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Series A Volume 3

FOUR GRAMMATICAL SKETCHES: FROM PHRASE TO PARAGRAPH

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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.

Ame 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-Valanji, including both independent and dependent clause types.

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

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

C. Kilham
Editor
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CLAUSE TYPES IN GUGU-YALANJI

Ruth Hershberger

0. INTRODUCTION

Gugu-Yalanji\(^1\) clauses may be classified as independent and dependent. The independent clauses are further classified as verbal and non-verbal. The verbal clauses are transitive and intransitive; the non-verbal clauses are stative and associative. There are seven dependent clause types: four time clause types, two modifying clause types and one manner clause type. A composite formula for any clause is \(+\)Nucleus \(+\)Peri, in which \(+\)Nucleus represents the obligatory nucleus consisting of the predicate and other (optional) nuclear tagmemes and \(+\)Peri represents the optional peripheral tagmemes. Linear ordering is free with the exceptions noted in this paper.

1. PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES

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

The Dubitative tagmeme is manifested by two fillers only, *quba* 'maybe' and *gonga* 'might'.\(^2\) It usually occurs preceding the verb, but may occur in any position.

\[
njulu\ quba\ duna-n
\]
he\ maybe\ go-com
'Maybe he went.'

1.2 THE QUESTION MARKER TAGMENE

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

\[
guda\ njulu\ duna-n
qm\ he\ go-com
'Did he go?'

1.3 THE NEGATIVE TAGMENE

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

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

\[
njulu\ gari\ duna-y
\]
he\ neg\ go-noncom
'He won't go.'

1.4 THE TIME TAGMENE

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

**time word**

ŋayu djuma duna-y
I later go-noncom
'Later I will go.'

**time phrase**

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

**dependent time clauses**

ŋagi njulu gada-y ŋayu duna-y
when he come-noncom I go-noncom
'When he comes I'll go.'

ŋayu gada-y njulu duna-njdjigu
I come-noncom he go-before
'I'll come before he goes.'

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

ŋayu duna-y djana-nda-da balga-l
I go-noncom they-loc-cont tell-noncom
'I'll go, then tell them.'

1.5 THE ABLATIVE TAGMEME

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

ŋayu  ḏugu-mei duna-n
I tree-abl go-com
'I went from the tree.'
nayu dju-gu-mon gaj-gay-mon duna-n
I tree-abl small-abl go-com
'I went from the small tree.'

nayu duna-n dju-gu-mon yinj-a-mon njulu dara-n
I go-com tree-abl that-abl he fall-com
'I went from that tree from which he fell.'

nayu duna-n baya-r-mon dambali-dji-nja
I go-com house-abl broke-pass-par
'I went from the wrecked house.'

nayu babi-ndamen duna-n
I grandmother-abl go-com
'I went from grandmother.'

1.6 THE BENEFACTIVE TAGMEME

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

yinj-a bana namu-nyu
that water mother-ben
'That water is for mother.'

nayu bana mara-n naygu-nunu namu-nyu
I water get-com my-loc mother-ben
'I got water for my mother.'

nayu bana mara-n djalbu-nyu bundanda-nja
I water get-com woman-ben sitting-par
'I got water for the woman sitting (there).'

1.7 THE INSTRUMENTAL TAGMEME

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

nayu gadar dama-n galga-bu
I wallaby spear-com spear-inst
'I speared a wallaby with a spear.'
nyu gar dama-n  gala-ga bu yalbay-njdiya
I wallaby spear-com spear-inst big-inst
'I speared a wallaby with a big spear.'

nyu gar dama-n  gala-ga bu yalbay-njdiya yinjja-mondo
I wallaby spear-com spear-inst big-inst that-inst

njulu balga-n
he make-com

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

nyu gar dama-n  gala-ga bu yinjja-mondo yuma-mo-nja
I wallaby spear-com spear-inst that-inst lying-par
'I speared a wallaby with that spear (which is) lying (there).'  

1.8 THE ACCOMPANIMENT TAGMENE

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

nyu narru-njdi duna-n
I mother-acc go-com
'I went with mother.'

nyu narri-njdi dama-n  narru-njdi duna-n
I my-acc mother-acc go-com
'I went with my mother.'

nyu duna-n dingar-anjdi yilaygu  gada-n
I go-com man-acc yesterday come-com
'I went with the man who came yesterday.'

nyu duna-n badur-idji  gada-njja
I go-com line-acc break-par
'I went with a broken line.'

