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FOUR GRAMMATICAL SKETCHES: FROM PHRASE TO PARAGRAPH

Editor: Christine A. Kilham

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PREFACE

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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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THE WALMATJARI NOUN PHRASE

Eirlys Richards

O. INTRODUCTION

Walmatjari is the main language spoken along the Fitzroy River in the far north of Western Australia. Many of the speakers live in the towns of Fitzroy Crossing, Derby and Halls Creek, while others live at Looma and on cattle stations along the Fitzroy River. A closely related dialect is spoken at La Grange Mission south of Broome.

Voegelin and Voegelin (1977:262-3) classify Walmatjari as belonging to the Pama-Nyungan Family, Ngumbin Subgroup. Its reference number in Oates and Oates (1970) is 59.7b. Other spellings for the language name found in the literature are Walmadjari (AIAS spelling), Walmaharri, Wolmaharry, Walmadyeri, Walmatjeri, Wolmadjeri, Walmatjiri, Walmeri, Warmala, Wolmera, Wulumari.

The data for this paper was collected at Fitzroy Crossing under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics by the author and Miss Joyce Hudson between 1967 and 1977. Many Walmatjari speakers at Fitzroy Crossing have helped in contributing to this data, but I would particularly acknowledge Mrs Adeline Wanangini and Mrs Mona Chuguna who helped me in providing data specifically for this paper.

This paper was written at a linguistic workshop at SIL, Darwin, N.T., held during July-August 1977. I am grateful for the guidance and help given by Alan Healey in the analysis and writing of it.

This paper was prepared with the assistance of a concordance of 90-100 pages of text in Walmatjari produced by a joint project of the Oklahoma University Research Institute and the Summer Institute of Linguistics which was partially supported by Grant GS-1605 of the National Science Foundation.

Items which have presented problems in the analysis of the noun phrase are the similarity of nouns and adjectives in grammatical function, the optionality of an overt head, the possibility of separation of words of the phrase by other clause level units, the structure of the derived adjective and the embedding within the phrase signalled by suffix combinations.

The alphabet used in the charts and in examples throughout the paper is a practical one. It is used in Walmartjari literature and in the materials for teaching native speakers of Walmartjari to read.

There are 17 consonants and three long and three short vowels as listed below.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Apico- alveolar	Apico- postalveolar	Lamino- alveolar	Dorso- velar
Stops	p	t	rt	j	k
Nasals	m	n	rn	ny	ng
Laterals		l	rl	ly	
Vibrant		rr			
Semi- consonants	w	y	r		

Vowels

		Front	Central	Back
High	short	i		u
	long	ii		uu
Low	short		a	
	long		aa	

1. THE PHRASE IN RELATION TO THE CLAUSE

In the Walmatjari language, the verb and the verbal auxiliary are the only obligatory elements of the clause. Other units of the clause are manner and twelve (surface) cases. These cases are shown by suffixes on the noun phrases in a clause. Four of them (called 'syntactic' by Hudson) are cross-referenced in the verbal auxiliary according to number and person, and the other eight (called 'non-syntactic') are not cross-referenced. For a full treatment of case in Walmatjari, see Hudson (forthcoming).

Throughout the examples in this paper, the morphology of the verbal auxiliary is not identified and the nearest appropriate English gloss has been given.

The suffixes which indicate case on the noun phrases of the clause are as follows:

Cross-Referenced in Verbal Auxiliary

ergative	{-rlu}
nominative	{-∅}
dative	{-ku}
accessory	{-rla}

Not Cross-Referenced in Verbal Auxiliary

locative	{-rla}
purposive	{-ku}, -purru
projected reason	{-rlamarra}, -karrarla
allative	-karti, {-rlurra}, {-rlawu}
ablative	-ngurni
'by way of'	{-rlalu}
consequent	-wurra
manner	-karra

Each unit of each noun phrase is inflected for case.

- (1) *karlarni paji ngaju-kura-rlu mayit-tu*
 dug AUXhe:for:me (M)I-POSS-ERG (H)spouse-ERG

kurrku-Ø
 hole-NOM

'My spouse dug a hole for me.'

- (2) *marni manyanangu piyirn-warnti-wu nyanarti-warnti-wu*
 said AUXhe:to:them (H)man-PL-DAT (M)that-PL-DAT
 'He told those people.'

- (3) *kakarra-la pa yani mayaru-rlawu Ngarrwanji-rlawu*
 east-then AUXhe went (H)house-ALL (M)NAME-ALL
 'Then he went east to the station.'

There is no obligation for noun phrases to be present in the clause; and, furthermore there is no obligation for an overt noun phrase to occur at all, because the verbal auxiliary is signalling the main referents. In fact, more often than not a clause contains no noun phrase. The presence of an overt phrase is only required when:

- i) there is ambiguity as to which referent or prop is being discussed;
- ii) a new participant or prop is being introduced.

In Ngaanyatjara, Glass and Hackett (1969) mention the occurrence of noun phrases without a head. They say that they often occur when the context makes plain what is being referred to.

2. THE GENERAL NOUN PHRASE

The General Noun Phrase is made up of two optional heads, one of which is a pronoun and the other a noun and optional modifiers which may be nouns, adjectives (simple or derived), quantifiers or demonstratives.

2.1 THE TWO HEADS

One of the optional heads is filled by a pronoun. In fact, I am treating any (non-possessive) pronoun in a phrase as a nuclear element just as much as the head noun is. While the head noun carries important content information, such as the identification of participants and props, the pronoun cross-references with the verbal auxiliary (for

syntactic cases) according to both person and number. An interesting instance of this is that when first or second person is singled in the auxiliary, nouns or adjectives in the corresponding phrase are modifying that first or second person rather than the third person as would be expected in English. This free pronoun is optionally present in the phrase. In examples (4) and (5) the free pronoun referents are written in parentheses at the end of the sentences.

