

# Typological Study of Word Order in Languages of the Pacific Region (2) Djaru (Australia)

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## 0. Introduction

The present work is the second installment of my typological study of word order in languages of the Pacific region, the first installment being Tsunoda (1988) on Japanese. This project has been supported by two special research grants provided by the University of Nagoya.

The field work on Djaru was conducted three times in and around Halls Creek of east Kimberley, Western Australia, from 1975 to 1979. It was financed by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (Canberra) and by Griffith University (Brisbane).

I dedicate this work to the late Mr. Robert Moses, who was my principal consultant on Djaru. Not only did he have a brilliant insight into his language, but also he was always willing to work with me long hours, patiently responding to my queries on details of the language. Other people who taught me Djaru include Mrs. Mona Green, Mr. Archie Singapoo (Djaru name, *milnguyarri*), and Mr. Jack Jugayari (Djaru name, *tyukayarri*).

The following discussion of word order in Djaru supersedes that in Tsunoda (1981a).

## 1. Name of language

Djaru. It is spelled *tyaru* in the orthography employed below. It is spelled *jaru* in an orthography currently used by some other writers.

## 2. Source of information

My own data including Tsunoda (1981a, 1981b). Supplemented with Walsh et al. (1981) regarding 3 below. For details of Djaru, see Tsunoda (1981a).

## 3. Genetic affiliation

According to Walsh et al. (1981), Djaru is a member of the South-west group of the Pama-Nyungan language family.

## 4. Geographical distribution

Djaru is spoken by about 200 people (as of mid-1970's) in and around Halls Creek of Western Australia.

## 4. Morphological and other relevant facts

There are two types of pronouns : free, independent pronouns and enclitic, bound pronouns. The latter are usually attached to the carrier morpheme *nga*, whose sole function it is to carry them. Other segments to which they may be attached include another carrier morpheme *wa/pa*, the multifunctional conjunction *kuwa*, the conjunction *nyangka* 'if, when', interrogative words, certain adverbs, and the imperative, purposive and hortative forms of verbs.

Very roughly speaking, bound pronouns have the nominative-accusative case-marking system (St=Si≠O ; NOM=NOM≠ACC), whereas nouns, free pronouns, etc. have the ergative-absolutive system (St≠Si=O ; ERG≠ABS=ABS). (But, the ergative marking is optional for free pronouns.) Bound pronouns have the dative and the general oblique case in addition to the nominative and the accusative. For nouns, free pronouns, etc. there are also cases such as the instrumental (identical with the ergative), the dative, the locative, the allative and the ablative.

Bound pronouns crossreference free, independent NPs. The correspondence between them regarding case is, very roughly, as follows :

free NPs		bound pronouns
ergative	St	nominative
absolutive	Si	nominative
absolutive	O	accusative
dative		dative
locative		general oblique
allative		general oblique
ablative		general oblique
instrumental		...

In natural texts, bound pronouns occur in almost every clause, but free pronouns are used very seldom. Bound pronouns do not occur under certain circumstances. (For details, see Tsunoda (1981a : 124-63, 1981b).)

Verbs inflect for tense, mood, etc.

Unless otherwise indicated, all the examples given below were those produced spontaneously — in texts, in conversations or in linguistic sessions.

Abbreviations employed include the following:— A, adjective; ABL, ablative; ABS, absolutive; ACC, accusative; Adv, adverb; ALL, allative; BP, bound pronoun; C,

carrier morpheme ; CONT, continuative ; D, demonstrative ; DAT, dative ; DO, direct object ; DU, dual : ERG, ergative ; EXC, exclusive ; G, dative indicating a possessor ; HORT, hortative ; IMPERA, imperative ; INC, inclusive ; INST, instrumental ; IO, indirect object ; LOC, locative ; N, noun ; NEG, negation ; NOM, nominative ; Num, numeral ; O, object ; OBL, general oblique ; Oi, intransitive object ; Ot, transitive object ; PAST NARR, past narrative ; PL, plural ; POT, potential ; PRES, present ; PURP, purposive ; Q, question ; REDUP, reduplication ; S, subject ; SG, singular ; Si, intransitive subject ; St, transitive subject ; V, verb ; Vi, intransitive verb ; Vt, transitive verb ; 1, first person ; 2, second person ; and 3, third person.

In the examples cited below, morpheme boundaries are indicated by a hyphen ('-'), except that enclitics are marked by a preceding equal sign ('='). The glosses employ hyphens invariably.

#### 6. Subject, object and verb

Before looking at those S and O which are manifested by independent NPs, we shall first deal with bound pronouns.

As a rule, a sequence of bound pronouns can contain at most two members. Their relative order generally depends on the following person hierarchy (except for certain person-plus-number combinations noted below) :

1st person preceding 2nd person preceding 3rd person.

Thus, compare (1) and (2) ; and (3) and (4) (taken from Tsunoda 1981a : 131, all obtained in elicitation) :

- |     |                         |          |                       |
|-----|-------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| (1) | nga=rna=ngku            | pung-an. |                       |
|     | C-1SG,NOM(S)-2SG,ACC(O) | hit-PRES | 'I hit you.' (S O)    |
| (2) | nga=yi=n                | pung-an. |                       |
|     | C-1SG,ACC(O)-2SG,NOM(S) | hit-PRES | 'You hit me.' (O S)   |
| (3) | nga=n=tyanu             | pung-an. |                       |
|     | C-2SG,NOM(S)-3PL,ACC(O) | hit PRES | 'You hit them.' (S O) |
| (4) | nga=ngku=lu             | pung-an. |                       |
|     | C-2SG,ACC(O)-3PL,NOM(S) | hit-PRES | 'They hit you.' (O S) |

In these instances, depending on their relative positions on the person hierarchy the nominative (for S) may precede or follow the accusative (for O). (The same applies to the relative order involving the dative or the general oblique.)

However, under certain circumstances, the nominative (for S) always precedes

the accusative (for O), the dative or the general oblique. That is :

- (i) A 2nd person nominative (for S) (irrespective of its number) precedes a 1st person dual or plural accusative (for O), dative and general oblique, e.g. (5) ;
- (ii) A 3rd person nominative (for S) (irrespective of its number) precedes a 2nd person plural accusative (for O), dative and general oblique, e.g. (6), and ;
- (iii) Between 3rd persons, the nominative (for S) precedes the accusative (for O), dative or general oblique, e.g. (7).

(The following three examples, too, were obtained through elicitation.)

- |     |                             |           |                        |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|------------------------|
| (5) | nga=n=ngayirrang            | nyang-an. |                        |
|     | C-2SG,NOM(S)-1DU,EXC,ACC(O) | see-PRES  | 'You see us.' (S O)    |
| (6) | nga=lu=nyurra               | nyang-an. |                        |
|     | C-3PL,MOM(S)-2PL,ACC(O)     | see-PRES  | 'They see you.' (S O)  |
| (7) | nga=lu=yanu                 | nyang-an. |                        |
|     | C-3PL,NOM(S)-3PL,ACC(O)     | see-PRES  | 'They see them.' (S O) |

In declarative, affirmative sentences—to be precise, declarative, affirmative, independent clauses and such main clauses—bound pronouns are generally attached to the carrier morpheme *nga*, and rarely to a verb or to a certain adverb. (For the conjunctions *kuwa* and *nyangka*, see 12 on relative clauses and 23 on conditional clauses, respectively. Question is discussed in 18 to 21, while negation is discussed in 22. Imperative sentences will be dealt with below.) A combination of *nga* with bound pronoun(s) (presented as *nga*=BP below) generally occurs in the initial or second position of the clause although it may occur in a later position—even as late as in the fourth position (to be precise, as the fourth constituent of the clause).

