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WORK PAPERS OF SIL - A AB

Series A Volume 3

FOUR GRAMMATICAL SKETCHES: FROM PHRASE TO PARAGRAPH

Editor: Christine A. Kilham

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines Branch
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PREFACE

These Work Papers are being produced in two series by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Australian Aborigines Branch, Inc. in order to make results of SIL research in Australia more widely available. Series A includes technical papers on linguistic or anthropological analysis and description, or on literacy research. Series B contains material suitable for a broader audience, including the lay audience for which it is often designed, such as language learning lessons and dictionaries.

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SIL
P.O. Berrimah
Darwin, N.T. 5788
Australia

G. L. Huttar
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INTRODUCTION TO
SERIES A VOLUME 3
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The papers in this volume are descriptions of aspects of the grammar of four Australian Aboriginal languages.

Marie Godfrey describes the discovery procedures she uses for initial paragraph analysis in Tiwi, and then goes on to describe some of her tentative conclusions. She concentrates on the grammatical and phonological features of several Tiwi conjunctions initiating paragraphs. Especially interesting is her section on native reaction to paragraphing.

Amee Glass describes rules for determining the grammatical boundaries of sentences in Ngaanyatjarra, such as the pronoun enclitic opening rule and the dependent clause closing rule. She also describes five of the basic sentence types.

Ruth Hershberger has written a tagmemic description of clause structure in Gugu-Yalanji, including both independent and dependent clause types.

In the final paper of the volume, Eirlys Richards tackles several problems of phrase analysis in Walmatjari, including the similarity of nouns and adjectives in grammatical function and the optionality of an overt phrase head.

In each case the authors have backgrounds of several years of field work. Their papers are being made available in preliminary form here and may be further edited and published more widely in the future.

C. Kilham
Editor



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CLAUSE TYPES IN GUGU-YALANJI

Ruth Hershberger

0. INTRODUCTION

Gugu-Yalanji¹ clauses may be classified as independent and dependent. The independent clauses are further classified as verbal and non-verbal. The verbal clauses are transitive and intransitive; the non-verbal clauses are stative and associative. There are seven dependent clause types: four time clause types, two modifying clause types and one manner clause type. A composite formula for any clause is +Nucleus ±Peri, in which +Nucleus represents the obligatory nucleus consisting of the predicate and other (optional) nuclear tagmemes and ±Peri represents the optional peripheral tagmemes. Linear ordering is free with the exceptions noted in this paper.

1. PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES

The peripheral tagmemes occurring in all clause types are Dubitative, Question Marker, Negative, Time, Ablative, Benefactive and Manner. The Instrument and Accompaniment tagmemes occur in the Transitive, Intransitive and Stative Clauses but do not occur in the Associative Clauses. The Associative tagmeme is nuclear in the Associative Clause but is peripheral in the Transitive, Intransitive and Stative Clauses. The Locative tagmeme is nuclear in the verbal clauses but is peripheral in the non-verbal clauses. While all peripheral tagmemes may co-occur, no more than five tagmemes (peripheral and nuclear) co-occur in text. Dependent clauses generally have fewer tagmemes than the independent clauses.

1.1 THE DUBITATIVE TAGMEME

The Dubitative tagmeme is manifested by two fillers only, *nuba* 'maybe' and *gunga* 'might'.² It usually occurs preceding the verb, but may occur in any position.

njulu nuba duŋa-n
he maybe go-com
'Maybe he went.'

1.2 THE QUESTION MARKER TAGMEME

The Question Marker tagmeme is manifested by *guda* (Gugu-Nyungkul dialect) or *yala* (Gugu-Yalanji dialect). It always occurs sentence initially, but is optional (see Section 2.3).

guda njulu duŋa-n
qm he go-com
'Did he go?'

1.3 THE NEGATIVE TAGMEME

The Negative tagmeme may be manifested by the negative *gari* (which may be inflected), by the negative phrases *yamba gari badjagu* 'there is absolutely none', or *gari badjagu* negative intensified. There is one example of a reduplicated negative, *gari gari* which shows intense feeling.

diyi yamba gari-da
tea none-now
'There is no more tea.'

njulu gari duŋa-y
he neg go-noncom
'He won't go.'

1.4 THE TIME TAGMEME

The Time tagmeme may be manifested by the following: time words; time phrases; any of the dependent time clauses.

Examples:

time word

ɲayu djɔma dɔŋa-y
I later go-noncom
'Later I will go.'

time phrase

ɲayu wɔŋwɔn yindu gada-y badja
I tomorrow another com-noncom again
'I'll come again the day after tomorrow.'

dependent time clauses

gagi njulu gada-y ɲayu dɔŋa-y
when he come-noncom I go-noncom
'When he comes I'll go.'

ɲayu gada-y njulu dɔŋa-njdjigu
I come-noncom he go-before
'I'll come before he goes.'

ɲayu-ku naga njulu ɲagi-dji-n
I-prior:time south he hide-refl-com
'While I was south, he ran away.'

ɲayu dɔŋa-y djɔna-nda-da balga-l
I go-noncom they-loc-cont tell-noncom
'I'll go, then tell them.'

1.5 THE ABLATIVE TAGMEME

The Ablative tagmeme may be manifested by noun phrases inflected with one of the ablative case markers (Henry Hershberger 1964a).

ɲayu³ djuqu-mɔn dɔŋa-n
I tree-abl go-com
'I went from the tree.'

ɲayu dʒugu-mɔn gaxgay-mɔn duna-n
 I tree-abl small-abl go-com
 'I went from the small tree.'

ɲayu duna-n dʒugu-mɔn yinja-mɔn njulu dara-n
 I go-com tree-abl that-abl he fall-com
 'I went from that tree from which he fell.'

ɲayu duna-n bayan-mɔn dumbaʔi-dʒi-nja
 I go-com house-abl broke-pass-par
 'I went from the wrecked house.'

ɲayu babi-ndamɔn duna-n
 I grandmother-abl go-com
 'I went from grandmother.'

1.6 THE BENEFACTIVE TAGMEME

The Benefactive tagmeme is manifested by a noun phrase inflected by a benefactive case marker.

yinja bana ɲamu-ɲu
 that water mother-ben
 'That water is for mother.'

