PAPERS FROM THE
PARASESSION ON
PRONOUNS AND ANAPHORA
CHICAGO LINGUISTIC SOCIETY

APRIL 18–19, 1980

EDITED BY
JODY KREIMAN
ALMERINDO E. OJEDA

CHICAGO LINGUISTIC SOCIETY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CLASSICS 314A
1050 E. 59TH ST.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637
Nunggubuyu Doixis, Anaphora, and Culture
Jeffrey Heath
Harvard University

Nunggubuyu is spoken by 200-300 persons in and near Numbulwar Mission in the Northern Territory of Australia. Abbreviation: Nu.

The DEMONSTRATIVE SYSTEM of Nu is defined morphologically by a series of morphological and syntactic features not shared by nouns or personal pronouns. In addition to the four basic demonstrative roots discussed here there is also a series of indefinite/interrogative forms based on another root; we omit further discussion of these forms.

1. Demonstrative Roots
The basic roots are these:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ya-}, & \text{ -a- Prox} \text{(inative)} \\
& \text{ba-}, \text{-u- Imm} \text{(mediate)} \\
& \text{-da-}, \text{-uda- Dist} \text{(ant)} \\
& \text{-u- Anaph} \text{(epic)}
\end{align*}
\]

All but Anaph are primarily or solely deictic; they indicate a locati rather than referring to previously-mentioned or contextually definite locations. Anaph does involve this preexisting definiteness. (Some qualifications on these remarks are given below.)

All three deictic roots are very common. Imm is intermediate, but its range is subject to great contextual variation and means simply that the referent or location is in some sense in the immediate, accessible surroundings. It focuses on the position of the addressee, but is often used when the location is closer to the speaker than to the addressee. It is wrong to think of Imm and Dist as subdivisions of the English distant that/there type; Imm can sometimes be properly glossed with English proximate forms and is often used for indefinite 'here somewhere' Dist is farther out than Imm; in some contexts Dist may be applied to a location as close as about 20 meters to the speaker, in other contexts may begin around the visible horizon.

2. Affixal Subdistinctions
Disregarding noun-class affixes (section 3), the basic morphological subdistinctions applicable to demonstrative forms are these: a) Concrete -u-, b) Absolute -yum, and c) three marked kinetic forms (Centripetal, Centrifugal, Transverse).

Concrete -u- is optionally added to any demonstrative form (adverb or pronoun) based on the Imm or Anaph root. It is also obligatory in an irregular Directional adverb formation of the type ya-umu-/way 'this way' discussed later, and co-occurs in this construction with Prox and Imm roots. Other than this it cannot be used with Prox or Dist roots.

Let us think of Imm as a donut-shaped region ringing the Prox region. Then the difference between Imm-Concor and simple Imm is that the former requires that the location in question be specific (concrete), not merely 'somewhere around here/there', and also that this location not be in the innermost fringe of the donut (where Imm blends into Prox). Thus /da-gi-u/ da-gu-' there he/she is' with -u- points to a definite position in the middle or outer part of the Imm donut; da-gi 'there he/she is' indicates either indefinite 'somewhere around here/there' or definite location rather close to the speaker. In practice, most Imm forms satisfy
requirements for -u-, so Ina-Concr is more common than simple Ina.

Absolute -yun\(^5\) occurs with demonstr. pronouns but not adverbs. It is conditioned by the combination of two factors. First, it is commonly omitted when the demonstr. pron. is immediately followed by its noun (i.e. not nonfina// in a surface NP), though I should add that many NPs in Nu are broken up into surface fragments separated by pauses or other constituents. Secondly, it indicates a kind of definiteness. It is extremely common with Anaph forms unless immediately followed by a NP without an intonational break; it is common with Ina forms when used in quasi-discourse-anaphoric functions (see below); it is sometimes used with Prex forms for emphasis; it is rare with Dist forms. Anaph exx.: nur-'ba-gi-yun\(^5\) 'that (man)', in longer NP usually nur-'ba-gi na-wa-\(gi\)-i-n\(^3\)-un\(^5\) 'that man'.

The three marked kinetic suffixes are used with demonstr. pronouns and adverbs (on the latter see subsequent sections). They are:

\[(2)\] -ala- Centrip(etal)  
-ali- Centrip(ual)  
-waj Transv(ersive)

Here -waj occurs in a distinct slot from the others, but there is no co-occurrence (except that a homophonous -waj, or these -waj in another sense, can co-occur with others in certain derivations).

Consider yuwa:gi 'he/she is' (Dist). This represents the kinetically unmarked, static form. Derived therefrom are Centrip yuwa:gi-i-'la 'there he/she comes', Centrip yuwa:gi-i-'li (very rare) 'there he/she goes away', Transv yuwa:gi-yaj 'he/she goes across'. Verbs are used in the glenses, but the forms themselves are not morphologically verbal or verb-like though they are used as predicates.

Because Centrip forms are rare, and in practice confined to forms of Prox and Ina, the attractive symmetry of the system is misleading. Centrip forms are so common that we could almost speak of a binary opposition (static vs. Centrip), though Transv forms are also moderately common.

Centrip is "obligatory" in the sense that it is regularly (almost always) used when the referent object is moving toward the speaker. If I see a man approach, in English I say Here he is or Here he comes, but Inungg, I must say Here he comes (ya:gi-i-'la).

Indeed, the mere fact that the referent is stationary (e.g. a sleeping man), or even a permanently stationary object like a tree, does not prevent Nunggubuyu from using Centrip forms. You come up to me and ask me, Where is No-Good-Throat? I point to a sleeping man some distance away and say yuwa:gi-i-'la 'There [Dist] he comes'. This is because I assume you want to talk to him and will go toward him once you learn his location; if I do not assume this (or if I wish to discourage you from going there) I just say yuwa:gi 'There [Dist] he is'. Similarly, if you and I are walking in the bush looking for rubber tree, as soon as I spot some (ahead of us, behind us, or to the side) I may exclaim: da-mi-i-'lu: -\(da-mi-i\)-ala-u/ 'There (Im-Concr) it comes'. The closest English parallel is Coming up on the left is the Empire State Building (said by airplane pilot, bus driver, etc.) and The telephone pole jumped at me (said by driver of smashed vehicle on insurance report), illustrating occasional pseudo-stationary status of passengers in moving vehicles.

Centrif -ali-, indicates demonstr. pronouns. Transv motion roughly across the s.

