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Series A Volume 3

FOUR GRAMMATICAL SKETCHES: FROM PHRASE TO PARAGRAPH

Editor: Christine A. Kilham

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines Branch
Darwin

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PREFACE

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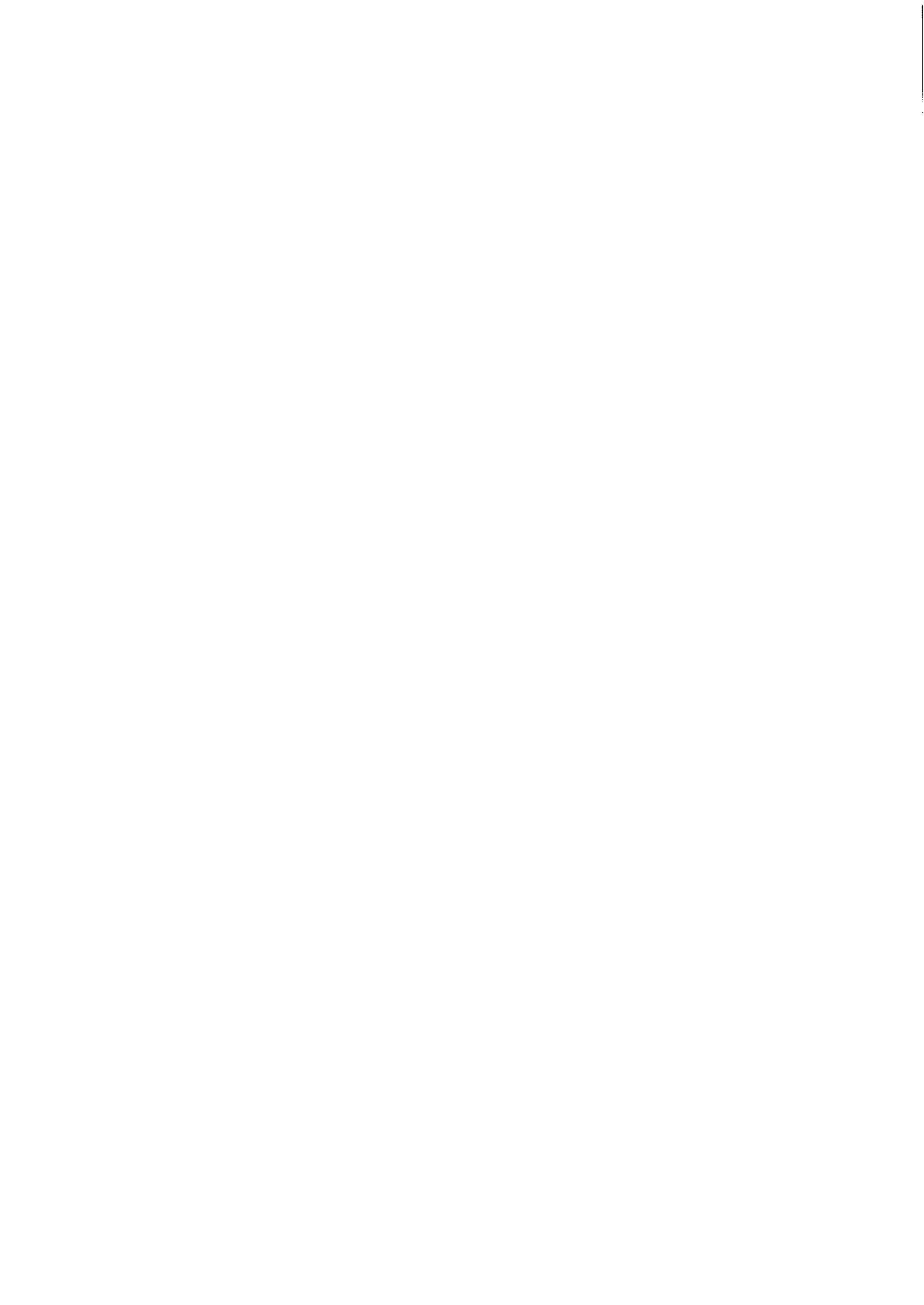
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INTRODUCTION TO
SERIES A VOLUME 3

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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Work Papers of SIL-AAB
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NOTES ON PARAGRAPH DIVISION IN TIWI

Marie P. Godfrey

O. INTRODUCTION

Tiwi is an Australian Aboriginal language, which is spoken by about 1400 people who live mainly on Bathurst and Melville Islands, 65 km to the north of Darwin, Northern Territory, Australia.

The author has been working on the Tiwi language since February 1970, but most of the text materials from which this present analysis has been made were collected between May and July 1977. The text material was collected at Bathurst Island from Raphael Apuatimi, Donald Kantilla, Charlie Puruntatameri, Filin Kantilla, and Greig Ullungura. Special thanks are due to Donald Kantilla, who gave invaluable help at the linguistic workshop of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), July-August 1977, at which this paper was written. I am also greatly indebted to my colleague in SIL, Christine Kilham, for consultant help given during the workshop. Of help in this analysis has been the work of Charles R. Osborne (1974); and a concordance produced by a joint project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute and partially funded by the National Science Foundation, Grant GS-1605.