ɲayu bana mani-n ɲaygu-ɲunbu ɲamu-ɲu
 I water get-com my-loc mother-ben
 'I got water for my mother.'

ɲayu bana mani-n djalbu-ɲu bundanda-nja
 I water get-com woman-ben sitting-par
 'I got water for the woman sitting (there).'

1.7 THE INSTRUMENTAL TAGMEME

The Instrumental tagmeme is manifested by a noun phrase inflected by an instrumental case marker.

ɲayu gadar dama-n galga-bu
 I wallaby spear-com spear-inst
 'I speared a wallaby with a spear.'

ŋayu gadar dama-n galqa-bu yalbay-njdja
 I wallaby spear-com spear-inst big-inst
 'I speared a wallaby with a big spear.'

ŋayu gadar dama-n galqa-bu yalbay-njdja yinja-mundu
 I wallaby spear-com spear-inst big-inst that-inst

ŋjulu balqa-n
 he make-com

'I speared a wallaby with that big spear he made.'

ŋayu gadar dama-n galqa-bu yinja-mundu wunana-nja
 I wallaby spear-com spear-inst that-inst lying-par
 'I speared a wallaby with that spear (which is) lying (there).'

1.8 THE ACCOMPANIMENT TAGMEME

The Accompaniment tagmeme is manifested by a noun phrase inflected by an accompaniment case marker.

ŋayu ŋamu-njdji duŋa-n
 I mother-acc go-com
 'I went with mother.'

ŋayu ŋaygu-ŋunjdji ŋamu-njdji duŋa-n
 I my-acc mother-acc go-com
 'I went with my mother.'

ŋayu duŋa-n diŋgar-ŋnjdji yilaygu gada-n
 I go-com man-acc yesterday come-com
 'I went with the man who came yesterday.'

ŋayu duŋa-n badur-idji gadaba-nja
 I go-com line-acc break-par
 'I went with a broken line.'

1.9 THE ASSOCIATIVE TAGMEME

The Associative tagmeme may be manifested by noun phrases inflected with an associative case marker.

ᵑayu ᵑjiba:wari-n ᵑaya-nga
 I be:startled-com dog-ass
 'I was startled because of the dog.'

ᵑayu ᵑjiba:wari-n ᵑaya-nga ᵑumbu-ngu
 I be:startled-com dog-ass black-ass
 'I was startled because of the black dog.'

ᵑayu ᵑjiba:wari-n ᵑaya-nga ᵑumbu-ngu yilaygu ᵑada-n
 I be:startled-com dog-ass black-ass yesterday come-com
 'I was startled because of the black dog (which) came yesterday.'

ᵑayu ᵑada-n badur-gu ᵑumbaŕi-dji-nya
 I come-com line-ass break-pass-par
 'I came because of the broken line.'

The Associative tagmeme is nuclear in the Associative Clause but peripheral in the above examples (see Section 2.2.1).

1.10 THE LOCATIVE TAGMEME

The Locative tagmeme may be manifested by the following:

- a noun phrase inflected by a locative case marker;
 - demonstratives;
 - place names;
 - directional phrases;
 - a noun phrase inflected by the instrument case marker + -ŕ.
- These two suffixes together carry the meaning 'along' or 'through'. This type of phrase has only been found in the Intransitive Clause.

Examples:

*noun phrase inflected by a locative case marker*⁴

ᵑayu ᵑjugu-ᵑu ᵑada-n
 I tree-loc come-com
 'I came to the tree.'

ᵑayu ᵑjugu-ᵑu yalbay-mba ᵑada-n
 I tree-loc big-loc come-com
 'I came to the big tree.'

ηayu duna-n yinjay-mba njulu bigibigi guri-n
 I go-com there-loc he pig kill-com
 'I went to the place he killed the pig.'

njulu gada-n ηalinj-onda⁵ bundanda-nja-mmbu
 he come-com us:du:ex-loc sitting-par-loc
 'He came to us (who were) sitting.'

demonstratives

ball yinja
 there
 'The ball is there.'

place names

ηayu wargin duna-n
 I Helenvale go-com
 'I went to Helenvale.'

directional phrase

The directional phrase may be filled by a directional, a directional plus a locative, or two directionals.

ηayu bada beach-mmbu duna-n
 I down -loc go-com
 'I went down to the beach.'

ηayu wangar duna-n
 I up go-com
 'I went up (river).'

ηayu yaŋa wangar duna-n
 I that:way up go-com
 'I went up that way.'

The word *yaŋa* 'that way' is always accompanied by a gesture with the hand or head.

noun phrase inflected by the instrument case marker + -ŷ

ŋayu djuŋu-bu-ŷ gada-n
I tree-inst-completely come-com
'I came through the trees.'

ŋayu baral-da-ŷ djiragal-da-ŷ gangada-n
I road-inst-completely new-inst-completely coming-com
'I was coming along the new road.'

ŋayu gangada-n baral-da-ŷ yinjay-ŋga-ŷ
I coming-com road-inst-completely that-inst-completely

yundu yilaygu gada-n
you yesterday come-com

'I was coming along the road that you came (along) yesterday.'

1.11 THE MANNER TAGMEME

The Manner tagmeme may be manifested by any of the following:

- manner words
- manner compound words
- participles
- the Manner Relator-axis Clause (see Section 3.3)
- the following affixed with the mannerizer -gu
 - noun plus case marker
 - reduplicated word denoting amount
 - the relator yala
- specifier phrase
- manner phrase

Examples:

manner word

djurur̄djurur̄ njulu Cooktown duŋa-n
repeatedly he go-com
'He went to Cooktown repeatedly.'

njulu wadiwadu balga-n
he wrong make-com
'He made (it) the wrong (way).'

yinja waduwadu
that wrong
'That's the wrong (way).'

manner compound word

njulu wnona-y warngu:gadja
he lying:down-noncom sleep:heavily
'He is sleeping heavily.'

participles

The participle has always been found contiguous to the verb.

njulu maʔalin-anga nanja mani-n djaʔa:gulba-nya
he Islander-sm me get-com carry-par
'The Islander carried me.'

guldji-bu binadji-mundu gida-l-gida-nya balga-n
stone-inst white-inst scrape-noncom-scrape-par make-com
'Scraping, (he) made (it) with the white stone.'