It is very difficult to investigate the relative order of S and O as manifested by free NPs, for these functions are often manifested by bound pronouns only. A study of sample texts (Texts XXXI to XVI, XXXVIII to XL) has yielded the following numbers of examples. They all concern declarative, affirmative independent and main clauses. For the time being, we shall ignore the position of adverbs and adverb phrases. (They will be discussed in 16.) As we shall see below in 8 to 11, members of a given NP can be separated from each other. Such examples are excluded from the following countings.

First, we look at intransitive clauses. A few intransitive verbs, e. g. *marn-* 'talk', can take what appears to be a direct object. It will be shown as 'Oi'. The types of word

order, together with the numbers of their examples in the texts under study, are as follows.

- (iv) *nga*=BP Vi 61 examples, e.g. (8);
- (v) Si Vi 27 examples, e.g. (9);
- (vi) Si *nga*=BP Vi 7 examples, e.g. (10);
- (vii) Vi 5 examples;
- (viii) *nga*=BP Vi Si 3 examples;
- (ix) Vi=BP 3 examples;
- (x) Vi Si 1 example;
- (xi) Vi *nga*=BP Si 1 example, e.g. (11);
- (xii) Si *nga*=BP Oi Vi 1 example, e.g. (12), and;;
- (xiii) Oi *nga*=BP Vi 1 example.

Examples of the three most frequent patterns follow:

- (8) *nga*=lu yan-inyurra tyanyta-ka kani-kani.  
C-3PL,NOM go-PAST NARR ground-LOC down-REDUP  
'We went down on the ground (not in the creek).' (nga=BP Vi)
- (9) walurr- $\phi$  pirri yan-i.  
sun-ABS out come-PAST 'The sun came out.' (Si Vi)
- (10) watypali- $\phi$  *nga*= $\phi$ -anungkula pirri yan-i.  
white man-ABS C-3SG,NOM-3PL,OBL out come-PAST (Si *nga*=BP Vi)  
'A white man came out to them.'

An example in which Vi precedes Si (and also *nga*=BP) :

- (11) yiwa marn-inyurra *nga*=lu yirratya- $\phi$ .  
fear-PAST NARR C-3PL,NOM other-ABS  
'Other people were frightened.' (Vi *nga*=BP Si)

(*yiwa marn-* is a compound verb. We provide just one gloss for the whole compound, rather than provide separate glosses for its constituents. Similarly for other compound verbs. For details, see Tsunoda (1981a : 177-94).)

An example involving Oi:

- (12) wulmawulmayan- $\phi$  *nga*=lu kartiya-nyunga- $\phi$  marn-an-i.  
old man-ABS C-3PL,NOM whiteman-from-ABS speak-CONT-PAST  
'The old men were speaking the (language) from white people (i.e. English).'
- (Si *nga*=BP Oi Vi)

(*wulmawulmayan* 'old man' is almost certainly a loan from English.)

In elicitation, the most frequent pattern is (vi) if Si is manifested by a free NP. Otherwise, the most frequent pattern is (iv).

We now turn to transitive clauses.

(xiv)	<i>nga</i> =BP Vt	43 examples, e.g. (13);
(xv)	<i>nga</i> =BP Vt Ot	14 examples, e.g. (14);
(xvi)	<i>nga</i> =BP Ot Vt	11 examples, e.g. (15);
(xvii)	Ot <i>nga</i> =BP Vt	11 examples, e.g. (16);
(xviii)	Vt <i>nga</i> =BP	5 examples, e.g. (17);
(xix)	Ot Vt	5 examples;
(xx)	<i>nga</i> =BP Vt St	4 examples;
(xxi)	Vt	4 examples;
(xxii)	St <i>nga</i> =BP Vt Ot	3 examples, e.g. (18);
(xxiii)	Ot <i>nga</i> =BP Vt St	3 examples;
(xxiv)	St <i>nga</i> =BP Vt	3 examples;
(xxv)	St Vt	3 examples;
(xxvi)	<i>nga</i> =BP St Vt Ot	2 examples;
(xxvii)	Ot St Vt	2 examples, e.g. (19);
(xxviii)	St <i>nga</i> =BP Ot Vt	1 example, e.g. (20);
(xxix)	<i>nga</i> =BP St Ot Vt	1 example;
(xxx)	<i>nga</i> =BP Vt Ot St	1 example, e.g. (21);
(xxxi)	<i>nga</i> =BP St Vt	1 example;
(xxxii)	<i>nga</i> =BP Ot Vt St	1 example, e.g. (22);
(xxxiii)	St Ot <i>nga</i> =BP Vt	1 example;
(xxxiv)	St Vt Ot	1 example;
(xxxv)	Vt <i>nga</i> =BP Ot	1 example;
(xxxvi)	St Adv=BP Vt Ot	1 example;
(xxvii)	Adv=BP Vt Ot	1 example;
(xxxviii)	Vt Ot	1 example, and;
(xxxix)	St Vt=BP Ot	1 example.

Examples of the five most frequent patterns follow.

(13)	<i>nga</i> =yirranga=φ	kanya	warirr	murla-wu.
	C-1DU,EXC,ACC-3SG,NOM	carry,PAST	back	here-ALL

- 'He brought us back here.' (nga=BP Vt)
- (14) ngamu nga=liwa=anu karrun-inyurra kunyarr-φ.  
long ago C-1PL,INC,NOM-3PL,ACC have-PAST NARR dog-ABS  
'We used to own dogs a long time ago.' (nga=BP Vt Ot)
- (15) nga=lu ngapa-φ ngarn-inyurra.  
C-3PL,NOM water-ABS drink-PAST NARR  
'We drank water.' (nga=BP Ot Vt)
- (16) watyan-φ nga=liwa ngarak man-i.  
spinifex wax-ABS C-1PL,INC,NOM make-PAST  
'We made spinifex wax.' (Ot nga=BP Vt)
- (17) kanyangurra nga=la=anu.  
carry,PAST NARR C-3PL,NOM-3PL,ACC  
'They carried them.' (Vt nga=BP)

In the following, 'St' will be referred to as 'S', and 'Ot' as 'O' unless it is necessary or helpful to distinguish them from Si and Oi, respectively.

In the portions of the texts under study, all of the six logical possibilities of the combination of S, O and V are attested—except for VSO. Examples are given below. In fact, VSO is attested elsewhere in the texts; see (8) of 16.

- (18) nganingu-lu ngawiyi-lu nga=lu palu winya watypali-φ.  
1SG,DAT-ERG father-ERG C-3PL,NOM find,PAST whiteman-ABS  
'My ancestors found a whiteman.' (S V O)
- (19) tyarrampayi-φ ngayingku pali winya.  
lizard-ABS that,he find,PAST  
'He found a lizard.' (O S V)  
(*ngayingku* seems to lack case inflection.)
- (20) nyantu nga=lu yaku-φ wanan kanyangurra.  
3PL C-3PL,NOM fish-ABS fish-PAST NARR  
'The were fishing.' (S O V)

(Note that *nyantu* (St) lacks the ergative suffix. As noted in 5 above, the ergative marking for free pronouns is optional. Similarly for *ngatyu* '1SG' (St) in (1) of 8, and *nyuntu* '2SG' in (10) of 11.)

- (21) nga=nalu ngarn-inyurra nyila wangala-lu wangu  
C-1PL,EXC,NOM drink-PASR NARR that mad-ERG

ngapa-nyungu-lu.

water-from-ERG

'We, drunk (lit. mad) from the beer (lit. water), kept drinking that (beer).'