- (4) *kuyi-warnti-∅ paja-∅ marnanya jarlu pungani*
 (H)meat-PL-NOM (M)many-NOM AUXI:them before used:to:kill

yapa-ngu jilji-karraji-r̄lu (ngaju-ngu)
 (H)child-ERG (M)sandhill-pertaining:to-ERG (H)(I-ERG)

'Long ago when I was a child in the sandhills, I used to kill plenty of game.'

- (5) *miyi-∅ parlipangu kanya minyarti-karraji-warnti-wu*
 food-NOM AUXhe:for:us:in brought (M)this-pertaining:to-PL-DAT

(ngalimpa-wu)
 (H)(we:PL:IN-DAT)

'He brought food for us (inclusive) who live here.'

To describe the noun phrase in Walmatjari in terms of a head noun and modifying adjectives presents problems. (1) There are only slight syntactic distinctions between nouns and adjectives. All adjectives are inflected for number and case in the same way as nouns and they may stand in almost any position that nouns would. (2) An adjective may be the only word in the phrase. (3) Additionally, in some noun phrases we find several nouns which could all be thought of as heads of the phrase (6). They are considered to be elements of the one phrase because they are marked identically for case, but there is no grammatical criterion for determining which one of them is the head. They are all referring to the same thing and each of them could occur as the only constituent in the phrase.

- (6) *kakara-jinyangu-∅ mapun laman-ta nguniny*
 clean-very-NOM true (M)hollow:log-ACC is

kaniny-jarti warrpul-a mana-nga
 down-COM (M)species-ACC (H)tree-ACC

'It is really very clean in the hollow of the warrpul tree.'

When there are several nouns in a phrase, I have attempted to resolve this problem by the following analysis.

One noun - for example, the most generic one - is regarded as the head. (This is in addition to any pronoun functioning as a head.) The other nouns of the phrase are then classified as modifiers of that head.

- (7) *ngapa-∅ palu nyanya purlka-∅ yurnturr-∅*
 (H)water-NOM AUXthey:it saw (M)big-NOM (M)cloud-NOM
 'They saw the big cloud.'

In sentence (7), of the two nouns in the phrase marked for nominative case, *ngapa-∅* and *yurnturr-∅*, the former, the more generic term is treated as head of the phrase with the latter as its modifier. In other instances, the relationship of head and modifier is species and animal (8), whole and part (9), substance and artifact (10), or person and kinship term (11).

- (8) *kunyarr-∅ mapirri manya lanani marrany-∅*
 (H)dog-NOM also AUXhe:them used:to:spear (M)dingo-NOM
 'He also used to spear the dog (known as a) dingo.'

- (9) *kayan-∅ marna ngarnani ngamaji-∅ ngamarna-∅*
 (M)one-NOM AUXI:it used:to:eat (H)mother-NOM (M)milk-NOM
 'I used to drink only my mother's milk.'

- (10) *lanany-pala palu jimal-jarti-rlu kamangkirr-jarti-rlu*
 spear-then AUXthey:it (M)spear-COM-ERG (H)bamboo-COM-ERG
 'Then they spear it with a bamboo spear.'

- (11) *vinya marnarla parmany-∅ pimiri-∅*
 gave AUXI:to:her (H)old:woman-NOM (M)aunt-NOM
 'I gave it to the old woman, my aunt.'

In sentence (8), the word *kunyarr* is the generic term, head of the nominative phrase. In sentence (9), *ngamaji* is head of the nominative phrase. The noun *ngamarna* behaves as a body part which is an inalienable possession. In sentence (10), the word *kamangkirr* is the head of the ergative phrase as the generic noun. In sentence (11), *parmany* is head of the nominative phrase as it is the more generic word.

2.2 THE MODIFIER UNITS

There are no obligatory units in the noun phrase, so much so that many a clause contains no noun phrases at all. The verbal auxiliary may stand as the only indicator of the participants and props of a given clause.

On the other hand, up to four modifiers have been found in a noun phrase. It is even possible for several expanded phrases to be present in a given clause, but this is not typical of the language.

No definite bias has been seen in the order of occurrence of the units of the phrase. The heads may be preceded by or followed by their modifiers. However, further investigation of discourse material, paying particular attention to the movements of participants and events, could show the factors that affect the placement of modifiers and heads in relation to each other.

Marsh (1976) has taken a different approach in describing what appears to be similar features in the noun phrase in Mantjiltjara. He says that a substantive noun is the head of the noun phrase and may be deleted in favour of a demonstrative. In this case it would be necessary for a prior specification of the noun head to be made or there is an awareness of the context. He further says that the head noun can be in close apposition to other substantives such as personal names, body parts and kinship section names which are considered inalienable possessions. Other words expanding the noun phrase he calls adjectives - attributives to the head noun.

2.3 CO-ORDINATION

In the General Noun Phrase, the optional heads may be filled by several co-ordinated nouns or embedded clauses. The optional modifying slot can also be filled by adjectives in co-ordination. There are two forms of the conjunction meaning 'and' which serve as the links between nouns, embedded clauses or adjectives. They are *-jaa* (12-14) and *-an* (17), the latter being a loan word from English. However, their presence is optional. Frequently the nouns and other elements are listed without the co-ordinating suffix (15, 16). When the suffixes do occur, they always follow the obligatory case-marking suffix of the word.

- (12) *kungkala-Ø-jaa* *kurru-Ø*
 (H) tree:species-NOM-and (H) tree:species-NOM

marnalu *luwarni* *pujman-tu*
 AUXwe:pl:ex:it used:to:rub bushman-ERG

'When we (exclusive) were bushmen, we used to rub two species of wood, (*kungkala* and *kurru*).'

- (13) *purtkarra* *tarrapinya* *pilangurla* *kunyarr-a-jaa*
 pouringly threw AUXhe:on:them 2 (H) dog-ACC-and

piyirn-ta
 (H) man-ACC

'He threw it over the dog and the man.'