Manner Relator-axis Clause (see Section 3.3)

yinja maʔdja ɲawulɲawul yala ɲamar badjaɲu
that scrub dark like steep:place inten
'That scrub is dark like a very steep place.'

noun plus case marker plus mannerizer -gu

nanjdjin guli-dji-gu balga-wa-n
we anger-acc-ma tell-rec-com
'We talked angrily.'

njulu gaʔa-dji-gu bundanda-y
he rope-acc-ma sitting-noncom
'He is sitting all tied up with a rope.'

dingar-anga njunwin yargin-ga-gu gwi-n
man-sm him corpse-ass-ma kill-com
'The man murdered him (intended to kill).'

ɲənjdjin djirimali-ŋa-gu duŋa-n
 we fine:day-loc-ma go-com
 'We went on a fine day.'

reduplicated word denoting amount plus mannerizer -gu

gaba bubən-bubən-gu gəŋgada-y djaŋamali
 rain little-little-ma coming-noncom thunderstorm
 'Rain and thunderstorms will be coming little by little.'

tablets njubun-njubun-gu nuga
 one-one-ma eat
 'Take the tablets one by one.'

the relator yala plus mannerizer -gu.

Yalagu refers to something already explained or understood.

djəna yala-gu duŋa-n
 they like-ma go-com
 'They went like that.'

djəna yala-gu
 they like-ma
 'They're like that (that is their custom).'

njulu yala-ŋ-gu binal
 he like-completely-ma know
 'He knows too.'

specifier phrase

The Manner tagmeme may be expanded into a specifier phrase by the addition of *yalagu* 'like that' which also shows emphasis of the Manner tagmeme.

ɲayu mayi gari-gu yala-gu duŋa-n
 I food neg-ma like-ma go-com
 'I went without food, like that.'

manner phrase

The manner phrase is manifested by one of the following, plus or minus the intensifier *badjagu*.

descriptive
compound word
stative clause

If *badjagu* 'intensifier' does not occur, the exponent of the head of the manner phrase is affixed with the mannerizer *-gu*. When a compound word or a Stative Clause is the exponent of the head of the manner phrase, the mannerizer *-gu* is suffixed to the final component of the compound word or the final word of the Stative Clause.

If the verb of the independent clause is transitive, the instrumental case marker is affixed to the head of the manner phrase as the first order suffix. If the verb is intransitive, the instrumental case marker is not used.

The next three examples show a *descriptive* manifesting the Manner tagmeme.

dingar djinbal-gu duŋa-n
man fast-ma go-com
'The man went fast.'

dingar-anga djinbal-da-gu njanda-n
man-sm fast-inst-ma chop-com
'The man chopped fast.'

mumbar-abu badjagu njulu diyi njanari-n
careful-inst inten he tea pour-com
'He poured the tea very carefully.'

The next two examples show a *compound word* manifesting the Manner tagmeme.

ŋayu njuŋmin walu:dondi-bu badjagu walŋa-n
I him stubborn-inst inten woke:up-com
'I very stubbornly woke him up.'

ŋayu guli:muru-bu-gu yala-ma-n
I angry-inst-ma like-become-com
'I angrily said.'

The next two examples show a *stative clause* manifesting the Manner tagmeme.

ŋayu mayi gari-gu duŋa-n
I food neg-ma go-com
'I went without food.'

ŋayu baru guŋgul-du-gu mayi nuga-n
I lap heavy-inst-ma food eat-com
'I ate food with a heavy lap (with a child on my lap).'

The Manner tagmeme may be discontinuous.

ŋanjdjin djilba duŋa-n balnjdji
we walkabout go-com camp:out
'We went walkabout and camping out.'

2. INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

The differences between verbal and non-verbal clauses are:

- (1) Obligatory verb in verbal clauses.
- (2) Locative tagmeme nuclear in verbal clauses, peripheral in non-verbal clauses.

In examples in this section, tagmemes are indicated by a label above the first word of the tagmeme.

2.1 VERBAL CLAUSES

The Locative tagmeme is nuclear in the verbal clauses for the following reasons:

- a. When a Transitive Clause is transformed into a passive Intransitive Clause, the Subject of the Transitive Clause becomes the Locative tagmeme in the passive clause and is marked by the locative case marker, while the Object of the Transitive Clause becomes the Subject of the passive clause.

Danny-ŋga mayi njadji-n
-sm food see-com
'Danny saw the food.'

Danny-nda mayi njadji-dji-n
-loc food see-pass-com
'The food was seen by Danny.'

In Transitive Clauses with the following verbs, however, *nuga-* 'eat', *baga-* 'dig', *yadjari-* 'laugh' and *mudja-* 'gather', the Object becomes the Locative while the Subject of the Transitive Clause remains the Subject of the passive clause. This may be because the passive *-dji* is also the reflexive marker, and people do not normally eat, poke, laugh at or gather themselves.

Danny-nuga mayi nuga-n
 -sm food eat-com
 'Danny ate the food.'

Danny mayi-na nuga-dji-n
 food-loc eat-pass-com
 'The food was eaten by Danny.'

- b. When the Benefactive tagmeme is expanded, the modifiers of the head of the phrase are marked by the Locative tagmeme marker.

njunu-nunbu namu-nu
 his-loc mother-ben
 'for his mother'

- c. A small group of words, which are semantically animate, normally function as members of the inanimate noun class. When the Benefactive tagmeme is manifested by one of these words, it is marked by a Locative tagmeme marker.

nayu bana mani-n manja-ba
 I water get-com wife-loc
 'I got water for (my) wife.'

nayu mayi mani-n gangal-ba
 I food get-com child-loc
 'I got food for (my) child.'

- d. The Locative tagmeme is used as the indirect object of the verbs give, said and asked.

njulu mayi dadji-n njunu-ndu
 he food give-com him-loc
 'He gave the food to him.'

njulu *ɲaygu-ndu* *yala-ma-n*
 he me-loc like-become-com
 'He said to me.'

