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Series A Volume 2

PAPERS ON IWAI DJA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

Noreen Pym (with Bonnie Larrimore)

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines Branch
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PREFACE

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INTRODUCTION TO
SERIES A VOLUME 2

The papers in this volume are descriptions of aspects of the Iwaidja language. Part I contains papers on the phonology and Part II papers on the grammar.

The language is classified by Wurm (1972:113), following O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:29) as constituting the Wargbi Subgroup of the Iwaidjic Group of the Iwaidjan Family. Iwaidja is spoken by about 120 people on Croker Island and by about a further 50 at Coombe Point and Merganella on the adjacent mainland, and at Snake Bay on Melville Island, all in the Northern Territory.

Language data used in these papers was collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during 1973-75 and 1977. Various Iwaidja people served as teachers in providing this data. Grateful acknowledgment is given to Elsie Indibu, Ada Magurulu, Rae Girribug, Hazel Mamiya, Joy Malwagga and Illyjilly.

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Noreen Pym

Bonnie M. Larrimore

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AN IWAIDJA NARRATIVE DISCOURSE



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ABBREVIATIONS

accomp	accompaniment
adj	adjective
adv	adverb
b.	brother
Ben	Benefactive
C	any Consonant
Cl	Clause
Cl, C2, ...	Clause 1, Clause 2, ...
comp	completed action
con	continuity
du	dual
emph / (emph)	emphasis
exc/ex	exclusive
fem	female
fut	future
H	Head
(IF)	Indefinite Future
imper	imperative
inc/in	inclusive
interrog	interrogative
(io) / (IO) / Ind Obj	Indirect Object
IV	Intransitive Verb
lit	literally
M	Modifier
m.	mother
N	any Nasal
n / (n)	noun
neg	negative

(NIF)	Negated Indefinite Future
NP	Noun Phrase
num	numeral
p	past tense
p=cont/p cont	continuous or habitual past tense
p=habit	habitual past tense
pl	plural
Poss	Possessor
poss	possessive
PP	Possessive Phrase
quest	question
RAP	Relator Axis Phrase
R#	break between rhythmic groups when not at word break
recip	reciprocal
rep	repetitive
S1, S2, ...	Sentence 1, Sentence 2, ...
s/sing	singular
(SP) / Seq of part	Sequence of Participant
subj	subject
TV	Transitive Verb
V	any Vowel
veg	vegetable
1s	1st person singular
1p	1st person plural
2s	2nd person singular
2p	2nd person plural
3s	3rd person singular
3p	3rd person plural
3=pers	3rd person, singular or plural
/	or
//	intonational pause
-	break between morphemes in Iwaidja

=	break between word in English but one morpheme in Iwaidja
:	which is (i.e. H:Cl the head which is a clause)
¶	paragraph
	phonological phrase, rhythmic group
	phonological word
/, //, ///, ////	pauses (shortest to longest)
o	heaviest stress
"	next heaviest stress
'	third degree of stress
.	syllable break
/b/	the phoneme <u>b</u>
[b]	the phone <u>b</u>
→	is interpreted as / is realised as
// #	end of text

IWAIDJA PHRASES

PREFACE

For the analysis of phrases and clauses in Iwaidja the following assumptions are made:

1. As all verbs in Iwaidja carry complete affixation, i.e., there are no forms which are structurally different and can thus be considered participles or auxiliaries, it is assumed at this stage that a clause contains one and only one verb.

e.g. janara abanaman walij 'I'm going to get
 away=1-fut-go 1-fut-get veg.=food food.'

This is assumed to be two clauses:

 janara 'I will go'
 abanaman walij 'I will get food'

2. Words which are affixed for person and number but not for tense are assumed at this stage to be adjectives.

e.g. warrbi bunyag manjang
 man 3s-having beard

is a phrase, 'the bearded man', and not a clause, 'the man has a beard'. This second assumption makes a rather arbitrary distinction. There are times when bunyag obviously means 'he/she is in a state of having'. The problem of statives is still unresolved.