(V O S)

(The meaning and function of *wangu* are not understood.)

(22) nga=φ-anu                      yampa-apa-φ                      pipan-i                      watypali-lu.

C-3SG,NOM-3PL,ACC child-REDUP-ABS pick up-PAST whiteman-ERG

'The whiteman took away (lit. picked up) the (Aboriginal) children.' (O V S)

Additional examples of OVS are (23) below, and (8) of 8.

In elicitation, the following patterns are by far the most common:

S nga=BP O V

S O V

That is, in elicitation, SOV is by far the most common of the six logical combinations of S, O and V.

Regarding three-place verbs, the syntax of *yung-* 'give' is the best understood. (See Tsunoda 1981a : 115-16.) (The examples below of this verb were obtained through elicitation.) This verb can take two cases frames. In one, the gift is in the absolutive, and the recipient is in the dative:

(23) ngumpirr-u    nga=φ-la                      mangarri-φ    yampakina-wu    yung-an.

woman-ERG C-3SG,NOM-3SG,DAT food-ABS child-DAT give-PRES

'A woman gives food to a child.'

(S DO IO V)

(24) yangi-ngku    mawun-tu    nga=φ-la                      yinya                      yangi-wu

one-ERG    man-ERG C-3SG,NOM-3SG,DAT give,PAST one-DAT

yampakina-wu    kutyarra-φ    kunyarr-φ.

child-DAT    two-ABS    dog-ABS

'One man gave two dogs to one child.'

(S V IO DO)

In the other frame, the gift is in the absolutive (as in the first case frame), but the recipient is now in the absolutive, not the dative:

(25) ngumpirr-u    nga=φ-la                      yampakina-φ<sup>2</sup>    mangarri-φ    yung-an.

woman-ERG C-3SG,NOM-3SG,DAT child-ABS    food-ABS    give-PRES

'As (24).'

(S IO DO V)

Another example of the second frame is in (2) of 24; that example is taken from a text.



In the first frame, the relative order of DO and IO seems fairly free. However, in the second frame, IO precedes DO in all the examples, and, furthermore, it almost always precedes immediately.

Both in intransitive and transitive clauses, the verb tends NOT to occur in the initial position, although it does rarely, e.g. (11), (17) above.

It has not been possible to ascertain the factors that affect the word order. But, the initial position seems to correlate with the focus — 'the essential new information that is presented or asked about in that sentence' (Comrie 1984 : 1) — in the following three types of circumstance, at least. First, as we shall see in 20 below, in special questions, the interrogative word almost always occurs in the initial position. Note that the interrogative word 'is by definition the focus of question, i.e., the most important information being asked about in the question' (Comrie 1984 : 2). Second, in answers to special questions, 'the constituent giving the information requested in the question, i.e. the focus' (Comrie 1984 : 3) tends to occur — though not always — in the initial position. E.g.:

(26) A: nyarra=npula nyawa marn-an mawun-kuyarra-φ ?  
how-2DU,NOM this talk-PRES man-two-ABS  
'What are you, these two men, talking about? (Lit. 'How are you, these two men, talking ?')

B: ngaringka-wu nga=liyarra=la marn-an ngatyarra-φ  
woman-DAT C-1DU,EXC,NOM-3SG,DAT talk-PRES 1DU,EXC-ABS  
kutyarra-φ.  
two-ABS  
'We two are talking about a woman.'

(27) A: wanytyu-kawu=liwa yan-ang-ku ?  
where-ALL-1PL,INC,NOM go-CONT-PURP 'Where shall we go ?'

B: kayirra yan-ang-ku=liwa.  
to north go-CONT-PURP-1PL,INC,NOM 'We'll go north.'

Third, in examples such as the second sentence below, clearly the focus is in the initial position :

(28) wakurra=yi=φ tyampun-i.  
NEG-1SG,ACC-3SG,NOM kiss-PAST 'She did not kiss me.'  
nyuntu-φ=lu nga=ngku=φ tyampun-i yalu-ngku ngaringka-lu.

2SG-ABS-clitic C-2SG,ACC-3SG,NOM kiss-PAST that-ERG woman-ERG

'It is you whom that woman kissed.' (O V S)

(The meaning of the clitic =*lu* is not understood well, and is simply glossed 'clitic'. Similarly for some other clitics. See Tsunoda (1981a : 201-11) on Djaru clitics.)

In contrast with these three types of circumstance, the focus of negation does not seem to correlate with the initial position. See 22.

The word order in subordinate clauses does not differ significantly from that in main/independent clauses. Furthermore, the conjunctions *kuwa* (see 12) and *nyangka* (see 23) generally occur in the first or second position of the clause as does *nga* in main/independent clauses.

To summarize, the order of S (St, Si), O (Ot, Oi) and V (Vt, Vi) is fairly free both in (affirmative and declarative) main/independent and subordinate clauses — except that the verb tends not to occur initially.

Imperative sentences differ in that the verb often, though not always, occurs in the initial position, e.g. (2) of 11 ; the second clause of (1) of 23 ; and (3) of 24. But, the verb occurs in the second position, to be precise, after the first constituent, in (7) of 8 ; (3) of 10 ; (7), (10) of 11 ; and (2) of 24. There is no example of imperative sentence in which the verb occurs in the third position. The free pronoun subject does not have to be deleted, but it can occur, e.g. (10) of 11. (Note that I said above 'in the second position, to be precise, after the first constituent'. This is significant. For instance, in (7) of 11, the verb (to be precise, the verb complex) is the fourth word, but it occurs after the first constituent 'that two-ABS bush potato-ABS'.)

#### 7. Adposition

Djaru has neither prepositions nor postpositions.

#### 8. Genitive and noun

The dative case (of nouns or of free pronouns) can indicate possessors. Generally (in about 80% of the examples at hand), the possessor noun/pronoun is contiguous with the possessed noun. Under such circumstances, the possessor precedes the possessed about twice more frequently than it follows. There is, however, a difference between pronoun and noun possessors. That is, pronoun possessors PRECEDE about twice more frequently than they follow. On the other hand, noun possessors FOLLOW about twice more frequently than they precede. Examples in which the possessor precedes are given below. The possessor is a pronoun in (1), and a noun in (2).

- (1) ngatyu nga=rna man-ku nganiga karli-φ.  
1SG C-1SG,NOM get-PURP 1SG,DAT boomerang-ABS  
'I will get my boomerang.'
- (2) wakurra=lu=nyanta ngarra man-i watypali-wu tyaru-φ.  
NEG-3PL,NOM-3SG,OBL understand-PAST whiteman-DAT language-ABS  
'They (Aboriginal people) did not understand whiteman's language.'

Other examples in which a pronoun possessor precedes include '1SG,DAT-ERG father-ERG' in (18) of 6, and in (4) below; and '2SG,DAT wife-ABS' in (5) of 18.

Two of the examples in which the possessor follows are given below. The possessor is a pronoun in (3), and a noun ('whiteman-DAT') in (4). (In (4), strictly speaking, the possessor phrase 'this-DAT whiteman-DAT' follows.)

- (3) nga=lu mawun-tu karrun-an-i tyaru-φ nyanunga.  
C-3PL,NOM man-ERG have-CONT-PAST language-ABS 3PL,DAT  
'Aboriginal people (lit. men) had their (own) language.'
- (4) nganingu-lu ngawiyi-lu wakurra nga=lu ngarra man-an-i  
1SG,DAT-ERG father-ERG NEG C-3PL,NOM understand-CONT-PAST  
tyaru-φ yalu-wu watypali-wu.  
language-ABS that-DAT whiteman-DAT  
'My forefathers did not understand that whiteman's language.'

