WORK PAPERS OF SIL – AAB

Series A Volume 3

FOUR GRAMMATICAL SKETCHES:
FROM PHRASE TO PARAGRAPH

Editor: Christine A. Kilham

Summer Institute of Linguistics
Australian Aborigines Branch
Darwin
September 1979
PREFACE

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

Both series include both reports on current research and on past research projects. Some papers by other than SIL members are included, although most are by SIL field workers. The majority of material concerns linguistic matters, although related fields such as anthropology and education are also included.

Because of the preliminary nature of most of the material to appear in the Work Papers, these volumes are being circulated on a limited basis. It is hoped that their contents will prove of interest to those concerned with linguistics in Australia, and that comment on their contents will be forthcoming from the readers. Papers should not be reproduced without the authors' consent, nor cited without due reference to their preliminary status.

Views expressed by the authors are not necessarily those of SIL.

The publication of this volume, and the research reported herein, were partially funded by grants from the Department of Aboriginal Affairs and the Research Fund of the Australian Aborigines Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

To order individual volumes of the Work Papers, or to place a standing order for either series, write:

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

G. L. Huttar
Series Editor
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
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Series A Volume 3</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOTES ON PARAGRAPH DIVISION IN TIWI, by Marie P. Godfrey</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Paragraph Division</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Discovery Procedures and Initial Hypotheses</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Grammatical, Phonological, and Semantic Criteria</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.1 Criteria Charted</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.2 Grammatical and Phonological Criteria Described</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Native Reaction to Paragraphing</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Method of Obtaining</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Results</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Conclusions</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Paragraph Division</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Native Reaction</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE SENTENCE: BOUNDARIES AND BASIC TYPES IN NGAANYATJARRA NARRATIVES, by Amee Glass</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0. Introduction</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Identifying Boundaries</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sentence Periphery</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Basic Sentence Types</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Simple Sentence</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Sequence Sentence</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 Linked Action Sentence 38
3.4 Co-ordinate Sentence 38
3.5 Direct Quote Sentence 41
4. Conclusion 44
Bibliography 45

CLAUSE TYPES IN GUGU-YALANJI, by Ruth Hershberger 47

0. Introduction 47
1. Peripheral Tagmemes 47
   1.1 The Dubitative Tagmeme 48
   1.2 The Question marker Tagmeme 48
   1.3 The Negative Tagmeme 48
   1.4 The Time Tagmeme 48
   1.5 The Ablative Tagmeme 49
   1.6 The Benefactive Tagmeme 50
   1.7 The Instrumental Tagmeme 50
   1.8 The Accompaniment Tagmeme 51
   1.9 The Associative Tagmeme 51
   1.10 The Locative Tagmeme 52
   1.11 The Manner Tagmeme 54
2. Independent Clauses 58
   2.1 Verbal Clauses 58
      2.1.1 The Intransitive Clause 60
      2.1.2 The Transitive Clause 64
   2.2 Non-Verbal Clauses 67
      2.2.1 The Associative Clause 68
      2.2.2 The Stative Clause 70
   2.3 Chart of Independent Clause Types 72
   2.4 Declarative and Interrogative Clauses 72
3. Dependent Clauses 75
   3.1 Time Dependent Clauses 75
      3.1.1 The Temporal/Conditional Relator-axis Clause 75
      3.1.2 The Prior Time Clause 76
      3.1.3 The Past Time Relator-axis Clause 77
      3.1.4 The Sequential Time Relator-axis Clause 78
THE WALMATJARI NOUN PHRASE, by Eirlys Richards

0. Introduction
1. The Phrase in Relation to the Clause
2. The General Noun Phrase
   2.1 The Two Heads
   2.2 The Modifier Units
   2.3 Co-ordination
3. Words Filling Phrase Level Units
   3.1 Distinguishing Nouns from Adjectives
   3.2 Nouns
   3.3 Pronouns
   3.4 Demonstratives
   3.5 Quantifiers
   3.6 Adjectives
   3.7 Derived Adjectives
   3.8 Embedded Clauses
4. Suffixation in the Noun Phrase
   4.1 Complex Noun-Like Words
      4.1.1 Complex Stems
      4.1.2 Inner Suffixes
      4.1.3 Derivational Suffixes
   4.2 Inflectional Suffixes
   4.3 Concord of Suffixes
   4.4 Suffix Layering and Embedding
5. Split Phrases
6. Conclusion

Abbreviations and Symbols
Bibliography
THE WALTAMJARI NOUN PHRASE

Eirlys Richards

0. INTRODUCTION

Walmartjari 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.