- (14) *marni* *manyonangu* *piyirn-warnti-wu-jaa* *marnin-warnti-wu*
 said AUXhe:to:them (H) man-PL-DAT-and (H) woman-PL-DAT
 'He said to the men and women.'

- (15) *kumanta-la* *palu* *ngarnani* *tangki-ngu*
 morning-then AUXthey:it were:eating (H) donkey-ERG

yawarta-rlu *ngapa-Ø*
 (H) horse-ERG water-NOM

'Then in the morning, donkeys and horses were drinking the water.'

- (16) *nganampa-Ø* *marnalu* *yani* *murrkurn-Ø* *ngaju-Ø*
 (H) we:EX-NOM AUXwe:ex went (M) several-NOM (H) I-NOM

Payirntarri-Ø *Alik-Ø*
 (M) NAME-NOM (M) NAME-NOM

'Several of us went, Payirntarri, Alec and I.'

(17) *kaparn marmalu kirramani Jitirn-Ø-jaa*
 middle AUXwe:ex were:sitting (M) NAME-NOM-and

ngaju-Ø-æn kartiya-Ø layi-Ø
 (H) I-NOM-and (H) white:man-NOM (M) one-NOM

'Jitirn, a white man and I were sitting there in the middle.'

Sometimes *-jaa* is used to couple up pairs of items that belong together.

(18) *kakarrangu palunya yungany purtayan*
 from:the:east AUXthey:them give in:return

karli-Ø-jaa wurru-purru-Ø pirlji-Ø-jaa
 (H) boomerang-NOM-and (H) spear-NOM (H) red:ochre-NOM-and

mawuntu-Ø
 (H) yellow:ochre-NOM

'Those from the east give them in return boomerangs and spears and red and yellow ochre.'

(19) *Pitirayi-jangka marmalu yani Kapukapu-jarra-Ø*
 PLACE-from AUXwe:ex went (M) NAME-DU-NOM

Manya-Ø Jitirn-Ø-jaa parri-Ø Pinakuta-Ø
 (M) NAME-NOM (M) NAME-NOM-and (H) boy-NOM (M) NAME-NOM

Jukuna-O manga-Ø-jaa parri-Ø
 (M) NAME-NOM (H) girl-NOM-and (H) boy-NOM

'We all left Fitzroy (Crossing), the two Kapukapu and Manya, Jitirn and his boy Pinakuta and Jukuna and her boy and girl.'

The modifier units of the General Noun Phrase may also be filled by a co-ordinated phrase, when the number of adjectives is extended and linked with the suffix *-jaa*.

(20) *yani pajarra* *Puwimiyamik-jarra-Ø* *yawarta-jarti-Ø-jaa*
 went AUXwe 2:ex (H) NAME-DU-NOM (M) horse-COM-NOM-and

tangka-jarti-Ø
 (M) donkey-COM-NOM

'Bohemia Mick and I went with a horse and a donkey.'

In (20) the words *yawarta-jarti* and *tangka-jarti* are adjectives coordinated by *-jaa* modifying the implicit head the free pronoun *ngajarra* 'we 2 (exclusive)'

Example (21) shows the modifier unit filled by embedded clauses in co-ordination.

(21) *jarlu marmalu ngunangani jirmal*
 before AUXwe:ex were (M) spear

kangu-juwal-Ø-jaa *kuyi*
 carry-always:associated:with-NOM-and (M) game

lanu-juwal-Ø
 pierce-always:associated:with-NOM

'Before, we (exclusive) were always carrying spears and killing game.'

3. WORDS FILLING PHRASE LEVEL UNITS

3.1 DISTINGUISHING NOUNS FROM ADJECTIVES

In Walmatjari, nouns and adjectives behave similarly'. Both are inflected for number and case. Frequently a noun phrase may be manifested by a single adjective which behaves as a noun does when it is head of a phrase.

(22) *lamparn-jarra-Ø marnapinya kanya*
 (M) small-DU-NOM AUXI:them 2 took
 'I carried the two small (ones).'

At first it seemed that all adjective-like words could be classified along with nouns; but eventually to facilitate ease of description, a way of distinguishing nouns from adjectives was found.

The relevant factor to the distinction are certain derivational suffixes which have a tendency to go with only one of the two word classes. Table 1 shows which suffixes attach to which word class.

TABLE 1

Criteria for Distinguishing Nouns and Adjectives

Nouns	Adjectives	Suffixes	
X	-	<i>-karraji</i>	'pertaining to'
X	-	<i>-pari</i>	'characterised by'
RARE	X	<i>-marta</i>	'one who is'
RARE	X	<i>-kuji</i>	'causes'
RARE	X	<i>-jarri</i>	'become'

Nouns and adjectives which present no problem of identification were listed. Two of the above five derivational suffixes only ever attached to the nouns and the other three nearly always attached to adjectives. The rare occasions when they are attached to nouns are in very limited contexts. Hence if *-karraji* and *-pari* can be suffixed to a word stem, the stem is not an adjective. When the other three suffixes are attached to a word stem, it in most cases will not be a noun.

3.2 NOUNS

This is an open class of words which occupies both head and modifier units of the phrase. Most are noun stems, but some are derived nouns. Noun stems include: words for people and everything pertaining to them including kinship terms, names and subsection names; growth stages, etc.; food, both animal and vegetable; nature; objects, including hunting and fighting implements; and some abstract nouns.

Categorisation by Walmatjari differs considerably from western culture reflecting the Aboriginal lifestyle and world view. For example, it is more important for the Walmatjari to group all edible animals under one term, *kuyi*, than group all animals together as an animal category. Likewise, all edible vegetation is *miyi*. Thus a society whose primary aim was to physically survive is reflected.

Objects made from natural material tend to be given the name of its source.

