A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF GARAWA PHRASES AND CLAUSES

by

E.S. and C.E. Furby

Department of Linguistics

Research School of Pacific Studies

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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ABBREVIATIONS

+	obligatory
±	optional
/	or
-	morpheme division
:	additional meaning within the morpheme, or "filled by" when used in phrase headings
( )	interruption of one tagmeme by another in tagmeme headings, or implied information in the English gloss
{ }	the bracketed item represents all the allomorphs of the morpheme
∿	alternating with
ab, Ab	ablative
abil	abilitative
acc, Acc	accompaniment
adjr	adjectiviser
al, Al	allative
app, App	appositional
asp	aspect
assoc, Assoc	associative
att, Att	attributive
Cl	Clause
concom, Concom	concomitant

con, Con	connector
cont	continuative
co-ord	co-ordinate
d	dual
demonstr	demonstrative pronoun
desid	desiderative
dir	directional
D.Obj	Ditransitive Object
D.Pred	Ditransitive Predicate
D.Subj	Ditransitive Subject
dur	durative, duration
erg	ergative
ex, excl	exclusive
f, fut	future
hab	habituative
I.Adj.Pred	Intransitive Adjectivised Predicate
I.If.Pred	Intransitive Infinitive Predicate
imp, Imp	imperative
in	inclusive
Inal.Poss	Inalienable Possession
Inal.Possr	Inalienable Possessor
incl	inclusive
incp	inceptive
ins, Ins	instrument
intens	intensifier
interrog	interrogative
intrans, Intrans	Intransitive
I.O.P.Pred	Intransitive Object Participial Predicate
I.Pred	Intransitive Predicate
I.Subj	Intransitive Subject
I.S.P.Pred	Intransitive Subject Participial Predicate

kns, Kin	kinship
lim	limitative
loc, Loc	locative
Locn	Location
man, Man	manner
mkr	marker
Modf	Modifier
Modf.NP	Modified Noun Phrase
n, N	noun
neg, Neg	negative
nom.com, Nom.Com	nominal complement
np	non-past tense
NP	Noun Phrase
npers	non-personal
num, Num	number
obj	object
p	past tense
P	Phrase
para	paragraph
part	participle
pers	personal
pl	plural
poss, Poss	possessive, possession
pred, Pred	predicate
pres	present tense
Pri	Primary
prim	primordial
pron	pronoun
R.Adj.Pred	Reflexive Adjectivised Predicate
Re	Relator
refl, Refl	reflexive

refr, Refr	referent
R.If.Pred	Reflexive Infinitive Predicate
R.OP.Pred	Reflexive Object Participial Predicate
R.Pred	Reflexive Predicate
R.Subj	Subject of Reflexive Predicate
R.SP.Pred	Reflexive Subject Participial Predicate
s	singular
spec.t	specific time
subj, Subj	subject
Tns	Tense
T.Adj.Pred	Transitive Adjectivised Predicate
T.If.Pred	Transitive Infinitive Predicate
T.OP.Pred	Transitive Object Participial Predicate
T.Pred	Transitive Predicate
T.SP.Pred	Transitive Subject Participial Predicate
transloc	translocative
trans, Trans	transitive
T.Subj	Subject of Transitive Predicate
um	hesitation word translating baři
Voc	Vocative

0. PRELIMINARY

The Garawa language is spoken by approximately 300 people living in the Northern Territory of Australia in the area bordered by the McArthur River on the west, and the Queensland border on the east, and extending about 100 miles inland from the coast.

The Garawa people live adjacent to the Yanyula people and the two languages, though different in structure, have a number of cognate (or borrowed) roots. Some of the borrowing is said to be recent. The Garawa say that originally the Nyanga tribe occupied the coastal region of this area, and the Yanyula tribe occupied the country west of Garawa and Nyanga land. Inter-tribal relationships among the three tribes were amicable, intermarriage being permissible within the restrictions of the kinship systems which coincided.

After the Nyanga tribe died out, the Garawa occupied their coastal area and the Garawa and Yanyula tribes continued to live in harmony with each other. The acquisition of coastal areas brought new pursuits (such as dugong hunting) to the Garawa people, and as their language did not have a vocabulary appropriate to these new activities Yanyula words were taken into the Garawa language to make good this deficiency and adapted to fit into the Garawa grammar system.

Apart from this, the two languages have some common vocabulary, especially in roots of a few nouns, adjectives, and manner words, and these fit into the two different grammatical structures.

The material on which the following analysis is based was collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during thirty months' residence at Borroloola between June 1968 and November 1971.

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The tagmemic model is used in the presentation of this paper, using Bidimensional Arrays as developed by Robert E. Longacre of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to describe the contrastive clause and phrase types of Garawa. This involves a description of the case system which is a feature of Garawa clauses and a factor in the separation of some of the phrase types.

Garawa is an ergative type language as far as nouns are concerned. Each word within the noun phrase is inflected for ergative case when subject of the Transitive verb. Nominative case (∅ case-marker) indicates object of the Transitive, and subject of the Intransitive and Reflexive verb constructions. Subject and Predicate of non-verbal clauses also take the (unmarked) nominative case.

The pronominal system differs in that it is an accusative system where the personal pronouns are marked for subject in both the Transitive and Intransitive clauses, and for object in the Transitive clause, while the Reflexive has a combined form of subject and object pronoun which we have termed the Reflexive Pronoun. In addition, there is a special set of compound object/subject pronouns used in transitive clauses. For more detailed information see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa', Section 2.1 (published in *Oceanic Linguistics*, vol.XI, No.1).

In both nucleus and periphery, all components of the noun phrases, nouns, pronouns etc., are marked according to the case of the tagmeme in which they are manifested, except for the manifestations of Connector Particles, Negative Particles, Manner Adverbs, and Location Adverbs, which are always uninflected for case. Time may have a manifestation which is marked for Ablative, Allative, or Locative Time, or may be uninflected.

2. CASE SUFFIXATION

Case is an important feature of Garawa clauses and phrases. The reaction of certain phrases to case has been adopted as one of the criteria for separating some phrase types. The only clause level tagmemes which do not have phrases as exponents are Predicate, Tense,

Aspect, Connector, Negative and Manner. The language does not contain any verb phrases.

There is concord of case suffixation on all words which may be inflected for case within the phrase, with the exception of Kinship, Location Modification and Negative Noun Phrases. These exceptions will be explained in the discussion of each of these phrase types.

Charts 1, 2, and 3 show the case suffixes for various classes of words.

Nouns are divided into Common Nouns (which include proper nouns, abstract nouns, body parts, etc.), Kinship Nouns, and Location Nouns. Kinship nouns are further divided because of their distribution on phrase level, their ability or inability to be inflected for case, or their internal structure. Kinship nouns Types 3, 4 and 5 do not take case suffixes when singular in number. With dual or plural markers on both common and kinship nouns of all types, the case allomorphs are determined by the dual/plural markers rather than the noun roots.

The Location Nouns consist of roots meaning *'north'*, *'south'*, *'east'*, and *'west'*. Suffixation adds to the meaning, such as *'north-side'* and *'south-across'*, etc. The suffixation is rather extensive and meanings of some suffixes appear to be quite subtle so that we have not yet been able to define all their meanings. Location nouns must be inflected for case, but take only Referent, Locative, Allative and Ablative cases, and the allomorphs of the case suffixes do not coincide with those for the other classes of nouns.

A discussion of the case suffixes follows. These have been divided into three charts because different columns are required to describe the three different groupings of affixes. Chart 1 applies to the largest number of words. Chart 2 applies to a small class of kinship nouns, and Chart 3 applies to personal pronouns.

Case suffixes on Location Nouns and a few other residual word classes which are not fully analysed are not included in these charts, though they are identified in the examples throughout the paper.

Case System for Common Nouns, Kinship Nouns Type 1, Adjectives, and Certain Other Words

Chart 1 gives the case suffixes for all common nouns, type 1 kinship nouns, adjectives, and certain other words and morphemes.

CHART 1.   CASE SUFFIXATION

Sets of Case Ending Suffixes

Set	Nom	Erg	Refr	Loc/Acc/ Ins	Al	Ab/Tac	Transloc
1	-∅	-wanji	-anji ∿ -nji	-ina ∿ -na	-yuři ∿ -ři	-nanji	-yaŋga
2	-∅	-wanji	-ŋganji	-na	-yuři	-nanji	
3	-∅	-wanji	-nganji ∿ -jŋjganji	-na	-yuři ∿ -jŋjguři	-nanji	
4	-∅	-nji	-jŋjga	-njina	-jŋjguři	-nanji	-yaŋga
5	-∅	-nji	-ŋganji	-njina	-ŋguři	-nanji	-njdjaga
6	-∅	-ŋi	-ŋganji	-ŋina	-ŋguři	-nanji	
7	-nda	-ni	-ŋganji	-njina	-ŋguři	-nbunanji	
8	-ni	-ŋini	-ganji	-bina	-biyuři	-biyanji	-biyaŋga
9	-∅	-nji	-wa	-njina			

The Set 1 of Chart 1 suffixes occur with all singular kinship nouns type 1, with all singular common nouns except those ending with /nji/, with all singular adjectives except those ending with /nji/ or /řa/, and following the origin suffix -muŋgidji. The following allomorphs occur:

(a) The referent suffix allomorph -anji occurs with stems ending with a consonant; -nji occurs with stems ending with a vowel. (This referent suffix allomorph -nji is distinguished from the ergative suffix allomorph -nji in that the referent suffix is first order and the ergative suffix is second order.)

(b) The locative/accompaniment/instrument suffix allomorph -ina occurs with stems ending with a consonant; -na occurs with stems ending with a vowel.

(c) The allative suffix allomorph -yuři occurs with all adjective stems and noun stems ending with a consonant or /i/, and with the origin suffix; -ři occurs with noun stems ending with /a/ or /u/.

The Set 2 suffixes occur only with nanidji 'that big', and there are no allomorphs.

The Set 3 suffixes occur with singular common nouns and singular adjectives, both ending with /nji/. The following allomorphs occur:

(a)   The referent suffix allomorph -jŋjganji occurs with all adjective
      stems that end with /nji/, and with noun stems ending with /inji/;
      -nganji occurs with noun stems ending with /anji/ or /unji/.

(b)   The allative suffix allomorph -jŋjguři occurs with all adjective
      stems ending with /nji/, and with noun stems ending with /inji/;
      -yuři occurs with noun stems ending with /anji/ or /unji/.

The Set 4 suffixes occur with adjectives ending in /řa/ and following
dual, plural, and concomitant markers.

The Set 5 suffixes occur with the singular possessive pronouns.[1]

The Set 6 suffixes occur with wanji, the interrogative pronoun stem
and with nana, *that*, and nanda, the demonstrative pronoun stem and its
allomorph, when they occur without the dual or plural suffix. (nanda
occurs only with the nominative case; nana occurs with all other cases.)

The Set 7 suffixes occur with nayi, naŋi, and nanani, demonstrative
pronoun stem, *this*, and its allomorph, when they occur without the
dual or plural suffix. (nayi occurs with nominative, referent, and al-
lative cases; naŋi occurs with ergative, referent, locative/accompaniment/
instrument, allative and ablative/tactile cases; nanani occurs as an
alternative stem with ergative case.)

The Set 8 suffixes occur with wanjdja, the interrogative pronoun stem
allomorph, when it occurs without the dual or plural suffix.

The Set 9 suffixes occur following the suffix -yuři, *deceased*.

The Different Case System for Kinship Nouns Type 2

The case system of kinship nouns type 2, which comprise about one
third of the kinship terms of the language, differs from the kinship
nouns type 1 (see Chart 1, Set 1) in that the same suffix occurs for the
ergative, locative, and accompaniment tagmemes.

Chart 2 shows the Set 10 case suffixes that occur in the different
tagmemes with the kinship nouns type 2.

CHART 2. CASE SUFFIXES FOR KINSHIP NOUNS TYPE 2

Set	Nom	Erg/Loc/Acc	Refr	Al	Ab	Transloc
10	-∅	-yu	-ya ∿ -yanji	-yaři	-nanji ∿ -yunanji	-yaŋga

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[1] For a fuller explanation of case with pronouns see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa'.

Stems ending with the syllable /nja/ have this deleted with all but the nominative case.

The referent suffix has allomorphs: -yanji which occurs with the stem baṇaŋi *'father's older brother'*; -ya which occurs with all other stems.

The ablative suffix has allomorphs: -yunanji which occurs with the stem baṇaŋi *'father's older brother'*, buwanja *'older brother'*, and bugaganja *'father'*; -nanji which occurs with all other stems.

The Different Case System for Personal Pronouns

The case system of personal pronouns (which does not include possessive pronouns, see Chart 1, Sets 4 and 5) differs again from that shown in Charts 1 and 2, in that the same suffix is used for the subject of the transitive and intransitive verbs, and a different suffix is used to denote object of the transitive verb. Accompaniment suffix also differs from Chart 1 accompaniment suffixes. In addition there is another suffix used in reflexive constructions as the reflexive subject marker. Chart 3 shows the Set 11 case suffixes that occur on personal pronouns.

CHART 3. CASE SUFFIXES FOR PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Set	Refl	Subj	Obj	Refr	Loc	Al	Ab	Transloc	Acc
11	-ŋga	-∅	-nja	-ŋi	-ndu~ -nbu	-nduři~ -nbuři	-ndunanji~ -nbunanji	-nduyaŋga~ -nbiyaŋga	-nduwa

The locative, allative, ablative, and translocative suffixes each has an allomorph which occurs in free variation with the allomorphs on Chart 3. They are respectively, -nbu, -nbuři, -nbunanji, -nbiyaŋga.

3. PHRASES

There are eleven contrastive phrase types in Garawa, viz., Modified Noun Phrase, Number Phrase, Kinship Noun Phrase, Appositional Phrase, Co-ordinate Phrase, Inalienable Possession Phrase, Associate Noun Phrase, Concomitant Noun Phrase, Location Modification Noun Phrase, Accompaniment Noun Phrase and Negative Noun Phrase.

Phrases are often discontinuous, but no confusion occurs as all words of phrases are inflected for case.

3.1. *MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE*

The Modified Noun Phrase consists of a Deictic, Number, Possessor, Modifier and Head; all these are optional but one must occur. Case markers occur on all words in the phrase except those that cannot be inflected for case. Because of its versatility, the Modified Noun Phrase has a very wide distribution on clause level and is common throughout the language.

There is some embedding in this phrase, as the bidimensional array in Chart 4 shows.

CHART 4.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR THE MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE

Modified Noun Phrase					
± Deictic	± Number	± Possessor[1]	± Modifier	± Head	+ Case
Demonstr. Pronoun	Number Phrase	Modified Noun Phrase (poss)	Adjective	Kinship Noun 1	Nom
	Quantity Words	Possessive Pronoun	Attributive Noun Clause	Kinship Noun 2	Erg
		Appositional Phrase		Kinship Noun 3	Refr
		Co-ordinate Phrase		Kinship Noun 4	Loc
				Kinship Noun 5 (d/pl)	Acc
				Common Noun	Ins
				Kinship Noun Phrase	Al
					Ab
					Tac
					Transloc

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[1]The word baɽi is an almost meaningless word that is interspersed throughout Garawa speech. In this paper we will translate it as the hesitation word *'um'*.

The Modified Noun Phrase may occur embedded within the Appositional and Co-ordinate Phrases, may expound the Inalienable Possessor or the Inalienable Possession tagmeme of the Inalienable Possession Phrase, the Head tagmeme of the Associative Noun Phrase, the Location Modification Noun Phrase and the Negative Noun Phrase, and the Axis tagmeme of the Accompaniment Noun Phrase. The Modified Noun Phrase may expound the Subject, Object, Referent, Locative, Accompaniment, Instrument, Allative, Ablative, Tactile, Translocative, Topic and Comment tagmemes of the clause.

Permutation Rules

1. Free permutation occurs within this phrase, although where Deictic, Number, or Possessor is manifested as well as Modifier, then Modifier is preferred following the Head.

2. When more than one modifier is manifested, one is usually placed after the Head (see Example 9).

3. Within the clause, post-Head modifiers are sometimes permuted to the end of the clause (see Example 16).

4. Deictic is occasionally permuted to the initial position in the clause (see Example 17), but rarely occurs following the Head (see Example 1).

Restrictions

1. There is a preferred limit of three optional tagmemes, though occasionally four or five may occur (see Example 15).

2. All fillers of the Possessor slot apart from the possessive pronoun, are marked with referent case and cannot be further inflected by the case of the tagmeme in which it occurs. This use of referent case indicates possession.

3. When the Modified Noun Phrase$_{(poss)}$ fills the Possessor slot, its Head is obligatory, and it may contain only one other tagmeme (see Example 18).

4. When the exponent of the Possessor slot is an Appositional Phrase, the Primary Head of the Appositional Phrase usually has a pronoun, and the Appositional Head a proper noun (see Example 19).

Examples of Modified Noun Phrase

1. migu   nuři-Ø   djabuiinjba   ŋaninj-mugu-nji
    neg   *we:pl:ex:p-subj*   *disregard*   *man-pl-erg*

        Head   Deictic   Modifier
        mambuga-Ø   nanda-Ø   walguřa-Ø
        boss-nom   *that*-nom   *big*-nom
    'We, many (of us) men, take notice of that big boss.'

2.   Poss   Head:kin n type 1
    djura-yl   naŋaŋi-njina   nidjaŋanjdji-njina
    dance-p   *he:poss-acc*   *father-acc*
    '(He) danced with his father.'

3. ŋayu-Ø   nulldjba-ŋga   gaunsii-Ø   baři
    I-subj   *want-pres*   *councillor*-nom   *um*

        Deictic   Head:locn n
        nana-nganji   gařu-ři-nji   yadji-nji
        that-refr   *east-place-refr*   *country-refr*
    'I want councillors for that eastern country.'

    Note: In the above example, 'Deictic' and 'Head', nana-nganji gařu-ři-nji, form a
    Modified Noun Phrase, which in turn forms the Pri. Head of an Appositional Phrase,
    while yadji-nji forms the App. Head (being another noun, it cannot be a part of
    the nana-nganji gařu-ři-nji Modified Noun Phrase).

4.   Head   Poss
    nayinda-Ø   djibaři-Ø   ŋagi-Ø
    this-nom   *woman*-nom   *my*-nom
    'This is my wife.'

    Note: In the above example, the Deictic, nayinda, also is a Modified Noun Phrase,
    but is manifesting the Topic tagmeme of the Topic-Comment Clause, while djibaři
    ŋagi manifests the Comment tagmeme.

5.   Poss   Head:kin n type 1
    ...ŋala   njulu-Ø   ŋagi-Ø   djandanji-Ø
    while   *he-subj*   *my*-nom   *man's:offspring*-nom

        Modf
        bayagada-Ø   djuŋgu
        small-nom   *sit*
    '...while he, my small child, sits.'

    Note: Again in the above example, the underlined Modified Noun Phrase forms the
    App. Head, and the pronoun njulu *'he'*, is the Pri. Head of an Appositional
    Phrase.

6.   Modf   Deictic   Head
       gudiyana   bunjuibunjui-ina   nana-njina   gunda-na
       sometimes *soft-loc*   *that-loc*   *tree-loc*
       'Sometimes (we chop a hole) in those softwood trees.'

7.   Deictic
       mamanumba-yi   dunaia-Ø   nana-mugu-nji
       lose-p   *stone-nom* *that-pl-erg*
       'Those (ones) lost the money.'

8.   Deictic   Head
       guluga-nga   gadji-Ø   nanidji-na   bundai-ina
       sleep-pres   *crocodile-nom* *that:big-loc* *river-loc*
       'Crocodiles live in that big river.'

9.   Modf   Head   Modf
       dudidjba-yi   buia-nduyanga   walguřa-nji   miya-wanji   gugudu-wanji
       crawl-p   *they:d-transloc* *big-erg*   *snake-erg*   *black-erg*
       'The big black snake crawled past the two of them.'

10.   Poss   Head
       wulani   yaii-Ø   gudjba   nagi-nganji   malilgařa-nji
       yesterday *they:pl:p-subj* *search* *my-refr*   *armband-refr*
       'Yesterday they searched for my armband.'

11.   Poss   Head   Modf
       nadjba-giyl   nanani-Ø   djalu-Ø   bududabududa-Ø
       see-imp   *his-nom*   *arm-nom*   *swollen-nom*
       'See his swollen arm!'

12.   ...bagi   guyu-yi   lani-na   djanguř-Ø
          and   *bring-p*   *north-ab* *word-nom*

       Deictic   Poss   Head
       nani-nguři   nagi-nguři   banda-ři
       this-al   *my-al*   *camp-al*
       '...and brought the word from the north to this camp of mine.'

13.   Deictic   Head
       nayu-Ø   yinidjba   migu   nanda-Ø   djamba-Ø
       I-subj   *leave*   *neg*   *that-nom* *ground-nom*

          Poss   Poss
       nagi-Ø   nagi-Ø   gařu-ři
       my-nom   *my-nom*   *east-place:loc*
       'I will not leave that land of mine in the east.'

14.
					Deictic	Head
bagi	wagudimba	na-ŋga	baři[1]		nana-munanji	yadji-nanji
and	tide:rises:fast	he-refl	um		that-ab	country-ab

'And the tide rises fast from that place.'

15.
	Deictic	Modf	Num	Modf
wanjdjawa	nanda-Ø	yiŋga-Ø	gudjařa-Ø	walguřa-Ø
where	that-nom	other-nom	two-nom	big-nom

Poss	Head:Kinship	Noun Phrase
ŋagi-Ø	gugulimba-Ø	ŋayu
my-nom	grandchild	I(=my)

'Where (are) those other two big grandchildren of mine?'

16.
Head			Num	Modf
djiguwařa-Ø	ŋayi-Ø	nadjba	gudjařa-Ø	walguřa-wuya-Ø
wallaby-nom	I:p-subj	see	two-nom	big-pl-nom

'I saw two big wallabies.'

17.
Deictic				Head
nanda-Ø	baři	ŋayi-Ø	daba	wařŋuna-Ø
that-nom	um	I:p-subj	kill	big:goanna-nom

'I killed that big goanna.'

18.
		Poss		Head
wagaṛamba	njuli-Ø	ŋanji-ŋganji	ŋaḍaŋanjdja-nji	madjadja-Ø
find	he:p-subj	your:s-refr	mother-refr	axe-nom

'He found your mother's axe.'

19.
	Poss	Head
wanjdjawa	naŋaŋi-Ø	ṛuṛi-nji	baṇḍa-Ø
where	his-nom	Rorie-refr	camp-nom

'Where is Rorie's camp?'

20.
		Poss		Head
djiladjba	ŋayi-Ø	naŋaŋi-nguři	ṛuṛi-nji	baṇḍa-ři
go	I:p-subj	his-al	Rorie-refr	camp-al

'I went to his camp - Rorie's camp.'

Note: In the above Examples 19 and 20, the Possession tagmeme is a Modified Noun Phrase(poss). In this phrase the Head is marked for referent (=possessive) case and so takes no further case marking.

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[1]See footnote on page 7.

3.1.1. Number Phrase

The Number Phrase has been placed in a Subsection of the Modified Noun Phrase as it occurs only as an exponent of the Number tagmeme in a Modified Noun Phrase. All words in the Number Phrase, except bagi, receive case suffixes as assigned in the Modified Noun Phrase.