3. Noun-Class (NC) Affixes

Nu is rich in NC category nouns, the basic categories:

\[(3)\] human:
-\(g\) MDU -\(\bar{g}\) F\(\ddot{a}\)g -\(\bar{g}\) F\(\ddot{a}\)g  
-n\(\ddot{a}\) F\(\ddot{a}\)g -\(\ddot{u}\) F\(\ddot{a}\)g

We omit discussion of:

\[(4)\] human:
-\(\dot{\ddot{a}}\) F\(\ddot{a}\)g, F\(\ddot{a}\)g, \(\ddot{u}\) F\(\ddot{a}\)g, \(\ddot{u}\) F\(\ddot{a}\)g, \(\ddot{u}\) F\(\ddot{a}\)g

With nouns, the NC has some syntactic frames. T\(\ddot{a}\) F\(\ddot{a}\)g (\(\ddot{a}\) F\(\ddot{a}\)g) is an allomorph same NC prefixes shown in apply a special truncation becoming a:-). Again the or absence of the prefix h.

b. Predicative and Nonpred

Without the NC prefix with the NC prefix we get should be stressed that the predicative forms are not adjectival nouns (both of subject or subject-and-obj.
more common than simple Imm.

Intr. pronouns but not adverbs. It
two factors. First, it is commonly
immediately followed by its noun
although I should add that many
fragments separated by pauses or
indicates a kind of definiteness. It
unless immediately followed by
is common with Imm forms when
actions (see below); it is sometimes
is rare with Dist forms. Anaph
is longer NP usually nu:='ba-gi
are used with demonstrative pronouns
sentences). They are:

Centrif -ali-, indicating motion away from speaker, is rare with
demonstrative pronouns. Transv -waj is moderately common; it indicates
motion roughly across the speaker’s line of vision.

It should be noted that the correct use of kinetic suffixes,
notably Centrif, requires considerable pragmatic sensitivity. The
speaker requires not only the ability to perceive, but also the
ability to interpret the addressee’s intentions and predict his/her
future motion (or to express disapproval thereof). These decisions in
turn require both general cultural knowledge (since the addressee is
not likely to walk toward certain affixes) and fluid situational factors.

2. Noun-Class (NC) Affixes

Nu is rich in NC categories, including gender and number. For
nouns, the basic categories are these:

(3) human: nonhuman:
   NA class
   MSg na-ROOT-yun6
   MDu na-ROOT-wa:
   FSg n6ara-ROOT-yun6
   FDu n6ara-ROOT-wa:
   P1 (wara-REDUP-ROOT
   (wara-ni)-ROOT

   NA class
   na-ROOT, y1-ROOT
   n6ara-ROOT, y1-ROOT
   ana-ROOT, a-ROOT
   mana-ROOT, ana-ROOT
   wara-ROOT, wa-ROOT

We omit discussion of morphophonemics, allomorphs, and the uses of
the two series of nonhuman NC prefixes (e.g. na- vs. y1- for NA class).
We are here concerned with the semantics of the class distinc-
tions. Rather, we are concerned with the manner in which the NC affixes
function in demonstr. syntax.

A crucial distinction must be made between demonstrative PRONOUNS
and ADVERBS. Formally, the pronouns are characterized by obligatory NC
suffixes differing from those seen in (3) for nouns; the adverbs mostly
have special case-like suffixes in the corresponding slot. The obliga-
tory NC suffixes used with demonstrative pronouns are:

(4) human: nonhuman:
   -g1 MSg, FSg
   -n1 MDu
   -n6 FSg
   -wuru P1

With nouns, the NC prefixes shown in (3) are optional (except in some
syntactic frames). Thus ‘man’ can be wa1yi-n1un6 or n1-wa1yi-
n6un6 (-n1un6 is an allomorph of -yun6). With demonstr. pronouns, the
same NC prefixes shown in (3) can occur (except that the Imm root can
apply a special truncation-plus-vowel-lengthening rule, e.g. ana-
becoming a:-). Again, the prefixes are optional, but here the presence
or absence of the prefix has a special syntactic significance.

4. Predicative and Nonpredicative Demonstrative Pronouns

Without the NC prefix we get a PREDICATIVE demonstrative pronoun;
with the NC prefix we get a NONPREDICATIVE demonstrative pronoun. It
should be stressed that these terms describe syntactic functions; the
predicative forms are not formally similar to verbs or prediicate
adjectival nouns (both of which take special verbal prefixes indicating
subject or subject-and-object pronoun categories).
Exx.: predicative ya-gi 'He/She is here', nonpredicative /na-a-gi/ → na:-'gi 'this one (NSg)'. Concrete -u-, Absolute -yun, and kinetic suffixes may be added to predicative and nonpredicative types.

Translating ya-gi as 'He/She is here' (with copula and locative adverb) is syntactically misleading since it suggests that we can get 'He/She is not here' merely by adding a negative element, and 'He/She was (was not) here' by adding a past tense marker. In fact, these are expressed by distinct Nu expressions. We can understand the syntax by glossing ya-gi more literally as '(He/She is) this', hence as a demonstr. pronoun which is used predicatively. Note that '(He/She is) this' is roughly equivalent to 'He/She is here' in the present positive, but not in negatives or nonpresent forms: (He/She is) not this' does not match 'He/She is not here' semantically. Although we will, for more natural translations, often gloss ya-gi as 'He/She is here', we should constantly recall that it is just a demonstr. pronoun in form.

We can summarize by the following schema:

(5) English:
  a. He is here.
  b. He is not here.
  c. He was here.
  d. He was not here.

Note that Nu requires a locative adverb ('here', 'there') except in the present positive, where a predicative demonstr. pronoun is used. Some Nu exx.:

(6) a. ya-gi na-wałyı-n'yun
  'The man is here.'
  b. ni:-'ri ana:-'ji na-wałyı-n'yun
  he is absent here man
  'The man is not here.'
  c. wa:-'ri ani=bura-n6a-an6 ana:-'ji na-wałyı-n'yun
  not he sits here man
  'The man is not (sitting) here.'
  d. ni=buri-6 ya:-ji na-wałyı-n'yun
  he sat here man
  'The man was (sat) here.'
  e. (= b.)
  'The man was not here.'
  f. wa:-'ri ani=buri-6 ana:-'ji na-wałyı-n'yun
  not he sat here man
  'The man was not (sitting) here.'

All except (6a) contain ya:-ji 'here' or ana:-'ji (same, with ANA NC prefix, required in negative contexts). All except (6a) contain true verb ('to sit') or predicate adjectival noun ('absent'); the latter does not distinguish past from present (hence (6b) = (6e)).