The examples cited in this paper are in the practical orthography developed by the author for literacy purposes.

	<u>Phonemes</u>	<u>Practical Orthography</u>
Consonants		
Labial	p, mp, p ^w , m, m ^w , w	p, mp, pw, m, mw, w
Apico-alveolar (alveolar)	t, nt, n, l, ʎ	t, nt, n, l, rr
Lamino-alveolar (alveo-palatal)	t ^v , ñt ^v , nj, y	j, nj, ny, y
Apico-domal (retroflexed)	ɖ, nɖ, ŋ, ɭ, ɣ	rt, rnt, rn, rl, r
Velar	k, ŋk, k ^w , ŋ, ŋ ^w , ɣ	k, nk, kw, ng, ngw, ɣ
Vowels		
High non-back	ɪ	i
High back	u	u
Mid	ɔ	o
Low	ʌ	a

1. PARAGRAPH DIVISION

This analysis was undertaken because of the need for a knowledge of how to paragraph materials for both the bilingual programme and for translation.

The following discourses are analysed for paragraph division:

Narrative - 'Chased by a Cow', 'Story of a Marriage Arrangement', 'Jabiru Dreaming', 'A Cyclone Scare', 'A Visit to the Zoo'.

Procedural - 'How We Used to Catch Wallabies', 'Travel Instructions for a Hunting Trip', 'The Phases of the Sun's Movements Across the Sky' (a version from two different people), 'How We Make Graveposts', 'Procedures We Followed in Walking to Distant Places'.

Explanatory - 'Projecting the Future', 'People Well-liked and People Hated'.

Hortatory - 'Exhortation to be Literate in Own Language', 'Instructing on Acceptable and Unacceptable Behaviour in the Culture', 'Instruction on Avoiding Seawasp Stings', 'Instruction Against Bad Behaviour', 'We Should Love Each Other'.

Paragraphs of one type of discourse were found embedded in discourses of another type. In one explanatory discourse, paragraphs of

the other three discourse types were found embedded, and as well, there were found mini explanatory discourses embedded in hortatory discourses. Explanatory and narrative (of a prophetic type) paragraphs were found embedded in narrative discourses.

Of the criteria for making paragraph divisions; only the grammatical are dealt with in any detail in this article. And of the grammatical criteria, only the main conjunction-introducers and the repeated-verb introducers are described.

1.1 DISCOVERY PROCEDURES AND INITIAL HYPOTHESES

To prepare for the analysis of texts into paragraphs, text material was typed up a clause to a line, so that on the left-hand margin it could readily be seen where new sentences started (by the capital letter at the beginning), and where conjunctions began the clauses or sentences.

The steps followed in arriving at an intuitive division of the texts into paragraphs were as outlined by Longacre and Levinsohn (n.d.:31) in their section on the division of a discourse into its constituents:

Two principles . . . help in these divisions: (i) in discourses (except possibly travelogues), a change of location or temporal discontinuity usually corresponds with a paragraph break. (ii) The absence of a link element usually signifies one of two opposite possibilities: either two elements are associated very closely together . . . , or else a major (paragraph) break in the discourse occurs. The difference between the two should be obvious.

Following on from this procedure, charts were set up with six vertical columns labelled as follows: Text, Semantic Criteria, Phonological Criteria, Grammatical Criteria, Same Criteria Occurring on Levels other than Paragraph, Irregular Paragraph Features. The column labelled 'Text' gave the letter code assigned to the text being paragraphed and here also each tentative paragraph division was numbered in sequence throughout each text. Later a rough discourse level analysis was also shown in the 'Text' column - for instance, an outline of the plot structure if a narrative discourse.

If there was embedding of one discourse type in another, the embedded section was entered at the same time on the chart of its own discourse type, by the use of carbon paper. A coloured carbon was used so that it could readily be seen on the chart of any discourse type which was the embedded material from a text in another

discourse type. Although there was a lot of variety in subject matter in the texts analysed, the number of texts worked on was only eighteen.

Some of my initial intuitions were revised as the charting proceeded. For instance, my first intuition about the clitic *-apa* which occurs at the end of a phrase or a dependent clause in sentence-initial position, was that it was signalling that the next clause was the nucleus of a sentence, which in turn was the nucleus of a paragraph. Therefore, I made tentative paragraph divisions at the clause or phrase to which *-apa* was attached. However, as the analysis continued, I realised that the nucleus of the paragraph did not always occur in the first sentence of the paragraph, and that *-apa* had to be looked at alongside semantic clues. I also realised that occasionally a paragraph contains two nuclei. Although *-apa* on its own does not signal a new paragraph, sometimes its occurrence coincides with the start of a new paragraph.

