

# Typological study of word order (12) : Kalkatungu, and (13) : Diyari

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## (12) : Kalkatungu

### 0. Introduction

This is the 12th installment of my typological study of word order, following Tsunoda (1988, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1990d, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1992a, 1992b). (Tsunoda 1988 deals with Japanese.)

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### 1. Name of language

Kalkatungu. Also written as 'Galgadungu'. Its popular spelling is 'Kalkadoon' (Blake, p. c.). See also 4.

### 2. Source of information

Blake (1979, 1983) (abbreviated as 'B 1979' and 'B 1983', respectively). Supplemented with Walsh et al. (1981) regarding 3.

### 3. Genetic affiliation

The Kalkatungic (or Galgadungic) group of the Pama-Nyungan language family (B 1979 : 3, Walsh et al. 1981).

### 4. Geographical distribution

'The Kalkatungu (or Kalkadoons as they are generally called) inhabited an area of what is now western Queensland [of Australia — TT], an area

that embraces the present towns of Mt. Isa and Cloncurry' (B 1979 : 1).

### 5. Morphological and other relevant facts

Pronouns are of two types: free and enclitic pronouns. The case-marking system is ergative-absolutive ( $St \neq Si = O$ ;  $ERG \neq ABS = ABS$ ) for nouns and free pronouns. The ergative case marks a transitive subject and an instrument. Other cases include dative/genitive, locative, allative, ablative, and causal. (There are two allatives, i.e. allative1 and allative2, and two locatives, i.e. locative1 and locative2. The two locatives are difficult to distinguish in certain instances, and simply glossed 'LOC'.) The enclitic pronouns operate in the nominative-accusative system ( $St = Si \neq O$ ;  $NOM = NOM \neq ACC$ ). They are used under limited circumstances and occur far less frequently than free pronouns. Verbs inflect for tense, aspect, mood, etc., e.g. present, past, future, imperative, possibility, etc.

For typographical convenience, the notation system employed in the sources will be slightly altered, in conformity with a practical orthography which is fairly widely used for Australian languages. That is, dental consonants will be written with *th*, *nh*, *lh*; palatal consonants with *j*, *ny*, *ly*; retroflex consonants with *rt*, *rn*, *rl*; two rhotics with *rr*, *r*; velar nasal with *ng*; and semi-vowels with *y*, *w*.

Abbreviations employed are the following: - ABL, ablative; ABS, absolutive; ACC, accusative; ADJVZR, adjectivizer; ADV, adverb or adverb phrase; ALL, allative; ANTI, antipassive; COMP, complementizer; CONT, continuing; DAT/GEN, dative/genitive; DO, direct object; DU, dual; ERG, ergative; FUT, future; HABIT, habitual; IMPERA, imperative; IMPFCT, imperfect; INTVZR, intransitivizer; IO, indirect object; LIG, ligative morpheme; LOC, locative; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; O, object; p. c., personal communication; POSSIB, possibility; PFCT, perfect; PL, plural; PRES, present; PTCPL, participle; PURP, purposive; REL, relative; S, subject; SG, singular; Si, intransitive subject; St, transitive subject; TRVZR, transitivizer; V, verb; 1, first person; 2, second person; and, 3, third person.

Enclitics are indicated by a preceding equal sign(=), while other morpheme boundaries are indicated by a hyphen. Glosse invariably employ hyphens only, and no equal sign.

## 6. Subject, object and verb

Blake (1979 : 107-16, 1983) provides detailed accounts of word order in Kalkatungu as follows. Kalkatungu 'exhibits very free order. Not only can the verb and its arguments be arranged in any order, but where an argument is represented by more than one word, these words can appear in any order and may be scattered among the other words of' clause (B 1983 : 143 ; Blake, p. c.).

We shall first look at simple sentences ; and then subordinate clauses.

### [1] Simple sentences.

'In general there seem to be no grammatical rules of word order in K. ... As I mentioned [above — TT] ..., where an argument is represented by more than one word, these words may appear in any order and not necessarily in sequence. Whether they are in sequence or not, they are always marked for case. In [(a) to (f) — TT] ..., some alternative ways of expressing "This big dog bit the white man" are shown'

(B 1983 : 144) :

- |     |               |           |               |               |               |
|-----|---------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| (a) | jipa-yi       | thuku-yu  | yaun-tu       | yanyi-Ø       | ijayi-Ø.      |
|     | this-ERG      | dog-ERG   | big-ERG       | white man-ABS | bite-PRES     |
| (b) | jipa-yi       | thuku-yu  | yanyi-Ø       | ijayi-Ø       | yaun-tu.      |
|     | this-ERG      | dog-ERG   | white man-ABS | bite-PRES     | big-ERG       |
| (c) | thuku-yu      | jipa-yi   | ijayi-Ø       | yanyi-Ø       | yaun-tu.      |
|     | dog-ERG       | this-ERG  | bite-PRES     | white man-ABS | big-ERG       |
| (d) | yaun-tu       | jipa-yi   | thuku-yu      | ijayi-Ø       | yanyi-Ø.      |
|     | big-ERG       | this-ERG  | dog-ERG       | bite-PRES     | white man-ABS |
| (e) | jipa-yi       | ijayi-Ø   | yanyi-Ø       | thuku-yu      | yaun-tu.      |
|     | this-ERG      | bite-PRES | white man-ABS | dog-ERG       | big-ERG       |
| (f) | yanyi-Ø       | ijayi-Ø   | jipa-yi       | yaun-tu       | thuku-yu.     |
|     | white man-ABS | bite-PRES | this-ERG      | big-ERG       | dog-ERG       |
- 'This big dog bit/bites the white man.' (B 1983 : 145)

(The present tense can refer to past time as well as present time (B 1979 : 54).)

'Of course not all orders are equally likely, but as far as I know all orders are grammatically possible. What word order tendencies there are are pragmatic or stylistic' (B 1983 : 144).

('The presence of these alternatives suggests that there is in fact no noun phrase, but that where an argument is represented by more than one word we have nominals in parallel or in apposition. If there is no order, there is no reason to posit any hierarchical structure within the clause. Each word is a constituent of the clause ...' (B 1983 : 145). (In this connection, see 8 to 11 below.)

'As mentioned earlier, word order in K is grammatically free. This does not mean that one order is as likely as another. Obviously there are tendencies to favour certain orders. ... Pronouns tend to occur early in the clause, particularly in first or second position' (B 1983 : 152)'

For transitive clauses, the most frequent order is SOV, followed by SVO. OSV is much less frequent, and VSO, OVS, and VOS are uncommon. For intransitive sentences, SV is far more frequent than VS. (B 1983 : 153)

Examples of SOV and SV, respectively:

(g) marapai-thu      kupu-Ø      lhayi-nha.  
woman-ERG   spider-ABS   kill-PAST                              (SOV)  
'The woman killed the spider.'

(h) marapai-Ø      jaa      ijamayi-Ø.  
woman-ABS   this, ABS   laugh-PRES                              (SV)  
'The woman laughs.' (B 1979 : 27)

(*jaa* 'this, here' 'seems to be ambivalent between nominal/adjectival and adverbial' (B 1979 : 34).)

('Adverbs and adverb-like noun phrases (e.g. locatives) tend to follow the [S, O and V - TT] ...' (B 1979 : 108); see 16 below. 'Negatives and interrogatives, however, are virtually always in sentence-initial position' (B 1979 : 108) ; see 22 and 20, respectively.)

'I think it would be a mistake to consider that [SOV and SVO - TT]

are the unmarked word order patterns. Rather I believe the word order preferences of basic sentences, of more elaborate sentences, and of elliptical sentences can be largely accounted for in terms of a few pragmatic principles. [SOV and SVO — TT] emerge as the most frequent orders as a by-product of these principles. The general principle seems to be that the topic precedes the comment and the focus is placed first even though the focus is usually part of the comment and indeed co-extensive with it if the comment consists of only one word. The principle is summed up in the following schema' (B 1983 : 153) :

( i ) (focus)-topic-(remainder of) comment

'I use "topic" in the sense of what is being talked about and "comment" in the sense of what is said about the topic. The "focus" is the most important part of the comment, the essential part, the part that resists ellipsis (since there would be no point to a sentence if the focus were removed)' (B 1983 : 153).

'Not every clause has a focus or at least an obvious focus. In the absence of a focus we can expect from our schema [( i ) — TT] to find the sentence arranged according to the topic-before-comment principle. The following example is from a short text about the coming of the white man; *yanyi* "white man" appears from the context to be the topic and the rest of the sentence is of course the comment' (B 1983 : 154) :

( j ) *yanyi-ngku*                      *mumayi-Ø*              *muu-Ø*.  
       white man-ERG              take-PRES              country-ABS                                      (SVO)  
       'The white man took the land.'

'As far as I know, the order in [( j ) — TT] could have been [SOV — TT]. I cannot determine any difference between the orders [SVO and SOV — TT] where *O* is a noun' (B 1983 : 154).

SOV and SVO 'are probably the most frequent orders because of the topic-before-comment principle and the fact that, all things being equal, an agent or experiencer (the roles covered by [St — TT] is a more likely choice of topic than a patient, and also because a focused [St — TT], a non-nuclear focus (e.g. a locative) or no focus at all will not interfere with [SOV and SVO — TT]. Certainly rarer orders result from *O* being

chosen as focus or topic or V being chosen as focus. Some of these possibilities are illustrated in the following examples.

In [(k) — TT] we have two sentences, one OV and the other [OSV — TT]; O is the focus ...'; it is the focus of the question in A, and is the focus of the answer in B (1983 : 154). (As noted above, interrogative words generally occur in the initial position; see 20.)

- (k) A : nhami- $\emptyset$                   pirlapirla- $\emptyset$       artii- $\emptyset$  ?  
           how many-ABS      child-ABS      produce-PRES                  (OV)  
           'How many children has she got?'
- B : kurrpai- $\emptyset$                   jipa-yi                  artii- $\emptyset$ .  
           three-ABS      this-ERG      produce-PRES                  (OSV)  
           'She got three.'

Another pair of examples, from Blake (1979 : 115) :

- (1) A : nhani                  nyin-ti                  pati-nha ?  
           who, ABS      2SG-ERG      tell-PAST                  (OSV)  
           'Who did you tell?'
- B : iki- $\emptyset$                   nga-thu                  pati-nha ...  
           Hickey-ABS      1SG-ERG      tell-PAST                  (OSV)  
           'I told Hickey ...'

Other examples of OSV include (e) of 16; (a) of 18; (g) of 20, and (b) of 24.