It would seem that, alongside (6a) with predicative demonstr. pronoun, it should also be possible to construct a variant with present tense verb like 'to sit' with accompanying adverb ya:-ji 'here':

(7) na-wałyı-n'yun n' man

However, while this is Not only is (6a) permissible, even when stance:
(8) ya-gi ni=bu
  he is this he si

That is, in Nu we have a predicative demonstr. p
(9) PRESENT-POSITIVE
For present positive demonstr. p use verb or adject.
  We now turn to real a
  We carry us fairly deeply in
(10) a. ya-gi
    he is this
    b. ya-ni
    it is this

These are apparent if
(9), since the locational
(10b) the demonstrative i
  man sat, hence roughly 'I
  rule out co-occurrence wi
  locational predications is
  also have nonpredicative
  have adverb ya:-ji 'here'
  fact that the types (10a-
  use predicative demonstr.
  tions) when they are logi.

Consider now a more c
(a) looking for his son, sus;
(11) ya-gi ni=t
  he is this he is

I originally thought
since realised that this
man's son had been attack
behind some blood and a c
taken place. Within the
bodily substances like bl
be equated grammatically
In (11), ya-gi thus pre
is here', nonpredicative /na-a:gi/-
-he-a-, Absolute -yun6, and kinetic
and nonpredicative types.
's here' (with copula and locative
place) it suggests that we can get
a negative element, and 'He/She
is here' marker. In fact, these
verbs. We can understand the syntax
'He/She is) ' this', hence as a
negatively. Note that ' (He/She is)
is here' in the present positive,
i.e. ' (He/She is) not this' does
factually. Although we will, for
ya:gi as 'He/She is here', we
get a demonstrat. pronoun in form.

schema:
Nu:
(i) he is this.
(ii) he is absent here.
(iii) he does not sit here.
(iv) he sat here.
(v) he was absent here.
(vi) he did not sit here.

adverb ('here', 'there') except
locative demonstrat. pronoun is used.

'man

7. The man is here.'

nalyi-nun6

'man

6. The man is not here.'

' he:ji na-nalyi-nun6

're here.

7. The man is not (sitting) here.'

nun6

8. The man was (sat) here.

' he:ji na-nalyi-nun6

'man

9. The man was not (sitting) here.'

nun6

or ana:'-ji (same, with ANA
their). All except (6a) contain
locative noun ('absent') the latter
(since (6b) = (6e)).

with predicative demonstrat.

construct a variant with present
lying adverb ya:ji 'here':

(7) na-nalyi-nun6 ni-bura:=-' ya:ji

man he sits here 'The man is (sits) here.'

However, while this is perhaps grammatical, it is not optimal.
Not only is (6a) preferred to (7) when stance (sitting) is not signi-
ficant, even when stance is essential we are more likely to get this:

(8) ya:gi ni-bura:-' na-nalyi-nun6

he is this he sits man 'The man sits here.'

That is, in Nu we have a DOUBLE-PREDICATE construction with both
a predicative demonstrat. pronoun and a true verb.

5. Non-Present Tenses

Our generalization (tentatively) is this:

(9) PRESENT-POSITIVE RULE

For present positive predications of location use predicative
demonstrat. pronoun; for negative and non-present forms use verb or adjectival noun as predicate with nonpredicative
demonstrative adverb ('here', 'there').

We now turn to real and apparent counterex., some of which will
carry us fairly deeply into culture-specific construals. Consider:

(10) a. ya:gi ni=ya-p6gi

he is this he went

b. ya:n6 ni=bura-n6a-p6

it is this he sat

'He sat down here.'

These are apparent counterex. In (10a), the juxtaposition of
predicative demonstrat. pronoun and past tense verb does not violate
(9), since the locational predicate indicates the current location of
the man (not his location during the narrated event). Similarly, in
(10b) the demonstrative indicates the location of the place where the
man sat, hence roughly 'It is here (that) he sat.' Rule 9 does not
rule out co-occurrence with non-present verb forms as long as the
locational predication is valid for the present tense. (10a) could
also have nonpredicative na:-'gi 'this (man)', and (10b) could also
have adverb ya:ji 'here', with only slight changes in sense. The
fact that the types (10a-b) are not uncommon shows that Nu tends to
use predicative demonstrat. pronouns (hence double-predicate construc-
tions) when they are logically possible.

Consider now a more difficult ex.: a man is walking in the bush
looking for his son, suspecting that the latter has suffered foul play.

(11) ya:gi ni=bura:-' na-n6i-

he is this he sat my son

'My son was here!' I

originally thought this was a serious counterex. to (9), but have
since realized that this is not so from the Nu point of view. The
man's son had been attacked and devoured by a jabiru bird, but had left
behind some blood and a disturbance in the mud where the attack had
taken place. Within the Nu system of part-whole apposition, detached
bodily substances like blood and indirect vestiges like footprints can
be equated grammatically with the noun designating the whole body.
In (11), ya:gi thus predicates Prox location not of the son's body but
only of the blood and the depression in the mud. Hence rule (9) is not violated. However, 'he eat' must be in the past tense in (11) since it specifies the prior location (and stance) of the boy as a whole.

More serious counterexx. to (9) occur in narratives. In many languages, narrative is characterized by a suspension of the usual indexical systems by which deixis is based on the "here" and tense on the "now" of the speech event itself. Hence we get special accrual or narrative tense forms; proliferation of gerundial and similar clauses marking relative chronology of events within the narrative; special reduced (inflectionless) verb forms not overtly specifying (redundant) past tense, etc. Nu has no elaborate narrative morphology of this type but does show shifts from a speech-event oriented HERE-AND-NOW indexing to a narrative-internal THERE-AND-THEN indexing. This has nothing to do with whether Prox deictics and present tense are used; rather, it has to do with whether the spatial and temporal reference points to which other locations and times are compared are those of the speech event or some time and place within the narrative—whether 'this' and 'now', for example, are from the narrator's point of view or that of some actor in the narrative.

Obvious shifts to there-and-then indexing are direct quotations, including thought quotations: (12) paraphrases a typical Nu sequence:

(12) ...he went along, he came to a river, where will I go?, I will go that way, (he did that), he crossed the river...

Here we obviously have an internal thought quotation. This can be marked overtly in Nu by 'he did that' (ni-yama-n³), in this context 'he said/thought', usually just after (sometimes just before) the quotation. Quotations are detectable even without 'he did that' by the sudden occurrence of present tense (or future) in an otherwise past tense narration, by raised pitch, by special vocatives or shouts at the beginning (e.g. 'Hey!'), and by other devices. In effect there is no indirect discourse and almost no metaphorical glossing; normal English would convert the relevant part of (12) into 'He decided to cross the river (and did), but Nu has no verbs like 'to decide'.

