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FURTHER ASPECTS OF THE GRAMMAR OF
YANYUWA, NORTHERN AUSTRALIA

Jean Kirton
and
Bella Charlie



Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Department of Linguistics

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies

The Australian National University

Canberra ACT 0200

Australia

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This volume contains a photograph
of the Yanyuwa co-author,
who died in July 1993

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PREFACE

I had the privilege of working with Yanyuwa people and learning the Yanyuwa language during the period 1963–1988. It has therefore been a deep personal sorrow to note evidence that the language is dying. Although the children may know some Yanyuwa words, they now live in a multilingual situation, and Yanyuwa is no longer their prime language.

This volume is an attempt to preserve a record of the language for the Yanyuwa people. Since it is a record of a dying language, it is quite detailed and the description is inevitably technical in much of its presentation. Since it is also a record for the Yanyuwa people, I have attempted to keep in mind as much as possible the Yanyuwa who will want to know what it says, and there is some simplification in making morpheme breaks and glossing. This is also the reason for including so many examples, particularly of clauses or simple sentences which are the building blocks in the language. Since this is likely to be my final write-up of Yanyuwa grammar, I have also included throughout additional notes on items of linguistic interest as they occur.

The work incorporates a number of chapters (formerly separate papers)¹ on different facets of the language, some being simply descriptions – those on the demonstrative system, locative and location, questions and interrogative words, and clauses. The chapters on the lack of ergative marking, a semantic system for case, and on discourse particles have to a greater extent come from a combination of personal intuition and linguistic fact. Other facets of the language are described in various papers written earlier (see bibliography), and the short chapter on two verb suffixes is included to correct a previous error in analysis and description.

The descriptions and analyses in this volume are based on a body of language data collected during the years 1965–1972, the main period in which I focused on linguistic analysis. This data comprises a range of recorded and transcribed texts. It reflects the speech of that time when the language was stronger.

In a sense this work is an expression of my thanks to the Yanyuwa who have shared their language and lives with me, to the many Christian friends who have supported me financially and in prayer to allow me to carry it out, and to the Lord who called me and enabled me to persevere each time I was ready to give up.

I am indebted to Bella Charlie, who has led me patiently into a speaking knowledge of the language and who has also explained so many things and checked so much data with me.

¹ The chapters are therefore of widely varying length. As the volume is being published posthumously with the general assistance of the SIL, editorial intervention in this and other areas, including the bibliographical, has been restricted to the essential. Instead of an index, the volume has a fuller than usual contents list. *PL* editor.

Her co-authoring of this volume is an acknowledgment of the extent of her contribution in all these ways. I am also indebted to many other Yanyuwa people over the years for their help in language work. Among these are Tim Rakuwurlma and his family, especially Punch, Mavis and Nero, as well as Dinah, Eileen, Don and Jemimah, Queenie, Annie and many others, to whom I express my thanks for their generous sharing of their language and for giving me a place in their lives.

I would also like to thank my SIL colleagues: Christine Kilham, Bruce Waters, Jenny Lee and Kenneth L. Pike, for their consulting help; Greg Bierbaum and others for their editorial work and encouragement; and Susanne Hargrave who kindly agreed to take responsibility for seeing this manuscript through the final stages of preparation for publication.

Jean Kirton

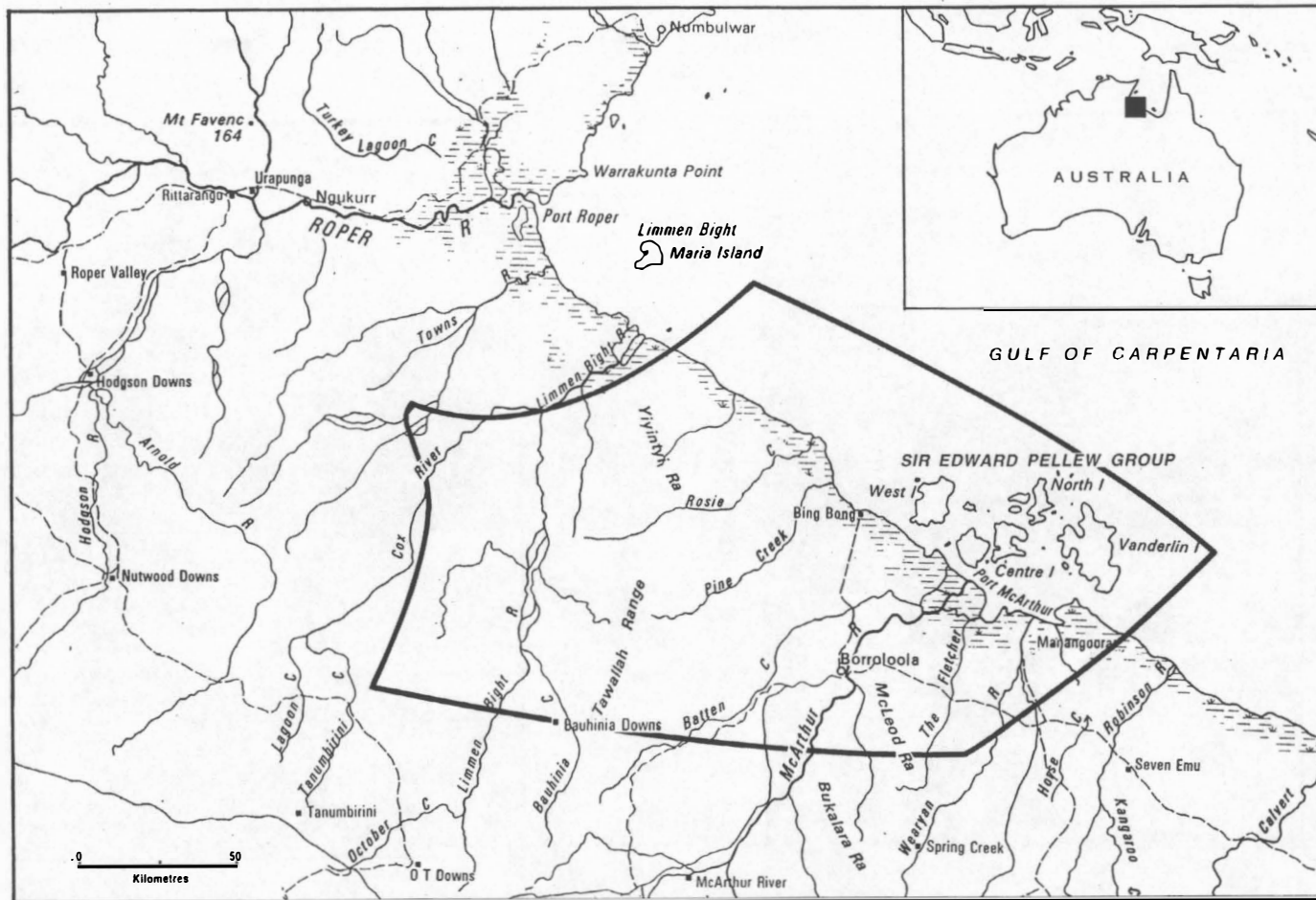
February 1993

SIL Editor's note:

Jean Kirton died on 24 March 1993, just three months after an unexpected diagnosis of cancer. In those few months she persevered to finish this volume of papers, in spite of increasing pain and weakness. Her co-author, Bella Charlie, died soon after. The volume is a tribute to their dedication and a reflection of Jean's regard for the Yanyuwa people and their language.

ABBREVIATIONS

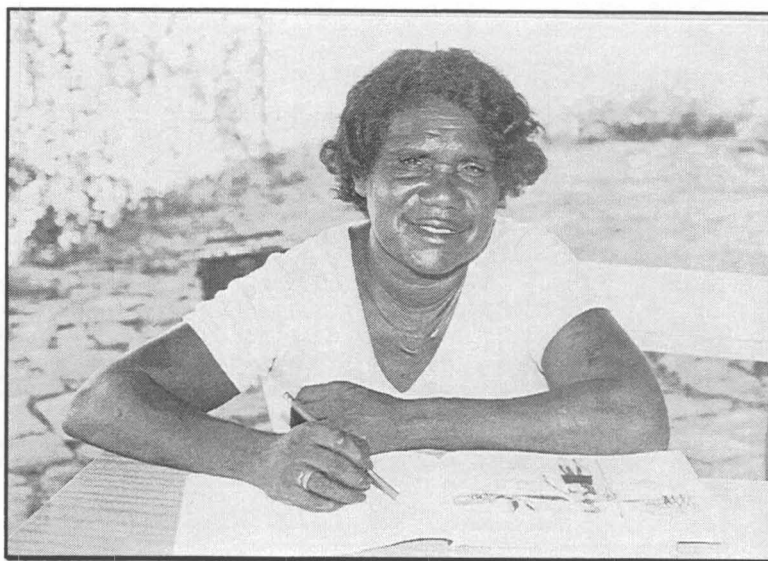
ABST	abstract	M	male speakers' dialect, male (class 2 noun)
ACCM	accompaniment	MAGN	magnifying
ALL	allative case	MAN	manner
ALT.RT	alternative route marker	MKR	marker
ARB	arboreal (class 6 noun)	MSC	masculine (class 4 noun)
CL	clause	N	north
CLIM	climax (marker)	NEG	negation, negative
COMP	complement	NMSR	nominaliser
CONT	continuous	NNOM	non-nominative
CST	customary	NOM	nominative
DAT	dative	OBJ.COMP	object complement
DEF	definite	P	past tense
DEST	destination	PART	participial
DIM	diminutive	PERI	periphery
DU	dual	PERT	pertinent (or pertaining to)
DUB	dubitative	PL	plural
E	east	POT	potential
ERG	ergative	PRED	predicate
EXCL	exclusive	PRES	present tense
EXPER	experiencer	PRON	pronoun
F	female speakers' dialect, female (class 1 noun)	PT	participle
FD	food (class 5 noun)	PURP	purposive
FEM	feminine (class 5 noun)	REC	recipient
FUT	future tense	REFL	reflexive-reciprocal
GEN	genative	REL	relator
HYP	hypothetical	REL.DIR	relative direction
IMM	imminent	REL.PRON	relative pronoun
IMP	imperative	S	south
INCL	inclusive	SBJ	subject
IND	indicative (marker)	SEMTR	semitransitive
INDEF	indefinite	SENT	sentence
INTEN	intentive	SG	singular
INTR	intransitive	SPEC	species
LOC	location	T	time
LOC.CX	locative complex	TR	transitive
LOC.PRED	locative predicate	W	west
LOC.SCE	location source		



YANYUWA LANGUAGE AREA



JEAN KIRTON



BELLA CHARLIE

CHAPTER 1

THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 OVERVIEW

The Yanyuwa or Anyuwa people of Australia's Northern Territory are also known as the Yanyula or Anyula (the name given them by their Garawa neighbours in the east) and the Wadiri (the name given by their Mara neighbours in the north-west). Their traditional territory was the coastal strip from the Limmen River to an area opposite the Sir Edward Pellew Islands and including the islands. As at early 1993 there were approximately 90 Yanyuwa speakers (the numbers are declining; see Kirton 1988b:1-18), and the community is centred at Borroloola, a small outback township on the McArthur River, which celebrated its centenary in 1985.

1.2 LINGUISTIC TYPE

In all the earlier classifications of Australian languages, Yanyuwa (or Yanyula) was included in a grouping of northern languages in opposition to a grouping of southern languages spoken in a much larger area of the continent. Yanyuwa was variously classified as a 'northern', 'prefixing' and 'non-Pama-Nyungan' language. (See Dixon 1980:20-21 for a discussion and map of these three classifications.). According to the 1960s classification, Yanyuwa was listed as the single member of the Yanyulan family (O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966:27).

Yanyuwa's classification with the non-Pama-Nyungan (nonPN) family has recently been disputed, however, and it has been reclassified as one of the four members of the Warluwaric group within the Pama-Nyungan (PN) family (Blake 1988:29-30). The problem in classification arose because Yanyuwa shares certain of the distinguishing features of both PN and nonPN languages, and because the similarities to nonPN languages are more prominent.

Dixon (1980:222-225) and Blake (1988) present criteria by which PN and nonPN languages are distinguished. Dixon points out that nonPN languages do not, as the 'non-' may suggest, lack something which PN languages have, and that indeed nonPN would be better labelled 'most-innovatory' and PN 'least-innovatory'. In Yanyuwa there are both 'innovatory' and conservative features present, according to the criteria which Dixon and Blake provide.

The 'innovatory' features which Yanyuwa has in common with nonPN languages are: (1) bound pronouns prefixed to the verb to mark subject and object or indirect object, and (2) noun classes indicated by class markers prefixed to the nouns. In almost all other instances these features identify languages as being nonPN, but Blake (1988:38-39) explains their presence in Yanyuwa as being due to influence from languages to the west: Mara, Alawa and Warndarang.

The 'conservative' features of Yanyuwa by which Blake (1988:38) identifies it as a member of the PN family are those which he sees as being less susceptible to change from the linguistic environment. These are: (1) the form of the free pronouns (similar to the PN set rather than the nonPN), and the fact that they distinguish between dual and plural number; and (2) the form of the case-marker suffixes, similar to and sometimes typical of the PN set (although they are fewer in number than typical PN languages). Blake also demonstrates the closeness of Yanyuwa's pronouns with those of three other PN languages: Warluwara, Bularnu and Wagaya.

Yanyuwa identification as a PN language is supported by two other criteria to which Dixon (1980:223-4) refers: (1) a three-vowel system (as opposed to a five- or maybe six-vowel system in nonPN languages), and (2) an unlimited list of inflecting verb roots (as opposed to the nonPN system of a limited number used in conjunction with a multiplicity of compound verbs). Nicholas Evans (1988:94, 99, 100), writing on Pama-Nyungan, also instances several Yanyuwa roots which reflect PN forms.

In relation to this reclassification of Yanyuwa, Blake (Blake 1988:40) makes the following observation:

It is interesting...to establish that Yanyuwa is Pama-Nyungan and similar to Wagaya, Bularnu and Warluwara, since Yanyuwa is not contiguous with these other three and in Australia there are very few instances of relatively close generic links between non-contiguous languages.

1.3 AN OVERVIEW OF YANYUWA PHONOLOGY

While Yanyuwa has the three-vowel system typical of Pama-Nyungan languages, the feature of special interest is the range of consonants. A preliminary description of "Anyula" phonology (Kirton 1967) analysed the consonant sounds as six stops, six nasals, four laterals, two rhotics and two semivowels, in relation to six points of articulation: labial, interdental, alveolar, postalveolar (retroflexed), palatal and velar. This analysis was later revised to include prenasalised stops and a seventh point of articulation, palatovelar, for stops, nasals and prenasalised stops. The description shows that each palatovelar consonant has resulted from the elision of what was historically a sequence of laminopalatal and velar consonants. During his visit to the language area in 1967, Professor Peter Ladefoget confirmed the occurrence of the palatovelar consonant series, and noted that the Yanyuwa velar position was further back than the norm to accommodate seven oral points of articulation.

1.4 AN OVERVIEW OF YANYUWA GRAMMAR

A brief introduction is given to three areas of Yanyuwa grammar (described in more detail elsewhere). Since the men's and women's dialects together essentially constitute 'Yanyuwa', this feature of the language is presented. Nouns and verbs are also introduced.

1.4.1 MEN'S AND WOMEN'S DIALECTS

Perhaps the most unusual feature related to Yanyuwa grammar is the occurrence of separate dialects for men and for women speakers, described in detail in Kirton (1988a) and Bradley (1988). The difference in dialects primarily relates to two of the seven classes of

common nouns, the male class (primarily comprising male people) and the masculine class (the most numerous class, comprising the remainder of nouns not included in the other more specific classes). These two classes contrast in the women's dialect and virtually unite in the men's, though a single archaic form in the men's dialect provides evidence that marking distinguishing the two classes has occurred there too.

For each noun class there is a set of prefixes. In the Yanyuwa case-marking system, variant forms of the class-marker prefixes accompany the addition of case-marker suffixes. In the speech of the women, male class nouns in the nominative case are marked by the prefix *nya-* and masculine class nouns have no overt marker. In the speech of men, the classes are combined and have no overt marker. However, for non-nominative cases the contrast becomes stronger. When one of these other cases is marked by the addition of a suffix, then for women speakers the non-nominative prefix for male class is *nyu-* and for masculine class it is *ji-*; the non-nominative prefix for the combined classes in men's speech is *ki-*. (For a full description of Yanyuwa nouns and modifiers, see Kirton 1971a and 1971b.)

In women's speech there are three third person singular personal pronouns: *yiwa* 'he', *anda* 'she' and *alhi* 'it'. In the men's speech there are only two: *yiwa* 'he, it' and *anda* 'she'. (For a description of Yanyuwa free pronouns and pronominal sets, see Kirton 1970.)

There is a considerable degree of cross-referencing in Yanyuwa, and it is this factor which multiplies the differences between the two dialects. The dialectal allomorphs relate to noun modifier class markers, bound pronouns, and the proximal demonstrative pronoun 'this', all of which agree with the nouns they refer to in class, number and case. The linguistic environments in which bound pronouns occur are numerous.

Pronominal prefixes mark subject and object on verbs; they mark possessor on inalienably possessed nouns (with different sets of possessor markers for body-part nouns and for each of two kinship noun classes). Pronominal affixes also mark locative demonstrative pronouns, the locative interrogative, and certain particles which function as conjunctions or introducers.

In all these grammatical environments, women speakers distinguish male and masculine classes while male speakers combine them. The distinction between these classes is lost only in the nominative form for the distal demonstrative pronouns of the women's dialect.

1.4.2 NOUNS

Four types and 15 classes of Yanyuwa nouns are described (Kirton 1971a and 1971b), based on analysis of the women's dialect, which most clearly marks the contrasts. The four noun types are common nouns, body-part nouns, kinship nouns and proper nouns. (Note: In the following description the women's dialect is taken as the basis for description, in order to work from the more complex to the less complex dialect and from the more regular to the less regular patterns. Similarly the female noun class is described first because its patterning is more regular than the male class, which is involved in the complicating factor of dialect difference.)

Seven classes of Type I common nouns are indicated by contrastive class-marker prefixes which generally correlate with contrastive semantic categories. The first semantic division is into human and non-human categories. Human referents are subdivided into two classes:

class 1, female, and class 2, male. The semantic domain of 'human' referents within this language includes both animals and mythological beings which are related to humans within the kinship system as female or male kin. Nouns in these two classes may be marked for number by the replacement of the class prefix with *ri-* (dual) or *li-* (plural).

The remaining noun classes with non-human referents are not normally marked for number. They may be subdivided into two classes, feminine (class 3) and masculine (class 4), which include both animate and inanimate nouns, and three classes of inanimate nouns: class 5 (food), class 6 (arboreal), and class 7 (abstract).

Certain stems appear to the outsider to be assigned to classes in an illogical way, but Dixon's (1968:20) two rules relating to 'transfer' of class membership in Australian Aboriginal languages apply to these instances. He states that the irregular occurrence is in fact a purposeful class transference which classifies according to mythological characteristics rather than characteristics apparent to someone from outside the culture, or which marks some "important property...most often 'harmfulness'".

In some environments there is blurring of the distinction between the female and feminine classes in both dialects, somewhat comparable to the blurring of the male-masculine distinction in the men's dialect; for example the female class marker *ra-* has the free variants *ra-*, *ra-* and *a-*, a form homophonous with the feminine class marker, so that in some instances the distinction between classes is lost.

The inalienable nature of Type II, class 8 body-part nouns is marked by one set of pronominal prefixes. Type III kinship noun classes 10-12 have a different kind of inalienable nature which is marked by contrastive sets of possessor prefixes or suffixes. The other two kin noun classes do not mark possession. Class 9 consists of vocative forms and class 13 consists of innately non-singular forms, that is two or more people in a significant relationship. Type IV proper nouns consist of class 14 personal and corroborree names and class 15 placenames.

Yanyuwa noun case marking has been introduced briefly above, and the topic is examined in more depth in Chapter 3.

1.4.3 VERBS

Yanyuwa verbs have been described in considerable detail (Kirton 1978). The primary contrasts in structure distinguish indicative, imperative and participle verb forms. The other three moods of the Yanyuwa verb, dubitative ('might'), intentive ('intend to') and hypothetical ('would/should/could') are signalled by suffixes which replace the indicative tense/aspect suffixes.

In Kirton (1978), Yanyuwa verbs were described as potentially consisting of five prefixes, a verb stem and three suffixes. Where the focus is not specifically on verbs, it is simpler to present a verb rather as consisting of three prefixes, a verb stem and one suffix. An indicative verb occurs as the maximum form, an imperative verb has one less prefix and a comparatively simpler suffix, and a participle is the minimal form of the verb. There is an open list of verb stems and classification is based on transitivity.

An indicative verb has an initial indicative marker which may additionally signal recurrent aspect. The prefixes which follow the indicative marker are determined by the transitivity of the verb. In a transitive verb, an object and a transitive subject prefix follow. In an

intransitive or an existential verb, an intransitive subject prefix follows. In a reflexive/reciprocal/middle verb, the indicative marker is followed by an intransitive subject prefix and a reflexive-marker prefix.

Imperative verbs are marked by subject, object and reflexive prefixes, according to the transitivity type, and by one of three imperative suffixes, marking general imperative, continuous imperative or negative imperative.

The participle construction is unmarked for person. The reflexive prefix *nyamba-* marks the reflexive participle form, and suffixes mark the participle as past, present, past customary, purposive or dative.

1.5 YANYUWA LANGUAGE MATERIALS

The author's published materials on Yanyuwa language and culture are entered in the bibliography. Others who have contributed to the study of Yanyuwa are Capell, Blake, and Bradley. John Bradley has deposited a dictionary of the Yanyuwa language with AIATSIS in Canberra; the manuscript is a compilation of his and the author's databases. A list of vernacular materials (stories, primers, Bible portions) in the Yanyuwa language can be obtained from Bookseller, SIL-AAIB, PO Berrimah, NT 0828, Australia.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEMONSTRATIVE SYSTEM

2.1 OVERVIEW

In Yanyuwa there is a demonstrative system which includes pronouns, locatives and manner adverbs. There is a set of four stems for each of these word classes. These 12 stems are constructed from four demonstrative roots, two prefixes and two suffixes. In addition to these forms, another stem occurs as a variant of two of the demonstrative pronoun stems. This variant stem *ja*¹ occurs in agreement with five of the seven noun classes for a male speaker and six of the seven noun classes for a female speaker.

The pattern behind the demonstrative stem morphology is obscured if only the forms in current use are analysed. A clear pattern emerges when the stem *mbangaji* – an earlier form of *mangaji* ‘that (definite)’ – is added to the data. (The form *mbangaji* occurred once in a text recorded by an old man at Doomadgee Mission in 1967 and was later identified by Borroloola Yanyuwa speakers as being the older form of *mangaji*.)

The purpose of this description is to present an analysis of Yanyuwa demonstrative stems. Some notes on demonstrative inflection and the possible use of demonstrative pronoun stems in noun derivation are also included.

2.2 DEMONSTRATIVE STEM MORPHOLOGY

In the Yanyuwa demonstrative system which comprises pronouns, locatives and manner adverbs, there is the interaction of a proximal-distal semantic opposition and a definite-indefinite semantic opposition which results in a set of four stems for each of these three word classes. The English proximal demonstrative pronoun ‘this’ and the distal pronoun ‘that’ are therefore each represented by a definite and an indefinite form in Yanyuwa. Similarly the English locatives ‘here’ and ‘there’ and the adverb phrase ‘like this’ and ‘like that’ are each expressed in Yanyuwa by a definite and an indefinite demonstrative word.

¹ Examples from Yanyuwa are given in the practical orthography, that is the orthography used for literacy and literature. The following equivalents will enable transfer into the phonemic orthography for those sounds which are written differently:

- The interdental /d,n, l, nd/ are written *th, nh, lh, nth*.
- The alveopalatal /dj, nj, njd/ are written *j, ny, nj*.
- The alveolar flap is written *r*.
- The retroflexed consonant series are written *rd, rn, rl, r, md*.
- The palatovelar stop, nasal and prenasalised stops are written *yk, yng, yngk*.
- The velar stop and nasal are written *k, ng*.

The definite–indefinite semantic distinction is similar to that demonstrated by the articles ‘the’ and ‘a’ in English. The indefinite forms are used in introducing new information or referents; the definite forms are the anaphoric forms which refer back to information previously given. The definite forms may take an additional stress, as the English ‘the’ does (with an additional change in vowel too), to give focus to the referent.

(In Yanyuwa the indefinite demonstrative pronoun has an additional function demonstrated in an explanatory text in which two groups of people are referred to alternately. At each reintroduction of a group, the indefinite pronoun *li-mbangu* (PL-that.INDEF) ‘those’ marks its return; the reference to this group is then continued with the definite pronoun *li-mangaji* (PL-that.DEF) ‘those’ until the alternative group is again reintroduced with the indefinite form *li-mbangu*.)

In Yanyuwa a demonstrative stem potentially consists of three morphemes. A demonstrative root must occur and a word-class marker may precede or follow the root. A definite-marker suffix is added to the resultant unit for all but one of the definite demonstratives.

There are three separate roots which occur in the nucleus of the proximal demonstrative stems to distinguish the three word classes, and one of them has an allomorph: *jinal/ja* ‘this’, *marni* ‘here’, and *inya* ‘like this’ (see Table 1). The allomorph *jina* occurs in agreement with masculine-class nouns and also in agreement with male-class nouns for a male speaker; *ja* occurs with the remaining noun classes and with male-class nouns for a female speaker (see Kirton 1971:5-6; 10-13 for further detail).

TABLE 1: YANYUWA DEMONSTRATIVE STEM MORPHOLOGY

	Demonstrative	Proximal	Distal
PRONOUN	indefinite	<i>jina/ja</i> ¹	<i>mba-ngu</i>
	definite	<i>jina-ngu/ja</i> ¹	<i>mba-ng-aji</i> <i>/ma-ng-aji</i> ²
		‘this’	‘that’
LOCATIVE	indefinite	<i>marni</i>	<i>na-mba</i>
	definite	<i>marn-aji</i>	<i>b-aji</i> ³
		‘here’	‘there’
MANNER ADVERB	indefinite	<i>ngan-inya</i>	<i>ngana-mba</i>
	definite	<i>ngan-iny-aji</i>	<i>ngana-mb-aji</i>
		‘like this’	‘like that’

1. These variants are used in agreement with different noun classes; *jina* and *jina-ngu* occur with the masculine (and male, for a male speaker) class, and *ja* occurs with the remaining classes.
2. This morphological change is a diachronic one.
3. This stem comes from the underlying form *mba-aji* by morphophonemic rules.

The single distal demonstrative root *mba* occurs in the nucleus of the stem for all three word classes, and the classes are distinguished by the addition of word-class marker affixes to all but one of the root occurrences. These affixes may additionally mark the proximal demonstrative roots to further distinguish the classes.

The nominaliser suffix *-ngu* marks all the demonstrative pronoun stems except the indefinite proximal stem *jina* 'this' and its allomorph *ja*. The demonstrative manner prefix *ngana-* is added to the distal root *mba* and also to the proximal root *inya*. The locative prefix *na-* is added to *mba* in the construction of the indefinite stem only; *mba* then remains as the definite distal locative unit without further marking for word class, but the initial *m* is lost in accordance with a strong phonological tendency in Yanyuwa for the nasal onset of a prenasalised stop or the initial consonant of a consonant cluster to be lost in a word-initial occurrence.

The definite-marker suffix *-aji* is then added to all the definite demonstrative units as constructed above with the exception of *jina-ngu* 'this', which is already distinguished from the indefinite form by the nominaliser suffix *-ngu*.

When the above roots and affixes come together, the following morphophonemic rule applies: When two vowels come together at a morpheme boundary the first vowel is lost: $V \rightarrow \emptyset / _ + V$.

The resultant demonstrative stems and their classes are listed below.

(1) Pronouns

<i>jina</i>	this (indefinite masculine class, M male class) ²
<i>jinangu</i>	this (definite masculine class, M male class)
<i>ja</i>	this (F non-masculine classes, M non-masculine/male classes; no definite-indefinite distinction)
<i>mbangu</i>	that (indefinite)
<i>mbangaji/mangaji</i>	that (definite) (The <i>mbangaji</i> variant is the archaic form.)

(2) Locatives

<i>marni</i>	here (indefinite)
<i>marnaji</i>	here (definite)
<i>namba</i>	there (indefinite)
<i>baji</i>	there (definite)

(3) Manner adverbs

<i>nganinya</i>	like this (indefinite)
<i>nganinyaji</i>	like this (definite)
<i>nganamba</i>	like that (indefinite)
<i>nganambaji</i>	like that (definite)

² Men's and women's dialects are distinguished in Yanyuwa, based on the difference in class marking for male- and masculine-noun classes. This is then accompanied by the use of different pronominal morphemes in the extensive pronominal agreement throughout the language. F marks examples from a female speaker and M those from a male speaker in examples where there are dialect differences. (See §1.4.1; for a full description of the two dialects see Bradley 1988 and Kirton 1988a.)

Of this manner adverb set, *nganinya* and *nganambaji* are the two forms in common use; occurrence of the other two stems is rare.

2.3 NOTES ON INFLECTION OF DEMONSTRATIVES

The demonstrative stems listed above occur as free uninflected forms with the exception of the demonstrative pronoun stems. And since the proximal stems *jina* and *jinangu* occur for masculine-class referents and male-class referents for a male speaker, and since there is zero marking for these noun classes, *jina* and *jinangu* also overtly occur as uninflected free forms. The remaining pronoun stems, however, must occur with a class marker in agreement with the noun referent, and these class-markers are also modified for case (see Kirton 1971a:5-6).

The demonstrative stems from all three word classes may then take additional inflection; however, the manner adverb stem takes only one suffix. The identical-marker suffix *-lulu* occurs with the definite distal stem: *nganambaji-lulu* 'in the very same way'. This same meaning 'very same' is signalled on the definite stems of the other demonstrative classes also. The nominative demonstrative pronoun stems are marked by the identical-marker prefix *ulu-*,³ which immediately precedes the stem: *ny-ulu-ja* 'this very same (male/masculine)', *m-ulu-mangaji* 'that very same (food)' (see Kirton 1971a:6).

2.4 NOTES ON THE POSSIBLE USE OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN STEMS IN NOUN DERIVATION

There is one noun stem in common use, *wardimbangu*, which appears to be constructed from the adjective stem *wardi* 'bad' and the demonstrative pronoun stem *mbangu* 'that (indefinite)'. The resultant noun stem expresses an emphasised quality of badness in the entity it refers to. The addition of a noun class-marker completes the noun construction: *rra-wardimbangu* 'a bad woman', *li-wardimbangu* 'bad people'.

The prefix *ja-* which occurs with certain kin stems as a variant for first person singular possession and with certain verb stems as a derivational prefix is homophonous in form with the proximal demonstrative pronoun allomorph *ja* 'this' and it is possibly the same morpheme. Examples are given below with the noun kin stems *marna* 'father's sister, father's older brother', *baba* 'older sibling', and with the verb stems *wardima* 'lie, speak falsely', *nganyima* 'be jealous': *rra-ja-marna* 'my aunt', *rra-ja-baba* 'my older sister', F *nya-ja-wardima* 'a liar (male)', F *nya-ja-nganyima* 'a jealous man'. The *ja* appears to mark the kin relationships which have a special significance (see Kirton with Timothy 1982:9), and to give emphasis to the quality expressed by the verb stem in these noun constructions.

The nouns derived from verb stems by the addition of *ja-* and the noun *wardimbangu* occur in the predicate of stative clauses. The kin nouns with the *ja-* prefix have free occurrence.

³ This identical-marker *ulu-/lulu* occurs also with the personal pronouns; however, it is manifested there by *-lu* on each occurrence of the repeated pronoun: *anda* 'she, her' becomes *anda-lu anda-lu* 'the very same one (female)'; *alu* 'they, them' becomes *alu-lu alu-lu* 'the very same ones'.

CHAPTER 3

CASE

3.1 OVERVIEW

In Yanyuwa four cases are distinguished, and these four cases mark twelve grammatical functions in Yanyuwa. The purpose of this chapter is to suggest an underlying semantic system which interrelates the case markers to the grammatical functions according to three degrees of relationship to clause action.¹

3.2 CASE MARKERS

Case is marked on nouns, noun modifiers and pronouns, and it is also marked on participles and certain adverbs. The essential markers are normally suffixes. The basic case-marker suffix set (except for pronouns) is:

-∅	nominative
-wu	dative
-lu	ergative-allative
-la	ablative

Each of the three overt basic suffixes has a series of allomorphs. These are either phonologically or morphologically conditioned. The basic suffixes along with their variants are listed. (Predictable conditioning factors are described in full in Kirton 1971b:41-48.)

Dative:	-wu; phonological variants: -yu, -u, -ku; morphological variants: -nku, -ngku.
Ergative-allative:	-lu; phonological variants: -ngku, -nju, -du, -wu, -u; morphological variants: -ndu, -nyu.
Ablative:	-la; phonological variants: -ngka, -nja, -da, -a; morphological variants: -nda, -nya.

Participles may be marked by dative or ergative-allative case. Certain locative adverbs may also be marked by ergative-allative case.

Case is also marked on nouns and noun modifiers by prefixes which combine class-marking and case-marking functions. These prefixes may distinguish a two- or three-way contrast. For certain classes the noun prefixes distinguish only a nominative, non-nominative

¹ This topic was given some preliminary consideration in the paper 'Yanyuwa nominative and ergative-allative cases' (Kirton 1976:1-12).

contrast; for example, the male-class prefixes used by a female speaker: F *nya-* (M.NOM), *nyu-* (M.NNOM). For other classes the prefixes distinguish nominative, dative and ergative-allative-ablative contrast; for example, the abstract-class prefixes *narnu-* (ABST.NOM), *nuwarnu-* (ABST.DAT) and *nungkarnu-* (ABST.ERG/ALL/ABL). The three-way contrast is maintained for all classes in marking the non-suffixing stems of demonstrative and possessive pronouns and the allative specifier *-rrku* 'other, different'. For example:

F <i>nya-rrku</i>	(M.NOM-other)	another
F <i>nyuwa-rrku</i>	(M.DAT-other)	for another
F <i>nyungka-rrku</i>	(M.ERG/ALL/ABL-other)	to/with another

(See Table 4 in Chapter 4 for the complete set of noun prefixes.)

Nouns normally take both class-case-marker prefixes and case suffixes. However, certain nouns in common use may lose the prefix when an overt suffix occurs; for example, *alanji-lu* (camp-ALL) 'to the camp', *wulangi-nda* (river-ABL) 'at/by the river'. (The arboreal class allative-ablative prefix *nungku-* has been lost from these two words.) A male speaker may drop the suffix from certain nouns in common use when he adds the male/masculine-class non-nominative prefix *ki-*: for example, *ki-mirningu* (M.NNOM-man) 'for/to/with the man' or 'the man (transitive subject)'. (The context distinguishes the specific role which is intended.)

Free pronouns are also marked to distinguish four cases, but their marking is different from that of nouns in two respects. (1) Free pronouns do not occur with a transitive subject function and so are not marked for ergative case. Therefore *-lu* marks only the allative or purpose functions (that is, location destination 'to' or purpose goal 'for' functions; these functions are illustrated in §2.3.3 below). (2) There is some variation in the case-marker suffixes which occur with the pronouns, more particularly in those which mark dative and ablative cases. (See Table 2 for the full set of free pronouns for the four cases.)

3.3 BASIC CLAUSE TYPES

For the purpose of this paper, there are two main factors to be considered in relation to clause types. Both relate to the nature of the predicate. The first is whether or not there is any action or activity expressed in the predicate; the second is the nature of the transitivity of such predicate action. These two factors distinguish the three basic clause types.

The two basic action clause types are intransitive and transitive. The transitive clause has an object and the intransitive clause has no object. The third basic clause type is the non-action clause. This type may have an existential stative predicate which is manifested by the existential verb 'be' or it may have a verbless stative predicate (or complement). (See Chapter 8, 'Yanyuwa clauses', for a full description.)

3.4 THE SEMANTIC INTERRELATING OF CASE AND CLAUSE FUNCTIONS

Each case marker distinguishes three related semantic roles (see Table 3) in the marking of clause functions. One role expresses active involvement in the effecting of the action of the verb. The second expresses a more passive involvement associated with the action of the verb. The third expresses a dissociation from the verbal action. This dissociation may be one of two kinds. It may be dissociation from verbal action in that the clause is a non-action

clause, or it may be dissociation in the sense that it relates to a background function in an action clause. The nature of these roles will be illustrated as each case and its three semantic roles is considered. (It is noted that 'passive' is used here in a semantic sense, not the grammatical. There is no active-passive voice distinction in the grammar of Yanyuwa clauses.)

TABLE 2: YANYUWA FREE PRONOUNS

	Allative	Ablative	Nominative	Dative
3PL	<i>alu<u>walu</u></i>	<i>alu<u>wa</u></i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>alu<u>nga</u></i>
2PL	<i>yirru<u>walu</u></i>	<i>yirru<u>wa</u></i>	<i>yirru</i>	<i>yirru<u>nga</u></i>
1 PL.EXCL	<i>nganu<u>walu</u></i>	<i>nganu<u>wa</u></i>	<i>nganu</i>	<i>nganu<u>nga</u></i>
3DU	<i>wulu<u>lu</u></i>	<i>wulu<u>aa</u></i>	<i>wula</i>	<i>wulu<u>nga</u></i>
2DU	<i>yimbal<u>alu</u></i>	<i>yimbal<u>aa</u></i>	<i>yimbala</i>	<i>yimbal<u>nga</u></i>
1DU.EXCL	<i>ngathar<u>ralu</u></i>	<i>ngathar<u>raa</u></i>	<i>ngatharra</i>	<i>ngathar<u>ra</u>nga</i>
1 PL.INCL	<i>ngambal<u>alu</u></i>	<i>ngambal<u>aa</u></i>	<i>ngambala</i>	<i>ngambal<u>nga</u></i>
1DU.INCL	<i>ngali<u>lu</u></i>	<i>ngali<u>la</u></i>	<i>ngali</i>	<i>ngali<u>nga</u></i>
1 SG	<i>ngathang<u>kalu</u></i>	<i>ngathang<u>ka</u></i>	<i>ngarna</i>	<i>ngatha</i>
2SG	<i>yindu<u>lu</u></i>	<i>yindu<u>aa</u></i>	<i>yinda</i>	<i>yindu</i>
3F/FEM.SG	<i>andu<u>lu</u></i>	<i>andu<u>aa</u></i>	<i>anda</i>	<i>andu</i>
3M.SG ¹	<i>yilu<u>lu</u></i>	<i>yilu<u>aa</u></i>	<i>yiwa</i>	<i>yiku</i>
3MSC.SG ¹	<i>alhin<u>ju</u></i>	<i>alhin<u>ja</u></i>	<i>alhi</i>	<i>ayu</i>

1. The distinction between male and masculine class pronouns is made by female speakers only. For the male speaker, the third person singular male pronoun is used for both male and masculine classes.

3.4.1 NOMINATIVE SEMANTIC ROLES

The nominative case marks the grammatical functions of Intransitive Subject, Object and Topic. The Intransitive Subject has the semantic role of Active Experiencer. The Object has the role of Passive Experiencer. The Topic has the third role, dissociated from verbal action, the semantic role of Dissociated Experiencer.

The term 'experiencer' is used in contrast with the term 'causer'. The following pairs of clauses, examples 3.1 and 3.2, and examples 3.3 and 3.4, provide a basis for establishing the definition of the experiencer role:

- 3.1 F *Jiwa-yabirri-nji nya-mirningiya-Ø.*
 he-become.well-PRES M.NNOM-man-NOM
 The man is becoming well.

TABLE 3: A SEMANTIC SYSTEM OF YANYUWA CASE

Case	Nominative	Dative	Ergative-Allative	Ablative
Common	\emptyset	-wu	-lu/-ngku	-la/ngka
Suffix Form Semantic Role	Experiencer	Recipient/Goal	Causer	Environment
Actively involved in effecting the action	Active Experiencer (Intransitive Subject)	Active Recipient (Recipient Object)	Active Causer (Transitive Subject)	Active Environment (Instrument)
Passively or indirectly involved in the clause action	Passive Experiencer (Object)	Passive Objective (Goal)	Passive Causer (Purpose)	Passive Environment (Accompaniment)
Dissociated or back- ground involvement	Dissociated Experiencer (Topic/Non-action Subject)	Dissociated Goal (Pertinent)	Dissociated Causer (Destination/Location Goal)	Dissociated Environment (Location)

- 3.2 F *Jany-ilu-yabima-nji nya-mirringiya-Ø nyu-marralnguji-lu.*
 him-he-make.well-PRES M.NNOM-man-NOM M.NNOM-doctor-ERG
 The doctor heals the man. (lit. The doctor is causing the man to become well.)²

Each of these two clauses above gives expression to the fact of the man becoming well. The difference between the two clauses is that in the first there is no causer of the man's experience and in the second there is. The man's experience is constant in both.

- 3.3 *Kanda-wani rra-bardibardi-Ø.*
 she-come.back F.NOM-old.woman-NOM
 The old woman came back.
- 3.4 F *Karr-ilu-waninjanguma rra-bardibardi-Ø*
 her-he-bring.back F.NOM-old.woman-NOM
nyu-marralnguji-lu.
 M.NNOM-doctor-ERG
 The doctor brought the old woman back.

In these two clauses also the old woman has a common experience of returning. The difference lies in that, in clause 3.3, the implication of the clause type is that she had a more active role in doing so than in clause 3.4.³

(1) Active Experiencer

The Intransitive Subject is viewed, then, in the role of Active Experiencer – actively undergoing the experience of the verb in the clause. This role is illustrated by the underlined word or phrase in the following examples:

- 3.5 M *Ja-rukurri-nji na-marnda-Ø.*
 he-feel.pain-PRES hi.s.NOM-foot-NOM
 His foot is hurting.
- 3.6 M *Nya-mangaji wajbala-Ø ka-alkali.*
 M.NOM-that.DEF white.man-NOM he-vomit
 The white man vomited.
- 3.7 *Wawi-Ø jumba-wudurruma-nji.*
 horse-NOM he.REFL-feed-PRES
 The horse is feeding.
- 3.8 M *Marnaji ka-walanyma wurnda-Ø.*
 here.DEF it-emerge wood-NOM
 The stick came out here.

² In this and in following examples, only the role relevant to the specific clause is glossed. In examples 3.2 and 3.4, the ergative-allative case suffix *-lu* is glossed 'ERG' since this is the function it marks in this clause.

³ This evidence is elaborated on in the earlier paper (Kirton 1976:1-12). The above couplets are representative of others of the kind in the language.

(2) Passive Experiencer

The Object is viewed in the role of Passive Experiencer – undergoing the experience of the verb in a more passive way than the Intransitive Subject. This role is illustrated in the following examples:

- 3.9 M *Kilu-wangka-la na-ngurru-Ø*
him.he-shoot-P his-face-NOM
(The man) shot him (the narrator's father) in the face.
- 3.10 M *Kil-urra nya-mangaji wajbala-Ø*
him.he-stop M.NOM-that.DEF white.man-NOM
He stopped that white man.
- 3.11 *Nya-mangaji wawi-Ø kinya-rarrima-la*
MSC.NOM-that.DEF horse-NOM it.you-ride-FUT
You will ride that horse.
- 3.12 *Kilu-rduma wurnda-Ø*
it.he-get wood-NOM
He got the wood.

(3) Dissociated Experiencer

The Topic is viewed in the role of Dissociated Experiencer – dissociated from activity at this juncture, in a non-action clause. Since the normal context for a clause is within a discourse, the likelihood is that the Dissociated Experiencer has come out of an Active or Passive Experiencer role or is about to enter one. (Within a non-action clause, even the Predicate may be manifested by a participle or by an adverb such as *walkurr* 'asleep', *mingkiya* 'sitting' or *mududu* 'having a bowed head', forms which in some sense express deactivated verbal action.) The role is illustrated in the following examples:

- 3.13 M *Bubu na-marnda-Ø*
sore his-foot-NOM
His foot is sore.
- 3.14 M *Nya-mangaji wajbala-Ø jumayngkarra-Ø*
M.NOM-that.DEF white.man-NOM tall-NOM
That white man is tall.
- 3.15 *Wawi-Ø kurlukurlu-Ø*
horse-NOM quiet-NOM
The horse is a quiet one.
- 3.16 *Li-ardu-birri-Ø jal-ini lhurra-ngka*
PL.NOM-child-DIM.PL-NOM they-be play-ABL
The children are playing.
- 3.17 M *Baj-iwa wurnda-Ø*
there.DEF-it tree-NOM
There is the tree.
- 3.18 *Li-nhanawa-Ø baj-alu wayka arlkarlba-ntha-rra*
PL.NOM-woman-NOM there.DEF-they down wash-PT-PRES
The women are down there washing (their clothes).

3.4.2 DATIVE SEMANTIC ROLES

The dative case marks the grammatical functions of Recipient Object, Goal and Pertinent. The Pertinent function, associated with such meanings as 'relating to', 'concerning', 'with reference to', is more loosely related to the clause than the other two; there is no grammatical requirement for it to occur.

The Recipient Object has the semantic role of Active Recipient – the recipient essential to the completion of the action of the Predicate. This recipient must be a living entity, capable of consciously receiving. The verbs with which the Recipient co-occurs include the goal transitive verbs: *inu* 'tell', *ijarra* 'point out, show', *mirnima* 'show, display', *ngunda* 'give'; the intransitive speech verbs: *arri* in its meaning 'said', *wajba* 'call out', *lhawama* 'swear, speak insultingly'; and the verb *wukanyi* 'talk', which belongs to a semitransitive subclass.

There is a grammatical ambiguity associated with the goal transitive verbs listed above. The Recipient Object function may alternatively be manifested by an Object, and it may also be marked as object on the verb instead of the proper Object. This is illustrated in examples 3.19 and 3.20 below, which relate to travellers from a group being introduced to the same young woman:

3.19 M *Karr-awula-ngunda jikan-Ø* *ki-Jijil* *kulu Burayin*.
her-they.DU-give handshake-NOM M.NNOM-Cecil and Brian
Cecil and Brian shook hands with her.

3.20 *An-ku katharra-ngunda jikan-Ø*.
her-DAT it.we.DU.EXCL-give handshake-NOM
We shook hands with her.

However, despite the grammatical ambiguity associated with these goal transitive verbs, the semantic role of Recipient Object remains constant. The Recipient Object is the immediate recipient of the object given, the demonstration provided, or of the speech communication.

There is also an irregularity in the occurrence of the verb stem *wukanyi* 'talk, say, speak'. It belongs to a subclass of verbs (see Kirton 1978:43) which are normally marked by intransitive prefixes but which may take an Object. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of *wukanyi* with a Recipient Object, and Object, or both:

3.21 *Karna-wukanyi yin-ku*.
I-talk you.SG-DAT
I spoke to you.

3.22 *Kanda-wukanyi narnu-munanga-Ø*.
she-talk ABST-white.man-NOM
She spoke English.

3.23 *Jarna-wukanyi-nji an-ku Yanyuwa-Ø*.
I-talk-PRES her-DAT Yanyuwa-NOM
I am talking Yanyuwa to her.

The following examples illustrate the Recipient Object function in relation to other goal transitive verbs and intransitive speech verbs:

(1) Active Recipient (with goal-transitive verbs)

- 3.24 *An-ku katharra-ngunda jikan-Ø.*
her-DAT it.we.DU.EXCL-give handshake-NOM
We shook hands with her.
- 3.25 *Kal-ina-nthaninya linji-malbu-malbu-ngku nganu-nga.*
it.they-tell-P.CST PL.ERG-old.man-old.man-ERG us.EXCL-DAT
The old men used to tell (this story) to us.
- 3.26 *Karr-arn-ijarra-la yirru-nga barratha.*
her-I-show-FUT you.PL-DAT mother
I will show (my mother) to you.
- 3.27 *Kinya-mimima-nhu ngatha.*
it.you.SG-show-P me.DAT
You showed it to me.

(2) Active Recipient (with intransitive speech verbs)

- 3.28 M *Ka-wajba-nthaninya yi-ku.*
he-call.out-P.CST him-DAT
He used to call out to him.
- 3.29 *Kalu-arri-njaninya yi-ku.*
they-said-P.CST him-DAT
They used to say to him.
- 3.30 *Kama-arri alu-nga liyi-ardu-birri-yu.*
I-said them-DAT PL.DAT-child-DIM.PL-DAT
I said to the children.

The Indirect Object or Goal function co-occurs with transitive and intransitive clause predicates. It is viewed as having the semantic role of Passive Objective. It contrasts with the Active Recipient role in one or more of the following three ways: (1) the Passive Objective may not be an essential participant for the verb action to be fully performed; (2) the Passive Objective is not necessarily present where the verb action is performed; and (3) the Passive Objective is associated with verbs which express emotions or attitudes. The Passive Objective is not part of the action but rather a goal which may or may not be present, the one towards whom the activity is directed or on whose behalf it is performed. It is illustrated in the following examples:

(3) Passive Objective (with transitive verbs)

- 3.31 *Jalu-rdulu-rduma-nji wawi-yu buradil-Ø kulu jadir-Ø.*
it.they-get-get-PRES horse-DAT bridle-NOM and saddle-NOM
They are getting bridles and saddles for the horses.
- 3.32 *Kanu-yibarra-nthaninya lhulun-Ø an-ku.*
it.we.EXCL-put-P.CST bed-NOM her-DAT
We used to arrange a (paperbark) bed for her.
- 3.33 *Jal-ija-nji ma-ngarra-Ø alu-nga.*
it.they-send-PRES FD.NOM-food-NOM them-DAT
They are sending food for them.

- 3.34 *Karna-arrkana-la yin-ku wunala-Ø.*
 it.I-spear-FUT you.SG-DAT kangaroo-NOM
 I will spear a kangaroo for you.

(4) Passive Objective (with intransitive verbs)

- 3.35 M *Jawula-yarrba-nji ki-wawi-yu.*
 they.DU-hunt-PRES MSC.NNOM-horse-DAT
 They are hunting for the horses.
- 3.36 F *Ji-wardanka-yi buyuka-wu.*
 it-be.afraid-PRES fire-DAT
 (The buffalo) is afraid of fire.
- 3.37 *Jalu-rarri-nji an-ku.*
 they-cry-PRES her-DAT
 They are sorrowing for her.

The third grammatical function marked by dative is labelled Pertinent; it is pertaining to the clause action but in a more peripheral way than for the Recipient Object or Goal. It often signals 'relating to', 'concerning' or 'with reference to' rather than 'to' or 'for'. The Pertinent function is viewed as having the semantic role of Dissociated Goal. This role may be manifested by a noun phrase, a pronoun or a participle. It is illustrated in the following examples:

(5) Dissociated Goal

- 3.38 M *Wambu ka-wuluma-nthanininya alu-nga.*
 remaining he-run-P.CST them-DAT
 He kept running away from them.
- 3.39 M *Nya-rrku barrawu-Ø kilu-rama*
 MSC.NOM-other house-NOM it.he-hit
ki-jumbala-wu arrkana-ntha-wu.
 MSC.NNOM-clothes-DAT spear-PT-DAT
 He built a tailor's shop (lit. another building for sewing clothes).
- 3.40 M *Ka-burrajbirri wanga-ntha-wu.*
 he-be.satiated shoot-PT-DAT
 He had his fill of shooting.
- 3.41 M *Kilu-ngunda-yaninya marralnguji-Ø yabima-ntha-wu yi-ku.*
 it.he-give-P.CST doctor-NOM make.well-PT-DAT him-DAT
 He used to give the doctor (the game he had killed) for making him well.

Although some of the above examples may appear to be related to Cause or Purpose functions, the Yanyuwa Cause function is expressed by a construction using the relator *kangka* 'because', and Purpose is marked by the ergative-allative marker *-lu*, described in the following section. The Pertinent function is distinct from these in that it is less definite.

The following example illustrates the use of the Dissociated Goal role to give an initial indefinite introduction to the topic of horses. This is then followed by a Purpose clause (marked by ergative-allative-purpose marker *-lu*) which turns them into the definite goal of the action:

- 3.42 M *Ki-wawi-yu* *yalibala ja-walanya-nji*
 MSC.NNOM-horse-DAT early he-emerge-PRES
wujidila-Ø, *rduma-ntha-lu wawi-Ø*.
 horse.tailer-NOM get-PT-PURP horse-NOM
 As to horses, the horse-tailer is rising early in the morning to catch them.

3.4.3 ERGATIVE-ALLATIVE SEMANTIC ROLES

The ergative-allative case marks the grammatical functions of Transitive Subject, Purpose and Destination (or Location Goal). The associated semantic roles relate to the cause, motivation or goal for the action of the clause; they are Active Causer, Passive Causer and Dissociated Causer.

The Transitive Subject function has the semantic role of Active Causer or the direct initiator of the action of the clause. This role is associated with both physical actions and sensory activities such as 'seeing', 'hearing', 'recognising'. This role is illustrated in the following examples:

(1) Active Causer

- 3.43 M *Kandu-wunthama rru-nhanawa-lu*
 him.she-cool.down F.NNOM-woman-ERG
nya-mangaji wajbala-Ø.
 M.NOM-that.DEF white.man-NOM
 The Aboriginal woman cooled down (the hot anger of) the white man.
- 3.44 *Jalu-rama-nji linji-bardibardi-lu*.
 it.they-kill-PRES PL.ERG-old.woman-ERG
 The old women are killing (the goanna).
- 3.45 M *Kil-uma ki-lhambiji-lu ridinja*.
 it.it-break MSC.NNOM-storm.wind-ERG yesterday
 The wind broke down (the banana palms) yesterday.
- 3.46 M *Nya-mbangu jilu-lhaa-nji ki-yarraman-du*.
 MSC.NOM-that.INDEF it.it-know-PRES MSC.NNOM-horse-ERG
 The horses 'know' (bullocks).
- 3.47 M *Ki-malbu-ngku ki-Bulmika karra-wula*
 M.NNOM-old.man-ERG M.NNOM-Bulmika her-they.DU-
yngkarri-njaninya a-barral-Ø kari-ngamala.
 hear-P.CST FEM.NOM-white.cockatoo-NOM from-south
 The old man Bulmika (and his previously identified companion) heard the white cockatoo (calling) from the south.

The Purpose function has the semantic role of Passive Causer. Although it is not actively involved in the action, it does provide the motivation or incentive for it. The Purpose expresses the inner intention of the actual Subject of the verb and functions as an indirect or Passive Causer. The function is normally associated with a participle but it may also be marked on a pronoun (or, very rarely, an adverb such as *mingkiya-lu* (sitting-PURP) 'to sit down' or *walkurr-u* (asleep-PURP) 'to sleep'). The role is illustrated in the following

examples (the gloss ‘PURP’ (purpose) is used for the ergative-allative case-marker when it marks this function):

(2) Passive Causer

- 3.48 M *Kari-wayka ja-warrka-nji wujbi-Ø lhakarra-ntha-lu.*
 from-down it-crawl-PRES egg-NOM lay-PT-PURP
 (The sea-turtle) crawls up (onto the beach) to lay (her) eggs.
- 3.49 *Jala-ka-nji wuba-ntha-lu.*
 it.they-take-PRES cook-PT-PURP
 They are taking (the edible lizards) to cook (them).
- 3.50 F *Kiya-wani-la rdum-ntha-lu ngambala-lu.*
 he-return-FUT get-PT-PURP us.INCL-PURP
 He will return to get us.

The Destination function is associated with transitive or intransitive motion verbs such as: *ka* ‘carry, bring, take’, *ija* ‘send’, *waninjanguma* ‘take back, bring back’, *wingka* ‘walk, come, go, move’, *wuluma* ‘run, run away’, *warrka* ‘crawl’, *lhuwari* ‘depart, set off’ and *wani* ‘return’. The Destination is the location goal of motion actions of this kind. It is dissociated from the action in not being part of the action and in being at a distance from its initiation. And yet, since it provides the goal of the action, in this sense at least it provides an indirect motivation for the action to occur. The semantic role of Destination is therefore Dissociated Causer. It is illustrated in the following examples:

(3) Dissociated Causer

- 3.51 *Janda-wani-njani baku yirru-wa-lu.*
 she-return-IMM later you.PL-ABL-ALL
 She is going to return to you shortly.
- 3.52 M *Ka-wingka-yaninya Wandangula-lu.*
 he-go-P.CST Wandangula-ALL
 He used to go to Wandangula (lagoon).
- 3.53 *Jila-ka-nji nya-mangaji walya-Ø*
 it.he-carry-PRES MSC.NOM-that.DEF dugong-NOM

ngamala-kari-lu wunda-lu.
 south-DEF-ALL bank-ALL
 He is carrying that dugong to the bank there in the south (lit. to that south place to the bank).

3.4.4 ABLATIVE SEMANTIC ROLES

The ablative case marks the grammatical functions associated with the environment of the clause action – the functions of Instrument, Accompaniment and Location. (It is noted that in Yanyuwa the Location Source function ‘from...’ is not marked by a case-marker but it is manifested by a location phrase introduced by the preposition *nakari* ‘from’. See §6.4.3. for more detail.)

The Instrument function has the semantic role of Active Environment; it expresses the 'environment' which is itself involved in the action or is the means of its taking place. This is illustrated by the following examples:

(1) Active Environment

- 3.54 *Kumba-wijuwa-nthaninya nungka-lhanu-ngka.*
 he.REFL-cover-P.CST ARB.ABL-paperbark-ABL
 He used to cover himself with paperbark (before blankets were available).
- 3.55 M *Nya-rdirirra-ya nya-mangaji wakuku-Ø*
 it.you.SG-tie.up-IMP MSC.NOM-that.DEF dog-NOM
ki-kijbakijba-la!
 MSC.NNOM-chain-ABL
 Tie up that dog with a chain!
- 3.56 F *Kal-uma-njaninya ji-bujili-nja.*
 it.they-cut-P.CST MSC.NNOM-bottle-ABL
 They used to cut it with glass.
- 3.57 *Kila-bala-ba mungku-dulbarri-la.*
 it.he-spread-spread FD.ABL-honey-ABL
 He used to spread it with jam.⁴

The grammatical function Accompaniment has the semantic role of Passive Environment. The Passive Environment is present in the near vicinity of the action but is rejected from being included as a Subject co-referent. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(2) Passive Environment

- 3.58 M *Ka-ngabu alu-wa.*
 he-go.underwater them-ABL
 He drowned (there) with them.
- 3.59 M *Ka-wunthanba nya-mangaji wajbala-Ø*
 he-become.cool M.NOM-that.DEF white.man-NOM
rru-nhanawa-la.
 F.NNOM-woman-ABL
 The white man cooled down (from his hostility) with the Aboriginal woman.
- 3.60 M *Rikarrarikarra ka-wani-la ngatha-ngka.*
 tomorrow he-return-FUT me.DAT-ABL
 He will go back with me tomorrow.
- 3.61 *Kal-inyamba-rama baji nganu-wa.*
 they-REFL-fight there.DEF us.PL-ABL
 They fought one another there with us (that is, in our presence).