The system of numbering is simple as there are only two basic numbers, yiŋamaii and yaigunji both meaning 'one', and gudjařa 'two'. From these, the number 'three' is formed by combining the two as gudjařa yiŋamaii (or yaigunji) and 'four' is gudjařa gudjařa or gudjařa bagi gudjařa. In recent times, this original system has been extended slightly by using gudjařa bagi gudjařa yiŋamaii for 'five' and also gudjařa bagi gudjařa bagi gudjařa for 'six', but this is seldom used, and then only through the influence of European culture requiring a more precise numbering system. Beyond the number 'four' the indefinite numbers are used, gudiya 'some', and gadja 'many'. If a more accurate definition of numbers is required, it is possible to say maṇi gudjařa 'two hands' for ten, or maṇi gudjařa bagi nugami gudjařa 'two hands and two feet' for twenty. This can also be repeated several times.

The Number Phrase has only a few exponents and is not analysed any further.

CHART 5.   NUMBER PHRASE

Number Phrase	
yiŋamaii	'one'
yaigunji	'one'
gudjařa	'two'
gudjařa yiŋamaii	'three'
gudjařa yaigunji	'three'
gudjařa gudjařa	'four'
gudjařa bagi gudjařa	'four'
gudjařa bagi gudjařa yiŋamaii	'five'
gudjařa bagi gudjařa bagi gudjařa	'six'
maṇi gudjařa	'ten'
maṇi gudjařa bagi nugami gudjařa	'twenty'

Examples of Number Phrase

1.
                                                              Num

   ṛaŋimba ŋayi-∅   ŋunba-∅   ŋadjař-yudi-nji   <u>gudjařa-∅</u>

   shoot   *I:p-subj* *duck*-nom *rifle*-concom-erg   *two*-nom

   'I shot two ducks with (my) rifle.'

2. **Num . . . .**

   <u>gudjaři-∅</u> <u>yiŋamali-∅</u> ŋayi-∅   ṛaŋimba ŋunba-∅

   two-nom   *one*-nom   *I:p-subj* *shoot*   *duck*-nom

   'I shot three ducks.'

3.
                        Num . . . .

   yalu-∅   bṛidjba   <u>gudjařa-nji</u> <u>yalgunji-wanji</u>

   they:pl-subj   *sing*   *two*-erg   *one*-erg

      ŋaninji-mugu-nji maliwařa-∅

      man-pl-erg   *name:of:corroboree*-nom

   'The three men sing the "maliwarra" corroboree.'

   This example shows double embedding. The Number Phrase underlined
   fills the number slot of a Modified Noun Phrase of which ŋaninji-
   mugu-nji is the Head. This phrase then forms the Appositional Head,
   and the pronoun yalu the Primary Head, of an Appositional Phrase.

4. **Num . . . (   ) . . . .**

   <u>gudjařa-∅</u> ŋayi-∅   daya   **bagi** <u>gudjařa-∅</u>

   two-nom   *I:p-subj* *chop* *and*   *two*-nom

   'I chopped (down) four (trees).'

5.   **Num . . . .**

   bagi   mili   <u>gudjařa-∅</u> <u>yiŋamali-∅</u>

   and   *again* *two*-nom   *one*-nom

   '...and again (I chopped) three (trees).'

6.
                                         Num

   baḷba ŋayi-∅   djiḍi   badjaŋu-nji   <u>gudjařa-ɲɲga</u>

   go   *I:p-subj* *with*   *dog*-refr   *two*-refr

   'I went with two dogs.'

   Note: The underlined Number Phrase expounds the Number tagmeme in a Modified
   Noun Phrase which expounds the Axis of an Accompaniment Phrase.

7.   **Num**

   waliyaŋu-∅ <u>gudjařa-wuya-∅</u> ŋagi-∅   yadji-∅   nji zilan-∅

   island-nom *two*-d-nom   *my*-nom   *country*-nom *New* *Zealand*-nom

   'My country, New Zealand, consists of two islands.'

3.1.2. Kinship Noun Phrase

The Kinship Noun Phrase also is placed in a subsection of the Modified Noun Phrase as it occurs only as an exponent of the Head tagmeme of a Modified Noun Phrase.

The Kinship Noun Phrase comprises a Kinship Head and a Kinship Possessor, both tagmemes being obligatory, as shown in Chart 6.

The Kinship Head is manifested by a Kinship Noun Type 5, a group of kinship nouns which comprises a noun stem and an obligatory suffix -mba. Within the Kinship Noun Phrase the Head must be singular in number.

The Kinship Possessor is manifested by a subject Personal Pronoun.

The Kinship Noun Phrase is unusual in that it is never inflected for case. (When the dual or plural forms of the Kinship Head are used, they are inflected for case and so fit into the Modified Noun Phrase structure.)

CHART 6.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR THE KINSHIP NOUN PHRASE

Kinship Noun Phrase	
+ Kinship Head	+ Kinship Possessor
Kinship Noun (Type 5)	Subject Personal Pronoun

Permutation Rules

No permutation occurs.

Examples of Kinship Noun Phrase

1. wanjdjawa   nanda-Ø   yiŋga-Ø   gudjařa-Ø   walguřa-Ø
    where   *that-*nom *other-*nom *two-*nom   *big-*nom

                 Kin Head   **Kin Poss**
         ŋagi-Ø   gugulimba   ŋayu
         *my-*nom   *grandchild*   *I(=my)*
    '*Where (are) those two big grandchildren of mine?*'

2.   **Kin Head**   **Kin Poss**
    ŋanji   ŋayi-Ø   yanjba   ŋagi-nganji   gaḏigaḏimba   ŋayu
    *you:*refr *I:p-*subj *talk*   *my-*refr   *nephew*   *I(=my)*
    '*I spoke to you, my nephew.*'

3. yugumba-ga   ŋanji   wajga   bundal-ina
    wait-pres   *you*:refr   *down*   *river*-loc

        Kin Head   Kin Poss
        gugulimba   ninjdji   giniŋgi-wanji
        grandchild   *you*:s(=*your*)   *Kiningki*-erg

    'Your grandchild, Kiningki, is waiting for you down at the river.'

    Note: In the examples 2 and 3 above, the Kinship Noun Phrase is uninflected for
    case, even though it is expounding in Example 2 the Head of a Modified Noun Phrase
    that is in Referent Case, and in example 3 the Primary Head of an Appositional
    Phrase in Ergative Case.

4.   Kin Head Kin Poss
    ṛaŋimba-yi   gaṇaṇanjdja-Ø   mimimba   njulu   lubi-wanji
    shoot-p   *emu*-nom   *grandson*   *he(=his)*   *Lobby*-erg

    'Lobby, his grandson, shot the emu.'

5.   Kin Head   Kin Poss
    djiladjba   ŋayu-Ø   naṇa-nduři   muřimuřimba   ninjdji
    go   *I*-subj   *he*-al   gr:*nephew*   *you*:s(=*your*)

    'I go to him, your nephew.'

6.   Kin Head   Kin Poss
    migu   ŋayi-Ø-ya   djuŋgu   naṇa-ndu   ŋawudjimba   ŋayu
    neg   *I*-subj-desid:p   *sit*   *she*-acc   *sister-in-law*   *I(=my)*

    'I did not sit with her, my sister-in-law.'

3.2.   APPOSITIONAL AND CO-ORDINATE PHRASES

The next group of phrases to be discussed comprises the Appositional
Phrase and the Co-ordinate Phrase, which are grouped together because
of similarity of construction and distribution. Before continuing with
their description, we will discuss our reasons for positing the Apposi-
tional Phrase as an alternative to multiple manifestations of the same
tagmeme.

3.2.1. Appositional Phrase

Frequently we encounter a simple clause such as:

djuŋgu   nayiba   ŋaninji-Ø
sit   *here*   *man*-nom

'The man lives here.'

An expansion which would be even more frequently used would be:

djuŋgu nayiba ŋaninji-∅ gaḍiḍi-∅
sit   *here*   *man*-nom   *uncle*-nom
'The man, (my) uncle, lives here.'

It would also be normal to expand this still further to make the
identity of the uncle still more clear by the addition of the uncle's
name. The clause would then read:

djuŋgu nayiba ŋaninji-∅ gaḍiḍi-∅   djagsin-∅
sit   *here*   *man*-nom   *uncle*-nom *Jackson*-nom
'The man, (my) uncle, Jackson, lives here.'

The subject of the first clause, ŋaninji, has been expanded in the
second and third clauses to further define the subject. The relation-
ship between each of these words in the subject tagmeme is so close
as to suggest that they would more reasonably constitute a phrase than
be regarded as multiple manifestations of the subject tagmeme.

However, as Garawa favours the use of a pronoun wherever applicable,
a construction preferable to any of the above clauses would have the
pronoun njulu inserted. This frequently is placed at or near the
beginning of the clause, so that a fourth example would read:

njulu-∅ djuŋgu ŋaninji-∅ gaḍiḍi-∅   djagsin-∅
he-subj *sit*   *man*-nom   *uncle*-nom *Jackson*-nom
'He, (that) man, (my) uncle, Jackson, lives here.'

In this clause the pronoun njulu, although separated by the verb
from the rest of the subject, is just as closely related as any of the
subject words in the previous examples. Accordingly, we have discarded
the concept of multiple manifestations of a tagmeme in favour of that
of one tagmeme being manifested by the Appositional Phrase, or the Co-
ordinate Phrase which will be explained in the following section.

The Primary Head of an Appositional Phrase is taken as the most in-
definite in meaning of the manifestations of the subject, and the
succeeding explanatory words are Appositional Heads. Therefore, in the
final example above, the pronoun njulu is regarded as the Primary Head,
as it is the most indefinite in meaning. The following parts of the
subject, ŋaninji *'man'*, gaḍiḍi *'uncle'*, and djagsin *'Jackson'*, are
Appositional Heads.

A notable feature of clause construction is the manner in which other
clause tagmemes interrupt this phrase, particularly when the Primary
Head is expounded by a personal pronoun.

The Bidimensional Array in Chart 7 shows that both heads may be
manifested by phrases, which means that there is frequent embedding.
Case is obligatory on all words in the phrase, except on Time, Locative

and Manner Adverbs, and some Location nouns.

The Appositional Phrase may occur embedded within the Co-ordinate Phrase, may expound the Possessor tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase, the Head tagmeme of the Location Modified Noun Phrase and the Negative Noun Phrase, and the Axis tagmeme of the Accompaniment Noun Phrase. The Appositional Phrase may expound the Subject, Object, Referent, Locative, Allative, Ablative, Time, Manner, Topic and Comment tagmemes of the clause.

CHART 7.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR THE APPOSITIONAL PHRASE

Appositional Phrase		
+ Primary Head	+ Appositional Head^n	+ Case
Modified Noun Phrase Co-ordinate Phrase Associative Noun Phrase Personal Pronoun Location Noun Locative Adverb Manner Adverb Time Adverb	Modified Noun Phrase Co-ordinate Phrase Associative Noun Phrase Personal Pronoun Location Noun Locative Adverb Manner Adverb Time Adverb	All cases

Permutation Rules

There is no difference in the fillers of either Primary or Appositional Heads. However, as one is less explicit in meaning than the other, it has been called the Primary Head. The Primary Head may precede or follow the Appositional Head, and often, particularly when the primary head is manifested by a personal pronoun, it comes early in the clause while the Appositional Head is often placed finally.

Additional Note

As the embedded phrases contain a case tagmeme within themselves, and the Location Noun and Locative, Manner and Time adverbs are not inflected for case, the case tagmeme applies only to the Personal Pronoun.

Examples of Appositional Phrase

1.
		Pri.Head:Modf.NP		App.Head:Modf.NP	

gudjba   naŋa-ŋi   <u>gugu</u>-∅   bař̌i   <u>naŋaŋi</u>-∅   <u>djandanji</u>-∅
search   he-refr   mat:gr:uncle-nom   um   his-nom   son-nom
'My maternal great uncle, his son, searches for him.'

2.
				Pri.Head:

ŋawamba   djiŋgidjba   ŋayi-∅   nugami-∅   <u>nana-njina</u>
only   know   I:p-subj   tracks-nom   that-loc

Modf.NP	App.Head 1:Modf.NP	App.Head 2:Modf.NP

<u>wabuda</u>-na   <u>gudjiř̌i</u>-na   <u>bayaŋa</u>-ř̌i
water-loc   crossing-loc   west-place:loc
'But I recognised (his) tracks by the river at the crossing in the west.'

3.   App.Head 1:Modf.NP . . . .
<u>nana-nganji</u>   <u>ŋagi-nganji</u>   <u>ŋagi-nganji</u>   <u>banjdji-nji</u>
that-refr   my-refr   my-refr   bro-in-law-refr

	Pri.Head	App.Head 2

<u>naŋa-ŋi</u>   dun-<u>ganji</u>   yanjba-yi
he-refr   Don-refr   talk-p
'(Mother) talked to him, Don, my brother-in-law.'

4.
		Pri.Head	App.Head

maḍa   nayiba   maibu-∅   <u>bugaganja</u>-∅   djuŋgu-yi   nanaba   ŋagi-ndu
also   here   old:man-nom   father-nom   sit-p   there   me-acc
'Also the old man, (my) father, sat there with me.'

5.   App.Head:Co-ord.P . . . .   Pri.Head:Modf.NP
<u>dadagi</u>-∅   **bagi**   mundaṟař̌a-∅   <u>nana-nguya</u>-∅
Dadaki-nom   and   Mundararra-nom   that-d-nom

. . . .
bař̌i   <u>guṇḍa-wuya</u>-∅
um   tree-d-nom
'Dadaki and Mundararra, those two trees, (are used for this).'

6.   Pri.Head:Kin.NP . . . .   App.Head:Modf.NP
<u>muṛimuṛimba</u>   ŋayu   djunsin-∅
sister's:daughter's:son   I(=my)   Johnson-nom

	Pri.Head	App.Head		

bagi   <u>gugu</u>-∅   <u>djagsin</u>-∅   bagi   <u>ŋamudjulu</u>-∅
and   mat:gr:uncle-nom   Jackson-nom   and   Kungleberry-nom

'My niece's son Johnson, (my) great-uncle Jackson and Kungleberry,
(searched for him).'

Note: The above example illustrates two Appositional Phrases, which manifest the
first two heads of a Co-ordinate Phrase, with ŋamudjulu as Head 3 of a Co-ordinate
Phrase.

7. Pri.Head   App.Head 2:Modf.NP
    njulu-Ø   mawaḷ-Ø   lalanba-ga   nana-ŋini
    he-subj *float*-nom *watch*-pres *that*-erg

         . . . .   App.Head 1
         madbiŋgařa-wanji   ŋaninji-wanji
         expert:dugong:hunter-erg *man*-erg
    'He, the man, that expert dugong hunter, watches the float.'

8.   App.Head   Pri.Head
    gaṛu ŋayi-Ø   ŋaḍa-ya   naŋa-ŋi
    tell *I:p*-subj *mother*-refr *she*-refr
    'I told her, mother.'

9.   App.Head   Pri.Head
    ...ŋala gudiya-Ø djařidjba-wa yalu-Ø
    while *some*-nom *are:away*-cont *they:pl*-subj
    '...while they, some (of them) are still away.'

10.   Pri.Head:Locn N
    bulidjimanjdji-wanji guyu yalu-nja   gula-ři-dji
    policeman-erg   *take* *they:pl*-obj *south-place*-al

        App.Head
        grusiŋ-yuři-wa
        crossing-al-cont
    'The policeman was taking them to the crossing in the south.'

11. Pri.Head   App.Head:Modf.NP . . . .
    yali-Ø-ya   nana-mugu-nji   gaunsilu-mugu-nji
    they:pl-subj-desid:p *that*-pl-erg *councillor*-pl-erg

        gaṛu bugamba wudjini
        tell *all*   *few:days:ago*
    'All those councillors wanted to tell (him) a few days ago.'

12.   Pri.Head   App.Head
    djabaři   ŋayu-Ø bař i ŋayu-Ø-ma   bař i
    once:again *I*-subj *um* *I*-subj-*myself* *um*
    'Again I myself (held that ground).'

13. Pri.Head . . . . . .   App.Head 1 App.Head 2
     djandanji-Ø   ŋagi-Ø   ŋaḍa-nja   yidna-Ø
     daughter-nom   my-nom   mother-nom Edna-nom
     'My daughter, (your) mother, Edna...'

14.   Pri.Head:Modf.NP
     ŋayu-Ø nulidjba-ŋga gaunsil   baři nana-nganji
     I-subj want-pres   councillor um   that-refr

          . . . . . .   App.Head
       gařu-ři-nji   yadji-nji
       east-place:loc-refr country-refr
     'I want councillors for that country in the east.'

15.   App.Head
     ...ŋala   ŋayu-Ø djuŋgu-gili mugulařaŋu-Ø
     while   I-subj sit-hab   Robinson:River-loc

       Pri.Head:Modf.NP
       ŋagi-njina yadji-na
       my-loc   country-loc
     '...while I used to live at Robinson River.'

     Note: Ø signifies locative case on place names.

16.   Pri.Head:Modf.NP
     malidjba buli-Ø   ŋagi-Ø djandanji-Ø
     follow   they:d:p-subj my-nom son-nom

          . . . . .   App.Head
       bayagaḍa-Ø baṇs-Ø
       small-nom   Barnes-nom
     'They followed my small son, Barnes.'

17.   Pri.Head   App.Head:Co-ord.P
     waḍamba bula-ŋgi-li waḍa-nji gagu-nji maḍa waḍaba-nji
     eat   they:d-refl-hab food-refr fish-refr also goanna-refr
     '(Those) two are eating food, fish and goanna.'

18.   Pri.Head   App.Head:Modf.NP   App.Head 2
     djuŋgu njuli-Ø nana-manjdji nayi-nda malbu-Ø daymand-Ø
     sit   he:p-subj that-spec:t this-nom old:man-nom Diamond-nom
     'He, this old man, Diamond, lived at that time.'

19.   Pri.Head:Loc Adv   App.Head:Loc Adv
    nadjba-ŋga   <u>nayi</u>   <u>gala</u>
    see-pres   *here*   *under*
    '(He) sees (the dugong) here, under (the surface).'

20.   Pri.Head:Loc Adv   App.Head:Locn N
    nuŋgala-∅   <u>nayi</u>   <u>gula-řa</u>
    we:d:inc-subj *here*   *south*-loc
    'We two (arrive) here at the south.'

21. djali-li   gařu   nanda-∅   miliŋundaya-∅
     then-hab *call* *that*-nom *Milingundaya*-nom

         App.Head:Time Adv Pri.Head:Time Adv
         <u>wangala</u>   wabula
         olden:times   *before*
     'Then, in olden times, we used to call that one (high tide)
     "Milingundaya".'

22. gamu-nji   muguřinjdja   yalu-∅
     later-refr *stand:in:bow:of:canoe* *they:pl-subj*

         Pri.Head:Loc Adv App.Head:Co-ord.P
         <u>nana-wa</u>   <u>gula</u>   <u>laŋgi</u>
         that-way   *south:al* *north:al*
     'They stand in the bow of the canoe (going) in that direction,
     to the south and to the north.'

3.2.2. Co-ordinate Phrase

   The Co-ordinate Phrase, as stated in Section 3.2 is similar in
construction and distribution to the Appositional Phrase. However, it
differs semantically from the Appositional Phrase in that each succes-
sive head is not explanatory of the previous head, but is completely
new and separate, although altogether they constitute a single group.
A clause may include a collective term which names the other separate
items which co-occur with it. This collective term is considered to be a
Primary Head of an Appositional Phrase. The co-occurring separate items
then form a Co-ordinate Phrase which expounds the Appositional Head.
(See Example 3 following, where gudugudu *'many'* is a summary of the ex-
ponents of the Heads in the following Co-ordinate Phrase.)
   The Co-ordinate Phrase (see Chart 8) comprises two or more Heads,
optionally joined by Links, either bagi *'and'*, or maḍa *'also'*. Most
manifestations of these Heads are phrases, and since these phrases

contain a case tagmeme within themselves the additional obligatory case
tagmeme applies only to exponents that may be inflected for case but do
not contain a case tagmeme.

The Co-ordinate Phrase is most common as the exponent of the Subject
or Object tagmemes, though it may also occur in any tagmeme of a clause
that has a phrase as an exponent.

The Co-ordinate Phrase may occur embedded within the Appositional
Phrase, may expound the Possessor tagmeme of the Modified Noun Phrase,
the Head tagmeme of the Location Modification Noun Phrase and the Neg-
ative Noun Phrase, and the Axis tagmeme of the Accompaniment Noun
Phrase. The Co-ordinate Phrase may expound the Subject, Object,
Referent, Locative, Allative, Ablative, Time, Manner, Topic and Comment
tagmemes of the clause.

CHART 8.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR THE CO-ORDINATE PHRASE

Co-ordinate Phrase			
+ Head	± Link	+ Head^n	+ Case
Modified NP	bagi *'and'*	Modified NP	All cases
Appositional Phrase		Appositional Phrase	
Personal Pronoun	maḍa *'also'*	Personal Pronoun	
Associative NP		Associative NP	
Location Noun		Location Noun	
Locative Adverb		Locative Adverb	
Manner Adverb		Manner Adverb	
Time Adverb		Time Adverb	

Permutation Rules

As there is no distinction between the Heads, permutation does not
apply to this phrase.

Restrictions

1. The Modified Noun Phrase manifesting any of the Heads is usually
    limited to Head and at most, two other tagmemes.

2. When a Location Noun, a Locative, Manner or Time Adverb mani-
    fests one Head, then other head/s must also be manifested by the
    same class of word.

3. As Location Nouns carry only Locative, Allative, Ablative or

Referent case, then case is restricted to one of the forementioned
cases when a location noun is the exponent of any head.

Additional Note

As the embedded phrases contain a case tagmeme within themselves, and
the Location Noun and Locative, Manner and Time Adverbs are not in-
flected for case, the case tagmeme applies only to the personal
pronoun.

Examples of Co-ordinate Phrase

1.
				Head 1	Link	Head 2
waḍamba	buia-ŋgi-li		waḍa-nji	gagu-nji	maḍa	waḍaba-nji
eat	*they:d-refl-hab*	*food-refr*	*fish-refr*	*also*	*goanna-refr*

'Those two are eating food, fish and goanna.'

2.
Head 1	Link	Head 2			
dadagi-Ø	bagi	mundaṟaṟa-Ø	nana-nguya-Ø	baři	guṇḍa-wuya-Ø
Dadaki-nom	*and*	*Mundararra-nom*	*that-d-nom*	*um*	*tree-d-nom*

'Dadaki and Mundararra, those two trees, (are used for this).'

3.
			Head 1:Modf.NP	
wudumba	yali-Ø		gudugudu-Ø	gudjaṟa-Ø	djiguwaṟa-Ø
get	*they:pl:p-subj*	*many-nom*	*two-nom*	*wallaby-nom*

Link	Head 2:Modf.NP . . .		Link	Head 3:Modf.NP . . .	
bagi	mundaṇu-Ø	gudugudu-Ø	bagi	yalgunji-Ø	waḍaba-Ø
and	*turtle-nom*	*many-nom*	*and*	*one-nom*	*goanna-nom*

. . . . .	Link	Head 4:Modf.NP		Link
bayagaḍa-Ø	bagi	walguṟa-Ø	wadjili-Ø	bagi
small-nom	*and*	*big-nom*	*wild:honey-nom*	*and*

Head 5:Modf.NP
biḍiwiḍi-Ø
pandanus:nut-nom

'They got many (things), two wallabies, many turtles, one small
goanna, much wild honey, and pandanus nuts.'