<i>jarangkarr</i>	'boomerang' (carved from the tree <i>jarangkarr</i>)
<i>pirłji</i>	'red ochre' (prepared from the rock <i>pirłji</i>)
<i>yakapiri</i>	'desert sandals' (made from the bark of the <i>yakapiri</i> tree)

With increased contact with the greater Australian community and with the adoption of western technology, the Walmatjari have had to expand their language to handle new terms many of which are nouns. This has been done in two ways. Some middle-aged or older adult language purists prefer to engineer the new concept using Walmatjari words and suffixes. Most others borrow the English word, trimming it to the Walmatjari phonemic pattern

Nouns engineered in Walmatjari

<i>jurlu-purru</i> head-PURP	'for the purpose of the head (hat)'
<i>wangki-purru</i> talk-PURP	'for the purpose of talk (cassette player, radio)'
<i>ngurti</i> vessel	'vessel (car)'
<i>jara</i> shield	'shield (licence - it acts as a shield to protect one when the policeman intercepts)'

Nouns borrowed from English

<i>tuwa</i>	'store'
<i>mutuka</i>	'car'
<i>turiti</i>	'dress'
<i>turawurr</i>	'trousers'
<i>kuul</i>	'school'

Sometimes a combination of borrowed English words and Walmatjari suffixes are employed.

<i>kapuman-kura</i> government-POSS	<i>apij</i> office	'government's office (welfare office)'
--	-----------------------	--

Derived Nouns (also see Section 4.13)

With the addition of a derivational suffix, the adjective stem, nominalised verb stem, or manner word stem becomes a noun.

<i>ngarla-marta</i> bad-one:who:is	'one who is bad'
<i>yukamu-marta</i> lies:down-one:who:is	'one who lies down'
<i>maya-pari</i> strength-characterised:by	'a strong one'

When the stem is already a noun, the addition of a derivational suffix causes it to change referent.

<i>yungku</i>	'scrub'
<i>yungku-karraji</i> scrub-pertaining:to	'one whose home is scrub country'

3.3 PRONOUNS

Pronouns occupy one of the optional head units of the phrase. They are suffixed for case in agreement with other members of the phrase. There is also agreement in number but that is inherent in the pronoun system. Table 2 displays all of the pronouns.

TABLE 2
Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	<i>ngaju</i> 'I'	<i>ngajarra</i> 'we 2(ex)' <i>ngalijarra</i> 'we 2(in)'	<i>nganampa</i> 'we(ex)' <i>ngalimpa</i> 'we(in)'
2nd person	<i>nyuntu</i> 'you'	<i>nyurrajarra</i> 'you 2'	<i>nyurrawarnti</i> 'you all'
3rd person	<i>nyantu</i> 'he, she, it'	<i>nyantujarra</i> 'they 2'	<i>nyantuwarnti</i> 'they'

3.4 DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives fit broadly into two groups. The first is made up of five demonstratives each of which has an alternative form formed by the addition of *-rti*, which brings about a slight change in meaning. They are:

<i>minya, minyarti</i>	'this'
<i>mula, mularti</i>	'this' (dialect)
<i>nyana, nyanarti</i>	'that'
<i>yangka, yangkarti</i>	'that previously referred to'
<i>yala, yalarti</i>	'that (not visible)'

These words are inflected for number and case and fill modifier units in the noun phrase. The second group consists of three words, the first of which is inflected for number and case and the others for case only.

<i>kanarlany</i>	'a, other'
<i>karlpurr</i>	'group'
<i>yirra</i>	'group' (dialect)

Examples of demonstratives in sentences:

- (23) *minya-ngu manta kangku ruwa pimiri-rlu*
 (M) this-ERG AUX she:you will:take walkabout (M) aunty-ERG
 'This aunty of yours here will take you walkabout.'

- (24) *nyanya marnalu parri-Ø*
 saw AUX we:ex (H) boy-NOM

yangkarti-Ø *Kurrapakuta-kura-Ø*
 (M) that:previously:referred:to-POSS-NOM (M) NAME:POSS:NOM

'We saw that boy of Kurrapakuta's to whom we had previously referred.'

- (25) *yanku parlipa yalarti-karti palma-karti*
 will:go AUX we:in (M) that:not:visible-ALL (H) creek-ALL
 'We will go to the creek which is not visible to us from here.'

(26) *nyanarti-warnti-∅ purluman-warnti-∅ palunya*
 (M) that-PL-NOM (H) bullock-PL-NOM AUX they:them

kangani kanarlany-warnti-rlu
 were:taking other-PL-ERG

'Others were droving those cattle.'

3.5 QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers are a closed class of words which modify the head of a phrase. They are inflected for case. A list of the quantifiers and examples of their use follows.

<i>kayan, layi</i>	'one'
<i>kurriny</i>	'two'
<i>murrkurn</i>	'several'
<i>paja</i>	'many'
<i>nukarnirni</i>	'all' (usually refers to count nouns)
<i>pujurni</i>	'all' (usually refers to mass nouns)

(27) *waanya pajarra nyanarti-∅ layi-∅*
 followed AUX we2:ex:him (M) that-NOM (M) one-NOM
 'We followed that one.'

(28) *kamil-warnti-∅ paja-∅ pilanya kangani*
 (H) camel-PL-NOM (M) many-NOM AUX they2:them were:taking

kartiya-jarra-rlu kurriny-ju
 (H) white:man-DU-ERG (M) two-ERG

'The two white men were taking many camels.'

(29) *nukarnirni-∅ pajanani lamparn-lamparn-∅ purlka-purlka-∅*
 (M) all-NOM was:biting (M) small-PL-NOM (M) big-PL-NOM

ngana-wurti-∅ kuyi-∅
 (M) what-even-NOM (H) meat-NOM

'He was biting all of the big and small game whatever type they were.'