1.9 THE ASSOCIATIVE TAGMENE

The Associative tagmeme may be manifested by noun phrases inflected with an associative case marker.
nayu djiba:waši-n gaya-ngq
I be.startled-com dog-ass
'I was startled because of the dog.'

nayu djiba:waši-n gaya-ngq namba-ngq
I be.startled-com dog-ass black-ass
'I was startled because of the black dog.'

nayu djiba:waši-n gaya-ngq namba-ngq yila-gu gada-n
I be.startled-com dog-ass black-ass yesterday come-com
'I was startled because of the black dog (which) came yesterday.'

nayu gada-n badur-gu dambaši-dji-nya
I come-com line-ass break-pass-par
'I came because of the broken line.'

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

1.10 THE LOCATIVE TAGMEME

The Locative tagmeme may be manifested by the following:

- a noun phrase inflected by a locative case marker;
- demonstratives;
- place names;
- directional phrases;
- a noun phrase inflected by the instrument case marker + .

These two suffixes together carry the meaning 'along' or 'through'. This type of phrase has only been found in the Intransitive Clause.

Examples:

noun phrase inflected by a locative case marker*

nayu djigu-nu gada-n
I tree-loc come-com
'I came to the tree.'

nayu djigu-nu yaibu-mba gada-n
I tree-loc big-loc come-com
'I came to the big tree.'
qayu dunə-n yinjəy-mba njulu bəgibiği quəni-n
I go-com there-loc he pig kill-com
'I went to the place he killed the pig.'

njulu gada-n qəlinj-anda bəndanda-nja-mənBu
he come-com us:du:ex-loc sitting-par-loc
'He came to us (who were) sitting.'

demonstratives.

ball yinja
there
'The ball is there.'

place names

qayu waŋgin dunə-n
I Helenvale go-com
'I went to Helenvale.'

directional phrase

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

qayu bada beach-mənBu dunə-n
I down -loc go-com
'I went down to the beach.'

qayu wangar dunə-n
I up go-com
'I went up (river).'

qayu yaŋa wangar dunə-n
I that:way up go-com
'I went up that way.'

The word yaŋa 'that way' is always accompanied by a gesture with the hand or head.
noun phrase inflected by the instrument case marker + -ŋ

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

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

ŋayu gangada-n baral-da-ŋ yinjaj-nya-ŋ
I coming-com road-inst-completely that-inst-completely

yindu yilaygu gada-n
you yesterday come-com

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

1.11 THE MANNER TAGMEME

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

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

Examples:

manner word

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

njulu wadawadu balga-n
he wrong make-com
'He made (it) the wrong (way).'
yinjə wadigiru
that wrong
'That's the wrong (way).'

manner compound word

njulu wunorya warngu:ga:dja
he lying:down-noncom sleep:heavily
'He is sleeping heavily.'

participles

The participle has always been found contiguous to the verb.

njulu mašalin-anga ganja mani-n dja:ka:gu1ba-nya
he Islander-sm me get-com carry-par
'The Islander carried me.'

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

Manner Relator-axis Clause (see Section 3.3)

yinjə ma:ša:jə gu1ulgu:ul yala qa:mar badja:gu
that scrub dark like steep:place inten
'That scrub is dark like a very steep place.'

noun plus case marker plus mannerizer -gu

nanjadjı quli-dji-ku balga-wa:n
we anger-acc-ma tell-rec-com
'We talked angrily.'

njulu gari-dji-ku bunda-da:y
he rope-acc-ma sitting-noncom
'He is sitting all tied up with a rope.'

dingar-anga njunqarin yargin-ga-ku guri-n
man-sm him corpse-ass-ma kill-com
'The man murdered him (intended to kill).'
qanjdjin djirimali-na-gu duqa-n
we fine:day-loc-ma go-com
'We went on a fine day.'

reduplicated word denoting amount plus mannerizer -gu

gaba buban-buban-gu gangada-y djakonmai
rain little-little-ma coming-noncom thunderstorm
'Rain and thunderstorms will be coming little by little.'

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

the relator yala plus mannerizer -gu.

Yalagu refers to something already explained or understood.

djana yala-gu duqa-n
they like-ma go-com
'They went like that.'