Note: In the above example, the Co-ordinate Phrase underlined expounds the Ap-
positional Head of an Appositional Phrase, and the summarising indefinite number
word gudugudu expounds the Primary Head of the Appositional Phrase.

4.
			Head 1
dadiḍjba	gagaiiḍjba	yali-Ø	wabuia
no:matter	*laugh:at*	*they:pl:p-subj*	*before*

```
          Link   Head 2
          maḍa   yuřŋumba        lugulugu
          also   all:the:time    everywhere
```
'No matter (what he did) people everywhere laughed at him all the
time.'

```
5.                                               Head 1      Link
     nana-manŋa  baři  djaŋguř-Ø  ŋayu-Ø  yanjba  ŋaḍa-Ø     bagi
     that-same   um    word-nom   I-subj  talk    mother-nom and

          Head 2
          buwaganja-Ø  yiniŋgi  muŋanawa-jŋjga  bagu
          father-nom   might    tomorrow-refr   later
```
'I might tell mother and father that same story later, tomorrow
(perhaps).'

```
6.   Head 1:App.P . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .     Link
     muṛimuṛimba                      ŋayu  djunsin-Ø     bagi
     sister's:daughter's:son  I(=my)  Johnson-nom   and

          Head 2:App.P . . . . . . .     Link  Head 3
          gugu-Ø             djagsin-Ø   bagi  guŋgilburl-Ø
          mat:gr:uncle-nom   Jackson-nom and   Kungleberry-nom
```
'My niece's son Johnson, (my) great-uncle Jackson, and Kungleberry,
(searched for him).'

Note: The above example has a Kinship Noun Phrase (muṛimuṛimba ŋayu) as Primary
Head, and a Modified Noun Phrase (djunsin) as Appositional Head, of an Apposi-
tional Phrase manifesting Head 1 of the Co-ordinate Phrase exemplified. Head 2
is a second Appositional Phrase and Head 3 is a Modified Noun Phrase.

```
7.                    Head 1       Link   Head 2
     ŋařgadaba-gili   walidji-Ø    maḍa   gaŋaŋanjdja-Ø
     spear-nom        kangaroo-nom also   emu-nom
```
'(They) used to spear kangaroos and emus.'

```
8.                              Head 1
     daba  nuři-Ø-li            nay!  gařu-řinjba-na
     kill  we:pl:ex-subj-hab    here  east-side-loc

          Head 2
          bayaŋa-řinjba-na  mili
          west-side-loc     again
```
'We used to kill (kangaroos) here on the east side (and) again on
the west side.'

9.   Head 1

   muguřinjdja   yalu-Ø   gaři
   stand:in:bow:of:canoe they:pl-subj   east:al

       Head 2   Head 3   Head 4
       bayuŋu   gula   laŋi
       west:al   south:al   north:al

   'They stand in the bow of the canoe (looking) to the east, to the
   west, to the south, (and) to the north.'

10.   Head 1   Head 2

    ŋařgadaba   wuni-na   bařgu-na   yalu-ŋgi-li
    spear   spear-ins   club-ins   they:pl-refl-hab

    'They used to spear each other with spears and sticks.'

3.3. *INALIENABLE POSSESSION PHRASE*

   The Inalienable Possession Phrase is the construction used to indi-
cate the relationship of a part to the whole of a person, animal or
article, such as in *man-hand, horse-hoof, canoe-bow.*
   The Inalienable Possession Phrase consists of an Inalienable Posses-
sor and an Inalienable Possession (see Chart 9). The Inalienable Pos-
sessor is not marked for possession (referent case).
   The Inalienable Possession slot is filled by a Modified Noun Phrase
which is expounded only by a Head and optionally one other tagmeme.
The Head consists of a body part noun or a noun which is part of the
whole article.
   The Inalienable Possessor slot may be filled by a Modified Noun Phrase
or a pronoun which denotes the animal possessor or the part of the whole.
   The Inalienable Possession Phrase may expound the Subject, Object,
Referent, Locative, Allative, Ablative, Translocative, Topic and Comment
tagmemes of the clause.

   CHART 9. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR THE INALIENABLE POSSESSION PHRASE

Inalienable Possession Phrase		
+ Inalienable Possessor	**+ Inalienable Possession**	**+ Case**
Modified Noun Phrase Personal Pronoun Reflexive Pronoun	Modified Noun Phrase (limited)	All cases

Permutation Rules

Tagmemes may permute to alternative order.

Restrictions

When the reflexive pronoun expounds the Possessor tagmeme, the phrase
is inflected with nominative case only. (This use of the reflexive
pronoun within a phrase is rare.)

Additional Note

As the embedded phrases and the Reflexive Pronoun contain a case
tagmeme within themselves the case tagmeme applies only to the
Personal Pronoun.

Examples of Inalienable Possession Phrase

1.   Inal.Possr   Inal.Poss
   ṟaŋimba   njuḷi-Ø   wunduři-Ø   djalu-Ø
   shoot   *he:p-subj* *bush turkey*-nom *wing*-nom
   'He shot the bush turkey in the wing.'

   Note: The possessor *'bush turkey'* is not marked with referent (=possessive) case.

2. Inal.Possr   Inal.Poss
   muwaḏa-na   ŋuřu-na   yařidjba-ŋga   djidimbi-Ø
   canoe-loc   *bow*-loc   *put*-pres   *tail*-nom
   '(They) put the tail at the bow of the canoe.'

3. Inal.Poss   Inal.Possr
   nugami-Ø   baři   ŋayi-Ø   nadjba   gaŋgu-Ø
   track-nom *um*   *I:p-subj* *see*   *mat:gr:uncle*-nom
   'I saw the tracks of (my) maternal great-uncle.'

4.   Inal.Possr   Inal.Poss   . . . . . .
                                              Inal.Poss   Inal.Possr
   nidjinba-yi   gabigabi-Ø   yaṟama-wanji   maṇi-wanji   djalu-wanji
   trample-p   *calf*-nom   *horse*-erg   *hoof*-erg   *foreleg*-erg
   'The front hoof of the horse trampled the calf.'

5.   Inal.Possr:Modf.NP . .   Inal.Poss
   gudjba   ŋayi-Ø   nana-ŋganji   miya-nji   wuyu-nji
   search   *I:p-subj* *that*-refr   *snake*-refr *snake:track*-refr
   'I searched for the track of that snake.'

6.   Inal.Poss:Modf.NP

    djunu   baři   langu   djala gařala   <u>nana-njina</u> <u>muwa-na</u>

    perhaps *um*   *north*:loc *today* *descend* *that*-loc *stomach*-loc

        Inal.Possr

        <u>yadji-na</u>

        country-loc

    'Perhaps (he) went down to that bay in the north today.'

    Note: The *'bay'* (*stomach=bulge*) is a part of the *'country'* and *'country'* is not
    marked with referent (=possessive) case.

7.   Inal.Poss:( ) Modf.NP   Inal.Possr

    daya   nagi-Ø   nayi <u>maṇi-Ø</u>   <u>naga</u>

    chop *my*-nom   *here* *hand*-nom *I*:refl

    'I chopped my hand here.'

    Note: This is an example of the use of the reflexive pronoun as the possessor
    tagmeme manifestation.

3.4. *ASSOCIATIVE NOUN PHRASE*

The Associative Noun Phrase has a basic meaning of association in that
it has an obligatory element which can best be translated as *'having'*.
The Associative Noun Phrase is used to describe method of travel, such
as *horse-having, motor-car-having, boat-having*. This construction
indicates temporary possession of horse, car or boat, but it is not
used with aeroplane since ownership is not so clearly defined. Its use
also includes accompaniment such as *'man with a boy'*, *'child with
mother'*, but here again possession is implied as it would not be used
for *'boy with a man'*. It would, however, be used for *'boy with his
father'*. Similarly, possession is just as strongly implied when the
phrase indicates instrument, as in *'they fought each other, sticks-
having'*.

The Associative Noun Phrase comprises an optional Head and an obli-
gatory Association. As is seen in the Bidimensional Array in Chart 10,
the exponents of the Head are limited to the Modified Noun Phrase or a
Personal Pronoun, while the Association is expounded only by the Con-
comitant Noun Phrase. Both tagmemes are inflected for case.

The Associative Noun Phrase may occur embedded within the Apposi-
tional and Co-ordinate Phrases and may expound the Head tagmeme of the
Location Modification Noun Phrase. The Associative Noun Phrase may ex-
pound the Subject, Object, Referent, Locative, Allative, Ablative, Topic
and Comment tagmemes of the clause.

CHART 10.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR ASSOCIATIVE NOUN PHRASE

Associative Noun Phrase		
± Head	+ Association	+ Case
Modified Noun Phrase Personal Pronoun	Concomitant Noun Phrase	All Cases

Permutation Rules

Permutation of the Head and Association is possible but rarely occurs.

Restrictions

1. The Modified Noun Phrase is usually limited to Deictic or Head, but occasionally it is expounded by the Head and one other tagmeme.

2. When the Associative Noun Phrase manifests the Reflexive Subject of a Reflexive Clause, the Head is inflected for nominative case while the Association is marked for ergative case.

Additional Note

All words within the Associative Noun Phrase are marked for case. As the embedded Modified Noun Phrase contains a case tagmeme within itself, the case tagmeme of the Associative Noun Phrase applies only to the Personal Pronoun and the Concomitant Noun Phrase.

Examples of this phrase are given following the description of the Concomitant Phrase.

3.4.1.   Concomitant Noun Phrase

The Concomitant Noun Phrase consists of that part of the Associative Noun Phrase that is associated with or possessed by the Head of the Associative Noun Phrase.

The Concomitant Noun Phrase is placed as a sub-section of the Associative Noun Phrase as it occurs only as the exponent of the Association tagmeme or as the exponent of the Comment tagmeme in the Topic-Comment Clause.

As shown in Chart 11, the Concomitant Noun Phrase comprises an optional Deictic, Modifier and Head, one of which must occur, and a

Concomitant marker. The Concomitant marker takes the form of a suffix
which is affixed to all words of the phrase.

CHART 11. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR CONCOMITANT NOUN PHRASE

Concomitant Noun Phrase			
± Deictic	± Modifier	± Head	+ Concomitant Marker
Demonstrative Pronoun	Adjective Quantifier Possessive Pronoun	Noun App.P	{-yudi}

Permutation Rules

Deictic, Modifier and Head may permute to any order though that shown
in the Array is preferred.

Restrictions

It is usual for only one of the three optional tagmemes to occur, ex-
cept when the Modifier is manifested it is preferred that the Head
should co-occur.

Examples of Associative and Concomitant Noun Phrases

1.   Assoc:Concom.NP
   muŋanawa djiladjba-dja   nagaṟa-yudi-∅
   tomorrow go-f   *horse*-concom-nom
   'Tomorrow (I) will go on horseback.'

   Note: In the above example the subject *'I'* is understood from the context and is
   the Head of the Associative Noun Phrase, with nagaṟa-yudi filling the Association
   slot.

2. Assoc:Concom.NP   Head:Modf.NP
    gadjala-yudi-nji   yalu-ŋgi-li   ŋařgadaba   djibaři-wanji
    yam:stick-concom-erg *they:pl-refl-hab* *spear*   *woman*-erg
    'Women used to spear each other with yam sticks.'

    Note: In the above example, the underlined Associative Noun Phrase is embedded
    as Appositional Head of an Appositional Phrase of which the reflexive pronoun is
    the Primary Head.

3.   Head:Refl.Pron   Assoc:Concom.NP
    maḍa   na-ŋga   mili ŋařgadaba   nana-njdjudi-nji
    also   he-refl   *again spear*   *that*-concom-erg

. . . .
wuni-**yudi**-**nji**   luŋgul-yudi-nji   djaŋani-yudi-nji
spear-concom-erg *stone:blade*-concom-erg *spear:blade*-concom-erg

wangala   wabula
olden:times   before

'Also he (our ancestors) used to spear each other with those stone
bladed spears in the olden times.'

4.   **Head**   **Assoc:Concom.NP**
widjba-yi   naŋalama-Ø   nayi-njdjudi-Ø
*come:back-p Nangalama-nom   this-*concom-nom

'Nangalama came back with this (one).'

5.   **Head**
djiladjba-yi   djuga-Ø   **malbu-yuři**
go-p   boy-nom   old:man-al

Assoc:Concom.NP . . . .
gudjařa-yudi-**jŋjguři**   badjaŋu-yudi-**jŋjguři**
*two-*concom-al   *dog-*concom-al

'The boy went to the old man with two dogs.'

6.   **Head**   **Assoc:Concom.NP** . . . .
ŋindu ŋayi-Ø   **djibaři-nji**   nana-njdjudi-**jŋjga**   baḍaḍa-yudi-**jŋjga**
*cry   I:p-subj   woman-refr   that-*concom-refr   *baby-*concom-refr

'I mourned for the woman with that baby.'

7.   **Head**   **Assoc:Concom.NP**
nadjba   ŋayi-Ø   **djibaři-Ø**   nana-njdjudi-Ø
*see   I:p-subj   woman-nom   that-*concom-nom

. . . .
ŋanji-njdjudi-Ø   djumbala-yudi-Ø
you:s:poss-concom-nom   *clothes-*concom-nom

'I saw the woman with those clothes of yours.'

8.   **Head**   **Assoc:Concom.NP**
ṛaŋimba   **ŋayi-Ø**   ŋunba-Ø   ŋadjař-yudi-**nji**   gudjařa-Ø
*shoot   I:p-subj   duck-nom   rifle-*concom-erg   *two-nom*

'I shot two ducks with the rifle.'

9.   **Head**   **Assoc:Concom.NP**
djařba   **yali-Ø**   walidji-Ø   djunu   njambal-**yudi**-**nji**
*eat   they:pl:p-subj   kangaroo-nom   perhaps   feathers-*concom-erg

'Perhaps they (those men) with feathers (on) ate kangaroo.'

10.   Head   Assoc:Concom.NP
      wiḻgu njuli-∅   naŋa-nbiyaŋga baḏaḏa-yudi-yaŋga
      run   *he*:p-subj   *she*-transloc   *baby*-concom-transloc
      'He ran past her, (the woman) with the baby.'

3.5. *LOCATION MODIFICATION NOUN PHRASE*

Location, as well as direction, is an important concept to the Garawa
people. This is reflected in the language in that people, animals, or
objects are nearly always given a fairly precise location, particularly
as far as north, south, east and west are concerned. For example, in a
discourse it is not sufficient to introduce a new object or character
without stating his/its origin, direction of travel if moving, or loca-
tion. Location definition is the most common method of differentiation
between characters/objects. For this reason, locative tagmemes are
common in the language, and often are more closely related to the Head
of a phrase than to the general statement of the clause. For example,
the statement, *"the man in the south slept"*, differentiates between the
man in the south and someone elsewhere, who may, or may not, have been
sleeping. The emphasis is on which man was sleeping, not on the fact
that he slept in any particular place.

Within the clause, the Locative tagmeme always refers to the subject
of the intransitive predicate, or the object of the transitive predicate,
unless it is embedded in one of the movement tagmemes, viz., Allative,
Ablative, or Translocative. To deal with this occurrence we have posited
the Location Modification Noun Phrase.

The Location Modification Noun Phrase is unusual in that there is no
concord of case within the Phrase. It consists of a Location, a Head
and Case, all of these tagmemes being obligatory. The Location tagmeme
is always inflected for Locative case, and is manifested only by a Loca-
tion Noun. The Head has several possible exponents as shown in the Bi-
dimensional Array in Chart 12 and is inflected for case.

The Location Modification Noun Phrase occurs only in the Allative,
Ablative and Translocative tagmemes of a clause.

CHART 12.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR LOCATION MODIFICATION NOUN PHRASE

Location Modification Noun Phrase		
+ Location	+ Head	+ Case
Location Noun + Locative case	Modified Noun Phrase Appositional Phrase Co-ordinate Phrase Associative Noun Phrase	Allative Ablative Translocative

Permutation Rules

1. The first two tagmemes may permute to the alternative order.

2. The Location tagmeme may be placed in any position within the Head phrase if this comprises two or more words.

Restrictions

1. Case, as shown in the array, occurs on the Head only, as locative case is already carried by the fillers of the Location tagmeme.

2. The phrase functions in the Allative, Ablative, and Translocative tagmemes of clause periphery only, and so case is limited to those three.

Examples of Location Modification Phrase

1.   Head:Modf.NP

      wulani   yali-ø   djiladjba ŋagi-nduři nana-nguři
      yesterday   *they:pl-subj*   *go*   *I-al*   *that-al*

      Locn
      gařu-ø   ŋagi-nguři   banda-ři
      east-loc   *my-al*   *camp-al*

      'Yesterday they came to me - to that camp of mine at the east.'

2.   Head   Locn
      wiḷgu njuḷi-ø   gaři-na miya-yaŋga   bayaŋa-ři
      run   *he:p-subj* *east-ab* *snake-transloc* *west-place:loc*

      'He ran from the east past the snake in the west.'

3. gula-ø   nuři-ø   badja nayi-wa
     south-al *we:pl:ex:p-subj*   *dance* *this-way*

　　　Head:Modf.NP . . . .　　Locn
　　　walguřa-jŋjguři　yiŋga-ři　baṇḍa-ři　gula-řa
　　　big-al　　　　　*other*-al　*camp*-al　*south*-loc
'We danced south this way - to the other big camp at the south.'

4.　garala-yi　nanda-Ø　ŋaninji-Ø　naṇi-nguři
　　descend-p　*that*-nom　*man*-nom　　*this:place*-al

　　　Head:Modf.NP . . . .　　Locn
　　　walguřa-nanji　duŋala-nanji　laŋgu-ři
　　　big-ab　　　　*hill*-ab　　　*north-place*:loc
'That man descended to here from the big hill at the north.'

5.　Head:App.P . . . .　　　(　　　　　　　　　　　　)
　　djudju-nanji　yadji-nanji　baḍadjba-yi　nanda-Ø　djulagi-Ø
　　long:way-ab　*country*-ab　*come*-p　　　*that*-nom　*plane*-nom

　　　. . . . . . .　Locn
　　　brisbin-nanji　gařu-ři
　　　Brisbane-ab　*east-place*:loc
'That plane came from Brisbane, a long way away in the east.'

6.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Head:Assoc.NP . . . .
　　djiladjba　bula-Ø　　naŋa-nbiyaŋga　baḍaḍa-yudi-yaŋga
　　go　　　　*they:d-subj*　*she*-transloc　*baby*-concom-transloc

　　　Locn
　　　bayaŋa-ři
　　　west-place:loc
'The two of them ran past her (the woman) with the baby; (she was)
in the west.'

3.6. ACCOMPANIMENT NOUN PHRASE

　　The Accompaniment Noun Phrase is unusual in that it is the only pre-
positional phrase found in the Garawa language. Its function is to fill
the Accompaniment tagmeme in the clause periphery. It is composed of a
Relator and an Axis, both of which are obligatory. There are only two
prepositions which may be used in the Relator tagmeme and these appear
to be interchangeable: djiḍi *'with'* and maḍa which in this context also
means *'with'*. The Axis may be manifested by any of the fillers shown
in Chart 13 but must be marked for Referent case. To date no examples
have been recorded of interruption of this phrase by other tagmemes.

　　(As stated above, maḍa in this context, functions as a preposition
meaning *'with'*, though it also functions as a connector on clause or
phrase level, and as an adverb meaning *'too'*.)

CHART 13.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR ACCOMPANIMENT PHRASE

Accompaniment Phrase		
+ Relator	+ Axis	+ Case
djiḍi *'with'* maḍa *'with'*	Modified Noun Phrase Co-ordinate Phrase Appositional Phrase Personal Pronoun	Referent

Permutation Rules

Permutation is not permissible.

Restrictions

Only Referent case occurs on the Axis, and this is obligatory.

Examples of Accompaniment Phrase

1.   Re
       baḷba-yi   nanda-Ø   ŋaninji-Ø   djiḍi
       go-p   *that*-nom *man*-nom   *with*

          Axis:Modf.NP . . . .
          gadja-mugu-jŋjga   badjaŋu-nji   gu-jganji   waḍaba-nji
          many-pl-refr   *dog*-refr   *search*-infin   *goanna*-refr
       'That man went with many dogs to search for goanna.'

2. widjba-yi   naŋi-nguři   nanda-Ø   ŋaninji-Ø
    come:back-p *this:place*-al *that*-nom   *man*-nom

          Re   Axis:Modf.NP . . . .
          djiḍi   nana-nganji   wuni-nji   wunanjbala-nji
          with   *that*-refr   *spear*-refr   *long*-refr
       'That man with the long spear came back here.'

3.   Re
       djiladjba   ŋayi-Ø   wuiani   maḍa
       go   *I:*p-subj   *yesterday* *with*

          Axis:Co-ord.P . . . .
          baya-mugu-jŋjga   bagi   badjaŋu-wuya-jŋjga
          child-pl-refr   *and*   *dog*-d-refr
       'I went yesterday with the children and two dogs.'

4.   Re   Axis:Kin.NP . . .
   djiladjba njuli-∅   maḑa gugulimba   njulu
   go   *he:p-subj* *with* *grandchild* *he(=his)*
   'He went with his grandchild.'

5.   Re   Axis:App.P . . . .
   djuŋgu njuli-∅   maḑa gaŋgu-nji   ṛuṛl-nji
   sit   *he:p-subj* *with* *mat:gr:uncle-refr* *Rorie-refr*
   'He lives with his maternal great-uncle, Rorie.'

6.   Re   Axis:App.P . . . .
   djalan-miřa baḷba-yi djiḑi bula-ṇi   ŋaninji-wuya-njlna
   now-intens *go-p*   *with* *they:d-refr* *man-d-acc*
   '(He) has just now gone with the two men.'

3.7.   NEGATIVE NOUN PHRASE

Whereas other phrases are marked consistently for case, the Negative
Noun Phrase is marked for case according to the negative word within it
rather than the relationship to the predicate, as shown in Chart 14.
Also different case marking suffixes are used on nouns from those used
on adjectives. The Negative Noun Phrase comprises Attributive, Head,
and Case, all of which are obligatory. There are only two exponents of
the Attributive, manimani and migu-yadji both of which carry the meaning
of *'nothing'*. The Head is manifested by a limited range of fillers as
shown in the Bidimensional Array. Only a Variant form of the Modified
Noun Phrase is permitted, either as the sole exponent of the Head, or
embedded within the Appositional or Co-ordinate Phrases. This variant
form is discussed fully in Restriction 2. Case applies only to the Head
of the Negative Noun Phrase and this varies according to which exponent
of the Attributive is manifested. This variant is also discussed in
Restriction 2.

The function of the Negative Noun Phrase is to indicate absence of
an article, animal or person. It has a limited application owing to its
semantic restriction and also because of the few tagmemes in clauses
which it may manifest. It occurs only as a filler for Comment tagmeme
in the Topic-Comment clause, Object of the Declarative Transitive clause,
Subject of the Declarative Intransitive clause, or for the Accompaniment
tagmeme in the clause.

