative, topicalisation, emphasis, definiteness of entity, rhythm of the narration, etc.

³⁸ Sentence [13] (= [13'a]) was recorded in natural speech. The scrambled sentences [13' b-f] were composed by the author and checked for acceptability by three native speakers.

³⁹ The reverse order is often observed in phrasal discontinuity: see example [32] cited in 2.5.3.

- [14] a. [*dup yawarda*]_{NP} 'a white horse' (ADJ + N)
 b. [*yawarda dup*]_{NP} 'a white horse' (N + ADJ)

2.5.2 Case marking at phrase level

2.5.2.1 The initial-marking convention

When an NP consisting of more than two (grammatical) words is to be case-marked, the marker is attached to and only to the first word of the phrase (cf. Blake 1987:77ff). For example, with the locative marker *-gun*, we have both [15a] and [15b] expressing the meaning of 'in the shade (*bika*) of a bottle-tree (*larrkardi*)'.

- [15] a. [*bika-gun larrkardi*]_{NP-LOC}
 b. [*larrkardi-gun bika*]_{NP-LOC}

In the examples given below, *-yi* is the dative marker and *-ni* the ergative. They go onto the modifier (*manydya* 'many') rather than on the head noun (*wamba* 'man, people'):

ABSOLUTIVE:	<i>manydya wamba</i>	'many people'
DATIVE:	<i>manydya-yi wamba</i>	'to/for many people'
ERGATIVE:	<i>manydya-ni wamba</i>	'(by) many people'

Forms such as **manydya wamba-yi* (i.e. final-marking) or **manydya-yi wamba-yi* (i.e. complete concord) are unacceptable (cf. Dench and Evans 1988:3-7).⁴⁰ If emphasis is needed on the word *wamba* 'man (male); people', then the speaker says *wamba-yi manydya* (with prominent stress on *wamba*) producing the meaning of 'to many men (but not to women)' or 'to many Aborigines (but not to whites)'.⁴¹

The initial-marking convention applies not only to NPs, but as well to adverb phrases and preverb phrases (10.7.1.4).⁴² Consider [16]: (i) is a single-word NP; (ii) is [ADJ + N]_{NP} (lit. "many meat"); and (iii) is [ADV + ADJ + N]_{NP} (lit. "very much meat").

- [16] (i) *warli* 'meat'
 (ii) *manydya warli* 'much meat'
 (iii) *naarli manydya warli* 'a large amount of meat'

Their causal inflexions (with the case marker *-nyurdany*) are respectively as follows:

⁴⁰ Dench & Evans (1988) discuss the scope and marking convention of case markers dealing with a number of Australian languages. Apparently they missed the initial-marking type found in Yawuru. Another language of the initial-marking type is Gooniyandi (Kuniyanti), a Bunaban language spoken in south Kimberley (McGregor 1984a:223ff). In this language, however, the marker can be shifted to another word in the phrase though usually only one word in a phrase is marked (except for the cases of phrase fracturing as described in McGregor 1989c:209-212).

⁴¹ See 10.8.2 for the relation between word ordering and discourse.

⁴² Exception occurs in the locational adverb phrases. For instance, *karda balu-gun baybirra* 'behind that tree over there', is used instead of **karda-gun balu baybirra*. Here the locative marker *-gun* is attached to the head noun *balu* 'tree'. See 8.3.4.

- [16'] (i) *warli-nyurdany*
 (ii) *manydya-nyurdany warli*
 (iii) *narli-nyurdany manydya warli*⁴³

Sentences [17]-[19] also illustrate the initial-marking convention:

- [17] *Kadyarri nga-ng-ga-ni* [*kamb(a)-gap darlu dyanu*]_{NP-ABL}.
 far 1-EN-FUT-be that-ABL WM(ABL) 1(GEN)
 'I'll keep a distance from my wife's mother (WM) who is there.' (lit. "from that WM mine")
- [18] [*Kayukayu-ni buru*]_{NP-ERG} *i-na-nya-rn-dyarra-yirr* (*mudiga*).
 soft-ERG sand(ERG) 3-TR-catch-IMPF-1"DAT-PL motorcar/E(ABS)
 'Our car got bogged in soft sands.' (lit. "soft sands caught us car")
- [19] *Kurrbida + nga-ngara-rn nungu* [*narli-nyurdany manydya warli*]_{NP-CAUS}.
 sated + 1-AUX(become)-IMPF stomach true-CAUS many meat(CAUS)
 'I'm full-up because I ate so much meat.'

The "hopping" behaviour of case markers as observed so far signifies that they are clitics (enclitics) rather than suffixes (Schachter 1985:53).⁴⁴ Case markers come after all the stem-forming suffixes, if any, that are already attached to a nominal root (see 2.2.2, 2.4.2.4 and 6.12).

2.5.2.2 Numerals and initial marking

The Yawuru composite numeral for 'three', *kudyarra-wáranidyarri* (2.2.3), comprises a single word, not only phonologically (with *kudyarra* losing its primary stresses; cf. 3.7.1.3) but grammatically as well. See the dative inflexion in the following NP:

- [20] *kudyarra-waranydyarri-yi nungu nganka bukarri-garra-nyurdany*
 two-one-DAT sister(DAT) word(ABS) dream-PL-CAUS
 'a Dreamtime story of the Three Sisters'

Now consider the contrast of [21a/b]:⁴⁵

- [21] a. *kudyarra-kudyarra* [kúɖʌaragùɖara] 'four'
 b. *kudyarra kudyarra* [kúɖʌarakùɖara] 'two each; two by two'

of which the ergative inflexions are respectively as follows:

- [21'] a. *kudyarra-kudyarra-ni* 'four' (ergative)
 b. *kudyarra-ni kudyarra* 'two by two' (ergative)

In this case, [21b] is interpreted to form two grammatical words, though they constitute a single phonological word (with the second *kudyarra* losing its primary stress — see 3.3.1.2.(1)). [21a], on the other hand, comprises a compound, grammatically a single word (see also 2.5.2.4). A parallel differentiation is observed when the frequency counter *-ngal* (8.2.2.1) is attached:

⁴³ The stem vowel of *naarli* is shortened in inflected forms (see 3.6.2.4).

⁴⁴ Klavans (1985) rightly points out that cliticisation is phrase-level affixation. See also Zwicky (1977 and 1985).

⁴⁵ See 3.3.1.2.(1) for the differentiated voicing of the medial *k* ([g] in [21a] and [k] in [21b]).

kudyarra-kudyarra > *kudyarra-kudyarra-ngal* 'four times'⁴⁶
kudyarra kudyarra > *kudyarra-ngal kudyarra* 'twice each'

25.23 Non-inherent inflexion

As observed in the above examples, a phrase-initial constituent, which is often not the head (or semantic nucleus) of the phrase but a modifier to the head, may take over the case marking on behalf of its head noun (or, more precisely, on behalf of the total phrase). Such morpho-syntactic behaviour will hereafter be referred to as "**non-inherent inflexion**". Thus, for example, the demonstratives *kamba* 'that', *nyamba* 'this' and *karda* 'yonder, over there' (7.5.2) are case-marked in [22], [23] and [24], respectively. So far as morphology is concerned, it is these demonstrative modifiers that are inflected for case. Syntactically, however, it is the phrases (demonstrative + noun), not the single words (demonstratives), that are inflected. The morphological inflexions of the demonstratives in these instances are therefore "non-inherent".

- [22] *kamba-ni ngarrungu*
 that-ERG man(ERG)
 '(by) that person' (ergative)
- [23] *nyamba-yi dyarn'du*
 this-DAT woman(DAT)
 'to this woman' (dative)
- [24] *karda-gun wirdu maya*
 yonder-LOC big house(LOC)
 'in that big house over there'

In the interlinear glosses, the head nouns, which are not inflected morphologically, are also marked for the case (in parentheses) so that the syntactic/semantic configuration of the phrase will be more explicitly indicated.

Contrast of inherent and non-inherent inflexions is clearly shown by the following phrases in which plural forms of NPs are inflected for case. Compare the behaviour of the stem-forming suffix *-garra* with that of the case markers, *-barri* in [25b] and *-ni* in [26a/b]:

- [25] a. *manydya baba-garra* (rather than *[*manydya-garra baba*])
 many child-PL
 'many children'
- b. *manydya-barri baba-garra* (← [*manydya baba-garra*] + *-barri*)
 many-INST child-PL(INST)
 'with many children'
- [26] a. *dyarn'du-garra-ni*
 woman-PL-ERG
 '(by) many women'
- b. *manydya-ni dyarn'du-garra* (*[*manydya-garra-ni dyarn'du*])
 many-ERG woman-PL(ERG)
 '(by) many women'

⁴⁶ As to the form expressing 'three times', a fluctuation between *kudyarra-waranydyarri-ngal* (single-word compound) and *kudyarra-ngal waranydyarri* (two-word phrase) have been observed; informants disagree on the acceptability of the latter form.

Two issues relevant to the phenomenon of non-inherent inflexion are addressed in the next sections (2.5.2.4 and 2.5.2.5) The notion of non-inherent inflexion will also be of some descriptive importance in later parts of the thesis (particularly in Chapters 4, 6, 7, 8 and 10).

2.5.2.4 Nominal compounds and case inflexion

The hopping behaviour of case markers provides a good syntactic test for distinguishing compounds from NPs. Compare the noun phrase (NP) *wirdu makarra* 'big (i.e. large) tail' with the compound noun (N) *bilyurr-makarra* 'k/o skink', in both of which the noun *makarra* 'tail' is integrated.⁴⁷ The instrumental forms (with the marker *-barri*) are respectively as follows. Notice the difference in the placement of the case marker:⁴⁸

- [*wirdu makarra*]_{NP} + *-barri*
 → *wirdu-barri makarra* 'with (e.g. having) a large tail'
- [*bilyurr-makarra*]_N + *-barri*
 → *bilyurr-makarra-barri* 'with (e.g. carrying) a red-tailed skink'

In sentence [27] below, the compound noun *dyalbi-bika* 'camping shade'⁴⁹ is inflected for the allative, where the case marker does not intervene into the stem composed of the two roots *dyalbi* 'camp' and *bika* 'shade' (both are also independent words).

- [27] *Birra-gap i-ny-dyali-rn warli-barri, i-na-ka-rn dyalbi-bika-ngarn.*
 bush-ABL 3-EN-return-IMPF meat-INST 3-TR-carry-IMPF camp-shade-ALLAT
 '[The hunter] came back from the bush with game. He brought it to the camping shade.'

The next sentence has the subject noun *nyamngarrniminy* inflected for the ergative (the stem-final *ny* drops before the ergative marker *-ni*). This noun has the compound stem in which three lexemes are integrated: *nyam(ba)* 'this' (7.5.2; cf. 3.8.3.2), *ngarr(u)* 'like' (semblative, 8.4.5.1) and *niminy* 'eye, face' (which also means '(certain type of) people or personality'). As in the previous example, the case marker stands after all the stem components.

- [28] [*Nyam-ngarr-nimi(ny)*]_N -*ni kaan kabu ngalyaq dyimbu-barri.*
 this-like-eye-ERG can't/E eating bluetongue(ABS) egg-INST
 'This kind of people (re: young girls) are not allowed to eat a bluetongue lizard.' (explaining a food taboo — see footnote 64A in 6.8.5)

⁴⁷ The other root *bilyurr* is related to the colour term *bilyurrbilyurr* 'red' (see 9.2.2.2). The species (probably identified as *Morethia r. ruficauda*) has a distinctive red tail.

⁴⁸ Also remember the contrast of *kudyarra-ni kudyarra* and *kudyarra-kudyarra-ni* already cited in 2.5.2.2.

⁴⁹ This means an artificial shade prepared with branches and leaves for a temporary sitting or food storage.

Similar instances of case-inflected compounds are:

- [28A] (i) *kularr-yanban-gap*
west-south-ABL
'from southeast' (8.3.2.2)
- (ii) *balu-windi-gun*
tree-creeper-LOC
'in the bush' (= *birra-gun*)⁵⁰
- (iii) *dyanyi-buru-ni*
beach-sand-ERG
'(by) beach sand'
- (iv) *kamba-ngarr-nimi(ny)-ni*
that-like-eye-ERG
'(by) that kind of people'

2.5.2.5 Double case marking

Non-inherent inflexion based on the initial-marking convention occasionally produces a double case marking, or a serialisation of two case markers attached onto the same stem. Consider [29]:

- [29] *Kamba-dyina-ni dyarn'du wuba rdii + i-na-ra-nda nyamba.*
that-GEN-ERG woman(GEN) child(ERG) break+3-TR-AUX(spear)-PF this(ABS)
'That woman's child broke this.'

The subject phrase of [29] may be broken down into something like [29'a]:

- [29'a] [[[[*kamba dyarn'du*]_{NP} + *-dyina*]_{NP-GEN} *wuba*]_{NP} + *-ni*]_{NP-ERG}

To put it more analytically, the phrase [*kamba dyarn'du*]_{NP} (demonstrative + noun) is inflected for the genitive case, producing [29'b]:

- [29'b] [*kamba-dyina dyarn'du*]_{NP-GEN}

where the genitive marker (*-dyina*) adheres to the first constituent of the NP. Then this genitive phrase modifies the noun *wuba*, forming the possessive NP:

- [29'c] [[*kamba-dyina dyarn'du*]_{NP-GEN} *wuba*]_{NP}

This complex NP now declines for the ergative case. The case marker *-ni* goes again onto the first constituent, thus producing [29'd]:

- [29'd] [[*kamba-dyina-ni dyarn'du*]_{NP-GEN} *wuba*]_{NP-ERG}

as we see in sentence [29] above. The sentence has been paraphrased by an informant as follows:

- [29"] *Kamba-yi dyarn'du wuba-ni dyina rdii + i-na-ra-nda nyamba.*
that-DAT woman(DAT) child-ERG 3(GEN) break+3-TR-AUX(spear)-PF this(ABS)
'(lit.) *Her child of that woman broke this.'⁵¹

⁵⁰ Unlike *balu* (2.4.4), the word *windi* is not a generic noun, but refers to a particular species of creeper grass which grows on sand dunes and bears broad pods (cf. 3.4.2).

⁵¹ See 6.2.2 for the possessive function of the dative. It should also be noticed in [29"] above that phrasing such as "her_i child of that woman_i" (which is ungrammatical in English) is permitted in Yawuru (but cf. 7.4.3).

2.5.3 Phrasal discontinuity

Constituents of an NP may be scattered around in a clause, as long as they remain within the boundary of the clause (cf. 10.8.1).⁵² In the following instances, items in boldface are members of a discontinuous NP, the circumflex mark (^) in the interlinear gloss indicating the link:^{52A}

- [30] *Yila im-bula-nda nyamba kun-gap.*
 ^dog(ABS); 3_j-come-PF this_j^ north-ABL
 'This dog came from the north.'
- [31] *Nymaba i-rndira-nda yila banu-layin.*
 ^dog(ABS) 3-go-PF this^ east-DIR
 'This dog went to the east.'⁵³
- [32] *Yila-ni yawarda i-na-rba-nda dup.*
 dog-ERG ^horse(ABS) 3-TR-follow-PF white^
 'A dog chased the white horse.'

The initial-marking convention is maintained even though the case-marked NP is discontinuous.⁵⁴

- [33] *Wula-ni i-na-nya-nda-yadiri, karda-gun yaga-rry-dyi-nda dyalbi.*
 water-ERG 3-TR-catch-PF-12"ACC yonder^-LOC 12"-AGM-be-PF ^camp(LOC)
 'We were rained on when we were camping out there.'
- [34] *Kudyarra-gun a-garr-im wanangarri rumarra.*
 two^-LOC I-got-him/E stone(ABS) ^day(LOC)
 'I will receive my payment within two days.' (see 8.2.2.4.(3))

By the same token, in the following sentences, [35b] is ambiguous but [35a] is not. Sentence [35a] is unequivocally interpreted as having the discontinuous object phrase [*nyamba yila*]_{NP(O)}. By contrast, [35b] allows two readings: either (i) the demonstrative *nyamba* functions pronominally as the subject (thus taking the ergative case) and the noun *yila* is the object (thus in the absolutive form); or (ii) the demonstrative *nyamba* modifies the discontinuous head noun *yila*, which is the subject, and the former takes up the ergative marking on behalf of the latter.

⁵² McGregor (1986) presented a careful description of phrasal discontinuity and its discourse functions in Gooniyandi (cf. McGregor 1989c:219).

^{52A} Phrasal discontinuity also takes place in the following sample sentences in other chapters: [60], [81] [91], [93], [94], [160a] and [162b] in Chapter 4; [10a] in Chapter 5; [52], [89], [118] and [186] in Chapter 6; [26], [27], [68] and [146] in Chapter 7; [31] and [93] in Chapter 8; [21], [167], [179] and [258] in Chapter 10.

⁵³ Though the English translation of [30] and [31] sounds somewhat strange, terms of cardinal directions are used very generally in Yawuru (see 8.3.2.4).

⁵⁴ This is contrastive to some other Australian languages. In Warlpiri and Diyari, for instance, if the constituents of an NP are separated syntactically (i.e. phrasal discontinuity), then both constituents must be individually case-marked (Blake 1977:4; Austin 1981b:94; also see Dench & Evans 1988:4-6). General affix-transferring (Wurm 1969:59f, Blake 1987:103) beyond the phrase boundaries, such as observed in the Western Desert language (Douglas 1964; but cf. Douglas 1981:232f) and Muruwari (Oates 1988:190ff), does not take place in Yawuru (also see footnote 5A in this chapter; cf. discussion in Donaldson 1980:134f).

- [35] a. *Nyamba baku i-na-ka-nda yila.*
 this_j[^] hither 3_i-TR-carry-PF [^]dog(ABS)_j
 'Somebody_i has brought this dog_j here.'
- b. (i) *Nyamba-ni baku i-na-ka-nda yila.*
 this_i-ERG hither 3_i-TR-carry-PF dog(ABS)_j
 'This one (person)_i brought a dog_j.'
- (ii) *Nyamba-ni baku i-na-ka-nda yila.*
 this[^]_i-ERG hither 3_i-TR-carry-PF [^]dog(ERG)_i
 'This dog_i brought [it] here.'⁵⁵

The ambiguity does not arise in [35'] below, in which the ergative marker goes onto the postverbal noun, leaving the preverbal *nyamba* to be interpreted as an object (demonstrative pronoun).⁵⁶

- [35'] *Nyamba baku i-na-ka-nda yila-ni.*
 this(ABS)_j hither 3_i-TR-carry-PF dog_i-ERG
 'A dog_i has brought this_j here.'

Similarly, compare the two sentences below. In [36] the word *dyarn'du* 'woman/female' modifies the discontinuous head noun *yawarda* 'horse' (direct object), whereas in [37] the same word constitutes a single-word NP (direct object).

- [36] *Dyarn'du wa-na-ga-nya yawarda, wa-na-ga-ra-yi.*
 female[^] 3_i-TR-FUT-catch [^]horse(ABS)_j 3_i-TR-FUT-spear-DAT_{purp}
 'He (i.e. the male horse_i) has to get a female horse to "spear" (i.e. to have a sexual intercourse with).'
- [37] [*Dyarn'du*]_{NP(O)} *i-ny-dyanba-nda* [*yawarda-ni*]_{NP(A)}.
 woman(ABS) 3_i-EN-kick-PF horse-ERG_i
 'A woman was kicked by a horse.'

⁵⁵ As will be illustrated later (7.3.2 and 10.1.3), transitive verbs do not always have to carry an object NP explicitly.

⁵⁶ Sentence [35'] was composed by the author and checked with informants.

Chapter 3: Phonology

3.1 Inventory

3.1.1 Typographic convention

The practical orthography employed in this thesis consists of 18 alphabetical characters (including an apostrophe and an asterisk) and digraphic combinations of them, distinguishing 6 vocalic and 25 consonantal segments, plus several extra-systemic (but conventional) sounds.¹ For phonetic representations standard IPA symbols (as revised to 1989) are used, unless otherwise noted or defined.² Some morphemic symbols, such as "+" (for a morpheme boundary) and "#" (for a word boundary), may occasionally be given in phonemic notation (in slashes) when they are relevant to the discussion. Otherwise they are given only in morphemic representations (in braces).

3.1.2 Vowels

Yawuru has three short vowel phonemes /i/, /a/ and /u/ (also spelled as such) and corresponding long vowels, /i:/, /a:/ and /u:/ (spelled *ii*, *aa* and *uu*). Notice in Table 301 that the long and short vowels differ not only in length but also in their articulatory features: *ii* is high whereas *i* is often mid-high; *uu* is lower than *u* (see descriptions in 3.2). Diphthongs are interpreted as a vowel followed by a semi-vocalic glide /y/ or /w/ (3.2.4).

TABLE 301: Yawuru vowels

	front	back
high	<i>ii</i>	<i>u</i>
mid	<i>i</i>	<i>uu</i>
low	<i>a, aa</i>	

¹ As will become clear later in this chapter, this notational system is allophonic rather than purely phonemic (cf. Ladefoged 1990b:340ff), since fewer numbers of phonemes are established (see 3.5). In other words, it is somewhat over-differentiating from a phonemicist point of view. I believe, however, it is important to record major subphonemic differences between sounds systematically, particularly in a description of languages where there are few remaining speakers. Simply phonemicising the spelling would extinguish the scarce chance of re-evaluating the phonetic information at a later stage of research when it would hardly be possible to get a native speaker of the language. Other reasons for employing the allophonic notation are stated in 3.3.2.3.(3) and 3.4.5.1.(6).

² The list of phonetic symbols is given on pages xxiv–xxviii. See International Phonetic Association (1989) and Ladefoged (1990a, 1990b) for the recent revision of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Readers are also reminded of the typographic conventions set out in the beginning of this thesis (see page xxix).

3.1.3 Consonants

The chart below (Table 302) shows the Yawuru consonantal segments (including semivocalic glides or approximants) distinguished in the practical spelling system used in this thesis. The columns (from left to right) consist of (i) bilabial, (ii) alveolar, (iii) apico-postalveolar (retroflex), (iv) lamino-prepalatal (alveolo-palatal) and (v) dorso-velar/postvelar segments, respectively.

TABLE 302: Yawuru consonantal segments

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)
lax stops	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>rd</i>	<i>dy</i>	<i>k/g/k*</i>
tense stops	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>rt</i>	<i>ty</i>	<i>q</i>
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>ng</i>
flaps		<i>rr</i>		<i>rry</i>	
lateral approximants		<i>l</i>	<i>rl</i>	<i>ly</i>	
median approximants			<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>

The notational inventory given above contains several unusual features for an Australian language:

- (i) Four characters (*k*, *g*, *k** and *q*) are employed to represent different kinds of dorsal obstruents.³ Their phonetic realisations are somewhat overlapping (3.4.5.1). The phonemic status of these sounds will be discussed in sections 3.3.1.2 and 3.3.2.3 as well as in 3.4.5.1.
- (ii) The distinctive use of the "voiceless" characters (*p*, *t*, *rt*, *ty*, *q*) reflects a lax/tense contrast, which takes place mostly in word/morpheme-final position. The phonemic status of the tense series will be discussed in 3.3.2.3.
- (iii) The special combination grapheme *rry* is used for a palatalised apical flap. This should be distinguished from *rr'y*, which is a mere succession of *rr* (unpalatalised) and *y*. Although phonemically *rry* can be regarded as a positional allophone of *rr*, the pronunciatonal distinction of *rry* and *rr* plays an important morphophonemic role (see 3.4.2).

Although questions are raised regarding the phonemic status of the above categories, the distribution of each sound is often unpredictable from phonological information alone (cf. 3.4.5.1.(6)). Therefore I have decided to maintain the notational distinction.

³ I use the term "obstruents" rather than "stops" because intervocalic *k* often has a fricative realisation. See 3.3.1.2.(1).

Since no laminal contrast (such as palatal vs dental) takes place in Yawuru (at least on phonemic level),⁴ the term "laminal" in this thesis will always refer to the lamino-prepalatal (alveolo-palatal) segments, namely *dy*, *ty*, *ny* and *ly*. This excludes the flap *rry*, which is a palatalisation of the apical *rr* and is basically apical (not laminal) in articulation (3.3.4.2).

In phonemic representations digraphs are avoided in favour of monogrammic notations: /ŋ/ is used for *ng*; laminals are indicated by putting a prime to alveolars (e.g. /n'/ for *ny*); retroflexes are dotted (e.g. /ḍ/ for *rd*, /ṛ/ for *r*); and /r̄/ ("r" with macron)⁵ is used both for the flap *rr* and its palatalised allophone *rry*.

3.1.4 Extra-systemic sounds

Apart from the vowels and consonants given above, Yawuru speakers regularly use several kinds of conventional and meaningful sounds.

3.1.4.1 Glottal stop

A glottal (or occasionally an epiglottal) closure regularly occurs in the following interjections (the apostrophes indicate the glottal stops):

- 'a'aa [ʔaʔa:ɔ:] 'you can't do that; look what you've done' (a light scolding)
 m'mm [mʔm:] (syllabic-m) 'yeah, that's right; that's the one'
 'iy [ʔej]~[ʔe:] 'hey!'

The last item above can also be written down *yiy* since the glottal stop also occurs as a positional allophone of word-initial /y/ followed by /i/ (3.2.5.1).

3.1.4.2 Implosive and ejective

A bilabial implosive [ɓ], spelled *b'* (b + apostrophe), occurs in the tag question particle, *b'ay* [ɓaɪ]~[ɓa^e] 'isn't it?; isn't that so?; you agree, don't you?' (10.4.3).⁶ This occurs typically in female speech. It may also be pronounced with a weak ejective [b'], especially in rapid speech.⁷

A glottalised velar occurs in the initial segment of the question particle *k'a* (~ *k'aa*) 'is it?, isn't it?' (10.4.2). The pronunciation is usually a weak ejective [k'a]~[k'a:],⁸ but an implosive velar [ɓ] or plosive uvular [q] is occasionally heard as a variant in place of the ejective: [k'a]~[k'a]~[qa] (or their long-vowel

⁴ See Blake & Dixon (1979:18-21) and Dixon (1980:132-137, 139-142) for laminal contrast in Australian languages. Palatal and dental sounds occur in Yawuru as conditioned allophones — see 3.4.2, 3.4.4.3 and 4.3.4.1.(2)-(3).

⁵ The use of macron does NOT indicate that the flapping is intense (cf. Pullum and Ladusaw 1986:204).

⁶ The item is recorded as "ba" by Stokes (1984:35).

⁷ It is, then, a sound very similar to *b'* in the Mayan languages such as heard in Jacalteco and Quiché, not a strong "explosive" ejective as heard in some Quechuan languages (particularly Cochabamba Quechua).

⁸ The sound is similar to the Korean tense unaspirated stop *kk* (as in *kkul* 'honey').

<i>bilady</i>	[bílæɖ] ¹³	'shining, reflecting'
<i>yilany</i>	[ʔíɫæŋ] ~ [jéɫæŋ] ¹⁴	'red snapper'
<i>balybaly</i>	[báɫbaɫ]	'flat'

The fronted allophones are also likely to occur following a laminal, as in

<i>karrinyan</i>	[káɾɪŋ.æŋ] ~ [gáɾɪŋ.æŋ]	'necklace'
<i>dyalany</i>	[ɖæɫæŋ]	'tongue'

However, an adjacent retroflex segment usually prevents such fronting. Compare the minimal-pair items below:

<i>dyany</i>	[ɖaŋ] ~ [ɖæŋ]	'new'
<i>dyarn</i>	[ɖaŋ]	'smashing' (preverb)

The fronting is also prevented where the vowel has a preceding retroflex (in boldface), even if a laminal follows the vowel immediately (double-underlined):

<i><u>dirlady</u></i>	[díɫaɖ]	'disobey'
<i>dyayumard<u>adyi</u></i>	[ɖájumàɖaɖi]	'stonefish'
<i>dyinydyalgu<u>urany</u></i>	[ɖíŋ.ɖalgùɪaŋ]	'Crab Eyes (a toxic fruit)'

The fronted low [a] can also occur as a free variation of [a]. Again, however, neighbouring retroflex segment prevents it from occurring:

<i>bula</i>	[búla] ~ [búla]	'cattle tick'
<i>burla</i>	[búla]	'neap tide'

The front/back allophonic differentiation is also observable in such a near-minimal pair as:¹⁵

<i>inakurlarn</i>	[ínaɣùlaŋ]	's/he ties it up' (verb root is <i>kurla</i>)
<i>inangularn</i>	[ínaŋùlaŋ]	's/he throws it away' (verb root is <i>ngula</i>)

Obviously the forward shift of the tongue in articulating the laminal consonants is affecting the vowel quality. Notice that the fronted allophones do not occur after a dorsal segment, /k/ (*k* or *g*)¹⁶ or /ŋ/ (*ng*), even followed by the laminals. This can be explained as resulting from the backness of the dorsal articulation (see 3.4.5). Compare the initial vowels in the following minimal-pair items:

<i><u>lan</u>dyi</i>	[láŋ.ɖi]	'k/o boomerang'
<i><u>kan</u>dyi</i>	[káŋ.ɖi]	'bone'

Other examples of the velar + /a/ + laminal sequences include:

<i><u>gan</u>y</i>	[gaŋ]	'eye mucus'
<i><u>ngan</u>dyu</i>	[ŋáŋ.ɖu]	'girls before puberty'
<i><u>nilang</u>any</i>	[nélaŋàŋ]	'knowledgeable'

Word-medial consonantal clusters may affect the quality of the preceding vowel. In the example below, a rather tense [æ] is heard immediately preceding the non-homorganic cluster *nk* /nk/ in the first word, whereas the second word with the

¹³ The phonetic symbol [ɖ], a ligature of [d] and [ʒ] (Pullum and Ladusaw 1986:176; Hattori 1984:88; cf. Catford 1988:95), represents a lamino-alveolopalatal affricate — see 3.3.1.1.(4).

¹⁴ The sound represented by the symbol [ŋ] (curly-tail n) is an alveolo-palatal or lamino-prepalatal nasal (i.e. the nasal counterpart of IPA [ɲ] and [ʝ]). See 3.4.4.1 and footnote 64 (in 3.3.4.1).

¹⁵ The forms cited are 3rd-person-minimal imperfective forms (4.3.4).

¹⁶ See 3.3.1.2 and 3.4.5.1 for subphonemic differentiation of *k* and *g*. No instance of the sequence *k*any* /kan/ (cf. 3.3.1.2.(3)) has been encountered in any phonotactic position.

homorganic cluster *ngk* /ŋk/ has a normal [a], as well as in the third word having no medial cluster.

<i>dyanka</i>	[ɖɛŋka]~[ɖɛŋga]	'healing' (preverb)
<i>dyangkala</i>	[ɖɛŋgala]	'calf'
<i>dyanga</i>	[ɖɛŋa]	'oyster'

3.2.1.3 Glide allophone

A palatal glide [ʲ] is often heard when /a/ is followed by /n/ word-finally:

<i>ngaliwany</i>	[ŋálewà'ŋ]	'wild pear (<i>Persoonia falcata</i>)'
<i>karrawany</i>	[qáɾawà'ŋ]	'(toponym)'
<i>dyalakany</i>	[ɖálagà'ŋ]	'jealous'

The glide in question does not take place in monosyllabic and disyllabic words:

<i>bany</i>	[bæŋ]	'(ONOM) bang'
<i>warany</i>	[wáɾɛŋ]	'other, some'
<i>nilany</i>	[nélaŋ]	'flesh, meat'
<i>kundany</i>	[kúndæŋ]	'wart'

Several three(or more)-syllable words ending in ...*any* have been recorded without the glide allophone:¹⁷

<i>dyawinany</i>	[ɖáwinaŋ]	'(toponym)'
<i>dyukudany</i>	[ɖúyudæŋ]	'Broome Bloodwood (<i>Eucalyptus zygophylla</i>)'
<i>yarnudany</i>	[jáŋudæŋ]	'cleft stick (for fire making)'

The glide allophone also occurs in the word-final sequence of /u/ + /n/ (see 3.2.1.3.(3)).

3.2.1.4 Long vowel /a:/

The long vowel /a:/ (*aa*) is always realised as a back-low [a:], as in:

<i>baarn</i>	[ba:ŋ]	'big black ant'
<i>yaarr</i>	[ja:ɾ]	'pull' (PV)
<i>dyirmaangngurru</i>	[ɖíɾma:ŋzúɾu]	'(toponym)'

See 3.6.2 for the distributional characteristics of the long vowel *aa*.

3.2.2 Front-high vowels

3.2.2.1 Basic value of /i/

The short front vowel /i/ (*i*) varies from high [i] to mid-high [e], usually lax, whether stressed or not. Yawuru *i* is much less fronted than the cardinal [i].

¹⁷ The glide allophone does not take place, either, in the nominal suffix *-dany* (6.12.2): *warlidany* [wáledæŋ] 'good hunter', derived from *warli* 'meat'. The last syllable (...*dany*) of *dyukudany* and *yarnudany* may be identified with this suffix, although roots such as **dyuku* or **yarnu* are unattested as independent words. See 3.3.5.2.(4).

<i>mimi</i>	[mími]	'mother's mother; daughter's daughter'
<i>nilirr</i>	[níleɾ]	'mouth'
<i>dyalidany</i>	[ɖáɻíɻdàɻ]	'whitewood (<u>Hakea lorea</u>)'
<i>mimbi</i>	[mémbi]	'chest'

When following a laminal segment (i.e. in such sequences as *nyi*, *dya*, *lyi*), /i/ tends to be fronted and somewhat tense. For the sake of an explicit representation, this variety (positional allophone) is represented by the use of the symbol [i].

<i>nyimarr</i>	[ɻímaɾ]	'a cork tree (<u>Hakea suberea</u>)'
<i>dyiny</i>	[ɖíɻ]	'woodchips'
<i>ridyi</i>	[ɻíɻi] ¹⁸	'pearlshell ornament'
<i>dyinyilyi</i>	[ɖíɻiɻi]	'labour (as giving birth)'

The following minimal pair may summarise the point (cf. 2.3.3):

<i>bindabinda</i>	[béndabènda]	'butterfly'
<i>binydyabinydya</i>	[bíɻɖabíɻɖa]	'butterfly shells (generic)'

3.2.2.2 Lowered allophone

The lowered (and slightly retracted) allophone [e] (lax) is typically heard in retroflexed environments:

<i>rirwal</i>	[ɻérwal]	'Dragon-Flower tree' (<u>Sesbania formosa</u>)
<i>warndirn</i>	[wáɻdèɻ]	'Milky Way'
<i>nirliyangarr</i>	[néɻe'aɻɻɻ]	'k/o wattle tree' (<u>Acacia bivenosa</u>)
<i>kubirdi</i>	[kúbeɻe]	'puffer-fish'

But [ɻ] is also acceptable in the same environment. Stress is irrelevant to the vowel height of the /i/ realisations.

3.2.2.3 Centralised allophone

The front vowel /i/ tends to be centralised (or defronted) to [ɻ] when it occurs in the sequence /wir/.¹⁹

<i>wiriny</i>	[wíɻiɻ]~[íɻiɻ]	'star (generic)'
<i>wiriman</i>	[wíɻimàɻ]~[íɻimàɻ]	'long, tall'
<i>wiril</i>	[wíɻiɻ]~[íɻeɻ]	'Mulga Snake' (<u>Pseudechis australis</u>)

3.2.2.4 Long vowel /i:/

The long /i:/ (*ii*) is regularly realised as high front [i:], usually tense:

<i>ngiikarang</i>	[ŋ'í:ɻgàɻaɻ]	'mosquito'
<i>rdii</i>	[ɻi:]	'breaking' (preverb)
<i>warlkartiirtii</i>	[wɻɻgəɻt'í:ɻt'í:ɻ]	'honeyeater sp.'

The long front-high vowel is rarely lowered or backed. We have, however, a limited number of cases where a long mid-high [e] or [ɻ] is heard:¹⁹

¹⁸ Notice the difference between [í] (stressed [i]) and [í] (stressed [ɻ]).

¹⁹ These could be interpreted as realisations of /iyi/, i.e. /ŋiyiɻ/, /yiyi/ and /wiyiɻ/, respectively.

<i>ngiir</i>	[ŋɛɪɪ]	'taking a deep breath' (var. of <i>ngirir</i> [ŋ'íɪɛɪ])
<i>yii</i>	[jɛɪ]	'ebb tide'
<i>wiirr</i>	[wɛɪɪ]	'trill of the tongue'

3.2.3 Back-high vowels

3.2.3.1 Basic value of /u/

The back vowel /u/ (u) varies from high [u] to mid-high [o], usually lax in any case.^{19A}

<i>marru</i>	[máɾu]~[máro]	'head'
<i>rurru</i>	[ɾúɾɟu]~[ɾúɾɟo]	'sweat'
<i>wingkuma</i>	[wíŋgòma]~[wíŋkùma]	'possum'

3.2.3.2 Lowered allophone

As in the case of the [e] allophone of /i/ (3.2.2.2), the mid-high allophone [o] typically (but not exclusively) emerges in retroflexed environments. Stress position is irrelevant to the occurrence of the mid-high allophones:

<i>karu</i>	[káɾo]	'k/o short spear without jag or hook'
<i>rduru</i>	[dóɾo]	'fart'
<i>wirlurnwirlurn</i>	[wéɾoŋwèɾoŋ]	'Rainbow Bee-eater' (<i>Merops ornatus</i>)
<i>wurlurl</i>	[óɾoɾ]	'lame, crippled'
<i>wurdarr</i>	[wóɾaɾ]	'wild gardenia' (<i>Gardenia pyriformis</i>)

Word-initial /wu/ produces mid-high allophones in non-retroflexed environments as well (see 3.2.6.2. for examples).

The lowering in retroflexed environments is not obligatory, however. There are several lexical items in which the vowel /u/ regularly maintains its height despite adjacent retroflex segments:

<i>rururu</i>	[ɾúɾuɾu]	'alopecia'
<i>munduruu</i>	[múndúɾuɾu]	'Fitzroy Wattle' (<i>Acacia ancistrocarpa</i>)

3.2.3.3 Glide allophone

The glide allophone [u'] occurs in word-final sequence of /u/ + /n'/, just as in the case of /a/ + /n'/ described earlier (3.2.1.3).²⁰

<i>garlungny</i>	[gáɾɳu'ŋ]	'armpit'
<i>dyurrunguny</i>	[dʒúɾuŋu'ŋ]	'right-hand side'
<i>dyamuny</i>	[dʒámu'ŋ]	'father's mother/mother's father'

The glide does not take place in reduplicated words:

^{19A} The phonetic symbol [u] substitutes the IPA [o] (see Ladefoged 1990b:337; International Phonetic association 1989:73; cf. Pullum & Ladusaw 1986:156f).

²⁰ The glide is also heard in the male personal name *dyakuny* [dʒáɟuŋu'ŋ]~[dʒáɟu'ŋ]. This Yawuru name is conventionally spelled "Djiagween", but pronounced by the local Aboriginal people today as [dʒáɟ'en].

<i>dyabunydyabuny</i>	[ɸábuŋɸàbuŋ]	'barb (of spear)'
<i>ngunynguny</i>	[ŋúŋŋuŋ]	'brains (for thinking)'
<i>dyunydyuny</i>	[ɸúŋɸuŋ]	'suck breast (as baby)'

The /un/ (*uny*) sequence in non-final syllables does not involve the prenasal glide.

<i>munyu</i>	[múŋu]	'knee'
<i>kunydyurung</i>	[kúŋɸuɾuŋ]	'(name of a ceremony)'
<i>randikunya</i>	[ɾándegùŋa]	'mythological giant'

3.2.3.4 Long vowel /u:/

The long vowel /u:/ (*uu*) is generally pronounced [o:] (long mid-high), more or less the same as lengthened cardinal [o]:²¹

<i>kuur</i>	[ko:ɾ]	'embracing'
<i>k*uulgadya</i>	[qó:lgàɸa]	'(tide) rising'
<i>dyuung</i>	[ɸo:ŋ]	'(string) snap, get cut off'
<i>luun</i>	[lo:ŋ]	'k/o robin' ²²

There are several words, however, in which [u:], rather than [o:], is regularly heard (also see 3.6.2.2).²³

<i>yuurr</i>	[ju:ɾ]	'hot cooking stone' ²⁴
<i>kuurd</i>	[ku:ɾ ^h]	'be offended; sullen, moody'
<i>nguu-gadya</i>	[ŋú:zgàɸa]~[ŋú:zgàɸa]	'humming'

As to the last item for 'humming', the notation [ŋú:zgàɸa] indicates that the initial segment is a syllabic nasal with an extended length, but without a rounding feature. This unusual articulation is considered to reflect the onomatopoeic nature of the word.²⁵

With the exception only of *nguu-gadya* given above, the back vowels *u* and *uu* are always rounded (except in rapid speech, where *u* can be unrounded [u]~[ʌ]).

3.2.4 Diphthongs

Other vowels (such as [e], [ɛ], [e:]) and diphthongs (such as [eɪ], [eʊ], [aɛ], [aɪ], [oɪ]) are frequently heard in Yawuru as phonetic realisations of the glide approximants /w/ and /y/ combined with each of the three vowels (as summarised in Table 303 below).

²¹ In the instances given here, a long high [u:] is also acceptable, but [o:] is much more common in spontaneous utterances of native speakers. It is interesting in this regard that the borrowed item *k*uupang* (from Malay "koepang" /ku:paŋ/) 'Koepanger' (i.e. Timorese people/language) is usually pronounced [kó:paŋ] in Yawuru.

²² This is quite a different bird from the one referred to as loon [lu:n] (or loom [lu:m]) in English.

²³ Actually the low-vowelled pronunciations of these words (such as [jo:ɾ], [ko:ɾ^h], and [ŋo:zgàɸa]) have been rejected by some informants. This may leave room for these items to be interpreted as having a /uw/ sequence (i.e. *yuurr*, *kuurd* and *nguwgadya*), rather than having the long vowel /u:/. See discussion in 3.6.2.

²⁴ This is probably a borrowing of the Karajarri word *yurru* 'hot(ness), fire'.

²⁵ *-gadya* is the intensifier suffix (INTENS; 5.4.2) and the root **nguu* (not recorded as an independent lexical item) is probably related to *ngunungunu* 'humming'.

TABLE 303: Phonetic realisations of glide-vowel sequences

	<i>-i</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-u</i>
<i>y-</i>	[ʔi]~[je]	[ja]	[ju]~[jo]
<i>w-</i>	[wi]~[we]	[o]~[wa]	[u]~[ɔ]~[wo]
	<i>i-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>u-</i>
<i>-y\$</i>	[iz]	[aɛ]~[ae]	[uj]
<i>-w\$</i>	[iɥ]~[eu]	[aɔ]~[ay]	[uz]

NOTE: The symbol "\$" indicates a syllable boundary.

Further phonetic details of the diphthongs will be commented on in the subsequent sections on glide approximants (3.2.5 and 3.2.6).

3.2.5 Palatal approximant: *y*

3.2.5.1 Basic value

The most common word-initial allophone of the palatal unrounded median approximant /y/ (*y*) is [j], with the tongue blade closely approaching the hard palate.

<i>yabaly</i>	[jábaʌ]	'thin (not thick)'
<i>yubukurr</i>	[júbuyùɣ]	'Coconut-tail Ray'
<i>yunu</i>	[júnʊ]	'fishing bait'

An initial /yi.../ segment may be realised with a glottal-stop onset, in place of the palatal glide. If the glide allophone takes place, then subsequent front vowels tend to be lowered to [e]:

<i>yirrakulu</i>	[ʔíragùlu]	'Broome Pindan Wattle'
<i>yila</i>	[ʔíla]~[jéla]	'dog'

3.2.5.2 Intervocalic allophone

Between vowels, by contrast, the approximation is much weaker, which is indicated by the use of a superscript symbol [ʲ]:

<i>dyaya</i>	[dʒáʲa]	'Coachwhip Ray'
<i>buya</i>	[bóʲa]	'reef'
<i>miliya</i>	[míliʲa]~[míleɔ]	'now, today'
<i>ngayu</i>	[ŋáʲu]~[ŋáɛ]~[ŋáɪ]	'I/me (pronoun)'

However, /y/ standing between two high-back vowels continues to be a narrow approximant:

<i>yuyu</i>	[júju]	'shady tree (of any kind)'
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In rapid speech, /aya/ may be reduced to a long vowel [aː], /iya/ reduced to [eː], and /uyu/ to [uː], respectively:

<i>mayarda</i>	[má'ad̥a] > [máz̥da]	'Pelican Dance' ²⁶
<i>biyarrambin</i>	[bi'arambín] > [bè:rambén]	'honey bees' ²⁷
<i>dyuyu</i>	[ɖúju] > [ɖú:]	'you' (pronoun) ²⁸

3.2.5.3 Diphthong with mid-front offset

The vowel /a/ followed by /yi/ (or /y/ in word-final or syllable-final position) produces frontal diphthongs [aɛ] ~ [aɛ̥].²⁹

<i>mayi ~ may</i>	[máɛ] ~ [máɛ̥]	'vegetable food'
<i>dyurrawayi</i>	[ɖúrwàɛ]	'reef shark (non-spotted type)'
<i>layty</i>	[láɛ̥ʔ]	'throwing away' (preverb)
<i>ngayirrngayirr</i>	[ŋáɛrŋáɛr]	'tremolo of boomerang (to accompany dancing)'

The diphthongisation is not blocked by a morpheme boundary:

<i>dyarra-yirr</i>	[ɖáɾaɛr]	'our (but not yours)'
<i>yiwarra-yiwarra</i>	[ʔíwaraɛwara] ³⁰	'twilight, pink sky after sunset'

However, the process seems to be blocked in compounds:

<i>dyilygarra-yidi</i>	[ɖílgaraʔidi]	'Australian Pipit' (<i>Anthus novaeseelandiae</i>)
<i>mirda-yirdi</i>	[miɖaʔidi]	'(toponym)'

The sequence /aya/ or /ayu/ does not produce the diphthongs:

<i>maya</i>	[má'a]	'house, humpy'
<i>wayurr</i>	[wájur]	'winnowing (tossing up grains)'

3.2.6 Labio-velar approximant: w

3.2.6.1 Basic value

/w/ (*w*) is a labio-velar rounded median approximant [w]. The narrowing of the articulator/s (the back of the tongue and/or the lips) is such that it occasionally sounds like a rounded labio-velar fricative [ɣ^w] or bilabial fricative [β^w], especially in word-initial position.³¹

²⁶ In Nyikina, *mayarda* is the common name for pelicans. In Yawuru, the same form (*mayarda*) refers to a particular dance in which the dancers wear a type of headgear representing pelicans. The traditional toponym for the "No.4 Bore" in Thangoo country (south of Broome) is *dyamarada-gabu* (the suffix *-gabu* is an archaic form of the ablative marker *-gap*; see 6.7), but no explanation has been obtained on the possible mythical connection of this place name to the dance or the bird. The Yawuru word *mayarda* has a less frequent variant *dyamarda*. However, forms such as **madyarda* or **yamarda* are not encountered. This is interesting in connection with the *dy* ~ *ny* alternation (see 3.6.3.2).

²⁷ See 3.7.1.1 for the non-initial stress assignment. The word *biyarrambin* may also refer to 'vinegar flies'. Capell (n/d:2) has it as "be:rambin" 'a fly' (Capell's gloss); notice the long vowel notation "e".

²⁸ The lenition of *uyu* to *uu* regularly occurs in the accusative clitic pronoun *-dyuu* (7.3.1).

²⁹ The diphthong may further turn out to be a mid-low long vowel [ɛ:] in fast speech, especially in the verbal prefix complex *wayrr-* (4.2.5.1.(1)).

³⁰ Notice the position of secondary stress (indicated by the grave accent symbol), i.e. [...àɛ...], not [...aè...], which confirms the diphthongised status of the sequence /a+yi/ (cf. secondary stress promotion illustrated in 3.7.1.4.(2)). See 8.2.1.1.(3) for the unreduplicated *yiwarra*.

³¹ The stop-initial form *bundawarru* has been recorded as a variant of *wundawarr* 'sand crab'.

3.2.6.2 Diphthongisation

When /w/ follows the low vowel /a/, the result is usually diphthongised [aɔ] ~ [aʏ].

<i>yawru</i>	[jáoɔɪo]~[jáʏɪu]	'Yawuru' ³²
<i>nawrlu</i>	[náɔɪo]~[náʏɪu]	'fighting stick made of <i>yirragulu</i> tree'
<i>rdardaw</i>	[dádɔɔ]	'Bloodwood apple (coccid bug gall)'

If the preceding vowel is long, then the realisation is [a:ɔ]:

<i>wardaaw</i>	[waɔá:ɔ]	'(exclamation of terror)'
<i>ngaaw</i>	[ŋá:ɔ]	'kissing' (also var. <i>ngaw</i> [ŋɔɔ])

The diphthongisation may take place across a morpheme boundary as in the case of the reduplication:

<i>wiyawiya</i>	[wí'ɔɔ'í'ɔ]	'dragonfly'
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Initial /wu.../ has realisations [wɔ]~[ɔ]~[o], not only in retroflexed environments (see 3.2.3.2 for examples), but also in non-retroflexed environments:

<i>wungku</i>	[wóŋgo]	'bough screen (as in corroboree)'
<i>wula</i>	[óla]~[wóla]	'water' ³³
<i>wukul</i>	[wóɔol]	'rasping'

A rounded low-back vowel [ɔ] is observed in the numeral word 'one' (2.2.3) and related items:³⁴

<i>waranydyarri</i>	[ɔ́ɪaŋɔ́ɪɪ]~[wɔ́ɪ...]	'one' (numeral)
<i>warany</i>	[ɔ́ɪaŋɔ́]~[wɔ́ɪaŋɔ́]~[wáɪaŋɔ́]	'some, other' (7.7.1.3)
<i>gurdulwarany</i>	[gúɔ́ɔɔlɔ́ɪaŋɔ́]~[gúɔ́ɔɔlɔ́áɪaŋɔ́]	'Brolga'

3.2.7 Apical approximant: r

The phoneme /r/ (spelled single *r*) is typically articulated in a postalveolar to retroflex position and can be characterised as a median approximant. It should be distinguished from the non-approximant rhotic /r̄/ (spelled double *rr*).³⁵

Word-initially, /r/ tends to be a voiced retroflexed (usually sublamino-prepalatal) fricative [ɹ] (or less frequently voiceless [ɹ̥]) or apico-postalveolar (semi-retroflexed) frictionless continuant [ɹ̥].³⁶ The fricative seems to be more common

³² See footnote 1 in Chapter 1.

³³ The Jukun dialect form is [wɔɪ] (see 1.1.3.2).

³⁴ The sound is phonemically interpreted as /wara.../, since the word may be pronounced acceptably as [wáɪaŋɔ́ɪɪ] while a pronunciation like [wóɪa...] (which would support /wuɹa.../ analysis) is barely acceptable. However, the rounded vowel in question is uncommon in other words with the initial /waɹ.../ sequence: e.g. *warara* [wáɪaɪa] 'cold fit, a chill', *warirra* [wáɪɪɪɪ] 'spreading out', etc.

³⁵ Our informants describe *rr* as "strong one" and *r* as "halfway". Although retroflex consonants (such as *rd* and *rl*) are generally called "light one" in the native speakers' terminology (or folk phonemics), this adjective is not applied to the rhotic retroflex *r*. It is, instead, to the contrast of lateral *l* and rhotic *rr* that they refer as "light" and "heavy" (*l* is "light"). No folk terms has been noted to refer to the contrast of *r* and *l*.

³⁶ For typographic reasons the symbol [ɹ̥] (turned "r" with under-dot; after Dixon 1980:144-145) is employed in place of the standard IPA [ɹ̥] (turned "r" with right tail). See footnote 85A in this chapter for the use of the term "semi-retroflexed".

in the speech of Julbayi dialect speakers, whereas a retroflexed flap [ɾ] is heard in the Marangan (Eastern Inland) dialect.³⁷

<i>rayi</i>	[zɔɛ]~[ɿɔɛ]~[ɾɔɛ]	'secret, dreaming'
<i>ringngu</i>	[zɿŋzɯ]~[ɿŋzɯ]~[ɾŋzɯ]	'morning/evening glow'
<i>ribi</i>	[zɿbɿ]~[ɿébɿ]~[ɾébɿ]	'toothache'

Word-final /r/ may be pronounced either as [ɹ] (~[ɣ]), [ɿ] or [ɾ]. In any case, the curling of the tongue tip is remarkable in the word-final position (much like in the American English pronunciation of r in bar).

<i>gurlir</i>	[gúleɿ]~[gúlez]	'scapulae'
<i>lakar</i>	[láɣaz]~[láɣaɣ]	'climbing up'
<i>malybar</i>	[máɮbaɿ]~[máɮbaz]~[máɮbaɣ]	'tired'

When the flap allophone occurs, the affrication noise tends to be much more prominent (to such an extent that it can be indicated as [ɾ^z]) than in the case of word-initial occurrence:

<i>wilur</i>	[wíloɿ]~[wíluɾ ^z]	'whetstone'
<i>kuur</i>	[ko:z]~[ko:ɾ ^z]	'embracing'

In medial position, the fricative and affricated allophones seldom occur; there the realisation of /r/ is [ɿ] (or further retracted [ɿ-]) before a consonant and [ɿ] (apico-alveolar frictionless continuant)³⁸ before a vowel. This means that the tip of the tongue is not so much curled up in the intervocalic articulation of /r/. It tends to be a weak glide between two low vowels:

<i>dyara</i>	[ɖáɿa]~[ɖá ^ɿ a]	'boil'
<i>kaldyuri</i>	[qáɿɖúɿɿ]	'Green Snake'
<i>durku</i>	[dúɿgu]	'kidney'
<i>lararburlin</i>	[lá ^ɿ aɿbùɿen]	'philtrum'

The last item above may further be weakened to *laarburlin* [láɿbùɿen]. Such intervocalic lenition of *r* is regularly observed (see 3.5.1.4.(2)). Minimal pairs such as given below do exist, however (cf. 3.7.3):³⁹

<i>dyaral</i>	[ɖá ^ɿ aɿ]~[ɖa:ɿ]	'burn grass (to open a place in bush)'
<i>dyaal</i>	[ɖa:ɿ]	'straight (as in throwing spear)'
<i>larar</i>	[lá ^ɿ aɿ]~[la:ɿ]~[la:ɣ]	'waterhole'
<i>laar</i>	[la:ɿ]~[la:z]	'cracking, peeling'

³⁷ The flap allophone may also occur in Julbayi dialect, but then the flapping tends to be weak and is often accompanied by an affrication noise, something like [ɾ^z]. cf. the retroflex fricative in Ngankikurungkurr (Hoddinott & Kofod 1988:15-16).

³⁸ In other words, /r/ in this environment is resonant rather than approximant (Catford 1988:75).

³⁹ Notice also the difference in the word-final devoicing: word-final sonorant is not devoiced in monosyllabic words (see 3.3.5.2); the final devoicing, however, does take place in the monosyllabic pronunciations of the disyllabic words *dyaral* and *larar*.

3.3 Consonants (I): manners of articulation

3.3.1 Lax stop series

3.3.1.1 Apical and laminal segments

(1) *b*

/b/ (*b*) is bilabial lenis stop, usually voiced and unaspirated [b] in word-initial and medial position. A voiceless variety [p] (yet spelled *b*) is occasionally heard in initial position. This should be distinguished from the word-final tense stop *p* [pʰ] (see 3.3.2.1.(1)). The voiceless allophone of *b* rarely occurs between vowels.⁴⁰

<i>bubu</i>	[búbu]~[bóbo]	'flower'
<i>bibi</i>	[bíbi]~[pébi]	'mother'
<i>wuba</i>	[wúba]	'child'

In word-final position, a slight aspiration accompanies the release of *b*, which may occasionally be devoiced.

<i>rabrab</i>	[ɹábɹabʰ]~[ɹábɹapʰ]	'swelling up (as damper when cooked)'
<i>dakurrb</i>	[dáɹorbʰ]~[dáɹurpʰ]	'slipping down'

(2) *d*

/d/ (*d*) is alveolar stop, either voiced [d] or voiceless [t]. Both are barely aspirated. The voiced allophone is more common, although the voiceless [t] (yet spelled *d*) seems to occur with a higher frequency than the voiceless allophone of *b* does, particularly in the beginning of words. Medial *d* can be voiceless, too. Relatively few words begin with *d* (see statistics in 3.6.4.1).

<i>didirr</i>	[dídɪɹ]	'k/o water bird'
<i>dukur</i>	[dúɹul]	'red ochre'
<i>dildil</i>	[tíldil]~[díldíl]	'dust it'
<i>dadyil</i>	[dádɹil]	'skipping'

Word-final *d* normally shows a weak aspiration. Devoicing is not observed, however (cf. word-final *b* described above).

<i>wadyid</i>	[wádɹidʰ]	'take a sitting position (in dance)'
<i>dyad</i>	[ɹædʰ]	'stabbing'
<i>dyid</i>	[ɹidʰ]	'stop (raining, bleeding, etc.)'

See 3.2.4.2 for the apico-dental allophone [ɟ] of /d/.

(3) *rd*

/d/ (*rd*) is retroflexed, articulated at apico-postalveolar position (3.4.3). It regularly realises as a voiced stop [ɟ], barely aspirated.

⁴⁰ In the whispery register (3.7.4.1), however, the intervocalic *b* is devoiced: e.g. *wuba* [wópa].

<i>rdardarl</i>	[dádɑl]	'sick, lame'
<i>wardi</i>	[wádɪ]	'Cormorant' (<i>Phalacrocorax</i> spp.)
<i>dyard</i>	[ɸád] (~[ɸádʰ])	'shifting, changing a position'
<i>rurdrurd</i>	[zúɸzudʰ]	'wasp' (final <i>rd</i> unreleased)

In word-final environment, *rd* should be distinguished from the tense voiceless *rt* [tʰ] (3.3.2.1.(3)).

(4) *dy*

/d/ (*dy*) is realised either as a lamino-prepalatal (strictly speaking: alveolo-palatal) voiced stop [ɸ] or affricate [ɸɰ] (or acceptably, but less frequently, a voiceless affricate [tɰ]).⁴¹ It may be slightly aspirated. The voiceless allophone (barely aspirated) mainly occurs word-initially, typically preceding a low vowel.

<i>dyabi</i>	[ɸábe] ~ [tɰábe]	'personal song (not for corroboree)'
<i>bidyara</i>	[bíɸàɪɑ] ~ [píɸàɪɑ] (~[pítɰàɪɑ], but not [bítɰàɪɑ])	'ear'

In word/morpheme-final position, *dy* may be either released with a slight affrication or may remain unreleased (but the closure involves much less muscular tensivity than in the case of the tense counterpart *ty* [tʰ]) (3.3.2.1).

<i>bilady</i>	[bíɸɰ]	'reflexion (of water)'
<i>marradymarrady</i>	[máɸɰmáɸɰ]	'flame of fire'
<i>kuridy</i>	[kúɪɸ]	'(be) quiet, obedient'

The stops (or obstruents) described so far (*b*, *d*, *rd*, *dy*) are generally voiced when following a sonorant segment (nasal, lateral or vowel). However, this is not always the case with the velar *k*.

3.3.1.2 Dorsal segments

(1) Basic allophones of /k/

Word-initially /k/ is a voiceless velar to postvelar stop: [k] ~ [q] (spelled *k*), normally unaspirated. Word-initial voicing of *k* ([g] ~ [ɣ]) is acceptable but relatively rare.⁴²

<i>kaburra</i>	[qáburà] ~ [ɣáburà]	'guts, intestines'
<i>kabali</i>	[kábalì] ~ [qábalì]	'wife; sister-in-law (BW, MZSW)'
<i>kirrbadyu</i>	[kírbàɸu] ~ [gérbàɸu]	'bee honey; nectar from flowers'
<i>kudya</i>	[kúɸɑ] ~ [gúɸɑ]	'heron'

⁴¹ The symbol [ɸ] (curly-tail d) is defined in Hattori (1984:84, 87-88), along with its voiceless counterpart [ɸ̥]. These are occlusive counterparts of the IPA [ç] and [ç̥], respectively. For typographic reasons, however, only the affricate symbol [ɸɰ] will be used hereafter. It should be remembered that the unaffricated stop realisation (i.e. [ɸ]) is as common as the affricate. By the same token, the voiceless allophones may be [ɸ̥] as well as [ɸ̥ɰ]. The symbol [ɸ̥] represents the sound *ch* (as in *cha* 'tea', phonemically /tya/, and in *machi* 'town', phonemically /mati/) of Japanese. For some reason (cf. Pullum and Ladusaw 1986:31,176), IPA (1989 revision, as well as in 1949 and 1979 versions) has defined [ç] and [ç̥], but not their homorganic counterparts [ɸ], [ɸ̥], [ɸ̥ɰ] and [ɸ̥ɰ̥] (Crystal 1985:15). Hattori (1984:88) recommends the use of [ɸɰ] and [ɸ̥ɰ] for alveolo-palatal affricates. For typographic reasons, however, [ɸɰ] (ligature of IPA symbols [ɸ] and [ɰ]) and [ɸ̥ɰ] (ligature of IPA symbols [ɸ̥] and [ɰ]) will be used in this study.

⁴² See the pronunciation of the demonstrative *kamba* described in footnote 61 in Chapter 7.

In medial intervocalic environments, *k* is often voiced (particularly in male speech), but voiceless pronunciation is not uncommon. Voicing is generally accompanied by a slight lowering of adjacent vowels.

<i>kalakala</i>	[qálaqàla]~[qálaqàla]	'diarrhea'
<i>karrikan</i>	[káregàŋ]~[kárikàŋ]	'body'
<i>kamikami</i>	[kámegàme]~[kámikàmi]	'k/o skink lizard'
<i>dakidaki</i>	[dágedàge](~[dáyedàye])	'deaf'

The medial voicing sometimes plays a morphophonemic role. For example:

<i>kudyarra</i>	[kúɖɛara]~[gúɖɛara]	'two'
<i>kudyarra-kudyarra</i>	[kúɖɛaragùɖɛara]	'four'
<i>kudyarra kudyarra</i>	[kúɖɛarakùɖɛara]	'two by two'

The last item above is phonologically a single word but grammatically two words (as already examined in 2.5.2.2; see also 3.4.5.1.(5)).

Intervocalically /k/ often becomes a voiced fricative [ɣ](yet spelled *k*) when it is onset to an unstressed syllable:

<i>bukarri</i>	[bóɣarɪ]~[bógarɪ]~[búkari]	'dream'
<i>dukul</i>	[dúɣul]~[dóɣol]	'red ochre'
<i>makarra</i>	[máɣarà]~[máɣarà]	'tail'
<i>yaku</i>	[jáɣu]~[jáɣu]	'husband, brother-in-law'

The velar fricativisation tends to be prevented when another /k/ segment precedes the /k/ under discussion (e.g. *kaka* 'mother's brother' is more likely pronounced [kága] than [káɣa]). Postconsonantal *k* is seldom fricativised, either, but generally voiced (though voiceless pronunciation is still acceptable).

<i>lingka</i>	[lénɡa]~[línka]	'waiting, expecting'
<i>nirlkan</i>	[nélɡaŋ]	'speargrass'
<i>wirniki</i>	[wénɡil]~[wénki]	'samphire' (<i>Frankenia ambita</i>)

(2) Ever-voiced /k/ (g)

There are words in which the initial dorsal stop is regularly voiced (usually velar) for some reason or other. Those are spelled with the letter *g*.

<i>garndya</i>	[gáŋɖa]	'pushing something/somebody aside'
<i>gil</i>	[gɛl]	'cutting out (e.g. meat)' (preverb)
<i>guwal</i>	[góʷal]	'Dogwood' (<i>Flueggea virosa</i>) ⁴³

When occurring word-finally, *g* is aspirated (see 3.3.2.1.(5) for examples).

Given that there is no minimal pair showing the word-initial contrast of *g* and *k* (but cf. 3.4.5.1.(2)), these are interpreted as realisations of the single phoneme /k/. The occurrence of *g* is, however, phonologically unpredictable, although there seem

⁴³ Lands (1987:9) identifies it as *Flueggea virosa melanthesoides*. This plant of the *Euphorbiaceae* family was formerly known as *Securinega melanthesoides* (Hosokawa 1988a; cf. Petheram & Kok 1986). The name also refers to Dogwood fruit, which is sweet and edible, one of the favorite diet items of the Yawuru people.

to be several morphophonemic conditions which induce *g* to occur — see 3.4.5.1.(3) to (5).

(3) Ever-voiceless /k/ (*k**)

There are, on the other hand, words in which the initial or medial dorsal stop remains voiceless (more often postvelar than velar). Although it is unlikely that the sound in question constitutes a separate segmental phoneme of its own (see 3.4.5.1 for more discussion), it is provisionally marked with an asterisk in the spelling (*k**), since the occurrence of such an ever-voiceless dorsal stop is phonologically unpredictable and the distinction in spelling can be helpful for learning as well as for future research.

Around 40 items having the ever-voiceless *k** have been recorded so far. Several instances are given below:

<i>k*arnburr</i>	[qáŋbuɟ]	'Bush Cadjeput' (<i>Melaleuca</i> sp.)
<i>k*aldyari</i>	[qáɪɟàɪɪ]	'Dunnart' (<i>Sminthopsis</i> sp.) ^{43A}
<i>k*awarr</i>	[qáwɑɟ]	'Turpentine Wattle'
<i>k*umminy</i>	[kúmziŋ] ⁴⁴	'(male personal name)'
<i>k*uwan</i>	[qówan]	'Yellow Lip Pearl Shell'
<i>k*urnka</i>	[kúŋga]	'raw, unripe; uncooked'

No lexical items having *k*i* (either word-initially or medially) are known. Medial *k** may be an aspirated velar (rather than postvelar).

<i>wangk*aya</i>	[wánqà'a]~[wánkʰà'a]	'Banana-leaved Wattle' (<i>Acacia tumida</i>)
<i>wangk*awal</i>	[wánqawàl]~[wánkʰawàl]	'a type of heavy shield'
<i>mangk*u</i>	[mánqoʷ]	'a large pearlshell utilised as a dish'

In the devoiced/pulmonic register (3.7.4.1), *k** tends to become a weak velar ejective [kʰ] or aspirated [kʰ], while *k* and *g* become a devoiced lax [k] there. A word-initial *k*a* may also be an ejective (usually postvelar rather than velar) in normal speech register, as is typically observed in the adverb *k*awity* (~ *k*awty*) [qawiʰcʰ]~[qawcʰ]~[q'ajcʰ] 'quick' (8.4.4.3).^{44A}

Readers are referred to 3.4.5.1 for more about the pronunciation of the dorsal obstruents (*k*, *g*, *k**) and relevant morphophonemic issues.

3.3.2 Tense stop series: *p*, *t*, *rt*, *ty*, *q*

The letters *p*, *t*, *rt*, *ty* and *q* represent tense voiceless stops. These occur almost exclusively in word/morpheme-final position. The letters *rt*, *ty* and *q* in word-final position and *p* and *t* anywhere are not uttered (released) actually, but the active

^{43A} This word may also be used as a generic term referring to non-marsupial rats and mice.

⁴⁴ The initial segment of this particular lexical item regularly reveals a velar (rather than postvelar) articulation. The medial nasal bilabial closure is long (interpreted as a nasal gemination).

^{44A} Capell (n/d:11) has 'quick' as "gaid'".

articulators (the lips or the tongue) should quickly take up their proper articulatory positions as if these were pronounced. The standard IPA symbol [̚] (corner)⁴⁵ is added to a stop consonant to indicate that the consonant is unreleased. Vowels adjacent to the word-final tense stop (or closure) also become tense and somewhat fronted and/or raised.

3.3.2.1 Realisations

(1) *p*

This is an unreleased tense bilabial closure, often accompanied by a quick and tight closure of the glottis.

<i>yardap</i>	[jád̚a²p̚]	'stalk, crawl'
<i>dyalp</i>	[ɬ̚a²lp̚]	'prick, sting'
<i>rdarlap</i>	[ɖ̚ála²p̚]	'Northern Kurrajong'

The closure remains unreleased even if case markers or derivational suffixes are attached to the *-p* ending stem:

<i>rdarlap-garra</i>	[ɖ̚ála²p̚ g̚ara]	(plural of <i>rdarlap</i>)
<i>rdarlap-dyi</i>	[ɖ̚ála²p̚ ɬ̚i]	(dative of <i>rdarlap</i>)

Most instances of medial occurrence of *p* are reduplicated items.

<i>k*apk*ap</i>	[qap̚ qá²p̚]	'rough, rugged (road)'
<i>gilpgilp</i>	[gél̚p̚ gelp̚]	'avoiding a taboo relative'
<i>wirrpwirrp</i>	[wér̚p̚ werp̚]	'rhythmical sound of boomerangs in accompaniment to singing'

Others are derivations (also see 3.4.2.2) or probably compounds. In the third example given below, the stress position suggests that the word is a compound (3.7.1.3).

<i>kagaplayin</i>	[ká²gap̚ l̚a²ɛ̃]	'over there' (<i>kagap</i> + <i>-layin</i>) ⁴⁶
<i>barralgapbardu</i>	[bára²lgap̚ b̚a²ɖ̚o]	'in the meantime' (<i>-bardu</i> 'yet'; 8.2.1.2)
<i>daplúmankan</i>	[d̚ap̚ l̚ú²ma²ŋan]	'(toponym)'

The tense *p* contrasts with the voiced lax counterpart (*b*) as in the following minimal pairs. Notice also the difference of vowel qualities that seems to be conditioned by the alternation of the final consonants or consonantal clusters.

<i>bap</i>	[ba²p̚]	'moth'
<i>bab</i>	[ba²b̚]	'forgetting' (preverb)
<i>wirrp</i>	[wér̚p̚]	'smashing' (preverb)
<i>wirrb</i>	[wér̚b̚]	'opposing' (preverb)

(2) *t*

This is a tense sound made with apico-alveolar closure, unreleased, and usually accompanied by a glottal "check" (or quick closure).

⁴⁵ See Pullum and Ladusaw (1986:209).

⁴⁶ See 7.5.3.2 for the word formation of this deictic word.

<i>wit</i>	[wi ² t ¹]	'extinguish fire by beating it'
<i>ngiit</i>	[ŋi ¹ z ² t ¹]	'smile'
<i>ngut</i>	[ŋu ² t ¹]	'thick'
<i>dyult</i>	[ɖult ¹]	'finishing' (preverb) ⁴⁷

It contrasts with word-final *d*, which is released with a slight aspiration but without devoicing (see examples in 3.3.1.1.(2)). Word-final *d* and *t* are both alveolar, not dental (cf. 3.4.2). There is at least one minimal pair in which the tense *t* and the lax *d* stand in contrast in the word-final environment.

<i>dyid</i>	[ɖid]~[ɖid ^h]	'stopping, ceasing' (preverb)
<i>dyit</i>	[ɖi ² t ¹]	'crest, crested'

(3) *rt*

This is an unreleased stop in apico-postalveolar to retroflex position. This, too, is often accompanied (in a kind of double articulation) by the quick glottal closure.⁴⁸

<i>mirt</i>	[mi ² t ¹]	'narrow (and thin)'
<i>murt</i>	[mu ² t ¹]	'erect (penis); firm (of young woman's breast)'

Two words have been recorded with the tense retroflex stop occurring medially:

<i>k*artku</i>	[qát ¹ ko~]~[qát ¹ go]	'Bloodwood'
<i>warkartiirtii</i>	[wɔlɡat ^h i:ɽ ^h i:]	'honeyeater sp.'

In the last instance above, the medial *rt* is released with salient aspiration. It should also be noted in this word that the syllable having the *rt* as onset bears primary stress and that it also has a distinctive high pitch (3.7.3).

(4) *ty*

This is a tense laminal stop, unreleased word-finally. The articulatory point tends to be palatal (IPA [c]) rather than alveolo-palatal (cf. 3.4.4.1).

<i>gudirity</i>	[ɡúdeɾec ¹]	'(bird sp.), ??Bushlark' ⁴⁹
<i>layty</i>	[lájé ² c ¹]	'throw away'
<i>kadity</i>	[kádíc ¹] ¹ ~[gádíc ¹]	'pinch, scratch'
<i>ngardtyay</i>	[ŋáɖcaɪ]	'mythical sea people (in Dreamtime)'

No word or morpheme that has a sequence of ...*uty* has been found. Although no minimal pairs are encountered, the distinction of word-final *dy* (voiced and released; see examples in 3.3.1.1.(4)) and *ty* (voiceless and unreleased) is clearly and consistently maintained by native speakers.

⁴⁷ This is the only case of final cluster involving *t* (see 3.4.1.1.(1); cf. *dyud* 'end, finish'; see 5.6.4). No instance of word/morpheme-final ...*a(a)t* has been encountered.

⁴⁸ English-derived words, such as *biirt* [bi:ɽ¹] 'necklace' (from "beads"?) and *dyinabuurt* [ɖé²nabù:ɽ¹]¹~[ɖé²nabó:ɽ¹] 'European shoes' (**dyina* 'foot' + "boots"?), have *rt* word-finally but the glottal check is absent. Although no pair of Yawuru words has been found to establish a minimal contrast of *rt* (tense) and *rd* (lax), there are words that have a final *rd* (regularly voiced; see 3.3.1.1.(3) for examples).

⁴⁹ This is the short form (2.3.4) of *gudiritybardbard* (also *gurdirdi bardbard*), a small grey bird on the plains. Capell (n/d:12) recorded the word "gudirid" as a Yawuru name for magpie. This seems to be a mistake. Magpie is *kurrawarl* in Yawuru.

(5) *q*

Word-finally, the grapheme *q* represents an unreleased tense velar (rather than postvelar or uvular) closure [k̚]⁵⁰ (often preglottalised [ʔk̚]), as in:

<i>muluq</i>	[múlu²k̚]	'shift it'
<i>duq</i>	[du²k̚]	'make a cut on the eucalyptus trunk to get the gum'
<i>ngalyaq</i>	[ŋáʎak̚]	'Common Blue-tongue Lizard' (<i>Tiliqua scincoides</i>)
<i>wanaq</i>	[wána²k̚]	'be at a loss'

Also recorded is the realisation as a glottal closure [ʔ]:

<i>wuukuq</i>	[wúʔguʔ]~[ʔúʔguʔ]	'frogmouth'
<i>luq</i>	[luʔ]	'(toponym) Lug'
<i>walaq</i>	[wálaʔ]	'frog'⁵¹

Word-final *g*, by contrast, is released often with a slight aspiration as well as voicing:

<i>dyudug</i>	[ɖúɖugʰ]	'end of a story'
<i>gudyug</i>	[gúɖugʰ]	'swallow'
<i>gurrbug</i>	[gúrbugʰ]	'vomit'

3.3.2.2 Additional comment

The common articulatory feature shared by the word-final voiceless stops (*p*, *t*, *rt*, *ty*, *q*) is the outstanding tenseness. Clearly observed are the simultaneous strain in the larynx and the high muscular tension in the tongue and/or around the mouth. It should be noted that such articulatory tension is maintained even when the words are declined (taking a suffix/enclitic) or compounded with other lexical items:⁵²

<i>walp-gadya</i>	[wálp̚gàɖa]	'flapping (wings)'
<i>mut-ngurru</i>	[mút̚ŋùru]	'(toponym) Duncan Bore'⁵³
<i>warrbayty-gadya</i>	[wárbq̚ɕ̚gàɖa]	'waving a hand'
<i>walaq-dyi</i>	[wáʎak̚ɖi]	'for a frog' (dative)

Such tension is absent in the articulation of the lax series (*b*, *d*, *rd*, *dy*, *g*) word/stem-finally or elsewhere. Implosive velars, [ɠ] (hook-top *g*) and [k̠] (hook-top *k*), are occasionally heard in such dorsal cluster environments as in the following:

<i>luq-gun</i>	[lúʔɠun]	'in Lug (LOCATIVE)'
<i>ngalyaq-garra</i>	[ŋáʎak̚gàra]~[ŋáʎaʔgàra]	'many blue-tongues (PL)'
<i>wuqkupangala</i>	[wúʔk̠ùpaŋala]~[ʔúʔk̠opaŋala]	'(toponym)'

3.3.2.3 Phonemic status

Do the tense (voiceless) series and the lax (voiced) series reflect different phonemes? The question is somewhat puzzling since lax segments also reveal voiceless

⁵⁰ This is a sound very similar to the word-final *k* in Thai (as in *chá:k* [tɕa:k̚] <falling tone> 'to leave').

⁵¹ Onomatopoeia for croaking of frogs is *waqwaq* [wáʔwaʔ].

⁵² A few exceptional cases are cited in 3.3.2.3.(2).

⁵³ The suffix *-ngurru* occurs in a large number of toponyms in Yawuru. See 6.12.3.

allophones in certain contexts (3.3.1). There are a very limited number of what seem to be minimal pairs. Notwithstanding, the validity of the phonemic status of the tense stops are yet to be questioned if the following facts are considered:

- 1) The distribution of the tense stops is highly restricted (as already pointed out in 3.2.3.2).
- 2) Alternation of the voicing feature takes place in certain cases of morphological derivation.
- 3) Several cases of dialectal variation are known in which a tense segment in one dialect corresponds to the lax in another.
- 4) Neither a tense/lax nor a voiceless/voiced distinction at the phonemic level has been reported from the neighbouring languages.⁵⁴

(1) Minimal pairs

All of the attested minimal pairs (already given) are repeated below. There is no lexical pair of items representing a minimal contrast of *dy/ty*.

<i>bap</i>	[ba ² p ¹]	'moth' (~ <i>binabap</i>) ⁵⁵
<i>bab</i>	[ba·b ^h]	'forgetting' (cf. <i>babu</i> 'forgetful, carelessly')
<i>bab</i>	[bab]~[bab ^h]	'(vocative) brother!' (< <i>babala</i>) ⁵⁶
<i>wirrp</i>	[wɛrp ¹]	'smashing'
<i>wirrb</i>	[wɛrb ^h]	'opposing' (cf. <i>wirrbu</i> 'grudge, enemy' — see 5.6.4)
<i>dyid</i>	[ɖɪd]~[ɖɪd ^h]	'ceasing (as rain)' (cf. <i>dyidibu</i> 'block the fight')
<i>dyit</i>	[ɖɪi ² t ¹]	'crest(ed)'

Notice that all of the above items having a voiced (lax) word-final segment can possibly be related to some item or other which has a related meaning as well as having a word-final vowel following the lax consonant in question: *babu* or *babala* for *bab*, *wirrbu* for *wirrb*, and possibly **dyidi* (in the verb *dyidibu*)⁵⁷ for *dyid*. In this connection, it should be remembered (see 1.1.3.2) that the word *nilababa* 'earlobe' has the consonant-ending variant *nilabab*, but not **nilabap*.

(2) Derivation/Variation

Tense/lax alternation sporadically takes place in the derivation of some words. Instances are given below. These are, in other words, counter examples to those given in 3.3.2.2. (re: the invariable tenseness maintained through derivational processes).

⁵⁴ Voiceless pronunciation of stop consonants is not uncommon in Nyulnyul and Bardi (Nyulnyulan) as well as in Karajarri (Pama-Nyungan).

⁵⁵ Capell (n/d:1) has the word for 'moth' as "bab".

⁵⁶ The second *bab* [bab]~[bab^h] (no half-lengthening of the vowel) is the special vocative form (i.e. term of address) of *babala* (term of reference) 'brother; male first cousin (mother's side)'. Male first cousins of father's side (e.g. FBS, FZS) or male second cousins of either mother's or father's side (e.g. MMZSS, FMZDS) are also addressed *bab*, although the kinship term of reference for the category covering these relations is *dyalwal* 'cousin', not *babala*. As for female siblings and cousins, such differentiation of address and referential terms is not the case: e.g. the referential term *ngunu* 'sister, female first cousin mother-side' is also used as an address term.

⁵⁷ The verb root *dyidibu* can be decomposed to **dyidi* plus **bu* (see 4.10.1); the latter is identified with the wide-spread Common Australian verb root for 'hit' (Capell 1956; Dixon 1980:481).

<i>mirt</i>	[miʔʔ]	'narrow (and thin)'
<i>mirddyawa</i>	[miɖɖàwa]	'k/o small catfish with a long mouth' (lit. "narrow-mouth") ⁵⁸
<i>dup</i>	[duʔpʔ]	'white'
<i>duubngarr</i>	[dó:bŋar]	'whitish' (see 3.6.2.4)

Several cases of dialectal variation may be added here.

'foot' (see 1.1.3.2)

Julbaya/Marangan:	<i>nimirdi</i>	[nímiɖi]
Jukun:	<i>nimirt</i>	[nímiʔ]

'salmon'

Julbaya:	<i>walkawalka</i>	[wálgawàlga] ~ [wálgà:lga]
Jukun:	<i>walkwalq</i>	[wálgʷalkʔ]

'(ablative case marker)' (see 1.1.3.2 and 6.7)

Marangan:	<i>-gabū</i>	[...gabū]
Jukun/Julbaya:	<i>-gap</i>	[...gapʔ]

'cave'

Julbaya:	<i>durp</i>	[durpʔ]
Marangan:	<i>durrbu₁</i>	[durbu] ⁵⁹

In the last case above, the Julbaya dialect has a separate word *durrbu₂* meaning 'hollow tree'.⁶⁰ The word for 'hollow tree' in the Marangan dialect is *dyikurr* [ɖíyur], which is also used in Julbaya as a synonym of *durrbu₂*.

In summary, the lax stops become tense when they occur word-finally. The lax/tense contrast could therefore conceivably be interpreted as a morphophonemic process rather than regarded as an opposition at the level of segmental phonology. It should be remembered, in this regard, that word-final devoicing is observed in sonorants as well (but cf. discussion in 3.3.5).

(3) Distribution

Such a morphophonemic interpretation as suggested above, however, fails to provide a full explanation of the distribution of tense and lax stops in word-final position. First of all, there are quite a few lexical items having a final lax stop (voiced and, in some cases, released with weak aspiration — aspiration is weaker in *rd* and *dy*).

⁵⁸ The second element *dyawa* is identified with the Karajarri *java* 'mouth'.

⁵⁹ Capell (n/d:5) has "durbu" (= *durrbu*) as 'cave'. The word for 'cave' in Nyikina is also *durrbu*.

⁶⁰ Intriguingly, when an informant pronounced this word very slowly for me, it was segmented into something like *durp buu* [durpʔbu:].

<i>rabrab</i>	[ɾábɾabʰ]	'swelling up'
<i>dyad</i>	[ɖædʰ]	'stab/hit/cut' (cf. <i>dyaddyad</i> 'knife')
<i>ward</i>	[wɑɖ]	'sticky; stuck' ⁶¹
<i>wididy</i>	[wédédɖ]	'digging'
<i>dyudug</i>	[ɖúduɡʰ]	'end of story'

It is basically unpredictable whether the word/morpheme-final stop of a given Yawuru word is released with voicing or remains unreleased without voicing. The distinction is consistently maintained by Yawuru speakers and each lexical item seems to have a fixed value regarding the voicing/releasing of the final stop. Therefore, despite the limited distribution and the paucity of minimal pairs, it is necessary and useful to distinguish them in the writing of the language.

The spelling distinction of the lax and the tense series is maintained throughout this study, partly because it has never been fully described in previous studies of Yawuru (although Capell's wordlist contains relevant information), but also because it will be more practical for future learners of the language to see pronunciation differentiated explicitly by the spelling.⁶²

Taking into account the number of impediments against assigning a full phonemic status to the tense stops, as has been pointed out so far, they are tentatively interpreted as geminations: i.e. *p* is /b:/, *t* is /d:/, *rt* is /ɖ:/, *ty* is /d':/ and *q* is /k:/ . Thus *bap* has the phonemic representation /bab:/ whereas *bab* is straightforwardly /bab/. Similarly, *wirrb* is /wiɾb/ and *wirrp* /wiɾb:/, and so on. The salient articulatory tenseness of the tense series is attributed to their phonotactic nature as geminate stops.

3.3.3 Nasal series

3.3.3.1 Peripheral nasals

Peripheral (i.e. labial and dorsal) nasals are always voiced irrespective of environments (but cf. 3.7.4.1)).

(1) *m*

/m/ (*m*) is a bilabial nasal [m] or, sporadically, a labio-dental nasal [m̥] (see 3.4.1).

<i>mibarr</i>	[míbaɾ]	'face'
<i>muda</i>	[múda]	'heel'
<i>kumamu</i>	[kúmamù]	'sandalwood'
<i>nim</i>	[nim]	'blinking, winking' (preverb)

⁶¹ This word is probably related to *wardka* [wɑɖgɑ] 'stone fish-trap' (which catches fish "stuck" in it). Intriguingly, the word for 'bough-shed for fishing camp' is *wardakayi*, which could be analysed as being composed of a stem **wardaka* plus the dative marker *-yi* (i.e. lit. "for the purpose of **wardaka*"; see 6.2.3 for the purpose-indicating function of the dative). This being the case, then the voicing of *rd* in *ward* could be explained by its etymological connection to the possible root **warda(ka)*.

⁶² This is more so if we admit the unfortunate fact that there will be very few native speakers of the language in future.

Word-final *m* in *nim* is tense and unreleased. This is, as a matter of fact, the only item (excepting the English-derived items cited in 2.2.4) in which the bilabial nasal occupies word-final position (cf. 5.6.4).

(2) *ng*

/ŋ/ (*ng*) is dorsal nasal, most commonly a velar [ŋ] (or, to be precise, [ŋ-], i.e. somewhat retracted). It may, however, vary from postvelar [ɳ] to palatalised [ɲ] (cf. 3.4.5.2).

<i>nginarran</i>	[ŋénarən]	'winnowing'
<i>nganarr</i>	[ŋánaŋ]	'porpoise' (<i>Phocaena</i> sp.)
<i>wangk*aya</i>	[wánqà'a]	'Banana-leaved Wattle' (<i>Acacia tumida</i>)
<i>ngiikarang</i>	[ŋ'izgà:ɾən]	'mosquito'

3.3.3.2 Non-peripheral nasals

Non-peripheral (i.e. laminal and apical) nasals may lose their voicing in word-final position. (This is further discussed in 3.3.5.)

(1) *n*

/n/ (*n*) is typically an apico-alveolar [n] (often devoiced word-finally)

<i>naka</i>	[nága]~[náka]	'loincloth'
<i>banu</i>	[bánu]	'east'
<i>niban</i>	[nébaŋ]	'blending, something mixed-up'
<i>bundu</i>	[búndu]	'flood plains'

Apico-dental allophone [ɳ] regularly occurs in non-homorganic clusters (such as *nb*, *nk* and *nm* — see 3.4.2 for examples). Word-final *n* is more often than not apico-dental [ɳ].⁶³

<i>kankan</i>	[káŋŋaŋ]	'clapsticks'
<i>nyin</i>	[ɳiŋ]	'land snail'

(2) *rn*

/r̥n/ (*rn*) is an apico-postalveolar to retroflex nasal [r̥ŋ] (see 3.4.3 for further phonetic details). It only occurs medially and finally (see 3.6.1.3).

<i>ngamarna</i>	[ŋámaŋaˀ]	'breast (of woman), milk'
<i>yurndura</i>	[júr̥nd̥ura]	'flour (for damper)'
<i>malburn</i>	[málbuŋ]	'marsh fly' (= <i>kuburru</i>)

⁶³ For typographic reasons, the devoiced variant of word-final dental nasal [ɳ] will be indicated simply as [ɳ] (without the subscript bridge).

(3) *ny*

/n/ (*ny*) is a lamino-prepalatal (alveolo-palatal) nasal, for which the phonetic symbol [ɲ] is employed.⁶⁴ Word-final devoicing is frequent.

<i>nyidya</i>	[ɲíɖɹa]	'navel'
<i>mirdanya</i>	[míɖaɲa]	'aged people, old'
<i>yamnyimul</i>	[jáɲɲimù]	'k/o trevally' ⁶⁵
<i>nganydyu</i>	[ɲáɲɖu]	'girls before puberty'
<i>niminy</i>	[némeɲ] ~ [nímiɲ]	'eye(s), face'

The point of articulation is slightly more advanced than a palatal nasal (IPA [ɲ] as in Spanish *niño*). Strictly speaking, the Yawuru *ny* is different from a palatalised nasal (IPA [nʲ] as in Russian *njet*) in that the former is articulated laminally (i.e. with the blade of the tongue touching the prepalatal region) while the latter apically (i.e. the active articulator is the tip of the tongue; but cf. Catford 1984:94-95).

3.3.4 Liquids

3.3.4.1 Lateral series

(1) *l*

/l/ (*l*) is an alveolar lateral approximant (sonorant).

<i>lakurru</i>	[láɣoro]	'Rock Fig' (probably <i>Ficus platypoda</i>)
<i>lalka</i>	[lálgá]	'dry and hard (wood); slim (person/animal)'
<i>lida</i>	[léda]	'fat (of animal/fish)'
<i>lulumba</i>	[lúlumba]	'down' (= <i>burndura</i>)
<i>nakula</i>	[náɣolà]	'sea, saltwater'

Word-final devoicing is common (see 3.3.5).

<i>dyabal</i>	[ɖába]	'assembly of men and women (to settle trouble)'
<i>bilawal</i>	[bélawà]	'Red Gum (k/o eucalypt)'
<i>bandil</i>	[bándi]	'drawing, curving'
<i>rilit</i>	[zéle]	'fallen leaves'
<i>k*alabul</i>	[qárabù]	'Northern Nailtail Wallaby, locally called "plain kangaroo" (<i>Onychogalea unguifera</i>)'

The Yawuru lateral is much "lighter" than the "l" sound in English in that it has a shorter duration for the articulator (the apex of the tongue) to be kept in touch with the alveolar ridge. This sometimes makes it difficult to distinguish *l* from the flap *rr*. This is particularly so when the meanings are also close: e.g.

⁶⁴ This is the sound heard in the pronunciation of *ni* (as in *nishi* [ɲiçi], phonemically /nisi/, 'west') or *ny* (as in *tennyo* [teɲo], phonemically /teNnyo/, 'celestial maiden') in Japanese (Tokyo dialect; see Hattori 1984:84). Also see footnotes 14 and 86 in this chapter. The curly-tail symbol [ɲ] is the homorganic counterpart of the IPA [ç] and [ʒ]. This should be distinguished from the palatal [ɲ] or palatalised [nʲ] (= [ɲ]), which is heard in Yawuru consonantal cluster *n'y* (see 3.6.3.3.(2)). The lamino-prepalatal [ɲ] more resembles the sound represented by the IPA [ɲ] (lamino-palatal) than the one represented by the IPA [ɲ] (apico-palatal).

⁶⁵ Also recorded is a metathesised variant *yaminymul*.

<i>walanya</i>	[wálan̩à]	'you (SG) catch it'
<i>warranya</i>	[wáran̩à]	'you (PL) catch it' (see 4.3.1.1)

(2) *rl*

/l/ (*l*) is a retroflexed lateral approximant (sonorant). No positional variation, apart from the final devoicing (3.3.5), has so far been found.

<i>rlurldya</i>	[lúɭɤa]	'pubic apron' (see 3.6.1.3)
<i>warli</i>	[wáɭe]	'meat, game'
<i>burndarl</i>	[búnɤaɭ]	'large flat fighting stick'

Final devoicing is not so prominent as in the cases of other laterals.

(3) *ly*

/l/ (*ly*) is an alveolo-palatal (=lamino-prepalatal) lateral approximant. The sound represented by the IPA symbol [ɭ] approximates to it.⁶⁶

<i>gulyany</i>	[gúɭan̩]	'soft and wet'
<i>kalyinggu</i>	[káɭiŋgu]~[káɭiŋgu]	'soft, smooth; mild (taste)'
<i>dyalykurr</i>	[ɤáɭguɤ]~[ɤáɭguɤ]	'baby'

Word-final *ly* is usually devoiced and often becomes a lateral fricative [ɭ̥]:

<i>karraly</i>	[qáɤraɭ̥]~[qáɤraɭ̥]	'cool, cold'
<i>bandily</i>	[bándiɭ̥]~[bándiɭ̥]	'geckos (generic)'

A voiced fricative allophone [ɭ̥] occurs in certain environments (see 3.2.4.4). No words begin with *ly* (see 3.6.1.3).

3.3.4.2 Rhotics

(1) *rr*

/r/ (*rr*) is generally realised as an alveolar non-retroflex flap [ɾ], with the tip of the tongue quickly striking the upper teeth-ridge.

<i>birra</i>	[bíɾa]	'bush, woodland'
<i>dyarrbi</i>	[ɤáɾbi]	'mother's mother's mother'
<i>kurrulyu</i>	[kóɾoɭu]	'Black Swan'

It is basically a non-continuant, only rarely trilled to the extent of the sound represented by the IPA [r̥]⁶⁷ except in word-initial position. Only three instances of word-initial *rr* have been recorded:

⁶⁶ See 3.4.4.1 for a more precise description of the point of articulation. The IPA [ɭ] (lamino-palatal) is used in place of the curly-tail symbol [ɭ̥] which is not defined in IPA (but see footnote 86 in 3.4.4.1). To use the diacritic convention newly introduced in the 1989 revision of IPA, the lateral sound under description may be represented as [ɭ̥] (i.e. [ɭ] with a subscript rectangle; see International Phonetic Association 1989:71).

⁶⁷ The trill may be heard in emphatic speech (particularly of male speakers). However, it does not occur in careful wordlist reading. Julbaya informants claim that Jukun people pronounce *rr* with a trill (just as in Bardi/Jawi). The sociolinguistic value of the trill is discussed in Hosokawa (1988b: section 3.3).

<i>rrabilbila</i>	[rábilbèla]	'centipede'
<i>rrarrka-rrarrka</i>	[ráryaràrya]	'sand-dune spinifex (<i>Spinifex longifolius</i>)'
<i>rrirrka</i>	[rérga]	'charcoal (for earth-oven)'

Notice that in all of the above three words, the initial *rr* is trilled, as indicated by the use of IPA [r̥].

In word-final position *rr* is sometimes a devoiced strident trill [ʀ̥]⁶⁸ or (less frequently) a devoiced flap [ɾ̥].⁶⁹

<i>makurr</i>	[máyoʃ̥] ~ [máyoʃ̥]	'path, road'
<i>rambarr</i>	[zámbaʃ̥] ~ [zámbaʃ̥]	'wife's father; daughter's husband'
<i>yarirr</i>	[jáɪeʃ̥]	'fellow contryman'
<i>lamarr</i>	[lámaʃ̥]	'blond (of Aboriginal children)'

(2) *rry*

The combined letters *rry* stand for a palatalised flap [rʲ].⁷⁰ It should be noted that the segment represented by *rry* is articulated apically (i.e. using the apex of the tongue) unlike other *y*-carrying digraphic consonants (*dy*, *ny*, *ly*) that are articulated laminally (3.4.4).

The phonemic status of *rry* is weak since its occurrence is almost restricted to the position immediately preceding *dy* as in the following examples. It is best regarded as a positional allophone of /r̥/.

<i>karrydya</i>	[káɾʲɖa] ~ [gáɾʲɖa]	'blaming, scolding, "growling"'
<i>yirrydyurr</i>	[ʔíɾʲɖur]	'they/them' (pronoun; 7.1.1)
<i>kundirrydyi</i>	[kúnderʲɖi] ~ [...rʲɖi]	'ceremonial armbands' ⁷¹
<i>barrydyanyin</i>	[báɾʲɖaɲiŋ]	'Agile Wallaby' (<i>Macropus agilis nigrescens</i>) ⁷²

No instances of sequences such as *...rryny...* or *...rryly...* have been recorded. Sequences *rrny* and *rrly* are attested though the *rr* segment in such sequences is not palatalised.

There are two instances where optional dropping of the final vowel leaves *rry* instead of *rr*:

⁶⁸ For typographic reasons, we use the phonetic symbol [ʀ̥] (r with horns) for the retroflexed rhotic fricative, in place of the standard IPA symbol [ʀ] ("r" with long leg).

⁶⁹ Goddard (1983:23) points out that Yankunytjatjara /t/ (tap) "may be voiceless word-finally". He does not mention whether such a devoicing is a general feature of liquids or is limited to the tap/rhotic.

⁷⁰ The symbol [rʲ] substitutes for the IPA [ɾ̥] (fish-hook r with palatalisation hook).

⁷¹ This refers to a pair of ceremonial armbands that are put on the upper arms near the shoulder; cf. *kundidyina* ~ *kurndidyina* 'shoulder' (see 6.3.5).

⁷² The Jukun dialect form *barr'dyanyin* 'Agile Wallaby' reveals a non-homorganic sequence of *rr* (non-palatalised) plus *dy*. Stokes (1984:35) has the word as "barrdyaniny"; Capell (n/d:2) has it as "bard'anan" (= *barrdyanan*) for 'red kangaroo' (In my data, the word for Red Kangaroo, *Macropus rufus* ssp., is *mirdimarl* ~ *mirdimarlu*). The Agile Wallaby is also called Kimberley Wallaby, Grass Wallaby, River Wallaby or River Kangaroo.

windirri [wéndɛrɪ] ~ *windirry* [wéndɪrʲ] 'hairbelt' (= *nyimba*)
wadyirri [wádʒɪrɪ] ~ *wadydyirry* [wádʒɪrʲ]⁷³ 'harpoon'

No devoicing has been observed with the word-final *rry*.

I have chosen to distinguish *rry* from *rr* in the spelling system because there are cases where *rr* preceding *dy* is NOT palatalised. It is important to note that when there is a morpheme boundary between /r̄/ and /d/ the rhotic remains unpalatalised (i.e. unassimilated). Thus:

/r̄d/ → [rʲdʒ] (*rrydy*)

/r̄+d/ → [rdʒ] (*rr'dy*)

The latter is encountered in reduplication or in derivation:

<i>dyurr'dyurr</i>	'snivel'
<i>dyindiyirr'dyindiyirr</i>	'Black-necked stork (or Jabiru)'
<i>dyalykurr'dyina</i>	'amniotic fluid' ⁷⁴
<i>wangkurr'dyunu</i>	'bereaved family' (<i>wangkurr</i> 'crying'; see 6.12.6)

There is also a synchronically unanalysable word with medial sequence of *rr'dy*:

barr'dyarri [bárɟàrɪ] 'Barrjarri section'⁷⁵

Intriguingly, this word has a variant *barr'yarri* [bárjàrɪ], where *rr'y* indicates an unassimilated sequence of the flap *rr* and the semi-vocalic palatal *y*. The sequence is also encountered in the reduplication of *yawirr*:

yawirr [jáwɛʃ] 'missing a target' (8.4.2.1)

> *yawirr'yawirr* [jáwɛrjəwɛʃ] 'fumbling' (9.2.6)

The spelling distinction of *rr* and *rry* is also useful because there are cases where the palatalised flap bears an important functional load. For example, the palatalised rhotic (*rry*) occurs in the free-form absolutive pronoun *kurryirr*; its enclitic form is, however, *-gurrirr* (see 7.3.1.1). Also see 4.3.1.1.(3) for examples of the morphophonemic contrast of *rr* and *rry* in verbal conjugation.

(3) r

The phonetic values of /r̄/ (*r*) were described in the section on the median approximants (3.2.7) since /r̄/ shares certain morphophonemic processes with the approximant glides /y/ and /w/ (e.g. see 3.4.1.4). On the other hand, the rhotic approximant /r̄/ also behaves morphophonemically like liquids (laterals and rhotics), as illustrated in the next section (3.3.5).

⁷³ The medial *dy* is geminated (*dydy*).

⁷⁴ This is the genitive form of *dyalykurr* — i.e. the literal meaning is "of baby" (see page 71; see also 6.3.1). cf. *balu-dyina* 'water from trees' (lit. "of tree").

⁷⁵ This corresponds to Palyeri in Kariera kinship system (Romney & Epling 1958:60). See 1.1.4.

3.3.5 Sonorant devoicing

3.3.5.1 General remarks

As depicted in the preceding sections (3.3.3 and 3.3.4), an interesting articulatory feature of Yawuru sonorant consonants (liquids and nasals) is word-final devoicing. Segments subject to the phenomenon in question are the laterals *l*, *rl* and *ly*, the rhotic *rr* (but not *rry*), and the nasals *n*, *rn* and *ny* (but not *m* and *ng*). Also the rhotic approximant *r* shows parallel devoicing word-finally (see examples in 3.2.7).

The word-final devoicing of sonorants (or **sonorant devoicing** in short) is observable both in natural speech as well as in careful speech of the wordlist-reading type. As for the laterals, word-final devoicing seems to be more common among female speakers.

Sonorant devoicing is optional, although it commonly takes place unless the sonorant-ending word has some or other factor (such as outlined later) that would prevent the devoicing. Generally speaking, items consisting only of sonorant segments tend to be more resistant to word-final devoicing:

<i>wiliny</i>	[wílin̩] (~ [wílin̩̥])	'Silverleaf Grevillea' (<u>Grevillea refracta</u>)
<i>rangan</i>	[zán̩n̩] (~ [zán̩n̩̥])	'daughter-in-law (SW)'
<i>mangal</i>	[mán̩a] (~ [mán̩ḁ])	'clam' ⁷⁶

There are also words of which the word-final sonorant regularly remains voiced. Reasons for the prevention of sonorant devoicing are various. They include, among others, (i) monosyllabicity (see 3.3.5.2.(2)), (ii) onomatopoea (see 3.3.5.3) and (iii) etymology (3.3.5.4; also see 3.3.5.2.(3)).

3.3.5.2 Sonorant devoicing vs non-sonorant devoicing

The phenomenon of sonorant devoicing is in some way comparable to the occurrence of tense stop series (3.2.3.2): they both concern devoicing and are typically observed word-finally. (In the following discussion, the term "non-sonorant devoicing" will be used to refer to occurrences of the tense stops in word/morpheme-final context.) Sonorant devoicing, however, differs from non-sonorant devoicing in certain aspects, as illustrated in (1) to (4) below.

(1) Tensity

First of all, devoiced sonorants lack the articulatory tensity which is so prominent a feature of the devoiced non-sonorant stops (*p*, *t*, *rt*, *ty*, *q*) — see 3.3.2.2.

⁷⁶ What is locally called "clam" is a kind of edible shell of the Tridacnidae family, commonly found on reefs.

(2) Monosyllabic words

Secondly, monosyllabic as well as polysyllabic words can have a devoiced tense stop (non-sonorant) word-finally. By contrast, final-sonorant devoicing does not take place in monosyllabic words:

<i>mul</i>	[mul]	'pimple'
<i>duurl</i>	[dɔ:ɻ]	'rising tide'
<i>duly</i>	[duɻ]	'squeezing a boil'
<i>dyiin</i>	[ɬi:ɻ]	'pointing at sb/sth (by pouting)'
<i>biny</i>	[biɻ]	'Supplejack tree (<i>Ventilago viminalis</i>)'
<i>birr</i>	[bir]~[pir]	'root'

(3) Morpheme boundary

Thirdly, while non-sonorant devoicing is observable across a morpheme boundary (as emphasised in 3.3.2.2), it is not so with sonorant devoicing. Notice in the following examples that the devoicing of the word-final sonorant no longer takes place when an enclitic or affix is added to the word (stem).

<i>kurrwal</i>	[kúrwaɻ]	'sky'
<i>kurrwal-ngarr</i>	[kúrwaɻn̩àɻ]	'blue (lit. sky-like)' (-ngarr is semblative)
<i>dyalykurr</i>	[ɬáɻɻɻɻ]	'(newborn) baby'
<i>dyalykurr-dyina</i>	[ɬáɻɻɻɻɻɻɻ]	'amniotic fluid' (-dyina is genitive)
<i>kirrkirr</i>	[k'íɻɻ'íɻɻ]	'Brown Falcon (= eaglehawk)' (cf. 3.4.5.2)
<i>kirrkirrgun</i>	[k'íɻɻ'íɻɻɻ]	'(toponym) Eaglehawk Hill' (-gun is locative)
<i>mirdiny</i>	[míɻɻɻ]	'rainbow'
<i>mirdiny-dyunu</i>	[míɻɻɻɻɻɻɻ]	'a large-scale rainbow' (-dyunu is intensifier)

Reduplication impedes the devoicing, too, as typically observed in:

<i>wangal</i>	[wánaɻ]	'breath, wind'
<i>wangalwangal</i>	[wánaɻwánaɻ]	'strong wind' (cf. 9.2.3)
<i>yawirr</i>	[jáweɻ]	'missing a target'
<i>yawirr'yawirr</i>	[jáweɻjáweɻ]	'fumbling (as cat with skink)'

By the same token, the following items of lexical reduplication (i.e. items recorded only in reduplicated form; see 9.1) have their first (word-medial) occurrence of the root-final sonorant undevoiced but the second (word-final) occurrence devoiced.

<i>birrbinbirrbin</i>	[béɻbɻbèɻbɻ]	'k/o bird (unidentified) ⁷⁷
<i>kabalkabal</i>	[káɻɻgabaɻ]	'k/o shrubby grass (unidentified)'
<i>karlkarl</i>	[káɻɻgaɻ]	'Blind Your Eye' (<i>Excoecaria agallocha</i>) ⁷⁸

(4) Bound forms

Finally, sonorants are NOT devoiced at the end of a bound form (functional items such as affixes and clitics), whereas tense stops may occur bound-form-finally (e.g.

⁷⁷ Capell (n/d:2) recorded the item as "berbinberbin" 'small water bird, ?dottrel' [sic].

⁷⁸ This is the name of a mangrove species (Semeniuk, Kenneally & Wilson 1978:51-63). A variant form *kalkal* [káɻɻgaɻ] is also recorded. The mangrove name is at the same time the Aboriginal name for Dampier Creek (the major tidal creek adjacent to the Broome township).

the ablative marker *-gap*). In the examples given below, the final nasal sonorant (*ny*) of the derivational suffix *-dany* maintains its voice:

warli [wá|e] 'meat, game' > *warli-dany* [wá|eɖǎ̃ɲ] 'good hunter'
bili [bí|ɪ] 'angry' > *bili-dany* [bí|ɪɖǎ̃ɲ] 'trouble-maker'

The following items appear to be related derivationally to each other, but they are semantically unrelated (except that both are names of plants). In any case the suffix/formative-final *ny* is unvoiced.

dyundyu [ɖúɲɖu] 'an unidentified tree with fatally-poisonous leaves' (also known by another name *bilamana*)
dyundyudany [ɖúɲɖuɖǎ̃ɲ] 'edible root of a young *rdarlap* (Kurrajong) tree'

The following lexical items containing the formative element *dany* have been recorded without sonorant devoicing. This suggests that the formative is a suffix (see 6.12.2), although bare roots such as **wurlku*, **walma*, **dyuku*, **dyundyu*, are unattested as independent words in Yawuru:

wurlkudany [ó|ɬgɔɖǎ̃ɲ] ' "One Eye Snake" ⁷⁹
walmadany [wá|ɬmaɖǎ̃ɲ] '(toponym)
dyukudany [ɖúɬguɖǎ̃ɲ] 'Broome Bloodwood'
dyalidany [ɖá|ɬeɖǎ̃ɲ] 'Whitewood, or Corkwood' (*Hakea lorea*)

3.3.5.3 Onomatopoeia and sonorant devoicing

Words of more or less onomatopoeic nature ending in sonorants tend to maintain the word-final voicing: e.g.

dyiwildyiwil [ɖíwɪɬɖíwɪɪ] 'intensive bird call in the morning'
gindilgindil [gɪndɪɬgɪndɪɪ] 'coughing'
ngangilngangil [ŋáŋɛɪɬŋáŋɛɪ] 'pig (also its oinking)'
bindarl [bíndaɪ] 'snapping one's fingers'
dyunydyuny [ɖúɲɖuɲ] '(a baby) sucking breast'
rdarndarn [ɖáɲɖaɲ] '(tying up) tightly'
durrkarr [dóɾgaɪ] '(sound of thunder)'

3.3.5.4 Etymology and dialectal variation

There are still other words in which sonorant devoicing is impeded for etymological reasons. For instance,

mannal [máɲɲaɪ] 'wet season'
walakurr [wá|ɬagɔɪ] 'Wedge-tailed Eagle' (*Aquila audax*)
mirdimarlu [míɖimáɪ] 'Red Kangaroo' (*Macropus rufus* ssp.)

Probably relevant is the fact that the Eastern Inland dialect (1.1.3.2) has the vowel-ending forms *mannala*, *walakurru* and *mirdimarlu*, respectively, for the above Julbayi dialect words ending in liquids.

⁷⁹ This is possibly a derivation from the Karajarri word *wurlku* 'sick(ness)'. The Yawuru word *wurlkudany* refers to a kind of striped snake, popularly known as "One-Eye Snake" (probably *Damansia psammophis*, Yellow-faced Whip Snake, family *Elapidae*), which is not dangerously venomous but its bite can cause a sick feeling.

3.4 Consonants (II): points of articulation

3.4.1 Bilabials: *b*, *m*, *p*

Although these are in most cases articulated bilabially, labio-dental articulation may be heard for *b* and *m* between vowels. One particular Yawuru woman pronounces initial and medial *b* and *m* constantly by labiodentals [ɸ] and [ɱ], which is assumed to be her idiolect. In rapid natural speech, fricative [β] and unrounded nasal approximant [ɱ̃] are heard for intervocalic *b* and *m*, respectively, but these variants seldom occur in a careful, wordlist-reading situation.

It is noteworthy that word-final *m* shares the glottalisation feature with the tense stop *p* (see 3.3.2.1). Such word-final tension in the glottis as well as at the articulatory point is absent in other nasals which occur in word-final position.⁸⁰

3.4.2 Alveolars: *d*, *n*, *l*, *t*

Apico-alveolar articulation (i.e. with the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar ridge) is most common for these segments. Often the area touched by the tongue tip tends to be postalveolar rather than dentalveolar (cf. Catford 1988:80-91), sometimes making it rather hard to distinguish alveolars from the retroflex consonants (*rd*, *rn*, *rl*), particularly in intervocalic position. Minimal pairs exist, however (cf. 3.6.1.3):

<i>bula</i>	[búla]	'cattle tick'
<i>burla</i>	[búla]	'neap tide'
<i>buda</i>	[búda]	'neck'
<i>burda</i>	[búda]	'faeces'

Apico-dental (rather than lamino-dental) allophones ([ɲ], [ɖ]) appear in the context of non-homorganic clusters (3.6.3). Compare the articulation points of *d* and *n* (in boldface) in the following words:⁸¹

(homorganic clusters)⁸²

<i>mandarr</i>	[mándarr]	'a small type of mackerel' (<u>Scombridae</u>).
<i>dyindi</i>	[d̥índe]	'vagina'

⁸⁰ The tense articulation does not take place in word-final *m* in the Kriol-derived preverb items, such as *ginim* 'disemboweling' and *garrim* 'cutting' (see 2.2.4 and 5.5.3.3).

⁸¹ No clusters such as **dn*, **dny*, **ngd* and **nyd* have been encountered in the Yawuru lexicon (3.6.3.1).

⁸² An exceptional case of the dentally articulated homorganic cluster *nd* is found in *dandan-gadya* [d̥áɲd̥áɲgáɲa] 'clunking/clinking (as teeth from coldness)'. As a matter of fact, all the apical segments in this word are dentally articulated. Probably an onomatopoeic colouring is the determining factor here.

(non-homorganic clusters)

<i>wimb̥dibir̥n</i>	[wimb̥dib̥eŋ]	'razor shells (generic)' ⁸³
<i>wim̥di</i>	[wim̥di]	'head pad, carrying ring' ⁸⁴
<i>dyarn'du</i>	[d̥áŋd̥o]	'woman' ⁸⁵
<i>binka</i>	[b̥iŋgaˀ]	'Bailer Shell' (<u>Melo amphora</u>)
<i>kanbarr</i>	[káŋbaɾ̥]	'centipede'
<i>nanma</i>	[náŋma]	'handle of shield'
<i>malann̥gurr̥u</i>	[málan̥ŋùɾ̥u]	'spinifex (generic)'
<i>lindy</i>	[líŋd̥u]	'policeman'

Word-final *d*, *t* and *l* are alveolar, not dental; while final *n* is often (but not necessarily) dental (3.3.3.2.(1)). No instance of [ɿ] (i.e. prominently dental articulation of lateral) has been recognised in any environment.

3.4.3 Retroflexes: *rd*, *rt*, *rn*, *rl*, *r*

Curling-up of the apex of the tongue in the pronunciation of Yawuru retroflexes (more typically apico-postalveolar than apico-prepalatal)^{85A} is moderate; it is similar to the initial retroflexing as heard in the American English pronunciation of nurse [n̥ɜːs] or turn [t̥ɜːŋ]. Sublaminal articulation is rare (but cf. 3.2.7). No lengthening of vowel before the digraphic "r" is implied (cf. 3.6.2.2).

We have noted earlier that the retroflex continuant /ɾ/ has a barely-retroflexed allophone [ɿ] in medial position. Even so, however, the root of the tongue is slightly retracted when pronouncing the intervocalic /ɾ/, which is considered to be a characteristic of the so-called retroflex articulation. In other words, in order to produce a retroflex auditory effect, the tip of the tongue need not be curled up. This holds true with other retroflex segments in Yawuru, too.

Word-initial neutralisation of alveolar/retroflex will be commented on in 3.6.1.3.

3.4.4 Laminals: *dy*, *ty*, *ny*, *ly*

3.4.4.1 Point of articulation

The most general point of articulation is alveolo-palatal, rather than palatal or palato-alveolar (in the terminology of IPA 1949/1979). The blade (not the apex) of

⁸³ A homorganic-clustered form *windibir̥n* as well as a slightly weakened heterorganic variant *wimb̥dibir̥n* have also been recorded — see 3.7.5.3.(2).

⁸⁴ The form *wim̥di* occurs as a variant of *windi*, which is also the word for '(a certain kind of) creeper' of which the carrying ring is made. The word for the creeper, however, is always *windi* (with the medial cluster invariably homorganic). The non-homorganic variant *wim̥di* unambiguously refers to a carrying ring.

⁸⁵ The spelling *rn'd* indicates the non-homorganic sequence of /ŋ/ + /d/ (3.6.3.3.(2)).

^{85A} Due to a change of terminology introduced in the new version of IPA, typical retroflex consonants (such as defined for the IPA symbols [ɖ], [ɖ̥], [ɳ], etc.) are no longer characterised as "apico-postalveolar" (cf. Pullum and Ladusaw 1986:38 et passim); the term "postalveolar" has now replaced the old IPA term "palato-alveolar" (International Phonetic Association 1989:69f). I use "apico-prepalatal" with the same designation as the IPA "retroflex". As a matter of fact, however, the Yawuru retroflexed sounds are often slightly more fronted than the typical retroflex sounds as defined in IPA and are characterised "semi-retroflex" (virtually falling in the grid of "apico-postalveolar" in the strict sense of the new IPA).

the tongue is pressed against the prepalatal region, not touching the teeth, but with the tip (apex) of the tongue often touching the lower (not the upper) teeth-gum area.⁸⁶

3.4.4.2 Fricativisation of laminals

Word-final *ny* is at times fricativised and blended with the preceding vowel which in turn becomes nasalised:

<i>gurdurlwarany</i>	[guɖuloɾiɑŋ] ~ [guɖuloɾiɔ̃]	'Brolga'
<i>kabiny</i>	[kábiŋ] ~ [káɸ̃]	'Billy Goat Plum' ⁸⁷
<i>kundany</i>	[kúndæŋ] ~ [kúndæ̃]	'wart'
<i>birn'dany</i>	[bíŋdæŋ] ~ [bíŋdæ̃]	'stingray (generic)'

In a prenasal context, *ny* can be completely fricativised (without the prominent nasalisation of adjacent vowels), as observed in:

<i>bunymany</i>	[búŋmæŋ] ~ [búzmæŋ]	'k/o mussel' (<i>Arca terebra</i>)
<i>dyalinymarr</i>	[ɖáliŋmàɸ̃] ~ [ɖálizmàɸ̃]	'Australian Pelican'

Though instances are limited, affrication of *ny* is observable in the prevocalic position as well:

<i>nyamba</i>	[ŋámba] ~ <i>dyamba</i>	[ɖámba]	'this' (demonstrative)
<i>nya</i>	[ŋæ] ~ [ŋa] ~ <i>dya</i>	[ɖæ]	'catch, seize' (verb root)

This sort of fricativisation or affrication does not take place in monosyllabic words, however:

<i>riny</i>	[ziŋ]	'k/o shrub'
<i>winy</i>	[wiŋ]	'sandfly'
<i>dyany</i>	[ɖæŋ]	'new'

The laminal lateral (*ly*) is sometimes fricativised to [ɸ̃] when followed by a high front vowel:⁸⁸

⁸⁶ In other words, Yawuru alveolo-palatal consonants are more laminal than the English apical *ch* [tʃ] (as in *chance*), *ni* [ɲ] (as in *onion*) or *li* [ʎ] (as in *million*) — to use the new convention introduced in IPA (1989:71), these English sounds are represented respectively as [tʃ], [ɲ] and [ʎ] — see International Phonetic Association (1989:71) for the inverted dental diacritic [̃]. The articulations of the Yawuru laminals resemble those of lamino-palatals in Chinese *ji*, *qi* and *xi* (= *hs* in Wade romanisation); Japanese *ch*, *sh*, *ny*, and *j* (see footnotse 41 and 64 in this chapter); *tch* (= *č*, /*č*/) and *sh* (= *š*, /*š*/) in some Mayan languages (e.g. Teco, Ixil; Kaufman 1970:14, 17, 85-99; cf. Kaufman 1974); and *ź* and *ǰ* in Polish (Hattori 1984:126-127). The most approximate phonetic symbols would be, therefore, the curly-tailed series ([ɸ̃], [ŋ̃] and [ɸ̣̃]) that are homorganic to IPA [ç] and [ʒ], rather than [ɸ̃] / [tʃ] (palato-alveolars), [ɲ] / [ʎ] (palatals) or [ɸ̃] / [tʃ] / [ŋ̃] / [ɸ̣̃] (palatalised). Mainly for typographic reasons, the IPA symbols [ɸ̃], [ç] and [ʎ] are used for Yawuru *dy*, *ty* and *ly*, respectively (often *ty* has indeed a palatal realisation). The curly-tail [ŋ̃] is adopted for *ny* as the use of this phonetic symbol seems to be established, particularly in linguistic studies of the languages in East Asia and in Southeast Asia — see, for example, Nishida (1989:173, 176, passim) and Hattori (1984:84).

⁸⁷ The name of the berry is locally spelled "kabinjie", which seems to reflect the word-final affrication of the laminal nasal in the original Yawuru (Jukun) word. In Julbayi Yawuru the word *kabiny* refers to the fruit, while the tree itself of Billy Goat Plum (*Terminalia ferdinandina*) is called *balakulu*.

⁸⁸ Probably the female personal name *ngalyiwurlku* (which means 'sick woman' in Karajarri) provides a parallel case as it has a short form *ngadyurlku* [ŋáɸ̃ulgo] where a fricative [ɸ̃] corresponds to *ly* in the full form (cf. 2.3.4).

<i>yilyi</i>	[ʔíʌi]~[ʔíʂi]	'ceremonial woodchips' ⁸⁹
<i>mirrilyii</i>	[méreʌiz]~[méreʂiz]	'rope'
<i>nyilyinyilyi</i>	[nɪʂinɪʂi]	'k/o dance'
<i>kakulyi</i>	[káʒuʂi]	'waterspout'

The lateral fricativisation is occasionally encountered preconsonantly, too:

<i>kumalygarrang</i>	[kúmaʎgàraŋ]~[kúmaʂgàraŋ]	'orphan' ⁹⁰
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/d/ (*dy*) is fricativised only rarely (in intervocalic position); no word-initial or final fricativisation of *dy* has been observed. No fricativisation has been observed with the tense *ty*, either. As for the approximant *y*, occasionally a creaky spirant noise can be heard word-initially: e.g.

<i>yii</i>	[jɛ:]~[jɛ:] ^{90A}	'receding tide' (see 3.2.2.4).
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3.4.4.3 Palatalisation vs laminal articulation

The laminal /n/ (*ny*) should be distinguished from the cluster of /n/ and /y/ (spelled *n'y*). In the latter cluster, the nasal is palatalised ([nʲ] = IPA [ɲ]) and its articulation is apical, rather than laminal:

<i>nyi</i>	as in <i>dyinyirri</i> [dʒíɲiɪɪ]	'very hot'
	and in <i>minyinyirr</i> [míɲziɪ]	'Minyjirr' (see 1.1.3.1)
<i>n'yi</i>	as in <i>-n-yirr</i> (IMPF-and) [nʲeɪ]	⁹¹

A palatalised lateral [lʲ] is heard in *niliyirr* [néliʲeɪ]~[néliʲeɪ] 'mouth', which is the full form of the more commonly used short form *nilirr* 'mouth' (2.3.4).⁹² The palatalisation feature is absent in the short form.

As already illustrated and discussed in detail (3.3.4.2.(2)), the trigraph *rry* indicates a palatalised segment, not a laminal one.

3.4.5 Dorsals: *k*, *g*, *k**, *q*, *ng*

The point of articulation for Yawuru dorsals is generally velar to postvelar. Retracted variants are more common. In particular, postvelar pronunciations of *k* and *k** are usual. In this section two phenomena concerning dorsal segments are commented on: voicing (3.4.5.1) and palatalisation (3.4.5.2).

⁸⁹ This refers to a pair of short sticks inserted into the armbands and the headband used in ceremonial dancing.

⁹⁰ This word refers not only to orphans but also more generally to people whose aged parents have passed away as well.

^{90A} See International Phonetic Association (1989:70) for the new IPA symbol [j].

⁹¹ See example [223] cited in 10.6.6.1.(3); also cf. *-n-irr* (IMPF-3"ACC) [neɪ] (4.3.4.1.(4) and 7.3.2.2)

⁹² This possibly leaves room to analyse the morphophonemic make-up of this full form as {nil+yíɪ} (but cf. 2.4.3); see 10.6.6.1 for {-yiɪ} (= *-yirr*).

TABLE 304: Voicing of dorsal obstruents

	initial	medial	final
always voiceless	<i>k*</i>	<i>k*</i>	<i>q</i>
usually voiceless	<i>k</i>	-	(<i>k</i>)
usually voiced	-	<i>k</i>	-
always voiced	<i>g</i>	(<i>g</i>)	<i>g</i>

NOTE: Medial *g* [g] occurs only immediately after a morpheme boundary (see 3.4.5.1.(5) below). In other words, *g* does not stand root-internally. Final *k* [k^h] occurs only as a result of the dropping of a word-final vowel (see instances listed in footnote 93 below).

3.4.5.1 Dorsal obstruent voicing

(1) Phonetic differentiations

Four spelling distinctions (*k*, *g*, *k**, *q*) have so far been introduced to represent different classes of the dorsal (velar to postvelar) obstruents in Yawuru. From the viewpoint of the voicing feature, the distribution of sounds can be schematised as in Table 304 (above). The sounds represented by the letters *g*, *k** and *q* are marked in that they maintain plus or minus voicing feature respectively, while the voicing is more or less positionally conditioned for *k* (see 3.3.1.2), which may be considered as unmarked.⁹³

To recapitulate, *k** indicates the ever-voiceless subclass of the dorsal stops, whereas *g* stands for the ever-voiced subclass. The letter *k* is reserved for the rest of the dorsal obstruents, usually pronounced as a voiceless velar to postvelar stop word-initially and voiced velar stop or fricative medially. In word-final position, *q* indicates unreleased tense closures without voicing. By contrast, final *g* is voiced and released with slight aspiration. The sounds represented by each of the characters in different phonological environments are summarised in the Table 305 (below).

⁹³ The sounds *g* and *k** are also statistically marked; see figures in 3.6.4.1. It should also be added here that there are at least four instances of word-final occurrence of a voiceless velar: (1) the 3rd-person free-form pronoun *ginyangka* [gín.angka] ~ [gín.angká] has the *k*-final variant *ginyangk* [ɸá.laŋk^h] (see 7.1.1.1), the final consonant of which is pronounced voicelessly and with aspiration; (2) the kinship term *dyalangka* [ɸá.laŋga] 'nephew/niece' has variants *dyalangk* [ɸá.laŋk^h] and *dyalaka* (see 3.6.3.2.(2)); (3) the action adverb *dyurrungap* [ɸú.ruŋgá'p] 'looking/moving around' has the *k*-final variant *dyurrungk* [ɸú.ruŋk^h] (see 8.4.2.3); (4) the bird name *dyubakidyubaki* [ɸúbayɪɸúbayɪ] 'Little Friarbird' has the variant *dyubakdyubak* [ɸúbakɸúbak^h] (see 9.2.5).

TABLE 305: Phonetic realisations of the dorsal obstruents

	#_	V_V	C_V	_#
k	[k]~[q] (~[g]~[c])	[g]~[ɣ] (~[k])	[g] (~[k]~[ɣ])	[kʰ]
g	[g] (~[c])	[g]	[g]	[gʰ]
k*	[q] (~[k]~[q'])	[q] (~[kʰ])	[q] (~[kʰ])	—
q	—	—	—	[ʔkʰ]~[kʰ] (~[ʔ])

NOTES: #_ indicates word-initial, V_V medial intervocalic, C_V medial non-intervocalic (i.e. postconsonantal), and _# word-final positions, respectively. Relatively infrequent allophones are given in parentheses. See note to Table 304 for the morphologically limited occurrence of medial *g*.

(2) Phonemic status

There are only three instances of what appear to be minimal pairs:

<i>warraka</i>	[wáragà]~[wáragà] (~[wáragà])	'a type of boomerang' ⁹⁴
<i>warrak*a</i>	[wáraqà]~[wáraqà]	'k/o medicinal shrub' (<i>Acacia monticola</i>)
<i>-garra</i>	[gara]	'(nominal plural marker)' (2.4.2.2)
<i>karra</i>	[kára]~[qá'ra]	'sandstone'
<i>nganak*a</i>	[ɲánaka]	'I might carry it' (irrealis)
<i>nganaga</i>	[ɲánaga]~[ɲánaya]	'I will carry it' (future)

The minimal-pair status of the above given cases, however, should be devalued because:

- (i) the first pair involves a loan word (see footnote 94); as we shall see in section (4) below, dorsal obstruents in loan words are more likely to be voiced;
- (ii) the second involves a suffix; as will be pointed out in section (5) below, no bound morphemes (such as suffixes and clitics) has *k* or *k**, but always *g*, morpheme-initially; and
- (iii) the third occurs as a result of an irregular conjugational paradigm of the verb *ka* 'carry' (see 4.5.6.2 for the morphological analysis).

So far as distributional complementarity is concerned (as observed from Tables 304 and 305), there appears to be room for *k** and *q* to be interpreted as constituting a single phonemic entity, either a single phoneme /q/ or a geminate cluster /k:/; the

⁹⁴ This refers to the long, non-returning and asymmetrically-bent Western Desert type of boomerang. The word *warraka* is a borrowing of the Karajarri/Mangala (also Walmajarri/Wangkajunga) name for this type of boomerang (*warraka*).

latter interpretation has already been taken for *q* (3.3.2.3). However, to assume word-initial gemination is a rather bizarre solution from a phonetic point of view. On the other hand, the single-phoneme theory (supposing /q/ to be distinct from /k/) would lack structural parallelism in non-dorsal tense stops (*p, t, rt, ty*), none of which occurs word-initially.⁹⁵ There are no minimal pairs showing the contrast of *k*/k* or *k*/g*, except for the dubious case of *warraka* vs *warrak*a* mentioned above.

Without further compelling evidence to support the full phonemic status of *k** and/or *q*, I would prefer to regard *k** as a subphonemic variant of /k/, while maintaining the geminate interpretation /k:/ for *q*.

(3) Onomatopoeia

As far as nominals (including preverbs) are concerned, the ever-voiced *g* seems more likely to occur in words that bear an onomatopoeic colouring than otherwise:⁹⁶

<i>gindilgindil</i>	[gíndilgíndil]	'cough'
<i>gurrmanygurrmany</i>	[gúrmanɣgúrmanɣ]	'tangled up (e.g. string)'
<i>gurrarragurrarra</i>	[gúraragúrarara]	'cockatiel (and its birdcall)'
<i>gudyugudyu</i>	[gúɖɯgúɖɯ]	'whirlwind'

There are also cases, though less numerous, where occurrences of the ever-voiceless *k** may be attributed to the onomatopoeic nature of the words:

<i>k*alk*alk*al</i>	[qálqalqal]	'(water current) running fast'
<i>k*apk*ap</i>	[qap'qáp']	'rough, rugged (road)'

Consider, in this regard, the following pair of items that are likely to be etymologically related, respectively. Notice that the item having *k** or *g* is more saliently onomatopoeic than the others:

<i>k*alkaruru</i>	[qálgaɾúɾú]	'Blue-winged Kookaburra' (<i>Dacelo leachii</i>)
<i>k*alk*aq k*aq k*ak*all...</i>	[qalqa?qa?qaqal:::]	'birdcall of kookaburra'
<i>kurrbida</i>	[kúrbida] (~[gúrvida])	'sated' (cf. 1.1.3.2)
<i>gurrbug</i>	[gúrbogʰ]	'nausea, vomiting'

(4) Loan words

It is also noticed that in borrowings from English (or from Kriol) the original k/g sounds are often accommodated to the ever-voiced *g* in Yawuru.

<i>ginim</i>	[gínim]	'peeling' (from "skin him")
<i>gamal</i>	[gáma]	'camel'
<i>galdya</i>	[gáldɣa]	'corroboree, ceremony' (from "culture")

This can be relevant to the distinction of the loan word *warraka* (of which the most common pronunciation is with a voiced velar, [wáraga]) from *warrak*a* discussed earlier.

⁹⁵ See 3.3.2.1.(3) for an exceptional onomatopoeic case where *rt* stands word-medially.

⁹⁶ See also items listed in Table 505 in Chapter 5. Also cf. 9.2.1.2.

(5) Morphologically motivated voicing

Finally, but most importantly, dorsal-stop segments occurring in functional items (such as prefixes, suffixes and enclitics) are always voiced (therefore written with *g*). Functional lexemes having an ever-voiced *g* segment are listed below:

<i>ga-</i>	[ga]	'(future marker)' (4.3.1)
<i>yaga-</i>	[jága]~[jáya]	'(4th-person marker)' (4.2.1.3)
<i>-gun</i>	[gùŋ]~[gòn]	'(locative)' (6.5)
<i>-gap</i>	[gàp ¹]~[gà ² p ¹]	'(ablative)' (6.7)
<i>-garra</i>	[gàra]	'(nominal plural marker)' (2.4.2.2)
<i>-gaman</i>	[gàman]	'(cardinal lative)' (8.3.1)
<i>-gurdany</i>	[gùdæŋ]	'(circumstantial)' (6.11)
<i>-gadya</i>	[gàɖa]~[gàɖa]	'(intensifier)' (5.4.2, cf. 8.3.2.2.(6))
<i>-garang</i>	[gàraŋ]	'(collective/diminutive)' (6.12.4)
<i>-garriny</i>	[gàriŋ]	'yet' (8.2.1.3.(1))
<i>-ginya</i>	[gìŋa]	'(3rd-person accusative)' (7.3.1)
<i>-gardi</i>	[gàɖe]	'(lative)' (8.3.5.1)
<i>-nygardi</i>	[ŋgàɖe]	'(contrastive locative)' (7.5.4.2)

Some of the functional morphemes given above may also occur as a formative (i.e. as an integral part of the stem rather than as an inflexional marker) in lexical items of which the unsuffixed roots (e.g. **many* and **wurl* in the instances given below) are no longer used as legitimate independent words. Even in such lexical items the ever-voicing of *g* is maintained:

<i>manygarra</i>	[méŋgàra]	'the gills (of fish)'
<i>wurlgadya</i>	[wólgàɖa]	'howling (of dog/dingo)'

The special case of the interrogative word *yanggaru* [jáŋgàro] 'who?' (7.6.2) may be added here. This is a contracted form of the interrogative pronoun *yangki* [jáŋgi]~[jáŋge] (or less frequently [jáŋki]) 'who/what/which?' combined with the nominal *ngarrungu* [ŋárono] 'person'. The medial postnasal stop in *yanggaru* is always voiced.

Quite interestingly, the *g* segment in functional morphemes is exempt from intervocalic fricativisation (3.3.1.2). For example, the future marker *ga-* (verbal prefix) is always voiced, but rarely fricativised (except in rapid speech). Suffix/enclitic-initial *g* (as in *-gun*, *-gap*, *-garra*, etc) is not fricativised, either.⁹⁷ This is attested typically in toponyms carrying the formative *-gun*.

<i>bika-gun</i>	[bíyaɡùn]	'in the shade (<i>bika</i>)'
<i>dyukagun</i> ⁹⁸	[ɖúyaɡùn]	'(toponym) Jugagun'

⁹⁷ Probably relevant to this point is the fact that in items of *k*-initial reduplication the medial (i.e. repeated) root-initial *k* is less likely to become a fricative: e.g. *kakadyukakadyu* 'Babbler Bird' is usually pronounced [kágaɖuɡàgaɖu]~[káyaɖuɡàyaɖu] and a full spirantisation such as [káyaɖuɣàyaɖu] is observed only in fast speech. Similarly, *kamirdakamirda* 'plover' is [kámeɖagàmeɖa] rather than [kámeɖayàmeɖa]. The position of secondary stress may be relevant to the unspirantisation (see 3.7.1.3).

⁹⁸ The hyphen representing a morpheme boundary is not applied to lexicalised toponymic items (see 6.5.7). Such toponyms exhibit regular locative inflexions: e.g. *dyukagun-gun*.

(6) Conclusion

We have so far examined several morpho-lexical factors that condition the voicing value of Yawuru dorsal obstruents to a certain extent. However, the conditions determining the distribution of *k*, *g* and *k** are not yet totally clear. What is at least clear is that the occurrence of these sounds is not completely predictable on the basis of phonological information alone. Therefore, I have chosen to maintain the spelling distinction of *k/g/k**, despite the fact that all of them are interpreted as realisations of the single phoneme /k/.⁹⁹

The conditioning of the dorsal-obstruent voicing is considered to have "parasegmental" (rather than segmental) functions; i.e. its significance consists in making underlying morphophonemic processes (such as marking morpheme boundary, marking functional items; onomatopoeic colouring) more explicit.

3.4.5.2 Palatalisation of dorsals

There are a limited number of lexical items in which dorsals (except *q*) regularly bear a palatalisation feature. Vowels adjacent to them do not take lowered allophones: e.g. the word for 'Tiger Shark', *bilkirrin*, may be pronounced [bílqʲirín] or [bélqʲirín], but not [bélgèrín]. Similarly,

<i>yirkili</i>	[ʔírgʲili]	'Common Hakea' (<i>Hakea arborescens</i>)
<i>kirkirr</i>	[kʲírgʲiɾ]	'Brown Falcon' (= <i>karrkidya</i>)
<i>ngarnaminkil</i>	[ŋáŋamiŋʲil]	'k/o small tree' (<i>Premna acuminata</i>)
<i>ngiikarang</i>	[ŋʲi:qáɾaŋ]	'mosquito'
<i>windingirri</i>	[wíndiŋʲiri]	'Black-Headed Python' (<i>Aspidites melanocephalus</i>) (= <i>baninburu</i>)

As clearly observed in the above instances, the palatalisation in question takes place only immediately preceding the high-front vowels (*i* or *ii*). It cannot be regarded, however, as a positional allophone since the reverse is not always true: i.e. not all the dorsals gets palatalised when followed by /i/ or /i:/. For example /ŋi/ is realised either as [ŋʲi] or as [ŋɪ]~[ŋe] and this alternative realisation seems to be specified for each lexical item.¹⁰⁰

3.4.6 Labio-velar: *gw*

This occurs only syllable-initially (i.e. as an onset to a syllable), though it may stand either in word-initial or medial position. All the known words that contain *gw* are listed below:

⁹⁹ Hudson's orthography of Yawuru (Hudson 1987 and p.c.; but cf. Hudson & McConvell 1984:49-52) employs the two letters "k" and "g", but for quite a different reason: there the grapheme "k" is used only after "ng" (for /ŋ/), to facilitate the distinction of, for example, /ŋa/ ("nga") and /ŋka/ ("ngka"), irrespective of its voicing value in the actual pronunciation (e.g. "ngarnankaja" for *ngarnan'gadya* [ŋáŋaŋqáɾa] 'embarrassed, bewildered'). Elsewhere dorsal obstruents are invariably spelled as "g" irrespective of the voicing value (e.g. "gunbulu" for *kunbulu* [kúŋbulu] 'blood').

¹⁰⁰ See examples given earlier in 3.3.3.1.(2). It is possible that the palatalised dorsals in question reflect disyllabic sequences such as **kiyi* and **ngiyi* in an earlier stage of the language.

<i>gwaniya</i>	[gʷánèja]	'freshwater crocodile' ¹⁰¹
<i>kuragwigwi</i>	[kúɪagʷigʷi-]	'k/o dragon lizard (<i>Ctenophorus</i> sp.)'
<i>gwini</i>	[gʷine]	'(female personal name)'
<i>gwirnbirna</i>	[gʷinbèna]	'(toponym) ¹⁰²

I have chosen to regard *gw* as a cluster of /g/ and /w/, although parallel clusters such as **dw* or **bw* are unattested in the language.

The labio-velar sound [gʷ] also occurs in verb conjugations when the vocative marker *-áw* immediately follows a verb root that ends in /ku/ (see 3.8.5 and 4.4.4 for examples).

3.5 Summary of phonetic realisations

Yawuru segmental sound units and their phonetic realisations are summarised in Table 306 (on p.83).

3.6 Phonotactics

3.6.1 Phonological structure of Yawuru words

In the following description, "V" stands for a vowel, "V:" for a long vowel, "C" for a consonant (including approximant glides), and "#" indicates a word boundary.

3.6.1.1 Syllable structure

(1) Independent words

Syllable structures that are acceptable in initial, medial and final positions of independent words are formulated respectively as follows:

[1] initial	# CV(:) (C(C))...
medial	...CV(:)(C)...
final	...CV(C(C)) #

Formula [1] above needs some additional comments. The most common patterns in each syllable position are CV and CVC. Vowels may be long (CV: and CV:C), but the pattern CV:CC is unattested. Consonantal clusters involving two consonants (across a syllable boundary) occur frequently in medial (intervocalic) and word-final position (see 3.6.3). Occurrences of a medial CCC cluster are rare (see 3.8.3.2 for examples).

¹⁰¹ Stokes (1984:37) records the word as "gwaniya".

¹⁰² This is the name for a waterhole on Frazier Downs sheep station, south-east of Bidyadanga (La Grange). The place name is spelled conventionally (e.g. in NATMAP) as "Quoimbeenah".

TABLE 306: Yawuru phonemes and their phonetic realisations

	spelling	commonest allophone(s)	other allophones
/a/	<i>a</i>	[a]	[æ], [a], [ɔ], [ɐ], [aʲ]
/a:/	<i>aa</i>	[aː]	[ɔː]
/i/	<i>i</i>	[e], [ɪ]	[i], [e], [ə], [ɪ]
/i:/	<i>ii</i>	[iː]	[eː]
/u/	<i>u</i>	[ʊ], [o]	[ɔ], [u], [w], [ʌ], [uʲ]
/u:/	<i>uu</i>	[oː]	[uː], [wː]
/r/	<i>r</i>	[ɾ]	[ɾ], [z], [ʃ], [ɾ]
/y/	<i>y</i>	[j]	[ʲ], [ʔ], [e], [ɛ], [j]
/w/	<i>w</i>	[w]	[ʷ], [β], [ʊ], [o], [ɔ], [yʷ], [βʷ], [ɰ]
/b/	<i>b</i>	[b]	[p], [bʰ], [v], [β]
/b:/	<i>p</i>	[² pʰ]	[pʰ]
/d/	<i>d</i>	[d]	[t], [d], [dʰ]
/d:/	<i>t</i>	[² tʰ]	[tʰ], [t], [t̥]
/d/	<i>rd</i>	[d]	[dʰ], [dʲ]
/d:/	<i>rt</i>	[² tʰ]	[tʰ], [tʰ]
/d/	<i>dy</i>	[dʰ]	[tʰ], [z], [dʰʰ], [² dʰ]
/d:/	<i>ty</i>	[² cʰ]	[cʰ], [c]
/k/	<i>k</i>	[k], [g], [ɣ]	[q], [ɕ], [kʲ]
/k/	<i>g</i>	[g]	[k], [gʲ], [gʰ], [g]
/k/	<i>k*</i>	[q]	[k], [kʰ], [kʰʰ], [qʰ]
/k:/	<i>q</i>	[q]	[ʔ], [k], [kʰ], [kʰʰ], [² kʰ], [k]
/m/	<i>m</i>	[m]	[ŋ], [mʰ], [m̥]
/n/	<i>n</i>	[n]	[ŋ], [ŋ], [ŋ], [nʰ]
/n/	<i>rn</i>	[ŋ]	[ŋ]
/n/	<i>ny</i>	[ŋ]	[ŋ], [ŋ], [ʒ], [ŋʰ], [² ŋ]
/ŋ/	<i>ng</i>	[ŋ]	[ŋʲ], [ŋ]
/l/	<i>l</i>	[l]	[l̥], [lʰ], [lʲ]
/l/	<i>rl</i>	[l]	[l̥], [lː]
/l/	<i>ly</i>	[ʌ]	[ʌ], [t̥], [ɬ]
/r/	<i>rr</i>	[r]	[ɣ], [r], [ʃ], [ʃ], [rʲ]
/r/	<i>rry</i>	[rʲ]	

No consonantal cluster is allowed word-initially with the unique exception of *gw* (as described in 3.4.6). Word-final consonantal clusters are always composed of a sonorant plus a non-sonorant (e.g. *lp*, *rrp*, *lt*, *ngk*, *yty*).¹⁰³

A Yawuru word may be monosyllabic. In that case, however, the word must have a long vowel and/or a word-final consonant (or cluster of consonants). A simple CV structure does not form an independent word in Yawuru.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ The unique exception to this is *dyawrr'dyawrr* [dʰaɔrɔdʰaɔr] 'kookaburra' which has a sonorant-plus-sonorant (*wr*) ending. The bird name has, however, a variant form *dyawarr'dyawarr* [dʰaɔwarɔdʰaɔwar]. The corresponding Nyikina form is *dyarrdyurr*.

¹⁰⁴ The unique exception to this is the question particle *k'a* (3.1.4.2. and 10.4.2). This is historically a loan from Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin (Hosokawa 1987a). It should be added that *k'a* has a

(2) Bound morphemes

Syllable structures of bound morphemes are as follows ("+" indicates a morpheme boundary):

Prefixes may be V+, CV+, C+ or CVCV+ (see 4.2 and 4.3). The vowel-less (C+) morphemes appear only in non-initial position (i.e. only as non-first-order prefixes; e.g. plural marker *rr-*) while the vowel-only (V+) morphemes are recorded both initially (e.g. 3rd person *i-*) and non-initially (e.g. transitive conjugation marker *a-*). No prefix in Yawuru has the form CVC.

Suffixes may be +(CV)CV(C) or +CCV. The latter occurs only in verbal suffixes. No clustering of consonants occurs suffix-finally.

Verb roots (which require the addition of prefixes and suffixes to become utterable words) are generally of CV((C(V))CV) structure. This includes CV, CVCV, CVCCV and CVCVCV.¹⁰⁵ There is one verb root that has a CCV form (namely *rbā*, which is probably a lenition of CVCCV, **warba* or **yarba*; see 9.3.1). No Yawuru verb has a CVC root.

3.6.1.2 Some statistics

Table 307 gives statistics of the numbers of syllables that make up a Yawuru word as well as the balance of vowel-ending vs consonant-ending words. Only unanalysable non-verbal stems are considered here.¹⁰⁶

TABLE 307: Number of syllables that constitute Yawuru non-verbal words

No. of syllables in word:	1	2	3	4	5	6	total
no. of words (percentage)	115 (9)	591 (48)	372 (30)	127 (10)	27 (2)	8 (1)	1240 (100)
C-ending words	106	295	106	31	6	2	546
V-ending words	9	296	266	96	21	6	694
<i>a/aa</i> -ending	1	123	136	49	8	3	320
<i>i/ii</i> -ending	6	68	59	29	6	1	169
<i>u/uu</i> -ending	2	105	71	18	7	2	205

long-voweled variant *k'aa* (see 3.1.4.2). There are also monosyllabic CV verb roots (see Table 403 in Chapter 4). These, however, never occur in their bare root form.

¹⁰⁵ Reduplicated forms are not considered here. There is also a special case of zero-syllabic verb 'give' — see 4.2.4.3.(2) and 4.5.5.

¹⁰⁶ The count is based on a working list of 1240 monomorphemic (non-verbal) items, which excludes derivation and compound items. The list, however, includes items that are probably polymorphemic in etymology but are synchronically unanalysable.

The majority (78%) of items counted in Table 307 consist of disyllabic and trisyllabic words. Also noted is the percentage of monosyllabic words (9%), which seems to be considerably high for an Australian Aboriginal language. Significantly, 92% of the monosyllabic words are consonant-ending (CVC, CVCC, etc; cf. 5.2). As for disyllabic words, C-ending and V-ending words show a fifty-fifty balance. Then, numbers of C-ending words decrease as words have more syllables.

3.6.1.3 Initial consonants

No Yawuru word begins with *ly* or *rn*. Any other consonants (including approximants) may occupy the word-initial position.

Apical *n* can stand word-initially, but usually with a retroflex colouring (analytically a retraction of the tongue root as well as of the articulation point). Such colouring is particularly prominent when the words have subsequent retroflex segment(s).

<i>nala</i>	[nála]~[ṇála]	'kindle (already lit)'
<i>naka</i>	[náka]~[ṇága]	'loincloth'
<i>nawurdu</i>	[ṇáwɔɔ]	'a subgroup of Karajarri' ¹⁰⁷
<i>naarli</i>	[ṇá:ɭe]	'true, really'

It would be better to consider that the apical contrast (*n/rn*) is neutralised in word-initial position. On the other hand, the contrast of *l/rl* and that of *d/rd* are maintained even in the word-initial position.¹⁰⁸

<i>danggu</i>	[dánggu]	'chin'
<i>rdarn'gu</i>	[dánggo]	'fist'
<i>dandan(-gadya)</i>	[dánɖaɳ]	'(teeth) clunking'
<i>rdarndarn</i>	[dánɖaɳ]	'tight(ly)'
<i>darlu</i>	[dálu]	'mother-in-law' (see 1.1.4)
<i>rdarlu</i>	[dálu]	'shy, ashamed'

As for word-initial *l* and *rl*, a precise minimal pair has not been encountered, but there are at least two words recorded with the initial retroflex lateral.

<i><u>rlur</u>ldya</i>	[lúɭɖa]	'pubic apron'
<i>rlungkur<u>da</u></i>	[lóngɔɔa]	'k/o blue-tongue lizard' (<i>Tiliqua multifasciata</i>)

Noted in the above items is the existence of retroflex segments (double-underlined) in the middle of words. Elsewhere, however, the initial lateral consonant is articulated without prominent retroflex colouring, whether it has a subsequent retroflex segment or not.

<i>langu</i>	[láɳa]	'catfish'
<i>larrk<u>ardi</u></i>	[láɳgàɖe]	'Boab (Bottle Tree)'
<i>la<u>ar</u></i>	[la:ɭ]~[la:ɻ]	'cracking'

¹⁰⁷ This refers to the inland subgroup of Karajarri. It is spelled "Nawurtu" or "Naurdu" in McGregor (1988b:146)

¹⁰⁸ One case of word-initial alternation of *rd-* with *y-* is known: *rdardarl* ~ *yardarl* 'sick, ill'. Young people tend to use the variant form *yardarl*.

Yawuru has no vowel-initial words except the conjugated verb forms carrying a 3rd-person prefix *i-* or *inga-* (see 4.2.1.3).

3.6.2 Vowel length

The status of the long vowels as distinct phonemes may be questioned, because

- i) there are relatively few words recorded with a long vowel;¹⁰⁹
- ii) about a third of them are variations of or derivations from short-voweled stems;
- iii) only a few minimal pairs are found in which the short/long contrast of the vowel is absolutely distinctive; and
- iv) distribution of long vowels seems to be phonologically restricted or conditioned in some way.

Long vowels do not occur in verb roots (except *baa* which is a variant of *bura* 'see') or in bound lexemes (except the verbal prefix *yaa-* which is a portmanteau form of *ya-ya-*; see 4.3.2.1).

3.6.2.1. Number of words

Only 74 independent lexical items have been recorded with a long vowel (36 with *aa*, 16 with *ii* and 22 with *uu*). As the figures in Table 308 show, long vowels may occur in non-initial (and unstressed) syllables.¹¹⁰

<i>baraarr</i>	[bá:aa:ʃ]	'k/o marine fish' ¹¹¹
<i>dyilkii</i>	[dʒílgiz:]	'freshwater prawn'
<i>dyalaluu</i>	[dʒá:lalo:]	'smoke of bushfire (as sighted from a distance)'

No lexemes, however, have been encountered with two or more long vowels.

TABLE 308: Phonotactic distribution of long vowels

		initial	medial	final
<i>aa</i>	36	30	4	2
<i>ii</i>	16	11	1	4
<i>uu</i>	22	15	2	5
TOTAL	74	56*	7	11**

NOTES: * Monosyllabic words are included here.

** Second syllable of disyllabic words are included here.

¹⁰⁹ Emphatic or expressive lengthening of word-final vowel will be indicated by applying a triple colon, e.g. *marlu* 'not' > *marlú:::* 'No!, Never!'; *kagapa dyuyú:::* 'Bye-bye!' (7.5.3.1). Those are not considered here as "long vowels" in the phonemic sense. Such stylistic lengthening of vowels is frequently encountered in narrative: e.g.

I-murku-nda-dyíná:::.... yibu.
3-search-PF-3DAT in.vain

'He went looking around, around, around ..., but nothing (i.e. he did not find anything).'

Also see examples [94] in 4.4.4 and [56] in 7.4.1.3 (cf. Benterrak, Muecke & Roe 1984:241).

¹¹⁰ In Yankunytjatjara, a dialect of the Western Desert language, long vowels "occur only in the initial syllable of lexical roots" (Goddard 1983:24).

¹¹¹ Probably a kind of Flutemouth (fam. *Aulostomidae*).

3.6.2.2 Phoneme sequences

The long vowel *aa* typically occurs before a retroflexed sonorant (*rl*, *rn* or *rd*).

<i>baarl</i>	[ba:ɭ]	'hot'
<i>baarn</i>	[ba:ŋ]	'black ant'
<i>baarda</i>	[bá:ɖa]~[pá:ɖa]	'Bardi' (language/tribe name)

Of all the lexical items recorded with *aa*, 21 items (58% out of 36) have the retroflex environment. However, there is a much larger number of cases (including monosyllabic ones) where a short /a/ occupies in the same environment:

<i>dyarn</i>	[ɖaŋ]	'smash it'
<i>dyalbarn</i>	[ɖáɭbaŋ] ¹¹²	'feather, wing'
<i>gurdarn</i>	[gúɖaŋ]	'bladder'
<i>warl</i>	[waɭ]~[waɭ:]	'getting stiff (e.g. shoulder)'
<i>ngambarl</i>	[ŋámbàɭ]	'embracing'
<i>burd</i>	[buɖ]	'rising, standing up' (preverb)
<i>wardi</i>	[wáɖe]	'Cormorant' (<i>Phalacrocorax</i> spp.)

There are also cases where /a:/ stands in non-retroflexed environments, as in

<i>yaarr</i>	[ja:ɾ]	'pulling'
<i>dyaarr</i>	[ɖa:ɾ]	'a slight twist of the returning-type boomerang'

Therefore it cannot be stated that the long vowel is merely a positional allophone. There is also a minimal pair:

<i>dyaal</i>	[ɖa:aɭ]	'straight (as in throwing a spear)'
<i>dyaarl</i>	[ɖa:ɭ]	'cutting (sth) into two pieces'

A retroflex context is less significant for the non-low long vowels *ii* and *uu*. The front *ii* seems to appear often in conjunction with a laminal consonant (*dy*, *ny*).

<i>dyii</i>	[ɖi:i]	'fin (of fish)'
<i>dyiin</i>	[ɖi:iŋ]	'pointing at (by a hand or by pouting the lips)'
<i>dyiik*an</i>	[ɖi:ikaŋ]	'shaking hands' (from English "shake hands") ¹¹³

This is not, however, a determining environment, either. We have cases such as

<i>ngiit</i>	[ŋi:ɹʰ]	'grinning'
<i>rdii</i>	[ɖi:i]	'breaking'

Minimal pairs showing the contrast of *u*/*uu* are:

<i>durl</i>	[dɔɭ]~[duɭ]	'Adam's Apple' (= <i>dumba</i> , <i>dumbadumba</i>)
<i>duurl</i>	[do:ɭ]~[du:ɭ]	'spring tide, rising of the tide'
<i>dyurrdyurr</i>	[ɖúɾɖúɾ]	'descending'
<i>dyuurr'dyuurr</i>	[ɖúɾɖúɾɹ]	'wren (generic)' ¹¹⁴

¹¹² No final devoicing has been recognised in this particular word; cf. 3.3.3.2.(2) and 3.3.5.4.

¹¹³ Contrast this loan item with other English loans in which original [ei] is modified to a short vowel in Yawuru: *mikim* 'manufacturing, producing' (from "make him", cf. 2.2.4), *kip* 'cape', *lid-bala* 'late in the morning (lit. "late-fellow")', etc.

¹¹⁴ This is a short form (2.3.4) of *dyiwilyurrrwilyurr* (onomatopoeia for wren's birdcall).

3.6.2.3 Glide vs long vowel

The long vowel [i:] is also heard as a realisation of the sequence /iyi/, which, however, has an allophonic variation [i^ye], while /i:/ does not. Thus, the word for 'ripe' [bi:]~[bie]~[b⁽ⁱ⁾ez] is interpreted as /biyi/ rather than /bi:/. By contrast, the word for 'breaking', which is [ɖi:] and has no such variant as *[ɖi^ye], is interpreted as /di:/ (*rdii*) rather than /ɖiyi/.

Except in reduplication (see examples in 3.5.1.3.(2)), the long vowel is not reduced morphophonemically across morpheme boundaries (+):

narli-yirr {#nali+yiŕ#} 'if' (10.6.7.1)

→ [náli^yer] (but *[náli:ɾ])

mayi-yirr warli {#mayi+yiŕ#wali#} 'veges and meat' ¹¹⁵

→ [májɛrwàle] (but *[májizɾ...])

3.6.2.4 Consonant lenition and long vowels

Lengthening of a vowel may take place as a result of the lenition of certain consonants.

<i>ngaa</i>	[ŋa:]	< <i>ngaway</i>	[ŋáwæ]	'yes' (10.3.4)
<i>ngaani</i>	[ŋá:ne]	< <i>ngay(u)-ni</i>	[ŋá:ni]	'I' (7.1.1)
<i>k*aan</i>	[qa:ŋ]	< <i>k*ayn</i>	[qa:ŋ]	'let' (8.5.2)
<i>ngaangara</i>	[ŋá:ŋà:ɾa]	< <i>ngara-ngara</i>	[ŋá:ŋà:ɾa]	'stupid'
<i>dyuurr'dyuurr</i>	[ɖú:ɾɖu:ɾ]	< <i>dyiyurr'dyiyurr</i>	[ɖi:jurɖi:jur]	'wren'

Affixations do not cause lengthening or shortening of stem vowel(s). The only known exceptions to this are:

<i>dup</i>	[du ^ɾ p ^ɾ]	'white'
<i>duub-ngarr</i>	[dó:ɓŋar]	'whitish' (lit. "white-like") ¹¹⁶
<i>narli ~ naarli</i>	[nále]~[ná:le]	'true, real' (see 8.1.1.3)
<i>narli-nyurdany</i>	[náleŋúɖəŋ]	'if, really' (see 10.6.7.1)

3.6.2.5 Summary

In summary, all observations above concerning the phonological and phonotactic distribution of the long vowels may cast some doubt on the phonemic status of vowel length in Yawuru. Even with all the information discussed so far, however, it is still impossible to predict the occurrence of long vowels in Yawuru words. I have therefore chosen to regard the distinction as phonemic and to indicate the vowel length explicitly in the spelling system.

¹¹⁵ See 10.6.6.1 for a description of phrase coordination by the enclitic *-yirr*.

¹¹⁶ Notice that the stem-final bilabial is voiced (*p > b*). The semblative *-ngarr* (8.4.5.1) causes no such lengthening of stem vowels elsewhere in the lexicon. See 3.3.2.3.(2); but cf. 3.3.2.2.

3.6.3 Medial clusters

3.6.3.1 Homorganic and non-homorganic clusters

Word-final (or stem-final) clusters are always homorganic (such as *mb*, *nd*, *nydy*, etc.), whereas non-homorganic (or heterorganic) clusters (such as *nb*, *nyb*, *ndy*, etc) are frequent in medial position. Table 309 enlists all the attested cluster patterns (geminate clusters are given in boldface). Some types of clusters (such as *png*, *ddy*, *tb*, *gg*, *rnnny*, etc.) occur only across morpheme boundaries. Others may occur in a single morpheme, as well as across morpheme boundaries:

TABLE 309: Attested consonantal clusters

	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>rl</i>	<i>ly</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>rr</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>rd</i>	<i>dy</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k*</i>	
<i>m</i>	mm	-	-	<i>mny</i>	<i>mng</i>	<i>ml</i>	-	<i>mly</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>mb</i>	-	<i>md</i>	-	-	-	<i>mg</i>	-	-	-
<i>n</i>	<i>nm</i>	nn	-	-	<i>nng</i>	-	-	<i>nly</i>	<i>n'y</i>	-	-	<i>nw</i>	<i>nb</i>	-	<i>nd</i>	-	<i>nrd</i>	<i>ndy</i>	<i>n'g</i>	<i>nk</i>	<i>nk*</i>	-
<i>rn</i>	-	<i>rn'n</i>	rnn	<i>rnnny</i>	<i>rnnng</i>	-	-	-	<i>rn'y</i>	-	-	<i>rnw</i>	<i>rnb</i>	-	<i>rn'd</i>	-	<i>rnd</i>	<i>rndy</i>	<i>rn'g</i>	<i>rnk</i>	-	-
<i>ny</i>	<i>nym</i>	-	-	<i>nyny</i>	<i>nyng</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>nyb</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>nydy</i>	<i>nyg</i>	<i>nyk</i>	<i>nyk*</i>	-
<i>ng</i>	-	-	-	-	ngng	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>ngb</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>ngdy</i>	<i>ngg</i>	<i>ngk</i>	<i>ngk*</i>	-
<i>l</i>	<i>lm</i>	<i>ln</i>	-	<i>lny</i>	<i>lng</i>	-	-	<i>ly</i>	-	-	<i>lw</i>	-	<i>lb</i>	<i>lp</i>	<i>ld</i>	<i>li</i>	-	<i>ldy</i>	<i>lg</i>	<i>lk</i>	<i>lk*</i>	-
<i>rl</i>	<i>rlm</i>	-	-	-	<i>rlng</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>rlr</i>	-	<i>rlb</i>	<i>rlp</i>	<i>rl'd</i>	-	<i>rld</i>	<i>rlay</i>	<i>rlg</i>	<i>rlk</i>	-	-
<i>ly</i>	<i>lym</i>	<i>lyn</i>	-	-	<i>lyng</i>	-	-	<i>lyly</i>	<i>ly'y</i>	-	-	-	<i>lyb</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>lydy</i>	<i>lyg</i>	<i>lyk</i>	-	-
<i>y</i>	<i>ym</i>	<i>yn</i>	-	<i>yny</i>	<i>yng</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>yw</i>	-	<i>yb</i>	-	<i>yd</i>	(<i>yt</i>)*	<i>yrd</i>	<i>ydy</i>	<i>yg</i>	<i>yk</i>	-	-
<i>rr</i>	<i>rrm</i>	<i>rrn</i>	-	<i>rrny</i>	<i>rrng</i>	<i>rrl</i>	-	-	<i>rr'y</i>	-	<i>rr'r</i>	<i>rrw</i>	<i>rrb</i>	<i>rrp</i>	<i>rrd</i>	-	-	<i>rr'dy</i>	<i>rrg</i>	<i>rrk</i>	<i>rrk*</i>	-
<i>rry</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>rrydy</i>	-	-	-	-
<i>r</i>	<i>rm</i>	-	-	<i>r'ny</i>	<i>r'ng</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>r'r</i>	<i>rw</i>	<i>rb</i>	<i>rp</i>	-	-	-	<i>r'dy</i>	<i>rg</i>	<i>rk</i>	-	-
<i>w</i>	<i>wm</i>	-	-	-	<i>wng</i>	<i>wl</i>	<i>wrl</i>	-	-	<i>wrr</i>	<i>wr</i>	-	-	-	<i>wd</i>	-	<i>wrd</i>	<i>wdy</i>	<i>wg</i>	-	-	-
<i>b</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>bng</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>br</i>	-	bb	-	<i>bd</i>	-	-	-	<i>bg</i>	<i>pk</i>	<i>pk*</i>	-
<i>p</i>	<i>pm</i>	<i>pn</i>	-	<i>pny</i>	<i>png</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>pb</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>pdy</i>	<i>pg</i>	<i>pk</i>	<i>pk*</i>	-
<i>d</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>dng</i>	<i>dl</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>dr</i>	-	<i>db</i>	-	<i>dd</i>	-	-	<i>ddy</i>	<i>dg</i>	<i>dk</i>	-	-
<i>t</i>	-	<i>tn</i>	-	<i>tny</i>	<i>tng</i>	<i>tl</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>tb</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>tdy</i>	<i>tg</i>	-	-	-
<i>rd</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>rdng</i>	-	-	-	<i>rd'y</i>	-	<i>rdr</i>	-	<i>rdb</i>	-	-	-	<i>rdd</i>	<i>rddy</i>	<i>rdg</i>	-	-	-
<i>ri</i>	-	<i>rin</i>	-	<i>ritny</i>	<i>ritng</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	<i>rib</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>ridy</i>	<i>rig</i>	<i>rik</i>	-	-
<i>dy</i>	<i>dym</i>	-	-	<i>dyny</i>	<i>dyng</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>dyw</i>	-	<i>dyb</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>dydy</i>	<i>dyg</i>	<i>dyk</i>	<i>dyk*</i>	-
<i>g</i>	-	<i>gn</i>	-	<i>gny</i>	<i>gng</i>	-	-	-	-	-	<i>gw</i>	-	<i>gb</i>	-	-	-	-	<i>gdy</i>	<i>gg</i>	-	-	-

*The cluster *yt* occurs only in loan words.