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper describes Noun Phrases, Verb Phrases, Relator-Axis Phrases and series of phrases in Iwaidja.

Noun Phrases are of two types: Head-Modifier and Possessive. They occur as the subjects and objects of verbs, as the axis in Relator-Axis Phrases, and without change of form as accompaniment, location, benefactive and other such marginal phrases, where the function of a particular phrase is determined by context or semantics.

Verb Phrases are of the Head-Modifier type, where the head is a verb and the modifier an adverb.

Relator-Axis Phrases occur as location, benefactive, indirect object, accompaniment or manner. The relator may be either a preposition or a postposition.

Series of phrases may be in apposition, co-ordinate with each other, or a mixture of both.

Apposition is a feature of Iwaidja. Information is presented in a cumulative fashion, usually in broad terms followed by more specific or detailed information. Statements of the form:

jamang	ringuldiny	alanud	burruli	'he worked, he made a
he-work-p	he=it-make-p	road	good	good road'

are common. This statement consists of two clauses in apposition, the second adding more information. Phrases in apposition are not as common but do occur frequently. Such phrases are the only phrases to carry a particular intonation pattern. (See SECTION 4.3)

1. NOUN PHRASES

1.1 HEAD-MODIFIER PHRASES

A Head-Modifier Phrase consists of a head and up to two modifiers. The modifiers may precede or follow the head. In the case of two modifiers, both may precede or follow the head, or one may precede and the other follow.

The head may be a noun, or an adjective or a verb used as a noun, or a phrase or a clause used as a noun.

Modifiers may be demonstratives, numerals, nouns or verbs used as adjectives, adjectives, or phrases or clauses used as adjectives.

When the head is a phrase or a clause the only modifier which may occur is the demonstrative ba 'that' (the longer forms baga and baraga also occur). Its occurrence is obligatory.

H:n
warrbi 'the man' or 'a man'
man

M:dem H:n
ba warrbi 'that man'
that man

H:n M:n
mungarrg arrarrbi 'male possums'
possum pl-man

M:adj H:n
martan gagurl Or gagurl martan 'a little sugar'
small sugar sugar small

H:v M:n
wugan balanda 'the white boss'
3s-watch white=man

M:adj M:adj H:n
murrugud warndi bulirrgi 'all the clothes on
together 3s-on clothes top'

H:n M:adj M:adj
arlirr abanggun rawarrgama 'a very big tree'
tree big big

M:adj	H:n	M:adj	
martan	gandijawa	wurrwun	'a little new flour'
small	flour	new	
M:dem	H:PP	(H:n Poss:n)	
ba	jinmul	warrbi	'the man's nose'
that	3s-nose	man	
M:dem	M:v	H:n	
ba	yawaran	maladimburr	'the dove that went away'
that	away-3s-go-p	dove	
M:dem	H:NP		
	H:n	M:num	
ba	marryun	ngarrgaldawartad	'those three young men'
that	pl-young=man	three	
M:dem	H:CI		
ba	wali burnalgan girrg		'(they waited for) the tide to go out'
that	tide 3s-recede	all	
M:dem	H:n	M:CI	
ba	gurrambalg	baga jumung buldahadban	'the house they are building'
that	house	that=one which 3p-build	
M:NP		H:n	
M:adj	H:n		
badba	gunag galagalag		'a bird from somewhere else'
another	place	bird	

H:n M:RAP
galagalag burran badba gunag 'a bird from somewhere
bird from other place else'

H:adj M:RAP
yanyung girrimul balu ida maningulmaningul 'some blue and red
some like blue and red ones'

The demonstrative ba 'that' may be used to focus on either the head or the modifier of the phrase.

