Chapter 4
Nominals, Part I

The nominal word class includes a number of subclasses (3.1): noun/adjectives, pronouns, locationals, and manner and time nominals. In this chapter I discuss the case system, which is essentially identical for all nominal subclasses, plus a few nominal suffixes for number and the like. Derivational, compounding and reduplicational processes in the noun/adjective subclass, and specific properties of the remaining nominal subclasses will be treated in the next chapter.

4.1 Structure of the nominal word

Kayardild nominals consist of a root, with or without a number of derivational suffixes; this much constitutes the stem. In general, derivational possibilities depend on the subclass of nominal.

Following this are one or more inflections. Recall that in this grammar an inflection is defined as any suffix whose scope is phrasal or greater (3.1.2.1); this definition allows the possibility of multiple inflection after the stem. The inflectional possibilities of all subclasses are similar, except that for the manner, time and locational subclasses the set of possible adnominal and relational inflections is restricted.

Leaving the internal structure of the stem to concentrate on its possibilities for number and case inflection, we get the following picture:

(4-1)   RANK

1	2	3	4

$$\text{Stem} + \text{ADN} / \text{NUM}^* + \text{Relational}^{0\text{-}2} + \text{Modal}^{0\text{-}2} \quad (+ \quad \text{Associating} / \text{)}$$
$$\text{Complementizing}$$

Here ADN is an adnominal case suffix and NUM is a number suffix; the asterisk means that in principle any number of these may occur, from zero up. There may be from zero to two relational, and from zero to two modal, cases. Associating and complementizing case suffixes are optional, and the latter two are mutually exclusive. There must be at least one case at adnominal, relational or modal level. The above template does not cover suffixation with a verbal case (4.4), which is suffixed at Rank

2 and converts the hosting nominal into a morphologically verbal stem, whose further suffixing possibilities are identical to a regular verb stem.

The adnominal case and number slots are the only ones that are regularly recursive, to allow for words like *maku-yarr-nurru-naba-walad* [woman-du-ASSOC-ABL-LOT] 'the many belonging to (those) having two wives'. The formulation allows alternative orderings of the same affixes (e.g. ASSOC + LOT vs LOT + ASSOC), as is required by pairs like *maku-wala-nurru* [woman-LOT-ASSOC] 'having many wives' vs *maku-nurru-walad* [woman-ASSOC-LOT] 'the many having wives'[1].

(4-1) correctly generates all permissible inflected nominals in Kayardild. It overgenerates slightly, and two restrictions are needed to prevent banned suffix sequences—see 4.2.3.

4.2 Case inflections: forms

Figure 4-1 gives the forms of all Kayardild case inflections, except the verbal case set, which is discussed in 4.4. Some remarks on them are made on the following pages. Unless otherwise noted, inflections have the same form regardless of the rank they are used at. Figure 4-2 gives illustrative inflected words.

DECLENSION MEMBERSHIP. In general, declension patterns are predictable from the phonological composition of the nominative citation form; in such cases the declension classes have open membership, embracing all nominals with the phonologically appropriate ending. The two declensions whose membership is not predictable from the form of the nominative have closed membership:

CLASS 4B. When the nominative of a word ends in *Vda* this may be the root (as with *kambuda* 'pandanus fruit', whose locative is *kambuda-ya*), or it may be the delaminalized form (2.5.3) of a root in *TH-* or *J-*. *TH* may follow any vowel, *J* only follows *i* or *ii*. The full membership of these classes is:

TH: *yarbuTH-* 'snake, bird', *ngirrnguTH-* 'fly', *marrkaTH-* 'soft', *niTH-* 'name', *baTH-* 'west', *buTH-* 'behind' and *yuuTH-* 'already'. A similar pattern is found with the derivational suffixes *-walaTH-* 'LOT' and *-yarraTH-* 'another'.

J: *warngiiJ-* 'one', *ngiJ-* 'wood, firewood', *miiJ-* 'lobster, louse', *riiJ-* 'intestine' and its derivatives *jungarrbariiJ-* 'large intestine' and *waldarrariiJ-* 'caecum of dugong', *wanjariiJ-* 'one-eyed man' and *biriiJ-* 'alive; father'.

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[1] I have been unable to determine whether multiple occurrences of the same adnominal suffix are allowed—if they are not, a constraint would be needed of the type: $*\alpha Suf^{ADN} + \alpha Suf^{ADN}$.

Declension		1	2	3a[1]	3b	4a[1]	4b	5a	5b	6
Final segment of stem		i_	u_	a_ (2σ)	a_ (2+σ)	r, l_ th, j_	rr, k,	ng_	n, rn_	n#[2]
NOM	{ka}	-(ya)[3]	-(wa)[3]	-a	ø	-da	-a	-ka	Da	-da
LOC	{kiya}	-ya	-ya	-ya	-ya	-i(ya)	-i(ya)	-ki(ya)	-ki(ya)	-ji(ya)
ABL	{kinaba}	-na[ba][4]	-na[ba][5]	-na[ba]	-na[ba]	-ina[ba]	-ina[ba]	-kina[ba]	-kina[ba]	-jina[ba]
PROP	{kuru}	wu[ru]	-u[ru]	-wu[ru]	-u[ru]	-u[ru]	-u[ru]	ku[ru]	-ku[ru]	-ju[ru]
OBL	{inja}	-nja	-ntha	-ntha	-ntha[6]	-inja	-inja	-inja	-inja	-inja
ALL	{kiring}	-r[ing]	-r[ing]	-r[ing]	-r[ing]	-ir[ing]	-ir[ing]	-kir[ing]	-kir[ing]	-jir[ing]
GEN	{karran}	-karra[n]	-karra[n]	-karra[n]	-karra[n]	-karra[n]	-karra[n]	-karra[n]	-karra[n]	-karra[n]
ASSOC	{nurru}	-nurru	-nurru	-nurru	-nurru	-nurru	-nurru	-nurru	-nurru	-nurru
ORIG	{wan}	-wan-	-wan-	-wan-	-wan-	-wan-	-wan-	-wan-	-man-	-man-
PRIV	{warri}	-warri	-warri	-warri	-warri	-warri	-warri	-warri	-marri	-marri
CONS	{ngarrba}	-ngarrba	-ngarrba	-ngarrba	-ngarrba	-ngarrba	-ngarrba	-ngarrba	-ngarrba	-ngarrba
INSTR	{nguni}	-nguni	-nguni	-nguni	-nguni	-nguni	-nguni	-nguni	-nguni	-nguni
UTIL	{marra}	-marra	-marra	-marra	-marra	-marra	-marra	-marra	-marra	-marra

NOTES: This table does not show the effects of "prosodic truncation" on final a, or the effects of post-prosodic truncational lengthening on the ORIGin suffix {-wan-}. Nor does it show the effects on preceding segments of general morphophonemic changes, such as the loss of stem-final k (in 4b) before n by cluster simplification. { } encloses "basic" forms.

(1) The two irregular nouns jara or jaa 'foot' and rara or raa 'south' could be treated as a seventh, minor, declension type, mixing characteristics of the 3a and 4a declensions.

jara will illustrate. For what we may call "A-type" speakers the root is ja-; for them all cases have the 3a forms (e.g. NOM ja-a, LOC ja-ya, PROP ja-wuru) except the irregular OBLique ja-yinja. "B-type" speakers take the root for some cases as jar-, giving the irregular nominative jara and the 4a type OBLique jarinja; other case forms are identical to those for "A-type" speakers. rara exhibits parallel irregularities.

(2) n# represents morphemes in final -n- that take a following palatal-initial suffix. The choice between velar- and palatal-initial suffixes is morphologically conditioned—see notes on declension membership.

(3) Suffixes or suffix segments in round brackets are optional; their appearance depends on stylistic or rhythmical reasons alone.

(4) Segments in square brackets may be lost in word-final position. See discussion of individual case forms for specific conditioning factors.

(5) Some kin-terms in -ju belonging to this class change the final u to i before the ABLative, e.g. thabujina rather than thabujuna.

(6) Younger speakers form the OBLique of two nouns of this class on the prosodically truncated citation form: from bijarrb(a) 'dugong' and kunawun(a) 'child' they get the Declension 4b OBLiques bijarrbinja and kunawuninja rather than the traditional 1b forms bijarrbantha and kunawuninja.

Figure 4-1. Case allomorphs

Decl.	1	2	3a	3b[1]	4a	4b[1,2]	4b[3]	4b[3]	5a	5b	6
Word	yakuri 'fish'	maku 'woman'	mala 'sea'	bardaka 'belly'	nal-da 'head'	wangalk-a 'boomerang'	nid-a 'name'	ngid-a 'firewood'	kangka 'language'	daman-da 'tooth'	kuwan-da 'firestick'
NOM	yakuri-ya	maku-wa	mala-a	bardaka	nal-da	wangalk-a	nid-a	ngid-a	kang-ka	daman-da	kuwan-da
LOC	yakuri-ya	maku-ya	mala-ya	bardaka-ya	nal-iya	wangalk-i	nith-i	ngij-i	kang-ki	daman-ki	kuwan-ji
ABL	yakuri-na	maku-na	mala-na	bardaka-na	nal-ina	wangalk-ina	nith-ina	ngij-ina	kang-kina	daman-kina	kuwan-jina
PROP	yakuri-wuru	maku-(u)ru	mala-wuru	bardaka-wuru	nal-uru	wangalk-uru	nith-uru	ngij-uru	kang-kuru	daman-kuru	kuwan-juru
OBL	yakuri-nja	maku-ntha	mala-ntha	bardaka-ntha	nal-inja	wangalk-inja	nith-inja	ngij-inja	kang-inja	daman-inja	kuwan-inja
ALL	yakuri-r	maku-r	mala-r	bardaka-r	nal-ir	wangalk-ir	nith-ir	ngij-ir	kang-kir	daman-kir	kuwan-jir
GEN	yakuri-karra	maku-karra	mala-karra	bardaka-karra	nal-karra	wangal-karra	?	?	kang-karra	daman-karra	kuwan-karra
ASSOC	yakuri-nurru	maku-nurru	mala-nurru	bardaka-nurru	nal-nurru	wangal-nurru[2]	ni-nurru	ngi-nurru	kang-nurru	daman-urru	kuwan-urru
ORIG	yakuri-wan-[4]	maku-wan-	mala-wan-	bardaka-wan-	nal-wan-	wangal-wan-	nith-an-	ngi-yaan-	kang-an-	daman-man-	kuwan-mn-
PRIV	yakuri-warri	maku-warri	mala-warri	bardaka-warri	nal-warri	wangal-warri	nith-arri	ngi-yarri	ka-warri	daman-marri	kuwan-mrr-
CONS	yakuri-ngarrba	maku-ngarrba	mala-ngarrba	bardaka-ngarrba	nal-ngarrba	wangal-ngarrba	niny-ngarrba	nginy-ngarrba	ka-ngarrba	daman-ngarrba	kuwan-ngr
INSTR	yakuri-nguni	maku-nguni	mala-nguni	bardaka-nguni	nal-nguni	wangal-nguni	niny-nguni	nginy-nguni	ka-nguni	daman-nguni	kuwan-ng
UTIL	yakuri-marra	maku-marra	mala-marra	bardaka-marra	nal-marra	wangal-marra	niny-marra	nginy-marra	ka-marra	daman-marra	kuwan-m

NOTES:

General: In Contrast to Figure 4-1, forms given are the normal "reduced" forms found in exposed final position, although again the effects of prosodic truncation are not shown.

(1) As the words *bardaka* and *wangalka* show, the stem form cannot always be deduced from the nominative form alone. We need other cases (e.g. the locative) to show us that in *bardaka* the final /a/ is part of the root (*bardakaya*) and in *wangalka* it is the nominative ending (*wangalk-i*). Words whose nominative ends in *rra* are particularly tricky, as they may belong either to declension 3b or to 4b: compare *kamarra* 'stone', whose locative is *kamarri* and which we therefore segment as *kamarr-a* (4b), with *waldarra* 'moon', whose locative is *waldarraya* and which we segment as *waldarra-* (3b).

(2) The root-final *k* of *wangalk-* and *ng* of *kang-* disappear before the ASSOCiative,

ORIGin, PRIVative, CONSequential, INSTRumental and UTILitive cases by the regular morphophonemic rule of CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION (2.5.5). This rule also degeminates the /nn/ that would otherwise arise in the ASSOCiative forms of *damanda* and *kuwanda*.

(3) The words *nid-a* and *ngid-a* are included as examples of stems whose final segments are underlyingly lamino-dental and lamino-palatal respectively. The basically behave like normal 4b declension nouns, except that they undergo the morphophonemic changes DELAMINALIZATION (2.5.3) in the nominative, REGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION OF NASALITY (2.5.1.2) in the consequential, instrumental and utilitive, FEATURE BLEND (2.5.4) in the origin and privative (lamino-palatal stems only), and CLUSTER SIMPLIFICATION (2.5.5).

(4) The origin case never appears without further inflection.

Figure 4-2. Words illustrating Kayardild case inflections

CLASS 6. Nominatives ending in *Vnda* may either belong to the regular "apical nasal-final" declension 5b, or the "palatalizing" declension 6. Note that the sequences written *nji* or *nju* here are phonemically ɲʈi or ɲʈu, so this pattern is similar to the delaminalization of Class 4a, but with a laminal nasal morpheme-finally. Here I list all the members of 6 (stems in final *n* not listed here belong to 5b):

(a) all possessive pronoun stems.

(b) the noun/adjectives *duujin-* 'younger brother', *malungin-* 'daughter's child', *kuwan-* 'firestick', *ngawun-* 'ashes, dust', *bardangin-* 'big toe, thumb', *thalardin-* 'old man, old man dugong', *dirrkulin-* 'male (tree)', *bithiin-* 'man', and *kabin-* 'low tide'.

(c) the origin suffix *-wa(a)n-*, the 'plenty' suffix *-wuthin-*, and time-nominals in *-ban-*: *yuujban-da* 'long ago' and *yandaban-da* 'soon'.

(d) resultative nominalizations in *-THirrin-*.

ALLOMORPHY. In connection with the morphological forms given in the paradigms, note that:

(a) Suffix forms are selected by the immediately preceding morpheme, which is not necessarily the root: cf. *mala-ya* [sea-LOC], *mala-wan-ji* [sea-ORIG-LOC], *mala-ring-ki* [sea-ALL-LOC].

(b) Forms are shaped both by regular morphophonemic rules (see 2.5) and by irregular morphological conditioning.

An example of a regular morphophonemic rule is the assimilation to *m* of initial *w* in PRIVative *-warri* and ORIGin *-wa(a)n-* after nasals, by the general morphophonemic rule PROGRESSIVE GLIDE ASSIMILATION (2.5.1.1).

Morphophonemic rules may also affect the preceding final. For example, morpheme-final *ng* will be lost before any consonant but *k*, (2.5.5): *kang-ki* [language-LOC] but *ka-marra* [language-UTIL], *ka-warri* [language-PRIV] etc. Such regular changes in the preceding morpheme are not shown in Figure 4-1 (but see note 2, Figure 4-2).

An example of morphological conditioning involves the choice between velar-initial and palatal-initial suffixes after *n*: Cf. *daman-ki* [tooth-LOC], *kuwan-ji* [firestick-LOC]. No conditioning phonetic environment can be found, and the choice must be specifically marked in the lexicon.

The varying initial segments of certain case suffixes likewise do not follow from regular morphophonemic rules.

The allomorphs of the NOMinative are totally idiosyncratic.

The LOCative, ABLative, and ALLative inflections (and also the Dual {*-kiyarrng-*}) share a common pattern. In fact, the ALLative and ABLative

could be derived by augmenting the first syllable of the LOCative with *-ring* and *-naba* respectively; this may well be their diachronic source. Representing the fullest form of these as *-kVX*, the conditioned allomorphy is:

-kVX	/	N_	(i.e. morpheme-final nasals/ declension 5)
-jVX	/	N*_	("palatalizing" morpheme-final nasals, declension 6)
-VX	/	C_	(other morpheme-final consonants / declension 4)
-X	/	V_	(morpheme-final vowels / declensions 1-3)

The PROPrietive, and the LOCative + OBLique portmanteau *-kurrka*[2], differ from this pattern only in having *-wVX* rather than *-X* after morpheme-final vowels.

Despite the regularity of this pattern, it is morphologically rather than phonetically motivated: the GENitive *karran-* or compounded nouns in initial *k* retain their full form in all these environments. It is likely that these non-palatalizing morphemes are more recent: the GENitive, for example, is a Kayardild-specific reduction from the fuller form *bakarran-* found in Yukulta.

Finally, note the OBLique form, *-inja* after all consonants, *-nja* after *i*, and *-ntha* after *a* or *u*. This is one of several instances in Kayardild of alternations between laminals being conditioned by the preceding vowel (cf. Keen 1983: 198-9 on Yukulta and Dixon (1970) on Australian languages in general).

4.2.1 Multiple inflection and the description of allomorphy

The multiple-inflecting nature of Kayardild nominals creates two special problems for morphological description.

Firstly, because inflections are not restricted to word-final position, they may act like a derived "stem" selecting a following allomorph. This means that inflections as well as roots belong to a declension class: the PROPrietive { *-kuru* }, for example, belongs to declension 2 (*u* -final) and selects the same following allomorphs as a *u*-final root like *maku* 'woman'.

Secondly, many inflections have a different, reduced form in exposed word-final position. The ALLative, for example, is always *-kiri* or *-kir* word finally (to cite the forms with the fullest initials); but *-kiring-*

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2   I have been unable to find any explanation for this strange form, totally unrelated to its components { *-kiya* } and { *-inja* }. An identical portmanteau is found in Yukulta, and can be reconstructed for Lardil.

word-internally. Likewise the ablative is *-kina* word-finally, but word-internally it is *-kinaba-* or *-kinaa-* [3].