(Generally, members of a given NP individually take the appropriate case suffix. In such a situation, dative forms of pronouns (though not those of nouns) take an additional case suffix, showing agreement in case with other members of the NP. Their final vowel changes from *a* to *u* when followed by an additional case suffix.)

In two examples, the possessor is separated from the possessed by a word that qualifies the possessed, i.e. it is separated by another member of the same NP. It is separated by an adjective in one example, cf. (xv) of 11 below; and by a numeral in the other example, cf. (xvi) of 11. In each example, the possessor precedes the possessed, though not contiguously.

In the rest (about 20%) of the examples, the possessor is separated from the possessed by a word (or words) that does/do not qualify the possessed noun, i.e. a word/words that is/are not member(s) of the NP in question, e.g. the verb, *nga*=BP, etc. Here again, the possessor precedes the possessed about twice more frequently than it follows. The pronoun possessor precedes the possessed far more frequently than it

follows, while on the other hand, the noun possessor follows in all of the 4 examples. Examples in which the possessor precedes:

- (5) nga=lu          nyanunga=lu          karrun-an-i          milyilyi- $\phi$ .  
 C-3PL,NOM    3PL,DAT-clitic    have-CONT-PAST    brain-ABS  
 'They (Aboriginal people) had their own brain.'
- (6) tyaty-i-wu=na          nga= $\phi$ =la          mankirrkirr- $\phi$     karrun-an-i.  
 kangaroo-DAT-clitic    C-3SG,NOM-3SG,DAT    ear-ABS          hold-CONT-PAST  
 'He held the kangaroo's ear.'

Examples in which the possessor follows include 'brain-ABS... man-DAT' in

- (3) of 22, and:
- (7) kunyarr- $\phi$     kang-ka          nyunuga !  
 dog-ABS    carry-IMPERA    2SG,DAT    'Take your dog (with you) !'
- (8) ... tyalani    nyila    kuwa= $\phi$ =la          kurlani    waltyirri- $\phi$   
 today    there          -3SG,NOM-3SG,DAT    in south    Dream Time-ABS  
 pila man-a          watypali-wu          taparriya-lu ...  
 follow-CONT,PRES    whiteman-DAT    (girl's name)-ERG  
 '... today there in the south, Taparriya follows the whiteman's tradition (lit. Dream Time).' (O V S)

(The conjunction *kuwa* can introduce various kinds of subordinate clause (cf. 12 below), and the type of the subordinate clause is not indicated in the translation above. Similarly for some other examples of *kuwa*.)

To summarize, the possessor precedes the possessed about twice as frequently as it follows and pronoun possessors tend to precede, whereas noun possessors tend to follow — irrespective of whether or not the possessor and the possessed are contiguous.

When dative forms of pronouns take an additional dative suffix, they can indicate 'a possessor's possessor'. E.g.:

- (9) nyila    nga=yi=la          kunyarr- $\phi$     kuyu- $\phi$           nganingu-wu.  
 that    C-1SG,DAT-3SG,DAT    dog-ABS    meat-ABS    1SG,DAT-DAT  
 'That is my dog's meat.'

(The demonstrative *nyila* 'that, there' lacks case inflection, as does another demonstrative *nyawa* 'this, here'; see 9 and 11.)

Inalienable possession, i.e. whole-part relationship, is indicated by the dative case in a very small number of examples, e.g. (5), (6) above, and (3) of 22. However, it is

often expressed by the apposition of the possessor and the possessed, the two NPs taking the same case inflection. The examples below of inalienable possession were obtained through elicitation.

- (10) ngatyu-ngku nga=rna=nyanta makarta- $\phi$  yaan-an mawun-ta  
1SG-ERG C-1SG,NOM-3SG,OBL hat-ABS put-PRES man-LOC  
langka-ka.  
head-LOC

'I put a hat on the man's head.'

- (11) kungulu- $\phi$  yan-an nyanunginy-ngu langka-ngu.  
blood-ABS go-PRES 3SG-ABL head-ABL  
Lit. 'Blood is running from his head.'

- (12) ngatyu-ngku nga=rna mawun- $\phi$  langka- $\phi$  pung-an.  
1SG-ERG C-1SG,NOM man-ABS head-ABS head-PRES  
'I hit the man's head.'

- (13) ngatyu- $\phi$  nga=rna milngali- $\phi$  yan-an.  
1SG-ABS C-1SG,NOM tear-ABS go-PRES  
Lit. 'My tears are running.'

It seems that the possessor/whole precedes and immediately precedes the possessed/part — except for instances such as (12), in which the possessor/whole is the Si and is separated from the rest of the sentence by *nga=BP*.

#### 9. Demonstrative and noun

Djaru has five demonstratives: *murlu/murla* 'this, here', *yalu/yala* 'that, there', *nyawa* 'this, here', *nyila* 'that, there', and *tyangu* 'that (referring to something both speaker and hearer know)'.

*tyangu* 'that' is almost always contiguous with the noun it qualifies. When it is contiguous with the noun, it generally follows. It follows in (3) of 23 ('game that') and:

- (1) ... kuwa=liwa yuwarn-inyurra maak- $\phi$  tyangu- $\phi$ .  
-1PL,INC,NOM send-PAST NARR mark-ABS that-ABS

'... we sent that (message stick with) marks.'

(Presumably, *maak* is a loan from English.)

*tyangu* precedes the noun in (3) of 12 ('that-ABS stone-ABS').

The other four demonstratives are generally (in about 77% of the examples) contiguous with the noun they qualify. In about 7% of the examples, they are separated

from the noun by another word which qualifies the same noun; they are separated by an adjective, a numeral, a dative (indicating a possessor), or *tyangu* 'that', e.g. (6) to (9) of 11. In about 15% of the examples, they are separated from the noun by some other word(s), e.g. the verb.

When these four demonstratives are contiguous with the noun they qualify, they precede more than three times more frequently than they follow. Examples of *murlu/murla* are given below. The demonstrative precedes in (2), and follows in (3).

- (2) nga=rna      lirra- $\phi$ =yali      pinya      murlu-ngku      marla-ngku.  
C-1SG,NOM    mouth-ABS-clitic    hit,PAST    this-INST    hand-INST  
'I hit the (kangaroo's) mouth with this hand.'
- (3) nga=nala=anu      ngarangarak pan-an-i      mangarri- $\phi$       mawun-ku  
C-1PL,EXC,NOM-3PL,DAT    make-CONT-PAST    food-ABS    man-DAT  
murlu-wu.  
this-DAT  
'We cooked (lit. made) food for these men.'

Another example is 'this-ERG water-ERG' in (2) of 16.

An example involving *yalu/yala*:

- (4) wakurra    nga=lu=la      tyaru-wu      yalu-wu      pinarri- $\phi$   
NEG    C-3PL,NOM-3SG,DAT    language-DAT    that-DAT    knowing-ABS  
nyin-an-i.  
stay-CONT-PAST  
'They did not know that language.'

Other examples include 'that-ERG woman-ERG' in (28) of 6; 'that-DAT whiteman-DAT' in (4) of 8; and 'that-ERG whiteman-ERG' in (3) of 22.

An example of *nyila* 'that, there' is 'that head-ABS' in (1) of 22.

When these four demonstratives are separated by another word that qualifies the same noun, they generally precede, rather than follow, the noun. For examples, see (6) to (9) of 11, in all of which the demonstrative precedes.