CHART 14.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR NEGATIVE NOUN PHRASE

Negative Noun Phrase		
+ Attributive	+ Head	+ Case
manimani *'nothing'* migu-yadji *'nothing'*	Modified Noun Phrase Personal Pronoun Co-ordinate Phrase Appositional Phrase	Referent Nominative

Permutation Rules

1. Tagmemes may permute to alternative order.

2. Frequently, the Attributive is permuted to the beginning of the clause and the Head is permuted to the end of the clause.

Restrictions

1. When the Head is manifested by a Personal Pronoun, it must be inflected for Referent Case.

2. Only a variant form of the Modified Noun Phrase is permitted when it manifests the Head of the Negative Noun Phrase. In the variant, only the Head of the phrase is marked for Referent case and no more than one modifier is manifested. The modifier may be either an adjective or a possessive pronoun, and these must be marked for Referent case when manimani fills the Attributive tagmeme, and for Nominative case when migu-yadji is manifested (see Examples 6 and 7).

3. The Appositional and Co-ordinate Phrases manifested in the Head are limited to those whose Heads are filled by Modified Noun Phrases. These Modified Noun Phrases are then subject to the same restrictions as apply when the Head of the Negative Noun Phrase is filled by a Modified Noun Phrase.

Examples of Negative Noun Phrase

1. Att   Head
    manimani   ŋali-Ø   widjba   walidji-nji
    nothing   *we:d:ex-***subj**   *return*   *kangaroo-***refr**
    'We two returned without any kangaroos.'

2.   Att   Head

    migu-yadji   djiguwaǎ-nji ŋayu-Ø nadjba-yi nanaba
    nothing   wallaby-refr   I-subj see-p   there
    'I didn't see any wallabies there.'

Note: The literal meaning of migu-yadji is *'negative-country'*.

3.   Att   Head:Co-ord.P . . . .

    widjba njuli-Ø   migu-yadji djiguwaǎ-nji mađa walidji-nji
    return he:p-subj nothing   wallaby-refr   also   kangaroo-refr
    'He returned without any wallabies or kangaroos.'

4.   Att   Head:App.P . . . .

    migu-yadji yalu-ɳi   gudiya-jŋjga
    nothing   they:pl-refr some-refr
    'Some people didn't come.'

5.   Att   Head:Modf.NP . . . . .

    nanda-Ø djibaǐ-Ø manimani naŋaŋi-nganji bađađa-nji
    that-nom woman-nom nothing   her-refr   baby-refr
    'That woman doesn't have a baby.'

6.   Att   Head:Modf.NP . . . . . .

    migu-yadji nadjba ŋayi-Ø   miya-nji   wunanjbala-Ø
    nothing   see   I:p-subj snake-refr long-nom
    'I didn't see any long snakes.'

7.   Att   Head:Modf.NP . . . .

    manimani ŋayi-Ø   nadjba miya-nji   wunanjbala-nji
    nothing   I:p-subj see   snake-refr long-refr
    'I didn't see any long snakes.'

8.   Att   Head:Modf.NP . . . .

    migu-yadji mama-nji walguǎ-Ø ŋawamba bayagađa-Ø
    nothing   food-refr big-nom   only   small-nom
    'There are no big (water melons) to eat - only small ones.'

9.   Att

    waǐiyalugu nanda-Ø ɳila-Ø   migu-yadji
    exclam   that-nom girl-nom nothing

        Head:Modf.NP   Head:Modf.NP . . . . Att
        ŋađananjdja-nji bugaga-ya   naŋaŋi-Ø migu-yadji
        mother-refr   father-refr her-nom nothing
    'Poor girl! She hasn't any mother or father!'

10. **Att**   **Head**

    <u>migu-yadji</u>   <u>naŋa-ŋi</u>   wambiya-yi   djulagi-na
    nothing   *he-refr*   *arrive-p*   *plane-loc*
    'He did not come on the plane.'

11.   **Att**   **Head**

    bagi   djiladjba   njuli-Ø   <u>migu-yadji</u>   <u>mama-nji</u>
    and   go   he:p-subj   *nothing*   *food-refr*
    'And he went without food.'

4. CLAUSES

There are eleven independent and five dependent clauses in Garawa.
The independent clauses divide into seven Declarative, two Interrogative,
one Imperative and one Obligation. The dependent clauses divide into
one Purpose, three Participial and one Attributive Noun. Each clause
comprises a nucleus and a periphery.

Before discussing the distinctive features of each clause type, the
possible peripheral tagmemes are reviewed. Not all of these are pos-
sible in any one clause but limitations are discussed as each clause
type is described. The case-marking suffixes were discussed in
Section 2.

4.1. *CLAUSE PERIPHERY*

The analysis of peripheral clause tagmemes is complicated by the
presence of homophonous case-marking suffixes. When two phrases having
the same case-marker occur in a clause a decision must be made as to
whether those two phrases fulfil the same role in a clause. Our posi-
tion in this paper is that, if the roles are quite different, we are
assigning the phrases to separate clause level tagmemes. The possible
peripheral tagmemes are shown in the Bidimensional Array in Chart 15.

In discussing clause periphery the use of different tagmemes possible
is governed largely by special features relevant to the culture of the
Garawa people. To them it is most important, being originally nomadic
bush people, to know their exact geographical position, and their origin
and destination. Consequently, Locative, Allative, and Ablative
tagmemes occur very frequently, particularly Locative and Allative, as
the Garawa person would consider a statement of motion or position in-
complete without stating the direction, and/or the destination of the
subject.

CHART 15. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR CLAUSE PERIPHERY

								Clause Periphery					
± Connector	± Nega-tive	Nuclear Slots	± Manner	± Referent	± Locative	± Accompani-ment	± Instrument	± Allative	± Ablative	± Tactile	± Time	± Translocative
bagi 'and'	migu 'no' 'not'		Manner Adverb	Modified NP	Modified NP	Modified NP	Modified NP	Modified NP	Modified NP	Modified NP	Temporal Phrase	Modified NP
				Location Noun Referent	Location Noun Locative	Accompani-ment NP		Location Noun Allative	Location Noun Ablative		Temporal Adverb	Personal Pronoun
ŋala 'but' 'while'	guḏadi 'no' 'not'			Associative NP	Associative NP	Personal Pronoun		Demonstrative Directional Allative	Demonstrative Directional Ablative		Demonstrative Temporal	Inalienable Possession Phrase
djala 'when' 'then' 'now'	-nawa 'not'			Co-ordinate Phrase	Co-ordinate Phrase			Personal Pronoun	Personal Pronoun		Appositional Phrase	Place Names
				Appositional Phrase	Appositional Phrase			Associative NP	Associative NP		Co-ordinate Phrase	Location Modification NP
maḏa 'also'				Personal Pronoun	Locative Personal Pronoun			Co-ordinate Phrase	Co-ordinate Phrase			
				Inalienable Possession Phrase	Inalienable Possession Phrase			Appositional Phrase	Appositional Phrase			
								Inalienable Possession Phrase	Inalienable Possession Phrase			
					Place Names			Place Names	Place Names			
								Location Modification NP	Location Modification NP			

This feature has a further result in that, as the predicate is less central to the clause, the verb consequently carries little or no inflection, and is frequently omitted where it is possible to understand it by implication or context within the paragraph. (See Sections 5.1.4., 5.1.5. and 7.)

4.1.1. Special Features of Peripheral Tagmemes

LOCATIVE, ACCOMPANIMENT, AND INSTRUMENT TAGMEMES

A special feature of the Locative and Accompaniment tagmemes is that they obligatorily refer to the subject of the Intransitive and Reflexive Clauses, or to the object of the Transitive Clause (but see Section 3.5.). Instrument occurs only in Reflexive (where reciprocity is expressed by reflexive construction) and in Transitive Clauses.

In the following English Clauses: *'That woman in the boat saw the emu.'*, the Locative Phrase *'in the boat'*, obviously refers to the subject, *'woman'*. A literal translation into Garawa is impossible here as a Locative would necessarily refer to the object of the transitive verb (which would make the statement ridiculous). Instead, a further clause would have to be inserted as follows:

nana-ŋi   djibaři-wanji   djuŋgu-yi   muwaḍa-na   nadjba-yi   gaṇaŋanjdja-∅
that-erg *woman*-erg   *sit*-p   *boat*-loc   *see*-p   *emu*-∅
'That woman saw the emu; (she) sat in the boat.'
or 'That woman sat in the boat (and) saw the emu.'

These two clauses form a merged sentence with the Transitive Clause, nana-ŋi djibaři-wanji nadjba-yi gaṇaŋanjdja, interrupted by the Intransitive Clause, djuŋgu-yi muwaḍa-na.

Homophonous case-marking suffixes occur with the Locative, Accompaniment and Instrument tagmemes, but the decision as to which tagmemic category in which a Locative-Accompaniment-Instrument phrase is placed is made on the class of noun used as the head of the phrase. Only location words, or phrases having concrete nouns, indicating location, as heads may be used as fillers of the Locative slot.

Example of Locative Phrase:

			Loc	
wudumba-yi	ŋaninji-wanji	gagu-∅	bundal-ina	walguřa-na
get-p	*man*-erg	*fish*-nom	*river*-loc	*big*-loc

'The man caught the fish in the big river.'

Example of Accompaniment Phrase:

```
                                Acc . . . . . . . .
   nadjba  ŋayi-Ø    djibaři-Ø   djuga-na   walguřa-na
   see     I:p-subj  woman-nom   boy-acc    big-acc
   'I saw the woman with the big boy.'
```

Example of Instrument Phrase:

```
                                      Ins . . . . . . . . .
   wudumba-yi  ŋaninji-wanji  gagu-Ø    wuni-na    wunanjbala-na
   get-p       man-erg        fish-nom  spear-ins  long-ins
   'The man caught the fish with a long spear.'
```

The foregoing three examples illustrate the three different semantic
noun clauses used in the Phrases under review. In locative phrases,
only concrete nouns indicating location may be used in the head slot.
In accompaniment phrases, only human or animate nouns may be used in the
head slot. In instrument phrases, only inanimate nouns involving
manipulation may be used in the head slot.

There is a certain area of overlap, however, as both the inanimate
nouns possessing manipulatory ability, and human or animate nouns may be
used in locative slots. For example:

```
   djuga  ŋaninji-na  djuŋga-ga
   boy    man-loc     sit-pres
```

A free translation of this clause could be either *'The boy sits at the
man's side.'* or *'The boy sits with the man.'*

In such cases, an arbitrary decision as to the classification of the
tagmeme must be made.

One of the fillers of the locative tagmeme, Place Names, has no suf-
fixation to mark case. In this situation, Place Names are intrinsically
locative. Place Names can also occur without case marking in the Declar-
ative Ditransitive Clause and the Topic Comment Clause.

ABLATIVE AND TACTILE TAGMEMES

The Ablative and Tactile tagmemes also have a homophonous case-marking
suffix, -nanji.

Example of Ablative Phrase:

```
                      Abl
   dulaba-yi  waḍaba-Ø   djamba-nanji  djibaři-wanji
   remove-p   goanna-nom ground-ab     woman-erg
   'The woman pulled the goanna from the ground.'
```

Tactile is the name allotted to the tagmeme which is used to explain the part of the body of a human or an animal by which an action is transferred to the whole.

Example of Tactile Phrase:

				Tac
dulaba-yi	waḍaba-∅	djamba-nanji	djibaři-wanji	buřga-nanji
remove-p	*goanna*-nom	*ground*-ab	*woman*-erg	*tail*-tac

'The woman pulled the goanna from the ground by the tail.'

Here the action is not that of separating the tail from the body, but of using the tail to extract a goanna from a hole in the ground.

Again, semantic noun classes supply the reason for separate classification of these two tagmemes. The Tactile tagmeme must be manifested by phrases in which the noun head must be a body part. Again, however, there is overlap in filler classes as it would be possible for body parts to be used in the Ablative tagmeme.

		Ab	
dulaba-yi	dilwil-∅	maṇi-nanji	ŋaninji-wanji
remove-p	*splinter*-nom	*hand*-ab	*man*-erg

'The man removed the splinter from (his) hand.'

REFERENT TAGMEME

The Referent tagmeme functions in different ways, but has not been divided into two separate tagmemes as there is no distinction of noun classes to warrant the positing of a further tagmeme.

(i)   It denotes benefaction as in the following example:

			Refr
daya	njuli-∅	baṇnji-∅	djuga-nji
cut	*he*:p-subj	*meat*-nom	*boy*-refr

'He cut the meat for the boy.'

(ii)   Indirect Object. With a Reflexive Predicate, Subject and Object are contained in the obligatory Reflexive Pronoun, and Indirect Object is marked with referent case.
        Example of Referent Phrase with Reflexive Predicate:

		Refr
waḍamba	yalu-ŋgi	djiguwaře-nji
feed	*they*-refl:p	*wallaby*-refr

'They ate wallaby.'

TIME TAGMEME

The time tagmeme has different classes of fillers. One comprises a group of words which cannot be inflected in any way and have been classed as temporal adverbs which include words such as baříin *'earlier today'*, yuřŋumba *'all the time'*, nanidjba *'now'*.

A further class is capable of inflection for case and includes nouns such as wulani *'yesterday'*, muŋa- *'night'*, ŋabuŋabu *'afternoon'*. These can also be used as heads in the co-ordinate noun phrase fillers of the time tagmeme.

Another filler of the time tagmeme is a stem, gambaliŋidjba, which has a verbal structure and carries tense markers as well as the suffix -dju. This word is derived from the noun, gamba *'sun'*, and the meaning is *'sun rises'*, but it is used only in the time tagmeme. The noun, gamba, with the addition of the locative suffix -na, is used to mean *'daytime'*. The meaning of the suffix -dju has not been discovered.

Inflection of time words is extensive and much further investigation of the meanings of the various affixes is necessary before a complete analysis is possible.

Temporal suffixes indicating post-event and specific time also occur with demonstrative, interrogative and noun stems. For a full explanation of this see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa' (Section 7).

NEGATIVE TAGMEME

There are three forms of negative used in the clause. The negative guḍadi is the usual negative answer to a question, although migu is sometimes used.

When aspect is manifested in a clause carrying the negative tagmeme, it is commonly suffixed to the negative, in which case migu is the form almost exclusively used.

The negative -nawa is infrequent in occurrence and may be a word introduced from the adjacent Yanyula language, as it is not known by some speakers. No occurrence of its being an answer to a question has been encountered, but it has always occurred meaning *'not'* in a clause.

No co-occurrence of any two of these negatives has yet been found.

MANNER TAGMEME

The Manner tagmeme differs from other tagmemes in that its exponents form a class of words that are never inflected for case, and have therefore been classed as Manner Adverbs. Throughout this analysis, any word classed as adverb cannot take case-marking suffixes. No phrases are found in this tagmeme.

TRANSLOCATIVE TAGMEME

The Translocative tagmeme is not used frequently in the language,
and has a much more limited number of possible fillers as is shown in
the bidimensional array. Its meaning is that of movement past a person,
animal or feature such as the following example shows.

baḻba   njuli-∅   naři-nbiyaŋga   baṇḍa-ři
go:back   *he:p-subj* *you:pl-transloc* *camp-al*
'He went back past you to the camp.'

MULTIPLE MANIFESTATIONS

Multiple manifestations of most peripheral tagmemes are common, and
clauses often have two or more manifestations of one or more tagmemes.
Sometimes these are simply repetitions of a tagmeme, at other times
they may have different fillers.

Time and Manner tagmemes in particular, often are manifested several
times in the one clause. Each occurrence of an adverb, which is found
only in Time, Manner, and Locative tagmemes, has been analysed as another
manifestation of the same tagmeme. Because the language features ap-
positional phrases frequently, many of the occurrences of two or more
parallel words or phrases are analysed as Appositional Phrases rather
than multiple manifestations of a tagmeme. However, when the parallel
exponents are not in apposition, they are taken to be multiple manifesta-
tions.

Phrase embedding is common also, but this has the effect of lengthen-
ing a tagmeme so that more than one manifestation of a tagmeme compris-
ing an Appositional or Co-ordinate Phrase, often with several heads, is
unlikely. An example of expansion of a phrase is shown in the following
clause:

Refr . . . .
nana-<u>nganji</u>   <u>ŋagi-nganji</u>   <u>ŋagi-nganji</u>   <u>bandjdji-nji</u>
that-refr   *my-refr*   *my-refr*   *brother:in:law-refr*

                  . . . .
  yanjba-yi   <u>naŋa-ŋi</u>   <u>don-ganji</u>
  talk-p   *he-refr*   *Don-refr*
'(He) spoke to that (one), my brother-in-law, Don.'

This example shows that of the seven words in this clause, all but
one are parts of the Referent tagmeme, which comprises an Appositional
Noun Phrase with a Modified Noun Phrase and another Appositional Noun
Phrase embedded in it.

4.1.2. List of Peripheral Tagmemes

The Declarative Transitive and Intransitive Clauses permit the greatest number of peripheral tagmemes and are therefore used in the examples to illustrate clause periphery. Below is a list of Peripheral tagmemes and the numbers of the clause examples in which they are manifested.

Tagmeme	Clause Numbers
Connector tagmeme	1, 4, 9, 11, 13, 16, 23, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36.
Negative tagmeme	10, 23, 24.
Manner tagmeme	3, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 18, 24, 29, 30.
Referent tagmeme	1, 4, 5, 6, 12, 18, 20, 23, 32.
Location tagmeme	2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 13, 16, 21, 22, 29, 31.
Instrument tagmeme	25, 37, 38.
Ablative tagmeme	30, 35, 39.
Allative tagmeme	2, 3, 9, 19, 27, 31, 33, 36.
Time tagmeme	3, 14, 23, 24, 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 41.
Accompaniment tagmeme	15, 17, 34, 41.
Translocative tagmeme	26, 27.
Tactile tagmeme	39, 40.

In the examples following, peripheral tagmemes only are labelled.

Examples of Clause Periphery

1.   Con   Refr
   ...ŋala   yugu   baři   nanda-∅   waguwagu-nji   maḍa   gaṟu-yi
      while   yes   um   that-nom   pine:tree-refr   also   tell-p
   '...while yes, (he) told those ones about pine trees also.'

2.   Al   Loc   Al
   nayi-wa   baři   gaṟu-ři   gula   gudjba   yali-∅
   this-way   um   east-place:loc   south:al   search   they:pl:p-subj

      Time . . . .
      bařin   baři   djala
      earlier:today   um   today
   'Earlier today they searched in this direction, this east place, to the south.'

3.   Al   Time   Time   Man
   gula   gamu   yali-∅-ya   badja   gamu   baři   gudanju
   south:al   later   they:pl-subj-abil   dance   later   um   hard

```
     Loc . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
     gula-řa              baři   nanjina
     south-place:loc      um     this:place:loc
```
'Later today they might dance southwards vigorously (and on arrival,
might dance) at this south place.'

4.   Con   Refr
```
  ...bagi  ŋamulu-nji  yalu-Ø       wadjba-yi
     and   milk-refr   they:pl-subj give-p
```
'...and they gave milk.'

5. Refr . . . .
```
  nana-nganji   ŋagi-nganji   ŋagi-nganji   banjdji-nji
  that-refr     my-refr       my-refr       bro-in-law-refr
```

```
                   . . . . . . . . . .
     yanjba-yi  naŋa-ŋi  don-ganji
     talk       he       Don
```
'(He) spoke to that (one), my brother-in-law, Don.'

6. Loc   Refr
```
  nayi  baři  djaŋguř-Ø   dja-ŋayi-Ø   yanjba  ŋanji   buwaga
  here  um    word-nom    fut-I-subj   talk    he-refr father
```
'Father, I will say words for him here.'

Note: buwaga 'father' is a vocative and is part of sentence periphery.

7. Man   Loc . . . . . .
```
  lugulugu  yali-Ø          badja  nanaba  ŋagi-ndu
  round     they:pl:p-subj  dance  there   me-loc
```
'(They) danced round there, near me.'

8. Man   Man
```
  djabaři    yiŋga-Ø     mili   yanjba-yi  ŋayu-Ø
  once:again other-nom   again  speak-p    I-subj
```
'Once again I spoke (for) another (nomination).'

9.   Con   Man   Al   Man
```
  ...mađa  gudjařa-ga  yali-Ø         badja  nana-wa   lugulugu
     also  two-times   they:pl:p-subj dance  that-way  round
```
```
     Man
     gudjařa-ga
     two-times
```
'...also they danced around in that direction twice.'

10. Loc   Neg

    gaṛu-ṛi   migu ŋayi-Ø yiŋidjba-wa

    *east-place:*loc neg *I:*p-subj *leave-*cont

    '*I still did not leave the place in the east.*'

11.   Con   Man

    ...ŋala nanda-Ø ŋaninji-Ø yuwadji djaṛimba-ga   dulu

    while *that-*nom *man-*nom *still* *pull:behind-*pres *quickly*

    '*...while (the dugong) pulls that man behind quickly.*'

12.   Refr . . . .

    nanda-Ø baṛi nuṛi-Ø-li   luwanjdja walja-nji   naŋa-ŋi

    *that-*nom *um* *we:pl:ex-subj-*hab *twist*   *dugong-*refr *he-*refr

    '*We twist that (rope) for the dugong.*'

13.   Con   Loc . . . .

    ...ŋala nanda-Ø iiii yaṛidjba-ŋga muwaḍa-na wiii-na

    while *that-*nom *dur* *put-*pres *canoe-*loc *side-*loc

    maḍbiŋgaṛa-wanji

    *expert:dugong:hunter-*erg

    '*...while the expert dugong hunter puts that one at the side of the canoe.*'

14.   Time

    wulani-yana   gaṛu yali-Ø   bulidjimanjdji-Ø

    day:before:yesterday *tell* *they:pl:*p-subj *policeman-*nom

    '*They told the policeman the day before yesterday.*'

15.   Acc

    ŋaṛgadaba ŋagi-ndu baṛiwa

    spear   *me-*acc *finish*

    '*(He) with me, speared (the dugong).*'

16.   Con   Loc   Loc

    ...ŋala yanjba-yi nayi ŋaḍanja-Ø iaŋgu-ṛi

    while *talk-*p *here* *mother-*nom *north-place:*loc

    Acc   Loc

    yaiu-ndu iaŋgu-ṛi

    *they-*acc *north-place:*loc

    '*...while here at the north place mother talked with them.*'

17.   Man   Acc

    maiidjba yiii yalu-Ø   djiguwaṛa-Ø ŋali-nbu

    chase *slowly* *they:pl-*subj *wallaby-*nom *we:d:ex-*acc

'They, with us, follow the wallaby slowly.'

18. Man   Man   Refr
    djaŋumba   buyiŋga   nanda-Ø   gudjba   yali-Ø   naŋa-ŋi
    only   once:again that-nom search   they:pl:p-subj   he-refr
    'Only once more did those (men) search for him.'

19. Al
    nana-nguři   ṛaŋimba   nuři-Ø
    that-place:al shoot   we:pl:ex:p-subj
    'We shoot there.'

20. Refr
    ŋanji   ŋayi-Ø   yanjba
    you:refr I:p-subj talk
    'I talked to you.'

21. Loc . . . .
    muwaḍa-na   ŋuřu-na   yařidjba-ŋga
    canoe-loc   bow-loc   put-pres
    '(They) put (it) in the bow of the canoe.'