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

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

specifier phrase

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

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

manner phrase

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

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

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

*dingar djinbai-gu duya-n*
  man fast-ma go-com
  'The man went fast.'

*dingar-angaj djinbai-da-gu njanda-n*
  man-sm fast-inst-ma chop-com
  'The man chopped fast.'

*membar-abu badjagu njulu diyi njana-ni-n*
  careful-inst inten he tea pour-com
  'He poured the tea very carefully.'

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

*ŋayu njuguwin valu:dandi-bu badjagu waŋa-n*
  I him stubborn-inst inten woke:up-com
  'I very stubbornly woke him up.'

*ŋayu quli:maru-bu-gu yala-ma-n*
  I angry-inst-ma like-become-com
  'I angrily said.'

The next two examples show a stative clause manifesting the Manner tagmeme.
nayu mayi gari-gu duqa-n
I food neg-ma go-com
'I went without food.'

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

The Manner tagmeme may be discontinuous.

nanjdjin djilba duqa-n balnjdi
we walkabout go-com camp:out
'We went walkabout and camping out.'

2. INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

The differences between verbal and non-verbal clauses are:

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

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

2.1 VERBAL CLAUSES

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

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

Danny-nda mayi njadji-n
-loc food see-pass-com
'The food was seen by Danny.'
In Transitive Clauses with the following verbs, however, 
*nuga-* 'eat', *baga-* 'dig', *yadja-* 'laugh' and *madja-* 'gather', the Object becomes the Locative while the Subject of the Transitive Clause remains the Subject of the passive clause. This may be because the passive -*dji* is also the reflexive marker, and people do not normally eat, poke, laugh at or gather themselves.

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

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

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

*njuru-nuibu* damu-nu  
his-loc mother-ben  
'for his mother'

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

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

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

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

*njulu* mo*ni* dañji-n njuru-ndu  
he food give-com him-loc  
'He gave the food to him.'
njulu ŋaygu-ndu yala-ma-n
he me-loc like-become-com
'He said to me.'

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

njulu gada-n ŋaygu-ndu djarba gumi-nja-mambu
he come-com me-loc snake kill-par-loc

njulu gada-n ŋaygu-ndu djarba gumi-nja
he come-com me-loc snake kill-par

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

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

The differences between Transitive and Intransitive Clauses are:

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

2.1.1 THE INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

(See chart at top of following page.)

(1) Except for the negative, any type of noun phrase, uninflected for case, may occur in the Subject (H. Hershberger 1964b).
(2) For subject pronouns see R. Hershberger 1964b.
(3) Exponents of the Locative tagmem e are described fully in Section 1.10.
(4) The formula for the intransitive verb phrase is intrV = +intrv ± badja 'again'.
The Intransitive Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+intrS</th>
<th>+Loc</th>
<th>+intrP</th>
<th>+Peri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Noun phrases
Subject pronouns | Noun phrases inflected for locative case
Demonstratives
Place names
Directional phrases
Noun phrases inflected by instrument case markers affixed by -n | any intrV | |

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

S Time Loc P
gayu yilaygu wagarg duqa-n badja
I yesterday up go-com again
'Yesterday I went up (river) again.'

S P
gaygay:gaygay wubulugu yalbay-ma-n-da
children all big-become-com-then
'All the children became big then.'

P
banbati-da
crying-now
'(He is) crying now.'

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

\[ yu \text{ndu} \quad \text{bunda-y} \]
\[ you \quad \text{sit-noncom} \]
'You sit.'

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

\[ nju \text{lu} \quad \text{gwa-dji-n} \]
\[ he \quad \text{hit-pass/refl-com} \]
'He was hit/hit himself.'

c. An intransitive verb which has been derived from a transitive verb by the reciprocal affix -\text{wa}.

\[ bula \quad \text{gwa-wa-n} \]
\[ they \quad \text{hit-rec-com} \]
'They hit each other/fought.'