When demonstratives are separated from the noun by some other word(s), e.g. the verb, they generally precede, rather than follow. E.g.:

- (5) nga= $\phi$ =anu      murlu-ngku      langa- $\phi$ =rni      pali winya      yaku-ngku  
C-3SG,NOM-3PL,ACC    this-ERG      head-ABS-clitic    find,PAST    fish-ERG  
yampi-ku

big-ERG

'This big fish found the (man's) head.'

Additional examples are 'this ... man-two-ABS' in A in (6) of 6 ; and 'this-LOC ... grass-LOC' in (7) of 22.

To summarize, these four demonstratives (though not *tyangu* 'that') tend to precede the noun they qualify, irrespective of whether or not they are contiguous with the noun.

#### 10. Numeral and noun

Numerals are generally (in about 80% of the examples) contiguous with the noun they qualify. In about 20% of the examples, they are separated from the noun by some other word, e.g. the verb.

When numerals are contiguous with the noun they qualify, they precede about three times more frequently than they follow. The numeral precedes in (1), and follows in (2) :

- (1) yangi-ngku kunyarr-u nga-ngku=ϕ pila man-an-i  
 one-ERG dog-ERG C-2SG,ACC-3SG,NOM chase-CONT-PAST  
 yangkaniwarra-ngulu.  
 behind-ABL

'One dog was chasing you from behind.'

- (2) nga=rna=ϕ palu winya walwarrangka=ϕ yangi-ϕ.  
 C-1SG,NOM-3SG,ACC find,PAST crocodile-ABS one-ABS  
 'I found one crocodile.'

When numerals are separated from the noun by some other word(s), they precede far more frequently (in 4 examples) than they follow (in 1 example).

- (3) yangi-ϕ yung-an-ta=nya lampu-ϕ !  
 one-ABS give-CONT-IMPERA-1SG,DAT paperbark-ABS  
 'Give me one dollar (lit. paperbark) !'

- (4) mankirrkirr-ϕ nga=rna pali winya kutyarra-ϕ.  
 ear-ABS C-1SG,NOM find,PAST two-ABS  
 'I found (a kangaroo's) two ears (sticking out of grass).'

That is, the numeral generally precedes the noun it qualifies, irrespective of whether or not they are contiguous.

#### 11. Adjective and noun

Adjectives are generally (in about 80% of the examples) contiguous with the noun

they qualify. In other instances, they are separated from the qualified noun by some other word(s), e.g. the verb.

When they are contiguous with the noun, they follow slightly more frequently (in 33 examples) than they precede (in 30 examples). The two adjectives in (1) follow, and the one in (2) precedes.

- (1) nga=liyarra=ϕ                      ngapa-ngka    yapakina-la=yali    palu winya  
C-1DU,EXC,NOM-3SG,ACC    water-LOC    small-LOC-clitic    find,PAST  
walwarrangka-ϕ    yampi-ϕ.  
crocodile-ABS    big-ABS

'We found a big crocodile in a small pool of water.'

- (2) wawa=la                      yura-wu    ngaringka-wu !  
search,IMPERA-3SG,DAT    good-DAT    woman-DAT  
'Look for a nice woman !'

Another example is 'stone-INST big-INST' in (8) of 16.

When adjectives are separated from the noun, they follow slightly more frequently (in 11 examples) than they precede (in 8 examples). The adjective follows in (3), and precedes in (4).

- (3) kuyu-ϕ    nga=liwa                      punytyurr-ϕ    kang-an-ku                      kurlarra  
meat-ABS    C-1PL,INC,NOM    cooked-ABS    carry-CONT-PURP    to south  
ngulungulu.

in the afternoon

'We will carry the cooked meat to the south in the afternoon.'

- (4) (We chased a lizard. But:)

wangu    yampi-ka    takurr                      yan-i                      parlankirr-a.  
big-LOC    inside(Adv)    go-PAST    big rock-LOC

'(It) went inside a big rock.'

To sum up, the adjective follows the noun slightly more frequently than it precedes, irrespective of whether or not they are contiguous.

There is one circumstance in which the position of an adjective possibly affects the meaning. Thus, when confronted with the following three sentences:

- (5) mawun-tu    kurnka-ϕ    tyatyi-ϕ                      lan-i.  
man-ERG    dead-ABS    kangaroo-ABS    spear-PAST  
(6) mawun-tu    tyatyi-ϕ                      kurnka-ϕ    lan-i.



- kangaroo-ABS      dead-ABS
- (7) mawun-tu tyatyi- $\phi$       lan-i      kurnka- $\phi$ .
- kangaroo-ABS      dead-ABS

the late Mr. Robert Moses stated to the effect that (5) meant 'a man speared a dead kangaroo', while (6) and (7) meant 'a man speared a kangaroo which was alive and caused it to be dead'.

The relative order of different types of noun modifiers and the noun is not easy to determine, since their positions are not rigidly fixed. At least, the following patterns have been attested among the instances in which two different types of modifier occur and they are contiguous with the noun. ('G' refers to the dative indicating a possessor; 'D' refers to demonstratives other than *tyangu*.)

- (i) D N A      9 examples, e.g. (8) ;
- (ii) D A N      4 examples, e.g. (9), also 'that black-ABS man-ABS' in (4) of 22 ;
- (iii) D Num N      4 examples, e.g. (10) ;
- (iv) D G N      2 examples, e.g. (11) ;
- (v) D *tyangu* N      2 examples, e.g. (12) ;
- (vi) Num D N      2 examples, e.g. (13) ;
- (vii) D N Num      1 example;
- (viii) D N G      1 example;
- (ix) G N D      1 example;
- (x) N D A      1 example;
- (xi) A *tyangu* N D      1 example;
- (xii) N *tyangu* D      1 example;
- (xiii) *tyangu* N D      1 example;
- (xiv) G N A      1 example;
- (xv) G A N      1 example;
- (xvi) G Num N      1 example, and;
- (xvii) Num N G      1 example.

One notable feature is that demonstratives other than *tyangu* 'that' tend to occur in the initial position of the NP. Examples of the six most common patterns follow:

- (8) nga= $\phi$ =anu      ngarn-i      murlu      yaku-ngku      yampi-ku.  
          C-3SG,NOM-3PL,ACC      eat-PAST      this      fish-ERG      big-ERG

'This big fish ate them (human beings).' (D N A)

(Note that *murlu* in (8) has no case suffix. *murlu/murla* 'this, here' and *yalu/yala* 'that, there' sometimes—though not always, cf. (9) below — lack case inflection when they occur contiguously with another/other member(s) of the same NP. See also (11) below.)

- (9) ... pulumanu- $\phi$  kuwa=lu takutakurr yaan-an murla-ngka  
 bullock-ABS -3PL,NOM inside(Adv) put-PRES this-LOC  
 yampi-ka tyantu-ka.  
 big-LOC coolamon-LOC

'... they put the cattle on this big car (lit. coolamon).' (D A N)

- (10) nyila kutyarra- $\phi$  puwura- $\phi$  pip man-ta tyanytya-ka !  
 that two-ABS bush potato-ABS pick up-IMPERA ground-LOC  
 'Pick up those two bush potatoes from the ground !' (D Num N)

(As noted in 8 above, *nyila* 'that, there' and also *nyawa* 'this, here' lack case inflection.)