⁴ Honey, as a unique food, is classified as a masculine noun, not a food-class noun as may have been expected: *dulbarri* 'honey'. When jam was introduced to the Yanyuwa, they utilised this stem and assigned it a food-class marker: *ma-dulbarri* 'jam'

The grammatical function Location has the semantic role of Dissociated Environment; it is dissociated from the action but provides the setting or background for it. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(3) Dissociated Environment

- 3.62 F Buyuka-la jiya-alarri-nji a-kari-mba.
 fire-ABL he-stand-PRES west-side-DEF
 He is standing by the fire on the west side.
- 3.63 F A-muwarda-∅ jawula-wajanga-nji
 FEM.NOM-canoe-NOM they.DU-paddle-PRES
jingka-rrku ji-awara-la nguthunda-kari-mba.
 MSC.ABL-other MSC.NNOM-place-ABL north-DEF-side.
 They are paddling the canoe in another country on the north side (of the sea).
- 3.64 Rru-muwarda-la kalu-arrkana-nthaninya.
 FEM.NNOM-canoe-ABL it.they-spear-P.CST
 They used to spear it from/while in the canoe.
- 3.65 M Anma-ya baji mingkiya nyungku-mangaji
 stay-IMP there.DEF sitting MSC.ABL-that.DEF
ki-daladala-ngka!
 MSC.NNOM-box-ABL
 Stay sitting there on that box!

3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter a case has been presented for the view that in Yanyuwa each of the case-markers serves to mark a semantic role which has three degrees of involvement in the action (or non-action) of the clause to mark three grammatical functions. The four semantic roles identified are: 'experiencer' associated with the nominative case; 'recipient/goal' associated with the dative case; 'causer' associated with ergative-allative case; and 'environment' associated with the ablative case. For each of these four roles there is an 'Active' usage for which the entity is immediately involved in the action of the clause, a 'Passive' usage for which the entity is involved in the action but in an indirect or passive way, and a 'Dissociated' usage for which the entity is in some way relegated to the background in relation to the clause action. In this way the four case markers are used to distinguish the twelve main non-predicate clause functions in Yanyuwa.

- 4.2 *Ma-kulabajarra anda-a?*
FD-hat her-ABL
Did/does she have a hat on?
- 4.3 *Yurrulu?*
more
Would you like more?
- 4.4 *Warada jimmu?*
busy you.SG.are
Are you busy?
- 4.5 *Ambuliyalu ka-alkalba-nhu?*
before you.SG-wash-P
Did you do your washing before?
- 4.6 *Ka-wardjangka-nhu arlku, marruwarra?*
you.SG-catch.fish-P fish cousin
Did you catch any fish, cousin?
- 4.7 *Kawul-inya-nga-nhu, kujaka?*
them.DU-you.SG-see-P mother
Did you see them, mother?
- 4.8 *Marruwarra kinya-nga-nhu?*
cousin him.you.SG-see-P
Did you see your cousin?

One kind of question is of interest in that it appears to have been introduced into the language. This is the alternative question asking for a choice between two options.¹ The following example was recorded in the early 1960s, when it was devised to deal with translating a question asked by a European woman in a particular story. Since there is no precise Yanyuwa equivalent for the English 'or',² this word was borrowed. In this question the first clause has rising intonation and the second falling:

¹ Hudson and Richards (1978:57) refer to alternative questions as an area in which Aborigines are likely to have difficulty in communication in English.

² Two examples of the use of the additive-repetitive discourse particle *mili* 'more, furthermore' should be noted, however (see examples 9.69 and 9.70). There *mili* is used with a meaning 'or' but in a statement in one example and with a command in the other.

- 4.9 *Marnaji k-anma-la wuwa ka-wingka-la?*
 here.DEF you.SG-stay-FUT or you.SG-go-FUT
 Will you stay here or will you go?

The only way the author knows to present alternatives in question form in Yanyuwa is to ask two ‘maybe’ questions in sequence, and this seems to be understood. There is potential to have rising intonation on both questions, or rising intonation on the first and a balancing falling intonation on the second:

- 4.10 *Nungka kimbala-wunja-la diyi? Nungka kimbala-wunja-la kabi?*
 maybe you.DU-drink-FUT tea maybe you.DU-drink-FUT coffee
 Will you drink tea or coffee?

4.3 QUESTIONS MARKED BY INTERROGATIVE WORDS

Questions marked by interrogative words may be separated into three groups by the nature of the interrogative words themselves. One group of interrogatives is marked as nouns. Another group, constructed from one stem, is marked for location, direction, and time. The final group takes no affixes and generally relates to activity, state of being, or to relationship.

4.3.1 QUESTIONS ASKING FOR A NOUN-RELATED REPLY

Four interrogative stems introduce questions which expect a noun or noun-related reply. Two of these stems are marked for both class and case: *ngani* ‘who?’ and *ngalhi* ‘what?’. The other two stems are marked only for class: *nganthangu* ‘which?’ and *ngandarrangu* ‘how many?’, ‘how much?’.

4.3.1.1 *ngani* ‘WHO?’ AND *ngalhi* ‘WHAT?’ QUESTIONS

The two stems *ngani* ‘who?’ and *ngalhi* ‘what?’ cover a range of functions when they are additionally marked for case. When class markers are added they define the topic more closely. *Ngalhi* is used with case markers to ask the ‘why’ questions also.

The class markers relating to persons are used with *ngani* ‘who?’; they are *li-* (plural), *ri-* ‘dual’, *ra-/a-* (female), F *nya-* ‘male’ and M \emptyset ‘male’. The class markers relating to non-persons are used with *ngalhi* ‘what?’; they are *a-* (feminine), \emptyset (masculine), *ma-* (food) and *na-*³ (arboreal). When the speaker is ignorant of the nature of the entity then the simple unmarked stems are used. The unmarked stem is also used for things of an abstract nature; the abstract-marker prefix *namu-* is not used. (See Table 4 for case-marker suffixes and the change in form for the accompanying class-marker prefixes.)

The class marker plus the interrogative stem construction is the nominative form of the word. (In Yanyuwa the nominative case marks the subject of a non-transitive clause and the object of a transitive one. Dative case marks possession and benefaction. Ergative-allative

³ The morpheme *na-* is likely to be *ma-* in its basic form. In other pronominal sets where the morpheme is not in word-initial position the nasal is retroflexed; for example, the verb prefix *ama-* ‘it (arboreal)’, the locative suffix *-amu* ‘it (arboreal)’. In Yanyuwa, retroflex consonants tend to lose their retroflexion when they occur initially and so they are frequently perceived and recorded as alveolar consonants.

case marks transitive subject, direction 'to' and purpose. Ablative case marks location 'at, in, by, on', accompaniment and instrument 'with'. Case marking does not signal 'from' but the relator *nakari* 'from (indefinite)' or *nakaringu* 'from (definite)' must occur with any noun to carry this meaning (see §6.4.3.). The ablative case marker may mean 'from' only in the sense of 'using' or 'out of' as in example 4.20 below.

TABLE 4: CASE MARKING OF INTERROGATIVE NOUNS

	Nominative	Dative	Ergative-Allative	Ablative
Suffix for all classes	\emptyset	-yu	-nju	-nja
Plural	<i>li-</i>	<i>liyi-</i>		<i>linji-</i>
Dual	<i>rri-</i>	<i>rriyi-</i>		<i>rriinji-</i>
Arboreal	<i>na-</i>	<i>nu-</i>		<i>nungku-</i>
Food	<i>ma-</i>	<i>mu-</i>		<i>mungku-</i>
Masculine			<i>ki-</i>	
Feminine			<i>ji-</i>	
Male			<i>wu-</i>	
Female			<i>ki-</i>	
		<i>nya-</i>	<i>nyu-</i>	
	<i>rri-a-/a-</i>		<i>rri-/wu-</i>	

- Notes: (i) M – indicates the prefix used by a male speaker
 F – indicates the prefix used by a female speaker
- (ii) Those feminine-class entities which have a 'dreamtime' mythological association may also take female-class marking.

Examples of questions with *ngani* and *ngalhi* follow:

- 4.11 F *Nya-ngani yinda?*
 M-who you.SG
 Who are you?
- 4.12 M *Ngani baji kar-akarra wajanga-ntha-rra?*
 who there.DEF from-east paddle-PT-PRES
 Who is that paddling (his canoe) from the east?
- 4.13 *A-ngani barra a-ja a-nhanawayaya kanha-ngunda-nhu?*
 F-who now F-this F-woman me.you.SG-give-P
 Whoever is this woman that you have given me?
- 4.14 F *Nyu-ngani-nju kila-ka ni-warnnyi?*
 M.NNOM-who-ERG it.he-bring its-flesh
 Who brought the meat?

- 4.15 F *Nyu-ngani-yu jina nyanyalu?*
M.NNOM-who-DAT this.MSC tea
Who is this tea for?
- 4.16 *Ngalhi baji?*
what there.DEF
What's that?
- 4.17 *Ma-ngalhi?*
FD-what
What food (does this tree have)?
- 4.18 *Ngalhi baji jumayngkarra?*
what there.DEF long
What's that long thing over there? (of an artificial leg)
- 4.19 F *Ji-ngalhi-nja ka-wingka-nhu?*
MSC.NNOM-what-ABL you.SG-come-P
How did you come (lit. what did you travel in)?
- 4.20 *Ngalhi-nja wabarrangu kalu-yabima?*
what-ABL in.past it.they-make
What did they make it out of in the past?
- 4.21 *Ngalhi jina? Ngalhi-yu?*
what this.MSC.DEF what-DAT
What's this? What is it for?
- 4.22 *Ngalhi-nja jand-ini mingkiya?*
what-ABL she-is sitting
What is she sitting on?

There is no specific 'why?' in Yanyuwa; it seems that this is an area where questioning is least encouraged. The stem *ngalhi* 'what?' is marked by the dative case suffix or the ergative-allative case suffix (which also marks purpose) to ask the questions *ngalhi-yu* 'for what?' or *ngalhi-nju* 'for what purpose/reason?':

- 4.23 *Ngalhi-yu wambu k-anma-nhu marnaji?*
what-DAT remaining you.SG-stay-P here.DEF
What did you stay here for?
- 4.24 *Ngalhi-nju marn-inda ka-wingka-nhu?*
what-ERG/ALL here.INDEF-you.SG you.SG-come-P
Why did you come here?
- 4.25 F *Ngalhi-nju kiwa-ma a-ya langa Dawin?*
what-ERG/ALL he-intend west-wards to Darwin
Why/for what reason did he go west to Darwin?

(In example 4.25 the Kriol preposition *langa* 'to, at' has been used as a loan word.)

4.3.1.2 *nganthangu* 'WHICH?' AND *ngandarrangu* 'HOW MANY?' QUESTIONS

The 'which?' and 'how many?' questions are simpler and less frequent than the questions of the previous section. The interrogative *ngandarrangu* has the meaning 'how many?/how

much?'. Both *nganthangu* and *ngandarrangu* have a concluding *ngu* syllable. This may be the *-ngu* nominaliser suffix which is used in deriving nouns from other word classes. Both *ngantha* and *ngandarra* do occur as interrogative stems (see §4.3.2 and §4.3.3.2), but the addition of *-ngu* to 'where?' and 'what way?' seems to give a different semantic total than the meaning of the two interrogatives in present use. *Nganthangu* and *ngandarrangu* take class-marker prefixes but no case-marker suffixes (in common with most nouns derived with *-ngu*).

The prefixation of *nganthangu* for male and masculine class is *nya-* for both male and female speakers. Examples of questions with *nganthangu* and *ngandarrangu* follow:

- 4.26 F *Nya-nganthangu kayikayi?*
M-which brother.in.law
Which brother-in-law?
- 4.27 *Nya-nganthangu wawi kinya-rarrima-la?*
MSC-which horse it.you.SG-ride-FUT
Which horse will you ride?
- 4.28 *Nya-nganthangu awara jinya-ngalkiwunja-yimu?*
MSC-which ground it.you.SG-choose-PRES
Which land do/will you choose (to farm on)?
- 4.29 *Rra-nganthangu a-nhanawaya baj-anda walkurr?*
F-which F-woman there.DEF-she asleep
Which woman is that sleeping there?
- 4.30 *Ngandarrangu?*
how.many
How many (wallabies did you get)?
- 4.31 *Ma-ngandarrangu ma-kijululu kuwu-rduma-la?*
FD-how.much FD-money it.FD.you.SG-get-FUT
How much money will you get?
- 4.32 *Li-ngandarrangu kal-inyamba-minmirra ambuliyalu?*
PL-how.many they-REFL-be.sick before
How many people were sick before (with flu like this)?

4.3.2 QUESTIONS ASKING FOR A LOCATION-RELATED REPLY

Questions asking for a location-related reply are based on the stem *ngantha* 'where?'. This stem does not take prefixes but it takes a range of suffixes so that the resultant forms ask questions about locality, location in time, and location related to people or things. The list of suffixes which occur with *ngantha* are very similar to that which occurs with the demonstrative locative stems (see §6.3.1).

4.3.2.1 LOCALITY QUESTIONS

The stem *ngantha* is the interrogative word 'where?' and it anticipates a reply giving information about a place:

- 4.33 *Ngantha kimbala-arri?*
 where you.DU-be
 Where were you?
- 4.34 *Ngantha ka-wuba-nhu ma-burlurlu?*
 where you.SG-cook-P FD-light
 Where do you bake bread?

Ngantha also occurs with the locative-case suffix set which marks the demonstrative locatives: *-inju* 'to', *-ingu* 'from' and *-iwuthu* 'direction in'. *Ngantha*, in common with the demonstrative locative stems, loses the final vowel preceding these three suffixes: *nganth-inju* 'to which place?', *nganth-ingu* 'from which place?' and *nganth-iwuthu* 'in which direction?':

- 4.35 *Nganth-inju kambala-wingka-la kambal-anma-la*
 where-to we.INCL-go-FUT we.INCL-stay-FUT
walkurr baji?
 asleep there.DEF
 Where will we go (to find a place) to sleep?
- 4.36 *Nganth-ingu rra-mangaji?*
 where-from F-that.DEF
 Where does that woman (come) from?
- 4.37 M *Nganth-ingu ka-wingka?*
 where-from he-come
 Where did he come from?
- 4.38 *Nganth-iwuthu baj-imbala?*
 where-direction.in there.DEF-you.DU
 Where are you going?
- 4.39 *Nganth-iwuthu ka-ma?*
 where-direction.in you.SG-intend
 Where do you intend to go?

4.3.2.2 LOCATION-IN-TIME QUESTIONS

The stem *ngantha* 'where' takes suffixes of two kinds to become *nganth-imba-la* or *nganth-arnungka-la*, the two time-interrogative words for 'when'. The form *ngantharnungkala* consists of *nganth* marked by the suffixes *-arnungka* (abstract pronominal morpheme marked by ablative case) and *-la* (ablative marker).

The structure of *nganthimbala* is uncertain but since *ngantharnungkala* is constructed of identifiable morphemes, and since the two forms share *nganth* 'where' and the final *-la* (ablative case marker), a hypothesis is suggested about the remaining segment of *nganthimbala* also. The segment *imba* may be related to the locative suffix *-mba* 'on the...side' (see §6.3.2.1.1 and §6.3.2.1.2). This would be comparable with the general word for 'morning', *wungkuwungkulamba*, which may well be derived from *wungkuwungku* 'black' with the suffixes *-la* (ablative) and *-mba* 'on the...side'.

The commonly occurring form is *nganthimbala*. The other form *ngantharnungkala* has been recorded only twice. There is the possibility that *nganthimbala* is 'when (indefinite)' and

ngantharnungkala 'when (definite)', but more data is needed to verify this. (See §2.2 and §6.2 for further on the definite-indefinite contrast in the language.) Examples are:

- 4.40 *Ngantharnungkala kanda-rilirri-la?*
 when she-appear-FUT
 When will she appear? (of someone whose arrival any moment was expected)
- 4.41 M *Nganthimbala waya ka-yibanda-rra?*
 when boat it-sit/land-FUT
 When will the boat arrive?
- 4.42 M *Nganthimbala ka-wani-la akarr-iya*
 when you.SG-return-FUT east-wards
ki-awara-lu?
 MSC.NNOM-country-ALL
 When will you return eastwards to the place?
- 4.43 *Nganthimbala nu-wulanthantha ma-mungku?*
 when its.FD-flower FD-mango
 When is the mango-flower time?

4.3.2.3 LOCATION-OF-ENTITY QUESTIONS

Just as *ngantha* is marked by the demonstrative locative case suffix set, so it is marked by the same pronominal suffix set which occurs with demonstrative locative stems, and by the additional suffix *-aji* (definite) which may also follow those suffixes (see §6.3.1). (There are no recorded occurrences of first person pronominal morphemes co-occurring with *ngantha*.)

- 4.44 *Nganth-anda a-bardibardi?*
 where-she F-old.woman
 Where is the old woman?
- 4.45 M *Nganth-iwa mili nya-rrku?*
 where-it more MSC-other
 And where is the other (sheep)?
- 4.46 F *Nganth-alhi yin-kuduraji, a-ardu?*
 where-it you.SG-DAT dress F-child
 Where is your dress, little girl?
- 4.47 *Nganth-iw-aji?*
 where-he-DEF
 Whereabouts on him?
- 4.48 *Nganth-and-aji janda-rukurri-nji?*
 where-she-DEF she-feel.pain-PRES
 Whereabouts is she feeling pain?

4.3.3 QUESTIONS ABOUT STATE-OF-BEING, ACTION AND RELATIONSHIP

The remaining question types are marked by the interrogative words which do not take marking by prefixes or suffixes. One of them is a compound stem made up of an interrogative stem (to be described below) and the immediacy particle *barra* (see Chapter 9, 'Yanyuwa discourse particles'). The interrogative words of this section are further removed in meaning from their nearest English equivalents than those of the preceding sections.

4.3.3.1 *wayi* 'HOW?' AND STATE-OF-BEING QUESTIONS

The interrogative *wayi* means 'how?' or 'in what state/condition is?'. It normally occurs followed by the immediacy particle *barra*:

- 4.49 *Wayi barra awara?*
 how now ground
 What is the state of the ground (muddy or dried out)?
- 4.50 *Wayi barra yinda?*
 how now you.SG
 How are you?
- 4.51 *Wayi namu-wilala ngatharra-nga rru-ngatha*
 how ABST-wide us.DU.EXCL-DAT F.NNOM-my

rru-nhanawaya-wu?
 F.NNOM-woman-DAT
 How about room/a space for my wife and me?
- 4.52 *Wayi ma-mangaji ma-ngarra, ngabuji?*
 how FD-that.DEF FD-food paternal.grandmother
 How is that food, grandmother (cooked or not cooked)?

4.3.3.2 *ngandarra* 'WHAT WAY?' QUESTIONS OF ACTION AND RELATIONSHIP

There are far fewer questions about actions and activities in the Yanyuwa communities than in the adjacent European ones. The interrogative *ngandarra* 'how? in what way?', which is used of actions, is also used to ascertain a person's name, social group (spoken of as 'skin group' or 'skin') or kinship relationship. Since names, 'skin groups' and kin terms all contribute to form a basis for interrelationship and consequently interaction, it is not surprising that the *ngandarra* interrogative for actions includes these other functions as well. (For further explanation of 'skin groups' in Yanyuwa culture see Kirton and Timothy 1977:320-22.)

- 4.53 *Ngandarra kanu-arri ambuliyalu?*
 what.way we.EXCL-do before
 How did we do this before?
- 4.54 *Ngandarra barra kirna-rduma-la bardarda?*
 what.way now it.I-get-FUT baby
 However will I become pregnant? (in a retelling of the Christmas story)

- 4.55 *Ngandarra nanda-wini?*
 what.way her-name
 What is her name?
- 4.56 *Ngandarra nawula-ngalki?*
 what.way their.DU-skin.group
 What is their 'skin' group?
- 4.57 *Ngandarra jarr-ama-ka-nji?*
 what.way her-I-take-PRES
 In what kinship way do I relate to her? (lit. How do I take her?)

4.3.3.3 *barrangandarra* 'LIKE WHAT?' QUESTIONS

The Yanyuwa relators for 'like' or 'as' are complex stems constructed from the immediacy particle *barra* (see §9.2.2 and §9.2.4) followed by a demonstrative locative stem or the relator *wumba* 'that, which'. The demonstrative locative stems used are *namba* 'there (indefinite)', *marni* 'here (indefinite)', *baji* 'there (definite)'. The four resultant comparison relators are: *barranamba*, *barramarni*, *barrabaji*, *barrawumba* 'like, as...' (see §9.2.2.4). The commonly occurring form of the comparison relator is *barranamba*, with one or two examples showing that the other forms are available for particular instances.

The rarely used comparison interrogative 'like what?' has a parallel construction. It is formed from the same particle *barra* followed in this instance by the interrogative *ngandarra* 'what way?' described above.

- 4.58 *Barrangandarra nya-mangaji majika?*
 like.what MSC-that.DEF crayfish
 What was that crayfish like? (wanting an answer about relative size)

4.3.4 QUESTIONS FOR VERIFICATION

There are two tag-question particles in Yanyuwa, *kaji* and *ngarri*. They share the general meaning 'isn't it?', but they are used in different ways. The article *kaji* has a stronger sense of questioning associated with it. The particle *ngarri* has a much weaker interrogative function and seems to always assume a 'yes' answer.

The *kaji* tag-question is always asked with the particle phrase *kaji minja*; the added particle *minja* means 'only, just' when it occurs alone. The particle phrase normally follows the sentence it applies to, and in this position *kaji* has a rising intonation and *minja* a falling or final low one. The phrase may, however, precede the sentence to be verified and it then has the meaning 'is it so that?' or 'is it true that?'. In this position *kaji* has a rising intonation still but *minja* has a level-mid or perhaps falling-to-mid intonation.

- 4.59 *Kirm-ili-nu kiw-anma-la baji kanymarda-wu, kajiminja?*
 you.SG-he-tell he-stay-FUT there.DEF two-DAT isn't.that.so
 He told you he would stay there two days, didn't he?
- 4.60 F *Kajiminja kiya-wingka-la marnaj-inju lhurku?*
 isn't.it.so he-come-FUT here.DEF-to later.today
 Isn't it true that he will come here today?

The response to a *kaji minja* question may be confirmation that the sentence is true, discussion of the facts, or perhaps *kaji nungka* 'I don't know' (lit. 'isn't it so?/maybe').

The particle *ngarri* 'isn't it?' has more of a social function than an interrogative one, and yet in some of its uses it does have a function of eliciting the response 'yes'. It is therefore included along with the other interrogative words. It occurs in a similar way to the English 'is that so?', which is in the form of a question but which is also used as an indication of interest or a polite encouragement for the speaker to continue on. The Yanyuwa *ngarri* is used in this same way or else as a question for which the answer is 'yes'. When used as an indication of interest, usually it is a complete utterance on its own, or else a vocative word may accompany it. The particle occurs with a rising or falling intonation.

- 4.61 *Ngarri?*
isn't.it
Is that so?
- 4.62 M *Ngarri, ardiyardi?*
isn't.it sister's child
Is that so, niece?

When *ngarri* occurs as a tag question expecting a 'yes' answer, it has a rising intonation. The writer has a vivid recollection of one instance of its use in this way. A grandmother was sitting feeding her small grandson and was simultaneously teaching him to nod his head in agreement each time she concluded a simple true statement with the tag question *ngarri*. She provided a series of factual statements and nodded for him to mimic in agreement after each concluding *ngarri*. And so even though the answer is known and known to be accurate, there is still a sense in which a response is required, and so part of the question function remains.

4.4 SELF-QUESTIONING

For the neighbouring language Mara, Heath describes the self-interrogative nouns *wumbul* 'what's-it, whatchamacallit' and *wumbuli*, which is used specifically for a place name (Heath 1981:175-176), words which the speaker uses while he searches his mind to recall a specific word which is eluding him. In Yanyuwa the stem *ngabiya* serves this same self-questioning function but it occurs as a replacement stem for both nouns and verbs. A range of class markers, case markers and verbal affixation give it various self-questioning functions.

- 4.63 *ma-ngabiya*
FD-what's.it.called
– what's (that food) called?
- 4.64 *ngabiya-la*
what's.it.called-ABL
– what's (the place) called?
- 4.65 M *ki-ngabiya-wu*
MSC.NNOM-what's.it.called-DAT
for a – what's it called?

- 4.66 *jalu-ngabiya-nji*
 they-do.what's.it.called-PRES
 they are (doing) – what's it called?
- 4.67 *kilu-ngabiya*
 it.he-did.what's.it.called
 he – what's it called? – it

The stem *ngabiya* is used in this self-questioning way but it is also used as a replacement morpheme if the speaker does know the specific alternative but chooses not to use it before the particular group of people who are listening. In this way *ngabiya* is used to make a vague reference to the fact that something was used, something was done. (This stem, or its root *ngabi*, is also related to two vocative terms which are used for a male or female person who has not yet been included in the kinship system, or as general vocatives.) The male and female noun class-markers *nya-* and *rra-* are added as suffixes to *ngabiya* or *ngabi* to form the indefinite vocatives *ngabinya* 'man!' or 'sir!', and *ngabiyarra* 'woman!' or 'madam!'.

4.5 USE OF INTERROGATIVES IN REPLY

The interrogatives described above, with the single exception of the tag-question *ngarri*, may be repeated in response to the question to indicate that the speaker does not know the answer. On these occasions the interrogative is followed by the adverb *nungka* 'maybe, perhaps' and the resultant reply means 'I don't know'.

- 4.68 *Ngalh nungka.*
 what maybe
 I don't know what it is.
- 4.69 *Nganthimbala nungka.*
 when maybe
 I don't know when.
- 4.70 *Nganth-anda nungka.*
 where-she maybe
 I don't know where she is.
- 4.71 *Li-ngani nungka.*
 PL-who maybe
 I don't know who they are.

These Yanyuwa examples and English translations illustrate the use of interrogatives in response to questions in both languages.

CHAPTER 5

PERSON PRONOUNS IN LIGHT OF DISCOURSE CONSIDERATIONS

5.1 OVERVIEW

The Yanyuwa language makes extensive use of person pronoun morphemes. They occur as free pronouns and also as affixes attached to a number of word classes (see Kirton 1970:825-844; for a description of the full case-marking system of nouns and pronouns, see Chapter 3 in this volume).

This chapter is concerned primarily with the function of unmarked free pronouns, that is nominative case pronouns. However, since their function is different in verb-centred and in verbless clauses, verb pronominal prefixes are also relevant to the topic. Indicative and imperative verbs are marked for subject, and transitive verbs are additionally marked for object, and so verbs have a significant role in maintaining pronominal reference.

In two earlier papers (Kirton 1970:825-844 and 1976:1-12), it was proposed that although free pronouns are marked for case in a similar way to nouns, there is one major difference. Nouns take an ergative-allative case-marker *-lu* (or an allomorph), which marks both transitive subject and 'to' a destination. Unmarked nouns are in nominative case, and these occur as objects or non-transitive subjects. Free pronouns, however, take the suffix *-lu* to mark only allative case: 'to' a destination. The conclusion was reached in those earlier papers that the unmarked nominative-case free pronouns occurred (like nouns) as objects or non-transitive subjects, but that they also occurred unmarked (unlike nouns) in a transitive subject role. The implication was that there were two different marking systems: one for nouns, distinguishing between ergative and nominative, and the other for pronouns, making no such distinction.

Those two papers were written before Yanyuwa discourses were analysed and so nouns and pronouns were then considered only within the clause context. Since the relationships and functions of units have also been studied within sentences, paragraphs and discourses, it is apparent that free pronouns do not have any ergative function. Yanyuwa pronouns are not marked by an ergative *-lu* suffix because they do not occur in the transitive subject role which this case marks. Pronouns which had previously appeared to do so are, in fact, functioning in a paragraph or discourse role. (Free pronouns are used most extensively in clauses in those functions for which they are marked by dative, ablative or allative cases: Goal, Accompaniment, Destination.)

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a fresh description of the functions of unmarked Yanyuwa person pronouns in the light of this changed view, that is from the perspective of occurrence within both clauses and discourses.

5.2 CONTRASTING FUNCTIONS OF BOUND AND FREE PRONOUNS

Unmarked free pronouns function in a subject role in only two clause contexts, neither of them transitive. Their main function is as the Subject of Stative Clauses. Otherwise they may occur to list or to link specific participants within an Intransitive Clause Subject noun phrase.

Bound pronoun verb prefixes function to indicate the subject or object of verbs in all verb-centred clause types, and any co-occurring unmarked free pronouns in these clauses have a focus function in the sentence, paragraph or discourse. (Free pronouns with such a function are exceptional in that they do not have to agree with the case of the referent.)

Free pronouns may focus on a switch to a first-person comment or a first-person participant at the conclusion of a paragraph. They may highlight contrast between two thematic participants, or they may focus on the current topic participant at a significant place within the discourse.

Focus may also be put on a subject or object noun phrase. This is accomplished by fronting such a phrase to sentence-initial position, with or without the addition of a focus particle such as *barra* or *mili* (described in the final chapter of this volume). However, after third-person participants have been introduced by means of one or a series of noun phrases, there is a strong preference to then maintain continuity of reference by means of pronominal forms (unless there is a recognised loss of distinction between them). Initial and ongoing reference to first and second persons is of course, by person pronominal forms exclusively.

Bound pronouns are the commonest means of maintaining pronominal reference. Definite and indefinite demonstrative pronouns are also used extensively to maintain reference; to some extent, the choice of definite or indefinite pronoun is relative to thematic and non-thematic content respectively, but there are other factors. (See §2.2 for a brief description of demonstrative pronoun functions.) Unmarked free person pronouns are comparatively rare and their use therefore has an added significance. Third person free pronouns may give focus to ongoing referents, or may give additional focus to a fronted noun phrase (see paragraph two of example 5.18 below).

In approximately 19,000 words of texts prepared for computer processing, there are only 82 free pronouns in nominative case. This compares with 1,256 demonstrative pronouns in nominative case in the same body of data. And it compares with 115 pronominal suffixes on locative demonstratives alone – to say nothing of the other pronominal affixes which attach to verbs, nouns, adjectives and relators.

One noteworthy fact is that of those 82 pronouns, 55 are first person pronouns and one is second person. (These are persons for which there is no demonstrative pronoun and a few of the first person pronouns, at least, are functioning as alternatives to demonstrative pronouns.)

Another noteworthy fact is that all these free pronouns have a tendency to co-occur with other particles which give focus. Within the immediate context, 18 co-occur with the secondary focus discourse particle *mili*, nine co-occur with the primary focus discourse particle *barra*, two co-occur with *ngayamantharra* 'only', and 17 with the conjunction *marda* 'and, also' (which is stronger in impact than the general conjunction *kulu* 'and'). In a few instances, two of these particles co-occur with a pronoun; for example *marda ngarna mili* 'and I too' (literally 'also I more'), and *marda ngarna barra* 'and also I' (literally 'also I now'). The addition of a focus particle (one or two) adds a further degree of focus to the free pronoun referent in accordance with that particle's own focus role.

Each of the functions of these unmarked free pronouns in nominative case is now considered in turn.

5.3 FREE PRONOUNS AS THE SUBJECT OF STATIVE CLAUSES

Free pronouns function as the Subject of Stative Clauses (in its role of Dissociated Experiencer as defined in Chapter 3). Of the 82 free pronouns in the discourse texts considered above, 25 occurred with this function. In the examples below, clauses are given in their sentence context where this seems relevant. In these sentences, the Stative Clause is underlined:

- 5.1 M *Yamulu marnaj-ingarna, ngarna lhungku.*
all.right here.DEF-I I alive
I'm all right here, I'm (still) alive.
- 5.2 *Waluku ngarna waykal-iya.*
for.a.while I down-wards
I (am going) down (to the camp) for a while.
- 5.3 *Nganth-ingu yinda, nganth-ingu?*
where-from you.SG where-from
Where are you from?

5.4 FREE PRONOUNS IN PHRASES TO DISTINGUISH OR LINK PARTICIPANTS

Free pronouns in nominative case may occur in a phrase as the Subject of an Intransitive (example 5.4) or Stative Clause (5.5), Object of a Transitive Clause (5.6), or in an additional explanatory phrase in the Sentence Periphery (5.7–5.9) to spell out specifically the participants included in the Subject of the main clause. In the following examples, the pronouns are underlined:

- 5.4 *Ngarna Kulu Burayin kulu Nim kulu Jijil kanu-lhuwarri...*
I and Brian and Nym and Cecil we.EXCL-depart
Brian and Nym and Cecil and I went away...
- 5.5 *Ja-baba Yulngurri, Burrayi, Jangurranu, Baju, baki*
my-older.sibling Yulngurri Burrayi, Jangurranu, Baju and
ngarna, li-mangaji li-rikarikajanja nganu nguthunda-kari,
I PL-that.DEF PL-sibling.group we.EXCL north-DEF
li-jibiya baji Burrulula.
PL-countryman there.DEF Borroloola
My older brother Yulngurri, Burrayi, Jangurranu, Baju and I, we are that
group of brothers (associated with) the northern place, countrymen of that
place Borroloola.
- 5.6 F *Kawul-andi-nu nya-Kiyin wula nya-Abul.*
them.DU-she-tell M-Cain they.DU M-Abel
She told the Cain and Abel (story to us).

- 5.7 *Li-jakarta kirru-wingka-la, li-nhanawa marda yinda alu-wa.*
 PL-many you.PL-go-FUT PL-woman and you.SG them-ABL
 Many of you will go out (fishing), the women and you with them.
- 5.8 M *Ngamal-iya ny-inki-mimi ka-wingka ridinja,*
 south-wards M-your.SG-grandfather he-go yesterday
wula r-iku-rra-yuwarni.
 they.DU F-his-F-mother.in.law
 Your (maternal) grandfather went south (on the medical plane) yesterday,
 and his mother-in-law.
- 5.9 M *Ka-wuba-nthaninya baji baku-wu, wula maykarra.*
 he-cook-P.CST there.DEF later-DAT they.DU married.couple
 He cooked (the game) there for (eating) later, he and his wife.

5.5 FOCUS-MARKING FUNCTION OF FREE PRONOUNS

Free pronouns mark focus on a participant (examples 5.17, 5.18 and 5.22) or on a change of participant (5.10 to 5.16, 5.19 to 5.21 and 5.23 to 5.25) within a sentence or paragraph. The strength of focus varies considerably according to the nature of the discourse and the content of the paragraph. Since the pronoun is functioning here as a focus marker, it retains nominative case, regardless of the case of its referent.

An unmarked (or nominative) pronoun may mark focus on either the subject or the object of a clause, although it is more frequently the subject which is marked for focus. Where it marks focus on an object or non-transitive subject referent, there is a harmony of nominative case marking between focus marker and referent. However, where the pronoun marks focus on a transitive subject, the difference in case marking becomes apparent. In those examples below where the pronoun focus marker is unmarked and the focused referent is transitive subject, the pronoun is marked with an asterisk.

All Yanyuwa free pronouns are underlined in the examples below – those which mark focus and also those which occur as Stative Clause Subjects. Only free pronouns which mark focus are underlined in the English free translation.

The first examples are from explanatory sentences or paragraphs. These all illustrate a paragraph-final comment with first-person reference:

- 5.10 *Baj-alu wangarni, bubu nalu-amma kulu nalu-marnda*
 there.DEF-they nearby sore their.PL-ear and their-feet
Barranamba ngarna, ngarna-bubu.
 like me my-sore
 There they are nearby (on the way to the clinic), (with) their sore ears and
 sore feet. Like me and my sores.
- 5.11 M *Akara-kari-mba jiw-ini, a-kari-mba jiw-ini, marda*
 east-DEF-side he-PRES west-DEF-side he-PRES also
ngarna karna-ka-la baji marda.*
 I him.I-see-P there.DEF also
 (The white man) is on the east side (of the river), he is on the west side, and
 I saw him there too.

- 5.12 M *Rra-Yanyuwa-mulu janda-wukanyi-nji nganu-wa, baki*
 F-Yanyuwa-mouth she-talk-PRES us.EXCL-ABL and
ngarna mili Yanyuwa-mulu.
 I more Yanyuwa-mouth
 (She is a) Yanyuwa speaker talking to us, and I too am a Yanyuwa speaker
 (lit. Yanyuwa-mouth).
- 5.13 *Jirr-andu-lingenma-nji yamulu, baj-anda janda-wani-njani*
 you.PL-she-remember-PRES all.right there.DEF-she she-return-IMM
baku yirru-wa-lu. Janda-rarri-nji yirru-nga kurdandu.
 in.future you.PL-ABL-ALL she-cry-PRES you.PL-DAT intensely
Marda ngarna mili, jarna-rarri-nji yurngumantha kurdandu, warriya.
 also I more I-cry-PRES continually intensely poor.fellow
 She is remembering you all right, there she is, she is about to return to you
 any time. She is really sorrowing for you (missing you). And I too, I am
 really sorrowing continually, you poor fellow.
- 5.14 M *Kalu-lanima nya-mangaji walaba ngal-alu nungka*
 they-dance MSC-that.DEF corroboree when-they maybe
li-ja-wuthu, ngulaya li-ja kalu-yirdardi, ngala jina
 PL-this-direction after PL-this they-grow but this
walaba ambuliyalu alu-nga, ambuliyalu alu-nga.
 corroboree before them-DAT before them-DAT
Nyayamantharra ngarna karna-ka-la nya-mangaji walaba.*
 only I it.I-see-P MSC-that.DEF corroboree
 They danced that corroboree when the people in this direction (were there)
 perhaps, these ones (here) grew up afterwards, but this corroboree was
 before them, before their time. Only I saw that corroboree.
- 5.15 M *Walkurra wunyatha ngabangku, akarra-kari-mba Wanjiya*
 big father deceased east-DEF-side Wanjiya
Wunyatha, wunyatha, na-wini karna-mba-wundarra-la barra
 father father his-name I-REFL-name-FUT now
nd-iwa ngabaya, Karriyangkanya, wunyatha na-wini
 REL-he deceased Karriyangkanya father his-name
ngabangaku, walkurra Karn-ilu-yuba marda, karn-ilu-yuba
 deceased big me-he-grow.up also me-he-grow.up
ngarna. Karn-ilu-ngabarlama-nthaninya.
 me me-he-carry.on.shoulder-P.CST
 My deceased father, a big man, (is buried) on the east side at Wanjiya. My
 father, my father, I will tell you the name for that deceased one now,
 Karriyangkanya is the name of my deceased father, a big/important man/
 name. He brought me up too, he brought up me. He carried me on his
 shoulders.

The next examples are from Narrative paragraphs. Here the pronoun focuses on a first or third person participant in an incident which is significant within the paragraph or within the discourse as a whole.

Example 5.16 refers to a significant event in the speaker's life when he was introduced to Cecil's relatives in a New South Wales community. (Previously these people had been 'strangers', which in Yanyuwa is synonymous with 'enemy'.) In example 5.17 the focus is on the first white man in the area, who introduced two Yanyuwa men to European-type food and cooking methods. In the two paragraphs of example 5.18, focus is placed on each of the two major participants in a controversy which is later to lead to the killing of the old man and the imprisonment of Andrew.

- 5.16 M *Karr-awula-ngunda jikan ki-Jijil kulu Burayin,*
her-they.DU-give handshake M.NNOM-Cecil and Brian
kulu ngarna karn-ilu-yunduyunduma.
and I/me me-he-point
Cecil and Brian shook her by the hand, and he introduced me.

In the next two examples from Narrative paragraphs, there is an ambiguity because the pronoun *yiwa* 'he, him' occurs in a context with two male participants and it could potentially refer to either. In example 5.17 a white man is introducing a Yanyuwa man to his kind of food. In 5.18 paragraph two, there is an encounter between Andrew and the father of a girl he ran off with.

Several people were asked which of the two participants the *yiwa* referred to in each story. (The authors are deceased and so could not be consulted.) The majority understood *yiwa* to refer to the previously established subject of the paragraph in each instance. One individual thought that it referred to the object (the Yanyuwa man) in example 5.17. A different individual thought that it referred to the co-subject of the reciprocal verb (to Andrew) in the second paragraph of example 5.18. The likelihood is, therefore, that the established subject of a paragraph is more likely to receive free pronoun focus than another participant.

- 5.17 M *Kila-ka alanji-lu, kilu-ngunda ma-balawa, na-warnnyi,*
him.he-take camp-ALL him.he-give FD-flour its-flesh
nyanyalu. Kila-balaba yiku mungku-dulbarri-la.
tea it.he-spread.spread him.for FD.ABL-honey-ABL
"Ngarna-ka-rra' Nganinya ka-rarrma-la ma-ja
me.you.SG-see-IMP like.this you.SG-eat-FUT FD-this
ma-balawa. Jinangu nyanyalu. Ka-burayama-la."
FD-flour this.DEF tea you.SG-fry-FUT
Yiwa barra kilu-milirdima ambuliyalu.*
he now him.he-teach first

(The white man) took (the Yanyuwa man) to camp, he gave him food made from flour, meat and tea. He spread the food with jam for him.

"Watch me! You will eat (food cooked from) flour like this. This is tea. You will fry (things)." He now taught (the Yanyuwa man) first.

- 5.18 M *Wabarrangu mirningiya na-wini Anduru ka-arri Burrulula.*
in.past man his-name Andrew he-was Borrooloola

*Yiwa** *kay-ilu-mijanga kulu kawula-wuluma wunji*
 he her-he-love and they.DU-run running.off.together
anka-ya wula-wulangi. Kulu kawula-wani nungkama-rrku
 up-wards river-river and they.DU-return ABST.ABL-other
nyala alanji-lu.
 to camp-ALL

Kulu nyungk-anku-biyi-lu, yiwa anku kawula-mba-rama.
 and M.ERG-her-father-ERG he her.DAT they.DU-REFL-fight

Kulu Dunikin ka-lhuwarri na-yumarra yila-a
 and Donaghan he-depart his-partner him-ABL

ki-malbu-ngka, kulu kilu-wangka-la Anduru na-marnda...
 M.NNOM-old.man-ABL and him.he-shoot-P Andrew his-foot
 Long ago there was a man at Borroloola named Andrew. He loved (a girl)
 and they ran off together up the river. And later they came back to the camp.

And her father, he (and Andrew) fought with one another concerning her.
 And Donaghan went out as associate with the old man, and he shot Andrew
 in the foot...

In the second paragraph of example 5.18 the ergative marking of *nyungk-anku-biyi-lu* 'her father' is exceptional. Normally the subject of a reflexive or reciprocal verb is in nominative case. This ergative marking would seem to focus on 'the father' as the initiator of the fighting together, and the following pronoun adds additional focus.

The next example is from an explanatory paragraph in a Procedural Discourse on hunting for goanna and other edible lizards. The pronoun marks a first-person comment.

- 5.19 M *Bawuji barra jalu-nuwa-nji. Na-lhanu*
 finished now they-cook.underground-PRES ARB-paperbark
jarn-alu-rduma-nji na-lhanu, nuwa-ntha-wu
 it.ARB-they-get-PRES ARB-paperbark cook.underground-PRES-DAT
barra wayka. Baku barra jalu-yima-nji ngal-iwa wunhunhu.
 now down later now it.they-take.up-PRES when-it cooked
Bawuji barra jal-inyamba-wudurruma-nji. Marda ngarna
 finished now they-REFL-feed-PRES also I
wabarrangu, ngarna marda jarna-mba-wudurruma-nthaninya.
 in.past I also I-REFL-feed-P.CST
 After that they are cooking (the game in an underground oven). They are
 getting paperbark for cooking it down there. Later they are taking it up
 when it is ready to eat. After that they are eating it. And I too long ago, I
 used to eat it.

The remaining examples are of free pronouns used with their strongest degree of focus. These came from additional texts which were not included in the computer-processed data. These texts included Hortatory Discourses and two brief Dreamtime stories. The pronouns are used to give their strongest focus in Hortatory material and in harangues within the Dreamtime stories.

In a Hortatory Discourse on the topic of the negative consequences of drinking alcohol, the speaker provides negative motivation in the form of his own former problems in relation to alcohol. In one section, he opens and closes with a statement emphasising his personal experience, and the first person pronoun subject in these Stative clauses seems also to mark a measure of focus on this referent. This leads in to a Rhetorical Question asked of the drinkers in which a second person pronoun gives focus. (An additional focus is given to the Reason segment of his Motivation section in that it encircles the remaining content of the Motivation section; that is, it both introduces and closes the section):

- 5.20 *Kangka mirdan ngarna, karna-wunja ny-mangaji*
 because knowledgeable I I-drink MSC-that.DEF
- wabarrangu. Karna-wunja kulu karna-mba-yngkarri ngarna-manka*
 in.past I-drink and I-REFL-hear/feel my-body
- wardimbangu. Karna-jirdarri wiji ngarna-mulu.*
 very.bad I-be.bitter all.inclusively my-mouth
- Nya-mangaji barra jirru-lakima-nji barra, jirru-wunja-yi*
 MSC-that.DEF now it.you.PL-like-PRES now you.PL-drink-PRES
- yurrngumantha. Ngala wardimbangu...*
 continually but very.bad
- ...mirdan ngarna, karna-wunja nya-mangaji wabarrangu.*
 knowledgeable I I-drink MSC-that.DEF in.past
- Ngala ngalhi-yu yirru* jirru-lakima-nji*
 but what-DAT you.PL it.you.PL-like-PRES
- nya-mangaj-iwuthu?*
 MSC-that.DEF-direction.in
- (I'm talking like this) because I know (about these things) from experience, I drank in the past. I drank and my body felt terrible. My mouth tasted altogether bitter. That is the stuff you are liking now, you are drinking it continually. But it's really bad...
- ...because I know from experience, I drank that stuff in the past.
 But why do you like that kind of life?

Later in the same discourse the speaker again concludes by telling of his own negative experience. He contrasts it with the present experience of the current drinkers, again using a second person pronoun to emphasise his point:

- 5.21 *...karna-majarrmajarriri nyungku-mangaji.*
 I-become.weak MSC.ABL-that.DEF
- Ngala yirru barra nganambaji jirru-wingka-yi,*
 but you.PL now like.that you.PL-walk-PRES
- kangka nya-mangaji jirru-lakima-nji.*
 because MSC-that.DEF it.you.PL-like-PRES
- ...I used to be weak through that (alcohol). But you are living (lit. walking) just that way because you like that stuff.

In another Hortatory Discourse, the speaker is urging his fellow Christians not to be discouraged or angry if they are opposed or disregarded or mocked when they seek to share their knowledge with others. He uses the first person plural inclusive pronoun once in a Stative clause and as a sentence tag for focus, in urging them not to be impatient with the people who have negative attitudes towards them because, after all, they have the benefits of their faith:

- 5.22 M *Li-ngajbirri-njani ngambala-nga, kangka ngambala*
 they-disregard-IMP.CONT us.INCL-DAT because we.INCL
mirdan yiku ki-Jijaj, ngambala-a
 knowledgeable him.DAT M.NNOM-Jesus us.INCL-ABL
wurdulu-la jiw-ini, ngambala.
 spirit-ABL he-PRES we.INCL
 Let us keep on allowing them to disregard us, because we are knowledgeable of Jesus, he is with our spirits, all of us.

In this example, the tagged pronoun focuses on the contrast between the Christian group and those who disbelieve or mock; this inclusive pronoun also strengthens the identification of the speaker with his audience. (Since the first clause of the sentence has a third person subject, it is inappropriate to mark focus on the first person referent there.)

In each of the two short Dreamtime stories, there are one or more harangue speeches. In one, a Dramatic Discourse, the entire discourse is a harangue between two characters. In the other, one participant harangues the other within a Narrative Discourse. In all these harangues, the characters make use of the free pronouns *ngarna* 'I' and *yinda* 'you (singular)' to focus on the contrast between their own superior characteristics and some inferior ones of the other.

In the Narrative of the brolga (bird) and the emu, focus is marked on the brolga's haranguing of the emu in four ways. The discourse climax verb suffix *-nya* is attached to the verb in the Quote Formula introducing the harangue. The brolga commences the harangue with the insult particle *suwi...i*. The immediacy particle *barra* is used several times to focus on the brolga's superiority, and the first and second person free pronouns are used to focus on the contrast between the two participants:

- 5.23 F *Bawuji barra kulu ki-arri-nya nya-mangaji kurdarrku*
 finished now and it-say-CLIM MSC-that.DEF brolga
yiku, "Suwi...i! Yinda wardimbangu! Ngarna
 him.DAT Ya...ha you.SG very.bad I
karna-wabama-nthanama ankangu ngala yinda
 I-fly-FUT.CST above but you.SG
ka-wuluma-nthanama marnda-a awara-la, buyi
 you.SG-run-FUT.CST foot-ABL ground-ABL small
nda-wi ka-anma-la wardimbangu. Ngala
 your.SG-arm you.SG-be-FUT very.bad but
ngarna ankangu juju karna-wabama-nthanama ankangu,
 I above distant I-fly-FUT.CST above

juju ankangu barra, juju ankangu, juju
 in.distance above now in.distance above in.distance

ankangu ki-ararr-a wunumbarra," ki-arr
 above MSC.NNOM-sky-ABL near it-say

barra kurdarrku, bawuji barra.
 now broлга finished now

And after that the broлга said to him, "Ya...ha! You're rubbish! I will fly up above, but you, you will always run on the ground on foot, a small-winged one you will be, rubbish! But I, high above I will always fly overhead, high above now, far above in the near sky," the broлга said now, (and the story is) finished now.

In the Dramatic Discourse the haranguing is between a jabiru (bird) and a python snake. The following excerpt comes from the first speech of the *wurrulibinka* jabiru:

- 5.24 *"Rra-wardi yinda, rra-wardi ka-warrka-njama*
 F-bad you.SG F-bad you.SG-crawl-INTEN
ki-awara-la, ka-nma-la rra-lhuwa.
 MSC.NNOM-ground-ABL you.SG-stay-FUT F-snake
Ngala ngarna karna-wabuma-njama ankangu juju.
 but I I-fly-INTEN above in.distance
Karna-wingka-yanama juju-ngka yarrba-ntha-rra
 I-go-FUT.CST distant-ABL hunt-PT-PRES
ki-wudurru-wu ngatha. Ngala yinda
 MSC.NNOM-good-DAT me.DAT but you.SG
rra-wardi ka-warrkalarrka-nthanama baj-iwuthu,
 F-bad you.SG-crawl.crawl-FUT.CST there.DEF-direction.in
rra-lhuwa yinda..."
 F-snake you.SG
 "You're a bad one, a bad one you intend to crawl on the ground, you will be a crawling creature (lit. a snake/lizard-class creature). But I, I intend to fly above. I will always go in the heights hunting for my food. But you the bad one will always crawl around down there (lit. in that direction), you're a crawling creature..."

The verb of the Quote Formula introducing the python's reply is also marked by the discourse climax marker suffix. The snake uses the insult particle and makes use of the free pronouns to contrast her advantage in having cooked food with the jabiru's lack:

- 5.25 *Bawuji barra kanda-arri-nya a-mangaji barra,*
 finished now she-say-CLIM.MKR F-that.DEF now
a-buburna kanda-wukanyi yiku, kiwuma nganinya
 F-python she-talk him.DAT insult like.this
nya-mbangu, "Suwi...i! Yinda ka-tha-la
 MSC-that.INDEF ya...ha you.SG you.SG-eat.flesh-FUT

arlu mawunku yin-ku wudurru, ngala nya-ngatha
 fish raw you.SG-DAT food but MSC-my
wunhunhu. Ngarna kama-mba-wudurruma-nthanama wunhunhu
 cooked I I-REFL-feed-FUT.CST cooked
wudurru, buyuka-wiji. Ngala yinda mawunku
 cooked fire-having but you.SG raw
ka-wurdatha-nthanama arlu... Ngala ngarna
 you.SG-swallow-FUT.CST fish but I
kama-tha-nthanama wunhunhu wudurru, maringaya
 I-eat.flesh-FUT.CST cooked food excellent
kama-mba-wudurruma-nthanama," kanda-arri-njaninya
 I-REFL-feed-FUT.CST she-say-P.CST

ira-buburna yiku.

F-python him.DAT

After that the female one said, the *a-buburna* python spoke that insult like this, "Ya...ha! You will eat raw fish (as) your food, but mine (will be) cooked! I will always eat cooked food, (cooked) with fire. But you, in a raw state you will always eat fish...But I, I will always eat cooked food, I will always feed in an excellent manner," the *ira-buburna* snake used to say to him.

5.6 CONCLUSION

Yanyuwa unmarked free pronouns occur in both verbless and verb-centred clauses. In verbless clauses (where there is no obligatory pronominal affix) these pronouns function as Subject. In verb-centred clauses, however, free pronouns function to mark focus on a participant in a sentence or paragraph within a discourse, not to manifest the Subject of the clause. (Their only non-focus function in verb-centred clauses is in the linking or listing of participants within an Intransitive Subject noun phrase, and even here there may be an associated sense of focus, at times.)

The focus-marking function of free pronouns is indicated in that (1) unlike all other words or phrases manifesting the Subject constituent, free pronouns contain no additional information not already present in the verb person-marker prefix; (2) in a Transitive Clause they are not marked as Subject; (3) their occurrence is restricted to those contexts in which focus is given to the Subject or to a change of Subject in explanatory material; or (4) they occur in hortatory material or harangues in association with strongly focussed contrasts.

CHAPTER 6

LOCATION AND THE FUNCTIONS OF LOCATIVES

6.1 OVERVIEW

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the variety of ways in which reference is made to location in Yanyuwa, and to describe the functions of the variety of locative words.

Location reference is maintained by locative adverbs and by nouns and noun phrases marked for location. Locative adverbs accompany the verb or may themselves function as the predicate. Nouns and noun phrases may be marked by locative case markers or introduced by locative prepositions to maintain reference in this essential area of the language.

6.2 DEFINITE AND INDEFINITE LOCATION

The definite-indefinite opposition which is evident in Yanyuwa demonstratives is evident not only in the demonstrative locatives but also in cardinal locatives and in the prepositions 'to' and 'from'. There is agreement of locatives in this respect so that the indefinite demonstrative and cardinal locatives co-occur as do the definite locatives:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 6.1 | <i>namba</i> | <i>nguthundu</i> |
| | there.INDEF | north.INDEF |
| | there in the north | |
|
 | | |
| 6.2 | <i>baji</i> | <i>nguthunda-kari</i> |
| | there.DEF | north-DEF |
| | there at the north place | |

The definite form of the proximal demonstrative locative, *marnaji*, means 'right here' or 'here at this very place'. The indefinite form *marni* means 'somewhere here'; it could mean 'here in Australia', 'here at Borroloola' or 'somewhere here where we are'. This illustrates the way in which the definite form is the more clearly defined one, the more sharply focussed one.

6.3 ADVERBS WHICH SIGNAL LOCATION

Yanyuwa locative adverbs are of three kinds. There are four demonstrative locatives which parallel the demonstrative pronoun set (see Table 1 in Chapter 2). There are four cardinal locatives for the primary compass directions. There are also general locative adverbs. The three kinds of stems are distinguished by the different sets of suffixes which co-occur with them.

It was of interest to do a statistical count of locative words in relation to other words. The source data is 100 pages of discourse material. The content is primarily personal experience stories of both past and present, with a good proportion of them describing aspects of traditional life. There is a limited amount of travel data. The total word count is approximately 19,000 and almost 12% of those occurrences are locative words. The breakdown of these is:

demonstrative locatives	4.2%
cardinal locatives	3.8%
general locatives	2.9%
placename nouns	1.1%

(General locatives include such words as *anka* 'up, up there', *wayka* 'down, down there', *ngulakari* 'behind', *wunumbarra* 'close'. The first two stems *anka* and *wayka* in their various usages comprise almost 2% of the total word occurrences.) These statistics give an impression of the kind of functional load locatives carry in Yanyuwa.

6.3.1 DEMONSTRATIVE LOCATIVES

The four demonstrative locative stems are *marni* 'here (indefinite)', *marnaji* 'here (definite)', *namba* 'there (indefinite)', *baji* 'there (definite)'. The morphology of these stems is described in Chapter 2. These stems take two sets of suffixes to extend their range of functions. The two definite stems take further suffixation, and *baji* is used in still further ways.

The final vowel of the demonstrative locative stem is lost when a vowel-initial suffix is added.

6.3.1.1 LOCATIVE CASE SUFFIX SET

Three locative case suffixes form a set to occur with demonstrative locative stems: *-inju* 'to', *-ingu* 'from', *-iwuthu* 'direction in'. The use of the suffix *-iwuthu* is accompanied by a motion of the speaker's head to indicate the specific direction. (This set is distinct from noun case markers.) Examples: *marn-inju* (here.INDEF-to) 'to this place', *marnaj-ingu* (here.DEF-from) 'from here', *namb-iwuthu* (there.INDEF-direction.in) 'that way, in that direction', *namb-inju* (there.INDEF-to) 'to that place'.

Baj-ingu (there.DEF-from) 'from there' also functions as a sentence introducer or paragraph introducer in travel narratives, and as a logical introducer in explanatory or hortatory data. In these instances it has the meanings 'after that', 'from (what I have established in what I said) there' or 'following on from there/that'.

Namb-alu (there.INDEF-to) 'to that place' is the only form of a demonstrative locative with the suffix *-lu*, the allative case marker for nouns. There would appear to be no need for this form since *namb-inju* is shown above with the meaning 'to that place'. The form *namba-lu*, however, functions as a preposition with a temporal meaning 'until'. The literal meaning is 'to there (indefinite)' and with reference to location in time 'to that (indefinite) time (when)', as in the following example:

- 6.3 *Kal-inyamba-wukanyi-la namba-lu* *kal-anma-la*
 they-REFL-talk-FUT there.INDEF-to they-be-FUT
ngayama-ntha-rra kulu bawuji.
 agree-PT-PRES and finished
 They will talk together until they reach agreement and conclude.

6.3.1.2 PRONOMINAL SUFFIX SET

The demonstrative locative stems may occur with pronominal suffixes for all persons and classes to form a clause complex in a word comparable to a Yanyuwa verb. Just as a verb includes subject (and object) pronominal reference in its construction, so does this locative complex. The pronominal set is:

<i>-ingambala</i>	we (INCL)
<i>-inganu</i>	we (EXCL)
<i>-ingali</i>	we (DU.INCL)
<i>-ingatharra</i>	we (DU.EXCL)
<i>-ingarna</i>	I
<i>-irru</i>	you (PL)
<i>-imbala</i>	you (DU)
<i>-inda</i>	you (SG)
<i>-alu</i>	they
<i>-awula</i>	they (DU)
<i>-iwa</i>	he (M), M it (MSC)
<i>-alhi</i>	it (MSC)
<i>-anda</i>	she (F/FEM)
<i>-awu</i>	it (FD)
<i>-arnu</i>	it (ARB/ABST)

Examples: *marnaj-ingarna* 'I am here', *baj-inda* 'you are there', *baj-iwa* 'he is there' and *namb-awu* 'the food is there somewhere'. This form of the demonstrative locative is able to function as an independent clause. (Such forms with first and second person suffixes provide the greeting and response forms in Yanyuwa.) These forms also occur within a clause in their locative function, but the subject suffix maintains an agreement with the entity it refers to. It is in this context that the indefinite forms usually occur.