'The next example is of an O-initial pattern arising from the operation of the topic-before-comment principle. It can readily be observed across languages that where a two-place verb involves a human argument or higher animal argument on the one hand and an inanimate or lowly animate (e.g. an insect) on the other, the event is likely to be seen from the point of view of the higher entity and the higher entity treated as topic. In [(m), S — TT] is inanimate and O human and I take it the placing of O first reflects the fact that it is being taken as topic' (B 1983 : 155) :

- (m) ngata- $\emptyset$                   maniyi-nha      ujan-tu.  
           1PL-ABS      burn-PAST      fire-ERG                  (OVS)  
           'We got burned by the fire (sc. bushfire).' (B 1983 : 155)

Other such examples include (i) of 8; and:

- (n) *ngai=ka unhhthayi kuu-ngku.*  
 1SG, ABS- soak-PRES rain-ERG (OVS)  
 'I got caught in the rain.' (B 1979 : 114)

(The enclitic =*ka* 'appears to have no function at the information level' (B 1979 : 95).)

In B of the following example (taken from B 1979 : 115), the verb, in the initial position, is in focus:

- (o) A : *nhakathijayan nyin-ti lhayi-Ø=ka majumpa-Ø=ka?*  
 how 2SG-ERG kill-PRES- kangaroo-ABS-  
 'How did you kill the kangaroo?' (ADV S V O)  
 B : *inyjiyi-Ø nhaa nga-thu ntia-ku.*  
 hit-PRES this, ABS 1SG-ERG stone-ERG  
 'I hit him with a stone.' (V O S ADV)

'Note that *lha-*, the verb used in the question, means "hit by contact" or "kill" and it is used where the details of hitting or killing are not known. *inyji* on the other hand means "to hit with a missile" or "to chop"' (B 1979 : 114). It is because of this specification of the method of hitting that the verb in B is the focus.

Examples of other orders include:

- (p) *lhumantiyi-Ø yangaarlu-Ø nga-jinha jipa-yi.*  
 explain-PRES language-ABS 1SG-ALL1 this-ERG  
 'He explains the language to me. (B 1979 : 48) (V DO IO S)

((p) can be regarded as an instance involving both DO and IO i.e. an instance of V-DO-IO-S.)

- (q) (I would gather firewood, ... and :)  
 ... *arti-nyin nga-thu nga-ji-wa-tha ujan-Ø ...*  
 make-PAST 1SG-ERG 1SG-DAT/GEN-LIG-LOC fire-ABS  
 (V S ADV O)

'... I would make a fire at my (camp).' (B 1979 : 159)

- (r) *ngaimi-ya ku=tu walkaartu-Ø thuku-yu!*  
 chase-IMPERA IMPERA-2PL, NOM lizard-ABS dog-ERG  
 (V S O ADV)

'Chase the lizard with a dog, you mob!' (B 1979 : 42)

(For the morpheme *ku*, see Blake 1979 : 39. The gloss 'IMPERA-2PL, NOM' was suggested by Blake (p. c.).)

'The recipient of the verb *anyi* "to give" can be expressed in the allative (compare English *He gave the book to John*) or it can be expressed [in the absolutive case, with no case suffix — TT] in a construction analogous to English *He gave John the book*. Almost all the examples to hand are of the latter construction with a pronominal recipient and the order is either [S-IO-V-DO or S-IO-DO-V — TT] (B 1983 : 157). Examples of the latter pattern, in which the IO is in the absolutive :

(s) *nga-ji*                      *martu-yu*              *ngai*  
 1SG-DAT/GEN      mother-ERG      1SG, ABS

*anyi-nyin*      *mimi-Ø*

give-PAST      breast-ABS

(S IO V DO)

'My mother used to give me milk.' (B 1979 : 159)

(t) *marapai-thu*    *nyini*              *ati-Ø*              *anya=kin?*  
 woman-ERG      2SG, ABS      meat-ABS      give, PAST-2SG, ACC

(S IO DO V)

'Did the woman give you meat?' (B 1979 : 42)

(u) *ngai*                  *nga-ji-wa-thu*                      *kunkuyu-rlu*  
 1SG, ABS      1SG-DAT/GEN-LIG-ERG      daughter-ERG

*anya*                  *kuu-Ø*

give, PAST      water-ABS

(IO S V DO)

'My daughter gave me water.' (B 1979 : 49)

(v) *thuku-Ø*      *nga-thu*              *anya*                  *kunka-Ø*              *wakari-Ø=ka*.  
 dog-ABS      1SG-ERG      give, PAST      bone-ABS      fish-ABS-

'I gave the dog a fish bone.' (B 1983 : 159)

(DO S V DO)

The only example of 'give' in the first pattern, in which the IO is in the allative, is :

(w) *marapai-thu*      *ati-Ø*                  *anya*                  *nyun-kunha?*  
 woman-ERG      meat-ABS      give, PAST      2SG-ALL1

(S DO V IO)



'Did the woman give meat to you?' (B 1979 : 41)

Another instance of the first pattern is (P) above, though it involves 'explain' rather than 'give'.

In intransitive sentences, as noted above, 'the predominant order is SV and this will result either from the topic-before-comment principle or the focus-first principle. In [(x) — TT], which is from the beginning of a text, the order seems to reflect the topic-before-comment principle' (B 1983 : 155) :

(x) *All right, now there's an old man*, kupangurru.

kupangurru-Ø ngartathati-Ø.

old man-ABS sit-PRES

(SV)

'The old man is sitting down.'

'Where we find the order VS, it is usually the result of the verb being in focus. In the reply in [(y) — TT], I think the verb is in focus because the reason for the absence is relatively abnormal—he has not gone on a local journey ..., but he has gone right away to another district ...' (B 1983 : 156) :

(y) A : arraka yukuta-Ø nyun-ku ?

where husband-ABS 2SG-DAT/GEN

'Where is your husband?'

B : kaanta-nha pakai. muu-Ø ngarra-Ø.

go away-PAST 3SG, ABS camp-ABS other-ABS

'He's gone away. (To) another camp.'

We shall comment on imperative sentences just briefly. In positive imperative, the verb often occurs clause-initially, e.g. (r) above; and (e), (f) of 24, although it may occur non-initially, e.g. (e) of 7. In negative imperative, *wanta* 'Don't' precedes the verb, e.g. (e) of 22. An imperative clause may be preceded by a subordinate clause, e. s. (a) of 23.

## [2] Subordinate clauses.

'One of the striking features of subordinate clauses is that they are mostly verb-final. A sample of 100 subordinate clauses yielded 84 verb-final clauses, whereas a sample of main clauses showed only 64% as verb-final. ... my feeling is that in fact the high portion of verb-final

subordinate clauses can be explained in terms of the same principle that operates in main clauses. ... Subordinate clauses characteristically contain fewer words than main clauses. ... A count of 100 subordinate clauses revealed that only ten contained more than two words (excluding the auxiliary). Given the reduced number of words in subordinate clauses it seems to me that the operation of the focus-first principle frequently results in fronting the non-verb and leaving the verb at the end of the clause' (B 1983 : 161-62).

'The [constituents — TT] of a subordinate clauses cannot mingle with [those — TT] of a higher clause and there is no evidence for the "unbounded" leftward movement we get in English in sentences like *Who did you say she married?*, etc. There is very little evidence of embedding one clause within another' (B 1983 : 151).

Examples of subordinate clauses include (z) to (b') below. For additional examples, see 12, 23, and 24.

Although this is not stated in the sources, there is one verb that seems to almost always precedes the subject under a certain condition. This verb is the intransitive verb *rumpi* 'fear'. This verb seems to usually take an object clause. When it takes an object clause, it almost always precedes the subject, e.g. (z), (a') below and also (b) of 18. There are only three exceptions, e.g. (b'). (The object clause follow the main clause in all the examples at hand.)

(z) *rumpi-∅ kupangurru-∅ kunhu=n puyu-∅ lhaa-∅.*  
 fear-PRES old man-ABS lest-2SG, NOM 3DU-ABS hit-PRES  
 (VS, OV)

'The old man's afraid that you'll hit them two.' (B 1979 : 70)

(a') *rumpi-∅ ngai ana nguyi-∅*  
 fear-PRES 1SG, ABS lest fall-PRES (VS, V)

'I'm afraid he'll fall.' (B 1979 : 69)

(b') *jaa nhaurr-∅ rumpi-∅ ana thuma-yi-∅ ...*  
 here, ABS childd-ABS fear-PRES lest break-ANTI-PRES  
 (SV, V)

'The child is frightened he might break it ...' (B 1979 : 71)

('Antipassivization' is a type of intransitivizing process. For details, see Blake 197).  
 Blake 197).

There is one example of *rumpi* 'fear' in which it does not take an object clause. In this example, it precedes (rather than follows) the subject.

- (c) *ngai rumpi-∅ nhaa iti-yingu*  
 1SG, ABS fear-PRES here, ABS man-CAUSAL  
*milhthiwakini-nyin-tungu.*  
 intoxicated-PTCPL-CAUSAL (S V ADV)  
 'I am afraid of drunken men.' (B 1979 : 47)

## 7. Adposition

On the whole, Kalkatungu lacks adpositions. However, there are a few examples of what may be considered a postposition. They involve *kia* 'like'. According to Blake (1979 : 99), '*kia* is a particle meaning "that way" or "this way"':

- (a) *kia ngai ingka-∅.*  
 that way 1SG, ABS go-PRES (ADV S V)  
 'I'm going that way.' (B 1979 : 99)
- (b) *nyini=ka uja punpapunpathi-∅ kia=ka arrkun-ku.*  
 2SG, ABS- just talk-PRES that way- fight-DAT/GEN  
 (S ADV V ADV ADV)

'You're just talking like that to cause a fight.' (B 1979 : 99)

'Used after a noun phrase it corresponds to English "like" in the sense of "resemble", and it may be cliticised to a preceding nominal' (B 1979 : 99) :

- (c) *ngai kia nhaa nhaurr-∅=ka.*  
 1SG, ABS like here, ABS child-ABS-  
 'The child looks like me.' (B 1979 : 99)
- (b) *jaa=ka munhthu-∅=ka kurla-anyji-∅ kia.*  
 here, ABS- face-ABS- father-his-ABS like  
 'He looks like his father.' (B 1979 : 99)

(The morpheme *-anyji* 'indicates a third person (singular, dual or

plural) possessor, ... [It — TT] follows any derivational suffixes and precedes any case suffix' (B 1979 : 33). That is, it is a suffix, rather than an enclitic.)

- (e) puthurra- $\emptyset$  ini-ya            ngai            kia!  
       good-ABS be-IMPERA 1SG,ABS like  
       'Be good like me!' (1979 : 97)

It would thus seem that *kia* in examples such as (c) to (e) is functioning rather like a postposition—although this view is not stated in the sources.

The preceding is my own analysis of *kia*. However, Blake (p.c.) notes that this analysis is certainly possible, but that he suspects that *kia* could move away from the noun phrase. That is, he seems to suggest that *kia* is not really a postposition.