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 Walmartjari speakers at Fitzroy Crossing have helped in contributing to this data, but I would particularly acknowledge Mrs Adeline Wannangini 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 Walmartjari 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 Walmatjari literature and in the materials for teaching native speakers of Walmatjari to read.

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

### Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Apico-alveolar</th>
<th>Apico-postalveolar</th>
<th>Lamino-alveolar</th>
<th>Dorso-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>rt</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ln</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>rl</td>
<td>ly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
<td></td>
<td>rr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-consonants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High short</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td></td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low short</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 [-Ø]
- dative [-ku]
- accessory [-rla]

Not Cross-Referenced in Verbal Auxiliary

- locative [-rla]
- purposive [-ku], -purru
- projected reason [-rlamarra], -karraria
- allative -karti, [-rlurra], [-rlawu]
- ablative -nguri
- 'by way of' [-rlalur]
- consequent -wurra
- manner -karra

Each unit of each noun phrase is inflected for case.
(1) *karlam*ni *pa*ji *ngaju-kura-riu* *mayi-tu*

dug *AUXhe:for:me* (M)I-POSS-ERG (M)spouse-ERG

*kurrku-Ø*

hole-NOM

'My spouse dug a hole for me.'

(2) *marni* *manyanyangu* *piyirn-warmti-wu* *nyanarti-warmti-wu*
said *AUXhe:to:them* (H)man-PL-DAT (M)that-PL-DAT

'He told those people.'

(3) *kakaru-la pa yanyi* *mayaru-rlawu* *Ngarrwanji-rlawu*
est-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 signalled 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-∅ marnyanya jarlu pungari
   (H)meat-PL-NOM (M)many-NOM AUXI:them before used:to:kill

yapa-ngu jilji-karraj-i-rlu (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-∅ parlipanguru kanya minyarti-karraj-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 lamant-ta ngurniny
   clean-very-NOM true (M)hollow:log-ACC is

kaniny-jarti warrpul-a mana-ngu
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-Ø palu nyanya purlka-Ø yumturrr-Ø
   (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-Ø and yumturrr-Ø, 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-Ø mapirri manya lanani marrany-Ø
    (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-Ø mara ngarnami ngamami-Ø ngamamama-Ø
    (M)one-NOM AUX: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 kamangkurr-jarti-rlu
     spear-then AUXthey:it (M)spear-COM-ERG (H)bamboo-COM-ERG
     'Then they spear it with a bamboo spear.'

(11) vinya mamarlα parnany-Ø pimiri-Ø
     gave AUX: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), ngamami is head of the nominative phrase. The noun ngamamama behaves as a body part which is an inalienable possession. In sentence (10), the word kamangkurr is the head of the ergative phrase as the generic noun. In sentence (11), parnany 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 Muntjiltjara. 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 -ru (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-ŋ-jaa
(H)tree:species-NOM-and
kurru-ŋ
(H)tree:species-NOM

marnalu lusarni 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 kuyarr-a-jaa
pouringly threw AUXhe:on:them 2 (H)dog-ACC-and

piyirm-ta
(H)man-ACC

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

(14) marni manyanangu piyirm-warni-wu-jaa marnin-warmi-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-ŋ
(H)horse-ERG water-NOM

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

(16) nganampa-ŋ marnalu yani marrkurn-ŋ ngaju-ŋ
(H)we:EX-NOM AUXwe:ex went (M)several-NOM (H)I-NOM

Payirntarri-ŋ Alik-ŋ
(M)NAME-NOM (M)NAME-NOM

'Several of us went, Payirntarri, Alec and I.'
(17) kaparn marnalu kirrarnani jitirn-ŋ-jaa
middle AUXwe:ex were:sitting (M) NAME-NOM-and
ngaju-ŋ-an karriya-ŋ layi-ŋ
(H) 1-NOM-and (H) white:man-NOM (M) one-NOM