- e. A participle modifying a locative has an optionally different form from those participles modifying words manifesting other tagmemes.

njulu *gada-n* *ɲaygu-ndu* *djarba* *guni-nja-manbu* ~
 he come-com me-loc snake kill-par-loc

njulu *gada-n* *ɲaygu-ndu* *djarba* *guni-nja*
 he come-com me-loc snake kill-par

'He came to me (when I was) killing the snake.'

- f. The Locative tagmeme is obligatorily stressed in verbal clauses (Hershberger and Pike 1970).

The differences between Transitive and Intransitive Clauses are:

- (1) The transitive predicate is manifested by transitive verbs, the intransitive predicate by intransitive verbs.
- (2) When a noun manifests the Subject tagmeme, it is obligatorily marked with a subject marker in a Transitive Clause. It is never marked in an Intransitive Clause.
- (3) In an Intransitive Clause there is an obligatory absence of an Object. In a Transitive Clause there is an optional Object.

2.1.1 THE INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

(See chart at top of following page.)

- (1) Except for the negative, any type of noun phrase, uninflected for case, may occur in the Subject (H. Hershberger 1964b).
- (2) For subject pronouns see R. Hershberger 1964b.
- (3) Exponents of the Locative tagmeme are described fully in Section 1.10.
- (4) The formula for the intransitive verb phrase is $\text{intrV} = +\text{intrv} \pm \text{badja}$ 'again'.

The Intransitive Clause

±intrS	±Loc	±intrP	±Peri
Noun phrases Subject pronouns	Noun phrases inflected for locative case Demonstratives Place names Directional phrases Noun phrases inflected by instrument case markers affixed by - <i>y</i>	any intrV	

- (5) The following tagmemes may fill the periphery: Dubitative, Question Marker, Instrument, Accompaniment, Associative, Negative, Time, Ablative, Benefactive, Manner.

S	Time	Loc	P	
	<i>gayu yilaygu</i>	<i>wangar</i>	<i>duna-n</i>	<i>badja</i>
I	yesterday	up	go-com	again

'Yesterday I went up (river) again.'

S		P	
	<i>gaygay:gaygay wubulgu</i>	<i>yalbay-ma-n-da</i>	
	children all	big-become-com-then	

'All the children became big then.'

P	
	<i>banbadi-da</i>
	crying-now

'(He is) crying now.'

Intransitive verbs fill the intransitive verb slot in the intransitive verb phrase and cannot take an object. The following are the different kinds of intransitive verbs.

- a. A verb that is inherently intransitive.

yundu *bwinda-y*
you sit-noncom
'You sit.'

- b. An intransitive verb which has been derived by the addition of the passive/reflexive affix *-dji* to a transitive verb stem.

njulu *gwi-dji-n*
he hit-pass/refl-com
'He was hit/hit himself.'

- c. An intransitive verb which has been derived from a transitive verb by the reciprocal affix *-wa*.

bula *gwi-wa-n*
they hit-rec-com
'They hit each other/fought.'

- d. An intransitive verb which has been derived by addition of *-ma* or *-manidji*⁶ 'to become' to a noun stem, descriptive, associative predicate, time word, negative, directional, manner word or any noun (or noun phrase) inflected for the accompaniment or locative cases.

descriptive

njulu *yalbay-ma-n*
he big-become-com
'He became big.'

accompaniment

njulu *bubu-dji-manidji-n*
he ground-acc-become-com
'He became dirty.'

locative

mayi *wabař-ba-manidji-n*
food shade-loc-become-com
'The food is in the shade (because of the movement of the sun).'

associative predicate

njulu binal-ma-n
he know-become-com
'He learned.'

time

yilaylay-ma-n *ɲayu duŋa-n*
afternoon-become-com I go-com
'In the afternoon I went.'

negative

diyi yamba gari-ma-n
tea none-become-com
'(There is) no more tea.'

manner

njulu wadawadu-ma-n
he wrong-become-com
'He was wrong.'

noun stem

njulu ɲamu-ma-n
she mother-become-com
'She became a mother.'

directional

yaŋa-ma-ka
that:way-become-imp
'Move over.'

2.1.2 THE TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The Transitive Clause

±trS	±O	+trP	±Loc	±Peri
Noun phrases inflected for subject case Subject pronouns Participle Clauses	Noun phrases Object pronouns	any traV	Noun phrases inflected for locative case Demonstratives Place names Directional phrases	

- (1) For subject pronouns see R. Hershberger 1964b.
- (2) The use of participle clauses (see Section 3.2.1) as the exponent of the Subject of a Transitive Clause is restricted to clauses in which the predicate is filled by a derived verb with transitive verbalizers *-buŋa*, *-dama* or *-gaŋa* or the transitivizer *-mani*.
- (3) Phrases in the Object tagmeme are frequently discontinuous.
- (4) Except for the negative, any type of noun phrase, uninflected for case, may occur in the Object (H. Hershberger 1964b).
- (5) For object pronouns see R. Hershberger 1964b.
- (6) The formula for the transitive verb phrase is $\text{traV} = + \text{traV} \pm \text{badja}$ 'again'.
- (7) Exponents of the Locative tagmeme are described fully in Section 1.10.
- (8) The following tagmemes may fill the periphery: Dubitative, Question marker, Negative, Time, Ablative, Benefactive, Manner, Instrument, Accompaniment, Associative.

S O P (O P I)
njulu dingar njadji-n bigibigi guni-nja maŋgin-da
 he man see-com pig kill-par gun-inst
 'He saw the man kill the pig with the gun.'

- c. A transitive verb derived by the addition of transitive verbalizers *-buŋa* or *-dama*, which carry a causative meaning, to a noun stem, descriptive, negative, associative predicate, directional or any noun (or noun phrase) inflected for the locative or accompaniment cases.

descriptive

njulu buŋa buyin-dama-n
 he nest bad-trv-com
 'He spoiled the nest.'

negative

njulu diyi yamba gari-buŋa-n
 he tea none-trv-com
 'He finished up the tea.'

directional

mayi yaŋa-buŋa
 food that:way-trv
 'Put the food there.'

accompaniment

gaŋgay-anga gambi bubu-dji-buŋa-n
 child-sm clothes ground-acc-trv-com
 'The child made the clothes dirty.'

associative predicate

didja-ŋga gaŋgay binal-buŋa-n
 teacher-sm child know-trv-com
 'The teacher taught the child.' (made the child know)

noun stem

njulu djalbu manjaŋ-buŋa-n
 he woman wife-trv-com
 'He married the woman.' (made the woman a wife)

locative

garɣay diŋgi-ŋa-buŋa
child dingy-loc-trv
'Put the child in the dingy.'