- 6.4 M *Jala-yngkarri-nji* *namb-iwa.*
 it.M/MSC.they-hear-PRES there.INDEF-it.M/MSC
 (The dugong hunters) are hearing (the dugong or sea-turtle) somewhere there.

The demonstrative locative marked with a pronominal suffix may take two further suffixes: *-aji* (definite), *-iwuthu* 'direction in'. The forms with the additional *-aji* definite marking are used to identify places on a body (to describe the location of pain or injury, for instance).

The first vowel of *-iwuthu* is lost when it follows a vowel-final suffix. The final vowel of a pronominal suffix is lost preceding *-aji*: *baj-anda-wuthu* (there.DEF-she-direction.in) 'her

way, that direction she is/was going'; *mam-iya-wuthu*¹ (here.INDEF-he-direction.in) 'his way, this direction he is/was going'; *baj-and-aji* (there.DEF-she-DEF) 'that place on her'; and *mam-iw-aji* (here.INDEF-he-DEF) 'this place on him'.

The form marked by both masculine pronominal suffix and *-aji* is irregular for a female speaker. The form *marni* with the pronominal suffix only, for example, is regular: *marn-alhi* (here.INDEF-it.MSC) 'here it is'. But the form with *-aji* added is: *marn-ilh-aji* (here.INDEF-it.MSC-DEF) 'this place on it'. The first vowel of the pronominal morpheme changes from *a* to *i*.

Normally, either *-aji* or *-iwuthu* occurs following the pronominal suffix. However there is one recorded form of *baji* in which the pronominal suffix, *-aji* and *-iwuthu* all occur, and in that order: *baj-am-aj-iwuthu* (there.DEF-it.ARB/ABST-DEF-direction.in) 'that particular way'. This word is used in referring to a previously described activity. For example, in one context the speaker describes a pattern of behaviour he regards as bad. He continues:

- 6.5 *Kurdardi kam-arnu-mijanga-njima*
 not it.ABST-I-want-PRES.NEG
- baj-am-aji-wuthu.*
 there.DEF-it.ABST-DEF-direction.in
 I don't want (to live in) that kind of way./I don't want to do that kind
 of thing.

6.3.1.3 OTHER SUFFIXATION

The two definite demonstrative locative stems *marnaji* and *baji* take the suffix complex *ngulaji*, that is *-ngula-aji* (behind-DEF). (The morpheme *ngula/ngul* is described further in the first paragraph of §6.3.3 below.) The resultant form is used in making reference to a time or location which is the same as that which has also had a significance in the past: *marnaji-ngulaji* 'at this very same place', 'at this very same season' and *baji-ngulaji* 'at that very same place', 'at that very same season'.

The locative *baji* with its abstract pronominal suffix *-arnu* is used in two other ways to provide logical relators which introduce paragraphs in discourses which include explanation or exhortation. The distinctive feature of these two relators is that the pronominal morpheme is additionally marked for case, dative in one instance and ablative in the other: *baj-uwarnu* (there.DEF-it.ABST.DAT) 'for (the reason established) there'; *baj-ungkarnu* (there.DEF-it.ABST.ABL) 'on (the basis of what was said) there', 'because of that'. These two relators then introduce paragraphs in which a conclusion is drawn based on what has been established in the preceding section of the discourse.

6.3.2 CARDINAL LOCATIVES

There are cardinal locative stems corresponding to the four English compass-point adverbs. The first distinction usually to be made in Yanyuwa is the east-west distinction. When this is established, then the north or south component is defined next. If someone is in

¹ The morpheme *-iwa* has this allomorph *-iya* preceding a *w*-initial morpheme. Similarly the verb prefix *iwa-* has an allomorph *iya-* preceding a *w*-initial stem.

the north-west, even if they are further to the north than they are to the west, they are primarily described as being in the west. For example, atlas readings place Darwin approximately 12½ degrees south, 31 degrees east and Borroloola 16 degrees south, 36 degrees east, but Darwin is always described as *angula* ‘west’ without reference to the northern aspect. This same principle applies to locations within the immediate community area also.

The fact that *akarru* ‘east’ is the primary reference point may be seen from the morphology of *a-ngula* ‘west’. It is constructed from the root *a* ‘west’, but since a minimal word in Yanyuwa is a two-syllable unit, the root *ngula* ‘behind’ is added. (This root is lost when any affix occurs to provide the essential additional syllable.) Since west is the ‘behind’ direction, then *akarru* facing the sunrise must be the foremost direction.

The four cardinal locative stems are marked with suffixes and with one prefix, and these marked forms then define location or direction.

6.3.2.1 DEFINING LOCATION

The same four locative stems are used for both definite and indefinite forms. The indefinite stem is the unmarked stem. The definite stem is the indefinite stem plus *-kari* (definite). The indefinite and definite stems may then take suffixes to add further meaning components. There are inconsistencies in the variation of both stems and affixes and in their co-occurrence in cardinal locative constructions.

6.3.2.1.1 INDEFINITE LOCATION

The four stems *akarru* ‘east’, *a-ngula* ‘west’, *nguthundu* ‘north’ and *ngamala* ‘south’ are the indefinite referents to locations in those directions.

These stems take the suffix *-mba* to mean ‘on the...side’ (in relation to some visible or previously identified referent). The same morpheme *-mba* may occur on other forms in Yanyuwa also and the following rule applies to all of its occurrences: when *-mba* follows a syllable with a complex onset, that is either CC or prenasalised stop onset, the processes of dissimilation and lenition occur as *mpa* → *pa* → *wa*. Examples are *akarra-mba* ‘on the east side’, *a-mba* ‘on the west side’, *nguthunda-wa* ‘on the north side’ and *ngamala-mba* ‘on the south side’.

These forms with the suffix *-mba* may take a further suffix *-lulu*. There is a scarcity of data to give a context for these forms but the common meaning component in the few examples thus far is an ‘alternative route’ from that previously taken or planned. The following examples are of *akarra-mba-lulu* (east-side-ALT.RT) ‘on the east side by an alternative route’, in context to illustrate the usage:

- 6.6 *Akarra-mba-lulu ka-wingka-nhu kar-anka wungk-arrku*
 east-side-ALT.RT you.SG-come-P from-up FEM.ABL-other

wu-yabala

FEM.NNOM-road

You came from up there on the other road on the east side.²

6.7

Kirru-wingka akarra-mba-lulu yurngumantha nguthund-iya.

you.PL-go east-side-ALT.RT continually north-wards

You kept going northwards by the other route on the eastern side.

In the two examples above, the alternative path taken in sentence 6.6 was intentional, that taken in sentence 6.7 was the result of taking a wrong turning. The speaker was aware of these circumstances in each situation.

6.3.2.1.2 DEFINITE LOCATION

The definite location forms of cardinal locatives are: *akarra-kari* 'the east place', *a-kari* 'the west place', *nguthunda-kari* 'the north place' and *ngamala-kari* 'the south place'. These forms then become definite locative stems which may optionally take one or both of the following suffixes in the following order: *-mba* 'on the...side' and *-lu* 'to'. Examples are *akari-mba* 'on the west side', *akari-lu* 'to the west place', *akari-mba-lu* 'to the place on the west side' and *nguthundakari-mba-lu* 'to the place on the north side'.

6.3.2.2 DEFINING DIRECTION

When motion is described in Yanyuwa, it is obligatory to state the direction of that motion. Once the direction is established, that continuing direction is assumed until a change of direction is indicated. The direction form of the cardinal locative occurs as part of the verb phrase. Once the kind of motion is established – walking, rowing, travelling in a vehicle or whatever – then the direction locative alone may fill the predicate and the verb may be omitted.

As well as describing motion, these same direction words may also describe the direction in which a stationary object is pointing or lying; for example, the direction of a road, a rock formation, or a person sleeping.

The direction in which motionless entities lie is defined in a further way. Cardinal locatives also take suffixes to indicate the general direction where stationary entities are and to relate the direction of an unknown location to a known or previously identified one.

² At times there is loss of distinction between the female and the feminine class marking which is not reflected in the gloss of examples in this paper. All female-class entities may be marked by either *rra-* or *a-* (nominative), and either *rru-* or *wu-* (non-nominative). All feminine-class entities are marked by *a-* (nominative), *wu-* (non-nominative) but some may take the same *rra-* and *rru-* variants as the female class. The feminine-class entities which may take female class-marker variants are specifically those with a Dreamtime or 'dreaming' female significance; that is, those which have an association with the period or realm of mythological activity which is of great importance within the culture. For example, *wu-yabala* 'on the road' in example 6.6 has the variant *rru-yabala* since the noun 'road' may be used in reference to 'dreaming' paths or roads; and in example 6.9 below *rra-binjirri* 'paperbark tree' has the variant *a-binjirri* since it is a feminine noun.

6.3.2.2.1 DIRECTION FROM

The marking of direction from in Yanyuwa is noteworthy in that for this meaning alone the marker is a prefix. It is appropriate that the marking of source should come first in the word. This prefix is identical in form with the suffix which transforms the indefinite cardinal locative stem into the definite form. The prefix is *kari-* and it has the variants *kariy-* and *kar-*; *kariy-* precedes the single-vowel root *a* 'west' and *kar-* precedes other vowel-initial stems. The set of forms indicating cardinal direction 'from' is: *kar-akarra* 'from the east', *kariy-a* 'from the west', *kari-nguthunda* 'from the north', *kari-ngamala* 'from the south'.

While checking the data for this paper, the Yanyuwa language consultant not only completed the set of examples of indefinite location forms marked with *-lulu* (see §6.3.2.1.1) but she also volunteered the direction 'from' set with this same suffix added. Her comment was that they were used of the winds. The set is: *kar-akarra-lulu*, *kariy-a-lulu*, *kari-nguthunda-lulu* and *kari-ngamala-lulu*. Until these forms are heard in context, the meaning of *-lulu* here remains uncertain.

6.3.2.2.2 DIRECTION TOWARDS

Direction towards is indicated by the suffix *-iya* '-wards'; the variant *-ya* occurs with the root *a* 'west'. The other three stems lose the final vowel before *-iya*: *akarr-iya* 'eastwards', *a-ya* 'westwards', *nguthund-iya* 'northwards', *ngamal-iya* 'southwards'.

There is a rarely-heard variant set which occurs with the suffix *-ulu* in place of *-iya*. The stem variant *awula* 'west' occurs with this suffix only. The four stems lose the final vowel before *-ulu* also. The set marked by *-ulu* is: *akarr-ulu*, *awul-ulu*, *nguthund-ulu*, *ngamal-ulu/ngal-ulu*. For this set and for another in §6.3.2.2.4 below, *ngamala* 'south' has the variant stem *ngalu*.

The cardinal locative set marked by the suffix *-iya* may take the dative case-marker *-wu* 'for, in relation to'. This is illustrated in the following example:

- 6.8 *Bawuji barra ngamal-iya-wu.*
 finished now south-wards-DAT
 Farewell for (your journey) south.

6.3.2.2.3 DIRECTION IN

The forms above which indicate direction towards and direction from are primarily related to motion, although they are sometimes used to refer to the direction in which motionless entities are pointing or lying. However the suffix *-iwuthu* 'direction in, way' which occurs with demonstrative locatives also occurs with the cardinal locative set, but here in the form *-wuthu*. The final vowel of the stems changes to *a* preceding this suffix: *akarra-wuthu* 'in the east', *a-wuthu* 'in the west', *nguthunda-wuthu* 'in the north', *ngamala-wuthu* 'in the south'. The almost parallel occurrence of forms marked by *-wuthu* '-wards' and *-iya* 'direction in' is demonstrated in the following sentence:

- 6.9 *Waraji akarru-wuthu, rra-binjirri wulangi-nda*
 paperbark.tree east-direction.in FEM-paperbark.tree river-ABL

anka-ya

up-wards.

The *waraji* paperbark trees are in the east, the *rra-binjirri* paperbark trees are upriver.

6.3.2.2.4 RELATIVE DIRECTION

The other kind of direction marking is in relation to a reference point. The suffix *-nga* means 'of/from that place/person/object' or 'of/from there'. When the suffix *-rrinjarra* occurs following *-nga* it adds a meaning component 'at a distance'. (The suffix *-rrinjarra* is identical in form with the intransitive verbaliser marker *-rri* followed by the present participle suffixes *-nja-rra*. The cardinal locative stems marked in this way therefore appear to be verb participles, but any attempts to use the stems as verb stems marked by *-rri* are rejected.) The form of a 'west' which occurs as relative direction stem is *awu*, and the alternative stem *ngalu* 'south' is the form which takes the relative direction suffix rather than the commonly occurring form *ngamala*: *akarru-nga* 'east from there', *awu-nga* 'west from there', *nguthunda-nga* 'north from there', *ngalu-nga* 'south from there', *akarru-nga-rrinjarra* 'east from there at a distance'.

6.10 *Baji* *na-jiw-ini* *wumba*, *ngalu-nga*
there.DEF REL-he-be REL.PRON south-REL.DIR

Nyujathawila *ngala* *nguthunda-nga* *Kuwinalin*.
New.South.Wales but north-REL.DIR Queensland.

That place where (the border fruit-inspector) always is, south from there is New South Wales and north from there is Queensland.

The following example gives a variety of cardinal locative forms and functions including relative direction:

6.11 M *Kulu nya-mangaji malbu ny-anki-wangu, kumbu-wijuwa-nthaninya*
and M-that.DEF old.man M-her-spouse he.REFL-cover-P.CST

wumbiji. Barra namba rri-kanymarda, nguthunda-nga buyuka,
in.centre now when DU-two north-REL.DIR fire

ngalu-nga buyuka, ngamala-kari-mba rra-rrku,
south-REL.DIR fire south-DEF-side F-other

nguthunda-kari-mba rra-rrku, kawul-aninya. Akarr-iya,
north-DEF-side F-other they.DU-P.CST east-wards

wumbiji akarr-iya nya-mangaji malbu barra nya-wulanga-nganji.
in.centre east-wards M-that.DEF old.man now M-their.DU-kin

The husband would cover himself over, there in the centre. When he had two wives he would have a fire on either side of him and a wife on the other side of each fire. Their husband would lie there in the centre.

It is unlikely that there would be any more specific reference to direction in English than this. A more literal translation would be:

And that old man, the husband, he used to cover himself over in the central position (to sleep). And when there were two wives, (he had) a fire north of him, a fire south of him, one of them on the south side, the other on the north side, (that is how) the (two wives) used to be. Eastwards, in the centre lying eastwards was that old man, their husband (lit. kinsman).

This example demonstrates the way in which the Yanyuwa continually orient themselves to direction and location, even in the process of describing a simple domestic scene from former times.

6.3.2.3 SUMMARY OF PRIMARY CARDINAL LOCATIVE FUNCTIONS

Indefinite location

$$+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{akarru} \quad \text{E} \\ \text{angula} \quad \text{W} \\ \text{nguthundu} \quad \text{N} \\ \text{ngamala} \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right\} \quad +/\text{-} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mba} \\ \text{wa} \end{array} \right\} \quad +/\text{-} \quad \text{lulu}$$

‘side’ ‘alternative route’

Rule:

$$+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{angula} \\ \text{akarru} \\ \text{nguthudu} \\ \text{ngamala} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mba} \\ \text{wa} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{amba} \\ \text{akarramba} \\ \text{nguthundawa} \\ \text{ngamalamba} \end{array} \right\}$$

Definite location

$$+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{akarra-kari} \quad \text{E} \\ \text{a-kari} \quad \text{W} \\ \text{nguthunda-kari} \quad \text{N} \\ \text{ngamala-kari} \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right\} \quad +/\text{-} \quad \text{mba} \quad +/\text{-} \quad \text{lu}$$

‘side’ ‘to’

Direction from

$$+ \text{kari} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{akarra} \quad \text{E} \\ \text{a} \quad \text{W} \\ \text{nguthunda} \quad \text{N} \\ \text{ngamala} \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right\} \quad +/\text{-} \quad \text{lulu}$$

‘alternative route’

Rule:

$$+ \text{kari} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{akarra} \\ \text{a} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{karakarra} \\ \text{kariya} \end{array} \right\}$$

Direction to

$$+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{akarr} \quad \text{E} \\ \text{a} \quad \text{W} \\ \text{nguthund} \quad \text{N} \\ \text{ngamal} \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{iya} \\ \text{ulu} \end{array} \right\}$$

‘-wards’

Rule:

$$+ a + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} iya \\ ulu \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} aya \\ awululu \end{array} \right\}$$

Direction in

$$+ \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} akarra & E \\ a & W \\ nguthunda & N \\ ngamala & S \end{array} \right\} + wuthu$$

‘direction in’

Relative direction

$$+ \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} akarru & E \\ awu & W \\ nguthunda & N \\ ngalu & S \end{array} \right\} + nga \quad +/- \quad rinjarra$$

‘from there’ ‘at a distance’

6.3.3 GENERAL LOCATIVES

Four of the remaining locative adverbs form a subgroup because only these stems, of the general stems, take any of the cardinal locative affixes. These four stems are: *anka* ‘up, up there, upriver’, *wayka* ‘down, down there, downriver’, *ambirri-ju* ‘ahead’ and *ngula-kari* ‘behind’. The final two stems are complex stems which lose their suffixes if any other suffix is added. The meaning of the suffix *-ju* is unknown. The root *ngula* means ‘behind’ and the suffix *-kari* has the form of the definite marker (see §6.3.2.1.2) but any definite-marking function has been lost; that is, there is no isolated form *ngula* to provide contrast with *ngula-kari*, and so *ngulakari* functions as an indefinite form along with the rest of the general locatives.

The one exception to this is the locative *anka* ‘up’. The form *anka-ngu* ‘above, overhead, up there’ seems to function as the definite form of this locative; the suffix *-ngu* is homophonous in form with the nominaliser suffix which marks the definite form of the proximal demonstrative pronoun *jina-ngu* ‘this (definite)’ (see Chapter 2), and it may well be the same morpheme. The word *anka-ngu* refers to a specific higher place, either on the ground or in the air or sky.

The four stems of the subgroup are marked for direction ‘-wards’ and all except *ambirri* are marked for direction from. The rule is: the unreduplicated stem *wayka* ‘down’ becomes *waykal* when a suffix is added. The direction forms are: *ankaya* ‘upwards’, *waykaliya* ‘downwards’, *waykawaykaya* ‘downwards (of a heavily laden vehicle)’, *ambirriya* ‘forwards’, *nguliya* ‘backwards’; *karanka* ‘from higher up’, *kariwayka* ‘from lower down’ and *karingula* ‘from behind’.

(Although *kar-ambirri* ‘from ahead’ was rejected as a locative form, it is used in noun derivation (described in §6.3.4.1) in the formation of the noun *li-karambirringu* ‘the people from in front’ or ‘the people who lived before (us)’.)

The locatives *ankaya* ‘upwards’ and *waykaliya* ‘downwards’ may be additionally marked by the dative suffix *-wu* in the same way as cardinal locatives.

Only *anka* 'up' takes any further locative suffix. It occurs with the *-wa* variant of *-mba* 'on the...side', as in *ankawa* 'on the upper side/level'. The stem *wayka* 'down' does not take this suffix, but the function is included in the meaning of another general locative *amindawa* 'lower down, along the coast, below'. This word is used in direct contrast with *ankawa* and so complements *wayka* in this way. (Although the final syllable of *amindawa* may appear to be the suffix *-wa* 'on the...side', it is in fact part of the stem and cannot be removed from it.)

Other general locatives in common use include: *arndaarnda* 'inside', *winkan-da* 'outside', *wumbiji* 'in the centre, in between', *wurra* 'underwater', *rarra* 'in the depths', *wunumbarra* 'close, nearby', *juju* 'in the distance', *wangarni* 'nearby, on the way here'. Some general locative stems occur also with the allative suffix *-lu* 'to' or one of its allomorphs: for example, *wumbiji-lu* 'to the centre, to the central position', *winkan-du* 'to the outside', *arndaarnda-lu* 'to the inside' and *juju-ngku* 'to a distant place'. Others such as *anka*, *wayka*, *wunumbarra* and *wangarni* do not occur with these suffixes.

The locative phrase *karanka wangarni* (from.up nearby) has the special meaning 'right at the top' or 'on the summit'. It may be used in relation to a tree, a mountain or a building. For instance:

- 6.12 M *Ka-warlba anka-ngu ki-wurnda-a, kar-anka wangarni.*
 he-climb up-DEF MSC.NNOM-tree-ABL from-up nearby
 He climbed up on the post, on the very top.

6.3.4 OTHER FUNCTIONS OF LOCATIVE STEMS

Certain of the cardinal and general locative roots or stems may be further inflected to become derived nouns, verbs or syntactic constructions of a special kind.

6.3.4.1 DERIVED NOUNS

The nouns most commonly derived from locatives are those which define an entity in relation to its source, origin or relative location. The four cardinal locatives and the general locatives *anka* 'up' and *wayka* 'down' are used in such derivation. The derivational formula is: + class marker + (locative stem + *-mba/-wa*) + *-ngu* (*kari* + locative stem).

The appropriate noun class marker is used. Either the locative form marked by *-mba/-wa* 'on the...side' or the 'direction from' form marked by *kari* occurs with the nominaliser suffix *-ngu*. Nouns formed in this way include:

<i>li-akarramba-ngu</i> PL-east.side-NMSR	the east-siders
<i>Ø-akarramba-ngu</i> MSC-east.side-NMSR	the east-side variety (of wild honey)
<i>Ø-ankawa-ngu</i> MSC-up.side-NMSR	the high-level one
<i>nya-kariya-ngu</i> M-from.west-NMSR	the man from the west
<i>rra-karinguthunda-ngu</i> F-from.north-NMSR	the woman from the north

<i>ma-karakarra-ngu</i>	the food from the east
FD-from.east-NMSR	
<i>Ø-karanka-ngu</i>	the one from higher up (used of fresh-water fish)
MSC-from.up-NMSR	
<i>Ø-kariwaykal-ngu</i>	the one from lower down (used of salt-water fish)
MSC-from.down-NMSR	

Derived nouns are also formed from certain general locatives by the addition of the nominaliser suffix *-ngu* and the relevant noun class-marker prefix. Nouns of this kind include: *li-ngulakari-ngu* (PL-behind-NMSR) 'the later people, the people who followed', and F *nya-wumbiji-ngu* (M-incentre-NMSR) 'the middle (male) child'.

Nouns derived with the nominaliser suffix *-ngu* generally occur in the nominative case. In those instances when they occur in a non-nominative form, the class marker changes to indicate case but case suffixes are rarely added.

The other type of noun derivation noted consists of marking the locative *ankaya* 'upwards' with a body-part possessive prefix, as in M *na-ankaya* (his-upwards) 'the upper part of his body', and F *ni-ankaya* (its.MSC-upwards) 'the bodice (of a dress)'.

6.3.4.2 DERIVED VERBS

The most frequent usage of a locative stem in a verbal function is an imperative one. The imperative suffix *-ya* is added to a stem formed from an indefinite cardinal locative or *anka* 'up' marked by *-mba/-wa* 'on the...side', or the reduplicated stem of *wayka* 'down'. For example: *Amba-ya!* 'Move west!', *Akarramba-ya!* 'Move east!', *Ankawa-ya!* 'Move higher up!' and *Waykawayka-ya!* 'Keep down!'. This same function is described for the neighbouring language, Garawa (see Furby 1976:5).

Two locatives are used in the derivation of intransitive verb stems. In one instance a cardinal locative is used, in the other a general locative, and each stem is derived in a different way. The verb stem *akariri* 'move to the west' is constructed from the locative *a-kari* 'west (definite)' and the intransitive verb marker *-ri*. This verb is usually used of the sun, as in *kanda-akariri* 'she moved to the west'.

The other locative stem *ambiriju* 'ahead' is used unchanged as an intransitive verb stem (the stem-final *u* changes to *a* when suffixes are added as occurs with certain other *u*-final verb stems): *ambirija-njarra* (go.ahead-PRES.PT) 'going ahead, taking the lead'. The verb stem may then be used in the past participle form *ambirija-nja* in the process of making a derived noun, as in *nya-ambirijanja-ngu* (M-gone.ahead-NMSR) 'the firstborn son'.

6.3.4.3 OTHER DERIVATION

There is one remaining construction which is also formed from cardinal locatives in their 'direction from' form. This stem takes a pronominal prefix from the set which marks noun body-part possession: *nda-kariya* (you.SG-from.west), *nalukaringamala* (they.PL-from.south). This form seems to parallel another in which the same prefix set occurs with noun stems relating to a stage of a person's life: *nda-ardu* (you.SG-child) 'when you were a child' or 'you being a child', *naluyalkuyi* (they.PL-young.adult) 'when they were young adults' or

'they being young adults'. Sentences 6.13 and 6.14 illustrate the use of the derived locative forms, each in a context of an expected returning.

- 6.13 F *Kirna-nga-la nda-karinguthunda.*
 you.SG.I-see-FUT you.SG-from.north
 I will see you when you come back from the north.
- 6.14 F *Awu-lulu ni-wurdu ni-karingamala ki-wani-la.*
 west-wards its-belly it-from.south it-return-FUT
 (The plane) will return westwards in coming from the south.

6.4 NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES WHICH SIGNAL LOCATION

Yanyuwa nouns and noun phrases have several locative functions. They name places and they signal 'at', 'to' or 'from' a place. The meanings 'at' and 'to' are marked directly on the noun or noun phrase by case-marker suffixes. The meaning 'to' is also signalled by two relator prepositions, and the meaning 'from' is signalled only in this way in relation to nouns.

6.4.1 PLACENAME NOUNS

Placename nouns are classed as class 15 nouns in Yanyuwa (for details of the noun classification system see Kirton 1971b:18-36). A placename usually signifies both a specific place and its surrounding area. *Wandangula* names a lagoon, known in English as 'Police Lagoon' and also the country surrounding the lagoon. Similarly *Burrulula* names a lagoon and the surrounding area of land (and has given its name to the developing outback township Borrooloola). *Warralungku* is the name of the crossing at Borrooloola (where the McArthur River could be forded at low tide) and to the land to the south of it. The Sir Edward Pellew Islands were in Yanyuwa territory and so placenames are established for the islands. For example, *Yulbarra* is a coastal area on Vanderlin Island where dugong hunters used to take shelter from the storms, and *Yukuyi* is another landing place further east.

6.4.2 LOCATION CASE MARKING ON NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

Common nouns are marked for case, and placename nouns also may be so marked. Two of the four noun case-marker suffixes have locative functions. The ablative³ marker *-la* and its allomorphs have the meanings 'in, at, by' (as well as marking accompaniment and instrument). The ergative-allative marker *-lu* and its allomorphs mark 'to' (as well as marking transitive subject and purpose functions). Since the allative function is the only one relevant to this chapter, this marker is referred to as the allative marker for its remaining sections.

Class-marker prefixes on common nouns also change to a non-nominative form, or to dative and ergative-allative-ablative forms for the food, arboreal and abstract classes. (This latter prefix will be referred to as allative-ablative and glossed as 'ALL/ABL' for the remainder of this chapter.) Placenames may be marked by *-lu* 'to'.

³ In the Yanyuwa noun paper (Kirton 1971b), different terminology was used. The nominative of this paper was there referred to as 'nuclear', ergative-allative as 'directive', ablative as 'associative' and dative as 'referent'.

<i>ji-barrawu-la</i> MSC.NNOM-house-ABL		at the house
<i>ki-wurnda-a</i> MSC.NNOM-tree-ABL		by/in the tree
<i>nungka-lhanu-ngka</i> ARB.ALL/ABL-paperbark-ABL		on the paperbark
<i>nyungku-mangaji</i> MSC.ALL/ABL-that.DEF	<i>ki-daladala-ngka</i> MSC.NNOM-box-ABL	in/on the box
<i>ji-wayangka</i> MSC.NNOM-boat-ABL	<i>ji-walkurra-ngka</i> MSC.NNOM-big-ABL	on the big boat
<i>Wandangula-lu</i> Wandangula-all		to Wandangula
<i>ji-buyuka-lu</i> MSC.NNOM-fire-ALL		to the fire
<i>nungka-wulangi-ndu</i> ARB.ABL/ALL-river-ALL		to the river
<i>nungku-ngatha</i> ARB.ABL/ALL-my	<i>nungku-alanji-lu</i> ARB.ABL/ALL-camp-ALL	to my camp

These examples illustrate the agreement of noun modifiers with the respective noun in relation to both class and case.

6.4.3 LOCATIVE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

Nouns also occur in phrases with one of four locative prepositions to form allative 'to' phrases and originative 'from' phrases. There is a definite and an indefinite relator for each function. The indefinite prepositions are *nyala* 'to' and *nakari* 'from'. The definite prepositions are *ngaliba* 'to' and *nakar-ingu* 'from' (marked by *-ingu* 'from' which occurs also on the demonstrative locative stems; see §6.3.1). Common nouns which occur in locative prepositional phrase are marked for case, but the case-marking prefix may be omitted. Placenames are optionally marked for case. The allative case marker occurs in an allative phrase and the ablative case marker in an originative phrase.

The indefinite prepositions *nyala* 'to' and *nakari* 'from' introduce places which are of less significance in the narrative – the places which the narrator views as incidental stopping places along the way:

<i>nyala</i> to.INDEF	<i>alanji-lu</i> camp-ALL	to the camp
<i>nyala</i> to.INDEF	<i>Burrulula</i> Borrooloola	to Borrooloola
<i>nakari</i> from.INDEF	<i>awara-la</i> ground-ABL	from the ground
<i>nakari</i> from.INDEF	<i>Burrulula</i> Borrooloola	from Borrooloola

Two other locative phrases occur with the prepositional phrase *nyala kulu* (*nyala* + 'and') preceding *anka* 'up' or *wayka* 'down'. The two resultant phrases are: *nyala kulu anka* 'right to the top' and *nyala kulu wayka* 'right to the bottom'. These phrases may be used in reference to such activities as climbing a tree or mountain or descending of a cliff.

The definite prepositions *ngaliba* 'to' and *nakaringu* 'from' are used to introduce places which the specific narrator views as being of significance. *Nakaringu* is used to introduce the place at which a story originates and *ngaliba* introduces the phrase which tells where the story concludes. The frequency with which these prepositions are used in between is determined by the narrator and his or her personal style or choice.

One man told a dramatic story and referred to places throughout with the indefinite preposition *nyala* until 'the villain' is taken *ngaliba Alij Buringa* 'to Alice Springs' to jail at the conclusion. The narrator's uncle told of a journey from a cattle station *ngaliba Mungkubayi* 'to Burketown' and *ngaliba Ngurdurri* 'to Doomadgee' before his sick child is flown *ngaliba Klunkari* 'to Cloncurry' to hospital. In another story this same uncle tells of a young man going *ngaliba kadin* 'to a garden' (to hide) part way through his narrative. Each speaker selects the prepositions in the ways that are appropriate for him, just as English speakers select the definite and indefinite article in different ways in certain contexts.

The preposition *nakaringu* signals not only 'from a place of origin' or 'from a significant place en route' in a narrative, but also 'from' with reference to the place of origin or the place of belonging in defining the nature of entities. Young men working with cattle *nakaringu ngurbun-da* 'from the scrub' are not working with domestic animals which have strayed into the scrub, but rather with animals which continually live in scrub country. A snake *nakaringu wayka*, *nakaringu ki-alhibi-la* 'from downriver, from the salt water' is not a snake which has gone down into the salt water and will emerge again, but a snake which is essentially a salt-water snake. Examples of *nakaringu* from travel narratives are: *nakaringu Burrulula* 'from Borrooloola' and *nakaringu Wanadingka* 'from Wanadingka'.

6.4.4 LOCATIVE FUNCTION OF REDUPLICATED NOUN STEMS

Certain inanimate common nouns may take on a locative function in one other way. The class-marker prefix is lost and the stem is partially or wholly reduplicated. These reduplicated forms then have a locative function and do not take any case marking:

<i>wumburr</i>	plain	<i>wumburr-wumburr</i>	on the plain
<i>a-yabala</i>	road	<i>yaba-yabala</i>	on the road
<i>na-wulangi</i>	river	<i>wula-wulangi</i>	by the river
<i>jayngka</i>	rock	<i>jayngka-jayngka</i>	on the rocks
<i>munji</i>	bush	<i>munji-munji</i>	in the bush
<i>wirminyma</i>	gum tree	<i>wirmi-wirminyma</i>	at the gum trees
<i>nankawa</i>	lagoon	<i>nanka-nankawa</i>	at the lagoon

6.5 ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES ON LOCATION

The Yanyuwa people, like other Aborigines of Australia, are a location-oriented people. The spiritual origin of each member of Yanyuwa society is associated with an area of land. Similarly, a person's given name is associated with an area of land. Life is lived in the

knowledge of the land and its resources. And at death it was viewed as only right that a man's bones should be returned to his own country:

That log coffin, stand it up there in his country. Take back his bones and put them there, let his nephew put them there. Let them take him back to his country for all time. There let him remain, let him warm himself there.

This quotation comes from a description of traditional funeral rites and it expresses something of the emotional harmony of the people with their land. The land is at the heart of their life and so it is not surprising that their language is rich in reference to their land – to location.

The Yanyuwa are aware not only of the beneficial resources of their land, but also of its hazards, and they are taught to respect them. There are spiritual perils if one trespasses in sacred areas. There are physical dangers if one wanders far from water sources. And so the culture of the people is seen in the deep embedding of reference to location in the language.

CHAPTER 7
THE VERB SUFFIXES *-nhu* AND *-njimu*

In the paper 'Yanyuwa verbs' (Kirton 1978:18-20), two verb suffixes were described according to a false analysis. All other Yanyuwa verb suffixes have meanings which relate to tense, mood or aspect, and so meanings of this kind were assigned also to the two suffixes *-nhu* and *-njimu* (infrequently occurring in the data) as past focal affirmative and present affirmative respectively.

An essential factor of co-occurrence restriction was overlooked in this analysis. These two suffixes co-occur only with second person singular subjects. They are not two distinctive morphemes in Yanyuwa but are allomorphs of two other common verb suffixes.

When there is a second person singular subject of the verb, the following changes occur in verb suffixation (all other suffixes remain unchanged):

- (1) the suffix \emptyset 'general past' has the variant *-nhu* (or *nyu* following an *i*-final stem);
- (2) the suffix *-nji* (*/-yi*) 'present' has the variant *-njimu* (*/-yimu*);
- (3) the existential present root *ini* 'am/is being' has the allomorph *-imu*.

The use of these allomorphs is illustrated in the following forms, which show a comparison between the second person singular allomorphs and the regular suffix forms as they co-occur with first person singular and second person plural subjects. The initial prefix here is an indicative marker *ja-/ka-*; *ja-* co-occurs with present tense suffixes, while *ka-* co-occurs with past, future, hypothetical, dubitative, intentive and negative suffixes.

However, if the action expressed by the verb is a recurrent one, the prefix usage is changed so that *ka-* co-occurs with present tense suffixes and *ja-* with past or future. The final vowel of a prefix is lost preceding a vowel-initial prefix or an *i*-initial or *u*-initial stem:

<i>k-arna-wingka-\emptyset</i> IND-I-go-P	I went
<i>k-irru-wingka-\emptyset</i> IND.MKR-you.PL-go-P	you (PL) went
<i>ka-\emptyset-wingka-nhu</i> IND.MKR-you.SG-go-P	you (SG) went
<i>k-arna-arri-\emptyset</i> IND.MKR-I-be-P	I was
<i>k-irru-arri-\emptyset</i> IND.MKR-you.PL-be-P	you (PL) were

<i>ka-Ø-arri-nyu</i> IND.MKR-you.SG-be-P	you (SG) were
<i>j-ama-wingka-yi</i> IND.MKR-I-go-PRES	I am going
<i>j-irru-wingka-yi</i> IND.MKR-you.PL-go-PRES	you (PL) are going
<i>ja-Ø-wingka-yimu</i> IND.MKR-you.SG-go-PRES	you (SG) are going
<i>j-am-ini</i> IND.MKR-I-PRES	I am being
<i>j-irr-ini</i> IND.MKR-you.PL-PRES	you (PL) are being
<i>j-Ø-imu</i> IND.MKR-you.SG-PRES	you (SG) are being
<i>k-al-arna-rama-Ø</i> IND.MKR-them-I-hit-P	I hit them
<i>k-al-irru-rama-Ø</i> IND.MKR-them-you.PL-hit-P	you (PL) hit them
<i>k-al-inya-rama-nhu</i> IND.MKR-them-you.SG-hit-P	you (SG) hit them
<i>j-al-irma-rama-nji</i> IND.MKR-them-you.SG-hit-PRES	I am hitting them
<i>j-al-irru-rama-nji</i> IND.MKR-them-you-hit-PRES	you (PL) are hitting them
<i>j-al-inya-rama-njimu</i> IND.MKR-them-you.SG-hit-PRES	you (SG) are hitting them

Factors which contributed to the error at the time of earlier analysis included the following: (1) a mind which was closed to the possibility of tense-aspect-mood suffixes being influenced by a subject person, (2) limited written data in which second person singular subjects occurred, (3) limited good opportunities for hearing Yanyuwa conversation, and (4) some inaccurate data in which there was confusion between the hypothetical (or subjunctive) suffix *-njima* and the present tense second person singular allomorph *-njimu*.

CHAPTER 8

CLAUSES

8.1 OVERVIEW

An independent Yanyuwa clause is a minimal complete utterance. Clauses may be constructed with or without a verb, although all clause types have potential for a verb to occur. Verb-centred clauses may be action clauses or non-action stative clauses. Action clauses may be intransitive, transitive, or reflexive. Clauses of the above types may be positive or negative, indicative or imperative (although there are restrictions on imperative occurrence for certain clause types). Questions are a subtype of indicative clauses. Clauses may also be independent or dependent.

Reference is made to frozen clauses. A frozen clause consists of a statement realised as a single word; for example, the following greetings:

<i>Marnaj-ingarna.</i>	(here.DEF-I)	I am here.
<i>Baj-irru.</i>	(there.DEF-you.PL)	You are there.

In these two locative-complexes, the pronominal suffix is the clause subject (or topic) and the demonstrative locative stem is the predicate (or comment).

These two words are acceptable complete utterances and occur as the minimal manifestation of one stative clause subtype.

Clause types are distinguished on the basis of the following criteria: (1) action or non-action expressed, (2) presence or absence of active causation, (3) presence or absence of reflexive or reciprocal action, and (4) the nature of the clause units which cross-reference to the verb or to each other.

The main grammatical features reflecting the above criteria are the presence or absence of a verb, the nature of the verb stem and the associated person markers, the presence or absence of a reflexive marker on the verb, and the specific case marking of the nominal units in the clause.

Thus Stative Clauses express no action or activity. Intransitive Clauses express action but have no component of active causation, reflexion or reciprocity. Transitive Clauses express active causation but without any associated reflexion or reciprocity. These are the three most basic types.

The fourth type, Reflexive Clauses, express action of a reflexive or reciprocal nature but do not signal active causation. These can be derived from Transitive Clauses by the deletion of the Subject as Causer and modification of the verb which manifests the Predicate (see examples 8.4 and 8.5 below). However, since the status of Reflexive Clauses seems nearer

to that of the three basic types than to clause subtypes, they are presented as a clause type, while their relationship to Transitive Clauses is recognised.

A preliminary illustration of the nuclear relationships involved in these four clause types is provided by the following examples. The two Stative Clause examples below illustrate the potential for the presence or absence of a verb in this clause type. (The semantic role of the clause-level unit is in brackets, following the unit's label.)

(1)a Simple Stative

- 8.1 *Rra-ardu rra-yabi.*
 F-child F-good
 SBJ(TOPIC) COMP(COMMENT)
 The girl is a good one.

(1)b Existential Stative

- 8.2 *Rra-ardu kand-aninya rra-yabi.*
 F-child she-P.CST F-good
 SBJ(TOPIC) PRED COMP(COMMENT)
 The girl used to be good.

Examples 8.3 and 8.4 illustrate the contrastive semantic roles of Experiencer and Causer in this description. The participant who initiates a transitive action is viewed as the Causer of that action. The participant who undergoes an action, either intransitive action (as Subject) or transitive action (as Object), is viewed as the Experiencer of that action. In these two clauses for example, the experience of the child is the same in both instances – she becomes well. In clause 8.4, the additional information is supplied that the ‘becoming well’ was caused by a further participant. The noun which represents the entity in Causer role is marked by ergative case. The noun which represents the entity in Experiencer role is marked by nominative case.

(2) Intransitive

- 8.3 *Rra-ardu kanda-yabirri.*
 F-child she-become.good
 SBJ(EXPER) PRED
 The girl improved.

(3) Transitive

- 8.4 *Rru-bardibardi-lu karr-andu-yabima rra-ardu.*
 F.NNOM-old.woman-ERG her-she-make.good F-child
 SBJ(CAUSER) PRED OBJ(EXPER)
 The old woman healed the girl.

In the above two examples, it is apparent that two derivational suffixes have been used in the construction of these two verb stems: *-rri* (intransitive marker/verbaliser) and *-ma* (transitive marker/verbaliser). These suffixes are referred to later wherever the structure of verbs being discussed is of particular importance. Otherwise verb stems are presented as units to simplify verb breakdown and glossing. (See Kirton 1978:21-29 for a detailed description of verb stems.)

(4) Reflexive

- 8.5 *Rra-ardu kan-umba-yabima.*
 F-girl she-REFL-make.good
 SBJ(EXPER) PRED

The girl improved/healed herself/became well of her own accord.

In one sense the Subject of a reflexive or reciprocal action may be perceived as being both Causer and Experiencer of the action. In Yanyuwa, the nominal which manifests the Subject is in the unmarked nominative case, not in the ergative case which marks the Causer role.

Intransitive and transitive clause subtypes are determined in response to two questions: (1) Does the verb subclass which manifests the Predicate require that a clause constituent be added to the nucleus of the clause type to make a semantically complete statement? (2) If so, which of the following three units is required: Goal (that is, an indirect object or objective of the verb action), Location, Destination (or location goal)? (Simple subtypes are semantically complete without the addition of any of these three units.)

By this analysis, what in another language is described as a di-transitive clause type (for example, 'John gave the meat to the dog'), is described in Yanyuwa as a Goal Transitive Clause – one of the subtypes of Transitive. Location Transitive and Destination Transitive subtypes similarly require an additional clause constituent beyond the nuclear Subject, Predicate and Object to make a semantically complete statement, and therefore Goal Transitive is separated from them as a distinctive type.

One additional Transitive Clause subtype is postulated to deal with certain irregular clauses. This is the Semitransitive Clause, in which the markers of active causation do not normally occur when a non-personal nominal referent manifests the Object. For certain of these clauses, markers of causation do occur when the Object is manifested by a personal nominal referent. (The term 'personal' is used to include human referents and such other referents as are included within the kinship system, for example, pet dogs.)

8.2 INDEPENDENT INDICATIVE CLAUSES

The four main types of indicative clauses are: Stative, Intransitive, Transitive, Reflexive. The Stative Clause describes a Subject or its state of being. In this clause type, there is no action or activity in process (see examples 8.1 and 8.2 above). The Intransitive and Transitive Clauses generally make reference to an activity or a process taking place. In an Intransitive Clause the process is described with reference to a Subject-as-Experiencer only. In a Transitive Clause it is described with reference to both a Subject-as-Causer and an Object-as-Experiencer.

There are also Reflexive Clauses, which are constructed around verbs (usually transitive verbs) which express either reflexive or reciprocal action. This is a more restricted clause type. There are also Semitransitive Clauses which combine certain features of both Intransitive and Transitive types. This clause type is constructed around a semitransitive subclass of verbs (see Kirton 1978:43, §2.5.2).

The initial description is of the construction of a nucleus for each clause type and an inner periphery for each clause subtype, that is, the essential units which are specific to their construction. The outer peripheral units provide additional information or explanation and are

more loosely related to the construction. They tend to co-occur with all the clause types and so are described in a following section (§8.2.3).

Equivalent peripheral units in Stative Clauses are rare. Since the relationship in this clause type appears to be a closer one, peripheral units are therefore described in relation to the clause subtypes with which they occur.

8.2.1 STATIVE CLAUSES

In Yanyuwa the Stative Clause relates one or two complementary facts to a subject or topic. This clause has four subtypes: Simple Stative, Locative-Complex Stative, Existential Stative, Full Stative (see Table 5). Examples of Full Stative Clauses are rare. The Simple Stative Clause is the most commonly occurring. Although all four clause subtypes share common functions, certain subtypes more commonly occur in certain discourse contexts, and the Locative-Complex Clause has two functions which are specific to its subtype.

The Simple Stative subtype consists of a Subject-as-Topic in juxtaposition to a Complement. These two units are common to all four subtypes. The additional unit in the Locative-Complex Stative subtype is a Locative-Complex (that is, a demonstrative locative stem with a pronominal subject suffix). The additional unit in the Existential Clause is an Existential Predicate (which is manifested by the verb 'be'). Both Locative-Complex and Existential Predicate units occur in the Full Stative Clause subtype.

The Stative Clause subtype has the widest range of variety in its Complement manifestation and it also has the widest range of occurrence. The Locative-Complex Clause has more an attention-getting function than the other subtypes and is also used in greeting. All four subtypes are used to identify or describe an entity or its location in place or time.

The Subject for all these non-action clause types is always in the nominative case. The Complement is frequently in the form of a noun phrase or adjective phrase also marked for nominative case. However there are a few instances in which the Complement is marked with non-nominative case marking. These will be described in the relevant sections.

TABLE 5: ACCEPTABLE COMPLETE MANIFESTATIONS OF YANYUWA STATIVE CLAUSES

Subtype	Constituents			
Simple stative	Subject			Complement
Locative-complex	Subject	Locative-Complex		Complement
Existential	Subject	Existential Predicate		Complement
Full stative	Subject	Locative-complex	Existential predicate	Complement

8.2.1.1 SIMPLE STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

The Simple Stative Clause consists of a Subject in the role of Topic, and of a Complement. This Complement describes the Subject or its setting in some way. The usual order is for the Subject to precede the Complement. However, if the Complement is in focus, it may be fronted to precede the Subject.

The Subject may be manifested by a noun, noun phrase, personal or demonstrative pronoun, or an allative specifier (constructed from the stem *rrku* 'other').

The Complement may be manifested by a noun or noun phrase, an adjective or adjective phrase, a possessive pronoun, a locative or locative phrase, a temporal, an adverb, an embedded Stative Clause, or a Dependent Clause constructed from a participle marked by the dative case-marker *-wu* or marked by the ergative-allative case-marker *-lu* to construct a purposive form.

The Stative Clause subtype may be used to identify an entity by its name, by relationship to a known person or location, by description of its characteristics or functions, by location in time or space, or in relation to a purpose it fulfils.

Note: The symbol / is used in the following examples to indicate the boundary of units within a clause-level construction. The clause constituent order is normally Subject followed by Predicate. Clauses which follow this pattern are not given constituent labels below. However, where the order is reversed or if there are more than two constituents, labels are given.

A Simple Stative Clause may identify the Subject by name:

- 8.6 *Nya-mangaji / bandawi.*
 MSC-that.DEF bandawi
 That (method of hunting kangaroo) is *bandawi*.
- 8.7 *Jina jina walya / jardiwangarni.*
 this.INDEF this.INDEF dugong flat.backed.turtle
 This particular dugong is the *jardiwangarni*.
- 8.8 *Nya-mbangu julaki / balubalu.*
 MSC-that.INDEF bird pelican
 That bird is a pelican.
- 8.9 M *Na-wini awara / Windikarri.*
 its-name place Windikarri
 The name of the place is Windikarri.
- 8.10 *Rra-mangaji rra-rrku / nanda-wini Wanda.*
 F-that.DEF F-other her-name Wanda
 That other one was named Wanda.

When an entity is identified by name, the Simple Stative Clause construction may be extended to define what language is being used. The added peripheral unit consists of the language name marked for ablative case. It has an Instrument or Means type of function:

- 8.11 M *Wurnumala / na-wini / ki-arrawa-ngka.*
 Wurnumala his-name MSC.NNOM-Garawa-ABL
 PRED SBJ INSTR
 His name in Garawa is Wurnumala.
- 8.12 M *Alík / na-wini / ki-wajbala-ngka.*
 Alec his-name MSC.NNOM-white.man-ABL
 PRED SBJ INSTR
 His name in English is Alec.

Where a name is given in a transitive clause, the language reference has a different form. The suffix *-ngala* 'in a...manner' changes the language name noun to an adverb, and this then modifies the specific verb which is used, as in *arawa-ngala* 'in Garawa' and *yanyuwa-ngala* 'in Yanyuwa' (see examples 8.289 and 8.290). This form marked by *-ngala* may occur in a Stative Clause Complement too, but it is the noun marked by ablative case which occurs more frequently here.

A Simple Stative Clause may identify the Subject by kinship relationship to another known entity:

- 8.13 M *Nya-mangaji malbu / ny-inki-baba.*
M-that.DEF old.man M-your.SG-older.sibling
That old man is your elder brother.
- 8.14 M *Nya-mangaji / ny-iki-nganji ki-arlku-wu.*
MSC-that.DEF MSC-its-kin MSC.NNOM-fish-DAT
That (seabird) is a kinsman of the fish (that is, is a fellow sea-creature).
- 8.15 *Li-kanyarda arrkula / l-iki-li-nganji.*
PL-two one PL-his-PL-kinsman
The three (of them) are his relations.

A Simple Stative Clause may identify the Subject by its place of residence or origin:

- 8.16 M *Ja-baba / jibiya Manankura.*
my-older.sibling resident Manangoora
My older brother is a Manangoora (cattle-station) man.
- 8.17 M *Ngarna / jibiya Burrulula.*
I resident Borrooloola
I'm a Borrooloola person/resident.
- 8.18 M *Rra-kama-ardima / nakaringu Burrulula.*
F-my-sister's.child from Borrooloola
My niece is from Borrooloola.
- 8.19 *Nakaringu Burrulula / jinangu walaba.*
from Borrooloola this.DEF corroboree
This corroboree dance is from Borrooloola.
- 8.20 *Nya-mangaji wudurr / munji-munji-ngu.*
MSC-that.DEF food bush-bush-NMSR
That food is/was bush food (or from a bush source).
- 8.21 *Nya-mangaji alhibi / kari-nguthunda-ngu.*
MSC-that.DEF salt.water from-north-NMSR
That salt water is from a northern source.

Examples 8.20 and 8.21 illustrate the use of nominalised forms in the Complement of a Simple Stative Clause. This is the environment in which they normally occur.

A Simple Stative Clause may provide a description of the Subject:

- 8.22 F *Nya-mangaji / nya-ja-warndima.*
M-that.DEF M-ja-lie/deceive
That (man) is a liar/deceiver.

- 8.23 F *Ngarna / rra-manji.*
I F-ignorant/unknowing
I don't know.
- 8.24 F *Nya-ja / nya-ngirringirri.*
M-this M-constantly.moving
This (small boy) is constantly moving around.
- 8.25 *Nya-mbangu arlku / walkurra bijal.*
MSC-that.INDEF fish big quite
That fish is quite big.
- 8.26 *Nya-rrku / burnalkarra-milimili.*
MSC-other white-chest
The other (cat) has a white breast.
- 8.27 *Lhuwa nya-mbangu / tha-ntha-mara.*
snake MSC-that.INDEF bite-PT-NMSR
That snake is a biting one.
- 8.28 *Arlku mawunku / yin-ku wudurru.*
fish raw you.SG-DAT food
PRED SBJ
Your food is raw fish (spoken in scathing terms).
- 8.29 *Rra-rimi / rra-mbangu wajanga-ntha-wu.*
F-paddle F-that.INDEF paddle-PT-DAT
The *rra-rimi* is the thing for paddling (canoes).
- 8.30 F *Alhi / yabima-ntha-wu ma-ngarduku marda*
it make-PT-DAT FD-heavy.rope and
mindima-ntha-wu a-muwarda.
mend-PT-DAT FEM-canoe
It is to make heavy rope and also to mend canoes (in reference to a stringy-bark fibre).
- 8.31 *Ma-yatha / ma-mangaji wumba kalu-tharrama-nji.*
FD-tree.kind FD-that.DEF which it.they.again-cut-PRES
The *ma-yatha* tree is that one which they always cut.

A Simple Stative Clause may describe the location of an entity in space or time:

- 8.32 *Nguthundu marni / Dulijarrba.*
north here.INDEF Dulijarrba
(The place) here in the north is Dulijarrba.
- 8.33 *A-kari-mba / Rrumandanga.*
west-DEF-side Rrumandanga
(The place) on the west side is Rrumandanga.
- 8.34 *Kuwulana / nguthunda-nga Munukanyina.*
Kuwulana north-REL.DIR Munukanyina
Kuwulana is north of Munukanyina.

- 8.35 *Ngarna / ankangu juju.*
I above distant
I am high above.
- 8.36 *Nguralngural / yinda-a marnda-a.*
prickle you.SG-ABL foot-ABL
(There's a) prickle in your foot.
- 8.37 *Jina walaba / wabarrangu.*
this.INDEF corroboree in.past
This corroboree dance is an olden-time one.

A Simple Stative Clause may describe the state of the Subject (although this function is more often associated with the Existential Stative subtype):

- 8.38 *Alu / lhungku.*
they alive
They are alive/living.
- 8.39 *Marlambi nanda-marliji / rra-ardu.*
outstretched her-hand F-child
PRED SBJ
The girl has her hands outstretched.

The Complement of example 8.39 is an embedded Simple Stative Clause:

- 8.40 *Marlambi / nanda-marliji.*
outstretched her-hand
PRED SBJ
Her hands are outstretched.

Simple Stative Clauses may also be used to define the function of an entity in terms of purpose. Such clauses are rare:

- 8.41 *Wurumul / rduma-ntha-lu arlku.*
bait get-PT-PURP fish
Bait is to catch fish.
- 8.42 *Ny-iku-ngu yilirri / arlkarlba-ntha-lu nganu-milimili*
MSC-his-DEF blood wash-PT-PURP our.EXCL-chest
arndaarnda nuwarnu-wardi-yu.
inside ABST.DAT-bad-DAT
His blood is to cleanse our hearts of badness (lit. to wash our chests inside of badness).
- 8.43 *Ngali / rduma-ntha-lu li-jakarda yilarr.*
we.DU.EXCL get-PT-PURP PL-many policeman
(It is for) you and me to get many policemen.

The meaning of example 8.43 is close to that of a hortatory clause. The use of a Stative Clause gives focus to *ngali*, to the responsibility especially lying with the speaker and his hearer.

8.2.1.2 LOCATIVE-COMPLEX STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

The Locative-Complex Stative Clause, in its full independent form, consists of a Simple Stative Clause construction with the addition of a Locative-Complex unit manifested by a locative-complex. However, in certain contexts the Subject and/or the Complement may be deleted.

When the Locative-Complex Stative Clause is used as a greeting, either a first or second person pronominal suffix is used in the locative-complex construction. The normal manifestation of a Locative-Complex Stative Clause in this situational context is a Locative-Complex unit alone. When the Locative-Complex Stative Clause is used within a discourse, the Subject and/or Complement may be deleted when the information is already established.

The locative-complex is a locative demonstrative marked by a pronominal suffix. (See Chapter 6 for a full description.) Locative-complex units, constructed from the definite and indefinite proximal and distal locative demonstratives, are illustrated below:

- 8.44 *Marnaj-ingarna.*
 here.DEF-I
 I'm here.
- 8.45 *Marn-iwa.*
 here.INDEF-he
 He's here.
- 8.46 *Baj-awula.*
 there.DEF-they.DU
 They're there.
- 8.47 *Narnb-anda.*
 there.INDEF-she
 She's there.

The Complement may be manifested by a locative or a locative phrase, a noun marked for ablative case, an adverb or a manner phrase, a temporal, a present participle or a negative participle, an adjective, a noun or a simple noun phrase. In rare instances, the Complement may be in the form of a pronoun, noun or noun phrase marked by dative case to indicative benefaction, or marked by allative case to indicate 'to' another entity.

A Locative-Complex Stative Clause may be used in greetings and in simple statements to direct attention to someone or to some fact related to them. These clauses are also used to give focus to a unit within a clause or within a discourse.

Locative-Complex Stative Clauses, marked for first or second persons, are used to initiate conversation between speakers:

- | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>Marnaj-inganu</i> | (here.DEF-we.EXCL) | We're here. |
| <i>Baj-irru</i> | (there.DEF-you.PL) | You're there. |

The Locative-Complex Stative Clause may be used as a simple statement to draw attention to an entity within view. No Complement unit occurs in such a clause:

- 8.48 *Baj-anda* / *rra-muwarda*.
 there.DEF-she F-canoe
 LOC.CX SBJ
 There's the canoe.
- 8.49 M *Baj-iwa* / *jayngka*.
 there.DEF-he rock
 LOC.CX SBJ
 There's the rock.
- 8.50 M *Baj-iwa* / *ngatha wakuku*.
 there.DEF-he my dog
 LOC.CX SBJ
 There's my dog.

The Locative-Complex Stative Clause may be used to define a location. In example 8.53 below, the Complement preceding the Predicate gives a general location and the Complement following the Predicate gives the specific location:

- 8.51 *Baj-anda* / *nguthunda-kari*.
 there.DEF-she north-DEF
 LOC.CX COMP
 She's there at the northern place.
- 8.52 *Namb-alu* / *ngurbun-da*.
 there.INDEF-they scrub-ABL
 LOC.CX COMP
 They're there in the scrub.
- 8.53 *Ngamala* / *baj-iwa* / *Alijanduriya*.
 south there.DEF-he Alexandria
 COMP LOC.CX COMP
 He's there in the south at Alexandria (cattle station).

The next examples include the Subject as well as a Complement expressing location:

- 8.54 M *Baj-alu* / *akarra-kari* / *li-kama-wuthayi*.
 there.DEF-they east-DEF PL-my-sister's.grandchild
 LOC.CX COMP SBJ
 There in the east are my sister's daughter's children.
- 8.55 M *Marn-iwa* / *ngawu* / *ankangu*.
 here.INDEF-it cloud above
 LOC.CX SBJ COMP
 (There are) clouds here above.

The Locative-Complex Stative Clause Complement may be manifested by a participle to describe the Subject:

- 8.56 M *Baj-iwa* / *wumda* / *alarri-nja-rra*.
 there.DEF-it tree stand-PT-PRES
 LOC.CX SBJ COMP
 (There is) a tree standing there.

- 8.57 *Baj-alu* / *wayka* / *arlkarlba-ntha-rra*.
 there.DEF-they down wash-PT-PRES
 LOC.CX COMP COMP
 They are down there washing.