22. Loc   Loc
    nala-na   luwanjdja-gili   wangala-wanji   nala-na
    thigh-loc twist-hab   olden:times-erg thigh-loc
    'The olden times people used to twist (the fibre) on the thigh.'

23. Neg Con   Refr   Time
    migu djala yalu-Ø   ŋařgadaba gula-ři-njin   muŋa-na
    neg then they:pl-subj spear   south-place-refr night-loc
    'Then they do not spear (the dugong) at night in the south place.'

24. Neg   Man
    migu nuři-Ø-ya   mangu nanda-Ø   djunu
    neg we:pl:ex-subj-abil hear   that-nom perhaps

                Time
      djaŋguř-Ø   wabula
      word-nom   before
    'Perhaps we did not hear those words before.'

25.   Ins . . . .
    ŋařgadaba   wuni-na   bařgu-na   yalu-ŋgi-li
    spear   spear-ins club-ins   they:pl-refl-hab
    'They used to spear each other with spears and sticks.'

26.   Transloc . . . .

djiladjba   njuli-Ø   bulaŋi-njdjaga   baṇḍa-yaŋga
go   *he:p-subj* *they:d:poss-transloc* *camp-transloc*
'*He went past their camp.*'

27.   Al   Transloc

wiḻgu-yi   laŋgi   naři-nbiyaŋga
run-p   *north:al* *you:pl-transloc*
'*(He) ran past you to the north.*'

28.   Time

yuwadji-wa nanda-Ø   ŋulja-Ø   wiḻgu-ŋga wulani-nji
still-cont *that-nom* *blood-nom* *run-pres* *yesterday-refr*
'*That blood is still running from yesterday.*'

29.   Loc   Time

nanda-Ø   baři djuŋgu-yi wajga ṇana-muŋgudji bagu-nji
that-nom *um*   *sit-p*   *down*   *that-origin*   *later-refr*

      Man   Time
      mili   muṇa-nji
      again *night-refr*
'*Those countrymen sat down again till later, till night.*'

30. Con   Man   Ab

djala yalu-Ø   manimani   widjba   laŋi-na
then *they:pl-subj* *for:nothing* *come:back* *north-ab*
'*Then, for no particular reason, they come back from the north.*'

31.   Con   Loc   Al

...bagi nanda-Ø   djibaři-Ø djiladjba giŋgaři sista-yuři
  and   *that-nom* *woman-nom* *go*   *up*   *sister-al*
'*...and that woman goes up to the sister.*'

32.   Con   Refr   Time

...ŋala yalu-Ø   gudjba-nawa naŋa-ŋi mandi
  while *they:pl-subj* *search-neg* *he-refr* *Monday*
'*...while they do not search for him on Monday.*'

33. Time   Al   Time

muṇanawa baři ŋayi-Ø   djila laŋgi   dinu-wuṇji
next:day *um*   *I:p-subj* *go*   *north:al* *dinner-after*
'*After dinner the next day I went towards the north.*'

34.   Con   Acc
      ...ŋala   djila   nuřu-Ø   muwaḍa-na
          while   go   we:pl:ex-subj canoe-acc
      '...while we all go in the canoe.'

35.   Con   Man   Ab
      ...ŋala   widjba-ŋga   nanda-Ø   yiŋga-Ø   mili wajga-linja
          while   come:back-pres that-nom other-nom again down-ab

          walguřa-Ø
          big-nom
      '...while that other big (tide) rises (comes back from down).'

36.   Time   Al . . . .
      yugu wulani   yali-Ø   djila   ŋagi-nduři   nana-nguři
      yes   yesterday they:pl:p-subj go   me-al   that-place:al

           Loc   Al . . . . Loc . . . .
           laŋgu   ŋagi-nguři   baŋḍa-ři   bayiŋa-djba   nayi laŋgu
           north:loc   my-al   camp-al   west-close:loc here north:loc
      'Yes, yesterday they went towards me to that place at the north,
      close to the west to my camp here in the north.'

37.   Ins
      wudumba-dja   yalu-Ø   walidji-Ø duŋala-na
      get-f   they:pl-subj   beef-nom   money-ins
      'They will get beef with money.'

38.   Ins
      namba   yalu-Ø   gařaŋun-Ø guŋu-na
      rub   they:pl-subj   stick-nom fat-ins
      'They rub the stick with fat.'

39.   Tac   Ab
      dulaba-yi   waḍaba-Ø   djibaři-wanji buřga-nanji djamba-nanji
      pull-p   goanna-nom woman-erg   tail-tac   ground-ab
      'The woman pulled the goanna out of the hole by the tail.'

40.   Tac
      mařimba njulu-Ø   buluŋu-Ø   guwaḍa-nanji djuga-wanji
      hold   he-subj   pup-nom   ear-tac   boy-erg
      'The boy holds the pup by the ear.'

41.   Time   Acc
      djalan-miřa baḷba-yi djiḍi bula-ŋi
      now-intens   *go*-p   *with*   *they*:d-refr
      'He went with them immediately.'

4.2.   *ASPECT AND TENSE TAGMEMES IN CLAUSE NUCLEUS*

ASPECT

   Aspect and tense exponents co-occur freely, with predictable meanings.
Desiderative and Abilitative aspects, however, form special meanings
with the negative. The meaning of desiderative aspect suffix -gimi is
'want to'. With past tense indicated by substitution of the aspect
suffix -giyanji for {-gimi} it is *'wanted to'*. However, if the nega-
tive occurs also, the meanings are changed to *'did not'* and *'does not'*,
respectively.

   Similarly, the Abilitative suffix -waḷi carries the meaning *'might'*;
with the negative the meaning changes to *'can not'*.

   Aspect clitics may be suffixed to any word within the clause, or may
optionally occur as free words. Occasionally both the clitic and a
free word may co-occur.

   Durative aspect acts differently as it comprises a drawn-out i sound.
This indicates distance travelled or time consumed. The length of dura-
tion of this sound is indicative of distance or time involved. Occur-
rences of up to six seconds duration have been noted. This is placed
anywhere in the clause, but when indicating distance it generally fol-
lows Allative tagmeme, and Time tagmeme when length of time consumed is
expressed.

   For a more detailed explanation of Aspect see 'The Pronominal System
of Garawa' (Section 2.2).

TENSE

   Present tense is indicated by the use of an uninflected verb stem,
or by the suffix {-ŋga} on the verb. Past tense is indicated by the
changing to i of the final vowel of a pronoun which expounds subject,
object, compound object-subject or reflexive subject, while the verb
stem remains uninflected. Alternatively, the affix -yi occurs with the
verb stem while the pronoun remains unchanged. There is a marked prefer-
ence for past tense to be marked on the pronoun rather than on the verb.
Future tense clitic dja is optionally attached as either a suffix on the

verb stem, as suffix or prefix[1] on the subject, object, compound
object/subject or the reflexive pronoun, or as a suffix on connector,
noun, adjective, or on temporal or locative adverbs.

5. INDEPENDENT CLAUSES

5.1. *DECLARATIVE CLAUSES*

The Declarative Transitive, Declarative Intransitive, Declarative
Reflexive, and Declarative Ditransitive Clauses constitute the largest
group of clauses and their classification depends on the verb used in
the Predicate tagmeme. A class of verbs such as *'make'*, *'hunt'*, *'talk'*,
'break', *'scratch'*, *'take'*, *'bump'*, *'burn'*, etc., take a transitive
construction. A further class including verbs such as *'come'*, *'go'*,
'sit', *'return'*, *'move about'*, *'arrive'*, *'misbehave'*, *'breathe'*, *'decay'*,
etc., take an intransitive construction only. A third class which in-
cludes verbs such as *'wash'*, *'jump'*, *'feed'*, *'explode'*, *'loaf'*, etc.,
takes a reflexive construction which necessitates a reflexive pronoun
acting as a combined Subject/Object. This is obligatory with reflexive
verbs. A fourth class, comprising only two verbs, gaṟu *'call'* and
nidjařidjba *'name'*, take a ditransitive construction.

A certain number of verbs may be used either in a transitive or a
reflexive construction. In the latter case this generally denotes
reciprocity rather than reflexivity.

5.1.1. Declarative Transitive Clause

The Declarative Transitive Clause is the most common type of clause,
see Chart 16. Its basic structure is Subject, Object, Predicate, in
any order, though it is not uncommon to delete one or even two of these
tagmemes, where the context does not permit ambiguity. When one of
these deletions involves the predicate, the remaining tagmemes of the
clause have been termed Deleted Predicate Clauses or Clause Fragments
and these will be discussed later in Sections 5.1.5. and 5.1.6., and
Section 7, respectively. The Declarative Transitive clause lends itself
to the greatest expansion of peripheral tagmemes.

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[1]This is the only occurrence of a prefix in the language. For a detailed explanation
of Tense, see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa' (Section 2.3.).

Clause Nucleus of the Declarative Transitive Clause						
± Periphery	+ Transitive Predicate	± Transitive Subject	± Object	± Periphery	± Aspect	+ Tense
	Transitive Verb	Modified NP	Modified NP		{-gili} hab	{-ŋga} pres
		Personal Pronoun	Personal Pronoun		{-yanji} desid:p	-yi p
		Compound Object/ Subject Pronoun	Compound Object/ Subject Pronoun		{-gimi} desid:np	-dja/dja- fut
					{-wali} abil	
		Associative NP	Associative NP		-ngiwa incp	
		Co-ordinate Phrase	Co-ordinate Phrase		-giyi imp	
					iii dur	
		Appositional Phrase	Appositional Phrase		-ma ŋawamba } lim	
		Inalienable Possession Phrase	Inalienable Possession Phrase		-wa yuwadji } cont	
			Negative NP		-waři walugu } prim	

Permutation Rules

1. Nuclear and peripheral tagmemes permute rather freely to any order.

2. Tense and Aspect tagmemes permute as described in Section 4.2.

Restrictions

1. No more than five peripheral tagmemes have been found in any one clause.

2. When a fairly full expansion of a phrase occurs in one tagmeme, a smaller number of other tagmemes is generally manifested.

Additional Note

Some of the peripheral tagmemes, mainly Manner and Time, may be re-duplicated.

In the following examples of the Declarative Transitive Clause, nuclear tagmemes only are labelled.

Examples of the Declarative Transitive Clause

1.   T.Pred-Tense
    ŋagi-ndu   ŋaṛaba-yi   laŋgu   ŋabuŋabu
    me-acc   drink-p   north:loc   afternoon
    '(He) drank near me at the north in the afternoon.'

2. Obj-Aspect   T.Pred-Tense
    wuřu-wali   maḍa   guyu-yi
    scrub-abil   also   take-p
    '(He) might have gathered scrubwood also.'

3.   Obj . . . .   T.Subj:Tense   T.Pred
    ...bagi   nanda-Ø   baři   babulu-Ø   ŋayi-Ø   duṛidjba
         and   that-nom   um   buffalo-nom   I:p-subj   follow

         Obj
         nugami-Ø   nanaba   naŋa-ndu   maḍa
         track-nom   there   he-acc   also
    '...and I followed that buffalo's tracks and his (tracks) too.'

4.   -Aspect   T.Pred   T.Subj . . . .
    migu-giya   nadjba   nana-ŋini   waṇaṇa-wanji   migu
    neg-did   see   that-erg   buffalo-erg   neg
    'That buffalo did not see (him).'

5. Obj   T.Subj:Tense T.Pred Obj
    nugami-∅   baři djali ŋayi-∅   nadjba gaŋgu-∅
    tracks-nom *um*   *then* *I:p-subj*   *see*   *mat:gr:uncle*-nom
    'I saw (my) maternal great uncle's tracks then.'

6.   T.Subj-Aspect   T.Pred
    gula   gamu   yali-∅-ya   badja   gamu   baři   guḍanju
    south:al *later*   *they:pl-subj-abil* *dance*   *later* *um*   *hard*

        gula-řa   baři   nanjina
        south-place:loc *um*   *this:place:al*
    'Later, they might dance vigorously (on their way) to the south,
    (and continue) at this place in the south.'

7.   T.Subj:Tense T.Pred
    muniŋga   ŋayi-∅   yanjba naŋa-ŋi gula-ni
    to:no:purpose *I:p-subj*   *talk*   *he-refr* *south-ab*
    'I spoke, from (my position in) the south, without influencing him.'

8.   T.Pred   T.Subj:Tense
    dadidjba gagalidjba yali-∅   wabula maḍa yuŕŋumba
    no:matter *laugh:at*   *they:p-subj* *before* *also* *all:the:time*

        lugulugu
        round
    'No matter (what he did) they (i.e. people) everywhere laughed at
    (him).'

9. T.Pred-Tense
    mangu-ga
    listen-pres
    '(They) listen (to him).'

10.   Obj   Tense-T.Subj T.Pred
    nayi baři djaŋguř-∅ dja-ŋayu-∅   yanjba ŋanji   buwaga
    here *um*   *word*   *fut-I-subj*   *talk*   *your-refr* *father*
    'Father, I will say words for you here.'

11.   Obj . . . .   Asp   T.Pred-Tense
    ...ŋala nanda-∅ ŋaninji-∅ yuwadji djařimba-ga
        while   *that*-nom *man-nom*   *still*   *drag-pres*
    '...while (the dugong) still drags that man behind.'

12.   Obj   Aspect T.Pred-Tense
    ...ŋala nanda-∅ iiiiii   yařidjba-ŋga muwaḍa-na wili-na
        while   *that*-nom *dur*   *put-pres*   *canoe*-loc *side*-loc

        T.Subj
        maḏbiŋgařa-wanji
        *expert:dugong:hunter-*erg
'*...while the expert dugong hunter puts that one at the side of the canoe.*'

13.   Time   T.Pred   T.Subj:Tense   Obj
     wulani-yana   gaṟu   yali-Ø   bulIdjimanjdji-Ø
     day:before:yesterday *tell*   they:pl:p-subj *policeman-*nom
'*They told the policeman the day before yesterday.*'

14.   T.Subj-Aspect   T.Pred-Tense   Subj
    ...ŋala walugu njulu-Ø-waři   yanjba-yi   niṟu-Ø
      while *first* he-subj-prim *talk-*p   *Nero-*nom
'*...while Nero spoke first.*'

15.   -Aspect   T.Pred-Tense
    riba-na-wa   ŋaṟaba-yi   ŋagi-ndu nanaba
    *river-*loc-cont *drink-*p   me-acc   *there*

        Obj
       wabuda-Ø luŋa bidjaŋujgini-Ø baři
       *water-*nom *at*   *Bijanguykini-*loc um
'*(He) drank water near me there repeatedly, at Bijanguykini.*'

16.   T.Subj-Aspect   T.Pred
    ŋawamba nuři-Ø-li   baři nadjba
    only   we:pl:ex-subj-hab um *see*
'*We used to see only (wallaby).*'

17.   -Aspect T.Pred
    migu-wali   wudumba
    neg-*can*   *get*
'*(He) can not get (it).*'

18.   -Aspect T.Pred Obj
    migu-giya   guyu djaŋguř-Ø naŋaŋi-Ø
    neg-*did*   *take* *word-*nom he:poss-nom
'*(He) did not take his word.*'

19. T.Subj-Aspect T.Pred-Tense Obj
    njulu-Ø-wanji yabimba-yi baṟawu-Ø
    he-subj-lim   *make-*p   *huts-*nom
'*He made the huts on his own.*'

20. **T.Pred   Obj-Aspect**
     biljinba ŋani-yi
     swallow   I:obj-abil
     '(It) might swallow me.'

21. **T.Subj   T.Pred   Obj**
     bulidjimanjdji-wanji guyu   yalu-nja   gula-ři-dji
     policeman-erg   take   they:pl-obj south-place-al

            -Aspect
       grusiŋ-yuři-wa
       crossing-al-cont
     'The policeman is taking them to the crossing at the south.'

22.   **-Aspect T.Pred**
     djali-li   ŋařgadaba laŋgu-ři
     then-hab   spear   north-place:loc
     'Then they used to spear at the north place.'

5.1.2. Declarative Intransitive Clause

The Declarative Intransitive Clause is, like the Transitive, a common
construction in the Garawa clauses. Its basic structure is Subject plus
Predicate, but it is quite common to delete the subject where it can be
understood from context. While this clause lends itself to as great an
expansion by inclusion of peripheral tagmemes as the transitive,
generally the number of tagmemes tends to be more limited. The ex-
ponents of the nuclear tagmemes are shown in Chart 17, overleaf.

Permutation Rules

   1. Nuclear and peripheral tagmemes permute rather freely to any
       order.

   2. Tense and Aspect tagmemes permute as described in Section 4.2.

Restrictions

   1. No more than five peripheral tagmemes have been found in any one
       clause.

   2. When a fairly full expansion of a phrase occurs in one tagmeme,
       a smaller number of other tagmemes is generally manifested.

Additional Note

   Some of the peripheral tagmemes, mainly Manner and Time, may be re-
duplicated.

CHART 17.   BIDIMENSTIONAL ARRAY FOR THE DECLARATIVE INTRANSITIVE
CLAUSE NUCLEUS

Clause Nucleus of the Declarative Intransitive Clause					
± Peri- phery	+ Intransitive Predicate	± Intransitive Subject	± Peri- phery	± Aspect	± Tense
	Intransitive Verb	Modified NP		{-gili} hab	{-ŋga} pres
		Personal Pronoun		{-yanji} desid:p	-dja/dja- fut
				{-gimi} desid:np	-yi past
		Associative NP		{-wali} abil	
		Co-ordinate Phrase		-ngiwa incp	
		Appositional Phrase		-giyi imp	
				iii dur	
		Inalienable Possession Phrase		-ma ŋawamba } lim	
				-wa yuwadji } cont	
		Negative NP		-waři walugu } prim	

In the following examples of Declarative Intransitive Clauses, the
nuclear tagmemes only are labelled.

Examples of the Declarative Intransitive Clause

1.   Tense-I.Subj   I.Pred
    gařu-ři-dji   dja-yalu-∅   djiladjba
    east-place-al fut-*they*:pl-subj *go*

        gařu-řinjba-ři naŋi-nguři gamu
        east-side-al   *here*-al   *later:today*
    'Later today they will go to the place over here on the east side.'

2.   I.Pred I.Subj
    gamu-nji   baři djuŋgu yalu-∅   nana-wa
    later:today-refr *um*   *sit*   *they*:pl-subj *that-way*

'Later today they will sit over in that direction.'

3.   I.Subj   (I.Pred   ) . . . .
...ŋala   nuřu-Ø   naŋa-ŋi   ganindimba nuřu-Ø

   while we:pl:ex-subj he-refr follow   we:pl:ex-subj

   laŋi-na   djabaři
   north-ab once:again

'...while we follow it from the north once more.'

Note: In this example the Subject tagmeme is interrupted by the Referent and Intransitive Predicate tagmemes.

4. I.Subj . . . . . (   ) . . . .
  nanda-Ø   dařaŋu-Ø   laŋgu   balawala-Ø   gala
  that-nom   tree-nom   north:loc   roots-nom   under

     I.Pred-Tense
     djiladjba-yi gula   gala
     go-p   south:al under

'The roots of that tree in the north, go under (ground) to the south.'

Note: In the above example the Inalienable Possession Phrase filling the Subject tagmeme is interrupted by the Locative tagmeme laŋgu.

5.   I.Subj I.Pred
  bari ŋayu-Ø djuŋgu
  um   I-subj sit
  'I sit.'

6. I.Pred
  djila
  go
  '(I) go.'

7.   I.Subj   .(-Aspect) . . . .
  ...ŋala njulu-Ø na-njina-wa   nanda-Ø   gudjanja-Ø

   while he-subj that:place-loc-cont that-nom mat:gr:uncle-nom

     I.Pred-Tense
     djuŋgu-yi   sandi
     sit-p   Sunday

'...while he, (my) maternal great-uncle still sat in that place on Sunday.'

8.   -Aspect   I.Pred
   djali-li   djuŋgu   gamu-nji   laŋgu-ři-njin
   con-hab   *sit*   *later*-refr *north-place*-ab
   '...then (they) used to stay till later away from the north
   place.'

9.   I.Subj . (I.Pred-Tense) . . . .
   djabaři   njulu-Ø   baři   waladjba-yi   bas-Ø
   once:again *he*-subj *um*   *arise*-p   *boss*-nom

        . . . .
      mambuga-Ø   walguřa-Ø
      boss-nom   *big*-nom
   '*Once again he, the big boss, arose.*'

10.   I.Pred-Aspect
   mili   gaya-ngili   yiŋga-nji   bagu
   again *call:out*-hab *other*-refr *later*
   '*Later, (he) again kept calling out for another (nomination).*'

11.   -Aspect   I.Pred
   migu-wali   djiia   mudiga-na
   neg-abil   *go*   *motor:car*-loc
   '*(They) can not go in the motor-car.*'

12.   I.Subj . . . . . .   I.Pred-Tense
   yiŋga-Ø   bigibigi-Ø   guluga-yi   guladjba-na   walu   ŋagi-nbu
   one-nom *pig*-nom   *sleep*-p   *pillow*-loc *in:front* *me*-acc
   '*One pig slept on a pillow in front of me.*'

13.   I.Subj . . .   (I.Pred) . . . .
   yalu-Ø   ŋindu   yalu-Ø   baya-mugu-Ø
   they:pl-subj   *cry*   *they:pl*-subj *child*-pl-nom
   '*They cry, (those) children.*'

14.   Time-Aspect   I.Pred
   wabula-gili   djuŋgu   nanaba
   before-hab *sit*   *there*
   '*(He) used to sit there.*'

15.   I.Subj:Tense   I.Pred
   gula-ni   ŋayi-Ø   ganŋa   baři
   south-ab *I:p*-subj   *leave* *um*
   '*I left from the south.*'

16.   -Aspect   I.Pred
    walja-nji-gili   widjba   laŋi-na   gamu
    dugong-refr-hab   *come:back   north*-ab   *later:today*
    '(They) come back from the north for the dugong later today.'

17.   I.Subj:Tense   I.Pred
    naŋi-nbunanji   ŋayi-Ø   djila   giŋaři-dji
    here-ab   *I*:p-subj   *go*   *up*-al

                                -Aspect
        diŋi-yudi-Ø   nana-ŋguři-wa
        dinghy-concom-nom   *that*-al-cont
    'From here, I went up to that place in the dinghy.'

18.   Tense-I.Subj   I.Pred
    gařu-ři-dji   dja-yalu-Ø   djiladjba   gařu-řinjba-ři
    east-place-al   fut-*they*:pl-subj   *go*   *east-side*-al

        naŋi-nguři   gamu   baři
        here-al   *later*   *um*
    'They will come to this place on the east side later today.'

19. Aspect   I.Pred-Tense
    iiiii   muwaḍa-na   bunundudjba-ŋga
    dur   *canoe*-loc   *get:close*-pres
    '(The men) in the canoe get close (to the dugong).'

20.   I.Pred-Tense
    djudju   dařaŋu-na   laŋa-yi
    long:way   tree-loc   *hang:up*-p
    '(They) hung (the meat) a long way up in the tree.'