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

'somes -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-ŋ-jaa wurrumpurru-ŋ pirlji-ŋ-jaa
(H) boomerang-NOM-and (H) spear-NOM (H) red:ochre-NOM-and
mawurtu-ŋ
(H) yellow:ochre-NOM

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

(19) Pitirayi-jangka marnalu yani Kapukapu-jarra-ŋ
PLACE-from AUXwe:ex went (M) NAME-DU-NOM
Munya-ŋ jitirn-ŋ-jaa parri-ŋ Finakuta-ŋ
(M) NAME-NOM (M) NAME-NOM-and (H) boy-NOM (M) NAME-NOM
Jukuna-ŋ manga-ŋ-jaa parri-ŋ
(M) NAME-NOM (H) girl-NOM-and (H) boy-NOM

'We all left Fitzroy (Crossing), the two Kapukapu and Manya, Jitirn and his boy Finakuta 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) yari pajarra  Pawimiyanik-jarra-∅ yawarta-jarti-∅-jaa
went AUXwe 2:ex (H)NAME-DU-NOM (M)horse-COM-NOM-and

tangki-jarti-∅
(M)donkey-COM-NOM

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

In (20) the words yawarta-jarti and tangki-jarti are adjectives co-
ordinated 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) jariu maruaiu ngunangani jirnal
before AUXwe:ex were (M)spear

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

lanu-juwal-∅
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 mani-
fested by a single adjective which behaves as a noun does when it is
head of a phrase.

(22) lamarem-jarra-∅ 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 classi-
fied along with nouns; but eventually to facilitate ease of descrip-
tion, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-karraji 'pertaining to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-parti 'characterised by'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RARE</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-marta 'one who is'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RARE</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-kuji 'causes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RARE</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>-jarri 'become'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -parti 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.

- *jarangkarr* 'boomerang' (carved from the tree *jarangkarr*)
- *pirilji* 'red ochre' (prepared from the rock *pirilji*)
- *yakapiri* 'desert sandals' (made from the bark of the *yakapiri* 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**

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

**Nouns borrowed from English**

- *tjuka* 'store'
- *mutuka* 'car'
- *turiti* 'dress'
- *turawarr* 'trousers'
- *kuwil* 'school'

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

- *kapumarr-kura apij* 'government's office (welfare office)'
  - *government-POSS 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.

ngarla-marta  
bad-one:who:is  
'one who is bad'

yukamu-marta  
lies:down-one:who:is  
'one who lies down'

maya-pari  
strength-characterised:by  
'a strong one'

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

yungku  
'scrub'

yungku-karrarji  
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1st person | ngaju  
'I' | ngajarra  
'we 2(ex)' | nganampa  
'we(ex)' |
|        | ngalijarra  
'we 2(in)' |               | ngalimpa  
'we(in)' |
| 2nd person | nyunyu  
'you' | nyurrajarra  
'you 2' | nyurrrawarnti  
'you all' |
| 3rd person | nyantu  
'he,she, it' | nyantuwarra  
'they 2' | nyantuwarnti  
'they' |

TABLE 2
Pronouns
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:

*minya, minyarti*  
'this'

*mula, mularti*  
'this' (dialect)

*nyana, nyanarti*  
'that'

*yangka, yangkarti*  
'that previously referred to'

*yala, yalarti*  
'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.

*kanarlany*  
'a, other'

*karlpurr*  
'group'

*yirra*  
'group' (dialect)

Examples of demonstratives in sentences:

(23) *minya-ngu manta. kangku mwa pimiriri-riu*

(M) this-ERG AUXshe:you will:take walkabout (M) aunty-ERG

'This aunty of yours here will take you walkabout.'

(24) *nya ngangalparrkari-parri-Ø*

saw AUXwe:ex (H) boy-NOM

*yangkarti-Ø Kurrapatka-kura-Ø*

(M) that: previously: referred: to: POSS:NOM (M) NAME: POSS:NOM

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

(25) *yanku parlipa yalarti-karti palma-karti*

will: go AUXwe: 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-warni-∅ purlum-an-warni-∅ pailmaya*  
(M) that-PL-NOM  (H) bullock-PL-NOM AUX they:them  

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

'Others were droving those cattle.'