In the following, we shall deal with the relative order of constituents of a 'noun phrase'. However, recall that Blake suggests that there is no noun phrase in Kalkatungu; see 6 above. Blake (1983 : 157-58) states as follows:— 'As I noted earlier, where an argument is represented by more than one nominal these nominals need not occur in any particular sequence. In fact they need not appear in sequence at all, but may represent an argument discontinuously. There are preferred orders of course and preferences in the matter of continuity versus discontinuity. ... When D [emonstrative — TT], G [enitive — TT] and Adj [ective — TT] occur in a sequence, the preferred order is' (B 1983 : 157) :

- (f) Demonstrative, Genitive-Noun-Adjective

'D and G are not mutually exclusive, but there are too few natural examples available for a preferred order to be determined' (B 1983 : 158).

## 8. Genitive and noun

The dative/genitive case can indicate possessors, among other things (cf. Blake 1979 : 45, 1983 : 158-59). As noted above, dative/genitive form 'normally precedes the head' (B 1979 : 108), e. g. :

- (a) ngathu      thuyi-nha      nyun-ku      wakari- $\emptyset$ .  
       1SG,ERG cook-PAST 2SG-DAT/GEN fish-ABS            (SVO)

'I cooked your fish.' (B 1979 : 45)

Other examples include 'my mother' in (s) of 6; 'my daughter' in (u) of 6; and 'my father' in (c) of 11, (a) of 14. (Cf. also 'whose money' in (c) of 20.) The reverse order obtains in 'your husband' in (y) of 6.

'The dative[/genitive — TT] in a sentence like [(a) — TT] can be separated from its head which is part of a general tendency in Kalkatungu in which modifiers are ... separated from their heads'(B 1979 : 45):

- (b) wakari- $\emptyset$  nga-thu nyun-ku thuyi-nha.  
 fish-ABS 1SG-ERG 2SG-DAT/GEN cook-PAST  
 'As above.' (B 1979 : 45)

Another example :

- (c) nga-ji jipa-yi ulti-nha thuku- $\emptyset$ =ka.  
 1SG-DAT/GEN this-ERG take-PAST dog-ABS-  
 'He took my dog.' (B 1983 : 159)

The suffix *-anyji* and its variants are used with kinship terms to indicate that the referent is possessed by a third person' (B 1979 : 83). As noted in connection with 'his father' in (d) of 7 above, it is a suffix, rather than an enclitic.

- (d) pupi-inyji (e) kurla-anyji  
 mother's brother- father-  
 'his/her mother's brother' 'his/her father'
- (f) martu-unyji  
 mother-  
 'his/her mother'

With respect to whole-part relations, 'In K, as in Australian languages generally, the part of a whole ("woman's hand", "leaves of the tree") and the whole are expressed by nominals in parallel. No grammatical device corresponding to English *of* or 's is used. ... the noun or pronoun denoting the person usually precedes the body part noun and is often separated from it' (B 1983 : 159) :

- (g) jipa-yi ngai kurrali-thu mujuparripuni- $\emptyset$  milhthi- $\emptyset$   
 this-ERG 1SG, ABS light-ERG blind-PRES eyes-ABS  
 'The light blinded me (blinded my eyes).' (B 1983 : 159)

- (h) jipa-yi ngai thuku-yu uthirri-ma wangka- $\emptyset$ .  
 this-ERG 1SG, ABS dog-ERG grab-PRES leg-ABS  
 'This dog grabbed (sic) my leg.' (B 1983 : 159)

'The following example (elicited) is interesting in that it illustrates part-whole, genitive and [OVS — TT], this unusual order being motivated by the fact that O is animate and [S — TT] inanimate and O therefore a better choice for topic (cf. [(m) of 6 — TT])' (B 1983 : 160) :

- (i) jaa yunthu- $\emptyset$  nga-ji thuku- $\emptyset$  pilhthipuniyi- $\emptyset$   
 here, ABS arm-ABS 1SG-DAT/GEN dog-ABS crush-PRES  
 jipa-yi ntia-ku nguyi-nyin-tu.  
 this-ERG rock-ERG fall-PTCPL-ERG (OVS)  
 'My dog's paw was crushed by the falling rock.' (B 1983 : 160)

## 9. Demonstrative and noun

As noted above, 'The demonstrative usually comes immediately before N' (B 1983 : 158; cf. also B 1979 : 108), e. g. :

- (a) nga-thu nyini jipa-yi ati-nhthu inyji-mi.  
 1SG-ERG 2SG, ABS this-ERG meat-ERG hit-FUT  
 'I'll hit you with this meat.' (S O ADV V)

Other examples include 'this dog' in (a), (b), (d) of 6; 'this rock' in (i) of 8; 'that child' in (a) of 12; 'that rock' in (c) of 12; 'that old man' in (f) of 12; and 'this old man' in (d) of 22.

However, Blake (1983 : 158) continues as follows: - 'but there is a not uncommon discontinuity in which the demonstrative appears as first or second word and the associated N later in the clause', e. g. :

- (b) jipa-yi ngai nhaurtu thuyi- $\emptyset$ .  
 this-ERG 1SG, ABS child, ERG burn-PRES  
 'This child burnt me.' (B 1983 : 158)

Additional examples of this discontinuity include 'this ... dog' in (e) of 6; 'this ... light' in (g) of 8; 'this ... dog' in (h) of 8; and, 'this ... stick' in (g) of 12.

As implied by Blake's remark, in a small number of examples, the demonstrative follows (rather than precedes) the noun, e. g. (c) of 6, and :

- (c) ngai            muru-u            nha-u.  
 1SG, ABS camp-DAT/GEN this-DAT/GEN  
 'I belong to this camp.' (B 1979 : 46)

## 10. Numeral and noun

In the only example available, the numeral precedes the noun.

- (a) ngata- $\emptyset$     ayarr-ku            yangaalu-u.  
 1PL-ABS one-DAT/GEN language-DAT/GEN  
 'We belong to one language.' (B 1979 : 46)

However, Blake (p. c.) notes that numerals do not always precede the noun they qualify.

(In 'how many child' in (k) of 6, 'how many' precedes, rather than follows, the noun. This is because interrogative words always occur initially; see 20.)

## 11. Adjective and noun

As noted above, an adjective 'normally follows the head' (B 1979 : 108) :

- (a) nyini            ingka- $\emptyset$     ntja-anha            yaun-kunha.  
 2SG, ABS go-PRES mountain-ALL1 big-ALL1 (S V ADV)  
 'You're going to the big mountain.' (B 1979 : 108)

Other examples include 'dog big' in (a), (e) of 6; 'camp other' in (y) of 6.

'While D and G appear adjacent to N more often than not, Adj is separated from N as often as it is next to it. Often Adj appears in sentence-final position separated from its "head"' (B 1983 : 158)

- (b) kuu- $\emptyset$             artii- $\emptyset$             malhtha- $\emptyset$ , ... (sic)    rtuarra- $\emptyset$   
 water-ABS fall-PRES much-ABS                            flood-ABS  
 kaanta-nha    yaun.  
 flow-PAST big-ABS

'A lot of rain fell...(sic) a big flood flowed.' (B 1983 : 158)

'It is common, particularly with ergative noun phrases, to split the constituents, often by putting one (or more) in sentence initial position and the other (or others) in sentence final position (B 1979 : 108) :

- (c) nga-ji=ka      kurla-yi      lhayi-Ø      tuarr-Ø  
 I-DAT/GEN- father-ERG kill-PRES snake-ABS  
 malhtha-Ø      yapajarra-thu.  
 many-ABS      clever-ERG

'My clever father killed the snake.' (B 1979 : 108)

Another example is 'big' in (b) of 6.

'If an adjective is in focus, it can appear at the beginning of the clause. [(d) — TT] was an informant's comment when I told him that a "bad" word I used had been given to me by someone in another town' (B 1983 : 158) :

- (d) thungumpirri-Ø      jipa-yi      patu-ma      tijarra-thi      yangaalu-Ø.  
 bad-ABS      this-ERG      tell-PRES      Dajarra-LOC1      word-ABS  
 'He told you a BAD word at Dajarra.' (B 1983 : 158)

## 12. Relative clause and noun

'Relative clauses ... are marked by a particle *ngu* (variants *nguwa* and *ngunha*) which usually appears as first or second word in the clause' (B 1983 : 150). Relative clauses almost always follow the head noun. The only exception I found is (d). In addition, they almost always immediately follow the head noun. I have found only three exceptions, e. g. (e). (In the examples below, relative clauses are indicated by square brackets.)

- (a) ngai      uthantiyi-nha      pa-u      nhaurr-ku  
 1SG,ABS      look after-PAST      that-DAT/GEN      child-DAT/GEN  
 [nyin-ti      ngu=nha      lhayi-Ø].  
 2SG-ERG      REL-ACC      hit-PRES  
 'I've been looking after the child you hit.' (B 1979 : 101)
- (b) nga-thu      jaa      nanya      ntia-Ø      [nguu  
 1SG-ERG      here, ABS      see, PAST      stone-ABS      REL  
 na-nti-Ø].  
 stand-TRVZR-PRES      'I saw the stone he stood on.' (B 1979 : 89)
- (c) nga-thu      jaa      nanya      ntia-Ø      [nguu  
 1SG-ERG      here, ABS      see, PAST      rock-ABS      REL



jurnpa-nha pa-ngu ntia-piangu.

jump-PAST that-ABL rock-ABL

'I saw the rock he jumped from.' (Literally, 'I saw that rock which he jumped from that rock.') (B 1979 : 101)

- (d) arraka pakai [nyin-ti ngu=nha nganhthmayi- $\emptyset$ =ka]  
 where 3SG,ABS 2SG-ERG REL-ACC find-PRES  
 utupa- $\emptyset$  ?

frog-ABS

'Where is the frog you found?' (B 1979 : 111)

- (e) kaanta-nha pakai=ka kalpurru-thiugu [nyin-ti ngu=nha  
 leave-PAST 3SG,ABS- Boulia-ABL 2SG-ERG REL-ACC  
 nanya].

see, PAST

'The one whom you saw left Boulia.' (B 1979 : 101)

Relative clauses, with *ngu*, are 'of infrequent occurrence' (B 1979 : 100.)

Thus far, we have looked at relative clauses which involve *ngu* (or one of its variants). Now, participle clauses, too, can be used like relative clauses. In all the examples at hand, they follow the noun they qualify.

- (f) ngkumayi- $\emptyset$  ngai=ka thumpaki-i [pa-yi  
 seek-PRES 1SG,ABS- tobacco-DAT/GEN that-ERG  
 kupangurru-thu uthiyakapi-nyin-ku].

olb man-ERG lose-PTCPL-DAT/GEN

'I'm looking for the tobacco the old man lost.' (B 1979 : 60)

- (g) jipa-yi nga-thu kunka-ku lhai- $\emptyset$  jaa  
 this-ERG 1SG-ERG stick-ERG hit-PRES here,ABS  
 thuarr- $\emptyset$ , [jangkaathi nu-nyjaani-jin anhthiiya].  
 snake-ABS here,LOC lie-CONT-PTCPL mouth,LOC

'With this stick I hit the snake that was lying in the doorway'

(B 1979 : 115)

Another example of a participle functioning like a relative clause is 'falling' in (i) of 8.