A few cases of Yawuru non-homorganic clusters can be explained as a reflex of a more complex cluster in earlier stages of the language: e.g. *yanban* 'south' < *yalmban* (Inland Yawuru; also Nyikina form).¹¹⁷

Another interesting case, in this connection, is the toponym *gumbal-ngandydyal* 'Roebuck Plains', which has the short form *gumandyal* with the medial non-homorganic cluster *ndy* replacing the homorganic *nydy* in the original suffix *-ngandydyal* meaning 'place' (6.12.5).

Non-homorganic clusters may also result from reduplication:

<i>dyabundyabun</i>	[ɖʌ́bunɖʌ́bun]	'soup, stew'
<i>ngurdirnngurdirn</i>	[ŋóɖeŋŋòɖeŋ]	'separately' (8.4.4.1 and 9.2.6)
<i>ngunynguny</i>	[ŋúŋ,ŋúŋ]	'brains (for thinking)'

¹¹⁷ Younger people tend to say *yamban* (homorganising the medial cluster); cf. the case of *mimbi* ~ *minbi* given in 1.1.3.2 (also cf. 3.8.3.2).

3.6.3.2 VNCV cluster

Medial nasal-stop (NC) clusters often have variant forms and they can be grouped into three types in terms of the mode of the phonological fluctuation they reveal.¹¹⁸

- Type 1: NC ~ NN ~ N (as observed in *mb*, *nd*, *nydy* and *rnd*)
 Type 2: NC ~ C (as observed in *rnd*, *ngk* and *ngk**)

As to words having the retroflex cluster *rnd*; there are some instances falling into Type 1 as well as others falling into Type 2.

(1) Type 1

This group, composed of the clusters *mb*, *nd*, *nydy*, *ndy*, and in some cases *rnd*, shows a fluctuation between NC clusters and geminate nasals NN (and/or a single nasal N).¹¹⁹

NC	NN	N
<i>mb</i>	<i>mm</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>nd</i>	—	<i>n</i>
<i>nydy</i>	<i>nyny</i>	<i>ny</i>
<i>rnd</i>	<i>rnn</i>	<i>rn</i>

A typical example is the demonstrative *nyamba* 'this', the inflexional paradigm of which (see 7.5.2.2) contains forms showing alternation in the medial *mb* cluster:

- ERGATIVE: *nyamba-ni* ~ *nyamma-ni* (gemination is usual)
 ABLATIVE: *nyamb(a)-gap* ~ *nyamma-gap* ~ *nyam-gap*¹²⁰
 SEMBLATIVE: *nyama-ngarr* (rather than *nyambangarr*)
 LATIVE: *nyama-nganygardi* (**nyamba-nganygardi*)
 ~ *nyambanygardin* (~ *nyamany-gardi*)

Similar variation is also recorded in *kamba* 'that' (7.5.2). It should be noted that, in both *nyamba* and *kamba*, neither geminated nor single-nasal forms (**nyamma*, **nyama*; **kamma*, **kama*) have been encountered as uninflected, independent words.

Other examples are:

- dyalkanda* ~ *dyalkana* 'hibernation' (the latter form is common)
wandanydyirr ~ *wandanyirr* 'sea snakes (generic)'
waranydyarri ~ *waranyyarri* 'one' (numeral; 2.2.3)
-manyndan ~ *-manydan* 'only' (limitative; 8.4.5.2)

Lenition of Type 1 clusters is often observed in verbal conjugation (4.5.4.2). To give only a few instances:

- burnda* ~ *burnna* 'bite' as in *inaburnnarn* [inabũ:n̩:an̩] 's/he bites'
rndira ~ *rnira* 'go' as in *irrirarn* [ir̩r̩:an̩] (in rapid speech)^{120A}
inydyun ~ *inynyun* 's/he says, it sounds' (the verb root is *dyu*)

¹¹⁸ The cluster *ngg* occurs only across a morpheme boundary (e.g. *rang-gadya* 'barking (of dogs)') and is not considered here.

¹¹⁹ See footnote 68 in Chapter 4 for the rare and exceptional fluctuation of the verb root *banydyu* ~ *banyu* ~ *madyu*.

¹²⁰ This is a rather rare variant. Notice that the cluster *mbg* is reduced to *mg* — cf. 3.7.5.3.(2).

^{120A} See footnote 61 in Chapter 4.

(2) Type 2

Homorganic NC clusters in the retroflex position (*rnd*) and the velar position (*ngk*, *ngk**) constitute the second type. Clusters of this type fluctuate with de-nasalised stops (*rd* and *k* and *k**, respectively).¹²¹

NC	C
<i>rnd</i>	<i>rd</i>
<i>ngk</i>	<i>k</i> or <i>g</i>
<i>ngk*</i>	<i>k*</i>

Examples include:

<i>wardangu</i> ~ <i>wardangu</i>	'(men's) headband'
<i>marndamarnda</i> ~ <i>mardamarda</i>	'can't walk' (see 8.4.2.4)
<i>barndarlmarda</i> ~ <i>bardarlmarda</i>	'bird (generic)' (<i>*barnarlmarda</i>)
<i>dyalangka</i> ~ <i>dyalaka</i> (~ <i>dyalangk</i>) ¹²²	'nephew/niece'
<i>dyarangkarr</i> ~ <i>dyarakarr</i>	'Beefwood (<i>Grevillea striata</i>)'
<i>lungka</i> ~ <i>luka</i> [luka] ~ [luga]	'cry, weep' (verb root) ¹²³
<i>yangki-ni</i> ~ <i>yaga-ni</i> [jáyane]	'what/who (+ergative)'
<i>langk*a</i> [lanqa] ~ <i>lak*a</i> [laqa]	'know' (verb root; see 4.4.3.2)

In the second last case above (*yangki-ni* ~ *yaga-ni*), an alternation of the post-cluster vowel is noted as well as the emergence of the ever-voiced *g* (see 7.6.2).

3.6.3.3 Spelling conventions for medial clusters

Orthographic conventions for representing medial consonantal clusters are as follows. Those not listed below should be read as they are (e.g. *mn* = *m* + *n*, *rddy* = *rd* + *dy*, etc. — see Table 309)

(1) Homorganic retroflex clusters

When retroflexed segments cluster, the digraphic *r* in the second segment is omitted:

<i>rnd</i> = <i>rn</i> + <i>rd</i>	as in <i>barndarlmarda</i> 'bird'
<i>rnn</i> = <i>rn</i> + <i>rn</i>	as in <i>kurnnidyina</i> 'shoulder' (~ <i>kurndidyina</i>)
<i>rld</i> = <i>rl</i> + <i>rd</i>	as in <i>rdurldurl</i> 'rashes, pimples'

All the above examples are homorganic retroflex clusters and should be distinguished from the non-homorganic clusters given below:

¹²¹ It is interesting in this regard that the locally well-known Okinawan-Japanese surname Kanagae is usually pronounced by Yawuru speakers as [kánaŋgæ].

¹²² See footnote 93 in 3.4.5.1.(1).

¹²³ The de-clustered form *luka* seems to be more common. The *ngk* cluster typically occurs in reflexive conjugations: e.g. *i-ma-lungka-ndyi-n* 's/he cries for her/himself' (cf. 4.4.3.2).

- $rndy = rn + dy$ as in *garndya* [gáŋɬa] 'pushing something/somebody aside'
 $rldy = rl + dy$ as in *kurldyu* [kúɬɬu] 'grass (generic)'
 $rny = rn + ny$ (only across a morpheme boundary) as in *mabarnnyurdany*
 (= *mabarn-nyurdany*) 'because of sorcery'¹²⁴

(2) Use of apostrophe (I): non-homorganic clusters

An apostrophe is inserted when the non-homogeneity of a medial cluster needs to be explicitly indicated:

- $rr'dy = rr + dy$ ($\neq rrydy$, which is $rry + dy$) — see 3.3.4.2.(2).
 $rn'd = rn + d$ as in *dyarn'du* [ɬáŋɬo] 'woman'
 $rl'd = rl + d$ (only in reduplication) as in *dirl'dirl'dirl* [deɬdeɬdeɬ]
 '(ONOM) rattling of shell ornaments (especially in dancing)'

No instances of non-homorganic clusters $*rn'n$ ($= rn + n$) have been encountered.

Apostrophes also distinguish clusters from digraphs:

- $n'g = n + g$ ($\neq ng$) (only across a morpheme boundary) as in *midin'gun*
 [míɬiŋgùn] '(toponym)¹²⁵
 $rn'g = rn + g$ (only across a morpheme boundary) as in *dyalbarn'garra*
 [ɬáɬbaŋgàra] (= *dyalbarn-garra*) 'bird feathers
 (collective)'
 $r'ng = r + ng$ (only across a morpheme boundary) *larar'ngarn*
 [lá^laŋnàŋ] (= *larar-ngarn*) 'towards a/the waterhole'
 (allative)
 $r'ny = r + ny$ as in *dur'nyurdany* 'because of (the) fart'
 $rn'y = rn + y$ (only across a morpheme boundary) as in *inak'amirn'yayu*
 's/he smiles at us' (see [274] in 10.8.2)
 $r'dy = r + dy$ (only across a morpheme boundary) as in *bulkar'dyi*
 [búɬkaɬɬi] (= *bulkar-dyi*) 'for ashes (to chew with
 tobacco)' and in *lar'dyi* 'forget' (verb root)
 $rd'y = rd + y$ as in *yard'yard* [jáɬjaɬ] '(onomatopoeia describing fast
 walking)'
 $l'y = l + y$ ($\neq ly$) as in *yal'yari* [jáɬ·já·ɬi]¹²⁶ '(toponym)'
 $lyy = ly + y$ as in *yalyyaly* 'licking'
 ny (lamino-prepalatal) [ŋ] /n/ — see 3.3.3.2.(3)
 $n'y$ (palatalised) [nⁱ] /n+y/ — see 3.4.4.3.
 $r'r = r + r$ ($\neq rr$) (only in reduplication) as in *rabar'rabar* 'morning glow'
 $rr'r = rr + r$ (only in reduplication) as in *rangkarr'rangkarr* 'dawn'

No case of $r + rr$ has been recorded ($*r'rr$).

¹²⁴ Multi-morphemic words (excepting reduplication) are hyphenated in this study for clarity of description (*-nyurdany* is a causal marker); in practical writing of the language, however, (e.g. Lands 1987, Torres 1988, etc) the hyphen is not used. The word *mabarn* usually means 'medicine man, traditional healer, or "bush doctor"' (= *dyankanguru*) but may in some context refer to witchcraft or sorcery.

¹²⁵ See footnote 98 in this chapter.

¹²⁶ The lateral offset in the cluster *l'y* tends to be slightly lengthened, which is indicated by the half-length mark. The cluster *l'y* is also observed as variation of *ldy* cluster: e.g. *buldyadi* ~ *bul'yadi* 'heavy shield', *baldyarri* ~ *bal'yarri* 'Baljarri section' (the Jukun form is *badyarri*; cf. 1.1.4), etc.

(3) Use of apostrophe (II): laryngealisation

In representing conjugated verb forms, apostrophes may indicate a loss of vowel resulting in laryngealisation of laminal segments (see 3.8.3):

$ny'dy$ [$n_p'd\phi$] ~ [${}^?n_p\phi$] < $ny(a)-dy$
 $dy'dy$ [${}^?d\phi$] ~ [$d\phi'$] ~ [$d\phi:z^h$] < $dy(u)-dy$

These are phonetically quite distinct from the following, respectively:

$nydy = ny + dy$ (homorganic cluster) as in *minydyil* [$mín_p\phi_i$] 'tuft or tassel (of pearlshell ornament)'
 $dydy = dy + dy$ (gemination) as in *badydyunu* [$bád\phi:z^hunu$] 'roughly-carved woodwork' (see 6.12.6)

(4) Nasal gemination

Geminate nasals other than rnn ($= rn + rn$ — see section (1) above) are spelled straightforwardly:

$mm = m + m$ as in *nimminy* (~ *niminy*) 'eye'; *kumminy* '(male personal name)'; *yamma* (~ *yama*) 'absent-minded'
 $nn = n + n$ as in *kunkunnungu* 'globefish' (*nungu* 'belly')
 $nyny = ny + ny$ as in *minynyirr* 'Minyjirr' (~ *minydyirr*; see 1.1.3.1); *dinynyilp* [$dín_pzilp$] (lenition of *dinydyilp* 'sneezing')¹²⁷
 $ngng = ng + ng$ as in *wangnga* [$wáŋzà$] 'for the first time' (8.2.2.3); *ringngu* [$zínzù$] 'sunrise/sunset glow'

The geminate *ngng* should be distinguished from the non-homorganic cluster *nng*:

$nng = n + ng$ as in *nannguna* [$nánŋùna$] '(toponym)'

In the majority of instances, nasal geminations emerge across a morpheme boundary and/or as variants of other forms without the nasal gemination (3.6.3.2). There are three exceptions: *kumminy*, *wangnga* and *ringngu* (all given above) have geminate nasals root-internally.

(5) Summary

Complete distinction between Yawuru medial clusters, which have not been fully described in the previous studies of this language (1.4.1), is now established by the set of spelling conventions listed above. The differences and correspondences between the various ways of writing down Yawuru words are summarised in Table 310 (below).

¹²⁷ The weakened form *dinynyilp* is unacceptable when this preverb item takes the intensifier suffix *-gadya* — i.e. *dinydyilp-gadya*, but **dinynyilp-gadya*. cf. 3.8.3 and 5.4.2.

TABLE 310: Correspondences between various methods of spelling Yawuru

this thesis	Hudson (1987)	Capell (n/d)	Kerr (n/d)	Stokes (1984)
<i>b</i>	b	b, p	b	b
<i>p</i>	b	b, p	b	b
<i>d</i>	d	d, t	d, dd	d
<i>t</i>	d	t, d	d	d
<i>dy</i>	j	d'	dy	dy
<i>ty</i>	j	d'	-	dy
<i>rd</i>	rd	d	rd	d
<i>rt</i>	rd	xx	rd	d
<i>k</i>	g, k	g	g	g
<i>g</i>	g, k	g	g	g
<i>k*</i>	g, k	g	g	g
<i>q</i>	g	g	g	g
<i>ng</i>	ng	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ [sic]
<i>ngk</i>	ngk	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg
<i>ngg</i>	ngk	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg
<i>ngk*</i>	ngk	ŋg	ŋg	ŋg
<i>nk</i>	nk	ng	-	ng
<i>n'g</i>	nk	ng	-	ng
<i>nk*</i>	nk	ng	-	ng
<i>nyk</i>	nyg	?	nyg	nyg
<i>nyg</i>	nyg	?	nyg	nyg
<i>rnk</i>	rnk	ng	-	ng
<i>rn'g</i>	rnk	?	-	?
<i>n</i>	n	n	n	n
<i>rn</i>	rn	ŋ	rn	ŋ
<i>rnd</i>	rnd	nd	rnd	nd
<i>rn'd</i>	?	nd	-	nd
<i>nrd</i>	?	nd	-	nd
<i>ny</i>	ny	n', n̄	ny	ny
<i>nydy</i>	nyj	nd'	ndy	nydy
<i>ndy</i>	nj	nd'	ndy	ndy
<i>l</i>	l	l	l	l
<i>rl</i>	rl	l	rl	l
<i>ly</i>	ly	l'	ly	ly
<i>rr</i>	rr	r	R, RR	rr
<i>rrdy</i>	rrj	rd'	Rdy	rrdy
<i>rrydy</i>	rrj	rd'	Rdy	rrdy
<i>r</i>	r	r	r	r
<i>y</i>	y	y, (j)	y	y, yi
<i>w</i>	w	w, u	w	w, wu
<i>a</i>	a	a, ä, ε	a	a
<i>i</i>	i	i, e, ä	i	i
<i>u</i>	u	u, o, i	u	u
<i>aa</i>	aa	a:	a	a?
<i>ii</i>	-	i:	i	iy
<i>uu</i>	-	u:	u	uwu?

TABLE 311: Relative frequencies of word-initial consonants

<i>b-</i>	13.7	<i>m-</i>	10.0				
<i>d-</i>	4.6	<i>n-</i>	4.2	<i>l-</i>	2.9	<i>rr-</i>	0.2
<i>rd-</i>	1.3	<i>rn-</i>	0	<i>rl-</i>	0.2	<i>r-</i>	4.5
<i>dy-</i>	17.1	<i>ny-</i>	1.3	<i>ly-</i>	0	<i>y-</i>	8.1
<i>k-</i>	12.7	<i>ng-</i>	5.5			<i>w-</i>	11.8
<i>g-</i>	2.1						
<i>k*-</i>	1.2						

TABLE 312: Relative frequencies of word-final consonants

<i>-b</i>	0.8	<i>-m</i>	0.2				
<i>-d</i>	1.8	<i>-n</i>	13.8	<i>-l</i>	17.4	<i>-rr</i>	15.1
<i>-rd</i>	1.7	<i>-rn</i>	2.2	<i>-rl</i>	5.2	<i>-r</i>	3.9
<i>-dy</i>	1.3	<i>-ny</i>	10.2	<i>-ly</i>	2.2	<i>-y</i>	2.0
<i>-g</i>	0.3	<i>-ng</i>	3.0			<i>-w</i>	1.8
<i>-q</i>	2.2						

TABLE 313: Occurrences of consonants in word-medial position

<i>-b-</i>	189	<i>-m-</i>	166				
<i>-d-</i>	219	<i>-n-</i>	198	<i>-l-</i>	269	<i>-rr-</i>	262
<i>-rd-</i>	130	<i>-rn-</i>	48	<i>-rl-</i>	84	<i>-r-</i>	20
<i>-dy-</i>	223	<i>-ny-</i>	89	<i>-ly-</i>	50	<i>-y-</i>	226
<i>-k-</i>	346	<i>-ng-</i>	151			<i>-w-</i>	58
<i>-k*-</i>	5						

NOTE: The figures indicate token frequencies. Clusters and non-clusters are not distinguished in this count.

3.6.4 Phoneme frequencies

3.6.4.1 Word-initial frequency

Of a working list of 1302 non-verbal lexical items, the percentages of words, arranged by initial consonants, are as given in Table 311 (above).¹²⁸

The consonants *dy*, *k*, *b* and *m* mark high-frequency word-initial segments. Approximants (*y* and *w*) are also common word-initially. Although velar-initial items are numerous, occurrence of the ever-voiced *g* and the ever-voiceless *k** is limited. Word-initial occurrences of *n*, *ng* and *r* are not far from the average (5.9%).¹²⁹ Words beginning with retroflexed sounds (*rd*, *rl*, *r*) are few. Also noted is the low percentage of *ny*-initial and *l*-initial words. No lexical item has been recorded with initial *rn* or *ly*.

¹²⁸ Excluded from the list are reduplicated words, derived words, proper nouns, bound affixes, clitics, compounds, onomatopoeic items and verb roots.

¹²⁹ The average is based on an even distribution of 17 consonantal phonemes (*rry*, *g* and *k** are excluded from the count).

3.6.4.2 Word-final frequency

Of the same working lexicon as employed above, 706 items (54%) end in a vowel, of which the percentage for each vowel type is as follows:

-a/aa	46.6%
-u/uu	29.3%
-i/ii	24.1%

The remaining 596 items end in a consonant, as itemised in Table 312 (above). Interestingly, a reverse tendency is observed: all the segments that have high frequency of word-initial occurrence (namely *w*, *y*, *b*, *dy*, *m*, *k*) reveal low frequencies in the word-final position. By contrast, *l*, *rr*, *n* and *ny*, which rarely stand in the initial position, are quite common word-finally.

3.6.4.3 Medial frequency

Consonants commonly encountered in medial position are (in the order of dictionary-count frequency — see Table 313 above): *k*, *l*, *rr*, *y*, *dy*, *d*, *n*, *b*, *m*, *ng* and *rd*. Medial occurrence of *k** is rare. It is rather unexpected that the rhotic approximant *r* also shows a very low frequency in the word-medial context. Its occurrence is even lower than medial *rnd* cluster, of which 25 occurrences are counted word-medially. Medial occurrence of *w* is relatively rare, which contrasts with the high frequency of the medial occurrence of the other glide (*y*).

3.7 Suprasegmental aspects

3.7.1 Stress

Stress is not distinctive in Yawuru, at least in the sense that no pairs of words are distinguished on the basis of different stress positions with otherwise identical sequences of segmental phonemes. Stress in Yawuru, however, is not completely predictable, either.

3.7.1.1 Primary stress

In the majority of words, primary stress (indicated by the acute accent mark) is assigned to the first syllable, regardless of the number of syllables or moras that make up the word.

<i>ngáa</i>	'yeah!'
<i>ngáyu</i>	'me' (pronoun)
<i>ngánydya</i>	'how many?'
<i>ngárraban</i>	'Grey Box'
<i>ngámakarri</i>	'Little Corella'
<i>ngálmínyaminya</i>	'Little Red flying-fox'
<i>ngánkadyinaburu</i>	'radio' (see 5.4.1.5 and 6.12.1)

There are a few cases, however, in which non-initial syllables bear primary stress.¹³⁰

<i>dyalbindyáli</i>	[ɖəlbenɖáli]	'Hooded Robin'
<i>kadlánya</i>	[katláɲa] ¹³¹	'(name of corroboree/a type of dance)'
<i>birdirlngába</i>	[bɪdɪlŋába]	'(toponym) False Cape Bossut'
<i>kabanyánya</i>	[kapanáɲa]	'(toponym)'
<i>biyarrambín</i>	[bèjarambéɲ]	'honey bees'
<i>dyundyunbín</i>	[ɖuɲɖuɲbéɲ]	'white mosquitoes'
<i>wandanydyírr</i>	[wandaɲɖíɪ]	'sea snakes (generic)'

Most of these are suspected of being compounds, although meanings of the possible component roots are synchronically unanalysable. In the following instances, the compound word-formation is obvious:

<i>balybalynílirr</i>	[bæɬbæɬníleɪ]	'Royal Spoonbill' (<i>balybaly</i> 'flat', <i>nilirr</i> 'mouth') ¹³²
<i>kunkunnúngu</i>	[kʉŋgʉɲúŋɥ]	'k/o globefish' (<i>nungu</i> 'stomach')
<i>dyuluníminy</i>	[ɖulunímiɲ] ¹³³	'k/o skipjack' (<i>niminy</i> 'eye')

There are, however, a limited number of apparently monomorphemic words with primary stress on a non-initial syllable:

<i>dyarúru</i>	[ɖaɹúɹu]	'spring country'
<i>bambída</i>	[bambíɖa]	'k/o small dragon lizard' (<i>Ctenophorus</i> sp.)

An interesting case is the bird name *dyindikírrikirri* [ɖɪndɪgɪgɪɹɪ] 'Willie Wagtail', of which the unstressed initial component *dyindi-* coincides with a word referring to the female genital organ: *dyindi* 'vagina'. This might explain, at least partly, why the stress is postposed onto the 3rd syllable.¹³⁴

Not unexpectedly, interjections and onomatopoeic items often show word-final stress:

<i>k*aláa</i>	[qaláɹ]~[klaɹ]	'"finish", that's all!' (= <i>k*áliya</i>)
<i>wardáaw</i>	[waɖáɹo]	'(a scream of terror or fear)' ¹³⁵
<i>dyulúu</i>	[ɖulúɹ]	'(birdcall of frogmouth)'

Except for the onomatopoeic items and the special case of *dyindikírrikirri* analysed above, no phonological reason is found for the irregular stress distribution. Possibly the reason could be etymological.

¹³⁰ Currently on record are 2 words with primary stress on the 2nd syllable, 15 words on the 3rd, 6 words on the 4th, and 3 words on the 5th. These constitute only a very small percentage of general lexicon. A count based on a working vocabulary of 1730 nominals indicates that 1704 words (or over 98%) have their primary stress on the 1st syllable. Onomatopoeic items, interjections and verb roots are excluded from this count. Compound nouns and proper nouns (such as personal names and toponyms) are included. There are two bound forms with final stress: *-nyarrá* (see 8.2.1.1.(5)) and *-áw* (see 3.8.5).

¹³¹ A non-initial short vowel that bears primary stress may be slightly lengthened, especially when it is a part of an open syllable, but this is not a general rule. cf. footnote 133 below.

¹³² Capell (n/d:1) has it as "bal'anilir" (= *balyanilirr*).

¹³³ In these compound items in which a body-part noun (*nilirr*, *nungu* or *niminy*) forms a part, the stressed vowels (i.e. the first syllable of the body-part nouns) show no tendency to be lengthened. cf. footnote 131.

¹³⁴ This word is also used as a swear word: *dyindi!* 'shit!, fuck!'. Interestingly, another word for a woman's genital part, *burrydyi* 'clitoris', does not function as a swear word.

¹³⁵ But the interjection *wardayii* [waɖaɹɹɹɹ] 'ouch!' bears regular initial stress.

3.7.1.2 Secondary stress

(1) Mora-sensitive patterns

Words with more than three syllables usually bear a secondary (or weaker) stress in addition to the primary stress. In order to elucidate the assignment patterns of the secondary stress in Yawuru words, an emic notion of "mora" is introduced. Mora counting in this language is based on the number of sonorant (including vocalic) segments in words. Non-syllabic sonorants (nasals, liquids and approximants) that occur in a preconsonantal environment (i.e. as an off-set C₂ segment of a medial C₁VC₂ syllable) are counted as constituting one mora. Word-final sonorants are not considered as constituting a mora. Thus, for example, the disyllabic word *bundu* 'marsh' contains 3 moras¹³⁶ (*bu, n, du*), the trisyllabic word *linyurra* 'saltwater crocodile' has 4 moras (*li, ny, gu, rra*), the word *dyinybarlka* 'grasshopper', also trisyllabic, has 5 moras (*dyi, ny, ba, rl, ga*), the four-syllabic *yilinydyirr* 'lorikeet' has 5 moras (*yi, li, li, ny, dyirr*), and so on.

Employing the notion of mora as set out above, the fundamental pattern of stress distribution in Yawuru words is explained by the following principles:

- [2] i) The 1st mora bears primary stress and the 3rd mora, if vocalic, bears secondary stress.
- ii) If the 3rd mora is a non-vocalic sonorant, then the vowel in the 4th mora takes up secondary stress, unless it is the word-final vowel.
- iii) If a word ends in an unstressed open syllable (CV) which happens to be an odd-numbered mora (namely the 3rd or the 5th), the word-final vowel tends to (but does not have to) be slightly lengthened.

(2) Stress on the 3rd mora

The first principle is most apparent in words of CVCVCV... structure, where the 3rd vowel is also the 3rd mora, thus taking up the secondary stress:

<i>dyalangardi</i>	[ɖálanàɖe]	'sand goanna'
<i>wánangàrri</i>	[wánanàre]	'stone'
<i>kúlamàna</i>	[kúlamàna]	'frilled-neck lizard'

The stress pattern is maintained even when the 3rd syllable which is also the 3rd mora is immediately followed by a mora-composing sonorant, i.e. CV.CV.CV.S.CV(S):

<i>kálalàmburr</i>	[kálalàmbuɾ]	'k/o woody creeper'
<i>yilinydyirr</i>	[jéleleɲɖeɾ]	'lorikeets (generic)'

If a non-vocalic sonorant comprises the 2nd mora (indicated by boldface in the examples given below), then the secondary stress rests on the 2nd syllable which is the 3rd mora:¹³⁷

¹³⁶ The plain plural form "moras" will be used instead of the archaic "morae".

¹³⁷ The only instance in which the approximant *y* constitutes the second mora is *baymala* 'k/o native watermelon' (not edible). The stress distribution agrees with the general principles under discussion. The item, however, is suspected of being a borrowing from English "pie-melon". Another case of the identical mora structure is *wáybalu* 'white fellow', which is obviously a borrowing from English. No

<i>dyimbirrkiny</i>	[ɖɪmbɪrɡɪɲɛ]	'(toponym)'
<i>nárnngùla</i>	[náŋŋùla]	'''sugarbag'''
<i>wíngkùma</i>	[wíŋgòma]	'possum'
<i>dyálkàna</i>	[ɖálgàna]	'hibernation'
<i>yírlmàrda</i>	[ʔílmàɖa]	'father's sister'
<i>yilybirrin</i>	[ʔíɭbèrɪn]	'a type of returning boomerang'
<i>kárrkìdya</i>	[kárgìɖa]	'brown falcon'
<i>wárwànu</i>	[wáɹwànu]	'(a country name)' (var. <i>warwan</i>)

The 2nd-syllable/3rd-mora in question may have either sonorant or non-sonorant onset (double-underlined below):

<i>yándàrra</i>	[jándaɾa]	'rolypoly, or Prickly Saltwort'
<i>mánbàla</i>	[máŋbàla]	'wave, surf'
<i>yínyngùru</i>	[ʔíŋŋòɾo]~[jéŋŋòɾo]	'(toponym)'
<i>wínybùdu</i>	[wíŋbùdu]	'k/o ant'

(3) Secondary stress on the 4th mora

While the 1st mora always includes a vowel (CV or CCV), the third mora does not always do so. The second principle outlined above deals with such cases where the 3rd mora of the word consists of a sonorant consonant (S); secondary stress is assigned to the succeeding vowel (3rd syllable/4th mora). In the following trisyllabic (but four-moraic) words, the 4th-mora vowels, which are word-final ones, take up secondary stress. The mora structure is CV.CV.S.CVS:¹³⁸

<i>dyálinymàrr</i>	[ɖálinɲmàɾ]	'Pelican'
<i>dyírinmàl</i>	[ɖíɹɪŋmàl]	'Tern'
<i>nímarndàrl</i>	[nímaŋɖàl]	'shadow'
<i>kídirrdyàl</i>	[kídiɾɖàl]	'Swift'

If the 4th-mora vowel, however, constitutes the word-final vowel (in other words, if the word is trisyllabic and has a CV.CV.S.CV mora structure), then no vowel bears secondary stress at all. For example,

<i>kárdimba</i>	[káɖemba]	'nose peg'
<i>dyílarga</i>	[ɖílaɹga]	'Rough Bluebell'
<i>kálanda</i>	[kálanda]	'young girl (after puberty)'

The mora structure is CV.CV.S.CV.CV (the 3rd and 4th moras are underlined in the examples below):

<i>mádyangkùla</i>	[máɖaŋgòla]	'orphan'
<i>nímanbùru</i>	[némaŋbùɾu]	'flying fox'

instance of 3(or more)-syllable words which have the approximant *w* in the S position of CVSCVCV... has been encountered.

¹³⁸ This seems to be the case also with the four-syllabic CV.CV.S.CV.CVS mora structure as well, although there is only one instance of such a structure in the current database: *yárlanbàrrnan* [jálapbàŋaŋ] '(toponym)'.

(4) Half-lengthening of final vowel

The third principle concerns the slight lengthening (indicated by [·]) of word-final vowels. Relevant mora structures are CV.S.CV (disyllabic), CV.S.CV.S.CV (trisyllabic), CV.CV.CV.S.CV and CV.S.CV.CV.CV (both four-syllabic). The lengthening is not so much as for the vowel to be interpreted as a long vowel. Examples are as follows:

CV.S.CV

<i>dyimbu</i>	[ɖímbu]~[ɖímbu·]	'egg'
<i>nawrlu</i>	[náɔlɔ]~[náɔlɔ·]	'a type of fighting stick'

CV.S.CV.S.CV

<i>dyíndàrlbi</i>	[ɖíndàlbe]~[ɖíndàlbe·]	'a large dragon lizard' (specific)
<i>dyínyàrlka</i>	[ɖínyàlga]~[ɖínyàlga·]	'grasshopper (generic)'
<i>bánbàldyi</i>	[bánbàldɪ]~[bánbàldɪ·]	'Bull Ant' (specific)

CV.CV.CV.S.CV

<i>máralàmba</i>	[máɪalàmba·]	'surviving family, people in mourning'
<i>k*álangànydya</i>	[qálangànyɖa·]	'plain, hunting ground'

CV.S.CV.CV.CV

<i>kúmbàrara</i>	[kúmbàɪara·]	'groin'
<i>kínykirida</i>	[kínygìɪɪda·]	'phlegm'

The half-lengthening in question is not obligatory. It seems to take place more frequently in the four-syllabic words than in disyllabic or trisyllabic words. The lengthening is prevented when a non-homorganic nasal-stop cluster occurs across the final and the penultimate mora (i.e. final S.CV):

<i>k*urnka</i>	[kúnɔga]	'unripe'
<i>nganka</i>	[ŋáŋga]	'word, language'
<i>yirraman'ga</i>	[ʔíramàŋga]	'k/o edible hermit crab (locally called "crazy crab")'

The mora-sensitive half-lengthening of the final vowel is not observed in the trisyllabic words of which the final open-syllable vowel constitutes the 4th (i.e. even-number) mora :

<i>kardimba</i>	[káɖemba]	'nose peg'
<i>kúmanyba</i>	[kúmanɔba]	'Seven Sisters' (constellation)
<i>kalinda</i>	[kálenda]	'young girl after puberty'
<i>kurrbida</i>	[kúrɓida]	'sated (of food)'
<i>bambida</i>	[bámɓi(·)da]	'k/o edible dragon lizard' (<i>Ctenophorus</i> sp.)

Table 314 (below) summarises the regular patterns of stress distribution in Yawuru words as illustrated so far.

TABLE 314: Stress assignment patterns*

code	(i)	(ii)	mora structure	examples
2A	2	2	cV. cV(c)	yárda 'shield', dyáburr 'mist'
2B	2	3	cV. s. <u>cV</u>	dyímbù 'egg'
2C	2	3	cV. s. cVc	ngámbarl 'embracing', gúrrbug 'vomit'
3A	3	3	cV. cV. cV̇(c)	dyánadyà 'sawfish', bínabàp 'moth', káwadyàl 'sugarleaf'
3B	3	4	cV. cV. s. cV	kárdimba 'nose peg'
3C	3	4	cV. cV. s. cV̇s	dyálinymàrr 'Pelican'
3D	3	4	cV. s. cV̇. cV(s)	línygùrra 'saltwater crocodile', wíndibirn 'razor shell'
3E	3	5	cV. s. cV̇. s. <u>cV</u>	dyímbàrlka 'grasshopper',
3F	3	5	cV. s. cV̇. s. cV̇s	ngárrngàlman 'left-handed'
4A	4	4	cV. cV. cV̇. cV(s)	wánangàrri 'stone', múrrwàrran 'Whitefish'
4B	4	5	cV. cV. cV̇. s. <u>cV</u>	máralàmba 'mourning people'
4C	4	5	cV. cV. cV̇. s. cV̇s	kálalàmburr '(toponym)'
4D	4	5	cV. cV. s. cV̇. cV(s)	mádyangkùla 'orphan', yárlanbàrrnan '(toponym)'
4E	4	5	cV. s. cV̇. cV. <u>cV</u>	kúmbàrra 'groin'
4F	4	5	cV. s. cV̇. cV. cV̇s	kúmbàlirang 'namesake peer'
4G	4	6	cV. cV. s. cV. s. cV	(no data)**
4F	4	6	cV. s. cV̇. s. cV. cV	bàrndàrlmarda 'bird'

LEGEND: (i) number of syllables in word; (ii) number of moras in word; in the column of mora structure, "c" stands for a consonant in general (including sonorants), "v" is a vowel, and "s" is a sonorant consonant. Moras bearing a secondary stress are in **boldface**. Word-final open syllables that are half-lengthened are underlined.

NOTES: * Compounds, reduplicated items and inflexion/derivation are not considered here.

** Expected stress distribution would be: cV.cV.s.cV̇.s.cV (i.e. secondary stress on the 4th mora).

3.7.1.3 Stress of poly-morphemic words

The majority of Yawuru words of over 5 syllables are products of reduplication, compounding, or derivation of some kind or other. The morphological processes involved in the word formation often prevent the above-illustrated stress distribution rules from applying straightforwardly. For example, if the word contains a suffix (or a series of suffixes), then it is normal for the first syllable of the (first) suffix to bear the secondary stress, regardless of the number of moras or syllables that precede it. A typical instance is taken from toponyms with the suffix *-nganydyal* 'place' (6.12.5):

<i>dyíru-ngànydyal</i>	(secondary stress on the 3rd mora)
<i>gúmbal-ngànydyal</i>	(secondary stress on the 4th mora)
<i>bálydyarr-ngànydyal</i>	(secondary stress on the 5th mora)
<i>kárrambal-ngànydyal</i>	(secondary stress on the 6th mora)

In compound words, the first syllable of the non-initial lexical component usually bears the secondary stress, although it may bear the primary stress in some cases (3.7.1.1). In any case the non-initial syllables of the first lexical component do not bear secondary stress.

More often than not, as a matter of fact, the position of the secondary stress of a Yawuru word is hard to predict without morphological and/or etymological

information. This is particularly the case with place names, which tend to be lengthy and often have unclear etymologies. Only a few examples are given below:

<i>káírrinyngàn</i>	[kálerinɔ̀nàŋ] ¹³⁹	'No. 5 Bore'
<i>míkirriwàlangany</i>	[míyeriwàlanɔ̀nɔ̀]	'(toponym)'
<i>mírlaninyàrri</i>	[mélaneɔ̀nɔ̀ri]	'(toponym)'
<i>kúrarranyàl</i>	[kóɔ̀araɔ̀àl]	'(toponym)'
<i>wúrlkurnàn</i>	[ólgoɔ̀nàŋ]~[ólkurnàŋ]	'Mistle(toe) Creek' (toponym)

There are also a limited number of non-toponymic examples showing irregular (or unexpected) stress distribution.

<i>bídyàra</i>	[bíɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀]	'ear'
<i>lámírnangùrr</i>	[lámiɔ̀nɔ̀nɔ̀r]	'k/o nut tree'
<i>ngárnamin'gíl</i>	[nánamiŋg'í]	'k/o small tree' (<i>Premna acuminata</i>)
<i>kúyarabi</i>	[kú'ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀]	'cocky apple'
<i>dyínyirri</i>	[ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀]	'very hot'

3.7.1.4 Stress in reduplicated words

(1) Basic pattern

In reduplicated words it is the first vowel of the second (repeated) half of the word that bears secondary stress, regardless of whether that syllable is the 2nd, 3rd, 4th or even 5th mora of the word.¹⁴⁰ Examples follow — "1/2 x2" indicates reduplication (x2) of a one-syllable/two-mora (1/2) root, "2/2 x2" that of a two-syllable/two-mora root, and so on:

1/2 x2: <i>kánkàn</i>	[káŋgàŋ] ¹⁴¹	'clapsticks'
2/2 x2: <i>kárdukárdú</i>	[káɔ̀gɔ̀gɔ̀]	'Cadjeput tree'
2/3 x2: <i>lánydyilánydyi</i>	[láɔ̀ɔ̀iláɔ̀ɔ̀]	'Green Mangrove' ¹⁴²
3/4 x2: <i>dyírikaldyírikal</i>	[ɔ̀ɔ̀íɔ̀gáɔ̀íɔ̀gá]	'thorny, spiny'
3/4 x2: <i>kúmbarríkúmbarrí</i>	[kúmbaregúmbare]	'colourfully painted'
3/5 x2: <i>dyíndiyirrdyíndiyirr</i>	[ɔ̀ɔ̀índi'ɔ̀ɔ̀índi'ɔ̀]	'Jabiru' (cf. 2.3.4)

As to words that are probably formed by partial reduplication (2.3.2), two different patterns of stress distribution are observed. In some cases, the first half of the reduplicated portion is assigned secondary stress:

<i>bílúrrulurru</i>	[béluɔ̀luɔ̀ru]	'ghost dance'
<i>wárlmírimiri</i>	[wáɔ̀lmèiɔ̀mei]	'octopus (small type)'
<i>mámùrrmurr</i>	[mámùɔ̀muɔ̀]	'throwing spear/etc and hitting the target'
<i>bárlkàrakara</i>	[báɔ̀gáɔ̀ɔ̀ɔ̀]	'throwing boomerang'

In others, though instances are less numerous, it is the second half of the reduplicated portion that takes up secondary stress:

¹³⁹ The final nasal reveals a prominent dental articulation (thus barely identified with the allative marker *-ngarn*). The formative element *-ngan* bearing secondary stress and having the dental nasal ending is also encountered in some non-toponymic lexical items, e.g. *wukurlngan* [wóɔ̀ɔ̀lŋàŋ] 'mudfish'.

¹⁴⁰ Two-mora/two-syllable words, such as *baba*, are not considered to be reduplicated forms here.

¹⁴¹ "Secondary stress in disyllabic words" may sound strange; but the second vowel of *kánkàn* is pronounced more clearly and articulately compared to the unstressed second vowel in, for example, *langkan* [láŋkəŋ] 'a Eucalypt sp.'

¹⁴² This vernacular name refers to the Yellow-leaved Spurred Mangrove (*Cerriops tagal*).

<i>rrábilbila</i>	[rábilbèla]	'centipede'
<i>wúbardubàrdu</i>	[wúbaɖobàɖo]	'fingers' (other than thumb)

The difference in the stress assignment possibly reflects a difference in word formation. For example, *mamurrmurr* is probably *ma-* + *murr*² (cf 4.9.5), whereas *wubardubardu* is obviously related to *wubardu*. '(N) child, (ADJ) small' which is related to *wuba* '(N) son/daughter'.

(2) Secondary stress promotion

Sometimes the secondary stress rendered by the process of reduplication is shifted leftwards (i.e. onto the preceding vowel). This is observed when the repeated part of the word has an initial non-lateral approximant segment (*w-*, *y-* or *r-*):

<i>wáŋkara-wàŋkara</i>	(word-list style) 'spider web'
> <i>wáŋkaràŋkara</i>	(natural speech)
<i>wúbadyu-wúbadyu</i>	'very small, little' (see 2.3.3)
> <i>wúbadyùubadyu</i>	[^w úbaɖɛ̀ùzbaɖɛ̀u]
<i>yíwarra-yìwarra</i>	'twilight sky'
> [ʔí ^w aràɛ̀wara]	
<i>rábar'ràbar</i>	[zábáɛ̀zàbaɛ̀] 'morning glow'
> [zábàzàbaɛ̀]	(in rapid speech)
<i>yílybi-yilybi</i>	[ʔíɛ̀biʔíɛ̀bi] 'Woolly Corchorus' (k/o shrub)
> [ʔíɛ̀bi:ɛ̀bi]	
<i>yinydyi-yinydyi</i>	[jínɛ̀ɖi'èɛ̀ɖi] 'stick insect'
> [jínɛ̀ɛ̀zɛ̀ɖi]	

As noticed in the above instances, the lenition of root-initial approximant results in a long vowel when the root-final and root-initial vowels coincide.¹⁴³

The following case is not a fully reduplicated item, but a partially reduplicated one (i.e. *wubardu-bardu*, rather than **wubardu-wubardu*). Therefore the stress promotion does not take place.

<i>wúbardubàrdu</i>	[wúbaɖobàɖo] 'fingers (other than thumb)'
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Notice above that the second *-u-* (the root-final vowel) remains short. By contrast, in the example given earlier, *wubadyuubadyu* (< *wubadyu* x2), the root-final vowel becomes a long vowel (in boldface) in amalgamation with the repeated root-initial *wu*.

In the next example, variation in stress distribution is observable:

<i>wumanguwumangu</i>	[úmaŋùzmaŋu] ~ [úmaŋumàŋu] 'hermit crab'
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It is likely that the variant pronunciation is the result of a reinterpretation based on analogy with *wúbardubàrdu*. The secondary stress is on the penultimate syllable (*wúmangu-màngu*). Such reinterpretation is considered to be sociolectal, because

¹⁴³ These have not been taken into account in the analysis of long vowels earlier in this chapter.

young speakers tend to stress ...*ma*..., while elders maintain the secondary stress promotion (i.e. the full-reduplication version).

3.7.1.5 Stress of conjugated verbs

Verbs are conjugated by prefixes and suffixes added to a root (see Chapter 4 for details). The primary stress always falls on the first-order prefix. Regardless of the number of prefixes added to the verb root, the root-initial syllable bears a secondary stress. Verbal suffixes do not bear stress. Examples given below are the conjugated forms of the verb root *bilka* 'hit':

<i>yáabilka</i>	[jázbilga]	'we (INCL) might hit it'
<i>ínabilkarn</i>	[ínabilgaŋ]	'(s)he hits it'
<i>wálabilka</i>	[wálabilga]	'you hit it!'
<i>ínarrabilkanda</i>	[ínarabèlganda]	'they hit it'
<i>wánggarrabilka</i>	[wáŋgarabèlga]	'they will hit it'

The only exception to the pattern described above is the verb *rba* 'follow, track'. In this case, the vowel immediately preceding the root (i.e. the final vowel of the prefix complex) bears the secondary stress.¹⁴⁴

<i>ínàrbanda</i>	[ínàrbanda]	's/he followed'
<i>yánanggàrba</i>	[jánangàrba]	'we (INCL) will follow him'

In reduplicated verbs (9.3), the repeated root also bears a secondary stress.

<i>ínabilkabilkanda</i>	's/he hit [it] many times' (verb root is <i>bilka</i>)
<i>ngánanggamùngkamùngka</i>	'I will take him back' (verb root is <i>mungka</i>)

Two exceptions are known: *bulibuli* 'bathe, have a bogey' and, again, *rbarba* 'follow, trace, chase'.¹⁴⁵ Inflected forms of these verbs have the secondary stress only on the first half of the repeated root:

<i>ngábùlibulinda</i>	'I had a bogey'
<i>inàrbarbarn</i>	's/he chased him'

3.7.2 Intonation

Rising intonation may mark clause boundaries. This has a text-cohering function, especially in story telling. Several simple clauses in succession can be integrated into a unit at discourse level by being linked with rising intonations (indicated by the symbol ↗).

- [3] *I-na-lurra-rn mimbi ↗, i-na-lurra-rn niyakan ↗,*
 3-TR-burn-IMPF breast(ABS) 3-TR-burn-IMPF back(ABS)
*k*alaa i-ny-dyardi-rn-na dyungku-gap ↗.*
 finish 3-EN-take.out-IMPF-now/E fire-ABL
 'First cook it breast-side down, then back-side down, and then take it out of the fire.' (explaining how to cook stingrays on an open fire)

¹⁴⁴ The verb is the only monosyllabic verb root having a CCV structure; see 3.6.1.1.(2).

¹⁴⁵ It should be added here that this verb is the only instance of a reduplicable monosyllabic verb root (9.3.3.2).

- [4] Warli *inga-rr-a-rli-rn* *miliya* ɿ, *birra i-rndira-rn wamba* ʃ,
 meat(ABS) 3^{i+j}-AGM-TR-eat-IMPF now bush 3_i-go-IMPF man(ABS)_i
dyarn'du *i-rndira-rn wirliwirli-ngarn* ɿ.
 woman(ABS)_j 3_j-go-IMPF fishing-ALLAT
 'They are now eating the meat (i.e. their catch). The husband has been off
 hunting, while the wife has been off fishing.'

In complex clause constructions, the intonation is raised only when subordinate clauses precede main clauses.^{145A} Question sentences introduced by an interrogative word have the same falling intonation as affirmative sentences (see 7.6.1.2 and 10.4.1.1).

3.7.3 Pitch

Although relative pitch (or contrast of higher/lower frequencies) is non-distinctive in Yawuru, there are several phonological environments which regularly affect the pitch in pronouncing syllables of Yawuru words.

First, tense stops (3.3.2) usually assign a raised pitch to their immediately preceding vowels. Thus *bap* [ba²p¹] 'moth' has a higher pitch than *bab* [ba²b^h] 'forgetting', *ngut* [ŋut¹] 'thick' is higher than *burd* [buɖ^h] 'getting up', and so on.

Second, long vowels (except *ii*) reveal relatively low pitch, which is observable in such minimal pairs as follows (cf. 3.2.7):

<i>bardi</i>	[báɖɪ]	'semen'
<i>baardi</i>	[báɖɪ]	'Bardi (language/group)' (= <i>baarda</i>)
<i>larar</i>	[lá ¹ az]	'waterhole'
<i>laar</i>	[laz]	'cracking, peeling'

It should be noted in this regard that the vowel of *dup* [du²p¹] 'white' is not merely lengthened but also lowered in pitch in the derivation of *duub-ngarr* [dóɖbɲar] 'whitish' (see 3.6.2.4). This must be understood also in connection with the pitch difference related to the tense/lax (i.e. *p/b*) contrast. Probably the fact that the front-high long vowel (*ii*) is not featured with a low pitch is, too, related to the tenseness of the pronunciation of [i:] (3.2.2.4).

Third, vowels adjacent to retroflex consonants have relatively lower pitch than otherwise. The minimal-pair items *buda* [búɖa] 'neck' and *burda* [búɖa] 'excrement' also contrast in their pitch (the latter is lower). Similarly, *dyaarl* [ɖɛaɾl] 'crack' is slightly lower than *dyaarr* [ɖɛaɾɻ] 'twist (of boomerang)'; and *rdaarl* [ɖaɾl] 'burst, crack' is even a bit lower.

^{145A} See the accounts in sections 10.6.2, 10.6.3.1, 10.6.4.1, 10.6.7.3.(1) and 10.6.7.3.(4).

3.7.4 Phonation

3.7.4.1 Whispery register

When talking in the presence of a taboo relative (see 1.1.4), or even when talking about such a relative in his/her absence, a whispery phonation is used in which all the segments are devoiced. It is noteworthy that in such a whispery speech style (or register) the rhotic flap /r̥/ (rr) turns into a devoiced plosive [t̥], as in [kati putákaŋ] for *karri burrákang* 'I don't know' (7.6.7.4).

As already pointed out in 3.3.1.2.(3), /k:/ (k*) tends to become a weak ejective [kʰ] or an aspirated [kʰ] in the whispery register, whereas /k/ (both *k* and *g*) becomes a devoiced lax [k̥] there.

3.7.4.2 Ingressive register

It has already been pointed out (3.1.4.3) that the ingressive air stream is used as a manner of expressing consent. The implosive bilabial [ɓ] (b'), which characterises the tag-question particle *b'ay* [ɓaɟ] ~ [ɓaɟ̥] (10.4.3) is considered to be the result of the ingressive manner of articulation (3.1.4.2).

Another Yawuru word often pronounced with ingressive pulmonic air is the interjection *wardayii* [wáɟaɛ:] 'ouch!'.

3.8 Morphophonemic processes

Yawuru is morphologically-speaking quite straightforward in spite of the complexities of inflexion. Although often quite a few affixes/clitics are adjoined together to form a phonological word, especially in verbal conjugations, most of these affixes/clitics and the roots maintain their phonetic values. Morphemic boundaries are generally easy to identify, since morphophonological mergers seldom occur across boundaries. All the known morphophonemic rules in Yawuru are listed below (3.8.1 to 3.8.6).

3.8.1 Prelateral dropping

3.8.1.1 Nasal dropping in prelateral environment

No instance of a sequence of /n/+l/ has been recorded, either stem-internally or across a morpheme boundary. If /n/ is followed by /l/ due to affixation or clitic attachment, then the nasal drops, as observed in

yanban 'south' + *-layin* 'towards' (8.3.2) > *yanba-layin* (**yanban-layin*)
dyimbin 'inside' + *-layin* 'towards' > *dyimbi-layin* (**dyimbin-layin*)

3.8.1.2 Rhotic dropping in prelateral environment

When the rhotic flap *rr* is followed by the lateral *l*, the latter drops and a tense trill [r] or strident trill [ʀ] results. This is typically observed in the augmented-number conjugation (for which the marker is prefix *rr-*; see 4.2.1.4) for *l*-initial verbs such as *langka* 'know' and *likarra* 'hear'. For example:

yanga- + rr- + likarra + -rn
 → *yanga-rr-ikarra-rn* [jáŋarìgarəŋ] ~ [ɖáŋarìkarəŋ]
 'we (EXCL) listen (to it)'

where *-yanga* is the augmented 1st-person (exclusive) prefix (4.2.1.3) and *-rn* is the imperfective suffix (4.3.1).

The process is also observed in nominal suffixing:

kularr + -layin → *kularr-ayin* [gúlarəŋ] ~ [kúlarəŋ] 'westside' (8.3.2.2)

No sequence of **rrl* (/r̄/+/l/) has been attested in Yawuru roots.¹⁴⁶

3.8.2 Laryngealisation of laminals

3.8.2.1 The verb *dyu*

When the verb *dyu* 'say' is followed by *dy*-initial enclitics (e.g. *-dyiya* 'to you', *-dyina* 'to him/her/it'; see 7.3.1), the verb root often loses its vowel and the verb-initial *dy* and the clitic-initial *dy* are contracted to a laryngealised laminal: either glottalised [ɖʰ], preglottalised [ʰɖ], or (less frequently) aspirated [ɖʰʰ] ~ [ɖʰzʰ].¹⁴⁷ Secondary stress is taken up by the clitic pronoun (see 7.3.1.2; cf. 3.7.1.5).

[5] *wal-dy(u)-dyina* [wáɖʰ'ina] ~ [wáɖʰʰina]
 2FUT-say-3DAT
 'you say it to him'

[6] *wang-ga-rr-a-dy(u)-dyiya* [wángaraʰɖəŋ] ~ [wángaraɖʰʰəŋ]
 3"-FUT-AGM-TR-say-2DAT
 'they will tell you soon'

[7] *Kunbi k*aarul + wal-dy(u)-dyina kamba-yi dyira.*
 shnível(ABS) wipe+2FUT-AUX(say)-3DAT; that-DAT boy(DAT);
 'Wipe the boy's nose.'

3.8.2.2 The verb *nya*

The laryngealisation process also takes place in the verb root *nya* 'catch' in the same morphophonemic environment. When followed by a *dy*-initial clitic pronoun, the root vowel drops and the root-initial laminal *ny* becomes either (epi-)glottalised [ɳʰ] or pre-epiglottalised [ʰɳ] (cf. Catford 1984:101):

¹⁴⁶ It seems that the mirror-image sequence, i.e. /l/ + /r̄/, is also reduced to *rr*. See 4.2.4.1.(1) for the 2nd-person future prefix complex *wa-rr-*, which is probably a reduced form of **wal-rr-*.

¹⁴⁷ Such laryngealisation does not take place when the verbal perfective marker *-nda* loses its vowel due to a subsequent *dy*-initial clitic pronoun (*-nda + -dy...* → *-nd-dy...*); see 4.3.4.1.(5).

- [8] *wal-a-ny(a)-dyina* [wálan̩'ɸ̀èna] ~ [wála'ɸ̀èna]
2FUT-TR-catch-3DAT
'you (SG) will catch it for her'
- [8A] *Dyaliny + wa-rr-a-ny(a)-dyirra* [wáran̩'ɸ̀èra].
greet+2"-AGM-TR-AUX(catch)-3"DAT
'You (PL) must greet them.'

3.8.2.3 Spelling convention

When verb forms are to be spelled without hyphenation, the laryngealised sequences *dy(u)-dy* and *ny(a)-dy* are represented by an intervening apostrophe (e.g. [5] and [7] *waldy'dyina*, [6] *wanggarrady'dyiya* and [8] *walany'dyina*) in order to distinguish them from the geminate *dydy* or the common *nydy* cluster (see 3.6.3.3.(3)).

3.8.3 Lenition of clusters

3.8.3.1 Nasal haplology

When stems ending in ...*nya* are followed by the causal case marker *-nyurdany* (6.9), the stem-final vowel usually drops (*nya-ny* > *ny-ny*) and a haplology may take place (*ny-ny* > *ny*):¹⁴⁸

- walkanya* 'long time ago' + *-nyurdany*
→ *walkanynyurdany* ~ *walkanyurdany* 'very old, ancient'
- yikanya* 'pregnant' + *-nyurdany*
→ *yikanynyurdany* ~ *yikanyurdany* 'because of pregnancy'

By the same token, the haplology optionally takes place when *ny*-ending nominals are inflected for the ergative case (the marker is *-nyi* for *ny*-ending stems; 6.4.1)

- nyamngarrniminy* 'people of this kind'¹⁴⁹ + *-nyi*
→ *nyamngarrnimi(ny)-nyi*

The nasal haplology accompanies no such glottalisation as described in 3.8.2.

3.8.3.2 Dissolution of CCC clusters

Clustering of three consonants is extremely rare in Yawuru stems (3.6.1.1). There are only five instances recorded (one with *mbd*, one with *rkm* and three with *lmb*), all of which have variant forms without the CCC cluster:

- wimdbibirn* 'razor shell' (~ *wimdibirn* ~ *windibirn*)
murkmurku (partial reduplication of the verb root *murku* 'search'; see 9.3.3.1)
yalmban 'south' (dialectal var. of *yanban*; see 1.1.3.2, cf. 3.6.3.1)
milmbi 'chest' (dialectal var. of *mimbi*; see 1.1.3.2)
dalmbanagap '(toponym) an old camping site near Thangoo' (~ *dalbanagap*)

There is at least one case where a stem ending in *lp* loses the second element of the cluster when followed by a *g*-initial suffix (thus avoiding a clustering of **lpg*).

¹⁴⁸ See Tsunoda (1981:55) for nasal haplology in Djaru.

¹⁴⁹ See 2.5.2.4 for the word formation of the compound noun *nyamngarrniminy*.

<i>rdirdilp</i>	[dédelpʰ]	'stumble, fall over'
<i>rdirdil-gadya</i>	[dédelpgàɬa]	'stagger, totter'

There is another case, however, in which the stem-final cluster *lp* is maintained in the same morphophonemic environment:¹⁵⁰

<i>walp-gadya</i>	[wálpɣàɬa]	'flapping wings' (* <i>wal-gadya</i>) ¹⁵¹
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A similar dropping of the consonant occurs when words ending in *lp* are followed by another word beginning in the bilabial nasal, e.g. a verb inflecting for the 2nd person minimal (with the *mi-* prefix; 4.2.1.3):

<i>dinynyilp</i>	[dínɲilpʰ]	'sneezing' (preverb) ¹⁵²
<i>dinynyil mingararn</i>	[dínɲilmɪŋaɾaŋ]	'you sneeze'

3.8.3.3 Syllable loss in allative/ablative inflexion

Stems ending in the CCV sequence *ngka* usually lose their final CV (*ka*) when the allative marker *-ngarn* or the ablative marker *-gap* is attached to them (see 6.6, 6.7 and 7.1.2.2 for instances). This probably results from a process common to the dissolution of CCC clusters illustrated above, given that some of the *ngka*-ending words are known to have a *k*-ending variant (e.g. *ginyangka* ~ *ginyangk*, as noted in footnote 93 earlier in this chapter). Thus, in the case of ablative inflexion, the process of the syllable loss is interpreted as *ngka* + *-gap* > **ngkgap* > *nggap*.

3.8.4 Conditioned allomorphy

3.8.4.1 *y* / *dy* alternation

The dative case marker has two alternative realisations conditioned by the nature of the preceding (i.e. stem-final) segments: *-yi* postvocalically and *-dyi* postconsonantly.

<i>wamba-yi</i>	[wámɔɣɛ]	'off/for men' (dative of <i>wamba</i>)
<i>dyanung-dyi</i>	[ɬánɔŋɬɪ]	'off/for the Black Kite' (dative of <i>dyanung</i>)

See 6.2.1 for some additional observations.

3.8.4.2 *y* / \emptyset alternation

The conjunctive clitic *-yirr* 'and' (10.6.6.1) occurs after a vowel; when following a consonant it loses the on-set glide but lengthens the preceding consonant instead (the allomorph is represented as *-Cirr*). In other words, ...C + *yirr* is realised as ...C-Cirr.

[9]	<i>ngadyulku-yirr yaardi</i>	[ŋádɥulgo'èrjárdɛ]
	(name)-and (name)	
	'Ngajulgu and Yardie'	

¹⁵⁰ There are other items with the final *lp* cluster (e.g. *bilp*, *bulp*, *gilp*, etc.), but these have not been recorded with any *g*-initial suffix/enclitic.

¹⁵¹ Unsuffixed **walp* does not occur as a free form.

¹⁵² See footnote 127 in 3.6.3.3.

- [10] *burdan-nirr yaardi* [búɖanzèrjázde]
 (name)-and (name)
 'Burdan and Yardie'
- [11] *wululung-ngirr marlurrung* [ólolonɔzèrmáloronɔ]
 (ceremony.name)-and (ceremony.name)
 'the dances of Wululung and Marlurrung'

Such allomorphy, however, is observed only at phrase-level coordination; at clause-level coordination (such as for "I came and he came too") the glide-initial form *-yirr* occurs instead of *-irr* (see 10.6.6.1.(3) for details):

- [12] *i-m-bula-(r)n-yirr* [ímbulan'èr]
 3-EN-come-IMPF-and
 '(... and) he came, too'

3.8.4.3 Variations in verbal suffixes

(1) The imperfective marker *-rn*

The verbal suffix *-rn* /ɲ/, which is a marker of imperfective aspect (4.3.4), varies its point of articulation ([ɲ] ~ [ɲ̠] ~ [ɲ̡] ~ [ɲ̣] ~ [ɲ̤]) according to the morphophonemic context in which it occurs. This is described in 4.3.4.1.(1) to (4).

(2) The perfective marker *-nda*

The verbal suffix *-nda*, which is a marker of perfective aspect (4.3.4), loses its vowel (i.e. *-nda* → *-nd*) in certain morphophonemic contexts. See 4.3.4.1.(5) for illustration.

3.8.4.4 Nasal assimilation

The ergative marker *-ni* have assimilative allomorphs *-rni* and *-nyi*, which occur following stems that end in a retroflex consonant and those in a laminal consonant, respectively (but *-ni*, not **-ngi*, following a velar-ending stem): e.g.

- ...rn + *-ni* > *rn-rni*
 ...rl + *-ni* > *rl-rni*
 ...ny + *-ni* > *ny-nyi*
 ...dy + *-ni* > *dy-nyi*
 ...ng + *-ni* > *ng-ni*

and so on (lexical examples are cited in 6.4.1). As observed in 3.6.3, cases of straightforward assimilation such as this is rare in the morphology of Yawuru.

3.8.5 Vocative

The marker of vocative (often emphatic) address is *-áw*, which is obviously a reduced (encliticised) form of the interjection *yáw* [jáɔ] (attention-getter with

prominent stress).¹⁵³ The explicit accent mark in *-áw* as well as *yáw* indicates that these two forms are always stressed (and usually accompanied by a high pitch).

The following rules are observed when the vocative marker is attached to a vowel-final word, whether nominal or verbal; (i) and (ii) are context-free rules, while (iii-a) and (iii-b) are context sensitive.

- [13] (i) ...*a* + *-áw* → [...*ázo*]
 (ii) ...*i* + *-áw* → [...*áɔ*]
 (iii-a) ...*u* + *-áw* → [...*ázo*] / *CY* (i.e. when *u* follows a laminal consonant)
 (iii-b) → [...^w*áɔ*] / elsewhere

Rule (i) above states that when the clitic *-áw* combines with a low vowel *a* (i.e. the final vowel of the preceding morpheme) the combination results in a long vowel *aa* with the back rounded glide off-set (stress is shifted to the stem vowel).

- [14] *K*aliyá-aw* [qàle'ázo] *i-ny-dyu-n-dyarra-yirr.*
 finish-VOC 3-EN-say-IMPF-1'DAT-PL
 'It's all over now!', he said to us (EXCL).'
 [15] *Baku wal-a-ká-aw* [walagázo] *nala.*
 hither 2FUT-TR-carry-VOC flame(ABS)
 'Hey, kindle the fire!' (lit. "bring the flame")
 [16] *Uu narnngula dyayrdá-aw* [ɔ̄ɔ̄ɔ̄ázo], *k*amiyaa.*
 oh! sugarbag(ABS) 12'(GEN)-VOC come.here/E
 'Hey, we've got a sugarbag here; come on!'

Rule (ii), i.e. the dropping of the high-front vowel, only applies to verbs (as in [17] below; also see examples given in 4.3.5): *i*-ending nominals do not take the *-áw* clitic but take the full-form interjection *yáw* (as in [18]):

- [17] *Marlu wa-rr-a-k*am(i)-áw* [wàraqamáɔ].
 not 2'FUT-AGM-TR-laugh-VOC
 'Hey, you (PL) shouldn't laugh!'
 [18] *Dyanu-dyunu bibi, yáw.*
 1(GEN)-really mother(ABS) hey!
 'Hey, it's my mother!'

When followed by the vocative marker and preceded by a laminal consonant (*dy*, *ny* or *ly*), the stem-final high-back vowel drops, as formulated in rule (iii-a) above.

- [19] *Uu nyamba kirrbady(u)-áw* [gèrbaɔ̄ázo].
 oh! this honey-VOC
 'Oh, what a (beautiful) honey this is!'
 [20] *Buruly(u)-áw* [bòɔ̄ɔ̄áɔ̄] *karda-karda.*
 invisible-VOC yonder-REDUP
 'I can't see that; it's too far away.' (cf. 8.4.2.4)

If the *u* vowel does not have a preceding laminal segment, then it is reduced to a glide on-set to the stressed vocative marker as in the following (also see 4.3.5).

¹⁵³ Despite its prominent stress, the marker *-áw* is regarded as a clitic, rather than a suffix, since it may occur on conjugated verbs (as in [15] and [17]; also see 4.3.5 and 10.3.4) as well as on nouns (as in [19]), pronouns (as in [16]), other kinds of nominals (but not on a predicate preverb; cf. 5.4) and interjections (as in [14]). The clitic status of the vocative marker is also confirmed by the fact that it follows case-marking enclitics (e.g. [22]) or object-marking clitic pronouns, if any (e.g. [23]).

- [21] *Dyungku-áw* [ɬ̀ùŋgʷáɔ], *kamba wa-na-ng-ga-lurra*.
 fire;_i-VOC that(ABS); 3_i-TR-EN-FUT-burn
 'Hey, (watch out for) the fire! That can catch fire.' (lit. "fire will burn that")

Following a consonant-ending stem, a slight lengthening of the vowel of the vocative marker is usual.

- [22] *Ya-ga-rry-dyali nganka-ngarn-áw* [ŋàŋgəŋáːɔ].
 12-FUT-AGM-return word-ALLAT-VOC
 'We shall return for the meeting!'
- [23] *Kamba-ni yirrydyurr budidy+inga-rr-a-ma-rn-dyunggarra-yirr-áw* [...ɬ̀unggarəɾáːɔ].
 that-ERG 3"PCL(ERG) beacon+3"-AGM-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-2"DAT-PL-VOC
 'They set the beacon fire to let you know of their arrival.' (a traditional custom still practised when visiting places with *malulu*, or young male initiates, in a round trip which is a part of the initiation)

3.8.6 Other morphophonemic processes

Several other morphophonemic processes have already been mentioned in earlier sections. Those are vowel fusion (3.4.1.4.(2)), morphologically motivated voicing of /k/ (as in the case markers *-gun*, *-gap*, etc; 3.4.5.1.(5)), and the prevention of sonorant devoicing in affix-final position (3.3.5.2.(3)).

Chapter 4: Verbal morphology and semantics

4.1 Overview

4.1.1 Predicate formation

All the predicates in Yawuru sentences are verbal predicates (PRED). In other words, every predication in this language requires a conjugated verb, although in certain contexts the verb may be omitted and consequently the predicate looks like a verbless predicate (10.5). Yawuru verbal predicates are further classified into compound verbs and simple verbs. A compound verb is composed of a preverb (PV) plus a finite verb (FV), as in [1]. Finite verbs may also be used by themselves without carrying a preverb, as in [2], in which case they are called simple verbs.

- [1] *Ingamana* [[*rdii*]_{PV} + [*i-na-ra-nda*]_{FV}]_{PRED} *nyamba-ni dyira*.
 cup(ABS) break 3-TR-AUX(spear)-PF this-ERG boy(ERG)
 'This boy broke a glass.'
- [2] *Warli* [[*i-na-ra-nda*]_{FV}]_{PRED} *kamba-ni wamba*.
 meat(ABS) 3-TR-spear-PF that-ERG man(ERG)
 'The man speared an animal.'

The term "finite" here means that a specific reference to a particular time and particular participant(s) is explicitly marked on the verb. A finite verb not only indicates an action or a state (or a change of state), but it also indicates who does it to whom when. Morphologically speaking, finite verbs are conjugated verbal forms that carry markers of the grammatical (inflexional) categories (such as person, number, mood, tense and aspect) and optionally markers of further derivational (lexical) categories.

Relatively speaking, Yawuru has only a small number of verb roots that can be conjugated as finite verbs (cf. 5.1.1). In current database, which includes around about 4500 vocabulary items, there are only 82 verb roots that can carry inflexional affixes.² Despite this small number in the dictionary count, these inflecting verbs occupy a remarkably important position in the language, since they play a key role in Yawuru sentences: the finite verb functions as the nucleus of information by virtue of the inflexional as well as cross-referencing affixes attached to it. Finite verbs also have quite a high frequency of occurrence in text (i.e. they are much less frequently omitted than nominal arguments are).

In this chapter, the fairly complicated morphological structure of the Yawuru finite verbs is analytically described. Structures and functions of the compound verbs will be discussed in Chapter 5.

¹ See 2.4.4 for the use of generic noun *warli* 'meat/animal'.

² The lexicalised reflexive verb *bandyi* (see 4.6.7) is included. Suppletive roots are not counted here. Since there are five additional roots (namely, *dyi*, *nga*, *garnda*, *rda* and *ngama*) which are suppletive for others (see 4.5.2), we have in total 87 distinct verb roots on record, disregarding morphophonological alternations such as *barda* ~ *marda* (4.5.4.2), *garda* ~ *garnda* (4.5.2.2), *ra* ~ *ri* (4.5.4.1), *ka* ~ *ga* ~ *k*a* (4.5.6.2), *dyu* ~ *nyu* (3.6.3.2.(1)), and so on.

4.1.2 Finite verb conjugation

Yawuru verbs are conjugated basically conforming to the following canonical formula:

- [3] finite verb → prefixes + root (+ suffixes) (+ enclitics)
- | | | |
|-----------|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| prefixes | → | Pro ₁ (αEN) ±Mood/Tense (+Number) (+Conj) (+Ref ₁) (βEN) |
| root | → | (+Redup) (γEN) + √ |
| suffixes | → | (+Ref ₂) ≠Aspect |
| enclitics | → | (+Com) (±Imp ≠Subord) (+Pro ₂) (+Voc) |

where

- 1) "Pro₁" is a bound pronominal and is the obligatory first-order prefix indicating the grammatical person/number of the subject (irrespective of transitivity; see 2.1.1 and 4.2.1);
- 2) "EN" is an epenthetic nasal which may occur between Pro & Mood/Tense, between Ref₁ and the verb root, or between Redup and the verb root (√) — but EN can occur only once in the possible three slots — see 4.2.3 and 4.3.1.2 (see also 9.3.3.1);
- 3) "Mood/Tense" stands for markers of irrealis (IRR, 4.3.2) and of future (FUT, 4.3.1);³
- 4) "Number" is the slot for a marker of augmented number (AGM);⁴
- 5) "Conj" stands for conjugation class markers (4.2.2), either TR (for class I) or zero (for class II);
- 6) "Ref₁" is the slot for the introspective prefix (INT), which is obligatory for the reflexive (4.2.4.1), but not for the reciprocal conjugations (4.2.4.2);
- 7) "√" indicates the verb root, which may or may not be reduplicated (REDUP) leftwards (2.3.2; see 9.3 for detail);
- 8) "Ref₂" is the slot for the reciprocal suffix (RCP), which is also required for the reflexive conjugations;
- 9) "Aspect" is the slot for an aspectual marker (4.3.4), either perfective (PF) or imperfective (IMPF), which does not co-occur with any "Mood/Tense" marker (the correspondent values "±/≠" in the formula indicates this);
- 10) "Com" stands for a comitative marking (COM, 4.4.1 and 4.7);
- 11) "Imp" is the slot for a dative-imperative marker (4.3.3.2), which may not co-occur with "Subord" (as indicated by the "±/≠" correspondence);
- 12) "Subord" stands for clitics which may appear when the predicate is subordinated to another. These includes the purposive marker (DAT_{purp}) and sequential marker (SEQ) — see 4.4.2, 10.6.2 and 10.6.3;

³ I tend to regard the future-desiderative as a modal category rather than a tense (see 4.3.3 for discussion). I have chosen, however, to maintain the term "future" (abbreviated "FUT") for an easier comparison with Nyulnyulan sister languages.

⁴ I use the abbreviation "AGM" for the augmented-number category. I prefer this to "AUG" which is more common in the literature, because "AUG" has turned out to be too easily confused with "AUX" in the interlinear gloss.

- 13) "Pro₂" is a pronominal enclitic, either accusative (ACC) or dative (DAT) form, which functions as an object/beneficiary marker (4.4.3; see also 7.3 and 7.4; the dative clitic may be optionally marked for plurality —see 7.4.1.3);
- 14) "Voc" marks vocative forms (4.4.4, cf. 3.8.5)

A finite verb need not use up all these slots; the slots given in parentheses are optional. The use of the angle brackets signifies that either "Mood/Tense" or "Aspect" (but never both) should be present. Thus, the least complicated form of a Yawuru inflecting verb is either [4a] or [4b]:

- [4] a. Pro₁ + Mood/Tense + √ (either Pro₁-FUT-√ or Pro₁-IRR-√)
 b. Pro₁ + √ +Aspect (either Pro₁-√-PF or Pro₁-√-IMPF)

A different prefixing order is observed in the future minimal conjugation, in which the conjugation class marker (Conj) precedes the future marker (FUT). Further, in the future minimal conjugation an epenthetic nasal (EN) may occur before the future marker. Thus, the slot-sequence formula for the future conjugations are as follows (minimal and augmented, respectively):

- [5] future (MIN): Pro₁ (+ Conj) (+ EN) + FUT + ...
 future (AGM): Pro₁ + FUT + Number (+ Conj) + ...

A similar ordering variation is observed in irrealis.

- [6] irrealis (MIN): Pro₁ ± Conj ± IRR + ...
 irrealis (AGM): Pro₁ + IRR + Number (+ Conj) + ...

Notice, however, that in the irrealis minimal the conjugation class marker and the mode marker do not co-occur. The combined use of ± and ∓ indicates this. Thus, the irrealis formula is either "Pro₁ + Conj + ..." or "Pro₁ + IRR + ...", depending on the conjugation class of the verb (details illustrated in 4.2.2). It is also to be observed that the irrealis conjugations do not take EN.

It should be noted, further, that the first-order prefix (Pro₁) consists of different sets of prefixes, namely (i) non-future minimal, (ii) non-future augmented, (iii) future minimal, (iv) future augmented, (v) irrealis minimal and (vi) irrealis augmented. This means that the first-order prefix is to some extent a person-number-tense-mood marker, rather than simply a person marker. In other words, tense, mood and number categories are indicated somewhat redundantly in the system of Yawuru verbal morphology, since the specifications of these categories are given twice, initially by the "Pro₁" prefix and subsequently by respective markers of "Mood/Tense" and of "Number".

As shown in formula [3] above, a verb root carries a series of prefixes and suffixes. Suffixes may be absent in certain conjugational categories (as in the future), but verbs must always carry some prefix(es). In the following sections, details of each verbal affix will be examined, except "Subord" and "Pro₂", which will be treated in Chapters 7 and 10, respectively.

Polarity (negative vs affirmative) is not marked by affixation, but by placing a negator word before the conjugated verb (see 10.3, cf. 4.3.3.4). Yawuru has no morphological distinction of voice (active/passive), although there is a special syntactic construction called "quasi-passive" which has a function somewhat similar to that of passive or antipassive (see 10.2.4)

4.2 Agreement and transitivity

4.2.1 Person/number

4.2.1.1 The four-person system

In order to provide an adequate account of the Yawuru verbal morphology, it is imperative to understand the way in which the grammatical person system operates in this language. Readers are referred to section 2.4.2. The essential point is that the category characterised as [+Speaker, +Hearer] comprises the fourth person category with the distinction of minimal (MIN) and augmented (AGM) in number. Remember that the following digitals stand for the Yawuru person/number categories (2.4.2.1):

- 1 1st person minimal (= 1MIN); 'I/me' (single speaker)
- 1" 1st person augmented (=1AGM); 'we, but not you' (the speaker plus one or more people excluding the hearer)
- 2 2nd person minimal (= 2MIN); 'you' (single hearer)
- 2" 2nd person augmented (=2AGM); 'you fellows' (the hearer plus one or more people excluding the speaker)
- 3 3rd person minimal (= 3MIN); 'he/him or she/her' (a single person other than the speaker or the hearer)
- 3" 3rd person augmented (=3AGM); 'they/them' (two or more people other than the speaker or the hearer)
- 12 4th person minimal (= 12MIN); 'you and I/me' (speaker and hearer as a single unit of an action or a state)
- 12" 4th person augmented (=12AGM); 'you and us; you fellows and me' (three or more people including both the speaker and the hearer)

Readers are asked to be aware of the distinctions between 12, 1" and 12" that are not captured by the ambiguous translation 'we/us' in English (see 2.4.2.1).

4.2.1.2 Dreaming-wise person-marking

Another peculiarity of the person agreement system in Yawuru, which deserves to be mentioned here, is that when talking of somebody's *rayi* 'conceptional dreaming' (i.e. personal totem) the totem creature may be cross-referenced by the subject-marking prefix which agrees with that man or woman (i.e. actual person). In the following example, it happened that the snake was the dreaming of the addressee.⁵

⁵ The Yawuru word *rayi* 'dreaming' can refer to various different kinds of "dreamings" (totems) held by the same person, such as personal dreamings (usually a conceptional one), inherited family dreaming(s), local dreaming (associated with one's birth place) or clan dreaming(s). It most commonly refers to one's conceptional dreaming, usually a plant or an animal that had either come up in the parent's dream, or had made a special kind of encounter with the parent(s), before the person was born (see example [223] cited in 10.6.6.1). The same

- [7] *Kamba dyurru mi-rndira-rn yanban-gadya.*
 that snake_i (ABS) 2_i-go-IMPF south-INTENS
 'The snake (which is your dreaming) went on southwards.'

Such dreaming-wise identification by verbal prefixing is typically observed when a speaker refers to his/her own dreaming creature.

- [8] *I-na-ra-rn dal + nga-ny-dyu-n niyakan.*
 3_i-TR-spear-IMPF clang+1_k-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF back.of.body_j (ABS)
 'My father_i speared [the turtle_{j=k} (which happened to be my dreaming)] and
 [the spear] hit [the turtle's] back_j, making a clanging sound.'

The context of the utterance is as follows: This happened before the narrator_k (female) was born. Her father_i went fishing to the coast and saw a green turtle_j, approaching him_i. He tried to spear the turtle, but he missed. He should have hit the turtle's neck, but the spear hit the carapace. Just after this episode, his wife gave birth to a girl_k (i.e. the narrator). The baby_k had a natal scar on her shoulder, just around the place the father's spear had hit the turtle. So the people regarded green turtle as the newborn baby's *rayi* (conceptional dreaming).^{5A}

4.2.1.3 Morphology of person-marking

The first-order prefix of an inflecting verb usually agrees in person and number with the syntactic subject of the verb. The syntactic subject here means either the agent of a transitive action (A) or the actor of an intransitive action (S). In the relatively rare instances of quasi-passive sentences (10.2.4), the prefix agrees with the object/undergoer.

The first-order prefix basically indicates the person category. However, it usually indicates the number as well, since the prefix takes different forms according to whether it refers to a minimal subject or a non-minimal one. As mentioned earlier, there are six sets of the "Pro₁" prefixes. Disregarding the number distinction, they comprise (a) the non-future set (for the imperfective and perfective conjugations), (b) the future set and (c) the irrealis set. An appropriate set should be chosen according to the mood in which the predication is made, although some measure of overlapping (i.e. common or similar forms) is observed among these sets. The prefix forms of each set are given in Table 401 (below).

In the non-future set the person/number categories of 1, 1", 12 and 12" are fully distinguished. The distinction is partly neutralised in the future and irrealis sets, although 12 and 12" are still distinguished because the latter requires the obligatory marker of the augmented number *rr-* (4.2.1.4).⁶

word *rayi* also functions as an adjective 'secret, hidden' and as a preverb 'hide something, make something secret' (with auxiliary *ma* 'put').

^{5A} The original text is found in Appendix 1 (Text 1).

⁶ Dixon (1980:351-6) suggests that the minimal/augmented system (i.e. four-person system) was possibly a proto-system of Australian languages. As far as Yawuru is concerned, however, it is most likely that the distinction between the 1st and 4th person is a secondary development, as the common element *ya-* shared by 1", 12 and 12" suggests. Also see footnote 26 in 4.2.4.2.(2).

TABLE 401: Person/number-marking prefixes (bound pronominals)

(a) non-future set:

1	<i>nga-</i>	1"	<i>yang-</i>
2	<i>mi-</i>	2"	<i>ku-</i>
3	<i>i-</i>	3"	<i>inga-</i>
12	<i>ya- (~ dya-)*</i>	12"	<i>yaga-</i>

(b) future set:

1	<i>nga-</i>	1"	<i>yang-</i>
2	<i>wal- / nga-**</i>	2"	<i>wa-</i>
3	<i>wa-</i>	3"	<i>wang-</i>
12	<i>ya- (~ dya-)*</i>	12"	<i>ya-</i>

(c) irrealis set:

1	<i>nga-</i>	1"	<i>ya-</i>
2	<i>mi-</i>	2"	<i>ku- / mi-***</i>
3	<i>wa-</i>	3"	<i>wa-</i>
12	<i>ya-</i>	12"	<i>ya- / yaga-****</i>

NOTES: * The variant *dya-* is pronounced fricatively (i.e. [ʒa]~[ja], see 3.4.4.2). The fricative variant does not occur in 1" or 12".

** *wal-* for verbs belonging to class I and IIa; *nga-* for class IIb.

*** Most verbs takes *ku-*, while a few takes *mi-* (i.e. the same form as in the minimal).

**** In 12", *ya-* may be substituted by *yaga-*, which is probably the realis future form (*ya-* plus the future marker *ga-*) rather than the non-future 12" monomorpheme *yaga-*.

Throughout the three sets of "Pro₁" prefixes that we have seen above the 1st-person minimal prefix (1) is invariably *nga-*. Here we see an obvious connection to the independent, free-form pronoun *ngayu* (1MIN, ABS). The same is true of the 4th-person marker *ya-*, which is shared by the independent pronominal forms: *yayu* (12MIN, ABS) and *yadiri* (12", ABS). Also to be pointed out is a connection between the 2"-prefix *ku-* and the 2nd-person non-minimal pronouns, *kurgarda* (2DL, ABS) and *kurryirr* (2PL, ABS). As to the 3rd person, however, no apparent connection is observable between the verbal prefixes and the independent pronouns (7.1.1).

4.2.1.4 Morphology of number-marking

Now let us turn to the fully conjugated verb forms. We begin with the least complicated paradigm, which is realis non-future non-reflexive with no object specification, where the full formula [3] is reduced to [9]:

[9] Pro₁ (+ Number) (+ Conj) + √ + Aspect

The non-future set of the subject-person prefixes combined with the augmented-number prefix *rr-* render the following paradigm:

[10]	1	<i>nga-</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rr-</i>
	2	<i>mi-</i>	2"	<i>ku-rr-</i>
	3	<i>i-</i>	3"	<i>inga-rr-</i>
	12	<i>ya-</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rr-</i>

Where the subject is of minimal number, the number prefix is zero. Given in [6] below are the perfective (PF) forms (with the marker *-nda*) of the verb *ngara* 'become', a class IIb verb which requires no conjugation class marker):

[11]	1	<i>nga-ngara-nda</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rr-ngara-nda</i>
	2	<i>mi-ngara-nda</i>	2"	<i>ku-rr-ngara-nda</i>
	3	<i>i-ngara-nda</i>	3"	<i>inga-rr-ngara-nda</i>
	12	<i>ya-ngara-nda</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rr-ngara-nda</i>

Notice that the prefix *rr-*, which appears in the augmented-number conjugation, is functionally redundant, since the non-minimality of the subject is known from the preceding "Pro₁" prefix. The marker *rr-* is, however, obligatory there. Remember, too, that in Yawuru grammar "you-and-me" (two people) compose a single unit (12min). When a verb refers to the action taken jointly by you and me, it does not (and should not) carry the number marker *rr-*, but simply carries the 4th-person prefix *ya-*. If the action is taken by you, me and some other people, then the verb would carry both the augmented 4th-person prefix *yaga-* (12") and the augmented marker *rr-*. The combination of minimal *ya-* with *rr-* is ungrammatical (**yarr-*); the non-minimal form *yaga-* without *rr-* is not acceptable, either:

[12]	12	<i>ya-ngara-nda</i>	(but <i>*ya-rr-ngara-nda</i>)
	12"	<i>yaga-rr-ngara-nda</i>	(but <i>*yaga-ngara-nda</i>)

In some cases where the person/number markers show the same form for minimal and augmented (as in the irrealis set), *rr-* is the only marker of the non-minimality.⁷

The affix *rr-* takes a palatalised allomorph *rry-* when followed by the sequence /d'i/ (=dy + i), as already described in 3.3.4.2.(2). The palatalisation is observed typically in the augmented forms of the verb *ni* 'be', which has the suppletive root *dyi* for the augmented conjugation:

[13]	a.	<i>inga-rry-dyi-n</i>
		3"-AGM-be-IMPF
		'they are there'
	b.	<i>ku-rry-dyi-n</i>
		2"-AGM-be-IMPF
		'you are there'

As will be pointed out later in 4.3.1.1.(3), this process of the palatalisation is blocked in some parts of the future conjugation.

⁷ It is most likely that the morpheme *rr-* is the same lexeme as the pronominal augmented marker *-rr* (as encountered in the 2nd person pronouns *kurgarda* and *kurryirr* — 7.1.1) and *-rri* (as encountered in the dual demonstrative forms *nyamba-rri* and *kamba-rri* — 7.5.2.2). It probably has a connection to the nominal conjunctive *-yirr* 'and' (10.6.6.1) and to the non-paucal plural marker *-irr* for accusative enclitics (7.3.1, 7.3.2.2).

4.2.15 Number-marking as an optional feature

In Yawuru number marking in the inflecting verb is not always in concord with the morpho-semantic number of the subject. A subject which carries no morphological marker of non-minimality may or may not take a verb conjugated in the augmented number. Consider the following examples:

- [14] *Manydya i-m-bula-nda.*
 many(ABS)_i; 3_i-EN-come-PF
 'Many people came.'
- [15] *Wirliny-gadya + inga-rry-dyi-n kurldyu.*
 swing-INTENS+3_i; -AGM-AUX(be)-IMPF grass(ABS)_i;
 'The grass is waving (in the wind).'

The general tendency is that, if the subject NP is left unsaid (which is very often the case in Yawuru), then the verb takes the augmented form. On the contrary, if the NP is present, then the verbal conjugation need not be explicitly marked for the augmented number. This is, however, a tendency rather than a strict rule. For example, the verb form in [14] may well be the augmented one: *inga-rr-(a-)bula-nda* (3"-AGM-come-PF). When the subject is of a collective nature, which is the case in [15], the verb often takes an augmented form (cf. [43] in 7.3.2.2).

4.2.2 Conjugation class

4.2.2.1 Class distinctions

Yawuru verbs can be divided into three conjugation classes:⁸

- 1) class I, or *wala-* class
- 2) class IIa, or *wal-* class
- 3) class IIb, or *nga-* class

The classification is based on the forms that a verb takes in its 2nd-person future (2FUT) conjugation (see 4.3.1.1). As a matter of fact, the 2FUT form is the only point where class IIa verbs and class IIb verbs differ; they are morphologically identical elsewhere (see the sample paradigms given in Table 406). On the other hand, class I is distinguished from IIa and IIb by the fact that the verbs of this class require (except in irrealis minimal) a particular conjugation marker (i.e. TR in interlinear gloss) as an element of the prefixing complex. The marker takes the forms of *na-* in minimal and *a-* in augmented. The class I 2FUT prefix *wala-* is analysable as *wal-* (unmarked class IIa form) plus *a-* (conjugation marker). The class IIa/b verbs carry no explicit conjugation marker (except in some irregular verbs; see 4.4.4).

A few examples of the perfective conjugation of the verbs representative of each class are given below (Future forms, which reveal quite another pattern, will be discussed later in 4.2.4.1):

⁸ In earlier papers (e.g. Hosokawa 1987b, 1987c, 1990), I called them set A, set B and set C conjugations, respectively.

class I	<i>i-na-nya-nda</i> 3-TR-catch-PF 'he/she caught it'	<i>inga-rr-a-nya-nda</i> 3"-AGM-TR-catch-PF 'they caught it'
class IIa	<i>i-wandyi-nda</i> 3-climb-PF 's/he climbed up'	<i>inga-rr-wandyi-nda</i> 3"-AGM-climb-PF 'they climbed up'
class IIb	<i>i-ngara-nda</i> 3-become-PF 's/he became ...'	<i>inga-rr-ngara-nda</i> 3"-AGM-become-PF 'they became ...'

4.2.2.2 Correlation with transitivity

Most Yawuru verbs belong to only one of the three conjugation classes, except the relatively minor group of the "alternative-prefixing" verbs, which we shall look at later (4.2.2.3 and 4.8). A tendency is apparent in Table 402A for class I to consist almost exclusively of transitive verbs. Of the 40 members of class I verbs, 39 (or 98%) are transitive (including 3 semi-transitive verbs). The unique exception is the verb *kurididi* 'change (direction)' (as in "the tide changes"). By contrast, class II (IIa and IIb combined) has only 9 (or 39%) transitive verbs (including semi-transitive). This is a significantly low figure, in the light of the fact that transitive verbs represent as much as 69% of the inflecting verbs in Yawuru (cf. Table 506). Alternative-prefixing verbs have been excluded from the figures given so far. Should they be included in the count, the correlation between transitivity and conjugation class would be even higher (Table 402B).

It is also apparent from Tables 402A and 402B that class IIb contains far fewer transitive verbs than class IIa does. Transitive verbs found in class IIa are: 'forget', 'kick', 'cut hair', 'block a fight', 'skin', 'say' and 'ask₂'. The only transitive verb in class IIb is 'hear/listen'. These transitive verbs of class II (a and b) are mainly verbs related to intellectual and/or sensory activities, although physical actions such as kicking are also found.⁹

⁹ The verb *dyu* 'say' is classified (syntactically) as transitive because it requires ergative-marking on the subject. In complex verb constructions, however, the same verb (used as an auxiliary) may function intransitively with the subject in the absolutive case (see 5.3).

TABLE 402A: Conjugation class and transitivity (I)

	total	I	II	IIa	IIb
transitive	46	37	9	8	1
semi-transitive**	2	2	0	0	0
intransitive***	16	1	15	5	10
<SMALL TOTAL>	64	40	24	13	11
alternative-prefixing	18	16	20	7	13
-- transitive		(16)	(4)	(4)	(0)
-- semi-transitive		(0)	(1)	(0)	(1)
-- intransitive		(0)	(15)	(3)	(12)
<GRAND TOTAL>	82	56	44	20	24

NOTES: * Reduplicated verbs are not counted here (but the verb *bulibuli* is counted; see 4.8.4). Suppletive roots are not counted, either. Verbs that reveal the split conjugation class (4.4.4) are classified according to the forms they take in 2FUT. The lexicalised reflexive verb *bandyi* (Vi, IIb; see 4.6.7) is included in the count.

** Semi-transitive verbs are the verbs that take ergative-dative case frame (see 10.1.4).

*** The reflexive verb *bandyi* 'exchange' is counted as an intransitive verb (see discussion in 4.6.7).

TABLE 402B: Conjugation class and transitivity (II) -- alternative-prefixing verbs included in the count)

	total	I	II	IIa	IIb
transitive/semi-transitive	69	55	14	12	2
intransitive	31	1	30	8	22
TOTAL	100	56	44	20	24

NOTE The figures are not the percentage, but the number of roots (alternative-prefixing roots are counted twice). Quite coincidentally (and conveniently), the total number happens to be 100.

In Table 403 (below), all the Yawuru verb roots (except suppletive ones) are classified according to their conjugation class. It is observed that the *nga-* class (IIb) mainly contains motion verbs. Phonologically, the majority (73%) of the *wal-* class (IIa) roots are *dy-*initial, although there are a couple of *dy-*initial verb roots that belong to other classes (one in I, another in IIb). Notice also that most of the monosyllabic verb roots (with only two exceptions) belong to class I, and that all the monosyllabic verbs, excepting the verb *ni* (IIb), are transitive.

4.2.2.3 Alternative-prefixing verbs

There is a group of verb roots which can be conjugated alternatively in two different paradigms: A-conjugation (*wala-* or *wal-* class paradigm depending on the verb) and B-conjugation (*wal-* or *nga-* class paradigm depending on the verb). These are named alternative-prefixing (A/P) verbs after Stokes (1982:255).¹⁰ Only 22% (18 out of 83) of the Yawuru verb roots are alternative-prefixing.¹¹ These are listed in a separate section in Table 403 above, where the same roots are registered twice in different columns of the conjugation class. It is noticeable that only one verb, namely *dyarlngardi* 'cover' takes the *wal-* paradigm (class IIa) as its A-conjugation paradigm. For all the other A/P verbs, the A-conjugation takes the *wala-* paradigm (class I). As for the B-conjugation, 6 of the A/P verbs employ the *wal-* paradigm (class IIa), while the rest employ the *nga-* paradigm (class IIb).

Many of the A/P verbs bear transitive meanings in the A-conjugation and intransitive meanings in the B-conjugation. A typical example is *lurra* 'burn' (A = I and B = IIb in this particular case). This verb, when conjugated in the class I paradigm (i.e. with the explicit transitive marker TR), functions transitively 'burn it (e.g. fire/firewood), cook it (e.g. meat)'. The same root functions intransitively 'burn (by itself), be burning' when conjugated in the class IIb paradigm. The contrast is observed in [16]:

- [16] *Maya i-lurra-rn, yaga-ni i-na-lurra-rn-dyanu.*
 house(ABS); 3_i-burn-IMPF who_j-ERG 3_j-TR-burn-IMPF-1DAT
 '(My) house is burning! Who is burning my house!'

Given below are the 3rd-person future and imperfective forms of the same verb. Notice the presence and the absence of the transitive conjugation marker (TR) and the corresponding differentiation in the meanings:

- [17] a. *wa-na-ng-ga-lurra*
 3-TR-EN-FUT-burn
 's/he will burn [it]' <TRANSITIVE>
- b. *wa-ng-ga-lurra*
 3-EN-FUT-burn
 'it will burn' <INTRANSITIVE>
- [18] a. *I-na-lurra-rn dyungku.*
 3_i-TR-burn-IMPF fire(ABS)_j
 'He_i burns the firewood_j.' <TRANSITIVE>
- b. *I-lurra-rn dyungku.*
 3_i-burn-IMPF fire(ABS)_i
 'The fire_i is burning.' <INTRANSITIVE>

¹⁰ Stokes (1982, 1984) applies the term "alternative-prefixing" rather ambiguously, referring to the specific subclass of verb roots that show prefix alternation (i.e. A/P verbs), as well as referring typologically to the languages that have two contrastive sets of verbal prefixes (i.e. A/P languages). In this thesis, however, I use the term to refer only to the group of verbs that reveal the behaviour of the prefix alternation.

¹¹ In Nyikina, at least 20 (or 14%) of the 145 verb roots are attested to show prefix alternation (Stokes 1982:255-6). Stokes suggests that there are still other verb roots that show the same behaviour. The contents of Stokes' list (20 roots) only partially correspond to the inventory of the Yawuru A/P verbs (18 roots).

Alternative-prefixing verb roots will be given a broad overall gloss only: e.g. *lurra* 'burn'. When it is necessary to indicate the alternative transitivity (or any other kinds of semantic differentiation due to the prefix alternation), the following format will be used:

lurra 'burn it, cook it (I)/be burning (IIb)'

A few A/P verbs remain transitive in both A- and B-conjugations, although there are certain differentiations in their meanings. Some other A/P verbs manifest reflexive meanings in the B-conjugation. These and other semantic characteristics of the A/P verbs, as well as related syntactic issues, are discussed later in 4.8.

4.2.3 Epenthetic nasal (EN)

As indicated in the canonical formula [3], an epenthetic nasal (EN) may appear in a certain position of the conjugational slot sequence (4.1.2). It occurs between an open-syllable (vowel-ending) prefix and the immediately following morpheme that has an initial occlusive. The pre-epenthesised morpheme may be an affix or the verb root, but EN may occur only once in a finite verb. ENs occur only in the realis conjugations (both future and non-future). No ENs are observed in the irrealis.¹² ENs are obligatory in some cases and optional in others, depending on the verb and/or the inflexional category. There are also situations where the occurrence of an EN is impeded.

EN takes the form of a nasal consonant homorganic to the subsequent consonant, e.g. *ny-* before *dy*, *m-* before *b*, and *ng-* before *k/k*/g*, so that it has an euphonic effect.¹³

4.2.3.1 Obligatory ENs

(1) *dy*-initial roots

Some verb roots always require the nasal epenthesis. For example, verbs with root-initial laminal *dy-* are prenasalised in all person/number categories in non-future (imperfective and perfective) conjugations, regardless of the conjugation class. Given below are the 3rd-person imperfective forms of *dyala* 'look after' (class I), *dyu* 'say' (class IIa) and *dyali* 'return' (class IIb):

<i>i-ny-dyala-rn</i>	(but never <i>*i-dyala-rn</i>)
<i>i-ny-dyu-n</i>	(but never <i>*i-dyu-n</i>)
<i>i-ny-dyali-rn</i>	(but never <i>*i-dyali-rn</i>)

¹² Thus ENs also function as a redundant realis marker. (This was pointed out by Gerda Smith.)

¹³ There is no verb root beginning with *rd*. There are four verb roots having an initial retroflex segment: *rndira* 'go', *rli* 'eat', *ra* 'spear' and *rba* 'follow'. These verbs take no EN in their conjugation; see 4.2.3.2, cf. analysis in 4.2.3.1.(4).

(2) *b*-initial roots

An obligatory EN also occurs with the *b*-initial verb *bula* 'come' (Vi/IIb):

- [19] a. *i-m-bula-rn* (but never **i-bula-rn*)
 3-EN-come-IMPF
 's/he comes'
- b. *ya-m-bula-nda* (but never **ya-bula-nda*)
 12"-EN-come-PF
 'we came.'

The verb *bardika* 'fill' always requires the EN *m-*, too. There are, however, other *b*-initial verb roots that may be conjugated without the EN. Such an instance is the verb *baru* 'blow (as wind), heal (as doctor)' (Vt/I) illustrated below:

- [20] *i-na-m-baru-rn* (or *i-na-baru-rn*)
 3-TR-EN-blow-IMPF 3-TR-blow-IMPF
 '[the wind] blows'

Other verbs with which the EN is optional are *bilka* 'hit₁' (Vt/I), *bangngara* 'go hunting' (Vi/IIa), *bandyi* 'exchange' (Vr/IIb) and others. At the other extreme the *b*-initial monosyllabic verb root *bi* 'drink' (Vt/I) does not take the EN at all in non-future conjugations:

- [21] *i-na-bi-nda* (but **i-na-m-bi-nda*)
 3-TR-drink-PF 3-TR-*EN-drink-PF
 's/he drank it'

(3) Velar-initial roots

As for the verbs with a root-initial velar stop, there are again three types regarding the occurrence of the EN *ng-*:¹⁴

- 1) The EN is optional with *ka* 'carry' (Vt/I), *kundyama* 'lose a baby' (Vt/I), *k*ami* 'laugh' (Vt/I), *kilbira* 'sing' (Vm/I) and others;
- 2) The EN is obligatory with *garda* 'enter' (Vi/IIa) and *karda* 'chase' (see 4.8.2.4);
- 3) The EN is excluded in the conjugations of *kunba* 'send' (Vt/I).

The occurrence/non-occurrence of the ENs has shown no apparent correlation with the syllable structure, transitivity, conjugation class, or any other semantic features of the verbs.

(4) The verb 'go'

Since there is no verb with initial *rd* (retroflex stop) or *d* (apico-alveolar stop), neither *rn-* nor *n-* occurs as an EN. The case of the verb 'go' (which has the 3IMPF-form *irndirarn* 's/he goes') needs commenting here, since the root could be analysed as either *rdira* /ḍira/ or *rndira* /ḍira/, i.e. depending on whether the

¹⁴ There are no verb roots in class IIb that have an initial velar stop.

prestop nasal *rn* /*n*/ is regarded as epenthetic or not. I have chosen to interpret *rndira* as the root for two reasons:

- (i) the nasal in question is always there (no such form as **i-rdira-rn* has been encountered);
- (ii) the verb has the 2FUT-form *nga-rndira*, not **nga-rdira*. The latter would be expected if the root were *rdira*.

Taken into account in (ii) above is the fact that no Yawuru verb requires an EN in 2FUT-form in any of the conjugational paradigms. We have thus no compelling reason to believe that the verb 'go' should be a unique exception in this regard. Therefore, the 3IMPF-form is interpreted as *i-rndira-rn* (3-√-IMPF), rather than *i-rn-rdira-rn* (3-EN-√-IMPF). See also 4.4.2 and 4.4.3.2 for the conjugational characteristics of this verb; cf. 3.6.3.3.(1).

4.2.3.2 EN prevention

No ENs are recorded where verb roots have non-occlusive segments initially. This means, since Yawuru lacks a fricative series, that sonorant segments require no pre-root epenthesis. Examples given below are the 3rd-person perfective forms of *ma* 'put' (Vt/I) and *likarra* 'hear' (Vt/Iib):

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| [22] | <i>i-na-ma-nda</i> | (but never | <i>*i-na-m-ma-nda</i>) |
| | 3-TR-put-PF | | 3-TR-*EN-put-PF |
| [23] | <i>i-likarra-nda</i> | (but never | <i>*i-n-likarra-nda</i>) |
| | 3-hear-PF | | 3-*EN-hear-PF |

Verbs that prevent EN for the same reason include *mirdibi* 'run away' (Vi/Iib), *nya* 'catch' (Vt/I), *ngara* 'become' (Vi/Iib), *lar'dyi* 'forget' (Vi/IIa), *rli* 'eat' (Vt/I), *rba* 'follow' (Vt/I), *warka* 'muster' (Vt/I) and many others.

Apart from the phonological conditioning, there are certain grammatical environments that restrain the occurrence of EN. We have already commented that no EN occurs in irrealis conjugations. In the realis future, EN may precede the future tense marker, rather than occurring immediately preceding the verb root. Occurrence and non-occurrence of EN in the future conjugation will be discussed in 4.2.4.3.

A correlation with the inflexional categories is also observed in non-future conjugations: EN may optionally occur in imperfective aspect (with the suffix *-rn*), while it is restricted in perfective (with the suffix *-nda*). The examples below are all in the 3rd person:

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ka</i> 'carry': | <i>i-na-ka-rn</i> ~ <i>i-na-ng-ka-rn</i>
<i>i-na-ka-nda</i> (but <i>*ina-ng-ka-nda</i>) |
| <i>bura</i> 'see': | <i>i-na-bura-rn</i> ~ <i>i-na-m-bura-rn</i>
<i>i-na-bura-nda</i> (but <i>*i-na-m-bura-nda</i>) |
| <i>burnda</i> 'bite' | <i>i-na-burn(d)a-rn</i> ~ <i>i-na-m-burn(d)a-rn</i>
<i>i-na-burna-nda</i> (but <i>i-na-*m-burna-nda</i>) |

If the verb is alternative-prefixing (4.2.2.3, 4.8), then EN occurs (and must occur) in B-conjugations only. It is unacceptable in A-conjugations. This holds true both with perfective and imperfective. Given below are the 3rd-person imperfective/perfective forms of the alternative-prefixing verb *dyalku* 'fell (a tree), knock down (I) / fall down, collapse (IIb)':

- [24] a. (A-conjugation in class I paradigm; EN unacceptable)
i-na-dyalku-rn/-nda but **i-na-ny-dyalku-rn/-nda*
 3-TR-fall-IMPF/PF
 's/he fells/felled it'
- b. (B-conjugation in class IIb paradigm; EN obligatory):
i-ny-dyalku-rn/-nda but **i-dyalku-rn/-nda*
 3-EN-fall-IMPF/PF
 's/he falls/fell down'

Notice above that the *dy*-initial verb root blocks the EN in the A-conjugation (cf. 4.2.3.1).

4.2.3.3 Optional ENs and their sociolinguistic value

In other cases which have not been specified above, ENs are simply optional: verbs may be conjugated with or without an EN in the prefixing complex. No difference in meaning results from the presence or absence of the EN.

- [25] *nga-(ng-)ga-rda*
 1-(EN-)FUT-go
 'I will go.'

- [26] *yaga-rr-a-(m-)bilka-rn*
 12'-AGM-TR-(EN-)hit-IMPF
 'We (INCL) hit him.'

Use of optional ENs (indicated in the parentheses) seems to be basically a matter of personal style. To a certain extent, however, the variation reflects dialectal difference (particularly coastal vs inland). Although no statistical count has been taken regarding this question, my impression is that the speakers of Marangarn (Eastern Inland) dialect (and also the speakers who have relatively frequent association with Marangan-speaking relatives) tend to employ ENs more frequently than the speakers of coastal dialects (1.1.3.2). An interesting observation, in this regard, is that fewer ENs are inserted by non-native speakers of Yawuru whose first language is Karajarri (coast-side neighbour of Yawuru), while more ENs are used by non-native Yawuru speakers whose first language is Nyikina (inland-side neighbour of Yawuru). Some of my Yawuru consultants rejected (and apparently hated) the regular use of ENs as a feature of "Nyikina talk". The matter is of a sociolinguistic nature rather than simply being a matter of dialectal variation.¹⁵

¹⁵ It is interesting in this connection that Stokes (1984), who recorded the Yawuru language with the help of three informants, reports verb forms generally carrying ENs. Her informants were two Nyikina men and a Yawuru man (who was also fluent in Nyikina). I met the two Nyikina men in 1986 and confirmed that the Yawuru they spoke was heavily affected by Nyikina phonology and morphology. Unfortunately, the third of Stokes' consultants, a native of Yawuru, had since died. It is thus no longer possible to verify what his own style of the Yawuru

4.2.4 Reflexive/Reciprocal forms

4.2.4.1 Reflexive conjugation

(1) Morphology of reflexive forms

Reflexive meaning is marked jointly (and somewhat redundantly) by the introspective prefix *ma-* (INT) and the reciprocal suffix *-ndyi* (RCP). These are attached immediately before and after the verb root (i.e. they sandwich the root). The pair of affixes (INT and RCP) are called reflexive markers. An epenthetic nasal (EN, 4.2.3) may intervene between INT and the root, although the actual occurrence of the EN is rare. Given below are the reflexive forms of the verb *balu* 'hit' (Vt/I):

- [27] a. *nga-ma-balun-ndyi-n*¹⁶ 'I hit myself'
1-INT-hit-RCP-IMPF
- b. *inga-rr-ma-balun-ndyi-nda* 'they hit themselves'
3"-AGM-INT-hit-RCP-PF
- c. *marlu wal-ma-balun-ndyi* 'don't hit yourself'
not 2FUT-INT-hit-RCP

Notice that the transitive marker (TR) is absent in the reflexive conjugations above. Compare these with the non-reflexive conjugations of the same verb below:

- [28] a. *nga-na-(m-)balu-rn* 'I hit it'
1-TR-(EN)-hit-IMPF
- b. *inga-rr-a-balun-nda* 'they hit it'
3"-AGM-TR-hit-PF
- c. *marlu wal-a-balun-ginya* 'don't hit him/her'
not 2FUT-TR-hit-3ACC

Syntactic and semantic aspects of the detransitivisation that are observed in the use of reflexive verb forms will be further pointed out in 4.6.

(2) Reflexive forms of A/P verbs

In the case of alternative-prefixing verbs (4.2.2.3 and 4.8), the reflexivised 2FUT forms take the class II 2FUT prefix (*wa-* or *nga-*). For class I and IIa verbs, 2FUT forms are *wa-ma-...*, rather than **wal-ma-...*; and 2"FUT *wa-rr-ma-...*, as in the examples of *luka* 'cry' below:

- [29] a. *wa-ma-luka-ndyi* 'you (SG) will cry'
2FUT-INT-cry-RCP
- b. *wa-rr-ma-luka-ndyi* 'you (PL) will cry'
2"FUT-AGM-INT-cry-RCP

language was like. Considering his genealogy, however, it is likely that he spoke Eastern Inland dialect (1.1.3.2).

¹⁶ The imperfective suffix *-rn* takes the non-retroflex allophone *-n* following the reciprocal suffix; see 4.3.4.1.(1).

(3) Object marking

No direct-object marking occurs in the reflexive conjugations.¹⁷ Indirect-object marking (in the form of a dative enclitic) is occasionally encountered, as in:

- [30] *I-ma-ny-dyiba-ndyi-n-dyiya dyanala-gadya mi-nga-rn.*
 3; -INT-EN-ask-RCP-IMPF-2DAT how-INTENS 2-be-IMPF
 'She_i wonders (i.e. asks to herself_i) how you are.'

4.2.4.2 Reciprocal conjugation

The prefix *ma-* (INT) is absent when the verb bears a reciprocal meaning, in which case class I verbs maintain their explicit transitive marker (TR). Compare [30A] below with [28c] above.

- [30A] *marlu wa-rr-a-balu-ndyi*
 not 2" FUT-AGM-TR-hit-RCP
 'don't you (PL) hit each other'

In other words, the RCP suffix alone indicates reciprocity of the action (hitting each other), while INT and RCP jointly indicates a reflexive action (hitting oneself).

Functions of the verbs in reflexive/reciprocal forms and related syntactic phenomena are further examined in section 4.6.

4.2.4.3 Verbs with irregular reflexive forms

Three verbs exhibit irregularity in their reflexive/reciprocal inflexion.

(1) The verb *ma*

The verb *ma* 'put' has no reflexive/reciprocal forms. Not only the homophonous prefix *ma-* but also the suffix *-ndyi* does not occur. It has been observed that the verb in question can bear a reflexive meaning without the explicit reflexive markers, as in [31] below: (The root *ngama* in this example is suppletive to *ma*; see 4.5.2).

- [31] *Mabu nga-na-ngama marru ngayu(-ni).*
 good 1-TR-put(FUT) head(ABS) 1(-ERG)
 'I'll do my hair.'

Notice the presence of the transitive marker (TR). However, the ergative marking on the subject is optional. Compare [31] above with [32] below, where the meaning is non-reflexive and the ergative marker cannot be omitted.

- [32] *Ngayu-ni nga-na-ngama-dyuyu marru mabu-dyunu.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-put(FUT)-2ACC head(ABS) good-really
 'I'll do your hair.'

¹⁷ There are cases, as we shall see later in 4.7, in which an object enclitic bears a reflexive function. In that case, however, the verb is conjugated without the reflexive affixes.

(2) The verb 'give'

The zero-root verb 'give' has a peculiar reflexive form *bandyi* (< **ma-ø-ndyi*):

- [33] *Nurlu-yi bandil nga-ba-ø-ndyi.*
 dance-DAT body.painting 2FUT-INT-give-RCP
 'You should paint yourself up for the corroboree.'

Issues related with this reflexive verb will be discussed in detail in 4.6.7.

(3) The verb *lar'dyi*

The verb *lar'dyi* 'forget' does not take the RCP suffix in its reflexive inflexion (*ma-lar'dyi* instead of **ma-lar'dyi-ndyi*).¹⁸ This has probably something to do with the etymology (morphological make-up) of the verb, although any roots (either verbal or non-verbal) such as **la-*, **lar-*, **larV-* are unattested elsewhere in the current corpus of the language.

4.3 Tense/Mood/Aspect

4.3.1 Future conjugation

The most basic tense distinction in Yawuru is that of future vs non-future. The former is marked by the prefix *ga-* (FUT) and the latter is unmarked. As will be discussed later (4.2.6), the future prefix has mood-marking functions, rather than simply being an indicator of tense. First, however, we shall examine the regular conjugational paradigms of future forms.

4.3.1.1 Morphology of future conjugation

We have already seen the conjugation formulae for the future in [4a] (given in 4.1.2), which we reproduce below, but this time with the specific forms of the prefixes:¹⁹

- [34] future minimal: Pro₁ + (na-) + (ng-) *ga-* + ...
 future augmented: Pro₁ + *ga-* + *rr-* + (a-) + ...

where "(na-)" and "(a-)" are transitive conjugation markers required in the class I paradigm; *rr-* is the marker of augmented number (AGM); and the epenthetic nasal (EN) *ng-* may be present in the minimal-number conjugations, but absent from the augmented-number conjugations.

¹⁸ See example [10f] cited in 5.4.1.

¹⁹ It is unclear whether the prefix *ga-* is related to the widespread bivalent *-ku* or *-(ŋ)gu* suffix (Blake 1976:421-424; Capell 1956:64f), which reveals future-desiderative and/or future-purposive functions in several languages, such as Djamindjung (Hoddinott & Kofod 1976:437), Muruwari (Oates 1956:474-475, 1988:155, 170-172) and Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1983:161-163). I tend to assume that Yawuru *ga-* is related to the verb root *ka* 'carry'; see the alternation of voicing feature described in 4.5.6.2.(1).

(1) Class I paradigm

Examples of the class I regular future conjugations are given below. Notice the position of the future marker *ga-* and the conjugation markers (*na-* in minimal and *a-* in augmented):

[35] (i) class I: *balu* 'hit' (forms with EN)

1	<i>nga-na-ng-ga-balu</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rr-a-balu</i>
2	<i>wal-a-balu</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-a-balu</i>
3	<i>wa-na-ng-ga-balu</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-a-balu</i>
12	<i>ya-na-ng-ga-balu</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rr-a-balu</i>

(ii) class I: *nya* 'catch' (forms without EN)²⁰

1	<i>nga-na-ga-nya</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rr-a-nya</i>
2	<i>wal-a-nya</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-a-nya</i>
3	<i>wa-na-ga-nya</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-a-nya</i>
12	<i>ya-na-ga-nya</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rr-a-nya</i>

Remember that the future set of person/number markers (Pro₁) reveals an irregularity in the 2nd person (2 and 2"): the prefix *wal-* (for 2), is a unitary (i.e. unanalysable) marker of person/number/tense (2nd-person future minimal). We shall call it "2FUT prefix". As to the 2"FUT (i.e. 2nd-person future augmented), the prefix complex *wa-rr-* jointly indicates the tense/mood as well as the person/number.²¹ Again the mood marker *ga-* is absent, making the tense-marking implicit. It is also noticed that neither 2FUT nor 2"FUT form takes an epenthetic nasal (EN).²²

(2) Class IIa paradigm

The future conjugation of the class IIa (*wal-* class) verbs lacks the transitive marker. Otherwise it shows exactly the same pattern as the class I paradigm, sharing the irregularity in the 2nd person:

[36] (i) class IIa: *gardi* 'enter'

1	<i>nga-ng-ga-gardi</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rr-gardi</i>
2	<i>wal-gardi</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-gardi</i>
3	<i>wa-ng-ga-gardi</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-gardi</i>
12	<i>ya-ng-ga-gardi</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rr-gardi</i>

(ii) class IIa: *dyanba* 'kick'

1	<i>nga-ng-ga-dyanba</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rry-dyanba</i>
2	<i>wal-dyanba</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-dyanba</i>
3	<i>wa-ng-ga-dyanba</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rry-dyanba</i>
12	<i>ya-ng-ga-dyanba</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rry-dyanba</i>

²⁰ EN may also occur in the conjugation of *nya* (e.g. 1FUT *nganangganya*, 3FUT *wanangganya*), except in 2, 2" and 12". The EN *ng-* in the future minimal of *balu* can be absent, although it is usually there.

²¹ The sequence could be interpreted as a reduced form of **wal-rr-a-*. The sequence of *l + rr* is not attested in Yawuru lexicon (cf. 3.8.1)

²² As a matter of fact, the non-minimal forms are generally without EN. See in this connection the discussion in 4.2.4.3 on the nature of the 1"-prefix *yang-* and the 3"-prefix *wang-*.

(3) Blocking of phonological assimilation

In the 2nd-person augmented future conjugation (2^oFUT-AGM-√) the augmented marker *rr-* is immune to palatal assimilation (3.3.4.2.(2) and 4.2.1.4). Notice that in the future paradigm of *dyanba* 'kick' given above, the 2^o-form is *wa-rr-dyanba*, not **wa-rry-dyanba*, while the palatal assimilation (*rr* → *rry*) takes place in 1^o, 3^o and 12^o forms. This markedly local blocking of the phonological process is generally observed in the future conjugations of *dy-*initial verbs, regardless of the subsequent vowel quality. It has no correlation with the morphological class of the verb (either IIa or IIb) or the semantic-level transitivity, either. Consider the 2^oFUT and 12^oFut forms of *dyali* (IIb), *dyiba* (IIa) and *dyurrku* (IIa) below:

[37]	root	gloss	2 ^o FUT form	12 ^o FUT form
	<i>dyali</i>	'come back' :	<i>wa-rr-dyali</i>	<i>ya-ga-rry-dyali</i>
	<i>dyiba</i>	'block a fight':	<i>wa-rr-dyiba</i>	<i>ya-ga-rry-dyiba</i>
	<i>dyurrku</i>	'cut hair' :	<i>wa-rr-dyurrku</i>	<i>ya-ga-rry-dyurrku</i> ²³

Such blocking of the assimilatory process is also the case with the minimal 2FUT prefix *wal-*. The lateral segment remains apico-alveolar, even followed by laminal, retroflex or any other segment(s):²⁴

[38]	root	gloss	2FUT form	
	<i>dyaladi</i>	'return' (IIa)	<i>wal-dyaladi</i>	(* <i>waly-dyaladi</i>)
	<i>dyu</i>	'say' (IIa)	<i>wal-dyu</i>	(* <i>waly-dyu</i>)
	<i>rba</i>	'follow' (I)	<i>wal-a-rba</i>	(* <i>warl-a-rba</i>)
	<i>rli</i>	'eat' (I)	<i>wal-a-rli</i>	(* <i>warl-a-rli</i>)
	<i>wandyi</i>	'climb up' (IIa)	<i>wal-wandyi</i>	
	<i>gard</i>	'disappear' (IIa)	<i>wal-gard</i>	

(4) Class IIb

Now we turn to an example of the future conjugation of *nga-* class (IIb) verbs. Notice the 2FUT prefix *nga-* in the sample (regular) future paradigm below. The 2^oFUT prefix remains the same as in the class IIa paradigm.²⁵

[39] class IIb: *dyali* 'come back':

1	<i>nga-ng-ga-dyali</i>	1 ^o	<i>yang-ga-rry-dyali</i>
2	<i>nga-dyali</i>	2 ^o	<i>wa-rr-dyali</i>
3	<i>wa-ng-ga-dyali</i>	3 ^o	<i>wang-ga-rry-dyali</i>
12	<i>ya-ng-ga-dyali</i>	12 ^o	<i>ya-ga-rry-dyali</i>

We have commented earlier (4.2.2.1) that the conjugation class of a verb is identified by its 2FUT form alone. It is particularly true with the distinction between class IIa and IIb. It should be pointed out, in this connection, that the root form which occurs in 2FUT is the most plain and stable: it is plain in the sense that no EN or any other morphophonemic adjustment takes place; it is

²³ When words are to be spelled without morphological segmentation (hyphenation), then I use *rr'dy* to explicitly indicate the non-homorganic sequence of *rr* + *dy* (see 3.3.4.2.(2)).

²⁴ There are, however, a limited number of exceptions to this (see 4.4.6.1).

²⁵ The peculiar future prefixes in the class I and IIa 2nd person *wal-* (MIN) and *wa-* (AGM) are shared with Nyikina. Nyikina 2FUT prefix for set II verbs is *nyinga-* or *nga-* (Stokes 1982:239, 244), the latter variant is heard very commonly (Stokes, p.c. in 1990).

stable in that phonological variations or fluctuations are rarely observed. Thus, the 2FUT root is regarded as the representative root of those verbs that show root suppletion (4.4.2). The only verb that reveals phonological fluctuation in the 2FUT form is *nya* 'catch': a rather rare variant *wala-nydya* has been found in the database, as well as the regular 2FUT form *wala-nya*.

(5) Irregular future paradigm

There are several verbs which have an irregular paradigm for future. Some verbs employ a distinct future root (total suppletion) and a few others show irregularity in particular person/number categories mainly for phonological reasons. The former is the case with the verbs *rndira* 'go' and *ni* 'do/be' (see 4.4.2); the latter is observed in the verbs *ngara* 'become', *ka* 'carry' and *ma* 'put' (see 4.4.6.2).

4.3.1.2 Presence and absence of EN

(1) Epenthetic prenasalisation of the future marker

In future minimal conjugations, epenthetic velar nasal *ng-* [ŋ] often turns up preceding the tense marker *ga-*.

- [40] *bilka* 'hit': *nga-na-(ng-)ga-bilka*
 1-TR-(EN-)FUT-hit
 'I will hit [it/him/her]'

The EN in question is optional: both the epenthesised form *ngananggabilka* and (less frequently) the unepenthesised form *nganagabilka* are acceptable, apparently without any difference in the meaning (but the sociolinguistic remarks made in 4.2.3.3 do apply here, too). It should be noticed that in the future conjugation, no EN occurs immediately preceding the verb root, irrespective of whether or not the future marker is already preceded by the EN *ng-*. Epenthesised forms such as **ngananggambilka* and **nganagambilka* are unacceptable.

The EN *ng-* is often absent when a clitic pronoun (7.3 and 7.4) is attached to the verb:

- [41] *nga-na-ga-bilka-dyuyu*
 1-TR-FUT-hit -2ACC
 'I will hit you'

Otherwise the nasal epenthesis usually occurs in the future minimal conjugations (except in the 2nd person; cf. 4.3.1.2), even in the verbs that do not take an EN in non-future conjugations.

(2) A morphemicisation problem

The occurrence of the EN *-ng-* preceding the future marker urges us to take a second look at the make-up of the "Pro₁" markers which have been outlined earlier (4.2.1.3). The future set (b) of the "Pro₁" prefixes (given in Table 401) is reproduced below:

1	<i>nga-</i>	1"	<i>yang-</i>
2	<i>wal- / nga-</i>	2"	<i>wa-</i>
3	<i>wa-</i>	3"	<i>wang-</i>
12	<i>ya-</i>	12"	<i>ya-</i>

Consider the non-minimal prefixes, particularly *yang-* (1") and *wang-* (3"). Earlier these have been given as single morphemes. These could now be segmented into *ya-ng-* (1"-EN-) and *wa-ng-* (3"-EN-), respectively, given (i) that the EN *-ng-* may occur preceding the future marker in the minimal (except in the 2nd person) and also (ii) that *ya-* appears as the 4th-person prefix (12 and 12") and *wa-* in the 3rd-person minimal (3).

It should be remembered, however, that the 12"-form does not take an epenthetic form. For instance, the future conjugation of the verb *nya* 'catch' is given below, where "(*ng*)" represents the normal (but not obligatory) appearance of the EN and "(**ng*)" in 12" indicates, by contrast, that the EN in question is unacceptable there.

[42]	1	<i>ngana(ng)ganya</i>	1"	<i>yanggarranya</i>
	2	<i>walanya</i>	2"	<i>warranya</i>
	3	<i>wana(ng)ganya</i>	3"	<i>wanggarranya</i>
	12	<i>yana(ng)ganya</i>	12"	<i>ya(*ng)garranya</i>

The 1MIN form may be either *nganangganya* (1-TR-EN-FUT-√) or *nganaganya* (without EN). The same holds true for the 3- and 12-forms. The 12"-form (*yagarranya*), however, cannot be **yanggarranya*. It is further noted that the *ng* element in 1" and 3" may not be dropped. No such 3" prefix complex as **wa-ga-rr-* has been attested. As to 1", the dropping of the velar nasal would produce a form which is indistinguishable from the 12"-form *ya-ga-rr-*.

If we are to insist on the assumption that the *ng* element in 1" and 3" prefixes be epenthetic, then we would have to accept that the EN is obligatory in 1" and 12" while it is impeded in 12" (to say nothing of 2" now; 4.2.4.1). This would be rather an ad hoc solution.

There are, on the other hand, several facts which support the original interpretation that the prefixes *yang-* and *wang-* in question are monomorphemic:

- 1) *yanga-* is attested as the marker of 1" in the non-future conjugational paradigms (4.2.1.3). It is, therefore, fairly reasonable for the future form to have *yang-* (slightly reduced form of *yanga-*) as the marker of the same grammatical person. The phonological reduction is probably due to the articulatory awkwardness of the expected sequence **yanga-ga-rr-* (1"-FUT-AGM-);
- 2) a velar nasal element also exists in the non-future 3" prefix *inga-*, to be contrasted with the 3min marker *i-*, as in *i-na-nya-nda* (3-TR-catch-PF) 'he caught it' vs *inga-rr-a-nya-nda* (3"-AGM-TR-catch-PF) 'they caught it';

3) ENs are generally rare in non-future conjugations.

Taking all these considerations into account, I maintain that the future-set person/number markers *yang-* (1") and *wang-* (3") are single morphemes, unanalysable at least synchronically.²⁶

Before examining the functions of future forms and related problems, we shall consider briefly the irrealis marker, which occupies the same slot as the future marker in the conjugational formula of Yawuru finite verbs.

4.3.2 Irrealis conjugation

The basic modal distinction in Yawuru verbal morphology is that of actuality: **realis** (actual/indicative/declarative) vs **irrealis** (non-actual/conditional/subjunctive). There is no general marker of the realis mood: it is zero for realis non-future; and realis future carries the future marker *ga-* as we have seen above.

4.3.2.1 Morphology of irrealis conjugation

(1) Canonical formula

We have already drawn up the formula [4a] for the irrealis conjugation (see 4.1.2); this is now rewritten partly including the specific forms of prefixes:

- [43] irrealis MIN (class I): $Pro_1 + na- \dots$ (or $Pro_1 + ya- \dots$)
 irrealis MIN (class II): $Pro_1 + ya- \dots$
 irrealis AGM (class I): $Pro_1 + ya- + rr- + a- \dots$
 irrealis AGM (class II): $Pro_1 + ya- + rr- \dots$

The irrealis-marking prefix (IRR) is *ya-*. In the minimal-number conjugation of class I verbs, however, the mood marker is absent, but the class I conjugation marker (transitive marker) *na-* stands there. Co-occurrence of *na-* (TR) and *ya-* (IRR) is unacceptable. Julbaya dialect speakers (1.1.3.2) tend to replace *na-* with *ya-* in the class I minimal as well, assimilating the paradigm to that of class II.

²⁶ Historically, it would still be possible to set up the hypothesis that the epenthesised form *ya-ng-ga-rr-* and the unepenthesised form *ya-ga-rr-* took up the functional role of the exclusive/inclusive distinction (i.e. the epenthesised for 1" and the unepenthesised for 12"). Another historical possibility, however, is that the *ng(a)* element in the 1" markers (*yanga-* in non-future and *yang-* in future) is related to the 1min pronoun *ngayu*. This latter possibility seems more plausible to me. It is noted, in addition, that Bardi has the 1pl prefix *aŋ-* (Metcalf 1975:170ff), which corresponds to the Yawuru *yang-*.

(2) Person marking

As outlined earlier (4.2.1.3), the irrealis mood requires the irrealis set of person/number markers (*nga-/ya-*, *mi-/ku-*, *wa-* and *ya-*). Thus, the following irrealis prefixing complex (non-reflexive forms) is rendered:

[44] (i) class I

1	<i>nga-na- ~ nga-ya-</i>	1"	<i>ya(a)-rr-a-</i>
2	<i>mi-na- ~ mi-ya-</i>	2"	<i>ku-ya-rr-a-</i>
3	<i>wa-na- ~ wa-ya-</i>	3"	<i>wa-y-rr-a-</i>
12	<i>ya-na- ~ yaa- (~ dyaa-)</i>	12"	<i>yaa-rr-a- ~ yaga-rr-a-</i>

(ii) class II

1	<i>nga-ya-</i>	1"	<i>ya(a)-rr-</i>
2	<i>mi-ya-</i>	2"	<i>ku-ya-rr- / mi-ya-rr-²⁷</i>
3	<i>wa-ya-</i>	3"	<i>wa-y(a)-rr-</i>
12	<i>yaa- (~ dyaa-)</i>	12"	<i>yaa-rr- ~ yaga-rr-</i>

In 1", 12 and 12", the combination of *ya-* (Pro₁) plus *ya-* (IRR) is reduced to *yaa-* [ja:...] .²⁸ This tends to be further shortened to *ya-* in 1", whereas the long vowel is usually maintained in 12 and 12", thus keeping the inclusive/exclusive distinction.

In 3", the sequence *wa-ya-rr-* quite often gets reduced phonologically. This is almost the rule in class I conjugation (*wayarra-* > *wayrra-* [waɣɛra...] ~ [weɣɛra...]). Unreduced forms are occasionally heard in class II verbs.

In natural discourse the prefix complex *yagarr(a)-* (i.e. 12" non-irrealis form) often appears in place of 12" irrealis, so that the inclusive/exclusive distinction (12"/1") is clearer.^{28A}

(3) Sample paradigms

Sample conjugations of *bilka* 'hit' (I), *gardi* 'disappear' (IIa), *dyali* 'come back' (IIb) and *ni* 'be' (IIb) are given in Table 404 (below). Classes IIa and IIb follow an identical pattern in the irrealis. Unlike future conjugations, where irregularity is often encountered (4.5.6), only two verbs reveal irregularity in irrealis forms (see Table 407). Irrealis may be further expanded in the same morphological way as realis future forms do: it can be marked as reflexive/reciprocal (4.2.4 and 4.6) or comitative (4.4.1 and 4.7); it may also carry an object-marking enclitic (4.4.3).

²⁷ As for class II 2" irrealis, *mi-*prefixed forms are recorded with a limited number of verbs (see 4.4.2), in which case *rr-* is the only indicator of augmented number in the 2nd person.

²⁸ See 3.2.2.1.(2) for the intervocalic lenition of the approximant *y*. The occurrence of the fricative variant *dyaa-* [ɰa:] ~ [ja:] is limited to 12 (the 4th person minimal) — see Table 401 presented earlier.

^{28A} This seems to be more usually the case with the Inland dialect speakers.

TABLE 404: Sample paradigms of irrealis conjugations

<i>bilka</i> 'hit' (class I)			
1	<i>nganabilka</i> ~ <i>ngayabilka</i>	1"	<i>yarrabilka</i>
2	<i>minabilka</i> ~ <i>miyabilka</i>	2"	<i>kuyarrabilka</i>
3	<i>wanabilka</i> ~ <i>wayabilka</i>	3"	<i>wayrrabilka</i>
12	<i>yanabilka</i> ~ <i>yaabilka</i>	12"	<i>yaarrabilka</i> ~ <i>yagarrabilka</i>
<i>gardi</i> 'enter' (class IIa)			
1	<i>ngayagardi</i>	1"	<i>ya(a)rrgardi</i>
2	<i>miyagardi</i>	2"	<i>kuyarrgardi</i>
3	<i>wayagardi</i>	3"	<i>way(a)rrgardi</i>
12	<i>yaagardi</i>	12"	<i>yaarrgardi</i> ~ <i>yagarrgardi</i>
<i>dyali</i> 'come back' (class IIb: <i>ku</i> - type)			
1	<i>ngayadyali</i>	1"	<i>yarrydyali</i>
2	<i>miyadyali</i>	2"	<i>ku</i> yarrydyali
3	<i>wayadyali</i>	3"	<i>way(a)rrydyali</i>
12	<i>yaadyali</i>	12"	<i>yaarrydyali</i> ~ <i>yagarrydyali</i>
<i>ni</i> 'be' (suppletive root <i>dya</i> in the augmented) (class IIb: <i>mi</i> -type)			
1	<i>ngayani</i>	1"	<i>yarrydyi</i>
2	<i>miyani</i>	2"	<i>mi</i> yarrydyi
3	<i>wayani</i>	3"	<i>way(a)rrydyi</i>
12	<i>yaani</i>	12"	<i>yaarrydyi</i> ~ <i>yagarrydyi</i>

4.3.2.2 Non-future irrealis

(1) Lack of *la*-prefixed forms

Stokes reports (1984:6, 8 and *passim*) that Yawuru makes a distinction between "future IRRealis [sic] and non-future IRRealis", just as the neighbouring sister language Nyikina does. The irrealis forms (with the marker *ya-*) illustrated above correspond to Stokes' "future IRRealis". On the other hand, the "non-future IRRealis" forms recorded by Stokes (which is marked by the prefix "*la-*") are not attested in my data. Such forms are not only rejected by the informants but are also absent in natural speech (but see subsection (2) below). Compare [45a] from Stokes (1984:8, E/10)²⁹ with [45b] from my fieldnote:

- [45] a. *Marlu wa-la-ni-na*.
 NEG 3(sg)-IRR-sit-PAST
 'He didn't sit.'
- b. *Marlu i-nga-nda*.³⁰
 not 3-be-PF
 'He was not there.'

No such form as **wa-la-ni-nda* or **wa-na-ni-nda* has been elicited or heard. The only attested irrealis form for the Yawuru verb *ni* in 3MIN is *wa-ya-ni*, but the

²⁹ I have changed the spelling of her *l* (underlined) to my *rl*, while maintaining her gloss.

³⁰ The root *nga* is suppletive to *ni* in non-future (see 4.4.2).

phrase *marlu wayani* would only have a future scope: 'he might not be there, I'm afraid.'³¹

(2) Idiolectal occurrence of *la*-prefixed forms

There are in my corpus, however, a limited number of instances where the *la*-prefix does occur with past irrealis meaning:

[46] *Wi-la-ra-ngayu, nga-mirdibi-nda-dyina.*
3?-IRR?-spear-1ACC 1-run.away-PF-3DAT
'He tried to spear me and I ran away from him.'
(He didn't actually spear me.)

[46A] *K*alaa wa-la-midyala ngurru.*
finish 3-IRR?-rise more
'He is dead (lit. he wouldn't rise any more)'

Examples [46] and [46A] are (and as a matter of fact all other samples containing the *la*- prefix also are)³² taken from the speech of a Yawuru woman who had lived with a Nyikina husband for nearly twenty years. She is bilingual in Nyikina. It is likely that the form in question is idiolectal (resulting from her bilingualism), rather than a remnant of the future irrealis conjugation from an earlier stage of the Yawuru language.³³

The virtual lack of non-future irrealis in Yawuru means that this language has no morphologically explicit way to express the omissive mode, as in "I should have done it (but didn't)". This mode is expressed simply by the negative realis perfective (i.e. "I didn't do it").³⁴

³¹ As a matter of fact, the form "*walanina*" in (45a) is the Nyikina form (3sg past irrealis conjugation) of the verb *-ni-*, which is obviously the cognate of Yawuru *ni*. In Yawuru, however, the verb *ni* does not mean 'sit' by itself; it requires the preverb *midyala* in order to indicate the action of sitting down or state (posture) of being seated (cf. 4.10.2):

- [45] c. *Marlu midyala + i-ngara-nda.*
not sitting+3-AUX(become)-PF
'He didn't sit down'
d. *Marlu midyala + i-nga-nda.*
not sitting+3-AUX(become)-PF
'He was not sitting.'

³² See also footnote 92 in Chapter 8 and example [201] cited there (8.5.2.3). Example [46] given above is anomalous in that the 3rd-person prefix does not take the standard form *wa-*, but it appears as *wi-*, which form is found nowhere else in my data (nor in Stokes' report). The corresponding Nyikina form (3rd person minimal irrealis non-future with the verb root *-ra-*) is *walla-* (< *wa-la-ra-*). The prefix *wi-* in [46] remains unexplained; it does not occur in Nyikina, either.

³³ The *la-* in question probably corresponds to the Potential marker *-l-* in Bardi (Metcalf 1975:27, 97). In Bardi negative predications, the Potential forms should be used. However, future and non-future are not contrasted in Bardi Potential, either. Possibly the lateral element of Yawuru 2FUT *wal-* (4.2.4.1) may derive from the same source. It is intriguing, in this regard, that the class I 2FUT prefix complex *wala-* corresponds to *wana-* in Jabirrabirri (Jbr):

- Yw. *wala-ngula*, Jbr. *wana-ngol* 'you throw it'
Yw. *wala-nya*, Jbr. *wan-nya* 'you catch it'
Yw. *wala-ngari*, Jbr. *wana-mankat* 'you leave it'

(Jabirrabirri data are from my fieldnotes — information provided by Joe Bennett; see Table 102.) Interestingly, Karajarri has also an irrealis marker *-la* (for *-l-* conjugation verbs) (Kristina Sands, p.c.)

³⁴ Some adverbial expression, such as *yibu* 'lazy; (fig.) in vain', may accompany it to indicate the "should have" meaning. See 8.4.4.2.

4.3.3 Mood/tense as a unified system

It is no accident that the Yawuru irrealis forms have a future scope (corresponding to the Nyikina irrealis future), while lacking the non-future irrealis forms. Since future events are basically unknown and potential (i.e. not yet real), the connection of the future tense with the irrealis mood is natural and, to a certain extent, inherent. The cross-linguistic phenomenon of the interrelation of tense and mood is relevant here. In the following subsections, functions of future forms and irrealis forms are examined from this perspective.³⁵

4.3.3.1 Functions of future-desiderative

(1) Voluntative for the 1st person

With the 1st-person subject, future tense of verbs basically encodes the intention of the subject (= speaker) to realise an action. It has, in other words, a volitional or voluntative mood.³⁶

- [47] *Nga-ng-ga-rda.*
1-EN-FUT-go
'I will go.' (= I want to leave now; I intend to go)
- [48] *Yang-ga-rr-a-bula nganka-yi.*
1"-FUT-AGM-TR-come word-DAT
'We (EXCL) will attend the meeting.' (lit. "we'll come for word")

(2) Exhortative for the 4th person

When the subject is in the 4th person (i.e. if the hearer/addressee is involved as well as the speaker), then the meaning tends to be exhortative: the speaker exhorts the addressee to participate in the realisation of the event.³⁷

- [49] *Ya-ga-rr-garnda.*
12"-FUT-AGM-go
'We (INCL) go.' (= We must go now; Let's go)
- [50] *Ya-na-ng-ga-makura yayu-ni.*
12-TR-EN-FUT-make 12-ERG
'You and I will make [it].' (= Let's do it together.)

(3) Imperative/jussive for the 2nd person

As with the 2nd-person subject, the most common function of the future tense is that of imperative.

³⁵ Chung and Timberlake (1985:243) appropriately pointed out that the future is a semantic category where tense and mood merge:

"In practice many languages do not distinguish morphologically between future tense and potential (irrealis) mood. Where a difference is made, the future tense is used for events that are presumed to be certain to occur, and the irrealis mood for events that are potentially possible but not presumed to be certain."

Yawuru is an example of such language. The standard of the differentiation, however, is not the certainty so much as the desirability (from the speaker's point of view).

³⁶ The term "voluntative" is applied after Chung & Timberlake (1985:247). cf. 8.5.2.

³⁷ The term "exhortative" is also after Chung & Timberlake (1985:247)

- [51] *Nga-rndira dyuyu.*
 2FUT-go 2(ABS)
 'You will go.' (= You must go now.)
- [52] *Wa-rr-a-ø-ngayu wanangarri.*
 2"FUT-AGM-TR-give-1ACC stone(ABS)
 'You (PL) will give me money.' (= Give me money.)

(4) Optative/permissive for the 3rd person

Finally, future forms with the 3rd-person subject may function as optative (the speaker would like somebody to do something) and/or permissive (let somebody do it).

- [53] *Wa-na-ga-warka-yadiri kamba-ni waybalu.*
 3-TR-FUT-muster-12"ACC that-ERG whitefella/E(ERG)
 'That white man will come and pick us up. (I think that's what he has to do.)'
- [54] *Wanydyi wa-ng-ga-rda.*
 later 3-EN-FUT-go
 'He will go later.' (cf. 8.2.1.1.(1))

The last example above allows either an optative/desiderative reading ('I hope he will go soon') or a permissive reading ('let him go later, but not now'), depending on the context. Similarly for [55]:

- [55] *Wa-na-ga-dyu nganka manydya ginyaga-ni.*
 3_i-TR-FUT-say word(ABS) many 3_i-ERG
 'Let him talk all about it.'

Yawuru has a special adverb *k*ayn* that makes the permissive mood explicit. For example, *k*ayn wanydyi wanggarda* — cf. [54] above — can only have the permissive reading, 'let him go later'. Issues related to this modal adverb are discussed in 8.5.2. Suffice it now to point out that *k*ayn* has always to go with verbs in future.

4.3.3.2 Persuasive, or dative-imperative

Yawuru verbs have no distinct "imperative" inflexion as such. The addition of the dative marker *-yi/-dyi* (6.2) to verbs inflecting in the non-3rd-person future intensifies the imperative or directive function. The dative marker in this function is glossed "DAT_{imp}" ("imp" for imperative). With the 2nd-person future forms, it gives the expression a colour of strong demand or prohibition (cf. 4.3.3.1.(3)) which comes out of the speaker's hope or expectation.

- [56] *Mabu + nga-ngara-yi.*
 good+2FUT-become-DAT_{imp}
 'You must become good' (= I want you to recover from the illness.)
- [57] *Marlu wal-a-kunba-irr-dyi miliya.³⁸*
 not 2FUT-TR-send-3"ACC-DAT_{imp} now
 'You must not send them away right now.'

³⁸ See 4.4.2 for the ordering of the accusative *-irr* and the dative *-dyi* (postconsonantal allomorph of *-yi*).

Notice in the negative imperative example above that the dative marker does not hop up to the negator (**marlu-yi wala.....*), but it sticks to the finite verb.

In [58] the imperative/directive tone seems to be somewhat softer. This is, however, due to the co-occurrent clitic *-marda* (see 8.5.3.3, cf. 7.6.7.3); the dative-imperative verb form conveys a willy-nilly implication that there is no alternative: 'I'm sorry but you have to'

- [58] *Kudyarra-marda kirridiny wal-a-ngurlika-yi.*
 two-perhaps moon 2FUT-TR-wait-DAT_{imp}
 'Perhaps you would have to wait for about a month.'³⁹

With the 1st/4th-person forms, the attached dative indicates a firm resolution:

- [59] *Darlu-yi dyanu marlu nga-ny-dyu-n-dyina dyurrungu,*
 WM-DAT 1(GEN) not 1-EN-say-IMPF-3DAT straight
gilp + nga-na-ga-dyu-yi-dyina.
 avoid+3-TR-FUT-AUX(say)-DAT_{imp}-3DAT
 'I don't (mustn't) talk to my mother-in-law directly. I must avoid her.'
- [60] *Nyamba wilur + nga-na-ga-dyu-yi dyamiyanu.*
 this^ sharpen+1-TR-FUT-AUX(say)-DAT_{imp} ^axe(ABS)
 'I have to sharpen this tomahawk (before doing anything else).'
- [61] *Yinydya ya-ga-rr-garnda-yi.*
 thither 12"-FUT-AGM-go-DAT_{imp}
 'We (INCL) have to go by all means!'

Only affirmative examples have been recorded in the 1st/4th person (see 8.5.2).

4.3.3.3 Modal nature of future tense

It has been shown above that the use of the future tense in Yawuru involves a certain element of modality, rather than merely being an indication of time. This is by no means peculiar to Yawuru, however. Since situations in the future are inherently non-actual and there usually exist degrees of non-actuality, reference to the future in natural languages is inevitably somewhat modal.⁴⁰ What modally characterises the Yawuru future in particular is the meaning of desirability. It can be said in summary that Yawuru verbs in future forms generally refer to likely and/or desirable events yet to occur. In this sense, the Yawuru verb forms that carry the prefix *ga-* bear a future-desiderative "tense-mood", rather than simply future "tense".⁴¹

³⁹ The word *kirridiny* 'moon' means a fortnight; see 8.2.1.3.(2) and 8.2.2.4.(3).

⁴⁰ The modality of the future is considered to be deontic rather than epistemic (see 8.5, Chung & Timberlake 1985:243).

⁴¹ It is possible, theoretically, to make a further (and probably a neater) claim that the Yawuru future-desiderative (or simply desiderative) is not a tense, but a mood. Then the conjugational slot in which the future-desiderative prefix *ga-* and the irrealis prefix *ya-* alternate is considered to be the slot for mood marking. The modal contrast in question could well be termed "desiderative/undesiderative", rather than future/irrealis. I have chosen, however, to maintain the traditional terminology of "future" (with the inevitable connotation of tense) and "irrealis" in order to make the grammatical comparison of Yawuru with her sister languages easier.

Use of future forms as matrix verbs in complex clauses (particularly conditional expressions) will be illustrated later in the syntax chapter (10.6), but there too the underlying idea is that of desirability.

No perfective/imperfective or other aspectual distinction is morphologically marked in the future and in irrealis forms of Yawuru verbs (cf. 9.3.4), although quantificational aspectual marking (such as durative, iterative, etc.) may co-occur in an accompanying preverb in combination with a finite verb in future conjugation (5.4.2, cf. 9.2.7). Future perfect (e.g. "will have finished by next month") is simply expressed with the future forms.

4.3.3.4 Functions of irrealis

The low functional load of the Yawuru irrealis is obvious when it is compared with the frequent and diverse use of the irrealis mood in Nyikina. In Yawuru, for example, negation is expressed by a verb in realis conjugation (either in future or in non-future) with negator *marlu* preposed (10.3.1). This is in sharp contrast to Nyikina, where the negative sentences always require irrealis forms of the verb. Contrast [62a] and [62b], meaning 'I didn't go' in each language:

- [62] a. Nyikina: Marlu nga-la-ma-na.⁴²
 NEG 1sg-IRR-go-PAST
- b. Yawuru: *Marlu nga-rndira-nda*.
 not 1-go-PF

Negative imperative ('Do not ...') is expressed in Yawuru by the negator *marlu* and a future (realis) verb, whereas in Nyikina the verb should be in the future irrealis. In other words, while in Nyikina sentences cannot be negated merely by adding a negator, they are so negated in Yawuru (see [30A], [45b] and [57] already cited). Here we have an indication of the fact that languages, even if closely related genetically, can differ widely as to which events are treated as non-actual (to be encoded with a marked modality) and which as actual.

Yawuru irrealis forms are reserved for possible but not intended or desired action in the future. The emphasis is on the undesirability rather than on the unlikelihood.⁴³

- [63] *Milimili-gun wal-a-ma, mi-ya-ma-lar'dyi*.
 paper-LOC 2FUT-EN-put 2-IRR-INT-forget(REF)⁴⁴
 'Write it down, lest you should forget it.'

⁴² This example is taken from Stokes (1982:277, E/489 SN). I have modified the Nyikina orthography to make the comparison easier. My *rl* is for Stokes' l (underlined l) and my *ng* is for her η . The gloss by Stokes is unchanged in [62a], however.

⁴³ It is interesting, in this regard, that no irrealis forms have been recorded or elicited of the benefactive verb 'give' (4.5.5). cf. the discussion in Chung & Timberlake (1985:241-242).

⁴⁴ The verb *lar'dyi* 'forget' does not take the regular reflexive suffix in its reflexive conjugation. See 4.2.7.3.(3).

- [64] *Ngarli + mi-ya-ngara wula-ni.*
 wet+2-IRR-AUX(become) water-ERG⁴⁵
 'You might get wet in the rain.'
- [65] *K*awty-k*awty wal-a-ka-ngayu, barndin + wa-y-rr-a-ma duwa.*
 quick-REDUP 2FUT-TR-carry-1ACC closed+3"-IRR-AGM-TR-put store(ABS)
 'Hurry up. They might close the shop.' (hurrying the driver)

By contrast, the future forms basically express the actor's intention and/or desire to carry out some action in the future. The fact we have already noted that the future forms often perform imperative or optative functions (4.2.6.1) should be understood in this regard.

Compare the two sentences below. In [66] the irrealis clause, following the negative imperative, expresses the speaker's worry about the drinker's health. In [67], on the other hand, the first clause is in the perfective and the following clause in the future. This suggests that the speaker takes it as expected that the drinker will get sick (even if the speaker does not actually desire it).

- [66] *Marlu kari wal-a-bi ngurru, rdardarl + mi-ya-ngara.*
 not grog 2FUT-TR-drink more sick +2-IRR-AUX(become)
 'Don't drink too much, you might get sick!'
- [67] *Narli manydya i-na-bi-nda, wanydyi rdardarl +wa-ng-ngara.*
 true much 3-TR-drink-PF later sick+3-EN-AUX(become/FUT)⁴⁶
 He drank so much that he will get sick.

Irrealis forms are NOT required even when the predicate relates a conditional state or action. Realis forms (future or non-future) are employed in conditional clauses, whether the condition is counterfactual or not (10.6.7). By definition, then, Yawuru irrealis is not "subjunctive". Functionally, Yawuru irrealis deals with desirability, rather than actuality/possibility, of the event referred to.

4.3.4 Aspect: perfective vs imperfective

Finite verbs unspecified either as future or as irrealis (i.e. verbs with zero Mood/Tense marking) must carry one of the two aspect specifiers: *-nda* for perfective (PF) or *-rn* for imperfective (IMPF). These suffixes never co-occur with the future marking prefix *ga-* or with the irrealis marking prefix *ya-*. Thus, the PF and IMPF suffixes jointly contrast with the temporal/modal specification of future/irrealis. In other words, the aspectual specification presupposes a neutral (unmarked) modality.

⁴⁵ See 6.4.4 for the causal use of the ergative.

⁴⁶ See 4.5.6.2.(2) for the irregularity of the future forms of the verb *ngara* 'become'.

4.3.4.1 Allomorphy

(1) Apico-alveolar *-n* following *dyi/dyu*

The imperfective marker *-rn* [ɲ] has an apico-alveolar (to apico-dentoalveolar) allomorph *-n* [n] (or [ɲ] in a more strict IPA notation)⁴⁷ which occurs following a high vowel immediately preceded by a laminal stop; specifically (1) following the RCP suffix *-ndyi* or (2) following the verb roots *dyi*⁴⁸ or *dyu*. Such de-retroflexivisation does not take place with the verb roots *nya* (i.e. the process is blocked by the intervening non-high vowel) or with *dyalku*, *dyurruku*, *dyiba*, etc. (i.e. blocked by an intervening syllable).

(2) Apico-dental *-n* with the verb 'give'

When combined with the zero-root verb 'give' (4.5.5), the aspect marker is pronounced apico-dentally (fronted apico-alveolar [ɲ] is also acceptable): the 3rd-person-minimal (3MIN) form is *inan* [inaɲ] ~ [inaɲ̥] (analysed as *i-na-ø-(r)n*, 3-TR-√-IMPF).⁴⁹

(3) Lamino-dental *-ny* preceding *-ngany*

Another environment in which a dental articulation (but lamino-dental rather than apico-dental) takes place is where the imperfective marker stands between a low-vowel-ending verb root (such as *nga*, *nya* and *bula*) and the comitative marker *-ngany* (4.4.1 and 4.7). I have chosen to write down the allomorph in this environment with *ny* in order to indicate its laminal articulation explicitly (3.4.4.1). As a matter of fact, lamino-prepalatal [ɲ̠], as well as lamino-alveolar [ɲ], is also acceptable in the same environment:⁵⁰

i-nga-ny-ngany [iŋaɲɲaɲ̠] ~ [iŋaɲɲaɲ̠] ~ [iŋaɲ̠ɲaɲ̠]
 3-be-IMPF-COM
 's/he holds it'

(4) Apico-alveolar *-n* preceding *-irr*

The de-retroflexed (but not necessarily dental) allophone *-n* [n] (rather [ɲ] than [ɲ̠] to use the new IPA diacritics) occurs when the imperfective marker is

⁴⁷ See International Phonetic Association (1989:71) for the use of inverted dental diacritic [̠] (the apico-alveolar symbol [ɲ̠] should not be confused with the symbol [ɲ̠] for the dental nasal).

⁴⁸ This is suppletive for *ni* 'be' (see 4.5.2.1).

⁴⁹ This is confined to the minimal forms. The 3AGM (= 3") form is *ingarrarn* [iŋaraɲ̠] (i.e. *inga-rr-a-ø-rn*, 3"-AGM-TR-√-IMPF) rather than *ingarran*. This is quite interesting phonologically, because the *na-* prefix in the minimal (with its apico-nasal segment) is considered to be the cause of the de-retroflexivisation in the imperfective marker (*-rn* → *-n*), whereas the verb root *nya* (with its lamino-nasal segment) does not cause the change (3MIN *inanyarn*, rather than *inanyan*). The allomorphic process in question can be, therefore, interpreted as a neutralisation of the apical contrast (3.1.3). The process does not take place when an apical/laminal contrast is involved.

⁵⁰ See International Phonetic Association (1989:71) for the use of laminal diacritic (subscript rectangle) as in [ɲ̠].

followed immediately by the 3rd-person-augmented accusative (3rdACC) enclitic *-irr* (7.3.2.2), regardless of the phonological nature of the preceding verb root.

(5) Vowel dropping due to clitic attachment

The 3rdACC clitic pronoun also affects the perfective marker *-nda*, of which the vowel usually drops when followed by the clitic: *-nda + -irr* → *ndirr* (see 7.3.2.2, cf. 3.8.4.2).^{50A}

The vowel of the perfective suffix also drops occasionally when it is followed by a *dy*-initial clitic pronoun such as *-dyanu* 'to me', *-dyina* 'to him/her', etc. (7.4.1), in which case a consonantal cluster *-nd-dy...* results (but without laryngealisation; cf. 3.8.2).⁵¹

(6) Medial contraction

Some of the CVCCV verb roots are subject to minor morphophonemic alternation (CVC₁C₂V ~ CVC₁V) conditioned by the succeeding aspect markers. Such is the case, for example, with the 3MIN form of the verb *burnda* 'bite':

i-na-burna-rn ~ *i-na-burnda-rn*
i-na-burna-nda (but **i-na-burnda-nda*)

where the uncontracted root *burnda* rarely takes place when followed by the perfective suffix that has -CCV phonotactics. This will be further commented on in 4.5.4.2.

(7) Summary

The imperfective suffix {+ŋ} realises as the conditioned allomorphs *-rn* [ŋ], *-n* [ŋ], *-n* [ŋ] ~ [ŋ], and *-ny* [ŋ] ~ [ŋ] ~ [ŋ]. The perfective suffix {+nda} is realised as *-nda* ~ *-na* ~ *-nd*. The most frequent allomorphs *-rn* and *-nda*, respectively, are employed as representative forms.

^{50A} The vowel dropping is observed in examples [74] in this chapter, [149] in Chapter 6, [44] in Chapter 7, [118] and [234] in Chapter 10 (but cf. [118] in Chapter 10, where the vowel is maintained).

⁵¹ Stokes (1982:13f) reports the existence of two types of past-marking suffixes in Yawuru: "-na" (for the distant past) and "-nda" (for the more recent past), which would functionally correspond to the Nyikina verbal suffixes *-na* (general past) and *-ny* (recent past), respectively (Stokes 1984:13). I have, however, found no such distinction in the Yawuru "past" marking (imperfective aspect according to my interpretation). In my corpus, the form *-na* occurs only once as a variant of *-nda*:

Wadya + i-na-ma-na.
 scared+3-TR-AUX(put)-PF
 'It frightened (me).'

Elsewhere the perfective marker always has the CCV form *-nda*. The laminal form *-ny* has been recorded only as a conditioned allophone of the imperfective marker.

4.3.4.2 Tense/aspect

Contrasts expressed by means of the IMPF/PF alternation are summarised in Table 405. The IMPF *-rn* indicates either habitual aspect (i.e. general, regular or customary events) or durative aspect (specific ongoing/progressive events). Tense-wise, it may refer to an event in present, recent/immediate past or in near future. It may also be employed in conditional clauses when the predication is not counterfactual. On the other hand, the PF *-nda* usually indicates completed events in the relatively distant/remote past. In some cases, it may indicate a counterfactual conditional (along with other lexical items indicating the counterfactuality).⁵²

TABLE 405: Contrast of imperfective (IMPF) vs perfective (PF)

<i>-rn</i> (IMPF)	<i>-nda</i> (PF)
general/habitual imperfective and durative perfect (in recent past) recent/immediate past conditional (simple assumption)	specific event perfective perfect (in remote past) distant/remote past conditional (counterfactual)

These alternating suffixes could be seen either as markers of tense or of aspect. Of course, the distinction between tense and aspect is not always a clear-cut one, since tense and aspect are often interrelated in the practical functions of language.⁵³

As to the Yawuru suffixes in question, Stokes (1984) regarded them as markers of tense. I have chosen to regard the principal function of *-rn/-nda* as aspect-marking, rather than tense-marking. The reasons are as follows:

- 1) Events in the past may be expressed either with *-rn* or with *-nda*. However, *-rn* is used in the accounts of customary or habitual events while *-nda* is used in the accounts of specific events. The suffix *-rn* is unacceptable when a specific time-qualifier such as *madyil* 'yesterday' is present in the sentence, while it may co-occur with indefinite time-qualifiers such as *walkanyagarra* 'a long time ago' or *dyarriny* 'always' (thus the use of *-rn* is basic in the narratives of the Dreamtime stories).

⁵² Only the qualificational aspects (such as perfective, imperfective, progressive, etc.) are encoded in the verbal suffixes. Quantificational aspects (such as iterative, frequentative, durative, etc.) can be encoded by the *-gadya* suffixation on preverbs (5.4.2) or by verbal root reduplication (9.3).

⁵³ Temporal distinctions (such as past/non-past) can be expressed by morphemes that have aspectual functions and vice versa, as pointed out by Chung & Timberlake (1985:206). I basically follow the framework of Chung & Timberlake (1985:202): "Tense locates the event in time. Aspect characterizes the internal temporal structure of the event."

- 2) Also referring to past events, the suffix *-nda* typically conveys a telic (or perfective) meaning, whereas a predicate that takes *-rn* is usually atelic. Ongoing events in the past (i.e. past progressive) are usually expressed by *-rn* (imperfective).
- 3) The *-nda* conjugation can be used with adverbs such as *miliya* 'now' and *miliyarri* 'just now' to indicate that the event has just been completed. There are cases, however, where this perfect (but not perfective) aspect is encoded by *-rn*.
- 4) The *-rn* conjugation can be used to refer to a future (usually near-future) event when the event is of regular/customary nature and/or the event is quite likely to take place.

The past/non-past distinction is usually marked by adverbs (time-qualifiers) as well as by verbal inflexion. Some correlations of the tense/aspect system with time adverbials are commented on in 8.2.1.1.

4.3.4.3 Perfect (not perfective) aspect

A note may be needed here about the term "perfective" applied to the aspect-marker *-nda*. "Perfective" is distinguished from "perfect" in the way defined by Chung and Timberlake (1985:220): "perfect" aspect is the characterisation of an event that has already occurred and still has a continuing result, whereas "perfective" refers to an event completed without such continuing result.⁵⁴

The suffix *-nda* does not necessarily indicate that the described event has any continuing result over the present event or the focussed event in the current discourse. The suffix in question is considered, in this regard, not as a marker of the perfect aspect, but that of the perfective.⁵⁵

The perfect aspect (in the sense stated above) may be encoded either by *-nda* or by *-rn*. The latter is more common — see 8.2.1.1.(1). Consider the successive use of the imperfective in [68]. The first indicates the present situation and the second refers to the past event that has caused that situation to come about.

- [68] *Ngurdirn nga-nga-rn, inga-rr-a-ngari-rn-ngayu.*
 alone 1-be-IMPF 3"-AGM-TR-leave-IMPF-1ACC
 'I'm alone; they have left me.'

There are many other instances where *-rn* encodes the perfect aspect.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Chung & Timberlake further claim (1985:219) that, in order to be encoded as perfective, an event must be telic and must be included in the event frame. They encapsulate these characteristics of the perfective aspect into the term "closure"; and imperfective aspect is defined by the absence of such closure.

⁵⁵ Related to this is the fact that the *-nda* form is more common with action/motion verbs. With stative verbs the *-rn* form is more common. The resultative meaning (cf. Maslov 1988:63-85) may be expressed either by the *-rn* form of stative verbs or by the *-nda* form of action verbs.

⁵⁶ Also see example [23] given in 8.2.1.1.(3).

- [69] *Dyid + i-ny-dyu-n wula.*
stop+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF water(ABS)
'It has stopped raining.'
- [70] *Burdarra + i-ngara-rn kamba wula, buru-manyan i-na-ngari-rn.*
dry+3AUX(become)-IMPF that water(ABS) mud-only 3-TR-leave-IMPF
'The water (i.e. pool) has dried up. It has left only mud.'
- [71] *I-na-ngurlika-rn-dyina kudyarra rumarra.*
3_i-TR-wait-IMPF-3_jDAT two sun(= day)
'He's been waiting for two days.'

Thus the Yawuru imperfective (IMPF) marker should not be taken as the marker of "imperfect". Perfect aspect may be encoded by the *-nda* suffix if the discourse relates a sequence of past events. This is typically observed in Dreamtime-story telling.