- d. A compound verb derived from a noun by the addition of *-gaŋa* (literally 'chase') which carried a causative meaning.

waŋu-ŋgu bulgi guli-gaŋa-n
young:man-sm bull anger-trv-com
'The young man made the bull angry.'

- e. A transitive verb derived from the relator *yala* 'like' suffixed by *-ma* 'become'.

nɟulu ŋaygu-ndu yala-ma-n
he me-loc like-become-com
'He said to me.'

yala-ma-ka-da
like-become-imp-now
'Do like this now.'

- f. A transitive verb *babadɟi-* 'ask' derived from the transitive verb *baba-* 'try' by the addition of *-ɟi*, the passive suffix. In this instance it does not change the transitivity of the verb but simply changes the meaning of the verb.

ŋamu-ŋgu ŋaygu-ndu baba-ɟi-n wanɟɟu
mother-sm me-loc try-pass-com who
'Mother asked me, "who?"'

2.2 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

The two types of non-verbal clauses are Associative and Stative. The differences between an Associative Clause and a Stative Clause are:

- (1) The Associative tagmeme is nuclear in the Associative Clause, peripheral in the Stative Clause.
- (2) The Predicate of the Associative Clause is manifested by one of the three associative verbs as described in Section 2.2.1. The predicate of the Stative Clause is manifested by the various fillers as described in Section 2.2.2.

2.2.1 THE ASSOCIATIVE CLAUSE

The Associative tagmeme is nuclear in the Associative Clause because:

- (1) of its function as the 'object' of the Associative Predicate,
- (2) when the Predicate does not occur, the Associative tagmeme is obligatory, and
- (3) it is obligatorily stressed in this clause type (Hershberger and Pike 1970).

The Associative Clause has two sub-types, the Thought Associative Clause and the Desiderative Associative Clause. The Associative Predicate tagmeme, *assP*, in both sub-types, is not expounded by a formal verb.

The Thought Associative Clause

<i>±invS</i>	<i>+assP</i>	<i>±Ass</i>	<i>±Peri</i>
Noun phrases Subject pronouns	<i>balu</i> 'don't want/ don't care for' <i>binal</i> 'know/understand' <i>± badjagu</i> 'inten'	see Section 1.9	

- (1) Except for the negative, any type of noun phrase, uninflected for case, may occur in the Subject (H. Hershberger 1964b).
- (2) For subject pronouns see R. Hershberger 1964b.
- (3) *binal* 'know' may be expanded into an intensifier phrase *binal badjagu* 'know/understand very much'. *balu* 'don't want/don't care for' cannot be expanded into a phrase.
- (4) The following tagmemes may fill the periphery: Dubitative, Question marker, Negative, Time, Ablative, Benefactive, Manner, Locative. The Instrument and Accompaniment tagmemes do not occur in the periphery.

nvS Ass assP
ŋayu diyi-ga balu-da
 I tea-ass don't:care:for-now
 'I don't care for tea now.'

assP
binal-da
 know-now
 '(He) knows now.'

nvS Ass assP
ŋjulu yinjay-nga binal badjagu
 he that-ass know inten
 'He knows a lot about that.'

The Desiderative Associative Clause

±nvS	+(±assP	±Ass)	±Peri
Noun phrases Subject pronouns	<i>wawu</i> 'want/like' ± (+ <i>djiřay</i> 'very' ± <i>badjagu</i> 'inten')	see Section 1.9	

- (1) Except for the negative, any type of noun phrase, uninflected for case, may occur in the Subject (H. Hershberger 1964b).
- (2) For subject pronouns see R. Hershberger 1964b.
- (3) Either the Associative Predicate or the Associative tagmeme is obligatory. Both optionally co-occur.
- (4) *wawu* may be expanded by an intensifier phrase, *djiřay* 'very' or *djiřay badjagu* 'very much'.
- (5) The following tagmemes may fill the periphery: Dubitative, Question marker, Negative, Time, Ablative, Benefactive, Manner, Locative. The Instrument and Accompaniment tagmemes do not occur in the periphery.

nvS Ass
ŋayu diyi-ga
 I tea-ass
 'I want tea.'

nvS assP
ŋayu wawu
 I want
 'I want.'

nvS assP Ass
ŋayu wawu diyi-ga
 I want tea-ass
 'I want tea.'

nvS Ass assP
ŋjulu diyi-ga wawu djiřay badjagu
 he tea-ass want very inten
 'He wants tea very much.'

2.2.2 THE STATIVE CLAUSE

The Stative Clause

±nvS	+stP	±Peri
Noun phrases Subject pronouns Question marker	Noun phrase Noun phrase inflected for Ablative Accompaniment Locative Benefactive Descriptive phrase Manner word or phrase Negative Comparative phrase Manner Relator-axis Clause	

- (1) Except for the negative, any type of noun phrase, uninflected for case, may occur in the Subject or Predicate (H. Hershberger 1964b).
- (2) For subject pronouns see R. Hershberger 1964b.

- (3) When the Manner Relator-axis Clause fills the Stative Predicate, the axis of that clause is optional.
- (4) The following tagmemes may fill the periphery: Dubitative, Question marker, Negative, Time, Ablative, Benefactive, Manner, Instrumental, Accompaniment, Associative, Locative.

nvS stP
njulu yala-gu
 he like-ma
 'He is like that.'

nvS stP
njulu yala gari
 he like-neg
 'He is not like that.'

nvS stP
njulu yalbay badjagu
 he big inten
 'He is very big.'

nvS stP
njulu ŋaygu ŋamu
 she my mother
 'She is my mother.'

stP
Mossman-mon
 -abl
 '(He is) from Mossman.'

nvS stP
guřuguru babar-anjdji
 crippled older:sister-acc
 'The crippled (one) is with older sister.'

nvS stP
ganbal mayi bayar-ba
 some food house-loc
 'Some of the food is in the house.'

stP
djalbu-ŋu
woman-ben
'(It is) for the woman.'

nvS stP
yinja wadawadu
that wrongly
'That's the wrong way.'

nvS stP
diyi yamba gari badjagu
tea none inten
'There is absolutely no tea.'

stP Ass nvS
djaŋa mugul Danny-nga njulu
older -ass he
'He is older than Danny.'

nvS stP
guda Dolly
qm
'What about Dolly?'