- (11) nga=lu purtya yan-an-i yalu nyanungu-wu ngirnrti-wu.  
 C-3PL,NOM run-CONT-PAST that 3PL,DAT-DAT tail-DAT  
 '(In a fairy tale), they ran for (i.e. to get) those tails of theirs.' (D G N)

- (12) nga=nalu pura nyanya nyila tyangu- $\phi$  yingkli- $\phi$ .  
 C-1PL,EXC,NOM hear,PAST that that-ABS English-ABS  
 'We heard that English.' (D tyangu N)

- (13) nyuntu pung-ka yangi- $\phi$  nyila mawun- $\phi$  !  
 2SG hit-IMPERA one-ABS that man-ABS  
 'Hit that, one man !' (Num DN)

## 12. Relative clause and noun

Djaru does not have relative clauses as such. Clauses containing the conjunction *kuwa* are often used like adverbial subordinate clauses. But, they can be translated like relative clauses when they share a coreferential NP with another clause; the latter clause can be regarded as the main clause. The coreferential NP can be manifested by a free NP and/or a bound pronoun. *kuwa* can be attached with bound pronouns, and *kuwa*=BP generally occurs in the first or second position of the clause. (To be precise, *kuwa* is used mainly in the western dialect, while the eastern dialect has *kuya*. However, as there are not many examples of *kuya*, we shall concentrate on *kuwa*.)

These 'relative clauses' are adjoined to the 'main clause' (i.e. they are what Hale (1976) refers to as 'adjoined relative clauses'), and consequently they are not always

contiguous with the head NP.

*kuwa* clauses almost always follow the 'main clause'. They follow the 'main clause' in all of about 30 examples in which they can be translated like relative clauses.

- (1) nga=rna=ngkula      yangi- $\phi$ =lu      marra-lu      [kuwa=rna= $\phi$   
 C-1SG,NOM-2SG,OBL   one-ABS-clitic   tell-PURP      -1SG,NOM-3SG,ACC  
 pilaka kanyangurra      kani      riyarr-a=yali].  
 ride-PAST NARR      down(Adv)      Turner River Station-LOC-clitic  
 'I will tell you (about) one (horse) that I used to ride down at Turner River  
 Station.'

- (2) (Traditionally, Aboriginal people did not have boil water.)  
 wakurra nga=lu      ngarra man-inyurra pilikaan- $\phi$  [kuwa  
 NEG      C-3PL,NOM   know-PAST NARR   billycan-ABS  
 lulukarra pinyangurra      ngapa- $\phi$ .]  
 boil-PAST NARR      water-ABS  
 'They did not know the billycan that was boiling the water.'

- (3) (When asked to give the word for 'grinding stone', the late Mr. Robert Moses  
 could not recollect it instantly and asked his wife.)  
 nyampa- $\phi$    tyangu- $\phi$    nga=lu      marran-an-i      tyangu- $\phi$    pamarr- $\phi$   
 what-ABS   that-ABS   C-3PL,NOM   tell-CONT-PAST   that-ABS   stone-ABS  
 [kuwa=lu      ngurlu- $\phi$    luwarn-inyurra] ?  
 -3PL,NOM   flour-ABS   grind-PAST NARR  
 'What did they call that stone with which they ground flour ?'

As noted in 6 above, the word order in *kuwa* clauses does not differ from that of  
 (declarative, affirmative) main/independent clauses.

13. Proper noun and common noun

No information is available.

14. Comparison

No information is available.

15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

There are no auxiliary verbs.

16. Adverb and verb

Sentence adverbs/modal adverbs such as *warri* 'possibly, probably, surely', *ngarra*  
 'can, able', 'possibly (often implying an unpleasant consequence)', and *kulanga* 'It

looked/looks as if..., but in fact it was/is not...' occur in the initial or second position of the clause. E.g.:

- (1) warri=nya=wula                      ngatyu- $\phi$    mit pung-an.  
possibly-1SG,ACC-3DU,NOM   1SG-ABS   be jealous of-PRES  
'They might be jealous of me.'
- (2) (The water is boiling.)  
ngarra=anu                      kampa-lu                      murlu-ngku   ngapa-ngku.  
possibly-3PL,ACC   burn-PURP   this-ERG   water-ERG  
'This (boiling) water might burn them.'
- (3) (I was stabbing a crocodile.)  
karaty- $\phi$    kulanga=rna                      lan-i.  
body-ABS                      -1SG,NOM   stab-PAST  
'It looked as if (or, I thought) I was stabbing the body (but, in fact, I was stabbing a leg).'

Other examples include *ngarra* 'can, able' in (3) of 24 (second position).

The position of time adverbs seems to be fairly free. They are attested to occur in the initial, medial and final position.

- (4) makan-ta                      nga=liya=anungkula                      tyantu-ka=yali  
tomorrow-LOC   C-1DU,EXC,NOM-3PL,OBL   coolamon-LOC-clitic  
tyirri yaan-inyurra   kuri- $\phi$                       kuri- $\phi$ .  
show-PAST NARR   fat-ABS  
'On the next day we showed them the fat in the coolamon.'
- (5) nga=liyarra                      munganytya   winki- $\phi$ =muwa   turt kumarn-i.  
C-1DU,EXC,NOM   at night   tail-ABS-only   cut off-PAST  
'We cut off the (kangaroo's) tail only, during the night.'
- (6) nyila   nga=lu                      karrun-inyurra                      tyumpa-yupa=yali.  
that   C-3PL,NOM   hold-PAST NARR   forever-REDUP-clitic  
'They kept that (horse there) forever.'

Other examples include 'long ago' in (4) of 6 (initial position); 'today' in (8) of 8 (initial position); 'in the afternoon' in (3) of 11 (last position); and 'tomorrow' in (7) of 20 (last position).

The position of place/direction/etc. adverbs (/phrases) seems to be extremely free. Examples include the following.

(i) initial position: 'to south' in (2) of 17; 'far' in (1) of 18; 'from there' in (7) of 20; 'there' in (5), (6) of 22; 'away' in (2) of 24; and:

(7) karlana      nga=nalu                  yan-i.  
to west      C-1PL,EXC,NOM      go-PAST      'We went west.'

(ii) medial position: 'out' in (9), (10) of 6; 'there' and 'in south' in (8) of 8; 'in a small pool of water' in (1) of 11; 'to the south' in (3) of 11; 'inside' in (4) of 11; 'inside' in (9) of 11; 'this-LOC' and 'in the grass' in (7) of 22; 'there-ALL' in (2) of 23; and 'out' in (4) of 23.

(iii) final position: 'down on the ground' in (8) of 6; 'back here' in (13) of 6; 'from behind' in (1) of 10; 'in a big rock' in (4) of 11; 'on this big car' in (9) of 11; 'from the ground' in (10) of 11; 'down at Turner River Station' in (1) of 12; 'far' in (2) of 17; 'in the creek' in (7) of 22; 'down to the creek' in (1) of 23; 'there' in (2) of 23; and 'out of the water' in (2) of 24. (The last example is in the final position of the clause.)

Instruments can be expressed by the instrumental case or by the locative case. These NPs are often contiguous with the verb (either preceding it or following it), but they may occur elsewhere.

(8) nga=rna      payan-i      pamarr-u      yampi-ku=yali      ngatyu-ngku      langka-φ.  
C-1SG,NOM      bite-PAST      stone-INST      big-INST-clitic      1SG-ERG      head-ABS  
'I hit hard (lit. bite) the (crocodile's) head with a big stone.'      (V S O)

(9) pamarr-u      nga=liyarra                  payan-i.  
stone-INST      C-1DU,EXC,NOM      bite-PAST

'We hit (the crocodile) hard with stones.

Other examples include 'with this hand' in (2) of 9 (final position, immediately following the verb); 'in the coolamon' in (4) above (in medial position, immediately preceding the verb); and 'with the fingers' in (5) of 20 (in initial position).

Similarly for manner adverbs:

(10) ngayingku      witpala-φ=yali                  tyirri yaan-i      karrangulu.  
that                  horn-ABS-clitic      show-PAST      thus  
'That (buffalo) showed its horns like that (from among the grass).'