4.3.4.4 Metric contrast

The alternative aspectual markers can be used to indicate a metric contrast. In that case, a completed (telic) event that took place after some other event is encoded in the imperfective form, while the anterior event is in the perfective:

- [72] *I-na-burna-rn-ngayu yila-ni nyamba, madyil baku i-na-ka-nda Nurin-ni.*
3_i-TR-bite-IMPF-1ACC dog_i-ERG this yesterday hither 3_j-TR-carry-PF Noreen_j/E-ERG
'I was bitten by the dog Noreen had brought in yesterday.'
- [73] *Rdaarl + i-ny-dyu-n, bambu inga-rr-a-ma-nda dyungku-gun.*
explode+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF bamboo/E(ABS) 3"-AGM-TR-put-PF fire-LOC
'It blew up. They had put a bamboo in the fire.'
- [74] *Kunydyurung-marda i-ny-dyiba-rn inga-rr-a-ma-nd(a)-irr milimili-gun.*
(ceremony)-perhaps 3_i-EN-ask-IMPF 3"-AGM-TR-put-PF-3"ACC paper-LOC
'He_i asked about the Gunyjurung ceremony, which had been recorded (by earlier researchers_j) in a book.'
- [75] *Marlu yaga-rr-a-dyu-nda-dyina kamba-yi wamba baku yinydya,*
not 12"-AGM-TR-say-PF-3DAT that-DAT man(DAT) hither going
bud + i-m-bula-rn-dyayrda kamba.
appear+3-EN-AUX(come)-IMPF-12"DAT that(ABS)
'We had told him not to come, but he just turned up.'

The suffix *-nda* functions like a tense marker since it often refers to an anterior event (action/state) and never to a future event. What is indicated by this suffix, however, is the anteriority in relation to another event (mentioned elsewhere in the discourse) rather than in relation to the moment of speech. We have seen this typically in the above instances of metric contrast.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Schachter (1985:10) characterises tense as basically a marking of the time of the action relative to the time of the utterance. If the *-rn/-nda* distinction in Yawuru were to be considered a tense-marking system, it is not an absolute tense system, but rather a relative tense system (Chung & Timberlake 1985:203, 207-9). Apart from the general past/present distinction, which can be indicated by the alternation of perfective/imperfective suffixes, no further metrical tense is morphologically marked in Yawuru. Distinctions of remote/far/recent/immediate past, which are morphologically marked in such languages as Nootka (Silverstein 1974), are in Yawuru explicitly marked by adverbs (time qualifiers; see 8.2).

4.3.4.5 General vs specific

Apart from the tense/aspect distinction, the essential contrast between *-rn* and *-nda* is that of the general vs the specific. Consider the contrastive example [76a/b] below. [76a] is an account of the customary method of deliberate abortion in traditional times, while [76b] tells us of a specific event of accidental miscarriage.

- [76] a. *Yaku-ni dyina i-na-m-bilka-rn niyakan dyarn'du dyina,*
 husband_i-ERG 3_j(GEN) 3_i-TR-EN-hit-IMPF back(ABS) woman(ABS)_j 3_i(GEN)
dyiwarri i-na-ngula-rn wuba dyirra nungu-gap.
 dead 3_j-TR-throw-IMPF child(ABS) 3^{DL}_{i+j}(GEN) belly-ABL
 'Her husband_i would hit her_j (his wife) on the (lower) back and she_j would discharge
 the foetus out of the womb.'
- b. *Yaku-ni dyina i-na-bilka-nda niyakan dyarn'du dyina,*
 3_i-TR-hit-PF
luudyim + i-na-ma-nda wuba dyirra nungu-gun.
 loose-him/E +3_j-TR-AUX(put)-PF belly-LOC
 'Her husband hit her on the lower back and (because of that) she had a miscarriage.'

The explanation of the customary way is in the imperfective whereas the specific event is narrated in the perfective.

4.4 Enclitics

4.4.1 Comitative derivation

A limited number of verbs can further take the comitative marker *-ngany*, which stands after the aspect specifiers and before object enclitics if any. Only 8 verbs have so far been found to carry *-ngany* (involving 10 verb roots, since *ni* has the suppletive roots *nga* and *dyi*). Interestingly, the verb *rndira* 'go' is not included. Listed below are the roots, gloss and the imperfective comitative forms without prefixes (notice the allomorphic variation of the imperfective marker *-n/-rn/-ny*; see 4.3.4.1).

<i>bandyi</i>	'exchange'	>	<i>bandyi-n-ngany</i>
<i>bula</i>	'come'	>	<i>bula-ny-ngany</i>
<i>dyalaku</i>	'overflow'	>	<i>dyalaku-rn-ngany</i>
<i>dyali</i>	'come back'	>	<i>dyali-rn-ngany</i>
<i>gard</i>	'enter, disappear'	>	<i>gard-rn-ngany</i>
<i>mirdibi</i>	'run away'	>	<i>mirdibi-rn-ngany</i>
<i>ni/nga/dyi</i>	'be'	>	<i>nga-ny-ngany</i>
<i>nya</i>	'catch'	>	<i>nya-ny-ngany</i>

The marker *-ngany* basically adds a comitative meaning: 'together with something/somebody' to the predicate. For example,

- [77] *Yangki ku-rry-dyali-nda-ngany.*
 what(ABS) 2"-AGM-return-PF-COM
 'What did you bring in?' (or 'Who did you come with?')
- [78] *Midyala + inga-rry-dyi-n-ngany-ngayu.*
 sitting+3"-AGM-AUX(be)-IMPF-COM-1ACC
 'They sit down with me.'

Notice that the enclitic pronoun takes the accusative form in [78] above. The addition of *-ngany* has the effect of transitivity, affecting the case frame

in which nominal arguments occur. Notice the ergative marking on the subject *kamba wamba* 'that man' in the next example (the verb *nga* (= *ni*) is normally intransitive when it appears as a simple verb).

- [79] *Kamba-ni wamba dyamiyanu i-nga-n-ngany*
 that-ERG man(ERG); axe(ABS) 3_i-be-IMPF-COM
 'The man takes an axe with him.'

Further details of the comitative verbs and related syntactic issues are discussed in 4.7. It should be noted that the enclitic *-ngany* is one of the few bivalent markers in Yawuru: it occurs with nominal stems, too, also marking a comitative meaning 'having something' (6.10).

4.4.2 Subordination markers

The slot "Subord" in the conjugational formula [3] (see 4.1.2) stands for the subordination markers *-yi* 'so that, in order that' (purposive) and *-dyarri* 'when, if' (sequential).^{57A} The former is glossed "DAT_{purp}" because the marker is identified with the nominal dative-marking enclitic.⁵⁸ The latter is glossed "SEQ". The two do not co-occur.

- [80] *Wal-a-kunba-dyina milimili wa-ng-ga-bula-yi.*
 2FUT-TR-send-3DAT_i; mail(ABS) 3_i-EN-FUT-come-DAT_{purp}
 'Send him a message so that he will come.'
- [81] *Wa-ng-ga-bula-dyarri, nyamba wal-a-ø-dyina milimili.*
 3_i-EN-FUT-come-SEQ this[^] 2FUT-TR-give-3DAT_i; [^]mail(ABS)
 'When he comes, give this letter to him.'

The purposive-dative marker shows the same allomorphic alternation as the nominal dative marker (i.e. *-yi* after a vowel and *-dyi* after a consonant; see 3.8.4.1). Probably related to this is the fact that a varied morpheme ordering is observed as to the purposive marker (DAT_{purp}) and the dative pronominal enclitic (4.4.3). It was indicated in the general formula [3] that "Pro₂" (i.e. pronominal enclitic) comes after "Subord" (either DAT_{purp} or SEQ). Occasionally, however, a dative pronoun (e.g. 3rd-person minimal *-dyina*) may precede the purposive marker. In the following example, both [82a] and [82b] are acceptable, conveying the same meaning 'so that he_i would see it for her_j':

- [82] a. *wa-na-ga-bura-yi-dyina*
 3_i-TR-FUT-see-DAT_{purp}-3DAT_j
- b. *wa-na-ga-bura-dyina-yi*
 3_i-TR-FUT-see-3DAT_j-DAT_{purp}

As to the accusative enclitics, however, the ordering is invariable. The 3rd-person non-paucal *-irr* (3"ACC, see 7.3.2.2) always precedes the purposive dative:⁵⁹

^{57A} As already outlined (4.3.3.2), the dative marker may have an imperative/persuasive function when attached to a non-subordinate finite verb (future forms). This has been indicated as "Imp" in the slot sequence of formula [3] (see comment 11 in 4.1.2).

⁵⁸ The Yawuru dative marker is comparable with Bidyara *-yi* (Breen 1973:41-44, quoted in Blake 1987:140), which also marks subordinate predicate ('if ...', 'after ...', 'as ...') when attached to a tensed verb.

⁵⁹ The same rule applies to the persuasive/imperative dative marking. See [57] in 4.3.3.2.

- [83] *Dyakurd + wal-a-ma-irr-dyi yawarda-garra baku-layin.*
 drive+2FUT-TR-AUX(put)3"ACC-DAT_{purp} horse-many(ABS) hither-DIR
 'Drive the mob of horses towards here.'

In all other person/number categories, the purposive marker precedes the accusative enclitic:

- [84] *wa-na-ga-bilka-yi-dyuyu* (but never **wa-na-ga-bilka-dyuyu-yi*)
 3-TR-FUT-hit-DAT_{purp}-2ACC
 'so that he would hit you'

No ordering variation is recorded with the other subordination marker *-dyarri*, either. Syntactic details concerning the subordinating markers will be discussed in 10.6.2 and 10.6.3.

4.4.3 Object/beneficiary marking

Inflecting verbs may carry a pronominal enclitic that cross-references an object (either direct or indirect) or a beneficiary. Instances are already abundant in the example sentences given so far. The enclitic takes either an accusative (ACC) or a dative (DAT) form. This is aptly represented in the following morphological minimal pair:

- [85] a. *inga-rr-a-nya-nda-ngayu*
 3"-AGM-TR-catch-PF-1ACC
 'they caught me'
 b. *inga-rr-a-nya-nda-dyanu*
 3"-AGM-TR-catch-PF-1DAT
 'they caught [it] for me'

See 7.3 and 7.4 (also see Chapter 10, *passim*) for detailed discussions on the forms and functions of the pronominal enclitics and related syntactic issues in Yawuru.

4.4.4 Vocative

The final slot for the conjugation formula is for the vocative clitic *-áw* (always bearing stress). As already illustrated (3.8.5), the clitic also occurs on nominal items. When it follows a verb root ending in the low vowel *a*, the root-final vowel is lengthened, taking over the stress as well:⁶⁰

- [86] *Ya-ga-rr-garndá-aw* [jagargaŋdázɔ].
 12"-FUT-AGM-go-VOC
 'Let's go!'
 [87] *Wal-a-burá-aw* [walabəɪázɔ]⁶¹ *kamba durrkarrang.*
 2FUT-TR-see-VOC that car(ABS)
 'Look at that car!'

When the stem-final high-back vowel is followed by the vocative *-áw*, it usually becomes a dorso-velar glide [w] (except for the verb *dyu*, in which case the root vowel *u* completely drops — see 3.7.5.5):

⁶⁰ Remember that the sequence of /a/ and /w/ is typically realised as a diphthong [aɔ] (3.2.6.2); /a:w/ realises as [a:ɔ].

⁶¹ The first vowel of the verb root *bura* is occasionally reduced to a shwa [ə]. This probably has something to do with the fact that the root has the monosyllabic variant *baa* (CV:).

- [88] *Mi-ya-dyalku-áw* [me'adʒalgʷáɔ].
2-IRR-fall-VOC
'Hey, you might fall down! (Be careful!)
- [89] *K*awity wal-dyidibu-áw* [wàɫɛdeɓʷáɔ].
quick 2FUT-block-VOC
'Hey, quick, block [their fight]!
- [90] *Marlu duly + wal-dy(u)-áw* [dùʌwalɫáɔ], *dyara kamba.*
not squeeze+2FUT-AUX(say)-VOC boil(ABS) that
'Hey, don't squeeze the boil!'

In the same context, the high-front vowel drops:

- [91] *Nyamba wal-a-rl(i)-aw* [walaɫáɔ] *mayi.*
this^ 2FUT-TR-eat-VOC ^fruit(ABS)
'Eat this fruit.'

No case has been recorded where the vocative is attached directly to an imperfective form: *...-rn-aw.

The vocative marker *-aw* is probably related to the interjection *yaw* [jáɔ] 'hey!' (attention-getter). Sometimes the interjection is added to an already vocative form of a verb:

- [92] *Dyamurr + wa-rr-ngará-aw* *yáw.*
sitting.in.a.circle+2" FUT-AGM-AUX(become)-VOC hey!
'Hey, get together!'

Utterances involving the vocative verb forms provide a typical occasion for phrasal discontinuity to occur (2.5.3), as exemplified in the following:

- [93] *Kamba wal-a-karda-kardá-aw* *yila.*
that^ 2FUT-TR-REDUP-chase-VOC ^dog(ABS)
'Chase that dog away!'
- [94] *Wirdu wal-a-burá-a::w* *durrkarrang.*
big^ 2FUT-TR-see-VOC/EMPH ^motorcar(ABS)
'Look at that car, big one!'

In these instances, the preceding part of the discontinuous NPs (direct object) fulfils the role of attention-getter.

TABLE 406A: Yawuru verbal conjugation: regular paradigms (1)

class I: sample verb = *nya* 'catch' (Vt)

PERFECT	1	<i>nga-na-nya-nda</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rr-a-nya-nda</i>
	2	<i>mi-na-nya-nda</i>	2"	<i>ku-rr-a-nya-nda</i>
	3	<i>i-na-nya-nda</i>	3"	<i>inga-rr-a-nya-nda</i>
	12	<i>ya-na-nya-nda</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rr-a-nya-nda</i>
IMPERFECT	1	<i>nga-na-nya-rn</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rr-a-nya-rn</i>
	1	<i>mi-na-nya-rn</i>	2"	<i>ku-rr-a-nya-rn</i>
	3	<i>i-na-nya-rn</i>	3"	<i>inga-rr-a-nya-rn</i>
	12	<i>ya-na-nya-rn</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rr-a-nya-rn</i>
FUTURE	1	<i>nga-na-(ng-)ga-nya</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rr-a-nya</i>
	2	<i>wal-a-nya</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-a-nya</i>
	3	<i>wa-na-(ng-)ga-nya</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-a-nya</i>
	12	<i>ya-na-(ng-)ga-nya</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rr-a-nya</i>
IRREALIS	1	<i>nga-na-nya ~ nga-ya-nya</i>	1"	<i>yaa-rr-a-nya</i>
	2	<i>mi-na-nya ~ mi-ya-nya</i>	2"	<i>ku-ya-rr-a-nya</i>
	3	<i>wa-na-nya ~ wa-ya-nya</i>	3"	<i>wa-y-rr-a-nya</i>
	12	<i>ya-na-nya ~ yaa-nya</i>	12"	<i>yaa-rr-a-nya ~ yaga-rr-a-nya</i>
REFLEXIVE (IMPERFECT)	1	<i>nga-ma-nya-ndyi-n</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rr-ma-nya-ndyi-n</i>
	2	<i>mi-ma-nya-ndyi-n</i>	2"	<i>ku-rr-ma-nya-ndyi-n</i>
	3	<i>i-ma-nya-ndyi-n</i>	3"	<i>inga-rr-ma-nya-ndyi-n</i>
	12	<i>ya-ma-nya-ndyi-n</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rr-ma-nya-ndyi-n</i>
RECIPROCAL (IMPERFECT)			1"	<i>yanga-rr-a-nya-ndyi-n</i>
			2"	<i>ku-rr-a-nya-ndyi-n</i>
			3"	<i>inga-rr-a-nya-ndyi-n</i>
			12"	<i>yaga-rr-a-nya-ndyi-n</i>
REFLEXIVE (FUTURE)	1	<i>nga-(ng-)ga-ma-nya-ndyi</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rr-ma-nya-ndyi</i>
	2	<i>wal-ma-nya-ndyi</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-ma-nya-ndyi</i>
	3	<i>wa-(ng-)ga-ma-nya-ndyi</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-ma-nya-ndyi</i>
	12	<i>ya-(ng-)ga-ma-nya-ndyi</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rr-ma-nya-ndyi</i>
RECIPROCAL (FUTURE)			1"	<i>yang-ga-rr-a-nya-ndyi</i>
			2"	<i>wa-rr-a-nya-ndyi</i>
			3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-a-nya-ndyi</i>
			12"	<i>ya-ga-rr-a-nya-ndyi</i>

TABLE 406B: Yawuru verbal conjugation: regular paradigms (2)

class IIa: sample verb = *dyurru* 'cut hair' (Vt)

PERFECT	1	<i>nga-ny-dyurru-nda</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rry-dyurru-nda</i>
	2	<i>mi-ny-dyurru-nda</i>	2"	<i>ku-rry-dyurru-nda</i>
	3	<i>i-ny-dyurru-nda</i>	3"	<i>inga-rry-dyurru-nda</i>
	12	<i>ya-ny-dyurru-nda</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rry-dyurru-nda</i>
IMPERFECT	1	<i>nga-ny-dyurru-rn</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rry-dyurru-rn</i>
	1	<i>mi-ny-dyurru-rn</i>	2"	<i>ku-rry-dyurru-rn</i>
	3	<i>i-ny-dyurru-rn</i>	3"	<i>inga-rry-dyurru-rn</i>
	12	<i>ya-ny-dyurru-rn</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rry-dyurru-rn</i>
FUTURE	1	<i>nga-ng-ga-dyurru</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rry-dyurru</i>
	2	<i>wal-dyurru</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-dyurru</i>
	3	<i>wa-(ng-)ga-dyurru</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rry-dyurru</i>
	12	<i>ya-(ng-)ga-dyurru</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rry-dyurru</i>
IRREALIS	1	<i>nga-ya-dyurru</i>	1"	<i>yaa-rry-dyurru</i>
	2	<i>mi-ya-dyurru</i>	2"	<i>ku-ya-rry-dyurru</i>
	3	<i>wa-ya-dyurru</i>	3"	<i>wa-y-rry-dyurru</i>
	12	<i>yaa-dyurru</i>	12"	<i>yaa-rry-dyurru</i> ~ <i>yaga-rry-dyurru</i>
REFLEXIVE (IMPERFECT)	1	<i>nga-ma-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rr-ma-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>
	2	<i>mi-ma-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>	2"	<i>ku-rr-ma-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>
	3	<i>i-ma-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>	3"	<i>inga-rr-ma-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>
	12	<i>ya-ma-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rr-ma-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>
RECIPROCAL (IMPERFECT)			1"	<i>yanga-rry-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>
			2"	<i>ku-rry-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>
			3"	<i>inga-rry-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>
			12"	<i>yaga-rry-dyurru-ndyi-n</i>
REFLEXIVE (FUTURE)	1	<i>nga-(ng-)ga-ma-dyurru-ndyi</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rr-ma-dyurru-ndyi</i>
	2	<i>wal-ma-dyurru-ndyi</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-ma-dyurru-ndyi</i>
	3	<i>wa-(ng-)ga-ma-dyurru-ndyi</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-ma-dyurru-ndyi</i>
	12	<i>ya-(ng-)ga-ma-dyurru-ndyi</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rr-ma-dyurru-ndyi</i>
RECIPROCAL (FUTURE)			1"	<i>yang-ga-rry-dyurru-ndyi</i>
			2"	<i>wa-rr-dyurru-ndyi</i>
			3"	<i>wang-ga-rry-dyurru-ndyi</i>
			12"	<i>ya-ga-rry-dyurru-ndyi</i>

TABLE 406C: Yawuru verbal conjugation: regular paradigms (3)

class IIb: sample verb = *dyali* 'return, come back'

PERFECT	1	<i>nga-ny-dyali-nda</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rry-dyali-nda</i>
	2	<i>mi-ny-dyali-nda</i>	2"	<i>ku-rry-dyali-nda</i>
	3	<i>i-ny-dyali-nda</i>	3"	<i>inga-rry-dyali-nda</i>
	12	<i>ya-ny-dyali-nda</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rry-dyali-nda</i>
IMPERFECT	1	<i>nga-ny-dyali-rn</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rry-dyali-rn</i>
	1	<i>mi-ny-dyali-rn</i>	2"	<i>ku-rry-dyali-rn</i>
	3	<i>i-ny-dyali-rn</i>	3"	<i>inga-rry-dyali-rn</i>
	12	<i>ya-ny-dyali-rn</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rry-dyali-rn</i>
FUTURE	1	<i>nga-ng-ga-dyali</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rry-dyali</i>
	2	<i>nga-dyali</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-dyali</i>
	3	<i>wa-(ng-)ga-dyali</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rry-dyali</i>
	12	<i>ya-(ng-)ga-dyali</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rry-dyali</i>
IRREALIS	1	<i>nga-ya-dyali</i>	1"	<i>yaa-rry-dyali</i>
	2	<i>mi-ya-dyali</i>	2"	<i>ku-ya-rry-dyali</i>
	3	<i>wa-ya-dyali</i>	3"	<i>wa-y-rry-dyali</i>
	12	<i>yaa-dyali</i>	12"	<i>yaa-rry-dyali</i> ~ <i>yaga-rry-dyali</i>
REFLEXIVE (IMPERFECT)	1	<i>nga-ma-dyali-ndyi-n</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rr-ma-dyali-ndyi-n</i>
	2	<i>mi-ma-dyali-ndyi-n</i>	2"	<i>ku-rr-ma-dyali-ndyi-n</i>
	3	<i>i-ma-dyali-ndyi-n</i>	3"	<i>inga-rr-ma-dyali-ndyi-n</i>
	12	<i>ya-ma-dyali-ndyi-n</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rr-ma-dyali-ndyi-n</i>
RECIPROCAL (IMPERFECT)			1"	<i>yanga-rry-dyali-ndyi-n</i>
			2"	<i>ku-rry-dyali-ndyi-n</i>
			3"	<i>inga-rry-dyali-ndyi-n</i>
			12"	<i>yaga-rry-dyali-ndyi-n</i>
REFLEXIVE (FUTURE)	1	<i>nga-(ng-)ga-ma-dyali-ndyi</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rr-ma-dyali-ndyi</i>
	2	<i>nga-ma-dyali-ndyi</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-ma-dyali-ndyi</i>
	3	<i>wa-(ng-)ga-ma-dyali-ndyi</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-ma-dyali-ndyi</i>
	12	<i>ya-(ng-)ga-ma-dyali-ndyi</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rr-ma-dyali-ndyi</i>
RECIPROCAL (FUTURE)			1"	<i>yang-ga-rry-dyali-ndyi</i>
			2"	<i>wa-rr-dyali-ndyi</i>
			3"	<i>wang-ga-rry-dyali-ndyi</i>
			12"	<i>ya-ga-rry-dyali-ndyi</i>

45 Irregular conjugations

45.1 Overview

We have examined above all of the components of the conjugational slots of Yawuru finite verbs. As a summary, regular conjugational paradigms of class I, IIa and IIb are given in Table 406A, 406B and 406C, respectively (see above).

The majority of the Yawuru verbs (59, or 72% out of 82) conform to the regular conjugational paradigms. The remaining 23 verbs, however, deviate from the regular patterns in some way or other. Those are called irregular verbs. The irregularity is in most cases due to one or more of the following factors:

- i) root suppletion
- ii) split conjugation class
- iii) morphophonological adjustment

i) **Root suppletion** means that completely different roots appear in different inflexional categories. The root which appears in the 2FUT form is cited as the representative root of that verb, and other roots are termed suppletive roots.

ii) The term **split conjugation** class is applied to verbs showing class I conjugation in some inflexional categories, but class II conjugation in other categories. No functional/semantic alternation of transitivity accompanies such a split.

iii) **Morphophonological adjustment** includes several types of minor change in the root, such as vowel quality shift or phonotactic contraction (i.e. loss of certain sounds in root-internal consonantal clusters).

In addition to the three frequent types mentioned above, there are also other kinds of unexpected irregularity, particularly in future forms.

Although irregular verbs form a relative minority (27% of all the inflecting verbs by dictionary-count), they include verbs with very high token (text-count) frequency. All the Yawuru irregular verbs are listed in Table 407 below. (Dialectal variations, such as *bura* ~ *baa* 'see', are not considered here.) Each type of irregularity is commented on in the following sections (4.5.2 to 4.5.7).

TABLE 407: List of irregular verbs

	gloss	roots	type of irregularity*
1.	'go'	<i>rndira, garnda, garna, rda</i>	SUP, MOD(C)
2.	'come'	<i>bula</i>	CONJ
3.	'put'	<i>ma, ngama</i>	FUT
4.	'be'	<i>ni, nga, dyi</i>	SUP, CONJ
5.	'spear'	<i>ra, ri</i>	MOD(V)
6.	'carry'	<i>ka, ø (or ga), k*a</i>	FUT
7.	'bite'	<i>burnda, burna</i>	MOD(C)
8.	'give'	\emptyset	REF
9.	'exchange'	<i>bandyi</i>	REF
10.	'say'	<i>dyu</i>	CONJ, IRR
11.	'cry'	<i>luka, lungka</i>	MOD(C)
12.	'know'	<i>langka, laka</i>	MOD(C)
13.	'search'	<i>murku</i>	FUT(R)
14.	'hide'	<i>barnda, barda, marda</i>	MOD(C)
15.	'skin'	<i>dyardi</i>	FUT(R), CONJ
16.	'ask'	<i>dyabalu</i>	FUT(L)
17.	'ask'	<i>dyiba, dyuba</i>	FUT(L), MOD(V)
18.	'cover'	<i>dyarlngardi</i>	CONJ
19.	'forget'	<i>lar'dyi</i>	REF
20.	'become'	<i>ngara</i>	FUT
21.	'kick'	<i>dyanba</i>	IRR
22.	'stretch'	<i>midyarrada</i>	FUT
23.	'rise'	<i>midyala</i>	IMPF

*key to the types of irregularity:

CONJ	split conjugation class (4.5.3)
FUT	irregularity in future conjugation (4.5.6.1)
FUT(L)	2FUT-prefix <i>waly-</i>
FUT(R)	2FUT-prefix <i>warl-</i>
IMPF	irregularity in the imperfective (4.10.2.1)
IRR	irregularity in the irrealis (4.5.7)
MOD	stem modification
MOD(C)	consonantal (mainly contraction, 4.5.4.2)
MOD(V)	shift of root vowel quality (4.5.4.1)
REF	irregularity in the reflexive (4.5.7)
SUP	suppletion of the root (4.5.2)

4.5.2 Root suppletion

Two verbs show total suppletion of roots according to inflexional categories.

4.5.2.1 The verb *ni* 'be'

The verb *ni* 'be' (class IIb) has the suppletive root *nga* for realis non-future minimal and *dyi* for augmented in all of the mood/tense/aspect categories. The root *ni* occurs in realis future and in irrealis. Thus the 2nd-person forms in various inflexional categories are as follows:

	minimal	augmented
imperfective	<i>mi-nga-rn</i> 2-√-IMPF	<i>ku-rry-dyi-n</i> 2"-AGM-√-IMPF
perfective	<i>mi-nga-nda</i> 2-√-PF	<i>ku-rry-dyi-nda</i> 2"-AGM-√-PF
future	<i>nga-ni</i> 2FUT-√	<i>wa-rr-dyi</i> 2"FUT-AGM-√
irrealis	<i>mi-ya-ni</i> 2-IRR-√	<i>mi-ya-rry-dyi</i> 2"-IRR-AGM-√

This verb is also aberrant in that the 2nd-person augmented irrealis takes the prefix *mi-* instead of the regular *ku-* (4.3.2.1).

TABLE 408A: Irregular paradigm with root suppletion (1) : the verb 'be'

IMPERFECTIVE	1	<i>nga-nga-rn</i>	1" <i>yanga-rry-dyi-n</i>
	2	<i>mi-nga-rn</i>	2" <i>ku-rry-dyi-n</i>
	3	<i>i-nga-rn</i>	3" <i>inga-rry-dyi-n</i>
	4	<i>ya-nga-rn</i>	12" <i>yaga-rry-dyi-n</i>
FUTURE	1	<i>nga-ng-ga-ni</i>	1" <i>yang-ga-rry-dyi</i>
	2	<i>nga-ni</i>	2" <i>wa-rr-dyi</i>
	3	<i>wa-ng-ga-ni</i>	3" <i>wang-ga-rry-dyi</i>
	4	<i>ya-ng-ga-ni</i>	12" <i>ya-ga-rry-dyi</i>
IRREALIS	1	<i>nga-ya-ni</i>	1" <i>yaa-rry-dyi</i>
	2	<i>mi-ya-ni</i>	2" <i>mi-ya-rry-dyi</i>
	3	<i>wa-ya-ni</i>	3" <i>wa-y(a)-rry-dyi</i>
	4	<i>yaa-ni</i>	12" <i>yaa-rry-dyi ~ yaga-rry-dyi</i>

4.5.22 The verb *rndira* 'go'

The other verb with suppletive roots is *rndira* 'go' (again class IIb). It has as future irrealis root *rnda*. The root in augmented-number conjugations is *garn(d)a* (the root-initial consonant is ever-voiced dorsal, thus spelled with *g* — see 3.4.5.1). The clustered form *garnda* occurs in future and irrealis, while the contracted form *garna* occurs in non-future. Thus the 2nd-person forms of the verb 'go' are:

	minimal	augmented
imperfective	<i>mi-rndira-rn</i> 2-√-IMPF	<i>ku-rr-garna-rn</i> 2"-AGM-√-IMPF
perfective	<i>mi-rndira-nda</i> 2-√-PF	<i>ku-rr-garna-nda</i> 2"-AGM-√-PF
future	<i>nga-rndira</i> 2FUT-√	<i>wa-rr-garnda</i> 2"FUT-AGM-√
irrealis	<i>mi-ya-rnda</i> 2-IRR-√	<i>ku-ya-rr-garnda</i> 2"-IRR-AGM-√

The verb has still another root *rda*, which occurs in future minimal, except the 2FUT where *rndira* is maintained:

1	<i>nga-ng-ga-rda</i>	(1-EN-FUT-√)
2	<i>nga-rndira</i>	(2FUT-√)
3	<i>wa-ng-ga-rda</i>	(3-EN-FUT-√)
12	<i>ya-ng-ga-rda</i>	(12-EN-FUT-√)

In the future augmented, the suppletive root *garnda* is shared by all of the four person categories. The initial velar consonant of the suppletive roots *garnda* and *garna* is of ever-voiced type (3.4.5.1).

The full paradigms of the verbs *ni* and *rndira* are given in Table 408B.

TABLE 408B: Irregular paradigm with root suppletion (2) : the verb 'go'

IMPERFECTIVE	1	<i>nga-rndira-rn</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rr-garna-rn</i>
	2	<i>mi-rndira-rn</i>	2"	<i>ku-rr-garna-rn</i>
	3	<i>i-rndira-rn</i>	3"	<i>inga-rr-garna-rn</i>
	12	<i>ya-rndira-rn</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rr-garna-rn</i>
FUTURE	1	<i>nga-ng-ga-rda</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rr-garnda</i>
	2	<i>nga-rndira</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-garnda</i>
	3	<i>wa-ng-ga-rda</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-garnda</i>
	12	<i>ya-ng-ga-rda</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rr-garnda</i>
IRREALIS	1	<i>nga-ya-rnda</i>	1"	<i>yaa-rr-garnda</i>
	2	<i>mi-ya-rnda</i>	2"	<i>ku-ya-rr-garnda</i>
	3	<i>wa-ya-rnda</i>	3"	<i>wa-y(a)-rr-garnda</i>
	12	<i>yaa-rnda</i>	12"	<i>yaa-rr-garnda</i> ~ <i>yaga-rr-garnda</i>

4.5.3 Split conjugation class

4.5.3.1 The verb *dju* 'say'

The verb *dju* 'say', which has probably the highest token frequency in Yawuru, presents a typical case of split conjugation. This verb takes class I type prefixes

(with the transitive conjugation marker) in the augmented (for all the tense/mood/aspect categories) as well as in the future/irrealis minimal. The marker, however, is absent in the 2FUT form: i.e. not **wal-a-dyu*, but *wal-dyu* (regular class IIb form). In the non-future minimal, the verb conforms to the class II pattern.

Things get a little more mingled in irrealis. The augmented irrealis forms conform to the class I pattern (i.e. the conjugation marker *na-* or *a-* occurs, e.g. 3IRR *wa-na-dyu*, 3"IRR *wa-ya-rr-a-dyu* — see paradigm [44(i)] given in 4.3.2.1) as stated above. Unlike in future forms, however, dropping of the vowel in the marker *na-* (in minimal-number conjugations) may take place, leaving a non-homorganic NC cluster *ndy* (i.e. *na-dyu* > *ndyu*): the 3MIN irrealis form (3IRR) is thus *wanadyu* ~ *wandyu*. This process can be considered an assimilation to the class II pattern (which lacks the medial vowel *a*).^{61A} In Julbayi dialect (as pointed out in 4.3.2.1.(1) — see formula [43]) the class-II-type forms (Pro₁ + *ya-* + √, e.g. 3MIN *wa-ya-dyu*) may substitute the class-I-type forms. As for the 2nd person, again, the only attested form for minimal irrealis is *mi-ya-dyu* (class II pattern); class-I-type forms like **mi-na-dyu* or **mi-n-dyu* have not been recorded in the 2nd person minimal.

TABLE 409: Irregular paradigm with split conjugation class

<i>dyu</i> 'say, sound'					
IMPF	1	<i>nga-ny-dyu-n</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rr-a-dyu-n</i>	
	2	<i>mi-ny-dyu-n</i>	2"	<i>ku-rr-a-dyu-n</i>	
	3	<i>i-ny-dyu-n</i>	3"	<i>inga-rr-a-dyu-n</i>	
	12	<i>ya-ny-dyu-n</i>	12"	<i>yaga-rr-a-dyu-n</i>	
FUT	1	<i>nga-na-ga-dyu</i>	1"	<i>yang-ga-rr-a-dyu</i>	
	2	<i>wal-dyu</i>	2"	<i>wa-rr-a-dyu</i>	
	3	<i>wa-na-ga-dyu</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-a-dyu</i>	
	12	<i>ya-na-ga-dyu</i>	12"	<i>ya-ga-rr-a-dyu</i>	
IRR	1	<i>nga-n(a)-dyu</i> ~ <i>nga-ya-dyu</i>	1"	<i>ya-rr-a-dyu</i>	
	2	<i>mi-ya-dyu</i>	2"	<i>ku-ya-rr-a-dyu</i>	
	3	<i>wa-n(a)-dyu</i> ~ <i>wa-ya-dyu</i>	3"	<i>wa-ya-rr-a-dyu</i>	
	12	<i>ya-n(a)-dyu</i> ~ <i>yaa-dyu</i>	12"	<i>yaa-rr-a-dyu</i> ~ <i>yaga-rr-a-dyu</i>	

The paradigm for imperfective, future and irrealis conjugations of the verb *dyu* is given in Table 409. Notice that, although this verb is classified as a class IIa (*wal-*class) verb by virtue of its 2FUT form *wal-dyu*, many sections of its conjugational

^{61A} It should be noticed, however, that the homorganic vs non-homorganic contrast in the medial NC cluster (cf. 3.6.3) remains (e.g. compare, in Table 409, the homorganic cluster *nydy* in minimal imperfective forms with the non-homorganic cluster *ndy* in minimal irrealis forms) and this may be partly serving to the distinction between the class II type inflexions of imperfective and the class I type inflexions of irrealis (except the 2nd person).

paradigm show the class I pattern (namely, future forms except 2FUT, and all the augmented-number forms). The alternation of class I and class II patterns, however, has no correlation with functional transitivity of the verb. The verb is syntactically transitive when used either transitive, semi-transitive or intransitive (see 5.3 for instances). In all cases the conjugation paradigm remains the same.

4.5.3.2 The verbs 'skin' and 'cover'

(1) The verb *dyardi* 'skin'

The verb *dyardi* 'skin' provides a similar, but more intriguing case. It exhibits the same split pattern as *dyu* (i.e. the transitive marker is absent in the non-future minimal and the 2FUT; elsewhere the marker *a-* occurs). It should be remembered, however, that *dyardi* is an alternative-prefixing verb (4.8). The conjugational split mentioned above takes place only in the B-conjugation of this verb. In the A-conjugation, the explicit transitive marker (*a-* in non-minimal and *na-* in minimal) is present in all of the inflexional categories. Compare the 1st-person perfective and future forms cited below. A and B forms are identical except in the non-future minimal (e.g. 1 PF):

	A-conjugation	B-conjugation
1 PF	<i>nga-na-dyardi-nda</i>	<i>nga-ny-dyardi-nda</i>
1 FUT	<i>nga-na-ga-dyardi</i>	<i>nga-na-ga-dyardi</i>
1" PF	<i>yanga-rr-a-dyardi-nda</i>	<i>yanga-rr-a-dyardi-nda</i>
1" FUT	<i>yang-ga-rr-a-dyardi</i>	<i>yang-ga-rr-a-dyardi</i>

The 2FUT form is *wal-dyardi* in B-conjugation and *wal-a-dyardi* in A-conjugation.

(2) The verb *dyarlngardi* 'cover'

Similar to *dyardi* (but yet distinct from it) is the verb *dyarlngardi* 'cover', which is also alternative-prefixing. Its A-conjugation is not of the class I pattern, but of IIb. Moreover, the 2FUT form is incidentally *warl-dyarlngardi* 'you cover it up', rather than the expected form **wal-dyarlngardi*. The other 2FUT form (i.e. that of B-conjugation) is *nga-dyarlngardi*.

4.5.3.3 The verb *bula* 'come'

Another case of the split conjugation is the motion verb *bula* 'come', of which the augmented forms carry the transitive marker *a-* (between the augmented marker *rr-* and the verb root), except in the reflexive.⁶² Compare the minimal and augmented forms for various inflexional categories below:

⁶² The inserted vowel *a-* in the augmented forms of this verb could possibly be regarded as epenthetic or euphonic, rather than morphemic, since augmented forms such as 1"-IMPF *yangarrbularn* and 2"-PF *kurrbulanda* (i.e. without the *a-* in question) are also recorded (but less frequently) and no systematic difference in the meaning has been observed. However, the conditions that would cause such euphony are unclear, since no other *b*-initial verb roots show parallel behaviour. The verb *bula* is the only member of the *b*-initial verb roots that belongs to

IMPF	1	<i>nga-m-bula-rn</i>	1"	<i>yanga-rr-a-bula-rn</i>
PF	2	<i>i-m-bula-nda</i>	2"	<i>ku-rr-a-bula-nda</i> ⁶³
FUT	3	<i>wa-ng-ga-bula</i>	3"	<i>wang-ga-rr-a-bula</i>
IRR	3	<i>wa-ya-bula</i>	3"	<i>wa-y-rr-a-bula</i>
REF-IMPF	3	<i>i-ma-bula-ndyi-n</i>	3"	<i>inga-rr-ma-bula-ndyi-n</i>

Meaningwise, the verb is inalterably intransitive (unless the comitative *-ngany* is added; see 4.7.4). The 2FUT form is *nga-bula*, allowing us to classify the verb into class IIb (which contains many of the motion verbs and reveals the highest percentage of intransitive roots). Unlike the other cases of split conjugation mentioned earlier, future minimal forms accord with the class IIb pattern in all person categories.

4.5.4 Stem modification

4.5.4.1 Vowel shift

(1) The verb *ra*

There are two verbs that show vowel alternation. One is *ra* 'spear, stab, pierce' (Vt, I), which is realised as *ri* (phonetically [ɿe] ~ [ɿə]) in reflexive forms: *-ma-ri-ndyi*.⁶⁴ The non-low-vowel root may occur in the 3rd-person imperfective:

3 IMPF	<i>i-na-ri-rn</i>
3" IMPF	<i>inga-rr-a-ri-rn</i>

The regular forms *inararn* and *ingarrararn* are also heard.⁶⁵

The imperfective 12"-form is *yagarrarn* ~ *yagarrirn* (contracted from the paradigmatic **yaga-rr-a-ra-rn*). The 3"-forms may also be *ingarrarn* ~ *ingarrirn* in free variation with the uncontracted regular form *inga-rra-ra-rn*. Such contraction (*rr-a-ra* > *rra* ~ *rrri*) does not take place in the future conjugations where the root is not followed by suffixes. The 2FUT (*wala-ra*) and irrealis forms (e.g. 3"-IRR *wa-y-rr-a-ra*) are also regular.

(2) The verb *dyiba*

The other verb in which vowel shift is observed is *dyiba* 'ask' (Vx, I/IIa). Its IIa 2FUT-form is *waly-dyuba* is in free variation with the regular *wal-dyiba*. The former is irregular but more common. Notice that the vowel shift (in this case, *i* > *u*) has a phonotactic effect of compensating the articulatory assimilation of the

class IIb. The class IIa verb *banggara* 'go hunting' seems to show no class split in the conjugation; all the other *b*-initial verbs are class I verbs and, thus, constantly carry the explicit transitive conjugation marker.

⁶³ Notice that the EN *m-*, which is obligatory in minimal non-reflexive forms, is absent in the augmented-number conjugations.

⁶⁴ Capell (n/d:15) recorded "-marind" 'to fight, quarrel' (his spelling and gloss), which is actually the reflexivised *ra* (i.e. 'to spear oneself/each other').

⁶⁵ The verb *rndira* 'go' shows, though much less common compared to *ra*, a similar vowel shift (e.g. *irndirarn* > *irn(d)irirn*) [ɿŋɛɿɛŋ] in fast speech. cf. 3.6.3.2.(1).

sequence of the 2FUT *wal-* and the *dy*-initial root (see the description in 4.5.6.1).⁶⁶

4.5.4.2 Medial cluster contraction

A few verbs with root-medial consonantal clusters show the alternation of $C_1VC_2C_3V \sim C_1VC_2V$ (cf. 3.6.3.2). For example,

'go'	<i>garnda</i> ~ <i>garna</i>
'bite'	<i>burnda</i> ~ <i>burna</i> ⁶⁷
'cry'	<i>lungka</i> ~ <i>luka</i>
'know'	<i>langka</i> ~ <i>laka</i>

The alternation is generally conditioned by the aspect marker that follows the root: the contracted CVCV form is preferred when the perfective marker *-nda* (CCV) follows the root.

The verbs *langka* 'know' and *luka* 'cry' are contrastive, since the former takes the uncontracted root in 2FUT (*walalangka*, **walalaka*) whereas the opposite is the case with the latter (*walaluka*, **walalungka*).

Contracted forms are also heard in fast speech regardless of the inflexional categories involved. The root *rndira* 'go' (in non-future), which does not reveal a contraction in lentis speech, may be contracted to *nira* (as in *i-rndira-rn* > *inirarn* ~ *inirirn*) in natural fast speech.

Also frequent in fast speech is geminate nasalisation (cf. 3.6.3.3.(4)): i.e.

'bite'	<i>burnda</i> [buŋda] > <i>burnna</i> [buŋ:ɑ]
'go'	<i>garnda</i> [gaŋda] > <i>garnna</i> [gaŋ:ɑ]
'smell'	<i>banydyu</i> [baŋu] > <i>banynyu</i> [baŋ:u]

The verb *barnda* 'hide, cover' (Vx, I/IIb) is rather idiosyncratic in that it shows alternation of $C_1VC_2C_3V$ with C_1VC_3V (i.e. *barda*, rather than **barna*). In addition to this, it has a variant root *marda* (but not **marnda*; nor has the geminate-nasalised form **barnna* been recorded). The roots *barda* and *marda* alternate rather whimsically. No correlation with person/number/tense/mood/aspect has been established, although *marda* seems to be uncommon in the perfective. I take it a free alternation/variation. The 2FUT form is, however, *nga-barnda* ~ *nga-barda*, in the B-conjugation and *wala-barnda* in the A-conjugation.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ In other terms, the shift is considered to be a feature metathesis: ...*l-dyi*... (where the feature [+cor] is assigned to the vowel as well as to the root-initial stop) > ...*ly-dyu*... (where [+cor] is deprived of the vowel and shifted to the preceding lateral liquid).

⁶⁷ Also *burda* (C_1VC_3V) in the imperfective. cf. 3.6.3.2.

⁶⁸ 2FUT-forms such as *nga-marda* and *wala-marda* were elicited in a desk-work session, but unheard in natural spontaneous speech. The Nyikina form of the corresponding verb root is *-marda* 'hide' (while *-banda-* is a different verb root that means 'cover up, put out (with Set I prefixing); finish, go out (with Set II prefixing)' in Nyikina — Stokes, p.c. in 1990). A parallel alternation of the root consonants occurs in Yawuru with the verb *banydyu* 'smell': i.e. *banydyu* ~ *banynyu* ~ *banyu* ~ *madyu*. In this case, the contracted forms (*banyu* and *madyu*) are very rare. The nasalised form *madyu* was encountered only once in the 2nd person minimal imperfective form *mi-madyu-n*, where the nasal prefix *mi-* is possibly a conditioning factor.

Contraction in the conjugations of the verb *ra* has already been pointed out in 4.5.4.1.(1).

4.5.5 Zero-root verb 'give'

The verb 'give' in Yawuru is odd in several ways. First of all, the root is phonologically zero. It has, however, certain morphophonological effects as has been noted in 4.3.4.1. In the future conjugation of this verb, the attachment of a clitic pronoun referring to the recipient is obligatory. Curiously enough, accusative enclitics take up the function (except in the 3rd person; see 7.4.4 for details). The benefactive marking by clitic pronoun is usually required in the non-future. No irrealis forms of 'give', such as **ngana(dyuyu)* or **ngaya(dyuyu)*, appear (see discussion in 4.3.3.4 and footnote 41 there). Oddities observed in the reflexive forms *bandyi ~ mbandyi* (but not **mandyi* as would in theory be expected) are commented on in 4.6.7.

Despite these peculiarities, the affixation pattern on this verb is completely regular, conforming to the standard class I paradigm.

4.5.6 Irregularities in future

4.5.6.1 Irregularity in 2FUT prefix

In 4.3.1.1.(3) it has been pointed out that the apico-alveolar lateral *l* in the class IIa 2FUT prefix *wal-* is not subject to assimilation (of articulation point) when directly followed by *dy-*initial verb roots. A typical instance is *dyu* 'say': 2FUT *waldyu* (rather than **walydyu*). Four verbs, however, are exceptional to this:

<i>dyabalu</i>	'ask ₁ '	(Vt, IIa)
<i>dyiba</i>	'ask ₂ '	(Vx, I/IIa)
<i>dyarlngardi</i>	'cover'	(Vx, IIa/IIb)
<i>murku</i>	'search'	(Vm, IIa)

Laminated *waly-* occurs on *dyabalu*: its 2FUT is *waly-dyabalu* rather than **wal-dyabalu*. The case of *dyiba* (with the B-conjugation 2FUT *wal-dyiba ~ waly-dyuba*) has already been illustrated in 4.5.4.1.(2).

Retroflexed prefix *warl-* occurs with the A/P verbs *dyarlngardi* 'cover(IIa)/get covered(IIb)' and *murku* 'find(IIa)/search(IIb)'. Their 2FUT forms are as follows:

A-conjugation	B-conjugation
<i>warl-dyarlngardi</i>	<i>nga-dyarlngardi</i>
<i>warl-murku</i>	<i>nga-murku</i>

Notice that these are the only A/P verbs where the class IIa and IIb paradigms alternate (see Table 403). Phonologically, both verb roots have a retroflexed sonorant as the onset segment of the root-medial consonantal cluster (*rlng* in *dyarlngardi* and *rk* in *murku*).

4.5.6.2 Syllable loss in future

(1) The verb *ka* 'carry'

The verb *ka* 'carry' is irregular in the future minimal. For example, the expected class I 1st-person future form is *ngana(ng)ga* 'I will carry' (the EN is optional)⁶⁹ rather than the expected **nga-na-(ng-)ga-ka* (i.e. 1-TR-(EN-)FUT-√). Either the root (√) or the future marker (FUT) seems to be lost. The ever-voiced status (indicated by the use of the letter *g*) of the ultimate syllable of *ngana(ng)ga* suggests that it is the root that has dropped off. Another phonological factor, however, is involved. Consider the irrealis forms of this verb, for example the 1st-person irrealis: *nga-na-ϕ-ka* (1-TR-IRR-√). The root-initial velar *k* is rarely voiced in the irrealis form so that it would be better spelled *nganak*a* — see 3.3.1.2.(3). What we have here is a morphologically resulted contrast of voicing (cf. 3.4.5.1). Compare the velar voicing in the irrealis and future forms (minimal) given in Table 410.

TABLE 410: Voicing contrast observed in the inflexion of the verb 'carry'

	irrealis	future	
1	<i>nga-na-k*a</i>	<i>nga-na-ga</i>	(< <i>*nga-na-ng-ga-ka</i>)
2	<i>mi-na-k*a</i>	<i>wal-a-ka</i>	
3	<i>wa-na-k*a</i>	<i>wa-na-ga</i>	(< <i>*wa-na-ng-ga-ka</i>)
12	<i>ya-na-k*a</i>	<i>ya-na-ga</i>	(< <i>*ya-na-ng-ga-ka</i>)

The irregular future forms of the verb 'carry' seem to provide an explanation for the syllable loss in the future minimal forms of the verb 'go' (4.5.2.2). It is likely that the suppletive root *rda* in the future minimal (e.g. 1FUT *nganggarda* 'I will go') is derived from **nga-ng-ga-garda*; i.e. exactly the same process as in the case of *ka* just described above.

(2) The verb *ngara* 'become'

A similar morphophonological process of the contraction involving velar stops and nasals is observed in the verb *ngara* 'become', which has the future minimal forms as follows:

⁶⁹ We have here a minimal pair of *nganangga* vs *nganaga* (as observed in the following):

<i>nga-na-ng-ga-ϕ-dyuyu</i>	vs	<i>nga-na-ga-ϕ-dyuyu</i>
1-TR-EN-FUT-give-2ACC		1-TR-carry(FUT)-2ACC
'I will give it to you'		'I will take you'

The epenthetic *ng-* is obligatory in the future forms of the verb 'give' (cf. 4.2.3).

- 1 *nga-ng-ngara* (< **nga-ng-ga-ngara*)
 2 *nga-ngara*
 3 *wa-ng-ngara* (~ *wa-ng-ga-ngara*)
 12 *ya-ng-ngara* (~ *ya-ng-ga-ngara*)

In this case the regularly expected medial sequence of *-ng-ga-ng...* is reduced to the nasal gemination *ngng*. Resulting from this is the minimal pair of *ngangara* [ŋáŋaɪa] 'you will become' and *ngangngara* [ŋáŋɜ:ɪa] 'I will become'. Notice, however, that in the 3rd and 4th person the uncontracted full forms *wanggangara* and *yanggangara* are also heard (though with a lower frequency). This is unlike the verb 'carry'.

It should be also noted that the velar contraction in question has not been observed to take place in other velar-initial verb roots (such as *gardi*, *karda*, *ngari*, etc.).

(3) The verb *ma* 'put'

Finally, the verb *ma* 'put' reveals a further oddity. This transitive verb belongs to class I (2FUT *wala-ma*) so that the expected 1st-person minimal future form would be: **nga-na-(ng-)ga-ma* [ŋána(ŋ)gamà].

1-TR-(EN-)FUT-√

The actual form, however, is *nganangama* [ŋánaŋàma] 'I will put'. There are two possible morphological interpretations, either [95a] or [95b]:

- [95] a. *nga-na-ngama*
 1-TR-√
 b. *nga-na-nga-ma*
 1-TR-FUT-√

In the first interpretation, the verb is considered to have a special future root *ngama* that does not require any further future marking. In the second interpretation, the future marker *ga-* takes a special allomorph *nga-*. I have adopted the former interpretation because such a hypothetical allomorph **nga-* never occurs elsewhere in the conjugations of Yawuru verbs, whereas irregular root suppletion is by no means uncommon in Yawuru verbs.

The irregular 1-FUT form of the verb 'put' is most likely to be a contracted form of **nga-na-ng-ga-ma* (1-TR-EN-FUT-put). Unlike the previous cases of *ka* 'carry', *ngara* 'become' and *karda* 'go' (= *rndira*), the contraction is confined to the 1st-person minimal. The 3rd/4th-person future forms of the verb 'put' take the regular future marker *ga-*:

- 1 *nga-na-ngama*
 2 *wal-a-ma*
 3 *wa-na-ng-ga-ma* (but **wanangama*)
 12 *ya-na-ng-ga-ma* (but **yanangama*)

4.5.7 Other irregularities

The verb *dyanba* 'kick' (Vt, IIa) has irregular irrealis minimal forms: e.g. 3rd person *wa-ny-dyanba* instead of the expected **wa-ya-dyanba*.

The verb *lar'dyi* 'forget' (Vt, IIa) has its reflexive forms without the reflexive suffix, but only with the introspective prefix: *-ma-lar'dyi*, rather than **-ma-lar'dyi-ndyi* — see 4.2.4.3.(3).

The verb *midyarrada* 'stretch (e.g. one's limbs)' has normal class IIb 2FUT form *nga-midyarrada*. In negative imperative, however, it takes the class I 2FUT prefix complex *wal-a-* and the root-initial syllable drops: *marlu wal-a-dyarrada* 'Don't you stretch out' (*marlu* is the negator; 10.3.1). Such differentiation of affirmative future (desiderative) and negative imperative is quite unusual and has no other parallel cases.

The verb *midyala* 'rise, stand up, hatch' (cf. 4.10.2.) reveals a very peculiar behaviour. When it takes the noun *rumarra* 'sun' as its subject, the imperfective aspect marker is zero: 3min IMPF *i-midyala* (or *i-midyala-∅*) '(the sun) rises/rose', rather than *i-midyala-rn*. When, however, the subject is something other than the sun (as in 'he gets up out of bed' or 'chicks incubate', for example), the regular aspect marker *-rn* is required. See 4.10.2. for contrastive examples.

4.6 Reflexive/reciprocal

The morphological make-up of the reflexive inflexion has already been described in 4.2.7.1: the introspective prefix *ma-* (INT) and the reciprocal suffix *-ndyi* (RCP) sandwich the verb root. An EN may appear between INT and the verb root. If the verb belongs to class I, then INT replaces the transitive conjugation marker (TR). The RCP suffix can be affixed to verb roots without taking the INT prefix. The verbs are then rendered reciprocal meanings. On the other hand, the INT prefix regularly requires the RCP suffix as a redundant (but obligatory) counterpart. Functions of the reflexive forms and related syntactic issues are illustrated in the following subsections.

4.6.1 Reflexive action

The basic and most common function of the reflexive conjugation is to encode reflexive actions: doing something (usually intentionally) to oneself or for oneself. This is commonly observed with transitive verbs (including A/P verbs).

- [96] *Nga-ma-bali-ndyi-n marru* (*ngayu*).
 1-INT-cut-RCP-IMPF head(ABS) 1(ABS)
 'I cut my hair.' (not the head!)

- [97] *Nyimba i-ma-kurla-ndyi-n ginyangka wamba.*⁷⁰
 hairbelt(ABS) 3_i-INT-tie-RCP-IMPF 3(ABS)_i man(ABS)_i
 'The man puts a hairbelt on.'

In the next example, the reflexivity of the action is reiterated by the added phrase *ginyangkabardungalana* 'by himself' (see 4.6.5.2):

- [98] *Kamba yila i-ma-burnna-ndyi-n ginyangka-bardu-ngalana.*
 that dog(ABS) 3-INT-bite-RCP-IMPF 3(ABS)-still-REF
 'The dog bites himself.' (his own body; as it's itching)

Notice in [96] to [98] the zero case marking (i.e. absolutive) on the subject NPs. With the reflexive markers, transitive verbs become intransitive semantically (not directly affecting other people or things), morphologically (loss of the transitive conjugation marker) and syntactically (the ergative case frame no longer required).

There are a few instances in which the subject (mother) carries the ergative marker, such as:

- [99] *I-na-nya-n banikin, bibi-ni i-ma-bilka-ndyi-n baba-yi dyina.*
 3_i-TR-catch-IMPF billy.can(ABS) mother_i-ERG 3_i-INT-hit-RCP-IMPF child_j-DAT 3_i (GEN)
 'The mother picked up a billy can and hit herself with it for her daughter.' (This is a ritualised gesture to miss a person who has passed away; in this instance her daughter is alive but has been away from the mother for such a long period that the mother badly feels her absence.)

The case marking in question is, however, considered to be due to the discourse structure. Although a pause (indicated by the comma) exists between the words *banikin* and *bibini*, the latter is a constituent of the preceding transitive clause (*inanyan banikin bibini*). This interpretation is supported by the fact that, in an isolated utterance cut off from the discourse, as given in [99'] below, the ergative marker disappears.

- [99'] *Bibi dyina i-ma-bilka-ndyi-n baba-yi dyina.*
 mother(ABS)_i 3_j(GEN) 3_i-INT-hit-RCP-IMPF child_j-DAT 3_i(GEN)
 'The mother hits herself, missing her daughter.'

4.6.2 Reflexive causative

Often a benefactive connotation (doing in the interest of oneself) accompanies the reflexive conjugation. This is typically observed in the causative reflexive expression (the actor_i has somebody_j do something for him/herself_i) as in:

- [100] *Dukup + inga-rr-ma-ka-ndyi-n kamba-rri dyarn'du-yirr wamba.*
 punish+3_i; -AGM-INT-AUX(carry)-RCP-IMPF that-DL_{j+k} woman_j (ABS)-and man(ABS)_k
 'The couple_{j+k} (who had eloped) let the people_i punish them_{j+k} (so that they_{j+k} would be accepted into the community again).'

Notice the absence of the ergative marker on the subject (*dyarn'du-yirr wamba*). The couple are both patient (receiving the punishment) and causer of the action (making the people take that action).

⁷⁰ See 7.1.3.1 for the NP formation by a personal pronoun (*ginyangka*) plus a common nominal (*wamba*) where the 3rd-person pronoun virtually functions as a determiner.

4.6.3 Solitary action/state

The reflexive form may indicate that the event is realised by the referred subject alone. The verb may be transitive or intransitive.

- [101] *Nga-ma-luka-ndyi-n ngayu-bardu-ngalana.*
 1-INT-cry-RCP-IMPF 1(ABS)-still-REF
 'I cried by myself.' (i.e. nobody consoled me)
- [102] *Nga-ma-kilbira-ndyi-n.*
 1-INT-sing-RCP-IMPF
 'I sing alone.'

In [102], the connotation is that the singer does not like to be heard by people (because the incantation song he is going to sing is of a secret nature). Another way which is more commonly encountered than the reflexive to express solitariness is to add the adverb *ngurdirn* 'alone' (8.4.4.1) or *yam(m)agadya* 'lonely, lost'. The two sentences below express roughly the same state of affairs.

- [103] *I-ma-luka-ndyi-n bunydy.*
 3-INT-cry-RCP-IMPF slow (= silently)
 'She is weeping by herself.'
- [104] *Wangkurr + i-ny-dyu-n ngurdirn.*
 cry+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF alone
 'She is weeping alone.'⁷¹

However, reflexivisation seems to sound natural in situations such as in the following:

- [105] a. *Wanydyi nga-ma-kalbanya-ndyi dyuyu-bardu-ngalana.*
 soon 2FUT-INT-drop-RCP 2(ABS)-still-RCP
 'You will soon get lost by yourself.'
- b. ??[*Wanydyi nga-kalbanya ngurdirn.*]
 soon 2FUT-drop alone

It should be noted in the above instance that the verb *kalbanya* is an alternative-prefixing verb: the transitive meaning (in class I conjugation) is 'drop it, lose it', while the intransitive meaning (in class IIb conjugation) is 'drop off, get lost'. In the intransitive conjugation of this verb, the expected 2FUT form *ngakalbanya* gives way to the reflexivised form *ngamakalbanyandyi* as in [105a] above. The relation of the reflexivisation and the alternative-prefixing will be commented on further in 4.8.3.

4.6.4 Collective/collaborative action

Intransitive verbs may be reflexivised, too. Then the verb expresses collective and/or collaborative meaning. This typically takes place with motion verbs, as in the examples of *bula* 'come' below:

- [106] *Inga-rr-ma-bula-ndyi-nda manydya ngarrungu.*
 3"-AGM-INT-come-RCP-PF many people(ABS)
 'Many people assembled.'

⁷¹ The unintensified complex verb *wangkurr +dyu* 'weep, sob' is contrasted with the intensified counterpart *wangkurr-gadya +ni* 'cry (aloud)'; cf. 5.6.1.

- [107] *K*alaa inga-rr-m(a)-bula-(n)dyi-n bika-gun dyarn'du-yirr wamba.*
 finish 3"-AGM-INT-come-RCP-IMPF shade-LOC woman(ABS)-and man(ABS)
 'Then the woman and the man met in the shade.'

Example [107] is taken from a narrative about a couple who eloped. The woman got away from the camp first, and then later her lover joined her at a big shady tree which had been chosen as their rendezvous point.

4.65 Reflexive meanings without reflexive verb forms

Reflexive meanings may be encoded without having the verb inflected in reflexive forms. There are two such ways in Yawuru to be functionally reflexive: (1) to employ a clitic pronoun which refers (reflexively) to the subject itself; or (2) to attach the enclitic cluster *-bardu-ngalana* to the (transitive) subject.

4.65.1 Pronominal reflexive

Yawuru has no special reflexive pronouns. There are a few instances, however, where reflexive meaning is expressed by the dative pronominal enclitic attached to the verb (cf. 7.4.2.6).

- [108] *Nga-ni-ngany-dyiya (dyuyu-ni).*
 2FUT-be-COM-2DAT 2-ERG
 'You keep it for yourself.'

The clitic pronoun *-dyiya* and the subject prefix *nga-* are co-referential, both referring to the 2nd-person minimal subject. The subject would appear, if it has to be explicit, in the ergative case, not in the absolutive as in reflexive constructions. Other examples of the reflexive use of clitic pronouns are:

- [109] *K*awity-k*awity yinydya-ni k*alaa nga-lar'dyi-n-dyanu.*
 quick-REDUP going-ERG⁷² finish 1_i-forget-IMPF-1DAT_i
 'I've forgotten it as I came in such a hurry.'
- [110] *Kangarr wal-a-ma-dyiya.*
 black.paint(ABS) 2_iFUT-TR-put-2DAT_i
 'Paint yourself with charcoal.'⁷³

In [109] above, *-dyanu* (1st-person minimal dative) is co-referential with the subject-marking prefix *nga-*. The same holds true for the prefix *wal-* and the clitic *-dyiya* in [110]. The enclitic-taking form *ngalar'dyindyanu* in [109] can be replaced by the reflexive form *ngamalar'dyin* (without the enclitic). Such a paraphrase is not possible for [110] since, as noted in 4.2.4.3.(1), the verb *ma* 'put' lacks the reflexivised form.

Occasionally, the co-referent clitic may be added (optionally) to the already reflexivised verb form:

⁷² This ergative marker is attached to the preverb in order to indicate that the "going" and the "forgetting" share the same subject. The subject of the verb *ngalar'dyindyanu* is left unsaid in this example, but if it should be present then it takes the absolutive form, *ngayu* (1min pronoun), not the ergative. See 10.7.1 for the referential ergative construction of this kind.

⁷³ Another way to express the same thing is to use the reflexive verb *bandyi*, i.e. *kangarr nga-bandyi*. See 4.6.7.

- [111] *Mi-ma-ngarrka-ndyi-n-dyiya.*
 2_i-INT-disturb-RCP-IMP-2DAT;
 'You got into trouble (lit. you disturb yourself).'

If an object (which belongs in some sense or other to the agent of the reflexive action) is explicitly mentioned in the utterance, then two ways of encoding are available. Compare [112a/b]:

- [112] a. *Balangkit dil-dil + nga-ny-dyu-n-dyanu.*
 blanket/E(ABS) fling-REDUP+1_i-EN-AUX(say)-IMP-1DAT;
 'I'm dusting my blanket.'
- b. *Dil + nga-ny-dyu-n dyangkurr dyanu buru-nyurdany.*
 dust+1_i-EN-AUX(say)-IMP cloth(ABS) 1_i(GEN) earth(sand)-CAUS
 'I dusted my shirt to get rid of the sand.'

In [112a], the enclitic *-dyanu* may be taken away from the finite verb and combined with the object noun, forming a genitive phrase *balangkit dyanu* 'my blanket' just as in the case of [112b]. The reverse is possible in [112b]: the free form *dyanu* may be cliticised and attached to the finite verb, as in [112']:

- [112'] *Dil + nga-ny-dyu-n-dyanu dyangkurr buru-nyurdany.*

We shall see in Chapter 7 that (i) forms of the dative clitic pronouns are basically identical to free-form genitive pronouns; and that (ii) relatively free word order of Yawuru allows genitive pronouns to stand away from the head noun which they modify. It seems that the cliticisation is more likely to take place when the ownership/usership of the object is obvious from the context of discourse than otherwise. It is not unlikely, then, that constructions like those in [112'] trigger (or at least reinforce) the reflexive expression with co-referential subject/object marking.

As to the 3rd person, the reflexive use of the dative enclitic seems to be rare.⁷⁴ This is probably related to the fact that 3rd-person pronouns, whether free form or clitic, are often ambiguous as to their referent, since any entity other than the speaker and the hearer can be encoded in the 3rd person pronouns.

In Yawuru non-volitional actions tend to be encoded not in the verbal reflexive, but in some other construction, such as the quasi-passive (see analysis in 10.2.6.4) or by co-referential subject/object cross-reference as we have just seen above.

⁷⁴ There are at least two instances in which the nominal intensifier *-dyunu* (6.12.6) is attached to a finite verb (3rd person subject), rendering a reflexive-like effect:

- i) *I-luka-rn-dyunu.*
 3-cry-IMP-really
 'He cries for himself.'
- ii) *Nyamba dup yaga-rr-a-ma-rn ngamakarri,*
 this white(ABS) 12'-AGM-TR-put-IMP cockatoo
marru-gun dyid + i-nga-rn-dyunu yiliwirri.
 head-LOC stretched+3_i-AUX(be)-IMP-really crest(ABS);
 'This white bird, we call *ngamagarri*. It has a crest on its head.'

Co-referentiality of subject and object is also observed in the B-conjugation (intransitive/reflexive) of some of the alternative-prefixing verbs (see 4.8.3 for examples).

4.65.2 *-bardu-ngalana*

We have already encountered the clitic complex *-bardu-ngalana*⁷⁵ in [98] and [101]. It can also mark reflexive meaning without the reflexive verb form.

- [113] *I-ny-dyurrku-nda ginyangka-bardu-ngalana.*
 3-EN-cut.hair-PF 3(ABS)-still-REF
 'He cut his (own) hair by himself.'

Notice above that, despite the absence of the reflexive-marking affixes on the verb, the subject pronoun *ginyangka* takes the absolutive form. The verb *dyurrku* is transitive and otherwise requires the ergative-absolutive case-frame.

4.6.6 Reciprocal action

4.6.6.1 Transitivity

When verbs are marked by the RCP suffix alone, without the introspective (INT) prefixing, the meaning is reciprocal (doing something to each other) rather than reflexive. Compare [114a] (reflexive) and [114b] (reciprocal). Notice the transitive conjugation marker (TR) that takes place in the reciprocal form.

- [114] a. *Kanydyirr + i-ma-bura-ndyi-nda.*
 stare +3-INT-see-RCP-PF
 'She looked at herself (in water).'
- b. *Kanydyirr + inga-rr-a-bura-ndyi-nda.*
 stare + 3"-AGM-TR-see-RCP-PF
 'They gazed at each other.'

Similarly [115a] is reflexive and, by minimal contrast, [115b] is reciprocal.

- [115] a. *Inga-rr-ma-bura-ndyi-n kamba-rri.*
 3"-AGM-INT-see-RCP-IMPFF that-DL
 'They (two) each see themselves, respectively' (i.e. the one_i looking at himself_i and the other_j at himself_j)
- b. *Inga-rr-a-bura-ndyi-n kamba-rri.*
 3"-AGM-TR-see-RCP-IMPFF that-DL
 'They (two) see each other.' (i.e. they meet)

It is observed that in both [115a] and [115b] the subjects (they-two) appear in the absolutive case. This morphological split of transitivity marking (i.e. the transitive conjugation marker appears in the verb conjugation but the ergative marking on

⁷⁵ The morphological structure and etymological origin of *-ngalana* is unclear. I take it as a clitic, rather than a suffix. Informants cite the form just like an independent word, while *-bardu* (also considered a clitic) has not enjoyed that treatment. However, *-ngalana* is not really an independent word. Noun (or pronoun) + *-bardu-ngalana* is the only environment in which it occurs productively (see example [1] in 7.1.1.2; cf. the function of the enclitic *-bardu* as an aspectual marker is described in 8.2.1.2). There is, however, at least one toponym that carries the morpheme in question: *kalkalurr-dyiba-ngalana* "'No.9 Bore (near Yirringurru in Thangoo)'" (cf. *kalkaruru* 'kookaburra').

the subject noun disappears) is considered to correspond the fact that reciprocal actions are semantically somewhere between the transitive and intransitive.

Some verbs are inherently reciprocal in their meanings (as in the case of 'argue' or 'fight'). Reciprocal forms of those verbs bear connotations of collectivity (e.g. many people participating in the fight), intensity (e.g. fighting bloody hard), or long-term continuity (e.g. 'they have been fighting all the time').

4.6.6.2 The 4th person reciprocal

Quite interestingly, the introspective prefix occurs when expressing reciprocal action taken by the 4th-person minimal actor; the inflexion is then morphologically reflexive, rather than reciprocal. This is further evidence that the dual inclusive entity "you-and-me" (indicated by the digits '12' in the gloss) is grammatically a minimal unit in Yawuru (see again the discussion in 2.4.2.1). Thus, in the examples below, the act of seeing/meeting each other is reflexive (4th-person unit to itself), rather than reciprocal as the English translation would suggest. The informant's translation of [117] is suggestive.

- [116] *Ya-ma-bura-ndyi-nda walkanya.*
 12-INT-see-RCP-PF before
 'We (INCL) have seen each other before.' (i.e. we already know each other)
- [117] *Wanydyi ya-ga-ma-bula-ndyi bika-gun.*
 later 12-FUT-INT-come-RCP shade-LOC
 'We shall meet at that shady tree.'
 (Informant's translation: "bambai yunmi gotta meet-im self")

The use of reflexive forms encoding a reciprocal action is also the case when the 4th-person subject is in augmented number (i.e. involving more than three people).

- [118] *Yaga-rr-ma-kunba-ndyi-n manydya-ngany.*^{75A}
 12'-AGM-INT-send-RCP-IMPF many-COM
 'We (INCL) are always keeping in touch with each other.' (a speaker talking to a group of people)

4.6.7 The verb 'give / exchange'

In 4.2.4.3.(2) it was noted that the verb 'give' has a zero root. The expected reflexive form is **ma-ϕ-ndyi*. The actual form, however, is *bandyi*, occasionally heard as *mbandyi*. None of the other Yawuru verbs show a change *ma-* > *mba-* ~ *ba-* (or even a variation *ma-* ~ *ba-*) in the introspective prefix.⁷⁶

- [119] *Wanydyi kulkul + nga-ng-ga-ba-ϕ-ndyi nimarla.*
 soon wash+1-EN-FUT-INT-AUX(give)-RCP hand(ABS)
 'I'll wash my hands later.'

^{75A} See 6.10.5 (cf. 8.2.2.1) for the use of comitative-adverb expression *manydya-ngany* 'always'.

⁷⁶ The alternation of *m* and *b* is not by itself uncommon in Yawuru. See footnote 26 in Chapter 1 and footnote 18 in Chapter 2.

- [120] *Kamba dyarn'du kanydyirr + i-mba-ϕ-ndyi-n.*
 that woman(ABS) stare+3-INT-AUX(give)-RCP-IMP
 'The woman is looking at herself (in the glass).'
- [121] *Ngayu rarrp + nga-mba-ϕ-ndyi-n marru.*
 1(ABS) comb+1-INT-AUX(give)-RCP-IMP head(ABS)
 'I brush myself.'

The verb 'give' has two morphosyntactic features: (i) it is transitive (requiring ergative-marking on its syntactic subject); and (ii) it belongs to class I (requiring explicit transitive conjugation marker). Both features are cancelled in the use of the verb *bandyi* (~ *mbandyi*), as is regularly the case with reflexivisation. No forms with the transitive conjugation marker *na-* (TR), such as **inamandyin* or **inabandyin*, have been encountered. In [120], the ergative marker *-ni* on the subject NP (i.e. *kamba-ni dyarn'du*) would be unacceptable, too.

There are several reasons for considering the form *bandyi* as a distinct verb root rather than merely a reflexive derivation of the zero-root verb. Apart from the peculiarity that it has *b* (or *mb*) in place of *m* in the INT prefix element, it also has its own 2FUT form *nga-bandyi*, as in [33] given in 4.2.4.3; rather than **ngamandyi* or **ngambandyi*, which reveals the class IIb pattern. The zero-root verb 'give' has normal class I forms for 2FUT: e.g. *walangayu* 'give me' (*wal-a-ϕ-ngayu*, 2FUT-TR-√-1ACC).⁷⁷ However, it does not have what should be the regularly derived reflexive form **walmandyi(ngayu)* or **walbandyi(ngayu)*.

The most common use of the form *bandyi* is reciprocal 'exchange, trade' (i.e. "give something to each other"), although no meaning of "exchanging" is involved in the instances cited above [119-121].^{77A} Here we see another peculiarity of the verb in question: it does NOT drop the syllable *ba-* (introspective prefix element) even when the meaning is reciprocal (cf. 4.6.5.).

- [122] *Yanga-rr-bandyi-n kunydyurung.*
 1"-AGM-exchange-IMP gift.giving.ceremony
 'We exchange things in the Gunyjurung ceremony.'
- [123] *Ngaw + inga-rr-bandyi-nda.*
 kiss+3"-AGM-AUX(exchange)-PF
 'They kissed.' (lit. gave kiss to each other)

This indicates that the derived form *bandyi* is more or less lexically fixed. It is best regarded as being on the way to becoming a new verb root.⁷⁸ This view would be further supported by the fact that a redundantly marked form *ma-bandyi* appears when the verb is used to encode a collective-reciprocal action (although fully derived **ma-bandyi-ndyi* has not been recorded).

⁷⁷ A beneficiary-marking enclitic is mandatory in the 2FUT (virtually imperative) forms of this verb. See 7.4 for the use of the accusative enclitic, instead of the dative, to mark the recipient person.

^{77A} There seems to be a tendency that the allomorph *mba* occurs when the meaning is truly reflexive (as in [120], [121] and [126]) rather than reciprocal. See also example [62] in Chapter 6. The *mba*-forms occur only with the verb 'give'.

⁷⁸ In Table 403 I have listed the verb *bandyi* as a separate verb.

- [124] *Inga-rr-ma-bandyi-nda yangki-bardu yangki kunydyurung-nyurdany.*
 3"-AGM-INT-exchange-PF what-still what gift.giving.ceremony-CAUS
 'They exchange all kinds of goods on the occasion of the Gunyjurung ceremony.'⁷⁹

There is further evidence supporting the above interpretation that *bandyi* is a distinct verb. Compare [125] with [126]:⁸⁰

- [125] *Ngay-ni rarrp + nga-ny-dyu-n kamba nganydyu marru.*
 1-ERG comb+1-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF that girl(ABS) head(ABS)
 'I brush the girl's hair.'
- [126] *Kama-ni nganydyu rarrp + i-mba-ø-ndyi-n marru*
 that-ERG girl(ERG) comb+3_i-INT-AUX(give)-RCP-IMPF head(ABS)
ginyangka-bardu-ngalana.
 3_i(ABS)-still-REF
 'The girl grooms her hair.'

Notice that both non-reflexive [125] and reflexive [126] have the ergative marking on the subject. [126] allows an interpretation that the transitive verb *bandyi* has been established, which is formally non-reflexive, thus taking ergative subject (despite the inherent reflexive meaning).

If that is the case, then the analysis would be *i-m-bandyi-n* (3-EN-√-IMPF), rather than *i-mba-ø-ndyi-n* (as glossed to [126]). The prestop nasal element in the variant *mba-* (in [126] and also in [120] and [121] given earlier) could be re-interpreted as an epenthetic element (EN) that accompanies the *b*-initial root (but cf. footnote 77A above).

4.7 Verbal comitative

We have seen (in 4.4.1) that there are eight Yawuru verbs on record that can take the enclitic *-ngany*, marking a comitative meaning. The comitative marker of the same form also occurs on nominals (see 6.10).

4.7.1 Basic functions of the verbal comitative

4.7.1.1 Jointedness

The most basic meaning marked by the verbal comitative seems to be the notion of "jointedness", unity or togetherness: together with somebody, or carrying something. Thus, 'come' plus *-ngany* renders 'come with somebody' (i.e. bring somebody) or 'come with something' (i.e. bring something):

- [127] *Ngunu-ni dyanu inga-rr(a)-bula-ny-ngany mayi.*
 sister-ERG 1(GEN) 3"-AGM-come-IMPF-COM food(ABS)
 'My sisters brought the food.'

⁷⁹ In the ceremonial exchange of *kunydyurung* (= Gunyjurung) people exchange gifts with their respective *kumbalirang* (a relative who shares an inherited name; cf. footnote 48 in Chapter 10). Many *kumbalirang* pairs are expected to gather and give gifts to each other on the same occasion (see example [15] given in 9.3.4.3).

⁸⁰ The verb *ø* 'give' does not combine with the preverb *rarrp* in non-reflexive. On the other hand, the reflexive form of *dyu* is rare.

- [128] *Ngayu-ni nga-m-bula-nda-ngany nyanga-dyunu baba-garra.*
 1-ERG 1-EN-come-PF-COM this-really child(ABS)-PL
 'I came with all these children.'

Similar derivations are observed with the motion verbs *dyali* 'return' (> 'bring something back') and *gardi* 'enter'. Consider [129a-c]:⁸¹

- [129] a. *I-ng-gardi-rr-ngany-irr birra kamba-ni madya.*⁸²
 3_i-EN-enter-IMPF-COM-3"ACC bush(ALLAT) that-ERG master/EK(ERG);
 'The songman then went into the bush together with those (the boomerangs and the shields to be used in the ceremonial singing and dancing).'
- b. *I-na-ka-n-irr.*
 3-TR-carry-IMPF-3"ACC
 'He carries those (things).'
- c. *I-ng-gardi-rr lanydyi-barri karrbina.*
 3-EN-enter-IMPF boomerang-INST shield(INST)
 'He went [into the bush] carrying boomerangs and shields.'

Although [129b] and [129c] seem to describe basically the same kind of action, the two sentences differ in an essential semantic aspect, namely the focus of the description. In [129b], as well as in [129a], the focus is on the fact that the songman took the ceremonial boomerangs and shields with him, while [129c] gives a plain description that he was carrying those things when he went into the bush. The focus is on the movement (especially the direction) and what he was holding then is of secondary importance. It is not by chance that the informant paraphrased the verbal comitative, as in [129a], into the lexicalised verb of carrying, rather than into the motion verb with instrumental NP (as in [129c]).⁸³

A similar difference of focus can be observed in the following two sentences:

- [130] a. *Mi-ny-dyali-nda warli-barri.*
 2-EN-return-PF meat-INST
 'You came back with the meat.'
- b. *Mi-ny-dyali-nda-ngany warli.*
 2-EN-return-PF-COM meat(ABS)
 'You brought the meat back.'

In [130a], "you" returned and also it happened that you brought the meat then. In [130b], on the other hand, you were expected to bring the meat; that was the very purpose for which you went off and came back. As will be discussed in 4.7.4, the subject pronoun would occur in the absolutive in [130a] but ergative in [130b].

The basic notion of "jointedness" takes on an intimacy aspect in [131] below, where the reciprocal verb *bandyi* (4.6.6) is marked as comitative, indicating that the conversation was in an intimate or amicable atmosphere:

- [131] *Inga-rr-bandyi-n-ngany nganka.*
 3"-AGM-exchange-IMPF-COM word(ABS)
 'They are chatting.'

⁸¹ [129b] was provided spontaneously by the informant as a paraphrase of (129a), while (129c) was elicited.

⁸² The Kriol-derived term *madya* 'master, boss' (from English "master"; see 2.2.4) is often used in place of the Yawuru word *wararra* 'songman, host of a corroboree'.

⁸³ The instrumental case indicates the notion of accompaniment (see 6.8.1).

A further interesting case comes up below, where the meaning can be differentiated by the presence or absence of the verbal comitative marker.

- [132] *Wula i-ny-dyalaku-rn-ngany-dyiya nyamba-gap ingamana.*
 water(ABS) 3-EN-overflow-IMPF-COM-2DAT this-ABL cup(ABL)
 'Water spilled out of the cup that you were carrying.'

The utterance implies that not only did the cup lose balance but you (the holder of the water-filled cup) did, too (e.g. staggered or even fell over). Without the comitative marking, the sentence (*wula inydyalakurndyiya nyambagap ingamana*) would mean that the water "sprinkled on you" (somebody other than you was carrying the cup). No connotation of your falling down would be involved. With the comitative marking, by contrast, it does not necessarily follow that you got wet (although you may have done). That is not encoded in [132].

The connotation of intimacy and unity is also observed in the use of the stative verb *ni* 'be there' with the *-ngany* marking. A typical instance is the expression of pregnancy as follows (just as in the English phrase "carrying a baby"):

- [133] *Wubardu i-nga-ny-ngany nungu-gun.*
 little(ABS) 3-be-IMPF-COM belly-LOC
 'She is pregnant.' (lit. holding the little one in her tummy)

The literary meaning of 'being jointed' or 'being together' has a figurative connotation in [134]:

- [134] *Nurlungu + i-na-ma-rn-ngayu, k*aliya nga-nga-ny-ngany lani-milidyarri.*
 "clear"+3-TR-AUX(pu)-IMPF-LACC finish 1-be-IMPF-COM near-DL
 'Now the taboo is cleared. We two can be close together.'

This utterance was recorded when the informant was explaining the name taboo practised by the Yawuru people and how the taboo gets lifted (or "becomes clear" to use an Aboriginal English phrase) through the performance of a certain ceremony. After that ceremony, the couple of the "same-name" (who are of the same gender), who until then have not been allowed to talk to or even face each other, enter a new stage of very intimate relationship and are expected to help each other. In short, they are now socially "joined together".

We shall examine several more idiomatic uses of the stative verb *ni* coupled with the comitative marker *-ngany* in the next section (4.7.1.2) and further in 4.7.2.2.

4.7.1.2 Causative

Comitative marking on the verb *ni* (~ *nga*) sometimes gives a causative meaning:

- [135] *Ginyaga-ni i-nga-ny-ngany-dyuyu yalku.*
 3-ERG 3-be-IMPF-COM-2ACC standing
 'He keeps you standing.'

It is also observed when the verb in question occurs in the role of auxiliary in compound verbs.

- [136] *ngarp + ya-ga-rr-a-dyi-ngany* (*warndarl*)
float+12"-FUT-AGM-TR-AUX(be)-COM dinghy(ABS)⁸⁴
'(so that) we could keep the dinghy floating' (cf. example [2] in 9.2.7.1)

The context of the utterance of [136] is: we realised the water was leaking into the dinghy and we had to draw water out of it. Otherwise we would submerge "together" with the dinghy.

4.7.1.3 Intensification

There are cases (though not many) where the verbal comitative expresses an intensity of the action described. For example, the preverb *dirlady* 'disobeying' (with the verb *dyu* as auxiliary) may be intensified by the *-gadya* derivation (5.4.2) along with the comitative marking on the auxiliary *ni*:⁸⁵

- [137] a. *Dirlady + i-ny-dyu-n-yayu.*
disobey+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF-12ACC
'He doesn't obey us.'
- b. *Dirlady-gadya + i-nga-ny-ngany-yayu*
disobey-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-IMPF-COM-12ACC
'He won't obey us.'

Sentence [131] cited earlier (4.7.1.1) could also be interpreted as indicating the intensity or duration of the action given the right context, e.g. 'they talked to each other intensively', 'they have been negotiating for a long while', etc.

4.7.2 Idiomatic derivations

4.7.2.1 The verb *nya*

The verb *nya* 'catch' plus *-ngany* usually renders the meaning of 'help, assist'.

- [138] *I-na-nya-ny-ngany-ngayu* (*ginyangka-ni*).
3-TR-catch-IMPF-COM-1ACC 3-ERG
'He helps me.'
- [139] *K*awity i-na-nya-ny-ngany-yadiri yangki-bardu yangki.*
quick 3-TR-catch-IMPF-COM-12"ACC what-still what
'He (always) provides us with immediate help in any matters.'⁸⁶

When the phrase 'catch word' (2FUT: *nganka walanya*) is intensified with the comitative marker, the resulting meaning is 'listen carefully to' or 'observe the command of'. The phrase operates in the same case frame as that of 'help' (ERG-ABS):

- [140] *Wal-a-nya-ngany-ngayu nganka* (*dyuyu-ni*).
2FUT-TR-catch-COM-1ACC word(ABS) 2-ERG
'You must listen to me carefully.'

⁸⁴ The word *warndarl* originally means 'coolamon'; by extension it may be applied to a dinghy, or small boat.

⁸⁵ The alternation of the auxiliary *dyu/ni* is regularly the case with the *-gadya* suffixation to the preverb (see 5.4.2 for details).

⁸⁶ See 7.7.1.3 for the idiomatic phrase *yangki-bardu yangki* 'anything, everything'.

4.7.2.2 The verb *ni*

The combination of *-ngany* and the verb *ni* 'be there' results in still more idiomatic derivations. The plain meaning is 'hold something' or 'be together with somebody'.

- [141] *Nga-nga-ny-ngany nimarla-gun nyamba.*
 1-be-IMPF-COM hand-LOC this(ABS)
 'I hold this in my hand.'

In most cases, however, the meaning of *ni* + *-ngany* is highly sensitive to the context. A few instances will suffice to demonstrate this:

- [142] *Narli mabu nga-ng-ga-ni-ngany.*
 true good 1-EN-FUT-be-COM
 'I'll look after him properly.' (lit. be with him)
- [143] *Ngayu-ni nga-nga-ny-ngany liyan miliya, wuba dyanu wa-ng-ga-dyali.*
 1-ERG 1-be-IMPF-COM feeling now child(ABS) 1(GEN) 3-EN-FUT-return
 'I've got a feeling (i.e. premonition) now. Perhaps my son is coming back to me.'
- [144] *Nilirr-gun i-nga-ny-ngany dyubagi.*
 mouth-LOC 3-be-IMPF-COM tobacco(ABS)
 'He is chewing tobacco.'
- [145] *Nyamba wuba nga-na-ga-nya ngayu-ni, nganybi + nga-ng-ga-ni-ngany.*
 this small(ABS) 1-TR-FUT-catch 1-ERG embrace+1-EN-FUT-AUX(be)-COM
 'I would take this child with me to bring him up.'

In [145], the preverb *nganybi* literally means the posture of 'holding (a child, etc.) under the armpit' (usually in combination with auxiliary *ka* 'carry').

4.7.3 Comitative marking on compound verbs

The *-ngany* marking may take place when the inflecting verb carries a preverb. In other words, the verbal comitative marking on a complex verb occurs on the auxiliary, rather on the lexical head (i.e. preverb):⁸⁷

- [146] *Damul + i-na-nya-ny-ngany-ngayu.*
 snatch+3-TR-AUX(catch)-IMPF-COM-1ACC
 'He snatched it from me.'

Complex verbs with the comitative-marked auxiliary are often highly idiomatic. The following example is based on the preverb *bilp*, which literally means 'turning (as at a corner)':

- [147] *Bilp-gadya + i-nga-ny-ngnay-yadiri kamba-ni wamba.*
 turn-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-IMPF-COM-12"ACC that-ERG man(ERG)
 '(lit.) The man drags us around.' (i.e. he mucks up with us; his misbehaviour really annoys us)

4.7.4 Transitivity and ergativity

The comitative marking on the verb causes a change in transitivity and syntactic case frame. For example, the verb *gardi* 'enter' is intransitive and assigns the

⁸⁷ Some of the examples already cited, namely [136], [137a/b] and [145], also involve compound verbs.

absolutive case to its subject. In [148], however, the verb operates in the ergative-absolutive case frame along with the comitative marking on it:

- [148] *Wamba-ni i-ng-gardi-rn-ngany-yadiri.*
 man_i-ERG 3_i-EN-enter-IMPF-COM-12ACC
 'A man intruded on us.' (came into our house)

Notice the correlated presence/absence of the markers of comitative and ergative in [149a/b], which compose a morpho-syntactic minimal pair:

- [149] a. *Ngadyi mi-nga-rn dyuyu.*
 whether 2-be-IMPF 2(ABS)
 'How are you?'
 b. *Ngadyi mi-nga-ny-ngany dyuyu-ni.*
 whether 2-be-IMPF-COM 2-ERG
 'What are you holding (in your hand)?'

The paraphrase which we have examined in [130a/b] in 4.7.1.1 also clearly shows the transitivising nature of the *-ngany* marking.

There are a limited number of cases where the syntactic subject of the comitative verbs lacks the ergative marking.

- [150] *Ginyaga i-nga-ny-ngany-dyuyu.*
 3(ABS) 3-be-IMPF-COM-2ACC
 'He is sitting next to you.'

The subject pronoun in [150] is not case-marked as ergative. Notice, however, that the pronominal clitic on the verb is in the accusative form, rather than the dative as would be the case in usual intransitive clauses.

The comitative marker *-ngany* is optional in the examples below. The addition of *-ngany* causes, in these cases, no change in the case marking of the subject NP.

- [151] a. *Budyi + ya-nga-rn(-ngany)-dyirra.*⁸⁸
 worried+12-AUX(be)-IMPF(-COM)-3"DAT
 'We are worried about them.'
 b. *Liyan + inga-rry-dyi-n(-ngany)-dyayrda.*
 feeling+3"-AGM-AUX(be)-IMPF(-COM)-12"DAT
 'They worry about us.'

4.7.5 Verbal comitative and head/dependent-marking

The bivalent nature of the comitative marker raises an interesting typological question with regard to head-marking vs dependent-marking in Yawuru.⁸⁹ Consider the following sentence:

⁸⁸ If *-ngany* does take place, then the imperfective marker takes the dental allomorph (4.3.4.1): *ya-nga-ny-ngany-dyirra*. The same holds true with (151b)

⁸⁹ See Nichols (1986, 1989) for the notion of head-marking vs dependent-marking. As regards the discussion in 4.7.5, the finite verb is the "head" of the clause and the argument NPs, both core and peripheral, are "dependent" on it. Yawuru shows a double-marking nature (Nichols 1986:65) since the NPs take case markers and, at the same time, the affixes on the finite verb cross-reference the NPs.

- [152] *Ngayu-ni wirriya + nga-nga-n-ngany nyamba durrkarrang.*
 1-ERG happy+1-AUX(be)-IMPF-COM this car(ABS)
 'I'm satisfied with this vehicle.'

The construction above shows a head-marking structure, because the logical-semantic relation between "my satisfaction" and "the car" is marked on the finite verb (i.e. head of the clause) and not in the argument NP (i.e. dependent). This is rather exceptional in Yawuru. Elsewhere in the grammar of this language only the core grammatical relations (subjecthood, objecthood and the benefactive) are head-marked on the finite verb (along with the case marking on the dependent NPs) while other semantic relations between the predicate and the arguments are marked only on the dependent NPs (e.g. oblique case marking).

The peculiarity of the marker *-ngany* (which is morphologically an enclitic) is that it may alternatively be attached to the dependent nominal, instead of the clause-head finite verb. But it never double-marks the head and the dependent.

- [153] a. *Dyimbini-ngany wal-a-ma.*
 inside-COM 2FUT-TR-put
 'Put it inside (so that it cannot be seen).'
- b. *Dyimbini nga-ni-ngany.*
 inside 2FUT-be-COM
 'You stay inside with her.'

The issue is further complicated by the existence of the instrumental case marker *-barri*, which can, too, bear a comitative function (see 6.8.1 and 6.8.2). For example, [154a] was paraphrased by the informant as [154b]:

- [154] a. *Liyan + nga-nga-rn-ngnany ngay-ni,*
 feeling+1-AUX(be)-IMPF-COM 1-ERG
miliya wang-ga-rr-a-bula-dyayrda ngarrungu.
 now 3ⁱ-FUT-AGM-TR-come-12ⁱDAT people(ABS)_i
 'I have a feeling (premonition); we'll have some visitors pretty soon.'
- b. *Liyan-barri nga-nga-rn (ngayu), ...*
 feeling-INST 1-be-IMPF 1(ABS)
 'I have a feeling now, ...'

As we have already commented on earlier (see [129] in 4.7.1.1), there is a certain semantic difference between the use of the instrumental case marker *-barri* and the verbal comitative marker *-ngany*. It is interesting because the head-marking type expression seems to affect the lexical content of the predicate, whereas the dependent-marking type expression simply supplies the predicate with additional information. The following pair of examples also show the contrast in question:

- [155] a. *Nyamba maya nga-ng-ga-ni-ngany (ngay-ni).*
 this house(ABS) 1-EN-FUT-be-COM 1-ERG
 'I'll stay here to mind the house.' (i.e. house-sitting)
- b. *Nyamba-gun maya nga-ng-ga-ni (ngayu).*
 this-LOC house(LOC) 1-EN-FUT-be 1(ABS)
 'I'll stay in this house.'

In [155b] the focus of the event described is that the speaker (female) has decided to stay and will not go out, to which secondary information (the location of her staying) is added. The NP referring to the location is morphologically marked (i.e.

case-marked as locative). In [155a], by contrast, the clause-head verb is marked (by the comitative marker), indicating that there is a particular link between the act of staying and the location of the staying, and such linking constitutes the core of the event described.

4.8 Prefix alternation

We have noted in 4.2.2.3 that there is a relatively small group of verb roots (namely the alternative-prefixing or A/P verbs) that can be conjugated in two different conjugation classes (i.e. they take different sets of prefixes alternatively). It has also been pointed out that the prefix alternation pertains to the semantic and syntactic differentiation mainly concerning transitivity. In this section we explore the functional and syntactic aspects of prefix alternation.

4.8.1 Inventory of the A/P verbs

All Yawuru verbs found to be alternative-prefixing are listed in Table 411. The left column gives the verb roots and the central column the meaning which the verb has in the A-conjugation, i.e. the class I (*wala-* class) paradigm in most cases. The right column gives the meaning of the same verb in the B-conjugation, i.e. the class II (either *wal-* or *nga-* class) paradigm. The following sections deal with a few typical cases according to the semantic grouping of the verbs. Not all of the A/P verbs given in the table will be discussed.

TABLE 411: List of alternative-prefixing verbs

	root	A-conjugation*	B-conjugation
1.	<i>banydyu</i>	'smell it/sniff'	'smell, be stinky' (IIb)
2.	<i>bardika</i>	'fill it up'	'be full' (IIb)
3.	<i>barnda</i>	'hide it'	'hide, be hidden' (IIb)
4.	<i>bulibuli</i>	'bathe him'	'bathe, have a bath' (IIb)
5.	<i>dyalku</i>	'throw down, fell'	'fall down' (IIb)
6.	<i>dyardi</i>	'skin it, take it out'	'take cloth off' (IIa)
7.	<i>dyarlngardi</i>	'cover it up' (IIa)	'get covered' (IIb)
8.	<i>dyiba</i>	'interrogate'	'ask' (IIa)
9.	<i>dyulka</i>	'tell, notify'	'tell' (IIa)
10.	<i>kalbanya</i>	'drop it'	'get lost' (IIb)
11.	<i>karlardi</i>	'break it'	'get broken' (IIa)
12.	<i>kurla</i>	'tie it up'	'get tied-up, put clothes on' (IIb)
13.	<i>lu(ng)ka</i>	'miss, mourn'	'cry' (IIb)
14.	<i>lurra</i>	'cook, burn'	'burn, get cooked' (IIb)
15.	<i>mirdurdu</i>	'turn it round'	'turn round' (IIb)
16.	<i>miri</i>	'finish it'	'finish, end' (IIa)
17.	<i>murku</i>	'find' (IIa)	'search, look for' (IIb)
18.	<i>walka</i>	'dry it'	'get dry; dry up' (IIb)

*A-conjugation takes the class I paradigm except for the verbs *dyarlngardi* and *murku*, which operate in the class IIa paradigm for A-conjugation.

4.8.2 Transitivity

4.8.2.1 Strict transitivity

Typical transitive/intransitive alternation is observed in some (but not all) of the A/P verbs.⁹⁰ We have sketched the case of *lurra* 'burn' earlier. Similar is the case with the A/P verbs such as *karlardi* 'break', *miri* 'finish', *mirdurdu* 'turn', *dyuma* 'sing' and *bardika* 'fill'. The A-conjugation forms of these verbs are causative counterparts of the B-conjugation forms. For instance, the 3rd-person imperfective forms of the verb *mirdurdu* 'turn' are:

- A-conjugation: *i-na-mirdurdu-rn*
 3-TR-turn-IMPF
 's/he turns it around'
 (i.e. cause something/ somebody to turn around)
- B-conjugation: *i-mirdurdu-rn*
 3-turn-IMPF
 'it turns around'

Similarly, cause to burn, cause to become broken, cause to be filled, etc. In other words, the A-conjugation is marked not only morphologically but also semantically.

The semantic alternation in question is also syntactically marked. Compare the case marking on the syntactic subject of the verb *karlardi* 'break' in [156a/b]:

- [156] a. *Nyamba ingamana mi-na-karlardi-rn dyuyu-ni.*
 this cup(ABS) 2-TR-break-IMPF 2-ERG
 'You have broken this cup.'
- b. *Balu i-ng-karlardi-nda.*
 tree(ABS); 3_i-EN-break-PF
 'The branch broke.'

Notice the ergative-marking on the subject in [156a] where the verb is in the A-conjugation (class I with TR). The object 'cup' is in the absolutive; so is the intransitive subject 'tree/branch' in [156b] where the verb is in the B-conjugation (lacking TR). Quite similar is the case with [157a/b]. Absolutive case is assigned to the the object (patient) in [157a] and to subject in [157b].

- [157] a. *Nyamba wal-a-miri k*awity (dyuyu-ni).*
 this(ABS) 2FUT-TR-finish quick 2-ERG
 'Finish this [the meal] quick.'
- b. *I-miri-rn nyamba wula*
 3_i-finish-IMPF this water(ABS);
 'The water is finished.' (i.e. 'no water is left')

With these A/P verbs mentioned above, a harmony obtains among the morphological, syntactic and semantic domains. The presence/absence of the

⁹⁰ The term transitive here refers to the semantic type of action in which the agent of the action causes a change of state on the part of the patient (including changes of location or posture). Elsewhere in the thesis, the use of the term transitive/intransitive is more broad, mainly reflecting the syntactic aspect, rather than the semantic one. The syntactic transitivity (i.e. presence/absence of the direct object argument) does not always coincide with the semantic transitivity.

transitive conjugation marker (i.e. morphological marking of the transitivity) and the surface case assignment on the core argument NPs (i.e. syntactic marking of the transitivity) go hand in hand with the semantic contrast of the transitivity (agentivity). This is a rather rare occasion, it must be added, for such a harmony to occur in the grammar of Yawuru.

4.8.2.2 Speech act verbs

The trial harmony of morphological, syntactic and semantic domains of transitivity just described above no longer holds with other A/P verbs. For example, the speech act verbs *dyiba* 'ask' and *dyulka* 'tell' are both alternative-prefixing, but their B-conjugation forms, as well as their A-conjugation forms, are (syntactically) transitive verbs.⁹¹ The differences in meaning derives from the "one-sidedness" of the action and the attitude of the actor. Compare [158a/b]:

- [158] a. *Waly-dyuba-dyina*.⁹² <B-conjugation>
 2FUT-ask-3DAT
 'Just ask him (about it).'
- b. *Wal-a-dyiba-dyina*. <A-conjugation>
 2FUT-TR-ask-3DAT
 'Question him thoroughly (until he tells the truth).'

The action encoded in the B-conjugation [158a] is simply asking a question. The questioner does not necessarily expect the person questioned to reply. He might answer, or he might not; but the questioner is not worried if he does not (see 7.6.1.2 for the basic sociolinguistics of question making in Yawuru culture; also see 7.6.7.3). The A-conjugation [158b], by contrast, suggests a more serious questioning. An air of strict investigation and a somewhat harsh or aggressive attitude (such as in a police examination) is implied in it. The contrast is alike with *dyulka* 'tell': the morphologically unmarked B-conjugation expresses an act of telling something (and further seeking consultation or negotiation with the interlocutor; a synonym would be *dyinbi* 'confer, talk with somebody over something'). The meaning becomes more "one-sided" in the A-conjugation: telling something to somebody, or notifying somebody of something, but with little room for consultation or further negotiation implied.

4.8.2.3 Verbs of sense and emotion

The prefix alternation on the sensory verb *banydyu* 'smell it (I) / be stinky (IIb)' seems to mark the same kind of semantic contrast as in the case of the speech act verbs. In its A-conjugation, the verb *banydyu* means 'smell it, catch the smell of it, sniff'. This is not transitive in the strict semantic sense, since the act of smelling/sniffing causes no change (at least apparently) in the object of the action. Thus the verb remains semantically intransitive in both A- and B-

⁹¹ The verb *dyu* 'say', too, is syntactically transitive. The actor (the one who says it) appears in the ergative.

⁹² See 4.5.6.1 for the root vowel change (*dyiba* ~ *dyaba*).

conjugations. Syntactically, however, the A-conjugation operates in an ergative-absolutive case frame, just like the typical transitive verbs do.

- [159] a. *Wal-a-banydyu dyuyu-ni.*
 2FUT-TR-smell 2-ERG
 'You smell (i.e. sniff) it.' <transitive>
- b. *Nga-banydyu dyuyu.*
 2FUT-smell 2(ABS)
 'You will smell (rather bad).' <intransitive>

Also compare [160a/b] below and notice the difference in the verbal cross-reference indicated by subscript indexes (the NP *kamba dyungku* 'that fire' is discontinuous in [160a]).

- [160] a. *Kamba i-m-banydyu-n dyungku yanban-gap.*
 that_i^ 3_i-EN-smell-IMPF ^fire(ABS)_i south-ABL
 'The smell of that fire_i comes from the south.'
- b. *Kamba-ni i-na-(m-)⁹³banydyu-n kamba dyungku.*
 that_i-ERG 3_i-TR-(EN-)smell-IMPF that fire(ABS)_j
 'That man_i detected the fire_j by its smell.'

Now we will consider the verb *luka* (~ *lungka*) 'miss, mourn (I) / cry, weep (IIb)'. The A-conjugation meaning 'miss somebody/something' or 'observe mourning, be in mourning for somebody' is, semantically speaking, not transitive. The syntactic transitivity (namely the ergative marking on the actor) seems to be mainly due to the existence of the target of the "crying". Compare [161a-c]:⁹⁴

- [161] a. *I-luka-rn bibi dyina.*
 3_i-cry-IMPF mother(ABS)_i 3_j(GEN)
 'His mother cries.'
- b. *I-na-luka-rn bibi dyina.*
 3_i-TR-cry-IMPF mother(ABS)_j 3_i(GEN)
 'He misses his mother.' (lit. cries for his mother)
- c. *I-na-luka-rn bibi-ni dyina.*
 3_i-TR-cry-IMPF mother_i-ERG 3_j(GEN)
 'His mother cries for somebody.'

4.8.24 The near A/P pair: *karda* and *gardi*

The verbs *karda* 'chase away' (Vt, I) and *gardi* 'enter, disappear' (Vi, IIa) can be considered to constitute a near A/P pair. Compare [162a/b]:

- [162] a. *Kamba yila i-ng-gardi-rn dyimbin durrkarrang-gun.*
 that dog(ABS) 3-EN-enter-IMPF inside motorcar-LOC
 'The dog gets into the car.'
- b. *Kamba wal-a-karda yila (dyuyu-ni).*
 that^ 2FUT-TR-chase ^dog(ABS) 2-ERG
 'Chase the dog away!' (The phrase *kamba yila* is discontinuous.)

⁹³ The epenthetic nasal (EN) is optional in the transitive conjugation (*inambanydyun* ~ *inabanydyun*) while it is obligatory in intransitive (*imbanydyun*, **ibanydyun*). EN is always absent in 2FUT conjugations. See 4.2.3.1 and 4.2.3.2.

⁹⁴ See 10.1.4.4.(4) for the case frame of the A-conjugation of *luka*.

Although the root-initial velar consonants differ in voicing (cf. 3.4.5.1)⁹⁵ and the root-final vowels also vary, the pair of verbs is otherwise just like a typical alternative-prefixing pair: *karda* is transitive semantically, morphologically and syntactically (it indicates an action that changes the state of the object, it belongs to class I and it operates in ergative-absolutive frame); on the other hand *gardi* is intransitive (it indicates an action that does not involve a patient, it belongs to class IIa and it operates in absolutive frame). The meaning of the class I verb *karda* is, in certain context, a causative counterpart of the class II verb *gardi*: "entering" implies disappearing from somebody's sight;⁹⁶ and "chasing away" implies making somebody disappear.

4.8.3 Reflexivity

4.8.3.1 Reflexive function of the B-conjugation

There are several A/P verbs of which the B-conjugation renders reflexive meanings. First, consider [163a/b]:

- [163] a. *Buru-gun nga-na-barn(d)a-nda (ngay-ni).*
 land-LOC 1-TR-hide-PF 1-ERG
 'I buried it (lit. I hid it under the ground).'
- b. *Dyalangardi i-m-barnda-rn, dyalkana + i-nga-rn buru-gun.*
 goanna(ABS) 3-EN-hide-IMPF hibernate+3-AUX(be)-IMPF land-LOC
 'The goanna is underground in his winter sleep.'

[163b] refers to the fact that goannas (sand monitors in this particular case) go underground and stay there during the winter (i.e. hibernate). The function of the B-conjugation form *imbarndarn* in [163b] is therefore very much like that of reflexive: "he covered himself".

Another example comes from the use of the verb *kurla* 'tie'. Its B-conjugation (IIb) usually means 'put cloth on' (lit. "tie oneself up"):

- [164] *Dyangkurr k*awity-k*awity nga-kurla.*
 cloth(ABS) quick-REDUP 2FUT(IIb)-tie
 'Put your clothes on, quick!'

Reflexivity of the B-conjugation is also observed with such A/P verbs as *walka* 'dry', *dyarlngardi* 'cover' and *dyardi* 'skin'.

4.8.3.2 State vs action

The A/P verbs can also take the reflexive conjugation (*ma-√-ndyi*). It follows that some of the A/P verbs have two sets of forms both with reflexive function: the B-conjugation forms and the reflexive forms. What is, then, the difference between

⁹⁵ The voicing difference is quite significant: on the one hand, the verb *karda* is probably related to the far-distal demonstrative *karda* 'over there, yonder' (7.5.1); on the other hand, the verb *gardi* may be related to the lative marker *-gardi* 'to/at the side of' (see 8.3.1 and 8.3.5.1).

⁹⁶ Interesting in this regard is that the verb *gardi* 'enter' is unable to describe the event from the viewpoint of the observer who is already inside (as in 'he came into the room'). The event described by this verb is always of the he-went-into-the-room type.

them? Consider [163b] above again. The sentence implies that the goanna is already under the ground. The B-conjugation form *imbarndarn* involves such aspectual features as resultative, stative and durative. Now consider [165] below. The verb is *dyarlngardi* 'cover, wrap' (Vx, IIa/IIb).

[165] *Ngayu nga-ng-ga-ma-dyarlngardi-ndyi-n balangkit-gun.*
 1(ABS) 1-EN-FUT-INT-cover-RCP-IMPF blanket/E-LOC
 'I'll wrap myself in a blanket.'

The verb above is conjugated with the pair of affixes *ma-* and *-ndyi*. That is, the form is explicitly reflexive (4.2.7). Notice that the actor is in the absolutive case. The actor in [165] is not wrapped in the blanket yet. The reflexive form refers to the reflexive action (of wrapping herself), not to the result of it (stative/resultative).⁹⁷

The contrast of state/action is clear if we compare the imperative (2FUT) forms of the verb in A (IIa), B (IIb) and reflexive conjugation, respectively:

[165A] A-conjugation: *warl-dyarlngardi*
 2FUT(IIa)-cover
 'you cover [it]' <ACTION>

B-conjugation: *nga-dyarlngardi*
 2FUT(IIb)-cover
 'stay covered' (as you are now) <STATE>

reflexive: *nga-ma-dyarlngardi-ndyi*
 2FUT-INT-cover-RCP
 'get covered'(You are not covered now) <ACTION>

In order to cover something, you have to first locate the entity which is not yet covered (or not yet covered enough). This is generally true with transitive actions and also applies to reflexive actions. Such generalisation does not hold true with intransitive actions. Here the contrast between the A- and B-conjugations consists not in the transitive/intransitive contrast so much as in the active/stative contrast.

A parallel three-fold contrast is observed with the A/P verb *bulibuli*:

[165B] A: *nga-na-bulibuli-rn* 'I give him a bath'
 B: *nga-m-bulibuli-rn* 'I'm having a bath'
 REF: *nga-ma-bulibuli-ndyi-n* 'I bathe myself; I wash myself'

It should be noted that, in the case of the typical transitive/intransitive pairing (4.8.2.1), the reflexive conjugation is the only way to encode reflexive meaning. The B-conjugation forms never bear a reflexive meaning by themselves.

⁹⁷ Such functional division of labour between the B-conjugation form (state) and reflexive form (action) casts an interesting light on the nature of the reflexive prefix *ma-*. It could be identified with the verb root *ma* 'put' and this would clearly explain the active, rather than stative, function of the derived reflexive forms. It is also noted that the verb *ma*, when functioning as auxiliary to a preverb, bears causative meaning, which is also active.

4.8.3.3 Ergative marking

The A/P verb *dyardi* provides us with an interesting case in respect of the nature of the ergative-marking in Yawuru. Non-reflexive meanings of 'skinning animal; taking something out of a container' are encoded in the A-conjugation (class I) of this verb. It expresses obviously transitive actions and takes an ergative-absolutive case-frame.

- [166] *Wal-a-dyardi nyangadyunu kamb-gap durrkarrang.*
 2FUT-TR-take.out everything(ABS) that-ABL car(ABL)
 'Take all of them (i.e. the children playing inside the car) out of that car.'

The agent of taking out the children in [166] (A-conjugation) should be in the ergative case: *dyuyu-ni* (2-ERG).

On the other hand, the meaning in B-conjugation (IIa) is more or less reflexive: 'take one's cloth off, slough the skin off (as snakes/insects do). Unexpectedly, the B-conjugation forms also operate in the ergative case-frame, optionally with co-referential dative object enclitic:⁹⁸

- [167] *(Ngayu-ni) nga-ny-dyardi-rn-dyanu.*
 1-ERG 1_i-EN-skin-IMPF-1DAT_i
 'I'll take my clothes off.'
- [168] *Wal-dyardi(-dyina) kamba dyangkurr dyuyu-ni.*
 2_iFUT-skin-2DAT_i that cloth(ABS) 2-ERG
 'You should take that cloth off.'

Notice that the state/action contrast does not apply here. The B-conjugation form of the verb *dyardi* expresses the action of taking the clothes off, not the state of being unclothed.⁹⁹

It should also be pointed out here that the verb in question reveals a split class conjugation (4.5.3.2) in B-conjugation. Thus, in future forms (except 2FUT), the A- and B-conjugation forms are identical:

- [169] a. *Ngayu-ni nga-na-ng-ga-dyardi-dyuyu dyangkurr.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-EN-FUT-skin-2ACC cloth(ABS)
 'I'll take your clothes off.' (cf. [98] and [99] in Chapter 10)
- b. *Ngayu-ni nga-na-ng-ga-dyardi dyangkurr karrikan-gap dyanu.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-EN-FUT-skin cloth(ABS) body-ABL 1(GEN)
 'I'll take my clothes off (lit. from my body).' (= [98] in Chapter 10)

Probably the frequent occurrence of TR even in the B-conjugation paradigm is one of the reasons for the ergative marking on the subject. Another reason for such case marking is the presence of the argument NP referring to the cloth (or any other entity to be taken off from the patient of the action). In a sense, the action of taking one's clothes off is not perfectly "reflexive", since the object of the action (rather physically speaking) is the clothing rather than the actor him/herself.

⁹⁸ The reflexive function of the co-referential subject/object marking has been discussed in 4.6.5.1.

⁹⁹ As a matter of fact, the use of the B-conjugation such as in [167] and [168] seems to be rather infrequent compared with the reflexive conjugation: *ma-dyardi-ndyi*.

To sum up the observations so far, the ergative marking on the subject of the verb *dyardi* relates not so much to the semantic transitivity as to the morphological and syntactic transitivity.

4.8.4 Verbal reduplication and alternative-prefixing

The verb *bulibuli* is the only attested case in which a reduplicated verb root may be alternatively prefixed. This verb takes the transitive marker in [170a], while it does not in [170b]:

- [170] a. *Wubardugarang*¹⁰⁰ *baarl-gun wula nga-na-(ng-)ga-buli-buli.*
 small.child(ABS) hot-LOC water(LOC) 1-TR-(EN-)FUT-REDUP-moisten
 'I'll give the boy a bath.'
- b. *Wula-gun k*awity nga-ng-ga-buli-buli.*
 water-LOC quick 1-EN-FUT-REDUP-moisten
 'I'll have a quick shower.'

It should be noted that the unreduplicated root *buli* 'moisten' (Vt, I) is NOT alternative-prefixing, taking *wala-* class prefixes only. Given below are the 2FUT forms:

reduplicated:	<i>walabulibuli</i>	(class I)	'bathe him'
	<i>ngabulibuli</i>	(class IIb)	'have a bath; keep bathing'
	<i>ngamabulibulindyi</i>	(reflexive)	'bathe yourself'
unreduplicated:	<i>walabuli</i>	(class I)	'wet it'
	<i>wamabulindyi</i>	(reflexive)	'wet yourself'
	* <i>walbuli</i>	(theoretical IIa form)	
	* <i>ngabuli</i>	(theoretical IIb form)	

In all other cases, no verbs with a reduplicated root show prefix alternation. In other words, root reduplication of the A/P verbs takes place only in one conjugation class (see 9.3.4.6.(2) for examples).

It should be remembered here that none of the monosyllabic verb roots is alternative-prefixing.¹⁰¹ As we have noted earlier, the monosyllabic verb roots may not be reduplicated.

4.8.5 Further notes on alternative-prefixing

4.8.5.1 Preverb and prefix alternation

Only one A/P root *dyalku* 'fall' has been found to carry preverbs. This verb inflects only in the class IIb paradigm when functioning as auxiliary to the preverb. The compound verbs which take *dyalku* as FV are listed below (all are intransitive):

¹⁰⁰ See 6.12.6 for the diminutive element *-garang*.

¹⁰¹ One of the monosyllabic verbs (namely, *dyu* 'say') reveals a conjugational irregularity in which a mixture of the class-I-type and the class-II-type prefixes is observed (4.5.3). In that case, however, there is no functional alternation of the transitivity. The verb *dyu* is always transitive as long as it appears as a simple verb. When, however, this verb occurs as a part of a complex verb, transitivity varies according to which preverb item it combines with (see 5.3).

<i>darlp +dyalku</i>	'die, finish'
<i>ralku +dyalku</i>	'die out'
<i>wadyid +dyalku</i>	'sit down'
<i>rdirdirl-rdirdirl +dyalku</i>	'roll down'

4.8.5.2 Alternative transitivity without prefix alternation

(1) The verb *k*ami* 'laugh'

There are verbs which may alternate the transitivity both semantically and syntactically without any morphological change in their prefixing pattern. Such is the case of *k*ami* 'laugh'. This verb always inflects in the class I paradigm.¹⁰² However, the meaning may be either 'laugh, chuckle, giggle' (intransitive, 1-place valency, as in [171] below) or 'laugh at or ridicule something/somebody; send a smile to somebody' (transitive, 2-place). In the latter case, the case frame for argument NPs is ergative-absolutive. It depends on the context whether the transitive meaning is 'ridiculing' (as in [172]) or 'sending a warm smile' (as in [173]).^{102A}

[171] *Mi-na-ng-k*ami-rn dyuyu.*
2-TR-EN-laugh-IMPF 2(ABS)
'You giggle.'

[172] *I-na-k*ami-rn-dyuu yaw kamma-ni ngarrungu.*
3i-TR-laugh-IMPF-2ACC hey! that-ERG person(ERG);
'Hey, that man is laughing at you!'

[173] *I-na-ng-k*ami-rn-dyuyu-w karda-gap-ni, i-na-langka-rn-dyuu.*¹⁰³
3-TR-EN-laugh-IMPF-2ACC-VOC yonder-ABL-ERG 3-know-IMPF-2ACC
'Look, [the girl] is smiling at you from over there. Perhaps she knows you.'

(2) The verb *gardi* 'enter'

Another instance of the ambivalent verb without prefix alternation is *gardi* 'enter' (4.8.2.4), which usually operates intransitively with the 1-place absolutive case frame, as in [162a] cited earlier. Also recorded, however, is the following in which the verb operates in a semi-transitive (i.e. ergative-dative) frame, but the transitive marking prefix *na-* is absent in the conjugation of the verb.

[174] *I-ng-gardi-rn-dyina wirdu-ni mayi, gudyug + i-na-ra-nda.*
3i-EN-enter-IMPF-3DAT; big-ERG fruit(ERG); swallow+3j-TR-AUX(spear)-PF
*k*awity-k*awity.*
quick-REDUP
'A large piece of the fruit choked him as he gobbled it.'

4.9 Notions indicated implicitly

The Yawuru finite verb system has no morphological facility to indicate the following kinds, among others, of information explicitly: (1) direction in which an

¹⁰² The verb *k*ami* has been counted as transitive in Table 402A/B.

^{102A} See further discussion in 10.8.2. Also see footnote 56 in Chapter 7 (re: example [86] demonstrating the intransitive use of the transitive verb *ra*).

¹⁰³ See 6.7.6 for issues relevant to the ablative-ergative double marking on the non-core argument NP (as in *karda-gap-ni* in [173]).

action/motion is directed; (2) instrument with which an action is performed (although some information is already lexicalised in the verb root); (3) type of object (e.g. animacy/humanity/physical shape/etc.) on which an action is performed; (4) source of information (first-hand knowledge vs other kinds of information); (5) volitionality; (6) impersonality (or general reference); and (7) interpersonal relations such as kinship and gender. These notions are not encoded in the explicit morphology of inflecting verbs. Some, however, may be expressed implicitly (and/or explicitly by morpho-lexical facilities other than verbal inflexion). Notes on these issues follow.

4.9.1 Direction

Direction of action/motion is not encoded in the inflexion of the verb. There are only a few verbs (such as *bula* 'come' and *dyali* 'come back') that encapsulate any directional notion. However, it is usually the cultural practice of the Yawuru people (as well as in the case of other Aboriginal groups) to express it explicitly somewhere else in the sentence. Natural discourse in Yawuru may be characterised by the extremely frequent use of the deictic terms derived from the demonstrative pronouns such as *nyagap* and *kagap* (ablative forms of *nyamba* 'this' and *kamba* 'that'; see 7.5.3.1), and the terms of cardinal directions such as *banu* 'east, eastwards' (8.3.2). Also the use of directional adverbs such as *baku* 'hither, from there to here' is fairly frequent (see 8.3.3.1 for examples and comments).

4.9.2 Interpersonal relations

There is no morphological encoding of interpersonal relations in the Yawuru verbs. Unlike some other Australian languages, kinship and/or "skinship" relations have no direct marking in the language, although those relations do affect the verbal interaction of the Yawuru people significantly. No politeness-sensitive styles (such as honorifics) or gender-sensitive styles are formally established, phonologically or morphologically. There are, however, certain tendencies for the occurrence of epenthetic nasals to reflect the speaker's gender. This has already been noted in 4.2.3.3. There seems to be no cultural attitude estimating women's speech style as more "polite" than men's.

4.9.3 Source of information

There is no inflexional distinction between first-hand (i.e. witnessed by the speaker him/herself) and other kinds of knowledge such as reported information. The cultural practice is, however, that one should duly use the explicit quotation marker (particle *gadya* illustrated in 10.6.5) to indicate a second-hand piece of knowledge. Otherwise speech is regarded as being based on the speaker's first-hand experience. The unique case where the explicit use of the reportative particle *gadya* is unnecessary is the telling of Dreamtime stories. This is not

surprising at all if we consider the nature of the Dreamtime stories as an essential part of the Aboriginal people's self.

4.9.4 Volitionality

Volitional action is not explicitly distinguished from non-volitional action. The general tendency, however, is that actions expressed in the imperfective are volitional. In expressing passive-like predications, volitional actions (e.g. cut oneself deliberately) are expressed by the reflexive conjugation, while non-volitional actions (e.g. cut oneself by accident) are expressed by the quasi-passive construction. See 10.2.6.4 for examples and discussions.

4.9.5 General reference (impersonal forms)

General/indefinite reference (so-called "impersonal" meaning) is usually expressed by the 3rd-person imperfective form, either minimal or augmented. Occasionally the 2nd-person minimal future form is employed to express the action taken by unspecified actors or people in general.

Yawuru's sister language Nyikina has the impersonal form with the prefix *ma-* (Stokes 1982:269). Stokes (1984:13) reports that the same form occurs in Yawuru, too. This, however, has not been confirmed in my fieldwork.¹⁰⁴ The verbs are never cited in their bare root forms by native Yawuru speakers. They usually cite a Yawuru verb either in its 3rd-person minimal imperfective form (e.g. *inaburarn* 'he sees it; people see it'), or in its 2nd-person minimal future form (e.g. *walabura* 'you will see it; people will see it'). The corresponding Nyikina verb given by a Nyikina informant would be maban 'one sees' (the root -ba- is cognate to the Yawuru *bura*).¹⁰⁵

Yawuru has an idiomatic negative construction which involves no finite verb conjugation but the impersonal phrase *karri burrakan* 'one doesn't know, nobody knows' (see 7.6.7.4 for description).

¹⁰⁴ If a Yawuru informant is fluent in Nyikina (which is not unusual), s/he tends to accept the *ma-* impersonal forms given by the linguist and the informant may even coin the *ma-* forms with Yawuru verb roots. However, such impersonal forms are not heard in natural speech. Some of my informants consistently rejected the *ma-* forms, insisting that those are "Nyikina talk".

¹⁰⁵ It is interesting, in this regard, that Kerr (n/d) consistently distinguished the verb forms given by her Nyikina (Nyk) informants and those given by her Yawuru (Yw) informants: e.g. item No.88. smell (v.), Nyk. mabandyun, Yw. "im=buləm" ~ "imbundyə" (her spelling). Capell's Jaur (=Yawuru) wordlist has nominal items such as "maband'un" 'a smell' and "maṅuligan" 'a wait' (his spelling and gloss). These are apparently *ma-bandyu-n* ("*ma*"-smell-IMPF) and *ma-ngurlika-rn* ("*ma*"-wait-IMPF). The initial syllable of the Yawuru action adverb *mamurrmurr* 'throwing a spear and hitting the target' (8.4.2.2) could possibly related to the prefix *ma-* under discussion (cf. Nyikina has mamurrumuru for 'throwing a nulla nulla or stick' — Stokes, p.c. in 1990). No other parallel example, however, has been recorded.

4.10 Stem formation

4.10.1 Nominal incorporation

Yawuru does not make productive use of nominal incorporation as a method of predicate formation. There are a number of cases, however, in which the word formation of a verb may be traced historically to the (probable) incorporation of a nominal item into the verbal stem. Such verbs include:

<i>kumbira</i>	(Vt, I) 'urinate' (<i>ra</i> 'spear') ¹⁰⁶
<i>kilbira</i>	(Vt, I) 'sing (esp. incantation)' (<i>ra</i> 'spear')
<i>makura</i>	(Vt, I) 'make, produce' (<i>ra</i> 'spear')
<i>wilinya</i>	(Vt, I) 'pick up' (<i>nya</i> 'catch,')
<i>wunduma</i>	(Vt, I) 'hold, press down' (<i>ma</i> 'put')

All are transitive and belong to class I. No forms such as **kilbi* (or **gilbi*), **maku* (or **magu*), **wili*, **wundu* or the like have been found to occur as independent lexical items (free forms) in the current Yawuru database. We find, at least, **gumba* 'urine' among the "Common Australian" items specified by Capell (1956:74), although this item is not attested in Yawuru or in any other Nyulnyulan languages.

If the **kumbi* in the verb *kumbira* comes from a nominal item referring to urine, then it would explain the following syntactic peculiarity of this verb. Firstly, the verb *kumbira* cannot take the noun *dyunduru* 'urine' as object. Compare [175a/b] (cf. 5.5.2.4):¹⁰⁷

- [175] a. *Dyunduru i-na-ma-nda.*
 urine 3-TR-put-PF
 's/he urinated.'
- b. **Dyunduru i-na-kumbira-nda.*

Secondly, the subject NP of this verb carries the ergative marker, even though the verb does not take any object NP (in absolutive case), as in:

- [176] *Kurrgarda-ni ku-rr-a-kumbira-nda karda-gun.*
 2"DL-ERG 2"-AGM-TR-urinate-PF yonder-LOC
 'You (two) pissed over there.'

It should also be noted that all the verbs mentioned above can be only partially reduplicated (9.3.3.1):

<i>kumbira</i>	>	<i>kumbi-kumbira</i>	(<i>*kumbira-kumbira</i>)
<i>kilbira</i>	>	<i>kilbi-kilbira</i>	(<i>*kilbira-kilbira</i>)
<i>makura</i>	>	<i>maku-makura</i>	(<i>*makura-makura</i>)
<i>wilinya</i>	>	<i>wili-wilinya</i>	(<i>*wilinya-wilinya</i>)
<i>wunduma</i>	>	<i>wundu-wunduma</i>	(<i>*wunduma-wunduma</i>)

Another case of incorporation would be the verb *dyudra* (Vt, I) 'touch (body), bump' [177a]. The medial cluster *dr* is quite unusual in Yawuru, which is a good

¹⁰⁶ See 5.5.2.2 for the meanings of the verb *ra* as it takes up the auxiliary role in complex-verb constructions.

¹⁰⁷ [175a] can also be interpreted as constituting a complex verb construction (5.1.1, but cf. 5.6.1), in which case the interlinear gloss would be "urine+3-TR-AUX(put)-PF" (cf. discussion on the meaning-sharing preverbs in 5.5.2.4).

reason to suspect the possible compound nature of the verb stem. Actually, we have the preverb item *dyud* (~ *dyult*) 'finish, end', which, however, does not take *ra* [177b], but *dyu* 'say', as its auxiliary [177c].¹⁰⁸

- [177] a. *i-na-dyudra-rn-ngayu*
3-TR-bump-IMPF-1ACC
's/he bumped me'
- b. **dyud + i-na-ra-rn*
end+3-TR-AUX(spear)-IMPF
- c. *dyud + i-ny-dyu-n*
end+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
'it finishes' (e.g. the road ends there.)

The semantic connection between "touching" and "ending" is obscure, so that we might better leave the two items as unrelated.

There are a few more interesting cases. The verb *mirdibi* (Vi, IIb) 'run away' has *mirdi*, which is the root for *nimirdi* 'shin, lower leg' (*ni-* is a relic of the 3rd-person possessive prefix; see 2.4.3) and the reduplicated item *mirdimirdi* '(the posture of) kneeling down'. The semantic connection between these items is fairly transparent, although the meaning of the monosyllabic verb *bi* 'drink' (Vt, I) does not match the notion of running at all.

The verb *dyidibu* 'block a fight' (Vt, IIa) contains the preverb *dyid* 'ceasing (as of raining), breaking off' (probably related to *dyud* 'finish' mentioned above). We here remember another Common Australian root **bu-* 'hit' (Capell 1956:63, 76, cf. Dixon 1980:481). "Stop hitting" seems to be a reasonable semantic compounding (the combination in question would literally mean "hit the stop" or "hit the ending").¹⁰⁹

Finally, the verb *dyinungu* 'disembowel, clean out an animal (i.e. take intestines out)' (Vt, IIa) contains the noun *nungu* 'belly'. The verb can not take this noun as its syntactic argument.

As to the last four verbs (*dyudra*, *mirdibi*, *dyidibu* and *dyinungu*), no reduplicated forms have been found.

4.10.2 Verb/Noun distinction

4.10.2.1 Bivalent roots

Most Yawuru verb roots occur only as an inflecting (prefix-carrying) verb; they occur neither as a noun, an adjective, an adverb, nor in any other non-verbal

¹⁰⁸ The item *dyud* is considered to be basically nominal; we have derived items such as *dyud-gun* '(ADV) in the end, finally' (*-gun* is the locative case marker).

¹⁰⁹ In Nyikina the verb *-bu-* occurs always with a preverb, e.g. *warl +bu* 'twist, wring (one's neck)', *giddy +bu* 'miss (fail to hit)' (Stokes, p.c. in 1990).

function.¹¹⁰ There are, however, a limited number of exceptions to this. Four verbs have been confirmed to be derived from nominals. In these cases, the roots are bivalent (i.e. they function both as a verb root and as a nominal root), since no special verbaliser morpheme is involved. The four items are as follows (3rd-person minimal imperfective forms are given):¹¹¹

<i>balu</i>	'tree, stick'	>	<i>ina-balu-rn</i>	'hit (with a stick)' (Vt, I)
<i>bukarri</i>	'dream'	>	<i>ina(m)-bukarri-rn</i>	'dream of' (Vt, I)
<i>midyala</i>	'seat, sitting'	>	<i>i-midyala-rn</i>	'rise, get up' (Vi, IIb)
<i>karda</i>	'over there'	>	<i>inang-karda-rn</i>	'chase away' (Vt, I; 4.8.2.4)

Interestingly, the meaning is inverted in the case of *midyala*. Compare the full-verb usage in [179] and [180] (also see [46A]) with the preverb usage in [178]:

- [178] *Midyala + i-nga-nda balkindyina-gun dyanu.*
sit +3-AUX(be)-PF lap-LOC 1(GEN)
'He (a young boy) was sitting on my lap.'
- [179] *Dyimbu-gap i-midyala-rn wubardu gwaniya.*
egg-ABL 3-rise-IMPF small crocodile(ABS)
'Baby crocodiles are coming out of the eggs.' (i.e. hatching)¹¹²
- [180] *Rumarra i-midyala-ø¹¹³ banu-gap.*
sun(ABS) 3-rise-IMPF east-ABL
'The sun rises up in the east (lit. "from east").'

Another intriguing phenomenon is observed with regard to case marking of instrumental NPs. An NP argument referring to the instrument of an action usually takes the instrumental case marker *-barri* (6.8), as in [181]. This is basically the same for the bivalent verb *balu*, too [182].¹¹⁴

- [181] *Inga-rr-a-bilka-nda balu-barri.*
3'-AGM-TR-hit-PF stick-INST
'They hit [it] with a stick.'
- [182] *I-na-balu-rn lanydyi-barri.*
3-TR-hit(stick)-IMPF boomerang-INST
'He hits [it] with a boomerang.'

¹¹⁰ There are cases from a historical/comparative linguistic point of view. For example, Nyikina verb *-burra-* 'dry up' is probably cognatic with the Yawuru nominal *burdarra* 'dry' (usually an adjective).

¹¹¹ In addition to these four, there is a dubious case of the full-verb use of *yinydya* '(preverb) going; (motion adverb) moving from there₁ to there₂'. The only instance recorded is in the 1st person perfective: *nga-ny-inydya-nda* 'I went there (in a motorcar)'. The instance was taken from a natural conversation among native speakers. When it was checked with other native speakers, such use was rejected as being "not proper way".

¹¹² There is at least one instance where the syntactic subject of the verb *midyala* is assigned the ergative case:

[179A] *Dyurru-ni i-midyala-rn kamb-gap lurku.*
snake-ERG 3-rise-IMPF that-ABL skin(ABL)
'The snake sheds skin.'

¹¹³ The dropping of the aspect marker *-rn* occurs only when the verb *midyala* take the subject noun *rumarra* 'sun'.

¹¹⁴ The verb *bilka* 'hit' is unspecified for the type of instrument. The hitting may be by a fist, a stick, by a rifle (i.e. shooting), by a car, etc. As to the verb *balu*, on the other hand, the type of instrument is more or less specified (sticks or something like sticks).

If, however, the bivalent root *balu* 'stick/hit' occurs both in the verb and in the noun referring to the instrument of the action, then the case marking on the latter turns to the locative instead of the instrumental, which we see in [182].¹¹⁵

[182'] *I-na-balu-rn balu-gun.*
 3-TR-hit(stick)-IMPF stick-LOC
 'He hits [it] with a stick.'

4.10.2.2 Diachronically related cases

We have two additional cases of verb roots that have obviously related nominal counterparts, although synchronically they constitute distinct roots.

One is the verb *rli* 'eat' (Vt, I), which is without doubt related to the noun *warli* 'meat'. No trace of the first vowel, however, comes to light morphologically at any time: e.g. 3MIN imperfective *inarlirn*, rather than **inaarlirn*. It is also noted that this verb can take the cognatic noun *warli* as its argument NP, unlike *kumbira* 'urinate' discussed above.

The other case is the verb *maldya* (~ *malnya*) 'support somebody, take sides with somebody' (Vm, I), which has the corresponding preverb form *maldyan* (with auxiliary *ka* 'carry'). Both [183a] with the simple verb *maldya* and [183b] with the preverb verb *maldyan* express the same meaning: 'I support him; I take sides with him (as in a fight)'.¹¹⁶

- [183] a. *Ngayu-ni nga-na-maldya-rn-dyina.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-support-IMPF-3DAT
- b. *Ngayu-ni maldyan + nga-na-ng-ka-rn-dyina.*
 1-ERG support+1-TR-EN-AUX(carry)-IMPF-3DAT

Like many other preverbs (5.4.1), the form *maldyan* is potentially nominal and may carry nominal markers, such as instrumental *-barri* or causal *-nyurdany*.

Finally, there is a possibility, as already suggested in 2.4.3, that the verb root *langka* 'know' is related to *nila* 'knowledge, (preverb) knowing' (cf. 5.5.2.4).

4.11 Summary

We have in this chapter closely examined the morphology of Yawuru finite verbs. Verbs are conjugated by four grammatical person categories and two number categories (obligatorily cross-referencing the syntactic subject and optionally the object/beneficiary). Number distinction between minimal/non-minimal is made

¹¹⁵ See 6.5.6 for more on the instrumental function of the locative case form. It should be added that, although in [181] the instrument noun *balu* may be replaced by *lanydyi* without changing the case marking (just as in [182]), it no longer holds true when nouns such as *nimarla* 'hand' or *rdarnku* 'fist' occur. Such body-part instrumentality for the verb *bilka* (and also for other non-bivalent verbs such as *dyanba* 'kick') is expressed by the locative (cf. discussion in 10.2.3.1).

¹¹⁶ The case frames are ergative-dative both in simple and in complex verb expressions (i.e. semi-transitive; 2.1.2). The corresponding Nyikina verb is *-malnya-* 'fight in support of another' (Stokes, p.c.; also see Stokes, Johnson & Marshall 1980:62).

in the subject and object markers; dual/plural distinction is neutralised in the verbal conjugation. Tense/mode/aspect specification is obligatory, too. There is realis/irrealis mood and future/non-future tense as well. The future tense usually bears a modal implication of desiderative; and the irrealis mode has the temporal implication of future. Irrealis non-future is lacking. The aspectual distinction of perfective/imperfective is made in the realis non-future only. Verbs may be further marked morphologically as reflexive, reciprocal, comitative, purposive/optative, sequential and vocative.

Syntactic and semantic issues have also be examined in connection with the verbal morphology. Some of the issues, particularly those relating to transitivity, ergativity and subordination, will be further discussed in subsequent chapters.¹¹⁷

It should be emphasised, before closing this chapter, that Yawuru has neither a verbaliser morpheme that would derive a verb stem from a non-verbal lexical item, nor a nominaliser morpheme that would derive a nominal stem from a verbal root (but cf. 6.12.3).

¹¹⁷ Particularly in sections 5.3, 5.5.3, 5.6.1, 6.4, 7.3.2, 7.4.2, 8.5.2, 10.1, 10.2, 10.6 and 10.8.2.

Chapter 5: Preverb

It has been illustrated in Chapter 4 that Yawuru verbs are conjugated by prefixes and suffixes added to a verb root. It has also been pointed out that Yawuru has only a limited number of verb roots that can carry inflexional affixes (4.1.1 and 4.2.2.2). Consequently, most verbal expressions in Yawuru are of a compound nature, consisting of a normally inflecting finite verb (FV) and a combined (usually preposed) non-finite verbal word, which is called "preverb" (PV).

5.1 Complex verbs

5.1.1 General remarks

When we take a survey of other Australian Aboriginal languages, we find that such a situation as observed in Yawuru is by no means exceptional. A relatively small number of conjugatable verb roots is the rule amongst the languages of north and west Australia.¹ A corollary to this is that the majority of verbal expressions are of a compound nature. To mention just a few of the well-described cases, there are "complex verbs" in Warlpiri (Nash 1982:166ff), "verb complexes" in Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:95f, 177ff) and "double-united verbs" in Nyikina (Stokes 1982:335ff). Djaru has only 41 conjugatable verb roots while having about 290 preverbs. Nyikina has around 150 verb roots and more than 400 "prestems" (= preverbs). Warlpiri has 115 verb roots, with a large number of preverbs. As we shall see, the number of preverbs in Yawuru is around 300 to 400 against 82 conjugatable verb roots.²

5.1.2 Terminology employed in this thesis

In general terms, verbal expressions in these "verb-limited" languages are understood as in the formula below:

¹ See Capell (1976a:615ff), Dixon (1980:426), Nash (1982:167), Silverstein (1986:497) and Tsunoda (1988:1012ff).

² The tendency is shared by many other Australian languages (Dixon 1976a:12f, 1980:280f). As for Pama-Nyungan languages, for instance, the number of (monomorphemic) conjugatable verbs is 39 in Walmatjarri (Hudson 1976), 31 in Kuurrinyji (Gurindji) (Nash 1982, cf. Dixon 1980:280), around 50 in Warumungu (Nash 1982), just over 40 in Warlmanpa (Nash 1982), less than 100 in Nyangumarta (O'Grady 1970) and 131 (including a number of verbs with a compound root) in Pitjantjatjara (Platt 1976b). The figures get even lower when we take into account those non-Pama-Nyungan languages in north Australia which have the so-called "particle-plus-auxiliary" conjugations: the number of auxiliaries (which correspond to verb roots in other languages) are 14 in Ngarinyin (Ungarinjin; Capell 1976b, Rumsey 1982b), 23 in Wunambal (Vászolyi 1976), 22 in Nungali (Djamindjungan family; Hoddinott & Kofod 1976); and only 6 in MalakMalak (Daly family; Tryon 1974, 1976, cf. Birk 1976). The paucity of conjugatable verbs/auxiliaries is also the case with the languages of Arnhem Land (both Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan), such as Alawa (Sharpe 1976), Mara (Heath 1981), Nunggubuyu (Heath 1984), Gunwinygu (Carroll 1976), Ritharngu and other Yuulngu languages (Heath 1976, 1980).

Complex verbal
expression as a
single verbal
predicate = unconjugated
verbal word + conjugated
verbal word

The above formula shows that a complex verbal expression as a single verbal predicate consists of a conjugated or affix-carrying part (finite verb) and an unconjugated verbal adjunct.³ In the Australian languages the latter usually (but not always) precedes the former.⁴

The term **preverb** (PV) is used throughout this study to refer to the unconjugated part of the complex verbs. The term **finite verb** (FV) refers to a conjugated verb. If a finite verb occurs without carrying a preverb, then it is called a **simple verb**. When a finite verb is combined with a preverb, constituting a single predicate unit, that unit is called a **complex verb** (PV+FV). The term **predicate verb** covers both simple verbs (FV) and complex verbs (PV+FV).⁵ As we will see later (5.4.1, 5.6.5 and 10.7.1), a Yawuru preverb may be used without directly combining with a finite verb, in which case it is called **non-predicate preverb** (or non-predicate use of the preverb).

5.1.3 Further notes on terminology

In the literature on Australian languages, terms such as "verb(al) particle", "auxiliary" and "compound verbs" (or "compound conjugation") are rather widespread. These terms, however, are avoided in the present thesis for the following reasons:

³ "Verbal expressions" here means words or phrases referring to an action, state, change of state, process of change, movement, location or posture, etc.

⁴ So far, different technical terms have been used by different authors with reference to different Australian languages which have similar natures as to the formation of verbal expressions. The complex verbal expression has been called "compound conjugation" (Capell 1976a, 1976b), "compound verbs" (Capell 1976b, Dixon 1976a), "auxiliary construction" (Dixon 1980), "double verbs" (Tryon 1976), "verb complex" (Tsunoda 1981), "complex verbs" (O'Grady 1970, Nash 1982, Rumsey 1982b), "double-unit(ed) verbs" (Stokes 1982), "prestem verbs" (Metcalf 1975), etc. The unconjugated part has been variously called "preverb" (Hale 1973b, Tsunoda 1981, Nash 1982), "pre-stem" (Metcalf 1975, Stokes 1982), "verb base" (Capell 1976a), "head-verb" (Vászolyi 1976), "lexical verb" or "primary verb" (Tryon 1976), "main verb" (Capell 1976a, Yallop 1982), "non-tense-bearing verb" (Tryon 1974), "particle" (Rumsey 1982, Sharpe 1976, Hoddinott & Kofod 1976), "prefix" (Alpher 1973), "free verb (form)" (Coate & Oates 1970), "Root 1" (Hudson 1978), "verb root" or simply "verb" (Birk 1976, McGregor 1984, 1990). The conjugated part, on the other hand, has been referred to, also variously, as "auxiliary" (Coate & Oates 1970, Capell 1976a/b, Kofod 1976, Sharpe 1976, Dixon 1980, Yallop 1982, Rumsey 1982b), "ancillary" (Metcalf 1975), "formative" (O'Grady 1970), "suffix" (Carroll 1976), "grammatical verb" or "secondary verb" (Tryon 1976), "tense-bearing verb" (Tryon 1974), "classifier" (McGregor 1984), "Root 2" (Hudson 1978), "verb root" (Tsunoda 1981, Alpher 1973) or, again, simply "verb" (Stokes 1982). Confusingly enough, the term "verb" or "verb root" is used by some authors referring to the unconjugated part (with reference to a particular language) and the same terms are employed by others referring to the conjugated part (but with reference to some other language). Such terminological chaos as catalogued above is quite unfortunate, since the phenomenon under discussion is quite common and significantly comparable, despite the language-specific peculiarities which of course exist.

⁵ The term "predicate" does not include object NPs (cf. 10.1.3). In certain contexts, the abbreviation "FV" may refer to a verb root (\sqrt{V}) that can be conjugated into a finite verb.

(1) The term "particle" is avoided, because this would suggest a separate word class composed of a small, closed membership (Schachter 1985:45). This is clearly not an appropriate term for the large, open class category, such as preverb in Yawuru and other languages.

(2) Another widely employed term "auxiliary" is also eschewed because several researchers in Pama-Nyungan languages have applied the term to affix-carrying dummy word(s). Such a dummy functor, which does not exist in Yawuru (2.2), was once called "catalyst" (Capell 1976a:618). A catalyst carries grammatical information (such as tense, mode, or cross-reference to the subject/object) but has no lexical meaning by itself. Preverb and catalyst are quite different things, although they both are closely related to the functions of the predicate verb. Since there are languages (like Djaru, Walmatjarri, Warlpiri, etc.) in which both preverb and catalyst are at work, applying the term "auxiliary" for one (or even both) of them can be highly confusing (e.g. Hudson 1976; cf. Dixon 1976a:13-14). What is usually understood by the term "auxiliary" is that its main function is to carry inflexional affixes (and according grammatical information) on behalf of the main verb without affecting the lexical content of that verb. This is the case with catalyst, but not necessarily with finite verbs in the preverb construction in Yawuru and other languages.⁶

(3) The term "compound verb" or "compound conjugation" is often used (again after Capell) to refer to what we call here the complex verb. Again, however, this can cause confusion. In Yawuru, as well as in other languages, there are cases in which the stem of a single finite verb is itself a compound, consisting of two (or possibly more) morphemes, usually a nominal and a verbal. This is most likely a fossilised reflection of a nominal incorporation at early stages (4.10.1; also see footnote 7 in the next section). The term "compound verb" would be better reserved for such polymorphemic verb roots (cf. Yallop 1982:116).

5.1.4 Make-up of Yawuru complex verbs

In the so-called non-prefixing languages (such as Warlpiri, Walmatjarri and Djaru), verbs are conjugated only by suffixes (sfx), so that a preverb (PV) and a verb root (\sqrt{V}) stand next to each other, forming a sort of compound/complex stem:⁷

$$[\text{PV}-\sqrt{V}]_{\text{stem}} + \text{sfx}$$

⁶ The label AUX (for auxiliary) is retained in the interlinear gloss (see footnote 10 in this chapter) in order to indicate the complex-verb status of the predicate explicitly.

⁷ In the case of suffixing languages, as is discussed by Nash (1982:172f), it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a verb is a complex (PV [\sqrt{V} -sfx]) or a compound ([PV- \sqrt{V}] -sfx). In the prefixing languages such as Yawuru, by contrast, it is easy to distinguish a complex (PV [pfx- \sqrt{V} -sfx]) from a compound (pfx-PV- \sqrt{V} -sfx). See 4.10.1 for instances of Yawuru compound (not complex) verbs (pfx-X- \sqrt{V} -sfx).

In Yawuru, by contrast, verbs are conjugated by prefixes (pfx) as well as by suffixes. Moreover, as we shall see in 5.4.1, preverbs may take non-verbal suffixes and enclitics. PV and \sqrt{V} , therefore, do not form a consecutive stem, but constitute a discontinuant stem:⁸

PV(-sfx/clitic) + pfx- \sqrt{V} -sfx(-clitic)

Sentences [1] and [2] respectively give instances of a simple verb (FV) and a complex verb (PV+FV):

- [1] *Warli* *i-na-ra-nda* *kamba-ni* *wamba*.
 meat(ABS)_i 3_j-TR-spear-PF that-ERG man(ERG)_j
 'The man_j speared an animal_i.'⁹
- [2] *Ingamana* *rdii + i-na-ra-nda* *nyamba-ni* *dyira*.
 cup(ABS)_i break+3_j-TR-AUX(spear)-PF this-ERG boy(ERG)_j
 'This boy_j has broken a glass_i.'

The discontinuous stems of the predicate verb *rdii inaranda* in [2] are *rdii* (PV) and *ra* (\sqrt{V}), interrupted by the inflexional prefix complex *i-na-* (3-TR-). For convenience of presentation, Yawuru complex verbs are indicated by the formula PV + \sqrt{V} , e.g. *rdii +ra* for [2] above. The gloss is given as 'break' [+SPEAR], the small capitals in square brackets indicating the gloss of the \sqrt{V} .¹⁰

In the present analysis of the Yawuru data, a lexical item is recognised as a preverb item if (and only if) there is an attested instance where that lexical item (no matter what word class it belongs to) is employed as a preverb in combination with a finite verb, forming a single predicate phrase. For most preverb items, the semantic content is of a verbal nature (referring to a state, change of state, action, movement, etc.) and the predicate function (i.e. use as a verbal prestem) seems to be basic. As we shall see later (5.6), however, a preverb item may also be employed in a non-predicate function (e.g. as a noun or as an adverb). A question arises, then, as to whether or not preverbs constitute a separate word class. This point will be discussed in 5.6.3.

The current Yawuru database has 322 preverb items.¹¹ Of these 17 are reduplicated forms of other preverb items: e.g.

dudyul +dyu 'hit' [+SAY]
dudyul-dudyul +ra 'smash' [+SPEAR].

⁸ A predicate preverb in prefixing languages is, therefore, sometimes called "prestem" (Stokes 1982:188, 335ff; Metcalf 1975:52).

⁹ The word *warli* 'meat' here means a living game animal (see 2.4.4).

¹⁰ This follows the notation practised by Nash (1982:173). The gloss in the square brackets simply indicates the meaning the verb conveys when it appears as an independent simple verb (i.e. without a preverb) and, therefore, not necessarily the same as the meaning it conveys when coupled with a preverb (cf. 5.3). In presenting example sentences or phrases, the sequence of a PV and an FV is indicated by a plus (+) sign. In the interlinear gloss, the inflecting verb root is indicated as "AUX(gloss)" as in [2].

¹¹ Loan items, such as *ridi +nya* 'prepare' [+CATCH] (from English "ready"), are not counted (see 2.2.4).

48 items show lexical reduplication (9.2.7): e.g. *bidy-bidy +dyu* 'following, tracking' [+SAY], but no unreduplicated item such as **bidy* has been attested to.

Some preverb items can combine with different verbs: e.g.

dyad +dyu 'cut' [+SAY]
dyad +ra 'stab' [+SPEAR]

If we count each such case as a separate lexical entry, we have 396 distinct PV-FV pairs on record. By a simple dictionary count, then, more than 80% of all the known verbal expressions in Yawuru employ complex verb constructions.¹²

TABLE 501: Most common FV roots employed in complex verbs (in order of frequency by dictionary count)

1.	<i>dyu</i>	'say'	121	(33%)
2.	<i>ni</i>	'be'*	77	(20%)
3.	<i>ma</i>	'put'	53	(13%)
4.	<i>ngara</i>	'become'	45	(11%)
5.	<i>rndira</i>	'go'**	23	(6%)
6.	<i>nya</i>	'catch'	16	(4%)
7.	<i>ka</i>	'carry'	15	(4%)
8.	<i>ra</i>	'spear'	13	(3%)
	other 13 verb roots***		32	(8%)

NOTES:

* Suppletive roots are *dyi* and *nga* (see 4.5.2).

** Suppletive roots are *rnda*, *garnda* and *garna* (see 4.5.2).

*** These are \emptyset 'give', *balu* 'hit₁', *bilka* 'hit₂', *bandyi* 'exchange', *baru* 'blow', *bula* 'come', *burnda* 'bite', *dyalku* 'fall', *kardi* 'enter', *mirdibi* 'run away', *ngula* 'throw', *ni+ngany* 'hold' (4.7.2.2) and *rba* 'follow'.

5.15 Verbs typically occurring as an auxiliary

Not all of the 82 conjugatable verbs of Yawuru carry a preverb. Only 21 verbs have so far been found to be a component of a PV+FV construction. Some of these verbs recur more frequently than others. Table 501 shows that the top 8 verbs cover 92% (with the top 4 items covering as much as 75%) of all the attested PV-FV pairings in Yawuru. The percentages shown here are by the dictionary count (type frequency). The figure would be even higher by a text count (token frequency).

5.16 Word order

A PV+FV predicate usually constitutes a single phonological word. The PV retains its primary stress, while the FV loses it. A pause is seldom made between

¹² There are still some 90 items which are quite likely to be used as preverbs. In that case, the number of preverbs in Yawuru would be well over 400. These likely items, however, are not included in the analysis of this chapter, since they were encountered only in elicitation and have not been attested in natural spontaneous speech. Preverb is an open class and it is impossible to specify conclusively how many preverb items there are in Yawuru.

PV and FV. The sequence is almost never cut off by native speakers, even when we ask them to pronounce a phrase very slowly, word by word. Despite the considerable flexibility of the word order in this language, the order of PV and FV is relatively fixed. When the preverb comes after the FV, usually a pause is observed. This is illustrated in [3b/c], where the slant "/" stands for a pause.

- [3] a. *Wamba dyunku + i-mirdibi-rn.*
 man(ABS) run+3-AUX(run.away)-IMPF
 'A man is running.'
- b. *Wamba imirdibin / dyunku.* 'Running, a man goes.'
- c. *Imirdibin wamba / dyunku.* 'Running, a/the man goes.'
- d. *Dyunku wamba imirdibin.* 'The man is running.'
- e. *Dyunku imirdibin (/) wamba.* 'A/The man is running.'
- f. *?Imirdibin / dyunku / wamba.*

As illustrated in [3d], an intransitive subject (but not a transitive object) may intervene between PV and FV. It seems, however, that an indefinite subject NP cannot do this.¹³ When the subject NP consists of more than two words, then only one word of the NP is permitted to stand between PV and FV and, as a consequence, phrasal discontinuity occurs (2.5.3). This is observed in [4c/d/e]:

- [4] a. *Kamba dyalykurr wangkurr-gadya¹⁴ + i-nga-nda.* (DET N PV FV)
 that baby(ABS) cry-INTENS + 3-AUX(be)-PF
 'The baby cried (aloud).'
- b. *Wangkurr-gadya inganda (/) kamba dyalykurr.* (PV FV DET N)
- c. *Kamba wangkurr-gadya inganda (/) dyalykurr.* (DET PV FV N)
- d. *Wangkurr-gadya dyalykurr inganda kamba.* (PV N FV DET)
- e. *Wangkurr-gadya kamba inganda / dyalykurr.* (PV DET FV N)
- f. **Wangkurr-gadya kamba dyalykurr inganda.* *(PV DET N FV)

5.2 Phonotactics of Yawuru preverbs

Yawuru preverbs are often distinguishable from other lexical items by their phonological make-up. Table 502 (below) shows that nearly two thirds of the Yawuru preverb items have a consonantal ending (either a cluster or a single consonant). The figure contrasts with that of the non-preverb lexicon (sample of 465 monomorphemic items). When we see the percentages of C-ending (closed syllable) items for each n-syllabic words, we find that the principal contrast exists in the monosyllabic and the disyllabic preverbs. Of the Yawuru 80 monosyllabic preverbs, 74 (or 93% as shown in Table 503) are C-ending (12 are CV:C, 44 are CVC and 18 are CVCC).

¹³ The intervention is not acceptable, either, with the adjective-preverbs discussed in 5.6.2. Unlike in Nyikina, adverb, conjunction or negative particle cannot stand between PV and FV in Yawuru.

¹⁴ See 5.4.2 for the intensity marker *-gadya* (INTENS).

Table 502: Final segment in preverbs and non-preverbs

	sample	V-ending	C-ending
preverb items	304*	105 (35%)	199 (65%)
non-preverb items	465**	293 (63%)	172 (37%)

* Reduplicated items are excluded from the count. Items recorded only in a reduplicated form (i.e. lexical reduplication; see 9.1) are included.

** Here, for sampling purpose, general lexical items with initial *b*, *m* and *w* are counted. Included in the count are unanalysable (synchronically monomorphemic) free forms (mostly nominals) as well as verb roots. Excluded are those nominals that can function as preverbs. Reduplicated items are not counted, either, unless they have fairly separate semantic contents. Items such as *bilyurr* 'heart' and *bilyurrbilyurr* 'red' (see 9.2.2.2) are counted as two separate items.

TABLE 503: Percentage of words ending in a closed syllable (C-ending)

number of syllables in word:	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
preverb items	93	68	19	41	0	0	65%
non-preverb items	69	46	27	32	7	0	37%

NOTE: The table above reads as follows: 93% of the monosyllabic preverb items are C-ending, 68% of the disyllabic preverb items are C-ending, and so on. Sample items are the same as in Table 502 (cf. Table 307 in chapter 3).

TABLE 504: Percentage of items according to the number of syllables

number of syllables in word:	1	2	3	4	5	6	TOTAL
preverb items	26	50	12	11	0	0	100%
non-preverb items	3	44	31	18	3	0	100%

NOTE: The table reads as follows: 26% of the preverb items (304 samples) are monosyllabic, 50% are disyllabic, 12% are trisyllabic, and so on; whereas 3% of non-preverb items (465 samples) are monosyllabic, 44% are disyllabic, and so on. Samples are the same as in Table 502.

Statistically, there is a clear tendency for preverbs to have fewer syllables than general lexical items do. While words having more than 3 syllables occupy as many as 52% of the sample 465 non-preverb lexicon, only 23% of the 304 preverb lexicon have three or more syllables. Only 3% of the non-preverb lexicon are monosyllabic, while 26% of the preverb lexicon are so (see Table 504 above; note that reduplicated items are excluded from this count both for preverb and non-preverb items).

TABLE 505: Preverb items which combine with the verb *dyu* 'say/sound'

(1) inanimate/impersonal actor (all intransitive)

a. Sound imitations

<i>bany</i>	'bang'	<i>rdaarl</i>	'burst, crack, blow up (in fire)'
<i>dan</i>	'clink, clang'	<i>winyiwinyi</i>	'tremble' (as leaves in wind)
<i>duurl</i>	'(tide) rise, flood'	<i>yii</i>	'(tide) ebb, recede'
<i>gurdulygurduly</i>	'slosh' (as water in a container)		

b. Ideophones

<i>barr</i>	'(fire) ignite'	<i>dyip</i>	'drop off, spill'
<i>bibity</i>	'(lightning) flash'	<i>dyuung</i>	'snap off'
<i>burd</i>	'appear, come out'	<i>nginy</i>	'(creek) dry up'
<i>dyika</i>	'(penis) get erect'	<i>rabar'rabar</i>	'(day) break'

(2) Body-related items

a. Vocalisations (all intransitive)

<i>dyawar'dyawar</i>	'whisper'
<i>k*aw</i>	'call out, cry'
<i>ngaywaya</i>	'speak an unintelligible language'
<i>wangkurr</i>	'weep, sob'
<i>wardaw</i>	'scream, eek'
<i>yangkayi</i>	'burst into laughter'

b. Bodily functions (intransitive unless otherwise noted)

<i>darra</i>	'belch, burp'	<i>ngily</i>	'suffer a headache'
<i>gudyug</i>	'swallow' (Vt)	<i>rdur</i>	'fart'
<i>gulal</i>	'get withered/paralysed'	<i>warl</i>	'have stiff shoulders'
<i>gurrbug</i>	'vomit'		

(3) Gestures and actions

a. intransitive

<i>birrp</i>	'turn, change direction'	<i>dyirr</i>	'stretch one's body'
<i>dagurrb</i>	'slip down'	<i>galiny</i>	'dodge'
<i>dalyurr</i>	'slip, slide'	<i>ngiit</i>	'grin'

b. semi-transitive

<i>dyakad</i>	'approach'
<i>warrbayty</i>	'wave hand (to somebody)'

c. transitive

<i>bady</i>	'cut out (wood)'	<i>dyuly</i>	'spit out'
<i>bindarl</i>	'snap one's fingers'	<i>dyunydyuny</i>	'suck'
<i>dildil</i>	'dust, flip'	<i>layity</i>	'chuck away'
<i>dyaarl</i>	'cut hair'	<i>wirr</i>	'scrape (skin/bark)'
<i>dyalp</i>	'prick, sting'		

(4) Mental process

<i>bab</i>	'forget' (transitive)
<i>bil</i>	'await (opportunity, etc.)' (semi-transitive)
<i>dirlady</i>	'disobey' (transitive)
<i>karru</i>	'hate, dislike' (semi-transitive)
<i>wanaq</i>	'be at a loss' (intransitive)

Following are some other characteristics that give preverbs a somewhat peculiar phonotactic status in the Yawuru lexicon:¹⁵

¹⁵ Although a large number of PV items are marked by these phonotactic characteristics, there are also PV items which do not conform to such phonotactics: e.g. *midyala* 'be sitting', *yalku* 'be standing', etc. There are 22 CVCV, 17 CVCVCV and 26 CVCCV preverb items; phonotactically they look just like common nominals.

- 1) Medial and final consonant clusters are rare among the general lexical items, but are rather common among the preverb items and onomatopoeic words.
- 2) Generally in Yawuru words retroflex consonants (except the rhotic *r*) rather rarely occupy word-initial position. Again, preverbs form an exception to this. Of the 21 words that have initial *rd*, 15 (or 71%) are preverb items.
- 3) Velar stop is usually devoiced in word-initial position. Among the preverb items, however, word-initial voicing of the velar is not uncommon, as in *guly* 'deliver a baby', *gil* 'cut', *gilp* 'avoid taboo relatives', etc.
- 4) Long vowels occur more frequently in preverb items than in others.

Excepting items apparently derived from nominals, a large number of the preverbs are of onomatopoeic or ideophonic nature. Probably this would explain, at least partly, why they are often phonologically distinct from other parts of the lexicon. This also relates to the fact that a large number of preverbs are combined with the verb *dyu*, which by itself means 'say' (with an animate subject) or 'sound' (with an inanimate subject). Table 505 (above) provides a partial list of the preverbs that combine with *dyu* — the list is not exhaustive. It is not surprising that the verb 'say/sound' should combine with plain onomatopoeic, ideophonic and vocalisation terms. It is interesting, however, that such "sound expressions" are extended to gesture, action and mental processes.

5.3 Transitivity

5.3.1 Transitivity balance

Table 506 (below) shows the statistics of transitivity balance of Yawuru verbal expressions. It is notable that the proportion of transitive verbs among the simple verbs shows the reverse tendency among the complex verbs: 62% transitive and 34% intransitive for simple verbs, as against 38% transitive and 56% intransitive for complex verbs.¹⁶

As for the conjugation classes, no apparent tendencies have been found among the PV-carrying verbs. The only point that deserves mention here is that no alternative-prefixing takes place in complex verbs, although some of the complex verbs do involve a few finite verbs which are by themselves alternative-prefixing (4.8.1).

¹⁶ As for conjugation classes, no apparent tendencies have been found among the PV-carrying verbs. The only point that deserves mention here is that no alternative-prefixing occurs in complex verbs, although some of the complex verbs do involve a few verbs which are by themselves alternative-prefixing.

TABLE 506: Transitivity balance (type frequency)

	complex verbs	simple verbs	TOTAL
transitive	151 (38%)	66 (66%)	217 (45%)
semi-transitive	12 (56%)	3 (3%)	15 (3%)
intransitive	219 (56%)	31 (31%)	250 (52%)
TOTAL	382 (100%)	100 (100%)	482 (100%)

NOTE: Combinations of the same PV with various FVs are counted separately. Alternative-prefixing verbs (i.e. simple verbs that may change transitivity by carrying prefixes of different conjugation classes) are counted twice (i.e. both into transitive and intransitive — see Table 402A/B in chapter 4).