Regarding the position of relative clauses and participle clauses func-

tioning like a relative clause Blake (1983 : 151; cf. also Blake 1979 : 111) states as follow. These two types of clauses 'regularly follow the main clause, often separated from the word they modify. The only regular exception to this rule is a participial clause with few or no [constituents other than the verb — TT]. It may occur within a higher clause' (B 1983 : 151; cf. also B 1979 : 111), e. g. :

- (h) pa-yi           jaa           pirlapirla-thu   lhayi-Ø  
 that-ERG   here, ABS   child-ERG       kill-PRES  
 arnka-manti-thu   pukujurru-Ø=ka.  
 ail-PTCPL-ERG   mouse-ABS-  
 'That sick kid killed a mouse.' (B 1983 : 152)

### 13. Proper noun and common noun

Blake (p. c.) notes there are no expressions which are equivalent to those such as 'Uncle John' or 'Aunt Mary' of English. And that either the kin term or the personal name may be used, although the former is almost always used.

### 14. Comparison

There do not seem to be any set patterns for comparison. Examples such such as the following have been found :

- (a) nyini=ka   thuna-Ø,   nga-ji           kurla-Ø=ka   marnu-Ø.  
 2SG, ABS-   run-PRES   1SG-DAT/GEN   father-ABS-   slow-ABS  
 'You are faster than my father.' (B 1979 : 112)
- (b) nyini       ngai-ngu   pirlapirla-Ø,   ngai       katakurlu-Ø.  
 2SG, ABS   1SG-LOC1   child-ABS       1SG, ABS   old man-ABS  
 'I'm older than you.' (B 1979 : 112)
- (c) jaa=ka   yaun-Ø   ukuyan-Ø=ka,   ngarrpangarra-Ø   katakurlu-Ø.  
 here-   big-ABS   eagle-ABS-   other-ABS       small-ABS  
 'The eagle is the biggest of all.' (B 1979 : 112)
- (d) nhaa=ka   yaun-pia=ka   wajalhii-ngu-Ø.  
 this, ABS-   big-LOC1-   first-ADJVZR-ABS  
 'This one is the biggest.' (Literally, 'first in big(ness)')  
 (B 1979 : 43)

## 15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

Kalkatungu does not seem to have auxiliary verbs. (What is termed 'auxiliary verb' in Blake (1979 : 96-97) is rather like a copula verb, while what are termed 'auxiliary verb particles' in Blake (1983 : 145-48) are rather like conjunctions.)

Blake (p. c.) notes that the morpheme *a* — which is glossed 'complementiser' in Blake (1979 : 62) and which is termed 'auxiliary verb particle' in Blake (1983 : 145-46) — could be considered as an auxiliary verb; it must immediately precede a verb, and it occurs in dependent clauses indicating purpose and also in independent clauses expressing future. (Cf. Blake 1979 : 62, 65, 1983 : 145-46.) Examples of *a* in a dependent clause include (d) of 22, and (a) to (c) of 24.

## 16. Adverb and verb

As noted in 6 above, 'Abverbs and abverb-like noun phrases (e. g. locatives) tend to follow [S, O and V — TT] ...' (B 1979 : 108).

More specifically, 'Non-nuclear constituents of the sentence may appear anywhere in the sentence though they are more often than not found outside the nucleus [i. e. S, O and V — TT]. Often one of the non-nuclear constituents is in focus like *yalpingku* in [(a) — TT], which was given in answer to the question "How do you catch emus" (B 1983 : 156) :

(a) *yalpi-ngku, yalpi-ngku nga-thu lhayi-∅ utingarr-∅=ka.*  
 net-ERG net-ERG 1SG-ERG kill-PRES emu-ABS-  
 (ADV S V O)

'With a net, I kill (sic) emus with a net.' (B 1983 : 156)

'There are some other contenders for the first position in the clause beside the focus. Adverbs and local cases of nouns giving the setting in time and place are often placed first.' (B 1983 : 157) :

(b) *wartanganha ngai ngkarra-a jia-li-mi*  
 tomorrow 1SG, ABS yam-DAT/GEN extract-ANTI-FUT  
*malhthanguyan.*  
 many times

'Tomorrow I'm going to do a lot of yam digging.' (B 1983 : 157)

Examples of different types of adverbs/adverbs are as follows :-

(i) Sentence adverb/modal adverb. The position of *lhamu* 'might' does not seem rigidly fixed (cf. Blake 1979 : 98) :

(c) (This fruit's not too good.)

nyin-ti lhamu ari-mi.

2SG-ERG might eat-FUT

(S ADV V)

'You might eat it.' (B 1979 : 98)

(d) artii-mi lhamu.

fall-FUT might

(V ADV)

'It might rain.' (B 1979 : 98)

See also 18 for the question marker; and 22 for 'not' and 'Don't'.

(ii) Time, e.g. 'tomorrow' in (b) above; and, 'formerly' in (c) of 23.

(iii) Place, direction, source, etc., e.g. 'at my camp' in (q) of 6; 'that way' in (a) of 7; 'to the big mountain' in (a) of 11; 'at Dajarra' in (d) of 11; 'from that rock' in (c) of 12; 'from Boulia' in (f) of 12; 'in the doorway' in (g) of 12; and 'on his leg' in (f) of 24.

(vi) Instrument, means, manner, etc., e.g. 'with a net' in (a) above; 'many times' in (b) above, and:

(e) wamparlanha nyini nga-thu lhayi-nha.

accidentally 2SG, ABS 1SG-ERG hit-PAST (ADV O S V)

'I hit you accidentally.' (B 1979 : 42)

Other examples of instrument, means, manner, etc. include 'with a stone' in (o) of 6; 'with a dog' in (r) of 6; 'like that' in (b) of 7; 'like me' in (e) of 7; 'with this meat' in (a) of 9; 'with this stick' in (g) of 12; and, 'quickly' in (a) of 23.

## 17. Adverb and adjective

*miarr* 'very' or 'emphasis' follows the adjective it qualifies (B 1979 : 99):

(a) yaun-Ø miarr ingka-mia.

big-ABS very go-POSSIB

'A very big (plane) might come.' (B 1979 : 99)

- (b) (I don't eat that meat.)  
 ati- $\emptyset$ =ka thail- $\emptyset$  miarr=ka.  
 meat-ABS- hard-ABS very-  
 'The meat's too tough.' (B 1979 : 99)

## 18. General questions

General questions can be 'marked by rising intonation' (B 1979 : 103).

- (a) tharnrtu- $\emptyset$  nyin-ti wathukatiyi- $\emptyset$  ?  
 hole-ABS 2SG-ERG dig-PRES (OSV)  
 'Did you dig a hole?' (B 1979 : 156)
- (b) rumpi- $\emptyset$  nyini kunhu=n thuma-yi- $\emptyset$  ?  
 fear-PRES 2SG, ABS lest-2SG, NOM break-ANTI-PRES  
 'Are you frightened you'll break it?' (B 1979 : 71) (VS, V)

Additional examples include (t), (w) of 6; and, (c), (d) of 24.

In addition, general questions can also be expressed with *wii/wili* or *nhaka* (B 1979 : 105).

- (c) wii nyini wani-nyjangu warrma-a ?  
 Q 2SG, ABS dance-HABIT dance-DAT/GEN  
 'Do you dance' (B 1979 : 58) (Q S V ADV(?))
- (d) wii nyini puthurra- $\emptyset$  ini- $\emptyset$  ?  
 Q 2SG, ABS good-ABS be-PRES  
 'Are you being good?' (B 1979 : 97, 105) (Q S V)
- (e) wili nyin-ti waku- $\emptyset$ =ka jiyai-mpa=n ?  
 Q 2SG-ERG skin-ABS- take off-PRFCT-2SG, NOM  
 'Have you taken the skin off?' (B 1979 : 105) (Q S O V)

*wii/wili* occurs in the initial position in all the examples.

(There is no example of *nhaka*.)

General questions do not differ from declarative sentences in terms of word order — apart from the optional addition of a question marker. (This point has been confirmed by Blake, p. c.)

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

Generally, this inversion does not seem to occur. However, strictly

speaking, this issue is irrelevant, since in declarative sentences the subject can either precede or follow the verb. (This point has been confirmed by Blake, p. c.)

## 20. Special questions

As noted in 6 above, 'Interrogatives almost always come first in the clause in K as they do in many other languages. ... interrogative words are almost always the focus of the clause' (B 1983 : 154; cf. also Blake 1979 : 103, 103).

- (a) nhan-tu    jaa            pirlapirla-Ø    lhayi-Ø ... ?  
 who-ERG here, ABS child-ABS hit-PRES (SOV)  
 'Who hit the child ... ?' (B 1979 : 67)
- (b) nhani        nyin-ti        pati-nha ?  
 who, ABS 2SG-ERG tell-PAST (OSV)  
 'Who did you tell?' (B 1979 : 115)
- (c) nhan-ku            ntia-Ø ?  
 who-DAT/GEN money-ABS  
 'Whose money is it?' (B 1979 : 108)
- (d) nhiangu    nyini        iti-mi ?  
 when        2SG, ABS return-FUT (ADV S V)  
 'When will you come back?' (B 1979 : 104)
- (e) nhakaakuwa    nyin-ti        ngai        lha-mi=ka ?  
 why            2SG-ERG 1SG, ABS hit-FUT- (ADV S O V)  
 'Why are you going to hit me?' (B 1979 : 105)

An example of an interrogative verb:

- (f) nhaka-yan-ati-minha=n  
 what-CONCOMITANT-INTRVZR-IMPRFCT1-2SG, NOM  
 nyini ?  
 2SG, ABS 'What are you doing?' (B 1979 : 104) (VS)

An example in which the interrogative word is NOT in the initial position :

- (g) jaa            majumpa-Ø        nhaka-thi    nyin-ti        lhayi-Ø ?  
 here, ABS kangaroo-ABS what-LOC1 2SG-ERG kill-PRES

'How did you kill the kangaroo?' (B 1979 : 104) (O ADV S V)

Other example of interrogative words include 'how many children' in (k) of 6; 'who' in (l) of 6; and, 'where' in (d) of 12.

## 21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

For the reason stated in 19, this issue is irrelevant.

## 22. Negative sentences

As noted in 6 above, 'Negatives ...are virtually always in sentence-initial position' (B 1979 : 108). More specifically, '*kuntu* "not" and *wanta* "don't" almost always precede the verb, not necessarily directly. Often they appear in first position as focus' (B 1983 : 157).