Locative-Complex Stative Clause Complements may also be manifested by adjectives, adverbs or phrases to describe the Subject:

- 8.58 M *Na-miji* / *baj-iwa* / *babalu*.
 it-many there.DEF-it buffalo
 COMP LOC.CX SBJ
 (There are) many buffaloes there.
- 8.59 M *Marnaj-ingarna* / *lhungku*.
 here.DEF-I alive
 LOC.CX COMP
 I'm here alive.
- 8.60 *Baj-alu* / *a-ya*.
 there.DEF-they west-wards
 LOC.CX COMP
 They are there (going) westwards.
- 8.61 *Baj-iwa* / *wabarrangu*.
 there.DEF-he in.past
 LOC.CX COMP
 He was there in the past.
- 8.62 M *Na-wurdu* / *baj-iwa* / *walkurra wabuda*.
 its-belly there.DEF-it big water
 COMP LOC.CX SBJ
 The river is well filled with water (lit. there is plenty of water in its (the riverbed's) belly).
- 8.63 M *Nya-rrku* / *baj-iwa* / *kinybutha*.
 MSC-other there.DEF-it flying.fox
 COMP LOC.CX SBJ
 (There is) another kind of flying fox there.
- 8.64 *Nyala yurrngumantha* / *baj-iwa*.
 still continually there.DEF-he
 COMP LOC.CX
 He is still there.
- 8.65 *Nyala mamarrin-ja-rra* / *baj-and* / *ngamala*.
 still be.away-PT-PRES there.DEF-she south
 COMP LOC.CX COMP
 She is still staying away there in the south.
- 8.66 M *Nyala wurdu-la* / *baj-iwa* *wayka*.
 still belly-ABL there.DEF-it down
 COMP LOC.CX COMP
 (The water) is still in the river course (lit.belly) down there (that is, it has not flooded the banks).

There is one example of a Locative-Complex Stative Clause in which the Complement comprises a Destination unit manifested by a noun phrase with allative marking, and one in which the Complement is a Purpose phrase:

- 8.67 *Baj-inda* / *yila-lu* *kardirdi-lu*.
 there.DEF-you.SG him-ALL uncle-ALL
 LOC.CX COMP
 There you are (on your way) to (your) uncle.
- 8.68 *Namb-alu* / *nyala* *lhurrama-ntha-lu*.
 there.INDEF-they to dance-PT-PURP
 LOC.CX COMP
 They are there intending still to dance.

Locative-Complex Stative Clauses occur as a specialised kind of Stative Clause and they frequently have an attention-catching or focus-giving function.

A Locative-Complex Stative Clause may be used in a dramatic interjection by the narrator:

- 8.69 M *Kulu ka-lhakanba-la* - *baj-iwa* *kar-anka'*
 and he-come.down-FUT there.DEF-he from-up
 And he will come down – there he is (coming down) from up there!

In a similar way, Locative-Complex Stative Clauses may be used in direct speech, suddenly interjected into a series of actions at a dramatic part of a Narrative Discourse.

- 8.70 *Kalu-wingka-...i* - "*Nganth-anda?* *Nganth-anda?*" "*Baj-anda.*"
 they-go-on.and.on where-she where-she there.DEF-she

Kalu-wingka-...i - "*Marnaj-anda-...i!*" "*Rr-irra-ka-rra!*"
 they.PL-go-on.and.on here.DEF-she-on.and.on her-you.PL-see-IMP

 "*Ayi!*" "*Marnaj-anda*"
 ohhh here.DEF-she
 They continued on and on – "Where is she? Where is she?" "She's there."
 They went on and on – "Here she is – good heavens!" "Look at her!"
 "Ohhh!" "Here she is!"

These Locative-Complex Stative Clauses in example 8.70, as direct speech interjected into the sequence of narrative actions, contribute to the building of tension in the narrative and to conveying the shocked reaction of the participants who accompany a teenage girl and find her murdered mother.

A Locative-Complex Stative Clause may also occur as a sentence topic, or be embedded within a clause to give focus to the unit it occurs with:

- 8.71 *Baj-alu* *barra akarra-kari*, *jalu-yukuma-nji an-ku*.
 there.DEF-they now east-DEF they-wait-PRES she-DAT
 There in the east they're waiting for her.
- 8.72 *Rra-nhanawa mili*, *kanda-yirdardi ngulakari*, *ruthu* *li-yumbuwarra*,
 F-woman more she-grow later separate PL-adolescent

rra-wurriri baj-anda kanumba-mirra wiji.

F-large there.DEF-she she.REFL-die completely

The women also, they grew up after that, the young ones are a separate group, the senior (traditional) women have all of them died.

8.2.1.3 THE STATIVE CLAUSE PREDICATE CONSTITUENT

The remaining two Stative Clause subtypes, the Existential Stative and the Full Stative Clauses, have a Predicate constituent. The Stative Predicate is manifested by an existential verb.

There are three verb stems which are used in the role of existential verb 'be': \emptyset , *arri*, *anma*. The first two of the three stems are functionally equivalent to the English verb 'be'. The third stem *anma* is an intransitive verb stem with the meaning 'stay, camp, remain', but it also serves to fulfil the remaining functions of the existential verb in the contexts where the other two stems do not occur.

Each of these three stems has its specific area of function. The stem \emptyset co-occurs with past customary and future customary suffixes, present tense, intensitive and negative present/hypothetical moods. (The presence or absence of the negative adverb *kurdardi* 'not' indicates whether the negative or hypothetical mood is intended.) Forms of the existential verb having this zero stem therefore occur as a person prefix and a tense-mood suffix. The examples below are given with the third person plural subject: *kal-aninya* 'they used to be', *kal-anima* 'they used not to be', *jal-ini* 'they are', *kal-ama* 'they intend to be', *kal-ima* 'they are not/they might be' and *kal-anama* 'they will always be'. The variant form of the present tense for second person singular is *jimu* 'you are'.

The present tense form is the only one which differs significantly from the equivalent present tense suffix used with other verbs. The present tense morpheme for 'be' is *ini*. The present tense verb suffix is *-nji* or its allomorph *-yi*. The existential form *ini* is, however, similar in form to the noun stem *wini* 'name' which is obligatorily marked by a possessive prefix (see examples 8.9–8.12, 8.287 and 8.288, and 8.291).

This similarity may not be accidental, but may signal the close association which the Yanyuwa recognise between an entity's 'name' and its 'being'. (This is seen in such customs as (1) assigning someone a name which is associated with their 'spirit country', and (2) ceasing, for a time, to use the name of someone who has died.)

The second existential verb stem is *arri*. This stem co-occurs with the non-customary past tenses; that is, general past, focal past, and past negative/dubitative (these latter being distinguished also by the presence or absence of the negative adverb): for example, *kalu-arri* 'they were', *kalu-arri-nya* 'they were (used at a focal discourse-level point)' and *kalu-arri-nma* 'they were not/they might be'.

The variant form of the past tense for second person singular is: *ka-arri-nyu* 'you were'. (The general past tense is normally indicated by a zero suffix.)

It may sometimes happen that the stem *arri* takes tense-aspect suffixes which normally only occur on the other two existential verb stems. There is one example of *arri* with a past customary suffix in the initial statement of a brief discourse. In this sentence there is a strong emphasis on the fact that the event was at a much earlier time and it may be that this use of *arri* rather than \emptyset is associated with focus:

- 8.73 *Karna-arri-njaninya wabarrangu* *ngal-ingarna ngarna-yalkuyi*
 I-be-P.CST in.past when-I I-young.adult
wabarrangu wabarrangu.
 in.past in.past
 I used to be (there) in the past when I was a young man long, long ago.

Further instances of this unusual behaviour may occur when *arri* is used within a Quote Formula (introducing direct speech). In this specialised usage, *arri* may additionally co-occur with both past customary and present tense suffixes (see examples 8.622 and 8.625). (In the speech context, the direct speech Quote occurs as the Complement constituent of the construction.)

The intransitive stem *anma* ‘stay, camp, remain’ is used in place of an existential stem for the non-customary future forms, in participle construction, and when an imperative form is required.

8.2.1.4 EXISTENTIAL STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

The Existential Stative Clause is a more developed form of the Simple Stative Clause. The Subject constituent for both clause subtypes is of the same kind, but because the subject is marked as a pronominal prefix on the existential verb, the Subject unit may be absent from the Existential Stative Clause if it has already been defined in the context. The Existential Stative Clause Complement is of the same kind as that of the Simple Stative Clause. Two Complements may occur. The Existential Predicate is manifested by an existential verb.

The writer responded to two statements about the Hebrew verb ‘be’ as having relevance to the Yanyuwa verb in its various forms: “This verb goes beyond ‘to exist’; it means rather ‘to be actively present’” (Motyer 1973:157); and “...the Hebrew verb ‘to be’ has the sense of ‘to be present (and active)’: it is dynamic, not static” (Cole 1973:21).

The Yanyuwa stems \emptyset , *arri* ‘be’ also include a sense of ‘be actively present’ or ‘be present (with potential for action)’ in their meaning. This seems to be a significant additional component in Stative Clause subtypes which include a Predicate.

The Existential Clause is unlike the other verbal clause types in that its Predicate cannot stand alone as a minimal clause. A Complement is essential to the construction: if there is just a Predicate alone then the clause is semantically incomplete. This is true whether or not the form of the existential verb stem is \emptyset , because an adequate meaning cannot be assigned to the existential verb when a Complement is lacking.

The Complement unit is of the same kind as that for the other Stative Clause subtypes. It is noted, however, that an Existential Stative Clause Complement is more frequently manifested by an adverb or an adverb phrase. These adverbs or adverb phrases commonly express meanings which may also be associated with verbs.

Adverbs of this kind include: *mingkiya* ‘sitting/seated’, *waki/jabu* ‘working’, *walkurr* ‘asleep’, *walkurrwalkurr* ‘lying down’, *wambu* ‘remaining, stopping’, *warringku* ‘thirsty’, *wudurru* ‘satisfied’, *manji* ‘ignorant’, *mirdan* ‘knowing’ and *wirndayku* ‘hungry’. (The last three stems may occur as either adverbs or adjectives.) Although adverbs of this kind are sometimes found in a Stative or Locative-Complex Clause Complement, they typically occur in an Existential Clause.

An Existential Stative Clause may be used as a simple sentence to make a comment in general conversation. In a discourse context, Existential Stative Clauses are primarily used in introductory or concluding sections. They may be used to introduce participants or provide a setting. They may conclude a discourse section or an entire discourse. When the Complement is manifested by an adverb or adverb phrase expressing an activity-related meaning, an Existential Stative Clause may also co-occur with action clauses within a Narrative Paragraph.

In everyday conversation, Existential Stative Clauses are used to make comments about people in the area. When these people are in view, the Subject constituent is optional. The subject-marker on the verb is a sufficient referent.

- 8.74 *Lhurra-ngka / jal-ini / li-ardu-birri.*
 play-ABL they-PRES PL-child-DIM.PL
 COMP PRED SBJ
 The children are playing.
- 8.75 F *Jand-ini / lhurra-ngka / ji-wararr-a.*
 she-PRES play-ABL MSC.NNOM-mud-ABL
 PRED COMP COMP
 She is playing in the mud.
- 8.76 *Jiw-ini / jabu-ngka.*
 he-PRES job-ABL
 PRED COMP
 He is working.
- 8.77 *Jand-ini / mingkiya anda-lumba.*
 she-PRES sitting she-by.self
 PRED COMP
 She is sitting by herself.
- 8.78 *Jand-ini / walkurr walurrungku.*
 she-PRES asleep prone
 PRED COMP
 She is sleeping on her stomach.
- 8.79 *Lhaba / kurr-ima.*
 quiet you.PL-HYP
 COMP PRED
 You (children) should be quiet.
- 8.80 *Kal-ama / waykal-iya.*
 they-INTEN down-wards
 PRED COMP
 They intend to go down/downriver.
- 8.81 *Jan-ini / mukunjarna-wu.*
 we.EXCL-PRES dinner-DAT
 PRED COMP
 We are (here) for dinner.

Examples 8.81 and 8.89 illustrate a Complement filler marked for dative case. Such occurrences are rare.

Existential Stative Clauses may be used in identification or description:

- 8.82 M *Wajbala na-wini / kiw-aninya / Kuliba.*
whiteman his-name he-P.CST Cliff
SBJ PRED COMP
The white man's name was Cliff.
- 8.83 M *Nya-mbangu yumbu julaki / wirriyuruyuru / jiw-ini.*
MSC-that.INDEF small bird grass.wren it-PRES
SBJ COMP PRED
That small bird is a *wirriyuruyuru*.
- 8.84 *Rra-burnalkarra / nanda-wunhan / kanda-arri.*
F-white her-breast she-be
COMP SBJ PRED
Her breasts were white (painted with white ochre).

Although there is no grammatical passive construction in Yanyuwa, a comparable meaning is expressed where the past participle of a transitive verb is used as the Complement in an Existential Stative Clause:

- 8.85 *Kal-aninya / rdirrirra-ntha.*
they-P.CST tie-PT
PRED COMP
They used to be tied up.
- 8.86 F *Kilh-aninya / nuwa-ntha / wayka.*
it-P.CST cook(underground)-PT down
PRED COMP COMP
(The kangaroo) used to cook (in an underground oven) down there.

An Existential Stative Clause may be used as the opening sentence of discourse:

- 8.87 M *Wandangula / ja-murimuri / kawula-arri.*
Wandangula my-paternal.grandfather they.DU-be
COMP SBJ PRED
My 'grandfathers' were at Wandangula (Police Lagoon).
- 8.88 M *Wabarrangu / mirningiya na-wini Anduru / ka-arri / Burrulula.*
in.past man his-name Andrew he-be Borroloola
COMP SBJ PRED COMP
In the past a man named Andrew was at Borroloola.
- 8.89 *Rra-mangaji rra-Kunabibi / jand-ini / liyi-wulu-wu.*
F-that.DEF F-Kunapipi she-PRES PL.DAT-men-DAT
SBJ PRED COMP
The Kunapipi (ceremony) is for men.

Existential Stative Clauses may also be used in one or both bases of a more complex opening sentence of a discourse. In example 8.90, two Existential Clauses form the balancing statements in a Temporal Sentence linked by the relator *ngal* 'when, while':

- 8.90 M *Akarra-kari / kama-arri / waki / wabarrangu ngal-iwa*
east-DEF I-be working in.past when-he
COMP PRED COMP COMP REL

nya-rrku ngatha / ka-arri / yuwundu / marnaji.
 M-other for.me he-was sick here.DEF
 SBJ PRED COMP COMP

I was working at an eastern place before when my other boy was sick here.

The clause in the first base of sentence 8.90 has been analysed as having three Complement constituents. (It is unusual to have more than two.) Alternatively it may be analysed as having a peripheral Time constituent *wabarrangu* 'in the past, before'. It is noted however that in example 8.88 above, *wabarrangu* was analysed as a Complement. The location-in-time constituent Time and the location-in-space constituent Location may both function in the outer periphery of an Action Clause. However, they generally have a Complement function in the Non-action clauses. For this reason the Complement analysis has been favoured over the Time one.

In the introduction to a Narrative Discourse, the crash-landing of a plane is described first. This is followed by the introduction to the survivors in terms of the two groups they divide into, one pair to travel east and the others, west. This participant introduction is accomplished by the use of two Simple Stative Clauses linked by the conjunction *baki* 'and', followed by a summary statement in an Existential Stative Clause:

8.91 *Rri-kanyarda yamulu lhungku baki li-jakarda yamulu,*
 DU-two all.right alive and PL-many all.right

kalu-arri / lhungku wiji.
 they-be alive all.inclusively
 PRED COMP

Two were all right, alive, and the group were all right, they were all of them (still) alive.

The next example illustrates the use of an Existential Stative Clause in a sentence in the setting of a Procedural Discourse. In the *bandawi* method of hunting kangaroo, the women have the role of frightening the animals out of the scrub towards the men who are waiting ready with spears. After a clause referring to the women's activity, the men's situation is described in the two succeeding clauses – the first an Existential Stative Clause and the second an Intransitive Clause:

8.92 F *Kalu-wingka-yaninya li-nhanawa arindawa ngurrbun-ngurrbun*
 they-go-P.CST PL-woman below scrub-scrub

ngal-alu li-wulu / kalu-arri-njaninya / anka-wa wumburr-a
 when-they PL-men they-be-P.CST up-side flat-ABL
 SBJ PRED COMP

nguthund-iya, kalu-alalarri-njaninya nalu-yirdi
 north-wards they-stand.stand-P.CST they-bearing

ji-mawurraji-nku.

MSC.NNOM-spear-DAT

The women used to walk down in the scrub while the men used to be up on the flat area to the north, they used to stand there bearing spears.

Example 8.93 is the sentence which follows 8.92 in the same paragraph. It refers to the contrastive activity of the women again in the process of defining *bandawi*. The Existential Clause is the nuclear clause of the sentence:

- 8.93 *Ngala li-nhanawa armindawa, bandawi / kal-aninya /*
 but PL-woman below *bandawi* they-P.CST
 COMP PRED

alu-nga, arrkana-ntha-wu wunala.
 them-DAT spear-PT-DAT kangaroo
 COMP

But the women (were) below, they used to be *bandawi* for them, to spear kangaroos.

Existential Stative Clauses, especially those which have as Complement the adverb *walkurr* 'sleep', may occur to terminate a series of action clauses in a Narrative Paragraph:

- 8.94 *Kanu-lhuwarri rikarrarikarra, wumbiji / kanu-arri /*
 we.EXCL-depart tomorrow in centre we.EXCL-be
 COMP PRED

walkurr Mili baj-ingu / kanu-lhuwarri...
 asleep more there.DEF-from we.EXCL-depart
 COMP

We left next day, part way (further on) we slept. And from there we departed...

- 8.95 *Yalibala kanu-wingka a-ya, Yarram akarra-kari /*
 early we.EXCL-go west-wards Yarram east-DEF
 COMP

kanu-arri / walkurr.
 we.EXCL-be asleep
 PRED COMP

Early in the morning we went westwards, at Yarram in the east we slept.

An Existential Clause may be used in making a final comment on a section of a Narrative Discourse or in the Discourse Conclusion. In one Narrative Discourse, there are five sections covering the main action of the story. The final sentences in two of these sections have an Existential Clause in at least one base.

One section tells of a daughter reporting back to the people in camp that her mother has been killed and her father is missing. The section concludes:

- 8.96 *Ngala li-manji / wambu baji / kalu-arri, kurdardi*
 but PL-ignorant remaining there.DEF they-be not
 COMP COMP PRED

karr-alu-yalbanga-nma.
 her-they-ask-P.NEG

But they remained there ignorant, they didn't ask her (for any more information).

Example 8.97 occurs as the final comment in the next section of the same Narrative Discourse:

- 8.97 M *Ngala-alu li-manji / kalu-arri / ki-malbu-wu*
 when-they PL-ignorant they-be M.NNOM-old.man-DAT
 COMP... PRED ...COMP

ngal-iwa nyala wabuda-la wayka / ka-arri, kurdardi
 then-he still water-ABL down he-be not
 COMP PRED

kala-nga-nma.

him.they-see-P.NEG

While they were still ignorant of the (fate of) the old man, he was still down in the water, they didn't see him.

The discourse concludes with the following sentence:

8.98 M *Arndaarnda / ka-arri / baji, kumba-mirra*
 inside he-be there.DEF he.RFL-die
 COMP PRED COMP

baji-ngulaji angula.
 there.DEF-very.same west

He was in jail (lit. inside) there, he died in that very same place.

The Narrative section of a complex Narrative-Expository Discourse concludes with this sentence, built around an Existential Clause:

8.99 M *Kurdan barra, kurdan / ka-arri, kurdandu kurdan.*
 very.sick now very.sick he-was intensely very.sick
 COMP PRED

Very ill (he was), he was very sick, very seriously ill.

In example 8.99, the adverb *kurdan* 'very ill, dead', occurs as a sentence introducer followed by the immediacy particle *barra* to give emphasis; it occurs as the Complement of the main clause, and again with a modifier as sentence tag.

In an Expository Discourse which gives teaching on the necessity for the women and children to keep away from the site of a sacred ceremony, the concluding statement is based on an Existential Stative Clause:

8.100 M *Nya-mangaji malbu walkurra-wala, jiw-ini / rama-ntha-mara.*
 M-that.DEF old.man big-MAGN he-PRES kill-PT-NMSR
 PRED COMP

That old man is powerful, he is a killer.

8.2.1.5 FULL STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

The Full Stative Clause subtype consists of all four potential Stative Clause constituents: Subject, Predicate, Locative-Complex, Complement. The Subject and/or the Complement may be deleted if the information is available from the context. Full Stative clauses are very rare. The following three examples illustrate this subtype:

8.101 *Baj-iwa / ngamala-kari / jiw-ini.*
 there.DEF-he south-DEF he-PRES
 LOC.CX COMP PRED

He is there at that place in the south.

- 8.102 *Mijinari* / *marn-iwa* / *jiw-ini*.
 missionary here.INDEF-he he-PRES
 SBJ LOC.CX PRED
 The missionary is here./There are missionaries here.
- 8.103 *Li-manji* / *marnaj-inganu* / *jan-ini*.
 PL-ignorant here.DEF-we.EXCL we.EXCL-PRES
 COMP LOC.CX PRED
 Here we are, ignorant.

8.2.2 ACTION CLAUSES

Action Clauses may be intransitive, transitive, or reflexive. These clause types all have a Predicate which is normally manifested by an action verb; that is, a verb which has a meaning associated with an action, activity or process.

Yanyuwa Action Clauses are described in terms of three layers of construction. The inner layer, or *Clause Nucleus*, consists of the essential units which must occur. The nucleus of an Intransitive Clause, for example, consists of a Subject and a Predicate. The nucleus of a Transitive Clause consists of a Subject, Predicate and Object.

The second layer, or *Clause Base*, consists of a Clause Nucleus, to which may be added one of the three inner periphery units: Goal, Location and Destination (see Table 6).

Each of these inner periphery units co-occurs with a specific subclass of verbs and is almost obligatory in this occurrence. (If the meaning may be obtained from the context, the inner periphery constituent may be omitted.)

Clause Bases which take a Destination constituent (expressing 'to' a destination) may additionally or alternatively take a Source Location constituent (expressing the originating location of the action), but this occurs more rarely than Destination. A Simple Clause is one in which the Predicate manifests a simple verb – a verb which does not require any inner periphery constituent.

The third layer consists of a Clause Base with optional inner periphery units together with optional outer periphery units which include Time, Location, Accompaniment, Instrument (or Means), and Pertinent, a loosely related constituent marked by a dative case marker.

Adverbs of manner may either be considered to manifest an outer periphery Manner constituent or to be associated with the verb in a verb phrase. Since discontinuous clause constituents occur quite frequently, the fact that the adverb does not always occur adjacent to the verb is not a deciding factor. Since a choice must be made, the writer has elected to include the adverb as part of a verb phrase within the Predicate.

TABLE 6: CLAUSE BASE CONSTITUENTS IN YANYUWA ACTION CLAUSE SUBTYPES

Clause Nucleus	Additional Constituent	Case marking of nouns which manifest the Constituent	Resultant Clause Subtype
Intransitive	—	—	Simple Intransitive
Transitive	—	—	Simple Transitive
Intransitive	Goal	dative	Goal Intransitive
Transitive		(associated meaning: 'to, for')	Goal Transitive (Di-transitive)
Intransitive	Location	ablative	Location Intransitive
Transitive		(associated meaning: 'at a location')	Location Transitive
Intransitive	Destination ± Source Location*	allative	Destination Intransitive
Transitive		(associated meaning: 'to a location/person')	Destination Transitive

* A locative or locative phrase with a meaning of 'from a location' manifests the Source Location.

8.2.2.1 THE CLAUSE NUCLEUS

8.2.2.1.1 SUBJECT AND OBJECT CONSTITUENTS

In action clauses (and also existential clauses), the Subject unit within the clause is obligatory if it is not already known from the context. Once the subject is clearly identified, the reference may be maintained by the pronominal prefix, which marks the verb in the Predicate. This is also true for the Object of transitive actions.

A brief study was made of the composition of just under 4,000 clauses from discourse material. These included: 417 Existential, 1,368 Intransitive and 2,108 Transitive/Reflexive. From all these clauses, 1,407 manifested a Subject unit within the clause, that is approximately 35%. The remainder of the clauses made reference to the subject by means of the verb pronominal prefix only.

For the clauses in which a Subject constituent occurs, there is freedom for the Subject to precede or follow the Predicate but there is a preference for it to precede. In the 1,407 clauses which manifested a Subject, that unit preceded the Predicate in 844 examples (60%) and followed it in 563 (40%).

In the 2,108 Transitive Clauses, 945 manifested an Object within the clause, that is, approximately 45%. In the remainder, the object marker on the verb maintained a continuity

of reference. For those 945 clauses, the Object preceded the Predicate in 341 (36%) and followed it in 604 (64%). This demonstrates flexibility in the position of occurrence, as also for the Subject, but shows that there is a preference for the Object to follow the Predicate.

In discourse material, it is rare to find a Transitive Clause in which both Subject and Object occur as independent constituents. A quick survey was made of clauses based on nine of the commonest transitive verbs: *nga* 'see', *ka* 'carry', *arrkana* 'spear, pierce', *rama* 'hit, kill', *rduma* 'get', *wanga/wangka* 'shoot, fire at', *ina* 'tell', *yabima* 'make, make well' and *yibarra* 'put'.

There were about 700 clauses in which these verbs occurred. Of these clauses, there were only ten in which both Subject (S) and Object (O) co-occurred with the Predicate (P). In six examples the order was SPO, in two examples OPS, and there was one example each of the orders POS and SOP. It is significant that four of these ten examples came from direct speech quotations in which the utterance was a single clause. In such a situational context, the information is likely to be mostly (or wholly) new and so there is less scope for deletion.

8.2.2.1.2 THE PREDICATE CONSITUENT

The Predicate of an Action Clause is usually manifested by a verb only. However, certain adverbs may modify verbs to form a verb phrase. Normally the adverb follows the verb but a few adverbs tend to precede the verb they modify. Focus may be put on the modifying adverb so that it is fronted to initial place in the clause, or a secondary focus may be given by moving the adverb to the final position in the clause. When focus is put on the adverb in either of these ways, it may be separated from the verb so that the verb phrase is then a discontinuous one.

A few adverbs have a heavy functional load in verb modification, and many others may occur. Some adverbs have frequent general use and others have frequent use with certain clause types only.

Adverbs in frequent general use in modifying verbs include: *bawuji* 'finished', *kurdandu/wakulamba* 'with vigour, with intensity', *minja* 'just, merely', *nungka* 'maybe, perhaps', *wiji* 'completely, all-inclusively', *winarrku* 'aimlessly, unrestricted, free', *yurrngumantha* 'continually' and *yurrulu* 'again'. The two demonstrative adverbs most commonly used are: *nganinya* 'in this way, like this' and *nganambaji* 'in that way, like that'.

The personal pronoun set marked by the suffix *-lumba* 'by-self' also functions as a verb modifier: for example, *ngarna-lumba* 'by myself' and *F alhi-lumba* 'by itself'. The meaning 'by-self' includes both 'of own accord, without assistance' and 'alone, without companion', as in English.

The adverb *yurrngunmantha* 'continually' may reinforce the meaning already expressed by an affix on the modified verb. The three verb suffixes which include a component of continuity in their meanings are: *-nji* (present), *-nthaninya* (past customary) and *-nthanama* (future customary). The first two of these suffixes are in common occurrence and *yurrngumantha* frequently co-occurs with them.

- 8.104 *Jarna-rarri-nji yurrngumantha.*
 I-cry-PRES continually
 I am sorrowing continually.

- 8.105 *Kanu-yukuma-nthaninya yurrngumantha [ji-julaki-nku].*
we.EXCL-wait-P.CST continually MSC.NNOM-plane-DAT
We used to wait continually [for a plane].
- 8.106 *Yurrngumantha jarna-linginma-nji [nya-mangaji awara].*
continually I-remember-PRES MSC-that.DEF place
I'm remembering [that place] all the time.

Certain of the above adverbs may also co-occur with other verb tenses to provide an aspect which is otherwise lacking.

The adverb *nungka* 'maybe, perhaps' may co-occur with the dubitative suffix *-nma* but it more often co-occurs with other suffixes. The multifunctional particle *bawuji* 'finished' is used to provide a completive aspect to the verb it modifies. There is no verb affix which has this function.

- 8.107 *Kanda-warrma-la nungka [rra-mardu].*
she-blow-FUT maybe F-cold.wind
[The cold wind] might blow.
- 8.108 F *Nungka jiwa-nba-yani.*
maybe he-fall-IMM
He might be about to fall.
- 8.109 *Karna-wani-la nungka.*
I-return-FUT maybe
Perhaps I will return.
- 8.110 M *Nungka ka-wurnma-nma.*
maybe it-explode-DUB
(The bullets) might explode.

The adverb *nungka* 'maybe' is one of the few adverbs which more frequently precedes than follows the word it modifies.

- 8.111 *Jilu-rduma-nji bawuji.*
it.he-get-PRES finished
He is finished getting (the horses).
- 8.112 *Kal-inyamba-wudurruma bawuji.*
they-REFL-feed finished
They finished eating (their meal).
- 8.113 F *Kany-ilu-wangka-la bawuji.*
him-he.PL-shoot-P finished
He shot him dead.

The adverb *yurrulu* 'again' shares the function of expressing recurrence with both the *ka-/ja-* indicative/recurrence marker and with the discourse particle *mili* (described in Chapter 9).

- 8.114 *Jalu-rdirrira-nji yurrulu.*
it.they-tie-PRES again
They are tying on (the saddles) again.

8.115 M *Yurrulu ka-wajanga-nthaninya.*
again he-paddle-P.CST
He kept paddling (his canoe) again.

8.116 M *Yurrulu kilu-ngunda.*
again him.he-give
Again he gave him (food).

The adverb *kurdandu* 'more vigorously, more intensely' covers the function of a range of English adverbs. Its range of meaning includes: 'loudly, hard, vigorously, severely, hungrily, intently', depending on the action of the verb which it modifies. (The adverb *wakulamba* has a very similar, if not the same, meaning and function.) In the following examples, the English free translation equivalent for the adverb is emphasised:

8.117 *Janda-wajba-nji kurdandu.*
she-call-PRES intensely
She is calling out loudly.

8.118 *Kurdandu janu-rarrma-nji.*
intensely we.EXCL-eat-PRES
We are eating (the lily roots) hungrily./We are eating large quantities (of lily roots).

8.119 *Jala-yngkarri-nji kurdandu.*
it.they-hear-PRES intensely
They are listening to it intently.

8.120 *Jalu-lhurrama-nji kurdandu.*
they-dance-PRES intensely
They are dancing vigorously.

8.121 F *Kany-ilu-rama kurdandu.*
him-he-hit intensely
He hit him hard.

The adverb *winarrku* has a meaning range which includes 'without restraint, without constraint, merely, freely'. It is not easily defined but the following examples will illustrate its function:

8.122 *Kanu-wuluma-nthaninya winarrku.*
we.EXCL-run-P.CST freely
We kept travelling on freely (in our car).

8.123 *Winarrku karr-alu-kurrama.*
freely her-they-buried
They just buried her there (hastily, without the normal full range of accompanying traditional activities, as they kept searching for her missing husband).

8.124 *Karn-andu-ngunda winarrku.*
me-she-give freely
She gave (it) to me as a free gift (without obligation for payment or a return gift).

- 8.125 *Kumba-arrkana-nthaninya winarrku.*
 he.REFL-spear-P.CST freely
 (In the old days men) used to freely spear one another.
- 8.126 F *Jiya-wuluma-nji winarrku.*
 he-run-pres freely
 (The dog which has just been untied) is running free.

The use of the adverbs *minja* 'just, only', *wiji* 'completely, entirely, all-inclusively', and *yamulu* 'all right', is illustrated below. (Note that *wiji* may be used literally or with some exaggeration.)

- 8.127 M *Ja-wingka-yi minja [warama].*
 it-go-PRES just flood
 [The floodwater] is barely running.
- 8.128 *Jalu-wardjangka-yi minja.*
 they-catch.fish-PRES just
 They are merely fishing (with little result).
- 8.129 *Minja karna-yngkarri [wangarraba-ntha-rra].*
 just it.I-hear dispute-PT-PRES
 I just heard [the sound of fighting] (that is, I wasn't there).
- 8.130 *Wiji kal-inyamba-mirra.*
 completely they-REFL-die
 They have all of them died.
- 8.131 M *Ka-ngunda-yaninya wiji.*
 it-flood-P.CST completely
 It used to flood the whole area.
- 8.132 M *Jilu-ngalnganda-yi [mirningu Yanyuwa] wiji.*
 him.he-dislike-PRES man Yanyuwa completely
 He wholly dislikes [the Yanyuwa people]./He dislikes all of [the Yanyuwa people].
- 8.133 *Kal-inya-wayatha wiji.*
 them.PL-you.SG-finish completely
 You have completely defeated them.
- 8.134 *Jirr-andu-lingenma-nji yamulu.*
 you-she-remember-PRES all.right
 She is remembering you all right.
- 8.135 M *Kandu-lhungkuma yamulu.*
 him.she-keep.alive all.right
 She kept him alive all right.
- 8.136 *[Kulyukulyu nya-mangaji] jala-nga-nji yamulu.*
 Kulyukulyu MSC-that.DEF it.they-see-PRES all.right
 It is safe for them to see [that *Kulyukulyu* ceremony]. (lit. They are watching [that *Kulyukulyu*] all right.)

The use of the demonstrative adverbs, and the personal pronouns marked by *-lumba*, are illustrated below:

- 8.137 *Jala-nba-yi nganinya.*
 they-fall-PRES like.this
 They are falling down in this way.
- 8.138 *Janu-yinba-yi nganinya.*
 we.EXCL-sing-PRES like.this
 We are singing like this.
- 8.139 M *Nganinya kilu-rankarrma.*
 like.this it.it-lift.up
 (The buffalo) tossed up (the horse) like this.
- 8.140 *Nganinya jarna-rrkuwa-nji [ngarna-wulaya].*
 like.this I-burn-PRES my-head
 [My head] is burning like this (that is, when I wear a hat).

Example 8.140 shows the reaction of the Aborigines when they first tried hats. The use of *nganinya* 'like this' may be accompanied by gestures or a demonstration of the manner of the action, or may follow a description just completed.

The use of *nganambaji* 'like that' refers back to something which took place or was demonstrated or described at an earlier time:

- 8.141 *Nganambaji janu-wundarrba-nji.*
 like.that we.EXCL-name-PRES
 That is how we are naming (the rainbow creature in the language).
- 8.142 *Nganambaji jalu-rama-nji.*
 like.that they-kill-PRES
 That is how they are killing (goanna and blue-tongue lizards).
- 8.143 *Nganambaji kalu-kurda-nthaninya.*
 like.that they-draw.water-P.CST
 That is how they used to draw water (that is, using a bark water container).
- 8.144 M *[Warama] ka-wingka-yaninya nganambaji.*
 flood it-come-P.CST like.that
 [The floodwater] used to come like that (that is, to the very high level just described).
- 8.145 *[Nanda-wulaya] kanda-nba anda-lumba.*
 her-head she-fall her-by.self
 [Her head] fell by itself (that is, separately from her body, when she was killed).
- 8.146 F *Jiya-alarri-nji yiwa-lumba.*
 he-stand-PRES he-by.self
 He is standing up by himself. (said of an infant)
- 8.147 M *Yiwa-lumba [wujurl] jiwa-nba-yi.*
 it-by.self grass it-fall-PRES
 [The grass] is falling of its own accord (that is, it hasn't been bent over by the wind).

A range of other adverbs may also occur in a verb phrase as their meanings are appropriate to the action of the verb. These include: *yarlayka* 'quickly', *yili/murdumurndu*

'slowly', *yabimantharra* 'well', *yajbur* 'once', *yurrujuru* 'all the way', *jarrumantharra* 'unsuccessfully', *amimbirri* 'everywhere, all over the place', *kalngiya* 'truly' and *anngayngkariya* 'loudly'. It is observed that adverbs are more used to modify verbs in conversation than in discourses.

Six locative adverbs have frequent occurrence with motion verbs in both conversation and discourses. These are the four cardinal locatives and the stems *anka* 'up', *wayka* 'down', marked by either the prefix *kari-* (direction from) or *-ya* '-wards'. Occasionally these locatives are used with other verbs. Examples of their use are:

- 8.148 M *Kar-akarra ka-rilirri.*
from-east he-appear
He appeared from the east.
- 8.149 M *Ka-alarri anka-ya.*
he-stand up-wards
He stood up.
- 8.150 M *Kari-ngamala ka-lhuwarri.*
from-south he-depart
He departed (coming) from the south.
- 8.151 F *Kari-nguthunda ki-wani.*
from-north it-return
(The plane) came back from the north.
- 8.152 M *Jalu-rduma-nji kari-wayka.*
it.they-get-PRES from-down
They are getting (the goanna lizards) from down (in their burrows).
- 8.153 *Kanda-wani-njama a-ya.*
she-return-INTEN west-wards
She intends to return westwards (to you).

There are a few examples in which two adverbs modify a verb within a verb phrase:

- 8.154 *Jama-rarri-nji yurrngumantha kurdandu.*
I-cry-PRES continually intensely
I am continually in deep sorrow.
- 8.155 *Ngamal-iya kanu-wingka-yaninya winarrku.*
south-wards we.EXCL-go-P.CST freely
We kept on freely going southwards.
- 8.156 *Kal-alu-wanga-nthaninya wiji bawuji.*
them-they-shoot-P.CST completely finished
They used to shoot everyone dead.
- 8.157 *Janda-nba-yi a-ya waykal-iya.*
she-fall-PRES west-wards down-wards
(The sun) is setting.

8.2.2.2 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Intransitive Clauses have a clause nucleus consisting of a Predicate which is manifested by an intransitive or middle verb or verb phrase, and a Subject with the role of Experiencer, manifested by a noun or noun phrase marked for nominative case (zero marking). (A middle verb has the same form as a reflexive verb but does not have a reflexive meaning. It occurs not in a Reflexive but in an Intransitive Clause. Middle and reflexive verbs are marked by the first-order prefix *mba-/inyamba-/umba-*. For the variant sets of pronominal prefixes used in the construction of the three main verb types, see Table 7.)

There are four Intransitive Clause subtypes determined by the absence or occurrence of an additional constituent in the clause base. The Simple Intransitive Clause has no additional constituent. The Goal, Destination and Locative subtypes manifest the co-occurrence of a verb subclass with a Goal, Destination or Locative constituent.

TABLE 7: YANYUWA VERB PREFIXES

	Intransitive Subject	Object	Transitive Subject	Reflexive Subject-Reflexive Marker
1SG	<i>ka/ja</i> <i>arna</i>	<i>arna(anha)</i> ¹	<i>arna (∅/irna/rna)</i> ²	<i>arna-mba</i>
1DU	<i>ka/ja</i> <i>atharra</i>	<i>atharra</i>	<i>(i)ngatharra</i> ³	<i>atharra-mba</i>
1PL	<i>ka/ja</i> <i>anu</i>	<i>anu</i>	<i>(i)nganu</i>	<i>an-inyamba</i>
1DU.INCL	<i>marker</i> <i>ali</i>	<i>ali</i>	<i>(i)ngali</i>	<i>ali-mba</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>marker</i> <i>ambala</i>	<i>ambala</i>	<i>(i)ngambala</i>	<i>ambala-mba</i>
2SG	<i>marker</i> <i>∅</i>	<i>irna</i>	<i>inya (∅)</i> ⁴	<i>inya-mba</i> or <i>∅-inyamba</i>
2DU	<i>marker</i> <i>imbala</i>	<i>imbala</i>	<i>imbala</i>	<i>imbala-mba</i>
2PL	<i>marker</i> <i>irru</i>	<i>irru</i>	<i>irru</i>	<i>irr-inyamba</i>
M.3M/MSC	<i>marker</i> <i>∅</i>	<i>∅</i>	<i>ilu</i>	<i>∅-umba</i>
F.3M	<i>indicative</i> <i>iwa(iya)</i> ⁵	<i>anya</i>	<i>ilu</i>	<i>∅-mba</i>
F.3MSC	<i>indicative</i> <i>i(ilha)</i> ⁶	<i>i</i>	<i>inju</i>	<i>i-nyamba</i>
3F/FEM	<i>indicative</i> <i>anda</i>	<i>anda (aya)</i> ⁷	<i>anda</i>	<i>an-umba/and-umba</i> ⁸
3FD	<i>indicative</i> <i>u (uwa)</i> ⁶	<i>u</i>	<i>angku</i>	<i>u-nyamba</i>
3ARB	<i>indicative</i> <i>arna</i>	<i>arna</i>	<i>arnu</i>	<i>arn-inyamba</i>
3ABSTR	<i>indicative</i> <i>arnu</i>	<i>arnu</i>	<i>arnungku</i>	
3DU	<i>indicative</i> <i>awula</i>	<i>awula</i>	<i>awula</i>	<i>awula-mba</i>
3PL	<i>indicative</i> <i>alu</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>al-inyamba</i>

Note: The indicative-marker prefix in the first column precedes all pronominal prefixes in indicative verb construction. The vowel is lost preceding a vowel-initial prefix.

1. *anha* co-occurs with second person subjects.
2. *∅* co-occurs with second singular object; *irna* co-occurs with 2DU, 2PL, 3DL and 3PL objects; *rna* with all other third person objects.
3. The first person *i*-initial variants co-occur with second and third persons dual and plural (as also 1SG -*irna* above).
4. *∅* co-occurs with 1SG, 3M, 3F, 3ARB objects.
5. *iya* precedes *w*-initial stems.
6. *ilha* and *uwa* variants precede a one-syllable stem.
7. *aya* may co-occur with 3M.SBJ.
8. These two forms are free variants.

- 8.164 *Nda-marnda / ka-rkuwa-nma.*
 your.SG-foot you.SG-burn-DUB
 SBJ PRED

Your foot might become burnt (if you go any closer to the fire).

Other derived stems include: *buyi-yngirri* 'become small, diminish', *jirda-rrri* 'be/become bitter', *milka-tharri* 'be/become numb/cramped in the buttocks', *nganthal-ungka* 'poke out the tongue', *ngawu-rrri* 'cloud over', *nyibu-rrri* 'be/become calm/still (of river/sea/wind)', *rlikarlika-rrri* 'become clean', *wundururirri* 'become night' (from *wundururra* 'night') and *wunumbarrirri* 'come near' (from *wunumbarra* 'near, close'). Examples of their use are:

- 8.165 *Karna-jirdarri / ngama-mulu.*
 I-become.bitter my-mouth
 PRED SBJ
 I got a bitter taste in my mouth.

- 8.166 F *Ki-nyiburri-njima [warrma-ntha-wu].*
 it-become.calm-HYP blow-PT-DAT
 PRED
 [The wind] may stop.

- 8.167 F *Ji-rlikarlikarri-nji.*
 it-become.clean-PRES
 PRED
 (The river) is becoming clear (as the flooding subsides).

The simple intransitive verb list also includes verbs of breaking, wearing out, bursting and coming to an end: *bi* 'stop, stay still', *inmarri* 'wear out', *una* (*unu* word-final) 'break, tear', *wayarri* 'finish, come to an end' and *wurnma* 'burst, burst open (of flower bud, boil, balloon, gunfire)'; and also the middle stem: *wama* 'cease (of speech, running motor, storm)'.

Example 8.170 below illustrates with the stem *una* 'break, tear' a rule that applies to all *na*-final verb stems: when there is no overt suffix following a *na*-final stem, the final *a* becomes *u*.

- 8.168 *Kanda-bi-njaninya.*
 she-stop-P.CST
 PRED
 She used to remain.
- 8.169 M *Kiwa-bi / nya-mangaji lhambiji.*
 it-stop MSC-that.DEF storm.wind
 PRED SBJ
 The storm wind ceased.
- 8.170 F *Duraji / kilh-unu.*
 dress it-break
 SBJ PRED
 The dress tore.

- 8.171 *Ku-wayarri / ma-ngarra.*
it.FD-finish FD-food
PRED SBJ
The food is finished.
- 8.172 *Kal-inyamba-wama.*
they-REFL-cease
PRED
They stopped (talking).
- 8.173 F *Ji-nyamba-wama-nji.*
it.MSC-REFL-cease-PRES
PRED
(The engine) is stopping.

This list includes verbs which refer to making a noise apart from speech: *malawurri* 'make a noise (of drums, a motor, earthquake, children)', *ngayungka* 'groan', *ngundurra* 'snore', *ngurra* 'roar, rumble (of motors, certain bird calls)', *yunga* 'howl (of dogs)' and *yuwama* 'cry out (to frighten or disturb)'; and also the middle verbs *ngarramma* 'call out (of bird)' and *rirarirama* 'call out in chorus (of people or dogs)'. Examples of their use are:

- 8.174 *Rra-bulbukija / janda-ngurba-nji.*
F-swamp.pheasant she-roar-PRES
SBJ PRED
The swamp pheasant is calling out. (a gurgling sound)
- 8.175 M *Wardali / ja-yunga-nji.*
dingo it-howl-PRES
SBJ PRED
The dingoes are howling.
- 8.176 *Rra-barral / jan-umba-ngarramma-nji.*
F-white.cockatoo she-REFL-call.out-PRES
SBJ PRED
The white cockatoo is calling out.
- 8.177 *Jal-inyamba-rirarirama-nji.*
they-REFL-call.out.in.chorus-PRES
PRED
(The people) are all calling out.

Other simple intransitive verbs are: *bulaka* 'float', *bulanga* 'become white', *mirngarri* 'shine', *ngunda* 'become/remain at a high level (of tide, flood level)', *rimarri* 'catch alight', *wurda* 'become wet' and *wurrungka* 'smell, give off a smell/odour'. Examples of their use are:

- 8.178 *Janda-bulanga-nji / wukuku.*
she-become.white-PRES grandchild
PRED SBJ
(Your) daughter's child is become white (with dust).

- 8.179 F *Ji-bulaka-nji / ngawu.*
 it-float-PRES cloud
 PRED SBJ
 The clouds are floating.
- 8.180 *A-rimi / janda-bulaka-nji.*
 F-paddle she-float-PRES
 SBJ PRED
 The paddle is floating.

Middle verbs in various other semantic fields also manifest the Predicate of Simple Intransitive Clauses. The verb stems of this kind include those relating to parenting or sharing parentage: *kajakajama* 'father children', *kulhakulhama* 'mother children' and *mimirri* 'share common parentage/be siblings' (see the following three examples). The verb stems *kajakajama* and *kulhakulhama* are derived from the vocative kin terms used by men and women to their children: M *kajakaja* '(my) child' and F *kulhakulha* '(my) child'.

- 8.181 *L-alunga-li-ardu / kal-inyamba-kajakajama-la.*
 PL-their-PL-child they-REFL-father.child-FUT
 SBJ PRED
 Their children will father offspring.
- 8.182 M *Kawula-mba-kulhakulhama [yi-ku ki-Jikaba].*
 they.DU-REFL-mother.child he-DAT M.NNOM-Jacob
 PRED
 They mothered offspring [to Jacob].
- 8.183 *Kan-inyamba-mimirri wiji.*
 we.EXCL-REFL-be.sibling all-inclusively
 PRED
 We were all brothers and sisters.

This list includes the stem *mirra* 'die' (in its non-literal uses) and its extended form *minmirra* 'become/remain ill'. The stem *mirra* has the meaning range 'be very ill, be close to death, die'. It may also be used in association with the adverbs *wimdayku* 'hungry' and *warringku* 'thirsty' to express extreme hunger or thirst, either literally or figuratively. With its ultimate meaning 'die', the stem *mirra* occurs in the locative intransitive verb subclass. Two examples of its use are:

- 8.184 *Jarna-mba-mirra-nji warringku.*
 I-REFL-die-PRES thirsty
 PRED
 I'm dying of thirst.
- 8.185 F *Jumba-minmirra-nji / niya-manka.*
 he.REFL-be.sick-PRES his-body
 PRED SBJ
 He (lit. his body) is sick.

- 8.191 M *Ka-yukuma-nma / rru-laka-wu.*
 he-wait-DUB F.NNOM-lugger-DAT
 PRED GOAL
 He might wait for the lugger.
- 8.192 M *Kan-umba-lhakarra-nthaninya / ki-bardarda-wu.*
 she-REFL-give.birth-P.CST M.NNOM-baby-DAT
 PRED GOAL
 She used to give birth to a baby.
- 8.193 *Kumba-milmirilanga / an-ku.*
 he.REFL-avoid her-DAT
 PRED GOAL
 He avoided her.

The stem *rdi* occurs also as an intransitive locative or destination verb with a meaning of 'reach, arrive at' in relation to a location. The stem *lhakarra* occurs also in the transitive list with the meanings (1) 'water, make wet' and (2) 'lay (eggs)'. (It is rare for the transitive stem to be used of human birth.)

Goal intransitive verbs of emotion or attitude include: *burraykirri* 'be weary of, be "fed up" with (of food, people, activity)', *ngajbirri* 'disbelieve, disregard', *nganyama* 'be jealous', *ngayama* 'approve, agree with', *rarri* 'be sorry, cry', *ruwama* 'be amazed, surprised', *wana* 'be shy, ashamed', *wardanka* 'fear, be frightened', *wuthurruma* 'smile, laugh', *yakayakama* 'misunderstand, not comprehend' and *yinjathirri* 'be/become angry'; and also the middle verbs *arrkalarrkana* 'not know, be undecided' (the same in form as the extended transitive verb stem for 'spear'), *ayayana* 'unsuccessfully attempt', *ngarramma* 'refuse, hold back', *riyarraba* 'be pleased', *wathawathana* 'run around crying in distress' and *yalkinyama* 'be unwilling'. Examples of their use are:

- 8.194 *Nala-rrku / ngambala-nga / jalu-ngajbirri-nji.*
 they-other us.INCL-DAT they-disregard-PRES
 SBJ GOAL PRED
 Some of them are taking no notice of us/don't believe us.
- 8.195 *Kambala-rarri-njanama / alu-nga / ngambala-wurdu.*
 we.INCL-cry-FUT.CST them-DAT our.EXCL-stomach
 PRED GOAL SBJ
 We will always feel sorry for them. (lit. Our stomachs will always cry for them.)
- 8.196 *Kanda-rarri-la / an-ku nuwarnu-wardi-yu.*
 she-cry-fut her-DAT ABST.DAT-bad-DAT
 PRED GOAL
 She will be sorry for her wrongdoing.
- 8.197 M *Ja-wardanka-yi kurdandu / nyuwu-ja ki-wararr-u.*
 he-fear-PRES intensely MSC.DAT-this MSC.NNOM-mud-DAT
 PRED GOAL
 (The pilot) is very fearful of this mud (on the airstrip).

- 8.198 *Kalu-wuthurruma-nthaninya / yi-ku.*
they-laugh-P.CST him-DAT
PRED GOAL
They used to laugh at him.
- 8.199 *Kumba-riyarraba / alu-nga liyi-ardu-birri-yu.*
he.REFL-be.pleased them-DAT PL.DAT-child-DIM.PL-DAT
PRED GOAL
He is pleased with/happy about the children.
- 8.200 *Karna-mba-arrkalarrkanu / wingka-ya-wu.*
I-REFL-not.know go-PT-DAT
PRED GOAL
I didn't know which way to go.
- 8.201 F *Ki-nyamba-ayayanu / walanyma-ntha-wu.*
it-REFL-unsuccessfully.try emerge-PT-DAT
PRED GOAL
(The snake) tried in vain to come out (of the water-drum).
- 8.202 *Kumba-wathawathanu.*
he.REFL-run.around.crying
PRED
He ran around crying in distress.
- 8.203 *Jan-umba-yalkinyma-nji / jabu-wu.*
she-REFL-be.unwilling-PRES job-DAT
PRED GOAL
She is unwilling to work.
- This list includes two stems relating to beginning or commencing: *wardangalanga* 'begin, start' and *wirriiri* 'begin', as in:
- 8.204 F *Ji-nyamba-wardangalanga-nji.*
it.MSC-REFL-start-PRES
PRED
(The cold season) is commencing.
- 8.205 *Kambala-mba-wardangalanga-la / nyamba-wukanyi-nja-rra.*
we.INCL-REFL-begin-FUT REFL-talk-PT-PRES
PRED GOAL
We will begin to talk together.
- 8.206 *Kan-umba-wirriiri / maluma-nja-rra wujurl.*
she-REFL-begin cut.cut-PT-PRES grass
PRED GOAL
She began to cut the grass.
- 8.207 *Jan-umba-wirriiri-nji / wingka-ya-wu.*
she-REFL-begin-PRES walk-PT-DAT
PRED GOAL
She is beginning to walk.

Several other stems from the simple intransitive list also occur in the goal intransitive list, but the meaning here refers to an attitude in each instance. The meaning changes from a literal to a figurative one. The body-part noun *wurdu* 'stomach, belly (the centre of the emotions)' frequently occurs as the subject of the verb. These verbs include: *ladaldirri* 'to be very heated/angry', *ngarranba* 'to be heated/angry', *urrukuwa* 'to inwardly burn in anger', *wardirri* 'to feel badly' (includes fear, anger, disappointment – the range of negative feelings), *wunthanba* 'to be well-disposed, to feel positively (lit. to feel cool)' and *yabirri* 'to feel happy, pleased' (includes the range of positive feelings). Two examples are:

- 8.216 M *Kiwu-urrukuwa-njaninya / nya-mangaji na-wurdu wajbala.*
 he-burn-P.CST M-that.DEF his-stomach white.man
 PRED SBJ

The white men used to burn with anger. (lit. That white man's stomach – the centre of the emotions – used to burn.)

- 8.217 M *Ka-wunthanba / nya-mangaji / alu-nga.*
 he-cool.down M-that.DEF them-DAT
 PRED SBJ GOAL

That (white man) became better disposed (lit. cooled down) towards them.

8.2.2.2.3 LOCATION INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

A Location Intransitive Clause is one in which the location of the action is essential to the semantic completeness of the clause. The clause consists of the same basic constituents as the Simple Intransitive Clause but it is extended to include an inner peripheral Location constituent in the role of Dissociated Environment. The Location unit is manifested by a locative adverb or phrase, a placename noun, or a noun expressive of location, marked either for ablative case or by extension of the stem.

The topic of location is covered in some detail in Chapter 6. Locative phrases and the use of nouns and noun phrases in providing location reference are described there. An additional locative phrase type not included there is one which combines these locative and nominal elements. A locative may be followed by a noun, pronoun or noun phrase, marked by ablative case. The order of the constituents may be reversed if the noun is inanimate. (If an animate nominal word or phrase precedes the locative then the phrase becomes an accompaniment phrase; for example, *yila-a baji* (him-ABL there.DEF) 'with him there'. The change of order has given a change of focus.) The resultant phrase incorporates the animate or inanimate environment with the locative adverb:

<i>wayka nankawa-la</i> down lagoon-ABL	down at the lagoon
<i>baji buyuka-la lhangka</i> there.DEF fire-ABL on.top	there on top of the fire
<i>arndaarnda binana-la</i> inside banana-ABL	inside (the cover of) the banana palms (as a hiding place)
<i>mamaji nganu-wa</i> here.DEF us.EXCL-ABL	here with us

rarra alu-wa linji-wajba-wajbala-ngka
 in.depth them-ABL PL.ABL-white.man-white.man-ABL
 in the depths of a crowd of white men

The essential nature of the Location unit in this clause type was demonstrated for the writer in her early months of language learning. If she contributed a Location Intransitive Clause to the conversation and omitted the Location unit, a Yanyuwa friend would immediately provide it to make the statement complete. This occurred when the writer commented that a plane had landed – a complete statement in its English counterpart. A Yanyuwa companion immediately added the word *ngamala* ‘south’:

- 8.218 F *Ki-yibanda / julaki / ngamala.*
 it-land plane south
 PRED SBJ LOC
 The plane landed in the south.

The list of location intransitive verbs is shorter than the lists for the previous subtypes. It includes the following stems: *alari* ‘stand’, *ariyarirri* ‘become lost’, *ngalba* ‘enter, go into’, *mamarri/marni* ‘remain away, be absent’, *walanyma* ‘emerge, come out’, *warlba* ‘climb’, *wundirri* ‘ascend’, *yanjarri* ‘be born’ and *yibanda* ‘sit, arrive, land (of plane), berth (of boat)’. When the middle verb *mirra* has the meaning ‘die’ (rather than ‘be very ill/hungry/thirsty’), it comes within this list too. The stem *rdi* ‘arrive, reach’ may occur in either a Location Intransitive Clause or a Destination Intransitive Clause (see examples 8.248 and 8.249).

The following examples illustrate Location Intransitive Clauses:

- 8.219 *Kanu-ariyarirri-njima / munji-munji.*
 we.EXCL-be.lost-HYP bush-bush
 PRED LOC
 We might become lost in the bush.
- 8.220 *Kanu-wundirri-njaninya / Yulbarra nguthunda-kari.*
 we.EXCL-go.up-P.CST Yulbarra north-DEF
 PRED LOC
 We used to go up (from our canoes) at Yulbarra in the north.
- 8.221 M *L-iki-li-ardu / kalu-ngalba / ki-way-a-ngka.*
 PL-his-PL-child they-enter MSC.NNOM-boat-ABL
 SBJ PRED LOC
 His children entered (the door of) the boat.
- 8.222 *Kanu-yibanda / akarra-kari-mba.*
 we.EXCL-arrive east-DEF-side
 PRED LOC
 We arrived on the east side.
- 8.223 F *Wurnda / ji-alari-nji / winkanda ji-jayngka-a.*
 tree it-stand-PRES at.side MSC.NNOM-rock-ABL
 SBJ PRED LOC
 The tree is standing on the side of the mountain.

- 8.224 F *Kiya-mamarri-nji* / *wayka Ngarrbangarrala*.
 he.again-be.away-PRES down Ngarrbangarrala
 PRED LOC
 He is staying away again down at Ngarrbangarrala.

Examples 8.225 and 8.226 illustrate the use of a vague reference to location when a specific one is not known:

- 8.225 M *Namb-iwuthu* / *lhuwa nya-mangaji* / *ja-mamarri-nji*.
 there.INDEF-direction.in snake MSC-that.DEF it-remain.away-PRES
 LOC SBJ PRED
 The snakes are keeping away there somewhere.
- 8.226 M *Nya-mangaji arlku* / *ja-mamarri-nji* / *nganth-iwuthu*
 MSC-that.DEF fish it-remain.away-PRES where-direction.in
 SBJ PRED LOC
nungka.
 maybe
 The fish are keeping away who can tell where.
- 8.227 *Nya-rku* / *kumba-mirra* / *a-kari-mba* *Windikarri*.
 M-other he.REFL-die west-DEF-side Windikarri
 SBJ PRED LOC
 Another one died there on the west side of Windikarri (the Robinson River).
- 8.228 *Kumba-mirra* / *baji-ngulaji* *angula*.
 he.REFL-die there.DEF-same west
 PRED LOC
 He died at that very same place in the west.
- 8.229 M *Ka-yanjarri* / *munji*.
 he-be.born bush
 PRED LOC
 He was born in the bush.
- 8.230 M *Ka-walanyma* / *ambirriju alu-nga*.
 he-emerge ahead them-DAT
 PRED LOC
 He came out in front of them.
- 8.231 M *Marnaji* / *ka-walanyma* / *na-mi* / *yila-a*.
 here.DEF it-emerge its-seed him-ABL
 LOC... PRED SBJ ...LOC
 The bullet (lit. its seed) came out of him here.
- 8.232 M *Namba namba angula* / *nungka kiwa-rdi-la*.
 there.INDEF there.INDEF west maybe it-arrive-FUT
 LOC PRED
 Maybe (the cyclone) will arrive some place there in the west.