It is the word-internal allomorph that determines the allomorph of following inflections: thus the ALLative *-kiri(ng)* behaves like an *ng-* final stem, not an *r-* final or *i-* final:

wumburung-kina	'spear-ABL'	*mala-ring-kina*	'sea-ALL-ABL'
mar-ina	'hand-ABL'		
yakuri-na	'fish-ABL'		

The neatest way to represent this is to take the maximal word-internal form as canonical (represented as {*-kiring-*}, for example), and bracket off the portion lost word-finally ({*-kir(ing-)*}). The canonical form determines the declension-class of the inflection, so the ALLative {*-kiring-* } belongs to declension 5a.

4.2.2 Comparative remarks on case forms

Unless otherwise noted, the Kayardild forms can be shown to preserve the pT original. I do not wish to go into all the details here.

Few of these inflections have recognizable cognates outside the Tangkic languages.

The existence of a non-zero NOMinative inflection in Yukulta, virtually identical to the Kayardild NOMinative[4] was noted as unusual by Capell (1979); it may have originated as a discourse particle {*-ka*} (lenited intervocalically to *-wa* , assimilated in place of articulation to preceding consonants etc), but clear evidence is lacking: see 4.3.2.

Instrumental *-nguni* has a possible cognate in Guugu-Yimidhirr ergative/instrumental *-ngun* (Haviland 1979a) but the form is not widespread; moreover, comparison with Lardil suggests that the pT ancestor merely marked "having".

Privative *-warri* is probably reduced from a free form *warri*, so widespread with the meaning "bad" that it is a good candidate for proto-

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[3]   Two points should be emphasized here: (a) this variation is not due to PROSODIC TRUNCATION (2.3), since reduction from *-kiring-* to *-kir-*, for example, occurs whether or not the relevant word is breath group final; furthermore, the addition of clitics does not protect the form, whereas it blocks prosodic truncation. (b) the appearance of "word-internal" forms does not depend on the "level" of the case inflection; merely on the fact that another inflection follows. The ALLative, for example, will be *-kir* word-finally, and *-kiring-* word-internally, regardless of whether it functions relationally or modally, and regardless of the function of the following suffix.

[4]   The only difference is with disyllabic roots in final /a/, which take a nominative suffix in /-ra/ in Y and in /-a/ in Kayardild.

Australian; see Evans (1990b) on the extension from "bad" to "privative" in Australian languages. In any case, *-warri* can be reconstructed back to proto-Tangkic with privative meaning[5].

The PROPrietive {*-kuru*}, deriving from pT {*-kurlu*} (preserved in Yukulta) by regular sound change, has cognates in Warlpiri and Kukatja PROPrietives *-kurlu* and probably the Nyangumarda privative *-kurlu*. The most likely scenario is that it is an early loan into Tangkic from some northern Nyungic language, such as Warlpiri, at a time when Tangkic was spoken well to the west of its current position[6].

The LOCative {*-kiya*} , which in pT must have also had an ergative function (as in Yukulta), and the ABLative {*-kinaba* }, have no obvious cognates in nearby languages. However, within the Yiram group some 400km to the west we find possible cognates: the ergative/locative in Ngaliwurru includes *-ki* (after the velar nasal) and *-i* (after *l* or *n*); another allomorph *-ni*, with no Tangkic correspondent, has been generalized in the other Yiram languages. Within the pronoun paradigm, both Nungali and Ngaliwurru have possessive *-kina*. The exact interpretation of these similarities is problematic at present—do they represent inherited shared characteristics, or loans, and if the latter, in what direction? However, there is some other lexical evidence for early contact between Tangkic and Yiram (see Evans in prep).

4.2.3 Sequence restrictions

Generally any inflection may follow any other inflection, provided both are semantically and syntactically appropriate. However, there are two purely morphological constraints on suffix sequences:

> (a) the OBLique cannot be followed by any other inflection.
> (b) the LOCative cannot be followed by any inflection but the OBLique.
> LOCative-OBLique sequences are realized by the portmanteau *{-kurrka}*

These restrictions are indifferent to the rank of the inflections involved. Relational, modal and associating OBLiques alike may not be followed by

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[5] Somewhat puzzling, though, is the stop-initial allomorph *-karri*, preserved only in the Kayardild word *wuran-karri* 'hungry' (cf the regular *wuran-marri* 'without food').

[6] Its ultimate origin within Northern Nyungic may be as an allomorph of the ergative *-rlu*. In Bilinara, for instance (Nordlinger 1990:41-2), the ergative may be used, alone or following the proprietive, to mark instruments; and the ergative has an allomorph *-kurlu* (incorporating a "spacing element" *ku*) after *ng, k* and *p*. Generalization of this form with the instrument function, and subsequent extension of its function from instrument to proprietive could have yielded a proprietive *-kurlu*.

another suffix; nor may adnominal or relational LOCatives. Similarly, a LOCative of any rank, if directly followed by an OBLique of any (higher) rank, will give the portmanteau {*kurrka*}, e.g. an adnominal LOCative plus a modal OBLique (4-18), a modal LOCative plus an associating OBLique (11-30), or a relational LOCative plus a complementizing OBLique (12.1.5.1). There is a single exception to this: the relational locative disappears entirely before the modal OBLique, rather than yielding the portmanteau {-*kurrka*}—see (ii) below.

As these examples show, the sequence restrictions just outlined do not depend on a suffix's function. But the way the banned sequences are circumvented *does* depend on the function of both suffixes. There are four alternative strategies: substitution of a synonymous alternative that obeys the sequence constraints (i, iv); omission of the inner case suffix (ii); use of a single suffix as the exponent of two ranks with the same case (iii, iv); and the extrinsic ordering of suffixes into an acceptable sequence (v). I will now discuss these in more detail, organizing the presentation by case rather than strategy.

(i) ADNOMINAL LOCATIVE + CASE (EXCEPT THE OBLIQUE). Here the synonymous ASSOCiative case replaces the LOCative (cf. 4.3.3.2).

(4-2)   *dangka-a*   *yubuyubu-y* / *yubuyubu-nurru*
         person-NOM   road-LOC   road-ASSOC
         'The person (is) on the road.'

(4-3)   *ngada*   *kurri-ju*   *dangka-wu*   *yubuyubu-nurru-uru*
         1sgNOM   see-POT   person-MPROP   road-ASSOC-MPROP

         (**yubuyubu-ya-wuru*)
         (*road-LOC-MPROP)

         'I will see the person on the road.'

(ii) RELATIONAL LOCATIVE + (ANY MODAL) CASE. On location NPs the sequence LOC + MOD does not occur—only the modal case is present[7]:

(4-4)   *nyingka*   *ngaka-tharra*   *kabara-na*
         2sgNOM   wait-PST   saltpan-MABL
         'You waited on the saltpan.'

This happens even when the allowable suffix sequence LOC + MOBL would occur: objects and locations in apprehensive clauses, for example,

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7   In Lardil, too, LOCatives are the only relational cases to be replaced, rather than followed, by modal case suffixes, but the situation is clearer, because LOCatives cannot function modally as well: *ngada thaldi kela-a* [I stand beach-LOC] 'I stand on the beach' vs *ngada thaldi-thu kela-wu* [I stand-FUT beach-FUT].

take the modal oblique alone, rather than the LOC + OBL portmanteau
[-kurrka]:

(4-5) *dathin-a* *yarbud-a* *baa-nyarra* *kunawuna-nth (*kunawuna-wurrk)*
       that-NOM   snake-NOM   bite-APPR   child-MOBL   child-LOC:MOBL
       'That snake might bite the child.'

(4-6) *warrkur-inja (*warrkur-urrka)* *daman-da* *dara-a-nyarr!*
       hide-MOBL   hide-LOC:MOBL   tooth-NOM   break-M-APPR
       '(You) might break your tooth on the (dugong) hide!'

This raises the question of whether the LOCative in a clause like (4-2)
above is in relational or modal function. To expand the latter analysis, is
it possible that location adjuncts, like objects, are marked by the presence
of modal case alone? This would automatically account for the absence of
locatives in examples like (4-7). It would also account for why location
NPs in nominalized clauses have zero modal case: like object NPs, they
take no relational case here and are marked only with the Associating
OBLique.

(4-7) *niya* *kiwali-n-da* *mala-nth* *(* mala-wurrk).*
       3sgNOM   wade-N-NOM   sea-AOBL   sea-LOC:AOBL
       'He is wading in the sea.'

This contrasts with their behaviour when the nominalized clause has
inherited a modal LOCative from a higher clause, in which case both
locations and objects take the sequence MLOC:AOBL:

(4-8) *ngada* *kurri-ja* *niwan-ji*
       1sgNOM   see-ACT   3sg-MLOC

       [dalwani-n-ki *thawal-urrk]* / *[kiwali-n-ki* *mala-wurrk]*
       dig-N-MLOC   yam-MLOC:AOBL   wade-N-MLOC   sea-MLOC:AOBL

       'I saw him digging yams / wading in the sea.'

And it would account for why locations can occur (optionally) in the
nominative with imperatives:

(4-9) *dan-da* *yiiwi-ja* *katha-a!*
       here-NOM   sleep-IMP   bed-NOM
       'Sleep here on the bed!'

We are thus able to capture a number of generalizations by saying that the
locative case on locative adjuncts is actually a modal rather than a
relational case.

(iii) DOUBLE OBLIQUE OR LOCATIVE SEQUENCES. Double OBLique sequences arise where a demoted agent taking a relational OBLique is followed by a complementizing OBLique. Here a single OBLique suffix serves as the exponent of both relational and complementizing functions (glossed R:COBL).

(4-10)   *ngada   jaa-nangku   wida-wu,   [yarbuth-inja*
          1sgNOM   enter-NEGPOT   hole-MPROP   snake-R:COBL

          ba-yii-nyarra-nth]COBL
          bite-M-APPR-COBL

          'I won't put my hand into the hole, in case a snake bites me.'

Double LOCative sequences would arise where a relational LOCative is followed by a modal LOCative, as in (4-15), or by a complementizing LOCative, as in (12-21). In both situations a single LOCative inflection appears. This could be analysed either as a single suffix with double exponence (as with the OBLique example just discussed), or as a special case of (ii) above, where relational locatives disappear before all following suffixes. I see no reason for preferring either analysis, and to avoid cluttered glosses I will simply label them LOC, with no indication of their functional status.

Note that with other cases repetition of the same suffix with different functions is allowed. An example of an ABLative+ABLative sequence is (3-49); a PROPrietive+PROPrietive sequence is (4-43). Another theoretically possible combination, (relational) ALLative plus (modal) ALLative, has not been attested; I suspect this gap is accidental rather than motivated.

On the evidence we have, therefore, it seems that the cases disallowing double sequences are just those cases that cannot be followed by any case (i.e. the LOCative and OBLique), so no special rule banning case-iteration is necessary.

(iv) MODAL OBLIQUE + COMPLEMENTIZING CASE. This possibility arises when APPRehensive, DESiderative, and HORTative clauses, which take the modal OBLique, are complementized with the OBLique case. With APPRehensive clauses the "emotive" modal OBLique is replaced by the "future" modal PROPrietive, which is a normal alternative to the OBLique with APPRehensive verb inflections (4-11, 4-12).

4-11)   *ngada   bala-nyarra   ngumban-ju / ngumban-inj*
         1sgNOM   hit-APPR   2sg-MPROP   2sg-MOBL
         'I will/might hit you.'

(4-12)   *[ngijuwa   bala-nyarra-ntha   ngumban-juu-nth /*
          1sgCOBL   hit-APPR-COBL   2sg-MPROP-COBL

*ngumban-inja-nth]$_{COBL}$
2sg-MOBL-COBL

'(Watch out or) I'll hit you!'

With hortatives and desideratives, a single OBLique suffix serves as the exponent of modal and complementizing ranks; see (12-25)[8].

(v) There are constructions in Kayardild where a nominalized clause modifies a matrix head inflected for modal case; here NPs of the nominalized clause bear a modal case identical to the matrix NP, followed by an associating OBLique. This runs counter to the expected suffix ordering in which the modal case, which originates in the higher clause, follows the associating OBLique, which originates in the lower clause. This apparent re-ordering is due to the extrinsic ordering of modal before associating suffixes, regardless of their syntactic source. As a result, the banned sequence AOBL-MOD does not arise. See 3.4.5 and 3.4.9 for examples, and Evans (1994b) for discussion.

The body of data presented here on banned sequences, and the various ways of getting around them, provides strong justification for the bipartite analysis of Kayardild case proposed in 3.4.8. On the one hand, it allows *constraints* to be stated with the necessary generality, in terms of case alone (e.g. * OBL + Case), and without reference to function. On the other, it allows functions to be used in characterizing morphologically motivated case *substitutions* (e.g. M:OBL + Case —> M:PROP + Case).

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8   A theoretically possible but unattested combination is modal OBLique plus associating OBLique; to obtain this we would have to make an apprehensive or desiderative clause into a perceptual complement (11.4.1), which is odd semantically: ?'I saw him lest he hit the man'.

4.3   Nominal case functions

Although all inflectional functions of nominals are mentioned at least briefly in this chapter, the main focus is on adjunct and complement functions, which can be characterized semantically without reference to larger grammatical units. The core functions of subject, object and indirect object, whose meaning depends on the argument structure of their governing verb, are discussed in Chapter Nine.

4.3.1 Approach to case meanings

Case meanings in Kayardild exhibit a structured polysemy of complex meanings. Summary labels of the type found in Fillmore's (1968) "deep cases" or the "thematic relations" originally proposed by Gruber (1965) and incorporated into various types of generative theory may be useful summary labels, but they are inadequate for describing the meaning, and the syntactic properties, of Kayardild case. Taking the thematic relation of "goal" or "purpose" as an example, Kayardild distinguishes the following (needless to say, many situations can be described by more than one of these):

(a) the "goal" or "intentional object" of actions aimed at locating something, e.g. 'look for', 'listen for', 'walk around for'. This takes the PROPrietive.

(b) "conventionally recognized goal" specifying what something is obtained for, e.g. 'get wood for (the fire)'. This takes the UTILitive case.

(c) something that can be found at a predictable place, e.g. 'go down to the pub for (beer)', 'go digging at place A for (cockles)'. This takes the Intransitive ALLative (verbal) case.

(d) something that must be waited for, whose appearance depends on someone else, e.g. 'go for (the pension cheques)'. This takes the (verbal) TRANSlative case.

(e) something that is actively pursued, as when one charters a plane to go to Burketown for beer. This takes the Verbal PURPosive case.

Similarly, there are at least three ways of expressing cause (prior cause with the CONSequential, ambient cause with the LOCative, and cause of fear with the verbal EVITative), two ways of expressing the "having" relationship (ownership, with the PROPrietive, and temporary possession, with the ASSOCiative), three ways of expressing instruments (INSTRumental, stressing contact with the object; PROPrietive, stressing

the choice of a particular instrument; and ASSOCiative, stressing temporary use), and so on.

The effect of these differences in meaning is not limited to selection of the correct relational or adnominal case. In Chapter 10 I show that modal case is blocked from appearing on certain NPs whose meaning orients them towards the subject in some way.

In the following two sections I therefore devote considerable attention to characterizing, in an informal way, the various specific meanings of the Kayardild cases. For reasons of space I have not been able to tackle systematically the question of the relationships between the various meanings of each case, but have tried to bring these out through the order

CASE	ADNOMINAL FUNCTION	RELATIONAL FUNCTION
LOCative	spatial contiguity [restricted]	contiguity of place, time or event
ABLative	possession due to past event / situation	source of motion (obsol.)
V. ABLative		source of motion
CONSequential		prior time, event, cause
V. EVIT		cause of fear or flight
ALLative		direction, extension
V. ALLative		direction, goal
V. DAT		direction of moved OBJ, recipient
V. TRANSLative		temporal endpoint
OBLique		purpose (obsol.)
V. PURPosive		goal, purpose
UTILitive		potential use
PROPrietive	general or potential having	intentional object, object of communication, transferred object
V. DONative		transferred object
ASSOCiative	temporary co-location, temporary having, use	
GENitive	possession	
ORIGin	origin, provenance, source	
PRIVative	lack, absence	

Figure 4-3. Semantic values for adnominal and relational functions of verbal and ordinary Kayardild cases

of presentation. Interestingly, this often crosscuts the functional classification into adnominal, relational and modal uses. The PROPrietive, for example, can be used with its "having" meaning adnominally, relationally, and also in deriving nouns of "characteristic possession". And it can be used with a "potential" or "future-oriented" meaning relationally (marking intentional objects), modally, or in deriving "potential nominalizations".

Despite the above, however, it is useful to begin with an overview of the basic semantic values of each case. In Figure 4-3 I give a summary of these values for the adnominal and relational functions of all case suffixes; those for the verbal cases, which form part of the semantic system, are also shown. No value is shown for the nominative, whose presence simply signals the lack of any relational, modal, associating or complementizing case. Cases are grouped into semantic classes as far as possible.

We now turn to a more detailed discussion of individual case meanings.

4.3.2 NOMinative {-*Ca*}

Citation forms of words always take the nominative, which also marks the subjects of intransitive (4-13), transitive (4-5) and passive (9.3.2) clauses, the subjects of nominal clauses and their equational or ascriptive predicates (9.1.1, 9.1.2). Objects of imperatives (3-34), second predicates on the subject (9.4), and topicalized objects in "odd topic" constructions (12.5.2.1) are also nominative.

(4-13)   *mutha-a   dangka-a   yuuma-th,   buka-wa-th*
          many-NOM   person-NOM   drown-ACT   rotten-INCH-ACT
          'Many people drowned and died.'

The NOMinative in Kayardild is essentially an "elsewhere case", appearing where no other relational, modal, associating or complementizing case has been assigned. Thus if the subject is assigned a "complementizing OBLique" no nominative inflection appears: 'man', when subject of an OBLique-complementized clause appears as *bithiin-inja* [man-COBL] rather than *bithiin-da-ntha* [man-NOM-COBL]. Therefore the NOMinative does not belong to one of the ranks described in 4.1. Rather, it signals the absence of positive inflections at the relational rank and beyond—it is in a formally equipollent opposition to the set of other cases at relational level or above.