5.3.2 Complex verbs and clause types

Yawuru simple clauses can be classified into several construction types in terms of the patterns of case marking on the core argument NPs and the verb agreement (2.1.2; also see 10.1 for detail). PV constructions occur in all of the clause types. Given below are examples of the basic three clause types: [5] intransitive, [6] transitive and [7] semi-transitive (PVs and \sqrt{V} s are in boldface).¹⁷

- [5] **Yardap** + *i-ny-dyu-n* **dyalangardi-ngarr.**
 crawl+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF sand.goanna-like
 'He crawled like a sand goanna.'
- [6] **Dyanga-ni** **gil** + *i-ny-dyu-nda-ngayu* **buya-gun.**
 oyster_i-ERG cut+3_i-EN-AUX(say)-PF-1ACC_j reef-LOC
 'An oyster_i cut me_j; (i.e. I had my leg cut by an oyster shell) on the reef.'
- [7] *Kangadyunu-yi ngarrung-garra lingkka* + *yaga-rry-dyi*¹⁸-*nda bambi yadiri-ni.*
 those(3"PL)-DAT people_i-PL(DAT) wait+12"_j-AGM-AUX(be)-PF long.time 12"_j-ERG
 'We_j have been waiting for them_i; for a long time.'

An important point here is that the transitivity of a complex verb predicate (PV+FV) is not necessarily determined by the transitive value of the FV involved. A verb which functions transitively when used as a simple verb (i.e. without carrying preverb) may be a component of a PV+FV complex which as a whole functions intransitively or semi-transitively. Such is the case with *mardaly +ka* 'ABS be noisy' [+CARRY], where the transitive verb *ka* 'ERG carry ABS' is involved in the intransitive predicate. It also happens, on the other hand, that a transitive or semi-transitive PV+FV predicate involves an FV which by itself functions as an intransitive verb. Such is the case with the verb *ni* 'be' (intransitive): *bidyara +ni* 'ERG listen to ABS'¹⁹ (transitive), *maldyan +ni* 'ERG support DAT' (semi-transitive). Similarly, *ngara* 'become' (intransitive) turns to semi-transitive in the complex verb *lani +ngara* 'ERG approach DAT':

¹⁷ Quasi-passive construction is also observable with complex verbs, e.g. [9c] cited in 5.3.3. See 10.2.4 for more examples and discussion.

¹⁸ *dyi* is a suppletive root for the plural paradigm of *ni* 'be' (see 4.5.2; cf. footnote 25 in this chapter).

¹⁹ The object (i.e. person listened to) may be case-marked as ablative. Then the complex verb *bidyara +ni* tends to mean 'overhear, wiretap'.

- [8] *Lani + i-ngara-rn-dyanu* *ginyangka-ni.*
 close+3-AUX(become)-IMPF-1DAT 3-ERG
 'He is approaching me.' (cf. 8.3.4.1)

5.3.3 Variable transitivity

Another point that should be noticed in sentences [5] (intransitive) and [6] (transitive) above is that both intransitive and transitive clauses involve the same verb root *dyu* 'say'. Similar cases are found in Table 505 presented earlier: the verb 'say' is employed to form the intransitive *wanak +dyu* 'ABS be at a loss', on the one hand, and the semi-transitive *dyakad +dyu* 'ERG approach DAT', on the other.²⁰ In the case of *dyu* 'say', it seems that the transitivity value of a PV +*dyu* is determined rather in an idiosyncratic manner for each pair of PV and FV. In [9a-c], the same pair (*laar +dyu*) reveals different clause types: [9a] is intransitive, [9b] transitive and [9c] quasi-passive:

- [9] a. *Laar + i-ny-dyu-n* *wubardu-dyina.*²¹
 crack+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF little-GEN
 'It (the spear) has a small crack in it.'
- b. *Laar + i-ny-dyu-n-ngayu* *nyamba-ni dila wanangarri.*
 crack+3_i-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF-1ACC; this-ERG hard stone(ERG);
 'The stony surface (of the path) cracked me (i.e. wounded my feet).'
- c. *Laar + nga-ny-dyu-nda* *munyu dila-ni wanangarri.*
 crack+1-EN-AUX(say)-PF knee(ABS) hard-ERG stone(ERG)
 'I got my knees wounded by the hard stone (i.e. the stony surface of the path).'

The data on the complex verbs examined so far suggest that in Yawuru the verbs (or verb roots) have no fixed transitivity value. This seems to be contrary to many other Australian languages (cf. Dixon 1980:278, 378).²²

5.4 Morphological expansion of preverbs

Preverbs have been defined as the "unconjugated" part of complex verbs. This only means that preverbs do not carry verbal inflexions.²³ PV may, however, carry non-verbal inflexions.

²⁰ In Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:184f) some preverb constructions (Tsunoda's "verb complexes") involve a transitive verb but function intransitively.

²¹ See 6.3.5 for the idiomatic use of the genitive form *wubardu-dyina* '(1) just a little bit (as in [9a] above); (2) for a little while (see example [10c] in this chapter)'.
²² A limited number of simple verbs alternate their transitivity values without the prefix alternation: e.g. *k*ami* can mean 'giggle' (intransitive) or 'ERG laugh at ABS' (transitive) — see 4.8.5.2 (cf. 10.8.2). Also see footnote 56 in chapter 7 (re: example [86]) for the intransitive use of the transitive verb *ra* 'spear'.

²³ Exceptions to this are a very limited number of preverb roots which are fully conjugatable as simple finite verbs, such as *midyala* 'stand up, rise', *yinydya* 'go' (cf. 8.3.3.1), *bukarri* 'dream' and *maladya* 'support' (see 4.10.2 for sample sentences). A few cases of conjugatable preverbs are also reported from Wunambal (Vászolyi 1976:640).

5.4.1 Nominal markers on preverbs

5.4.1.1 Overview

Semantically preverbs are like verbs: they refer to action, state or change of state, rather than to tangible things. Morphologically, however, Yawuru preverbs behave more like nominals: preverbs may carry a case marker, a nominal derivational suffix or an enclitic (2.2.2). In contrast to preverbs (or equivalents) in Warlpiri, Nyikina or Djaru, a relatively wide range of case marking and other morphological expansions of preverbs are permitted in Yawuru.²⁴ This constitutes a major morphological characteristic of Yawuru preverbs. The following are examples with the preverb *kurlin* 'sleep':

- [10] a. *Kamba mabu kurlin + i-nga*²⁵-rn rumarra-gun yila.
 that^ well sleep+3_i-AUX(be)-IMPF sun-LOC ^dog(ABS)
 'The dog is sound asleep in the sunshine.'
- b. *Ngadyi kurlin-dyi + mi-ngara-rn, dyira.*
 whether sleep-DAT+2_i -AUX(become)-IMPF little.boy(ABS)_i
 'Are you sleepy, little boy?'
- c. *Kurlin-ngarn + nga-rndira-rn wubardu-dyina.*²⁶
 sleep-ALLAT + 1-AUX(go)-IMPF little-GEN
 'I'm going to take a rest (lying down) for a little while.'
- d. *Nga-na-rli-nda yalirra, kurlin-bardu + i-nga-rn ginyangka.*
 1-TR-eat-PF before sleep-still+3-AUX(be)-IMPF 3(ABS)
 'I ate first while he was still asleep.'
- e. *Barril + i-ngara-nda kurlin-gap.*
 awake+3-AUX(become)-PF sleep-ABL
 'He woke up.'
- f. *Mi-ya-ma-lar'dyi kurlin-nyurdany.*
 2-IRR-INT-forget sleep-CAUS
 'You might forget about it if you sleep now.' (So stay awake!)
- g. *Malybar + i-ngara-rn baba kurlin-dyi.*
 tired+3_i-AUX(become)-IMPF child(ABS)_i sleep-DAT
 'The child is tired and feels like sleeping.'

Morphological expansions occur both on predicate preverbs (as in [10b-d]) and on non-predicate preverbs (as in [10e-g]). Case markers and other bound forms that may be attached to a predicate preverb are:

²⁴ In his detailed study of the Warlpiri preverbs Nash points out (1982:174f) that "[semi-productive and non-derived preverbs] do not take any nominal or verbal inflexion, and do not occur uncombined with a verb root". In Nyikina, preverbs may occur uncombined with a verb. As Stokes points out (1982:193-196), however, only those preverb items (called "verbal-nominals" by Stokes) that are not functioning as a prestem (i.e. as a part of a predicate verb) can occur with case markers. In Djaru, only a limited number of nominal suffixing on predicate preverbs are attested (Tsunoda 1981:189).

²⁵ *nga* is another suppletive root for the non-future minimal conjugations of *ni* 'be' (see footnote 18 in this chapter).

²⁶ See footnote 21 above (re: the use of *wubardu-dyina*).

dative (DAT)	-dyi ~ -yi ²⁷	'start to ...' (6.2.8)
allative (ALLAT)	-ngarn	'going to ...' (cf. 6.6.3)
aspectual	-bardu	'still ...ing' (8.2.1.2.(2))
limitative	-manydyan	'only' (8.4.5.2)
resolutive	-da	'surely, no doubt' (8.5.3.2)
dual (DL)	-milidyarri	'by the two; to each other' (2.4.2.3)

The following case markers are attachable to non-predicate preverbs, usually forming an adverbial phrase:

causal (CAUS)	-nyurdany	'because of'
instrumental (INST)	-barri	'while ...ing'
ablative (ABL)	-gap	'from ...ing' ²⁸
locative (LOC)	-gun	'so that ...' (purpose)
dative (DAT)	-dyi ~ -yi	'so that ...' (consequence) ²⁹

5.4.1.2 Dative inchoative

The dative marking on a predicate preverb usually marks an inchoative aspect 'start to ...', as in [11b] below (or at least near-inchoative 'about to ...' as in [10b] above).³⁰

- [11] a. *dyirrmu + i-ny-dyu-n*
sing+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
's/he sings, s/he is singing'
- b. *dyirrmu-yi + i-ny-dyu-n*
sing-DAT+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
's/he starts to sing'

The attachment of the dative marker to preverbs is not the only way to give an inchoative meaning to predicates. Another strategy is to alternate finite verbs, with or without dative marking to the preverb:

- [12] a. *Liyan + nga-nga-rn-dyina bibi-yi dyanu.*
feel+1_i-AUX(be)-IMPF-3DAT_j; mother_j-(DAT) 1(GEN)
'I_i am worried about my mother_j.' <STATIVE>
- b. *Miliya liyan + i-na-nya-rn-ngayu bibi-yi dyanu.*
now feel+3_k-AUX(catch)-IMPF-1ACC_i; mother_j-DAT 1(GEN)
'I_i got worried about my mother_j.'
(It_k made me_i start to worry...) <INCHOATIVE>
- c. *Liyan-dyi + nga-ngara-rn-dyina bibi-yi dyanu.*
feel-DAT+1_i-AUX(become)-IMPF-3DAT_j; mother_j-DAT 1(GEN)
'I started to worry about my mother.' <INCHOATIVE>

²⁷ The fortis allomorph -dyi [ɖi] follows a consonant and the lenis allomorph -yi [e] follows a vowel (see 3.8.4).

²⁸ The following paraphrase, provided by an informant, gives us a clear picture:
Midyala + i-nga-nda, burd + i-ny-dyu-n. 'He was sitting, (and then) he stood up.'
sitting+3-AUX(be)-PF rise+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
= *Burd + i-ny-dyu-n midyala-gap.* 'He stood up from sitting.'
rise+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF sitting-ABL

²⁹ There are also non-consecutive uses, which we don't have space to deal with here in detail. Case marking on predicate preverbs is observable only with the intransitive or semi-transitive complex verbs; no instances are so far attested with transitive complex verbs.

³⁰ In Djaru, the dative marker when attached to a preverb produces a purposive meaning 'for ...ing, in order to ...' (Tsunoda 1981:181). This is realised in Yawuru by allative marking on preverbs.

Compare [12b] with [12c] above. [12b] is roughly equivalent to [12c], where the inchoative aspect is indicated by the verb *ngara* 'become' as well as the dative marker attached to the preverb.³¹

It should be pointed out here that Yawuru has no morphological strategy to mark a single finite verb as inchoative. The explicit inchoative encoding (either by dative marking or by FV alternation) is possible only in complex verbs. This is a point which has something to do with the optimisation of grammar caused by the preferred use of preverb constructions, which we shall discuss later in 5.7. Also later, we shall discuss further the functions of FV alternation (5.5.3). Briefly given below are instances of some other nominal marking on preverbs.

5.4.1.3 Other marking on predicate preverbs

(1) Allative

Allative marking on a predicate preverb indicates a near future action or a motivation of the current action, usually implying some motion of the actor, as exemplified in [10c] given earlier.

(2) Dual

The dual suffix *-milidyarri* (2.4.2.3) indicates that the action involves two people as subject, usually implying a reciprocal action (cf. 4.6).

- [13] *Gilp-milidyarri + inga-rr-garna-nda darlu-ngarr.*
 avoid-DL + 3"-AGM-go-PF WM-like
 'They went without looking at each other as if they were taboo relatives.'³²

(3) Limitative

The limitative clitic *-manydyan* (~ *-manyan*) delimits the action either qualitatively or quantitatively (8.4.5.2).

- [14] *Kabu-gadya-manyan + mi-nga-rn dyarriny-gun buru.*
 eat-INTENS-**only**+2-AUX(be)-IMPF all-LOC time(LOC)
 'You are always just eating (and don't work at all!)
- [15] *Rdarnku-manydyan + wal-a-ma, marlu rdii + wal-a-ra.*
 bend-**only** + 2FUT-TR-put not break+2FUT-TR-AUX(spear)
 'Just bend it; don't break it.'

5.4.1.4 Causal

The causal case marker *-nyurdany* (6.9) added to a preverb indicates the cause or reason of the state expressed by the main predicate. For example, the unmarked preverb *wit* in [16a] is a part of the main predicate, while in [16b] *wit* carries the

³¹ [12c] is an elicited sentence; apparently it does not sound so natural as [12b], which was recorded as a spontaneous utterance.

³² See 1.1.4 for a brief account of the mother-in-law (WM) taboo and the meanings of the word *gilp*.

case marker *-nyurdany* and functions as an adverbial phrase referring to the cause of the extinction of the fire.

- [16] a. *Wit + nga-ny-dyu-n* *kamba dyungku (ngayu-ni), i-miri-rn.*
 smother+1-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF that fire(ABS) 1-ERG 3-finish-IMPF
 'I extinguished the fire.'
- b. *Wit-nyurdany k*alaa dyungku i-miri-rn.*
 smother-CAUS finish fire(ABS) 3-finish-IMPF
 'The fire got extinguished by the smothering.' (Agent of the smothering is unmentioned.)

5.4.1.5 Derivational suffixes on non-predicate preverbs

Nominal derivational suffixes are also observed to go with preverb items in non-predicate function. The suffix *-dyinaburu*, for example, is attached to a stem and derives a noun which means 'something utilised for ...(ing)' (see 6.12.1). Instances of a preverb plus *-dyinaburu* include:

<i>kurlin-dyinaburu</i>	'bed'	(<i>kurlin +ni</i> 'sleep' [+BE])
<i>kanydyirr-dyinaburu</i>	'looking glass'	(<i>kanydyirr +dyu</i> 'see' [+SAY])
<i>makan-dyinaburu</i>	'table'	(<i>makan +ni</i> 'eat' [+BE])
<i>maldyu-dyinaburu</i>	'toy'	(<i>maldyu +ni</i> 'smile, play' [+BE])
<i>yinydya-dyinaburu</i>	'swag'	(<i>yinydya +rrndira</i> 'go' [+GO])
<i>dudyul-dyinaburu</i>	'hammer'	(<i>dudyul +dyu</i> 'hit with stone' [+SAY])

It should be pointed out here that traditionally Yawuru had no strategy to nominalise a verb root. Preverb plus *-dyinaburu* partially fills this gap.³³

5.4.2 The intensifier *-gadya*

Apart from the nominal marking sketched so far, the most common expansional element attached to Yawuru preverbs is the suffix *-gadya* (cf. 10.6.5).

5.4.2.1 Intensity

The main function of *-gadya* when attached to a predicate preverb is apparently that of marking the intensity of action (INTENS):³⁴

- [18] a. *Wangkurr + i-ny-dyu-nda bunydya.*
 cry + 3-EN-AUX(say)-PF slow
 'He was weeping.' ("slow" means 'not loudly, not violently')
- b. *Wangkurr-gadya dyalykurr i-nga-nda.*
 cry-INTENS baby(ABS) 3-AUX(be)-PF
 'The baby was crying aloud.'

It should be noted that a predicate PV marked with *-gadya* usually requires an FV different from the one required by the unmarked PV. The marking in

³³ See 6.12 for other instances of a preverb item plus a nominal derivational suffix (e.g. *-dyinaburu*, *-dany*, *-ngurru* and *-dyunu*).

³⁴ In this section, we deal mainly with the *-gadya* marking on predicate preverbs. The marker may also occur on non-predicate preverbs, in which case its function is to mark a simultaneous action (SIMUL). Nyikina has *-gaya* (called "LIKE suffix" by Stokes; apparently cognate of the Yawuru *-gadya*) to express an activity in progress (Stokes 1982:342-5). In Yawuru, *-gadya* can also be attached to an embedded interrogative (see 10.6.4).

question, however, does not affect the transitivity values of the predicate (cf. 5.5.3.2).

In the following example, *-gadya* indicates a strong intention or resolution of the actor:

- [19] *Yaardi yalku-gadya (+ i-nga-nda).*
 (name) stand-INTENS +3-AUX(be)-PF
 'Yardie wouldn't sit down. (He insisted on keeping standing.)'

5.4.2.2 Aspect marking

Notice in the instances given below that the intensity sometimes implies a progressive aspect:

<i>kabu +dyu</i>	'eat' [+SAY]	<ACTIVE>
<i>kabu-gadya +ni</i>	'be (still) eating' [+BE] or 'be devouring' [+BE]	<PROGRESSIVE> <INTENSIVE & PROGRESSIVE>
<i>maldyu +dyu</i>	'smile' [+SAY]	<ACTIVE>
<i>maldyu +ni</i>	'be smiling' [+BE]	<STATIVE>
<i>maldyu-gadya +ni</i>	'be laughing' [+BE]	<INTENSIVE & PROGRESSIVE>

The last item above should be compared with the non-progressive intensive complex verb *yangkayi +dyu* 'burst into laughter' [+SAY].

In a number of instances, *-gadya* marks repetition of the action (iterative) or the high frequency of the action taking place (frequentative):

<i>dungkar +dyu</i>	'nod' [+SAY]	
<i>dungkar(a)-gadya +ni</i>	'nod repeatedly' [+BE]	<ITERATIVE>
<i>dirlady +dyu</i>	'disobey' [+SAY]	
<i>dirlady-gadya +ni</i>	'always disobey' [+BE]	<FREQUENTATIVE>

5.4.2.3 Collectivity

In [20] and [21], *-gadya* indicates the collectivity of action: e.g. in [21] the act of dancing is performed by a group of dancers, not by a single dancer.

- [20] *Warduardu-gadya + inga-rry-dyi-n* *kamba aami-garra.*
 lie.on.stomach-INTENS+3"-AGM-AUX(be)-IMPF that Army/E-PL(ABS)
 'Soldiers are lying down (together) on their stomachs.' (The speaker describes a scene in an Australian Army promotion video on TV; see 8.4.1)
- [21] *Bulp-gadya + inga-rry-dyi-n.*
 dance-INTENS+3"-AGM-AUX(say)-IMPF
 'They were dancing.'

Compare [21] above with [21'], which is an imperative, the marker *-gadya* is not required (and is not acceptable, either) despite the meaning of intensity involved.

- [21'] *Bulp(-*gadya) + wal-dyu* *dyirril.*
 dance(-*INTENS)+2FUT-AUX(say) hard
 'You dance harder!'

5.4.24 Occurrence of the marker *-gadya*

With some preverbs, *-gadya* is optional (with various kinds of semantic modifications outlined above), as we have seen with *wangkurr(-gadya)* 'weeping (> crying)', *maldyu(-gadya)* 'smiling (> laughing)', etc. Other instances include:

<i>bilady</i>	'shining, reflecting'	>	<i>bilady-gadya</i>	'glittering, glaring'
<i>bili</i>	'being angry'	>	<i>bili-gadya</i>	'having a fight'
<i>kadity</i>	'scratching'	>	<i>kadity-gadya</i>	'scratching, tearing'
<i>dyurrrp</i>	'submerging'	>	<i>dyurrrp-gadya</i>	'swimming'

With some other preverbs the marking is obligatory (i.e. no use of the bare stem without *-gadya* is recorded):

- [22] a. *Wuurl-gadya + i-nga-rn yila dyanu.*
 howl-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-IMPF dog(ABS) 1(GEN)
 'My dog is howling.'
- b. **Wuurl i-nga-rn (yila dyanu).*

Other PV items always occurring with *-gadya* are:

<i>dadyil-gadya</i>	'skipping'
<i>yikid-gadya</i>	'limping'
<i>ngurr-gadya</i>	'growling'
<i>ngarnan-gadya</i>	'being embarrassed, bewildered'
<i>k*adaty-gadya</i>	'wondering'

There is also the third class, i.e. preverb items on which *-gadya* is unacceptable:³⁵

<i>baku</i>	'coming'	(* <i>baku-gadya</i>)
<i>yinydya</i>	'going'	(* <i>yinydya-gadya</i>)
<i>marrkun</i>	'being hungry'	(* <i>marrkun-gadya</i>)
<i>binybal</i>	'(having) a pain'	(* <i>binybal-gadya</i>)

The variation in the acceptability of the *-gadya* probably relates to the semantic fact that some verbal expressions are inherently intensive (such as growling, being embarrassed, etc.), iterative (limping, skipping, etc.) or continuative (howling, wondering, etc.). It is noted that many of the adjective-like stative preverbs (such as being hungry) cannot combine with the intensity marker *-gadya*.

It is also a notable fact that *-gadya* does not co-occur with the nominal markers, which are observed elsewhere to go with preverbs. This becomes clear if we return to the inchoative dative marking discussed earlier (5.4.1.2). The preverb *yirrkkan-gadya* 'hiccupping' is one of the preverbs which are usually accompanied by *-gadya*. However, when the dative marker is attached to the preverb, *-gadya* disappears. Therefore,

<i>yirrkkan-gadya +ni</i>	'hiccup' [+BE]
<i>yirrkkan-dyi +ngara</i>	'start to hiccup' [+BECOME]
* <i>yirrkkan-dyi-gadya</i>	
* <i>yirrkkan-gadya-yi</i>	

³⁵ To emphasise the intensity (degree) of the hunger, pain, etc., an adverb *naarli* 'true/truly, very much' is employed (see 8.1.1.3 and 8.5.3.1).

The bare stem **yirrkān* never occurs, either. In the case of *wangkurr*, with which *-gadya* is optional (see 5.4.2.1), a semantic neutralisation is observed in the inchoative:

- [23] *Kamba dyira wangkurr-dyi + i-ngara-rn, i-ny-dyalku-nda.*
 that boy(ABS); cry/weep-DAT+3;-AUX(become)-IMPF 3;-EN-fall-PF
 'The boy started crying, as he fell down.'

Although in [23] the context tells us that the boy started crying rather loudly, the phrase *wangkurr-dyi +ngara* by itself may mean either 'start to cry aloud' or 'start to sob' (not so loudly). Therefore, in the datively marked form *wangkurr-dyi*, a neutralisation of *wangkurr* 'weeping, sobbing' (non-intensive) and *wangkurr-gadya* 'crying, blubbering' (intensive) takes place (also see [28b] in 5.5.3.3). Double-marked forms (such as **wangkurr-gadya-yi* or **wangkurr-dyi-gadya*) are unacceptable.³⁶

5.4.25 Reduplication vs *-gadya* marking

The semantic effects of the *-gadya* marking to preverbs are often very similar to those of the reduplication of preverbs (9.2.7). However, reduplication and *-gadya* marking result in slightly different semantic derivations. For example, *rdirdirl +dyu* 'stumble' [+SAY] has a reduplicated form *rdirdirl-rdirdirl +dyu* 'spin around, roll around' [+SAY] (as "rolypoly" in a strong wind), whereas *rdirdirl-gadya +rndira* means 'totter, stagger' [+GO].³⁷

We have seen earlier that a PV with *-gadya* often requires a different FV than the one which combines with the unmarked form of the same PV. It is also fairly common (but not necessarily always the case) for a reduplicated PV to take a different FV. Typical examples are:

<i>dudyul +dyu</i>	'hit' [+SAY]
<i>dudyul-dudyul +dyu</i>	'hit repeatedly' [+SAY]
<i>dudyul-dudyul +ra</i>	'smash' [+SPEAR]
<i>*dudyul +ra</i>	
<i>ngarp +ngara</i>	'float' [+BECOME]
<i>ngarp-ngarp +rndira</i>	'be floating' [+GO]
<i>ngarp-ngarp +dyu</i>	'simmer' [+SAY]
<i>*ngarp +dyu / +rndira</i>	
<i>*ngarp-ngarp +ngara</i>	

³⁶ There is one exception to this: *wuurl-gadya +ni* 'howl' [+BE], as in:

Wuurl-gadya-yi + i-ngara-rn kamba yila.
 howl-INTENS-DAT +3-AUX(become)-IMPF that dog(ABS)

'The dog started to howl.'

A regularly predicted form **wuurl-dyi (ingararn)* was rejected by the informants. A bare stem form **wuurl* is also unacceptable (see [22b]).

³⁷ There are a few cases where reduplication nominalises a preverb. Instances are given in 9.2.2.3. Those may be considered, too, to carry a connotation of intensity or frequency.

5.5 Semantics of PV-FV pairing

5.5.1 Balance of lexico-semantic load

In the analyses of languages which have a predicate structure morphologically more or less equivalent to the Yawuru complex verbs (PV+FV), it has often been asserted that the unconjugated word (sc. preverb or particle) carries a lexical-semantic load while the conjugated word (e.g. finite verb, auxiliary, etc.) carries a syntactic-grammatical load.³⁸ Such a picture, however, holds true only very broadly. As a matter of fact, in most (possibly all) of the languages with the complex verb construction (including the so-called "particle-plus-auxiliary construction"), there are cases in which an FV (or AUX) does carry a fair portion of the lexical meaning.³⁹

In the Yawuru complex verbs some FVs (such as *ni* 'be', *dyu* 'say' and *ngara* 'become') are often lexically neutralised and seem to carry little lexico-semantic load. What is encoded in these auxiliary-like FVs (apart from such finite information as person, number, tense, aspect and mood) is, in general terms, a type of process expressed by the PV+FV phrase.⁴⁰ Some other Yawuru FVs, on the other hand, retain to a varied degree their lexico-semantic values and contribute to the total meaning of the complex verb. Such is the case with *ma* 'put', *ka* 'carry', *rndira* 'go', and *nya* 'catch'. Most cases of the Yawuru complex verbs show a combined semantic loading both on PV and on FV. In a relatively large number of cases, the PV carries a heavy semantic load, but in some cases FVs do as well.

What is important from the linguistic point of view, then, is the question of what the semantic basis of PV-FV pairing is. Is there any regular manner in which the meanings of a PV and that of an FV are combined into the configurational meaning of PV+FV? It seems that quite a few cases of the Yawuru complex verbs provide a lexical meaning somewhat different from the mere total of the lexical meanings of the component PVs and FVs. With regard to the complex verbs of various Australian languages, Dixon (1980:280) pointed out:

³⁸ Vászolyi (1976:637), for example, states that in Wunambal a "head-verb" (= preverb) functions "as the semantic nucleus of a compound and carries its lexical meaning". Tsunoda (1981:183) states that in a large number of "Verb Complexes" (= PV+FV phrase) in Djaru, "only the preverb carries the semantic load. Here, the verb is more or less neutralised semantically (and its main function appears to be the carrying of a conjugational (tense/aspect/mood) ending)." Similar views are expressed by Yallop (1982:113), Capell (1976a:617), McGregor (1984:155-159) and Silverstein (1986:497).

³⁹ Metcalf's three-fold semantic typology of Bardi "prestem verbs" (=PV+FV) relates to this (Metcalf 1975:56-60). Also related are Tsunoda's loose/close typology of Djaru preverbs (Tsunoda 1981:185-190) and Nash's productive/semi-productive/non-productive typology of Warlpiri preverbs (Nash 1982:176f).

⁴⁰ Sharpe (1976:713) points out, with reference to Alawa, that the auxiliaries of a certain semantic type occur with a large number of "verb particles" (=preverbs) of the same semantic type: e.g. Aux 'go' and 'come' occur with a large number of motion verb particles and Aux 'be' with most stative verb particles; Yallop (1982:114), too, points out that "[i]n effect, the auxiliaries divide verbs into semantic groups -- a 'going' set, a 'doing' set, a 'holding' set, and so on".

"In some languages the semantic basis of compounding [i.e. pairing of a PV and an FV] appears quite systematic; in other languages it is difficult to find a semantic connection between many compound verbs and the meaning of the final element [i.e. FV], when used in isolation."

Even in one language, as a matter of fact, some PV-FV pairings show fairly systematic and productive semantic patterns, whereas there are usually others for which it is hard to find out any regular semantic connection between the coupled PV and FV. The phenomenon, then, should not be seen as a variation between languages so much as a variation among the verbal lexicon within a language.^{40A}

To give an example of Yawuru, the choice of the verb *ka* 'carry, bring, take away' as in the complex verbs below is fairly straightforward:

<i>nganybi +ka</i>	'hold at/by the side of one's body (or underarm)'
<i>ngandya +ka</i>	'carry in the mouth' (as dogs)
<i>muluq +ka</i>	'shift it'
<i>wirrb +ka</i>	'oppose' (carry grudge against somebody)

In these cases the lexical contribution of the verb 'carry' to the PV+FV lexical configuration is, to use an impressionistic term, transparent. In other instances, however, the semantic basis of the choice of the same FV is not so transparent:

<i>wirrp +ka</i>	'smash it, hit it hard'
<i>mardaly +ka</i>	'make noise, be noisy'
<i>darayim +ka</i>	'try' (from English "try him")

Notice, even in the "transparent" cases, that the transparency of the componential meaning of the FV is no more than a matter of degree. In saying *nganybi inakarn* 's/he holds it underarm', the actor does not need to be actually carrying (moving). The state of sitting with a baby on one's arm, for instance, may be expressed by the preverb *nganybi* plus the verb *ka* 'carry'.

5.5.2 Types of semantic loading

Several types of semantic loading in Yawuru PV-FV pairing are outlined below.

5.5.2.1 Meaning-carrying preverbs

The first group are those pairs in which the lexico-semantic load lies mainly (if not totally) on PV.

<i>yardap +dyu</i>	(Vi) 'crawl, creep' [+SAY]
<i>gamat +dyu</i>	(Vi) 'blossom, bear fruit' [+SAY] ⁴¹
<i>wirrp +ka</i>	(Vt) 'smash' [+CARRY]
<i>dyaliny +ka</i>	(Vt) 'salute' [+CARRY]
<i>ngambarl +ma</i>	(Vt) 'hug, embrace' [+PUT]

^{40A} Rumsey (1982b:117-120) discusses this issue with reference to complex verbs in Ungarinjin.

⁴¹ This is a borrowing of English "come out". Yawuru today has a large number of English-derived preverb expressions (2.2.4). The choice of the FV to go with loan words may be a good clue to the semantic principles that underlie the pairings of PV and FV.

5.5.2.2 Meaning-specifying preverbs

The second semantic type of PV-FV pairing involves meaning-specifying preverbs; the meaning of the FV is not so neutralised as in the meaning-carrying preverbs. A good example is the verb *ra*. This verb, when used as a simple verb, means 'spear, pierce or stab (by spear or some other staff)'⁴² However, by examining the meanings of the complex verbs which involve the verb *ra*, it becomes clear that the core meaning (or primordial meaning) of this verb is much less specific, covering a broad range of meaning such as 'emit or eject something', 'discharge, give outlet to something', or 'release some power'. A common element seems to be that such emission is realised by a relatively quick action. The combined preverbs further specify the meanings of the PV+FV phrase.⁴³

<i>guly +ra</i>	(Vt) 'deliver (give birth to) a baby'
<i>dyiin +ra</i>	(Vt) 'point to/at, show with a finger'
<i>garndya +ra</i>	(Vt) 'push aside'
<i>dyad +ra</i>	(Vt) 'stab'
<i>karrydya +ra</i>	(Vm) 'get outraged'
<i>malyku +ra</i>	(Vm) 'envy, be jealous of'
<i>yakul +ra</i>	(Vi) 'fester, get pussy'
<i>garrada +ra</i>	(Vi) 'ejaculate, have sexual ecstasy'

Intriguingly, Yawuru has compound (polymorphic) verb roots *kumbira* 'urinate' (Vt, I), *kilbira* 'charm, sing (incantation)' (Vm, I) and *dyurdra* 'bump, touch (unintentionally)' (Vt, I), all having a root final element *-ra*. Semantically these fall into the same type as the complex verbs with *ra*, and are inflected in the same conjugation class. Also notable is the fact that the reduplicated forms of these polymorphic verbs are not **kumbira-kumbira*, **kilbira-kilbira*, etc., but *kumbi-kumbira*, *kilbi-kilbira*, etc. (9.3.3.1), which strongly suggests the compound nature of these roots. However, no independent lexical items such as **kumbi* or **kilbi* have been recorded either as preverb or in any other function in Yawuru.⁴⁴

5.5.2.3 Meaning-combining preverbs

This type reveals compound meanings. Although the main semantic load seems to be charged on PVs, the meaning of the FVs is not so neutralised as in the meaning-carrying and meaning-specifying preverbs. Some are highly idiomatic. Consider, for example:

⁴² The verb is usually translated by informants to the Kriol verb (s)pirr-um (i.e. spear him).

⁴³ Nash's discussion on "semantic dilution" (or generalisation) of the verb roots when combined with preverbs (Nash 1982:177-180) is suggestive in this connection.

⁴⁴ These may be found in other Australian languages. The Yawuru *kumbira*, for example, is probably related to the Common Australian nominal item **gumbu* 'urine' (see 4.10.1) — e.g. *numbal* in Nyawaygi, (w)umpu in Uradhi, *kunpuku* in Yukulta, and *kumpu* in Walmatjarri, Djaru, Kukatja and Watjari.

<i>nyiwa +ngara</i>	(Vi) 'faint' [+BECOME]	(<i>nyiwa</i> 'feeble')
<i>wirkany +ka</i>	(Vi) 'elope' [+CARRY]	(<i>wirkany</i> 'elopement')
<i>bukarri +rndira</i>	(Vm) 'dream about DAT' [+GO]	(<i>bukarri</i> 'dream')
<i>narli +ma</i>	(Vt) 'believe, trust' [+PUT]	(<i>narli</i> 'true, truly')
<i>rayi +ni-ngany</i>	(Vt) 'keep in secret' [+HOLD]	(<i>rayi</i> 'spirit')
<i>rurrrp +ø</i>	(Vt) 'revenge' [+GIVE]	(<i>rurrrp</i> 'in return')
<i>kurrrp +nya</i>	(Vt) 'scoop up' [+CATCH]	(<i>kurrrp</i> 'cupped palm')
<i>biyi +lurra</i>	(Vt) 'cook (meat) [+BURN]	(<i>bii</i> 'ripe, cooked')
<i>dyiikan +ø</i>	(Vt) 'shake hands with' [+GIVE]	(from "shake hands")
<i>ridi +nya</i>	(Vt) 'prepare' [+CATCH]	(from "ready")
<i>dyakul +ni</i>	(Vi) 'have a cramped leg' [+BE]	(<i>dyakul</i> 'circle')

5.5.24 Meaning-sharing preverbs

The fourth type consists of a limited number of meaning-sharing pairs, which show a semantic overlap between the PV and the coupled FV:

<i>yinydya +rndira</i>	(Vi) 'go, set out' [+GO]
<i>dyunku +mirdibi</i>	(Vi) 'run' [+RUN AWAY]
<i>baku +bula</i>	(Vi) 'come' [+COME]
<i>baku +rndira</i>	(Vi) 'come' [+GO]
<i>dap +nya</i>	(Vt) 'snatch, catch something thrown' [+CATCH]
<i>kanydyirr +bura</i>	(Vt) 'gaze' [+SEE]
<i>?kabu +rli</i>	(Vt) 'eat' [+EAT]

Such meaning sharing seems to be rather restricted in Yawuru. An informant did not accept the combination of *kabu* with the verb *rli* 'eat' and preferred *kabu +dyu* 'eat' [+SAY], which is more widely used. The complex verb *kanydyirr +bura* 'gaze' [+SEE] above is used only when it refers to an act of gazing or staring, rather than merely looking or seeing. In the latter case the verb *dyu* 'say' is employed to go with the preverb *kanydyirr*.⁴⁵ Similarly, *dyunku +mirdibi* is distinguished from *dyunku +dyu* 'dash, rush' [+SAY] (cf. Table 507).

There are in Yawuru many other cases where a preverb has a semantically corresponding single verb which has roughly the same meaning as the preverb. However, with the exception of the above given pairings, the logically possible meaning-sharing complex verbs, such as listed below, are unacceptable:

<i>nila +ni / *+langka</i>	'know' [+BE] / *+[KNOW]
<i>gil +dyu / *+bali / *+bilka</i>	'cut' [+SAY] / *+[CUT]/*+[HIT]
<i>wangkurr-gadya +ni / *+luka</i>	'cry' [+BE] / *+[CRY]
<i>yimbal +dyu / *+kilbira</i>	'sing' [+SAY] / *+[SING]
<i>dyirrmu +dyu / *+kilbira</i>	'sing' [+SAY] / *+[SING]
<i>bidybidy +dyu / ?+rba</i>	'follow' [+SAY] / ?+[FOLLOW]

⁴⁵ Intensity of the act of looking (gazing) may also be expressed by attaching *-gadya* to the preverb (but with the stative verb *ni* 'be' instead of *bura* 'see' or *dyu* 'say').

5.5.3 FV alternation

5.5.3.0 General remarks

A particular PV may be coupled alternatively with several different verbs, with corresponding alternation of the meanings.⁴⁶ In the current database of Yawuru, 63 (or 21%) out of the 305 PV items show such FV alternation (i.e. these 63 items are recorded in combination with two or more FVs).⁴⁷ Other PVs (79%) appear only with a single, particular FV.⁴⁸ In some cases, the FV alternation produces only a minimum semantic difference, probably a stylistic one:

- [24] a. *Dyiin + wal-a-ra* *dyana-layin.*
 point+2FUT-TR-AUX(spear) where-DIR
 'Show (by pointing) about where it was.'
- b. *Dyiin + inga-rr-a-dyu-n-ngayu* (*kangadyunu-ni*).
 point+3"-TR-AGM-AUX(say)-IMPF-1ACC 3"PL-ERG
 'They pointed at me.'

In [24a/b] the verb roots *ra* and *dyu* are exchangeable without affecting the lexical meanings. In the majority of instances, however, alternation of FV produces a relatively clear change (modification or addition) in the meaning of the predicate. Some of such semantically motivated FV alternations are systematic and productive; others seem to be lexically idiosyncratic and apparently non-productive. Three types of fairly regular patterns of FV alternation are sketched in the following subsections (5.5.3.1 to 5.5.3.3). Less systematic cases will be commented on later (5.5.3.4).

5.5.3.1 Aspectual specification

The first type has to do with the aspect of the verb. The verb *ni* 'be' is usually associated with stative, the verb *ngara* 'become' often with inchoative, *dyu* 'say, sound', telic or punctual aspect.

- [25] a. *Nimarla-milidyarri dyamurr + i-nga-rn.*
 hand-DL folded+3-AUX(**be**)-IMPF
 'He had his arms folded.' <STATIVE>
- b. *Dyamurr + wa-rr-ngara-aw* *yaw.*
 folded+2"FUT-AGM-AUX(**become**)-VOC hey
 'Hey, (come and) sit down in a circle!' <INCHOATIVE>

⁴⁶ This is also the case in most of the languages that have complex (PV+FV) verbal expressions: e.g. Gooniyandi (McGregor 1984:165), Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:181f), Ngarinyin (Rumsey 1982b:119), Warlpiri (Nash 1982:173), etc.

⁴⁷ Here we exclude the cases of dialectal variation in the choice of FV. Capell's unpublished Yawuru vocabulary contains PV-FV combinations different from those recorded by the present author: e.g. "yubudu ṅanaman" 'I catch (fish)' (spelling and gloss by Capell; the verb root is *ma* 'put') vs *yuburda nganydyun* 'I grab it' (my data; *ng* = "ŋ" of Capell; the verb root is *dyu* 'say'). Such a difference may be either a difference between the dialects recorded or due to the strong influence of Nyikina which is prominent in Capell's data. My Yawuru teachers turned down the pairing *yuburda +ma* as being "Nyikina talk".

⁴⁸ It might be, however, partly a lack of data. There are a number of highly probable PV-FV pairings which would make reasonable sense but the actual use of which has not been attested. It is likely that with a much larger corpus of data the cases of FV alternation would be more numerous.

- [26] a. *Miliya lip + nga-ny-dyu-n.*
 now remember+1-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
 'Now I remember!' (am reminded) <PUNCTUAL>⁴⁹
- b. *Lip + yang-ga-ni.*
 remember+1"-FUT-AUX(be)
 'We (EXCL) shall remember.' <STATIVE>

No morphological or syntactic measure exists for a simple verb to be marked with the inchoative aspect. In this regard, complex verbs are more productive than simple verbs (see 5.7).

5.5.3.2 Transitivity alternation

The second type of FV alternation relates to transitivity. Compare the two sentences below:

- [27] a. *Yangki-ni rdii + i-na-ra-nda nyamba.*
 who_i-ERG break+3_i-EN-AUX(spear)-PF this(ABS)_j
 'Who broke this?' <TRANSITIVE>
- b. *Yangki rdii + i-ny-dyu-nda.*
 what(ABS)_i break+3_i-EN-AUX(say)-PF
 'What was broken?' <INTRANSITIVE>

Here the preverb *rdii* 'breaking' is alternatively combined with the verbs *ra* 'spear' and *dyu* 'say': *rdii +ra* takes ERG-ABS case frame and functions as a transitive (Vt) predicate, whereas *rdii +dyu* functions as an intransitive (Vi) and therefore takes ABS-only case frame. Note that some preverbs form intransitive phrases with the verb *dyu* 'say', while some others form transitive phrases with the same verb (cf. 5.3.3):

<i>bany +dyu</i>	(Vi) 'bang, explode' [+SAY]
<i>bany +ma</i>	(Vt) 'shoot with gun' [+PUT]
<i>darlp +dyalku</i>	(Vi) 'die a sudden death' [+FALL] ^{49A}
<i>darlp +dyu</i>	(Vt) 'jump over' [+SAY] ⁵⁰

5.5.3.3 Causative formation

The third type is a causative formation by choosing the verb *ma* 'put' as FV. This may be considered a special case of transitivity-related FV alternation, as transitive verbs are often causative of the intransitive counterparts, as in the following cases:

<i>nyuwa +dyu</i>	(Vi) 'ABS shift' [+SAY] (animate subject)
<i>nyuwa +ma</i>	(Vt) 'ERG take ABS away' [+PUT] (animate object)
<i>dyudug +dyu</i>	(Vi) 'ABS stop' [+SAY]
<i>dyudug +ma</i>	(Vt) 'ERG stop ABS' [+PUT]

⁴⁹ Dative-inchoative forms such as *lip-dyi +ngara* or *lip-dyi +ni* have not been recorded.

^{49A} The same meaning may be expressed by *darlp +rndira* [+GO].

⁵⁰ This complex verb is determined as transitive because it is always used in the ERG-ABS case frame (the jumper is in the ergative and the jumped-over object is in the absolutive) even when the object is not mentioned overtly in the clause.

However, the causative is not always the same as the transitive. This is clear from the typical instance of 'laugh' (intransitive), 'laugh at somebody' (transitive) and 'make somebody laugh' (causative).

- [28] a. *Maldu-gadya + i-nga-rn kamba dyarn'du.*
 laugh-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-IMPF that woman(ABS)
 'The woman is laughing.' <INTRANSITIVE>
- b. *Kamba-ni dyarn'du maldu + i-na-ma-rn-ngayu.*
 that-ERG woman(ERG) laugh+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-1ACC
 'The woman makes me laugh.' <CAUSATIVE>

In the causative phrase of [28b], a semantic neutralisation of the intensive (*maldu-gadya* 'laugh') and the non-intensive (*maldu* 'smile') forms is observable, just as in the case of dative-inchoative (see [23] in 5.4.2.4). It should be noted also that although the verb *ma* basically means 'put something somewhere' (therefore "make somebody laugh" is expressed as "put somebody in laughter"), no locative or allative marker is required on the preverbs:

- kurlin +ni* (Vi) 'sleep, be asleep' [+BE]
kurlin-dyi +ngara (Vi) 'get sleepy, go asleep' [+BECOME]
kurlin +ma (Vt) 'make (somebody) asleep' [+PUT]
*kurlin-*dyi/*gun/*ngarn +ma*
- midyala +ni* (Vi) 'be seated' [+BE]
midyala +ma (Vt) 'detain' [+PUT]
*midyala-*yi/*gun/*ngarn +ma*

When the preverb item is an adjective (cf. 2.2.1) which indicates the state of affairs resulting from the process described by the predicate phrase, the adjectival preverb may stand post-verbally, typically following the object noun, as in [29b].

- [29] a. *Rumarra-ni burdara + i-na-ma-rn buru.*
 sun-ERG dry+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF land(ABS)
 'The sun dries up the land.'
- b. *Rumarra-ni i-na-ma-rn buru burdarra.*
 sun-ERG 3-TR-put-IMPF land(ABS) dry
 'The sun dries up the land.'⁵¹

It should be noted that [29a] and [29b] differ in stress and foot-group patterns: in [29a], as well as in normal cases of PV-FV combination, the predicate phrase *burdara inamarn* constitutes a single foot group (i.e. the two words are not separated even in a very slow utterance of the sentence) and primary stress rests on the first syllable of the preverb, not on that of the finite verb; in [29b], by contrast, the first syllable of the inflecting verb *inamarn* bears primary stress as well as the postverbal object complement *burdara* does.

⁵¹ [29a/b] were recorded in natural speech. Word order such as in [29c] below, which was elicited, is also acceptable, but the object complement construction of [29b] seems to be normal.

[29c] *Rumarra-ni i-na-ma-rn burdarra buru.*
 sun-ERG 3-TR-put-IMPF dry land(ABS)
 'The sun dries up the land.'

The causative formation with 'put' is perhaps the most productive FV alternation pattern observed in Yawuru.⁵² This is observable in English-derived preverbs such as follows (see also 2.2.4):

<i>dyaamam</i> ("charm him")	+ <i>ma</i>	'charm, bewitch' [+PUT]
<i>kilininim</i> ("clean him")	+ <i>ma</i>	'clean up' [+PUT]
<i>rulmap</i> ("roll him up")	+ <i>ma</i>	'roll it up' [+PUT]
<i>luudyim</i> ("lose him")	+ <i>ma</i>	'have a miscarriage' [+PUT] ⁵³

The following example is interesting in that the preverb *maldyu* (combined with the FV *ma*) takes the locative marker, so that the literal translation of the complex verb in [30] would be "put (them) in playing", for which the free translation would be 'let (them) play, allow (them) to play'.

- [30] *Waranydyarri-ni maldyu-gun wa-na-ga-ma, dyuyu-ni rwrp baybirra.*
 one-ERG play-LOC 3-TR-FUT-put 2-ERG return after
 'Let one (= other children) play with it (toy) first; then you (play with it) afterwards.'⁵⁴

There are also a few complex verb expressions in which the FV *nya* 'catch' contributes to a causative meaning:

<i>dyany +nya</i>	'renew'
<i>rurrku +nya</i>	'make somebody sweat'
<i>ridi +nya</i>	'prepare, make it ready'

5.5.3.4 Idiosyncratic cases of FV alternation

Several productive types of FV alternations have been examined so far. Also encountered, however, are less systematic cases. For example,

<i>kurrrp +dyu</i>	'clap with cupped palms' [+SAY] (as women do in corroboree)
<i>kurrrp +nya</i>	'scoop up (water, flour, grains)' [+CATCH]

In this case, the shift of meaning depends much on the meanings of the alternative FVs. The case of *liyan* is much more idiomatic:⁵⁵

<i>liyan +ni</i>	(Vi) 'ABS be sorry for DAT' [+BE]
<i>liyan +rndira</i>	(Vi) 'ABS be pregnant' [+GO]
<i>liyan +dyalku</i>	(Vm) 'ERG feel sorry for DAT' [+FALL]
<i>liyan +ka</i>	(Vm) 'ERG get angry about DAT' [+CARRY]
<i>liyan +nya</i>	(Vt) 'ERG oppose ABS' [+CATCH]

Sample sentences are as follows:

- [31] *Liyan + nga-nga-rn-dyina (ngayu).*
 feel+1-AUX(be)-IMPF-3DAT 1(ABS)
 'I am worrying about her.'

⁵² Formation of a causative phrase by the combination of adjectives plus verb *-m-* 'put' (cognate of the Yawuru *ma*) is reported from Bardi (Metcalf 1975:59f). Ungarinjin (Ngarinyin) also has the causative with 'put' (Capell 1976b:615,626). In quite a few Australian languages, whether Pama-Nyungan or not, forms similar to the Yawuru *ma* appear as a verb root with the meaning 'make', 'put' or 'do'; also cf. the "causative transitive verbaliser" *-ma-l* (Noun+*ma-l* = Vt) in Warrgamay (Dixon 1980:435, 405).

⁵³ It should be noted that the original Yawuru verb *kundyama* (Vt, I) 'have a miscarriage' has a root final element *ma*.

⁵⁴ This example is also interesting because it demonstrates the semantic relation that exists between the numeral *waranydyarri* (2.2.3) and the indefinite pronoun *warany* 'other (things/people)' (see 7.7.1.1).

⁵⁵ The word *liyan* as a noun has a wide range of meanings such as 'feeling or mood (either good or bad), personal character, womb (or foetus), premonition, symptom, etc.'

- [32] *Liyan + i-rndira-rn-dyina kamba dyarn'du wubardu-yi.*
 feel+3_i-AUX(go)-IMPF-3DAT; that woman(ABS)_i; little_j-DAT
 'The woman is pregnant.'
- [33] *Liyan + nga-ny-dyalku-rn-dyina (ngayu-ni).*
 feel+1-EN-AUX(fall)-IMPF-3DAT 1-ERG
 'I feel sorry for him.'
- [34] *Liyan + i-na-nya-rn-dyayrda kamba-ni.*
 feel+3_i-TR-AUX(catch)-IMPF-12"DAT that_i -ERG
 'He (that man) opposes us.' (or 'he became hostile towards us')
- [35] *Liyan + i-na-ng-ka-rn-dyina wa-ya-rr(-a-r)a-dyuyu.*
 feel+3_i-TR-EN-AUX(carry)-IMPF-2DAT 3_i-IRR-AGM-spear-2ACC
 'He is angry with you. He might spear you.'

Pairing of a PV and an FV, then, seems basically to be of a lexically idiosyncratic nature, the principle of which being that a pairing which makes sense is acceptable (see footnote 48), although it does not follow that the meaning of a complex verb is always predictable on the basis of the meanings of the PV and the FV.

TABLE 507: Acceptable PV-FV combinations for 'going' and 'running'

	+rndira [+GO]	+dyu [+SAY]	+mirdibi [+RUN AWAY]
<i>dyunku</i>	*	'dash'	'run'
<i>yinydya</i>	'go, walk'	*	*

As already pointed out (5.5.2.4), there seem to be certain restrictions on the pairing of a PV and an FV which have more or less the same lexical meaning. In the case of *dyunku* 'running' and *yinydya* 'going' (cf. 8.3.3.1), however, the mode of acceptable combinations with FVs is difficult to predict. In Table 507 (above), the asterisks indicate unacceptable combinations of PV and FV.

5.6 Bivalent functions of preverb items

Yawuru has very few instances of bivalent roots that function both as a noun and as a verb root: e.g. *balu* 'wood, stick' and *balu* 'hit with stick'; *bukarri* 'dream' and *bukarri* 'dream about something' (see 4.10.2).⁵⁶ With regard to preverbs, however, such bivalent behaviour is not unusual.

5.6.1 Noun as preverb and vice versa

Some preverbs can function just like a common noun. We have just seen the case of *liyan* in [31]-[35]. With *midyala* 'sitting', we have derived items such as

⁵⁶ The pair *warli* 'meat (or any edible animal/fish/shell)' and *rli* 'eat' may be added. Also note that the item *bukarri* can work as a preverb with the verb *rndira* 'go' (cf. footnote 23 earlier in this chapter).

kudyarra midyala 'two-seater land cruiser' (typically referring to a Toyota Hilux Dual; *kudyarra* is numeral 'two') and *midyala-garra* 'rest time, (having a) spell, or "smoko"' (*-garra* is nominal plural marker; see 2.4.2.2).

On the other hand, there are also cases where a common noun is closely combined with a single predicate verb (FV) and forms a predicate phrase equivalent to a complex verb (PV+FV). For instance, the word *rangkarr* 'daybreak, dawn', which is by itself a noun, functions as a preverb in [36]:

- [36] *rangkarr + i-ny-dyu-n*
 dawn+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
 'it dawns' (lit. "daybreak it-says")

To give another instance, the combination of the noun *niyakan* 'back of body' and the zero-root verb 'give' (4.5.5) produces a meaning of 'turn one's back on somebody (ABS)' (both physical and metaphorical meaning).

- [36A] *Warany-gardi i-ngara-rn, niyakan + i-na-ø-n-yadiri.*
 other-side 3_i-become-IMPF back + 3_i-TR-AUX(give)-IMPF-12ACC
 'He turned around and turned his back on us (i.e. he betrayed us).'

In [37] below a noun functions as a preverb accompanied by the marker *-gadya*. In this case, *-gadya* marks the preverb use of the common noun *dyalany* 'tongue',⁵⁷ rather than the intensity of the action. A similar case is encountered with *winbal* 'Parrot Pea fruit', with which Yawuru children make grass whistles. This noun carries *-gadya* in [38] marking its preverb use.

- [37] *Dyalany-gadya + i-nga-rn kamba dyurru.*
 tongue-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-IMPF that snake(ABS)
 'The snake is flicking its tongue.'
- [38] *Winbal-gadya + i-nga-rn.*
 whistle-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-IMPF
 'He is whistling.'

The marker *-gadya* is obligatory when these nouns are used as preverbs (5.4.2.4). It should be noted that, when the nominal plural marker *-garra* is affixed to these nouns, they do not refer to the action of flicking or whistling, but simply means the plurality of the object:

dyalany-garra 'lots of tongues' (as in a butcher's shop)
winbal-garra 'lots of Parrot Pea fruits'

Whether a noun is employed as a preverb or a preverb is employed as a noun often turns out to be a difficult question to answer.⁵⁸ Consider [39a-c] with the same item *rurrku*, functioning as a noun in [39a], as a preverb part of an intransitive complex verb in [39b] and as a preverb part of a transitive complex verb in [39c].

⁵⁷ This is one of the Common Australian noun items: Nyangumarta *tyaliny*, Mangala *jalany*, Walmatjarri *talany*, Warlpiri *jalany-pa*, Yurlparija *nyaliny*, Pintupi *tjarliny-pa*, Pitta-Pitta *tharli*, Kaytej *aleny*, Anmajirra *alinya*, all meaning 'tongue' (also see Capell 1956:74). cf. footnote 72 in this chapter.

⁵⁸ Stokes also points out, with reference to Nyikina, that words usually found as "preSTEMS" (= predicate preverbs) occasionally resemble nominals and that "the function of verbal preSTEM" [sic] is usually performed by preverbs (her "verbal-nominals") but may be performed occasionally by other nominals (Stokes 1982:189)

- [39] a. *Rurrku-ni i-na-nya-rn-ngayu.*
 sweat_i-ERG 3_i-EN-catch-IMPF-1ACC
 'I'm sweating.' (lit. sweat catches me)
- b. *Rurrku + nga-ngara-rn.*
 sweat+1-AUX(become)-IMPF
 'I'm sweating.'
- c. *Rurrku + i-na-nya-rn-ngayu (rumarra-ni).*
 sweat+3_i-EN-catch-IMPF-1ACC sun_i-ERG
 'I sweat from the hot weather.' (lit. the sun "sweat-catches" me)

Similar alternatives of nominal constructions and preverb constructions are observed with items such as follows:

<i>binybal</i>	'pain'	<i>binybal +ngara</i>	'have a pain' [+BECOME]
<i>yilyu</i>	'tears' ⁵⁹	<i>yilyu +ngara</i>	'shed tears' [+BECOME]
<i>bidyara</i>	'ear' ⁶⁰	<i>bidyara +ni</i>	'hear, listen' [+BE]
<i>dyirrmu</i>	'song'	<i>dyirrmu +ni/+rmdirra</i>	'sing a song' [+BE/+GO]
<i>malyku</i>	'jealousy'	<i>malyku +ra</i>	'be jealous, envy' [+SPEAR]

Readers may consider that if the preverbal word is a noun by itself then the preverb construction may well be analysed as being simply composed of an object noun plus a single verb; 'be jealous' then is an idiomatic expression, say, "throw jealousy", just like throwing a spear or a stone (the verb *ra*, as a matter of fact, may mean 'throw a spear/stone' (as in [41a] below) as well as 'stab, spear'. This interpretation, however, is not applicable as far as the case marking system of Yawuru is concerned. First consider [40], which contains the transitive complex verb *malyku +ra* 'envy' [+SPEAR].

- [40] (*Ginyangka-ni*) *malyku + i-na-ra-rn-ngayu kamba-nyurdany dyarn'du.*
 3_i-ERG envy+3_j-TR-AUX(spear)-IMPF-1ACC; that-CAUS woman(CAUS)_k
 'He_i is jealous of me_j because of that woman_k.'

Now, if *malyku* is a direct object noun (therefore in absolutive form), then the 1st-person clitic pronoun *-ngayu* (accusative form) should be in the dative (indirect object) form *-dyanu* (just as in [41a]); or, alternatively, the goal should be expressed by some oblique case, e.g. allative (as is the case in [41b]).

- [41] a. *Wanangarri i-na-ra-nda-dyanu (ginyangka-ni).*
 stone(ABS)_i 3_j-TR-spear-PF-1DAT_k 3_j-ERG
 'He_j threw me_k a stone_i.'
- b. *Wanangarri i-na-ra-nda ngayu-ngarn (ginyangka-ni).*
 1_k-ALLAT

Actually, however, the enclitic in [40] is in the accusative form and the dative form instead would be unacceptable in this sentence. Therefore, the word *malyku*

⁵⁹ As for 'tears', Nyulnyul (1.2.1) has a noun *wangkerr* 'tears' (McGregor 1987, 1991), which is obviously the cognate of the Yawuru preverb *wangkurr(-gadya)* 'weeping, crying'. Causal adverbial expressions, such as follows, are recorded also in Yawuru (cf. 5.4.1.4):

Mabu + wal-a-ma kamba dyarn'du, wangkurr-nyurdany wa-ng-ga-lar'dyi-yi.
 good+2FUT-TR-AUX(put) that woman(ABS) crying-CAUS 3-ENFUT-forget-DAT_{purp}
 'Console that woman so that she stops crying.' (lit. "forget from crying")

⁶⁰ The noun *bidyara* refers to the ability of hearing, while another noun *nilabab* 'ear, earlobe' refers to the ear as a body part itself. There are pieces of evidence for us to believe that *nilabab* is a Nyulnyulan cognate whereas *bidyara* is a loan item from the neighbouring Pama-Nyungan languages (namely the Nangunangu Karajarri form *pityara* 'ear'; cf. Warlpiri and Warlmanpa *pijara* 'ear'); also cf. Djaru adjective *pina-rri* 'knowing' (see footnote 72 in this chapter).

is not functioning here as an argument NP, even though the word itself can be an independent noun in other contexts. In addition, word order is relatively free in [41a] and [41b], whereas the ordering in [40] is subject to certain restrictions such as outlined in 5.1.6. Also consider the following sentence:

- [42] *Kamba dyarn'du dyunduru + i-na-ma-nda yalku.*
 that woman(ABS)_i piss + 3_i-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF standing;
 'The woman urinated without squatting down.'

The word *dyunduru* by itself can be an independent noun for 'urine, piss', so that it may seem possible to interpret the sentence as transitive, the preverbal noun *dyunduru* being the direct object, just like the English phrase "make a piss". This analysis, however, is unacceptable because if the sentence were transitive the subject NP (*kamba dyarn'du*) would carry the ergative case-marker. But actually it doesn't.⁶¹

The bivalent nature of noun/preverb is also reported from some other Kimberley languages, which have the preverb constructions or equivalents.⁶²

5.6.2 Adjectives as preverb

Yawuru adjectives in predicative use (i.e. 'the water is hot') reveal the same construction as PV+FV (e.g. water hot+becomes). Consider the following data with the item *bili* 'angry'. The item is semantically an adjective (2.2.1), but syntactically it behaves just like a preverb, conforming to the same word order restrictions as preverbs are subject to (but cf. 5.5.3.3).⁶³

⁶¹ Further, the adverbial (i.e. non-predicative) preverb *yalku* here not carrying the referential ergative marker (see 10.7) also supports our interpretation that the matrix clause is intransitive, rather than transitive, and the word *dyunduru* functions here as a preverb, not an object NP.

⁶² Ungarinjin (Capell 1976b; Rumsey 1982b); Wunambal (Vászolyi 1976); Daly River languages (Tryon 1974, 1976), Djamindjungan languages (Hoddinott & Kofod 1976b), etc. Researchers such as Vászolyi are inclined to be negative about the bivalent nature of preverb items, insisting that preverbs and nouns (or adjectives) form distinct word classes. If a noun is employed as a preverb (Vászolyi's "head verb"), as in the Wunambal case of *mindjal* 'mouth' and *mindjal*- 'eat' or *djari* 'pit' and *djari*- 'dig' (Vászolyi's spelling and gloss), then the preverb forms (identical with the nominal forms) have an affix - \emptyset as "a special representation of a derivational affix" (Vászolyi 1976:638) (i.e. noun + - \emptyset = preverb). However, such a zero morpheme is no more than a structuralist ghost. The present author would rather admit that nominals may function as preverb, although some of them are utilised as preverb more often than others are.

⁶³ See 2.2.1 and 8.1.2 for discussion on the word-class status of Yawuru adjectives. The word *bili* may also be used as a noun, meaning 'anger, fight, trouble, etc.', although the word usually occurs inflected in some way or other and occupies a preverbal position in the clause:

- (i) *Bili-ngarn inga-rr-garna-rn daman.*
 anger-ALLAT 3"-AGM-go-IMPF warrior(ABS)
 'The warriors used to go fighting.'
- (ii) *Bili-gun inga-rr-a-ma-rn-yadiri kangadyunu-ni.*
 anger-LOC 3"-AGM-TR-put-IMPF-12"ACC 3"-ERG
 'They get us (INCL) into trouble.'
- (iii) *Bili-manyan i-murku-nd-dyina.*
 anger_i-only 3_i-search-PF-3DAT_i
 'He_i looks for the same trouble.'

- [43] a. *Ginyangka bili + i-ngara-rn.*
 3(ABS) angry+3-AUX(become)-IMPF
 'He is/was angry.'
 b. **Ginyangka i-ngara-rn bili.*
 c. ?*Bili ginyangka i-ngara-rn.*

Although the word *bili* can form a copulative predication without a finite verb as in [44] (cf. 10.5.2.2), it cannot by itself, unlike normal adjectives, modify a noun: the phrase [45a] is unacceptable. (This is not always the case with all the preverb-like adjectives.)

- [44] *Kamba ngarrungu, bili.*
 that person(ABS) angry
 'He is always angry. (He gets angry very easily.)'
 [45] a. **bili ngarrungu*
 angry person(ABS)
 b. *bili-dany ngarrungu*
 anger-DERIV person(ABS)
 'one who often gets angry' (see 6.12.2)

By alternating the FVs to go with adjectives, a varied range of semantic derivations are realised. The most common verbs that combine with adjectives to form predicates are:

<i>ni</i>	'be'	(STATIVE/DURATIVE/ITERATIVE)
<i>ngara</i>	'become, be'	(STATIVE or CHANGE OF STATE)
<i>dyu</i>	'say, sound'	(ACTIVE/NON-DURATIVE)
<i>ma</i>	'put, make'	(CAUSATIVE, involving change)
<i>ngari</i>	'leave'	(CAUSATIVE, involving no change)
<i>nya</i>	'catch'	(CHANGE OF STATE/NON-DURATIVE)

Here again, the most productive pattern is the causative/transitive formation with the verb *ma* 'put'.

<i>niban +ngara</i>	(Vi) 'ABS ₁ (ABS ₂) get mixed' [+BECOME]
<i>niban +ma</i>	(Vt) 'ERG mix ABS ₁ (ABS ₂)' [+PUT]
<i>lani +ni</i>	(Vi) 'be close/near' [+BE]
<i>lani +ngara</i>	(Vm) 'approach, go closer' [+PUT] (see [8] in 5.3.2)
<i>lani +dyu</i>	(Vt) 'have a momentary contact; (fig.) get in touch with'
<i>lani +ma</i>	(Vt) 'bring something (ABS) close to something/somewhere (DAT), allow somebody to come near' [+PUT]
<i>bili +ngara</i>	(Vi) 'be/get angry' [+BECOME]
<i>bili +ma</i>	(Vt) 'make someone angry' [+PUT]
<i>bili +ngari</i>	(Vt) 'leave somebody angry' [+LEAVE]

There are borderline cases where it is rather difficult (and perhaps pointless) to tell if the prestem element is a preverb or an adjective. For instance,

- [46] *Dyawl dyany + nga-na-nya-rn durrkarrangu-yi dyanu.*
 glass(ABS) new+1-TR-AUX(catch)-IMPF motarcar-DAT 1(GEN)
 'I (am going to) renew the windscreen of my car.'
 (*dyawl* is originally an adjective 'clean, transparent')

Although it is reasonable to regard the word *dyany* 'new' in the above sentence as an adjective, no instance of this word used as a delimitative adjective (e.g. **dyany dyawl*) is recorded.

5.63 Preverb as a functional-slot-filling word

We have so far seen instances of nouns and adjectives working as preverbs. There are, furthermore, instances of adverbs, numerals or even interjections used as preverbs. For example, the adverb *k*awity* 'quickly' (8.4.4.3) is employed to form the following complex verbs:

- k*awity +dyu* 'be quick, hurry' [+SAY]
*k*awity +ma* 'hurry up, accelerate (as in driving a car)' [+PUT].

The next utterance was recorded when touring on a highway:

- [47] *K*awity + ya-ga-rr-a-ma* *wa-na-ø-bilka-dyayrda* *baybirra-gap.*
 quick+12"-FUT-AGM-TR-AUX(put) 3"-TR-IRR-hit-12"DAT behind-ABL
 'We (INCL) have to pick up speed; they might catch up with us.' (cf. 7.4.2.4)

With the numeral *kudyarra* 'two' (2.2.3) we have *kudyarra +ma* 'cut it half' [+PUT] (i.e. 'cut into two pieces'); with the interjection *warday* 'ouch!', we have *warday +dyu* 'moan, groan' [+SAY]; also with the interjection *k*aw* 'hey!', we have *k*aw +ma* 'assemble people' [+PUT], which appear as a semi-transitive predicate (in ERG-DAT case frame).

- [48] *Manydya-yi ngarrungu* *k*aw + i-na-ma-rn-dyirra* *kamba-ni wararra.*
 many-DAT people(DAT); call+3_J-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-3"DAT; that-ERG songman(ERG);
 'The songman; assembled many people; (for the ritual).'

In Yawuru, as a matter of fact, any word of any word class (except bound morphemes) can potentially play the role of preverb in combination with a finite verb. In other words, preverb is not a word class so much as a function played by words cast into the predicate configuration. The word to stand in the prestem position can be a noun, an adjective, an adverb, an onomatopoeic phrase, or any other lexical item, including loan words.⁶⁴

Like many other Australian languages, Yawuru is a non-configurational language: if phrase structure rules are to be drawn, they would be something like the following (NP, AdvP and FV are not further expanded here):

- S → PRED (NP) (NP) (NP)... (AdvP)
 PRED → (X) FV

where X is the preverb slot and can be filled with a lexical item of any morphological word class. As for some of the preverb items, no functions other than predicate prestem are recorded in the current database, so that a subclass category "preverb" has been reserved within the general word class of nominals (2.2.1). There are 99 such items (out of the total of 305 preverb items recorded). Most (88%) of these prestem-only items, however, can be considered onomatopoeic or ideophonic, so that we could regard them as belonging to the class of "onomatopoeia" (which is also considered a sub-class of the nominals). In any

⁶⁴ Cases of English-derived preverbs have been presented earlier (2.2.4 and 5.5.2.1). Other source languages providing preverbs in Yawuru are Karajarri (especially Najanaja dialect) and Malay (see Hosokawa 1987a).

way, there is no need to set up a major word class separately on the same level as verbs and nominals.⁶⁵

It may seem plausible to make a semantic distinction between inherent preverbs and potential (or derived) preverbs. **Inherent preverbs** are those lexical items which refer to an action (e.g. *yinydya* 'going', *dyunku* 'running', *gil* 'cutting'). **Potential preverbs** are those which basically refer either to a tangible object (such as *rurrku* 'sweat', *yilyu* 'tears') or to a state/condition of such an object (such as *bili* 'angry', *marrkun* 'hungry'). The distinction, however, is often hard to maintain, since we regularly encounter borderline cases such as *malyku* 'jealousy, being jealous', *nila* 'knowing, knowledge', *dur* 'fart(ing)', etc. Things such as sweat and tears may also be considered actions or body functions rather than substances.

5.6.4 Distinctive forms for preverb

In a number of instances, reduced forms of a nominal occur as a preverb.

<i>wirrbu</i>	'enemy, enmity, grudge' (cf. 3.3.2.3.(1))
<i>wirrb +ka</i>	'take opposition' [+CARRY]
<i>niminy</i> (~ <i>nimminy</i>)	'eye' (cf. 3.6.3.3.(4))
<i>nim(-gadya) +dyu</i>	'wink, blink' [+SAY] ⁶⁶
<i>girrbi</i>	'crossing, crossroad'
<i>girrp +rndira</i>	'go across' [+GO]
<i>wardara</i>	'sticky'
<i>ward +ni</i>	'be stuck' [+BE]
<i>nilirr</i>	'mouth'
<i>nidirr-gadya +ni</i>	'grin' [+BE].

Such a relation between nominals and preverbs may seemingly support the distinct word-class status of preverbs.⁶⁷ The relation, however, is not that of derivation, but that of phonological reduction. The reduction can be explained from the close syntactic tie that binds PV and FV together.

Contrary to the phonological reduction observable in the examples given above, preverbs sometimes retain their word-final consonant (or consonantal cluster) which is lost in the noun form. In the instance given below, the final tense (unreleased) consonantal cluster *lt* is maintained in the preverb while it is reduced to a single lenis (released) consonant *d* in the noun form (cf. 3.6.1.1.(1)).

⁶⁵ So far most researchers have treated preverb as a word class: Tsunoda (1981:177) recognised preverbs in Djaru as distinct from both verbals and nominals. Stokes (1982:188f), in her description of Nyikina (1.2.1), also considers preverbs (her "verbal nominals") as a distinct word class.

⁶⁶ Compare the Ungarinjin example of *mindal* 'mouth' and *mindjal* +AUX 'eat', which is obviously cognate with the Wunambal bivalent case of *mindjal* 'mouth/eat' cited earlier in footnote 62 in this chapter (see also Capell 1956:63). Similar close etymological relations are also reported from other Kimberley languages.

⁶⁷ Also see footnote 37 in this chapter.

dyult +*dyu* 'finish' [+SAY]
dyud 'end (of a string)'⁶⁸

Where a consonant-ending and a vowel-ending form (in which the final consonant is lost) co-exist as an idiolect/dialect variation, the preverb form is always the C-ending one.

ngala ~ *ngalal* (ADJ) 'open'
ngalal +*dyu* (Vt) 'open' [+SAY]

5.65 Predicative preverb without finite verb

Preverbs may appear without a direct pairing with FV. Such cases occur either due to the omission of the FV (in which case the remaining PV is still in a predicative function) or the PV is in a non-predicative function (5.4.1). Omission of an FV typically occurs in an imperative as in [49] or in a subordinated clause as in [50]. In both cases the semantic subject of the preverb *yinydya* is usually clear from the context.

[49] *Niwal yinydya, marlu durrkarrang-gun.*
 foot going not motarcar-LOC
 'You have to go on foot, not by car!'⁶⁹

[50] *Marlu-nyurdany yinydya, dyiwarri + wa-ng-ga-ngara.*
 not-CAUS going dead + 3-EN-FUT-AUX(become)
 'If he had not gone (to the doctor), he would have died.'

When coordinate clauses are juxtaposed and the two clauses both contain a PV+FV predicate with common finite information (but not necessarily the same FV), the second FV is usually left out.

[51] *Karrydya + inga-rr-a-ø-n-ngayu, marlu maldyan + dyanu.*
 fury+3"-AGM-TR-AUX(give)-IMPF-1ACC not supporting+1DAT
 'They were angry with me. They didn't support me.'

In [51] the object clitic pronoun *-dyanu* is hanging (see 7.3.1) after the preverb *maldyan* (the word order cannot be altered). A full finite verb to accompany the preverb in this context would be *inga-rr-a-nga-rn-dyanu* (3"-AUX(be)-IMPF-1DAT).⁷⁰

5.7 Use of preverb and grammatical optimisation

Modern Yawuru speakers, particularly young people (see 1.3.3), tend to prefer preverb constructions to full-verb constructions (i.e. fully conjugated single verbs).⁷¹ When there is a set of a complex verb (PV+FV₁) and a single verb (FV₂)

⁶⁸ Its locative inflexion functions as an adverb: *dyud-gun* 'finally, at last' (8.2.1.2); cf. *dyudug* 'end of a story'.

⁶⁹ Similar use of "bare imperatives" is reported from Wunambal (Vászolyi 1976:639-640).

⁷⁰ The complex verb *maldyan +ni* is semi-transitive and requires the ERG-DAT case frame (cf. 4.10.2.2).

⁷¹ There are cases in which a cognate lexical item appears as preverb in Yawuru and as verb root in the sister languages (Nyikina, Warrwa, Jabirrabirr, Nyulnyul, Bardi, Jawi, etc.). For a Jabirrabirr verb *dyib(a)* 'die' (3SG form is *iny-dyip*), Yawuru has the adjective-preverb *dyiwarri* 'dead' (*dyiwarri +dyu* 'die' [+SAY]). For 'speak, talk', Jawi has *-ngank-*, Bardi has *-nganki-* and Nyikina has *-nganka-*. All these are conjugatable verb roots. But the cognate in

that convey more or less the same lexical meaning, speakers of Yawuru are generally more likely to employ the former.

5.7.1 Preverb construction and bilingualism

Probably the increasing use of preverb constructions and the declining use of full verbs have something to do with the recent social history of the language. Yawuru was spoken as a lingua franca amongst the multilingual Aborigines who were forced to labour on the Thangoo cattle station (1.1.2.1). Then the language was spoken not only by native Yawuru speakers, but also as a second language by non-Yawuru Aborigines whose first (and/or principal) languages were Najanaja Karajarri, Mangala and Nyangumarta (Hosokawa 1988b). These languages belong to the Pama-Nyungan family (1.3.2) and have linguistic structures considerably different from that of Yawuru (Capell 1940, Hudson & McConvell 1984). One of the principal difficulties for non-native speakers is the highly complicated and often irregular inflexional morphology of Yawuru finite verbs. The merit of using preverb constructions in place of simple verbs, in this respect, consists in that one can control a large number of verbal expressions without mastering most of the tongue-twisting verbal inflexional paradigms of Yawuru. As demonstrated earlier in this chapter (Table 501), only eight finite verbs cover more than 90% of the Yawuru preverb constructions.

5.7.2 FV alternation vs prefix alternation

Apart from the reduction of the number of conjugational forms to be learned, there are several aspects of grammatical optimisation where the preverb construction takes over some of the original functions of the full verb morphosyntax in a more regular and productive way. As already illustrated in 4.8, some of the Yawuru single verbs are alternative-prefixing: i.e. they can be conjugated in two different paradigms, with corresponding semantic differentiations (usually that of intransitive/transitive alternation). For example, the verb roots *dyalku* and *lurra* can either be intransitive or transitive, according to the paradigms in which they are inflected. Given below are the 3rd-person-minimal perfective forms:

- [52] a. *i-ny-dyalku-nda*
 3-EN-fall-PF
 'he fell down' (class II conjugation)
- b. *i-na-dyalku-nda*
 3-TR-fall-PF
 'he made (somebody/something) fall down' (class I conjugation)

Yawuru today is unconjugatable and appears only as a preverb: *nganka +dyu* 'speak' [+SAY] or *nganka-gadya +ni* 'talk' [+BE].

- [53] a. *i-lurra-rn*
 3-burn-IMPF
 '(fire) is burning' (class II conjugation)
- b. *i-na-lurra-rn*
 3-TR-burn-IMPF
 'he is cooking (lit. burning) it' (class I conjugation)

However, not all of the Yawuru verbs are alternative-prefixing. In other words, the system of transitive/intransitive alternation is not fully productive for Yawuru single verbs. The verb *wuluku* 'frighten' for instance, inflects only in class I paradigm and is always a transitive verb.

- [54] a. *i-na-wuluku-rn*
 3-TR-frighten-IMPF
 's/he frightens sb' (class I conjugation)
- b. **i-wuluku-rn*
 3-frighten-IMPF
 (theoretical 3 IMPF form in class II conjugation)

By contrast, by using the preverb *wadya*, which covers more or less the same semantic range as the verb *wuluku*, the alternation of transitivity is easily realised in the form of FV alternation (5.5.3.3):

- [55] a. *wadya + i-na-ma-rn*
 scared+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF
 's/he frightens somebody' (transitive)
- b. *wadya + i-ngara-rn*
 scared+3-AUX(become)-IMPF
 's/he gets frightened' (intransitive)

In this respect, the FV alternation in complex verbs is considered to be a more productive system than that of prefix alternation in single verbs. Other aspects of grammatical optimisation have already been pointed out (see 5.4.1.2, 5.4.1.5 and 5.5.3.3).

5.8 Summary and further remarks

We conclude this chapter by summing up the major points of the discussion so far and the relevant theoretical issues which underlie them.

It was first proposed that the complex verbs and the similar verbal systems in Australian languages, particularly in the north, should be dealt with as a variation of the same theme.⁷² From the viewpoint of linguistic typology, the

⁷² Preverbs are also quite interesting from the comparative and/or areal linguistic point of view (Dixon 1980:427ff). It is a well-established fact that preverb constructions (or similar structures, whatever they are called by researchers) is an areal feature which is found among the highly divergent languages of north and northwest Australia. Similar manners of making up complex verbal expressions are reported both on the Pama-Nyungan side and the non-Pama-Nyungan side. No systematic comparison, however, has so far been made as to (i) the variability in the PV-FV pairing, (ii) balance of semantic load between PV and FV, and (iii) the correlation to the transitivity system of each language. (In this regard, a survey of the causative formation with the verb 'put' (as outlined in 5.5.3.3) seems to be a promising starting point.) From the viewpoint of comparative linguistics, it is quite intriguing that a preverb item in one language often has an apparent cognate in non-preverb items (as well as in preverb items) in another language. For example, for a Miriwung verb particle (= preverb) *yangge* 'asking' (Kofod 1976:650; a reduplicated form is *yangiyangip*), we have in Yawuru the

Yawuru complex-verb construction is located somewhere on a continuum between (i) the phrasal verbs such as in English or German, on the one hand,⁷³ and (ii) the verb classes, such as in some of the north Australian languages, on the other.⁷⁴ With this typological continuum in mind, the degree of lexico-semantic load carried by finite verbs within the complex verb predicates was examined. The over-simplified (but apparently wide-spread) view that preverbs carry lexical loads while finite verbs carry grammatical loads was rejected. Since a large number of complex verbs are formed with a relatively limited number of finite verbs, it is possible to set up, at least partially, a classification of verbal expressions into several semantic types, more or less comparable to the verb classes in north Australian languages. The semantic range of the preverbs combined with a particular verb may shed some light on the core meaning of that verb. This was the case of the verb *ra* (5.5.2.2). We also took issue with the word class theory of preverb. Yawuru preverbs are better understood as filling a functional slot rather than as constituting a major word class (5.6.3).

The typological discussion involves an interesting problem of semantics. We have seen that the same preverb item can be combined with several different finite verbs, producing semantic differentiations (5.5.3). A detailed analysis of PV-FV pairing provides a good source of information as to how the transitivity system works in a particular language. As regards Yawuru, our analysis of the variable pairings of PV and FV made it clear that in this language the verbs have no fixed transitivity value, rather contrary to the wide-spread belief in the categorical distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Australian languages (5.3.3).

The complex verb construction is a productive system in which a relatively small number of inflecting verbs are combined with non-finite verbal words producing a large number of verbal expressions. Such a system involves a certain degree of grammatical optimisation as regards (i) intransitive/transitive alternation (5.7), (ii) causative formation (5.5.3.3), (iii) aspect encoding (5.4.1.2, 5.4.2.2 and 5.5.3.1),

interrogative *yangki* [jǎŋge] 'what/which/who' (7.6.2). For a Pitjantjatjara preverb *tianala(-nanyi)* 'ask' (Platt 1976b:671), we have Yawuru *dyanala* 'how/what/where' (see 7.6.5 and 10.6.4.2). Yawuru preverbs also have cognates among the nominals in other (particularly Pama-Nyungan) languages. Tsunoda (p.c. in 1987) suggested a possible relation of Ungarinyin *pina* 'hear' (preverb) and the Pama-Nyungan noun *pina* 'ear' (as recorded in Walmatjarri, Pitjantjatjara and a number of north Queensland languages — cf. Djaru *pina-ri* 'knowing' (ADJ) already cited in footnote 60 in this chapter). We have already pointed out that some of the cognates of Yawuru preverbs are found as conjugatable verb roots in other languages. Similar cases (preverb in one language, full verb in another) is known between Wunambal and Worora (Vászolyi 1976:637-638) and between Warndarang (Mara-Alawic) and Nunggubuyu (Heath 1976:738-739). Also see footnote 66 in this chapter.

⁷³ See Schachter (1985) for a concise account of phrasal verbs (as verb plus verbal adjunct). He points out that in English phrasal verbs a particle "forms an idiomatic lexical unit with the verb and does not carry any separable" meanings, as in the case of "wake up", "give up" and "hurry up" (Schachter 1985:45). Also see the discussion by Yallop (1982:113-117).

⁷⁴ See Tryon (1976) on the Daly family languages, McGregor (1984) on Kuniyanti and Silverstein (1986) on Worora. Similar phenomena are reported from some of the Amerindian languages (Miyaka 1991).

and (iv) subordination (see 10.7.1).⁷⁵ The system also establishes a very simple but effective way for a non-verbal word to be incorporated into a verbal predicate.

⁷⁵ The syntactic behaviour of non-matrix preverbs provides an important clue to the understanding that, although the Yawuru verb-agreement operates in the nominative-accusative system, some part of the syntax (apart from the case marking) is organised along the ergative system, in that S and O are unmarked whereas A is marked (cf. 2.1.2). This issue will be further discussed and illustrated in 10.7.

Chapter 6: Semantics of case marking and related issues

This chapter deals with word/phrase-level case marking. It chiefly concerns the semantics of non-pronominal items inflected for case, although pronominal instances are also cited. Some issues concerning nominal derivations will also be addressed (6.12). The semantics of clause-level case marking will be discussed in Chapter 10.

6.1 Inventory

Yawuru has the following case-markers (not all of the allomorphic variants are given here):

<i>-yi/dyi</i>	dative (DAT)
<i>-dyina</i>	genitive (GEN)
<i>-ni</i>	ergative (ERG)
<i>-gun</i>	locative (LOC)
<i>-ngarn</i>	allative (ALLAT)
<i>-gap</i>	ablative (ABL)
<i>-barri</i>	instrumental (INST)
<i>-nyurdany</i>	causal (CAUS)
<i>-ngany</i>	comitative (COM)
<i>-gurdany</i>	circumstantial (CIRCUM)

Absolutive (ABS) is $-\emptyset$ (zero marking). There is no separate accusative marking either (but see 7.3 for the accusative clitic pronouns). The occurrence of the genitive marker is infrequent and various senses of the genitive/possessive relationship are usually expressed by the dative. Perlocative/pergressive meanings (Blake 1987:36, 40-41; Heath 1984:205-208) are covered by one of the local cases (i.e. locative/allative/ablative).

Unlike many other Australian languages, Yawuru provides separate case marking for ergative, locative and instrumental (cf. Blake 1977:44-45). The functions of these case markers, however, overlap to a certain extent, as will be pointed out in some of the sections below (6.5.6, 6.8.4 and 6.8.5).

The same forms of the case markers occur on personal pronouns, except the dative-genitive case, which requires different pronominal roots (7.2). The case markers also occur on demonstratives (7.5), adverbs, particularly time qualifiers (8.2.1) and location qualifiers (8.3) and the negator (10.3.2).

NPs that are assigned the absolutive, ergative or dative case may be cross-referenced by bound pronominals on inflecting verbs. In other words, these three can be regarded as the core grammatical cases that closely relate to the syntax of the language (2.1.2; but cf. 6.6.4).

It should be recalled (see 2.5.2.1) that when an NP is inflected for case only the first word of the phrase is case-marked, even if that word is not the head (or

semantic nucleus) of the NP (see 2.5.2.1). The term "non-inherent inflexion" (2.5.2.3) applies to such a case where a phrase-initial (but syntactically and semantically dependent) word carries a case marker on behalf of the non-initial head noun of the NP. It may appear that the word is inflected but it is actually the NP, not the word, that undergoes the case inflexion.

6.2 Dative

6.2.1 Forms

The dative marker is realised as *-yi* [ɛ] after a vowel and *-dyi* [ɟɪ] after a consonant (3.7.5.4).¹

<i>dyalangardi-yi</i>	'goanna-DAT'
<i>dyungku-yi</i>	'fire-DAT'
<i>barrydyanyin-dyi</i>	'wallaby-DAT'
<i>ngurragap-dyi</i>	'tomorrow-DAT'

This allomorphic alternation applies to English loan words as well:

<i>diidya-yi</i>	'teacher-DAT'
<i>miding-dyi</i>	'meeting-DAT'

As already noted (in 3.2.4), /y/ produces various diphthongs when combined with preceding vowels. This is typically observed in the dative inflexion:

'beach'	<i>buya</i>	[búja]	>	<i>buya-yi</i>	[bújaɛ]
'pelican'	<i>bilari</i>	[bílaɛ]	>	<i>bilari-yi</i>	[bílaɪɪ]
'head'	<i>marru</i>	[máɾo]	>	<i>marru-yi</i>	[máɾuɪ]~[máɾoɛ]

Words that show final CV ~ C alternation (either free or dialectal variation) take different allomorphs of the dative marker accordingly:

'fruit'	<i>mayi</i>	(DATIVE: <i>mayi-yi</i> [máɪɪ])
	~ <i>may</i>	(DATIVE: <i>may-dyi</i> [máɛɟɪ])
'motorcar'	<i>durrkarrang</i>	(DATIVE: <i>durrkarrang-dyi</i> [dúrgaraŋɟɪ])
	~ <i>durrkarrangu</i>	(DATIVE: <i>durrkarrangu-yi</i> [dúrgaraŋuɪ])
'hairbelt'	<i>windirri</i>	(DATIVE: <i>windirri-yi</i> [wínderɪɪ])
	~ <i>windirry</i>	(DATIVE: <i>windirry-dyi</i> [wínderɪɟɪ])

The Yawuru dative covers the following functions:

- 1) possession (and other genitive relations)
- 2) purpose
- 3) benefactive
- 4) semi-transitive object
- 5) target
- 6) temporal duration
- 7) inchoative

¹ Interestingly, the 'having' (or proprietative/comitative) suffixes *-yi* / *-dji* (= ɟɪ) in Yidiny (Dixon 1976d:212, Dixon 1977b:138ff) and in Warrungu (Tsunoda 1976:216ff) show exactly the same pattern of allomorphy.

We have already noted in Chapter 4 that the dative marker, when attached to a verb inflecting in the future, renders a purposive (4.4.2) or an imperative meaning (4.3.3.2). This will be further discussed in 10.6.3. Functions of the dative pronominal enclitics are illustrated in 7.4.2.

6.2.2 Possession

It should first be understood that the semantic role of "possessor" in Yawuru covers a broad range of "belonging" relationships, including:

- 1) owner-property (e.g. my car, Jacky's spear);
- 2) whole-part (e.g. my hand, root of the tree);^{1A}
- 3) kinship (e.g. my father, the woman's husband);²
- 4) identity (e.g. my name, my country, my dreaming, etc.);³
- 5) "copyright" (e.g. my song, dance of the Southerners);⁴
- 6) language (e.g. a word of English);⁵
- 7) main character or topic (e.g. a story of watersnake);
- 8) temporary connection (e.g. my seat, Mary's workplace);

and others. Such a range of meanings is common to both the non-pronominal dative (discussed in this section) and the pronominal genitive pronouns (to be discussed in 7.2). We use the conventional term "possessor/possessed" to refer to the entities that take part in various types of "belonging" relations.

The dative marker is attached to the possessor (i.e. dependent marking; Nichols 1986:57). Word order may be either [possessed + possessor-DAT]_{NP} (as in [1] and [2]) or [possessor-DAT + possessed]_{NP} (as in [3] and [4]). The former ordering is encountered more commonly in natural discourse.

- [1] *wuba dyarrma-yi*
child Thelma-DAT
'Thelma's child (D/S)'
- [2] *bubu nirliyangarr-dyi*
flower Prickly.Acacia-DAT
'flower of Prickly Acacia'

^{1A} Blake (1977:38) pointed out that generally in Australian Aboriginal languages whole-part relationships are not marked by the dative or genitive (also see Blake 1987:94-98; Hale 1981:338ff; cf. Tsunoda 1981:197-199). The relationship is basically expressed in the dative in Yawuru, at least at phrase level. At clause level, however, things are somewhat different. See discussions in 10.2.7 (and also Hosokawa 1987b and 1991b).

² As we shall see in 6.7.2 (example [136]), a kinship relation more than two generations apart may be expressed by the ablative.

³ We shall see in 10.2.7.2 that some kinds of name are treated in a syntactically different way from other names of the same person.

⁴ The term "copyright" here covers such Aboriginal notions of intellectual property as original authorship (of songs), performing rights (of ceremonies) and access as audience (to secret/sacred rituals). Since the performing rights are transferrable, there are cases in which the author/composer of a song is no longer allowed to sing his song.

⁵ Yawuru and other Aboriginal people regard certain words (particularly names of plants and animals) as belonging to a particular language, and those names may or may not be used by speakers of other languages.

- [3] *birlari-yi dyalbarn*
 pelican-DAT wing
 'pelican's wing'
- [4] *wangk*awal-dyi ramu*
 k/o.shield-DAT carving.pattern
 'carving pattern for the *wangkawal* shield'⁶

A few sample sentences with the dative case indicating diverse "belonging" relationships are given below:

- [5] *Kalbu marra i-nga-rn dyanung-dyi.*
 above nest(ABS); 3; -be-IMPF kite-DAT
 'There is a Black Kite's nest up there.'
- [6] *I-ny-dyulka-nd(a)-dyarra-yirr bukarri-garra nganka dyurru-yi.*
 3-EN-tell-PF-1"DAT-PL dream-PL word(ABS) snake-DAT
 'He told us (EXCL) a dreamtime story of the (water-)snake.'
- [7] *Bibi-yi kuku yanga-rr-a-ma-rn dyamuny.*
 mother-DAT father(ABS) 1"-AGM-TR-put-IMPF (kinship term)
 'We call mother's father *dyamuny*.' (explaining a kinship term)^{6A}
- [8] *Nyamba nyikini-yi bindyan yawru-yi birra.*
 this(ABS) Nyikina-DAT (word) Yawuru-DAT (word)
 '(The word for "bush" is) bindyan in Nyikina and *birra* in Yawuru.'⁷

When the possessor is represented by a personal pronoun, it takes the genitive form: e.g. *dyanu* 'my, mine' as in *marru dyanu* 'my head' (see 7.2 and 7.4).

It should be added that, although the body-part "ownership" is expressed in the dative/genitive at phrase level,⁸ it is not so at clause level. One can say in Yawuru "my heart" or "that woman's head", but s/he cannot say "my heart is pounding" or "I hit that woman's head". This problem will be discussed in detail in 10.2.

6.23 Purpose

Dative may (and quite often does) indicate a purpose, usually with an inanimate reference. Again the word order is not relevant in the adnominal examples below:

- (i) *yirrala bika-yi*
 canvas(ABS) shade-DAT
 'canvas to make a shade with'

⁶ In Yawuru culture each type of shield, boomerang or other artefact has a certain appropriate pattern of carving. In other words, a particular design "belongs" to a particular type of artefact.
^{6A} The kinship term *dyamuny* is also applicable to mother's father's brothers/sisters as well as to father's mother.

⁷ Actually, however, the word for 'bush' in Nyikina is *birra* (Stokes, p.c.). The informant who uttered [8] may be confusing it with the Nyulnyul word *bindan* (which is the etymon of "pindan" in local English). Notice in [8] that the dative marking cannot be replaced by the locative one. The meaning of 'translate into' is encoded in the locative, however (see [89] in 6.5.2). The language may also be marked by the ergative combined with the verb *ma* 'put':

[8A] *walaq inga-rr-a-ma-rn nyikina-ni b'ay.*
 "frog" 3"-AGM-TR-put-IMPF Nyikina-ERG R/TAG

'They call it *walag* in Nyikina, don't they?' (cf. *walaq* 'frog' in Yawuru)

⁸ It can also be expressed by a simple juxtaposition, particularly with reference to animals: e.g. *dyalangardi niwal* 'goanna track, footprints of goanna' (= *niwal dyalangardi-yi* "foot goanna-DAT").

- (ii) *bundu-yi dyungku*
 open.place-DAT fire(ABS)
 'burning of bush in order to make an open space'
- (iii) *gunurru bulkar-dyi*
 white.gumtree.bark(ABS) ashes-DAT
 'white gumtree bark for preparing ashes (to chew with tobacco)'

As far as the non-pronominal dative is concerned, the purposive meaning has been much more often encountered than the possessive meaning in the corpus. This is quite in contrast to the pronominal genitive/dative (cf. 7.2. and 7.4.2).

A few sample sentences containing the dative case describing a purpose follow:

- [9] *Wirr + i-ny-dyu-n yarda-yi.*
 scrape+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF shield-DAT
 'He is scraping (the wood) in order to make a shield.'
- [10] *Dyamiyan wal-a-nya kirrbadyu-yi*
 axe(ABS) 2FUT-TR-catch honey-DAT
 'Don't forget to bring an axe for honey (i.e. we might need it to cut trees in search of sugarbag).'
- [11] *Dyuyu nga-ni maya-yi.*
 2(ABS) 2FUT-be house-DAT
 'You stay here for the house.' (i.e. house-sitting)
- [12] *Nga-na-ga-nya-yi birdi ridyi-gun nyimba-yi.*
 1-TR-FUT-catch-DAT_{purp} hole(ABS) "riji"-LOC hairbelt-DAT
 'I have to make a hole in the "riji" (pearlshell ornament) for the hairbelt (i.e. to put the hairbelt through it).'

It is noticed in the last example above that the dative marker *-yi* also occurs on the verb. This indicates a weak imperative meaning in this particular example. The dative marker attached to finite verbs is glossed DAT_{purp} because it has the function of indicating a purposive (dependent) clause in complex clause structures. Such a purposive use of the dative at predicate level (i.e. when the case marker is attached to verbs or to conjunctions) will be illustrated in 10.6.3 (also see 4.3.3.2).

A dative NP indicating purpose may be cross-referenced by a dative enclitic on the verb. This cross-reference is optional, however (7.4.2.2).⁹ If the purpose has a prominent local overtone, then the NP referring to it takes the allative case, rather than the dative. In that case, however, the cross-referencing does not take place (see examples in 6.6.3).

⁹ In some Australian languages such as Pintupi (Bindubi) "the purposive is syntactically distinguished from the dative by not being cross-referenced by bound pronoun forms whereas the dative is so cross-referenced" (Blake 1977:37).

6.24 Beneficiary

The dative also often marks the semantic role of beneficiary (direct recipient or indirect beneficiary with, in most cases, human reference).¹⁰ Instances include both transitive clauses (such as [13]) and intransitive ones (such as [14] and [15]):

- [13] *Daarr + ya-ga-rr-a-ma windirri baba-garra-yi.*
 twine+12"-FUT-AGM-TR-AUX(put) hairbelt(ABS) child-PL-DAT
 'We (INCL) have to twine the (ceremonial) hairbelt for the children.'
- [14] *Nga-dyali ngunu-yi dyiya.*
 2FUT-return sister-DAT 2(GEN)
 'Come back for your sister.' (i.e. to pick her up)
- [15] *Karda-yi wamba nymaba dyarn'du nilbandyunu dyina.*
 yonder-DAT man(DAT)_i; this woman(ABS)_j; promised 3_i(GEN)
 'This woman [is] promised to that man.' [The intransitive finite verb left
 unsaid is *i-nga-rn* (3_j-be-IMPF).]

An NP referring to a beneficiary may (optionally) be cross-referenced by a dative clitic pronoun on the verb (or the beneficiary may be indicated by the clitic pronoun alone, the NP being left unsaid).

- [16] *Nyamba mi-na-ka-nda(-dyina) (dyuyu-ni) kamba-yi mirdanya.*
 this(ABS) 2-TR-carry-PF(-3DAT)_i 2-ERG that-DAT oldman(DAT)_i
 'You brought this for the old man_i.'
- [17] *Bibi i-ny-dyali-nda-dyina*
 mother(ABS)_i 3_i-EN-return-PF-3DAT_j
 'The mother_i returned to him_j.'

Curiously (but not very surprisingly in an Australian language), first and second person beneficiary of the verb 'give' (to me/us, to you) is encoded by the accusative enclitic, not the dative one. This will be discussed in 7.4.4.

6.25 Semi-transitive object (goal)

Certain types of transitive verbs require a dative case marking on the object NP (as well as the cross-referencing pronominal on the verb) while assigning an ergative case to the NP referring to the subject (i.e. the case frame is ERG-DAT).

- [18] *Ngay-ni dyakat + nga-ny-dyu-nd-dyina [kamba-yi barrydyanin]_{NP-DAT}.*
 1-ERG steal.up+1-EN-AUX(say)-PF-3DAT_i that-DAT wallaby(DAT)_i
 'I approached the wallaby quietly.'
- [19] *Dyaliny + wal-a-ny-dyina [kamba-yi (wamba)]_{NP-DAT}.*
 salute+2FUT-TR-AUX(catch)-3DAT_i that-DAT man(DAT)_i
 'You should greet him (that man).'

In [19] the subject pronoun 'you' is left out but it should be in the ergative (*dyuyu-ni* 2-ERG) if mentioned. There are no other object complements that would appear in the absolutive (or in the accusative enclitic).

¹⁰ I will use the term "benefactive" broadly referring to actions taken by an actor for the direct or indirect benefit, or pleasure, of some other person/s (beneficiary). This includes the narrow benefactive sense of '(doing something) on behalf of (somebody)' (Goddard 1983:64). As is often the case with human languages, the dative can also indicate the converse of the beneficiary: i.e. it may mark an unfavorably affected person or entity, or those who actually suffer from the action or the change of state described by the verb. See examples and discussion on the adversative use of the dative enclitics in 7.4.2.1.

Verbs that require such ERG-DAT case frame are termed semi-transitive verbs (10.1.4); typical verbs are those roughly equivalent to 'look for', 'hate/dislike', 'want/like', 'wait (for)', 'approach', 'support', 'call', 'sing' (i.e. perform love magic upon somebody), etc. It is presumed that the object of these semi-transitive verbs reflects the semantic role of goal, rather than that of patient (cf. 7.3.2.1).

6.2.6 Target

"Target" is a tentative semantic term proposed here to cover the notions of target (throw something at, angry with, mock at), concern/attention (afraid of, scared at, careful of), reference (proud of, ask about, in respect of), resource (short of, in need of) and certain conceived causal relations (premonition about). In Yawuru these various kinds of target can be encoded in the dative. Examples include:

- [20] *Bibi dyina rangka + i-ngara-rn wuba-yi dyina.*
 mother(ABS)_i 3_j(GEN) proud+3_i-AUX(become)-IMPF child_j-DAT 3_i(GEN)
 'The mother_i is proud of her son_j.'
- [21] *Maldyu-gadya + yaga-rry-dyi-nda kamba-yi wamba.*
 laugh-INTENS+12"-AGM-AUX(be)-PF that-DAT man(DAT)
 'We laughed at that man.' (i.e. we ridiculed him.)
- [22] *I-ny-dyabalu-n-irr yirmarda-yi dyanu.*
 3-EN-question-IMPF-3"ACC FZ-DAT 1(GEN)
 'He is asking them about my father's sister (FZ).'
- [23] *Nga-na-ngula-nda miliny barrydyanyin-dyi yawirr.*
 1-TR-throw-PF spear(ABS) wallaby-DAT missed
 'I threw a spear at the wallaby, but missed.' (cf. 8.4.2.1)

The target dative occurs either in intransitive clauses (as in [20] and [21]), or in transitive clauses (as in [22] and [23]). In the latter cases, it marks an indirect object, while the direct object is in the absolutive/accusative case (e.g. the spear in [23]).

Semantically, such indirect objects refer to a goal. Unlike the semi-transitive goal mentioned in 6.2.5, however, a target occurs as a non-core complement in terms of grammatical relations and is not cross-referenced.¹¹

The dative *barrydyanyin-dyi* in the last example above may be replaced by the allative (*barrydyanyin-ngarn*). In that case, however, it would mean that the speaker threw the spear towards the animal but did not mean to hit it (but, for example, just to chase it away or to drive it in a certain direction). By contrast, the use of the dative explicitly indicates the intention of hitting the game.

The dative in the next sentence bears an aversive meaning (cf. 6.9.7):

¹¹ As will be illustrated later (7.4.2), the target may be pronominally encoded in the dative clitic pronominal attached to the verb, in most cases without a cross-referenced NP (except in the rare instances of the impersonal reference; see example [77] given in 7.4.2.4.

- [24] (*Ngayu*) *galiny + nga-ny-dyu-nda dyinal-dyi.*
 1(ABS) dodge+1-EN-AUX(say)-PF bamboo.spear-DAT
 'I dodged the bamboo spear.'

To apply the term "target" to the aversive dative above may sound odd, as the speaker here is a target himself. From the speaker's viewpoint, however, the thrown spear is the object to be avoided and, therefore, it is the target of his attention. Notice that the complex verb *galiny + dyu* 'dodge' in [24] is intransitive (unlike the English translation) and the subject should be in the absolutive; an ergative marking on the 1st pronoun is unacceptable.

There are also cases where the target dative is semantically close to the causal (6.9). However, none of the dative markers in the examples below can be replaced by the causal marker:¹²

- [25] *Yawarda-yi wadya + i-ngara-nda kamba nganydyu.*
 horse-DAT scared+3_i-AUX(become)-PF that girl(ABS)_i
 'The girl was scared by the horse.' (The girl was standing close by a horse and the horse suddenly dashed.)
- [26] *Barra + mi-ngara-rn wula-yi.*
 thirsty+2-AUX(become)-IMPF water-DAT
 'You are thirsting for water.'
- [27] *Dyinylyi nungu wuba-yi.*
 labour.pain belly child-DAT
 '[She has] labour pains.'
- [28] *Liyan + nga-nga-ny-ngany wuba-yi dyanu.*
 feeling+1-AUX(be)-IMPF-COM child-DAT 1(GEN)
 'I've got a "feeling" of my son (i.e. I have a hunch that he is coming).'

The last two examples above can be regarded as borderline cases between the "target" marking and the indication of the "belonging" relations (pain of birth, premonition generated by the son who is coming).

Sometimes the subclassification of the meanings expressed by the dative is difficult to make, since the semantic roles are interrelated (and overlapping to a certain extent). Study, for instance, the next sentence:

- [29] *Wamba-ni kamba-yi malulu windirry wa-ng-ga-kurla.*
 man-ERG that-DAT initiate(DAT) hairbelt(ABS) 3-EN-FUT-tie
 'Men tied the initiate with a thick hairbelt.' (*windirry* is a special kind of hairbelt used in initiation ceremonies)

Here the entity referred to by the dative NP *kambayi malulu* can be interpreted as target (i.e. the hairbelt should be put on the initiate), possessor (i.e. the hairbelt belongs to the initiate), or beneficiary (i.e. the action was done on behalf of the initiate).

6.2.7 Temporal duration

The dative occasionally indicates a temporal duration (cf. 8.2.2.4).

¹² There are, on the other hand, target-like notions (such as 'be jealous of') that are encoded in the causal, rather than the dative (see 6.9.2).

- [30] *Kamba warndarl wal-a-ø-ngayu miliya-yi.*
 that coolamon(ABS) 2FUT-TR-give-1ACC now-DAT
 'Let me use the dinghy for a moment.' ("coolamon" here refers to a boat.)
- [31] *Dyarriny-dyi nga-ny-dyu-nda nga-ng-ga-rda-yi warli-ngarn.*
 always-DAT 1-EN-say-PF 1-EN-FUT-go-DAT_{purp} meat-ALLAT
 'I would (love to) go hunting at any time.'
- [32] *K*ayn wa-ng-ga-ni warany-gun-dyi rumarra.*
 let 3-EN-FUT-be other-LOC-DAT sun(DAT)
 'Keep him waiting until the next day.' (= [199] in 8.5.2.3)

See 8.2.1 for more of the declension of time-qualifying words.

6.2.8 Inchoative

It has already been illustrated in the previous chapter on complex verbs that the dative marker attached to a preverb conveys an inchoative meaning (5.4.1.2). Although examples are not numerous, common nominals may also take dative forms to encode a meaning of inchoative or a change of state. One example is:

- [33] *Ruka-yi i-ny-dyu-n dyalalu-nyurdany.*
 black-DAT 3-EN-say-IMPF bush.fire-CAUS
 '[The ground] got black from (i.e. burnt by) a bush fire.'

This, too, can be interpreted as a complex verb construction (i.e. regarding *ruka-yi* as an inchoative preverb), since the preverbal word order is invariable (thus the interlinear gloss should rather be: black-DAT+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF). It should be noted, however, that no instance has been encountered where the uninflected word *ruka* (which usually functions as an adjective) is used as a preverb.

What follows is another example in which a non-preverbal dative has an inchoative overtone.

- [34] *Miliya-rri¹³ i-ny-dyu-n dyalykurr-dyi/*dyina nganka.*
 now-DL 3-EN-say-IMPF baby-DAT/*GEN word(DAT)
 'He (the baby) is beginning to babble.'

Compare, in this connection, the phrases of [35a] and [35b], which convey almost the same meaning (see 6.3 for the use of the genitive). Notice that only the dative phrase of [35b] is acceptable in clauses implying inchoative meanings such as [34] above (cf. 8.2.1.1.(3)).

- [35] a. *dyalykurr-dyina nganka*
 baby-GEN word
 'babbling' (lit. "word of baby")
- b. *dyalykurr-dyi nganka*
 baby-DAT word
 'babbling' (lit. "word for baby")

¹³ See 8.2.1.1.(3) for the use of the dual form of *miliya* to mean 'just now'. As observed in [36] below, the dative form *miliya-yi* may also bear an inchoative overtone (but cf. [30] in 6.2.7).

[36] *Miliya-yi i-murku-rn-dyina kari wa-na-ng-ga-bi.*
 now-DAT 3-search-IMPF-3DAT grog(ABS) 3-TR-EN-FUT-drink
 'Now he resumes (the habit of) drinking.'

6.3 Genitive

6.3.1 Form

Although instances are not numerous, the genitive marker *-dyina* is used to mark a possessor. It occurs only with nouns referring to an animate entity (except in the cases of adverb derivations illustrated later). The examples include both alienable and inalienable possession:

- [37] a. *lindyu-dyina durrkarrang*
 policeman-GEN motorcar
 '(the) policeman's car'¹⁴ (alienable)
- b. *marra kurldyiwarn-dyina*
 nest bowerbird-GEN
 'bowerbird's nest' (alienable)
- c. *minyaw-dyina makarra*
 cat-GEN tail
 'cat's tail' (inalienable)

The genitive forms (N-*dyina*) are normally pronounced (as in other case forms) without a pause, thus rendering *-dyina* an affix-like status. The case marker in question may be identified with the 3rd person dative enclitic *-dyina* (which is segmentally identical to the free-form genitive pronoun *dyina*; see 7.4.1).

Notice that, unlike the dative allomorphy (6.2.1), the consonantal form *-dyina* follows vowel-ending stems, too.¹⁵

6.3.2 Genitive and dative

The genitive phrases given in [37a-c] above can be paraphrased as the following:

- [37'] a. *lindyu-yi durrkarrang dyina*
 policeman-DAT motorcar 3(GEN)
- b. *marra dyina kurldyiwarn-dyi*
 nest 3(GEN) bowerbird-DAT
- c. *makarra dyina minyaw-dyi*
 tail 3(GEN) cat-DAT

where the dative marker *-yi/-dyi* is employed, along with the 3rd-person genitive pronoun *dyina* (which may be omitted). This is not surprising, since we have already seen that the dative alone may bear a possessive meaning. Apart from the possessive, the case marker *-dyina* indicates no other "dative" meanings such as purposive, target or benefactive.

¹⁴ This phrase can mean either 'car attached to the office of policemen' or 'car belonging to a specific policeman'. The latter meaning, however, is more likely to be expressed by the dative phrase of [37'a] given in 6.3.2.

¹⁵ See footnote 22 in this chapter for more information on the *dy / y* alternation (see also 3.8.4.1).

The genitive sometimes reflects a kind of "belonging" relationship slightly different from the one expressed by the dative. Compare the adnominal genitive and dative phrases given below:

- [38] a. *way(t)balu-dyina nilawal*
 whitefella/E-GEN name
 'European names'¹⁶
- b. *waybalu-yi nilawal*
 whitefella/E-DAT name
 'name of (the) white person'

While the dative such as in [38b] usually marks a definite possessor (though it can be indefinite depending on the context), the genitive marking in [38a] implies that the phrase refers to white people in general (and their background culture). In other words, the genitive here functions as a generic expression of an indefinite possessor; it only specifies a category, not a particular member of the category. The dative, by contrast, specifies an individual.

As will be pointed out in the next chapter, a definite/indefinite distinction can be made by using demonstratives (7.5.5.2). Combined with such determiner-demonstratives, the genitive seems to mark a definite (but non-specific) referent. Consider the next sentence, where 'the bush fowl' refers to a particular species of edible bird (i.e. definite) without specifying a particular individual bird (i.e. non-specific):

- [39] *Dyimbu ya-ga-rr-a-nya kamba-dyina bawl.*
 egg(ABS) 12"-FUT-AGM-TR-catch that-GEN fowl/E(GEN)
 'Let's get some bush fowl eggs.'¹⁷

The genitive in [39] can be replaced by the dative *-yi*, which would, however, indicate that the speaker (male) is talking of a particular bush fowl that he and the hearer are watching or at least know where its nest is (i.e. definite and specific).

6.3.3 Genitive predicate

Nouns in the genitive may perform a predicate function (cf. 10.5). Compare [40a] with [40b] (again the free pronoun *dyina* in [40b] may be left unsaid):

¹⁶ Most of the Yawuru people, as well as other Aboriginal groups in the Broome area, retain "blackfella names", or "bush names" (*narli nilawal* 'lit.) true name'), apart from European names (*waybalu-dyina nilawal*) such as "Jacky" or "Mary". The single word *nilawal* 'name' usually refers to the blackfella names that are inherited through the section system. Use of blackfella names is subject to certain types of tabooing (particularly a mortuary one), while whitefella names are not so affected. See 10.2.7.2.

¹⁷ As a matter of fact, the determiner *kamba* is used here because the speaker was unable to remember the traditional name of the bird referred to. The name in question is *kabayabardar* 'Black-tailed Native Hen' (*Gallinula ventralis*) and the sentence would be: *dyimbu yagarranya kabayabardar-dyina* (word order may vary), with the genitive implying the indefiniteness (generic reference only).

- [40] a. [[*Dyarrki-dyina*]_{NP(PRED)} [*kamba dyimbu*]_{NP}]_s
 turkey-GEN that egg(ABS)
 'Those eggs are turkeys.'¹⁸
- b. [[*Kamba*]_{NP} [*dyarrki-yi dyimbu (dyina)*]_{NP(PRED)}]_s
 that turkey-DAT egg(ABS) 3_i(GEN)
 'Those are turkey eggs.'

The dative phrases such as *marra kurldyiwarn-dyi* (as in [41b]) or *dyarrki-yi dyimbu* (as in [40b]) can only be interpreted as NPs (i.e. 'bowerbird's nest', 'turkey's eggs'). By contrast, the genitive phrase of [41] can be either an NP [41a] or an equational predication [41b]:¹⁹

- [41] *marra kurldyiwarn-dyina*
 nest(ABS) bowerbird-GEN
- a. [*marra kurldyiwarn-dyina*]_{NP} 'a bowerbird's nest'
- b. [[*Marra*]_{NP} [*kurldyiwarn-dyina*]_{NP(PRED)}]_s '(The) nest is a bowerbird's.'

The predicate reading would be more likely if the possessed noun *marra* is modified by a demonstrative determiner *kamba* (i.e. the structure parallel to that of [40a] though word ordering is reversed; cf. 7.5.2).

In terms of the phrase structure, the genitive nouns in the predicate function such as illustrated above are not adnominal.

6.3.4 Double case marking

Instances are encountered where the genitive *-dyina* and the ergative *-ni* occur in sequence on the same nominal:

- [42] *Waytbalu-dyina-ni nganka i-na-langka-rn* "stupid".
 whiteman-GEN-ERG word(ERG) 3-TR-know-IMP (stupid)
 'It means "stupid" in English.' (lit. "whiteman's language knows [it as] "stupid" "; explaining a Yawuru word *ngarangara* 'stupid, silly')
- [43] *Kamba-rr-dyina-ni ngunu mayi inga-rr-a-ka-nda-dyayrda.*
 that_{i+j}-DL-GEN-ERG sister(ERG)_k fruit(ABS) 3^{"_{k+m}}-AGM-TR-carry-PF-12["]DAT
 'A sister_k of the two (man_i and wife_j) brought us the foods.' (the verb is conjugated in the augmented number because the sister came together with other people_m).

It is interpreted that the ergative *-ni* is attached to the phrasal subject [*waytbalu-dyina nganka*]_{NP} 'whiteman's word (i.e. language)' in [42]. The verb *langka* 'know' is transitive and thus requires an ergative marking on the subject NP. In other words, the direct sequencing of *-dyina* and *-ni* is the result of non-inherent inflexion (2.5.2.3). The subject NP of [43] is structurally parallel: the NP [*kamba-rr-dyina ngunu*] is inflected for the ergative at phrase level.²⁰

¹⁸ "Turkey" in local Aboriginal English refers to the Australian Bustard (*Ardeotis australis*). *Dyarrki* is its Karajarri name, which, however, is more often used in modern Yawuru than the proper Yawuru name *barlkara*.

¹⁹ The two readings are of course distinguished by different intonation and/or pausing. The predicate interpretation [41b] would correspond to a salient stress (with a raised pitch) on the word *kurldyiwarn-dyina*.

²⁰ The use of the genitive in [43] is somewhat unusual. The possessor here is definite ('the man and the wife'). Use of the possessive dative would sound more natural: *ngunu-ni kamba-rr-yi*

6.3.5 Lexical derivations

The genitive marker *-dyina* added to *wubardu* '(ADJ) small/little' (cf. 2.2.1) derives an idiomatic adverb *wubardu-dyina*, which usually indicates a short period of time:^{20A}

- [44] *Wubardu-dyina kurlin + nga-ni, malybar + mi-ngara-rn.*
 small-GEN sleep+2FUT-AUX(be) tired+2-AUX(become)-IMPF
 'You lie down for a little while; you are tired.'

Such use is interesting, because similar cases of temporal indication have also been observed with the dative (6.2.7). It is noted, however, that the derived adverb *wubardu-dyina* occasionally indicates a small quantity or a small degree of something ('just a little bit' without any temporal implication:

- [45] *Laar + i-ny-dyu-n wubardu-dyina.*
 crack+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF small-GEN
 'It (the spear) has a small crack in it.' (= [9a] in Chapter 5)
- [46] *Wubardu-dyina-manydyan i-na-langka-n-irr, marlu manydya.*
 small-GEN-only 3-TR-know-IMPF-3"ACC not many
 'He knows only little.'

It should also be added that the adverb derivation with *-dyina* is not productive. No parallel expressions such as **wirdu-dyina* or **bambi-dyina* have been observed (*wirdu* 'big', *bambi* 'long while'; cf. 8.2.2.4).

Four more lexical items with the *-dyina* element have been recorded:

- kundidyina* 'shoulder' (also *kundirrydyi*)²¹
yarrydyina 'without ...'
dyunku-dyina 'current (of tide)'.
marlu-dyina 'without ...' (~ *marlu-yina*)²²

For the first item, *kundidyina*, we have a posture-indicating word *kundu* 'carrying on the shoulder' (8.4.1), but free forms such as **kundi* or derived forms such as **kundudyina* have not been found.

The word *yarrydyina* has a privative meaning (a common translation by the informants is "no got"):

(sister-ERG that-DL-DAT), i.e. the head noun stands in the NP-initial position, taking the ergative marker and being modified by the pronominal demonstrative in the dative.

^{20A} See also example [10c] cited in 5.4.1 and [195] cited in 6.9.5.

²¹ This corresponds to *gurndi-dyina* in Nyikina. There are in Nyikina several other body-part nouns having the *-dyina* element (Stokes 1982:49-51). Those include *ngunidyina* 'nose' (cf. footnote 50 in this chapter) and *gardid-dyina* 'foot'. The Yawuru for 'nose' and 'foot' are respectively *nimalul* and *niwal* (i.e. without *-dyina* — cf. 2.4.3).

²² Notice the *dy/y* variation in *marlu-dyina* ~ *marlu-yina*. No such postvocal lenition, however, has been observed with other items: **kundi-yina*, **dyunku-yina*, **yarr'yina* (or **yarri-yina*). The *dy/y* alternation takes place in the suffix *-dyina* in Nyikina that marks an animate source (Stokes 1982:76-78), which becomes *-yina* following a vowel. The suffix remains to be *-dyina* elsewhere (i.e. the same nature of allomorphy as the Yawuru dative *-dyi/-yi* — see 3.8.4.1). cf. also the "extended dative" marker *-dyiva/-yiva* in Nyikina (Stokes 1982:73-75).

- [47] *yarrydyina kunkulu*
 without hair
 "no got hair" (i.e. 'without hair' = *burulu* 'bald')
- [48] *yarrydyina dyangkurr*
 without clothing
 "no got shirt" (i.e. 'without clothes' = *kurda* 'naked')

Word order is fixed and *yarrydyina* is usually unstressed so that it behaves just like a preposition (which is unusual in Yawuru). No free forms such as **yarry* or **yarri* have been recorded. As for the remaining two items, there are free forms on record: *dyunku* 'running' (preverb) and *marlu* 'no, not' (negator; see 10.3.2.2 and 10.6.7.2 for examples of the use of *marlu-dyina*).

Finally, there is at least one toponym recorded with *-dyina*: namely, *manuldyina* 'Manuel Point'.

6.3.6 Status of the genitive as a grammatical case

Considering (i) the relative paucity of instances, (ii) the low productivity of *-dyina*, and (iii) its functional overlap with the dative, it could be argued that the non-pronominal genitive does not constitute a separate grammatical case in Yawuru. Instead, it could be argued that it is a functionally-specified allomorph of the dative (with an animate-possessive meaning, with implication of indefiniteness). Furthermore, the formal as well as functional connection of *-dyina* to the 3rd-person pronominal genitive *dyina* is obvious (7.2.1).

The Yawuru non-pronominal genitive is at best regarded as developing. Its value of existence seems to consist mainly in the predicative use in verbless clauses (as sketched in 6.3.3; also see 10.5.2), rather than in the adnominal use, where its function is more or less parallel to that of the adnominal dative indicating possession.²³

Functional parallelism between the pronominal genitive and dative will be discussed in 7.4.3.

6.4 Ergative

6.4.1 Forms

The ergative case is marked by the enclitic *-ni*, with the allomorphs *-nyi* (following a laminal consonant) and *-rni* (following a retroflex):²⁴

²³ Blake (1977:38) pointed out the rather dubious status of the genitive as a case distinct from the dative in Australian languages.

²⁴ This is rather a peculiar form among the Kimberley languages (see Stokes and McGregor 1989). Djingili (of Berkeley Tableland) has the ergative suffix *-rni* with the retroflexed nasal (Chadwick 1975:22).

'dog'	<i>yila</i>	>	<i>yila-ni</i>
'wallaby'	<i>barrydyadyin</i>	>	<i>barrydyadyin-ni</i>
'motorcar'	<i>durrkarrang</i>	>	<i>durrkarrang-ni</i>
'root'	<i>birr</i>	>	<i>birr-ni</i>
'watersnake'	<i>burlany</i>	>	<i>burlany-nyi</i>
'quiet'	<i>kuridy</i>	>	<i>kuridy-nyi</i>
'wing'	<i>dyalbarn</i>	>	<i>dyalbarn-rni</i>
'magpie'	<i>kurrawarl</i>	>	<i>kurrawarl-rni</i> ²⁵

At least one case is known where the ergative marker causes a stem-final nasal to drop (optionally, however):

ABSOLUTE:	<i>nyamngarrniminy</i>	'people of this kind' ²⁶
ERGATIVE:	<i>nyamngarrnimi(ny)-ni</i>	

6.4.2 Transitive subject

The most common function of the ergative is to mark the grammatical relation of the transitive subject, which may or may not be playing the semantic role of agent. The ergative marking occurs regardless of the animacy (or human/non-human distinction) of the subject and of the object. The ergative NPs are cross-referenced by the pronominal prefix on the verb (except in quasi-passive; 10.2.4). Examples with various combinations of the subject-object animacy follow:

1) animate subject with inanimate object

- [49] *Kamba-ni mirdanya i-na-langka-rn bukarri-garra.*
 that-ERG old.man(ERG) 3-TR-know-IMPF dream-PL(ABS)
 'That old man knows the Dreamtime stories very well.'
- [50] *Kamma-ni i-na-kunba-nda milimili baku.*
 that-ERG 3-TR-send-PF mail/E(ABS) hither
 'He sent the letter here.'

2) animate subject with animate object

- [51] *Bibi-ni dyalykurr guly +i-na-ra-nda k*awity.*
 mother_i-ERG baby(ABS) deliver+3_i-TR-AUX(spear)-PF quick
 'The mother gave birth to the baby easily.'
- [52] *kamba i-na-rba-nda yawarda yila-ni.*
 that[^] 3_j-TR-follow-PF [^]horse(ABS)_i dog_j-ERG
 'A dog chased the horse.' (*kamba* and *yawarda* constitute a discontinuous object NP — see 2.5.3)
- [53] *Dyurru-ni inga-rr-a-burna-nda-yayu manydya.*
 insect-ERG 3"-AGM-TR-bite-PF-12ACC many
 'The mosquitoes bit us (you and me) a lot.' (cf. 2.4.4)

3) inanimate subject with animate object

- [54] *Wa-na-ø-nya-ngayu kinykirrida-ni.*
 3-TR-IRR-catch-1ACC phlegm-ERG
 'I might catch a cold.' (lit. "phlegm might catch me")

²⁵ Remember (see 3.6.3.3) that the convention for spelling a homorganic retroflex cluster is not to repeat the *r* in the second digraph (e.g. *rnn*, rather than *rnrn*, for /*n*/+/*n*/; similarly, *rln* is /*l*/+/*n*/ and *rnd* is /*n*/+/*d*/), so that, without hyphenation, the ergative forms of 'wing' and 'magpie' are respectively spelled *dyalbarnni* and *kurrawarlⁿⁱ*.

²⁶ See 2.5.2.4 for the word formation of this compound noun.

- [55] *Dyangal + i-na-ma-rn kamba ngarrungu wirdu-ni balu.*
 block+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF that man(ABS) big-ERG tree(ERG)
 'A big (fallen) tree blocked the man's path.'

4) inanimate subject with inanimate object

- [56] *Karda i-na-nya-n ngarl(a)ngarla-ni buru dyayrda.*
 yonder 3_i-TR-catch-IMPF mirage_i-ERG land(ABS) 12"(GEN)
 'We see our land over there through the mirage.'
 (lit. "mirage catches our land over there")
- [57] *Dyirril-ni wanggal manbala i-na-ma-rn.*
 strong-ERG wind(ERG)_i; wave(ABS) 3_i-TR-put-IMPF
 'The strong wind makes the sea rough.'
- [58] *Ringngu-ni i-ny-dyarlngardi-rn rumarra.*
 "burning.sky"-ERG 3-EN-cover-IMPF sun(ABS)
 'The sky gets brightly coloured at the sunset.' (lit. "burning-sky covers the sun"; the word *ringngu* refers to the the bright colours of the sunset)

6.4.3 Ergative omission

Ergative marking is obligatory in all of the above examples. In natural discourse, however, there are occasional (but not many) instances where the marker *-ni* is absent from the transitive subject. There seem to be several typical semantic and/or syntactic environments in which the ergative marking is dropped.

First, the omission of the ergative marker takes place when the described action is that of a human agent to an inanimate object. The agent subject may be pronominal (as in [59]) or non-pronominal (as in [60]):

- [59] *Ngayu(-ni) nga-na-bilka-rn nyamb(a) warli.*
 1(-ERG) 1-TR-hit-IMPF this meat(ABS)
 'I cut the meat.'
- [60] *Bigdya i-na-nya-rn waytbalu(-ni).*
 picture/E(ABS) 3_i-TR-catch-IMPF whitefellow/E(-ERG)_i
 'White people are taking photos.'

In the next instance, the omission of the ergative marker barely causes any more confusion than the above cases do, since it is pragmatically taken for granted that mothers take care of babies, not vice versa.

- [61] *Wangkurr-gadya + i-nga-nda dyalykurr, bibi(-ni) dyina kurlin + i-na-ma-rn.*
 cry-INTENS+3_i-AUX(be)-PF baby(ABS)_i; mother_i (-ERG) 3_i (GEN) sleep+3_j-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF
 'The baby has been crying; the mother is now trying to put it to sleep.'

Another case of the ergative omission is found where the finite verb carries an enclitic pronoun that explicitly marks the human patient (7.3.2):

- [62] *Gurdurlgarang(-ni) i-na-nya-rn-ngayu, kacity + nga-mba-ø-ndyi-n.²⁷*
 itchy.grub(-ERG) 3-TR-catch-IMPF-1ACC scratch+1-INT-AUX(give)-RCP-IMPF
 'I'm scratching myself, because an itchy grub (a type of Hairy Mary) bit me.'

Such instances could be regarded as symptoms of an incipient change towards a nominative-accusative organisation of the syntax. It should be added, however,

²⁷ See 4.6.7 for morphological and semantic issues concerning the reflexive form of the zero-root verb 'give'.

that all of the above examples of ergative omission are judged by informants to be "not proper" or "quick way". The ergative marker is always retrievable, however. (This is indicated by the parentheses.)

Apart from such limited signs of a possible syntactic change as mentioned above, no split-ergativity on a regular basis is observed in Yawuru. The ergative-marking of A-function NPs or pronouns takes place irrespective of the grammatical person of the subject/object, animacy/humanness of the subject/object, or of the tense/aspect/mood of the predication.

Several syntactic issues that are related to ergative-marking are discussed in 4.6.1 (reflexive), 4.7.4 (verbal comitative), 10.2 (double-subject and quasi-passive constructions) and 10.7 (referential ergative).

6.4.4 Causal ergative

Intransitive clauses may occasionally have an ergatively marked NP indicating a cause or resource:

[63] *Bidyarda-ni i-m-bula-rn-dyina, rayi dyina.*
 emu-ERG 3_i-EN-come-IMPF-3DAT_j dreaming 3_i(GEN)
 'He_i (the baby) with an emu dreaming was born to him_j (father).'²⁸

[64] *Dyabarlbarl i-ngara-rn (buru) wula-ni.*
 muddy 3-become-IMPF land(ABS) water-ERG
 'The ground gets muddy when it rains.'

The ergative markers in the above examples may be replaced by the causal *-nyurdany* without a significant change in the meaning.²⁹

The causal use of the ergative is possibly derived from a structure which would be something like the following, through the ellipsis of the second (transitive) finite verbs (indicated in parentheses):

[65] *Rdirdil + nga-ny-dyu-n birr-ni (i-na-kurla-nda-ngayu).*³⁰
 stumble+1-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF root_i-ERG 3_i-TR-tie-PF-1ACC
 'A tree root [trapped me and] I staggered.'

²⁸ It is rather difficult to determine whether the subject-marking verbal prefix *i-* (3rd person minimal) refers to the emu or the newborn baby. I have assumed that it refers to the baby ("he came", i.e. he was born), since the verb *bula* is always intransitive elsewhere. From the traditional Aboriginal point of view, such argument is perhaps pointless, since the baby and the emu have been identified through the dreaming relationship (cf. the "dreaming-wise" cross-referencing illustrated in 4.2.1.2 and 10.2.7.3). As to the 3rd-person enclitic *-dyina* 'to him_j' in [63], we know from the original context that it refers to the baby's father, who had missed hitting the emu in his dream just before the baby was born.

²⁹ Also cf. the example below, in which the ergative and the causal are used both to indicate the cause of the incident (cf. 10.3.2.3):

*K*alaa + i-ny-dyu-n marrkun-ni dyiwarri, marlu-nyurdany mayi.*
 finish+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF hunger-ERG dead not-CAUS food(CAUS)
 'He died of hunger as there was no food.'

³⁰ The ergative marker in [65] may alternatively be an ablative one. See [144] given in 6.7.3.

- [66] *Winyiwinyi + i-ny-dyu-n balu-yirr wirrkiny*
 shake+3_{i+j}-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF tree(ABS)_i -and leaf(ABS)_j
wangal-ni (i-na-baru-n-irr).
 wind_k -ERG 3_k -TR-blow-IMPF-3"ACC_{i+j}
 'The wind is blowing on the branches and leaves [and they] are trembling.'

Although it is not so common as in intransitive instances, the ergative indicating a cause/resource appears in transitive sentences as well. It should be noticed, in the transitive example below, that the subject prefix on the verb refers to those who make use of the entity expressed by the ergative NP as a resource (the smoke is of our fire, not of theirs):

- [67] *Ngurun-ni wa-ya-rr-a-banydyu.*
 smoke_i -ERG 3_j -IRR-AGM-TR-smell
 'They_j might smell our fire_i; (and find us).'

6.45 Contrastive

The ergative marker may be attached to the subject (actor) of an intransitive action in order to highlight a contrast between one/some participant(s) and another/others who are both actors (or possible actors) of the described event (or sequence of events).

- [68] *Dyuyu-ni warany-gardi (nga-rndira), ngayu-ni warany-gardi (nga-ng-ga-rda).*
 2-ERG other-side 2FUT-go 1-ERG other-side 1-EN-FUT-go
 'You go that way; I'll go this way.'

In [69] below, the second predicate (drinking) is transitive, but the first one (working) is intransitive. Yet the ergative marking occurs on the subject pronouns of both predicate verbs.

- [69] *Ngayu-ni nga-nga-nda mulkula-gadya, dyuyu-ni buru-bardu*
 1-ERG 1-AUX(be)-PF work-INTENS 2-ERG time-still
kari mi-na-bi-nda.
 grog(ABS) 2-TR-drink-PF
 'I was working hard while you were drinking.'

Compare [69] with [69'] below where the contrastive context is absent and the ergative marking on the 1st person subject pronoun is therefore unacceptable. It is also noticed that in [69] above the preverb *mulkulagadya* is shifted to the postverbal position, reinforcing the contrastive effect.

- [69'] *Ngayu(-*ni) mulkula-gadya + nga-nga-rn.*
 1(ABS) work-INTENS+1-AUX(be)-IMPF
 'I'm working (hard).'

Instances of the contrastive ergative are not numerous. All of the known cases occur on nominals with human reference, typically personal pronouns. The described events are always volitional/willful actions rather than states, changes of state, or non-volitional actions.³¹

³¹ This is an interesting point from a typological perspective. Although Yawuru is not a language of the stative-active type (Fillmore 1968, Foley & Van Valin 1984:119ff, Anderson 1985:196), the ergative is here associated with volitional intransitive action. This can be, therefore, considered an aspect of the active-stative organisation that exists in the syntax and semantics of ergative languages.

Sometimes the contrast may not be syntagmatically overt, but it is latent in the chosen lexical item. This is the case with:

- [70] *Kamba-ni wamba i-m-bula-nd-dyirra.*
 that-ERG man(ERG) 3-EN-come-PF-3"DAT
 'That man came to (help) them (while others didn't).'

Implicit in the demonstrative-determiner *kamba* in the subject NP is a paradigmatic (as well as deictic) contrast with other people, which is reinforced by the ergative marking. (The verb *bula* is intransitive and it usually needs no such ergative marking on the subject as above.)

The use of the contrastive ergative in intransitive clauses probably arises out of analogy to the transitive constructions that bear contrastive overtones. In such a case, ergative NPs or pronouns are seldom omitted:

- [71] *Ngay-ni mabu nga-na-makura-rn (karrbina), marlu dyuyu-ni-ngarr.*
 1-ERG good 1-TR-make-IMPF shield(ABS) not 2-ERG-like
 'I can make a fine quality shield, not like you do.' (i.e. I'm a better manufacturer than you; the shields you make are not as good as mine.)
- [72] *Kalkurru inga-rr-a-ma-rn karadyarri-ni,*
 (word) 3"-AGM-TR-put-IMPF Karajarri-ERG
yadiri-ni yaga-rr-a-ma-rn yawuru-ni yakurl.
 12"-ERG 12"-AGM-TR-put-IMPF Yawuru-ERG (word)
 'They call it kalkurru in Karajarri, but we Yawuru people call it *yakurl*.'

6.4.6 Further comments

6.4.6.1 Ergative marking on body-part nouns

Commonly encountered in Yawuru is a transitive construction in which a body-part noun (or NP) is ergatively marked while the cross-referencing prefix on the verb marks the whole (i.e. possessor of the body part), rather than the body part itself.³²

- [73] *Yila mi-ny-dyanba-nda niwal-ni dyuyu.*
 dog(ABS) 2-EN-kick-PF foot-ERG 2(ABS)
 'You kicked the dog (with your foot).'
- [74] *Nilirr-ni dyiin + mi-ny-dyu-nda-ngayu.*
 mouth-ERG point+2-EN-AUX(say)-PF-1ACC
 'You pouted at me.'

Notice that a personal pronoun co-referential with the verbal prefix may appear in the clause or may just be left out. If it occurs, however, it is in the absolutive, not in the ergative case. Problems relevant to this and other similar whole-part constructions will be dealt with in 10.2.

³² Similar phenomena are reported from other Australian languages, e.g. Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:199-200).

6.4.6.2 Referential ergative

There is a construction in which the ergative marker is attached to a non-matrix intransitive preverb in order to mark the same-subjecthood with the matrix transitive clause. This use, which I call referential ergative since it functions as a device for marking co-referentiality, is discussed and illustrated in 10.7.

6.4.6.3 Double case marking

Although in Yawuru the ergative by itself is not employed to indicate instrumentality, it may optionally accompany the instrumental marker *-barri*, forming an extended instrumental marking *-barri-ni*. This is described in 6.8.5. Another case of such optional addition of the ergative is encountered in the use of the ablative (see 6.7.6).

These two cases of double case marking (INST-ERG and ABL-ERG) seem to share some functional properties with the referential ergative occurring on non-matrix preverbs (see 10.7.2.2).

6.5 Locative

The locative marker is *-gun* without any allomorphic variation. A variant *-gan* appears in (and only in) place names (see 6.5.7).

6.5.1 Stative-locative

The most basic function of this case is to indicate a location (or less specifically a local range) in which an entity finds itself or an event takes place.

<i>rubibi-gun</i>	'in Broome'
<i>wungku-gun</i>	'in the green room' (i.e. behind the dancing ground) ^{32A}
<i>rumarra-gun</i>	'in the sun(shine)' (e.g. to dry something)
<i>lani-gun</i>	'in the vicinity (of)' (lit. "near-in"; see 8.3.4.1)

The notion is more or less stative, although minor movement within a certain range may be involved:

- [75] *Nyamba-gun maya i-nga-rn yirlmarda dyanu.*
 this-LOC house(LOC) 3-be-IMPF FZ(ABS) 1(GEN)
 'A sister of my father lives in this house.'
- [76] *Lakurru i-nga-rn wanangarri-gun.*
 rock.fig(ABS) 3-be-IMPF stone-LOC
 'Rock figs grow in rocky areas.'
- [77] *Rdaarl + i-ny-dyu-n dyalangardi dyurra-gun.*
 explode+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF goanna(ABS) earth.oven-LOC
 'The goanna exploded in the earth oven (while being roasted).'

^{32A} The word *wungku* refers to a bough screen or a shelter, which is usually set up behind the dancing ground and serves as the green room for corroboree dancers.

- [78] *Ya-minydyi-n nyamba-gun bika, wal-dyulka-dyanu nganka.*
 12-sit.down-IMPF this-LOC shade(LOC) 2FUT-tell-1DAT word(ABS)
 'Let's sit down in this shade and you explain to me what happened.'
- [79] *Balu-gun yinyki + i-nga-nda yalku.*
 tree-LOC lean+3-AUX(be)-PF standing
 'He was leaning against a tree.' (cf. [91])

Body parts are often mentioned in the locative.

- [80] *Warndura + i-na-ka-rn kundidyina-gun dyalangardi.*
 on.shoulder+3-EN-AUX(carry)-IMPF shoulder-LOC goanna(ABS)
 'He is carrying a goanna on his shoulder.'
- [81] *Marru-gun nga-nga-ny-ngany³³ dyurru.*
 head-LOC 1-be-IMPF-COM louse(ABS)
 'My head is lousy.' (or 'I have headlice'; lit. "I'm with lice in head")^{33A}

The locative case does not necessarily imply physical contact, but may indicate proximity, as is the case in:

- [82] *Dyungku-gun mi-na-nya-rn nimarlangka.*
 fire-LOC 2-TR-catch-IMPF lower.arm(ABS)
 'Warm your hands at the fire.'
- [83] *Dyawarr-dyawarr bidyara-gun i-ny-dyu-nd-dyiya.*
 whisper-REDUP ear-LOC 3-EN-say-PF-2DAT
 'He whispered in your ear.'
- [84] *Midyala + i-nga-nda ngayu-gun.*
 sitting+3-AUX(be)-PF 1-LOC
 'He was sitting next to me.'

Various local adverbs (for notions such as inside/outside, side/middle, over/under, near/far, etc.) may be used in combination with the locative for further specification of the location (See 8.3.4 for examples).

A plant name + *-gun* refers to a location where that particular kind of plant is dominant or salient:

- murrka-gun* 'in a/the paperbark bush'³⁴
kundurrung-gun 'in a/the mangrove swamp'

6.5.2 Non-stative locative

Quite often a motional notion 'into/onto' is encoded in the locative. Note that the locative case in the following examples cannot be replaced by the allative.

- [85] *Dyurrurru + wal-a-ngula bakidi-gun.*
 pour+2FUT-TR-AUX(throw) bucket/E-LOC
 'Pour it into the bucket.'
- [86] *Rumarra i-ng-gardi-rn dyirrbal-gun.*
 sun(ABS) 3-EN-enter-IMPF cloud-LOC
 'The sun went into the cloud.'

³³ See 4.7. for the use of comitative verbs.

^{33A} The word *dyurru* is a generic term to cover a wide varieties of reptiles and insects, including lice — see 2.4.4; cf. [111] in 6.5.6.

³⁴ The word *murrka* refers to a particular species of paperbark (*Melaleuca acacioides*) and not to paperbarks in general (see 2.4.2.2).

- [87] *Nakula-gun i-ny-dyalku-nda, k*awity wal-a-nya.*
 sea-LOC 3-EN-fall-PF quick 2FUT-TR-catch
 'He has fallen into the sea. Save him, quick!'

Interestingly, 'setting a spear onto a spear-thrower' is expressed in Yawuru as "put thrower on spear" (as in [88a]), not as "put spear on thrower" (as in [88b]):

- [88] a. *Ngabalin wal-a-ma dyinal-gun.*
 thrower(ABS) 2FUT-TR-put bamboo-LOC
 'Set the spear on the thrower.' (*Dyinal* is a type of bamboo spear and *ngabalin* is the thrower of it.)
 b. *[*Dyinal wal-a-ma ngabalin-gun.*]

The notion of "translate into ..." is expressed neither in the dative nor in the allative, but in the locative (cf. [8] in 6.2.2).

- [89] *Nyamba yawru-gun wal-a-ma milimili.*
 this^ Yawuru-LOC 2FUT-TR-put ^paper(ABS)
 'Will you translate this document into Yawuru?'

6.5.3 Abstract locus

The locative may also occur with abstract nouns.

- [90] *Dyabi-gun i-na-ma-rn buru dyina.*
 song-LOC 3-TR-put-IMPF land(ABS) 3(GEN)
 'He puts his land in a song.' (i.e. he relates the story of his country in the song he composed.)
 [91] *Dyidu-gun i-nga-rn balu-gun ngayu-gap.*
 hiding-LOC 3-be-IMPF tree-LOC 1-ABL
 'She was behind the tree, hiding from me.' (I didn't notice she was there)³⁵

The locative expression *dyidu-gun* in [91] shows a semantic contrast with the ablative form:

dyidu-gun (hiding-LOC) 'without being witnessed, sneakingly'
dyidu-gap (hiding-ABL) 'secretly, furtively'

The difference lies in that the ablative form focuses on the intention of the actor whereas the locative form foregrounds the result of the action. Compare [92] with [93]:

- [92] *Ngayu-ni nga-na-bura-rn dyidu-gap.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-see-IMPF hiding-ABL
 'I'm peeping.'
 [93] *Dyidu-gun i-na-rba-n-irr.*
 hiding-LOC 3-TR-follow-IMPF-3"ACC
 'He followed them unnoticed.'

Locative inflexions of nominals referring to non-local entities may indicate an occasion:³⁶

³⁵ The use of the ablative in this sentence is somewhat aversive. It cannot, however, be replaced by the causal (cf. 6.9.7).

³⁶ See 10.3.2.1 for the use of the *marlu-gun* (locative inflexion of the negator), indicating an occasion, reason or condition of the action.

- [94] *Gurrrp + inga-rr-a-dyu-nda dyarn'du-garra nurlu-gun dyirril.*
 cupped.palm+3"-AGM-TR-AUX(say)-PF woman-PL corroboree-LOC strong
 'The women clapped hard to accompany the dancing.'³⁷
- [95] *Inga-rr-bandyi-bandyi-n kunydyurung-gun manydya ngarrungu.*
 3"-AGM-REDUP-exchange-IMPF (name of ceremony)-LOC many people(ABS)
 'Many people exchange things in the Gunyjurung ceremony.'

6.5.4 Continuous action

Locative marking on a noun with non-abstract reference may render an abstract meaning, indicating a more or less continuous action or activity. [96a] provides a typical example, which was paraphrased by the informant as [96b]:

- [96] a. *Kari-gun inga-rry-dyi-n.*
 grog-LOC 3"-AGM-be-IMPF
 'They were drinking.'
- b. *Inga-rr-a-bi-rn kari.*
 3"-AGM-TR-drink-IMPF grog(ABS)
 'They were drinking.'

Similar examples include:³⁸

- [97] *Burda-gun inga-rry-dyi-n.*
 feces-LOC 3"-AGM-be-IMPF
 'Somebody is defecating.'
- [98] *Mayi-gun-bardu ya-nga-rn.*
 food-LOC-still 12-be-IMPF
 'We are still eating.' (see 8.2.1.2.(2) for the function of *-bardu*)

Reference to a continuous action by the locative inflexion is also common with abstract nominals (cf. Tsunoda 1981:172-175).

- [99] *Bili-gun inga-rry-dyi-n.*
 anger-LOC 3"-AGM-be-IMPF
 'They are fighting.' (referring to a state of antagonism, rather than to a scuffle or grapple)

6.5.5 Reference to time/weather

From what has been said above about the use of the locative to refer to an action, it comes as no surprise that a locative inflexion may also refer to a certain time or weather condition. This is illustrated by the following:

- [100] *Kamba wula-gun mayi burd + i-ny-dyu-n.*
 that; water-LOC fruit(ABS); rise+3_i-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
 '[It] bears fruit in the wet season' (lit. "that fruit comes out in water")
- [101] *Nga-midyala-nda wirdu-gun rumarra, kalbu-gun rumarra.*
 1-rise-PF big-LOC sun(LOC) above-LOC sun(LOC)
 'I got up late (i.e. overslept); the sun was already high in the sky.'

³⁷ The word *gurrrp* literally means a cupped hand (as one scoops water by hand); as a preverb it refers to a particular way of clapping that women perform in corroborees: coupling two cupped palms together and bumping them against one's own belly.

³⁸ Also see the use of the interrogative *yangki-gun* illustrated in chapter 7 (e.g. [163] given in 7.6.2 and [214] in 7.6.7.4).

- [102] *Wirdu-gun kirridiny nga-m-bula-nda.*
big-LOC moon(LOC) 1-EN-come-PF
'I came in the full moonlight.' (i.e. I could see the way clearly.)
- [103] *Marlu wa-rr-garnda dyirril-gun rumarra.*
not 2"FUT-AGM-go strong-LOC sun(LOC)
'Don't you (PL) go while the sun is blazing.' (i.e. it's too hot to go)

In these instances, unlike those given in 6.5.4, continuity of the action is not necessarily implied. We shall see later (in 8.2.1) that quite a few time-qualifying adverbs are formed by adding the locative marker to a stem.

6.5.6 Instrumentality

A number of examples are encountered with body-part nouns locatively inflected to indicate a means or method of the action (i.e. instrumentality).³⁹

- [104] *Mi-na-bilka-nda niwal-gun dyiya.*
2-EN-kick-PF foot-LOC 2(GEN)
'You kicked [it].'
- [105] *Wa-rr-a-wunduma rdarndarn nimarla-gun (kurrgarda-ni).*
2"FUT-AGM-TR-hold tight hand-LOC 2"DL-ERG
'You (two) press it down tightly with your hands.'
- [106] *Barndarlmarla(-ni) nilirr-gun i-na-ra-rn mayi.*
bird(-ERG) mouth-LOC 3-TR-spear-IMPF food(ABS)
'The birds are pecking the seeds.' (*nilirr* 'mouth' here refers to the bill of birds.)⁴⁰

Also encountered are relatively fewer examples of non-body-part instrumentality marked as locative, rather than instrumental:

- [107] *Warrbayty + inga-rr-a-dyu-nda-dyanu marrkirdi-gun.*
wave + 3"-AGM-TR-AUX(say)-PF-1DAT hat-LOC
'They waved their hats to me.' (as greeting from a distance)⁴¹
- [108] *Nyamba dyaddyad wilur-gun wukul + wal-a-ma.*
this knife(ABS) whetstone-LOC sharpen+2FUT-TR-AUX(put)
'You (have to) sharpen this knife with a whetstone.' (lit. "on whetstone")
- [109] *Dyaarr + wal-a-ma ngurung-gun.*
twist+2FUT-TR-AUX(put) smoke-LOC
'Give a slight twist to the boomerang by warming it in smoke (i.e. over a moderate fire).'

It should be added that the locative *-gun* in sentences [104] to [109] cannot be replaced by the instrumental *-barri* (cf. 6.8.4).

There are cases, however, where the locative (with an implication of instrumentality) is interchangeable with the instrumental. In the next example, the slash (in *-gun/barri*) indicates that either *-gun* or *-barri* may be used (but not both at once).

³⁹ See 10.2.3 for the double-object construction encoding such meanings as 'hit me in the head'.

⁴⁰ The sentence was recorded without the ergative marking on the agent noun 'bird'; it was later cross-checked with several native speakers that there should be the ergative marker.

⁴¹ The use of the locative in [107] is probably based on analogy with a more common phrase: *warrbayty +FV nimarla-gun* 'wave hand (to greet somebody)' in which the body-part noun *nimarla* 'hand' takes the locative case.

- [110] *Dila mayi wal-a-bilka dyamiyanu-gun/barri.*
 hard fruit(ABS) 2FUT-TR-hit axe-LOC/INST
 'You pounded the hard seeds with an axe.'

As to the body parts, sometimes the choice of the verb is relevant to the acceptability of the instrumental case. Compare [104] above (where the instrumental is unacceptable) with [111] (where the verb that implies the use of a leg is employed):

- [111] *Ngayu-ni nga-ny-dyanba-nda niwal-barri/gun dyurru.*^{41A}
 1-ERG 1-EN-kick-PF foot-INST/LOC ant(ABS)
 'I crushed an ant by stamping on it.'

If the verb in [111] were *bilka* then only the locative case could be used to mark the body-part instrumentality.

6.5.7 Place names

Not surprisingly, a large number of the toponyms in Yawuru carry the locative marker as an integral part of their stem. A typical instance is *bilkirringun*, which is the name for a deep water creek just east of the new Broome Jetty; it is associated with a Dreamtime story of the fight of two sharks, *bilkirrin* (Tiger Shark) and *nirrinirri* (Hammer-head Shark). In many other instances, however, the meaning of the root is unknown:

<i>burkugun</i>	'a waterhole near Morgan's camp' (* <i>burku</i>)
<i>balmagun</i>	'No. 3 Bore (in Thangoo)' (* <i>balma</i>)
<i>marranyagun</i>	'No. 1 Bore (in Thangoo)' (* <i>marranya</i>)
<i>lirrigun</i>	'a ceremonial dancing site on Fisherman's Bend' (* <i>lirri</i>)

Some take the low-vowel variant *-gan*, which is probably an archaic form since it appears only in place names.⁴²

<i>yamurgan</i>	'Yamurgan waterhole' (on the Yawuru-Nyikina border)
<i>nilabábuligan</i>	'Nila-Babuligan waterhole' (in the Roebuck Plains)

Locative inflexion of these toponyms reveals the double locative forms such as *burkugun-gun*, *yamurgan-gun*, etc.

6.6 Allative

This case has the marker *-ngarn*. Apart from the dialectal variation *-ngarn ~ -ngana*,⁴³ it shows no conditioned allomorphy. A morphophonological effect is observed to take place when the locative marker is attached to a stem that ends in *ngka*: the last open syllable drops and a nasal gemination takes place (3.8.3.3). For instance:

^{41A} The word *dyurru*, usually translated as 'snake', is a generic term that also covers ants, lice, and other kinds of insects — see footnote 33A in this chapter; see also [132] cited in 6.7.1.

⁴² Place names ending in *-gan* also occur in Nyikina (Stokes, p.c.).

⁴³ Since the inland dialect form *-ngana* (with the second nasal not retroflexed) occurs in some of the coastal toponyms, it would appear that the coastal dialect form *-ngarn* is a relatively new form.

bidyardangka 'La Grange'⁴⁴ > *bidyardang-ngarn*

The same kind of contraction is also observed in ablative inflexion (6.1.6) but not caused in locative inflexion (*-gun*).

6.6.1 Motion/direction

The basic function of the allative case is to mark a goal (or direction) of motion (i.e. 'to, towards, up to, until'). It does not always imply that the goal has been reached.

- [112] *Nga-rndira-nda nakula-ngarn niwal yinydya.*
 1-go-PF sea-ALLAT foot going
 'I went up to the coast on foot.' (The phrase *niwal yinydya* is interpreted to form an adverbial phrase; see 10.7.1.4)
- [113] *Baku inga-rr-(a-)bula-rn yadiri-ngarn.*⁴⁵
 hither 3"-AGM-(TR-)come-IMPF 12"-ALLAT
 'They joined us.'
- [114] *Wal-a-malydyura kamba ngardiya burlin-ngarn.*
 2FUT-TR-escort that whiteman(ABS) middle-ALLAT
 'You take the whiteman "halfway" (to show him the way).'

No instances of time reference involving the allative ('until such-and-such time') have been found (cf. 8.2).

6.6.2 Implicit allative

A limited number of local-reference words require no explicit allative marking.

- [115] *Birra nga-rndira-rn (dyalangardi-yi).*⁴⁶
 bush(ALLAT) 1-go-IMPF sand.monitor-DAT
 'I go bush to catch some goannas.'
- [116] *Yanga-rr-a-lurra-rn birra, i-na-ng-ka-rn-yarrirr bibi-ni,*
 1"-AGM-TR-burn-IMPF bush(LOC) 3-TR-EN-carry-IMPF-1"ACC mother-ERG
yanga-rr-gardi-rn.
 1"-AGM-enter-IMPF
 'We camped (lit. cooked) in the bush. Our mother took us there.'

In the second example above the word *birra* bears a locative meaning without positively taking the locative marker. An allative overtone, however, is obvious from the context.

Such implicit allative use is observed with *birra* 'bush', *buya* 'reef' and the demonstrative *karda* 'over there' (7.5.2), as well as the terms for cardinal

⁴⁴ *Bidyardangka* is the name of an ex-mission community (La Grange), south of Broome. The conventional spelling adopted by the community is "Bidyadanga". In Yawuru, however, the third consonant is retroflexed (*rd*). The name is derived from *bidyarda* 'emu'. The suffix element *-ngka* is the Karajarri locative marker. It is also noted that this community name is mentioned frequently in the daily conversation of the Yawuru people, since it is one of the major Aboriginal communities in the area around Broome and many of the Yawuru people have relatives there.

⁴⁵ Although this particular example is from a speaker of the Southern Coastal dialect, the use of the allative inflexion on personal pronouns is used mainly by the speakers of the Eastern Inland dialect (1.1.3.2; cf. 7.4.2.4.)

⁴⁶ The dative in [115] may be replaced by the allative (*dyalangardi-ngarn*). Even in that case the allative enclitic cannot be interpreted as being bound to the preceding noun *birra*. If *birra* and *dyalangardi* were constituting a discontinuous NP, then the allative enclitic (as well as any case marker) would be on the initial word *birra*.

directions (8.3.2). The word *nakula* 'sea' may also be used in the same manner, although the regular allative inflexion *nakula-ngarn* also occurs. The case of *buya* is interesting. The word *barnany* 'reef', a loan from the neighbouring Najanaja Karajarri, is used in Yawuru as commonly as *buya*. To express an allative meaning, however, *barnany* needs to be allatively inflected (*barnany-ngarn*), while its Yawuru equivalent term *buya* does not.

The implicit allative words (except the demonstratives and the terms of cardinal-directions) usually imply a particular activity associated with that location, e.g. *birra* 'bush; (going) to the bush to hunt or gather food', *nakula* 'sea; (going) fishing or picking up shells'. They may be inflected for the allative, but in that case the implications of such associated activities are cancelled and the expression tends to be a mere indication of the direction of the movement (as is the case in [112] cited above).

6.6.3 Aim/purpose

Aims or purposes are usually expressed by the dative as explained in 6.2.3. If, however, an association with a particular location is strong, and/or if a motion (e.g. travelling) is considered as an essential part of the aimed activities, then the allative is used instead of the dative.⁴⁷ This is typically observed with motion verbs, with the complements marked with the allative referring to some activities to be performed in a certain location.

- [117] *Inga-rr-gar(n)da-rn dingarri-ngarn.*
 3"-AGM-go-IMPF sanction-ALLAT
 'They are going to hold a sanction ritual (to be performed in a particular ceremonial ground).'
- [118] *Manydya i-m-bula-rn ngarrungu nganka-ngarn.*
 many^ 3i-EN-come-IMPF ^people(ABS); word-ALLAT
 'Many people (will) come to attend the meeting.'
- [119] *Nga-rndira dyunduru-ngarn.*
 2FUT-go urine-ALLAT
 'Go to toilet (now).' (lit. "go to piss")
- [120] *Buru-ngarn ya-ga-rr-garnda.*
 land-ALLAT 12"-FUT-AGM-go
 'We (INCL) are going to bury [the dead person].' (*buru-ngarn*, lit. "to land/ground", idiomatically means a burial of the dead — cf. 8.2.3. The dative is unacceptable here.)

It is also very common for the allative to mark objects of hunting, fishing or gathering.

⁴⁷ Compare the distinction in English between "go to school/church" (function) and "go to the school/church" (building).

- [121] *Nga-rndira-nda wirliwirli-ngarn.*
 1-go-PF fishing-ALLAT
 'I went fishing.'⁴⁸
- [122] *Mayi-ngarn yang-ga-rr-garnda, minydyuru-yi.*
 fruit-ALLAT 1"-FUT-AGM-go Sandpaper.Fig-DAT
 'We (EXCL) will go to pick some fruit of the Sandpaper Fig.'

Purchasing foodstuff at a shop is expressed in the same manner:

- [123] *Warli-ngana mi-m-bula-rn.*
 meat-ALLAT 2-EN-come-IMPF
 'You came to [buy some] meat.'

6.64 Target person

The allative may mark a target person (to meet, pick up, talk to, etc):

- [124] *Wa-ng-ga-rda burdan-ngarn.*
 3-EN-FUT-go (name)-ALLAT
 'He is going to pick up Burdan.'
- [125] *Ngayu-ni nga-na-mungka-rn-dyuyu ngunu-ngarn dyiya.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-get.back-IMPF-2ACC sister-ALLAT 2(GEN)
 'I will take you to your sister.' (i.e. to her place/house)

Alternatively the goal person may be encoded into the dative pronominal enclitic attached on the verb. [126a] (with the allative) is paraphrased as [126b] (with the dative clitic):

- [126] a. *Ngayu-ni nga-na-kurla-rn wanangarri kamba-ngarn wamba.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-throw-IMPF stone(ABS) that-ALLAT man(ALLAT);
 'I threw a stone towards that man;.'
- b. *Ngayu-ni nga-na-kurla-rn-dyina ' wanangarri.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-throw-IMPF-3DAT; stone(ABS)
 'I threw a stone at that man;.'

The two ways of encoding, however, do not co-occur in the same clause. That is, allative NPs are not cross-referenced even though they may refer to goals (i.e. indirect objects). By contrast, [126b] may additionally take a non-pronominal complement, *kamba-yi wamba* (that-DAT man; i.e. target dative). Remember that there is a slight difference of meaning between the allative target expression (as [126a] 'towards that man') and the dative target expression (as [126b] 'at that man'), which has already been pointed out in the discussion on the target dative in 6.2.6.

6.65 Place names

Although instances are not so numerous as those having *-gun* (locative) or *-gap* (ablative), there are toponyms that have the allative marker as an integral part of the stem:⁴⁹

⁴⁸ I assume that the term *wirliwirli*, a common local Aboriginal English expression for 'fishing', is derived (probably through Kriol) from the reduplication of English "whirl" (see 9.2.4). Fishing with a hand-held fishing line that has to be whirled around the head to be cast is the most popular way of fishing among the Aboriginal people of the area.

⁴⁹ There is at least one toponymic item recorded with *-ngan* (the final nasal articulated dentally): *kalirrinngan* 'No.5 Bore (in Thangoo)'

<i>madyarrangarn</i>	'Majarrangarn waterhole'
<i>dyukarrngarn</i>	'Tagarana Bore'
<i>dyilbanngarn</i>	'Gantheaume Point'

These can be regularly inflected redundantly for the allative case: e.g. *madyarrangarn-ngarn*.

6.7 Ablative

The marker of the ablative case is *-gap* (with the final bilabial stop unreleased). It is attached directly to a stem without requiring a preceding locative marker (cf. Blake 1977:55). The inland dialect has a lax variant *-gabu*. Another variant *-gaba*, as well as *-gabu*, is also found in toponyms (including those in the coastal area; see 6.7.7).

As in the case of the allative, stems ending in *ngka* usually lose the final CV segments (i.e. *ka*) when the ablative marker is attached (3.8.3.3).

bidyardangka + -gap > bidyardang-gap 'from La Grange'

The 3rd-person pronoun *ginyangka* reveals the same contraction: the ablative form is *ginyang-gap* (see 7.1.2.2).

6.7.1 Local source point

The basic function of *-gap* is to indicate an elative meaning: 'from (somewhere), from the direction of (something)'. Examples include:

- [127] *Ginyangka i-m-bula-rn lani-gap maya.*
 3(ABS) 3-EN-come-IMPF near-ABL house(ABL)
 'He comes from a nearby house.'
- [128] *Rabar'rabar + i-ngara-rn rumarra banu-gap.*
 morning.glow+3-AUX(become)-IMPF sun(ABS) east-ABL
 'The day breaks from the east.'
- [129] *Dumbarr + i-ny-dyu-n balu-gap barndarl marda.*
 flap+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF tree-ABL bird(ABS)
 'The birds took off from the tree.'

It may also indicate another type of ablative meaning, 'out of something':

- [130] *I-ny-dyalaku-rn wula ingamana-gap buru-gun.*
 3-EN-overflow-IMPF water(ABS) cup-ABL land-LOC
 'The water spilt out of the cup onto the ground.' (lit. "from cup on ground")
- [131] *Kunbi i-mirdibi-rn ngunidyina-gap.*⁵⁰
 mucus(ABS) 3-run.away-IMPF nose-ABL
 'He has a runny nose.' (lit. "mucus from nose")
- [132] *Nga-na-ga-nya-dyiya dyurru marru-gap (ngayu-ni).*
 1-TR-FUT-catch-2DAT louse(ABS) head-ABL 1-ERG
 'I will delouse your head.' (lit. "pick lice from head for you")

⁵⁰ Here the Nyikina term *ngunidyina* 'nose' (see footnote 21 in this chapter) is used, which may be replaced by the Yawuru equivalent *nimalul*.