M:adj M:dem H:n
martan ba rubiya 'a little money'
small that money

M:dem H:n M:dem M:n
ba banigin ba arijumartan 'the baby billy'
that billy that baby (i.e. the littlest one)

1.2 POSSESSIVE PHRASES

A Possessive Phrase consists of a noun phrase and a second noun phrase which is the possessor. If the possessor is human, a pronoun used as a possessive adjective occurs in the noun phrase. Note the difference between

janəd gabala gundumagan 'your husband's boat'
3s boat you-he-husbands

and

gabala gundumagan 'the boat with your
boat you-he-husbands husband in it'.

NP		Poss	
janad	buwulang	Urlurli	'Urlurli's mothers and
3s	they-3s-mother	Urlurli	uncles'

Poss	NP	
nagi	ruli	'the dog's foot'
dog	3s-foot	

Poss	NP	
dadbiyi	baga garriyin	'that bend of the
river	that bend	river'

1.3 SEMANTICALLY DETERMINED PHRASES

Often the actual meaning of a phrase, rather than its form, determines its function in a clause. In each of the following examples there is a Head-Modifier Phrase. The context remains constant for each phrase.

Accompaniment:

jadbanaga	barlbarragan	Ngalwahaj	'Old Ngalwahaj and I
away=we-fut-go-2	3s-old	Ngalwahaj	will go'

Location:

jadbanaga	burrang	dadbiyi	'we'll go to the big
away=we-fut-go-2	3s-big	river	river'

Means:

jadbanaga	ba	mudiga	'we'll go by car'
away=we-go-fut-2	that	car	

Purpose:

jadbanaga	galmu	yab	'we'll go for lots of
away=we-fut-go-2	much	fish	fish'

1.4 PHRASES REQUIRING CONTEXT CLUES

In many cases it is context alone that determines the meaning of a particular phrase. In the following examples the phrase requiring context is underlined.

angguwany	medicine	<u>janad maningul</u>	'he drank medicine
he-it-drink-p	medicine	3s blood	<u>(for) his blood'</u>

ngabi	guyag	<u>ngayihi</u>	'I (was) sick <u>(with)</u>
I	sick	my-tooth	<u>tooth(ache)'</u>

jarrulagany	uga	aj	yirrarn	<u>dadbiyi</u>
away-we=exc-go=down-p	to	inside	mangrove	river

<u>baga garriyin</u>	'we went down into the
that bend	mangrove swamp <u>(at) the</u>
	<u>bend of the river'</u>

2. VERB PHRASES

A verb phrase has a head which is a verb and up to two modifiers which may be adverbs, a negative or a noun or adjective used adverbially. The negatives garlu and yinang (used with imperatives), birda 'perhaps' and imalda 'already' always precede the verb. Adverbs or words used adverbially usually follow the verb but may precede it.

garlu	yawaran	'he didn't go'
neg	away-3s-go-p	

yinang	gudbin	'don't say (pl)'
neg	2p-say	

ara	alba	'they're playing'
3p-go	play(n)	
aju	ngurrij	'he's asleep'
3s-lie	sleep(n)	
wilbanyān	angunman	'I told a long story'
long(adj)	I-tell=story	
riwidariny	murnin	'he stopped it for a while'
he=3s-stop-p	for=a=while	
imalda	bumundulguny	'they've already built it'
already	3p=3s-build-p	
arrajaran	mangawala	'we went fast'
we-away-go-p	fast	
birda	algarriny	'perhaps they've gone'
perhaps	3p-leave-p	
gudbanawani	duwa burruḷi	'just sit and be good'
2p-fut-sit	just good(adj)	

No cases of verb phrases in apposition have been found but verbs in apposition are common. These are considered to be a series of clauses.

burran awulili angulhi 'from animal skins'
from(adv) pl-animal pl-skin

girrimul wartad balaji 'enough for one bag'
like one bag

ngalhaj jumung 'together with him'
accomp to=3s

wanji manggumunggu 'near Christmas'
near(adv) Christmas

One occurrence of a phrase with burran 'from' has appositional intonation.

burran // gunag 'from home'
from place

This could be considered to be burran 'from there', followed by a second phrase in apposition specifying the exact location: gunag 'home'.