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

descriptive

\[ nju \text{lu} \quad \text{yalbay-ma-n} \]
\[ he \quad \text{big-become-com} \]
'He became big.'

accompaniment

\[ nju \text{lu} \quad \text{bubu-dji-manidji-n} \]
\[ he \quad \text{ground-acc-become-com} \]
'He became dirty.'

locative

\[ mua \text{i} \quad \text{waba\k-ba-manidji-n} \]
\[ food \quad \text{shade-loc-become-com} \]
'The food is in the shade (because of the movement of the sun).'
associative predicate

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

time

yilaylay-ma-n nayu duqa-n
afternoon-become-com I go-com
'In the afternoon I went.'

negative

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

manner

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

noun stem

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

directional

yaŋa-ma-ka
that:way-become-imp
'Move over.'
2.1.2 THE TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The Transitive Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+trS</th>
<th>+O</th>
<th>+trP</th>
<th>+Loc</th>
<th>+Peri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrases inflected for subject case</td>
<td>Noun phrases</td>
<td>any traV</td>
<td>Noun phrases inflected for locative case</td>
<td>Verb kinds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject pronouns</td>
<td>Object pronouns</td>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>Place names</td>
<td>Directional phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participle Clauses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

njulu dingar njadji-n bigibigi guni-nja margvin-da
he man see-com pig kill-par gun-inst
'He saw the man kill the pig with the gun.'
Transitive verbs fill the transitive verb slot of the transitive verb phrase and may take an object. The following are the different kinds of transitive verbs.

a. A verb which is inherently transitive.

\[
\text{ŋayu guyu njadji-n}
\]

He fish see-com

'He saw the fish.'

b. A verb derived from an intransitive verb by the addition of the transitivizer -moni.

\[
\text{ŋayu gangat bunda-y-moni-n}
\]

I child sit-noncom-tr-com

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

descriptive

njulu bulga buyur-dama-n
he nest bad-trv-com
'He spoiled the nest.'

negative

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

directional

mayi yaka-buga
food that:way-trv
'Put the food there.'

accompaniment

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

associative predicate

didja-nga garqay binal-buga-n
teacher-sm child know-trv-com
'The teacher taught the child.' (made the child know)

noun stem

njulu djalbu manjař-buga-n
he woman wife-trv-com
'He married the woman.' (made the woman a wife)
locative

gāŋgay ɗingi-na-buya
cchild dingy-loc-trv
'Put the child in the dingy.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

ŋamu-ngu ngayu-ndu baba-dji-n wanjia
mother-sm me-loc try-pass-com who
'Mother asked me, "Who?"'

2.2 NON-VERBAL CLAUSES

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

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

The Associative tagmeme is nuclear in the Associative Clause because:

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

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

The Thought Associative Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>{{invS}}</th>
<th>+assP</th>
<th>*Ass</th>
<th>*Peri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrases</td>
<td>balu 'don't want/ don't care for'</td>
<td>see Section 1.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject pronouns</td>
<td>binal 'know/understand'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t badjagu 'inten'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

ive

nulu  yinjay-nga  binal  badjagu
he  that-ass  know  inten
'He knows a lot about that.'

### The Desiderative Associative Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nvs</th>
<th>+(assP)</th>
<th>Ass</th>
<th>Peri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrases</td>
<td>wawu  'want/like'</td>
<td>see Section 1.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject pronouns</td>
<td>± (djiřay  'very'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>±  badjagu  'inten')</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

nvs Ass
ŋayu  diyi-qa
I  tea-ass
'I want tea.'
\textit{nVS assP}  
\textit{ŋayu wamw}  
I want  
'I want.'

\textit{nVS assP Ass}  
\textit{ŋayu wamw diyi-ga}  
I want tea-ass  
'I want tea.'

\textit{nVS Ass assP}  
\textit{ŋjulu diyi-ga wamw diñahy badjagu}  
he tea-ass want very inton  
'He wants tea very much.'

### 2.2.2 THE STATIVE CLAUSE

**The Stative Clause**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>±nVS</th>
<th>±stP</th>
<th>±Peri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrases</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject pronouns</td>
<td>Noun phrase inflected for Ablative Accompaniment Locative Benefactive Descriptive phrase Manner word or phrase Negative Comparative phrase Manner Relator-axis Clause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question marker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Except for the negative, any type of noun phrase, uninfl cected for case, may occur in the Subject or Predicate (H. Hershberger 1964b).

(2) For subject pronouns see R. Hershberger 1964b.
(3) When the Manner Relator-axis Clause fills the Stative Predicate, the axis of that clause is optional.
(4) The following tagmemes may fill the periphery: Dubitative, Question marker, Negative, Time, Ablative, Benefactive, Manner, Instrumental, Accompaniment, Associative, Locative.