The expression 'from the sky' (particularly of rainfall) takes the ablative form too, but it is usually accompanied by an added causal marker:

- [133] *I-ny-dyalku-rn wula kalbu-gap-nyurdany.*
 3-EN-fall-IMPF water(ABS) above-ABL-CAUS
 'It's raining.' (lit. "water falls from up there")

The unexpanded ablative form *kalbu-gap* may alone indicate the notion of 'from the sky'. This form, however, tends to idiomatically mean 'up in the sky', rather than 'from the sky'. This is a case that is relevant to the problem of non-ablative local reference by the ablative case, which will be discussed in 7.5 (re: demonstratives).

6.7.2 Non-local source point

Naturally, the marker *-gap* covers non-local ablative meanings as well. A typical case is the reference to a temporal source point:

- [134] *miliya-gap rumarra kudyarra nilan*
 now-ABL sun(=day) two week
 'two weeks from now'
- [135] *Ngarnan-gadya + i-nga-nda wubardu-gap.*
 "silly"/Kj-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-PF small-ABL
 'He's always been doing such absurd things since he was a child.'⁵¹

Ablative inflexions of pronouns yield conjunctions, such as *kamb-gap* 'and then' (see 7.5.3.1 and 10.6.6.3 for more examples).

The ablative may also mark a point of reference, as in:

- [136] *kamirda-gap dyamuny*
 FF-ABL MF
 'father's father's mother's father'⁵²
- [137] *mararr-gap yanban*
 (toponym)-ABL south
 'south of the Mararr Hill'

The ablative may mark an original state before an action or a change of state occurs (cf. similar use of the causal noted in 6.9.5).

- [138] *Wirdu + nga-na-ma-rn wubardu-gap.*
 big+1-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF small-ABL
 'I brought him up.'
- [139] *Yalawarra-gap bud +i-ny-dyu-n.*
 lying.on.the.back-ABL rise+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
 'He rose up from lying down on his back.' (The word *yalawarra* usually appears as an adverb of posture; see 8.4.1)

It should be noted that the converse (i.e. the goal state after an action or a change of state) cannot be expressed in the allative.

⁵¹ The preverb *ngarnan* was originally a Karajarri word, roughly equivalent to Yawuru *yamma(-gadya)* 'embarrassed, not knowing what to do properly' (due to confusion or lack of experience), usually translated by the informants as "silly".

⁵² The ablative may be used to refer to a kinship relation only when the referred relative is more than two generations apart. Otherwise the dative should be used (see example in 6.1.1.(1)).

- [140] *Yalawarra(*-ngarn) + nga-ni.*
 lying.on.the.back(*-ALLAT)+2FUT-AUX(be)
 'Lie down on your back.'

Note too that in [138] the word *wirdu* which refers to the changed state does not require an allative or any other explicit case marking. This may suggest that, among the non-stative local cases, the ablative is functionally more marked than the allative. It is also pointed out in this regard that those implicit allative words (6.6.2) require explicit case marking to indicate an ablative/elative meaning; no Yawuru word is known to be implicitly ablative.

Finally, the ablative may indicate a standard of comparison:⁵³

- [140A] *Nyamba kamba-gap naarli minkul.*
 this that-ABL true heavy
 'This is heavier than that.'

6.7.3 Perlative/prolative/pergressive

Occasionally the ablative (rather than the locative or the dative; cf. Blake 1987:40-41) marks a perlative ('over, across, around, among'), prolative ('along') or pergressive ('through') meaning.⁵⁴

- [141] *Kalbu-gap niyamarri inga-rr-garna-nda.*
 above-ABL hill(ABL) 3"-AGM-go-PF
 'They went along the sandhills.' (*niyamarri* refers to dunes standing along the sand beach)⁵⁵
- [142] *Marlu nga-rndira-nda karda-ngarn dyarrwa, kamb-gap gwaniya i-nga-rn.*
 not 1-go-PF yonder-ALLAT pool;(ALLAT) that;-ABL crocodile(ABS); 3;-be-IMPF
 'I didn't go close to that pool, [because] crocodiles are around.'
- [143] *dyimbin kundurung-gap*
 inside mangrove-ABL
 '(going) through the mangrove swamp'
- [144] *Nga-ny-dyalku-rn kamb(a)-gap wanangarri.*
 1-EN-fall-IMPF that-ABL stone(ABL)
 'I tipped over that stone.'
- [145] *Dyurlp + i-ny-dyu-n balu-gap, yirla + i-nga-rn.*
 jump.over+3;-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF tree;-ABL lying+3;-AUX(be)-IMPF
 'He_i [had to] jump over the tree_j, which was lying down (in his way).'

When combined with deictic demonstratives, the ablative marker indicates an allative meaning or pergressive meaning. This will be discussed and illustrated in 7.5.3.3.

⁵³ Sentence [140A] has been paraphrased by the informant as [140B] using the aversive/uncertainty marker *-marda* 'perhaps' (cf. 7.6.7.3 and 8.5.3.3).

[140B] *nyamba naarli minkul, kamba wungal-marda.*
 this true heavy that light-perhaps
 'This is heavier than that.'

Both in [140A] and [140B] the adverb *naarli* 'true' (cf. 8.1.1.3) may not be replaced by *ngurru* 'more' (8.2.2.1)

⁵⁴ See Blake (1977:54) and Heath (1984:205).

⁵⁵ The pergressive meaning can also be expressed by the derivational suffix *-dany* (e.g. *kalbu-dany*) or the comitative marker *-ngany* (e.g. *dyimbin-ngany*); see 6.10.5.

6.74 Manner of sound production

There are at least two instances of the ablative case employed to indicate a body-part instrumentality (cf. 6.5.6). Both refer to methods of making certain vocal sounds.

- [146] *Dyalany-gap wirr + mi-ny-dyu-n.*
 tongue-ABL scrape+2-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
 'Trill your tongue.' (a manner of articulation)
- [147] *Buu + i-na-ma-rn nilirr-gap durrkarrang-ngarr.*
 blow+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF mouth-ABL motorcar-like
 'You vibrated your lips [and made a sound] like a motorcar.'

The ablative in the above instances cannot be replaced by the instrumental. It should be also noted that the complex verbs used in the above sentences are both transitive (the ergative subjects are left out).

6.75 Conjunctions

The ablative inflexion provides typical conjunction words (cf. 2.2.1 and 10.6.6.3).

<i>baybirra-gap</i>	'then after that; while, during then'
<i>barral-gap-bardu</i>	'in the meantime' (see 8.2.1.2)
<i>nyamb(a)-gap</i>	'from now on; hence' (see 7.5.3.1)
<i>kamb-gap (~ kamma-gap)</i>	'and then; therefore' (see 7.5.3.1)
<i>ginyang-gap-nyurdany</i>	'and then, having done that' (cf. 7.1.2.2)

6.76 Double case marking: ablative-ergative

Encountered once in a while are cases in which an adverbial complement in the ablative form is further ergatively marked.

- [148] *I-na-ng-k*ami-rn-dyuu karda-gap-ni.*
 3-TR-EN-laugh-IMPF-2ACC yonder-ABL-ERG
 'Somebody over there is saluting you.'
- [149] *Inga-rr-a-baa-nd-irr kalbu-gap-ni.*
 3";-AGM-TR-see-PF-3"ACC; above-ABL-ERG
 'They; looked down on them; from the top (of the sand hill).' (= Sentence No.27 of Text 2 in Appendix 1).

Such addition of the ergative *-ni* is optional. Notice, however, that in the above examples, which are both transitive, the core agent complements (which should occur in the ergative) are left out.⁵⁶

The ergative marking on the non-core adverbials explicitly indicates that the agent of the described action is located, e.g. 'over there' (in [148]) and 'on top of the hill' (in [149]). The function of the additional ergative marking is, therefore,

⁵⁶ As a matter of fact, there are no examples in which an ergative subject NP (i.e. core ergative complement) is overtly mentioned and co-occurs with an ergatively extended ablative adverbial (i.e. non-core complement). But cf. the ergatively extended instrumental illustrated in 6.8.5.

considered to be parallel to that of the referential ergative marking on non-matrix preverbs (see 10.7.2 for further discussion). The following examples are interesting in this regard. The adverb *midyala-gap* is derived from *midyala*, which is a nominal that refers to the posture of sitting (or occasionally to the seat itself; cf. 8.4.1).⁵⁷

- [150] *Bidy* *inga-rr-a-rli-rrn* *kamba-rri-ni* *midyala-gap-ni*
 fish/E(ABS) 3"-AGM-TR-eat-IMPF that-DL-ERG sitting-ABL-ERG
kamba-gap-ni dyalbi-bika.
 that-ABL-ERG camp-shade(ABL)
 'They (two) sat in the camp shade and ate their catch of fish.'⁵⁸

- [151] *Wal-a-ngurlika-dyina nyamba-gap-ni midyala, miliya wa-ng-ga-bula.*
 2FUT-TR-wait-3DAT this-ABL-ERG sitting now 3-EN-FUT-come
 'You sit here while waiting for him. He'll be back shortly.'
 (lit. "you wait him sitting here")

Another derived adverb *ngurdirn-gap-ni* 'by oneself' also reveals an ablative-ergative form (cf. 4.6.3 and 8.4.4.1).

6.7.7 Place names and other lexical derivations

Not unexpectedly, the ablative marker is found as a formative in toponymic stems.

mandingarrgap 'Dampier Downs'
dalbanagap 'an old camping site near Thangoo'

Quite a few are found with the variant forms *-gabu* or *-gaba*:

karrikarrigabu '(toponym)'
kamirdagabu 'Sheep Camp'
maninygabu 'Overflow Bore (east of Sheep Camp)'
wirrinagaba 'Polly Wind Mill (in Roebuck Plains)'
barrngan'gaba 'Fall Point (just west of Crab Creek)'
lirrinagaba 'Cowan Creek (also called La Grange Creek)'
waldyibarn'gaba 'No. 6 Bore (in Thangoo)'

There are also cases where the Inland dialect form with *-gabu* corresponds to the Coastal dialect form (referring to the same place) with *-gap* (1.1.3.2):

COASTAL	INLAND ^{58A}	gloss
<i>dyamardagap</i>	<i>dyamanagabu</i>	'No. 4 Bore (in Thangoo)'
<i>mudyurrdugap</i>	<i>murrdyudagabu</i>	'(toponym)'
<i>kamirdagap</i>	<i>kamirdagabu</i>	'(toponym)'

In any case, toponyms having an ablative element (as an integral part of the stem) may further take the marker *-gap* for the ablative inflexion: e.g. *mandingarrgap-gap*, *maningabu-gap*, *wirrinagaba-gap*, etc.

⁵⁷ As illustrated in a number of examples cited elsewhere, this word quite frequently functions as a preverb; see examples [78] and [178] in chapter 4, [84] and [195] in this chapter, [116] in chapter 7, [129] in chapter 8, [39], [87], [219] and [247] in chapter 10.

⁵⁸ The second ablative phrase *kambagapni dyalbibiga* in [150] is another instance of the non-ablative local reference by the ablative. See [133] cited earlier at the end of 6.7.1. Also see [130] given in 7.5.3.3.

^{58A} Also notice the consonantal variation in the first item and the metathesis in the second.

Apart from the place names, lexical derivations with *-gap/-gabu/-gaba* are not numerous, though there are examples such as follows:

ngurra-gap (night-ABL) 'tomorrow, morning' (8.2.1.3.(1)).
dyidya-ngany-gabu (shell-COM-ABL) 'whiting' (name of fish)

68 Instrumental

The marker of the instrumental case is invariably *-barri* [bare]~[bari].⁵⁹ It covers comitative and instrumental functions and may occur either in transitive or in intransitive clauses (cf. Blake 1977:47-48).

68.1 Accompaniment (animate comitative)

As with animate (esp. human) nouns or pronouns, the instrumental case indicates an accompaniment, 'together with somebody' (i.e. comitative).⁶⁰

[152] *Kadyay-barri* ↗, *nyidyalya-barri* ↗, *nyamba-barri* ↘.
 (name)-INST (name)-INST this-INST
 '[He will go] with Kachai, with Nyijalya, and with this (woman) as well.'
 (↗ indicates a rising intonation and ↘ a falling one)

[153] *Maldyu-gadya* + *wa-rr-dyi* *nyamba-barri* *baba*.
 laugh-INTENS+2" FUT-AGM-AUX(be) this-INST child(INST)
 'You (PL) play with this boy.'

[154] *Yila-barri ngurdirn nga-ni*.
 dog-INST alone 2FUT-be
 'You stay alone with your dog (at home).' (You may not come with us.)

Notice that, unlike in some other Australian languages that have a separate instrumental/comitative marking in addition to the locative and/or the ergative, encoding of the comitative meaning in the instrumental case in Yawuru is not confined to the clauses with motion/action verbs, but it occurs with stative verbs as well (as in [154]).⁶¹

⁵⁹ Compare the Karajarri (Garadjari) proprietative suffix *-barri* 'having'; similar forms are encountered in a number of Queensland languages (see Sutton 1976:302). Also cf. Djaru *-barri* (non-productive) as in *ngani-m-barri* (what-m-barri) 'how many' (Tsunoda, p.c.).

⁶⁰ See pronominal instances given in 7.1.2.2. The instrumental case may also bear an adessive meaning ('in the presence of somebody'), which in some cases can also be encoded in the locative case (cf. Blake 1977:53).

⁶¹ See discussion in Blake (1977:52-53; also cf. Blake 1987:40). In Djingili (Barkly Tableland, NT), although an instrumental suffix expresses accompaniment, such use is reported only with motion verbs (Chadwick 1975:21, Blake 1977:53).

6.8.2 Carrying/having (inanimate comitative)

Attached to a noun referring to an inanimate entity, *-barri* indicates something that is being carried or held by an animate entity:

- (i) *dyimbu-barri dyalangardi*
egg-INST sand.monitor
'a goanna that bears eggs'
- (ii) *mangal-barri wamba*
spear-INST man
'a man holding a spear'

The use may be non-adnominal, as is often the case in expressions with motion verbs:

- [155] *Wal-dyiba-dyina, nganka-barri nga-dyali.*
2FUT-ask-3DAT word-INST 2FUT-return
'You (go and) ask him, and come back with his message (lit. words).'
- [156] *Wamba i-m-bula-rn kangkaru-barri kirrbadyu-barri,*
man(ABS) 3-EN-come-IMPF kangaroo/E-INST honey-INST
dyarn'du nakula-gap walkawalka-barri bunymany-barri
woman(ABS) sea-ABL salmon-INST mussel-INST
i-ny-dyali-rn kamma-ngarn dyalbi.
3-EN-return-IMPF that-ALLAT camp
'Men would come back to the camp carrying kangaroos and sugarbag, while women would come back from the sea with their catch of salmon and mussels.'

What is "carried" may sometimes be abstract, particularly a sentiment:

- [157] *Kamba i-m-bula-nda-dyayrda bili-barri.*
that(ABS); 3_i-EN-come-PF-12"DAT anger-INST
'He_i came and got mad at us (INCL).' (lit. "he came to us with anger")
- [158] *Wirrbu-barri i-rndira-rn-dyarra kamba wamba.*
grudge-INST 3-go-IMPF-1"DAT that man(ABS)
'That man bears a grudge against us (EXCL).'

Interestingly, the state of having a grudge is expressed in [158] by a combination of the instrumental and the motion verb 'go' (The encoded meaning is stative-continuative, rather than motional).⁶²

Similar adverbial derivations of abstract nominals include:

- wura-barri* 'pretendingly' (lit. "lie-with")
narli-barri 'honestly, sincerely' (lit. "true-with")
kur(u)-barri '(posture) arm in arm; (fig.) together; with care'
(lit. "embracing-with")

⁶² Other instances of such stative-continuative use of the motion verb *rndira* 'go' are:

[158A] *Bibi dyanu i-rndira-rn nungu-gun.*
mother(ABS) 1(GEN) 3-go-IMPF belly-LOC
'My mother was pregnant (at that time).'

[158B] *Wuba-yi durlungu i-rndira-rn.*
child-DAT pregnant 3-go-IMPF

'She is pregnant.' (lit. "she goes pregnant for her child")

The meaning expressed in [158B] is not inchoative 'becomes pregnant', but stative-progressive 'be (already) in the state of pregnancy'.

6.8.3 Instrument/resource (with action verbs)

Coupled with action verbs, the enclitic *-barri* on an inanimate noun bears an instrumental meaning, 'by using something'. Naturally, the notion of "holding" is often (but not always) entailed.⁶³

- [159] *Kurdayi-kurdayi + nga-ny-dyu-n narli wubardu-barri balu.*
 stir-REDUP+1-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF true small-INST tree(INST)
 'I stir [it] well with a small stick.'
- [160] *I-na-ng-kilbi-kilbira-rn kankan-barri.*
 3-TR-EN-REDUP-sing-IMPF clapstick-INST
 'He keeps singing (to charm the woman) with clapsticks.'
- [161] *Miliya inga-rr-a-ma-rn midyin-barri.*
 now 3"-AGM-TR-put-IMPF machine/E-INST
 'These days it is produced by machine.'
- [162] *Dyard + mi-na-ra-rn nyamba warli binydyira-barri.*
 stab+2-TR-AUX(spear)-IMPF this fish(ABS) fish.spear-INST
 'You speared this fish with a fish spear.'

The notion of "instrument" needs to be expanded to include resources with which a process is realised, such as in:

- [163] *Warndarl manydya-barri mayi i-m-bardika-rn.*
 coolamon(ABS) many-INST fruit(INST) 3-EN-fill-IMPF
 'The coolamon is full of (acacia) seeds.' (lit. "s/he filled [a/the] coolamon with many fruits")

6.8.4 Instrumental vs locative

We have noted (in 6.5.6) that the instrumental is unacceptable for encoding actions performed by a body part (e.g. by hand); they are usually encoded in the locative. However, there are a limited number of cases where the instrumental inflexion of body-part nouns occurs. Examples include [111] (cited in 6.5.6) and:

- [164] *Yurlku + mi-na-ma-rn-ngayu milku-barri.*
 jostle+2-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-1ACC elbow-INST
 'You are pushing me with your elbow.'

The locative is also used instead of the instrumental when a container-type instrument is employed to carry something. Compare, however, [165] with [166]:

- [165] *Wula binydyin-gun i-na-ng-ka-rn.*
 water(ABS) water.dish-LOC 3-TR-EN-carry-IMPF
 'She carries water in a water dish.'
- [166] *Nyamba-barri binka bur + wal-dyu wula.*
 this-INST baler.shell(INST) scoop+2FUT-AUX(say) water(ABS)
 'Scoop out the water with this baler shell.'

In [166] the instrumental (unacceptable in [165]) is used rather than the locative (unacceptable in [166]). Here the baler shell, a typical traditional container, is used not to carry water but to draw water out with a repeated action of scooping.

⁶³ There are a few instances in which an instrument of the action is marked by the comitative marker *-ngany*, rather than the instrumental (see 6.10.3).

6.85 Double case marking: instrumental-ergative

The instrumental case optionally (but often) takes an extended form *-barri-ni*; i.e. the ergative marker *-ni* is added. Like the ablative-ergative sequencing outlined earlier (6.7.6), the ergatively-expanded instrumental typically occurs in transitive clauses.

- [167] *Dyad + nga-ny-dyu-nda ngayu-ni yirrkilyi-balu dyamiyanu-barri-ni.*
 chop+1-EN-AUX(say)-PF 1-ERG Hakea-tree(ABS) axe-INST-ERG
 'I chopped down the Hakea tree with an axe.'
- [168] *Wit + nga-na-ga-balu wirrkin-barri-ni (ngayu-ni).*
 beat+1-TR-FUT-AUX(hit) leave-INST-ERG 1-ERG
 'I must extinguish [the fire] with leafy branches.'
- [169] *Wirrp + i-na-ng-ka-rn dyamiyanu-barri-ni kawadyal.*
 smash+3-TR-EN-AUX(carry)-IMPF axe-INST-ERG insect.gall(ABS)
 'He smashed the insect galls with an axe.'

Although the addition of *-ni* is not obligatory in the above examples, it usually appears when the ergative agent is left out (as in [168] and [169]). The ergative agent NP and the extended instrumental NP may co-occur (as in [167]), but such co-occurrence seems to be rare in natural discourse in Yawuru.⁶⁴

In the next example both unextended and extended instrumental markings are observed next to each other.

- [170] *Balu-barri, may(t)bi kuragarda-barri-ni dalydyi-barri-ni-gadya,*
 tree-INST might.be/E nulla-INST-ERG club-INST-ERG-INTENS
marlu wan(a)ngarri-barri.
 not stone-INST
 '[They would hit] with sticks, or perhaps with nullanullas (heavy fighting-sticks) or smaller clubs, but not with stones.' (explaining a manner of ritualised public punishment)

In intransitive clauses, where no ergative case is syntactically expected to occur, the extended form *-barri-ni* may still occur, with some sense of agency implied in it, as in:

- [171] *Nyamba-barri-ni yang-ga-rr-garnda.*
 this-INST-ERG 1"-FUT-AGM-go
 'We will go with this (man)' (actually the man drives the car in which we go there)

It is possible to regard the addition of the ergative to the instrumental as another instance of the referential ergative (6.4.6.2 and 10.7.1), since the added ergative marker identifies the user of the instrument with the subject of the clause. The issue will be discussed further in 10.7.2.2.

⁶⁴ A similar construction is reported from Walmajarri and a few Queensland languages, where the addition of the ergative marker to the noun that is already carrying a "having" suffix indicates that a possessed item is employed as an instrument (Blake 1977:46; cf. the case of Djaru illustrated in Tsunoda 1981:58, 227f). In Yawuru, however, a possessive relation is not necessarily implied between the used instrument (in the extended instrumental) and the agent user (in the ergative). The comitative marker *-ngany*, which is more or less the Yawuru equivalent of the "having" suffix, or "proprietive" (Dixon 1976a:9), does not take an additional ergative marker.

There are a few idiomatic adverbial expressions which appear in the extended instrumental form: e.g. *narli-barri-ni* 'telling the truth, honestly' as in

- [172] *Narli-barri-ni nganka i-ny-dyu-nda-dyanu.*
 true-INST-ERG word(ABS) 3 -EN-say-PF-1DAT
 'He told me the truth.'

and also its opposite *wura-barri-ni* 'telling a lie, deceivingly'. In both, the ergative *-ni* can be omitted.

Occasionally, a non-inherent sequence of INST-ERG takes place, as exemplified in [173]. Here the subject [*manydya-barri wubadyu baba*]_{NP} is inflected for the ergative. This should be distinguished from the ergative marking on non-core instrumental complements.

- [173] [*Manydya-barri-ni wubadyu baba*]_{NP-ERG} *gin kabu.*
 many-INST-ERG small child(ERG) can/EK eating
 'Those who already have many children may eat [a blue-tongue lizard].'
 (explaining a food taboo)^{64A}

6.8.6 Lexical derivations

The marker *-barri* may function as a stem-forming suffix (to derive a noun from another noun). In most cases the semantics of the derivation is fairly transparent (X that has Y). In the examples below the original forms *larra*, *lirda*, *burndura* and *dyalbarn* are all independent nouns.

- larra-barri* 'initiated men' (lit. "woodpiece-with")⁶⁵
lirda-barri '(ADJ) fat' (lit. 'fat-with')
burndura-barri 'chicks' (lit. "dawn-with")
dyalbarn-barri 'adult birds' (lit. "wing-with")

A few names of animal (birds, fish and others) have the *-barri* element:

- nyinyinbarri* 'finch (generic)' (= *miwmiw*)
milibbarri 'Clown Unicornfish'
dyanga-barri 'Mantle Ray' (lit. "oyster-with")

The roots *nyinyin* and *milib* are not attested as independent words. As to the last item above, *dyanga* is an attested word for 'Black Lip Oyster (*Saxostrea parasitica*)'. The Mantle Ray, a huge species of stingray, is locally called "Oyster-back" because its back is often partially covered with shells (but not necessarily the *dyanga* oysters).

^{64A} One of the food taboos observed by the Yawuru people is that unmarried young girls are not to eat the meat of *ngalyaq* (Common Blue-tongue Lizard, *Tiliqua scincoides*), *rlungkurda* (Central Blue-tongue Lizard, *Tiliqua multifasciata*) or *kurabiki* (k/o small-sized goanna, *Varanus glauerti*); if the girls eat these species, it is believed, they will have too many children. Women over middle age who have already given birth to several children are free to enjoy these delicacies. See [28] in chapter 2, [68] in chapter 8 and [154] in chapter 10.

⁶⁵ *Larra* is a flat, oval-shaped piece of wood (made of Supplejack tree), on which a particular design is carved according to the owner's clan identity. Only fully initiated men were allowed to wear it in the hair knot just over the nape of the neck. Thus, *larra-barri* is a synonym of *narli wamba* 'true man'.

6.9 Causal

The causal is marked by the enclitic *-nyurdany* [ŋ_ud_aŋ], although the relatively infrequent variant *-nyulany* (with non-retroflexed lateral) is also recorded.⁶⁶ If the stem to which the marker is attached ends in the laminal nasal *ny*, then the causal inflexion usually causes a geminate nasal to occur (*nyny*), but it may be reduced to a single nasal (cf. 3.8.3.1):

'elopement' *wirkany* > *wirkany-(ny)urdany* ^{66A}

6.9.1 Cause (of an incident)

The marker *-nyurdany* basically indicates a cause (either direct or indirect) of an incident, 'from, because of, due to':

- [174] *Rdaarl + i-ny-dyu-n* *baarl-nyurdany* *wula* *yingamana*.
burst+3_i-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF hot-CAUS water(CAUS) cup(ABS)_i
'The cup was burst by hot water.'
- [175] *Ruka + i-na-ma-rn* *buru* *dyalalu-nyurdany*.
black+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF land(ABS) bush.fire-CAUS
'The bush fire has made (the surface of) the ground black.'
- [176] *Rdirdil-rdirdil + i-rndira-rn* (*yinydya*) *kari-nyurdany*.
stagger-REDUP+3-AUX(go)-IMPF thither grog-CAUS
'He went away staggering, as he was drunk.'
- [177] *Dyungku-nyurdany mi-m-bukarri-nda*.
fire-CAUS 2-EN-dream-PF
'You had a nightmare because of the fire.' (i.e. because you slept too close to the fire)

It seems that the examples such as above have a common connotation of uncontrollability (though with a varied degree) of the event described. The contrast between the following pair of sentences is interesting in this regard:

- [178] a. *I-na-lurra-nda dyungku-ni*.
3-TR-burn-PF fire-ERG
'Fire burned it.'
- b. *I-lurra-nda dyungku-nyurdany*.
3-burn-PF fire-CAUS
'I didn't intend to burn it, but it just caught fire.'

The causal is also used to mark the motive of a feeling (usually a bad feeling).

- [179] *Bili + i-ngara-rn* (*ginyangka*) *dyukamana-nyurdany*.
anger+3-AUX(become)-IMPF 3(ABS) gossip-CAUS
'He was enraged by the gossip.'
- [180] *Kamba-rri dyalakany kamba-nyurdany dyarn'du*.
that-DL jealousy that-CAUS woman(CAUS)
'The two men are jealous (of each other) over that woman.'

⁶⁶ As a case marker in an Australian language, the Yawuru causal *-nyurdany* has rather unusual phonotactics, CVCVC. Corresponding forms are lacking in the closely-related sister languages. The lexicalised suffix *-dany* (but not **rdany*) in Nyikina reveals a functional similarity (see the word *haludany* cited in footnote 69). The Bardi *-nim* 'from, because of' and its equivalent in Jawi *-rnim* (both reported by Kerr, n/d: item No. 516 and 517) could be cognates.

^{66A} See example [111] cited in 7.5.2.2.(5).

6.9.2 Reason (of an action)

The causal may be used to give the reason of an intentional action, rather than simply stating an uncontrollable cause. It typically involves action verbs and the agent/actor takes that action consciously and volitionally.

- [181] *Inga-rr(-a-r)a-rn wirkany-(ny)urdany.*
 3'-AGM-TR-spear-IMPF elopement-CAUS
 'People (ritually) speared him (as a punishment) for eloping.'
- [182] *Inga-rr-a-kunba-n-irr kari-nyurdany warany-ngarn buru.*
 3"_i AGM-TR-send-IMPF-3" ACC_j land(ALLAT) grog-CAUS other-ALLAT
 'They_i (the elders) sent them_j away (i.e. to a punishment camp) for they_j had trouble with alcohol.'
- [183] *Inga-rr-a-bandyi-n dyarn'du-yirr wamba nurlu-nyurdany.*
 3"-AGM-TR-exchange-IMPF woman(ABS)-and man(ABS) corroborree-CAUS
 'All the people used to exchange things when there was [that particular kind of] corroborree.' (explaining a ceremonial exchange which is practised after the Julurru dance meeting)

6.9.3 Source/origin

The causal may mark a source of an inanimate entity (particularly foodstuffs):⁶⁷

- (i) *nidiny-nyurdany lurku*
 cicada-CAUS skin
 'the shed skin of a cicada'
- (ii) *nakula-nyurdany warli*
 sea-CAUS meat
 'fish' (lit. "meat from sea")
- (iii) *birra-nyurdany warli*
 bush-CAUS meat
 'game animals' (lit. "meat from bush")
- (iv) *wula dyalykurr-nyurdany*
 water baby-CAUS
 'waters (amniotic fluid)'⁶⁸
- (v) *niminy kurldyu-nyulany*
 eye grass-CAUS
 'seeds/grains of grass'

Non-adnominal examples at clause level include:

- [184] *Mayi i-na-nya-rn balu-nyurdany.*
 fruit(ABS) 3-TR-catch-IMPF tree-CAUS
 'One gets fruit from trees.'⁶⁹
- [185] *Wal-dyinungu nyamba dyalangardi, kaburra wal-a-nya nyamba-nyurdany.*
 2FUT-disembowel this goanna(ABS) guts(ABS) 2FUT-TR-catch this-CAUS
 'Slit open this goanna and take the guts out of it.'

⁶⁷ What also may be added to the examples here is the expression *dyimbu-nyurdany lurku* (egg-CAUS skin) 'egg shell', though in this case the source itself is not animate but something produced by an animate entity. In most other cases, however, an inanimate source of an inanimate entity is encoded in the ablative: e.g. *rurrugu garlunguny-(ny)urdany* (sweat armpit-ABL) 'underarm sweat, body odour'.

⁶⁸ It is also called *wula dyalykurr-dyina* (water baby-GEN) or simply *dyalykurr-dyina* (see 6.1.2 for the use of the genitive).

⁶⁹ Nyikina has a lexicalised word *baludany* 'water from a tree (usually of a Grevillea or Bloodwood tree)' (Stokes, p.c. in 1990), which possibly corresponds to *balu-nyurdany* in Yawuru.

Interestingly, the act of purchasing something from a shop may also be expressed in the causal:

- [186] *Nyamba nga-na-nya-nda ingamana madyil duwa-nyurdany.*
 this^ 1-TR-catch-PF ^cup(ABS) yesterday store/E-CAUS
 'I bought this glass in the shop yesterday.'

The causal in [186] can be replaced by the ablative (*duwa-gap*).

Although a kinship relation is usually encoded in the dative (or occasionally in the ablative; see 6.7.2), mother-child relationship is expressed in the causal in such a context as in [187] and [188] (DC in the gloss line stands for 'daughter's child'; D/S for 'daughter or son'):

- [187] *Dyanu-dyunu mimi-garra nangkala-nyurdany.*
 1(GEN)-really DC-PL (name)-CAUS
 '[These are] my own grandchildren from my daughter Nangkala.'
- [188] *Nyanga-dyunu mimi-garra yalirra-nyurdany wuba dyanu,*
 this-really DC-PL front-CAUS child(CAUS) 1(GEN)
nyamba dyira baybirra-nyurdany.
 this boy behind-CAUS
 'These are all my daughters' children (DC); [these are] my first (eldest) daughter's; (but) this little boy is of another (younger) daughter of mine.'

It should be added that a male parent is not marked by the causal; the ergative is employed instead).

- [189] a. **[Durlungu i-ngara-rn ngayu-nyurdany]*
 pregnant 3-become-IMPF 1-CAUS
 (lit.) "She got pregnant from me."
- b. *Durlungu i-ngara-rn ngayu-ni (nga-na-ø-nda-dyina wuba).*
 pregnant 3_i-become-IMPF 1-ERG 1-TR-give-PF-3DAT_i child
 'I made her pregnant.' (lit. "she_i got pregnant by me, I gave her_i a child")

6.9.4 Local origin

Local source points are usually marked by the ablative (6.7.1). The causal, however, may be used in some cases with a slight differentiation of the meaning: the causal indicates the origin of an entity and the focus of description is not on the process of motion by which the entity came to the current location. In the case of the ablative, on the other hand, it is the process of motion that is focused on. Compare the following:

- [190] *Yanban-nyurdany nyanga-dyunu bubu mabu-dyunu.*
 south-CAUS this-really flower(ABS) good-really
 'All these flowers from the south [are] beautiful.'
- [191] *Banu-gap i-m-bula-rn ngawin.*
 east-ABL 3-EN-come-IMPF heat(ABS)
 'The heat wave comes from the east' (i.e. from the inland desert)

Although the predication in [191] refers to a regular meteorological phenomenon, rather than a particular incidental "motion", the described process is something that is repeated several times each year. By contrast, the causal expression in [190] implies that the flowers were brought from the south but they are now

growing there (in the north). The transportation from the south to the north no longer needs to be repeated.

The ablative and causal markers are observed to co-occur in succession in such derived nouns as: *yanban-gap-nyurdany* (south-ABL-CAUS) 'Southerners (i.e. people from the Pilbara side)'.⁷⁰ The ablative-causal sequence has also been noted in the adverb *kalbu-gap-nyurdany* 'from the sky (as of rainfall)' (see [133] cited in 6.7.1).

6.9.5 Original state before a change of the state

As a complement to a predicate verb that describes a change of state, the causally marked NP refers to the original state before the change. This is typically observed in the causative constructions (with the verb *-ma*):

- [192] *Ngarli + wal-a-ma burdarra-nyurdany kamba balu, wal-a-buli-buli.*
 wet+2FUT-TR-AUX(put) dry-CAUS that tree(ABS) 2FUT-TR-REDUP-moisten
 'Wet the wood; it's too dry; it should be moistened.'
- [193] *Kudyarra + i-na-ma-rn waranydyarri-nyurdany lanydyi-yi.*
 two+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF one-CAUS boomerang-DAT
 'Split it into two pieces to make boomerangs.' (lit. "make two from one for boomerang"; a log should be split lengthwise into twin pieces to make a pair of boomerangs.)
- [194] *Dudyul-dudyul + i-na-ra-rn kalyingku + wa-na-ga-ma dila-nyurdany*
 smash-REDUP+3j-TR-AUX(spear)-IMPF soft+3j-TR-FUT-AUX(put) hard-CAUS
kamba mayi.
 that fruit(ABS);
 'She keeps pounding it so that the hard seeds become "soft" (i.e. become powder).'

Also encountered are non-causative examples such as:

- [195] *Midyala-gadya + ya-ga-rry-dyi mulkula-nyurdany wubardu-dyina.*^{70A}
 sitting-INTENS+12"-FUT-AGM-AUX(be) work-CAUS small-GEN
 'Let's have a spell.' (lit. "we shall be seated from work for a while")

6.9.6 Material

The causative may indicate the material of which something (typically an artefact) is made/manufactured:⁷¹ The ablative is unacceptable in the following examples.

- [196] *I-na-makura-rn mangul biny-nyurdany.*
 3-TR-make-IMPF spear(ABS) Supplejack-CAUS
 'They make spears from the Supplejack tree.'

⁷⁰ In Nyikina the suffix *-dyunu* (see footnote 91 in this chapter) is applied to derive a similar meaning, e.g. *banu-dyunu* (east-DERIV) 'Easterners'; In Yawuru, the cognate suffix *-dyunu* (6.12.6) does not combine with terms of cardinal directions (8.3.2): **banu-dyunu*, **yanban-dyunu*, etc.

^{70A} See 6.3.5 for the time-adverb function of the genitive form of *wubardu* 'small'. (cf. 8.2.2.4).

⁷¹ This could be interpreted, in a sense, as referring to the "original state".

- [197] *Wirdu-nyurdany balu bady + i-ny-dyu-n dyamiyanu-barri*
 big-CAUS tree(CAUS) cut+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF axe-INST
lanydyi-karrbina.
 boomerang-shield(ABS)
 'They cut down a mature tree with an axe [and they make] all kinds of tools with it.'
 (The compound noun *lanydyi-karrbina*, lit. "boomerangs and shields", idiomatically means 'everything, any kind of gear')
- [198] *Yilyi-yi wirr + nga-ny-dyu-n nyamba nganaminkarr-nyurdany balu.*
 "yilyi"-DAT scrape+I-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF this(ABS) Premna-CAUS tree(CAUS)
 'I'm scraping this [branch] of a Premna tree to make a yilyi (ceremonial stick).'

The commonly used phrase, *birra-nyurdany buru* (bush-CAUS land) 'woodland, "bush country" (in the inland area)' is interpreted as an instance of the material causal.

6.9.7 Aversive/apprehensional

There are a limited number of instances where the causal bears an aversive or apprehensional overtone (to avoid something/somebody, for fear of something/somebody), as in:

- [199] *I-marda-rn dyimbin balu-gun kangadyun(u)-nyurdany, wa-y-rr-a-bura.*
 3-hide-IMPF inside tree-LOC 3"PL-CAUS 3"-IRR-AGM-TR-see
 'She hid it in the thicket lest they should see it.'⁷²
- [200] *Kamba-rri dyarn'du i-mirdibi-nda daman-nyurdany.*
 that-DL woman(ABS) 3-run.away-PF warrior-CAUS
 'The two women ran away because they were afraid of the warrior (who would come to punish them).'
- [201] *Dyidu-gun nga-ngara-rn walany(u)-nyurdany.*
 hiding-LOC 1-become-IMPF stranger-CAUS
 'I hid myself as I was afraid of the stranger.'

There are also cases in which dative enclitics could be interpreted as expressing an aversive meaning (see footnote 52 in 7.4.2.4).

6.9.8 Lexical derivations

Nominals in the causal case may be used idiomatically as adverbs: e.g. *wura-nyurdany* 'pretendedly; in disguise', as in:

- [202] *Wura-nyurdany i-rndira-nda.*
 lie-CAUS 3-go-PF
 'He pretended to have gone (but actually he didn't go).'⁷³

Similar idiomatic expressions in the causal form include:

<i>bambi-nyurdany</i>	(long.time-CAUS)	'at last, eventually'
<i>miliya-nyurdany</i>	(now-CAUS)	'just now, not long ago'
<i>narli-nyurdany</i>	(true-caus)	'if it were the case'

The last item above leads a conditional clause in which a counterfactual hypothesis is expressed; see 10.6.7.1.(2) for illustration and discussion.

⁷² The verb root *marda* is a variant of *barnda* 'hide, cover'; see 4.4.3.(2).

⁷³ Aboriginal English translation is "he go liar".

Two toponyms are found to have *-nyurdany* as a part of their stem:⁷⁴

<i>marrmarrma-nyurdany</i>	'area south of Crab Creek'
<i>yiwalaku-nyurdany</i>	'a holm in Crab Creek'

Marrmarrmanyurdany is also called *marrmarrma buru* (the independent word *buru* means 'land, country').

There is one more item, which is a common noun but which also has a strong locational implication: *warwara-nyurdany* 'freshwater spring in the beach' (the bare stem **warwara* unattested).

6.10 Comitative

6.10.1 General remarks

The form of the marker is invariably *-ngany* [ŋaŋ]. Functionally, it corresponds to the so-called "having" suffix commonly encountered in Australian languages (Dixon 1976a:8f, Dixon 1976c:203f).⁷⁵ The Yawuru *-ngany*, however, is regarded morpho-syntactically as a clitic rather than a stem-forming suffix (but cf. 6.10.5), because it shows, like other case markers, the initial-marking behaviour (i.e. it hops leftwards to the first constituent of the phrase; 2.5.2). This is observed in [203] and [204]:⁷⁶

[203] *Manydya-ngany bilyka marlu mabu-dyunu nyamba lanydyi-yi.*
 many-COM gnarl(COM) not good-really this(ABS) boomerang-DAT
 'This (wood) has too many gnarls; it's no good for boomerangs.'

[204] *Mabu-ngany liyan kamba wamba.*
 good-COM heart(COM) that man(ABS)
 'He [is] a person of a good character' (lit. "good-heart-having")

Although there are instances of lexical derivations (6.10.6), words which carry the comitative marker *-ngany* usually modify other constituents in the phrase/clause (adding some meaning either adjectivally to a noun or adverbially to a predicate).

⁷⁴ One more instance is reported from the Nyikina country: *badvaganvudany* (which has an unretroflexed *-nyudany* rather than *-nyurdany*) 'a place on the Fitzroy River on Liveringa station' (Stokes, p.c. in 1990).

⁷⁵ Blake draws the semantic characteristics of the "having" suffix as follows: "The 'having' suffix in many languages refers only to an indefinite possessed item whereas a definite noun can be possessed by a noun in the dative or genitive. [...] Also the dative (or genitive) can mark potential as opposed to actual possession, whereas 'having' suffixes normally refer to actual possession." Blake (1977:38-39) also points out that "the possessor in the 'having' construction (...) is normally the topic of the predication whereas in an adnominal dative or genitive construction it is the possessed that is the topic of the predication". These commentaries generally hold true with the Yawuru comitative marker *-ngany*, although as far as the forms are concerned the Yawuru comitative marker does not reflect the wide-spread **-dh(i)* morpheme (Dixon 1976c:204).

⁷⁶ Also see [210b], [211] cited in 6.10.3.

6.10.2 Proprietative and other functions

The enclitic *-ngany* basically marks a property (possession or attribute) as typically exemplified by such derivations of adjective (or adjective phrase) as follows:⁷⁷

nila-ngany (knowing-COM) 'knowledgeable' (cf. 5.5.2.4)
dyirril-ngany (strenth-COM) 'strong' (cf. 6.10.3)

An informant paraphrased the word *wura* 'lie' as *marlu narli-ngany nganka* (not true-COM word) "(lit.) no truth-having word". By the same token

[205] *Inga-rr-a-laka-rn-dyina wura-ngany nganka.*
 3";-AGM-TR-know-IMPF-3DAT; lie-COM word(COM)
 'People; know that he; is telling a lie.' (lit. they know him as "false-word-having")

One's native language is also regarded as a property and is referred to comitatively:

[206] *Ngayu yawru-ngany.*
 1(ABS) Yawuru-COM
 'My language [is] Yawuru.'^{77A}

Apart from possession or property, the comitative sometimes encode a physical contact or close distance. Consider the contrast between [207a] and [207b]:

[207] a. *Dyimbin i-nga-rn dyikul-gun larrkardi.*
 inside 3-be-IMPF hollow-LOC boob(LOC)
 'He is sitting in the hollow of a Boab tree.' (i.e. inside the tree)

b. *Dyimbin-ngany i-nga-rn bika-gun larrkardi.*
 inside-COM 3-be-IMPF shade-LOC boob(LOC)
 'He is sitting in the shade under a Boab tree.' (i.e. beside the tree)

In this connection, the secondary distinction in the body-part noun *nungu* 'stomach, belly' (2.4.3) is recalled:

[208] a. *nungu nimarla-gun*
 stomach hand-LOC
 'palm (of hand)' (lit. "belly in hand")

b. *nungu dyimbin-ngany*
 stomach ground-COM
 'sole (of foot)' (lit. "belly with ground", i.e. in contact with the ground; cf. 2.4.3 and 8.3.4.3)

6.10.3 Instrumental vs comitative

The instrumental case bears comitative meaning ('with', 'having'), too. The difference between the instrumental and the comitative lies in the fact that temporary states or possessions are expressed by the instrumental whereas inherent qualities or attributes are encoded in the comitative. Thus, for example,

⁷⁷ Also cf. the idiomatic phrase *karu-ngany nilirr* 'toothless' (also *karu nilirr*); *nilirr* means 'mouth, lips, tooth'; *karu* is the word for a type of short spear but its semantic relevance to the phrase for 'toothless' is unclear.

^{77A} See 10.5.2.2 for the copula ellipsis triggered by the comitative.

attached to the noun *dyirril* 'strength, power', the following semantic contrast results:

dyirril-barri 'strongly, violently, by force'
dyirril-ngany '(inherently) strong, tough; obstinate'

as exemplified in sentences [209a/b]:

- [209] a. *Dyirril-barri rdi + i-na-ra-rn balu kamba-ni wamba.*
 strength-INST break+3-TR-AUX(spear)-IMPF tree that-ERG man(ERG)
 'The man broke the branch by force.'
- b. *Dyirril-ngany (i-nga-rn) kamba wamba.*
 strength-COM 3-be-IMPF that man(ABS)
 'That man is a tough guy.'
 (This can mean the person's obstinacy in certain contexts.)

The following pair of phrases, too, reveals the contrast of temporary/permanent conditions:

- [210] a. *mabu-barri dyangkurr*
 good-INST clothing(INST)
 'in good clothes, wearing a good dress'
- b. *mabu-ngany niminy*
 good-COM face(COM)
 'nice-looking [person]'⁷⁸

Similarly, the phrase *mandydy-ngany maldyu* (many-COM smile), as in [211] below, means that the person referred to is "always smiling"; the expression describes the person's character, not his behaviour on a particular occasion.

- [211] *Mabu-dyunu kamba wamba manydy-ngany maldyu.*
 good-really that man many-COM smile(COM)
 'That man is gentle; he is always smiling' (lit. "with many smiles")

By contrast, the next sentence focuses on a temporary condition, which is encoded in the instrumental case:

- [212] *Birn'dany miliya bard-bard + inga-rry-dyi-n, lida-barfi naarli warli.*
 stingray(ABS) now hop-REDUP+3"-AGM-AUX(say)-IMPF fat-INST true meat(INST)
 'Stingrays are jumping (over the sea surface); they are now fat and good to eat.'

In [213] below the comitative marker indicates the instrument, namely a spindle. Notice in this particular case that the action of twining threads always requires the use of a spindle. The comitative marking thus expresses the regular use of the particular type of instrument, rather than indicating a selection or specification of instrument among alternative possibilities (such a specification would be encoded in the instrumental case).

- [213] *Daarr + wal-a-nya-yi mara-ngany.*
 twine+2FUT-TR-AUX(catch)-DAT_{imp} spindle-COM
 'You'd have to twine the threads with a spindle.'

There are at least two instances where *-ngany* (COM) and *-barri* (INST) seem to be mutually replaceable as markers of an instrument:⁷⁹

⁷⁸ The single word *mabu-ngany* may in some cases be used as a noun, referring to a handsome person.

⁷⁹ Examples [214a/b] and [215b] are elicited, while [215a] was recorded in spontaneous speech.

- [214] a. *i-na-m-bilka-rn balu-ngany(-*ni)*
 3-TR-EN-hit-IMPF wood-INST(-*ERG)
 's/he hit [it] with a stick.'
- b. *i-na-m-bilka-rn balu-barri-ni*
 3-TR-EN-hit-IMPF wood-INST-ERG
 '(same as [214a])'
- [215] a. *Wirrkiny-ngany dyungku wit + ya-ga-rr-a-dyu.*
 leaf-COM fire(ABS) hit+12"-FUT-AGM-TR-AUX(say)
 'We must extinguish the fire by hitting it with green-leaved branches.'
- b. *Wirrkiny-barri dyungku wit + ya-ga-rr-a-dyu.*
 leaf-INST
 '(same as [215a])'

Notice in [214] that the ergative double marking occurs with the instrumental (see 6.8.5), but not with the comitative. As for [215a], the use of *-ngany* in the original utterance probably reflects the commonly-used phrase *balu wirrkiny-ngany* (wood leaf-COM/*INST) 'green-leaved branch or sprig', which is needed for smothering a fire.

Human accompaniment ('together with somebody') is usually encoded in the instrumental (6.8.1).⁸⁰

6.10.4 Verbal comitative

As has already been examined in Chapter 4, the comitative marker *-ngany* may be attached to conjugated forms of certain verbs to add a comitative meaning (e.g. come + with = bring); the derived meanings are often idiomatic (e.g. catch + with = help). See 4.7 for details.

6.10.5 Idioms and lexical derivations

The comitative marker more often than not produces idiomatic expressions. To give just a few examples:

- k*aliya-ngany* 'already' (*k*aliya* '(INTJ) finish!'; cf. 8.2.1.2)
dyimbin-ngany 'via sand beach, along the beach' (*dyimbin* 'inside'; 8.3.4.3)
manydya-ngany 'often' (*manydya* 'many/much'; cf. 8.2.2.1)

It has been pointed out that the contrastive-locative forms of demonstratives require *-ngany* as a connective element (see 7.5.4.2):

- kama-ngany-gardi* 'to/in that side' (often reduced to *kamanygardi*)
nyama-ngany-gardi 'to/in this side' (often reduced to *nyamanygardi*)

Several fish names carry *-ngany* as an integral part of the stem:

- wukurlngany* 'mudfish' (**wukurl*)
dyidya-ngany-kabu 'whiting' (*dyidya* 'shell', *kabu* 'eating')

⁸⁰ But compare the following example:

[215C] *Nga-na-ng-ka-nda nyamba dyarn'du wirkany-ngany.*
 1-TR-EN-carry-PF this woman(ABS) elopement-COM
 'I eloped with this woman.' (lit. "I caught this woman with elopement")

6.11 Circumstantial

The enclitic *-gurdany* is a semi-productive case marker that indicates a characteristic, a feature or circumstance. It is typically encountered in adjective derivations such as follow:

<i>limba</i>	'(N/ADJ) bitter(ness), sour(ness); tasteless(ness)'
<i>limba-gurdany</i>	'bitter, sour, not tasty' (= <i>limba-marda</i>) ⁸¹
<i>niyarra</i>	'(N) taste, juice (of meat being cooked), sap (of tree)'
<i>niyarra-gurdany</i>	'tasty' (but * <i>niyarra-marda</i>)
<i>bukarri-garra</i>	'Dreamtime' (see 2.4.2.2)
<i>bukarri-garra-gurdany</i>	'(place, plant or animal) having a relevant Dreamtime story'

Sentence examples containing the marker *-gurdany* are as follows:

- [216] *Mi-m-bandydu-n burda-gurdany, dyira ʔ.*
 2-EN-smell-IMPf feces-CIRCUM boy(VOC)
 'You smell of "poo", little boy!' (when changing his nappy)
- [217] *Nga-murku-rn mayi-gurdany.*
 1-search-IMPf fruit-CIRCUM
 'I'm looking for [some books] on plants.' (in a bookshop)

The two phrases of [218a/b] neatly show a semantic contrast of the circumstantial and the causal (6.9): the causal form [218a] refers to a person who is gradually recovering health after his/her recent illness, while the circumstantial form [218b] indicates that the person referred to is still sick.

- [218] a. *rdardarl-nyurdany ngarrungu* 'a convalescent'
 sick-CAUS person(ABS)
- b. *rdardarl-gurdany ngarrungu* 'a sick person'
 sick-CIRCIM person(ABS)

Both causal and circumstantial forms may be used as independent words, either as nouns or as adverbs:

<i>rdardarl-nyurdany</i>	'(N) a convalescent; (ADV) because of his/her recent illness'
<i>rdardarl-gurdany</i>	'(N) a person who is ill or who gets ill easily; (ADV) because of his/her ill health'

Two toponyms have been recorded with *-gurdany* or its variant *-gurnany* as formative.⁸²

<i>numugurdany</i>	'an old soak near No. 12 Bore (Mardanungu)'
<i>dyalmun'gurnany</i>	'Sheep Camp' ⁸³

⁸¹ Practically, *limba-gurdany* and *limba-marda* can be regarded as synonyms, though the latter seems to be somewhat weaker in meaning (see 8.5.3.3). Also see 7.6.7.3 and 10.6.7.3.(3) for the functions of *-marda*.

⁸² Both *-gurdany* and *-gurnany* in these toponyms have ever-voiced *g* morpheme-initially; see 3.4.5.1(5).

⁸³ The place name is spelled "Djarmannungan" by Muecke (see Benterrak, Muecke & Roe 1984:47). See 3.6.3.3(2) for the hyphenated cluster *n'g*.

6.12 Derivational suffixes

Six stem-forming suffixes are briefly commented on in this section; none of them are fully productive, but only semi-productive (i.e. most of the cases where they occur are lexical).⁸⁴ They derive nominal stems from nominal roots. These suffixes precede case-marking enclitics (cf. 2.2.2).

6.12.1 *-dyinaburu*

This is an agentive nominaliser suffix which produces the meaning of 'person specialised (in something)' or 'apparatus utilised (for something)':

<i>dyalngardi</i>	'goanna'
<i>dyalngardi-dyinaburu</i>	'a good goanna hunter'
<i>nurlu</i>	'corroboree'
<i>nurlu-dyinaburu</i>	'a good songman (for corroboree)' (= <i>naarli wararra</i>)

Names for newly introduced European items are derived in Yawuru by applying the suffix to existing Yawuru nominals. Typical instance are:

<i>niminy</i>	'eye'
<i>niminy-dyinaburu</i>	'lens, spectacles'
<i>nganka</i>	'word, language'
<i>nganka-dyinaburu</i>	'radio'

See also items cited in 5.4.1.5.

6.12.2 *-dany*

This is a semi-productive suffix indicating an actor; there are only two instances of noun-to-noun derivation in which the agentive function of *-dany* is clearly recognised:

<i>warli</i>	'meat, game animal'
<i>warli-dany</i>	'a good hunter'
<i>bili</i>	'angry, anger' (cf. 2.2.1 and 5.6.2)
<i>bili-dany</i>	'"hot person" (i.e. one who is easy to infuriate, an aggressive or militant person)'

An idiomatic case of adverb-to-adverb derivation may be added, though in this case the semantic role of the suffix is less obvious (see 8.3.4.3.(2)):

<i>kalbu</i>	'above, up(wards)'
<i>kalbu-dany</i>	'outside, upper-ways (i.e. going on the dune)'

All other items having *-dany* as formative (typically plant names, animal names and toponyms) are lexical — see items cited in 3.2.1.3 and 3.3.5.2.

⁸⁴ Stem-forming suffixes that mark number have already been illustrated in 2.4.2. Some of the adverb-deriving enclitics (illustrated in 8.4.5) may occasionally function as a stem-forming formative, particularly in plant names (see 8.4.5.1).

6.123 *-ngurru*

The agentive suffix *-ngurru* typically means 'one who specialises in ...' or 'one who regularly does ...' as in the following lexical derivations:⁸⁵

<i>dyanka (+baru)</i>	'healing, curing' (preverb [+BLOW])
<i>dyanka-ngurru</i>	'(traditional) healer, medicine man'
<i>yardap (+dyu)</i>	'crawling, stalking' (preverb [+SAY])
<i>yardap-ngurru</i>	'crippled person, disabled'

It should be noted that the unsuffixed preverbs *yardap* and *dyanka* are unacceptable as independent lexical items outside the complex verb configurations.

The semantics of the suffix is rather obscure in the following instances of noun-to-noun derivations:

<i>dyalbarn</i>	'feather, wing'
<i>dyalbarn-ngurru</i>	'water reserve log' ⁸⁶
<i>walabaling</i>	'mother and daughter(s); core family'
<i>walabali(ng)-ngurru</i>	'(full form — see 2.3.4 — of <i>walabaling</i>)'

There are a few lexical cases of plant/animal names having *-ngurru*:

<i>dyarrbinangurru</i>	'female euro'
<i>minydyanyngurru</i>	'Loggerhead Turtle'
<i>malangurru</i>	'inland spinifex spp.'

A large number of toponyms carry *-ngurru* as the formative⁸⁷

<i>dyiru-ngurru</i>	(<i>dyiru</i> 'Osprey, or sea hawk')
<i>dirrka-ngurru</i>	(<i>dirrka</i> 'Kingfish') ⁸⁸
<i>bili-ngurru</i>	(<i>bili</i> 'anger, angry'; cf. 6.12.2)
<i>kurlibilngurru</i>	(cf. <i>gurlibil</i> 'Green Turtle')

although the meanings of roots are not always clear:

<i>marndangurru</i>	(* <i>mardan</i>)
<i>wunguniya(ngurru)</i>	'Three Sisters Rock' (<i>wunguniya</i> occurs as its short form; 2.3.4)
<i>kunybangurru</i>	(* <i>kunyban</i>)
<i>yirringurru</i>	(* <i>yirri</i>)

⁸⁵ It reveals a function somewhat comparable to that of the English suffix *-er* (as in *drinker*), although similar function of agentive nominalisation is partly the case with the suffixes *-dany* (6.12.2) and *-dyunu* (6.12.6). The suffix *-ngurru* should be distinguished from the adverb *ngurru* 'more, again', which is an independent word (see 8.2.2.1).

⁸⁶ This refers to a U-shaped hollow log, which is laid beside an anthill to collect rain water. A number of such logs used to be set up in various places in the area normally ranged over by the nomadic group; in the dry season people would move from one log to another, securing water. The two open mouths on both side of the log are metaphorically described as 'wide-opened wings'.

⁸⁷ It is possible that the Yawuru *-ngurru* is related to the Pama-Nyungan ablative marker *-nguru* (with non-flapping rhotic; Blake 1977:55f, 65-67), which also abounds in Aboriginal place names. (My attention was drawn to this by Bob Dixon, p.c.)

⁸⁸ What is called "Kingfish" in Broome is different from the Queensland Kingfish. The former is probably Narrow-barred Spanish Mackerel (*Scomberomorus commerson*, family *Scombridae*).

6.124 *-garang*

This indicates a collectivity, or gathering of small things or creatures. Instances of productive (and quasi-productive) derivation are:

<i>wubardu</i>	'(N) child, (ADJ) small' (cf. 2.2.1)
<i>wubardu-garang</i>	'(N) small children (collective); chicks (of bird)'
<i>baarl</i>	'hot' (long vowel)
<i>baarl-garang</i>	'tea' (short vowel)
<i>ngii</i>	'(onomatopoeia for the sound of mosquitos flying around)'
<i>ngii-garang</i>	'mosquito'
<i>bany</i>	'(onomatopoeia) bang, boom'
<i>bany-garang</i>	'rifle' (lit. "many/repeated bangs"?)

Items derived with *-garang* may bear an affectionate, diminutive-like connotation (as in the case of *wubardu-garang* above).^{88A} In some other cases, the derivation may reflect repetition or frequency of process relevant to the item referred to (as in *bany-garang*). Lexical examples include:^{88B}

<i>wilgarang</i>	'matches' (cf. <i>wilur</i> 'whetstone')
<i>migarang</i>	'goat' (but * <i>mi</i> or * <i>mii</i>)
<i>wudurlgarang</i>	'itchy caterpillar' ⁸⁹

6.125 *-nganydya*

This means 'place' and occurs only as a formative in toponyms.⁹⁰

<i>bangarnunganydya</i>	'(a large sand hill near Wissel Creek)'
<i>lawinnganydya</i>	'(a creek south of Mararr sand hill)' (see 1.1.1)
<i>dyambarrnganydya</i>	'Thangoo' (see 1.1.2)

6.126 *-dyunu*

The form *-dyunu* (tentatively glossed 'really')⁹¹ may occur either as a stem-forming morpheme or as a non-stem-forming morpheme. In the former case, it indicates an animate actor who performs the action with a marked intensity.⁹²

<i>kari</i>	'grog, (habit of) drinking' (lit. "salty (taste)")
<i>kari-dyunu</i>	'drinker, drunkard' (lit. "really drinking")
<i>wangkurr</i>	'crying, weeping' (preverb; cf. 5.6.1)
<i>wangkurr-dyunu</i>	'bereaved family' (lit. "really crying") ⁹³

^{88A} But cf. example [111A] cited in 10.3.1 and footnote 53A there.

^{88B} See 3.4.5.1(5) for the voicing value of the morpheme-initial *g*.

⁸⁹ The species is also called *wurdurlwurdurl*, *gurdurl-garang* or *wurdurr-garang*.

⁹⁰ Also see examples cited in 3.7.1.3; cf. 3.6.3.1.

⁹¹ It is formally identified with the inanimate source marker *-dyunu* in Nyikina (Stokes 1982:101ff). Semantically, however, functions of the Nyikina *-dyunu* are covered in Yawuru largely by the causal marker *-nyurdany* (see 6.9.4; also see 10.6.7.2 for the use of *marlu-nyurdany* in Yawuru instead of *marlu-dyunu* in Nyikina).

⁹² The lexical instance *nilbandyun(u)* 'promised woman' (**nilban*, cf. 2.4.3) may be added here.

⁹³ The derived form *wangkurrdyunu* is often used as a synonym of *mudyibarndi* 'widower' (a borrowing of Karajarri *mujibarndi* 'widower'; also *wangkurrdyunu wamba* in Yawuru). A widow is called *yilyu dyarn'du* 'widow' (lit. "tears woman"), equivalent to Karajarri *mujimbirri*.

The other function of *-dyunu* is to intensify the meaning of the stem (Dixon 1980:324) rather than to derive a new stem:⁹⁴

<i>mabu</i>	'(ADJ) good, (ADV) well'
<i>mabu-dyunu</i>	'(ADJ) really good, (ADV) very well'
<i>ngurrangurra</i>	'(N) early evening, (ADV) early in the evening' ⁹⁵
<i>ngurrangurra-dyunu</i>	'(ADV) by the sunset, before dark' (see 8.2.1.3)

The following utterance was recorded when the speaker discovered footprints of a wallaby.

- [219] *Wa-rr-a-bura niwal nyambá-aw, warli-dyunu Barrydyanin.*
 2" FUT-AGM-TR-see foot(ABS) this-VOC meat-really wallaby
 'Hey, look at these footprints; it must be a wallaby.'⁹⁶

The formative element *-dyunu* is found in several toponyms (see 1.1.3.1) as well as in the following fish names:

<i>bumbudyunu</i>	'a k/o big grey shark (edible)' (* <i>bumbu</i>)
<i>kambirdidyunu</i>	'a k/o groper' (* <i>kambirdi</i>)

Finally, the word *badydyunu* 'roughly-shaven wood for boomerang making, etc' is analysable as consisting of a preverb *bady* 'cutting out bark or rough surface of wood' plus the suffix *-dyunu* (cf. 5.4.1.4)⁹⁷

6.127 Additional comment

As already commented on in 2.2.2 and 2.4.2.4, nouns that are already carrying stem-forming suffixes may further be inflected for case. In other words, stem-forming suffixes precede case markers. There is, on the other hand, a group of bound lexemes which may follow the stem-forming suffixes and the case markers (thus such lexemes are regarded as enclitics rather than suffixes — see discussion in 2.5.2.1). Consider *-manydyan* and *-ngarr* in the following instances:

- [220] *dyarn'du-ni-manydyan* 'only by women'
 woman-ERG-only
 (root + case marker + enclitic)
- [221] *kari-dyunu-ngarr* 'as if he were drunken'
 grog-really-like
 (root + derivational suffix + enclitic)
- [222] *yardap-ngurru-yi-manydyan* 'for disabled persons only'
 crawling-AGENTIVE-DAT-only
 (root + derivational suffix + case marker + enclitic)

Enclitics, such as *-mandyan* and *-ngarr* in the above examples, are non-stem-forming bound lexemes and derive adverbial or adjectival expressions from

⁹⁴ See 7.2.2.3 for the use of *-dyunu* as an intensifier attached on genitive pronouns. See 7.5.2.2.(6) for the intensified demonstratives: *nyanga-dyunu* and *kanga-dyunu* (also cf. 7.1.1.2). When used as an intensifier, the morpheme *-dyunu* operates as a clitic rather than a nominal derivational suffix. There are at least two instances where *-dyunu* is attached to a FV (see footnote 74 in 4.6.5.1).

⁹⁵ lit. "night-night"; see 8.2.1.3(1), cf. 9.2.1.4.

⁹⁶ See 2.4.4 for the classifier-like usage of the generic noun *warli*.

⁹⁷ In Nyikina *bady* is a noun, meaning 'bark, skin'.

nouns. Yawuru has the following non-stem-forming enclitics; their usage will be illustrated in Chapter 8 and they are only listed here.

<i>-manydyan</i>	(limitative) 'only'.....	8.4.5.2
<i>-ngarr</i>	(semblative) 'like'.....	8.4.5.1
<i>-bardu</i>	(aspectual) 'still'.....	8.2.1.2
<i>-garriny</i>	(aspectual) 'yet'.....	8.2.1.3 (see footnote 21 there)
<i>-gardi</i>	(lative) 'in/to the side of'.....	8.3.3.5.1; also see 7.5.3.2
<i>-gaman</i>	(lative) 'in/to the side of'.....	8.3.1 and 8.3.2.2.(5)
<i>-layin</i>	(directional) 'towards'.....	8.3.1, 8.3.2.2 and 8.3.4.3
<i>-mardadyi</i>	(approximative) 'close to'.....	8.3.5.2
<i>-marda</i>	(uncertainty) 'perhaps'.....	8.5.3.3; also see 7.6.7.3
<i>-da</i>	(resolutive) 'surely, no doubt'.....	8.5.3.2

Chapter 7: Pronouns

7.0 Introduction

7.0.1 General remarks: four types of pronouns

This chapter deals with four types of pronouns in Yawuru: personal, demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns. Although all of these basically belong to the broad word class of nominals (2.2.1), each group forms a distinct subclass on the basis of morphological as well as semantic characteristics. All these pronouns are inflected very much like (but not completely the same way as) common nouns, taking case markers as well as other types of enclitics and derivational suffixes. The case marking follows the ergative-absolutive pattern (2.1.3). Demonstratives perform deictic and other functions than merely pronominal (7.5.5). Several non-pronominal items will be included in the account of the interrogatives (7.6).

7.0.2 Personal pronouns: an overview

The basic characteristic of Yawuru pronominal organisation, namely the four-person system, has already been illustrated in the chapter on typological profiles (2.4.2.1). Unlike the bound pronominals prefixed to finite verbs (where the number distinction is twofold: minimal vs non-minimal — see 4.2.1.4), free-form personal pronouns further distinguish morphologically between dual and plural (but cf. 7.3.1.1 and 7.4.1.2). Moreover, there is a paucal vs non-paucal distinction, at least partially, in the system of free-form pronouns (7.1.1.2).¹

The case inflexion of the free-form pronouns conforms to the same system as for common nominals, namely the ergative-absolutive pattern. No gender or noun-class-type distinction is formally made in the Yawuru pronominal system. Neither skin-sensitive nor generation-sensitive distinctions are explicitly encoded in the morphology of Yawuru pronouns.² The Yawuru pronominal system shows no relationship to the tense/aspect system either.³

¹ The following abbreviations for grammatical number categories are employed in the description:

MIN	minimal
AGM	augmented, or non-minimal (either dual or plural)
DL	dual (except the 4th person)
TL	trial (in the 4th person)
PL	non-dual plural (either paucal or non-paucal)
PCL	paucal plural
NPCL	non-paucal, or large plural
SG	singular (non-4th-person minimal)

² Some Australian languages have such pronominal systems (Dixon 1980:276; Evans 1985 and p.c.; Hale 1966).

³ Some Australian languages have separate pronominal forms for future, as is the case of Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1977:58-59, Blake 1979:193-195).

Two sets of morphological inventories of pronouns are found in Yawuru; they are called **Y-set** and **J-set**, respectively. The Y-set is characterised by the *-yu* element that occurs in the free-form non-3rd-person minimal pronouns: *ngayu* (1MIN), *dyuyu* (2MIN) and *yayu* (12MIN). The J-set, on the other hand, is characterised by *dy-* consonant in the initial position: *dyanu* (1MIN), *dyiya* (2MIN), *dyaw* (12MIN), *dyarra* (1"DL), etc.⁴ Both sets occur as free forms and as bound forms. The bound forms are found as post-inflectional enclitics attached to finite verbs (4.4.3). Free-form Y-set pronouns are called **absolutive** forms (ABS), while free-form J-set ones are **genitive** pronouns (GEN); Y-set pronominal enclitics are called **accusative** (ACC) and J-set ones **dative** (DAT).

	Y-set	J-set
free	ABS	GEN
bound	ACC	DAT

The forms and functions of these four classes of personal pronouns are described in order in the following sections (7.1 to 7.4). Another set of bound pronominals, namely the subject-marking prefixes (Pro₁) occurring on inflecting verbs, is morphologically related to the Y-set forms (see 7.1.1.3).

Table 701A: Yawuru personal pronouns (1): absolutive free forms

MIN	AGM (DL/TL)	(paucal)	(unmarked)	(large plural)	
1	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>yarrgarda</i>	-	<i>yarryirr</i>	<i>manydya yarryirr</i>
2	<i>dyuyu</i>	<i>kurrgarda</i>	-	<i>kurryirr</i>	<i>manydya kurryirr</i>
3	<i>ginyangka</i>	<i>yirrgarda</i>	<i>yirrydyurr</i>	<i>kangadyun(u)</i>	<i>kangadyunirrydyurr</i>
12	<i>yayu</i>	<i>yadiri</i> ~ <i>yadirigurdiri</i>	-	<i>yadiri</i>	<i>manydya yadiri</i>

Table 701B: Nyikina personal pronouns (absolutive forms)

	minimal	unit-augmented	augmented
1	<i>ngayu</i>	<i>yarrga-mirri</i>	<i>yarrga</i>
2	<i>dyuwa</i>	<i>gurrga-mirri</i>	<i>gurrga</i>
3	<i>ginya</i>	<i>yirrga-mirri</i>	<i>yirrga</i>
12	<i>yayu</i>	<i>yarrdyu-mirri</i>	<i>yarrdyu</i>

After Stokes (1982:154); hyphenation added.

⁴ The letter "j" as employed by several authors recording Yawuru (Lands 1987, Torres 1988, Hudson 1987; also Hosokawa 1988a) is equivalent to the digraph *dy* used in this study (see Table 310 in Chapter 3).

7.1 Absolutive free forms (ABS)

7.1.1 Forms

7.1.1.1 Inventory

The absolutive pronouns are given in Table 701A (above) and, for the sake of comparison, absolutive pronouns of Nyikina are given in Table 701B (also above).

The most common pronunciation of 3MIN *ginyangka* is [gín̩.ɑŋga], rather than [gín̩.ɑŋka]. The final vowel occasionally drops; then the final velar remains unvoiced: *ginyangk* [gín̩.ɑŋkʰ].⁵ Dropping of the final vowel is more commonly observed in 3"PL (*kangadyunu* >*kangadyun*). A few other variants are also recorded:

ngay [ŋáɛ] = *ngayu* (1MIN)
ginyaga [gín̩.ɑyɑ] = *ginyangka* (3MIN)
yadiri [jád̪e.ɾɪ] = *yadiri* (12AGM)

It can be said, as a general comment, that the morphological structure of the absolutive pronouns is fairly transparent:

- (i) The minimal forms (except 3MIN) share *-yu* in the second syllable (this was the reason for calling them the Y-set, as already indicated).⁶
- (ii) The dual forms (1"DL, 2"DL and 3"DL) are marked by *-garda*.⁷ The 12"TL form *yadirigurdiri* contains *gurdiri*, which is most likely a modification of the numeral *gurdirdi* 'three' (2.2.3). This is the "unit-augmented" counterpart of *yayu* (12MIN), which is semantically dual (referring to two people 'you and me') but grammatically a minimal category.⁸ The corresponding verb is unmarked for number (see 4.2.1.4).
- (iii) 1"PL and 2"PL forms share the *-yirr* suffix, which is, however, absent in 3"PL and 12"TL/PL.⁹ The non-continuant rhotic *rr* element recurring in the non-4th-person augmented categories (namely, 1"DL, 1"PL, 2"DL, 2"PL, 3"DL and 3"PCL) may be the same morpheme as the verbal non-minimal marker *rr-* (4.2.1.4).¹⁰

⁵ See footnote 93 in Chapter 3 for the word-final aspiration.

⁶ 1MIN *ngayu* and 12MIN *yayu* are identical to the Nyikina forms. The Nyikina pronoun for 2MIN (absolutive) is, however, *dyuwa* (rather than *dyuyu*).

⁷ In Nyikina the dual forms of the absolutive pronouns in all the person categories are formed by adding the suffix *-mirri* to the plural forms: i.e. the dual forms are derived from the plural forms. In Yawuru, the dual marking *-garda* is not simply added to the plural forms, but replaces the plural marker *-yirr*. In other words, the *-ga-* element shared by the Nyikina plural pronouns (and possibly related to the Yawuru *-garda*) is lacking in the Yawuru plural pronouns. The velar in the dual marker *-garda* is ever-voiced, thus spelled *g* rather than *k* (see 3.3.1.2).

⁸ See 2.4.2.1 (particularly footnote 24 there) for the "minimal/augmented" terminology proposed by McKay and its application to Yawuru.

⁹ Nyikina has the 12"AGM (Stokes' 1+2+M) form *yarrdyu*, which is obviously a combination of 1AGM *yarr(ga)* and 2MIN *dyu(wa)*. The word formation of the Yawuru 12"AGM *yadiri* is less transparent.

¹⁰ The *rr* element as a marker of plurality is widespread in Kimberley languages. See Capell & Coate (1984:97-121).

7.1.1.2 The 3rd person plural

Interestingly, the 3rd person has a separate paucal plural form *yirrydyurr* (3"PCL) and "large plural" (i.e. markedly non-paucal) form *kangadyunirrydyurr* (3"NPCL). The latter, which bears stress on the penultimate syllable, is obviously a compound of *kangadyunu* (normal, or unmarked plural; 3"PL) and *yirrydyurr* (paucal). The paucal form shares the root *yi-* with 3"DL *yirrgarda*. In non-3rd-person categories there is no special paucal form; the normal (unmarked) plural forms may have either paucal or non-paucal reference. Non-3rd-person large plural forms are composed of *manydya* 'many' and the unmarked plural pronouns and behave morphologically as NPs, rather than compound pronouns. The ergative form for the 2nd person large plural, for example, is *manydya-ni kurryirr*, rather than **manydya kurryirr-ni* (see discussion in 2.5.2.4 on the mode of case inflexion as a criterion of NP/compound distinction).

Morphologically, the 3rd-person forms are rather deviant from the general pattern of absolutive pronouns: 3MIN *ginyangka* lacks the *-yu* element (7.0.2), 3"PL *kangadyunu* takes no *-yirr* suffix. Distinction of large plural is made in a paradigmatic manner (i.e. lexically), rather than in such a syntagmatic manner as observed in non-3rd-person categories. Such disarray in the 3rd-person pronominal forms reflects the less pronoun-like nature of these items in comparison with the 1st/2nd/4th-person pronouns (see also Dixon 1980:276f). Obviously, 3"PL *kangadyunu* is originally derived as a demonstrative word, which is to be contrasted with *nyangadyunu* 'all these, everything' — see 7.5.2.2.(6).¹¹ The non-paucal *yirrydyurr* was probably the original 3"PL form. We have at least one instance where *yirrydyurr* reflexively cross-references *kangadyunu*, the latter being a modifier to the topic plural noun *ngarrung-garra* (of which the reference is not paucal — cf. 2.4.2.2):

- [1] *Yirrydyurr-bardu-ngalana kangadyunu ngarrung-garra*.¹²
 3"PCL(ABS)-still-REF 3"PL(ABS) people-PL(ABS)
 'Those people are "between themselves" (i.e. do not easily accept outsiders).'

It is most likely that the paradigmatic opposition of paucal/non-paucal is a later development. It is interesting in this regard that the syntagmatic phrase *manydya yirrydyurr* (many + 3"PCL) for large plural is also acceptable.¹³

¹¹ It should be pointed out, in this connection, that the Yawuru 3MIN form *ginyangka* (and the Nyikina equivalent *ginya*) is identified with the Karajarri demonstrative *ginya* 'this'. This and similar forms are reported from a number of Pama-Nyungan languages (cf. Stokes & McGregor 1989:7-8).

¹² See 4.6.5.2 for the reflexive function of *-bardu-ngalana*.

¹³ The phrase *manydya yirrydyurr* is accepted by informants as an alternative to *kangadyunirrydyurr*. But the phrase is not heard in spontaneous speech. There is at least one instance in which the ergative form of the 3"PL *kangadyunu* is followed by *manydya-ni* (many-ERG):

- [1A] *karrydya + inga-rr-(a-r)a-nda-ngayu kangadyunu-ni, manydya-ni*.
 fury+3"-AGM-TR-AUX(spear)-PF-1ACC 3"PL(ABS)-ERG many-ERG
 'They all swore at me!'

Such double case marking as in [1A] is unusual. In this case, however, a pause (indicated by the comma) takes place between the two ergative forms, so that they are rather regarded as composing two separate but co-referential NPs, juxtaposed for the sake of emphasis.

7.1.1.3 Subject-marking prefixes

We have pointed out earlier (in 4.2.1.3) that the bound pronominal prefixes that mark the grammatical person of the subject on finite verbs are more or less related to the unbound pronouns. Compare the Y-set free forms (given in Table 701A) and the verbal prefixes reproduced in Table 702 below (non-future, future and irrealis sets are combined):

TABLE 702: Yawuru subject-marking bound pronominals

1	<i>nga-</i>	1"	<i>yanga-/yang-</i>
2	<i>mi-/nga-/wa-</i>	2"	<i>ku-/mi-/wa-</i>
3	<i>i-/wa-</i>	3"	<i>inga-/wa-/wang-</i>
12	<i>ya-</i>	12"	<i>ya-/yaga-</i>

The identities of 1, 1" and 2" are obvious. Also the *ya-* element that is shared by the 4th person pronouns is paralleled in the verbal prefixes, though the 1"/12" distinction through the contrast of *ng(a) / ga* remains unrelated to the free-form pronouns. The 3rd person is less straightforward, but the verbal prefixes *i-* (3) and *inga-* (3") probably share the root **yi-* with 3"DL and 3"PCL pronouns. The prefixes *mi-* (2), *nga-* (2) and *wa-* (in 2, 2", 3 and 3") still await explanations.

As we shall see shortly (in 7.3), the Y-set postverbal bound forms (i.e. enclitics) perform an accusative function. Thus, to recapitulate, in Yawuru the free-form personal pronouns conform to the ergative-absolutive system just like other nominals do, whereas the bound pronominals on the verb operate in a nominative-accusative system.

7.1.2 Functions

To call the Y-set free-form pronouns "absolutive" can be somewhat misleading because these free forms may decline for case and the resulting forms are no longer "absolutive" in their case assignment. The term "absolutive pronoun" in this study should be understood as a cover term for the non-genitive pronominal free forms with or without case inflexions (or other derivations).

7.1.2.1 Subjecthood

The absolutive pronouns may take the same case markers as common nominals do, except the dative and genitive markers. The ergative forms take up the role of transitive subject.

- [2] *Dyuyu-ni mi-na-la(ng)ka-rn nganka nyangumarda.*
 2-ERG 2-TR-know-IMPF word Nyangumarta
 'You can understand the Nyangumarta language.'

In intransitive clauses, by contrast, the subject pronoun remains uninflected (i.e. absolutive in its proper sense).

- [3] *Dyuyu mi-rndira-nda ngurdirn.*
 2(ABS) 2-go-PF alone
 'You went by yourself.' (cf. 8.4.4.1)

Ellipsis of the absolutive pronominal subject is very frequent, whereas the ergative pronouns are more likely to be explicit in the clause.

7.1.22 Case inflexions

The pronominal case inflexion is quite regular. The inflexion of 1MIN *ngayu* is given below:

ergative:	<i>ngayu-ni</i> [ŋá'uni] ~ <i>ngay-ni</i> [ŋáne] ¹⁴
locative:	<i>ngayu-gun</i>
allative:	<i>ngayu-ngarn</i>
ablative:	<i>ngayu-gap</i>
instrumental:	<i>ngayu-barri</i>
causal:	<i>ngayu-nyurdany</i>
comitative:	<i>ngayu-ngany</i>
circumstantial:	<i>ngayu-gurdany</i>

No such forms as **ngayu-dyina* (genitive) or **ngayu-yi* (dative) occur; the genitive pronouns (7.1.3) or the dative enclitics (7.1.5) should be used instead.

Locative and ablative inflexions are found in local adverb phrases such as follows:

- [4] a. *Ngayu-gun baybirra nga-ni.*
 1-LOC behind 2FUT-be
 'You stay behind me.'
- b. *Ngayu-gap yalirra nga-rndira.*
 1-ABL front 2FUT-go
 'You go in front of me.'

The 3MIN ablative form has a phonological contraction: **ginyangka-gap* > *ginyang-gap* ~ *ginya-gap*.

Allative case may convey a physical locational meaning (e.g. 'towards me'), or figuratively a dative-like meaning (e.g. 'for me' or 'to me'). The latter is, however, usually expressed by the dative enclitic pronoun.¹⁵ The physical locational meaning is more often indicated by the use of the demonstrative *nyamba-ngarŋ* (this-ALLAT; cf. 7.5.3.2) and/or the local adverb *baku* 'hither' (8.3.3.1).

¹⁴ Further, the contracted ergative form *nga-ni* [ŋáne] occurs in fast speech.

¹⁵ The dative-like use of the free-form allative case is observed mainly in the speech of the Eastern Inland dialect speakers (1.1.3.2). See example [79] given in 7.4.2.4.

The instrumental case of a personal pronoun expresses comitative meanings (as in [5]). Causal inflexion is possible (as in [6]), but is rather rare in actual texts.

- [5] *Ngayu nga-ng-ga-ni dyuyu-barri.*
1(ABS) 1-EN-FUT-be 2-INST
'I'll stay with you.'
- [6] *Yaku-ni dyanu i-na-bilka-m-bilka-nda-ngayu dyuyu-nyurdany,*
husband_i-ERG 1(GEN) 3_i-TR-REDUP-EN-hit-PF-1ACC 2-CAUS
malygu dyina.
jealousy 3_i(GEN)
'My husband beat me because of you. He is jealous.'

7.1.2.3 Other derivations

A few non-case-marking enclitics (2.2.2) are observed to occur on the absolutive pronouns: e.g.

- ngayu-manydyan* 'only me' (limitative, 8.4.5.2)
ngayu-ngarr 'like me' (semblative, 8.4.5.1)
ngayu-mardadyi 'close to me' (approximative, 8.3.5.2)

These enclitics may be attached directly to the pronouns, as above and as in [7] and [7A]:

- [7] *Yarrgarda-manydyan yang-ga-rr-garnda.*
1"DL(ABS)-only 1"-FUT-AGM-go
'We (EXCL) shall go by ourselves.' (i.e. we are not taking you.)
- [7A] *Marlu ginyangka-ngarr ngayu warli-dany (nga-nga-rn).*
not 3(ABS)-like 1(ABS) meat-DERIV 1-be-IMPF
'I'm not so good at hunting as he is.'

Or they may be attached after case-marker(s), as in *ngayu-ni-manydyan* or *ngayu-ni-ngarr* (with ergative *-ni*).

- [8] *Dyuyu-ni-manydyan mi-na-rli-nda.*
2-ERG-only 2-TR-eat-PF
'Only you ate it.'
- [9] *Yayu-ni-manydyan ya-na-la(ng)ka-rn.*
12-ERG-only 12-TR-know-IMPF
'Only you and I know this.'

Also encountered is the uncertainty marker *-marda* (see 7.6.7.3 and 8.5.3.3):

- [10] *Yirrydyurr-marda, marlu yarryirr.*
3"PCL(ABS)-perhaps not 1"PL(ABS)
'Perhaps some of them might have done it, but we didn't.'
- [11] *Dyuyu-marda nganka-yi mi-rndira-rn-dyina, i-na-m-baa-nd-dyu yinydya.*
2(ABS)-perhaps word; DAT 2-go-IMPF-3DAT; 3_j-TR-EN-see-PF-2ACC thither
'Perhaps you've been to the meeting? Somebody_j saw you going there.'
- [12] *Ginyangk(a)-marda nga-ny-dyulka-rn-dyiya.*
3(ABS)-perhaps 1-EN-tell-IMPF-2DAT
'I'll tell you about it.'¹⁶

¹⁶ The 3rd-person minimal pronoun in [12] has an inanimate reference, which is rather rare in Yawuru. In this particular case, it seems the attachment of the uncertainty marker *-marda* makes the non-clitic encoding of the direct object possible (cf. 7.3.2.2). Also see commentaries in 7.1.3.1.(3) and 7.5.5.1.

An intensified reflexive derivation with *-bardu-ngalana* added to an absolutive pronoun is occasionally encountered: e.g. *ngayu-bardu-ngalana* 'by myself, I alone'. This has already been illustrated in 4.6.5.2.

Interestingly, the nominal plural marker *-garra* (2.4.2.2) and the dual marker *-milidyarri* (2.4.2.3) cannot occur on pronouns.

7.1.3 "Un-pronoun-like" behaviour

7.1.3.1 Pronominal compounding and phrasing

It seems to be usually assumed, in the traditional sense of "pronouns", that they neither compound with other lexical items, nor take adjectives or other modifiers. Both phenomena, however, do occur with Yawuru personal pronouns. We have already witnessed (i) the adjective *manydya* 'many' modifying plural pronouns (see 7.1.1.2); and (ii) 3^{"PCL} *yirrydyurr* compounding with 3^{"PL} *kangadyunu*, of which the original demonstrative meaning is something like 'all those' (see 7.5.2.2.(6)).

(1) Demonstrative modifying a pronoun

Phrases in which a 3rd-person pronoun is modified by a demonstrative, i.e. [DEM + PRON], are quite commonplace in Yawuru.

- [13] *Mabu-dyunu marru kamba ginyangka.*
 good-really head(ABS) that 3(ABS)
 'He is brilliant.' (lit. "he good head")
- [14] *Nyamba-rri yirrgarda kagap inga-rr-garna-rn.*
 this-DL 3^{"DL(ABS)} away 3^{"-AGM-go-IMPF}
 'These two [boys] are now going there.'
- [15] *Burd + i-ny-dyu-n karda rindam-manydyan,*
 ripen+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF yonder rain.time/E-only
kamb-gap inga-rr-a-rli-rn kamba-rri yirrgarda.
 that-ABL 3^{"-AGM-TR-eat-IMPF} that-DL 3^{"DL(ABS)}
 '[Those two kinds of fruit] ripen only in the wet season; then people eat those two (fruits — referring to *kungkara* 'Conkerberry' and *guwal* 'Dogwood').'

Word order is fixed at phrase level: [DEM + PRON], not *[PRON + DEM], unlike in the combination of demonstratives and common nouns (N), where the ordering may be either [DEM + N] or [N + DEM] (cf. 7.5.5.3).¹⁷

¹⁷ The fixed order of [DEM + PRON] is considered to reflect the fact that it is the demonstrative that modifies the pronoun, not vice versa. Dixon (1981:45) points out in his grammar of Wargamay (which has two demonstratives: near and distant) that the demonstrative for distant entities can form an NP together with a 3rd-person dual or plural pronoun. This is more or less parallel to Yawuru. Wargamay, however, has an instance in which the near-entity demonstrative modifies a 1st-person pronoun (Dixon 1981:110). Eades (1983:289-290) reports an interesting fact that in Gumbaynggir the proximal demonstrative may be added to the first person pronoun (i.e. I/me/we/us + this), while the non-proximal demonstrative goes with the 2nd person pronoun (i.e. you + that). This tendency is not apparent in my Yawuru data. No such NP as *nyamba ngayu* (this + 1ABS) or *kamba dyuyu* (that + 2ABS) has been encountered.

(2) Pronoun modifying a noun

It is also possible for a 3rd-person pronoun to modify a common noun, i.e. [PRON + N], as in the following samples:¹⁸

kangadyunu ngarrungu 'those people' (lit. "they people")
ginyangka dyarn'du 'that woman' (lit. "he woman").

The ordering of [PRON + N] is invariable, too.

(3) Phrasal case marking

It would be possible to regard the compositions of [DEM + PRON] and [PRON + N] outlined above as nominal compounds, since few cases of phrasal discontinuity (2.5.3) have been encountered.¹⁹ Yet, I tend to assume that these are NPs rather than compounds (N), because the case markings (CM) are always on the first word of the phrase:

absolutive:	<i>kangadyun(u)</i>	<i>baba-garra</i>	'those children'
	3"PL(ABS)	child-PL	
ergative:	<i>kangadyun(u)-ni</i>	<i>baba-garra</i>	
	3"PL(ABS)-ERG	child-PL	
dative:	<i>kangadyunu-yi</i> ²⁰	<i>baba-garra</i>	
	3"PL(ABS)-DAT	child-PL	

i.e. [DEM-CM + PRON]_{NP} or [PRON-CM + N]_{NP}, instead of *[DEM-PRON]_N-CM or *[PRON-N]_N-CM (cf. 2.5.2.4). Consider also the case marking on the transitive subject phrase in sentence [16]:

[16] [*Kamba-ni yirrydyurr*]_{NP-ERG} *budidy + inga-rr-a-ma-rn-dyayrdá-aw*.
 that-ERG 3"PCL(ERG) beacon+3"-AGM-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-12"DAT-VOC
 'They set a fire signal to let us know of their arrival!' (Such used to be a traditional way to mark the arrival of the ceremonial troop taking the initiates on a roundabout journey.)

The distal-deictic demonstrative *kamba* and its dual form *kamba-rr* may be used respectively as 3MIN and 3"DL pronouns by themselves; both are applicable to inanimate as well as animate entities. On the other hand, referents of the 3rd person absolutive pronouns (*ginyangka*, *yirrgarda*, *kangadyun(u)*, *yirrydyurr* and *kangadyuntrrydyurr*) are generally confined to animate entities (human reference is most common; cf. discussions in 7.5.5.3).

7.1.3.2 Personal name compounding

Dual pronouns (but not the 4th person) can compound with personal name(s):

¹⁸ See also example [97] in 4.6.1.

¹⁹ See 10.6.6.1.(2) for a rare instance in which the 2"DL(ABS) pronoun and a common noun constitute a discontinuous transitive subject.

²⁰ The expected vowel-dropped variant **kangadyun-dyi* has not been recorded (cf. 6.2.1).

- [17] a. *yarrgarda-máardi*
 1"DL(ABS)-(name)
 'Marty and I'
- b. *kurrgarda-gúbadyarra*
 2"DL(ABS)+(name)
 'you and Gubajarra'
- c. *máardi-yirrgarda-búnung*
 (name₁)-3"DL(ABS)-(name₂)
 'Marty and Bunung'

These are regarded as compound words rather than phrases, because of the case-marking patterns (see 2.5.2.4). Ergative forms (with the marker *-ni*) corresponding to [17a-c], for example, are respectively as in [17'a-c]:

- [17'] a. *yarrgarda-maardi-ni*
 b. *kurrgarda-gubadyarra-ni*
 c. *maardi-yirrgarda-bunung-ni*

rather than:

- [17''] **yarrgarda-ni maardi*
 **kurrgarda-ni gubadyarra*
 **maardi-ni yirrgarda bunung* (or **maardi-yirrgarda-ni bunung*)

The dual pronouns in the above compounds bear only secondary stress. Primary stresses are on the personal names (as indicated by the acute accent marks in [17a-c]).²¹

It should be added that the conjunctive clitic *-yirr* 'and' (10.6.6.1) cannot be attached to the personal pronouns:

- [18] **dyuyu-yirr gubadyarra*
 2(ABS)-and (name)
- [19] **ngayu-yirr maardi*
 1(ABS)-and (name)

Also unacceptable is **gubadyarra-yirr dyuyu*, *maardi-yirr ngayú*, etc. However, *gubadyarra-yirr maardi* 'Gubajarra and Marty' is a well-formed phrase.

Compounding of personal names and pronouns has not been found with the minimal or non-dual plural pronouns (but cf. Yallop 1982:127). As for the 3rd-person plural reference, it has already been pointed out (2.4.2.2) that the nominal plural marker *-garra* may be directly suffixed to a personal name to mean 'X(particular name) and his/her mob'.

²¹ Such compounding is undoubtedly the direct model of the Broome Aboriginal English phrases such as *máardi tubala méri* (i.e. Marty and Mary, both of them) and *midubala jákki* (i.e. Jacky and I, both of us). The primary stress in these phrases also rests upon the personal names.

7.2 Genitive free forms (GEN)

7.2.1 Forms

The genitive pronouns (i.e. free forms of the J-set) are given in Table 703. The initial laminal stop *dy-* marks all of the 4x3 person/number categories, hence the naming of the "J-set".²² Paucal/non-paucal distinction does not take place.

TABLE 703: Yawuru personal pronouns (2): genitive free forms

	MIN	AGM(paucal)	AGM(non-paucal)
1	<i>dyanu</i>	<i>dyarra</i>	<i>dyarrayirr</i>
2	<i>dyiya</i>	<i>dyunggarra</i>	<i>dyunggarayirr</i>
3	<i>dyina</i>	<i>dyirra</i>	<i>dyirrayirr</i>
12	<i>dyaw</i>	<i>dyayrda</i>	<i>dyayrda</i>

12MIN *dyaw* [ɖɛ̃ɑɔ] has an infrequent variant *dyayu* [ɖɛ̃á'ʊ]. Notice that 12"DL and 12"PL are indiscriminately *dyayrda* [ɖɛ̃áɛɖɑ] ~ [ɖɛ̃é:ɖɑ].²³ Theoretically expected **dyayrdayirr* is unattested.²⁴ In other person categories the plural forms share the *-yirr* suffix, which we have encountered with the 1"PL and 2"PL absolutive pronouns.

The dual forms (particularly 3"DL) occasionally cover non-paucal plurality rather than strict duality.²⁵ On the other hand, the plural forms (except 12"PL) tend to bear non-paucal connotation.

7.2.2 Functions

I have chosen to term the J-set free forms "genitive" instead of dative because their function is restricted to indicate possessive and quasi-possessive relations (6.2.2 and 6.3.6). Other (non-possessive) meanings that the non-pronominal

²² This feature is only partially shared with the corresponding Nyikina forms (dative pronouns according to Stokes 1982:162): 1MIN is *ngadyanu* (rather than *dyanu*), 3MIN is *ginydyina* (rather than *dyina*), 1"PL is *yadyarra* (rather than *dyarra*), and 3"PL is *yidyirra* (rather than *dyirrayirr*).

²³ A distinct 12"TL (structurally filling the dual pivot, but referentially trial) form *dyayrda-gurdiri* was elicited; it has not been attested in natural speech, however (cf. 12"TL absolutive form *yadiri-gurdiri*). In Nyikina 12"PL dative is *dyayida* with its regular unit-augmented derivation *dyayida-mirri* (structurally dual, but referentially trial).

²⁴ Nyulnyul (1.2.1) has *dyayida-yirr* as the 4th-person non-dual plural pronoun (McGregor 1987 and p.c.).

²⁵ Some of such cases can be analysed as hanging dative enclitics rather than unbound genitives (see 7.3.1.2.(2) for the phenomenon of clitic hanging). Compare, for instance, the following with [58] given in 7.4.1.4.

[58'] *Nimanburu-yi mayi dyirra bubu.*
 flying.fox-DAT food(ABS) 3"DL(GEN)/3"DAT flower(ABS)

'Flying foxes live on flowers.'

As we shall examine in 7.4.1.2, the dual/plural distinction is neutralised in the dative clitic pronouns.

(surface) dative case would convey are generally covered by the postverbal clitic pronouns (dative forms), but not by the free-form pronouns.²⁶

7.2.2.1 NP word order

Pronominal possessors are encoded in the genitive pronouns (GEN) which modify a noun (or noun phrase) that refers to the possessed. Word order in the composed NP may be either [GEN + N] or [N + GEN], of which the latter (i.e. Possessed + Possessor) is much more common than the former. This is unlike the non-pronominal possessive NPs, where the ordering of [N₁-DAT N₂] (i.e. Possessor + Possessed) is usual. Both in pronominal and non-pronominal expressions, however, the possessive phrasing is of a dependent-marking type. There seems to be a tendency for plural genitive pronouns to precede head nouns, although the reverse is acceptable without any change in its semantic focus. In the NP examples below, genitive pronouns are in boldface.

<i>dyarrayirr nganka</i>	'our (EXCL) language'
<i>yirlmarda dyanu</i>	'my aunt (MZ)'
<i>maya dyaw</i>	'our (INCL) house'
<i>dyunggarrayirr durrkarrang</i>	'your (PL) motorcar'

In minimal and paucal augmented forms, the marked ordering of [GEN + N] tends to have a foregrounding effect: e.g. *dyanu yirlmarda* 'my aunt (... not yours/his/etc)'. However, the word order is not so decisive a factor as a prominent stress, which is the principal device of foregrounding a particular word or phrase.

7.2.2.2 NP inflexion

The genitive pronouns may be further inflected for case only as a result of such non-inherent inflexion (2.5.2.3) as exemplified in:

- [19] [*dyanu-gun maya*]_{NP-LOC}
 1(GEN)-LOC house(LOC)
 'in my house'

where the possessive NP *dyanu maya* 'my house' ([GEN + N]_{NP}) is assigned the locative case and the case marker *-gun* goes onto the first constituent of the phrase, which happens to be the genitive pronoun. Since the word order of [N + GEN]_{NP} is more common, the locative formation as in [19'] below (without a particular foregrounding of the possessor) is encountered more frequently in the corpus:

- [19'] [*maya-gun dyanu*]_{NP-LOC}
 house-LOC 1(GEN)
 'in my house'

²⁶ Allative inflexion of the absolutive pronouns, e.g. *ngayu-ngarn* 'to me', may have a dative-like function in certain contexts. See 7.4.2.4 (also see footnote 15 in this chapter).

Even in non-inherent inflexions, the core grammatical case marker (namely the dative and the ergative) cannot be shifted onto a genitive pronoun.²⁷

- [20] a. [*babala-yi dyanu*]_{NP-DAT} 'for my brother' (DATIVE)
 b. *[*dyanu-yi babala*]
 c. *[*babala dyanu-yi*]
 d. *[*dyanu babala-yi*]
- [21] a. [*ngunu-ni dyanu*]_{NP-ERG} 'by my sister' (ERGATIVE)
 b. *[*dyanu-ni ngunu*]
 c. *[*dyanu ngunu-ni*]
 d. *[*ngunu dyanu-ni*]

7.2.2.3 Intensified genitive

The core grammatical case markers are shifted to the phrase-initial genitive pronoun if (and only if) the pronoun carries the intensifier *-dyunu* (see 6.12.6) so that the phrase *dyanu babala* (in which the genitive is foregrounded) may be inflected as follows:

- [22] a. *dyanu-dyunu-yi babala*
 1(GEN)-really-DAT brother(ERG)
 'for my own brother'
- b. *dyanu-dyunu-ni babala*
 1(GEN)-really-ERG brother(ERG)
 'by my own brother'

and so on. The intensified genitive may either precede the head noun or succeed it. When inflected for case, however, it should precede the head noun and take over the case marker (as in the pattern shown above):

- [23] a. *dyanu-dyunu wuba* 'my own child'²⁸
 b. *wuba dyanu-dyunu* 'my own child'
 c. *[*wuba-ni dyanu-dyunu*]
- [24] a. *dyiya-dyunu-gun maya* 'in your own house'
 b. *[*maya-gun dyiya-dyunu*]

Non-case-marking enclitics that may be attached to a genitive pronoun include the limitative *-manydyan* 'only' (8.4.5.2) and the semblative *-ngarr* 'like' (8.4.5.1).

A genitive phrase may further be modified by a demonstrative (e.g. "this my car"). Word ordering is always [DEM + N + GEN], as observed in *kamba darlu dyanu*

²⁷ This, interestingly, is observed in Nyikina (Stokes 1982:151). The Nyikina example given by Stokes (1982:154, 6.2.E/295 SN) is:

[*ginydyina-vi yila*]_{NP-DAT} *yi-ma-n-dyina*
 3(GEN)-DAT dog(DAT) 3-go-PRES-3DAT

'He is going for (i.e. to get) his dog.'

I have changed the notation slightly to agree with the conventions employed in this thesis, e.g. my "3(GEN)" for "3sgDAT/PRO" in Stokes (1982).

²⁸ *dyanadyunu* is occasionally heard as a variant of *dyanudyunu*.

(lit. "that mother-in-law of mine"), *nyamba wuba dyya* (lit. "this child of yours") and [25]:

- [25] *Rdii + i-na-ra-nda* [*kamba durrkarrang dyanu*]_{NP(O)}.²⁹
 break+3-TR-AUX(spear)-PF that motorcar(ABS) 1(GEN)
 'He wrecked my car.'

7.2.2.4 Genitive shift

Although it is normal for a genitive pronoun to manifest a non-discontinuous phrase along with its head noun, sporadic cases of phrasal discontinuity are encountered:

- [26] *Burabura dyalbi i-nga-rn dyirra.*
 going.away camp(ABS)^ 3-be-IMPV ^3"DL(GEN)
 'They shifted camp.' (lit. "their camp went away")
- [27] *Karmil-gun inga-rr-a-ma-rn kamba warli ngurra-gabu-yi*³⁰ *dyirra.*
 platform-LOC 3"-i-AGM-TR-put-IMPV that meat(ABS)^ night-ABL-DAT ^3"DL_i(GEN)
 '[The husband and wife] put the meat on the bough-shelf for themselves to eat tomorrow.'

We have already pointed out that such cases may have provided the basis for the use of "reflexive dative" (see 4.6.5.1).

7.2.2.5 Predicate genitive

NPs involving a genitive pronoun are often charged with a predicate function as a result of the ellipsis of the finite verb.

- [28] *Kamba-rrri wamba bili-gadya + inga-rry-dyi-n*
 that-DL man(ABS)_i angry-INTENS+3"-i-AGM-AUX(be)-IMPV
waranydyarri-nyurdany dyarn'du, dyalakany dyirra.
 one-CAUS woman(CAUS) jealousy 3"DL_i(GEN)
 'The two men are "fighting" over one woman; [they are] jealous of each other.'

Similar cases of "predicative genitive" will be treated in the syntax chapter (10.5.2.1).

7.3 Accusative enclitics (ACC)

7.3.1 Forms

7.3.1.1 Inventory

Accusative enclitics, given in Table 704 (below), are obviously related to the the absolutive free-form pronouns (see Table 701A). The 2MIN form may be reduced to *-dyuu* (with long vowel) or *-dyu* (with short vowel). Similarly, 3MIN *-ginyangka* may be reduced to *-ginya*, but the voicing of the initial velar consonant is maintained (see 3.4.5.1.(5)).³¹

²⁹ [25] can be paraphrased as *rdii + i-na-ra-nda-dyanu durrkarrang*, using the clitic pronoun of dative case form (but without the demonstrative modifier on the direct-object noun). cf. 7.4.3.

³⁰ *ngurra-gabu(-yi)* is a variant form (typically heard in the Eastern Inland dialect) of *ngurra-gap(-dyi)*.

³¹ Also recorded is a rare variant *-ginyan* with the dent-alveolar (rather than velar) nasal in the final position. An instance is found in sentence [217] cited in 7.7.1.1.

TABLE 704: Yawuru personal pronouns (3): accusative bound forms

	MIN	AGM
1	- <i>ngayu</i>	- <i>yarrirr</i>
2	- <i>dyuyu</i> ~ - <i>dyu(u)</i>	- <i>gurrirr</i>
3	- <i>ginya(ngka)</i>	- \emptyset ~ - <i>irr</i>
12	- <i>yayu</i>	- <i>yadiri</i>

In contrast with the free-form pronouns, the number distinction in the pronominal enclitics consists of only two categories: minimal (MIN) vs non-minimal, or augmented (AGM), just as in the case of verbal pronominal prefixing (see 4.2.1). Forms which correspond to the plural forms of absolutive free forms cover dual (as in [29]) as well as plural referents (as in [30]).

[29] *Wa-na-ga-gurrirr wanydyi.*
3-TR-carry(FUT)-2"ACC soon
'He'll take you two later.' (i.e. give you two a lift)

[30] *Gil + wal-dyu-gurrirr durrkarrang-ni.*
cut+2FUT-AUX(say)-2"ACC motorcar-ERG
'The car might run over you (PL).'

Compare Table 704 with Table 701A and notice in the 1st- and the 2nd-person AGM forms the difference between the absolutive free forms (with *-yirr*) and the bound enclitic forms (with *-irr*, rather than *-yirr*), as well as the velar voicing. Typical pronunciations of 2"(ABS) and 2"ACC are as follows:³²

free form: *kurryirr* [kúɾ'ieɾ] (or less frequently [gúɾ'ieɾ])
enclitic: *-gurrirr* [gúɾɾɿɾ]

Similar differentiation of the pronunciation exists between the absolutive *yarryirr* [jáɾ'ieɾ] (1"ABS) and the accusative *-yarrirr* [jáɾɾɿɾ] (1"ACC). The *-irr* element reveals its bare form in 3"ACC, where the usual pronunciation is [eɾ], rather than [ɿɾ] (see 7.3.2.2).

7.3.1.2 Morpho-syntactic status of the bound pronouns

(1) Clitic status

The accusative pronouns are regarded as enclitics, rather than as independent pronouns, because:

- i) the word order is fixed so that the accusative pronouns can stand only immediately following a finite verb (but cf. the cases of hanging clitics illustrated in section (2) below);
- ii) the postverbal pronoun loses its primary stress and, together with the host verb, constitutes a single phonological word; and

³² See 3.3.4.2 for the difference between the normal flap [ɾ] and the palatalised flap [ɾʲ].

iii) in uttering sentences native informants seldom separate the verb and the postverbal object pronoun, even in slow and careful utterances in an elicitation session.³³

The accusative pronouns are not regarded as verbal suffixes, because:

- i) they maintain a secondary stress unlike other verbal suffixes; and
- ii) there are cases where a pronominal clitic is left "hanging" even after the host finite verb disappears in ellipsis.

All of the above observations apply to the dative bound pronouns, as well (7.4).

(2) Hanging clitics

Instances are sporadically encountered where a clitic pronoun, whether accusative or dative, is "hanging" on the surface of the clause due to omission of the inflecting verb to which the clitic should be attached (see 10.5.2 for various conditions for verb ellipsis to take place). The plus (+) sign in the following examples indicates that the clitic pronouns are left hanging without the host verb.

[31] *Kamma-ni wanangarri +ngayu, ginim + i-na-ma-rn-ngayu.*
 that-ERG stone(ERG) +1ACC skin.him/EK+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-1ACC
 'I had my knees injured by those pebbles.'
 (lit. "by those stones me, injured me")

[32] *Karrydya + inga-rr-a-ø-nda-ngayu, marlu maldyan +dyanu*
 fury+3"-AGM-TR-AUX(give)-PF-1ACC not supporting +1DAT
ngarrung-garra-ni.
 people-PL-ERG
 'They got furious with me; they no longer support me.'

It is always possible to retrieve an inflecting host verb for a hanging clitic pronoun. In [31] above, the construction of the subject NP (ergative) + clitic is immediately supplemented with the full inflexion of the complex verb *ginim +ma* (2.2.4). In [32], the second clause *marlu maldyan +dyanu* has the hanging dative clitic *-dyanu* immediately follows the preverb *maldyan*. The finite verb *inga-rr-a-ka-rn* (3"-AGM-TR-AUX(carry)-IMPF, cf. 4.10.2.2) is left out — notice that this omitted verb shares the subject with the verb *ingarranda* in the preceding clause in [32]. It should also be pointed out that word ordering of the preverb and the clitic pronoun in [32] cannot be altered (cf. 10.8). The clitic is in the dative form because the complex verb *maldyan +ka* (of which only the non-finite part *maldyan* remains in the surface of the clause in [32]) operates in a ergative-dative case frame (see 7.4.2.3).³⁴

³³ It is only when the host word (i.e. conjugated verb) itself is decomposed into several syllable groups that the verb and the clitic pronoun are separated in utterances of native speakers.

³⁴ See footnote 25 in this chapter and [144] in 10.5.2.1 for some more instances of clitic hanging.

7.3.2 Functions

7.3.2.1 Direct object

The enclitic Y-set pronominals are termed "accusative" because of their grammatical function: namely, referring to a direct object. They appear only in transitive clauses and always stand as a postverbal clitic. If the direct object is of the non-3rd-person, then accusative clitic is the only acceptable way to encode the direct object. Free-form absolutive pronouns cannot take up the function of an O-function NP. [33b] is ungrammatical.³⁵

- [33] a. *Kamba-ni yila i-na-rba-nda-ngayu.*
 that-ERG dog(ERG) 3-TR-follow-PF-1ACC
 'The dog chased me.'
- b. **Ngayu kamba-ni yila i-na-rba-nda.*
 1(ABS) that-ERG dog(ERG) 3-TR-follow-PF

Except for the cases of hanging (7.3.1.2.(2)), the object-marking enclitics always go onto finite verbs, whether the predicate consists of a simple verb (as in [34] and [36]) or a complex verb (as in [35] and [37]).

- [34] *Wula-ni i-na-bilka-nda-yadiri.*
 water-ERG 3-TR-hit-PF-12"ACC
 'We (INCL) were rained on.' (lit. "water hit us")
- [35] *Karna-ni dyilp + i-ny-dyu-n-ngayu.*
 awn-ERG sting+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF-1ACC
 'An awn (of the speargrass) prickled me.'
- [36] *Kamma-ni mulyukura i-na-bura-rn-yarrirr.*
 that-ERG nursing.mother(ERG) 3-TR-see-IMPF-1"ACC
 'That mother is looking at us (EXCL).'
- [37] *Malyku +i-na-ma-rn-dyuu, manydya wanangarri mi-na-nya-nda.*
 envy+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-2ACC many stone(ABS) 3-TR-catch-PF
 'He envies you, as you got a lot of money (lit. "stone").'³⁶

Notice also that the accusative forms are in charge both of the patient objects (as in [34] and [35]) and of other transitive objects that are not patient in the strict semantic sense but are goal or target (as in [36] and [37] above and [38] below).

- [38] *Kuku inga-rr-a-ma-rn-dyuyu barr'dyarri-ni.*
 "uncle" 3"-AGM-TR-put-IMPF-2ACC Barrjarri-ERG
 'The people of the Barrjarri marriage section call you "uncle".' (see 1.1.4)³⁷

If the direct object is in the 3rd person, there may be an independent NP in the O-function. The function of the accusative enclitic is, then, cross-referential. Cases of the 3rd-person object are discussed separately in the next section (7.3.2.2). It is just pointed out here that ellipsis of the O-function NPs is not uncommon and then the accusative clitic pronouns may be left as the only indicator of the direct object (see 10.1.3).

³⁵ But cf. instances given in 7.3.2.3.

³⁶ The preverb *malyku* may take *ra* 'spear, pierce, stab' as FV. Then, too, the object enclitic is of accusative form (see example [40] cited in 5.6.1 and the discussion there).

³⁷ The kin term *kuku* basically means 'father' (F), covering father's brother (FB) as well. As a classificatory term of address it was translated "uncle" by the informants.

It should be remembered, too, that the object marking by enclitic accusative pronouns is optional in the conjugation of Yawuru verbs. Transitive verbs, even those in the highest rank of transitivity (such as 'kill (lit. "hit")', 'cut', 'break' etc.), may be conjugated without an explicit accusative enclitic or an O-function complement NP.

7.3.2.2 The 3rd person accusative

3ACC is often unmarked (i.e. zero enclitic). The explicit enclitic *-ginyangka* (or reduced *-ginya*) appears only occasionally and exclusively with human reference.^{37A} Use of the explicit 3ACC enclitic seems to be for emphasis:³⁸

- [39] *Nga-na-bura-nda-ginyangka kamba wamba.*
 1-TR-see-PF-3ACC; that man(ABS);
 'That man, I saw him.'

The augmented form *-irr* (3"ACC) is more commonly encountered and the referent is not restricted to human beings. No such form as **ginya-irr* or **ginyangka-yirr* occur. Given that the 3MIN accusative is basically \emptyset (zero) (especially for non-human entities), the augmented counterpart would be analysable as *- \emptyset -irr* (i.e. 3ACC-PL). For simplicity, however, we employ 3"ACC as the interlinear gloss to *-irr*.

The explicit augmented enclitic *-irr* usually expresses the notion of substantial plurality, collectiveness or massiveness of the object (patient). For example:

- [40] *Wang-ga-rr-a-bula-ngany-irr miliya (warli-mayi).*
 3"-FUT-AGM-TR-come-COM-3"ACC now meat-fruit(ABS)
 'They are supposed to bring [the tucker] today.'
- [41] *Nga-na-nya-n-irr warli wanggaraanggara-gun/*barri.*
 1-TR-catch-IMPF-3"ACC meat(ABS) net-LOC/*INST
 'I caught a lot of fish in the net.'

Implied in the clitic *-irr* in the predication of [40] is an expectation that a large amount of provisions would be arriving. In the next example below, the enclitic and the free-form non-paucal pronoun cross-reference the patient of the action.

- [42] *Kama-ni waybalu i-na-ngarrka-n-irr hangadyunirrydyurr.*
 that-ERG whitefella/E(ERG); 3i-TR-annoy-IMPF-3"ACC; 3"NPCL(ABS);
 'That whiteman gets all the people into trouble.'

In [43], *-irr* is concordant with the collective noun *kurldyu* 'grass' (cf. [15] in 4.2.1.4):

- [43] *Wangal-ni i-na-baru-n-irr kurldyu.*
 wind-ERG 3-TR-blow-IMPF-3"ACC grass(ABS)
 'The grass is blown by the wind.'

If such implication of prominent plurality or collectivity is absent, then the direct object has no explicit marking postverbally.

^{37A} But cf. example [12] (cited in 7.1.2.3), where the non-clitic 3MIN pronoun *ginyangka* with inanimate reference occurs as the object. See footnote 16 there for commentaries.

³⁸ Explicit accusative marking may also reflect definiteness of the object (cf. 7.5.5.2). Anderson points out that in languages with object agreement in person/number "it is sometimes possible to indicate that the object is indefinite by suppressing object agreement" (Anderson 1985:198).

Thus, the 3rd-person accusative enclitic under discussion can be characterised as a non-paucal plural object marker, rather than merely as a non-minimal marker, which is the case in other person categories. No case has been encountered in which the *-irr* enclitic refers to dual entities.

A few more examples follow. Notice that the object NPs that are co-referential with the enclitic *-irr* often carry the explicit non-paucal plural indicator *-garra*:

- [44] *Kamba-ni dyarn'du wirdu + i-na-ma-nd-irr kangadyun baba-garra.*
 that-ERG woman (ERG); big + 3; -TR-AUX(put)-PF-3"ACC; 3"PL(ABS); child; -PL(ABS)
 'The woman raised all those children.'
- [45] *Ngarrung-garra i-na-wilinya-n-irr kamma-ni taksi kadyarri-ngarn yinydya.*
 people-PL(ABS) 3-TR-pick.up-IMP-3"ACC that-ERG taxi/E far-ALLAT thither
 'The taxi goes picking up many people to carry them over there.' (informant's translation:
 "pick-him up everybody")
- [46] *I-na-nya-n-irr kamba rikarri, wa-na-ga-lurra-yi warli.*
 3; -TR-catch-IMP-3"ACC; that chips(ABS); 3; -TR-FUT-burn-DAT_{purp} meat(ABS)
 'She gathered the chips of wood in order to cook the meat.'

In the last example above, the object NP of the matrix clause may take the plural suffix *-garra* as well: *kamba-garra rikarri*. However, such explicit marking is not absolutely necessary since the noun *rikarri* 'firewood chips' is semantically collective (cf. the case of *kurldyu* 'grass' illustrated in [43]).

As described in 3.8.4.3 and also detectable in the examples above, the 3"ACC *-irr* conditions the allomorphy of the preceding aspect markers (4.3.4.1):

- perfective: *-nda + -irr* → *-nd-irr* [ndeɟ]~[nɜeɟ]
 imperfective: *-rn + -irr* → *-n-irr* [neɟ]

7.3.2.3 Reiteration of object

Although instances are not numerous, there are cases where absolute pronominal free forms appear as a redundant complement NP of the finite verb already carrying an accusative enclitic. Such cases are considered as manifesting topicalisation and/or emphasis. They may exhibit a form of left-dislocation (as in [47]) or of right-dislocation (as in [48]):

- [47] *Ngayu wirriya + inga-rr-a-ma-rn-ngayu.*
 1(ABS); happy+3"-AGM-TR-AUX(put)-IMP-1ACC;
 'As for me, I feel satisfied. (lit. "they make me happy")'
- [48] *I-ny-dyiba-rn-dyu kamma-ni ngarrung dyuyu.*³⁹
 3; -EN-ask-IMP-2ACC; that-ERG person(ERG); 2(ABS);
 'It is you; that the woman; is asking.' (the "person" is female)

In both cases the postverbal accusative clitic (co-referential with the absolute free forms) may not be omitted.⁴⁰

³⁹ The subject noun *ngarrung* (CVCVC) is a variant of *ngarrungu* (CVCVCV); cf. 9.2.1.1.

⁴⁰ Compare [48] above with examples [30] and [74] in Chapter 4.

7.3.24 Whole-part expression

If the direct object of an action is a body-part (or some entity in a similar whole-part relationship), then the postverbal enclitic agrees with the grammatical person of the possessor of the body part, rather than the affected body part itself.

- [49] *Bal + i-ny-dyu-n, i-na-ra-rn-ngayu niminy.*
 flash+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF 3-TR-spear-IMPF-1ACC eye(ABS)
 '[The flash] has burnt my eyes... (lit. "it dazzles me eye")'

This is a typical example of the double-object construction, which is quite commonly encountered in Yawuru. In this construction the accusative enclitic may not be replaced by the dative counterpart (e.g. 1DAT *-dyanu* in the case of [49]). More about this and other constructions involving whole-part semantics will be discussed in 10.2.

7.4 Dative enclitics (DAT)

7.4.1 Forms

7.4.1.1 Inventory

The dative enclitics (Table 705) are identical with the genitive pronouns (see Table 703), except that the enclitics reveal a less strict number categorisation. The 12MIN variant *dyayu* recorded in the free form does not appear as an enclitic pronoun.

TABLE 705: Yawuru personal pronouns (4): dative bound forms

	MIN	AGM	AGM(large plural)
1	<i>-dyanu</i>	<i>-dyarra</i>	<i>(-dyarra-yirr)</i>
2	<i>-dyiya</i>	<i>-dyunggarra</i>	<i>(-dyunggarra-yirr)</i>
3	<i>-dyina</i>	<i>-dyirra</i>	<i>(-dyirra-yirr)</i>
12	<i>-dyaw</i>	<i>-dyayrda</i>	—

7.4.1.2 Number neutralisation

The dual/plural distinction is neutralised in the dative enclitics, as in accusative enclitics. Unlike the accusative, however, non-minimal dative enclitics take the dual (not the plural) form of the corresponding free forms.⁴¹

- [50] *Nga-ny-dyu-nd-dyirra kurlidy + wang-ga-rry-dyi kangadyun wuba-dyunu.*
 1-EN-say-PF-3"DAT_i quiet+3"_i-FUT-AGM-AUX(be) 3"PL(ABS)_i child(ABS)_i really
 'I told the children to be quiet.' (There were five children yelling around.)

⁴¹ It is interesting in this regard to note that the dual forms of the Yawuru genitive pronouns correspond to the dative plural forms of Nyikina: e.g. Yw. 1"DL *dyarra* to Nyk. 1"PL *yadyarra*, Yw. 2"DL *dyunggarra* to Nyk. 2"PL *dyunggarra* (SN), and Yw. 3"DL *dyirra* to Nyk. 3"PL *yidvirra*.

- [51] *I-ny-dyulka-nd(a)-dyarra yanga-rr-a-bi-yi yarryirr-ni.*
 3-EN-tell-PF-1"DAT 1"-AGM-TR-drink-DAT_{purp} 1"PL-ERG
 'He told us (EXCL) to drink [it].' (There were more than three of us.)

The enclitics of the dual form may cover a non-paucal plurality as well:

- [52] *K*aw +i-na-ma-rn-dyirra nganka-yi manydya-yi ngarrungu.*
 call+3_i-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-3'DAT; word_k-DAT many-DAT people(DAT);
 '[The elder_i] brought many people_j; together for the meeting (lit. word_k).']

Sentence [52] above, which takes an ergative-dative case frame,⁴² was paraphrased by a native speaker as [52'] below:

- [52'] *Wararra-ni k*aw +i-na-ma-n-irr ngarrung-garra nganka-yi.*
 songman_i-ERG call+3_i-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-3"ACC; people_j-PL word_k-DAT
 'The elder assembled many people for the meeting.'

where an ergative-absolutive case frame is adopted rather exceptionally for the complex verb *k*aw +ma*. What is interesting here is that the clitic *-dyirra* in 503a corresponds to the 3"ACC form *-irr*, which, as we have already noted in the previous section, indicates non-paucity of the object (assembled people, in this example). Notice also that the phrase *manydya(-yi) ngarrungu* in [52] is paraphrased to the explicit nominal plural *ngarrung-garra*.

There are, of course, occasions on which a non-minimal clitic pronoun (copying a dual free form) actually refers to a dual entity, as in the case of [53] (also see [73] in 7.4.2.3):

- [53] *Bambi bil + yanga-rr-a-dyu-nd-dyunggarra.*
 long.time wait+1"-AGM-TR-AUX(say)-PF-2"DAT
 'We (EXCL) waited for you two for a long while.'

It is more usual, however, for such a "truly dual" dative enclitic to be accompanied by a co-referential dative demonstrative pronoun that carries the dual marker *-rri* explicitly (see 7.5.2.2), thus disambiguating the dual reference (as in [54a] below).⁴³

7.4.1.3 Explicit dual/plural marking

When the referent is non-dual plural, on the other hand, the plural marker *-yirr* may optionally be added to the dative enclitic. Compare [54a] (explicit dual, as explained above) with [54b] (explicit plural):

- [54] a. *Ngay-ni nga-na-ngurlika-nda-dyirra kamba-rri-yi.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-wait-PF-3"DAT that-DL-DAT
 'I waited for the two fellows.'
- b. *Ngay-ni nga-na-ngurlika-nda-dyirra-yirr (kangadyunu-yi).*
 1-ERG 1-TR-wait-PF-3"DAT-PL 3"PL-DAT
 'I waited for them.'

⁴² In [52] the predicate has two complements which are both assigned the dative case: one peripheral NP (*nganka-yi* 'for the meeting') and the other core O-function NP (*manydya ngarrungu* 'many people').

⁴³ Compare example [28] (given in 7.2.2.4), where the dual free-form genitive (*dyirra*) is used in concord with the dual demonstrative (*kamba-rri*).

It should be added, however, that the explicit plural marking on the 3rd-person dative (such as in [54b] above) is only rarely encountered in the corpus. The *-yirr* addition to 1st- and 2nd-person dative enclitics is less scarce, but it is still infrequent and always optional. Its main function seems to be emphatic or reiterational rather than disambiguating.

[55] *Bukarri-garra i-ny-dyulka-rn-dyarra-yirr.*
dream-PL 3-EN-tell-IMPF-1"DAT-PL
'He told Dreamtime stories to all of us (exclusive).'

[56] *Kayukayu-ni buru::: i-na-nya-rn-dyarra-yi:::rr.*
soft-ERG land(ERG) 3-TR-catch-IMPF-1"DAT-PL
'Our car got bogged in the sand.' (lit. "soft sand catches us all")⁴⁴

The added plural marker in the above example sentences expresses that the action/incident involves "all of us". Notice in [56] that the utterance was made by an elderly woman in a highly stylised vocative oration (with characteristically elongated vowels at each final word of the phrases in slightly rising intonations) so as to attract the attention (and possibly get the help) of the spirit of her deceased father, while at the same time all the men were trying hard to get the vehicle out of the bog.

7.4.1.4 Indefinite reference *-dyina/-dyirra*

In sentence [57] the 3rd-person minimal dative *-dyina* is not presupposing a particular individual wallaby, but refers to any wallaby of that species (namely Agile Wallaby, *Macropus agilis nigrescens*).

[57] *Wanydyi nga-ga-rda birra*⁴⁵ *nga-ng-ga-murku-rn-dyina* *barrydyanyin-dyi.*
soon 1-FUT-go bush(ALLAT) 1-EN-FUT-search-IMPF-3DAT; wallaby_i -DAT
'I will go into the bush and hunt wallabies.'

The minimal clitic pronoun with such indefinite (and non-specific) reference can be replaced by the non-minimal *-dyirra* (3"DAT), as is actually observed in [58] (cf. footnote 25 in 7.2.1):

[58] *Nimanburu-yi mayi i-nga-rn-dyirra bubu.*
flying.fox_i -DAT food(ABS) 3_j -be-IMPF-3"DAT; flower(ABS);
'The flying foxes live on flowers.' (lit. flower is food for flying foxes)

It should be repeated here that referents of the 3rd person genitive/dative pronouns are not confined to human or animate beings (whereas the use of the absolutive 3MIN form *ginyangka* is confined to animate/human reference).

7.4.2 Meanings and functions of dative enclitics

Functions of the dative clitic pronouns are more or less parallel to those of the non-pronominal dative (6.2), although certain disparities attract our attention. Like the nominal dative, the pronominal dative enclitic may indicate purpose,

⁴⁴ The enclitic in [56] is in the dative form because the predicate implies the direct object "car", which is not mentioned in the clause.

⁴⁵ The noun *birra* 'bush' is used here without local case inflexion to indicate the direction. See 6.6.2 (cf. 8.3.2).

target, beneficiary, sufferer, goal or the obligatory second complement in the case of semi-transitive verbs. Unlike the nominal dative, however, we do not encounter any case in which a dative enclitic refers to temporal duration or to a particular language. Possessive relation is usually covered by genitive free forms but also underlies many aspects of the functions of the dative enclitics. Other roles of the clitic pronominal dative that are not covered by the nominal dative include indication of experiencer and a reflexive reference to actor.

Different functions of the dative pronouns are illustrated in each of the following sections. We begin with the benefactive (i.e. encoding the beneficiary complement), because, unlike the nominal dative (where the most common use is purposive), the beneficiary marking is the most common and probably the most basic function of the pronominal dative.

7.4.2.1 Beneficiary

First, consider the morpho-syntactic minimal pair [59a/b], in which the accusative and the dative enclitic are contrasted:

- [59] a. *wal-a-bali-ngayu*
2FUT-TR-cut-1ACC
'cut me'
- b. *wal-a-bali-dyanu.*
2FUT-TR-cut-1DAT
'cut [it] for me'

In [59a], the accusative clitic indicates the patient of the action, whereas in [59b] the dative clitic indicates the beneficiary.⁴⁶ A parallel contrast between the accusative and the beneficiary dative is observed in the sentences below:

- [60] a. (*Kangadyun-ni*) *dyiin + inga-rr-a-dyu-n-ngayu.*
3"PL-ERG point+3"-AGM-TR-AUX(say)-IMPF-1ACC
'They pointed at me.'
- b. *Dyiin + inga-rr-a-dyu-n-dyanu* (*kamba wamba*).
point+3"-AGM-TR-AUX(say)-IMPF-1DAT that man(ABS)
'They pointed (at that man) for me.' (i.e. to let me know)

The pronominal beneficiary marking on the verb is very common in Yawuru. As a matter of fact, it occurs so frequently that it may be appropriate to view the beneficiary as comprising one of the core semantic roles in this language. A few more transitive examples follow:

- [61] *Wa-na-ng-ga-makura-dyanu lanydyi.*
3-TR-EN-FUT-make-1DAT boomerang(ABS)
'He will make a boomerang for me.'

⁴⁶ The pair [59a/b] above has been composed rather artificially to elucidate the contrast. [59a] sounds pragmatically somewhat strange, though the construction is fully acceptable and meaningful. [59b] would be more natural when it is accompanied by a direct object NP, as in [59c] below:

[59c] *Warli wal-a-bali-dyanu.*
meat(ABS) 2FUT-TR-cut-1DAT
'Cut up the meat for me.'

- [62] *Nyamba warli nga-m-bula-nd-ngany-dyirra ngayu-ni.*
 this meat(ABS) 1-EN-come-PF-COM-3"DAT 1-ERG
 'It is me who brought the meat for them.'
- [63] *Dyungku wal-a-ma-dyarra.*
 fire(ABS) 2FUT-TR-put-1"DAT
 'Please turn the heater on. We (EXCL) feel cold.'

The dative enclitic indicating beneficiary also occurs with intransitive verbs. In that case, there are no "object" complements in the strict sense of grammatical relation.

- [64] *I-m-banydyu-n-dyaw karda-gap baku-layi(n).*
 3-EN-smell-IMPF-12DAT yonder-ABL hither-ALLAT
 'The smell comes to us from there.' (i.e. we caught the smell coming from that direction)
- [65] *Rumarra kalbu-bardu i-nga-rn-dyiya.*
 sun(ABS)_i above-still 3_i-be-IMPF-2DAT
 'The sun hasn't set yet.' (i.e. fortunately you still have some time).
- [66] *Marlu kurlin + ku-ya-rry-dyi-dyayrda.*
 not sleep + 2"_{i+j}-IRR-AGM-AUX(be)-12"DAT_{i+j+k}
 'You two_{i+j} don't go to sleep on us_{i+j+k} now!' (If both of you — person X_i and person Y_j — sleep now, I_k would have to do the rest of the job; I don't like such situations.)

As observed in the last example above, the benefactive dative may indicate an indirect experiencer who suffers (rather than benefits) from the event; that is, "malefactive" or adversative meanings are encoded in the dative. Compare the two examples below:

- [67] *Banu-gap mirdimirdi i-ngara-rn-dyayrda kirridiny, nakula*
 east-ABL full.moon 3-become-IMPF-12"DAT moon(ABS) sea(ABS)
dyimbin-gap i-ngara-rn.
 inside-ABL 3-become-IMPF
 '(lit.) The moon from the east gets full for us; the tide is flowing in.'
- [68] *Nyamba wal-a-banydyu warli, kayukayu i-ngara-rn-dyayrda,*
 this^ 2FUT-TR-smell ^meat(ABS)_i stinky/K_j 3_i-become-IMPF-12"DAT
yaga-rr-a-ngula.
 12"-AGM-TR-throw
 'Smell this meat. It's gone rotten. We (INCL) might have to chuck it away.'⁴⁷

In the first sentence, *-dyayrda* (12"DAT) reflects "our" anticipation that the high tide would favour us with a lot of fish brought into the fishing area. The full moon is welcome because of that. By contrast, the same enclitic *-dyayrda* in [68] expresses that the event is unfavorable and undesirable to 'us' (12AGM): (lit.) "it's got stinky for us" means that we do not welcome that change of the state of the meat (which is supposed to be consumed by us).⁴⁸ [69] below is another example of the adversative dative clitic:

- [69] *Bany + inga-rr-a-ma-rn-dyirra.*
 bang+3"_i-AGM-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-3" DAT_j
 'They_i dropped bombs on them_j.' (from an account of the 1942 Japanese air raid on Broome)

⁴⁷ The Karajarri (Kj) word *kayukayu* is used in place of the Yawuru *mandu* 'stinky'.

⁴⁸ Informal Australian English has the expression 'it went bad on us' for a similar happening.

The dative enclitic *-dyirra* here refers to the white "masters" in Broome. Most of them were not directly attacked, since the town had been evacuated anticipating an attack by the enemy. The air raid, however, did affect the white community in many indirect (and certainly unfavorable) ways, which was witnessed by the narrator (Aboriginal).⁴⁹

Finally, an interesting contrast can be pointed out between the use of (adversative) dative and the direct object marking by an accusative enclitic. Compare [70a] with [70b]:

- [70] a. *Wula-ni wa-na-ø-bilka-yayu.*
 water-ERG 3-TR-IRR-hit-12ACC
 'We might be rained on (and get wet).' (lit. "water might hit us")
- b. *Wula wa-ya-bula-dyaw.*
 water(ABS) 3-IRR-come-12DAT
 'It might rain, unfortunately for us.' (lit. "water might come on us")

[70a] (with the accusative enclitic on the transitive verb) expresses the fear that we should be caught in a shower. On the other hand, [70b] (with the adversative dative enclitic on the intransitive verb) suggests that the wet weather would affect our planned action (e.g. we would have to stay indoors instead of going out).⁵⁰ The former does imply that we would get wet, whereas the latter does not. The implication remains the same if [70b] takes the verb *dyalku* 'fall' (*wayadyalkudyaw*) or the predication is made in realis future.

Most of the instances of the "datives of misfortune" involve the speaker, either in 1st or 4th person.⁵¹

7.4.2.2 Purpose

The 3rd-person minimal dative clitic *-dyina* may cross-reference a complement NP that indicates the purpose of an action.

- [71] *Yanga-rr-garna-nda-dyina karda-ngarn, wirdu-yi nganka.*
 1"-AGM-go-PF-3DAT_i yonder-ALLAT big-DAT word (DAT)_i
 'We (EXCL) went there for a big meeting.'

Instances of the purpose-marking dative enclitic are rather few, quite contrary to the fact that there are ample instances of the purposive use of a non-pronominal

⁴⁹ A popular view among the Aborigines of the Broome area is that the Japanese attacked only "whitefellas" and did no harm to "blackfellas". Although it neither justifies nor pardons the military actions of the imperial Japanese forces, such a view shared by the Yawuru people is relevant to the interpretation of utterances such as [69] (also see examples [173] and [231] cited later in this chapter).

⁵⁰ See 4.2.6. for the semantics of irrealis mode.

⁵¹ Encoding of negatively affected participant(s) as well as positively affected one(s) by the same (at least in the surface) morphosyntactic device seems to be a general phenomenon in human language. A thorough discussion, quite relevant to this point, is presented by Wierzbicka (1979a, 1988:210ff, 257ff, 364ff, 397ff, 404ff) with particular reference to Japanese "adversative" passive and the semantics of the so-called "ethical" dative in Indo-European languages (English, Polish, French and a few others). In an earlier study (Hosokawa 1985:91-102), I have discussed in detail the benefactive/adversative use of the dative clitic pronouns in Andean Spanish, largely reinforced due to the contact with the Quechuan languages (see also Hosokawa 1988d:1605ff).

dative (6.2.3). This may probably be due to the inherent discourse ambiguity of the 3rd person pronouns.

7.4.2.3 Semi-transitive object

As already outlined earlier (2.1.2 and 6.2.5), semi-transitive verbs regularly carry a goal-marking enclitic in the dative form:

- [72] *Wal-a-ngurlika-dyanu.*
2FUT-TR-wait-1DAT
'Wait for me.'
- [73] *K*aw + i-na-ma-rn-dyunggarra yáw.*
call+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-2"DAT hey!
'Hey, they are calling out for you two!'

See 10.1.4 for more discussion on this construction type.

7.4.2.4 Target

The notion of "target" dative (see 6.2.6) applies to the enclitic dative as well.

Examples include:

- [74] *Yaga-rr-a-dyi-nda-dyina nganka-gadya.*
12"-AGM-TR-be-PF-3DAT word-INTENS
'We had been talking about her [when she came in].'
- [75] *I-mirdurdu-rn-dyina dyana-di i-rndira-rn*
3;-trun.around-IMPF-3 DAT; where-ALLAT 3;-go-IMPF
'He_i is looking around for him_j, wondering which way he_j has gone.'
- [76] *K*awity + ya-ga-rr-a-ma, wa-na-ø-bilka-dyayrda baybirra-gap.*
quick+12-FUT-AGM-TR-AUX(put) 3-TR-IRR-hit-12"DAT behind-ABL
'Speed up! They might catch up with us.' (= [47] in 5.6.3)

The non-personal use of *-dyina* (such as in [77] and [78] below) may be added here.

In [78] a particular target of the aversion is cross-referenced by the dative enclitic.

- [77] *I-nga-rn-dyina wula-yi, wa-ng-ga-dyalku-dyayrda.*
3-be-IMPF-3DAT water-DAT 3-EN-FUT-fall-12"DAT
'It looks like we'll be having a rain shortly.'
- [78] *Karru + i-ny-dyu-n-dyina yinydya-yi.*
hate+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF-3DAT thither(going)-DAT
'She doesn't want to go.'⁵²

The enclitic dative sometimes reflects a physical direction ('to, towards'), although most of such instances are also interpreted as semantically beneficiary (see examples [62], [64] and [67] above). Speakers of the inland dialect tend to use the allative case instead of the target/beneficiary dative when it involves a

⁵² [78] could be considered as an example of aversive use of the dative enclitic. It should be noted, however, that the Yawuru clitic dative barely takes up the aversive function (to avoid something/somebody — see 6.9.7; see also Dixon 1980:293). We have another example of aversive *-dyina* already presented as [46] in 4.3.2.2 (re: non-future irrealis) and it was then pointed out that the example in question is problematic in several ways. Few instance of such aversive use of non-pronominal dative have been recorded (but see [24] cited in 6.2.6). It has also been pointed out in 6.9.7 that, unlike many other Australian languages, instances are limited in Yawuru where the causal case has an aversive function.

directional notion. Compare the equivalent expressions in the two dialects below (-*ngana* is the inland dialect form of the allative marker; see 1.1.3.2):

- [79] COASTAL: *nga-dyali-dyanu*
2FUT-return-1DAT
'come back to/for me'
- INLAND: *nga-dyali ngayu-ngana*
2FUT-return 1-ALLAT
'come back to/for me'

7.4.2.5 Experiencer

Dative enclitics may indicate experiencer or undergoer of an intransitive action/state.

- [80] *Dyuda-ngarn i-ngara-rn-dyiya nga-rndira-yi.*
end-ALLAT 3-become-IMPF-2DAT 2FUT-go-DAT_{purp}
'The time is coming up for you to leave.'⁵³
- [81] *I-ng-gardi-rn-dyina wirdu-ni mayi, gudyug + i-na-ra-nda*
3_i-EN-enter-IMPF-3 DAT; big-ERG fruit; (ERG) swallow+3_j-TR-AUX(spear)-PF
*k*awty-k*awty.*
quick-REDUP
'He_j got choked by a big piece of bread_i, as he_j swallowed it_i too hastily.'⁵⁴
- [82] *Yilyu i-mirdibi-rn-dyanu minimy-gap, dyurrurru + i-ny-dyu-n-dyanu.*
tears(ABS)_i 3_i-run.away-IMPF-1DAT eye-ABL pour+3_j-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF-1DAT
'Tears streamed from my eyes.'

In [82] above, the syntactic subject is *yilyu* 'tears', with which the 3rd person verbal prefix agrees, while the 1st person enclitic pronoun encodes the experiencer (who was weeping). Many other instances also involve some body part (and the person possessing that part as experiencer); some cases show a close relation with the quasi-passive construction (which we shall discuss in 10.2.6). Unlike the quasi-passive, however, the use of the experiencer dative clitic seems to be most common with the 3MIN enclitic *-dyina*.

- [83] *Dyid + i-ny-dyu-n-dyina kunbulu.*
stop+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF-3DAT blood(ABS)
'It stopped bleeding.' (lit. "blood stopped for him")
- [84] *Lirda i-ny-dyalaku-rn-dyina kamba-dyina dyiwarri,*
fat(ABS)_i 3_i-EN-overflow-IMPF-3DAT; that-GEN dead(GEN)_j
ngarrungu dyiwarri kalbu karrmil-gun.
person(ABS) dead above platform-LOC
'The fat (i.e. fluid discharge) of the dead [body] is dripping down. There [is] a dead person[_j's body] on top of the platform. (The word *karrmil* 'bough shelf' here refers to the mortuary platform traditionally set up on a tree).

⁵³ The CVCV stem *dyuda* occurs only in the allative form *dyuda-ngarn*, which idiomatically means 'soon, shortly' (see 8.2.1.1.(4); cf. example [31] given in 8.2.1.2.(1)). It probably shares the same root with the CVC *dyud* 'end (of a story)' (cf. the CVCC preverb form *dyult* given in 5.6.4).

⁵⁴ cf. the causative use of the ergative illustrated and discussed in 6.4.4.

- [85] *Dyalany i-nga-rn-dyina walyiwalyi dyangala-nyurdany.*
 tongue(ABS)_i; 3_i-be-IMPF-3DAT_j; hanging.down hot.weather-CAUS
nilirr-gap i-mirdibi-rn-dyina kararra kamba-yi yila.
 mouth-ABL 3_k-run.away-IMPF-3DAT_j; saliva(ABS)_k that-DAT dog(DAT)_j;
 'Because of the hot weather, the dog's tongue is hanging out with the saliva
 running down.'

Observe in [85] above that the 3MIN verbal prefix cross-references the part (tongue, saliva) and the 3MIN enclitic dative cross-references the whole (dog).⁵⁵

There is at least one example in which the dative clitic pronoun indicating the experiencer is cross-referenced by an explicit dative NP in the clause.⁵⁶

- [86] *Kunbulu i-na-ra-rn-dyina kamba-yi yila.*
 blood(ABS)_i; 3_i-TR-flow-IMPF-3DAT_j; that-DAT dog(DAT)_j;
 'The dog is bleeding.'

7.4.2.6 Reflexivity

Reflexive use of the co-referential dative clitic pronoun has been illustrated in the verb chapter (4.6.5.1 and 4.8.3.3). Because of the four-person system (2.4.2.1), partially co-referential/reflexive subject-object(beneficiary) marking is fairly common in Yawuru:

- [87] *Ngadyi mi-na-ma-rn-dyaw lambulambu bukadyawarli.*
 whether 2_i-TR-put-IMPF-12DAT_{i+j} ready provisions(ABS)
 'Have you_i prepared for us (you_i and me_j).'
 [88] *Kamba warli wal-a-ka-dyirra.*
 that meat(ABS) 2_iFUT-TR-carry-2ndDAT_{i+j}
 'You_i take the meat for your family_j (as well as for yourself_i).'
 [89] *Waly-dyabalu-dyaw kamba dyarn'du.*
 2_i FUT-ask-12DAT_{i+j} that woman(ABS)_k
 'You_i go for us_{i+j} and ask her_k .' (Both you_i and I_j are interested and
 affected by the answer.)

Such may also be the case with accusative enclitics:

- [90] *Nga-na-ga-nya-ngany-ginya baku yang-ga-rr-a-ka.*
 1_i-TR-FUT-catch-COM-3_jACC hither 1st_{i+j}-FUT-AGM-TR-carry
 'I will help him to bring it here (i.e. we_{i+j} (= I_i and he_j) bring it together).'

7.4.3 Genitive/dative functional parity

We have so far examined various meanings and functions of the pronominal dative. It has been noticeable in quite a few instances that some sort of genitive

⁵⁵ The *i-* prefix of the first finite verb *ingarndyina* could also be interpreted as referring to the dog (3_j, whole). If that is the case, then the enclitic *-dyina* (3DAT_j) is co-referential to the subject (see 4.6.5.1) and the clause is interpreted as revealing a double-subject structure. See discussions on the syntactic reflexions of the whole-part semantics in 10.2.

⁵⁶ [86] also represents a rare case in which the simple verb *ra* is used in the intransitive clause structure. Here the noun 'blood' stands in the absolutive case; an ergative marking (*kunbulu-ni*) is unacceptable. Elsewhere in the language the verb in question is regularly transitive, with the meanings such as 'stab, spear, hit, etc' taking the ergatively marked agent. Notice that the transitive conjugation marker *na-* (TR) is maintained in the conjugation of *ra* in [86]. There are cases in which the verb root *ra* take parts in intransitive complex verbs as well as in transitive and semi-transitive ones (see 5.5.2.2) and [86] could possibly be interpreted as having a complex verb predicate: *kunbulu +ra* 'bleed'.

relationship (mainly possessive, but not necessarily restricted to that) is at the basis of the dative encoding. This can be observed even when the the dative clitic pronoun denotes a beneficiary. Consider [91]:

- [91] *Wal-dy-dyina wa-ng-ga-murku-dyiya milimili.*
 2_i FUT-say-3DAT; 3_j -EN-FUT-search-2DAT; mail/E(ABS)
 'Tell him to go and check your mail box.'

A possessive phrase *milimili dyiya* (N+GEN) 'your mails (mails to you)' could be easily related to the beneficiary marking in the embedded predicate in [91] above. Another example of dative beneficiary, [92a] below, has actually been paraphrased by the informant into [92b] employing the intensified genitive form:

- [92] a. *Kamba-ni dyarn'du wuba i-na-ka-rn-dyanu.*
 that-ERG woman(ERG)_i child(ABS) 3_i-TR-carry-IMPF-1DAT
 'That (pregnant) woman is carrying my baby (i.e. I'm the father of that baby).'
- b. *Dyanu-dyunu wuba kamba-ni dyarn'du i-na-ka-rn*
 1(GEN)-really child(ABS) that-ERG woman(ERG)_i 3_i-TR-carry-IMPF
liyan-gun. nyamba dyalykurr, dyanu wuba nyamba.
 womb-LOC this baby(ABS) 1(GEN) child(ABS) this
 '(lit.) That woman is carrying my child in her womb. The baby is my child.'

Such functional parity between the genitive free forms and the dative bound forms are quite often (though not always) the case with the use of the Yawuru J-set pronouns. Logically equivalent meanings can actually be encoded using a genitive free form (as in transitive [93a] and intransitive [94a]) on the one hand, and a dative enclitic (as in [93b] and [94b]) on the other:⁵⁷

- [93] a. *Miliya liyan i-na-nya-rn-ngayu dyina.*
 now feeling(ABS)_i 3_i -TR-catch-IMPF-1ACC 3(GEN)
 'Now I got worried about him.' (lit. "his feeling catches me")
- b. *Liyan(-dyi)⁵⁸ + nga-ngara-rn-dyina.*
 feeling(-DAT)+1-AUX(become)-IMPF-3DAT
 'I got worried about him.'
- [94] a. *Kadyarri nga-ni, darlu dyiya i-m-bula-rn.*
 far 2FUT-be WM(ABS)_i 2(GEN) 3_i -EN-come-IMPF
 'You keep away; your wife's mother (WM) is coming.' (see 1.1.4)
- b. *Kadyarri nga-ni, darlu i-m-bula-rn-dyiya.*
 3_i-EN-come-IMPF-2DAT

The next pair of examples provides us with another interesting case where the augmented bound form (*-dyarra* in [95a]) corresponds to the non-dual plural free form (*dyarrayirr* in [95b]):

⁵⁷ Also see the paraphrase cited in footnote 25 in this chapter. cf. Dyirbal, in which the recipient of the verb 'give' may be marked either datively or genitively (Dixon 1972:300). Similar is the case in Warrungu (Tsunoda, p.c.).

⁵⁸ See 5.4.1.2 for the inchoative function of the dative marking on preverbs.

- [95] a. *Wal-a-kunba-dyarra nganka.*
 2FUT-TR-send-1"DAT word(ABS)
 'You send us (EXCL) a message.'
- b. *Wal-a-kunba nganka dyarrayirr.*
 2FUT-TR-send word(ABS) 1"PL(GEN)
 'You send us (EXCL) a message.' (lit. "you send our word")

The case above is doubly interesting in that the beneficiary/goal meaning (as in [95a]) may be covered alternatively by a genitive pronoun (as in [95b]). "Our word" here means 'the message supposed to be heard by us (EXCL)'.

It should be pointed out that a free-form genitive and a dative clitic which are coreferent do not co-occur. The proposition 'his mother_i came back to him_j' may be expressed either in [96a] (with free-form genitive) or [96b] (with bound enclitic), but the double marking such as in [96c] is unacceptable:⁵⁹

- [96] a. *bibi dyina i-ny-dyali-nda.*
 mother(ABS)_i 3_j(GEN) 3_i-EN-return-PF
- b. *bibi i-ny-dyali-nda-dyina.*
 mother(ABS)_i 3_i-EN-return-PF-3DAT_j
- c. *[*bibi dyina i-ny-dyali-nda-dyina*]
 mother(ABS)_i 3_j(GEN) 3_i-EN-return-PF-3DAT_j

There are also cases where a parallel use of the genitive is unacceptable. For instance, local adverbs (such as *baybirra* 'behind' and *yalirra* 'in front'; see 8.3.4.2) are not directly modified by genitive free forms, despite the fact that they may be indirectly in the scope of the target-dative enclitics.

- [97] a. *Baybirra ya-ga-rr-garnda-dyirra.*
 behind 12-FUT-AGM-go-3"DAT
 'We go behind them.' (i.e. let's follow them.)
- b. *[*Baybirra dyirra yagarrgarnda.*]
 behind 3(GEN) we go
- c. *Baybirra-gun kangadyunu yagarrgarnda(*-dyirra).*
 behind-LOC 3"PL(LOC) we go
- d. *Kangadyunu-gun baybirra yagarrgarnda(*-dyirra).*
 3"PL-LOC behind we go

Paraphrases, such as [97c] or [97d] above, using the locative inflexion involving an absolutive (not genitive) pronoun, are natural (see 7.1.2.2). Notice, even then however, that a co-referential dative enclitic cannot be added on to the verb.

7.4.4 Dative/accusative split: the verb 'give'

We have already noted (4.5.5) that the benefactive verb - \emptyset 'give' (the root is zero) reveals a split in the choice of the case forms of the clitic pronouns. It requires the recipient (i.e. beneficiary) person to be cross-referenced by the postverbal enclitic.

⁵⁹ A free-form genitive pronoun and a coreferential non-pronominal dative may co-occur, which is the case in the following sentence:

[98] *Wura dyiná-aw, kamba-yi wubardu nganydyu.*
 lie 3_i(GEN)-VOC that-DAT small girl(DAT)_i
 'That's the little girl's lie!'

The enclitic takes the dative form when the recipient is the 3rd person, either minimal or non-minimal. If, however, the recipient is non-3rd-person, then the enclitic should take an accusative (rather than dative) form. Thus,

- [99] a. *wal-a-ø-ngayu*
2FUT-TR-give-1ACC
'you give (it to) me'
- b. *nga-na-ø-n-dyuyu*
1-TR-give-IMPF-2ACC
'I give (something to) you'
- c. *inga-rr-a-ø-nda-yayu*
3"-AGM-TR-give-PF-12ACC
'they gave (it to) us'

but

- d. *Mi-na-ø-nd-dyina*
2-TR-give-PF-3DAT
'you gave (it to) him'
- e. *Inga-rr-a-ø-nd-dyina*
3"-AGM-TR-give-PF-3DAT
'they give (it to) him'

The split in question may look somewhat perverse. Functionally, however, the split brings about only minimal confusion. The 1st and the 2nd person is far more unlikely than a 3rd person entity to be a direct object of the action of giving (i.e. the gift to be transferred). When, therefore, the verb 'give' takes a 1st/2nd/4th person accusative, it is in most cases safe to interpret it as a person receiving the gift (beneficiary). Consider [100] for example.

- [100] *Yangki-ni i-na-ø-nda-ngayu wanangarri.*
who-ERG 3-TR-give-PF-1ACC money(ABS)
'Who gave me the money?'

This is not true with a 3rd person entity. Since any entity (either human or not) other than the speaker and the hearer may be encoded in the 3rd person, a 3ACC enclitic would be much more easily mistaken as a direct object (the thing to be transferred) rather than the recipient person. The 3rd person recipient is therefore better in the dative form to avoid a misinterpretation.

There is a morphological reason as well. It has been noted (7.3.2.2) that the 3rd-person accusative marking is basically zero (with 3ACC *-ginya* and 3"ACC *-irr* being reserved for emphatic and/or non-paucal implications). But the 3rd person recipient must be positively marked somehow, since who is receiving is a most basic and important piece of information to be conveyed when the verb 'give' is used. 3/3"DAT enclitics *-dyina* / *-dyirra* are thus preferred to the zero accusative marking.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Quite intriguingly, several phenomena which seem to be relevant to the person-wise split of the case assignment under discussion are reported from other Australian languages. In Pitjantjatjara, recipient of the verb 'give' does not take the dative suffix *-ku*, but remains unsuffixed absolutive, i.e. the same as the direct object (Platt 1976a:429). The same seems to be the case in Yankunytjatjara: the recipient of 'give' is indicated by an accusative bound pronoun (Goddard 1983:65). But cf. in Ngaanyatjara, which is closely related to Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara (Goddard 1983:12ff), *-ku* marking occurs on the recipient (Platt 1976a:429). This is parallel to the Yawuru use of the accusative (in place of dative) enclitics in

Interestingly, exactly the same pattern of split case marking (i.e. accusative for 1/2/12 and dative for 3) is observed in Yawuru with the verb 'cry' —see 10.1.4.4.(4).

75 Demonstratives

75.1 Overview

Yawuru has a morphologically and semantically recognisable class of demonstrative words (as a subclass of the nominals; see 2.2.1). As in many other languages, Yawuru demonstratives may play the role of pronouns standing by themselves:

nyamba 'this thing, this person, s/he'

or may occur as determiners modifying nouns:

nyamba wamba/dyarn'du 'this man/woman'

nyamba minyaw 'this cat'

nyamba mara 'this spindle'

Word order is usually [DEM + N] as above, though the reverse order is also acceptable: *wamba nyamba, dyarn'du nyamba*, etc. It should be noted that DEM and N are not always contiguous (2.5.3). We have already pointed out also that the Yawuru demonstratives can modify a personal pronoun as well (7.1.3.1):

nyamba ginyangka 'this person (male or female)' (lit. "this s/he")

The demonstratives (particularly those in the role of determiners) show quite a high token frequency in Yawuru texts. Animacy, humanness and gender are irrelevant. No interaction with tense/mood/aspect system is observed, either.

75.2 Forms

75.2.1 Deixis and anaphora

Yawuru demonstratives show a three-way system of deixis: proximal/distal/far-distal (i.e. here/there/over there). The absolutive forms are:

proximal: *nyamba* (~ *yamba* ~ *dyamba*)

distal: *kamba* ⁶¹

far-distal: *karda*

the non-3rd-person recipient. In some south-western Queensland languages (e.g. Pitta-Pitta, Wangka-Yutjuru; and also Gidabal on NSW side), the beneficiary role is expressed by a separate case suffix other than dative. In Wangka-Yutjuru, benefactive pronouns (distinct from dative) cover the function of expressing the beneficiary role. Interestingly, however, this holds true only in the 1st and 2nd person pronouns (Blake 1977:36-37, Blake and Breen 1971:175; cf. Blake 1979:193, re Pitta-Pitta). This is parallel to the isolation of the 3rd person in the use of the Yawuru verb 'give'. The accusative/dative switch in the 3rd-person object of the verb 'give' is also reported from Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:115f).

⁶¹ The initial stop of *kamba* is rarely voiced. The most common pronunciation is [kám̩ba] ~ [qám̩ba]. A CVCC variant *kamp* [kəmp̩] has also been recorded. Since derived forms, such as *kamanygardi*, occasionally show initial velar voicing, [kám̩aŋgəde] ~ [gám̩aŋgəde], I have chosen to write down the word as *kamba*, rather than *k*amba* (cf. 3.3.1.2). As to the initial velar of the far-distal demonstrative *karda*, occasional voicing is observed. The verb root *karda* 'chase away', probably related to the demonstrative *karda*, has the root-initial stop often voiced (i.e. [gəda], cf. 4.8.2.4).

In the example sentences presented so far, these have been glossed as 'this', 'that' and 'yonder', respectively. The terms "proximal", "distal" and "far-distal" are applied only conventionally. Although the system is basically deictic in that the key factor is closeness to the speaker, the demonstrative terms also have functions other than that of deixis and the physical distance to/from the speaker is sometimes inapplicable.⁶²

When used as a term of physical deixis, *nymaba* (proximal) refers to an entity (or entities) close to the speaker.

- [101] *Madyil nga-na-malydyurra-nda ngay-ni nyamba-rri.*
 yesterday 1-TR-escort-PF 1-ERG this(ABS)-DL
 'I took these two (girls) to their home yesterday.'

Unlike English "this", the Yawuru proximal *nyamba* may refer to something held by the hearer (not by the speaker):

- [102] *Yangki nyamba (mi-nga-ny-ngany)*
 what(ABS) this(ABS) 2-be-IMPF-COM
 'What have you got there (i.e. what's that in your hand)?'

Entities referred to by *kamba* are not close to the speaker. They may or may not be close to the hearer, but are usually visible or audible to the participants of the conversation. The third category *karda* usually refers to an invisible/inaudible location at some distance from the speaker and the hearer(s).

- [103] *Lanydyi nga-na-ngula-nda karda-gun i-ny-dyalku-rn.*
 boomerang(ABS) 1-TR-throw-PF yonder-LOC 3-EN-fall-IMPF
 'I threw a boomerang and it fell over there.'

There is a fourth demonstrative term, *nyarra*, which refers to an abstract entity such as a name, word, affair, etc.⁶³ It may be pronominal (as in [104] and [105]) or be a determiner to other nominals (as in [106])

- [104] *Yangki nyarra.*
 what it(ABS)
 'What's that? (i.e. what did you say?)'

- [105] *Nyarra mi-ny-dyulka-nd-dyanu, nga-ma-lar'dyi-nda.*
 it(ABS) 2-EN-tell-PF-1DAT 1-INT-forget-PF
 'You told it to me before; I've forgotten that.'

- [106] *Rdarlu + nga-ngara-rn, nyarra nganka nga-ny-dyu-nda rdirdirlp.*
 ashamed+1-AUX(become)-IMPF it(ABS) word 1-EN-say-PF mistake
 'I'm ashamed, (because) what I said was wrong.'

⁶² The conventional triplet terminology "proximal/medial/distal" is not employed because the primary distinction seems to lie between the *nya-* series and the *ka-* series, both structurally (see Table 706) and semantically; and within the *ka-* series there is a secondary distinction between *kamba* and *karda*, which is captured by the use of the terms "distal" and "far-distal".

⁶³ It is uncertain whether this should be identified with the formative suffix *-nyarra* that occurs in time adverbs such as *madyil-nyarra* 'yesterday', *miliya-nyarra* 'today', *k*ala-nyarra* 'already' (see 8.2.1.1.(5)). As an independent demonstrative, *nyarra* always seems to occur uninflected, unlike the other three demonstratives.

The word *nyarra* (tentatively glossed 'it') is always anaphoric in the discourse.⁶⁴ This abstract demonstrative can also be used when the speaker is unable to recall the proper name of something, is unsure of its identity, or prefers to be vague.⁶⁵

The proximal *nyamba* and the far-distal *karda* are usually non-anaphoric (i.e. actual deixis), while *kamba* is quite often anaphoric (i.e. discourse deixis), in which case it would be better regarded as "neutral" (as to specification of distance) rather than "distal".⁶⁶ It has been pointed out earlier in 7.1.3.1.(3) that *kamba* may (and often does) function as a 3rd person pronoun. It may further perform, as we shall see later, a function like a definite article (7.5.5.2). The determiner/pronominal *kamba* may, of course, refer non-anaphorically to some real thing that is visible/audible to the speaker at the time of utterance.

The following English-derived demonstrative pronoun/determiners are also frequently encountered in Yawuru discourse:

didyan [dédʒaŋ] ~ [díʒaŋ] (< "this one")

dyat [dʒátʰ] ~ *dat* [dʒətʰ] (< "that")

They are inflected normally: e.g. *didyan-ni* (ergative), *dyat-nyurdany* (causal), and so on. These loan demonstratives are, however, non-anaphoric.

7.5.2.2 Paradigm

(1) General remarks

The demonstratives may take case marker(s) and/or other nominal markers (suffixes/enclitics). When a demonstrative and a noun constitute an NP, no agreement (of case) takes place between the modifying deictic and the head noun. Simply the general rule of initial-marking (2.5.2) applies. There are, however, quite a few morphological irregularities and semantic oddities in the inflexional/derivational paradigms of the Yawuru demonstratives (Table 706 below). The stems show a non-predictable alternation of the full stems (*nyamba/kamba/kardamba-*) and contracted short roots (*nya-/ka-/karda*), with various intermediate forms such as stems with geminate nasals (*nyamma-/kamma-*), stems with dropped vowels (*nyamb-/kamb-*) and stems with single nasals (*nyama-/kama-*). Since the occurrence of the far-distal full stem *kardamba-* is limited, the absolutive *nyamba/kamba/karda* are regarded as unmarked forms and "regular" stems.

⁶⁴ A structurally similar system of demonstratives (i.e. three real-referent terms plus one abstract discourse-deixis term unspecified for the spatial distance) is also reported from the Djapu dialect of Yolngu of NT (Morphy 1983:56-57), Watjarri of WA (Douglas 1981:223), etc.

⁶⁵ Morphy (1983:62) reports similar functions of the indefinite demonstrative *dhika* in Djapu and points out that the item may take local case inflections only. The Yawuru *nyarra* is uninflected. However, the indefinite locative *nyarri-gun* could be related to the abstract demonstrative *nyarra* (see 7.5.2.2.(4) and 7.7.3).

⁶⁶ Yawuru has no explicit anaphoric marker such as reported for Yolngu (Morphy 1983:61).