Examples of *kuntu* 'not':

- (a) *kuntu nyin-ti anya-∅ puthurr-∅-ka ...*  
 NEG 2SG-ERG give-PRES good-ABS- (NEG S V DO)  
 'You didn't give him good (food) ...' (B 1979 : 108)
- (b) *kuntu kupangurru-∅ ini-∅ ...*  
 NEG old man-ABS be present-PRES (NEG S V)  
 'The old man is not here ...' (B 1979 : 66)

In the following to examples and also in (b) of 23, *kuntu* occurs in the initial position of the subordinate clause:

- (c) *kuntu puyu ngai kapani-nyin=ka, ngai*  
 NEG if 1SG, ABS hunt-PTCPL- 1SG, ABS  
*yarikayan-ati-mia.*  
 hungry-INTRVZR-POSSIB (NEG S V, S V)  
 'If I don't go hunting, I might get hungry.' (B 1979 : 61)
- (d) *jipa-yi kupangurru-thu jaa patu-ma kuyirri-∅*  
 this-ERG old man-ERG here, ABS tell-PRES boy-ABS  
*kuntñ a=i panti-yi-∅.*  
 NEG COMP-3SG, NOM tell-ANTI-PRES (S V O, NEG V)  
 'The old man told the boy not to tell (anybody).' (B 1979 : 99)

I have found one example in which *kuntu* does NOT occur sentence-initially, i. e. (d) of 23.

Examples of *wanta* 'Don't' include :

- (e) *wanta lha-ya kina!*  
 NEG hit-IMPERA IMPERA, 3PL, ABS (NEG V O)  
 'Don't hit them!' (B 1979 : 57)

(I have tentatively glossed *kina* 'IMPERA, 3PL, ABS'. For details, see Blake (1979 : 37).)

Apart from the addition of a negation word, negative sentences do not seem to differ from affirmative sentences in terms of word order.

### 23. Conditional clause and main clause

Conditional clause can either contain *puyu* 'if' or lack it. Almost always (in seven out of the eight examples), the conditional clause precedes the main clause, e. g. (c) of 22 ; and :

- (a) *iti-yi puyu nganhthama-∅ ku=kin,*  
 man-ERG if find-PRES lest-2SG, ACC  
*iti-ya marlampirra!*  
 return-IMPERA quickly (S V, V ADV)  
 'If someone comes across you, come back quickly!' (B 1979 : 74)
- (b) *kuntu artii-nyin-ta, jaa=ka urli-mi.*  
 NEG fall-PTCPL-LOC here, ABS- die-FUT (NEG V, S V)  
 'If it doesn't rain, it will die.' (B 1979 : 60)
- (c) *ija-nyin=kin nyini munhthun-tu nyini*  
 bite-PTCPL-2SG, ACC 2SG, ABS bull ant-ERG 2SG, ABS  
*ngarrkumayi-mia.*  
 vomit-POSSIB (VOS, SV)  
 'If you get bitten by a bull ant (lit. if a bull ant bits you), you might vomit.' (B 1979 : 37)

The only example in which the conditional clause follows, is :

- (d) *nga-thu nyini jayanha lha-mia, kuntu*  
 1SG-ERG 2SG, ABS formerly hit-POSSIB NEG  
*ingka-jin-ta kanimainyjirr-∅=ka.*  
 go-PTCPL-LOC policeman-ABS- (S O ADV V, NEG V S)  
 'I would've hit you if the policeman had not come.' (B 1979 : 61)



(The suffix *-ta* in (b) and (d) is considered a locative allomorph by Blake (1979 : 60). It is commonly attached to a participle when a participle clause is used like an adverb clause (B 1979 : 60), as in (b) and (d). However, this suffixation is not obligatory; see the participle in (c) of 22. Furthermore, this suffixation does not occur at all when a participle clause is used like a relative clause; see (f) to (h) of 12. (This point has been confirmed by Blake, p. c.))

## 24. Purpose clause and main clause

Purpose can be expressed by a 'future purposive' clause (B 1983 : 148), e.g. (a) to (c), and by a 'purposive' clause (B 1983 : 148), e.g. (d). (The former contains the complementizer *a*, while the latter has the verb in the purposive form (B 1979 : 148).) 'Future-purposive and purposive clauses nearly always follow the [main — TT] clause' (B 1983 : 151; cf. also B 1979 : 111).

- (a) nga-thu nyun-kunha piipa- $\emptyset$  itintiyi- $\emptyset$   
 1SG-ERG 2SG-ALL1 book-ABS bring-PRES  
 a=ni nuwa- $\emptyset$ .  
 COMP-2SG, NOM see-PRES (S ADV O V, V)  
 'I brought you a book for you to have a look at.' (B 1979 : 65)
- (b) jaa kathirr- $\emptyset$  nga-thu itintiyi- $\emptyset$   
 here, ABS grass-ABS 1SG-ERG bring-PRES  
 a=i nu-uti- $\emptyset$  thuku-yu.  
 COMP-3SG, NOM lie-TRVZR-PRES dog-ERG (OSV, VS)  
 'I brought the grass for the dog to lie on.' (B 1979 : 89)
- (c) nyini ingka-nha ngarrkun-ku a=ni  
 2SG, ABS go-PAST wallaroo-DAT/GEN COMP-2SG, NOM  
 lha-yi- $\emptyset$  ?  
 kill-ANTI-PRES (S V O(?), V)  
 'Did you go to kill a wallaroo?' (B 1983 : 148)
- (d) nyini ingka-nha ngarrkun-ku lha-yi-nyjaaya ?  
 2SG, ABS go-PAST wallaroo-DAT/GEN kill-ANTI-PURP  
 'As above.' (B 1983 : 148) (S V O(?), V)

In addition, there is another way to express purpose. That is, when the verb in a relative clause containing the relative clause marker *ngu* is affixed with *-mi-thi* 'future-locative', it can express purpose 'so that' as well as various time notions such as 'when', 'after' 'before', 'till', etc. (B 1979 : 102-03). These relative clauses, including those expressing purpose, 'almost always follow the main clause' (B 1979 : 111). Examples :

- (e) yarrka-puni-ya            ati- $\emptyset$             ngu aarl-mi-thi!  
 far-TRVZR-IMPERA    meat-ABS    REL    put-FUT-LOC1  
(VO, V)

'Move the meat away so that I can put it down.' (B 1979 : 102)

- (f) ngulurrmi-ya    jaa            pirlapirla- $\emptyset$     nhaa  
 grab-IMPERA    here, ABS-    child-ABS    here, ABS  
 minhangarra- $\emptyset$     ngu aarl-mi-thi            bandage wangka-pia!  
 thing-ABS            REL    put-FUT-LOC1                            shin-LOC1  
(V O, V O ADV)

'Grab the kid so that I can put that thing, that bandage, on his leg.' (B 1979 : 102)

A clause expressing negative purpose 'lest'/'so that not', 'regularly follows the main clause' (B 1979 : 111) :

- (g) munhthanyi- $\emptyset$     jaa=ka            ana    nuwa- $\emptyset$ .  
 crouch-PRES    here, ABS-    lest    see-PRES                            (VS, V)  
 'He crouched over so he wouldn't be seen.' (B 1979 : 74)

## Reference

Abbreviations employed are the following :- JFLNU, Journal of the Faculty of Letters, Nagoya University; SLLL, Studies in Language and Literature, Language (published by the Institute of Literature and Linguistics, the University of Tsukuba); UNP, University of Nagoya Press.

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## (13) Diyari

### 0. Introduction

This is the 13th installment of my typological study of word order.

I am most grateful to Peter Austin for generously providing data on Diyari word order, and also for checking and commenting on an earlier draft of the work. However, I alone am fully responsible for the way his data are presented and for any errors whise from it.

### 1. Name of language

Diyari. Its indigenous name is *diyari yawarrha* 'Diyari language' (Austin 1981 : 95, 117, 133).

### 2. Source of information

Questionnaire data provided by Peter Austin (often abbreviated as 'A, Q'), supplemented with information obtained from Austin (1981) ('A 1981'). In addition, the information in 3 below was supplemented with Walsh et al. (1981).

### 3. Genetic affiliation

*Diyari belongs to the Karnic group of the Pama-Nyungan language family, according to the classification by Walsh et al. 1981.*

### 4. Geographical distribution

The traditional territory of the Diyar is an area east of Lake Eyre in eastern South Australia (A 1981 : 2-3), Australia.

### 5. Morphological and other relevant facts

Nouns, pronouns, etc. and verbs inflect by means of suffixation. Certain nouns have the ergative case-marking system (St≠Si=O; ERG≠ABS=ABS), while certain pronouns have the accusative system (St=Si≠O; NOM=NOM≠ACC). The other nouns and the other pronouns have the tripartite system (St≠Si≠O); ERG≠NOM≠ACC). Verbs inflect for tense, mood, etc. In addition, subordinate verbs indicate whether their subject is the same as ('same subject') or different from ('different subject') that of the main clause. (This phenomenon is known as switch reference.)

The notation system employed in Austin (1981) will be slightly altered, in conformity with the practical orthography utilized in Austin's questionnaire data and later publications.

Abbreviations employed are the following : ABL, ablative ; ABS, absolutive ; ACC, accusative ; ADD INF, additional information ; ADV, adverb or adverb phrase ; ALL, allative ; AUX, auxiliary verb ; CAUS,

causative; DAT, dative; DISTORT, distorted; DO, direct object; DS, different subject; DU, dual; EMPH, emphatic; ERG, ergative; EXC, exclusive; FEM, feminine; FUT, future; IMPERA, imperative; IMPL, implicated; INCH, inchoative; IO indirect object; LOC, locative; NEG, negation; NEW INF, new information; NOM, nominative; NONFEM, nonfeminine; O, object; OLD INF, old information; p. c., personal communication; PL, plural; PRES, present; PROP, proprietive ('having'); PTCPL, participle; RECIP, reciprocal; REDUP reduplication; REL, relative; S, subject; SENSE, sensory evidence; SG, singular; Si, intransitive subject; SS, same subject; St, transitive subject; TRVZR, transitivizer; V, verb; WH, which; 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person.

Enclitics are indicated by a preceding equal sign ('='), while suffixes are preceded by a hyphen ('-'). Glosses invariably involve hyphens and do not employ any equal sign.

## 6. Subject, object and verb

Austin (A, Q; A 1981 : 1, 147-50) describes the situation as follows: - 'The order of sentential constituents in Diyari is 'Fairly free', but it 'is not so free as in other Australian languages, such as Dyrirbal ... and Walbiri ... In texts and elicitation there are clear word order preferences to which the great majority of sentences conform; deviations from these preferences are rare and occur in pragmatically marked circumstances' (A 1981 : 147).

'The word order preferences in Diyari for sentences in pragmatically unmarked contexts are the following:'

(1) 'predicates, both those containing a verb and those not, tend to occur in clause-final or close to clause-final position.'

(2) 'transitive subject noun phrases usually precede transitive object noun phrases ... Thus, the usual order of words in a simple sentence is [SOV — TT], although occasionally [SVO — TT] and [OSV — TT] are found ... Intransitive subject noun phrases almost invariably precede the predicate, that is, [SV — TT] order is normal. The only

major deviation from this order is found in imperatives; it is sometimes the case that an imperative verb occurs clause-initially followed by the addressee noun phrase (preceded or followed, optionally, by other constituents). A text example is [(1) below—TT].