2.3 CHART OF INDEPENDENT CLAUSE TYPES

In sum, independent clauses are classified as verbal and non-verbal. Verbal clauses are transitive and intransitive; non-verbal clauses are stative and associative.

The chart on the following page shows the minimal manifestation of each independent clause type and, in brackets, manifestations of tagmemes which are marked differently in the various clause types.

2.4 DECLARATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

There are two sub-types, declarative and interrogative, of all the four different types of clauses. The differences between the two sub-types are:

- a. An optional question marker, *guda/yala* occurring clause initial, in the interrogative clauses.

Independent Clause Types

<p>Intr</p>	<p>(<i>bama</i>) <i>duŋa-y</i> man go-noncom 'The man will go.'</p> <p>(<i>djana</i>) <i>duŋa-y</i> they go-noncom 'They will go.'</p>
<p>Tr</p>	<p>(<i>bama-ŋga</i>) (<i>djana-nin</i>) <i>gwi-l</i> man-sm they-obj hit-noncom 'The man will hit them.'</p> <p>(<i>djana</i>) (<i>bama</i>) <i>gwi-l</i> they man hit-noncom 'They will hit the man.'</p>
<p>Ass</p>	<p>(<i>bama</i>) <i>binal</i> (<i>djana-ŋga</i>) man know them-ass 'The man knows them.'</p> <p>(<i>bama</i>) <i>mayi-ga</i> man food-ass 'The man wants food.'</p>
<p>St</p>	<p>(<i>bama</i>) <i>mayi-dji</i> man food-acc 'The man has food.'</p>

- b. Intonation. Interrogative clause stress is marked " ; declarative clause stress is marked ° (Hershberger and Pike 1970).
- c. Response of the hearer.

Intransitive

° *duŋa-y-da*
 go-noncom-now
 '(I'll) go now.'

" *duŋa-y-da*
 go-noncom-now
 '(Do you) go now?'

Transitive

njulu mayi ° *mari-n*
 he food get-com
 'He got food.'

guda njulu mayi " *mari-n*
 qm he food get-com
 'Did he get food?'

njulu mayi " *mari-n*
 he food get-com
 'Did he get food?'

Stative

Dolly ° *bada*
 down
 'Dolly is down (river).'

guda " *Dolly*
 qm
 'What about Dolly?'

Dolly " *bada*
 down
 '(Is) Dolly down (river)?'

Associative

o *mayi-ga*
food-ass
'(He) wants food.'

" *mayi-ga*
food-ass
'Does (he) want food?'

3. DEPENDENT CLAUSES

There are seven types of dependent clauses: four time dependent clause types, two modifying dependent clause types and one manner dependent clause type.

3.1 TIME DEPENDENT CLAUSES

The time dependent clauses differ in their position in the sentence in relation to the independent clause and also by morphemes which are obligatory and which identify them. Details are given in the comments which follow each bi-dimensional array.

3.1.1 THE TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL RELATOR-AXIS CLAUSE

The Temporal/conditional Relator-axis Clause

+Relator	+Axis
<i>gagi</i> 'if/when'	any independent clause type

- (1) The Temporal/conditional Relator-axis Clause always precedes the independent clause.
- (2) Completive aspect never occurs on the predicate of either the Temporal/conditional Relator-axis Clause or the independent clause following it.
- (3) This construction always refers to present or future time.

Intransitive

gagi njulu gada-y nayu duna-y
 when he come-noncom I go-noncom
 'If/when he comes, I'll go.'

Transitive

gagi njulu bigibigi gwi-l nana minja nuga-l
 when he pig kill-noncom we meat eat-noncom
 'If/when he kills a pig, we'll all eat meat.'

Stative

gagi njulu dakuy nayu mayi mani-l
 when he hungry I food get-noncom
 'If/when he is hungry, I'll get food.'

Associative

gagi njulu binal baba-dji-ka naliyan binal-buna-nga
 when he know try-pass-imp us know-trv-pur
 'If/when he knows, ask him to teach us.'

3.1.2 THE PRIOR TIME CLAUSE

The Prior Time Clause

±S	±O	±Loc	+ptP	±Peri
see Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2	see Section 2.1.2	see Section 1.10	ptv	

- (1) The formula for the prior time verb is ptv = + v stem ± -*njdjigu* 'before'.
- (2) The verb root may be either transitive or intransitive.
- (3) The Prior Time Clause may occur either preceding or following the independent clause.

Intransitive

njulu gada-njdjigu *ɲayu duna-y*
 he come-before I go-noncom
 'Before he comes, I'll go.'

Transitive

mara djuluŕi-dji-ka *mayi nuga-njdjigu*
 hand wash-refl-imp food eat-before
 'Wash your hands before (you) eat.'

3.1.3 THE PAST TIME RELATOR-AXIS CLAUSE

The Past Time Relator-axis Clause

+Axis	+Relator
any independent clause	-gu 'prior time'

- (1) -gu, prior time clitic, is suffixed to the word preceding the Predicate of any of the independent clauses. If only the Predicate occurs, -gu is suffixed to the Predicate.
- (2) The Past Time Relator-axis Clause may occur either preceding or following the independent clause.

ɲayu-gu *naga* *njulu* *ɲagi-dji-n*
 I-prior:time south he hide-refl-com
 'When I was south, he ran away.'

Alice *ɲagi-dji-n* *yuŕa-gu* *naga*
 hide-refl-com you-prior:time south
 'Alice ran away while you were south.'

baga-dji-n-gu *ɲayu* *waŕɲaga-n*
 dig-pass-com-prior:time I cry-com
 'When I was pricked I cried.'