TABLE 706: Yawuru demonstratives

	proximal (<i>nya-</i>)	distal (<i>ka-</i>)	far-distal (<i>karda-</i>)
ABS	<i>nyamba</i>	<i>kamba</i>	<i>karda</i>
ERG	<i>nyammani</i> (~ <i>nyambani</i>)	<i>kammani</i> (~ <i>kambani</i>)	<i>kardani</i>
DAT	<i>nyambayi</i>	<i>kambayi</i>	<i>kardayi</i>
GEN	<i>nyambadyina</i>	<i>kambadyina</i>	—
LOC	<i>nyambagun</i>	<i>kambagun</i>	<i>karda(gun)</i>
ALLAT ₁	<i>nyagap</i>	<i>kagaplayin</i>	<i>karda</i>
ALLAT ₂	<i>nyambangarn</i>	<i>kammangarn</i>	<i>kardangarn</i>
ELAT	<i>kagap</i>	<i>nyagaplayin</i>	<i>kardagap</i>
ABL	<i>nyambagap</i> (~ <i>nyambgap</i>) (~ <i>nyamgap</i>) (~ <i>nyamagap</i>)	<i>kambgap</i> (~ <i>kammagap</i>)	—
INST	<i>nyambabarri</i>	<i>kambabarri</i>	<i>kardabarri</i>
CAUS	<i>nyambanyurdany</i>	<i>kambanyurdany</i>	(<i>kardanyurdany</i>)
COM	<i>nyambangany</i>	<i>kambangany</i>	<i>kardangany</i>
CIRCUM	<i>nyambagurdany</i>	<i>kambagurdany</i>	<i>kardagurdany</i>
APPROX	<i>nyalambu</i> (~ <i>nyarrambu</i>) (~ <i>nyarrambugun</i>)	<i>kalambu</i> (* <i>kalambugun</i>)	—
CONTR	<i>nyamanygardi</i> (~ <i>nyamanganygardi</i>) (~ <i>nyambanygardi</i>)	<i>kamanygardi</i> (~ <i>kamanganygardi</i>) (~ <i>kambanygardi</i>)	<i>kardanygardin</i> (* <i>kardanganygardi</i>)
INDEF	<i>nyarrigun</i>	<i>karrigun</i>	—
DL	<i>nyambarri</i>	<i>kambarri</i>	<i>kardambarri</i>
PL	<i>nyambagarra</i>	<i>kambagarra</i>	<i>kardagarra</i>
REDUP	—	—	<i>kardakarda</i>
SEMB	<i>nyamangarr</i>	<i>kambangarr</i>	<i>kardangarr</i>
INTENS	<i>nyangadyunu</i>	<i>kangadyunu</i>	—
QUANT	—	<i>kambangal</i>	—

(2) Dative, ergative and genitive

Dative (-*yi*) and ergative (-*ni*) markings are regularly added to the regular stems. In the ergative inflexions of the proximal and the distal stems, however, nasal gemination may take place (and actually often does): *nyamma-ni* and *kamma-ni* are much more often encountered than the full-stemmed inflexions (*nyamba-ni* and *kamba-ni*).

Although instances are few, regular genitive forms with the marker -*dyina* (6.3.1) are recorded with *nyamba* and *kamba* (but **karda-dyina* has not been encountered).

(3) Local cases

Locative (-*gun*), instrumental (-*barri*) and causal (-*nyurdany*) forms are regular, too, although the far-distal *karda-nyurdany* is seldom encountered in actual use. The far-distal absolutive *karda* can serve as a local adverb (either stative-locative 'in there' as in [107], or allative 'to over there' as in [108]) without taking explicit case markers (just like English deictics "here" and "there"). There are also instances where *karda* does carry a local case marker (as in [109], where the explicit locative inflexion seems to be employed to emphasise "staying still").

- [107] *Karda i-nga-rn kadyarri kamba buru.*
 yonder(LOC) 3; -be-IMPF far that land(ABS);
 'The country (we are talking about) is over there.'
- [108] *Karda yanga-rr-garna-nda, buya-ngarn*
 yonder(ALLAT) 1"-AGM-go-PF reef-ALLAT
 'We (EXCL) have been over there, to the reef.'
- [109] *Karda-gun wal-a-ngurlika-dyanu.*
 yonder-LOC 2FUT-TR-wait-1DAT
 'You stay over there and wait for me.'

Sentence [109] is still acceptable if the locative *karda-gun* is replaced by the uninflected demonstrative *karda*. Such is not the case with the proximal and the distal demonstratives however: local references are made only through their case-inflected forms or other derivational forms.

- [110] *Wirdu i-ngara-nda nyamba-gun.*
 big 3-become-PF this-LOC
 'He grew up here.' (or: He was brought up here.)

It is, however, the non-stative local cases (i.e. allative and ablative) that look most bizarre and confusing in the paradigm of the Yawuru demonstratives. The case markers -*gap* (ablative) and -*ngarn* (allative) behave somewhat perversely. For example, *ka-gap* means 'from here (to there)', not 'from there' as would be "logically" expected. There are two sets of allative forms: one with the regular allative marker -*ngarn*, the other (partly) with the ablative marker -*gap*, combined to which is yet another type of allative marker -*layin* (see 8.3.1). To make the paradigm further puzzling, elative (i.e. local ablative) forms are distinct from non-local ablative forms. Also observed are peculiar bound forms (such as -*lambu*, -*nygard*, etc.) which, too, bear local meanings of some sort or other. Forms and functions of these non-stative local demonstratives are examined separately in 7.5.2.

(4) Indefinite

Indefinite location indicators *nyarri-gun* and *karri-gun* also comprise a part of the demonstrative paradigm (INDEF in Table 706): they consist of the locative marker -*gun* and the idiosyncratic stems *nyarri-/karri-* (Coincidentally these have a -*rr* syllable which is homophonous with the dual marker; no dual meaning is involved, however). The far-distal counterpart is lacking. Functions of

nyarri-gun and *karri-gun* (as well as the uninflected *karri*) are illustrated in 7.6.7.4 and 7.7.3.

(5) Dual

Dual forms of the demonstratives take the *-rri* suffix (cf. 2.4.2.3). Notice in Table 706 that the far-distal has the longer stem: *kardamba-rri*, rather than **karda-rri*. This is actually the only occasion for the far-distal to take its full stem. Plural forms with *-garra* are regular. As with the plural marking on common nouns (2.4.2.2) and on verbs (4.2.1.5), the explicit plural marking is optional. The suffix *-rri* (DL) or *-garra* (PL) precedes the case markers (2.2.2): e.g. proximal-dual-ergative *nyamba-rri-ni*, or distal-dual-dative *kamba-rri-yi* as in [111]:

- [111] *Dukup + inga-rr-a-ka-rn-dyirra* *wirkany-(ny)urdany*
 sanction+3"AGM-TR-AUX(carry)-IMPF-3"DAT eloping-CAUS
 [*kamba-rri-yi dyarn'du-yirr* *wamba*]_{NP-DAT} .
 that-DL-DAT woman(DAT)-and man(DAT)
 'They got ritually punished for eloping.'

It should be added, however, that the case-marked use of the non-singular demonstratives is relatively infrequent.

(6) Intensified forms

The intensifier *-dyunu* (6.12.6 and 7.2.2.3) is attested in two lexical items *nyangadyunu* and *kangadyunu*. Semantically speaking, this pair fits in the proximal and the distal columns of the demonstrative paradigm, although the stems are *nyanga-/kanga-*, instead of *nyamba-/kamba-* or *nya-/ka-*. The two words do not comprise antonyms to each other: *nyangadyunu* generally occurs as a noun 'everything'⁶⁷ or as a modifier (as in [111A] and [111B] given below),⁶⁸ whereas its counterpart *kangadyunu* functions, as we have already seen, as the 3rd-person plural (3"PL) pronoun (7.1.1.2).⁶⁹

- [111A] *Rdii +nga-na-ra-rn* *nyangadyunu* *balu-garra.*
 break+1-TR-AUX(spear)-IMPF all these tree(ABS)-PL
 'I chopped down all the trees around.'
- [111B] *Nyangadyunu baba-garra wal-a-dyardi durrkarang-gap.*
 all.these child-PL 2FUT-TR-skin motorcar-ABL
 'Take all the kids out of the car!' (lit. "strip them off")

(7) Semblative

The semblative form (SEMB) of the proximal is *nyama-ngarru* /*nyamaŋaru*/ rather than *nyamba-ngarr* (which is elicited, but not encountered in natural

⁶⁷ The common connotation is 'plenty' or 'numerous'; a typical paraphrase by informants is *lanydyi-karrbina*, lit. 'boomerangs and shields', a compound noun to refer collectively to all movable possessions. See 8.2.3 for the derived time adverb *nyangadyunu-gun-buru* 'all the time'.

⁶⁸ See also example [188] cited in 6.9.3.

⁶⁹ See 7.1.1.2 for the paucal/non-paucal contrast in the 3rd-person non-minimal pronouns.

speech). Notice that, unlike in the ergative forms, the stem-medial nasal is not geminate (**nyammangarru*). Non-proximal counterparts have regular semblative forms: *kamba-ngarr* and *karda-ngarr*. (See 3.6.3.2 for the lenition of the medial cluster *mb* to *mm ~ m*.)

(8) Others

Demonstratives may take still other markers that are not given in the paradigm of Table 706, such as the limitative *-manydyan* 'only' (8.4.5.2), aspectual *-bardu* 'still' (8.2.1.2) and the epistemological *-marda* 'perhaps' (7.6.7.3 and 8.5.3.3). The adverb-deriving quantificational suffix *-ngal* (QUANT) occurs only with *kamba*, resulting in the time adverb *kamba-ngal* 'at that time, before' (8.2.1.2). The expected counterparts **nyamba-ngal* and **karda-ngal* have not been recorded, however (cf. 8.2.2.1).

Reduplication (REDUP) occurs only with *karda*. The resulting form *kardakarda* 'over there, up there' refers to a further distant entity, without a necessary connotation of plurality.

7.5.3 Non-stative local cases

7.5.3.1 Ablative/relative

Yawuru demonstratives (except in the far-distal series) have distinct morphological expressions for **elative** (local ablative; 'away from somewhere') and non-local **ablative** (indicating a temporal, logical or other kind of source; 'originating from something', 'of/from somebody', 'as a consequence of something', 'than somebody/something', etc). In the proximal and the distal the uncontracted ablative forms *nyamba-gap* (var. *nyambgap ~ nyamgap* and less frequently *nyammagap*) and *kamb-gap* (var. *kamma-gap*) retain little local meaning, but take up the role of indicating either temporal sequences or logical/conditional sequences (and thus typically function as conjunctions):

<i>nyamb(a)gap</i>	'hence, because of this/that, from now on'
<i>kambgap</i>	'therefore, then, after that'

Examples follow:

- [112] *Nyamb-gap narli + nga-na-ma-rn-dyina (ngay-ni).*
 this-ABL true+1-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-3DAT 1-ERG
 'Therefore I trusted him.' (lit. "put true to him")
- [113] *Kudyarra kirridiny, kamma-gap kamba-rri i-ny-dyali-rn dukup-ngarn-ná.*
 two moon that-ABL that-DL 3-EN-return-IMPF sanction-ALLAT-now/EK
 'Two months passed, and then the two (who had eloped) came back (to the community) to have a ritual punishment.'
- [114] *K*ayn wa-ng-ga-bula, nga-na-ng-ga-ngurlika-dyina nyamba-gap.*
 let 3_i-EN-FUT-come 1-TR-EN-FUT-wait-3DAT_i this-ABL
 'Let him come. I will be waiting for him from now on (until he arrives).'

Regular ablative forms may result from non-inherent inflexions (2.5.2.3). Examples include [144] (cited in 6.7.3) and:⁷⁰

- [115] *Binybal + nga-ngara-rn* [*nyamba-gap baburr*]_{NP-ABL}
 pain+1-AUX(become)-IMPF this-ABL wound(ABL)
 'The wound hurts.' (lit. "I get pain from this wound")

Apart from such NP-inflexions as exemplified above, the local meaning of '(moving) away from ...' is conveyed by distinct elative demonstratives:

<i>kagap</i>	'from here (to there)'
<i>nyagaplayin</i>	'from there (to here)'
<i>kardagap</i>	'from there ₁ to there ₂ '

As to the far-distal, the regular ablative full form *kardagap* does bear a local meaning and is not used as an anaphoric conjunction (thus *kardagap* is given in the elative line in the paradigm of Table 706).

To recapitulate, the term *kagap* means 'away from here' and not 'from there'. It is thus virtually the opposite to *baku* 'hither', as observed in the following pair of local adverb phrases (*dyina* is the 3rd-person genitive pronoun):

<i>kagap dyina</i>	'(going) up/away' (the river or the road)
<i>baku dyina</i>	'(coming) down' (the river or the road)

The contrast is also confirmed by the vocative phrases most commonly heard in everyday interactions (*dyuyu* is the 2nd-person absolutive pronoun):

- [115A] a. *Baku dyuyu.* 'Come here!' (lit. "hither you")
 b. *Kagap dyuyu.* 'Off you go!'⁷¹

7.5.3.2 Allative/elative

The elative forms illustrated above lack a paradigmatic balance: the proximal elative *kagap* has the contracted root, which is obviously that of the distal demonstrative (*ka-*), rather than the proximal (*nya-*). On the other hand, the distal elative shows a redundant derivation, *nya-gap-layin* (i.e. the proximal root *nya-* + ablative + directional).⁷²

Needed to balance up the paradigm are *nyagap* (the contracted form with the proximal root) and *kagaplayin* (the redundant derivation with the distal root). Somewhat perplexingly, these items bear an allative meaning (indicating 'motion to'; ALLAT₁ in Table 706), rather than the elative 'from'. It has already been pointed out (7.5.2.2.(3), cf. 6.6.2) that the far-distal *karda* may bear an allative meaning without inflexion. Thus it can be said that the allative set of the demonstratives consists of:

⁷⁰ Ablative-ergative (double-marked) forms *kamba-gap-ni* and *nyamba-gap-ni* are observed in examples [150] and [151] cited in 6.7.6.

⁷¹ Other farewell phrases, which are also very common, include *kagap ngarndira* (away 2FUT-go), *karda nga-rndira* (yonder 2FUT-go) and *k*ala(a) dyuyu* (finish you). Non-minimal forms may substitute the 2MIN absolutive pronoun *dyuyu*.

⁷² The directional suffix *-layin* (~ *-layi*) is also found on the terms of cardinal directions (see 8.3.1 and 8.3.2.2).

<i>nyagap</i>	'(1) to here; (2) this way'	(proximal allative)
<i>kagaplayin</i>	'towards there, to that side'	(distal allative)
<i>karda</i>	'(from here/there) to over there'	(far-distal allative)

The term *nyagap* may indicate either (1) a motion towards the speaker 'to here' (as in [116] and [117]) or alternatively (2) a motion towards a particular direction that the speaker is indicating at the moment of utterance, 'this way, to this direction that I show you' (as in [118] and [119]).

[116] *Nyagap midyala + wa-rr-dyi kurrgarda*
to.here sitting+2" FUT-AGM-be 2" DL(ABS)
'You two come and sit down here.'

[117] *Dyimbin-gap yaga-rr-bula-nd(a) nyagap, kurrwal ya-ga-rr-a-bura-yi.*
inside-ABL 12"-AGM-come-PF to.here sky(ABS) 12"-FUT-AGM-TR-see-DAT_{purp}
'We came out (of the house) here to look at the weather.'

[118] *Nyagap wa-rr-garnda k*awity.*
this.way 2" FUT-AGM-go quick
'You go this way, quick!'

[119] *Nyagap i-rndira-rn niwal dyina.*
this.way 3-go-IMPF foot 3(GEN)
'Here are footprints going this way.'

The latter use ('this way', obviously with the original relative implication 'from here') probably provides the basis of the allative use ('to here') because it is pragmatically often the case that the speaker eventually makes the hearer move towards him/herself (the speaker) by indicating the way: 'don't go that way, come here and take this way'.

TABLE 707: Terms of non-stative local deixis

	ALLAT (to ...)	ELAT (away from ...)
proximal (here)	<i>nyagap</i>	<i>kagap</i>
distal (there)	<i>kagaplayin</i>	<i>nyagaplayin</i>

To solve the puzzle of the non-stative local deixis, the proximal and the distal series are summarised in Table 707 (above). It can be inferred that the redundant directional derivations (*kagaplayin* and *nyagaplayin*) have filled the paradigmatic gaps that emerged due to the semantic change in the use of the contracted forms (*nyagap* 'from here' > 'to here'; *kagap* 'from there' > 'from here').

A few more examples containing the non-stative locative demonstratives are given below:

[120] *I-na-nya-rn-ngany-dyu ginyaga-ni wal-a-ka kagap-layi.*⁷³
3-TR-catch-IMPF-COM-2ACC 3-ERG 2FUT-TR-carry away-DIR
'He will help you take it there.'

⁷³ The last nasal of the suffix may occasionally drop (*-layi*), but it still has a nasalisation effect upon the preceding vowel: [lɑ̃]

- [121] *Nyagap nga-rndira-rn gilp-gilp, darlu dyanu i-nga-rn.*
 this.way 1-go-IMPF avoiding-REDUP taboo.relative 1(GEN) 3-be-IMPF
 'I go this way to avoid meeting my taboo relative who is there.' (see 1.1.4)
- [122] *Kagap muluk + wal-a-ka.*
 away move+2FUT-TR-AUX(carry)
 'You shift it over there (from here).'

The last example above (with the proximal elative) was paraphrased by the informant into [123] (using the far-distal allative):

- [123] *Muluk + wal-a-ma karda-ngarn.*
 move+2FUT-TR-AUX(put) yonder-ALLAT
 'You've got to shift it over there.'

A local inflexion of the demonstratives may further take the post-inflexional clitic *-marda* encoding uncertainty (7.6.7.3):

- [124] *Kagap-marda wa-rr-garnda dyurru-gap, nyamba dyidu-gun i-nga-rn.*
 away-perhaps 2" FUT-AGM-go snake; -ABL this(ABS); secret-LOC 3; -be-IMPF
 'You'd better move back; there's a snake hiding here.'

The regular allative forms with the case marker *-ngarn* (ALLAT₂ in Table 706) occur mainly in non-inherent inflexions (i.e. when the demonstrative carries the case marker on behalf of the head noun of the inflecting NP), as in:

- [125] *Nakula-gap langa-barri i-ny-dyali-rn [kamma-ngarn dyalbi]_{NP-ALLAT}*
 sea-ABL catfish-INST 3; -EN-return-IMPF that-ALLAT camp(ALLAT)
 '[The wife;] came back to that camp from fishing with a catch of catfish.'
- [126] *Ngayu nga-m-bula-nda [nyamba-ngarn buru]_{NP-ALLAT} kadyarri-gap.*
 1(ABS) 1-EN-come-PF this-ALLAT land(ALLAT) far-ABL
 'I came to this country from far away.'

The regular allative forms are also used when a contrast between the allative and the locative is to be explicitly expressed, as in the following example:

- [127] *I-na-ka-nda karda-ngarn, karda-gun i-na-ngari-nda.*
 3-TR-carry-PF yonder-ALLAT yonder-LOC 3-TR-leave-PF
 'He took it there and left it there.'
- [128] *Nurlu inga-rr-a-ka-nda baku nyamba-ngarn,*
 corroborree(ABS) 3"-AGM-TR-carry-PF hither this-ALLAT
burrp + wang-ga-rr-a-dyu nyamba-gun.
 dance + 3"-FUT-AGM-TR-AUX(say) this-LOC
 'They have brought the ceremony here; they will perform it here.'

7.5.3.3 Non-ablative/elative use of *-gap*

In connection with the above illustrated phenomenon that the ablative marker *-gap* bears an allative meaning, it is to be noted here that we have instances (though limited in number) in which non-ablative/elative uses of the ablative case marker are recorded with non-demonstrative nominals.

- [129] *Kari wa-rr-a-ka-yi banu-gap nakula.*
 grog(ABS) 2" FUT-AGM-TR-carry-DAT_{purp} east-ABL sea(ABL)
 'You are going to drink at east beach, aren't you?' (i.e. the addressed people were moving towards the east beach; allative use of *-gap*).

[130] *Dyalbi-bika-gap yaga-rr-a-ngurlika-rr-dyirra*
 camp-shade-ABL 12"-AGM-TR-wait-IMPF-3"DAT_{i+j}

wa-na-ng-ga-warka-irr malulu.
 3_i-TR-EN-FUT-muster-3"ACC_j initiate(ABS)_j

'While he_i (the ceremony master) gathers the boys_j (to be initiated), we (INCL) shall wait for them_{i+j} in the camp. (stative-locative use of *-gap*)

Also see [137] in 7.5.4.2 for another case of the allative use of the ablative marker.

7.5.4 Further local derivations

In addition to the local cases depicted above, still other derivations bearing local meanings occur on the Yawuru demonstratives. Those are (1) approximative and (2) lateral.

7.5.4.1 Approximative

The suffix *-lambu* is added to the short roots *nya-* and *ka-*, producing an approximative (or approximate locative) meaning:

proximal: *nyalambu* 'around here' (var. *nyarrambu*)
 distal: *kalambu* 'around there'

The rhotic variant *-rrambu* is recorded only in the proximal (possibly due to an analogy with the abstract demonstrative *nyarra*; 7.5.2.1). The approximative suffix is not found on the far-distal *karda*, probably because the far-distal deixis is inherently somewhat "approximative".

Examples containing the approximate locative derivations are:

[131] *Yangki-yi mi-rndira-rr-dyina nya-lambu.*
 what_i-DAT 2-go-IMPF-3DAT_i this-around
 'What did you come here for?'⁷⁴

[132] *Ka-lambu nga-bula, kamba-gap, rdarlb + wal-dyu baku-layi.*
 that-around 2FUT-come that-ABL jump.over+2FUT-AUX(say) hither-DIR
 'You go around there on that side; then, you (have to) jump over [the tidal channel] to this side.' (indicating a point where the channel gets narrow enough to jump over)

[133] *Dyimbini-ngany baba-garra-barri i-rndira-rr nya-rrambu.*
 inside-COM child-PL-INST 3-go-IMPF this-around
 'The group (of women) with children took the beach-side way just around here.'

The proximal approximative may further carry (redundantly) the locative case marker *-gun*, as in:

[134] *Bidyibidi i-na-ma-rr nya-lambu-gun dyalangardi-ni.*
 "goanna.hole"(ABS) 3-TR-put-IMPF this-around-LOC sand.monitor-ERG
 'Goannas left (a number of) burrows around here.'

Such reinforcing locative marking, which is optional but actually quite usual with the proximal, has not been found with the distal series. Thus it may be

⁷⁴ Note that the verb *rndira* 'go' may be used to describe the action of coming (to here).

summarised that the approximative set of the local demonstratives consists rather asymmetrically of:

proximal:	<i>nyalambu(gun)</i>
distal:	<i>kalambu</i>
far-distal:	<i>karda(gun)</i>

The suffix *-lambu* is attested only with the demonstratives. It has not been found on pronominal or common nominal items (cf. 8.3.5.2).

7.5.4.2 Contrastive locative

Contrastive locative forms (CONTR in Table 706) are derived by adding *-nygardin(ny)* to the demonstrative stems:

proximal:	<i>nyam(b)a-nygardin</i>	'(to/in) this side'
distal:	<i>kam(b)a-nygardin</i>	'(to/in) that side'
far-distal:	<i>karda-nygardin</i>	'other side, over there'

Notice that the far-distal item has the nasal ending.⁷⁵ The prenasalised cluster *mb* in the proximal and the distal is usually reduced to *m* (ungeminated). The distal *kama-nygardin* tends to be pronounced with initial voicing: [gámaŋgàðe] (cf. footnote 61 in 7.5.2.1).

Although my principal language consultant claimed that *nyamanygardin* and *kamanygardin* mean the same as the common locative forms *nyambagun* and *kambagun* respectively, it seems that the use of the *-nygardin* forms is limited to cases where a deictic contrast is the main focus of the utterance. Consider the following examples:

[135] *Kurryirr kama-nygardin, yarrgarda nyama-nygardin.*
 2"PL(ABS) that-side 1"DL(ABS) this-side
 'You fellows [go and look] that side; we two [will go] this side.'

[136] *Yinydya wa-rr-garnda karda-nygardin.*
 thither 2"FUT-AGM-go yonder-side
 'You (PL) go across there.' (i.e. from this side to that side)

It is semantically obvious that the suffix *-nygardin(n)* is related to the local-adverbial marker *-gardin* 'to/in the side of' illustrated in 8.3.5.1 (see also 8.3.1). The intervening laminal nasal element *-ny-* is possibly be related to the comitative marker *-ngany*, since there are such variant forms as *nyama-ngany-gardin* and *kama-ngany-gardin* (though a far-distal counterpart **karda-ngany-gardin* has not been recorded).⁷⁶ These full forms also bear contrastive meanings.

⁷⁵ The nasal-ending formative has also been recorded in the toponym *linydyalgardin* 'Manuel Springs'.

⁷⁶ There is at least one bizarre instance recorded where the marker *-nygardin* (attached to what looks like a common nominal *niyakama*) is followed by the nominal plural marker *-garra*:

[139] *Warany-gardi i-na-ma-rn birn'dany, i-lurra-rn niyakama-nygardiny-garra.*
 other-side 3-TR-put-IMPF stingray(ABS) 3-burn-IMPF back(?)-CONTR-PL
 'She turned the stingray over so that the back-bone side would also get well done.' (as cooking a Coachwhip Ray on hot ashes)

What has happened in [139] seems to be a fusion of the body-part noun *niyakan* 'back (of body)' — the form *niyakama* is not encountered elsewhere in the current database— and the demonstrative *kama-nygardin* (distal + CONTR). Even if this is the case, the morpheme-final laminal nasal *ny* (of *niyakama-nygardiny-garra* in [139]) remains to be explained. The

- [137] *Nyama-ngany-gardi buru dyanu, kama-ngany-gardi dyiya-dyunu buru.*
 this-COM-side land(ABS) 1(GEN) that-COM-side 2(GEN)-really land(ABS)
 'This side is my country; that side is yours.'

Intriguingly as regards the issues discussed in 7.5.3, an optional addition of *-gap* (ablative) is recorded with no change in the direction of the action described:

- [138] *Yinydya nga-rndira-nda karda-nygardin-gap.*
 thither 1-go-PF yonder-side-ABL
 'I went across the creek to that side.' (NOT from that side)

7.5.5 Functional range of demonstratives

7.5.5.1 Animacy

As already noted earlier (7.1.3.1.(3)), demonstratives cover both animate and inanimate entities, while the 3MIN pronominal determiner mostly have human reference.⁷⁷

- [140] a. *kamba wabirran* 'that young man' (human)
 b. *kamba dyurru* 'that snake' (non-human animate)
 c. *kamba maya* 'that house' (inanimate)
- [141] a. *ginyangka wabirran* 'that young man' (lit. "he young-man")
 b. ?[*ginyangka dyurru*]
 c. *[*ginyangka maya*]

Not surprisingly, it is quite often the case that the demonstrative *kamba* and its dual and plural forms serve as 3rd-person pronouns, either with human reference (as in [142]) or with non-human reference (as in [143]):

- [142] *Ngurdirn i-rnidra-nda kamba.*
 alone 3-go-PF that/3(ABS)
 'He went alone.'
- [143] *Dyilp + i-ny-dyu-nda-ngayu kamba-ni.*
 sting+3-EN-AUX(say)-PF-1ACC that-ERG
 'It (the prickly branch) prickled me.'

7.5.5.2 Distal demonstrative as a definite article

An important role of *kamba* as a determiner is that it serves as an indicator of definiteness just like a definite article. Compare [144a] with [144b]:

- [144] a. *Dyamiyanu i-na-ka-nda.*
 axe(ABS) 3-TR-carry-PF
 'He carried an axe.'
- b. *Kamba dyamiyanu i-na-ka-ndda.*
 that axe(ABS) 3-TR-carry-PF
 'He carried the axe.'

contrastive-locative form *dyimbin-gardiny* of the location adverb *dyimbin* (see 8.3.4.3.(2)) is interesting in this regard.

⁷⁷ But cf. footnote 16 (re: example [12]) in this chapter.

The axe (*dyamiyanu*) in [144b] is definite (and specific), while it is indefinite (though specific) in [144a]. A similar contrast is observed between the dual demonstrative *kamba-rrri* (that-DL) and the numeral *kudyarra* 'two':

- [145] a. *kamba-rrri wamba* 'the two men' (definite)
 b. *kudyarra wamba* 'two men' (indefinite)

The phrase *kambarri kudyarra wamba* is also acceptable, but only in that word order; **kudyarra kamarri wamba*. In that case the focus is on the number of the men.⁷⁸

NPs that involve *kamba* as a determiner are, more often than not, subject to phrasal discontinuity (2.5.3).

- [146] *Warli-ni kamba i-na-burnna-nda yunu.*
 fish-ERG that^ 3-TR-bite-PF ^bait(ABS)
 'A fish bit the bait.'

- [147] *Ya-ga-rr-garnda dyimbin maya-ngarn, kamba-ni wa-na-ø-bura-yadiri*
 12"-FUT-AGM-go inside house-ALLAT that-ERG 3-TR-IRR-see-12"ACC
waybalu.
 whiteman/E(ERG)
 'Let's go inside the house so that the (approaching) whiteman will not see us.'

In [146], the object NP [*kamba yunu*]_{NP(O)} is discontinuous. In the second clause of [147], by contrast, it is the ergative agent NP [*kamba-ni waybalu*]_{NP(A)} that reveals the discontinuity.

7.5.5.3 Demonstratives vs pronouns as determiners

As determiners to common nouns, demonstratives show a wider paradigmatic coverage than pronouns. Compare the case inflexions of the definite NPs below (*wamba* 'man'):

	DEM + N	PRON + N
absolutive:	<i>kamba wamba</i>	<i>ginyangka wamba</i>
ergative:	<i>kamba-ni wamba</i>	<i>ginyaga-ni wamba</i>
dative:	<i>kamba-yi wamba</i>	—
genitive:	<i>kamba-dyina wamba</i>	—

Since the pronouns have distinct paradigms for genitive/dative forms, forms such as **ginyangka-yi wamba* (or **ginyangka-dyina wamba*) and *[*dyina wamba*] are unacceptable (*dyina* is the genitive counterpart of 3MIN absolutive *ginyangka*). Consequently the [DEM + N] is functionally more flexible and useful.

Demonstrative phrases are also syntactically more flexible in word order. It is most common both for a determiner-demonstrative and for a determiner-pronoun to precede the head noun: i.e. [DEM + N] and [PRON + N]. However, a reversed ordering is acceptable only with the demonstratives. While *wamba kamba*

⁷⁸ A simpler phrase *kambarri kudyarra* is also grammatical. In this case the word order may be reversed: *kudyarra kamarri* (see 2.2.3 and 2.4.2.3).

(N+DEM) is occasionally encountered, *wamba ginyangka* (N+PRON) is unusual. In 708 below, the demonstrative *kamba* as a determiner occupies the phrase-final position.

[148] *Dyunduru + i-na-ma-rn [wuba-ni dyira kamba]*_{NP-ERG}.
 urine+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF small-ERG boy(ERG) that
 'That little boy is pissing.' (non-anaphoric use)

There are a number of cases of phrasal discontinuity with [DEM + N] whereas no instances of discontinuity are attested with [PRON + N].

Although instances are not numerous, a demonstrative can be the head of an NP modified by other items:

[149] [[*Nyamba*]_N *dyanu*]_{NP(O)} *nga-ng-ga-ni-ngany*.
 this(ABS) 1(GEN) 1-EN-FUT-be-COM
 'I will bring my own.' (lit. "my this")

Finally, it is pointed out that demonstratives can modify 3rd-person pronouns as has already been illustrated earlier in this chapter (7.1.3.1).

7.6 Interrogatives

7.6.1 Overview

7.6.1.1 Inventory

There are five interrogative words that are used to compose non-polar (or specific) questions:

<i>yangki</i>	'who/what/which?'
<i>bana</i>	'when?'
<i>dyana</i>	'where?'
<i>dyanala(gadya)</i>	'how?'
<i>nganydya</i>	'how many?'

Only the first and the last items are used pronominally. The others are interrogative adverbs in the traditional sense. All these five items, however, can be regarded as forming a class of "WH-interrogatives" (which in turn constitute a sub-class of nominals) for the following reasons:

1) WH-interrogatives share syntactic properties. These words regularly occupy the clause-initial position.⁷⁹ Such fixed word ordering is rather rare in the language. When embedded into a matrix sentence, the (subordinate) clause-initial interrogative functions as a conjunctive word to introduce the embedded clause (10.6.4.2).

2) WH-interrogatives share semantic properties. They all introduce non-polar questions, i.e. seeking some specific information in contrast to polar (yes/no) questions.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ For a few exceptional instances of non-clause-initial WH-interrogative, see 7.6.7.1.

⁸⁰ In the terminology of Schachter (1985:25), they are "interrogative pro-forms" (cf. Crystal 1985:247).

3) WH-interrogatives share morphological properties with common nominals in that they may take case markers and other nominal markers. There are, however, a few case inflexions peculiar to some of the WH-interrogatives.

The polar interrogative word *ngadyi* may be added to the list above, since this too occurs clause-initially and may also function as a conjunction introducing an embedded clause (therefore glossed 'whether'; see 10.6.4.1). However, since it does not take any case marker, it is kept separate. The syntax of polar questions is treated in 10.4. Yawuru has no interrogative substitute for predicate verbs (but cf. [161] and [162] cited in 7.6.2). WH-demonstratives are unreduplicable (except in embedded clauses).⁸¹

7.6.1.2 Intonation

Interrogative sentences introduced by a WH-interrogative are generally uttered with a non-contrastive, slightly falling intonation (↘). The prominent stress usually rests upon the sentence-initial interrogative word.

It should be noted here that in actual use of the language it is more often than not the case for a speaker to mention his/her prior knowledge (or guess) in addition to a WH-interrogation. In other words, it is customary to tag a question with a likely answer as observed in the following instances. Notice that the rising intonations (indicated by the symbol ↗), mark the tagged guess of the speaker. The symbol ↘ indicates that the interrogative clauses themselves are covered by a falling intonation. Occasionally (as in [152] and [153]) the added guess may appear also in the falling tone.

[150] *Dyana buru marmarrma ↘ kadyarri ↗.*
 where land(ABS) (place.name) far
 'Where is Marmarrma? Is it far?'

[151] *Yangki-yi mi-m-bula-nda-dyina baku, ↘ nganka-yi ↗.*
 what-DAT 2-EN-come-PF-3DAT hither word-DAT
 'What did you come here for? Is there a meeting?'

[152] *Dyana-gun i-nga-rn ↘ daabi-gun ↘.*
 where-LOC 3-be-IMPF Derby-LOC
 'Where is he? Is he in Derby?'

[153] *Miliya dyan(a)-gap mi-m-bula-rn ↘ baba ↗ uum-gap ↘.*
 now where-ABL 2-EN-come-IMPF child home/E-ABL
 'Where did you come from today, my son? From your house?'

Culturally Yawuru people do not explicitly ask a question about something which s/he knows little about (and one cannot expect them to answer any question seriously unless they judge that the particular person who poses the question is in some way involved in the matter or entitled to know it). In many situations it is an

⁸¹ But cf. the idiomatic expression *yangki-bardu yangki* 'everything' described in 7.7.1.3.

etiquette to present what you already know (or at least how good a guess you can make on the matter in question) before you ask people to supply information.⁸²

Alternative questions exhibit either rising-falling pattern (as in [154]) or rising-rising pattern (as in [155]):

[154] *Yangki nganka dyalinmarr, yawru ʔ, nyigini ʔ.*
 what(ABS) word(ABS) (word) Yawuru Nyikina
 'Is *dyalinmarr* a Yawuru word or a Nyikina word?'

[155] *Yangki ngarrungu ginyangka, barr'dyarri ʔ, karimba ʔ.*
 what(ABS) person(ABS) 3(ABS) Barrjarri Garimba
 'What is his skin (i.e. marriage section)? Barrjarri or Garimba.' (see 1.1.4)

In the following sections (7.6.2 to 7.6.6), each item of the WH-interrogatives is commented on. Embedded interrogative clauses will be illustrated in 10.6.4.

7.6.2 *yangki* 'who/what/which?'

The word *yangki* [jángi] ~ [jángge] (cf. 3.5.5.1) operates either as an interrogative pronoun (as in [156]) or as an interrogative adjective (i.e. modifying a head noun, as in [157]).⁸³

[156] *Yangki i-m-bula-rn miliya*
 what(ABS); 3_i -EN-come-IMPF now
 'Who_i has arrived?' (or 'What_i has been delivered?')

[157] *Yangki maya dyunggarra (i-nga-rn).*
 which house(ABS) 2"DL(GEN) 3-be-IMPF
 'Which house is yours?'

The absolutive form may be an intransitive subject (S) as in [156] above, or a transitive object (O-function) as in [158] below.

[158] *Yangki mi-nga-ny-ngany (dyuyu-ni).*
 what(ABS); 2_j -be-IMPF-COM 2-ERG
 'What are you holding?'

The ergative form *yangki-ni* (or its contracted variant *yagani* [jáyane]) is used for transitive subjects (A-function).

[159] *Yangki-ni nyamba i-na-ka-nda-dyiya.*
 what_i -ERG this(ABS) 3_i -TR-carry-PF-2DAT
 'Who_i brought this to you?'

Quite unlike many other Australian languages the Yawuru interrogative *yangki* provides no specification as to the animacy/humanness of the referent. It stands for both 'what?' and 'who?' (though it is mechanically glossed "what" interlinearly). Ambiguity, however, rarely occurs, since the interrogative operates in the ergative-absolutive case frame. Compare the contrastive case marking in [160a/b]:

⁸² This way of asking seems to be pan-Aboriginal and relates to the sociological status of knowledge and intellectual authenticity in Aboriginal societies. See discussions in Hosokawa (1986d:164ff), Eades (1985), Briggs (1983, 1984) and Sansom (1980:79ff).

⁸³ It is not clear whether the Yawuru *yangki* has any historical relation with the widespread Pama-Nyungan *ngana-* ~ *ngaan-* ~ *wa(a)*... type interrogative/indefinite root (cf. Dixon 1980:372-374).

- [160] a. *Yangki-ni rdii + i-na-ra-nda nyamba.*
 what;-ERG break+3; -TR-AUX(spear)-PF this(ABS);
 'Who broke this?' (human agent in ergative)
- b. *Yangki rdii + i-na-ra-nda nyamba-ni.*
 what(ABS); break + 3; -TR-AUX(spear)-PF this; -ERG
 'What did this [person] break?'

In [160a] the interrogative pronoun (with the ergative inflexion) refers to the human agent of the action, while the demonstrative pronoun *nyamba* refers to the patient. In [160b], by contrast, the ergative marker goes with the demonstrative (representing the agent) leaving the interrogative (this time referring to the inanimate patient) in the absolutive form. If an explicit human-reference is needed, then the phrase *yangki ngarrungu* (lit. "which people") or its contracted form *yanggaru* [jãŋgaro] can be used. The ergative forms is *yangki-ni ngarrungu* or *yanggaru-ni*. The contracted forms are encountered more often in casual speech (cf. 3.4.5.1.(5)).

Plurality is not morphologically marked on the interrogative *yangki*. The plural form *yangki-garra* is possible (elicited) but seldom heard. There is, however, an interrogative preverb *yangarragadya* [jãŋaragãɖa] (as in [161]), which is probably derived from *yang(gi-g)arra* (plus the intensifier *-gadya*; see 5.4.2). The intensity suffix may be attached directly on the interrogative as in [162].

- [161] *Yangarra-gadya + i-nga-rn bambi.*
 what(PL)-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-IMPF long.while
 'What is he doing for such a long time!?'
- [162] *Nga-mur-murku-nda-dyiya, yangki-gadya + mi-nga-nda.*
 1-REDUP-search-PF-2DAT what-INTENS+2-AUX(be)-PF
 'I've been looking for you everywhere; what on earth were you doing?'

Dual derivations such as **yangki-rri* or **yangki-garda* are unacceptable; while *yangki-milidyarri* is possible but rare (cf. 2.4.2.3).

The pronominal *yangki* does not refer to a place. The locative interrogative *dyana* 'where' is used instead. When *yangki* does inflect for a local case, it is interpreted as indicating a continuous action in which the subject is engaged (see 6.5.4) rather than a location. Compare [163a/b] (see also [214] in 7.6.7.4):

- [163] a. *Yangki-gun mi-nga-rn.*
 what-LOC 2-be-IMPF
 'What are you doing?' (lit. "what are you in?")
- b. *Dyana mi-nga-rn.*
 where 2-be-IMPF
 'Where are you?'

There are of course cases where the interrogative *yangki* is a modifier of (i.e. dependent on) a noun (i.e. the head of an NP) and that NP is inflected for a local case. Then the preceding modifier *yangki* takes up the local case marker on behalf of the head noun (i.e. non-inherent inflexion — see 2.5.2.3).

- [164] *Yangki-gun rumarra nga-ng-ga-rda.*
 what-LOC sun(LOC) 1-EN-FUT-go
 'When shall I start?' (lit. "in which day shall I go")
- [165] *Yangki-ngarn duwa inga-rr-gardi-nda.*
 what-ALLAT store/E(ALLAT) 3"-AGM-enter-PF
 'Which shop did they go into?'

As with the instrumental case of common nominals (6.8), *-barri* conveys either instrumental (inanimate; 6.8.3) or comitative meaning, the latter being either animate-comitative (together with somebody; 6.8.1) or inanimate-comitative (together with something, carrying something; 6.8.2). Examples of each are given below:

- [166] *Yangki-barri ngalal + mi-na-ma-nda nyamba.*
 what-INST open+2-TR-AUX(put)-PF this(ABS)
 'What did you use to open this?' <instrumental>
- [167] *Yangki-barri nganka i-m-bula-rn.*
 what-INST word(INST) 3-EN-come-IMPF
 'What message has he brought?' <inanimate-comitative>
- [168] *Yangki-barri i-rndira-nda ginyangka.*
 what_i-INST 3_j-go-PF 3(ABS)_j
 'With whom_i did he_j go?' <animate-comitative>

Theoretically [168] may also mean 'what did he bring' (inanimate-comitative reading) since the interrogative *yangki* is by itself unspecified as to the animacy of the referent. In most cases, however, as generally with the use of the instrumental marker, it is clear from the context whether the instrumental reading or the comitative reading applies.

The dative inflexion *yangki-yi* usually bears a purposive meaning 'why?, what for?', whereas the causal *yangki-nyurdany* asks about the reason of an action or a state of affairs.

- [169] *Yangki-yi mi-ny-dyali-rn miliya.*
 what-DAT 2-EN-return-IMPF now
 'Why have you come back this time?' (i.e. 'what for ...')
- [170] *Yangki-nyurdany ku-rry-dyali-nda ngurdirn.*
 what-CAUS 2"-AGM-return-PF alone
 'Why did you (PL) come back by yourselves?'

Since the dative inflexion may bear a possessive meaning (although it is relatively less common than the purposive use), it sometimes can create an ambiguity. Thus, for example, sentence [171] may be interpreted either as 'whose hat is this?' (lit. "to whom is this hat?"; possessive reading) or as 'what is this hat for?' (purposive reading).

- [171] *Yangki-yi nyamba marrkirdi.*
 what/who-DAT this hat(ABS)

Attachment of the semblative *-ngarr* (8.4.5.1) on *yangki* yields a contracted form *yangngarr* [jɑŋ:ɑr] 'like what?; how?' (< **yangki-ngarr*).⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Also recorded is a vowel-ending variant *yangngarru* (see footnote 81 in Chapter 8).

- [172] *Yang-ngarr dyurru kamba karlbirna.*
 what-like worm(ABS) that k/o.insect(ABS)
 'What kind of insect is *karlbirna*?' (see 2.4.4 for the generic noun *dyurru*).

Finally, the WH-interrogative *yangki* can be used in an exclamatory expression:

- [173] *Yangki dyirril dyina kamba-yi dyabani ...*
 what(ABS) strength(ABS) 3(GEN) that-DAT Japanese(DAT)
 'What strength the Japanese showed!'⁸⁵

It should be noted that the exclamatory use is not recorded with the interrogative *dyanala* 'how?'.
 .

7.6.3 *bana* 'when?'

This sets the focus of the question to the temporal specification (in relation to the speech moment) of the event.

- [174] *Bana mi-na-bura-nda ginyangka wamba.*
 when 2-TR-see-PF 3(ABS) man(ABS)
 'When did you see the man?'
- [175] *Bana nga-rndira yinydya daabi-ngarn*
 when 2FUT-go thither Derby-ALLAT
 'When are you going to Derby?'

Bana is usually used without further affixation. An ablative form *bana-gap* 'from when?' was elicited from several informants, but not attested in natural speech. A Yawuru would ask 'when did he come?' rather than 'from when he is here?'. Similarly, there is no declined form of *bana* to indicate the notion of 'until when?'. It is a cultural practice for the Yawuru people not to utter this type of question. If, however, it must be asked (perhaps to a third person), a Yawuru would say 'when will he go?' or 'how many moons (i.e. fortnights) will he stay?', rather than 'until when will he stay?'.
 .

Unlike the time interrogative in European languages, *bana* is not used as a conjunction, either for temporal sequentiality or for conditional modality.

7.6.4 *dyana* 'where?'

This is the interrogative of place, 'where?'⁸⁶ It mostly occurs with one of the local case markers: locative, allative or ablative. Examples with the locative *-gun* include:

- [176] *Dyana-gun inga-rry-dyi-n dyalbi.*
 where-LOC 3"-AGM-be-IMPF camp
 'Where are they staying?'

⁸⁵ This passage is taken from a *dyabi* song dealing with the Japanese air raid. See footnote 49 and examples [69] and [231] in this chapter.

⁸⁶ There is a homonymous word *dyana* 'carrying something/somebody on one's back' (i.e. "piggy back"), which is an adverb of posture and also a preverb (combining with the auxiliary *ka*). Apparently no semantic connection exists between this and the WH-interrogative of location.

- [177] *Dyana-gun narli mulkula-gadya + i-nga-rn wuba dyanu.*
 where-LOC true work-INTENS+3_i-AUX(be)-IMPF child(ABS); 1(GEN)
 'Where on earth is my daughter working?'

It may occur uninflected, particularly in verbless sentences (10.5):

- [178] *Dyana buru dyirrayirr.*
 where land(ABS) 3^{PL}(GEN)
 'Where are they from?' (lit. 'where [is] their land?')
- [179] *Dyana niminy dyiya.*
 where eye(ABS) 2(GEN)
 'You should be more careful.' (lit. 'where [is] your eye?')

It seems, however, that the locative marker *-gun* is required unless the location in question is of a permanent nature (as in [178] and [179]). The uninflected form *dyana* does not occur in embedded questions (10.6.4.2).

Dyana has two unexpected allative forms instead of the normally expected allative **dyanangarn*. One is *dyanadi* 'where to?, whither?'. This is the only case where the usual allative marker *-ngarn* is replaced by the suffix *-di*.⁸⁷ Examples of the allative form in question include the most common greeting phrase of Yawuru:

- [180] Q: *Dyana-di mi-rndira-rn.* 'Which way are you going?'
 where-ALLAT 2-go-IMPF
- A: *Yibu nga-ng-ga-rda.* 'I'm just going for nothing.' (see 8.4.4.2)
 "lazy" 1-EN-FUT-go

The other unexpected allative form is *dyana-la*, of which the *-la* element can be related to the directional-allative *-layin* (8.3.1). While the *-di* suffix implies an actual movement towards the focus of the question, *dyana-la* simply asks about the direction (typically a cardinal direction from the point of the conversation) without any implication of movement in that direction.

- [181] *Dyana-la wangkurrmirdana, kagap-layin k'a.*
 where-DIR (place name) thither-DIR Q/TAG
 'Which way is "No.13 Bore"? This way, is it?'

The common allative form *dyana-ngarn* takes place only as a result of non-inherent inflexion (2.5.2.3). In other words, the suffixes *-di* and *-la* do not occur as NP inflexions.

- [182] *Dyana-ngarn buru yang-ga-rr-garnda kadyarri-ngarn buru ʔ,*
 where-ALLAT land(ALLAT) 1^{FUT}-AGM-go far-ALLAT land(ALLAT)
lani-ngarn buru ʔ.
 near-ALLAT land(ALLAT)
 'How far do we (EXCL) have to go? To a far place or just near-by?'

Examples of the ablative inflexion of *dyana* follow:

- [183] *Dyana-gap wada inga-rr-a-bi-rn ʔ, gulwayi ʔ.*
 where-ABL water/E(ABS) 3ⁱ-AGM-TR-drink-IMPF (place name)
 'Where do the cattle; get water from? Maybe at Goldwyer Well?'

⁸⁷ The *-di* allative is not encountered elsewhere in the current corpus of Yawuru. The final syllable of the verb root *dyaladi* 'return, come back' (Vi, IIa) might be related.

- [184] *Dyana-gap mi-m-bula-rn-gadya inga-rr-a-dyiba-nda-ngayu.*
 where-ABL 2_i-EN-come-IMP-QUOTE 3"-AGM-TR-ask-PF-1ACC_i
 'Where do you_i come from?', they questioned me_i.⁸⁸

Also encountered is the causal inflexion *dyana-nyurdany*, which seems to bear an emphatic tone in comparison with the ablative *dyana-gap*:

- [185] *Dyana-nyurdany karda inga-rr-a-nya-nd.*
 where-CAUS yonder 3"-AGM-TR-catch-PF
 'Where on earth did they get it from?'
- [186] *Wanangarri wal-a-ø-ngayu-gadya mi-ny-dyu-n, dyana-nyurdany.*
 stone(ABS) 2_i-TR-give-1ACC_j-QUOTE 2_j-EN-say-IMP-QUOTE where-CAUS
 'You_j ask me_i to give you_j money, but where can I_i get that money?'

Finally, we have *dyanangarru*, which can be analysed as being composed of *dyana* plus the semblative *-ngarru* (= *-ngarr*, 8.4.5.1). The meaning, however, is non-local.

- [187] *Dyana-ngarru nyamba ↓, liktik-wan ↓.*⁸⁹
 where-like this(ABS) electric-one/E
 'What kind (of apparatus) is this? Perhaps an electric one?'

The meaning of this particular derivation is interesting because here the local interrogative *dyana* semantically gets closer to the non-local interrogative *dyanala*, the next item of the WH-interrogatives to be examined immediately below.

7.65 *dyanala* 'how?'

Dyanala is an interrogative adverb that refers to the manner or mode of an action. It almost always appears with the intensifier *-gadya*. The resultant form *dyanalagadya* is translated by informants casually as "what kind?", a local English expression for 'how (are things going)'.⁹⁰ Examples follow:

- [188] *Dyanala-gadya kalbu nga-ng-ga-rda nyamba-gun yawarda.*
 how-INTENS above 1-EN-FUT-go this-LOC horse(LOC)
 'How can I ride this horse?' (informant's translation: "I never know what kind ride-im this horse.")
- [189] *Dyanala-gadya inga-rry-dyi-nda karda-gun.*
 how-INTENS 3"-AGM-be-PF yonder-LOC
 'How did things go with them there?'

The manner interrogative typically occurs in combination with the verb *dyu* 'say':

- [190] *Dyanala wa-na-ng-ga-dyu miliya.*
 how 3"-TR-EN-FUT-say now
 'What would he say now?'

⁸⁸ The alternative-prefixing verb *dyiba* here reveals its A-conjugation; cf. discussion in 4.8.2.2.

⁸⁹ In this sentence the added guess does not take rising intonation (cf. 7.6.1.2).

⁹⁰ The item *dyanala* could be interpreted as derived from *dyana* 'where' (its directional allative form *dyana-la*; see [181] in 7.6.4). However, *dyanala* has a distinct, non-local meaning. Although the local item *dyana-la* and the non-local item *dyanala* are phonologically the same, I have chosen to treat them as different lexical items. The intensifier *-gadya* has not been found to accompany the local item *dyana-la*. It is possible that the non-local interrogative *dyanala* is related to the Pitjantjatjara preverb *tjanala(-nanyi)* 'ask' (Platt 1976b:671; see footnote 72 in Chapter 5).

- [191] *Dyanala-gadya k*aw + i-ny-dyu-n kamba nganydyu.*
 how-INTENS call+3_i-AUX(be)-IMPF that girl(ABS)_i
 'What is that girl calling out?'

It should be noted that, unlike the English translations provided, *dyanala* in [190] and *dyanalagadya* in [191] cannot be replaced by the non-adverb interrogative *yangki* 'what' (or by its intensified form *yangkigadya*).

Dyanala(gadya) is more commonly encountered in embedded interrogative clauses (see 10.6.4.2 for examples).

7.6.6 *nganydya* 'how many?'

This quantifier interrogative refers to countable entities.

- [192] *Nganydya ngarrungu ku-rr-bula-nda.*
 how.many people(ABS) 2"-AGM-come-PF
 'How many of you came?'
- [193] *Nganydya-barri ngarrungu (wa-rr-garnda).*
 how.many-INST people(INST) 2"FUT-AGM-go
 'With how many people (are you going)?'

Uncountable entities (mass nouns) are not covered by *nganydya*. It is interesting because there is no distinction between count nouns and mass nouns elsewhere in Yawuru grammar. A quantity of a mass entity may be asked about in such a way as in the following:

- [194] *Ngadyi manydya wula dyimbin i-nga-rn, buru-gun.*
 whether many water(ABS)_i inside 3_i-be-IMPF land-LOC
 'Is there much water in the soak?' (asking how much water could be obtained from the soak)

Remember that the adjective *manydya* can modify either a count noun ('many people') or a mass noun ('much water'). Thus the strategy for asking 'is there many ...?' is applicable to countable entities as well.⁹¹ Actually we encounter examples of the question sentences where the interrogative *nganydya* and the adjective *manydya* co-occur.

- [195] *Nganydya ku-rr-bula-nda manydya* .⁹²
 how.many 2"-AGM-come-PF many
 'How many of you came?'
- [196] *Nganydya manydya inga-rr-a-nya-nda baku.*
 how.many many 3"-AGM-TR-catch-PF hither
 'How many [bottles of soft drink] did they bring in?'

The WH-interrogative *nganydya* may carry the quantificational *-ngal* (8.2.2.1): *ngnaydya-ngal* 'how many times', as in

⁹¹ Possibly, the word form *nganydya* might have resulted from phonological contraction of the phrase *ngadyi manydya*.

⁹² It should be noted that the intonation of the question remains falling. If *manydya* in [195] had been simply an added guess, then it would have been said with rising intonation (see 7.6.1; but cf. footnote 89 above).

- [197] *Nganydya-ngal ku-rr-a-ma-nda.*
 how.many-times 2"-AGM-TR-put-PF
 'How many times did you try?'

It can also be used as independent pronominal as in:

- [198] *Nganydya-yi mi-ny-dyu-n.*
 how.many-DAT 2-EN-say-IMPF
 'How many do you want?'⁹³

7.6.7 Further comments on the WH-interrogatives

7.6.7.1 Word order

As already noted the five interrogatives discussed above regularly occupy the initial position in question sentences. This is one of the few word order restrictions in Yawuru. The restriction also applies to the phrasal interrogative *yangki(-ni) ngarrungu* 'who?', of which no case of phrasal discontinuity has been observed.

Sporadic cases have been recorded, however, where the interrogative word occupies a non-initial position.⁹⁴

- [199] *Yawarda-ni yangki i-na-bura-rn.*
 horse-ERG what(ABS) 3-TR-see-IMPF
 'What is the horse looking at?'
- [200] *Larrp + i-ny-dyu-n-dyayrda wirdu(-ni)⁹⁵ wula,*
 sweep+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF-12"DAT big(-ERG) water(ERG)
manydya balu dyana-la i-na-ka-rn.
 many tree(ABS) where-DIR 3-TR-carry-IMPF
 'We had a big flood. I wonder where all those trees have been carried away to.'

7.6.7.2 Ellipsis of the finite verb

As observed in many of the examples presented so far, ellipsis of the verb *ni* 'be' is commonplace in Yawuru interrogative sentences. When used this verb serves as a copulative predicate in questions with *yangki* (what is X) and as an existential predicate in those with *dyana* (where is X).

- [201] *Yangki-yi nyamba bubu (i-nga-rn).*
 what-DAT this flower 3-be-IMPF
 'What flower [is] this? (asking the plant name)'
- [202] *Dyana bibi dyiya (i-nga-rn).*
 where mother 2(GEN) 3-be-IMPF
 'Where [is] your mummy?'

The verb 'go' is also often left out in question sentences with the allative interrogative *dyanadi*:

⁹³ See 10.1.4.4.(1) and 10.6.3.2.(3) for the use of the verb 'say' combined with the dative compliment encoding a desire.

⁹⁴ See Tsunoda (forthcoming) for a discussion on issues concerning the non-initial interrogative words in Australian languages (with special reference to Warrungu).

⁹⁵ Sentence [200] was first recorded without the ergative suffix; it was later corrected by the same informant.

- [203] *Dyana-di kurgarda (ku-rr-garnda).*
 where-ALLAT 2"DL(ABS) 2"-AGM-go
 'Whither [are] you two [going]?'

As in the above examples, it is generally easy to retrieve the omitted verb, which is generally in the imperfective aspectuality (4.3.4, cf. 10.5.1).

7.6.7.3 The clitic *-marda*

The uncertainty-marking clitic *-marda* (8.5.3.3) may be added to a WH-interrogative. This enclitic reinforces the indefiniteness of the reference, but at the same time it tends to weaken the speech act of interrogation. The enclitic indicates that the speaker may not necessarily be seeking an answer, but simply expressing his/her lack of knowledge (and probably a lack of immediate interest in the subject of discussion). As a matter of fact, people usually don't answer questions made with *-marda*.

- [204] *Dyana-di-marda i-rndira-rn.*
 where-ALLAT-perhaps 3-go-IMPF
 'I just wonder where he has gone'
 (informant's translation: "No sabe where he bin go.")
- [205] *Dyana-gun-marda inga-rry-dyi-n dyalbi.*
 where-LOC-perhaps 3"-AGM-be-IMPF camp(ABS)
 'I don't know where they are camping.' (I don't care.)
- [206] *Nganydya-marda wula dyimbin wa-ng-ga-ni.*
 how.many-perhaps rain(ABS) inside 3-EN-FUT-be
 'I don't know how many years (lit. "wet seasons") he will have to stay in gaol.' ("inside" often means gaol or police lock-up — see 8.3.4.3.(1))
- [207] *Yangki-marda i-na-maku-makura-rn dyimbin.*
 what-perhaps 3-TR-REDUP-make-IMPF inside
 'I don't know what he is doing inside (i.e. cooped up in his hut).'

As to the local interrogative, *-marda* cannot occur directly with *dyana*. It can only do so after the locative case marker *-gun* has been added (i.e. *dyana-gun-marda*, rather than **dyana-marda*). No instances of *bana-marda* and *dyanala-marda* have been encountered.

7.6.7.4 *karri burrakan*

The idiomatic phrase *karri burrakan* [kariburágan] 'it is not known; one doesn't know' occurs commonly in combination with a WH-interrogative. The word *burrakan* may be omitted.

- [208] *Karri burrakan yangki i-ny-dyalku-nda baybirra-gap.*
 don't know what(ABS) 3-EN-fall-PF behind-ABL
 'We didn't notice what fell off the rear (of the truck).'
- [209] *Yibu yaga-rr-a-ngurlika-nda, karri burrakan dyanala-gadya narli.*
 "lazy" 12"-AGM-TR-wait-PF don't know how-INTENS true
 'We've been kept waiting just for nothing;⁹⁶ we are not told what is really going on.'

⁹⁶ See 8.4.4.2 for the use of the adverb *yibu* "lazy".

- [210] *Karri dyana-di i-rndira-rn.*
 don't know where-ALLAT 3-go-IMPF
 'Nobody knows where he is going.'
- [211] *Karri bana nga-ng-ga-rda.*
 don't know when 1-EN-FUT-go
 'I'm not sure when I should go.'

The word *karri* (or the phrase *karri burrakan*) in most cases occupies the initial position in the clause (except in reported speech).⁹⁷ Occasionally, however, it may follow the interrogative clause.

- [212] *Dyanala-gadya mi-ny-dyu-n karri burrakan.*
 how-INTENS 2-EN-say-IMPF don't know
 'I can hardly imagine what you would say!'
- [213] *I-na-marda-rn dyana-gun-marda karri burrakan.*
 3-TR-hide-IMPF where-LOC-perhaps don't know
 'Where he hid it, nobody knows.'

The *karri* + WH construction may further be attenuated by addition of the uncertainty marker.

- [214] *Karri yangki-gun-marda i-nga-rn.*
 don't know what-LOC-perhaps 3-be-IMPF
 'I don't know what he is doing.' (I don't care.)
- [215] *Wanangarri i-na-kalbanya-nda, karri dyana-gun-marda.*
 stone(ABS) 3-TR-lose-PF don't know where-LOC-perhaps
 'He's lost his money; he doesn't know where he dropped it.'

The phrase *karri burrakan* can be replaced by the negative predicate verb *marlu nga-na-la(ng)ka-rn* (not 1-TR-know-IMPF) 'I don't know', although the actual use of the latter is rare. The possibility of the replacement, however, indicates that the idiomatic predicate *karri burrakan* more or less bears a realis modality, an imperfective aspect and a perspective of the speaker.

The word *karri* probably shares the stem with the indefinite demonstrative deictic *karri-gun* (7.5.2.2.(4); also see 7.7.3 for examples referring to an unknown/indefinite locality). The word *burrakan* has an unknown etymology. It occurs in this idiomatic predicate phrase only. The irregular stressing upon its second syllable is to be noted.

7.7 Indefinite pronouns

Yawuru is rather unusual among Australian languages in that it has two indefinite pronouns distinct from the interrogative pronouns. This is in addition to the unusual feature we have already pointed out above that the language shows no formal human/non-human distinction in the interrogative pronoun, *yangki* 'who/what'.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ The single word *karri* may be used as an interjection, 'I don't know!, Nobody knows!' (roughly equivalent to Broome Aboriginal English expression "no sabe").

⁹⁸ Yukulta is another Australian language that reveals such combination of unusualness (Dixon 1980:277; Keen 1983:201, 243)

The two indefinite pronouns, *warany* and *dyarrun*, will be briefly illustrated in 7.7.1. The two also provide stems from which to derive further expressions of indefiniteness referring to time, location or quantity. Those are commented on in 7.7.2. and 7.7.3. For the sake of convenience, other (non-pronominal) expressions of indefiniteness are also commented on under the relevant section.

7.7.1 Expressions of indefinite entity

7.7.1.1 *warany*

(1) Pronominal and non-pronominal use

The word *warany* [óɪaŋ] ~ [wóɪaŋ] 'other'⁹⁹ may serve as a pronoun referring to an indefinite entity (someone, something), without a specification of animacy or number (though singular reference seems more common). The phrase *warany ngarrungu* is used if the human reference needs to be made clear (*ngarrungu* 'person'). As long as the phrasal continuity is maintained, the word order may be reversed: *ngarrungu warany*.¹⁰⁰

- [216] *Warany i-m-bula-nda baybirra-gap.*
 other(ABS) 3-EN-come-PF behind-ABL
 'Somebody came behind us.'

Warany can also be a modifier to a noun. In the example that follows, the object NP *warany yila* (specific but indefinite) is contrasted with the agent NP with the determiner-demonstrative indicating its definiteness.

- [217] *Kamba-ni yila i-na-burnna-rn-ginyan¹⁰¹ warany yila.*
 that-ERG dog(ERG); 3_i-TR-bite-IMPF-3ACC; other dog(ABS);
 'The dog_i bites another dog_j.'

Similar instances include:

- [218] *Nyamba bina, miyul warany.*
 this k/olarva mangrove.worm other
 'This [is] *bina* worm, mangrove worm [is] different.'
- [219] *I-ny-dyardi-rn-dyina dyangkurr i-na-ma-rn-dyina warany, wa-ng-ga-rda.*
 3-EN-skin-IMPF-3DAT cloth(ABS) 3-EN-put-IMPF-3DAT other 3-EN-FUT-go
 'She is changing her clothes, (as) she is going out.'
 (lit. she takes her cloth off and puts another on)

(2) Derivations

Obviously, *warany* provides the root for the numeral *waranydyarri* 'one' (2.2.3).¹⁰² Interestingly, two forms of frequency quantifiers are differentiated:

waranydyarri-ngal 'once, altogether, at one time'
warany-ngal 'several times' (see 8.2.2.1).

⁹⁹ It could be compared with the suffix *-gariny* (after a consonant) / *-wariny* (after a vowel) 'another, other, different' in Djaru (Tsunoda p.c.).

¹⁰⁰ It should also be noted that the generic noun *ngarrungu* 'person' itself can express an indefinite human subject or object. This is similar to the use of the noun *Man* in German.

¹⁰¹ 3ACC *-ginyan* is a variant of *-ginya* (see 7.3.1.1 and footnote 31 there).

¹⁰² cf. example [30] given in 5.5.3.3.

The latter indicates an indefinite frequency. Notice, in the next example, that the numeric form *waranydyarri* refers to an indefinite number of people:

- [220] *Waranydyarri-ni maldyu-gun wa-na-ga-ma, dyuyu-ni rurrp baybirra.*
 other_i-ERG play-LOC 3_i-TR-FUT-put 2-ERG in.turn behind
 'Let others; put it (the toy) in play (i.e. play with it) first. Your turn will come later.'

The lative form *warany-gardi* (but **waranydyarri-gardi*) usually involve vagueness (which is an aspect of indefiniteness).

- [221] *Warany-gardi nimirdi gulal.*
 other-side lower.leg(ABS) slack (i.e. paralysed)
 '[His] leg got paralysed.' (vague as to which leg)
- [221A] *Wayurr+waldyu, mayi warany-gardi i-ny-dyalku-rn buru warany-gardi.*
 winnow+2FUT-AUX seed other_i -side 3-EN-fall-IMPf dust other_i -side
 'Winnow it and the seeds will fall on one side and the dust on the other.'

Also derived from *warany* is the sentence adverb *warany-bardu* 'also, too' (see example [35] in Chapter 8).

7.7.1.2 *dyarrun*

This word *dyarrun* [ɖáron] indicates an indefinite, small quantity. We thus gloss it 'some'.

- [222] *Ngayu-ni nga-na-miri-n-irr k*aliya dyarrun mi-na-ngari-n-irr dyuyu-ni.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-finish-IMPf-3"ACC finish some(ABS) 2-TR-leave-IMPf-3"ACC 2-ERG
 'I've finished all (i.e. eaten up), but you have left some (of the meal).'
- [223] *Dyarrun wal-a-ø-ngayu, marlu manydya.*
 some(ABS) 2FUT-TR-give-1ACC not many(ABS)
 'Give me some, not many.'
- [224] *Dyarrun i-ny-dyalku-rn manydya-nyurdany.*
 some(ABS) 3-EN-fall-IMPf many-CAUS
 'Some fell off, because too many (were in the basket).'

Usually *dyarrun* refers to inanimate things. When it is used as a modifier to some other noun, it may have animate or human reference.

- [225] *Nga-murku-rn-dyirra dyarrun-dyi ngarrungu.*
 1-search-IMPf-3"DAT_i some-DAT people(DAT)_i
 'I'm looking for some (other) people.'
- [226] *Dyarrun-ngany ngarrung-garra warany-gun larar inga-rry-dyi-n*
 some-COM people_i-PL(ABS) other-LOC waterhole(ABS) 3"_i-AGM-be-IMPf
 'Anther mob are staying around a waterhole somewhere over there.'

7.7.1.3 *yangki-bardu yangki*

Unlike the apparent majority of Australian languages, Yawuru WH-interrogative words may not be used as indefinite pronouns ('someone', 'something') or adverbs ('somewhere', 'some time', etc.).¹⁰³ The only exception to

¹⁰³ In most Australian languages, interrogative pronouns/adverbs serve also as indefinite pronouns/adverbs. Instances are reported from Guugu-Yimidhurr (Haviland 1979a:69-71), Gumbaynggir (Eades 1979:290), Yolngu (Morphy 1983:55f), Uradhi (Crowley 1983:357-359), Warlpiri (Nash 1985:236f), Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:63), Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980:148) and many others.

this would be the idiomatic phrase *yangki-bardu yangki*. The phrase means 'everything, anything' and its referent is usually indefinite (and non-specific).¹⁰⁴

- [227] *K*awity i-na-nya-rn-ngany-yadiri yangki-bardu yangki.*
 quick 3-TR-catch-IMPF-COM-12"ACC what(ABS)-still what(ABS)
 'He (always) acts quickly and helps us with everything.'¹⁰⁵

7.7.2 Indefinite temporality

The combination of the locative form of *warany* with the noun *rumarra* 'sun' (i.e. the locative inflexion of the NP *warany rumarra*) renders an adverb phrase indicating an indefinite time.

- [228] *Nyanigarra warany-gun rumarra nga-ng-ga-rda.*
 perhaps some-LOC sun(LOC) 1-EN-FUT-go
 'I might go [there] someday (though I'm not sure when).'

which may be paraphrased as follows (cf. [164]):

- [228'] *Karri yangki-gun rumarra nga-ng-ga-rda.*
 don't know what-LOC day(LOC) 1-EN-FUT-go
 'I'm not sure when I'll go.'

Other instances of indefinite temporal reference by locative NP inflexion involving *warany* include:

- [229] *Warany-gun madyil nga-na-bura-nda kamba.*
 other-LOC yesterday 1-TR-see-PF that(ABS)
 'I saw that a few days ago.'
- [230] *Marlu nyamba-gun kirridiny, warany-gun (kirridiny)*
 not this-LOC moon(LOC) other-LOC moon(LOC)
 'Not this month, but later sometime.'

Notice in [229] that, although the word *madyil* means 'yesterday' (definite) by itself, the phrase *warany-gun madyil* only vaguely specifies the time (indefinite; but not very long ago). Similarly in [230] *warany-gun kirridiny* may indicate the following month or some other time later on.

There are a few other adverbs that express indefinite or non-specific time, such as *mangara* 'all the time, at any time' and *dyarriny ngurru* 'always' (cf. 8.2.2.2):

¹⁰⁴ The enclitic *-bardu* 'still' (8.2.1.2) may combine repeated nouns into a phrase [N_1 -*bardu* + N_1], meaning 'all the N_1 '. For instance:

- (i) *Mayi-bardu mayi i-na-nya-n-irr balu-nyurdan kamba-rri-ni dyarn'du.*
 fruit(ABS)-still fruit(ABS) 3-TR-catch-IMPF-3"ACC tree-CAUS this-DL-ERG woman(ERG)
 'These two women (know very well how to) gather every kind of bush fruit.'
- (ii) *Gil + i-na-nya-n-irr balu-bardu balu.*
 cut+3-TR-catch-IMPF-3ACC wood(ABS)-still wood(ABS)
 'He cut down all the trees.'

[N_1 -*bardu* + N_1] can be paraphrased as [*kangadyunu* + N_1 -*garra*] (cf. 7.1.3.1.(3) and 2.4.2.2): e.g. *balu-bardu bardu* = *kangadyunu balu-garra*. Also see 10.6.6.1 for another mode of phrase-level coordination (namely, [N_1 -*yirr* N_2]).

¹⁰⁵ See 4.7.2.2 for the idiomatic meaning 'help' of the comitative verb *nya +ngany*.

7.7.3 Indefinite locality

Neither *dyarrun* nor *warany* inflects for a local case when they are in the independent pronominal status. Locative inflexions of these indefinite indicators are observed only when an indefinite NP (in which *dyarrun* or *warany* modifies the head noun) is case-marked for the locative (see examples [226], [228], [229] and [230] above).

Although instances are few, the locative demonstrative *nyarri-gun* [ɲáregùn] 'somewhere around here' (proximal indefinite; see 7.5.2.2.(4)) indicates an indefinite (only vaguely specified) locality.

- [231] *Inga-rr-a-balu-n-irr* *dyitti, nyarri-gun* *inga-rr-a-balu-n-irr.*
 3"-AGM-TR-hit-IMPF-3"ACC jetty/E this(INDEF)-LOC 3"-AGM-TR-hit-IMPF-3"ACC
 'They bombed [and hit the people] around the jetty area. They bombed around here.' (from an account of the Japanese air raid on Broome in 1942; see footnote 49 in this chapter).

The non-proximal counterpart *karri-gun* 'somewhere' (distal indefinite; see 7.5.2.2.(4)) indicates an unknown locality.

- [232] *Karri-gun* *inga-rr-a-marda-nda, dyana-gun-marda* *inga-rr-a-ma-nda.*
 that(INDEF)-LOC 3"-AGM-TR-hide-PF where-LOC-perhaps 3"-AGM-TR-put-PF
 'They hid it somewhere. Nobody knows where it is.'

In the next example, unknown/indefinite locality is emphatically expressed by the idiomatic phrase *karri burrákan* 'we don't know; nobody knows' (see 7.6.7.4) and the embedded interrogative deictic *dyana-gun*.

- [233] *Karri burrákan* *dyip + i-ny-dyu-n* *wanangarri dyana-gun.*
 don't know fall+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF stone(ABS) where-LOC
 'It is not known where his money fell out (of his pocket).'

The intensified demonstrative *nyangadyunu* (7.5.2.2.(6)) may take the locative marker to indicate an unlimited (and therefore indefinite) locality: *nyangadyunugun* 'everywhere, anywhere'.

It should be pointed out that the interrogative deictic items carrying the uncertainty marker *-marda* (such as *dyana-di-marda* and *dyana-gun-marda* mentioned in 7.6.7.3) virtually express the notion of unknown (therefore indefinite) locality.

The time adverb *wangnga* 'for the first time' (see 8.2.2.3) also has a connotation of indefinite locality ('from unknown somewhere') as regards the topic entity.

Chapter 8: Adverbs

This chapter deals with adverbs (including adverb phrases) in Yawuru. Adverbs are treated as functional types of words, rather than a morphological class of stems. In other words, lexical items discussed in this chapter scarcely form a single part-of-speech, or word class (8.1.1.1). The chapter, however, does not cover all of the adverbial expressions in the language. Those already described in some detail earlier in this thesis are spatial/temporal deictics derived from demonstratives (7.5), case inflexions of common nominals (6.5 to 6.11; also 6.3.5). Several types of adverbial clauses will be illustrated later in the syntax chapter (10.6). This chapter is chiefly concerned with lexical adverbs and their morpho-semantic expansions, although several types of morphologically derived adverbs are also commented on (8.2.1.2, 8.3.5 and 8.4.5).

8.1 General remarks

8.1.1 Morphological characteristics

8.1.1.1 Word-class status of adverbs

From a functional point of view, adverbs have been defined broadly as "modifiers of constituents other than nouns" (Schachter 1985:20). By morphological criteria, lexical items that can fulfill this function in Yawuru sentences often belong to word classes other than adverbs: namely, nominals and particles (see 2.2.1). There are quite a few words that are multifunctional: they can function as an adverb, an adjective and/or a noun, according to the syntactic environment in which they occur. They occur in the same word forms with different grammatical functions. (Some of the typical cases are illustrated in 8.1.2.)

Apart from the nominals playing the role of adverbs by virtue of being inflected for case and/or carrying post-inflexional clitics, Yawuru lexical adverbs are so-called "flat adverbs", i.e. they carry no morphological marker which explicitly shows their status as adverbs.

8.1.1.2 Uninflecting adverbs

There are several mono-morphemic lexical items which take no inflexions or derivations and which are used as adverbs only. These are thus the only true adverbs in Yawuru. They represent a form class as well as a functional class. They include among others:

<i>wangnga</i>	'for the first time' (8.2.2.3)
<i>rurrrp</i>	'in turn' (8.2.2.1)
<i>bulu</i>	'almost, nearly' (8.5.1.3)
<i>mangara</i>	'for ever' (8.2.2.4)
<i>kalkudyi</i>	'rightly, just' (8.4.2.1)
<i>ralakura</i>	'around' (8.4.2.3)
<i>ngurdirn</i>	'alone' (8.4.4.1)

Although their positions within sentences are to some extent variable, each of them shows a certain word-order tendency, particularly in relation to finite verbs (see 8.2.2.4.(1), for example). Some of the uninflecting adverbs, for example, typically occur as preverbs (e.g. *rurrrp* in the list above).

Some other uninflecting adverbs, such as *k*ayn* (8.5.2) and *k'a(a)* (8.5.3; 10.4.2), are regarded as particles, since they cannot be uttered or recognised as a legitimate word in isolation and their position in the sentences is highly restricted.

8.1.1.3 Inflecting adverbs.

There are words which are used only as adverbs, but which take inflexional markers and/or derivational suffixes. These are termed "inflecting adverbs" and include among others:

<i>miliya</i>	'now' (8.2.1)
<i>wanydyi</i>	'soon, later' (8.2.1)
<i>bambi</i>	'for a long time'..... (8.2.2)
<i>yinydya</i>	'thither; going'..... (8.3.3.1)
<i>lulydyu</i>	'upside down' (8.4.1)
<i>dyunku</i>	'running' (8.4.2.3)

Inflecting adverbs are morphologically much more like nouns than like verbs: adverbs may carry case markers and nominal derivational suffixes, but no verbal suffixes or prefixes,¹ although there are a few suffixes peculiar to adverbial stems, such as *-nyarrá* (8.2.1.1.(5)), *-layin* and *-gaman* (8.3.1).

Degree of comparison of adverbs (such as comparative and superlative in European languages) is not encoded derivationally. Intensification of adverbial meaning is realised either by preposing the emphasiser *naarli* 'true/truly' to an adverb:²

<i>naarli k*awity</i>	'very quickly'
<i>naarli bambi</i>	'for quite a long while'
<i>naarli dyimbin</i>	'deep inside' or 'deep underground'

or by reduplication (9.2.7).

¹ Some of the inflecting adverbs are also encountered as preverbs: e.g., *yinydya* and *dyunku* among the items given above; see 5.4.

² This is also the usual manner of intensifying an adjective: e.g. *wirdu* 'big', *naarli wirdu* 'very big'; cf. footnote 79 in this chapter.

8.1.2 Multifunctionality

8.1.2.1 Noun/adverb

The word *dyirril* refers as a noun to physical strength, loudness (of a sound/voice) or intensity of an action. It can be used adverbially without taking any inflexion.

- [1] *Dyirril i-mirdibi-rn marduwarra.*
 strong 3-run.away-IMPF river(ABS)
 'The river has a rapid current.' (referring to the Fitzroy River in the flood season)
- [2] *Dyirril wal-a-bilka kamba dyalangardi narli.*
 strong 2FUT-TR-hit that goanna(ABS) true
 '(lit.) Hit the goanna pretty hard.' (i.e. grasp the tail and smash its head against the rock)

To modify other nouns, however, *dyirril* has to take the comitative marker *-ngany* (6.10). Flat adjectival use such as in **dyirril wamba* (?strong man) is unacceptable.³

8.1.2.2 Adjective/adverb

(1) Problem of interpretation

There are also words that can function either adverbially or adjectivally in the same form.⁴ A typical example is *manydya* 'many/much'. It modifies an adjective (and thus functions as an adverb) in:

- [3] *Manydya bilyarri waybalu-ngarr kamba.*
 much greedy whitefellow/E-like 3(ABS)
 'He is very greedy like white people.'

In the next sentence, however, the part-of-speech identification of the same word is somewhat ambiguous.

- [4] *Ngurra-garriny yigit⁵ wangal manydya.*
 morning he.get/E wind(ABS) much
 'Wind was blowing hard early this morning.'

Since a hard wind is often expressed in Yawuru as *manydya wangal* (lit. "many winds, much wind") and the word order is flexible (nouns may either precede or follow adjectives which modify them), the distinction between adjectives and adverbs is often questionable from the syntactic viewpoint.

The distinction becomes more uncertain due to the fact that Yawuru clauses allow phrasal discontinuity (2.5.3). Consider [5a/b].

³ But compare example [166b] (cited in 8.4.4.3), where *dyirril* may be interpreted either as adverb or as subject complement adjective. Also cf. 8.1.2.2.(2).

⁴ Dixon (1980:282) states that "It is rare to find adjectives which can also have an adverbial function (although this is encountered in Diyari), or even adverbs explicitly derived from adjectives." Yawuru, however, provides a number of such cases.

⁵ See 10.5.3 for the use of English-derived *yigit*.

- [5] a. *Manydya lanydyi i-na-makura-nda.*
 many boomerang(ABS) 3-TR-make-PF
 'He manufactured a number of boomerangs.'
- b. *Lanydyi i-na-makura-nda manydya.*
 boomerangs(ABS) 3-TR-make-PF many/much
 'He produced boomerangs in large quantities.'

As suggested by the deliberately differentiated translations above, one may regard *manydya* in [5a] as modifying the noun *lanydyi* (head of the transitive object NP), thus functioning adjectivally, while the same lexical form *manydya* in [5b] modifies the predicate rather than the object noun, thus functioning adverbially. It is just as possible, however, to claim that [5b] has a discontinuous NP *manydya lanydyi* (~ *lanydyi manydya*) 'many boomerangs', of which the adjectival modifier *manydya* is postponed for emphasis (10.8.2). It should be added, in this regard, that the sentence-final *manydya* in [5b] bears an emphatic prominent stress.

Similarly, *manydya* in [6] below may be interpreted either as an adverb 'much' (i.e. 'badly' in this particular instance) or as an adjective modifying the preceding noun *dyurru* (i.e. many insects bit me):

- [6] *Dyurru-ni i-na-burna-nda-ngayu manydya.*
 mosquito-ERG 3-TR-bite-PF-1ACC much
 'I've got quite a few mosquito bites.'⁶

(2) Subject/object complement

There are cases where words which usually play the role of adjectives take up a subject complement (as in [7], cf. [104])⁷ or an object complement function (as in [8]):

- [7] *Yinydya inga-rr-garna-rn wiriman.*
 thither 3"-AGM-AUX(go)-IMPF long
 'They go in file' (as in a ceremony)
- [8] *Gil + wal-dyu wiriman.*
 cut+2FUT-AUX(say) long
 'Cut [it] lengthwise.'

Since (1) the distinction between adjectives and adverbs is often obscure and (2) subject or object complement constructions such as the above are rather uncommon in Yawuru, the use of the uninflected form *wiriman* in the above sentences is attributed to the bi-functionality (adjective/adverb) of the lexical item.

⁶ The generic noun *dyurru* covers snakes, lizards, worms, insects, turtles, mice and many other creatures. In this particular example, it refers to mosquitoes.

⁷ Also see example [166] and [167] discussed in 8.4.4.3.

8.1.2.3 Noun/adjective/adverb

(1) Three-way multifunction

There are, furthermore, three-way multifunctional words which can be nouns, adjectives or adverbs, depending on their syntactic relationship with other words in the sentences in which they occur. A good instance is the word *yarirr* which is a noun meaning 'countryman, fellow tribesman' (as opposed to *walanyu* 'stranger'). Cast into certain syntactic arrangement, however, it can function as an adjective modifying another nominal (as in [10]) or as an adverb modifying a predicate (as in [11]).

- [9] *I-m-bula-nda yarirr.*
3-EN-come-PF countryman(ABS)
'A countryman (of mine) came.'
- [10] *Yarirr ngarrungu dyanu kamba.*
fellow people(ABS) 1(GEN) 3(ABS)
'He [is] my fellow tribesman.' (adjectival use of *yarirr*)
- [11] *Kuku-yirr bibi i-nga-ny-ngany yarirr.*
father(ABS)-and mother(ABS) 3-be-IMPF-COM together
'He lives together with his parents.' (adverbial use of *yarirr*)

To recapitulate: the same word form is found in different syntactic functions without taking any morphological marking that indicates the changes of its word-class status.

(2) Adverbial function and word order

First consider the following sentence.

- [12] *Wuba-ni dyanu dyarn'du i-na-nya-nda ngarraya.*
child_i-ERG 1(GEN) woman(ABS) 3_i-TR-catch-PF wrong
'Myson has married a woman of the wrong "skin" (i.e. marriage section).'

In terms of parts-of-speech analysis, three different interpretations (1, 2a, 2b) of the above sentence are possible:

- 1) *ngarraya* is an adverb adding the meaning 'wrongly, improperly' to the predicate;
- 2) *dyarn'du* and *ngarraya* constitute a discontinuous NP, in which
 - a: *ngarraya* plays an adjective role modifying the noun *dyarn'du* 'woman'; or
 - b: *dyarn'du* plays an adjective role modifying the noun *ngarraya* '(person of) an incompatible marriage section' ('wrong skin' in informants' gloss).

The discussion would perhaps be pointless if word ordering in Yawuru were completely free. There seems to be, however, a general tendency for multifunctional words to stand postverbally when used as adverbs. I have therefore chosen to interpret *ngarraya* in [2] above as operating adverbially. By the same token, the word *manydya* in [4], [5b] and [6] in the previous section (8.1.2.2) is interpreted as an adverb, rather than otherwise.

Given below is a further piece of supporting evidence. The word *marlkin* 'secret'⁸ is a noun in [13], adjective in [14], and adverb in [15] (postverbal position):

- [13] *Marlkin dyiya nga-ny-dyu-nda-dyina, bidyarra-gun dyawar'dyawar.*
secret(ABS) 2(GEN) 1-EN-say-PF-3DAT ear-LOC whisper
'I told him your secret, whispering into his ear.'
- [14] *Marlkin wamba i-m-bula-nda.*
secret man(ABS); 3_i-EN-come-PF
'A secret man (i.e. organiser of a secret ceremony) came.' (but his arrival itself is not secret at all)
- [15] *Kamba-ni i-na-nya-nda-dyanu marlkin.*
that(3)-ERG 3-TR-catch-PF-1DAT secret
'He stole [it] from me.' or 'He took [it] without my permission.'

8.1.24 Other multifunctional words

Other lexical items that are multifunctional include:

<i>mabu</i>	'good/well'
<i>na(a)rli</i>	'truth/true/truly' ⁹
<i>ngarraya</i>	'wrong(ly)' (8.4.4.4)
<i>kalbu</i>	'above/up/upper/roof/canopy (of trees)' (8.3.4.3)
<i>baybirra</i>	'behind/back' (8.3.4.2)
<i>ngurra</i>	'night/last night' (8.2.1.3)
<i>banu</i>	'east(wards)/east wind' (8.2.1.3.(3) and 8.3.2)
<i>yibu</i>	'free(dom)/aimless(ly)' (8.4.4.2)

although this does not exhaust the list. There are many others.

8.1.3 Semantic grouping of adverbs

Adverbs can be classified into several groups on the basis of semantic/pragmatic domains which they cover. Major groupings dealt with in the rest of this chapter are adverbs of time (8.2), direction/location (8.3), and manner (8.4). There are also sentence adverbs, whose focus of modification is entire predications (sentences) rather than predicate phrases (8.5). Each group (and its subgroup) shares certain morpho-syntactic characteristics, as well as domains of meanings.

8.2 Adverbs of time

Adverbs indicating time are classified into time qualifiers (8.2.1) and time quantifiers (8.2.2).

8.2.1 Time qualifiers

Time qualifiers are those lexical items that specify a certain point or duration in time (Dixon 1980:283). Two types of time qualifiers are distinguished from the semantic/pragmatic point of view: (1) those which locate the event in relation either to the moment of speech or to other events referred to in the discourse

⁸ Nyikina has it as *malgin* (with the non-retroflexed lateral).

⁹ The vowel is usually long when the word is used adverbially.

(relative time qualifiers); and (2) those which specify a certain time point in external time scales such as natural rhythm of day/night and seasons, for example, or human-made cycles measured by clock and calendar (absolute time qualifiers).¹⁰

8.2.1.1 Relative time qualifiers (I): speaker-oriented items

This group includes expressions which indicate the time of the event described (action or state) from the speaker's point of view (i.e. in relation to the time at which these expressions are used). In other terms, these are expressions of temporal deixis (Anderson & Keenan 1985:295ff). The most basic set of Yawuru speaker-oriented time qualifiers consists of:

<i>miliya</i>	[míli'a]	'now'
<i>walkanya</i>	[wálgàŋa]	'before'
<i>wanydyi</i>	[wáŋɸi]	'later, soon'

These three items are considered to be most basic in the sense, first of all, that they occur in natural speech much more frequently than other time adverbs. The trio is also basic from semantic, syntactic and morphological viewpoints, as explained in the following subsections (1) to (3).

(1) Ranges of time scope

The three time qualifiers (*miliya*, *walkanya* and *wanydyi*) are semantically basic. Each has a general and rather loose meaning by itself, so that it can be modified to be more specific in some way or other according to context. The word *miliya* may pin-point a specific moment ('right now'; see subsection (2) below), may indicate some duration ('for the time being'), or may even refer to quite a long period as perceived as a relatively short period of time (e.g. 'since European contact').

The past-oriented *walkanya* may simply mean 'already' (e.g. 'a few moments ago', or 'well before that'). A more common connotation of the word, however, is 'a long time ago', as observed in derived expressions such as:

<i>walkanya-garra-buru</i>	'a long time ago; in the Dreamtime' (see 8.2.3)
<i>walkanyurdany</i>	'from the beginning, since long ago; (ADJ) very old' < <i>walkanya-nyurdany</i> (before-CAUS)

Similarly, *wanydyi* usually has the connotation of 'soon, not much time from now' (as in [16]), but can still mean a far distant future depending on the context (as in [17]).

- [16] *Wanydyi nga-na-ng-ga-bura.*
 soon 1-TR-EN-FUT-see
 'I will find it out soon.'

¹⁰ The term "absolute" is employed here in the sense that it is not influenced by factors internal to language. Natural and artificial time measuring is, of course, all relative in a different sense.

- [17] *Wanydyi wa-na-ng-ga-bura.*
 later 3-TR-EN-FUT-see
 'He will understand it some day.'

The compound expression *wanydyi-garra-buru* (see 8.2.3) means 'after a long time, after a long interval':

- [18] *K*alwara + mi-ngara-rn wanydyi-garra-buru,*
 turn.up+2-AUX(become)-IMPF soon-PL-time
miliya burd + mi-ny-dyu-n.
 now emerge+2-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
 'You turned up after a very long interval.' (informant's gloss: That's the first time you come.)

(2) Correlation with verb forms

The three time-qualifying adverbs in question have a close syntagmatic connection to the verbal tense/mood/aspect system. The future-indicator *wanydyi* appears almost exclusively in future-tensed clauses,¹¹ whereas the past-indicator *walkanya* typically (but not exclusively) co-occurs with perfective verb forms.

As for *miliya* 'now', it occurs either with imperfective or future forms of verbs. Future verb forms plus *miliya* indicate immediate future 'right now, at once', in most cases either exhortative or imperative (4.3.3.1).

- [19] *Ya-ng-ga-rda miliya duwa-ngarn.*
 12-EN-FUT-go now store/E-ALLAT
 'Shall we go shopping?'
- [20] *Mi-ny-dyu-nda-dyanu nga-ng-ga-dyali miliya baku.*
 2-EN-say-PF-1DAT 1-EN-FUT-return now hither
 'You told me to come back at once.'

Contrast these with the use of *miliya-rri* 'very soon' which usually combines with imperfective verb forms (see examples [25]-[27] given later).

In the rare case of the use of *miliya* with perfective verbs, the meaning is aspectual: some state has changed or some action has already been complete. In other words, the adverb *miliya* turns the perfective aspect into the perfect (see discussion in 4.3.4.3).

(3) Morphological derivations

The three time qualifiers under discussion provide stems for further morphological derivations or inflexions to yield various time-pointing expressions. The most productive of the three is *miliya*, which is the stem for:

¹¹ But cf. example [252] cited in 10.6.7.3.(2).

<i>miliya-gun</i>	'these days, recently' (now-LOC)
<i>miliya-gun rumarra</i>	'today' (lit. "now-LOC sun")
<i>miliya-nyarrá</i>	'today' (see 8.2.1.1)
<i>miliya-garra</i>	'nowadays' (now-PL)
<i>miliya-rrí</i>	'just now, very soon (inchoative)' (now-DL)
<i>miliya-nyurdany</i>	'just now, not long ago (perfect)' (now-CAUS)
<i>miliya-yi</i>	'for the moment, for a while' (now-DAT) ¹²
<i>miliya-manyan</i>	'for the first time' (lit. "now-only")
<i>miliya-gun-manyan</i>	'only recently, only in this time' (lit. "now-only-LOC") ¹³

Examples:

- [21] *Miliya-manyan i-m-bula-rn kamba ngarrungu, warranyu.*
 now-only 3-EN-come-IMPF that person(ABS) stranger
 'That person came here for the first time. He is a stranger.'
- [22] *Miliya-gun mirdanya nga-ngara-rn.*
 now-LOC old 1-become-IMPF
 'I feel old these days.'

The causal form *miliya-nyurdany* indicates the perfect aspect (4.3.1.3).¹⁴

- [23] *Miliya-nyurdany nga-nga-ny-ngany dyalykurr dyanu.*
 now-CAUS 1-be-IMPF-COM baby(ABS) 1(GEN)
 'I have just given birth to a baby.' (lit. "just from now I am with my baby")

Miliya-nyurdany may also function within an NP as a modifier to the head noun, as in:

- [24] *miliya-nyurdany nganka*
 now-CAUS word(ABS)
 'today's event; something which took place earlier today (or just very recently)'

Interestingly the dual form *miliya-rrí* is used as an adverb with near future scope (or at least inchoative),^{14A} although the accompanying verb form is usually imperfective (but [28], which has a desiderative overtone).

- [25] *Miliya-rrí wirdu i-ngara-rn.*
 now-DL big 3-become-IMPF
 'It (the tree) will be big soon.' (i.e. the species grows up very quickly)
- [26] *Miliya-rrí i-ng-gardi-rn rumarra.*
 now-DL 3-EN-enter-IMPF sun(ABS)
 'The sun is about to go down.'
- [27] *Miliya-rrí baarl + nga-ngara-rn.*
 now-DL hot+1-AUX(become)-IMPF
 'I'm getting warm now.'
- [28] *Miliya-rrí kamba buru ya-ga-rr-a-nya.*
 now-DL that country(ABS) 12"-FUT-AGM-TR-catch
 'We'll reach that country shortly.'

Furthermore, *miliya-rrí* can also function as an epistemic adverb (see 8.5.1.3 for example [189]).

¹² See example [30] given in 6.2.7.

¹³ It is semantically equivalent to Nyikina *miliya-ngany(-gun)*. The comitative (*-ngany*) form of *miliya* has not been recorded in Yawuru (cf. 6.10).

¹⁴ See example [205] in 8.5.3.3 for the use of *miliya-nyurdany-marda*. Yawuru *miliya-nyurdany* seems to be functionally equivalent to Nyikina *miliya-gun-dyunu*, which form has not been attested in Yawuru despite the fact that the locative marker *-gun* (6.5) and the intensifier suffix *-dyunu* (6.12.6) are common to the two languages.

^{14A} See example [34] cited in 6.2.8.

Expressions derived from *wanydyi* and *walkanya* are not so numerous as those derived from *miliya*. Encountered are items such as follows:

<i>wanydyi-gun</i>	'some day in future' (later-LOC)
<i>wanydyi-da</i>	'surely, certainly' (later-RES) — 8.5.3.2
<i>walkanya-garra</i>	'old times' (before-PL)
<i>walkanya-manydyan</i>	'at one time, formerly' (before-only) — 8.4.5.2
<i>walkanyurdany</i> (< * <i>walkanya-nyurdany</i>)	'ancient' (before-CAUS) — 6.9.3

Notice in the derived/inflected forms given so far that time qualifiers may take common nominal case markers and derivational suffixes. Notice also that, while the time qualifiers show locative and ablative inflexions, no allative inflexion with the marker *-ngarn* (which would mean 'until ...') are encountered (but the item *dyudangarn* given in (4) below).

(4) Other speaker-relative time adverbs

Other expressions that identify a time from the speaker's perspective include:

<i>madyil</i>	[máɸil]	'yesterday'
<i>dyudangarn</i>	[ɸúdaŋaŋ]	'soon, shortly' ^{14B}

These, too, may be morphologically expanded: e.g. *madyil-manydyan* 'only yesterday' (see example [231] in 10.6.6.2.(4)). The word *madyil* may occasionally function as a noun and also as a modifier of another noun: e.g. *madyil wula* 'last year' (lit. "yesterday water"; cf. example [229] cited in Chapter 7). 'Next year' is usually expressed as *warany(-gun) wula* '(in) next year' (lit. "other water"; cf. 8.2.1.3.(3)).

(5) *-nyarrá* derivation

The suffix *-nyarrá* (with final stress)¹⁵ occurs on the time qualifiers *madyil* 'yesterday', *miliya* 'now, today' and *k*ala* (< *k*aliya*) 'already' (8.2.1.2).

<i>madyil-nyarrá</i>	[máɸilɲará]	'yesterday; the other day'
<i>miliya-nyarrá</i>	[mili'aɲará]	'today'
<i>k*ala-nyarrá</i>	[qàlaɲará]	'already'

The underived *miliya* may mean either 'now, at this moment' or 'today', whereas the derived *miliya-nyarrá* unambiguously means 'today'. As to *madyil*, the mode of semantic specification is reversed: the derived *madyil-nyarrá* can mean either 'yesterday' or 'the other day' (i.e. some day earlier than yesterday, paraphrasable as *warany-gun madyil*), but the underived *madyil* refers only to 'yesterday'

No combination of *-nyarrá* and time-pointing adverbs other than the above three items has been attested.

^{14B} See example [80] cited in 7.4.2.5.

¹⁵ The relation of this to the demonstrative *nyarra* (~ *nyala*) (7.5.2.1) is unclear.

8.2.1.2 Relative time qualifiers (II): discourse-oriented items

(1) Time relations between events

The following time qualifiers indicate the relation of temporal sequence of events in the context of discourse. In other words, the time specification is relative to other events, rather than to the moment of speech.

<i>yalirra-mirdi</i>	'beforehand, earlier, previously' (lit. "front-foot") ¹⁶
<i>baybirra</i>	'later' (cf. 8.3.4.2)
<i>baybirra-gap</i>	'then, after that; in the meantime, during then'
<i>kardu-garriny</i>	'yet, still (yet not)' (* <i>kardu</i>)
<i>marlu-garriny</i>	'not yet' (see 10.3.1)
<i>kamba-ngal</i>	'at that time; formerly' (lit. "that-time") ¹⁷
<i>dyud-gun</i>	'finally, at last; too late' (cf. <i>dyult</i> — see 5.6.4)
<i>k*aliya (~ k*alaa)</i>	'(ADV) already; (INTJ) "finish!"
<i>k*aliya-ngany</i>	'already, now' ("finish-COM")

Examples are as follows:

- [29] *Nga-na-rli-nda yalirra-mirdi, kurlin-bardu + i-nga-rn ginyangka.*
1-TR-eat-PF front-foot? sleep-still+3-AUX(be)-IMPF 3(ABS)
'I ate first, as he was still asleep.'¹⁸
- [30] *Kamba warany i-m-bula-nda baybirra-gap, ngayu karda-gun*
that other(ABS) 3-EN-come-PF behind-ABL 1(ABS) yonder-LOC
nga-nga-nda wirliwirli-gadya.
1-be-PF fishing-INTENS
'Somebody came to my house while I was away fishing.'
- [31] *Kamba i-m-bula-nda wamba nganka-yi, dyud-gun.*
that^ 3_i-EN-come-PF ^man(ABS); word-DAT end-LOC
'The man came to the meeting very late' (cf. *dyudangarn* mentioned in 8.2.1.1.(4))
- [32] *Kardu-garriny wubardu wangkurr-gadya + i-nga-rn.*
(??)-yet little(ABS); cry-INTENS+3_i-AUX(be)-IMPF
'The child is still crying.'
- [33] *K*aliya-ngany mama-ni i-nga-ny-ngany-irr dyimbin.*
finish-COM mummy/E-ERG 3-be-IMPF-COM-3"ACC inside
'Now their mother has taken them to the bush.'

Many of the conjunction words (6.7.5 and 10.6.6.3) also indicate time relations between events. It should be pointed out in this connection that in Yawuru, although local case inflexions (such as *kamba-gap* 'then, later' or *karda-gun* 'then, at that stage') often bear temporal meanings in discourse-level syntax (virtually serving as conjunctions; see 7.5.3.1), the temporal interrogative *bana* 'when?' itself is not derived from the locational interrogative *dyana* 'where?' (7.6, cf. Dixon 1980:283-284).

¹⁶ The stem *yalirra* is a location adverb (8.3.4.2). The lexeme *mirdi* is the root for *ni-mirdi* 'foot, leg' (2.4.3). The phrase "first time" in Aboriginal English covers the meanings of both *yalirra* and *yalirramirdi*.

¹⁷ See 8.2.2.1 for the *-ngal* suffixation. Capell (n/d:10) has the item as "gamaṅal". See 7.5.2.2 (cf. 3.6.3.2) for the alternation *kamba ~ kama*.

¹⁸ See [26] given in 10.1.4.4.(3) for another example of the use of *yalirra-mirdi*.

(2) The enclitic *-bardu*

The enclitic *-bardu* may also combine with common nominal (or its case-inflected form) to produce an aspectual meaning of 'still, yet'.¹⁹ Examples include:

- [34] *Buru-bardu dyungku i-na-lurra-rn.*
time-still fire(ABS); 3j-TR-burn-IMPF
'He is still keeping the fire burning.'
- [35] *Warany-bardu wararra nurlu-dyinaburu, naarli wararra.*
other-still leader(ABS) corroboree-DERIV true leader(ABS)
'He is a very good songman, too.' (see 6.12.1)
- [36] *Karda-gun-bardu inga-rry-dyi-n.*
there-LOC-still 3"-AGM-be-IMPF
'They are still (staying) there.'
- [37] *Rdardarl-bardu i-nga-rn.*
sick-still 3-be-IMPF
'He is still sick.'
- [38] *Nunydy-a-bardu ya-nga-rn.*
alive-still 12-be-IMPF
'It doesn't matter; we don't care.' (an idiom; lit. "we still live")

There are also several lexical time adverbs containing the aspectual *-bardu* such as *kardu-garriny(-bardu)* 'yet, still (yet not)' (cf. [32] above) and *barral-gap-bardu* '(conjunction) in the meantime, at the same time' (*-gap* is ablative marker; **barral* is unattested as an independent word).

8.2.1.3 Absolute time qualifiers

These make non-deictic reference to the natural indicators of time such as daylight, winds, tides, lunar cycle, migrations of birds and similar cyclic phenomena.

(1) Daily cycle: morning/night/evening

The noun *ngurra* [ŋóɾa] 'night' provides the basis of a number of time expressions. The word itself often plays an adverbial function, meaning 'last night' (not 'tonight').

¹⁹ See footnote 104 in 7.7.1.3 for the function of *-bardu* as a noun coordinator. See 10.6.7.3.(4) for clause subordination with *-bardu*. See also 10.3.1 for the negator *marlu* plus *-bardu*.

<i>ngurra</i>	'(N) night, evening; (ADV) last night'
<i>ngurra-gap</i>	'morning; tomorrow' (lit. "night-from") ²⁰
<i>ngurra-garriny</i>	'early in the morning' (lit. "night-yet") ²¹
<i>ngurra-yirr</i>	'the day after tomorrow' (lit. "night-and") ²²
<i>miliya ngurra</i>	'tonight' (lit. "today night")
<i>ngurra wirdu</i>	'night time' (lit. "night big")
<i>ngurra-ngurra</i>	'early in the evening' ²³ (see 9.2.1.4)
<i>ngurra-ngurra-dyunu</i>	'before dark, by sunset'

While *ngurra-garriny* unambiguously refers to the early phase of morning time, the ablative form *ngurra-gap* means either 'morning' or 'tomorrow' depending on the context.

No locative marking is applicable to the above items: **ngurra-gun*, **ngurragap-gun*, or **ngurra-garriny-gun*. The forms without the locative marking can be used adverbially:

- [39] *Ngurra nga-na-m-bukarri-rn kamba ngarrungu, miliya*
 night 1-TR-EN-dream-IMPF that person(ABS); now
wa-ng-ga-bula-dyayrda ngurra-gap, ngurra-yirr wa-ng-ga-bula.
 3; -EN-FUT-come-12"DAT night-ABL night-and 3; -EN-FUT-come
 'Last night I dreamt of that person; perhaps he is coming to us. He might arrive tomorrow, or maybe the day after tomorrow.'

Ablative marking, however, is encountered:

- [40] *Diwir-gadya + i-rndira-rn, ngurra-garriny-gap i-na-bi-nda kari.*
 stagger-INTENS+3-AUX(go)-IMPF night-yet-ABL 3-TR-drink-PF grog(ABS)
 'He goes staggering. He has been drinking since morning.'

Other terms referring to certain phases in the daily cycle are marked by the locative *-gun*.

<i>dyiwildyiwil</i>	'(N) morning birdcall'
<i>dyiwildyiwil-gun</i>	'(ADV) early in the morning'
<i>rabar'rabar</i>	'(N) morning glow'
<i>rabar'rabar-gun</i>	'(ADV) very early in the morning'
<i>rangkarr'rangkarr</i>	'(N) daybreak; (ADV) with the daybreak'
<i>rangkarr'rangkarr-gun</i>	'(ADV) as soon as the day breaks'

As to the last pair, the unmarked form may function adverbially by itself, while the locatively marked form occurs in combination with the less specific time qualifier *ngurra-garriny*.

²⁰ Also recorded is the variant *ngurra-gabu*, with its dative form *ngurra-gabu-yi*. The common dative form is *ngurra-gap-dyi*. (See 3.8.4.1 and 6.3.1 for the alternation of *-yi* and *-dyi*.)

²¹ The derivational element *-garriny* (in *ngurra-garriny*) is not productive and is found only in this and two other lexical items: *marlu-garriny* 'not yet' (see 8.2.1.2 and 10.3.1) and *kardu-garriny* 'still, yet' (see 8.2.1.2); cf. the compound *ngurra-garriny-buru* (8.2.3). See 3.4.5.1(5) for the issues concerning the voicing value of the morpheme-initial *g*.

²² See 10.6.6.1. for the functions of the conjunctive clitic *-yirr* 'and'.

²³ This is more or less equivalent to the local Aboriginal English expression "afternoon time", which refers to very late afternoon (Hosokawa 1988b: section 3.2, item (5)).

- [41] a. *Ngayu nga-rndira-rn rangkarr'rangkarr.*
 1(ABS) 1-go-IMPF daybreak
 'We set out with the daybreak.'
- b. *Ngayu nga-rndira-rn rangkarr'rangkarr-gun ngurra-garriny.*
 1(ABS) 1-go-IMPF daybreak-LOC night-yet
 'We set out as soon as the day broke.'

(2) Weekly/biweekly cycle

The word for the moon, *kirridiny*, also refers traditionally to a period of two weeks (half of a lunar month). Nowadays it tends to mean 'one month' (four weeks), conforming to the European calendar. The word may be used adverbially in its locative form (see 6.5.3), as in:

- [42] *Nga-m-bula-nda kirridiny-gun.*
 1-EN-come-PF moon-LOC
 'I came last month.' (or 'when there was a full moon last time')
- [43] *Nganka-gadya + ya-ga-rry-dyi wanydyi, warany-gun kirridiny.*
 word-INTES+12"-FUT-AGM-AUX(be) soon other-LOC moon(LOC)
 'We (INCL) shall have a meeting (on that issue) next month.'
- [44] *Marlu yanga-rr-garna-rn wubardu-gun kirridiny.*²⁴
 not 1"-AGM-go-IMPF little-LOC moon(LOC)
 'We (EXCL) don't go on a crescent-moon night (for crab fishing)'

The traditional reference to the biweekly cycle seems to be based on the tidal cycle, rather than the shape of the moon itself.²⁵ It should be added, in this connection, that expressions referring to the conditions of tide are also used as indications of time. Examples include:

- [45] *Burla-marda*²⁶
 neap.tide-perhaps
 'when the tide gets neap' or 'by next neap tide' (i.e. within a week or so)
- [46] *Miding inga-rr-a-ma-nda wamba-gun nakula.*
 meeting/E(ABS) 3"-AGM-TR-put-PF male-LOC sea(LOC)
 'They held the meeting a few days ago (when the tide was neap last time).'
 ("male sea" means neap tide)
- [47] *Duurl + wa-ng-ga-bula-dyarri*²⁷ *wang-ga-dyali.*
 spring.tide+3-EN-FUT-AUX(come)-SEQ 3"-FUT-return
 'They will be back by lunch time (lit. when the tide rises).'

Finally, a few words referring to the introduced Christian calendar have been recorded.²⁸

²⁴ Compare [102] in 6.5.5, in which the phrase *wirdu-gun kirridiny* '(lit.) in big moon' refers to the moonlight.

²⁵ There are big differences in tide height between ebb and flow tides in the north-west of Western Australia. Indeed, the daily difference can be over 10 metres vertically (or several kilometres horizontally), so that the height of the sea is a good visual indicator of time.

²⁶ See 7.6.7.3. and 8.5.3.3 for the functions of the clitic *-marda*.

²⁷ See 10.6.2 for the sequential marker *-dyarri* encoding a supposition.

²⁸ The etymology of these words is rather mysterious. The words for Friday and Sunday are shared with Karajarri and other languages spoken in Bidyadangka (former La Grange Mission). According to a Yawuru informant, Karajarri has another term for 'Sunday', which is *wirurungarany*. This has not been confirmed by Karajarri informants.

<i>bukayin</i>	[bóyqen]	'Friday'
<i>yilbin</i>	[jílbiŋ]	'Sunday; week'
<i>nilan</i>	[nélan]	'week (seven days)'

These terms, too, may occur adverbially without inflexion.

- [48] *Karri nganydya-marda yilbin wa-ng-ga-ni karda-gun.*
 don't know how.many-perhaps Sunday 3-EN-FUT-be yonder-LOC
 'I don't know how long (lit. how many Sundays) she intends to stay there.'
 (see 7.6.7.4 for the *karri* construction).

(3) Annual cycle

Annual cycles are indicated by reference to the tide, seasonal winds, and the wet season. The word *wula* 'water, rain' is most commonly employed to mean 'year', as observed in the expressions *madyil wula* 'last year' (lit. "yesterday water") and *warany wula* 'next year' (lit. "other water") already given above (8.2.1.1.(4); also see [206] in Chapter 7).

There are several other terms referring to particular periods in the annual cycle of time.

<i>yiwarra</i>	[ʔíwara]	'pink cloud in the east, a sign of the cold season' ²⁹
<i>wirralburu</i>	[wéralbùru]	'beginning of winter; when <i>banu</i> (see 8.3.2.1) starts to blow' (approximately May to June) ³⁰
<i>bundurru</i>	[búndùru]	(same as <i>wirralburu</i>) — a Karajarri term?
<i>mudyungkuu</i>	[múɟungù:]	'seasonal shower in June, accompanied by northeasterly wind' ³¹
<i>barrkana</i>	[bárgàna]	'winter'; the cold season after <i>wirralburu</i> and <i>mudyungkuu</i> ; when strong southeasterly wind dominates (approximately June to September)
<i>dyawdi</i>	[ɟáɟdi]	(from English "south-east") 'winter' (referring to the same period as <i>barrkana</i>); also refers to the seasonal wind (from the inland desert) of this period of the year
<i>warrangkula</i>	[wáraggòla]	'King Tide' (also called <i>dyarn'du nakula</i> "woman tide"; extremely high tide which takes place only several times a year, usually around March/April and September/October)
<i>yaman</i>	[jáman]	'seasonal southwesterly wind (from the Indian Ocean), a sign of the wet season' ³²
<i>manngal</i>	[mánŋa]	'beginning of the wet season' (around Christmas)
<i>marul</i>	[máɾo]	'the wet season, summer' (approximately December to March; usually explained by local people as "after Christmas time")

These may occur in idiomatic expressions such as [49] below:

²⁹ The reduplicated *yiwarrayiwarra* (see 3.7.1.4) also means 'coldness (of weather)'; cf. 9.2.1.2.

³⁰ Elsie Edgar, my principal consultant, explains that *wirral* means "south-east". This, however, has not been recorded as an independent word. The second component of the word, *buru*, is an independent noun which, among other meanings, means 'time (season)'. See 8.2.3.

³¹ The word *mudyungkuu* may also refer to common windy rainfall without a seasonal implication. On the other hand, neither the word *wangal* 'wind' nor *danydyi* 'breeze, soft wind' refers to seasonal winds and implies any particular period in the annual cycle.

³² The name *yaman* is apparently related to the cardinal term *yanban* (~ *yalmaban*) 'south, south-west' (see 8.3.2.1; cf. 3.8.3.2).

- [49] *Yaman* *i-na-nya-rn.*
 west.wind(ABS) 3-TR-catch-IMPF
 'The west wind starts to blow.' (i.e. the wet season is about to come)

or may be inflected for locative, producing time-qualifying adverbials such as *yiwarra-gun*, *wirral-gun buru*, *bundurru-gun* and so on. The word *marul* 'the wet season' may compose phrases such as below to refer to annual cycles, although these are not so common as similar expressions with *wula* as the head noun (cited earlier; see 8.2.1.1.(4)).

<i>miliya-gun marul</i>	'this year' (lit. "in now wet season")
<i>warany-gun marul</i>	'next year' (lit. "in other wet season")
<i>waranydyarri marul</i>	'one year' (lit. "one wet season")
<i>kudyarra marul</i>	'two years' (lit. "two wet season")
<i>kudyarra-gun marul</i>	'in two years' time' (lit. "in two wet seasons")

Compare the last item above with the seemingly synonymous locative phrase below and note the difference in meaning:

- [50] *kudyarra-gun wula*
 two-LOC water
 'for two years' (durative; see 8.2.2.4.(3))

There are other terms for weather conditions, such as *kaminin* 'cold weather', *ngarlangarla* 'heat wave', *rawin* 'windless, calm weather' and others. These, however, do not refer to a particular season and are not used as absolute time qualifiers.

8.2.2 Time quantifiers

Time quantifiers are lexical items which specify frequency of an action or duration of a state.

8.2.2.1 Specific frequency quantifiers

Numeric time-quantifying expressions are composed by adding the suffix *-ngal* (QUANT) to nominal stems.³³

<i>kudyarra-ngal</i>	'twice'
<i>manydya-ngal</i>	'many times; on many occasions' (= <i>manydya-ngany</i> , see 6.10.5)
<i>warany-ngal</i>	'several times' (indefinite; cf. 7.7.1) ³⁴

The quantifier suffix may not co-occur with the limitative suffix *-manydyan* (8.4.5.2).

* <i>kudyarra-ngal-manydyan</i>
* <i>kudyarra-manydyan-ngal</i>

The meaning 'only twice' is usually expressed simply as *kudyarra-manydyan* (two-only).

There are lexical adverbs which express non-numeric but more or less specific reference to the frequency of an event.

³³ The *-ngal* suffixation to the demonstrative term *kamba* produces a discourse-relative time qualifier *kamba-ngal* — see 8.2.1.2.

³⁴ The numeric form *waranydyarri-ngal* means 'altogether, at one time' (cf. 8.4.4.1).

ngurru [ŋúruː] 'more, again'³⁵
rurrp [ɪɔɾpː] 'again; in turn, taking turns; in revenge, in return'

Examples are:³⁶

- [51] *Marlu nga-na-ga-bilka-dyuyu ngurru.*
 not 1-TR-FUT-hit-2ACC more
 'I won't hit you again.'
- [52] *Ngurru-manydyan i-na-ma-rn, karrydya + wang-ga-rr-a-ra.*
 more-only 3_i-TR-put-IMPF fury+3_j-FUT-AGM-TR-AUX(spear)
 'He does the same thing again. They will get furious about it.'
- [53] *Bany + inga-rr-a-ma-nd-dyirra, maytbi rurrp kamba-gun*
 bang+3_i-AGM-TR-AUX(put)-PF-3["]DAT_j might.be/E in.turn that-LOC
inga-rr-a-baru-nda-dyirra.
 3_j-AGM-TR-blow-PF-3["]DAT_i
 'They_i had hit them_j, so perhaps they_j hit them_i back in revenge.'

8.2.2.2 General frequency quantifiers

The adverb *dyarriny* [ɖáɾiŋ] 'always' makes reference to the high frequency of an event.

- [54] *Dyarriny i-ny-dyu-n-dyina manydya-yi wa-na-ga.*
 always 3_i-EN-say-IMPF-3DAT_j many_j-DAT 3_i-TR-carry(FUT)
 'He always wants to take a large portion of it.'

Expressions derived from *dyarriny* include:

dyarriny-dyi 'at any time'
dyarriny-gun marul 'every year, annually' (*marul* 'year'; see 8.2.1.3.(3))
dyarriny-gun 'every month, monthly' (*kirridiny* 'moon'; see 8.2.1.3.(2))
dyarriny-gun-buru 'always, on every occasion' (see [62] in 8.2.2.4.(1))
dyarriny ngurru 'always, ever' (*ngurru* 'more'; see 8.2.2.1)

Although it is possible that *dyarriny-gun kirridiny* traditionally meant 'every fortnight, every spring tide' (see 8.2.1.3.(2)), it is currently used with a monthly reference, as in:

- [55] *Kunbulu dyarn'du-ni i-na-nya-rn dyarriny-gun kirridiny.*
 blood(ABS) woman_i-ERG 3_i-TR-catch-IMPF every-LOC moon(LOC)
 '(lit.) Women "catch blood" every month.' (i.e. menstruate)

8.2.2.3 The adverb *wangnga*

The word *wangnga* [wáŋɔa], tentatively glossed 'for the first time', is rather difficult to translate. It is morphologically an uninflecting adverb and always occurs immediately before or after a finite verb. According to the informants' translation and explanation, *wangnga* means that the described state of affairs takes place for the "first time" and has never happened before. It seems to further imply that the speaker is unaware of the origin of the topic entity and/or the

³⁵ This may also be an indicator of quantity rather than frequency, as in the following:

Bilyarri nyamba ngarrungu, ngurru i-ny-dyu-n.
 greedy this person(ABS)_i more 3_i-EN-say-IMPF

'This person is greedy. He wants more.'

³⁶ See also examples [30] in 5.5.3.3 and [220] in Chapter 7.

speaker doesn't understand why the described event happens. For instance, [56] was paraphrased as [57]:

- [56] *Wangnga i-m-bula-rn.*
 first.time 3-EN-come-IMPF
 "That's the first time he come [sic]" (informant's translation)
- [57] *Miliya-manyan i-m-bula-rn kamba ngarrungu, warranyu.*
 now-only 3-EN-come-IMPF that person(ABS) stranger(ABS)
 'That person has come only recently; he is a stranger.'

Other examples are:

- [58] *Wangnga nga-na-bura-nda nyamba dyira.*
 first.time 1-TR-see-PF this boy(ABS)
 'I saw this boy for the first time.' (i.e. I don't know where he is from.)
- [59] *Wangnga nga-na-nya-nda.*
 first.time 1-TR-catch-PF
 'I own it, but I don't know where it is from.'
 (i.e. I don't remember why it is here.)
- [60] *Manydya bunymany nga-na-nya-rn wangnga nya-lambu-gun.*
 many mussel(ABS) 3-TR-catch-IMPF first.time this-around-LOC
 'That's the first time I picked up so many deep sea mussels around here'
 (i.e. I didn't know at all that this is such a nice place for shell fishing.)

8.2.2.4 Duration quantifiers

(1) Non-numeric expressions

These include commonly used duration-quantifying adverbs:

<i>bambi</i>	'for a long time' (up to now)
<i>yalidi</i>	'for a long time' (from now)
<i>mangara</i>	'for ever, all the time'
<i>wubardu-dyina</i>	'for a short while'
<i>bukarri-garra-nyurdany</i>	'since the beginning, from a long time ago'

The second last item above is the genitive form of *wubardu* 'small, little' (6.3.5). The last item is the causal form of *bukarri-garra* 'Dreamtime, Dreamtime stories' (see 2.4.2.2).³⁷

Examples are as follows. Duration quantifiers regularly occur postverbally, often in the sentence-final position:

- [61] *Inga-rr-a-ngurlika-nda-dyirra bambi, nyamba-rr-i-ni.*
 3"-AGM-TR-wait-PF-2"DAT long.while this-DL-ERG
 'These two (man and woman) have been waiting for you (PL) for a long while.'³⁸
- [62] *Dyarriny-gun-buru kari-gun mi-nga-rn, mangara.*
 always-LOC-time grog-LOC 2-be-IMPF for.ever
 'You are always drinking; maybe you won't ever get out of the habit of it!'

³⁷ The causal form may also function adjectivally, as in *bukarri-garra-nyurdany wanangarri* '[the] rock (*wanangarri*) with an ancient history'.

³⁸ For more instances of the use of *bambi*, see examples [12], [14], [15], [111A] and [260] in Chapter 10 as well as [53] and [161] in Chapter 7.

- [63] *Kawadyal, kamba mabu i-nga-rn yalidi.*
 sugar.leaf(ABS); 3(ABS); good 3; -be-IMPF for.long
 'Gawajal (processed sugar leaves) keeps well.' (lit. "good for a long while")³⁹

The time-quantifying use of *wubardu-dyina* has already been outlined in 6.3.5. It should be noted here that *wubardu-dyina* may also function as a time qualifier 'not long ago, just a while ago', as in [64a/b]:

- [64] a. *Nga-rndira wubardu-dyina.*
 2FUT-go little-GEN
 'You go there for a little while.'
 b. *I-rndira-rn wubardu-dyina.*
 3-go-IMPF little-GEN
 'He went out just a little while ago.' (not very long ago)

(2) Morphological expansion of duration quantifiers

Dixon (1980:283) claims that in Australian languages, as a rule, only point-time words take inflexions. An exception to this in Yawuru is the duration quantifier *bambi*, which may take the causal case marker, thus providing the commonly used time adverb *bambi-nyurdany* 'after a long interval, for not having done/seen something/somebody for a long time':

- [65] *Wanydyi wa-ng-ga-bula-dyarri wal-a-luka bambi-nyurdany.*
 soon 3-EN-FUT-come-SEQ 2FUT-TR-cry long.while-CAUS
 'If he (your son) comes back, you can't help crying because you haven't seen him for a long time.'

The aspectual suffix *-bardu* (8.2.1.2.(2)) may also be attached to *bambi*:

- [66] *Kari-gun ku-rry-dyi-n bambi-bardu.*
 grog-LOC 2'-AGM-be-IMPF long.while-still
 'You (PL) have been drinking all this long while.'

Inflected forms of *mangara* 'for ever' or *yalidi* 'for a long time' have not been recorded.

(3) Numeric expressions

There are also numeric expressions of duration such as in:

- [67] *I-na-ngurlika-rn kudyarra rumarra.*
 3-TR-wait-IMPF two sun(ABS)
 'She's been waiting for two days.'

Notice above that the numeral *kudyarra* is carrying no case-marker on it. The locative phrase *kudyarra-gun rumarra* (two-LOC sun) would pin-point a time, either 'two days ago' (with perfective forms of verb) or 'in two days' time, sometime within two days from now' (with future forms of verb; cf. 8.2.1.3.(3)), but

³⁹ Gawajal (*kawadyal*) is edible sugar-wax, or lerp (carbohydrate secretion of the Hemiptera bugs, family *Psyllidae*; in laymen's usage the word "lerp" is also applied to the scale bug that produces it) found on Bloodwood leaves (cf. Lands 1987:44-45; in other regions of Australia the sugar leaves can be found on varieties of Eucalyptus). Yawuru people used to process it into dry dumplings (also called *kawadyal*), which could be stored and eaten months later.

does not indicate a duration. A parallel semantic differentiation between the absolutive phrase and the locative phrase is observed in:

<i>kudyarra wula</i>	(duration) 'for two years' (lit. "two water") ^{39A}
<i>kudyarra-gun wula</i>	(point-time) 'two years ago; in two years' time'

8.2.25 Negative time quantifier

Yawuru has no lexicalised negative frequency quantifiers (such as English "seldom" or "never").⁴⁰ However, the combination of *dyarriny ngurru* and the negator *marlu* (10.3.1) yields a similar semantic effect:

- [68] *Nyamba-rri-ngarr-ni dyarriny ngurru marlu kabu kamba ngalyaq.*
 this-DL-like-ERG always more not eating that bluetongue(ABS)
 '[Young girls] like these two should never eat the bluetongue lizard.'^{40A}

English-derived negative time adverb *naba* (from "never") is often used in combination with *ngurru* 'more'. Notice in [69] that the Yawuru negator *marlu* is still required:

- [69] *Naba ngurru marlu karda i-rndira-rn.*
 never/E more not yonder 3-go-IMPF
 'He no longer dares to go there.'

8.2.3 The notion of *buru* 'time/space'

The word *buru* [búɪu]~[bóɪo] appears frequently in combination with time adverbs. From Yawuru people's point of view, this is the most important single word in the language; it basically means 'time and/or space' and may refer to a variety of entities such as country, land, ground, camp site, earth, dirt, mud, time, era, cemetery in town, death (in association with burial), this world and the other world.⁴¹ Expressions of time that involve the lexeme *buru* include:

<i>walkanya-garra-buru</i>	'a long time ago' (8.2.1.1)
<i>wanydyi-garra-buru</i>	'after a long interval' (see [18] above)
<i>dyarriny-gun-buru</i>	'all the time' (8.2.2.2)
<i>ngurra-garriny-buru</i>	'early in the morning' (8.2.1.3.(1))
<i>nyangadyunu-gun-buru</i>	'all the time, all through' (7.5.2.2.(6))
<i>narli-buru</i>	'for a long time' (lit. "true-time") ^{41A}
<i>buru-bardu</i>	'still, yet' (already cited in 8.2.1.2)

These are interpreted as compound words, rather than as phrases, since if they are further inflected for case then case markers follow the entire string of the

^{39A} See example [58] in Chapter 4.

⁴⁰ It is interesting in this regard to note that, in the Aboriginal English (AE) spoken by Yawuru people today, *naba* (from "never") is used as a simple negator. For example, the AE expression *i naba kambak* (lit. "he never come-back") simply means 'he hasn't returned yet' and does not mean that he won't ever come back.

^{40A} See footnote 64A in Chapter 6 for a brief account of the relevant food taboo.

⁴¹ Examples involving the word *buru* with various meanings are: [18] in Chapter 2; [70], [112b] and [163a/b] in Chapter 4; [14] and [29a/b] in Chapter 5; [56], [64], [69], [90], [120], [130], [175] and [182] in Chapter 6; [56], [107], [126], [150], [178], [182], [194] and [221A] in Chapter 7; [18], [28], [34], [62], [70], [71], [79], [108], [117], [118], [119], [123] and [189] in this chapter; [9] in Chapter 9; [5], [79], [105], [120], [151] and [159] in Chapter 10. See commentaries in 6.9.6 and 6.9.8; also see time-qualifying terms listed in 8.2.1.3.(3).

^{41A} See example [9] given in 9.3.4.1.

lexemes, instead of breaking into the string (see discussion in 2.5.2.4). This is exemplified in:

- [70] *walkanya-garra-buru-nyurdany bukarri-garra*
 before-PL-time-CAUS dream-PL
 'a Dreamtime story' (lit. "many dreams from much long time ago")
 (**walkanya-garra-nyurdany buru* ...)

The compound status is also confirmed by the optional addition of the locative marker as recorded in:

- [71] *Dyarriny-gun-buru-gun bud + nga-ny-dyu-n ngurra-garriny mulkula-yi,*
 always-LOC-time-LOC rise+1-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF night-yet work-DAT
marlu-yina miliya karu + nga-ny-dyu-n.
 not-GEN now hate+1-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
 'I always get up early in the morning for work, but right now I don't want to get up.'

8.3 Adverbs of location and direction

8.3.1 General remarks

Lexical items indicating locations or directions include absolute directionals (8.3.2), relative directionals (8.3.3) and location adverbs (8.3.4). The first category consists of terms of cardinal directions, which make reference to an absolute compass system and which are not affected by the locus of the speaker. The latter two are spatial deictics (Anderson & Keenan 1985:259), which make speaker-centric relative reference to the location of an entity or the direction of an action.⁴²

Morphologically these adverbs of location and direction form a subclass of nominals: they share most of the case inflexions and derivational suffixes with common nominals, although they also take a few suffixes which are not found on common (non-directional) nominals. They are:

<i>-layin</i>	[lɛɛŋ]	directional allative (DIR) ⁴³
<i>-gaman</i>	[gaman]	lateral locative, or lative (LAT)

These markers are found only on some (but not all) of the directional/location terms (including some of the demonstratives; see 7.5.3.2) and are unacceptable on common (non-deictic) nominals. In other words, DIR and LAT markers are in complementary distribution with the allative (ALLAT) and the contrastive locative (CONTR) markers, although there are items which may carry neither CONTR nor LAT marker.⁴⁴ Differences between the local inflexion paradigms of common nominals and direction/location adverbs are summarised in Table 801.

⁴² This section does not cover the whole range of spatial deictics. As already described in detail (7.5), demonstrative pronouns provide a number of deictic adverbial expressions referring to location and direction. Common nominals inflecting for local cases (locative/allative/ablative) yield adverbial expressions of location and direction, too (see 6.5 to 6.7 for examples).

⁴³ Also encountered are variants such as *-layi* and *-liyan*. See 8.3.3.1 and 8.3.4.3.(2), respectively (cf. Blake 1977:53).

⁴⁴ The complementary relation of the allative *-ngarn* and the directional *-layin* has also been pointed out in the morphology of demonstratives (see 7.5.3.2).

TABLE 801: Markers of location and direction

	LOC	ALLAT/DIR	ABL	CONTR/LAT
common nominals*	-gun	-ngarn	-gap	-gardi
demonstrative pronouns (7.5)	-gun	-gap(layin)**	-gap(layin)**	-nygardi(n)
absolute directionals (8.3.2)	-∅	-layin	-gap	-gaman
relative directionals (8.3.3)	—	-la(yin)	—	—
location adverbs (8.3.4)	-gun	-layi(n)	-gap	(-gardiny)***

NOTES: * The indefinite pronoun *warany* (7.7.1.1) also follows this pattern; see example [124] (cited in 8.3.5.1) for *warany-gardi*.

** See 7.5.3 for irregular allative/ablative(ative) inflexion of demonstrative pronouns.

*** See 8.3.4.3.(2).

8.3.2 Absolute directionals: cardinal directions

8.3.2.1 Basic forms

(1) Inventory

Yawuru has four words indicating absolute directions, roughly equivalent to 'east', 'west', 'south' and 'north'. Actually, however, the Yawuru terms of cardinal directions (or "cardinals" for short) slightly deviate from the standard compass system.

<i>banu</i>	[bánu] 'east-southeast' — typically indicating the direction from which the winter wind (also called <i>banu</i>) blows
<i>kularr</i>	[gúlaɟ]~[kúlaɟ] ⁴⁵ 'west to west-northwest'
<i>yanban</i>	[jánɓan] 'west-southwest' — typically indicating the direction of the Eighty Mile Beach, from which the seasonal southwesterly wind (which is called <i>yaman</i> ; see 8.2.1.3.(3)) blows
<i>kuniyan</i>	[kúne'an]~[gúne'an] 'north to east-northeast'

(2) Variants

Some idiolectal variations, such as *kularr* ~ *kalarr* ~ *gularra* and *yanban* ~ *yalman* ~ *yamban* are observed among the speakers of the Julbayeri dialect. In the Jukun dialect (1.1.3), an expanded form *banuwal* occurs in alternation with *banu* (see Table 802 below).

The vowel-ending form *gularra* (with the initial velar regularly voiced) may reflect an old form, since it is also found in the compound noun *gularra-burru* 'the coast-side people'⁴⁶ (The opposite is *banuya-burru*; which contains the root

⁴⁵ The initial velar (*k*) of *kularr* seems to be voiced [gúlaɟ] more often than normal *k*-initial words may be (cf. 3.3.1.2 and 3.4.5.1). I apply the letter *k* since the voiceless pronunciation [kúlaɟ] is also commonly heard.

⁴⁶ Conventionally spelled "Goolarrabooloo", which is adopted in the names of the Aboriginal-managed artefact shop and the Aboriginal Hostel in Broome. See 1.3.2.1 (and footnote 43 there).

banu 'east'). As we shall see immediately below, the elative form is invariably *kularrgap* (with the ablative marker *-gap*).

The inland dialect form for 'south' maintains the medial CCC cluster: *yalmбан*, which is identical to the Small Nyikina word for 'south'; the Jukun form is *yalban* (see 1.1.3.2 and 3.8.3.2).⁴⁷

8.3.2.2 Case inflexions and derivations

(1) Paradigm

Table 802 shows the case inflexions and other derivations of the cardinals. The form *banu-wal* 'east' (ABS) is the Jukun dialect form. The suffix element *-wal* is absent when the meaning is locative or allative.

TABLE 802: Inflexional paradigm of the terms of cardinal direction

	'north'	'south'	'east'	'west'
ABS	<i>kuniyan</i>	<i>yanban</i>	<i>banu(-wal)</i>	<i>kularr</i>
LOC/ALLAT	<i>kuniyan</i>	<i>yanban</i>	<i>banu</i>	<i>kularr</i>
DIR	<i>kuniyan</i>	<i>yanbalayin</i>	<i>banulayin</i>	<i>kularrayin</i>
ELAT	<i>kun'gap</i>	<i>yanban'gap</i>	<i>banugap</i>	<i>kularrgap</i>
LAT	<i>kun'gaman</i>	<i>yanban'gaman</i>	<i>banugaman</i>	<i>kularrgaman</i>
INTENS	<i>kuniyan'gadya</i>	<i>yanban'gadya</i>	<i>banugadya</i>	<i>kularrgadya</i>

The paradigm in Table 802 reveals the following morphological peculiarities:

1) Consonant clusters **n-l* and **rr-l* are avoided (3.8.1):

yanban + *-layin* > *yanbalayin* (**yanbanlayin*)
kularr + *-layin* > *kularrayin* (**kularrlayin*)

2) *kuniyan* 'north' has the ablative and lative forms as *kun'gap* (**kuniyan-gap*) and *kun'gaman* (**kuniyan-gaman*), respectively. As for the directional allative, the theoretically expected form *guniya-layin* (but not **guniyan-layin*) was elicited from an informant. In natural use of the language, however, the base form *guniyan* is applied to the allative as well. Possibly the *-iyan* element in *kuniyan* 'north' could be a variation of *-layin*.

(2) Locative/allative

Uninflected cardinals may bear local meanings without taking the locative (*-gun*) or allative (*-ngarn*) case-marker (see 6.6.2).

⁴⁷ Bates (1985:59) recorded "Yalmban" 'south-west' (her gloss) as the name of a local group (also called "Ko-al-gurdi") located to the east of the Karajarri people.

- [72] *Kamba wamba i-rndira-rn yanban.*
 that man(ABS) 3-go-IMPf south(ALLAT)
 'The man goes/went southwards.'
- [73] *Daawan-gap i-m-bula-rn, k*aliya i-rndira-rn kularr dyina.*
 Darwin-ABL 3-EN-come-IMPf finish 3-go-IMPf west(ALLAT) 3(GEN)
 '[The aeroplanes] came from (the direction of) Darwin, and then flew away
 (in the direction of) west. (lit. "went its west")

The locative/allative marking on cardinals occurs, but only as a result of "non-inherent" inflexion (see 2.5.2.3 and 7.5.3.2):

- [74] *banu-gun bundu*
 east-LOC plain(LOC)
 'in the eastern plain'
- [75] *yanban-ngarn duwa*
 south-ALLAT store/E(ALLAT)
 'to the shop on the southside (of the road)'

In [74] *banu* modifies the noun *bundu* and takes up the locative marking on behalf of the latter. Similarly, in [75], the allative marker is on the initial constituent of the phrase *yanban*, which modifies the head *duwa*.

(3) Directional allative

When cardinals are used explicitly in order to encode allative motion ('toward, in the direction of'), the directional allative marker *-layin* (DIR) occurs. Compare [76] and [77] (notice that source point of directional reference is encoded in the ablative):

- [76] *mirrirrin-gap kuniyan*
 (toponym)-ABL north
 '(to) the north of Fly Flat Bore'
- [77] *banu-layin bardalkii-gap*
 east-DIR (toponym)-ABL
 '(travelling) eastwards from Cockle Well'

In [78a/b] the *-layin* suffix implies that the actor did not simply point at the east, but showed the way in some detail with gesture of the hand indicating easterly directions.

- [78] a. *Dyiin + i-ny-dyu-nda banu.*
 point+3-EN-AUX(say)-PF east
 'He pointed to the east'
- b. *Dyiin + i-ny-dyu-nda banu-layin.*
 point+3-EN-AUX(say)-PF east-DIR
 'He indicated the way in an easterly direction.'

(4) Ablative/relative

The usual ablative case marker *-gap* is applied to derive relative (i.e. locational ablative) meanings (but cf. [129] given in 7.5.3.3).

- [79] *Wirral-buru banu-gap i-m-bula-rn.*
 winter-time(ABS) east-ABL 3-EN-come-IMPf
 'The winter comes from the east.'

Occasional use of the ablative-directional allative double marking (cf. 7.5.3.2) has been recorded. For example,

- [80] *Kirridiny kularr-gap-layin.*
 moon(ABS) east-ABL-DIR
 'The moon (has come out from and still) is in the east.'

(5) Lateral locative

The contrastive locative marker *-nygardi* 'side' (CONTR), which occurs on demonstratives (7.5.4.2, cf. 8.3.5.1), does not occur on cardinals; the meaning covered by CONTR is encoded in the lateral locative marker *-gaman* (LAT). Notice in [81] below that the *-gaman* form of the cardinal indicates both allative and stative-locative meanings.

- [81] *Karda-ngarn i-rndira-rn kularr-gaman, karda kularr-gaman i-nga-rn.*
 yonder-ALLAT 3-go-IMPF west-LAT yonder west-LAT 3-be-IMPF
 '[The horse] went up to the westside (of the enclosure) and paused there.'
- [82] *Kun-gaman niyamarri-bardu, marlu nuwadal i-nga-rn.*
 north-LAT sand.dune-still not tidal.channel(ABS) 3-be-IMPF
 'The sand dunes continue on the northside and there is no tidal channel
 (i.e. passage way to get to the sea).'

(6) Intensive

Further, the intensifier suffix *-gadya* may be attached to a cardinal term when it bears an allative meaning:

- [83] *Yanban-gadya i-rndira-rn maralamba.*
 south-INTENS 3-go-IMPF mourning
 'He goes southwards for the funeral.'

8.3.23 Compounding of cardinal terms

Combinations of the cardinal terms also occur. Notice the fixed ordering in the compound terms below.

<i>kularr-kuniyan</i>	'northwest' (lit. "west-north")
<i>kularr-yanban</i>	'southwest' (lit. "west-south")
<i>banu-kuniyan</i>	'northeast' (lit. "east-north")
<i>banu-yanban</i>	'southeast' (lit. "east-south")

Since the Yawuru terms of cardinal directions referentially deviate from the standard compass, these combinatory terms do, too. For example, *kularr-kuniyan* indicates roughly the direction of NNW rather than NW.

The seasonal cold wind (locally called "the South-East" as it blows from south-east, i.e. the direction of the inland desert area) is simply referred to as *banu* 'east' in Yawuru. This word also means 'winter', in which season the cold south-east wind prevails — see [79] given in 8.3.2.2.(4).⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The wind is also called *dyawdi*, obviously a term borrowed from English "south-east". Unlike the proper word *banu*, however, the loan word *dyawdi* does not refer to the season.

8.3.2.4 Further comment

In the daily conversation of the Yawuru people, reference to the cardinal directions is extremely frequent, not only in "walkabout" situations, but in town life as well. When driving in town, for example, "turn to the north", rather than "turn to the right", is the regular way of telling the driver which way to take at the next corner.⁴⁹

- [84] *Birrp + yaga-rr-a-dyu kuniyan.*
 turn+12"-AGM-TR-AUX(say) north(ALLAT)
 'Let's turn to the north (as turning at a downtown corner).'

Similarly, instances such as given below are commonplace in Yawuru, although their literal translations to English sound somewhat unusual.

- [85] *Yila im-bula-nda kun-gap.*
 dog(ABS) 3-come-PF north-ABL
 '(lit.) A dog came from the north.'
- [86] *Banu wal-a-ga kard-a-ngarn.*
 east(ALLAT) 2FUT-TR-carry(FUT) yonder-ALLAT
 '(lit.) Take [it] there to the east.'

8.3.3 Relative directionals

8.3.3.1 Going/coming

There are two basic (and the most frequently used) directional adverbs which make deictic (i.e. speaker-centric relative) reference:

- yinydya* [ʔin̩ɖa] 'thither; going'
baku [báɣu] 'hither; coming'

As has already been illustrated in 5.5.2.4, these typically occur as preverbs in complex verb constructions. When used non-preverbally, *baku* may take the directional suffix *-layin* (~ *-layi*; see 8.3.1), while *yinydya* does not. The derived *bakulayi(n)* implies that the actor's motion is not straight, but rather around or round about.

- [87] *Bambi yanga-rr-a-ngurlika-dyunggarra, marlu mi-ny-dyali-rn baku-layi k*awity.*
 long.time 1"-AGM-TR-wait-2"DAT not 2-EN-return-IMPF hither-DIR quick
 'We've been waiting for you. You never come back quickly.' (i.e. you never come back without stopping somewhere or other on the way)
- [88] *Kagap⁵⁰ nga-rndira, baku-layin nga-ngara.*
 away 2(FUT)-go hither-DIR 2(FUT)-become
 'You go around and then come back here.'

An abbreviated form *bakula* (< *baku-layin*) as well as the base form *baku* are often used as interjections with a directive function.

⁴⁹ Even when speaking in English, Yawuru people seldom say "turn to the right" or "to the left". It is also a common practice for Yawuru customers in a modern Broome supermarket to direct each other by using English cardinal terms: e.g. "Get bread (in) north" (i.e. you look for bread on the northside of the shop floor and fetch some). Prepositions of local meanings are used only rarely in their casual style of English (see Hosokawa 1988b). cf. McConvell (1985:101-102).

⁵⁰ See 7.5.3 for the elative use of *kagap*.

8.3.3.2 Right/left

Terms for 'right' and 'left' are as follows.

<i>dyurr(u)nguny</i>	[ɟúɾŋù'ŋɛ]	'right-hand side; right-handed'
<i>dyambugardi</i>	[ɟámbugàɟe]	'left-hand side' ⁵¹
<i>ngarrkal(a)man</i>	[ŋaɾgalmaŋ]	'left-handed'

These terms are basically nouns/adjectives, although *dyurrunguny* and *dyambugardi* could be used as directional adverbs.⁵² Etymologically, *dyurrunguny* and *ngarrkalman* are probably related to the antonymic words *dyurrungu* 'straight (of marriage), rightly' and *ngarraya* 'wrong (of marriage), wrongly' (see 8.4.4.4).

8.3.4 Lexical adverbs of location

Adverbs of location include basically deictic expressions, such as referring to a relative distance (far/near) from the speaker or to a spatial relation (front/back) to the speaker. These may also be used non-deictically, i.e. taking a point of reference other than the speaker (far from Broome, in front of the house, etc). There are a number of spatial deictic expressions derived from demonstratives, which are not included in this section (see 7.5.3 and 7.5.4).

8.3.4.1 Far/near

The following pair of deictic antonyms refers to relative distance from the speaker (or the location in which the conversation takes place). The two words are syntactically multifunctional: they can be used as a noun, adjective or adverb, without particular morphological derivation or inflexion.

<i>lani</i>	[láne]	'(ADJ) close, near; (ADV) nearby; (N) a nearby place'
<i>kadyarri</i>	[káɟaɾi]	'(ADJ) distant, far; (ADV) far away; (N) a distant place'

When used adverbially, these usually occupy a preverbal position, typically with the motion verbs (such as *rndira* 'go' and *mirdibi* 'run away') or the stative verb *ni* 'be'.

[89] *Kadyarri nga-ng-ga-ni kamb(a)-gap darlu dyanu.*
 far 1-EN-FUT-be that-ABL WM(ABL) 1(GEN)
 'I must keep away from my wife's mother there.' (taboo relative)

[90] *Kamba dyira lani irndira-nda dyungku-ngarn, i-na-lurra-rn dyungku-ni.*
 that boy(ABS) near 3_i-go-IMPF fire_j-ALLAT 3_i-TR-burn-IMPF fire_j-ERG
 'The boy went close to the fire and got burned.'

The adverbial use covers the stative locative and allative meanings, but not relative.

Compare [91a-c]:

⁵¹ The word *dyambugardi* carries the contrastive locative marker *-gardi* (8.3.5.1), though the etymology of the stem **dyambu* is unclear. The word is possibly a loan from Karajarri/Nyangumarta *jampukarti*. The corresponding antonym *marriakarti* 'right-hand side' has not been introduced to Yawuru, however (cf. McKelson 1989:144).

⁵² Instances in natural speech are rare, however. cf. footnote 49 above.

- [91] a. *lani dyungku-gun* (or *lani kamba-gun dyungku*)
 near fire-LOC near that-LOC fire(LOC)
 'near the fire' (stative locative)
- b. *lani dyungku-ngarn* (or *lani nyamba-ngarn dyungku*)
 near fire-ALLAT near this-ALLAT fire(ALLAT)
 'coming up towards the fire' (allative)
- c. *lani-gap maya*
 near-ABL house(ABL)
 'from a nearby house' (elative)

Notice above that the local case inflexions do not shift to *lani* in [91a] and [91b], which endorses the interpretation that *lani* operates as an adverb external to the NPs (*dyungku* or *kamba dyungku*). By contrast, the elative (local ablative) meaning is encoded in NPs in which *lani* functions as an adjectival modifier to the head noun. Notice in [91c] that *lani* takes up the ablative case inflexion, which indicates that it comprises an integral part of the NP.

The word *lani* may compound with place names: e.g. *bidyardangka-lani* 'somewhere near Bidyardangka'. Such compounds can be used adverbially, in which case *-lani* just looks as if it is functioning as an adverb-deriving suffix.⁵³

8.3.4.2 Behind/front

Sets of words referring to basic spatial relations consist of the following two antonymic pairs:

- baybirra* [bájɓèra] '(ADV) behind; (ADJ) back'
yalirra [jálèra] '(ADV) in front; (ADJ) front(al)'
- burlin* [búlen] '(ADV) in the middle; (ADJ) middle, central; (N) centre'
yawarra [jáwarà] '(ADV) beside; (ADJ) peripheral; (N) side'

These are used either adjectivally or adverbially. The latter two items may also be used as nouns (as in [94] below). The word *baybirra* may bear an elative meaning 'from behind', as in [96]

- [92] *Mi-na-ngari-nda baybirra, inga-rr-a-ka-rrn-dyiya.*
 2-TR-leave-PF behind 3"-AGM-TR-carry-IMP-2DAT
 'You had left [it] behind, (but) somebody took [it] to you.'
- [93] *Nyamba wal-a-rba niwal baybirra(-ni).*⁵⁴
 this^ 2FUT-TR-follow ^foot(ABS) behind(-ERG)
 '(lit.) Follow these footprints from behind.' (i.e. trace them)
- [94] *Yawarra-milidyarri wal-a-bali.*
 side-DL 2FUT-TR-cut
 'Cut both sides off.'

⁵³ Here the lexeme *lani* behaves just like Japanese *tikaku* (= *chikaku*), which is an independent word 'near, close by', but which also gets suffixed to place names and further case-marked, e.g. *osaka-tikaku-ni* 'near Osaka' (-*ni* is the locative postposition). Neither in Japanese nor in Yawuru does the term for 'far' compound with place names.

⁵⁴ This optional ergative marking is an example of what is called referential ergative illustrated and discussed in 10.7.

- [95] *Dyaarl + nga-na-ga-dyu nyamba burlin.*
 divide+1-TR-FUT-AUX(say) this(ABS) middle
 'I will divide this by cutting it down the middle.' (re: a block of meat)

The point of reference (other than the speaker) can be encoded in the locative.

- [96] *ngayu-gun yalirra* (or *yalirra ngayu-gun*)
 1-LOC front
 'in front of me'
- [97] *balu-gun baybirra* (or *baybirra balu-gun*)
 tree-LOC behind
 'behind the tree'
- [98] *Wirdu-gun larrkardi baybirra i-nga-nda.*
 big-LOC Boab(LOC) behind 3-be-IMPF
 'He was (hiding) behind a big bottle tree.'
- [99] *Baku + nga-rndira, nga-minydyi burlin yarrgarda-gun.*
 hither+2FUT-AUX(go) 2FUT-sit.down middle 1"DL-LOC
 'Come here and sit between us.'
- [100] *kamba-rri-gun balu-milidyarri burlin*
 that-DL-LOC tree-DL(LOC) middle
 'between those two trees'

The last example above has been paraphrased by an informant, as [100'], employing *yawarra* 'side'.

- [100'] *kudyarra-gun balu yawarra-milidyarri burlin*
 two-LOC tree(LOC) side-DL middle
 'between the two trees' (lit. "middle in two side trees")

When motion 'away from' is implied, the point of reference is encoded in the ablative, as typically exemplified in [101]:

- [101] *Yalirra wa-rr-garnda yadiri-gap, ya-ga-rr-garnda baybirra kurryirr-gap.*
 front 2"FUT-AGM-go 12"-ABL 12"-FUT-AGM-go behind 2"PL-ABL
 'You (PL) go ahead of us; we go after you.'⁵⁵

As for *yawarra* 'side', the reference point usually takes the ablative case.

- [102] *ngayu-gap yawarra*
 1-ABL side
 'beside me'

The adpositional meaning of 'between ...' or 'beside ...' can be expressed by the locative NP (either pronominal or non-pronominal) alone. For example, [102] above may simply be *ngayu-gun* (1-LOC) 'beside me' (also see examples cited in 6.5.1).

The compound adverb *baybirra-yalirra* means '(doing something) one after another, successively, (going) in file'.

- [103] *Manydya ngarrung-garra inga-rr-garna-rn baybirra-yalirra.*
 many people-PL(ABS) 3"-AGM-go-IMPF behind-front
 'Many people went one after another.'

⁵⁵ Use of the complex verb *yalirra +dyu* 'go ahead, go in front' [+SAY] is also common.

- [104] *Wiriman inga-rr-garna-rn baybirra-yalirra.*
 long 3"-AGM-go-IMPF behind-front
 'They go in file.'⁵⁶

The words *yalirra* and *baybirra* may also be used with reference to time (8.2.1.2), but *burlin* 'middle' and *yawarra* 'side' are confined to spatial expressions.

8.3.4.3 Above/below

Use of the following pair of antonyms to indicate location is extremely common.

kalbu [kálbu·] 'above, up(wards)'
dyimbin [ɖímben] 'below, down(wards); inside'⁵⁷

(1) Meanings

This pair of location adverbs covers a wide range of meanings, both vertical and horizontal (numbers refer to examples in this section):

i) *dyimbin* may mean

'downwards (as going down a slope/tree)' (e.g. [118])
 'inside (house/box/hollow/gaol/etc)' (e.g. [115])
 'into (house/hole/etc)' (e.g. [108])
 'in the bush/thicket' (e.g. [33], [184], [121])
 'underground' (e.g. [117], [119], cf. [123])
 'underwater' (e.g. [120])
 'offshore, out at sea' (e.g. [106], [114])
 'towards sea' (e.g. [109])
 'inland(wards)' (e.g. [106], cf. [113]).

ii) On the other hand, *kalbu* indicates notions such as follows:

'high in the sky' (e.g. [105], [173])
 'on top (of something)' ([122], also see Chapter 6 for [149])
 'up on the hill' (see Chapter 6 for example [141])
 'upwards' (e.g. [107], cf. [111])
 '(from sea) towards the land' (e.g. [106]).

iii) Used as nouns, *kalbu* means 'sky' or 'canopies (i.e. top of tree)' (e.g. [118]) and *dyimbin* usually refers to 'gaol' (see examples [206] in Chapter 7 and [6] in Chapter 10) or 'ground' (see [208b] in Chapter 6).⁵⁸

- [105] *Kalbu-gap rumarra dyinyirri.*
 above-ABL sun(ABS) very.hot
 'The sun is burning.'

- [106] *Nakula wirdu kalbu i-ngara-rn, dyimbin-gap i-m-bula-rn.*
 sea(ABS) big above 3-become-IMPF inside-ABL 3-EN-come-IMPF
 'The tide is coming up. It comes from offshore landwards.'

⁵⁶ This sentence was elicited as a paraphrase of [7] given in 8.1.2.2.(2).

⁵⁷ Yawuru has no word to explicitly indicate the notion of 'outside', which is expressed as "not inside" (*marlu dyimbin*). In Nyikina, the derived item *kalbu-dany* can mean 'outside' (Stokes, p.c.).

⁵⁸ Although instances are not numerous, *kalbu* can also be used as an adjective 'steep (e.g. hill)'. See [150] cited in 8.4.2.4.

- [107] *Kalbu nga-rndira balu-ngarn nyamba.*
 above 2FUT-go tree-ALLAT this
 'Climb up this tree.'
- [108] *Wangkadya i-ng-gardi-nda dyimbin buru-gun.*
 crab(ABS); 3;EN-enter-PF inside ground-LOC
 'The crab entered (i.e. escaped into) the hole.'
- [109] *Inga-rr-bangngara-rn dyarn'du-yirr wamba, wamba birra*⁵⁹
 3"-AGM-go.hunting-IMPF woman(ABS)-and man(ABS) man(ABS) bush(ALLAT)
i-rndira-rn, dyarn'du dyimbin nakula-ngarn.
 3-go-IMPF woman(ABS) inside sea-ALLAT
 'The husband and wife went hunting; the husband went into the bush and
 the wife to the seaside (to catch fish).'

As observed in [107] and [108] above, *kalbu/dyimbin* may convey an allative meaning without itself inflecting for the allative or locative case.⁶⁰ The ablative/relative meaning is encoded in the ablative form (with the marker *-gap*), as in [105] and [106].

(2) Derivations

The directional allative forms *kalbu-layi(n)* and *dyimbi-layi(n)* are used when the process of motion, rather than the goal location, is focused on.

- [110] *Nakula yii + i-ny-dyu-n, i-ny-dyali-rn dyimbi-layin.*
 sea(ABS) ebb+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF 3-EN-return-IMPF inside-DIR
 'The tide is on the ebb.' (lit. returning towards offshore)
- [111] *Wangal i-na-nya-rn, ngiir + i-ny-dyu-n kalbu-layi.*
 wind(ABS) 3-TR-catch-IMPF deep.breath+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF above-DIR
 '(lit.) one "catches wind" (i.e. breathes in) and takes a breath "upwards" (i.e. deeply).' (explaining the mode of speech in the ingressive register; see 3.1.4.3 and 3.7.4)
- [112] *niyamarrri-gap dymbi-layin*
 hill-ABL inside-DIR
 'from the hill downwards'

The variant form *-liyan* [le'aŋ] has been recorded with *dyimbin*.

- [113] *Manydya warli inga-rr-dyali-rn-ngany dyimbi-liyan.*
 many meat/fish(ABS) 3"-AGM-return-IMPF-COM inside-DIR
 '(They went fishing and) they come back from the coastside with a lot of
 catch.' (cf. 2.4.4, 4.7.1)

The lative *-gaman* (8.3.2.2.(5)) or *-gardi* (8.3.5.1) have not been encountered on *dyimbin* or *kalbu*. There is, however, an instance of *-gardiny* (laminal-ending)^{60A} occurring on *dyimbin*.

- [114] *Dyimbin-gardiny i-nga-rn nakula, wa-ng-ga-bula dyimbin-gap wanydyi.*
 inside-LAT? 3;-be-IMPF sea(ABS); 3;-EN-FUT-come inside-ABL soon
 'The tide is out now, (but) it will come in shortly.'

⁵⁹ See 6.6.2 for the implicit allative usage of the word *birra*.

⁶⁰ As already pointed out in 6.5.2, the locative phrase can indicate a motion (into/onto something).

^{60A} This should be distinguished from the apical-ending *-gardin* (see 7.5.4.2 and footnote 76 there). cf. Table 801 (given in 8.3.1).

The asymmetrically derived forms given below are used adverbially and refer to the alternative ways of travelling along the coast line. They are here glossed in the Aboriginal English vernacular:

kalbu-dany "on-top way" (i.e. going on the dune); see 6.12.2
dyimbin-ngany "bottom-way" (i.e. going on the beach); see 6.10.5

(3) Case marking patterns

An interesting split is observed in the local case inflexions of phrases involving *dyimbin* and *kalbu*. First consider [115a-c]:

- [115] a. *dyimbin maya-gun*
 inside house-LOC
 'inside the house'
- b. *dyimbin maya-ngarn*
 inside house-ALLAT
 'into the house'
- c. *dyimbin-gap maya*
 inside-ABL house(ABL)
 'from inside the house'

The adverb *dyimbin* remains outside the NP in the locative and allative inflexions ([115a] and [115b], respectively). In the ablative inflexion of [115c], however, the word *dyimbin* is regarded as being inside the phrase since it takes up the ablative case marker on behalf of the head noun (see 2.5.2.3). The adverb *kalbu* follows the same pattern too.⁶¹ Sentential examples follow:

- [116] *Marlu ya-rndira-nda dyimbin kamba-ngarn maya*.
 not 12-go-PF inside that-ALLAT house(ALLAT)
 'We didn't enter that house.'
- [117] *Dyalangardi dyalknana + i-nga-rn dyimbin buru-gun*.
 goanna(ABS); hibernate+3_i-AUX(be)-IMPF inside ground-LOC
 'Goannas are sleeping under the ground.'
- [118] *Kalbu-gap marra i-ny-dyalku-rn dyimbin buru-gun*.
 above-ABL nest(ABS); 3_i-EN-fall-IMPF inside ground-LOC
 'A nest (of bird) fell down from (the top of) the tree.'

The adverb may be postpositioned to a noun (or an NP) inflected for the locative:

- [119] *Nga-ny-dyarlngardi-nda buru-gun dyimbin*.
 1-EN-cover-PF ground-LOC inside
 'I have covered it up in the ground.'
- [120] *Dyarrwa-gun dyimbin gwaniya i-nga-rn*.
 pool-LOC inside crocodile(ABS) 3-be-IMPF
 'There are freshwater crocodiles in the pool.'

There are also instances where *dyimbin* stands apart from the locative phrase (as in [121] below), although it is usually the case for the location adverbs to be contiguous to a locative NP, if any, in the clause.

⁶¹ The locative form *kalbu-gun* has been recorded in the time-reference phrase *kalbu-gun rumarra* 'very late in the morning' (lit. "in up sun"; see example [101] in 6.5.5). In this case, the word *kalbu* is interpreted as being inside the NP as an adjectival modifier to the noun *rumarra* 'sun'.

- [121] *Dyimbin i-nga-rn warli nyamba-gun burdugan.*
 inside 3-be-IMPF meat(ABS) this-LOC thicket(LOC)
 'There are lots of game animals in this thicket.'

It does not necessarily follow from the examples given so far that *dyimbin* is outside the locative and allative NPs but it occurs inside ablative NPs. It may be argued rather that the uninflected location adverbs cover both locative and allative meanings, but not ablative meanings, for which the adverbs must carry the case-marker explicitly. Among the local cases, in other words, the ablative is morpho-semantically more marked than the locative and the allative (see discussion in 6.7.2).

Interestingly, in this regard, instances (though limited in number) of redundant ablative marking have been recorded.

- [122] *Maya-gap kalbu-gap dyurrdyurr + wal-dyu.*
 house-ABL above-ABL climb.down+2FUT-AUX(say)
 'You come down from the roof.'
- [123] *Dyimbin-gap i-midyala-rn buru-gap.*
 inside-ABL 3-rise-IMPF ground-ABL
 '[Young shoot (of grass)] comes out of the ground.' (cf. 4.10.2.1)

Redundant case marking such as above is quite exceptional and is not encountered without involving the ablative forms of *dyimbin* or *kalbu*. Elsewhere in the language, the principle of initial marking (2.5.2.1) is thoroughgoing at phrase level.

8.3.5 Derived adverbs of location

There are two enclitics, namely the lative and the approximative, which derive adverbial expressions indicating location.

8.3.5.1 Lative *-gardi*

This encodes a meaning 'at/to the side of' (cf. 8.3.1). The morpheme *-gardi* is obviously related to the contrastive locative marker *-nygardi* (~ *-nygardin*) occurring on demonstrative pronouns (see 7.5.4.2),⁶² although the meaning encoded by *-gardi* is more lative or allative-like than contrastive (also see [114]):

- [124] *Warany-gardi wal-a-ma kamba warli.*
 other-side 2FUT-TR-put that meat(ABS)
 'Turn the meat over' (in cooking in hot ashes)
- [125] *Wa-na-ng-ga-yadiri kanin-gardi.*
 3-TR-EN-carry(FUT)-12"ACC (toponym)-side
 'He can take us to (the direction of) Gannen.' (not necessarily up to there)

⁶² The form is identified with the Karajarri allative case marker *-gardi*. Both in Karajarri and Yawuru, the marker (*-gardi/-gardin*) does not necessarily imply achievement — see example [125] above (cf. Sands 1989).

8.3.5.2 Approximative *-mardadyi*

This expresses an approximative meaning 'close to, near, around' (cf. 8.3.4.1).⁶³

maya-mardadyi 'close to the house (*maya*), around the house'
narli balu-mardadyi 'just beside the tree (*balu*)' (narli 'truly')

Example sentences are given below:

- [126] *I-na-ra-rn dyarrbal gurlir-mardadyi, yawirr.*
 3-TR-spear-IMPF back(ABS) scapulae-close missing
 'He speared (the turtle) in the back around the shoulder, but he missed.'
 (See 8.4.2.1 for the manner adverb *yawirr*)
- [127] *Kamba kanin lani rubibi-mardady.*
 that (toponym) near Broome-around
 'The place called Gannen (*kanin*) is not far from Broome.'
- [128] *Burlin + nga-ni yalku yarrgarda-mardadyi.*
 middle+2FUT-AUX(be) standing 1"DL(ABS)-close
 'Stand between us.'

In some cases the approximative can be paraphrased as a locative phrase, as in [129a/b]:

- [129] a. *Midyala-gadya + i-nga-rn dyungku-mardadyi*
 sitting-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-IMPF fire-close
 'He kept sitting close to the fire.'
- b. *Midyala-gadya + i-nga-rn lani dyungku-gun.*
 sitting-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-IMPF near fire-LOC
 'He kept sitting close to the fire.'

In others the approximative may bear an allative meaning: [130a] and [130b] encode more or less the same meaning:

- [130] a. *Marlu nga-rndira dyungku-mardadyi.*
 no 2FUT-go fire-close
 'Do not go close to the fire.'
- b. *Marlu nga-rndira lani dyungku-ngarn.*
 no 2FUT-go near fire-ALLAT
 'Do not go close to the fire.'

The approximative, however, does not cover the ablative/relative meaning: the notion of 'from the vicinity of (the) house', for example, can be expressed as *lani-gap maya* (near-ABL house(ABL)), but **maya-mardadyi-gap* (house-close-ABL) is unacceptable⁶⁴

The morpheme *-mardadyi* is also found in the lexicalised fish name *dyayumardadyi* 'stonefish, scorpionfish'.