Prepositions follow interrogatives.

nganduga burran 'where from?'
interrog from(adv)

malany uga 'what's over there?'
what? to(adv)

Phrases showing benefaction or indirect object have as the first word the indirect object pronoun in the third person singular, and as the second a noun specifying the person or persons.

jumung nangila	'to Nangila' Or 'for
to-3s Nangila	Nangila'
jumung wimadba	'to the others'
to-3s pl-other	

These are not common. It is much more usual to hear only the pronoun, context supplying the specification.

No instances of phrases with first or second person pronouns have been found, but there is one case of a second person pronoun followed by two phrases in apposition.

(ngalidbagban)	nuwurrung //	nuwurri //	government
1-hear-rep-p	to=2p	2p	government

'(I was waiting to hear) from you mob, you mob, the government.'

4. SERIES OF PHRASES

In Iwaidja, a series of phrases is used to show apposition and/or co-ordination. The phrases may be juxtaposed or joined by Ida 'and'.

4.1 LISTS

Lists are normally juxtaposed and are marked by sustained pitch with a pause between each pair of items. (The normal intonation pattern is falling pitch throughout an utterance.) Usually lists are composed of single words.

Idungun //	birugurnajud //	adburrij //	miyulum //
yam=type	what's=its	yam=type	yam=type

wirlamarr //	wanggartug //	yawarr //
yam=type	yam=type	yam=type

(a list of different types of yam)

warrulany // Maldurinymag // Maburnbi // Amy
 children Maldurinymag Maburnbi Amy
 'the children, Maldurinymag, Maburnbi and Amy'

Here, although the list is in apposition to warrulany 'children', the intonation is that of a list, not of apposition.

There are a few occurrences of lists in which the final item is preceded by lda 'and'. In each case the list contains phrases, not just single words.

Nalaj rimagan // ngarri warrabalanda lda nuwurri //
 Nalaj his=wife we pl-white=man and 2p
 // gurrgunji arrarrbi
 2p-black pl-Aborigine
 'Nalaj and his wife, we white people and you Aborigines'

gawulang // rimartyarrwun // janad anggumanyiri //
 3s-mother 3s-father 3s m.'s=m.'s=b
 // wiwi // lda janad wulgu ngunbuj
 m.'s=m. and 3s older=sibling younger=sibling
 'his mother and father, his great uncle and grandmother, his brothers and sisters'

4.2 PHRASES JOINED BY lda 'and'

Only one occurrence has been noted of phrases which are semantically in apposition being joined by lda 'and'. There is no formal difference between this example and the more common semantically co-ordinate phrases.

apposition:

barlbarragan lda ngabi ngandumagan 'the old man, my
 3s-old=person and my me-he-husbands husband'

co-ordinate:

ngarri Ida warrabalanda awidbarraganud 'we and the two white
we and pl-white=man pl-white-2-pl people'

barlbarragan Ida rimagan uldungguldu 'the old man and his
3s-old=person and he-husband middle=aged middle-aged wife'

Minabuj Ida janad gawulang Nayiji 'Minabuj and Nayiji's
Minabuj and 3s she=3s-mother Nayiji mother'

warragamu Ida arrarrbi 'men and women'
pl-woman and pl-man

4.3 JUXTAPOSED PHRASES

Juxtaposed phrases are of two semantic types, appositional and co-ordinate. There are two phonological patterns, but these do not match the semantic split. However, one phonological pattern, a pause after the first phrase with the second phrase at a lower pitch, is associated only with apposition. When the second phrase gives more specific information the drop in pitch is quite marked. When the second phrase is a summary the drop in pitch is less marked.

specific information:

Ngalwamud uldungguldu // nuna 'the middle-aged white
Ngalwamud middle-aged white=woman Ngalwamud'

There are a number of middle-aged Ngalwamuds (a kinship section) in the community but only one white woman.