As the analysis continued, I realised that in some places where there was a 'feel' for a paragraph break but seemingly no formal criteria for making that break, the section in question was the start of material from another discourse type embedded in the text, which, of course, was essentially a semantic criterion.

While most new paragraphs in narrative and procedural discourse are introduced by a conjunction, conjunctions are also found in sentence medial position; that is, introducing the second and subsequent clauses in a sentence, and introducing sentences also, thus linking them semantically with the previous sentence. Those conjunctions that signal a new paragraph are distinguished by the following phonological features: i) special pitch contour on the final syllable; ii) length on final vowel; and iii) pause following; and semantic criteria are also taken into account. Paragraphs in explanatory discourse are sometimes introduced by a conjunction, but paragraphs in hortatory discourse very seldom are.

1.2 GRAMMATICAL, PHONOLOGICAL, AND SEMANTIC CRITERIA

1.2.1 CRITERIA CHARTED

Table 1 displays the criteria that emerged for the determining of Tiwi paragraphs for each discourse type. As stated in Section 1.1, and as displayed in the table, there is a close link between the grammatical and phonological features. For that reason, where grammatical and phonological criteria occur together, I am combining the description of the two.

TABLE 1

Grammatical, Semantic, and Phonological Criteria for Paragraph Analysis

Types of Paragraph Criteria	Narrative	Procedural	Explanatory	Hortatory
GRAMMATICAL				
Conjunctions & other introducers				
<i>ninkiyi/kiyi</i> 'then (seq. or next of conseq.)'	x	x		
'now back onto the subject/story' or 'next point to relate'			x	
<i>partawa/parta</i> 'finish of action/ stage in procedure'	x	x		
'finish of point or instruction'			x	x
<i>partawa ninkiyi/parta kiyi</i> 'finish last episode or stage, then . . .'	x	x		
<i>api</i> 'so, that's why', 'but'			x	
'and'	x	x		
<i>api ninkiyi/api kiyi</i> 'so next to relate', 'so then'			x	
<i>amintiya</i> 'and'	rare		x	x
<i>awu</i> 'and furthermore'			x	
<i>awungawawanga</i> 'likewise'			x	
personal pronoun with emphatic clitic	x	x	x	x
temporals & adverbs of time	x	x	x	
repeated verb	x	x		
verb (where action follows dialogue)	x	x		
clitic - <i>apa</i>	x	x	x	
SEMANTIC	new time new episode new life-phase new main participant or old participant in focus	new time (when time-oriented) new location new procedure	new point	new point
PHONOLOGICAL	For conjunctions <i>ninkiyi/kiyi</i> , <i>amintiya</i> , <i>awu</i> , <i>awungawawanga</i> , there is a rising or rising-falling contour pitch on the final syllable, length on the final vowel, and pause following. Sometimes there is high pitch throughout the first clause of paragraph.			

1.2.2 GRAMMATICAL AND PHONOLOGICAL CRITERIA DESCRIBED

1.2.2.1. CONJUNCTION INTRODUCERS

a. The conjunction *ninkiyi*

The conjunction *ninkiyi*, where it is a paragraph introducer, occurs mostly in narrative and procedural discourses, and its main meaning is 'then (sequential or next action of any consequence)'. The shortened form of *ninkiyi* often occurs, namely, *kiyi*.

There is a rising or rising-falling contour pitch on the final syllable of *ninkiyi/kiyi*.¹ Where a speaker clips off his words quickly, the pitch contour on the final syllable is rising; and where the words are not clipped off, the pitch falls again, making a rising-falling pitch contour. A pause precedes and follows *ninkiyi/kiyi*. Other paragraph-introducing conjunctions which have the same phonological features as *ninkiyi/kiyi* are *amintiya* (Section d), *awu* and *awunganuwanga* (not dealt with in this paper). These same phonological features are also frequently found on the final syllable of the final word in a dependent clause, where an independent clause follows; and on a word at which the speaker hesitates, before going onto the next word.

The conjunction *ninkiyi* often commences a new episode in a narrative. For example, in a story about a visit to the zoo, each time the party making the visit moved onto another group of animals, *ninkiyi* was at the beginning of the paragraph. Here and there, there were other paragraphs telling about the antics of the different animals (usually explanatory paragraphs); but each time the party moved onto the next group of animals, *ninkiyi* was at the beginning of the paragraph.

In the context of the paragraph preceding the following example, which is from another narrative discourse, the narrator told of a cyclone scare and of instructions given for procedures in the case of a cyclone striking.

- (1) /*ninkiyi*:/ *ngarin**makirring**ka**mawi* *kiyi**ja*/
then we:in:fright:had:a:spell short:time
'Then we had a bit of a spell. We were frightened.'

The rest of the paragraph described how the people spent their time until the warning siren sounded, and how they carried out the procedures.