⁶³ Compare *-martatji* 'coming from ...' (ablative) in Pitjantjatjara (Blake 1977:55, 65). The Yawuru *-mardadyi* has a less frequent variant *-mardady* (as in [127]). Significantly, the final stop *dy* of this consonant-ending variant is not devoiced — cf. discussion in 3.3.3.5.(4).

⁶⁴ See discussion in 8.3.4.1 and 8.3.4.3.(3).

8.4 Adverbs of manner

8.4.1 Adverbs of posture/gesture

There are a number of word-level expressions describing a posture or gesture. They occur most commonly as preverbs, with *ni* 'be' (stative), *dyu* 'say' (active) or *ma* 'put' (causative) as alternative auxiliary finite verbs (see 5.5.3).

<i>midyala</i>	'sitting' (cf. 5.6.1 and 4.10.2.1)
<i>yalku</i>	'standing'
<i>dyudin</i>	'bending (over)'
<i>dyakurl</i>	'(sitting) cross-legged' or '(standing) cross-armed'
<i>dyirdimirdi</i>	'"knees-up" (i.e. lying on the back with legs wide apart) ⁶⁵
<i>yalawarra</i>	'lying on one's back'
<i>warduardu</i>	'lying prone (on one's stomach)'
<i>dyamurr</i>	'(holding sth) in folded fingers', also '(sitting) in a circle'
<i>milikarra</i>	'looking another way' (esp. turning one's eye from a taboo person, such as mother-in-law or same-name)
<i>lulydyu</i>	'upside-down'

All except the last item above refer to postures of animate entities. A few example sentences follow:⁶⁶

- [131] *Dyudin + wal-dyu, dyurru wal-a-nya.*
bending+2FUT-AUX(say) snake(ABS) 2FUT-TR-catch
'You bend over to pick up the snake.'
- [132] *Dyamurr + wa-rr-ngará-aw yaw, nyamba-gun.*
circle.sitting+2"FUT-AGM-AUX(become)-VOC hey! this-LOC
'Hey, come and sit in a circle here (to talk).'
- [133] *Kamba-ni ngarrungu mil(i)karra + inga-rry-dyi-n.*
that-ERG person(ERG)_i turn.eyes+3"_i-AGM-AUX(be)-IMPF
'They (the man and the woman) kept looking the other way.' (pretending indifference to each other)

The preverb *girrp* 'going' across' (cf. 5.6.4) can also be applied to indicate a posture, as in:

- [134] *Girrp + i-nga-rn nimirdi.*
across+3-AUX(be)-IMPF leg(ABS)
'He's standing cross-legged.'

There are also terms describing modes of carrying:

<i>bururda</i>	'carrying on one's back ("piggy-back") ⁶⁷
<i>kundu</i>	'carrying on one's shoulder'
<i>nganybi</i>	'carrying on the arm/hip'
<i>ngandya</i>	'carrying in the mouth'

These are used as preverbs, specifying the meaning of the verb *ka* 'carry' (see 5.5.2.2).

- [135] *Nganybi + wal-a-ga⁶⁸ kamba wubardu, dyuyu-ni.*
on.hip+2FUT-TR-AUX(carry/FUT) that baby(ABS) 2-ERG
'(It's your turn to) hold the baby (on your arm).'

⁶⁵ It contains the root *mirdi* of *nimirdi* 'foot/leg' (see 2.4.3).

⁶⁶ Also see 6.7.2 for example [139] (containing *yalawarra*); see also 5.4.2.3 for example [20] (containing *warduardu*).

⁶⁷ A synonym is *dyana (+ka)*, which is probably a loan word from Karajarri.

⁶⁸ The voiced *ga* is the future stem of the irregular verb *ka* (see 4.5.6.2).

- [136] (*Yila-ni*) *ngandya + i-na-ka-rn* *warli* *nilirr-gun.*
 dog-ERG carry.in.mouth+3-TR-AUX(carry)-IMPF meat(ABS) mouth-LOC
 'A dog carried (a piece of) meat in its mouth.'

8.4.2 Action adverbs

Action adverbs are uninflecting lexical items that describe a certain mode of human action. More often than not they occur in the preverbal position, though they do not have to. Action adverbs combine with a variety of action/motion verbs, whereas preverbs are combined only with a closed set of verbs.

8.4.2.1 Hitting and missing

The word *kalkudyi* means 'hitting the target' (as in hunting). It may refer, by metaphor, to coming upon something or somebody that was being looked for by chance.

- [137] *Kalkudyi wal-a-bilka.*
 rightly 2FUT-TR-hit
 'Don't miss it!'
- [138] *I-murku-nda-dyina kalkudyi i-m-bula-rn.*
 3_i-search-PF-3DAT; rightly 3_j-EN-come-IMPF
 'She_i had been looking for him_j; then he_j just turned up.'
- [139] *Kalkudyi i-m-bula-nda-dyayrda ginyangka dyarn'du.*
 rightly 3_i-EN-come-PF-12["]DAT 3(ABS)_i woman(ABS)_i
 'The very woman came to us.' (fortunately for us)

The contrary idea of missing the target or failure of finding out somebody/something is expressed by *yawirr*.⁶⁹

- [140] *I-na-ra-rn miliny-barri, yawirr.*
 3-TR-spear-IMPF spear-INST missing
 'He tried to spear [the game] but missed.' (the spear went wide of the mark)
- [141] *Nga-murku-nda-dyina, yawirr nga-na-bura-rn.*
 1-search-PF-3DAT missing 1-TR-see-IMPF
 'I have been searching for him, but I can't find him.'

8.4.2.2 Throwing spears/boomerangs

Action adverbs related to the act of throwing (particularly boomerangs and spears) are:

<i>balngarrangarra</i>	'throwing a boomerang'
<i>dyunngara</i>	'running and throwing a spear'
<i>dyaal</i>	'throwing a spear' ⁷⁰
<i>dyalngara</i>	'throwing a spear'
<i>mamurrmurr</i>	'throwing and hitting (spears/stones/sticks/etc)'

⁶⁹ See 9.2.6 for the use of the reduplicated expression *yawirr'yawirr* 'fumbling (nearly missing)'. Also cf. 3.3.4.2.(2).

⁷⁰ This is also an ideophone to describe the whizzing of a thrown object (typically a spear). The same word may also describe onomatopoeically the motion of the body of the person throwing the spear.

The above words, except for the last one, imply generically what kinds of objects are thrown: namely spears or boomerangs. In [142] below, for example, a word for spear would be redundant unless there is a particular need to specify the type of spear used. In [143], the speaker mentions which type of boomerang is used, but the sentence without the object noun *lanydyi* would still convey the general idea that some type of boomerang was thrown.

[142] *Wamba-ni i-na-ra-rn dyunngara, warli i-na-bilka-rn.*
man-ERG 3-TR-spear-IMPf run&throw meat(ABS) 3-TR-hit-IMPf
'[The] man threw the spear (as he ran), and hit the game.'

[143] *Balngarrangarra lanydyi i-na-ngula-rn.*
boomerang.throwing boomerang(ABS) 3-TR-throw-IMPf
'He threw a (returning-type) boomerang.'

Similarly, the word *dyaal*, as used preverbally, is only applicable to spear throwing ([144b] below was rejected by informants), despite the fact that the same word can be used as an ideophone (onomatopoeia) of the whizzing of a flying object (stones as well as spears).

[144] a. *Dyaal + i-na-ngula-rn mangul.*
whiz+3-TR-AUX(throw)-IMPf spear(ABS)
'He threw a spear.'

b. ? *Dyaal + i-na-ngula-rn wanangarri.*
whiz+3-TR-AUX(throw)-IMPf stone(ABS)
'He threw a stone.'

Of the lexical items listed above, only *mamurrmurr* is unspecified as to the object thrown.

8.4.2.3 Ways of going

There are action adverbs indicating ways of moving (human actor):

<i>dyabirribirri</i>	'going side-way, passing aside'
<i>dyarrirr'dyarrirr</i>	'going side-way, detouring'
<i>ralakura</i>	'around, round about'
<i>dyurrung-gadya</i>	'(going) straight through' (straight-INTENS)
<i>dyurrungk ~ dyurrunggap</i>	'(looking/moving) around' (straight-ABL)

The last two items above are probably related to the manner adverb *dyurrungu* 'straight' (8.4.4.4). If so, the ablative marking (-*gap*) is the probable source of the meaning of 'around' in *dyurrunggap*.^{70A} Other items are uninflected. The preverb item *dyunku* 'running' (5.1.6) may be added to the list above, although instances in which the item is inflected for the causal is known (see example [44] in Chapter 10).

[145] *Kamba durrkarrang karda i-mirdibi-rn, dyabirribirri.*
that car(ABS) yonder(ALLAT) 3-run.away-IMPf side.way
'The car took a side track.' (avoiding holes on the road)

[146] *I-mirdibi-rn ralakura, dyamburr + i-na-ma-n-irr kangadyunu kungundyayi.*
3-run.away-IMPf around gather+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPf-3"ACC 3"PL(ABS) sheep(ABS)
'He went around and gathered up those sheep.'

^{70A} See footnote 93 in Chapter 3 for the *k*-ending variant.

- [147] *I-na-rba-rba-rn dyurrunggap, niwal-dyi i-rndira-rn.*
 3-TR-REDUP-follow-IMPF around foot(print)-DAT 3-go-IMPF
 'He looked around to find a track.'

The difference between *ralakura* 'around' and *dyurrunggap* 'around' is that the former more or less implies a circular motion while the latter expresses deviance from a straight way. This is attested in:

- [148] *Nyinydyinyinydyi-gun dadyil-gadya + ya-ng-ga-ni, ralakura/*dyurrunggap.*
 (name of dance)-LOC skip-INTENS+12-EN-FUT-AUX(be) round
 'In the Nyinyjinyinyji dance we will skip around in a circle.'

8.4.2.4 Negative action preverbs

There are four specialised words which indicate a state of inability or incapacity, usually temporal incompetence due to some external cause.

- yarrari* 'can't sleep'
karuru 'can't eat'
bulydyi 'can't walk' (= *marndamarnda* ~ *mardamarda*)⁷¹
burulyu 'can't see'; also (ADJ) 'invisible (too distant or (bush) too thick)'

Examples are as follows:

- [149] *Nyamba-ni karuru + i-na-ma-rn-ngayu nungu-gun.*
 this_i-ERG can't.eat+3_i-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-1ACC belly-LOC
 '(lit.) This baby in [my] womb makes me unable to eat.'
- [150] *Kalbu niyamarri, bulydyi + nga-nga-nda.*
 up hill can't.walk+1-AUX(be)-PF
 'It was really a steep hill. I couldn't walk up it.'⁷²
- [151] *Kadyarri karda i-nga-rn, burulyu ngayu niminy.*
 far yonder 3-be-IMPF can't.see 1(ABS) eye(ABS)
 'It's too far; I can't see it.'⁷³
- [152] *Inga-rr-burna-nda-ngayu manydya-ni dyurru ngurra, yarrari(-kurlin) + nga-nga-nda.*
 3"-AGM-bite-PF-1ACC many-ERG flea(ERG) night can't.sleep(-sleep)+1-AUX(be)-PF
 'I was so badly bitten by fleas last night that I couldn't sleep (well).'

Although adverbial use in the preverb construction (such as above) is most common, these negative action adverbs can be used also as abstract nouns (e.g. *yarrari* 'sleepless, insomnia', *karuru* 'loss of appetite, no appetite; morning sickness of a pregnant woman') or occasionally as adjectival modifiers to other nouns (as in *karuru dyarn'du* 'a woman suffering morning sickness').

8.4.3 Ideophonic adverbials

Ideophones (or onomatopoeic words) often modify verbs in such a way that they can be functionally regarded as manner adverbs. For instance,

- [153] *Marru mi-dyalku-rn rururu, rdardarl + mi-ngara-rn.*
 head(ABS) 2-fall-IMPF (alopecia) sick+2-AUX(become)-IMPF
 'Your hair has fallen out. You are sick.'⁷⁴

⁷¹ See example [40] in 10.2.1.1.

⁷² In [150] the word *kalbu* functions as an adjective (cf. 8.3.4.3).

⁷³ The case frame of this sentence exhibits a double-subject (ABS-ABS) pattern (see 10.2.1).

⁷⁴ Example [153] also has a double-subject clause structure (see 10.2.1).

- [154] *Kamba yila midbad + wal-a-ma rdarndarn.*
 that dog(ABS) tie.up+2FUT-TR-AUX(put) tight
 'Tie up the dog tightly.'

Other ideophonic items that may function adverbially include:

- dyudyudyu* 'right through, without a pause, continuously'
dyawar'dyawar 'whispering'
dyaal 'straight (as in throwing spear)'

and a large number of others (see 5.2).

8.4.4 Other lexical adverbs of manner

8.4.4.1 'By oneself'

The adverb *ngurdirn* [ŋóðeŋ] 'alone, by oneself' may modify either an action or a state (cf. 4.6.3):

- [155] *Kamba dyira ngurdirn i-rndira-rn yinydya.*
 that toddler(ABS) alone 3-go-IMPF thither
 'That toddler is walking by himself.'
- [156] *Ngurdirn nganka-gadya + inga-rry-dyi-n marlkin.*
 alone word-INTENS+3"-AGM-AUX(be)-IMPF secret
 'They are arranging the matter by themselves keeping it secret (from us).'
- [157] *Yila-barri ngurdirn nga-ni.*
 dog-INST alone 2FUT-be
 'You stay alone with (your) dog.' (= [154] in Chapter 6)

The double-case marked form *ngurdirn-gap-ni* (alone-ABL-ERG) bears some emphasis, 'all by oneself, on one's own' (see 6.7.6). The reduplicated form *ngurdirnngurdirn* [ŋóðeŋŋóðeŋ] means 'one by one, separately' (see 9.2.7; also see footnote 76 in 8.4.4.3).

- [158] *Wa-y-rr-garnda ngurdirn-ngurdirn.*
 3-IRR-AGM-go alone-REDUP
 'They might go "salp-salp"/ apart, scattered, separately, in disorder'

In contrast, the notion of 'together' is not lexicalised as a single adverb in Yawuru, but may be expressed idiomatically in derivations such as *kuru-barri* (lit. "embracing-with") and *waranydyarri-ngal* (lit. "one-time").

8.4.4.2 'For no reason'

The word *yibu* is translated by informants as "lazy". Used adverbially (usually without any inflexion), the word in most cases means 'with no reason, without certain reason, pointlessly, aimlessly' (equivalent to the Kriol/Aboriginal English adverb "lazy", which has been chosen as the gloss).

- [159] *Yibu nga-m-bula-rn-dyiya.*
 "lazy" 1-EN-come-IMPF-2DAT
 'I came only to see you.' (with no particular purpose/aim)
- [160] *I-na-bilka-nda-ngayu yibu.*
 3-TR-hit-PF-1ACC "lazy"
 'He hit me for nothing.'

- [161] *Yibu mi-nga-rn dyuyu.*
 "lazy" 2-be-IMPF 2(ABS)
 'You are doing nothing.'

Although the adverbial uses as exemplified above are common, the word can also be used as an adjective (e.g. *yibu nganka* 'aimless conversation; just a rumour', *yibu wamba* 'person who is not busy')⁷⁵ or as a noun referring either to something that is done for no reason or to a person or an entity at leisure.

Occasionally, *yibu* may indicate absence of action itself, rather than absence of reason. Consider [162] (see also [180] in 7.6.4):

- [162] *Kuridy-milidyarri + inga-rr-garna-nda, yibu inga-rry-dyi-nda.*
 quiet-DL+3"-AGM-AUX(go)-IMPF lazy 3"-AGM-be-PF
 '(The two encountered but) didn't greet each other.' (cf. 5.4.1.3.(2))

8.4.4.3 Intensity types

The following adverbs describe intensity and/or velocity of actions. These may be reduplicated (see 9.2.6)⁷⁶ or may be intensified by the suffix *-gadya*.

<i>k*awity</i> (~ <i>k*awty</i>) ⁷⁷	'quick(ly), swift(ly)' (ADJ and ADV)
<i>dyirril</i>	'strong(ly), hard; (N) strength' ⁷⁸
<i>bunydy</i>	'slow(ly), gentle/gently, weak(ly)'

The word *bunydy* indicates not only velocity of actions but also the intensity of actions or inanimate phenomena. A typical instance is:

- [163] *Bunydy + wal-a-ma kamba tiiwi.*
 slow+2FUT-TR-AUX(put) that TV/E(ABS)
 'Turn the volume of the TV down.'
- [164] *Marlu rdarndarn + wal-a-ma bunydy-marda.*
 not tight+2FUT-TR-AUX(put) loose-perhaps
 'Do not tie it up too hard; just loosely.'⁷⁹

In contrast, the meaning of 'make it louder' is expressed by *dyirril* 'strong' in place of *bunydy*. The antonymic nature of *bunydy* and *dyirril* is also apparent from contrasts observed in the following instances:

⁷⁵ Notice that the meaning of *yibu* as an adjective is 'free, unoccupied' rather than 'lazy'. Although it is likely that the word *yibu* provides the basis (at least distributionally) of the adverbial usage of "lazy" in local Aboriginal English, it is unclear in the first place why the English word "lazy" has been chosen as the popular translation of *yibu*, which barely means 'lazy' or 'laziness'.

⁷⁶ The reduplicated forms (such as *k*awtyk*awty* 'quickly, swiftly' and *bunydyabunydy* 'gently, silently, slowly') function exclusively as adverbs. This also holds true with *ngurdirngurdirn* 'separately' (8.4.4.1). See 9.2.7.

⁷⁷ See 3.3.1.2.(3) for the pronunciation. A glottalised postvelar stop (ejective) may occur in the initial position.

⁷⁸ See 6.10.3 for the semantic differentiation of *dyirril-ngany* (strength-COM) and *dyirril-barri* (strength-INST).

⁷⁹ In [164] the meaning of the uncertainty marker *-marda* (8.5.3.3) is close to that of the limitative *-manydyan* (8.4.5.2)

- [165] a. *Wangkurr+i-ny-dyu-nda bunydyä.*
 cry+3-EN-AUX(say)-PF slow
 'He was weeping/sobbing.'
- b. *Wangkurr-gadyä+i-nga-nda dyirril.*
 cry-INTENS+3-AUX(be)-PF strong
 'He was crying aloud.'
- [166] a. *Bunydyä i-ngara-rn wangal.*
 slow 3_i-become-IMPF wind(ABS)_i
 'The wind is falling.'
- b. *Dyirril wangal i-ngara-rn.*
 strong wind(ABS)_i 3_i-become-IMFP
 'The wind is rising.' or 'It is getting very windy.'

It should be noted, however, that the word *bunydyä* is a mono-functional adverb (no nominal or adjectival use has been attested), whereas its semantic counterpart *dyirril* is bifunctional (noun/adverb, but not an adjective; cf. 6.10.2 and 6.10.3).

The multifunctional word *na(a)rli* 'true' (8.1.2.4) may also be used as an adverb describing intensity of an action:⁸⁰

- [167] *Wal-a-bilka naarli dalydyi-barri.*
 2FUT-TR-hit true nulla-INST
 'You've got to hit him properly (as a punishment) with the fighting stick.'

8.4.4.4 'Right/wrong'

The antonymic terms *dyurrungu* and *ngarraya* basically refer to the compatibility of kinship sections according to the traditional marriage regulations (see 1.1.4). They may also refer, by extension, to adequacy or legitimacy of actions or states of affairs in general. The words can be used as nouns, as adjectives or as adverbs (see discussion concerning example [12] in 8.1).

- dyurrungu* (N) '(person of) marriageable section, "right skin"
 (ADJ) 'lawful, "straight", proper (of skin relation)
 (ADV) rightly, properly, correctly; straight, directly'
- ngarraya* (N) '(person of) incompatible (= unmarriageable) section,
 "wrong skin"
 (ADJ) 'inadequate, of "wrong skin"
 (ADV) wrongly (i.e. against the regulation)'

- [168] *Darlu-yi dyanu gilp + nga-ny-dyu-n, marlu nga-ny-dyu-n-dyina dyurrungu.*
 WM_i-DAT 1(GEN) avoid+1-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF not 1-EN-say-IMPF-3DAT; straight
 'I (have to) avoid my wife's mother (WM). I should not talk to her directly.'

⁸⁰ Remember that *naarli* may also function (i) as an adjective (e.g., *naarli wamba* 'true man (initiated males)' and *naarli nganka* 'true word (i.e. real story)'); (ii) as an emphasiser of adjectival modifiers (as in *naarli manydyä ngarrungu* 'very many people'); and also (iii) as an emphasiser of other adverbs (8.1.1.3).

- [169] *Karimba dyurrungu barr'dyarri.*
 Garimba straight Barrjarri
 'Those of Garimba section are allowed to marry those of Barrjarri section.'
 (Garimba and Barrjarri are names of marriage sections).

8.4.5 Derived adverbs of manner

Two bound lexemes are commented on in this section: the semblative and the limitative. These are morpho-syntactically enclitics and are attached after case inflexion, if any (see 2.2.2 and 6.12.7).

8.4.5.1 Semblative *-ngarr*

The most common function of *-ngarr* is to indicate similarity or resemblance (Blake 1977:58).⁸¹ It functions either adjectivally (i.e. modifying an entity, as in [170]) or adverbially (i.e. modifying a process, as in [171]).

- [170] *maya-ngarr yilala*
 house-like canvas
 'a tent'
- [171] *kari-dyunu-ngarr*
 grog-really-like
 'as if he were drunken'

Sentential examples are as follows:

- [172] *Nunydyana-ngarr inga-rr-a-ma-rn manydya bardarlmarda.*
 alive-like 3"-AGM-TR-put-IMPf many bird(ABS)
 'They exhibit many birds as if they were alive.' (referring to stuffed birds the speaker saw in a museum)
- [173] *Dup warndin (i-nga-rn) makurr-ngarr kalbu-gun.*
 white Milky.Way 3-be-IMPf road-like above-LOC
 'The white Milky Way lies in the sky like a road.'
- [174] *Ward + i-ny-dyu-n kirrbadyu-ni-ngarr.*
 sticky+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPf honey-ERG-like
 'It's as sticky as honey (lit. it sticks as honey does).'
- [175] *Wamba-ni kamba i-na-lurra-rn dyarn'du-ni-ngarr warli-mayi.*
 man-ERG that 3-TR-burn-IMPf woman-ERG-like meat-fruit(ABS)
 'He cooks well like women do.'

Notice that both in [174] and [175] the ergatively-marked noun is not the subject, which is latent in each sentence, but the semblative referent.⁸² It is interesting to note that, as in [176] below, when the ergatively-marked transitive subject is present in the clause, the ergative marker on the semblative may be omitted.

- [176] *Dyayumardadyi-ni i-na-ra-rn-ngayu i-na-lurra-rn-ngayu dyungku(-ni)-ngarr.*
 scorpion.fish-ERG 3-TR-spear-IMPf-1ACC 3-TR-burn-IMPf-1ACC fire(-ERG)-like
 'If you get stung by a scorpion fish, you will have a burning pain.' (hypothetical predication; the last ergative suffix can be omitted — cf. 8.4.5.1)

⁸¹ The Eastern Inland dialect form is *-ngarru* (vowel ending).

⁸² Compare [180] below where the ergatively-marked pronoun is truly the subject (experiencer of the dream).

Occasionally, the semblative clitic occurs on a predicate (either on a conjugated verb or on a preverb, if any):

- [177] *Wangkurr-gadya-ngarr dyana-gadya.*
 crying-INTENS-like where-INTENS
 'It seems somebody is crying. Where [is s/he]?'
 [178] *Dyana yirrgarda, nyamba-gun inga-rry-dyi-nda-ngarr.*
 where 3^{DL}(ABS) this-LOC 3^{AGM}-be-PF-like
 'Where are those two? It looks as if they have been here.'

In [177] the attachment of *-ngarr* onto the predicate has an effect similar to that rendered by epistemological adverbs (8.5.3).

The semblative *-ngarr* may have a meaning equivalent to English 'too' or 'also' (in transitive clause, after the ergative marker *-ni*):⁸³

- [179] *Ngayu-ngarr marrkun nga-ngara-rn.*
 1(ABS)-like hungry 1-become-IMPF
 'I'm hungry too.'
 [180] *Ngayu-ni-ngarr nga-na-m-bukarri-nda ngurra.*
 1-ERG-like 1-TR-EN-dream-PF night
 'I had a dream last night too.'

Not surprisingly, several animal/plant names contain *-ngarr* as a part of the stem (i.e. here the lexeme operates as a stem-forming suffix; see 6.12.7):

<i>nirliyangarr</i>	'Acacia bivenosa' (* <i>nirliya</i>)
<i>badarrangarr</i>	'(name of a snake)' (* <i>badarra</i>)
<i>kirridiny-ngarr</i>	'Pearly Nautilus' (lit. "moon-like"; the nautilus is locally called "moon-shell")

8.45.2 Limitative *-manydyan*

The enclitic *-manydyan* ~ *-manyān* (also a less frequent variant *-manya*)⁸⁴ means 'only'.

<i>kudyarra-manydyan</i>	'two only, only two'
<i>dyarn'du-manydyan</i>	'only women, women only'
<i>widil-manyān</i>	'unsmiling(ly), surly, blunt(ly)' (lit. "harsh-only")

It follows case marker(s), if any (2.2.2).

- [182] *lurldya-barri-manydyan*
 loincloth-INST-only
 'only wearing a loincloth'
 [183] *Wamba-yi-manydyan, marlu dyarn'du-yi.*
 man-DAT-only not woman-DAT
 'Only for men, not for women.' (referring to a sacred ritual place)

The limitative clitic has not been observed to occur on finite verbs.

⁸³ See 10.6.6.1(3) for the use of the clitic *-yirr* producing a similar meaning.

⁸⁴ An example containing the vowel-ending variant *-manya* is cited in 10.4.2 (example [138]). The Eastern Inland dialect form is *-manydya* and the Jukun dialect form *-manynyan* ~ *-manyān* (1.1.3.2).

- [184] *Dyimbini-manyan yanga-rry-dyi-n du::rr-gadya-manyan yang-a(rr-)likarra-rn.*
 inside-only 1"-AGM-be-IMPF (ONOM)-INTENS-only 1"-TR-AGM-hear-IMPF
 'As we stayed in the bush, we only heard the sounds (of the bombers).' (but did not see them).'

When attached to time adverbs (8.2.1), the limitative clitic encodes a perfect aspect (see 4.3.4.3, cf. 6.3.5):

- miliya-manyan* 'just now, just a moment ago'
madyil-manydyan 'only yesterday, just yesterday'

85 Sentence adverbs

Sentence adverbs are lexical items that modify entire sentences, rather than specific constituents of sentences. These modifiers express the speaker's attitude toward the event being spoken of (Schachter 1985:20). Three semantic/pragmatic types of sentence adverbs in Yawuru are outlined below: epistemic, epistemological and deontic.⁸⁵

85.1 Epistemic adverbs

Epistemic adverbs evaluate the degree of actuality/possibility without referring to the speaker's and/or participant's attitude towards the event described. Such evaluation is typically expressed in English by modal auxiliaries such as "must", "can", "may", etc.

85.1.1 Possibility

The epistemic adverb *nyanigarra* ~ *nyaninggarra* 'perhaps, probably' only vaguely indicates a possibility. The degree of probability expressed depends on pragmatic (extralinguistic) contexts, although there seems to be a tendency for propositions encoded in non-future to be higher in probability than those in future.

- [185] *Nyanigarra i-minydyi-n bidyardangka-gun.*
 perhaps 3-sit.down-IMPF La Grange-LOC
 'He is probably staying at La Grange now.'
- [186] *Nyanigarra wa-ng-ga-dyali ŋ, marlu wa-ng-ga-dyali ŋ.*
 perhaps 3-EN-FUT-return not 3-EN-FUT-return
 'She may come back or she may not.'

When the adverb comes to stand sentence-finally, the degree of uncertainty increases (cf. 10.8.2).

- [187] *Nga-ng-ga-rda warany-gun yilbin nyaninggarra.*
 1-EN-FUT-go other-LOC Sunday(LOC) perhaps
 'Maybe I'll leave next week (but I'm not quite sure).'

Although some element of epistemological mood (e.g. hope or reluctance depending on context) is discernible in such instances as [187] above, the word

⁸⁵ I here follow the the descriptive framework proposed by Chung & Timberlake (1985:241ff).

nyani(ng)garra is basically neutral as to the speaker's expectation of or commitment to the described events.

8.5.1.2 English-derived epistemic adverbs

In contemporary Yawuru, some forms of the English auxiliaries have been borrowed and incorporated as epistemic adverbs that are more specific than the traditional item *nyani(ng)garra*.

<i>miib(i)</i>	[mé:bi]~[mí:b]	'perhaps (may)'
<i>igin</i>	[ígin]~[íyin]	'possibly (can)'
<i>may(t)bi</i>	[má ^e ?bi] ~ [má ^e t ¹ bi]	'probably (will)'
<i>masbii</i>	[má:bsi:]~[má:bsi]	'necessarily (must be)'

These are respectively from English 'maybe', 'might be', 'he can' and 'must be'.⁸⁶ While the traditional adverb *nyani(ng)garra* may be used either in future or in non-future, these English-derived epistemic adverbs occur only in non-future (either perfective or imperfective).

8.5.1.3 Potentiality

There are also epistemic expressions referring to potential but contrafactual events:

<i>bulu</i>	'almost, nearly'
<i>miliya-rrri</i>	'almost, nearly, (AE "close-up")' ⁸⁷
<i>burlindarri</i>	'almost, "half way"' ⁸⁸

These regularly occupy the clause-initial position.

[188] *Bulu i-ny-dyalku-rn, marlu i-ny-dyalku-nda narli.*
almost 3-EN-fall-IMPF not 3-EN-fall-PF true
'He almost fell down, but didn't.'

[189] *Miliya-rrri nga-ny-dyalku-nda kalbu-gap, marlu-da nga-ny-dyalku-rn buru.*
now-DL 1-EN-fall-PF above-ABL not-RES 1-EN-fall-IMPF ground
'I nearly fell out of the tree, but I didn't.'⁸⁹

[190] *Burlindarri i-ny-dyalku-rn.*
half.way 3-EN-fall-IMPF
'He almost fell down.' (staggered but didn't fall)

The last item above may have a literal meaning 'half way, not completely', in which case it does not necessarily stand clause-initially.

[191] *Gil + mi-na-ra-rn burlindarri, narli gil + wal-dyu.*
cut+2-TR-AUX(spear)-IMPF half.way true cut+2FUT-AUX(say)
'You have cut it only half way. Cut it right through.'

⁸⁶ They are considered to have been introduced from Kriol (1.3.2), rather than directly from English. Intriguingly, the item *may(t)bi* seems to encode a much higher probability than *miib(i)*. The same tendency is observed in the use of local Aboriginal English.

⁸⁷ See examples [25]-[28] given in 8.2.1.1.(3) for the use of the same item as a time adverb 'soon, just about to'.

⁸⁸ The stem *burlin* means 'centre, middle' (either as a noun or as an adverb of location; 8.3.4.2). The formative *-darri* is encountered only in this lexical item.

⁸⁹ See 10.3.1 for the intensified negator *marlu-da*.

8.5.1.4 Mood

The epistemic adverbs, either traditional or not, occur only in realis predications.

- [192] a. *Nyaninggarra i-ny-dyalku-nda.*
 perhaps 3-EN-fall-PF
 'He might have fallen down.'
- b. **Nyani(ng)garra wa-ya-dyalku.*
 perhaps 3-IRR-fall

This is understandable, since irrealis in Yawuru, as has already been pointed out in 4.3.3.4, shows a close connection with the speaker's attitude towards the event spoken of. It thus indicates an epistemological mood.

Also due to the modality factor implied in the verb form the epistemic adverb *nyani(ng)garra* (8.5.1.1) is inclined to be somewhat epistemological rather than purely epistemic when used with verbs conjugated for future.

8.5.2 Deontic construction with *k*ayn*

Deontic adverbs indicate obligation and permission, rather than actuality or possibility of event.⁹⁰ In English the same auxiliary item may be epistemic (e.g. he must be at home) or deontic (e.g. you must go home). It seems to be a cross-linguistic phenomenon that expressions of necessity (epistemic) are also used for indicating obligation (deontic) on the one hand, and those of possibility (epistemic) are used for permission (deontic), on the other (Chung & Timberlake 1985:246). Such epistemic/deontic parallelism is not, however, the case in Yawuru. The epistemic adverbs given in the previous section do not have a deontic function.

8.5.2.1 Permissive/Jussive

It has been illustrated earlier that future forms of verbs reveal certain deontic functions, such as imperative and exhortative (see 4.3.3.1). As to the 1st/4th person, the purposive marker attached to the future forms of the verb often indicates the meaning of 'I/we have to do ...'.

For the 3rd person, Yawuru has a special permissive/jussive construction with the deontic adverb *k*ayn* ~ *k*aan* [qáɛn]~[káɛn]~[kɛɪn]~[qɪɪn]. Verbs to be combined are always in their future forms. The adverb adds a permissive and/or jussive (mild imperative) meaning (e.g. 'let someone go and bring it') to propositions. The predicate in the *k*ayn* construction may be transitive, intransitive or semi-transitive. Example are respectively as follows:

⁹⁰ Chung & Timberlake (1985:246ff) list such deontic modes as imperative, exhortative, desiderative, jussive, permissive, obligative (or debitive) and a few others (cf. 4.3.3). They further point out (ibid: 250) that the "epistemic mode evaluates the actuality of an event, while the deontic mode expresses the imposition of actuality."

- [193] *K*ayn wa-na-ng-ga-makura maardi-ni.*
 let 3-TR-EN-FUT-make (name)-ERG
 'Let Marty make it.' (transitive)
- [194] *Nyamba mayi limba, k*ayn wa-ng-ga-ni wula-gun, kalyingku + wa-ng-ga-ngara.*
 this fruit sour let 3-EN-FUT-be water-LOC mild+3-EN-FUT-AUX(become)
 'These fruits are sour. Soak them in water (lit. "let it be in water") to make the taste mild'
 (intransitive)
- [195] *K*ayn wa-ng-ga-murku-dyina ngurdirn.*
 let 3_i-EN-FUT-search-3DAT_j alone
 'Let him_j look around for it_j by himself. (semi-transitive)

Unlike other types of sentence adverbs, the deontic *k*ayn* cannot stand alone to form a single-word sentence. No examples of inflexion of it have been recorded. It is, therefore, morphologically regarded as a particle.

8.5.2.2 Word order

The particle *k*ayn* is immediately followed by a finite verb (FV). If the predicate consists of a complex verb (PV+FV), then the preverb (PV) is shifted to the postverbal position (i.e. *k*ayn* + FV + PV). In the following examples, preverb items are in boldface:

- [196] *K*ayn wa-ng-ga-ni **kurlin** kamba dyalykurr.*
 let 3-EN-FUT-AUX(be) sleep that baby(ABS)
 'Leave the baby asleep.'
- [197] *K*ayn wang-ga-rry-dyi **maldyu-gadya** kangadyunu baba-garra.*
 let 3"-FUT-AGM-AUX(be) play-INTENS 3"PL(ABS) child-PL(ABS)
 'Leave the children playing around.'

The NP for the subject of the action (either A-function or S-function), if needed to be mentioned, stands after the verb (and after the O-function NP, if any). Thus the regular word order for the *k*ayn* construction is:

*k*ayn* + FV (+ PV) + O/S + A

As indicated in this formula, as well as observed in all the examples given above, *k*ayn* regularly occurs in the clause-initial position.⁹¹

8.5.2.3 Indirect imperative

The *k*ayn* construction sometimes produces an indirect imperative meaning. The examples below are (in their original contexts) virtually 2nd-person imperative, rather than 3rd-person permissive:

- [198] *K*ayn wa-ng-ga-rda.*
 let 3-EN-FUT-go
 'You'd better let her go.'
- [199] *K*ayn wa-ng-ga-ni warany-gun-dyi rumarra.*
 let 3-EN-FUT-be other-LOC-DAT sun(LOC-DAT)
 'Keep him waiting until the next day.' (= [32] in 6.2.7; cf. 7.7.2)

⁹¹ There is at least one counter-example to this: see [194] (cited in 10.6.3.4) in which *k*ayn* is preceded by the object noun.

It should be added that, depending on the context of discourse, the same sentences above could mean [198] 'he shall go' (i.e. 'I will make him go') and [199] 'please allow me to keep him waiting'.

There is at least one instance recorded in which *k*ayn* is followed by a verb conjugated for the 1st person future. The clause is immediately followed by another *k*ayn* clause with a 3rd-person verb.

- [200] *K*ayn nga-ng-ga-ni, k*ayn wa-ng-ga-bula, nga-na-ng-ga-ngurlika-dyina nyamba-gap.*
 let 1-EN-FUT-be let 3_i-EN-FUT-come 1-TR-EN-FUT-wait-3DAT_i this-ABL
 'Let me wait until he comes. I'll wait for him here.'

The *k*ayn* construction is not available in the negative. Given below is the only exceptional instance in which *k*ayn* carries a prohibitive meaning by being followed by a non-future irrealis conjugation of the verb (4.3.2.2). Even here the negator *marlu* is absent.

- [201] *Wubadyubadyu-ni k*ayn wa-la-rr-a-rli*⁹² *kamba warli,*
 little.ones-ERG let 3-IRR(PAST)-AGM-TR-eat that meat(ABS)
dyimbu-barri dyalangardi.
 egg-INST goanna(ABS)
 'The small children [girls] must not eat the meat of egg-bearing goannas.'
 (see [68] and footnote 40A earlier in this chapter).

8.5.3 Epistemological adverbs

8.5.3.1 Word-level items

English has derived adverbs such as 'unfortunately', 'hopefully', 'obviously', 'reportedly', 'allegedly', 'surprisingly', etc. which express the speaker's attitude to, evaluation of, and emotional involvement in the truth value of the information. In Yawuru, by contrast, there are only very few instances of word-level expressions that encapsulate such epistemological judgements on the part of the speaker.⁹³ Those items encountered are:

<i>naarli</i>	'truly, really, indeed' (cf. 10.6.1.2)
<i>narli-marda</i>	'apparently, observably' (lit. "true-perhaps" — see 8.5.3.3)
<i>wura-marda</i>	'doubtfully' (lit. "lie-perhaps" — see 8.5.3.3)
<i>gadya</i>	'reportedly' (see 10.6.5)

It has already been pointed out (8.5.1.4) that the epistemic adverb *nyanigarra*, particularly in future scope, can also indicate a more or less epistemological attitude (namely, uncertainty) of the speaker. It has also been illustrated (8.4.5.1) that the semblative clitic *-ngarr(u)* can render an epistemological colouring to the utterances.

⁹² This also represents a rare instance of the irrealis conjugation with the prefix *la-* (see 4.3.2.2 for discussion; Sentence [201] was uttered by the same informant as the one examined in 4.3.2.2 (re: example [46]).

⁹³ Chung & Timberlake (1985:244f) list such epistemological modes as: 1) experiential (the event is experienced by the speaker/participant), 2) inferential/evidential (the event is inferred from evidence), 3) quotative (the event is reported from other people; see 10.6.5 for the use of quotation particle *gadya*) and 4) imaginative/constructive (the event is thought/belief/fantasy of the speaker/participant).

Perhaps the question particle *k'a(a)* (3.1.4.2 and 10.4.2) may be added to the list here, since it expresses a lack of conviction, and hence doubt or uncertainty about the truth of the event, rather than simply posing a question. See 10.4.2 and 10.4.3 for its use and its contrast with the other particle *b'ay*, which expresses an affirmative epistemological judgement, 'obviously, surely'.

8.5.3.2 Resolutive *-da*

The clitic *-da*, 'surely, certainly, no doubt', adds an epistemological colour to the proposition (resolutive = RES); it is an indicator of the speaker's commitment to the value of the statement:⁹⁴

- [202] *Wanydyi-da wa-ng-ga-bura ngurra-gap.*
 soon-surely 3-EN-FUT-see night-ABL
 'He will no doubt find it tomorrow.'

The derived conjunction *kagap* (7.5.3.1) may be intensified by the attachment of the resolutive marker.

kagap 'after this/that'
kagap-da 'only after this/that'

In the following sample, the addition of *-da* to the interrogative word *yangki* intensifies the speech act of interrogation: somebody had said that the lizard in topic is called *kulamana* in Yawuru but the person who uttered [203] posed a strong doubt about it.

- [203] *Yangki-da nilawal, kulamana k'a.*
 what-surely name frilled.lizard Q/TAG
 'What's the [correct] name for this [lizard]; is it really *kulamana*? (... there must be some other name.)'

8.5.3.3 Uncertainty marker *-marda*

The clitic *-marda* (tentatively glossed 'perhaps') indicates a feeling of uncertainty on the part of the speaker. For example:

- [204] *Yirrydyurr-marda, marlu yarryirr.*
 3"PCL(ABS)-perhaps not 1"PL(ABS)
 'It's perhaps them (who did it), but (at least) it's not us.'

Phrases commonly encountered include the following (as well as *narli-marda* and *wura-marda* already cited in section (1) above):

- [205] *miliya-nyurdany-marda*
 now-CAUS-perhaps
 'probably not so long ago' (see 8.2.1.1.(3) for *miliya-nyurdany*)
- [206] *karda-gun-marda*
 yonder-LOC-perhaps
 'around there, down there' (see 7.5.2 for *karda-gun*)

⁹⁴ See also 8.5.1 (for a combination with the negator: *marlu-da*) and 10.4.1.1.(2) (for a combination with the question particle: *ngadyi-da*).

- [207] *kagap-marda*
 away(from here)-perhaps
 'more or less that way' (see 7.5.3.1 for *kagap*)
- [208] *limba-marda*
 bitter-perhaps
 'not tasting so good' (a weaker judgement than *limba-gurdany* — see 6.11)

There are also cases where *-marda* is attached to WH-interrogatives (see 7.6.7.3 for instances) and where it encodes a condition (10.6.7.3(3)).⁹⁵

⁹⁵ The uncertainty-marking clitic is common to Nyikina. Stokes records "maḡa" (= *marda*) 'uncertain'; Nyikina also has the semantic counterpart *mirri* 'certain' (Stokes 1982:373-376), which has not been attested in Yawuru.

Chapter 9: Reduplication

This chapter deals with the morphology and semantics of reduplication.¹ The first section (9.1) outlines the distinction of (i) rightward vs leftward reduplication, (ii) full vs partial reduplication, and (iii) productive vs lexical reduplication. Then, the subsequent sections illustrate nominal (9.2) and verbal (9.3) reduplication.

9.1 Modes of reduplication

It has been foreshadowed in 2.3.2 that there are two modes of reduplication: rightward reduplication and leftward reduplication. In both cases, reduplication may be either full (AB to ABAB type) or partial (AB to ABB or AAB type).

Reduplication of finite verbs is leftward. In other words, verb stems always keep their endings (cf. 4.10.1), e.g. *ma*, *nya* and *ku* in the examples of partial reduplication given below (reduplicated segments are underlined):

<i>wunduma</i>	>	<i>wundu-wunduma</i>	'press it down'
<i>wilinya</i>	>	<i>wili-wilinya</i>	'go mustering'
<i>dyalaku</i>	>	<i>dyala-dyalaku</i>	'overflow'

There are also verbs which may be fully reduplicated (9.3.3.1).

Rightward reduplication is the case with nominals:

<i>ngamu-ngamu</i>	'pendulous (of breasts of old women)'
<i>wubardu-bardu</i>	'fingers (other than thumb)'
<i>birrka-birrka</i>	'k/o mussel'
<i>dyabarlarl</i>	'mud, muddy place'
<i>ngalminyamina</i>	'Little Red Flying-fox'

The first two items above have unreduplicated counterparts (*ngamu* 'nipple' and *wubardu* 'child, small').² In other words, they represent the process of **productive reduplication**. On the other hand, the rest of the items given above lack an unreduplicated stem occurring as an independent lexical item (**birrka*, **dyabarlarl*, **ngalminya*). The process of word formation in these cases is termed **lexical reduplication**. Items resulting from productive reduplication are given hyphenated in this chapter (whether the reduplication is full or partial), whereas lexically reduplicated words are not hyphenated.³

Only productive reduplication (either partial or full) is encountered in verbal items. As for nominals, full reduplication may be either productive or lexical, while all the known instances of partially-reduplicated nominals are lexical (thus presented without hyphens).

¹ See 3.3.4.2.(2), 3.3.5.2, and 3.7.1.4 for phonological issues concerning reduplication.

² Note that 'thumb' is *wirdu* (lit. big/thick).

³ This notational convention is valid only in this chapter. Reduplicated items, either productively or lexically formed, have been spelled without hyphens in other chapters.

9.2 Nominal reduplication

9.2.1 Basic semantic patterns

Reduplication in nominals typically encodes such notions as plurality of entities, intensity of a process, iterativity of an action, and attenuation.

9.2.1.1 Plurality

Nominal reduplication may indicate plurality, usually with the implication of non-paucalness.

<i>nukunuku</i>	'fragments (N); broken into pieces (ADJ)' (* <i>nuku</i>)
<i>ngarrung-ngarrung</i>	'many people' (< <i>ngarrungu</i> 'people') ⁴
<i>rdurl-rdurl</i>	'rashes, pimples, mosquito bites' (< <i>rdurl</i> 'lump')

It may also often refer to uncountable collectivity:

<i>mambulymambuly</i>	'body hair' (* <i>mambuly</i>)
<i>walydyarrwalydyarr</i>	'pubic hair' (* <i>walydyarr</i>)
<i>buru-buru</i>	'dust' (< <i>buru</i> 'sand, earth'; see 8.2.3)

There is, however, at least one instance in which the referent of the reduplicated word is dual, rather than non-paucal plural.

<i>ngarlungarлку</i>	'cheek(s)' (* <i>ngarлку</i>)
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This lexically reduplicated word can refer specifically to left or right cheek depending on context.

9.2.1.2 Intensity

Reduplication may also indicate an intensity of the process described. Typical examples are:

<i>wangal</i> 'breath, wind'	> <i>wangal-wangal</i> 'strong wind' ⁵
<i>ngirrin</i> 'crest of wave'	> <i>ngirrin-ngirrin</i> 'rough sea'
<i>yiwarra</i> 'pink cloud'	> <i>yiwarra-yiwarra</i> 'twilight sky, coldness' ^{5A}

Intensity is also apparent in lexical reduplication such as follows:

<i>gudyugudyu</i>	'whirlwind'
<i>ngarlangarla</i>	'heat wave, mirage'
<i>ngarrangarra</i>	'a steep cliff'
<i>ngunynguny</i>	'contemplating' (preverb)

9.2.1.3 Iterative

Reduplication may encode repetition of action:

⁴ The difference from the plural form *ngarrung-garra* (2.4.2.2) is that the reduplicated term *ngarrung-ngarrung* presupposes an actual gathering of people, whereas the referent of *ngarrung-garra* may be either actual or ideational.

⁵ See 9.2.3 for the polysemy of *wangal-wangal*.

^{5A} See 8.2.1.3.(3) (and footnote 29 there) for the implications of *yiwarra* and *yiwarra-yiwarra*; also cf. 3.7.1.4.

lungkulungku 'premonition' (e.g. indicated by a tic — see [48] in Chapter 10)
dangidangi '(being) out of breath'

Probably falling into this category are items such as *marradymarrady* 'flare, flame' (typically describing a flickering camp fire) and *dyurr'dyurr* 'snivel, "running nose"' (when the nose is running, one has to snivel repeatedly).⁶

Significantly, names of insects which are characterised by a regular repeated action take reduplicated forms (lexical).

bakulbakul 'mudskipper'
muldyuddyud 'ant-lion larva'⁷
bindabinda 'butterfly (generic)'

9.2.1.4 Attenuation

There are cases where reduplication seems to reflect some sort of attenuation or a diminutive-like effect:

barlkara 'Australian Bustard' (*Otis australis*)
barlkara-kara 'Crested Pigeon' (*Ocyphaps lophotes*)
ngurra 'night'
ngurra-ngurra 'early evening (around sunset time)'
rangkarr 'morning glow'
rangkarr-rangkarr 'dawn'
dyunduru 'urine'
dyunduru-dyunduru 'feeling like passing water'⁸

9.2.2 Noun/adjective switching

9.2.2.1 Derivation of adjectives by reduplication

First consider the following pair:

rdirndu 'node'
rdirndu-rdirndu 'tangled (as fishing line), curly (as hair);
 curled up (as dry wattle seedpods)'

where the reduplication works as a device for deriving an adjective from a noun.⁹

Similar cases of adjective derivation by reduplication are numerous:

mukudal (N) 'scar, cicatrice'
mukudal-mukudal (ADJ) 'striped'¹⁰
bandil (N) 'curving, drawing'
bandil-bandil (ADJ) 'spotted, striped'

⁶ When used as a preverb combined with the auxiliary *dyu* 'say', the word *dyurr'dyurr* means 'climbing down, descending'. This may be associated with snivel, which has to do with stopping mucus running down.

⁷ When used as a preverb, the item means 'going backwards' (just like ant-lion larvae do).

⁸ This reduplicated item typically occurs as a preverb with the auxiliary *ngara* 'become'. That is, having a desire to pass water is expressed literally as "piss-piss become".

⁹ See 2.3.3 for the sound-symbolic transformation of *rdirndu-rdirndu* 'tangled, curly' to *rdirndyurdirndyu* 'curly hair'.

¹⁰ This refers only to monochrome marks or stripes (as seen in certain species of lizards or marine fish). By contrast, the next item *bandil-bandil* describes multicoloured patterns.

<i>dyirikal</i>	(N) 'spike, spine, thorn'
<i>dyirikal-dyirikal</i>	(ADJ) 'spiky, thorny, "porcky-porcky" ¹¹
<i>wulu</i>	(N) 'grey hair'
<i>wulu-wulu</i>	(ADJ) 'grey-haired'
<i>kumbarri</i>	(N) 'multicoloured paint' ¹²
<i>kumbarri-kumbarri</i>	(ADJ) 'painted with multiple colours'
<i>birr</i>	(N) 'root'
<i>birr-birr</i>	(ADJ) 'rugged/rough (of road)' (cf. 9.2.3.3)

The case of *ngamu* 'nipple' > *ngamu-ngamu* 'pendulous' cited earlier (9.1) may be added here too.¹³ Notice that notions of plurality and/or intensity (as depicted in 9.2.1) are often relevant to the derivation of adjectives by reduplication. Thus, for example, *mukudal-mukudal* (given above) is not merely 'having a scar' but rather 'having many scars' (it should be noted that the original word *mukudal* may refer to a single scar or cicatrice). Similarly, *bandil-bandil* means 'having many spots/stripes' (see 9.2.3.2), *dyirikal-dyirikal* 'having many thorns or spines', and so on.

9.2.2.2 Lexically reduplicated adjectives

A number of Yawuru adjectives show lexical reduplication:

<i>kayukayu</i>	'soft (like mud/bread)'
<i>dyiladyila</i>	'hot (of sand)'
<i>birndabirnda</i>	'clear and transparent (of water)'
<i>ngarangara</i>	'stupid'
<i>dakidaki</i>	'deaf (N & ADJ)'
<i>malyngamalynga</i>	'wrinkled (body in old age)'
<i>winykuwinyku</i>	'wrinkled (people or thing)'
<i>badalybadaly</i>	'weak, lost strength (from sickness or hunger)'
<i>balybaly</i>	'flat' ¹⁴

Colour terms are often derived in the same manner. Some of them are productive and others are lexical:¹⁵

¹¹ The Aboriginal English expression "porcky-porcky" is probably based on "porcupine" (*dyiribuka* in Yawuru; *dyiri* is a general term referring to spikes/thorns of insects, animals, (venomous) fish, etc).

¹² This is identified with the Nyikina word *gumbarri* 'yellow ochre', though the Yawuru word *kumbarri* refers to a combination of red, yellow and white.

¹³ Some (but not all) of the above instances may be paraphrased by using the semblative suffix *-ngarr* (8.4.5.1): e.g. *mukudal-ngarr* '(lit.) "like scars"' for *mukudal-mukudal*. See also footnote 15 below.

¹⁴ Capell's Yawuru glossary has "bal'anilir" (which would be *balyanilirr* in our spelling system) 'spoonbill'. The name of this bird, which has a flat bill, is *balybalynilirr* according to my informants (*nilirr* 'mouth, bill'). The unreduplicated root **baly* or **balya* has not been attested as an independent word.

¹⁵ Although there are quite a few derived expressions of colour in Yawuru, there are only two basic, underived colour terms: *dup* 'white' and *ruka* 'black'. The latter is also used as a noun referring to a bruise. Several colour expressions are derived with *-ngarru* (obviously a variant of the semblative *-ngarr*): *kurrwal* 'sky' > *kurrwal-ngarru* 'blue'; *nakula* > *nakula-ngarru* 'turquoise' (the colour of the Indian Ocean as viewed from the Yawuru country). cf. footnote 13 above.

dakul 'red ochre' > *dakul-dakul* 'ochre red' (i.e. colour of *dakul*)
bandil 'drawing/curving' > *bandil-bandil* 'striped/spotted (colourfully)'
bilyurr 'heart' > *bilyurr-bilyurr* 'red'¹⁶
wirrkkin 'leaf' > *wirrkkin-wirrkkin* 'green'
kumbirrkumbirr 'lemon yellow' (**kumbirr* not attested)
bundulbundul 'yellowish red (like red sand)' (**bundul* not attested)

9.2.2.3 Nominalisation by reduplication

There are a few instances in which reduplicated preverbs (particularly those of an onomatopoeic nature) bear a common-noun function as well as a preverbal one (cf. 9.2.7).

dyad 'hitting/cutting (tree by axe)' [+STAB]
dyad-dyad 'knife, machete' (also as preverb 'scraping' [+SAY])
kindil(-gadya) 'coughing' [+BE]
kindil-kindil 'cough (N)' (also preverb 'coughing badly')

It is noted in this connection that some of the reduplicated adjectives (9.2.3.1) may functionally be used as nouns again:

bandil-bandil 'snapper (generic)¹⁷
birr-birr 'gravel'
bundul-bundul '(toponym)' (named after the distinctive red sand hill)

9.2.3 Idiomatic derivations

As we have seen in the derivation of 'red' from 'heart' (9.2.3.2), semantic modification that is realised by reduplication can be highly idiomatic. Some further idiosyncratic cases are:

bidyi 'hole (in general)'
bidyi-bidyi 'goanna hole' (may refer to a single hole)
marra '(bird's) nest'
marra-marra 'sheet laid on the ground' (for people to sit on, or things to be laid upon) (synonym is *yirrala*)
dyakul 'round (ADJ), circle (N)' (possibly from English "circle")
dyakul-dyakul 'whorl of sea shells'

In some cases, a reduplicated item reveals a polysemy and it is totally dependent on context whether one or the other meaning is applicable. For instance,

wangal 'wind, breath'
wangal-wangal '(1) lung; (2) fontanelle; (3) strong wind' (cf. 9.2.1.2)

There are also cases where no apparent semantic connections exist between a reduplicated item and its unreduplicated counterpart (and no explanation is provided by native speakers, either). Some of such cases may have certain historical connections. Others, however, may simply be incidental.

¹⁶ Capell's Yawuru glossary has "bil'urbil'ur" (equivalent to *bilyurrbilyurr* in our spelling system) as 'ghost' (Capell n/d:3). This probably refers to the red-clothed ghosts in Yawuru/Najanaja folktales.

¹⁷ This is the generic term for striped edible fish that have red meat, especially snappers (fam. *Lutjanidae*), such as the Four-lined Snapper (*Lutjanus kasmira*), the Stripey snapper (*L. carponotatus*) and others.

<i>buya</i>	'reef'
<i>buya-buya</i>	'red ant'
<i>lanydyi</i>	'(a type of) boomerang' (typically made of Hakea)
<i>lanydyi-lanydyi</i>	'Yellow-leaved Spurred Mangrove (locally called "green mangrove")' (<i>Ceriops tagal</i>)
<i>bilady</i>	'reflexion (of sunshine)'
<i>bilady-bilady</i>	'Galah' (k/o Cockatoo)

9.24 Loan words

Interestingly, a number of English words are adopted into Yawuru through reduplication. Only the reduplicated forms are legitimate Yawuru words:

<i>milimili</i>	'paper, document, mail' (from "mail", but not * <i>mili</i>)
<i>wirliwirli</i>	'fishing line' (probably from "wheel", but not * <i>wirli</i>)
<i>kadikadi</i>	'crossroads' (possibly from "cut", cutty-cutty; * <i>kadi</i>)

Some Karajarri (Kj) loan words are also reduplicated as they are incorporated into Yawuru (Yw):¹⁸

Kj. <i>bininy</i>	'stinky' > Yw. <i>bininy-bininy</i>	'stinky (ADJ)' (= <i>mandu</i>)
Kj. <i>kurrirl</i>	'snipe' > Yw. <i>gurri(r)l-gurri(r)l</i>	'snipe' (= <i>kuwa</i>)

A few words are observed to fluctuate between reduplicated and unreduplicated forms, apparently without any change in meaning. This could possibly suggest their loan-word origin.

<i>ramba</i>	~ <i>ramba-ramba</i>	'sea-snail'
<i>walaq</i>	~ <i>walaq-walaq</i>	'green frog'

9.25 Onomatopoeic items

Quite a few items of lexical reduplication are recognisably of onomatopoeic nature.¹⁹

<i>bibubibu</i>	'bull-roarer'
<i>kankan</i>	'clap sticks'
<i>dyangadyanga</i>	'chains'
<i>ngunungunu</i>	'humming'
<i>miwmiw</i>	'finches (generic)'
<i>ngangilngangil</i>	'pig'
<i>burlburl</i>	'bubbles of boiling water'
<i>rurdrurd</i>	'wasp'

These are also used as an onomatopoeia (or ideophonic imitation or association of the sound) of each designated entity.

As a sub-type of onomatopoeia, birdcalls of certain species are lexicalised (as a non-sense mimic) by reduplicating a common meaningful word:

¹⁸ There is the name of a corroboree (referring to a particular type of dance), *nyinydyinyinydyi*, which happens to be a reduplication of Karajarri word *nyinyii* 'anus' (Yw. *nyiru*; cf. 2.4.3).

¹⁹ Many corroboree names (referring to particular types of dancing) also show lexical reduplication: *walawala*, *birurlrudrud*, *k*abak*aba* (as well as *nyinydyinyinydyi* mentioned in the previous footnote).

kamirda-kamirda 'plover (generic)' (cf. *kamirda* 'grandfather (FF)')
dyubaki-dyubaki 'Little Friarbird' (cf. *dyubaki* 'tobacco')²⁰

A large number of names of birds, insects, fish and plants show lexical reduplication. These, however, do not always seem to be onomatopoeic.

<i>dyiwandyiwan</i>	'peewee (magpie lark)'
<i>dyukudyuku</i>	'Bar-shouldered Dove' (probably onomatopoeic)
<i>dyawrrdyawrr</i>	'kookaburra'
<i>lanba-lanba</i>	'a small nocturnal bat'
<i>dyiwilyurwilyurr</i>	'wren' (generic) also its birdcall
<i>yinydyiyinydyi</i>	'stick insect'
<i>wiyawiya</i>	'dragon fly' (possibly onomatopoeic)
<i>marlbarndabarnda</i>	'mangrove bee'
<i>warlmirimiri</i>	'octopus sp. (small type)'
<i>walkawalka</i>	'(a type of) salmon'
<i>nirrinirri</i>	'hammer-head shark'
<i>kirnkirn</i>	'Blue-spotted Fantail Ray'
<i>yilybiyilybi</i>	'Woolly Corchorus (k/o shrub)'
<i>kardukardu</i>	'Cadgeput tree'
<i>biyalbiyal</i>	'k/o mangrove (<i>Camptostemon schultzi</i>)'

Another domain where we encounter a number of instances of reduplication is toponymic. In most of the cases, again, the original meanings are unclear (i.e. the reduplication is lexical). Such toponyms include *wiririwiriri*, *ngurangura*, *murrumurru*, *bilinybiliny*, *karlkarl*, *bangaraangara* (cf. 3.7.1.4) and many others.

9.2.6 Adverb reduplications

Both productive and lexical reduplication are encountered in adverbs.

<i>gilp-gilp</i>	'avoiding one's mother-in-law'
<i>dyarrirrdyarrirr</i>	'going sideways' (= <i>dyabirrbirr</i>)

Reduplication of adverbs does not necessarily involve intensification, plurality or reiteration. Semantic effects of adverb reduplication are often idiosyncratic and rather context-bound. For example, reduplication of the action adverb *yawirr* 'missing (a target)' (8.4.2.1) produces *yawirr-yawirr* 'nearly missing'

- [1] *Yawirr-yawirr i-na-nya-n dyarrp kamba-ni minyaw.*
 missing-REDUP 3-TR-catch-IMPF lizard(ABS) that-ERG cat(ERG)
 'The cat is teasing a lizard' (*dyarrp* is a common small dragon lizard)

The reduplicated adverb means 'fumbling (lit. "missing-missing"), but got it finally', while the unreduplicated *yawirr* definitely means that the actor missed the target.

Most of the manner adverbs are also nouns/adjectives (see 8.1.2). Importantly, however, reduplicated forms of the manner adverbs (such as *k*awty-k*awty*, *bunydy-a-bunydy-a* and *ngurdirn-ngurdirn* below) function exclusively as adverbs:

²⁰ A variant form *dyubakdyubak* has also been recorded (but **dyubak* or **dyubaq*). cf. footnote 93 in 3.4.5.1.(1).

<i>k*awity</i> (~ <i>k*awty</i>)	'quick (ADJ); quickly (ADV)'
<i>k*awty-k*awty</i>	'quickly' (adverb use only)
<i>bunydy</i>	'slow/gentle (ADJ), slowly/gently (ADV)'
<i>bunydy-bunydy</i>	'taking some breaks, not at one time' (adverb only) ²¹
<i>ngurdirn</i>	'single, lonely' (ADJ), 'alone by oneself' (ADV)
<i>ngurdirn-ngurdirn</i>	'separately, apart, in disorder' (adverb only)

9.2.7 Preverb reduplication

Three preverb items are known to have partially reduplicated forms (lexical):

<i>muldyuddyud</i>	'go backwards' [+GO]
<i>girdirdi</i>	'throw away, push' [+THROW]
<i>dyurrurru</i>	'pour, fill up liquid' [+PUT]

All other cases of preverb reduplication (numbering over fifty items) show full reduplication, either lexical or productive.

9.2.7.1 Durative

In many cases, the semantic effect of preverb reduplication concerns aspect. Reduplicated preverbs, for example, may indicate that the event described is prolonged to a certain length of time. Compare [2a] with [2b]:

- [2] a. *Ngarp + i-ngara-nda dyulmuru.*
float+3-AUX(become)-PF flatback(ABS)
'A flatback turtle emerged from the water.'
- b. *Ngarp-ngarp + i-rndira-rn warndal nakula-gun.*
float-REDUP+3-AUX(go)-IMPF dinghy(ABS) sea-LOC
'[The] dinghy went on floating on the sea.'²²

Aspect of duration or continuity is also embodied in such items of lexical reduplication as follows:

<i>bidybidy +dyu</i>	'trace, track' [+SAY]
<i>kadkad +ngara</i>	'tremble (from cold)' [+BECOME]
<i>winyiwinyi +dyu</i>	'tremble (as leaves in wind)' [+SAY]

9.2.7.2 Iterative

Reduplication may also encode iterative aspect. Typically, preverbs referring to body actions which involve a quickly repeated movement take a form of lexical reduplication. Examples include:

<i>yalyaly +dyu</i>	'licking' [+SAY]
<i>dyunydyuny +dyu</i>	'(baby) sucking breast' [+SAY]
<i>dudyul-dudyul +ra</i>	'smashing' [+STAB] (< <i>dudyul +ra</i> 'hitting')
<i>rudrud +ni</i>	'jumping (in dance)' [+BE]

²¹ Compare *bunydy-gadya* 'very slowly/softly, not violently' (i.e. the meaning is intensified by the *-gadya* suffixing, rather than by reduplication; see footnote 23 below). In other Australian languages, the meaning of the adverb for 'gently' may be intensified by reduplication: e.g. Yanknuntjatjara *puriny* 'slowly, gently' > *purinypuriny* 'very softly' (Goddard 1983:144).

²² The durative meaning can also be encoded by the comitative inflexion of the auxiliary finite verb. See [136] in Chapter 4 for such an instance (where the preverb *ngarp* remains unreduplicated).

Also displaying lexical reduplication are the preverbs referring to manual work consisting of repeated actions:

<i>kulkul</i>	'washing' [+SAY]
<i>kurdaykurday</i>	'kneading, working flour' [+PUT]
<i>wirrwirr</i>	'rubbing, scraping' [+SAY]
<i>budybudy</i>	'twirling, rubbing up (e.g. bush onion into pieces) [+SAY]

The following productive (but idiomatic) derivations also contain some element of iterative action:

<i>gil</i>	'cutting' [+STAB]
<i>gil-gil</i>	'cutting a block of meat, taking guts out' [+STAB]
<i>dyarr</i>	'chipping (an adze)' [+SAY]
<i>dyarr-dyarr</i>	'curving' [+SAY]
<i>kur</i>	'embracing' [+PUT]
<i>kur-kur</i>	'mustering' [+PUT]

9.2.7.3 Intensification and attenuation

Reduplication of preverbs may indicate an increased intensity and/or firmness that comprise(s) the action described.²³ Typical productive cases are:

<i>wirr +dyu</i>	'scraping (slowly) ²⁴
<i>wirr-wirr +dyu</i>	'scraping (quickly)'
<i>dyagurl +ni</i>	'forming a circle' [+BE]
<i>dyagurl-dyagurl +ni</i>	'(snake) coiling oneself up' [+BE]
<i>bud +bula</i>	'turning up' [+COME]
<i>bud-bud +dyu</i>	'raising, lifting it up' [+SAY]

Lexical reduplications such as the following seem to relate to processes which are intrinsically intensive.

<i>rdarndarn</i>	'tying firmly, tightening' [+PUT]
<i>dyididyidi</i>	'frightening, horrifying' [+PUT]
<i>kidikidi</i>	'tickling' [+PUT]
<i>kalkal</i>	'(water current) running fast' [+RUN AWAY]
<i>rabrab</i>	'swelling up' [+BECOME]
<i>dyiwildyiwil</i>	'(birds) sing intensively in the morning' [+SAY]

In a few cases, attenuation (rather than intensification) is indicated by the reduplicated preverb.

<i>dyawar'dyawar</i>	'whispering' [+SAY]
<i>burabura</i>	'(fire) nearly going out' [+BECOME]

²³ Intensity of an action is also encodable by attaching the *-gadya* suffix to preverbs. When a reduplicated form and a suffixed form are both recorded for the same preverb, it is usually the case that the former encodes durative or iterative aspect, rather than intensity (cf. 9.2.7.1). Compare *kindil-gadya* 'coughing (rather hard)' and *kindil-kindil* 'suffering from cough'.

²⁴ This can also mean 'trill the tongue (as in pronouncing a strong *rr*)'. See example [146] given in 6.7.4.

9.3 Finite verb reduplication

9.3.1 Overview

Essential characteristics of Yawuru verbal reduplication are as follows:

- 1) Not all of the verb roots are reduplicable. Of the 82 inflecting verb roots (see 4.1.1), only 24 (or 29%) have been found to be reduplicable, including 9 cases of partial reduplication. In terms of transitivity balance, 18 (or 75%) of the reduplicable verbs are transitive or semi-transitive, as against 6 (or 25%) intransitive verbs that may be reduplicated. These figures are about the same as those calculated for (unreduplicated) verb roots (cf. 5.3.1).
- 2) Monosyllabic verb roots never get reduplicated, with the unique exception of *rba* 'follow', which has unusual CCV phonotactics (see 3.6.1.1). It has the reduplicated form *rbarba* 'trace the track' (cf. 3.7.1.5).
- 3) A corollary of 2) is that most (by token frequency) of the verbs that may carry preverbs are unreduplicable (see 5.1.5). Of the 22 verbs that are attested to carry PV, only 4 are reduplicable: *baru* 'blow', *bilka* 'hit', *bandyi* 'exchange' and *rba* 'follow'. Reduplication of these occurs, however, only when no preverbs are present.
- 4) Semantic effects of verbal reduplication are largely parallel to those of preverb reduplication and/or those of *-gadya* suffixation (5.4.2): reduplicated verbs bear such aspects as iterative, intensive, frequentative, collective, resolute, etc.

9.3.2 Change of transitivity

Reduplication of verbs does not change transitivity, either semantically, morphologically (i.e. the verb still inflects in the same conjugation class as the unreduplicated counterpart) or syntactically (i.e. no change in case assignment on core argument NPs). There are, however, two exceptions to this.

9.3.2.1 The verb *dyal-dyala*

The verb *dyala* 'care for somebody/something, look after' is conjugated in (and only in) the class I paradigm.

- [3] *i-na-dyala-rn* (but **i-ny-dyala-rn* or **i-dyala-rn*)
 3-TR-care-IMPF 3-EN-care-IMPF 3-care-IMPF
 's/he cares'

Its reduplicated counterpart *dyal(a)-dyala*, however, is conjugated in the class II paradigm, with no transitive marker *na-* or *a-* (4.2.2.1). The meaning is usually 'take care of (children)', 'dandle (a baby)', etc.

- [3A] *Miliya mi-ny-dyal-dyala-rn dyuyu-ni.*
 now 2-EN-REDUP-care-IMPF 2-ERG
 'Now it's your turn to baby-sit.' (lit. now you look after)

The 2FUT forms of *dyala* and *dyaldyala* are respectively as follows:

<i>dyala</i> :	<i>wal-a-dyala</i>
	2FUT-TR-care
<i>dyal-dyala</i> :	<i>wal-dyal-dyala</i>
	2FUT-REDUP-care

The alignment pattern, which is ERG-ABS, remains unchanged in reduplication.

9.3.2.2 The verb *kilbi-kilbira*

The semi-transitive verb *kilbira* with the meaning of 'bewitch, perform a love-song magic', which regularly operates in an ERG-DAT case frame, may optionally change its alignment pattern to normal transitive (ABS-ABS) when reduplicated.²⁵

- [4] *I-na-ng-kilbi-kilbira-rn nilawal kankan-barri kamba dyarn'du ginyangka-ni.*
 3-TR-EN-REDUP-sing-IMPF name(ABS) clap.sticks-INST that woman(ABS) 3-ERG
 'He kept on singing a magic song with clapsticks to bewitch that woman.'

Such a shift of alignment pattern in reduplication has not been attested to in other verbs.

9.3.3 Forms

9.3.3.1 Reduplicable verb roots

(1) Full reduplication

All the 15 verb roots that have been attested to be fully reduplicable are listed in Table 901 (below).

TABLE 901: Verbs of full reduplication

<i>bali</i>	'cut'	>	<i>bali-(m)bali</i>
<i>bandyi</i>	'exchange'	>	<i>bandyi-bandyi</i>
<i>banydyu</i>	'smell'	>	<i>banydyu-banydyu</i>
<i>baru</i>	'blow'	>	<i>baru-baru</i>
<i>bilka</i>	'hit'	>	<i>bilka-(m)bilka</i>
<i>buli</i>	'moisten'	>	<i>buli-buli</i>
<i>kunba</i>	'send'	>	<i>kunba-kunba</i>
<i>dyalku</i>	'fall down'	>	<i>dyalku-dyalku</i>
<i>dyanba</i>	'kick'	>	<i>dyanba-dyanba</i>
<i>dyardi</i>	'take clothes off'	>	<i>dyardi-dyardi</i>
<i>dyiba</i>	'ask'	>	<i>dyiba-dyiba</i>
<i>dyuma</i>	'singe'	>	<i>dyuma-dyuma</i>
<i>lurra</i>	'burn'	>	<i>lurra-lurra</i>
<i>mungka</i>	'take back'	>	<i>mungka-mungka</i>
<i>rba</i>	'follow'	>	<i>rba-rba</i>

²⁵ See 10.1.4.4.(2) for an illustration of the semantic differentiation according to the case frames. Informants confirmed that the ERG-DAT alignment is also acceptable in sentence [4] (i.e. *kamba-yi dyarn'du* (that-DAT woman(DAT))) in place of *kamba dyarn'du*). In spontaneous speech, however, it seems normal for the reduplicated verb *kilbi-kilbira* to occur in the ABS-ABS pattern.

As for *bali-bali* and *bilka-bilka*, an epenthetic nasal (EN; see 4.2.3) may intervene between the root and its duplicate:

bali > *bali-m-bali* ~ *m-bali-bali*
bilka > *bilka-m-bilka* ~ *m-bilka-bilka*

Significantly (cf. 4.1.2), the epenthetic *m* takes place only once in a particular conjugation of verbs: **mbalimbali* or **mbilkambilka*.

(2) Partial reduplication

Verb roots subject to partial reduplication are listed in Table 902.

TABLE 902: Verbs of partial reduplication

<i>bukarri</i>	'dream'	>	<i>buka-bukarri</i>
<i>ngurlika</i>	'wait'	>	<i>ngurli-ngurlika</i> ²⁶
<i>murku</i>	'search'	>	<i>mur-murku-</i> ~ <i>murk(u)-murku</i>
<i>kilbira</i>	'sing'	>	<i>kilbi-kilbira</i>
<i>wilinya</i>	'bring people together'	>	<i>wili-wilinya</i>
<i>makura</i>	'make'	>	<i>maku-makura</i>
<i>dyalaku</i>	'overflow'	>	<i>dyala-dyalaku</i>
<i>dyala</i>	'care'	>	<i>dyal-dyala</i> ²⁷
<i>wunduma</i>	'hold'	>	<i>wundu-wunduma</i>

9.3.3.2 Unreduplicable verbs

All of the monosyllabic verbs, except *rba* 'follow' (see 9.3.1), are unreduplicable. There are also disyllabic and trisyllabic verbs that may not be reduplicated:

e.g. *burnda* 'bite' **burnda-burnda*
ngara 'become' **ngara-ngara*
rndira 'go' **rndira-rndira*
wuluku 'scare' **wuluku-wuluku, *wulu-wuluku*
likarra 'hear' **likarra-likarra, *lika-likarra*

There is no apparent semantic reason why these should not be reduplicated (compare Tables 901 and 902 with Table 403 in Chapter 4).

For the unreduplicable verbs, the semantic effect of root reduplication can be attained by repeating fully inflected forms. When such repetition takes place, the repeated verb forms (two grammatical words) constitute a single phonological word (i.e. the repeated part loses its primary stress):

[5] *i-na-bi-rn + i-na-bi-rn* [ínabənínabən]
 3-TR-drink-IMPF +(repeated)
 's/he drinks a lot; s/he keeps drinking' (*bi* 'drink' > **bibi*)

²⁶ A fully-reduplicated form *ngurlika-ngurlika* has also been recorded as an alternative to the more common partial reduplication *ngurli-ngurlika*.

²⁷ Also the fully-reduplicated form *dyala-dyala* is occasionally heard.

- [6] *i-na-burna-rn + i-na-burna-rn-ngayu* [inabuŋaŋinabuŋaŋŋaju]
 3_i-TR-bite-IMPF +(repeated)-1ACC
 '[a dog_i] bit me a lot' (*burnda* 'bite' > **burndaburnda*)

Notice in [6] above that the accusative clitic pronoun *-ngayu* (1ACC) is not repeated, but is added only once immediately following the repetition of the inflected verb form (cf. 7.3.1.2). The repetition and the clitic altogether constitute a single phonological word.

9.3.4 Semantics

The semantic effect of verbal reduplication can be aspectual (e.g. durative, iterative, etc), non-aspectual (e.g. collective, intensive, attenuative, etc.), or even idiosyncratic.

9.3.4.1 Durative

Reduplicated verbs may indicate a duration or continuity of the event described.

- [7] *I-na-m-baru-baru-rn nyamba wangkal nakula-gap.*
 3-TR-EN-REDUP-blow-IMPF this wind(ABS) sea-ABL
 'The sea wind keeps blowing (for many days).'
- [8] *I-mur-murku-rn-dyina yawirr-gadya.*
 3-REDUP-search-IMPF-3DAT missing-INTENS
 'They have been searching for him, but so far in vain.'
- [9] *I-na-lurra-lurra-rn bambi narli-buru biyi (wa-ng-ga-ngara).*
 3-TR-REDUP-burn-IMPF long.time true-time ripe 3-EN-FUT-become
 '[She] was cooking [the bush fruit] for a long time so that it got well cooked.'

Other instances involve the following:

<i>gilbi-gilbira</i>	'keep singing'
<i>ngurli-ngurlika</i>	'wait for a long time'
<i>dyala-dyalaku</i>	'(water) spring up all the time'
<i>wili-wilinya</i>	'go mustering (many people from different places)'
<i>rba-rba</i>	'keep following, tracking'

9.3.4.2 Iterative

There are also cases where verbal reduplication mainly concerns a repetition of action (iterative aspect):

- [10] *I-ny-dyiba-dyiba-rn-ngayu*
 3-EN-REDUP-ask-IMPF-1ACC
 'He is asking me the same question many times.'²⁸
- [11] *I-ny-dyanba-dyanba-rn wamba-ni dyarn'du dyirril.*
 3-EN-REDUP-kick-IMPF man-ERG woman(ABS) strong
 'The man kicked the woman hard and repeatedly.'

²⁸ When used in some other context of discourse, the reduplicated verb *dyiba-dyiba* can also mean 'ask many questions' (cf. footnote 31 in this chapter, re: ambiguity and vagueness).

- [12] *I-na-m-bilka-bilka-rn manydya-ngal.*
 3-TR-EN-REDUP-hit-IMPF many-times
 'He hit it many times.'

In [11] and [12] above, the intensity meaning is explicitly encoded by the addition of adverbs (cf. 9.3.4.5). Similar instances involve:

dyalku 'fall down' > *dyalku-dyalku* 'slipping down many times' (as walking in a mangrove swamp)

dyuma 'singe' > *dyuma-dyuma* 'turn (meat) over on fire' (so that every part of it should get well done)

In [13] below, it seems that intensity as well as iteration is reflected in the root reduplication of the verb 'hit'.

- [13] *Wirdu balu i-na-bilka-bilka-nda dyamiyan-barri,*
 big tree(ABS) 3-TR-REDUP-hit-PF axe-INST
marlu rdii + i-ny-dyu-n.
 not break+3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
 'He tried to cut the tree down by hitting it hard many times, but he couldn't.'

The following cases, which are rather idiomatic, are also considered to be based on the notion of iterativity or frequency.

buli 'moisten' > *buli-buli* 'bathe'
kunba 'send' > *kunba-kunba* 'make a fool of somebody, annoy'

- [14] *I-na-kunba-kunba-rn-dyuyu.*
 3-TR-REDUP-send-IMPF-2ACC
 'They (always) make a fool of you.' (or 'they are (at this moment) annoying you' depending on context)

9.3.4.3 Collectivity

Collective actions that involve many actors and/or objects may be encoded in verbal reduplication. The first two examples below

- [15] *Inga-rr-bandyi-bandyi-n kangadyunu manydya ngarrungu.*
 3"-AGM-REDUP-exchange-IMPF that-INTENS many people(ABS)
 'People (used to) exchange [gifts] in a large assembly.' (ritual exchange)²⁹
- [16] *Burdburdburd + i-ny-dyu-n dyimbin-gap wula i-ny-dyala-dyalaku-rn.*
 bubble.up +3-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF inside-ABL water(ABS) 3-EN-REDUP-spring.out-IMPF
 'Water is bubbling up from underground. It's overflowing.' (cf. 9.3.4.5.(1))

In the following examples, root reduplication of verbs reiterates the reference to mass-quantity objects, which is also encoded elsewhere in the sentence: namely, the intensified demonstrative in [17], the adjective 'many' in [18], the augmented accusative enclitic in [19], and the *-garra* suffix in [20].³⁰

²⁹ See 4.6.7 for the morpho-semantic make-up of the verb *bandyi*. Also see footnote 79 in 4.6.7 for a brief account of the ritual exchange which used to be practised by Yawuru and neighbouring Aboriginal groups.

³⁰ For the notion of non-paucalness expressed by the plural marker *-garra* and the 3rd-person accusative *-irr*, see 2.4.2.2 and 7.3.2.2, respectively (cf. 4.2.1.5 re: optional nature of number marking). See 7.5.2.2.(6) for the intensified forms of demonstratives.

- [17] *Wal-a-mungka-mungka-dyanu nyanga-dyunu.*
 2FUT-TR-REDUP-take.back-1DAT this-INTENS(ABS)
 'You bring all those things back to me (without losing any one of them).'
- [18] *I-na-maku-makura-rn manydya landyi-yirr karrbina.*
 3-TR-REDUP-make-IMPF many boomerang(ABS)-and shield(ABS)
 'He manufactures lots of boomerangs and shields.'
- [19] *I-na-wili-wilinya-n-irr malulu.*
 3-TR-REDUP-muster-IMPF-3"ACC initiate(ABS)
 'He goes mustering all the boys to be initiated.'
- [20] *Dyungku wal-a-makura, wa-na-ga-karda-karda-yi nyamba*
 fire(ABS) 2FUT-TR-make 3_i-TR-FUT-REDUP-chase-DAT_{purp} this
dyurru-garra ngurun-ni.
 insect(ABS)-PL smoke_i-ERG
 'Make a fire so that it will chase all these insects away.' (referring to mosquitoes; cf. 2.4.4 for the use of the generic noun *dyurru*)

As noted in examples given above, particularly [18] and [19], the notion of collectivity encoded by the reduplication bears on the communal nature of the event referred to (as in [19]), or homogeneity of object (i.e. a large amount of the identical product as in [18]), rather than simply indicating plurality of agent or object.

9.3.4.4 Attenuation

There is at least one case in which a reduplicated verb reflects an attenuation (or de-intensification) of the action:

bilka 'hit' > *bilka-bilka* 'pat' (as putting a baby to sleep)

Consider the following example:

- [21] *Kurlin + wal-a-ma nyamba dyalykurr, wal-a-bilka-bilka niyakan.*
 sleep+2FUT-TR-AUX(put) this baby(ABS) 2FUT-TR-REDUP-hit back(ABS)
 'Put this baby to sleep. Pat him on the back.'

The attenuative meaning, however, is no more than context-bound, since there are other instances in which the same reduplicated verb indicates an intensified action:

- [22] *Yaku-ni dyanu i-na-bilka-m-bilka-nda-ngayu dyuyu-nyurdany.*
 husband-ERG 1(GEN) 3-TR-REDUP-EN-hit-PF-1ACC 2-CAUS
 'My husband beat me hard because of you.' (i.e. he was jealous of you)

9.3.4.5 Idiosyncratic modification (lexical/idiomatic)

Verbal reduplication can be semantically idiosyncratic, as in:

bali 'cut' > *bali-bali* 'think over, contemplate'
bukarri 'dream' > *buka-bukarri* 'think about, be concerned'
dyardi 'peel (bark off tree)' > *dyardi-dyardi* 'take guts out, disembowel'

Example sentences are:

- [23] *Wal-a-bali-bali bibi dyiya kuku-yirr dyiya.*
 2FUT-TR-REDUP-cut mother(ABS) 2(GEN) father(ABS)-and 2(GEN)
 'You should think well of your parents.'

- [24] *I-na-m-buka-bukarri-rn-dyuyu kamba-ni.*
 3-TR-EN-REDUP-dream-IMPF-2ACC that-ERG
 'He misses you.' (or 'he is worried about you')

9.3.4.6 Semantic specification

(1) Dissolution of vagueness

In some cases, reduplicated verbs are semantically more specific than the original.³¹ For example, the verb *banydyu* 'smell' (in its B-conjugation; cf. (2) below) is vague as to the kind of smell referred to: it can mean either 'have a good smell, be aromatic' or 'have a bad smell, be stinky'. Such vagueness is not the case with the reduplicated verb *banydyu-banydyu*, which exclusively refers to a bad smell.

- [25] *mi-m-banydyu-banydyu-rn*
 2-EN-REDUP-smell-IMPF
 'you stink!'³²
- [26] a. *mabu mi-m-banydyu-rn*
 good 2-EN-smell-IMPF
 'you smell good' (e.g. with perfume)
- b. *[*mabu mi-m-banydyu-banydyu-rn*]

Similarly, while the verb *dyalaku* may mean '(water) spring out, overflow' or 'spill' (e.g. contents out of a container, not necessarily referring to a fluid entity), the reduplicated *dyala-dyalaku* refers specifically to water (or possibly other kinds of liquid) overflowing or gushing out (see example [16] in 9.3.4.2).

(2) Alternative-prefixing verbs

As already discussed in detail in 4.8, alternative-prefixing verbs have two distinct (though related) phases of meaning: e.g.

- lurra* 'burn (as fire)' (intransitive) or 'burn it, cook it' (transitive)
banydyu 'smell' (intransitive) or 'smell it, sniff it' (transitive)

It is usually the case with such alternative-prefixing verbs that verbal reduplication is acceptable only in one conjugation class. As to the two verbs given above, reduplicated forms are used only in the transitive for *lurra* 'burn' (in A-conjugation with the transitive marker *na-*) and only in the intransitive for *banydyu* 'smell' (B-conjugation without the transitive marker):

- [27] a. *i-na-lurra-lurra-nda*
 3-TR-REDUP-burn-PF
 's/he cooked (the meat) well' (A-conjugation)
- b. **i-lurra-lurra-nda*
 3-REDUP-burn-PF
 (theoretical but unacceptable B-conjugation)

³¹ It should also be noted, on the other hand, that there are cases in which ambiguity (not vagueness) increases with reduplication. Compare the meanings of [19] and [20] (in 9.3.4.4); also consider the ambiguity in example [8] (in 9.3.4.2; see footnote 28 in this chapter).

³² Obviously, an intensity of the smell is reflected in the root reduplication.

- [28] a. **i-na-banydyu-banydyu-rn*
 3-TR-REDUP-smell-IMPF
 (theoretical but unacceptable A-conjugation)
- b. *i-m-banydyu-banydyu-rn*
 3-EN-REDUP-smell-IMPF
 's/he is stinky' (B-conjugation) (cf. [25] above)

Similarly, the verb *dyardi* has a transitive meaning 'peel (esp. bark)' in A-conjugation while having a reflexive (morphologically intransitive) meaning 'get undressed' in B-conjugation (see 4.8.3.3). The reduplicated *dyardi-dyardi* is conjugated only in A-conjugation and the meaning is 'disembowel, take guts out (of game)' (see 9.3.4.5).

Chapter 10: Syntax

10.0 Introduction

The final chapter of this study mainly concerns the clause grammar of Yawuru. Various types of syntactic constructions are discussed. Special attention is paid to the semantic aspects that are considered to be vital to the understanding of the nature of each construction type and contrasts between them.¹

The organisation of the chapter is as follows: section 10.1 illustrates the basic construction types of simple clauses and 10.2 discusses several distinct types of clause structure in which body parts and other items representing "identity-sensitive" notions are incorporated. The next three sections briefly outline negation (10.3), question (10.4) and verbless sentences (10.5). Then 10.6 describes the morpho-syntax of complex clauses. 10.7 deals with the switch-reference function of the ergative marker occurring on constituents other than transitive subjects. Finally, a brief summary of word order regulations is presented in 10.8. Some issues concerning the semantic effect of word order change will also be addressed.

10.1 Basic clause types

10.1.1 Typology of simple clauses

Yawuru simple clauses can be classified into seven types according to the patterns of case marking and cross-reference. These are schematically presented in Table 1001 (below). In the table, the core arguments are shown on the left-hand side of the verb, while non-core (or oblique) arguments are shown to the right of the verb.² Here "ERG", "ABS" and "DAT" stand for argument NPs (free forms, either pronominal or non-pronominal) that take the ergative, absolutive and dative cases, respectively. Indexing letters (*i*, *j*, *k*, *p* and *w*) indicate cross-referencing between bound pronominals on the verb and the free-form NP arguments. The index *p* is applied to NPs referring to a part (typically a body part), while *w* to NPs referring to the whole (typically the possessor of the body part). Letters prefixed to the verb indicate subject agreement: i.e. "*i*-Verb" signifies that the verbal prefix (pronominal) agrees in person and number with the NP argument indexed *i* (see 4.2.1 and 7.1.1.3). Letters suffixed to the verb indicate object agreement by a pronominal enclitic (4.4.3), with its case form (DAT or ACC) indicated by the subscript. Optional agreement (cross-referencing) is

¹ Most of the issues concerning word-level and phrase-level syntax have already been discussed in previous chapters (see particularly 2.1.2, 2.2.2, 2.5, 4.4.2, 4.6.5, 4.7.4, 4.8.5.2, 5.3, 6.4, 7.1.3, 7.2.2, and 7.5.5). Yet, section 10.6.6.1 in this chapter contains an important aspect of the phrase-level syntax.

² I use the terms "core" and "oblique" in the way set out in Foley and Van Valin (1984:77-80). See also Andrews (1985:89ff).

TABLE 1001: Types of simple clauses

basic types (I-III)				
I.	intransitive:	ABS _{<i>j</i>}	<i>j</i> -Verb(- <i>k</i> _{DAT})	(DAT _{<i>k</i>})
II.	transitive:	ERG _{<i>i</i>}	ABS _{<i>j</i>} <i>i</i> -Verb(<i>j</i> _{ACC} / <i>k</i> _{DAT})	(DAT _{<i>k</i>})
III.	semi-transitive:	ERG _{<i>i</i>}	DAT _{<i>j</i>} <i>i</i> -Verb- <i>j</i> _{DAT}	(DAT _{<i>k</i>})
identity-sensitive types (IV-VII)				
IV.	quasi-passive:	ERG _{<i>i</i>}	ABS _{<i>p</i>} (ABS _{<i>w</i>})	<i>w</i> -Verb
V.	double-subject intransitive:		ABS _{<i>p</i>} (ABS _{<i>w</i>})	<i>w</i> -Verb
VI.	double-subject transitive:	ERG _{<i>p</i>}	ABS (ABS _{<i>w</i>})	<i>w</i> -Verb
VII.	double-object transitive:	ERG _{<i>i</i>}	ABS _{<i>p</i>}	<i>i</i> -Verb- <i>w</i> _{ACC}

given in parentheses. Core arguments take either absolutive, ergative or dative case. Again, the chart here is given as a conceptual formulation and should not be taken as canonical; these formulas do not reflect the actual word order. Instances of each type are given and further analysed in the following sections (10.1.2 to 10.1.4 and 10.2.1 to 10.2.4).

Types I, II and III (or similar types of constructions respectively with absolutive, ergative-absolutive and ergative-dative case frames on argument NPs) are observed in many Australian Aboriginal languages, although the cross-referencing affixes on the verb such as in Yawuru may be lacking.³ As has already been illustrated (see 4.6.1 and 4.6.6.1), the reflexive and reciprocal constructions are formally intransitive in Yawuru, conforming to type I (i.e. absolutive case frame).⁴

In types IV-VII, the NPs indexed *j* are typically body-part nouns. They occur as absolutive NPs, except in type VI where they are assigned the ergative case. In types IV and V, the arguments indexed *k* are personal pronouns and are usually left out in actual texts.

Type V (the double-subject intransitive) involves two absolutive NPs, only one of which is cross-referenced in the verb. Transitive clauses of type VII (the double-object transitive) take a single absolutive NP, which is not, however, cross-

³ See footnote 11 in 10.1.4.3.(1). The semi-transitive is called the "middle" construction by some authors (e.g. Jagst 1982:46).

⁴ In other Aboriginal languages, such as in Gooniyandi, reflexive/reciprocal verbs take the subject (actor) in the ergative case (McGregor 1990:318). cf. example [52] cited in 10.2.1.3.

referenced by the "object" enclitic; instead, another entity, typically the whole, of which the absolutive NP is a part, is cross-referenced.⁵

Type IV is tentatively termed "quasi-passive".⁶ In this unusual construction the pronominal prefix, which normally cross-references the subject, cross-references the patient/undergoer. Furthermore, it has an additional absolutive NP and an ergative NP, neither of which is cross-referenced. The semantic characteristics of the quasi-passive are illustrated in 10.2.4 and 10.2.6.

The clause types IV-VII are jointly called "identity-sensitive" constructions for reasons given later (10.2.7). It will be demonstrated in the following sections that the four types of identity-sensitive constructions have a close relationship to each other.

10.1.2 Intransitive

The formula for the intransitive construction (clause type I) given in Table 1001 is repeated:

ABS_j *j*-Verb(-*k*_{DAT}) (DAT_{*k*})

The absolutive NP (ABS_j) is the subject of the clause and refers to the actor. The predicate verb carries a bound pronominal prefix cross-referencing the actor. The subject NP may be a pronoun (of ABS form). The postverbal "(-*k*_{DAT})" in the formula stands for an optional dative pronominal enclitic referring to an undergoer/experiencer, which may occur (with or without the cross-referencing enclitic) in the clause as a datively marked NP (= DAT_{*k*}).

[1] and [2] are examples of intransitive clauses. [1] has a simple verb predicate and [2] has a complex verb predicate (5.1).

[1] *Wula* *wa-ng-ga-bula(-dyayrda)* *kalbu-gap*.
 water(ABS)_j 3_j-EN-FUT-come(-12"_{DAT}_{*k*}) above-ABL
 'The rain_j is coming (unfortunately for us_{*k*}).'

[2] *Yardap + i-ny-dyu-n* *dyalangardi-ngarr* (*kamba wamba*).
 crawl+3_j-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF goanna-like that man(ABS)_j;
 'He (that man) crawls like a goanna.'

In [1] above the subject is 'water' (encoded in the absolutive case) while the verb carries the 4th-person augmented (12") dative enclitic, showing that the involved undergoer is 'all of us' (inclusive). This dative clitic may be omitted. In any case, the verb carries the 3rd-person (minimal) prefix, in agreement with the subject 'water' (i.e. rain).

⁵ Double-object constructions are encountered in some other Aboriginal languages, such as Gooniyandi, Warlpiri, Djaru and Nyangumarta. Gooniyandi (and probably others) has a double-subject construction (of type V) as well. In Gooniyandi, however, ABS_w is often a nominal, and the normal word order is for it to precede ABS_p. Gooniyandi has also a construction of the type ERG_p ERG_w *w*-verb (Bill McGregor, p.c.).

⁶ A possible parallel is the medio-passive construction reported from Djaabugay (Blake 1977:48; Hale 1976b:324).

The intransitive predicate may further carry non-core (oblique or satellite) argument NPs, such as the ablative *kalbu-gap* in [1], or the semblative adverbial *dyalangardi-ngarr* in [2]. The NP cross-referenced by the verbal prefixes may be (and often is) omitted. An oblique dative NP (e.g. beneficiary) may be cross-referenced by an enclitic pronoun, as in [1].⁷

10.1.3 Transitive

The second type of Yawuru simple clause is transitive, for which the formula is:

ERG_i ABS_j *i*-Verb(-j_{ACC}/k_{DAT}) (DAT_k)

The verbal prefix agrees with the ergative NP, which functions as the syntactic subject of the clause. Given below are examples of the transitive construction. Notice in [5] that the transitive subject (A) may be lower in animacy than the direct object (O).

- [3] *Yila i-na-bura-nda nyamba-ni.*
 dog(ABS)_j 3_i-EN-see-PF this_i-ERG
 'This (man)_i saw a dog_j.'
- [4] *Nyamba wula nga-m-bula-nda-ngany-dyiya.*
 this water(ABS)_j 1_i-EN-come-PF-COM-2DAT_k
 'I_i have brought this water_j for you_k.'
- [5] *Buru-ni i-na-nya-nda-yarrirr kamba-gun niyamarri.*
 sand_i-ERG 3_i-TR-catch-PF-1"ACC_j that-LOC hill(LOC)
 'We got bogged on that sand hill.' (lit. "the sand_i caught us_j.")

In [4] above the absolutive NP *nyamba wula* 'this water' is the direct object of the action. The verbal prefix unambiguously indicates that the agent of bringing the water is the speaker (1st person), so that the ergative pronoun *ngay-ni* (1-ERG) can be inserted anywhere in the sentence, although it is left out in example [4] as is usually the case in natural speech in Yawuru.

Transitive verbs may carry no object-marking enclitic, as in [3] above, or even no object at all explicitly in the clause, as in the following examples:

- [6] *Dyimbini i-na-ma-nda lindyu-ni.*
 inside 3-TR-put-PF police_i-ERG
 'The police locked [him] up.'⁸
- [7] *Ngay-ni nga-na-ng-ga-makura.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-EN-FUT-make
 'I will make [it].'

Transitive verbs may carry a clitic pronoun as the marker of the object. The object-marking clitics take accusative forms (given as "-j_{ACC}" in the formula above) when referring to the direct object (patient), as is the case in [5]. Dative

⁷ See 7.4.2 for more examples of intransitive sentences with dative clitics on the verb.

⁸ The word *dyimbini* 'inside' (8.3.4.3) often refers to a jail or a temporary lock-up at a police station.

enclitics ($-k_{\text{DAT}}$ in the formula) appear when the reference is to the indirect object (goal, beneficiary, etc), as in [4] above and the following:

- [8] *Wal-a-wunduma-dyanu nyamba yarnudany.*
 2FUT-TR-hold-1DAT this firemaker(ABS)
 'Hold this fire-making stick, please.' (lit. you hold [it] for me)
- [9] *Nyamba-aw nga-na-ga-gurla-dyiya.*
 this(ABS)-VOC 1-EN-FUT-throw-2DAT
 'This, I'm going to throw to you.'

The verb, however, cannot carry more than one object-marker at one time.⁹ The general tendency is that non-3rd-person objects (whether accusative or dative) are less likely to be left out. Consider [10]a-c (A is indexed i , O is j and oblique k):

- [10] a. *Yangki-ni i-ny-dyanba-nd-dyuu.*
 who _{i} -ERG 3 _{i} -EN-kick-PF-2ACC _{j}
 'Who kicked you?'
 b. *Yangki-ni i-ny-dyanba-nd-dyiya.*
 who _{i} -ERG 3 _{i} -EN-kick-PF-2DAT _{k}
 'Who kicked [him] on your behalf.'
 c. *Yangki i-ny-dyanba-nd-dyiya.*
 what(ABS) _{j} 3 _{i} -EN-kick-PF-2DAT _{k}
 'What did he kick at for you?'

On the other hand, 3rd-person direct objects, particularly inanimate ones, tend to be unexpressed (cf. 7.3.2.2 and 7.3.2.3) and, if there is no other (non-3rd-person) indirect object involved, then transitive verbs carry no clitic pronoun.¹⁰

It should be also noted that transitive predicates and their direct objects are not necessarily continuous. (The notion of VP is not employed in the grammatical description of Yawuru.)

- [11] *Birra-gap i-m-bula-rn, [i-na-ka-rn]_{PRED} miliny-gun [warli]_{NP(O)},*
 bush-ABL 3-EN-come-IMP 3-TR-carry-IMP spear-LOC meat(ABS)
[kamba warli]_{NP(O)} bika-gun [i-ny-dyardi-dyardi-rn]_{PRED} miliny-gap.
 that meat(ABS) shade-LOC 3-EN-REDUP-skin-IMP spear-ABL
 'He came back from hunting with his catch (i.e. wallaby; lit. "meat on his spear"). That wallaby, he [took it off from the spear and] skinned it in the shade.'

10.14 Semi-transitive

10.14.1 Case frame

The third basic clause type is semi-transitive. In the formula below, the pronominal clitic (represented by $-j$) takes the dative, not the accusative form.

ERG _{i} DAT _{j} i -Verb- j _{DAT} (DAT _{k})

Examples are as follows.

⁹ Consider the contrastive sample [59a/b] given in 7.4.2.1.

¹⁰ Because of this general tendency, sometimes a problem of interpretation arises regarding transitivity of clauses. See footnote 35 in 10.2.4.

- [12] *Nga-na-ngurika-nda-dyirra ngay-ni kamba-rri-yi bambi nganka-yi.*
 1_i-TR-wait-PF-3["]DAT_j; 1-ERG_i that-DL-DAT_j; long.time word-DAT_k
 'I have been waiting for the two fellows; for a long while to have a discussion
 (lit. "for word") with them.'
- [13] *Gilp + nga-na-ga-dyu-yi-dyina (ngay-ni) darlu-yi dyanu.*
 avoid+1_i-TR-FUT-AUX(say)-DAT_{purp}3["]DAT_j; 1-ERG_i WM-DAT_j; 1(GEN)
 '... so that I could avoid facing my wife's mother.'

Semi-transitive clauses differ from the transitive in that the object is assigned a dative case marking instead of absolutive. Therefore, the core arguments for a semi-transitive predicate are an ergative NP and a dative NP, and they are cross-referenced by the verbal prefix and the dative enclitic respectively. No other object NP in the absolutive case occurs; nor is an accusative enclitic acceptable.

In addition to the core dative object (DAT_i in the formula), a second dative NP may occur, which is syntactically an oblique constituent (DAT_k in the formula). However, the dative enclitic on the verb should always agree with the core dative (DAT_i), not with the oblique dative (DAT_k). Example [12] above shows this.

10.1.4.2 Omission of the dative clitic

While the postverbal clitic pronoun is optional in the case of transitive and intransitive verbs, the dative enclitic on semi-transitive verbs is basically obligatory. Only a small number of examples have been recorded without it; no correlation with the animacy of the object is observed:

- [14] *Narli bambi nga-na-ngurlika-nda kamba-yi milimili.*
 true long.time 1-TR-wait-PF that-DAT mail/E(DAT)
 'I had really waited for a long while for that document.'
- [15] *Kangadyunu-yi ngarrung-garra lingkka + yaga-rry-dyi-nda bambi yadiri-ni.*
 3["]PL-DAT people-many(DAT) wait+12_j-AGM-AUX(bc)-PF long.time 12["]_j-ERG
 'We have been waiting for them for a long time.'

It is always possible to add a dative clitic pronoun on the verbs in such sentences as above (e.g. 3["]DAT *-dyina* in [14] and 3["]DAT *-dyirra* in [15]).

10.1.4.3 Semantic characteristics of semi-transitive verbs

(1) Inventory

Verbs that require the semi-transitive clause structure are listed below (sb = somebody/someone, sth = something):

(simple verbs)

<i>ngurlika</i>	'wait for sb'
<i>murku</i>	'look for sb/sth, search'
<i>dyiba</i>	'ask sb (DAT) about sth/sb (DAT)'
<i>dyulka</i>	'tell sb (DAT) about sth (DAT), notify'
<i>bura</i>	'watch out (for sth)' (see example [31] below)
<i>kilbira</i>	'charm, "sing" (i.e. perform a love magic on sb),
<i>gardi</i>	'choke' (see examples [17] and [18] below)
<i>dyu</i>	'want sth, like sth/sb'

(complex verbs)	
<i>dyakad +dyu</i>	'approach, sneak (up to game)'
<i>liyan +dyalku</i>	'pity sb, feel sorry for sb'
<i>liyan +ka</i>	'get angry about sb/sth'
<i>dyaliny +nya</i>	'salute, say hello to sb'
<i>gilp +dyu</i>	'avoid (a taboo relative); talk "side-way" to one's mother-in-law'
<i>k*aw +dyu</i>	'call sb'
<i>dugup +ka</i>	'punish sb' (perform a ritual sanction on eloped lovers)
<i>karru +dyu</i>	'hate, dislike sb/sth'
<i>lingka +ni</i>	'expect (for sb to come, for sth to happen)'
<i>maldyan +ni</i>	'support, take side with sb'
<i>yimbai +dyu</i>	'charm or bewitch sb by a secret song (incantation)'
<i>warrbayty +dyu</i>	'wave hand (to sb)'
<i>yakul +ra</i>	'infest'
<i>bil +dyu</i>	'wait, await (opportunity, etc)'
<i>narli +ma</i>	'trust sb'

It is understood from the list above that the core dative objects of semi-transitive verbs represent the semantic role of goal, rather than that of directly affected patient.¹¹

(2) Human patients as against low-animacy agents

There are cases where the dative clitic pronoun refers to patients, but in those cases the ergative NP refers to entities that are relatively low in animacy (cf. the use of the causal ergative already illustrated in 6.4.4). For instance:

- [16] *Yakul + i-na-ra-rn-dyina kamba-yi warli (bigidyadu-ni).*
 pus+3_i-TR-AUX(stab)-IMPF-3DAT; that-DAT meat(DAT); maggot-ERG;
 'The meat got infested with maggots.' (lit. maggot "pus-stabs" that meat)
- [17] *I-ng-gardi-nda-dyanu wirdu-ni mayi.*
 3_i-EN-enter-PF-1DAT; big-ERG fruit/food(ERG);
 'A big piece of food has stuck in my throat.' (lit. "big fruit entered me")
- [18] *I-ng-gardi-rn-dyayrda ngurun-ni.*
 3_i-EN-enter-IMPF-12"DAT; smoke-ERG;
 'We got choked with fumes.' (lit. "smoke enters us")

It is more usual that human patient in such situations as those expressed above are encoded in accusative clitics, with entire clauses taking an ERG-ABS case frame.

- [19] *Kinykiny + i-na-nya-rn-ngayu nimanya ngurun-ni.*
 choke+3-TR-catch-IMPF-1ACC neck(ABS) smoke-ERG
 'I was choked by the smoke.'

¹¹ The semantic range of the verbs that occur in the Yawuru semi-transitive clauses seems to be more or less shared by other languages which have comparable construction types. As for nearby Australian languages, Gooniyandi (McGregor 1990 and p.c.), Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:149-51) and Warlpiri (Nash 1985:197-200, 1982:190-196; Hale 1982:248-250) have similar lexical entries for the verbs which take an ERG-DAT case frame. Yawuru semi-transitive is different from what Blake (1976:422) called "middle verbs", which occur with an unmarked subject (i.e. ABS) and an obligatory complement in an oblique case other than the accusative. Intriguingly, however, the inventory of such "middle verbs" resembles that of Yawuru semi-transitive verbs. Bob Dixon (p.c.) suggests that the range of verbs in question is recurrent outside Australia, too: it is observed, on the one hand, for a particular group of transitive verbs in north-eastern Caucasian languages that take a DAT-ABS (rather than ERG-ABS) case frame; and, on the other, for a group of intransitive verbs that require an ABS-DAT case frame in Polynesian languages.

- [20] *Durl + i-ngara-rn kamba dyara, bard + nga-na-ga-dyuyu.*
 lump+3-become-IMPF that boil(ABS) explode+1-TR-AUX(carry(FUT))-2ACC
 'That boil is now swollen up; I will squeeze it for you.' (i.e. let pus go out)

These show the "double-object" transitive constructions, which will be dealt with later in 10.2.3.

10.1.44 Differentiation of meaning according to case frame

It should be noted, in examples [17] and [18] above, that the verb *gardi* 'enter' is used in the semi-transitive case frame to mean 'something (ERG) choke somebody (DAT)'. The same verb can be used in the intransitive case frame (ABS subject with no specific object) to mean 'enter, go down, disappear' (cf. 4.8.2.4). There are a few other verbs which reveal semantic differentiation according to case frame, which will be commented on in the following subsections.

(1) The verb *dyu* 'say/like'

The transitive verb *dyu* 'somebody (ERG) say something (ABS)' means 'somebody (ERG) want something (DAT), somebody (ERG) be fond of something/somebody (DAT)' when occurring in the semi-transitive (ERG-DAT) frame.

- [21] *Kamba-yi mi-ny-dyu-n-dyina dyarn'du dyuyu-ni, wal-a-nya-yi.*
 that^ -DAT 2-EN-say-IMPF-3DAT ^woman(DAT) 2-ERG 2FUT-TR-catch-DAT_{purp}
 'You have fallen in love with that woman; you must catch her.'
- [22] *Ngayu-ni walkawalka-yi nga-ny-dyu-n(-dyina).*
 1-ERG salmon-DAT 1-EN-say-IMPF-3DAT
 'I love salmon (meat).' (cf. 10.6.3.2.(3))

(2) The verb *kilbira* 'call/bewitch'

The verb *kilbira*, equivalent to the Aboriginal English expression "sing-(h)im", can mean either a ritual act of "singing" (i.e. perform love magic through a secret incantation, usually cast by male on female)¹² or a plain act of shouting or calling out. The latter meaning is encoded in the transitive (ERG-ABS) case frame, while the encoding of the magical meaning requires the semi-transitive (ERG-DAT) frame (but cf. 9.3.2.2). The transitive use often has an insulting implication (calling bad names).¹³ Compare [23] with [24] (see also [102] given in 10.2.7.2).

- [23] *I-na-ng-kilbira-rn(-dyina) kamba-yi dyarn'du, ginyaga-ni.*
 3; -TR-EN-sing-IMPF-3DAT; that-DAT woman(DAT); 3-ERG;
 'He is making love magic on that woman.' (semi-transitive use)

¹² Such "singing" seems to take several days or even a few weeks. The singer should be very careful not to be heard by anybody. Male informants claimed that women could perform such love magic on men as well as men on women, although female informants denied it. All that was witnessed by the author is that Yawuru women occasionally use a small unidentified fetish called *dyirdi* to call up luck in gambling (e.g. in playing cards) — *dyirdi* is the same term for a magical object allegedly used by men during the incantation magic; the object is called "medicine" in Aboriginal English (cf. [49] given in 10.2.1.2).

¹³ Calling out for somebody (not insulting) is usually expressed by the complex verb *k*aw +dyu* which operates in the semi-transitive case frame.

- [24] *Inga-rr-a-kilbira-nda-ngayu nilawal kangadyun(u)-ni.*
 3ⁱ; -AGM-TR-sing-PF-1ACC; name(ABS) 3^{''}-ERG;
 'They insulted me.' (transitive use)¹⁴

The complex verb *yimbal +dyu* (see the list above) has virtually the same meaning (cf. 5.5.2.4) as the simple verb *kilbira* occurring in the ERG-DAT frame. Unlike the simple verb, the complex verb always occurs in the semi-transitive frame and refers to magical incantation rather than secular singing or calling out (see also 9.3.2.2).

(3) The verb *bura* 'see/meet'

The verb *bura* 'see, meet' (Vt, I) usually operates in the ERG-ABS case frame (i.e. transitive). When, however, the act of meeting somebody ends up in failure, the object person may be given dative marking (both in NP and in the clitic pronoun). Then an ERG-DAT construction results (as in [25] and [26]), although it seems in this case that the dative clitic on the verb is not obligatory (as in [27]):

- [25] *Marlu i-na-bura-nd-dyina dyankangurru-yi, dyiwarri + i-ngara-rn.*
 not 3_i -TR-see-PF-3DAT; healer-DAT; dead+3_i -become-IMPF
 'He_i didn't see the doctor and (therefore) he_i died.'
- [26] *Mi-na-ø-bura-dyirra, bard inga-rr-garna-nda yalirra-mirdi.*¹⁵
 2-TR-IRR-see-3^{''}DAT but/E 3^{''}-AGM-go-PF front-foot
 'You might have met them, but they had left earlier.'
- [27] *Wamba-yi marlu i-na-bura-nda kamba-ni barrydyanyin.*
 man -DAT; not 3_i -TR-see-PF that-ERG wallaby(ERG);
 'The wallaby has failed to notice the people (approaching it).'

Compare [27] above with [28]:

- [28] *Wamba i-na-bura-nda kamba-ni barrydyanyin.*
 man(ABS) 3_i -TR-see-PF that-ERG wallaby(ERG);
 'The wallaby saw (i.e. became aware of) people.'

In the case of non-3rd-person targets, however, the differentiation of the case frame (ERG-ABS for successful meetings and ERG-DAT for failed ones) has not been confirmed. The clitic pronouns remain in the accusative form even in the case of unsuccessful seeing.

The target of seeing also takes the dative case when the meaning is 'watch out (for it), pay attention (to it)' rather than 'see' or 'meet'.¹⁶ The verbal enclitic may be omitted in this case, too.

¹⁴ Virtually the same meaning can be expressed by combining the verb *dyu* 'say' with the object phrase *karrydya nganka* 'furious word (i.e. insult)', as in [24B] (notice that the pronominal clitic on the verb takes the dative case form):

[24B] *Inga-rr-a-dyu-nda-dyanu karrydya nganka (kangadyunu-ni).*
 3^{''}-AGM-TR-say-PF-1DAT furious word(ABS) 3^{''}-ERG

'They insulted me.' (lit. they said furious word to me)

¹⁵ See 8.2.1.2 for the idiomatic time qualifier *yalirra-mirdi* 'beforehand, earlier'.

¹⁶ A similar differentiation of the meaning based on case frames has been reported from Djaru (Tsunoda 1981:149).

- [29] *Wal-a-bura wangangarri-yi.*
 2FUT-TR-see stone-DAT
 'Watch out for pebbles!'

As to the verb 'search, look for', which always takes the ERG-DAT case frame, the use of the dative does not imply failure of the search. The following sentence in isolation from the context does not tell us whether the search was successful or not.

- [30] *I-murku-nda-dyina barrydyanyin-dyi (ginyaga-ni).*
 3_i-search-PF-3DAT; wallaby-DAT; 3-ERG_i
 'He_i looked for wallabies;' (and he found one / but he didn't find any)

In the next example the speaker is apparently expecting a successful encounter with the game.

- [31] *Wanydyi nga-ga-rda birra, nga-ng-ga-murku-dyirra barrydyanyin-dyi.*
 soon 1-FUT-go bush(ALLAT) 1-EN-FUT-search-3["]DAT wallaby-DAT
 'I will soon go wallaby hunting in the bush.'¹⁷

(4) The verb *lu(ng)ka* 'cry/miss'

As already outlined in 4.8.2.3, the verb *lu(ng)ka* 'cry' is alternative-prefixing. When conjugated in the class I paradigm, its meaning is 'miss someone, be in mourning for somebody', rather than simply 'cry' or 'weep'. Then the case frame is ERG-DAT with a 3rd-person non-pronominal object (goal or target), as in [32] and [33].

- [32] *Ngayu-ni nga-na-luka-rn bibi-yirr-dyi kugu dyanu.*
 1-ERG 1-TR-cry-IMPF mother-and-DAT father(DAT) 1(GEN)
 'I miss my mother and father.'
- [33] *Yarrgarda-ni yanga-rr-(a-l)ungka-rn kaka-yi dyarra.*
 1["]DL-ERG 1["]-AGM-TR-cry-IMPF MB-DAT 1["]DL(GEN)
 'Both of us (EXCL) are in mourning for our mother's brother.'

If, however, the non-3rd-person target to be missed is encoded pronominally, the form employed is not dative, but accusative, as in [34] and [35].

- [34] *Bibi-ni dyiya i-na-luka-rn-dyuyu.*
 mother-ERG 2(GEN) 3-TR-cry-IMPF-2ACC
 'Your mother misses you.'
- [35] *Kuku-yirr-ni bibi inga-rr-a-luka-rn-ngayu.*
 father-and-ERG mother(ERG) 3["]-AGM-TR-cry-IMPF-1ACC
 'My parents are crying for me.' (i.e. they miss me)

Interestingly, the dative/accusative split in the case forms of clitic pronouns observed above is parallel with the pattern found with the verb 'give' (see discussion in 7.4.4).

The complex verb expression for 'crying/missing' is intransitive and takes an ABS-DAT case frame. Compare [36] below with [35] above:

¹⁷ The uninflected word *birra* is implicitly allative (6.6.2). See 4.2.1.5 for the lack of formal number agreement (the non-singular clitic *dyirra* cross-referencing the singular noun *barrydyanyin*).

- [36] *Kuku-yirr bibi wangkurr-gadya + inga-rry-dyi-n-dyanu.*
 father(ABS)-and mother(ABS) cry-INTENS+ 3"-AGM-AUX(be)-IMPF-1DAT
 'My parents are crying for me.' (i.e. they miss me)

10.2 Identity-sensitive clause types

We have in the previous section seen intransitive, transitive and semi-transitive structures. These have been termed "basic clause types", since Yawuru simple clauses are mostly classified into one of these three types. Several other types of syntactic constructions, however, are encountered which do not quite fit into the threefold typology. This section deals with four distinct clause types, which typically incorporate body-part nouns and other related items such as 'shadow', 'footprints' and 'name'. These are (i) double-subject intransitive, (ii) double-subject transitive, (iii) double-object transitive, and (iv) quasi-passive constructions.

All of these are characterised by the fact that the verb cross-references the whole (e.g. possessor of body-part), rather than the part (e.g. body part), even when it is possible to add to the clause a free-form pronominal NP referring to the whole.

10.2.1 Double-subject intransitive

10.2.1.1 Case frame

The formula for this construction type is:

$$ABS_p \quad (ABS_w) \quad w\text{-Verb}$$

where ABS_w is a free-form personal pronoun, often left out in actual sentences.

Examples follow:

- [37] *Rdardarl nga-ngara-rn niminy (ngayu).*
 sick 1_w -become-IMPF eye(ABS)_p $1(ABS)_w$
 'I have a sore eye.'
- [38] *Nungu (ngayu) nga-m-bardika-rn.*
 stomach(ABS)_p $1(ABS)_w$ 1_w -EN-be.full-IMPF
 'I'm sated.' (lit. "stomach am filled")
- [39] *Ngadyi dyuyu/*dyiya marru nyily+ mi-ny-dyu-n.*
 whether $2(ABS/*GEN)_w$ head(ABS)_p headache+ 2_w -EN-AUX(say)-IMPF
 'Do you have a headache?'
- [40] *Midyala + nga-ng-ga-ni wubardu-dyina, nimirdi-milidyarri ngayu/*dyanu*
 sitting+ 1 -EN-FUT-AUX(be) little-GEN shin(ABS)-DL $1(ABS/*GEN)_w$
marndamarnda + nga-ngara-rn.
 off.leg+ 1_w -become-IMPF
 'I will take a short rest. My legs are worn out.'

The point here is that the personal pronouns in the double-subject examples above take the absolutive forms, not the genitive, as explicitly indicated in [39] and [40] above, despite the underlying possessive relationship (my eye, my stomach, your

head). At phrase level, however, such a genitive relationship is expressed by using the genitive pronoun, not the absolutive.¹⁸

- [41] *marru dyiya*
 head 2(GEN)
 'your head'

Similarly, [42a] below is an NP, which is well-formed and acceptable by itself. The genitive phrase, however, turns out to be unacceptable at clause level encoding, say, 'my heart is throbbing (or pounding)' as in [42b]:¹⁹

- [42] a. *bilyurr dyanu*
 heart(ABS) 1(GEN)
 'my heart'
- b. *[[*Bilyurr dyanu*] *bidbid-gadya i-nga-rn.*]
 heart(ABS) 1(GEN) throb-INTENS 3-be-IMPF

Instead, one has to say something like [43] or [44]. The former is double-subject intransitive and the latter plain intransitive (cf. 7.4.2.5).

- [43] *Bidbid-gadya nga-nga-rn bilyurr (ngayu/*dyanu).*
 throb-INTENS 1_w-be-IMPF heart(ABS)_p 1(ABS/*GEN)_w
 'My heart is beating hard.'
- [44] *Bilyurr i-nga-rn-dyanu bidbid-gadya dyunku-nyurdany.*
 heart(ABS)_p 3_p-be-IMPF-1DAT_w throb-INTENS running-CAUS
 'I've got a beating heart because I ran.'

The word order of [43] can be scrambled in all possible ways. But irrespective of the order, the verbal prefix still agrees with the possessor person, not with the body part. As far as agreement is concerned, the possessor person is the subject. Meaning-wise, however, it is the part (heart), not the whole (person), that is throbbing, so that the heart could also be regarded as subject of the sentence. Similar remarks apply to examples [37]-[40] as well. These are thus called "double-subject" constructions.

Notice also that the personal pronoun (for the possessor) is often left unsaid; if the possessor is to be mentioned explicitly with a pronoun, then it should appear in the absolutive case form (e.g. *ngayu* in [43] above), not in the genitive (*dyanu*).²⁰

¹⁸ The word order of [41] can also be *dyiya marru*, with the same meaning. Unlike many other Aboriginal languages, Yawuru does not employ a simple adposition (*marru dyuyu* or *dyuyu marru*) to encode possession (or the whole-part relation). Non-pronominal possessors (e.g. Dicky's spear) are usually encoded in the dative phrase: spear + Dicky-DAT.

¹⁹ Such discrepancy between the phrase-level syntax and the clause-level syntax has already been foreshadowed in 6.2.2 (also cf. Blake 1977:40-41 for similar phenomena in other Australian languages). The discussion in this and the following sections are only relevant to the NPs in core grammatical functions (Andrews 1985:97ff). In oblique NPs, possessed body-nouns require genitive modifiers. For example:

(1) *Yaarl + i-na-ka-rn dyurru-ni marru-gun dyanu/*ngayu, wal-a-nya-dyanu.*
 squirm+3-TRAUX(carry)-IMPF lice-ERG head-LOC 1(GEN/*ABS) 2FUT-TR-catch-IDAT
 'Lice are wriggling around in my hair; please take them away.'

(2) *Yilyu dyurrurru niminy-gap dyiya/*dyuyu.*
 tears(ABS) shedding eye-ABL 2(GEN/*ABS)
 'Tears sprang to your eyes (lit. tears rolled down "from your eyes").'

²⁰ In example sentences, words in parentheses are supplemented on consultation with native speakers. When the original sentences were recorded in natural speech, those words were unsaid.

That means, one has to say in Yawuru something like "I am throbbing heart" or "I heart am throbbing" (though these are ungrammatical in English).²¹

10.2.1.2 Shift of discourse focus

The formula [45] below indicates that the state of affairs expressed by the double-subject construction may also be expressed (with a slight difference in meaning, however) by a usual intransitive construction, if the verb takes a dative enclitic (-*w*) marking the undergoer.

[45] [ABS_p (ABS_w) *w*-Verb] ↔ [ABS_p *p*-Verb-*w*]

The two clause structures seem to reflect different discourse focuses. In the double-subject construction, exemplified by [43], it is the body-part rather than the whole that is focused, while in the dative clitic construction, as in [44] above, the focus seems to be on a relation between the action of the person and the state of his/her body part (as a result of that action, in this case), rather than what is happening to the part itself. In other words, the double-subject construction would be more appropriate in such a context as [46a], rather than [46b].

- [46] a. My head aches. Have you got any aspirin?
b. I had a headache, that's why I took a day off.

Thus, when asking somebody about his/her health condition with reference to a particular body part, the double-subject construction is the most suitable way of encoding the question (observe again that it cannot be said in Yawuru in such a way as "Is your back good?", but it has to be something like "Are you back good?"):

[47] *Ngadyi niyakan dyuyu mabu mi-nga-rn.*
whether back(ABS)_p 2(ABS)_w good 2_w-be-IMPF
'Is your (injured) back all right?' (lit. "back you are good?")

The semantic characteristics of the double-subject clause type are even more prominent in [48] below:

[48] *Budbud + nga-ny-dyu-n niminy ngayu.*
tic+1_w-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF eye(ABS)_p 1(ABS)_w
'I have a tic in my eyelid; it looks like my daughter is coming.'

In this example the body part is focused on for a cultural reason. Yawuru people (as well as neighbouring groups of Aborigines) view that a repeated twitch or tic is a sign of somebody's arrival. The locus of the twitch is believed to be relevant to who is coming or what kind of people are coming, because a particular part of the body is usually associated with a particular category of people (e.g. kin of a certain marriage section, friends or strangers). In [48] above the female speaker has a hunch that her daughter is coming to visit her, because eyelids (and generally the area around eyes) are related to (female ego's) daughters, sister's/brother's daughters or other classificatory daughters (such as husband's sister's

²¹ The Yawuru double-subject construction (and parallel phenomena in Australian languages in general) is in this regard similar to the "my horse am running" type verb agreement in Wichita (Caddoan), where the agreement may optionally be with the first or second person possessor of a third person NP (Anderson 1985:197).

daughters). If the tic occurred in the side of her body, then it would be regarded as an omen of her (classificatory) son's coming soon. Thus, the specification of the body part is a crucial aspect of information conveyed in the above expression. There are good reasons for it to be set out in the double-subject construction rather than otherwise.

Example [49], by contrast, focuses on the method of bringing the body part (which is not mentioned in the sentence) into a certain state, rather than focusing on the state of the body part itself. That is why the dative enclitic construction is employed.

- [49] *Kamba dyirdi wal-a-nya, wiriman wa-ng-ga-ngara-yi-dyanu.*
 that medicine(ABS) 2FUT-TR-catch long 3_p-EN-FUT-become-DAT_{purp} -1DAT_w
 'You must get that medicine so that it (my penis) can get erect (again).' (asking the author to look for a fabulous Chinese rejuvenator)

Compare this with the double-subject [50], in which the state of the body part itself is in focus.

- [50] *Dyika + nga-ny-dyu-n (ngayu banydya).*
 erect+1_w-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF 1(ABS)_w penis(ABS)_p
 '[My penis] stood erect.' (or 'I had an erection.')

10.2.1.3 Reflexive actions on body parts

Yawuru verbs may be reflexivised by adding the prefix *ma-* (INT) and the suffix *-ndyi* (RCP) to the verb root (see 4.2.7).²² Compare transitive [51] and reflexive [52]:

- [51] *Ngayu-ni nyamba yila nga-na-balu-nda.*
 1-ERG this dog(ABS) 1-TR-hit-PF
 'I hit this dog.'
- [52] *Ngayu nga-ma-balu-ndyi-nda.*
 1(ABS) 1-INT-hit-RCP-PF
 'I hit myself.'

The reflexive subject (actor) occurs in the absolutive case (but cf. discussion in 6.4). The verb loses the transitive conjugation marker (TR). In terms of case-marking and cross-referencing patterns, therefore, the reflexive construction reveals a plain intransitive clause type.

When reflexive actions involve a part of the body, a structure parallel to the double-subject intransitive occurs.

- [53] *I-ma-bali-ndyi-n ngulygu (ginyangka).*
 3_w-INT-cut-RCP-IMPF whisker(ABS)_p 3(ABS)_w
 'He is shaving.'
- [54] *Marlu (dyuyu) wa-ma-bilka-ndyi marru.*²³
 not 2(ABS)_w 2_w-FUT-INT-hit-RCP head(ABS)_p
 'Don't hit yourself on the head.'

²² This is a somewhat simplified account. There are verbs that may take only one of the two affixes, as well as those that are reflexivised by some other morphological devices. See 4.2.7, 4.7 and 7.4.2.6 for detailed accounts of Yawuru verbal and pronominal reflexives.

²³ The locative case (*marru-gun*) is unacceptable here. cf. [63c] in 10.2.3.1.

Notice, in the above examples, that both actors (whole) and objects (part) are encoded in the absolutive. The construction may well be interpreted as reflexivised double-object transitive (i.e. $p = w$).

10.2.2 Double-subject transitive

10.2.2.1 Case frame

A limited number of instances are encountered where transitive verbs seem to have double subjects: one referring to a body part (p), the other referring to the possessor (w) of the body part. The verbal prefix agrees with the possessor, as in the double-subject intransitive. The formula is:

ERG _{p} ABS _{j} (ABS _{w}) w -Verb

The formula for the double-subject transitive is unlike the others in that the body-part nouns (indexed p) take the ergative case. Notice in the examples below that the possessor occurs in the form of an absolutive pronoun, not a genitive one. These pronominal NPs (ABS _{w} in the formula) may be omitted.

[55] *Buu + wal-dyu (dyungku) nilirr-ni dyuyu/*dyiya.*
 blow+2 _{w} -FUT-AUX(say) fire(ABS) _{j} mouth _{p} -ERG 2(ABS/*GEN) _{w}
 'You blow the fire with your mouth (i.e. breath).'

[56] *Nilirr-ni-manydyan mi-ny-dyu-nda dyuyu/*dyiya.*
 mouth _{p} -ERG-only 2 _{w} -EN-say-PF 2(ABS/*GEN) _{w}
 'You replied only with (the movement of) your lips.'²⁴

It would be possible to explain the case form of the pronouns in the above examples by regarding the body-part noun and the pronoun as forming an NP so that the gloss to *nilirr-ni dyuyu* in [55] would be "mouth-ERG 2(ERG)".²⁵ This interpretation is rather untenable, however, because reversed word order such as **buu waldyu dyungku dyuyu-ni nilirr* is unacceptable.

I have preferred, however, to regard them as constituting separate NPs in the clause, locating the construction in question in the issue of body-part syntax.

10.2.2.2 Ergative marking on the possessor

We have at least one example in which the ergative marker in the double-subject transitive construction is affixed to the pronominal possessor rather than to the body part.

[57] *Bidyara ngay-ni nga-likarra-rn durrgadya karda.*
 ear(ABS) _{p} 1 _{w} -ERG 1 _{w} -hear-IMPF noise(ABS) yonder
 'I heard a distant noise.'

Perhaps related to this is the fact that the word *bidyara* 'ear' refers to the hearing ability rather than the ear (as the visible part of body) itself. The noun *bidyara* in

²⁴ The verb *dyu* 'say' is transitive and requires an ERG-ABS case frame.

²⁵ Remember the initial-marking principle at NP level (2.5.2). If such NP formation is the case, then [56] would be interpreted as having a discontinuous NP (cf. discussion by Blake 1987:95-98).

[57] cannot be replaced by the noun *nimalul* 'ear, earlobe' which refers to the body part itself.

Sentence [57] could also be interpreted in such a way that the noun *bidyara* and the pronoun *ngay(u)* comprise a unified nominal compound and thus case markers do not intervene (cf. the discussion in 2.5.2.4 and 7.1.3.1): i.e.

[57'] [*Bidyara-ngay(u)*]_N-*ni nga-likarra-rn durradya karda*.

Even though this interpretation holds, the problem of agreement remains: such a compound noun is cross-referenced by the 1st-person prefix, not the 3rd-person one.

10.2.2.3 Relation to the single-subject transitive

Double-subject transitive constructions may be paraphrased as the plain (single-subject) transitive. The latter clause type is much more common than the former. Consider [58a/b]:

- [58] a. *Kamba yila nga-ny-dyanba-rn niwal-ni (ngayu).*
 that dog(ABS); 1_w-EN-kick-IMPF foot_p-ERG 1(ABS)_w
 'I kicked the dog.' (lit. "my foot I kicked that dog")²⁶
- b. (*Ngayu-ni*) *kamba yila nga-ny-dyanba-rn niwal-gun dyanu.*
 1_i-ERG that dog(ABS); 1_i-EN-kick-IMPF foot-LOC 1(GEN)
 'I kicked the dog with my foot.' (lit. "I kicked that dog at my foot")²⁷

Due to paucity of data, the semantic contrast between the two modes of expression is not very clear. It seems, however, that in the double-subject transitive the body part is foregrounded (as well as in the intransitive double-subject construction), while in the common transitive structure it is the object (patient) that is the main topic. In both cases the agent (who is the possessor of the body part) is relatively defocused.

10.2.3 Double-object transitive

10.2.3.1 Case frame

The structure of double-object clauses is basically transitive, involving an ergative NP and an absolutive NP.

ERG_i ABS_p *i*-Verb-*w*_{ACC}

It is, however, different from the usual transitive, because the accusative enclitic on the verb (*-k*) does NOT agree with the absolutive NP in the clause. Thus, it appears as if the sentence has two objects: one referred to by the NP and the other

²⁶ Also recorded is sentence [61'] in which the genitive pronoun modifies the body part:

[61'] *Kamba yila nga-ny-dyanba-rn niwal-ni dyanu.*
 that dog(ABS) 1-EN-kick-IMPF foot-ERG 1(GEN).
 'I kicked the dog with my foot.'

In any case the ergative marker *-ni* in [61] and [61'] cannot be replaced by the instrumental *-barri* (cf. 6.4.6.1, 6.5.6 and 6.8.4).

²⁷ See 7.1 for the encoding of the body-part instrumentality into the locative case, rather than the instrumental.

referred to by the accusative clitic pronoun. The enclitic cannot take a dative form. Consider the following instances (the double-object entities are in boldface):

- [60] *Rumarra-gun ya-ng-ga-ni, burdara+wa-na-ga-ma-**ya**yu rumarra-ni **karrikan**.*
 sun-LOC 12-EN-FUT-be dry+3_i-TR-FUT-AUX(put)-12ACC_w sun_i-ERG body(ABS)_p
 'Let's dry our bodies in the sun.' (lit. "sun will dry us body")
- [61] *Mimbi kunbi-ni i-na-nya-rn-ngayu.*
 chest(ABS)_p nose.wax_i-ERG 3_i-TR-catch-IMPF-1ACC_w
 'I caught a cold.' (lit. "nose wax catches me chest")²⁸
- [62] *Durlbu nga-na-ø-bilka-dyuyu (ngay-ni).*
 heart(ABS)_p 1_i-TR-IRR-hit-2ACC_w 1-ERG_i
 'I might spear you in the heart.' (lit. "Heart I hit you")²⁹

Typically, the absolutive noun (ABS)_p is a body-part noun and the accusative enclitic (-w) indicates the possessor of the body part. As in the double-subject construction examined in the previous subsection, the possessive (or part-whole) relation may not, at clause level, be encoded in the genitive phrase. Consider [63] below.

- [63] a. *I-na-bilka-nda-ngayu marru.*
 3_i-TR-hit-PF-1ACC_w head(ABS)_p
 'She_i hit me_w on the head_p (= my head).'
- b. *[*I-na-bilka-nda [marru dyanu.]]*
 3_i-TR-hit-PF head(ABS)_p 1_w(GEN)
- c. ?[*I-na-bilka-nda-ngayu marru-gun.]*
 3_i-TR-hit-PF-1ACC_w head_j-LOC
 '(?)'She_i hit me_w (perhaps on the head_p) with her head_j.' (cf. [54])

What [63a-c] show is that one has to say something like "he hit me head" (as in [63a]), rather than "he hit my head" ([63b]) or "he hit me in the head" ([63c]) in Yawuru, in spite of the fact that the phrase *marru dyanu* 'my head' is well acceptable by itself.

In the double-object construction the whole entity (encoded in the accusative clitic pronoun) cannot be left out unsaid, as opposed to object body-part nouns which are subject to ellipsis in certain contexts of discourse. For example,

- [64] *Rdarnku + mina-bilka-nda-ngayu (niyakan).*
 fist+2_i-hit-PF-1ACC_w back(ABS)_p
 'You hit me (on the back) with your fist.' (lit. "you fist-hit me back")

Or the body part is mentioned only as additional information of secondary importance (notice in [65] that the comma indicates a pause):

- [65] *Kirrbadyu-ni ward+ i-ny-dyu-n-ngayu, nimarla.*
 honey_i-ERG stick+ 3_i-EN-AUX-IMPF-1ACC_w hand(ABS)_p
 'The honey stuck (to my hand).'

²⁸ The word *kunbi* means '(dry) nose mucus'. The word *ngunirr* 'snivel, runny nose' is unacceptable in this idiom.

²⁹ A similar expression using the more common body-part noun *mimbi* 'chest, breast' is also recorded in the same case frame:

[62'] (*Kamba-ni wamba i-na-ra-nda-ngayu mimbi mangul-barri.*
 that-ERG man(ERG) 3-TR-spear-pf-1ACC chest(ABS) spear-INST
 'The man speared me in the chest.'

To recapitulate by using literal translations, Yawuru can say "hit me (head)" but not "hit head" (see discussion concerning the discourse focus in the double-object transitive construction in 10.2.6.2 and 10.2.6.5).

If the enclitic takes the dative form, as it actually does in [66] below, then the structure is simply transitive. In that case, however, the head which is to be hit is neither yours nor mine, but that of a third person.

- [66] *Wal-a-bilka-dyanu marru dyina.*
 2_iFUT-TR-hit-1DAT_k head(ABS)_p 3(GEN)_w
 'You_i should hit him_w on the (i.e. his) head_p for me_k (i.e. on my behalf).'

If the transitive verb carries no enclitic pronoun, it means that it has a 3rd-person direct object. Compare, for instance, the double-object example [67]a with plain transitive [67]b and notice that the possessors of the hands are different (also cf. [64] above):

- [67] a. *Mi-na-bilka-nda-ngayu nimarla.*
 2_i-TR-hit-PF-1ACC_w hand(ABS)_p
 'You hit me on the (i.e. my) hand.' (lit. "you hit me hand")
- b. *Nimarla + mi-na-bilka-nda.*
 hand+2_i-TR-hit-PF
 'You hit [it] with your hand.' (lit. "you hand-hit")

The latter reveals a complex verb construction in which the body part noun *nimarla* is incorporated as preverb into the predicate. The same state of affairs may be expressed by putting the body-part noun in an oblique adverbial phrase, as in:³⁰

- [68] *Mi-na-bilka-nda nimarla-gun (dyiya).*
 2-TR-hit-PF hand-LOC 2(GEN)
 'You hit [it] with your hand.'

10.2.3.2 Treatment of kin terms

In Australian languages kin and body terms often reveal peculiar morpho-syntactic behaviour together.³¹ This, however, is not the case in Yawuru. Expressions such as 'they hit my wife' are encoded into plain transitive clauses, in which postverbal enclitic, if any, agrees with the kin term, irrespective of the class of kinship relation involved.

- [69] [*Dyarn'du dyanu*]_{NPRO} *i-na-bilka-nda kamba-ni karidyunu.*
 woman(ABS) 1(GEN) 3_i-TR-hit-PF that-ERG drunkard(ERG)_i
 'That drunkard hit my wife.' (not "hit me wife")

³⁰ See 6.5.6 for the use of locative indicating body-part instrumentality.

³¹ See Leeding (1991) and Alpher (1982); cf. Blake (1987:95ff) and Hale (1981). Outside Australia, Langdon (1988) shows that in Yuman languages (California) body-part nouns and kin terms can commonly take possessor-marking prefixes, which are identical with the subject markers to verbs). Hosokawa (1991a), on the other hand, points out that in Jacaltec (Mayan, western Guatemala) body-part nouns belong to a noun class different from the one which has kin terms and human terms as its members).

10.2.3.3 Non-pronominal double object

There are a limited number of instances that have a non-pronominal double object.

- [70] *Rdirdirdi + wal-a-ma* [*kamba nalkumirdi*] [*marru*].
squeeze+2_iFUT-TR-AUX(put) that bush.rabbit(ABS)_w head(ABS)_p
'Twist the head of the bush rabbit.'

Remember that the 3rd-person direct objects, especially non-human objects, are usually not cross-referenced by the accusative clitic (see 7.3.2.2).

10.2.4 Quasi-passive

In the quasi-passive (type IV), ABS_w is a free-form personal pronoun of the absolutive form, with which the verbal prefix agrees.

ERG_i ABS_p (ABS_w) *w*-Verb

The quasi-passive is a construction in which the patient/undergoer is marked by the verbal prefix, not by the enclitic object-marker. Like the transitive, the core constituents are an ergative NP and an absolutive NP. Unlike the transitive, however, the verbal prefix does not agree with the ergative NP, but agrees with the undergoing person (indexed *k*), which may appear in the clause in the form of the absolutive pronoun (ABS_k).

Examples of quasi-passive sentences are given below. In these sentences the ergative marker *-ni* cannot be replaced by other case markers, such as locative *-gun*, causal *-nyurdany*, or instrumental *-barri*.³²

- [71] *Dyanga-ni gil + nga-ny-dyu-nda niwal* (*ngayu*) *buya-gun*.
oyster-ERG_i cut+1_w-EN-AUX-PF foot(ABS)_p 1(ABS)_w reef-LOC
'My foot was cut by an oyster shell on the reef.' or 'I got a cut in my foot from an oyster shell on the reef.' (lit. "oyster_i I_w cut foot_p")³³
- [72] *Durr-gadya-ni barril + nga-ngara-rn* (*ngayu*).
noise_i-INTENS-ERG awake+1_w-become-IMPF 1(ABS)_w
'I was awakened by a loud noise.'
- [73] (*Ngayu*) *nga-lurra-nda kungkulu-manyan nyamba-ni dyungku*.
1(ABS)_w 1_w-burn-PF hair(ABS)_p-only this-ERG fire(ERG)_i
'This fire burned only my hair.' or 'I burned only my hair.' (I_w just had my hair_p burned by the fire_i.)

Sentence [73] describes an incident in which a sudden flame of fire licked the face of the speaker (female), but fortunately she didn't get her face burned; she just had her hair burned.

³² There is at least one case where the causal marker may be replaced by the ergative:

[71A] *Ngarli + mi-ya-ngara wula-nyurdany/ni*.
wet+2-IRR-become water-CAUS/ERG
'You got wet.' (You were rained on.)

This sentence, however, is an elicited one and therefore its authenticity can be questioned. Lack of ABS_p is observed in example [72], too. See also [95] and [96] discussed later in 10.2.6.4.

³³ Another possible English translation would be 'I cut my foot on the reef', but this rather takes the focus away from the oyster.

The quasi-passive construction is like a passive in that the verbal marking of the agent-patient role (or subject-object relation) is reversed (cf. Schachter 1985:10) since the subject-marking prefixes agree with the patient, not the agent. Unlike passive, however, the agent (or the cause of the process) is not defocused or backgrounded. It is the patient pronoun (rather than the agent ergative NP) that is often omitted in the natural discourse examples of the Yawuru quasi-passive.³⁴ It should be noted, in this regard, that ergative NPs are frequently left out in Yawuru transitive sentences (cf. 10.8.2).³⁵

The quasi-passive is also different from a passive in that, apart from the reversed agreement, no special changes take place in the form of the verb or in the case marking on the NPs. Intriguingly, verbs involved in the quasi-passive may be transitive (as in [71] above), intransitive (as in [72]), or B-conjugation of A/P verbs (as in [73]; see 4.8).

Quasi-passive sentences are rather infrequent in the corpus of Yawuru texts, but when they occur, they often involve body-part nouns. The quasi-passive should be, in this regard, syntactically and semantically compared with the three construction types outlined earlier (namely the double-subject intransitive/transitive and the double-object transitive), since these, too, typically involve body parts. The four construction types, however, have different semantic values. We shall illustrate in 10.2.6, through a comparison of the double-object transitive with the double-subject intransitive, that the quasi-passive is a morpho-syntactic device by which the speaker foregrounds the entity with which the mentioned body part has contact, implying the accidental or involuntary nature of that contact.³⁶

³⁴ It is, therefore, somewhat deviant from the passive prototype as discussed by Shibatani (1985). There are no genuine passive or antipassive constructions in Yawuru.

³⁵ This sometimes raises a problem of interpretation. The case of the verb *dyuma* 'singe' is typical. This verb is classified as transitive since the ERG-ABS case frame such as in (1) has been recorded:

(i) *Wal-dyuma warli* (*dyuyu-ni*).
2FUT-singe meat(ABS) 2-ERG

'You singe the game (re: goanna).'

However, most of the examples in which this verb is used make no explicit mention of an ergative NP (agent). It should also be noted that the verb in question inflects in the class IIa paradigm, which lacks the explicit transitive marker (4.2.2).

(ii) *Warli i-ny-dyuma-rn rrirrka-gun*.
meat(ABS) 3-EN-singe-IMPF charcoal-LOC

'The take (of the hunt) is being singed on the (hot) charcoal.'

(iii) *Dili-gun i-ny-dyuma-rn kamba warli birn'dany*.
flame-LOC 3-EN-singe-IMPF that meat stingray(ABS)

'The catch of stingray is singed in the fire.' (The generic noun *warli* functions here as a classifier-like modifier of the noun *birn'dany*; see 2.4.4)

Since this verb semantically presupposes an inanimate 3rd-person direct object (something to be singed, not somebody), which is usually explicit in the clause in the form of an absolutive NP (given in boldface in (1) and (2) above), the transitive verb, when it is inflected for the 3rd person minimal, can readily be re-interpreted as intransitive (i.e. 'get singed' — the subject being the entity singed). Translation into an English passive is thus more appropriate than otherwise, because of the mediopassive-like nature of the original sentences. As a matter of fact, no instances, except those in imperative mode such as in (1), have been recorded in which the verb *dyuma* takes a non-3rd-person prefix marking the agent.

³⁶ One of the morpho-syntactic devices functionally comparable to the Yawuru quasi-passive in other Australian languages is what Blake (1977:48) called "medio-passive" in Djaabugay (=

The ergatively marked quasi-passive agents are always low in animacy (for example, the oyster shell and the fire in the above examples).³⁷ By contrast, the undergoers (i.e. those cross-referenced by the verbal prefix) of the quasi-passive are usually first or second person; i.e. those at the highest level of the animacy hierarchy.³⁸

10.25 The question of the 3rd person

Instances of body-part constructions examined so far are all those that have non-3rd-person reference as to the possessor of the body part. The issue becomes somewhat ambiguous in the 3rd person (e.g. he has a headache, she cut her hand, etc.). Since the 3rd-person entities, either whole or part, are encoded into the same morphology (3rd-person verbal prefix), the distinction of basic intransitive and double-subject intransitive is rather obscure. Compare, for example, [74a/b]. In [74a], the verbal prefix unequivocally indicates the 1st-person possessor (thus indexed 1_w), whereas in [74b] the 3rd-person prefix can be interpreted either as referring to the body part (3_p) or to its possessor (3_w).

- [74] a. *Narli binybal + nga-ngara-rn nungu.*
 true pain+1_w-AUX(become)-IMPF belly(ABS)_p
 'I have a bad stomach ache.'
- b. *Narli binybal + i-ngara-rn nungu.*
 true pain+3_{p/w}-AUX(become)-IMPF belly(ABS)_p
 'She has a bad stomach ache.'

There are, however, examples in which the body-part possessors stand in the absolutive, not in the genitive form (i.e. "stomach he aches" instead of "his stomach aches"), so that the construction can be considered double-subject. This suggests that the co-referential index of the verbal prefix would better be 3_w rather than 3_p in [74b] above as well as in the following:

- [75] *Kamba bibi*³⁹ *binybal + i-ngara-rn nungu wuba-yi.*
 that mother(ABS)_w pain+3_{p/w}-AUX(become)-IMPF belly(ABS)_p child-DAT
 'The woman started to have labour pains.'
- [76] *Nilirr ginyangka/*dyina barndin (i-nga-rn).*
 mouth(ABS)_p 3(ABS/*GEN)_w blocked 3_{p/w}-be-IMPF
 'He is dumb.' (lit. "he mouth blocked")
- [77] *Dungkar + i-ny-dyu-n (marru) ginyangka.*
 nod+3_{p/w}-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF head(ABS)_p 3(ABS)_w
 'He nodded.' (lit. "head he nodded")

Dja:bugay, northeast Queensland). Hale's discussion concerning the semantic nature of the Dja:bugay construction (Hale 1976b:324-325; he calls the construction in question "passive-reflexive") is quite inspiring, especially because of the implication of accidentality observed in the Yawuru quasi-passive. See discussion in 10.2.6.4.

³⁷ Actually they are not "agents" in the strict semantic term, but rather causes or causers of the described incidents.

³⁸ In this respect Yawuru quasi-passive is comparable to the split verb agreement systems reported from Dargwa (North-east Caucasian) and Wichita (Caddoan). In Dargwa, when the transitive object is 1st or 2nd person and the agent (transitive subject) is 3rd person, then the verb tends to agree with the former, rather than with the latter (Anderson 1985:197). In Wichita, where a 3rd-person subject noun is possessed by 1st or 2nd person, verbal agreement may be with the possessor, rather than with the possessed (Anderson 1985:197).

³⁹ The word *bibi* 'mother' here refers to a pregnant woman (i.e. expecting mother).

It should be added, in connection with [77] above, that the gesture of nodding is usually expressed without mentioning the body part (head), so that the clause structure appears just like that of the plain intransitive. This is the more so when the reference is to non-singular actors:

- [78] *Kamba-rri ngarrungu dungkar + inga-rr-a-dyu-n (marru).*
 that-DL person(ABS)_w nod+3"_{w?}-AGM-TR-say-IMPF head(ABS)_p
 'Both of them nodded.'

Instances such as this, however, do not solve the puzzle, because when there are many wholes there naturally are as many parts! In addition, the loose nature of number agreement in Yawuru should be taken into account (4.2.1.5).

Our discussion in the following subsections returns to the cases with reference to a non-3rd-person "whole".

10.2.6 Relations and contrasts between the clause types

We have so far reviewed the structures and some characteristics of Yawuru simple clauses. In this section the syntactic relationships and semantic contrasts between the construction types are examined.

10.2.6.1 Quasi-passive vs double-subject intransitive

Example [79] illustrates a syntactic connection of the quasi-passive to the double-subject intransitive. [79a] is quasi-passive, while [79b] is intransitive with a double subject. The latter results by taking the ergative NP (*nyamba-ni buru* 'by this sand') away from the former.

- [79] a. *Dyiladyila nga-ngara-nda niwal (ngayu) nyamba-ni buru.*
 burninglyhot 1_w-become-PF foot(ABS)_p 1(ABS)_w this-ERG sand(ERG);
 'I had my feet (i.e. the soles) burned by this hot sand.'
- b. *Dyiladyila nga-ngara-nda niwal (ngayu).*
 burninglyhot 1_w-become-PF foot(ABS)_p 1(ABS)_w
 'My feet were burned.'

Whether or not the cause of the state of affairs is mentioned seems to be crucial to the semantic contrast that exists between these two otherwise identical constructions. The quasi-passive implies that the described state of the body part is caused by contact of that body part and the cause (i.e. the entity referred to by the ergative NP). The focus is on that contact, and in many cases the unexpected and/or undesirable nature of the contact. Without the ergatively marked NP, on the other hand, the semantic focus shifts to that part of the body which is affected. Thus the double-subject intransitive is used in a context where the speaker's main concern is to specify the affected part.

In either case the free-form pronoun (as absolutive NP referring to the possessor of the body part) is subject to ellipsis. This, however, does not necessarily mean

that the possessor (or the whole) of the body part is defocused, since it is clearly marked by the pronominal prefix on the verb.

Example [79b] above is not a spontaneously uttered sentence, but is an elicited one. There are, however, natural text examples such as [80], which are structurally identical to [79b].

- [80] *Nilirr ribi nga-ngara-rn (ngayu).*
 mouth(ABS)_p toothache 1_w-become-IMPF 1(ABS)_w
 'I_w have a toothache. (My tooth_p aches)'

10.2.62 Quasi-passive vs double-object transitive

The next set of examples, [81] and [82], illustrates that the quasi-passive also has a close relation with the double-object construction. [81a] and [82a] are double-object transitive; [81b] and [82b] are quasi-passive ([82b] is the same as [71] given earlier).

- [81] a. *Laar + i-ny-dyu-rn-ngayu (munyu) nyamba-ni dila wanangarri.*
 crack+3_i-AUX(say)-IMPF-1ACC_w knee(ABS)_p this-ERG hard stone(ERG)_i
 'This hard stone_i wounded me_w (in the knee_p).'
 b. *Laar + nga-ny-dyu-nda munyu (ngayu) dila-ni wanangarri.*
 crack+1_w-AUX(say)-PF knee(ABS)_p 1(ABS)_w hard-ERG stone(ERG)_i
 'I_w got my knees_p skinned by the hard stone_i (i.e. the stony surface of the path).'
- [82] a. *Dyanga-ni gil + i-ny-dyu-nda-ngayu (niwal) buya-gun.*
 oyster_i-ERG cut+3_i -EN-AUX(say)-PF-1ACC_w foot(ABS)_p reef-LOC
 'The oyster shell_i cut me_w (in the foot_p) on the reef.'
 b. *Dyanga-ni gil + nga-ny-dyu-nda niwal (ngayu) buya-gun.*
 oyster_i-ERG cut+1_w-EN-AUX(say)-PF foot(ABS)_p 1(ABS)_w reef-LOC
 'My foot_p was cut by the oyster shell_i on the reef.'

Events described by the double-object transitive can also be encoded into the quasi-passive without changing the logical/referential aspect of meaning. It should be noted, however, that it is the body-part absolute noun which is often defocused and omitted in double-object structures, such as [81a] and [82a] (cf. also the commentaries made in 10.1.4.3). In the quasi-passive structure, on the other hand, the body parts are not defocused — see [81b] and [82b]. The double-object construction focuses on the relation between the agent (or cause) of an incident and the experiencer (i.e. the possessor of the affected body part), relatively defocusing the part itself (which is usually mentioned already in the discourse). The quasi-passive, by contrast, focuses on the relation between the part and the agent/cause. One of the functions of the quasi-passive seems to be relating a whole, part and external causer without defocusing any of them.⁴⁰

It is also pointed out in this connection that, as well as in the plain transitive (10.1.3), ergative NPs in the double-object transitive tend to be relatively backgrounded. Compare [83] and [84].

⁴⁰ I am using the terms "focusing" and "defocusing" as set out by Shibatani (1985:832).

- [83] *Kinykiny + i-na-nya-rn-ngayu* *nimanya ngurun-ni.*
choke+3_i-TR-AUX(catch)-IMPF-1ACC_w neck(ABS)_p smoke_i-ERG
'I was choked by the smoke.'
- [84] *Kindil-kindil + nga-ny-dyu-n* *ngurun-nyurdany.*
cough-REDUP+1_j-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF smoke-CAUS
'Choked with fumes, I coughed.'

The two sentences describe roughly the same process but reflect different focal points. While the cause of the event (smoke) is foregrounded in [84] (which is an intransitive complex-verb expression), the double-object construction in [83] has the patient in main focus.

10.2.63 Quasi-passive vs transitive

Transitive sentences are not always interchangeable with quasi-passive structures, even though they involve body parts ([86a] is double-object transitive). [85b] and [86b] are both ungrammatical.

- [85] a. *Kinykirida-ni i-na-nya-nda-ngayu.*
phlegm_i-ERG 3_i-TR-catch-PF-1ACC_j
'I caught a cold.' (lit. "phlegm caught me")
- b. *[*Kinykirida-ni nga-na-nya-nda*]
phlegm_i-ERG 1_w-TR-catch-PF
- [86] a. *I-na-ra-rn-yadiri niminy rumarra-ni.*
3_i-TR-stub-12"ACC_w eye(ABS)_p sun_i-ERG
'The sun dazzled us.'
- b. *[*Yaga-rr(-a-r)a-rn niminy rumarra-ni.*]
12"_w-AGM-TR-stub-IMPF eye(ABS)_p sun_i-ERG

However, the context of discourse is also relevant to the use of the quasi-passive. In [87] below, the intransitive structure ("sitting I-was") is followed by the quasi-passive structure ("chill I-catch"), with the effect that both finite verbs have the same pronominal prefix, namely the 1st-person *nga-*.

- [87] *Midyala + nga-nga-rn ngayu, kuulbarra-ni nga-na-nya-rn.*
sitting+1_j-AUX(be)-IMPF 1(ABS)_j chill_i-ERG 1_w(=j)-TR-catch-IMPF
'I was sitting (for a long while) and caught a chill.'

The second clause of [87] may be paraphrased as a plain transitive structure ("chill catches me"), i.e.

- [87'] *Kuulbarra-ni i-na-nya-rn-ngayu.*
chill_i-ERG 3_i-TR-catch-IMPF-1ACC_j

It seems, however, that the rhythm of story telling (and/or the pattern of topic continuity) made the narrator prefer the verb agreement given in [87]. Obviously, the factor of discourse cohesion is relevant.⁴¹

⁴¹ A similar discourse factor is also relevant in many cases of the double-subject construction. To give just a few instances:

- [87A] *Narli marrkun mi-nga-rn, gurlgurlgurl-gadya + mi-nga-rn nungu.*
true hungry 2_j-be-IMPF (ONOM)-INTENS +2_w(=j)-AUX(be)-IMPF stomach(ABS)_p
'You are really hungry. Your tummy is rumbling.'
- [87B] *Ngily + nga-ny-dyu-n marru ngayu, kurlin + nga-ngara-rn.*
headache+1_w-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF head(ABS)_p 1(ABS) sleep +1_j(=w)-AUX(become)-IMPF
'I had a headache; so I took a rest.'

10.2.64 Quasi-passive vs reflexive

Another important function of the quasi-passive becomes clear when we compare it with the reflexive construction. Consider [88]-[91] below. [88] is double-object transitive, in which the agent (1st person) is the cooker of the meat.⁴² [89] is also double-object transitive, but this time it is the speaker who was burned.

[88] *Ngayu-ni warli nga-na-lurra-nda kungkulu-manyan dyungku-gun.*
 1-ERG_i meat(ABS)_w 1_i-TR-burn-PF hair(ABS)_p-only fire-LOC
 'I_i singed the game_w. (i.e. I burned the surface of the skin_p ready for later steam-cooking in the earth oven.)

[89] *Dyungku-ni i-na-lurra-nda-ngayu (kungkulu-manyan).*
 fire_i-ERG 3_i-TR-burn-PF-1ACC_w hair(ABS)_p-only
 'The fire_i burned me_k (but only my hair_p).'

Now, [90] below is quasi-passive. Contrast it with [91], which has the reflexive form of the verb (*ma-lurra-dyi*). The implication of the reflexive construction of [91] is that the action of burning the speaker himself/herself was done on purpose — the action is willful (or volitional). Such an implication of the actor's intention is absent in the quasi-passive sentence [90]: I burned myself, but it was an accident.

[90] *(Ngayu/-*ni) nga-lurra-nda kungkulu-manyan dyungku-ni.*
 1(ABS)_w/*ERG 1_w-burn-PF hair(ABS)_p-only fire_i-ERG
 'The fire_i burned only my hair_p.' (I_w had only my hair burned by the fire_i;
 i.e. I accidentally burned myself with the fire but only my hair got burned.)

[91] *Ngayu(-ni) nga-ma-lurra-ndyi-nda nimarla.*
 1(ABS)_w/-ERG 1_w-INT-burn-RCP-PF hand(ABS)_p
 'I have (intentionally/deliberately) burned my (own) hand.'

In the quasi-passive structure of [90] the personal pronoun (for the patient or undergoer) is in the absolutive form (*ngayu*) and does not carry the ergative marker *-ni*. Notice, however, that in the reflexive construction of [91], the subject pronoun may optionally carry the ergative marker (as given in parentheses; actual ergative form is *ngay-ni*).

It has already been pointed out (4.6 and 10.1.1) that in Yawuru reflexive clauses the subject generally stands in the absolutive case. However, when the action is something unusual (or at least unexpected) and the willfulness of the action thus needs to be emphasized, which is the case in [91], the ergative marker may appear. In this reflexive construction the subject is a willful actor and the fire, which is the direct cause (or medium) of the incident, is rather off focus in the sentence. Notice in the following that the causal media (water in these cases) are not mentioned in the reflexive sentences describing volitional actions.

⁴² In this particular example of the double-object construction both objects, "meat" (i.e. animal) and "hair" (i.e. its skin), are overt. (The word *warli* 'meat' here refers to the whole entity of a game animal, not to a part of it. Such use of the term is quite common in Australian Aboriginal languages.) The part noun *kungkulu* 'hair' is not defocused probably because of the limitative marker *-manyān* attached to it.

- [92] *Naarli nga-ma-buli-ndyi-n ngayu.*
true 1_w-INT-moisten-RCP-IMP 1(ABS)_w
'I wet myself well (with water).'
- [93] *K*awity i-ma-buli-buli-ndyi-n.*
quickly 3_w-INT-REDUP-moisten-RCP-IMP
'She had a quick bathe (in the water).'
- [94] *Kukul + nga-bandyi dyuyu niwal-manydyan.*
wash+2_wFUT-AUX(give/REF) 2(ABS)_w foot(ABS)_p-only
'Just wash your feet (with water).'

In the quasi-passive the person who suffered the burn is undergoer rather than actor; and the fire as the direct causer (if not a willful agent) of the incident is still in focus.⁴³

The following examples, which I assume show the quasi-passive clause structure (though there is no explicit body-part NP),⁴⁴ provide further evidence that the notion of non-volitionality (or uncontrollability in this particular example) underlies the syntactic construction in question.

- [95] *Darra+ nga-ny-dyu-n wula-ni.*
belch+1_w-EN-AUX-IMP water_i-ERG
'I belch because of the water (i.e. carbonated drink).'
- [96] *Burrburr+ nga-ny-dyu-nda durr-gadya-ni.*
frighten+1_w-EN-AUX-PF roaring_i-INTENS-ERG
'I was frightened at the roaring noise.'

Note, again, that the causal case-marker cannot replace the ergative marker in the above sentences.

10.2.6.5 Double-object transitive vs intransitive

[97a-d] are good examples to sum up the interrelationship of the clause types examined so far. To recapitulate, [97a] is double-object transitive, [97b] is quasi-passive (although ungrammatical in this particular case), [97c] is regular transitive, and [97d] is regular intransitive.

- [97] a. *Ward + i-na-nya-nda-ngayu dyangkurr nyamma-ni balu.*
stick+3_i-TR-AUX(catch)-PF-1ACC_w clothing(ABS)_p this-ERG tree(ERG)_i
'My shirt got stuck on this branch.' (lit. "this tree_i caught me_w cloth_p")
- b. *[*Ward+ nga-na-nya-nda dyangkurr nyamma-ni balu.*]
stick+1_w-TR-AUX(catch)-PF clothing(ABS)_p this-ERG tree(ERG)_i
(lit.) "My shirt am stuck by this tree."
- c. ?[*Ward+ i-na-nya-nda dyangkurr dyanu nyamma-ni balu.*]
stick+3_i-AUX(catch)-PF clothing(ABS)_j 1(GEN)_k this-ERG tree(ERG)_i
(lit.) "My shirt got stuck by this tree."
- d. *Dyangkurr dyanu ward+ i-ngara-nda nyamma-gun balu.*
clothing(ABS)_j 1(GEN) stick+3_j-become-PF this-LOC tree(LOC)
'My shirt got stuck on this tree.'

⁴³ The argument by Hale and by Dixon concerning accidental reflexive as opposed to deliberate reflexive (Hale 1976b:324-325; Dixon 1976:318-319; see also Dixon 1977:428-443) seems to have some relevance to this point.

⁴⁴ See also example [72] given in 10.2.4.

It has been stated earlier that what is expressed in the quasi-passive can also be expressed in the double-object transitive. Now [97a] and [97b] above demonstrate that the reverse is not always the case. Incidentally, the case of *dyangkurr* 'clothing (e.g. shirt)' seems to present a borderline case.⁴⁵ Whereas this non-body-part noun (although it is something very much related to the body) cannot stand in a quasi-passive construction [97b], it does not fit into a plain transitive clause, either. As in [97c] the genitive phrase *dyangkurr dyanu* 'my shirt' as object NP of the transitive is of low acceptability (cf. discussion in 10.2.3.1). Such a genitive phrase, however, would be more acceptable if it referred to a piece of clothing that has not (yet) been put on: e.g. they kindly brought my jumper which I had left at their house.