3.5 QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers are a 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.

-kayn, layi  'one'
-kurriny  'two'
-murrkum  'several'
-paja  'many'
-nukarnimimi  'all' (usually refers to count nouns)
-pujurni  'all' (usually refers to mass nouns)

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

(28) kamul-warni-∅ paja-∅ pilanya  kangani  
(H) camel-PL-NOM  (M) many-NOM  AUX they:2: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) nukarnimimi-∅ pajonani lampam-lampam-∅ purika-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:

kuta  'short'
pukarr 'ripe'
ngurrpa 'ignorant'
kurnkurn 'black'
marulu 'precious'
jangarra 'generous'
kirrily 'cool'
kapakapa 'clumsy'

(30) ngurriti-Ø purka-Ø kangi karriya-riu
(H)vessel-NOM (M)big-NOM was:taking white:man-ERG
'The white man was driving a big vehicle.'

(31) nyanarti-riu tajinamayit-tu purnpurn-turra puunga
(M)that-ERG (H)dynamite-ERG small:pieces-ALL strikes

nyanarti-Ø tanjiti-Ø panarri-Ø
(M)that-NOM (M)hard-NOM (H)rock-NOM

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

(32) kurnka-Ø marn warntarni puluma-Ø
(M)raw-NOM AUX: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.
-pari  'characterised by'
-karrabi  'pertaining to'
-fawal  'always associated with'
-filiny  'like'
-jangka  'from'
-ngajirta  'without'
-mulu  'without' (negative)
-jarti  (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) wuripinya-la pajirla jina-jangka-∅ nyanarti-∅
sucked-then AUXhe:from:me (M) foot-from-NOM (M) that-NOM
)}

wirlkirr-pari-∅  niti-∅
(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 kayon-∅ piyim-∅ kunyaarr
saw AUX:him (M) one-NOM (H) man-NOM (M) dog

lanu-jangka-∅
pierce-from-NOM

'I saw a man spear the dog.'

In sentence (35), kunyaarr lanu-jangka-∅ is an embedded clause behaving as a modifier of the head noun piyim-∅.
(36) piyim-tu palu jalamani kukurr-Ø
    man-ERG AUXthey:him used:to:call (M)devil-NOM

    pilyuurr ngarnu-juwal-Ø
    (M)spirit eat-always:associated:with-NOM

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

    In sentence (36), pilyuurr ngarnu-juwal-Ø is an embedded clause
    behaving as a modifier and describing the head noun kukurr-Ø.

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 poten-
    tially 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 fol-
    lowed 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun stem</th>
<th>adjective stem</th>
<th>nominalised verb</th>
<th>demonstrative stem</th>
<th>quantifier stem</th>
<th>inflectional suffixes (first layer)</th>
<th>inflectional suffixes (second layer if embedding)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun stem</th>
<th>adjective stem</th>
<th>manner word</th>
<th>nominalised verb</th>
<th>compound verb root 1</th>
<th>inner suffixes</th>
<th>derivational suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1 COMPLEX NOUN-LIKE WORDS

4.1.1 COMPLEX STEMRS

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 -karrajä.

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

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

- wärnti (plural) as in panarr-wärnti 'stones'

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

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

- jänkä 'from' as in warlu-jänkä '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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>inner suffixes</th>
<th>class-changing derivational suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-mulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-pari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-karraji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-juxal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-jarti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-warlany</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-wipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-jarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-warnti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-karra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-i jiliny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-jangka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-purru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-ngajirta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-jinyangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-∅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 yari yapa-∅
west AUXhe went (H)child-NOM
'The child went west.'