ŋayu gambi-gu *ɖjuluŋi-l-ɖjuluŋi-n* *ŋjulu*
 I clothes-prior:time wash-noncom-wash-com he

ɖjugu-mon *dara-n*
 tree-abl fall-com

'While I was washing clothes, he fell from the tree.'

3.1.4 THE SEQUENTIAL TIME RELATOR-AXIS CLAUSE

The Sequential Time Relator-axis Clause

+Axis	+Relator
any independent clause	- <i>da</i> 'contemporary time'

- (1) *-da*, contemporary time clitic, is suffixed to the first word of any independent clause and carries the meaning 'then'.
- (2) The Sequential Time Relator-axis Clause always follows the independent clause.

ŋaŋga balga-dji-y *minja-dji-da*
 flower make-refl-noncom meat-acc-cont
 'The flowers will bloom, then there is meat.'

ŋaŋɖɖjin duŋa-y *ɖjana-nda-da balga-l*
 we go-noncom them-loc-cont tell-noncom
 'We'll go, then we'll tell them.'

3.2 THE DEPENDENT MODIFYING CLAUSES

There are two dependent modifying clause types, the Participle Clause and the Descriptive Clause.

3.2.1. THE PARTICIPLE CLAUSE

The Participle Clause

±O	±Loc	+pP	±Peri
see Section 2.1.2	see Section 1.10	pv	

- (1) The formula for the participle verb is pv = v stem + *-nja* participle. *bunda-nja* 'sitting'
The participle may be reduplicated (R. Herxshberger 1964c).
duṅa-n-duṅa-nja 'going'
- (2) The dependent Participle Clause may have all the tagmemes of a verbal clause except the Subject; however, normally no more than one or two other clause level tagmemes occur in the Participle Clause.
- (3) The Participle Clause may occur as the Subject of a causative verb (see Rule 3, Section 2.1.2), or modifier of a noun phrase occurring in any tagmeme except in the intransitive Subject and the non-verbal Subject.
- (4) The clause is contiguous to the word it is modifying with the exceptions noted later.
- (5) When a Participle Clause modifies a noun phrase in the Locative slot, the participle is optionally further affixed by *-mmbu*, one of the locative allomorphs (see Section 1.10, locative case).
- (6) In the Subject slot of the Transitive Clause, the participle may be further affixed by *-mndu*, one of the allomorphs of the subject case marker. If the Subject is manifested by a discontinuous phrase, the *-mndu* is obligatory, but if the subject is not discontinuous, the *-mndu* is optional though usually not used.
- (7) When a Participle Clause modifies a noun phrase in the Object slot, the Participle Clause is frequently not contiguous to the noun phrase.

wanaṛi-nja wuṅar-a ṅanja wawu:wula-y-mari-n
 running-par sun-loc me thirsty-noncom-tr-com
 'Running in the sun made me thirsty.'

ɲayu duna-y badur-idji gadaba-nja
 I go-noncom line-acc broken-par
 'I'll go with the broken line.'

ɲayu dingar njadji-n bigibigi guri-nja maŋgin-da
 I man see-com pig kill-par gun-inst
 'I saw the man kill the pig with the gun.'

djana gada-n ɲalinj-anda bundanda-nja-monbu
 they come-com us-loc sitting-par-loc
 'They came to us (who were) sitting.'

njulu gada-n ɲaygu-ndu djarba guri-nja
 he come-com me-loc snake kill-par
 'He came to me (while I was) killing the snake.'

ɲayu Carol gudji-l waba-ɲa
 I hold-noncom thigh-loc

mayi nuga-n-nuga-nja-mundu
 food eat-com-eat-par-sm

'While eating food, I hold Carol on my lap.'

yinja-ɲa djalbu-ɲgu djuluŋi-nja mayi nuga-n
 that-sm woman-sm wash-par food eat-com
 'That woman (who was) washing ate food.'

3.2.2 THE DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSE

- (1) The Descriptive Clause may be a Transitive, Intransitive, Stative or Associative Descriptive Clause, found only embedded within phrases and modifying the head of the noun phrase.
- (2) The embedded Descriptive Clause does not occur in a noun phrase manifesting the Subject tagmeme.
- (3) In all the tagmemes except the Object, the Descriptive Clause is contiguous to the word or phrase it is modifying. In the Object tagmeme the Descriptive Clause may be discontinuous from the word or phrase it is modifying.
- (4) Although all the elements of a noun phrase are marked for case, the embedded Descriptive Clause is not.
- (5) The Descriptive Clause occurs sentence final.

Intransitive Descriptive Clause embedded in the instrumental tagmeme

ŋayu djarba gwi-n djugu-bu yinja-mundu
I snake kill-com stick-inst that-inst

dara-n djugu-moŋ
fall-com tree-abl

'I killed the snake with that stick that fell from the tree.'

Associative Descriptive Clause embedded in the associative tagmeme

ŋayu wawu njuŋu-ŋgu bangaŋ ŋulguŋ-gu
I want him-ass body good-ass

'I want him to want to be good.'

Stative Descriptive Clause embedded in the accompaniment tagmeme

ŋayu bɔnda-n njuŋu-njdji baru gangal-dji
I sit-com him-acc lap child-acc

'I sat with him (who was holding) his child (on his) lap.'

Transitive Descriptive Clause embedded in the locative tagmeme

ŋayu njuŋuwin njadji-n yinjay-mba
I him see-com that-loc

njulu bigibigi gwi-n
he pig kill-com

'I saw him where he killed the pig.'

Intransitive Descriptive Clause embedded in the object tagmeme

ŋayu njuŋuwin njadji-n yilaygu gada-n
I him see-com yesterday come-com

'I saw him (who) came yesterday.'

3.3 THE MANNER RELATOR-AXIS CLAUSE

The Manner Relator-Axis Clause

+Relator	+Axis
<i>yala</i> 'like' ± <i>gari</i> negative	any independent clause

- (1) The Manner Relator-axis Clause is one of the manifestations of the Manner tagmeme.
- (2) When the Manner Relator-axis Clause fills the Stative Predicate in the Stative Clause, its Axis is optional.
- (3) The Manner Relator-axis Clause may be a clause fragment with the deleted part of the clause being understood from the context.