After adnominal suffixes the question of whether a NOMinative suffix is needed is more complex; essentially, it must appear whenever needed to avoid a consonant-final word. Thus after vowel-final adnominal

suffixes it is optional and indeed rare. There are two consonant-final adnominal suffixes, the ORIGin *-waan-* and the GENitive *-karra(n)-*; after the ORIGin the NOMinative is needed if no other case is present (e.g. *ngimi-waan-da* 'night-ORIG-NOM' but not *ngimi-waan), while with the GENitive there are two options: either the GENitive plus NOMinative, giving the sequence *-karran-da*, or a specially reduced vowel-final version of the GENitive with no following nominative, *-karra*.

It is unusual for languages to have a non-zero exponent of functional unmarkedness, and it is interesting to ask how the Kayardild nominative in *-ca*—which most likely goes back to an absolutive *-ca* in proto-Tangkic[9]—might have arisen.

Now the Pitjantjatjara language of Central Australia has a suffix *-pa* which appears as a phonological augment on words that would otherwise end in a consonant; in particular, it appears when no overt case suffix is present on a consonant-final stem and on one analysis can then be treated as an allomorph of the absolutive case. Hale (1973) has suggested that *-pa* suffixation in Pitjantjatjara was a response to a shift in Pitjantjatjara phonotactics from an earlier stage permitting consonant-final words, to a later stage in which words (though not necessarily stems) must be vowel-final. In the neighbouring language Warlpiri the process has advanced further to the point that historically consonant-final nominal stems have absorbed *-pa*, which now appears before other case suffixes and therefore cannot be analysed as an allomorph of the absolutive. While Hale suggests that *-pa* was merely the phonologically most unmarked syllable to accomplish the augmentation, it seems more likely that it originated as a bland and bleached discourse particle—discourse-particle cognates of *-pa* are numerous in Australia.

It is likely that the proto-Tangkic absolutive *-Ca* originated in a similar way—and this may be yet more evidence for early Tangkic contact with northern Nyungic languages. This scenario would neatly

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[9]   The Yukulta absolutive and Yangkaal nominative are formally parallel to the Kayardild nominative. In Lardil the effects of final apocope have left a more complex situation, since all words of three or more syllables have lost the final syllable which would have included the nominative desinence, and some final consonants are now phonotactically acceptable: in words like *thungal* and *ketharr* the nominative equals the root and no nominative suffix is needed, whereas the Kayardild equivalents have nominative suffixes: *thungal-da* , *katharr-a*. However, the nominative on roots of one syllable parallels the Kayardild nominative, e.g. 'grass', root *karn-*, nominative *karnda*; 'edge', root *mil-*, nominative *mil-da*; 'thigh', root *derr-*, nominative *derra*. My interpretation of these facts is that the Lardil system was once parallel to those in the other Tangkic languages, but that Apocope has removed the evidence of this with all but monosyllabic roots. What little we know of Minkin suggests that it, too, had vowel-final phonotactics, and that stem-final words were suffixed with *a* in the nominative (Evans 1990a: 180-181, 187-188).

account for the phonotactic discrepancy between stems, which may be consonant-final, and words, which must be vowel-final. It would also account for the obligatory presence of the NOMinative when the final consonants of nominals bearing only certain adnominal suffixes (namely the POSSessive and the ORIGin) would be exposed.

However, a purely phonological account is not adequate, either diachronically or synchronically. Diachronically it is problematic because an augment also appears—at least in Kayardild and Yukulta—on vowel-final words which would be phonotactically acceptable without it. It seems more likely that the "vowel-final target" motivation conspired with an second motivation—possibly simply a tendency to make words bulkier by accruing a "degrammaticized" augment.

Synchronically, the nominative suffix in Kayardild likewise cannot be treated as a purely phonological augment, since it is added to several classes of phonologically acceptable stems—vowel-final disyllables (as in *maku-wa, birdi-ya* and *mala-a* , all of whose stems would be acceptable without augments) and optionally to longer vowel-final words as well (e.g. *yakuri-ya*).

4.3.3 LOCative {-*kiya*}

4.3.3.1 Location. The basic function of the LOCative is to mark location, whether in adjuncts (4-14), complements of certain motion verbs (4-15), locational predicates of nominal clauses (4-2) or "locative topics" of existential constructions (4-16).

(4-14)   *ngaaka   dangka-a   waa-ja   ngambirr-iy*
         whoNOM   person-NOM   sing-ACT   humpy-LOC
         'Who is singing in the humpy?'

(4-15)   *dulk-iya   barji-ja   wangalk*
         ground-LOC   fall-ACT   boomerangNOM
         'The boomerang fell to the ground.'

(4-16)   *dathin-ki   mijil-i   mutha-wuru   malji-wuru*
         that-LOC   net-LOC   many-PROP   hole-PROP
         'In that net there are many holes.'

Even though the use of the LOCative here was originally relational, as shown by its straightforward relational use in Yukulta, there are good reasons—in particular the signalling of location by modal case alone in marked modalities—to analyse the LOCative here as modal in rank, even though the NPs it marks are relational in function—see 4.2.3.

As in most Australian languages, the LOCative merely indicates coincidence of figure and location, without specifying the nature of the

spatial relationship (cf. Hale (1982a) on Warlpiri). Usually this spatial relationship can be inferred from the type of action and participants (as in the above examples—one usually stands *on* sandbanks, and holes are usually *in* nets). If more detail is required, this is given by a "locational specifier" like *yurda-* 'inside' or *walmu* 'high on; on top of' in concert with the LOCative (5.3.2.3).

4.3.3.2 Block on adnominal use. The LOCative is normally used "adverbially", as a clausal adjunct giving the location of the event described by the clause. As such, it has a *relational* function (3.4.1). It is not generally used to locate a particular participant; for this *adnominal* function the ASSOCiative case is used (4.3.10)[10].

The Kayardild ban on the adnominal use of the LOCative appears to result from the sequence restriction against other suffixes following the LOCative (4.2.3), for the LOCative can be used adnominally in just the two contexts where sequence restrictions are not violated: (a) where the relevant NP is nominative, as in imperatives (4-17) (b) where the head NP is in the OBLique, giving the LOC:OBL portmanteau *-kurrka* on the adnominal (4-18). Recall that the OBLique is the only case that may follow the LOCative (4.2.3).

(4-17)   *bilarri-na*   *dathin-a*   *nguku-wa*   *wurruman-ki,*
            spill-NEGIMP   that-NOM   water-NOM   billy-(ADN)LOC

            warra-a   *nguku*
            far-NOM   waterNOM

            'Don't spill the water in the billy; the well's a long way off.'

(4-18)   *kunawuna*   *bilarri-nyarra*   *nguku-ntha*   *wuruman-kurrk*
            childNOM   spill-APPR   water-MOBL   billy-(ADN)LOC:MOBL
            'The kid might spill the water in the billy.'

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[10] This contrasts with the situation found in, for example, Warlpiri, where the LOCative may function relationally, as in (a), or adnominally, as in (b), in which case it agrees in case with its head (here, the ergative). Examples are from Hale (1982a:268):

(a)   *ngarrka-ngku*   *ka*   *yankirri*   *luwa-rni*   *ngapa-ngka*
      man-ERG   PRES   emuABS   shoot-NPST   water-LOC
      'At the water hole, the man is shooting the emu.'

(b)   *ngarrka-ngku*   *ka*   *yankirri*   *luwa-rni*   *ngapa-ngka-rlu*
      man-ERG   PRES   emuABS   shoot-NPST   water-LOC-ERG
      'The man at the water hole is shooting the emu.'

In one interesting example a -*kurrka* construction forces an adnominal construal: the recursive LOCative NP [at this place [on Mornington Island]] takes an ASSOCiating OBLique as argument of the nominalized verb *wirdija* 'stay at' (4-19). Were the two LOCatives merely apposed—'we stay at this place, on Mornington Island'—the second LOCative would, like the first, take only the ASSOCiating OBLique inflection: *kunhanha-nth* .

(4-19)   nga-l-da   wirdi-n-da   dan-inja   dulk-inja
          1-pl-NOM   stay-N-NOM   this-AOBL   place-AOBL

          kunhanha-wurrk
          Mornington-(ADN)LOC:AOBL

          'We stay at this place on Mornington Island.'

4.3.3.3 Semantic extensions of the locative. A number of other (relational) uses of the Kayardild locative reproduce patterns of syncretism found in many languages by extending its meaning to NPs of time, ambient cause, manner, contrast and "ethical effect".

LOCATIVE OF TIME: Temporal adjuncts, both durative (4-20) and punctual (4-21) take the locative:

(4-20)   ri-in-ki   warrku-ya ngada   wirdi-ja   ngakan-ki
          east-FROM-LOC   sun-LOC 1sgNOM   remain-ACT   sandbank-LOC
          'All morning (as the sun was coming from the east) I remained on the sandbank.'

(4-21)   kabin-ji   mala-ya   biril-wa-th
          low tide-LOC   sea-LOC   fine weather-INCH-ACT
          'It gets fine at low tide.'

IMMEDIATE/AMBIENT CAUSE: Where a cause is still present and effective at the time of the proposition, the LOCative is used (4-22). As with the LOCative of location, this is replaced by an appropriate modal case in marked modalities (4-23).

(4-22)   mutha-ya   wun-ki   bunkurru-ya   yubuyubu-y,   nyingka
          much-LOC   rain-LOC   immersed-LOC   track-LOC   2sgNOM

          yuulu-tha   warra-j!
          go ahead-IMP   go-IMP

          'With all this rain, with the track covered in water, you go ahead! (Don't wait around).'

(4-23)   dathin-a   dangka-a   kirrbuyi-n-da   wirdi-n-d,   ngada
          that-NOM   man-NOM   snore-N-NOM   stay-N-NOM   1sgNOM

yiiwi-nangku   niwan-ju   kirrbuyii-n-ku
sleep-NEGPOT   3sg-MPROP   snore-N-MPROP

'That man keeps snoring, I can't get to sleep for his snoring.'

MANNER NPS: Occasionally, the LOCative may mark manner NPs:

(4-24)   *nyingka   ngudi-ja   mirra-ya   wumburu-ngudi-n-ki*
2sgNOM   throw-IMP   good-LOC   spear-throw-N-LOC
'Throw it like a good spear-thrower would!'

There are only a few attested examples of manner NPs with the LOCative. Usually manner NPs are second predicates on the subject, and take the NOMinative. Without more data one cannot know why the LOCative appears in these particular examples.

CONTRAST NPS: NPs contrasting the attribute of one participant with that of the clausal subject take the LOCative:

(4-25)   [In a humorous song rejecting an ugly suitor:]

nyingka   birdi-ya   kurri-i-ja   ngijin-ji   mirra-y
2sgNOM   bad-NOM   see-M-ACT   1sg-LOC   good-LOC
'See how ugly you are compared to (beside) beautiful me!'

Lit.: See your ugly self beside beautiful me.

ADVERSELY AFFECTED PARTICIPANT: these take the LOCative (cf. the English "on" construction, and the Romance or Russian "ethical dative").

(4-26)   *dara-tha   ngijin-ji   wumburung-k!*
break-ACT   1sg-LOC   spear-NOM
'(Someone) broke my spear on me!'

4.3.3.4 Independent use of the LOCative. Elliptical clauses (usually shouted) consisting of a NP in the locative may be used either to suggest that something is relevant to the hearer (4-27, 4-28, 4-29) or that it is true of the hearer (4-30, 4-31):

(4-27)   *warirra-y!*
nothing-LOC
(To a garbageman): 'Hey, (there's) nothing there (for you).'

(4-28)   *wanku-ya   dathin-ki   ri-in-ki!*
shark-LOC   there-LOC   east-FROM-LOC
'Hey, there's a shark (coming at you) from the east there!'

(4-29)   *mutha-y!*
much-LOC
(Directing A's attention to B): 'Hey, lots (of fish)!'

(4-30)   (Circumcizer mocking initiand during circumcision ceremony:)

mala-yurruyurru-ya   kakuju-y
sea-persistent-LOC   son in law-LOC
'Hey you spend too much time in the sea!'

(4-31)   (Granny to toddler:)

rajurri-n-ki
walk-N-LOC
'Hey you can walk!'

This use of the LOCative resembles the independent use of the accusative in Russian—of which Jakobson (1936:67) wrote :

> its use always suggests a missing and implied verb: *karetu !* 'the carriage!', *nagradu xrabrym!* 'a reward to the brave!' In such accusative addresses as *Van'ku! Lizu!* (a call from a distance or an emphatic call widely used in dialects), or in
>
> such exclamations as *nu ego (A) k lešemu* 'the devil with him!'; *pust' ego (A) kutit'* 'let him carouse', *"ėk ego zalivaetsja!"* (Gogol'), 'how he pours forth (song)', the accusative object is portrayed as the object of the speaker's attitude, be it one of speech, refusal, yielding, or admiration

I interpret the Kayardild independent locative in a similar way, as a special instance of the modal locative marking found on objects. That is, it marks NPs as the objects and object complements of implied verbs of perception. (4-28) is thus to be interpreted as '(I see) a shark (OBJ) there coming from the east (OCOMP)', (4-30) as '(I see) son-in-law (OBJ) is sea-crazy (OCOMP)', and (4-31) as (I see you as a) walker (OCOMP)'. This parallels the way in which whole subordinate clauses can appear marked with complementizing case with the main clause ellipsed—see 12.4.

4.3.3.5   Other uses of the LOCative. The use of the LOCative to mark demoted agents in passives is discussed in 9.3.2.2. As a modal case it marks "instantiated modality" (10.1); such modal locatives occur frequently as the marker of objects and locations. And it may function as a complementizing case—see 12.1.4.

4.3.4 ABLative {-*kinaba*}

4.3.4.1 Note on word-internal and word-final forms. The degree of truncation depends on protected vs unprotected position, on age and style, and on syntactic function.

Word-internally, the full form -*((k)i)naba*- is normally used before another case inflection: (4-32) illustrates this before LOC, and (4-39) before PROP. However, -*((k)i)naa*- is used before OBL (4-33).

(4-32)	*kalman-da*	*wirdi-ja*	*bilthurrka-naba-ya*		*daru-y*
	sleepy snake-NOM	stay-ACT	bloodwood-(ADN)ABL-LOC		hole-LOC

'The sleepy snake lives in the holes of bloodwood trees.'

(4-33)	[*niwa*	*kurrka-tharra-ntha*	*wumburung-kinaa-nth*]COBL
	3sgSUBJ:COBL	take-PST-COBL	spear-MABL-COBL

'He must have taken the spear.'

Most speakers realise this as -*((k)i)na* word-finally (e.g. 4-34). For all speakers, however, the full form -*((k)i)naba* is retained with "precondition" constructions (7.2.3.8).

4.3.4.2 Source of motion (relational). Among older speakers the ablative may indicate the source of motion or provenance:

(4-34)	*mutha-na*	*dulk-ina*	*jani-ja*	*maku-wala*	*niwan-ju*
	many-ABL	place-ABL	search-ACT	woman-LOT(NOM)	3sg-PROP

'A lot of women (came) from many places to look for him.'

(4-35)	*nga-l-da*	*marri-ja*	*kang-ki*	*jungarra-na*	*dangka-na*
	1-pl-NOM	hear-ACT	story-MLOC	big-ABL	person-ABL

'We heard the story from the old people.'

[The lack of MLOC after the ABLative shows it is not to be interpreted adnominally as 'the old people's story'.]

(4-36)	*nga-rr-a*	*warngiij-ina*	*bardaka-na*
	1-du-NOM	one-ABL	belly-ABL

'We (come) from the one belly (have the same mother).'

In the cognate case in Yukulta this "source of motion" meaning is primary. In K, however, it is increasingly being expressed by the "verbal ablative" (4.4.2.4), and is perhaps the least common function of the nominal ABLative. I retain the gloss 'ablative', however, because it makes it easier to see what is common to the other case meanings.

4.3.4.3 Possession (adnominal). The ABLative may function adnominally, marking possession. It is often interchangeable with the GENitive (4.3.8), so that (4-32), for example, could take either. But there

is a subtle difference in meaning: the ABLative stresses that the possession *comes from* some past event: parentage (4-37), inheritance (4-38), or manufacture (4-39).

(4-37)   *jungarrba-naba-ya   dangka-naba-ya   wungi-ja   wuran-ki*
          big-ABL-MLOC   person-ABL-MLOC   steal-ACT   food-MLOC
          '(The boys) stole (stingray) the food of the adults.'

(4-38)   *ngijin-jina   thabuj-ina   kunawuna   kurrka-th*
          my-ABL   EB-ABL   childNOM   take-ACT
          'My older brother's child took it.'

(4-39)   *burdumbanyi   waydbala   raba-nangku   ngijin-jinaba-wu*
          ignorantNOM   white manNOM   tread-NEGPOT   my-ABL-MPROP

          ngarriju-naba-wu   jardi-naba-wu   dulk-u
          MM-ABL-MPROP   mob-ABL-MPROP   country-MPROP

          'The ignorant white man must not trespass on the country of all
          my mother's mothers (that came down to me from them).'

4.3.4.4   Extended time (relational). The ABLative is occasionally used to indicate an extended period leading up to the time of the clause:

(4-40)   *nga-ku-l-da   warra-ja   wirdi-j   warrku-na   birangkarr-ina*
          1-INC-pl-NOM   go-ACT   stay-ACT   sun-ABL   long time-ABL

          wurankarri,   diya-n-marri
          hungryNOM   eat-N-PRIV

          'We've been walking around hungry for a long time, without eating.'

4.3.4.5   Demoted agents (relational). The demoted agents of passives (4-41) and of resultative and passive consequential nominalizations (4-42) may take the ABLative. Other choices are discussed in the relevant sections. In each case the action is seen as "coming from" the (demoted) agent.

(4-41)   *namu wungi-ja   thungal-d,   balarr-ina   dangka-na bala-a-nyarr!*
          NEG   steal-IMP   thing-NOM   white-ABL   man-ABL   shoot-M-APPR
          'Don't steal things, or you'll be shot by the white man!'

(4-42)   *jina-a   kunawun   kinyi-l-ii-n-ngarrba   marrkathu-na*
          where-NOM   childNOM   form-FAC-M-N-CONS   aunty-ABL
          'Where is the child who was delivered ('given form') by aunty?'