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

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

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

nvS stP
njulu naygu namu
she my mother
'She is my mother.'

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

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

nvS stP
ganbai mayi bayon-ba
some food house-loc
'Some of the food is in the house.'
2.3 CHART OF INDEPENDENT CLAUSE TYPES

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

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

2.4 DECLARATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

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

a. An optional question marker, *guda/yala* occurring clause initial, in the interrogative clauses.
### Independent Clause Types

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Intr** | *(bama)* duna-y  
man go-noncom  
'The man will go.' |
| **Tr** | *(djana)* duna-y  
they go-noncom  
'They will go.' |
|   | *(bama-ng'a) (djana-nin)* guni-l  
man-sm they-obj hit-noncom  
'The man will hit them.' |
|   | *(djana) (bama)* guni-l  
they man hit-noncom  
'They will hit the man.' |
| **Ass** | *(bama)* binal *(djana-ng'a)*  
man know them-ass  
'The man knows them.' |
|   | *(bama)* mayi-ga  
man food-ass  
'The man wants food.' |
| **St** | *(bama)* mayi-dji  
man food-acc  
'The man has food.' |
b. Intonation. Interrogative clause stress is marked "; declarative clause stress is marked 0 (Hershberger and Pike 1970).

c. Response of the hearer.

Intransitive

0 dunâ-y-da
  go-noncom-now
  '(I'll) go now.'

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

Transitive

njulu mayi 0 mari-n
  he   food   get-com
  'He got food.'

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

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

Stative

Dolly 0 bada
down
'Dolly is down (river).'

qum " Dolly
  'What about Dolly?'

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

"mayi-ga
food-ass
'(He) wants food.'

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

3. DEPENDENT CLAUSES

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

3.1 TIME DEPENDENT CLAUSES

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

3.1.1 THE TEMPORAL/CONDITIONAL RELATOR-AXIS CLAUSE

The Temporal/conditional Relator-axis Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Relator</th>
<th>+Axis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gagi</td>
<td>'if/when'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>any independent clause type</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Transitive

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

Stative

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

Associative

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

3.1.2 THE PRIOR TIME CLAUSE

The Prior Time Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tS</th>
<th>tO</th>
<th>tLoc</th>
<th>+ptP</th>
<th>#Peri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2</td>
<td>see Section 2.1.2</td>
<td>see Section 1.10</td>
<td>ptv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

njulu gada-njiŋiguŋuŋu duŋa-y
he come-before I go-noncom
'Before he comes, I'll go.'

Transitive

mara djuluŋi-dji-ka māyi nuga-njiŋigu
hand wash-refl-imp food eat-before
'Wash your hands before (you) eat.'

3.1.3 THE PAST TIME RELATOR-AXIS CLAUSE

The Past Time Relator-axis Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Axis</th>
<th>+Relator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>any independent clause</td>
<td>-gu 'prior time'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

baga-dji-n-gu nyayu waŋga-n
dig-pass-com-prior:time I cry-com
'When I was pricked I cried.'
nayu gambi-\textit{gu} \textit{djuluŋi-\textit{l}-djuluŋi-\textit{n}} njuulu
\begin{tabular}{ll}
I & clothes-prior:time wash-noncom-wash-com \textit{he} \\
\end{tabular}
djugu-\textit{mon} dara-\textit{n} \\
tree-\textit{abl} fall-\textit{com}

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

3.1.4 THE SEQUENTIAL TIME RELATOR-AXIS CLAUSE

The Sequential Time Relator-axis Clause

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
+Axis & +Relator \\
\hline
any independent clause & -\textit{da} 'contemporary time' \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

(1) -\textit{da}, contemporary time clitic, is suffixed to the first word of any independent clause and carries the meaning 'then'.