(38) karla pa yari 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.

nyonuk-mulu
bath-
'without a bath'

ruwa-mulu
journey-
'without journeying'

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

kuyi-pari
meat-
'a good hunter'

taki-pari
accurate-
'an expert'

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

lampam-marta
small-
'one who is small'

kirramu-marta
sit-
'one who is sitting'

nganga-marta
unnoticing-
'one who doesn't notice'
-karraji 'pertaining to' is suffixed to noun stems or manner words or forms with -marta or -warlany making them adjectives.

ngapa-karraji
water-
'pertaining to water'

jintanga-karraji
alone-
'pertaining to aloneness'

purka-marta-karraji
big-one:who:is-
'pertaining to the big one'

ngapa-warlany-karraji
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.

marmin-juwal
woman-
'always associated with women'

ngamu-juwal
eat-
'always associated with eating'

loma-juwal
still-
'always associated with being still'

ngarmurta-juwal
happy-
'always associated with happiness'

kuyi-pari-juwal
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.

kartu-jarti
wife:COM
'having a wife'

lompam-jarti
small:COM
'having a small (one)'

tikirr-jarti
return:COM
'on returning'

miyi-ngajirta-jarti
food-without:COM
'having no food'

ngurti-jiliny-jarti
vessel-like:COM
'having a vessel-like thing (car)'

115
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 suf-
fixation 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purrku-warlany-kura</td>
<td>another old man's (thing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old:man-another-POSS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yapa-warnti-jiliny</td>
<td>'like children'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-PL-like</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Order 1

- _kura_ (possessor)

Order 2

- _jarrä_ (dual)  
- _jangka_ 'from'  
- _jiliny_ 'like'  
- _ngajirra_ 'without'

Order 2

- _warnti_ (plurals)
- _warlany_ 'another'
- _jinyangu_ 'very'

Order 3

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Allomorphs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[-rłu]</td>
<td>(ergative)</td>
<td>-ngu, -u, -ju, -tu, rtu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-ku]</td>
<td>(dative)</td>
<td>-wu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-ria]</td>
<td>(accessory)</td>
<td>-nga, -a, -ja, -ta, -rta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>∅</em></td>
<td>(nominative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-ria]</td>
<td>(locative)</td>
<td>-nga, -a, -ja, -ta, -rta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-rlalu]</td>
<td>'by way of'</td>
<td>-ngalu, -alu, -jalu, -talu, -rtlau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

116
TABLE 5
Outer Suffixes - Inflectional

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-kura</td>
<td>-jarra</td>
<td>(-ku)</td>
<td>-liny</td>
<td>-jal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-warnti</td>
<td>(-rlu)</td>
<td>-wurti</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jangka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-warlany</td>
<td>(-rla)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jiliny</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-mipa</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jinyangu</td>
<td>(-rla)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngajirta</td>
<td>(-rlalu)</td>
<td>-ngurni</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mulu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-karti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-purru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wurra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(-ngomarrra)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-karrarla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
{-rlamarra}  (preventative reason)  -ngamarra, -amarra, -jamarra, -tamarra, -rtamarra
-karrara  (preventative reason)
{-rturra}  (allative)  -ngkurra, -furra, -turra, -rturra
{-rjavu}  (allative)  -ngjavu, -javu, -tjavu, -rtjavu
-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'
-mi  (definitive)  -parni
-la  'then'  -pala

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

Examples

Order 1  ngumparna-jarti-kura  'the one with the husband's...'
          husband-COM-POSS
Order 2  ngaju-kura-wararti  'my (ones)'
          I-POSS-PL
          yapa-jarti-jiliny  'like one with a child'
          child-COM-like
          ngapa-juwal-jarti-warlany  'another one who has one who drinks (beer)'
          water-always-associated:  with-COM-another
(39) ngaju-ngu-liny marnn malku
(H)I-ERG-first AUXI will:speak
'I will speak first.'

(40) yapu-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
(ii)I-DAT-def AUXyou:for:me will:send
'Send it for me.'

(43) manga-wu-mulu parri-wu manurla pasumalku
(H)girl-DAT-neg (H)boy-DAT AUXyou:for:him will:call:out
'Call out for the boy not the girl.'

(44) nganpayi-rlu-jal pangku
(H)man-ERG-indeed will:hit
'Definitely the man will kill it.'