21. I.Pred   I.Subj
    gunjidjba   ŋali-Ø
    feel:good   we:d:ex-subj
    'We feel good.'

5.1.3. Declarative Reflexive Clause

    The Declarative Reflexive Clause is not as common as the Transitive
and Intransitive clauses. It is similar to these latter two clauses in
that the verb class determines the type of construction in most cases.
This reflexive construction necessitates a Reflexive Subject tagmeme,
which functions as a Reflexive Subject/Object, and may be manifested
only by a reflexive pronoun which is obligatory. The optional Subject

tagmeme may co-occur with the Reflexive Subject. The optional Referent
tagmeme functions as an indirect object.

The use of reflexive construction when not governed by the class of
verb used in the Predicate has been discussed in the introductory para-
graph on Declarative Clauses (Section 5.1.). Reflexive verbs cannot be
used transitively, though the transitive verb and a very limited number
of intransitive verbs may be used in a reflexive construction to express
reciprocity. The following examples will illustrate this.

Example of verb taking reflexive construction only:

    waḍamba   na-ŋga   mama-nji   ŋaninji-∅
    *eat (feed) he-*refl *food-*refr *man-*nom
    'The man eats food.'

Example of transitive verb in transitive construction:

    yali-∅   daba badjaŋu-∅   djuga-mugu-nji
    they:pl:p-subj *hit dog-*nom   *boy-*pl-erg
    'The boys hit the dog.'

Example of transitive verb used reflexively to show reciprocity:

    ...djala   daba   yalu-ŋgi
       then   hit   they:pl-refl:p
    '...then they hit each other.'

Chart 18, next page, shows the exponents of the nuclear tagmemes
of the Declarative Reflexive Clause.

Permutation Rules

1. Nuclear tagmemes permute freely to any position, though Reflexive
   Subject is preferably adjacent to the Predicate.

2. Manner and Locative tagmemes permute freely to any position.

3. Negative, Connector, and Time appear before the Predicate.

4. Allative, Ablative, Instrument and Referent are manifested fol-
   lowing the Predicate.

Restrictions

No more than three peripheral tagmemes are found in any one clause.

CHART 18. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR DECLARATIVE REFLEXIVE CLAUSE NUCLEUS

	Clause Nucleus of the Declarative Reflexive Clause						
± Periphery	+ Reflexive Predicate	+ Reflexive Subject	± Subject	± Tense	± Aspect	± Referent	± Periphery
	Declarative Reflexive Verb	Reflexive Pronoun	Modified NP Associative NP Co-ordinate Phrase Appositional Phrase Inalienable Possession Phrase	{-ŋga} pres -yi p -dja/dja- fut	{-gili} hab {-yanji} desid:p {-gimi} desid:np {-wali} abil -ngiwa incp -giyi imp iii dur -ma ŋawamba} lim -wa yuwadji} cont -waři walugu} prim	Modified NP Inalienable Possession Phrase	

Additional Notes

1. As the Referent tagmeme functions as an Indirect Object it has been placed in the nuclear part of this clause and must therefore be deleted from clause periphery.

2. When a subject, in addition to the reflexive pronoun is manifested, it is inflected for nominative case.

In the following examples of Reflexive clauses, nuclear tagmemes only are labelled.

Examples of the Declarative Reflexive Clause

1.   Refl.Subj-Aspect R.Pred   -Aspect
   garu-řinjba   na-ŋgi-li   yuřmba   nana-njina-wa
   east-side:loc *he-refl-hab*   *move:about* *that-place*-cont
   'He used to move about continuously at that place on the east side (of the river).'

2.   R.Subj:Tense   Refl.Subj R.Pred
   bugamba yali-Ø   djali yalu-ŋga laduba
   all   *they*:pl:p-subj *then* *they-refl* *apply:white:ochre*
   'Then they painted themselves all over with white ochre.'

3. R.Pred   Refl.Subj
   baragidjba na-ŋga   nana-njina   laŋgu-ři-njin   gambaliŋidju
   decorate   *he-refl*   *that-place*:loc *north-place-refr* *daybreak*
   'He decorated himself at that place from the north at daybreak.'

4. R.Pred   Refl.Subj:Tense Refr
   bulbulgidjba na-ŋgi   naŋa-ŋi
   jump   *he-refl*:p   *he-refr*
   'He jumped.'

5. R.Pred   Refl.Subj:Tense Refr
   mangumangu na-ŋgi   naŋa-ŋi
   recognise   *he-refl*:p   *he-refr*
   'He recognised him.'

6. R.Pred   Refl.Subj:Tense Refr
   wagaḍaba ŋanji-ŋgi   mani-yudi-nji
   wash   *he-refl*:p   *hand-*concom-refr
   'He washed his hands.'

7.   R.Pred   R.Subj . .( ) . . . . . .   Refl.Subj

     daya   ŋagi-Ø   nayi mani-Ø   ŋaga
     cut   *my*-nom   *here* *finger*-nom   *I:refl*
     'I cut my finger here.'

Note: In the above example, ŋagi mani ŋaga is an Inalienable Possession Phrase,
which when used as subject of a Reflexive Predicate, must be inflected for
Nominative Case. The Inalienable Possession Phrase is interrupted by the locative
nayi.

8.   R.Subj . .(Refl.Subj   R.Pred)   . . . .

     nugami-Ø na-ŋga   balaŋgamba   nugami-Ø
     feet-nom *he*-refl   *spread:feet*   *feet*-nom
     'He stands with his feet spread apart.'

9.   Refl.Subj:Aspect   R.Pred

     ...ŋala   na-ŋgi-li   dyuzdi   nanaba   yuřmba
        while   *he*-refl-hab   *Tuesday*   *there*   *move:about*
     '... while he used to move about there (all day) Tuesday.'

10.   R.Pred   Refl.Subj:Tense   Refr . . . .

     yugu baři wadamba ŋali-ŋgi   dina-nji   diyi-nji
     yes *um* *feed*   *we*-refl:p   *dinner*-refr   *tea*-refr
     'Yes, we ate dinner and tea.'

11.   R.Pred   Refl.Subj:Aspect

     ...maḍa yuřmba   na-ŋgi-ya   nana-wa
        also *move:about* *he*-refl-desid:p   *that-way*
     '...nor did he move about in that direction.'

Note: Negative is carried through from the previous clause so that migu....maḍa
takes the meaning *'neither....nor'*.

12. R.Pred   Refl.Subj:Tense
     guliřadjba na-ŋgi   gala baṇda-na
     cut:head   *he*-refl:p   *down* *camp*-loc
     'He cut his head down at the camp.'

13.   Refl.Subj-Aspect   Refl.Subj-Aspect   R.Pred-Tense
     migu na-ŋga-ma   na-ŋgi-mi   dulaba
     neg   *he*-refl-lim   *he*-refl-desid   *remove*
     'He, by himself, does not pull himself (out of the bog).'

14. Refl.Subj   R.Pred
     ŋaga   djanjba-dja nanaba gařu-ři
     I:refl   *die*-fut   *there*   *east*-loc
     'I will die there in the east.'

15.   R.Subj . . . .   R.Pred   Refl.Subj
      ...ŋala njulu walja-Ø   buṟadaba   na-ŋga
        but   *he*   *dugong*-nom *exhausts* *he-refl*
      '...*but the dugong is exhausted.*'

16.   R.Subj . .(   ) . . . . . . R.Pred
      ...nanda-Ø   baṟi   maḍa   waṟŋuna-Ø   magaba
        that-nom *um* *also* *goanna*-nom *cover*

          Refl.Subj:Tense
          na-ŋga   djamba-na
          he-refl:pres   *earth-loc*
      '...*and that goanna covered himself in the earth.*'

17.   R.Pred   Refl.Subj Refr
      ...bagi binandaba   na-ŋgi   magulu-nji
        and   *lay*   *he-refl:p* *egg-refr*
      '...*and she laid an egg.*'

18. Aspect R.Pred   Refl.Subj
      iiii   gidjidjidjba na-ŋga   guṟul-ina
      dur   *tangle:up* *he-refl*   *line-loc*
      '*He gets tangled up in the line.*'

19. R.Pred   Refl.Subj
      ŋaṟgadaba   na-ŋgi-li   nana-njina   luŋgul-ina   djaŋani-na
      spear   *he-refl-hab* *that-ins* *stone:blade-ins* *spear:blade-ins*
      '*He used to spear with those stone spear blades.*'

20.   Refl.Subj   R.Pred   R.Subj . . . . .
      ...maḍa na-ŋga   mili ŋaṟgadaba nana-njdjudi-nji
        also *he-refl* *again* *spear*   *that-concom-erg*

          . . . .
          luŋgul-yudi-nji   djaŋani-yudi-nji   wuni-yudi-nji
          stone:blade-concom-erg *spear:blade-concom-erg* *spear-concom-erg*

          wangala   wabula
          olden:times *before*
      '...*and too, before, in olden times, he speared, using those spears
      with stone blades.*'

21.   R.Subj   R.Pred   Refl.Subj:Tense
      djaŋumba nayinda buyiyiŋginji-Ø   daba   na-ŋgi
      only   *here*   *pres:day:people*-nom *hit*   *he-refl:p*

        maṇi-na   baři

        hand-ins   *um*

    'Here the present day people hit each other with fists only.'

22.   Refl.Subj   R.Pred

     muŋanawa bula-ŋgi-li   malidjba mili

     next:day *they:d-refl-hab* *follow*   *again*

    'Next day the two of them used to follow each other.'

5.1.4. Declarative Ditransitive Clause

    The Declarative Ditransitive Clause has a limited application in that it is a construction used only when naming a place, person, animal or item. The predicate is expounded by one of only two verbs, gaṛu, *'call'*, or nidjařidjba, *'name'*. These two verbs differ from those in other clauses in that both the object and the nominal complement are marked with nominative case.

    Nuclear tagmemes of the Declarative Ditransitive Clause, as shown in Chart 19 (overleaf), comprise a Predicate, Subject, an Object, a Nominal Complement, Aspect and Tense. Peripheral tagmemes are limited to Negative, Time and Locative.

Permutation Rules

    1. Nuclear and Peripheral tagmemes permute rather freely to any order though there is a preference for the Nominal Complement to follow the Object.

    2. Tense and Aspect tagmemes permute as described in Section 4.2.

Restrictions

    Peripheral tagmemes are limited as only Negative, Time and Locative occur.

    In the following examples of the Declarative Ditransitive Clause, only the nuclear tagmemes are labelled.

Examples of the Declarative Ditransitive Clause

1. D.Pred   D.Subj . . . .   (D.Obj   Nom.Com)   . . . .

    nidjařidjba yali-∅   yařama-∅ nagaṛa-∅ wangala-wanji

    name   *they:pl:p-subj* *horse*-nom *nagara*-nom *olden:time*-erg

    'Our ancestors called the horse "nagara".'

CHART 19.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR DECLARATIVE DITRANSITIVE CLAUSE

± Periphery	+ Ditransitive Predicate	+ Ditransitive Subject	+ Ditransitive Object	+ Nominal Complement	± Aspect		+ Tense		± Periphery
					Clause Nucleus of the Declarative Ditransitive Clause				
	Ditransitive Verb –	Personal Pronoun	Personal Pronoun	Modified NP	{-gili}	hab	{-nga}	pres	
	gaṟu *'call'*			Place Names	{-yanji}	desid:p	-dja/dja-	fut	
	nidjaridjba	Modified NP	Modified NP		{-gimi}	desid:np	~yi	past	
	'name'	Associative NP	Associative NP		{-wali}	abil			
		Co-ordinate Phrase	Co-ordinate Phrase		-ngiwa	incp			
		Appositional Phrase	Appositional Phrase		-giyi	imp			
					iii	dur			
		Place Names	Place Names		-ma / ŋawamba }	lim			
					-wa / yuwadji }	cont			
					-waři / walugu }	prim			

2. D.Pred   D.Subj   D.Obj . . . . . .
    nidjaridjba   nuřu-Ø   nanda-Ø   guṇda-Ø   gařu
    name   *we:pl:ex-subj*   *that*-nom *tree*-nom *east:loc*

       Nom.Com
       wugařa-Ø
       pandanus-nom
    'We call that tree in the east "pandanus".'

3.   D.Subj   D.Pred   D.Obj
    migu   nuři-Ø-ya   gařu   yadji-Ø
    neg *we:pl:ex-subj-desid:p* *call*   *country*-nom

       Nom.Com . . . .
       ṛabinsin-Ø   ṛiba   wangala
       Robinson-nom *River*-nom *olden:time*
    'In the olden times we did not call the country "Robinson River".'

4. D.Pred D.Subj   D.Obj   Nom.Com
    gaṛu   nuři-Ø   yadji-Ø   mugulařaŋu-Ø
    call *we:pl:ex-subj*   *country*-nom   *Mugularangu*-nom
    'We called the country "Mugularangu".'

5.1.5. Deleted Predicate Transitive Clause

A few verbs such as **wudumba** *'carry'* or *'bring'* may also be elided where a manner tagmeme is manifested by one of the group of words describing carrying positions. Past or present tense may be shown on the subject pronoun if manifested, and present tense has been found on the manner tagmeme. Future tense is attached to a subject pronoun, noun, or adjective, an object, or object/subject pronoun, a connector or the manner tagmeme. The inclusion of a Time tagmeme may alternatively indicate the time of the action.

In the following examples both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes are labelled.

Examples of Deleted Predicate Transitive Clause

1. Man   T.Subj   Obj . . . . . .   Al
    ŋabala   njulu-Ø djuga-Ø naŋaṇi   baṇda-ři
    on:shoulder *he-subj* *boy*-nom *he:poss* *camp*-al
    'He (carries) his boy on his shoulders to the camp.'

2. T.Subj . . . . . .   Man   Obj . . . .
    nanda-Ø   badjaŋu-Ø djawayawa djumbala-Ø   ŋanji
    that-nom *dog*-nom *in:mouth* *clothes*-nom *you:s:poss*

'That dog (is carrying) your clothes in his mouth.'

3. Man   T.Subj . . (Obj   ) . . . .   Loc
    wulala   yalu-∅   wabuda-∅   wangala-wanji   yaṟaŋul-ina
    on:head   they-subj   water-nom   olden:times-erg carrying:dish-loc
    'Olden times (people carry) water in a water dish on their head.'

4. Man   T.Subj   Obj   Ab
    munduga   buli-∅   djaŋu-∅   djudju-nanji
    on:hip   they:d:p-subj firewood-nom long:way-ab
    'They (brought) firewood on their hips from a long way away.'

5. Man   T.Subj   Obj   Loc
    dugagana   djibaṟi-wanji djuga-∅   baṇḍa-na
    on:neck   woman-erg   boy-nom   camp-loc
    'The woman (carries) the boy on her neck at the camp.'

6.   Con   Obj . . . .   Man
    ...ŋala   baḍaḍa-∅   bayagaḍa-∅   djidinjdja
        while baby-nom   small-nom   in:coolamon
    '...while (she) carries the small baby in a coolamon.'

5.1.6. Deleted Predicate Intransitive Clause

Certain verbs such as djiladjba *'come'* or *'go'*, djuŋgu *'sit'* or
'stay' may be elided where the meaning of the verb is obvious from
context or from the tagmemes in the clause. In this way, a clause
comprising Subject and Allative tagmemes implies motion of the subject,
as also does Subject and Ablative. A clause comprising Subject and
Locative tagmemes implies lack of motion.

The number of peripheral tagmemes in these clauses is limited -
generally not more than three or four in each clause. Most frequently
only one, apart from Connector and Negative, is present. Past and
present tense may be shown on the subject pronoun if present, and future
tense on pronoun, noun, adjective or connector. Alternatively, time of
the action may be indicated by a Time tagmeme.

In the following examples of the Deleted Predicate clause both nuclear
and peripheral tagmemes are labelled.

1. Al . . . (-Aspect   ) . . . .   (-Aspect)
    naŋi-nguṟi-wa   baṟi bidjaŋujgina-yuṟi-wa
    this:place-al-cont um Bidjangujgina-al-cont
    '(I) still (went) to this place - Bijanguykina.'

2. Al   -Aspect   Loc
   nana-ŋguři-wa   baři gula-řa
   that:place-al-cont um   south-loc
   '(I) still (went) to that place in the south.'

3. Al   I.Subj:Tense
   bayuŋu   ŋayi-Ø
   west:al I:p-subj
   'I (went) to the west.'

4. Al   I.Subj   Al
   nayi-wa   nuŋgala-Ø   gaři
   this-way we:d:inc-subj east:al
   'We both go this way to the east.'

5. I.Subj . . . . Al . . . . .
   nanda-Ø   bagurs-Ø   ṛudu-Ø   bayiŋa   gula
   that-nom   pack:horse-nom road-nom   west:of south:al
   'That pack-horse road (runs) to the south-west.'

6. I.Subj   Aspect Al . . . (-Aspect)
   nanda-Ø   baři iiiii   nɛna-ŋguři-wa
   that-nom   um   dur   that:place:place-al-cont

   (   ) . . . . . .
   baříwa ganjdja-ři
   finish sea-al
   'That (dugong) still (goes) to that place - to the sea.'

7. I.Subj Al   Man
   ŋayu-Ø gula   walu-wa
   I-subj south:al front-way
   'I (lead) the way to the south.'

8. Al   I.Subj   Al . . . .
   gula   nuřu-Ø   nayi-wa   walguřa-jŋjguři
   south:al we:pl:ex-subj this-way big-al

   . . . . (Loc) . .
   yiŋga-ři baṇda-ři gula-řa
   other-al camp-al   south-loc
   'We (will go) south this way to the other big camp in the south.'

9. Loc Al   Subj
   nayi buluwaŋař-yuři ṛudu-Ø
   here Buluwangarr-al road-nom

'The road (runs along) here to Buluwangarr.'

10. Loc . . . . . .
    nayi   giwuřu
    here   east:loc
    '(The road runs) here in the east.'

11. Aspect   Loc . . . .
    yiniŋgi   djudju   yiŋga-na   yadji-na
    might   long:way   other-loc   country-loc
    '(He) might (be) a long way away in another country.'

12. I.Subj   Loc   Loc . . . . .
    nuŋgala-∅   nayi   nayi   gula-řa
    we:d:inc-subj   here   here   south-place:loc
    'We (are) both here in the south.'

13. I.Subj . . . .   Loc   Ab
    nanda-∅   ŋaninji-∅   nayi   bayiŋa-wunji
    that-nom   man-nom   here   west-ab
    'Those men here (come) from the west.'

14. I.Subj . . (Time) . . . .(Loc)
    nanda-∅   djala   wadjbala-ŋi   nayi
    that-nom   then   white:man-refr   here

    . . . . (Loc) . . . . Loc.(Ab) . . . . .
    malbu-nji   gařu-ři   baṇḍa-∅   giŋgaři-nja   baŋani
    old:man-refr   east-place:loc   camp-nom   up-ab   behind
    'Then that old white man's camp in the east is behind a hill.'

5.1.7. Declarative Topic-Comment Clause

The Topic-Comment clause is the most predominant of the few non-verbal
clauses. As the classification suggests, there is no verb present, nor
can this clause take one. Nuclear tagmemes comprise a Topic, a Comment
and the optional Aspect and Tense tagmemes. As the bidimensional array
in Chart 20 shows, the Topic has a fairly wide variety of exponents.
Should the context make plain what is referred to, the topic is often
omitted. Exponents of the Comment tagmeme have a similar wide variety,
with the exception of a pronoun, and the addition of an Adjective and an
Attributive Noun Clause. Manifestations of peripheral tagmemes are
limited.

CHART 20.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR TOPIC-COMMENT CLAUSE

Clause Nucleus of Topic-Comment Clause			
± Periphery	± Topic	± Comment	± Tense
	Modified NP	Modified NP	{-ŋga} pres
	Associative NP	Associative NP	{-yi} p
	Co-ordinate Phrase	Co-ordinate Phrase	-dja/dja- fut
	Appositional Phrase	Appositional Phrase	
	Inalienable Possession Phrase	Inalienable Possession Phrase	
	Personal Pronoun	Concomitant NP	
	Place Names	Attributive Noun Clause	
		Accompaniment NP	
		Adjective	

Permutation Rules

1. Topic and Comment tagmemes may permute to any order.

2. In the periphery, Negative and Connector are preferred before the nucleus, while Locative, Accompaniment and Time are usually after the nucleus.

Restrictions

1. Periphery is limited to Negative, Connector, Locative, Accompaniment and Time.

2. There is no Aspect in this clause type.

3. If either Topic or Comment tagmemes are manifested by a phrase comprising two or more tagmemes, the other (T or C) is more likely to comprise a more simple construction.

4. Present, Past and Future Tenses may be indicated on a pronoun within the Topic tagmeme, otherwise indication of time may only be given through use of the Time tagmeme.

Additional Note

   All fillers of Topic and Comment tagmemes must be marked for nominat-
   ive case, except when possession is indicated (by referent case) or
   when the Comment tagmeme is expounded by the Accompaniment NP (also
   marked for referent case).

Examples of the Declarative Topic-Comment Clause

1. Comment
    mambuga-Ø
    boss-nom
    '*(He is) the boss.*'

2. Comment . . . .
    mambuga-Ø   nana-nganji
    boss-nom   *that*-refr
    '*(He is) the boss of those (people).*'

3. Comment . . . .
    ŋanji-ŋganji   madjuŋanjdja-nji   guluŋanjdja-Ø
    you:s:poss-refr *old:sister*-refr   *child*-nom

       Topic . . . .
       nayinda-Ø   wangulu-Ø
       this-nom   *boy*-nom
    '*This boy is your older sister's child.*'

4. Comment . . (Topic)   . . . . . .
    walguřa-Ø nanda-Ø   mambuga-Ø
    big-nom   *that*-nom   *boss*-nom
    '*That (man) is the big boss.*'

5. Topic   Comment
    bayiṛa-Ø   maḍbiŋgařa-Ø
    Pharoah-nom *expert:dugong:hunter*-nom
    '*Pharoah is an expert dugong hunter.*'

6. Topic . . . .   Comment   Refr . . . .
    nimbala-Ø   malbu-Ø   mambuga-Ø nani-nganji yadji-nji
    you:d-subj *old:man*-nom *boss*-nom *this*-refr   *country*-refr
    '*You two men are the bosses of this country.*'

7. Con   Topic   Comment   Manner   Topic
    ŋala   anadalad-Ø   gunsila-Ø   bugamba   yalu-Ø
    but   *another:lot*-nom *councillors*-nom *all*   *they:pl*-subj

'But quite a lot of them are councillors.'

8.   Comment   Topic . . . .
```
gaḍigaḍi-Ø   gadja-Ø   yalu-Ø        ŋaḍanja-Ø   nanda-Ø
```
nephew-nom *many*-nom *they*:pl-subj *mother*-nom *that*-nom

      . . . .
```
    miminja-Ø          gaḍiḍi-Ø
```
    grandfather-nom *uncle*-nom

'Nephew, they are many people, those mothers, grandfathers, and uncles.'

9. Topic . . . .   Comment . . . . . .
```
nayinda-Ø   gudjařa-Ø   nayinda-Ø   gudjařa-Ø
```
this-nom   *two*-nom   *this*-nom   *two*-nom

'These two (people) are these (same) two.' (Remark made when comparing two photographs.)

10.   Time   Tense-Topic   Comment
```
bagu    bař i   dja-njulu-Ø   ŋařawa-Ø
```
after *um*   *f-he*-subj   *salt*-nom

'Later it (the river) will become salty.'