In one procedural discourse, *ninkiyi* was used to commence each new day's procedures. The narrator gave an account of a four-day walk to a distant place, and *ninkiyi* was used to commence each paragraph that told of the travellers waking each morning. The rest of the sentences in each paragraph told of hunting along the way, and reaching a certain point and camping there.

In the context of the paragraph preceding the following example, from another procedural discourse, the narrator had told of the light at daybreak before the sun appears.

- (2) /~~ninkiyi~~:/ ~~jipilaya~~ ~~ampiniwatipakitiringa~~
 then sun's rays she:morning:throws
 'Then the sun's rays shine.'

The rest of the paragraph consisted of a sentence that was a paraphrase of the first sentence, relating how 'the sun arrives with a light'.

It should be mentioned that although Table 1 gives no occurrence of *ninkiyi* commencing a hortatory paragraph, there is one instance of this in a procedural discourse which is very close to a hortatory discourse in form, in that the procedures are given in the form of commands. The procedures are, however, time-oriented, being stages in a journey, and so it is not surprising to find *ninkiyi*, meaning 'then', commencing a paragraph of instruction about the next stage of the journey.

- (3) /~~ninkiyi~~:/ ~~yintulala~~ ~~nyirramajingim~~
 then edge:continue you:go:with (canoe)
- ~~tuwasong-apa~~:/ ~~Mingampakumuwu~~
 again:and place:name

'Then keep following along the edge again, (and you'll reach) Mingampakumuwu.'

Another meaning for *ninkiyi* is 'now back onto the subject/story' or 'the next point to relate'. In most instances where *ninkiyi* has one of these meanings, it is starting an explanatory paragraph.

In the context of the paragraph preceding the following example the narrator was describing the procedures of some of the old customs. Now he goes back onto a new point back on his original theme, of projecting the future.

(4) /ninkiyi:/ nwa ngwiyi yantagi:/ amkuta
 back:onto:subject you future later maybe

ngini ngimpinirima:/ piri juwi ngimpinirima:
 that you:will:then:become priests you:will:become

'Now back onto the subject. You who come behind will maybe become priests.'

Another example, also an explanatory paragraph, was in a discourse which related three stories to illustrate the point 'How We Can Tell a Person in Angry with Us'. One of the explanations given to illustrate the point began with *ninkiyi* and went on to say '. . . it's the same thing in the case of a man who drinks a lot of beer'. So *ninkiyi*, in this context, has the meaning of 'the next point to relate'. There is one instance of *ninkiyi* commencing a narrative discourse, with the meaning of 'next (or now) to relate . . .'.

The conjunction *ninkiyi* also occurs in sentence-medial position, and occasionally in paragraph-medial position. In sentence-medial position it usually has the meaning of 'and (then)'. The 'and' links two actions, the second one of which regularly follows the first. For example, 'We would pick up a stick and hit it on the head'. In one sentence in a narrative paragraph the meaning of the conjunction was 'and then (being the next action of any consequence)'. The sentence was 'They gave her first to Maliwarniyuwa (as wife) and then he begat a girl'. To date *ninkiyi* has only been found in sentence-medial position in narrative and procedural paragraphs. The phonological features on it vary; but it most regularly has no or little rising pitch, very little length, and no pause between it and the rest of the clause it is introducing. In the cases where length is present and a pause following, it may be that these features are caused by the fact that the narrator is pausing on this word while thinking of what to say next. Often this seems to be the case.

Very few examples have been found of *ninkiyi* commencing a sentence in paragraph-medial position. The meaning seems to be 'then (the next action of any consequence)', though not an action of enough consequence that it would constitute a new episode and so commence a new paragraph. The same phonological features are present as when *ninkiyi* commences a new paragraph. An example of *ninkiyi* meaning 'then (the next action of any consequence)', in a procedural paragraph is, 'Then it would be morning. Then, "Let's go now!" they said.'

b. The conjunction *partuwa*

The conjunction *partuwa* means 'the completion of the action or of the stage in a procedure' or 'the completion of a point in an explanation or instruction'. There is also a shortened form, *parta*. Either *partuwa* or *parta* is found at the beginning of a paragraph, where it means that the action, stage, or point stated in the preceding paragraph is completed. The phonological features that occur with *partuwa*, or lack of them, will be dealt with in the descriptions of *partuwa* in its different environments.

Occasionally *partuwa* occurs as the only conjunction introducer of a paragraph. However, apart from four examples, in each case the combination *partuwa ninkiyi* can be substituted for *partuwa*. In other words, *partuwa* in these examples is acting as an abbreviated form of *partuwa ninkiyi*. The function of *partuwa ninkiyi* is described later in this section.

When *partuwa* is the only conjunction introducer of a paragraph (whether it is felt to be 'abbreviated' or not) there is no high intonation contour and no length on the final syllable and no pause between it and the word that follows it.

In the context of the paragraph preceding the following example, from a hortatory discourse, the person giving the instruction has stated that the children who will read the books written in Tiwi will say, 'This is *our* language'. (It follows an instruction in a previous paragraph for everyone to write stories in Tiwi.)