(2) The Sequential Time Relator-axis Clause always follows the independent clause.

nanga balga-dji-\textit{y} minja-dji-\textit{da} \\
flower make-refl-noncom meat-acc-cont 
'\textit{The flowers will bloom, then there is meat.}'

nonj\textit{fijn} duna-\textit{y} djana-nda-\textit{da} balga-\textit{l} \\
we go-noncom them-loc-cont tell-noncom 
'\textit{We'll go, then we'll tell them.}'

3.2 THE DEPENDENT MODIFYING CLAUSES

There are two dependent modifying clause types, the Participle Clause and the Descriptive Clause.
3.2.1. THE PARTICIPLE CLAUSE

The Participle Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tO</th>
<th>tLoc</th>
<th>tPp</th>
<th>tPeri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see Section 2.1.2</td>
<td>see Section 1.10</td>
<td>pv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) The formula for the participle verb is pv = v stem + -nja participle. bunda-nja 'sitting'
The participle may be reduplicated (R. Hexshberger 1964c).
duna-n-duna-nja 'going'

(2) The dependent Participle Clause may have all the tagmemes of a verbal clause except the Subject; however, normally no more than one or two other clause level tagmemes occur in the Participle Clause.

(3) The Participle Clause may occur as the Subject of a causative verb (see Rule 3, Section 2.1.2), or modifier of a noun phrase occurring in any tagmeme except in the intransitive Subject and the non-verbal Subject.

(4) The clause is contiguous to the word it is modifying with the exceptions noted later.

(5) When a Participle Clause modifies a noun phrase in the Locative slot, the participle is optionally further affixed by -menbu, one of the locative allomorphs (see Section 1.10, locative case).

(6) In the Subject slot of the Transitive Clause, the participle may be further affixed by -mondu, one of the allomorphs of the subject case marker. If the Subject is manifested by a discontinuous phrase, the -mondu is obligatory, but if the subject is not discontinuous, the -mondu is optional though usually not used.

(7) When a Participle Clause modifies a noun phrase in the Object slot, the Participle Clause is frequently not contiguous to the noun phrase.

wanaři-nja wuyar-a nanja wawu:wula-y-moní-n
running-par sun-loc me thirsty-noncom-tr-com
'Running in the sun made me thirsty.'
ŋəyu duna-y  
badur-idji  
gadaba-nja
'I'll go with the broken line.'

ŋəyu diŋar njadj-i-n  
bigibigì  
guni-nja maŋtn-da
'I saw the man kill the pig with the gun.'

djona gada-n  
qalnij-nda  
bwodonda-nja-munbu
'They came to us (who were) sitting.'

njulu gada-n  
ŋaygu-ndu  
djärba guni-nja
'He came to me (while I was) killing the snake.'

ŋəyu  Carol  gudji-l  
waba-ŋa
I  hold-noncom  thigh-loc

mayi  nuga-n  
muga-nj-a-munbu
food  eat-com-eat-par-sm

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

yinj-a-ŋa  djaluŋu-ŋu  
djuluŋi-nja  mayi  nuga-n
that-sm  woman-sm  wash-par  food  eat-com
'That woman (who was) washing ate food.'

3.2.2 THE DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSE

(1) The Descriptive Clause may be a Transitive, Intransitive, 
Stative or Associative Descriptive Clause, found only 
embedded within phrases and modifying the head of the noun 
phrase.

(2) The embedded Descriptive Clause does not occur in a noun 
phrase manifesting the Subject tagmeme.

(3) In all the tagmemes except the Object, the Descriptive 
Clause is contiguous to the word or phrase it is modifying. 
In the Object tagmeme the Descriptive Clause may be dis-
continuous from the word or phrase it is modifying.

(4) Although all the elements of a noun phrase are marked for 
case, the embedded Descriptive Clause is not.

(5) The Descriptive Clause occurs sentence final.
Intransitive Descriptive Clause embedded in the instrumental tagmeme

ŋayu djarba guvi-n djugu-bu yinja-mođu
I snake kill-com stick-inst that-inst

dara-n djugu-man
fall-com tree-abl

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

Associative Descriptive Clause embedded in the associative tagmeme

ŋayu wasu njunu-ngu bangaŋ nulguŋ-gu
I want him-ass body good-ass
'I want him to want to be good.'

Stative Descriptive Clause embedded in the accompaniment tagmeme

ŋayu bnda-n njunu-njdiŋi baru ganggal-dji
I sit-com him-acc lap child-acc
'I sat with him (who was holding) his child (on his) lap.'

Transitive Descriptive Clause embedded in the locative tagmeme

ŋayu njunwin njadji-n yinjaj-wa
I him see-com that-loc

ŋulu bigibigi guvi-n
he pig kill-com

'I saw him where he killed the pig.'