11.   Asp   Topic   Comment
```
yuwadji  yala-Ø        wanga-nŋa
```
still   *they*:pl-subj *alive*-animate

'They are still alive.'

Note: The suffix -nŋa is obligatory with yuwadji when speaking of animate things without using a verb in the clause. Although we have stated that aspect does not occur in the Topic-Comment Clause, this use of "yuwadji" is really part of a combination of words that form an adjectival expression; hence we feel that yuwadji loses its aspect meaning here.

12.   Con   Topic   Comment   Time
```
ŋala   njulu-Ø   nanamanji-Ø   wabula...
```
when *he*-subj *young*-nom   *before*

'When he was young long ago...'

13.   Topic   Con   Comment
```
...nanda-Ø   djala   lunjdji-Ø
```
    that-nom   *when*   *sick*-nom

'...(or) when he is sick.'

14.   Comment
```
ŋaluř-Ø
```
sick-nom

'(He is) sick.'

15.   Topic   Comment
      yiŋga-∅   bayagaḍa-∅
      other-nom   *small*-nom
      'The other is small.'

16.   Comment   Topic . . . . . .
      magiřa-yudi-∅   nanda-∅   ŋila-∅
      paint-concom-nom   *that*-nom *girl*-nom
      'That girl has paint.'

17.   Topic   Comment   Topic   Comment
      yiŋgan-∅   guḍaliři-∅   yiŋgan-∅   wunanjbala-∅
      other-nom   *short*-nom   *other*-nom   *long*-nom
      'One is short, the other is long.'

18.   Topic . . . .   Comment
      nanda-∅   djamban-∅   binda-yudi-∅
      that-nom   *ground*-nom   *burnt:grass*-concom-nom
      'That ground is covered with burnt grass.'

19.   Man   Comment . . . .
      ŋawamba   djiḍi   lama-nji   bagi   wiŋmuř-anji
      only   *with*   *axe*-refr   *and*   *wire:spear*-refr
      '(We had) only axes and wire spears.'

5.2.   INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

5.2.1.   Interrogative Information Clause

Interrogative Information clauses are formed from any Declarative
clause, by expounding any one clause tagmeme with an appropriate inter-
rogative pronoun and permuting that tagmeme to a clause-initial position,
or, rarely, to a clause final position. The only clause tagmemes that
may not be expounded by an interrogative pronoun are Reflexive Subject,
Tense Aspect, Connector, Negative and Translocative. Generally, the
interrogative pronoun is inflected for case though there is a series of
interrogative pronouns which are not inflected. (See 'The Pronominal
System of Garawa', Section 7.)

The Interrogative Clauses formed with the use of the Interrogative
Partitive Pronoun or the Interrogative Adjective may take the imperative
clitic -giyi, but the clause remains basically Interrogative Informa-
tion. The imperative marker appears only to emphasise the interrogation.

For a full exposition of the interrogative pronoun and adjectives, see 'The Pronominal System of Garawa' (Sections 5 and 7).

Examples of the Interrogative Information Clause

1. Comment   Topic
   wanji-Ø   nanda-Ø
   interrog:s-nom   *that*-nom
   'Who is that?'

2. Obj   T.Pred
   wanjdja-mugu-Ø   nadjba-yi
   interrog-pl-nom   *see*-p
   'Which ones did (he) see?'

3. T.Subj   T.Pred   Obj . . . .
   wanjdja-ŋini   ṛaŋimba-yi   nanda-Ø   djiguwaṛa-Ø
   interrog:s-erg   *shoot*-p   *that*-nom *wallaby*-nom
   'Who shot that wallaby?'

4. T.Subj   T.Pred   Subj   Obj
   wanji-ngudjaṛa-nji manŋu   buli-Ø   yalu-nja
   interrog-d-erg   *hear*   *they*:d:p-subj *they*:pl-obj
   'Which two (people) heard them?'

5. Refr   I.Subj   I.Pred
   wanji-ŋganji   njuli-Ø   baḍadjba
   interrog:s-refr   *he*:p-subj   *come*
   'Why did he come?'

6. Refr   T.Pred   Obj   Loc
   wanjdja-guya-jŋjga   yabimba-dja baṛawu-Ø   nanaba
   interrog-d-refr   *make*-f   *hut*-nom   *there*
   'Why will the two of them build the house there?'

7. Comment   Topic . . . .
   wanjdja-ganji   nayinda-Ø   djaṛawadja-Ø
   interrog:s-refr   *this*:s-nom   *trousers*-nom
   'Whose are these trousers?'

8. Comment   Topic
   wanji-nmugu-jŋjga badjaŋu-mugu-Ø
   interrog-pl-refr   *dog*-pl-nom
   'Whose are the dogs?'

9. Loc   R.Subj   I.Pred
    wanji-na   yalu-ŋga   yanjba
    interrog:s-loc   *they*:pl-refl *talk*
    'Where are they talking?'

10. Loc   Loc   I.Subj   I.Pred
    wanji-nmugu-njina yalu-ndu   ninjdji-∅   djuŋgu-yi
    interrog-pl-loc   *they*:pl-loc   *you*:s-subj *sit*-p
    'With which ones did you sit?'

11. Al   I.Subj   I.Pred
    wanjdja-biyuři   ninjdji-∅   djiladjba
    interrog:s-al   *you*:s-subj   *go*
    'To where are you going?'

12. Al   I.Pred
    wanji-nmugu-jŋjguři   djiladjba-dja
    interrog-pl-al   *go*-f
    'To which ones will (he) go?'

13. Ab   I.Subj   I.Pred
    wanjdja-binanji   njuli-∅   baḍadjba
    interrog:s-ab   *he*:p-subj   *come*
    'From where did he come?'

14.
    wanjdja-řuda-giyi   wadjba-yi   gaŋaŋanjdja-nji
    interrog-part-imp   *give*-p   *kangaroo*-refr
    'What part of the kangaroo did (he) give (you)?'

5.2.2. Yes/No Interrogative Clause

   The Yes/No Interrogative Clause may be formed from any Declarative
clause either by the addition of interrogative intonation, or by inter-
rogative intonation and the nuclear interrogative tagmeme expounded by
the interrogative particle guna, which may permute to any position in
the clause. There is, however, a preferred word order in which Predicate
is placed first, followed by guna, and other tagmemes permute to any
order. A frequently occurring alternative order is to place the inter-
rogative particle finally in the clause. Occurrence of peripheral
tagmemes is generally limited to no more than two in any clause.

   The interrogative particle also occurs with paragraph and sentence
level tagmemes as illustrated in Example 10.

Interrogative intonation is carried over the whole clause by commencing at a mid-high register and sharply rising to high register on the final stressed syllable, and falling again to mid-high over the rest of the word. (Garawa words carry stress on the initial syllable.)

Examples of the Yes/No Interrogative Clause

Interrogative Transitive:

1. T.Pred   Obj   Interrog
   wudumba naři-Ø   gagu-Ø   guna
   get   you:pl-subj *fish-nom* *interrog*
   'Did you get (any) fish?'

2. T.Pred   Interrog Subj
   badja   guna   dja-ninjdji-Ø   ŋila-Ø
   play   *interrog* *f-you:s-subj* *girl-nom*
   'Will you play (now), girl?'

Interrogative Intransitive:

3. T.Pred   Interrog Subj   Al . . . . Time
   djiladjba   guna   njuli-Ø   naŋaŋi-ŋguři baṇda-ři wulani
   go   *interrog* *he:p-subj* *he:poss-al*   *camp-al*   *yesterday*
   'Did he go to his camp yesterday?'

4. Man   Interrog Loc   I.Pred   Loc
   mili   guna   ŋawu   djuŋgu   galawunji
   again   *interrog* *somewhere* *sit*   *inside*
   '(Is it) somewhere inside again?'

Interrogative Reflexive:

5. R.Pred   R.Subj   Interrog Refr
   waga   dja-bula-ŋga guna   naři-ŋi
   repeatedly:reprimand *f-they:d-refl* *interrog* *you:pl-refr*
   'Will they repeatedly reprimand you?'

Interrogative Topic-Comment Clause:

6. Comment   Interrog
   walguřa-Ø   guna
   big-nom   *interrog*
   '(Is it) big?'

7.   **Topic** . . . .   **Comment**   **Interrog**
     ŋayinda-∅   baḍaḍa-∅   ŋila-∅   guna
     this-nom   *baby*-nom   *girl*-nom   interrog
     '(Is this) baby a girl?'

Interrogative Deleted Predicate Transitive:

8.   **Man**   **Interrog** **Subj**   **Obj**   **Ab**
     ŋabala   guna   ninjdji-∅   djuga-∅   djudju-nanji
     on:shoulders   interrog   *you*:s-subj   *boy*-nom   *long:way*-ab
     '(Did) you (carry) the boy on (your) shoulders all (that) way?'

Interrogative Deleted Predicate Intransitive:

9.   **Subj**   **Al**   **Al**   **Interrog**
     njulu-∅   bayuŋu   nangawa-ři   guna
     he-subj   *west*:al   *lagoon*-al   interrog
     '(Did he go) to the west to the lagoon?'

10. **Para.mkr** **Interrog**   **Para.mkr** **Voc**
     bařiwa   guna   baři   bařiwa   ŋaḍanja-∅
     finish   interrog   *um*   *finish*   *mother*-nom
     '(Is that) enough, mother?'

> Note: As in the above example, bařiwa is used at the end of a discourse and to
> mark the end of a conversation, a certain part of a story or to mark a change
> of subject and is tentatively analysed as a paragraph marker. Roughly, it
> carries the meaning of *'finish'*. It is also used as a farewell when two people
> do not expect to meet again for some time.

NOTE: In all the previous examples, the interrogative particle guna could have been
omitted, as noted in the introductory paragraph of this section.

5.3. *IMPERATIVE CLAUSES*

All the Declarative Clauses except the Topic-Comment Clause may be
converted to Imperative clauses by the addition of a nuclear Imperative
tagmeme manifested by the Imperative clitic, -giyi, which is generally
attached to the first tagmeme in the clause, or to any tagmeme of the
outer periphery of a sentence when this precedes the nucleus. Occasion-
ally this clitic is permuted to the second tagmeme in the sentence or
clause.

As stated above, the addition of the imperative clitic to the
Declarative Clauses converts the latter to Imperative Clauses. However,
though permutation rules and restrictions of the Declarative Clauses
still apply, there are further permutation and restriction as follows:

Permutation Rules

Nuclear and peripheral tagmemes permute freely though the predicate normally follows the tagmeme in which the imperative clitic is manifested.

Restrictions

There is generally only one peripheral tagmeme present in a clause.

In the following examples all tagmemes are labelled.

Examples of the Imperative Clause

Imperative Transitive Clause:

1. Obj-Imp   T.Pred
    duŋala-Ø-giyi   wudumba
    stone-nom-imp *get*
    'Get a stone!'

2. Loc-Imp   T.Pred
    laŋgu-giyi   yařidjba
    north:loc-imp *put*
    'Put (it) in the north!'

3. T.Pred-Imp T.Subj   Obj   Refr
    gaṛu-giyi   naři-Ø   yalu-nja   ŋagi
    tell-imp *you*:pl-subj *they*:pl-obj *I*:refr
    'You tell them about me!'

4. Neg-Imp   T.Pred
    migu-giyi   yabimba
    neg-imp   *make*
    'Don't make (it)!'

5. T.Pred-Imp Obj   Al
    guyu-giyi   djanguř-Ø   naŋa-nbuři
    take-imp *words*-nom *he*-al
    'Take words to him!'

6. T.Pred-Imp Ab   Al
    guyu-giyi   wajga-lina   ŋagi-nbuři
    take-imp *down-from* *I*-al
    'Bring (it) from down (there) to me!'

7. Obj-Imp   T.Pred   Obj
    yinini-giyi   wudumba   walguřa-Ø-miřa
    other-imp   *get*   *big*-nom-intens
    'Get another very big (one)!'

Imperative Transitive Deleted Predicate Clause:

8. Loc-Imp   Obj . . . .
    ŋabala-giyi   nanda-Ø   djuga-Ø   ŋanji-Ø   bagi
    on:shoulder-imp *that*-nom *boy*-nom *you:s:poss*-nom *and*

        ŋařgadaba   nugami   mudanji-wanji
        spear   *feet*-nom   *burnt:grass*-erg
    *'(Carry) that boy of yours on (your) shoulder or the burnt grass
    will spear his feet.'*

Imperative Intransitive Clause:

9. I.Subj-Imp   I.Pred   Al . . . .
    ninjdji-Ø-giyi   baḷba   yiŋa-ři   yadji-yuři
    you:s-subj-imp *go:back* *another*-al *place*-al
    'You go away to another place!'

10. Al   I.Pred-Imp
    ŋagi-nbuři   djila-giyi
    I-al   *come*-imp
    'Come to me!'

11. Man-Imp   I.Pred
    gaḍa-giyi   djuŋgu
    quietly-imp *sit*
    'Be quiet!'

12. I.Subj-Imp   I.Pred   Subj
    ninjdji-Ø-giyi   djuŋgu   yiŋamali-Ø
    you:s-subj-imp *sit*   *one*-nom
    'You, only you, sit (down)!'

13. Man-Imp   I.Pred   Acc
    dulu-giyi   djila   ŋagi-ndu
    quickly-imp *come*   *I*-acc
    'Come with me, quickly!'

14. Loc-Imp   I.Pred
    bařanji-giyi   djiladjba
    long:way-imp   *go*
    'Go away!'

15. I.Pred-Imp
     baḷba-giyi
     'Go back!'

16. Al-Imp   I.Pred   Al
     nana-wa-giyi djiladjba   ŋuřbu-nguři
     that-way-imp go   gorge-al
     'Go that way to the gorge!'

17. Loc   Imp   I.Pred
     nanaba   baři-giyi djuŋgu
     there   um-imp   sit
     'Stay there!'

18. Man-Imp   I.Pred
     gadada-giyi yanjba
     slowly-imp   talk
     'Talk slowly!'

Imperative Intransitive Deleted Predicate Clause:

19. Loc . (Imp Al   ) . . . . .
     wajga-giyi yalu-nduři wabuda-na
     down-imp   they:pl-al water-loc
     '(Go) down to them at the water!'

Imperative Reflexive Clause:

20. R.Pred-Imp   Refl.Subj
     wagaḍaba-giyi ŋanji-ŋga
     wash-imp   you:s-refl
     'Wash yourself!'

21. Subj-Imp   R.Pred   Refl.Subj   Refr
     maṇi-Ø-giyi   manjdjidjba ŋanji-ŋga   yalu-ṇi
     hand-nom-imp wave   you:s-refl they:pl-refr
     'You wave to them!'

22. Neg-Imp   Refl.Subj   R.Pred
     migu-giyi nimbala-ga djabubulinjba
     neg-imp   you:d-refl argue
     'Don't you two argue!'

23. R.Pred-Imp   Refl.Subj   Subj   Loc . . . .
     balaŋgamba-giyi ŋanji-ŋga nugami-Ø muwaḍa-na ŋuřu-na
     fork-imp   you:s-refl feet-nom boat-loc   bow-loc

'Spread your legs apart in the bow of the canoe!'

24.   Time-Imp   Refl.Subj   R.Pred   Obj
       muŋanawa-giyi   naři-ŋga   mudamba   bula-ŋi
       tomorrow-imp   *you:pl*-refl *say:goodbye:to* *they:pl*-refr
       'Say goodbye to them tomorrow!'

25.   Manner-Imp   Refl.Subj   R.Pred   Ins
       gadada-giyi   nimbala-ga   daba   ŋubuŋu-na
       quietly-imp   *you:d*-refl *fight* *boomerang*-acc
       'Don't fight so hard with those boomerangs!'

5.4.   *OBLIGATION CLAUSE*

   Certain constructions of the Interrogative Information clause may
also manifest the Imperative clitic. When the interrogative word yanga
and the Imperative clitic -giyi occur together in the one clause they
carry the meaning of obligation.

Examples of the Obligatory Clause

1.   Interrog( )-Imp T.Pred   Obj   Refr
      yanga-baři-giyi   wudumba mama-Ø   baya-mugu-jŋjga
      how-um-imp   *get*   *food*-nom *child*-pl-refr
      '(You) should get food for the children.'

2.   Interrog-Imp I.Pred   Al   Time   Con   T.Pred
      yanga-giyi   djiladjba sista-yuři wudjina   bagi wadjba
      how-imp   *go*   *sister*-al *few:days:ago* *and* *give*

          Obj   Refr
          ninja   midsin-ganji
          you:s:obj *medicine*-refr
      '(You) should have gone to the sister a few days ago and (she)
      would have given you medicine.'

3.   Interrog-Imp I.Pred   Time
      yanga-giyi   djiladjba gamu
      how-imp   *go*   *later:today*
      '(You) should go later today.'

6. DEPENDENT CLAUSES

Dependent Clauses differ from Independent Clauses in that infinitive
and participial forms of the verb are obligatory in Dependent Clause
constructions.

6.1. *DEPENDENT PURPOSE CLAUSE*

The Dependent Purpose Clause manifests the Purpose tagmeme of a
Purpose sentence. A dependent Infinitive verb fills the Predicate
tagmeme. This infinitive form comprises the verb stem and one of the
suffixes -nganji, -dji, -djiwa, or -nga. No distinction has been found
either in distribution or meaning of these four suffixes, though further
investigation may make a distinction apparent.

The nuclear tagmemes are the same as in the Declarative Transitive,
Intransitive and Reflexive clauses, except that neither Tense nor
Aspect occur. Peripheral tagmemes possible are also the same, but are
more limited in number, and distribution is restricted. Connector and
Negative may occur before the nucleus, and all other tagmemes occur
following the nucleus and are limited to two in number, though more than
one is unusual.

Both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes are labelled in the following
clauses.

Examples of Dependent Purpose Clause

1.   T.If.Pred   Obj   Time
   njulu-Ø   yabimba   galiŋiři-Ø   wuřgudi-jganji   ŋubuŋu-Ø   wabula
   he-subj   *make*   *shield*-nom   *block*-infin   *boomerang*-nom   *before*
   'He (would) make a shield to block boomerangs in the early days.'

2.   T.If.Pred
   wudumba   yaiu-Ø   malbumaiba-wanji   yabimbi-ganji
   get   *they:*pl-subj   *old:men*-erg   *make*-infin

       Obj . . . . . .
       gunjba   mama-Ø
       good-nom   *food*-nom
   'They, the old people, get (yeast) to make good bread.'

3.   R.If.Pred   Time   Refl.Subj
   widjba   nuři-Ø   waḍambi-djl   mugunjdja-na   nuřu-ŋga
   go:back   *we:*pl:ex:p-subj   *feed*-infin   *mid:day*-loc   *we:*pl:ex-refl
   'We went back to eat at mid-day.'

4.
                                                 Refr   T.If.Pred

gudjba nuřu-Ø   djandja-waia walidji-nji ŋařgada-jganji

search *we:pl:ex-subj* *rain-season* *kangaroo-refr* *spear-infin*

'During the "Wet" we hunt to spear kangaroo.'

5.
                                                          T.Subj

gaṟu nuřu-Ø   nanda-Ø   maḍanjdjaŋu-Ø   nuřu-Ø

call *we:pl:ex-subj* *that-nom* *name:of:rope-nom* *we:pl:ex-subj*

    T.If.Pred   Obj

    didigu-jganji   djidimbi-Ø

    tie:up-infin   *tail-nom*

'We call that (rope) "mardanjanjangu" - we (use it) to tie up the tail.'

6.
                  T.Subj   T.If.Pred   Obj

buřandidjba   nuřu-Ø   didigi-jganji   naniŋgi

be:in:the:middle   *we:pl:ex-subj* *tie:up-infin*   *like:this*

'(The rope) is in the middle - we (use it) to tie up the tail like this.'

7.
                                    Con   T.Subj

gagalidjba yali-Ø   nanda-Ø   bagi   yaiu-Ø

laugh:at   *they:pl:p-subj* *that-nom* *and*   *they:pl-subj*

    T.If.Pred   Obj

    ŋaṟa-djiwa   wabuda-Ø

    drink-infin   *water-nom*

'They laugh at that man (until) they (have) to drink water.'

8.
                                        I.If.Pred

migu gadja-mugu-Ø yali-Ø   djila badja-ngi

neg *many-pl-nom* *they:pl:p-subj* *go*   *dance-infin*

'Not many went to dance.'

9. bagi nana-njina-wa   nuřu-Ø   gamamba-wuři gudiya-Ø

   and   *that:place-loc-cont* *we:pl:ex-subj* *sunrise-loc* *some-nom*

                        T.If.Pred   Al

    iaŋgi   djila gandimbi-dji   laŋgu-ři-dji   baři

    north:al *go*   *accompany-infin* *north-place-al* *um*

    T.If.Pred   Loc

    ŋařgadaba-dji   nanaba

    spear-infin   *there*

'And some of us kept going to that place in the north at sunrise to accompany (them) to spear (dugong) there.'

6.2. *DEPENDENT PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE*

The Dependent Participial clause is the exponent of the Attributive tagmeme of a merged sentence. The Predicate is manifested by the participial form of the verb which comprises verb stem + participial suffix, either -djina or -guři. When the Predicate refers to the Subject of the previous clause, the suffix -djina is used, and -guři when the reference is to the Object of the preceding clause. The Participial clause always occurs finally in the sentence. The bidimensional arrays shown in Charts 21 to 23 illustrate the tagmemes of the Transitive, Intransitive and Reflexive Participial Clauses.

6.2.1. Transitive Participial Clause

CHART 21.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR TRANSITIVE PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

Transitive Participial Clause				
± Periphery	± Subject	± Object	+ Predicate	± Periphery
	Pronoun	Modified NP Co-ordinate Phrase Appositional Phrase	Transitive Participle	

Permutation Rules

1. Nuclear tagmemes may permute to any order, though Subject, Predicate, Object is preferred.

2. In the periphery, Negative and Connector occur before the nucleus and all other tagmemes follow the nucleus.

Restrictions

1. No more than two peripheral tagmemes occur after the nucleus.

Examples of the Transitive Participial Clauses

Subject Reference Transitive Participial Clause:

1.   **T.SP.Pred**   **Obj . . . .**
     djuŋgu yali-∅   niŋi-djina   bayagaḍa-∅ djuga-∅
     sit   *they:pl:p-subj* *look:at-subj:part* *small-nom* *boy-nom*
     'They sat looking at the small boy.'

2.   **T.SP.Pred**
     gudjařa-∅ malumba djiladjba bula-∅   yaři-djina
     two-nom   *together* *go*   *they:d-subj* *put-subj:part*

         Obj   **Loc**
         djaŋuř-∅ nadja-na
         words-nom *paper-loc*
     'They sit together, putting words on paper.'

3. nuřu-∅   baři djuŋgu nuřu-∅   nana-njina
     we:pl:ex-subj *um*   *sit*   *we:pl:ex-subj* *that-loc*

                     T.SP.Pred   **Obj**   **T.OP.Pred**
         waŋař-ina   na-djina   yalu-nja   badja-ŋguři
         corroboree-loc *see-subj:part* *they:pl-obj* *dance-obj:part*
     'We all sit at the corroboree watching them dancing.'

4.   **T.SP.Pred**
     djiladjba yali-∅   migu wuŋumbi-djina
     go   *they:pl:p-subj* *neg* *collect:firewood-subj:part*

         Obj   **Loc**
         djaŋu-∅   munjdjimunjdji
         firewood-nom *bush:loc*
     'They went, but they did not collect firewood in the bush.'