(11) nga=rna                  tyaarr-tyaar                  waty pan-i.  
C-1SG,NOM      unsuccessfully-REDUP      throw-PAST  
'I tried in vain to throw down (the kangaroo).'

For negation words, see 22 below.

#### 17. Adverb and adjective

There seems to be no adverb which expresses 'very' or the like. But the adjective-stem-forming suffix *-nyaarniny* 'very, indeed' can be added to adjectives, etc. (The resultant stems take the usual case suffixes.) An example obtained through elicitation:

- (1) *kita-nyaarniny-tyu ngumpirr-u nga=yi=ϕ nyang-an.*  
 good-very-ERG woman-ERG C-1SG,ACC-3SG,NOM see-PRES  
 'A very good-looking woman is looking at me.'

In addition, the clitic *=wali* 'indeed, fairly, very' is attested to be attached to adverbs, etc.

- (2) *kurlanirra nga=lu yan-an-i yunku=wali.*  
 to south C-3PL,NOM go-CONT-PAST far-indeed  
 'They went very far, to the south.'

#### 18. Question marker

There are three ways to form general questions. One is to use the carrier morpheme *wa/pa* and another is to use the modal adverb *walima*. The third is to employ a rising intonation only, without *wa/pa* or *walima*. The first method is by far the most common — at least, in the texts.

As has been amply illustrated above, in declarative sentences bound pronouns are generally attached to the carrier morpheme *nga*, whose sole function it is to carry them. There is another carrier morpheme: *pa* (following a consonant)/*wa* (used elsewhere). This carrier morpheme indicates general questions, including 'Shall I ?'/'Shall we ?', or hortation/command/advice.

- (1) *yunku .wa=nta yan-i ?*  
 far Q-2PL,NOM go-PAST 'Did you go far ?'  
 (2) *nyuntu-ku kanya wa=yi=n nalitya-ϕ ?*  
 2SG-ERG carry,PAST Q-1SG,DAT-2SG,NOM tea-ABS  
 'Did you bring my tea ?'

As noted in 6, *nga=BP* generally occurs in the first or second position (although it does occur in a later position in a small number of examples). In contrast, *wa/pa=BP* generally occurs in the second or third position (and even in the fourth position in one example).

*walima* can make a complete sentence with a meaning such as 'How is it ?', 'How

are you feeling?' or the like. It can also be used in general questions, generally with the meaning of 'any'. It occurs in the initial position in all of the four examples:

- (3) walima=nta=yanu            nyila        nyang-an        murrkun-kariny- $\phi$  ?  
Q-2PL,NOM-3PL,ACC    that        see-PRES        three-other-ABS  
'Do you see these, three other (people) ?'

- (4) walima=n            kuyu- $\phi$         karrun-an ?  
Q-2SG,NOM        meat-ABS        hold-PRES            'Do you have any meat ?'

There are very few examples of general question with a rising intonation only:

- (5) kuli-waty- $\phi$             wangu        nyununga        karu- $\phi$  ?  
angry-agent-ABS                    2SG,DAT        wife-ABS  
'Is your wife an angry person ?'

Apart from the addition of a question marker, general questions do not differ from declarative sentences in terms of word order — as far as those with a question marker are concerned. (I have very little information on general questions with a rising intonation only.)

#### 19. Inversion of subject and verb in general questions

This is irrelevant, since in declarative sentences the verb can either precede or follow the subject.

#### 20. Special questions

Among the interrogative words, *nyampa* 'what' can also have the meaning 'anything', 'something', 'everything'. With this meaning, *nyampa* often follows other word(s) that has/have the same syntactic function. An example obtained through elicitation:

- (1) mawun-tu    ngarn-i            nganytyaali- $\phi$             puwura- $\phi$             nyampa- $\phi$ .  
man-ERG    eat-PAST        bush tomato-ABS        bush potato-ABS        something-ABS  
'The man ate a bush tomato, a bush potato and something.'

Except for a special circumstance mentioned below, i.e. (9), interrogative words almost always occur in the initial position of the clause. Examples of an interrogative word in independent clauses include:

- (2) nyampa=n            karrun-an ?  
what-2SG,NOM        hold-PRES            'What are you holding ?'
- (3) wanytyuka=li            mangarri- $\phi$         ngarn-ang-ku ?  
where-1DU,EXC,NOM    food-ABS        eat-CONT-PURP

'Where shall we eat the food ?'

- (4) wanytyu-ka ngapa-φ ?

where-LOC water-ABS 'Where is water ?'

Other examples include A in (26) and in (27) of 6 ; and (3) of 12.

In the following example, the interrogative word occurs in the initial position of the subordinate clause:

- (5) marla-ngku nga=la=anungkula tyirri yaan-inyurra wanytyu-ka  
finger-INST C-3PL,NOM-3PL,OBL show-PAST NARR where-LOC  
ngapa-φ.  
water-ABS

'With their fingers they (Aboriginal people) showed to them (white people) where water was.'

(The ex. (5) is in the nature of 'indirect question'. There is no example of 'direct question' such as 'Where do you think he is going ?')

Although the interrogative word almost always occurs in the initial position, in a handful of examples, it occurs not in the initial position but in the second position:

- (6) (The Aborigines gave the white people nicknames. But:)

pulumanu-φ nyampa=lu marran-i ?  
bullock-ABS what-3PL,NOM call-PAST

'What did they call the cattle ?'

- (7) yala=ngu wanytyu-kawu=li yan-ku makan ?  
there-ABL where-ALL-1DU,INC,NOM go-PURP tomorrow

'Where shall we go from there tomorrow ?'

The interrogative marker *wayi* occurs in two examples of special question. (It has not been attested in general questions, although it occurs in general questions in other Australian languages such as Warrungu of north Queensland (Tsunoda 1974 : 300-01).) It follows the interrogative word in one example, i.e. (8), while it precedes in the other, i.e. (9). That is, in the latter example, the interrogative word occurs in the second position, and not in the initial position.

- (8) nyarrampa=li wayi ?  
which way-1DU,INC,NOM Q 'Which way (shall) we (go) ?'  
(9) wayi wanytyu-la pali pung-ku ngapa-φ ?  
Q where-LOC find-PURP water-ABS



'Where will (he) find water?'

Apart from the fact that the interrogative word generally occurs in the initial position, special questions do not seem to differ from declarative sentences in terms of word order.

# 21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

The same as 19.

# 22. Negative sentences.

There are two negation words: *wakurra* 'not' and *kula* 'cannot'. *wakurra* 'not' is used far more commonly. It occurs both in sentences with a verb and verbless sentences.

In sentences with a verb, *wakurra* generally (in 34 examples) occurs in the first position, e.g. (1), (2), (3). It occurs in the second position, to be precise, after the first constituent, in 6 examples, e.g. (4), (5), and in the third position in one example, i.e. (6). At least, it always precedes the verb.

- (1) *wakurra=rna ngatyu-ngku karrun-an nyila langka-φ*.  
 NEG-1SG,NOM 1SG-ERG hold-PRES that head-ABS  
 'I don't have that kind of idea (lit. head).' (NEG=BP St Vt Ot)

- (2) *wakurra nga=lu karrun-an-i watypali-nyunga-φ marnu-φ*  
 NEG C-3PL,NOM hold-CONT-PAST whiteman-from-ABS language-ABS  
 'They (Aboriginal people) did not have whiteman's language.'  
 (NEG *nga*=BP Vt Ot)

- (3) *wakurra nga=la=anu milyilyi-φ karrun-inyurra mawun-ku*  
 NEG C-3PL,NOM-3PL,ACC brain-ABS have-PAST NARR man-DAT  
*yalu-lu watypali-lu*.  
 that-ERG whiteman-ERG  
 'Those whitemen did not have Aboriginal people's (lit. men's) brain.'