- 8.236 *Kar-anka kiwa-nba-la / buyuka.*
 from-up it-fall-FUT fire
 PRED SBJ
 Fire will fall from above.
- 8.237 M *Juju-ngku / ka-nba-nma kar-anka.*
 far.away-ALL you.SG-fall-DUB from-up
 DEST PRED
 You might fall down a long way.
- 8.238 M *Nakari manka-nda yila-a / ka-wujba.*
 from body-ABL him-ABL it-flow
 LOC.SCE PRED
 (The blood) flowed from his body.
- 8.239 *Nguthund-iya kalu-lhuwarri / nakari Wiririla.*
 north-wards they-depart from Wiririla
 PRED LOC.SCE
 They set off northwards from Wiririla.
- 8.240 M *Ngamal-iya ka-wingka / baj-inju kulu ngamala.*
 south-wards he-go there.DEF-to and south
 PRED DEST
 He went southwards right to that place in the south.
- 8.241 M *Waykal-iya ka-wuluma / ngaliba kadin.*
 down-wards he-run to.DEF garden
 PRED DEST
 He ran down into the garden.
- 8.242 M *Kar-anka ka-lhakanba-la / ja-baba Jijaj.*
 from-up he-descend-FUT my-older.sibling Jesus
 PRED SBJ
 My older brother Jesus will come down from above.
- 8.243 M *Wunyatha / kari-ngamala ka-lhuwarri / nakaringu ngalu-nga*
 father from-south he-depart from.DEF south-REL.DIR
 SBJ PRED LOC.SCE
 My father set off northwards (lit. from the south) from a place to the south of there.
- 8.244 M *Kiyinykiyiny / ja-wabama-nji / ki-wulanthantha-lu*
 flying.fox it-fly-PRES MSC.NNOM-flower-ALL
 SBJ PRED DEST
juju-ngku.
 far.away-ALL
 The flying foxes are flying to the flowers in the distance (to get nectar).
- 8.245 *Kanu-yurrngurri marn-iwuthu kariy-a.*
 we.EXCL-continue here.INDEF-direction.in from-west
 PRED
 We continued (coming) in this direction from the west.

- 8.246 *Kanda-yurngurri kariy-a / nakaringu Burrulula.*
 she-continue from-west from.DEF Borrooloola
 PRED LOC.SCE
 She continued on from the west from Borrooloola.
- 8.247 *Rra-kamba / janda-nba-yi a-ya waykal-iya.*
 F-sun she-fall-PRES west-wards down-wards
 SBJ PRED
 The sun is going down in the west./The sun is setting.
- 8.248 M *Kiwa-rdi / ngambala-lu.*
 it-arrive us.INCL-ALL
 PRED DEST
 (The plane) reached us.
- 8.249 M *Kiwa-rdi kari-ngamala.*
 it-arrive from-south
 PRED
 (The plane) arrived (here) from the south.

TABLE 8: UNITS WITH WHICH THE VERB CROSS-REFERENCES
 IN YANYUWA CLAUSE NUCLEI

Clause type	Subject	Predicate: relevant verb morphemes		Other Units	Agreement (in person, gender and number)
		prefix-ation	stem		
Full Stative	Subject (nominative marking)	intr	exist-entia	Locative-Complex	Verb subject prefix and locative demonstrative suffix agree with Subject
		sbj		locative demonstrative stem sbj suffix	
Intransitive	Subject (nominative marking)	intr sbj	intr	—	Verb subject prefix agrees with Subject
Reflexive	Subject (nominative marking)	intr sbj	refl tr mkr	—*	
Transitive	Subject (ergative marking)	obj	tr tr sbj	Object (nominative marking)	Verb object prefix agrees with Object; verb subject prefix agrees with Subject. Goal Transitive Clause: verb object prefix agrees with either Object or Goal.

* When certain verbs manifest the Predicate or a Reflexive Clause, an Object or Object Complement may occur.

8.2.2.3 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Transitive clauses have a clause nucleus consisting of a Predicate which manifests a transitive verb or verb phrase, a Subject in the role of Active Causer of the action, and an Object in the role of Passive Experiencer. The Subject is manifested by a noun, noun phrase, demonstrative pronoun, or the allative specifier *rrku* 'other', and the selected unit is marked by ergative case. The Object is manifested by one of these same nominal units marked by nominative case. Once the subject and object have been clearly established, the independent Subject and Object constituents may be omitted.

The pronominal prefixes on the verb are sufficient to maintain the reference until further participants are introduced. (For contrastive transitive verb pronominal sets, see Table 7. For contrastive cross-referencing to the verb nucleus in the various clause types, see Table 8.)

There are four clause subtypes determined by the absence or occurrence of an additional constituent in the clause base. The Simple Transitive Clause has no additional constituent. The Goal, Locative and Destination subtypes manifest the co-occurrence of a verb subclass with a Goal, Locative or Destination constituent.

8.2.2.3.1 SIMPLE TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Simple Transitive Clauses are formed around a Predicate which manifests a verb from the simple transitive subclass. Most transitive verbs fall into this subclass. A small group of them may optionally take an action as their object rather than the usual nominal entity (although there is usually a person-marker object reference to the performers of the action in the Predicate). In these instances the Object constituent is manifested by a dependent clause. This group of verbs includes: *nga* 'see', *wayatha* 'finish, complete, defeat' and *yngkarri* 'hear' (see examples 8.225 to 8.258, 8.269 and 8.270).

Simple transitive verbs include those associated with the senses: *Ihaa* 'know (from experience), recognise', *manmarralanga* 'love', *mijanga* 'like, love, desire, want', *mulamulanga* 'hate', *mungarruma* 'make happy, cheer up', *nga* 'see', *nganda/ngalnganda* 'dislike', *wamdulma* 'frighten' and *yngkarri* 'hear'. Examples of their use are:

8.250 M *Jalu-lhaa-nji* / *linji-wawi-nju.*
 him.they-know-PRES PL.ERG/ALL-horse-ERG
 PRED SBJ
 The horses know (the 'horse-tailer').

8.251 *Karra-ngambala-mijanga-la* / *rra-waykana kulu dulbarri.*
 her-we.INCL-desire-FUT F-honey and honey
 PRED OBJ
 We will want *rra-waykana* honey (from the ground hives) and *dulbarri* honey (from the tree hives).

8.252 *Linj-ardu-birri-lu* / *jirr-ala-nga-nji.*
 PL.ERG/ALL-child-DIM.PL-ERG you-they-see-PRES
 SBJ PRED
 The children are looking at you.

- 8.253 *Karr-arna-nga-nma / rra-mangaji rra-bardibardi rra-ngatha.*
 her-I-see-DUB F-that.DEF F-old.woman F-my
 PRED OBJ
 I might see that old wife of mine.
- 8.254 M *Kama-ka-la / buyi nya-ngathi-ardu.*
 him.I-see-P small M-my-child
 PRED OBJ
 I saw my small son.
- 8.255 *Kal-ima-ka-la / nyamba-wukanyi-nja-rra.*
 them-I-see-P REFL-talk-PT-PRES
 PRED OBJ
 I heard them talking.
- 8.256 *Jana-nga-nji / wijalma-ntha-rra.*
 it.we.EXCL-see-PRES catch.fish.with.beak-PT-PRES
 PRED OBJ
 We see (the *wurrbindibindi* seabird) catching fish.
- 8.257 *Kal-ima-yngkarri / ngawarnma-ntha-rra.*
 them-I-hear bark-PT-PRES
 PRED OBJ
 I heard (the dogs) barking.
- 8.258 M *Kama-yngkarri / wangarraba-ntha-rra.*
 him.I-hear quarrel-PT-PRES
 PRED OBJ
 I heard him quarrelling.

Simple transitive verbs include those of physical activity, including attack and defence: *arlkarlba* 'wash', *arrkana* 'spear, pierce', *ijarra* 'point at (with a bone or another object to work sorcery)', *inma* 'take down, dismantle, take off', *kadama* 'block off, impede', *kurdanma* 'put to death, kill', *lhakarra* 'water, make wet, lay (eggs)', *manha* 'hold, attach to', *mulama* 'carry on the hip', *ngurrunma* 'push underwater', *rama* 'hit, hammer, punish, kill', *rangki* 'spin', *rdirriira* 'tie up, wind, imprison', *rduma* 'get', *tharrama* 'cut, chop', *uma* 'cut, break', *urra* 'stop', *wakima* 'put to work', *wanga/wangka* 'hit (with a projectile), fire at', *wayatha* 'finish, complete, win victory over', *widiwidima* 'carry (in front/in the lap)', *wijuwa* 'cover', *wirrinyma* 'tip, overturn', *wirrima* 'poke, prod', *wudurruma* 'feed', *wurruba* 'pour, spill' and *yarraka/yarrungka* 'disturb, arouse'. Examples of their use are:

- 8.259 *Kan-alu-arlkarlba-nthaninya.*
 us.EXCL-they-wash-P.CST
 PRED
 They used to wash us.
- 8.260 *Kalu-arrkana-nthaninya / walya.*
 it.they-spear-P.CST dugong
 PRED OBJ
 They used to spear dugong (or other large edible sea creatures such as turtles).

- 8.261 M *Jilu-lhakarra-nj / wujbi.*
 it.it-lay-PRES egg
 PRED OBJ
 (The sea-turtles) lay their eggs.
- 8.262 *Nyungku-mangaji / karr-ilu-rama / barratha.*
 M.ERG/ALL-that.DEF her-he-kill mother
 SBJ PRED OBJ
 That man killed mother.
- 8.263 *Karn-arnungku-rama.*
 me-it.ARB-hit
 PRED
 (The falling bark) hit me.
- 8.264 F *Kalu-rdirrirra-nthaninya / ni-marnda kulu ni-marliji.*
 it.they-tie-P.CST its-foot and its-hand
 PRED OBJ
 They used to tie together the (kangaroo's) feet and paws (in preparation for cooking in an underground oven).
- 8.265 M *Anduru / kay-ilu-rduma / rra-Bilanyi.*
 Andrew her-he-get F-Bilanyi
 SBJ PRED OBJ
 Andrew got Bilanyi.

It is rare for the Transitive Subject to be unmarked for ergative case. Example 8.265 illustrates one such occurrence. There is a male speaker referring to another man by name, and by his English name. There is a tendency for affixes to be omitted in relation to these three factors, that is: (1) a male speaker referring to a male topic, (2) use of a personal name, and (3) use of English loan words.

- 8.266 *Karr-alu-tharrama-nma / nalu-ngunduwa.*
 her-they-chop-DUB their-throat
 PRED OBJ
 They might cut the women's throats (if they enter the sacred ceremony ground).

In example 8.266, the object prefix *karr-* 'her' illustrates the use of a singular form as representative of a group; the fact that a group is being considered is indicated by the plural possessive form *nalu-* 'their'. It is unusual for the verb object prefix and the Object constituent not to agree in number. The above example illustrates the kind of context in which such an exception may occur. It is from a brief discourse which focuses on the peril of any women or children who enter a sacred ground. The distinction between male and female in Yanyuwa is marked only in singular prefixes, and so a singular form is used rather than a plural to keep the female people in focus. Further examples are:

- 8.267 *Karr-il-uma / nanda-ngunduwa.*
 her-he-cut her-throat
 PRED OBJ
 He cut her throat.

- 8.268 F *Ji-jakudukudu-lu / kinju-wangka-la / nya-mangaji kurdarku.*
 MSC.NNOM-emu-ERG it.it-hit-P MSC-that.DEF broлга
 SBJ PRED OBJ
 The emu hit that broлга.
- 8.269 *Jilu-wayatha-nji / rduma-ntha-rra alu-nga.*
 it.he-finish-PRES get-PT-PRES them.PL-DAT
 PRED OBJ
 He finishes getting (horses) for them.
- 8.270 M *Kilu-wayatha / wanga-ntha-rra / ki-munanga-lu.*
 it.he-finish shoot-PT-PRES M.NNOM-white.man-ERG
 PRED OBJ SBJ
 The white man finished shooting.

There is a series of simple transitive verb stems which are derived from the same roots as a group of intransitive verb stems: *lhungku-ma* 'keep/make alive', *ngarra-ma* 'make hot, heat', *wardi-ma* 'make bad, spoil', *wuntha-ma* 'make cool, cause to be well-disposed' and *yabi-ma* 'make, make good/well, heal'. Examples of their use are:

- 8.271 M *Kanda-lhungkuma.*
 him.she-keep.alive
 PRED
 She kept him alive.
- 8.272 *Jalu-yabima-nji / ma-ngarduku.*
 it.they-make-PRES FD-heavy.rope
 PRED OBJ
 They are making rope.

In the following example, the verb stem *bijibijingunda* is derived from the adverb *bijibiji* 'twisted, plaited' and the verb *ngunda* 'give':

- 8.273 F *Kinju-bijibijingunda / mungku-wuyku-ngku.*
 it.it-entangle FD.ERG/ABL-long.yam-ERG
 PRED SBJ
 The *ma-wuyku* vine entangled the (*ma-wukarra* pandanus palm).

Some speech-related simple transitive verb stems are: *murdama* 'farewell, say goodbye to', *ngarramma* 'refuse, withhold' and *yalbanga* 'ask'. Examples of their use are:

- 8.274 F *Kany-ilu-murdama / ny-iku-nya-biyi.*
 him-he-farewell M-his-M-father
 PRED OBJ
 He said goodbye to his father.
- 8.275 *Kilu-ngarramma wambu.*
 it.he-refuse remaining
 PRED
 He refused to give (him the bullets). (lit. He withheld (the bullets which were then) remaining (there)).

- 8.276 F *Kanya-ngambala-yalbanga-njima anka-ya.*
 him-we.INCL-ask-HYP up-wards
 PRED

We might pray. (lit. We might ask him 'upwards'.)

The stem *murdirri* is derived from the adjective *murdu* 'deaf, foolish, stupid' and it occurs in both the intransitive and the transitive verb lists. (The expected form for the transitive stem would have been *murdama*, but this form already occurs as the verb 'farewell'; see example 8.274). The intransitive occurrence of *murdirri* means 'be/become deaf/foolish/stupid'; the simple transitive occurrence means 'forget, lose, be deaf, not hear':

- 8.277 *Karr-ilu-murdirri.*
 her-he-forget
 PRED
 He forgot/neglected (his daughter).

8.2.2.3.2 GOAL TRANSITIVE (OR DI-TRANSITIVE) CLAUSES

The Goal Transitive Clause has the same basic constituents as the Simple Transitive Clause, but it is extended to include an additional inner peripheral unit, a Goal with the semantic role of Active Recipient (or it could alternatively be labelled Recipient Object). The Transitive Goal unit is manifested by a noun, noun phrase or pronoun, but there is ambiguity in the case marking of these nominal or pronominal units. In some instances they are marked for dative case, but in many instances they are marked for nominative case as if the Transitive Goal were a second Object.

In most instances it is the Object referent rather than the Goal referent which is marked by the pronominal prefix on the verb, but for the two verbs, *ngunda* 'give' and *inu* 'tell', either the Object or the Goal referent may be marked on the verb by an object person marker. (There is no special person marker for Goal.) Since the semantic role is that of Active Recipient, whichever marking is used, the label 'Goal' is retained.

There is a limited list of verbs which occur in the Predicate of Goal Transitive Clauses. They include verbs of giving, taking away, and certain speech verbs: *inu* 'tell', *ngunda* 'give', *wundarra* 'name (in the senses of assign a name, tell the name of, address by name)' and *yiwa* 'take away, remove from'. It is noted that for the verb *yiwa* 'take away', the Goal represents the former possessor of the object. For this verb, it is the Goal (the person from whom the object is removed) which is the referent of the object marker on the verb (see examples 8.292 to 8.294).

- 8.278 M *Jan-ina-nji / an-ku / wakuku kalu-wanga-njama.*
 it.we.EXCL-tell-PRES her-DAT dog it.they-shoot-INTEN
 PRED GOAL OBJ

We are telling her (that) they intend to shoot the dogs.

- 8.279 *Jirn-ina-nj / yin-ku / jinangu wuka wabarrangu-mba.*
 it.I-tell-PRES you.SG-DAT this.DEF word in.past-side
 PRED GOAL OBJ

I am telling this olden-time story to you.

In the next example, the roles are changed. The verb *inu* 'tell' is here used as a simple transitive verb and the constituent marked by dative is a Pertinent in the outer clause periphery. (It is not in the Active Recipient role of a Goal unit.)

- 8.280 M *Ki-warama-wu / kal-il-ina-nthaninya / ki-Nuwa.*
 MSC.NNOM-flood-DAT them-he-tell-P.CST M.NNOM-Noah
 PERT PRED SBJ
 Noah told them about the flood.
- 8.281 M *Rra-wulanbi / rr-iku-rra-yuwarni-lu / kandu-ngunda-yaninya.*
 F-first.wife F-his-F-mother.in.law-ERG him.she-give-P.CST
 OBJ SBJ PRED
 His mother-in-law used to give him (his) first wife.
- 8.282 M *Kilu-ngunda-yaninya / mankarni.*
 it/him.he-give-P.CST cleverman
 PRED GOAL
 (The healed man) used to give the (emu) to the cleverman (or Aboriginal 'doctor').
- 8.283 M *Karr-awula-ngunda / jikan / ki-Jijil kulu Burayan.*
 her-they.DU-give handshake M.NNOM-Cecil and Brian
 PRED OBJ SBJ
 Cecil and Brian shook her by the hand (lit. gave her a handshake).
- 8.284 M *An-ku / katharra-ngunda / jikan.*
 her-DAT it.we.DU.EXCL-give handshake
 GOAL PRED SBJ
 We shook her by the hand.
- 8.285 *Kal-anda-ngunda / li-ardu-birri / jumbala.*
 them-she-give PL-child-DIM.PL clothes
 PRED GOAL OBJ
 She gave the children clothes.
- 8.286 *Kujaka-lu wu-Dabi / karn-andu-ngunda anka-ya.*
 mother-ERG F.NNOM-Darby me-she-give up-wards
 SBJ PRED
 (Your) mother Darby handed me up (my baby son). (lit. Mother Darby gave me upwards.)
- 8.287 F *Wawi, julaki / kilu-wundarrba / ni-wini / nyungku-mangaji*
 horse bird it.he-name its-name M.ERG/ABL-that.DEF
 GOAL PRED OBJ SBJ
nyu-wajbala-ngku.
 M.NNOM-white.man-ERG
 That white man gave names to the horses and the birds.
- 8.288 F *Kany-ilu-wundarrba / niya-wini Adam.*
 him-he-name his-name Adam
 PRED OBJ
 He addressed him by his name 'Adam'./He called out his name "Adam".

- 8.289 *Jalu-wundarrba-nji Yanyuwa-ngala / Milba.*
 it.they-name-PRES Yanyuwa-way Milba
 PRED OBJ
 They are naming (the ceremony) Milba in Yanyuwa.
- 8.290 *Nya-mangaji / Yanyuwa-ngala / alhibi / janu-wundarrba-nji.*
 MSC-that.DEF Yangyuwa-way alhibi it.we.EXCL-name-PRES
 GOAL PRED... OBJ ...PRED
 We name that (salt water) *alhibi* in Yanyuwa.
- 8.291 M *Kilu-wundarrba-nthaninya / na-wini awara ngamal-iya*
 it.he-name-P.CST its-name country south-wards
 PRED GOAL
nyala ngamala / arrkula na-wini Budijid.
 still south one its-name Beadesert
 OBJ
 He used to call the name of the country southwards all the way to the south
 (by) its one name Beadesert.
- 8.292 *Kirr-ima-yiwa-nma / maraki.*
 you.PL-I-remove.from-DUB axe
 PRED OBJ
 I might take that axe away from you.
- 8.293 F *Kany-alu-yiwa wayathantharra.*
 him-they.PL-remove.from completely
 PRED
 They took everything away from him.
- 8.294 M *Kili-yiwa / rra-mayirli / ny-iki-baba.*
 him.he-remove.from F-stolen.wife M-his-older.sibling
 PRED OBJ GOAL
 He took his older brother's wife from him.

The list of verbs also includes verbs which relate to showing or demonstrating: *ijarra* 'show, point out', *mirmina/mimajima/mirnilungka* 'show, demonstrate, display' and *yunduyunduma* 'demonstrate, introduce, (and sometimes) explain'. The stem *ijarra* also occurs as a simple transitive stem meaning 'point at (using a bone or another object for the working of sorcery)'.

The stem *mimajima* is derived from the stem *mirmina* and has the definite-marker *aji* incorporated. The few recorded examples suggest that it is used with entities of greater significance (see examples 8.297 and 8.375 for reflexive use).

- 8.295 *Karr-arni-jarra-la / yirru-nga / barratha.*
 her-I-point.out-FUT you.PL-DAT mother
 PRED GOAL OBJ
 I will point out mother to you.
- 8.296 *Karn-andu-mirmina / na-budu / nganu-nga.*
 it.ARB-she-show ARB-photo us.EXCL-DAT
 PRED OBJ GOAL
 She showed slides to us.

- 8.297 F *Wunyatha-lu ankangu / kilu-mirajima.*
 father-ERG above it.he-show
 SBJ PRED
 The father above showed it (that is, the burning bush to Moses).
- 8.298 M *Kilu-mirnilungka / barrawu.*
 him/it.he-show house
 PRED OBJ
 He showed him the house.

The two verb stems relating to teaching or the giving of knowledge may also occur in this list: *mirdanma/milirdima* 'teach'. These stems are derived from the stems *mirdan/milirdi* 'clever, wise, knowledgeable, learned'; *mirdan* is the more commonly used stem. They may occur in a Goal Transitive Clause construction when the content of the teaching is significant. Alternatively, when the focus is on the student, the verbs may occur in a Simple Transitive Clause; any reference to what is taught is then in an outer peripheral clause (or sentence) unit. The stems are included here since they have potential to occur as goal transitive verbs.

The remaining examples illustrate the verbs of teaching. They demonstrate that the person who is taught or made knowledgeable is marked on the verb as object. The matter taught may occur as an Object or as an outer peripheral Pertinent unit, or it may be left unstated.

- 8.299 F *Kal-irna-minmirdanma-la/ narna-rrku, [ni-rayi wuka*
 them-I-teach.teach-FUT ABST-other its-sound word
 PRED OBJ
jina barra Yanyuwa].
 this.INDEF now Yanyuwa
 I will teach them another (language), [the sounds of this language Yanyuwa now].
- 8.300 *Karn-alu-mirdanma / yumbulyumbumantha-wu.*
 me-they-teach all.different.kinds-DAT
 PRED PERT
 They taught me about all sorts of things.
- 8.301 *Kimbal-andu-mirdanma-la.*
 you.DU-she-teach-FUT
 PRED
 She will teach you.

8.2.2.3.3 LOCATION TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

The Location Transitive Clause has the same basic constituents as the Simple Transitive Clause, but it is extended to include an additional inner peripheral unit, Location, with the semantic role of Dissociated Environment. Just as with the Location Intransitive Clause, reference to the location of the action is essential to the completeness of the clause statement. The Location constituent may be omitted only if the information is already provided in the context. The Location unit may be manifested by a locative adverb or phrase, a placename noun, or a noun expressive of location, either marked by ablative case or by extension of the stem.

The list of verbs which occur in the Location Transitive Clause Predicate is a short one: *kurrama* 'bury', *nda* 'leave' and *yibarra* 'put, place, appoint'. Location Transitive Clauses are illustrated below:

- 8.302 *Karr-alu-kurrama / baji.*
 her-they-bury there.DEF
 PRED LOC
 They buried her there.
- 8.303 *Jalu-kurrama-nji / awara-la.*
 it.they-bury-PRES ground-ABL
 PRED LOC
 They are burying (the cycad nuts) in the ground.
- 8.304 *Kala-nda-yaninya / nya-mangaji yarraman / ngulakari.*
 it.they-leave-P.CST MSC-that.DEF horse behind
 PRED OBJ LOC
 They used to leave the horses behind.
- 8.305 *Karn-arna-nda / na-lhanu / ngamala.*
 it.ARB-I-leave ARB-paperbark south
 PRED OBJ LOC
 I left the paperbark in the south.
- 8.306 *Kal-irna-nda / angula Burrulula.*
 them-I-leave west Borrooloola
 PRED LOC
 I left (my relatives there) in the west at Borrooloola.
- 8.307 F *Kinya-yibarra-la / nilha-rrku / bilikan-da yin-ku.*
 it.you.SG-put-FUT MSC-other billy-ABL you.SG-DAT
 PRED OBJ LOC
 You will put some of it (lit. it/other) in your billy.
- 8.308 *Wu-bardibardi-lu / kanda-yibarra / bilikan / buyuka-la.*
 F.NNOM-old.woman-ER it.she-put billy fire-ABL
 SBJ PRED OBJ LOC
 The old woman put the billy on the fire.
- 8.309 *Jalu-yibarra-nji / rru-birdawarra-la.*
 it.they-put-PRES F.NNOM-bag-ABL
 PRED LOC
 They are putting (the edible lizards) in the bag.
- 8.310 M *Kilu-yibarra / arrkula na-mi / ki-ngajarr-a.*
 it.he-put one its-eye MSC.NNOM-gun-ABL
 PRED OBJ LOC
 He put one bullet (lit. eye/seed) in the gun.
- 8.311 *Kalu-yibarra-nthaninya / nya-mangaji jayngka / arndaarnda.*
 it.they-put-P.CST MSC-that.DEF rock inside
 PRED OBJ LOC
 They used to put those (heated) rocks inside (the pit, in making an underground oven).

The verb *yibarra* 'put' also has the meaning 'appoint'. The position to which the Object entity is appointed then manifests the Location. Consequently the Location unit is manifested by a noun with an appropriate meaning, usually *wirdi* 'senior one, boss, leader' or *wirdiwalangu* 'most senior leader':

- 8.312 F *Kany-ilu-yibarra / nya-wirdi.*
 him-he-put M-senior.one
 PRED LOC
 He appointed him leader./He put him in charge.

8.2.2.3.4 DESTINATION TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Destination Transitive Clauses are those in which there is motion of the referent of the clause's Object. As with Destination Intransitive Clauses, there may be reference to the source direction of the motion or to its goal, but it is essential to the completeness of the clause statement that there be reference to one of these. Only if this information is clear from the context may it be omitted from the clause. The Destination Transitive Clause consists of the same basic constituents as the Simple Transitive Clause but it is extended to include one (or rarely, both) of the two additional units: Location Source, Destination.

The Location Source is manifested by an originative locative phrase (see §8.2.2.2.4 for description) or by a demonstrative locative marked by *-ingu* 'from'. A Destination unit is manifested by an allative locative phrase (also at §8.2.2.2.4), a noun or noun phrase with allative marking, a placename noun or a demonstrative locative marked by *-inju* 'to' or *-iwuthu* 'direction in'.

The verb stems which occur in the Predicate of the Destination Transitive Clause include: *athama* 'chase', *ija* 'send', *ka* 'carry, bring, take', *lhawurndama* 'drop, cause to fall', *nyi* 'frighten out', *wajanu/waninjanguma/wanjanguma* 'send back, take back', *walima* 'throw', *wanda* 'follow' and *warrkama* 'push, pull'. The Destination Transitive Clause type is illustrated below:

- 8.313 *Kariy-a jal-ija-nji / marnaji-nju.*
 from-west it.they-send-PRES here.DEF-to
 PRED DEST
 They are sending (the message stick) here from the west.
- 8.314 *Karr-and-ija ngamal-ija.*
 her-she-send south-wards
 PRED
 She sent her south.

Example 8.314 illustrates that a cardinal locative, or one of the two general locatives, *anka* or *wayka*, marked by *kari-* 'from' or *-iya* '-wards', may substitute for Location Source or Destination constituents as in Destination Intransitive Clauses.

- 8.315 M *Baj-ingu / kala-ka / ngaliba Bamuji.*
 there.DEF-from him.they-take to Bamuji
 LOC.SCE PRED DEST
 From there they took him to Bamuji/Fanny Bay Gaol.

- 8.316 F *Kawul-awula-ka-nji* / *nya-Bari wula*
 them.DU.again-they.DU-take-PRES M-Barry they.DU
 PRED OBJ
nya-Kilbid / Kalikama-lu.
 M-Gilbert Kalikama-ALL
 DEST
 They took Barry and Gilbert to Kalikama again.
- 8.317 *Kambal-ila-ka-la anka-ya / yila-lu baj-inju.*
 us.INCL-he-take-FUT up-wards him-ALL there.DEF-to
 PRED DEST
 He will take us all up to (be with) him there.
- 8.318 M *Kama-ka / buluki / akarr-iya Wanadingka.*
 it.I-take bullock east-wards Wanadingka
 PRED OBJ DEST
 I took the cattle eastwards to Wanadingka.
- 8.319 *Na-jakarda na-biba / karn-ilu-lhawumdama kar-anka.*
 ARB-much ARB-paper it.ARB-he-drop from-up
 OBJ PRED
 (The pilot) dropped a lot of mail from up (there – when the airstrip was too wet for the plane to land).
- 8.320 *Kalu-nyi-njaninya kari-wayka / wunala / nakari ngurrbun-da.*
 it.they-chase-P.CST from-down kangaroo from scrub-ABL
 PRED OBJ LOC.SCE
 They used to chase out the kangaroos from below from the scrub.
- 8.321 M *Ki-dukuda / kilu-wajanu akarr-iya / ngaliba Klunkari.*
 M.NNOM-doctor him.he-take.back east-wards to Cloncurry
 SBJ PRED DEST
 The doctor took him back eastwards to Cloncurry.
- 8.322 *Nala-rrku / kal-ilu-walima-la waykal-iya / buyuka-lu.*
 they-other them-he-throw-FUT down-wards fire-ALL
 OBJ PRED DEST
 Some of them he will throw down into the fire.

In example 8.322, the occurrence of the locative *waykal-iya* 'downwards' is ambivalent. It may be associated with either the verb which precedes it (as above) or with the allative noun which follows. In example 8.323 below, the verb phrase is discontinuous, the verb being separated from the cardinal locative by the Object constituent. An alternative analysis would be to regard the cardinal locative, marked for direction, as the minimal manifestation of a destination phrase.

- 8.323 M *Ki-walkurra-lu / jilu-walima-nji / nya-mangaji*
 MSC.NNOM-big-ERG it.it-throw-PRES MSC-that.DEF
 SBJ PRED... OBJ

alhibi / kari-nguthunda.

salt water from-north

...PRED

The large (cyclone) is tossing that salt water from the north.

- 8.324 *Kirn-alu-wanda-rra anka-ya / yila-lu wunyatha-lu.*
 you.SG-they-follow-FUT up-wards him-ALL father-ALL
 PRED DEST

They will follow you up to (my) father.

- 8.325 *Kal-alu-wanda-yaninya-...i / namb-inju.*
 them-they-follow-P.CST-on.and.on there.INDEF-to
 PRED DEST

They used to follow them on and on to some place there.

- 8.326 *Kal-ilu-wanjanguma-la / mamaj-inju.*
 them-he-bring.back-FUT here.DEF-to
 PRED DEST

He will bring them back here.

- 8.327 *Jal-ilu-warrkama-nji waykal-ya / buyuka-lu.*
 them-he-pull-PRES down-wards fire-ALL
 PRED DEST

He is pulling them down into the fire.

In this case the verb is treated the same way as an intransitive verb; that is, it is marked for subject only. However, there may be an object (of a restricted kind) within the clause, termed an Object Complement.

There is a sense in which the meaning of the object generally seems to be inherent in the verb stem. Some stems, in fact, are derived from the noun which is normally their object (see Kirton 1978:43). The semitransitive verb stems include: *alkali* 'vomit', *lhurrama* 'dance', *mabima/rawurrkima* 'dig for water', *wukanyi* 'talk', which are derived from the nouns: *alku* 'vomit', *lhurra* 'dance, play', *mabi/rawurrki* 'water (from an underground source), soak', and *wuka* 'word, speech, language'. An Object Complement therefore makes more specific the nature of the object inherent in the verb.

Certain semitransitive verb stems may alternatively be used as transitive verb stems. When they are, this change has significance. Sometimes the transitive construction gives focus to the rare occurrence of an animate or human object of the verb. Or there may be a stronger sense of causation associated with the transitive verb form. In these clauses, the Object has a normal Object role. (See the close of this section for examples of such clauses.)

Most of the Semitransitive Clauses are of the Simple subtype. The verbs which occur in Simple Semitransitive Clauses include: *alkali* 'vomit', *mabima/rawurrkima* 'dig for water', *matha* 'fill', *milama* 'kindle (a fire)', *munjarr* 'fetch firewood', *rarrma* 'eat (non-flesh food)', *tha* 'eat (flesh food)', *wardjangka* 'fish (with line), catch fish', *wuka* 'be full, satisfied (with food)', *wukama* 'breathe, blow (a large shell as a signal, a musical instrument), smoke', *wunja* 'drink, fetch water', *yimba* 'sing' and *yiwa* 'pull in fish, catch fish'.

- 8.328 F *Kiya-alkali / nya-ardu / na-wunhan.*
 he-vomit M-child ARB-milk
 PRED SBJ OBJ.COMP
 The boy vomited milk.
- 8.329 F *Ki-matha-la.*
 it-fill-FUT
 PRED
 (The wild honey) will fill up (the container).
- 8.330 M *Ka-milama / buyuka / malbu.*
 he-kindle fire old.man
 PRED OBJ.COMP SBJ
 The old man lit a fire.
- 8.331 F *Ka-rarima-la / ni-manka.*
 you.SG-eat-FUT its-body
 PRED OBJ.COMP
 You will eat (the *dulbarri* honey with its) wax.
- 8.332 M *Ka-rarima-nthaninya / wuduru.*
 he-eat-P.CST bush.food
 PRED OBJ.COMP
 He used to eat bush foods.
- 8.333 M *Ja-rawurrkuma-nji / rawurrki.*
 he-dig.soak-PRES soak
 PRED OBJ.COMP
 He is digging a soak (that is, water from an underground source).
- 8.334 F *Jiya-wukama-nji.*
 he-blow-PRES
 PRED
 He is breathing (lit. blowing wind).
- 8.335 *Ma-rlarruwa / kalu-wukama-nthaninya.*
 FD-pipe they-blow-P.CST
 OBJ.COMP PRED
 They used to smoke the *ma-rlarruwa* pipe (a long-stemmed pipe made from *ma-rlarruwa* wood).
- 8.336 F *Nya-Numunumu / ma-kuluru / kiya-wukama.*
 M-Numunumu FD-didgeridoo he-blow
 SBJ OBJ.COMP PRED
 Numunumu played the didgeridoo.
- 8.337 M *Ka-wunja / alhibi.*
 he-drink salt.water
 PRED OBJ.COMP
 He drank salt water.

- 8.338 *Na-marringaya / ka-yinba-nhu.*
 ARB-good you.SG-sing-P
 OBJ.COMP PRED
 You sang a good (song).
- 8.339 M *Ka-yinba / nya-mangaji walaba.*
 he-sing MSC-that.DEF corroboree
 PRED OBJ.COMP
 He sang that corroboree song.
- 8.340 M *Ngulumiri marda wandir / ja-yiwa-nji.*
 barramundi and schnapper he-pull.in-PRES
 OBJ.COMP PRED
 He is catching barramundi and schnapper.
- 8.341 M *Kurdandu ja-yiwa-nji / arlku.*
 intensely he-pull.in-PRES fish
 PRED OBJ.COMP
 He is catching a great many fish.

One goal semitransitive verb stem is noted: *wukanyi* 'talk, speak'. It is derived from the noun *wuka* 'word, speech, language, story', and so, in this way, the object is already incorporated in the stem. In most instances no additional object is stated in the clause, but sometimes an Object Complement does occur:

- 8.342 M *Jina-ngu mankarni / ngatha / ja-wukanyi-nji.*
 this-DEF cleverman me.DAT he-talk-PRES
 SBJ GOAL PRED
 This cleverman (or doctor) is talking to me.
- 8.343 *Jarna-wukanyi-nji / an-ku / Yanyuwa.*
 I-talk-PRES her-DAT Yanyuwa
 PRED GOAL OBJ.COMP
 I am talking Yanyuwa to her.
- 8.344 F *Jiya-wukanyi-nji / Mayali wuka.*
 he-talk-PRES Mayali word
 PRED OBJ.COMP
 He is talking the Mayali language.

Alternatively it could be considered that the verb *wukanyi* 'talk' generally occurs in a Goal Intransitive Clause (see example 8.342), but that it may also be used in a Goal Semitransitive Clause (see 8.343 and 8.344). (This occurrence in Yanyuwa is comparable with the English verb 'talk', which is used in both intransitive and transitive constructions: (a) 'he is talking (intransitive) to me'; and (b) 'he talks (transitive) Chinese'.)

One destination semitransitive verb is noted: *wajanga* 'paddle (canoe)'. This verb normally has as its object one of two nouns: *na-wulka* 'bark canoe (of an earlier period)' and *rra-muwarda* 'dugout canoe (introduced by the Maccassans)':

- 8.345 M *Kanu-wajanga-nthaninya nguthund-iyia / ki-antha-wu.*
 we.EXCL-paddle-P.CST north-wards MSC.NNOM-sea-ALL
 PRED DEST
 We used to paddle northwards to the sea.

- 8.346 F *Nya-wajbala / jiya-wajanga-nji / a-muwarda.*
 M-white.man he-paddle-PRES F-canoe
 SBJ PRED OBJ.COMP
 The white man is paddling the canoe.
- 8.347 *Akarr-iya kanu-wajanga-nthaninya / Yukuyi-lu.*
 east-wards we.EXCL-paddle-P.CST Yukuyi-ALL
 PRED DEST
 We used to paddle to Yukuyi (in a sheltered area on the island).
- 8.348 F *A-muwarda / jawula-wajanga-nji / jingka-rku*
 F-canoe they.DU-paddle-PRES MSC.ERG/ALL-other
 OBJ.COMP PRED LOC
ji-awara-la nguthunda-kari-mba.
 MSC.NNOM-country-ABL north-DEF-side
 They are paddling the canoe in another country to the north.

Example 8.348 illustrates the adaptation of a clause type to accommodate a special situation. The speaker was commenting on an illustration of people in a foreign country to the north of Australia. Since she had no way of knowing the direction or the destination of the canoeists (which is normally required information in Yanyuwa), she instead substituted additional locative material to complete her statement.

Three verbs are tentatively analysed as location semitransitive verbs on the basis that they co-occur with Location constituents more frequently than would be expected with an outer peripheral Location unit: *lhurrama* 'dance', *mulantha* 'dig', and the general verb relating to cooking, *wuba* 'cook':

- 8.349 *Kalu-lhurrama-nthaninya waluku / munji.*
 they-dance-P.CST for.a.while bush
 PRED LOC
 They used to dance for a while in the bush.
- 8.350 *Kalu-lhurrama / nya-mangaji Kulyukulyu.*
 they-dance MSC-that.DEF Kulyukulyu
 PRED OBJ.COMP
 They danced the *Kulyukulyu*.
- 8.351 M *Ja-mulantha-yi / awara / wayka.*
 it-dig-PRES ground down
 PRED OBJ.COMP LOC
 (The dog) is digging the ground down there.
- 8.352 *Kanda-wuba / ma-balawa / marnaji.*
 she-cook FD-flour here.DEF
 PRED OBJ.COMP LOC
 She cooked the damper here.
- 8.353 M *Ka-wuba-nthaninya / baji-ngulaji / nya-mangaji wunala.*
 he-cook-P.CST there.DEF-very.same MSC-that.DEF kangaroo
 PRED LOC OBJ.COMP
 He used to cook that kangaroo at that same place.

8.2.2.4 SIGNIFICANT TRANSITIVE USE OF SEMITRANSITIVE VERBS

The following semitransitive verb stems may also occur in transitive constructions: *lhurrama* 'dance', *rarrma* 'eat (non-flesh food)', *tha* 'eat (flesh)', *wajanga* 'paddle (canoe)', *wuba* 'cook', *wukama* 'blow, breathe' and *yinba* 'sing'.

If the object of the verb *lhurrama* 'dance' is stated at all, it is normally the name of a specific dance; otherwise the general activity of dancing is assumed (see examples 8.349 and 8.350). However, the following transitive clause was also heard in conversation:

- 8.354 *Kal-ilu-lhurrama / li-nhanawa.*
 them-he-dance PL-woman
 PRED OBJ
 He had the women dance. (lit. He danced the women.)

When a Yanyuwa friend was questioned about the verb *kal-ilu-lhurrama* (removed from its context), she suggested the meaning, 'The old men danced the boys/The old men caused the boys to dance'. These two kinds of use seem comparable with the English constructions, 'He danced the Highland Fling' and 'He danced his partner into a state of exhaustion'. The first is the equivalent of the Yanyuwa semitransitive usage, and the second of the Yanyuwa transitive.

There is a single recorded occurrence of the verb *rarrma* 'eat (non-flesh food)' as a transitive verb:

- 8.355 F *Karn-inju-rarrma / ji-bilbaruru-lu / ngarna-marliji.*
 me-it-eat MSC.NNOM-groper-ERG my-finger
 PRED SBJ OBJ
 The groper (fish) nibbled my finger.

In this example, if the skin had been broken to cause bleeding, the verb *tha* 'eat (flesh)' would have been used. This did not occur, but because it was a *person* the groper was nibbling, a transitive construction gives the action focus.

The verb stem *tha* 'eat (flesh)' similarly occurs in a transitive construction to provide focus. It is used when there is a human object of the verb, alive or dead (examples 8.356 and 8.357), or when one living creature is eating another 8.358:

- 8.356 M *Kambal-ila-tha-nma / ki-wakuku-lu.*
 us.INCL-it-eat.meat-DUB MSC.NNOM-dog-ERG
 PRED SBJ
 The dog might bite us.

- 8.357 M *Kila-tha / ki-ngurdungurdu-lu.*
 him.it-eat.meat MSC.NNOM-tiger.shark-ERG
 PRED SBJ
 The tiger shark ate him (that is, part of the body of a murdered man).

- 8.358 M *Jila-tha-nji / ki-warrbirna-lu.*
 it.it-eat.meat-PRES MSC.NNOM-dingo-ERG
 PRED SBJ
 The dingoes are eating (flying foxes).

The verb *wajanga* 'paddle' normally assumes as its object a canoe. (A different verb is used for rowing with oars: *jumba-rra-nji* (he.REFL-row-PRES) 'he is rowing'.) When there

is an animate object, the verb is used in a transitive construction with an Object rather than an Object Complement:

- 8.359 *Kal-alu-wajanga / li-wakuku.*
 them-they-paddle PL-dogs
 PRED OBJ
 They paddled the dogs (upriver in the canoes).

The verb *wuba* 'cook' is used in a semitransitive construction when non-meat foods are cooked. It may be used in either a semitransitive or transitive construction when meat is the object of the verb. The semitransitive use is illustrated in example 8.353 above. Example 8.360 is from a paragraph in a discourse which describes the traditional life of the people. The first sentence illustrates the transitive use of the verb in two transitive clauses, and with the subject of them both tagged to follow. The relevant section of the second sentence illustrates the association of Location with this verb:

- 8.360 *Kilu-wuba-nthaninya arlku, kilu-wuba-nthaninya wunala,*
 it.he-cook-P.CST fish it.he-cook-P.CST kangaroo
nyungku-mangaji barra...Kilu-wuba-nthaninya munji,
 M.ERG/ABL-that.DEF now it.he-cook-P.CST bush
munji-lulu.
 bush-very.same
 He used to cook fish, he used to cook kangaroo, *that* one...He used to cook it in the bush, at the very same place in the bush (where he killed it).

There is a single example of the semitransitive verb *wukama* 'blow, breathe, smoke' in a transitive construction. A Yanyuwa friend looked at a picture of a circus elephant sucking up water and spraying itself. She commented:

- 8.361 F *Jinju-wukama-nji anka-ya [kulu ji-nyamba-lhakarra-nji ni-wuku].*
 it.it-blow-PRES up-wards and it-REFL-water-PRES its-back
 PRED
 It is blowing (the water) upwards [and it is spraying its back].

The verb *yinba* 'sing' occurs in a transitive verb construction where there is a special significance to the singing. Several factors may provide this significance. The transitive form is used (1) if the song is being 'found' or 'received', that is composed – sung for the first time; (2) if the song is for the purpose of causing rain to come; or (3) if the song is a *namu-nyiri* 'song' used by a cleverman or 'Aboriginal doctor' to help a patient or harm a victim.

- 8.362 *Kilu-yinba / walaba.*
 it.he-sing corroboree.song
 PRED OBJ
 He sang a song (in its first singing).
- 8.363 *Kilu-yinba-yaninya / wabuda.*
 it.he-sing-P.CST water
 PRED OBJ
 He used to sing the rain (to make it come).

- 8.374 M *Ngarna-marliji / karna-mba-rama [ki-yama-ngka].*
 my-hand I-REFL-hit MSC.NNOM-hammer-ABL
 OBJ.COMP PRED
 I hit my hand [with a hammer].

The next four examples are of goal transitive verbs in Reflexive Clauses:

- 8.375 *Kumba-mirnajima / alunga.*
 he.REFL-show them-DAT
 PRED GOAL
 He showed himself to them (when he had risen from the dead).
- 8.376 *Kurdukurdu / jal-inyamba-ngunda-yi.*
 very.much they-REFL-give-PRES
 OBJ PRED
 They are giving large quantities (of dugong meat) to one another.
- 8.377 M *Na-marliji / yi-ku / kumba-yunduyunduma.*
 his-hand him-DAT he.REFL-show/indicate
 OBJ.COMP GOAL PRED
 He made hand signals for him/he gestured to him. (lit. He showed his hands for him.)
- 8.378 M *Julaki / jumba-wundarrba-nji / ny-iku ki-wundururra / kurrkurr.*
 bird it.REFL-name-PRES MSC-its MSC.NNOM-night *kurrkurr*
 SBJ... PRED ...SBJ OBJ.COMP
 The bird of the night calls out its name *kurrkurr*.

Example 8.378 may alternatively be analysed as a Quotation Sentence with *kurrkurr* as the Quote or speech utterance. Certain of the birds are named according to their bird call and the *kurrkurr* 'owl' is one of them. Its call is *kurr kurr kurr...*

The following examples are of locative transitive verbs used in Reflexive Clauses:

- 8.379 M *Jumba-waykirra-nji / nya-mangaji wajbala.*
 he.REFL-hide-PRES M-that.DEF white.man
 PRED SBJ
 That white man is hiding himself (that is, taking his boat to shelter from a cyclonic storm wind).
- 8.380 *Kawula-mba-waykirra / munji.*
 they.DU-REFL-hide bush
 PRED LOC
 They hid in the bush.
- 8.381 M *Jumbu-kurrama-nji / wayka.*
 it.REFL-bury-PRES down
 PRED LOC
 (The rainbow serpent creature) buries itself down there (in the ocean).

8.2.3 INDICATIVE CLAUSE OUTER PERIPHERY

The outer periphery constituents of a clause are those which are not essential to its grammatical or semantic completeness. They contain additional information which is

generally applicable to any clause type or subtype. These constituents manifest the following grammatical relations: Time, Location, Accompaniment, Instrument (or Means), and Pertinent – a loosely related Goal. (By an alternative analysis, Manner would also be an outer peripheral unit. The writer has chosen rather to analyse adverbs of manner as modifiers of the verb within a verb phrase, sometimes a discontinuous verb phrase.) The status of the Purpose constituent is discussed separately in §8.2.4.

Outer peripheral units normally precede or follow the Clause Base. However, any constituent of the Clause Base may be fronted to initial position in the clause to give it prominence, and such change in the position of Base units causes displacement of outer periphery units also.

One or two outer peripheral units may occur in a single clause. It is unusual, however, for a complete clause, base and outer periphery, to consist of more than three or four constituents. Where the background information is given in outer periphery, the Clause Base is minimal.

8.2.3.1 TIME

Time and Location are distinguished in Yanyuwa, and yet there are also indications that they are related, as location-in-time and location-in-space, perhaps. The time interrogatives, *nganthimbala*, *nganthamungkala* ‘when?’ are derived from the locative interrogative *ngantha* ‘where?’. The word *bajingulaji* means either ‘at that same time’ or ‘at that same place’. The ablative case is used to mark nouns which manifest Time or Location. Time and Location clause constituents share the semantic role of Dissociated Environment.

The temporal which manifests the Time unit agrees with the tense marker in the Predicate, in relation to past, present or future time. The Time constituent is usually a single temporal adverb: *barrungku* ‘earlier today’, *rikarra* ‘already, before’, *ambuliyalu* ‘before’, *ridinja* ‘yesterday, at an earlier time’, *lhurruku/nyalalhurruku* ‘later today, soon’, *baku* ‘in the future, later’, *rikarrarikarra* ‘tomorrow’, *wabarra/wabarrangu* ‘in the past’ (indefinite and definite forms), *wankala* ‘in the past, in olden times’, *wundururra* ‘at night’, *yalibala* ‘early morning’, *wungkuwungkulamba* ‘in the morning’ and *ngabungabula* ‘in the afternoon’.

Certain noun and adjective stems are used with ablative or dative marking, and the allative specifier *rrku* is used with ablative marking to indicate time: *kamba-a* (sun-ABL) ‘in the daytime’, *mukunjarna-wu* (dinner-DAT) ‘at dinner-time’, *nu-nyilan-ku* (ARB.DAT-dawn-DAT) ‘at dawn’, *ngubunthurr-a* (black-ABL) ‘in the dark, at night’ and *nungkarna-rrku* (ABST.ERG/ABL-other) ‘some time, at another time’. The demonstrative adverb *nganinya* ‘like this, in this way’, occurs with a *-nga* suffix to form the temporal *nganinyanga* ‘now, at the present time’. A numeral may also be marked with dative case to indicate a number of ‘times’, often ‘nights’: *arrkula-wu* ‘once, for one night’, *kanymarda-wu* ‘for two nights’.

The Time constituent may be manifested by one of several kinds of temporal phrases. The simplest consists of two temporal adverbs, usually two different ones but sometimes the same adverb repeated for emphasis: for example, *baku baku* ‘later, later!’, *barrungku yalibala* ‘earlier this morning’, *ridinja ngula* (yesterday back) ‘a few days ago’ and *baku wundururra* ‘later on at night-time’.

Another form of temporal phrase is used to describe periods of time. Such a phrase consists of a numeral followed by a noun. The noun *na-wunbarr* ‘sleep’ is used of days, the

- 8.385 M *Mankarni nungka ka-yibanda-yama / lhurrku.*
 doctor maybe he-arrive-INTEN later.today
 LOC.INTR CL.BASE TIME
 Maybe the doctor intends to arrive (here) today.
- 8.386 M *Ngakarla / wundururra / ja-mirmngarri-nji kurdandu.*
 moon at.night it-shine-PRES intensely
 INTR... TIME ...CL.BASE
 The moon is shining brightly at night.
- 8.387 M *Kilu-wayatha mirningu / wabarrangu.*
 him.he-defeat man in.past
 TR.CL.BASE TIME
 He defeated the Aboriginal man in the past.
- 8.388 M *Kjyingkiyi ja-wal-wani-nji / nu-nyilan-ku.*
 flying.fox it-return-return-PRES ARB.DAT-dawn-DAT
 INTR.CL.BASE TIME
 The flying foxes are returning at dawn.
- 8.389 M *Wunyatha kilu-wangka-la / wabarrangu.*
 father him.he-shoot-P in.past
 TR.CL.BASE TIME
 He shot my father in the past.
- 8.390 F *Rikarra yalibala / kawula-yibanda marnaji.*
 already early.morning they.DU-arrive here.DEF
 TIME LOC.INTR.CL.BASE
 They arrived here already this morning.

Usually only a single Time unit occurs in a clause, but sometimes two may occur to distinguish two different aspects of time:

- 8.391 *Wundururra / kumba-rama-nthaninya / wankala.*
 at.night he.REFL-fight-P.CST in.older.time
 TIME RFL.CL.BASE TIME
 In olden times (Aboriginal man) used to fight at night.
- 8.392 *Nganinyanga / kamba-a / jalu-arrkana-nji.*
 now sun-ABL it.PL-spear-PRES
 TIME TIME TR.CL.BASE
 Now they are spearing (dugong) in the daytime.

8.2.3.2 LOCATION

In Yanyuwa, most references to location are expressed in nuclear constituents in non-verbal clauses, or in the inner periphery of Location Clause bases. However, Location may also occur as an outer periphery constituent. The differences are in the essential or non-essential nature of the Location unit in relation to the clause type.

Outer periphery Location is manifested by a locative, locative phrase, or a noun or noun phrase with locative meaning content. The semantic role of Location is Dissociated Environment. The following examples illustrate the unit and its function:

- 8.393 *Ambirriju / ngamal-iya Wanda kanda-wingka.*
 in.front south-wards Wanda she-walk
 LOC INTR.CL.BASE
 Wanda walked southwards ahead (of the others).
- 8.394 *Ngulakari / kanda-wingka rra-mangaji rra-Liji.*
 behind she-walk F-that.DEF F-Lizzie
 LOC INTR.CL.BASE
 That Lizzie walked behind.
- 8.395 *A-kari marnaji / jirr-irn-inu / yalibala jandi.*
 west-DEF here.DEF you.PL.again-I-tell in.morning Sunday
 LOC TR.CL.BASE TIME
 I told you again here in the west on Sunday morning.
- 8.396 *Kanu-wani-njaninya kar-akarra / nyibu-ngka.*
 we.EXCL-return-P.CST from-east calm-ABL
 INTR.CL.BASE LOC
 We used to come back from the east in the calm (sea).
- 8.397 M *Karra-ngambala-tharrama-nthaninya/ wabarrangu /*
 it.FEM-we.INCL-chop-P.CST in.past
 TR.CL.BASE TIME

ki-ruku-ngka.
 MSC.NNOM-dry-ABL
 LOC
 In the past we used to chop (that feminine-class tree with drinkable sap) in
 dry country.
- 8.398 F *Jingku-mangaji ji-wurnda-a /*
 MSC.ERG/ALL-that.DEF MSC.NNOM-wood-ABL
 LOC

jalu-rdirrirra-nthaninya.
 it.they.again-tie-P.CST
 TR.CL.BASE
 They used to wind (the newly woven string) on that stick again.

8.2.3.3 ACCOMPANIMENT

There are only a few examples of the outer peripheral Accompaniment constituent. The information it provides is more often given in Complement constituents of non-verbal clauses. Accompaniment may occur in the outer periphery of an Intransitive, Semitransitive or Reflexive Clause. It has the role of Passive Environment in that it refers to clause participants who have only a secondary role in relation to the clause action. In a primary role they would have been included in the Subject constituent and in the cross-referencing verb subject-marker within the Predicate.

The Accompaniment constituent is manifested by a pronoun, noun, or noun phrase which has an animate referent and which is marked for ablative case:

- 8.399 M *Watha ja-wingkal-wingka-yi / yila-a.*
 young.one it-walk-walk-PRES him-ABL
 INTR.CL.BASE ACCOM
 The (masculine-class seabird's) chicks walk with it.
- 8.400 M *Karna-wingka / alu-wa / ki-walya-wu.*
 I-go them-ABL MSC.NNOM-dugong-DAT
 INTR.CL.BASE ACC PERT
 I went with them for dugong.
- 8.401 F *Karna-lhuwarri-la / yila-a nyu-Dika / ngamal-iya.*
 I-depart-FUT him-ABL M.NNOM-Dick south-wards
 INTR.CL... ACC ...BASE
 I will go away south with (my husband) Dick.
- 8.402 F *Jinyamba-warrkama-nji duraji / anda-a.*
 it.REFL-pull-PRES dress her-ABL
 RFL.CL.BASE ACC
 (The train of her) dress is trailing behind her. (lit. The dress is pulling itself with her.)
- 8.403 *Rarra alu-wa linji-wajbala-ngka / karna-wunja.*
 in.deep them-ABL PL.ERG/ALL-white.man-ABL I-drink
 ACC SEMITR.CL.BASE
 With the crowd of white men I drank (at the bar in an outback hotel).

8.2.3.4 INSTRUMENT (OR MEANS)

The outer periphery Instrument constituent is the inanimate counterpart of the Accompaniment and it occurs with any action-clause type. The Instrument has the semantic role of Active Environment since it is directly involved in the accomplishment of the action of the verb.

The Instrument is manifested by a noun or noun phrase marked for ablative case:

- 8.404 F *Ma-jakarda ma-ngarra ku-wingka / ridinja /*
 FD-much FD-food it.FD-come yesterday
 INTR.CL.BASE TIME
ji-walkurra-ngka ji-mudika-la.
 MSC.NNOM-big-ABL MSC.NNOM-vehicle-ABL
 INSTR
 Plenty of food came yesterday in a big truck.
- 8.405 M *Kilu-rama-nthaninya na-murrngu / ki-barrku-nda.*
 it.he-hit-P.CST its-neck MSC.NNOM-hitting.stick-ABL
 TR.CL.BASE INSTR
 He used to hit him on the back of the neck with a hitting stick.
- 8.406 *Kumbu-wijuwa-nthaninya / nungka-lhanu-ngka.*
 he.REFL-cover-P.CST ARB.ERG/ALL-paperbark-ABL
 RFL.CL.BASE INSTR
 He used to cover himself with paperbark (in the cold season, before there were blankets).

- 8.407 F *Kalu-arrkana-nthaninya walya / jingku-mangaji*
 they-spear-P.CST dugong MSC.ERG/ALL-that.DEF
 TR.CL.BASE INSTR
ji-budanja-la.
 MSC.NNOM-messmate.tree-ABL
 They used to spear dugong using that messmate wood (spear).
- 8.408 F *Kumbi-rrka / ji-ladalada ji-nyanyalu kar-anka.*
 he.REFL-burn MSC.NNOM-hot MSC.NNOM-tea from-up
 REF.CL.BASE INSTR
 He burnt himself with spilt hot tea.
- 8.409 *Mungku-mangaji mungku-yatha-ngka /*
 FD.ERG/ALL-that.DEF FD.ERG/ALL-string-ABL
 INSTR
kalu-mindima-nthaninya.
 it.they-mend-P.CST
 TR.CL.BASE
 They used to stitch together (the messmate bark canoe pieces) with the *ma-yatha* string (woven from the fibrous layer beneath the bark of that tree).