4.3.4.6   Modal use. The ABLative serves as a modal case with Past, Precondition and ALMOST clauses, expressing the "prior" modality. The

possible relations between the basic spatial meaning of the ABLative and its modal meaning are discussed in 10.2.

4.3.5 PROPrietive {-*kuru*}

4.3.5.1 Note on word-internal and word-final forms. Word-internally, the PROPrietive is always *((k)u)ru*, except that it may reduce to *(k)uu* when in modal function before a following OBLique (see examples in 10.1.1).

Word-finally, it may retain the full form (4-45) or be truncated to *(k)u*. Truncation is most likely where it functions modally, progressively less likely where it functions relationally or adnominally, and never occurs when it derives a new nominal. In other words, the closer it is to the root, the less likely it is to be truncated. Age, sex and style also determine the frequency of truncation, with full forms most common among older speakers, among women, and in declamatory or song styles.

Because the formal possibilities overlap, are statistically rather than discretely determined, and because the full form is always possible, there are no grounds for postulating several suffixes. A more insightful analysis would treat *{-kuru}* as a linguistic variable responsive to the multiple factors of phonology (word position), syntax (level of function) sex (male vs female) and style (informal vs declamatory or song). I have not carried out a full study of this and the above observations are impressionistic only.

Note that variations in truncation are NOT used to distinguish single from double occurrences of the PROPrietive: double occurrences have two full suffixes[11]:

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[11] In this respect Kayardild differs from Lardil, in which the reduced form *((k)u)r* is used when the suffix occurs once (whether modally, as when marking future objects (b), or relationally, when marking instruments (a)), and the (historically) full form appears when the suffix occurs twice (e.g. instrumental plus modal in (b)). The following Lardil examples are from Hale et al. (1981: 27-8).

(a) *ngada*   *yuud-netha*   *karnjin-i*   *wangalk-ur*
     1sgNOM   PERF-hitUNM   wallaby-OBJ boomerang-INSTR
     'I hit the wallaby with a boomerang.'

(b) *ngada*   *ne-thu*   *karnjin-ku*   *wangalk-uru*
     1sgNOM   hit-FUT   wallaby-FOBJ   boomerang-INSTR:FOBJ
     'I will hit the wallaby with a boomerang.'

This appears to result from an underlying form *wangalk-uru-r* [boomerang-INSTR-FOBJ] in which the full form of the inner suffix is protected by the following suffix,

(4-43)   *ngada*   *kurri-ju*   *midijin-kuru-wuru*   *dangka-wuru*
1sgNOM   see-POT   medicine-PROP-MPROP   person-MPROP
'I will see the doctor (medicine-having person).'

4.3.5.2 (Potential) having. The primary function of the PROPrietive is to express the proposition "X has Y". "Have", however, is a highly ambiguous word in English, and the following explication of the Kayardild PROPrietive is more precise: "X can expect Y to be in the same place as X when X wants, and X can do with Y what X wants". This allows for the possibility that Y is not currently in X's immediate possession (X may have left it at home, or lent it to someone); the PROPrietive may be used felicitously in such situations. The related ASSOCiative case, on the other hand, also expresses a kind of "having", but can only be used when X and Y are actually in the same place (see 4.3.10).

What is basically the same semantic relation may take a number of syntactic forms.

(i) AN ADNOMINAL RELATIONSHIP between two NPs:

(4-44)   *niya*   *karrngi-ja*   *dun-kuru-ya*   *maku-y*
3sgNOM   keep-ACT   husband-PROP-LOC   woman-LOC
'He is living with a married woman (with a woman having a husband).'

(ii) "INSTRUMENTS OF EQUIPMENT": the PROPrietive, along with the INSTrumental and ASSOCiative, is one of the three cases used to denote instruments. The PROPrietive is semantically the most general, and stresses that the actor was "equipped" with a certain tool; as in (4-45). The semantic differences between the three cases are discussed in 10.3.2.1.

(4-45)   *dathin-a*   *barrki-ja*   *wandawanda-wuru,*   *narra-wuru*   *kala-th*
that-NOM   chop-IMP   stone axe-PROP   shell knife-PROP   cut-IMP

thubul-uru   *bijurr-uru*   *burukura-th*
cockle sp.-PROP   cockle sp.-PROP   scrape-IMP

'Chop it with a stone axe, cut it with a shell knife, and scrape it with a *thubulda* or *bijurra* shell.'

(iv) DERIVING NOUNS OF "CHARACTERISTIC HAVING": the PROPrietive may derive nouns denoting a person, mythical being, thing, animal or place characterized by possession of a particular entity:

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itself lost. For parallels in dependent clauses see Hale et al. (1981: 28) and Appendix C.

kuja-wuru
pubic hair-PROP
'young pre-initiate'

bardi-wuru-bardiwuru
grey hair-PROP-REDUP
'old man'

nal-kardarra-wuru
head-water lily-PROP
'having a water-lily on his head': name
of a mythical being who emerged from
the earth with a water-lily on his head

daman-kuru
tooth-PROP
'whistler', old dugong with big teeth

tharda-wanka-wuru
shoulder-wing-PROP
'aeroplane'

mardal-kuru
mud-PROP
place name, Bentinck Island

Although formally similar to inflected adnominal formations, derived nouns can be distinguished from these latter in three ways:

(a) Adnominals need a head noun like *dangkaa* 'person' or *thungalda* 'thing' (e.g.*midijinkuru dangkaa* 'medicine-having person'), derivations do not. As adnominals become frozen, the head typically disappears: 'aeroplane' is *thardawankawuru thungalda* on Wurm's 1960 tapes but today simply *thardawankawuru*.

(b) Typically there is some specialization of meaning in derivations. Thus *kujawuru* is not used of anyone with pubic hair (it would be inappropriate for an old man, for example), but only of preinitiates.

(c) Like all derivational suffixes in K, the derivational use of the PROP is restricted to words, whereas the adnominal use can apply over NPs. See 3.1.2.1.

4.3.5.3 Thing transferred (relational). With verbs of transfer like *wuuja* 'give' or *marndija* 'deprive of, take off' the PROPrietive marks the entity whose ownership is in question (see 9.2.5 for further examples and discussion).

(4-46)   *dathin-a*   *dangka-a*   *dangka-walath-iya*   *marndi-ja*
          that-NOM   man-NOM   person-LOT-MLOC   take off-ACT

yakuri-wuru
fish-PROP

'That man takes fish off lots of people.'

A number of other relational and derivational uses develop the "potential" component of the more basic "having" meaning.

4.3.5.4 Intentional objects (relational). The "intentional objects" (Quine 1960: 219-23) of a number of verbs describing actions directed into the future, e.g. *janija* 'search for', *ngakatha* 'wait for', take the PROPrietive. These are discussed and exemplified in 9.2.3. Nominal predicators in which anticipation is an important component, such as *mulurra* 'jealous over, suspicious of' and *bardakayulaanda* 'terrified of', also take PROPrietive arguments (9.1.7). Some transitive verbs have an alternative NOM:PROP case frame, with the implication that the action was attempted but not necessarily achieved, e.g. *balatha* '(a) shoot OBJ; (b) shoot at PROP' (9.2.6.4).

4.3.5.5 Things discussed, sung about or presaged. PROP may function relationally to mark entities absent from the scene but potentially present, either because the participants speak (4-47), send messages (4-48) or sing about them (4-49) (i.e. *have* them in mind), or because they are immanent in the situation, as when presaged by something else (10-18).

(4-47)   *jardaka*   *kamburi-j*   *kurirr-wu*   *dangka-wu*
         crowNOM   speak-ACT   dead-PROP   man-PROP
         'The crow speaks of dead men.'

(4-48)   *bath-in-da*   *warra-ja*   *marrjin-d,*   *bijarrba-wuru*
         west-FROM-NOM   go-ACT   messenger-NOM   dugong-PROP

         kunbulk-uru   *bana*   *yakuri-wuru*
         'big game'-PROP   and   fish-PROP

         'From the west came a messenger, with (news of) dugong, big game and fish.'

(4-49)   *waa-ja*   *wirdi-ja*   *ngada*   *bijarrba-wuru*
         sing-ACT   stay-ACT   1sgNOM   dugong-PROP
         'I am singing about a dugong.'

4.3.5.6 Other uses. The PROPrietive may attach to nominalized verbs, deriving nouns of "potential action". This formation is discussed in 11.2.11. It may also function modally, signalling futurity or potentiality. This, and its semantic relationship to the more basic relational and adnominal meanings is discussed in Chapter 10.

4.3.6 OBLique case {*-inja*}

The Yukulta cognate of this case (probably preserving the ancestral use) is a DATive with a wide range of relational functions: indirect object, goal, purpose, beneficiary, recipient of transfer verb, and so on. In

Kayardild these have mostly been delegated to various "verbal cases" (4.4) and the old relational case functions have been overshadowed by the newly-extended modal, associating, and complementizing functions. For this reason I have chosen the non-committal case-label "oblique". However, some minor relational uses remain.

4.3.6.1 Purpose. Older speakers occasionally use the OBLique for purpose NPs (4-50). But the verbal purposive is far more common (4.4.2.7) and indeed the only choice for younger speakers.

(4-50) *nyingka   wanjii-ja   kuru-nth!*
        2sgNOM   go up-IMP   egg-OBL
        'You climb up for eggs!'

4.3.6.2 Indirect objects of middle nominal predicators. In Yukulta (and pT) the cognate case marked the indirect object of a number of middle verbs. In Kayardild these take the PROPrietive or "verbal dative" (4.4.2.2), and the "indirect object" use of the oblique is limited to its optional use with the nominal predicate *mulurra* (4-51). Even here, the PROPrietive is more common—see 9.1.7.

(4-51) *dathin-a   dangka-a   mulurr-a   niwan-inja   maku-nth*
        that-NOM   man-NOM   jealous-NOM   his-OBL   wife-OBL
        'That man is jealous of his wife.'

4.3.6.3 Suitability of kin relationship. The oblique may be used in a nominal clause, stressing the suitability of the kinship relation between one person and another, or that one is an ongoing beneficiary from the existence of another (cf. 'he was a father to me').

(4-52) *mirra-a   kunawuna   wurkara   ngijin-inja   duujin-inj*
        good-NOM   childNOM   boyNOM   my-OBL   younger sister-OBL
        '(He's a) good son for my little sister.'

4.3.6.4 Standard of comparison. The OBLique may mark the standard in a comparative construction[12]:

(4-53) *niya   jungarrba   ngijin-inj,   ngada   kunya-a*
        3sgNOM   bigNOM   1sg-OBL   1sgNOM   small-NOM
        'He's bigger than me, I'm small.'

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[12] In Lardil the OBJective case is used (Klokeid 1976: 204-5); this is cognate with the K OBLique and the Yukulta dative: *niya   mutha   ngithaan* [3sgNOM bigNOM 1sg:OBJ] 'he is bigger than me.'

4.3.7 ALLative {-*kir(ing)*-}

This case is mainly used by older speakers. Its directional uses have been replaced among the young by the verbal dative and verbal allative (4.4), and its extensive, pergressive and perlative uses have been lost altogether—younger speakers use the less specific LOCative to express these.

4.3.7.1 Direction of motion (relational). The allative may show direction of motion, with transitive and intransitive verbs alike.

(4-54)   kurrka-tha nga-ku-l-da   natha-r   nga-ku-lu-wan-jir
         take-IMP 1-INC-pl-NOM camp-ALL 1-INC-pl-POSS-ALL
         'Let's take (it) to our camp!'

(4-55)   dathin-a   thungal-da   niwan-jiri   barji-ja   kirdil-ir
         that-NOM   tree-NOM   3sg-ALL   fall-ACT   back-ALL
         'That tree fell onto his back.'

4.3.7.2 Extensive, pergressive and perlative uses. It may also indicate a locale through which something is scattered ("extensive", 4-56 and 9-12) or across which it passes ("pergressive", 4-57) or lies ("perlative", 4-58)[13]:

(4-56)   mutha-a   dangka-a   dathin   walmunkarra-r   dulk-ir
         many-NOM   man-NOM   thereNOM   on top-ALL   place-ALL
         'There are lots of men all over the top of that hill.'

(4-57)   kamarr-a   ngudi-ja   katharr-ir   jirrka-an-kir
         stone-NOM   throw-IMP river-ALL   north-FROM-ALL
         'Throw the stone from the north across the river!'

(4-58)   dathin-a   wumburung-ka   ngijin-da   dulk-ir
         that-NOM   spear-NOM   my-NOM   ground-ALL
         'That spear of mine is lying along the ground there.'

4.3.7.3 Non-relational uses. The allative also marks "DIRected modality" (10.1), and appears in "movement purpose clauses" (11.6).

4.3.8 GENitive {-*karra(n)*-}

4.3.8.1 Notes on form. Word-internally the form is -*karran*-. Note that in nominal predicate constructions a following nominative suffix

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[13] Avery Andrews (p.c.) has suggested a possible reason for this syncretism: in all these cases the eye must move along a certain path to see all the entities involved.

appears, giving the form *karran-da* (e.g. 4-63, 4-64). Word-finally, as when modifying a nominative NP (4-59, 4-62), it is *-karra*.

In Yukulta the cognate suffix is *-bakarra(n)-*. This form is limited in Kayardild to the distance locationals *dan-* 'this; here' and *dathin-* 'that, there'. The recency of the contraction to *karra* explains its failure to undergo the reductions and initial alternations found with other inflections in *-kVX* (4.2.1).

4.3.8.2 Possession (adnominal). The GENitive is one of three ways of marking possession, along with the ABLative (4.3.4) and the apposed-noun construction (6.3.5). We have seen that the ABLative is used for possession "coming from" some past event, such as manufacture or inheritance; the apposed-noun construction is used for "part-whole" relations and "inalienable" possession. The GENitive covers the remaining types of possession. In general it contrasts with the ABLative in stressing that ownership is present or expected, and contrasts with the apposed noun construction in stressing separability or alienability. More specifically, it covers:

(a) kin, especially where the possessee is not seen as senior:

(4-59) *dathin-karra maku-karra   kularrin-da   kurrka-th*
        that-GEN   woman-GEN   brother-NOM   take-ACT
        'That woman's brother took (it).'

(b) ownership of land, seen as a presently existing right:

(4-60) *maraka   kurri-ju   dathin-ku   dulk-u,*
        CTRFCT   see-POT   that-MPROP   place-MPROP

        dibirdibi-karran-ju   dulk-u
        Rock Cod-GEN-MPROP   place-MPROP

        '(We) would have liked to to see that place, Rock Cod's place.'
        (Rock Cod is the name of the woman who owns it).

The GENitive is used for ownership by *people*. But with mythical beings who are the originators and alternate manifestations of places (e.g. the 'moon story place' in Line 18 of Text 4), the "part-whole" construction is used (6.3.5).

(c) expected allocation. In (4-61), for example, a number of hunters have taken turns to spear turtles; now it is the "father-in-law's" turn.

(4-61) *burri-ja   niwan-karra kardu-karra banga-a -   kurirr*
        come out-ACT   his-GEN   WF-GEN   turtle-NOM deadNOM
        'Up comes his father-in-law's turtle, (and then it's) dead.'

(d) body parts that are severed (4-62), or traces left by a body part (4-63). Tracks may also take the apposed nominal "part-whole" construction.

(4-62)   *bijarrba-karra   marl-da   nga-rr-a   kurri-ja   kabara-y*
        dugong-GEN   hand-NOM   1-du-NOM   see-ACT   saltpan-LOC
        'We saw a dugong's (severed) flipper on the saltpan.'

(4-63)   *jar-a   dangka-karran-d*
        track-NOM   person-GEN-NOM
        'The track is a human's.'

(e) the source of material, when the material has been removed (4-64) or thoroughly transformed (4-65). Elsewhere the part-whole construction is used, as in 'grass string' (6.3.5).

(4-64)   *nguka   murdu-karran-d*
        string-making.barkNOM   corkwood-GEN-NOM
        'String-making bark comes from the corkwood tree.'

(4-65)   *... malba-karra   mijil-d*
        wallaby.grass-GEN   net-NOM
        '... a net made with wallaby grass string.'

Younger speakers are extending GEN at the expense of the ABLative and apposed-noun constructions. They will use it, for example, with *all* types of kin relation (e.g. *dangkakarra kunawuna* 'man's child', *marrkathukarra kunawuna* 'aunt's child') and with inalienable body parts (e.g. *dangkakarra marlda* 'the man's hand').

4.3.8.3 GENitive plus LOCative: vague location. The sequence GEN-LOC indicates vagueness of location (4-66), or that one entity is surrounded by or encircled by another:

(4-66)   *wardun-ki   ngada   dan-da   kurri-ja   wida-karran-ji*
        mangrove rat-MLOC   1sgNOM   here-NOM   see-ACT   hole-GEN-LOC
        'I saw a mangrove rat by this hole somewhere.'

(4-67)   *mutha-a   majimaji   thaldi-ja   kaburrba-karran-ji*
        many-NOM   dugong tailNOM   stand-ACT   fire-GEN-LOC
        'Dugong tails stuck up all around the cooking fires.'

(4-68)   *ngirrngud-a   kala-ja   nal-karran-ji*
        fly-NOM   fly-ACT   head-GEN-LOC
        'A fly is flying around (my) head.'

4.3.9 INSTRumental -*nguni*

4.3.9.1 Phonological note. The sequence *n g u n i - w u* (INSTR:MPROP) sometimes reduces to *ngunu* . Before a pause, following modal LOCatives may be lost: *nguni-ya ~ nguni*, as in (4-71). Modal LOCatives lost in this way will not be glossed.

4.3.9.2 Instrument of contact. The instrumental is one of three cases available for denoting instruments, and in many sentences is interchangeable with the PROPrietive or ASSOCiative cases (see 10.3.2.1): fighting with boomerangs or spears, catching fish with nets, digging yams with sticks. But the instrumental is the only appropriate case when the physical contact between implement and object is being stressed, especially when the "instrument" is extended in space and is therefore in contact with the object over a large area:

(4-69)   *mardala-tha   rirr-nguni*
          rub-ACT   grease-INSTR
          '(He) rubbed (it) with (dugong) grease.'