Deictic forms play an interesting role in such narratives. Even when verbal tense (for inflected verb forms) remains linked indexically to the "now" of the speech event, spatial deixis is not infrequently based on the point of view of an actor within the narration, giving us a hybrid THERE-AND-NOW indexing:

(13) ni-yam³a-ya-n⁵gi:: n⁶a da-ma ma-łam-³y he went and went then it is that (Iam) it stood 'He went along, and then there it was (not far away).'

Here 'it' (perhaps a tree of a certain species) is the referent of a predicative demonstr. pronoun and a stance verb in the double-predicate construction. We get the Imm deictic category, since the tree was fairly close to the actor (though not the narrator). Although Imm forms are most common in this narrative construction, even Prox forms (in this example, ya-³ma 'it this') occur. It appears that exx. like (13) are violations of (9), though the latter can be salvaged if we specify that deictic predications can (with there-and-now indexing) take "present tense positive" to be from a narrative actor's point of view. Non-demonstrative verb 'he went', typically (13) thus suggest a limit though not quite of the

Another kind of shift indexing occurs when bod in narrative or other kí of body-part terms, typi part of their own body. Hence 'we used to cut op abdomen'. Similarly, an indicating some object t a narration about a spea location a Nu might say: stopped, like here and t involve intrusions from (including the narrato' However, if the narrato along, intrusive referen distance based on object switches from there-and-Intrusions may here invo part of the speaker), an which deictic and tempor Nu lacks a "historic is much easier in Nu to frameword of the speech true verbal formations. systems, there-and-now indexing is unusual and

6. Demonstrative Adverbs

A demonstrative sub pronouns is that of the tive and do not agree wi these adverbs are nouns: the noun llama "place, o negative clauses the NC:

(14) ya-ji 'here' da-ji 'there'

Concrete -u is com to ba-gu (ba-³u '-', ofte Such adverbs are nor to be allative:

(15) ni-wa-yama-³y he went along

However, again the find conjunction n⁶a 'am Without going into great state that I take exx. 1
in the mud. Hence rule (9) is not in the past tense in (11) since it (i.e.) of the boy as a whole.

occur in narratives. In many by a suspension of the usual based on the "here" and tense

Hence we get special adverb of gerundial and similar clauses within the narrative; special
not overtly specifying (redundant) narrative morphology of this type not oriented HERE-AND-NOW indexing. This has nothing to do tense are used; rather, it has

formal reference points to prepared are those of the speech narrative—whether 'this' and actor's point of view or that of indexing are direct quotations, paraphrases a typical Nu sequence:

I thought quotation. This can be (nį-wa-na-N), in this context (sometimes just before) the even without 'he did that' by (or future) in an otherwise past special vocatives or shouts at

her devices. In effect there is

apra pragmatic glossing; normal set of (12) into He decided to no verbs like 'to decide'. role in such narratives. Even

forms) remains linked indirect spatial deixis is not infran actor within the narrative, slang:

dār-ja ma=lha:-'y it is that (Im) it stood are it was (not far away).'

certain species is the referent a stance verb in the double-
delictic category, since the though not the narrator). Although

ative construction, even Prox 'this' occur. It appears that though the latter can be salvaged can (with here-and-now indexing)

a narrative actor's point of view. Nondemonstrative predications in exx. like (13), e.g. the motion verb 'he went', typically depend on here-and-now indexing. Exx. like (13) thus suggest a limited parallel to "semi-indirect discourse," though not quite of the same types described by Gragg (1972).

Another kind of shifting between here-and-now and there-and-then indexing occurs when body parts or measures of distance are mentioned in narrative or other kinds of discourse. Although Nu has a full set of body-part terms, typically speakers simply point to the appropriate part of their own bodies and use deixis ('this', 'along here', etc.). Hence we used to cut open the kangaroo carcasses here (pointing to abdomen). Similarly, measures of distance are usually given by indicating some object the relevant distance from the speaker. In a narrative about a spearfight which occurred in another time and location a Nu might say: 'The two men came toward each other and stopped, like here and that (tree)'. Constructions of these types involve intrusions from the physical setting of the speech event (including the narrator's body) into the setting of the narrated events. However, if the narrator has been using here-and-now indexing all along, intrusive references to the speaker's body and/or to measures of distance based on objects presently visible do not necessarily involve switches from there-and-then to here-and-now indexing in the strict sense. Intrusions may here involve only the referents themselves (e.g. a body part of the speaker), and not the conceptual points of reference against which deictic and temporal categories are classified.

Nu lacks a "historical present." In this light we can say that it is much easier in Nu to detach spatial deixis from the indexical framework of the speech event than it is to detach verbal tense in true verbal formations. Of the two possible intermediate indexical systems, here-and-now indexing is fairly common while here-and-then indexing is unusual and irregular.

5. Demonstrative Adverbs

A demonstrative subsystem equally complex as that of demonstr. pronouns is that of the corresponding adverbs, which are not predicative and do not agree with referent objects in Nu. Strictly speaking, these adverbs are nouns of the nonhuman ANA class (like place names and the noun lhay 'place, country'), but usually this means only that in negative clauses the Nu prefix ana- is added. LOCATIVE forms:

(14) yai-ji 'here' (Prox) yuwa:-gu 'there' (Dist)
dā-ji 'there' (1mm) ba:-gu 'there' (Anaph)

Concrete -u- is common with dā-ji (da-ju:-) and is sometimes added to ba:-gu (ba:-gu:-), often ba:-gu:- with stylistic lengthening.

Such adverbs are normally static as in (6-f), but sometimes appear to be allative:

(15) nį-wa-na-ni yai-ji he went along here

'He proceeded to here."

However, again the free translation is misleading. In (15) we often find conjunction na 'and then' between the motion verb and the adverb. Without going into great detail on other clues on this matter, I will state that I take exx. like (15) as abbreviations of forms like (16):
(16) ni-wayama-n ꯟ (뒤) ni-bura-n ꯟ a-n ꯟ ya-i-ja he went along then he sat down here 'He came along and stopped here.'

Of course, there are some real kinetic adverbs. Most important of these are CENTRIP adverbs formed by adding Centrip -ala- as in (2) to the locative adverbs in (14) and ALLATIVE adverbs involving a special suffix complex -gu-ni (possibly containing ANA NC suffix -ni as in (4)).