(3) 'nominals functioning as adverbial modifiers usually occur immediately before or immediately after the predicate', e.g. (1).

(4) 'some particles always occur clause-initially ..., some in second position and others, such as *pint̪hi* "rumoured", are found on the clause margins, that is, initially or finally.'

(5) 'instrumental noun phrases ... usually occur before the verb phrase or immediately after it'.

(6) 'noun phrases in other cases, i.e. locative, allative, ablative and dative, are usually placed after the predicate.'

(7) 'interrogatives of all types ALWAYS occur sentence-initially ...' (A 1981 : 148-49).

For (3) to (6), see 16 below. For (7), see 20 below.

Examples of transitive sentences follow. Examples of the most usual order, i.e. SOV :

- (a) karna-li jukurrhu- $\emptyset$  nanrra-rna warra-yi.  
 man-ERG kangaroo-ABS kill-PTCPL AUX-PRES (SOV)  
 'The man killed the kangaroo.' (A,Q)

(To be precise, this example contains an auxiliary verb and the main verb, rather than one single verb. However, for the sake of simplicity, I gloss them 'V' jointly. Similarly for other examples. For auxiliary verbs, see 15 below.)

- (b) ngathu yinanha danka-rna warra-yi.  
 1SG,ERG 2SG,ACC find-PTCPL AUX-PRES (SOV)  
 'I found you.' (A 1981 : 154)

Examples of other, marked orders.

[1] OSV. The ex. (c) 'is a response to a question focusing on the O noun phrase referent' (A 1981 : 147):

- (c) ('What's wrong with you?')

nganha nhanrru pardaka-rna warra-yi  
 1SG, ACC 3SG, FEM, ERG take-PTCPL AUX-PRES  
 kutyi- $\emptyset$  wanrra-lha.  
 devil-ABS show-IMPL, SS (OSV, OV)  
 'She took me to show me the devil.' (A 1981 : 148)

[ 2 ] VSO.

(d) ('Well, why have you come?')

warrara-rna=ku=yi yula  
 leave-PTCPL-SENSE-DISTORT 2DU, NOM  
 nhinha=ya kanku- $\emptyset$  ...  
 3SG, NONFEM, ACC-NEAR boy-ABS (VSO)  
 'You left this boy ...' (A 1981 : 251)

(*Nhinha-ya* and *kanku- $\emptyset$*  constitute one single noun phrase. Similarly for other examples. For the structure of noun phrases, see 9 below. Austin (1981 : 45, 53, 60, 64) considers *-ya* 'near' as a suffix. However, I tentatively consider it an enclitic -- and present it as =*ya* -- on the ground that it can follow a case suffix.)

[ 3 ] SVO.

(e) ya pakarna kanku-yali wayi-yi kartiwarrrhu- $\emptyset$ .  
 and also boy-ERG cook-PRES lizard-ABS (SVO)  
 'And the boy cooked the kartiwarrrhu lizard also.' (A 1981 : 238)

[ 4 ] OVS.

(f) mayi, kirra- $\emptyset$ =lha mani-rna wanthi-yi  
 well boomerang-ABS-NEW INF get-PTCPL AUX-PRES  
 pulali ...  
 3DU, ERG (OVS)  
 'Well, they got a boomerang ...' (A 1981 : 247)

In transitive sentences, the (direct) object is either in the absolutive case or in the accusative case, as the examples above show. With ditransitive verbs, such as 'give', 'show', etc., the IO ('recipient') occurs either in the absolutive or in the accusative, just like the DO ('gift'). Of the six non-elliptical examples, five have the 'S IO DO V' order, e.g. (g), (h), while the sixth has the 'S IO V DO' order, e.g. (i).

- (g) ngathu yinha nganthi- $\emptyset$  yingki-yi yakutha-nhi.  
 1SG, ERG 2SG, ACC meat-ABS give-PRES bag-LOC  
 'I give you meat in a bag.' (A 1981 : 128) (S IO DO V ADV)
- (h) ... wata yunrru thananha ngapa- $\emptyset$  yingki-yi.  
 NEG 2SG, ERG 3PL, ACC water-ABS give-PRES  
 '... you don't give them any water.' (A 1981 : 233) (S IO DO V)
- (i) kaku-yali kanku- $\emptyset$  yingki-yi nganthi- $\emptyset$  ...  
 elder sister-ERG boy-ABS give-PRES meat-ABS  
 (S IO V DO)

'The elder sister gave the boy meat ...' (A 1981 : 240)

Another example of the 'S IO DO V' order is (b) of 24.

We turn now to intransitive sentences. An example of the usual order, SV :

- (j) nhawu karna- $\emptyset$  wapa-yi.  
 3SG, NONFEM, NOM man-ABS go-PRES (SV)  
 'The man is going.' (A 1981 : 114)

Many more examples of the SV order are given below. Examples of the marked order, VS, include (e) of 16, and :

- (k) (We went about.)  
 wirari-rna wanthi-yi paruparu ngayani  
 go about-PTCPL AUX-PRES everywhere 1PL, EXC, NOM  
 jukurrha-nhi.  
 kangaroo-LOC (V ADV S ADV)  
 'We went about everwhere for kangaroos.' (A 1981 : 148)

Imperative sentences. Examples of the unusual order, in which the verb precedes the subject, include (c) of 8; (d) of 9; (f), (g) of 22; and :

- (l) pirrki-ya=mayi ngakangu karakara yula.  
 play-IMPERA-EMPH 1SG, LOC near 2DU, NOM  
 'You two play close to me!' (A 1981 : 149)

## 7. Adposition

Diyari possesses case suffixes, but lacks adpositions (A, Q). (Examples



of case suffixes have already been given above.) However, although this is not stated in the sources, these are instances of what might superficially appear to be a postposition (although the source does not explicitly mention the postposition-like status of the words in question). That is, certain 'adjectives' can be used like adverbs and indicate location or direction (cf. A 1981 : 110). Examples include *wita* 'lined up, in row' in :

- (a) thana            wita-wita            ngama-yi.  
 3PL,NOM lined up-REDUP sit-PRES            (S ADV(?) V)  
 'They are sitting in a row.' (A 1981 : 110)

Such 'adjectives' can also occur in a sentence with a locative case-marked NP' (A 1981 : 110). Examples include *karakara* 'near, close' in (1) of 6; and *mirri* 'above, top' in :

- (b) kanku-Ø    nhawu                            mirri kari-yi            yirta-nhi.  
 boy-ABS 3SG, NONFEM, NOM above climb-PRES tree-LOC  
 (S ADV V ADV)

'The boy is climbing up above in the tree.' (A 1981 : 110)

Furthermore, such 'adjectives' can occur within a locative NP. Under such circumstances, the 'adjective' immediately follows the noun and the 'adjective', rather than the noun, takes the locative case suffix. (This point has been confirmed by Austin, p.c.) (In this connection, Austin (p.c.) notes as follows: - 'case is marked on the last of a sequence of nouns/adjectives, except for extra emphasis when case can be marked on all constituents of a noun phrase'. See also 9 below.) Thus, compare

(b) with :

- (c) kanku-Ø,    nhawu                            kari-yi            pirta    mirri-hni.  
 boy-ABS 3SG, NONFEM, NOM climb-PRES tree above-LOC  
 (S V ADV)

'The boy is climbing in the top of the tree.' (A 1981 : 110)

'The locative case suffix in' (c) 'can be deleted with apparently no change in meaning' (A 1981 : 110):

- (d) kanku-Ø,    nhawu                            kari-yi            pirta    mirri.  
 boy-ABS 3SG, NONFEM, NOM climb-PRES tree above

(S V ADV)

'The boy is climbing in the top of the tree.' (Austin, p. c.)

Note that *mirri* in (d) is now functioning rather like a postposition.

Another pair of examples, involving *thati* 'middle':

(e) *punga thati-nhi thurrhu-∅ darrha-yi.*  
 hut middle-LOC fire-ABS kindle-PRES (ADV O V)  
 '(They) make a fire in the middle of the hut.'

(f) *punga thati thurrhu-∅ darrha-yi.*  
 hut middle fire-ABS kindle-PRES (ADV O V)  
 'As above.' (A 1981 : 110)

'Informants stated that' (f) 'meant exactly the same as a sentence containing the locative noun phrase *punga thatinhi*' (A 1981 : 111), i.e. (e). Note that *thati* 'middle' is used rather like a postposition.

Other examples of such an 'adjective' functioning like a postposition include *wirti* 'through' in (g); and *marrhu* 'wide' in (h):

(g) *ngathu nhinha daku wirti parrhuma-yi.*  
 1SG, ERG 3SG, NONFEM, ACC sandhill through drag-PRES  
 'I drag it along the sandhill.' (A 1981 : 107) (S ADV V)

(h) *nganhi wirari-rna wanti-yi mitha marrhu.*  
 1SG, NOM go about-PTCPL AUX-PRES country wide  
 'I went about all over the place.' (A 1981 : 111) (S V ADV)

## 8. Censive and noun

Possessors can be expressed by the dative case. The possessed may be either alienable or inalienable (A 1981 : 136-37). When the possessor is a noun, it typically precedes the possessed (A 1981 : 96). E. g. :

(a) *karna-ya warli*  
 man-DAT house 'the man's house' (A, Q)

(b) *ngarda-nhi kanku-ya nhiyi manrrn-∅ pula*  
 then-LOC boy-DAT elder brother two-ABS 3DU, NOM  
*wapa-yi.*  
 go-PRES (ADV S V)  
 'Then the boy's two elder brothers were walking about.'



warra-yi.

AUX-PRES

'He hit my hand.' (A 1981 : 138)

- (h) ngathu puluka- $\emptyset$  kunngarra- $\emptyset$  ngara-yi.  
 1SG,ERG bullock-ABS noise-ABS hear-PRES  
 'I can hear the sound of cattle moving.' (A 1981 : 139)
- (i) yini milki- $\emptyset$  janma-yi=lha.  
 2SG,NOM eye-ABS be open-PRES-NEW INF  
 'Your eyes are open now.' (A 1981 : 138)

Additional examples of juxtaposition are 'sister's husband-ABS hand-ABS' and '3SG, NONFEM, ABL mouth-ABL' in (j) below.

An example of 'possessor's possessor':

- (j) nhungkarni kardi- $\emptyset$  mara- $\emptyset$   
 3SG, NONFEM, DAT sister's husband-ABS hand-ABS  
 wirrhi-yi dukara-lha nhungkangunrru  
 enter-PRES take out-IMPL, SS 3SG, NONFEM, ABL  
 marna-nrru.  
 mouth-ABL  
 'His brother-in-law's hand goes in and takes (it) out of his mouth.'  
 (A 1981 : 96)

The expression 'his brother-in-law's hand' involves both dative case ('his brother-in-law') and juxtaposition ('brother-in-law hand').

## 9. Demonstrative

Austin (1981 : 94-98) provides an account of the structure of noun phrases in Diyari, some of the more relevant portions of which are cited below.