(4-70)   *kari-ja   kuwan-d,   dunbu-wa-nharr,*
          cover-IMP   firestick-NOM   extinguished-INCH-APPR

          wunkurr-nguni   kari-j!
          grass-INSTR   cover-IMP

          'Cover the firestick, lest it go out, cover it with grass!'

4.3.9.3 Locale as instrument. The instrumental may also mark a locale whose special properties help the agent achieve his goal. In (4-71) the sandhill is high, a good vantage point; in (4-72) the fugitive adolescents choose a nice secluded place to eat their illicit food; and in (4-73) the complainant wants to find somewhere where no-one will come and cadge off him.

(4-71)   *thaldi-ja   kurri-ja   dumu-nguni-ya*
          stand-ACT   look-ACT   sandhill-INSTR-MLOC

          walmathi-nguni
          high-INSTR(MLOC)

          '(They) stood and looked from on top of the sandhill.'

(4-72)   *warra-warra-nguni-ya   diya-j   jungarrba-na   dangka-na*
          far-REDUP-INSTR-LOC   eat-ACT,   big-ABL   person-ABL

> *kurri-i-nyarr*
> see-M-APPR
>
> '(The adolescents) ate (the forbidden food) far far away, so that they wouldn't be seen by the adults.'

(4-73)   *jina-nguni-wu   baa-ju   ngad?*
         where-INSTR-MPROP   smoke-POT   1sgNOM
         'Where can I smoke (so that no-one can see me and cadge all
         my cigarettes)?'

4.3.10   ASSOCiative -*nurru*

This case is used in a variety of situations where two entities are temporarily in the same place: temporary location, transient possession, and temporary use.

4.3.10.1 Temporary co-location. The ASSOCiative may be used relationally as an alternative to the LOCative, but stresses the temporary nature of the location:

(4-74)   *ngada   dangka-walath-i   junkuwa-tha yubuyubu-nurru*
         1sgNOM   person-LOT-MLOC   meet-ACT   track-ASSOC
         'I met the people on the track.'

It is also used for adnominal location: see 4.2.3.

4.3.10.2 Temporary having. The ASSOCiative may, like the PROPrietive, mark possessed objects. But whereas the PROPrietive implies ownership, and allows the possibility that the possessor does not have the object with him at the time, the ASSOCiative implies the opposite: the possessor must have the object with him at the time ("just like he holding it"), but need not entail ownership—the item may be borrowed, for instance.

(4-75)   *ngada   wangal-kuru   //   wangal-nurru*
         1sgNOM   boomerang-PROP   boomerang-ASSOC
         'I have a boomerang (own one // have one with me).'

In this use, the ASSOCiative normally functions adnominally, agreeing with its head, as in:

(4-76)   *kaba-tha   dathin-ki   dangka-y   dangka-nurru-ya*
         find-ACT   that-MLOC   man-MLOC   man-ASSOC-MLOC

wara-y
mouth-MLOC

'(They) found that fellow with a man in his mouth.'
[Literally: with a man-having mouth.]

The temporarily-present object may be an implied cause:

(4-77)   *kurirr-a*   *kujiji-nurru,*   *bukawa-th*
          dead-NOM   spear-ASSOC   die-ACT
          '(He) was dead with a spear (through him), (he) died.'

The use of the ASSOCiative with instruments is discussed in 10.3.2.1; it is suitable for instruments that have been borrowed or snatched up for the purpose at hand. The pattern of modal and associating case marking, I will argue, suggests that ASSOCiative instruments are true "second predicates" on the subject, conveying the meaning "SUBJ, having ASSOC with SUBJ at the time, V-ed".

Because the possession expressed by the ASSOCiative is so transient, it is usually inadequate for identifying the possessor, and rarely used in deriving entity nominals[14]; this contrasts with the PROPrietive (4.3.5). There is one revealing exception: pregnant women, temporarily characterized by the presence of a child in their womb, are *bardakakunawunanurru* [belly-child-ASSOC].

4.3.10.3 Accompaniment. Here, too, the ASSOCiative NP functions as a second predicate on the person accompanied. In all my examples the accompaniment is temporary; in (4-79) it is a prerequisite for the clausal action.

(4-78)   *ngijin-urru*   *thabuju-nurru*   *niya*   *warra-j*
          my-ASSOC   EB-ASSOC   3sgNOM   go-ACT
          'She's going (there) with my big brother.'

(4-79)   *ngakuluwan-urru*   *bi-l-da*   *wirrka-ju*
          1INCpl-ASSOC   3-pl-NOM   dance-POT
          'They'll dance with us (i.e. when we get there).'

(4-80)   *ngumban-urru*   *mala-diya-jarri*
          2sg-ASSOC   beer-drink-NEG.N
          'As long as you're here (she's) off the grog.'

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[14] Tindale gives "dolnoro" (*dulnurru*) for "patrilineally inherited territory". This comes from *dulnurru dangkaa* 'land-ASSOC person', and is at odds with the transient association normally expressed by this case. In fact my informants reject *dulnurru dangkaa* in favour of *dulkuru* or *dulmarra dangkaa*, with the PROPrietive or UTILitive case.

4.3.10.4 Temporary ambience. Temporary environmental or meteorological conditions that facilitate the clausal activity may be expressed with the ASSOC:

(4-81)   *ngimi-nurru*   *ra-yii-j*
          darkness-ASSOC   spear-M-ACT
          '(They) were speared under cover of darkness.'

4.3.11 ORIGin -*wa(a)n*-

This case marks origin, provenance or source.

It only functions adnominally (if one counts its use to mark demoted agents with nominalized clauses as adnominal). I group it with the case inflections on the basis of its phrasal scope (e.g. *jungarra-wan-da mala-waan-d* [big-ORIG-NOM sea-ORIG-NOM] 'from the high seas'), and because it forms a paradigmatic series with the "true" cases, that can also function adnominally.

4.3.11.1 Habitual or characteristic location. The entity under consideration may be human, as in *dan-man-da dangka-a* [here-ORIG-NOM person-NOM] 'Lardil person', or it may be a member of the animal kingdom (4-82) or a plant.

(4-82)   *mala-wan-da*   *yakuri-ya*   *kurirr-wa-th,*   *katharr-wan-da*
          sea-ORIG-NOM fish-NOM   dead-INCH-ACT estuary-ORIG-NOM

          yakuri-ya   *kurirr-wa-th,*   *yurda-wan-da*   *yakuri-ya*
          fish-NOM   dead-INCH-ACT open sea-ORIG-NOM   fish-NOM

          kurirr-wa-th
          dead-INCH-ACT

          'Sea-fish died, estuarine fish died, fish from the open sea died.'

People, languages and customs are usually characterized by the ORIGin form of the various compass terms (5.3.4).

Objects thought of as "belonging to", or always found in, other objects, also take ORIG:

(4-83)   *maramara-wan-ji*   *murndulk-i*   *darrbuu-j*
          dinghy-ORIG-MLOC   rope-MLOC pull-ACT
          'We pulled on the rope from the dinghy.'

4.3.11.2 Characteristic time. Creatures characteristic of a particular time of day may also be described using an adnominal ORIGin NP.

Warrkuwanda kungulda [sun-ORIG mosquito] are those appearing during the day; *ngimiwanda kungulda* are those appearing at night.

A slight semantic extension of this is exemplified in (4-84), where the speaker is thinking not so much of when turtles appear, as of when they can be speared.

(4-84)   *banga-a,   ngimi-waan-d,   ngimi-ya   marri-j,*
          turtle-NOM night-ORIG-NOM night-LOC listen-ACT

          ngimi-wan-ji   raa-ja   banga-y
          night-ORIG-MLOC spear-ACT turtle-MLOC

          'Night-time turtles, at night we listened, we speared night-time turtles.'

In the final clause of (4-85) the NP giving characteristic time is being used adnominally to modify the demoted agent 'father' (as shown by case agreement); the nuance here is 'by father when he would go out at night'.

(4-85)   *(Darirra   mardala-a-ja)   mutha-wu   ngunymurr-u ,*
          newborn   rub-M-ACT   much-PROP   grease-PROP

          mutha-wu   ngunymurr-u   wuran-ku,
          much-PROP   grease-PROP   food-PROP

          mak-un-maan-ju   wuran-ku,   ngimi-waan-ju   wuran-ku ,
          torch-VDON-ORIG-PROP food-PROP dark-ORIG-PROP food-PROP

          kurdala-thirrin-ju   ngimi-wan-jinaba-wu   kanthathu-naba-wu .
          spear-RES-PROP   night-ORIG-ABL-PROP   father-ABL-PROP

          '(The newborn was rubbed) with lots of grease, lots of greasy food, with food (speared) by (the light of) a bark torch, with food (speared) at night-time, speared by (the baby's) father at night-time.'

4.3.11.3 Source of existence.

The ORIGin case may give the material or economic source of an entity's existence, or the means by which it was caught (4-88); see also 'by the light of a bark torch' in (4-85).

(4-86)   *mutha-a   nguku   mangara-waan-d*
          much-NOM waterNOM storm-ORIG-NOM
          'There's a lot of water from the storm.'

(4-87)   *nga-ku-l-da   kurrka-tharra   wirrin-kina   rawalan-maan-jina*
          1-INC-pl-NOM get-PST   money-MABL baler shell-ORIG-MABL
          'We got money from (selling) the baler shells.'

(4-88)   *jirrkara-wu   thaa-nangku   mala-wu ,   burri-nangku,*
          north-MPROP return-NEG.POT sea-MPROP come.out-NEG.POT

> darr-waan-da,   mawurraji-waan-d.
> thigh-ORIG-NOM   spear.type-ORIG-NOM
>
> Murrukurnangk,   darr-a   niwan-d.
> triang.kin.termNOM   thigh-NOM   his-NOM

'(The dugong) won't go back to the sea again, it won't get away, the one caught by (his) thighs (i.e. by straddling), by (his) spear. The one who is your father and my cousin, his thighs.'

4.3.11.4 Inanimate cause with resultative nominalization.
With RESultative nominalizations the ORIGin case may mark an indirect and inanimate cause of the event (cf. 11.4).

(4-89)   bi-l-da   dunbu-ru-thirri-n-da   thura-waan-d
         3-pl-NOM   deaf-FAC-RES-N-NOM   loud human noise-ORIG-NOM
         'They (the initiates) were deafened by the noise.'

4.3.12 PRIVative -warri

4.3.12.1 Lack, absence. The main function of the PRIVative is to express the lack or absence of an entity.

Usually the PRIVative functions adnominally, either as an attributive (4-90) or as a second predicate on the subject (4-91):

(4-90)   nga-ku-rra   warra-ju   dangka-warri-wu   dulk-u
         1-INC-du   go-POT   person-PRIV-MPROP   country-MPROP
         'We will go to uninhabited places.'

(4-91)   nginyinangkuru-ya   kiwali-ja   niwan-marri   wumburu-warri
         why-MLOC   wade-ACT   his-PRIV   spear-PRIV
         'Why is he wading about without his spear?'

Privatives may also be used relationally, as adjuncts nominating the lack of a person or thing as a precipitating cause (4-92), or expressing the lack of an impediment (12-3).

(4-92)   ngijin-marri-wu   / dangka-warri-wu   maraka   yuuma-thu
         1sg-PRIV-MPROP   person-PRIV-MPROP   CTRFCT   drown-POT
         'Without me / had no-one been there (he) would have drowned.'

4.3.12.2 Negation. The PRIVative may also function as a negator, as in:

(4-93)   nyingka   kurrka-na   dan-da   dangka-a,   ngumban-da
         2sgNOM   take-NEGIMP   this-NOM   man-NOM   your-NOM

wajiyangu-warri, bulbirdi
betrothed-PRIV   wrongheadNOM

'Don't take this man (for a lover), he's not your betrothed, he's wronghead (to you).'

As (4-93) illustrates, the PRIVative need not display full phrasal concord when functioning as a negator; instead, the domain of case marking depends on the logical scope of negation. In (4-93), the nature of the man's marriageability is at issue (he's not your *betrothed*); were the emphasis to shift to whose betrothed he was, the possessive pronoun would be negated: *ngumbanmarri wajiyangu* 'not *your* betrothed'. The full-concord version, *ngumbanmarri wajiyanguwarri* is more vague—it can be true under either of the above conditions-—and is pragmatically unlikely. The whole issue of negation is discussed in 9.6.

4.3.13 CONSequential *-ngarrba*

4.3.13.1 Succession and cause. Used adnominally, this means "one who has previously been in contact / involved with NP-CONS", e.g. *thararr-ngarrba wurdalji* 'meat that has been on the coals', *mala-ngarrba dangkaa* 'person who has been involved with beer, drunken person'.

Like other adnominal NPs, CONSequential NPs frequently function as second predicates on the subject: see 9.4.1.1 for syntactic evidence of their second predicate status. CONSequential second predicates may express temporal consequence (contingent succession) or cause (necessary succession). Often the two cannot be distinguished (4-94), but the use of *-ngarrba* in situations where cause is clearly involved but temporal consequence is not, such as 'no, it wasn't the mosquitoes, I was thinking about my own father, it was because of that (*dathin-ngarrba*) that I couldn't sleep' shows that the two meanings are distinct and distinguishable—see Evans (1994c).

(4-94)   *niya*   *warrku-ngarrba*   *bukawa-th*
         3sgNOM   sun-CONS   die-ACT
         'He died because of the sun / after being in the sun.'

(4-95)   *dathin-a*   *dangka-a*   *bukawa-nharra*   *yarbu-nyarrb*
         that-NOM   man-NOM   die-APPR   snake-CONS
         'That man might die from a snake(bite).'

I have one example of CONS being used as a second predicate on the object; here it means "(at the time) after OBJ became a NP-CONS".

(4-96)   *niya*   *kuwariwari-ngarrba-na*   *buda*   *buru-tharr*
          3sgNOM   orphan-CONS-MABL   behind   take-PST
          'He adopted (her) after she became an orphan.'
          (Lit. 'he took her on behind (her parents)')

4.3.13.2 Other uses. The CONSequential is used on nominalized verbs of various sorts, to indicate prior situation (11.2).

A homophonous suffix marks kinship dyads (5.1.1.4).

4.3.14 UTILitive

4.3.14.1 Conventional use. The UTILitive expresses the conventional, expected use that will be made of an entity. Two semantic types may be recognized:

(i) TO MAKE INTO X-UTIL. Here the UTILitive expresses the form into which the entity will be transformed[15] :

(4-97)   *barrki-ja*   *dathin-a*   *burldamurr-a*   *thungal-d,*   *bankirri-marra*
          chop-IMP   that-NOM   three-NOM   tree-NOM   windbreak-UTIL

          nga-ku-lu-wan-marr
          1-INC-pl-POSS-UTIL

          'Chop down those three trees for our windbreaks!'

From (4-97) one might surmise that the UTILitive was functioning adnominally (modifying 'those three trees'). There are examples, however, in which the UTILitive is clearly an independent "relational" NP. In (4-98) the UTILitive argument takes modal case, while the object to be transformed takes the ASSOCiative and serves as a second predicate on the subject:

(4-98)   *nyingka*   *ngi-nurru-wa*   *dali-jarra*   *kuwan-marra-na?*
          2sgNOM   wood-ASSOC-NOM   come-PST   firestick-UTIL-MABL
          'Have you brought wood for firesticks?'

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[15]   Yukulta lacks this case, using the DATive instead (Yukulta data from my own field notes):

Kayardild:	*mirra-a*	*thungal-da*	*murruku-marr*
	good-NOM	tree-NOM	spear-UTIL
Yukulta:	*mirra-ra*	*thungal-da*	*murruku-ntha*
	good-ABS	tree-NOM	spear-DAT

'It's a good tree for a spearhead.'

(ii) TO USE FOR DOING THINGS TO X-UTIL:

(4-99)   *barrki-ja   dathin-a   muri-y,   nguku-marr*
chop-IMP   that-NOM   baler shell-NOM   water-UTIL
'Chop (a handle into that) baler shell, we'll use it for (getting) water.'

(4-100)   *yakuri-marra   nga-ku-lu-wan-marra   burldi-ja   malba-a,*
fish-UTIL   1-INC-pl-POSS-UTIL   roll-IMP   grass-NOM

birrk,   babara-th!
stringNOM   hurry-IMP

'Roll some grass string quickly, for (catching) our fish.'

In this second function, a nominalized verb may be present, describing the action one wishes to perform on X-UTIL: hitting (4-101), roasting (4-102), and cutting (4-103).

(4-101)   *ngada   jungarra-wu   wangalk-u   barrki-ju*
1sgNOM   big-MPROP   boomerang-MPROP   chop-POT

dangka-walany-marra-wu   bala-n-ku
person-LOT-UTIL-MPROP   hit-N-MPROP

'I will make a big boomerang for hitting lots of people.'

(4-102)   *ngambura-tha   bi-l-da   maku-wa   bithiin-da*
dig hole-ACT   3-pl-NOM   woman-NOM   man-NOM

yakuri-marra-y   dathin-marra-ya   wuran-marra-ya
fish-UTIL-MLOC   that-UTIL-MLOC   food-UTIL-MLOC

kawa-n-ki
roast-N-MLOC

'Those men and women are digging a ground oven for roasting that fish.'

(4-103)   *dathin-a   birndibirndi-y   thungal-marra   kala-n-d,*
that-NOM   baler shell-NOM   tree-UTIL   cut-N-NOM

wumburu-marr
spear-UTIL

'That baler shell is for cutting trees down, for making spears.'

Sentences (4-101) to (4-103) invite two possible analyses:

(a) as an embedded construction, in which the UTILitive NP is an argument of the nominalized verb. This would have the semantic interpretation reflected in the glosses, e.g. 'to hit lots of people'.

(b) as a flat, double-predicate construction, with both nominalized verb and UTILitive NPs being independent arguments of the matrix clause.

This would imply the semantic analysis: "to v with, to do things to N-UTIL with".