(17) a. Centrip adverbs
    ya-i-ja:-la (Prox) yuwa-gai:-la (Dist)
    da-c:i:-la (Imm) ba-gai:-la (Anaph)

b. Allative adverbs
    yu-gu-ni (Dist)
    bu-gu-ni (Anaph)

The Centrip adverbs indicate a transit beginning in the region specified by the root (e.g. Dist) and moving toward the speaker. A form like ba-gai:-la thus combines information about the point of departure (Anaphoric 'there') and the terminus—or at least the orientation of notion ('to here'). Motion verbs (except imperatives) do not distinguish centripetal from other orientations (i.e. there is no 'go' vs. 'come' distinction), but Centrip adverbs are useful here:

(18) ni-ya-n ꯟ ꯟ yuwa-gai:-la
    he went there (Dist)-Centrip 'He came here.'

As the free translation indicates, English often specifies only the terminus of the notion except when specification of the point of departure is essential; Nu requires a Centrip adverb which specifies point of departure and orientation of notion.

Consider now Nu translations of 'He went there'. In Nu much depends on whether the notion was centripetal or not from the speaker's viewpoint. If I am in Boston and I am describing someone's journey from Chicago to Cleveland, this transit is centripetal and I should use something like (10), here in the sense 'He came in this direction'; to avoid confusion I can add something like 'He stopped in Cleveland'. However, if that person went from Cleveland to Chicago, I cannot use (18) but instead use an allative adverb:

(19) ni-ya-n ꯟ ꯟ yu-gu-ni
    he went to there 'He went there.'

(19) can also be used when the traveller went from Boston to Chicago (so that the point of departure was the Prox region), and when he went from New Orleans to Chicago (i.e. in a transverse direction). It is not common to overtly specify point of departure by means of demonstrative adverbs in the non-centripetal type (19), though this can be done if absolutely necessary and Ablative forms of place names or the like are freely used.

We may summarize these facts as follows: in describing transits involving a known terminus and point of departure it is usual to employ a single adverbial form; the choice of demonstra. root favors the region most distant from the speaker, whether point of departure or terminus; on the other hand, the adverb must specify the orientation (centripetal or non-centripetal) vis Prox region is not defl terminus in (18) the t and in (19) the travel instead of Boston).

These biases differ respect to kinetic cat very strong centripetal actual or expected not use of Centrip forms of how form in -waj. But Centrip adverbs req no transverse form (all notion).

In addition, there adverbs, based on ANA c (ya-i-ni, da-ni), show o optional for Imm and in case suffix -wu, hence 'along this way' and point of departure or t along which the transit vis speaker (e.g. centr CENTRIP adverbs wit from speaker. Because ten (above), this sectio quency. Often they are or Imm regions (ya-i-jj: or intended terminus, where English would use compete with directions thus moderately common of kangaroo along here down along chest to ad transit on his own body the transit vs. another are not used, but the C Nu has a number of of demonstr. roots whic side' adverbs based on reduplication (ya-i-jj: usually Imm da-ni:-la-added to Centrip form o nominal from Prox or An? Case Suffixes

Nu nouns normally u objects. Marked cases historically to Centrip (actually simple Pargre becoming -baj and -gaj, -yun-gyun, Locative - and Relative (including demonstrative pronouns
or non-centripetal) vis-à-vis the speaker (i.e., the Prox region); the Prox region is not definitely specified as either point of departure or terminus (in 18) the traveller need not have actually arrived "here" and in 19: the traveller can have set out from New Orleans or Cleveland instead of Boston.

These biases differ somewhat from those seen in section 2 with respect to kinetic categories in demonstr. pronouns. There we saw a very strong centripetal bias in which even speaker's or addressee's actual or expected motion toward the referent was sufficient to permit use of Centrip forms designating the referent. There was also a viable Transv form in -waj. Here we again have a centripetal bias of sorts, but Centrip adverbs require motion toward the Prox region, and there is no transverse form (allative adverbs subsume centripetal and transverse motion).

In addition, there are other adverbial formations. **Directional adverbs**, based on ANA class forms of Prox and Imm demonstr. pronouns (ya:-ni, da:-ni, show obligatory Concrete -n- (which elsewhere is optional for Imm and impossible for Prox) and nominal Allative-Dative case suffix -wiy, hence ya:-nu:-'wiy, da:-nu:-'wiy. The meaning is 'after this way' and 'after that (imm) way'. They do not specify point of departure or terminus, rather point to a location through or along which the transit occurs. They do not specify orientation vis-à-vis speaker (e.g., centripetal).

**Centrip adverbs with suffix -all-** (section 2) specify motion away from speaker. Because of the orientation patterns of the adverbal system (above, this section), such Centrip adverbs are of low text frequency. Often they are used when the transit begins in the Prox or Imm regions (ya:-ji:-'all, da:-ji:-'all) but has no definite terminus or intended terminus. Commonly, Centrip forms are used in situations where English would use 'along here' or 'along there' (so that they compete with directional adverbs to some extent). Centrip adverbs are thus moderately common in contexts like this: 'We used to cut the belly of kangaroo along here' (speaker points to neck and then moves hand down along chest to abdomen). When a speaker is thus describing a transit on his own body, the notion of Prox location (of one point in the transit vs. another) is usually suspended, so that Centrip adverbs are not used, but the Centrip adverb can be used in this context.

Nu has a number of other adverbial (and some nominal) derivatives of demonstr. roots which will merely be mentioned here: a) 'this/that side' adverbs based on Centrip adverbs in (17a) plus irregular internal reduplication (ya:-ji:-ji:-'1a); b) collective 'all these/those', usually Imm da:-ni:-'la-yum:n-gala-waj 'all those' with several suffixes added to Centrip form of ANA class demonstr. pronoun; c) 'this/that kind' nominal from Prox or Anaph root (Anaph bu:-jum:nw:n).
It should first be noted that demonstr. pronouns normally avoid kinetic cases like All-Dat (even in dative sense) and Abl -wala. Instead of saying 'I gave it to that man', Nu say this:

(20) ḏa-anu:n-ni yu:gu-ni na-wajyi-n'w-guy
I gave to him there to man
'I gave (it) to that man there.'

Note that we have an allative demonstr. adverb 'to there' instead of All-Dat case form of nu:-'wa1-gi 'that (MeG Dist)'.

Demonstr. pronouns can take some other case suffixes in their normal senses (in most such cases there are no competitive adverbial formations). The predicative/nonpredicative opposition essentially breaks down here, since expressions like 'for that one' and 'by means of that one' are semantically unsuitable for predicative function (which applies mainly to predications of location). Thus we can get da:ni-miri 'by means of this' (ANA class, Prox) without NC prefix (elsewhere a sign of predicative status), or with NC prefix as ana:-'ni-miri (same class).

