WORK PAPERS OF SIL-AAB

Series A Volume 2

PAPERS ON IWAIĐJA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

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Summer Institute of Linguistics
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PREFACE

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INTRODUCTION TO
SERIES A VOLUME 2

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

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

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

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Noreen Pym
Bonnie M. Larrimore
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ABBREVIATIONS

accomp
adj
adv
b.
Ben
C
Cl
C1, C2, ...
comp
cor
du
emph/ (emph)
exc/ex
fem
fut
H
(IF)
imper
inc/in
interrog
(lO)/(IO)/ind Obj
IV
lit
M
m.
N
n/(n)
neg

accompaniment
adjective
adverb
brother
Benefactive
any Consonant
Clause
Clause 1, Clause 2, ...
completed action
continuity
dual
emphasis
exclusive
female
future
Head
Indefinite Future
imperative
inclusive
interrogative
Indirect Object
Intransitive Verb
literally
Modifier
mother
any Nasal
noun
negative
(NIF) Negated Indefinite Future
NP Noun Phrase
num numeral
p past tense
p=cont/p cont continuous or habitual past tense
p=habit habitual past tense
pl plural
Poss Possessor
poss possessive
PP Possessive Phrase
quest question
RAP Relator Axis Phrase
R# break between rhythmic groups when not at word break
reclp reciprocal
rep repetitive
S1, S2, ... Sentence 1, Sentence 2, ...
s/sing singular
(SP) / Seq of part Sequence of Participant
subj subject
TV Transitive Verb
V any Vowel
veg vegetable
1s 1st person singular
1p 1st person plural
2s 2nd person singular
2p 2nd person plural
3s 3rd person singular
3p 3rd person plural
3=pers 3rd person, singular or plural
/ or
// intonational pause
- break between morphemes in Iwaidja
break between word in English but one
morpheme in Iwaidja
which is (i.e. H:Cl the head which is a
clause)

paragraph
phonological phrase, rhythmic group
phonological word
pauses (shortest to longest)
heaviest stress
next heaviest stress
third degree of stress
syllable break
the phoneme b
the phone b
is interpreted as / is realised as
end of text
IWADJA PHRASES

PREFACE

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

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

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

   This is assumed to be two clauses:

   janara
   abanaman wallj

   'I will go'
   'I will get food'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

jamang ringuldiny alanud burlulli 'he worked, he made a road'

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

1. NOUN PHRASES

1.1 HEAD-MODIFIER PHRASES

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

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

Modifiers may be demonstratives, numerals, nouns or verbs used as adjectives, adjectives, or phrases or clauses used as adjectives.
When the head is a phrase or a clause the only modifier which may occur is the demonstrative ba 'that' (the longer forms bega and baraga also occur). Its occurrence is obligatory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

H:n M:adj M:adj
arliirr, obanggun rawarrgama 'a very big tree'
tree big big

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M:adj  H:n  M:adj  
martan  gandijawa  wurrwun  'a little new flour'
small  flour  new

M:dem  H:PP  (H:n  Poss:n)
ba  jinmul  warrbi  'the man's nose'
that  3s-nose  man

M:dem  M:v  H:n
ba  yawaran  maladimburr  'the dove that went away'
that  away-3s-go-p  dove

M:dem  H:NP
H:n  M:num
ba  marryun  ngarrgaldawartad  'those three young men'
that  pl-young=man  three

M:dem  H:Cl
ba  walli  burnalgan  girrg  '(they waited for) the tide to go out'
that  tide  3s-recede  all

M:dem  H:n  M:Cl
ba  gurrambalg  baga  jumung  buldahadban  'the house they are building'
that  house  that=one  which  3p-build

M:NP    H:n
M:adj  H:n  
badba  gunag  galagalag  'a bird from somewhere else'
another  place  bird
1.2 POSSESSIVE PHRASES
A possessive phrase consists of a noun phrase and a second noun phrase which is the possessor. If the possessor is human, a pronoun used as a possessive adjective occurs in the noun phrase. Note the difference between
and

'your husband's boat',

'your husband',

that

that

small

money

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

'your boat',

'a little money',

that

red and blue

some

H:adj

bali

maningul

maningul

'bird from somewhere'

M:adj

rubya

marten

ba

ba

marigin

that

the

that

money

that

money

M:dem

H:in

M:dem

H:in

M:adj

H:in

H:adj

M:RAP

'galagaleq burna badua gunag

bird from other place

else,'
NP                Poss                       'Urlurli's mothers and uncles'
janad buwulangi   Urlurli
3s   they-3s-mother Urlurli

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

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

1.3 SEMANTICALLY DETERMINED PHRASES

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

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

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

Means:
jadbanaga ba mudiga  'we'll go by car'
away=we-go-fut-2 that car
Purpose:
jadbanaga galmu yab 'we'll go for lots of fish'
away=we-fut-go-2 much fish

1.4 PHRASES REQUIRING CONTEXT CLUES

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

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

ngabi guyag ngayihii 'I (was) sick (with)
1 sick my-tooth
tooth(ache)'

jarrulagany uga aj yirrarn dadhiyi 'we went down into the
away-we=exc-go=down-p to inside mangrove river
mangrove swamp (at) the
bega garriryn bend
that bend

2. VERB PHRASES

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

garlu yawaran 'he didn't go'

neg away-3s-go-p

yinang gudbin 'don't say (pl)'

neg 2p-say

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ara alba
3p-go play(n)

aju ngurrij
3s-lie sleep(n)

wilbanyan angunman
long(adj) 1-tell=story

riwideriny murnin
he=3s-stop-p for=a=while

imalda bumundulguny
already 3p=3s-build-p

arrajaran mangawala
we-away-go-p fast

birda algarriny
perhaps 3p-leave-p

gudbanawani duwa burruli
2p-fut-sit just good(adj)