3.6 ADJECTIVES

These are words which occur in a modifier unit and which describe the size, quality, condition, colour or state of the head. Following is a sampling of adjectives:

<i>kuta</i>	'short'
<i>pukarr</i>	'ripe'
<i>ngurrpa</i>	'ignorant'
<i>kurnkurn</i>	'black'
<i>marulu</i>	'precious'
<i>jangarra</i>	'generous'
<i>kirtily</i>	'cool'
<i>kapakapa</i>	'clumsy'

- (30) *nguruti-∅* *purŋka-∅* *kangani* *kartiya-rlu*
 (H)vessel-NOM (M)big-NOM was:taking white:man-ERG
 'The white man was driving a big vehicle.'

- (31) *nyanarti-rlu* *tayinamayit-tu* *purnpurn-turra* *pungany*
 (M)that-ERG (H)dynamite-ERG small:pieces-ALL strikes

nyanarti-∅ *tanyji-∅* *pamarr-∅*
 (M)that-NOM (M)hard-NOM (H)rock-NOM

'That dynamite blasts that hard rock into small pieces.'

- (32) *kurnka-∅* *marna* *warntarni* *pulwaa-∅*
 (M)raw-NOM AUXI:it got (H)flour-NOM
 'I got some raw damper.'

3.7 DERIVED ADJECTIVES

There is a large group of adjectives which are formed by the addition of suffixes to nouns (33), adjectives (34), manner words and nominalised verbs. They fill the modifier units as adjectives do. Some occur with a much more limited list of stems than others. Below are the suffixes listed, followed by some examples in sentences.

- <i>pari</i>	'characterised by'
- <i>karraji</i>	'pertaining to'
- <i>juwal</i>	'always associated with'
- <i>jiliny</i>	'like'
- <i>jangka</i>	'from'
- <i>ngajirta</i>	'without'
- <i>mulu</i>	'without' (negative)
- <i>jarti</i>	(comitative)

(33) *nyanarti-rlu paji marni yapa-jarti-rlu*
 (M) that-ERG AUXhe:to:me said (M) child-COM-ERG
 'That (one) with the child spoke to me.'

(34) *wurlpinya-la pajirta jina-jangka-∅ nyanarti-∅*
 sucked-then AUXhe:from:me (M) foot-from-NOM (M) that-NOM

wirlikirr-pari-∅ nitil-∅
 (M) crooked-characterised:by-∅ (H) needle-NOM

'He sucked that crooked needle from my leg.'

3.8 EMBEDDED CLAUSES

Embedding in the noun phrase is extensive. The embedded construction obligatorily takes a suffix and functions as an adjective in that it modifies the head.

(35) *nyanya marna kayan-∅ piyirn-∅ kunyarr*
 saw AUXI:him (M) one-NOM (H) man-NOM (M) dog

lanu-jangka-∅
 pierce-from-NOM

'I saw a man spear the dog.'

In sentence (35), *kunyarr lanu-jangka-∅* is an embedded clause behaving as a modifier of the head noun *piyirn-∅*

(36) *piyirm-tu palu jularnani kukurr-∅*
 man-ERG AUXthey:him used:to:call (H)devil-NOM

pilyurr ngarnu-jawal-∅
 (M)spirit eat-always:associated:with-NOM

'Men used to call him a devil that eats people's spirits.'

In sentence (36), *pilyurr ngarnu-jawal-∅* is an embedded clause behaving as a modifier and describing the head noun *kukurr-∅*.

4. SUFFIXATION IN THE NOUN PHRASE

There is quite a complex system of suffixation on the noun-like words of the noun phrase - that is, on nouns, adjectives, nominalised verbs, demonstratives, quantifiers and some manner words. Because of the great variety of suffixes available and because of the apparent freedom of some of them in their order placement in a string, it has been difficult to understand their pattern of behaviour.

The thirty-two suffixes may be divided into three groups, inner, derivational and inflectional. These suffixes attach to the simple noun-like stem. Table 3 illustrates the structure of the noun with the maximum possibilities of suffixation. Tables 4, 5 and 6, which follow later in Sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.4 respectively, display the actual suffixes.

The nuclear unit of noun-like words may be a simple or complex stem which may be suffixed by one or more members of the inflectional suffix orders one to five. If there is embedding of clauses or phrases within a phrase, then suffixes from orders two to six are again potentially able to occur following any suffixes in the first layer of inflection.

A complex noun-like stem consists of a simple noun or adjective stem, a nominalised verb (i.e. stem plus *-u*), or the first root found in a compound verb followed by an optional inner suffix usually followed by a derivational suffix. This complex stem, too, then may take inflectional suffixes from orders one to five as the first layer and, if there is embedding, additional suffixes forming the second layer of inflection.

TABLE 3

Noun-Like Suffixation

noun stem adjective stem nominalised verb demonstrative stem quantifier stem	1		2		3		4		5		6		
	inflectional suffixes (first layer)											inflectional suffixes (second layer if embedding)	
	inner suffixes											derivational suffixes	
	noun stem												
	adjective stem												
	manner word												
nominalised verb													
compound verb root 1													

4.1 COMPLEX NOUN-LIKE WORDS

4.1.1 COMPLEX STEMS

Table 4 shows the structure of complex noun and adjective stems.

The stem from which a complex noun and adjective stem is formed may be a noun, an adjective, a manner word, a nominalised verb or in some cases root 1 of a compound verb.

4.1.2 INNER SUFFIXES

There are ten inner suffixes which may follow the simple stem.

-warlany 'another' as in *ngapa-warlany* 'another water (hole)'
The first derivational suffix which may follow it is *-karraji*.