In the two following examples, the narrator is decrying the damage done to his people through the instrumentality of alcohol. This is the referent of the demonstrative pronouns used:

- 8.410 *Jirru-wardima-nji ma-kijululu / nyungku-mangaji.*
 it.you-waste-PRES FD-money MSC.ERG/ALL-that.DEF
 TR.CL.BASE INSTR
 You are wasting your money on that.
- 8.411 *Jirru-wayatha-nji ma-kijululu yirru-nga /*
 it.you.PL-finish-PRES FD-money you.PL-DAT
 TR.CL.BASE
nyungku-mangaj-iwuthu.
 MSC.ERG/ALL-that.DEF-direction.in
 INSTR
 You are using up all your money in that kind of way/life.

8.2.3.5 PERTINENT

The Pertinent unit is in the nature of a loosely related Goal which expresses benefaction, disadvantage, or a 'relating to', 'pertaining to' relationship. It has the role of Dissociated Goal. It usually relates to an entity which is outside the range of the immediate action of the clause. The Pertinent constituent is manifested by a pronoun, noun or noun phrase, marked for dative case:

- 8.412 M *Nganambaji warama ka-wingka-yaninya / nganu-nga.*
 like.that flood it-come-P.CST us.EXCL-DAT
 INTR.CL.BASE PERT
 That is how the floods used to come for us.

- 8.413 M *Kiwa-nba / ngambala-nga / jinangu walkurra wabuda.*
 it-fall us.INCL-DAT this.DEF big water
 INTR... PERT ...CL.BASE
 This heavy rain is falling for us.
- 8.414 M *Nganinya jalu-rama-nji wakirli nya-mangaji / wula-nga.*
 like.this it.they-hit-PRES boomerang MSC-that.DEF them.DU-DAT
 TR.CL.BASE PERT
 This is how they are tapping those boomerangs (to provide a rhythmical accompaniment) for (the dancers).
- 8.415 *Kalu-lhurrama-la marnaji / nganu-nga.*
 they-dance-FUT here.DEF us.EXCL-DAT
 SEMITR.CL.BASE PERT
 They will dance here for us.
- 8.416 *Kumba-waykirra / alu-nga.*
 he.REFL-hide them-DAT
 RFL.CL.BASE PERT
 He hid from them (lit. he hid himself in relation to them).
- 8.417 *Katharra-marni / yi-ku / akarru.*
 we.DU.EXCL-be.away him-DAT east
 INTR.CL... PERT ...BASE
 We remained away from him in the east (lit. we remained away in the east in relation to him).
- 8.418 *Jalu-rdirrirra-nji / alu-nga / jadir.*
 it.PL-tie-PRES them-DAT saddle
 TR.CL... PERT ...BASE
 (The horse-tailers) are tying on the saddles for (the stockmen).
- 8.419 *Kilu-yabima awara / nuwarnu-wardi-yu.*
 it.he-make.well place ABST.DAT-badness-DAT
 CL.BASE PERT
 He is making the situation all right again.
- 8.420 *Jirna-nganu-yalbanga-nji / yi-ku nyu-jababa-wu.*
 you.SG-we.EXCL-ask-PRES him-DAT M.NNOM-older.sibling-DAT
 TR.CL.BASE PERT
 We are asking you about the older brother.

8.2.4 THE PURPOSE CONSTITUENT

Purpose is a grammatical constituent which occurs at both clause and sentence levels. The Purpose function co-occurs with the Destination subtypes of both Intransitive and Transitive Clauses; that is, it co-occurs with verbs of motion. Where there is no Destination constituent in the Clause Base, then Purpose may occur within the clause. Where there is a Destination constituent, then Purpose unit occurs in the sentence periphery. Purpose is assigned the semantic role of Passive Causer since the motivation for the main clause action lies in an inner desire or intention within the mind of the Clause Subject participant.

In Yanyuwa, Transitive Subject, Destination and Purpose are all marked by the ergative/allative suffix *-lu* (or one of its allomorphs). In any Destination Clause, only one of these constituents may occur. In a Destination Transitive clause, if the Subject unit occurs, then Destination or Purpose constituents occur outside that clause within the sentence unit. Similarly, if the Destination constituent occurs within a Destination Intransitive Clause, then Purpose occurs within the sentence. The following sentence illustrates the way in which the Destination unit occurs as Sentence Periphery when a Transitive Subject occurs within the related clause:

- 8.421 M *Kila-ka ki-duruba-lu ngamal-iya, / Andini-lu.*
 him.he-take M.NNOM-drover-ERG south-wards Anthony-ALL
 SENT.BASE SENT.PERI
 The drover took him southwards, to Anthony's Lagoon.

In this example, *Andini-lu* (Anthony-to) is a clause fragment. The probable underlying clause is: *kila-ka Andini-lu* 'he took him to Anthony's Lagoon'. The repeated *kila-ka* has then been deleted because it is redundant.

Purpose is expressed by means of a verb participle marked by the ergative-allative-purpose marker *-lu*, or by a dependent clause based on this participle. There are two instances in which the Purpose constituent is introduced by the preposition *nyala* 'to', which otherwise occurs to introduce a location phrase, for example *nyala alanji-lu* 'to the camp' (see examples 8.68 and 8.426).

The following examples illustrate Destination Intransitive Clauses in which the Purpose function is expressed:

- 8.422 *Jalu-wulyarri-nji / wardjangka-ya-lu.*
 they-set.off-PRES fish-PT-PURP
 PRED PURP
 They are going fishing.
- 8.423 M *Ka-lhuwarri-njaninya / nyamba-rama-ntha-lu.*
 he-depart-P.CST REFL-fight-PT-PURP
 PRED PURP
 (In the old days) they used to go off to fight (that is, for an organised time of settling disputes between groups before there was mutual involvement in ceremonies).
- 8.424 *Kalu-wingkal-wingka / nga-ntha-lu nya-mangaji walaba.*
 they-walk-walk see-PT-PURP MSC-that.DEF corroboree
 PRED PURP
 They all went to watch the corroboree.

Example 8.425 illustrates the unusual fronting of both a Purpose constituent within a clause and also of the non-participle constituents of that embedded participial clause. (Normally the participle precedes the other constituents.)

- 8.425 *Yurrulu wuka yibarra-ntha-lu / kama-wingka.*
 again word put-PT-PURP I-come
 PURP PRED
 I came to write down more language.

The normal order in this clause would be: *Kama-wingka/yibarra-ntha-lu yurrulu wuka.*

In example 8.426, the preposition *nyala* 'to' introduces the Purpose constituent:

- 8.426 *Karna-wuluma / nyala warlba-ntha-lu wurnda-a.*
 I-run to climb-PT-PURP tree-ABL
 PRED PURP
 I ran to climb a tree.

The next example is the cook's call to the cattle-station workers to come to a meal (reminiscent of the English 'Come and get it!'):

- 8.427 *Kirru-wingka-la / rduma-ntha-lu.*
 you.PL-come-FUT get-PT-PURP
 PRED PURP
 You will come to get (breakfast).

The following examples illustrate Destination Transitive Clauses in which the Purpose function is expressed:

- 8.428 *Jala-ka-nji waykal-iya / wuba-ntha-lu.*
 it.they-take-PRES down-wards cook-PT-PURP
 PRED PURP
 They are taking (the game) down to cook (it).
- 8.429 M *Jilu-athama-nji / tha-ntha-lu.*
 it.it-chase-PRES eat-PT-PURP
 PRED PURP
 (The dogs) are chasing (the goanna) to eat/to hold in their teeth.
- 8.430 *Kila-ka-nthaninya / ngunda-ya-lu yila-lu.*
 it.he-take-P.CST give-PT-PURP him-ALL
 PRED PURP
 He used to take (the game) to give to (the cleverman who had healed him or one of his family).
- 8.431 M *Arrkula mirningiya / kal-ija / na-ntha-lu yilarr.*
 one man him.they-send tell-PT-PURP policeman
 OBJ PRED PURP
 They sent one man to inform the policeman.

The next set of examples illustrates sentences in which a Purpose unit occurs in the Sentence Periphery:

- 8.432 F *Nya-mangaji kiya-wingka wula-lu / wukanyi-nja-lu.*
 M-that.DEF he-go them.DU-ALL talk-PT-PURP
 SENT.BASE SENT.PERI
 That man went to them, to talk (to them).
- 8.433 *Kumba-nu wabuda-lu / ma-wurrngku rduma-ntha-lu.*
 he.REFL-descend water-ALL FD-fishing.line get-PT-PURP
 SENT.BASE SENT.PERI
 He got down into the water, to get (his floating) fishing line.
- 8.434 M *Jarna-ka-nji mamaj-inju / wuba-ntha-lu marnaji.*
 it.I-bring-PRES here.DEF-to cook-PT-PURP here.DEF
 SENT.BASE SENT.PERI
 I am bringing (the game) here, to cook here.

- 8.439 M *Marnaji Burrulula / kurdardi kilu-wanga-nma*
 here Borroloola not him.he-shoot-P.NEG
 SENTENCE TOPIC SENTENCE BASE

ki-munanga-lu.

M.NNOM-white.man-ERG

Here at Borroloola the white man didn't shoot (the Aborigine).

This statement came after a description of some shooting in surrounding areas, and this, the concluding statement of the discourse, returns to the original topic of the Borroloola situation and states this exception.

8.2.5.1 NEGATIVE STATIVE CLAUSES

The Negative Stative Clause subtype which occurs most frequently is the Negative Simple Stative Clause. Examples of Negative Locative-Complex Stative Clauses and Negative Existential Stative Clauses are more limited in number, and there are no examples of Negative Full Stative Clauses in current data.

8.2.5.1.1 NEGATIVE SIMPLE STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

Information in the Simple Stative Clause subtype may be negated by expressing the absence of the topic or by making a negative statement about an existent topic.

Negative Simple Stative Clauses, expressing the absence of the topic, consist of two constituents, Negation and Subject. Negation is expressed by the negative adverb *kurdardi*. In this clause type it has the meaning 'there are/were none'. The Subject is manifested by a pronoun, noun, noun phrase or participle, marked by dative case. Negative Simple Stative Clauses of this kind are illustrated below:

- 8.440 *Kurdardi / rru-muwarda-wu.*
 not F-canoe-DAT
 NEG SBJ
 There are no (longer any) canoes.
- 8.441 *Kurdardi / alu-nga.*
 not them-DAT
 NEG SBJ
 There are none of them./They aren't (here).
- 8.442 M *Kurdardi / ki-duraji-yu.*
 not MSC.NNOM-dress-DAT
 NEG SBJ
 There was/is no dress./There were no dresses (at that time).
- 8.443 M *Kurdardi / ki-wurriri-yu*
 not MSC.NNOM-large-DAT
 NEG SBJ
ki-warrngurna-wu.
 MSC.NNOM-large.goanna.spec-DAT
 There are/were no large *warrngurna* lizards.

- 8.444 *Kurdardi / nyamba-rama-ntha-wu.*
 not REFL-fight-PT-DAT
 NEG SBJ
 There is/was no fighting.

The Negative Simple Stative Clauses which make a negative statement about an existent topic consist of a Negation constituent and either a Subject or a Complement. When such a Subject or Complement is manifested by a pronoun, noun or noun phrase, distinction between these two units is lost. In either instance the case marking is nominative. Either of the negatives *kurdardi* or *aliyaliya* may manifest the Negation unit. The negative *aliyaliya* has the meaning 'is/was not yet'. The negative *kurdardi* has a wider meaning range in this context to include: 'is/was not there, is/was not like that, is/was not the one who did that'.

Negative Simple Stative Clauses which make a statement about an existent topic are illustrated below:

- 8.445 *Aliyaliya / yiwa.*
 not.yet he
 He wasn't (born) yet/then.
- 8.446 *Aliyaliya / mukunjama.*
 not.yet dinner
 It isn't dinner time yet.
- 8.447 *Aliyaliya / awara.*
 not.yet place
 The place was not (created) yet./It isn't yet time (for the meeting).

Example 8.447 illustrates the use of *awara* 'ground, place, country' to include 'situation' in its functioning, as in the second alternative free translation.

In the remaining examples, the negative adverb *kurdardi* manifests the Negation constituent:

- 8.448 *Kurdardi / Bikarli.*
 not Bikarli
 NEG.COMP SBJ
 It wasn't Bikarli (who did it)./Bikarli isn't like that.
- 8.449 M *Kurdardi / na-rarrama marda wiji.*
 not his-upper.leg and completely
 NEG.COMP SBJ
 His legs were completely gone (lit. his upper legs and everything were not).

Example 8.449 is in reference to a murdered man whose body was thrown into the water and partly eaten by sharks. There are specific terms for upper and lower leg (and also arm) but there is no term for the entire limb. The phrase *na-rarrama marda wiji* 'his upper leg and everything' expresses this meaning.

- 8.450 *Kurdardi / li-wujji.*
 not PL-orphan
 NEG COMP
 They aren't orphans.

- 8.451 *Kurdardi / walkurra.*
 not big
 NEG COMP
 It wasn't a big one.
- 8.452 *Kurdardi / nganinyanga.*
 not today
 NEG COMP
 It isn't like that today.
- 8.453 *Kurdardi / barranamba wabarrangu.*
 not like in.past
 NEG COMP
 Things aren't like they used to be.
- 8.454 *Kurdardi / barramarni Burrulula angula.*
 not like Borroloola west
 NEG COMP
 (It is) not like in the west at Borroloola.

Examples 8.453 and 8.454 illustrate a variation in form of the preposition 'like'.

8.2.5.1.2 NEGATIVE LOCATIVE-COMPLEX CLAUSE SUBTYPE

In the entire body of recorded data, there are only two examples of Negative Locative-Complex Stative Clauses. The first is in the context of a massive flood. The narrator is emphasising the uniqueness of this particular flood and is making a contrast with the lesser flooding in the local river. He states:

- 8.455 M *Kurdardi / marn-iwa.*
 not here.INDEF-it
 (There is) not (that kind) here.

The other example negates the content of the Complement constituent. The old man speaking is making the point that he is still living but that he is restricted by some of the limitations of his physical aging. In this context, he says:

- 8.456 *Kurdardi yamulu / marnaj-ingarna.*
 not all.right here.DEF-I
 I am not very well. (lit. Not all right (is how) I am here.)

8.2.5.1.3 NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL STATIVE CLAUSE SUBTYPE

Negative Existential Stative Clauses are limited in number. However, there are two negative forms of the existential verbs and they co-occur with the negative *kurdardi* 'not' to form negative clauses.

The negative forms of the existential verb occur as zero stem with either the present negative/hypothetical suffix *-ima* or the negative past customary suffix *-anima*. The use of the existential verb with *-anima* is very rare.

In general, the examples of Negative Existential Clauses have the same three basic constituents in the same order: Negative, Predicate, Complement. There may be two

Complements, and there is one example in which a Subject occurs in addition, following the other three constituents. The following examples illustrate this clause type:

- 8.457 *Kurdardi / kal-anima / baji yurmgumantha.*
 not they-P.CST.NEG there.DEF continually
 NEG PRED COMP
 They weren't always there.
- 8.458 *Kurdardi / kal-anima / wirndayku / baji.*
 not they-P.CST.NEG hungry there.DEF
 NEG PRED COMP COMP
 They didn't used to be without food there.
- 8.459 *Kurdardi / karn-ima / yuwundu.*
 not I-PRES.NEG ill
 NEG PRED COMP
 I'm not ill.
- 8.460 M *Kurdardi / kiw-ima / na-miji / marn-iwuthu.*
 not it-PRES.NEG it-many here.INDEF-direction.in
 NEG PRED COMP COMP
 There aren't large numbers (of buffaloes) in this direction/around here.
- 8.461 *Kurdardi / kiw-ima / mingkiya mirrba.*
 not he-PRES.NEG sitting still
 NEG PRED COMP
 This (child) isn't sitting still.
- 8.462 M *Kurdardi / kiw-ima / marn-iwuthu / dulbarri.*
 not it-PRES.NEG here.INDEF-direction.in honey
 NEG PRED COMP SBJ
 There is not any honey (that is, hives in the trees) in this direction.

The intransitive verb stem *anma* 'stay, remain', which provides a substitute stem for the non-occurring forms of the verb 'be', may be used if other negative tenses are required:

- 8.463 *Kurdardi / karn-anma-nma / walkurr.*
 not I-stay-P.NEG asleep
 NEG PRED COMP
 I didn't sleep.

8.2.5.2 NEGATIVE ACTION CLAUSES

A positive action clause may be transformed into a negative one by the addition of the negative adverb *kurdardi* 'not' to precede the positive clause constituents, and by making the necessary changes to the verb. The other clause constituents remain unchanged. It is noted, however, that outer peripheral units do not normally occur in a negative clause. It is the Clause Base of each type and subtype which is negated.

There are a few recorded examples of two other means of negating action clauses. One is by the use of the negative *aliyaliya* 'not yet, not previously'. When this negative is used, the verb normally remains in its positive form. The other means is by adding the negative prefix

barni-/barli- 'not, cannot' as the initial prefix of the verb. This prefix co-occurs with the negative verb form.

When the general negative *kurdardi* 'not', or the prefix *barni-/barli-*, negates a verbal clause, the following changes occur in the verb: (1) an indicative-marker prefix *ja-* becomes *ka-* (a *ka-* prefix remains unchanged); (2) the present tense suffix allomorphs *-nji*, *-njimu* become *-njima* and the allomorphs *-yi*, *-yimu* become *-yima*; (3) the past tense suffix allomorphs \emptyset , *-nhu*, *-nyu*, *-la* become *-nma*, or *-rrma* following a stem-final *nda* syllable; and (4) the future tense suffix *-la* becomes *-rru*, or *-yu* following a stem-final *ri* syllable. (See Kirton 1978:7-8 for specific morphophonemic rules.) The clause negated by *kurdardi* 'not' and with the negative form of the verb suffix is that which usually occurs.

(1) Negative Intransitive Clauses

- 8.464 *Kurdardi* / *kalu-ariyarirri-nma* / *nguthunda-wa*.
 not they-be.lost-P.NEG north-side
 NEG PRED.NEG LOC
 They weren't lost (there) on the north side.
- 8.465 *Kurdardi* / *kal-inyamba-ngarramma-njima*.
 not they-REFL-refuse-PRES.NEG
 NEG PRED.NEG
 They aren't refusing (to drink alcohol)./They aren't saying "no" to themselves.
- 8.466 F *Kurdardi* / *ki-wabama-njima* / *jakudukudu*.
 not it-fly-PRES.NEG emu
 NEG PRED.NEG SBJ
 The emu doesn't fly.
- 8.467 *Kurdardi* / *karna-wani-njima* *a-ya*.
 not I-return-PRES.NEG west-wards
 NEG PRED.NEG
 I'm not coming back westwards.
- 8.468 *Kurdardi* / *karn-anma-nma* / *juju*.
 not I-stay-P.NEG distant
 NEG PRED.NEG LOC
 I didn't remain at a distance.
- 8.469 M *Kurdardi* / *wumburr-a* / *ka-yibanda-rrma*.
 not plain-ABL it-land-P.NEG
 NEG LOC PRED.NEG
 (The plane) didn't land on the plain.
- 8.470 *Kurdardi* / *kanda-warrrma-rru* *kari-ngamala*.
 not she-blow-FUT.NEG from-south
 NEG PRED.NEG
 (The cold wind) won't blow from the south.
- 8.471 *Kurdardi* / *kanda-wingka-rru* / *rra-nhanawa* / *baj-inju*.
 not she-go-FUT.NEG F-woman there.DEF-to
 NEG PRED.NEG SBJ DEST
 The woman won't go there (to the sacred ground).

(2) Negative Transitive Clauses

- 8.472 *Kurdardi / kal-uma-njima / nya-mangaji rubu.*
 not it.they-break-PRES.NEG MSC-that.DEF rope
 NEG PRED.NEG OBJ
 They aren't breaking/can't break that rope.
- 8.473 *Kurdardi / kala-nga-njima / linji-ja-wuthu.*
 not it.they-see-PRES.NEG PL.ERG/ABL-this-direction.in
 NEG PRED.NEG SBJ
 The people around here (lit. this direction people) aren't seeing (a flood like that).
- 8.474 *Kurdardi / arlku jakarda / kalu-rduma-njima.*
 not fish many it.they-get-PRES.NEG
 NEG OBJ PRED.NEG
 They aren't getting many fish.
- 8.475 *Kurdardi / kala-ka-nma / ma-ngarra / anka-ya.*
 not it.they-take-P.NEG FD-food up-wards
 NEG PRED.NEG... OBJ ...PRED
 They didn't take the food up (to the camp).
- 8.476 *Kurdardi / kama-murdirri-nma / nya-mangaji awara.*
 not I-forget-P.NEG MSC-that.DEF place
 NEG PRED.NEG OBJ
 I haven't forgotten that place.
- 8.477 *Kurdardi / kal-ilu-wanga-rru / li-wulu.*
 not them-he-shoot-FUT.NEG PL-men
 NEG PRED.NEG OBJ
 He won't shoot the people.
- 8.478 *Kurdardi / kim-inj-irrka-rru.*
 not you.SG-it-burn-FUT.NEG
 NEG PRED.NEG
 (The salted fat dugong meat) won't burn you.

(3) Negative Semitransitive Clauses

- 8.479 M *Kurdardi / jakarda wuburr / kiwa-tha-njima.*
 not many food it-eat.flesh-PRES.NEG
 NEG OBJ PRED.NEG
 (The flying fox) doesn't eat many bush foods.
- 8.480 M *Kurdardi / ka-yiwa-njima / arlku.*
 not he-pull.in-PRES.NEG fish
 NEG PRED.NEG OBJ
 He isn't pulling in any fish.
- 8.481 M *Kurdardi / ka-wunja-nma / diyi.*
 not he-drink-P.NEG tea
 NEG PRED.NEG OBJ
 He didn't drink tea.

(4) Negative Reflexive Clauses

- 8.482 M *Kurdardi / kumbu-kurrama-njima / wardaba / awara-la.*
 not it.REFL-bury-PRES.NEG goanna ground-ABL
 NEG PRED.NEG SBJ LOC
 The goanna (lizard) isn't burying itself in the ground (at this time of year).
- 8.483 M *Kurdardi / kumba-wudurruma-nma / mardumbarra.*
 not it.REFL-feed-P.NEG crocodile
 NEG PRED.NEG SBJ
 The crocodiles didn't eat (the dead body).
- 8.484 *Kurdardi / yi-ku / kan-umb-ina-nma.*
 not him-DAT she-REFL-tell-P.NEG
 NEG GOAL PRED.NEG
 She didn't tell him about herself/her situation.

(5) Clauses negated by *aliyaliya* 'not yet, not previously'

- 8.485 F *Aliyaliya / kany-ila-nga-la / nya-Junithin.*
 not.yet him-he-see-FUT M-Jonathan
 NEG PRED OBJ
 He hasn't yet seen Jonathan (but he will).
- 8.486 *Aliyaliya / karna-mb-ija waykal-iya.*
 not.yet I-REFL-sleep down-wards
 NEG PRED
 I hadn't yet gone to bed. (lit. I haven't yet slept down (on my bed).)
- 8.487 *Aliyaliya / kuw-urruwa-nji / ma-ngarra.*
 not.yet it.FD-burn-PRES FD-food
 NEG PRED SBJ
 The food isn't yet cooked.

(6) Clauses negated by *barni-*

There is one other way in which an action clause may be negated. The prefix negative *barni-/barli-* 'not' may occur in the Predicate as the initial prefix on the verb. This negative prefix is in more general use to negate a participle or an imperative form of the verb. There are only five recorded examples of the use of *barni-* to negate an indicative verb. Some uses of the prefix almost suggest a meaning of inabilitative mood 'cannot', but when it was used by the writer to translate this meaning it was not acceptable to native speakers. It may be that it is an older form of negation, or an alternative one which is now falling into disuse:

- 8.488 *Barn-inyamba-yngkarri-yu.*
 not-SG.REFL-feel/hear-FUT.NEG
 PRED.NEG
 You won't feel (any pain).
- 8.489 *Barni-kila-yngkarri-yu / awara.*
 not-it.he-hear-FUT.NEG place
 PRED.NEG OBJ
 He won't be able to hear anything. (lit. He won't hear the place.)

- 8.496 *Akarr-iyā!*
east-wards
(Go) eastwards!
- 8.497 *Ngamal-iyā!*
south-wards
(Go) southwards!

The adverb *kawa* 'back' may be used to command as well as to modify motion verbs of command. It may mean 'come back' or 'go back'. The specific meaning is distinguished by gesture or by an additional adverb. The adverb *kawa* may occur alone or in phrase with *kabu* or an adverb to indicate direction. (The meaning of *kabu* is not known. It seems to add a slight urgency to the command.)

- 8.498 *Kawa!*
back
Come back!/Go back! (to someone in the distance)
- 8.499 *Kabu kawa!*
kabu back
Come back!/Go back!
- 8.500 *Kawa / ngambala / anka-ya!*
back we.INCL up-wards
PRED... SBJ ...PRED.IMP
Let us go back up!
- 8.501 *Kawa marnaj-inju!*
back here.DEF-to
PRED.IMP
Come back here!

There are a few other adverbs or particles which may function as verb substitutes. One of these is *jaba* 'Give it to me!/Give me some!':

- 8.502 *Jaba / ma-mungku!*
give.me FD-mango
PRED.IMP OBJ
Give me a mango!

The particle *kuju* may be used in a quiet continuous way to lull a small child to sleep: *kuju kaju kaju...* The same particle may be used as a command for a child to go to sleep. In the following example, *kuju* and the adverb *walkurr* 'asleep' are used in succession:

- 8.503 *Kuju! Walkurr!*
kuju asleep
Settle down and go to sleep!

Another imperative word is: *Bakuyaa!* 'Stop!/Wait!' It is derived from the temporal adverb *baku* 'later, in the future' and an interaction suffix *-yaa* which anticipates an immediate response. (There are a group of interaction suffixes or particles which are used in conversations to prompt a response, reaffirm the statement, or with some such function.)

The imperative morpheme *ndi* 'leave alone' may be used to focus on either the subject or the object of the required action. It co-occurs (1) with the particle *bawuji* 'finished/terminating' and with either an imperative or a second person non-singular suffix, in its focus on the subject, or (2) with the adverb *wambu* 'remaining' and a third person prefix in its focus on the object. The following examples illustrate the functions of *ndi*:

<i>Bawuji ndi-ya!</i>	You (singular) leave that!
<i>Bawuji mbila-ndi!</i>	You (dual) leave that!
<i>Bawuji rra-ndi!</i>	You (plural) leave that!

In the first of the three above clauses, the form *ndi-ya* does not follow the same pattern of construction as the other two. The second person singular intransitive subject morpheme is a zero morpheme. The minimal Yanyuwa phonological word, however, consists of two syllables. To make a complete word, the imperative suffix *-ya* is used with the *ndi* stem in this one instance.

The final vowel of the prefixes preceding the stem *ndi* is always *a*. This also occurs in verb constructions where there is a one-syllable verb stem; any other prefix-final vowel changes to *a* before such a stem.

<i>Wambula-ndi!</i>	Leave them (plural) alone!
<i>Wambu wula-ndi!</i>	Leave them (dual) alone!
<i>Wambunda-ndi!</i>	Leave her/it (feminine) alone!
<i>Wambu na-ndi!</i>	Leave it (arboreal) alone!
<i>Wambu wa-ndi!</i>	Leave him/it (food) alone!
(Also for a male speaker:	Leave it (masculine) alone!)
<i>Wambulha-ndi!</i>	Leave it (masculine) alone!

These clauses may be expanded to include an Object constituent also:

8.504	F	<i>Wambu lha-ndi</i>	/	<i>mudika!</i>
		remaining it.MSC-leave	car	
		PRED.IMP	OBJ	
		Leave that car alone!		
8.505		<i>Wambu wa-ndi</i>	/	<i>ma-mangaji ma-barlmarna!</i>
		remaining it.FD-leave	FD-that.DEF	FD-hat
		PRED.IMP	OBJ	
		Leave that hat alone!		
8.506		<i>Wambu la-ndi</i>	/	<i>li-ardu-birri!</i>
		remaining them-leave	PL-child-DIM.PL	
		PRED.IMP	OBJ	
		Leave the children alone!		

8.3.2 VERB-CENTRED IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

The clause constituents of an Imperative Clause are comparable with those for the Indicative Clause of the same type and subtype. There is usually no Subject constituent because the most frequently occurring subject is a second person one and the person marker on the verb provides sufficient reference. However, when the imperative clause is to exhort a

first-person group or to give instructions concerning a third-person subject, a Subject may occur.

Similarly, in a Transitive Imperative Clause, an Object constituent may occur, or the object-marker on the verb may give sufficient reference in the contextual situation. Because Imperative Clauses are used in face-to-face situations, there is scope for omission of reference to all that is shared speaker–hearer knowledge.

Apart from the Predicate constituent, the same grammatical units manifest Imperative Clause units as manifest the comparable Indicative Clause units. However, the inner peripheral constituents – Goal, Location and Destination – are more frequently omitted than in Indicative Clauses.

8.3.2.1 THE IMPERATIVE CLAUSE NUCLEUS

Verb-centred Imperative Clauses occur with a Predicate which manifests an imperative form of the verb (see Kirton 1978:33-36). In comparison with an indicative verb the following changes occur: (1) the *ka-/ja-* indicative-marker is deleted, (2) if a vowel-initial prefix remains as initial prefix in the word, the initial vowel is lost, and (3) either the general imperative suffix *-ya* or the continuous imperative suffix *-nthani/-njani/-yani* occurs. (see Kirton 1978:9-13 for further detail on verb prefixes.) These changes are illustrated in the two following examples:

- 8.507a. *K-al-inya-rduma-la.*
 IND-them-you.SG-get-FUT
 You will get them.
- b. *L-inya-rduma-ya!*
 them-you.SG-get-IMP
 Get them!
- 8.508a. *K-arra-rduma-la.*
 IND-her.you.SG-get-FUT
 You will get her.
- b. *Rra-rduma-ya!*
 her.you.SG-get.IMP
 Get her (female class)!
- c. *A-rduma-ya!*
 it.FEM.you.SG-get-IMP
 Get it (FEM)!

The example 8.508c has a vowel-initial prefix. This is acceptable because (1) the vowel *a* is the entire remaining prefix morpheme to provide the object or subject reference and it is obligatory that there be some such reference on a transitive verb, and (2) it is phonologically acceptable for the vowel *a* to occur in word-initial position.

The imperative suffix *-ya* has the allomorph *-rra* which occurs (1) with verb stems which have a CCV final syllable such that the consonant cluster is nasal followed by stop, and (2) with the following verb stems: *ngabu* 'go underwater, swim, dive, drown', *uma* 'cut, break', *nga/ka* 'see'. (The allomorph *ka* or the verb *nga* 'see' occurs only with the imperative suffix *-rra* and the general past tense.) The use of *-rra* is illustrated below:

- 8.509 *Nya-wangka-rra!*
 him.you.SG-shoot-IMP
 Shoot him!
- 8.510 *Nya-ngunda-rra!*
 him.you.SG-give-IMP
 Give it to him!
- 8.511 *Ny-uma-rra!*
 it.you.SG-break/cut-IMP
 Break it up!/Cut it!
- 8.512 *Ngabu-rra!*
 go.underwater-IMP
 Dive!/Swim!
- 8.513 *Nya-ka-rra!*
 him.you.SG-see-IMP
 Look at him!

The stem *wunja* 'drink, fetch water' is an exception in that, although it is a CCV-final stem as defined above, it does not take the suffix *-rra* but occurs with the basic suffix *-ya* (see example 8.592).

The continuous imperative suffix *-nthani* has the variants *-njani* and *-yani*. The suffix *-njani* occurs with *i*-final stems and also with the irregular group of stems which take *-rra* for the general imperative. The suffix *-yani* occurs with CCV-final verb stems when the consonant sequence is nasal followed by stop, and with the stem *anma* 'stay, remain':

- 8.514a. *Kal-iny-ina-nthani!*
 them-you.SG-tell-IMP.CON
 Keep telling them!
- b. *Wani-njani!*
 return-IMP.CON
 Keep going back!
- c. *Nya-wanda-yani!*
 him.you.SG-follow-IMP.CON
 Keep following him!

The verb stem *wirranga* 'allow, permit, let' changes to *wirra* in an imperative construction:

- 8.515a. *Kinya-wirranga-la.*
 him.you.SG-let-FUT
 You will let him.
- b. *Nya-wirra-ya!*
 him.you.SG-let-IMP
 Let him!

8.3.2.2 EXISTENTIAL IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Although there is no imperative form of the existential verb, there is an Existential Imperative Clause which consists of an obligatory Predicate and Complement, just as the Existential Indicative Clause does. The intransitive stem *anma* 'stay, remain' substitutes for the existential verb in the Predicate of this clause type as it does for other clause types where the existential verb does not occur.

The Complement is usually manifested by an adverb or adverb phrase, but a noun or noun phrase may occur. There may be two Complements. It is rare for there to be a Subject constituent but one may occur. Existential Imperative Clauses are illustrated below:

- 8.516 F *J-arrkula* / *anma-ya!*
 MSC.NNOM-one stay-IMP
 COMP PRED.IMP
 Stay in one place!

(The usual form for 'in one place' is *jingk-arrkula*, but an alternative abbreviated form is used in this command.)

- 8.517 *Marnaji* / *anma-ya* / *walkurr!*
 here.DEF stay-IMP asleep
 COMP PRED.IMP COMP
 Sleep here!

- 8.518 *L-anma-ya* / *waki!*
 them-stay-IMP at.work
 PRED.IMP COMP
 Put them to work!

- 8.519 *Ambirri waka* / *anma-ya* / *mingkiya!*
 in.front away stay-IMP sitting
 COMP PRED.IMP COMP
 Sit away up the front!

- 8.520 *Ngali-nma-ya* / *ngali-wini* / *Jarabul Bili!*
 we.DU.INCL-stay-IMP our.DU.INCL-name Jarabul Billy
 PRED.IMP SBJ COMP
 Let us share the name Jarabul Billy! (lit. Let our name be Jarabul Billy!)

8.3.2.3 INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

There are Intransitive Imperative Clauses for all four clause subtypes, but those for Simple Intransitive are rare. A check of the simple intransitive verb list (see §8.2.2.2.1) will show why. The very nature of the meanings of almost all these verbs makes it inappropriate to command them to happen. They are primarily associated with becoming or remaining in a certain state or condition, and to a large extent this is outside the control of the subject of the verb. There are some examples of Imperative Locative and Goal Intransitive Clauses. Most Intransitive Imperative Clauses are of the Destination subtype, based on motion verbs.

At first it seemed there were no naturally occurring Imperative Simple Intransitive Clauses recorded, but there is one. It is a mother's command to a noisy child. The command is based on a middle verb which occurs in the simple intransitive list:

- 8.521 *Nyamba-wama-ya!*
 you.SG.REFL-cease-IMP
 Stop (that noise)!

The other occurrences come from a translation of the New Testament passage in which Jesus stills a storm. He speaks to the wind and the waves. In the Yanyuwa version he uses the same command as example 8.521 above and also the following command:

- 8.522 *Bawuji bi-ya!*
 finished stop-IMP
 Stop!

The following are examples of Imperative Goal Intransitive Clauses:

- 8.523 *Wa-yinjathirri-njani / ngambala-nga!*
 he-become.angry-IMP.CON us.INCL-DAT
 PRED.IMP GOAL
 Continue to let him be angry with us!
- 8.524 F *Yarrba-ya / yi-ku nyu-Riji!*
 hunt-IMP him-DAT M.NNOM-Reggie
 PRED.IMP GOAL
 Look for Reggie!
- 8.525 *Baku yukuma-ya!*
 later wait-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Wait a while!/Stop back!

Example 8.525 is a common command with an unstated Goal. The speaker then goes on to give the reason for the command. (See also the paragraph following example 8.503 for another use of the temporal *baku* 'later' in a command.)

- 8.526 *Nyamba-lhawarrma-ya / an-ku wu-bardibardi-yu!*
 REFL-greet-IMP her-DAT F.NNOM-old.woman-DAT
 PRED.IMP GOAL
 Greet the old woman!

The following are examples of Imperative Location Intransitive Clauses:

- 8.527 *Ngalba-ya / arndaarnda!*
 enter-IMP inside
 PRED.IMP LOC
 Go inside!
- 8.528 *Alarri-ya anka-ya!*
 stand-IMP up-wards
 PRED.IMP
 Stand up!
- 8.529 *Alarri-ya / ngatha-ngka!*
 stand-IMP me.DAT-ABL
 PRED.IMP LOC
 Stand by me!

In example 8.529, a personal pronoun (marked for ablative case) functions in a Location unit. A personal pronoun marked for ablative case may also co-occur with locatives in the construction of a location phrase:

- 8.530 M *Nya-mangaji / wa-alarri-ya / baji nyungk-iku*
 MSC-that.DEF it-stand-IMP there.DEF MSC.ERG/ALL-his
 SBJ PRED.IMP LOC
ki-awara-la!
 MSC.NNOM-country-ABL
 Let that (log coffin) stand there in his/its country!

The Imperative Destination Intransitive Clause subtype (associated with motion) is the most common. The two verb stems most frequently used in this type are *wani* 'return, come back, go back', and *wingka* 'walk, come, go'. The verb phrase may include the adverb or adverb phrase *kawa/kabu kawa* 'back' (which also occur independently as a non-verb command; see examples 8.498 to 8.501). If the direction of movement is evident from the context or indicated by gesture, the verb may occur alone or with a Location or Time constituent:

- 8.531 *Yarlayka wingka-ya kawa!*
 quickly go-IMP back
 PRED.IMP
 Come/Go back quickly!
- 8.532 *Waka ru-wingka-ya!*
 away you.PL-go-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Come/Go away!
- 8.533 *Wani-ya kawa / nyala ngathangka-lu!*
 return-IMP back to me.ABL-ALL
 PRED.IMP DEST
 Come back to me!
- 8.534 *Bawuji wingka-ya!*
 finished go-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Come/Go away at once!
- 8.535 *Mbila-wingka-ya!*
 you.DU-go-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Come!/Go!
- 8.536 *Rikarrarikarra / wani-ya!*
 tomorrow return-IMP
 TIME PRED.IMP
 Come back tomorrow!
- 8.537 *Nyamba-na-ya / awara-lu!*
 you.SG.REFL-descend-IMP ground-ALL
 PRED.IMP DEST
 Come down to the ground!

- 8.538 *Wa-wingka-ya yiwa-lumba!*
 he-go-IMP he-by.self
 PRED.IMP
 Let him walk by himself! (to a child attempting to carry a younger brother)
- 8.539 *A-Rudi / nda-wingka-ya / marnaj-inju!*
 F-Roddy she-come-IMP here.DEF-to
 SBJ PRED.IMP DEST
 Let Roddy come here!
- 8.540 *Anka-ya waka wingka-ya / baj-inju!*
 up-wards away go-IMP there.DEF-to
 PRED.IMP DEST
 Go away up there!
- 8.541 *Wuluma-ya marn-iwuthu / ngathangka-lu!*
 run-IMP here.INDEF-direction.in me.ABL-ALL
 PRED.IMP DEST
 Run here to me!

8.3.2.4 TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Transitive Imperative Clauses occur for all four transitive subtypes. Certain simple transitive verbs are unlikely to occur in imperative constructions (for example, *lhaa* 'know, recognise', *mijanga* 'desire') but Imperative Simple Transitive Clauses commonly occur.

(1) Simple Transitive Clauses

- 8.542 *Ny-irra-yngkarri-ya!*
 him-you.PL-hear-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Listen to him!
- 8.543 *Ngambal-awula-ka-rra!*
 us.INCL-they.DU-see-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Let them see us!
- 8.544 *L-inya-ka-rra / li-ardu-birri / akarru!*
 them-you.SG-see-IMP PL-child-DIM.PL east
 PRED.IMP OBJ LOC
 Look at the children over in the east!
- 8.545 *Nya-wayatha-ya!*
 it.you.SG-finish-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Finish (drinking my cup of tea)!/Stop it!
- 8.546 *A-wijuwa-ya / nanda-wulaya!*
 her.you.SG-cover-IMP her-head
 PRED.IMP OBJ
 Cover over (the baby's) head (to protect her from the sun)!

8.547 *A-yalbanga-ya* / *kujaka!*
 her.you.SG-ask-IMP mother
 PRED.IMP OBJ
 Ask (your) mother!

8.548 *Ny-ilu-manha-ya!*
 him-he-hold-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Let him hold him!

8.549 *Ny-irrka-ya!*
 it.you.SG-burn-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Cook (the fish)!

There are several verbs to express the concept of cooking (including those relating to specific methods), but one of the options is to use the verb *irrka* 'burn' or 'expose to the heat' as is done in example 8.549.

8.550 *Mbil-alu-rduma-ya!*
 you.DU-they-get-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 They are to get you!

8.551 *Nya-rduma-ya* / *yinda!*
 it.you.SG-get-IMP you.SG
 PRED.IMP SBJ
 You get it!

8.552 *Na-yabima-ya* / *na-lhanu* *yin-ku!*
 it.ARB.you.SG-make-IMP ARB-paperbark you.SG-DAT
 PRED.IMP OBJ
 Build your shelter! (traditionally made of paperbark)

8.553 *A-rdirirra-ya* / *a-mbangu* *a-muwarda!*
 her.you.SG-tie-IMP F-that.INDEF F-canoe
 PRED.IMP OBJ
 Tie up that canoe!

8.554 M *Nya-rdirirra-ya* / *nya-mangaji wakuku* / *ki-kijbakijba-la!*
 it.you.SG-tie-IMP M-that.DEF dog MSC.NNOM-chain-ABL
 PRED.IMP OBJ INSTR
 Tie up that dog with the chain!

8.555 *Mam-iwuthu* *rra-ngali-yabalama-ya!*
 here.INDEF-direction.in her-we.DU.INCL-make.road-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Let us make a road in this direction!

Example 8.555 illustrates the derivation of a transitive verb stem *yabalama* from a noun *rra-yabala* 'road, path'.

(2) Goal Transitive Clauses

- 8.556 *Ny-ijarra-ya!*
it.you.SG-point.out-IMP
PRED.IMP
Point it out (to him)!
- 8.557 M *Ngarna-ngunda-rra / ngajarr!*
me.you.SG-give-IMP gun
PRED.IMP OBJ
Give me a gun!
- 8.558 M *Ngarna-ngunda-rra / yinku-rra-ardu!*
me.you.SG-give-IMP your.SG.-F-child
PRED.IMP OBJ
Give me your daughter!
- 8.559 *Rra-mirnima-ya / kukurdi-yu / a-ngabalangu!*
her.you.SG-show-IMP grandmother-DAT F-long.tom.fish
PRED.IMP GOAL OBJ
Show (your maternal) grandmother the *a-ngabalangu* fish!
- 8.560 *Nganinya li-ngambal-ina-nthani / nala-rrku!*
like.this them-we.INCL-tell-IMP.CON they-other
PRED.IMP GOAL
Let us keep on telling (this message) to the others!
- 8.561 F *Nya-ngunda-rra / niya-marliji!*
it.you.SG-give-IMP his-hand
PRED.IMP GOAL
Give (the torch into) his hand!

(3) Location Transitive Clauses

- 8.562 *Bawuji l-inya-nda-rra!*
finished them-you.SG-leave-IMP
PRED.IMP
Leave them right alone (there)!
- 8.563 *Nya-nda-rra wambu!*
it.you.SG-leave-IMP remaining
PRED.IMP
Leave it where it is!
- 8.564 M *Nya-yibarra-ya waykal-iyia / nya-mangaji ardu!*
him.you.SG-put-IMP down-wards M-that.DEF child
PRED.IMP OBJ
Put that child down (there)!
- 8.565 *A-yibarra-ya / wurdu-la nungku-burruburu-la!*
it.FEM.you.SG-put-IMP belly-ABL ARB.ERG/ALL-paper-ABL
PRED.IMP LOC
Put (the ball) in the carton (lit. cardboard's belly)!

- 8.566 *Nya-yibarra-ya* / *wu-bimdawarra-la!*
 it.you.SG-put-IMP F.NNOM-bag-ABL
 PRED.IMP LOC
 Put it in the bag!

(4) Destination Transitive Clauses

- 8.567 *Nya-ka-ya* / *jina* *wirmurr* / *waluku!*
 it.you.SG-take-IMP this.INDEF wire.spear for.a.while
 PRED.IMP... OBJ ...PRED
 Carry this fishing spear for a while!
- 8.568 *A-ka-ya* *kawa* / *ngathangka-lu!*
 her.you.SG-carry-IMP back me.ABL-ALL
 PRED.IMP DEST
 Bring her back to me!
- 8.569 *Nya-ka-ya* *kawa yarlayka!*
 him.you.SG-carry-IMP back quickly
 PRED.IMP
 Bring him back (here) straight away!
- 8.570 *Nya-ka-ya* / *anda-lu!*
 him.you.SG-carry-IMP her-ALL
 PRED.IMP DEST
 Take him to her!

The next two examples are consecutive clauses from instructions given to the nephews of a deceased man about how to deal properly with his bones when they are encased in their log coffin. The first clause specifies the object of the command and the second specifies the destination:

- 8.571 M *Ny-irru-waninjanguma-ya* / *nya-mangaji na-ngulyanda!*
 him-you.PL-return-IMP M-that.DEF his-bone
 PRED.IMP OBJ
 Take back his bones!
- 8.572 M *Ny-irru-waninjanguma-ya* / *nyungk-iku*
 him-you.PL-return-IMP MSC.ERG/ALL-his
 PRED.IMP DEST

ki-awara-lu!
 MSC.NNOM-country-ALL
 Take him/them back to his own country!

8.3.2.5 SEMITRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

There are also Semitransitive Imperative Clauses. As for their Indicative Clause counterparts, the verbs take intransitive prefixes but there is potential for an Object Complement constituent to occur within the clause.

(1) Simple Semitransitive Imperative Clauses

- 8.573 *Kurdandu rarra-ya!*
intensely eat-IMP
PRED.IMP
Eat up your food! (to a child who is playing around)
- 8.574 *Yabi rarra-ya!*
good/well eat-IMP
PRED.IMP
Eat properly!
- 8.575 *Mbila-rrarra-ya / ma-mangaji nu-wulaya!*
you.DU-eat-IMP FD-that.DEF its.FD-head/fruit
PRED.IMP OBJ.COMP
Eat that fruit!
- 8.576 *Rru-munjar-ya / buyuka!*
you.PL-get.firewood-IMP firewood
PRED.IMP OBJ.COMP
Fetch some firewood!
- 8.577 *Wuba-ya / yi-ku / awirr-a!*
cook-IMP him-DAT ashes-ABL
PRED.IMP PERT LOC
Cook (it) for him in the ashes!

(2) Goal Semitransitive Imperative Clauses

- 8.578 *Wukanyi-ya / Yanyuwa wuka / alu-nga liyi-ja!*
talk-IMP Yanyuwa word them-DAT PL.DAT-this
PRED.IMP OBJ.COMP GOAL
Talk Yanyuwa language to these ones!

(3) Destination Semitransitive Imperative Clauses

- 8.579 *A-kari-mba / wajanga-ya nguthund-iy!*
west-DEF-side paddle-IMP north-wards
LOC PRED.IMP
Paddle (the canoe) northwards on the west side!

This example illustrates the use of a direction indication in the verb phrase in place of a Destination constituent in the clause, as in Indicative Destination Clauses.

8.3.2.6 REFLEXIVE IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

There are Reflexive Imperative Clauses but they do not frequently occur. The following examples illustrate this clause type:

- 8.580 *Nyamba-wirringunda-rra!*
you.SG.REFL-give.up-IMP
PRED.IMP
Give yourself up!

- 8.581 *Mbila-mba-wudurruma-ya!*
 you.DU-REFL-feed-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Eat your meal! (lit. Feed yourselves!)
- 8.582 *Wumbu-wudurruma-ya!*
 he.REFL-feed-IMP
 PRED.IMP
 Let him feed himself!
- 8.583 *Wumbu-ngarranma-ya / baji!*
 he.REFL-heat-IMP there.DEF
 PRED.IMP LOC
 Let him warm himself there!
- 8.584 *Rr-inyamba-balama-ya / nirru-marliji / kurdandu!*
 you.PL-REFL-clap.hand-IMP your.PL-hand hard
 PRED.IMP... OBJ.COMP ...PRED
 Clap your hands together hard!
- 8.585 *Nyamba-mimima-ya / alu-nga!*
 you.SG.REFL-show-IMP them-GEN
 PRED.IMP GOAL
 Show yourself to them!

8.3.3 NEGATION OF IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

The function of Negative Imperative Clauses is to prohibit action. In clause construction, (1) the Predicate is always the initial constituent of the clause, and (2) the negative prefix *barni-/barli-* 'don't (in this context)' is the initial prefix in the verb (or adverb in a verbless clause). Clause constituents are minimal. Outer peripheral clause units do not occur, and often inner peripheral units are omitted too.

8.3.3.1 NEGATION OF VERBLESS IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

A look back at the Verbless Imperative Clauses (§8.3.1) shows that the verbless positive commands are generally not of a kind to have a negative counterpart. The directional commands, for example, are likely to be countermanded by a positive instruction to stop or to change direction.

The one recorded example of a Verbless Imperative Clause follows. Here the negative prefix marks the adverb stem *mingkiya* 'sitting':

- 8.586 *Barni-mingkiya / ngatha-ngka!*
 don't-sitting me.DAT-ABL
 PRED.NEG.IMP COMP
 Don't sit (here) with me!

8.3.3.2 NEGATION OF VERB-CENTRED IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

In a negative Verb-centred Imperative Clause, the Predicate is always the first unit. The positive form of the imperative verb loses all person-marker referent so that the only prefix to remain is the reflexive marker *inyamba-*, where this is relevant. The verb is marked by the negative *barni-/barli-* as the initial prefix and by the negative imperative suffix *-ntha*, or one of its allomorphs *-nja* or *-ya*.

The negative imperative allomorph *-nja* co-occurs with *i*-final verb stems, and the allomorph *-ya* co-occurs with CCV-final stems such that the consonant cluster consists of a sequence of nasal plus stop. Two irregular verb stems also take the suffix *-ya*: *uma* 'cut, break' and *ngabu* 'go underwater, dive, swim'.

In general, the negative imperative allomorph *-ya* does not occur with the same stems which are marked by the positive imperative suffix *-ya*. The one noted exception to this is the verb stem *wunja* 'drink, fetch water' (see example 8.592).

(1) Compared Positive and Negative Imperative Clauses

The following examples illustrate the positive and negative imperative forms of certain selected verbs:

- 8.587a. *Wuluma-ya!*
run-IMP
Run!
- b. *Barni-wuluma-ntha!*
don't-run-NEG.IMP
Don't run!
- 8.588a. *Nya-wurruba-ya!*
it.you.SG-pour-IMP
Pour it out!
- b. *Barni-wurruba-ntha!*
don't-pour-NEG.IMP
Don't spill it!
- 8.589a. *Nya-ngunda-rra!*
it/him.you.SG-give-IMP
Give it (to him)!
- b. *Barni-ngunda-rra!*
don't-give-IMP
Don't give that!
- 8.590a. *Wani-ya!*
return-IMP
Come/Go back!
- b. *Barni-wani-nja!*
don't-return-NEG.IMP
Don't come/go back!

- 8.591a. *Ny-uma-rra!*
it.you.SG-cut/break-IMP
Cut/Break it!
- b. *Barni-ma-nja!*
don't-cut/break-NEG.IMP
Don't cut/break it!
- 8.592a. *Wunja-ya!*
drink-IMP
Drink it!
- b. *Barni-wunja-ya!*
don't-drink-IMP
Don't drink it!

(2) Negative Imperative Intransitive Clauses

- 8.593 *Barni-malawurri-nja!*
don't-make.noise-NEG.IMP
Don't make a noise!
- 8.594 *Barni-wardirri-nja!*
don't-be/become.bad-NEG.IMP
Don't be naughty!
- 8.595 *Barni-miriri-nja!*
don't-growl-NEG.IMP
Don't growl (at him)!/Don't argue!
- 8.596 *Barni-rarri-nja!*
don't-cry-NEG.IMP
Don't cry!
- 8.597 *Barni-yinjathirri-nja* / *yi-ku!*
don't-be.angry-NEG.IMP him-DAT
PRED.NEG.IMP GOAL
Don't be angry with him!
- 8.598 *Barni-bul-burraykirri-nja* / *alu-nga!*
don't-be.weary-weary-NEG.IMP them-DAT
PRED.NEG.IMP GOAL
Don't weary of them and leave them!

In example 8.598, the meaning of the verb *burraykirri* is comparable with the English expression 'be fed up'. It may relate to being satiated with a specific kind of food or to being figuratively 'fed up' with an excess of meetings or difficult people or other tiresome things.

- 8.599 *Barni-warlba-ntha anka-ya!*
don't-climb-NEG.IMP up-wards
Don't climb up (there)!
- 8.600 *Barni-ngirringirrima-ntha!*
don't-move.all.around-NEG.IMP
Don't move all around!

- 8.601 F *Barni-bi-nja* / *baji jingku-mangaji*
 don't-stop-NEG.IMP there.DEF MSC.ERG/ALL-that.DEF
 PRED.NEG.IMP LOC
jingku-lhulhun-da!
 MSC.ERG/ALL-bed-ABL
 Don't stop there on that bed!

With its meaning 'cease', the stem *bi* occurs in the simple intransitive verb list. With its meaning 'stay, remain', it occurs in the locative intransitive list.

There are few Negative Imperative Clauses of the Destination Intransitive subtype. The subtype is illustrated in examples 8.587 and 8.590 above.

(3) Negative Imperative Transitive Clauses

Negative Imperative Transitive Clauses occur in the four subtypes, although the distinctions become blurred because of the omission of most inner peripheral constituents (as is also seen in the Negative Imperative Intransitive Clauses above). The following are examples:

- 8.602 *Barni-nga-ntha!*
 don't-see-NEG.IMP
 Don't look!
- 8.603 *Barni-kujukujuma-ntha!*
 don't-tickle-NEG.IMP
 Don't tickle him!
- 8.604 F *Barni-mijanga-ntha* / *nya-rrku nya-mirningiya!*
 don't-desire-NEG.IMP M-other M-man
 PRED.NEG.IMP OBJ
 Don't desire another man (than your husband)!
- 8.605 *Barni-nma-ntha* / *nya-mangaji bindij!*
 don't-remove-NEG.IMP MSC-that.DEF bandage
 PRED.NEG.IMP OBJ
 Don't take that bandage off!
- 8.606 *Barni-wuburra-ntha* / *ma-mangaji wumbiji!*
 don't-touch-NEG.IMP FD-that.DEF incentre
 PRED.NEG.IMP OBJ
 Don't touch that central (fruit tree)!

The next three examples come from a discourse urging people not to drink alcohol and especially not to give it to the children:

- 8.607 *Barni-ngunda-ya* / *alu-nga!*
 don't-give-IMP them-DAT
 PRED.NEG.IMP GOAL
 Don't give (alcohol) to them!

- 8.608 *Barni-ngunda-ya / li-ardu-birri / wunja-ya-rra!*
 don't-give-IMP PL-child-DIM.PL drink-PT-PRES
 PRED.NEG.IMP GOAL OBJ
 Don't give the children the drinking (habit)!
- 8.609 *Barni-yibarra-ntha / wayka!*
 don't-put-NEG.IMP down
 PRED.NEG.IMP LOC
 Don't put it down there!
- 8.610 *Barni-ja-ntha / baj-inju!*
 don't-send-NEG.IMP there.DEF-to
 PRED.NEG.IMP DEST
 Don't send him there!
- 8.611 *Barni-warrkama-ntha!*
 don't-push/pull-NEG.IMP
 Don't pull him!/Don't push him!

(4) Negative Imperative Semitransitive Clauses

The following are examples of Negative Imperative Semitransitive Clauses:

- 8.612 *Barni-rarrma-ntha!*
 don't-eat-NEG.IMP
 Don't eat that!
- 8.613 *Barni-wunja-ya / kamukamu!*
 don't-drink-IMP alcohol
 PRED.NEG.IMP OBJ.COMP
 Don't drink alcohol!

(5) Negative Imperative Reflexive Clauses

The following are examples of Negative Imperative Reflexive Clauses:

- 8.614 *Barni-nyamba-rama-ntha!*
 don't-REFL-hit-NEG.IMP
 Don't hit one another!/Don't hit yourselves!
- 8.615 *Barni-nyamba-yirra-ntha!*
 don't-REFL-scratch-NEG.IMP
 Don't scratch yourself!

8.3.3.3 NEGATIVE-POSITIVE IMPERATIVE STATEMENTS

One of the sentence types in Yanyuwa is the Negative Amplification Sentence in which there is a positive base and negative base, one a restatement of the other, to give focus. The following example from a description of a flood illustrates this:

- 8.616 M *Munji-munji ja-wingka-yi; kurdardi karn-ilu-wanda-yima*
 bush-bush it-go-PRES not it.ARB-it-follow-PRES.NEG

na-wulangi wiji.

ARB-river completely

(The water) is going in the bush; it doesn't follow the river-way entirely.

Imperative Clauses are used in this same way to reinforce a command. The positive and the negative commands are given in immediate succession (in either order):

- 8.617 *Barni-warndima-ntha!* *Yabi ny-ina-ya!*
 don't-lie-NEG.IMP well him.you.SG-tell-IMP
 Don't tell lies! Tell him rightly!
- 8.618 *Barni-yarrungka-ya!* *Nya-nda-rra* *walkurr!*
 don't-arouse-IMP him.you.SG-leave-IMP asleep
 Don't wake (him) up! Leave him asleep!
- 8.619 *Lhaba mbil-anma-ya!* *Barni-malawurri-nja!*
 quiet you.DU-stay-IMP don't-make.noise-NEG.IMP
 Be quiet! Don't make a noise!
- 8.620 *Yabinya-arrkana-ya!* *Barni-wardima-ntha!*
 well it.you.SG-spear-IMP don't-make.bad-NEG.IMP
 Sew it well! Don't spoil it!
- 8.621 *Barni-ma-nja!* *Yabi n-imbala-ka-rra!*
 don't-break-NEG.IMP well it.ARB-you.DU-see-IMP
 Don't tear (the photographs)! Look at them properly!

8.4 QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

Certain clauses have the special function of introducing or terminating direct speech utterances. These clauses are termed Quote Formula Clauses and the speech utterance is termed the Quote (as in Longacre 1968). Apart from one minor difference, Quote Formula Clauses are structurally the same as the Indicative Clauses described in §8.2 above. However, their function is sufficiently specialised for a brief description of these clauses to be given separately.

Quote Formula Clauses include Existential, Intransitive, Transitive, Semitransitive and Reflexive Clauses. The one exceptional occurrence is that, in some instances, the Quote itself may occur in place of the otherwise obligatory Complement in an Existential Quote Formula Clause.

It is not unusual to find a Quote without any introductory Quote Formula. In 98 speech segments studied, half had no Quote Formula. In a Narrative Discourse especially, action clauses may be interspersed with Quotes and the context indicates which participant or participants are speaking. When there is a conversation, a Quote Formula may introduce the first Quote and the ensuing utterances continue without further introductory or terminating formulae.