There are two advantages to the second analysis. Firstly, were the UTILitive NP an argument of the nominalized verb, we would wrongly expect it to take an ASSOCiating OBLique case (3.4.5). Secondly, we would only expect UTILitive NPs to appear with nominalized verbs, whereas as we have seen they regularly occur independently. Postulating an embedded construction is therefore an unnecessary complication.

The UTILitive suffix may function derivationally, providing names for tools or clothes: *damuru-marra* [panja-UTIL] 'stick used for (digging) panja'; *thukan-marra* [chin-UTIL] 'thing used for (shaving) chin; razor'; *mibur-marra* [eye-UTIL] 'thing used for (helping) eyes; glasses'; *murnu-marra* [elbow-UTIL] 'thing used for (supporting) elbow, sling'[16].

A somewhat idiomatic use is in the term *dul-marra dangkaa* [country-UTIL person] 'custodian of sacred site'. Here we can explain the presence of the UTIL through the paraphrase 'person used for (maintaining/ guarding) country'[17].

4.3.14.2 Targeted time. Attached to time NPs, the UTILitive expresses the time for which some activity is targeted or scheduled—see also (3-33):

(4-104)   *birangkarra   bi-l-da   mardala-a-j,   ngimi-marra-y*
           long timeNOM   3-pl-NOM   paint-M-ACT   night-UTIL-MLOC
           'They've been painting up a long time for (the dance) tonight.'

This is similar in meaning to the verbal "translative" case (4.4.2.3), which is superseding it among younger speakers.

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[16]   A similar meaning is expressed by the Nyangumarda suffix *pinti* 'COMPLEMENT OF' (O'Grady 1960) "denoting an element of the material culture which is associated with a particular object or action", e.g. *ngarnka* 'beard', *ngarnka-pinti* 'razor'. But in Nyangumarda this suffix may be used with nominalized verbs, e.g. *yangkan-* 'spread over', *yangkan-pinti* 'jam', whereas the Kayardild UTILitive is limited to basic nouns.

[17]   The cognate *dulmarr* 'totemic and associated authority derived from ego's patriline' (Hale et al. 1981) and its derivatives are to my knowledge the only remnant of the UTILitive case in Lardil.

4.4 Verbal case

4.4.1 Introduction to verbal case

In addition to the regular nominal cases discussed in the previous section, Kayardild, as well as the other Tangkic languages[18], has a set of what might be called "cases with verbal form" (Keen 1983) or, more briefly, "verbal cases" (not to be confused with modal cases!).

These have morphologically verbal endings, which agree with the main verb in the verbal categories of tense, mood and polarity (4-105, 4-106, 4-107).

(4-105)	*ngada*	*warra-jarra*	*dathin-kiiwa-tharra*	*ngilirr-iiwa-tharr*
	1sgNOM	go-PST	that-VALL-PST	cave-VALL-PST

'I went to that cave.'

(4-106)	*ngada*	*warra-ju*	*dathin-kiiwa-thu*	*ngilirr-iiwa-thu*
	1sgNOM	go-POT	that-VALL-POT	cave-VALL-POT

'I will go to that cave.'

(4-107)	*ngada*	*warra-nangku*	*dathin-kiiwa-nangku*	*ngilirr-iiwa-nangku*
	1sgNOM	go-NEGPOT	that-VALL-NEGPOT	cave-VALL-NEGPOT

'I will not go to that cave.'

Like main verbs, too, they can be nominalized, both with plain (11.4.1) and resultative (11.4.3) nominalizations. Yet they resemble case inflections both in meaning and in syntax. They exhibit concord over the NP, as the above sentences show. And they can frequently be paraphrased with "normal" cases. (4-106), for example, can be paraphrased with the "normal" allative:

(4-108)	*ngada*	*warra-ju*	*dathin-kiring-ku*	*ngilirr-iring-ku*
	1sgNOM	go-POT	that-ALL-MPROP	cave-ALL-MPROP

'I will go to that cave.'

Moreover, verbal cases resemble normal cases in being fully productive: they can apply to any semantically appropriate NP.

It is possible to omit the main verb in constructions involving verbal case, as in:

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[18] The similar Yukulta and Lardil systems are discussed by Keen (1983: 207-8) and Hale et al. (1981: 34-7) respectively. Hale et al. advance similar reasons to those given here for considering these suffixes to be inflections rather than derivations.

(4-109)   *ngada*   *dathin-kiiwa-thu*   *ngilirr-iiwa-thu*
           1sgNOM   that-VALL-POT   cave-VALL-POT
           'I will go to that cave.'

This is also allowed with some normal cases (3.2.2) but is more frequent with verbal cases. I interpret this as being due to the rich semantics of verbal cases, which often allows the main verb action to be inferred.

An example of another verbal case, the verbal dative, is:

(4-110)   *niya*   *waa-jarra*   *wangarr-ina*   *ngumban-maru-tharra*
           3sgNOM   sing-PST   song-MABL   your-VD-PST

           thabuju-maru-tharr?
           elder.brother-VD-PST

           'Did she sing the song for/to your elder brother?'

Here the benefactive NP 'for your brother' takes the verbal dative case *-marutha*. Again this agrees with the main verb, taking the PaST inflection. And like a normal case suffix it displays concord over the whole NP.

The forms of these two verbal cases are etymologically transparent.

The form *-marutha*, though usually bound in Kayardild, occasionally occurs as a free verb meaning 'put'. In Yukulta, which lacks this verbal case, a cognate form *-marlutha* recurs in a number of compounds involving putting, e.g. *darr-marlutha* [thigh-put] 'put on lap'. All but one of the Tangkic verbal cases can be related to free verbs of movement, transfer of position, searching, and avoiding.

The form *-kiiwatha*, by contrast, comprises the LOCative {*-kiya*} plus the verb-deriving INCHoative suffix *-watha* . *Ngilirriiwatha* in (4-106), in other words, is transparently 'become at the cave', which is precisely the semantic analysis Dowty (1979) and subsequently Foley—Van Valin (1984) propose for the ALLative complements of motion verbs. This is the only verbal case whose form suggests derivation from an inflected nominal.

4.4.1.1   Verbal case: forms. The forms for all Kayardild verbal cases are set out in Figure 4-4, together with the form and meaning of etymologically related verbs. In general, verbal cases follow the usual nominal stem and participate in normal morphophonemic changes. *ngiJ-* 'firewood' plus the verbal dative {*-maru-tha*}, for example, gives *nginymarutha* by Nasal Assimilation (2.5.1). And the initial *w* of the verbal ablative, evitative and donative cases assimilates to *m* after nasals: *ngarn-* 'beach' plus *-wulatha* 'verbal ablative' gives *ngarnmulatha*. Like

other verbals, verbal cases belong to one of two conjugations: the dental, with citation forms in *-tha* , and the palatal, with citation forms in *-ja* .

Case	Form	Corresponding Free Form	Meaning of Free Form
Verbal Allative	{-kiiwa-tha}	None[1]	
Verbal Dative	{-maru-tha}	marutha	'put'
Verbal Translative	{-marii-ja}	mariija [2]	'be put'
Verbal Ablative	{-wula-tha / -wula-a-ja}	bula-tha	'pull off, remove'
Verbal Evitative	{-waalu-tha/ -waal-i-ja}	waalu-tha	'drive away'
Verbal Donative	{-wu-ja}	wuu-ja [3]	'give, put'
Verbal Purposive	{-jani(i)-ja}	jani-ja [4]	'look for'

Notes:

(1) The verbal allative { -kiiwatha } is formally the LOCative {-kiya} plus the INCHoative {-wa-tha}. The initial portion has the same allomorphy as the normal LOCative. The change from *iya* to *ii* before following suffixes is not confined to the LOCative—the place name *Minakuriya*, for example, undergoes a similar change before the 'born at' suffix *-ngathi*, becoming *Minakuriingathi*.

(2) The Verbal TRANSLative *-mariija* is formally the middle form of the Verbal Dative, but is distinct enough semantically to be treated as a separate case.

(3) The Verbal DONative case {-wu-ja} has two formal irregularities on top of the regular morphophonemic changes:

(a) the allomorphs *-wu-ja* and *-mu-ja* are often pronounced *-wi-ja* and *-mi-ja*, assimilating to the following palatal.

(b) the *w* is lost after liquids, even though *lw* and *rrw* are phonotactically possible in Kayardild.

(4) As with the ORIGin suffix *-wa(a)n-*, the vowel of *-jani(i)-ja* is lengthened when prosodic truncation leaves it as the final syllable.

Figure 4-4. Kayardild verbal case forms

The clear origin of the verbal case suffixes as either derivational suffixes or free verbs suggests two alternatives to their treatment as category-changing case inflections. Although neither is adequate, they have sufficient initial plausibility that I shall review each before passing on to a detailed discussion of individual case meanings.

4.4.1.2 Are verbal cases derived motion verbs?

One alternative, particularly tempting with the Verbal Allative, would be to treat these arguments as a type of derived motion verb, obtained by first inflecting a noun for the LOCative, then adding the INCHoative suffix. To illustrate this analysis, consider the Yukulta sentence (4-111) where, I would claim, genuine derivation is at work:

(4-111)   *dangka-ra=ngka*   *warra-ja kalarr-i-wa-tha*   /   *natha-rlu*
Y   man-ABS=PRES   go-IND open-LOC-INCH-IND   camp-ALL
             'The man is going into the open / to the camp.'

From the noun *kalarr-* 'open space, clearing', we first get the LOCative *kalarr-i* 'in the open space', then add the INCHoative suffix *-watha* to derive a new verb *kalarriwatha* meaning 'become in an open space' or, more idiomatically, 'emerge, come out into the open'[19]. This may be used in a coverbal construction with a motion verb, as in (4-111). And the verb *kalarriwatha* is at least partly interchangeable with an ALLative noun phrase like *natha-rlu* 'to the camp'.

But in Yukulta, unlike in Kayardild, this process is not productive—in fact, *kalarriwatha* is the only derived word of this type in Keen's Yukulta corpus. What is more, it applies to a *word* rather than a NP—one could not use this with a phrase like 'into the large clearing'. In short, the Yukulta formation is non-productive, and lexical rather than phrasal. These features stamp it as a derivation.

In Kayardild, by contrast, the process is productive—any semantically appropriate NP can take the verbal allative case. And it applies to phrases, as in (4-109), not just to words; this distinguishes it from the derivational suffix *-watha* 'become', which is limited to words and therefore defined as derivational by the criteria given in 3.1.2.1. For these two reasons, the Kayardild verbal allative, unlike its Yukulta cognate, must be treated as an inflection.

This is not to say, however, that it did not *originate* as a derivation. It is likely that Yukulta preserves an earlier state of affairs, where the LOC:INCHOATIVE sequence was derivational, and that Kayardild (and

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[19] Derivation of verbs from inflected nouns is quite common in Australian languages. A Warumungu example is *walypali-kirra-jarri-mi* [whitefellow-ALL-INCH-PST] 'become like a whitefellow' (Simpson 1988).

Lardil) later extended this use, making it fully productive and giving it phrasal concord.

Nor do I wish to claim that *all* uses of the form {*-kiiwatha*} function as case-inflections. There are a few words, such as *dulk-ii-watha* [ground-LOC-INCH] 'be born', where the suffix is clearly derivational. Here the meaning is idiosyncratic, and the scope is lexical, ruling out phrases like **ngarrku-yi-watha dulki-i-watha* [hard-LOC-INCH ground-LOC-INCH] 'be born onto the hard ground' (although of course the "regular" inflectional meaning is possible here: 'go onto the hard ground').

4.4.1.3 Are verbal cases serial verbs? Where verbal cases have corresponding free forms functioning as verbs, e.g. *-maru-tha* in (4-110), a tempting alternative analysis is to treat the verbal element as a serial verb.

Constructions using serial verbs as prepositions, or to show case-like relations, are found in languages as widespread as Yoruba, Igbo, Thai and Chinese. In Chinese, for example, a number of NP arguments which would be realized in English as prepositional phrases, and in most Australian languages as phrases bearing oblique cases, appear as serial verb constructions, in which the NP is object of the added verb: 'We often go to *New York*' is 'we often *arrive New York* go', 'S/He again borrowed money *from me*' is 'S/He again *follow me* borrow money', and so on (examples from Li—Thompson 1981, see also Hagège 1975).

Could we not analyse the Kayardild verbal cases as serial verbs in which the argument is incorporated into the valence-adding verb?

There are four arguments against this.

Firstly, it would be unusual for the incorporation process to be repeated for each word in the NP.

Secondly, serial verb constructions do exist in Kayardild with motion verbs, but verbal cases have nothing in common with them syntactically. In these serial verb constructions, discussed in 8.2.2 and 8.2.3, the order of the two verbs is fixed; this is not so of the verbal case construction.

Thirdly and most tellingly, the nominal arguments in verbal case constructions are not in a syntactically or semantically consistent relation to the verbal formative. With *-marutha*, for example, the suffixed nominal is "destination" of the corresponding main verb. With the verbal ablative *-wulatha*, whose corresponding free form *bula-tha* means 'pull off, remove', the suffixed nominal is always the source, never the object (the thing pulled). Such irregular semantic relationships are more reminiscent of nominal compounding, with its inexplicit and varied relationships between formatives, than of serial verbs, where the added argument is always the object of the serial verb.

Finally, there is comparative evidence that such verbal cases originated not as serial verbs, but by increasing the productivity of compounds like the Yukulta verb *darrmarlutha* [thigh-put] 'put on lap'.

To summarize, verbal cases are neither serial verbs with prefixed objects, nor derived nouns. They resemble normal cases in their phrasal scope, concord, complete productivity, and, as we shall see, in their range of meanings; they form part of the case frames for some verbs (e.g. 'give'), and can be assigned as cases on demoted agents by voice alternations. They do, however, have some verb-like syntactic characteristics; these will be discussed in 4.4.3.

4.4.2 Functions of the verbal cases

I will now discuss the meanings which verbal cases can express, and the question of how much they parallel, and how much they complement, the "normal" case system given in 4.3.

4.4.2.1 Verbal ALLative {-*kiiwa-tha*}.

DIRECTION OF MOTION WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS. This was exemplified in (4-105). Unlike the normal ALLative, which can be used with transitive and intransitive verbs alike, {-*kiiwatha*} is restricted to intransitives. With transitives, the Verbal Dative is used—see below.

A further difference is that *(kiiwatha)* implies that the subject has, or intends to, reach the specified destination, whereas the normal allative merely states the direction of motion.

Among younger speakers the verbal allative has entirely replaced the normal allative, except with locative and compass words, so the latter distinction is not possible.

GOAL AT A PLACE: Sometimes it means "to the place where X can be found", rather than just "to X":

(4-112)   *ngada*   *warra-ja*   *bijurr-iiwa-th*
           1sgNOM   go-ACT   cockle-VALL-ACT
           'I'm going to the place where there are cockles (i.e. to the cockles).'

This is yet another way of marking "goal" or "purpose" in Kayardild (besides the PROPrietive, UTILitive, Verbal Dative and Verbal Purposive). It is limited to situations where the desired object is reliably and characteristically located at a certain place.

DEMOTED AGENTS OF PASSIVES, if non-human, may also take this case:

(4-113)   *nyingka*   *ra-yii-nyarra*   *kurdalalng-kiiwa-nharr*
           2sgNOM   spear-M-APPR   stingray-VALL-APPR
           'You might get stung by a stingray.'

The semantic rationale here seems to be that the subject "gets stung, coming into contact with a stingray". However, there is no requirement that the passive subject initiate the activity or move toward the agent—I have sentences of this type involving piles of dead fish being eaten by marauding seagulls. What is important is that the two participants come together. As Roland Moodoonuthi put it, "never mind who move, long as they both end up the same place".

As with other verbal case functions, it is possible to omit the main verb, so that (4-113) can be rephrased as:

(4-114)   *nyingka   kurdalalng-kiiwa-nharr*
        2sgNOM   stingray-VALL-APPR
        'You might have something done to you by a stingray.'
        (Lit.: you might get stingrayed.)

Rarely this case is also used to mark causal inanimate agents with intransitive verbs whose subject is a semantic patient:

(4-115)   *Mildan-da   kalnaa-jalnaa-ja   warrmara-yiwa-th.*
        crack-NOM   be.split-REDUP   wind-VALL-ACT
        'The crack (in the wood) is split all the way along from the wind.'

4.4.2.2   Verbal dative -*maru-tha*. This is one way of marking the recipients of ditransitive verbs (4-116; see also 9.2.5). It may also mark destination with transitive motion verbs (4-117), and beneficiaries as in (4-118). Note that whereas the recipient and destination meanings allow alternative codings with normal cases, the beneficiary meaning can only be expressed by a verbal case:

(4-116)   *wuu-ja   ngijin-ji   wadu   /   (wuu-ja)   ngijin-maru-tha*
        give-IMP   1sg-MLOC   smokeNOM   give-IMP   1sg-VD-IMP

        wadu
        smokeNOM

        'Give me a smoke!'

(4-117)   *nyingka   kurrka-tha   wumburung-ka   ngarn-maru-th   /   ngarn-kir*
        2sgNOM   take-IMP   spear-NOM   beach-VD-IMP   beach-ALL
        'You take this spear to the beach!'

(4-118)   *kardu   kala-tha   kakuju-ya   kunawuna-maru-th*
        Fa-in-lawNOM   cut-ACT   son-in-law-MLOC   child-VD-ACT
        'A father-in-law circumcizes his son-in-law for his daughter.'

This polysemy parallels the semantic range of the dative in languages as diverse as Latin and Warlpiri; without making a detailed semantic analysis here it is clear that a metaphorical extension of the

change-of-position meaning is involved, with an object, or more intangibly, the benefits of an action, being transferred to a third participant.

Like other verbals, the verbal dative can be passivized using the Middle suffix:

(4-119)   *binthu*   *kurda-mar-ii-j*   *(wu-yii-j)*
           prepuceNOM   coolamon-VD-M-ACT   put-M-ACT
           'The prepuce is put in a coolamon.'

4.4.2.3 Verbal Translative *-marii-ja*. In (4-119) the Middle suffix applies regularly to the verbal case *-marutha*, giving the syntactically and semantically predictable passive meaning. But the Middle suffix, even with normal verbals, does not always effect a systematic change in meaning (7.4.1). Thus alongside regular pairs like *raaja* 'spear', *rayiija* 'be speared, spear oneself' are idiosyncratic pairs like *marraaja* 'show', *marrayiija* 'know' (although the regular meaning 'be shown, show oneself' is also possible').