Loc -ruj can be added to locative adverbs in (14), or to predicative demonstr. pronouns, in a special sense (so that it is not redundant). It means 'a short distance beyond', hence locative adverb da-ji 'there (Ima)', with Loc suffix da-ji-ruj 'a little farther on from there (Ima)'; with predicative demonstr. similarly da-ni 'it (ANA) is that (Ima)', da-ni-ruj 'it (ANA) is a little farther on from that (Ima)'.

Inst -miri also has a special meaning with locative adverbs and predicative demonstr. pronouns—it gives an emphatic 'right here/there' sense: ba-gu 'there (Anaph)', ba-gu-miri 'right there (Anaph)'. As we might expect, it is very common with Anaph forms, moderately common with Prox forms, and very uncommon with Dist forms (which are always delictic; note that English emphatic 'right there' is not common for distant locations which have not been made contextually definite).

2. Anaphora

We have seen that Anaph root ba/-uha- belongs formally to the demonstrative system along with the three predominantly delictic roots. Here we discuss the usage of this root, and "anaphoric" uses of the Ima root.

In general the Prox, Ima, and Dist demonstratives are delictic—they indicate an object or region, do not require previous mention or other prior definiteness, and are often accompanied by pointing (by hands or lips). Anaph demonstratives always involve some kind of contextual definiteness (but see below on "anticipatory anaphora"). It is possible to accompany Anaph forms with manual or lip-pointing, producing a kind of connotation of linguistic anaphora with nonverbal deixis to make sure that the referent location is understood. Other partial mixtures occur in the form of Prox and Ima (rarely Dist) demonstr. pronouns with Absolute -yun6 giving a kind of definite sense (section 2), and the same roots in locative adverbs with Inst -miri in emphatic sense (section 7).

Anaph ba/-uha- is, in general, best described semantically as a subcategory of a non-Prox Anaph forms are not used for Ima referents. Consequently, which are contextually definite, essential ('this same man'), using the Anaph demonstrator r-yun6 to add the (epithetic) a distinction between delict in the non-Prox, non-Ima referents in the immediate to be easily designated (once, deictic constructions. Wt between delictic and anaphora An ex. of Anaph (the sp gə y

(21) n' wiel-ja-r:nu m: I will go to
' I will go to Num

It would be improper to refer to a location or use of locative adverb nouns like ba-gu '(he is) t contextual definiteness of demonstr. pronouns like nu- referent rather than the loc is indeterminate except the forms like nu:-'ba-gi usual followed without pause by a.

To oversimplify, when a time in a discourse, it nor delictic, or descriptive NP. cally, it is often referred possible to repeat the full pronoun can co-occur with na-wajyi-n'w-yun6 'that (defin
Our rule works fairly mention cases in which Anaph refers, and cases in which anaphora.

Uses of Anaph demonstr. mention in the same discours anaphora, and b) anticipatory Discourse-external anaph and Hankamer (this volume). Anaph ba- are also exophoric. Often I would head into my Uher, my tripod, and my regular informant. If he to me before I could open

(22) ni:ya-n'ggi bu-gi he went to to that man went to
a subcategory of a non-Prox, non-Im subclass also containing Dist. Anaph forms are not used for Prox referents, and are not used very often for Imm referents. Consequently, to refer to Prox or Imm referents which are contextually definite, especially when such definiteness is essential ('this same man', 'that same man right there'), instead of using the Anaph demonstr. root we must use Prox or Imm but add Absolute -yum to add the (emphatic) definite nuance. It should be noted that a distinction between deictic and anaphoric forms is far more useful in the non-Prox, non-Imm region than in the Prox or Imm regions, since referents in the immediate proximity of the speaker and addressee can be easily designated (once, or repeatedly in the same discourse) using deictic constructions. With more remote referents, a formal distinction between deictic and anaphoric forms is generally more useful.

An ex. of Anaph (the speaker is not currently in Numbulwar):

(21) "En'dja-ri: nambulwar-wuy mari n'ga-n'guran -ba-gu
I will go to Numbulwar and I will sit there
'I will go to Numbulwar and (will) stay there.'

It would be improper to substitute yuma-ku 'there (Dist)' unless it referred to a location other than Numbulwar.

Use of locative adverb ba-gu 'there' and predicative demonstr. pronouns like ba-gi 'he is' that is fairly straightforward, depending on contextual definiteness of the location involved. With nonpredicative demonstr. pronouns like nu:-ba-gi 'that one (M5g Anaph)'. It is the referent rather than the location which must be definite (the location is indeterminate except that it should not be Prox or obviously Imm). Forms like nu: -ba-gi usually take Absolute -yum unless immediately followed without pause by a coreferential noun in the same NP (section 2).

To oversimplify, when a third person referent is mentioned the first time in a discourse, it normally takes the form of a personal name, deictic, or descriptive NP. Subsequently, if not Prox or Imm semantically, it is often referred to by Anaph demonstr. pronoun. It is possible to repeat the full NP periodically, and the Anaph demonstr. pronoun can co-occur with the name or other noun: nu:-ba-gi

Our rule works fairly well, but there are some counterexx. I will mention cases in which Anaph forms are used in initial mentions of referents, and cases in which Imm forms are used in apparently anaphoric functions.

Uses of Anaph demonstr. pronouns (or adverbs) without previous mention in the same discourse can be of two types: a) discourse-external anaphor, and b) anticipatory anaphora.

Discourse-external anaphora is, of course, the "exophora" of Sag and Hanksamer (this volume). However, almost all other instances of Anaph ba- are also exophoric in this sense, though perhaps not in (21).

Often I would head into the Aboriginal part of the village with my Uher, my tripod, and my magic briefcase, obviously in search of my regular informant. If he was not at home, someone else there would say to me before I could open my mouth:

(22) ni-ya-n'gii bu-gu-mi nu:-ba-gi-yum
he went to there (Anaph) that one (M5g Anaph)
'That man went there.'
Both the Anaph pronoun and the Anaph allative adverb were based on the speaker's assumption that I had considerable familiarity with my informant. The speaker assumed that I was looking for him, and that an Anaph pronoun would be sufficient to refer to him. It was also assumed that I knew where the informant was likely to be when he was not at home (i.e., at another camp some distance away inhabited by some of his relatives). Such assumptions were not necessarily warranted in my case and on occasions I misunderstood, or had to ask clarifying questions. In general, however, Nu people can assume that other Nu people, their habits and kinship relations. There were a little over 200 people at Numburwar during my fieldwork, and prior to white contact the Nu lived in groups ranging from a few hundred (during major ceremonial gatherings) to less than forty (in wet-season subsistence units), and in most cases two persons speaking to each other could assume a great deal of shared knowledge about other persons, the natural environment, etc. (Such shared knowledge is also necessary in "decoding" the noun-class system; often in texts a given person, animal species, or the like is never presented in full NP form even in its initial occurrence, but is simply cross-referenced in verbs by the correct NC agreement marker--until I acquired a fair knowledge of local flora and fauna and the like I had great difficulty understanding even simple texts.) Anaph forms can be used as fillers, perhaps in combination with "whatchamacallit" words while the speaker searches for a word or name:

(23) n\textsuperscript{6}\text{jan}\textsuperscript{6} nuru=\textsuperscript{6}u-ni, an\textsuperscript{6} an-\text{u-a-ni} more we ate it whatchamacallit that (Anaph) 'In addition, we ate it--that whatchamacallit?--...'