Object Reference Transitive Participial Clause:

5.   **T.OP.Pred**   **Loc**   **Loc . . . .**
     mangu ŋayu-∅ bṛi-jguři   laŋu   naŋaŋi-njina baŋḍa-na
     hear   *I-subj* *sing-obj:part* *north:loc* *he:poss-loc* *camp-loc*
     'I hear (them) singing at his camp in the north.'

6.   **T.OP.Pred**   **Obj**
     wudumba dja-ŋayu-∅ buwanja-∅   yabimbi-guři ŋandu-∅
     get   *fut-I-subj* *brother-nom* *make-obj:part* *shade-nom*
     'May I (take a photo of my) brother making a shelter?'

7.   **T.OP.Pred**   **Obj**
     nadjba nuřu-∅   djuga-∅   mařimbi-guři budjiga-∅
     see   *we:pl:ex-subj* *boy-nom*   *hold-obj:part* *cat-nom*

        Tac
        buřga-nanji
        tail-tac
    'We see the boy holding the cat by the tail.'

8.   **T.OP.Pred**   **Refr**

    mangu ŋayu-Ø wiḷina yanjba-guři yaiu-ŋi
    hear   *I*-subj *outside* *talk*-obj:part *they*:pl-refr
    'I hear (them) talking to them outside.'

9.   **T.OP.Pred**   **Obj** . . . .

    nadjba ŋayi-Ø ŋananji-Ø da-jguři djibaři-Ø guiadji-Ø
    see   *I*:p-subj *man*-nom *hit*-obj:part *woman*-nom *head*-nom

        Ins   **Loc**
        guṇḍa-na baṇḍa-na
        stick-ins *camp*-loc
    'I saw the man hitting the woman on the head with a stick at the camp.'

6.2.2. Intransitive Participial Clause

CHART 22. BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR INTRANSITIVE PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

Intransitive Participial Clause			
± Periphery	± Subject	+ Predicate	± Periphery
	Pronoun	Intransitive Participle	

Permutation Rules

    1.   Nuclear tagmemes may permute to either order though Subject followed by Predicate is preferred.

    2.   In the periphery, Negative and Connector occur before the nucleus, and all other tagmemes follow the nucleus.

Restrictions

    1.   The peripheral tagmemes Instrument and Tactile do not occur.

    2.   No more than two peripheral tagmemes occur after the nucleus.

    3.   If the Subject of the previous clause is manifested by a personal pronoun, the same pronoun may manifest the subject

tagmeme of the Participial clause when it is a Subject Reference clause. When reference is to the Object, then Subject is obligatorily absent.

Examples of the Intransitive Participial Clause

Subject Reference Intransitive Participial Clause:

1.
```
                              I.SP.Pred        Loc
   nadjba  ŋana    djuga-wanji  laŋa-ngina      glŋgaři
   see     me:obj  boy-erg      hang-subj:part  up
```
'The boy, hanging up (in the tree), sees me.'

2.
```
                         Con     Subj      I.SP.Pred
   nadjba  ŋayi-Ø   djuga-Ø  ŋala  ŋayi-Ø   gařlnjdja-na
   see     I:p-subj  boy-nom  while  I:p-subj  stand-subj:part
```
'I saw the boy while I (was) standing.'

3.
```
                                      I.SP.Pred
   bagi  ŋayu-Ø  daya  nanda-Ø   gunda-Ø   bařařinjdja-na
   and   I-subj  chop  that-nom  tree-nom  stand:in:tree-subj:part
```
'And I, standing in the tree, chop it.'

4.
```
                                      I.SP.Pred
   nanda-Ø    gunda-Ø    daya  njuli-Ø    bařařinjdja-na
   that-nom   tree-nom   cut   he:p-subj  standing:in:tree-subj:part

       Loc
       bundal-ina
       river-loc
```
'He, standing in the tree at the river, chopped it.'

Object Reference Intransitive Participial Clause:

5.
```
                                               I.OP.Pred
   nadjba-ŋga  wajga  waluŋganařa-Ø                 gulu-guři
   see-pres    down   mythological:sea:creature-nom  sleep-obj:part

       Loc . . . . . . . . .
       ganjdja-na  galawunji
       sea-loc     inside:loc
```
'(He) sees the mythological sea creature sleeping deep in the sea.'

6.
```
                         I.OP.Pred      Ab
   nadjba-yi  naři-Ø        wala-jguři  gula-ni
   see-p      you:pl-p-subj  come-obj:part  south-ab
```
'We saw (them) coming from the south.'

7.   I.OP.Pred   Loc
   wagaṛamba-yi djuga-wanji badja-nguři   wabuda-na
   find-p   *boy*-erg   *play*-obj:part *water*-loc
   'The boy found (him) playing in the water.'

8.   I.OP.Pred   Loc
   nadjba ŋayi-∅   djuga-∅   djila-jguři bundal-ina
   see   *I:p-subj* *boy-nom* *go-obj:part* *river*-loc
   'I saw the boy going to the river.'

9.   I.OP.Pred
   wagaṛamba nuřu-∅   njinbu-∅   gulu-guři
   catch   *we:pl:ex-subj* *spiny:ant:eater-nom* *sleep*-obj:part

      Loc
      duŋala-na
      rock-loc
   'We catch the spiny ant-eater sleeping on a rock.'

6.2.3. Subject Reference Reflexive Participial Clause

CHART 23.   BIDIMENSIONAL ARRAY FOR SUBJECT REFERENCE REFLEXIVE
PARTICIPIAL CLAUSE

Subject Reference Reflexive Participial Clause				
± Periphery	+ Reflexive Subject	+ Predicate	± Referent	± Periphery
	Reflexive Pronoun	Reflexive Participle -djina	Modified NP Co-ordinate Phrase Appositional Phrase	

Permutation Rules

   Nuclear tagmemes may permute to any order though Predicate, Reflexive
Subject, Referent is preferred.

Restrictions

   1. Peripheral tagmemes, Connector and Negative, occur only at the
      beginning of the clause, while other periphery occurs after the
      nucleus.

2. As Referent has been placed in the clause nucleus, it must be
    excluded from the periphery.

Additional Note

Examples of this clause are extremely scarce in text, and to date,
only one item of clause periphery following the Predicate has been
found, though others should be permissible as in other clauses of this
group.

Examples of Subject Reference Reflexive Participial Clause

1.   R.SP.Pred   Refl.Subj
     djuŋgu njuli-∅   baṇḍa-na waḍambi-djina naŋga
     sit   he:p-subj   camp-loc   feed-subj:part he:refl

        Refr
        baṇnji-jŋjganji
        meat-refr
     'He sat at the camp feeding himself with meat.'

2.   R.SP.Pred   Refl.Subj
     guluga ninjdji-∅   buŋumbi-djina   ŋanɟi-ŋga
     sleep   you:s-subj   loaf-subj:part   you:s-refl
     'You sleep, loafing (on the job).'

3.   R.SP.Pred   Refl.Subj
     baḷba-dja njulu-∅   darwin-yuři   djanjbi-djina   naŋga
     go:back-f he-subj   Darwin-al   die-subj:part   he:refl
     'He will go back to Darwin to die (there).'

6.2.4. Object Reference Reflexive Participial Clause

The Bidimensional Array for the Object Reference Reflexive
Participial clause is the same as for the Subject Reference Reflexive
Participial clause, except for the obligatory absence of the Reflexive
Subject.

Examples of the Object Reference Reflexive Participial Clause

1.   R.OP.Pred
     mangu ŋayi-∅   bula-nja   majgařa-∅   da-jguři
     hear   I:p-subj   they:d-obj   married:couple-nom   hit-obj:part

```
                              Time-loc
    gunda-yudi-nji      muna-na
    stick-concom-erg    night-loc
 'I heard that married couple fighting with sticks at night.'
```

Note: In the above example the Subject of the Participial clause, majgařa gunda-yudi-nji, is interrupted by the Predicate of that clause.

2.   R.OP.Pred
```
    gaya        njuli-Ø      nimbala-nja   nabaya-wanji   djagaga-jguři
    call:out    he:p-subj    you:d-obj     white:man-erg  argue-obj:part
 'He called out to you, that white man, arguing.'
```

6.3. ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN CLAUSE

The Attributive Noun Clause is very restricted in construction, owing to the small number of possible tagmemes, as shown in Chart 24. It comprises an obligatory Predicate which is formed by the addition of an adjectivising suffix -wař to a verb stem. The only other tagmeme is an optional Object, the manifestation of which is limited to one particular type of phrase. This clause functions as the exponent of the Modifier slot of a Modified Noun Phrase or the Comment tagmeme of a Topic-Comment Clause.

CHART 24. BIDIMENSTIONAL ARRAY FOR ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN CLAUSE

Attributive Noun Clause	
+ Adjectivised Predicate	± Object
Adjectivised Verb	Modified Noun Phrase

Permutations

Predicate and Object may be permuted to the alternative order.

Restrictions

1. Transitive, Intransitive and Reflexive Verbs may manifest the Predicate tagmeme, but no reflexive pronoun occurs with the Reflexive Predicate.

2. No clause periphery occurs in this construction.

3. Object Tagmeme is optional with Transitive or Reflexive Adjectivised Verb.

4. Object Tagmeme is obligatorily absent with Intransitive
    Adjectivised Verb.

5. Only a variant of the Modified Noun Phrase can be the exponent
    of the Object tagmeme. This variant has the Head marked for
    Referent Case only, and no more than one modifier is manifested.
    When the Reflexive Predicate is manifested, the modifier is
    marked for Referent Case. With the Transitive Predicate, the
    modifier takes Nominative Case.

In the following examples only the tagmemes of the Attributive Noun
Clause are labelled.

Examples of Attributive Noun Clause

1. I.Adj.Pred   Obj
    ŋuřunba-wař-Ø   muwaḍa-nji   nanda-Ø   waluŋganařa-Ø
    drown-adjr-nom   canoe-refr   that-nom   mythological:sea:creature-nom
    'That sea creature is one which sinks boats.'

2.   R.Adj.Pred
    gudjba   naŋgi   nana-nganji   baḍaḍa-nji   yigidjba-wařa-jŋjga
    search   he:refl:p   that-refr   baby-refr   bush-adjr-refr
    'She searched for that baby lost in the bush.'

3.   I.Adj.Pred
    nanda-Ø   ŋagi-Ø   baḍaḍa-Ø   ŋindu-wař-Ø
    that-nom   I:poss-nom   baby-nom   cry-adjr-nom
    'That baby of mine (is) a crying (one).'

4.   Obj . . . .
    nayi-nda-Ø   djuga-Ø   ŋagi-Ø   gudugudu-nji   gagu-nji
    this-nom   boy-nom   I:poss-nom   many-refr   fish-refr

    R.Adj.Pred
    waḍamba-wař-Ø
    feed-adjr-nom
    'This is my boy who eats many fish.'

5.   T.Adj.Pred
    wiḷgu   njuḷi-Ø   badjaŋu-nanji   bidjba-wařa-nanji
    run   he:p-subj   dog-ab   bite-adjr-ab
    'He ran from the biting dog.'

6.   **T.Adj.Pred**   **Obj**

wijgunumba-yi baṇḍa-r̃i ŋar̃gadaba-war̃a-nji gaṇaŋanjdja-nji
bring:back-p   *camp-al*   *spear-adjr-erg*   *emu-refr*
'*(The one who is adept at) spearing emus brought (it) back to camp.*'

7.   **Obj**   **T.Adj.Pred**

nadjba ŋayi-Ø   nanda-Ø   waṇaṇa-Ø   malidjba-war̃-Ø
see   *I:p-subj* *that-nom* *buffalo-nom* *follow-adjr-nom*

    djaguwanda-na
    creek-loc
'*At the creek, I saw the buffalo (which habitually) follows (people).*'

8.   **R.Adj.Pred**

nanaba djibar̃i-Ø gulir̃adjba-war̃-Ø
there   *woman-nom* *cut:her:head-adjr-nom*
'*There is the woman cutting her head (in mourning).*'

7. CLAUSE FRAGMENTS

A special feature of the Garawa language is the tendency to repeat the important parts of clauses or sentences, and the consequent ability of the speaker to omit tagmemes that may be understood from the context if these are not the important semantic parts of the clause. This is reflected in the omission of Subject or Object in many cases, or of both these tagmemes where the Predicate is the most important semantically. Similarly, large sections of clauses, often including all parts of the nucleus, are omitted, resulting in what we have termed "Clause Fragments". These fragments are generally one or two tagmemes such as Allative, Time, etc., repeated from a previous clause.

Phonological breaks determine the separation of the fragmented speech and thus distinguish them from reduplication of tagmemes within the clause. The breaks are often of longer duration than is usual between complete clauses.

Examples of Clause Fragments are found in the next section in the sample text.

8. SAMPLE TEXT

The following text is an excerpt from the description of the proceedings of a meeting of both Yanyula and Garawa people held at Borroloola

to elect a new Council, representative of both tribes. The two tribes live on opposite sides of the McArthur River, and a proposal had been made to build a new camp for both Garawa and Yanyula people on the Yanyula side of the river. Rorie, the narrator of the proceedings, is the most influential member of the Garawa tribe.

Clause breaks are signified by a bar, / , and the breaks have been made according to phonological and grammatical considerations. Clauses are numbered and labelled above, and clause fragments designated by the abbreviation "Cl.Frag".

                                          (1) Intrans.Cl

.../   gaḍigaḍi-Ø baři   /   ŋayu-Ø – – – ŋařanba ŋagi-Ø

      Nephew-nom *um*   *I*-subj – – – *stay*   *I:poss*-nom

'...   *Nephew, I – – – my (children) stay (where we are).*

               (2) Intrans.Cl   **(3) Intrans.Cl**

ŋanji   /   baři ŋayu-Ø djuŋgu   /   manjdjalmanjdjalidjba

you:s:refr   *um*   *I*-subj *sit*   *lose:flesh*

              I stay (here).   *(I) am getting old.*

               (4) Del.Pred.Intrans.Cl

manganji-Ø /   ŋala ŋagi-Ø   yadji-Ø   gařu-ři   /

body-nom   *con* *I:poss*-nom *country*-nom *east-place*:loc

              My home is in the east.

(5) Del.Pred.Intrans.Cl

ŋaḍanja-Ø   gaḍiḍi-Ø   yalu-Ø   ŋagi-Ø   baṇḍa-nji

mother-nom *uncle*-nom *they:pl*-subj *I:poss*-nom *camp*-refr

(Your) mother and uncles, those many (children) of mine,

nana-nganji gařu-ři   gadja-mugu-Ø   /

that-refr   *east-place*:loc *some*-pl-nom

belong to that camp in the east.

(6) Trans.Cl

nanda-Ø   gařu-ři   migu ŋayi-Ø   yiŋidjba-wa   /

that-nom *east-place*:loc *neg* *I:p*-subj *leave*-cont

I did not leave that east place.

(7) Trans.Cl

ŋayu-Ø   yiŋidjba   migu   nanda-Ø   djamba-Ø   ŋagi-Ø
I-subj   *leave*   neg   *that*-nom   *ground*-nom   *I:poss*-nom

I do not leave that land of mine, that east place.

ŋagi-Ø   gaṛu-ři   /   gaḍigaḍi-Ø   /
I:poss-nom   *east-place*:loc   *Nephew*-nom

                               Nephew,

(8) Reflexive Cl

nanaba   ŋaga-dja   djanjba   gaṛu-ři   /
there   *I:refl-f*   *die*   *east-place*:loc

I intend to die in that place, in the east.

(9) Trans.Cl

yanjba   ŋayu-Ø   ŋanji   baři   nanda-Ø   /   bariwa   /
talk   *I*-subj   *you:s:refr*   *um*   *that*-nom   *para:mkr*

That is what I say to you.

(10) Trans.Cl

bagi   nanda-Ø   baři   ninjdji-Ø   ŋagi   gaṛu-yi   /
and   *that*-nom   *um*   *you:s-subj*   *I:refr*   *tell*-p

And you tell me this —

(11) Cl.Frag   (12) Cl.Frag

nana-nganji   djunu   waguwagu-nji   /   waguwagu-Ø   nanda-Ø   /
that-refr   *perhaps*   *pine:tree-refr*   *pine:tree-nom*   *that-nom*

"Perhaps (we'll have) shrubs   *those shrubs*

(13) Cl.Frag   (14) Trans.Cl

waguwagu-Ø   nanda-Ø   /   ŋala   yugu   baři   nanda-Ø
pine:tree-nom   *that-nom*   *while*   *yes*   *um*   *that-nom*

those shrubs   *And yes, (you) told about those shrubs.*

                           (15) Trans.Cl

waguwagu-nji   maḍa   gaṛu-yi   /   bayangalidjba-yi   /
pine:tree-refr   *also*   *tell*-p   *have:a:collection:of*-p

                           *(We could) have a collection of
                           (shrubs).*

(16) Trans.Cl

gaṟu-yi nana-nganji djunu   /
tell-p   *that*-refr   *perhaps*

(You) told those people perhaps (this could be)!"

(17) Trans.Cl

migu nuři-Ø-ya   mangu nanda-Ø   djanguř-Ø   wabula   /
neg   *we:pl:ex-subj-abil*   *hear*   *that*-nom   *words*-nom   *before*

Perhaps we did not hear all he said before.

(18) Reflexive Cl

yaḍaḍagařinjdja   naŋgi-li
not:being:explicit   *he:refl*-hab

(He) had not made himself very clear.

(19) Intrans.Cl

nanda-Ø   yaḍaḍagařinjdja   /
that-nom   *is:not:explicit*

That one is not very explicit.

(20) Interrog.Inform.Cl   (21) Intrans.Cl

wanjdja-ni gudiyan-Ø maṟařga-yi /   maṟařga-yi gudiya-Ø   /
what-nom   *some*-nom   *not:know*-p   *not:know*-p   *some*-nom

Some — who were they — did not know.   *Some did not know.*

(22) Intrans.Cl

nanama-Ø   laŋgu-řinjba   baři   djuŋgu-yi   /
that:other-nom   *north-side*:loc   *um*   *sit*-p

The others (Yanyula) sat on the north side.

(23) Del.Intrans.Pred.Cl   (24) Intrans.Cl

bagu   nuřu-Ø-ma   /   djila nuri-Ø-li   /
later   *we:pl:ex-subj-lim*   *go*   *we:pl:ex-subj-hab*

Later we (arrive) by ourselves.   *We come (in groups).*

(25) Trans.Cl

gaya-ngili   yiŋamali-ŋga   /
call:out-hab   *one*-refr

(He) calls out for one (nomination).

(26) Cl.Frag

mili yiŋga-Ø   /

*again other-*nom

(He calls for) another (nomination) again.

(27) Trans.Cl

gaya-ngili yiŋamali-ŋga   /

*call-*hab   *one-*refr

(He) kept on calling for one (nomination).

(28) Trans.Cl

gaya-ngili yiŋamali-ŋga   /

*call-*hab   *one-*refr

(He) kept calling for one (more).

(29) Intrans.Cl

guḍadi nuři-Ø   binjdju   /

neg   *we:*pl:ex:p-subj *speak:out:of:turn*

We didn't speak out of turn.

(30) Trans.Cl

ŋawamba nuři-Ø-li   baři nadjba /

only   *we:*pl:ex-subj-hab *um*   *see*

We only kept on watching.

(31) Topic-Comment Cl   (32) Topic-Comment Cl

njulu   baři mambuga-Ø /   mambuga-Ø /

*he:*subj *um* *boss-*nom   *boss-*nom

He (is) the boss.   *(He is) the boss.*

(33) Trans.Cl

mili   gaya-ngiii yiŋga-nji bagu   /

*again call-*hab   *other-*refr *later*

Later he was still calling out for another.

(34) Trans.Cl

bagu   gaya-ngili yiŋga-nji   /

*later call-*hab   *other-*refr

Later (he) kept on calling for another.

(35) Intrans.Cl   (36) Intrans.Cl

miŋu haḷba-ŋga yiŋamali-Ø /   maḍa yuřmba naŋi-ya   nana-wa   /

neg   go-pres   one-nom   also move   he:refl-*did* that-way

Not one (person) goes,   *nor moves in any direction.*

(37) Intrans.Cl

baři djuŋgu nani bařinani djamangi-na   /

um *sit* *this* *like:this* *dancing:ground*-loc

They sit like this at the corroboree.

(38) Cl.Frag

nanda-Ø   baři musilina-Ø   naŋa-ŋi /

that-nom *um*   *Mussolini*-nom *he*-refr

For that one, Mussolini.

(39) Reflexive Cl

mangumangu nuřu-ŋgi   naŋaŋi djaŋguř-anji /   bařiwa bari

think   *we:pl:ex*-refr *he:poss* *word*-refr   *finish* *um*

We think about his words.   (Paragraph ending)

(40) Trans.Cl   (41) Cl.Frag

ŋayu-Ø ŋayu-Ø yanjba naŋa-ŋi /   ŋayu   naŋaŋi-Ø   dudju-Ø   /

I-subj *I*-subj *talk*   *he*-refr   *I*-subj *he:poss*-nom *uncle*-nom

I say to him,   *I, his uncle, (said)*

(42) Topic-Comment Cl

gaḍigaḍi-Ø gadja-Ø   yalu-Ø   ŋaḍanja-Ø   nanda-Ø   miminja-Ø

Nephew-nom *many*-nom *they:pl*-subj *mother*-nom *that*-nom *grandfather*-nom

"Nephew, they are many people, (your) mothers, gradfathers,

                      (43) Intrans.Cl

gaḍiḍi-Ø   /   ŋaṟanba ŋaga-dja nana-njina djamba-na   /

uncle-nom   *stay*   *I:refl*-f *that*-loc   *ground*-loc

and uncles.   *I will stay at that place.*

(44) Trans.Cl

nani djamba-Ø   ŋayi-Ø   mařimba wabula   /

like *this:ground*-nom *I:p*-subj *hold*   *before*

I held on to that ground before like this.

(45) Cl.Frag

waluwa   ŋali-Ø-ya   guguḍi-yuřu-nji   /
first   we:d:ex-subj-ident grandmother-deceased-erg

First, we two, (your) dead grandmother and I (held that land).

(46) Cl.Frag

djabaři ŋayu-Ø baři ŋayu-Ø-ma   baři   /
again   I-subj um   I-subj-lim   um

Again I, myself, (held that land).

(47) Reflexive Cl

ŋala   njulu-Ø guguḍi-Ø   djanjba naŋgi   /
while she-subj grandmother-nom   die   she:refl

Then she, grandmother, died.

(48) Cl.Frag   **(49) Intrans.Cl**

guguḍi-yuřu   /   ŋala ŋayu-Ø-ma   baři ŋařanba /
grandmother-deceased   *then I-subj-lim um   stay*

                                 So, I myself, will stay.

(50) Cl.Frag

ŋayu-Ø ŋanji   /
I:subj you:s:refr

I (say this) to you.

(51) Trans.Cl   **(52) Cl.Frag**

gaṛu ŋa-ninjdji-Ø   /   nanda-Ø   baři   /
tell I:obj-you:s-subj   *that:nom um*

And you are telling me (what to do)!"

(53) Cl.Frag

baříwa   /
finish

(end of discourse).'