The Verbal TRANSLative is an example of such an idiosyncratic alternation, found with a verbal case; although formally identical to the Middle form of the Verbal Dative in (4-119), its meaning is sufficiently different to warrant treatment as a distinct case. It marks goals that (a) define the temporal endpoint of an activity, often translatable as 'until' (4-120)[20] or (b) are something that must be passively waited for (4-121). A possible semantic connection with the verbal dative *marutha* (or with the free form *marutha* 'put') is that the subject mentally "puts himself" at the awaited moment.

(4-120)   *kurndu-thaldi-ja* *mirdi-marii-j*   /   *kala-a-n-marii-j*
           chest-stand-ACT   stingray pin-VTRANSL-ACT   cut-M-N-VTRANSL-ACT
           '(The novices) lie chest up until the stingray pin (comes) / until (they)
           are cut.'

(4-121)   *dii-ja*   *nga-ku-l-da*   *mani-marii-j*
           sit-ACT   1-INC-pl-NOM   money-V.TRANSL-ACT
           'We are sitting waiting for our pension cheques.'

Although it frequently follows nominalized verbs, as in (4-120), it may also occur with nouns seen as arriving or being meted out by someone else: the stingray pin at the crucial point of the circumcision ceremony, beer when the canteen opens, money when the welfare cheques arrive, and so on. Where the predicate denotes an undesirable event, VTRANSL often implies that the subject should have expected this to happen:

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[20] One Yangkaal sentence (see Text 12, Line 41) suggests that that dialect has a transitive form *-maritha* used with transitive verbs with the meaning 'for when V'.

(4-122)   *diya-ja*   *mutha-ya*   *mala-y,*   *nalbirdiwa-th,*
          drink-ACT   much-MLOC   beer-MLOC   get.drunk-ACT

dangka-bala-a-n-marii-n-d.
person-hit-M-N-VTRANSL-N-NOM

'You drank lots of beer and got drunk, knowing very well you'd
get beaten up by people.'

As mentioned in 4.3.14.2, the "targeted time" use of the UTILitive case is
similar in meaning to the Verbal Translative; the latter has entirely
superseded the former among younger speakers.

4.4.2.4 Verbal ablative *-wula-tha ~-wula-a-ja.* This can be
related to a free form *bula-tha* 'pull off, remove', and marks the source
of motion:

(4-123)   *bilarri-ja*   *nguku-wa*   *dathin-mula-tha*   *wuruman-mula-th*
          tip-IMP   water-NOM   that-VABL-IMP   billy-VABL-IMP
          'Tip the water out of that billy.'

This case may appear in either basic or middle forms. The choice is rather
complicated, and it is easier to begin with the simpler Yukulta and Lardil
systems. There, the verbal ablative has two forms: a basic form used
with transitive motion verbs (4-124, 4-126), and a middle form used
with intransitive motion verbs (4-125, 4-127). In Yukulta either "normal"
or "verbal" cases may be used.

(4-124)   *ngudi-ka*   *biyuka*   *mirra-wula-tha*
Y   throw-TR:IMP   rubbishABS   good-V.ABL-TR:IMP

nguku-wula-tha   /   *mirra-naba*   *nguku-naba*
water-V.ABL-TR:IMP   good-ABL   water-ABL

'Skim the rubbish off the good water!'

(4-125)   *bathin-da=kadi*   *mirla-ja*   *kurlukurlu-wula-ja* /
Y   west:from-NOM=1sgPRES   return-IND   Corinda-VABL-M:IND

kurlukurlu-naba
Corinda-ABL

'I've just come back from Corinda out west.'

In Lardil the verbal ablative is the only means of expressing source
of motion:

(4-126)   *maari*   *yaka*   *mar-burri*
L   takeIMP   fishNOM   hand-VABL(IMP)
          'Take the fish from my hand.'

(4-127) *ngada   ngithun-burri-i-thu   nyerrwi-burri-i-thu   waa-ngku*
L   1sgNOM   my-VABL-M-POT   country-VABL-M-POT   go-POT
         'I am going away from my country.'

At first sight, the Kayardild data are comparable. Thus alongside transitive sentences like (4-123), with the *-wulatha* form, are intransitive sentences like (4-128), with the *-wulaaja* form:

(4-128) *wamgiid-a   dangka-a   rar-id-a*
         one-NOM   man-NOM   south-CONT-NOM

         buruwan-mula-a-ja   budii-j
         bora ground-VABL-M-ACT   run-ACT

         'One man ran away southwards from the initiation ground.'

Other examples correlate with a voice alternation on the main verb:

(4-129) *warrngal-du   mibul-ula-tha   ngijin-ji   rila-th*
         wind-NOM   sleep-VABL-ACT   1sg-MLOC   wake-ACT
         'The wind woke me up from sleep.'

(4-130) *ngada   mibul-ula-a-ja   warrngal-iiwa-tha   rila-a-j*
         1sgNOM   sleep-VABL-M-ACT   wind-VALL-ACT   wake-M-ACT
         'I was woken from sleep by the wind.'

However, there remain a number of sentences in which either form can occur with a transitive verb:

(4-131) *wara-tha   ngirrngud-a   mibur-ula-th   /   mibur-ula-a-j*
         shoo-IMP   fly-NOM   eye-VABL-IMP   eye-VABL-M-IMP
         'Shoo the fly away from your eyes!'

My initial reaction to such sentences was to assume a difference in focus. The first alternative, I hypothesized, would focus on the fly, meaning something like: 'Shoo the fly. Because of that the fly will move from your eyes'. The second would focus on the shooer: 'Shoo the fly. Because of that, your eyes will no longer be clogged with flies'. But I was unable to obtain informants' translations or explanations confirming this, so I tried setting up situations where one focus would be preferred. An example is the contrast between (4-132) and (4-133):

(4-132) *nga-ku-l-da   buu-ja   walbu-ya   ngakan-mula-th*
         1-INC-pl-NOM   pull-ACT   raft-MLOC   sandbank-VABL-ACT
         'We pulled the raft off the sandbank.'

(4-133) *biya-ja   biya-ja   walbu-ya   ngakan-mula-a-j* .
         paddle-ACT   paddle-ACT   raft-MLOC   sandbank-VABL-M-ACT

ngarrku-wa-tha   *tharda-a*   *biya-ja*
strong-INCH-ACT shoulder-NOM paddle-ACT

ngakan-mula-a-j
sandbank-VABL-M-ACT

'(We) paddled and paddled the raft off the sandbank. Paddling hard with our shoulders we paddled off the sandbank.'

In (4-132) the focus is naturally on the raft—one would not utter it unless the raft moved, while the fate of the subject is indifferent. As predicted, the transitive form was chosen. In (4-133), on the other hand, the nature of the activity decrees that the subject move with the raft. And, as predicted, the Middle form was chosen[21].

We can subsume all the above under a single generalization: the unmarked form of VABL expresses the meaning "object moves from VABL"; the detransitived form expresses the meaning "SUBJ moves from VABL". In other words, the form of VABL specifies whether the movement is predicated of the subject or the object of the clause.

4.4.2.5 Verbal Evitative *-waalu-tha ~ -waal-i-ja*. This derives from the free form *waalutha* 'chase away', and usually expresses movement resulting from fear. Although fewer examples are available, the conditioning of the transitive/intransitive choice seems to parallel that found with the verbal ablative: it may code an active/passive contrast (4-134 vs 4-135) or switch the focus from effect on the object (4-136) to effect on the subject (4-137).

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[21] Many ergative Australian languages express a similar meaning via agreement of the directional NP with a core argument, as in the following Warlpiri sentences (Hale 1982a: 260):

(a)   *kurdu-ngku* *ka*   *maliki* *ngurra-kurra* *wajilipi-nyi*
        child-ERG   PRES dogABS camp-ALL   chase-PRES
        'The child is chasing the dog to the camp.'

(b)   *kurdu-ngku* *ka*   *maliki* *ngurra-kurra-rlu* *wajilipi-nyi*
        child-ERG   PRES dogABS camp-ALL-ERG chase-PRES
        'The child is chasing the dog (all the way) to the camp.'

In (a) the allative NP is not further inflected and is thereby associated with the absolutive object 'dog', implying that the dog reached the camp, but not necessarily the child. In (b), on the other hand, the allative NP takes a further ergative inflection and is associated with 'child', suggesting that the child reached the camp as well.

Yet another way of expressing this distinction is found in the Caucasian language Lak (Kibrik, 1979), where the locational noun agrees in noun class with the argument whose movement is being stressed.

(4-134)   *niya   bala-tha   kina-waalu-th*
3sgNOM   shoot-ACT   hiding-VEVIT-ACT
'He shot (at us), forcing us out of hiding.'

(4-135)   *nga-l-da   kina-waal-i-j*
1-pl-NOM   hiding-VEVIT-M-ACT
'We were forced to come out of hiding.'

(4-136)   *yarraman-da nga-ku-rr-a   dan-maalu-tha   dul-waalu-tha*
horse-NOM   1-INC-du-NOM   this-VEVIT-IMP   place-VEVIT-IMP

durrwaa-j!
chase-IMP

'Let's chase the horse away from this place! (So it goes somewhere else.)'

(4-137)   *yarraman-da nga-ku-rr-a   dan-maal-i-ja*
horse-NOM   1-INC-du-NOM   this-VEVIT-M-IMP

dul-waal-i-ja   durrwaa-j!
place-VEVIT-M-IMP chase-IMP

'Let's chase the horse away from this place! (So we won't have it in our backyard).'

With the middle form the subject is sometimes stationary rather than moving. Here the meaning is "SUBJ stayed (at LOC), fearing X-VEVIT / to avoid X-VEVIT":

(4-138)   *ngada   mirmin-maal-i-j,   warra-a   wirdi-j*
1sgNOM   spark-VEVIT-M-ACT   far-NOM   stay-ACT
'I am sitting far (from the fire), fearing the sparks.'

(4-139)   *dangka-a   wirdi-ja   Bardathurr-i   walmu-y,*
person-NOM   stay-ACT   (place name)-LOC   high-LOC

mangara-waal-i-j
storm-VEVIT-M-ACT

'People stayed high up at Bardathurr, away from the storm.'

The middle form of the Verbal EVITative may also be governed by the verb *yulaaja* 'be afraid':

(4-140)   *kunawuna   yulaa-ja   dathin-maal-i-ja   dangka-waal-i-j*
childNOM   be afraid-ACT   that-VEVIT-M-ACT   man-VEVIT-M-ACT
'The child is afraid of that man.'

Except for its use with *yulaaja*, where it may be replaced by object-like case marking (9.2.4.1), the verbal evitative has no parallel in the normal case system.

4.4.2.6 Verbal Donative case {*-wu-ja*}. With ditransitive verbs this may replace the "normal" PROPrietive case, which can mark the thing transferred (9.2.5):

(4-141)   *ngada*   *ngumban-ji* *wumburung-kuru*   *kiyarrng-kuru*   *wuu-j*
           1sgNOM   2sg-MLOC   spear-PROP   two-PROP   give-ACT

           "   "   *wumburu-u-ja*   *kiyarr-wu-ja*   *(wuu-ja)*
                                  spear-VDON-ACT   two-VDON-ACT   give-ACT

'I gave you two spears.'

It may mark songs, stories etc, that are taught to a listener (OBJect). See (9-99) and (9-100).

The Verbal Donative case may also mark instruments, again replacing the normal PROPrietive case:

(4-142)   *nga-l-da*   *kurdala-tha*   *yakuri-ya*   *mak-u-j*   / *mak-uru*
           1-pl-NOM   spear-ACT   fish-MLOC   torch-VDON-ACT   torch-PROP
           'We speared fish using a bark torch.'

I have only three examples of this and am unsure of the semantic difference here.

4.4.2.7 Verbal purposive *-jani(i)-ja*. This derives from the free verb *janija* 'look for'; like the ORIGin case *-wa(a)n-* the penultimate vowel is optionally lengthened when prosodic truncation removes the final *a*.

It marks entities which the subject is actively trying to obtain (4-143, 4-144, 4-145) or be with (4-146), or is missing (4-147) or grieving for (4-148):

(4-143)   *ngambura-th,*   *nguku-janii-j*
           dig well-ACT   water-VPURP-ACT
           '(They) dug a well, trying to get water.'

(4-144)   *niya*   *warra-ja*   *rar-ung-ka*   *mala-janii-j*
           3sgNOM   go-ACT   south-ALL-NOM   beer-VPURP-ACT
           'He's gone south (to Burketown) to get some beer.'

(4-145)   *ngada*   *niwan-jani-ju*   *balmbi-wu*   *dali-ju*
           1sgNOM   3sg-VPURP-POT   morrow-MPROP   come-POT
           'I'll come for him tomorrow.'

(4-146)   *jina-a   nyingka   warra-j?   jal-janii-j?*
           where-NOM 2sgNOM   go-ACT   cunt-VPURP-ACT
           'Where are you off to? After cunt?'

(4-147)   *ngada   ngaka-thu   dan-ku   ngumban-janii-ju*
           1sgNOM   wait-POT   here-MPROP   2sg-VPURP
           'I will wait here, missing you (while you are away from the island).'

(4-148)   *nal-da   barrki-i-ja   kajakaja-janii-j .*
           head-NOM   gash-M-ACT   dad-VPURP-ACT
           '(She) is gashing her head out of grief for her (dead) father.'

This is roughly synonymous with the "intentional object" use of the PROPrietive case (9.2.3). Where the subject is moving around seeking the object, either can be used, and I have been unable to find any difference in meaning. With verbs of paying attention, such as 'listen (for)', however, only the PROPrietive is possible. The verbal translative (4.4.2.3) may also express a very similar "purpose" meaning, but implies passive waiting on the part of the subject, rather than an active effort to procure the goal[22].

4.4.2.8 Other incipient verbal cases. Two other free verbs are on their way to being grammaticalized as further verbal cases, to judge by a couple of examples in which they either show phrasal scope, or combine with closed-class roots that are not usually involved in compounds.

Kanthalatha 'miss, grieve' may combine with nominal stems, either retaining its 'miss' meaning (4-149), or being bleached to a simple privative (4-150):

(4-149)   *Ngumban-kanthala-thu   ngada   ra-wu   wirdi-ju.*
           2sg-miss-POT   1sgNOM   south-MPROP   stay-POT
           'Missing you I will stay in the south (on Bentinck).'

(4-150)   *Kirra   thungal-kanthala-th ?*
           2duNOM   thing-miss-ACT
           'Haven't you got the thing (dictionary)?'

Wirdija 'stay, be at' is sometimes used, in nominalized form, to give characteristic location:

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[22] Such "purpose" meanings are usually expressed in Yukulta with the normal dative or proprietive. But a few individual lexemes may be compounded with the verb *janija*, as in *warrun-janija* 'goanna-hunting', *kambalarri-janija* 'sugarbag-gathering' (Yukulta data from my own field notes).

(4-151) *mardal-wirdi-n-da*   *yar-wirdi-n-da*   *niya*   *Barrindindi*
mud-stay-N-NOM   down-stay-N-NOM   3sgNOM   [name]
'Barrindindi dwells underneath the mud.'

(4-152) *ngada*   *bath-iji-wirdi-n-da*   *natha-wirdi-n-d*
1sgNOM   west-REM-stay-N-NOM   camp-stay-N-NOM
'I am staying in the far west camp.'

4.4.3 Verb-like syntactic properties of verbal case

So far I have emphasized the functional resemblance of verbal case to "normal cases". But they also share several important syntactic properties with verbs.

4.4.3.1 NPs inflected for verbal case used as main verbs.

Main verbs are frequently omitted from clauses containing NPs inflected for verbal case (4-109, 4-114, 4-135)[23]. A further example is:

(4-153) *(nyingka)*   *(wuu-ja)*   *ngijin-maru-tha*   *kuwan-d!*
(2sgNOM)   (give-IMP)   1sg-VD-IMP   firestick-NOM
'(You) give me the firestick!'

In such sentences one may treat the verbal case as governing NP arguments in various grammatical functions, shown here by arrows:

(4-154)
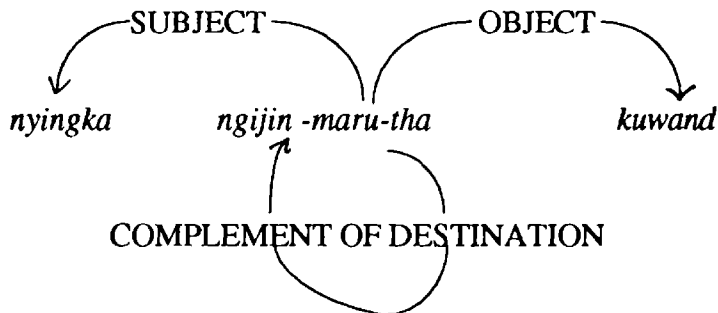
The proposition this encodes needs to make reference both to the free NP arguments and to the incorporated[24] NP. A rough logical representation

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[23] Omission of the main verb is attested with all verbal cases. With the Verbal Dative, however, it is only possible with the transfer of position or transfer of ownership meanings, not with the benefactive meaning.

[24] Here I am using "incorporated" in a very general sense, and do not wish to imply that "noun incorporation" of any of the four types described by Mithun (1984) is involved.

of (4-154) is "SUBJ cause OBJ to move to INCORP" where INCORP is the incorporated NP.

A satisfactory representation of verbal case, then, requires verb-like argument structures, making reference to several (typically three) NP arguments and their grammatical functions. But it must also allow verbal case to distribute over every word in the NP, or, alternatively, to incorporate as a prefix every word in the NP. How this is done will depend on the syntactic theory being used, and I will not go into this question here.

The two alternatives of "distribution" and "incorporation" imply different representations—the former more case-like, the latter more verb-like. Historically the Verbal Allative arose through distribution, the other verbal cases through noun-verb compounding.