Such constructions occurred in texts involving exotic plant spp. which the speaker knew I could not possibly supply him with (usually no other Nu people were present). Here "whatchamacallit" is not a real question for the addressee, rather an indication of self-interrogation (with, perhaps, considerable self-irritation). The missing noun is definite from the speaker's internal viewpoint but need not be conceived of by him as shared knowledge.

ANTICIPATORY ANAPHORA occurs when a NP which is to be the theme (or one of two or three prominent NPs) in the ensuing discourse is introduced as a NP consisting of or containing an Anaph demonstrative pronoun. For example, at the beginning of a text about (generalized) kinship-based behavior we might find (24a) in Nu corresponding to (24b) in typical English style:

(24) a. That mother, that daughter. That son-in-law went one day...
   b. There was a woman and her daughter. The woman's prospective son-in-law (future husband of the daughter) went one day...

That is, Nu does not require explicit prior occurrences of NPs (even those not referring to generally known referents) before Anaph pronouns like nu-\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{ta}\text{-}\text{gi}\text{-}\text{y}\text{\textsuperscript{6}} 'that (MSg Anaph)' can be used. This is a tricky matter which we cannot adequately explore here except to say that it is moderately common even when separated out from forms like (23).

The "anaphoric" use of to list summations or narrations:

(25) nuru-\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{un}\text{\textsuperscript{6}}u-ni we ate and ate i\text{\textsuperscript{6}} midhurun\text{\textsuperscript{6}}u, da-\text{\textsuperscript{6}} fish sp., all 'We ate fish: Sa-

As usual, the form in (section 6, end) based on Narrative terminations myths and other texts:

(26) da-\text{\textsuperscript{6}}ni-\text{\textsuperscript{6}}yung\text{\textsuperscript{6}} it is that (Ima) 'Those are the w-

In (26), much more active demonstratr. pronoun wit refers to the preceding narrative). However, the since hall\text{\textsuperscript{6}}u 'word(s)' can behavior' (which is, in on all of the relevant texts)

In general, we may ref as instances of SUMMATIVE expressed by Anaph ba- (di anticipatory anaphora).

10. Anaphora and Theme

There is no full-fledged Nu sentences (though a kid languages immediately to t and thus susceptible to di rously indicate theme or b because of the irregular, (with frequent pauses, aft clausal or even phraseal b.) However, there is a h personal pronouns (not des in discourse contrastive i shift in theme:

(27) (wu-gu-\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{ra}\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{-}\text{\textsuperscript{6}}yung\text{\textsuperscript{6}} as for them nu=ya-\text{\textsuperscript{6}}\text{gi} wag\text{\textsuperscript{6}} we went so\text{\textsuperscript{6}} 'They went west.

If the speaker antidi sized 'as for them' can be the 'as for X' in the fol 'As for X' personal p. (intr. or tran.) of t is not marked for case (e-
The "anaphoric" use of Inn demonstrative forms is confined mainly to list summations or narrative terminations. An ex. of a list:

(25) nuru-n^2wu=nu=^6u-ni ana-n^6ru=ja, war^6ni, yin-gulbendi, we ate and ate its fish fish sp. fish sp. midhurum=^6, da-ni:-'la-yun^6-gala-waj nuru-n^6u-ni fish sp. all that (Inn) we ate it.

We ate fish: Saratoga, barramundi, catfish—all those we ate.

As usual, the form in question is the 'all that/those' construction (section 6, end) based on da-ni:-'la ('it is') that-Centrip (Inn).

Narrative terminations (or signatures) are common at the end of myths and other texts:

(26) da-ni-yun^6 ana-la=wu, wara-nin^5-n^6anbaga=yin^5 um^6 it is that (Inn) word of elders.

Those are the words of the old people (now dead).

In (26), much more clearly than (25), the Inn form (here a predicative demonstr. pronoun with Absolute suffix indicating definiteness) refers to the preceding narration itself (not the events within the narration). However, the distinction is still not entirely sharp, since la:wu 'word(s)' can also mean 'customs, law, traditional behavior' (which is, in one way or another, applicable to virtually all of the relevant texts).

In general, we may refer to these "anaphoric" uses of Inn da-ni:- instances of SIMPLE ANAPHORA, distinct from the types of anaphora expressed by Anaph ba- (discourse-internal, discourse-external, and anticipatory anaphora).

16 Anaphora and Thematic Structure

There is no full-fledged 'theme' or 'focus' structure in simple Nu sentences (though a kind of focus construction occurs in several languages immediately to the west and south). Word order, though "free" and thus susceptible to discourse-based arrangements, does not rigorously indicate theme or focus status (except as noted below), partly because of the irregular, choppy surface structures of the language (with frequent pauses, afterthought additions, and lack of clear or even phraseal boundaries).

However, there is a high-frequency 'as for X' construction involving personal pronouns (not demonstratives or regular nouns). It is used in discourse contrary function, normally involving some kind of shift in these:

(27) (wu-gu-ran^5) wu=ya-n^6gi arga=ja,-'yun^5 as for them they went westward as for us nur=ya-n^6gi wagi=ja we went southward.

They went west, (but) we went south.

If the speaker anticipates the entire construction, the parenthesized 'as for them' can be used (anticipatory 'as for X' parallel to the 'as for Y' in the following clause).

'As for X' personal pronouns generally refer to the subject (intrans. or trans.) of the respective clause, but the 'as for X' form is not marked for case (even when it refers to a referent whose
case role would normally require a suffixally marked case category. Often ‘as for X’ is used when case roles of two NPs are reversed from
one clause to another:

(28) (ni-ga: -’yun⁵⁶) n⁶anu=wi-ni, mari n⁶a:i -’yun⁵⁶ n⁶anu=wi-ni
as for him he hit me and as for me I hit him
‘He hit me, and I hit him back.’