mangayirrag // Darryl martan 'what's his name,
what's=his=name Darryl little little Darryl'

warrarrawunji // ngabi ayunbutang 'the young women, my
pl-young=woman I I=them-mother children'

summary:

janad wulgu ngunbuɟ // ~~awuragbunɟildin~~
3s older=sibling younger=sibling pl-sibling-recip
'his older and younger brother and sisters, the brothers and sisters'

warrulany janad andumartyarrwun // ~~ngarrgaldangarrgarrg arrarrbi~~
children 3s them-he-fathers four pl-man
'the children and their father, four men' (i.e. father and three sons)

The other phonological pattern occurs with both appositional and co-ordinate phrases and is part of the normal clause intonation. The phrases are close-knit, the co-ordinate appearing to be natural groupings which always occur together, and the appositional titles or repetitions, that is, the second phrase does not give extra information.

e.g. gamu Ngalwuyug 'mother Ngalwuyug'
 mother Ngalwuyug

In the kinship system anyone the speaker calls gamu 'mother' is in the Ngalwuyug sub-section.

co-ordinate:

Ngalwuyug Ngalwamud 'Ngalwuyug and
Ngalwuyug Ngalwamud Ngalwamud' (a specific
couple always referred
to by their kinship
sections)

gawulang rimartyarrwun 'his mother and father'
she-3s-mother he-3s-father

galmu gagurl galmu birraja 'much sugar and rice'
much sugar much rice (traditional gifts from
the white man)

appositional:

ngabi	wulgu	Ngalwahaj	'my older sister,
I	older=sibling	Ngalwahaj	Ngalwahaj'

A phrase may also be in partial apposition to the subject prefix in a verb. This is the normal way of showing accompaniment in the first person.

yadnagan	Urlurli	'Urlurli and I went'
away-we-go-2-p	Urlurli	

4.4 SERIES CONTAINING BOTH CO-ORDINATION AND APPOSITION

Where a series of phrases contains both co-ordination and apposition the last phrase is in apposition with either part or all of the preceding series. The apposition may be specific, additional information or a summary and carries the specific appositional intonation of pause and drop in pitch.

Urlurli	Ida	mangayirrag	//	Darryl	martan
Urlurli	and	what's=his=name		Darryl	little
'Urlurli and what's his name, little Darryl'					

ngabi	Ida	warrarrawunji	//	ngabi	ayurbulang-
I	and	pl-young=woman		I	I=them-mother
'I and my daughters'					

warrulany	janad	andumartyarrwun	//	ngarrgaldangarrgarrg	arrarrbt
children	3s	them-he-father		four	pl-man
'father and sons, four men'					

5. DISCONTINUOUS PHRASES

A few instances of discontinuous phrases have been noted. In one case the phrase, the direct object of the verb, is split by the indirect object.

ganugu	martan	barlbarragan	gaguri	'give the old man a
give=him	little	3s-old=person	sugar	little sugar!

In the other two cases the split is made by a verb.

Urlurli	bunyi	ngarri	ngadbiny	Yururndara	//	Maldurinymag	//
Urlurli	Dad	we	we-do-p	Yururndara		Maldurinymag	
// Girribug // Maburnbi							
Girribug		Maburnbi					

'Urlurli, Dad, Yururndara, Maldurinymag, Girribug, Maburnbi and I did it.'

ngabi	lda	warrarrawunji	//	ngabi	ayunbulang	//	ngadbani
I	and	pl-young=woman		I	them=I-mother		we-stay

gani ba warragamu

here that pl-woman

'I and my daughters, the women, stay here'

6. CONCLUSION

In Iwaidja, Noun Phrases of both the Head-Modifier and the Possessive types occur in various clause slots and also as the axis in Relator-Axis Phrases. Relator-Axis Phrases are used to show location, manner, accompaniment, benefaction and indirect object. Predicates are filled by Verb Phrases of the Head-Modifier type.

Series of phrases are common and may show co-ordination, apposition or both co-ordination and apposition. Lists and appositional phrases adding specific information or a summary each have special intonation.