'Nouns phrases may consist of one or more of the ... constituents [below — TT] in various combinations. The normal order of elements ... is:'

- (1) 'pronouns'
- (2) 'generic noun'
- (3) 'specific noun — including juxtaposed noun in a compound'

- (4) 'proper name'
- (5) 'inalienably possessed part'
- (6) 'adjective or adiective-like qualifier'

'Genitival qualifiers [i. e. datives indicating possessors — TT] consisting of a noun typically occur between' (1) 'and' (2) 'above; pronominal genitives occur equally between' (1) 'and' (2) 'and as the last constituent of the noun phrase' (A 1981 : 97).

Nouns phrases containing both a pronoun and a noun have already been abundantly exemplified above. For (3) and (4), see 13 below. For (5), see 8 above. 'Adjectives' refer to numerals and quantifiers as well as 'adjectives' (A 1981 : 96).

'Normally, only the last non-pronominal constituent of an NP is marked for the case of the phrase as a whole ...' (1981 : 94). However, 'Elements of an NP may be optionally split up, but if so all must be case-marked' (A 1981 : 94), e. g.:

- (a) *mankarrha-li nganha nhayi-rna warra-yi parpa-li.*  
 girl-ERG 1SG, ACC see-PTCPL AUX-PRES some-ERG  
 'Some girls saw me.' (A 1981 : 94) (S O V O)

Now, we turn to demonstratives. It seems that Diyari lacks demonstratives as such but that third person pronouns can be used as demonstratives, expressing 'this', 'that' or the like. (Addition of =*ya* 'near', for instance, will unambiguously specify the meaning as 'this' or 'these' rather than 'that' or 'those'. For =*ya*, see also 6 above.) As noted above, they precede the noun (A, Q):

- (b) *nhawu warli-∅*  
 3SG, NONFEM, NOM house-ABS 'this hous' (A, Q)
- (c) *nhawu=ya kanku-∅ pirna.*  
 3SG, NONFEM, NOM-NER boy-ABS big  
 'This boy is big.' (A 1981 : 165)

(*pirna* may be considered to be in the absolutive case, for the absolutive case has no overt suffix. Austin (p. c.) seems take the view that it has no case-marking — on the ground that the predicate does not take case. Similarly, for *nhuna-nthu* 'spouse-PROP' in (b) of 18.)

- (d) yula wapa- $\emptyset$ -lu thanarni nyarnikuti-ya.  
 2DU, NOM go-IMPERA-DU 3PL, DAT goat-DAT  
 'You two go for those goats.' (A 1981 : 135) (S V ADV)

### 10. Numeral and noun

As noted above, numerals follow the noun they modify.

- (a) warli parrkulu  
 house three  
 'three, houses' (A, Q)

Other examples include 'elder-brother two' in (b) of 8.

### 11. Adjective and noun

As noted in 9, adjectives follow the noun they qualify.

- (a) warli pirna  
 house big 'a big house' (A, Q)
- (b) ngathu nhinha pirna-nganka-rna  
 1SG, ERG 3SG, NONFEM, ACC big-CAUS-PTCPL  
 wanhi-yi kanku waka-nrru.  
 AUX-PRES boy small-ABL (S O V ADV)  
 'I reared him from a small boy.' (A 1981 : 131)

Other examples include 'country dry-LOC' in (a) of 15.

Examples of noun phrases with various modifiers :

- (1) Dative+Noun+Numeral, e. g. (b) of 8.  
 (2) Pronoun/Demonstrative+Noun+Adjective, e. g. :  
 (c) nhawu-ya nganthi thungka- $\emptyset$  parni-yi.  
 2SG, NOMFEM, NOM-NEAR meat rotten-ABS smell-PRES  
 'This rotten meat smells.' (A 1981 : 107) (SV)

### 12. Relative clause and a noun

What are referred to as 'relative clauses' (A 1981 : 204-17) and 'sequential clauses' (A 1981 : 221-24) can function as relative clauses. A relative clause 'neither' precedes nor follows the head noun; 'it is adjoined to the clause of the qualified noun' (A, Q).

- (a) karna- $\emptyset$  ngama-yi warli-nhi, [jukurrhu- $\emptyset$  nanrra-rna].  
 man-ABS sit-PRES hous-LOC kangaroo-ABS kill-REL,SS  
 (S V ADV, [O V])

'The man who killed the kangaroo is in the house.' (A, Q)

- (b) thanali nanrra-ya thirrari karna- $\emptyset$  [nhawu  
 3PL,ERG kill-PAST Thirari person-ABS 3SG, NONFEM, NOM  
 thirri-rnani marrapu marla-nhi].  
 fight-REL,DS many true-LOC (S V O, [S V ADV])

'Thy killed a Thirari man who had fought with the whole lot (of them).' (A 1981 : 210)

('Thirari' is the name of a tribe immediately west of the Diyari.) (Relative clauses are indicated by square brackets.)

### 13. Proper noun and common noun

The common noun precedes the proper noun in expressions such as :

- (a) kanhini Mary  
 mother's mother Mary 'grandmother Mary' (A, Q)

The reverse ordering obtains in expression such as 'Thirari person' in

- (b) of 12, and 'Diyari language' in :

- (b) wata yini diyari yawarrha- $\emptyset$  yatha-yi.  
 NEG 2SG, NOM Diyari language-ABS speak-PRES  
 'You don't speak Diyari.' (A 1981 : 117)

### 14. Comparison

The standard of comparison is indicated by the locative case. The adjective *marla* 'very' is used obligatorily (this point has been confirmed by Austin, p. c.); it 'functions like English "more"' (A 1981 : 109 ; Austin, A, Q).

- (a) John- $\emptyset$  payirri marla Bill-angu.  
 John-ABS tall more Bill-LOC  
 'John is taller than Bill.' (A. Q)
- (b) ngakarni kinthala- $\emptyset$  pirna marla yingkarna-nhi.  
 1SG, DAT dog-ABS big more 2SG, DAT-LOC

'My dog is bigger than yours'. (A 1981 : 109)

The order is : NP + Adjective + *marla* 'more' + NP (standard of comparison) (A, Q).

An example involving a verb :

- (c) *nhanrru*                      *nguyama-yi*      *marla*      *ngakangu*.  
      3SG, FEM, ERG    know-PRES      more      1SG, LOC  
      'She knows more than me.' (A 1981 : 109)

### 15. Main verb and auxiliary verb

Diyari 'has a set of optional auxiliary verbs which have tense and modal functions' (A 1981 : 88). 'In main clauses each auxiliary occurs with one inflection, usually *-yi* ['present tense' → TT] ...' With most of the auxiliary verbs, the main verb takes the participial form, while with the remaining two auxiliary verbs the main verb takes the future tense form (A 1981 : 89). It should be noted here that the tense inflection of an auxiliary verb does not necessarily indicate the time reference of the verb phrase as a whole. Thus, with some of the auxiliary verbs the entire verb phrase refers to a past event although the auxiliary verb itself takes the present tense inflection, e. g. (a) of 9. The auxiliary verb and the main verb are always contiguous and the auxiliary verb immediately follows the main verb (cf. A 1981 : 98, 151). (This point has been confirmed by Austin, p. c.) It is in view of their contiguity that I gloss them jointly (cf. 6 above).

An example of an auxiliary verb :

- (a) *thana*                      *ngama-rna*      *wapa-yi*      *mitha*      *muya-nhi*.  
      3PL, NOM    sit-PTCPL      AUX-PRES    country    dry-LOC  
      'They live in the country.' (A 1981 : 90)                      (S V ADV)

Many examples have already been given above and many more are given below.

### 16. Adverb and verb

The position of adverbs/adverb phrases seems fairly free.

[1] Modal adverbs/sentence adverbs. '... some particles always occur



clause-initially..., some in second position and others, such as *pinthi* ‘rumoured’ are found on the clause margins, that is, initially or finally’ (A 1981 : 149). An example of a particle is *kara* ‘maybe’, which can occur sentence-initially, in the second position, and also later in the sentence (A 1981 : 169):

- (a) *nganhi kara wapa-lha ngana-yi.*  
 1SG, NOM maybe go-FUT AUX-PRES (S ADV V)  
 ‘I may go (in the future).’ (A 1981 : 173)
- (b) *pinarrhu-Ø, nhawu pali-ya kara.*  
 old man-ABS 3SG, NONFEM, NOM die-PAST maybe  
 ‘The old man may have died.’ (A 1981 : 173) (S V ADV)

Another example is ‘can’ in (c) of 23.

‘Nouns, adjectives or adjective plus noun combinations may be used in Diyari to provide adverbial modification of a predicate. ... These adverbial constituents normally occur immediately before or after the predicate...’ (A 1981 : 106). (Cf. also A 1981 : 149). ‘... instrumental noun phrases... usually occur before the verb phrase or immediately after it’, while ‘noun phrases in other cases, i. e. locative, allative, ablative and dative are usually placed after the predicate’ (A 1981 : 149). Some examples follow.

[ 2 ] Time.

- (c) *John minrri-lha wirri-yi malrrawirti.*  
 John run-PTCPL AUX-PRES yesterday (S V ADV)  
 ‘John ran yesterday.’ (A, Q)
- (d) *walrrawirti John minrri-lha wirriyi.*  
 yesterday John run-PTCPL AUX-PRES (ADV S V)  
 ‘As above.’ (A, Q)
- (e) *diji marrapu ngama-rna nhaka nhawu.*  
 day many sit-PTCPL there, LOC 3SG, NONFEM, NOM  
 (ADV V ADV S)  
 ‘He sat there for many days.’ (A 1981 : 112)
- (f) *karrari nhanrru jukurrhu-Ø wayi-rna*  
 today, LOC 3SG, FEM, ERG kangaroo-ABS cook-PTCPL

warra-yi.

AUX-PRES

(ADV S O V)

'She cooked a kangaroo today.' (A 1981 : 91)

Other examples include 'then' in (b) of 8; and, 'after a drought' in (b) of 23.

[ 3 ] Place, direction, source, etc.

(g) nhawu                      thika-rna              warra-yi  
3SG, NONFEM, NOM    return-PTCPL    AUX-PRES  
ngurra-nrru.

camp-ABL

(S V ADV)

'He returned from the camp'. (A 1981 : 130)

Other examples include 'everywhere' in (k) of 6; 'close to me' in (l) of 6; 'in a row' in (a) of 7; 'above' and 'in the tree' in (b) of 7; 'in the top of the tree' in (c), (d) of 7; 'in the middle of the hut' in (e), (f) of 7; 'along the sandhill' in (g) of 7; 'all over the place' in (h) of 7; 'to your husband' in (c) of 8; 'in my camp' in (d) of 8; 'to his camp' in (e) of 8; 'around his neck' in (f) of 8; 'out of his mouth' in (j) of 8; 'in the house' in (a) of 12; 'in the dry country' in (a) of 15; and 'there' in (b) of 22.