- (5) *parta* *ngarra kagi jurra ngarikirimi* . . .
end:of:point it in book we:all:write
'That's the end of that last point. That which we
write . . .'

The rest of the paragraph told how, when in future the Tiwi read what is being written now, they will remark that it is what their forebears used to talk.

The conjunction *partuwa* or the combination of *partuwa ninkiyi* sometimes marks the finish of a larger unit than a paragraph. In a procedural discourse on hunting wallaby, there was first a group of five paragraphs describing stages in the hunting of a wallaby; the next paragraph began with *partuwa ninkiyi*, and it and the following ten paragraphs were describing the killing, taking home, and gutting of the wallaby; the next paragraph began with *partuwa ninkiyi* and it and the following six paragraphs were describing the cooking, taking from the fire, and dividing up of the wallaby; and the last paragraph

began with *partuwa* and described the eating of the wallaby. It could be that there was a haphazard use of *partuwa* in one or two places in that discourse, or that *partuwa* could have potentially been present in extra places in the discourse. However, there is a similar use of *partuwa* in the dividing up of an explanatory discourse into what would seem to be logical units: in the first three paragraphs the narrator described the sort of person not popular in his society; in the next paragraph he described the sort of person who *is* popular; and in the final paragraph he described the emotional attitude of the society to the types of people who are unpopular and to the type who is popular.

The conjunction *partuwa* is mostly found with *ninkiyi* following it, and no pause between the two. This combination of conjunctions is mostly found commencing narrative and procedural paragraphs, where it has the meaning of 'the last episode or stage finished, then . . .'. There is the usual lack of special phonological features on *partuwa*, as described above for the use of *partuwa* when it occurs singly; and there is no pause between the two conjunctions. The conjunction *ninkiyi* takes its usual phonological features, as described above (Section a), when it occurs singly.

In the context of the paragraph preceding the following example from a procedural discourse, the narrator told how when they get bark for making a basket to hang on the gravepost, they put the bark into the fire to blacken it, and then they bend the bark in two.

- (6) /~~parta~~^{kiyi}:/ ~~manawak~~^{inga} ~~ngamp~~ⁱⁿ~~in~~^w~~w~~^{inga}/
 finish then certain:bark we:get:from:there
 'That was the end of that last stage. Then we get a certain bark from over there.'

The rest of the paragraph told how they sew up the basket with that certain vine, using the shin bone of a wallaby for a needle.

There is only one example to date from an explanatory discourse, but no doubt more examples will be found later. No examples have been found in hortatory discourse, but that is to be expected because of *ninkiyi* not commencing hortatory paragraphs. In the context of the paragraph preceding the following example from an explanatory discourse, the narrator told how a certain priest of days gone by spoke the Tiwi language at the Mass.

(7) /^{partuwa} ^{ninkiyi:/} ~~ngini~~ ~~kangi~~ ~~j^{sk}ur^{li}~~
finish next:to:relate that in school

^{yinimaw^{wa}wa^{la}wa^{amint}} ^{ngin^{ingaw}ita} ^{winguku/}
he:would:teach:us our language

'That is the finish of that point. The next to relate is that he would teach us in school in our language.'

The rest of the paragraph told how it is the same in the school today, with people starting to write the Tiwi language.

As with *ninkiyi*, *partuwa ninkiyi* also occurs in sentence-medial position, with the same general meaning as *ninkiyi* has in that position. However, the addition of *partuwa* probably signals that there is an element of the episode or stage referred to in the first clause of the sentence which is being finished. This would be a minor stage or episode compared with that which is finished when *partuwa* (\pm *ninkiyi*) starts a paragraph and signals the finish of the stage or episode described in the previous paragraph. However, this hypothesis needs more investigation.

c. The conjunction *api*

The conjunction *api* has the meaning of 'so, that's why' and 'but' when it introduces explanatory paragraphs, and of 'and' when it introduces narrative and procedural paragraphs. The meaning of 'and' in this context is 'linking an action with a previous one', as distinct from the meaning of the conjunction *amintiya* 'and' (see Section d), which links participants or props or points of instruction or explanation. The difference between the meanings of *api* and *ninkiyi* in introducing narrative and procedural paragraphs is that the meaning 'and (then)' for *ninkiyi* has a time sequence element (even if the times of the actions are somewhat separated), whereas the meaning of *api* connects two actions, without any thought of time sequence. Not many examples have been recorded to date of *api* introducing narrative and procedural paragraphs.

No special phonological features are combined with *api* and there is usually no pause between it and the rest of the clause it introduces.

In the context of the paragraph preceding the following example of *api* commencing an explanatory paragraph, the narrator had stated that he did not know what would happen to the young people in the future when the older ones had gone.

- (8) *api awarra naki ngini tuwawanga ngimpiriwayatangim*
 so that this which again I-load:the:message
 'So for that reason I am putting this message on tape again.'