In the other 49 examples, mainly from non-Narrative discourse types, a Quote Formula Clause precedes or follows the Quote, or it may do both. Quote Formulae preceding the Quote are more numerous than those following. It is very rare for a Quote Formula Clause to occur within a Quote, that is with the Quote divided to precede and follow it, but this may occur to give stylistic variation (see §8.4.6).

Quote Formula Clauses consist of their nuclear constituents only, except for the inner periphery Goal constituent. Other inner peripheral constituents and all outer peripheral constituents are omitted.

The commonly occurring verbs in Quote Formula Clauses are the existential verb *arri* 'be, do', the semitransitive verb *wukanyi* 'talk, speak, say', and the transitive verbs *inu* 'tell', and *yalbanga* 'ask'. These are the four which may occur in the Quote Formulae following the Quote as well as preceding it.

The other verbs which may occur in the Quote Formula which may introduce the Quote include the intransitive verbs *lhawama/lhawarndi* 'swear, abuse, speak negatively/with hostility', *miriri* 'growl at, say argumentatively', *rarri* 'cry', *wajba* 'call out', *warndima* 'lie, say falsely' and *wuthurruma* 'laugh, say jokingly'; the middle verbs *lhawarrma* 'greet, speak well of', *ngaminyma* 'reply, respond' and *ngayardi* 'say appreciatively, compliment'; and the transitive verbs *kiwuma* 'spit, insult, speak mockingly at', *murdama* 'farewell, say goodbye', *urra* 'stop, forbid' and *wundarrba* 'call by name, address by name'.

8.4.1 EXISTENTIAL QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

The one existential verb which occurs in a Quote Formula Clause is the verb *arri* 'be, do'. The writer had a mental query as to whether *arri* functions with one of these meanings in this clause type also, or whether it has an additional meaning 'say'. It was therefore of special interest to observe the equivalent Kriol usage.

The following sentence comes from the Kriol translation of 'Wandi' (Thomas 1982:6, translated by Queenie Brennan):

"Kamenplei!" iminlagijat.

This means "Come and play!" he said' (lit. "Come and play!" he was/did like that').

The word *imin* in this Kriol sentence is a contracted form of the third person singular pronoun *im* and the past tense auxiliary verb *bin* 'was' (see Sandefur 1979:127). Other Kriol writers also use the verb *bin* in this same way. This demonstrates that the Kriol existential verb *bin* (and the contraction *imin*) is used in a Quote Formula in precisely the same way as the Yanyuwa verb *arri*.

The following are examples of Existential Quote Formula Clauses which precede the Quote. The first one illustrates an Existential Clause which is lacking any Complement apart from the Quote which fulfils this function:

- 8.622 *Kalu-arri-njaninya, "Wayi! Wayi! Wayi!"*
 they-be-P.CST wayi wayi wayi
 They used to call out, "Wayi! Wayi! Wayi!" (to frighten out any kangaroos or wallabies towards the waiting hunters)
- 8.623 *Karna-arri alu-nga liyi-ardu-birri-yu, "..."*
 I-be them-DAT PL.DAT-child-DIM.PL-DAT
 I said to the children, "..."
- 8.624 *Kanda-arri Rumbuli, "..."*
 she-be Rumbuli
 Rumbuli said, "..."

- 8.625 *Janda-arri-nji ngatha, "...*
 she-be-PRES me.DAT
 She is saying to me, "..."
- 8.626 M *Ka-arri yi-ku nya-mangaji wajbala jiw-ini*
 he-be him-DAT M-that.DEF white.man he-PRES
 nungku-kida, "...
 ARB.ERG/ALL-gate
 The white man who is at the gate said to him, "..."

The following clauses are those which follow the Quote:

- 8.627 M "...", *ka-arri.*
 he-be
 "...", he said.
- 8.628 "...", *nganinya kanda-arri ngatha.*
 like.that she-be me-DAT
 "...", she said to me in this way.

8.4.2 INTRANSITIVE QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

The following are examples of Intransitive Quote Formula Clauses which may precede the Quote (Intransitive Clauses do not normally follow it):

- 8.629 *Kanda-wajba an-ku, "...*
 she-call her-DAT
 She called to her, "..."
- 8.630 M *Ja-wajba-nji, "...*
 he-call-PRES
 He is calling out, "..."
- 8.631 *Kalu-wuthurruma-nthaninya yi-ku, "...*
 they-laugh-P.CST him-DAT
 They used to laugh at/mock him, "..."
- 8.632 *Kumba-ngayardi-njaninya yi-ku, "...*
 he.REFL-speak.well-P.CST him-DAT
 He used to speak encouragingly to him, "..."
- 8.633 *A-bardibardi kanda-mirirri alu-nga, "...*
 F-old.woman she-growl them-DAT
 The old woman rebuked them, "..."

8.4.3 TRANSITIVE QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

The two verbs most commonly occurring in Transitive Quote Formula Clauses are *inu* 'tell' and *yalbanga* 'ask'. Clauses manifesting these verbs may occur preceding or following a speech utterance. The other verbs which occur in this clause type (see §8.4 above, final paragraph) normally occur in Quote Formula Clauses which precede the Quote.

The following are examples of Transitive Quote Clauses which precede the Quote:

- 8.634 *Karr-arn-inu rra-karna-ardima rra-Ngarrikalu, "...*
her-I-tell F-my-niece F-Ngarrikalu
I told my niece Ngarrikalu, "..."
- 8.635 *Kal-and-inu, "...*
them-she-tell
She told them, "..."
- 8.636 M *Jilu-yalbanga-nji ki-wujidila, "...*
him.he-ask-PRES M.NNOM-horse.tailer
The horse-tailer is asking him, "..."
- 8.637 M *Kilu-yalbanga munanga-ngala, "...*
him.he-ask white.man-way
He asked him in English, "..."
- 8.638 *karn-ilu-yalbanga, "...*
me-he-ask
He asked me, "..."
- 8.639 F *Kany-ilu-wundarrba niya-wini, "...*
him-he-call.name his-name
He called him by name, "..."
- 8.640 M *Kil-urra niwa-rrku munanga, ["Barni-wanga-ntha!"]*
him.he-stop he-other white.man don't-shoot-NEG.IMP
He stopped the other white man, ["Don't shoot!"]

The following are examples of Transitive Quote Formula Clauses which follow the Quote. The first example is from a teaching discourse which the narrator presents in the form of a conversation between himself and an unidentified questioner. The first question was introduced by a Quote Formula also (see example 8.638 above) and is followed by an expanded form of the clause in example 8.642):

- 8.641 "...", *nd-iwa manji nya-mangaji karn-ilu-yalbanga.*
REL-he ignorant M-that.DEF me-he-ask
"...", being ignorant that one asked me.
- 8.642 M "...", *nganinya jam-ina-nji.*
like.this him.I-tell-PRES
"...", I'm telling him in this manner.

8.4.4 SEMITRANSITIVE QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

The semitransitive verb *wukanyi* 'talk, speak' is the only one to occur in Quote Formula Clauses, but it is one of the most commonly occurring verbs with this function. Quote Formulae which manifest *wukanyi* usually precede the Quote but may also follow it:

- 8.643 *Kanda-wukanyi-la, "...*
she-talk-FUT
She will say, "..."

- 8.644 *Kama-wukanyi alu-nga liyi-ardu-birri-yu,* “...”
 I-talk them-DAT PL.DAT-child-DIM.PL-DAT
 I spoke to the children, “...”
- 8.645 F *Kiya-wukanyi-njaninya kari-ngamala nya-mangaji wurrulibinka,* “...”
 he-talk-P.CST from-south MSC-that.DEF jabiru
 The jabiru bird used to talk from the south, “...”
- 8.646 “...”, *jama-wukanyi-nji an-ku marruwarra-wu.*
 I-talk-PRES her-DAT cousin-DAT
 “...”, I said to (my) cousin.

8.4.5 REFLEXIVE QUOTE FORMULA CLAUSES

The transitive verb *inu* ‘tell’ may be used in a Reflexive Clause with the meaning ‘tell about-self’. Reflexive Quote Formula Clauses of this kind may precede or follow the Quote:

- 8.647 *Kanumb-inu,* “...”
 she.REFL-tell
 She said of herself, “...”
- 8.648 “...”, *kanumb-inu ngatha.*
 she.REFL-tell me.DAT
 “...”, she told me about herself.

The semitransitive verb *wukanyi* ‘talk, speak’ and the transitive verb *yngkarrri* ‘hear, listen’ in the extended form *yngkalayngkarrri* may both be used in a reflexive verb construction to mean ‘think’. It is usually the former, *mba-wukanyi* ‘talk to -self’ which is used to introduce a Quote which refers to ‘thinking’:

- 8.649 *Kanumba-wukanyi,* “...”
 she.REFL-talk
 She said to herself/thought, “...”

8.4.6 SPECIAL STYLISTIC USAGE

One brief Dramatic Discourse has an attractive literary style. The narrator is giving instructions to a non-Aboriginal hearer on how to find food and drink in the bush if she should become lost. In giving this teaching, she puts her ‘cousin’ in the role of questioner and she herself gives the information to her in terms of a response.

The narrator commences the discourse with the beginning of her ‘cousin’s’ question, interrupts with a Quote Formula Clause and its paraphrase, and then continues:

- 8.650 “*Marruwarra, namba karna-wingka-yima munji-munji,*”
 cousin if I-go-HYP bush-bush
janda-wukanyi-nji ngatha a-Duna, janda-arri-nji ngatha,
 she-talk-PRES me.DAT F-Donna she-be-PRES me.DAT
 “*Marruwarra, namba karna-wingka-yima munji-munji, ngalhi*
 cousin if I-go-HYP bush-bush what

karna-rarra-njima?"

I-eat-HYP

"Cousin, if I should go in the bush," Donna is talking to me, she is saying to me, "Cousin, if I should go in the bush, what would I eat?"

The narrator introduces her own response with a Quote Formula Clause in the customary way:

- 8.651 *Karna-wukanyi an-ku rruwu-ja marruwarra-wu, "...*
 I-talk her-DAT DAT-this cousin-DAT
 I said to this (my) cousin, "..."

The 'cousin' responds with a brief appreciative indication that she is listening. This also has a Quote Formula within the Quote:

- 8.652 "*Ngarri?" janda-arri-nji marruwarra ngatha,*
 is.that.so she-is-PRES cousin me.DAT
 "*A...a, ngarri, marruwarra.*"
 oh is.that.so cousin
 "Is that so?" (my) cousin is saying to me, "Oh... is that how it is, cousin?"

The narrator continues her teaching without further introductory formula but she terminates it with a Quote Formula Clause (see example 8.646) above). She concludes the question-answer section with a summary repetition of the cousin's initial question, but this time it is introduced and terminated by Quote Formulae:

- 8.653 *Jarn-andu-yalbanga-nji jinangu, 'Namba munji-munji wingka-ya-rra,*
 me-she-ask-PRES this if bush-bush go-PT-PRES
 kulu ngandarra ngarna rduma-ntha-wu wudurru?
 then how I get-PT-DAT food
 kanda-arri-nji ngatha, [kulu yamulu jarr-arni-na-nji...]
 she.again-be-PRES me.DAT and all.right her-I-tell-PRES
 She is asking me this, "If (one is) walking in the bush, then how (am) I to get food?" she is saying to me, [and I am telling her all right...]

The narrator concludes with a brief summary in indirect speech.

8.5 PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES

Participial Clauses are normally dependent clauses, clauses which occur as part of a larger construction. They are normally dependent on the previous clause (or sometimes, earlier context) for identification of their subject. The verb participle which occurs in the Predicate has no person-marker subject and there is normally no Subject constituent. In most instances, the subject is identified as being the Subject of the previous clause. If that preceding clause is transitive, then either the Subject or the Object may be the subject of a Participial Clause which follows. Pronominal reference or the context must distinguish which of them is the subject.

It is noted that an Indicative Stative Clause may have a Participial Clause as one rare form of its Complement (see examples 8.29, 8.30 and 8.41 to 8.43), so that it then consists of a

Subject and a Participial Clause, but these are independent clauses with a specific defining function.

The only context in which dependent Participial Clauses having a Subject within the dependent clause may occur is in a Temporal Clause introduced by the relator *ngal* 'when' if the subject of this clause is different from the subject of the accompanying clause. These are illustrated in §8.5.2.

8.5.1 PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE CONSTRUCTION

Participial Clauses consist minimally of a verb participle in one of its forms, and it may include other constituents according to the type and subtype of the verb which manifests the Predicate. Participial Clauses may consist of nuclear, and inner and outer peripheral constituents, just as independent clauses do.

It is rare for motion verbs to occur in a Participial Clause. The present participle *wingka-ya-rra* 'coming, going, walking' occurs in a few instances in the sense of 'walking around' to indicate a reasonable degree of health. But the normal use of motion verbs is in the expressing of purposeful action, and this is typically manifested in independent clauses.

There are no Participial Clauses in which an intransitive past participle form occurs. There is only one example of such a participle in the entire data and it is in the following Stative Clause. A group of women had been waiting for a length of time for another person to arrive. One of them finally commented:

- 8.654 *A-yurrujuru* *mamarri-nja*.
 F-all.the.time/way remain.away-PT
 SBJ COMP
 (She is) a constantly absent woman.

8.5.1.1 CLAUSE NUCLEUS

The nucleus of a non-transitive Participial Clause normally consists of a Predicate only. In a dependent Transitive Clause, an Object usually occurs following the Predicate. A Subject may occur only in the context defined above (§8.5, final paragraph).

8.5.1.1.1 THE PREDICATE

The Predicate of a Participial Clause is manifested by a verb participle or by a participle phrase. Yanyuwa participles may be past, past customary, present, or negative. They may be marked by dative or ergative-allative-purpose case suffixes. These forms are illustrated below with the transitive verb stem *wijuwa* 'cover':

<i>wijuwa-ntha</i>	covered
cover-PT	
<i>*wijuwa-ntha-ninya</i>	covered (in the customary way)
cover-PT-P.CST	
<i>wijuwa-ntha-rra</i>	covering
cover-PT-PRES	

<i>wijuwa-ntha-wu</i> cover-PT-DAT	covering, relating to covering
<i>wijuwa-ntha-lu</i> cover-PT-PURP	to cover, with the intention of covering
* <i>barni-wijuwa-ntha</i> not-cover-PT	not covered

* (These two forms occur rarely. The negative form of the participle is identical with the negative imperative form of the verb.)

The Yanyuwa past participle, occurring in a Stative clause, provides a way of expressing passive in the language. This is illustrated in the following sentence (in women's dialect) which terminates a paragraph in a Procedural discourse on cooking kangaroo:

- 8.655 *Kilh-aninya nuwa-ntha barra wayka,*
it.MSC-P.CST cook.underground-PT now down

kurrama-ntha barra.
bury-PT now

It used to cook down in the underground oven then, buried.

There are two kinds of participle phrases. One is comparable with other verb phrases and the other is unique to participle occurrence. The common form of the participle phrase, in common with other verb phrases, consists of a verb form and an adverb modifier:

- 8.656 *nyamba-wukanyi-nja-wu kurdandu*
REFL-talk-PT-DAT loudly
to talk loudly
- 8.657 *kadirra-ntha waykal-iya*
insert.into-PT down-wards
inserted into (it)
- 8.658 *walkurrija-nja-rra ngamal-iya*
break.over-PT-PRES south-wards
breaking over southwards (of the effect of a storm on some banana palms)
- 8.659 *kariy-a wunjini-nja-rra*
from-west swim-PT-PRES
swimming from the south
- 8.660 *rarri-nja-rra baj-iwuthu wiji*
cry-PT-PRES there.DEF-direction.in all.inclusively
crying as a group in that direction

The second kind of participle phrase is of a specialised kind. In this phrase, the constituents appear to be those of a Participial Clause, but any other constituents are marked by the same case marker as the participle, in agreement with it, as in a phrase. The two cases which are used for the marking of such phrases are dative and ergative-allative-purpose. For these participle phrases, the constituent function for which the constituents are marked within the independent clause takes precedence over their functions relative to each other.

These specialised participle phrases are illustrated below, in their sentence context:

- 8.661 M *Wanga-ntha-wu yi-ku ka-yukuma.*
shoot-PT-DAT him-DAT he-wait
He waited to shoot him.
- 8.662 M *Kilu-ngunda-yaninya mankarni yabima-ntha-wu yi-ku.*
him.he-give-P.CST cleverman make.well-PT-DAT him-DAT
He gave (the game) to the *mankarni* doctor for making him well.
- 8.663 *Kila-ka-nthaninya baj-inju nuwa-ntha-lu yila-lu.*
it.he-carry-P.CST there.DEF-to cook-PT-PURP him-PURP
He brought it back to that place, to cook (in an underground oven) for him.
- 8.664 *Kanda-wani-nma nga-ntha-lu marnaj-inju.*
she-return-DUB see-PT-PURP here.DEF-ALL/PURP
She might come back to see us here.
- 8.665 F *Kiya-wani-la rduma-ntha-lu ngambala-lu.*
he-return-FUT get-PT-PURP us.INCL-PURP
He will come back to collect us.

8.5.1.1.2 THE OBJECT

The Object in a Transitive Participial Clause is comparable with that in an Independent Clause. It consists of a noun, noun phrase, or a noun substitute such as a pronoun or an allative specifier *rrku* 'other'. The Object normally follows the Predicate:

- 8.666 M *ma-nja-rra / na-marliji*
break-PT-PRES his-finger
breaking his fingers (as a disciplinary action)
- 8.667 *rama-ntha-rra / wakirli*
hit-PT-PRES boomerang
tapping boomerangs (as a rhythmic accompaniment)
- 8.668 *wukanyi-nja-rra / Kangkalida*
talk-PT-PRES Kangkalida
talking the Kangkalida language
- 8.669 *yingkarri-nja-wu / yin-ku wuka*
hear-PT-DAT you.SG-DAT word
to hear your words
- 8.670 *rduma-ntha-lu / li-jakarda yilarr*
get-PT-PURP PL-many policeman
to get a band of policemen
- 8.671 *jabuma-ntha-rra / ma-mangaji nu-wulaya*
pick-PT-PRES FD-that.DEF its.FD-head/fruit
picking that fruit
- 8.672 *arrkana-ntha-ninya / a-wutha a-ngubunthurr*
spear-PT-P.CST FEM-head.lice FEM-black
spearing (in the customary way) the black head-lice

Sometimes the order of these constituents is reversed for stylistic reasons. In the following example, two Participial Clauses occur in succession, linked by the conjunction *marda* 'and'. The constituents are in the normal order in the first clause and are permuted in the second, to provide stylistic variation:

- 8.673 *bulama-ntha-rra dulbarri marda wardaba rama-ntha-rra*
 cut-PT-PRES honey and goanna kill-PT-PRES
 cutting (trees to obtain) honey and killing goanna

In the oral language, new information is introduced slowly and in conjunction with repetition of known information. There is a preference for varying the order of constituents as the repetition occurs, as is illustrated in sentence 8.674. The same Participial Clause occurs three times within the sentence. The first occurrence is in the normal order. In the two occurrences which follow, the Object precedes the participle:

- 8.674 *Wayka kan-aninya, kan-aninya wayka tha-ntha-rra*
 down we.EXCL-P.CST we.EXCL-P.CST down eat-PT-PRES

walya, walya tha-ntha-rra kan-aninya wurru-ngka,
 dugong dugong eat-PT-PRES we.EXCL-P.CST beach-ABL

walya tha-ntha-rra amindawa barra wurru-ngka, wurru-ngka
 dugong eat-PT-PRES at.coast now beach-ABL beach-ABL

kan-aninya.

we.EXCL-P.CST

We used to be down there, we used to be down there eating dugong, we used to be eating dugong on the beach, eating dugong at the coast on the beach, on the beach we used to be.

Although the degree of repetition may have a tediousness in the English translation, in the Yanyuwa original there is rather a feeling of the relaxed time of eating after the active period of the hunt. There is also a certain sense of poetry in the repetition, with its variation and its accompanying rhythm.

8.5.1.1.3 THE SUBJECT

The Subject is restricted to those Participial Clauses which occur in a Temporal Clause introduced by *ngal* 'when' in a Temporal Sentence Base. It is noted that in each of the Temporal Sentence examples, there is a different subject referent for each Base (see examples 8.704 to 8.706 below). In this context, the Subject is manifested by a noun or a simple noun phrase comprising a demonstrative pronoun and a noun. These units are marked for nominative case.

8.5.1.2 CLAUSE INNER PERIPHERY

The inner periphery constituents, Goal and Location, may be omitted from the Participial Clause, but they frequently co-occur with their respective verb subtypes, as in independent clauses. (There are no examples of the Destination constituent in a Participial Clause, since this constituent seems to be essentially associated with action.)

- 8.684 M *nyamba-mirra-ntha-lu / nyungka-raku*
 REFL-die-PT-PURP MSC.ERG/ALL-other
ki-awara-lae
 MSC.NNOM-country-ABL
 to die in another country

8.5.1.3 CLAUSE OUTER PERIPHERY

The outer peripheral units which occur with independent clauses may also occur with Participial Clauses. There is no example of the Accompaniment unit, but this unit has rare occurrence in independent clauses and it is assumed that there is potential for it to occur. There are examples of Time, Location, Instrument and Pertinent outer periphery constituents. These are illustrated below:

- 8.685 *arkana-ntha-ninya a-wutha a-ngubunthurr / wabarrangu*
 spear-PT-P.CST FEM-louse FEM-black in.past
 TR.PART.CL TIME
 (customarily) speared the black head-lice in the past
- 8.686 *tha-ntha-wu marnaji anda-lumba / wundururra*
 eat-PT-DAT here.DEF her-by.self at.night
 SEMITR.PART.CL.BASE TIME
 to eat here by herself in the evening
- 8.687 *walima-ntha-lu ma-wurngku / wayka*
 throw-PT-PURP FD-fishing.line down
 TR.PART.CL.BASE LOC
 to cast a fishing line down there
- 8.688 *rduma-ntha-lu akarru dubaka Yukuyi*
 get-PT-PURP east tobacco Yukuyi
 TR.PART.CL... LOC... ..CL.BASE ...LOC
 to get tobacco in the east at Yukuyi
- 8.689 M *wijuwa-ntha / ki-bilangki-la*
 cover-PT MSC.NNOM-blanket-ABL
 TR.PART.CL.BASE INSTR
 covered with a blanket
- 8.690 *muruma-ntha / nungka-lhanu-ngka*
 shut-PT ARB.ERG/ALL-paperbark-ABL
 TR.PART.CL.BASE INSTR
 closed off with paperbark (of the open end of a log coffin)
- 8.691 *rduma-ntha-wu / alu-nga*
 get-PT-DAT them-DAT
 TR.PART.CL.BASE PERT
 to get (the horses) for (the stockmen)

This is one of the two contexts in which a Participial Clause may have a Subject. The Subject of the Participial Clause is the Object of the transitive verb in the main clause, and it always precedes the other Participial Clause constituents.

- 8.696 *Kila-yngkarri / baji / mulhamulhama-ntha-ninya.*
 it.he-hear there.DEF act.quietly-PT-P.CST
 PRED LOC OBJ
 (The hunter) heard (the dugong) there moving quietly (in its customary way).
- 8.697 *Karr-arna-ka-la / a-bardibardi alarri-nja-rra.*
 her-I-see-P F-old.woman stand-PT-PRES
 PRED OBJ
 I saw the old woman standing (there).
- 8.698 *Kal-ila-yngkarri / li-ardu-birri rari-nja-rra.*
 them-he-hear PL-child-DIM.PL cry-PT-PRES
 PRED OBJ
 He heard the children crying.
- 8.699 *Karr-awula-yngkarri-njaninya / a-barral kari-ngamala*
 her-they.DU-hear-P.CST F-white.cockatoo from-south
 PRED OBJ

nyamba-ngarramma-ntha-rra.
 REFL-call-PT-PRES
 They heard a white cockatoo calling from the south.

(5) Subject of Certain Negative Stative Clauses (See also example 8.444)

- 8.700 M *Kurdardi / ka-ntha-wu baj-inju kulu ngamala*
 not carry-PT-DAT there.DEF-to and south
 NEG.COMP SBJ

nyungku-mangaji ki-awara-la.
 MSC.ERG/ABL-that.DEF MSC.NNOM-place-ABL
 No-one would take (live rabbits) all that way (from Queensland into New South Wales) (lit. (there is) not any taking (those things) all the way south there to that place.). (a Yanyuwa man's reaction to the vehicle check at the border some years ago)

By the analysis presented, in examples 8.700 and 8.701 the negative *kurdardi* functions as the Negative Complement and the Participial Clause functions as the Subject (or Topic).

- 8.701 *Kurdardi / wuba-ntha-wu a-mangaji a-ngilhiny.*
 not cook-PT-DAT FEM-that.DEF FEM-oyster
 NEG.COMP SBJ
 The oyster doesn't require cooking. (lit. (there is) not any cooking of that oyster.)

(6) To manifest Purpose (see examples 8.421 and 8.435 above)

(7) In the Periphery of an Explanatory Sentence (see also examples 8.436 and 8.437)

8.702 F *Kilh-aninya nuwa-ntha barra wayka / kurrama-ntha barra.*
 it-P.CST cook-PT now down bury-PT now
 SENT.BASE SENT.PERI
 (The kangaroo) used to be cooked down (in the underground oven) now,
 buried now.

8.703 *Kujaka nganu-wa ambirriju / bathu-ntha-rra buyuka.*
 mother us.EXCL-ABL in.front light.fire-PT-PRES fire
 SENT.BASE SENT.PERI
 Mother was with us in front, lighting fires (with matches to keep the buffalo
 at bay).

Although a noun or pronoun marked for ablative case may occur with a locative in a locative phrase, in example 8.703 the intonation pattern of the statement indicated that the pronoun and the locative were each in a Complement role, and the Participial Clause was functioning in the Sentence Periphery.

(8) In the Temporal Sentence Base introduced by the relator *ngal* 'when, while'

This is the second of the two contexts in which a dependent Participial Clause may have a Subject. This is illustrated in examples 8.704 to 8.706. (In all the current examples, the Subject occurs in those sentences where there is a change of subject from one sentence base to the other.)

8.704 F *Ngal-alhi rkuwa-nja-rra nya-mangaji buyuka /*
 when-it burn-PT-PRES MSC-that.DEF fire
 TEMP.SENT.BASE 1
kalu-rduma-nthaninya wurnda jumayngkarra.
 it.they-get-P.CST wood long
 TEMP.SENT.BASE 2
 When that fire was burning, they used to get long pieces of wood.

8.705 *Jalu-lhurrama-nji-...i wumbiji mili / ngal-iya*
 they-dance-PRES-on.and.on in.centre more when-he
 TEMP.SENT.BASE 1 TEMP.SENT.BASE 2
nya-mangaji yinba-ya-rra baku.
 M-that.DEF sing-PT-PRES later
 They are still dancing on and on in the centre while that (songman) is
 singing until later (in the night).

8.706 M *Ngal-iya nba-ya-rra wabuda nganu-nga /*
 when-it fall-PT-PRES water us.EXCL-DAT
 TEMP.SENT.BASE 1
nganambaji kanu-wuba-nthaninya arndaarnda.
 like.that we.EXCL-cook-P.CST inside
 TEMP.SENT.BASE 2
 When we had the rain falling, we used to cook inside like that.

- 8.707 M *Kanu-wuba na-warnnyi bawuji akarru / ngal-alu /*
 we.EXCL-cook its-flesh finished east while-they
 TEMP.SENT.BASE 1 TEMP.SENT.BASE 2

yamba-rama-ntha-rra angula.

REFL-fight-PT-PRES west

We cooked the meat in the east until it was done while they were fighting one another in the west.

- 8.708 *Kalu-warranga-nthaninya baku / ngal-alu nyala rangki-ya-rra.*
 it.they-fold-P.CST later while-they still spin-PT-PRES
 TEMP.SENT.BASE 1 TEMP.SENT.BASE 2
 They used to be folding up the rope later on while they were still spinning it.

- 8.709 *Kanda-lhurrama-nthaninya winkanda yila-a / ngal-iwa*
 she-dance-P.CST outside him-ABL while-he
 TEMP.SENT.BASE 1 TEMP.SENT.BASE 2

lhurrama-ntha-rra.

dance-PT-PRES

(The women) used to dance there at the side of (the men) while they were dancing.

The singular form of the female subject marker on the verb and of the male subject-marker on the relator focuses on the contrast of the activities performed by female and male representative groups of people. The use of the singular to represent a group applies also to the Protasis in sentence 8.710.

Although the above Temporal Sentences all have a dependent clause in one Base (since they are illustrating the use of Participial Clauses), other Temporal Sentences may be constructed with independent clauses in both Bases.

(9) The Apodosis of a Conditional Sentence

- 8.710 F *Kulu jakarda barra wunala arrkana-ntha-rra / namba*
 and many now kangaroo spear-PT-PRES if
 APODOSIS PROTASIS

miringu jiya-wingka-yi.

men he-come-PRES

And a lot of kangaroos will be speared now, if men are coming.

- 8.711 F *Namba kurdardi buyuka-wu / yijini-nja-rra, wurnda*
 if not fire-DAT kindle-PT-PRES wood
 PROTASIS APODOSIS

ma-nja-rra, yijini-nja-rra-...i, baki wakara,
 break-PT-PRES kindle-PT-PRES-on.and.on and success

buyuka, ji-walanyma-nji.

fire it-emerge-PRES

If (there is) no fire, (then there is) making fire (by twirling one firestick into another), breaking wood making fire on and on, and it's there! – fire! – it is coming.

The two Conditional Sentence examples above are the only ones of their kind recorded, and they occur in sequence within a Procedural Discourse as it is moving towards its conclusion.

(10) Summary Section from a Procedural Discourse

- 8.712 F *Kulu wunja-ya-rra nya-mangaji wabuda barra, kulu*
 and drink-PT-PRES MSC-that.DEF water now and
nya-mangaji yabima-ntha-rra buyuka, ni-wini wurnda
 MSC-that.DEF make-PT-PRES fire its-name tree
marrbirnbi kulu a-wurlku, arindawa barra.
marrbirnbi and *a-wurlku* at.coast now
 And (that is) drinking that water now, and making that fire, with the
 trees named *marrbirnbi* and *a-wurlku*, at the coast.

There is a tendency for an abbreviated summary of a series of words or phrases to occur at the conclusion of paragraphs in a Procedural Discourse, to recapitulate the points covered. Sentence 8.712 is the single example of an equivalent occurrence at a higher level with a sentence recapitulating the immediately preceding paragraphs.

(11) As the Topic of an Imperative Sentence

- 8.713 F *Nyinga barra wuba-ntha-rra, / wuba-ya nyinga*
 crab now cook-PT-PRES cook-IMP crab
 TOPIC IMP.CL
ji-buyuka-la.
 MSC.NNOM-fire-ABL
 As for cooking crabs, cook them on the fire!

This is the one example of a Participial Clause introducing a command. In common with the examples in the previous two sections, it comes from one Procedural Discourse, and it comes from the last of three major sections.

The examples illustrate how Participial Clauses (and also the immediacy particle *barra*) are marking the concluding summary of the discourse.

8.5.3 NEGATIVE PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES

Negative Participial Clauses in recorded data are sufficiently rare that all of them may be considered in a brief description. The Predicate is manifested by a negative participle form, that is the form marked by the negative prefix *barni-/barli-*. The participle may also be marked by the dative suffix *-wu* (which is also associated with negation in one of the Negative Stative Clause types; see examples 8.440 to 8.444).

Several of the examples occur without further constituents. There is one example with an Object Constituent to extend the clause nucleus. There is another example with an inner peripheral Locative unit in accordance with the subtype of the verb that is occurs with.

Two of these clauses occur as the Complements of Locative-Complex Clauses. The two clauses come from a description of an old man, cut off from the rest of the community by the flooding of the local river:

- 8.714 *Barni-wukama-ntha baj-iwa.*
 not-smoke-PT here-he
 He is there not smoking (that is, without any tobacco).
- 8.715 M *Baj-iwa ngamala-kari barni-nga-ntha, [kurdardi*
 there.DEF-he south-DEF not-see-PT not
kambala-nga-nma].
 we.INCL-see-P.NEG
 He is there in the south out of sight, [we haven't seen him].

In example 8.714 it is the old man who is without the wherewithal to smoke and so he is the subject of the negative participle. In example 8.715, the unstated Subject of the participle refers to the old man's kinsmen – this is made clear by the following clause – and so in this second example the old man is the object of the participle. The context must distinguish the roles.

The other two examples of Negative Participial clauses are in Explanatory Sentences. In example 8.716, the participle is marked by dative case and it has an accompanying Object. In example 8.717, the participle is also marked for dative case and it is accompanied by a Locative unit:

- 8.716 *[Winarrku kalu-wingka-yaninya,] barni-yalbanga-ntha-wu*
 freely they-come-P.CST not-ask-PT-DAT
layirililinganji awara.
 responsible.men land
 [(The white men) used to just come (into our territory),] not asking
 (permission of) the men responsible for that area.
- 8.717 *[Ka-tha-njima, rarrma-ntha-rra a-ngulhiny,] barni-wuba-ntha-wu*
 you.SG-eat-HYP eat-PT-PRES FEM-oyster not-cook-PT-GEN
buyuka-la, [kulu a-wanduwandu].
 fire-ABL and FEM-mature.oyster
 [You would eat (the seafood you had gathered),] eating the oyster raw, not
 cooked on the fire, [and also the mature oyster].

8.6 CONCLUSION

In Yanyuwa, there are Action Clauses and Non-action Clauses. Non-action Clauses include verbless clauses, Stative and Locative-Complex, and the Existential Clause which has a verb but must have an accompanying Complement. Action Clauses may be Intransitive, Transitive, Semitransitive or Reflexive. Action Clauses may be further categorised into Simple, Goal, Locative or Destination subtypes according to the Inner Peripheral units which co-occur with the subclass of verb in the Predicate.

These clauses may be independent and provide Indicative statements or Imperative commands. (Questions are of the same form as Indicative Clauses, but the use of a rising intonation or the substitution of an interrogative word for one of the clause constituents indicates that the statement has been transformed into a question.) They may be dependent Participial Clauses. Clauses of all these kinds may be negative or positive.

Independent clauses provide the context to understand the functions of much of the morphology of the language, the functions of case markers and verb affixes, for example. As simple sentences they are the basic communication units in the language. They are also the basic units which, in whole or in part, combine to make more complex sentences which express additional logical, time and explanatory relationships.

Clauses also serve to illustrate further the focus given to location in Yanyuwa. (This point is also made in the description of location in earlier chapters.) The three non-action clause types – Stative, Locative-Complex and Existential – all have the stating of the location of the Subject as one of their functions. The Locative-Complex Clause Predicate is itself manifested by a locative.

Each of the action-clause types may have a Location or a Destination subtype, in which the inner periphery provides information on the location at which or to which the action is taking place. Further to this, the motion verb which manifests the Predicate of Destination clauses frequently occurs within a verb phrase, accompanied by a marked locative to indicate the direction of the action. (Verb phrases of this same kind may occur in other clause types also.) In addition, there may be a Location constituent in the outer periphery of Simple or Goal clause subtypes.

CHAPTER 9

DISCOURSE PARTICLES

9.1 OVERVIEW

There are five major discourse types in Yanyuwa: Narrative, Procedural, Expository, Hortatory and Dramatic (as defined by Longacre 1968).

(1) Narrative discourse

The Narrative discourse tells a story of past or present events in relation to living, dead or mythical characters. The story moves towards a crisis point and then tapers off to a conclusion. In a longer narrative there are a series of crises leading up to a major crisis. In a travel narrative the story may move towards a destination or a series of destinations rather than to a crisis event. There is a strong sense of chronological sequence throughout a narrative discourse.

(2) Procedural discourse

The Procedural discourse gives instructions on how an activity is carried out. Yanyuwa discourses of this kind give information on such things as how to cook a kangaroo, how to make rope, how to survive in the bush if one becomes lost (this last one with Europeans in mind). Events here are also given in chronological sequence but they are presented as steps towards accomplishing a goal. The procedures may be presented in past customary, present or future tense.

(3) Expository discourse

The Expository discourse presents teaching or descriptive material. The participants and times may change as the narrator progresses in his covering of a topic. One Yanyuwa discourse of this kind gives a brief general description of the activities of various participants in relation to the Kunapipi ceremony, and gives emphasis to the fact that women or children approach the sacred ground at their peril. Another discourse tells of a major flood and compares it with the normal wet season flooding of the local river. Another tells of the disruption to various areas of community life since the onset of the wet season. Several such discourses tell of the traditional life of the Yanyuwa people.

(4) Hortatory discourse

The Hortatory discourse provides exhortation for the hearers to maintain ethical conduct within the community. Certain actions are recommended, the reasons for acting that way are given, and warning of the negative consequences of failing to act in that way are also given. In this discourse type, focus is on the hearer and his behaviour.

(5) Dramatic discourse

The Dramatic discourse is presented in the form of a dialogue between two speakers. In the Yanyuwa discourse, the speakers are identified and there is a Quote Formula to introduce each speech (such as 'that broлга said to him' or 'I told my cousin'). Yanyuwa examples of this discourse type include two in which teaching is presented in the form of a question-and-answer dialogue, and a Dreamtime story in which the *a-buburna* snake and the *wurrulibinka* bird, a jabiru, harangue each other.

Each discourse type normally has an introduction and a conclusion. The units within the main body of each discourse are typically as follows: episodes within a Narrative discourse, procedures within a Procedural discourse, expositions within an Expository discourse, exhortation and motivational exposition within a Hortatory discourse, and exchanges of dialogue between speakers within a Dramatic discourse.

There is scope for embedding of one discourse within another; for example, a brief Expository discourse may form the introduction of a Narrative discourse, or a Narrative discourse may provide an illustration within a Hortatory discourse.

There is also potential for the occurrence of complex discourses in which the genre of the discourse changes as it progresses. One discourse of this type commences as a Narrative discourse and tells of a father's journey back to his home community to his sick son and of the boy's evacuation on a medical flight. The second half of the discourse is Expository. The narrator considers the virtues of the local nurse who cared for his son, and the fact that both Aboriginal and white culture have their qualified medical practitioners to heal the sick.

9.2 THE DISCOURSE PARTICLES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Discourse particles are defined in Yanyuwa (and possibly for other languages as well) as those items that never occur in isolation and that do not take sentence stress.¹

Several occurrences of a particle in one paragraph, or the co-occurrence of several different discourse particles, strongly highlight a paragraph within that discourse. In this way there is a combining of functions to mark focus.

¹ The following list of features of discourse particles has been compiled from Callow (1974:66,67), Grimes (1975:93) and Longacre (1977:25, Longacre & Woods, eds 1977:x), linguists of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who have worked in many languages in different parts of the world:

- (1) It is difficult to assign a meaning to them.
- (2) They tend to be frequent in occurrence.
- (3) They tend to be understood only in relation to the context of paragraph and discourse units.
- (4) They may function to provide discourse cohesion; that is, they are involved in linking units or in maintaining the continuity of thematic or participant reference.
- (5) They may function to mark prominence or focus within a discourse.
- (6) They may be variable in the strength of their function, so that a particle may mark prominence strongly in one occurrence, weakly in another, or not at all in another.
- (7) A particle may signal two or more features simultaneously.
- (8) There is an elusive quality to them, both in meaning and in function, for a foreigner to the language. (Their use by a native speaker of the language is probably more deeply intuitive than for any other class of words in the language.)

9.2.1 THE EXTENSION PARTICLE *i-...-i*

The particle *i-...-i* is described as an extension particle because its most readily recognised function is to mark a dramatic extension of (1) an established action, (2) continuity of movement in an established direction, (3) the passage of time in association with a temporal adverb, or (4) size in association with the adjective *walkurra* 'big'.

9.2.1.1 THE VARIANT FORMS OF THE EXTENSION PARTICLE

The particle occurs as the prolongation of any of the three vowels, accompanied by a marked rise in pitch during its duration and the sudden descent to normal pitch at the onset of the following word. It may occur as a vowel off-glide or as an isolated morpheme. The high front vowel *...-i* occurs most often as the off-glide at the end of a word but *...-a* or *...-u* may also occur. The isolated morpheme form is usually *i-...-i* but *u-...-u* occurs as a rare variant.

In association with a verb or a directional locative, it usually occurs as an off-glide from the final vowel:

<i>kalu-wingka-...-i</i>	<i>bawuji</i>	they went on and on and stopped
they-go-...-on.and.on	finished	
<i>akarr-iy-a-...-i</i>	<i>baj-inju</i>	on and on eastwards to that place
east-wards-...-on.and.on	there.DEF-to	

In association with an adjective or temporal adverb it may occur as the prolongation of the vowel of the initial syllable or of the final syllable:

<i>walkurra</i>	big
<i>wa...lku</i>	very big
<i>walkurra-...-u</i>	very big
<i>wabarrangu</i>	in the past
<i>wa....barrangu</i>	very long ago
<i>wabarrangu-...-u</i>	very long ago

9.2.1.2 THE FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENSION PARTICLE

The primary function of the extension particle seems to be to mark focus on the crisis of a Narrative discourse or on the successful conclusion of a Procedural discourse. In a Narrative discourse it usually marks the entry into a crisis but it may also mark the crisis resolution. Whether the particle occurs as a morpheme to link paragraphs or as a morpheme of an off-glide within a paragraph, it has this focus function.

In one Narrative discourse the author receives word that his son is sick. He sets off to return home to Doomadgee. The particle *i-...-i* marks his arrival to see his son.

9.1	M	<i>Baj-ingu</i>	<i>mili</i>	<i>karna-lhuwarri</i>	<i>kar-akarra</i>	<i>wundururra</i>
		there.DEF-from more	I-depart	from-east	at.night	
		<i>i-...-i</i>	<i>ngaliba</i>	<i>Ngurdurri.</i>	<i>Karna-ka-la</i>	
		on.and.on-...-on.and.on	to	Ngurdurri.	him.I-see-P	

buyi nya-ngathi-ardu.

small M-my-child

From there we departed again from the east at night and continued on and on to Ngurdurri. I saw my little boy.

In another Narrative a man is walking with his two wives and the extension particle off-glide on the verb heralds the crisis when he murders one of them.

9.2 *Ngamal-iya kalu-wingka-...-i. Wumbiji ngamala*
south-wards they-go-...-on.and.on part.way south

karr-ilu-ma nanda-ngunduwa.

her-he-cut her-throat.

They went on and on toward the south. Part way there, he cut her throat.

The next two paragraphs are from a small embedded discourse which is the introduction to a Narrative discourse telling of the fate of a group of airmen whose plane made a crash-landing. The particle *i-...-i* introduces the climax of the introduction: the continuation of the flight until the plane was inland in a remote corner of north-west Queensland. (The main narrative has a series of crises, each marked by *i...i*, as one after another of the group of survivors dies until only one remains.)

9.3 M *Walkurra lhambiji ka-wingka kar-akarra, walkurra lhambiji*
big storm.wind it-come from-east big storm.wind

ka-wingka kar-akarra kulu kal-ilu-walima. I-...-i
it-come from-east and them-it-throw on.and.on-...-on.and.on

kari-nguthunda kalu-wingka yurrngumantha. Kurdardi mili
from-north they.PL-come continually not more

wumburr-a ka-yibanda-rma marda ngala ngamal-iya kalu-wingka.
plain-ABL it-land-P.NEG also but south-wards they-come

Kulu namba barra Dulijarrba, kiwa-nba barra wundururra,
and there.INDEF now Dulijarrba it-fall now at.night

kiwa-nba wundururra Dulijarrba. Bawuji.
it-fall at.night Dulijarrba finished.

A large storm wind came up from the east, a large storm wind came up from the east and it tossed them. On and on they came from the north continually. It didn't land on the plain either, there in the north, but they came on southwards. And there at Dulijarrba it fell at night, it fell at night at Dulijarrba. And that's how that ended.

The following three paragraphs illustrate the use of the extension particle to mark focus on the climactic procedure of a Procedural discourse. The first paragraph tells of the completion of spinning fibre into rope so that it can be attached to a harpoon ready for hunting dugong or sea-turtles.

9.4 F *Baku kalu-rangki-yaninya-...-u kulu*
later it.they-spin-P.CST-...-on.and.on and

ku-matha-nthaninya, jingku-mangaji
it.FD-become.full-P.CST MSC.ERG/ABL-that.DEF

ji-wurnda-a *kalu-rdirrirra-nthaninya*,
MSC.NNOM-wood-ABL it.they-tied-P.CST

nya-mangaji *mawarl*, *kalu-rangki-yaninya barra*.
MSC-that.DEF float it.they-spin-P.CST now

Later they used to spin it on and on and it became a full length, they used to tie it on the (buoyant) wood, that float, (that's how) they used to spin it then.

In a discourse on how to cook kangaroo in an underground oven using heated stones, the climax comes when the oven is opened and the meat is ready for eating. The introduction to this paragraph is marked by *i-...-i*:

9.5 F *Baku barra i-...-i* *kilh-urrkuwa-njaninya baji*.
later now on.and.on-...-on.and.on it.MSC-cook-P.CST there.DEF

Ngabungabula kalu-warlma-nthaninya ngal-alhi barra
afternoon it.they-open.oven-P.CST when-it.MSC now

wunhunhu, marringaya barra, bawuji barra.
cooked good now finished now

Later then it used to cook on and on there. In the afternoon they opened up the oven when the meat was cooked, (it was) good now, (the procedure was) ended now.

The climax of digging for water in the bush is reaching water and *i-...-i* introduces the paragraph in which this result is obtained.

9.6 F *I-...-i* *wabuda barra, nya-mangaji ji-wujba-nji*
on.and.on-...-on.and.on water now MSC-that.DEF it-flow-PRES

kurdandu barra, munji barra, namba juju, kurdardi wabuda-wu,
intensely now, bush now, if distant not water-DAT

ruku-ngka awara-la.
dry-ABL place-ABL

The water keeps on (rising to the surface), it is flowing strongly now, (there) in the bush now, if (we are) in a distant place, without water, in a dry area.

In Expository discourses there are a few examples of the particle being used to mark an adverb to strengthen a crucial point.

wabarrangu-...-u *wabarrangu* long ago in the past
in.past-...-on.and.on in.past

Baku-...-u *yurmgumantha* continuing on and on in the
in.future-...-on.and.on continually future

9.2.2 THE IMMEDIACY PARTICLE *barra*

The Yanyuwa particle *barra* primarily functions as a focus marker within discourses. When a Yanyuwa speaker was first consulted, he pondered for several days before volunteering 'now' as the English meaning. However, the meaning is 'now' in a specialised sense: to bring a dramatic immediacy to the topic or event that it marks. It means 'now' in the present time of the context, whether that context be in past, present or future time. It is not interchangeable with the Yanyuwa adverb *nganinyanga* 'now, at the present time'.

Morphemes with similar meaning and functions are described for neighbouring languages and for others further afield. Heath (1981:306) describes the Mara particle *mingi* which “can be crudely translated as ‘now’...It essentially indicates the temporal immediacy of the event of its clause to that of another” or “the ‘now’ of the speech act”. Conversations with Christine Furby some years ago confirmed a similarity between the Garawa particle *barri* and Yanyuwa *barra*.

Kriol texts from Barunga/Bamyili and also from Fitzroy Crossing in Western Australia demonstrate the particle *na* in similar contexts to *barra* (see Sandefur and Sandefur 1981:61-63, 65, 69). Graber (1987:219-226) glosses this particle *na* as “EMPHASIS” in an article on his analysis of a Kriol story told at Bamyili. In private communication Bruce Waters (1984:188-90) refers to the “suffix *-nha* in the Yulngu languages” as comparable with Yanyuwa *barra*, and he describes *-ban* in Djinang which also signals “a contextual now”, in the Arnhem Land area.

The particle *barra* occurs with a word, phrase, clause or series of clauses to mark them out and give them an increased prominence. It also functions as a paragraph introducer, in phrase with certain other particles, and it may introduce the apodosis of a conditional sentence.

9.2.2.1 THE USE OF *barra* TO MARK FOCUS

The particle *barra* is used to mark focus within a sentence, on the topic of a paragraph, or within a discourse as a whole. The particle may combine with the other discourse particles, the extension particle *i...-i* and the additive-repetitive particle *mili*, to mark paragraphs. Frequently, two or more occurrences of *barra* alone serve to mark focus on a paragraph within a discourse.

9.2.2.1.1 *barra* MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A SENTENCE

The particle *barra* marks the word or phrase immediately preceding it to give it focus within the sentence in the way that phonological stress gives focus to an English word. It is most frequently used in this way to mark words but it may also be used to mark a phrase.

9.7 F *Kulu baba kanda-wingka yarlayka barra, marda kulhakulha.*
and older.sibling she-come quickly now also child
And (my) older sister went quickly, and so did (my) child.

9.8 *Li-kurdukurdu barra li-mirringu kalu-wingka baj-inju.*
PL-many now PL-men they-go there.DEF-to
Many men went there.

9.9 *Nganinyanga barra kurdardi mili rru-muwarda-wu.*
now now not more F.NNOM-canoe-DAT
Now there are no longer any canoes.

In example 9.9, the temporal adverb *nganinyanga* ‘now’ is marked by the immediacy particle *barra* ‘now’ for emphasis.

9.10 M *Kurdan barra, kurdan ka-arri, kurdandu kurdan.*
very.ill now very.ill he-was intensely very.ill
He was ill, very ill indeed, desperately ill.

In the translation of example 9.10, the initial phrase is transposed to follow the independent clause to give a natural English equivalent. Just about every available means is used to mark emphasis in this sentence. There is fronting, the use of *barra*, the use of the intensifier adverb *kurdandu*, and even the choice of word for 'very ill' adds to the effect because *kurdan* means both 'very ill' and 'dead'.

In the following example, a locative phrase *akarr-iya a-ya* 'eastwards and westwards', is focused by *barra*. As he spoke the first sentence, the narrator made movements to the east and to the west to demonstrate the action of the dancers he was describing. This provides the context for the second sentence in which *barra* marks the two directions:

- 9.11 *Jala-nba-yi nganinya baki mili nganinya.*
 they-fall-PRES like.this.INDEF and more like.this.INDEF
- Akarr-iya a-ya barra jala-nba-yi li-mangaji*
 east-wards west-wards now they-fall-PRES PL-that.DEF
- li-jakarda.*
 PL-many
 They were falling this way and that. Eastwards and westwards those many (dancers) were falling.

The effect of the word focus of *barra* may extend beyond the clause of the sentence in which it occurs. In one discourse the first paragraph opens, *Marni barra* 'Here now', and the narrator tells of his own situation. The next two paragraphs commence, *Baj-iwa barra* 'There he is', and they tell of a situation in strong contrast to that of the narrator. In this way *barra* marks focus not only on the locative words it follows but also on the contrasting situations over three paragraphs.

9.2.2.1.2 *barra* MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A PARAGRAPH

In its marking within a paragraph, *barra* most frequently marks the opening phrase of a new sentence or of the paragraph to draw attention to the topic or to the introduction. It may also mark the concluding sentence of a paragraph.

Examples 9.12 to 9.14 illustrate *barra* marking the paragraph topic or introduction. They show that where the marked phrase is a noun phrase comprising a specifier (either a demonstrative pronoun or an allative specifier) followed by a noun, then the preferred position for the focus particle, for *barra* and also for *mili*, is between the specifier and the noun.

- 9.12 M *Nya-mangaji barra babalu, ka-wuluma marn-iwuthu...*
 MSC-that.DEF now buffalo it-run here.INDEF-direction.in
The buffalo, it ran way in this direction...
- 9.13 M *Nya-mbangu barra bardarda, kala-ka-nthaninya yirdijanja...*
 M-that.INDEF now baby him.they-carry-P.CST on.a.coolamon
 That baby, they used to carry him on a coolamon (bark carrier)...
- 9.14 M *Nya-mangaji barra buyuka, kanu-milama-nthaninya*
 MSC-that.DEF now fire we.EXCL-ignite-P.CST

ki-yarriwin-da *lhangka...*
 MSC.NNOM-ant.bed-ABL on.top
 That fire, we used to kindle it on top of an ant bed...

Occasionally *barra* marks the concluding sentence of a paragraph but this function is much less frequent.

9.15 M *Jiw-ini barra walkurr, wudurru ki-arlku-ngka.*
 it-PRES now asleep satisfied MSC.NNOM-fish-ABL
 (The young seabirds) are asleep, satisfied with fish.

9.16 M *Ka-ngabu barra nya-mangaji wajbala.*
 he-drown now M-that.DEF white.man
 That white man drowned.

9.2.2.1.3 *barra* MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A DISCOURSE

Where *barra* functions to mark a sentence or paragraph at discourse level, two or more clauses in a series are marked by the particle. This marking occurs in a Narrative discourse to put focus on a specific episode. It occurs in a Procedural discourse to mark the accomplishment of a stage in the procedure or to mark a summary section. It may be used in a teaching section of a Dramatic discourse and the major grounds for exhortation in a Hortatory discourse. It may be used to mark the terminating section of various discourse types also. When *barra* is used in these ways, it has the effect of slowing down the momentum of the discourse to focus attention on the section, or of slowing it down towards a conclusion.

The marking of paragraphs seems to be a special feature of Procedural discourses and so a check was made of the comparative number of paragraphs marked by *barra* in twenty familiar texts of five different genres. In the Procedural discourses, 20 paragraphs were marked in 19 pages of text. In the Narrative discourses, 13 paragraphs were marked in 31 pages of text. In the Hortatory discourses, seven paragraphs were marked in 22 pages of text. In 11 pages of Expository discourses, no paragraphs were so marked. In the Dramatic discourses, seven paragraphs were marked in 12 pages of text, and here the use of *barra* was directly comparable with the nature of the content of the discourse; that is, in a Dramatic discourse with procedural content the paragraphs marked by *barra* were proportionately high, and in a discourse with expository content there were no paragraphs marked by *barra*.

Examples 9.17 and 9.18 are focal paragraphs from Procedural discourses:

9.17 F *Kinya-lhaa-la nya-mangaji wabuda barra*
 it.you.SG-know-FUT MSC-that.DEF water now

baj-alhi, – “*Jinangu barra wurnda,*
 there.DEF-it.MSC this.MSC.DEF now tree

marn-alhi barra wabuda arndaarnda.”
 here.INDEF-it.MSC now water inside

You will recognise it, that tree, that there is water there – “This is the very tree, here is water inside.”

- 9.18 *Nya-mangaj-iwuthu* barra *wunala.* *Nya-mangaji* barra
 MSC-that.DEF-direction.in now kangaroo MSC-that.DEF now
bandawi kal-aninya alu-nga, nya-mangaji – barranamba
bandawi they-P.CST then-DAT MSC-that.DEF like
kalu-nyi-njaninya alu-nga kari-wayka wunala nakari
 it.they-chase-P.CST them-DAT from-down kangaroo from
ngurbun-da. *Nya-mangaji* barra *bandawi.*
 scrub-ABL MSC-that.DEF now *bandawi*
 That is how the kangaroo were. That is how (the women and children) used
 to be bandawi for them, that – like they used to chase the kangaroo out from
 down there in the scrub. That is what *bandawi* is.

The next two examples are from crises in Narrative discourses. In example 9.19 a station-owner is giving food to a starving man who to this point has been unable to keep any food down. In example 9.20 some drovers, after taking a mob of cattle to their destination, collect some troublesome horses for their next job.

- 9.19 M *Baki mili yurrulu kilu-ngunda, yamulu barra, ka-yabirri*
 and more again him.he-give all.right now he-become.well
barra, ka-yabirri barra yamulu. *Kumba-wudurruma barra*
 now he-become.well now all.right he.REFL-feed now
kurdandu barra yamulu yangbala wajbala.
 intensely now all.right young white.man
 And yet again he gave him (food), (and he was) all right, he became well, he
 recovered all right. He ate, very hungrily then, well, the young white man.
- 9.20 M *Kar-akarra barra kanu-wani...* *yarraman barra*
 from-east now we.EXCL-return horse now
ka-ntha-rra. *Kana-ka* *yarraman barra*
 bring-PT-PRES it.we.EXCL-bring horse now
nya-mangaji i...-i *wardi, ka-wardirri*
 MSC-that.DEF on.and.on-...-on.and.on bad it-become.bad
wiji bawuji nganu-nga yarraman.
 completely finished us-DAT horse
 We came back from the east...bringing horses. We brought those horses
 (that were) out and out bad, they became completely and utterly troublesome
 to us, (those) horses.

One Dramatic discourse tells of the Dreamtime significance of a rock and its site. It is presented in the form of mutual haranguing by the *a-buburna* snake and the *wurrulibinka* bird, a jabiru. The critical paragraph which explains the origin of the rock is heavily marked by *barra*:

- 9.21 F *Ngamala-kari alhi barra, ankangu ki-alarri-njaninya jayngka-a.*
 south-DEF now above it-stand-P.CST rock-ABL
Kulu baj-alhi ankangu, ngamala-kari barra langa Jaburing
 and there.DEF-it above south-DEF now at Spring

Kurik, Jininyina barra, lhanba barra ayu walkurra jayngka
Creek Jininyina now nest now its big rock

barra, rawunbala, wuluwulu barra jayngka wumba
now round.one round now rock which

ki-alarri-njaninya baji.
it-stand-P.CST there.DEF

It (the jabiru) was at the south place, it used to stand above on the rock. And it is there above, at the south place there at Spring Creek, at Jininyina, its nest is a big rock, a round one, a round stone (there) where it used to be standing there.

Example 9.22 shows the use of *barra* in a Hortatory discourse to mark a major section which provides the grounds for the exhortation. The speaker is urging his people not to give alcohol to the children. As the reason for this he describes the negative consequences of excessive drinking.

9.22 *Bardabarda barra jirru-walanyma-nji barra, jika nawu,*
empty now you.PL-emerge-PRES now sick now

jir-inyamba-mirra-nji barra kangka nyungku-mangaji
you.PL-REFL-sick-PRES now because MSC.ERG-that.DEF

jir-ilu-rama-nji, jirru-wularirri-nji barra nirru-manka.
you.PL-it-hit-PRES you.PL-have.head.ache-PRES now your.PL-body
Lacking (any food or money) you are getting up then, sick, you are really
sick because that stuff is hurting you, and your head is aching in your body.

The next example illustrates the immediacy particle marking the conclusion of a Narrative discourse. It is noted that *bawuji barra* is an introductory phrase and that *barra* has no focus function here.

9.23 M *Bawuji kila-ka ki-duruba-lu ngamal-ia barra*
finished him.he-take M.NNOM-drover-ERG south-wards now

Andini-lu. Baji kil-ija Andini
Anthony-ALL there.DEF him.he-send Anthony

ki-julaki-nda barra, akarr-ia barra
MSC.NNOM-plane-ABL now east-wards now

marn-iwuthu ka-wani. Ny-iki-biyi baj-iwa barra
here.INDEF-direction.in he-return M-his-father there.DEF-he now

akarru nungka baki rr-iku-rra-wibi. Bawuji barra na-yurrngu
east maybe and F-his-F-mother finished now he-continually

ka-wani akarr-ia. Namb-iwa lhungku barra.
he-return east-wards there.INDEF-he alive now

After that a drover took him south to Anthony's Lagoon. There at Anthony's Lagoon he sent him off by plane, he went back eastwards this way. His father was there in the east maybe and his mother. The end of the story is that he went back eastwards for good. He is there somewhere alive.