4.4.3.2 Non-conflicting grammatical functions. Like co-members of a verbal complex (8.2), main verbs and verbal cases must assign non-conflicting grammatical functions to the core NPs in their clause. In the following clause schemas both main verb and verbal case have the same subject and the same object:
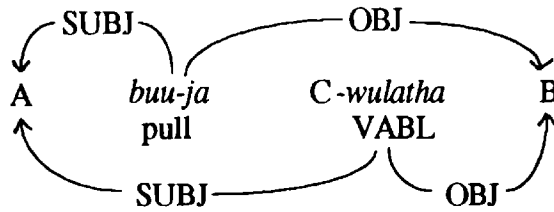
(4-155)

A (SUBJ) gives B (OBJ) to C
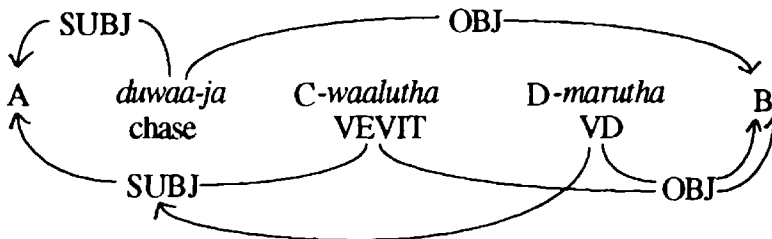
(4-156)

A (SUBJ) gives C (OBJ) B
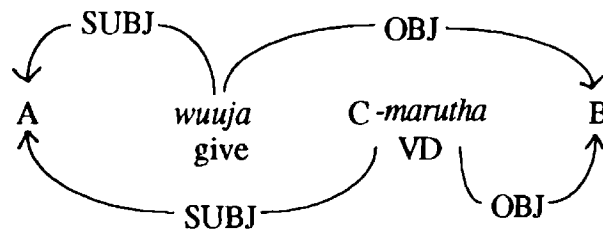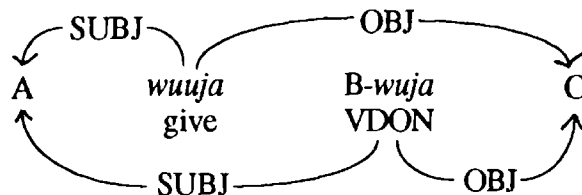
(4-157)

A (SUBJ) pulls B (OBJ) away from C

Two verbal cases may be present, provided they and the verb all have the same subject and object:

(4-158)

A (SUBJ) chases B (OBJ) to D away from C

Note also that the possibility of using the middle form of the verbal case with -*wulatha* and -*waalutha* does not create problems, since intransitive and transitive verbs may combine in verb complexes provided they have the same subject (8.2). Our requirement stipulates only that the relations of each coverb not conflict, not that each coverb must govern the same number of relations.
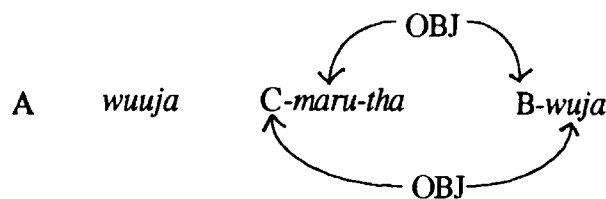
(4-159)
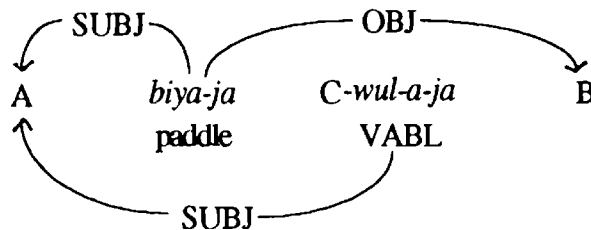
A (SUBJ) paddles B (OBJ) off C

The principle of non-conflicting relation assignment, applied to verbal cases, also accounts for certain co-occurrence restrictions between verbal

cases. *Wuuja*, for example, has two argument frames involving verbal cases (plus others with normal cases—see 9.2.5). It may select the Theme (i.e., the entity transferred) as object, with the verbal dative on the Recipient (4-155), or the Recipient as object, with the verbal donative case on the Theme (4-156). But it may not select both the verbal dative and the verbal donative cases. We can now see why: the verbal dative would select the theme as object and the verbal donative would select the recipient, leading to conflicting assignment of grammatical relations. Ignoring the question of what grammatical relations are assigned by the main verb:

(4-160)

$$A \quad wuuja \quad C\text{-}maru\text{-}tha \quad B\text{-}wuja$$

with OBJ arrows connecting *C-maru-tha* and *B-wuja*

4.4.3.3. Restrictions on argument status. In all my corpus there is not a single example of a NP taking a verbal case being relativized on, or being the pivot in any complex construction. This may be an accidental gap, but more likely it reflects the less-than-full argument status of such constituents.

4.4.4 Discussion

4.4.4.1 Origins. As we have seen, the verbal case system integrates complex verbals of quite different provenance. The allative was formed by deriving an inchoative verb from a nominal inflected for the locative case. Formation of all the other cases involved prefixation of nominals to verbals, but the case relation originally obtaining between the prefixed nominal and the verb varied considerably: proprietive with the verbal purposive and donative cases, ablative with the verbal ablative and evitative, and locative with the verbal dative.

Comparative evidence suggests that the fully-fledged verbal case systems in Kayardild and Lardil have evolved quite recently. Yukulta has two verbal cases, corresponding to the Verbal Ablative and Verbal Evitative in Kayardild. Corresponding to other verbal cases in Kayardild, Yukulta has non-productive patterns of derivation (e.g. *kalarr-i-watha* [open space-LOC-INCH] 'come out into the open') or nominal prefixation (with *marlutha* 'put' and *janija* 'look for'). The verbal case systems almost certainly evolved by increasing the productivity of these formations, and by expanding the scope from word to phrase.

Function	Normal case	Verbal Case
Subject	NOMinative	------
Object	MOD	------
Location	*LOCative	Incipient use of -*wirdija*
Direction of Motion	*(ALLative)	V ALLative / V Dative
Source of Motion	*(ABLative)	V ABLative
Instrument	*PROPrietive INSTRumental ASSOCiative	V DONative
Theme (in ditr.)	*PROPrietive	V DONative
Recipient (in ditr.)	*[OBLique]	V Dative
Beneficiary	*(OBLique)	V Dative
Purpose	*PROPrietive UTILitive	V PURPosive V TRANSlative
Temporal Target	UTILitive	V TRANSlative
Demoted Agent	*ABLative *LOCative *OBLique	V ALLative
Cause/Consequence	CONSequential	V EVITative
Possessor	GENitive *ABLative	------
Having	PROPrietive ASSOCiative	------
Lacking	PRIVative	Incipient use of -*kanthalatha*

*   *marks cases that can be used modally*
()   *marks moribund uses of a case*
[ ]   *marks extinct uses of a case (reconstructable for pT, but no longer found*
      in Kayardild)

Figure 4-5. Case functions expressed by normal and verbal cases

How was the transition made from lexical to phrasal scope? I believe that the "apposition" or "unmerged" analysis of NP structure (6.1) provides an answer. Under this analysis, the words of an NP like 'the big man' are not parsed as sister NPs below a common NP node, but as apposed NPs: 'the big one, the man'. If NPs in proto-Tangkic had this kind of structure, each word of the "unmerged NP" could undergo the word-level process of derivation or compounding, e.g. [big-put man-put] for 'put to the big one, put to the man'. Later changes in syntax, leading to a more structured "merged" interpretaton of the NP, would cause such sequences to be reinterpreted as NPs over which 'put' shows concord, rather than apposed compounds.

4.4.4.2 Integration of normal and verbal case systems. Despite their diverse origins, the verbal cases are fully integrated into the Kayardild case system. The main functions of normal and verbal cases are summarized in Figure 4-5.

Semantically, verbal cases are partly complementary and partly parallel to the normal case system. Core syntactic functions are always marked by normal case, as are "static" functions like the LOCative; so are all adnominal functions (which are also static)[25]. What may be broadly described as "dynamic" functions, involving change over time (e.g. change of location, change of possession) tend to take verbal cases. Some dynamic functions, like the allative, ablative and purposive, take either, but the verbal case is gaining ground.

This may be attributed in part to the inherent suitability of verbs for expressing "dynamic" relationships, and in part to a shift in the functional load of the corresponding normal cases, increasingly used to signal modality or other non-relational functions. It is significant that in Yukulta, where the "normal" cases do not double as modality markers, the role of verbal cases is very limited, whereas in Kayardild, Yangkaal and Lardil, where modal cases have developed, the motion function of normal cases is moribund (as in Kayardild) or has disappeared completely (as in Lardil).

4.4.4.3 Why verbal case? This leads us to the typological question of why verbal case should be unique to the Tangkic languages, languages that are already peculiar in other ways. After all, it has been widely claimed that "semantic cases" and prepositions are predicates (e.g. Becker—Arms (1969), Fillmore (1971)), and verbs are the most natural lexical category for supplying predicates. Verbs with prepositional functions are found in many languages (see 4.4.1.3), but nowhere else,

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[25]   Although the incipient verbal case-like uses of -wirdija and -kanthalatha would, if extended, begin to encroach on the "static" LOCative and PRIVative functions.

to my knowledge, have they become case-like inflections with phrasal concord.

Although it is difficult to find definite answers to such typological questions, I believe that the co-occurrence of "modal" and "verbal" case in the Tangkic languages is more than coincidence. Firstly, as mentioned above, the evolution of modal case in Kayardild and Lardil greatly increased the functional load of certain normal cases, and would have favoured the development of new ways of expressing their erstwhile primary meaning. For every modal case in Kayardild except the LOCative there has developed a verbal case to express the once-primary "relational" meaning, and even with the LOCative an incipient verbal case is developing.

Secondly, Kayardild and Lardil have, for whatever reason, already developed a system in which tense and mood are signalled on NPs as well as verbs. Verbal case, which signals the full range of verbal categories instead of the six values signalled by modal case, provides an efficient way of doing this (although unlike modal case it cannot be used "independently" (10.1.3) to multiply the number of expressible modalities).

In summary, I believe that the two factors of functional shift and modal marking on NPs favoured the full development of verbal case in Kayardild and Lardil[26], and have been sufficient to outweigh the negative factor of high redundancy that is probably responsible for preventing their development elsewhere.

4.5 Number and related suffixes

As mentioned in 4.1, number suffixes are in the same rank as adnominal case inflections, which they may follow or precede depending on their semantic scope: cf. *jingka-wan-jiyarrng-ka* [swamp-ORIG-du-NOM] 'two from the swamp' and *jingka-yarr-wan-da* 'from the two swamps'.

Number suffixes display concord over the whole NP, except where the LOT suffix co-occurs with the quantity nominal *muthaa* 'many' (see 4.5.2).

Number marking is optional on Kayardild noun/adjectives (though obligatory on pronouns (5.2.1)), and is only used when the number is being stressed. Generic statements like 'great food-eaters were the south people' (12-123), for example, are unmarked for number.

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[26] But they cannot explain its initial development in proto Tangkic, which remains a mystery.

Included in this section are two other suffixes, the 'another' suffix *-yarraTH-* and the 'every' suffix *-walaTHida* which have semantic affinities with the number suffixes.

4.5.1 Dual *-kiyarrng-*

The initial allomorphy of this suffix parallels the LOCative {*-kiya*}—see 4.2. Informants translate it as 'two', just like the free form, and in most situations they are interchangeable and mutually exclusive:

(4-161)   a.   *ngijin-da   kiyarrng-ka   kularrin-da   ngumal-d*
                 my-NOM   two-NOM   sister-NOM   single-NOM

        b.   *ngijin-da   kularrin-jiyarrng-ka   ngumal-d*
                 my-NOM   sister-du-NOM   single-NOM

(a) and (b): 'My two sisters are single.'

When the two objects are seen as a pair, as united spatially or functionally, the suffix form is preferred:

(4-162)   *jirrma-ja   mar-iyarrng-ki*
             lift-ACT   hand-du-MLOC
             '(I) lifted (the dugong) by its two front flippers.'

Younger speakers use the free form in all contexts.

4.5.2 LOT *-bala(TH)- ~ -wala(TH)-*

This is *-balaTH-* after nasals and *-walaTH-* elsewhere; it is the only morpheme with this alternation. Like other nominals in stem-final *TH-*, the nominative delaminalizes: *-walad-a*. This may further reduce (irregularly) to *-wala. Kunawuna* 'child' has the irregular form *kuna-walaTH-a*, based on the unreduplicated form (not otherwise attested).

LOT is used to designate a "lot", "mob" or large group: *bithiin-bala* 'group of men, many men', *maku-wala* 'group of women, many women'. Most of my examples involve humans, but a few involve geographical features, as in (4-164); interestingly, none involve animals.

(4-163)   *jina-a   ngumban-bala   karndi-wala*
             where-NOM   your-LOT(NOM)   wife-LOT(NOM)
             'Where are your wives?'

(4-164) *mangara* *kurrka-tha* *thangkan-ki* *banki-walany-maru-th*
stormNOM take-ACT porpoise-MLOC pool-LOT-VD-ACT
'The storm took porpoises up into the pools (behind the dunes).'

Whereas the Dual suffix and the free form 'two' are synonymous and mutually exclusive, LOT and the quantifying nominal *mutha-a* 'many' are not synonymous, and a given nominal can be modified by both: *mutha-a dangka-wala* 'a group of many people'. *Mutha-a* here does not take *-walad-*, possibly because both suffix and quantifier have equivalent scope (over the root).

4.5.3 EVERY *-walathiʃ-*

This expresses the sharing of a characteristic by all members of a large group. Whereas *karndi-nurru-walada* [wife-ASSOC-LOT] means 'a lot of men with wives (and perhaps also some without wives)', *karndi-nurru-walathida* means 'a lot of men, all of whom have wives'. *Kurirr-walathida* [dead-EVERY] can be used to refer to a mass of recently killed fish, and *buru-walathida* [cooked-EVERY] describes a group of yams that have all been cooked. In a song recalling a morning spent spearing bonefish, all of which escaped wounded, the singer laments:

(4-165) *mutha-a,* *minbarra-walathid....* *ngada* *wara-tha* *mutha-ya*
many-NOM scar-EVERY 1sgNOM send-ACT many-MLOC

buranthan-ki *minbarra-walathij-i*
bonefish-MLOC scar-EVERY-MLOC

'(There were many), all of them scarred .... I sent many bonefish off, all scarred.'

The suffix is most often used when the shared characteristic is recently acquired, and hence worthy of comment, but this is not a necessary condition: in the following example the assertion of sameness is a rhetorical reminder to a mother being reprimanded for favouring her own children:

(4-166) *kunawuna-nurru-walathid*
child-ASSOC-EVERY
'Everyone's got children (so let's share the food equally)!'

In all my examples this suffix appears in a nominal predicate rather than an attributive phrase. Accordingly I have no examples with following inflections.

One could analyse this suffix further into 'LOT' *-walaTH-* plus the clitic *-ida* 'SAME'. But the clitic would then deviate from its normal

postnominal meaning, which is to show persistence of a state (9.7.4.1). It is more likely that, in both, -ida derives from the free nominal niida 'the same', with appropriate semantic specialization in each case.

4.5.4 PLENTY -wuthin-

Initial w assimilates (regularly) to m after nasal-final stems. The final n selects palatal-initial following suffixes, like nominals in Declension 6.

This suffix is clearly related to the free form wuthin-da 'lots, plenty' (4-167), as well as to the reduplicated wuthin-wuthin-da 'thick, dense (of trees)'.

(4-167)   kala-a-n-marri,   [wuthin-jinaa-ntha   dana-tharra-nth]COBL
           cut-M-N-PRIV   plenty-MABL-COBL   leave-PST-COBL
           '(The dugong meat) hasn't been cut up, (they) left plenty (of it).'

Like -walaTH-, -wuthin- can often be translated as 'many', but applies to the entities that eschew -walaTH-: animals, plants, implements and meteorological forces[27]. Jardi-wuthin-da [group-PLENTY-NOM] is typically used of a horde of swarming ants, and warrngal-wuthin-da [wind-PLENTY-NOM] of a series of gusts of wind.

-wuthin-da may also follow numerals, adding a sense of approximation:

(4-168)   maarra   mirndin-muthin-mirndin-muthin-d,   maarra
           all   several-PLENTY-several-PLENTY-NOM   all

           wumburu-nurru
           spear-ASSOC

           'Each (man) is carrying four or five spears.'

4.5.5 ANOTHER -yarraTH-

This means "another" in the sense of French encore un rather than un autre, viz. "another token of the same type": kakuju-yarrad-a [uncle-ANOTHER-NOM] '(your) other uncle'; birrjilbirdi-yarrada 'another immoral (person)'. Further examples are:

(4-169)   balmbi-yarrath-u   kada   thaa-nangku
           morrow-ANOTHER-MPROP   again   return-NEGPOT
           'He won't return the day after tomorrow ('the other tomorrow') either.'

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[27] The only time I heard -wuthin- applied to humans was when they were seen from a plane, and deliberately compared with ants.

(4-170)   [Discussing types of food obtained from swamps:]
            jalkarrangu   diya-a-n-kuru-yarrad,   *nguku-wirdi-n-d*
            crab sp.NOM   eat-M-N-PROP-ANOTHER(NOM)   water-stay-N-NOM
            'The freshwater crab is another edible one, that lives in fresh water.'

To convey the other sense of English "other" (i.e. "different"), the free nominal *jatha-a* is used:

(4-171)   *kamarr   jatha-a   wuran-d,   dangka-kurulu-n-d*
            stonefishNOM   other-NOM   sort-NOM   person-kill-N-NOM
            'Now the stone fish is something else again, it's a deadly one.'

In simple existential clauses the addition of *-yarraTH-* conveys the meaning "there are plenty of Xs left yet":

(4-172)   *kurda-kurda-yarrad!*
            coolamon-REDUP-ANOTHER
            'There are coolamons and coolamons of food left yet!'

Note also the idiom *nyingka kada-yarrada* [you again-ANOTHER] 'are you at it again?'