The rest of the paragraph told how the old customs had almost gone and so the stage was set for the narrator to exhort the young ones to hold onto the customs.

In the context of the paragraph preceding the following example of *api* commencing a narrative paragraph, the people had practised sheltering from a cyclone, which followed instructions on how to do it. While this example does have a time sequence element, this is conveyed by *karri* 'when' rather than by *api*.

- (9) /*api karri:*/ *pimmatipirripujingapaya*
 and when they:morning:there:finished:talking
 'And when they finished giving (the cyclone practice instructions . . .)'

The rest of the paragraph told how the advice was also given that, in the event of the cyclone striking, everyone should boil the water before drinking it.

The conjunction *api* sometimes combines with *ninkiyi*, usually in the order of *api ninkiyi*. Not many examples have been found to date of this combination of conjunctions commencing paragraphs. Its meanings are 'so next I want to tell you' and 'so then (sequential)'. It has a shortened form, *api kiyi*.

In the context preceding the following example of *api ninkiyi* where it commences an explanatory paragraph, Long-necked Turtle had thrown spears into Ant-eater's back and they had stuck there and formed spikes.

- (10) *api ninkiyi ningani awinyirra ngapakurluwnyi*
 so next:to:relate today the:fem. we:see:her
 'So next I want to tell you that today (when) we look at her . . .'

The rest of the paragraph tells how we see the spikes on Ant-eater's back as quills. No intonation is marked on this example, because it is taken from a written story. However, as is the usual case with *api* when used singly, it has no special phonological features and no pause before *ninkiyi*; and *ninkiyi* has the usual phonological features that are present when it introduces a paragraph.

I have observed this same kind of final explanatory paragraph in narratives with similar plots to have only the conjunction *api* introducing them.

The conjunction *api* also occurs in sentence-medial position. A common function for *api* in this position is to introduce the nucleus of the sentence, introducing an independent clause that is preceded by one or more dependent clauses.

(11) waya ngini karr waya pirrimngamoni
 now that when now they:moved:off:for:dance
ngini yoyi pirrimmani/
 to dance they:used:to:do:for:him

api pakinya yitanga pirrakitirngamni/
 well first first:dance they:used:to:do:it

'When they would move off for the dance, to dance for him, first they would dance the first type of dance.'

In this type of construction, *api* has been seen to be optionally present.

Another meaning *api* sometimes has in sentence-medial position is 'so, for that reason' and sometimes it links pieces of information. In the example that follows, the *api* in sentence-medial position has the latter function.

(12) /api dwarra nawa ngini tindwanga ngimpirniwayalangini
 so the this which again I:load:the:message

pili ngarra ngini yiparingimirngarra dwarra:/
 because he who he:white:man:lived the
ngawa rrangani/ api ngarra yintanga Parramanikorra/
 our father and his name Father McGrath

'So this message which I'm putting on tape again is because of the white man who lived here, our Father, and his name was Father McGrath.'

The combination *api ninkiyi* also occurs in sentence-medial position with the meanings of 'so then (sequential)' or 'but then (sequential)'. More investigation is needed of both *api* and *api ninkiyi* in mid-sentence position.

d. The conjunction *amintiya*

The conjunction *amintiya*, where it introduces paragraphs, has the meaning of 'and', in the sense of linking points of explanation or instruction in explanatory and hortatory discourses, and of linking participants in narrative discourse. Where *amintiya* commences a paragraph, it occurs mostly in explanatory and hortatory discourses. In these two types of discourse *amintiya* has length and rising-falling contour pitch on the final vowel, and a pause between it and the rest of the clause.

In the context of the paragraph preceding the following example which is from an explanatory discourse, the narrator has been making conjectures about the sorts of roles that Tiwi young people will fill in their community in the future, when the older people have gone.

- (13) /*amintiya:*/ ~~*api*~~ *ngajiti:* / ~~*nyawajamwari*~~ ~~*awarra*~~ *nayi:* /
 and so negative don't:you:leave the that
 'And, "Don't forsake those (customs of ours)!"'

The rest of the paragraph enjoins the young people not to leave off speaking the Tiwi language.

One occurrence only of *amintiya* where it introduces paragraphs was discovered in the narrative texts analysed, and none in procedural texts. In this one example, *amintiya* is linking an explanatory paragraph back to the narrative paragraph which precedes it. Here it has no special phonological features.

The conjunction *amintiya* also occurs in sentence-medial position where it links in a co-ordinate phrase two items such as participants, props, places, etc. In this context *amintiya* has no special phonological features attached to it.

1.2.2.2 REPEATED-VERB INTRODUCER

In verb repetition a verb of the previous sentence is used in a dependent clause to introduce the independent clause in the following sentence. The main reason for this repetition of the verb seems to be to 'pick up' the main event line, and carry the event line further.