(45) kapi pa warnamiri 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), -wariti, -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 puurka-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) karlamani palu yangkarti-jartu-rlu
used:to:dig AUXthey:it (M)that-COM-ERG
mana-jarti-rlu mukurrulu-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-purruru pa warnamu-purruru 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 munya wanyjani yapa-warnti-∅
sandhill-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 'sandhill', -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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complex or Simple Stem</th>
<th>Inflectional Suffixes (1st layer)</th>
<th>Inflectional Suffixes (2nd layer)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kura</td>
<td>-jarra</td>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wamti</td>
<td>-rlu</td>
<td>-wurti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-janka</td>
<td>-rla</td>
<td>-mipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-warlany</td>
<td>-rla</td>
<td>-warlany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jiliny</td>
<td>-ø</td>
<td>-jiliny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jinyangu</td>
<td>-rila</td>
<td>-jinyangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ngajirta</td>
<td>-ngami</td>
<td>-mulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-karti</td>
<td>\</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-purru</td>
<td>\</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-wurra</td>
<td>\</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ngamarra</td>
<td>\</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(52) nyànya pa karla ngapa-karti-∅ ngonpayi-riu
   saw AUX: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) piyim-tu palu jularmni kukurr-∅ pilyurr
   man-ERG AUX:they:it used:to:call (H)devil-NOM (H)spirit
   ngarnu-juwal-∅
   eat-always:associated: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 lengu-juwal-u warnta-rlonyanu
   money cry-always:associated: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 lengu-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 lengu-. 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.
In (55), in the noun phrase marked for ergative case, *jilji-nga-jangka-wartii* is modifying the head noun *piyim-wartii*. 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-∅* paj-a *mapirri-mi* kangi-∅*i*

(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-wartii-riu* 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-Ø mapun laman-ta ngwiny
       clean-very-NOM true (M) hollow-LOC is

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

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

in the 'by way of' case:

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

       ngapa-ngalu kapam-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 marmalurla 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-Ø mamlu minyarti-riu nguwa-nga ngwiny
       (M) many-NOM AUX we:ex this-LOC soil-LOC are

       maja-warmi-Ø king-warmi-Ø
       (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 martamani
(H)game-NOM AUXwe:2:ex just were:keeping

paja-jinyangu-∅
(M)many-very-NOM

'We just had lots of game.'

(63) kurriŋi-∅ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accessory case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxilliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BYW</td>
<td>'by way of' case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DU</td>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX (\sim) ex</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H)</td>
<td>head of a noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN (\sim) in</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M)</td>
<td>modifier of a noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ }</td>
<td>morphophonemic brackets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\emptyset)</td>
<td>used in examples to show the unmarked nominative case and in tables where the absence of a morpheme is significant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:</td>
<td>indicates that more than one English word is required to translate one vernacular morpheme; also used between English words which gloss auxiliaries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
BIBLIOGRAPHY


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series A</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Alyawarra phonology; A tentative description of the phonemes of the Ngalkbun language (including a small word list); Notes on rhythmic patterning in Iwaidja; What are contrastive syllables? The Wik-Munkan picture; A phonological analysis of Fitzroy Crossing Children's Pidgin.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Two papers on phonology, five on grammar. First extensive description of Iwaidja. Phonologically interesting [5 stop series, but 4 laterals] as well as grammatically [a prefixing language with no noun classes and no case marking].)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Notes on paragraph division in Tiwi; The sentence: boundaries and basic types in Ngaanyatjarra narratives; Clause types in Gugu-Yalanji; The Walmatjari noun phrase.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volume 4: A Distinctive Features Approach to Djinong Phonology and Verb Morphology, B. Waters</td>
<td>Forthcoming</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series B</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Northern Territory bilingual education [with a preview of a selection of programmes in six other countries]; Teaching aids for Tiwi; Transition from Australian Aboriginal languages to English: as it applies to children in bilingual schools; A literacy programme for maximum compatibility with teaching methods used in Australian schools.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Northern Territory bilingual education [with a preview of a selection of programmes in six other countries]; Teaching aids for Tiwi; Transition from Australian Aboriginal languages to English: as it applies to children in bilingual schools; A literacy programme for maximum compatibility with teaching methods used in Australian schools.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Historical background and introduction to pidgins and creoles; phonology, orthography, and grammar. Most extensive description of &quot;Roper Creole&quot; published.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Volume 4: *Beginnings of a Ngukurr-Bamyili Creole Dictionary*,
J.R. Sandefur and J.L. Sandefur
v + 136 pp.

(Comole to English; approx. 2725 entries.)

Prices quoted include surface postage within Australia and are subject to change without prior notice. Discounts are available on quantity orders; enquire for details.