[ 4 ] Manner, instrument, etc. Certain adjectives can be used as manner adverbs (A 1981 : 107).

(h) nhulu                      karna-li              kirra-Ø  
3SG, NONFEM, ERG    persen-ERG    boomerang-ABS  
parraparra-li    warra-yi.  
energetic-ERG    throw-PRES

'The man throws the boomerang energetically.' (A 1981 : 108)

'When these adjectives occur in a transitive clause as manner adverbs, they must take ergative case inflection' (A 1981 : 108). Compare (h) with (f) of 22, an intransitive clause, in which *parraparra* does not take the ergative case inflection. The ergative case can express instruments (as well as the transitive subject), e. g. 'with rotten fat' in (d) of 18 and :

- (i) ngathu paraji-yali=lha thina- $\emptyset$  wani-yi.  
 1SG, ERG light-ERG-NEW INF foot-ABS follow-PRES  
 'I follow the track with a light.' (A 1981 : 118) (S ADV A V)  
 The locative, too, can express instruments, means or the like, e. g. 'in a bag' in (g) of 6.  
 [ 5 ] Degree.
- (j) ngathu yinanha pirna nganja-yi.  
 1SG, ERG 2SG, ACC big, a lot like-PRES (S O ADV V)  
 'I like you very much'. (A 1981 : 108)  
 Other examples include 'more than me' in (c) of 14.

### 17. Adverb and adjective

The adjective *marla* 'more' can function as an adverb, meaning 'very'. It follows the adjective qualified (A, Q). Examples include :

- (a) John- $\emptyset$  payirrho marla.  
 John-ABS tall very  
 'John is very tall'. (A, Q)
- (b) nhani-ya mankarrha- $\emptyset$  ngumu marla.  
 3SG, FEM, NOM-NEAR girl-ABS good very  
 'This girl is very good'. (A 1981 : 109)

### 18. General questions

Diyari has no question marker (A, Q). 'In Diyari, polar questions—requiring a yes/no answer—have the same form as statements but are marked by a rising intonation at the end of the sentence. There are no morphological reflexes of the contrast between the two sentence types' (A 1981 : 151).

- (a) yunrru kaku- $\emptyset$  ngama-lka-yi ?  
 2SG, ERG elder sister-ABS sit-TRVZR-PRES (SOV)  
 'Do you have an elder sister?' (A 1981 : 147)
- (b) mayi, yini nhuwa-nthu ?  
 well 2SG, NOM spouse-PROP  
 'Well, are you married?' (A 1981 : 141)



warra-yi ?

AUX-PRES

(ADV S O V)

'Why (lit. what from) did you hit her ?' (A 1981 : 54)

(e) wardayarri yini ngama-yi ?

where 2SG,NOM sit-PRES

(ADV S V)

'Where do you live ?' (A 1981 : 55)

Another example is 'why' in (b) of 22.

'If the interrogative is part of a phrase then it occurs sentence-initially followed by all other phrasal constituent with which it is construed' (A 1981 : 151)

(f) wardaru-nja kupa-∅ yunrru ngama-lka-yi ?

how-NUMBER child-ABS 2SG,ERG sit-TRVZR-PRES

'How many children do you have ?' (A 1981 : 43)

(OSV)

(g) warda nhungkangu karna-nhi yini

WH 3SG, NONFEM, LOC man-LOC 2SG, NOM

yatha-rna warra-yi ?

speak-PTCPL AUX-PRES

(ADV S V)

'Which man did you talk to ?' (A 1981 : 64)

(h) warda nhulu pirta-li pula

WH 3SG, NONFEM, ERG stick-ERG 2DU, NOM

thirri-mali-yi ?

fight-RECIP-PRES

(ADV S V)

'Which stick are they fighting with ?' (A 1981 : 151)

'When the interrogative verbs ... *minharri*- "become what" and *minhanganka*- "do what" are used, they are placed in sentence-initial position followed by all other verb phrase constituents (if any), such as auxiliaries' (A 1981 : 151).

(i) minha-rri-rna warra-yi nhawu ?

what-INCH-PTCPL AUX-PRES 3SG, NONFEM, NOM (VS)

'What happened to him ?' (A 1981 : 92)

(j) minha-nganka-lha ngana-yi ngalrra

what-CAUS-FUT AUX-PRES 1DU, INC, NOM

nhinha ?

3SG, NONFEM, ACC

(VSO)

'What shall we do with him?' (A 1981 : 92)

## 21. Inversion of subject and verb in special questions

The same as 19.

## 22. Negative sentences

Austin (1981 : 169-72) describes the situation as follows. There are two words for negation.

'*wata* "not" serves to negate a clause or some part of it. *wata* can be used to negate a predicate, either non-verbal ..., as in' (A 1981 : 169) :

(a) nganhi wata wanku.

1SG, NOM NEG snake 'I am not a snake.' (A 1981 : 169)

'or one containing a verb phrase, as in' (A 1981 : 170) :

(b) minha-nrru yurra wata wapa-rna warra-yi  
what-ABL 2PL, NOM(Si) NEG go-PTCPL AUX-PRES  
nhingki-wa-nhi ?

her-DISTANT-ALL (ADV S NEG V ADV)

'Why didn't you go there?' (A 1981 : 170)

(c) wata ngathu yinanha nganja-yi.

NEG 1SG, ERG 2SG, ACC like-PRES (NEG S O V)

'I don't like you.' (A 1981 : 170)

(d) nhulu kirra-Ø wata nganka-yi.

3SG, NONFEM, ERG boomerang-ABS NEG make-PRES

'He is not making a boomerang.' (A 1981 : 168) (S O NEG V)

'When negating a predicate, *wata* either occurs clause-initially, as in' (c) 'or between the subject NP and the predicate, as in' (a), (b) and (d). 'Clause-initially, *wata* is ambiguous between its predicate negation function and its NP negation function (see below). Thus, while' (a) 'is unambiguous, the following sentence has two possible interpretations' (A 1981 : 170) :

(e) wata nganhi wanku.

NEG 1SG, NOM snake

'I am not asnake' or 'It is not I who am a snake.' (A 1981 : 170)

'*wata* is also used with verbs inflected for imperative mood ... to produce a negative imperative ...' (A 1981 : 170) :

(f) wata yini parraparra pithi-ya.

NEG 2SG, NOM energetic fart-IMPERA (NEG S ADV V)

'Don't fart loudly!' (A 1981 : 108)

(g) yunrru wata nhinha nanrra- $\emptyset$ =mayi

2SG, ERG NEG 3SG, NONFEM, ACC hit-IMPERA-EMPH

'Don't hit him!' (A 1981 : 170) (S NEG O V)

'The particle *wata* is also used to negate a noun phrase, in which case it occurs immediately before it, as in' (A 1981 : 170) :

(h) ngathu wata nhanha nhayi-rna warra-yi.

1SG, ERG NEG 3SG, FEM, ACC see-PTCPL AUX-PRES

'I didn't see her.' (A 1981 : 171) (S NEG O V)

'Sentence' (h) 'is actually ambiguous; *wata* could be interpreted as having scope over the following NP, i. e. "It was not her I saw" or over the NP and the VP, i. e. "It was not see her that I did". In order to disambiguate between these two readings it is necessary to add an explanatory clause or sentence...' (A 1981 : 171).

Another example of *wata* is (h) of 6.

The other negation word is *pulu* 'cannot'. 'Usually *pulu* occurs in sentence-initial position but there are a few examples of it in second position between' the subject and the object (A 1981 : 171).

(i) pulu ngathu nhinha thurrhu- $\emptyset$  nanrra-yi.

cannot 1SG, ERG 3SG, NONFEM, ACC fire-ABS hit-PRES

'I can't cut this firewood' (A 1981 : 171)

(j) ngathu pulu thananha danga-yi.

1SG, ERG cannot 3PL, ACC hunt away-PRES (A NEG O V)

'I cannot hunt them away.' (A 1981 : 171)

Apart from the addition of a negation word, negative sentences do not differ from affirmative sentences in terms of word order. (This

point has been confirmed by Austin, p. c.)

### 23. Conditional clause and main clause

What are referred to as 'relative clauses' (A 1981 : 204-17) can function as conditional clauses. (They can also function as a relative clause; see 12.) The 'conditional clause' can either precede or follow the main clause (A, Q). Out of the ten examples of 'relative clause' used as a 'conditional clause', the 'conditional clause' precedes the main clause in nine examples, e. g. (a), (b), and follows in one, i. e. (c). That is, at least when these clauses are used as a conditional clause, they generally precede the main clause. (This point has been confirmed by Austin, p. c.)

- (a) nhawu                                      thika-rna,                      nhawu  
 3SG, NONFEM, NOM    return-REL, SS    3SG, NONFEM, NOM  
 yatha-lha    ngana-yi                      yingkangu.  
 speak-FUT    AUX-PRES    2SG, LOC                                      (S V, S V ADV)  
 'If he comes back, he'll talk to you.' (A 1981 : 212)
- (b) pirdarrha-nrru    thalara-Ø    kurda-rnanhi    ngarda-nhi    kantha-Ø  
 drought-ABL    rain-ABS    fall-REL, DS    then-LOC    grass-ABS  
 purnka-yi.  
 grow-PRES                                      (ADV S V, ADV S V)  
 'If it rains after a drought the grass grows.' (1981 : 131)
- (c) kanji    minrri-ya    nhani                                      nhaka=1rra  
 can    run-PAST    3SG, FEM, NOM    there, LOC-ADD INF  
 nhawu                                      wakara-rnanhi  
 3SG, NONFEM, NOM    come-REL, DS  
 (ADV V S ADV, S V)  
 'She could have run (the distance) if he had come back again.'  
 (A 1981 : 212)

### 24. Purpose clause and main clause

What are referred to as 'implicated clause' (A 1981 : 189-204) can express purpose or intent. At least when expressing purpose or intent, implicated clauses follow the main clause (A, Q; A 1981 : 189).



- (a) ngalrra                wapa-1ha ngana-yi        nganhi  
 1DU, INC, NOM go-FUT    AUX-PRES    1SG, NOM  
 nhungkangu        yatha-yatha-rnanthu.  
 3SG, NON, LOC speak-REDUP-IMPL, DS        (S V, S ADV V)  
 'We two will go so I can talk to him.' (A 1981 : 199)
- (b) ngathu        nhinha                                puka-∅        yingki-rda  
 1SG, ERG    3SG, NONFEM, ACC food-ABS give-PTCPL  
 purrhi-yi        nhawu                                thika-rnda  
 AUX-PRES    3SG, NONFEM, NOM return-PTCPL  
 purrhi-yani.  
 AUX-IMPL, DS    (S IO DO V, S V)  
 'I gave him some food so he could go back (home north).'  
 (A 1981 : 253)

(The ex. (b) is form Thirari, a dialect closely related to Diyari.) Other examples include (c) of 6.

## References

- Austin, Peter. 1981. A grammar of Diyari, South Australia. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
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