One typical place where it happens is where the event line has been 'broken' because of an explanatory sentence finishing up a narrative paragraph. The verb is then taken from the last predicate in the event line and used as the stage for the carrying forward of the event line. The pre-nuclear clitic *-apa* often occurs suffixed to the repeated verb, where its function seems to be to draw *special* attention to the following clause. However, *-apa* occurs in other constructions also; and these will be described in a later paper. One speaker has been observed to use the conjunction *ninkiyi* in this position, between the repeated verb and the following independent clause.

There are no special phonological features that attach to the repeated verb, but the pitch, etc., are that of the final word of any dependent clause.

Not many examples of verb repetition were found in the texts analysed; and of the examples discovered, about half were found to introduce paragraphs and the rest were in paragraph-medial position. In one example the subject from the previous sentence was also repeated with the verb, and in another the object from the previous sentence. The paragraphs introduced with the repeated verb were in narrative and procedural discourses.

In the context of the paragraph preceding the following example, the narrator and his friends were being chased by a cow. They ran in fright, and as he ran the narrator warned his friends that the cow was getting closer.

- (14) *ka*¹*ka*¹*li* *ngirim-apa:*² *ngirring*³*mayan*⁴*lari*⁵
run:run I:did:pre-nuclear:clitic I:climbed

~~*minkaga*~~
fence

'I ran and ran and climbed a fence.'

The rest of the paragraph tells how the narrator jumped down on the other side of the fence and the cow turned back.

The repeated verb, as mentioned above, also begins sentences that are in paragraph-medial position. See Section 2.2.a for examples of this.

2. NATIVE REACTION TO PARAGRAPHING

2.1 METHOD OF OBTAINING

One of the ways in which the language helper assisted me in the division of texts into paragraphs was by giving me his intuitive feel for paragraphing. His help was sought after I had tentatively paragraphed all the texts being used in the analysis. However, because of the time involved in the process of getting his reactions, I was not able to work with him on all of the texts used in my analysis. I began by reminding him of how a word consists of 'pieces' (syllables) and from there I went on to explain that stories are also made up of 'pieces' (paragraphs). Because he is not a fluent reader of Tiwi, I was not able to ask him to do the paragraphing on his own. Instead I would read the whole of one story to him and then go back to the beginning and start to read again. This time I would pause at the end of each sentence, and he would tell me when he felt a paragraph break should be marked. If he needed to hear more context in order to make a decision, then I would read on further; and then I would back up again and read the sentences on either side of the potential paragraph boundary. Of course, he did not need much repetition when it was a text that he had given me himself. I did not tell him where I had made my paragraph divisions.

2.2 RESULTS

In most cases the language helper's decisions on paragraph divisions coincided with mine. Where they did not, it was mostly a case of his wanting two or more of my paragraphs to be joined into one.

a. Repetition of the Verb

In my own first intuitive division of texts into paragraphs, I felt that the repetition of the verb from a previous sentence and using it in a dependent clause as a point from which to move on with the story, signalled a new paragraph - unless some other criterion pointed to another analysis. The language helper gave a different decision in three places where I had made new paragraphs at those points. In one place he gave the unsolicited reason for continuing with the old paragraph as 'It's the same word, so it's the same piece of the story.' As I examined the other two places where he had felt that the repetition of the verb did *not* constitute a new paragraph, I realised that it was:

- (1) where the event line had been broken by an intervening amplification, and the repeated verb had 'picked up' the event line, ready to carry it further in the independent clause following. This occurred in a discourse telling of the sun's movement across the sky. The paragraph had started with the relating of how in the morning the sun's rays shine before the sun is in sight. And then there was an amplification. Following that, the verb was repeated, and then the action in the event line was the appearing of the sun (over the horizon).
- (2) where the same verb occurred in the second clause of the sentence, but with a new object. This was at the beginning of an explanatory discourse telling of the man who hates us ('us' refers to the narrator and his family). The next sentence repeated the verb: '(He) hates us, and he hates others too'. Perhaps this repetition of the verb was a departure point from which to give the rest of the preliminary information before the main point of the paragraph was made.

So in (1) and (2) the dependent clause, with the repeated verb filling the predicate, was not really a departure point for a new event.

In another place, because of a different clue, I had not posited a paragraph boundary where a sentence began with a repetition of the verb from the previous sentence (in this case a synonym rather than an exact repetition). But my language helper felt that it was necessary to mark a new paragraph here. When I looked beyond the synonymous verb, I saw that it was introducing a new episode in the story. It was a story about the narrator's mother and father. The woman who was to be his mother was married to her first husband, and the story went on to tell how the narrator's father came to the place where the woman and her husband were. Then there was a repetition of the verb, '(he) came here', and from that point the story went on to tell how the narrator's father stole her.