Intransitive Descriptive Clause embedded in the object tagmeme

ŋayu njunwin njadji-n yilaygu gada-n
I him see-com yesterday come-com
'I saw him (who) came yesterday.'
3.3 THE MANNER RELATOR-AXIS CLAUSE

The Manner Relator-Axis Clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+Relator</th>
<th>+Axis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yala</em> 'like'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ <em>gari</em> negative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>any independent clause</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(1) The Manner Relator-axis Clause is one of the manifestations of the Manner tagmemes.

(2) When the Manner Relator-axis Clause fills the Stative Predicate in the Stative Clause, its Axis is optional.

(3) The Manner Relator-axis Clause may be a clause fragment with the deleted part of the clause being understood from the context.

**Associative**

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
S & \text{Ass} & \text{Rel} & \text{Axis} \\
\text{Danny} & \text{lolly-ga} & \text{yala} & \text{Carol} \\
{-\text{ass}} & \text{like} & \\
\end{array}
\]

'Danny wants a lolly like Carol.'

**Stative**

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
S & \text{stP} & \text{Rel} & \text{Axis} \\
\text{djana} & \text{yinja-nari} & \text{yala} & \text{bugun-gara} & \text{baga-l} \\
\text{they} & \text{that-like} & \text{like} & \text{bad-incl} & \text{dig-noncom} \\
\text{giŋŋu-gana-l-gana-ŋgu} & \\
\text{cry-trv-noncom-trv-completely} & \\
\end{array}
\]

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

S  T  intrP  Rel  Axis
  gaba  djuma  gada-y  yala  gaba  Cairns  yalbay
  rain  later  come-noncom  like  rain  big

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

Transitive

S  O  trP  Rel  Axis
  nayu  mayi  wundi-n  yala  njulu  nadigu  wundi-n
  I  food  bring-com  like  he  long:ago  bring-com

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

Filling stative predicate

stp
S  Rel
  njulu  yala  gari
  he  like  neg

'He's not like (that).'
FOOTNOTES

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

I am grateful for the use of a concordance of Gugu-Yalanji texts made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, which is sponsored by Grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation.

2 There are 16 phonemes. Stops: b, d, dj (alveopalatal), g. Nasals: m, n, nj (alveopalatal), q. Resonants: 1, w, y, r (retroflexed vocoid), y (flapped intervocally, trilled when preceding another consonant and word finally, frequently voiceless word finally). Vowels: i, a, u. (See Oates 1965.)

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

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

   on a noun in the animate noun class

   following consonants

      -nda, -ndu

   following vowels

      -nda, -ndu

5 In giv dua nal

6 The sit. The car.
on a noun in the inanimate noun class

following vowels
-ŋa, ŋu

following r
-a, -u

following y
-mba, -mbu

following ƙ, n, ƙ
-ƙa, -ƙu

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

on possessive nouns and dual and plural possessive pronouns

following vowels
-ndəmenbu, -ndəmənbu

following consonants
-ạndəmənbu, -ụndəmənbu

on singular possessive pronouns
-ŋəni -wəni (contracted form). ŋ is often contracted to w when contiguous to u in fast speech.

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

6 The intransitive verbalizer -manidji may have evolved from the transitivizer -məni in combination with the passive/reflexive suffix -dji. The transitivizer -məni is now suffixed to an intransitive verb and carried a causative meaning.
bunda-y-mani-n
sit-noncom-trv-com
'caused to sit'

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

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

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

nya wunar-a-ma-n
I sun-loc-become-com
'I went in the sun.'

magi wunar-a-manidji-y
food sun-loc-become-noncom
'The food will be in the sun.'

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

: In the examples, used to separate components of a compound word.

: In the morpheme by morpheme literal translation, used to separate English words which all pertain to one morpheme in Gugu-Yalanji.

+ obligatory
/
or
±optional
=equals
∔alternately
aaxis
abl ablative
accaccompaniment
assassociative
AssAssociative tagmeme
asspAssociative Predicate
benbenefactive
comcompleteive aspect
concontinuative
contcontemporary time
duddual
exexclusive
inclinclusive
impimperative
intenintensifier
InstInstrument
instinstrumental
intrintransitive
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trav  transitive verb
trp   Transitive Predicate
trS   Transitive Subject
trv   transitive verbalizer