It is important, in this respect, to remember that the double-object construction foregrounds the whole rather than the part (10.2.6.2), but such foregrounding takes effect on the condition that the whole and the part are not alienated (cf. footnote 52 in 10.2.8). On the other hand, genitive phrases, such as those equivalent to 'my clothes' or 'my head', tend to shift the focus to the objects themselves. Such a shift of focus is more likely to occur when the object is alienated from the whole. The above discussed case of clothing, which can easily be separated from or attached to the body, provides the crucial point. To add a further piece of evidence, compare [98] and [99]. The genitive modifier 'my (body)' is acceptable in the former while it is rejected in the latter.

[98] (= [169b] in 4.8.3.3)

Ngay-ni nga-na-ng-ga-dyardi dyangkurr karrikan-gap dyanu.
 1-ERG 1-TR-EN-FUT-skin clothing(ABS) body-ABL 1(GEN)
 'I'll take my clothes off.' (lit. "strip clothes from my body")

[99] *Ngurru dyangkurr nga-na-ngama-yi⁴⁶ karrikan-gun ngayu/*dyanu.*
 more cloth(ABS) 1-TR-put(REF)-DAT_{imp} body-LOC 1(ABS/*GEN)
 'I have to wear more clothes.' (lit. "put more clothes on me body")

The results of the actions described in the above two sentences are contrastive: in [98] the clothes are to be taken off from the body, whereas in [99] they are put on.

10.27 Discussion: identity-sensitive grammar

We have so far described the structure of Yawuru simple clauses from a morpho-syntactic as well as a semantic perspective. It has been illustrated that, when paraphrasing is possible from one clause type to another, there usually exists some semantic contrast between them. In this section I address a further point that shows the Yawuru case to be characteristic.

⁴⁵ It is interesting in this regard that in Nyulnyul, a closely related sister language of Yawuru (1.2.1), names of clothing items are found in the class of prefix-taking nominals (cf. 2.4.3) as well as terms for body parts and personal representations (McGregor 1991 and p.c.).

⁴⁶ Here the irregular verb *ma* 'put' is inflecting for the 1st-person reflexive future (functionally imperative).

10.2.7.1 Alternative modes of treating body parts

It is a cross-linguistically well-attested fact that human languages often reserve some special kind of morphology and/or syntax for the semantic domain of body parts (Chappell & McGregor 1991). The quasi-passive and other marked constructions in Yawuru are examples of this. The extent of the semantic domain, however, remains to be specified or modified according to the particular cultural knowledge of the language users. Kinship terms, for example, may or may not go together with body-part terms.

It has been demonstrated in a number of sample sentences cited so far that the quasi-passive and the double-subject/object constructions in Yawuru typically involve body-part nouns. Body parts, however, are not what these identity-sensitive constructions in Yawuru are all about. As a matter of fact, although these relatively marked clause types do seem to presuppose a certain semantic category of nouns, the category includes entities other than body parts as well (10.2.7.2). On the other hand, nouns such as *ngulyku* 'beard', *dyidya* 'nail', *kunbulu* 'blood' as well as varieties of bodily exuviae do not fit into the seemingly-body-part-related clause types.⁴⁷

It should be pointed out further that in some cases a body-part noun can either be an element of a marked clause structure or of an unmarked structure, depending on the context. Compare, for example, [100] and [101] below. The body-part noun *marru* 'head' occurs as one of the double objects (thus indexed *p*) in [100], while it stands as the single object (thus indexed *j*) in the plain transitive [101].

- [100] *Wal-dyurrrku-ngayu marru.*
 2_iFUT-cut.hair-1ACC_w head(ABS)_p
 'Will you cut my hair.' (lit. "you hair-cut me head")
- [101] *Rarrp+wal-dyu marru nyamba-yi nganydyu, dyurru inga-rn manydya.*
 comb+2_iFUT-AUX(say) head(ABS); this-DAT girl(DAT) lice(ABS) 3_{be}-IMPF many
 'Comb her hair (lit. "comb this girl's head"). She's got many lice.'

Being a part of the body or related to the body is, therefore, not a precise characterisation of the category in question.

10.2.7.2 Names and other identity-sensitive concepts

The reason why Yawuru speakers encode certain kinds of entities (and in certain contexts of discourse) into special syntactic constructions seems to be partly cultural, rather than purely linguistic. The cases of non-body-part items are discussed in this subsection.

⁴⁷ Unlike the case in some other Australian languages such as Mayali (Evans 1991), bodily exuviae (and also 'nest') are excluded from the list of the items subject to the body-part constructions in Yawuru.

Example [102a] reveals a double-object transitive construction in which the noun *nilawal* 'name' behaves just like a body-part term. The expression [102a] entails that the person (who is an old lady in the interactive context) was called by her Aboriginal name (or "bush name"), which should not be called out without a good reason (see footnote 16 in Chapter 6). The construction involving the possessive NP (*nilawal dyanu* 'my name' as in [102b]) or the dative clitic (*-dyanu* 'to/for me' as in [102c]) is inadequate in this particular context.

- [102] a. *Inga-rr-a-kilbira-nda-ngayu nilawal.*
 3ⁱ_i-AGM-TR-sing-PF-1ACC_w name(ABS)_p
 'They called out my name.' or 'They_i called me_k by name_j.'
- b. *Inga-rr-a-kilbira-nda [nilawal dyanu.]*
 3ⁱ_i-AGM-TR-sing-PF name(ABS)_p 1(GEN)_w
 'They called my name (but only by an unimportant name).'
- c. *Inga-rr-a-kilbira-nda-dyanu (kamba) nilawal.]*
 3ⁱ_i-AGM-TR-sing-PF-1DAT_w that name(ABS)_j
 'They called out the name for me.' (i.e. they told me the name)

Personal names are something very important in Aboriginal cultures. For Yawuru people names are as much a part of themselves as arms and legs, or perhaps more than that. That is the reason (or at least a part of the reason) why the double-object construction is required in [102a]. It may seem to have two objects. But they are, in a sense, one and the same.

It should be noted, in this connection, that the possessive structure, as illustrated by [102b], becomes acceptable if the old lady were not called by her traditional (proper Aboriginal) name, but simply by her "whitefella name", which is, from the viewpoint of Aborigines, not essential to her identity. In other words, a construction like [102a] expresses the identity of and the inalienability between the name and the person, while such a close tie is not encoded in a construction like [102b].⁴⁸

For similar cultural reasons, identity-sensitive constructions are applied to words such as *nimarndarl* 'shadow', *niwal* 'footprint, track' (the same word as 'foot') and *buru* 'native country', as in the double-object transitive [103], reflexive double-subject [104] and double-subject copulative sentence [105].

- [103] *Wa-y-rr-a-baa-yayu niwal.*
 3ⁱ_i-IRR-AGM-TR-see-12ACC_w foot(ABS)_p
 'They might read our footprints (and chase us).'
- [104] *I-ma-bura-ndyi-n nimarndarl wula-gun ginyangka.*
 3_i-INT-see-RCP-IMPF shadow(ABS)_p water-LOC 3(ABS)_{i=w}
 'He_i is looking at himself_i in the water.'
- [105] *Ngayu buru dyanu dyamardagap nga-nga-rrn.*
 1(ABS)_w country(ABS)_p 1(GEN) (name) 1_w-be-IMPF
 'My country is Jamardagab.' (I was born there and thus I am spiritually associated with that place.)

⁴⁸ Even with this contextualisation, sentence [102b] still sounds somewhat unnatural, since the word *nilawal* 'name' usually refers to the traditional personal names that are inherited through the kinship system.

In the last example above the identity-sensitive word *buru* 'country' (cf. 8.2.3) is modified by the genitive pronoun, but it still triggers the 1st-person verb agreement (cf. the case of the word *dyangkurr* 'clothing' discussed in 10.2.6.5).

To reiterate the contrast between the identity-sensitive syntax and the basic syntactic patterns of the language, compare [106a], a double-object transitive, and [106b], a normal transitive with an oblique dative argument.

- [106] a. *I-na-kilbira-nda-ngayu nilawal.*
 3_i-TR-sing-PF-1ACC_w name(ABS)_p
 'He called out my (real) name.'
- b. *I-ny-dyu-nd-dyanu karrydya nganka.*
 3_i-EN-say-PF-1DAT_k furious word(ABS)_j
 'He called me bad names.' (i.e. he abused me)

10.2.7.3 Dreaming-wise agreement

The culture-specific notion of identity also provides the basis of the seemingly irregular verb-agreement such as was outlined in 4.2.1.2 (re: dreaming-wise person-marking). Example [107a] shows a usual intransitive structure, in which the verbal prefix takes the 3rd person singular form (*i-*), thus agreeing with the subject "the snake" (absolute). If, however, the snake in question happens to be the *rayi*, or conceptional dreaming of the addressee, then the agreement is in the 2nd person (*mi-*), as in [107b].⁴⁹

- [107] a. *Kamba dyurru i-rndira-rn yanban-gadya.*
 that snake(ABS)_j 3_j-go-IMPf south-INTENS
 'The snake_j went on southwards.'
- b. *Kamba dyurru mi-rndira-rn yanban-gadya.*
 that snake(ABS)_p 2_w-go-IMPf south-INTENS
 'The snake_p (which is your_w dreaming) went on southwards.'

What is common between the dreaming-wise person agreement and the double-subject intransitive construction is the logic of identification which operates in the context of Yawuru culture.⁵⁰

10.2.8 Summary of the findings

This section (10.2) has first explored the semantic as well as morpho-syntactic characteristics of the modes of incorporation of body-part nouns into the clause grammar of Yawuru. Contrastive analysis of each clause type has revealed that the double-subject constructions tend to foreground the part, whereas the double-object construction tends to background it (and usually leaves it out). The quasi-passive, on the other hand, turns out to be indicative of non-volitionality and uncontrollability of the described event, without any of the relevant entities (whole, part and external inanimate agent/causer) defocused.

⁴⁹ [107b] is the same as [7] cited in 4.2.1.2, but the co-referential indexing has been modified to accommodate it to the formulas employed in this chapter.

⁵⁰ I tend to assume that it is possibly a pan-Aboriginal cultural framework.

The class of nouns which may enter into these marked clause constructions includes not only body parts, but names, shadows, tracks, native places and personal "dreamings" as well. I have attempted to show that cultural as well as linguistic factors are at work in the formation of the Yawuru quasi-passive and other marked clause types.⁵¹ It has been claimed that (1) the notion of identity is crucial to the understanding of the issue; and that (2) even dealing with body parts there are alternative modes of grammar in which body-part and other related items are encoded.⁵²

10.3 Negation

10.3.1 The negator *marlu*

Propositions are negated by adding the negator word *marlu* to the clause. The negator usually occupies the clause-initial position, whether the clause is matrix (as in [108]) or subordinate (as in [109]).

[108] *Marlu i-na-laka-rn-dyayrda nganka.*
not 3-TR-know-IMPF-12"DAT word(ABS)
'He doesn't know our language.'

[109] *Ngurru wal-a-lurra-dyaw, marlu wa-ng-ga-miri dyungku.*
more 2FUT-TR-burn-12DAT not 3-EN-FUT-finish fire(ABS)
'Put more wood on the fire for us so that it will not go out.'

The negator may be declined like common nominals.⁵³

[110] *Marlu-bardu duly + wal-dyu, birru + wa-ng-ga-ngara nyamba dyara.*
not-still squeeze+2FUT-AUX(say) ripe+3-EN-FUT-become this boil(ABS)
'Don't squeeze this boil yet. Wait until it comes to a head (lit. gets ripe).' (see 8.2.1.2.(2)
for the aspectual marker *-bardu*)

⁵¹ See Hosokawa (1991b) for the general linguistic relevance of the identity-sensitive constructions in Yawuru.

⁵² It is suggestive of a general linguistic phenomenon that languages often provide different morpho-syntactic devices according to whether a body part is regarded as an integral part of the whole (i.e. possessor) or as a separate entity to be a focus of discourse in itself. To cite a typical case from Australian languages: in Mayali of North Australia (Evans 1991), although verbs with incorporated body part usually agree in number with the whole (possessor of the relevant body part), they sometimes show number agreement with the part. This happens when the part is regarded as separated from the whole. Evans also points out that body parts normally incorporate unless there is discourse focus on the part as an entity in and of itself. In this connection the wide-spread notion of "inalienability" needs some examination. Although body parts are too often referred to by linguists as "inalienable" possessions, most body-part items can be separated from the body in certain states of affairs: teeth can be taken out, arms or legs can be cut off, and the head, eyes, and even internal organs can be alienated from the "possessor", either physically or conceptually. An important point here is that languages provide different grammatical devices to indicate whether the body parts referred to are remaining as integral parts of the body or are separated and alienated from the body. Yawuru further indicates that notions such as 'name' can be treated in the same alternative ways as body parts: they may be encoded either as "inalienable part" of the person's whole existence or as "alienable" one, not essential to his/her identity (see [103] in 10.2.7.2).

⁵³ It is thus not regarded as a "particle" in the morphological sense (Haviland 1979a:63; cf. 1.4.1.3 and 10.4.1.2). The word class status of the negator is somewhat problematic. It could be classified as a word class of its own (Schachter 1985:59-60). I have, however, chosen to regard the Yawuru negator as belonging to the subclass of adverbs (8.1) under the major morphological class of nominals (2.2.1).

- [111] *Nyamba dalurr marlu-barri wuba.*
 this aged(ABS) not-INST child(INST)
 'This old lady has no children.' (see 6.8 for the instrumental marker *-barri*)
- [111A] *Marlu-garriny wuba i-nga-ny-ngany, bambi i-na-ka-rn wubardu-garang.*
 not-yet child(ABS); 3_j-be-IMPF-COM long.time 3_j-TR-carry-IMPF little-many(ABS);
 '[The woman_j] has not given birth to the baby yet; she's having a difficult delivery (lit. she
 is carrying the little one for a long time).' (see footnote 21 in Chapter 8 for the semi-
 productive suffix *-garriny*)^{53A}

The negator may also take the resolute marker (8.5.3.2): *marlu-da* 'definitely not; not really' (see example [189] in 8.5.1.3).

When two negative assertions are co-ordinated (as in English "neither ... nor ..." construction), the second negator may take the conjunctive clitic *-yirr* (10.6.6.1).

- [112] *Nyiwa + nga-ngara-rn, marlu nga-na-rli-nda warli-mayi,*
 feeble+1-become-IMPF not 1-TR-eat-PF meat-fruit(ABS)
marlu-yirr nga-na-bi-nda wula.
 not-and 1-TR-drink-PF water(ABS)
 'I fainted because I hadn't eaten any food nor drunk any water.'

Prohibition or negative imperative is expressed by combining the negator and the future forms of verbs (4.3.3.2; also cf. 8.5.2.3):

- [113] *Marlu nganka-gun wal-a-ma-ø.*
 not word-LOC 2FUT-TR-put-3ACC
 'Don't talk to him.' (lit. don't put him "in words")

10.3.2 Case inflexions of the negator

10.3.2.1 The locative

The locative negator *marlu-gun* 'without' is often used to express lack of something as a reason or cause of the state of affairs.

- [114] *Mangul inga-rr-a-ka-nda marlu-gun banygarang.*
 spear(ABS) 3"-AGM-TR-carry-PF not-LOC rifle(ABS)
 'They took spears with them as there was no rifle.'
- [115] *Marlu-gun durrkarrang, ya-ga-rr-garnda niwal yinydya.*
 not-LOC motorcar(ABS) 12"-FUT-AGM-go foot thither
 'As there is no car available, we have to walk.'
- [116] *Dyiwarrri + i-ngara-rn marlu-gun dyankangurru.*
 dead+3-become-IMPF not-LOC healer(ABS)
 'He died before the doctor arrived' (lit. he died "without doctor")

The locative inflexion of the negator is interpreted as "non-inherent" (2.5.2.3). In [114] above, for example, it is not the negator itself but the phrase [*marlu banygarang*] that is assigned the locative case, which indicates occasion or time (6.5.5): the literal meaning would be "in the opportunity (or on the occasion) of no rifle". The locative-negative phrases may indicate a reason of an action, or may just vaguely describe the situation in which the action takes place.

^{53A} See 6.12.4 for a general account of the derivational suffix *-garang* indicating collectivity and/or frequency. Here in [111A] the suffix (in *wubardu-garang*) does not encode collectivity (plurality of children) but seems to reflect repetition and increasing frequency (related to the repeated pains in the labour).

10.3.2.2 The genitive

The genitive form of the negator *marlu-dyina* (~ *marlu-yina*)⁵⁴ occurs when some kind of possessive-relative meaning (see 6.2.2) is involved between the actor/agent and the lacking entity:

- [117] *Ngayu yibu nga-nga-rn marlu-dyina wubardu.*
 1(ABS) "lazy" 1-be-IMPF not-GEN child
 'I live by myself as I have no children.'
- [118] *Kamba-ni dyarn'du wirdu + i-na-ma-nda-irr kangadyunu*
 that-ERG woman(ERG) big+ 3-TR-AUX(put)-PF-3"ACC 3"PL(ABS)
baba-garra, marlu-dyina yaku.
 child-many not-GEN husband
 'The woman brought up all the children by herself without her husband.'
- [119] *Marlu-yina dyamiyanu rdirdirdi + nga-na-ra-rn kamba balu.*
 not-GEN axe squeeze+1-TR-AUX(stub)-IMPF that tree(ABS)
 'Having no axe, I plucked off the branch (with my hands).'

10.3.2.3 The causal

The negator may take the causal case marker *-nyurdany* in place of the locative, although instances are rather scarce (see also 10.6.7.2).

- [120] *Marlu-nyurdany wula wididy + i-ny-dyu-nda buru nimarla-ni.*⁵⁵
 not-CAUS water dig+3_i-EN-AUX(say)-PF land(ABS) hand-ERG
 'As there was no water (in the waterhole), he_i dug [the hole] deeper with his hands.'
- [121] *Dyiwarrri + nga-ya-ngara marlu(-nyurdany) warli-yirr mayi.*
 dead+1-IRR-become not(-CAUS) meat-and fruit
 'I would certainly die without food.'

The causal marker in this context may be omitted (as in [121] above) or may be substituted by the locative. The difference between the use of the locative and the causal negator is unclear; the latter seems to put more emphasis on the inevitability of the process described. Without food, for example, starvation is inevitable; by contrast, even if there is no car (see [115] above), there are still a few alternatives (they can walk, they can stay, or they can telephone).

10.3.3 Focus of negation

Usually *marlu* occurs immediately before the predicate it modifies. Most commonly the negator is preposed to the verb (either complex or simple), in which case the focus of negation is the entire predication (rather than the particular action or state described by the verb itself). In the next example, however, the negator is modifying the locative complement, not the predicate verb, so that the focus of negation is more specific.

⁵⁴ The variant form *marlu-yina* seems to occur more frequently in the speech of the Eastern Inland dialect speakers. This is probably related to the fact that the corresponding Nyikina suffix *-dyina* has the post-vocalic allomorph *-yina*. See 6.3.5.

⁵⁵ See 10.2.2 for the ergative marking on the body-part noun.

- [122] *Marlu nimilkarr-gun i-na-lurra-rn,*
 not hot.ashes-LOC 3-TR-burn-IMPF
dili-gun i-na-lurra-rn birn'dany warli.
 flame-LOC 3-TR-burn-IMPF stingray(ABS) meat(ABS)
 'Stingrays should be cooked not on hot ashes, but on burning fires.'⁵⁶

The phrasal case-marking pattern (2.5.2) sometimes has an effect of specifying the focus of negation. Compare [123a/b].

- [123] a. *marlu-gun nimarla*
 not-LOC hand
 'having nothing in the hand'⁵⁷
- b. *marlu nimarla-gun*
 not hand-LOC
 'not in the hand (but somewhere else)'

In [123a], the locative marker *-gun* is attached to the phrase [*marlu nimarla*]_{NP} + *-gun* → *marlu-gun nimarla* (see 10.3.2), whereas in [123b] the negator modifies the NP (i.e. *marlu* + [*nimarla-gun*]_{NP(LOC)}).

10.3.4 Yes/No answer

The negator can also stand alone as an answer word meaning 'no'.

- [124] question: *Ngadyi mi-likarra-nda durr-gadya.*
 whether 2-hear-PF noise-INTENS
 'Did you hear the noise?'
 answer: *Marlu.* 'No.'

Positive responses are introduced by the affirmer particle *ngaway* 'yes'.⁵⁸

- [125] question: (same as above)
 answer: *Ngaway, nga-likarra-nda.*
 yes 1-hear-PF
 'Yes, I heard [it].'
 or *Nga-likarra-nda, ngaa.*⁵⁹

As in English and French (but unlike in Japanese or Russian), negation in response to negative questions (e.g. "no, I didn't" answering to "didn't you do that?") is introduced by the negator, rather than the affirmer.

⁵⁶ The word *nimilkarr* usually means 'firesticks, kindling' but it also refers to the burnt-down ashes that are still hot. As for the traditional method of stingray cooking, [122] explains it wrongly: stingrays should be cooked in hot ashes, rather than in the flame.

⁵⁷ The phrase can also mean 'no more hands being available' (i.e. with both hands already occupied) depending on context. The phrase *marlu-gun nimarla ngurru* (not-LOC hand more) would unambiguously encode this meaning.

⁵⁸ This is interpreted as a particle, since it carries no affixes or clitics. Long-voweled varieties, such as *ngaay* and *ngaa* are also heard (cf. footnote 53 in 10.3.1).

⁵⁹ The short form *ngaa* is more likely to occur as a tag. The full form *ngaway* or *ngaay* is also acceptable here.

- [126] question: *Marlu mi-rndira-nda k'a.*
 not 2-go-IMPF Q/TAG
 'Didn't you go there?'
- answer: *Marlu nga-rndira-nda.* (or simply *marlu.*)⁶⁰
 not 1-go-IMPF
 'No, I didn't.'

Unlike in English, however, affirmative responses to negative questions (e.g. "yes, I did" answering to "didn't you do that?") are neither preceded by *marlu* nor by *ngaway*. Such responses are marked by the vocative enclitic *-aw* (3.8.5 and 4.4.4), or the response may simply be in the bare affirmative.

- [127] question: *Marlu ku-rr-a-bura-nda nakula kalbu.*
 not 2"-AGM-TR-see-PF see(ABS) up
 'Haven't you (PL) seen if the tide is already in?'
- answer: *Yanga-rr-a-bura-nda-aw.*
 1"-AGM-TR-see-PF-VOC
 'Yes, we did!'
- or *Kalbu i-ngara-nda-aw.*
 above 3-become-PF-VOC
 'Yes, it (the tide) is already in!'

It should also be noted that negative questions ("didn't you?") are rather unusual in Yawuru. Question sentences with the polar question marker followed by the negator (*ngadyi marlu ...*) are elicited from informants but have not been heard in the spontaneous speech of native speakers.

10.4 Question sentences

This section deals with polar (yes/no) question sentences. The formation of non-polar (WH-) question sentences with the interrogative pronouns has already been described in 7.6. Embedding of question sentences will be illustrated in 10.6.4.

10.4.1 The marker *ngadyi*

10.4.1.1 Word order and intonation

Question sentences that require a yes/no answer are most commonly composed of the question marker *ngadyi* (glossed 'whether') added to declarative clauses.⁶¹ The intonation of the polar question remains falling (cf. 7.6.1.2).

- [128] *Ngadyi ku-rry-dyi-n* √.
 whether 2"-AGM-be-IMP
 'How are you (du.)?'
- [129] *Ngadyi nyamba-gun bika i-nga-rn* √.
 whether this-LOC shade 3-be-IMP
 'Is there any good shade around here?'

⁶⁰ But not *marlu*, *marlu nga-rndira-nda* as in English.

⁶¹ Tsunoda (p.c. in 1987) suggests that the Yawuru *ngadyi* is possibly cognate with the question marker *wayi* (<*ngayi) found in Warrungu (north Queensland) and Warluwara (western Queensland).

The question marker *ngadyi* regularly stands at the beginning of a sentence, while inflecting verbs tend to occupy the sentence-final position. There are, however, occasional instances in which the question marker occupies a non-initial position.

- [130] *Bukarri-garra-nyurdany ngadyi nganka ngurru* ↓.
 dream-many-CAUS whether word(ABS) more
 '[Do you know] any other Dreamtime stories?'⁶²
- [131] *Kamba barndarlmarda nilawal dyungudyungu ɿ, ngadyi* ↓.
 that bird(ABS) name(ABS) (name) whether
 'The name of that bird is jungujungu, isn't it?'(ɿ)

Notice the intonation pattern in [131] above. The question marker is tagged at the very end of an utterance and it takes the falling intonation (unlike the equivalent English tag). This seems to indicate a mood of uncertainty or hesitation on the part of the questioner, rather than that of certitude or confidence (as would be indicated by the English falling intonation "isn't it? ↓").

10.4.1.2 Intensified polar questions

The resolute marker *-da* may be added to the question marker to reinforce the speech act of interrogation. Compare [132a/b]:

- [132] a. *Ngadyi niwal i-nga-rn.*
 whether foot(ABS) 3-be-IMPF
 'Are there any footprints left?' (neutral question)
- b. *Ngadyi-da niwal i-nga-rn.*
 whether-really foot(ABS) 3-be-IMPF
 'Are you sure there is a track?' (implying doubt and/or anxiety)

Other examples include:

- [133] *Ngadyi-da wal-a-bura, phins-bardu i-nga-rn.*
 whether-really 2FUT-TR-see fence/E-still 3-be-IMPF
 'Are you sure there still is a fence over there?'
- [134] *Ngadyi-da mabu inga-rry-dyi-n.*
 whether-really good 3"-AGM-be-IMPF
 'Are things really going well?'

10.4.1.3 Subordination of *ngadyi* clauses

Although examples are not numerous, there are cases in which a clause introduced by *ngadyi* indicates a condition.

- [135] *Ngadyi nga-bula miliya, nga-na-ga-dyuyu.*
 whether 2FUT-come now 1-TR-carry(FUT)-2ACC
 'If you come right now, I'll take you too.'
- [136] *Ngadyi wal-a-ø-ngayu kamba, nyamba nga-na-ng-ga-ø-dyuyu.*
 whether 2FUT-TR-give-1ACC that(ABS) this(ABS) 1-TR-EN-FUT-give-2ACC
 'If you give that to me, then I'll give you this.'

⁶² The phrase *bukarri-garra-nyurdany nganka* 'Dreamtime story' is discontinuous and the verb *mi-na-langka-rn* (2-TR-know-IMPF) is left unsaid in the sentence.

The conditional *ngadyi* clauses are considered subordinate to the matrix clauses which always follow the *ngadyi* clauses. This mode of conditional expression indicates only simple affirmative assumptions and is not used for negative or contrafactual assumptions.

The polar question marker *ngadyi* can also be used to introduce an embedded interrogative clause. In this case, the matrix precedes the *ngadyi* clause (see examples in 10.6.4.1).

10.42 Particle *k'a*

Polar questions may also be composed simply by adding the particle *k'a* (~ *k'aa*), glossed "Q/TAG" (for question tag), to an affirmative construction. Unlike *ngadyi*, the question tag is always added at the end of utterances and takes a rising intonation.⁶³

[137] *Ngurru wanangarri k'aa ʔ.*
 more stone(ABS) Q/TAG
 'Do you need] more stones?'

[138] *Baraya-manyaya i-rndira-rn k'a ʔ.*
 Brian-only 3-go-IMPF Q/TAG
 'Did only Brian go?'

[139] *Ngadyiwurlku nyamba k'a ʔ.*
 (name) this Q/TAG
 'Is this (really) Ngadyiwurlku?' (looking at a photo)

All of the above examples can be paraphrased into question sentences with *ngadyi*. The use of the particle *k'a*, however, seems to add a colour of surprise (on the part of the speaker) to the questions. The particle *k'a* takes no affixes. Unlike *ngadyi*, which can mark clause subordination (see 10.4.1.1.(3)), the particle *k'a* occurs only in simple clauses.

10.43 Particle *b'ay*

Another particle that occurs as a tag is *b'ay* (see 3.1.4.2 for the pronunciation). This is used to express a conclusive or decisive mood: the speaker demands the consent of (or at least sympathy from) the hearer, rather than simply seeking information. The particle is glossed "R/TAG" (for reconfirmation tag).⁶⁴ This is

⁶³ See 3.1.4.2 for the glottal pronunciation of the particle *k'a(a)*. The particle is probably borrowed from Broome Pearling Lugger Pidgin (Hosokawa 1987a:291-292) which has the form *ka:* (~*ka*) as sentence-final question particle. If so, this may explain the rising intonation as well as the fact that the initial consonant of Yawuru *k'a* is always voiceless (but cf. 3.4.5.1.(4)).

⁶⁴ The reconfirmation tag is also heard in Kriol as spoken in west Kimberley. Kaldor & Malcolm (1982:94) identified the Kriol *bay* (their spelling) with Walmatjari question marker *payi* (my attention was called to this point by Bronwyn Stokes, p.c.). Dixon (1980:285) also points out that similar forms of polar interrogative clitics recur in widely separated (but all Pama-Nyungan) languages, e.g. *-ma* in Aranda and in Dyrbal (also see Keen 1983:242 for the clitic *-ma* in Yukulta), *-mpa* in several dialects of the Western Desert language, and *-ba* in Pitta-Pitta (but cf. Blake 1979:223). The question particle *wayi* in Margany-Gunya (Breen 1981:339) may be added to the list. The implosive pronunciation of Yawuru *b'ay* (3.1.4.2) remains unexplained, however.

practically equivalent to the English tag question phrases such as "isn't it?", "doesn't it?", or "don't you think so?" pronounced with a falling intonation (↘). The Yawuru *b'ay* is pronounced always with a markedly high pitch (represented for convenience' sake by "ʔ" in the examples below).

- [140] *Nyamba yadiri-ni langkan* ↘, *b'ay* ʔ.
 this(ABS) 12"-ERG k/o.Eucalypt R/TAG
 'This (tree), we call it *langkan* (in our language), don't we? (↘)'⁶⁵
- [141] *Naarli manydya ngarrung-garra* ↘, *b'ay* ʔ.
 true many people-many(ABS) R/TAG
 '[There was] a large number of people, wasn't there? (↘)'

It is also observed that the RC/TAG is used as a discourse interjection or "thrown-in word" in conversation to express agreement and/or encouragement to the partner of the conversation: 'That's right!', 'You're quite right!'.

10.5 Verbless sentences

10.5.1 General remarks

Theoretically, two kinds of "verbless" clauses should be distinguished: (1) one in which the clause contains no inflecting verb at all and no verb can be added to the clause; (2) the other in which the clause may contain a verb which is, however, usually left out in the actual discourse. In the latter case, a particular inflexional form of the verb may be inserted (i.e. retrieved) in the clause so as to make such inflexional information as person, number, mood, tense, aspect, etc. explicit.

Yawuru non-verbal clauses belong to the second (i.e. verb ellipsis) type. All sentences in Yawuru (including equational and/or relational sentences) must have a finite verb. The verb, however, may be omitted in actual utterances. In other words, some or other finite form of an inflecting verb is always retrievable in seemingly "verbless" clauses. In the examples below the retrieved verb forms are given in double parentheses ((...)).

- [142] *Naarli yalburru-milidyarri kamba-rri* ((*inga-rr-ngara-rn*)).
 true ceremonial.mate-pair that-DL 3"-AGM-become-IMPF
 'These two (women) are true ceremonial mates.'^{65A}
- [143] *Wandanyjirr, kamba dyurru nakula-nyurdany* ((*i-nga-rn*)).
 k/o.sea.snake(ABS) that snake(ABS) sea-CAUS 3-be-IMPF
 'Wandanyjirr is a kind of sea snake.'^{65B}

10.5.2 Typical situations of verb ellipsis

It is not uncommon at all to encounter a sizable length of coherent discourse in Yawuru without encountering any finite verb in it. There are several typical situations in which verbs are regularly left out. These are outlined below in order.

⁶⁵ See 6.4.5 for the use of the ergative in [140].

^{65A} The word *yalburru* (full form: *yalburrurang*) refers to persons who share the dreaming places or those who went through the initiation ceremonies together.

^{65B} *Wandanyjirr* (var. of *wandanydyirr*) is the name of a venomous sea snake (specific).

10.5.2.1 Possessive expressions

In [144] the ellipsis of the verb leaves the dative clitic hanging (7.3.1.2.(2)). Since the 4th-person non-minimal dative clitic pronoun (12"DAT) is identical with the free-form genitive pronoun (12"GEN), the resulting verbless clause may be reinterpreted as consisting of a possessive NP "(lit.) no our water".

- [144] *Marlu wula ((i-nga-rn-)) dyayrda, i-miri-rn.*
 not water(ABS); 3-be-IMPF- 12"(DAT/GEN) 3_i-finish-IMPF
 'No water [is left] for us. It has finished.'

Possessive expressions are quite often verbless, particularly when they occur in equational or existential sentences:

- [145] *Marlu nala ((i-nga-rn-)) dyirra kamba-rri-yi.*
 not torch(ABS); 3_i-be-IMPF- 3"DL(DAT/GEN); that-DL-DAT;
 'The two fellows [had] no torch.' (*nala* literally means 'flame')

- [146] *Dyuyu wuba dyarrayirr ((mi-nga-rn)).*⁶⁶
 2(ABS) son(ABS) 1"PL(GEN) 2-be-IMPF
 'You [are] our son.'

10.5.2.2 Copulative (attributive) expressions

There are two verbs that can fulfill a copulative function in Yawuru, although both have non-copulative functions as well. They are *ni* 'be, exist, do' and *ngara* 'be, become'. The latter is acceptable as copula when (1) the subject of an attributive sentence is animate and (2) the sentence describes a non-inherent (variable or temporary) state.

- [147] *Naarli mirdanya ((i-nga/ngara-rn)), nyamba maya.*
 true old 3-be/become-IMPF this house
 'This house [is] really old.'

- [148] *Kabali dyiya ngarrngalman ((i-nga/*ngara-rn)).*
 wife(ABS) 2(GEN) left.handed 3-be/become-IMPF
 'Your wife [is] left-handed.'

- [149] *Nyamba wanangarri wirdu minkurr ((i-nga/?ngara-rn)).*
 this stone(ABS) big heavy 3-be/become-IMPF
 'This stone [is] big and heavy.' (*ngara* would mean that the stone grew big and heavy).

As already observed in [145] and [146] above, copulas are usually left out. The ellipsis is rather the rule, particularly in interrogative and negative sentences, as typically exemplified in [150]-[152] (see also 10.6.4.1):⁶⁷

- [150] *Yangki dyuyu ((mi-nga-rn)).*
 what(ABS) 2(ABS) 2-be-IMPF
 'What is your marriage section?' (lit. "what [are] you"; cf. 7.6.2)

⁶⁶ In [146] the verb is supplemented after the genitive pronoun, not before it (as in [144] and in [145]). It may alternatively occupy the position immediately following the 2nd-person pronoun (i.e. *dyuyu mingarn wuba dyarrayirr*). Remember that the non-minimal dative enclitic for the 1st person is *dyarra*, rather than *dyarrayirr* (see 7.4.1.2), and therefore the genitive pronoun in this verbless sentence has not been interpreted as a hanging clitic (but cf. 7.4.1.3).

⁶⁷ See 7.6.7.2 for more examples of the ellipsis of copula in interrogative sentences.

- [151] *Dyana-nyurdany buru dyuyu ((mi-nga-rn)).*
 where-CAUS land(CAUS) 2(ABS) 2-be-IMPF
 'Where [are] you from?'
- [152] *Marlu dyangkurr dyina nyamba ((i-nga-rn)).*
 not cloth(ABS); 3(GEN) this(ABS) 3; -be-IMPF
 'This [is] not his cloth.'

10.5.2.3 Preverbs and location adverbs

Lexical items that can be used as a preverb (e.g. *yinydya* 'thither/going', *baku* 'hither/coming', *kabu* 'eating', etc.) often take up the predicate function with the counterpart finite verbs (auxiliaries) being left out.

- [153] *Mirdayidi wamba-garra-yi-manydyan, luu dyirra wamba-yi-manydyan,*
 (name) men-PL-DAT-only law/E 3"(GEN) men-DAT-only
dyarn'du-yirr baba marlu yinydya ((+inga-rr-garna-rn)) kalbu.
 woman(ABS)-and child(ABS) not thither +3"-AGM-go-IMPF up
 'The Mirdayidi ritual [is] only for men; women and children are not allowed [to go] there.'
- [154] *Nganydyu-garra-ni marlu kabu ((+inga-rr-a-dyu-n)) bilirri.*
 girl-PL-ERG not eating +3"-AGM-TR-AUX(say)-IMPF bluetongue(ABS)
 'Young girls must not eat bluetongue lizards.' (see footnote 64A in Chapter 6)

Adverbs of location (such as *dyimbin* 'inside', *kalbu* 'up', *kadyarri* 'far', etc; see 8.3.4) also tend to cause verbal ellipsis to occur.

10.5.2.4 Other factors of copula ellipsis

Other elements that trigger the ellipsis of copula include the comitative marker *-ngany* (as in [155] below), the dual marker *-milidyarri* (as in [142] above), the causal marker *-nyurdany* (as in [151] above) and body-part nouns (as in [156]):

- [155] *Kamb(a) mirdanya karu-ngany nilirr ((i-nga-rn)).*
 that old.man(ABS); toothless-COM mouth(COM) 3; -be-IMPF
 'The old man has no teeth.'
- [156] *Bidyara ngayu bunydyu ((nga-nga-rn)).*
 ear(ABS) 1(ABS); closed 1; -be-IMPF
 'I can't hear.' (My ears are blocked)⁶⁸

10.5.3 Existential *yigit*

In the contemporary use of the language a new type of existential sentence with the particle *yigit* [ʔiget̪] ~ [jégit] (borrowed from the local Aboriginal English "he get") has emerged. The construction has been recorded only in the affirmative.

- [157] *Ngurra yigit wirdu nurlu.*
 night "he.get" big corroboree(ABS)
 'There was a big corroboree last night.'

⁶⁸ [155] is another example of the double-subject construction and the genitive phrase *bidyara dyanu* 'my ear' is not acceptable here (see 10.2.1.).

- [158] *Yigit kudyarra niwal waranydyarri-gun dyawdyu.*
 "he.get" two foot(ABS) one-LOC trousers(LOC)
 'He (the toddler) is putting both of his feet into one leg of the trousers.'

Variants such as *yigirrim* [ʔigerim] ("he get him") and *yigarra* [ʔigara] ("he gotta") are also recorded.

- [159] *Yigarra wangkadya dyimbin buru-gun.*
 "he.gotta" mud.crab(ABS) inside hole-LOC
 'There is a mud crab in this hole.'

Although the lexeme *yigit* derives from the English verb form, the resulting Yawuru construction is more or less "verbless" in nature. Inflexional information such as person/number is not encoded; it only becomes clear from the context. Compare [157] above, for example, with finite predications such as in the following phrases:^{68A}

- [160] a. *nurlu + inga-rry-dyi-n*
 corroboree+3"-AGM-AUX(be)-IMPF
 'they had a big corroboree.'
 b. *nurlu + yanga-rry-dyi-n*
 corroboree+1"-AGM-AUX(be)-IMPF
 'we had a big corroboree'

10.6 Complex clauses

This section deals with the syntax and discourse semantics which operate beyond the level of simple clauses. Two types of formally marked subordinate clauses (sequential and purposive, as already outlined in 4.4.2) are discussed, as well as embedded clauses such as indirect questions and reported speech. Other modes of clause conjoining or cohesion, with or without morphological marking of subordination or coordination, are also discussed.

10.6.1 General remarks

10.6.1.1 Chain reference

Yawuru verbs have no "infinitive" forms. Except in the case of the preverb complement construction to be illustrated in 10.7, verbs in embedded clauses are always finite and their inflexional morphology remains the same as that of verbs in matrix clauses.

When the subordinate clauses fulfil the function of a complement in the matrix clauses, it is often the case that the clitic pronoun attached on the matrix verb is co-referential with the subject of the embedded clause:

- [161] *I-ny-dyu-nd-dyanu* [*nga-ng-ga-rda karda-ngarn*].
 3-EN-say-PF-1DAT; 1;-EN-FUT-go yonder-ALLAT
 'He told me to go there.' (lit. "he told me I will go there")

^{68A} Here the noun *nurlu* is incorporated into the complex-verb construction. The meaning of the auxiliary 'be' is closer to English 'do'.

- [162] *Nga-ny-dyu-nd-dyina* [*wa-ng-ga-rda karda-ngarn*].
1-EN-say-PF-3DAT_i; 3_i-EN-FUT-go yonder-ALLAT
'I told him to go there.'
- [163] *I-na-nya-rn-ngany-dyuyu* [*wal-a-ka baku*].
3-TR-catch-IMPF-COM-2ACC_i; 2_iFUT-TR-carry hither
'He helps you to carry [it] here.'

In the following examples inflexional information (person/number) of the succeeding finite verbs is projected into the clitic pronouns attached to the preceding finite verbs. Such concatenation of person/number reference is one of the major morpho-syntactic devices for the cohesion of clauses in Yawuru.

- [164] [*Mi-ny-dyu-nd-dyanu* [*nga-ny-dyu-n-dyirra* [*kurlidy + wang-ga-rry-dyi*
2-EN-say-PF-1DAT_i; 1_i-EN-say-PF-3" DAT_j; quiet+3"]-FUT-AUX(be)-DAT_{purp}
baba-garra]]].
child-PL(ABS)_i
'You told me_i to tell_i the children_j to be quiet_j.'
- [165] [*Nga-ny-dyu-nda-dyiya* [[*nga-rndira karda-ngarn-dyi*⁶⁹ *ngarrungu*]
1-EN-say-PF-2(DAT)_i; 2_iFUT-go yonder-ALLAT-DAT person(DAT)_j
[*wal-dy-dyina* [*wa-ng-ga-rda baku*]]]].
2FUT-say-3(DAT)_j; 3_j-EN-FUT-go hither
'I told you_i to go_i there to tell_i that person_j to come_j here.'

10.6.1.2 Word ordering

The negator *marlu* (10.3.1) and the affirmative emphasiser *naarli* (8.5.3) regularly keep their clause-initial position (either in matrix or in subordinate clauses).

- [166] *I-ny-dyu-nda-dyanu* [*marlu nga-na-ng-ga-yi baku*].
3-EN-say-PF-1(DAT) not 1-TR-EN-carry(FUT)-DAT_{purp} hither
'He told me not to bring [it] here.'
- [167] *Winywiny + i-na-ma-nda* [*naarli mayi wang-ga-rr-dyalku-yi manydya*].
shake+3-TR-AUX(put)-PF true ^fruit(ABS) 3"-FUT-AGM-fall-DAT_{purp} many[^]
'She shook the branch hard so that lots of fruit would come off.'

Word order within a subordinate clause is basically free, although the general tendency is to keep the (subordinate) verb in the clause-initial position or immediately following *marlu* or *naarli*. In [168] below any word order scrambling of the constituents of the embedded clause (*wanggadyalukuyi, kamba, mayi* and *kalbugap*) is acceptable, as long as they maintain a linear continuity.^{69A}

⁶⁹ This double case marking (ALLAT+DAT) needs some comment. What is happening in [165] seems to be a merger of 'you go over there' (*nga-rndira karda-ngarn*) and 'to the person over there' (*karda-yi ngarrungu*). [165] has been paraphrased by an informant as [165'] below. Notice that it still has a double dative marking on *karda-ngarn* and *kamba ngarrungu* 'that person'.

[165'] *Nga-ny-dyu-nda-dyiya karda-ngarn-dyi yinydya wal-dy-dyina*
1-EN-say-PF-2DAT yonder-ALLAT-DAT thither 2FUT-say-3DAT_i
kamba-yi ngarrungu baku wang-ga-bula.
that-DAT person(DAT)_i; hither 3_i-EN-FUT-come
'I told you to be there and tell that person to come here.'

^{69A} Varied word ordering may sometimes reflect different discourse focuses. However, word ordering does not play a major role so much as emphatic stress and intonation do in the encoding of focus.

- [168] *Winywiny + wal-a-ma balu, [wa-ng-ga-dyalku-yi kamba mayi kalbu-gap]*.
 shake+2FUT-TR-AUX(put) tree(ABS) 3; -EN-FUT-fall-DAT_{purp} that fruit(ABS); above-ABL
 'Shake the branches so that the fruit will drop down.'

No case of "clausal discontinuity" has been encountered. Constituents of a subordinate clause are always continuous (as in [169a]) and cannot be scattered about (as in [169b], which is ungrammatical). An embedded clause cannot break into its matrix clause, either ([169c] is ungrammatical).

- [169] a. [*Nyamba wamba i-ny-dyu-nd-dyanu [baku wa-na-ga kamba]*].
 this man(ABS) 3; -EN-say-PF-1(DAT) hither 3; -TR-carry(FUT) that(ABS);
 'This man_i promised me that he_i would bring it_i here.'
 b. **Nyamba wamba [baku wa-na-ga] i-ny-dyu-nd-dyanu [kamba]*.
 c. **Nyamba wamba [baku wa-na-ga kamba] i-ny-dyu-nd-dyanu*.

In other words, phrasal discontinuity (2.5.3) may take place only within the linear boundary of the clause of which the discontinuous NP is a part.⁷⁰

10.6.1.3 Further comment

Yawuru has no formal device to explicitly indicate switch reference (see comments in 10.6.2.2 and 10.6.3.3). The same or different subjecthood is relevant to the referential ergative construction discussed in 10.7.

No special morpho-syntax for apprehensional constructions (cf. Haviland 1979a:146-147, Dixon 1980:380-381) has been recorded, except the preventative (or negative purposive) construction indicating the meaning of 'in order not to ...' or 'so as not to ...' (10.6.3.4). Fear that something is going wrong can be expressed in the irrealis mood (see 4.3.3.4).

10.6.2 Sequential *-dyarri*

The sequential subordination marker *-dyarri* (SEQ) is attached only to finite verbs constituting a subordinate clause.⁷¹ Verbs that carry this marker do not occur in simple clauses, but only in complex clauses. In most cases, the subordinate clause marked by *-dyarri* precedes the matrix, although there are a small number of instances with the unmarked matrix preceding the subordinate *-dyarri* clause (as in [172] below).

Usually rising intonation (↑) accompanies *-dyarri* clauses, although the unmarked falling intonation (↓) is also acceptable (as occurs actually in [170] below).

⁷⁰ Probably the only exception to this is the embedding of a preverb phrase in the middle of the matrix clause (see example [268] in 10.7.1.4).

⁷¹ The Yawuru form probably shares a common origin with the Karajarri verbal continuative suffix *-njari* (or *-nyarri* in my spelling system) 'while doing something, keep doing something' (Sands 1989). The alternation of *ny* ~ *dy* is not unusual in Yawuru (see 3.4.4.2 and 3.6.3.2).

10.6.2.1 Future scope

The sequential marker relates a series of states of affairs: the action/state described in the matrix clause takes place as soon as the action/state described in the subordinate is realised. The subordinate (usually the preceding) clause typically expresses a likely event in the near future:

- [170] *Yaga-rr-a-miri-dyarri nyanga-dyunu ɿ, wa-ng-ga-rda-dyayrda birn'dany-dyi warli.*
 12'-AGM-TR-finish-SEQ this-really 3-EN-FUT-go-12'DAT stingray-DAT meat(DAT)
 'As soon as we finish all this, he will go and catch some stingray for us to eat.'
- [171] *Nga-dyali-dyarri-dyayrda ɿ, ya-ga-rr-garnda wirliwirli-ngarn.*
 2FUT-return-SEQ-12"DAT 12"-FUT-AGM-go fishing-ALLAT
 'We (INCL) will go fishing together when you come back to us.'

The *-dyarri* subordination may also (but rather infrequently) indicate a reason. In [172], *-dyarri* is attached to a non-future form of the verb referring to a past event. The matrix, however, has a near-future projection.

- [172] *Wa-rr-a-bilka-yarrgarda⁷² nga-mirdibi-n-ngany-dyarri.*
 2"FUT-AGM-TR-beat-1"DL(ABS) 1-run.away-IMPF-COM-SEQ
 'Beat (i.e. punish) us_{i+j}, since I_i ran away together [with her_j] (i.e. we_{i+j} committed an elopement).'

See 10.6.7 for semantic contrasts with other modes of conditional constructions.

10.6.2.2 Same/different subjecthood

In the sequential construction the subordinate clause and the matrix do not need to share the same subject. Compare [173a/b]:

- [173] a. *Wal-a-bura-dyarri kamba wal-dyulka-dyina (dyuyu-ni).*
 2_i FUT-TR-see-SEQ 3(ABS)_j 2_i FUT-tell-3DAT_j 2_i-ERG
 'You must tell [it] to him when you see him.' (same subject)
- b. *Wal-a-bura-dyarri kamba, wa-na-ga-dyulka-dyiya (kamba-ni).*
 2_i FUT-TR-see-SEQ 3(ABS)_j 3_j-TR-FUT-tell-2DAT_i 3_j-ERG
 'He'll tell you when you see him.' (different subject)

10.6.3 Purposive clauses

10.6.3.1 Morpho-syntax

Subordinate clauses expressing a purpose may be marked by the dative marker *-yi/-dyi* attached to the subordinate finite verb (4.3.3). The marker shows the same allomorphic alternation as in the dative case at NP level: *-yi* follows vowels, whereas *-dyi* follows consonants (3.8.4.1). The dative marker employed to mark a purposive predicate is indicated "DAT_{purp}" in the interlinear gloss.⁷³

⁷² [172] is a rare instance in which the dual form of the accusative enclitic occurs (cf. 7.3.1.1).

⁷³ Although it is morphologically identical to the NP-level dative, the scope of DAT_{purp} marking is a clause rather than an NP. See discussion by Dench & Evans (1988:18-20) on the scope of case markers. Although the Yawuru purposive dative is a functional parallel to the wide-spread *-ku* purposive (Blake 1976:421), an important difference is that Yawuru *-yi* is attached to finite verbs (future conjugations) whereas *-ku* is usually attached to a nominalised form of verbs.

If the subordinate predicate consists of a complex verb (PV+FV), then the purposive marker is attached to FV, not PV.⁷⁴

- [174] *Nga-na-ø-nda-dyiya nyamb dyamiyan*⁷⁵ *gil + wal-dyu-yi kamba balu.*
 1-TR-give-PF-2DAT this axe(ABS) cut+2FUT-AUX(say)-DAT_{purp} that tree(ABS)
 'I gave you this axe to cut that tree down.'
- [175] *Dyungku ya-ga-rr-a-ma baarl + wa-na-ga-dyu-yi karrikan.*
 fire(ABS); 12-FUT-AGM-TR-put hot+3; -TR-FUT-AUX(say)-DAT_{purp} body(ABS);
 'Let's make a fire to warm us up.'

It should be noted that the dative marking at clause level (indicating a purpose) does not follow the principle of initial-marking (which is the rule of case-marking at phrase level; 2.5.2.1).⁷⁶ The next example shows that the dative marking on the subordinate clause is not attached to the initial constituent of the clause, but to the head of the clause, which is the verb.

- [176] *Dyubagi kayukayu + nga-na-ngama bulkar-gun, [wanydyi nga-na-ga-lurra-yi].*
 tobacco(ABS) soft+1-TR-AUX(put(FUT)) ashes-LOC soon 1-TR-FUT-burn-DAT_{purp}
 'I'll mix the chewing tobacco leaves with ashes (lit. "making tobacco soft in ashes") so that I can later enjoy the hot taste of it.' (lit. "so that I will burn [it]"; "burn" here means 'to extract a hot taste')

Ordering of the clauses is in most cases Main + Sub and both clauses are pronounced in unmarked intonation. There are a few instances where the subordinate clause precedes the main (Sub + Main), in which case Sub is uttered in a rising intonation (↑).

- [177] *Nga-rndira-yi ↑, mi-na-ngari-rn-ngayu baybirra,*
 2FUT-go-DAT_{purp} 2-TR-leave-IMPF-1ACC behind
baralka + nga-ngara-rn nga-ya-luka-dyiya.
 sorry+1-AUX(become)-IMPF 1-IRR-cry-2DAT
 'When you go (lit. "in order that you go"), you will leave me behind, so I will feel sorry and I might cry for you.'

10.6.3.2 Semantics

(1) Purpose

The most common semantic function of purposive clauses is to specify the purpose, aim or reason of the action described in the main clause. Events expressed in main clauses in the purposive construction are actions rather than states.

- [178] *Ngurra-gap nga-ng-ga-rda, warli nga-na-ga-nya-yi.*
 night-ABL 1-TR-FUT-go meat(ABS) 1-TR-FUT-catch-DAT_{purp}
 'Tomorrow I will go hunting (or fishing).'

⁷⁴ This is a further indication that a complex verb (PV+FV) constitutes a single grammatical word (cf. 5.1.6).

⁷⁵ The determiner *nyamb* is a variant of *nyamba* (7.5.2.2); the noun *dyamiyan* is a variant of *dyamiyanu* (cf. example [119] in 10.3.2.2).

⁷⁶ As illustrated in Dench & Evans (1988:4-6), it is not uncommon for case-marking conventions to differ at each level of marking (cf. 10.6.3.4). Dench & Evans failed, however, to include the initial-marking convention (such as operating at phrase level in Yawuru) in their typology of marking conventions.

- [179] *Nyamba ngana-ga-nda-dyiya wula, wala-bi-yi.*
 this[^] 1-bring-PF-2DAT [^]water(ABS) 2FUT-drink-DAT_{purp}
 'I have brought this water for you to drink.'
- [180] *Dyurrurru + wal-a-ra ingamana-gun, winya + wa-ng-(ga-)ngara-yi.*
 pour+2FUT-TR-AUX(emit) cup-LOC full+3-EN-FUT-become-DAT_{purp}
 'Pour [it] into the cup to fill it up.'
- Purposive clauses sometimes complement the main-clause predication.
- [181] *Dyanala-gadya i-ny-dyu-n-dyanu nga-na-ga-makura-yi lanydyi.*
 how-INTENS 3-EN-say-IMPF-1DAT 1-TR-FUT-make-DAT_{purp} boomerang(ABS)
 'He taught me how to make a boomerang.'⁷⁷
- [182] *Yadiri-ni yaga-rr-a-nya-ngany kamba wamba wa-na-ga-makura-yi maya.*
 12"-ERG 12"-AGM-TR-catch-COM that man(ABS); 3_i-TR-FUT-make-DAT_{purp} house(ABS)
 'We have to help him repair (lit. make) his house.'

(2) Embedded imperative

Clauses marked by the dative marker may embody an imperative expression. Such clauses complement the speech act verbs *dyu* 'say' or *dyulka* 'tell' in the main clauses. The embedded imperative may be either positive (directive) or negative (prohibitive).

- [183] *Wa-rr-dyulka-dyina budidy + wa-na-ga-ma-yi miliya.*
 2"FUT-AGM-tell-3DAT beaconfire+3-TR-AUX(put)-DAT_{purp} now
 'You (PL) tell him to make a beaconfire now.'
- [184] *Nga-ny-dyu-nd-dyina marlu wa-na-ga-bilka-yi-dyuyu.*
 1-EN-say-PF-3DAT_i not 3_i-TR-FUT-hit-DAT_{purp}-2ACC
 'I told him not to hit you.'

The DAT_{purp} marker conveying the imperative meaning may be (and often is) omitted (cf. examples given in 10.7.1.1).

(3) Desiderative

Purposive clauses may complement a main clause which has the verb *dyu* 'say' expressing the subject's desire or wish (cf. 6.2.6). It can be either a statement of a general appreciation of something (as in [185]) or that of a specific desire at a particular moment (as in [186] and [187]).

- [185] *Nga-ny-dyu-n nga-ng-ga-rda-yi wirliwirli-ngarn.*
 1-EN-say-IMPF 1-EN-FUT-goDAT_{purp} fishing-ALLAT
 'I like going fishing' (general)⁷⁸

⁷⁷ If the DAT_{purp} marker is absent from the subordinate verb, then the position of *dyanalakadya* in [181] should be after the main-clause verb *inydyundyanu*, immediately leading the embedded clause *nganagamakura lanydyi* (see 10.6.4.2).

⁷⁸ The following sentence expressing a definite/specific desire ([185']) was elicited as a contrastive expression to [185] (which had been recorded in spontaneous speech):

[185'] *Nga-ny-dyu-n miliya-yi nga-ng-ga-rda wirliwirli-ngarn.*
 1-EN-say-IMPF now-DAT 1-EN-FUT-go fishing-ALLAT
 'I feel like going fishing right now.'

There are two possibilities in the morpho-syntactic analysis of [404']: (1) the dative marker on *miliya* may be interpreted as a clause-level purposive marking, in which case this would be an example of initial-marking at clause level — but this interpretation would be inconsistent with other data such as [176] in 10.6.3.1 (also cf. 10.6.3.4). Alternatively, (2) the form *miliya-yi* may be interpreted as word-level dative inflexion of the time adverb *miliya* (see 8.2.1.1), not a

- [186] (*Ngay-ni*) *nga-ny-dyu-n nga-na-ga-lurra-yi*.
 1-ERG 1-EN-say-IMPf 1-TR-FUT-burn-DAT_{purp}
 'I want to cook [it].' (specific)
- [187] *Kari wa-rr-a-bi-yi ku-rr-a-dyu-n miliya*.
 grog(ABS) 2["]FUT-AGM-TR-drink-DAT_{purp} 2["]-AGM-TR-say-IMPf now
 'Now you want to drink (beer).'

When the meaning is desiderative (want to ...), the matrix and subordinate verbs must share the same subject. In other words, the Yawuru purposive construction is not used to express a switch-reference proposition such as 'I want him to cook it' (but see 8.5.2).

When the main clause shares a 3rd-person subject with its subordinate clause, the matrix verb 'say' can be omitted, leaving the subordinate verb carrying the purposive marker in a seemingly simple clause (cf. 4.3.3.2).

- [188] [[*Wa-na-ng-ga-kilbira-yi*] (*i-ny-dyu-n*).]
 3_i -TR-EN-FUT-sing-DAT_{purp} 3_i -EN-say-IMPf
 'He wants to sing.'

10.6.3.3 Same/different subjecthood

Whether or not the matrix and subordinate subjects are co-referential in the purposive construction is totally dependent on context. Different subjecthood may be explicitly monitored by the different subject prefixing, as in:

- [189] *Dyirril kindil + wal-dyu wa-ng-ga-bula-yi kinykirida*.
 strong cough+2FUT-AUX(say) 3_i -EN-FUT-come-DAT_{purp} phlegm(ABS);
 'Cough hard so that the phlegm comes out.' (i.e. try to spit it out)

Reference to different subjects can be the case even if the matrix and subordinate verbs both bear 3rd-person prefixes.

- [189A] *Kabali-ni dyina kamba dyamiyan i-na-ka-rn-dyina*
 wife-ERG_i 3(GEN)_j; that axe(ABS) 3_i -TR-carry-IMPf-3DAT_j
dyina-dyunu-yi wamba, gil + wa-na-ga-dyu-yi dyungku.
 3(GEN)_i -INTENS-DAT man(DAT)_j cut+3_j-TR-FUT-
 AUX(say)-DAT_{purp} firewood(ABS)

'His wife brought the axe for her husband so that he could cut firewood.'

Compare the above examples with those which follow where the 3rd-person prefixes in the matrix verb and the subordinate verb refer to the same subject:

- [190] *I-rndira-rn yinydya, wa-ng-ga-bilka-yi warli dyarn'du-yi dyina*.
 3_i -go-IMPf thither 3_i -EN-FUT-hit-DAT_{purp} meat(ABS) woman-DAT 3(GEN);
 'He went out to hunt (some animals) for his wife.'
- [191] *Baku i-m-bula-nda k*alawara + wa-na-ga-ma-yi-dyayrda*.
 hither 3_i -EN-come-PF show+3_i TR-FUT-AUX(put)-DAT_{purp}-12["]DAT
 'He came here to show [it] to us.'

clause-level marking, and the clause-level (purposive) dative marker which would be on the subordinate verb *nganggarda* is simply left out for some reason (cf. section (2) above).

Due to the four-person system of verbal agreement (see 2.4.2.1, 4.2.1.1 and 4.6.6.2), the matrix and the subordinate may be partially co-referential, which is the case in [192]:

- [192] *Mambu + wal-a-ny-dyina, yaga-rr-a-lurra-yi nyamba*
 pluck+2FUT-TR-AUX(catch)-3DAT 12"-AGM-TR-burn-DAT_{purp} this
dyarrki dambal-gun.
 turkey(ABS) earth.oven-LOC
 'Strip this turkey of feathers for us to cook it in the earth oven.'

10.6.3.4 Preventative (negative purpose)

Subordinate clauses may state a negative proposition (i.e. expressing a preventative meaning, 'so as not to ...'). As observable in the examples below (also see [184] above), the purposive marker still rests on the verb, not on the negator which regularly occupies the initial position of the subordinate clause.

- [193] *Yakarr + i-rndira-rn yinydya, marlu wang-ga-rr-a-bura-yi niwal.*
 tiptoe+3-go-IMPF thither not 3"-FUT-AGM-TR-see-DAT_{purp} foot(ABS)
 'He went on tiptoes so that they would not find his footprints.'
- [194] *Kamba k*ayn wa-na-ga, marlu wa-na-ga-ngari-yi nyamba-gun.*
 that(ABS) let 3-TR-carry(FUT) not 3-TR-FUT-leave-DAT_{purp} this-LOC
 'He should take it out; don't let him leave it here.'

However, at least one instance has been encountered in which the purposive marker is attached to the negator. The subordinate verb in this particular case is conjugated for irrealis.

- [195] *Ngurru dyangkurr nga-na-ngama, marlu-yi wa-na-ø-nya-ngayu kinygirrida-ni.*
 more clothes(ABS) 1-TR-put(FUT) not-DAT_{purp} 3-TR-IRR-catch-1ACC phlegm-ERG
 'I have to put on more clothes in order not to catch a cold.'

10.6.4 Embedded interrogatives

Interrogative clauses can be embedded (indirect questions). WH-interrogative words (7.6.1.1) as well as the polar question marker (10.4.1) then function as conjunctions (cf. 10.4.1.3).

10.6.4.1 Polar embedding

The polar question marker *ngadyi* may introduce an indirect question.

- [196] *Nga-ny-dyiba-nda-dyina bibi-yi dyina ngadyi i-nga-rn mabu.*
 1-EN-ask-PF-3_iDAT mother_k-DAT 3_i(GEN) whether 3_k-be-IMPF good
 'I asked him whether his mother is all right.'

The verb of the embedded clause is often left out (cf. 10.5.2.2). The conjunctive *ngadyi* may be countered by the clause-final *marlu* '(whether ...) or not' (as in [197] below) or may be followed by two phrases representing alternative or contrastive possibilities (usually antonyms as in [198]). Notice that the usual non-rising intonation is maintained in both cases (cf. 7.6.1.2).

- [197] *I-na-wirrika-rn wula ngadyi mabu-dyunu ɔ marlu ɔ.*
 3-TR-try-IMPF water(ABS) whether good-really not
 'He tasted the water to find out if it was good or not.'
- [198] *I-na-wirrika-rn wula ngadyi dyawl ɔ, limba ɔ.*
 3-TR-try-IMPF water(ABS) whether clear salty
 'He tasted the water to find out if it was fresh (lit. "clear") or salty.'

10.6.4.2 WH-embedding

WH-interrogatives *yangki* 'what/who', *dyana-gun* 'where-LOC',⁷⁹ *dyanala* 'how' and *nganydya* 'how many' may introduce an embedded clause.⁸⁰

- [199] *Wa-rr-a-bura yangki i-ny-dyalku-nda.*
 2["]FUT-AGM-TR-see what(ABS) 3-EN-fall-PF
 'Go and see what has fallen down.'
- [200] *Inga-rr-a-dyu-n-dyanu yangki-gun (nga-nga-rn) ngayu.*
 3["]-AGM-TR-say-IMPF-1DAT what-LOC 1-be-IMPF 1(ABS)
 'They asked me what I was doing.'
- [201] *Wal-dyulka-dyanu dyana-gun naarli i-nga-rn wuba dyanu.*
 2FUT-tell-1DAT where-LOC true 3-be-IMPF child(ABS) 1(GEN)
 'Show me where my daughter really lives.'
- [202] *Wal-a-bura-irr-dyi nganydya ngarrungu (inga-rry-dyi-n).*
 2FUT-TR-see-3["]ACC-DAT_{imp} how.many people(ABS) 3["]-AGM-be-IMPF
 'See (i.e., count) how many people are there.'

It is noticed that the person agreements on the verb in embedded clauses are harmonised with those of their matrix clauses. In [200] above, for example, the embedded clause reflects the following question sentence:

- [203] *Yangki-gun mi-nga-rn dyuyu.*
 what-LOC 2-be-IMPF 2(ABS)
 'What are you doing?'

Verbs in the embedded interrogative clauses tend to immediately follow the conjunctive WH- words (except in the case of *nganydya*; see [202] above). Notice in the next example that the preverb *bili-gadya* is shifted to the postverbal position when the sentence with the complex verb predicate (204a) is embedded into a matrix clause (204b).

- [204] a. *Nymaba-gun bili-gadya + inga-rry-dyi-nda.*
 this-LOC angry-INTENS+3["]-AGM-AUX(be)-PF
 'They had a (historic) fight here.'
- b. *Nga-na-ga-dyulka-dyiya dyana-gun inga-rry-dyi-nda bili-gadya.*
 1-TR-FUT-tell-2DAT where-LOC 3["]-AGM-AUX(be)-PF angry-INTENS
 'I'll show you where they had the fight.'

The WH-conjunctive *dyanala* always carries *-gadya* (7.6.5) when it introduces an embedded clause. Embedded *yangki* 'what/who' may optionally take *-gadya* (cf. 10.6.5).

⁷⁹ As already pointed out in 7.6.4, the uninflected *dyana* does not occur in embedded clauses.

⁸⁰ No case of embedded clauses introduced by *bana* 'when' (7.6.3) has been recorded. This may be due to restricted data rather than grammatical impossibility in the language.

- [205] *Karda-gun yaga-rr-a-bura-dyina dyanala-gadya wa-na-ga-dyu.*
yonder-LOC 12"-AGM-TR-see-3DAT how-INTENS 3-TR-FUT-say
'We must see him there [and see] what he says (lit. how he says).'
- [206] *I-ma-dyiba-ndyi-n-dyunggarra dyanala-gadya ku-rry-dyi-n.*
3-INT-ask-RCP-IMPF-2"DAT how-INTENS 2"-AGM-be-IMPF
'He asked me how you (PL) were doing.'
- [207] *Marlu nga-na-laka-rn yangki(-gadya) wang-ga-rr-a-dyu.*
not 1-TR-know-IMPF what(-INTENS) 3"-FUT-AGM-TR-say
'I don't understand what's going on (lit. I don't know what they say).'

10.65 Reported speech

Non-interrogative utterances can be quoted and embedded in a matrix clause. In contrast with the embedded interrogative outlined earlier, the reported speech precedes the matrix verb. The enclitic *gadya* (QUOTE) usually marks the end of the quotation.⁸¹

- [208] *Dyarldyar + nga-ngara-rn dyungku wal-a-ma-gadya i-ny-dyu-n.*
cold+1_i -AUX(become)-IMPF fire(ABS) 2FUT-TR-put-QUOTE 3_i-EN-say-IMPF
'It's cold. Make a fire", said she.'
- [209] *Si:yu dumaro-gadya wal-a-dy-dyina.*
see.you.tomorrow/E-QUOTE 2FUT-TR-say-3DAT
'Say "see you; tomorrow" to him_i.'
- [209A] *Marlu nga-dyali baku-layin-gadya yanga-rr-a-dyulka-nda-dyina.*
not 2_iFUT-return hither-toward-QUOTE 12"-AGM-TR-tell-PF-3DAT_i
'"Don't (you_i) come back", we (EXCL) told him_i.'
- [210] *Bidyarda nga-na-m-bura-nda-gadya i-ny-dyu-n.*
emu(ABS) 1_i -TR-EN-see-PF-QUOTE 3_i -EN-say-IMPF
'"I had an encounter with an emu (in the dream)", said he.'

Unlike in the embedding of interrogative clauses, original verbal agreement is maintained in reported speech. This can be seen by studying the co-referential indices in [210] above and comparing it with the example [211a/b] given below:

- [211] a. *Ginyaga-ni i-ny-dyiba-nda-dyanu dyana-gun nga-nga-nda.*
3-ERG 3-EN-ask-PF-1DAT_i where-LOC 1_i-be-PF
'He asked me where I had been.'
- b. *Dyana-gun mi-nga-nda-gadya i-ny-dyiba-nda-dyanu ginyaga-ni.*
where-LOC 2_i -be-PF-QUOTE 3-EN-ask-PF-1DAT_i 3-ERG
'"Where have you been?", he questioned me.'

The marker *gadya* is regarded as an enclitic that adheres to the last word of the reported sentence (regardless of the word class of that word), since virtually no pause precedes *gadya* and no other suffixes/enclitics follow it. It is most likely that the lexical item in question is the same morpheme as the intensifier *-gadya* (attached to preverbs and adverbs; see 5.4.2). Examples such as follow could be regarded as borderline cases of the intensifier (INTENS) and the quotation marker (QUOTE).

⁸¹ Unless it is in the QUOTE function, *-gadya* cannot be attached to an NP or an FV. It may be attached to a preverb, however, and, in that case, does not function as QUOTE (see 5.4.2)

- [212] *Yanban-gadya nga-ny-dyu-nda.*
 south-INTENS/QUOTE 1-EN-say-PF
 'I insisted on the south.'
- [213] *K*awity-gadya wal-dy(u)-dyina.*
 quick-INTENS/QUOTE 2FUT-say-3DAT
 'Tell him to hurry up.'

What people have said may be reported without being marked by *gadya*, although it is always possible to supplement the particle at the end of the quoted clause/phrase (as shown in parentheses in the example below).

- [214] *Wanydyi nga-na-bura-rn-dyuyu(-gadya) i-ny-dyu-nda-dyanu.*
 soon 1_i-TR-see-IMPF-2_j ACC(-QUOTE) 3_i-EN-say-PF-1_j DAT
 'He said to me that he would see me soon.'

Or alternatively, other people's speech may be reported by simply adding the quotation marker *gadya* to the original utterance(s), leaving out the matrix speech act verb. When this happens, the clause-final *gadya* serves virtually as an epistemological sentence adverb with the quotative function (see 8.5.3.1).

- [214'] *Wanydyi nga-na-bura-rn-dyu(yu)-gadya.*
 soon 1_i-TR-see-IMPF-2ACC-QUOTE
 "'I_i will see you soon", said he_i.'

10.66 Coordination

10.6.6.1 The conjunctive clitic *-yirr*

The clitic *-yirr* (~ *-irr* ~ *-nirr*, etc; see 3.7.5.4.(2) for the allomorphy) operates as a coordinator, either at phrase level or clause level.

(1) Phrase-level coordination

The *-yirr* coordination typically takes place when the two lexical items to be coordinated have a strong semantic connection to each other (and the coordinated phrases often have an idiomatically extended reference):

<i>warli-yirr mayi</i>	'meat and fruit' (i.e. varieties of foods; cf. 2.3.4)
<i>kabali-yirr wamba</i>	'wife and man' (i.e. a woman and her husband)
<i>lanydyi-yirr karrbina</i>	'boomerangs and shields' (i.e. all the stuff)
<i>bulyimanu-yirr yawarda</i>	'bullocks and horses' (referring to livestock in general)
<i>wirdu-yirr wubardu</i>	'big and small' (i.e. both adults and children)

Similarly, the phrase *dyarn'du-yirr wamba*, 'woman-and man', usually refers to husband and wife (as in [217] given later).⁸² Two words coordinated by *-yirr* usually form a single phonological word (i.e. the second word tends to lose its primary stress), but they remain two grammatical words.

⁸² Also remember the time-qualifying adverb phrase *ngurra-gap ngurra-yirr* (night-ABL night-and) 'tomorrow or the day after' cited in 8.2.1.3.(1).

(2) Grammatical relation and the core-peripheral split

The position of the clitic *-yirr* in relation to case marking is somewhat peculiar in that it reveals a core-peripheral split: it precedes case markers when occurring on core case forms (namely the ergative and the dative), as in [215]; if occurring on a peripheral case form (e.g. locative), by contrast, *-yirr* follows the case marker, which is the case in [216]:

[215] *Dyuyu-ni mi-na-luka-rn-dyirra* [*bibi-yirr-dyi* *kuku* *dyiya*]_{NP(O)-DAT}.
 2-ERG 2-TR-cry-IMP-3"_i-DAT mother_i-and-DAT father_j-DAT 2(GEN)
 'You miss (lit. "cry for") your mother and father.'

[216] *Bandil wal-a-ma ridyi-gun-nirr karrbina*.
 drawing 2FUT-TR-put "riji"-LOC-and shield(LOC)
 'You have to paint up the riji (pearlshell ornament) as well as the shield.'

It should be added that the ordering of the dative marker and the conjunctive *-yirr* remains the same (i.e. the latter follows the former) even if the dative NP is not playing a core grammatical function in the clause:

[217] *Kamba ngandyu dyarn'du-yirr-dyi wamba*.
 that girl(ABS) woman-and-DAT man(DAT)
 'That girl is the daughter of [this] couple (i.e. husband and wife).'

More importantly, coordinated nominals, such as cited in section (1) above, constitute NPs but cannot stand as a subject of a clause without a further morphological extension. In order for such coordinated phrases to be a syntactic subject the clitic must be accompanied by the annex morpheme *-maa* ~ *-ma*: the extended forms are *-yirr-ma(a)* (the vowel may be optionally long) for the intransitive subject (e.g. NP(S) in [218]) and *-yirr-ni-maa* (always with the long vowel) for the transitive subject (e.g. NP(A) in [219]); notice that the ergative marker *-ni* intervenes *-yirr* and its secondary extension *-maa*.

[218] *Inga-rry-dyali-rn-dyiya* [*bibi-yirr-ma* *kuku* *dyiya*]_{NP(S)}.
 3"-AGM-return-IMP-2DAT mother(ABS)-and₁-and₂ father(ABS) 2(GEN)
 'Your parents are coming back for you.'

[219] [*Kuku-yirr-ni-maa* *bibi*]_{NP(A)-ERG} *inga-rr-a-ø-n-dyina*
 father_i -and₁-ERG-and₂ mother(ERG)_j 3"_{i+j} -AGM-TR-give-IMP-3DAT_k
wuba *dyirra*, *wamba-gun inga-rr-a-ma-rn*.
 daughter(ABS)_m 3"_{DL}_{i+j}(GEN) man_k -LOC 3"_{i+j} -AGM-TR-put-IMP
 'The parents_{i+j} (= the father_i and mother_j) make their daughter_m marry him_k.'

The following represents a rare but interesting case: in [220a] the ergative marker and the extended form of the coordinating clitic *-yirr-ma* are separately attached to each of the constituents of the discontinuous NP, which is the transitive subject.⁸³ Notice that the verb is conjugated for dual (i.e. referring to the two actors as a joint subject). [220a] can be paraphrased as [220b] which has the contiguously coordinated NP components jointly inflected for the ergative.⁸⁴

⁸³ The uninflected form of the subject NP is *kurgarda midyidy*; see 7.1.3.1 for the nature of NPs composed of a pronoun and a common noun.

⁸⁴ Sentence [220b] was composed by the author and checked with the key informant for acceptability. [220a] had been recorded in spontaneous speech.

- [220] a. *Kurrgarda-ni ku-rr-a-rli-rn, midyidyi-yirr-ma dyiya.*
 2"DL_{i+j}-ERG 2"_{i+j}-AGM-TR-eat-IMPF Mrs_i/E(ERG)-and₁-and₂ 2_j(GEN)
 'Both you and your wife eat [it].'
- b. *Kurrgarda-yirr-ni-maa midyidyi dyiya ku-rr-a-rli-rn.*
 2"DL_{i+j}-and₁-ERG-and₂ Mrs_i/E(ERG) 2_j(GEN) 2"_{i+j}-AGM-TR-eat-IMPF
 'Both you and your wife eat [it].'

(3) Clause-level coordination

The clitic *-yirr* can be attached to conjugated verbs or, in the case of negative clauses, to the negator preceding the verb. It thus functions as a coordinator at clause level. The meaning produced is more or less close to English "too" (in the affirmative) or "either" (in the negative; also see example [112] cited in 10.3.1).

- [221] *Nga-murku-rn-dyina, i-murku-rn-dyanu-yirr.*
 1-search-IMPF-3DAT 3-search-IMPF-1DAT-and
 'I was looking for him; and he was looking for me too.'
- [222] *Nyiwa + nga-ngara-rn, marlu nga-na-rli-nda warli-mayi,*
 faint + 1-AUX(become)-IMPF not 1-TR-eat-PF meat-vege(ABS)
marlu-yirr nga-na-bi-nda wula.
 not-and 1-TR-drink-PF water(ABS)
 'I fainted. I hadn't had any food; I hadn't had any water either.'

In [223] below a close relation between the events described by each of the coordinated clauses is encoded by the the coordinator *-yirr*.

- [223] *Uu nga-na-m-bukarri-nda babá-aw i-m-bula-n-yirr⁸⁵ bidyarda-ni.*
 oh! 1-TR-EN-dream-PF child-VOC 3-EN-come-IMPF-and emu-ERG
 'I had had a dream of the emu and then my son was born with the emu dreaming.'⁸⁶

10.6.6.2 Conjoined clauses

It is very common in Yawuru that clauses are co-ordinated, or conjoined, without particular conjunctive lexemes or subordination markers. Clauses consisting only of a predicate verb can be serialised, but the verbs do not lose their inflexional affixes.

- [224] *Rayi + mi-na-ma-nda, nga-na-bura-nda nga-na-nya-rn.*
 secret+2-TR-AUX(put)-PF 1-TR-see-PF 1-TR-catch-IMPF
 'You had hidden it. I looked for it and I found it.'

Notice in the above example that no pause (,) is laid between *nganaburanda* and *ngananyarn*.

As in many other Australian languages, semantic relations between coordinated clauses in Yawuru are multifunctional (Hale 1976a, McGregor 1988c). Typical functions include those indicating:

⁸⁵ It should be noted that the verb form *imbula-n-yirr* is pronounced [ɪmbulan'eɟ] (see 3.8.4.2; cf. 3.4.4.3); this should be distinguished from the 3"ACC enclitic pronoun *-irr* (7.3.2.2).

⁸⁶ See 4.2.1.2 (particularly footnote 5 there) and 10.2.7.3 for the meaning of dreams and its relation to childbirth in the context of Aboriginal culture. Also see example [63] given in 6.4.4.

(1) Purpose

Purpose of an action may be stated simply by coordinate clauses without clause-level dative marking (10.6.3): e.g.

- [225] *Warli nyanigarra dyimbin (i-nga-rn), ya-ga-rr-a-lurra, wa-ng-ga-mirdimirdi.*
 game(ABS) perhaps inside 3-be-IMPF 12-FUT-AGM-TR-burn 3-EN-FUT-run.away
 'It seems there's a goanna inside (the hole). We'll make a fire, so that it (the goanna) will come out.' (i.e. let's smoke it out)

Verbal predicates describing a purpose are always in the future form even if the utterance has a past scope (as in [226]).⁸⁷

- [226] *Nga-ny-dyu-nda-dyina, lip + wa-na-ga-dyu.*
 1-EN-say-PF-3DAT; remember+3; -TR-FUT-AUX(say)
 'I told him so that he would remember it.' (i.e. I reminded him)

(2) Reason

Reasons for actions or explanation of states are expressed in clauses juxtaposed to clauses which describe those actions or states. Clauses can be juxtaposed without any pause (as in [229]).

- [227] *Darra + i-ny-dyu-nda, manydya i-na-rli-nda.*
 belch+3-EN-AUX(say)-PF many 3-TR-drink-PF
 'He burps as he drank a lot.'
- [228] *Ngayu-ni midyala + nga-na-ma-n-irr, wa-ya-rr-garnda.*
 1-ERG sitting+1-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-3"ACC 3-IRR-AGM-go
 'I stopped them because they were about to go.' (or 'I stop them, otherwise they might have gone.')
- [229] *Wadya + nga-ngara-nda nga-likarra-nda durr-gadya.*
 scared+1-become-PF 1-hear-PF noise-INTENS
 'I was scared as I heard a loud noise.'

In the next example, which consists of four clauses in succession, the first clause describes an action, the second gives the reason (or cause) which made such an action necessary, the third (with -DAT_{purp} marker on the verbs) indicates the purpose of the action, and the last adds the consequence.

- [230] *Binka-barri wula i-na-nya-nda, bilyka + i-ngara-nda warndarl,*
 baler.shell-INST water(ABS) 3_i-TR-catch-PF leak+3_j-become-PF dinghy(ABS)_j
marlu wa-ng-ga-gardi-yi dyimbin, ngarp + yang-ga-rr-a-dyi-ngany.
 not 3_j-EN-FUT-enter-DAT_{purp} inside float+1"_{i+k}-FUT-AGM-TR-be-COM
 'As there was a leak in the dinghy_j, he_i scooped out the water with a baler shell so that it_j would not sink, and we (he_i and I_k) managed to keep the dinghy afloat.'⁸⁸

(3) Condition

Propositions expressed in juxtaposed clauses may be in the relation of condition and consequence (see examples in 10.6.7.3). Simple juxtaposition (or clause-level

⁸⁷ In this regard, Yawuru reveals a "relative tense system" as outlined in Chung & Timberlake (1985:210ff).

⁸⁸ In the translation, the original second clause has been put forward. The word *warndarl* 'coolamon' means 'dinghy' and *dyimbin* 'inside' means 'under the water' (cf. 8.3.4.3.(1)).

adposition) is the simplest morpho-syntactic device for expressing conditions in this language. As will be illustrated in 10.6.7, there are several other morpho-syntactic devices used to encode condition-consequence propositions.

(4) Relation

Yawuru has no formally marked relative clauses. It is, however, quite often the case in Yawuru that juxtaposed clauses share NPs that take up core grammatical relations in each clause, so that the state of affairs described jointly by the two clauses is more or less equivalent to those expressed by relative clauses in English. In the examples given below the shared NP arguments are in boldface:

- [231] *Rdii + i-na-ra-nda ingamana, ngay-ni madyil-manydyan nga-na-nya-nda.*
 break+3-TR-AUX(spear)-PF cup(ABS) 1-ERG yesterday-only 1-TR-catch-PF
 'He has broken the cup I bought just yesterday.'
- [232] *Nga-na-bura-nda kamba yila, inga-rr-a-bilka-nda.*
 1-TR-see-PF that dog(ABS) 3"-AGM-TR-hit-PF
 'I saw the dog they were hitting.'
- [233] *Nyamba yila baku i-na-ka-nda, i-na-burna-nda-ngayu.*
 this dog(ABS)_i hither 3_j-TR-carry-PF 3_i-TR-bite-PF-1ACC
 'This dog she brought bit me.'

In [233] above the shared NP, *nyamba yila*, fulfills the O function in the first clause but the A function (to be encoded in the ergative case) in the second. The ergative phrase *nyamba-ni yila* is, however, absent. The case marking on the shared NP basically obeys the case frame of the preceding clause. In other terms, there is no "ergative hopping" (Haviland 1979a:154ff).⁸⁹ Compare the case marking on *kangadyunu babagarra* 'those children' in [234a/b]:

- [234] a. *Ngayu-ni nga-na-bura-nd(a)-irr kangadyunu baba-garra,*
 1-ERG 1-TR-see-PF-3"ACC 3"PL(ABS) child-PL(ABS)
inga-rr-a-bilka-nda nyamba yila karu-barri.
 3"-AGM-TR-hit-PF this dog(ABS) spear-INST
 'I saw the children hitting the dog.'
- b. *Inga-rr-a-bilka-nda kamba yila kangadyunu-ni baba-garra,*
 3"_i-AGM-TR-hit-PF that dog(ABS) 3"PL-ERG child-PL(ERG)_i
nga-na-bura-nda-irr.
 1-TR-see-PF-3"ACC_i
 'Those children hit the dog. I saw them.'

⁸⁹ Haviland reports in his description of Guugu Yimidhirr (north Queensland) that the ergative marker occasionally "hops" from a transitive complement clause "onto a prior NP which is at once the A of the transitive clause and the S NP of an intransitive full verb which precedes it—something which seems especially likely to happen if the preceding intransitive verb is a verb of motion" (Haviland 1979a:154-156). In Yawuru, ergative marking relates to co-referentiality rather than transitivity (see 10.7).

10.6.6.3 Conjunctions

Words derived from demonstratives or time/location adverbs may serve as conjunctions. Most common instances are those with ablative forms (see 6.7.5. and 8.2.1.2 for instances; see also 7.5.3.1 for conjunctive use of demonstratives).

Concessive conjunctions (such as English 'but', 'though', 'whereas', etc.) are lacking in the grammar of traditional Yawuru, although the use of the English-derived *bad* [bad] ~ *bard* [baɖ] (< "but") is not uncommon in Yawuru today.⁹⁰

Forms and functions of conditional (modality) conjunctions (i.e. corresponding to English 'if', 'otherwise', etc) are illustrated in 10.6.7 below.

10.6.7 Expressions of condition

Yawuru has various modes of expressing conditions and corresponding consequences. They may be set out in simple juxtaposition of clauses which carry no specific marker of conditionality (10.6.6.3). The sequential (*-dyarri*) clauses may describe certain conditions (10.6.2). The polar question marker *ngadyi* can introduce a condition, too. Clauses may also be subordinated with conditional conjunctions, such as *narli-yirr* 'if'. Thus, 'if/when he comes, I will question him' can be translated in four different ways:⁹¹

- [235] a. *wa-ng-ga-bula, nga-na-ga-dyiba-dyina.*
 b. *wa-ng-ga-bula-dyarri, nga-na-ga-dyiba-dyina.*
 c. *ngadyi wa-ng-ga-bula, nga-na-ga-dyiba-dyina.*
 d. *narli-yirr wa-ng-ga-bula, nga-na-ga-dyiba-dyina.*

Connotational differences of these alternative modes and related issues such as time scope, word ordering, etc. are discussed in the following sections. (Use of the question marker *ngadyi* for conditional expressions has already been illustrated in 10.4.1.3.)

10.6.7.1 Affirmative condition

The emphasiser *narli* ~ *naarli* [ná:lɛ] 'true(ly), real(ly)' (8.1.1.3) provides stems for two conjunctions for conditional expressions: *narli-yirr* [ná:lɛr] 'if it is that ...' and *narli-nyurdany* [ná:lɛɹ, ùɖaɹ] 'if it had been that ...'. The stem vowel is always short in these derivations. Compare:

⁹⁰ See example [26] in 10.1.4.4.(3).

⁹¹ [235a-c] were composed by the author and checked with two native speakers for acceptability and contextualisation. [235d] had been recorded as a spontaneous utterance.

- [236] a. *Na(a)rli i-rndira-nda.*
 true 3-go-PF
 'He actually went there.' (indicative statement)
- b. *Narli-yirr wa-ng-ga-rda, ...*
 true-and 3-EN-FUT-go
 'If he goes there, ...' (simple supposition)
- c. *Narli-nyurdany wa-ng-ga-rda, ...*
 true-CAUS 3-EN-FUT-go
 'If he had gone there, ...' (contrafactual supposition)

(1) Simple suppositions with *narli-yirr*

Conditional clauses introduced by *narli-yirr* express assumptions with future scope. Usually implied is an epistemological mood (cf. 8.5.3) that the speaker does not really expect such an assumption to take place. The potential consequences are encoded either in realis future or in irrealis, depending on their desirability from the speaker's perspective (see 4.3.3).

- [237] *Narli-yirr yaga-rr-ga-rnda karda-ngarn dyalbi,*
 true-and 12"-AGM-FUT-go yonder-ALLAT camp(ALLAT)
wula-ni wa-na- \emptyset -bilka-yadiri.
 water-ERG 3-TR-IRR-hit-12"ACC
 'If we go out camping there, we might get rained on.' (I think we'd better not go out.)
- [238] *Narli-yirr wa-ng-ga-bula, nga-na-ga-dyiba-dyina.*
 true-and 3_i-EN-FUT-come 1-TR-FUT-ask-3DAT_i
 'If he comes, I will question him.'⁹² (but it's not very likely that he will come)

(2) Contrafactual suppositions with *narli-nyurdany*

The subordinate clause introduced by *narli-nyurdany* indicates a contrafactual condition (something which actually did not happen), with the matrix clause stating a corresponding hypothetical consequence (which actually did not happen, either). Verbs in the conditional clause are conjugated either for perfective or for future. Verbs in the matrix clause are always in future forms. Notice that time scope is past, rather than present or future.⁹³

- [239] *Narli-nyurdany i-na-bi-nda nyamba, dyiwarri + wa-ng-ngara.*
 true-CAUS 3-TR-drink-PF this dead+3-EN-become(FUT)
 'If he had swallowed it, he would have died.'
- [240] *Narli-nyurdany yinydya mi-rndira-nda, maytbi dyiwarri + wal-dyu.⁹⁴*
 true-CAUS thither 2-go-PF might.be/E dead+2FUT-AUX(say)
 'You could have lost your life if you had been there.' (but actually you didn't go there)

⁹² See 4.8.2.2 for the A-conjugation meaning of the speech act verb *dyiba*.

⁹³ It seems that future forms occur in the subordinate conditional clause when it describes a desirable alternative state of affairs (which did not actually take place). See 4.3.3.1 for the modal implication of desirability in the use of future forms of verbs.

⁹⁴ [240] is an elicited sentence.

- [241] *Narli-nyurdany wa-ng-ga-rda dyankangurru-ngarn kamba ngarrungu,*
 true-CAUS 3_i-EN-FUT-go healer_j-ALLAT that man(ABS)_i
mabu + wa-na-ngama.
 good+3_j-TR-AUX(put/FUT)^{93A}

'Had he seen the doctor, the man would have recovered.' (but actually he died)

The conditional clause may optionally be marked by the sequential *-dyarri* (10.6.2):

- [242] *Narli-nyurdany wa-na-ga-bi(-dyarri), mabu wa-ng-ngara.*
 true-CAUS 3-TR-FUT-drink(-SEQ) good 3-EN-become(FUT)
 'If he had taken (the medicine), he would have recovered.' (but actually he didn't.)

See 10.6.7.3.(4) for another mode of expressing contrafactuality.

10.6.7.2 Negative condition

The negator *marlu* provides stems for *marlu-yirr* and *marlu-nyurdany*, which are structurally parallel to the affirmative conditional conjunctions *narli-yirr* and *narli-nyurdany* illustrated above. But they have functions that are not parallel. The form *marlu-yirr* occurs only in negative coordination (see 10.3.1 and 10.6.6.1) and not in conditional expressions.

The causal form *marlu-nyurdany* has two distinct functions. Firstly, it may give a reason for some action (factual), as in [243] and [244] (see also 10.3.2.3):

- [243] *Nyiwa + nga-ngara-rn marlu-nyurdany warli-mayi (nga-na-rli-nda).*
 feeble+1-become-IMPF not-CAUS meat-fruit(ABS) 1-TR-eat-PF
 'I am fainting since I have had no food.'
- [244] *Marlu-nyurdany yinydya, dyiwarri + wa-ng-ga-ngara.*
 not-CAUS thither dead+3-EN-FUT-AUX(become)
 'As he did not go (to the healer), he will (have to) die.'

In these the time scope of the matrix clauses stating consequences is either present or future, rather than past.

Secondly, *marlu-nyurdany* may function as a negative conditional conjunction 'otherwise, if that's not the case' (hypothetical).⁹⁵ In this case the scope of the causal case marker is confined to the negator.

- [245] *K*awity nga-dyali, marlu-nyurdany wa-ya-rnda.*
 quick 2FUT-return not-CAUS 3-IRR-go
 'Come back soon, otherwise (i.e. if you don't) he might go away.'
- [246] *Wal-a-rba-ngayu, marlu-nyurdany nga-ya-bilka-dyuu.*
 2FUT-TR-follow-1ACC not-CAUS 1-IRR-hit-2ACC
 'Follow me. Otherwise I might hit you.'

Notice above that the verbs describing consequences are in irrealis mood.⁹⁶

^{93A} See 4.5.6.2.(3) for the irregular future stem *ngama* for the verb 'put'.

⁹⁵ This use of *marlu-nyurdany* seems to be partially equivalent to *marlu ngarri* (negator + particle) in Nyikina (Stokes 1982:379). The particle (or clitic) *ngarri* is unattested in Yawuru.

⁹⁶ Yawuru conditional clauses never have verbs in irrealis mood (see discussion by Chung & Timberlake (1985:255) on "mood harmony"). Irrealis forms occur only in matrix clauses referring to (undesirable) consequences.

Simple negative clauses introduced by the negator *marlu* may indicate a condition (see 10.6.7.3.(1) for an example). Occasionally, the genitive form of the negator (cf. 10.3.2.2) may indicate a negative condition:

- [247] *Dyiwarrri + nga-ng-ngara marlu-dyina dyubagi.*
 dead+1-EN-become(FUT) not-GEN tobacco(ABS)
 'I would die without tobacco.' (lit. "I will die my no tobacco")

10.6.7.3 Other modes of expressing conditions

There are still other modes of conditional expressions. Syntactically they consist of simple juxtaposition of clauses. Several morphological elements and/or suprasegmental factors mark the condition-consequence relation between the clauses.

(1) Juxtaposition with rising intonation

Rising intonation is a device to conjoin clauses representing condition-consequence propositions. The conditional proposition may be either affirmative (as in [248]) or negative (as in [249]):

- [248] *Durrkarrang nga-nga-ny-ngany ʔ, nga-ng-ga-rda ngayu wirliwirli-ngarn.*
 motorcar(ABS) 1-be-IMPF-COM 1-EN-FUT-go 1(ABS) fishing-ALLAT
 'If I had a car, I would go fishing.'
- [249] *Marlu dyubagi nga-nga-n-ngany ʔ, dyiwarrri + nga-ng-ngara.*
 not tobacco(ABS) 1-be-IMPF-COM dead+1-EN-become(FUT)
 'If I had no tobacco, I would die.'⁹⁷

Compare the intonation patterns in [250] (conditional) and [251] (non-conditional):

- [250] *Wa-ng-ga-dyali ʔ, ngurru wang-ga-rr-a-bi kari ʔ.*
 3-EN-FUT-return more 3"-FUT-AGM-TR-drink grog(ABS)
 'If [the man] goes away, then they will resume drinking.'
- [251] *Kamba wamba i-ny-dyali-rn ʔ, ngurru kari inga-rr-a-bi-rn ʔ.*
 that man(ABS) 3-EN-return-IMPF more grog(ABS) 3"-AGM-TR-drink-IMPF
 'The man went away and they went on drinking.'

(2) Resolutive conditional with *-da*

There are cases in which the resolutive marker *-da* yields a conditional meaning. The enclitic *-da* may occur in clauses stating a condition or in clauses stating a consequence, depending on whether the speaker lay more emphasis on the high probability of the condition described or on the expected consequence.

- [252] *Kamba ngarrungu wanydyi-da nga-na-m-bura-rn, yanga-rry-dyi-n*
 that person(ABS); soon-really 1_j-TR-EN-see-IMPF 1"_{i+j}-AGM-say-IMPF
nganka-gadya.
 word-INTENS
 'When I see the man, I have to talk to him.'

⁹⁷ Sentence [249] was provided by the informant as a paraphrase of [247].

- [253] *Kadyarri-garda wa-ng-ga-rda nyamba wula, karda-ngarn-da*
 far-side 3i-EN-FUT-go this water(ABS); yonder-ALLAT-really
yaga-rr-ga-rda dyalbi.
 12"-AGM-FUT-go camp

'When this shower passes by, we can go out camping there.'

(3) Conditional with the uncertainty marker *-marda*

The uncertainty-marking enclitic *-marda* (cf. 7.6.7.3 and 8.5.3.3) may function as an indicator of conditional propositions.

- [254] *Wirdu-marda kamba makabala, yu bud-um dyarrun dyungku-gun.*
 big-perhaps that bush.banana(ABS) you put-him/E some(ABS) fire-LOC
 'If the bush bananas are large enough, you can put them in the fire (to cook them).'
- [255] *Nga-rndira wal-a-bura-dyina, marlu-marda wa-ng-ga-ni ginyangka*
 2FUT-go 2FUT-TR-see-3DAT not-perhaps 3-EN-FUT-be 3(ABS)
baku-la nga-dyali.
 hither-DIR 2FUT-return

'You go and see him. He may not be there; in that case you come back here.'

(4) The clitic *-bardu*

The aspectual marker *-bardu* 'still, yet' (8.2.1.2.(2)) may mark clauses stating conditions which are not yet realised. Such clauses with *-bardu* maintain normal falling intonation.

- [256] *Didyan baba, k*aliya-bardu nyamb nganka \, wa-ng-ga-rda burdan-ngarn.*
 this.one/E child(ABS) finish-still this word 3-EN-FUT-go (name)-ALLAT
 'This boy, when he finishes this session (of elicitation), will go to pick up Burdan.'
- [257] *Yinydya nga-ng-ga-rda durrkarrang-bardu \ marlu durrkarrang \, midyala+nga-nga-nda.*
 thither 1-EN-FUT-go motorcar-still not motorcar(ABS) sitting+1-AUX(be)-PF
 'With a car I would have gone (there), but as I didn't have one, I stayed.'

Implications of the above sentences are as follows: [256] the session has not finished yet, so you have to wait (the addressee is eager to go to Burdan's place at once); [257] I still want to go if a car becomes available.

10.7 Referential ergative

The basic function of the ergative case marker is to mark transitive subject NPs (6.4.2) or pronouns (7.1.2) and the marking occurs only once on the initial constituent of the transitive subject (A-function NP). There are constructions, however, in which the Yawuru ergative marker occurs redundantly outside the A-function NP. It may be attached on a constituent which is not a core argument of the predicate but which refers to the action/state of one of the core arguments (either subject or direct object). The ergative marking in this function is called "referential ergative" (6.4.6.2).

10.7.1 Ergative marking on preverb complements

10.7.1.1 Patterns of co-reference indication

Embedding of a preverb is possible only when that preverb represents an intransitive process (action in most cases, rather than state). The matrix clause may be either transitive (including semi-transitive) or intransitive. The semantic subject of the embedded preverb is co-referential either with the matrix subject (A or S) or with the matrix object (O).⁹⁸ The matrix predicate (PRED) may be either simple (FV) or complex (PV+FV). The patterns of the embedding are shown in the formulas below. In the first two patterns, NP₁ is in A-function (transitive subject) and NP₂ in O-function (transitive object); in the third pattern NP₁ is in S-function (intransitive subject). "PV_n" indicates that "NP_n" is the semantic subject of that preverb.⁹⁹

- [258] A = S pattern: [(NP₁-ERG) NP₂-Ø PRED₁ [PV₁-ERG]]
 O = S pattern: [(NP₁-ERG) NP₂-Ø PRED₁ [PV₂-Ø]]
 S = S pattern: [NP₁-Ø PRED₁ [PV₁-Ø]]

It is usually the case that the ergative NP in the matrix is absent from the utterance (as indicated by the use of parentheses in the formulas in [258]). As observed from the examples given below, the actual word order does not always conform to the formulas given above. The intensity marker *-gadya* may coexist with the referential ergative marking (as observed in [261a] below).

10.7.1.2 Ergative organisation of syntax

Embedded preverb phrases describe simultaneous (including immediately preceding or succeeding) actions, either by the same actor (of the action described by the matrix predicate) or by a different one. As set out in the formulas above, an embedded non-predicative preverb carries the ergative marker *-ni* only when its semantic subject is the same as that of the matrix transitive subject (A = S pattern). For example:

- [259] [*Yinydya-ni*] *mi-ny-dyanba-nd(a)-ngayu*.
 thither-ERG 2-EN-kick-PF-1ACC
 'You kicked me and walked away.'
- [260] *Barndarl marda mi-na-wulugu-nda dyuyu-ni* [*k*aw-gayda-ni*].
 bird(ABS) 2-TR-frighten-PF 2-ERG call-INTENS-ERG
 'You frightened the birds as you called out.'

⁹⁸ A very similar use of the ergative marker is reported from Nyikina (termed "referential suffix" by Stokes 1982:342-348), although there are several differences between Yawuru and Nyikina as for the syntactic-semantic conditions in which the ergative marking takes place (Stokes 1982:125 terms the Nyikina ergative marker "active suffix").

⁹⁹ The A = S pattern may also be schematised as [A-ERG O-ABS Vt [Vi-ERG], which can be compared with ergative hopping (Haviland 1979a — see footnote 89 in this chapter): [S-ERG Vi comp [Vt (A-ERG) O-ABS]]. Whereas ergative hopping as reported by Haviland is always a leftwards promotion of ergative marking, word order in the Yawuru referential ergative construction is highly variable.

The non-predicate preverb is not ergatively marked when its semantic subject is co-referent with the matrix transitive object (O = S pattern) or intransitive subject (S = S pattern). In these embedded preverb constructions, therefore, A is treated separately from the set of S and O, which means an ergative organisation of the syntax (Moravcsik 1978). This is quite intriguing considering that Yawuru shows no symptom of split ergativity as far as case marking on core argument NPs (both pronominal and non-pronominal) is concerned.

10.7.1.1 Switch-reference function

It should also be pointed out that, although Yawuru has no specialised marker of switch reference, the referential ergative marking in question is apparently performing a switch-reference function.¹⁰⁰ When attached to a non-predicate preverb (or to a phrase of which the preverb is a member), the ergative marking relates to co-referentiality. It identifies what appears to be the semantic subject of the non-predicate preverb (embedded in a matrix clause) with one of the core argument NPs of the matrix predicate.

Compare [261a/b] and [262a/b] respectively and note the presence/absence of the ergative marker. The embedded preverb or preverb phrase is given in square brackets. [261a] and [262a] show the A = S pattern, while [261b] and [262b] show the O = S pattern:

- [261] a. *Nga-na-bura-rn kamba dyarn'du* [*maldyu-gadya-ni*].
 1-TR-see-IMPF that woman(ABS) laugh-INTENS-ERG
 'I, laughing, saw her.' (I was laughing)
- b. *Nga-na-bura-rn kamba dyarn'du* [*maldyu-gadya*].
 1-TR-see-IMPF that woman(ABS) laugh-INTENS
 'I saw her laughing.' (she was laughing)
- [262] a. *I-na-bura-nda-dyuyu* [*yinydya-ni banu*].
 3_i-TR-see-PF-2ACC; thither_i-ERG east
 'He_i saw you_j while going_i eastwards.' (It was him who went east.)
- b. *I-na-m-baa-nda-dyuyu* [*yinydya banu*].
 3_i -TR-EN-see-PF-2ACC; thither_j; east
 'He_i saw you_j;going; eastwards. (It was you who went east.)

Sentence [263] below provides an example of the S = S pattern. Compare it with [264] which shows the A = S pattern:

- [263] *Kamba wubardu dyira i-m-bula-nda* [*wangkurr-gadya*].
 that small boy(ABS)_i; 3_i -EN-come-PF cry_i-INTENS
 'The little boy came crying.'
- [264] *Nyamba-ni dyira i-na-burnda-nda-ngayu* [*wangkurr-gadya-ni*].
 this-ERG boy(ERG)_i; 3_i-TR-bite-PF-1_jACC cry_i-INTENS-ERG
 'This boy bit me while crying.' (It was the boy who was crying.)

¹⁰⁰ Switch reference is the morphological marking on a clause or its verb "to indicate that its subject is, or is not, coreferential with the subject of another clause (either the next clause in sequence, or the next higher level of embedding)" (Anderson 1985:193). See also Austin (1981a), Blake (1987:146ff), Tsunoda (1988:1018, 1016), Dench (1988:130ff) and Wilkins (1988:145ff).

10.7.1.3 Semi-transitive matrix

As far as referential ergative marking is concerned, the distinction between transitive and semi-transitive (10.1.1) is neutralised. If matrix clauses are of semi-transitive type (with ERG-DAT case frame), then case marking on the embedded preverb follows exactly the same patterns as transitive (either A = S or O = S pattern): items complementing the semi-transitive matrix agent carry the referential ergative marker, while complements of the matrix dative object carry neither ergative nor dative marker. Consider [265a/b], which have semi-transitive verb *kilbira* 'sing' (i.e. call out) in the matrix:¹⁰¹

- [265] a. [*Yinydya-ni*] *durrkarrang-gap inga-rr-(a)-kilbira-nda-dyanu*.
 going_i -ERG motarcar-ABL 3ⁱⁱ -AGM-TR-sing-PF-1DAT_j
 'They called me the name as they ran past me in a car.'
 (It was them_j who passed by.)
- b. [*Yinydya*] *i-na-kilbira-nda-dyanu*.
 going_j 3_i -TR-sing-PF-1DAT_j
 'He called out to me as I went by.'
 (It was me_j who passed by.)

10.7.1.4 Phrase marking

If an embedded phrase consists of a non-predicate (non-matrix) preverb and other lexical items and that phrase (called "preverb phrase" for convenience) is to be ergatively marked according to A = S pattern, then it is the initial constituent of the preverb phrase that is marked, whether it is preverb ([PV-ERG X]) or not ([X-ERG PV]). The following examples show the latter pattern:¹⁰²

- [266] *Lurldya-manydyan i-na-ma-rn [birra-ni yinydya]*.
 loincloth(ABS)-only 3-TR-put-IMPV bush-ERG going
 'They would wear only loincloths when they went into the bush (for rituals).'
- [267] [*Karda-ni dyunku*] *marlu nyamba mi-na-ka-nda*.
 yonder-ERG running not this(ABS) 2-TR-carry-PF
 'As you went running off there, you didn't take this (i.e. you forgot this as you were in such a hurry).'

Often the words are scrambled to the extent that a phrasal discontinuity takes place. In [268] below, which is an instance of A = S pattern, the O-function NP *nyamba milimili* is discontinuous and the preverb phrase *k*awity yinydya* with referential ergative marking (X-ERG PV) divides the matrix clause:

- [268] *Ngayu-ni nyamba [k*awity-nyi yinydya] nga-na-ngari-nda milimili*.
 1_j-ERG this[^] quickly-ERG going_j 1_j-TR-leave-PF [^]paper(ABS)
 'I have left this paper as I went out in a hurry.'

No instance has been encountered, however, where the members of a preverb phrase are discontinuous.

¹⁰¹ Compare this ergative-dative construction of [265] with the double-object transitive construction of [63a] cited in 10.2.3.1.

¹⁰² In [266] and [267], *birra* and *karda* bear allative meanings. See 6.6.2 for the implicit allative use of these words.

10.7.2 Non-preverb items

10.7.2.1 Adverbs

Referential ergative marking is occasionally (and optionally) observed in adverbs which usually do not function as preverbs. [269] provides a typical contrast of the absence and presence of referential ergative marking in the switch-reference-like function:¹⁰³

- [269] a. *Wal-a-rba baybirra.*
 2FUT-TR-follow behind
 'You follow him.' (i.e. you are behind them)
- b. *Wa-ya-rr-a-rba-dyuyu baybirra-ni.*
 3"-IRR-AGM-TR-follow-2ACC behind-ERG
 'They might follow you.' (i.e. they are behind you)

Notice in the above instance that, although the location adverb *baybirra* (8.3.4.2) does not form a predication by itself, it certainly represents a background stative predication (somebody/something is behind somebody/something).

10.7.2.2 Multiple case marking

It now becomes clear that the multiple case marking described in Chapter 6 has functionally much in common with the referential ergative marking on non-matrix preverbs or adverbs so far illustrated in this section (10.7).¹⁰⁴ The common features are as summarised below (the term "non-core ergative marking" is used to cover both double case marking and the referential ergative marking, since both occur on non-core constituents of clauses):

- 1) The non-core ergative marking occurs only in the matrix framework of transitive sentences (thus the marking is structurally redundant, although the matrix subject in the ergative case is often subject to ellipsis).
- 2) The redundant ergative marker is attached only to items representing an intransitive process, although there is a difference that ergatively marked preverbs usually represent actions whereas non-preverb items represent states.
- 3) The non-core ergative marking on a lexical item (or a phrase) virtually has a switch-reference function. It identifies whether the semantic subject of the intransitive process represented by the item (or the phrase) is co-referential with the syntactic subject of the matrix clause.
- 4) The rule of initial-marking is maintained (see, for example, [266] and [268] in 10.7.1.4 just above; also see [151] given in 6.7.6); this suggests that the referential ergative marking operates at phrase level rather than at clause level (cf. non-initial marking at clause level outlined in 10.6.3.1).

¹⁰³ Also see example [93] in 8.3.4.2.

¹⁰⁴ See 6.6.5 for ablative-ergative marking and 6.7.5 for instrumental-ergative marking.

10.8 Word order

Flexibility of word ordering in Yawuru (2.5.1) has been demonstrated in a large number of example sentences presented so far. It has, however, also been foreshadowed that the word order in Yawuru is not completely "free". Several regulations and tendencies pointed out earlier in this study are recapitulated here.

10.8.1 Summary of word-order regulations

The following regulations are observable at phrase level:

- 1) Demonstratives usually precede other constituents in an NP (7.5.5).
- 2) Numerals precede modified nouns, but are preceded by demonstratives (7.5.5.2).
- 3) Genitive pronouns indicating a possessor follow possessed nouns (7.2.2.1).
- 4) Case markers are attached to the first constituent of an NP (2.5.2)
- 5) In complex verbal predicates, preverbs precede finite verbs (auxiliaries) (5.1.6). Preverbs and finite verbs regularly remain joined together.
- 6) Clitic pronouns are always attached to finite verbs unless the verbs themselves are omitted (i.e. clitic hanging as outlined in 7.3.1.2.(2)).

Clause-level regulations and tendencies are as follows:

- 6) The negator (10.3), polar question marker (10.4) and WH-interrogatives (7.6) occur initially.
- 7) Subordinate clauses indicating a condition precede main clauses indicating a consequence (10.6.7).
- 8) Subordinate clauses indicating a purpose follow main clauses (10.6.3).
- 9) Multifunctional words, when used as adverbs, come after finite verbs (8.1.2.3.(2)).
- 10) In the deontic construction (8.5.2), the particle *k*ayn* regularly occupy the initial position and the word order is usually: *k*ayn* +FV+PV+S/O+A.
- 11) Reported speech precedes matrix speech act verbs (10.6.5).
- 12) Sequential and purposive clauses (subordinate) are usually verb-initial (10.6.2 and 10.6.3).
- 13) Verbs in embedded questions immediately follow the conjunctive interrogative words (10.6.4.2).
- 14) Phrasal discontinuity may take place, but there is no clausal discontinuity (10.6.1.2).

10.82 Emphasis and the sentence-final position

More often than not, postverbal positions (particularly the sentence-final one) are reserved for items to be emphasised. The meanings of adverbials, for example, tend to be more intensified when occurring in postverbal position than otherwise. Compare [270a/b]:

- [270] a. *Bambi nga-na-ngurlika-nda-dyina.*
 long.time 1-TR-wait-PF-2DAT
 'I waited for you for a long time.'
- b. *Nga-na-ngurlika-nda-dyina, bambi.*
 'I waited for you for quite a long while.'

In [270b] the sentence-final adverb *bambi* bears a distinct stress and is uttered after a short pause (indicated by the comma). No pause takes place in [270a].

Ergative NPs positioned sentence-finally also tend to reflect a discourse focus. In [271] below the English translation with the cleft sentence is more apt than the neutral translation 'you showed it to me'.

- [271] *K*alwara + mi-na-ma-nda-dyanu dyuyu-ni.*
 show + 2-TR-AUX(put)-PF-1DAT 2-ERG
 'It was you who showed [it] to me.'

Similarly,

- [272] *Dyaliny + wal-a-ny(a)-dyina kamba-yi dyuyu-ni.*
 talk+2_i -FUT-TR-AUX(catch)-3DAT_j that-DAT_j 2_i-ERG
 'You have to talk to him by yourself.' (or 'It is you who have to talk to him.')

Unless some emphasis or foregrounding effect (such as in the instances above) is at work, the ergative NPs taking up the A function in transitive clauses is often left out (see discussion in 10.2.4 re: quasi-passive). Occasionally the presence or absence of the ergative NP reveals certain differentiation in the meaning of the predicate. This is typically the case with the transitive verb *k*ami* 'laugh, smile'. When the clause does not have an ergative NP explicitly, the meaning of the verb is more often 'smile' or 'giggle' than 'laugh (loudly)'.¹⁰⁵

- [273] *Yangki mi-na-k*ami-rn.*
 what(ABS) 2-TR-laugh-IMPF
 'Why are you giggling?'

If, by contrast, the meaning is 'laugh at someone, ridicule somebody', then ergative NPs indicating who are laughing must be present in the clause and occur postverbally.

- [274] *I-na-k*ami-rn-yayu kamma-ni ngarrungu.*
 3-TR-laugh-IMPF-12ACC that-ERG person(ERG)
 'That man is laughing at us (INCL).'

¹⁰⁵ It should be also pointed out that the more or less neutral meaning of 'laughing' is usually encoded by the complex verb *wangkurr-gadya +ni* (5.4.2.1), rather than the simple verb *k*ami*. If the verb *k*ami* operates in an intransitive clause structure (with its subject in the absolutive case form), then the meaning expressed is 'chuckle, giggle' (but cf. [173] cited in 4.8.6.2).

Ordering such as *kammani ngarrungu inak*amirnyayu* is, though grammatically acceptable, rather unlikely to occur in natural discourse of the language.

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APPENDIX 1: Sample texts

Text 1. Story of the green turtle dreaming

- 1 *Kuku dyanu i-rndira-rn nakula-ngarn.*
father(ABS)_i 1_j(GEN) 3_i-go-IMPF sea-ALLAT
'My father went to the sea.'
- 2 *I-na-m-bura-rn dyarlngara aa... gurlibil b'ay.*
3_i-TR-EN-see-IMPF red.turtle(ABS) uh green.turtle(ABS)_k R/TAG
'He saw a red turtle, uh, green turtle, wasn't it?'
- 3 *Gurlibil i-na-m-baa-n kularr-gap.*
green.turtle(ABS)_k 3_k-TR-EN-see-IMPF west-ABL
'He saw the green turtle coming from the west.'
- 4 *I-na-ngurlika-rn-dyina::: i-na-ra-n dyarrbal.*
3_i-TR-wait-IMPF-3DAT_k 3_i-TR-spear-IMPF lower back(ABS)
'He waited for it [to get closer] and speared it in the lower back.'
- 5 *Gurlil-mardadyi urayt yawirr.*
scapula-around all right/E missed
'[He tried to hit it] around the scapula, but he missed.'
- 6 *I-na-ra-rn dal + nga-ny-dyu-n niyakan.*
3_i-TR-spear-IMPF clang+1_j(=k)-EN-AUX(say)-IMPF back.of.body(ABS)
'He speared and my back made a clanging sound.'
(See 4.2.1.2 and 10.2.7.3 for the seemingly irregular verb agreement.)
- 7 *Mami: bo:n-dyarri ay gat ma:k hya.*
mother born/EK-SEQ I got mark here/EK
'When mother gave birth to me I had a mark here.'
- 8 *Dadi:ni hi: bin spirr-m hyaa, layk te:tul mukudal.*
father_i-ERG he been spear-him here/EK like turtle/EK mark(ABS)
'Father had speared here, and [therefore I have] a mark like [the] turtle.'
- 9 *Mukudal nyamba kanbarr-ngarr.*
mark(ABS) this centipede-like
'This mark [is] like a centipede.'

[FREE TRANSLATION]

One day my father went fishing to the sea. There he encountered a green turtle approaching from a westerly direction. My father waited for the turtle to get closer and when it came close enough to him he threw his spear at the back of the turtle. He should have speared the neck, but he missed. The spear just hit the hard scapula of the turtle, which was my dreaming, and made a clanging sound. Then shortly after this incident my mother gave birth to me and I had a birthmark exactly around the place my father had hit the turtle. The mark that looks like a centipede on my shoulder has got a story like this.

Text 2. Story of Warwan

- 1 *Kamba ginyangka-ná nga-ny-dyulka-rn-dyunggarra.*
that 3(ABS)-now/EK 1-EN-tell-IMPF-2"DAT
'That (story), I'm going to tell you (pl.).'
- 2 *I-na-ng-ka-rn kamba-áw baba malulu kalbu-dany,*
3-TR-EN-carry-IMPF that-VOC child initiate(ABS) above-DERIV
'He was [= they were] taking a young initiate "upper-ways" (i.e. along the coastal dunes).'
- 3 *lay(k) andaboy.*
like on.top.way/EK
'Going on the upper way.'
- 4 *kalbu-dany i-na-ng-ka-rn kamma-ni ngarrungu,*
above-DERIV 3-TR-EN-carry-IMPF that-ERG people(ERG)
'Those people were taking [the initiate] along the dunes.'
- 5 *bik-mob inga-rr-a-ka-rn kalbu-dany.*
big-mob/EK 3"-AGM-TR-carry-IMPF above-DERIV
'Many people were going on the dunes.'
- 6 *Kamb-gap dyarrun-ngany i-rn(d)ira-rn dyimbin-ngany.*
that-ABL some-COM 3-go-IMPF inside-COM
'Some [of the party] descended the dune and went "down-ways" (i.e. along the beach).'
- 7 *I-na-m-banynyu-n-irr nakula-ni.*
3-TR-EN-smell-IMPF-3"ACC sea-ERG
'The sea caught the smell of them.'
- 8 *Dyimbin-gap k*alaa i-mirdibi-rn.*
inside-ABL finish 3-run-IMPF
'The tide came up fast.'
- 9 *Urayt k*alaa i: dyaamam + i-na-ma-n-irr-ná.*
Alright/E finish he charm.him/EK+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-3"ACC-now/EK
'It has charmed them (= the people on the beach).'
- 10 *Kilim + i-na-ma-n-irr. K*awity i-mirdibi-rn dyimbin-gap.*
kill.him/EK+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-3"ACC quick 3-run-IMPF inside-ABL
'[The sea] killed all of them as [the water] came up quickly from the sea.'
- 11 *Wal nadva-lad bin go: kalbu-dany.*
well another-lot been go/EK above-DERIV
'Well, some of them kept going on the dunes.'
- 12 *Warany dyarrun inga-rr-garna-nd(a) dyimbin-ngany baba-garra-barri.*
other some(ABS) 3"-AGM-go-PF inside-COM child-PL-INST
'Others were going on the beach with small children.'
- 13 *Wan lay(k) maytbi nakula dyat maty.*
when like might.be/EK sea(ABS) that much/E
'Perhaps the sea level was something like this.' (indicating by gesture)
- 14 *Maytbi: i-rndira-rn nya-rrambu.*
might.be/E 3-go-IMPF here-around
'Perhaps he was [= they were walking] around here.'

- 15 *Nyamba wanangarri i-nga-rn. I-na-m-banyu-rn durinydya.*
 this stone(ABS); 3_i-be-IMPF 3_i-TR-EN-smell-IMPF stranger/E(ABS)
 'This stone (rock) stands [over there]. It catches the smell of strangers.'
- 16 *Wirdu wanangarri, naarli wirdu.*
 big stone(ABS) true big
 '[It's] really a big rock.'
- 17 *Rayt, kamba-ni i-na-m-banydyu-rn-na nakula-ni, k*aliya.*
 right/E that-ERG 3-TR-EN-smell-IMPF-now/EK sea-ERG finish
 'That sea [spirit which dwells in the rock] caught the smell. Finish!'
- 18 *I-na-m-banyu-rn layk girri.*
 3-TR-EN-smell-IMPF like/EK underarm.sweat(ABS)
 'It catches the smell of [people's] underarm sweat.'
- 19 *Dyimbin-gap k*al-hi: dyaamam + i-na-ma-n-irr-na.*
 inside-ABL finish-he(?) charm.him/EK+3-TR-AUX(put)-IMPF-3"ACC-now/EK
 'From inside (= the sea) it (= the spirit of the sea) has charmed them all.'
- 20 *Kilim-dam baba-garra-yirr dyarn'du-garra.*
 kill.him-them/EK child-PL(ABS)-and woman-PL(ABS)
 'It killed all the children and women.'
- 21 *Dyarrun-yirr layb inga-rr-a-ngurlika-rn kalbu-gap.*
 some-and live/EK 3"-AGM-TR-wait-IMPF above-ABL
 'And some survived; they waited on the dune.'
- 22 *Inga-rr-a-bura-rn nyamba kurlin ded-wan dyiwarri.*
 3"-AGM-TR-see-IMPF this sleeping dead-one/EK dead
 'They saw these [drowned people] lying dead.'
- 23 *K*al yirrydyurr i-nga-rn baku +dyirra, aa k*alaa i-nga-rn.*
 finish 3"PCL(ABS); 3-be-IMPF coming +3"GEN ah finish 3-be-IMPF
 'There were only a few survivors and they_i came to them_j [= those who were
 staying in the camp], but it was all over.'
- 24 *Inga-rr-a-luka-n-ni::rr, k*alaa inga-rr-garna-nda.*
 3"-AGM-TR-cry-IMPF-and finish 3"-AGM-go-PF
 'And they cried; then they went.'
- 25 *K*aliya i-ny-dyali-rn nakula-na.*
 finish 3-EN-return-IMPF sea(ABS)-now/EK
 'The tide had already gone out (lit. returned).'
- 26 *Ngarrungu bi::g-mob, kangadyunirrydyurr lu::k kalbu-gap-ni.*
 people(ABS) big-mob/EK 3"NPCL(ABS); look/E above-ABL-ERG
 'Many people [arrived] and they looked down from the top (of the dune).'
- 27 *Inga-rr-a-baa-nd-irr kalbu-gap-ni.*
 3"-AGM-TR-see-PF-3"ACC above-ABL-ERG
 'They looked down on them (= the bodies) from the top.'
- 28 *Inga-rry-dyi-n, wangkurr-gadya.*
 3"-AGM-AUX(be)-IMPF cry-INTENS
 'They cried.'
- 29 *Naarli di:ndyaras dyat ple:s. Onli rayt pi:pul garra go; warwan.*
 true dangerous that place only right people gotta go/EK (toponym)
 '[It's] a very dangerous place. Only right people must go to Warwan.'

[FREE TRANSLATION]

I'm going to tell you the story of Warwan Rock. People were taking a young initiate on a ceremonial journey.¹ They were going along the top of coastal sand dunes. Many people were walking along the dunes. Some of the party went down to the beach. The sea caught the smell of the people. Suddenly a flood tide attacked them. The spirit of Warwan had caught the people. All of them on the beach were killed by the sudden flood tide. Some of the party kept walking on top of the dunes, but others preferred to take the beach way, which was easier to walk along for those carrying small children. First, the sea level was something like this, perhaps (indicating by gesture). And the people were walking around here (also indicating by gesture). The Warwan Rock is just over there. It's really a big rock. The spirit of the rock never fails to catch the smell of strangers intruding into the area. It senses the smell of the people's underarm sweat. By the power of the spirit the people were charmed and could not run away from the flood, which caught all of them down on the beach, killing everybody including the women and children. The rest of the party who remained on the dunes survived. They saw the drowned people lying dead on the beach [?or still floating in the water]. There were only a small number of survivors left; they came back (to the camp to report the incident), but it was too late. The survivors cried, but they could do nothing but leave the place and return to the camp. The tide had already gone out. Having heard the news, many people went to the spot and looked down at the beach from the dunes. They all cried for the victims of the incident. It's really a dangerous place. People who know the law of the land alone can have access to the area around Warwan Rock.

¹ The Yawuru people, as well as other Aboriginal peoples of West Kimberley and adjacent regions, have the custom of a ceremonial journey as a part of the male initiation rituals. Leaders in charge of initiation ceremonies take young male initiates (*malulu*), who have already gone through the preliminary stages of rituals, on a roundabout journey. The journey usually takes a few months during which time the party visits various communities and performs secret rituals (or "carry big songs" as they express it in Aboriginal English). Although the Yawuru have virtually abandoned this custom, it is still practised, in modified forms, by certain groups of "mixed-tribe" Aborigines of the Broome area today (cf. sentence [16] cited in 7.1.3.1).

APPENDIX 2: Index of bound morphemes

First-order prefixes (Pro₁ ⇒ 4.1.2; cf. 7.1.1.3)

<i>dya-</i>	12	var. of <i>ya</i> ₋₁ (4th-person minimal) ⇒ 4.2.1.3; Table 401
<i>dyaa-</i>	12	var. of <i>yaa</i> ₋₁ (4th-person minimal irrealis) ⇒ 4.3.2.1
<i>i-</i>	3	3rd-person minimal subject marker (in non-future) ⇒ 4.2.1.3
<i>inga-</i>	3"	3rd-person augmented subject marker (in non-future) ⇒ 4.2.1.3
<i>ku-</i>	2"	2nd-person augmented subject marker (in non-future and irrealis) ⇒ 4.2.1.3
<i>mi</i> ₁	2	2nd-person minimal subject marker (in non-future) ⇒ 4.2.1.3
<i>mi</i> ₂	2"	2nd-person augmented subject marker (in irrealis) ⇒ 4.3.2.1(2); 4.5.2.1
<i>nga</i> ₁	1	1st-person minimal subject marker (in all tense/mood/aspect) ⇒ 4.2.1.3; 7.1.1.3
<i>nga</i> ₂	2FUT	class IIb 2nd-person future subject marker ⇒ 4.3.1.1(4)
<i>wa</i> ₁	3	3rd-person minimal subject marker (in future and irrealis) ⇒ 4.2.1.3
<i>wa</i> ₂	3"	3rd-person augmented subject marker (in irrealis) ⇒ 4.3.2.1(2)
<i>wa</i> ₃	2"FUT	2nd-person augmented future subject marker ⇒ 4.3.1.1
<i>wal-</i>	2FUT	class I and IIa 2nd-person future subject marker ⇒ 4.3.1.1(1)-(2)
<i>waly-</i>	2FUT	allomorph of <i>wal-</i> ⇒ 4.5.6.1
<i>warl-</i>	2FUT	allomorph of <i>wal-</i> ⇒ 4.5.6.1
<i>wang-</i>	3"	3rd-person augmented subject marker (in future) ⇒ 4.3.1.2(2)
<i>ya</i> ₁	12	4th-person minimal subject marker (in all tense/mood/aspect) ⇒ 4.2.1.3
<i>ya</i> ₂	1"	(~ <i>dya-</i>) 1st-person augmented subject marker (in irrealis) ⇒ 4.3.2.1
<i>ya(a)</i> ₃	12"	4th-person augmented subject marker (in irrealis) ⇒ 4.3.2.1
<i>yaa</i> ₁	12IRR	(~ <i>dyaa-</i>) amalgamation of <i>ya</i> ₁ - <i>ya</i> ₄ - (4th person minimal + irrealis) ⇒ 4.3.2.1(2)
<i>yaa</i> ₂	12"IRR	amalgamation of <i>ya</i> ₃ - <i>ya</i> ₄ - (4th person augmented + irrealis) ⇒ 4.3.2.1(2)
<i>yaga-</i>	12"	4th-person augmented irrealis subject marker (= <i>yaa</i> ₃) ⇒ 4.3.2.1(2)
<i>yang-</i>	1"	1st-person augmented subject marker (in future) ⇒ 4.3.1.2(2)
<i>yanga-</i>	1"	1st-person augmented subject marker (in non-future) ⇒ 4.2.1.3

Non-first-order prefixes

<i>a-</i>	TR	transitive conjugation marker (augmented) ⇒ 4.2.2.1
<i>ba-</i>	INT	var. of <i>ma-</i> ⇒ 4.6.7
<i>ga-</i>	FUT	future marker (with modal implication of desiderative) ⇒ 4.3.1.1
<i>la-</i>	IRR	non-future irrealis ⇒ 4.3.2.2
<i>m-</i>	EN	epenthetic nasal (before a bilabial segment) ⇒ 4.2.3.1
<i>ma-</i>	INT	introspective ⇒ 4.2.4.1
<i>mba-</i>	INT	var. of <i>ma-</i> ⇒ 4.6.7
<i>n</i> ₁	EN	epenthetic nasal (before an alveolar segment) ⇒ 4.2.3
<i>n</i> ₂	TR(IRR)	irregular form of <i>na-</i> in irrealis (minimal) ⇒ 4.5.3.1
<i>na-</i>	TR	transitive conjugation marker (minimal) ⇒ 4.2.2.1
<i>ng-</i>	EN	epenthetic nasal (before a dorsal segment) ⇒ 4.2.3.1
<i>ny-</i>	EN	epenthetic nasal (before a laminal segment) ⇒ 4.2.3.1
<i>rr-</i>	AGM	marker of the augmented number ⇒ 4.2.1.4
<i>rry-</i>	AGM	prelaminar allomorph of <i>rr-</i> ⇒ 3.3.4.2(2); 4.2.1.4; 4.3.1.1(3)
<i>y-</i>	IRR	reduced form of <i>ya</i> ₄ - (in the 3rd person augmented) ⇒ 4.3.2.1
<i>ya</i> ₄	IRR	irrealis marker (with temporal implication of future) ⇒ 4.3.2.1

Suffixes and enclitics

<i>-áw</i>	VOC	emphatic-vocative clitic ⇒ 3.8.5; 4.4.4
<i>-bardu</i>		aspectual 'still, yet' ⇒ 8.2.1.2(2); 7.7.1.3
<i>-barri</i>	INST	instrumental case marker ⇒ 6.8
<i>-da</i>	RES	resolutive ⇒ 8.5.3.2
<i>-dany</i>	DERIV	derivational suffix indicating an actor ⇒ 6.12.2; cf. 3.2.1.3; 3.3.5.2
<i>-darri</i>	DERIV	formative in the adverb <i>burlindarri</i> ⇒ footnote 88 in 8.5.1.3
<i>-di</i>	ALLAT	allative/directional as in <i>dyana-di</i> 'where to?' ⇒ 7.6.4
<i>-dyanu</i>	1DAT	1st-person minimal dative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.4.1.1
<i>-dyarra</i>	1"DAT	1st-person augmented dative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.4.1.1
<i>-dyarri</i>	SEQ	sequential subordination marker 'when/if ...' ⇒ 10.6.2
<i>-dyaw</i>	12DAT	(~ <i>-dyayu</i>) 4th-person minimal dative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.4.1.1
<i>-dyayrda</i>	12"DAT	4th-person augmented dative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.4.1.1

-dyayu	12DAT	var. of <i>-dyaw</i> ⇒ 7.4.1.1
-dyi	DAT	dative case marker (postconsonantal allomorph) ⇒ 3.8.4.1; 6.2
-dyi	DAT _{imp}	imperative-persuasive marker ⇒ 4.3.3.2
-dyi	DAT _{purp}	purposive subordination marker ⇒ 4.4.2; 10.6.3
-dyina	3DAT	3rd-person minimal dative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.4.1.1
-dyina	GEN	genitive case marker ⇒ 6.3
-dyinaburu	DERIV	derivational suffix indicating a tool or a specialist ⇒ 6.12.1
-dyirra	3"DAT	3rd-person augmented dative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.4.1.1
-dyiya	2DAT	2nd-person minimal dative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.4.1.1
-dyu	2ACC	var. (lenition) of <i>-dyuyu</i> ⇒ 7.3.1.1
-dyunggarra	2"DAT	2nd-person augmented dative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.4.1.1
-dyunu	DERIV	intensifier 'really' ⇒ 6.12.6
-dyuu	2ACC	var. (lenition) of <i>-dyuyu</i> ⇒ 7.3.1.1
-dyuyu	2ACC	2nd-person minimal accusative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.3.1.1
-gaba	ABL	var. of <i>-gap</i> ⇒ 6.7.7
-gabu	ABL	var. of <i>-gap</i> ⇒ 6.7.7
-gaman	LAT	lative (= lateral locative) ⇒ 8.3.2.2.(5)
-gap	ABL	ablative/elative case marker ⇒ 6.7; 7.5.3.1
-garang	DERIV	derivational suffix indicating collectivity/repetition ⇒ 6.12.4
-garda	DL	dual marker in non-4th-person absolutive personal pronouns ⇒ 7.1.1.1
-gardi	LAT	lative (stative or allative) 'at/to the side of' ⇒ 8.3.5.1
-gardin	CONTR	var. of <i>-nygardi</i> occurring in <i>karda-gardin</i> ⇒ 7.5.4.2
-gardiny	LAT	var. of <i>-gardi</i> (as in <i>dyimbin-gardiny</i>) ⇒ 8.3.4.3.(2)
-garra	PL	nominal plural marker ⇒ 2.4.2.2
-garriny	DERIV	"yet" ⇒ footnote 21 in 8.2.1.3.(1)
-ginya	3ACC	var. of <i>-ginyangka</i> ⇒ 7.3.1.1
-ginyangka	3ACC	(<i>~ginya</i>) 3rd-person minimal accusative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.3.1.1; 7.3.2.2
-gun	LOC	locative case marker ⇒ 6.5
-gurdany	CIRCUM	circumstantial case marker ⇒ 6.11
-gurrirr	2"ACC	2nd-person augmented accusative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.3.1.1
-irr	3"ACC	3rd-person augmented accusative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.3.2.2; cf. 4.3.4.1.(4)
-irr	and ₁	postconsonantal allomorph of conjunctive <i>-yirr</i> 'and' ⇒ 3.8.4.2; 10.6.6.1
-la	DIR	(as in <i>dyana-la</i>) ⇒ 7.6.4
-lambu	APPROX	approximative, or approximate locative 'around' ⇒ 7.5.4.1
-layi	DIR	var. of <i>-layin</i> ⇒ 8.3.3.1
-layin	DIR	directional 'towards' ⇒ 8.3.1; 8.3.2.2.(3)
-liyan	DIR	var. of <i>-layin</i> ⇒ 8.3.4.3.(2)
-ma	and ₂	annex morpheme to the conjunctive <i>-yirr</i> ⇒ 10.6.6.1.(2)
-maa	and ₂	long-vowel variant of <i>-ma</i> ⇒ 10.6.6.1.(2)
-manydyan	LIM	limitative 'only' ⇒ 8.3.5.2
-marda		uncertainty marker 'perhaps' ⇒ 7.6.7.3; 8.5.3.3
-mardadyi	APPROX	approximative 'close, near' ⇒ 8.3.5.2
-milidyarri	DL	non-pronominal dual marker ⇒ 2.4.2.3
-n	IMPF	allomorph of <i>-rn</i> ⇒ 3.8.4.3.(1); 4.3.4.1.(4)
-na	PF	var. of <i>-nda</i> ⇒ footnote 51 in 4.3.4.1
-ná	now/EK	discourse focus marker (derived from English/Kriol "now")
-nd	PF	allomorph of <i>-nda</i> (before <i>-irr</i>) ⇒ 3.8.4.3.(2); 4.3.4.1.(5)
-nda	PF	perfective (verbal suffix) ⇒ 4.3.4
-ndyi	RCP	reciprocal (verbal suffix) ⇒ 4.2.4.2
-ngal	QUANT	quantificational '(one/two/three/many) times' ⇒ 8.2.2.1
-ngalana	REF	reflexive enclitic (always in <i>-bardu-ngalana</i>) ⇒ 4.6.5.2
-ngana	ALLAT	var. of <i>-ngarn</i> ⇒ 6.6; cf. 7.4.2.4
-ngany	COM	comitative case marker ⇒ 6.10
-nganydyal	DERIV	derivational suffix 'place' ⇒ 6.12.5
-ngarn	ALLAT	allative case marker ⇒ 6.6
-ngarr	SEMB	semblative 'like' ⇒ 8.4.5.1
-ngarru	SEMB	var. of <i>-ngarr</i> ⇒ 8.4.5.1
-ngayu	1ACC	1st-person minimal accusative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.3.1.1
-ngirr	and ₁	allomorph of <i>-yirr</i> ₁ ⇒ 3.8.4.2
-ngurru	AGENT	derivational suffix indicating an agent ⇒ 6.12.3
-ni	ERG	ergative case marker ⇒ 2.1; 6.4; 10.7
-nirr	and ₁	allomorph of <i>-yirr</i> ₁ ⇒ 3.8.4.2
-ny	IMPF	allomorph of <i>-rn</i> ⇒ 4.3.4.1.(3)
-nyarrá	DERIV	formative in certain time qualifiers ⇒ 8.2.1.1(5)
-nygardi	CONTR	contrastive locative marker 'side' ⇒ 7.5.4.2
-nygardiny	CONTR	var. of <i>-nygardi</i> ⇒ 7.5.4.2
-nyi	ERG	post-laminal allomorph of <i>-ni</i> ⇒ 6.4.1

-nyurdany	CAUS	causal case marker ⇒ 6.9
-rn	IMPF	imperfective (verbal suffix) ⇒ 4.3.4.1
-rni	ERG	post-retroflex allomorph of -ni ⇒ 6.4.1
-rrambu	APPROX	var. of -lambu ⇒ 7.5.4.1
-rri	DL	dual marker (in demonstratives) ⇒ 7.5.2.2.(5)
-wal	DERIV	derivational suffix occurring in <i>banu-wal</i> ⇒ 8.3.2.2
-yadiri	12"ACC	4th-person augmented accusative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.3.1.1
-yardiri	12"ACC	var. of -yadiri ⇒ 7.1.1.1
-yarrirr	1"ACC	1st-person augmented accusative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.3.1.1
-yayu	12ACC	4th-person minimal accusative clitic pronoun ⇒ 7.3.1.1
-yi	DAT	dative case marker (postvocalic allomorph) ⇒ 3.8.4.1; 6.2
-yi	DAT _{imp}	persuasive-imperative dative ⇒ 4.3.3.2
-yi	DAT _{purp}	purposive-dative ⇒ 4.4.2; 10.6.3
-yirr ₁	and ₁	conjunctive clitic 'and' ⇒ 3.8.4.2; 10.6.6.1
-yirr ₂	PL	explicit plural marker occurring on non-4th-person augmented dative clitic pronouns ⇒ 7.4.1.3

APPENDIX 3. Samples of minimal (and near-minimal) pairs

abbreviations: PV preverb
 √V verb root
 ONOM onomatopoeia
 var. variant

/+/ indicates a morphological boundary.

1. Vowels

(a) Quality

a/i/u	<i>karra</i>	/kāa/	'sandstone'
	<i>karri</i>	/kāi/	'don't know'
	<i>karru</i>	/kāu/	'dislike, hate' (PV)
a/i	<i>bana</i>	/bana/	'when?' (interrogative)
	<i>bina</i>	/bina/	'k/o edible grub'
i/u	<i>bika</i>	/bika/	'shade'
	<i>buka</i>	/buka/	'bad, evil'
u/a	<i>bunu</i>	/bunu/	'hip'
	<i>banu</i>	/banu/	'east'

(b) Length

a/a:	<i>bardi</i>	/bāi/	'semen'
	<i>baardi</i>	/ba:̄i/	'Bardi (language/ethnic group)' (= <i>baarda</i>)
	<i>ngani</i>	/ŋa+ni/	'you will be' (2FUT of the verb <i>ni</i>)
	<i>ngaani</i>	/ŋa:+ni/	ergative form of <i>ngayu</i> 'I/me' (= <i>ngay-ni</i>)
cf.	<i>naarli</i> ~ <i>narli</i>	/na(:)li/	'true, really'
	<i>narlinyurdany</i>	/nali+n'ūdan'/	causal form of <i>na(a)rli</i>
a:/ara	<i>dyaal</i>	/d'a:l/	'straight (as in throwing spear)'
	<i>dyaral</i>	/d'a:ral/	'clearing a bush'
	<i>laar</i>	/la:r/	'peeling, skinning' (PV)
	<i>larar</i>	/la:rar/	'waterhole'
cf.	<i>ngaangara</i>	/ŋa:ŋara/	'stupid' (var. of <i>ngarangara</i> /ŋara.../)
	<i>ngangara</i>	/ŋa+ŋara/	'you will become' (2FUT of the verb <i>ngara</i>)
a:/aya	<i>-maa</i>	/ma:/	'and ₂ ' (annex morpheme to <i>-yirr</i> 'and ₁ ')
	<i>maya</i>	/maya/	'house'
cf.	<i>ya-ya-</i> > <i>yaa-</i>		(verbal prefix for the 4th person irrealis; see 4.3.2.1)
a:/awa	<i>laar</i>	/la:r/	'peeling, skinning' (PV)
	<i>lawarr</i>	/lawa:̄r/	'(toponym) Tree Hill'
cf.	<i>ngaa</i> ~ <i>ngaway</i>	/ŋaway/	'yes, yeah' (see 3.6.2.4)
i/i:	<i>dyiin</i>	/d'i:n/	'pointing at something' (PV)
	<i>dyiny</i>	/d'in'/	'woodchip'
cf.	<i>nyin</i> ~ <i>nyiin</i>		(var.) 'snail'

i:/yi	<i>yü</i> <i>biyi</i> <i>mayiyi</i>	/yi:/ /biyi/ /mayi+yi/	'(ebb tide) receding' (PV) 'ripe, cooked' dative form of <i>mayi</i> 'fruit, food'
i:/iri	<i>dyiin</i> <i>dyirin</i>	/d'i:n/ /d'irin/	'pointing at something' 'shooting star'
	cf. <i>ngirir</i> ~ <i>ngiir</i> (var.)		'taking a deep breath' (see 3.2.2.4)
u/u:	<i>durl</i> <i>duurl</i>	/dul/ /du:l/	'Adam's Apple' 'spring tide'
	cf. <i>dup</i> <i>duubngarr</i>	/dub:/ /du:b+ŋār/	'white' 'whitish' (semblative form of <i>dup</i>)

2. Approximant (non-lateral)

(a) Approximant vs non-approximant

w/b	<i>winy</i> <i>biny</i>	/win'/ /bin'/	'sandfly' 'Supplejack tree'
	cf. <i>wundawarr</i> ~ <i>bundawarr</i> (var.)		'sand crab' (also <i>wumdawarr</i>)
w/m	<i>wiliny</i> <i>miliny</i>	/wilin'/ /milin'/	'Silverleaf Grevillea' 'a type of spear' (= <i>mangul</i>)
y/d'	<i>yakul</i> <i>dyakul</i>	/yakul/ /d'akul/	'pus' 'round (circular)'
	cf. <i>bul'yadi</i> ~ <i>buldyadi</i>		'a type of heavy shield'
y/k	<i>buya</i> <i>buka</i>	/buya/ /buka/	'reef' 'bad, evil'
y/n'	<i>yinydyiyinydyi</i> <i>nyinydyinyinydyi</i>	/yin'd'i.../ /n'in'd'i.../	'stick insect' '(name of dance)'
r/d/ṛ	<i>dyara</i> <i>dyada</i> <i>dyarra</i>	/d'ara/ /d'ada/ /d'āra/	'boil' 'shallow' 'our (EXCL)'

(b) Approximant vs approximant or vowel

w/y	<i>warrarra</i> <i>yarrarra</i>	/wārārā/ /yārārā/	'mangrove shoots' '(toponym) a point with a lighthouse near Gourdon Bay'
y/ṛ	<i>maya</i> <i>mara</i>	/maya/ /mara/	'house' 'spindle'
r/w	<i>ramba</i> <i>wamba</i>	/ṛamba/ /wamba/	'mangrove snail' 'man, male'
r/V	<i>bur</i> <i>buu</i>	/bur/ /bu:/	'digging' (PV) 'smoking' (PV)

3. Liquids (laterals and rhotics)

(a) Stop vs liquid

l/d/l̥/d̥/r̥	<i>bula</i>	/bula/	'come'	
	<i>buda</i>	/buda/	'neck'	
	<i>burla</i>	/bula/	'neap tide'	
	<i>burda</i>	/buḍa/	'excrement'	
	<i>bura</i>	/bura/	'see' (√v)	
cf.	<i>nilirr</i>	/niliṙ/	'mouth, lip, teeth'	
	<i>nidirrgadya</i>	/nidiṙ+gad'a/	'clenching one's teeth' (PV)	
l/d̥	<i>miliny</i>	/milin'/	'a type of spear'	
	<i>mirdiny</i>	/miḍin'/	'rainbow'	
l'/d'	<i>bilyurr</i>	/bil'uṙ/	'heart'	
	<i>bidyu</i>	/bid'u/	'knife'	
		<i>ngulyungku</i>	/ŋul'uŋku/	'Lambs Tail' (k/o shrub)
		<i>mudyungku</i>	/mud'uŋku/	'shower, storm'
		<i>mulyukura</i>	/mul'ukura/	'woman who already had a child'
		<i>balybaly</i>	/bal'.../	'flat'
	<i>bady</i>	/bad'/	'cutting (in woodwork)' (PV)	

(b) Flap

ṙ/r̥	<i>wararra</i>	/waraṙa/	'songman'
	<i>warrarra</i>	/waṙaṙa/	'mangrove shoots (pneumatophores)'
	<i>warara</i>	/waraṙa/	'trembling (from sickness)'
	<i>warrara</i>	/wa+ṙ+a+ṙa/	'you (PL) will spear it' (<i>wa-rr-a-ra</i>)
		<i>ingarrarn</i>	/iŋa+ṙ+a+n/
	<i>ingararn</i>	/i+ŋaṙa+n/	's/he becomes' (<i>i-ngara-rn</i>)
ṙ/d̥	<i>yawarra</i>	/yawaṙa/	'side (vs centre), edge'
	<i>yawarda</i>	/yawaḍa/	'horse'
	<i>barr</i>	/baṙ/	'ignition, sparking'
	<i>bard</i>	/baḍ/	'exploding' (PV)
	cf. <i>baarl</i>	/ba:l/	'hot'
ṙ/n	<i>dyirra</i>	/d'iṙa/	(3 rd GEN pronoun) 'their'
	<i>dyina</i>	/d'ina/	(3 rd GEN pronoun) 'his/her/its'

(c) Lateral vs rhotic

l/ṙ	<i>bulu</i>	/bulu/	'almost, nearly'
	<i>buru</i>	/buṙu/	'country'
l/r̥/ṙ̥	<i>mala</i>	/mala/	'conch shell (Australian Trumpet)'
	<i>mara</i>	/maṙa/	'spindle'
	<i>marra</i>	/maṙa/	'nest'
l/ṙ̥	<i>marlu</i>	/maḷu/	'no, not'
	<i>marru</i>	/maṙu/	'head'
l'/ṙ̥	<i>dyinyilyi</i>	/d'in'il'i/	'labour (in child birth)'
	<i>dyinyirri</i>	/d'in'iṙi/	'burning (of sun), very hot'

	<i>dyikily</i>	/d'ikil'/	'Bauhinia tree'
	<i>dyikirr</i>	/d'ikiṛ'/	'scales (of fish)'
ṛ/ɭ/	<i>dyaarr</i>	/d'a:ṛ'/	'a slight twist of the returning-type boomerang'
	<i>dyaal</i>	/d'a:l'/	'straight (as in throwing spear)'
	<i>dyaarl</i>	/d'a:l'/	'cutting something in half'
	cf. <i>yaarr</i>	/ya:ṛ'/	'pulling' (PV)
	<i>yaarl</i>	/ya:l'/	'wriggling' (PV)
ṛ/ɭ/	<i>durku</i>	/durku/	'kidney'
	<i>durlku</i>	/dulku/	'round (global)'
ɭ/rry	<i>bulydyi</i>	/bul'd'i/	'can't walk'
	<i>burrydyi</i>	/buṛ'd'i/	'clitoris'

4. Retroflexes

(a) Alveolar vs retroflex

d/ḍ	<i>buda</i>	/buda/	'neck, throat'
	<i>burda</i>	/buḍa/	'excrement'
	<i>dyad</i>	/d'ad/	'cutting' (PV)
	<i>dyard</i>	/d'ad/	'shifting, moving' (PV)
	<i>dandan</i>	/dan.../	'clinking (human teeth from coldness)'
	<i>rdarndarn</i>	/ḍaṇ.../	'tight'
n/ṇ	<i>bana</i>	/bana/	'when?' (interrogative)
	<i>barna</i>	/+baṇa/	'bite' (var. of the verb <i>barnda</i>)
	<i>kurdin</i>	/kuḍin/	'white bark of gum trees'
	<i>ngurdirn</i>	/ṇuḍin/	'alone'
ɭ/ɻ	<i>yila</i>	/yila/	'dog'
	<i>yirla</i>	/yila/	'lying on one side' (PV)
	<i>marul</i>	/maṛul/	'the wet season'
	<i>mururl</i>	/maṛul/	'k/o berry tree'

(b) Retroflex vs retroflex

ṇ/ḍ	<i>barni</i>	/baṇi/	'k/o goanna' (= <i>dyalangardi</i>)
	<i>bardi</i>	/baḍi/	'semen'
ɭ/ḍ/ṇ	<i>burla</i>	/buḷa/	'neap tide'
	<i>burda</i>	/buḍa/	'excrement'
	<i>burna</i>	/+buṇa/	'bite' (√V, var. <i>barnda</i>)
ɭ/ṇ	<i>baarn</i>	/ba:ṇ/	'black ant'
	<i>baarl</i>	/ba:l/	'hot'
ṛ/ḍ	<i>bidyara</i>	/bid'ara/	'ear'
	<i>bidyarda</i>	/bid'aḍa/	'emu'

5. Nasals

(a) Stop vs nasal

b/m	<i>banydya</i>	/ban'd'a/	'penis'
	<i>manydya</i>	/man'd'a/	'many'

cf. *murdmurd* ~ *murdburdburd* (var.) '(ONOM) shimmering'

d/n	<i>dila</i>	/dila/	'hard'
	<i>nila</i>	/nila/	'knowledge' (PV)

d/ŋ	<i>karna</i>	/kaŋa/	'awn (of spear-grass)'
	<i>karda</i>	/kaɖa/	'over there'

d'/n'	<i>dyiru</i>	/d'iru/	'Osprey'
	<i>nyiru</i>	/n'iru/	'anus'
	<i>dyidya</i>	/d'id'a/	'nail'
	<i>nyidya</i>	/n'id'a/	'navel'

cf. *nyamba* ~ *dyamba* (var.) 'this' (also *yamba*)
kalbanya ~ *kalbadya* (var.) 'lose' (√V)

(b) Nasal vs nasal

m/n	<i>minkul</i>	/minkul/	'hard'
	<i>ninkul</i>	/ninkul/	'batfish'

n/ŋ See 4(a) above.

n/n'	<i>niwal</i>	/niwal/	'foot, footprint'
	<i>nyiwa</i>	/n'iwa/	'feeble'
	<i>nilan</i>	/nilan/	'week (seven days)'
	<i>nilany</i>	/nilan'/	'flesh, meat'

cf. *nyidin* ~ *nidiny* (var.) 'cicada'

n/ŋ	<i>narli</i>	/nali/	'true' (~ <i>naarli</i>)
	<i>ngarli</i>	/ŋali/	'wet'

m/ŋ	<i>manydya</i>	/man'd'a/	'many'
	<i>nganydya</i>	/ŋan'd'a/	'how many?' (interrogative)

(c) Single vs geminate nasal

ŋ/ŋŋ	<i>ngangara</i>	/ŋa+ŋara/	'you will become'
	<i>ngangngara</i>	/ŋa+ŋ+ø+ŋara/	'I will become'

ŋk/ŋŋ	<i>wangka</i>	/waŋka/	'(name of dance)'
	<i>wangnga</i>	/waŋŋa/	'for the first time'

6. Laminals

(a) Apical vs laminal

d/d'	<i>daarr</i> <i>dyaarr</i>	/da:ṛ/ /d'a:ṛ/	'crushing' 'twisting'
n/n'	<i>dyabundyabun</i> <i>dyabunydyabuny</i>	/d'abun.../ /d'abun'.../	'soup, stew' 'barb, hook'
l/ly	<i>dalurr</i> <i>dalyurr</i>	/daluṛ/ /dal'uṛ/	'old, aged' 'slippery'
	<i>bandil</i> <i>bandily</i>	/bandil/ /bandil'/	'(body-)painting, curving' 'gecko (generic)'

(b) Laminal vs retroflex

n'/ŋ	<i>kinykiny</i> <i>kirnkirn</i>	/kin'.../ /kiŋ.../	'choking, coughing' (PV) 'Blue-spotted Fantail Ray'
	<i>dyany</i> <i>dyarn</i>	/d'an'/ /d'aŋ/	'new' 'smashing' (PV)
l'/l̥	<i>duly</i> <i>durl</i>	/dul'/ /dul̥/	'squeezing pimple/boil' (PV) 'Adam's Apple'
	<i>bilyarri</i> <i>birlari</i>	/bil'aṛi/ /biṛari/	'greedy' 'pelican' (= <i>dyalinymarr</i>)
d'/d̥	<i>budyi</i> <i>burdi</i>	/bud'i/ /buḍi/	'worried' (PV) 'fungus (generic)'

(c) Laminal vs laminal

l'/n'	<i>dalydyi</i> <i>danydyi</i>	/dal'd'i/ /dan'd'i/	'a type of fighting stick' 'breeze'
	<i>ngily</i> <i>nginy</i>	/ŋil'/ /ŋin'/	'headache' '(creek) dry up'
l'/d'			See 3(a) above.
d'/n'			See 5(a) above.

(d) Laminal vs approximant/vowel/etc

l'/y	<i>bilyurrbilyurr</i> <i>biyurrbiyurr</i>	/bil'uṛ.../ /biyuṛ.../	'red' 'Galah'
l'/l̥/y/ly	<i>bulyarr</i> <i>bul'yadi</i> <i>yalyyaly</i>	/bul'aṛ/ /bulyadi/ /yal'+yal'/	'sinew' 'a type of heavy shield' (var. of <i>buldyadi</i>) 'licking' (PV)
n'/i/n'	<i>dyanyi</i> <i>dyany</i>	/d'an'i/ /d'an'/	'beach' 'new'
d'i/d'	<i>bidyibidyi</i> <i>bidyibidy</i>	/bid'i.../ /bid'.../	'goanna hole' 'following the track'

7. Stops (non-dorsal)

(a) Lax vs lax

b/d	<i>baba</i> <i>bada</i>	/baba/ /bada/	'little child' 'paperbark bag'
d/d	See 4(a) above.		
d/d'	See 6(a) above.		
d'/d	<i>bidyi</i> <i>birdi</i>	/bid'i/ /bidi/	'windpipe' 'hole; mole'
b/k	<i>barrbana</i> <i>barrkana</i>	/baṛbana/ /baṛkana/	'singeing, burning the surface' (PV) 'cold time, winter'
k/d	<i>kuwa</i> <i>duwa</i>	/kuwa/ /duwa/	'snipe' 'shop, store' (from English "store")
b/d'	<i>bany</i> <i>dyany</i>	/ban'/ /d'an'/	'(ONOM) bang!' 'new'
d'/ŋ	<i>dyanydyu</i> <i>nganydyu</i>	/d'an'd'u/ /ŋan'd'u/	'k/o small dragon lizard' 'young girl (before puberty)'

(b) Tense vs lax (see analysis in 3.3.2.3)

b/b	<i>bab</i> <i>bap</i> cf. <i>bab</i>	/bab/ /bab:/ /bab/	'forgetting' (PV) 'moth' '(vocative) brother!' (< <i>babala</i>)
	<i>wirrp</i> <i>wirrb</i>	/wiṛb:/ /wiṛb/	'smashing' (PV) 'opposing' (PV), cf. <i>wirrbu</i> 'grudge'
cf.	<i>dup</i> <i>duubngarr</i>	/dub:/ /du:b+ŋaṛ/	'white' 'whitish' (semblative form of <i>dup</i>)
d:/d	<i>dyit</i> <i>dyid</i>	/d'id:/ /d'id/	'ceasing' (PV) 'crest(ed)'
d':/d'	<i>bibity</i> <i>bidybidy</i>	/bibid':/ /bid'.../	'lightning' 'tracking, following' (PV)
d:/d	<i>murt</i> <i>burd</i>	/mud:/ /bud/	'erect (penis), firm (woman's breast)' 'getting up (from sitting)' (PV)
cf.	<i>mirt</i> <i>mirddyawa</i>	/mid:/ /mid+d'awa/	'narrow' 'k/o small catfish ("narrow-mouth")'
k:/k	<i>duq</i> <i>dyudug</i>	/duk:/ /d'uduk/	'cutting bark (to get gum)' (PV) 'end (of a story)'

(c) Tense vs tense, tense vs zero

k:/b:	<i>duq</i> <i>dup</i>	/duk:/ /dub:/	'cutting bark (to get gum)' (PV) 'white'
d:/b:	<i>dyit</i> <i>dyip</i>	/d'id:/ /dib:/	'ceasing' (PV) 'falling down' (PV)
ø/t:	<i>ngii</i> <i>ngiit</i>	/ŋi:/ /ŋi:t/	'(ONOM) noise of mosquito' 'smiling, grinning' (PV)

8. Dorsals

(a) Voicing (see analysis in 3.4.5.1)

k/k*	<i>warraka</i> <i>warrak*a</i>	/waṛaka/ /waṛaka/	'a type of non-returning boomerang' 'k/o medicinal shrub' (<i>Acacia monticola</i>)
k/g	<i>-garra</i> <i>karra</i>	/+kaṛa/ /kaṛa/	'(plural marker)' 'sandstone'
g/k*	<i>nganaga</i> <i>nganak*a</i>	/ŋa+na+ka+ø/ /ŋa+na+ø+ka/	'I will carry it' (future) 'I might carry it' (irrealis)
	<i>-gap</i> <i>k*apk*ap</i>	/+kab:/ /kab:kab:/	'(ablative case marker)' 'rough, rugged'

(b) Stop vs nasal

k/ŋ	<i>kambi</i> <i>ngambi</i>	/kambi/ /ŋambi/	'testicles' 'taking away' (PV)
	<i>dakidaki</i> <i>dangidangi</i>	/daki.../ /daŋi.../	'deaf' 'out of breath'

9. Clusters (other than geminates)

(a) VNCV cluster (see 3.6.3.2)

m/mb	<i>mimi</i> <i>mimbi</i>	/mimi/ /mimbi/	'mother' 'chest'
	cf. <i>dyamurr</i> ~ <i>dyamburr</i> (var.) 'gathering up' (PV)		
n'd'/d'	<i>nyinydyinyinydyi</i> <i>nyidyinyidy</i>	/n'in'd'i.../ /n'id'i.../	'(name of a dance)' 'putting something together'
	cf. <i>-manydyan</i> ~ <i>-manyān</i> (var.) 'only' (also <i>-manya</i>)		
ŋd/d'	<i>wardal</i> <i>wardal</i>	/waṛdal/ /waḍal/	'coolamon' 'brown frog' (= <i>walaq</i>)
	cf. <i>warndangu</i> ~ <i>wardangu</i> (var.) 'headband'		

(b) Medial cluster vs non-cluster

ŋ/nk	<i>dyanga</i>	/d'aŋa/	'oyster'
	<i>dyanka</i>	/d'anka/	'healing' (PV)
ŋ/ŋk	<i>dyangala</i>	/d'aŋala/	'hot(ness)'
	<i>dyangkala</i>	/d'aŋkala/	'calf'
ŋ/nŋ	<i>mangal</i>	/maŋal/	'clam'
	<i>mannagal</i>	/manŋal/	'rainy season'
k/nŋ	<i>narnngula</i>	/naŋŋula/	'sugarbag'
	<i>nakula</i>	/nakula/	'sea, saltwater'

(c) Homorganic vs non-homorganic cluster

mb/nb	<i>kamba</i>	/kamba/	'that' (demonstrative)
	<i>karnba</i>	/kaŋba/	'thigh'
mb/n'b/nb	<i>dyamba</i>	/d'anba/	'this' (var. of <i>nyamba</i>)
	<i>dyanyba</i>	/d'an'ba/	'generous'
	<i>dyanba</i>	/d'anba/	'kick' (√V)
l'd'/ld'	<i>malydyurra</i>	/+mal'd'uŋa/	'accompany' (√V)
	<i>maldyu</i>	/mald'u/	'playing, smiling' (PV)
n'd'/nd'	<i>manydya</i>	/man'd'a/	'many'
	<i>mandya</i>	/mand'a/	'(toponym) a fishing point south of Narndanarr'
n'd'/nd'/nd'	<i>nganydya</i>	/ŋan'd'a/	'how many?' (interrogative)
	<i>ngandydya</i>	/ŋand'a/	'carrying in one's mouth' (PV)
	<i>garndya</i>	/kaŋd'a/	'pushing something aside' (PV)
nd/n'd'/nd'	<i>bindabinda</i>	/binda.../	'butterfly (generic)'
	<i>binydyabinydya</i>	/bin'd'a.../	'murex (butterfly shell)'
	<i>birndabirnda</i>	/biŋda.../	'clear, transparent'
nd/nd'	<i>rdirndurdirndu</i>	/diŋdu.../	'node, tangled'
	<i>rdirndyurdirndyu</i>	/diŋd'u.../	'curly hair'
ŋk/nk	<i>dangku</i>	/daŋku/	'chin'
	<i>rdarnku</i>	/daŋku/	'fist'
ŋk/nŋ	<i>mangkuna</i>	/maŋkuna/	'(toponym) Munganoo Well'
	<i>nannguna</i>	/nanŋuna/	'(toponym) Argie Rock, south of Cape Bossut'
rrydy/rr'dy	<i>barrydyanyin</i>	/baŋd'an'in/	'Agile wallaby'
	<i>barr'dyarri</i>	/baŋ+d'ari/?	'Barrjarri section' (also <i>barr'yarri</i>)
	<i>yagarrydyali</i>	/ya+ka+ŋ+d'ali/	'we (INCL) will come back'
	<i>warr'dyali</i>	/wa+ŋ+d'ali/	'you will come back'
l'y/ly	See 6(d) above.		