-mipa 'only' as in *kuyi-mipa* 'only meat'
The first suffix which may follow it is *-juwal*.
kuyi-mipa-juwal '(one who) is associated with meat only'

-jarra (dual) as in *manga-jarra* 'girls (2)'

-warnti (plural) as in *panarr-warnti* 'stones'

-kura (possessor) as in *manga-kura* 'girl's'

-jiliny 'like' as in *kunyarr-jiliny* 'like a dog'

-jangka 'from' as in *warlu-jangka* 'from the fire'

-purru 'for the purpose of' as in *jurlu-purru* 'for the purpose of the head (hat)'

-ngajirta 'without' as in *yapa-ngajirta* 'without a child'

-jinyangu 'very' as in *wulyu-jinyangu* 'very good'

The derivational suffix *-jarti* is the first which may follow these eight inner suffixes.

yapa-warlany-jarti

'possessing another child'

TABLE 4

Complex Noun and Adjective Stems

	inner suffixes	class-changing derivational suffixes			
	-∅	-mulu			
	-∅	-pari	-karraji	-juwal	-jarti
	-∅				
stem	-warlany				
	-∅				
	-mipa				
	-jarra				
	-wanti				
	-kura				
	-jiliny				
	-jangka				
	-punru				
	-ngajirta				
	-jinyangu				
	-∅				

4.1.3 DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

The six derivational suffixes generally function to change the class of words. Sometimes a change to a different participant or prop is effected (37, 38).

(37) *karla pa yani yapa-∅*
west AUXhe went (H)child-NOM
'The child went west.'

(38) *karla pa yani yapa-jarti-∅*
west AUXhe went (M)child-COM-NOM
'(The one) with the child went west.'

Following are the six suffixes with examples of their functions.

-mulu 'without' is suffixed to items which are manner words or root 1 of compound verbs, making them adjectives. Inflectional suffixes follow.

nyumik-mulu 'without a bath'
bath-

ruḁa-mulu 'without journeying'
journey-

-pari 'characterised by' is suffixed to noun stems and manner words making them adjectives of which a large percentage are predicative.

kuyi-pari 'a good hunter'
meat-

taki-pari 'an expert'
accurate-

-marta 'one who is' is suffixed to adjective stems, nominalised verbs and manner words, making them nouns.

lampam-marta 'one who is small'
small-

kirrarnu-marta 'one who is sitting'
sit-

nganga-marta 'one who doesn't notice'
unnoticing-

-karraji 'pertaining to' is suffixed to noun stems or manner words or forms with *-marta* or *-warlany* making them adjectives.

<i>ngapa-karraji</i> water-	'pertaining to water'
<i>jintanga-karraji</i> alone-	'pertaining to aloneness'
<i>purŀka-marta-karraji</i> big-one:who:is-	'pertaining to the big one'
<i>ngapa-warlany-karraji</i> water-another-	'pertaining to another water (hole)'

-juwal 'always associated with' is suffixed to noun and adjective stems, nominalised verbs, and forms with *-pari*, *-marta*, *-karraji*, *-warlany* or *-mipa* making them adjectives.

<i>marnin-juwal</i> woman-	'always associated with women'
<i>ngarnu-juwal</i> eat-	'always associated with eating'
<i>lama-juwal</i> still-	'always associated with being still'
<i>ngarrurta-juwal</i> happy-	'always associated with happiness'
<i>kuyi-pari-juwal</i> meat-characterised:by-	'always associated with good hunters'

-jarti 'having' (sometimes referred to as comitative) is suffixed to noun and adjective stems, manner words and forms with any of the inner suffixes, and all class-changing derivational suffixes except *-mulu* making them adjectives.

<i>kartu-jarti</i> wife-COM	'having a wife'
<i>lamparn-jarti</i> small-COM	'having a small (one)'
<i>tikirr-jarti</i> return-COM	'on returning'
<i>miyi-ngajirta-jarti</i> food-without-COM	'having no food'
<i>ngurtti-jiliny-jarti</i> vessel-like-COM	'having a vessel-like thing (car)'

Hudson (1976b) has written quite fully on the suffix *-jarti* describing its form and its grammatical and semantic functions.

Marsh (1976:94, 95) speaks of Mantjiltjara as having over fifty derivational suffixes that derive adjectives. He classifies them into two groups which he calls 'relativizing' and 'nominalizing' suffixes. Included among the former group are the suffixes which I have referred to as case markers.

4.2 INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

The inflectional suffixes occupy the two outer layers of the suffixation of noun-like words.

In Table 5, orders 1 and 2 are the same suffixes found in the complex stems, and have already been described (Section 4.12). Following are some examples of these suffixes used inflectionally in this position.

purru-warlany-kura 'another old man's (thing)'
old:man-another-POSS

yapa-warnti-jiliny 'like children'
child-PL-like

Order 1 *-kura* (possessor)

Order 2	<i>-jarra</i>	(dual)	<i>-warnti</i>	(plural)
	<i>-jangka</i>	'from'	<i>-warlany</i>	'another'
	<i>-jiliny</i>	'like'	<i>-jinyangu</i>	'very'
	<i>-ngajirta</i>	'without'		

Order 3 Includes all of the eleven case-marking suffixes. Following are the case suffixes with their allomorphs.

{- <i>rlu</i> }	(ergative)	<i>-ngu, -u, -ju, -tu, rtu</i>
{- <i>ku</i> }	(dative)	<i>-wu</i>
{- <i>rla</i> }	(accessory)	<i>-nga, -a, -ja, -ta, -rta</i>
-∅	(nominative)	
{- <i>rla</i> }	(locative)	<i>-nga, -a, -ja, -ta, -rta</i>
{- <i>rlalu</i> }	'by way of'	<i>-ngalu, -alu, -jalu, -talu, -rtalu</i>

TABLE 5

Outer Suffixes - Inflectional

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>-kura</i>	<i>-jarra</i>	{ <i>-ku</i> }	<i>-liny</i>		<i>-jal</i>
	<i>-warnti</i>	{ <i>-rlu</i> }	<i>-wurti</i>		
	<i>-jangka</i>				
	<i>-warlany</i>	{ <i>-r_la</i> }			
	<i>-jiliny</i>	\emptyset		<i>-mipa</i>	<i>-mi</i>
	<i>-jinyangu</i>	{ <i>-r_la</i> }			
	<i>-ngajirta</i>	{ <i>-r_lalu</i> }			
		<i>-ngurni</i>		<i>-mulu</i>	
		<i>-karti</i>			
		<i>-purru</i>			
		<i>-wurra</i>			
		{ <i>-ngamarra</i> }			
	<i>-karrarla</i>				

{-rlamarra}	(preventative reason)	-ngamarra, -amarra, -jamarra, -tamarra, -rtamarra.
-karrarla	(preventative reason)	
{-rlurra}	(allative)	-ngkurra, -jurra, -turra, -rturra
{-rlawu}	(allative)	-ngawu, -jawu, -tawu, -rtawu
-karti	(allative)	
-ngurni	(ablative)	
-wurra	(consequent)	

Orders 4, 5 and 6 are a group of inflectional suffixes.