Although English gives contrastive stress to both I and him in most
cases in such contexts, Nu regularly puts only the subject pronoun
in the ‘as for X’ form. However, if the only NP which is altered from
one clause to the next is a non-subject NP, we get ‘as for X’ for this
non-subject NP:

(29) n⁶anu=wi-ni ni-ga: -’yun⁵⁶, n⁶i-ga: -’yun⁵⁶ n⁶an⁵:a: -ru-n⁶
I hit him as for him as for her I left her
‘I hit him, (but) I left her behind.’

English often gives contrastive focus to the verbs and object
pronouns in this type of ex., but again Nu gives the contrastive ‘as
for X’ form to the object only. (29) illustrates that the ‘as for X’
pronoun may occur at the end of its clause, though clause-initial
position is more normal (in (29) the speaker may have added ‘as for
him’ to the end of the first clause after belatedly realizing that
a contrastive structure was emerging).

What these constructions suggest is that there is a kind of
covert thematic structure in Nu discourse which is overtly realised
at junctures involving thematic switches. Moreover, the notion of
‘theme’ is flexible; in (29) the first clause is ‘I hit him’, and
either of the two pronouns can function as these depending on what
comes next.

A distinct pronominal form with suffix -wa: (not closely connected
synchronously to transv -wa: section 2) is used in answers to “who?”
questions and in other contexts involving choice among several alterna-
tives in a given paradigmatic slot (not to be confused with the syntag-
matic contrasts seen in the exx. above with ‘as for X’). Thus
n⁶aya:w-a: ‘it is/ was me’, etc.

Anaph demonstr. pronouns like nu:‘təa-ga: -’yun⁵⁶ ‘that one (MSg)’
can co-occur with ‘as for X’ pronouns but not very often with these
emphatic pronouns with -wa: ‘as for X’ pronouns may introduce new
NPs, but often simply involve localized shifts in thematic relations
among the same referents and their NPs which have been used in the
preceding discourse. Clearly in (28) the NPs in the second clause
are coreferential to those of the first. In (29) it is possible that
the MSg object ‘her’ in the second clause is a new NP not found in
the preceding discourse (in this case it would be usual to add a name
or descriptive NP):

(30) ... n⁶i-ga: -’yun⁵⁶ n⁶a: -riga:n³ n⁶a:n⁵:a: -ru-n⁶
as for her my mother I left her
‘... (but) I left my mother behind.’

If this NP is not a new introduction, but a new mention of a NP
(and referent) mentioned earlier in the discourse, we can get:

(31) ... n⁶1-ga: -’yun⁵⁶ as for her
‘... (but) I left about’ behind.’

Anaph demonstr. pronoun ‘as for X’ pronouns Anaph can be well back in the di
definite NP, an indicated pronoun indicate local at
(chiefly when this needs t
Hence combinations of Anaph
contrastive personal pronouns
(31) the ‘as for her’ pron has.
As for her’ pron is distinct from the corresp
Anaph demonstr. pronoun ir
NP of the same noun class
earlier or otherwise conte

11. Summary

Nu has a rather compli
adderts, in addition
for demonstrative pronoun
Concrete –u with two of
Absolute –’yun⁵⁶, several Nu
predictive from nonpred
of usage are difficult to
underlying emphasis on o
with demonstr. pronouns a
demonstr. pronouns over as
(in the sense this term i
demonstrative system, mai
by Absolute –’yun⁵⁶ with Pr
Although demonstrativ
ward, non-culture-specific
proper usage of such form
features of Nu ‘linguisti
features of Nu “general c
ledge, which includes kno
and other social relation
ve demonstr. pronouns (p
specific theories of part

Acknowledgements

This paper is based o
ute of Aboriginal Studi
A three-volume study of t
a text collection, is exp

REFERENCE

Cragg, G. 1972. Semi-In
SIE 8: 75-82.
(31) ... f1-ga:-'yun6 n6-ar-uba-gi-yun6 n6-an6a:+ru-n'v
as for her  that (PSG Anaph) I left her
'... (but) I left that woman (whom we were just talking
about) behind.'

Anaph demonstr. pronouns thus have a much longer "memory" than
'as for X' pronouns. Anaph ba- has a rather global range; the antecedent
can be well back in the discourse or can be a discourse-externally
definite NP, as indicated above. On the other hand, 'as for X'
pronouns indicate local shifts from one clause to another in theme
(chiefly when this needn't be accentuated overtly to ensure clarity).
Hence combinations of Anaph demonstr. pronouns and 'as for X'
contrastive personal pronouns, as in (31), are quite natural. In
(31) the 'as for her' pronoun emphasizes that the NP in question is
distinct from the corresponding NP of the preceding clause; the
Anaph demonstr. pronoun indicates that this NP is the same as the
NP of the same noun class (here: gender and number) as a NP mentioned
earlier or otherwise contextually definite.

11. Summary

Nu has a rather complicated and unusual system of demonstr. pronouns
and adverbs. In addition to the sheer number of forms involved (e.g.,
for demonstrative pronouns alone, the combination of four roots,
Concrete -u- with two of them, any of three kinetic suffixes, optional
Absolute -yun6, several NC suffixes, optional NC prefixes distinguishing
predicative from nonpredicative types, various derivatives), the rules
of usage are difficult to acquire. Essential ingredients are an
underlying emphasis on centripetal orientation (taking different forms
with demonstr. pronouns and adverbs) and a preference for predicative
demonstr. pronouns over adverbs in present positive contexts. Anaphora
(in the sense this term is used here) is largely expressed through the
demonstrative system, mainly by Anaph root ba- but also to some extent
by Absolute -yun6 with Prox and Inm forms.

Although demonstratives seem to belong to relatively straightforward,
non-culture-specific areas of grammatical structure, in fact the
proper usage of such forms depends on mastery of a number of specific
features of Nu "linguistic culture" and, in some instances, of relevant
features of Nu "general culture." Anaphora depends on shared know-
ledge, which includes knowledge of individual persons, their kinship
and other social relations, and their idiosyncrasies. Use of predicative
demonstr. pronouns (vs. other constructions) depends on culture-
specific theories of part-whole identifiability and so forth.

Acknowledgements

This paper is based on fieldwork supported by the Australian Institute
of Aboriginal Studies, and was carried out between 1973 and 1977.
A three-volume study of this language is in progress; the first volume,
a text collection, is expected to be published in late 1980.

REFERENCES

MB 8: 75-82.