In yet another place where the language helper wanted a new paragraph, where there was a repetition of the verb, and where I had continued on without making a new paragraph, there was a repetition of the verb from two sentences back. The story was about the narrator and related that his father begot him. This was followed by the stating of his father's name in a separate sentence. Then 'He begot me' was repeated (preceded by *kiyi*, meaning 'now back onto the story'), and then the independent clause that followed related how the narrator's father made a marriage arrangement for him. In discussing this case with him, it was obvious to me that the language

helper was reacting to a semantic criterion for making a new paragraph. This was borne out when, in paraphrasing the sentence, he left out the repeated dependent verb and asked if I had said that a marriage arrangement was made. When I confirmed this, he said that in that case it *was* a new paragraph. He was reacting to this happening in a person's life in their society as being significant.

b. Action following Dialogue

Where there was a relating of action following a reporting of conversation, I felt that this change of information type could well signal a new paragraph. This intuition was strengthened by the fact that quite often a conjunction such as *ninkiyi* or *partuwa* or the combination *partuwa ninkiyi* appeared at the beginning of the sentence relating the action. So in my first tentative paragraphing of the texts, I made a new paragraph division wherever action followed dialogue. However, my language helper sometimes put the action following dialogue into the same paragraph as the dialogue and sometimes not. After studying the places where his decisions differed from mine, I concluded that where the action was the expected result of dialogue, that action belonged in the same paragraph as the dialogue. There are two examples of this in one of the discourses used in the analysis. In the first example, the text told of how White-breasted Sea Eagle said to his brother, Red-backed Sea Eagle, 'Let's go down in a canoe'. The next sentence told of their going down into the water in the canoe. Here there was no conjunction introducing the sentences describing the action. In the second example, the text told of how White-breasted Sea Eagle sighted a turtle and told his brother and his brother expressed his pleasure. After this exchange of conversation the White-breasted Sea Eagle stood up and speared the turtle. The conjunction *ninkiyi* appeared at the beginning of the sentence relating the action with the usual phonological features that signal a new paragraph. However, the language helper felt that the action should go into the same paragraph as the dialogue. There is one more example of this apparently inconsistent use of the conjunction *ninkiyi* where it would be expected to introduce a new paragraph. However, in this case the phonological features on *ninkiyi* were not as distinctive as those normally on a conjunction introducing a new paragraph; that is, there was very little length, no rising pitch, and a very short pause before the rest of the sentence.

c. The conjunction *api*

The conjunction *api* has been found to commence new paragraphs only infrequently. In two places where I had tentatively made a paragraph break at *api*, the language helper felt that there was no

paragraph break. As I looked for possible reasons I saw that the meanings for *api* in those two instances is 'so' or 'for that reason'. Then I looked at the meaning of *api* in places where my language helper's decision to make a paragraph had coincided with mine. In most of those instances the *api* commencing a paragraph meant 'and' or 'but', and the clause it introduced was a dependent one, with the nucleus of the sentence in the clause following. This following clause featured a new episode in a story, a new place reached in a journey, or a new generation of people being spoken about.

d. Personal Pronouns with Emphatic Clitic

My first intuition was to make a paragraph division at each occurrence of emphatic personal pronouns. But when the language helper's feel was to continue on with the same paragraph at most of these points, I had a closer look at the places where he had made this decision. All three texts were explanatory, so that which was in focus was the *point* being made in each instance, rather than the fact that a new participant was in focus, or that the participant(s) in one action are being compared with the participant(s) in another action.

3. CONCLUSIONS

3.1 PARAGRAPH DIVISION

It is almost certain that more phonological criteria for paragraph division will come to light when a thorough analysis of Tiwi intonation is done; and that more grammatical and semantic criteria will be revealed by a study of the *structure* of Tiwi paragraphs.

3.2 NATIVE REACTION

As I worked with the language helper, I realised that most of his decisions were made on the basis of semantic criteria; but I feel that that was to be expected. He could have been unconsciously reacting to some grammatical criteria, though as far as I could tell he was not consciously doing so, except in one instance where he offered the opinion that 'it is the same word, so it goes in the same "piece of the story"'. This was in a place where there was a repetition of the verb from the previous sentence. The repeated verb introduced a dependent clause, and was not a departure point for a new episode in the story. Where phonological criteria are concerned, because of my reading the texts to him, it is quite a possibility that I was sometimes failing to give the right phonological clues.

While I realise that it would be unwise to make final decisions based on the language helper's first attempt at paragraph division, and without seeking the intuitions of other speakers of the language, I also feel that a study of his intuitions for paragraph divisions has been very worthwhile. In quite a few cases where his decisions on paragraphing differed from mine, it seemed, on further investigation, that his divisions were better than mine.

FOOTNOTES

¹Where word stress occurs on a final syllable containing the vowel *i* or *u*, this vowel is lengthened and the syllable has approximately one and one-half moras of length and a pitch contour of two or three levels. For these reasons the final stressed syllable containing *i* or *u* have been analysed by the author of this paper as two syllables. The final *yi* on *ninkiyi/kiyi* is an orthographic feature.

ABBREVIATIONS

conseq.	consequence
fem.	feminine
seq.	sequential
/	pause
:	length

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