(NEG *nga*=BP Ot Vt St)

- (4) *nyantu-ku wakurra nga=anu ngarra man-i nyila kuru-kuru-φ mawun-φ*.  
 3SG-ERG NEG C-3PL,ACC know-PAST that black-REDUP-ABS man-ABS  
 'He (a whiteman) did not know these black people.' (St NEG *nga*=BP Vt Ot)

- (5) *nyila wakurra nga=nalu ngarrity nyirra*.  
 there NEG C-IPL,EXC,NOM have a spell-PAST  
 'There we did not have a spell.' (Adv NEG *nga*=BP Vi)

- (6) nyila nga=liya wakurra karrun-an-i kirmimiliny- $\phi$ .  
 there C-IDU,EXC,NOM NEG hold-CONT-PAST spear-ABS  
 'We did not have a spear there.' (Adv *nga*=BP NEG Vt Ot)

Other examples include the following : (i) first sentence in (28) of 6 (NEG=BP Vt); (ii) (2) of 8 (NEG=BP Vt Ot); (iii) (4) of 8 (St NEG *nga*=BP Vt Ot); (iv) (4) of 9 (NEG *nga*=BP Vi); (v) (2) of 12 (NEG *nga*=BP Vt Ot); and (vi) (4) of 23 (St NEG *nga*=BP Ot Vt).

(I said above 'in the second position, to be precise after the first constituent'. This is significant. For example, in (4) of 8, *wakurra* is the third word, but it occurs after the first constituent 'ISG,DAT-ERG fathert-ERG'.)

It seems that generally the position of focus of negation does not affect the position of *wakurra*. (For example, regarding (1) to (4) and (6), although the position of *wakurra* differs, the focus of negation seems to be invariably the O (or possibly O plus V).) However, in just one example, *wakurra* is placed before the focus of negation :

- (7) ngapa- $\phi$  murla-ngka nyin-an-i yuka-ngka, wakurra pinka-ka.  
 water-ABS this-LOC sit-CONT-PAST grass-LOC NEG creek-LOC  
 'There was water in this grass, not in the creek.'

In verbless sentences, too, *wakurra* 'not' generally (in 14 examples) occurs in the initial position, e.g. (8). But, in 3 examples, it occurs in the second position, immediately preceding the focus of negation, e.g. (9).

- (8) wakurra nyila marnanykuliny- $\phi$ .  
 NEG that bad-ABS 'That is not bad.'

(It is not known whether or not (8) expresses the mild degree of approval implied in its English translation.)

- (9) tyangu- $\phi$  wakurra ngatyu-marraty- $\phi$ .  
 that-ABS NEG ISG-like-ABS 'That (man) is not like me.'

The other negation word *kula* 'cannot' seems to occur only in sentences with a verb. It occurs in the initial position in all of the 4 examples.

- (10) kula=n part kang-ku.  
 cannot-2SG,NOM fly-PURP 'You cannot fly.'

As noted above, in sentences with a verb, *wakurra* 'not' always precedes the verb (at least, in the examples at hand). Therefore, negative intransitive sentences have the pattern :

*wakurra* ... Vi ...

In negative transitive sentences, the object, if it occurs, always follows *wakurra*, with one exception in which it precedes *wakurra*. Apart from this exception the object is always contiguous with the verb. It (immediately) precedes the verb in 4 examples, e.g. (3) above, and (immediately) follows in 10 examples, e.g. (1), (2), (4), (6) above. That is, the patterns of negative transitive sentences with the object are :

*wakurra* ... Vt Ot ...

*wakurra* ... Ot Vt ...

As we saw in 6 above, in affirmative sentences, the object is often separated from the verb. That is, negative sentences seem to differ from affirmative sentences in that in the transitive ones the object is almost always contiguous with the verb. The reason for this is not forthcoming immediately. (This difference may not be significant, since the examples of negative sentence are not nearly as numerous as those of affirmative sentence.)

### 23. Conditional clauses

Clauses with the conjunction *nyangka* 'if, when' can indicate conditions. These clauses precede the main clause more than twice more frequently than they follow. The conditional clause precedes in :

- (1) *nyanga=n*      *ruyu marn-ang-ku*      *yan-ta*      *kanytyurra*      *pinka-kawu* !  
if-2SG,NOM    play-CONT-PURP    go-IMPERA    down(Adv)    creek-ALL  
'If you want to play, go down to the creek.'
- (2) *nyangka=n*    *yan-ku*      *yala-ngkawu*      *nga=n=tyanu*      *nyang-an-ku*  
if-2SG,NOM    go-PURP    there-ALL      C-2SG,NOM-3PL,ACC    see-CONT-PURP  
*nyila.*  
*there*  
'If you go there, you will see them there.'

The conditional clause follows in :

- (3) (I am an able hunter.)  
*ngatyu-ngku*      *ngarra=rna*      *pali wung-ku*      *kuyu-ø*      *tyangu-ø*  
1SG-ERG      able(Adv)-2SG,NOM    find-PURP      game-ABS      that-ABS  
*nyangka-ø*      *langka-ø=muwa*      *pit nyin-ang-ku.*  
if-3SG,NOM      head-ABS-only      stick out-CONT-PURP  
'I can find that game (a kangaroo in this context) if only its head is sticking out

(of grass).'

- (4) watypali-lu      wakurra nga=lu      ngapa- $\phi$       pali wi-ngi      nyangka=lu  
 whiteman-ERG    NEG      C-3PL,NOM    water-ABS    find-POT    if-3PL,NOM  
 pirri yan-ngi      nyantu-wariny- $\phi$ .  
 out    come-POT    3PL-alone-ABS

'White people would not have found water if they had come out here by themselves (i.e. without Aboriginal people).'

*nyangka* generally (18 examples) occurs in the first position of the clause ; see the examples above. But, it occurs in the second position (to be precise, after the first constituent) in 6 examples, and in the third position in one example.

#### 24. Purpose clause and main clause

Clauses containing the purposive form or the hortative form of a verb can be used like subordinate clauses, indicating purpose ('so that ... may') or consequence ('..., so that'). In all of the examples (8 examples of the purposive and 3 examples of the hortative), the purpose/consequence clause follows the main clause.

- (1) nga=rna-ngku      pina yung-an      nga=n=tyanu      kang-ku  
 C-1SG,NOM-2SG,ACC    teach-PRES      C-2SG,NOM-3PL,DAT    carry-PURP  
 marnu- $\phi$ .

language-ABS

'I teach you (Djaru) so that you can take it to them (to your countrymen).'

- (2) (The first whiteman brought cattle to Kimberley. He said to Aborigines, who were catching fish in a river.)

wurna yan-ta=lu      ngapa-ngu      nga=rna=anu      pulumanu- $\phi$   
 away    go-IMPERA-PL,NOM    water-ABL    C-1SG,NOM-3PL,DAT    bullock-ABS  
 ngapa- $\phi$       yung-ku.

water-ABS    give-PURP      (Vi, nga=BP IO DO give)

'Ge out of the water so I can give the cattle some water.'

- (3) (An elderly Djaru man decided to help me learn Djaru.)

yung-ka=lu=la      tyaru- $\phi$       tankurr man-kurra.  
 give-IMPERA-PL,NOM-3SG,DAT    language-ABS    understand-HORT

'Give (i.e. teach) him the (Djaru) language so that he will understand it.'

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(Submitted 11 October 1988)