9.2.2.2 *barra* FUNCTIONING AS A CONJUNCTION

The particle *barra* has a much lighter functional load as a conjunction than it does as a focus marker. It may occur to link paragraphs, sentences or clauses. Where it does so, it is in the context of quickly continuing action or of one action following as the sure consequence of another.

The particle *barra* may occur in place of the conjunction *kulu* 'and, and then' to link paragraphs in a Narrative discourse. In a brief Narrative, two of the paragraphs are introduced as follows:

- 9.24 *Barra kar-anka kawula-wani...*
 now from-up they.DU-return
 And then (the two wives) came back down...
- 9.25 M *Barra a-ya kala-k ngaliba Binibi Jiyil...*
 now west-wards him.they-take to.DEF Fanny.Bay Gaol
 And then they took him away westwards to Fanny Bay Gaol...

The particle *barra* is sometimes used to link sentences in the context of commands being given:

- 9.26 *Kimbala-wani wundururra kar-anka? Barra kawa*
 you.DU-return at.night from-up now come.on
 ngambala anka-ya!
 we.INCL up-wards
 You came back down in the dark? Well come on, we'll (go) back up!
- 9.27 *Ngarri? Barra kawa! Nya-ka-ya jina*
 is.that.so now come.on it.you.SG-take-IMP this.MSC
 wimmurr waluku!
 pronged.spear for.a.while
 Is that so? Well come on! Carry this spear for a while!

The particle *barra* sometimes functions as a conjunction to link clauses in sentences which describe a sequence of actions, or to link the protasis and apodosis of a Conditional Sentence:

- 9.28 M *Kilu-rdirirra ki-bulijimanji-lu, barra a-ya*
 him.he-tie.up M.NNOM-policeman-ERG now west-wards
 kala-ka ngaliba Binibi Jiyil.
 him.they-take to.DEF Fanny.Bay Gaol
 The policeman took him prisoner, then they took him westwards to Fanny Bay Gaol.
- 9.29 *...jilu-arrkana-nji nyungka-rrku, barra anka-ya.*
 it.he-spear-PRES M.ERG/ALL-other now up-wards
 ...another (dugong hunter) spears it, and then (they are taking it) up (on the beach).

In Yanyuwa the protasis of a Conditional Sentence is introduced by the particle *namba* 'if, when' (which is homophonous in form with the distal indefinite demonstrative locative). The apodosis is usually unmarked, but if the speaker wishes to emphasise the sureness of the

consequence, then the apodosis is introduced by one of the following: *kulu* 'and, then', *marda/marda barra* 'and, also' or *barra* 'then'.

- 9.30 *Namba kari-wayka wabuda ki-walanyma-njima, barra manthalthal*
if from-down water it-emerge-POT then soft

nawu awara, wararr barra.

now ground mud now

If the water should come up from down there, then the ground is soft, there is mud.

- 9.31 *Namba lhambiji walkurra kiw-aninya, karr-ilu-walima-nthaninya*
if stormwind big it-P.CST her-it-throw-P.CST

rra-muwarda nganu-nga, barra a-mba nguthunda-kari
FEM-canoe us.EXCL-DAT then west-side north-DEF

baki kanu-wundiri-njaninya Yulbarra.

and we.EXCL-go.up-P.CST Yulbarra

If/when there used to be a strong stormwind, it used to toss the canoe around on us, then (there was the) north place on the east side there and we used to go up (to shelter) at Yulbarra.

9.2.2.3 *barra* FUNCTIONING AS A CONJUNCTION IN PHRASES WITH OTHER PARTICLES

The particle *barra* may occur in phrases with certain other particles. It either follows them and may add a slight emphasis to them or it precedes them and seems to have a conjunctive function 'and then' or 'and so'.

There is frequent occurrence of the particle phrase *bawuji barra*. In examples above the completive particle *bawuji* is glossed 'finished' but it is used with a range of meanings associated with conclusion, termination or departure. It is used by a speaker to indicate that his or another's departure is expected. It functions as 'Goodbye'. It marks the conclusion of a paragraph or discourse. It functions as a paragraph introducer and conveys the suggestion of finality concerning the activity of the preceding paragraph. It has further functions also, but those listed are the ones in which *barra* may occur in a phrase with *bawuji* to give emphasis to the finality which *bawuji* expresses. The phrase is illustrated in example 9.23 above.

There are less frequent occurrences of *barra* following these particles: *minja* 'only, just', *mili* 'also, again, furthermore', *marda* 'and, also, too'. There are limitations on co-occurrence of *barra* with the temporal and contrast relator *ngala* 'when, then, but'. In its temporal function the particle *ngala* may take a pronominal suffix in agreement with the subject of the clause which it introduces. Only this suffixed *ngala* occurs in phrase with *barra*: *ngal- alu barra* 'when they, then they'. The particle phrase *ngala minja* 'they then, on the other hand' is used to indicate weaker contrast than the particle *ngala*. This particle phrase may be expanded to *ngala minja barra*. There seems little change in meaning when *barra* is added.

The one particle which *barra* may precede as well as follow in a phrase is the other discourse particle *mili* 'again, furthermore'.

Another particle with which *barra* co-occurs in a significant way is *ju*,² a particle which resembles the English 'Scram!'. When it is used following *barra* it is brought into more generally accepted use in the language to mean 'Move off!' or 'Keep going!'. The phrase may also be used as a sentence or paragraph introducer with the meaning 'moving on from that'.

- 9.32 *Barra ju!*
 now off
 Be off!/Move on!/Keep going!
- 9.33 *Barra ju ngamal-iya kalu-wingka...*
 now off south-wards they-go
 Now moving on they went southwards...

9.2.2.4 *barra* FUNCTIONING AS A CONJUNCTION AT WORD LEVEL

It seems probable that the morpheme *barra* occurs in the construction of a group of relators and also as the stem of a temporal adverb. The relators are the comparison set which share the meaning 'like, just as', or in a sequence: 'just as...so...'. The relators are: *barra-namba* and *barra-baji* 'like that', *barra-mami* 'like this', *barra-wumba* 'like, just as (of an action)', *barra-ngandarra* 'like what?' (described in §4.3.3.3). The additional morphemes in the construction of these relators are the indefinite demonstrative locatives *namba* 'there' and *mami* 'here', the definite demonstrative locative *baji* 'there', the relator *wumba* 'which, that', and the interrogative *ngandarra* 'which way?'. The most commonly occurring of these relators is *barranamba*. The others are only rarely heard.

- 9.34 M *Ngala winkanda awu-nga-rrijarra barranamba mirningiya*
 but side-ABL west-from.there-distant like man

 ja-alarri-nji yila-a juju ankangu.
 it-stand-PRES it-ABL far above
 But on the side (of the mountain) to the far west (a rock) like a man is
 standing high up.
- 9.35 *Kulu kanu-wukanyi yi-ku baj-arn-aji*
 and we.EXCL-talk him-DAT there.DEF-ABST-DEF

 barrawumba ka-wukanyi-nyu nganu-nga.
 like you.SG-talk-P us.EXCL-DAT
 And we talked to him there at that time just as you talked to us.

The temporal adverb *barrungku* 'earlier today, earlier in the day' may well be constructed from *barra* marked by the ergative-allative suffix *-ngku*: *barru-ngku* (*barra-to*). If this is the

² The particle *ju* is one of several of a kind which do not fit the phonological word patterns of Yanyuwa. The minimal phonological word consists of two syllables and the language constantly functions to provide an additional syllable for any one-syllable stem which would not normally be marked in a particular context. (For example, when the stem a 'west' occurs without prefix or suffix, the locative morpheme *ngula* 'back' is added so the word for 'west' is *angula*.) The group of particles with which *ju* belongs is used for such functions as to chase away animals, to call dogs, to express exasperation, and, as such, they are outside the normal language system. The two particles *barra ju* frequently elide and may be perceived by outsiders as a single word, however, Yanyuwa speakers perceive them as two. The fact that *ju* continues to take stress as it does when it occurs in isolation also indicates that it is functioning independently, since word stress never occurs on the final syllable of a word.

true derivation of the word, then in this instance *barra* has a more truly temporal meaning 'now'; *barru-ngku* is then literally (now-to) and so 'earlier in the day'. Perhaps historically *barra* had a temporal meaning 'now'. But in all current usage *barra* means 'now' only in the special sense of a contextual immediacy. It is the 'now' of the mind and not the 'now' of chronology. The primary meaning of *barra* is 'now' in the sense of the speaker entering into the 'present' of which he speaks.

9.2.3 THE ADDITIVE-REPETITIVE PARTICLE *mili*

The additive-repetitive particle *mili*, like the particle *barra*, marks focus and functions as a conjunction. However, *mili* has a weaker role in focus marking. Whereas *barra* marks focus on initiatory material and primary topic, *mili* marks focus on secondary topics and subsequent material. It marks recurrence and continuity. The particle *barra* marks the theme and the climax in a discourse; *mili* marks the buildup to the climax and marks divergence from the theme and sections of explanation. The particle *barra* marks the primary motivational grounds for exhortation; *mili* marks the secondary grounds. The particle *barra* more frequently marks focus on definite forms and *mili* on indefinite forms.

The particle *mili* is used more extensively than *barra* as a conjunction, but it has a less dramatic role there also. As a conjunction, *barra* continues to give an immediacy to the action or event it introduces, whereas *mili* usually signals a continuity, a recurrence, or an additional note or afterthought.

9.2.3.1 THE USE OF *mili* TO MARK FOCUS

The particle *mili* is used to mark focus within a sentence, within a paragraph, or in a discourse as a whole. In marking focus on a paragraph within a discourse, it most often combines with *barra* or with both *barra* and *i-...-i* to do so. The particle *mili* has less of an independent focus-marking role than *barra*, but it has a significant one nonetheless.

9.2.3.1.1 *mili* MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A SENTENCE

The particle *mili* marks the word or phrase immediately preceding it to give it a focus within the sentence. It tends to mark an entity or a kind of entity that has been referred to previously, or to a newly introduced one which relates to a secondary theme within the discourse.

- 9.36 M *Marda nya-mbangu ardu-birri yumbu, kulu nya-mbangu*
 also M-that.INDEF child-DIM.PL young and M-that.INDEF
ardu mili walkurra bijal kal-ilu-rama-nthaninya.
 child more big quite them-he-kill-P.CST
 And the young children and the quite big children also he used to kill.

In example 9.36, the singular form and the repeated use of the indefinite demonstrative indicate that this is a general reference to children. The use of the singular to make a general reference to a class of people is also illustrated in the next example:

- 9.37 *Marda rra-nhanawa mili kanda-wukanyi namu-munanga*
 also F-woman more she-talk ABST-white.man

yurrngumantha.

continually

And the women also spoke English all the time.

In example 9.38, the focus is on the verb *janu-wanga-nji* 'we are hitting it (with a projectile)'. Throughout a discourse on hunting for lagoon turtles and the larger edible lizards, the narrator has been repeatedly using the verb stem *rama* 'hit, kill' which relates to directly hitting or killing some object. At this place in his description, a large lizard being pursued by dogs climbs a tree and so it becomes necessary to 'hit' by another method from a distance. The narrator emphasises the change of verb by his use of *mili*.

- 9.38 M *Niw-arrku ja-warlba-nji ki-wurnda-a anka-ya,*
 MSC-other it-climb-PRES MSC.NNOM-tree-ABL up-upwards
nya-mangaji janu-wanga-nji mili ki-rdukurduku.
 MSC-that.DEF it.we.EXCL-hit-PRES more MSC.NNOM-stick
 Another (goanna) is climbing up a tree; that one we are firing a stick at.

9.2.3.1.2 *mili* MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A PARAGRAPH

The particle *mili* usually marks the initial statement or topic in a paragraph. Where it does so it marks a recurring entity or theme, a continuity of theme, or the introduction of a secondary topic. In one instance it marks the concluding parenthetical statement of a section.

- 9.39 M *Kulu baj-iwa angula mili ka-ngabu nya-rrku, ka-ngabu*
 and there.DEF-he west more he-drown M-other he-drown
nya-rrku angula Windikarri, bawuji barra ka-ngabu Windikarri.
 M-other west Windikarri finished now he-drown Windikarri
 And there in the west also another man drowned, he drowned there in the
 west at Windikarri river, after that he drowned at Windikarri.

Example 9.40 illustrates the marking of a paragraph topic by *mili* where it is resumed after a break. The experience of the two remaining survivors has been set aside while the narration follows the floating body of their drowned companion until it is washed up on a river-bank. The return to the topic of the two living men is marked by *mili*.

- 9.40 *Rri-mangaji mili rri-kanymarda kariy-a*
 DU-that.DEF more DU-two from-west
kawula-wani-...-i baj-inju, walkurra
 they.DU-return-...-on.and.on there.DEF-to big
nya-mangaji badika walkurra.
 MSC-that.DEF paddock big
Meanwhile the two (living men) kept walking back further and further from
 the west to that place (where there is) that very large paddock.

In examples 9.41 and 9.42, *mili* marks focus on a paragraph topic which introduces a secondary topic. Example 9.41 considers a possible problem for the old man whose situation is being described. Example 9.42 is a parenthetical comment in a description of a traditional situation.

- 9.41 M *Wulwurr jinangu* *mili*, *wulwurr marn-iwa*.
 flu this.MSC.DEF more flu here.INDEF-it
 Furthermore (there is) this flu, flu is here (in the community).
- 9.42 M *Marda jina* *duraji mili ngulakari, ruthu*
 also this.MSC.INDEF dress more later separate
ki-wajbala-ngka yila-a.
 M.NNOM-white.man-ABL him-ABL
 And these resses are a later thing, peculiar to white people.

The next example illustrates *mili* marking a parenthetical comment at the conclusion of a Narrative paragraph. A girl has returned to camp to report to the people that her mother has been killed and her father is missing. The narrator comments on the fact that no inquiry was made and no action was taken at that time.

- 9.43 *Ngala li-manji mili wambu baji kalu-arri*,
 but PL-ignorant more remaining there.DEF they-were
kurdardi karr-alu-yalbanga-nma.
 not her-they-ask-P.NEG
 But they stayed ignorant there, they didn't question her (to find out more).

9.2.3.1.3 *mili* MARKING FOCUS WITHIN A DISCOURSE

In discourses *mili* marks recurrence, but also motivation or causation in Expository and Hortatory discourses. It has a function in relation to each discourse type.

The particle *mili* is used to mark focus on paragraphs within Expository discourses, and the tendency is for it to have its most frequent use there. There is also a higher frequency of occurrence of *mili* than *barra* in the majority of Expository discourses studied in depth.

The longest Expository discourse studied tells of the early conflict between the narrator's people and the white settlers who came into the area with their horses and cattle. The narrator remains remarkably philosophical as he tells how his own father was shot and crippled, his father's older brother was killed, and another uncle was shot in the face. In addition to this, many other people (including the elderly, the blind, children and teenagers) were killed in retaliatory raids on the Aborigines after they had killed a horse or a bullock. But the combination of dramatic events and a deeply emotive issue calls forth a heavier than normal marking of focus by all three discourse focus particles.

It is rare to find the extension particle *i-...-i* in an Expository discourse but there are 17 occurrences of it in this one, and most of those do not occur in the two-page embedded Narrative discourse. The relative proportion of occurrences of *barra* and *mili* is also atypical in this discourse in comparison with other Expository discourses. Here there are 37 occurrences of *barra* and 19 of *mili*. The use of *mili* in the marking of this discourse will be considered first.

The discourse commences with a description of the damage inflicted on the narrator's own immediate kinsmen. The first paragraph tells of the injury to his father (who was able to crawl to safety) and the death of his father's older brother. The second paragraph tells of the facial injuries of another uncle and it is this paragraph which is focused by a dual occurrence of *mili*:

- 9.44 M *Nya-rrku mili wunyatha, marn-iwa-ji kilu-wangka-la na-ngurru*
 M-other more father here-he-DEF him.he-shoot-P his-face
kar-anka, kulu marnaji ka-walanyma bulada yila-a.
 from-up and here.DEF it-emerge bullet him-ABL
Kulu yamulu mili ka-lhungkurri ngabangaku wunyatha.
 and all.right more he-be.alive deceased father
 Another father too (the white man) shot his face right here from above, and
 the bullet came out here on him. And he was still all right, he remained alive,
 my (now) deceased father.

(In Yanyuwa the term *wunyatha* 'father' is used for one's father's brothers also, and for others classified as 'father' within the kinship system.)

Later in the discourse the narrator explains the cause of the white man's violence. The *wurdu* 'belly' is the seat of the emotions for the Yanyuwa, and the sense of anger of the white man (because of the killing of some of his farm animals) is described in terms of the *wurdu* 'falling' and 'burning'. In the following paragraph, *mili* marks the motivating factor for the white man's actions, and *barra* marks the consequent anger and shooting:

- 9.45 M *Nya-mangaji, kiw-urrukuwa-njaninya na-wurdu nya-mangaji*
 M-that.DEF he-burn-P.CST his-belly M-that.DEF
wajbala kangka mili kalu-ngirrikima-njaninya
 white.man because more him.they-worry-P.CST
ki-yarramban-ku, arrkana-ntha-rra wabul-iji kulu
 MSC.NNOM-horse-DAT spear-PT-PRES hobble-having and
mili buluki mili wabarrangu. Kala-nba-yaninya nalu-wurdu,
 more bullock more in.past they-fell-P.CST their-belly
kiw-urrukuwa-njaninya nya-mangaji na-wurdu wajbala, nganambaji
 he-burn-P.CST M-that.DEF his-belly white.man like.that
barra kal-ilu-wanga-nthaninya, kurdandu.
 now them-he-shoot-P.CST intensely
 That (white man), that white man used to bum (with anger) because (the
 Aborigines) used to further worry/irritate them about the horses, spearing
 the hobbled ones and also (spearing) the bullocks as well. Their hearts 'fell',
 that white man burned (with anger), it was like that now he used to shoot
 them so fiercely.

In another discourse, a general introduction to the Kunapipi ceremony is given. The primary theme tells of the general activities of various men's groups and a secondary theme notes what the women and children are doing and that their needs are adequately met at that time. An emphasis is given to the fact that the initiates are sending food back to their mothers, and this is followed by a strong warning that, if the women should go up to the sacred ground, they are liable to get their throats cut. The particle *mili* marks the paragraph which tells of the women's needs being provided.

- 9.46 *Ngala yamulu l-alunga-li-wibi, jal-ija-nji*
 but all.right PL-their-PL-mother it.they-send-PRES
ma-ngarra alu-nga. Alu mili munji jalu-rama-nji,
 FD-food them-DAT they.PL more bush it.they-kill-PRES
jal-ija-nji mili alu-nga. "Jinangu wunala
 it.they-send-PRES more them-DAT this.DEF kangaroo
nya-ka-ya barratha-wu an-ku, biyi"
 it.you.SG-take-IMP mother-DAT her-DAT father
 But their mothers are all right, (the initiates) are sending food to them.
What's more they are hunting (game) in the bush, they are sending it to
 them. "This kangaroo, take it to mother, father!"

One compound discourse has as its first section a brief Narrative discourse telling of the narrator's hurried trip back to his family before his son is evacuated to hospital on an emergency medical flight. The second section is a brief Expository discourse extolling the virtues of the local nurse who kept his son alive until the doctor arrived. He refers to the doctors at the hospital, he speaks of the nurse as 'another doctor' and he considers the Aboriginal 'doctors' as well. In his final paragraph he summarises his assessment of these various medical practitioners. Focus is put on this summary statement by *mili*.

- 9.47 M *Baji angula yarrbira. Wiji yarrbira, wajbala*
 there.DEF west doctor everyone doctor white.man
yarrbira, baki wungkuwungku mili yarrbira mili, wiji.
 doctor and black more doctor more everyone
 Doctors (are) there in the west. (They are) all doctors, white men (are)
 doctors, and black men too are doctors also, everybody.

(The Garawa word *yarrbira* is used as a loan word. The Yanyuwa term for 'doctor, cleverman' is *mankami*.)

In Hortatory discourses the particle *mili* is used to mark certain supporting motivation sections – to mark the bases upon which the speaker expects the recommended action to be taken. Factors which have more importance may be marked by a single occurrence of *mili*. The paragraph or paragraphs which provide the strongest basis for action are marked by two or more occurrences of *mili*.

In one Hortatory discourse the speaker is calling for drinkers to leave alcohol, and certainly not to give it to their children. He has two primary bases for his exhortation. One factor is that the consumption of alcohol is proving to have destructive consequences in the lives of the drinkers. The other factor is that the speaker has himself formerly been a drinker and so he speaks from experience with the authority which that gives. It is noteworthy that the paragraphs relating to the speaker's own personal experiences are marked for focus by *barra*. Those relating to the effects of alcohol on the lives of the hearers are marked by *mili*. This is illustrated in the following example:

- 9.48 M *Jirru-rduma-nji yalibala, jirra-ka-nji kulu wayka*
 it.you.PL-get-PRES early it.you.PL-take-PRES and down
wunja-ya-lu kulu jirru-wayatha-nji. Jirru-wani-nji
 drink-PT-PURP and it.you.PL-finish-PRES you.PL-return-PRES

mili anka-ya rduma-ntha-lu nya-raku mili, waykal-iyā
 more up-wards get-PT-PURP MSC-other more down-wards
jirra-ka-nji, jirru-wunja-yi wayka, baki
 it.you.PL-take-PRES you.PL-drink-PRES down and
jirru-wayatha-nji. Baj-ingu mili kulu
 it.you.PL-finish-PRES there.DEF-from more and
jirr-inyamba-rama-nji namba jirru-ladaladama-nji
 you.PL-REFL-fight-PRES if you.PL-become.hot-PRES
nirru-wurdu, marda jirr-ili-rka-lirra-nji nirru-manka
 your.PL-belly also you.PL-it-burn-burn-PRES your.PL-body
wayatha-ntha-rra. Rayal yirru-wa mulu-ngka ja-wujba-nji
 finish-PT-PRES spit you.PL-ABL mouth-ABL it-flow-PRES
kangka wardimbangu nya-mangaji.
 because very.bad MSC-that.DEF
 You are getting (alcohol) early, you are taking it right down (to the camp) to drink and you're finishing it. You are going back up again to get yet another supply, you are taking it down, you're drinking it down there and you're finishing it. Furthermore after that you are fighting one another if you become heated, and it is burning up your bodies entirely. Spit is dribbling from your mouths because that stuff is really bad.

The particle *mili* is used in a Dramatic discourse to give continuity to the series of verbal exchanges between the two speakers involved. Three discourses provide a preliminary pattern for this genre. One of these three has a specialised style and for this one the continuity is maintained by the change in semantic content from question to answer in the speech units themselves. But in the other two discourses, each fresh interchange between the speakers is marked by an occurrence of *mili* in the introductory Quotation Formula. This is illustrated in the next three examples:

- 9.49 *Karn-ilu-yalbanga mili kari-ngula, "...*
 me-he-ask more from-behind
 After that he asked me further, "..."
- 9.50 *Kulu karn-ilu-yalbanga kari-ngula mili, "...*
 and me-he-ask from-behind more
 And after that he asked me further, "..."
- 9.51 F *Barrawumba karr-inju-kiwama barra nganinya mili, "...*
 like her-it-insult now like.this more
 In just this way (the jabiru bird) insulted (the snake) again, "..."

The response within a dialogue interchange may also be marked by *mili*. The snake's final response to the jabiru's second (final) haranguing speech is introduced in this way:

- 9.52 *Barra mili anda mili kari-nguthunda kanda-arri-njaninya, "...*
 now more she more from-north she-say-P.CST
 Then again she also used to say from the north, "..."

The particle *mili* has a limited use in Procedural discourses and in some such discourses it does not occur at all. Where it is used, it either gives focus to the recurrence of some activity

or it marks a recapitulative paragraph at the conclusion of a discourse or discourse section. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- 9.53 *Mili namba jala-nga-nji nya-rrku, nya-rrku*
 more there.INDEF it.they-see-PRES MSC-other MSC-other
jala-nga-nji mili, jalu-mulantha-yi jalu-rduma-nji
 it.they.PL-see-PRES more they-dig-PRES it.they-get-PRES
na-rarrama, marda nganambaji na-wi, rru-birndawarra-lu
 its-hind.leg also like.that its-foreleg FEM.NNOM-bag-ALL
waykal-iya yurngumantha.
 down-wards continually.

And again they are seeing another one there, they are seeing another one again, they are digging, they are getting its hind legs, and its forelegs similarly, (they are putting the turtles) down into (their) bags continually.

- 9.54 F *Kulu wabuda mili, nya-mangaji rawurrki anka-wa. Yamulu*
 and water more MSC-that.DEF soak up-side all.right
a-mangaji a-rumu kari-wayka janda-wingka-yi, marda
 FEM-that.DEF FEM-wave from-down she-go-PRES also
wabuda nya-mangaji alhibi ji-wingka-yi kari-wayka.
 water MSC-that.DEF salt.water it-go-PRES from-down
Nya-mangaji mili ankangu nganambaji jilh-ini, rawurrki
 MSC-that.DEF more above like.that it-is soak
mili wabuda, marringaya barranamba jilili. Kulu marringaya
 more water good like spring and good
mili wunja-ya-rra, kurdardi – ngabiya – wurrunkurun,
 more drink-PT-PRES not what's.it.called brackish
kurdardi, ngala marringaya wabuda barranamba jilili.
 not but good water like spring
 And (about that drinking) water again, (there is) that soak-water (from underground) at the higher level. All right, those waves are coming up, and that is salt water coming up. (But) that place further up is just as (I told you previously), soak-water (from underground), good like spring-water. And what's more it is good to drink, it isn't – what's the word – brackish, no, but it is good water like spring-water.

Examples 9.55 to 9.57 illustrate the use of *mili* in linking three successive paragraphs to their preceding paragraphs in a Procedural discourse.

- 9.55 *Mili jalu-yarba-nji-...-i...*
 more they-hunt-PRES-...-on.and.on
Again they are hunting on and on...
- 9.56 *Mili jalu-wingka-yi-...-i...*
 more they-go-PRES-...-on.and.on
Again they are walking on and on...

- 9.57 *Mili namb-iwuthu jalu-yarba-nji...*
 more there.INDEF-direction.in they-hunt-PRES
Again they are hunting in that direction...

The particle *mili* has only a minor focus-marking role in Narrative discourses. Where it does occur, it marks a significant item or point within the discourse rather than marking a significant paragraph. The following single paragraph shows *mili* in a role of marking focus on a quiet episode in a travel narrative. Even here *barra* is present to mark primary focus and in a conjunctive phrase with *bawuji* 'finished', but *mili* marks a secondary focus on a recurrent activity.

- 9.58 M *Bawuji barra a-ya kanu-wani kulu*
 finished now west-wards we.EXCL-return and
Wulakari-lu. Bawuji barra kanu-wani mili, mili
 Wulakari-ALL finished now we.EXCL-return more more
kanu-arri wambu munji-munji barra
 we.EXCL-were remaining bush-bush now
nyamba-yurrma-ntha-rra, nyamba-yurrma-ntha-rra nguthund-iyā
 REFL-walk.about-PT-PRES REFL-walk.about-PT-PRES north-wards
ngamal-iyā, yarba-ntha-rra ki-wunala-wu.
 south-wards hunt-PT-PRES MSC.NNOM-kangaroo-DAT
 After that we returned westwards right to Wulakari. After that we went back
again, furthermore we remained there in the bush now walking around,
 walking around northwards and southwards, hunting for kangaroos.

There is one function of *mili* which, although it is not exclusive to Narrative discourses, has its main association with them. The particle *mili* may be used to mark subsequent participants after the initial one has been introduced. This is normally a feature of Narrative discourses, but it may apply also to certain Expository discourses. This is illustrated in the following example:

- 9.59 M *Anka kawula-arri waki r-iku-wangu-wujara,*
 up they.DU-were working DU-his-spouse-DU.person
rri-mangaji kanymarda-wujara, rra-mangaji nanda-wini
 DU-that.DEF two-DU.person F-that.def her-name
rra-Liji, r-iku-rra-anyira ki-Wunkuli, baki
 F-Lizzie F-his-F-younger.sibling M.NNOM-Wunkuli and
rra-mangaji rra-rrku mili, nanda-wini Wanda ngal-iwa
 F-that.DEF F-other more her-name Wanda when-he
nya-mangaji malbu mili ja-baba ngabangaku ka-arri
 M-that.DEF old.man more my-older.sibling deceased he-was
wayka alanji-la, na-wini Dambalyama.
 down camp-ABL his-name Dambalyama
 His two wives were working up there, those two, the one named Lizzie,
 Wunkuli's younger sister, and that other one also named Wanda, while that
 old man, my deceased older brother named Dambalyama, was down at the
 camp.

9.2.3.2 *mili* AS A CONJUNCTION

The additive-repetitive particle *mili* has a role as a conjunction. It may link paragraphs, sentences, clauses and words. In its conjunctive role it usually has a meaning 'again, furthermore, also', but in some rare instances it marks alternative possibilities and means 'or, otherwise'. It maintains a measure of focus marking in its role as a conjunction.

The particle *mili* may be used to link paragraphs within a Procedural discourse or a Narrative one. In a Procedural discourse, its use is limited to a description of activities in which there are recurrent sequences of action. There is a single example of *mili* linking narrative paragraphs and there is recurrence of activity here also. The first of the following two examples of paragraph introductions comes from a Procedural discourse, the second from a Narrative:

9.60 *Mili rikarrarikarra karna-lhuwarri-njaninya...*
more tomorrow I-depart-P.CST
And again next day I used to set off..

9.61 *Mili kalu-lhuwarri-njaninya a-ya..*
more they-depart-P.CST west-wards
And again they set off westwards...

The particle *mili* may be used to link sentences within a paragraph, usually within a Narrative or an Expository discourse. In a narrative sequence of events it is likely to be associated with recurrence.

9.62 M *Kalu-athama, karr-ilu-wirrinyma rra-muwarda a-kari.*
him.they-chase her-he-tip.over FEM-canoe west-DEF

Mili kalu-athama...
more him.they.PL-chase
They chased him, he turned over the canoes in the west. And again they chased him...

9.63 *Barra akarr-iya kanu-lhuwarri rikarrarikarra.*
now east-wards we.EXCL-depart next.day

Wumbiji kanu-arri walkurr. Mili baj-ingu
incentre we.EXCL-were asleep more there.DEF-from

kanu-lhuwarri... Mili kanu-lhwarri...
we.EXCL-depart more we.EXCL-depart
And we set off eastwards next day. Part way on we slept. And again we set off from there...And again we set off from there...

9.64 *...bardabarda jalu-wani-nji kari-wayka. Mili*
empty they-return-PRES from-down more

ngabungabula nganinyanga barra jalu-wingka-yi waykal-iya,
afternoon now now they-go-PRES down-wards

kulu jalu-wani-nji kari-wayka bardabarda.
and they-return-PRES from-down empty
...they are returning empty-handed from down (at the river fishing). And again in the afternoon at this very time they are going down (to the river), and they are returning from down there empty-handed.

The particle *mili* may also be used to link clauses within a sentence, or to link the topic phrase or clause to a sentence. It is also used in rare instances to link two alternative bases in a sentence.

In example 9.65, the first occurrence of *mili* marks a subsequent sentence topic and the second links the sentence topic to the first clause of the sentence. The following examples illustrate the linking of clauses:

- 9.65 M *Marda jinangu kirdil, jinangu mili badi, mili*
 also this.DEF sandfly this.DEF more March.fly more
jambal-ilu-tha-nji...
 us.INCL-it-eat.meat-PRES
 And this sandfly, this March fly too, furthermore they are biting us...
- 9.66 *Kawula-yukuma u-...-u mili nya-rrku*
 they.DU-wait on.and.on-...-on.and.on more M-other
kumba-mirra baji...
 he.REFL-die there.DEF
 They waited on and on and another (of them) died there *too*...
- 9.67 M *Mili yurrulu kilu-ngunda, mili ka-alkali, mili ka-alkali.*
 more again him.he-give more he-vomit more he-vomit
 And again he gave him more food, and again he vomited, and again he vomited.
- 9.68 M *Mili rikarrarikarra ja-lhuwarri-nji, mili arlku arrkana-ntha-lu.*
 more tomorrow he-depart-PRES more fish spear-PT-PRES
 And again next day he is going out, yet again to spear fish.

The following two examples illustrate the role of *mili* in linking two alternative bases within a sentence. These are the only examples noted in which *mili* has this function.

- 9.69 M *Ngala bawuji nungka kiwa-bi barra nya-mangaji wabuda,*
 but finished maybe it-stop now MSC-that.DEF water
mili nungka nungka kiwa-nba-yani nungka.
 more maybe maybe it-fall-IMM maybe
 But the rain has possibly stopped completely now, or perhaps it is about to rain again.
- 9.70 *Nyamba-wirringunda-rra, mili kima-wanga-nma baji,*
 you.SG.REFL-give.up-IMP more you.SG.I-shoot-DUB there.DEF
kangka kinya-rama-nhu nya-mangaji malbu ny-inki-ngabuji!
 because him.you.SG-kill-P M-that.DEF old.man M-your.SG-ngabuji
 Give yourself up, otherwise I might shoot you there, because you killed that old man, your *ngabuji* kinsman!

9.2.3.3 *mili* IN PHRASES WITH OTHER PARTICLES

The particle *mili* may occur in phrases with certain other conjunctions. The phrases *barra mili* and *mili barra* have already been referred to in §9.2.2.3. In addition, *mili* also occurs with *baki* 'and', *kulu* 'and, and then', *marda* 'also, and, too', *ngala* 'but, then', *bawuji*

'finished'. These particles precede *mili* in the formation of a phrase. In each instance the particle *mili* adds a measure of focus and adds the appropriate meaning from its meaning range.

9.2.4 THE ROLE OF *barra* AND *mili* IN MARKING NEGATIVE AMPLIFICATION AND MISTAKEN THOUGHT SENTENCES

There are two Yanyuwa sentence types which demonstrate a particular use of *barra* and *mili* in marking focus. These are the Negative Amplification Sentence and the Mistaken Thought Sentence. Where focus is marked in these sentences, *barra* marks the positive or the true information and *mili* marks the negative or erroneous information. In a Mistaken Thought Sentence, however, if the mistaken thought introducer is itself in focus rather than the content of the thought, either *barra* or *mili* may be used to mark the introducer.

In sentences of other types, *barra* may be used to mark a negative statement. A negative statement may be made more emphatic by marking focus on the negative: *kurdardi barra* '(definitely) not'. But in the context of a Negative Amplification Sentence, the roles of the two particles are particularised.

9.2.4.1 *barra* and *mili* MARKING NEGATIVE AMPLIFICATION SENTENCES

The Negative Amplification Sentence consists of a minimum of two sentence bases, a negative and a positive, linked by the relator *ngala* 'but'. The normal pattern is that one of the bases is repeated, usually the positive, without any further marking. In this sentence type, if focus is marked in the sentence, *barra* marks the positive base and *mili* marks the negative base. (There is no requirement that focus be marked on either.) The marking of the negative base by *mili* is more frequent than the marking of the positive base by *barra*.

The following examples illustrate the use of these two particles to mark focus on Negative Amplification Sentences:

- 9.71 M *I-...-i kari-nguthunda kalu-wingka yurrngumantha;*
 on.and.on-...-on.and.on from-north they-come continually
kurdardi mili ka-yibanda-rma marda nguthundu baji
 not more it-land-P.NEG also north there.DEF
ngala ngamal-iya kalu-wingka.
 but south-wards they-come
 Further and further they kept coming from the north; (the plane) did not land there in the north (on the plains) either but it came on southwards.

In the next example, the narrator is decrying the fact that he receives his meat supply once a week and he has no way to keep it. Consequently he is eating large quantities of meat exclusively while it is fresh and then he has no meat until the next supply day.

- 9.72 *Ngayamantharra ngayamantharra barra buluki jarna-tha-nji;*
 only only now beef I-eat.meat-PRES
kurdardi mili ngulakari-ngu, rikarrarikarra marda, ngala
 not more behind-NMSR next.day also but

jam-ini winarrku, kurdardi tha-ntha-wu buluki.

I-am free not eat.meat-PT-DAT beef

I am only eating beef, that's all; there is no later supply, (none) the next day, but I am (meat-)free, there is no eating beef.

In another discourse, the narrator describes some of the birds. After describing a fish-eating seabird, he turns to the brolga:

9.73 M *Barra jina mili kurdarrku, jumba-wudurruma-nji*
now this.INDEF more brolga it.REFL-feed-PRES

ma-wirnku ngayamantharra; kurdardi mili arlku
FD-lily.root only not more fish

kilu-arrkana-njima ngala nya-mangaji barra
it.it-spear-PRES.NEG but MSC-that.DEF now

jumba-wudurruma-nji ma-wirnku, nya-mangaji kurdarrku.
it.REFL-feed-PRES FD-lily.root MSC-that.DEF brolga

And there is this brolga, too, it is eating only lily roots; it is not spearing fish (with its beak) but that one is eating lily roots, that brolga.

(The introductory *barra* is in the role of paragraph introducer and the first *mili* in the sentence is marking the paragraph topic – one of the subsequent topics in a series within the discourse. The underlined particles are those which mark the sentence bases which are relevant to negative amplification.)

In the next example both *barra* and *mili* occur in the negative sentence base and *barra* occurs in the second base. The analysis of these is as follows: in the negative base, *barra* is giving emphasis to the negative adverb *kurdardi* and *mili* is marking the irrealis nature of the content of the base; the second *barra* marks the positive base in the normal way.

9.74 *Kurdardi barra nganinyanga mili, ngala maji barra*
not now now more but matches now

jalu-rduma-nji.
it.they-get-PRES

(They are) not (using traditional fire sticks to make fire) now but they are buying matches.

The Negative Amplification Sentence may be used also for self-correction:

9.75 M *Baj-alu akarra-kari li-karna-wuthayi*
there.DEF-they east-DEF PL-my-sister's.daughter's.child

li-wujiji mili – kurdardi mili li-wujiji ngala
PL-orphan more not more PL-orphan but

yamulu rra-alunga-rra-wibi, rra-lhungku.
all.right F-their-F-mother F-alive

My great nieces and nephews are there at the place in the east, orphans – not orphans but (they have) their mother all right, (she is still) alive.

9.2.4.2 *barra* AND *mili* MARKING MISTAKEN THOUGHT SENTENCES

There is a specific kind of Yanyuwa sentence which encodes mistaken thought. It may be introduced by a specific verb constructed from the stem *yudirri* 'mistakenly think'. More often this verb is omitted and the sentence is introduced by the introducer *katha* 'it was mistakenly thought that'. Where both the verb and *katha* occur, *katha* follows the verb.

The introducer occurs unmarked where the mistaken thought relates to an action. Where the error is related to an entity, the introducer is usually marked by a pronominal suffix which agrees with the erroneous subject in number and class.

Since there are no examples of the full sentence, including the verb, which are marked by *barra* or *mili*, three unfocused sentences are given initially to illustrate the basic sentence type:

- 9.76 a. F *Kawula-yudirri* F *kath-iwa*
 they.DU-mistakenly.think mistakenly.think.that-he
kija-wingka wula-a ngulakari.
 he-come them.DU-ABL behind
 They mistakenly thought that he had been walking behind them.
- b. *Janda-yudirri-nji kath-anda*
 she-mistakenly.think-PRES mistakenly.think.that-she
marruwarra kurdardi wundarra-ntha-wu ma-kijululu.
 cousin no name-PT-DAT FD-money
 (The shop assistant) mistakenly thinks that (your female) cousin does not
 recognise the right change (lit. is not calling money by its name).
- c. *Katharra-yudirri katha babalu*
 we.DU.EXCL-mistakenly.think mistakenly.think.that buffalo
ngala kurdardi ngala wakardawakarda.
 but no but bull
 We mistakenly thought a buffalo (was there) but (it was) not, (there was a)
 bull.

The remaining examples are of Mistaken Thought Sentences, lacking the introductory verb, marked by *barra* or *mili* for focus. In this sentence type, too, where the two discourse particles occur, *mili* marks the content which is untrue and *barra* marks the true statements or marks emphasis on the mistaken thought introducer itself.

- 9.77 *Kath-alu li-wulu mili kalu-wingka-yima*
 mistakenly.think.that-they PL-people more they.PL-walk-HYP
ngala nya-mgangaji barra wurrbindibindi.
 but MSC-that.DEF now wurrbindibindi
 (We used to) mistakenly think that it might be people walking, but it was the
wurrbindibindi seabird.
- 9.78 M *Kath-iwa nya-mangaji rdiyangu mili*
 mistakenly.think.that-it MSC-that.DEF new more
barrawu. Wulbala nya-mangaji ...
 house old MSC-that.DEF
 (People) mistakenly thought that it was a new house. That was an old one...

- 9.79 *Ngala barra kal-ina-nthaninya wabarrangu, kath-iwa*
 but now it.they-tell-P.CST in.past mistakenly.think.that-it
barra kalngiya barranamba ngambala li-lhuwa wabarrangu.
 now truly like us.INCL PL-snake in.past
 But they used to tell us (this story) in the past, (they) mistakenly thought that
 snakes were really like us (people) in past times.

9.3 DISCOURSE CLIMAX

In addition to the use of particles *i...-i*, *barra*, *mili* to mark the climax of discourses (described above), other particles and other means are also used. In this final section these are quickly considered to place the above three particles in some perspective.

9.3.1 OTHER SPECIFIC MORPHEMES WHICH MARK A DISCOURSE CLIMAX

Several other morphemes may be used to mark a discourse climax, and mention is made of another single-occurrence morpheme. These morphemes include the climax-marker verb suffix *-nha*, the particles *ngala* 'but, then', *namba* 'if, when, therefore', *marda* 'also, too, and', *nganambaji* 'like that (definite)' and the suffix *-kaa*.

9.3.1.1 THE CLIMAX-MARKER VERB SUFFIX *-nha*

One rarely occurring verb suffix *-nha* (or *-nya* following an *i*-final stem) may be used to mark one or two verbs associated with the climax of a Narrative discourse or a Dramatic discourse which has narrative-related content. Such marking has been noted in only four discourses.

In one narrative, a man describes the experience of accompanying a New South Wales group going back from Brisbane to visit their home community at Woodenbong. On the way they came within sight of Mount Lindsay, and for the narrator, this was the climax of the journey. The *-nha* suffix marks the activity which immediately precedes his first sight of this mountain.

- 9.80 M *Ngamal-iya kanu-wuluma, ka-wuluma-nha mudika kulu*
 south-wards we.EXCL-run it-run-CLIM car and
ngamala baji barra akarra-kari ankangu ja-alarri-nji
 south there.DEF now east-DEF above it-stand-PRES
nya-mangaji jayngka.
 MSC-that.DEF mountain
 We ran on southwards, the vehicle ran on, and there in the south now, up on
 the east side, that mountain is standing.

In another Narrative the same speaker tells of a dramatic incident which took place in his home community. A young man fell in love with one of the young women and ran off with her. The girl's father and some other elders organised a fight to discipline him for this. However, he afterwards planned to take the girl again. He obtained a gun and waited until the old man was taking his family downriver in his canoe. He then suddenly appeared by the

river bank with his gun and demanded the daughter. When the old man would not willingly allow her to go, he shot the old man and went off with the girl.

In this discourse, the narrator uses the particle *-nha* twice in the crisis section: to mark the young man's anticipation and the the old man's approach towards the crisis in which the old man was killed.

- 9.81 M *Kulu ki-malbu ka-yukuma-nha baji*
 and MSC.NNOM-old.man he-wait-CLIM there.DEF
wanga-ntha-wu yi-ku ka-yukuma... kumba-yabil-yabima
 shoot-PT-DAT him-DAT he-wait he.REFL-make.good-make.good
ngal-iya malbu ka-wajanga-nha yiwirra-yiwirra...
 when-he old.man he-paddle-CLIM bank-bank
 And he waited for the old man there, he waited to shoot him...he made himself ready when the old man paddled along the bank...

In a Dramatic discourse, a jabiru bird and python snake harangue each other with insults. The jabiru claims to be superior because he can fly and the snake must crawl on the ground. The snake claims to be superior because she eats food which she cooks with fire and the bird merely eats raw food. The Quote Formula which introduces the first and primary speech of the python snake is marked by the suffix *-nha* in its form *-nya*.

- 9.82 *Bawuji barra kanda-arrin-nya, a-mangaji barra*
 finished now she-say-CLIM FEM-that.DEF now
a-buburna kanda-wukanyi yi-ku kiwuma nganinya
 FEM-python she-say him-DAT insult like.this
nya-mbangu, "...
 MSC-that.INDEF
 After that she spoke, that black-headed python spoke that insulting speech to him like this, "..."

The remaining example noted was in a translation of the narrative passage in which Christ enters Jerusalem and the people honour him and call out praises to God. The Yanyuwa translator marked the verb of praising with the suffix *-nha*.

- 9.83 *Kalu-wingka a-ya, nala-rrku wingka-ya-rra ambirriju*
 they-go west-wards they-other go-PT-PRES in.front
yila-a mili nala-rrku ngulakari yila-a, baj-iwa
 him-ABL more they-other behind him-ABL there.DEF-he
wumbiji. Kalu-wajba yi-ku ki-Kud
 in.centre they-call him-DAT MSC.NNOM-God
kalu-barlirra-nha...
 him.they.PL-praise-CLIM
 They went westwards, some walking in front of him and others walking behind him, he was there in the middle. They called out to God, they praised him,...

... *Nganambaji li-ngambal-ina-nthani...*

like.that them.PL-we.PL.INCL-tell-IMPL.CON

But let us keep saying that to them! Let us keep warning them, "Look out!"
Let them disregard us...Let us keep on saying that to them..

In the Hortatory discourse urging drinkers not to give alcohol to children and to leave it themselves, one strong plea for them to leave it themselves is introduced by *ngala* and a Rhetorical Question:

9.88 *Ngala ngalhi-yu yirru jirru-lakima-nji*
but what-DAT? you.PL it.you.PL-like-PRES

nya-mangaj-iwuthu? Kirru-walanyma-njima marda
MSC-that.DEF-direction.in you.PL-emerge-HYP also

kirra-nda-yima!
it.you.PL-leave-HYP

But why do you like that kind of thing? You should come out of it and you should leave it!

In one Procedural discourse *ngala* plays a significant role in introducing an alternative procedure relating to a crisis situation of being without water in the bush. The previous section has established the procedure of looking for trees with drinkable sap and cutting for sap to quench one's thirst. The discourse continues with instructions to look for signs of a spring. This section commences:

9.89 *Ngala namba kurdardi, nungkarn-arrku, namba kurdardi*
but if not ABS.ABL-other if not

wabuda-wu wurnda kinya-nga-rru...
water-DAT tree it.you.SG-see-FUT.NEG

But if not, at another time, if you don't see a tree for water...

9.3.1.3 THE PARTICLE *namba* 'IF, WHEN, THEREFORE, WELL'

The function of the particle *namba* 'if, when' to introduce the protasis of a Conditional Sentence has been referred to above (see examples 9.30 and 9.31). This particle is also used to introduce the strong exhortations in the climax sections of Hortatory discourses. In each of two Hortatory discourses, two exhortations are very strongly presented. Two of these four sections are introduced by *ngala* (see examples 9.87 and 9.88 above), and the other three are introduced by *namba*, which in this context has more the meaning 'therefore' or 'well'. (This particle is also homophonous in form with the indefinite distal demonstrative pronoun *namba*.)

In the discourse urging Christians to keep telling their kinsmen about their faith and hope for the future, the speaker acknowledges that many are ignoring them but he urges them nonetheless:

9.90 *Marda nya-mbangu ja-ngajbirri-nji ngambala-nga*
also M-that.INDEF he-disregard-PRES us.INCL-DAT

ngal-ingambala na-ntha-rra yi-ku nganambaji.
when-we.INCL tell-PT-PRES him-DAT like.that

Namba nganambaji wa-yinjathirri-njani ngambala-nga!
 well like.that he-be.angry-IMP.CON us.INCL-DAT

Ngambala kurdardi barni-yinjathirri-nja yi-ku!
 we.INCL not NEG-be.angry-NEG.IMP him-DAT

Kambala-rari-njanama alu-nga ngambala-wurdu...
 we.INCL-cry-FUT.CST them-DAT our.INCL-belly

And he is ignoring us when we tell him like that. Well, let him be angry with us! (But) don't let us become angry with him. We will always sorrow in our hearts for them...

In the discourse urging the drinkers to leave alcohol, the speaker strongly urges them twice in a paragraph, each time introducing his exhortation with *namba*:

9.91 *Minja barra jirr-irna-maramama-nji nganinya:*
 just now you.PL-I-command-PRES like.this

Namba kirra-nda-yima nya-mangaji
 therefore it.you-PL-leave-HYP MSC-that.INDEF

wardimbangu wabuda ... Namba kirra-nda-yima!
 very.bad water therefore it.you.PL-leave-HYP

Well I'm strongly urging you like this: For all those reasons (I've been giving you) you should leave that harmful drink... Therefore you should leave it!

9.3.1.4 THE PARTICLE *marda* 'ALSO, TOO, AND'

It is noted that the conjunction *marda* 'also, too, and', the conjunction used in listing, is used also in linking focal content. The Expository discourse which tells of the killing of Aborigines who have killed settler's stock is noteworthy in that the main paragraph introducer used is *marda*. In Hortatory discourses it is *marda* which is primarily used to link imperative clauses which normally form the exhortations. (Examples 9.88 and 9.91 illustrate the other form of exhortation using the hypothetical verb suffix.) The following paragraph is one of several which illustrates this:

9.92 *Barni-lanima-ntha alu-nga liyi-ardu-birri-yu!*
 NEG-teach-NEG.IMP them-DAT PL.DAT-child.DIM.PL-DAT

Barni-ngul-gunda-ya marda wunja-ya-rra!
 NEG-give-give-NEG.IMP also drink-PT-PRES

Marda li-mbangu li-yumbu barni-ngunda-ya
 also PL-that.INDEF PL-young NEG-give-NEG.IMP

kangka wardimbangu nya-mangaji!
 because very.bad MSC-that.DEF

Don't teach (the drinking habit) to the children! And don't give it all around (for them) to drink! And don't give it to the young ones, because it is very harmful!

9.3.1.5 THE DEMONSTRATIVE ADVERB *nganambaji* 'LIKE THAT'

The definite demonstrative adverb is one of the markers of the climax sections, the exhortations, in a Hortatory discourse. (See several usages in examples 9.87 and 9.90 above.)

9.3.1.6 THE SUFFIX *-kaa*

The suffix *-kaa* is noted in one discourse. In the brief Expository discourse telling of a massive flood, the narrator makes a strongly emphatic statement about the uniqueness of this flood that only he in the community has seen. The suffix *-kaa* occurs on the temporal adverb *wabarrangu* and it seems to give it prominence in a climactic statement and so it is given a tentative label, 'climax marker'.

9.93 M *Kurdandu ka-ngunda-yaninya wabarrangu awara jinangu;*
intensely it-rise.in.level-P.CST in.past place this.DEF

ngala kurdardi ka-wingka-yima yurmgumantha ngala
but not it-go-PRES.NEG continually but

ngayamantharra arrkula-wu ja-wingka-yi bawuji waburrangu-kaa.
only one-DAT it-go-PRES finished in.past-CLIM

The water kept rising excessively high in this place in the past; however, it doesn't keep on coming continually (in that manner) but it is only coming once and that is all, in that special occasion in the past.

9.3.2 OTHER WAYS OF MARKING A DISCOURSE CLIMAX

From the description of the functions of discourse particles in the preceding sections, it is apparent that attention is frequently drawn to a discourse climax by a combination of markers. In addition to discourse focus particles or affixes, certain grammatical constructions or stylistic features contribute to the marking of a discourse climax. These include repetition, Negative Amplification, Locative Complex Stative Clause, direct speech, vivid vocabulary items, cycling/sandwich structures and rhetorical questions.

(1) Repetition

There may be repetition of a significant verb or of a clause to mark a climax. Some reordering of the words may occur in the repeated clauses. Repetition is illustrated in Hortatory discourse exhortations (see 9.87 and 9.92 above). It is illustrated from a Narrative discourse climax in example 9.94 below. The narrator tells of the death of a man as he was crossing a coastal river. Before he continues with the remaining two living men, he diverts to follow the floating body until it is washed up on land again. The paragraph is marked by repetition of three clauses and one phrase (telling of the body's final position) and is marked by all three discourse particles.

9.94 M *Nya-mangaji mili ka-bulaka, wajbala barra nya-mangaji*
M-that.DEF more he-float white.man now now M-that.DEF

ka-bulaka mili yurmgumantha, kurdardi mili
he-float more continually not more

kumbu-wudurruma-nma mardumbarra marda. Kilu-walima-nthaninya
 it.REFL-feed-P.NEG crocodile also im.it-throw-P.CST

arnindawa a-ya, a-kari-mba Rrumundanga baji
 below west-wards west-DEF-side Rrumundanga there.DEF

ka-wundirri, baji ka-wundirri a-kari-mba Rrumundanga
 he-come.up there.DEF he-come.up west-DEF-side Rrumundanga

Kila-ka barra i...-i anka-ya, kila-nda
 him.it-take now on.and.on...-on.and.on up-wards him.it-leave

anka barra, kila-nda anka, bawuji. Anka-ya na-wurdu
 up now him.it-leave up finished up-wards his-belly

anka-ya na-wurdu ka-arri baji kurdan barra.
 up-wards his-belly he-was there.DEF dead now

And that (body) floated, that white man floated on and on continually; and the crocodiles didn't eat him either. (The tidal river) tossed him on westwards lower down. (The body) came up on the west bank there at Rrumundanga, it came up there at Rrumundanga on the west bank. It carried him then all the way up, it left him up there then, it left him up there (and that was) the end. Stomach up, stomach up he lay there, dead.

(2) Negative Amplification

The use of Negative Amplification sentences to mark discourse climax is seen in examples above also. It occurs in Expository discourses (see example 9.72), in Narrative discourses (see example 9.71), and in Procedural discourses (see the description of the quality of the water in the conclusion of example 9.54).

(3) Locative Complex Stative Clause

A Locative Complex Stative Clause subtype consists potentially of the following constituents: Subject, Locative Complex, Complement. The Locative Complex consists of a demonstrative locative, usually one of the definite locatives, *baji* 'there' or *marnaji* 'here', marked by a pronominal suffix; for example: *baj-iwa* (there-he), *marnaj-anda* (here-she). The Complement unit is optional and the Subject may be omitted if it is understood from the context.

Locative Complex Stative clauses are noted in the climax of Narrative discourses (see examples 9.19 and 9.84) and Procedural discourses (see examples 9.17 and 9.18).

(4) Direct speech

The interjection of direct speech into a flow of reported speech (often but not necessarily without any Quotation Formulae to identify speaker) may well be indicative of a discourse crisis. The interjection may well be a Locative Complex Stative Clause. This feature is illustrated in a Procedural discourse (example 9.17), an Expository discourse (example 9.46), and a Hortatory discourse (example 9.87).

(5) Vivid vocabulary items

The use of certain strong, vivid, or emotive vocabulary items may be associated with a discourse climax. This is particularly noted in the Procedural discourse type where the climax of each step and the climax accomplishment of the entire procedure is often marked in this way. The three adverbs *wakara* 'accomplished!', *yamulu* 'all right', *bawuji* 'finished, completed' frequently occur in this context. Or in the procedure of cooking a kangaroo, the equivalent indication of the desired conclusion is conveyed by the word series: *wunhunhu* 'cooked, ready to eat', *maringaya* 'good, excellent', and *bawuji* 'finished, done' (see example 9.5). In a Narrative discourse also the repeated use of *yamulu* 'all right' occurs in a climax (example 9.19).

In the Expository discourse telling of the killing of the Aborigines who have been killing the settlers' animals for meat, the narrator repeatedly uses the verb *urkuwa* 'burn' in the climax where he considers the motivation for the white man's actions (see example 9.45). In coming to the happier climax of the white man ceasing to kill, there is repeated use of the words *yamulu* 'all right', and *wuntha* 'cool, well-disposed' (in direct contrast to the verb *urkuwa* 'burn').

In a Hortatory discourse in which the speaker is urging his hearers to leave alcohol, he provides reasons for them to do so in the Grounds sections. In climax paragraphs in these Grounds sections, he gives several vivid descriptions of the apparent negative effects of alcohol use. This is illustrated in example 9.48 where he refers to fighting as a consequence of 'hot bellies' and 'burning bodies' and he describes them dribbling sputum from their mouths. In another paragraph he concludes with the clause: *jiru-wulariri-nji barra nirru-manka* 'your head is aching in your body', or literally, 'you are head-aching now your body'.

(6) Cycling/sandwich structures

Some writers use the term 'cycling' and others 'sandwich structures' for the feature of repeating some part of a construction so that it surrounds the remaining content. Yanyuwa discourses are rich in examples of cycling and certain entire discourses are cycled. Cycling may involve more than one layer of the construction so that, for example, content A and B is cycled around content C in the order A B C B A. Such cycling may be used in a discourse climax. Example 9.71 above illustrates cycling in a Negative Amplification sentence in a discourse climax. The positive statement is repeated (with some slight variation of vocabulary; for example, *ngamal-ija* 'southwards' is substituted for *kari-nguthunda* 'from the north') surrounding the negative sentence base.

Example 9.95 is from a Hortatory discourse climax. In this example, an imperative sentence is repeated. The material omitted from that example is the following motivational content – almost two sentences in this example:

- 9.95 *Minja barra jirr-ima-maramarama-nji nganinya: Namba*
 just now you.PL-I-command-PRES like.this therefore
 kirra-nda-yima nya-mangaji wardimbangu wabuda
 it.you-PL-leave-HYP MSC-that.INDEF very.bad water
 ... *Namba kirra-nda-yima!*
 therefore it.you.PL-leave-HYP
 Well I'm strongly urging you like this: For all those reasons (I've been

giving you) you should leave that harmful drink... Therefore you should leave it!

(7) Rhetorical Question

In a Hortatory discourse, a Rhetorical Question may be associated with either a strong exhortation or with a strong grounds section. This is illustrated in example 9.88 above. This exhortation is then followed by a section of motivation which concludes with a one word Rhetorical Question:

9.96 *Ngalhi-yu?*
 what-DAT
 Why?

9.3.3 CONCLUSION

Yanyuwa has a wide potential range of methods for marking the climax of discourses of the various types. The discourse focus particles which have been described in detail above, *i-...-i*, *barra* and *mili*, have a significant role in marking a discourse climax. So too do the other morphemes or words described in §9.3.1. In addition to these, vivid vocabulary, certain clause constructions, sentence types, and stylistic devices such as repetition or cycling contribute to marking a climax. The usual pattern is that varying combinations of these linguistic factors are used to give indication of a climax point within a section of a discourse or in the discourse as a whole.

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