-liny	'first'	
-wurti	'even'	
-mulu	'without'	
-jal	'indeed'	
-mipa	'only'	
-rni	(definitive)	-parni
-la	'then'	-pala

All of these suffixes except *-liny* and *-mipa* appear on other word classes including verbs.

Examples

Order 1	<i>ngumparna-jarti-kura</i> husband-COM-POSS	'the one with the husband's. . .'
Order 2	<i>ngaju-kura-warnti</i> I-POSS-PL	'my (ones)'
	<i>yapa-jarti-jiliny</i> child-COM-like	'like one with a child'
	<i>ngapa-juwal-jarti-warlany</i> water-always:associated: with-COM-another	'another one who has one who drinks (beer)'

Orders 4, 5, and 6

- (39) *ngaju-ngu-liny marna malku*
 (H) I-ERG-first AUXI will:speak
 'I will speak first.'
- (40) *yapa-ngu-wurti pa nginyjirrikarralany*
 (H) child-ERG-even AUXhe:him recognizes
 'Even a child recognizes him.'
- (41) *ngamaji-rla-mipa manyanta yanku*
 (H) mother-ACC-only AUXhe:with:her will:go
 'He will only go with his mother.'
- (42) *ngaju-wu-rni pajin yipawu*
 (H) I-DAT-def AUXyou:for:me will:send
 'Send it for me.'
- (43) *manga-wu-mulu parri-wu manurla pawumalku*
 (M) girl-DAT-neg (H) boy-DAT AUXyou:for:him will:call:out
 'Call out for the boy not the girl.'
- (44) *nganpayi-rlu-jal pungku*
 (H) man-ERG-indeed will:hit
 'Definitely the man will kill it.'
- (45) *kapi pa warntarni ngumparna-wu-la*
 (H) fish AUXshe:it got (M) husband-DAT-then

parla kanya
 AUXshe:for:him took

'She caught the fish then took it for her husband.'

4.3 CONCORD OF SUFFIXES

When more than one word is found in the noun phrase, there are some suffixes which, when they occur, must be attached to each word of the phrase thus showing concord. These are, most of the inner suffixes, viz. *-warlany*, *-jiliny*, *-jarra* (46), *-warnti*, *-jangka* and *-kura* (47) as they occur in both earlier and later orders; the derivational suffix *-jarti* (46, 47; 48); and all of the case marking suffixes except *-wurra*.

- (46) *yapa-jarra-jarti purlka-jarra-jarti*
 (H) child-DU-COM (M) big-DU-COM
 'the one with two big children'
- (47) *parri-kura-jarti lamparn-kura-jarti*
 (M) boy-POSS-COM (M) small-POSS-COM
 'the one with the small boy's (thing)'
- (48) *karlarmani palu yangkarti-jartu-rlu*
 used:to:dig AUXthey:it (M) that-COM-ERG

mana-jarti-rlu mukurru-jiliny-jarti-rlu
 (H) thing-COM-ERG (M) club-like-COM-ERG

'They used to dig with that thing like a club.'

- (49) *piyim-tu palu kampalany miyi-∅ karnti-∅*
 person-ERG AUXthey:it cook (H) food-NOM (M) yam-NOM
 'People cook yams.'

- (50) *puluwa-purru pa warntarnu-purru yani tuwa-ngkurra*
 (H) flour-PURP AUXhe (M) get-PURP went store-ALL
 'He went to the store to get some flour.'

4.4 SUFFIX LAYERING AND EMBEDDING

In Table 6, which shows the structure of noun-like words, there is a section on the outer layer of inflectional suffixes. This outer layer is the second layer of embedding. The first four orders of this section are orders two to five of the first layer of inflectional suffixes repeated. The repeating of these suffix orders in a word indicate that there is embedding of a phrase or clause in the phrase.

- (51) *jilji-karti-rlu manya wanyjani yapa-warnti-∅*
 sand:hill-ALL-ERG AUXhe:them left child-PL-NOM
 'He left the children (there) on his way to the sandhill.'

In (51) there are two case-marking suffixes on the noun *jilji* 'sand-hill', *-karti* (allative) and *-rlu* (ergative). These two represent order three from the first layer and order two from the second. The effect is an embedded motion clause with the verb deleted. Sentence (52) shows a similarly embedded motion clause, this time embedded in a phrase in the nominative case.

TABLE 6

First and Second Layers of Inflectional Suffixes

	Inflectional Suffixes (1st layer)						Inflectional Suffixes (2nd layer)					
	1	2	3	4	5	2	3	4	5	6		
complex or simple stem	-kura	-jarra	-ku	-liny	-jarra	-ku	-liny	-jarra	-ku	-jal		
		-wanti	-rlu	-wurti	-wanti	-rlu	-wurti	-wanti	-rlu	-la		
		-jangka	-rla	-mipa	-jangka	-rla	-mipa	-jangka	-rla			
		-warlany	-rla	-mi	-warlany	-rla	-mi	-warlany	-rla			
		-jiliny	-∅		-jiliny	-∅		-jiliny	-∅			
		-jinyangu	-rlalu		-jinyangu	-rlalu		-jinyangu	-rlalu			
		-ngajirta	-ngumi		-ngajirta	-ngumi		-ngajirta	-ngumi			
			-karti			-karti			-mulu			
			-purru			-purru						
			-wurra			-wurra						
			-ngamarra			-ngamarra						

- (52) *nyanya pa karla ngapa-karti-∅ nganpayi-rlu*
 saw AUXhe:it west water-ALL-NOM man-ERG
 'The man saw the goanna in the west going to the water.'