Associative

		M		
S	Ass	Rel	Axis	
<i>Danny</i>	<i>lolly-ga</i>	<i>yala</i>	<i>Carol</i>	
	-ass	like		

'Danny wants a lolly like Carol.'

Stative

		M		
S	stP	Rel	Axis	
<i>djona</i>	<i>yinja-gawi</i>	<i>yala</i>	<i>buyun-gaʒa</i>	<i>baga-l</i>
they	that-like	like	bad-incl	dig-noncom

ɲiʒay-gaŋa-l-gaŋa-ʒgu
 cry-trv-noncom-trv-completely

'They are like that, like the poor things (the stonefish) will prick, make (them) cry.'

Intransitive

				M			
S	T	intrP		Rel	Axis		
<i>gaba</i>	<i>djuma</i>	<i>gada-y</i>		<u><i>yala</i></u>	<u><i>gaba</i></u>	<u><i>Cairns</i></u>	<u><i>yalbay</i></u>
rain	later	come-noncom		like	rain		big

ganga-da-y *Cooktown*
 coming-noncom

'Later rain will come like the big rain is coming to Cairns and Cooktown.'

Transitive

				M			
S	O	trP		Rel	Axis		
<i>ŋayu</i>	<i>mayi</i>	<i>wɪndi-n</i>		<u><i>yala</i></u>	<u><i>njulu</i></u>	<u><i>ŋadigu</i></u>	<u><i>wɪndi-n</i></u>
I	food	bring-com		like	he	long:ago	bring-com

'I brought food like he brought (it) long ago.'

Filling stative predicate

		stP	
S		Rel	
<i>njulu</i>	<u><i>yala</i></u>	<u><i>gari</i></u>	
he	like	neg	

'He's not like (that).'

FOOTNOTES

¹Gugu-Yalanji is the language spoken by a group of about 500 Australian Aborigines on the east coast of the Cape York Peninsula in northern Queensland between the cities of Cooktown on the north and Cairns on the south. The data for this paper were collected from numerous people of the region, but the main informants were Norah Smith and Eddie Bloomfield. Research was done under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I am indebted to Eunice Pike, Anne Cochran and Joyce Hudson for their guidance during the preparation of this paper.

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²There are 16 phonemes. Stops: b, d, dj (alveopalatal), g. Nasals: m, n, nj (alveopalatal), ŋ. Resonants: l, w, y, r (retroflexed vocoid), ɾ (flapped intervocalically, trilled when preceding another consonant and word finally, frequently voiceless word finally). Vowels: i, a, u. (See Oates 1965.)

³A compound noun as well as a simple noun may be an exponent of the head of the noun phrase (H. Hershberger n.d.).

⁴The following are the allomorphs of the locative case marker (H. Hershberger 1964b). u occurs when the final vowel of the stem is u; a occurs when the final vowel of the stem is i or a.

on a noun in the animate noun class

following consonants

-anda, -ndu

following vowels

-nda, -ndu

on a noun in the inanimate noun class

following vowels

-ŋa, ŋu

following r

-a, -u

following y

-mba, -mbu

following ŷ, n, l

-ba, -bu

on a three-syllable noun or on a loan word which does not fit the phonemic pattern

-mɔ̃nbu

on possessive nouns and dual and plural possessive pronouns

following vowels

-ndamɔ̃nbu -ndumɔ̃nbu

following consonants

-andamɔ̃nbu -undumɔ̃nbu

on singular possessive pronouns

-ŋɔ̃nbu ~ -wɔ̃nbu (contracted form). ŋ is often contracted to w when contiguous to u in fast speech.

⁵In R. Hershberger (1964b), only one first person dual pronoun was given. Since then it has been found that there are two first person dual pronouns. The exclusive pronoun is *ŋalinj*, the inclusive is *ŋali*.

⁶The intransitive verbalizer *-mɔ̃nidji* may have evolved from the transitivizer *-mɔ̃ni* in combination with the passive/reflexive suffix *-dji*. The transitivizer *-mɔ̃ni* is now suffixed to an intransitive verb and carried a causative meaning.

bunda-y-mari-n
sit-noncom-trv-com
'caused to sit'

The passive/reflexive suffix *-dji* is suffixed to a transitive verb which then transforms the verb into an intransitive passive/reflexive verb.

njadji-dji-n
see-pass/refl-com
'was seen/see self'

The intransitive verbalizer *-maridji* seems to be most used when the action indicated by the verb happens to the subject rather than being performed by the subject.

ŋayu wuŋar-a-ma-n
I sun-loc-become-com
'I went in the sun.'

mayi wuŋar-a-maridji-y
food sun-loc-become-noncom
'The food will be in the sun.'

When the last example was said, the speaker was commenting on the fact that someone had left some food in the shade but the sun was moving around to the west and the food would soon be in the sun.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

:	In the examples, used to separate components of a compound word.
:	In the morpheme by morpheme literal translation, used to separate English words which all pertain to one morpheme in Gugu-Yalanji.
+	obligatory
/	or
±	optional
=	equals
~	alternately
a	axis
abl	ablative
acc	accompaniment
ass	associative
Ass	Associative tagmeme
assP	Associative Predicate
ben	benefactive
com	completive aspect
con	continuative
cont	contemporary time
du	dual
ex	exclusive
incl	inclusive
imp	imperative
inten	intensifier
Inst	Instrument
inst	instrumental
intr	intransitive

intrP	Intransitive Predicate
intrS	Intransitive Subject
intrV	intransitive verb phrase
intrv	intransitive verb
Loc	Location
loc	locative
M	Manner
ma	mannerizer
N	noun phrase
neg	negative
noncom	noncompletive aspect
nvS	non-verbal subject
O	Object
obj	objective
P	Predicate
pP	Participle Predicate
par	participle
pass	passive
Peri	peripheral tagmemes
ptv	prior time verb
pur	purposive aspect
pv	participle verb
qm	question marker
r	relator
rec	reciprocal
refl	reflexive
S	Subject
sm	subject marker
st	stative
T	Time tagmeme
tr	transitivizer
tra	transitive
traV	transitive verb phrase

trav	transitive verb
trp	Transitive Predicate
trS	Transitive Subject
trv	transitive verbalizer

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