'they're playing'

'he's asleep'

'I told a long story'

'he stopped it for a while'

'they've already built it'

'we went fast'

'perhaps they've gone'

'just sit and be good'

No cases of verb phrases in apposition have been found but verbs in apposition are common. These are considered to be a series of clauses.
burran awulili angulhi
from(adv) pl-animal pl-skin

'from animal skins'

girrimul wartad balaji
like one bag

'enough for one bag'

ngalhaj jumung
accomp to=3s

'together with him'

wanji manggumanggu
near(adv) Christmas

'near Christmas'

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

```
burran // gunag
from place
```

'from home'

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

Prepositions follow interrogatives.

nganduga burran
interrog from(adv)

'where from?'

malany uga
what? to(adv)

'what's over there?'

Phrases showing benefaction or indirect object have as the first word the indirect object pronoun in the third person singular, and as the second a noun specifying the person or persons.
jumung nangila  'to Nangila' Or 'for Nangila'
to-3s Nangila

jumung wimadba  'to the others'
to-3s pl-other

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

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

(ngalidbagban) nuwurrung // nuwuri // government
1-hear-rep-p to-2p 2p government
'(I was waiting to hear) from you mob, you mob, the government.'

4. SERIES OF PHRASES

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

4.1 LISTS

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

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

wirlamarr // wenggartug // yawarr //
yam=type yam=type yam=type

(a list of different types of yam)
warrulany // Maldurinymag // Maburnbi // Amy
children  Maldurinymag  Maburnbi  Amy
'the children, Maldurinymag, Maburnbi and Amy'

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

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

\begin{verbatim}
Nalaj rimagan // ngarri warrabalanda Ida nuwurrl //
Nalaj his=wife we pl-white=man and 2p
// gurrgunji arrarrbl
2p-black pl-Aborigine
'Nalaj and his wife, we white people and you Aborignes'
\end{verbatim}

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

4.2 PHRASES JOINED BY \textit{Ida} 'and'

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

apposition:

\begin{verbatim}
barlbarragan Ida ngabi ngandumagan 'the old man, my
3s-old=person and my me-he-husbands husband'
\end{verbatim}
co-ordinate:

ngarri lda warrabailanda awidbarraganud 'we and the two white people'
we pl-white=man pl-white-2-pl

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

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

warragamu lda arrarrbl 'men and women'
pl-woman and pl-man

4.3 JUXTAPOSED PHRASES

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

specific information:

Ngalwamud ulungguldu // numa 'the middle-aged white Ngalwamud'
Ngalwamud middle-aged white=woman

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

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

warrarrawanji // ngabi ayunbulang 'the young women, my children'
pl-young=woman l l=them-mother
summary:

janad wulgungunbuj // awuragbunjildin
3s older=sibling younger=sibling pl-sibling-recip
'his older and younger brother and sisters, the brothers and sisters'

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

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

e.g. gamu Ngaiwuuyug
mother Ngaiwuuyug
'mother Ngaiwuuyug'

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

co-ordinate:

Ngaiwuuyug Ngaiwamud
Ngaiwuuyug Ngaiwamud
'Ngaiwuuyug and Ngaiwamud' (a specific couple always referred to by their kinship sections)

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

galimu gagurl galimu birraja
much sugar much rice
'much sugar and rice'
(traditional gifts from the white man)
appositional:

\[ \text{ngabi} \text{ wulgu} \quad \text{Ngalwahaj} \quad \text{my older sister,} \quad \text{Ngalwahaj} \]
\[ \text{older=sibling} \quad \text{Ngalwahaj} \quad \text{Ngalwahaj} \]

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

\[ \text{yadnagan} \quad \text{Urlurli} \quad \text{'Urlurli and I went'} \]
\[ \text{away-go-2-p} \quad \text{Urlurli} \]

4.4 SERIES CONTAINING BOTH CO-ORDINATION AND APPosition

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

\[ \text{Urlurli Ida mangayirrag} \] // Darryl martan
\[ \text{Urlurli and what's=his=name} \quad \text{Darryl little} \]
\[ \text{'Urlurli and what's his name, little Darryl'} \]

\[ \text{ngabi Ida warrarrawunji} \] // ngabi ayurbulang
\[ \text{and pl-young=woman} \quad \text{I} \quad \text{I=them-mother} \]
\[ \text{'I and my daughters'} \]

\[ \text{warrulany janad andumartyarrawun} \] // ngarrgalandangarrggarrg arrarrbl
\[ \text{children 3s them-he-father four} \quad \text{pl-man} \]
\[ \text{'father and sons, four men'} \]

5. DISCONTINUOUS PHRASES

A few instances of discontinuous phrases have been noted. In one case the phrase, the direct object of the verb, is split by the indirect object.
ganugu martan baribarragan gagurl 'give the old man a little sugar'
give=him little 3s-old-person sugar

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

Urlurli bunyi ngarri ngadbiny Yurarndara // Maldurinymag //
Urlurli Dad we we-do-p Yurarndara Maldurinymag

// Girribug // Maburnbi
Girribug Maburnbi

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

ngabi lda warrarrawunji // ngabi ayunbulang // ngadbani
I and pl-young-woman I them=1-mother we-stay

gani ba warragamu
here that pl-woman

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

6. CONCLUSION

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

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