In (53) the embedded clause occurs in conjunction with the derivational suffix, *-juwal* 'always associated with'.

- (53) *piyirn-tu palu jularnani kukurr-∅ pilyurr*
 man-ERG AUXthey:it used:to:call (H)devil-NOM (M)spirit

ngarnu-juwal-∅
 eat-always:associated:with-NOM

'Men used to call it a devil that eats spirits.'

In (53), in the noun phrase marked for nominative case, *pilyurr ngarnu-juwal* is modifying the head *kukurr*. This two-word modifier is an embedded clause with *pilyurr* the object of the nominalised verb stem *ngarnu-*. Sentence (54) is another example of this type of embedding.

- (54) *mani lungu-juwal-u warnta-rlanyanu*
 money cry-always:associated:with-ERG get-for:yourself

kulturing-∅
 cool:drink-NOM

'You who are always crying for money get yourself some cool drink!'

In the noun phrase marked for ergative case, *mani lungu-juwal-u* is modifying the implicit head, *nyuntu-ngu* 'you (ergative)'. This two-word modifier is an embedded clause with *mani* the object of the nominalised verb stem *lungu-*. Note that case is not marked on the phrases present in the embedded clause. For example in the above sentence, though *mani* is in the dative case in the embedded clause, it does not carry the dative case marker.

Embedded Phrases

Noun phrases may occur embedded in the modifier of the noun phrase head.

- (55) *piyirn-warnti-rlu jilji-nga-jangka-warnti-rlu palu*
 (H) man-PL-ERG (M) sandhill-LOC-from-PL-ERG AUXthey:it

martiwarra-∅ nyanya
 river-NOM saw

'The men from the sandhills saw the river.'

In (55), in the noun phrase marked for ergative case, *jilji-nga-jangka-warnti* is modifying the head noun *piyirn-warnti*. The part *jilji-nga* is a noun phrase marked for locative case embedded in the modifier of the noun phrase, which is marked for ergative case.

5. SPLIT PHRASES

A very common feature of the noun phrase is the tendency for it to be interrupted by other units of the clause. This tendency is strongest when the phrase is long, when several qualifying adjectives or nouns have been employed to clarify the referent to the hearer.

The following examples show a selection of split phrases. The units of the phrase are identifiable by their case markings.

Split phrase in the nominative case:

- (56) *ngaji-∅ paja mapirri-rni kangani*
 (H) I-NOM AUXhe:me as:we-emp used:to:carry

yapa-∅ lamparn-∅
 (H) child-NOM (M) small-NOM

'He used to carry me, a small child, as well.'

in the ergative case:

- (57) *yapa-warnti-rlu palu wanyjanurlakani paja-ngu*
 (H) child-PL-ERG AUXthey:it left (M) many-ERG
 'Many children left it.'

in the locative case:

- (58) *kakara-jinyangu-∅ mapun laman-ta nguniny*
clean-very-NOM true (M) hollow-LOC is

kaniny-jarti warrpul-a mana-nga
down-COM (M) species-LOC (H) tree-LOC

'It is really very clean there down in the hollow of the warrpul tree.'

in the 'by way of' case:

- (59) *pawut-talu manpanyalu kanya wajpal-warnti-rlu*
(H) boat-BYW AUX they:us:ex took white:man:PL-ERG

ngapa-ngalu kaparn-talu
(M) water-BYW (M) middle-BYW

'The white men took us along the middle of the water in the boat.'

When there are several units making up the noun phrase, it is more common for it to be broken into two groups of units than into three or more.

- (60) *yanani marnalurla jila-wu kaniny*
was:going AUX we:ex:for:it (H) rock:hole-DAT down

Kurtal-ku nganampa-kura-wu
(M) NAME-DAT (M) we:PL:EX-POSS-DAT

'We were going down for our rockhole, Kurtal.'

- (61) *paja-∅ marnalu minyarti-rla nguwa-nga nguniny*
(M) many-NOM AUX we:ex this-LOC soil-LOC are

maja-warnti-∅ king-warnti-∅
(H) boss-PL-NOM (H) king-PL-NOM

'We are many bosses and kings here on this earth.'

There seems to be no preference of head over modifiers as to which comes first in the phrase when it is split. In the data examined there was an equal number of occurrences of modifier and head appearing first in a clause.

- (62) *kuyi-∅* *pajarra* *yarr* *martarnani*
 (H) game-NOM AUXwe:2:ex just were:keeping

paja-jinyangu-∅
 (M) many-very-NOM

'We just had lots of game.'

- (63) *kurriny-∅* *pila* *laparni* *kartiya-jarra-∅*
 (M) two-NOM AUXthey:2 ran (H) white:man-DU-NOM

'Two white men ran.'

6. CONCLUSION

This paper should not be seen as a conclusive statement on the Walmatjari noun phrase. There are areas that need further investigation: One area in particular is the relation of the noun phrase to the discourse including the distribution of minimal, expanded and split phrases. A second area is that of embedding.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABL	ablative
ACC	accessory case
ALL	allative case
AUX	auxilliary
BYW	'by way of' case
COM	comitative
DAT	dative case
DEF	definite
DU	dual
ERG	ergative
EX ~ ex	exclusive
(H)	head of a noun phrase
IN ~ in	inclusive
LOC	locative case
(M)	modifier of a noun phrase
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative case
PL	plural
POSS	possessor
PURP	purposive case
{ }	morphophonemic brackets
∅	used in examples to show the unmarked nominative case and in tables where the absence of a morpheme is significant
:	indicates that more than one English word is required to translate one vernacular morpheme; also used between English words which gloss auxiliaries

- 1 first person
- 2 second person
- 3 third person

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